

THE IDEAL NOTION AND ITS EMBODIMENT

**THE COURTYARD HOUSE
OF THE ARAB-ISLAMIC WORLD**

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IMES WORKING PAPERS SERIES NO.26

THE INSTITUTE OF MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES • IUJ

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first encounter with the courtyard house was in the old quarters of Aleppo. After that, at the opposite side of the Mediterranean, the patios of Córdoba unfolded my interest, which culminated in the Alhambra and Albaicín quarter of Granada. In this sense, visits to the three cities: Aleppo, Córdoba, and Granada were the very beginning of this study.

Needless to say, I have received valuable suggestions and encouragement as well, from a number of people in accomplishing the study. Especially, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Prof. Toshio Kuroda. I am also grateful to Prof. Abdus Samad, Mrs. Miyoko Kuroda, and all the other members of the Institute of Middle Eastern Studies (IMES) of International University of Japan (IUJ). Dr. Mahmoud Hretani is another person to be mentioned here. He kindly took me to the deepest space inside old Aleppo where I got an idea to work on this subject.

Finally, sincere thanks must go to Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., Ltd. for giving me a chance to dedicate myself to this study.

Masahiro Ezaki

June 1991

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
PREFACE.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I	
The Double Structure of "Relativity" and "Insulation": A Guideline for the Analysis of the Arab-Islamic World.....	12
A. Objective of the Chapter.....	12
B. Pre-Islamic Arabia.....	15
1. Society Based on Tribalism.....	15
2. Solidarity and <i>Jāhiliyah</i> Spirit.....	17
C. The Ideal of Islam and the Network of Islamicity.....	22
1. Islam: Its Infiltration into Society.....	22
2. The Triad of Islam: <i>Tawhid</i> , ' <i>Ummah</i> ', and <i>Shari'ah</i>	27
a. <i>Tawhid</i> : The Fundamental World View.....	28
b. ' <i>Ummah</i> ': The Ideal Community.....	34
c. <i>Shari'ah</i> : Rules for the Fulfillment of ' <i>Ummah</i> '.....	37
d. The Triadic Structure of Islam.....	39
3. Power of the Network of Islamicity.....	41
D. The Double Structure of "Relativity" and "Insulation".....	47
CHAPTER II	
Anatomizing the Arab-Islamic City.....	53
A. Fundamental Characteristics of the Arab-Islamic City.....	53
1. The World of Borderless Movement.....	54
2. The City in <i>Espace Lisse</i>	61
B. Spatial Structure of the Arab-Islamic City.....	66
1. <i>Madīnah</i> of Aleppo.....	66
2. Device for Passage.....	72
3. Device for Stay.....	76

4. Relativity and Insulation in the Urban Space.....	81
C. Space of Insulation: The Residential Area.....	86
1. Quarters in the Middle Ages.....	87
2. "Face to Face Intimacy" in Succession.....	96
3. Final Approach to the Ensemble of Houses.....	100

CHAPTER III

Courtyard in the Center of the House.....	103
---	-----

A. The Inside and the Outside of the House.....	105
1. Enclosure of the Intimate.....	105
2. Privacy in Islam.....	116
B. Social Role of the Courtyard.....	125
1. Inter-Penetration of the Inside and the Outside.....	125
2. The Courtyard House as a Miniature of the City.....	128
3. The Courtyard and the Creation of 'Ummah.....	131

CONCLUSION

The Ideal Notion and Its Embodiment.....	137
--	-----

A. The Triadic Structure of Islam Revisited.....	137
B. Diversity and Unity:	
Understanding Islam in the Light of Spinoza.....	143
C. Embodiment of the Ideal and Reality.....	148

APPENDIX

Madness and Courtyard.....	152
----------------------------	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	161
-------------------	-----

INDEX.....	170
------------	-----

PREFACE

The house is usually understood as a place where men "live". Living itself has various aspects, and is interpreted in different ways. Therefore, the house also has its various meanings and dimensions. It may be, as is commonly held, a place where men's ideals are realized and where man tries to realize the meaning of life. Yet, this kind of an understanding of the house is now a little bit old-fashioned. The meaning of living itself has differed from that of old days. M. Heidegger says that modern man has lost the meaning of living since the pre-World War II period. However, man in the post-modern age has not yet discovered the meaning of life in his new-societies. He is in the process of forming his new ways of life. Now, we are at the gate of a formative period of new values. The house as base for living may change its meaning and function as society itself transforms.

Houses in the Middle Eastern World are designed and built to match the society of the region with its multi-layered culture and

long history from time immemorial. Their buildings are determined by the requirements of their societies. Houses and people exert a mutual influence on each other. People in the Middle Eastern World usually build houses with courtyards. The courtyard seems to be necessary and indispensable for people in the Middle Eastern World. It has a special relation to their way of life.

Almost all the people in the Middle Eastern World live in cities which are able to be likened to islands in the sea because most of the Middle Eastern cities are surrounded with non-inhabited desert and wilds. Yet, these cities in desert are tightly connected to one another by well established transportation net-works. The buildings of the Middle Eastern houses may reflect, to some degree, this situation of cities.

The Middle Eastern cities could be regarded to have developed from small village with a water spring (*ain, chashmeh*) in it. Water is an indispensable thing for life. The courtyard of the Middle Eastern house has a water pool in its center. Therefore, the courtyard could be regarded as a reflection of the water spring in the desert which is the origin of the Middle Eastern cities. We can recognize in the courtyard a reflection of the net-work system of cities in the Middle Eastern deserts. The courtyard is a place for meditation and discussion in the Middle Eastern people as a water spring in desert is so. People come to meet one another and exchange informations and hold dialogues in courtyard as they do so in water-places in the desert. After all, the courtyard of the

Middle Eastern house seems to have a secret, the investigation of which may highlight a hidden aspect of the Middle Eastern culture.

The author of this booklet, Mr. Ezaki has made an excellent analysis of courtyard of the Middle Eastern buildings. He has successfully clarified its social functions and significance through introducing new methodologies into his approach. He is a research fellow of I.M.E.S.

Akiro Matsumoto
General Editor

INTRODUCTION

From ancient time, man has been handling space in various ways. He is merely a tiny existence in the face of Nature. He must protect himself against a number of threats. In the first stage, he began to use existing space like caves as a shelter for himself as well as for the intimates around him. We observe such behavior of our ancestors in various prehistoric sites of the world, for example, in Altamira or in Lascaux. In the next stage, mankind started to divide off space with his own hands.

Mankind is not the only creature who tries to handle space. How can we explain the behavior of an animal building a lair or nest? Then, how about their endeavor of keeping territory? Everything can be understood as the behavior of self-protection against a number of threats which arise from Nature. Nature, while it contains merciful features in its role as Mother of every creature, it also produces merciless heat, cold, rain, or wind. In addition, enemies are born also from Nature.

Let us focus again on the behavior of mankind. When people assemble in order to live together, a community is established. In community life, the behavior of people is controlled by various factors. Neighbors' eyes, words, as well as deeds will surely influence one's behavior. Rules of the community, needless to say, regulate the life of people. Under such circumstances, people wish to keep their own space, where they pass the time peacefully without taking care of such irritating factors. From this point of view, community or society also produce a number of threats in the form of social regulations. Barrington Moore introduces the mentality of Athenians, who tried to escape from the control of Polis.¹ He also reports that in ancient Hebrew society there was a group of people who showed a strong desire to be released from the absolute dominance of Yahweh.² Living in Nature with socialized ways, man finds himself surrounded by a set of threats or regulations. Then, in order to cope with them, he makes a shelter by possessing his own space.

Threats of Nature are brought about principally by climatic or geographic conditions which govern the place. These conditions are also closely related to the characteristics of social regulations which man has to obey in his community life or to the peculiarity of the value system. Evidently, such factors are defined as important nuclei in the formation of culture. Then, simply because

¹See: Barrington Moore JR., *Privacy: Studies in Social and Cultural History* (New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1984), p.118.

²See: *Ibid.*, p.172.

the natural environment is different from place to place, it is not an exaggeration to say that cultures of the world are in infinite diversity. Diversity among cultures, in turn, cultivates diversity among patterns of human behavior. Thus, it is quite natural that the style of space-handling is determined by the characteristic of culture to which one belongs. Yi-Fu Tuan argues in his *Time and Space* that space is an abstract term which indicates the complicated assembly of diversified notions; and that it differs from culture to culture to define how one evaluates each part of the divided space.³

Needless to say, the most representative example of the space handled by mankind is his dwelling space, the house. The house is one of the embodiments of culture; therefore, the meaning, role, and function of the house is in infinite diversity like culture itself. The house in the tropical area is completely different from that of a cold area. Religious background, as one of the cultural factors which regulates the behavioral pattern of people, will also affect the type of house in various aspects. Is it possible to say that Christianity and Buddhism, for example, give completely the same meaning to the house? Culture takes shape by combination of many factors. Some of them are common to various areas while others are quite regional. In line with the diversified cultural formation, different types of house with a different meaning, role,

³Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place*, tr. by H. Yamamoto (Tokyo: Chikuma-Shobô, 1988), p.52.

and function have appeared in the world. In *The Hidden Dimension*, Edward T. Hall asserts:

"...people from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, *inhabit different sensory worlds*. Selective screening of sensory data admits some things while filtering out others, so that *experience as it is perceived* through one set of culturally patterned sensory screens is quite different from experience perceived through another. The architectural and urban environments that people create are expressions of this filtering-screening process."⁴

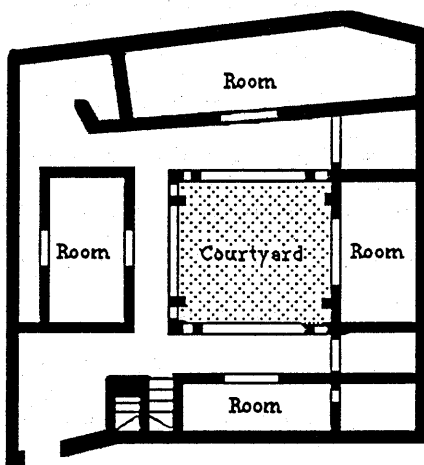
Out of a variety of architectural embodiments of culture, we will choose the traditional courtyard house of the Arab-Islamic World. Then, the time and location will be considered. It will be quite an important premise of this study to pin point the when and where of the Arab-Islamic World if the nature of the object, i.e., the courtyard house is already revealed. Nevertheless, the real face of this specific space-handling seems still unrevealed as we will see later in this Introduction. It should be emphasized that the objective of this study is to examine the nature itself of the courtyard house of the Arab-Islamic World. Therefore, various aspects obtainable from different periods and regions will be discussed in order to identify the nature of the courtyard house,

⁴Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1969), p.2.

which still remains in the old quarters of the city even after the appearance of urban modernization.

Although there are in fact some exceptions, the courtyard house can be defined as a typical expression of traditional Arab-Islamic space-handling. In order to grasp the general layout, let us see the plan of an example chosen from Fez, Morocco.

Courtyard House in Fez



Source: Titus Burckhardt, *Die maurische Kultur in Spanien*, p. 66.

The courtyard of the domestic space in the Arab-Islamic World is generally interpreted as one of the devices for coping with the severeness of the climatic condition. That is to say, the viewpoint of interpretation is principally focused on the role of the courtyard as a countermeasure against the threats of Nature.

In discussing the courtyard house in the Arab-Islamic World, we must recognize that a major part of this world belongs to the area which is hot and dry from a global point of view. Therefore, it is quite natural that people have tried to attenuate the intensity of the threats by handling space appropriately. Through centuries of endeavor, they have invented various devices. One of them is to create a courtyard in the center of their domestic space.

Now, let us take a look at some concrete examples which show the role of the courtyard as a device against threats of Nature. During the night time, relatively cool air is caught by the courtyard space and remains there even after the daybreak; then, as cool air is physically heavier than the hot air of the day time, the latter passes over the former which still remains in the courtyard space.⁵ In addition, the space organized by the courtyard generates a circulation of air just like the lungs do in the human body.⁶ It is also possible to define the courtyard as a "heat regulator".⁷ The shade made by the existence of a courtyard in the center of the house and the circulation of air together provide a comfortable space inside the house. The comfortable space changes its location from season to season or even from time to time within a day. The

⁵See: Titus Burckhardt, "Fez." R. B. Serjeant (ed.), *The Islamic City* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), p.169.

⁶See: Titus Burckhardt, *Die maurische Kultur in Spanien*, tr. by R.K. Brabant (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1977), p.60.

⁷See: Ihsan Fethi, and Susan Roaf, "The Traditional House in Baghdad: Some Socio-Climatic Considerations." *The Arab House: Proceedings of the Colloquium held in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 15/16, March, 1984*, p.47.

residents change the place of activity in line with the transfer of the comfortable space provided by the "heat regulator".

It is quite interesting to observe how people change their place of activity even within the framework of domestic space. Let us choose the case of a traditional house in Baghdad.⁸ First, we will see the seasonal change, which takes place between summer and winter. During summer, the residents pass their time in the area which is located at the southern edge of the courtyard. The shade covers the southern area as the angle of sunshine is steeper in summer. When the season changes from summer to winter, in October, the residents transfer themselves from the southern quarter to the opposite side of the courtyard, that is the winter quarter. The winter quarter, located at the northern edge of the courtyard, faces the south in order to catch the softly-angled sunshine easily. From April to May, when the temperature begins to rise, the change of quarter takes place again. Therefore, the seasonal change of quarters in search of the comfortable space is done horizontally.

On the other hand, a vertical change of the place of activity is observed within a day during summer time. The summer in Baghdad is dominated by extremely hot weather. The residents change the roof into their bedroom. In the afternoon, when the heats arrives at its peak, they pass the time on the ground floor,

⁸The change of place of activity described in the following two paragraphs is taken from the same proceeding of Fethi and Roaf. See: *Ibid.*, pp.41-52.

where it is relatively not so hot because of the remains of cool air caught by the courtyard space during the night time. In the evening, family members gather around in the courtyard or stay in the summer room. Then, when the time has come, they return to the roof in order to go to bed.

There will not be negative arguments in defining that the courtyard is the space wisely handled for the purpose of realizing a comfortable environment under the severe natural condition of the Arab-Islamic World. However, we must recognize that the courtyard house is found also in various areas of the world, especially in the climatic zone characterized by hot and dry summers.⁹ It of course includes major parts of the Arab-Islamic World. If we take this into consideration, rather than the outward-looking house which is observed, for example, in Japan, Southeast Asia, or in Northern Europe, the inward-looking courtyard house may be defined as the mainstream in traditional domestic architecture.¹⁰

The widely expanded distribution of the courtyard house in the hot and dry climatic zone may lead us to an incomplete interpretation. Namely, we may be satisfied with defining the courtyard simply as an anti-heat device. In addition, every courtyard may be regarded as having the same function; the only

⁹See: Shigebumi Suzuki, "Bunka to shitenno Sumai." *SD (Space Design)*, 8506 (Tokyo: Kajima Institute Publishing, Co., 1985), p.11.

¹⁰See: *Ibid.*

difference to be discussed will be summarized in shape, size, or the material which is used for the pavement or for the façade.

Naturally, such a conclusion is insufficient. We have already stated that the house as an example of space-handling is the architectural embodiment of culture. We also understand that culture takes shape by a complex combination of countless number of factors. These factors, then, can be roughly divided into two categories if we wish to do so: natural factors and social ones. Needless to say, climatic condition as one of natural factors is not the only one in determining the pattern of space-handling. We must analyze social factors, too, in order to discuss the meaning, role, and function of the courtyard house.

What kind of analysis can we refer to for examining the social aspect of the courtyard house in the Arab-Islamic World? There are some discussions, for example, about the relationship between the notion of privacy and the design of the house. These discussions usually argue that the inward-looking design of the courtyard house is a reflection of the strong assertion of privacy. The background of this argument may be based on such stereotypes of the Arab-Islamic World as women and the veil. Nevertheless, it is not so simple to discuss the notion of privacy in a culture almost unknown to us like that of the Arab-Islamic World. As we appreciate in the study of Moore, the notion of privacy differs from society to society.¹¹ Thus, a serious question will arise here. Is there

¹¹See: Moore, *op. cit.*

a clear definition of the notion of privacy peculiar to the Arab-Islamic World in those discussions? Unfortunately, the analyses on the social aspect of the courtyard house, for example, from a viewpoint of privacy, does not seem to be discussed so profoundly.

In analyzing Arab-Islamic society, evidently the most indispensable point is the discussion about Islam, which keeps on influencing the minds and behavior of the people even today.¹² Naturally, the courtyard house is not a product of Islam. It emerged long before the advent of Islam.¹³ However, we can not neglect the Islamic notion in analyzing the social function of the courtyard house simply because Islam keeps on penetrating into the minds of people who organize society. Furthermore, how can we explain the existence of a courtyard in such Islamic facilities as mosques or *madrasahs* (traditional schools) in addition to the inside of the domestic space? We should analyze what kind of meaning, role, and function were endowed to the courtyard with the Islamization of society.

What is the secret hidden in the space organized by the courtyard? The main subject of this study is to address this question. In doing so, we will divide the study into three main

¹²Regarding the discussion about the minds and behavior strongly influenced by Islam, see for example: Toshio Kuroda, "On the Nature of Community in the Arab-Muslim World." T. Kuroda, and R.I. Lawless (eds.), *Nature of the Islamic Community* (Tokyo: Keisô-Shobô, 1991), pp.3-35.

¹³According to Fethi and Roaf, the history of courtyard house in the case of Iraq can be traced back to the Uruk period around the fourth millennium BC. See: Fethi, and Roaf, *op. cit.*, p.41.

chapters. In Chapter I, a guideline will be established for analyzing the nature or the cultural background of the Arab-Islamic World as the indispensable first step of the study. We will discuss two major factors which together control the formation of social phenomena: Arab characteristics and Islam. In Chapter II, by taking advantage of the guideline, we will anatomize the Arab-Islamic city where the courtyard house is found. The city will be analyzed from a viewpoint of its spatial structure. After we have reviewed the fundamental characteristics and role of the city in the Arab-Islamic World, we will penetrate into the inside of the urban space. The overall structure of the city, residential area, and quarters will be discussed before we examine the courtyard house in the following chapter. Chapter III, therefore, will be dedicated to the analysis of the courtyard house itself. Our attention will be concentrated on the inter-penetration of the inside and the outside of the domestic space in order to clarify the meaning, role, and function of the courtyard house. We will find out how Islam takes advantage of the courtyard house created in ancient time in the desert.

CHAPTER I

The Double Structure of "Relativity" and "Insulation":

A Guideline for the Analysis of the Arab-Islamic World

A. Objective of the Chapter

The objective of this first chapter is to grasp the cultural background or the nature of the Arab-Islamic World, which generates a chain of unique phenomena including our main subject: the courtyard house. The world is full of different cultures and each of them features its own uniqueness. It is obvious that for a successful area study, researchers should understand, first of all, the cultural background of the area in question in order to avoid an incorrect analysis. The area study of the Arab-Islamic World especially requires this first analytical step as an indispensable task. The traditional Arab characteristics from the pre-Islamic era as well as Islam itself still take roots deeply in the soil. What is crucial and unfortunate for researchers is that this peculiar cultural background refuses the scale of Western criteria.

Let us pick out the case of Islamic economy, which has been thrown into the limelight because of its unique non-interest banking system. In short, Islamic economy can not be understood independently in the context of regular economics. It must be analyzed as a phenomenon inside the framework of Islam. Muhammad Bâqir as-Sadr, who displayed the entire picture of Islamic economy in *Iqtisâdnâ* (Our Economy), defines that this specific system is closely related to other social phenomena and plays just one part in the total phase of Islamic society.¹ The solid linkage between Islamic economy and Islam can be applied to other phenomena, too. If we use as-Sadr's metaphor², on the earth of Islamic society a series of social behaviors grow like different plants appearing from the same soil. Furthermore, we must remember that the roots of each plant is placed accordingly in a unique network system of the Arab-Islamic soil.

After all, any analysis without understanding the cultural background will be misguided and lead to *Orientalism*³, by which the real face of the object never appears or is hidden intentionally; or the object in question will simply be left behind as something beyond the researcher's understanding. Thus, in order to make an

¹Muhammad Bâqir as-Sadr, *Iqtisâdnâ*, tr. by T. Kuroda (Niigata: The Institute of Middle Eastern Studies (IMES), International University of Japan (IUI), 1988), p.35.

²See: *Ibid.*

³Edward W. Said introduces systematically the image of the Orient which has been created in the Western World. The image, i.e., *Orientalism*, has been used as a tool for controlling the area. See: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: George Brochardt, 1978).

appropriate analysis, comprehending the cultural background or the nature must be emphasized strongly even in analyzing such a tiny object as ours: the courtyard house.

Needless to say, understanding the basic structure of Islam is essential for us. Islam, since its emergence in the 7th century until today, keeps on influencing the behavior of believers. In addition to Islam, we must take into account *Jāhiliyah* society⁴ before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad. It is true that Islam drastically changed the social structure of the *Jāhiliyah* era. In some sense, those customs practiced in pre-Islamic society can be defined as examples of how not to behave for the believers of Islam.⁵ Nevertheless, Islam did not change everything. Careful attention must be paid to the recognition that Islam changed *Jāhiliyah* society without destroying the traditional characteristic of the Arabs.⁶ Furthermore, even if Islam had tried to extinguish every pre-Islamic element it would have been almost impossible to get rid so easily of the traditional characteristics which had been cultivated through generations. Ira M. Lapidus states clearly: "From the pre-Islamic Middle East, Islamic societies inherited a pattern of institutions which would shape their destiny until modern age."⁷

⁴*Jāhiliyah*, which means the days without the light of Islam, indicates the period before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad.

⁵Toshio Kuroda (ed.), *Islam Jiten* (Tokyo: Tokyo-Dō Shuppan, 1983), p.128.

⁶T. Kuroda, "Privacy in the Islamic World." *The Proceeding of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT)*, Oct. 22-28, 1989, Vol.1, p.304.

⁷Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.3.

The above briefing will be sufficient enough to start examining the two different phases of the Arab-Islamic World: the pre-Islamic phase and the Islamic phase, so that we should equip ourselves with an appropriate guideline for analyzing cities, houses, and finally courtyards in further chapters of the study.

B. Pre-Islamic Arabia

1. Society Based on Tribalism

It was in the 7th century that Islam emerged in the Arabian Peninsula. This section will discuss Arabian society on the eve of Islam. The historical map of that time shows us that there were two confronting empires to the north of the Arabian Peninsula: the Byzantine Empire and the Sasanian Empire. It is reported that at that time Arabia featured a social structure quite different from that of the two Empires.⁸ Let us take a look at some representative differences.⁹ The Empires were based on a sedentary agricultural society, while Arabia was characterized by nomadic life. Cities developed in the imperial territories whereas camps and oases continued to characterize the Peninsula. That is to say, the imperial

⁸*Ibid.*, p.11.

⁹The description of Arabia in this paragraph is based on the introduction of the Middle Eastern societies on the eve of Islam summarized by Lapidus. See: *Ibid.*, pp.11-20.

territories were politically organized while, on the contrary, Arabia found itself in a situation quite far away from social integration.

Although borderlines are traced on the historical map we see today, these are printed just for our convenience. Clear-cut borderlines which separated the Empires from Arabia did not exist at all. Therefore, it is easily supposed that an active interchange between the Empires and the Peninsula took place. Actually, the interchange of merchants was frequent. Preachers visited Arabia in order to propagate their religion, while there was a group of Arabs who joined the imperial army.¹⁰ It is also a historical fact that the two Empires tried to get ahead of the other in controlling Yemen.¹¹ Considering this situation, the organized political system of the Empires, too, would be brought to the Peninsula. However, neither of the two Empires could expand their hegemony to the cradle of Islam, nor did appear there any sort of kingdom which ruled over all the Peninsula.

It is said that the domestication of the camel began in the 13th or 12th century BC.¹² From that time until the 7th century AD when Islam appeared, Arabia continued to be fragmented into a number of independent and isolated tribal societies. These small communities were formed upon strong family kinship. Although Mecca, where the Prophet Muhammad was born, became one of the most important relay points of the trade route between the East and

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp.11-13.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p.13.

¹²*Ibid.*

West, the major part of the Arabian Peninsula was still dominated by fragmented nomadic societies, as a consequence of which a strong tribalism appeared in the Peninsula. Each tribe, showing off an exalted spirit of independence, was spending the days in mutual conflict for survival in the severe natural environment of the desert.

2. Solidarity and *Jâhiliyah* Spirit

The tribes in the desert had a strong kinship solidarity. Ibn Khaldûn states that only those tribes, groups of people who are strongly tied with solidarity, are able to live under such a cruel condition as the desert.¹³ Along with tribalism, solidarity was on the way to exaltation, while the individual personality began to be absorbed into the framework of tribe. This social phenomenon seems quite natural if we imagine how difficult it would be to live alone in the severe nature of the desert. According to Lapidus, there was no way to express the concept of individuality or personality in the Bedouin's daily language.¹⁴ Each tribe was directed by a *shaykh*, who was a senior member from a prominent family. *Wajh* (face) was a word which was applied to a *shaykh*; however, its actual usage was to indicate the persona of the group.¹⁵

¹³Ibn Khaldûn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, tr. by F. Rosenthal, Vol.1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p.261.

¹⁴Lapidus, *op. cit.*, p.14.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

One of the best ways to know the life style of the pre-Islamic era is to appreciate *Jāhiliyah* poetry. How can poetry be a method to observe the actuality of more than 1400 years ago? The appreciation of poetry sometimes requires the imagination of readers, or poets themselves elaborate the verse with the intention of forcing the readers to be imaginative. However, *Jāhiliyah* poetry is quite different from those verses full of difficult metaphors. Arab poets of the pre-Islamic era, using similes, sang nothing other than the reality of the world in which they lived. They wrote down directly what was found around themselves.¹⁶

Jāhiliyah poetry, which had been recorded in a fragmented form, was compiled from the middle of the 8th century to the 10th century under the Abbasid Dynasty.¹⁷ The oldest work is said to have been composed around AD 500, that is to say, we can observe the life-style of no more than 100 years before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁸ Nevertheless, observing 100 years will be equivalent to doing so for the thousands of years of the *Jāhiliyah* era if the extremely conservative life style of the people of desert is taken into consideration.¹⁹

¹⁶Regarding the peculiarity of *Jāhiliyah* poetry, which makes it possible to reveal the actuality of pre-Islamic life-style, see: T. Kuroda, "*Jāhiliyah*-Shi no Shōchō-Sei ni tsuite." *Geibun Kenkyū*, Vol.18 (1965), pp.57-70, Vol.19 (1965), pp.131-146.

