

NOMADEN UND SESSHAFTE

Sonderforschungsbereich Differenz und Integration
Wechselwirkungen zwischen nomadischen und sesshaften Lebensformen
in Zivilisationen der Alten Welt

Herausgegeben im Auftrag des SFB
von Stefan Leder und Bernhard Streck

BAND 2

WIESBADEN 2005
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

ISBN: 3-89500-413-8

Shifts and Drifts in Nomad-Sedentary Relations

Ed. by Stefan Leder and Bernhard Streck

WIESBADEN 2005
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

Contents

Preface	VII
---------	-----

Features of Nomadic Existence – In Between and Beyond Common Distinctions

Emanuel Marx: Nomads and Cities: The Development of a Conception	3
Günther Schlee: Forms of Pastoralism	17
Kurt Franz: Resources and Organizational Power: Some Thoughts on Nomadism in History	55
Michael Meeker: Magritte on the Bedouins: <i>Ce n'est pas une société segmentaire</i>	79
Katharina Lange: “ <i>Shawāyā</i> ”: Economic Mélange, Pure Origins? Out- siders’ and Insiders’ Accounts of Tribal Identity in Northern Syria	99
Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov: The Gypsy Court as a Concept of Consensus among Service Nomads in the Northern Black Sea Area	123
Udo Mischek: Gypsies in an Urban Context: The Dual Morphology of an Oscillating Society	149

Constituents of Interrelation: Military Power, Economy, State Policies

Anatoly M. Khazanov: Nomads and Cities in the Eurasian Steppe Re- gion and Adjacent Countries: A Historical Overview	163
Wolfgang Holzwarth: Relations Between Uzbek Central Asia, the Great Steppe and Iran, 1700–1750	179
Charlotte Schubert: The Henchir-Mettich Inscription (CIL VIII 25902): An Example of the Interaction Between Sedentary and Nonsedentary Population Groups in Roman North Africa	217
Thomas Brüggemann: Roman Order or Latin Culture? Forms of No- madic Assimilation in the Late Antiquity of Northern Africa (3 rd –5 th Centuries)	241

Oliver Schmitt: Rome and the Bedouins of the Near East from 70 BC to 630 AD: 700 Years of Confrontation and Coexistence	271
Stefan Heidemann: Arab Nomads and Seljūq Military	289
Rhoads Murphey: The Resumption of Ottoman-Safavid Border Conflict, 1603–1638: Effects of Border Destabilization on the Evolution of Tribe-State Relations	307

Conceptions and Perceptions of Nomadic Identity

Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert: Sedentarism and Nomadism as Criteria of Ancient Egyptian Cultural Identity	327
Gundula Mehnert: Images of the Cimmerians and the Scythians and the Interpretation of Archaeological Remains in Transcaucasia	351
Saad Sowayan: <i>badw</i> and <i>ḥaḍar</i> : An Alternative to the Khaldunian Model	367
Thomas Bauer: Vertraute Fremde. Das Bild des Beduinen in der arabischen Literatur des 10. Jahrhunderts	377
Stefan Leder: Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples – A Misleading Dichotomy? The Bedouin and Bedouinism in the Arab Past	401
Thomas Herzog: Wild Ancestors – Bedouins in Mediaeval Arabic Popular Literature	421
Birgit Schäbler: The “Noble Arab”: Shifting Discourses in Early Nationalism in the Arab East (1910–1916)	443
Barbara Drieskens: Arab or Not? Arab Identity in Present Day Cairo	469
Index	485

Arab Nomads and the Seljūq Military

Stefan Heidemann¹

1. Introduction

The medieval state was basically a military state. The present study investigates nomadic tribes and their political organisation as a reflection of the political conditions as well as the economic development of sedentary states. What is the setting?

- The region: I will focus on northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia (al-Jazīrah).

- The period: I will cover the breakdown of the early ‘Abbāsīd Empire and its transition from the 4th/10th century to the Mongol invasion in the 7th/13th century.

- The Arab nomads: A second wave of nomads – after the early Islamic conquest – immigrated from the Arab Peninsula during the 4th/10th century. A third wave arrived later during the Ayyūbid period about 600/1200.

- Which sedentary military states are concerned: There is first the pre-Seljūq period, when Būyids from Iraq, Byzantines from Anatolia, and the Fāṭimids from Egypt each tried to thwart the regional supremacy of the others. The second phase is the period of the conquering Seljūqs proper; while in the third we find the successor states of the Seljūq Empire, the Zangīds and Ayyūbids.

Back to the main thesis: The organisation and strength of a nomadic tribe reflects the level of organisation and strength of the sedentary military power that confronts it. This hypothesis will be tested in three instances: first, Bedouin political and military domination in the region; second, neutralisation of the nomads and finally a kind of integration of the nomads into the fabric of a sedentary state. In every section I will pose the following questions:

- First: What was the general political context?

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Katrin Gutberlet, Berlin, and Rudi Matthee, Newark/Delaware, for the thorough reading of the English manuscript. I am very grateful to Ricardo Eichmann, German Archaeological Institute, for the kind permission to use the map prepared by Rosemarie Mendler.

- Second: What kinds of revenues were at hand for the sedentary powers to spend on their military? This question concerns economic development.

