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**Review of *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*
by Olivia Remie Constable**

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this sense could supplement Carl Petry's *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* as a textbook or seminar reader.

OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Pp. 427.

REVIEWED BY STUART BORSCH, Assumption College

This book strikes one, from the very start, as an astounding endeavor in the scope and scale of the topic. In this age of globalization, when huge food and hotel conglomerates dominate the marketplace, Remie Constable has taken up the task of exploring their predecessors in the medieval world. Drawing on a wide variety of sources, philological, archaeological, and documentary, she explores the various manifestations of the *funduq*, that space for storage, commerce, lodging and boarding that dominated most areas in the Mediterranean at one time or another. For any scholar interested in travel, trade, or the socioeconomic structure of Mediterranean life, this book is a must read.

The parable of the Good Samaritan is a brilliant starting point; the *pandocheion* mentioned is the etymological root for *funduq*, as she establishes in an exploration of sources from late antiquity. The *pandocheion* serves as a Christian metaphor for the life of a pilgrim and the transit of body and soul through this world to the next. Tracing the evolution of the *pandocheion*, she goes on to analyze the purpose and function of *funduqs* as they matured in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. She describes the economic and social functions of *funduqs* and their relationship to other institutions, particularly *sūqs*.

She illustrates how *funduqs* served as loci for government taxation of imports and exports. The nature of taxation served in many cases to raise the price of goods sold in *funduqs*, an item of complaint for some contemporary observers. Constable details the interconnection of high-quality long-distance trade items, such as silk, and the role that *funduqs* played in providing merchants with an opportunity to fetch premium prices for the sale of these goods to wealthy households and local merchants who purchased them for resale. Concerning the sale of staple goods, such as grain, fruit, salt, and other bulk items, she describes how governments in the Mediterranean often sought to regulate prices and used *funduqs* as a means to do so. Interestingly, the market inspector, the *muḥtasib*, seems to have had little

to do with *funduqs*, a fact that further distinguishes *funduqs* from *sūqs*. It seems that the owners, or renters, of the *funduqs* were responsible for many of the functions that would be carried out by the *muhtasib* in a *sūq*.

Of particular interest to scholars of the medieval Islamic world is the way in which *funduqs* were commonly used to generate incomes for pious endowments. Some *funduqs* served directly as charitable institutions, providing lodging, food, and medicine for poor travelers, in addition to money that would allow them to return home. Others generated funds that were then used to support other charitable institutions. In any case, it would seem that the *funduqs* were often not unlike *waqfs* in the role they played in Muslim societies.

Not surprisingly, *funduqs* were focal points for government taxation and regulation of trade. The government use of *funduqs* for this purpose seems to have grown over time, in Egypt from the Fatimid through Ayyubid to Mamluk eras. However, it seems that the taxes and tariffs were not so onerous as to disrupt trade, and merchants were willing to put up with the taxes in exchange for an orderly institution that they could rely upon for a reliable center of their activities.

Constable describes the architecture of the *funduqs* in detail, using both illustrations and descriptions provided by travelers and endowment deeds. The security provided by *funduqs* was clearly paramount in their economic function, and the practice of using a single gate which was locked at night is noted, along with the surprising role that *funduqs* sometimes played in sequestering suspected criminals for a short period. The basic layout of *funduqs* is well known to most scholars of the medieval Islamic world, but Constable's section on architecture provides a vivid exploration of the various structural elements of the *funduq* and *khāns* that offers a stunningly clear illustration of the ways in which the *funduq* served the medieval traveler.

The overall architectural description provided by Constable goes a long way to reveal the impressive scale and scope of the *funduq*, where there were sometimes as many as ninety-nine rooms provided for travelers' quarters in the upper story of the structure. She goes into great detail in describing the functions of the lower story of the *funduq*, which was used to store goods, sell wares, and stable pack animals. She provides accounts of travelers' sleeping arrangements on the upper stories, including unroofed rooms that allowed for relief from the summer heat at night, as well as areas on the flat roof to which travelers could retire in the heat of the summer night, and describes the use of latrines and the provision of fresh water by underground conduits serving the *funduqs*.

