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MEDIEVAL HARRĀN

Studies on its Topography and Monuments, I

By D. S. RICE

No attempt has been made yet to collect the widely scattered information on the history and topography of Ḥarrān for the period from the Arab conquest in A.D. 639 until the destruction of the city by the Mongols in A.D. 1260. Such a compilation would form a useful sequel to the monograph of Adam Mez, which covers the period up to the Arab conquest¹ and to Chwolsohn's work on the Sabians which, despite its venerable age, remains the standard work on the subject².

Several monographs on Ḥarrān were written during the Middle Ages but no Mss of them have so far been discovered³. A good deal of material can be collected from historical and geographical texts. Of these none is more detailed or more worthy of attention than that of Ibn Shaddād. The account of this writer, available so far only in Ms, is contained in a chapter of his Survey of Syria and the Jazīra⁴.

Ibn Shaddād was born in Aleppo in 613/1216 and died in Cairo in 684/1285. He served the Ayyūbids and the founder of the Mamlūk state, Baybars, whose biography he also wrote. In 640/1242 the Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik an-Nāṣir, sent Ibn Shaddād to Ḥarrān to carry out a financial inspection (*kashf*). Later he represented the same sovereign in talks with Hulagu⁵.

¹ *Die Stadt Harran bis zum Einfall der Araber*, Strasburg, 1892.

² *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1856.

³ The following histories of Ḥarrān are known to have existed :

(i) by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ. b. 'Ubaidallāh al-Musabbihī (366-420/977-1029), the famous Egyptian historian whose family originated from Ḥarrān (v. K. Tallqvist, ed. Ibn Sa'īd, *K. al-mughrib*, Leiden, 1899, p. 104).

(ii) by Abū-th-thanā' Hammād b. Hibatallāh b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥarrānī (511-598/1117-1201) whose work included a history of the town and biographies of scholars, poets and persons of distinction connected with it. (v. Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris, 1940, p. 36 n. 11 ; followed by a sequel written by :

(iii) Abū-l-Maḥāsin b. Salāma b. Khalifa al-Ḥarrānī (v. as-Sakhāwī, *al-i'lām bit-ta'ubikh liman dhamma at-ta'rikh*, Damascus, 1349/1930, p. 125) and taken down by Sayf ad-dīn Muḥ. b. 'Abdulḡhanī b. Muḥ. b. Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī (588-622/1192-1225) (v. ash-Shattī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus, 1339/1920, p. 48).

⁴ *Al-a'lāq al-khāṭira fi dhikr umarā' ash-shām wal-jazīra* (v. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 482, *Suppl.* I, p. 883 and a fuller bibliographical note in J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris, 1941, p. XXII). I understand that an edition of the whole text is being planned by the Institut Français de Damas.

⁵ Cl. Cahen, op. cit. pp. 75-6 who also analyses the sources of Ibn Shaddād.

In his major work, composed before 679/1280, Ibn *Shaddād* writing from first hand knowledge, describes the state of *Ḥarrān* before its invasion by the Mongols and its ruthless destruction by them. This description is contained in the second volume of his work dealing with the *Jazīra*. In the opening chapter he briefly records the history of the *Jazīra* until the fall of the *Hamdānid* dynasty (380/1008-9) and deals simultaneously with the three districts of *Diyār Muḍar*, *Diyār Rabī'a* and *Diyār Bakr*. This introduction is followed by three separate chapters, one for each district, in which he gives a more detailed account of the period until the Mongol invasion. The passages dealing with *Ḥarrān* are contained in the chapter on *Diyār Muḍar*, of which it was the principal city, and are preserved in two Mss¹. In view of their outstanding importance for the history and topography of *Ḥarrān*, I have translated these passages in full from the text of the Bodleian Ms and have commented on each paragraph as far as I was able².

A. *Ibn Shaddād's account of Ḥarrān—translation.*

§ 1. "The chief city (*qaṣaba*) of *Diyār Muḍar* before the Mongols destroyed it was *Ḥarrān*. It was situated in flat country and had an oblong shape. Its buildings were built of stone and plaster, and it had wide streets. It was surrounded by a wall and had a suburb (*rabaḍ*) whose wall was joined to the city wall.

§ 2. "*Ḥarrān* has a citadel (*qal'a*) which was called of old (*qadīman*) *al-Mudawwar* (the round one) and which was one of the temples (*haykal*) of the Sabians who lived at *Ḥarrān*. Al Malik al-'Ādil Saif ad-dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb rebuilt the citadel (*jaddada binā'ahā*).

§ 3. "The city has seven gates: *Bāb ar-Raqqa*, which is now blocked up (*masdūd*), *al-Bāb al-Kabīr* (the Big Gate), *Bāb an-Niyār*³ (the Gate of Fires), *Bāb Yazīd*, *Bāb al-Faddān*, *al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (the Little Gate), *Bāb as-Sirr*, and *Bāb al Mā'* (the Water Gate) which used to be blocked up. It is said that there are two copper jinns in the tower (*burj*) of the *Bāb al-Mā'* and that they are talismans against snakes.

§ 4. "The suburb also has gates.

§ 5. "The city of *Ḥarrān* is situated between two rivers, the *Dayṣān* and the *Jullāb*. There is a canal (*majāz*) from the *Jullāb* to the cisterns (*maṣānī'*) built in *Ḥarrān*. This river has its source in a village named *ad-Dabb* (or *ad-Dubb*). It waters *Ḥarrān* and penetrates into some houses, into the mosque and into the cisterns of public fountains (*maṣānī'as-sabil*) by way of an aqueduct (*'alā qanāṭir ma'qūda*). The wells are salt and water reaches them in January and remains sweet, on top of the salt, without mixing with it. The people use the water until the supply runs out.

¹ Ms. Bodl. Marsh 333, identified and described by Amedroz in *JRAS*, 1903, p. 786 and Ms. Ahlwardt 9800 in Berlin. A summary of the relevant passages of the Oxford Ms. was also given by Cl. Cahen, "La Djezira au milieu du treizième siècle," *REI*, VIII, 1934, pp. 109-28.

² References to the Bodleian Ms. are given in the body of text with the abbreviation I.Sh.

³ Not an-Nayyir as given by Cl. Cahen, *La Djezira*, p. 110.

§ 6. "There are four madrasas at Ḥarrān—all belonging to the Ḥanbalite rite. One madrasa was built by Nūr ad-dīn Maḥmūd, one by Shams ad-dīn Shuqair and another by the Ḥājja Sitt an-Ni'am, sister in law (*nasība*) of Sharaf ad-dīn Ibn al-'Aṭṭār.

§ 7. "There is a hospice (*khānaqāh*) built by Nūr ad-dīn Maḥmūd and another constructed by Jamāl ad-dīn Shādhbakht for all the *fuqarā'* without discrimination, whether Arabs or non-Arabs ('*ajam*).

§ 8. "There is a hospital (*bīmāristān*) built by Muẓaffar ad-dīn Lord of Irbil. It used to be his residence. He later constituted it a waqf.

§ 9. "There are some holy places (*mazārāt*): the mosque of Abraham (*masjid Ibrāhīm*) and a mosque with a rock of which it is said that Abraham used to lean against it.

§ 10. "Nūr ad-dīn rebuilt (*jaddada*) the Friday-mosque (*jāmi'*) and enlarged it (*zāda fihī*). It used to be a temple (*haykal*) of the Sabians. 'Iyād ibn Ghanm took it from them when he conquered Ḥarrān and allotted them another locality in Ḥarrān where they built a temple which remained in their hands until its destruction by Yaḥyā ibn ash-Shāṭir who was governor of Ḥarrān (*mutawallī*) on behalf of Sharaf ad-daula" (ffo 13r-14v).

§ 11. "There were the following baths at Ḥarrān: Ḥammām al-balāt, Ḥammām al-kanisa (of the Church), Ḥammām 'Alī, Ḥammām al-dulayyāt (of the small buckets?), Ḥammām ar-Ra'is, Ḥammām Bāb Faddān, Ḥammām az-Zakī, Ḥammām al-Walī. There were also four baths outside the walls: two at the Bāb al-Kabīr and two at the Bāb Yazīd. These were built by the Ḥājib 'Alī ¹ (fo 20v).

Commentary.

§ 1. According to al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) Ḥarrān had been dedicated to the moon which it resembled in shape. It also had the shape of a *ṭaylasān*². These comparisons are not of great value as the exact shape of the garment known as *ṭaylasān* is not easy to determine³, and we are not told what kind of moon is meant.

In a list giving the circuits of various Syrian cities, as drawn up under Nūr ad-dīn in 564/1168-9⁴, the perimeter of Ḥarrān is given as 7612 cubits (*dhirā'*) and the number of its bastions (*burj*) as 187⁵. If we take a cubit of 51.8 cm., the perimeter in A.D. 1168-9 was 3,943 metres. The present perimeter, measured on Mr. Brice's map⁶, amounts to 3,965 metres. It may be said, therefore, that the perimeter of the city wall underwent little

¹ It is impossible to say whether the text refers to two or to four baths.

² *Al athār al-bāqiya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878, p. 204.

³ Cf. E. Herzfeld, *Samarra, Die islamische Stadt*, Berlin, s.d. (1950), VI, p. 150 and notes.

⁴ The list is preserved in a unique Ms in Paris, BN arabe 2281, ffo 58r-68v. A description of the Ms will be found in J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de L'Inde*, Paris, 1948, p.xv.

⁵ Ms BN 2281, fo 62 v.

⁶ *Anatolian Studies*, I, p. 85, fig. 3. Mr. W. Brice kindly checked this figure against his notes and found it correct. He also informed me that traces of 118 bastions are still visible.

or no change since Nūr ad-dīn's time. The same cannot be said of the circuit of the citadel as will be shown below p. 44.

The Spanish traveller Ibn Jubair who visited Ḥarrān in A.D. 1184 speaks of the city's flourishing bazaars "roofed with wood so that the people there are constantly in the shade. You cross these *sūqs* as if you were walking through a huge house. The roads are wide and at every cross-road there is a dome of gypsum (*juss*). The Friday-mosque adjoins these *sūqs*.¹

On photographs reproduced by Strzygowski² and Gabriel³ one such street leading up to the main gate of the mosque is clearly visible. It has disappeared in the last twenty years.

§ 2. For details of the citadel see below para. B.

§ 3. Ibn Shaddād says that Ḥarrān had seven gates but enumerates eight. He probably omits from his count the Raqqa Gate which he found walled up, during his visit in A.D. 1242.

Some information on the old gates of the city is contained in the religious calendar of the Sabians drawn up by Abū Sa'īd Wahb and preserved by Ibn an-Nadīm (d. 385/995).⁴ He mentions: Bāb Funduq az-Zayt (the Gate of the Oil Inn), Bab as-Sarāb (the Drain Gate).⁵ Mas'ūdī (d. 345/996) mentions Bāb ar-Raqqa⁶ and al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) records a Bāb at-Tibn (the Straw Gate).⁷

In modern times Sachau (1879)⁸ counted four gates and six openings in the city wall. Mez's informant Hagop Stepanian⁹ enumerated four gates at the cardinal points: Bāb ash-Shām (W), Bāb Baghdād (E), Bāb ar-Ruhā (N) and Bāb ar-Raqqa (S). Mr. Brice and Mr. Lloyd mention Bāb ar-Raqqa, Bāb Ḥalab, Bāb ar-Rūm, Bāb al-Mošul and Bāb Baghdād but add that "two further breaches in the city wall are certainly of some antiquity, as old roads through the ruins can be traced to them" (AS, I, p. 84).

The discrepancies in the names attached to the gates are not surprising. Some designations may have applied only for a limited period, others may be popular names for gates which had other, official, names.¹⁰

Almost all the sources agree that one gate was called Bāb ar-Raqqa. Its location is of some importance as it also identifies the site of a Sabian temple.¹¹ The present-day inhabitants of Ḥarrān give the name to a

¹ *Rihla*, ed. Wright-de Goeje, London, 1907, p. 246.

² *Amida*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 332, fig. 281.

³ *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris, 1940, pl. CIII, 5.

⁴ Chwolsohn, op. cit. II, pp. 24, 25.

⁵ I prefer this translation to the more poetical "mirage gate."

⁶ Chwolsohn, op. cit. II, p. 369; *murūj adh-dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1865, IV, pp. 62-63.

⁷ *al-athār al-bāqiya*, p. 214.

⁸ *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 278.

⁹ A. Mez, op. cit. p. 9.

¹⁰ Similar differences have been recently noted in connection with two famous Fatimid gates in Cairo: Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb an-Naṣr which the newly uncovered inscriptions describe as Bāb al-'Izz and Bāb al-Iqbāl (v. G. Wiet, "Nouvelles inscriptions fatimides," *BIE*, XXIV, 1941-2, p. 152).

¹¹ *Anatolian Studies*, I, p. 93.

broken-down part of the wall (situated at G.2 on the grid of Mr. Brice's map) where Sachau also marked it on his sketch map (Sachau p. 223). There is no reason to alter this location to one further west such as that adopted for the map in *Anatolian Studies* 1, fig. 3 D.1.

Ibn Shaddād seems to enumerate the gates of the city in a clockwise direction, starting from the SE with Bāb ar-Raqqa and finishing with Bāb al-Mā', the Water Gate, which must have faced the Jullāb on the east side.

Bāb al-Faddān took its name from a village of this name said by Yāqūt (d. A.D. 1229)¹ to belong to Ḥarrān. Chwolsohn has identified this village with the Biblical חַרְרָאן.² Sachau had two villages of this name pointed out to him: one N. of Ḥarrān called Tell Faddān ash-Shimālī and another WSW. called Tell Faddān al-Qiblī (Sachau p. 222). In view of the place of Bāb al-Faddān in Ibn Shaddād's list it was probably named after the first of these two villages and must be sought on the north side of the city.

A comparison of Ibn Shaddād's list (compiled less than twenty years before the destruction of the city by the Mongols) with the openings marked on Mr. Brice's map leads to the following tentative identifications (The grid marks correspond to those of his map):

Bāb ar-Raqqa—G.2; al-Bāb al-Kabīr—D.1; Bāb an-Niyār—C.4; Bāb Yazīd—D.7; Bab al-Faddān—E.8; al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣaghīr—G.7; Bāb as-Sirr—H.5; and Bāb al-Mā'—G.3.

Ibn Shaddād mentions two talismans in the tower of the last named gate. The use of talismans in city gates is a prophylactic practice which has its roots in remotest antiquity and to which the Muslims also attached great importance.³

§ 5. The shortage of water is commented upon by nearly all the texts dealing with Ḥarrān. Some cisterns in the mosque were recently laid bare when part of the ṣahn pavement caved in (*A.S.* I, p. 83). Yāqūt reports on the authority of Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942)⁴ that Ismā'il ibn Ṣubayḥ built a canal (*qanāt*) for the people of Ḥarrān which was called Jullāb like the river by which it was fed. This work was carried out in the reign of Hārūn ar-Raṣhīd (A.D. 786-809). The distance from Ḥarrān to the river Jullāb (as distinct from the canal) was ten miles. The water supply was not considered adequate, however, and Ibn Ṣubayḥ was satirised by the poet Abū Nuwās.⁵ Like Ibn Shaddād, Yāqūt says that the source of the Jullāb was in a village called ad-Dabb (or ad-Dubb).

¹ *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1868, III p. 855.

² Op. cit. I, p. 304 note.

³ Cf. M. van Berchem's note in Sarre und Herzfeld, *Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin, 1911, I, p. 38; for talismans at the gates of Aleppo e.g. J. Sauvaget, *Les perles choïstes*, Beirut, 1933, pp. 135-7. Also M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo, 1914-5, pp. 177, 215.

⁴ *Mu'jam*, II, p. 96.

⁵ The passage does not occur in Jahshiyārī's *kitāb al-wuzarā'*, ed. Mžik, Vienna, 1926 which is based on a unique and incomplete Ms.

§ 6. Harrān was a Hanbalite stronghold.¹ Ibn Jubair mentions only one madrasa in 1184.² Nūr ad-dīn took possession of the town in 544/1149³ and, but for short intervals, it remained in his hands until 565/1169 (I. Sh. ffo. 17v-18v). His madrasa, therefore, and all his other buildings there, fall into the period between these two dates. They should be added to N. Elisséeff's inventory of Nūr ad-dīn's architectural works.⁴ Other monuments of Nūr ad-dīn in the Jazīra include : a mosque and madrasa at Raqqa dated 561 and 569 ; a mosque, minaret, madrasa and *mashhad* at Mosul in 566 ; fortifications at Qal'at Ja'bar 564-69 and at Qal'at an-Najm 541-69.⁵

I have been unable so far to identify the builders of two other madrasas Shams ad-dīn Shuqair and the sister-in-law of Sharaf ad-dīn Ibn al'Attār. Ibn Shaddād does not say who constructed the fourth madrasa.

§ 7. A *khānaqāh* is a hospice for *sūfīs*.⁶ Jamāl ad-dīn Shādhbakht was an Indian eunuch and lieutenant to Nūr ad-dīn.⁷ Abū Dharr, quoted in the modern compilation of Ṭabbākh⁸, also mentions that he built a *khānaqāh* at Harrān. A madrasa constructed by Shādhbakht has survived at Aleppo ; it is dated 589/1193.⁹ An inscription bearing his name but no date is still visible in the Maqām Ibrāhīm of the citadel of Aleppo.¹⁰

§ 8. The *bīmāristān* was the creation of Muẓaffar ad-dīn Abū Sa'īd Gökbürī, Lord of Irbil. He first received Harrān as fief in 577/1181.¹¹ In 586/1190 he gave allegiance to Saladin whom he served faithfully (I. Sh. fo. 18v). He left the city in 588/1192 to succeed his brother at Irbil.¹² Ibn Jubair who visited Harrān in 580/1184 found there one *māristān* established by "Muẓaffar ad-dīn ibn Zain ad-dīn, Lord of Irbil, who owes allegiance to Saladin."¹³ The date at which Gökbürī's residence was constituted a *waqf* and a hospital falls, therefore, between 577-580. Ibn Khallikān pays a fervent tribute to the generosity of this ruler and mentions his numerous pious foundations. He was not content with building

¹ Cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-dīn Aḥmad b. Taimiya*, Cairo, 1939, p. 7.

² *Rihla*, p. 247.

³ Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 393.

⁴ "Les monuments de Nūr ad-dīn," *Bull. d'Etudes Orientales*, XIII, Damascus, 1949-50, pp. 5-43.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 34-38.

⁶ Cf. e.g. M. van Berchem, "Architecture," EI, I, p. 430 a.

⁷ Cf. J. Sauvaget, Extraits du Bugyat at-talab d'Ibn al-'adīm, in *REI*, VII, 1933, p. 397.

⁸ *I'lām an-nubalā' fī ta'rikh ḥalab ash-shahbā'*, Aleppo, 1923, IV, p. 320.