Toshihiko Izutsu also points out that the Arabs were extraordinarily intuitive and possessed an outstanding ability in describing their vivid impression. See: Toshihiko Izutsu, *Islam Shisō-Shi* (Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1975), pp.6-7.

¹⁷Toshihiko Izutsu, *Islam Seitan* (Tokyo: Jinbun-Shoin, 1979), p.24.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*

Let us appreciate a verse sung by Duraid b. Simmah:

"I am of Ghaziyya:
if she be in error,
then I will err;
And if Ghaziyya be guided right,
I go right with her!"²⁰

The decision by the tribe to which one belonged was absolute. One was obliged to obey the supreme decision of one's tribe even if one was not convinced, otherwise one had to leave the group and live alone in the harsh desert.

Then, how was the ideal figure of the individual under such supreme priority to the tribe? The highest human value was expressed by a word, *anafah*, which means "raising high one's nose in the air".²¹ This action showed a spirit of rejecting any external authority, which was born from the pride to the tribal tradition and solidarity. Abîd b. al-Abras sings *Jâhilîyah* spirit as follows:

"Nay, there is no avoiding the
encounter of noble knights
-when they are called to an
alarm, at once they ride forth."²²

The poet describes a typical figure of *Jâhilîyah* individual who showed an action based on his strong self-assertion, which was

²⁰English translation quoted from: Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p.83.

²¹Izutsu, *op. cit.*, pp.132-133.

²²English translation quoted from: Charles Lyall, *The Dîwâns of 'Abîd B. Al-Abras and Amir B. At-Tufal* (London: Luzac & Co., 1913), p.22.

a reflection of the tribal solidarity and pride. Any external power could not control his behavior nor fix him in appropriate place of a framework of regulation.

The pre-Islamic spirit of solidarity and self-assertion did not disappear even after the Islamization of society. This tradition can be observed in various aspects of Islamic society. In order to recognize how it continued, let us adjust our focus, for example, on al-Andalus under Umayyad regime, the extreme west of the huge Islamic Community which then covered from Central Asia to the Atlantic Coast as a result of the dramatic territorial expansion in the 8th century. Al-Andalus, with the advent of 'Abd-r-Rahmân III (912-961), became a tremendous threat for the neighboring Christian kingdoms in terms of its military power based on the well organized political system. However, before his rule, al-Andalus continued to show a political instability, resulting from the confrontation among tribes.²³ W. Montgomery Watt argues that the tribal confrontation in al-Andalus was not the direct succession of the long lasting conflicts in pre-Islamic Arabia, but it occurred mainly by the conditional difference among occupied territories allocated to each tribe.²⁴ Nevertheless, it can not be denied that the confrontation was triggered by the traditional tribal solidarity, self-assertion, and pride even though the mixture of blood proceeded

²³For the detail of the history of al-Andalus, see: W. Montgomery Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, tr. by T. Kuroda, and H. Kashiwagi (Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1976).

²⁴*Ibid.*, p.33.

with the Berbers as well as with the Iberian indigenous people in a relatively mild environment of al-Andalus, thousands of miles away from the severe Arabian desert.

The strong group solidarity and self-assertion can be well appreciated also in the formation of the residential area in the city. The Arab-Islamic cities' residential area was, first of all, divided into two, namely, Muslim quarter and non-Muslim quarter. What is important for our discussion is that the Muslim quarter was further divided into a number of small units according to race, origin, birth place, and so forth. Lapidus, who investigated in detail the societies of medieval Muslim cities like Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo, reports that each small residential unit displayed a strong social integration not only in time of emergency but also in daily life.²⁵

We have reviewed just a few examples which will be enough to verify the existence of the pre-Islamic factor in Islamized society. The tribal solidarity born in the harshness of the desert generated the strong spirit of self-assertion as well as of rejecting external power. This pre-Islamic factor would greatly influence the formation of the cultural background of the Arab-Islamic World in addition to Islam which will be discussed in the next section. At the end of this section, we must take into consideration again Ibn

²⁵See: Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.85-95.

Khaldûn's idea. He regarded solidarity as the most important factor for the development of societies or states.²⁶

C. The Ideal of Islam and the Network of Islamicity

1. Islam: Its Infiltration into Society

Islam is counted as one of the three great revealed religions along with Judaism and Christianity. What should be emphasized is that Islam covers not only the spiritual sphere but also almost every aspect of the believers' life until it plays a decisive role in the formation of a specific culture. The infiltration of Islam into society is frequently shown through various kinds of affairs which take place in the Arab-Islamic World. Sometimes this infiltration of Islam seems to be introduced accompanied by such a misleading adjective as "fanatic" because there is a tendency to fix Islam just inside a framework of religion which is structured based on the criteria, say, of Christianity of modern age. In fact, Islam is a religion. Nevertheless, as far as Islam is concerned, what is critical is how we define the coverage of the religious framework. If the coverage in question is limited only to the spiritual sphere, Islam will deviate definitely from the framework, because it covers even believers' social activities such as politics, economics, jurisprudence

²⁶For example, Ibn Khaldûn states: "Royal authority and large dynastic (power) are attained only through a group and group feeling." Ibn Khaldûn, *op. cit.*, p.313.

and norms of daily life including morals or ethics. In other words, Islam features social aspects in addition to the generally considered religious domain, i.e., spiritual aspect. Thus, it is quite natural that Islam's contribution to the formation and maintenance of culture has been incalculable since its emergence in the 7th century.

The question of why Islam emphasizes social aspect will be explained by its basic doctrine that refuses the clear borderline between the sacred and the profane.²⁷ The Prophet Muhammad himself did not admit the separation of the two factors from the very start of Islam.²⁸ In Islam, one who concentrates only on spiritual discipline can not be regarded as a real believer. In order to be a real Muslim, one is required to carry out social responsibility as a member of the community, in addition to the spiritual purification.²⁹

A number of reflections of this basic doctrine can be appreciated all through the 1400 years of the Islamic history. Now, let us focus on the ruling system of Islam first of all. The leader of the Islamic Community was called Caliph³⁰, which means proxy of Allah, and was originally in charge both of religion and politics. The Caliph system started with the death of the Prophet

²⁷Motohiro Ohno discusses in detail the sacred and the profane in Islam standing on the viewpoint of re-interpreting the meaning of *masjid* or mosque. See: Motohiro Ohno, *Masjid Reinterpreted: The Sacred and the Profane in Islam*, IMES Working Papers Series No.17 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1989).

²⁸T. Kuroda (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.9.

²⁹See: *Ibid.*, p.10.

³⁰Caliph comes from the Arabic term *Khâlifah* which means proxy. Precisely speaking, Caliph is the proxy of the messenger of Allah, i.e., the Prophet Muhammad.

Muhammad and the title remained nominally until 1924,³¹ when 2 years had passed from the emergence of the republican system in Turkey. After the Caliph system became hereditary with the advent of the Umayyad Dynasty, the quality of Caliphs began to be lowered even though a good number of renowned leaders appeared in the later course of history. Not only by the deterioration of Caliph himself but also by various factors, such as the introduction of *Sultân* system³², the original Islamic doctrine of unifying religion and politics was forced to disappear. However, during the reign of the Prophet Muhammad and the four Orthodox Caliphs who succeeded him³³, religion and politics were controlled by one leader without separation. Furthermore, until the latter half of the Abbasid period, at least the ruling form in its surface continued to be the same as in the days of early Islam although some Caliphs were nothing but puppets in the court.

If we pick out the case of the Catholic World of the Middle Ages, although simple comparison may be difficult, a clear difference in the ruling system will stand in relief. In the Catholic World, for example, however successfully acted for the defence and expansion of the religion, a king was merely a secular leader while

³¹George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Study of the Arab National Movement*, tr. by S. Kimura (Tokyo: Dai-San Shokan, 1989), p.368.

³²This system was applied to Mahmud (999-1030) of Ghaznavid Dynasty for the first time in the history of Islam. However, the title began to be used officially by the rulers of Saljuk Dynasty.

³³The four Orthodox Caliphs are: Abû Bakr (632-634), 'Umar Ibn-l-Khattâb (634-644), 'Uthmân Ibn 'Affân (644-656), and 'Alî Ibn Abî Tâlib (656-661).

the Pope organized the sacred world from Rome.³⁴ This schema forms a striking contrast to that of the early Islamic Community.

The doctrine was reflected also on the micro level of society. An example, among others, will be the role of merchants in medieval Islamic society, in which their social status was relatively high because the Prophet Muhammad himself was a merchant in Mecca. What is important for our discussion is that a good number of the merchants were also members of *ulamâ*, who gave religious guidance with the knowledge they mastered.³⁵ We must recognize here that *ulamâ* is not a sacred profession even though it is closely concerned with religious matters. As already stated, Islam does not separate the sacred and the profane clearly. According to this doctrine, basically there is no sacred profession in Islam. Therefore, our attention should be oriented not to the question of whether merchant/*ulamâ* is sacred or profane, but to the historical fact that those people accomplished a double responsibility in society: one as merchant and the other as *ulamâ* simultaneously, denying the borderline between the sacred and the profane.

The sacred and the profane infiltrate mutually also in today's Islamic society. A Muslim behavior of worship, *salât*, practiced in

³⁴The case of Isabel *la Católica* (Catholic Queen Isabel) of Spain, more precisely of Castile, will be one of the most representative examples which show the difference between the Islamic Community and the Christian World. She finalized *Reconquista* by putting an end to the last Muslim dynasty in Granada, with her husband Fernando, the king of Aragon. Thus, the Pope gave her the title of Catholic Queen (*la Católica*). Fernando was also entitled Catholic King (*el Católico*). Furthermore, she tried eagerly to propagate Catholicism to the New World, which was discovered during her reign.

³⁵See: Lapidus, *op. cit.*, p.109.

any place will be one of the most representative phenomena which are derived from the doctrine. We sometimes see Muslims performing *salât* even in the waiting lounge of an airport. How can this behavior of Muslims be interpreted? If we discuss where to worship standing on the Christian point of view, mosque or *masjid* may come to the front. However, the meaning of *masjid* is basically different from that of Christian church. Then, what does *masjid* mean for Muslims? Although worship is performed there, *masjid* is not a sacred place clearly separated from the secular world. Rather than as the sacred place for worship, *masjid* should be interpreted as the place of communication among Muslims, where relativity, a typical characteristic of Islamic society, is enhanced.³⁶ After all, *salât* is performed not only inside but also outside of *masjid* according to the statement of the Prophet Muhammad: when the given time has come, believers will practise worship in any place, which will become their own *masjid*.³⁷ Among Muslims there is no clear notion of going to a sacred place in order to worship.

We have briefly observed two historical facts, i.e., Caliph system and the role of merchants, and one contemporary Muslim behavior about where to worship, all of which will certify the absence of a clear borderline between the sacred and the profane.

³⁶See: Ohno, *op. cit.*, pp.140-148.

³⁷Asgar Fathi, "The Social and Political Functions of the Mosque in the Muslim Community." *Islamic Culture*, Vol.LVIII (Hydrabad: The Islamic Culture Board, 1984), p.189.

What is evident is that this unique doctrine greatly contributes to the formation of the basic structure of society which enables the uncountable penetration of Islam into the detail of the believers' life. In the following sections we will examine the fundamental notion of Islam and how it continues to rule Muslim society.

2. The Triad of Islam: *Tawhîd*, '*Ummah*, and *Shari'ah*

Every thought is sustained by its own world view. Naturally, Islam is not an exception. Islam plants itself on the unique world view of *Tawhîd*. It is not an exaggeration to say that Islam can not be discussed without referring to *Tawhîd* because it defines how every being of this world ought to be, that is to say, ontological idea peculiar to Islam will be produced by this world view. Thus, if *Tawhîd* is neglected, any discussion of Islam will be like a mathematical calculation without numerical concept.

Starting from the fundamental thoroughness of *Tawhîd*, Islam aims at the realization and maintenance of the ideal community, '*Ummah*. Then, how should '*Ummah* be brought to fulfillment? Does anybody pursue the goal randomly with his own way? Islam actually regulates in detail how the believers should behave by a number of rules derived from the Islamic law, *Shari'ah*. The propriety of each behavior is judged in the light of Islamicity.

Thus, it is already clear that we must fix our eyes on the three principal factors of Islam, i.e., *Tawhîd*, '*Ummah* and *Shari'ah*. In this section, first of all, we will discuss the triad of Islam one by one;

however, what is definitely important is that they do not exist independently, but they work just like three magnetic poles in interrelated activity.³⁸ The magnetic force radiated from each pole penetrates into the other two, as a result of which a unique triadic structure of Islam takes shape.

a. *Tawhîd*: The Fundamental World View

"Say: He is God,
The One and Only;
God, the Eternal, Absolute;
He begetteth not,
Nor is He begotten;
And there is none
Like unto Him."³⁹

Tawhîd is, in short, a notion to regard every existence of this world as "one". The above extract from *Qur'ân* shows the spirit of "oneness" applied to God, Allah. However, the spirit of "oneness" is not directed only to God but also to almost every aspect of society.⁴⁰

In discussing the social application of *Tawhîd*, it will be important for us to understand how Islam regards the ontological

³⁸T. Kuroda, "Privacy in the Islamic World." *The Proceeding of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT)*, Oct. 22-28, 1989, Vol.1, pp.301-302.

³⁹*Qur'ân*, CXII. English translation quoted from: A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Quran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* by A. Yusuf Ali (Beirut: Dar al-Arabia, 1968), p.1806.

⁴⁰See: T. Kuroda, "Islam-Sekai no Shakai Hensei Genri." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Kyôdôtai-Ron no Chihei* (Tokyo: Sanshû-Sha, 1990), p.20.

formation of beings. One of the most convenient approaches to this will be referring to the atomistic view which was developed in the course of Islamic theology.⁴¹ According to this theory, any existence can not be divided infinitely, but an atom remains as the smallest unit. However, an atom or substance is considered to take always different accidents. In this process, a strong stress must be put on the concept that any substance is never combined with the same accident. Therefore, it is quite logical that among the combinations of substance and accident, there is no sameness at all. Then, the convergence of atoms produces matter; after that, the matter forms the individual. Thus, an infinite diversity appears among all the individuals of the world.

How does the spirit of "oneness" work on the infinitely diversified individuals? It is well known that in Islam Allah the Absolute is one and only. All the beings are considered creatures of Allah, who assigns each of them its own role to play in the world. Therefore, there is no difference of value among them all because they were born on the same condition as the creatures of the Absolute. Every being is measured as "one in value" even though they are unlimitedly different.

The "oneness in value" will explain logically the interpenetration of the sacred and the profane which was argued in the previous section. The value of the sacred is "one", at the same time

⁴¹The atomistic view referred to is the concept of "*jawhar fard*", which was put forward by the school of *Mu'tazilah*, and then adopted by the school of *'Ash'ariyah*.

the profane is also valued at "one". That is to say, the sacred is not higher in value than the profane, and vice versa. Let us assume that the sacred and the profane together organize an imaginary ground. If the difference in value produces rise and fall of its surface, in Islam the ground will be a completely horizontal one without any unevenness. Now, let water drop onto the sacred as well as onto the profane. The water dropped on either sphere never remains in certain places but it begins to spread all over the ground crossing the supposed borderline between the sacred and the profane, thanks to the horizontal surface without rise and fall.

The spirit of "oneness" which consequently refuses the existence of clear-cut borderlines also gives a great influence to the formation of human relationships unique to the Arab-Islamic World. Actually, the borderline among the individuals is vague and hard to be traced. A sharp contrast will be brought into relief if the Islamic notion is compared with that of modern mass-society.

The general concept of the individual in modern mass-society can be considered to be originated in an aspect of the Western world view that regards him as the supreme existence.⁴² The world view will be summarized: the individual submits himself to no one but himself. In order to achieve the supremacy of the individual, a clear separation, for example, of the private and

⁴²Regarding this aspect of the Western world view, see: Yoshiaki Sanada, "Kyôdôtai-Ron wo Meguru 'Hihan-teki Hôgaku-Kenkyû' no Mondai-Ten to Islam-teki Approach." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Kyôdôtai-Ron no Chihei* (Tokyo: Sanshû-Sha, 1990), pp.50-51.

the public was pursued using a number of traditional theories such as the dichotomous logic. That is to say, the important point was to distinguish "A" from "non-A".⁴³ As a consequence, in modern mass-society the in-between has become a not so significant factor in the human relationships.

On the other hand, the prototype of the Islamic concept of the individual is epitomized in the following extract from *Qur'ân*:

"They (the wives) are your garments
And ye are their garments."⁴⁴

This short phrase clearly defines how a married couple ought to behave. What is notable here is that a strong emphasis is put on the mutual support between husband and wife, comparing them to clothes for the protection of partner. The same spirit appears also in such human relationships as between parent and child, among family members, and in community life:

"Worship none but God;
Treat with kindness
Your parents and kindred,
And orphans and those in need."⁴⁵

The teaching explicitly shows the importance of relativity among the individuals. As already stated, in modern mass-society

⁴³*Ibid.*, p.52.

⁴⁴Extract from *Qur'ân*, II: 187. English translation quoted from: Ali, *op. cit.*, p.74.

⁴⁵Extract from *Qur'ân*, II: 83. English translation quoted from: *Ibid.*, p.39.

the stress was put on the supreme independence of the individual. On the contrary, the significance in the Islamic way of human relationships is found in the relational in-between, which in some sense is distanced from the modern world view.

We should not judge, however, that Islam makes light of the individual. It is worth repeating here that *Tawhîd* affirms the infinite diversity of the world; thus, it never regards all the beings as the same, nor aims at making them so. We must remember that the "oneness" is a measure of value. It is not a unit for counting the individuals. *Tawhîd* defines that any kind of human attribute is the same in value; thus, every individual is not higher nor lower than "one". Therefore, how can we say that Islam does not pay attention to the importance of the individual itself?

It is quite interesting that the spirit of *Tawhîd* can be appreciated visually in the Arabesque pattern of Islamic art. François Dagognet appeals to the importance of the surface as an efficient device for comprehending the inside.⁴⁶ According to Dagognet, there has been a tendency for the surface to be regarded just as a piece of wrapping paper for the inside; however, in reality, the surface plays a significant role of disclosing the secret of the inside.⁴⁷ Thus, it will be possible to read the hidden inside by observing the surface. Now, let us apply the logic of Dagognet to our discussion. The inside to be discovered is the spirit of *Tawhîd*,

⁴⁶See: François Dagognet, *Faces, Surfaces, Interfaces*, tr. by O. Kanamori, and K. Konno (Tokyo: Hôsei-Daigaku Shuppan-Kyoku, 1990).

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp.10-11.

which controls the inspiration of the artist who creates the surface: the Arabesque pattern.

If we observe the Arabesque pattern, we can find out that every component piece shows off its own unique size, shape, and location. It is extremely difficult to trace grid-like borderlines among diversified pieces. Furthermore, within the framework of the pattern, bigger pieces are not higher in value than smaller ones nor complicatedly shaped ones than simple ones. Every piece, which is valued same, plays its own role in appropriate place allocated by the artist. Therefore, simple interchange of piece is not possible. Needless to say, the function of the whole pattern will be reduced to nothing only with a lack of small component piece. This brief description of the surface, i.e., the Arabesque pattern, will be sufficient enough to summarize the secret of the inside: *Tawhîd* and its spirit of "oneness".

However, this is not the complete aspect of the spirit of "oneness". That is to say, *Tawhîd* aims at "oneness" or unity of the whole, too. Although this is a very important aspect of *Tawhîd*, it will be better to discuss it in the following section which is dedicated to '*Ummah* because the unity of the whole is closely related to the ideal form of community.

b. 'Ummah: The Ideal Community

The goal of Islam will be defined as the fulfillment of 'Ummah. For Muslims, 'Ummah is the ideal figure of their community; however, it is different in nature, for example, from Utopia which appeared in the course of the history of Western thought. 'Ummah is not an imaginary concept, but Muslims look for their ideal model of community in the 40 years of early Islam⁴⁸: from its start in Medina by the Prophet Muhammad until the end of the period of the four Orthodox Caliphs.⁴⁹

By appreciating a famous *Hadîth* (tradition) of the Prophet Muhammad we can make it clear how 'Ummah has been perceived by the believers:

"You will see the believers acting with mutual kindness, love, and compassion as if they were one human body. If any part of the body feels pain, the whole body will react with insomnia and fever."⁵⁰

Let us remember that in the discussion of *Tawhîd*, we have recognized that every individual of the world is endowed with its own attribute by Allah the Absolute; thus, the value of every

⁴⁸T. Kuroda, "Ijô wo Kaku: Spinoza no Seiji-Ron wo Baikai to shite Islam-Kyôdôtai no Honsei wo Kôsetsu suru." *Bulletin of the Institute of Middle Eastern Studies/IUJ*, Vol.3 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1988), p.226.

⁴⁹Islam started with *Hijrah* in 622 and the reign of the last Orthodox Caliph Ali ended in 661.

⁵⁰Translated from: Nisar Ahmad (ed.), *The Fundamental Teachings of "Qur'ân and Hadîth"*, Vol.1 (Tokyo: Islamic Center Japan, 1977), p.101. There are some other *Hadîths* which assert the same content. That is to say, it can be said that this idea is widely accepted among Muslims. See: *Sahîh Muslim*, Vol.3 (Tokyo: Saudi Arabia-Japan Society, 1989), pp.536-537.

creature is nothing but "one". Also it has been argued that the behavior of the diversified individuals displays a complicated relational pattern like that of Arabesque. From this point of view, the description of *'Ummah* in the *Hadîth* quoted above clearly represents the spirit of *Tawhîd*.

As long as a human body is employed as the metaphor of *'Ummah*, the members of the community should be compared to the internal organs, which are obliged to maintain the soundness of body. Some perform their duty as the heart or the lungs while others play the role of blood vessels. What is important in this metaphorical description of *'Ummah* is that even a small fault, for example, of a blood vessel will lead to the malfunction of entire body. That is to say, the heart, one of the most principal internal organs of the body, and a tiny blood vessel are the same in value in that both of them work for the sake of the same purpose: to maintain the soundness of the body. All the members of *'Ummah* must accomplish their own responsibility like internal organs do in the body. Furthermore, they are all placed under a strong relativity like the organs exist and work interrelatedly by means of the circulation of the blood. *'Ummah* will culminate in its harmonized function when maximum exhibition of the diversified attribute peculiar to each member is brought about to the fulfillment.

Although this section is for the discussion of *'Ummah*, the ideal Islamic Community, it is obvious that we must pay attention again to the world view of *Tawhîd*. Namely, the spirit of "oneness"

is applied not only to the individuals but also to the question of how the entire *'Ummah* ought to be. The spirit of "oneness" of *Tawhîd* requires the entire *'Ummah* to be a harmonized "one" like a sound human body. This interpretation of *Tawhîd* will be quite understandable if we focus upon the linguistic origin of the word: *Tawhîd* originally means "unification" and it derives from the verb *wahhada* which means "to unify". 'Alî Sharî'atî, who played an important role in the ideological aspect of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, argues the interpretation of *Tawhîd* as follows:

"But *Tawhîd* as a world view in the sense I intend in my theory means regarding the whole universe as a unity, instead of dividing it into this world and the hereafter, the natural and the supernatural, substance and meaning, spirit and body. It means regarding the whole of existence as a single form, a single living and conscious organism, possessing will, intelligence, feeling and purpose."⁵¹

As we have seen so far, fulfillment of *'Ummah* will be summarized as the social embodiment of the world view of *Tawhîd*. Every member of *'Ummah* accomplishes responsibility, sustained by the notion that they all are "one in value", in order to realize a unified universe in perfect harmony.

⁵¹Extract from the lecture given by 'Alî Sharî'atî entitled *Islâm Shinâsî*. 'Alî Sharî'atî, *On the Sociology of Islam*, tr. by H. Algar (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1979), p.82.

c. *Shari'ah*: Rules for the Fulfillment of 'Ummah

Shari'ah is generally understood as the Islamic law; however, it is not put in positive form like ordinary laws familiar to us. *Shari'ah* rises from four legal fountainheads which include *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*, the holy deeds of the Prophet Muhammad recorded in *Hadith*.⁵² Then, based on the supreme standard which can be read in the four sources, *Shari'ah* systematizes a framework of rules which regulates the believers' behavior not only in religious obligations like worship but also in social affairs such as politics, economy, morals, and ethics in order to make their life as Islamic as possible. In other words, the framework of rules provides in detail the fundamental guidelines for the thoroughness of the world view of *Tawhîd* as well as for the fulfillment of 'Ummah. What is worth emphasizing here is that the guidelines are penetrated into all Muslim society systematically, and not one by one independently.⁵³ We have to recognize that the dynamics of the penetration of *Shari'ah* is closely related to the network of Islamicity which will be discussed later in this chapter.

As already stated, the framework of rules structured by *Shari'ah* gives a great influence to the detail of the believers' life. Let us take a look at an example of how *Shari'ah* controls the social

⁵²The other two legal sources are: *Ijmâ'*, consensus among authorized intellectuals of the Islamic studies and *Qiyâs*, elaboration of rules on the analogy of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. For the detail of the four legal source, see: T. Kuroda (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp.173-175.

⁵³T. Kuroda, "Islam-Sekai no Shakai Hensei Genri." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Kyôdôtai-Ron no Chihei*, p.24.

behavior of Muslims. According to the research done by Besim Selim Hakim, who investigated the urban design of medieval Tunis, there was a series of minute guidelines which supervised the city life of the believers.⁵⁴ For instance, even the location of windows or doors was standardized with detail in the guideline of the construction of the house, so as to avoid, in this case, the overlooking.⁵⁵ What is interesting for our discussion is the background which put forward this kind of guidelines in the construction of the house. Hakim reports that the major purpose of the establishment of guidelines was to avoid the troubles which could take place among neighbors.⁵⁶ Thus, it will not be an exaggeration to say that even in these minute points we can appreciate the spirit of harmonized unity, which derives nothing but from the spirit of *Tawhîd*.

Another important aspect of *Shari'ah* is that it does not exist as a positive law for direct execution. In other words, the interpretations of *Shari'ah*, which is taken from *Qur'ân* or *Sunnah*, must be carried out according to the change of the social environment. Evidently, the social environment of the days of the Prophet Muhammad was different from that of our days. By the appropriate interpretation of *Shari'ah*, concrete ordinances for

⁵⁴See: Besim Selim Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities* (London: KPI Ltd., 1986).

⁵⁵See: *Ibid.*, pp.33-39.