- And third, the outcome of the answers to the two preceding questions: How are nomads integrated into or excluded from the sedentary military machine?²

2. The Bedouin Domination

2.1 *The Political Context*

The first period concerns the Arab nomad domination from the late 4th/10th to the 5th/11th century. After its political and financial collapse, the 'Abbāsīd administration left northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia to the powerful clan of the Ḥamdānids. The latter served for the 'Abbāsīds as a buffer against the hostile Egyptian governor-dynasty of the Ikhshīds in the south and the pressing Byzantines in the north. The Ḥamdānids from the Banū Taghlib belonged to old Arab nomad stock and formed a kind of nobility. At this point however, the Banū Taghlib were quite well adapted to the sedentary structure of the 'Abbāsīd Empire, but still kept their ties to the nomads in the pasture.

The Ḥamdānids faced a new wave of Arab nomad immigration. These tribes were the Banū Kilāb, the Banū 'Uqail and the Banū Numair. The Banū Kilāb acquired pasture lands in northern Syria, roaming as far as al-Rahbah. The Banū 'Uqail were centred in the region of northern Iraq and the Diyār Rabī'ah. The tribe of the Numair roamed between the region of Harrān and the middle Euphrates area.

Between 380/990–1 and 401/1010–1 the Ḥamdānids lost control over the tribes. These in turn got sway over the cities to various degrees. The Bedouin *amīr* himself usually remained most of his time in the *ḥillab*, the Bedouin camp, while letting a military representative in the city extract tax monies on his behalf. The military power of the tribes – as reflected in the literary sources – consisted only of the tribe itself. These nomad principalities succeeded the Ḥamdānids. Although they were almost autonomous, the great regional powers, the Fāṭimids, the Būyids and the Byzantines, used the tribes as buffers between each other. And the nomads, in turn, were able to engage the great powers for their own purposes.

Each of these powers formally integrated some tribes into its hierarchy of state. Some Mirdāsīd and Numairid *amīrs* as well as the Marwānids even received Byz-

² Most of the references and source work for this contribution can be found in *Die Renaissance der Städte in Nordsyrien und Nordmesopotamien* by the author. In addition some of the basic research literature is cited here for further reading.

antine titles like *patrikios*, *magistros*, *vestarches* and *dux*.³ Lead seals of Byzantine style are known for some of the Arab *amīrs*, with a saint on one side, the protocol of Byzantine titles in Greek or Arabic on the other. In the year 422/1031 Mirdāsids, Numairids as well as Kurdish Marwānids took part in a kind of conference of all Islamic allies in Constantinople. All the *amīrs* of the tribes involved, however, derived their Islamic legitimation to rule formally from either the Fāṭimid or the ‘Abbāsīd caliph. This is evident from the coin protocol (*sikkah*) of the nomad *amīrs*. They always acknowledged one of the two caliphs, although some of the *amīrs* were practically vassals of the Byzantines receiving titles and honours from them.⁴

2.2 The Financial Situation

Like the ‘Abbāsids, the Ḥamdānids were permanently short of cash. They exploited their territory for short term benefit with unprecedented measures. For example they stripped the Diyār Muḍar of all available iron, including the famous iron gates of al-Raqqah, in order to repay the Qarmaṭians in southern Iraq.⁵ In particular, the contemporary geographer Ibn Ḥauqal accused the Ḥamdānīd *amīr* Saif al-Daulah (d. 356/967) for ruining the formerly rich region of the Diyār Muḍar.⁶ Due to the shortage of money the armies of the Ḥamdānids consisted mostly of recruited nomads and a few military slaves (pl. *ghilmān*).⁷

These newly, only superficially Islamised tribes constituted a perpetual threat to settled life, agriculture, and the roads used for long distance trade. Agricultural lands decreased and pasture lands grew.⁸

³ Cappel, “Response”, 123–126; Felix, *Byzanz*, 113, 134; Ripper, *Marwāniden*, 34; cp. for example Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Zubdah*, I, 262–264; Yahyā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Cheikho, 184.

⁴ For the Arab principalities, see: Ḥamdānids (Bikhazi, *Ḥamdānīd Dynasty*), the Banū Kilāb (Zakkar, *Emirate*), the Banū Numair (Rice, “Harran”; Heidemann, *Renaissance*), the ‘Uqail (Kennedy, “‘Uqailids”; Degener, *Banū ‘Uqail*), the Marwānids (Ripper, *Marwāniden*). For the surrounding sedentary powers: Byzantium (Felix, *Byzanz*; Cappel, “Response”), Būyids (Busse, *Chalif*), Fāṭimids (Bianquis, *Damas*). For the lead seals, see Heidemann/Sode, “Metallsiegel”. For the nomadic-sedentary relation the works of Rowton, “Autonomy”; id., “Urban Autonomy”; id., “Enclosed Nomadism”, as well as Lindner, “Nomadic Tribe”, were most influential.

⁵ Bikhazi, *Ḥamdānīd Dynasty*, 899–902.

⁶ Cp. Ibn Ḥauqal, *Ṣūrah*, 225f.

⁷ For the Ḥamdānīd military, see Bikhazi, *Ḥamdānīd Dynasty*, and McGeer, *Dragon’s Teeth*.

⁸ Cp. Ibn Ḥauqal, *Ṣūrah*, 228; Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 141. For the archaeological evidence of this situation, see Bartl, *Frühislamische Besiedlung*, esp. 116, 186–194.