Provision for access to, or the inclusion of, mosques at the *funduq* is also explored. Facilities for prayer were not confined to Muslim travelers solely, but were also provided for Christian and Jewish *funduqs*, in which a chapel or synagogue was often located within the *funduq*. One of the interesting features of this book is

that it illustrates the divergence between accommodations provided by the Dār al-Islām for foreigners and the utter lack thereof for any Muslim who wanted to live as a merchant in the Latin West. Facilities such as churches and communal living were provided for by Muslim rulers in the Dār al-Islām while there was almost no parallel to be found for such accommodations in the European world.

She describes the way in which *funduqs* acquired their own judicial status, independent of laws for Muslims and local religious minorities. They were allowed to settle legal disputes within their own *funduq*, with the exception of capital crimes. She also traces the process by which *funduqs* (Italian = "*fondacos*") were designated by "nationalities" as Italian city-states began to assert their own independence and identity. At the same time, she demonstrates how states in the Muslim world limited the scope in which *fondacos* could operate, restricting their activities to focal points of international trade (e.g., Alexandria) while prohibiting them from operating in key domestic markets (e.g., Cairo).

She also outlines how the growth of Italian city-states paralleled the development of commercial concessions in Muslim cities, where, by the thirteenth century, consuls were chosen to represent the interests of and administer justice in the *fondaco*. Churches were another concession to the merchants in the *fondacos*. The pattern of consul representation and church activities became standard features of the *fondacos* over time. She details the advance of concessions by which *fondacos* were owned by Italian city-states, adumbrating the later development of *fondacos* in the early modern period.

She also explores the development of *fondacos* in Christian Spain and Sicily, demonstrating the similarities and differences with *fondacos* and *funduqs* in the Islamic world. The adaptation of a Muslim institution can be seen in this period in Mediterranean history. She explains how the *fondacos* came to concentrate more on the shipment and taxation of goods, rather than on housing merchants, as they did in the Islamic world.

She explains how the *fondacos* and *funduqs* changed over time, as Christian states became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. Christian *fondacos* dominated the loci of maritime international trade while Muslim *funduqs* continued to dominate overland trade. She details the rise and fall of the institution known as the *khān*, an institution which served rural areas rather than urban ones.

More strikingly, she describes the replacement of the *funduq* and the *khān* by the *wakālahs*, which served the commercial needs of traveling merchants, but did not serve as housing facilities for merchants. The emergence of the *wakālah* was also associated with the rise of more centralized government intent on profiting from regional and international trade. This was particularly true in Mamluk Egypt.

She goes on to explore the different characteristics of *fondacos* in countries north of the Mediterranean. She observes that *fondacos* there, although derived

from the Arabic *funduq*, did not usually house traveling merchants, only their cargo. The impulse for segregating the merchant population was not very strong within a society in which both merchants and their hosts were Christian. In exploring the difference between *fondacos* on the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, she focuses on one particular example, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, in which the *fondaco* of the southern Islamic sphere of influence was replicated by a *fondaco* of the north. She shows how the particular socioeconomic structure of Venice put it in a position to mimic the centralized trading foci of the Islamic south. However, most of the Christian *fondacos* went their own way, drawing away from the function of *fondacos* on the other side of the Mediterranean.

This is a fantastic survey of the cultural and economic terrain of travelers in the middle Ages. Every detail of this institution is explored. This text will serve as a valuable resource for scholars, as well as a text for graduate and undergraduate surveys of the medieval economic world.

RICHARD J. A. MCGREGOR, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004). Pp. 246.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

Richard J. A. McGregor significantly advances his earlier studies of the Wafā'īyah Sufi order with extensive new research on the order's two most important figures, its founder Muḥammad Wafā' (d. 765/1363), and his son 'Alī (d. 807/1405). Together they authored nearly thirty works, most of them still only in manuscript, and McGregor is to be commended for the diligence required for his pioneering study. He focuses, in particular, on notions of sanctity that were central to the thought of Muḥammad Wafā' and 'Alī, and on the possible influences on them of Ibn al-'Arabī and his school. As such, McGregor's study is concerned primarily with mystical philosophy in the Mamluk period.

McGregor reviews Muslim conceptions of sanctity (*walāyah*) from al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/910) to Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240). He notes that al-Tirmidhī distinguished between prophetic revelation (*wahy*) and saintly inspiration (*ilhām*), both clearly in contact with the divine. The superior revelation of the prophet brings God's message and law to humanity, while mystical inspiration may reveal spiritual realities, and insights into the law. Al-Tirmidhī and later Sufis constructed various hierarchies of saints, whose assemblies insured the proper functioning of