⁵⁶See: *Ibid.*, pp.15-54.

practical use take shape.⁵⁷ In other words, if we use the theory of game, *Shari'ah* is defined as the primary rule, through the interpretation of which secondary rules emerge. Namely, *Shari'ah* is an organic framework of rules. It will be defined that *Shari'ah* is characterized by the structure which is maintained as well as developed by repeating the interpretation. Needless to say, it is the viewpoint of *Tawhîd* that is used for the interpretation; then, *Shari'ah*, as the framework of primary rules, keeps on infiltrating the spirit of *Tawhîd* systematically into society in order to promote the realization of the ideal community, '*Ummah*.

d. The Triadic Structure of Islam

We have briefly reviewed the three principal poles of Islam: *Tawhîd* the fundamental world view, '*Ummah* the ideal community, and *Shari'ah* the framework of the rules. It is already obvious that each pole does not activate itself independently as we have seen in the individual observations of the triad. The three poles find themselves in a unique triadic structure, in which the magnetic radiation from each pole makes possible the mutual penetration of the three.

The world view of *Tawhîd* defines how the ideal figure of '*Ummah* ought to be; then, *Shari'ah* is interpreted also by the same spirit of "oneness". If we describe the interrelationship of the three

⁵⁷See: Zaki Ahamed Yamani, "Islamic Law and Contemporary Issues." C. Malik, *God and Man in Contemporary Islamic Thought* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1972), pp.48-82.

poles using a vector of magnetic radiation, it will be traced first from *Tawhîd* to *Sharî'ah*, then the vector finally arrives at '*Ummah*. However, the direction of the vector of magnetic radiation can not be defined so simply.⁵⁸ That is to say, it is possible for example that the reality of '*Ummah* will give a specific tone to the interpretation of *Sharî'ah*; furthermore, it may bring about a new phase to the definition of *Tawhîd*. In this case, on the contrary to the former, the vector of magnetic radiation will start from '*Ummah* in order to penetrate into *Tawhîd* by way of *Sharî'ah*. In addition, as long as the Arab-Islamic World covers such a huge area, it is also possible that various environmental factors will affect the direction of the vector, as a result of which variations of the triadic structure may take shape in line with the regional peculiarity. Therefore, a simple generalization of the triadic structure is quite difficult to define. Nevertheless, what is definitely evident is that regardless of the direction of the vector to be traced, the triad of Islam: *Tawhîd*, '*Ummah*, and *Sharî'ah* are interrelated mutually by means of the magnetic power radiated from each pole.

Islam is naturally a religion; therefore, the believers are required to have religious faith. Nevertheless, what is significant in the analysis of Islam and its infiltration into society is to adjust our focus on the uniqueness that in addition to the religious faith, Islam provides the believers with specific notions of world view,

⁵⁸The discussion about the inter-relationship among *Tawhîd*, '*Ummah*, and *Sharî'ah* is based on: T. Kuroda, "On the Nature of the Arab-Muslim World." T. Kuroda, and R.I. Lawless (eds.), *Nature of the Islamic Community*, pp.9-15.

community, and law simultaneously. Then, it is nothing but this triadic structure of *Tawhîd*, '*Ummah* and *Sharî'ah* that creates the network of Islamicity which gives birth to a chain of social phenomena peculiar to the Arab-Islamic World.

3. Power of the Network of Islamicity

We have analyzed the reason why Islam penetrates into Arab-Islamic society so deeply. Also we have examined the fundamental notion of Islam. Then, it is necessary for us to discuss how those phenomena peculiar to the Arab-Islamic World take place. In addressing this question, we must focus upon the network of Islamicity which arises from the triadic structure of *Tawhîd*, '*Ummah*, and *Sharî'ah*.⁵⁹

It has been argued already that in the triadic structure the vector of magnetic radiation changes its direction according to the social environment. Now, for an easier understanding of the network of Islamicity, let us pick out one representative example of the structure, in which the magnetic vector is traced from *Tawhîd* to '*Ummah* by way of *Sharî'ah*. In this case, *Sharî'ah*, strongly magnetized by *Tawhîd*, plays a decisive role in defining the ideal figure of '*Ummah*. We must remember again the fact that *Sharî'ah* provides the believers with a number of detailed standards of daily

⁵⁹Naoyuki Kaneko analyzes the network of Islamicity by using *Al-Harâm* written by Yusuf Idris. See: Naoyuki Kaneko, *The Network of Islamicity: Ideals, Norms, and Human Community in Muslim Society*, IMES Working Papers Series No.20 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1990).

life. In other words, *Sharī'ah* will convert itself into an invisible power which will regulate the life of the believers in the light of the question of how 'Ummah ought to be, i.e., social embodiment of *Tawhīd*.

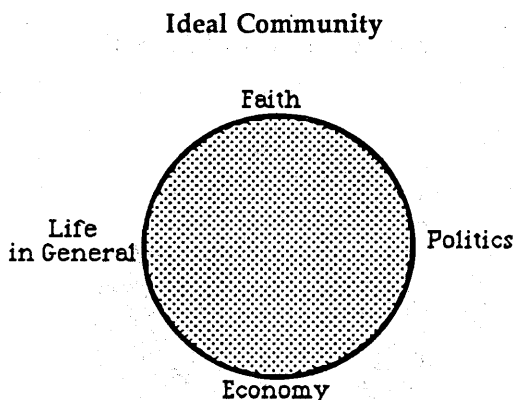
It is worth emphasizing here that power is not always accompanied by physical threat. Power can be structured even without entity. We can find out some concrete examples of power without entity in the discussion of Michel Foucault, who introduces the systemized structure of authority which was developed in the course of the history of Western society.⁶⁰ From many examples, *Panopticon* will be chosen as one of the most symbolic cases which show the enforcement of power without entity.⁶¹ *Panopticon* is a plan of prison which places a cabin of a warder in the center of the circle made by the arrangement of solitary cells for prisoners. The warder can watch all the prisoners; however, they can not see him at all. By this specific design, the prisoners are always exposed to an invisible power of the eyes of the warder. Furthermore, the prisoners are trapped in an illusion that they are always watched even without the presence of the warder; thus, the behavior of all the prisoners will be controlled systematically by the power without entity: the eyes of the warder. That is to say, the power of the eyes is put in force from the cabin of the warder to all the cells in order to impose the standard of how a prisoner ought to behave. From this

⁶⁰See: Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison*, tr. by H. Tamura (Tokyo: Shinchō-Sha, 1977).

⁶¹Regarding the detailed function of *Panopticon*, see: *Ibid.*, pp.198-228.

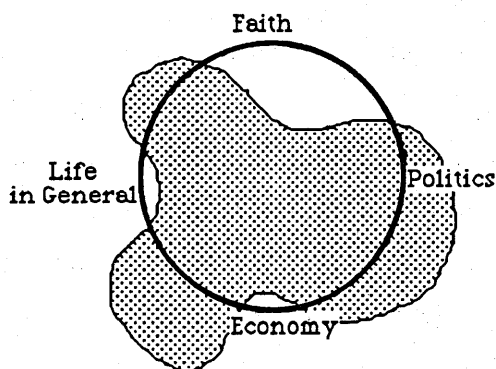
point of view, it will be evident that there is a common characteristic between *Panopticon* and the power of *Shari'ah* in the network of Islamicity.

Let us make some illustrations so that we can grasp the power of *Shari'ah* visually. First of all, we draw a complete circle which is compared to the ideal figure of *'Ummah*. Then, a chain of social behaviors of Muslims are continuously located on the circle. In this explanation, however, just for our convenience we will roughly pick up four major factors of society: faith, politics, economy, and life in general.

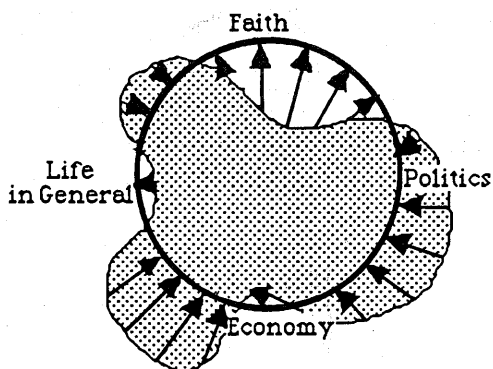


The complete circle of *'Ummah* begins to deform itself by the passage of time as well as by the environmental change. In other words, the reality of the community is already different from the ideal situation of early Islam.

Distortion of Community



Correcting Power of *Shari'ah*



However, at the same time, a kind of correcting power is enforced systematically on every part of the deforming circle in

order to avoid the further distortion of the community.⁶² The enforcement of this systematic power is nothing but the role of *Shari'ah* in the network of Islamicity.

So far the systematic enforcement of the invisible power of *Shari'ah* has been examined. However, this is just a half of the total function of the network of Islamicity. The other half is the power of relativity which promotes the ramification of various behaviors just like branches and leaves grow from a trunk.

Let us take a look at the case of *salât* (worship), which is one of the most important behaviors for Muslims. What kind of branches or leaves will be ramified from the trunk of *salât*? It is well known that *salât* is performed every day exactly at the given time in the direction of Mecca.⁶³ In order to accomplish this responsibility, precise knowledge about time and direction is required; therefore, the fundamental basis for the study of astronomy or geography will be provided. Furthermore, the believers are obliged to purify themselves in performing *salât*. That is to say, other branch of hygienic knowledge will grow from the trunk, as a result of which the development of medical science will be promoted. As a matter of course, the spiritual pursuit of *salât* will intensify the proliferation of theological knowledge.

⁶²This is, as a matter of course, not to return blindly to the ideal figure of the early Islamic Community of the 7th century. We must remember that the interpretation of *Shari'ah* is carried out in line with the change of social environment.

⁶³Mulana Muhammad 'Ali, *The Religion of Islam* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1940), p.387.

In the course of history, Muslims played a significant role in introducing the intellectual heritage, for example, of ancient Greece to Europe. However, Muslims were not merely the messengers as Sigrid Hunke points out.⁶⁴ The Greek heritage was passed to the other side of the Mediterranean Sea after having been amplified by Muslims. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the intellectual amplification of the heritage was possible thanks to the power of relativity which brought about the development of science and technology in the chain of the relational ramification of behavior, as we have exemplified in the case of *salât*.

Naturally this function of the network of Islamicity is not directed only to the intellectual development. Let us put *salât* in the limelight again. *Salât* is basically an individual behavior. Nevertheless, as long as the desirable form of *salât* is practicing it in group,⁶⁵ *salât* puts emphasis on the horizontal relativity among believers through communication or harmony, in addition to the vertical connection between God and a believer. The culmination of *salât* in group is the famous Friday Prayer performed in *masjid*. By this collective performance of *salât* in *masjid*, the power of horizontal relativity among believers is strongly intensified, as a result of which various behaviors peculiar to Muslims spring from the trunk of *salât* one after another like rings of a chain.⁶⁶

⁶⁴See: Sigrid Hunke, *Allahs Sonne über dem Abendland; unser arabisches Erbe*, tr. by T. Takao (Tokyo: Misuzu-Shobô, 1982).

⁶⁵Abdul Aziz Kamal, *Everyday Fiqh*, Vol.I (Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1978), pp.243-248.

⁶⁶Ohno, *op. cit.*, pp.120-124.

As we have examined in this section, the network of Islamicity influences Muslims with the two principal powers: the power of *Shari'ah* which systematically corrects the distortion of society in the light of the thoroughness of *Tawhîd* for the realization of the ideal figure of '*Ummah* and the power of relativity which promotes the ramification of social behavior. It will be possible to define that the two powers of the network of Islamicity are just like the two sides of the same coin. Namely, the power of relativity brings about a chain of social behaviors peculiar to the Arab-Islamic World, all of which are always placed under close observation of *Shari'ah*.

D. The Double Structure of "Relativity" and "Insulation"

In this chapter, we have examined the cultural background of the Arab-Islamic World as the indispensable first step of the analysis of our subject: the courtyard house. First of all, the pre-Islamic society was examined by appreciating *Jâhiliyah* poetry, which directly illustrates the reality. By doing so, a strong spirit of tribal solidarity was brought into relief as one of the most important characteristics of society. The traditional spirit of solidarity continued to exist even after the advent of Islam; furthermore, it was later praised by Ibn Khaldûn as the most important factor for

the development of society.⁶⁷ In line with the solidarity, strong self-assertion and spirit of rejecting external authority also emerged. In other words, the severity of the desert brought about the mind of "insulation", which would try to protect proudly the self and the intimates against any kind of threat coming from the outside.

On the other hand, Islam changed the notion of the individual, who had been neglected in some sense by the supremacy of the tribalism in *Jāhiliyah* society. Islam also tried to abolish the traditional tribalism, in stead of which an innovative notion of 'Ummah was introduced. In the framework of 'Ummah, the network of Islamicity has been promoting a ramification of unique human relationships and social behaviors. The network of Islamicity still influences the behavior of Muslims even after the introduction of the Western value system.

If we review the discussion in this chapter, "relativity" will be picked out as the most suitable expression for summarizing the characteristic of Islam. Truly, some of the recent studies emphasize the importance of "relativity" in approaching the essence of the Arab-Islamic affairs.⁶⁸ Then, how shall we deal with "insulation", which is the reflection of long lasting pre-Islamic tradition?

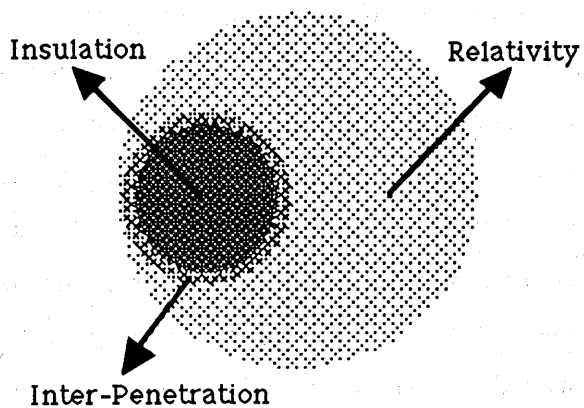
⁶⁷See: Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.* This is the nucleus of Ibn Khaldūn's concept throughout *Al-Muqaddimah*. See also Footnote No.26 of this chapter.

⁶⁸Recent Working Paper Series of IMES/IUJ deal with "relativity" as a significant key concept for the understanding of the nature of the Arab-Islamic World. See for example: Ohno, *op. cit.*, Kaneko, *op. cit.*, or Mitsuhiro Kodama, *Individuals and Community in Midaq Alley: Societal Dynamics in the World of Naguib Mahfouz*, IMES Working Papers Series No.25 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1991).

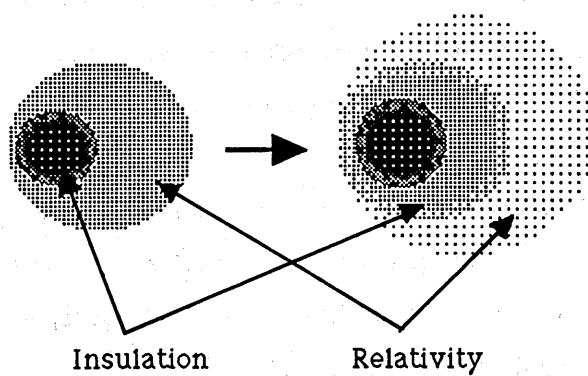
"Relativity" and "insulation" are mutually confronting factors in nature. However, various aspects of the Arab-Islamic World seem to display the harmonized coexistence of the two factors. In other words, a unique double structure will be organized by "relativity" and "insulation". In this double structure, "relativity" envelops "insulation" as the basic schema.

It is possible to employ this structure as a fundamental guideline for analyzing the phenomena peculiar to the Arab-Islamic World. It can be considered that even the world view of *Tawhîd*, which radiates a strong magnetic power of "relativity", implies a notion of "insulation", too. *Tawhîd* gives the same value to every being of the world; that is to say, *Tawhîd* guarantees the existence of every being regardless of its attribute. Thus, it will be possible to interpret that every being is firmly protected by a kind of barrier named respect of the individual as "one in value". However, this is not to say that there is a clear-cut borderline between the individual and the surroundings. Although the individual is respectfully "insulated", the magnetism of "relativity" penetrates into the sphere of "insulation". Then, since "insulation" in turn is strongly magnetized, double structure is characterized by the interpenetration of the two factors. There is not a digital separation at all between "relativity" and "insulation".

Double Structure of "Relativity" and "Insulation"



Development of Double Structure



In addition to the basic schema, we must pay attention to the organic development of the structure. In line with the scale of the phenomenon to be analyzed, the basic schema develops itself into unfolded forms, in which "relativity" and "insulation" organize together a complicated multi-layer. In the first step, namely in the basic schema, "insulation" is simply enveloped by "relativity". Nevertheless, as the structure unfolds from the smaller scale to the bigger one, "relativity" in the first step is absorbed into the expanding framework of "insulation" which, in turn, will be enveloped by another greater framework of "relativity".

For example, the first step of the structure will be applied to the analysis of family as a social phenomenon. The schema explains: "insulation of the individual" enveloped by "relativity among family members". The next step of the structure, then, will show the schema of neighborhood. In this step, "relativity among family members" changes into "insulation of family". At the same time another framework of "relativity among neighbors" emerges around "insulation of family". Like this, further analysis of quarter or city will be carried out by unfolding double structure of "relativity" and "insulation".

If we borrow again the idea of Dagognet, the double structure will be defined as the inside of the Arab-Islamic World. However, our subject in this study is the analysis of the courtyard house, a tiny part of the surface embodied as the city space. Why, then, have we examined the inside in the first stage? The answer to this question

is quite simple. That is to say, although Dagognet puts a specific emphasis on the importance of the surface, he does not make light of the inside at all. For example, he defines the purpose of anatomy as the elaboration of grammar for grasping the factor which embodies the invisible inside on the visible surface.⁶⁹ Our objective in this chapter also has been to establish a logical guideline for the analysis of the surface of the Arab-Islamic World.

Naturally, our guideline: double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" is not alone in determining the formation of the Arab-Islamic city in which the courtyard house is found. A huge area is covered by the simple term, the Arab-Islamic World; thus, evidently various factors such as geographical or climatic conditions will affect urban planning. Nevertheless, as long as a strong penetration of traditional factors, i.e., Islam and the Arab characteristics, into the mind of people is observed even today at various levels of society, it will not be off the point that we should apply the schema obtainable from the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" to the study of space-handling peculiar to the Arab-Islamic World.

⁶⁹Dagognet, *op. cit.*, p.76.

CHAPTER II

Anatomizing the Arab-Islamic City

A. Fundamental Characteristics of the Arab-Islamic City

Through the analysis of the nature of the Arab Islamic World in Chapter I, we have equipped ourselves with a guideline for approaching the understanding of various phenomena which take place there. That is the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation". By making use of this guideline we will discuss first of all the city, in the deep inside of which our main subject, i.e., the courtyard is hidden inside the arrangement of domestic buildings. However, it will be essential for us briefly to review the characteristic of the Arab-Islamic World before starting the anatomy of the urban space itself. We must recognize what kind of role the city has played in the Arab-Islamic World.

1. The World of Borderless Movement

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Arab-Islamic World is the borderless movement of people, things, thoughts, and so forth. The Arab-Islamic World is not a static world. Almost every aspect of this world shows its specific dynamics not only on the visible surface but also in the invisible inside. In this first section we will examine the borderless movement from various points of view.

Looking back in history, already in ancient times the nomads of the desert made the foundation of the famous caravan route. Let us now review how the caravan network emerged in the core of the Arab-Islamic World. Geographically speaking, it is well known that the barren desert expands all over the Arabian Peninsula except in the southwestern part, i.e., *Arabia Felix* and sporadically scattered oases. However, in the periphery of the Peninsula there were some areas which were able to export the surplus of their products after feeding their people sufficiently.¹ Therefore, there emerged a need to establish a trade network in order to make it possible to interchange the surplus among various places.

The desert may remind us of a huge physical barrier. Nevertheless, a different point of view persuades us that the desert makes it possible to connect different places, too.² The desert is open to every direction just like the ocean. It will be defined that

¹Michael Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, tr. by M. Aoyagi (Tokyo: Shinchō-sha, 1978), p.27.

²*Ibid.*

for the merchants, for example, of Mecca where the Prophet Muhammad was born, the desert of Arabia can be compared to the oceans for the merchants of Venice.³ Furthermore, the merchants of Arabia possessed highly efficient ships of desert, namely the camels. As time went by, the Arabian trade activity became the terrestrial kernel of the greater network which connected India in the east, Africa in the west, and Babylonia in the north.

Along with the development of the trade network, not only merchandise but also a number of things began to be brought from one place to another. Under this circumstance Islam saw the light in the Arabian Peninsula of the 7th century. Already in the next century the Islamic Community expanded dramatically until it stretched from Central Asia to the Atlantic Coast. In other words, the above mentioned trade network system became absorbed in the framework of the Islamic Community. By the Islamization of society the borderless movement was enhanced rapidly. As we have examined in Chapter I, the relational network of Islamicity amplified certain knowledge or technologies, which passed across the huge territory of the Islamic Community in order to be transferred to the other worlds. A representative example of this phenomenon is of course the case of the Greek intellectual heritage which was introduced to the heartland of Europe by way of the Arab-Islamic World.

³W. Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe*, tr. by W. Miki (Tokyo: Chikuma-Shobô), p.32.

Naturally, there are many other examples which certify the borderless movement as the characteristic of the Arab-Islamic World. Let us examine for example the transmission of paper making technology. Paper making was invented originally in China. It was in the middle of the 8th century that this innovative technology was introduced to the Islamic Community which already had expanded until it faced the western edge of Chinese Empire. The account of the introduction of paper making is as follows. A Chinese craftsman captured by the Arabs showed his paper making in order to get liberty.⁴ After this introduction, paper began to intensify its importance in various fields of society as it was less expensive in manufacturing than papyrus, which had been used until then. Thus, already around 800, a paper factory was constructed in Baghdad.⁵ The paper making technology was transferred to Syria, from where it arrived at Spain where the Arab-Islamic World and the Christian World faced each other. It is also reported that in Sicily, too, paper began to be used far earlier than in the European mainland.⁶ It was not before the 12th century that paper was brought back to France by the pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela which is located at the northwestern edge of the Iberian

⁴*Ibid.*, p.46.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶According to Watt, it is recorded that paper was used in Sicily already in 1090. See: *Ibid.* It should be emphasized that in addition to Spain, Sicily especially under the reign of Freidrich II also played an important role as the entrance of advanced Muslim culture to Europe. For the detail of the role played by Sicily, see: Hunke, *op. cit.*

Peninsula.⁷ However, still they had to wait until the 14th century to find the first paper factory in Germany or in Italy.⁸ It will be supposed that within the framework of Europe there were some obstacles which refused the quick transmission of the paper making technology. On the other hand, it is nothing but the manifestation of the borderless movement that within the Arab-Islamic World this specific technology was transferred from the eastern edge to the western edge with an incredible speed in a time without a modern communication system.

A simple question may arise here. What is the Islamic element which enhanced such borderless movement? In addressing this question, we have to refer among others to *hajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca and one of the five pillars of Islam.⁹ Muslims are required to realize the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their life time.¹⁰ Therefore, every year a great number of Muslims head for Mecca from all over the vast Islamic Community. What is significant in our discussion is that *hajj* enhances not only the movement of people but also the exchange of information or regional cultures which are brought by the pilgrims. It will be easy to imagine that the encounter of people, information, or culture

⁷Watt, *op. cit.*, p.46. The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela functioned as the network which connected Christian Spain and European mainland. Paper is just one of many examples which were brought to the other side of the Pyrenees.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹In *'Ibādāt*, which is a set of religious acts, Islam lays down five principal cults. They are: *Shahādah* (creed), *Salāt* (worship), *Sawm* (fast), and *Zakāt* (almsgiving) in addition to *Hajj*. See: T. Kuroda (ed.), *Islam Jiten*, pp.66-86.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p.84.

will produce a ramification of relational behaviors according to the network of Islamicity. Also we have to recognize that *tawâf*, a rite in Mecca in which the pilgrims all together make seven rounds around *Ka'ba* without any distinction between the rich and the poor and regardless of social status,¹¹ symbolically demonstrates the characteristic of the borderless movement.

With the Islamization of society one more important factor appeared for the enhancement of the borderless movement. That is the Arabic language as lingua franca through *Qur'ân* in the huge Islamic Community. The importance of the Arabic language as lingua franca would be beyond calculation in terms of the means of communication among various peoples with different cultures and native languages. The significant role played by the Arabic language as a communication tool is clearly appreciated in the travelogue of Ibn Battûtah, who left Tanger in Morocco in order to arrive finally at China after travelling deep inside Central Asia, India, and Southeast Asia.¹² Among many anecdotes in the travel, the conversation between Ibn Battûtah and the queen of an Asian country especially attracts our attention.¹³ The queen, who spoke in Turkish language according to Ibn Battûtah, wrote down the famous phrase from *Qur'ân*: "In the name of Allah, the All-compassionate, the All-merciful", and asked him its meaning. We

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp.86-87.

¹²See: Ibn Battûtah, *Tuhfatu'n-Nuzzâr fî Ghârâ'ibi'l Amsâr wa 'Ajâ 'ibi'l Asfâr*, tr. by S. Maejima (Tokyo: Kawade-Shobô Shinsha, 1977).

¹³*Ibid.*, pp.278-279.

can not imagine why she did so from the context of the travelogue. Furthermore, it seems that she was not a Muslim. However, what is important in our discussion is the fact that the non-Muslim queen wrote down the *Qur'anic* phrase. That is to say, this small episode in the travelogue may explain that Arabic expanded even outside the Islamic Community. If we take this point of view, we can easily suppose how Arabic as *lingua franca* helped Ibn Battûtah in travelling inside the Islamic Community.

Next, our focal point should be concentrated on the consciousness of borderlessness. Talking about the borderlines, we usually remember such clear-cut lines as those traced on the map with a purpose of distinguishing one state from another. It is true that in the course of the Arab-Islamic history, a number of dynasties rose and declined. It is also true that they fought each other for the expansion or the defense of their sphere of influence. However, clear-cut borderlines like those of modern states did not exist among dynasties.

In Arabic, a dynasty is generally expressed as *dawlah*, which comes from the verb, *dâla*. We must pay attention to the original meaning of this verb. That is to say, *dâla* means "to change periodically". From this linguistic point of view, in the Arab-Islamic consciousness, *dawlah* or dynasty can not be an absolute unit of encirclement like modern state. There has always been a consciousness of the Islamic Community, '*Ummah* on the higher

level.¹⁴ Therefore, even if neighboring dynasties had a hostile relationship, people were able to move around crossing unclear borderlines between the two with a passport of being Muslim. This peculiarity of the Arab-Islamic World will be verified if we remember the fact that there has been no interruption of *hajj* or the great travel of Ibn Battûtah who moved around all over the huge Islamic Community.

