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NUMAYRID AR-RAQQA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR A
“DIMORPHIC STATE” IN THE BEDOUIN DOMINATED
FRINGES OF THE FĀṬIMID EMPIRE¹

D. S. Richards has defined the period of change between 950 and 1150 A.D. in a conference volume as “the turning point of the history of the Islamic culture”². In the same volume C. E. Bosworth labelled this period the “transition period in the Islamic history”³. Looking at the regional context, we might pose the question of the meaning of this transition for northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Urban development and economic conditions from the ʿAbbāsid to the Zangīd-Ayyūbid period may be described as an initial period of gradual decline followed by a renaissance of the cities.⁴

This was not the case in all the lands of the Islamic empire. During the transition period Egypt reached a cultural and economic peak under the rule of the Fāṭimid caliphs. Cairo, Fustāṭ and Alexandria were flourishing major urban centres connected by the Mediterranean and the Red Sea with the rest of the known world from the Chinese empire to the caliphate in Spain, to Byzantium and through Italy to the Holy Roman

¹ The study is based on my habilitation-project *Die Renaissance der Städte in Nordsyrien und Nordmesopotamien. Städtische Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen in ar-Raqqa und Harrān von der Zeit der beduinischen Vorherrschaft bis zu den Seldschuken*, (*Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts* 40), Leiden 2002. The archaeological and numismatic details of the sounding in the north-eastern corner of the congregational mosque can be found in S. HEIDEMANN, “Ein Schatzfund aus dem Raqqa der Numairidenzeit, die „Siedlungslücke“ in Nordmesopotamien und eine Werkstatt in der Großen Moschee”, *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11 (1999), p. 227–242. For an overview on the city’s history see the contributions by the author to S. HEIDEMANN – A. BECKER, *Raqqa II — Die islamische Stadt*, Mainz 2003. I am much indebted to Rudi Matthee, Marcus Phillips and Susan Tyler-Smith for the careful revision of the English draft.

² D.S. RICHARDS (ed.), *Islamic Civilization 950–1150*, (*Papers on Islamic History* III), Oxford 1973, p. vii. Cp. also recently J. PAUL, “Von 950 bis 1200”, A. NOTH & J. PAUL (eds.), *Der islamische Orient, Grundzüge seiner Geschichte*, (*Mitteilungen zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der islamischen Welt* 1), Würzburg 1998, p. 217–254, esp. p. 217.

³ C.E. BOSWORTH, “Barbarian Incursions: The Coming of the Turks into the Islamic World”, in RICHARDS, *Islamic Civilization*, p. 1–16, esp. p. 1.

⁴ Cp. P. von SIVERS, “Military, Merchants and Nomads. The Social Evolution of the Syrian Cities and Countryside During the Classical Period, 780–969/164–358”, *Der Islam* 56 (1979), p. 212–244.

Empire. This is well documented by the archaeological excavations in Fuṣṭāṭ, the Geniza documents and other literary sources and by the still impressive monumental Fāṭimid architecture. By contrast, during the 5th/11th century, Syria and northern Mesopotamia suffered a severe urban decline. Its reasons were manifold. From an archaeological and historical point of view, the 5th/11th century is regarded as a dark age in many respects.

The urban decline of this period is recognisable, even to a present day visitor to Syria. He will admire the great monuments of the Umayyad period, the congregational mosques in Damascus and Aleppo as well as the “desert castles”. For important ʿAbbāsid monuments he will travel to ar-Raqqā on the Euphrates. He will also be impressed by the architecture of the Zangīds, the Ayyūbids and the Crusaders. But he looks in vain for traces from the period in between. We are indebted to Suhayl Zakkar and Thierry Bianquis for our insight into the political conditions of two major urban Syrian centers, Aleppo and Damascus at that time⁵. Aleppo was a major trading city at the end of the silk-road and Damascus the Fāṭimid administration and garrison city for Syria. The economic conditions of these two cities were not, however, representative of the country as a whole, because they were able to mobilize external resources by commerce or by the transfer of funds from Egypt. What happened in the rest of the region remains obscure, although conditions in provincial towns and in the countryside determine much of the prosperity of the urban centres.

The case study here will focus on two medium sized cities in the Balīḥ valley, the Diyār Muḍar in northern Mesopotamia, namely ar-Raqqā and Ḥarrān.⁶ They appear paradigmatic for the urban development and economic conditions in the rest of the region. I will discuss two questions: – firstly, the methodological question concerning archaeology in the region during the so called “settlement gap (Siedlungslücke)”⁷ of the

⁵ S. ZAKKAR, *The Emirate of Aleppo (1004–1094)*, Beirut 1971; Th. BIANQUIS, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359–468/969–1076). Essai d'interprétation de chroniques arabes médiévales*, 2 vols., Damascus 1986, 1989.

⁶ I had the privilege of taking part as historian in the excavations in ar-Raqqā of the German Archaeological Institute in 1991 and 1993 under the direction of Michael Meinecke. In the British Museum and the School of Oriental and African Studies I was allowed to study the material from the Ḥarrān excavations of D. S. Rice from the 1950s. I am grateful to Geoffrey King and Venetia Porter for their invaluable help in locating the excavation material.

⁷ K. BARTL, *Frühislamische Besiedlung im Balīḥ-Tal/Nordsyrien*, (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 15), Berlin 1994, p. 187, see also p. 116.

5th/11th century. A fallen wall in ar-Raqqa will exemplify this problem (see below).

- secondly, the role of the Bedouin principality of the Banū Numayr whose character can be defined with a combined archaeological and historical approach as a Bedouin-sedentary state or in the words of Michael Rowton as a “dimorphic state” at the fringes of the Fāṭimid empire. For Rowton “dimorphic state” means a state led by a nomadic ruler who is accommodating himself to urban forms of rulership but who keeps his power base within the pasture at the same time: a ruler who has to balance between the interests of the settled people and the nomads as well.⁸

Let me briefly bring the topography of ar-Raqqa to life (map). Ar-Raqqa is situated at the junction of the Balīḥ river with the Euphrates within the Diyār Muḍar, the western part of the Ġazīra, northern Mesopotamia. The Byzantine emperor Justinian I (reigned 527–565 A.D.) reinforced the classical Hellenistic city of Kallinikos, the later ar-Raqqa, with a rectangular city wall. In the year 155/771–2, the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr (reigned 136–158/754–775) ordered the “companion city” — *ar-Rāfiqa* — to be built on the western side for a Ḥurāsānian garrison. According to the sources *Madīnat as-Salām*, the newly built imperial palace-city, served as model for its layout: in the centre stood the congregational mosque and probably south of it a governmental palace (*dār al-ʿimāra*). A strong city wall was surrounding the entire urban area. Many features were influenced by other sources and designed to serve the needs of a garrison. For example the Hellenistic grid plan of the city was adopted in order to house a large military colony. Twenty-five years later the caliph Hārūn ar-Raṣīd (reigned 170–193/786–809) began to enlarge ar-Raqqa/ar-Rāfiqa with a spacious palace area north of the twin-cities during the twelve years of his occupation. As a result, it became the most spacious urban complex in the Islamic empire, west of Baghdad.

In 1982, the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) started rescue excavations in the south-eastern section of the palace area. In cooperation with Murhaf al-Khalaf, the general director of the Syrian Antiquity

⁸ The analytical frame for the character of the nomadic state used here can be found in a series of articles by M. ROWTON, “Autonomy and Nomadism in Western Asia”, *Orientalia* 42 (1973), p. 247–258; idem, “Urban Autonomy in a Nomadic Environment”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973), p. 201–215; idem, “Enclosed Nomadism”, *JESHO* 17 (1974), p. 1–30; as well as R.P. LINDNER’s “What Was a Nomadic Tribe?”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982), p. 689–711.

Authority in the Governorate ar-Raqqā, sondages were also undertaken within the congregational mosque. This courtyard mosque with a *qibla-riwāq* was erected in 155/772. It is the first example of a pillar-mosque in Islamic architecture and served probably as a model for later congregational mosques in Baghdad, Sāmarrāʾ, Fustāt and Cairo⁹. Only the foundations of the arcades and the exterior wall of this mosque remain visible. The minaret in the courtyard and the impressive row of arcades belong to a later Zangīd restoration-period in the 6th/12th century (ill. 2).

A FALLEN WALL DISCOVERED

In September 1991 when the north-eastern corner of the congregational mosque was excavated, a wall was found in situ, but fallen straight on its side (ill. 3). It was apparently erected after the ʿAbbāsīd foundation period. It had connected the northern wall with the second arcade pier and separated a room from the northern *riwāq* (ill. 4). Because the wall was not joined either to the northern wall or to the pier, it had fallen at an unknown time towards the east. The space between the eastern wall and the first arcade pier had been filled except for a small passage one metre wide. Between the first and second arcade pier all the baked bricks had been robbed. The fallen wall covered not only the collapsed roof, which had fallen down earlier, but also a good deal of other material. Among them were 30.8 kilogram of iron slag and — mainly under the collapsed roof — 6.2 kilograms of used and twisted iron nails (ill. 5). A group of small white limestone tiles were piled carefully by the northern wall and fifty-five more were found mixed among the debris of the roof. The debris was enriched by thousands of mouse-bones and bones from a wide variety of the regional fauna, wild and domestic.¹⁰

⁹ M. MEINECKE, "Raqqā on the Euphrates: Recent Excavations at the Residence of Harun er-Rashid", in S. KERNER (ed.), *The Near East in Antiquity. German Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt*, Amman 1991, p. 17–32, esp. p. 21–23; idem, "Forced Labor in Early Islamic Architecture: The Case of ar-Raqqā/ar-Rāfiqā on the Euphrates", in M. MEINECKE, *Patterns and Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture*, New York, London 1996, p. 5–30, esp. p. 13–15; idem, "ar-Raqqā am Euphrat: Imperiale und religiöse Strukturen der islamischen Stadt", *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 128 (1996), p. 157–172, esp. p. 162–164.

