



Fatimids and Umayyads

Competing Caliphates



23–25 September, 2016

The Institute of Ismaili Studies

210 Euston Road, London, NW1 2DA

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Fatimids and Umayyads: Competing Caliphates

Contributors' Workshop
23–25 September 2016, London



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210 Euston Road, London NW1 2DA



Convenor: Miriam Ali de Unzaga, Visiting Research Fellow,
The Institute of Ismaili Studies

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- Maribel Fierro, Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y del Oriente Próximo (ILC) – Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), Madrid
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FATIMIDS AND UmayyADS: COMPETING CALIPHATES

Relations between the Fatimid caliphate and its neighbour and opponent, the Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus constitute a field of study that merits careful and extensive consideration. Scholarship has tended to study both dynasties separately and the existing entanglements between the two caliphates have been noted, albeit briefly, in a number of academic publications.

The very few studies that have made a comparative and detailed exploration of the documentary and material evidence have suggested that conflict and rivalry did not override the cross-currents that operated across Fatimid and Umayyad landscapes. These studies have provided indications of the potential as to how the two caliphates could be better understood in relation to each other.

Taking its cue from all this, the project *Fatimids and Umayyads: Competing Caliphates* endeavours to place both dynasties in context by creating an academic forum in which to reflect upon and illustrate the processes and mechanisms of interaction, and also to explore and problematise the existence of crosspollination. Various scenarios (historical, social, intellectual, economic, legal, theological, religious, cultural, technical, visual, and artistic) are considered in order to assess affinities, as well as discrepancies, connections and contrasts with regard to how these shaped the Fatimid impact on Umayyad dominions and vice versa.

To this end, the contributors' workshop and the subsequent publication of the proceedings have been conceived as a truly collaborative and comparative undertaking. Interactions between domains that have tended to be separately compartmentalised are put into perspective, and the exchange and circulation of ideas, people, practices, objects, resources and styles are discussed as presented by textual sources and epitomised by the extant arts and material culture.

Fatimids and Umayyads: Competing Caliphates addresses the comparative study of the two dynasties with an analytical and interdisciplinary approach to make state of the art research accessible to a variety of academic constituencies. Students can learn in an appealing and contextualised manner about the importance of the two caliphates, their institutions, societies, individuals and their cultural output inter alia within their cosmopolitan and pluralistic environment.



Day one: Friday 23 September

9:00–9:30 Welcome and Opening remarks: Miriam Ali de Unzaga

Session I: Political History

9:30–11:00 Panel One:
Authority and Articulation of Political Power

Fatimid Portrayals of the Umayyads in Official Pronouncements and in the Da'wa Literature

Paul Walker, University of Chicago

Crossing Words and Swords: Umayyads and Fatimids in the 10th Century

Maribel Fierro, Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente
Próximo – Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid

Chair and Discussant: Hugh Kennedy, School of Oriental and African Studies,
London

11:00–11:30 Break

11:30–13:00 Panel Two:
Politics, Doctrinal and Social Contexts

Melchizedek: King and Priest. Caliphal Variations on the Biblical Theme of Religious and Political Authority

Michael Brett, School of Oriental and African Studies, London

Social Aspects of the Conflict between Umayyads and Fatimids in North Africa

Eduardo Manzano, Instituto de Historia – Consejo Superior de Investigaciones
Científicas, Madrid

Chair and Discussant: Sarah Savant, Institute for the Study of Muslim
Civilisations – Aga Khan University, London

13:00–13:30 ***Manuscripts and Coins at the Institute of Ismaili Studies***
Wafi Momin, The Institute of Ismaili Studies

13:30–14:30 Speakers' Lunch



Session II: Sunni and Shi'i Thought

Welcoming Remarks: Farhad Daftary, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London

14:30–16:00

Panel Three
Discourses and Counter-Discourses

The Fatimid Attitude toward the Umayyad Caliphate Reflected in the Sermons of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'
Wilferd Madelung, University of Oxford

The Portrayal of the Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt in the 'Iqd al-Farīd. Some Considerations about its Connection to the Neo-Umayyad Discourse of the Caliphate
Isabel Toral-Niehoff, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen

Chair and Discussant: Carmela Baffioni, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome

16:00–16:30

Break

16:30–18:00

Panel Four: Schools of Law

The Debate about mut'a and Ismaili Doctrine
Agostino Cilardo, Università degli studi di Napoli l'Orientale

Implications of Fatimid Rule in the Evolution of the Mālikī School
Nejmeddine Hentati, Université ez-Zitouna, Tunis

Chair and Discussant: Paul Walker, University of Chicago



Day two: Saturday 24 September

Session III: Caliphal Cities

9:00–10:30

Panel Five
Architecture and Court Culture

Gilded Swords, Silken Fabrics, High Taxes, City Building and the Allegiance of the Berbers: The Umayyad–Fatimid Contest in the Maghrib during the 10th Century

Xavier Ballestín, Universitat de Barcelona

Concept, Function and Usage of the Fatimid (and Umayyad) Caliphal Palaces in the Islamic West

Patrice Cressier, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Centre Interuniversitaire d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Médiévales, Lyon

Chair and Discussant: Mohammed Hamdouni Alami, University of California, Berkeley

10:30–11:00

Break

11:00–12:30

Panel Six
Perspectives on Archaeological Finds

Ideology and Architecture: The Centre of Political Representation of the Umayyad Caliphate

Antonio Vallejo, Museo de Córdoba

al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā, where Fatimids were Laid to Rest

Roland Pierre Gayraud, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Laboratoire d'Archéologie Médiévale et Moderne en Méditerranée, Aix-Marseille University

Chair and Discussant: Stephane Pradines, Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations – Aga Khan University, London

12:30–13:00

Virtual Visits to Madinat Al-Zahrā' and Cairo

13:00–14:00

Speakers' Lunch



Session IV: Material Culture and Ideology

14:00–15:30

Panel Seven
Objects and Ideology

Multiple Identities: The Pisa Griffin and Fatimid and Umayyad Metalwork
Anna Contadini, School of Oriental and African Studies, London

The Agency of Fatimid and Umayyad Textiles in the Visual Construction of Ideology and Power
Miriam Ali de Unzaga, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London

Chair and Discussant: Eduardo Manzano, Instituto de Historia – Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid

15:30–16:00

Break

16:00–17:30

Panel Eight
Epigraphy and Ideology

On the Fatimid Kufic from Ifrīqiya: Definition and Context
Lotfi Abdeljaouad, Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis

The Epigraphy of Madīnat al-Zahrā' in the Context of the Rivalry between the Fatimid and the Umayyad Caliphates
María Antonia Martínez Núñez, Universidad de Málaga

Chair and Discussant: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, School of Oriental and African Studies, London



Day three: Sunday 25 September

Session V: Social and Cultural Encounters

9:00–10:30 Panel Nine
Commercial Exchanges and Trade

Commercial Exchanges, Maritime Policy and Imperial Construction in the Fatimid Caliphate

Annliese Nef, Université Paris 1 Pantheon Sorbonne and Daniel Bramoullé,
Université de Toulouse-Jean Jaurès

The Early Coinage of the Fatimids of Ifrīqiya and the Umayyads of Cordoba: A Comparative Study

Tawfīq Ibrahim, al-Andalus-Tonegawa coin website and Fátima Martín
Escudero, Universidad Complutense, Madrid

Chair and Discussant: Michael Brett, School of Oriental and African Studies,
London

10:30–10:45 Break

10:45–12:50 Panel Ten: Individuals and Communities

The Ibāḍī Communities of the Muslim West, between Fatimids and Umayyads

Cyrille Aillet, Université Lumière-Lyon 2

Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī: Arab Ismailis as Interlocutors in the Fatimid–Umayyad Rivalry

Shainool Jiwa, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London

Title TBA

Marina Rustow, Princeton University

Chair and Discussant: Delia Cortese, Middlesex University

12:50–13:30 Speakers' Lunch

13:30–14:30 Concluding Discussion and Publication Brief



Abstracts and Biographies

LOTFI ABDELJAOUAD

On the Fatimid Kufic from Ifrīqiya: Definition and Context

The aim of this study is to provide a precise redefinition of the Ifrīqī lapidary script in the period of the Fatimid caliph-imams, starting from an updated epigraphic database that has been enriched by surveys carried out in the last ten years (undocumented funerary steles, collections of epigraphic stucco from Šabra al-Manšūriyya, etc.)