2.3 *The Integration of the Nomads*

How were nomads integrated into the military machinery? This is point one must consider the incentives for the Bedouins to join an expedition of an *amīr* who did not belong to their own tribe. The economic advantage of using nomads as warriors lies in the low cost involved. Bedouin armies do not need regular payments. Their incentive to take part in wars is mainly booty or a kind of tribute by the employing *amīr*. Their loyalty was thus limited to this flow of income and was based on the ability of the *amīr* to guarantee victory, booty or tribute. This economic logic lies behind the frequent complaints about nomadic unreliability in the field. The Banū Kilāb, Numair and ‘Uqail were mentioned in various changing coalitions with military expeditions and raids of the sedentary powers. The strength of each tribe as well as their ability and will to form a nomadic-sedentary state was

- firstly, a function of the particular interest which one of the three great sedentary powers put on them and,
- secondly, a function of the wealth of urban resources the Bedouin rulers could draw on.

The Mirdāsids in northern Syria were generally protected by the Byzantine garrison in Antioch. They had the trade city of Aleppo as a source of cash revenues. This resulted in a form of state that Michael Rowton has called “dimorphic”: a nomadic state where the ruler tried to present himself as urban, while having his military power in the pasture.⁹

The ‘Uqailids were protected by the Būyids in Iraq and had a source of revenue in the trade city of Mosul and a couple of minor cities in the neighbouring region. When the Seljūqs began to extend their power into the West, they at first strongly supported the ‘Uqailid *amīr* Muslim ibn Quraish (d. 478/1085), so that he was able to extend the ‘Uqailid emirate over much of the former Ḥamdānid territory, namely northern Syria, the Diyār Muḍar and the Diyār Rabī‘ah.

The Numairids are the best proof of the afore-mentioned principle, since they enjoyed the advantage of being protégés of one of the great powers only during two brief periods. Living in the pasture of the Diyār Muḍar, they had no major city to exploit except decaying mid-size towns such as al-Raqqah and Ḥarrān. Both were only temporarily under their control. The Numairids rose to regional importance for the first time after the afore-mentioned treaty with Byzantium in 422/1031. Their importance and their sway over both cities lasted probably not longer than to the death of their tribe leader Shabīb ibn Waththāb in 431/1039–40. The second time the Numairids gained prestige and power happened during the pro-Fāṭimid rebellion of the former Būyid-general Arslān al-Basāsīrī in Iraq between 447/1055 and 452/1060. The Fāṭimids took a vital interest in the security of the middle Eu-

⁹ Rowton, “Urban Autonomy”.

phrates region as a deployment zone and lifeline of the rebellion. They therefore supported the Numairids against the Mirdāsids. In those years the *amīr* of the Banū Numair Manī' ibn Shabīb (d. 454/1062) represented himself as ruler of a "dimorphic state", as it is most visible in the Numairid gate of the citadel in Ḥarrān. It is the first known representative building in the region in decades.¹⁰

3. Arab Nomads and the Seljūqs

3.1 The Political Context

At the end of the 5th/11th century, the Seljūq conquest reversed the general situation. The Seljūq state was a military state. The Seljūqs started their conquests early in the 5th/11th century in the east of the Islamic world, in Central Asia, as nomadic Turkomans. But when they arrived in Syria, the character of the state had fundamentally changed. Now the main body of the army was a well-trained core of professional horsemen backed by an administration in the Persian tradition of the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids. Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), the famous vizier of the Sultan Malikshāh (d. 485/1092), explains the ideal structure of the Seljūq military state in his *Siyāsat-nāme*.

In 479/1086 the Seljūq Sultan Malikshāh completed the conquest of the Jazīrah and Syria with the seizure of Aleppo. For the first time since the collapse of the 'Abbāsid state, northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia were reintegrated into a greater empire. The Seljūq rule was definitely regarded as foreign, in language, culture and in some sense also in religious belief. As a professional military minority, the Seljūqs and their successors based their rule on fortifications and fortified cities.

The Seljūqs enforced imperial order against nomadic domination. Before the conquest and in the very early days of their rule, the Seljūqs supported some of the influential local and regional tribal leaders, above all the 'Uqailid *amīr* Muslim ibn Quraish, in order to hold sway over the region at low cost. The clan of Malikshāh married into the Bedouin, namely the 'Uqailid, nobility. Malikshāh's aunt (*'ammah*), Ṣafīyah Khātūn, was married to Muslim ibn Quraish and later to his brother Ibrāhīm ibn Quraish.¹¹ Malikshāh's foster-sister (*ukhtuhū min al-radā'*) Zalīkhā was given to Muslim ibn Quraish's son.¹²

The spread of Seljūq rule over northern Iraq, northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria followed a definite model. First, they tried to secure their rule over the great

¹⁰ For the Numairid gate in Harran, see Rice, "Harran", for a further suggested representative building activity of Manī' in al-Raqqah, see Heidemann, "Schatzfund".

¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, X, 150; Degener, *Banū 'Uqail*, 93f.

¹² Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, *Mir'āt*, ed. Sevim, 238; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 471–480, 32f.

fortified cities, Mosul, al-Ruhā', Aleppo and Antioch, thus leaving mid-size towns like Ḥarrān, al-Raqqah, Naṣībīn and smaller locations to be governed by local *amīrs* mainly of nomadic background. Arab nomads served as auxiliaries within the armies of various Seljūq commanders. However, their loyalty extended only as far as their own interest was concerned.