¹⁰ The bones were carefully analyzed by C. BECKER, "Archäozoologische Ergebnisse aus ar-Raqqā — Von Schafen, Kamelen, Mäusen und Mauerseglern", in V. DAIBER & S. HEIDEMANN (eds.), *Raqqā V*, Mainz (forthcoming). Her results present a vivid picture of the nourishment of the people in ar-Rāfiqā and the regional as well as the

There were pits in the pavement, which had originally been paved, and then plastered: they seem to be traces of heavy tripods which had obviously been reset several times. Traces of ash and furnaces were also recognisable. Five years earlier, when Michael Meinecke dug out the eastern wall at the north-eastern corner, he had found ceramic sherds and the broken glass of around 250 lamps at the stairs of the north-eastern tower. The findings suggest a workshop in which old and used materials were stored, some of which were probably recycled on the spot. The store then remained unused for a considerable time. This is suggested by thousands of mouse bones and other fauna found among the debris.

Andrea Becker noted the similarity of the ceramic sherds and the glass lamps to those found in the ʿAbbāsid palaces of ar-Raqqa and proposed a dating of the workshop to the ʿAbbāsid period, that is the 2nd–3rd/8th–9th centuries. On the other hand, Michael Meinecke pointed to the unusual location of the workshop within the layout of the mosque. A workshop of this kind does not belong to a mosque that is in actual use for worship under normal conditions. He therefore excluded the ʿAbbāsid period. From inscriptions it is known that Nūr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī commissioned some restoration work in the mosque between 541/1146 and 561/1165–1166. The facade of the *qibla-riwāq* with its monumental inscription from the year 561/1165–1166 is still impressive (ill. 2)¹¹. The minaret in the courtyard was probably erected during this same period of restoration¹². On the basis of the unusual position of the minaret, Meinecke suggested that Nūr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd might have reduced the original size of the courtyard to the north, so that the workshop in the north-eastern corner was situated outside the restored

imported fauna. Her final conclusion, however, that the mosque enclosure might have housed a market for victualia, seems questionable from a historical point of view. Markets for victualia are usually not at the most preferred location for shops in a city. This is the area close to the mosque. Also a metal workshop within or neighbouring a grocery is hardly imaginable for markets in an Islamic eastern mediterranean city. Cp. E. WIRTH, *Die orientalische Stadt*, Mainz 2000, esp. p. 118–138. Furthermore the inherent hypothesis that a mosque enclosure can house a *sūq* with shops is not proven and needs parallel cases for comparison, cp. J. PEDERSEN, art. „Masdjid“, *EF*, VI, p. 644–677, esp. c. 655. It seems to the present author much more likely that the dilapidated north-eastern corner and the neglected store were used as a hidden deposit for domestic garbage which attracted mice and other rodents.

¹¹ M. v. OPPENHEIM, „Arabische Inschriften“, in F. SARRE & E. HERZFELD (eds.), *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet I*, Berlin 1911, p. 1–51, esp. p. 4–5.

¹² See R. HILLENBRAND, „Eastern Islamic Influences in Syria: Raqqa and Qalʿat Jaʿbar in the Later 12th Century“, J. RABY (ed.), *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100–1250*, (Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 1), Oxford 1985, p. 21–48, esp. p. 40–41.

mosque proper¹³. He dated the workshop to the period after the Zangīd restoration, a date 300 to 350 years later than the proposed ʿAbbāsīd date. Both opinions are founded on good reasoning, continuous

The debris was sifted carefully. Not only iron slag, twisted nails, ceramic glass sherds and bones appeared but thirteen coins were also found. At least eight of them constitute a hoard of dirhams. Seven of them bear with certainty the inscription “(...) struck (...) in ar-Raqqā in the year 450 [1058-1059]” (ill. 6 and 7) — a time when the Diyār Muḍar was under the sway of an Arab tribe, called Banū Numayr. They had migrated a hundred years earlier from the Arabian peninsula into the Ǧazīra being part of the second migration wave of Arab tribes from the Arabian peninsula after the Islamic conquest¹⁴. The political domination of the Banū Numayr over the cities in the Balīḥ valley lasted from the end of the 4th/10th to the end of the 5th/11th century. The most important Numayrid chief is named on these coins: “*al-ʿamīr Naǧīb ad-Dawla ʿAbu z-Zimām Manīʿ*” ibn Šabīb ibn Wattāb. During the 5th/11th century the possession of ar-Raqqā on the Euphrates was much disputed between the Numayrids in the Diyār Muḍar and the rival Arab Bedouin clan of the Banū Mirdās from the tribe of Kilāb. The latter had their pasture grounds in northern Syria. Their roaming region went down the Euphrates valley to the fortress of ar-Raḥba. They controlled Aleppo for quite some time¹⁵. In the period in which the coins were minted, the Šīʿite Fāṭimids of Cairo had growing ambitions to overthrow the Sunnī ʿAbbāsīd caliph in Baghdad. They encouraged and supported the pro-Fāṭimid rebellion of the Būyid General ʿArslān al-Basāsīrī in Iraq against Selǧūq rule. During this rebellion Manīʿ ibn Šabīb succeeded in regaining ar-Raqqā with the help of Fāṭimid diplomacy.

This is why the other side of the coin names the Fāṭimid caliph *al-Mustanṣir billāh* (reigned 427–487/1036–1084) as overlord. The existence of Numayrid coins was only known to a few specialists with the exception of four incidentally published specimens¹⁶. This hoard of eight coins is significant in several respects.

¹³ M. MEINECKE, “al-Raqqā”, *EP*², VIII, p. 410–414.

¹⁴ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Kamāl ad-Dīn ʿAbu l-Qāsim ʿUmar ibn ʿAḥmad ibn Hibat Allāh* (d. 660/1262, *Buǧyat aṭ-ṭalab fī tāriḥ Ḥalab*. Ed. S. ZAKKĀR, 12 vols., Damascus 1988, vol. I, p. 553, mentions the year 309/921–922 for the migration.

¹⁵ For their history see ZAKKĀR, *The Emirate of Aleppo*.

¹⁶ N.D. Nicol, “Islamic Coinage in Imitation of Fāṭimid Types”, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 10 (1988–1989), p. 58–79, esp. p. 69, no. 30, 31; Sotheby’s, London, *Auction* (9–10 October 1995), no. 54; Dr. Busso Peus Nachf., *Auktion* 345 (1995), no. 1051.

- Firstly, they are the first Numayrid coins from an archaeological context.
- Secondly, this group is the first hoard of Numayrid coins.
- Thirdly, it constituted the second coin hoard from 5th/11th century from Syria and northern Mesopotamia.
- And finally, the coins note *ar-Raqqa* as the official name instead of *ar-Rāfiqa*, which had served as its official ʿAbbāsid name for many centuries. An earlier date for the official use of the name *ar-Raqqa* is found on a Fāṭimid dīnār, minted in ar-Raqqa, in the year 401/1010–1011, which was discovered after the hoard was found¹⁷.

The transfer of the name *ar-Raqqa* from the declining Hellenistic Kallinikos to the fortified ʿAbbāsid companion-city *ar-Rāfiqa* had been accomplished by this time. The dīnār and the hoard are the earliest proof for this change, predating by 150 years the statement of the well-known scholar as-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166)¹⁸, who spent one or two days in ar-Raqqa/ar-Rāfiqa on his way to Aleppo:

[Ar-Rāfiqa] — it is a big city (*balda kabīra*) on the Euphrates, which is called nowadays (*as-sāʿa*) ar-Raqqa. And ar-Raqqa was situated next by her and fell into ruins¹⁹.

¹⁷ Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Shamma collection. For this coin and the specific political situation of a Fāṭimid occupation of ar-Raqqa in this year see HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 75–80. I am indebted to Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen, for bringing this coin to my attention.

¹⁸ R. SELLHEIM, “al-Samʿānī”, *EF*, VIII, p. 1024f.

