1116–1126: Ibn al-ʿAdīm on Christian–Muslim Crop Sharing (*munāṣafa*) Treaties

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Abstract: This article reviews descriptions of Christian–Muslim crop sharing treaties (*munāṣafāt*) provided by the seventh/thirteenth-century Aleppine historian Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262) in his chronicle "The Cream of the Milk from the History of Aleppo" (*Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīḫ Ḥalab*). The reports of these agreements help to shed light on three features of Christian–Muslim interactions in the Syrian Levant of the crusading period; first, that an appreciation of the ways in which Ibn al-ʿAdīm emphasises the historical significance of his family can help us to better understand his coverage of the early decades of crusader settlement; second, that the crusader movement probably did not facilitate the transfer of diplomatic mechanisms and infrastructures of agricultural administration from the Latin-Christian sphere to the Eastern Mediterranean; and third, that a combination of workforce shortages, a reluctance among Muslim majority communities to accept Frankish rule, and ideological pragmatism shaped Frankish land-sharing policy in rural Syria.

Source

Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīḫ Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, 2 vols (Damascus: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 384, 397, 400, 426–427, trans. James Wilson.

وَهادَنَ ياروقتاش صاحبَ أنطاكية روجار، وحمل إليه مالا وسلّم إليه حصن القُبَّة، ورتّب مسيرَ القوافل من حلب إلى القبلة عليه، وأن يؤخذ المكس منهم له (...)

وصالحهم إيلغازي إلى آخر سنة أربع عشرة، على أنَّ لهم المعرّة وكفر طاب والجبل والبارة، وضِياعاً من جَبَل السُّمَّاق برسم هاب، وضياعاً من ليلون برسم تل أغدي، وضياعاً من بلد عَزاز برسم عزاز (...)

فكتب إلى ولده ونوّابه يأمرهم بصُلح الفرنج على ما يريدون، فصالحوهم على

[Truce of 511/1117] Yārūqtāš [Turkish ruler of Aleppo, r. Muḥarram–Ṣafar 511/May–June 1117] concluded a truce (*hādana*) with the Lord of Antioch (*ṣāḥib Anṭākiya*) Rūǧār [Roger of Salerno, r. 507–513/1112–1119]. He [Yārūqtāš] transported money (*mālan*) to him [Roger], and surrendered the fortress of al-Qubba, and arranged for convoys from Aleppo in this direction, which carried the tax (*al-maks*) [revenues] from these areas to him (…)

[Truce of 514/1120] Īl-Ġāzī reached a compromise with them [the Franks of Antioch] towards the end of the year [5]14 [winter 1120–1121], stipulating that they [the Franks] would receive [the settlements of] al-Maʿarra, Kafar Ṭāb, al-Ǧubal and al-Bāra, and villages (*ḍiyāʿan*) from the Ǧabal al-Summāq, with a tax (*rasm*) as is paid in Hāb, and villages from Laylūn with a tax as is paid in Tell Aġdī, and villages from ʿAzāz with a tax as is paid in ʿAzāz (…).

[Truce of 515/1121] And he [Īl-Ġhāzī] wrote to his son and his deputies (*nawwābihi*) ordering them to make peace with the Franks on the terms that they wanted. And so, they

سرمين والجزر ولَيلون وأعمال الشمال
على أنّها للفرنج، وما حول حلب
للفرنج منه النّصف، حتّى أنّهم ناصفوهم
في رحى العربية (…)

concluded a treaty of surrender according to which Sarmīn, al-Ǧazr, Laylūn, and the Northern territories would belong to the Franks, and the Franks would receive half (al-niṣf) of the areas around Aleppo, so that they would equally share (nāṣafūhum) the Arab mill (raḥā l-ʿarabiyya) with them (…)

ووقعت الهدنة بين البرسقيّ والفرنج
على أن يناصفهم في جبل السُّماق
وغيره ممّا كان بأيدي الفرنج (…)

[Truce of 518/1125] A truce was signed between al-Bursuqī [Aqsunqur al-Bursuqī] and the Franks, stipulating that they would equally share (yunāṣifuhum) the Ǧabal al-Summāq and the other regions that were under the control of the Franks (…)

فراسله جوسلين على أن تكون الضّياع
ما بين عزاز وحلب مناصفةً وأن يكون
الحرب بينهما على غير ذلك، فاستقرّ
هذا الأمر.

[Truce of 519/1126] And Ǧūslīn [Joscelin I of Edessa, r. 512-525/1118–1131] informed him that the villages between ʿAzaz and Aleppo would be shared evenly (munāṣafatan), and that there would be war (al-ḥarb) between them if he refused these terms, and this settled the matter.