⁹ E. Herzfeld, "Studies in Architecture I," *Ars Islamica*, IX, 1942, p. 7; J. Sauvaget, *Les perles choisies*, p. 129.

¹⁰ M. Sobernheim, "Die arabischen Inschriften von Aleppo," *Der Islam*, XV, 1926, pp. 201-2, No. 36.

¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, Leiden, 1864, XI, p. 37. I can find no support for Zambaur's statement (*Manuel de généalogie*, Hannover, 1927, p. 228) that he was in possession of Harrān as early as 563/1167.

¹² Ibn Khallikān, *wafayāt al-a'yān*, Cairo, 1275/1858, I, pp. 620-1.

¹³ *Rihla*, p. 247.

hospitals and hospices but also paid regular visits to the sick and poor and attended to all their needs.¹

§ 9. Benjamin of Tudela who visited Ḥarrān in A.D. 1180 noted "the place on which our father Abraham's house had stood. There is no building there and the Muslims hold the place in respect and perform their devotions there."² Four years later, Ibn Jubair speaks of a sanctuary (*maṣḥhad*) of Abraham and Sarah with running water at a distance of three parasangs south of Ḥarrān.³ 'Alī al-Harawī (d. 611/1214) mentions that "there is a sanctuary of Abraham at Ḥarrān known as *maṣḥhad aṣ-Ṣakhra*, Sanctuary of the Rock. It is said that Abraham used to sit on this rock when tending his sheep."⁴

§ 10. The paragraph on the mosque will be fully discussed and illustrated in another part of these Studies due to appear in a later issue.

§ 11. Of the fourteen baths enumerated by Ibn Shaddād only two or four are datable with certainty. These were built by the Chamberlain (*ḥājib*) 'Alī outside the city walls. This man was governor of the city from 599-626/1202-1228/9 on behalf of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf (I. Sh. fo. 18v). The baths within the city walls bear the names or titles of their founders: Ḥammām *aṣh-Shaikh*, Ḥammām ar-Ra'is,⁵ Ḥammām 'Alī, Ḥammām az-Zakī; others seem to have been named in relation to their location: Ḥammām al-Balāt (from palatium ?⁶), Ḥammām al-Kanīsa (Bath of the Church) and Ḥammām Bāb Faddān after the gate of this name.

B. *The Citadel.*

The ruined citadel which occupies the southeast corner of the walled city is a composite structure, three storeys high in places, in which several building periods can be distinguished.

The earliest⁷ mention of it is a brief reference by Muqaddasī (375/985): "Ḥarrān has a stone citadel (*ḥiṣn min ḥijāra*). The masonry resembles that of Jerusalem in beauty"⁸. Such a statement from Muqaddasī, who

¹ *Wafayāt*, I, pp. 621-3. For his inscriptions v. *RCEA* Nos. 2550-52.

² Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. and transl. by A. Asher, London, s.d., pl 51. Asher's translation is misleading on one important point when he renders *eyn 'alav binyan* as "nobody is allowed to construct any building on the site,"; they merely mean "there is no building there."

³ *Rihla*, p. 245.

⁴ *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā ma'rifat az-ziyārāt*, Ms belonging to the Aḥmad 'Ubaid library, Damascus, fo. 18r.

⁵ The *ra'is* was the head of a town and its neighbourhood "through him the sovereign made known his will to the inhabitants" (v. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, London, 1928, p. 234 and notes.

⁶ Cf. J. Sauvaget, *Les perles choisies*, p. 99, n.2.

⁷ There is no reason for following Mez (op. cit. p. 11) in identifying the citadel with the palace (*qaṣr*) of the Umayyad caliph Marwān II who made Ḥarrān his capital. This palace, on which Marwān lavished the sum of 10 million dirhams and which was later looted and destroyed by the Abbasids, was situated, according to Ya'qūbī (d. 292/904), in a locality called *dabāb al-bayn (ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden, 1883, II p. 405) which is not clearly defined.

⁸ *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1906, p. 141.

belonged to a family of architects and was very proud of the masonry of his native Jerusalem¹, must be taken as the highest praise he could bestow. The structure he described is nowhere visible above the ground now.

According to several texts, the citadel, or part of it, was originally a Sabian temple. The references in chronological order are as follows :

(i) Ibn Shaddād (wrote about 1280) : " The qal'a was called in ancient times *al-Mudawwar* and was one of the temples of the Sabians who lived in Harrān " (fo. 13r.).

(ii) Ibn al-Warrāq (d. 1318) "*Al-Mudawwar* is the qal'a. It used to be a temple."²

(iii) Dimashqī (d. 1326-7) " There is a moon temple (*bayt lil qamar*) at Harrān and it is said that it is the *qal'a* of Harrān. It was called *al-Mudarraḡ* and remained in use (*āmīr*) until the Tatars destroyed it."³

(iv) Idem. "*al-Mudawwar* which is the qal'a was a temple (*haykal*) of the moon. The Sabians remained in it until 424/1032 when the Egyptians captured the temple. The Sabians had no other temple left and many turned Muslim."⁴

The contradictions and inconsistencies in these texts are not as serious as they appear at first sight. All the authors agree on one essential point : the citadel was originally a Sabian temple. Some Sabian temples are known to have been round⁵, and the name *al-Mudawwar* (which must always apply to *haykal*, which is masculine, and not to *qal'a*, which is feminine), " The Round One," seems most appropriate. Dimashqī is the only author who specifies that it was a temple of the moon. This contradicts his own statement that the temples dedicated to the moon were pentagonal in shape. According to Mas 'ūdī they were octagonal.⁶ No authority describes them as round.

As for the capture of the temple by the Egyptians viz. Fatimids in 424/1032 there is no evidence to support Dimashqī's assertion (iv above), contradicted by himself (iii above), except the text of a late author; al-Ḥamawī (wrote 1233), who may have used the same source as Dimashqī. Ḥamawī reports that " in 424/1032 some 'Alids (*'alawiyūn*) captured Harrān and the moon temple there. The Sabians had no other temple after its capture."⁷ Ḥamawī does not identify this temple with the citadel.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 166, l.3 and l.15.

² Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al Warrāq, *mabāhij al-fikar wa manāhij al-'ibar*, BM Ms Add. 7483, fo 183 r. The Ms has *al-murawwad* an obvious lapsus for *al-Mudawwar*.

³ *Nukhbat ad-dahr*, ed. M. A. F. Mehren, St. Petersburg, 1866, p. 43. Dimashqī rarely quotes his sources. Mehren suggested that al-Warrāq had been his main source (*Cosmographie*, Copenhagen, 1874, p. VIII) but he was unable to consult the BM. Ms. This hypothesis can now be discarded. Ibn al-Warrāq was Dimashqī's contemporary and his text is much briefer. Both authors, however, seem to have relied in part on the same sources. For an analysis of some of Dimashqī's sources cf. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, III, Baltimore, 1947, pp. 800-802.

⁴ *Nukhbat ad-dahr*, p. 191.

⁵ Chwolson, op. cit. II, p. 367.

⁶ *Ibid.* II, p. 396 and 367.

⁷ *Ibid.* II, p. 759. On this author v. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 351, *Suppl.* I, p. 591.

It is out of the question to identify these 'Alids with the Fatimids, as Dimashqī must have carelessly done. The Fatimid frontier ran slightly north of Damascus at the time, and there is no evidence of any Fatimid military action in the Jazīra. The Lord of Ḥarrān was Shabīb ibn Waththāb, the Numairid (410-31), whose kinsmen had lost Edessa to the Byzantines in 422/1030. For a short time Shabīb himself was obliged to pay a tribute to the Byzantines. It was not until 429/1037 that he obeyed the summons of the Fatimid governor Dizbirī, who had captured Aleppo, to recognise the suzerainty of the Fatimids. It is just possible that Ḥamawī's text refers to irregular, extremist, shī'ī elements who were certainly active in Northern Syria and in the Jazīra at the time.¹

It also seems that the temple in the castle was not the last one left to the Sabians. According to Ibn Shaddād (fo. 13r) they still retained the temple (*haykal*) built on the site given to them by 'Iyād ibn Ghanm, the first Muslim conqueror of Ḥarrān. This temple was destroyed by Yaḥyā ibn ash-Shāṭir who governed the city on behalf of Sharaf ad-daula Muslim ibn Quraish, the 'Uqailid (453-87/1063-1085) and of his brother (479/1086) until he surrendered the city to the Seljuq Malikshāh (Ibn Shaddād fo. 15r).

But for one exception all the texts give the name of the Sabian temple as *al-Mudawwar*, "the round one." Only one reference of Dimashqī has *المدرق al-Mudarraḡ*, "the shielded one." This may be another name for the same building or merely a scribe's error for *المدور al-Mudawwar*. The first four letters are the same in both words. It is common to find ر instead of و in Mss, but less frequent, though not impossible, to see a ق substituted for ر.

No traces of a pre-Islamic building are visible now on the site of the citadel, but it is likely that some will be found when the "keep" can be excavated. This nuclear structure is at present completely inaccessible.

An early part of the citadel, recently revealed by a trial excavation, was erected by Manī' ibn Shabīb, the Numairid Lord of Ḥarrān. It is entirely faced with basalt and is dated by an inscription: 451/1059. This part consists of two small, solid, square towers on the southeast side, joined by an ornamental arch which springs from wall-piers decorated with sculptures in relief. Details of this excavation are given below in para. C.

The list of Syrian fortifications, drawn up in A.D. 1168-9, gives the circuit of the citadel as 528 cubits²; at the rate of 51.8 cm. per cubit, this equals 273.50 m. According to Mr. W. Brice's calculations, the present day perimeter is 365 m. long, and if the corner towers are excluded, as being of obviously later construction, the perimeter is 303.0 m. long.

Ibn Jubair who visited Ḥarrān in 580/1184, during the rule of Muẓaffar ad-dīn Gökbürī, describes the citadel as "well fortified, separated from the town by a wide open space (*faḍā*) and also separated from the city wall by a

¹ My attention was drawn by my colleague, Prof. B. Lewis to a number of epistles addressed to such heretics in the Jazīra at about this time cf. S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, I, p. CCCCXC f.

² BN Ms arabe 2281, fo 62 v.

moat which ran all around it. The banks of the moat were revetted with stone and it was well fortified, as was the wall of the citadel.”¹

According to Ibn Shaddād (fo. 13v) the citadel was rebuilt by al-Malik al-‘Ādil. Saladin gave Ḥarrān to his brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil in 587/1191. He was represented there by his son, al-Kāmil. The work carried out by al-‘Ādil must have been quite extensive as the term used by Ibn Shaddād leads us to believe. J. Sauvaget has shown with the aid of numerous examples² that Ibn Shaddād uses the term *jaddada* to describe “rebuilding” rather than “renovation” or “restoration.”

Another Ayyūbid al-Ashraf Mūsā became ruler of Ḥarrān 599/1202-626/1228-9, and after his death the importance of the city declined steadily. This is well illustrated by the figures of revenue which amounted to three million dirhams under al-Ashraf and fell to two million in 640/1242, less than fourteen years after his death (Ibn Shaddād, fo. 20v).

In 635/1237, the Khwārazmians, who had been driven from their native land by the Mongols, became masters of the city but not of the citadel. This was retained by the Ayyūbid al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, who had made Sinjār his capital, but he was soon obliged to deliver it into the hands of the Khwārazmians in order to secure their help against Badr ad-dīn Lu’lu’, Lord of Mosul, who was besieging him at Sinjār (ib. fo. 18v).

Both the city and the citadel were recovered for the Ayyūbids in 638/1240 by al-Malik an-Nāṣir of Aleppo who chased the Khwārazmians out.

The custom of appointing separate governors for the city and the citadel continued, however. It is thus that Hulagu first obtained the peaceful surrender of the city in 658/1259 whilst the citadel, under a different governor, held out until one of the towers was breached (ib. fo. 19v).

The Mongols decided shortly afterwards that Ḥarrān offered too little strategic value to justify its retention and defence. “They deported the population to Mārdīn and to other towns, destroyed the Friday-mosque, walled up the gates of the city and left it an empty shell.”³

Hamdullāh Mustaufī of Qazvīn is the latest medieval author to supply measurements of the citadel. His geographical and administrative survey was compiled, in Persian, towards the middle of the XIVth century. The text referring to Ḥarrān, however, is obviously garbled and uncritical. Ḥarrān, we are told, “has a fortress of cut stone, the circuit of which is 1350 paces, the height of the walls being 50 ells”.⁴ The compiler does not mention his source but the wording is so close to that of his description

¹ *Rihla* p. 247 ; Part of a revetted moat slope can be seen on a photograph taken in 1906 in C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Leipzig, 1911, pl. 77.

² *Les perles choisies*, p. 209 and Idem, *Les trésors d’Or de Sibī ibn al-‘Ajāmī*, Beirut, 1950, p. 180 “*fonder de toutes pièces et non pas ‘réparer.’*”

³ We owe to Ibn Shaddād a detailed account of the conquest of Ḥarrān by the Mongols and I propose to give a full translation of the relevant passages.

⁴ *The geographical part of the Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. and trsl. by G. Le Strange, London, 1915, p. 103.

of the citadel of ar-Ruhā, which he has culled from the *rasā'il* of Malikshāh (d. 485/1093),¹ that it is almost certainly derived from the same work. Unfortunately Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī rather shatters our belief in his trustworthiness by adding that the citadel of Ḥarrān was called "*Qal'at an-Najm*," "The Star Fort." This is the name of a well-known fortress on the Euphrates and it is most improbable that it was ever applied to the citadel of Ḥarrān. It is likely, therefore, that the measurements given by this author refer to the fortress on the Euphrates and not to the citadel of Ḥarrān.

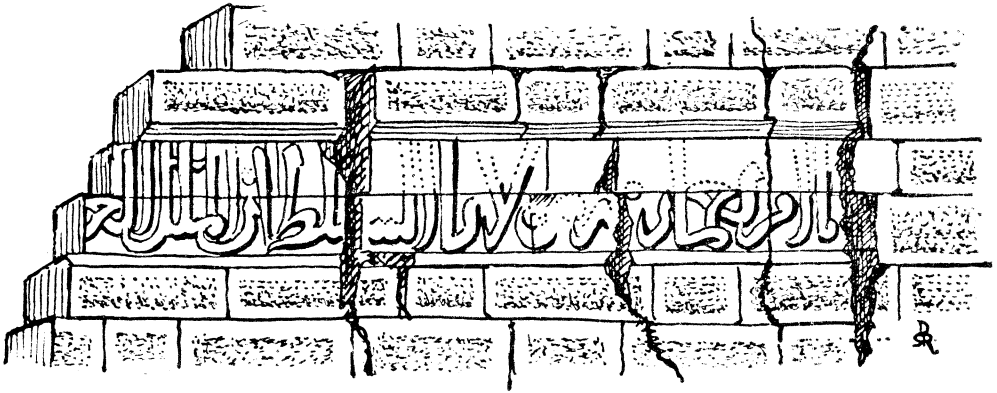


FIG. 1. Inscription on Southwest tower.

Only one inscription is now visible on the outside of the building. This runs along the walls of the Southwest tower (*A.S.*, I, p. 98, fig. 4, No. 44). It originally covered five walls of the eleven-sided tower and its full length can be estimated as 37 m. Three sides of the tower, however, facing southwest, west, and northwest, have collapsed (*ibid.* pl. VII, 2, 3) and with them disappeared the greater part of the inscription which seems to be irretrievably lost. Only six words and part of a seventh remain *in situ* on the south wall (pl. I).^{2a} The end of the inscription on the north-north-west wall is too badly damaged to be read without the help of tele-lens photographs which are not available.

The wording of the small surviving fragment of the opening sentence, however, is not in doubt. It is written in early Mamlūk naskhī and reads (fig. 1) *mā amara bi'imāra [tihi] mawlānā as-sultān al-Malik al-'A . . .*" "What has ordered to be restored our master the sultan al-Malik al-'A . . ."

Three titles could be suggested for the completion of the seventh, and vital, word: (i) al-Ādil, (ii) al-Ghāzī and (iii) al-Ālim. Two Bahrī Mamlūk sultans called themselves al-Malik al-Ādil but neither of them can be credited with any construction at Ḥarrān. They are: Sulāmish, a child whose reign lasted only 100 days (678/1279)³ and Kitbughā

¹ *Ibid.* p. 104.

² Also visible on the photograph reproduced on pl. I is the "fortress wall with heavy buttresses" behind gallery No. 42 on Mr. Seton Lloyd's plan.

³ Maqrīzī, *kitāb as-sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda, Cairo, 1934, I, pp. 656-8.

(694-6/1294-6).¹ It is not possible to associate the inscription with the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-‘Ādil (who as has been shown, was responsible for the re-building of the citadel) because the style of the script is decidedly Mamlūk in character.²

There remains only one possible reading : al Malik al-‘Ālim. This is not a regnal *laqab* properly speaking but the first in a set series of epithets which introduce the title of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn. This is the only Mamlūk sultan who starts one of his inscriptions with the words *al-Malik al-‘Ālim*³ ; in other instances *al-‘Ālim* appears after the word *as-Sultān*. A completely preserved text, commemorating the restoration of a wall in the Ḥaram at Jerusalem, dated by van Berchem to the beginning of the VIII/XIVth century, starts with the following introductory epithets : . . . *Mawlānā as sultān, al-‘ālim, al-‘ādil, al-mujāhid, al-murābiṭ, al-muthāghir, al-mu’ayyad, al-manṣūr*” ; only then follows his regnal *laqab al-Malik an-Nāṣir*.⁴ All these epithets allude to Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn’s leadership in the holy war. After his brilliant victories over the Mongols of Ghazān Khān in 1303, he felt strong enough to pass to the offensive and expanded the Mamlūk state northwards. The Jazīra was once again administered from Aleppo, and some forts were put under repair.⁵ We have definite evidence of fortification works carried out by this sultan at ar-Ruhā,⁶ Bira⁷ and Qal‘at Ja‘bar,⁸ which became seats of deputy-governors controlled by the governor of Aleppo.

In 715/1315 al-Malik an-Nāṣir sent an expedition to Malatya and to Armenia. This was not a casual raid but a large scale enterprise commanded by the famous governor of Damascus, Tengiz, and in which the historian prince Abū-l-Fidā’ took part.⁹ It is not unlikely that Ḥarrān, or at least its citadel, once again became a place of some military importance. Historical evidence which would serve to confirm this, eludes me at present, but I am inclined, nevertheless, to attribute the inscription on the south-west tower of Ḥarrān to al-Malik an-Nāṣir, on epigraphic grounds alone, and date it provisionally from approx. 715/1315.

This, however, does not date the tower itself. It is most unlikely that

¹ For a bibliography of this sultan see L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, p. 143.

² A comparison of the Ḥarrān inscription with one by the Ayyūbid sovereign, e.g. *CIA, Jerusalem*, I, No. 38, III, pl. XXXIV will make this point clear beyond any possible doubt.