¹⁹ as-Samʿānī, ʿAbū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr at-Tamīmī (d. 562/1166), *Al-ʿAnsāb*, ed. ʿA. ʿU. al-BĀRŪDĪ, 5 vols., Beirut 1408/1988, vol. III, p. 28 (ar-Rāfiqī) (*hiya baldatun kabīratun ʿala l-Furātī yuqāla laha r-Raqqatu s-sāʿata, wa r-Raqqatu kānat bi ḡānibihā fa ḥaribat*). For a similar quotation cp. II, 84 (ar-Raqqī). Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buḡya*, II, p. 990, repeats this in the first half of the 7th/13th century with similar wording: “ar-Rāfiqa, that is a city on the bank of the Euphrates, which is now known as ar-Raqqa. Ar-Raqqa was situated next to her and fell in ruins ([...] *ar-Rāfiqatu wa hiya baldatun ʿalā šaṭṭi l-Furātī tuʿrafu bi r-Raqqatī s-sāʿata, wa r-Raqqatu kānat yaḡnabuhā fa ḥaribat*)”. And finally the well known geographer Yāqūt al-Hamawī, ʿAbdallāh Yāqūt ibn ʿAbdallāh ar-Rūmī al-Baḡdādī (d. 626/1229), *Kitāb Muḡam al-buldān*, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch aus den Handschriften aus Berlin*, St. Petersburg and Paris, 6 vols., Leipzig 1866–1870, vol. II, p. 735, relates: “However nowadays ar-Raqqa lies in ruins but its name gained superiority over ar-Rāfiqa. So the name of the city [ar-Rāfiqa] became ar-Raqqa (*wa ʿinna r-Raqqata ḥaribat wa ḡalaba smuhā ʿala r-Rāfiqatī wa šāra smu l-madīnati r-Raqqatī*)”. See also Yāqūt, *Kitāb al-Muštariq waḍʿan wa l-muštariq saqʿan*, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, *Jācūt's Moschitarik, das ist: Lexikon geographischer Homonyme. Aus den Handschriften zu Wien und Leyden*, Göttingen 1846; reprint Baghdad s.d., p. 208, and ad-Dimašqī, Šams ad-Dīn ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿIbrāhīm ibn ʿAbū Ṭālib al-ʿAnṣārī aš-Šūfī (d. 727/1327), *Nuḥbat ad-dahr fī ʿaḡāʾib al-barr wal-baḥr*, ed. M. A. F. MEHREN, *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui*, St. Petersburg 1865–1866; reprint Osnabrück 1982, p. 191: ([...] And the first [ar-Raqqa] fell in ruins, but both names remained for a single

THE "LACK OF SETTLEMENTS" IN THE 10TH/11TH CENTURY

The hoard provides the terminus post quem of the workshop in the north-eastern corner. The coins were struck in 450/1058. This lies mid-way between the suggested dates of Michael Meinecke and Andrea Becker. The different hypotheses about the dating, "early Islamic" on the one hand and "Zangīd" on the other hand, point to a problem in Near Eastern archaeology which I will only mention in passing, without going into details. It is the problem that Karin Bartl calls "Siedlungslücke (lack of settlements or settlement gap)". The term refers to the almost complete lack of datable artifacts and architectural structures for the period of Bedouin domination between the early Islamic and the Zangīd/Ayyūbid period, a problem which appeared most obviously during a survey undertaken under the direction of P. M. M. G. Akkermans and M. N. van Loon of the University of Amsterdam. Karin Bartl studied the Islamic material from the sites and summarizes her observation:

With regard to the repertoire of the ceramics two periods have become better known today: the early 'Abbāsīd period (mid/end 8th — end 9th/beginning 10th century) and the period of the Zangīds and Ayyūbids (mid 12th/mid 13th century). From [...] the period between the 10th and the mid of the 12th century which was characterized politically by numerous local dynasties in northern Mesopotamia almost no material remains. [...] The seeming lack of finds in northern Syria between the 10th and the mid 12th century can only partly be attributed to the current state of research. The political conditions make a reduction of permanent settlements probable during this time²⁰. [...] And]: The settlement pattern which can be deduced from the analysis of the ceramics points finally to a peak in the 9th century which is likely to have continued to the early 10th century. The following period of about 200–250 years is characterized by an apparent lack of settlements (Siedlungslücke), or extremely reduced settlement activities which included only some of the major places yet. They, as well as some other settlements, continued to be inhabited during the 12th and 13th century²¹.

city; [...] *fa ḥaribati l-'ulā wa baqiya l-ismāni wāqi'ayni 'alā madīnatin wāhidatin*). Cp. for a continuous use of the name ar-Rāfiqa Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tāriḥ Ḥalab*, ed. S. ad-DAHḤĀN, *Histoire d'Alep*, 3 vols., Damascus, 1951–1968, vol. I, p. 258, 273; 'Idrīsī, 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Idrīs al-Ḥamūdī al-Ḥasanī (d. about 560/1165), *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muštāq fī ḥitirāq al-'afāq*, eds. E. CERULLI, F. GABRIELI, G. LEVI DELLA VIDA et al., *Opus geographorum*, Naples, Rome 1970–1984, p. 654; and Ibn Šaddād, 'Izz ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Ibrāhīm (d. 684/1285), *Al-'A'lāq al-ḥaṭīra fī dīkr 'umarā' aš-Šām wa l-Ġazīra* (al-Ġazīra), vol. III, 2 parts, continuous pagination, ed. Y. 'IBBĀRA, Damascus 1978, p. 76.

²⁰ BARTL, *Frühislamische Besiedlung*, p. 116.

²¹ BARTL, *Frühislamische Besiedlung*, p. 187.

The period of the Banū Numayr was one of military conflict, a situation which normally yields much archaeological evidence, with the inhabitants of the settlements burying their wealth unable to retrieve it later. Apparently this did not happen in the case of the Bedouin dominated Diyār Muḍar or in northern Syria. The narrative sources provide part of the explanation. The *ʿamīrs* of the Banū Numayr used to live in their camps outside the cities which were ruled in their names. Within the city military slaves, *ḡulāms*, served as administrators for their fiscal affairs²². The Bedouin *ʿamīrs* as a rule had no interest in urban life. Manīʿ ibn Šabīb provides a remarkable exception among the leaders of the Banū Numayr. Ibn Ḥawqal describes the general situation in the valley as follows:

Tribes of the Rabīʿa and the Muḍar live in it [the Ġazīra, that is northern Mesopotamia]. They are breeders of horses, sheep and a few camels. Most of them are connected to the villages and their inhabitants. They are settled Bedouins (*bādiya ḥāḍira*). At this time groups (*buṭūn*) of the Qays-ʿAylān tribes, many of the Quṣayr, the ʿUqayl, the Banū Numayr and the Banū Kilāb intruded upon them. They expelled them [the settled nomads and the other settled people] from some of their lands, indeed from most of them while appropriating some places (*balad*) and regions (*ʿiqḷīm*). Among these places such as Ḥarrān, Ġisr Manbiġ, al-Ḥābūr²³, al-Ḥānūqa²⁴, ʿArabān²⁵, Qarqīsiyā²⁶ and

²² See for example Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, I, p. 258f. (*ḡulām*); Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *ʿIzz ad-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad* (d. 630/1232), *Al-Kāmil fī t-tārīḥ*, ed. C. J. TORNBORG, 13 vols., Leiden 1851–1874, vol. IX, p. 244 [doubled pagination, sic!] (here as *nāʾih laḥū*).

²³ Area of the river al-Ḥābūr, which entered the Euphrates near ar-Raḥba; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, p. 383f.

²⁴ City (*madīna*) on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, halfway between ar-Raqqa and Qarqīsiyā; Ibn Ḥawqal, ʿAbu l-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī an-Naṣībī (d. after 378/988): *Kitāb šūrat al-ʿarḍ*, ed. J. H. KRAMERS, *Opus geographicum, Liber Imaginis Terrae*, (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* II), Leiden 1873, reprint 1967, p. 209; transl. G. WIET, *Configuration de la Terre*, 2 vols., Beirut, Paris 1964, p. 204; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, p. 394. Cp. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, I, p. 273 (misspelled as *al-Ḥānūta*). F. SARRE & E. HERZFELD, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, 4 vols., Berlin 1911–1920, vol. I, p. 164–166; Bianquis, *Damas*, II, p. 573.

²⁵ Town on the Ḥābūr, today Tall ʿAḡaḡa; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, p. 632f.; Ibn Šaddād, *ʿAḡaḡa*, III, p. 151. H. GAUBE, “Mittelalterliche Münz- und Keramikfunde aus dem unteren Ḥābūr-Tal (Nordsyrien)”, W. SZAIVERT (ed.), *Litterae numismaticae Vindobonenses 1. Roberto Göbl dedicatae*, Vienna 1979, p. 169–184, esp. p. 179; G. LEHMANN, *Bibliographie der archäologischen Fundstellen und Surveys in Syrien und Libanon*, (*Orient-Archäologie* 9), Rahden 2002, p. 11.

²⁶ Town on the Ḥābūr, near ar-Raḥba, today Buṣayra. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Šūra*, p. 227, describes Qarqīsiyā as a pleasant place: “[...] considering even that the damage has harmed her ([...] *wa ʾin kāna ḥtilālu qad šābahā*)”; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, p. 65f.; Ibn Šaddād, *ʿAḡaḡa*, III, p. 151–153; ʾIdrīsī, *Nuzha*, p. 657. M. STRECK, “Karkīsiyā”, *EP*, IV, p. 654f.; GAUBE, “Mittelalterliche Münz- und Keramikfunde”, p. 179; LEHMANN, *Bibliographie*, p. 111.

ar-Raḥba²⁷ were in their hands. They decide over their protection and protection-money (*ḥafā'iruhā*²⁸ *wa-marāfiquhā*)²⁹.