In the second phase, after the death of Malikshāh in 485/1092, Seljūq rule extended from the great to the mid-size cities and to the countryside, and thus came at the expense of the Arab nomads. The following twenty years saw the ousting and extinction of the Arab nomad groups. The indigenous Kilāb, Numair and 'Uqail-Bedouins perished within the power struggle of the various pretenders to the sultanate. One by one they were expelled from the rule over the mid-size towns and fortresses. The peak of this development was the massacre of some ten to thirteen thousand 'Uqailid nomads at Dārā/al-Muḍayyā' in the Khābūr area in the year 486/1093. Thousands of the Banū 'Uqail were killed and their cattle – their livelihood – were driven away. The final stage was the seizing of their last cities Naṣībīn and Mosul, which they governed as *iqṭā'* by the high-ranging Seljūq *amīr* Karbughā (d. 495/1192) in 489/1096. Whether or not this policy was deliberate cannot be said. None of these events and massacres was reported as taking place in the context of war against the Arab nomads; the sources just mention them as episodes in the internal Seljūq power struggle.¹³

3.2 Financing the Army

The Seljūq army consisted of professional horsemen, most of whom were only seasonally available. The centrepiece for their financial support was the *iqṭā'*, the Islamic fief. Although this institution had been previously known, it now became the major concept for payments. In a simplified model the land-taxes of *'ushr* and *kharāj*, the agricultural surplus, were now sent directly to the respective army unit and not re-distributed by the sultan's administration.

The level of the cash-based fiscal-system and economy shrunk dramatically in the west from the 4th/10th century onward. Money as medium for the fiscal redistribution became scarce. Under Nizām al-Mulk the *iqṭā'* became the rule. The *amīr* would receive a certain agricultural region for fiscal exploitation so as to be able to pay and feed his troops. This might have been cash or more likely natural products for the consumption of the military. Theoretically, according to Nizām al-Mulk fiscal exploitation and political rule should have been in different hands. This was only feasible in the better developed eastern part of the empire, where the cash-based economy and tax-system continued to operate at a much higher level than in

¹³ About the Seljūq conquest of Syria, see Bianquis, *Damas*, I, 639–652; El-Azhari, *Saljūqs*, and Heidemann, *Renaissance*, 145–174.

the west. As a consequence of the decreased cash budget economy in the west fiscal and military rule became there synonymous. In order to forestall the centrifugal powers inherent in this kind of system Nizām al-Mulk advised the ruler to build up centrally paid elite troops.

The Seljūq army was in need of agricultural land. The old nomad elite and the Seljūqs competed in the use of land. One of the first orders given after the conquest of an area was to reorganise all financial matters within a city and to distribute the districts available as *iqṭāʿ* to the Seljūq officers. The Arab nobility had little military value and were soon ousted from their *iqṭāʿ*s. They were regarded as a threat to the agricultural base of sedentary society, and thus to the financial resources of the Seljūq military.

The outcome of Seljūq *iqṭāʿ* in the economically weak west was different from that of the *iqṭāʿ* in the Būyid times, when its effect had been devastating. The Seljūq *amīr* and eventually his heirs had to rely on their *iqṭāʿ* as their only permanent financial resource. This became even more so in the process of fragmentation of the western Seljūq Empire. The *amīr* could increase his income and his military power only through land cultivation. As a consequence, military personal became seasonal warriors. During the autumn and winter they had to go home for the supervision of the harvest.

Not only agriculture was important for the support of the Seljūq army. Cash money was also needed in order to purchase and to pay elite slave troops. Therefore the long distance trade – which always operated with cash¹⁴ – was burdened with special tolls, excise taxes, called *mukūs*. The autonomous Seljūq *amīrs* did everything to establish peace in the land in order to make the roads safe for this purpose. An awareness of the link between security and revenue can be found in the contemporary sources as well.¹⁵

3.3 Nomads and the Seljūq Military

Turkoman nomads played only a minor role in the Seljūq army during the conquest of Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Arab nomads – except for the ‘Uqailid “dimorphic state” under Muslim ibn Quraish – were only temporary allies, changing sides whenever it suited them. The structure and way of payment of the Seljūq

¹⁴ Also the derivatives of money the *hawālah* and the *sustājah* can be regarded here as cash, in opposition to barter exchange.

¹⁵ About the destructive consequences of the Būyid *iqṭāʿ* cp. for example Bosworth, “Military Organisation”, 159–166; Satō, *State*, 20f. About the ideal structure of the Seljūq *iqṭāʿ*-based system and a cash-based army as counterweight, see Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāme*, esp. ed. Darke, 131, 299; trans. Schabinger, 306, 499. About the positive results of the Seljūq *iqṭāʿ* cp. Becker, “Steuerpacht”, 243. About the relation of peace in the land and the increase of tax monies in contemporary sources, cp. for example Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdah*, II, 104, 179, 181.

army affected the nomads in substantial ways. Arab nomads and the Seljūq military were competitors in land use. After the extinction and ousting of the great tribal groups, the remnants disintegrated further, sometimes changing names or merging with other tribes.¹⁶ The Arab nomads perished or were marginalized, and no longer played a significant role in the Seljūq army. Ibn al-ʿAdīm spoke of this period as the “*zawāl mulk al-ʿarab*”, the disappearance of the Arab-Bedouin reign.¹⁷

Later in the Seljūq period, nomads were mentioned occasionally, and then – with some exceptions under particular political conditions – only in the *bādiyah*, pasture lands, south of the Euphrates at Şifīn, the Jabal al-Bishr or in the region of Palmyra.¹⁸ As a consequence nomads almost disappear from the literary sources.