The consciousness of '*Ummah*' is not just a notion of the Middle Ages. Even after the Westernization of society, the Arab-Islamic people have tended to regard '*Ummah*' as the greater framework which stands above the state system. We can appreciate the consciousness of '*Ummah*', for example, in the double structure of Arab Nationalism. On the one hand, there is *Watanîyah* movement to be developed state by state; on the other hand, *Qawmîyah* movement aims at the fulfillment of nationalism with a consciousness of greater framework containing several states.¹⁵

As we have examined some representative examples of the topic, we are convinced that the borderless movement clearly indicates the characteristic of the Arab-Islamic World. If we borrow the expression of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in their discussion of *Nomadology*, the Arab-Islamic World will be one of the most suitable examples to be defined as *espace lisse* (smooth

¹⁴T. Kuroda, "Islam Keizai-Ron no Kôsei." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Islam Keizai* (Tokyo: Sanshû-Sha, 1988), p.17.

¹⁵T. Kuroda, "Saisei no Kôzô." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Chiiki-Kenkyû no Hôhō to Chûtô-Gaku* (Tokyo: Sanshû-Sha, 1987), p.91.

space), the nature of which is completely different from that of *espace strié* (striated space).¹⁶ Deleuze and Guattari explain the essential difference of the two spaces by using the difference of strategy between *Go* and chess. In *espace strié*, everything shows a institutionalized, regulated, and coded movement like chess pieces.¹⁷ Therefore, what is important in *espace strié* is how to arrange each piece strictly in appropriate place. On the other hand, *Go* pieces of *espace lisse* show a perpetual movement without aim or destination, without departure or arrival. How can we deny the similarity between *Go* pieces of *espace lisse* and the borderless movement of people, things, thoughts, and so forth in the Arab-Islamic World?

2. The City in *Espace Lisse*

In the previous section we have defined that the characteristic of the Arab-Islamic World can be compared to *espace lisse* of Deleuze and Guattari. We, then, have to examine what kind of role the city has played in *espace lisse* of the Arab-Islamic World. In so doing, one of the most important points will be to understand how the fundamental human behavior of "living" has been perceived. For this purpose, we will see first of all the origin of the Arabic term which means "to live".

¹⁶See: Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Traité de Nomadologie: La Machine de Guerre*, tr. by B. Massumi (New York: Semiotext (e), 1986).

¹⁷In "Axiom 1: The war machine is exterior to the State apparatus", Deleuze and Guattari use this idea. See: *Ibid.*, pp.1-10.

In Arabic, *sakana* is the verb used for indicating "to live". *Sakana* has other meanings than "to live" such as to be still, tranquil, or peaceful. Our attention should be paid to the action in which all the meanings are originated, that is, "to take a rest". Then, where and when should a rest be taken? The opposite but related pole of *sakana* is *rahala*, which means to leave, to set out, or to move away. From *rahala* such nouns as *rahl* (camel saddle), *rihla* (journey or travel), or *ruhla* (destination) are derived. Thus, it can be said that one takes a rest during the action of *rahala*. That is to say, one begins "to live" in order to take a rest in the middle of journey; then after taking a rest one will resume itinerary. That is why Bedouins are mentioned in the history of the Arabs as *ruhhal* (plural form of *rahhalah* and naturally derived from *rahala*).¹⁸

As long as we are now examining the meaning of "living", the linguistic origin of "house" in Arabic also should be analyzed. Interestingly, if we pick out some Arabic terms used for indicating "house", the above definition of "living" becomes much clearer. Let us focus among others on *manzil* from the verb *nazala* and on *maskan* from the above mentioned *sakana*. *Nazala* means to descend or to go down. From where does one step down? One does so from the saddle of camel. In other words, *manzil* is the place where one steps down from the camel in the middle of journey so

¹⁸For example, the use of *ruhhal* for indicating Bedouins is found in: Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al-Islâm*, 11th ed. (Beirut: Dar-l-Kitâb al-Arabî, 1975), p.4.

as to take a rest, i.e., *sukûn*. *Sukûn* is also derived from *sakana*. Then, the resting place is called *maskan*.

Naturally, *manzil* and *maskan* are not the only words which denote "house". *Dâr* and *bait* also imply the same meaning of "house".¹⁹ It is true that the original meaning is different among them all; however, there is a decisive commonness. These Arabic words do not show a clear concept that "house" is a place for permanent stay. As already examined above, "to live" is considered to be originated in the action for taking a rest in various points of the itinerary of long journey. The veracity of this interpretation will be enhanced if we appreciate the result of the survey for family lineage in Aleppo. There are very few families which can trace back their stay in Aleppo more than 200 years.²⁰

If we understand the concept that "to live" does not necessarily mean a permanent stay in one place, the argument of Ibn Khaldûn about the city persuades us reasonably.²¹ Ibn Khaldûn states that the emergence of the city is always accompanied with the rise of a dynasty; therefore, the city is a product of dynasty. The city sometimes casts in its lot with a dynasty. If the lifetime of the dynasty is short, the city will stop its function when the dynasty

¹⁹*Dâr* is derived from the verb, *dâra* which indicates: to rotate, to move in a circle, or to revolve, giving the meaning that one sets out for a while to return back to the same place.

Bait is derived from *bâta* or *bayata*, which means to pass or spend the night. One interrupts journey or movement when the darkness of night comes.

²⁰T. Kuroda, "On the Nature of Community in the Arab-Muslim World." T. Kuroda, and R. I. Lawless (eds.), *Nature of the Islamic Community*, p.32.

²¹For the concept of city of Ibn Khaldûn discussed in this paragraph, see: Ibn Khaldûn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, Vol.II, pp.233-307.

declines. On the other hand, if the dynasty survives long, the city develops until it forms a huge urban agglomerate like Baghdad during the zenith of the Abbasid Dynasty. Regarding one of the most important factors for the survival of the city, Ibn Khaldûn puts stress on the constant supply of population from the periphery like mountains, plains, or deserts to the urban area. In other words, if it were not for the constant flow of population, with the decline of the dynasty the city is destined to fall into ruin after decreasing its population.

In this argument of Ibn Khaldûn regarding the city, we should pay attention to the inflow of population from the periphery. At the same time, the reverse direction of flow should be considered, too. That is to say, the outflow of population from the city would occur simultaneously. If we analyze the city standing on the viewpoint of the circulating flow of population, and if the result of the survey of family lineage in Aleppo is taken into consideration, we will be able to define that the city is not necessarily a terminal point in the Arab-Islamic World.

It is true that the city in the Arab-Islamic World has played the role of an important relay point in the trade network system. Furthermore, it will be perceived that the city finds itself in a social circulation brought about by the borderless movement of *espace lisse*. The city stands as a pole in this social circulation, on the opposite side of which there is another pole: the village. The latter supplies population to the former while from the former

population returns to the latter. It will be nothing but the nomadic characteristic of people or "nomadism" that enables the movement of population. In other words, the social circulation of the Arab-Islamic World is composed of three different factors: the city, the countryside or the desert, and the "nomadism" which makes possible the mutual penetration of the former two.²²

From the above discussion it will be concluded that in addressing the analysis of the Arab-Islamic city, we must take into account that the city is one of the three poles in the social circulation and not a terminal point. In addition to this, if we remember again that the city has been an important relay point in the trade network system, it will be supposed that the city should be equipped with a kind of "device for passage". *Souq*, which is the traditional market place of the Arab-Islamic city, will be one of the most representative examples of the "device for passage". The merchants arrive at *souq* and after finishing their business they head for the next destination.

Naturally, the city is not a space only for "passage". There are residents even though their stay in the city may not be permanent. Therefore, in the urban space we will be able to find such "device for stay" in addition to the "device for passage". Then, what is significant for our further discussion is to examine how these two different devices relate to each other in the framework of the city. Also we have to observe carefully how the double structure of

²²See: T. Kuroda, *op. cit.*, pp.30-33.

"relativity" and "insulation" is applied to the structure of urban space. For this purpose we will pick up and anatomize in the next section a concrete example: the city of Aleppo.

B. Spatial Structure of the Arab-Islamic City

1. *Madīnah* of Aleppo

As already introduced at the end of the previous section, we will examine here the two different devices which will be found in the Arab-Islamic city: one for "passage" and the other for "stay". How do they relate to each other and what kind of urban space is structured by the combination of the two? In order to examine this issue we will step into the central part of old Aleppo called *madīnah*.

Aleppo, the second largest city in Syria, is evaluated as one of the best examples which preserve the traditional atmosphere of the Arab-Islamic city like Fez in Morocco. In Arabic, Aleppo is called *Halab*, which means milk. The origin of this name is derived from the legend that Abraham who lived there was feeding sheep in order to give milk to the poor, the hungry, or the travellers.²³ The great traveller Ibn Battûtah praises *Halab* as the most suitable city for the capital of the Caliph.²⁴

²³See the travelogue of Ibn Battûtah. Ibn Battûtah, *op. cit.*, pp.35-36.

²⁴*Ibid.*

Aleppo is not a Muslim city in origin. Its history can be traced back until around BC 5000, when ancient people began to dwell in this place. Then, it was around BC 2000 that the city began to appear in historical documents. In BC 64 Aleppo was absorbed in the framework of the Roman Empire. After seven centuries, Muslims entered the city in AD 636. Islamic Aleppo experienced two critical moments in terms of its survival. One of them was the arrival of the crusaders from Europe in the beginning of the 12th century; the other was the Mongol destruction in 1260. The latter especially left great damage to the city of Aleppo; thus, almost all the old buildings which remain even now were constructed after the Mongol attack.²⁵ After that calamity, Aleppo was ruled by the Mamluk Empire, then by the Ottoman Empire. Aleppo is famous for having one of the biggest *souqs* in the Arab-Islamic World. Like other Arab-Islamic cities Aleppo has played an important role as a relay point in the trade network system.

Now, let us concentrate our focal point on *madīnah* located to the west of the citadel, which expands with the gigantic *souq* complex in the center. This is where our observation will be carried out. In doing so, we will ask Roberto Berardi, an Italian architect, to lend us his specific approach to the spatial structure of the

²⁵Hidemitsu Kuroki, "Aleppo no *Souq*: Kinô to Kôzô: 18/19 Seiki wo Chûshin ni." *Islam-Ken ni okeru Ibunka Sesshoku no Mechanism: Ichi no Hikaku-Kenkyû* (Tokyo: Asia-Africa Gengo Bunka Kenkyûsho, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1989), p.64.

Arab-Islamic city.²⁶ Berardi, who analyzed *madīnah* of Tunis in detail, states that he discovered a rigorous order which develops the urban space organically.²⁷ The architect defines that the order is based on the combination of simple elements and that the combination is formed sometimes by a parallel arrangement of elements, other times by another arrangement in which the elements take a shape of lace.²⁸ The simple elements referred to by Berardi will be interpreted as the individual buildings which are found in the urban space. Therefore, in the case of *souq*, simple elements are the countless number of small shops. According to a specific rule, not only each segment but also the total complex of *souq* are structured by the arrangement of these small shops. The residential area of the city, which reminds us of the typical image of the Arab-Islamic city with its labyrinthine street network, is also organized by the arrangement of simple elements, i.e., the individual houses. Berardi asserts that the rigorous order, which is based on the combination of simple elements, seems not to have been produced by chance.²⁹ In other words, the order in discussion helps the residents in strictly maintaining their life style, method of social organization, contact with the external world, and their internal rule. As long as we take this point of view proposed by

²⁶Roberto Berardi, "Espace et Ville en Pays d'Islam." D. Chevallier (ed.), *L'Espace Social de la Ville Arabe* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1979), pp.99-123.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p.99.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*, p.100.

Berardi, it is natural that we should deny here the old stereotype of the Arab-Islamic city: disorder or chaos.³⁰

Berardi suggests that the rigorous order found out in *madīnah* of Tunis will be applied to the analysis of the spatial structure of other Arab-Islamic cities like Fez, Damascus, or Cairo to say nothing of Aleppo. Mecca and Medina also can be analyzed by making use of this order. Furthermore, it will be used for anatomizing those cities in Central Asia like Bukhara, Samarkand, or Tashkent.³¹ Evidently, this is not to say that all the Arab-Islamic cities have completely the same spatial structure. Let us choose Fez and Samarkand. There are a number of conditional differences between the two cities, e.g., geography, climate, indigenous culture, and so on. How can the two cities be finished with a same style? The point of the assertion of Berardi is that among those cities a commonness can be found in the fundamental order, which will organize the urban space according to the environmental condition. Thus, the cities will be defined as the variation of finished products derived from the same fundamental order.

It is already high time that we should go through the gate to *madīnah* of Aleppo. Before doing so, let us grasp roughly the outlook of *madīnah*. *Madīnah* expands around the axis of the main

³⁰Recently, it has been proved that in the Arab-Islamic World, the city was designed according to the rules which were regulated by the interpretation of *Shari'ah*. Such research is the analysis of *madīnah* of Tunis carried out by Hakim. See: Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities*.

³¹Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.100.

street which connects Bâb Antakieh (Antioch Gate)³² in the west and the citadel in the east passing through the gigantic complex of *souq*. If we take a look at the map, we will notice that from the axis some streets are ramified to the north as well as to the south making a grid-like structure. The grid-like network of the streets is said to be the remains of Hellenistic urban design.³³ This explanation may convince us reasonably; however, although the detail will be discussed later in this section, the fact that the grid-like space was left as it had been even after the entrance of Muslims will suggest to us something important in addressing the analysis of the Arab-Islamic urban space. We also have to take into consideration that in addition to *souq*, along the axis are such important facilities for the life of Muslims as mosques, *madrasahs* (traditional schools), *khâns* (inns for merchants), or *hammâms* (public baths). Even the remains of *bimaristân* (mental hospital) is found on the southern edge of *souq* complex.³⁴

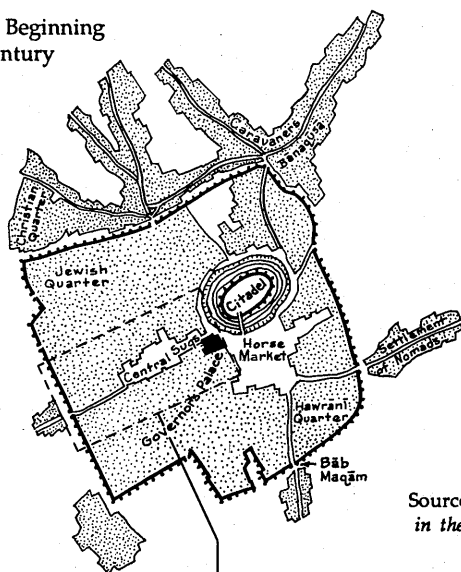
³²Through this gate Muslims entered Aleppo in 636.

³³Kuroki, *op. cit.*, p.67.

³⁴We will deal with this mental hospital in Appendix of this study, in which the role of the courtyard in the mental hospital will be discussed from the viewpoint of the treatment of madness in the Arab-Islamic World.

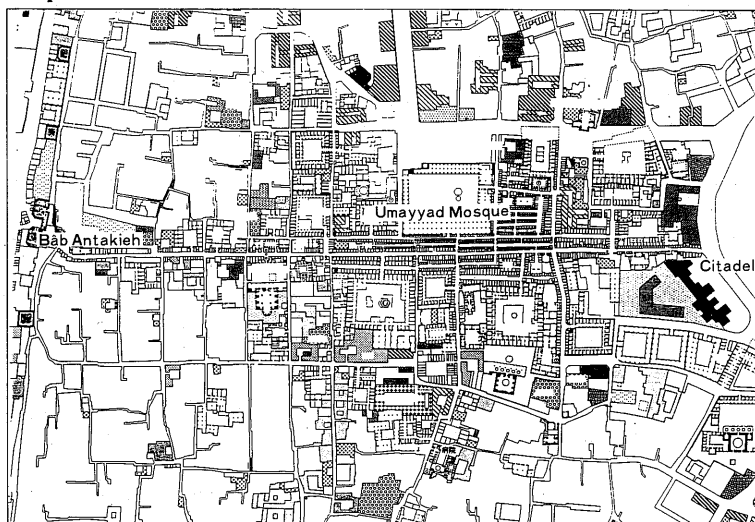
Madīnah of Aleppo and Souq Complex

Aleppo at the Beginning
of the 16th Century



Source: Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, p.45.

Souq Complex in Madīnah



Source: Kuroki, "Aleppo no Souq: Kinō to Kōzō: 18/19 Seiki wo Chūshin ni." *Islam-Ken ni okeru Ibunka Sesshoku no Mechanism: Ichi no Hikaku Kenkyū*, pp.77-78.



Madinah of Aleppo

2. Device for Passage

Now we pass through Bâb Antakieh in order to step into *madînah*. We will observe *madînah* as alien visitors who experience the "device for passage". Immediately after entering *madînah*, shops which point to the closeness of *souq* complex already appear on both sides of our passage, but still sporadically. We go straight to the east as the axis of the main street guides us to that direction; then, we arrive at the entrance of *souq* covered with its dome. It is not an exaggeration to say that from this point, i.e., inside the dome, the main street begins to run surrounded by the walls made up by a countless number of small shops.

According to Berardi, general opposition of the two different ensembles is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Arab-Islamic urban space³⁵: one is the ensemble of linear configuration and the other is the ensemble which radiates from a central space like courtyard.³⁶ Taking this point of view, it can be said that at the entrance of *souq* we have just encountered with the ensemble of linear configuration, that is one of the two ensembles in opposition. Obviously, the agglomerate of the small shops organizes the linear segments of *souq* complex.

The space of *souq* made by the linear configuration of small shops seems to invite even the alien passers-by like us into the heart of *madīnah*. Does it really do so? It is certain that we the alien passers-by, who have arrived at the entrance of *souq* from Bâb Antakieh, are able to make our way across the complex of *souq* in order finally to reach the foot of the citadel without so much difficulty if we go straight to the east. In other words, although there are physical obstacles of the crowd of people and merchandises, we can pass through the heart of *madīnah* without missing our way. Therefore, it can be defined that *souq* functions as the "device for passage" in the urban space.

At the same time, however, we will notice that the ensemble of linear configuration of *souq* plays another important role. That

³⁵Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.101.

³⁶*Ibid.* In the original text in French, Berardi defines: "*ensembles à configuration linéaire* " and "*ensembles conçus à partir d'un espace central (la cour).*"

is to say, such important facilities as mosques or *madrasahs* are placed on the other side of the ensemble of linear configuration as if they were hidden protected by the walls of small shops.³⁷ Thus, although our main street cuts across the center of *madīnah*, we the alien passers-by can not even perceive the existence of the majority of those urban facilities. Naturally, there are some approaches which connect the main street and the facilities; however, it is rather difficult for the aliens to find by themselves the appropriate route to mosques or *madrasahs* which are hidden behind the wall of shops.

As the space for exchange and trade, *souq* invites even alien visitors. Nevertheless, passing across *souq* does not mean to know the real internal part of *madīnah* because the ensemble of linear configuration hides a number of important facilities for the life of the residents. It has been already stated that the access to those facilities accompanies difficulty for the aliens. Then, how about the approach to the residential area? Obviously, much greater difficulty will stand in front of us so as to avoid our approach to the residential area, where the "device for stay" will be found. The residential area, too, hides itself behind the lines of *souq*. Furthermore, it is generally located in the most hidden end of the streets ramified from the main street. Just as Berardi argues, the

³⁷This description refers to the general structure of the urban space; therefore there are some facilities exceptionally exposed to the alien passers-by. For example, al-Tutah Mosque, which is the oldest one in Aleppo, is located in the middle of the main street which cuts across *madīnah*.

aliens who pass through the ensemble of linear configuration of *souq* do not notice what is happening on the other side of the walls of shops, where the residents do not have to worry about the intrusion of aliens like us.³⁸

Talking about the passers-by who cut across *madînah* along the main street, it will be correct to say that the merchants visiting the city from the outside have been one of the most representative examples of the aliens, because all through history the Arab-Islamic city has played the role of important relay point in the trade network system. Basically, they would not stay in the city for a long time; however, if they had to spend some nights, they stayed in *khâns*, which were located close to or in the middle of *souq* complex. Regarding the treatment of the alien merchants who spent nights in the city, we must pay attention to the fact that the doors of *khâns* were tightly closed during the night time for the security of the city. In other words, the alien merchants were enclosed in *khâns*.³⁹ The doors for the nocturnal security are not unique to *khâns*. At the edges of the segments of *souq* also are the doors for the same purpose.⁴⁰ The doors in *souq* are closed when the business hour is over in order to turn the passers-by out from the space of diurnal free passage.

³⁸Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.106.

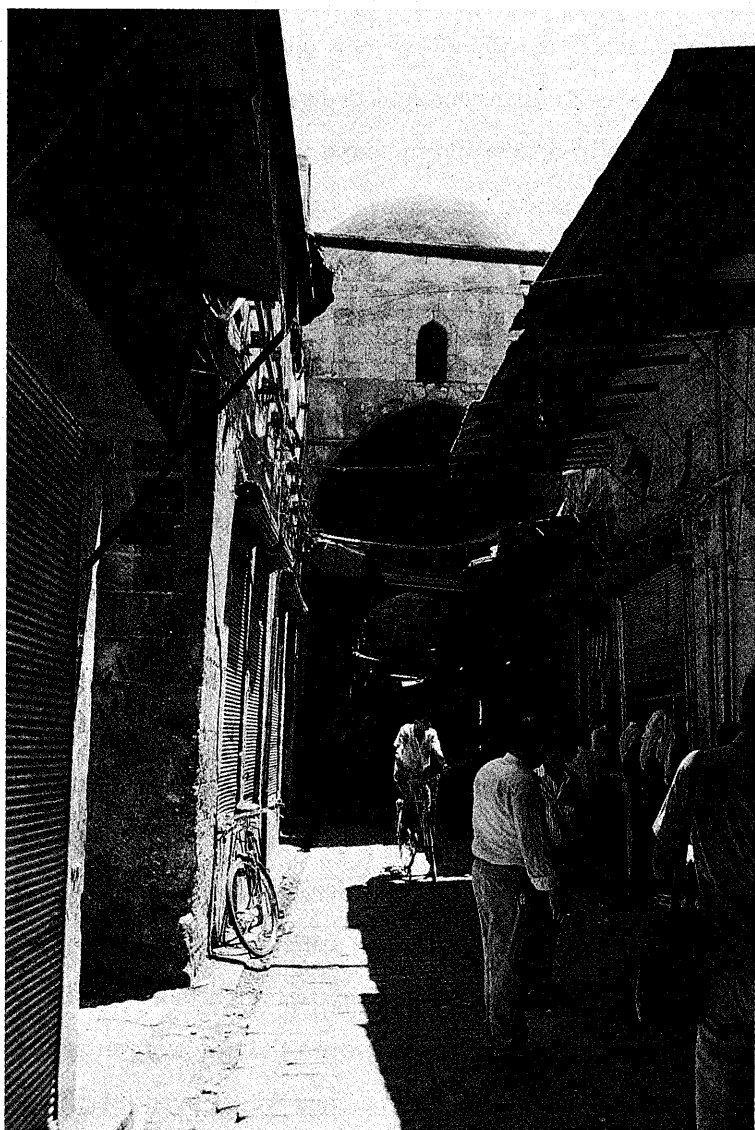
³⁹Kuroki reports: "The gates of *khâns* are closed during night time and there were gatekeepers called *hâris* or *bawwâb*." See: Kuroki, *op. cit.*, p.70.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

Let us summarize briefly the function of the "device for passage" which is mainly organized by the ensemble of linear configuration of small shops, segments, and complex of *souq*. The device provides a space where even alien passers-by are able to move around without major obstacles. However, this is just a half of its function. The ensemble is also characterized by a structure which tries to avoid the approach of the aliens to the space further inside the city, where a number of important facilities as well as the residential area are found. By a kind of power radiated from this dual function of the "device for passage", we the alien passers-by seem to be forced to go straight to the east until we arrive at the foot of the citadel without taking care of the other side of the wall of shops.

3. Device for Stay

Next, we have to concentrate our focus on the other device of the Arab-Islamic urban space. That is the "device for stay". It has been already examined that the "device for passage" cuts the urban space in order to organize a structure which tries to avoid the aliens' approach into the space further inside the city, at the same time that it provides the space of diurnal free passage. Then, how does the "device for stay" respond to this dual function of the "device for passage"? We will examine whether the two devices are in collaboration or in opposition.



Entrance of *Souq* Complex (Aleppo)

It is agreeable to define that the "device for stay" is closely related to the organization of the residential area of the city. In this specific area of the city, the ensemble which radiates from a central space⁴¹ works as the fundamental order for the spatial structure. This ensemble is in opposition in shape with the ensemble of linear configuration of *souq*, which we have just examined in the previous discussion about the "device for passage". Berardi defines that the characteristic of the ensemble dominant in the residential area is the difficulty of access.⁴² As we have already argued, to find the appropriate access to the ensemble of houses in the residential area is quite a troublesome task for the aliens. In theory, it is possible to approach to the residential area by taking the sub-streets ramified from the axis of *madīnah*. However, in practice, even if we enter a blind alley or cul-de-sac to make a further access to the ensemble of houses, all we find are just the walls which stand on both sides of our passage. Only the doors, sporadically scattered on the wall, hint at the existence of the houses. Thus, standing in the middle of a blind alley, there is no way to know what kind of ensemble is organized on the other side of the wall.

Let us remember again the function of the "device for passage". It conceals a number of important urban facilities with the walls made by the shops of *souq* even though it organizes at the same time a space of diurnal free passage where even the aliens are

⁴¹See: Footnote No.36 of this chapter.