Bedouins constantly threatened the routes between the villages and cities in the Diyār Muḍar amongst others³⁰. Agriculture based on irrigation prevailed in the Balīḥ valley south of Ḥarrān³¹. In periods of weak urban rule, the Bedouin pastures expanded to the boundaries of the cities at the expense of the resources of settled population. But not only endangered living conditions contribute to the impression of the so called "settlement gap", also some of the most common tools used for archaeological dating: ceramics and coins are due to it as well. Until recently, no stratigraphic sequence for the dating of ceramics for the Diyār Muḍar between the Umayyad and Ayyūbid periods had been firmly established. Cristina Tonghini has recently dated some splash-ware to the 5th/11th century³². These new findings are bound to change our view of this period. Furthermore, coin evidence is usually missing from most archaeological strata of the period. This phenomenon is mainly linked to the coinage system and its legal regulations at the time. During the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid period copper coins were not much valued and so frequently found their way into archaeological strata. The coinage system in the period under consideration is characterised by an almost complete lack of copper coinage

²⁷ City and fortress at the junction of the Ḥābūr with the Euphrates; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, p. 65–66. E. HONIGMANN & Th. BIANQUIS, "al-Raḥba", *EP*, VIII, p. 393–396. Ibn Butlān provides a contemporary description of the city from the year 440/1048–1049; Ibn Butlān in Ibn al-Qifṭī, Ḡamāl ad-Dīn 'Abu l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣaybānī al-Qifṭī al-'Uqaylī, known as al-Qāḍī al-'Akram (d. 646/1248), *Kitāb 'Aḥbār al-'ulamā' bi 'aḥbār al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. LIPPERT, Leipzig 1903, p. 295.

²⁸ C. CAHEN, "Ḳḥafāra", *EP*, IV, p. 913.

²⁹ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūra*, p. 228; transl. WIET, p. 222; G. DEGENER, *Das Emirat der Banū 'Uqail. Eine Untersuchung zum Zerfall des 'abbāsidschen Kalifats und zur Beduinisierung des Fruchtbaren Halbmonds*, Ph.D. thesis, Göttingen 1987, p. 24. Cp. R.J. BIKHAZI, *The Ḥamdānīd Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254–404/868–1014*, Ph.D. thesis, Ann Arbor 1981, p. 136f.

³⁰ Cp. al-Muqaddasī, Ṣams ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Ahmad ibn 'Abī Bakr al-Bannā' aṣ-Ṣāmī, known as al-Biṣṣārī (d. about 380/990), *Aḥsan at-taqāsim fī ma'rifat al-'aḳālīm*, ed. M.J. de GÖEJE, *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici*, (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum III), Leiden 1877, reprint 1967, p. 33, 141.

³¹ T.J. WILKINSON, "Water and Human Settlement in the Balikh Valley, Syria", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 25 (1998), p. 63–87; BARTL, *Frühislamische Besiedlung*, p. 249–251.

³² C. TONGHINI, "A New Islamic Pottery Phase in Syria: Tell Shahin", *Levant* 27 (1995), p. 197–207; C. TONGHINI & J. HENDERSON, "An Eleventh-Century Pottery Production Workshop at ar-Raqqā, Preliminary Report", *Levant* 30 (1998), p. 113–127, esp. p. 125.

and the use of a debased silver coinage. These highly alloyed silver coins, called black dirhams or *dirham 'aswads*, did not tend to be preferred objects for hoarding, because their silver content is too low. A single fragment of a gold coin could easily substitute for a larger group of them. At the same time they were not discarded like copper coins because of their, admittedly low, silver content. This monetary system is one decisive factor influencing the archaeological survival of coins³³.

Let us now return to the dating of the workshop within the congregational mosque. The exceptional Numayrid hoard of eight much debased dirhams provides a terminus post quem of 450/1058-1059. The ceramic and glass sherds which are similar to the findings in the 'Abbāsīd palace area, the twisted iron nails and the limestone tiles can now be regarded as a collection of used and broken material. The bones may be remains of deposited domestic garbage and rodents attracted by them. The homogeneity of the hoard and the lack of wear, together with features of the contemporary coinage system make it probable that the small hoard came into the workshop not much later than 450/1058-1059.

With these presuppositions in mind one is inclined to say — with Michael Meinecke — that the workshop and store must have been situated outside the sacred area of the mosque proper long before the Zangīd restoration phase. A division and reduction in size of the courtyard is, however, hard to imagine because the 'Abbāsīd enclosure wall is still standing upright and marks out the whole area as belonging to the mosque (ill. 2). Although there are examples in the middle ages where a courtyard of mosques could get features of a market place — because it constitutes a public area for gathering — a glass and metal workshop for recycling used materials is hard to imagine in that situation and is not corroborated by any written sources³⁴.

FĀṬIMID PROTECTION LEADS TO A “DIMORPHIC STATE”

If one looks less for an architectural explanation than for a historical setting in which the existence of a workshop and store for used materials

³³ See L. ILISCH, “Ein Fund von Dirhams des Mirdāsiden Naṣr und das Münzwesen von Aleppo im 2. Viertel des 11. Jahrhunderts A.D.”, *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung* 11, no. 4 (August 1981), p. 41–50; HEIDEMANN, „Ein Schatzfund“, p. 235–239 and idem, *Renaissance*, p. 369–373; idem, “Goldmünzfragmente des 11. Jahrhunderts aus der Zitadelle von Damaskus werfen Licht auf die Renaissance der Städte in Syrien”, *Archäologie-Online* (April 2003) (http://www.archaeologie-online.de/magazin/fundpunkt/2003/04/c_1.php) for details about the coinage system of this period.

³⁴ J. PEDERSEN, “Masḍjīd”, *EP*, VI, p. 644–677, esp. p. 655.

might be conceivable, one finds one between the year 450/1058 and the beginning of 452/1060-1061. Without providing definite evidence for it, the hypothesis explains the archaeological situation according to the numismatic and archaeological findings as well as the literary sources. Definite proof would require further investigation of the building itself.

The amīr of the Banū Numayr Manīʿ ibn Šabīb reached the zenith of his power during the pro-Fāṭimid rebellion of the Būyid general ʿAbu l-Ḥārith ʿArslān al-Basāsīrī³⁵ in Iraq between 447/1055 and 451/1059-1060. Fāṭimid strategy regarded northern Mesopotamia as the key to the conquest of Baghdad and the routes along the Euphrates as the supply-lines of the rebellion and military deployment zone. Manīʿ ibn Šabīb and the Banū Numayr were threatening this strategically important part of the Fāṭimid route into Iraq. There was a protracted and bitter feud between the Mirdāsids in Aleppo and the Numayrids in Ḥarrān over the possession of ar-Raqqā and the supremacy over the fertile pasture surrounding it. Its origins went back to the year 431/1039-1040 when Šabīb ibn Wattāb died without an adult heir. His sister as-Sayyida ʿAlawīya was then residing in ar-Raqqā. She was formerly married to Naṣr ibn Šāliḥ ibn Mirdās, nomadic ruler of Aleppo. After the death of the latter in the aftermath of a battle against a Fāṭimid army in 429/1038 she fled with Naṣr's brother Tamāl from Aleppo into the Ġazīra. Later in ar-Raqqā she ousted the governor (*ḡulām*) of her brothers al-Muṭāʿin and al-Qawām, both having succeeded Šabīb after his death. In order to protect her dignity (*hayba*), as Ibn al-ʿAdīm is telling us, she married Tamāl. He took over ar-Raqqā. The Banū Kilāb whose roaming area stretched as far as ar-Raḥba now gained firm control over the pasture at the junction between the Balīḥ river and the Euphrates³⁶. When the son of Šabīb, the young Manīʿ, reached adulthood, he took over the lead of the Banū Numayr sometime between 436/1044-1045 and 447/1055-1056³⁷. He regarded himself as the legitimate heir of

³⁵ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buḡya*, III, p. 1347-1354. M. CANARD, "al-Basāsīrī", *EF*, I, p. 1073-1075; H. BUSSE, *Chalif und Großkönig. Die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, (*Beiruter Texte und Studien* 6), Beirut, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 125-127; ZAKKAR, *Emirate*, p. 148-155.

³⁶ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, I, p. 258; ʿAẓīmī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Nizār ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh (d. 556/1161), *Tārīḥ Ḥalab*, ed. I. ZAʿRÜR, Damascus 1984, p. 334 (death of Šabīb here 432 h.). D.S. RICE, "Medieval Harran. Studies on Its Topography and Monuments I", *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952), p. 36-84, esp. p. 82; HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 97-100.

³⁷ These dates were established on coin evidence from Ḥarrān. The coin of 436/1044-1045 (NICOL, "Islamic Coinage", no. 31; HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 98f. no. 13) mentions Muṭāʿin ibn Wattāb, the uncle of Manīʿ, as amir and the next dated coin was struck in the year 447/1055-1056 in the name of Manīʿ (HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 105 no. 15a, b).

his father's possessions³⁸. Whereas *Tamāl* was a Fāṭimid vassal, *Manī'* changed sides from the Fāṭimids to the Selḡūq sultan *Ṭuḡrilbeg* (reigned 429–455/1038–1063)³⁹. In Ramaḍān 447/December 1055 *Ṭuḡrilbeg* conquered Baghdad and expelled the Būyid general 'Arslān al-Basāsīrī from the 'Abbāsīd capital. Withdrawing from Iraq al-Basāsīrī made ar-Raḥba at the junction between the Ḥābūr and the Euphrates his centre of resistance and base for further military operations against the Selḡūqs. In Ṣafar 448/April 1056 a war (*ḥarb*) broke out between *Manī'* and *Tamāl* over the possession of ar-Raqqa.