Authorship & Work

[§1] Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262) was a historian, teacher, diplomat and specialist in Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), who spent most of his life in the Northern Syrian metropole of Aleppo. Ibn al-ʿAdīm was born into the prominent Ḥanafī Banū l-Abū Ǧarāda or Banū l-ʿAdīm family of Aleppo. He was appointed teacher (mudarris) at the Ḥanafī Madrasa al-Šādbaḫtiyya at the age of twenty-eight, and ten years later was hired by the illustrious Ḥanafī Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiyya of Aleppo. He also took part in several diplomatic embassies to Anatolia, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt on behalf of various Ayyūbid rulers of Aleppo and Damascus.[1]

[§2] Ibn al-ʿAdīm wrote a number of books on a range of subjects, from children's education to calligraphy. But he is best known for his contributions to Arabic historiography, particularly his hugely detailed biographical dictionary of the prominent political and intellectual notables (al-aʿyān) of Aleppo, "The Sought Object of Desire in the History of Aleppo" (Buġyat al-ṭalab fī tārīḫ Ḥalab).[2] Even though only ten of the original forty volumes of this massive work have survived, the Buġya is the greatest exemplification of the author's historical capabilities. In addition to offering detailed reports on political and intellectual figures associated with the city of Aleppo, Ibn al-ʿAdīm provided direct references to many of his sources. From these references, we can discern that he drew upon over 500 books, many of which are no longer extant, in addition to numerous personal testimonies whilst writing the preserved volumes of the Buġya.[3] David Morray has suggested that much of the Buġya was written in the early late 650s/1250s and early 660s/1260s, after Ibn al-ʿAdīm fled Aleppo for Cairo, prior to the Mongol conquest of the Northern Syrian city in 658/1260.[4]

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[1] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Iršād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb, ed. Margoliouth, vol. 16, pp. 5–57; al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt, ed. Ritter, vol. 22, pp. 421–426; Morray, Ayyubid Notable, pp. 1–2, 122–143, 151–173; Eddé, Kamāl al-Dīn.

[2] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Buġyat al-ṭalab fī tārīḫ Ḥalab, ed. Zakkār.

[3] Eddé, Sources arabes; al-Rawāḍiyya, Ittiǧāhāt.

[4] Morray, Ayyubid Notable, pp. 154–175.

[§3] The excerpts above are taken from "The Cream of the Milk of the History of Aleppo" (*Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīḫ Ḥalab*). The *Zubda* offers a detailed linear narrative of Aleppine history from the Muslim take-over of the city in 16/637 until 641/1243. It is arranged according to the reigns of the city's secular rulers, and with a few minor exceptions, generally sticks to a chronological framework. Although the emphasis placed on particular periods varies considerably according to the role played by Aleppo within the broader historical narrative, the last 200 years (from 420–641/1030–1243) account for roughly 70 percent of the chronicle's total word count. The oldest surviving manuscript of the *Zubda*, copied from an autograph manuscript written in the author's hand, is dated to 11 Rabīʿ II 666/30 December 1267.[5] Sections of the *Zubda* were translated into Latin and French as early as the nineteenth century, and it has long been drawn upon by Western historians of the crusades, particularly for the first three decades of crusader settlement.[6]

[§4] A second-hand report from the Damascene chronicler al-Ḏahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352–1353), quoting a non-extant portion of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's writings, claims that Ibn al-ʿAdīm was "encouraged" (*ḥassana*) to begin compiling a "history for Aleppo" (*tārīḫ lī-Ḥalab*) by the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ġāzī (r. 582–613/1186–1216).[7] This indicates that Ibn al-ʿAdīm wrote the *Zubda* sometime in the thirty-year period between 613–641/1216–1243, possibly completing the latter parts of the chronicle as events happened in real time. Its abrupt end in 641/1243 was probably caused by the author's preoccupation with other projects, especially his vast biographical dictionary, the *Buġya*, and the growing threat of a Mongol attack upon Northern Syria. Regardless of their dates of composition, the two projects were inextricably linked, as there are several passages in the *Zubda* that are repeated verbatim, or in slightly extended form in the *Buġya*.[8]

Content & Context

[§5] The quoted extracts, taken from Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubda*, describe a series of temporary truces (*hudna*) agreed between the crusader Principality of Antioch and the neighbouring Muslim polity of Aleppo during the period 510–520/1116–1126. In addition to the concession of certain settlements and the payment of tribute, the reported agreements also stipulated the granting of taxes (*rasm*) or tax revenues (*maks*) from certain regions, and the equal division (*munāṣafa*) of specific areas with the Western European crusaders and settlers. As such, the land sharing (*munāṣafa*) clauses contained in some of these agreements were just one component of a broader peace treaty (*hudna*). Bogdan Samarandache coined the term "partition truce" to describe these treaties.[9]

[§6] The excerpts are taken from sections dedicated to the brief rules of Yārūqtāš (r. Muḥarram–Ṣafar 511/May–June 1117), Īl-Ġāzī (r. 512–516/1118–1122) and Aqsunqur al-Bursuqī (r. 519–520/1125–1126), all of whom were military figures of Turkish descent who managed to establish themselves as rulers of Aleppo between 510–520/1116–1126. The first extract refers to a truce agreed in 511/1117, the second was agreed in the winter of 514/1120, the third in 515/1121, the fourth in 518/1125, and the fifth in 519/1126. Not every Antiochene–Aleppine peace treaty contained in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's coverage of this period in the *Zubda* are included in these extracts. Two sixth/twelfth-century Syrian-based Arabic-Islamic historians, namely

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[5] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīḫ Ḥalab*, Paris, BNF, MS Arabe 1666, fol. 268.