³ Cf. my forthcoming article on “A ‘*Rasūldid*’ ewer in the National Museum of Florence” in *BSOAS*.

⁴ *CIA, Jerusalem*, II, p. 112.

⁵ M. Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie à l’époque des Mamlouks*, Paris, 1923, pp. 103-4.

⁶ This is shown by an inscription recently discovered by this writer on the south wall of the citadel of Urfa (Ruhā) which also resembles the Ḥarrān inscription stylistically. An article of the inscriptions of Urfa is under preparation.

⁷ M. van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, gesammelt von Max von Oppenheim, Betr. z. Assyr. VII, Leipzig, 1909, p. 102, No. 128.

⁸ Cf. Ibn Taghribirdi, *an-nujūm az-zāhira*, Cairo, 1942, IX p. 172 also Gaudefroy Demombynes, op. cit. p. 104.

⁹ Cf. E. Honigsmann, art. “Malātya” in *EI*, III, p. 213b.

a construction of such magnitude was undertaken under the auspices of al-Malik an-Nāṣir for the importance of Ḥarrān, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, could hardly have exceeded that of a frontier post. Furthermore the inscription only refers to 'imāra "restoration" not to any additional construction. It may be concluded, therefore, that the inscription was carved after two courses of existing masonry had been smoothed and prepared for the purpose. The masonry is certainly earlier and may belong to the Ayyūbid period.

C. *Partial excavation of the Southeast Gateway of the Citadel.*

The travellers who visited Ḥarrān in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries paid but little attention to the citadel.

The first detailed description with plans was published by Mr. Seton

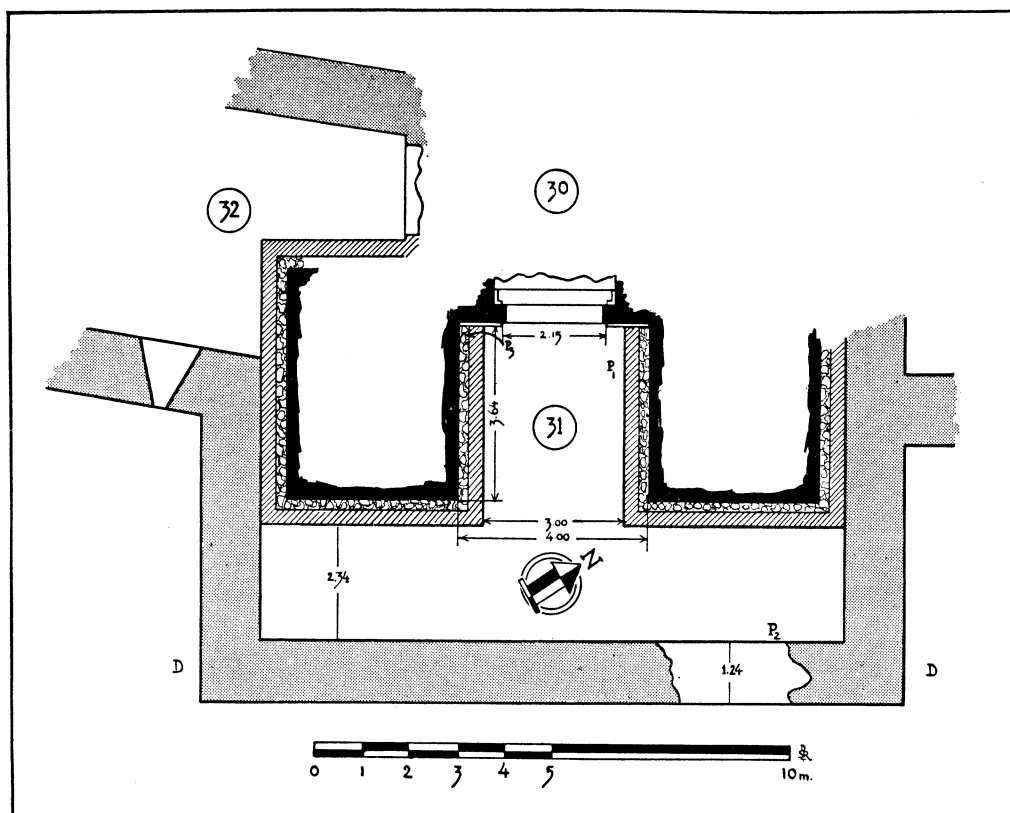


FIG. 2. Plan of Southeast gateway.

Lloyd in the first issue of this journal (pp. 97-105). He distinguished at least four building periods and was the first to identify the southeast gateway as the oldest part of the structure. He found the gateway flanked by two square towers faced with basalt, but the space between them was filled with debris (ib. p. 103).

On the day of my arrival at Ḥarrān (9th May, 1951), a local inhabitant called Ḥamīdu, who has an intimate knowledge of the ruins, uncovered



Southwest tower of the citadel seen from the east.



Southeast gateway during excavation. Upper part.



Southeast gateway after excavation.



Southeast gateway, position of fragments of
historical inscription, cf. fig. 10.

a basalt slab (30 cm. wide and 165 cm. long) with part of a kūfic inscription in relief.

In the week that followed, my efforts were primarily directed towards the recovery of the missing parts of this inscription. In the process, the area between the two flanking towers was cleared to a depth of 5 metres from the first floor level (fig. 2). A sounding was also made on the east side to a further depth of 1.5 m. in order partly to uncover the threshold which was reached on 15th May 1951 (see fig. 3, pls. II, III).

The first fragment of the inscription found by Ḥamīdu (B on pl. V and fig. 7) lay approx. 60 cm. below the first floor level and some 50 cm. from, and parallel to, the inner wall of the east tower. Ten more fragments lay haphazardly in the debris to a depth of 4.5 m. (pl. IV, a, b). They had obviously collapsed in a violent upheaval. This was almost certainly caused by one of the earthquakes which shook Syria and the Jazīra at frequent intervals.¹ Two of these earthquakes deserve particular mention. In 508/1114 part of the walls of Ḥarrān are known to have collapsed² and in 552/1157 "the tell of Ḥarrān split into two halves and revealed houses and ancient monuments inside it."³ The debris in front of the gate consisted mainly of basalt and limestone blocks of varying sizes. Some were over a metre long and very heavy. Their removal was rendered particularly troublesome by a wall which obstructs the exit. This wall is 1.24 m. thick and of much later construction (fig. 2, DD). Only a narrow space of 2.34 m. separates this wall from the basalt towers, and it is filled with debris which reaches 5.0 m. in height in some places.⁴

In addition to the eleven fragments of the inscription recovered on the site, a twelfth was found later in a modern dwelling.⁵ When reconstructed the text gives the names and titles of Manī' ibn Shabīb, the Numairid Lord of Ḥarrān, and the date 451/1059. A reconstruction and interpretation of the text is given below in para. D.

The basalt inscription clearly dates the oldest part of the citadel to be laid bare so far. This consists of two square, solid towers, 3.64 x 3.64 m., which stand 4.0 m. apart and were joined by a horseshoe arch, remains of which rest on two wall-piers. These parts of the building are entirely faced with basalt.

The horseshoe arch which has a span of 2.15 m. and plain soffits which are 47.5 cm. deep was, as far as I can see, fulfilling a purely ornamental function. Three stones of the arch have survived *in situ* at the east springing

¹ Cf. D. H. Kallner-Amiran, "A revised earthquake-catalogue of Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal*, I, 1950-1, esp. pp. 227 ff.

² A. Sprenger, "As-Soyuti's work on earthquakes . . ." *Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XII, 1843, pp. 749.

³ Ibn Taghribirdī, *An-nujūm as-zāhira*, Cairo, 1935, V. p. 325.

⁴ The men on the photograph reproduced on pl. VI d. are crouching and standing on top of the defensive wall.

⁵ This stone had been found by Ḥamīdu some years earlier. It lay, with its inscribed face downwards, across an angle of a modern 'bee-hive hut' and was used as support for a dome of unbaked bricks.

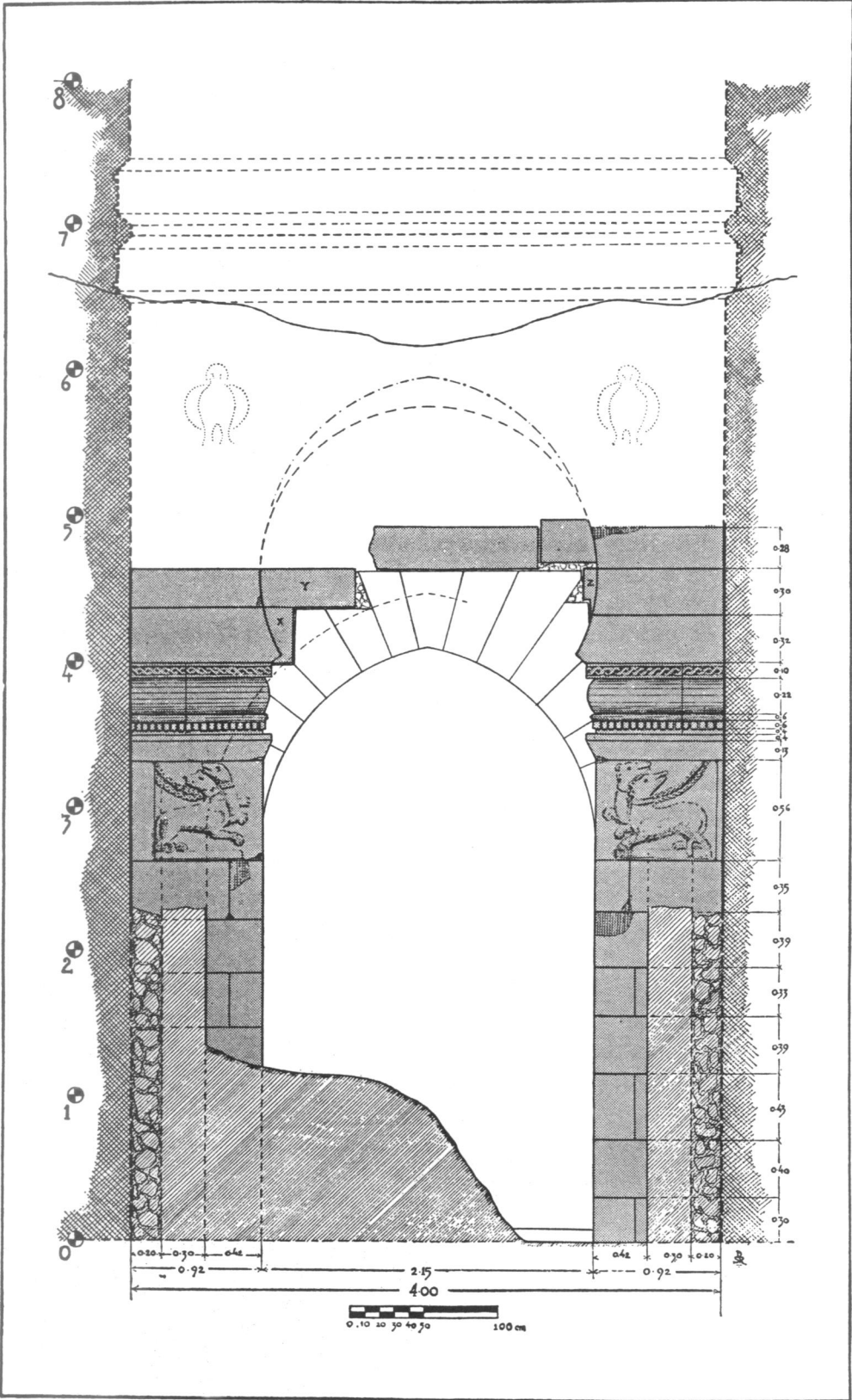


FIG. 3. Elevation of Southeast gateway.

and only two at the western one. The arch rests on neatly carved rectangular impostes made of two stones each, and supported by splayed abaci. Each impost is crowned by a vigorous guilloche pattern set in a frame above the torus ; under the torus is a sharp-edged, convex, moulding underbedded by dentils. The abaci were dressed when already in position as the return of the moulding indicates (see pl. VI, a).

The wall piers which support the impostes are 92.5 cm. wide and 80 cm. deep. They are decorated with reliefs carved on slabs which measure 56.5 cm. in height and 86 cm. in width and are placed immediately under the abaci. The reliefs which represent pairs of dogs will be discussed, in some detail, in para. E below.

Only 33 cm. behind the horseshoe arch, there is a small, pointed limestone arch which abuts against the basalt walls of the gate. This arch, which also has a span of 2.15 m., is of much poorer workmanship than the basalt masonry and certainly of later date. Some of its limestone voussoirs have been cut in order to fit and support some basalt blocks which were still in position when the pointed arch was erected (fig. 3, x, y, z).

Above this arch are two basalt stones, 33 cm. high, which bear part of a qur'ānic inscription in relief. In technique, material and certain palaeographic features this short inscription closely resembles the longer, dated, text and obviously belongs to the building constructed in 451/1059. It is not, however, an integral part of the historical text from which it differs in height (33 cm. instead of 30 cm.).

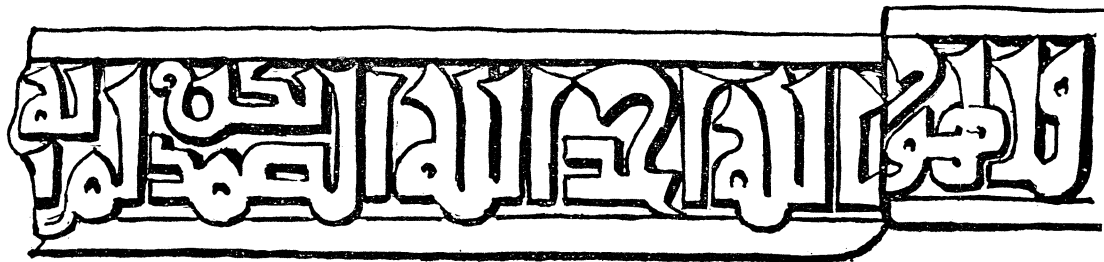


FIG. 4. Qur'ānic inscription.

The qur'ānic text reproduces part of the single verse of Sūra CXII : “ Say, ‘He is God alone ! God the Eternal ! [He begets] not [and is not begotten !]. Nor is there like [unto Him any one !] ”

Only the first half of the inscription has survived, but is broken into two fragments of which one is slightly raised above the other (fig. 4). There is a gap of approx. 5.0 cm. between the two fragments. This space must be allowed to complete the letter *wāw* in *huwa* (fig. 5). It is clear that the inscription no longer occupies its original position. It was probably carved on a monolith and can be made to fit into a band of 2.15 m. which would correspond to the span of the horseshoe arch. Such a monolith could have been used as a flat lintel above the door in the original Numairid construction.

When the excavation in front of the gate had reached the depth of 3.50 m., two walls built of well cut and neatly joined plain ashlar limestone

were encountered. They run parallel to the basalt towers and abut against the basalt piers (pl. VIII, b). These walls are approx. 30 cm. thick and the space of 20 cm. left between them and the basalt towers is filled with rubble. The eastern ashlar wall is preserved to the height of seven courses, the western one to eight courses in one place (pl. VI, d). The eighth course, of which only two stones now remain *in situ*, belongs to the springing of a vault which once covered the gateway. It had a span of 3.0 m. and joined the two towers into one (fig. 12 b). The same kind of ashlar walls is also found on all the other sides of the towers which they encase completely (pl. VI, c, d). At present they can be dated only by the glazed potsherds, unearthed mainly near the eastern wall, which all belong to the XIIth and XIIIth centuries (see below para. F).



FIG. 5. Reconstruction of gap in qur'anic inscription.

Immediately below the sculptured panels of the wall-piers lay fragments of two birds carved in basalt. Neither heads nor feet were found, and only one of the sculptures could be reconstructed (see fig. 6). It seems to represent a bird of prey. Both stone birds were probably used originally to decorate the spandrels of the horseshoe arch (see fig. 3).

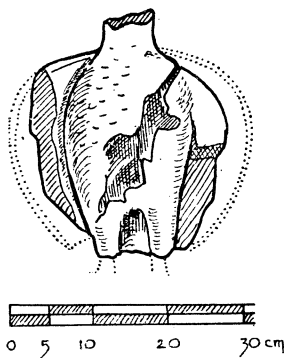


FIG. 6. Basalt bird.

The threshold of the basalt gate was reached by digging a trench, 1.3 m. wide, to a depth of approx. 6.5 m. from the present level of the first storey. The sill consists of a stone which is 58 cm. deep and 17 cm. thick and has been tilted forward by the violent earthquake which caused part of the gateway to collapse (pl. VI, c).

At this stage the brief excavation had to be interrupted for lack of funds. In order to protect the sculptures and prevent clandestine excavation of the "keep," a rough stone wall was erected by a local mason.

Further excavation should aim at clearing the debris from the western side of the gateway and also from the space between the two towers and the defensive wall (DD in fig. 2). It will then be possible to clear a passage into the "keep." This can be done by removing the debris from under the pointed limestone arch and also by opening a passage from the gallery which adjoins the western tower. The photograph reproduced on pl. VIII, a shows the end of this gallery (No. 32 on Mr. Seton Lloyd's plan). Its vault abuts against the west tower, or rather against the ashlar revetment of that tower, and against the spandrel of a small limestone arch. The walls and vault of this gallery seem to be of later date than the revetment of the towers and have only straight joints with the earlier masonry.

D. *The historical inscription.*

The twelve fragments of the inscription from the south-east gateway of the citadel form part of a single text which commemorates the erection of a building without stating its precise nature.

The text, in bold, sometimes clumsy kūfic, is written in a 23 cm. band and carved in 2 cm. deep relief on basalt blocks of varying length which are all 30 cm. wide. A border of 3.5 cm. runs above and below the inscription and is also preserved at its beginning.

The text, in which some gaps still remain, can be reconstructed as follows (pl. V and fig. 7).

(A) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [...] مِمَّا أَمَرَ (B) مَمْلَهُ مَوْلَانَا
الامير السيد (C) لأجل المؤيد المنصور (D) جيب الدول (E)
ورضيها (F) [و الزمام] (G) من الامير صنيح (H) ة
الدولة و (I) فوثها ابى (J) الريان شيب ابن مؤيد (K) الدولة
وثاب ابن جعفر النميرى (L) سنة احد (sic) وخمسين واربعة مائة

a. *Translation :*

"In the name of God the Merciful the Benevolent ! [. . . What has ordered to be] made our Master, the Amīr, the august Lord, whom (God) assists, the Victorious, Najīb ad-daula, Raḍī ad-daula, A[bū' z-Zimām], son of the amīr Ṣanī'at ad-daula, Ṣafwat ad-daula, Abū'r-Rayyān, Shabīb son of Mu'ayyad ad-daula, Waththāb, son of Ja'bar the Numairid in the year 451 (= 1059 A.D.) "

b. *Commentary.*

A-B. Block B starts with a median 'ayn which necessitates the addition of a *bā* and of a formula such as *mā amara* or *mimmā amara*. Similar opening phrases occur on all the Marwānid inscriptions from Āmid (Diyarbakir).¹

¹ M. van Berchem, *Amida*, pp. 22-37 ; and a somewhat fuller list but without commentary by J. Sauvaget in Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques*, pp. 312-317.