In the absence of official Fatimid texts, which were probably destroyed after the break with the Zīrids in 440/1049, it is difficult to speak of a ‘state script’. However, a study of the funerary steles can lead to a palaeographic evolution which took place within the workshops inherited from the Aghlabid period, at least up until 308/920-921 and especially after 336/949–48. These dates, which coincide with the founding of Mahdiyya and al-Manšūriyya, mark a turning point in the history of Kufic script. During the Ifrīqī period of the Fatimids, it took on a different style from that of the preceding periods, marked by more delicate shapes with systematic vegetal decorative elements. Can we thus speak of a distinctly Fatimid style? Can one use the official script styles of the first successors of the Zīrids to define it?

Secondly, this script should be seen within the artistic context of the Muslim East and the Muslim West of the time. In this manner, one can study the impact of the Ifrīqī style on Egyptian Kufic, above all after the departure of the Fatimids to Cairo. It is also possible to examine the impact of political relations with the Andalusī Umayyads, in order to discover whether it existed some form of competition or exchange between the graphic styles of the two caliphates. For this purpose, one needs to provide a comparison of the epigraphic styles of the two caliphal cities, Šabra al-Manšūriyya and Madīnat al-Zahrā’.

LOTFI ABDELJAOUAD is a Researcher at the National Institute for Heritage (Tunis). He has a Ph.D. in Arabic Epigraphy, University Aix-Marseille I. He has been a lecturer at the University of Raqqāda, 2002–2005 and at the University of Tunis 1, 2006–2010. He has participated in archaeological excavations such as Šabra al-Manšūriyya, 2003–2007 and Madīnat Sulṭān, Surt (Libya), 2004.

His publications include: “L’inscription de la fortification de Sabra al-Mansouriyya à Kairouan (437/1045–1046): restitution et nouvelle lecture,” in *Revue tunisienne d’histoire militaire* (2009); “Une nouvelle lecture de l’inscription d’Ibn Abi-l-Rijāl, l’astrologue kairouanais et le ministre d’al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs (426/1034–1035),” in *Actes du sixième colloque international sur l’histoire des Steppes tunisiennes* (Tunis, 2010); “Nouvelles considérations sur les deux inscriptions arabes dites du Champa,” in *Archipel Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien* no. 83 (2012), Paris; “Les Ateliers lapidaires non signataires à Kairouan au 5^e s. H./11^e s. J.C.,” in *Revue Tunisienne d’Archéologie* no. 1 (2013).



CYRILLE AILLET

The Ibādī Communities of the Muslim West, between Fatimids and Umayyads

Ibādī sources contain information about the rise of the Fatimids, while Andalusī sources provide evidence of the link between the Umayyads and Tāhart before 269/909. Through this school's particular case, this paper focuses on Fatimid Empire building, the reaction of Ibādī communities, and the Umayyad intervention in Central Maghrib.

The Fatimid conquest of Tāhart clearly represented a turning point in Ibādī historical memory. The destruction of the Rustamid State corresponded with the beginning of its idealisation within the scattered communities. Far from being homogenous, the response to the imperial threat ranged from revolt to negotiation, following the inner political and doctrinal divisions of the Ibādīyya. While the Nukkāriya came to embody the Khārijī ethos of rebellion against the 'injust rulers' and the hope for a restored imamate under Abū Yazīd's leadership, the Wahbiyya mainly chose to negotiate with the Fatimid State. The episode of 'resistance' of Bāghāya (356/969) was celebrated by Ibādī dominant tradition, but this should not let us forget that, a part of the Nukkār had to take refuge in Córdoba and that peaceful relations developed between the Ifrīqī elites of the Wahbiyya and the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mu'izz (r. 341–365/953–975).

The Ibādī redeployment in the northern central Sahara and the increasing activity of some key oasis (like Wārlān, where the archaeological site of Sedrata is included as a witness of this period) should be examined under Fatimid expansion towards the East, which opened new opportunities for trade. The era of *kitmān* (concealment) was in fact a period of intense social, economic and religious reorganisation within North African Ibādism.

CYRILLE AILLET is an Assistant Professor of Islamic medieval history at the University of Lyon 2. His research mainly deals with political ideologies, the process of Islamisation and the building of collective identities in the Muslim West. His Ph.D. *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule Ibérique, IX^e-XII^e siècle* has been published in 2010. Since then, he is mostly interested in the history and archaeology of Ibādism in North Africa; he has published (*L'ibadisme, une minorité au coeur de l'Islam* (2012), and led a research project funded by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche and Max van Berchem Foundation (2010-2014). He has recently co-authored with Patrice Cressier and Sophie Gilotte *Sedrata: histoire et archéologie d'un carrefour du Sahara médiéval* (forthcoming).

MIRIAM ALI DE UNZAGA

The Agency of Fatimid and Umayyad Textiles in the Visual Construction of Authority and Power

This paper has a twofold objective. The first is to contextualise the production and circulation of objects through Fatimid and Umayyad encounters as they have been documented in textual sources. The second is to focus on tangible material sources and to show the case study that constitute the extant textiles – *ṭirāz* (with inscriptions) and non-*ṭirāz* – produced under the two caliphates during the 4th–5th/10th–11th centuries.

This includes previously neglected, overlooked or forgotten textiles, such as extant *ṭirāz* most probably made for al-Mu'izz in Ifrīqiya to be used before the move to Egypt (362/973). The



paper explores and attempts to answer questions such as why have all those textiles been forgotten? Do they deserve to be studied as a significant corpus of material culture in the medieval Islamic world? Is there more than one way in which they can shed light on the visual construction of authority within the contemporaneous competing powers at the two sides of the Mediterranean?

MIRIAM ALI DE UNZAGA is a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of Ismaili Studies and alumna of its Graduate Programme in Islamic Studies and Humanities (class of 2000). She completed her Masters and Ph.D. from the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology in Material Culture and Museum Ethnography at the University of Oxford. Part of her fieldwork was conducted as a weaver apprentice in a mountain region in Morocco. She received post-doctoral fellowships from The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (2008); the Khalili Research Centre for the Art and Material Culture of the Middle East, University of Oxford (2008-2009); and the Aga Khan Postdoctoral Fellow in Islamic Art, Harvard University (2009). As a result she has conducted extensive multi-sited fieldwork in North Africa, Europe and North America. She specialises in Islamic art and material culture, with a focus on Mediterranean textiles. Her approach is to explore and shed light on the role of textiles in a variety of contexts, mechanisms and processes. Currently, her research concentrates on the multiplicity of perceptions on textiles in cross-cultural Muslim and non-Muslim medieval encounters. Recently, she has written a catalogue of the Egyptian textiles of the Early Islamic period for the Papyrus Museum of the Austrian National Library (forthcoming).

Other publications include “Embroidery Politics,” in the *13th Symposium of the Textile Society of America* (2012), Founding Presidents Award for the best paper (ex aequo); and “Revisiting Andalus-Umayyad Caliphal Material Culture: The Multiple Biographies of the Embroidery in Oña, Burgos,” in A. Shalem, ed., *The Chasuble of Thomas Becket in the Cathedral of Fermo* (Genoa and New York, in press). She was also the co-guest editor (with A. Gaiser) of *Facets of Exchange between the Medieval Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, Special Issue of *The Journal of North African Studies* 19 no. 1 (2014).

XAVIER BALLESTÍN

Gilded Swords, Silken Fabrics, High Taxes, City Building and the Allegiance of the Berbers: The Umayyad–Fatimid Contest in the Maghrib during the 10th Century

The main framework of this paper is the war between two caliphal powers in the Western Mediterranean, the Umayyads of Qurtuba (today’s Cordoba) and the Fatimids of al-Mahdiyya, and how both of them managed to fight this war by winning the allegiance of Berber tribal groups.

Umayyads and Fatimids claimed their own Islamic credentials and political legitimacy. This paper focuses on the tools used by Qurtuba and al-Mahdiyya in order to fulfil their policies and win over the Berber countryside. Qurtuba and al-Mahdiyya followed the same strategic approach: distributing robes of honour (*sing. khil’a*), establishing a sound taxation system and, eventually, city building. Military power and the dispatch of supplies, money, weapons, and eventually armies, as well as the ability to provide intelligence to their Berber followers, allowed Fatimids and Umayyads to wage an uninterrupted war – an investigation of this war constitutes an important issue that nevertheless goes beyond the scope of this paper – and enabled them to make their call to prayer (*da’wa*) heard in the Maghrib.