At the beginning of Ṣafar war broke out between *Manī'* ibn Šabīb ibn Wattāb an-Numayrī, the lord of Harrān, and Mu'izz ad-Dawla 'Abū 'Ulwān *Tamāl* ibn Šālīḥ ar-Ru'qulīya, the lord of Aleppo, about [the possession of] ar-Raqqa. It had belonged to Šabīb, the father of *Manī'*. It so happened that he [probably *Tamāl*] betrayed the little *Manī'*. His mother married *Tamāl* and handed over ar-Raqqa to him. When her son grew up, the tribes joined him and he demanded [ar-Raqqa] back. And the [Selḡūq sultan] *Ṭuḡrilbeg* wrote a decree and sent to him robes of honour. Then he [*Manī'*] sent a demand to *Tamāl* for ar-Raqqa. He refused [it] to him and then war broke out between both⁴⁰.

The Egyptian Fāṭimids send al-Mu'ayyad fi d-Dīn aš-Šīrāzī⁴¹ as their envoy (*dā'ī*) into the region in order to stabilise the political situation

³⁸ Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, Šams ad-Dīn 'Abu l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn al-Ġawzī Qizūḡlū (d. 582/1186), *Mir'āt az-zamān fī tāriḥ al-'a'yān*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Arabe 1506. [years 440–517 h.], fol. 13r; transl. K. YAZBECK, *Les dynasties de l'Islam à travers le Mir'āt al-zamān*, Beirut 1983 [years 447–452 h.], p. 44. HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 103f., 107.

³⁹ See citation below. According to the coin evidence *Manī'* however regarded himself as a Fāṭimid vassal in Harrān at some time during the year 447/1055–1056; HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 105 no. 15a and 15b.

⁴⁰ Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mir'āt*, Ms. Arabe 1506, fol. 13r; transl. YAZBECK, p. 44: (*Wa fī gurrati ṣafarin kāna* [sic!] *bayna Manī' i bni Šabibi bni Wattābi n-Numayrī ṣāḥibi Harrāna wa bayna Mu'izzi d-Dawlati 'Abī 'Ulwāni Tamāli bni Šālīḥi bni r-Ru'qulīyati ṣāḥibi Ḥalaba ḥarbut 'ala r-Raqqati wa kānat li-Šabibi wāliḍi Manī'in wa ttafaqa innahū wa ḥāna Manī'an ṣaḡīran wa tazawwaḡat ummuhū bi Tamāla wa sallamati r-Raqqata ilayhi fa lammā kabura waladuhā wa ndāfat ilayhi l-qabāyili wa starḡa'a wa kataba lahū Ṭuḡrilbaku l-manšūra wa ba'aṭa ilayhi l-ḥila'a 'arsala ilā Tamāla bi ṭalabi r-Raqqati fa mana'ahū fa qāmati l-ḥarbu baynahumā).*

⁴¹ al-Mu'ayyad fi d-Dīn Hibat Allāh ibn Mūsā aš-Šīrāzī (d. 470/1078), *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad fi d-Dīn dā'ī ad-du'āt*, ed. M.Ḥ. KĀMIL, Cairo 1949. V. KLEMM, *Die Mission des fāṭimidischen Agenten al-Mu'ayyad fi d-dīn in Šīrāz*, Frankfurt a/M 1989, p. xi–xxvii; I. POONAWALA, "al-Mu'ayyad fi l-dīn", *EP*, VII, p. 270f.

and to ensure support for al-Basāsīrī in Šafar 448/April–May 1056⁴². Al-Muʾayyad described Manīʿ very unfavourably after their first encounter and advised the vizier in Cairo to establish closer ties with the more reliable ally Tamāl⁴³. However in Basāsīrī's camp in ar-Raḥba the leader of the Banū Mazyad, the amīr Dubays ibn ʿAlī (408–474/1017–1082)⁴⁴, convinced al-Muʾayyad about the necessity of including Manīʿ in the coalition against the Selḡuqs. But Muʾayyad's efforts to mediate in this conflict were in vain⁴⁵. In spite of this it is mentioned that groups of the Banū Numayr took part in the razzias against the Selḡuqs at this time⁴⁶. In advance of al-Basāsīrī's military move along the Euphrates to Bālis, after Šaʿbān 449/October 1057, Muʾayyad met Manīʿ and convinced him to gather his tribe and to join al-Basāsīrī's cause⁴⁷.

At this time [Šaʿbān 449/October 1057] al-Basāsīrī moved from ar-Raḥba to Bālis [...]; he took ar-Raqqā from the followers of Tamāl ibn Šālīh ibn ar-Ruʾqulīya, the amīr of Aleppo, and returned it to Manīʿ ibn Wattāb, lord of Ḥarrān⁴⁸.

⁴² For the beginning of his mission see Muʾayyad, *Sīra*, p. 124 (a letter from al-Mustanṣir billāh to al-Basāsīrī); al-Maqrīzī, Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī (d. 845/1442) *Ittiʿāz al-ḥunafāʾ bi ʾaḥbār al-ʿimma al-fāṭimīyīn al-ḥulafāʾ* Vol. I, ed. Ğ. AṢ-ŠAYYAL, Cairo 1387/1967; vol. II and III, ed. M.H.M. AḤMAD, Cairo 1390/1971, 1393/1973, vol. II, p. 232 (under the year 448 h.).

⁴³ Muʾayyad, *Sīra*, p. 119–121.

⁴⁴ C. E. BOSWORTH, "Mazyad", *EP*, VI, p. 965f.

⁴⁵ Muʾayyad, *Sīra*, p. 106, 119–121, 124f., esp. p. 128f. RICE, "Medieval Harran", p. 80f.; ZAKKAR, *Emirate*, p. 149f.

⁴⁶ It is not said that they belong to that group of Banū Numayr lead by Manīʿ. Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Kāmil*, IX, p. 432 (*Ġamāʿa min Banī Numayr ʾaṣḥāb Ḥarrān wa r-Raqqā*).

⁴⁷ Muʾayyad, *Sīra*, p. 170.

⁴⁸ Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mirʾāt*, Ms. Arabe 1506, fol. 28r; ed. A. SEVIM, *Mirʾatüʾz-Zeman fī Tarihiʾl-Ayan*, (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları 178), Ankara 1968. [extracts of the years 448–480 h.], p. 22; transl. YAZBECK, p. 90 (Yazbeck misread *ar-Raḥba* instead of the correct *ar-Raqqā* which is found in the manuscript and in the edition of Sevim) (*wa fī ḥādīhi l-waḡti ʾaṣʿada l-Basāsīriyu mina r-Raḥbati ʾilā Bālisin [...] wa ʾaḥada r-Raqqata min ʾaṣḥābi Tamāli bni Šālīhi bni r-Ruʾqulīyati ʾamīri Ḥalaba wa raddahā ʾalā Manīʿi bni Wattābin ṣāḥibi Ḥarrāna*). Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, I, p. 271 (campaign of al-Basāsīrī to Bālis under the year 448 h.), 273 (Handing over of ar-Raqqā to Manīʿ in the year 449 h. without mentioning al-Basāsīrī): "And further more it followed, that in the year 49 Muʾizz ad-Dawla [Tamāl] handed over ar-Raqqā and ar-Rāfiqa to Manīʿ ibn Šabīb ibn Wattāb, because it had belonged to his father. (*Wa ʾawḡaba z-zīyadatu fī dālika ʾanna Muʾizza d-Dawlati fī sanatī tisʿin wa ʾarbaʿina sallama r-Raqqata wa r-Rāfiqata ʾilā Manīʿi bni Šabībī bni Wattābīni n-Numayriyi li ʾannahā kānat li ʾabīhi*). Muʾayyad, *Sīra*, p. 170; Ibn Šaddād, *Aʿlāq*, III, p. 76. Cp. Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Kāmil*, IX, p. 163, 432. RICE, "Medieval Harran", p. 80f.; ZAKKAR, *Emirate*, p. 150–152 discusses the reason for the campaign to Bālis; BIANQUIS, *Damas* II, p. 565.

This was part of a bigger shift in power, because Tamāl was compelled to hand over Aleppo as well to the Fāṭimids in *Ḍu l-Qa'da* 449/January 1058. He was compensated with new fiefs (*'iqṭā'āt*) in Palestine and had to leave Aleppo in Muḥarram 450/March 1058⁴⁹.