B-C. *Mawlānā as-sayyid al-ajall al-mu'ayyad al-manṣūr* also appears, in the same sequence, on a number of Marwānid inscriptions. *As-sayyid al-ajall*, the august Lord, is first noted in the titulature of the Buwayhid *Sharaf ad-daula* (376-9/986-9).¹ During the Fatimid period this title was theoretically the exclusive prerogative of the vizier²; but neither the Marwānids nor the Numairids obeyed this rule.

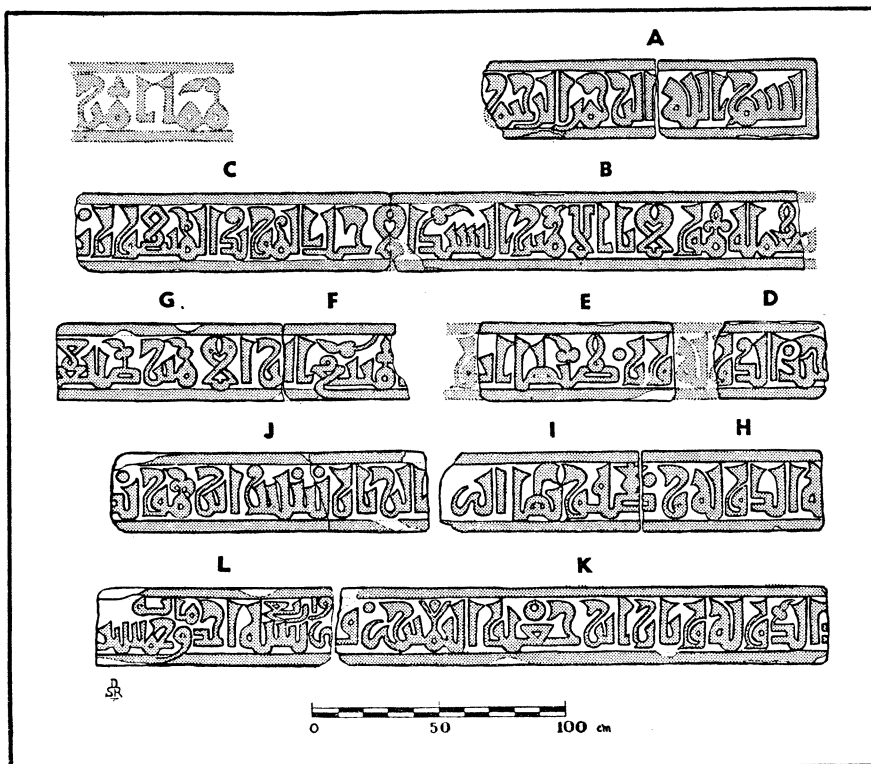


FIG. 7. Historical inscription.

C-D-E. *Najīb ad-daula wa raḍiyuhā*. Titles ending in *daula* first became popular with the Buwayhids and were later adopted by the Fatimids. By the end of the IVth/Xth century their use had spread so widely that a contemporary scribe of the Abbasid caliph complained of their being "granted indiscriminately to scribes, military leaders, Arabs (viz. Bedouins like the Numairids) and Kurds."³

Najīb ad-daula, the noble-born of the dynasty, was a title granted to the Fatimid vizier al-Jarjarā'i in 407/1016-7⁴ but it does not appear in any of his inscriptions.⁵ It was also, a little later, the title of a lesser personage—a Fatimid *dā'i* (missionary).⁶

¹ G. Wiet, *CIA, Egypte*, II, p. 147.

² Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al a'shā*, Cairo, 1915, VI, p. 6.

³ G. Wiet, *op. cit.* pp. 137-8.

⁴ Ibn as-Ṣayrāfī, *al-ishāra*, Cairo, 1924, p. 35.

⁵ *RCEA*, VII, Nos. 2402, 2409, 2417, 2440, 2442, 2501-6, 2508-9, 2513.

⁶ Cl. Cahen, "Une chronique Syrienne," in *Bull. d'Etudes Orient.* VII/VIII, Damascus, 1937-8, p. 120. S. M. Stern, "The succession of the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir," *Oriens*, IV, 1951, p. 223.

Radī ad-daula, he who finds favour with the dynasty, was the title of a *ghulām* of the Fatimid governor of Syria ad-Dizbirī (d. 434/1042).¹

Both these titles are found again later (when titles ending in *ad-dīn* had become the fashion instead of titles ending in *ad-daula*) as *najīb ad-dīn*² and *radī ad-dīn*.³

E-F. There is an obvious gap preceding the name of *Manī'* which must have contained his patronymic (*kunya*). A small part of the last letter of the *kunya* is still visible on Block F. Ibn al-Athīr,⁴ Dhahabī⁵ and Şafadī⁶ have recorded the *kunya* of *Manī'* and give it as *Abū'z-Zimām*, "Father of the Leader." This is an unusual *kunya*. It can be made to fit into the gap left between E and F as shown in fig. 8.

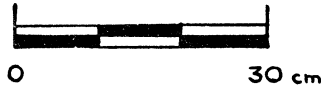
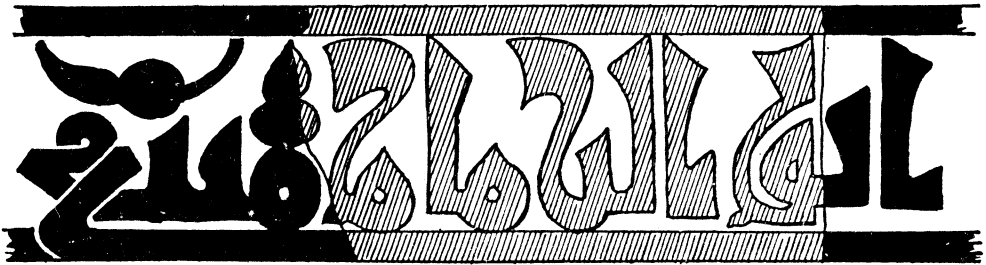


FIG. 8. *Manī'*'s *kunya*.

The precise duration of *Manī'*'s rule at Ḥarrān is uncertain. His father *Shāhib* died in 431/1039 but seems to have been succeeded at Ḥarrān by two uncles of *Manī'*, while the latter was Lord of Raqqā and Qal'at Ja'bar (see below p. 79). *Manī'* was certainly Lord of Ḥarrān in 451/1059 and retained it until his death in 455/1063.

G.-H. *Şanī'at ad-daula* should not be translated literally as "creature of the dynasty" but rather as "disciple," "protégé" of the dynasty. Ibn *Khaldūn* explains that a client was designated as *walī* (close friend) and *şanī'a* (protégé) if his association with his patron was of long standing, and as *khādīm* (servant) or *'aun* (helper) if it was of recent date.⁷

When writing to the caliph al-Mu'taṣim, the general *Afshīn* describes himself as the caliph's *şanī'a*.⁸ *Maḥmūd* of *Ghazna* calls himself in a letter to the Abbasid caliph as *şafī amīr al-mu'minīn wa şanī'atuhu*.⁹ In 443/1051

¹ Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ta'rīkh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut, 1908, p. 73.

² Ibn al-Athīr, XII, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.* XI, pp. 304, 344.

⁴ *Ibid.* X, p. 7.

⁵ *Ta'rīkh*, Ms BM Or 50 fo. 50v.

⁶ *Al-Wāfi bil-wafayāt*, BM. Ms. Add. 23.359, fo. 26r.

⁷ *Muqaddima*, transl. de Slane, Paris, 1934, I, p. 376.

⁸ E. Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Samarra*, p. 151.

⁹ G. Wiet, *CIA, Egypte*, II, p. 49.

the Zīrid prince Muḥammad b. Bādīs, who was shortly afterwards to throw off the suzerainty of the Fatimids, refused to describe himself as 'abd (slave) of the vizier Yāzūrī and insisted on his right to call himself *ṣanī'* (= *ṣanī'a*).¹ Finally a long string of titles granted to the Fatimid vizier al-Ma'mūn includes that of *fakhr as-ṣanā'i'*², which Prof. Wiet translated as "*gloire des belles actions*"³ and which one might perhaps, in the light of the above quoted examples, render as "glory of the protégés."

Apart from the use of *ṣanī'a* in Manī's inscription, I know of only one other epigraphic example in an inscription from Spain, dated 367/977.⁴ *H.-I. Ṣafwat ad-daula*, the sincere friend of the dynasty, though less common than the synonymous *khulāṣat ad-daula* is also attested.⁵

J. Abū-r-Rayyān, *Shabīb's kunya* is not recorded by historians but is not uncommon⁶ and is also attested epigraphically.⁷ I read *Mu'ayyid ad-daula*, "the helper of the dynasty," as opposed to *mu'ayyad* in the passive form (above *C.*)

Shabīb. The rule of this Numairid lasted from 410-431/1019-39.

K. Waththāb (380-410/990-1019) was the virtual founder of the Numairid dynasty.⁸ Historical sources give his name as *Waththāb b. Sābiq*,⁹ not as *Waththāb b. Ja'bar*. It may well be that *Ja'bar* was *Sābiq's* father and that the inscription contains a shortened version of the genealogy. In a similar way *Manī'*, two generations later, is referred to in some sources as *Ibn Waththāb* although he was the son of *Shabīb* and *Waththāb's* grandson.¹⁰

The name *Ja'bar* is best known through the name of a stronghold on the upper Euphrates called *Qal'at Ja'bar* (the ancient Dausar). According to the current Islamic tradition the place was renamed after a certain *Sābiq b. Ja'bar* of the tribe of *Qushair*.¹¹ *Yāqūt*, however, states that *Ja'bar b. Mālīk* belonged to the tribe of *Numair*.¹² *Ibn Shaddād* mentions that *Qal'at Ja'bar* was in the hands of the Numairids from the rise of the dynasty until it was sold by *Manī'* to the Fatimid governor of Syria,

¹ Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo, 1919, p. 6 and other references in Wiet, *CIA, Egypte*, II, p. 135.

² Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo, 1270/1853, I, p. 442.

³ Op. Cit. p. 175.

⁴ E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris, pp. 37-8, No. 30.

⁵ Qalqashandī, op. cit. VI, p. 57.

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, XIII, p. 286.

⁷ E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, IV, Leiden, 1949, p. 106.

⁸ I can find no justification for Zambaur's suggestion (*Manuel* p. 138) that the founder of the dynasty was called al-Muza'ffar. Zambaur based his genealogical table exclusively on the text of Ibn al-Athīr. The latter mentions an *amīr* of the tribe of the Banū Numair with the strange name of al-Muza'far المزعفر who was killed in battle at Niṣībīn in 380/990 (op. cit. IX, p. 50). This may be the clue to Zambaur's error. In the same year *Waththāb* emerged as Lord of Harrān.

⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, IX, p. 220; I. Sh., fol. 4v), 23r, 27r.

¹⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, X, p. 7; *Mu'ayyad ad-dīn Shirāzī*, *Sira*, ed. Kāmil Ḥusain, Cairo, 1949, p. 106.

¹¹ R. Hartmann, art. "Dja'bar," *EI*, I, p. 1012 b. f.

¹² *Mu'jam*, IV, p. 164.

ad-Dizbirī (fo. 33r). This purchase is also recorded by Ibn al-ʿAdīm under the events of the year 431/1039, but he mentions neither the Numairids nor Manīʿ by name.¹ Again after Ibn Shaddād, Qalʿat Jaʿbar reverted to the Numairids on Dizbirī's death (433/1044), but Jaʿbar b. Sābiq the Qushairid stole it from the Banū ʿUṭair (=Banū Numair), rebuilt the town and fortified it whence it received his name.

Already Ibn Khallikān found the story attached to the eponym of Qalʿat Jaʿbar confused and uncertain.² The difficulty seems to have arisen from a confusion of Jaʿbar b. Sābiq, the usurper, and Jaʿbar abū Sābiq, the Numairid whose name is revealed for the first time by the Harrān inscription.

Hamdullah Mustawfi, quoting the *rasʿil* of Malikshāh, relates that "in the time of the caliph Qādir (381-422/991-1033), a certain man of the name of Jaʿbar, who was governor of these districts, built a castle on the bank of the Euphrates . . . then a century later his grandson Sābiq ibn Jaʿbar took to the practices of a highwayman, . . . and on this the Sultan Malikshāh had the castle taken by assault."³ This text establishes a definite family relationship between the two Jaʿbars. Further reliable material is required before the genealogical table of the Numairids can be completed and the eponym of Qalʿat Jaʿbar identified.

Manīʿ' s inscription is the oldest Islamic text so far found at Harrān and the only surviving epigraphic document of the Numairid dynasty. It deserves special attention because it provides a list of the titles claimed by the Numairids none of which have been recorded in literary sources.

The Numairids, like their neighbours the Marwānids, seem to have been satisfied with the title of *amīr*. Manīʿ' s inscription includes no reference to the caliphate, and the same applies to the Marwānid inscriptions. Unlike the latter, however, the Numairids claim a number of titles which have a distinctly Fatimid flavour. This is not surprising. Both Shabīb and his son Manīʿ had recognised the suzerainty of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir and had paid formal allegiance to him ; Shabīb in 429/1034 and Manīʿ between 449-451/1057-9. A string of titles, together with gifts and ceremonial robes, constituted the formal marks of the caliph's favour and sealed the conclusion, or renewal, of each alliance. It is probable that Shabīb received the titles *ṣanīʿat ad-daula wa-ṣafwatuhā* in 429/1034 and Manīʿ those of *najīb ad-daula wa-radīyuhā* between 449-451/1057-9. A more detailed account of the relations of the Numairids with the Fatimids will be given in par. G. below.

c. *Palaeographic analysis.*

It would be premature to base any general conclusions on the palaeographic analysis of a single and relatively short inscription. An attempt may be made, however, to point out its distinctive characteristics and to compare it with other contemporary epigraphic documents.

¹ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Ẓubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Sāmī ad-Dahhān, Damascus, 1951, I, p. 259.

² *Wafayāt*, I, pp. 159-60.

³ Le Strange's transl. pp. 103-4.

Comparative material in the form of alphabetical tables is available, so far, only for some inscriptions of Āmid¹, Damascus² and Cairo.³ The present analysis is based exclusively on the historical inscription of Manī' the Numairid. The short qur'ānic fragment, though certainly contemporary with it, has not been taken into account; it is carved in plain kūfic and has no claim to special distinction or originality.

The main effect of the decorative band formed by Manī's inscription of 451/1059 is achieved by the close alignment of bold perpendicular shafts. Oblique strokes, which constitute such an important rhythmical element in the Marwānid inscriptions of Āmid, are avoided as much as possible. There is also no sign of the elaborate rhythmical ornament in the upper register which makes the inscriptions of Āmid so attractive and varied.

The horizontal base-line of the Ḥarrān inscription (the back-bone of all kūfic scripts) is frequently interrupted by semi-circular ligatures which are occasionally allowed to encroach on the lower frame. With two



FIG. 9. Alphabetical table.

exceptions the text itself is kept within the parallel borders. The first occurs in the final 'ayn of Manī' (fig. 8) whose tail merges into the lower frame as if it were underlining the word. This is a decorative device by no means rare in epigraphy and frequently encountered in kūfic qur'āns. The second exception seems to have been dictated merely by economy of space. The wāw of wa'arba' (fig. 7, L) was given the shape of a naskhī letter and allowed to cut into the lower frame.

¹ S. Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder Amida-Diyarbekr*, Basle-Paris, 1920, Inscriptions dated 426, 42?, 437, 444, 460 A.H.

² J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Épigraphes coufiques de Bab Saghir*, (= Les Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas, IV), Paris, 1950 ; especially Fāṭima's cenotaph dated 439 A.H.

³ S. Flury, "Le décor épigraphique des monuments fatimides du Caire," in *Syria*, 1936, pp. 365-76. One inscription, 365-386 A.H.

As usual in decorative monumental inscriptions in kūfic, all the letters are equally spaced (1.5 cm), and with one exception which will be explained below no extra space is allowed for intervals between words.

The sturdiness of the letters used in Manī's inscription, the boldness of their relief coupled with the coarse and severe appearance natural to the basalt on which they are carved, help to conceal, to some extent, the clumsiness of the design and the inelegance of the script.

An alphabetical table is given in fig. 9. It is numbered in accordance with the method established by Flury. The only letter of which no examples are found in the Ḥarrān inscriptions is No. 8 *tā-zā*. The table includes also some letters not furnished by the historical inscription and which were taken from the qur'ānic fragment. These are : an initial *qāf* (10c), a medium *kāf* (11), a final *nūn* (14c) and an initial *hā* (15a). The analysis which follows, however, is based exclusively on the historical text.

There is no trace at Ḥarrān of plaited or interlaced characters, known from inscriptions in Āmid dated A.H. 437 and A.H. 444¹ and from an inscription at Damascus dated A.H. 439²; nor is there any semi-circular "creasing" of the shafts, a device which appears in Āmid before A.H. 430.³ The only definition which would fit the Ḥarrān script is that of "semi-foliated kūfic."

Foliated, or floriated kufic (*coufique fleuri*) is a script in which foliate motifs sprout from kūfic letters and, in some cases, from the upper frames. This type of decorative kūfic is attested as early as 265/878 by an example of unknown provenance in the Museum of Marseilles⁴; in Persia it appears in 288/900⁵ and somewhat earlier in Turkestan. It is frequently used at Āmid and Cairo, but less profusely, it seems at Damascus and Aleppo.⁶

In Manī's inscription foliation proper is sparingly used and confined to the median and "low" letters, *dāl*, *ṣād* and *mīm*, and it is also affixed clumsily to a median *yā* (17b). Once only does the foliate motif spring from the upper border : above *Manī*' (fig. 8). Here it serves the double purpose of filling the space and of bringing the founder's name into relief.

In addition to foliation other letter-ornaments appear at Ḥarrān which are not encountered, as far as I can ascertain, in any other epigraphic document. These are curious tongue-shaped devices over *ṣād* and *dād* (7, b, c) and 'ayn (9, b, c); a lozenge shaped column over one *ṣād* (7, d) and a bifurcated ornament with a drop-shaped inset over a median *mīm* (13, h).

Other substitutes for, and schematic renderings of, foliation are the hefty trunk-shaped ends of some final letters : *bā* (2, f, g), *rā* (5, c, d, e), *mīm* (13, i), *nūn* (14, f) and *wāw* (16, c).

¹ S. Flury, *Schriftbänder*, pp. 13-15, pls. IV-VI.