3.4 The Role of the ʿUqailids of Qalʿat Jaʿbar

Although the tribes disappeared as an important factor in military and political life, some of the Arab *amīrs* with tribal backgrounds adapted themselves fully to the Seljūq style of government. They survived as rulers of autonomous principalities within the heterogeneous patchwork of Seljūq rule in the western part of the western Seljūq Empire. These included the ʿUqailids of Qalʿat Jaʿbar, but also the Munqidhids of Shaizar and to a lesser extent the Banū Mulāʾib of Afāmiyah. Let us take a closer look at the “dimorphic state” of the ʿUqailids.

Qalʿat Jaʿbar and al-Raqqah remained under the rule of Arab ʿUqailid *amīrs*. They were not mentioned in the reports about the ousting and extinction of the nomads. The sources hardly mention that these ʿUqailid *amīrs* had tribal ʿUqailid followers. The extent of the tribal following must therefore have been rather limited. It should also be noted that the middle Euphrates region did not belong to the traditional roaming region of the Banū ʿUqail.

The power of the latter probably lay in their fortresses, in addition to their diplomacy, which led them to establish marriage ties to the neighbouring Arab tribes, the Numairids, the Munqidhids, the Mazyadids in Iraq and probably to the other tribes and Turkomans as well. The military weakness of the ʿUqailids is most visible during a rebellion of a tribal Numairid group against the ʿUqailid governor of al-Raqqah in the year 501–2/1108. No tribal ʿUqailids were mentioned in this conflict. The indigenous ʿUqailid *amīr* of Qalʿat Jaʿbar was compelled to call the Seljūq governor of Mosul for help – an unprecedented incident.

¹⁶ For this phenomenon cp. Lindner, “Nomadic Tribe”.

¹⁷ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdah*, II, 58, cites a letter by Šābiq ibn Maḥmūd, the Kilābī-Mirdāsīd *amīr* of Aleppo (dated 471/1078–9).

¹⁸ Heidemann, *Renaissance*, 272f.

The ‘Uqailids of Qal‘at Ja‘bar controlled an important crossing of the Euphrates between Syria and Iraq. The sources never mention any conflict with any of the rival Seljūq armies frequently passing through their territory. The ‘Uqailids and the Munqidhids took a neutral role in all the inner-Seljūq power struggles and later also in the wars between the Seljūqs and the Crusaders. In some instances they served as mediators – or they sheltered high-ranking refugees from Seljūq areas.¹⁹ All of this shows how far they had become assimilated to the Seljūq state. At this point the ‘Uqailid emirate hardly qualifies as nomadic any more.²⁰

It seems that the ‘Uqailids, with their various ties to the pasture, served the Seljūqs by controlling the remaining Arab and Turkoman nomads in the region and by securing the crossing of the Euphrates – something that the “sedentary” Seljūqs may not have been able to achieve by themselves.

4. The Nomads in the Ayyūbid Period

4.1 *The Political Situation*

The period of the Ayyūbids saw the formal integration of the Arab nomads into a basically Seljūq state. In the course of the first half of the 6th/12th century, the western Seljūq Empire disintegrated into a number of autonomous principalities. Most of these became hereditary. Most prominent among them was the governor dynasty of the Zangīds. From 521/1127 onwards Zangī ibn Āqsunqur (d. 541/1146), later his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 569/1174) and finally Saladin (d. 589/1193) formed a viable powerful autonomous province, almost a state of its own. Put simply, the Jazīrah had to provide land-based seasonal warriors and a supply of cereals; Egypt served the Ayyūbids as a source of cash revenue, soldiers and cereals as well. Those were needed for the Syrian and Palestinian battlefields.²¹

Zangī and Nūr al-Dīn did everything to support agriculture in the region. Settlement surveys and archaeological finds corroborate this impression.²² The Zangīds and the Ayyūbids enforced public peace on the roads to foster long distance trade with the ultimate aim of generating tax monies through custom tolls, the *mukūs*. But over time Nūr al-Dīn and his successors gradually began to remove tolls on long distance trade within their territories in favour of intra-urban market taxes (i.e. *ḥaqq al-bai‘*, the fiscal claim on sales), perhaps now regarding custom tolls as impediments to trade. This development has much to do with the agricultural

¹⁹ Köhler, *Allianzen*, 146–148.

²⁰ Heidemann, *Renaissance*, 260–289.

²¹ Cp. Elisséeff, “Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd”, 132 left; Gibb, “Armies”.

²² Cp. Bartl, *Frühislamische Besiedlung*, 186–194, for the Balikh-Valley.

growth and overall positive economic developments following the Seljūq conquest.²³

Nūr al-Dīn's rule saw a large rebuilding program of the cities, which included even mid-size cities like al-Raqqah and Ḥarrān.²⁴ The Zangīd state became even more powerful when Saladin and the Ayyūbids took over. Trade and agriculture flourished. The monetary economy grew enormously as compared with the period of the Bedouin domination and the early Seljūq rule. The autonomous remnants of the Arab principalities like the 'Uqailids of Qal'at Ja'bar were removed and the territory came firmly under Ayyūbid sway.