[6] Michaud (ed.), *Bibliothèque des croisades*, vol. 4, p. xx: "Il ne nous a été vraiment utile que pour la première période des croisades." ("It has not really been useful for us except for the early crusading period").

[7] Al-Ḏahabī, *Taʾrīḫ al-Islām*, ed. Tadmurī, vol. 48, p. 424.

[8] See for example Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 1, pp. 422–423; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 4, p. 1964.

[9] Smarandache, *Conceptualizing Frankish-Muslim Partition Truces*, pp. 9–32.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAẓīmī (d. after 556/1161) and Abū Yaʿla b. al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160), also produced accounts of some of these peace treaties, but neither provided the same level of detail as Ibn al-ʿAdīm.[10] Aside from these surviving texts, Ibn al-ʿAdīm would also have drawn upon other non-extant chronicles from the Northern Syrian Arabic tradition, especially a second lost local history of Aleppo by al-ʿAẓīmī, and the collected writings of Ḥamdān al-Aṯāribī (d. 541/1147) and Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ (d. 627/1230), of which only select extracts have survived. These sources would have been supplemented by second-hand eyewitness testimonies given to family members by the author's great-grandfather, the chief religious judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāt*) Abū Ġānim Muḥammad b. Abī Ġarāda (d. 534/1139), who played a prominent role in the political machinations of Aleppo during this period.[11]

[§7] Due to a disparity of more than 100 years between when these treaties were negotiated and their historiographical documentation, there are two temporal contexts that should be taken into consideration when reading Ibn al-ʿAdīm's descriptions of these agreements The first is the prolonged political crisis that engulfed Aleppo between 510–520/1116–1126, which raised the prospect of the city falling under Frankish rule. Thomas Asbridge has demonstrated how the early rulers of the Principality of Antioch employed a combination of targeted raids and punitive diplomatic settlements to diminish the territory under Aleppine control. This policy, which led to key frontier settlements like ʿAzāz and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān falling into Antiochene dominion, culminated in Baldwin II of Jerusalem's (r. 511–525/1118–1131) siege of Aleppo in the winter months of 518/1124–1125.[12] The tax revenue and land sharing agreements cited here therefore form the diplomatic backdrop to efforts by early Frankish rulers of Antioch to place Aleppo under Frankish control during the first three decades of crusader settlement.

[§8] Yet this crisis also provided opportunities for what Claude Cahen termed the "republic of notables" to assert their own power and play an active role in Aleppine political activities.

> "The real leaders are the chiefs of the people, especially the *raʾīs*, who remain after princes have departed, have a large clientele, negotiate directly with foreign sovereigns, and who sometimes eliminate the princes. Aleppo is a republic of notables."[13]

[§9] There are few periods of Aleppine history during which the influence of notables (*al-āʿyān*), and particularly members of the Banū l-ʿAdīm, was more apparent than in the decade of 510–520/1116–1126. The scale of the internal crisis, and the role played by Ibn al-ʿAdīm's ancestors in saving Aleppo from the ignominy of Frankish rule are central features in the *Zubda's* narrative of this period.[14]

[§10] Yet, this also raises important questions about authorial bias, particularly when we consider how these glorious episodes involving the author's grandfather and great-grandfather may have been perceived by Ibn al-ʿAdīm. Therefore, the second relevant temporal context to consider when reading these extracts is how these events may have been viewed in seventh/thirteenth century Aleppo. For several generations prior to Ibn al-ʿAdīm's birth, the Ḥanafī Banū l-ʿAdīm of Aleppo had occupied the prestigious position of chief religious judge in an almost uninterrupted line. This came to an abrupt end in 579/1183 when Saladin (*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb*, r. 569–589/1174–1193) captured Aleppo. Saladin stripped Ibn al-

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[10] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ḏayl tārīḫ Dimašq*, ed. Zakkār, p. 322; al-ʿAẓīmī, *Tārīḫ Ḥalab*, ed. Zaʿrūr, pp. 370, 375.

[11] Cobb, Hamdan al-Atharibi's History of the Franks; Eddé, Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ.

[12] Asbridge, How the Crusades; Asbridge, Significance.

[13] Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, p. 269: "Les vrais chefs sont les chefs du peuple, raïs en particulier, qui durent tandis que les princes passent, qui ont, eux, une nombreuse clientèle, qui negocient directement avec les souverains étrangers, qui, parfois, suppriment les princes. Alep est une république de notables."