First, Fatimids and Umayyads provided the most active Berber chiefs with luxurious presents. Gilded swords, horse harnesses, horses, coins, brocade silks produced in state owned factories, so called *ṭirāz* in al-Andalus – that is, *khil'as* – were received by Zanāta, Ṣinhāja, Miknāsa, Kutāma and Maṣmūda chieftains, who felt their own authority enhanced amongst their fellow tribesmen and viewed themselves backed by the legitimacy of a caliphal power. By the bestowing of *khil'as*, the political acumen and fighting ability of the most active Berber chieftains became focused on the establishment of either Fatimid or Umayyad authority in the countryside.

Second, coins delivered as *khil'as* (gifts) must not be conceived only as a reward, but as the main tool for establishing a sound and comprehensive taxation system in the areas under the sway of the Berber chieftains, who aimed, on the one hand, to make the countryside *makhzan* (tribute paying area) land, on the other, to crush disaffected tribes through heavy taxation.

Third, the building of new cities or the renewal of ancient ones was the keystone of Umayyad and Fatimid policies in the Maghrib, and elsewhere in the Islamic world, as these provided both caliphates with a place to settle loyal followers and where wealth could be assessed and taxes collected, a task accomplished with the help of the Berber chiefs and their large retinues of horsemen.

The cities of Ifukkān, al-Masīla/al-Muḥammadiyya, 'Ashīr, Wujda will receive due attention according to their building as seats of power of loyal Berber chiefs, staunch followers of either the Fatimids or the Umayyads; such as for example, Zīrī ibn Manād al-Ṣinhājī and his son Buluqqīn ibn Zīrī allies of the Fatimids, and Ya'la ibn Muḥammad al-Ifranī and Zīrī ibn 'Aṭīyya allies of the Umayyads.

XAVIER BALLESTÍN is a Serra Hunter Professor in the History and Archaeology Department at the University of Barcelona. He has taught courses on Medieval History, the Medieval History of Spain, How to Think about History, al-Andalus between East and West, European Feudal Societies and Cultures and Mentalities in the Middle Ages. He holds a Doctorate in History (1998) from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (1986) and the Advanced Arabic Teaching Certificate (2000) from the State Languages School of Barcelona. His training in Arabic includes a scholarship in the Arabic Syrian Republic at the Arabic Teaching Institute for Foreigners, University of Damascus, where he lived two years (1988–1990), and two summer courses in Tunisia at the *Institut Bourguiba pour les Langues Vivantes* (1985–1986).

He worked in Yemen during two short archaeological fieldwork campaigns (1998; 1999). His doctoral thesis, entitled *Mafakhir al-barbar. Estudi i traducció*, is a translation and study of a late medieval anonymous text (c. 1314) of Berber history, in which due attention is given to the Fatimid and Umayyad war in the Maghrib, as it appears in the lost chapters of Ibn Hayyān's *al-Muqtabis*. His research interests include Islamic intellectual and material culture in the Iberian Northeast (today Catalonia); the relationship between legitimacy, the exercise of power and state structures between al-Andalus and the Maghrib; and the networks of tribal settlements, Arabic and Berber, in the Western Mediterranean during the 8th and 11th centuries.



MICHAEL BRETT

Melchizedek: King and Priest. Caliphal Variations on the Biblical Theme of Religious and Political Authority

The elements of the Biblical religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, that is, divine law, sacerdotalism and sacramentalism, sacred monarchy and messianism, have been variously combined in all three, with the emphasis placed on divine law in Judaism and Islam, and on sacerdotalism and sacramentalism in Christianity. All have nevertheless subscribed to the belief in sacred monarchy and messianism, in the here and now or in the future.

At the head of this tradition stands the figure of Melchizedek, king and priest, a prototype of David and of Christ, who was invoked by the mediaeval popes, the ‘vicars of Christ’, to justify their claim to authority over the Emperor in the government of Christendom. Conversely, the Byzantine emperors claimed authority not only over the Church but for the doctrines laid down by the Councils they convened. A similar authority for the faith was claimed by the Umayyads and after them the messianic Abbasids, until the development of legal scholarship and the accompanying failure to impose the doctrine of the created Qur’an left the Abbasids to uphold a law which they had not made.

The Fatimids, on the other hand, more thoroughly messianic, claimed supreme religious as well as political authority in their dual role as imam and caliph, pope and emperor in one, ‘after the order of Melchizedek’, as an Ismaili source has it. In response to their challenge, the Umayyads of Spain transformed themselves from an amirate into a caliphate with similarly Mahdist claims, which nevertheless endorsed and defended the Malikite version of the law rather than proclaiming one of their own. In so doing, they were at one with a majority of their subjects in a way that the Fatimids were not. Without a doctrine and a following of their own, however, the Umayyads vanished without trace, while the Fatimid dynasty survived (in Egypt) as did their following down to the present day.

MICHAEL BRETT is Emeritus Reader in the History of North Africa, SOAS. He graduated from Cambridge (Gonville and Caius College) with a BA Hons (1st Class) in 1955, going on to teach History at the University College of Cape Coast, Ghana, from 1962 to 1965. He completed his doctoral research at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) from 1966 to 1970; his PhD thesis was entitled ‘Fitnat al-Qayrawan: A Study of Traditional Arabic Historiography’. He lectured on North African, African and Fatimid/Near Eastern History at SOAS in the Africa Section of the History Department from 1970 to 2001. His publications include *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (1999); *The Rise of the Fatimids: the World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Tenth Century CE* (2001); *The Approach to African History* (2013); and *The Fatimid Empire* (forthcoming).

AGOSTINO CILARDO

The debate about *mut‘a* and Ismaili doctrine

One of the issues debated during the formative period of the Islamic system of law (in the 1st/7th century and first half of the 2nd/8th century) was the lawfulness of the *nikāḥ al-mut‘a* (temporary marriage). This paper presents a historical overview of the doctrinal development on this subject, emphasising the legal diversity and the plurality of approaches in the interpretation of the sources of law. On the issue under consideration, the legal schools can be divided into two groups: those that rejected the *mut‘a*, on the one hand, and the Imāmī school,



on the other. A comparison between the methodologies used by each group makes clear why divergent solutions are given.

This divergence stems from different interpretations of Q. 4:24. Therefore, the paper first examines the following Qur'an commentaries: *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān* by Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923); *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067); two Ibādī *tafsīrs*, namely the *Tafsīr* of Abū'l-Ḥawārī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥawārī al-'Umānī (fl. 3rd/9th century), and the *Tafsīr Kitāb Allāh al-'Azīz* by Hūd b. Muḥakkim al-Huwwārī (fl. 4th/10th century).

Ḥadīth literature offers a cross-section of doctrinal elaboration during the first century and a half of Islam, until the emergence of schools of law based on eponymous founders. Indeed, collections of traditions give a clear picture of the debate among the geographic schools (Mecca, Medina, Kufa, Basra). The main Sunni sources considered here are the *Muṣannafs* by 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827) and Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), while the definite Imāmī elaboration is in the works of al-Ṭūsī's *al-Istibṣār fī-mā khtalafa min al-akhbār* and *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. However, only al-Ṭūsī's *Kitāb al-khilāf* devotes a short section to the debate between Imāmīs and Sunnis. On these premises, the doctrines held by of Sunni schools of law, starting from the oldest of them, the Ḥanafī school, then the Mālikī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī schools, are examined.

The legal literature of the Ismaili school presents an evolution in its doctrine concerning the *mut'a*. The two Ismaili works, *Kitāb al-Iqtīṣār* and *Yanbū'*, do not mention explicitly *nikāḥ al-mut'a* rather, they consider contracts submitted to a condition, applying the general principle that a condition is lawful only if it conforms to the Qur'an. The subsequent works of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Mukhtaṣar al-āthār* and *Da'ā'im*, state that *mut'a* is a mere *zinā* (unlawful intercourse). In his *Mukhtaṣar al-āthār*, al-Nu'mān also refutes some doctrines that he attributes to anonymous advocates of the *mut'a* (presumably Twelver Shi'is). Apart from these legal works, another first-hand Ismaili source by al-Nu'mān is his *Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-musāyarāt*, where, in two passages, the caliph-imam al-Mu'izz expresses his view on the issue.

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ANNA CONTADINI

Multiple Identities: The Pisa Griffin and Fatimid and Umayyad Metalwork

Over time, several origins have been proposed for the Pisa Griffin, attributing it to Iran, Spain and various places in between. The Griffin has experienced changes in function and meaning along with its various physical relocations. The results of recent research relating to function as well as production practices may help us to better understand this wonderful bronze sculpture within its historical and cultural context.