4.2 *The Payment of the Army*

The principles of financing the military underwent little change from the Seljūq period. Economic growth enabled the establishment and maintenance of a much stronger army than before. However the problem of the seasonal availability of warriors from the Jazīrah who had their base in the agricultural lands continued to be felt, most visibly during the yearlong siege of Acre from 584/1188 to 588/1191. The Jazīrah troops of Saladin went home for harvest every autumn, but the siege and war with the Crusaders continued. This accounts mainly for Saladin's capitulation.²⁵ Hence the later Ayyūbid ruler al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249) decided to rely mainly on a cash-based garrisoned elite-army consisting of Turkish and Circassian slaves (*mamlūks*) who served as professional full-time soldiers. For example in 647–648/1249–1250 they were the decisive factor in the victorious battle of al-Manṣūrah against an equally professional Crusader army.²⁶ Cash-based Mamlūk elite-corps had been a centrepiece of the military concept since the early Seljūq armies, but under the Ayyūbids they gradually became the predominant force.²⁷

4.3 *The Relation Between the Nomads and the Zangīd-Ayyūbid State*

Under the Zangīds and Ayyūbids, nomads did not constitute any major military challenge and were gradually integrated into the fabric of state. Abū Shāmah, for instance, tells us that during the reign of Nūr al-Dīn, about 552/1157, nomadic

²³ See in detail Heidemann, *Renaissance*, 297–353.

²⁴ Cp. Tabbā, *Patronage*.

²⁵ See Möhring, *Saladin*; Gibb, "Armies", 75.

²⁶ Thorau, *Baibars*, 43–54; Gibb, "Armies", 77. About the professionalisation of the European knights and their organisation into orders, see Thorau, "Ritterorden". Cp. about the strength and deficiencies of Crusader armies Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 97–100.

²⁷ Ayalon, "From Ayyubids".

tribes had to pay a tax called *ʿidād*. For the Ayyūbid period we have more information on this *ʿidād*, which was counted in money and livestock.²⁸

Under the early Ayyūbids, a decade after the death of Saladin at about 600/1200, a third wave of immigration of tribal groups reached northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Groups of the Ṭayyʿ confederation extended their roaming region from the Arab Peninsula into Syria and northern Mesopotamia. In northern Syria and the Diyār Muḍar we find the Āl Faḍl, a subgroup of the Ṭayyʿ. Their region lay between Ḥimṣ, in northern Syria, up to Qalʿat Jaʿbar and al-Raḥbah. In the east the Khafājah, a branch of the ʿUqailids, grew in importance, with their main roaming region situated between al-Kūfah and Hīt up to al-Raḥbah. This new expansion occurred not without conflicts with the Ayyūbid principalities.

The Ayyūbid states, which were much dependent on the security of the overland routes, tried to integrate the nomads by offering them a legitimate place within the hierarchy of state. The brother of Saladin, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr (d. 615/1218) and his nephew al-Zāhir Ghāzī (d. 613/616) reacted to this new wave of Bedouins by the formalisation of the *imārat al-ʿarab*, the Bedouin emirate. The *amīr al-ʿarab*, the prince of the Bedouins, was an institution already known before in Syria and the Jazīrah but independent from the urban-based states.²⁹ The *amīr al-ʿarab* was probably the most powerful or most dignified chief among the tribal leaders in the pasture and therefore served as their representative to the sedentary powers. The invention now lay in the appointment of the *amīr al-ʿarab* by representatives of sedentary powers themselves. Al-Zāhir Ghāzī took the leadership in the northern Syrian pasture from a member of the old Banū Kilāb and bestowed this title officially on a member of the Banū Ṭayyʿ and especially on one of the groups of the Āl Faḍl. They received an *iqṭāʿ* or *khubz*. Salamyah near Ḥimṣ was usually the *iqṭāʿ* of the *amīr al-ʿarab* in Syria. In exchange for these benefits they had to bring their tribal following in line with the Ayyūbid state. Although we have no information about it, the *amīr al-ʿarab* might be considered as an important agent for the collection of *ʿidād*, the nomad tribute, which is mentioned in

²⁸ Abū Shāmah, *Rauḍatain*, ed. Kairo, I, 16; ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad, I/1, 38–40 (552 h.). *ʿIdād* is the plural form *fiʿāl* of *ʿadad* or estimation; cp. for the general meaning of “estimation” de Goeje, *Indices*, 296, and Eddé, *Principauté*, 333, 498. Iṣfahānī, *al-Barq al-shāmī*, cited in: Hiyari, “Origins”, 514, mentions *ʿidād* in a diploma for the new governor of Damascus in 578/1182. The plural *ʿidād* can be found several times with the meaning of tax-estimations or better payments of nomads during the Ayyūbid period in the tax lists provided by Ibn Shaddād in his *Aʿlāq*, I/1, 152 (Aleppo: “*ʿidād al-turkmān* in Aleppo 150.000 dirham and sheep 30.000 heads with a value of 600.000 dirham”); I/2, 396 (Bālis: “*al-ʿidād* 20.000 dirham”); III, 66 (Ḥarrān: *al-ʿidād* 50.000 dirham), 99f. (al-Ruhā: “*ʿidād al-ghanam* [of the sheep] 60.000 dirham). Cp. to a parallel financial right over Bedouins in the Crusader states Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 59.