[14] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 1, pp. 422–423.

ʿAdīm's father of this station in 579/1183 and elevated a Šāfiʿī candidate in his place.[15] Although their reduced status did not prevent the Banū l-ʿAdīm from continuing to play a leading role in Aleppine political and cultural life during Ibn al-ʿAdīm's lifetime, it would have been plausible for the author to look back upon the early sixth/twelfth century with some degree of nostalgia. Similarly, the growing Mongol threat from the East, especially in the final decades of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's lifetime, could have provoked anxiety about the future survival of Aleppo's notable class and his family's legacy. In this context, it would be conceivable that ancestors who had helped the city to thwart a similar external threat in the early sixth/twelfth century could have been represented in an overly positive light in the *Zubda*. This also leads to questions about the impartiality of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's depiction of the danger posed by the crusaders to Aleppo between 510–520/1116–1126. Against this backdrop, these treaties are a key element in any assessment of this threat.

Contextualization, Analysis & Interpretation

[§11] The treaties summarised in the above excerpts help to shed light on three features of transmediterranean history and Christian–Muslim relations:

1. The crusading movement did not facilitate the transfer of new diplomatic mechanisms and infrastructures of agricultural administration from the Latin-Christian sphere to the Eastern Mediterranean.
2. Labour shortages and Muslim majority communities in rural Syria played an important role during the early stages of Frankish settlement.
3. Ideological pragmatism underpinned Frankish land-sharing policies in the region.

[§12] Michael Köhler was the first to propose the theory that *condominia* or *munāṣafa* ("equal-division") clauses were introduced to the Eastern Mediterranean by early Frankish rulers. The first reference to a *munāṣafa* clause in agreements between the crusader states and their Muslim neighbours was made by Ibn al-Qalānisī, during his description of a treaty that the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem concluded with Damascus in 502/1108.[16] This earlier precedent supports the notion that Baldwin II of Jerusalem (r. 512–525/1118–1131) introduced the *munāṣafa* clauses to Northern Syria during the eleven-year period when he served as regent of Antioch between 513–520/1119–1126.[17]

[§13] But Köhler's hypothesis that the first crusade enabled the transmission of new agricultural administrative practices to the region can be called into question by the use of concepts similar to *munāṣafa* clauses in diplomatic agreements brokered centuries earlier. As Köhler himself, and more recently Bogdan Smarandache have outlined, comparable *munāṣafa* clauses can be found in accounts dealing with the initial Arabic-Islamic expansion into Syria and the surrounding areas during the first/seventh century.[18] For example, the Greek monk and chronicler Theophanes the Confessor (d. 201–202/817–818) reported that as part of a truce negotiated in 65/685, the Byzantines and Umayyads agreed to "share in equal parts the tax

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[15] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 3, p. 1211; Morray, *Ayyubid Notable*, pp. 40–41: "wa-waliya al-quḍāʾ bi-Ḥalab wa-aʿmālihā fī sana ḫams wa-sabʿīn wa-ḫamsamiʾa fī dawlat al-malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl b. Maḥmūd b. Zankī, wa-min baʿdihi fī dawlat ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Mawdūd, wa-dawlat ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī b. Mawdūd, wa-ṣadran min dawlat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, fa-intaqalat al-manāṣib al-dīniyya bi-ḥukm al-maḏhab min al-ḥanafiyya ilā l-šāfiʿiyya, fa-ʿuzila wālidī ʿan al-quḍāʾ fī sana ṯamān wa-sabʿīn wa-ḫamsamiʾa, wa-waliyahu al-qāḍī Muḥī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī qāḍī Dimašq."
[16] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ḏayl tārīḫ Dimašq*, pp. 263–264.
[17] Wilson, *Ransom*, p. 666.
[18] Köhler, Munāṣafa; Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 312–319; Köhler, *Allianzen*, pp. 418–428; Smarandache, *Partition Truces*, pp. 11–12, 46–47.

revenue of Cyprus, Armenia, and Iberia."[19] Further details on the legal interpretations of *munāṣafa*, as it related to harvest-sharing and rights of succession, can be found in the fifth/eleventh-century legal writings of the Ḥanafī jurist from Transoxania, al-Saraḫsī (d. 483/1090).[20] These examples suggest that legal and diplomatic frameworks for *munāṣafa* agreements long pre-dated the arrival of the first crusaders.