ANNA CONTADINI is Professor of the History of Islamic Art, Department of the History of Art and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London; Head of the School of Arts; Director of the “Griffin and Lion” and “Treasures of SOAS” projects, and a member of the Centre for Iranian Studies at the London Middle East Institute (LMEI). She has been a Curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum (where she conducted research culminating in her book *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1998); at the Chester Beatty Library, as well as a lecturer in Islamic Art at Trinity College, Dublin. Her doctoral thesis examined early Arab and Persian miniature painting, a research topic still central to her work.

Professor Contadini’s research also extends to the material culture of the Islamic Middle East, its aesthetics and context as well as its relationship with European art. She has published extensively on the subjects of, for example, ivories, metalwork, and rock crystal objects. Her publications include *A World of Beasts: a Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals (the Kitāb Na’t al-Ḥayawān) in the Ibn Bakhtīshū’ Tradition* (2012); “Facets of Light: The Case of Rock Crystals,” in J. Bloom and S. Blair, eds., *God is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Light in Islamic Art and Culture* (2015); “Fatimid Ivories Within a Mediterranean Culture,” in K. von Folsach and J. Mayer, eds., *The Ivories of Muslim Spain. Journal of the David Collection* 2 no. 2 (2005). She is currently working on a long-standing project on the Pisa Griffin and related metalwork that will culminate in a book to be published in 2017: *The Pisa Griffin and the Mari-Cha Lion: Medieval Bronze Sculpture from the Middle East and Europe*.

PATRICE CRESSIER

Concept, Function and Usage of the Fatimid (and Umayyad) Caliphal Palaces in the Islamic West (in French)

The field of study that considers palaces to be sites of political power in the Islamic world –as articulated by the discipline of archaeology– has advanced immensely over the last decades; nevertheless, it still suffers from numerous and varied obstacles. One of these obstacles is intrinsic to the disciplines here treated (textual history versus archaeology) rather than to the objects of study (buildings, institutions): namely, the difficulty of establishing a balance between written sources and material sources. This situation is further exacerbated by the widespread polysemy of the terms used in the textual sources as well as the paucity of the archaeological documentation obtained in methodologically satisfactory conditions.

In addition, we are confronted with the prime interest of archaeologists and art historians towards the noble areas of palatial complexes at the expense of morphologically more modest buildings dedicated to housing and domestic or craft activities. Taking all this into account, the palaces subject of this discussion are to be considered not only as places of representation



of power in which elaborate ceremonial took place; but also as space dedicated to living quarters that housed a diverse population, which, very probably, included spaces for the production and supervision of luxury goods, among other economic activities. Therefore, we intend to analyse the current data available about Fatimid palaces in Ifrīqiya with a double prism: one aspect is the design and construction of a ‘stage-platform’ for the caliphate and the other aspect is the material substrate on which the caliphate relied for its successful functioning. This analysis is carried out by considering the work of the Cordoban Umayyad buildings, which is substantially better known.

PATRICE CRESSIER is a medievalist archaeologist, a specialist of the Maghrib region and of al-Andalus. He has been a member of la Casa de Velázquez, Madrid (1981–1984); a member of the German Archaeological Institute since 1998; Director of Research of la Casa de Velázquez (1994–2002), as well as a research associate at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Lyon until he retired in 2015. He completed his thesis at the Université de Paris IV in 1981 on the topic of the Medieval Rif (Morocco); after that he focused his research on the organisation of the rural context in the South-East of al-Andalus, particularly he concentrated his attention on castles as links between rural communities and the central power as well as hydraulic systems and their role in developing agriculture.

With regards to Morocco, he has concentrated on the formation of the Islamic city taking as case studies the capitals of several independent kingdoms in the High Middle Ages and those of the grand caravan towns (Nakūr, Ajmat, Tāmdult and Nūl Lamṭa). Also, a significant part of his research has been dedicated to the architectural decoration in the Islamic West. He has dedicated the last decade of his research to the topic of Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya the caliphal Fatimid city, built in the vicinity of Qayrawan (Tunisia).

Cressier is author and editor of numerous publications. He continues to actively participate as a member of editorial boards in French and Spanish journals of archaeology and history. He has been a member of the scientific committee for the exhibition entitled *Le Maroc Médiéval. Un Empire de l’Afrique à l’Espagne*, organised at the Musée du Louvre (2014). More recently, he has co-organised with Annliese Nef the symposium *Les Fatimides et la Méditerranée Centrale* (2 volumes, 2016); together with Maribel Fierro he is PI of the project *The Caliphates of the Islamic West*, Casa de Velázquez/CSIC (Madrid, 2015–2016). Currently, he is preparing with Mourad Rammah (INP) the publication of the excavations that took place at Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya.

MARIBEL FIERRO

Crossing Words and Swords: Umayyads and Fatimids in the 10th Century

This paper presents information from various sources that tell us how Umayyads and Fatimids projected their claims to genealogical, religious and political legitimacy. In turn, this information is used to explore how both dynasties interacted with each other in those claims. The data considered here is as inclusive and varied as possible: titles, coins, architecture, religious rituals, and literary texts. A comparative approach is the main focus of this paper.

MARIBEL FIERRO is a Research Professor in Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) and a member of the Research Group Cultural History of the Mediterranean at the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Mediterranean and Near East (ILC). She has worked and published on the political, religious and intellectual history of



al-Andalus and the Islamic West, on Islamic law, and on violence and its representation in medieval Arabic sources. Among her publications, she is the editor of *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Volume II: *The Western Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2010) co-editor (with C. Adang and S. Schmidtke) of *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker* (Leiden, 2012); and co-editor (with J. Tolan) of *The Legal Status of Ḍimmi-s in the Islamic West* (Turnhout, 2013). Together with Patrice Cressier she is PI of the project *The Caliphates of the Islamic West*, Casa de Velázquez/CSIC (Madrid, 2015–2016). She is currently working on a monograph, *Knowledge, Heresy and Politics in the Medieval Islamic West* (forthcoming).

ROLAND-PIERRE GAYRAUD

al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā, where Fatimids were Laid to Rest

Egypt was conquered in 358/969 by Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī on behalf of the Shiʿi Fatimid dynasty. It was not until 362/973 that the Fatimids arrived in Egypt to settle in their new capital, al-Qāhira, recently constructed north of al-Fustāt. Arriving from Sabrā al-Mansūriyya, their capital in Ifrīqiya, they brought with them the remains of their ancestors, including the first three Fatimid caliph-imams: ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, al-Qāʾim bi-Amr Allāh and Ismāʿīl al-Mansūr Biʾllāh. This act can be interpreted as a sign that the dynasty did not intend to return to Ifrīqiya and also as a way to assert their legitimacy.

A specific burial place was constructed for the transported bodies of the caliphs in al-Turba al-Zaʿfarān in al-Qāhira, the site of the present Khān al-Khalīlī. The caliph al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh asked his wife Taghrīd, mother of the future caliph al-ʿAzīz Biʾllāh, to find a burial place for other members of the family. She chose the site of a necropolis that had been abandoned, south of al-Fustāt, on the plateau of Iṣṭabl ʿAntar.

This part of al-Fustāt had been granted to Yemeni tribesmen, in particular to the Maʿāfir's. The large mausolea of this necropolis probably belonged to the notable families of this tribe. Excavations have shown that it was built between 132/750 and 145/762. The tombs had slowly been abandoned during the 3th/9th century, probably because the families either died out or left to settle elsewhere.

However, when the Fatimids arrived, the necropolis was probably not in bad shape or they would not have reused the buildings. On the contrary, they restored them, or altered the plans by extending them, built new ones, and gave the aspect of a necropolis *stricto sensu* by paving the streets and creating a homogenous structure. This necropolis, to which large funerary buildings such as the Sabʿ Banāt or Hadrāʾ al-Sharīfa were added, was called al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā, in contrast to al-Qarāfa al-Sughrā, which lay to the east. Today, only the latter is still standing, and it is known simply as al-Qarāfa.

The residential aspect of the necropolis during the Abbasid period was maintained, emphasised and systematised in the Fatimid period. The tombs contained several burials, collective or individual with coffins, and were furnished with gardens and water basins. One of them has a *ḥammām*. A sophisticated system of water distribution and drainage was set up. Water was brought to the plateau by several aqueducts following a tradition that went back to the early 2nd/8th century.