²⁹ ʿAzīmī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zaʿrūr, 376, reports in 520/1126–7 about an *amīr ʿarab al-Jazīrah*. In Iraq there is an earlier example for the appointment of an *amīr ʿarab* by the caliph in 396/1005–6; Heidemann, *Renaissance*, 271.

Ayyūbid tax lists of some cities in the region. The institutionalised leadership in the pasture probably served both sides.³⁰

5. Summary

Let me summarise the changing relation between the successive military states and the Arab nomads. It is my contention that the strength and political organisation of the tribal groups were direct reflections of the military and economic strength of the sedentary powers.

The first period is characterised by a new wave of tribal immigration and their domination of the region, which is linked to the surrounding political situation. They grew in power and developed a kind of “dimorphic state” – a Bedouin ruler who presented himself as urban but had his men in the pasture – whenever they were under special support of one of the surrounding sedentary powers.

In the second phase, the Seljūq period, the tribes competed in land use with the Seljūq military state. The Seljūqs needed land in order to distribute it to the army and to develop it as *iqṭāʿ*. The power struggles of the various Seljūq pretenders which began in this period ended with the tribal groups being ousted or exterminated as further result. Only some *amīrs* with tribal backgrounds survived this situation owing to their neutral political position and the possession of fortified locations.

The third phase witnessed the formal integration of newly arrived nomadic groups into the framework of the Zangīd-Ayyūbid state. Operating at a much higher economic and military level, the Zangīds were able to tax the nomads, while the Ayyūbids were in a position to nominate the *amīr al-ʿarab*, the chief of the Bedouins.

³⁰ About the third wave of nomad immigration and the institution of the *amīr ʿarab* see Hiyari, “Origins”, esp. 514f.; Eddé, *Principauté*, 506f. Cp. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyah*, I, 545 (al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī); Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 205f. (al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr), referring to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī (d. 749/1349) as his source.

6. Bibliography

6.1 Sources

- Abū Shāmah, Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismā‘īl al-Dimashqī (d. 665/1267): *Kitāb al-Raḍdatain fī akhbār al-daulatain al-nūrīyah wal-ṣalāḥīyah*. I–II. Cairo 1287–1288/1870–1871.
- : *Kitāb al-Raḍdatain fī akhbār al-daulatain al-nūrīyah wal-ṣalāḥīyah*. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad/Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah. I/1 Cairo 1957.
- ‘Azīmī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Nizār Abū ‘Abdallāh, al- (d. 556/1161): *Tārīkh Ḥalab*. Ed. Ibrāhīm Za‘rūr. Damascus 1984.
- Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Qāimāz ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Turkumānī al- (d. 746/1345–6): *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-ṭabaqāt al-mashāhīr wal-a‘lām* 471–480. Ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmuri. Beirut 1993–1997.
- Ibn al-‘Adīm, Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Hibat Allāh (d. 660/1262): *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārīkh Ḥalab*. Ed. Suhail Zakkār, I–XII. Damascus 1988.
- : *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīkh Ḥalab*. Ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān: *Histoire d’Alep*. I–III. Damascus 1951–1968.
- Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 630/1232): *Al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*. Ed. Carl J. Tornberg. I–XIII. Leiden 1851–1874.
- Ibn Ḥauqal, Abū l-Qāsim ibn ‘Alī al-Naṣībī (d. after 378/988): *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-ard*. Ed. J. H. Kramers: *Opus geographicum. Liber Imaginis Terrae* (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 2). Leiden 1938; reprint Leiden 1967.
- Ibn Shaddād, ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 684/1285): *Al-A‘lāq al-khaṭīrah fī dhikr umarā’ al-Shām wal-Jazīrah*. I/1, Ed. Dominique Sourdel: *La Description d’Alep d’Ibn Šaddād*. Damascus 1953.
- : *Al-A‘lāq al-khaṭīrah. Waṣf li-shamāl Sūriyah*. Ed. Anne-Marie Eddé. I/2, in: *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 32–33 (1980–1981), 265–402 (Arabic pagination 1–138). [Cited according to the French pagination].
- : *Al-A‘lāq al-khaṭīrah (al-Jazīrah)*. Ed. Yaḥyā ‘Ibbārah. III, 2 parts. Damascus 1978.
- Muqaddasī, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Bannā’ al-Bashārī al- (d. 381/991): *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm*. Ed. Michael Jan de Goeje: *Description Imperii Moslemici* (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 3). 2nd edition Leiden, 1906; reprint Leiden 1967.

- Nizām al-Mulk, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Ishāq (d. 488/1095): *Siyāsatnāme*. Ed. Hubert Darke: *Siyar al-Mulūk* (also known as *Siyāsat-nāma of Nizām al-Mulk*). Teheran 1962.
- : *Nizāmulmuluk. Das Buch der Staatskunst. Siyāsatnāme*. Trans. Karl Emil Schabinger Freiherr von Schowingen. 2nd edition. Zürich 1987.
- Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al- (d. 821/1418): *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā fī šinā‘at al-inshā’*. Ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm ‘Āshūr, I–XIV. Cairo 1337–1340/1918–1922. Indices M. Q. Balqī/S. ‘Āshūr. Kairo 1972.
- Sibt ibn al-Jauzī, Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf Qizūghlū (d. 654/1256): *Mir‘āt al-zamān fī tāriḥ al-a‘yān*. Ed. Ali Sevim: *Mir‘ātü’z-Zeman fī Tarihi’l-Ayan* (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 178). Ankara 1968.
- Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘ād al-Anṭākī (d. 488/1067): *Al-Tāriḥ al-Majmū‘*. Ed. Louis Cheikho: *Annales Yahia Ibn Said Antiochensis* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 51, Scriptores Arabici, III, 7). Paris, Leipzig 1909.