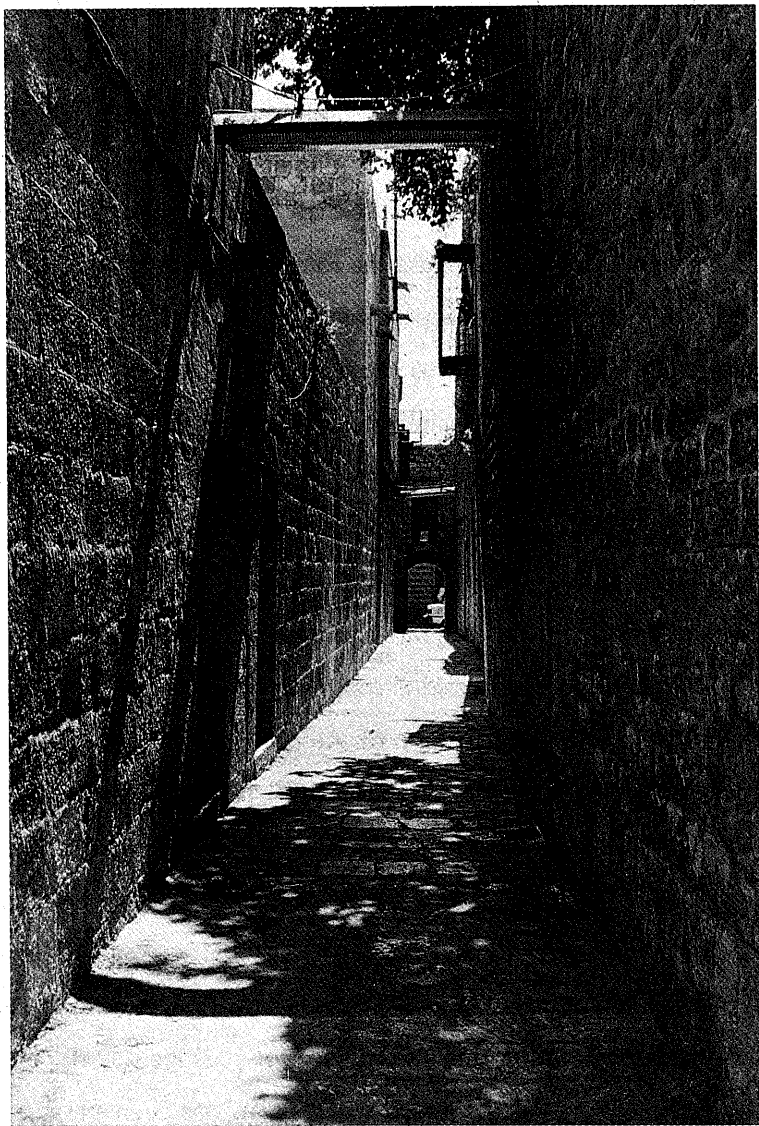
⁴²Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.103.

able to move around. On the other hand, the space organized by the "device for stay" does not even invite the aliens into its inside. In this sense, we find a commonness of the two in that both of them try to refuse the aliens' approach to the space further inside the city.

The "device for stay" and its ensemble of houses organize the deepest space inside the city as Berardi points out.⁴³ The main purpose of our study is to discuss the role of the courtyard house by penetrating into this space deepest inside, which will be carried out in Chapter III. Therefore, let us recognize here only the outlook of the spatial structure. The individual houses form an organic ensemble starting from a central space like courtyard. Then, the development of the ensemble makes up a unique structure of the residential area. The "device for stay" in the residential area is, therefore, a product of this organic ensemble of courtyard houses.

What has been extracted through the analysis based mainly on the observation of *madînah* of Aleppo is the existence of a unique spatial structure organized by the two different devices. Both the "device for passage" and the "device for stay", that is to say, both *souq* complex and the residential area, try to avoid the aliens' intrusion into the space further inside the city. However, this is not to say that the city strictly refuses the passage of the aliens. We have to take into consideration that the "device for passage", as the name clearly indicates, provides a space where even the alien passers-by can penetrate in order to move around freely and the encounter

⁴³See: *Ibid.*



Residential Area (Aleppo)

between aliens and residents is made possible. To sum up, the "device for passage" of *souq* complex provides a space of free movement; at the same time it converts itself into a line of walls for concealing the space further inside the city, which is also protected by the "device for stay".

4. Relativity and Insulation in the Urban Space

As we have examined in the previous section, by the specific functions of the "device for passage" and the "device for stay", two different spaces are organized in the city. One is the space of diurnal free movement provided by the "device for passage". The other is the space further inside the city tightly protected by the common function of the two devices. The two devices are collaborating together so that the further internal space of the city should not be intruded upon by the aliens. From now on, let us call the former "space of relativity" and the latter "space of insulation" according to the characteristic of each.

The most representative example of the "space of relativity" in the city is *souq* complex. Needless to say, *souq* is the place for commercial activities, by means of which the exchange of human relationships will be enhanced. A chain of relativity will be developed not only between residents and aliens but also among residents as well as among aliens. Naturally, the enhancement of relativity will bring about the exchange of information. The exchange of information, in turn, enhances relativity. In various

spots of *souq* complex we can find small cafés called *qahwa* or *maqhâ*, where people not only take rest during or after shopping but also have business talks or exchange various information.⁴⁴ What is important is that the information exchanged in *souq* are not necessarily of commercial topics.

We also have to pay attention to the physical organization of *souq* complex. It has a shape like a network system which connects mosques, *madrasahs*, or *hammâms*, namely those facilities which by themselves have a function of enhancing relativity. Now that we have already discussed the relational network of Islamicity in Chapter I, it will be rather easy to understand that mosques or *madrasahs* are defined as the place for the enhancement of relativity among people because the collective practice of *salât* (worship) or sermons take place there.⁴⁵

How, then, can we explain *hammâms*? How can a public bath be equipped with similar function to that of mosques or *madrasahs*? In answering this question, let us borrow the explanation of Hassan Fathy, an eminent Egyptian architect:

"Yet, more than this, the hammam was a gathering place where men could exchange news, gossip, conduct business and discuss political matters in an atmosphere of luxury. For the women even more, the hammam would provide an excuse to escape from the restriction of the house. When the

⁴⁴Kuroki, *op. cit.*, p.70.

⁴⁵In fact, the difference between mosque and *madrasah* is quite small. Sermon and prayer were held in *madrasah*, too; therefore, it was also called *masjid*. See: T. Kuroda (ed.), *Islam Jiten*, pp.242-252.

hammam was in fashion, it played a most important part in the life of townswomen, who would put on their best clothes and most valuable jewels for their weekly visit. There they would choose brides for their sons and brothers, and arrange their marriages, while just before the wedding day itself the bride would be taken to the hammam to be combed, scented, and depilated, and made ready for the ceremony."⁴⁶

The above explanation of Fathy is sufficient enough to understand the importance of the public bath in the life of the people and its specific function of enhancing relativity as well. Fathy also introduces another interesting report regarding the use of *hammâm*. *Hammâm* was used not only by the rich but also by the poor; thus, it was a public meeting place where every one gathered around including those who had private *hammâms* in their own houses.⁴⁷

As we have seen, various facilities for the enhancement of relativity are connected by the network of *souq* complex. In other words, *souq* does not exist independently. That is to say, it is not an exaggeration to define that people are forced to pass through *souq* almost every time when they head for those facilities, when they transfer from one facility to another, or when they go back home from those facilities. It is evident that this specific structure of the "space of relativity" can not stop amplifying the radiation of relativistic magnetic power.

⁴⁶Hassan Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1989), p.88.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

Our focal point should be changed now from the "space of relativity" to the space further inside the city, that is, the residential area. There will not be any objection in defining the residential area as the "space of insulation" if the extreme difficulty of access to its inside is taken into consideration. The "device for stay", which organizes the "space of insulation" in the residential area, tries to block even the eyes of aliens to say nothing of their physical intrusion. For example, in order to find the ensemble of the houses, Berardi was obliged to cut horizontally *madînah* of Tunis; then, he had to decode the secret of house arrangement in line with the cut border.⁴⁸ This troublesome procedure of the research of Berardi is just one of the examples which will certify how the "space of insulation" seems to close its door to the outside.

In proceeding further, regarding the discussion about the two different spaces of the city, let us remember that in Chapter I we have established a guideline for analyzing various affairs of the Arab-Islamic World: double structure of "relativity" and "insulation", in which the former envelops the latter bringing about the inter-penetration of the two. Here we are encountered with two questions. The first one is a fundamental question of whether the logic of double structure can be applied to the spatial structure of the city or not. The other question will ask if the inter-penetration of "relativity" and "insulation" is reflected in the urban

⁴⁸See: Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.107.

space, too. Both of the two questions will be answered affirmatively by the following explanation.

As already discussed, the major facilities of the city are connected by the network of *souq* complex in the "space of relativity". Therefore, the residents go out from the residential area, which is the "space of insulation", in order to head for their working place every morning or in order to purchase in central *souq* what can not be obtained in the small market of the residential area.⁴⁹ In addition, we must take into consideration that major mosques in the urban space are usually found surrounded by *souq* complex.⁵⁰ It is already needless to explain that mosque or *masjid* is not a place dedicated only to worship as we discussed in Chapter I. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the magnetic power of "space of relativity" attracts people; then, the magnetized people go out of the "space of insulation" in search of the enhancement of further relativity. Thus, as long as the residents who live in the city are concerned, the borderline between the two spaces is not of strict separation. The two spaces inter-penetrate each other.

In concluding this section, we have to pay attention to the following point. As we have examined so far, the residential area is defined as the "space of insulation" which is enveloped by the "space of relativity" of *souq* although the former is paradoxically

⁴⁹See: André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Centuries: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), p.15.

⁵⁰For example, Umayyad Mosque in Aleppo or Zaytuna Mosque in Tunis can be defined as representative examples.

located around the latter in the urban space. However, if we remember the logic of double structure, larger phenomena like the city shows a multi-layer of "relativity" and "insulation" and not a simple envelopment of the latter by the former. Therefore, the anatomy of the urban space should continue. It is manifestly supposed that internal double structures will be found in the residential area because it is in the inside of the residential area that the smaller social phenomena like the quarter or the family are found. In the next section, thus, for the purpose of proceeding further into the anatomy of the city, let us plunge a scalpel into the residential area, a large framework of the "space of insulation".

C. Space of Insulation: The Residential Area

So far we have divided the urban space into two categories: "space of relativity" and "space of insulation". Our further attention will be paid on the latter, in the deep inside space of which the main subject of our study, the courtyard is hidden in the center of the arrangement of domestic architecture. We have defined that the residential area of the city is the "space of insulation" by contrasting it with the "space of relativity" organized by *souq* complex. We have already observed in the process of the anatomy of the city that the latter provides a spatial structure which explicitly invites even the aliens. On the contrary, the residential area shows

off a structure which seems to be closed to the outer world by the existence of physical insulation like walls. The walls surround the residential area functioning as the barrier for avoiding the aliens' intrusion. Naturally, we have to overcome the barrier in order to find the courtyard houses. In this section, thus, we will examine the residential area, that is to say, the space further inside the city.

As we have discussed in the previous section, the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" hints that the residential area has its own "space of relativity" because of the existence of internal double structures. Let us call it "internal space of relativity" as this is found inside the walls of the residential area and in order to differentiate it from "space of relativity" of *souq*. What is important is that "internal space of relativity" is supposed to envelop, also according to our logic, further "internal space of insulation". It is not an exaggeration to say that to examine the residential area is to analyze internal double structure of "relativity" and "insulation". First of all, let us review the residential area from a historical point of view in order to understand the nature of the residential area.

1. Quarters in the Middle Ages

In discussing the residential area of the Arab-Islamic city, it is a must for us to start the observation from the time before the arrival of the Western value system since we aim at understanding the nature of the residential area. What is the traditional figure of

the residential area? This is our simple and fundamental question to be answered in this section. Therefore, first of all let us fix our focal point on the residential area in the Middle Ages, when people surely preserved the traditional life style.

The residential area of the Arab-Islamic city was divided into smaller units which were called *hârat* or *mahallât*. Their names were different from region to region, city to city, or period to period; thus, we will employ the term "quarter" in this study just for our convenience.⁵¹ Lapidus introduces with detail the residential area and its quarters of Syrian cities under the Mamluk regime.⁵² According to him, the statistics before the middle of the 16th century show that there were about 70 quarters in Damascus and that in each quarter were about 500-600 residents.⁵³ Lapidus also reports that in the latter half of the 15th century there were about 50 quarters in Aleppo and each of them was composed of 1000-1200 residents.⁵⁴ By a simple expression, the inside of those quarters can be described: "face to face intimacy for all the residents".⁵⁵ Then, what was the principal factor which brought about the "face to face intimacy" in a quarter? The answer to this question will be found

⁵¹According to Raymond, quarters were called: *hârat* in Cairo and Damascus, *mahallât* in Aleppo, Mosul, and Baghdad, or *hawma* in Maghrib. See: Raymond, *op. cit.*, pp.14-16. Toru Miura argues that *hayy* is the term which is generally used today. See: Toru Miura, "Gaiku to Minshû-Hanran: 15-16 Seiki no Damascus." Y. Itagaki, et al. (eds.), *Shakai-teki Ketsugô* (Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1989), p.77.

⁵²See: Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, pp.85-95.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p.85.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵This expression is quoted from the text of Lapidus. See: *Ibid.*

in the population composition of quarters. Each quarter displayed basically a homogeneous population and the residents were under strong ties among themselves. Regarding the background of the emergence of strong ties, Lapidus mentions as follows: "The tendency of different groups to seek the comfort and protection of their own members was very strong in a world where no man was truly safe except among his kin."⁵⁶

This argument of Lapidus reminds us of the background of tribal society in *Jâhilîyah* era.⁵⁷ Between the homogeneous population of quarters and pre-Islamic tribal society, a commonness will be found in that both of them had an aspect as the product of the difficulty in living alone although the severeness of the desert would be incredibly greater than that of medieval city life. At the same time, it can be defined that the homogeneous population of quarters was one of the remains of the pre-Islamic tradition as we discussed in Chapter I.

Now let us concentrate ourselves on major factors which brought about the homogeneous population. First of all, the total population of the city was divided into two groups, i.e., Muslims or non-Muslims. In the Arab-Islamic city, it is natural that Muslims were the majority while Christians or Jews belonged to the minorities. Those minority groups also had their own quarters; however, it is not to say that they led a ghetto-like life enclosed

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷Regarding the background of the formation of pre-Islamic tribal society, see: Section B of Chapter I.

within the walls.⁵⁸ Basically, the majority and the minorities coexisted peacefully in Islamic society even though there were some exceptions in the course of history. Truly in Islam, there is a principle of coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims, which is closely related to *Dhimmi* system.⁵⁹ It is not our purpose to discuss here the detail of the system. Furthermore, even without discussing the system itself, we can understand the outline of the principle if we remember the fundamental concept of '*Ummah*'. Since we have discussed the ideal of Islam in Chapter I, it is already clear that '*Ummah*' is the concept of an ideal community which Islam provides the believers along with the world view of *Tawhîd* and the network of rules, *Sharî'ah*. What is important in our discussion here is that Muslims are not the sole components of '*Ummah*'. Non-Muslims, as long as they do not oppose Islam, should be treated not as outsiders or foes but as members of '*Ummah*'.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the reality of the tolerant attitude of Islam towards non-Muslims has been distorted like in the extreme case of the notorious expression: "*Qur'ân* or sword". However, the principle of social formation in Islam is completely different from such fossilized stereotype. The existence of non-Muslim quarters in

⁵⁸Lapidus, *op. cit.*, p.86.

⁵⁹For the detail of *Dhimmi* system, see: Miyoko Kuroda, "Islam Kyôdôtai to Kyôzon no Genri," *Bulletin of the Institute of Middle Eastern Studies/IUJ*, Vol.3 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1988), pp.261-280. Also, see: Naoto Sekio, *Nomadology and Community Formation: The Principle of Coexistence in Syria*, IMES Working Papers Series No.22 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1990).

⁶⁰M. Kuroda, "Chûtô ni okeru Kokka: 'Minzoku-Kokka' kara '*Ummah*-teki Kyôdôtai e." *Bulletin of the Institute of Middle Eastern Studies/IUJ*, Vol.4 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1990), p.169.

the Arab-Islamic city, therefore, should be observed as one of the embodiments of the principle of coexistence in Islam.

We have understood that the residential area was divided into Muslim quarters and non-Muslim quarters. Then, let us focus upon how the former was organized. It has been already mentioned that the inside of each quarter was clearly described by the expression of "face to face intimacy" and that "face to face intimacy" was brought about by the homogeneity of population. How, then, was the Muslim population further divided?

Lapidus states that the Muslim population was divided principally by four factors.⁶¹ The first factor was the homogeneity organized by ethnicity or race. For example, there were quarters for the Kurds or those for the Turks. The common village origin was the second factor. According to Lapidus: "Villagers gathered with their cousins, retained contacts with people at home, and recreated the old life within the walls."⁶² Thirdly, the Islamic law school also played a role as the criterion for the division of the Muslim population. We can pick up four principal law schools: *Hanafî*, *Shâfi'î*, *Mâlîkî*, and *Hanbalî*. Traditionally, members of the Islamic Community have belonged to one of those law schools obeying the rules established by the school not only for religious obligations but also for details of daily life.⁶³ The last factor was the homogeneity

⁶¹Following discussion about the principal factors of the integration of quarters is based on the description by Lapidus. See: Lapidus, *op. cit.*, pp.86-87.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p.86.

⁶³T. Kuroda (ed.), *Islam Jiten*, p.177.

by economic bases. That is to say, there were quarters in which people whose occupation was the same lived together. It was naturally different from quarter to quarter which one of the four factors brought about the homogeneity inside the walls. However, it can be true that the sameness in blood, origin, rules to obey, or occupation would intensify the degree of "face to face intimacy".

The life in the quarter is easily supposed to have been full of relativity among neighbors only by referring to the expression: "face to face intimacy". Also we can exemplify some concrete cases which verify the significance of human relationships in the quarter. Let us examine how troubles were dealt with by picking out a case of murder. We can appreciate how a highly intensified relativity was required among neighbors by analyzing the case of murder that occurred in a quarter of Damascus in 1501.⁶⁴ A man on horseback was assaulted by a group of bandits; then, not only the horse was robbed but also the man was killed. After a few days, the neighbors of the quarter were required to pay a huge fine on the case.⁶⁵ Evidently, it would be the interpretation of *Shari'ah* that brought about the judgement. What is important for our discussion is that the judgement put a great stress on the collective responsibility of the neighbors. That is to say, in addition to the homogeneous population, rules of life derived from *Shari'ah* also intensified the solidarity among neighbors. It is not difficult to suppose that the

⁶⁴The account of this murder is quoted from: Miura, *op. cit.*, p.86.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

magnetism of relativity was amplified, too, in line with the fortification of solidarity.

Then, how was the relationships among different quarters? Each quarter in general possessed its own *souqs*, mosques, or *hammâms*.⁶⁶ Furthermore, walls and gates (or doors) existed as if they tried to insulate the quarter from the outside.⁶⁷ If we stand on this point of view, we may possibly judge that the residential area was an assembly of a number of insulated quarters with internal relativity of "face to face intimacy". However, we must question ourselves if this judgement is correct or not. Did the quarters exist really insulating each other? Is it impossible to find any kind of relativity among quarters?

In addressing the above questions, we should remember the discussion in Chapter I about the nature of the individual in the Arab-Islamic World. That is to say, the borderlines among the individuals can not be traced with digital separation while the attribute of each is highly respected according to the world view of *Tawhîd*: "oneness in value". If we take this nature into consideration by comparing quarters to the individuals, a perfect separation of quarters would not exist at all. Just as if the individuals are placed under a strong magnetism of relativity,

⁶⁶Miura argues that necessity of daily life was available as there were mosques, *souq*, *hammâm*, or facility for water supply in the quarter. See: *Ibid.*, pp.79-80.

⁶⁷Lapidus illustrates the use of doors in time of emergency as follows: "In insecure times, when thieves, bandits, civil war, or invasion threatened, the quarters barricaded themselves behind great doors, closed off the thoroughfares to the rest of the city, and hid themselves from attack." (Lapidus, *op. cit.*, p.94.)

quarters also would be connected to each other in spite of the physical separation by the walls. Let us define here that the exchange of information is one of the most fundamental factors for bringing about relativity among quarters. Although a piece of information must overcome a number of walls so that it could be transmitted, for example, from a quarter in the east to the other in the west within the framework of the residential area, some historical documents clearly suggest the inter-penetration of quarters in terms of an easy circulation of information.

There was a chronicler named Ibn Tûlûn who illustrated Damascus under the Mamluk regime.⁶⁸ Generally speaking, one of the then most representative characteristics of the information picked up to be recorded in chronicles was the detailed description of governors or '*ulamâs*'.⁶⁹ The chronicle of Ibn Tûlûn shows this characteristic, too.⁷⁰ What should be emphasized is the place where the chronicler dwelled in Damascus. He did not find himself in the center of the city but in a district which was located in the northwestern periphery.⁷¹ It is of course well supposed that he himself possessed a specific route for gathering intelligence. However, the absence of the geographic handicap for Ibn Tûlûn will indicate the existence of information network which would expand

⁶⁸See: Miura, *op. cit.*, p.84.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹*Ibid.* According to Miura, Ibn Tûlûn lived in *al-Sâlihiyya* which is located about 1.5km away from the center of Damascus.

crossing over the walls of quarters until it arrived at the periphery of the city.

As long as we discuss now the inter-penetration of quarters from the viewpoint of the circulation of information, attention should also be paid to *dîwân* activity, which is a traditional popular gathering in the Arab-Islamic cities. The representatives from various strata of society participated in this specific meeting.⁷² A number of ultimate information was brought to be discussed there; then, *dîwân* converted itself into an important information source since the participants brought back the news to their own quarters. The significance of *dîwân* as information center was greatly intensified later in the period of the arrival of Western Powers. Let us see the case of Syria under French mandate. The French authority began to censor the newspapers or the magazines which had a possibility to urge people to anti-mandate movement.⁷³ Under such circumstance, it is quite understandable that the fresh and non-distorted information provided by *dîwân* exalted the political consciousness among the populace.⁷⁴ In sum, the case of Ibn Tûlûn and the role of *dîwân* as well are just a few of the many examples which will verify the assumption that the quarters were not the isolated units but put themselves under a relational network based on the exchange of information. The magnetism of

⁷²Philip S. Khoury, "Syrian Urban Politics in Transition: The Quarters of Damascus during the French Mandate." *International Middle East Studies*, 16 (1984), p.515.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

relativity among quarters did overcome the physical insulation of the walls.

By observing some historical facts mainly of the Middle Ages, we have examined the nature of quarters in the residential area. Let us summarize the discussion making use of the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation". In the large framework of "space of insulation", namely the residential area, each quarter organizes "internal space of insulation" surrounded by its own walls. Nevertheless, in the same way that the whole residential area is enveloped by "space of relativity" of *souq*, each quarter finds itself under the relativity with other quarters. In other words, an internal double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" is found in the residential area.

2. "Face to Face Intimacy" in Succession

We have already made it clear that there was a sort of relational network among quarters even though they seemed to be closed to each other by the existence of the physical barrier, the walls. Although further analysis of relativity among quarters will be quite an interesting subject, our focus should be concentrated on the later course of the Middle Ages' "face to face intimacy" in a quarter. Did it disappear with the passage of time, or does it continue even today?

In the history of the Arab-Islamic World, the arrival of the Western value system can naturally be defined as one of the biggest

turning points in various aspects. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the Western Powers began to make inroads into the Arab-Islamic World positively, as a consequence of which the traditional life style in the quarter is supposed to have been affected to considerable extent. Philip S. Khoury, who studied the quarters in Damascus under the French mandate, states that the introduction of the market economy, for example, was one of the factors which began to dismantle the barrier among quarters.⁷⁵ Also, according to him, a common target among all the populace was born: Syria should slough off the French mandate; thus, the traditional strong ties based on the integration of quarter, family, tribal consciousness, or religious sect began to be weakened.⁷⁶ In other words, the Westernization of society itself as well as the then arisen spirit of independence from the foreign regime began to break the traditional characteristic of the Arab-Islamic city.

Nevertheless, was the tradition which had been cultivated through centuries broken down so easily? There should be many documents which will certify the survival of the traditional life style of quarter. As one of such examples, let us appreciate an extract from *Hadith Dimashqî*, a description of the popular life in Syrian capital from the end of the 19th century until our days, which was written by Najât Qassâf:

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p.509.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

"The residents of the quarter know neighbors' children, grandchildren, sons in law, and relatives. They can distinguish easily the strangers and the shopkeepers at the corner of the street watch the neighbors passing by. Among neighbors a generous hospitality is exchanged in the month of pilgrimage or of fast. They share a common feeling of living together."⁷⁷

How can we judge that the traditional "face to face intimacy" has faded out if we refer to the above illustration of a quarter of Damascus?

Let us change the scenery from Damascus to Cairo. In confirming the succession of the traditional atmosphere of "face to face intimacy", it is also helpful for us to watch the life of people in Cairo described by Naguib Mahfouz, an eminent Egyptian writer. Some may criticize that literary works are not suitable for the analysis of society. However, as Mitsuhiro Kodama asserts, literary works should be utilized positively if they reflect well the real face of society in question⁷⁸ just like we used *Jâhiliyah* poetry in examining pre-Islamic society in Chapter I. What is significant for us is that Mahfouz is praised to be second to none in introducing Cairo today; furthermore, Mahfouz himself has a thorough knowledge about the urban life thanks to his identity: he grew up in a middle class family of Cairo.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Translation of extract from: Hassan Najât Qassâf, *Hadîth Dimashqî*, 1884-1983 (Damascus, 1988), introduced by Miura. See: *Ibid.*

⁷⁸Kodama, *Individuals and Community in Midaq Alley: Societal Dynamics in the World of Naguib Mahfouz*, p.132.

⁷⁹Significance of Mahfouz's work in analyzing the contemporary society of Cairo is analyzed by Kodama. See: *Ibid.*, pp.6-40.

From out of a number of masterpieces of Mahfouz, let us choose *Midaq Alley* which was analyzed in detail by Kodama. As the title shows, *Midaq Alley* is a novel which deals with an alley in Cairo and the people who live there. Some love the alley while others hate the poor life there and try to abandon it, but in vain. Mahfouz vividly illustrates the human relationships full of relativity among those neighbors of the alley. The detail of the principal characters should be consulted with the analysis elaborated by Kodama.⁸⁰ Our discussion should be directed to the specific pattern of human relationships in a small community, which is quite similar to that of Arabesque art. In other words, each character, although he or she displays a strong self-assertion, is not a completely independent individual but is tied complicatedly with others. Therefore, any behavior taken by the characters is not independent from relations with others. Just like branches or leaves spring from a trunk, a chain of relational behaviors is generated from a single action of a character.