The necropolis has provided a great deal of new information through its equipment and functions concerning architectural history, as well as funerary customs and the perpetuation of social hierarchies post mortem. This unique ensemble was sacked and destroyed during the events that took place following the crisis of the long reign of the caliph al-Mustansir Bi'llāh between 454/1062 and 462/1070. The remaining traces of the necropolis can still be interpreted by thorough archaeological investigations. With the termination of the excavation process, the ensemble has suffered further destruction due to the invasive growth of the adjacent residential district.

ROLAND-PIERRE GAYRAUD is a member of the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Laboratoire d'Archéologie Médiévale et Moderne en Méditerranée (LA3M), University Aix-Marseille, and a lecturer at the same university (1979–1984 and 1998–2013). He gained his Ph.D. in Medieval History and Archaeology with his thesis *La céramique médiévale en Corse d'après les fouilles de Bonifacio*, from the University of Provence, 1979. He has participated in numerous archaeological excavations such as those in Raqqa and Heraqliya under the Syrian Antiquities Service (1977), and in Mayadīn (Dayr al-Zūr) under the French Institute in Damascus and the Syrian Antiquities Service (1978). He has also collaborated with the Polish Archaeological Institute in the excavations of Kūm al-Dikka (Alexandria) under the direction of M. Rodziewicz (1980–1982); with the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAIK) on the Darb Qirmiz project under the direction of M. Meinecke and P. Speiser; and with the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) in the study of Mamluk-period ceramics excavated under G.T. Scanlon in Fustāt (1981). He was director of the excavations carried out by the *Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (IFAO) at al-Qaṣabā (Dakhla Oasis, 1979–1982); at the Islamic sector of Tebtynis (Fayyūm, 1991–1994); and at Iṣṭabl 'Antar (Fustāt-Cairo, 1985–2005).

The Fustat excavations have resulted in the publication of E. Rodziewicz, *Fustat I: Bone Carvings from Fustat – Iṣṭabl 'Antar, Fouilles de Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (IFAO 70 2012); as well as two forthcoming volumes: R.P. Gayraud and L. Vallauri, with G. Guionova and J.C. Trégliā, *Fustat II: Fouilles d'Iṣṭabl 'Antar. Céramiques d'ensembles, des IXe et Xe siècles*, and R.P. Gayraud and J.C. Trégliā, with J. de Marchand, *Fustat III: Fouilles d'Iṣṭabl 'Antar. Céramiques d'ensembles, des VIIe et VIIIe siècles* (in preparation). He has published articles in *Annales Islamologiques* and in various journals.

NEJMEDDINE HENTATI

Implications of Fatimid Rule in the Evolution of the Mālikī School

Towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, Mālikīsm became predominant in Ifrīqiya. Having established good relations with the Aghlabids, Maliki scholars partially controlled religious positions. The fall of the Aghlabids, once the Fatimids took up power in 296/909 put an end to the status quo. The Fatimids attempted to impose, to a certain degree, their Ismaili legal doctrines. However, the majority of Mālikī scholars opposed those attempts and in so doing Malikism was further developed in Ifrīqiya. This paper deals with the following aspects: The roots of Malikism in Ifrīqiya; changing alliances of the Mālikīs with other Sunni legal schools and the legal and dogmatic evolution of Malikism.

On the basis of Mālik's opinion, Mālikī jurists showed reticence towards the science of scholastic theology (*kalām*). This attitude had to be abandoned during the Fatimid period. Ash'arism was adopted in *kalām* and provided jurists with the resources to confront the



Ismailis, while approaching the Abbasids who supported this theological school. All these factors may lead to the conclusion that Fatimid rule thus contributed in a relevant but indirect way to the development of Mālikīsm.

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SHAINOOL JIWA

Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī: Arab Ismailis as Interlocutors in the Fatimid–Umayyad Rivalry

The Fatimid court poet Muḥammad Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī (d. c. 362/973) is well known as the chief panegyrist of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (d. 365/975). His renowned poetry encapsulates Fatimid doctrine in verse while also serving as potent propaganda against their rival caliphates – the Abbasids and the Umayyads of al-Andalus.

Ibn Hānī's own origins and the trajectory of his career reflect a distinctive social group in the Mediterranean milieu; that of an Arab urban elite, of which many were invested with a notable tribal lineage (*nasab*), and who adhered to the Ismaili Fatimid cause. Alongside Ibn Hānī', other notable contemporary Arab Ismailis included the *qāḍī* al-Marwarrudhī, the governors al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abī Khinzīr and his brother Ali, the *dā'ī* Ibn al-Haytham and al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, among others. Crucially, many of these Arab Ismailis came to function as interlocutors in the dialectic between the Fatimids and the other major stakeholders in the region.

This paper seeks to examine the career of Ibn Hānī' as a manifestation of the role played by the select class of Arab Ismailis of Fatimid North Africa. It investigates their role as cultural mediators and interlocutors with their Umayyad counterparts. Ibn Hānī' is therefore examined as a flag-bearer of Arabian 'nobility' (*sharaf*), through whom were conveyed Fatimid notions of authority and legitimacy to the Arabian intelligentsia of the time. In particular, Ibn Hānī's corpus of poetry drew upon the quintessential Arabic literary expressions to counterpoise the Fatimids with the Umayyads of al-Andalus.



SHAINOOL JIWA is Head of the Constituency Studies Unit at The Institute of Ismaili Studies, where previously she was the co-ordinator of the Institute's Qur'anic Studies Unit. Dr Jiwa is a specialist in Fatimid history, having completed her Master's degree from McGill University and her doctorate from the University of Edinburgh. Dr Jiwa is on the Board of Governors of Edinburgh Napier University, and serves as Chief Examiner in Islamic History for the International Baccalaureate Organization. Her latest publication is *The Founder of Cairo: The Fatimid Imam-Caliph al-Muizz and his Era* (London, 2013), which complements her earlier work, *Towards a Shi'i Mediterranean Empire* (London, 2009). She has also co-edited a volume on Shi'i Islam titled, *The Shi'i World: Pathways in Tradition and Modernity* (London, 2016). Dr Jiwa is currently working on a monograph on the life and times of the Fatimid imam-caliph al-'Azīz Bi'llāh.

WILFERD MADELUNG

The Fatimid Attitude toward the Umayyad Caliphate as Reflected in the Sermons of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī and the attitude of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'

The pre-Fatimid Ismaili movement split in the late 3rd/9th century over the identity of the legitimate imam. Before the split, the early hidden imams were residing in Khurāsān, while a branch of the imam's family had moved to Salamiyya in Syria, from where it propagated revolutionary Shi'i teaching in support of the hidden imam who was about to appear as the Mahdī. The split occurred when the head of the family branch in Salamiyya, the later Fatimid caliph-imam 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, claimed to be the rightful imam. This claim was rejected by the majority of the Ismaili communities in Iran and Iraq. The movement supporting al-Mahdī was militantly revolutionary, aiming to overthrow the existing Muslim and non-Muslim rulers and to establish a universal Fatimid caliphate. It saw the both the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs as usurpers of the rightful position of Ali, who had been appointed by the Prophet Muhammad as his successor, and of the line of legitimate imams descending from Ali and Fatima. This view of the Umayyads as usurpers and enemies of Islam is reflected in the extant sermons of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī, the leader of the Fatimid Ismaili movement in the Maghrib.

In contrast, the Ismaili imam living in concealment in Khurāsān, who was widely recognised by the Ismaili communities in the east, became the founder of the fraternity of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. He taught his followers to seek to restore true Islam by studying and teaching the philosophy of the Ancients, i.e. the Greek and Hellenistic philosophers. Their philosophical teaching alone could cleanse revealed religion from its corrupt state and revive the true understanding of the Qur'an and other divine messages. The brotherhood should not aim to overthrow established rulers by revolution, but to transform humankind by their teachings into a peaceful society living in concord without violence and destructive physical conflicts. In the epistles of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', the caliphates of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, the Umayyads and Abbasids were generally appreciated as legitimate governments establishing sound order and deserving the obedience of good Muslims.