[§14] The second part of Köhler's hypothesis specified that the *condominia* or *munāṣafa* mechanism was applied in an innovative manner during the early crusading period.[21] Köhler claimed that a new broader form of *munāṣafa* clause—whereby there was an implied sharing of administrative and judicial power structures in the areas named in the treaty, rather than the simple division of tax revenues—was implemented by the early rulers of the Latin East. Köhler suggested that this was a result of previous knowledge of what he viewed as comparable *condominia* practices in Western Europe, known in modern scholarship as *coseigneuries*, and later *paréages* or pariages.[22] For Köhler, these *munāṣafa* clauses provided support for his main thesis, namely, that the crusades to the Near East did not spark a conflict rooted in ideological antipathy. Instead, both Christian and Muslim elites utilised a combination of military and diplomatic measures in order to ensure their survival or expand their influence.[23]

[§15] The concise nature of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's reports have provoked disagreement over the terms of these treaties and their application. Thomas Asbridge believed that some of these truces "probably had more to do with legal rights than physical possession."[24] More recently, Bogdan Smarandache has suggested that the *munāṣafa* elements of these agreements represented little more than an extension of long-standing tributary arrangements.[25] Yet, even if there are some questions about the viability of his transmediterranean "transfer thesis," Köhler's interpretation of the wide-ranging implementation of these *munāṣafa* clauses is supported by copies of later agreements negotiated during the seventh/thirteenth century between the Mamluks and their Frankish contemporaries. Some full draft versions of these treaties are contained in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's (d. 692/1293) "The Honorary Present of the Days and Nights in the Life of al-Malik al-Manṣūr" (*Tašrif al-ayyām wa-l-ʿuṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*) and al-Qalqašandī's (d. 821/1418) ninth/fifteenth-century handbook on the secretarial arts, "Daybreak for the Night-Blind Regarding the Composition of Chancery Documents" (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā fī ṣināʿat al-inšāʾ*).[26] This section of a truce agreed between the Sultan Qalāwūn and the Lady Margaret of Tyre (r. 683–690/1284–1291) in Ǧumādā I 684/July 1285 deals explicitly with procedures for shared judiciary practices:

> "When anyone of either party is killed, and the killer is found; if he is a Muslim, the delegates (*nuwwāb*) of our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr—God grant him victory—shall judge him (*yaḥkum*) in accordance with the administrative law of the noble and pure sultanate (*siyāsat al-salṭana al-šarīfa al-muṭahhara*). If he is a Christian of the people of Tyre, the Lady Dame Margaret, the lady of Tyre (*al-malika Dām Marārīt malikat Ṣūr*), shall judge him. Each party in the presence of a delegate of the other party shall proceed to judgment in accordance with the laws of the two parties. That shall be the procedure in regard to all who are culpable of

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[19] Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango and Scott, p. 506. See also al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. Munaǧǧid, pp. 181–183; Lynch, Cyprus, pp. 536–542.

[20] Al-Saraḫsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*, ed. Šāfiʿī and ʿInānī, vol. 23, p. 44; Smarandache, *Partition Truces*, pp. 33–45.

[21] Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 312–319; Köhler, *Allianzen*, pp. 418–428.

[22] Laffont, Manifestations .

[23] Köhler, *Alliances*, pp. 312–319; Köhler, *Allianzen*, pp. 418–428.

[24] Asbridge, *Creation*, pp. 81–82.

[25] Smarandache, *Partition Truces*, pp. 11–12, 46–47.

[26] Al-Qalqašandī, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 14, pp. 31–63; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tašrif al-ayyām*, ed. Kāmil, pp. 20–22, 103–110, 210–211; Holt, Treaties, p. 67.

assault, exceed all proper bounds, or commit murder (*fī kull man taʿaddā wa-asrafa wa-iġtāla*). The delegates of our lord sultan (*nāʾib mawlānā l-sulṭān*) shall be charged with the punishment of the Muslim, and the delegates of the current lady of Tyre, shall be charged with the punishment of the Christian."[27]

[§16] Whilst acknowledging that some features of these later diplomatic agreements would have matured throughout the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, Köhler considered the designation of specific areas in these Antiochene–Aleppine truces as indicative of a division of administrative and judicial authority in these regions. There is also some anecdotal evidence in the literary sources that lends support to Köhler's hypothesis. In a frequently quoted passage, the sixth/twelfth century Arabic-Islamic travel writer Ibn Ǧubayr (d. 614/1217) described what appears to be a rural Christian–Muslim *munāṣafa* community in the vicinity of the Syrian town of Bānyās in 580/1184:

> "The labour of this valley is [shared] between the Franks and the Muslims; within the zone of partnership (*bi-ḥadd al-muqāsama*) they share (*yatašāṭirūn*) the revenue on equal terms and the livestock is also shared, and no disputes arise between them."[28]

[§17] Similarly, Usāma b. Munqiḏ (d. 584/1188), provides insight into the contemporaneous development of shared Christian-Muslim judicial mechanisms during periods of negotiated peace. Usāma b. Munqiḏ was a minor political figure and writer of Arab descent who moved between most of the major Muslim courts in the Eastern Mediterranean. One section of Usāma's colourful memoirs describes how he successfully brought a case against the Frankish lord of Bānyās in the court of Fulk IV of Anjou and King of Jerusalem (r. 1131–1143). According to Usāma b. Munqiḏ's account, the lord of Bānyās had stolen sheep from his lands at a time when his property should have been protected by the terms of a peace treaty. The lord of Bānyās was therefore ordered by King Fulk to pay Usāma financial compensation:

> "I once brought a case before them [the Franks] concerning some flocks of sheep that the lord of Bānyās had seized from the wood while there existed a truce (*ṣulḥ*) between us. At the time, I was based in Damascus. I said to the king, Fulk, son of Fulk: 'This man has encroached upon our rights and seized our flocks right at the time of lambing. But they gave birth and the lambs died, so he returned them to us after so many lambs were lost'. Then the king turned to six or seven knights: 'Arise and render a judgement for him.' So, they left his audience-chamber, sequestering themselves and deliberating until their minds were all agreed upon one decision, and then they returned to the king's audience chamber. 'We have passed judgement,' they said, 'to the effect that the lord of Bānyās should pay compensation equal to the value of the lambs that were lost from their flock of

[27] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tašrīf al-ayyām*, ed. Kāmil, p. 108: "wa-ʿala ānnahu matā qutila aḥad min al-ǧihatayn wa-waǧada al-qātil fa-in kāna l-qātil musliman yaḥkum fīhi nuwwāb mawlānā l-sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr—naṣarahu Allah—bimā taqtaḍīhi siyāsat al-salṭana al-šarīfa al-muṭahhara, wa-in kāna naṣrāniyyan min ahl Ṣūr taḥkum fīhi al-malika Dām Marārīt malikat Ṣūr, kulla ǧiha bi-ḥuḍūr nāʾib min al-ǧiha al-uḫrā yubāšir al-ḥukm fīhi bimā taqtaḍīhi aḥkām al-ǧihatayn. Wa-ḏālika yakūn al-ḥukm fī kull man taʿaddā wa-asrafa wa-ġtāla, yatawallā ḏālika nuwwāb mawlānā l-sulṭān taʾdīb al-muslim, wa-taʾdīb al-naṣrānī yatawallāhu nuwwāb al-malikat mālikat Ṣūr"; trans. adapted from Holt, Treaties, p. 72.
[28] Ibn Ǧubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. Wright, p. 300: "wa-ʿimāla tilka l-baṭḥāʾ bayna l-Ifranǧ wa-bayna l-muslimīn lahum fī ḏālika ḥadd yuʿraf bi-ḥadd al-muqāsama fa-hum yatašāṭirūn al-ġalla ʿalā istiwāʾ wa-mawāšīhum muḫtaliṭa wa-lā ḥayf yaǧrī baynahum fīha (…)"; Ibn Ǧubayr, *Travels*, trans. Broadhurst, p. 315.

sheep.' And so, the king ordered him to pay compensation. He entreated me and begged and pleaded with me until I accepted from him 400 *dīnār*."[29]

[§18] These examples lend credence to Köhler's broader reading of the *munāṣafat* clauses within these treaties, in that they went beyond simple tributary agreements to include shared Christian–Muslim judicial mechanisms and land management practices. Additionally, reading these agreements from a purely strategic or diplomatic perspective risks overlooking the mutual ties of dependency that existed between rural and urban communities in the Eastern Mediterranean during this period. As Yossef Rapoport noted:

> "In most accounts of Islamic history, the peasants are relegated to the role of passive extras, toiling in the background while the heroes of Islamic history fight it out for faith and glory."[30]

[§19] It cannot be disputed that specific rural areas—and therefore the communities who cultivated these areas—were central components of these treaties. Ibn al-ʿAdīm's account of the 514/1120, 515/1121, 518/1125, and 519/1126 agreements include repeated references to "villages" (*ḍiyāʿ*) in the vicinity of several smaller settlements such as Ḥāb, Tell Aġdī, Sarmīn and the regions of Laylūn and al-Ǧubal. Yet for much of the period between 514–519/1120–1126, most of the "strategic hotspots" on the Antioch–Aleppo frontier that controlled access to these villages—such as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Afāmiya (*Apāmeā*), Kafar Ṭāb, al-Aṯārib, ʿAzāz, Zardanā, and Ḥārim—remained firmly under Frankish control.[31] The recurrent naming of these villages therefore indicates that they had a value unconnected to their proximity to key strategic sites on the Northern Syrian frontier. This was probably due to the high agrarian yields produced in these traditionally fertile areas.[32]

[§20] Additionally, the identification of specific villages to which the Antiochenes controlled access may also be indicative of a broader issue that impacted upon crusader settlement policies, rural labour shortages. One potential reading of these references to specific rural sites is that physical possession of these "strategic hotspots" was not sufficient for the Principality of Antioch to farm the attendant agricultural spaces independently. The rulers of Antioch were therefore forced to cooperate with their Aleppine neighbours in order to harvest the crop yield and accrue commercial and tax revenues from these areas. This would provide a rationale as to why the Franks were willing to negotiate *munāṣafa* clauses as part these treaties, despite enjoying military and diplomatic hegemony over the frontier fortifications that controlled Aleppine access to many of these villages. This would correspond with what Joshua Prawer has described as a "shortage of manpower" in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem during this same period.[33]