In the following two years under Fāṭimid tutelage the Numayrids reached the peak of their power. It is probable that during this time substantial amounts of money were transferred not only — as the sources tell us — to al-Basāsīr⁵⁰, but also into the coffers of Manī' ibn Šabīb. Fāṭimid money probably allowed Manī' ibn Šabīb to represent himself — according to our sources — as the first and only Numayrid amīr as an urban ruler. Manī' ibn Šabīb built the citadel in his main city Ḥarrān. He transformed the most impressive and largest building in Ḥarrān, the former temple of the pagan Šābians, into a palace-citadel (ill. 1). The Šābians were a pagan group following a religion whose roots can be traced back to the ancient Mesopotamian astral religions, and as such were tolerated by the Muslim rulers. In the Islamic period their spiritual centre lay in Ḥarrān and their intellectual centre was Baghdad. As far as we know the functioning temple (*haykal*) was destroyed during an uprising of rural

⁴⁹ Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mir'āt*, Ms. Arabe 1506, fol. 44r-v; transl. YAZBECK, p. 109 (Muḥarram 450); Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, I, p. 273f. (*Ḍu l-Qa'da* 448); 'Azīmī, *Tārīḥ*, p. 343 (449 h.); Ibn al-'Aṭīr, *Kāmil*, IX, p. 163 (*Ḍu l-Ḥiġġa* 449); Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II, p. 235 (End of *Ḍu l-Qa'da* 449). ZAKKAR, *Emirate*, p. 148–154, esp. p. 150; FELIX, *Byzanz*, p. 122 (*Ḍu l-Qa'da* 449); BIANQUIS, *Damas* II, p. 566 (*Ḍu l-Qa'da* 448); Th. BIANQUIS, "Mirdās", *EP*, VII, p. 119 (449 h.). Ibn al-'Adīm notes the abdication of Tamāl for *Ḍu l-Qa'da* 448. This is an obvious mistake for "449 h.", because the latter date is not in accordance with other historical informations, such as the campaign of al-Basāsīr towards Bālis.

⁵⁰ Al-Basāsīr received, according to Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mir'āt*, ed. SEVIM, considerable means from Egypt, p. 4 (*māl min Miṣr*), 6 (*min Miṣr 'ilayhi bi māl kaṭīr*), 12 (*al-'amwāl al-wārīda 'alayhi min Miṣr [...] ṭalāṭīn 'alf dīnār*), 27 (the *'iqṭā'* ar-Raḥba amounted [*irtifā'uhā*] to 80 thousand dīnārs and in addition an annual payment of 60 thousand dīnārs from Egypt); trans. YAZBECK, p. 46, 48, 57, 110; ad-Dahabī, *Šams ad-Dīn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Aḥmad ibn 'Uṭmān ibn Qāymāz ibn 'Abd Allāh at-Turkumānī* (d. 746/1345-6), *Tārīḥ al-'Islām wa ṭabaqāt al-mašāhīr wa l-'a'lām*, [vol. 441-460h.], ed. 'U. A. TADMURĪ, Beirut 1993, p. 37, reports that according to a certain Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Qilūlī, al-Basāsīr received 500 thousand dīnārs as well as garments worth the same amount. Dahabī, *Siyar 'a'lām an-nubalā'*, 25 vols, ed. Š. al-'ARNA'ŪT — M. N. AL-'ARQASŪSĪ, 7th edition, Beirut 1410/1990, vol. XVIII, p. 313 (1 million dīnārs); al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II, p. 232, (1.3 million dīnārs, 1.9 million dīnārs in cash [*'ayn*] as well as equipment worth 400 thousand dīnārs). Ibn Zāfir, *Ġamāl ad-Dīn 'Alī al-'Azdī* (d. 623/1226), *Aḥbar ad-duwal al-munqaṭī'a*, ed. A. FERRÉ, *Aḥbar ad-Duwal al-Munqaṭī'a de Ġamāl ad-Dīn 'Alī ibn Zāfir. Edition critique de la section consacrée aux Fāṭimides avec introduction et notes*, Cairo 1972, p. 69, reports that the money transfers to al-Basāsīr contributed considerably to the weakness of the Fāṭimid state.

population joined by the city-militia (*ʿahdāt*) after a severe famine and epidemic diseases⁵¹. This revolt may have had a Šīʿite background. According to Yahyā al-ʿAnṭākī it occurred in 423/1032. Al-ʿAzīmī reports the same event in 424/1033. The temple was turned into a fortified building (*maʿqil*⁵²). In the following year the city was handed over to the Numayrid amīr Šabīb ibn Wattāb⁵³. It seems that the Banū Numayr had lost control over the city since Wattāb's death in 410/1019-1020⁵⁴. The regaining of Ḥarrān obviously strengthened the power of the

⁵¹ For the cold winter, the famine and epidemic diseases: Yahyā ibn Saʿīd al-ʿAnṭākī (d. 488/1067), *At-Tārīḥ al-Maǧmūʿ*, ed. L. CHEIKHO, *Annales Yahia Ibn Saïd Antiochensis*, (CSCO 51, *Scriptores Arabici* III, 7), Paris, Leipzig 1909, p. 271f; ed. ʿU.ʿA. TADMURĪ, *Tārīḥ al-ʿAnṭākī, al-maʿrūf bi šīlat tārīḥ ʿAufīhā*, Tripolis 1990, p. 438 (424 h.; it is not excluded that the date in Yahyā's chronicle is erroneous); ed. IGNACE KRATCHKOVSKY - trans. FRANÇOISE MICHEAU - GÉRARD TROUPEAU: *Histoire de Yahyā ibn Saʿīd d'Antioche*, (*Patrologia Orientalis* 47, fasc. 4, no. 212), Turnhout 1997, p. 518-519 [150-151]. Ibn al-Ġawzī, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī (d. 597/1201), *Al-Muntaẓam fī tārīḥ al-mulūk wal-ʿumam*, ed. Haidarabad, vols. V to X, Haidarabad 1357-1358/1938-1939; Fihrist, Haidarabad 1360/1941, vol. VIII, p. 64, 67, 69; ed. M.ʿA. ʿAṬĀ & M.ʿA. ʿAṬĀ, 18 vols., Beirut 1412/1992, vol. XV, p. 222, 226f. (Rabīʿ I 423 h., cold, afterwards an increase in prices in Mosul); Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Kāmil*, IX, p. 290 (423 h.); Dahabī, *Tārīḥ* [vol. 421-440h.], ed. TADMURĪ, Beirut 1993, p. 21, 23 (also increase in prices in Mosul, 423 h.); Dahabī, *al-Iḥṣān fī ḥabar man ḡabar*, ed. Š. AL-MUHAĞĞID, 5 vols., Kuwait 1960-1963, III, p. 30 (Diphtheria in Mosul); Barhebraeus, Yuhannā ʿAbū l-Faraǧ ibn al-ʿIbrī (d. 687-8/1289), *Maḳṭbānūt zabnē — Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. and transl. E.A.T.W. BUDGE, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, London 1932; reprint Amsterdam 1976, p. 193 (423 h.); Ibn Ṭaġribirdī, Ġamāl ad-Dīn ʿAbū Bakr ʿAbū l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf al-ʿAtābakī (d. 874/1470), *An-Nuǧūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, vol. III, Cairo; reprint s.d., vol. IV, Cairo 1352/1933, vol. IV, p. 277 (reports *tāʿūn*, pestilence, perhaps in comparison to the epidemic diseases of his own time); Michael Syrus (d. 596/1199), *Maḳṭbānūt zabnē*, ed. and transl. J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3 vols., Paris 1905, vol. III, p. 136 (Seleucid era 1348/beginning 1 October 1036; perhaps an erroneous dating); Joannis Skylitzes (1st quarter of the 6th/12th century), *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*, ed. J. THURN, *Synopsis Historiarum*, (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 5), Berlin 1973, p. 386; Joannis Zonaras (d. 1st half of the 6th/12th century), *Ἐπιτομή ἱστοριῶν*, transl. E. TRAPP, *Militärs und Höflinge im Ringen um das Kaisertum*, (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 16), Graz, Vienna 1986, p. 68 (p. 580f.). BIANQUIS, *Damas*, II, p. 503-505. Cp. Matthäus of Edessa (6th/12th century), *Patmowt ʿiwn*, transl. A.E. DOSTOURIAN, *Armenia and the Crusades. Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, Lanham 1993, p. 55 (famine in the Armenian year 481/beginning 27 Rabīʿ I 423/13 March 1032).

⁵² BIANQUIS, *Damas*, II, p. 489 reads *muʿaqqa* (?) and emends it to *muʿtaqa* (prison). However during razzias captives were usually taken only in order to sell them as slaves. That makes a reading of *maʿqil*, fortified building, likely. For an account of the fortified building and the discussion about the location of the Šābian temple see S. LLOYD & W. BRICE, "Harran", *Anatolian Studies* 1 (1951), p. 77-111, esp. p. 96. Correct Form *maʿqil* in the recent translation by Micheau and Troupeau (see above).

⁵³ Yahyā, *Tārīḥ*, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 265; ed. TADMURĪ, p. 428f.; ʿAzīmī, *Tārīḥ*, ed. ZAʿRÜR, p. 330f. paraphrases the report of Yahyā. Dimašqī, *Nuḥba*, p. 191 (424 h.), went back to the report of al-ʿAzīmī. For a detailed discussion on the end of the Šābian community in Ḥarrān and the social and political background see HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 91-93.

⁵⁴ Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Kāmil*, IX, p. 220; Ibn Šaddād, *ʿĀlāq*, III, p. 46, 76. RICE, "Medieval Harran", p. 77.

Banū Numayr and their amīr as indicated by the succession of razzias against Byzantines and Marwānids reported during the following years⁵⁵. Manīf ibn Šabīb rebuilt the temple in Ḥarrān after joining the rebellion of al-Basāsīrī and the Fāṭimid cause. The architectural plan of his new residence has yet to be wholly reconstructed, but the magnificent entrance gate has been discovered (ill. 1). The inscription tells us about the restoration work of the year 451/1059-60⁵⁶.