WILFERD MADELUNG is Emeritus Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford. A leading contemporary Islamicist, he has made significant contributions to modern scholarship on mediaeval Islamic communities and movements, including Twelver Shi'ism, Zaydism and Ismailism. Educated at the Universities of Cairo and Hamburg, he became Professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Chicago in 1969 and the Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford from 1978 until his retirement in 1998. Professor Madelung is at



present Senior Research Fellow with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London. Among his numerous publications are *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London, 1985), *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, NY, 1988), *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1992), *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1997), and with Paul E. Walker, *An Ismaili Heresiography* (Leiden, 1998). He has contributed extensively to *Encyclopaedia Iranica* and is Editor-in-Chief of *Encyclopaedia Islamica*.

EDUARDO MANZANO

Social Aspects of the Conflict between Umayyads and Fatimids in North Africa

This paper seeks to describe the social landscape that framed the conflict between Umayyads and Fatimids in North Africa during the 4th/10th century. It argues that this conflict was adapted to the peculiar conditions that prevailed in the area, which were very different to those that existed in both Ifrīqiya and al-Andalus. By focusing on this issue the aim is to describe the tribal milieu that shaped political and social relations during this particular period.

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His publications include (in collaboration with S. Pérez Garzón) *Conquistadores, emires y califas. Los Omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus* (Barcelona, 2007); “The Iberian Peninsula and North Africa,” in C. Robinson, ed., *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. I (Cambridge, 2010); “Circulations de biens et richesses entre al-Andalus et l’Occident européen aux VIIIe-Xe siècles,” in Al. Feller and A. Rodriguez, eds., *Objects suous contraintes. Circularion des richesses et valeur des choses* (Paris, 2013); and (in collaboration with Susana Nartozki) *The hisba, the muhtasib and the struggle over political power and a moral economy: an enquiry into institutions* (Leiden, 2014).

FÁTIMA MARTÍN ESCUDERO AND TAWFIQ IBRAHIM

The Early Coinage of the Fatimids of Ifrīqiya and the Umayyads of Cordoba: A Comparative Study

This paper provides a short comparative study of the early coinage of the Fatimid al-Mahdī and the Andalusī Umayyad al-Naṣīr. First, in relation to the foundational coinage of the Umayyads of Damascus and early Abbasid coinage, followed briefly by the coinage of the Aghlabids, their immediate predecessors in the area and whose minting style was initially



imitated. It also includes a brief mention of the earlier Idrīsid coinage, as well as a passing mention on the Midrārīd's of Sijilmāsa and their numismatic response to the formation of the above first mentioned political entities.

The paper intends to study ideological choices, as expressed in coins, taken first by the al-Mahdī, and later by al-Naṣīr, with special emphasis on the titles and attributions written on their respective coinage. All this is contrasted with contemporary Islamic coinage of the period, that is, the long established and complex tradition of Abbasid coinage.

FÁTIMA MARTÍN ESCUDERO is a lecturer at the Department of Historiographical Technics Sciences and Archaeology in the Universidad Complutense, Madrid. She gained her Ph.D. cum laude in 2007 titled 'Andalusian Numismatics: Birth and Development of a Science 18th–19th Centuries', from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, for which she was awarded the Royal Academy of Doctors Prize. She was a researcher at the Royal Academy of History in Madrid from April 1999 until December 2004. Since 2013 she has been a member (*correspondiente*) of the Spanish Royal Academy of History. She has published more than 30 articles related to Andalusian coinage, monetary circulation, archaeological context and documentation, as well as to historiography. These include co-authoring *Catalogue of Andalusian Coins* (Royal Academy of History, 2000) and *Numismatic Cabinet Documentation* (Royal Academy of History, 2004); and authoring "Coins that Come and Go ... Monetary Circulation in an Age of Changes," in *De Mahoma a Carlomagno, los primeros tiempos (siglos VII–IX)*, XXV Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella (2013); "Numismatic Treasures: Much More Than Gathered Coins," in *Villa 5. Monedas altomedievales. Historia y Arqueología. Al-Andalus y Magreb. Siglos VII–XI* (2015); and "Fatimid Coins within the Santa Elena Street Dinar Finding (Valencia, Spain)," in *XV Congreso Internacional de Numismática* (forthcoming).

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Tawfiq has catalogued and studied Islamic coins since 1984. He has participated in several projects in this field, including cataloguing the large collection of Islamic coins, mostly Andalusī, at the Museo Casa de la Moneda, Madrid (1993–1999); setting up the permanent exhibition room of Andalusī coins at the Museo Casa de la Moneda, Madrid in 1998; and cataloguing the collection of Andalusī coins at the Gabinete de Antigüedades of the Spanish Royal Academy of History from 1998 to 2000.

His publications include "Un dirham inédito del califa omeya de Córdoba Abd al-Rahman V al-Mustazir bi-llah, acuñado en al-Andalus, el año 414 H.," in *Numisma* (1984); "Dinar of Madinat al-Mahdiyyah 450 H. Struck by the Zirid Ruler al-Mu'izz b. Badis (406/454) in the name of the Fatimid al-Mustansir (427/487)," in *Oriental Numismatic Society* no. 116 (1988); "Consideraciones sobre el conflicto omeya-fatimí y las dos acuñaciones conocidas de al-Jair Ibn Muḥammad ibn Jazar al-Magrewi," in *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, Madrid (1990) and (co-authored with A. Canto García and F. Martín Escudero) *Monedas Andalusíes* (Madrid, 2000).



MARÍA ANTONIA MARTÍNEZ NÚÑEZ

The Epigraphy of Madīnat al-Zahrā' in the Context of the Rivalry between the Fatimid and the Umayyad Caliphates

The epigraphy of Madīnat al-Zahrā', the foundational city of the Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus, constitutes a pertinent scenario for the representation of power. It shows how this caliphate was configured with all the formal characteristics of the institution by the 4th/10th century. Indeed, the epigraphic record shows the abandonment of the Umayyad tradition of Syria by the Andalusī caliphs, both in calligraphic styles and forms.

In order to analyse Umayyad epigraphy in the context of its rivalry with the Fatimid caliphate it is essential to specify the chronology of buildings in both caliphates. The foundational epigraphy of Madīnat al-Zahrā' provides us with the following dates: 333/944 for the congregational mosque; 342–345/953–956 for the construction of the high garden complex, and 351–362/962–973 for the building period of the second caliph al-Ḥakam). These dates are later than those provided by other written sources (324/936).

In comparison, the construction of Mahdiyya was completed in the year 308/921 and that of Šabra al-Manšūriyya began in 334/946 with the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Manšūr (as has been well documented by P. Cressier and M. Rammah (Tunisia, 2015); the Jawarnaq palace was completed in the year 336/948 and the mosque in 341/953); its construction continued during the caliphate of al-Mu'izz (with the Qaṣr al-Baḥr completed in 342/954) until 361/972 when the process of the transfer to Egypt began.

Therefore, much of the Umayyad city was built around the same time or immediately after Fatimid constructions. In this scenario, it is necessary to note three things: firstly, both caliphates took on Abbasid eastern epigraphic models; Secondly, the Umayyad epigraphic repertoires, in form and text, were progressively updated as a reaction to Fatimid propaganda; and thirdly, we can talk of competition, and not mere imitation, in the employment of similar resources, maintaining in turn the ideological and apologetic peculiarities of each caliphates.

The epigraphy of the *majlis* (the official reception hall) of caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III – which is the focus of this contribution – provides us with some clues about the Umayyad reaction to the Fatimids. The *majlis* was built between 342/953 and 345/956. This was a period when the ideological dispute about the legitimacy and the right to hold caliphal prerogatives increased and when the first military confrontations between Umayyads and Fatimids took place). Subsequently, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, the first Umayyad caliph, chose the highest visual epigraphic sections in his official reception hall to display the title of Imām and the honorific *laqab* al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh.

In addition, in the epigraphic bands he is also described as *al-ṣāḥib al-madīna* (director of the construction) a fact that can only be explained by the predominance that this position acquired within the context of the recrudescence of persecution against the followers of Ibn Masarra, who were accused of *bātinī* affiliation. Besides the written formulas, the *majlis* was the site of the first solemn but flowery Kufic, which also introduced numerous calligraphic innovations. This style can be seen as an Umayyad reaction to the Kufic used by the Fatimids.

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ANNLIESE NEF AND DAVID BRAMOULLÉ

Commercial Exchanges, Maritime Policy and Imperial Construction in the Fatimid Caliphate

The Fatimid settlement in Ifrīqiya in 297/909 and move towards Egypt in 362/973 transformed these provinces into central territories for a new caliphate claiming its Ismaili faith. The Fatimids wished to challenge the Abbasids and Umayyads in all possible areas. They did so by competing with the Umayyads in the Maghrib, but also by constructing an empire in the Mediterranean and beyond. This paper investigates this challenge through the main dimensions of their maritime and commercial policy.