[§21] Further support for this argument can be found in the apparent refusal of Muslim communities in other parts of the Levant to cultivate rural areas for their newly installed Frankish overlords. According to William of Tyre (d. 479/1186), local Muslim communities

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[29] Usāma b. Munqiḏ, *Kitāb al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 64–65: "wa-qad ḥākamtuhum marra ʿalā quṭʿān ġanam aḥadahā ṣāḥib Bānyās min al-šaʿārāʾ wa-baynanā wa-baynahum ṣulḥ, wa-ana iḏ ḏāka bi-Dimašq. Fa-qultu li-l-malik Fulk b. Fulk 'hāḏā taʿaddā ʿalaynā wa-aḥaḏa dawābbanā, wa-huwa waqt wilād al-ġanam. Fa-waladat wa-mātat awlāduhā wa-raddahā ʿalaynā baʿda an atlafahā.' Fa-qāla al-malik li-sitta sabʿa min al-fursān 'qūmū iʿmalū lahu ḥukmān.' Fa-ḫaraǧū min maǧlisihi wa-iʿtazalū wa-tašāwarū ḥattā ittafaqa raʾīhum kulluhum ʿalā šayʾ wāḥid wa-ʿādū ilā maǧlis al-malik. Fa-qālū 'qad ḥakamnā anna ṣāḥib Bānyās ʿalayhi ġarāma mā atlafa min ġanamihim. Fa-amarahu al-malik bi-l-ġarāma. Fa-tawassala ilayya wa-ṯaqqala ʿalayya wa-saʾalanī ḥattā aḫaḏtu minhu arbaʿ miʾat dīnār"; Usāma b. Munqiḏ, *The Book of Contemplation*, trans. Cobb, pp. 76–77.

[30] Rapoport, *Rural Economy*, p. xix; Humphreys, *Islamic History*, p. 284.

[31] Asbridge, *Creation*, pp. 45–91; Buck, *Principality*, pp. 34, 245.

[32] Kaniewski et al., Medieval Coastal Syrian Vegetation Patterns, p. 252.

[33] Prawer, Colonization Activities, pp. 1082–1086.

openly rejected orders to work farmlands in the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the reign of Baldwin I (r. 495–513/1100–1118).[34] Baldwin I overcame this problem by replacing these non-compliant Muslim farmhands with Eastern Christian labourers from beyond the River Jordan.[35]

[§22] It is impossible to determine whether the villages named in these treaties were inhabited by majority Muslim communities during the early sixth/twelfth century. Additionally, the populations of the Ǧabal al-Summāq, ʿAzāz, Laylūn, and al-Ǧazr would likely have decreased as a consequence of the first crusade and the sustained periods of conflict and raiding that followed.

[§23] However, it is possible to reconstruct the land administration practices in rural Syria prior to the first crusade. Upon their arrival in the Levant, early Frankish rulers would have encountered entrenched infrastructures of agricultural production that had been in place for several centuries. Within this system, the villages in rural areas around Aleppo were viewed as "property" (milk) owned by the urban notables of the city, which were passed down on a hereditary basis.[36] These outlying villages had long constituted a key source of financial revenue for Aleppo's urban elite. For example, Ibn al-ʿAdīm's family had owned land in the region of Aleppo since the fourth/tenth century.[37] The seventh/thirteenth century Aleppine historiographer and geographer Ibn Šaddād (d. 684/1285) tells us that, during his lifetime, ʿAzāz was "a large district consisting of almost 300 villages, which for the most part are properties for the people of Aleppo (milk li-ahl Ḥalab)".[38]

[§24] This arrangement, by which Northern Syrian rural areas were effectively controlled and managed by Aleppine notables over a span of several centuries, would have led to the establishment of long-standing relationships between the notables and these local agricultural communities. Circumventing these conventional practices would have presented severe challenges for the newly arrived Latin-Christian settlers, especially if their labour force was inadequate for the establishment of a new system of agrarian land management.

[§25] Throughout the fifth/eleventh century, Byzantine emperors were able to gain influence with members of the Mirdāsid dynasty of Aleppo—who would have had some degree of authority over the Aleppine notables—by granting honorific titles.[39] Theoretically, this influence could then be used to manage the situation on the ground among the rural communities if the physical frontiers shifted. Seljuq Turkish potentates of Aleppo were able to subsume the administrative infrastructure of the notables into their governmental structures when they assumed control over the city. Turkish rulers also had the opportunity to enhance their support among the urban elite through the reduction or withdrawal of taxes.[40] These options were not available to the nascent crusader polity of Antioch during the early sixth/twelfth century, necessitating the insertion of munāṣafa clauses into these truces. These treaties effectively outsourced the management of these newly captured areas to their Aleppine neighbours.