² Sourdel-Thomine, op. cit., p. 151, fig. 93.

³ Flury, *Schriftbänder*, p. 12, pl. III.

⁴ J. Sauvaget, "Glanes épigraphiques," *REI*, 1941-6, pp. 20-22, pl. I, No. 3.

⁵ Cf. S. Flury, "Ornamental kufic inscriptions," in *Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford, 1939,

II, p. 1744.

⁶ Cf. J. Sauvaget, "Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep," *REI*, 1931, pl. II, minaret inscription dated 480/1090.

All these variations on the normal forms of foliated kufic are partly due to a local style and probably to some extent to the limitations imposed by the material used—basalt, which does not lend itself to the carving of thin stems.

Circular dots are inserted in the inscription in some places. They are found over *najīb* (fig. 7, C), *raḍīha* (ib. E) and *fī* (ib. K) where they could be mistaken for diacritical signs. However the fact that such dots are also found over *najīb* (ib. D), *ṣafwatuhā* (ib. H), *Shabīb* (ib. J) and *Mu'ayyid* (ib. J) clearly shows that these "signs" are merely space-filling devices. The same role is fulfilled by the half moon ornament over the median 'ayn of *Ja'bar* (ib. K).¹

The alphabetical table also shows the following characteristics :

1. *alīf*. All the specimens have flat, tail-less bases and vary in shape from a simple peg (1, f) to various L shapes (1, c, d) and include a rather ugly letter with an upward bent point (1a) which seems to be an atrophied form of a foliated initial.²

2. *bā*. The most unusual examples are the squat final *bā* in *najīb* (2, e) and the elongated final letter in *Waththāb* (2, f) for which I know no parallels. To distinguish the last mentioned *bā* from *rā* in *amīr* (fig. 7, B), it was slightly notched at the base (cf. 2, f with 5, d). Final *nūn* is rounded off and cannot be confused with *bā* (cf. 14, e, f).

3. *jīm*, *hā*. This is the only "low" letter which has been stretched to reach the upper border. The same occurs at Damascus but never at Āmid where only the *dāl* is so drawn out.

4. *dāl* which occurs eight times shows four varieties ranging from plain, square *dāl* (4, d) to foliated (4, a) and elongated specimens (4, b, c).

5. *rā*, includes an almost *naskhī* shaped character brought in once deliberately (in *ar-rahīm*) (5, a) and again, probably, only for lack of adequate space (in *arba'*) (5, b). The majority of the ten *ra*'s are upright and are made to fit as tightly as possible into a rectangle.

6. *sīn*-*shīn* appears five times in slightly varying shapes without any trace of foliation or ornament.

7. *ṣād*-*ḍād*. The special ornament decorating the median forms of these letters has already been mentioned. It is a variation and substitute for foliation but has its origins probably in plaited kufic. Such likely origins are betrayed by the shapes of *ṣād* (7, b, c) as well as 'ayn (9, c).

9. 'ayn. No specimen of initial 'ayn is available. All median examples are flat-topped as in the inscriptions of Cairo. The trilobed and pointed shapes, which are invariably used at Damascus and Āmid, are completely absent.

10. *fā*-*qāf*. The median example (10b) with a forward raised bevelled top is, to my knowledge, unique.

¹ Cf. a similar space-filling over a median 'ayn in Flury, *Le décor épigraphique*, p. 372, fig. 4.

² Cf. e.g. S. Flury, *Die Ornamente der Hakim und Ashar Moschee*, Heidelberg, 1912, p. 16, fig. 3.

13. *mīm*. Most shapes are common and self explanatory. The strange form of the median *mīm* (13, h), only occurs once—in the *nisba* of the founder. In the same word a licence was taken by the sculptor who linked the final *yā* of *an-Numairī* to the *rā*, in defiance of a basic rule of Arabic script.¹ It may be that both “flourishes” were intended to give added prominence to the word. A similar tendency was already suggested above for the setting of the name of Manī‘.

16. *wāw*. The purely naskhī shaped letters at the end of the inscription (16, a, b) seem to have been used in order to economize space. There is, however, one mixed kūfic and naskhī inscription at Mayyāfāriqīn dated 464/1071² and it is likely that the use of naskhī in inscriptions had penetrated into Northern Mesopotamia even earlier in the eleventh century.

To sum up: Manī‘’s inscription has a distinctive character of its own, but follows the broad lines of development of foliated kufic in the West (Damascus and Cairo) rather than that which found favour with the Marwānids of Āmid. This fact can be explained by the desire of the Numairids to imitate the fashion prevalent in the lands under Fatimid domination, rather than adopt that of a provincial power—the Marwānids. The same tendency has already been noted in the titulature of the Numairids, above pp. 55-56.

d. The Original Location of the Inscription.

All the fragments of the inscription were unearthed in the debris between the two towers. There can be no doubt that they originally decorated the walls flanking the gateway.

The total length of the fragments recovered amounts to 12.46 m. This exceeds by over a metre the length of the walls which is only 11.28 m. It is clear, therefore, that at least part of the inscription must have been spread over two lines.

A reconstruction (fig. 10) can be arrived at by starting from the well-preserved fragments at the end of the text and by bearing in mind the length of each fragment and the length of the walls. The inscription can thus be arranged in four sections.

Sections II and IV fit into the space above the gate, which is 4.0 m. wide, only if the blocks bearing the text were set into the wall to a depth of 10 cm. (figs. 3 and 11).³ This arrangement allows for empty spaces of 34 cm. each at the corners of each tower, before section I and after section III.

¹ A similar licence is taken in a proper name in the inscription of Altūntāsh dated 514/1120 in Damascus where *alif* and *hīn* are joined. Cf. Sourdel-Thomine, op. cit., p. 200, fig. 118.

² J. Sauvaget, in Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques*, I, p. 339, No. 112, pl. CVIII.

³ The inscription of Bāb al-Futūḥ in Cairo is similarly pressed into the wall cf. G. Wiet, “Nouvelles inscriptions fatimides,” *BIE*, 1941-2, pls III-VII and also, *CIA, Egypte*, I, pl. XVII, 3. It should not be forgotten in this connection that architects of the Cairo gate were Armenians from ar-Ruhā.

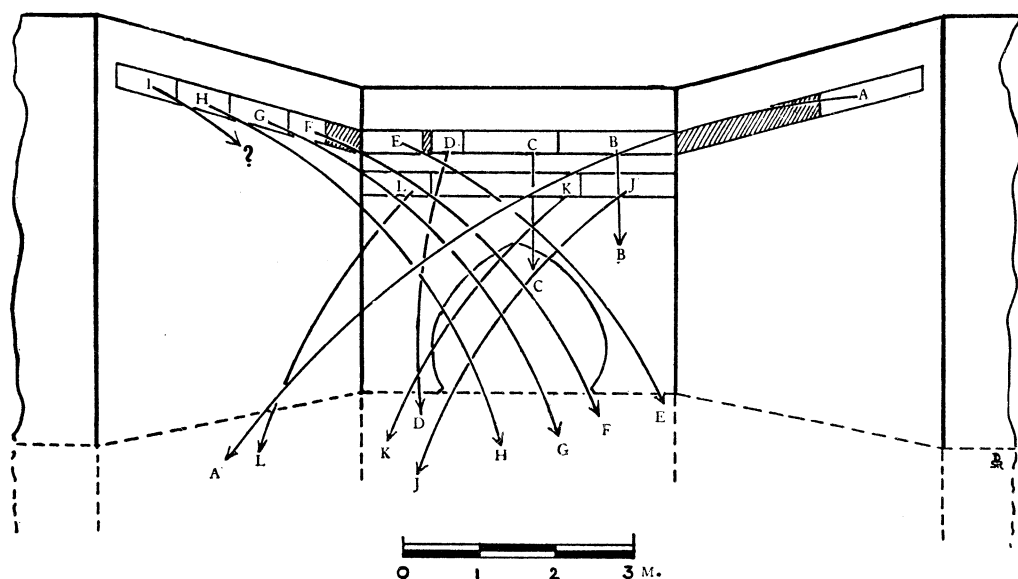


FIG. 10. Location of inscription.

							Gaps
Sect. I.	A	..	..	..	1.35 m.		
	[AB]	..	..	..	..	..	2.05
							3.40 m.
Sect. II.	B	..	..	..	1.62		
	C	..	..	..	1.24		
	D	..	..	..	0.44		
	[DE]	..	..	..	..	..	0.14
	E	..	..	..	0.76		
							4.20 m.
Sect. III.	[EF]	..	..	..	..	..	0.50
	F	..	..	..	0.50		
	G	..	..	..	0.90		
	H	..	..	..	0.70		
	I	..	..	..	0.80		
							3.40 m.
Sect. IV.	J	..	..	..	1.25		
	K	..	..	..	1.95		
	L	..	..	..	0.95		
							4.15 m.
Total existing length		..	..	..	..	..	12.46 m.
Total estimated gaps		..	..	..	..	..	2.69 m.
Total estimated length of complete inscription		..	..	..	..	..	15.15 m.

The suggested reconstruction is further justified by a study of the positions in which the fragments have been found. Prevented from falling outwards by the solid towers, which had resisted the earthquake, the upper courses of the walls collapsed inwards (cf. pl. IV a, b and fig. 10). Blocks of the west tower, bearing the beginning of the inscription, fell on the east side ; pieces of the inscription above the gate and the basalt birds

from the spandrels landed in front of the gate, and fragments from the eastern tower came down on the west side.

The proposed reconstruction is also the only one which fully accounts for the abnormally large empty space after the last word, *abi*, in fragment I (see fig. 7). As a rule, there is no distinction between the intervals separating letters and words in this inscription—all are app. 1.5 cm. apart. The interval of 4 cm. after the last word of block I is explained by the fact that this was the last stone in sect. III and that the space was insufficient for the sculptor to start on a new word.

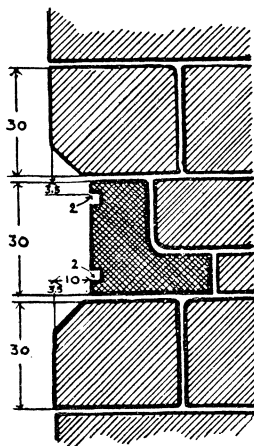


FIG. 11. Inset inscription.

The length of each “wing” of the inscription, sections I and III, may now be calculated. Section III is the better preserved of the two ; it has only a small gap which contained Manī’s *kunya*, Abū’ z-Zimām. The length of the missing portion can be easily estimated as approx. 50 cm. (cf. fig. 8). This brings the length of section III to 3.40 m. Allowing for the same length in the eastern “wing,” section I, the resulting gap between blocks A and B of the text must be 2.05 m. This missing part of section I, which may still be buried in the debris on the west side of the gateway, must therefore have contained more than the opening formula *mā amara bi-* (estimated length 70 cm) or *hādhā mimmā amara bi-* (estimated length 1.15 m).

The following table shows the distribution of the fragments and allows for the gaps which the reconstruction of the text has revealed :

Sect. I, east tower, A, [AB]	.. ..	est. l. : 3.40 m
Sect. II, over gate, B. C. D. [ED], E	..	est. l. : 4.20 m
Sect. III, west tower, [EF], F, G, H, I	..	est. l. : 3.40 m
Sect. IV, above gate, J, K, L	.. ..	real l. : 4.15 m

The total estimated length of the inscription, when complete is, therefore, 15.15 m.

E. The Sculptures.

a. The Panels.

Each of the two sculptured panels, which decorate the wall-piers

flanking the southeast gate, represents a pair of dogs in relief. One pair resembles hunting dogs, slūqis, (pl. VII a) the other shepherd dogs¹ (pl. VII b). The heads of the animals are turned backwards as if they were watching the persons holding their leads. The leads, however, are not held by anyone ; they appear abruptly from the extreme upper joint of the slabs on which the reliefs are carved.

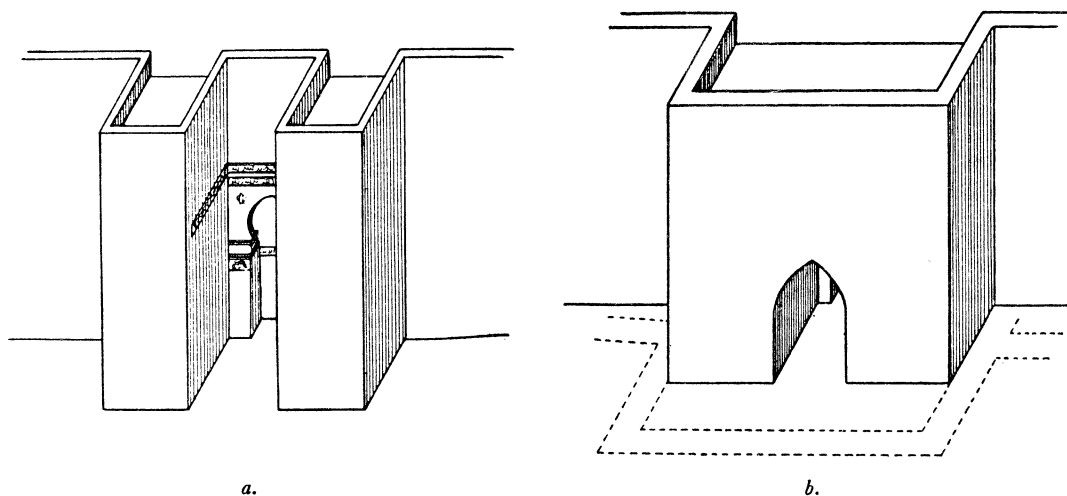
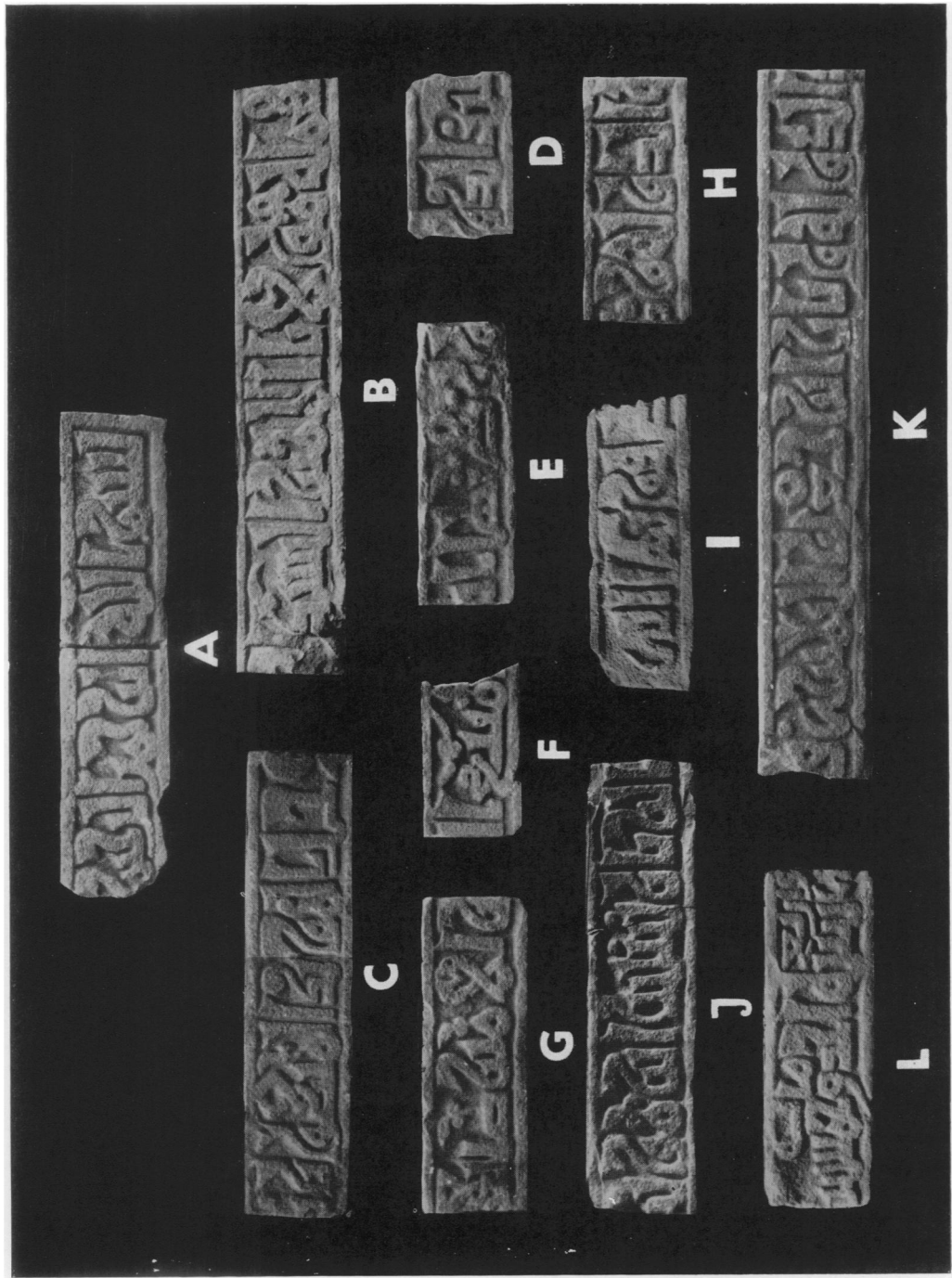


FIG. 12. Reconstruction.

The pairs of dogs are depicted in what can only be described as impossible positions. The front parts of their bodies are shown in movement : one forepaw raised, the other lightly touching a ledge-like support, which seems to represent the ground. At the same time, their abnormally high hind parts are firmly bent and touch the ground as if they were crouching with their tails between their legs. Despite these deliberate distortions and the unusual combination of half-moving, half-static animals, the sculptures have an astonishingly lively air about them. The simplicity of the design and its compactness have an appeal which is not completely dispelled by closer scrutiny.

The general outlines of the reliefs are very much the same, but one can notice many differences in detail and in technique. The well-known tendency of Islamic art to avoid strict symmetry by infinite variations on identical themes accounts for many of these differences. There still remains, however, a marked disparity of technique which indicates that the reliefs were the work of two different sculptors. The carving on the west pier (Pl. VII a) is more angular, with sharper contours and, at the same time, finished more smoothly than the relief on the east pier (pl. VII b) which betrays the hand of a less experienced, but by no means less humorous, sculptor.

¹ "These dogs were not employed to herd cattle, but to guard them against marauders, either human or animal" (E. D. van Buren, *The fauna of ancient Mesopotamia*, Rome, 1939, p. 15.)



Reconstruction of Mani's inscription dated 451/1059.