Regarding the military dimension, Ifrīqiya saw the birth of the Fatimid caliphate and the emergence of its naval superiority over Umayyad and Christian navies based in this region. The Fatimid caliphate took control of the strait of Sicily, the same way the caliphate in al-Andalus did with the strait of Gibraltar; the *jihād* led by the Umayyads against the north of the Iberian peninsula can also be compared to the *jihād* led by Fatimids in southern Italy; after the establishment of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt, the central Mediterranean remained important, nevertheless they developed a policy orientated more towards the Oriental part of the world.

Regarding the commercial dimension, competition against the Umayyads assumes that the Fatimids exploited a pre-existing 'zone of prosperity' in the central Mediterranean and reinforced it. This also required a specific commercial policy in which geographical ambitions were far greater. The quality and the variety of the products available on the markets of the Fatimid capital cities were a main issue for this Ismaili dynasty who wanted to overshadow Baghdad's reputation as the treasure-house of the world as well as to compete with the Umayyads in maritime trade.

Such a goal could not be reached by only relying on serendipity and on the mercantile element of the population, but it was Egypt, at the interface between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, which made demands of the elites increase and which took benefit from the favourable economic context in Christian Europe. Western Europeans were very attracted by the luxury goods coming from the Orient; and in this context, Egypt imposed itself as the main marketplace between Orient and Occident. The sources, ranging from classical Arabic geographers to fiscal surveys such as Makhzūmī's treaty and of course, the Geniza letters show how the Fatimids, having arrived in Egypt, developed, orientated and controlled trade flows according to the political context and the dynasty's interest.



All these political choices are intertwined with the progressive elaboration of a political and ideological framework, which can be qualified as imperial: the geography and cartography promoted by or favourable to the dynasty clearly illustrate the conception of a world no longer seen from Baghdad. A comparison with the conceptions developed in al-Andalus is also quite revealing.

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DAVID BRAMOULLÉ is an Assistant Professor at the University of Toulouse-Jean Jaurès. He gained his Ph.D. from the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne in 2001 with the thesis, ‘*Les Fatimides et la mer (341–567/953–1171) du rêve mystique à l’empire du large*’, under the supervision of Prof. Christophe Picard (forthcoming with Brill). After three years in the Middle East (Beirut, Jerusalem), Bramoullé started a PhD. on the Fatimids, focusing on their relations with the sea from a classical point of view, and examining the economical and ideological aspects of their relations with the sea, using the Arabic sources as well as the Geniza letters. His current research focuses on the use of the Geniza letters in order to have a better understanding of the inner structure of the Fatimid administration and to look at the links between Fatimid Egypt and Africa, Europe and Asia.

His publications include: “The Fatimids and the Red Sea (969–1171),” in D. Agius, J. P. Cooper, A. Trakadas, C. Zazzaro, eds., *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places, Proceedings of the Red Sea V Conference* (Oxford, 2012); “*Les Fatimides d’Égypte et la Sicile*,” in F. Ardizzone et A. Nef, eds., *Les dynamiques de l’Islamisation en Méditerranée centrale et en Sicile: nouvelles propositions et découvertes récentes* (Edipuglia, 2014); “L’émirat de Barqa et les Fatimides: les enjeux de la navigation en Méditerranée centrale au XI^e siècle,” in A. Nef and P. Cressier, eds., *Les Fatimides et la Méditerranée Centrale*, *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* no. 139 (2016); and “Financer l’activité navale fatimide en Égypte (973–1171): contraintes financières et enjeux politico-économiques,” in *Revue d’Histoire Maritime* (forthcoming).

MARINA RUSTOW [TITLE TBA]

MARINA RUSTOW is a social historian of the mediaeval Middle East, who works with a relatively neglected type of source: mediaeval documents, especially sources from the Cairo Geniza, a cache of more than 300,000 folio pages preserved in an Egyptian synagogue. She also works with some Arabic papyri and paper documents. Most of her research has centred on Egypt and Syria from the 10th to the 15th centuries, with occasional forays into Europe and modernity.

Her work has lately centred around a set of related questions: what makes social and religious groups cohere and fragment; how people demanded justice from the state and facilitated or



resisted its extraction of resources; how written documents structured the exercise of power and the creation and maintenance of social bonds; and how reconstructing the concrete details of medieval life demand of the historian the rigorous rather than fanciful use of the imagination. She has also developed a fascination with decoding the graphic and semiotic features of documents, and with how medieval people did so.

She is currently writing a book on Fatimid state documents preserved in the Geniza. These are some of our best sources for understanding how medieval Islamic states governed their subjects, and how states balanced two essential requirements that were often in tension with one another: the extraction of resources and the provision of justice. The physical features of state documents—many of which were later recycled as scrap paper—also have the potential to solve the longstanding problem of the dearth of archives from the pre-Ottoman Middle East. She published a pilot article on the subject in *BSOAS* in 2010, and a pilot collaborative study in 2011.

Her publications include: “A Petition to a Woman at the Fatimid Court (413–414 A.H./1022–23 C.E.),” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* no. 73 (2010); “The Legal Status of *Ḍimmī*-s in the Fatimid East: A View from the Palace in Cairo,” in M. Fierro and J. Tolan, eds., *The Legal Status of Ḍimmī-s in the Islamic West in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2013); “Patronage in the Context of Solidarity and Reciprocity: Two Paradigms of Social Cohesion in the Premodern Mediterranean,” in M. E. Alfonso and J. Decter, eds., *Patronage, Production and Transmission: Books in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Cultures* (Turnhout, 2014); “The Diplomatics of Leadership: Administrative Documents in Hebrew Script from the Cairo Geniza,” in A. Franklin, R. E. Margariti, M. Rustow and U. Simonsohn, eds., *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen* (Leiden, 2014).

ISABEL TORAL-NIEHOFF

The Portrayal of the Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt in the *ʿIqd al-Farīd*. Some Considerations about its Connection to the Neo-Umayyad Discourse of the Caliphate

The multivolume miscellaneous *adab* encyclopaedia *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, composed by the Cordovan Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 348/940) is an extensive compendium providing the reader with a panoramic survey of the knowledge that an *adīb* (a man of letters) was expected to acquire. It is divided into twenty-five monographic books (*sing. kitāb*) that are ordered according to a hierarchy of importance. Apparently, history was part of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih’s encyclopaedic ideal of *adab*, since in addition to numerous historical anecdotes about caliphs, viziers and poets that are spread over the whole work, the *ʿIqd al-farīd* incorporates two *kitābs* on history, namely no. 15: *The Book of the Second Adorable Jewel on caliphs, their histories, and battles* (*kitāb al-masjada al-thāniya fī l-khulafāʾ wa l-tawārīkh wa ayyāmihim*), and no. 16: *The Book of the Second Unique Jewel on reports about Ziyād, al-Hajjāj, the Ṭālibids and the Barmakids* (*Kitāb al-yatīma al-thāniya fī akhbār Ziyād wa l-Hajjāj wa l-Ṭālibiyyīn wa l-Barāmika*). Both denote a very peculiar vision of Islamic history and legitimacy that I propose to interpret as a reflection of political discussions in the contemporary Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus.

This paper discusses those passages that focus on the persona of the Prophet and his family, since these were particularly sensitive questions for the Umayyads’ confronting the challenge of the Fatimid caliphate. Several aspects are noteworthy: In Book 15, he constructs an



uninterrupted chain of Qurayshī caliphal legitimacy that starts with the Prophet and ends with caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, which puts the Prophet in a framework that portrays him as the ‘first caliph’. Another important point is the centrality of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (whom he mentions as a caliph) who functions as a central link of legitimacy that connects Ali with Mu‘āwīya. It is less surprising that neither the Abbasids nor the Fatimids appear in this section.

The next book deals with all sort of political figures that seem to have in common that they were important personalities without being legitimate caliphs. The order and criteria of selection are significant: First, he has a long section on the famous Umayyad governors Ziyād and al-Ḥajjāj, then he passes over to a portrayal of the Barmakids, a topic that leads to the Ṭālibids, and then to a significant chapter on the excellence of Ali. The book concludes with a short list of the Abbasid caliphs until al-Muṭṭi‘ (r. 334–363/945–973), probably a later addition. The Fatimids are remarkably absent. This paper discusses two points in particular: the figure of Ali and the treatment of Ḥusayn (and the Ḥusaynids) in contrast to Ḥasan (and the Ḥasanids). It argues that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih constructs a harmonising, slightly pro-‘Alid discourse that mentions and considers the Ḥasanid Idrīsids, who were ruling in North Africa at the time, but that is anti-Fatimid insofar as it blacks them out.