Let us put a female character Hamida in the limelight for a while. She wishes to escape from the poor life in the alley as soon as possible. In spite of her strong desire to abandon the alley, Hamida is obliged to be a part fixed on the tableau of Arabesque named *Midaq Alley*. Although she leaves the alley, she continues to be surrounded complicatedly by the neighboring parts on the

⁸⁰See: *Ibid.*, pp.69-131. Main characters of the novel are analyzed from different aspects, i.e., as the individuals, the married couples, the family members, and the neighbors of a community named *Midaq Alley*.

same tableau.⁸¹ Hamida decides to get married; then, her decision begins to let the neighbors take relational behaviors one after another. Manifestly, the ramification of relational behaviors among neighbors symbolizes the feeling that they all live together in a small community of *Midaq Alley*.

Precisely speaking, *Midaq Alley* may be different from the traditional quarter of the Arab-Islamic city in various aspects, for example, in scale or in organization. However, the appreciation of the novel will certainly persuade us that the traditional world of "face to face intimacy" full of relativity among neighbors still remains in various parts of the Arab-Islamic urban space. It should really be emphasized that tradition can not be broken so easily.

3. Final Approach to the Ensemble of Houses

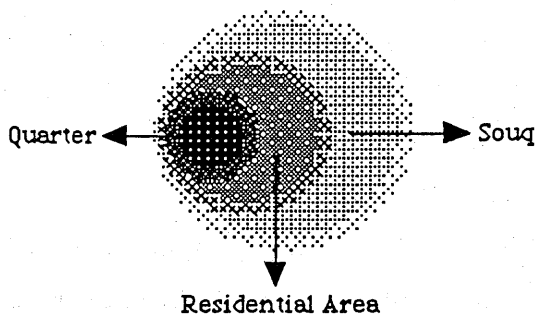
At the beginning of this Chapter, after reviewing the role of the city in the Arab-Islamic World, we have passed through the gate to the urban space. In this way, we have started the anatomy of the Arab-Islamic city.

Following this, in order to approach the ensemble of the courtyard houses, we stepped into the residential area from the space of free passage organized by *souq* complex. After the intrusion into the residential area, we further focused on the

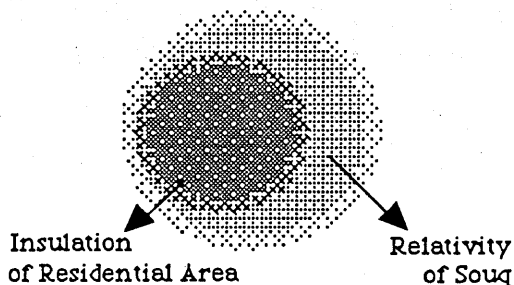
⁸¹Kodama asserts that the human relationship in *Midaq Alley* can be compared to the "exchange of soul" of Baudelaire. He also insists: "In *Midaq Alley*, ordinary people or any type of people can enjoy the 'exchanging souls' relationship with others though they are not talented poets." See: *Ibid.*, pp.119-120.

"internal space of insulation", that is, the quarter. The procedure of our anatomy of the city space up to this point can be illustrated by making use of the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation".

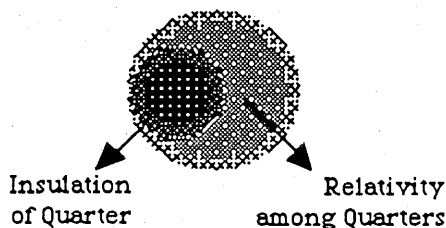
Anatomy of the Urban Space



Double Structure of the Overall City



Internal Double Structure in the Residential Area



What we have found out by observing the inside of the "internal space of insulation" of the quarter is the world of "face to face intimacy" full of relativity among neighbors. Now, a question arises in front of us. Is the space organized by the quarter dominated only by "relativity"? In other words, is there any "further internal space of insulation" within a quarter? Our next procedure of the anatomy is to address this question, which is closely related to the analysis of the courtyard house because the space where a family leads its life is easily supposed to be a kind of shelter for the residents of the city. Therefore, in Chapter III we will intrude into the ensemble of houses until we find ourselves finally in the center of the courtyard: the deepest space inside the city.

CHAPTER III

Courtyard in the Center of the House

We have established in Chapter I the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation", which is a guideline for analyzing various phenomena of the Arab-Islamic World. In Chapter II, the city as one of the social phenomena has been anatomized from the viewpoint of its spatial structure by taking advantage of the application of the guideline. That is to say, the analysis of the urban space has been done based on the assumption that the city is organized by the spatial repetition of "relativity" and "insulation". By concentrating our focus on the total structure of the city space, the analysis started; then, we intruded into the quarter after overcoming the walls which surround the residential area. In other words, the focal point has been shifted from macro space to micro space in search of our main subject of the study: the courtyard house.

On the first stage, we found out that *souq* complex plays the role as "space of relativity" and its magnetism of "relativity"

envelops "space of insulation" which is organized by the residential area, even though the latter is located around the former in the actual city space. We also found out that even in the residential area, an internal double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" is organized. The residential area is composed of a plural number of quarters. Each quarter shows off a structure which seems to close itself to the outer world. From this point of view, a quarter should be defined as "internal space of insulation". However, it is also true that each insulated quarter finds itself in the network of "relativity" which connects all the quarters. The repetition of "relativity" and "insulation" did not conclude yet. Immediately after we intruded into the quarter, we discovered that the inside of "internal space of insulation" is full of relativity among neighbors, which is characterized by a simple expression: "face to face intimacy".

As we have briefly reviewed so far, the urban space of the Arab-Islamic World clearly displays a multi-layer made by the spatial repetition of "relativity" and "insulation". By this procedure of the anatomy, we have finally arrived at the entrance of the ensemble of houses. The present Chapter III, thus, is dedicated to a further anatomy of the ensemble of houses so that we can analyze the specific meaning, role, and function of the courtyard house.

A. The Inside and the Outside of the House

1. Enclosure of the Intimate

Obviously, we find different kinds of space organized by the courtyard in the Arab-Islamic city. The courtyard is utilized not only as a central space of the individual house but also as a starting point for organizing the ensemble of houses.¹ Also the courtyard is found in such urban facilities as mosques, *madrasahs*, or *khâns*. It is true that each of the different courtyards attracts our interest; however, let us concentrate our focus on the one located in the center of the individual house, which is used for the smallest social unit in the urban space: the family.

So far we have repeated that the inside of the quarter is defined as a world of "relativity", the atmosphere of which is characterized by "face to face intimacy" among neighbors. All the neighbors find themselves in the strong magnetism of "relativity". What is important in our further discussion is that even in the relativistic space of the quarter, it will be possible to find another factor of "insulation" if we obey the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation". In other words, even if we stand in the inside of the quarter and intrude furthermore into a cul-de-sac or blind alley in order to get closer to the ensemble of houses, it is quite difficult for us to come into direct contact with the domestic space where a social unit named family leads its life. The ensemble

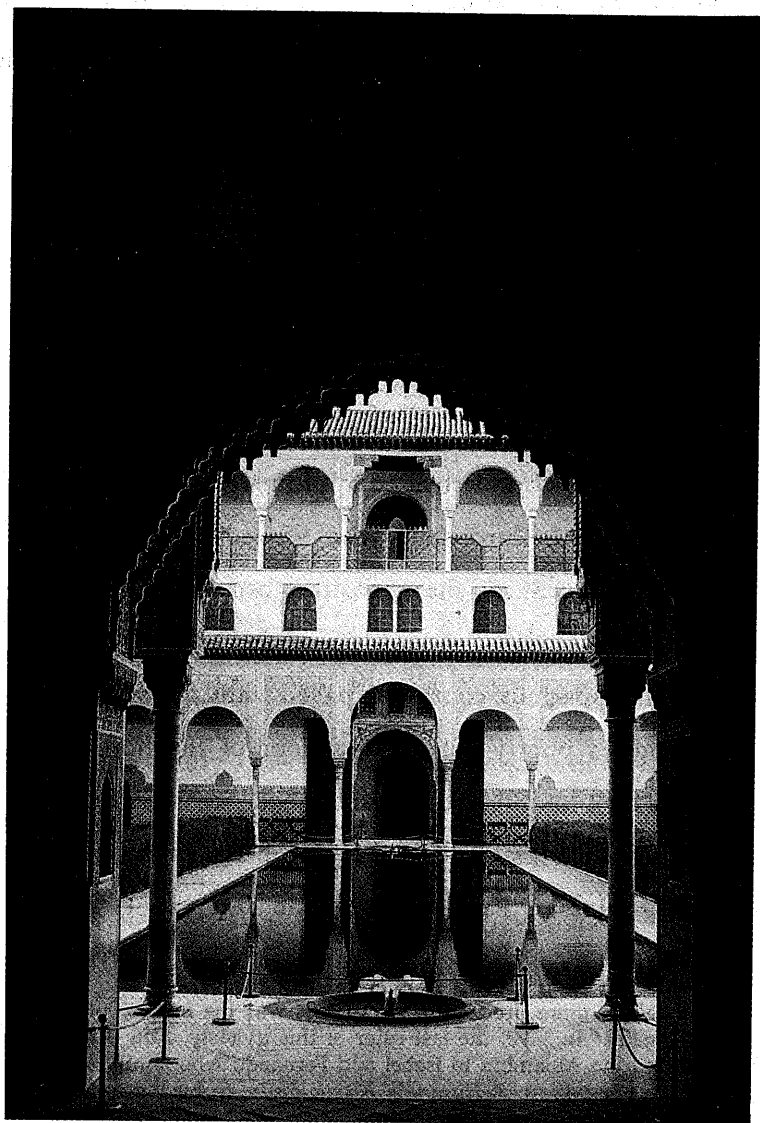
¹See: Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.101.

of houses is firmly surrounded by the walls. If we take this physical structure into consideration, the house will certainly be defined as "micro space of insulation" in the framework of the city.

The courtyard is found in the center of this "micro space of insulation". Various facilities of the house like individual rooms or reception rooms surround the central courtyard. In other words, the courtyard house is characterized by its inward-looking style. Berardi explains that "decoration" is found only on the façades which face the courtyard space², i.e., in the inside of the house. Evidently, standing in the middle of cul-de-sac, all we can observe is the line of walls, on which doors for entering the houses are scattered sporadically. In general, it is almost impossible to discover any sort of "decoration" on the outside of the house. In other words, there is a striking opposition between the inside and the outside of the house in terms of the use of "decoration". Then, what is symbolized by "decoration" for the people who live in the courtyard house? "Decoration" should be interpreted as the symbol of the valuable or the intimate for the family.

Without a doubt, the more luxurious the architecture is, the greater the opposition between the inside and the outside becomes. Let us choose a representative example. In so doing, observing a palace will be the most appropriate way for appreciating the opposition. Thus, let us compare the inside and the outside, for example, of the Alhambra. The Alhambra, the ultimate fortress of

²*Ibid.*, p.108.



The Patio of the Myrtles (Alhambra)

Islamic Spain, is famous for its splendid patios.³ However, in appreciating the magnificence of the patios, there is an indispensable condition. The visitors are required to step into the inside of the patio space in order to be astonished by the luxuriousness of the façades. That is to say, the Alhambra observed from the outside may be regarded just as a reddish-brown colored citadel which lies down on the hill as the origin of its Arabic name clearly indicates.⁴ The striking opposition between the inside and the outside of the Alhambra is an extreme example which is appreciated in such luxurious architectures as palace. However, this kind of opposition is also discovered in ordinary houses, too. In the travelogues of some Europeans who visited Damascus in the middle of the 19th century, the opposition between the inside and the outside of the house is manifestly recorded.⁵ The visitors were surprised at the spacious courtyard paved with marble after they passed through a poorly constructed door of the house, which seemed like a lump of mud, stones, and wood from the outside.

How can we explain this opposition between the inside and the outside? Hassan Fathy presents an interesting argument

³This palace, more precisely a micro-city, was the fortress of the Nasrid dynasty in Granada. In 1492, the last ruler of this dynasty, Abû 'Abd-l-Lâh or Boabdil, rendered the Alhambra to Isabel and Fernando who jointly reigned the integrated Spain. See: Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, tr. by T. Kuroda, and H. Kashiwagi, pp.185-189.

⁴The Alhambra comes from *al-Hamrâ* which indicates the red-colored citadel.

⁵Miura, *op. cit.*, p.78. Miura introduces following travelogues: Porter, J. L. (d. 1889), *Five Years in Damascus* (London, 1870), pp.11-15. Burton, I (d. 1896), *The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land*, Vol.1(London, 1875), pp.39-41.

regarding the concept of the courtyard house,⁶ which will be closely related to elucidating the opposition in question. Fathy defines that the courtyard house is the embodiment of the Arab culture; then, he introduces the background which brought about this architectural embodiment. The Arabs originally come from the desert. In the desert they cultivated a specific life style. For the people of the desert, Nature can be defined as a cruel enemy rather than as merciful Mother. Therefore, opening their dwelling to Nature is to expose the family to the severeness of the desert. It is like inviting an uncomfortable life to their dwelling. The only peaceful part of Nature for the Arabs is the pure and clean sky. The sky furthermore generates clouds which sometimes bring merciful rain. The Arabs' image of the sky takes the following process for the architectural embodiment. Let us borrow Fathy's own words:

"This instinctive and inevitable tendency to see the sky as the kindly aspect of nature gradually developed, as we have seen, into a definite theological proposition, in which the sky became the abode of the deity. Now with his adoption of a settled life the Arab began to apply architectural metaphors in his cosmology, so that the sky was regarded as a dome supported by four columns."⁷

With this concept, the spatial enclosure for making a house begins to have a symbolic meaning for the Arabs. The sky for the

⁶Following description of the concept of the courtyard house is based on the argument of Fathy. See: Fathy, *op. cit.*, pp.55-57.

⁷*Ibid.*, p.56.

Arabs, as Fathy argues, is the divine place and, as already argued, the most peaceful part of Nature.⁸ Then, the Arabs try to possess a part of the sky by handling space in their own way. According to Fathy, the architectural embodiment of the Arabs' image of the sky cultivated in the desert is like the Europeans' concept of possessing landscape or vegetation in their domestic space in order to assimilate the house with surrounding Nature.⁹ In discussing the Arab space-handling, naturally we should remember its practical aspects such as the use of the courtyard as an anti-heat device.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it must not be ignored that the formation of the courtyard house is sustained also by the symbolic concept which has been introduced above. The owner of the house can possess a part of the merciful sky by putting a courtyard in the center of his domestic space.

Fathy develops his discussion about the symbolic aspect of the courtyard as follows.¹¹ The courtyard space forms a micro cosmos which responds to the order of the whole universe. Then, as we have already seen in Fathy's own words, the four corners of the courtyard square convert themselves into the columns which sustain the dome named sky. The fountain or basin provided in the center of the courtyard is regarded as a mirror on which the dome of the sky is reflected. He defines that the world created by the

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰See the functions of the courtyard discussed in Introduction of the study.

¹¹For this argument about the symbolic aspect of the courtyard house, see: Fathy, *op. cit.*, p.57.



Patio House in Córdoba

courtyard space is filled with feminine elements. The courtyard house insulates all the external threats and uproars by turning its back to the outer world. This specific space-handling is interpreted as the symbol of woman to be protected. Fathy, then, refers to the linguistic origin of the house in Arabic. Let us remember that we also examined the Arabic terms which indicate the house.¹² We defined that the place where one steps down from the camel is conceptually regarded as the house. That is why it is called *manzil*. In addition, that place should be peaceful enough because there one takes a rest in the middle of journey; therefore, the house is also called *maskan*. Fathy, by referring to the word *sakan*, which has the same root as *maskan*, i.e., *sakana*, emphasizes calmness in his discussion about the concept of the courtyard house. He relates calmness required for the domestic space of the Arabs to the concept of *harâm*. That is to say, the inside of the house should not be violated. In sum, the house becomes a space for protecting the intimate for the owner against a number of external threats thanks to the existence of the courtyard.

The above discussion of Fathy is, as already stated, based on the viewpoint that the courtyard house is an embodiment of Arab culture. Even after the advent of Islam and its diffusion, the indigenous concept of the courtyard house is supposed to have kept on penetrating into the mind of people. Needless to say, the severeness of Nature did not change at all. Furthermore, a tradition

¹²See: Section A of Chapter II.

which had been cultivated through generations would not collapse so easily. Then, if we depend only on Fathy's argument, the courtyard house can be understood as a perfectly insulated space from the outer world. Therefore, the anatomy of the city which has been practiced according to the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" may conclude here by stating that the courtyard house is the smallest "space of insulation" which is found in the deepest inside of the city.

Nevertheless, we have not examined yet at all how Islam bestowed specific function on the courtyard house created by the people of the desert. As we discussed in Chapter I, pre-Islamic society of the Arabs was characterized in general by a number of elements which enhanced the tendency of "insulation", on the one hand. On the other hand, Islam is simply summarized as a teaching of "relativity". Islam can be compared to a chain of unique pattern which proliferates the rings of "relativity" one by one. Again, it must be emphasized here that the above discussion regarding the concept of the courtyard house is based just on the Arab characteristics. We must analyze the courtyard house from the point of view of Islam, too. Therefore, it is too early for us to conclude the anatomy of the city space. The house is a space where the individuals lead their life integrated as a small community

named family. We should remember that Islam has a unique ideal of community and of the individual as well.¹³

What is significant in our further discussion is to examine how Islam takes advantage of this architectural embodiment of the Arab culture. In so doing, evidently the courtyard space in the center of the house is supposed to have a specific meaning, role, and function, because it is connected with the relativistic quarter life of "face to face intimacy".¹⁴ We dare to repeat that the courtyard house appeared in the Arab-Islamic World long before the advent of Islam. Furthermore, it is not unique to the Arab-Islamic World. Such aspect of the courtyard as a device for leading a comfortable life in hot and arid climatic conditions has already been discussed in the introductory chapter of the study. However, as Berardi asserts, the courtyard is not a simple device just for changing air in summer and getting sunlight in winter.¹⁵ We must recognize the fact that Islam keeps on penetrating deep into the mind of Muslims. In the same way that the Islamicity hidden in the mind clearly appears on the Arabesque pattern, it will doubtlessly be reflected also on the usage of the courtyard house. Berardi leaves us an interesting assumption that the urban space in the Arab-Islamic World is

¹³See the discussion about Ideal of Islam and Network of Islamicity in Section C of Chapter I. Especially, the discussions about *Tawhīd* and *'Ummah* are important.

¹⁴Note that the entrance of the house leads to the courtyard. That is to say, one who enters the house basically passes through the courtyard in order to head for any of the rooms or facilities of the house. See the plan of a courtyard house illustrated in Introduction.

¹⁵See: Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.106.

organized basically for the purpose of realizing the Islamic way of life.¹⁶ Our further analysis is to examine the courtyard house in order to certify his assumption.

In addressing this analysis, it is necessary for us first of all to discuss the concept of privacy in Islam. If we employ the general interpretation of privacy, the borderline between the private and the public will be traced along the walls which surround the domestic space. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation", it will be supposed that the private and the public can not be separated so easily. Evidently, "relativity" is closely related to the public and "insulation" to the private. Then, we must remember that in the logic of double structure, "relativity" and "insulation" are interpenetrated and it is impossible to trace a clear-cut borderline between the two factors. Is it possible to apply such famous expression as: "An Englishman's home is his castle." to the Arab-Islamic World?¹⁷ The answer to this question will be discussed in the following section.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p.105.

¹⁷According to Ahmed Al-Shahi, "This expression was introduced by Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634). An Englishman regards his house as his private property and expects relatives and friends to respect this territory and the private affairs of the house are, on the whole, the concern of the householder." Ahmed Al-Shahi, "'Welcome, My House Is Yours': Values Related to the Arab House." *The Arab House: Proceedings of the Colloquium held in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 15/16, March, 1984*, p.25.

2. Privacy in Islam

Barrington Moore, who studied in detail the privacy of Eskimos, ancient Greece, Hebrews, China, and so forth states as follows:

"...the need for privacy is a socially created need. Without society there would be no need for privacy. The need is a consequence of the fact that in order to survive, indeed to be or become human, men and women must live in society."¹⁸

As Moore points out, privacy and society are the two sides of the same coin. Therefore, in the discussion of privacy, we should focus upon how the individual is perceived as well as the relationship between the individual and society in question. Let us consider the case of the Arab-Islamic World. In so doing, it will be fundamental for us to make analysis standing on the Islamic point of view. Islam introduced an innovative concept of community, '*Ummah* to the tribal society of *Jāhiliyah* era. It also changed the concept of the individual by the world view of *Tawhîd*. Even today, the network of Islamicity keeps on influencing the behavior pattern of Muslims.

In spite of this, Islam is not the one and only factor which rules the nature of privacy in the Arab-Islamic World. For example, can we neglect the traditional Arab characteristics when we discuss the notion of privacy? Naturally, the answer to this

¹⁸Moore, *op. cit.*, p.73.

question should be a negative one. However, at the same time, we should recognize the fact that Islam even enhanced some aspects of the Arab characteristics although it drastically changed a number of customs in *Jâhiliyah* society. By doing so, Islam finally formed a society which is quite similar to *espace lisse* (smooth space) of Deleuze and Guattari by reflecting the nomadic tradition of the Arabs in various aspects of the doctrine.¹⁹ Therefore, analyzing the notion of privacy from the viewpoint of Islam does not necessarily neglect the Arab characteristics.

Nevertheless, it is not our intention to establish a complete generalization of privacy in the Arab-Islamic World. Even if we try to do so, it may be almost impossible because there are various regional factors such as climatic or geographic conditions in addition to the indigenous cultures. However, the consideration from the viewpoint of Islam will surely suggest a useful guideline for our further discussion since Islam is manifestly the most significant factor all over the Arab-Islamic World.

It can not be denied that Christianity, for example, played a considerable role in the formation of the Western concept of privacy.²⁰ In the case of Japan, Shintoism is a factor which must not be neglected.²¹ What, then, is the position of Islam? The intensity

¹⁹T. Kuroda, "On the Nature of Community in the Arab-Muslim World." T. Kuroda, and R.I. Lawless (eds.), *Nature of the Islamic Community*, p.8.

²⁰T. Kuroda, "Privacy in the Islamic World." *The Proceeding of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT)*, Oct. 22-28, 1989, Vol.1, p.299.

²¹*Ibid.*

of penetration of Islam into the believers' mind is actually beyond calculation. Furthermore, Islam does not cover only the spiritual sphere. As we discussed in Chapter I, the rules derived from *Shari'ah* influence almost all the details of believers' life. Therefore, the analysis of the notion of privacy from the Islamic point of view will help us exceedingly in examining the specific meaning of the courtyard house.

In analyzing the concept of privacy, it is necessary for us to discuss again the Islamic notion of the individual and the relationship between the individual and society. In Chapter I, we have already referred to this subject; then, the conclusion we achieved is that the Islamic notion is considerably different from that of modern mass-society. For the purpose of a maximum respect of the individual, modern mass-society has tried to eliminate the in-between among the individuals. That is to say, the importance has been put on: "A" or "non-A", as a consequence of which the in-between has become a relatively neglected factor.²² On the other hand in Islam, it is the in-between or "relativity" that should be emphasized. However, this is not to say that the respect of the individual is neglected in Islam. The individual in Islam is highly esteemed by the world view of *Tawhîd*. This specific world view defines that every individual is the same in value after admitting the infinite diversity among all the individuals.

²²See: Sanada, *op. cit.*, p.52.

In discussing the relationship between the individual and society, it must not be ignored that *Shari'ah*, as already stated repeatedly, controls almost every detail of the believers' life, to say nothing of the religious obligations. *Shari'ah* keeps a strict eye on the believers' behavior in the form quite similar to the power without entity described by Foucault.²³ Then, as long as the notion of privacy is concerned, the most significant point is that *Shari'ah* regulates the standard of human relationships at different levels of society such as the married couple, family, relatives, small community, state, and finally the Islamic Community.²⁴ In other words, the standard of human relationships is not strictly fixed, but it exquisitely changes according to the characteristic of the partner to be related with. How can we deny the extreme similarity between the uniqueness of human relationships and the Arabesque pattern? A piece on the tableau precisely changes the form of contact according to the shape or the location of neighboring pieces. The Muslim artist, whose mind is influenced by the network of Islamicity, clearly reflects his "inside" on the embodied "surface" of Arabesque pattern as though Dagognet's discussion was exemplified.²⁵ What kind of embodiment, then, does the "inside" of modern mass-society display? It will be compared to the Mosaic pattern which is arranged on the tableau by means of a number of

²³See: Foucault, *op. cit.*

²⁴T. Kuroda, "Islam-Sekai no Shakai Hensei Genri." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Kyôdôtai-Ron no Chihei*, p.34.

²⁵See: Dagognet, *op. cit.*

pieces with such a strict order and clear-cut borderlines. The pieces are naturally differentiated, but only by the difference of coloring and not by the shape or the size.

Let us summarize the above discussion. In modern mass-society, a "digital" pattern is dominant in the relationship among the individuals or between the individual and society. On the contrary in Islam, it is an "analogue" pattern that regulates almost any kind of relationship. The essential difference of human relationships naturally brings about the difference in the notion of privacy. The Mosaic pattern of modern mass-society emphasizes a clear separation of the private and the public. On the other hand, the Arabesque pattern of Islam makes it rather difficult to trace an explicit borderline between the private and the public. Furthermore, the borderline is diversified from situation to situation. In sum, we must pay a careful attention to the fact that the notion of privacy considerably differs from culture to culture like in this case of modern mass-society and Islam. Therefore, careless usage of this simple term will lead us to a misguided discussion.

It is already high time to examine some concrete examples which indicate the peculiarity of privacy in Islam. First of all, let us examine the case of hereditary law.²⁶ Naturally, this is also

²⁶Regarding the effectiveness of the use of hereditary law for examining the peculiarity of privacy in Islam, see: T. Kuroda, "On the Nature of Community in the Arab-Muslim World." T. Kuroda, and R.I. Lawless (eds.), *Nature of the Islamic Community*, p.26.

regulated by *Shari'ah*. Before discussing the detail, we will appreciate the following extracts from *Qur'ân*:

"From what is left by parents
And those nearest related
There is a share for men
And a share for women
Whether the property be small
Or large, - a determinate share."²⁷

"But if at the time of division
Other relatives, or orphans,
Or poor, are present,
Feed them out of the (property),
And speak to them
Words of kindness and justice."²⁸

From a global point of view, primogeniture has traditionally been the main stream in the hereditary system. Primogeniture, if we define it briefly, is a direct and linear transfer of the wealth from the deceased to the heir. In comparison with such linear hereditary system, what kind of peculiarity of Islam is indicated by the above extracts from *Qur'ân*?