One cannot exclude the possibility that Manīf also wished to represent himself as an urban ruler in the newly recaptured ar-Raqqā. There are three reasons for suggesting this. Firstly, he established a mint in ar-Raqqā, as proved by the aforementioned coins from the hoard. A mint serves the need of urban markets. Secondly, quite apart from any economic reasons, this is important as the naming of a ruler on coins (*sikka*) is regarded as a proof of actual rulership in medieval Islam. Thirdly, representative building activities of Manīf ibn Šabīb in ar-Raqqā are likely to have taken place in those years. The existence of both money and the will for representation of urban power is proven in the case of Ḥarrān at least.

The workshop and store could be part of the beginning of restoration work in the most representative building in the old ar-Rāfiqā: the congregational mosque. Used materials from the palace area were collected in order to recycle them. Several areas of the mosque were restored over the time being, but a thorough documentation is still missing. So far no traces of a specific Numayrid restoration have yet been identified⁵⁷. In any case, if there were any restoration activity within the mosque under Manīf ibn Šabīb, it was not very far advanced when it was halted without any sign of violence. The store and workshop must have stood for quite a long time before the roof and wall finally collapsed. The building activities in Ḥarrān and probably those in ar-Raqqā are proof that Manīf did not regard cities only as places for fiscal exploitation. He also wanted to present himself within the city as an urban ruler, while maintaining his powerbase, the Banū Numayr, in the pasture.

⁵⁵ HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 93f.

⁵⁶ D. S. RICE, "Unique Dog Sculptures of Mediaeval Islam. Recent Discoveries in the Ancient Mesopotamian City of Harran and Light on the Little-Known Numayrid Dynasty", *The Illustrated London News* 20th September 1952, p. 466f.; Inscription see RICE, "Medieval Harran", p. 53-65. The literary sources however do not report any building activity by Manīf.

⁵⁷ See N. HAGEN, M. al-HASSOUN & M. MEINECKE, "Die Große Moschee von ar-Rāfiqā", V. DAIBER & A. BECKER (eds.), *Raqqā III — Baudenkmäler und Paläste I*, Mainz 2005 (forthcoming).

THE DECLINE OF THE DIMORPHIC STATE AFTER THE END
OF FĀTIMID INTEREST

ʿAbu l-Ḥārīt ʿArslān al-Basāsīrī took Baghdad in ʿDu l-Qaʿda 450/January 1059 and the name of the Fātimid caliph was included in the Friday prayer (*ḥuṭba*) and the coin-protocol (*sikka*). In spite of the obvious success of al-Basāsīrī, Egyptian politics changed suddenly and turned against him. This became obvious when a messenger of al-Basāsīrī returned empty-handed from Cairo in ʿġumādā II/July–August 1059⁵⁸. Any further support from Cairo was refused. As the failure of the whole scheme became apparent Manīʿ changed sides, probably because of this lack of support from Cairo. He had a valuable refugee in his custody, the three year old ʿAbbāsīd heir apparent ʿUddat ad-Dīn ʿAbu l-Qāsim al-Muqtadī bi ʿAmrillāh⁵⁹. After Ṭuġrilbeg’s entry into Baghdad in ʿDu l-Qaʿda 451/December 1059 ʿUddat ad-Dīn was secretly brought to Manīʿ ibn Šabīb in Ḥarrān. Manīʿ was at the peak of his prestige and power. He made use of the ʿAbbāsīd heir and the power-vacuum for territorial gains in the Ḥābūr-area⁶⁰. After the restoration of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph to Baghdad with the support of the Selġūqs, Manīʿ sent the caliph’s grandchild back to Baghdad with much honours, though not without creating his own marriage ties with the caliphal family. He married the child to one of his daughters before he returned him. The ʿAbbāsīd heir reached Baghdad on Tuesday, 9 ʿġumādā I 452/13 June 1060⁶¹. Manīʿ sent a letter to Ṭuġrilbeg, at that time in Hamaḍān, in

⁵⁸ Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mirʿāt*, ed. SEVIM, p. 52; transl. YAZBECK, p. 149.

⁵⁹ Biography: ʿġumādā I 448/July–August 1056 to 487/1094. A. HARTMANN, “al-Muqtadī”, *EP*, VII, p. 540–541. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. Haidarabad VIII, p. 291f.; ed. ʿAṬĀ, XV, p. XVII, 14; Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mirʿāt*, Ms. Arabe 1506, fol. 154r (erroneous date; Thursday, 8 ʿġumādā I 440 h.); transl. YAZBECK, p. 48; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Maġd ar-Ruʿasāʾ ʿAbū Yaʿlā Ḥamza ibn ʿAsad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad at-Tamīmī (d. 555/1160), *Dayl tāriḥ Dimašq*, ed. S. ZAKKĀR, Damascus 1403/1983, p. 206; Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Kāmil*, IX, p. 435; X, p. 155f.; Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *At-Tāriḥ al-Bāhir fī d-dawla al-ʿatābakīya*, ed. ʿA.A. ṬULAY-MĀT, Cairo 1382/1963, p. 13; Ḍahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII, p. 318–324.

⁶⁰ Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Kāmil*, X, p. 7. RICE, “Medieval Harran”, p. 81. Heidemann, *Renaissance*, 115.

⁶¹ Flight and return of the heir apparent: Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ed. Haidarabad VIII, p. 215f. (date of the return to Baghdad), 291f. (al-Muqtadī); ed. ʿAṬĀ, XV, p. 60f., 164; Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mirʿāt*, Ms. Arabe 1506, fol. 154r; ed. SEVIM, p. 72–74; transl. YAZBECK, p. 176–178. Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Kāmil*, X, p. 6f. (marriage with the daughter of Manīʿ), 66f.; Ḍahabī, *Tāriḥ* [vol. 461–470h.], ed. TADMŪRĪ, Beirut 1994, p. 29; Ḍahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII, p. 319. RICE, “Medieval Harran”, p. 81; Th. Ripper, *Die Marwāniden von Diyār Bakr. Eine kurdische Dynastie im islamischen Mittelalter*, (*Mitteilungen zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Islamischen Welt* 6), Würzburg 2000, p. 164–166; HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 114–116.

order to inform him that he had stopped the *ḥuṭba* and *sikka* for the Fāṭimid caliph and had now included the Selḡūq sultan's and the ʿAbbāsīd caliph's name in the protocol⁶².

There is no evidence in the literary sources to show that Manīʿ gained anything by this move. On the contrary, once again he became involved in the tribal quarrels between rival factions of the Mirdāsīd clan. He was compelled to defend his territories that he had enlarged considerably under Fāṭimid patronage against the claims of some members of the Banū Mirdās. On the night of Thursday, 23 Ġumādā II 454, that is the night between the 3 and 4 July 1062, Manīʿ died of an epileptic fit (*aṣ-ṣarʿ*) without leaving any capable heir⁶³. Without him the Banū Numayr lost much of their importance and soon fell into oblivion.

The sudden change in the political situation could provide a reason for the end of the supposed Numayrid restoration efforts. Because the works were not continued, the mosque and the workshop deteriorated, and after a while the roof and wall tumbled down. During the restoration of Nūr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd a hundred years later, the north-eastern corner was obviously not cleared up. So it was left to Michael Meinecke in 1991 to discover the workshop.

CONCLUSION

What can be learned from this far reaching analysis of a wall that crumbled in the middle ages? We have to go back to our starting point.

Firstly, the methodological problems of the period of the "settlement gap (Siedlungslücke)" have become more evident. This period is best approached with the help of different disciplines. Secondly, it could be made likely that efforts for a restoration of the congregational mosque were undertaken. It is the second example to be found of datable construction work, apart from the citadel of Ḥarrān, in the whole of

⁶² Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mirʾāt*, Ms. Arabe 1506, fol. 73r-v; ed. SEVIM, p. 77f. RICE, "Medieval Harran", p. 81; RIPPER, *Marwāniden*, p. 85. For the context of this delegation cp. G. MAKDISI, "The Marriage of Ṭuḡhril Beg", *IJMES* 1 (1970), p. 259-275, esp. p. 266f. Such coins are not yet known.

⁶³ Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mirʾāt*, Ms. Arabe 1506, fol. 87v (exact date); Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* [vol. 441-460h.], ed. TADMŪRĪ, p. 373 (Ġumādā II 454 and the cause of his death). RICE, "Medieval Harran", p. 82 suggested on the basis of the Ḍahabī-manuscript (British Museum Ms. Or. 50, fol. 50r) Ġumādā I 455 as the month of Manīʿ' s death. This is probably due to a reading error. In the edition of the text of Ḍahabī by Tadmurī no varieties are mentioned.

Diyār Muḍar, during this century of Bedouin domination. And thirdly, the presumed building activity in ar-Raqqa in this period is indicative for the political and social history of the whole region. During the 4th/10th century the Banū Numayr moved into northern Mesopotamia as part of the second great migration of Arab tribes. The cultivated land of settled people diminished and the routes between the villages, towns and cities became endangered.