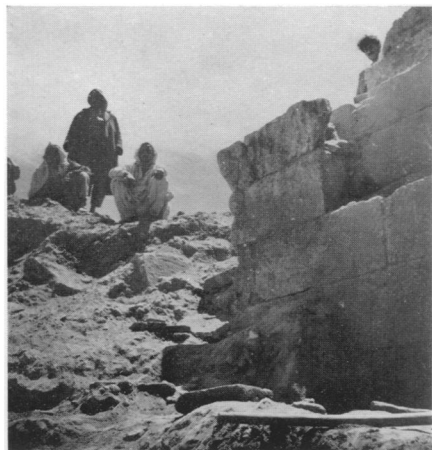
(a) Impost of east wall-pier.



(b) Threshold of gate.



(c) West tower with limestone encasing.



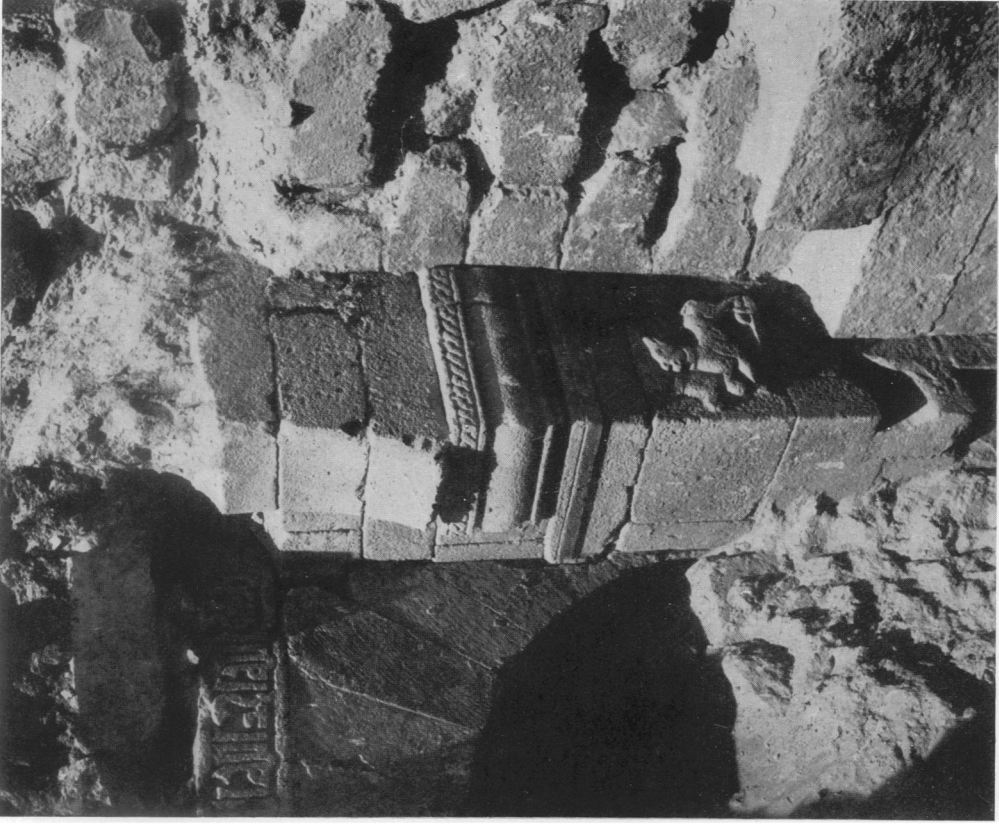
(d) Spring of limestone vault over gateway and defensive wall.



(a) Relief on west pier.



(b) Relief on east pier.



(b) Eastern wall-pier, ashlar wall, limestone arch and qur'anic inscription.



(a) Gallery No. 32 abutting against west tower of southeast gateway.

The best way of enumerating the differences of detail which distinguish the two panels, is to set them out in form of a table :

	<i>Western Relief (Pl. VII a)</i>	<i>Eastern Relief (Pl. VII b)</i>
<i>Heads :</i>	Oblong, pointed, flat top.	Rounder, prominent arcade over eyebrows.
<i>Ears :</i>	Small, semi-circular, absent in 2nd dog.	Large, unnaturally twisted outside in.
<i>Teeth :</i>	Bared and pointed in 2nd dog.	Not marked.
<i>Eyes :</i>	Small, shallow incisions.	Deep round holes.
<i>Collars :</i>	Stiff material (leather ?).	Soft material (cloth ?).
<i>Leads :</i>	Chains.	Twisted ropes.
<i>Fore-paws :</i>	With toes.	Toes not marked.
<i>Tail :</i>	Curls first round hind leg then tucked under thigh.	Passed between legs, then dangling loosely over ledge.

b. The birds.

Fragments of two birds carved in basalt were unearthed immediately below the dog-reliefs on either side of the gate. They must have fallen from the spandrels of the horseshoe arch. They are worked in the round except for their backs which are flat where they touched the wall. Only the bird found at the east pier could be reconstructed to some extent (fig. 6). The second was smashed into many small splinters. The head and feet of both birds are missing. Their outspread wings have a span of 30.0 cm. and their height can be estimated as approx. 40 cm. They have the general appearance of birds of prey but in view of their fragmentary condition no attempt has been made to obtain a closer identification of the species.

c. The Lions.

Two basalt slabs with lion reliefs were found near the citadel ; one by T. E. Lawrence in 1911 and another by Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Brice in 1950 (*A.S. I*, p. 104, pl. IX, 3). They are of distinctly ancient and probably Hittite workmanship. It is not possible to say, at present, if and where they had been employed in the medieval citadel.

Sculpture of human and animal forms occupies a minor position in Islamic art. An appreciation of its origins is now possible through the discovery of a spate of new material in various Umayyad castles which were recently excavated.¹ During this early period living forms are generally executed in stucco, and interwoven with vegetal and geometrical ornaments. They have purely decorative functions and are hardly ever displayed independently.² Practically nothing has survived of similar sculptures

¹ Mainly R. W. Hamilton, "The sculpture of living forms at *Khīrbat al-Mafjar*," *QDAP*, XIV, pp. 100-119, pls. XXXV-LXV, also D. Schlumberger, "Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir Gharbi," *Syria*, 1939, pp. 336 ff.

² Cf. however E. Kühnel, *Mschatta*, Berlin, 1939, fig. 20b a crouching lion in the round ; also the literary examples in Zakī Muḥ. Ḥasan, *at-taṣwīr 'ind al-'arab*, Cairo, 1942, pp. 56-7.

from the Abbasid period. The Jazīra and Asia Minor have yielded a good number of examples ranging from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and extensive use of architectural sculpture was made in the distant province of Daghestan, where Armenian influence can be easily detected.

Islamic stone-reliefs were almost exclusively used to decorate city-gates. Human forms are but rarely encountered, and the repertoire of animals is limited to a few recurring species. These are mainly felines (nearly always lions), birds of prey, bulls, horses, horned quadrupeds of various kinds and dragons with bodies of snakes.¹ Max van Berchem has tried to explain some of these as heraldic, others as primarily prophylactic images.

The Marwānids, Seljuqs and Artoqids used sculptures of birds as architectural decorations. Some of the later examples have a special heraldic significance.² In these cases the birds are displayed with outspread wings which are touched by their talons. Not so at Ḥarrān where the legs of the birds are not straddled and where no heraldic significance seems to attach to them.

The dog reliefs of Ḥarrān are, as far as I can determine, unique. Admittedly, dogs do appear in some plaster and stucco reliefs³ both earlier and later than at Ḥarrān and they are also represented in stone⁴; but in each case the elements of animal friezes or of hunting scenes and are never depicted independently as at Ḥarrān. The Numairid dog-reliefs had certainly no heraldic significance and it is unlikely that they were made for prophylactic purposes, although dog images are known to have been used with such intention in Ancient Mesopotamia.⁵

Until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, it is not inadmissible, therefore, to consider that the Ḥarrān reliefs depict decorative themes which evoked the favourite pastime of the desert princes—the chase, with dogs and birds of prey.

F. Small finds.

a. Pottery.

In addition to some fragments of crude, thick, unglazed and blue and turquoise glazed jars, several pieces of finer underglaze painted and lustre wares were unearthed at the southeast gateway.

With two exceptions, all the sherds were found among the debris in the trench dug along the eastern ashlar wall at various depths between

¹ Dated by accompanying inscriptions from 476-603/1083-1206, Gabriel, *Voyages*, I, pp. 162 ff.

² M. van Berchem, *Amida*, pp. 78 ff.

³ R. W. Hamilton, op. cit., pl. XXXVIII, 1; Fr. Sarre, *Seldschukische Kleinkunst*, Leipzig, 1908, pl. V.

⁴ A. Salmony, "Daghestan sculptures," *Ars Islamica*, 1942, X, fig. 4.

⁵ Cf. the examples collected by E. Hauck, "Die Hunde des sumerisch-akkadischen und babylonisch-assyrischen Kulturkreises," *Sitzungs b.d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, Math. Naturwiss. Kl. Abt. I*, 155, Heft 3-4, Vienna, 1947, pp. 63-82. I owe this reference to Mr. D. Carruthers who also kindly identified the species of dogs represented on the Ḥarrān reliefs from photographs.

4.50-5.50 m. (P. 1 on fig. 2). Fragments of a moulded object (No. 20, fig. 15) were recovered (at P. 2) near the top of the defensive wall. Finally the base of a dish was found among the rubble which had been used to fill the gap between the western ashlar wall and the basalt tower which it encases.

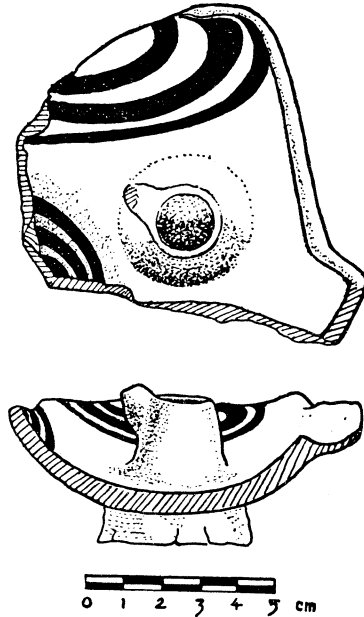


FIG. 13 (No. 19). Pottery : lamp.

With one exception (No. 7 in fig. 14) and another possible exception (No. 14), all the specimens belong to well-known types of pottery made at Raqqa on the Euphrates in the XIIth and early XIIIth centuries. It is not surprising to find that this centre, which flourished in the Ayyūbid period, was a source of supply for Ḥarrān which is situated only two easy days' journey, by camel, to the North of Raqqa, and linked with it by a major caravan road.

The wares are mainly of lightly fired, friable material but include a few with a medium-hard, buff body. The glazes are generally clear and transparent. The soil of Ḥarrān, at least at this spot, does not seem to have the effect, so often produced by the soil of Raqqa itself, which renders the glazes opaque and iridescent.

The best preserved sherd is part of a lamp decorated with vigorous black half loops painted under a peacock-blue glaze (No. 19, fig. 13). The stump of the broken-off handle still adheres to the central socket. The piece very closely resembles a complete specimen found by Sarre at Raqqa.¹

The lustre specimens are painted in dark olive-brown and chocolate-brown with cream-coloured reserved spaces and under transparent glazes

¹ See Sarre und Herzfeld, *Reise*, III, pl. CXIX, No.8.

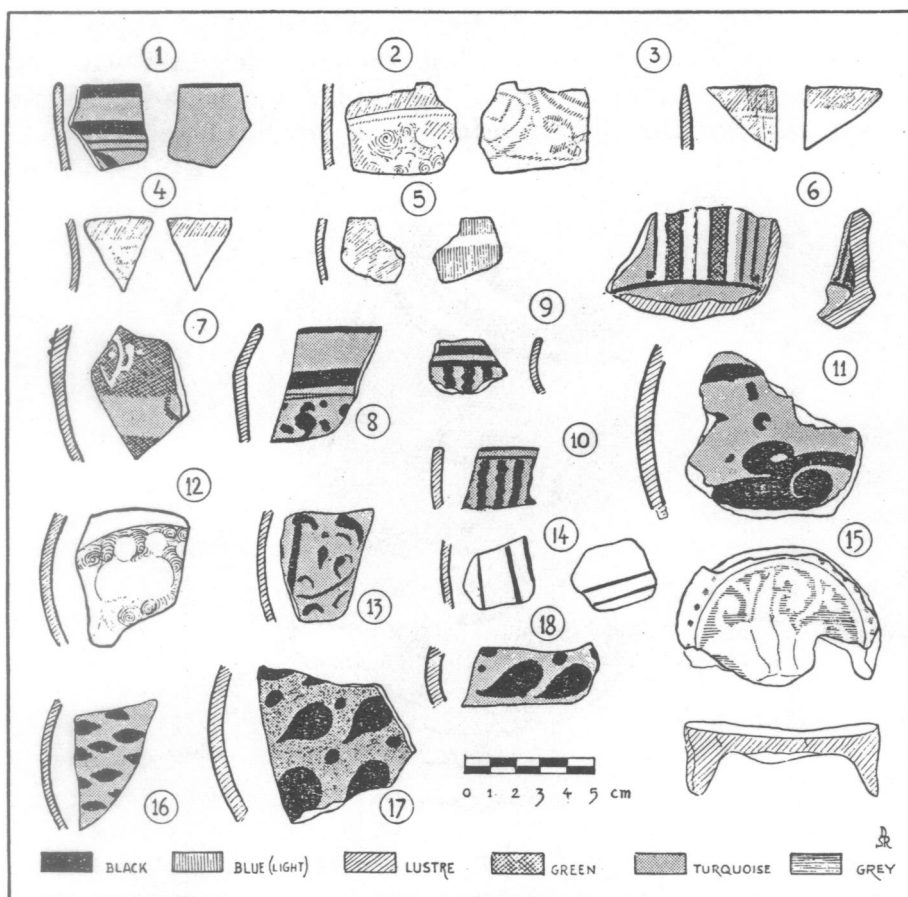


FIG. 14 (Nos. 1-15). Pottery : sherds.

1. *Fragment of cup or bowl.* Buff, medium-hard, body. Inside : painted black line and leaf ornament under peacock-blue glaze ; outside : thin black rim, plain peacock-blue glaze.

2. *Fragment of bowl or vase.* Buff, medium-hard body. Inside and outside : olive-brown lustre with cream reserved spaces, transparent glaze.

3. *Fragment from rim of cup or bowl.* Medium hard, buff, body. Inside : dark chocolate brown and cobalt blue lustre, transparent glaze.

4. *Fragment from rim of cup or bowl.* Buff medium hard body. Inside reddish-brown lustre, cream reserved spaces ; outside : brown lustre band, transparent glaze.

5. *Fragment of vase (?)*. Buff, medium-hard, body. Outside : light olive-brown lustre, cream reserved spaces ; inside : blue glaze with canary-yellow stripe. Rough finish indicates closed vessel.

6. *Bottom of dish.* Friable, whitish, body. Inside : painted black and green under pale, blue-green, glaze.

7. *Fragment of vase (?)*. Friable, whitish, bulging, body. Outside : black painted areas under pale green-blue glaze, white pigment applied *over* glaze.

8. *Rim of dish.* Friable, whitish, body. Inside : Black under peacock-blue glaze ; outside : transparent, greyish, glaze.

9-10. *Fragments from rims of bowls (?)*. Friable, cream body. Outside : black painted under peacock-blue glaze ; inside : pale-green glaze.

11. *Bottom of dish (?)* Friable, whitish, body. Outside : black painted under bright blue-green glaze ; inside : plain glaze of same colour.

12. *Fragment of vase or jug.* Medium hard, grey, body. Outside : olive-brown lustre, pale greenish glaze ; inside : rough surface, transparent glaze.

(Nos. 3-5). They are typical of the lustre ware of Raqqa.¹ Two pieces with slightly greenish glazes have chocolate-brown lustre ornaments of tightly rolled spirals (No. 2 outside and No. 12) which denote the same provenance.²

The underglaze painted sherds are also easily identifiable as characteristic products of the same centre. Black decorations are predominant. In one case only, a bright green pigment was used with black under a particularly light glaze (No. 6). Glazes vary from pale greenish-blue (Nos. 6, 11) to peacock-blue (Nos. 7-10, 18) and turquoise (Nos. 13, 16-17). In one case the glaze, which colours the ground between the black leaf pattern, is speckled and darker than in the ordinary Raqqa wares (No. 17). Sherds with plain dark violet glaze were also found.

Technically the finest, but unfortunately very small, sherd (No. 14) has a discreet black line ornament with blue dots under an extremely good, milk-white, glaze which is not encountered among Raqqa wares. It may well be a more distant import—perhaps from Persia.

The only other sherd which is not a typical Raqqa product is the fragment of a vase or jug (No. 7). In addition to being painted black in parts under a peacock blue glaze, it was decorated with white pigment thickly applied *over* the glaze.

The bottom of a dish with a circular foot, found on the western side of the gate (No. 15), has a more elaborate ornament in olive-grey, painted under a transparent glaze. The *décor*, which seems to be derived from a group of letters with palmettes and dots, is not unknown among Raqqa wares.³

¹ Cf. R. L. Hobson, *A guide to the Islamic pottery of the Near East*, London, 1932, p. 20.

² Cf. the same spiral ornaments on Raqqa wares reproduced in M. S. Dimand, *Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, New York, 1944, p. 190, fig. 20 ; A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, London, 1947, pl. 57a ; Sarre und Herzfeld, *Reise*, III, pl. CXVIII, No. 1.

³ Cf. J. Sauvaget "Tessons de Raqqa," *Ars Islamica*, XIII-XIV, 1948, fig. 11, No. 57 ; Sarre und Herzfeld, *Reise*, III, pl. CXVIII, No. 5.

13. *Fragment of vase (?)*. Medium-hard, buff, body. Outside : black ornament under turquoise glaze ; inside : transparent glaze, rough surface.

14. *Fragment of dish (?)*. Medium-hard, fine, buff, body. Outside : upright black lines and cobalt blue dots under milk white glaze ; inside : parallel black lines under milk-white glaze.

15. *Bottom of dish on circular foot*. Medium-hard, buff, body. Inside : olive-grey background for ornament derived from letters and palmettes, transparent glaze ; outside : partly transparent glaze.

16. *Fragment of vase or jug*. Medium hard, buff body. Outside : black pattern of small diamond shaped leaves in black under dark turquoise glaze ; inside : transparent, greyish, glaze.

17. *Fragment of vase or jug*. Friable, whitish, body. Outside : ornament of black heart-shaped leaves and dots on dark speckled ground, turquoise glaze.

18. Similar to No. 17, lighter peacock glaze and no speckles.

19. *Fragment of lamp*. Friable, whitish, body. Inside : black half-loops under peacock-blue glaze ; outside : same glaze (fig. 13).

20. *Fragment of floor-table*. Friable, cream-coloured, body. Moulded in relief and covered in green-blue glaze on both sides (fig. 15).