As long as the hereditary system is concerned, a certain amount of wealth is transferred from one person to others regardless of its quantity. That is to say, it is also interpreted as one of the economic activities. Therefore, it will be necessary for us briefly to review the principle of Islamic economy. As one of the

²⁷*Qur'ân*, IV: 7. English translation from: Ali, *op. cit.*, p.180.

²⁸*Qur'ân*, IV: 8. English translation from: *Ibid*.

biggest poles which organize the principle of Islamic economy, we can exemplify the spirit that the concentration of wealth in certain places of society must be avoided positively.²⁹ Based on this spirit, the prohibition of interest is put into practice. The prohibition of interest explains that money should be a measure or a unit for exchange as it was so originally; however, if money proliferates by itself, the wealth will be retained in particular spots of the economic circulation, as a consequence of which social unfairness may occur. Also by the same spirit, *zakât* has been collected from the rich, that is to say, from those people who possess more than a certain amount of property.³⁰ In our topic of hereditary law, too, we can appreciate manifestly the spirit of avoiding the concentration of wealth which may be brought about by the linear transfer of property in inheritance.

In Islamic hereditary law, the limit of the amount which is disposable by the will of the deceased is actually only one third of the total property.³¹ The rest of the property, regardless of the will of the deceased, is distributed to a plural number of heirs according to the rigorous rule, which is decided precisely based on the network of the blood lineage among family members and

²⁹See: M. Bâqir as-Sadr, *Iqtisâdnâ*, tr. by T. Kuroda, pp.93-94.

³⁰M. Kuroda, "Islam Keizai no Kôzô to Ichi." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Islam Keizai* (Tokyo: Sanshû-Sha, 1988), p.117. For a detailed analysis of *Zakât*, see: Hideki Sato, *Understanding Zakât: An Inquiry into the Methodological Problems of the Science of Economics*, IMES Working Papers Series, No.11 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1987).

³¹N. J. Coulson, *Succession in the Muslim Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p.213.

relatives.³² As though symbolized the rule of distribution, there is quite an interesting passage in *Qur'ân*:

"God (thus) directs you
As regards your children's
(Inheritance) : to the male,
A portion equal to that
Of two females : if only
Daughters, two or more,
Their share is two-thirds
Of the inheritance;
If only one, her share
Is a half."³³

Thus, it can be said that the above extracts from *Qur'ân* explicitly suggest a radial distribution of the property, like blood is delivered from the heart to all the internal organs through the complicated network of vessels. Then, what is significant in our discussion about the notion of privacy is that the radial distribution of "private" property is done by the enforcement of law, which is originated in *Sharî'ah*. Furthermore, "more than a half of the private property" is out of control of the will of the deceased.

Needless to say, the peculiarity of privacy in Islam is also discovered in the urban organization. Let us examine the case of the cul-de-sac. The cul-de-sac is one of the typical urban elements of the Arab-Islamic city.³⁴ Like a small branch ramified from a trunk,

³²See: *Ibid.*, pp.10-28.

³³Extract from *Qur'ân*, IV: 11. English translation quoted from: Ali, *op. cit.*, p.181. Even after this passage, there is a detail description of how the property should be distributed in inheritance.

³⁴According to André Raymond, "nearly 50% of the total street network length in town such as Algiers, Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo" is occupied by this

the cul-de-sac springs from a thoroughfare. Then, the ensemble of houses is organized along the cul-de-sac like leaves growing around a branch. As long as we discuss now the notion of privacy, we must answer to the following question. Is the cul-de-sac "private" space or "public" space? Evidently, the cul-de-sac is located outside the walls of the domestic space. In spite of this, it is regarded as "private" space for all the occupants.³⁵ Hakim, in his research of the Arab-Islamic city plan, reports that agreement of all the occupants is necessary so that one can open a door in the cul-de-sac and the maintenance and repair of the cul-de-sac is their duty.³⁶ That is to say, the cul-de-sac is perceived as the private property of the neighbors. At the same time, it can be interpreted that the cul-de-sac becomes a kind of communal space if we take into consideration the above reports of Hakim. One needs consensus of all the neighbors even for opening a private door. Also, they must take care of the cul-de-sac all together. From this point of view, the cul-de-sac may become a "public" space if we stand on the side of the occupants. In any case, the private can not be distinguished easily from the public and vice-versa.

We have just examined the two cases: Islamic hereditary law and the nature of the cul-de-sac. They seem to have nothing to do with each other. Nevertheless, truly we can find a decisive

dead-end alley system. The origin of this system, however, has not been proven yet. See: Raymond, *op. cit.*, pp.15-16.

³⁵Hakim, *op. cit.*, p.24.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp.26-27.

commonness between the two. Namely, both of them indicate the difficulty in tracing a clear-cut borderline between the private and the public. More than a half of the "private" property is distributed by the enforcement of a specific law. The outside of the house is regarded as a "private" space. Therefore, in discussing the courtyard house, it is really insufficient to define simply that the courtyard space is a device for protecting the privacy and intimacy for the family.

B. Social Role of the Courtyard

1. Inter-Penetration of the Inside and the Outside

Now that we have recognized the inter-penetration of the private and the public in addition to that of "relativity" and "insulation" in the logic of double structure, we are almost sure that the house is not a simple space of insulation. The veracity of this assumption will be further fortified in this section by examining the specific function of the courtyard house.

Let us roughly review the spatial structure of the city. Basically, the city is protected by the walls, in the framework of which "space of relativity" organized by *souq* complex is located in the center surrounded by "space of insulation" of the residential area. In addition to the spatial structure, we should remember that the city is not an isolatedly independent entity. The city is

inter-penetrated with surrounding villages by means of the nomadic element which connects the two. The inter-penetration of different factors or spaces is appreciated even in the inside of the city. We can observe it, for example, between *souq* complex and the residential area. In other words, there is no "digital" separation between "space of relativity" and "space of insulation". The two different spaces inter-penetrate each other in the form that the latter is enveloped by the former. Furthermore, within the framework of the residential area, too, inter-penetration of quarters can be observed. Although the quarters seem to be closed to each other surrounded by the walls which physically insulate themselves, in fact they are tightly connected, for example, by a sort of communication network.

Berardi also asserts that vacillating degree of opposition between openness or accessibility and closeness or exclusion is one of the typical characteristics of the Arab-Islamic urban structure even though the structure itself shows that different spaces are apparently separated.³⁷ Truly, the space of *souq* complex is characterized by its structure which enables free passage even for alien visitors. However, while providing openness or accessibility by such a structure, *souq* complex conceals the space further inside the city by the linear arrangement of a countless number of small shops. In other words, *souq* complex also shows off some degree of closeness or exclusion. What is important in our discussion is

³⁷Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.105.

Berardi's further indication that the vacillating opposition controls not only the aliens who pass through the city but also the order of the deepest space inside the city, that is, the domestic space.³⁸

If we take into consideration the pattern of spatial interpenetration in the city and the vacillating opposition between accessibility and exclusion indicated by Berardi, it is well supposed that even the inside and the outside of the domestic space are interpenetrated by each other. That is to say, the quarter's relativistic world of "face to face intimacy" intrudes into the inside of the domestic space by overcoming the walls which apparently separate the house from the outer world. The penetration of the outside into the inside does not indicate such a simple phenomenon as the visit of neighbors. It suggests that life style, order, and human relationship of community life in the quarter may be reproduced in the enclosure of domestic space. Berardi admirably states that the house is the place where society nurtures its human resource;³⁹ thus, the individual begins a process to assimilate him/herself effectively with the social order even from the days of childhood. The practice of such a process will indicate that staying even inside the domestic space, one is able to behave as if he or she found him/herself in the outer world, as a result of which he or she can prepare for social experience. Needless to say, the practice of social assimilation is closely related to the specific structure of the

³⁸See: *Ibid.*, p.110.

³⁹*Ibid.*

courtyard house. In such inter-penetration of the inside and the outside, it will be considered that the courtyard plays a role like that of the lungs in the human body which introduce the indispensable element of fresh air into the internal organs.

2. The Courtyard House as a Miniature of the City

Naturally, there are many styles of the courtyard house in the Arab-Islamic World. Under different environments, different styles emerge. Is it possible to generalize all of them in order to define an archetype? For example, the house of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina may be considered as a typical style of the courtyard house in the Arab-Islamic World.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as the Arab-Islamic World covers such a vast area, it will be almost impossible to have a correct judgement in defining an archetype in style or in design. On the contrary, a decisive commonness will be found if we focus on the specific function of the courtyard as a device for realizing the Islamic life style.⁴¹ We should recognize that Islam is by far the most important common factor which regulates the social order of the Arab-Islamic World. In any case, it must be emphasized that our intention is not to pick up the different styles or designs in order to argue the superficial diversity among them, but to find out

⁴⁰Roy Gazzard, "The Arab House: Its Form and Spatial Distribution." *The Arab House: Proceedings of the Colloquium held in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 15/16, March, 1984, p.16.

⁴¹See: Guy T. Petherbridge, "La Arquitectura Vernácula: La Casa y la Sociedad." G. Michell (ed.), *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, tr. by J. Aguade and B. del Castillo (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), p.196.

a common indispensable function of the courtyard, in the same way that Berardi discovered a rigorous order which organizes the whole urban space.

Before the discussion, it is necessary at this point to illustrate again the rough structure of the courtyard house. It has been repeated that the courtyard is located in the center of the domestic space. The center, however, does not simply mean the structural location. Even from the conceptual point of view, the courtyard can be regarded as the center of the domestic space. The courtyard is the center of the specific social function of the house which we will discuss later. Around this central space, basically all the facilities such as individual or reception rooms are arranged. These facilities are connected as well as separated by the existence of the courtyard in the center.⁴²

Standing in the center of the house surrounded by the arrangement of domestic facilities, we can not help remembering the overall structure of the city. That is to say, the "space of relativity" organized by *souq* complex is the center of city in all sense. There, alien visitors move around freely. The residents are pulled out from the "space of insulation" by the relativistic magnetism. Then, the magnetism is further enhanced because constant encounters and interchanges take place among residents or between residents and aliens.

⁴²Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.107.

Evidently, there is a commonness of structure between the courtyard house and the whole city. In the same way that *souq* complex is the center of city in all sense, the courtyard is so for the domestic space. If we take this point of view, it is not so difficult to imagine that the courtyard space plays a role of enhancing such relativistic human behavior pattern as that of *souq* space. Although there are some exceptions, the entrance to the courtyard house is basically only one.⁴³ The passage from the entrance door leads to the courtyard; then, individual rooms, for example, are placed around the courtyard. Therefore, one is fundamentally obliged to pass through the courtyard in order to head for the individual room. One must cross the courtyard in the contrary case, too. Even in case of shifting from room to room, the courtyard space is always in one's passage. Furthermore, the visitors bring the outer world into the domestic space; in this sense they are like alien merchants for the city. They also pass through the courtyard in order to enter the reception room or simply stay in the courtyard.

It is already manifest that the behavior pattern developed in the courtyard space is quite similar to that of the overall city. The courtyard is the space of encounter and exchange among family members. They also come into contact with visitors from the outer world in the courtyard. Is there any negative argument in defining that the courtyard is the "space of relativity" in the domestic enclosure? The magnetism of "relativity" radiated from the central

⁴³Petherbridge, *op. cit.*, p.197.

courtyard space pulls out family members from their "insulated" individual rooms. Like this, the house has also been anatomized by the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation".

3. The Courtyard and the Creation of *'Ummah*

In the previous section, we have just examined that the external "relativity" intrudes even into the domestic space until it arrives at the courtyard space in order to magnetize the family members in their "insulated" individual rooms. Then, the behavior pattern observed there makes it understandable to define that the house is a miniature of the city.

At this point, let us focus upon how a social unit named family has been perceived in the Arab-Islamic World. Evidently, it has played a role as an important nucleus in the formation of Arab-Islamic society. In the tribal society of the pre-Islamic era, the societal base was organized by the blood-ties based on the family.⁴⁴ It can not be denied that familial solidarity was one of those factors which brought about the integration of quarters. Andrea B. Rugh, who analyzed the contemporary family in Egypt, states as follows in the beginning of her study:

"Family is a concept that has held a special place in Egyptian hearts from the beginning of recorded history to the present."⁴⁵

⁴⁴Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, p.13.

⁴⁵Andrea B. Rugh, *Family in Contemporary Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1985), p.1.

These are just a few examples which well certify the importance of family as a social unit from ancient times to the present day. In discussing the significance of the family and the house, again we must pay attention to the argument proposed by Berardi. He indicates that the house is the place where children, who will be obliged to live in the future as members of society, learn the status of man or of woman in addition to the appropriate position in the family or in society.⁴⁶ As we have already discussed in the previous section, the house where the external world of "relativity" is penetrated is defined as the place of social discipline. Children grow up watching the behavior of father, mother, and other members of family. They learn how to behave in receiving visitors. For example, children get to learn when and how women conceal themselves. In other words, children will recognize the role of each family member as well as how to make contact with the outer world by observing the behavior which take place in the courtyard. Once mature, they will live as urban residents. What is significant is the previous definition that the courtyard house is a miniature of the city not only in structure but also in human behavior patterns. It is already manifest that children master the principle of social formation being reared in their domestic space.

From the above analytical observation, it will be concluded that the courtyard space works as a device in which the role of each individual in the family or in society is effectively learned. In other

⁴⁶See: Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.110.

words, the courtyard space is closely related to the creation of better community life in the family and in society as well. This conclusion, then, naturally leads us to the interpretation of 'Ummah, which is the concept of the ideal community provided by Islam along with the world view of *Tawhîd* and the network of rules, *Shari'ah*. As we discussed in Chapter I, the ideal of 'Ummah is compared to a sound human body, in which every component member in infinite diversity, recognizing his/her own role, brings his/her ability into full play.⁴⁷ Each component member of 'Ummah works as an internal organ or as a blood vessel so as to maintain the harmony of the human body named community.

Here, a question will arise regarding the interpretation of the framework of 'Ummah. Is there any regulation which fixes the covering range of 'Ummah? Let us appreciate the following quotation from *Qur'ân*:

"Verily, this Brotherhood ('Ummah)
Of yours is a single Brotherhood,
And I am your Lord
And Cherisher: therefore
Serve Me (and no other)."⁴⁸

⁴⁷See *Hadîth* quoted in Section C-2-c of Chapter I.

⁴⁸*Qur'ân*, XXI: 92. English translation quoted from: Ali, *op. cit.*, p.843. Regarding the translation of 'Ummah, Ali asserts: "Ummat: this is best translated by Brotherhood here. 'Community', 'race', and 'nation' and 'people' are words which import other ideas and do not quite correspond to 'Ummat'" in the Footnote No. 2749 on the same page.

It is clearly defined that 'Ummah is only one. That is to say, whole Islamic society should become a single 'Ummah as the final goal for all the believers. However, it can be interpreted that in order to achieve the goal, there should appear a number of preparations at various levels of society. For example, when the framework of the Arab World is emphasized, it is possible to establish a concept of Arab 'Ummah.⁴⁹ Furthermore, if the viewpoint is microscopic on the contrary to the former case, even a space organized by such facilities as *masjid* can reasonably be regarded as a symbol or miniature of 'Ummah.⁵⁰ In *masjid*, relativistic behaviors take place one after another like the rings of a chain controlled by the network of Islamicity, in addition to the practice of worship.

In sum, although the final goal is the fulfillment of a single 'Ummah which covers the whole Islamic World, the conceptual framework will not be strictly fixed as far as the miniaturization of 'Ummah is concerned. The framework can be diversified according to the situation or the circumstance. It can be applied to various scales, organizations, units, or facilities. Islam has enhanced the smoothness of *espace lisse* with its nomadologic way.⁵¹ From this point of view, too, it can be considered that Islam does not fix the

⁴⁹Yasushi Kosugi, "'Ummah wo Kôso suru Shisôka tachi." T. Kuroda (ed.), *Kyôdôtai-Ron no Chihei* (Tokyo: Sanshû-Sha, 1990), p.121.

⁵⁰Ohno, *op. cit.*, p.146.

⁵¹See: T. Kuroda, "On the Nature of Community in the Arab-Muslim World." T. Kuroda, and R.I. Lawless (eds.), *Nature of the Islamic Community*, p.30.

framework of miniaturized *'Ummahs* as the preparations for the final goal. Therefore, it is not off the point at all to define that the family, which traditionally has been regarded as an important social unit, is a kind of miniaturized *'Ummahs*. Then, in the framework of family *'Ummah*, each member fulfills given roles in order to realize the ideal of this small community. In addition, those who learned the Islamic way of life in the family *'Ummah* will regard the cul-de-sac, quarter, residential area, and the whole city as a series of miniaturized *'Ummahs*.

For example, a number of family *'Ummahs* organize the cul-de-sac. The cul-de-sac, then, creates its own *'Ummah*. The cul-de-sac is generally regarded as a private space for the occupants.⁵² That is to say, the cul-de-sac can be considered a space of free passage for the occupants. Therefore, thanks to the frequent encounters and interchanges among occupants, "relativity" in the cul-de-sac's *'Ummah* will be enhanced constantly. What is more significant is that "relativity" of the cul-de-sac is sharply penetrated into the courtyard of each domestic space overcoming the "insulation" of walls and doors. From this point of view, the cul-de-sac is defined as a network which connects all the courtyards. Therefore, the cul-de-sac and the courtyards can never be separated. They together form a specific world of "relativity". If we borrow Berardi's expression, the house does not withdraw into its shell.⁵³

⁵²Hakim, *op. cit.*, p.24.

⁵³Berardi, *op. cit.*, p.111.

Furthermore, like family *'Ummah* develops into the cul-de-sac's *'Ummah*, the culs-de-sac in turn make the quarter's *'Ummah*. By repeating this pattern, the overall city also creates its own *'Ummah*. The very starting point of the organic creation of the miniature of *'Ummah* is nothing but the courtyard in the center of the house.

CONCLUSION

The Ideal Notion and Its Embodiment

A. The Triadic Structure of Islam Revisited

Arthur Koestler has elaborated a unique system-theory by using the concept of *Holon*, which can be applied, according to him, to all the phenomena of Nature.¹ *Holon* is an entity like Janus of Roman mythology having two faces on the front as well as on the back of the head and lies in the middle of hierarchy.² Therefore, observed from below, *Holon* is regarded as a whole while it also becomes a part observed, on the contrary to the former case, from above in the hierarchy.³

The logic of *Holonic* hierarchy can be utilized for the analysis of the social system, too. The Individual, family, relatives, clan, and state are considered social *Holons*.⁴ Such social *Holons* are

¹See: Arthur Koestler, *Janus: A Summing up* by Arthur Koestler, tr. by M. Tanaka, and K. Yoshioka (Tokyo: Kôzaku-Sha, 1983).

²*Ibid.*, p.64.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*, p.65.

integrated wholes by themselves; at the same time, they are parts of larger social entities⁵ like the individual is a part of a family.

In a well balanced *Holonic* hierarchy, the individual shows off his/her characteristic as social *Holon*.⁶ He or she is a partial whole and displays autonomy within the framework of restriction imposed on the individual for the benefit of overall hierarchy, which in turn requires his/her ingenuity, spontaneity, and responsibility in order to be a well balanced one.⁷ Each *Holon* in its appropriate position of the hierarchy, Koestler emphasizes, recognizes right as a partial whole as well as duty as a part.⁸

If we take into consideration the above assertion of Koestler, the chain of miniaturized 'Ummahs in the Arab-Islamic city, which starts from the courtyard space of the house, will suggest a typical example of well balanced *Holonic* hierarchy. Family, quarter, residential area, and overall city can be defined as a series of social *Holons* in hierarchic arrangement.

Nevertheless, the Arab-Islamic city displays a specific structure which can not be explained only by the concept of *Holonic* hierarchy in a well balanced form. For example, how can we explain the conceptual origin which organizes random street-network or tangled composition of houses? Is it possible to elucidate the enigma of the structure in question only with the logic

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, p.156

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*, pp.156-157.

of *Holonic* hierarchy? It is unfortunate and natural as well that Koestler's purpose is not for revealing the peculiarity of each *Holon* and its hierarchy. Evidently, the enigma continues to be so if we do not disclose the real face of the people who design the urban space. Thus, in concluding the study, we must review en masse the essence of notion which controls the nature of people and endows them with a unique style of space-handling.

In Chapter I, we have established the logic of double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" by examining the essential aspects of the Arab-Islamic World. This logic has been a guideline for anatomizing the urban space in the following two chapters. What should be emphasized in this logic is the unique relationship between the two different factors. That is to say, "relativity" envelops "insulation" bringing about the inter-penetration of the two. What is the factor which characterizes this specific structure? Although any single factor alone can not decide the characteristic of the structure, the question is relevantly answered by stating that the network of Islamicity should be chosen as one of the most significant factors. Then, if we focus upon the network of Islamicity, it is necessary for us to refer to the triadic structure of Islam. *Tawhîd*, *'Ummah*, and *Shari'ah* all together, magnetize the mind of believers in order to control overall society as power without entity, as a result of which the network of Islamicity spreads all over society.

In the magnetism radiated from the triadic structure of Islam, one of the most significant nuclei is, needless to say, the thorough affirmation of diversity. The world in which we live is in infinite diversity. It is easily proven, for example, by the simple fact that the fingerprints of each person are completely different. Time, which had been believed an absolute unit, was proven to be also in diversity because it differs from place to place in line with the environment which surrounds the measurers.⁹

Gilles Deleuze regrets the tendency of neglecting the essential difference. He asserts that science has let the difference of degree come into the front and, what is worse, by metaphysics the essential difference has been replaced by the difference of intensity.¹⁰ On the contrary to the Deleuze's anxiety, Islam emphasizes the essential difference among all the beings of the world. In atomism of Islamic theology, substance is always combined with accident. What should be emphasized in this combination is that the affirmation of infinite diversity already begins at this very first point. We must remember that any substance is never combined with the same accident. Let us pick out a case of two different colors, e.g., blue and red. If we neglect the elements which characterize blueness or redness of the two, both of them will be regarded as the same in the sense that simply they are colors. Needless to say, the Islamic

⁹Stephen W. Hawking, *A Brief History of Time: From the Big Bang to Black Holes*, tr. by H. Hayashi (Tokyo: Hayakawa-Shobō, 1989), p.189.

¹⁰Gilles Deleuze, *La Conception de la Différence chez Bergson*, tr. by H. Hirai (Tokyo: Seido-Sha, 1989), pp.18-19.

viewpoint is completely different. Furthermore, it is not an exaggeration to say that Islam affirms diversity even in blueness or in redness. For example, blueness for dark blue is essentially different from blueness for light blue.

The world view of *Tawhîd* defines that every being in infinite diversity is the same in value as long as it is created by one and only Allah, the Absolute. If this notion is reflected to the human relationship, mutual respect of endowments naturally comes in front. Therefore, diversity appears, too, in distributing the roles to be played by each individual. Since roles are different, relationships among the individuals also differ from case to case. The ideal relationship with a neighbor on the left side is not necessarily so for a neighbor on the right side. It is already evident, thus, that the borderlines among the individuals can not be traced simply with a grid-like form.

The above explanation, however, does not indicate at all a confused entanglement among individuals. Their behavior is controlled exquisitely by the rules arisen from *Shari'ah*. This may be illustrated in a Spinozean way. Namely, emptiness among the individuals must be filled up by the collaboration of all.¹¹ This is truly one of the most significant objectives of *Shari'ah*. *Shari'ah* brings about a chain of rules which work for letting appropriate individuals slide into the emptiness smoothly and exquisitely in

¹¹Idea borrowed from Remarks of the proposition 15 in Part One of *Ethica*. See: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Ethica: Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata*, tr. by N. Hatanaka, Vol.1 (Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1975), p.57.

order to fill it up. Such rules are elaborated by interpreting *Shari'ah* from the viewpoint of *Tawhid*. In other words, the rules organize a structure in which each individual is highly respected as "one in value", i.e., there is no difference of value among all the individuals, while whole society is also controlled so that it should be a harmonized "one".

What is also important regarding the interpretation of *Shari'ah* is that it is carried out in line with the change of the social environment. The 20th century is evidently different from the 7th century. Obedience to *Shari'ah* does not mean to return blindly to the days of early Islam. That is why *Shari'ah* does not fossilize itself but still exists as the source of rules for controlling Muslim behavior.

The thorough affirmation of infinite diversity and unity of the whole by the world view of *Tawhid*, which is enhanced by the chain of rules arisen from *Shari'ah*, aims at a unique ideal of the community, '*Ummah*. We have already seen that the ideal community is compared to a sound human body in *Hadith*, which is worth appreciating here again:

"You will see the believers acting with mutual kindness, love, and compassion as if they were one human body. If any part feels pain, the whole body will react with insomnia and fever."¹²

¹²Translated from: Nisar Ahmad (ed.), *The Fundamental Teaching of "Qur'an and Hadith"*, Vol.1, p.101.

B. Diversity and Unity: Understanding Islam in the Light of Spinoza

So far we have reviewed the triadic structure of Islam as the essence of the network of Islamicity. What is interesting for us is that its uniqueness surprisingly has a close similarity with the philosophy of Spinoza. Actually, we have already borrowed his idea when we argued the filling up of emptiness among the individuals. It has just been stated that the similarity between Islam and Spinoza is quite surprising. However, it is not necessarily so if we trace back his family lineage.

Spinoza himself was born in a Jewish quarter of Amsterdam in 1632.¹³ What is significant is that his father was born in southern part of Portugal and it was merely 16 years before the birth of the philosopher when the family arrived in the Netherlands.¹⁴ In other words, Spinoza's family belonged to those Iberian Jews called *Sefardíes*.¹⁵ Needless to say, the major part of the Iberian Peninsula belonged to the huge Islamic Community for a long time under the

¹³See: Spinoza's biography in: Pierre Macherey, *Hegel ou Spinoza*, tr. by N. Kuwata, and I. Suzuki (Tokyo: Shinhyōron, 1986), p.372.

¹⁴See: *Ibid.*

¹⁵The forefathers of Spinoza, like many other Jews in the Iberian Peninsula, seem to have converted to Christianity in order to avoid the persecution. In the case of Spain, the newly converted Christians were scornfully called "marranos (pigs)" or "judaizantes (crypto-Jews)" when it was revealed that the major part of them still kept the relationships with non-converted Jews or did not abandon their traditional customs. Although the family of Spinoza came from Portugal, the situation there would be quite similar to that of Spain. Regarding the persecution of Jews in Spain, see: Jaime Vicens Vives, *Aproximación a la Historia de España*, tr. by K. Kobayashi (Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1975), pp.101-102.

name of al-Andalus. Al-Andalus saw a florescence of specific fusion of different traditions within the framework of the Arab-Islamic culture, thanks to the coexistence of Muslims, Jews, and Christians.¹⁶ Even after the finalization of *Reconquista* in 1492 with the fall of the last Muslim dynasty in Granada, the Islamic element did not disappear all at once but still remained in the Andalusian soil.¹⁷ If this cultural background of Spinoza is taken into consideration, the discovery of similarity between Spinoza and Islam is not necessarily a surprise.