6.2 Research Literature

- Ayalon, David: “From Ayyubids to Mamluks”, in: *Revue des études islamiques* 49 (1981), 43–57.
- Azhari, Taef Kamal el-: *The Saljūqs of Syria. During the Crusades 463–549 A.H./1070–1154 A.D.* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 211) Berlin 1997.
- Bartl, Karin: *Frühislamische Besiedlung im Balikh-Tal/Nordsyrien*. (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, 15) Berlin 1994.
- Becker, Carl Heinrich: “Steuerpacht und Lehnswesen”, in: id., *Islamstudien. Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt*. I. Leipzig 1932, 234–247.
- Bianquis, Thierry: *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359–468/969–1076). Essai d’interprétation de chroniques arabes médiévales*. I–II. Damascus 1986, 1989.
- Bikhazi, Ramzi Jibran: *The Ḥamdānid Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254–404/868–1014*. Diss. Ann Arbor 1981.
- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund: “Military Organisation Under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq”, in: *Oriens* 18–19 (1965–1966), 143–167.
- Busse, Heribert: *Chalif und Großkönig. Die Buyiden im Iraq (945–1055)*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 6) Beirut, Wiesbaden 1969.
- Cappel, Andrew J.: “The Byzantine Response to the ‘Arab (10th–11th Centuries)”, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20 (1994), 113–132.

- Degener, Gesine: *Das Emirat der Banū 'Uqail. Eine Untersuchung zum Zerfall des 'abbāsiden Kalifats und zur Beduinisierung des Fruchtbaren Halbmonds*. Diss. Göttingen 1987.
- De Goeje, Michael Jan: *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda et Emendanda ad Part. I–III* (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 4) Leiden 1879, reprint 1967.
- Eddé, Anne-Marie: *La principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1250)*. (Freiburger Islamstudien, 21) Stuttgart 1999.
- Elisséeff, Nikita: "Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd", in: *EI²*, VIII, 127–133.
- Felix, Wolfgang: *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im frühen 11. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen von 1001 bis 1055* (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 14) Vienna 1981.
- Gibb, Hamilton A. R.: "The Armies of Saladin", in: id., *Studies on the Civilisation of Islam*. Ed. J. S. Stanford and William R. Polk. Boston 1962, 74–90.
- Heidemann, Stefan: "Ein Schatzfund aus dem Raqqa der Numairidenzeit, die 'Siedlungslücke' in Nordmesopotamien und eine Werkstatt in der Großen Moschee", in: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11 (Gedenkschrift für Michael Meinecke) (1999), 227–242.
- : *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 Civilizations. Studies and Texts, 40) Leiden 2002.
- /Sode, Claudia: "Metallsiegel in der islamischen Welt, ihre Forschungsgeschichte und Orientalische Bleisiegel aus einem Siegelfund in Konstantinopel", in: Gyselen, Rika (ed.), *Seaux d'Orient et leur emploi*. (Res Orientales, X) Bures-sur-Yvette 1997, 41–60.
- Hiyari, Mustafa A.: "The Origins and Development of the Amirate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries", in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975), 509–524.
- Kennedy, Hugh: "The 'Uqailids of Mosul. The Origins and Structure of a Nomad Dynasty", in: Union Européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants (ed.), *Actas del XII Congreso de la U. E. A. I.* Madrid 1986, 391–402.
- Köhler, Michael A.: *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert*. (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift *Der Islam*, 12) Berlin, New York 1991.
- Lindner, Rudi Paul: "What Was a Nomadic Tribe?", in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982), 689–711.
- McGeer, Eric: *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth. Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*. (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 33) Washington D.C. 1995.

- Möhring, Hannes: *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug*. (Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen, 21) Wiesbaden 1980.
- Rice, David Storm: "Medieval Harran. Studies on Its Topography and Monuments I", in: *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952), 36–84.
- Ripper, Thomas: *Die Marwāniden von Diyār Bakr. Eine kurdische Dynastie im islamischen Mittelalter*. (Mitteilungen zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Islamischen Welt, 6) Würzburg 2000.
- Rowton, Michael: "Autonomy and Nomadism in Western Asia", in: *Orientalia* N.S. 42 (1973), 247–258.
- : "Enclosed Nomadism", in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17 (1974), 1–30.
- : "Urban Autonomy in a Nomadic Environment", in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973), 201–215.
- Satō, Tsugitaka: *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam. Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun*. (Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, 17) Leiden etc. 1997.
- Smail, Raymond Charles: *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New Series, 3) Cambridge 1956.
- Tabba, Yasser Ahmad al-: *The Architectural Patronage of Nūr al-Dīn (1146–1174)*. Diss. New York 1982.
- Thorau, Peter: "Die Ritterorden im Kampf mit Ayyūbiden und Mamlūken", in: *Die Welt des Orients* 31 (2000–2001), 145–164.
- : *Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorderen Orients im 13. Jahrhundert*. (Beihefte zum TAVO Reihe B [Geisteswissenschaften], 63) Wiesbaden 1987.
- Zakkar, Suhayl: *The Emirate of Aleppo (1004–1094)*. Beirut 1971.