ISABEL TORAL-NIEHOFF is a Senior Researcher at the EDRIS (Education and Religion) Research Centre in Göttingen since 2014. She studied History, Islamic and Arabic Studies in Tübingen (Ph.D. 1997) and worked on Greek-Arabic Magic: *Kitāb Ġiranīs. Die arabische Übersetzung der ersten Kyranis des Hermes Trismegistos und die griechischen Parallelen* (2004). She received her *Habilitation* in 2008 at the Free University Berlin, published as: *Al-Ḥīra. Eine arabische Kulturmetropole im spätantiken Kontext* (Leiden, 2014). Since 1997, she has held various research positions and fellowships in Freiburg, Berlin, London and Göttingen since 1997. Her main research fields are Arabia and the Near East in Late Antiquity; cultural identity; Arabic Occult Sciences; *adab*, fiction, encyclopaedias and al-Andalus.

ANTONIO VALLEJO

Ideology and Architecture: The Centre of Political Representation of the Umayyad Caliphate

The city of Madīnat al-Zahrā’ was built by Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir as the seat of the new caliphal state competing with the Fatimid caliphate. Recent research has allowed us to identify two main building phases in its citadel: a foundational phase, including the Friday Mosque and the caliphal residence, and a phase where existing buildings were rebuilt. The latter phase, which altered the whole palatial structure, was carried out by the founding caliph himself. It involved, among other similar constructions, the building of a new administrative and ceremonial centre and especially the introduction of new architectural and spatial concepts to symbolise power.

The courtly terrace presided over by the Hall of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III acquired its definitive form at that time, between the years 341/953 and 345/957. It was established as a vast space with gardens with an integrated building for receiving embassies and holding political audiences, a similar hall to the south surrounded by pools, and a complex of rooms annexed to the northern side of the terrace. The Hall of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III has been studied by various researchers who have pointed to the characteristics of its decorative programme, the role of the capitals in the structuring of the space, the reception ceremonials conducted within it, and the image the caliph portrayed of himself through honorific titles transmitted by epigraphic



inscriptions. Except for the capitals, a clear Abbasid influence can be observed in all those architectural elements; as for the epigraphy, it can be compared to the use of titles made by the Fatimid caliph-imams.

Manuel Acién and Maribel Fierro have offered general interpretations of the building. Acién's is based in the decorative programme, for which he proposes, among other lines of research, a possible astrological and cosmographic reading based on the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (known in Latin as *Picatrix*), the work of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. 353/964). This, in turn, is related to the identification made by Fierro, who further adds an interpretation along Qur'ānic lines for the whole terrace.

This paper is based on a decorative analysis and highlights the originality and singularity of the Hall of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's ornamental plan. Emphasis is placed not on the floral elements, which have been sufficiently studied, but on its compositions, which bear little relation to earlier Islamic models. The contention is that the representation of certain elements of the ornamental plan may be based in some of the philosophical texts of that time, including the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*. Finally, this paper also aims to contribute to a complete understanding of the whole terrace by proposing a new interpretation that is linked to the Fatimid caliphate.

ANTONIO VALLEJO TRIANO is a specialist in Islamic archaeology. He was the Director of Madīnat al-Zahrā' Archaeological Site, Madīnat al-Zahrā' Museum, and the Madīnat al-Zahrā' excavations from 1985 to 2013, and author together with Manuel Acién of the museological concept and programming of the Madīnat al-Zahrā' Museum which won an Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 2010 (with Nieto Sobejano Architects). Since 2013, he has been the permanent technical advisor of the Fine Art Museum of Cordoba, Spain. He is a tenured public servant by competitive examination at the Historical Heritage Curatorship Unit of the Regional Government of Andalucía. His Ph.D. from the University of Jaén, with the thesis 'The Caliphal City of Madinat al-Zahra: Archaeology from its Architecture', was awarded *cum laude* in 2003. He was lecturer of Medieval Art History, University of Cordoba in 2012-2013.

He has much experience in the management of the archaeological heritage: as Representative of the Comisión Andaluza de Arqueología (2003–2009); Advisory Board Member of the World Heritage of Alhambra & Generalife, Granada, Spain (1995-1999); Director of the journal *Cuadernos de Madinat al-Zahra* (1987–2013); Editorial Board Member of the journal *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* (Universidad de Jaén); and as Co-director of the Research Project *Arqueología en la almunia al-Rummaniyya, Córdoba*, (2006–2014). He was invited by the Victoria & Albert Museum to catalogue Umayyad caliphal archaeological material, (2014–2015). His publications include: (coord.) *Madinat al-Zahra. El Salón de Abd al-Rahman III* (1995); *Madinat al-Zahra. Official guide of the archaeological site* (editions in English, Arabic and Spanish, 2005); *La ciudad califal de Madinat al-Zahra. Arqueología de su excavación* (2010); and with P. Cressier, *Madinat al-Zahra et Sabra al-Mansuriyya: deux versions d'un même scénario* (2015).



PAUL E. WALKER

Fatimid Portrayals of the Umayyads in Official Pronouncements and in *Da'wa* Literature

Anti-Umayyad polemic occurs often in Fatimid writings, although most commonly aimed at the enemies of Ali and the Ahl al-Bayt in the time long before any confrontation between the two later caliphates. Nevertheless the same or similar attitude of hostility carries over. A *khutba* by the caliph-imam al-Qā'im condemns "the tyrants of the tribe of Umayya" as "evil doers and their associates". Some of this rhetoric is generic, a broad denunciation of the Umayya clan. Thus in general the Andalusī caliphate appears somewhat distant to the immediate concerns of the Fatimids and their *da'wa* perhaps, because it was represented in North Africa by anti-Fatimid proxies, particularly the local Maliki *'ulamā'*, rather than the Umayyads themselves. Even so, there are several cases that specifically attack the Umayyads of Spain.

Some important material comes from al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Majālis*. Another essential passage is by al-Kirmānī who rebukes the Umayyad who resides in al-Andalus for his impure lineage due to his descent from the 'Tree of Zaqqūm' and for displaying a contempt for the regulations of God by promoting among his subjects behaviour other than that of the Prophet. An earlier authority quotes a line of poetry that states: "I had hoped that I would die and not witness atop the minibars a preacher for Umayya." There is more, much of which has yet to be collected, but can and should now be brought out for discussion.

PAUL E. WALKER is Deputy Director for Academic Programs, Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago. He was the Director of the American Research Center in Cairo for over ten years (1976–86). As a specialist in the history of Islamic thought, he has published dozens of papers and over a dozen books, among them *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge, 1993); *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and Its Sources* (London, 2002); *Fatimid History and Ismaili Doctrine* (Ashgate, Variorum, 2008); and *Caliph of Cairo: al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, 996–1021* (Cairo, 2009). His current research focuses on popular ritual, governing institutions, and Ismaili doctrine in the Fatimid period.



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The Ikhwān al-Safā' are her main field of research. Her publications include numerous books on them; at the Institute of Ismaili Studies she has written for the collection 'Epistles of the Brethren of Purity': *On Logic. An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistles 10–14* (2010) and *On Natural Sciences. An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistles 15–21* (2013). She has also prepared the editions and translations of Epistles 39, 40 and 50.

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FARHAD DAFTARY is currently Co-Director of The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, where he has also been the Head of the Department of Academic Research and Publications since 1992. He completed his early and secondary education in Tehran, Rome, and London, before going to Washington, D.C., in 1958. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the American University there, and then continued his graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, leading to a Ph.D. degree in 1971. Subsequently, Dr. Daftary held different teaching posts, and, since 1988, he has been affiliated with The Institute of Ismaili Studies.

An authority in Shi‘i studies, with special reference to its Ismaili tradition, Farhad Daftary has published and lectured widely in these fields of Islamic studies. In 2011 a Festschrift entitled *Fortresses of the Intellect* was produced to honour Dr. Daftary by a number of his colleagues and peers. As well as serving on various editorial boards, he is a consulting editor of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (for Ismailism), co-editor (with W. Madelung) of the *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, and general editor of the “Ismaili Heritage Series”, the “Ismaili Texts and Translations Series” and the “Shi‘i Heritage Series”.

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