The flat fragments of moulded and blue-green glazed pottery found near the defensive wall (No. 20) could be reassembled (fig. 15). They are glazed on both sides but clearly not part of a tile. They are almost certainly part of a small moulded floor-table. The British Museum possesses an unpublished complete specimen of such an object (fig. 16).¹ This is a small rectangular table, glazed on all sides with a blue-green, (now opaque and iridescent) glaze. Its long curtain-walls measure 28.5 x 16 cm. and the short lateral ones 14.5 x 28.5 cm. It is supported by four squat legs 6.5 cm. high and 4 cm. in diameter at their base. The object is hollow inside and its top has two circular holes (7 cm. each in diameter, set 6 cm. apart) which were obviously designed to receive beakers or vases (fig. 17).

All the outer faces of the floor-table have moulded decorations. On

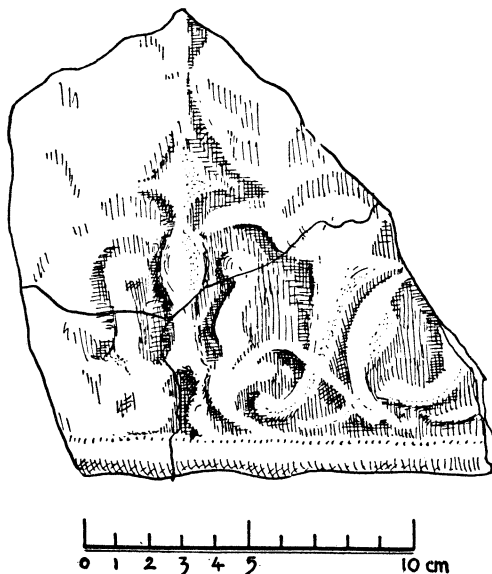


FIG. 15 (No. 20). Part of floor table.

top, a floral ornament stemming from a central arabesque ; on the sides, trellis work, and on the front and back : affronted winged lions with arabesques. The fragments found at Ḥarrān fit the front or back of the object so closely that they might have been cast in the same mould as the floor-table in the British Museum. The moulded design on the fragment, which would be incomprehensible without the complete specimen, clearly represents the left fore-paw of the right lion and the right fore-paw of the left lion as well as the central arabesque.

The floor-table in the British Museum was bought from a dealer and is said to have come from Aleppo. It is, however, a characteristic product of Raqqa.

To sum up: the majority of sherds found at the southeast gateway

¹ I am indebted to Mr. B. Gray, Keeper of The Oriental Dept. for permission to publish this object. Cf. a similar object also in the collection of the British Museum in Hobson, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 28 ; Lane, *op. cit.* pl. 60b.

of the citadel of Harrān belong to Raqqa wares of the Ayyūbid period and provide a convincing date for the ashlar construction, which encases the Numairid basalt building.

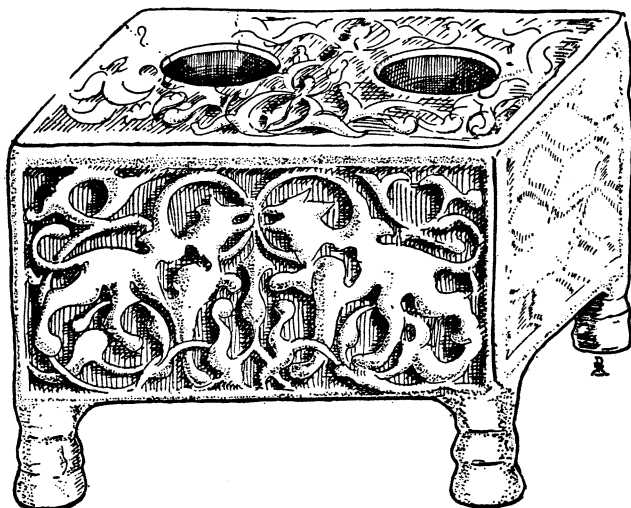


FIG. 16. Floor table (British Museum).

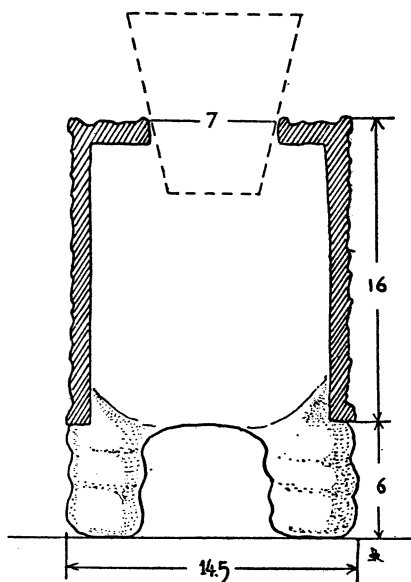


FIG. 17. Floor table : section.

b. Glass.

Several fragments of thin glass vessels were also found among the debris near the eastern ashlar wall. The easiest to classify and date is a small fragment, probably from the rim of a beaker (fig. 18 No. 21). This fragment of thin, translucent colourless glass has a decoration (painted after the glass had cooled) which consists of a blue band between thin red lines, thin oblique red lines and a cluster of dots made of white enamel. This type of glass is characteristic of the wares classified by C. J. Lamm as

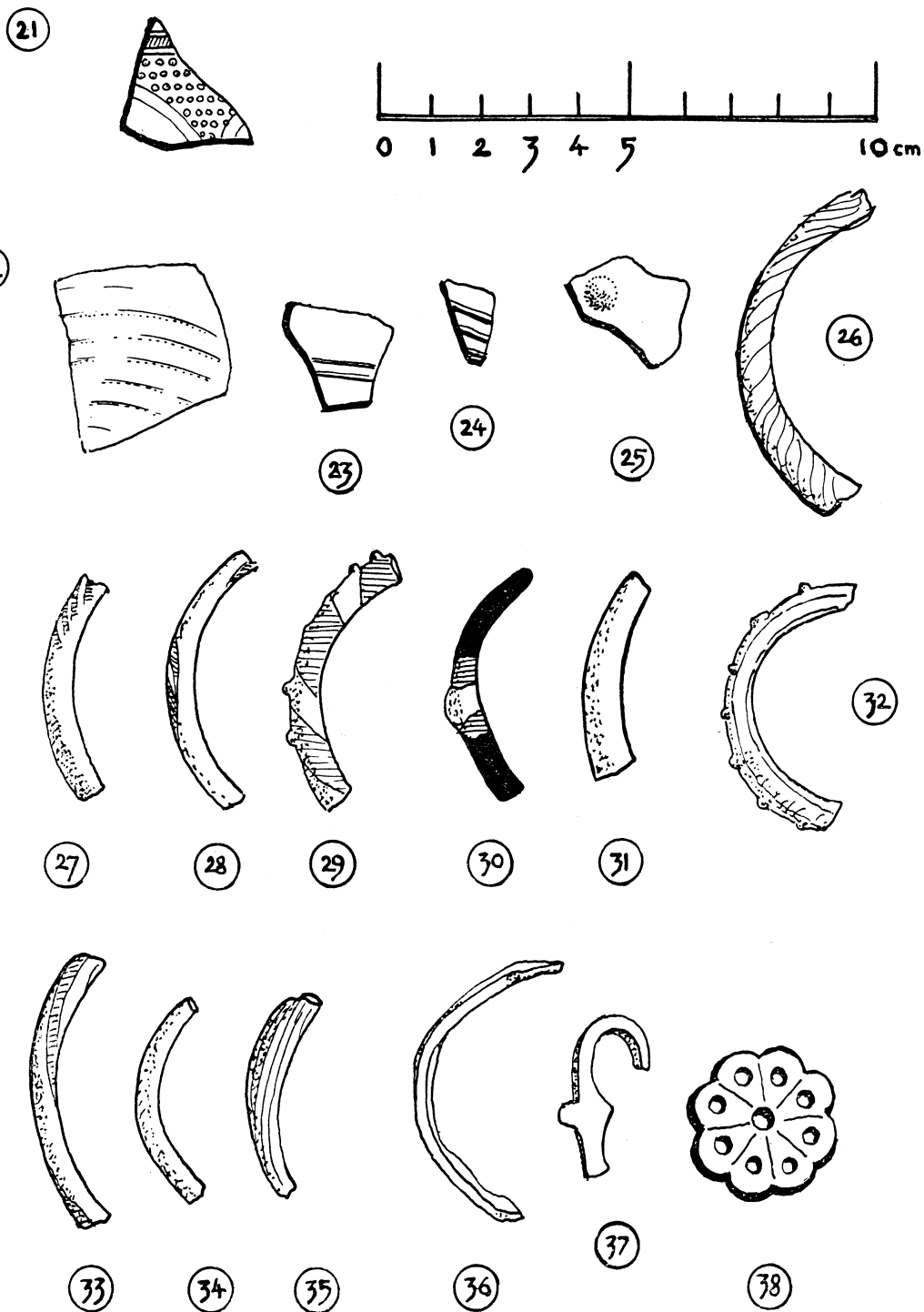


FIG. 18. Glass, etc.

belonging to the "Raqqa-group" and attributed by him to the period A.D. 1170-1270.¹

Another group of glass ware (which was decorated while still hot) is also represented among the finds. Two fragments of thin greenish, translucent glass have thread decorations (Nos. 23-24) and another a blob in relief (No. 25). Both these types of glass are found among North Syrian and Mesopotamian products.²

In addition to pieces already described, there were also several fragments of translucent, greenish, pink and colourless glass and some of a yellowish tint which is normally attributed to the glass factories of Aleppo.

It is more difficult to date the almost timeless glass-bracelets of which several fragments were also found.³ The majority are made of glass paste and are multicoloured. The pigments used are yellow, reddish brown, blue, black and various shades of green (Nos. 27-30, 32-33); two have small protuberances applied when the mass was still hot (Nos. 29, 32). Two fragments of glass bracelets were made of light blue opaque glass (Nos. 31, 34) and another of twisted navy blue glass (No. 26).

c. *Metal.*

The three small bronze or brass objects found with the glass and pottery fragments are too insignificant and commonplace to contribute additional information for the dating of the ashlar wall. They are: a handle of a small object (lamp?) (No. 36), part of a buckle (No. 37) and a decorative stud, probably from a wooden door (No. 38).

¹ *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, Berlin, 1929, I, p. 244, II, pl. 91.

² *Ibid.* II, pl. 27.

³ Almost identical bracelets were found as far North as Novgorod where they appear at various levels from the tenth to the thirteenth century; Cf. А.В. Арциховский, "Раскопки на славне в новгороде", Материалы и Исследования по Археологии СССР, xi, Moscow, 1949, pp. 139-140, fig. 15. Cf. also a similar find in Mauretania. Th. Monod, "Teghaza, la ville en sel gemme", *La Nature*, No. 3025, May 1938, p. 294, figs. 9-11.

21. Translucent, colourless, fragment of beaker. Painted red, blue with white dots of enamel.

22. Translucent yellowish glass.

23.-24. Translucent greenish glass with thread decoration applied in relief.

25. Translucent greenish glass with "blob" in relief.

26. Bracelet, navy blue twisted glass.

27. Glass paste bracelet blue, black, brown, yellow and white.

28. Do. dark green reddish-brown.

29. Do. green and brown with green protuberances.

30. Do. black with flattened centre, yellow band between two of reddish-brown.

31. Bracelet, opaque blue glass.

32. Glass paste bracelet, dark green between two layers of light yellowish-green with light green protuberances.

33. Do. brown, white and green.

34. Glass bracelet, light blue opaque.

35. Do. twisted.

36. Brass handle.

37. Brass buckle.

38. Brass ornament.

G. *The Numairids* (see sketch map of the Jazīra in fig. 19).

The Banū Numair are a subdivision of the Qais Bedouins. In the IVth/Xth century, the Qais, who were dwelling in Northern Syria, split into five independent tribes: Numair, 'Uqail, Kilāb, Qushair and al-'Aylān. The Banū Kilāb retained their traditional pastures between Aleppo and Raḥba on the Euphrates and gave birth to a dynasty, in the eleventh century—the Mirdāsids of Aleppo. The Banū Numair and the Banū 'Uqail crossed the Euphrates and established themselves in the territories round the Khābūr and Balikh. The Banū Numair were based on Ḥarrān and roamed along the east bank of the Euphrates as far south as Raqqa. The Banū 'Uqail clung to Nişibīn and to Mosul. Both tribes succeeded in establishing small dynasties and gradually drifted towards a semi-sedentary life.¹

The Banū Numair ruled over the territory between Sarūj, Ḥarrān and Raqqa from 380-474/990-1081. Their neighbours to the west and south were the Mirdāsids who had their capital at Aleppo (414-472/1023-1079)² and to the east the 'Uqailids of Mosul (380-489/990-1086).³ To the north the lands of the Numairids bordered on the Marwānid states of Mayyā-fāriqīn and Āmid (380-472/990-1079)⁴ and to the northwest on territories under Byzantine rule. With the exception of the Marwānids, who were Kurds, all the petty dynasties on the scene were of Arab stock.

The almost simultaneous emergence of a number of petty dynasties in the Jazīra and Northern Syria during the last decade of the tenth century was due to the absence of more powerful contenders. In fact, none of the three great powers whose states bordered on this area, the Byzantines, Abbasids and Fatimids, was in position to annex it effectively. The affairs of government in the Abbasid caliphate were in the hands of the Buwayhids who had reached the last stages of decadence; their influence in the Jazīra was negligible. The second power, the Byzantines, had been carried deep into Syria by a wave of conquests, but towards the end of the tenth century, the *élan* of their invasion had subsided somewhat. Their attacks were concentrated in central and coastal Syria and the Jazīra was not affected. The most aggressive of the three great powers were the Fatimids. Firmly established in Egypt by the end of the tenth century, they were vigorously surging northwards into Syria. Their intentions were both defensive and offensive. On the one hand they were seeking to establish in Syria a bastion for the defence of Egypt and on the other they aimed at conquering Baghdad and supplanting the rival orthodox caliphate. To them Syria was "a vestibule to 'Irāq"⁵ but in the beginning of the eleventh century they had not succeeded in establishing their rule much further north than Damascus. Their influence

¹ M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig, 1939, I, pp. 222 ff.

² See M. Sobernheim, art. "Mirdāsids," *EI*, III, p. 585.

³ See K. V. Zetterstéen, art. "Oqailids" *ib.* p. 1039.

⁴ See *idem*, art. "Marwānids" *ib.* pp. 356-7.

⁵ Ibn Qalānisi, p. 33.

in the Jazīra, except through channels of propaganda, in which they were past masters, was not considerable.¹

In the vacuum which was created in Northern Syria and the Jazīra by the limitations of the great powers, it was possible for the leaders of the local populations to become masters of the territories in which they were living. The Mirdāsids, supported by their kinsmen the Banū Kilāb, formed a buffer state between the Fatimids and the Byzantines. The nomads of the Jazīra, the Numairids, 'Uqailids and Marwānids, each carved themselves small, independent states and established dynasties. They paid allegiance in turn to the Abbasids, Fatimids and Byzantines² and entered into ephemeral alliances with one another from time to time.

Of these short lived minor dynasties, only that of the Numairids has not been made subject of a special study so far. It did not even rate a mention in Lane Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties* or in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The only genealogical table of the dynasty available so far is that compiled by Zambaur³ but it is based exclusively on data derived from Ibn al-Athīr's Chronicle and is incomplete and inaccurate in parts. The purpose of the present note, which is in no sense exhaustive, is to draw up a more detailed genealogical table and to provide a brief outline history of the Numairids and their relations with their neighbours.

The Banū Numair are first mentioned as auxiliary troops of an Abbasid governor in the Jazīra in 331/942.⁴ In 338/948, they fought on the side of the Hamdānīd Saif ad-daula against the successor of the Egyptian Ikhshidids, Kāfūr.⁵ Soon afterwards Saif ad-daula tried to check the expansion of the tribes in Northern Mesopotamia, which seemed detrimental to the sedentary population. In 344/955 he demanded, and obtained, the humble submission of the Banū Numair who were confined to an area near the sources of the Khābūr.⁶

In 380/990, Waththāb ibn Sābiq an-Numairī who was the deputy (*nā'ib*) of the Hamdānīd Sa'īd ad-daula at Harrān made himself independent there (*istabadda fihā*) (I.Sh., fo., 14v). This event marked the emergence of the Numairid dynasty. In the same year, Waththāb also seized Sarūj (ib. fo. 31r). He took Raqqa from the son of a Hamdānīd slave, Abū' n-Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn Lu'lu' in 398/1007 (ib. fo. 23r). To the northwest, the territory conquered by Waththāb was adjoining on that

¹ For the state of affairs in Northern Syria on the eve the Crusades cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *A Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London, 1932, introd. ; also idem and P. Krauss, art. "al-Mustansir" EI, III, pp. 820 ff.

² It was not surprising to see the envoys of the Abbasid and Fatimid caliph as well as the Byzantine emperor reaching the capital of the Marwānids with diplomas and gifts on the same day. See Amedroz, "The Marwānid dynasty," *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 131-2.

³ *Manuel*, p. 138.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 295.

⁵ Ibn al-'Adīm, I, p. 118.

⁶ Cf. M. Canard, *Sayf ad-daula*, Algiers-Paris, 1934, p. 232, 236-8. Both Mutanabbī and Abū Firās refer to this event in their poems. The Banū Numair proved to be unruly subjects and Saif ad-daula was obliged to intervene again only a year later in 345/957 (ib. p. 410).

of the Byzantines with whom he soon found himself in conflict. According to the Byzantine historian Skylitzes he was the leader of τῶν Νομμεριτῶν καὶ Ἀταφριτῶν Ἀράβων (viz. the Banū Numair and the Ghaṭafān bedouins of Qais)¹ who together with the Banū Kilāb warded off an attack from Nicephoros Uranos who was hotly in pursuit of a rebel near Sarūj. The Byzantine historian refers to him as Waththāb ibn Ja'far which should, of course, be Waththāb ibn Ja'bar as in his grandson's inscription (see above p. 56).

Early in his reign Waththāb had also annexed ar-Ruhā (=Edessa, Urfa) and had bestowed the town on his cousin 'Uṭair (I.Sh. fo. 27r). This Numairid did not reside in the town but let it be administered by a governor. 'Uṭair seems to have been a hot-tempered, suspicious and unjust overlord. He killed his deputy, who had gained popularity with the inhabitants, and thus aroused their wrath. They called the Marwānid Naṣr ad-daula to their help. In 416/1030 ar-Ruhā was "liberated" and 'Uṭair was killed. Naṣr ad-daula eventually returned half the town with one castle to the Numairid's son, Ibn 'Uṭair, and bestowed the other half with a smaller castle, on another Numairid, Ibn Shibl.² In 422/1030, Ibn 'Uṭair sold his share to the Byzantines. According to some sources, this deal covered not only his possessions at ar-Ruhā but also several villages including one called Sinn Ibn 'Uṭair.³ According to the Armenian chronicler Mathew of Edessa (=ar Ruhā) (962-1136), however, Ibn 'Uṭair was allowed to withdraw to a place near Sumaisāt.⁴ Yāqūt identifies Sinn Ibn 'Uṭair as a place near Sumaisāt⁵ and 'Aẓīmī (d. after 556/1161) states that it was in the hands of the Numairids as late as 512/1118 when the Franks seized it from a certain Manī' ibn 'Uṭair.⁶ It is legitimate to suppose, therefore, that the descendants of 'Uṭair either retained or recovered possession of Sinn Ibn 'Uṭair after their departure from ar-Ruhā. No further information is available to me about the relations of this lateral branch of the Numairids, the 'Uṭairids, with the senior branch of Ḥarrān, and it does not appear that the latter ever extended their influence as far north as Sumaisāt.