What can be learned from this new piece of information about the Bedouin state of the Numayrids at the fringe of the Fāṭimid state and their relation to settlements and their attitude towards urban life? During the period of Bedouin domination the seat of rulership was transferred from the city to the tribal camp (*ḥilla*). The interest of the Bedouins lay in the fiscal exploitation of the cities. The emirate of Manīʿ ibn Šabīb constitutes a brief interlude in the development of the Banū Numayr. Manīʿ ibn Šabīb remained an exception within Numayrid history. Al-Muʿayyad fī d-Dīn, the Egyptian-Fāṭimid envoy, characterized Manīʿ in the beginning as a young savage: Manīʿ's character consisted of the "drunkenness of infatuation and the heat of youth (*sakrat al-ḡirra wa ḡamrat aš-šabība*)"⁶⁴. During the time of the rebellion of al-Basāsīrī in Iraq, the Fāṭimids integrated Manīʿ into an alliance. By paying enormous subsidies and through skillful diplomacy, the Fāṭimids created political stability among the hostile tribes from northern Syria to the Euphrates valley. Then Manīʿ ibn Šabīb began to represent himself as an urban ruler: he built the citadel in Ḥarrān. As proof of rulership he had coins struck not only in Ḥarrān, as his predecessors had done, but established a mint in ar-Raqqa as well. The evidence marshalled here also suggests that he undertook the restoration of the most representative urban building in ar-Raqqa, the congregational mosque. He extended his territory into the Ḥābūr valley. The political will of Manīʿ was probably more decisive in this process than the supposed rich subsidies from the Fāṭimids, because the Numayrids kept large amounts of portable wealth at other times, as we know from al-Qāḍī ar-Rašīd's records⁶⁵. Manīʿ ibn

⁶⁴ Muʿayyad, *Sīra*, p. 120.

⁶⁵ al-Qāḍī ar-Rašīd (d. 562/1166-7 or 563/1167-8), *Kitāb aḍ-ḡaḥāʾir wa t-tuḡaf*, 2. ed., Kuwait 1984, p. 86f; transl. Gh.H. QADDUMI, *A Medieval Islamic Book of Gifts and Treasures. Translation, Annotation and Commentary on the Kitāb al-ḥadaya wa al-Tuḡaf*, Diss., Ann Arbor 1990, p. 95f.; part. transl. M. HAMIDULLAH, "Nouveaux documents sur les rapports de l'Europe avec l'Orient musulman au moyen âge", *Arabica* 7 (1959), p. 281-300, esp. p. 292f.

Šabīb's rule corresponds to that type of nomadic authority which Michael Rowton calls a "dimorphic state". This constitutes a state led by a nomadic ruler accommodating himself to urban forms of rulership, or at least to urban forms of projecting sovereignty but who simultaneously maintains his power base within the pasture: a ruler who has to balance between the interests of the settled people and the demands of the nomads. These favourable conditions for the revival of urban life in the Diyār Muḍar ended soon after the rebellion of al-Basāsīrī following the termination of Fāṭimid interests in the region in the year 451/1060. Or to put it another way a "dimorphic state" and growing power for rulers with a nomadic background could only be achieved in this transitional period, when the nomadic chief became a protégé of one of the regions' great powers. This equally applies to the position of the Mirdāsids as protégés of the Fāṭimids as well as of the Byzantines⁶⁶, the dependence of the Banū ʿUqayl on the Būyids⁶⁷, and the subordination of the Marwānids to the Byzantines and the Būyids⁶⁸. It took another ninety years, until the time of Nūr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, before a more stable political environment emerged under a Selḡūq regime which allowed the cities to be rebuilt again.

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⁶⁶ Cp. W; FELIX, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im frühen 11. Jahrhundert, Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen von 1001 bis 1055*, (Byzantina Vindobonensia 14), Vienna 1981.

⁶⁷ Cp. H. KENNEDY, "The Uqailids of Mosul, the Origins and Structure of a Nomad Dynasty", Union Européenne d'Arabesants et d'Islamisants (ed.), *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I. (Malaga 1984)*, Madrid 1986, p. 391–402.; DEGENER, *Emirat*.

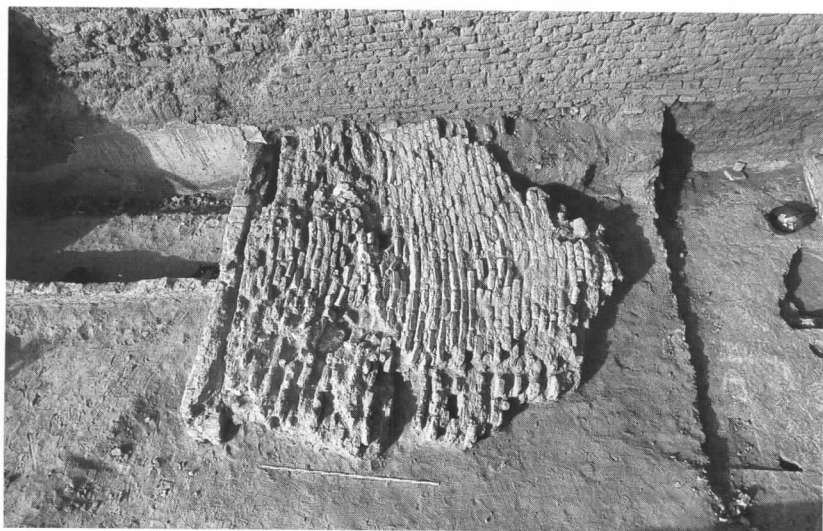
⁶⁸ For the whole complex see HEIDEMANN, *Renaissance*, p. 32f.



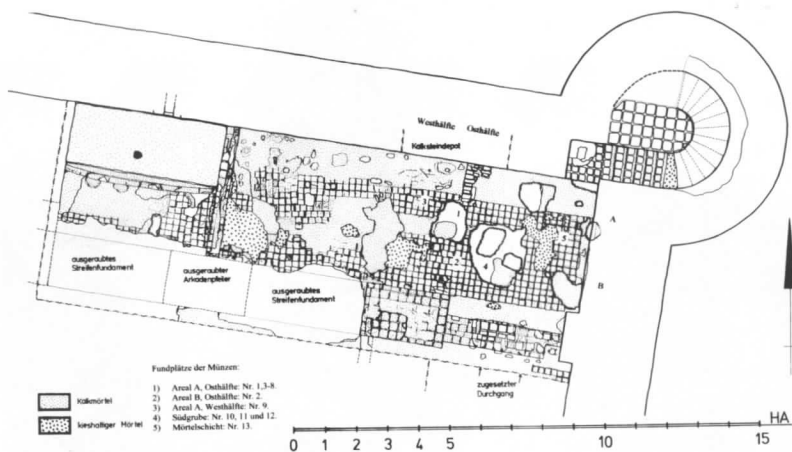
III. 1 Gate of the Numayrid Palace in Ḥarrān. (ex RICE, "Medieval Harran").



III. 2 Aerial view of the congregational mosque in ar-Rāfiqa from north-west.
16 June 1936 (Institut Français du Proche Orient, reproduction German
Archaeological Institut (DAI), Damascus, no. 1989-39-471, P. Grunwald).

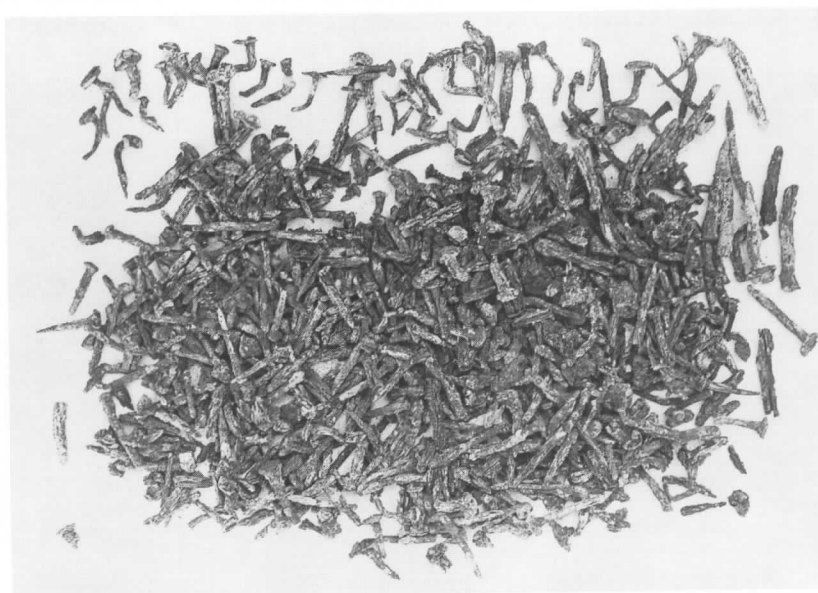


III. 3 Fallen wall of the north-eastern corner of the congregational
mosque in ar-Rāfiqa (DAI, Damascus,
no. 1991/954, A. Abdel Ghafour).



ar-Raqqa, Große Moschee-Nordostecke

III. 4 Plan of the north-eastern corner of the congregational mosque in ar-Rāfiqa. (DAI, drawing Hala Attoura).



III. 5 Twisted nails from the north-eastern corner of the congregational mosque. (DAI, Damascus, no. 1991/889, A. Abdel Ghafour).



Ill. 6 *Dirham 'aswad*, ar-Raqqa, year 450 h. Museum ar-Raqqa (GrMo-8145). (DAI, Damascus, A. Abdel Ghafour).



Ill. 7 *Dirham 'aswad*, ar-Raqqa, year 450 h. Museum ar-Raqqa (GrMo-8146). (DAI, Damascus, A. Abdel Ghafour).



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