In discussing the similarity between Islam and Spinoza, the most significant point will be the Spinozean concept about *substantia* (substance) and *attributum* (attribute) analyzed by Pierre Macherey, who realized a comparative study of Spinoza and Hegel.¹⁸ According to Macherey, there is an essential difference between Spinoza and Hegel in how substance and attribute relate to each other.¹⁹

On the one hand in Hegel, attribute is not found in the inside of substance but on the outside of it; therefore, attribute is necessarily imperfect and merely a viewpoint utilized in the reflection which is done by substance.²⁰ Attribute represents

¹⁶See: Akiro Matsumoto, "Spain-Islam-Sekai no Chishiki-Jin tachi." MAYDAN, No.22 (Niigata: IMES, IUJ, 1990), pp.14-15.

¹⁷For example, it was after 1609 when the total exodus of *moriscos* (ex-Muslims) was carried out. See: Vives, *op. cit.*, pp.135-136.

¹⁸See: Macherey, *op. cit.*, pp.113-159.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p.113.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p.116.

substance just partially.²¹ If we illustrate the relationship of the two by utilizing a hierarchic order, substance is positioned on the higher level than attribute.²² To sum up, in the Hegelian concept, the relationship between substance and attribute is compared to that of lord and vassal.

On the other hand, in the Spinozean concept substance and attribute are on the same level.²³ Unlike in the Hegelian concept, there is not a hierarchic order between substance and attribute. Substance and attribute are not lord and vassal at all. At the same time, in the chronological sense substance does not appear before attribute and vice-versa.²⁴ That is to say, substance and attribute appear simultaneously. Substance is composed of attributes, which in turn organize the essence of substance.²⁵ Therefore, it is impossible to distinguish substance from attribute.²⁶ After all in Spinoza, on the contrary to the Hegelian concept, horizontal will be the most suitable expression for indicating the relationship between substance and attribute.

The horizontal relationship between substance and attribute easily reminds us of the nature of atom in Islamic theology, which is the origin of the thorough affirmation of infinite diversity. An atom or substance does not exist alone without taking accident. In

²¹*Ibid.*, p.119.

²²*Ibid.*, p.129.

²³*Ibid.*, p.134.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*, p.126.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p.117.

this sense, it is impossible to put the two in a hierarchical order like in the case of Hegel. That is to say, substance is not superior to accident in the viewpoint of Islamic theology.

Nevertheless, this is not the only similarity between Islam and Spinoza. In the beginning of *Ethica*, Spinoza refers to the specific relationship between substance and attribute.²⁷ It is quite puzzling that the illustration of the relationship, then, drastically changes as we turn over the pages. First of all, in the proposition 2 of Part One, Spinoza denies any similarity between two substances whose attributes are different.²⁸ In the proposition 5 of the same Part, he also denies the sameness of attribute among plural number of substances.²⁹ Evidently, the focal point of the two propositions is the diversity among attributes and, therefore, among substances which involve the formers inside.

However, when we arrive at the proposition 11, we find a completely different point of view. Spinoza affirms the existence of god or substance which is composed of infinite number of attributes.³⁰ Substance is now unifying all the attributes. Thus, another focal point, i.e., unity, has been added to diversity by means of the existence of the supreme existence.

Regarding the two completely different phases of substance and attribute, i.e., diversity and unity, Macherey asserts that as a

²⁷See: Spinoza, *op. cit.*, pp.37-59.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p.30.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p.40.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p.47.

matter of fact Spinoza illustrates a same existence with the same content first in diversity, then, second in unity.³¹ Furthermore, Macherey continues that the two different phases occur not one after another but simultaneously.³² How can we neglect the close similarity which lies between diversity and unity in Spinoza and the world view of *Tawhîd*? It has been repeated that *Tawhîd* aims at the unity of the whole at the same time that it affirms the infinite diversity among all the beings.

The significance of the Spinozean concept for our discussion culminates in the following interpretation of Macherey.³³ It is impossible to display the context of diversity and unity in a static order which is already finished in harmony. The context must be displayed in the middle of a specific movement which is in contrast to such order. Then, the duty of the movement in question is to reveal the phase of diversity and unity simultaneously. In addition to this, it must clarify solidarity, collaboration, or inseparability of diversity and unity.

It is manifestly supposed that the movement indispensable to the simultaneous display of diversity and unity is quite similar to the function of the relativistic network of Islamicity which is brought about by the triadic structure of *Tawhîd*, *'Ummah*, and *Shari'ah*. Random radiation of energy, strong assertion of individual peculiarity, and precise control of individual behavior

³¹Macherey, *op. cit.*, p.142.

³²*Ibid.*

³³For the interpretation of Macherey in this paragraph, see: *Ibid.*

for the purpose of realizing the unified whole are nothing but the essence of the function of the network of Islamicity.

C. Embodiment of the Ideal and Reality

It is already evident that the hierarchy which starts from the family and culminates in the city overall is not a simple arrangement of social *Holons*. The mind of people who design the urban space is strongly influenced by the network of Islamicity. The spatial design of the residential area which is characterized by the tangled composition of houses in addition to the labyrinthine network of streets and alleys can not be defined simply as the device of protection against the intrusion of foes or as the invention for providing as much shade as possible under a scorching sun of the Arab-Islamic World. Just like the Arabesque pattern, the traditional urban design should be interpreted also as one of the embodiments of the mind or the nature of people.

Furthermore, the courtyard plays a significant role of filling up the emptiness between the family and society. While the family is respectfully "insulated" in the domestic space, it is never separated from the outer world of "relativity" thanks to the existence of the courtyard. In other words, the "relativistic" network of Islamicity penetrates into the courtyard space. Double structure of "relativity" and "insulation" is not merely an ideal

notion but is embodied successfully even in the space-handling of individual houses.

Through this study we have analyzed the specific meaning, role, and function of the courtyard house in the Arab-Islamic World as well as the peculiarity of overall urban design. As a result, we have clarified that the traditional space-handling is a vivid reflection of the people's nature which has been influenced by the ideal notion of society. For example, the house is manifestly an indispensable space where people spend most of their time. Thus, domestic space must provide repose for the dwellers. Needless to say, repose can be obtained when people's nature and spatial design are harmonized smoothly. It is not an exaggeration to say that architectural tradition has handled space for the purpose of bringing repose in the domestic space.

Nevertheless, it will be an undeniable fact that distortion occurs in various aspects of the traditional harmony between the nature of people and space, triggering off a number of social problems. Let us examine the case of the Arab-Islamic World. In general, rapid industrialization has brought about the concentrated influx of population into the urban area. As a consequence, serious problems have emerged. Among them is the shortage of housing. As a countermeasure to this problem, for example, residential complexes are planned by the government and put into practice.

Unfortunately, however, it seems that the problem can not be solved so easily. There are some explicit reasons for the difficulty in solving the problem with such plans, like the gap between the rent to be paid and the income level of the people. What should be emphasized is that this is just a practical reason and not the essential one. The planners must consider if the space provided for the people is harmonized with their nature or not, like Hassan Fathy did when he designed the *Architecture for the Poor*.³⁴ Otherwise, the plan will end in a provision of distorted space for the people. In such a case, it will be almost impossible for them to find repose there.

The distorted space for the people is not a problem which is found only in the Arab-Islamic World. Nor is the problem unique to the developing countries. It is found, for example, in the United States, too. Edward T. Hall exemplifies the failure of the slum clearance carried out in Chicago.³⁵ He asserts strongly:

"In considering solutions to problems such as urban renewal and city sinks it is essential to know how the populations involved perceive space and how they use their senses."³⁶

Hall also emphasizes that the root of such problems is the negligence of the existence of different cultures.³⁷ Even if the

³⁴See: Fathy, *op. cit.*

³⁵See: Hall, *op. cit.*, p.169.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p.148.

³⁷See: *Ibid.*, p.183.

architecture itself is wonderfully finished in appearance or in rationalized function, there is a high possibility that it will be converted into a dangerous filing cabinet only by neglecting the harmony between people's nature and spatial design. In order to avoid such social distortion, the planners or ourselves must recognize our own nature and the advantage of tradition cultivated by our forefathers. In addition to this, another significant subject lies in front of us. That is to say, we must come into deep contact with different cultures so that we may solve contemporary problems by discovering clues from a number of advantages still unknown to us. The concept of the courtyard house is evidently one of the most precious suggestions from the Arab-Islamic culture.

APPENDIX

Madness and Courtyard

As the result of the study of the courtyard house and urban structure, we have revealed an aspect of the essence of social formation of the Arab-Islamic World. In this Appendix, an interesting subject will be introduced for clarifying also the essence from a different point of view. In this subject, too, the interpretation of the courtyard plays a significant role.

We have already referred repeatedly to the fact that the courtyard is not unique to the individual houses but is found in various facilities of the city. Among them, we will discuss here the remains of *bimaristân* or traditional mental hospital. In other words, the subject will deal with how madness was treated in the Arab-Islamic World. What is significant for us in this subject is nothing but the existence of the courtyard even in the inside of the mental hospital where madness was taken care of.

Michel Foucault has revealed that the analytical observation of the treatment of social deviations brings into relief the nature of

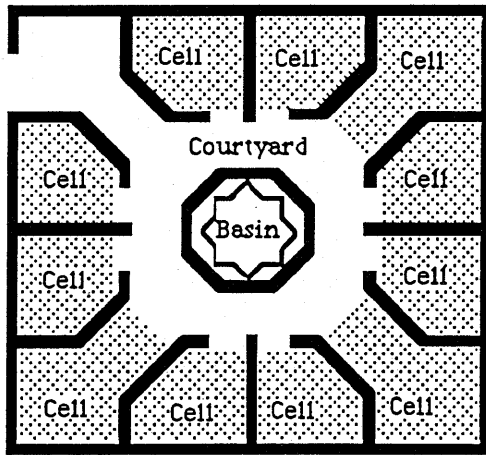
society in question. Madness is naturally defined as one of the deviated factors of society. In some sense, madness represents the hidden side of society. Then, revealing the hidden side, as Foucault has successfully done, leads to the exposure of the real face of society. In *Histoire de la Folie à l'Age Classique*, Foucault disclosed in detail how madness was treated in the context of the history of Western society.¹ In other words, Foucault illustrated how the face of society controlled those who were considered abnormal or deviated from the social code. As though an image were reflected on the mirror as it is, the face of society appears on the structure of the hidden side.

The courtyard which we will focus upon in order to analyze the hidden side of the Arab-Islamic World is found in the remains of a mental hospital called *Bimaristân Arghoun*. It is located in *madînah* of Aleppo which we examined in Chapter II. Although detailed documents are unfortunately not available at the hand of author, *Bimaristân Arghoun* is supposed to be the hospital endowed in 1354, which is referred to by Lapidus in his *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*.² It is located close to the southern edge of *souq* complex and like many other facilities has a splendid central courtyard inside. However, the central courtyard is not the focal point of our attention.

¹See: Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la Folie à l'Age Classique*, tr. by H. Tamura (Tokyo: Shinchô-Sha, 1975).

²See: Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, p.22.

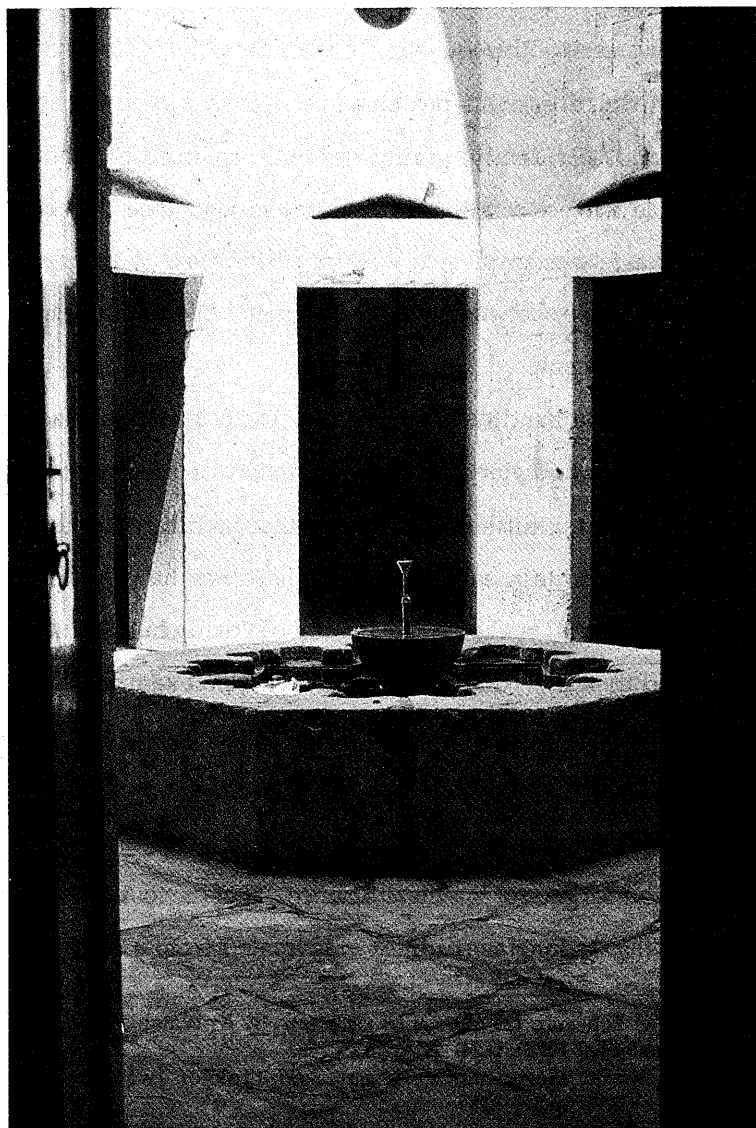
In *Bimaristân Arghoun*, there were three wards for the patients. The patients were divided into three groups according to the degree of disease symptoms so that they could be taken care of in the appropriate ward.³ Then, in two of the three wards, the internal courtyard was utilized, namely, in the ward for medium symptoms and in the other for not so serious patients. Let us see the plan, for example, of the ward for medium symptoms.⁴



In the center of the octagon-shaped courtyard, there is a basin and eleven cells are arranged as if they themselves together formed an octagon. It is easily supposed that the courtyard here is not a device for controlling climatic condition because the ward itself is in

³Information obtained from Dr. Mahmoud Hretani during the field research carried out in Jul., 1990.

⁴Plan reproduced from the document obtained from Dr. Hretani.



The Ward for Medium Symptoms (*Bimaristân Arghoun*)

the inside of the building and is not open to the sky. How can we interpret the existence of this courtyard?

In addressing this question, it is naturally indispensable to examine how madness was perceived as well as treated in the Arab-Islamic World. Evidently, giving the entire picture of madness is not a simple subject at all. However, it is also true that only by examining a few examples, a striking difference is brought into relief, for example, between the Arab-Islamic World and the West described by Foucault.

On the one hand, Western society treated madness not from the medical point of view but as a deviation of society for a long time.⁵ It was not until the 19th century that medical science started to deal with madness earnestly.⁶ On the other hand, it is a well known fact that in the Arab-Islamic World medical science developed far earlier than in the West.⁷ For example, Ibn Sîna, known as Avicenna in the West, practiced already in the 11th century a psychotherapeutic treatment.⁸

What should be emphasized here is that madness was treated as one of the targets of medical science. That is to say, it can be considered that as long as madness was treated from a medical point

⁵Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les Choses*, tr. by K. Watanabe, and A. Sakai (Tokyo: Shinchô-Sha, 1974), p.74.

⁶See: Kimio Moriyama, *Kyôki no Kiseki* (Tokyo: Iwasaki Gakujutsu Shuppan-Sha, 1988), pp.319-338.

⁷For the comparison of the Arab-Islamic World and the West in terms of the development of medical science, see: Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe*, tr. by W. Miki, pp.114-118.

⁸See: Shuntaro Itoh, et al., *Ibn Sîna* (Tokyo: Asahi Shuppan-Sha, 1981), pp.47-48.

of view, the final goal would be to cure it in order to return the patients to society. Foucault also refers to the medical treatment of madness in the Arab-Islamic World. According to him, hospitals for curing madness seem to have been already established in: Fez in the 12th century, Baghdad in the end of the 12th century, and Cairo in the 13th century.⁹ Foucault introduces that in those hospitals a kind of psychotherapy was practiced through such entertainments as music, dance, show, or listening of fairy tales; and instruction or completion of treatment were controlled by "medical" doctors.¹⁰ It is quite agreeable that in *Bimaristân Arghoun*, too, such psychotherapeutic treatments or decision of doctors would be put into practice if we take into consideration the period of its foundation.

In addition to the practice of medical treatment, we must focus upon the specific attitude of society towards madness. Susumu Oda, who analyzes madness in the Orient, states that in the Islamic Community, society showed an tolerant attitude toward the psychopathic.¹¹ He also reports that some of the psychopaths were believed to have supernatural power and were tolerantly accepted in community life; then, people tried to make contact with them in order to have their fortune told.¹²

⁹Foucault, *Histoire de la Folie à l'Age Classique*, tr. by H. Tamura, p.141.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Susumu Oda, *Tôyô no Kyôki-Shi* (Tokyo: Shisaku-Sha, 1990), p.257.

¹²See: *Ibid.*, pp.257-258.

An example of the tolerance of society toward madness or extraordinariness can be found in the context of a Sudanese novel entitled *'Urs-z-Zayn* (The Wedding of Zayn) written by At-Tayyib Sâlih.¹³ Although Zayn, the protagonist of the novel, can not be defined as psychopath, both his figure and also his behavior are truly extraordinary. However, he is not excluded from the community at all. On the contrary, he is believed to have a specific ability to bring happy marriage to maidens. Therefore, women of the village where Zayn lives eagerly invite him to their home or let their daughters make contact with him.

As one of the reasons why such extraordinariness is not simply excluded from society, we can refer to a popular belief that extraordinariness occurs when one is possessed by *Jinn*.¹⁴ *Jinn* is a kind of spirit which is believed to have been created by Allah.¹⁵ Then, it is quite interesting that *Jinns* are divided into two groups, i.e., good *Jinns* and bad *Jinns*.¹⁶ In other words, it can be interpreted that if a good *Jinn* possesses a person, he will reveal an extraordinary talent, as in the case of Zayn who brings happiness even though it is not mentioned in the novel.

So far we have briefly examined some aspects of madness in the Arab-Islamic World. Then, two characteristics have been

¹³See: At-Tayyib Sâlih, "'Urs-z-Zayn," tr. by S. Takai, *Gendai Arab Shôsetsu Zenshû 8* (Tokyo: Kawade-Shobô Shinsha, 1978), pp.175-273.

¹⁴See: Oda, *op. cit.*, pp.246-247.

¹⁵The creation of *Jinns* is described in *Qur'ân* LV:15 as follows: "And He created Jinns from fire free from smoke." See: Ali, *op. cit.*, p.1474.

¹⁶See: Izutsu, *Islam Seitan*, pp.220-231.

clarified. First, madness was treated by medical science from early times with the final purpose of returning the patients to society. Second, society in turn has shown an attitude of not simply refusing extraordinariness. If we stand on these points of view, it is supposed that in the Arab-Islamic World there has been a notion of trying to integrate even madness or extraordinariness into the relativistic network of society. One of the reflections of this specific notion will be the location of *Bimaristân Arghoun*. It was founded not outside the walls of city but inside *madînah*. In addition, the wards were equipped with the courtyard. We must remember that the courtyard is, in the case of the house, the space which connects the family and society and functions as the place of social discipline for children. In this sense, it can be interpreted that the courtyard in *Bimaristân Arghoun* was also utilized as the place of social discipline for the patients. However, as we have already seen, the courtyard is not necessarily equipped in all the wards. The ward for serious patients did not have the courtyard like the other two. Furthermore, the windows of the cells were iron-barred. The absence of the courtyard in this ward can be explained that serious patients would behave harmfully; thus, it would be considered impossible to integrate them into the relativistic network even among patients.

Bimaristân Arghoun of Aleppo is just a sample of those traditional mental hospitals which would be found in various cities of the Arab-Islamic World. It is not possible to define it as the

archetype of them all. Nevertheless, it is nothing but a fact that in *Bimaristân Arghoun* courtyards were utilized even inside the wards where patients passed the majority of their time as if they had been obliged to cultivate "relativity" among themselves as the first step of their return to social life. As long as we appreciate the remains of *Bimaristân Arghoun*, the meaning of this specific space-handling can not be ignored in examining the hidden side, i.e., madness, of the Arab-Islamic World. In so doing, it will be revealed that the ideal notion of Islam is architecturally embodied not only on the face of society but also in the hidden side.

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INDEX

A

- Abbasid, 18, 24, 64
 Al-Abras, Abîd b., 19
 al-Andalus, 20, 21, 144
 Aleppo, 21, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 88
 Alhambra, 106, 108
anafah, 19
 Arab characteristics, 12, 14, 113, 116, 117
 Arabesque, 32, 33, 35, 99, 114, 119, 120, 148
 Arabic (language), 58, 59
 As-Sadr, Muhammad Bâqir, 13
 atom/atomistic view/atomism, 29, 140, 145

B

- Baghdad, 7, 56, 64, 157
 Bedouins, 17, 62
 Berardi, Roberto, 67-69, 73, 74, 78, 79, 84, 106,
 114, 126, 127, 132
Bimaristân Arghoun, 153, 154, 157, 159, 160
bimaristân, 70, 152
 borderless/borderlessness, 54, 55, 57-61, 64

C

- Cairo, 21, 69, 98, 99, 157
 Caliph, 23, 24, 66
 cul-de-sac, 78, 123, 124, 135, 136

D

- Dagognet, François, 32, 51, 52, 119
 Damascus, 21, 69, 88, 92, 94, 97, 98, 108
dawlah, 59
 Deleuze, Gilles, 140
 Deleuze, Gilles, and Guattari, Félix, 60, 61, 117
 device for passage, 65, 72-76, 78
 device for stay, 65, 74, 76-81, 84
Dhimmi system, 90
 dichotomous logic, 31
 diversity and unity, 142, 143-148
dîwân, 95
 double structure of
 "relativity" and "insulation", 47-52, 65, 84, 86, 87, 96, 101,
 113, 115, 125, 131, 139, 148

E

- espace lisse*, 60, 61, 64, 117, 134
espace strié, 61
Ethica, 146

F

- face to face intimacy, 88, 91-93, 96, 98, 100, 102, 114,
 127
 Fathy, Hassan, 82, 83, 108-111, 113, 150
 Foucault, Michel, 42, 119, 152, 153, 156, 157

H

- Hadîth Dimashqî*, 97
Hadîth, 34, 35, 37
hajj, 57, 60
 Hakim, Besim Selim, 38, 124
Halab, 66
 Hall, Edward T., 4, 150
hammâm, 70, 82, 83, 93
hârat, 88
 heat regulator, 6
 Hegel, 144-146
 hereditary law, 120-123
Holon, 137-139, 148
 Hunke, Sigrid, 46

I

- Ibn Battûtah, 58, 60
 Ibn Khaldûn, 17, 21, 22, 63, 64
 Ibn Sînâ, 156
 Ibn Tûlûn, 94, 95
Iqtisâdnâ, 13
 Islamic economy, 13, 121, 122

J

- Jâhiliyah* poetry, 18
Jâhiliyah society/era, 14, 18, 89, 116, 117
Jinn, 158

K

- khân*, 70, 75, 105
 Koestler, Arthur, 137-139

L

- Lapidus, Ira M., 14, 17, 21, 88, 89, 91, 153
 law school, 91

M

- Macherey, Pierre, 144, 146, 147
madînah (of Aleppo), 66-71, 72-75, 78, 79, 159
 madness, 152-160
madrasah, 10, 70, 74, 82, 105
mahallât, 88
 Mahfouz, Naguib, 98, 99
 merchants, 25, 75
Midaq Alley, 99, 100
 modern mass-society, 30, 31, 118-120
 Moore, Barrington JR., 2, 9, 116
 Mosaic, 120
 mosque/*masjid*, 10, 26, 46, 70, 74, 82, 85, 93, 105, 134

N

- nazala/manzil*, 62, 63, 112
 network of Islamicity, 37, 41-47, 58, 116, 139, 147, 148
 nomadism, 65
 Nomadology/nomadologic, 60, 134

O

- Orientalism*, 13
Orthodox Caliphs, 24, 34

P

- Panopticon*, 42, 43
 paper making (technology), 56, 57
 privacy/private and public, 9, 10, 30, 115, 116-125
 Prophet Muhammad, 14, 16, 18, 23-26, 34, 38, 128

Q

- Qawmīyah*, 60
 quarter, 21, 87, 126, 127, 131, 135, 136
Qur'ân, 28, 31, 37, 38, 58, 59, 90, 121, 123, 133

R

- rahala*, 62
 residential area, 21, 78, 79, 85, 86-102, 125, 126, 135, 148
 Rugh, Andrea B., 131

S

- sacred and profane, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30
sakana/maskan, 62, 63, 112
salât, 25, 26, 45, 46, 82
Sefardîes, 143
Shari'ah, 27, 37-39, 92, 119, 121, 123, 133
Shari'atî, 'Alî, 36
Shaykh, 17
 Sicily, 56
 Simmah, Duraid b., 19
 solidarity, 17, 19-22
souq, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72-75, 78, 81-83, 85, 87, 93, 96, 100, 125, 126, 129, 130
 space of insulation, 81, 84, 85, 96, 101, 102, 125, 126, 129
 space of relativity, 81, 83-85, 87, 96, 125, 126, 129, 130
 Spinoza, Benedictus de, 143-147
Sultân, 24
Sunnah, 37, 38

T

- tawâf*, 58
Tawhîd, 27, 28, 34-39, 49, 93, 118, 133, 147
 triadic structure of Islam, 28, 39-41, 139-142
 tribalism, 17, 131
 Tuan, Yi-Fu, 3

U

- ulamâ*, 25, 94
 Umayyad, 20, 24
 'Ummah, 27, 33, 34-39, 59, 60, 90, 133-136, 138
 Urs-z-Zayn/Sâlih, at-Tayyib, 158

W

- wajh*, 17
Watanîyah, 60
 Watt, W. Montgomery, 20

Z

- zakât*, 122