The founder of the Numairid dynasty, Waththāb, died in 410/1019 and was succeeded by his son Shabīb as Lord of Raqqa Sarūj and Ḥarrān.⁷ As a result of the withdrawal of the Numairids from ar-Ruhā, Shabīb was obliged to pay a tribute to the Byzantines and tried to expand his territory east and northwards rather than in direction of the Byzantines for whom he was no match single handed. In 425/1033 the Numairids raided the 'Uqailid town of Niṣībīn but were forced to withdraw.⁸ A year later,

¹ Quoted by E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 108.

² Ibn al-Athīr, IX, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.* IX, p. 281 bis, Ibn Shaddād, ffo. 27r-28r.

⁴ *Chronique*, trsl. E. Dulaurier, Paris, 1858, p. 46 ff.

⁵ *Mu'jam*, III, p. 169.

⁶ Cl. Cahen, "La chronique abrégée d'al-'Aẓīmī," *Journal Asiatique*, 1938, p. 135.

⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, IX, p. 281 bis.

⁸ *Ibid.* IX, p. 298.

Shabīb enlisted the help of the Byzantines and marched on the Marwānid capital, Āmid, but faced with a Marwānid-ʿUqailid coalition he wisely fell back.¹ In 427/1036 a final and determined effort was made jointly by the Numairids, Marwānids, Mirdāsids and others to deprive the Byzantines of ar-Ruhā. They entered the town but not the citadel and “took great booty of men and flocks and killed a great many people.” Shabīb ibn Waththāb was able to send “160 camel loads of heads to Āmid” but upon hearing that Ḥarrān itself was being threatened he hurriedly withdrew to protect his own capital. A peace treaty was signed in 438/1037.² This gave the Byzantines sole possession of Edessa which they were to hold until 476/1086 when it was taken from them by the Seljuqs.³

Shabīb was now free to devote his attention to other pressing problems. His sister ʿAliyya, known as as-Sayyida, the Lady, had married Naṣr ibn Ṣāliḥ, the Mirdāsīd ruler of Aleppo.⁴ In 429/1037, Shabīb helped his brother-in-law to resist the attacks of Anushtekīn Dizbirī, the Fatimid governor of Damascus.⁵ Naṣr was killed and Dizbirī pressed towards Aleppo. Naṣr’s brother and successor, Thimāl, thought it unwise to linger there. Together with his brother’s widow, and her brother, Shabīb, he withdrew to the Jazīra but not before laying his hands on all movable treasures.⁶

The Fatimids had gained an important advantage. They consolidated their position in Northern Syria by making a treaty with the Byzantines who were authorised to rebuild the Holy Sepulchre. The benevolent neutrality of the Byzantines was, indeed, essential for the protection of the left flank of any Fatimid advance into Iraq. That such a project was being actively pursued by the Fatimids is evident from the fact that they immediately turned to exploit their success in an easterly direction and to secure a crossing-place on the Euphrates.

Shabīb ibn Waththāb recognised their supremacy and paid formal allegiance to the Fatimid caliph, al-Mustansir, by the inclusion of his name in the Friday service in 430/1038.⁷ It is probable that Shabīb’s titles *ṣanīʿat ad-daula wa ṣafwatuhā* were conferred upon him on this occasion (see above pp. 55-56).

At the death of Shabīb, whom Ibn al-Athīr calls “Lord of Raqqa,

¹ *Ibid.* IX, p. 301.

² *Ibid.* IX, pp. 305, 313. Honigmann, (op. cit. pp. 137-8) fails to identify the Shipīp of Mathew of Edessa with Ibn Waththāb (= Shabīb) mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, and is driven to the untenable amendment of Shipīp to Shēbl.

³ Cf. E. Honigmann, art. Orfa in *EI*, III, p. 1066 a.

⁴ Her tomb was shown in the XIIIth century in a mosque she built at Aleppo. See J. Sauvaget, *Les perles choisies*, p. 96.

⁵ Ibn al-ʿAdīm, I, p. 251.

⁶ The Sayyida is said to have taken 50,000 dinars and Thimāl 30,000. See Ibn al-ʿAdīm, p. 256. Ibn al-Athīr, X, p. 20, gives her name as Manīʿa.

⁷ This remained the practice during his reign, except for a few months when, on the suggestion of the Marwānids, he temporarily returned to the allegiance of the Abbasids. See Ibn al-Athīr, IX, pp. 313 and 316.

Sarūj and Harran," in 431/1039, his domains seem to have been divided.¹ Ibn al-Athīr says nothing of such a division but Ibn Shaddād states that Shabīb's son Ḥasan (not known from other sources) succeeded him at Sarūj, and that two of Shabīb's brothers, Muṭā'in and Qawām held Raqqa and Harrān (ffo 23v, 31r). Shabīb's sister, the Sayyida 'Aliyya, who seems to have been a lady of parts, was then resident at Rāfiqa (the twin city of Raqqa). She was disinclined to play a passive rôle and contrived a ruse by which she seized Raqqa from the *ghulām* of her brothers. She immediately invited her late husband's brother, Thimāl the Mirdāsīd, to marry her in order "to uphold her authority and safeguard her interests."²

This did not suit the Fatimid governor, Dizbirī. He sought to counter-balance the advantage gained by Thimāl and bought Dauser (Qal'at Ja'bar) further up the Euphrates so that he might "overtop" Thimāl (*liyakūna muṭillan 'alaihi*).³ According to Ibn Shaddād (fo. 33r), he made this purchase from the Numairid Manī' ibn Shabīb, a nephew of the Sayyida. Bearing in mind the projected invasion of Iraq, Dizbirī tried to gain the support of the Marwānīd Naṣr, by offering to marry his son to one of Naṣr's daughters. This last step proved fatal for Dizbirī. The Fatimid vizier, Jarjarā'i, being already uneasy about the presence of a strong governor in Syria, misinterpreted his intentions. He hastened to invest Thimāl with the governorship of Aleppo on the understanding that he would hand over the city's treasures in full. Dizbirī died suddenly, and Thimāl, invested with the title Mu'izz ad-daula, made his entry into Aleppo in 433/1041.

There he had great difficulty in taking possession of the citadel and turned to the empress Theodora for help. She not only granted his request but bestowed the title of *magistros* on him and raised the Sayyida and several of his other relatives to the rank of patricians.⁴ The Fatimid caliph naturally resented such an arrangement. The Sayyida was sent to Cairo to put matters right. She not only succeeded in restoring the caliph Mustanṣir's confidence in her husband but also secured a diploma in her own name and returned to Aleppo laden with rich gifts. All this did not prevent Thimāl from continuing to pay tribute to the Byzantines who raised him to the rank of *proedros*.⁵ Notwithstanding such double dealing, Thimāl was again the recipient of Fatimid favours in 447/1055, a fact which proves that the Fatimids were anxious not to antagonize the Mirdāsīds through whose territory any expedition bound for Iraq had to pass.

¹ *Ibid.* IX, p. 321. Ibn Shaddād, ffo. 14v, 23r.

² The printed text of Ibn al-'Adīm is faulty here: I. p. 258 should be amended to read:

واستولى اخواه مطاعن وقوام على ما كان في يده من الجزيرة

³ *Ib.* I, p. 259.

⁴ *Ib.* I, p. 262.

⁵ Ibn al-'Adīm's printed text (I, p. 268) has here a title spelt without diacritical points *اريدرس*. I owe its identification with *proedros* to Prof. P. Wittek who also called my attention to E. Stein, "Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, II, p. 29, n. 3.

In the same year events in Iraq itself, perhaps not quite without the encouragement of the Fatimids, enabled them to intervene. Basāsīrī, the governor of Baghdad, who was of Turkish extraction, fled from the Abbasid capital and reached Raḥba on the Euphrates where he was welcomed by Thimāl. Basāsīrī soon gathered a mixed following of Arabs and Turks and made Raḥba his base.

The Fatimids, who were unwilling or unable to send a strong military force to unseat the rival caliph in Baghdad, were yet eager to grasp at any opportunity to stage a *coup d'état* or lend support to any movement which, given adequate equipment and funds, might achieve the same end. They now despatched Mu'ayyad ad-dīn ash-Shirāzī, a missionary and propagandist (*dā'i*), to Northern Syria and the Jazīra in order to rally the greatest possible number of supporters behind Basāsīrī and lead them to Baghdad. The recently published autobiography of this *dā'i*¹ enables us to follow all the stages of his arduous negotiations and provides us with a more balanced view of the "Basāsīrī incident" than had been possible hitherto with the sole aid of the chronicles.

Mu'ayyad, who was a man of vision and ability, had gained much conspiratorial experience in Persia. He had ample funds at his disposal when he set out from Cairo in 448/1056. His first step was to win Thimāl to his cause. This did not meet with the approval of his superior the Fatimid vizier, Yāzūrī, who feared that the strengthening of the alliance with Thimāl would alienate the Numairid, Manī'. Events proved Yāzūrī to have been right. Thimāl and Manī', though linked by family ties, were deeply divided over the ownership of Raqqa. When Thimāl had accepted Aleppo from the Fatimids he did not release his hold on Raqqa which his wife had snatched from her brothers, Manī''s uncles. Manī' after selling Qal'at Ja'bar to Dizbirī regained it immediately after the latter's death in 433/1041 (I.Sh., fo. 33r), and obtained control of what was left of the Numairid territory after the loss of Raqqa. It is not clear when he succeeded in gaining Ḥarrān but it is certain that he was the leading Numairid amir when Mu'ayyad reached the Euphrates in 448/1056.

Manī' faced the Fatimid envoy from across the river and refused to cross it or enter into any negotiations despite Mu'ayyad's promises and blandishments. He would not relent until Raqqa was returned to him. Manī' "is a bounder (a pun on Waththāb which means leaper) as the name of his ancestor implies," wrote Mu'ayyad to the vizier Yāzūrī, who had upbraided him for backing Thimāl too hastily. Mu'ayyad described Manī' as "a headstrong, proud, unreliable youth"² and justified his backing of Thimāl with the latter's long standing association with the Fatimid caliphate. Finally, as the result of the intervention of another of his allies, Dubais ibn Mazyad of Ḥilla³ who considered the co-operation of the Numairids essential for the success of their enterprise, Mu'ayyad

¹ *Sirat al-Mu'ayyad fid-dīn ash-Shirāzī*, ed. Kāmil Ḥusain, Cairo, 1949.

² *Ibid.* p. 120.

³ On the Mazyadid cf. K. V. Zetterstéen in *EI*, III, pp. 496 ff.

brought pressure to bear on Thimāl who reluctantly returned Raqqa to Manī' in 449/1057.¹

Mu'ayyad had no illusions about the enthusiasm of his followers. He realised that they had joined only for the sake of the money and gifts which he was in position to dispense. Their appetites were insatiable, and they seized the slightest pretext to leave the camp and return to their homes. Nevertheless for nearly two years Mu'ayyad continued his attempts to build an alliance. The Mazyadids had already taken the oath of allegiance, but a military expedition against the 'Uqailids was necessary before they followed suit.² The Marwānids, further north, remained obdurate. They had made their peace with the Seljuqs.

The cohesion of Basāsīrī's heterogeneous army did not stand up to the strain imposed on it by tribal and racial differences. Neither the Numairids nor the Mirdāsids were inclined to take an active part in the expedition against Baghdad. Mu'ayyad's mission was a failure and he withdrew to Syria and later to Egypt.

Basāsīrī did succeed ultimately in capturing Baghdad. He deposed the Abbasid al-Qā'im in 451/1059 and proclaimed the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir in the Friday service during forty hectic weeks; then he was driven out by the Seljuqs and cruelly put to death.

For the Numairids the "Basāsīrī incident" was a boon. They had wrested Raqqa from the Mirdāsids and had received lavish gifts from the Fatimids without committing themselves to any hazardous enterprise. In the year of Basāsīrī's victory, 451/1059, Manī', richer and stronger than he had ever been, erected the building at Harrān which bore his inscription with Fatimid titles, but at the same time he took all necessary steps to re-insure himself against a possible Abbasid restoration. He occupied Raḥba and Qarqisiya, thus extending the Numairid possessions further south than they had ever reached. He also gave shelter at Harrān to the heir apparent of the deposed Abbasid caliph, 'Uddat ad-dīn, a four year old boy, who had been smuggled out of Baghdad under Basāsīrī's nose. When news of Basāsīrī's defeat reached Manī' in 452/1060 he gave one of his daughters to 'Uddat ad-dīn, the future caliph al-Muqtadī, and returned him with great honours to Baghdad where his father, Al-Qā'im, had in the meantime regained his throne.³ It is not unlikely that he also, at the same time, changed his allegiance from the Fatimid to the Abbasid caliph but no specific mention of such a change is recorded in the chronicles.

In 452/1060 Manī' was able to assist the Mirdāsīd Maḥmūd against his Uncle Thimāl in a contest for the possession of Aleppo and gave asylum to Maḥmūd when he was defeated. Thimāl had his revenge when his brother

¹ *Sira*, pp. 119-120, 129. Mu'ayyad gives a lively description of his own predicament. "I went from them (the Mazyadids and Numairids) to Ibn Ṣāliḥ (Thimāl) trying to make him meet their demands whilst he persisted in refusing. I was like a man placed between growling lions and clawing, warlike wolves" (Ib. p. 129).

² Ib. p. 130, 134-5.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, X, 7 and 66.

‘Aṭiyya seized Raqqa from Manī‘ in 454/1062.¹ Shortly afterwards Manī‘ died.

Şafadī (d. 645/1345) and Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) agree that Manī‘ had been “a brave and generous warrior” and attribute his death to an attack of epilepsy. Şafadī dates it 454/1062² and Dhahabī Jumāda I 455/April 1063³; no other text, accessible to me, gives the date of Manī‘’s death. The Numairids retained possession of Ḥarrān for another twenty years but the names of their rulers are not recorded.

The combination of political and military circumstances which had facilitated the rise of small independent dynasties in the Jazīra now no longer prevailed. A new and mighty power, the Seljuqs, had made their appearance in Mesopotamia and soon expanded their rule into Syria. They raised the banner of the Abbasid caliph and gave a new lease of life to the eastern caliphate. They inflicted a deadly defeat on the Byzantines at the battle of Mantzikert in 464/1071 and drove the Fatimids into a defensive position.

In the circumstances, neither the Mirdāsids nor the Numairids could defend their possessions. They fell an easy prey to the ‘Uqailid Sharaf ad-daula who had secured the backing of the Seljuqs.

In 463/1070 Sharaf ad-daula dislodged the Mirdāsīd ‘Aṭiyya from Raqqa.⁴ In 474/1081 he took Ḥarrān and appointed a certain Yaḥyā ibn ash-Shāṭir as his governor there.⁵ This man, who had been a slave of the Numairids (I.Sh. fo. 14v) had previously fulfilled the same function on their behalf.⁶ In the same year Sarūj was annexed from the Numairid Ḥasan, who had ruled there since his father Shabīb’s death in 431/1039. In exchange for Sarūj he was given Nişibīn and became a vassal of the ‘Uqailids (I.Sh. fo. 31v).

In 476/1083, while Sharaf ad-daula was besieging Damascus the inhabitants of Ḥarrān rebelled. They were led by their Qādī and a Numairid, Ibn ‘Uṭair, who offered the town to a Turkoman amir.⁷ According to one source the rebellion was in support of a son of Manī‘ who was a minor.⁸ The rising failed and Sharaf ad-daula ruthlessly punished those who had taken part in it and imposed a heavy fine on the inhabitants. Yaḥyā ibn ash-Shāṭir was re-instated in his office which he continued to hold after Sharaf ad-daula’s death in 478/1085 on behalf of the latter’s brother Ibrāhīm (I.Sh. 15r). In 479/1086 the Seljuq Malik-

¹ Ibn al-Qalānīsī, op. cit. p. 90.

² BM. Ms. Add. 23,359 fo 26r.

³ BM Ms. Or. 50, fo 50r.

⁴ Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, IX, p. 163, Ibn Shaddād, fo 23r.

⁵ Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, X, p. 78.

⁶ Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 138) erroneously includes Ibn ash-Shāṭir, whom he calls Muḥammad, in the family tree of the Numairids.

⁷ Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, X, pp. 83-4; Ibn Shaddād, fo 15r; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, op. cit. p. 116; ‘Aẓīmī, op. cit. p. 364.

⁸ Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī quoted by Amedroz in his edition of Ibn al-Qalānīsī, p. 116 n. 1.

shāh reached Harrān. He allotted the town as fief to Muḥammad, Sharaf ad-daula's son, and confirmed Yaḥyā ibn aṣh-Shāṭir as governor.¹

Although no longer of any importance as a political entity, the descendants of the Numairids and their tribesmen were still spasmodically active at the beginning of the twelfth century. In 495/1101 they killed the 'Uqailid Muḥammad at Hīt,² In 499/1105, in conjunction with some Greeks from Edessa, they attacked Afshīn, Alp Arslan's general, on his return from a victorious expedition to Anatolia. This was little more than a bedouin raid which ended in defeat and massacre for the Numairids.³ In 502/110 they gained temporary control of Raqqa but failed to maintain themselves there.⁴ Only in some isolated, well-fortified strongholds do they seem to have been able to cling on a little longer. It is not until 512/1118 that the Crusaders, who had by then replaced the Byzantines as the second great power in the Jazīra, killed Manī' ibn 'Uṭair and seized Sinn Ibn 'Uṭair near Samosata from the Numairids (see above p. 77).

Two years later, in 514/1120, Qal'at an-Najm on the Euphrates was still in the hands of the Numairids.⁵

In the centuries that followed no more is heard of the Banū Numair. Their present-day descendants still live in and around Harrān. They are known by the name of Nmēr (a dialectal form of Numair) and still belong to the Jēs (a dialectal form of Qais), the oldest Bedouin tribe in Mesopotamia⁶ but they are not aware that their ancestors had once been, for nearly a century, the "Lords of Raqqa, Sarūj and Harrān."

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, X, p. 97.

² *Ibid.* X, p. 242.

³ *Ibid.* X, p. 285.

⁴ *Ibid.* X, p. 324.

⁵ 'Azīmī, op. cit. p. 388.

⁶ M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, I, p. 222.