[§26] An analogous example of outsourcing can be seen in the case of Ḥamdān al-Aṯāribī (d. 541/1147). Ḥamdān was a diplomat and literary scholar who worked for various Muslim

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[34] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, vol. 1, lib. 9, cap. 19, pp. 445–446.

[35] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, vol. 1, lib. 11, cap. 27, pp. 535–536.

[36] Morray, *Ayyubid Notable*, pp. 126–128.

[37] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 1, pp. 10–11, vol. 9, p. 3599.

[38] Ibn Šaddād, *al-Aʿlāq al-ḫaṭīra*, ed. ʿAbbāra, vol. 1,2, p. 73: "wa-lahā kūra kabīra taštamil ʿalā qurā yunāhiz ʿadaduhā ṯalāṯamiʾa qarya, akṯaruha milk li-ahl Ḥalab."; *Description de La Syrie du Nord*, trans. Eddé-Terrasse, p. 46.

[39] Beihammer, Muslim Rulers, pp. 164–171.

[40] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 1, pp. 403, 425.

rulers of Aleppo during the first half of the sixth/twelfth century.[41] According to testimony given to Ibn al-ʿAdīm by Ḥamdān's descendants, Sir Manuel (*sīr Manuwīl*) the Frankish lord of al-Aṯārib (*ṣāḥib al-Aṯārib*) granted Ḥamdān (*fa-aʿṭāhu*) the village of Maʾarbuniyya, near Maʿarrat Miṣrīn in 521/1127–1128. Maʾarbuniyya was gifted to Ḥamdān as a reward for providing medical care to Sir Manuel. Sir Manuel was also supposedly the maternal nephew of the lord of Antioch (*ibn uḫt ṣāḥib Anṭākiya*), although an attempt to corroborate these details in the surviving charters of the Principality of Antioch has produced inconclusive results.[42] Yet, even if certain details are questionable, it remains significant that Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Ḥamdān's descendants believed that this land grant took place.

[§27] Ḥamdān's career has typically been analysed from the perspective of Christian–Muslim relations and cross-cultural diplomacy. But what if we view Ḥamdān's appointment as a logical extension of the *munāṣafat* clauses? What if this was a way for a Frankish ruler of al-Aṯārib to appoint a Muslim administrator to govern a rural majority Muslim community that was unwilling to accept Frankish dominion? While we cannot know this for certain, Ḥamdān was apparently a proficient custodian of Maʾarbuniyya. Ibn al-ʿAdīm recorded how:

> "When the lord of al-Aṯārib granted the village of Maʾarbuniyya to Ḥamdān toward the end of the year 521 [1127–1128], it was a ruin on a desolate hill. Ḥamdān settled there with his family. He built a house, brought farmers and plowmen, cultivated the land, grew produce, and made a good income from that."[43]

[§28] The Principality of Antioch's inability or reluctance to farm these agricultural territories independently also fits within the broader historiographical consensus on Frankish rural settlement in the Levant. The current model—most clearly articulated by Ronnie Ellenblum—is based upon the conclusion that the crusader states confined their settlement activities to areas inhabited by Eastern Christian communities, and in the regions "where there was a Muslim majority, there was no Frankish settlement".[44] According to Ellenblum, this was a decision rooted in the religious sentiments that had set the crusading movement in motion, "the Franks, whose *raison d'être* for coming to the Levant was the liberation of the Eastern Christian communities…perpetuated this original policy and established Christian, political entities in those same areas".[45]

[§29] Ellenblum also claimed that this pattern could not only be applied to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but to the entire Latin East:

> "Nevertheless, it can be stated that the fact that Frankish settlement was limited to 'Christian' regions of Palestine did not apply only in the Kingdom of Jerusalem or in the hearts of other regions which were examined. It would appear that this pattern of settlement was common in the whole of the Levant and that the Franks conquered only those countries and geographic panhandles in which there was a large and progressive Christian population. Only in such countries and in such regions were Frankish political entities established."[46]

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[41] Cobb, Hamdan al-Atharibi's History of the Franks, pp. 3–20.

[42] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 6, p. 2928; Cobb, Hamdan al-Atharibi's History of the Franks, pp. 19–20.

[43] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 6, p. 2930: "wa-kānat hāḏihi l-qarya Maʿarbuniyya ḥīna wahabahu iyāhā ṣāḥib al-Aṯārib fī āwāḫir sanat iḥdā wa-ʿišrīn wa-ḫamsamiʾa dāṯira mūḥiša al-ṣuwwā, fa-nazalahā wa-aḥḍara ilayhā ahlahu wa-ʿamara bihā dāran wa-aḥḍara ilayhā falāḥīn wa-akara, wa-ʿamara ġāmirahā wa-zaraʿahu wa-staġallahu."

[44] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 36–38, 283–287.

[45] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 36–37.

[46] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, p. 283.

[§30] Basing his results on archaeological findings, in addition to literary sources, Ellenblum argued that majority Muslim rural communities were viewed by the Franks as a "separate sector" of the population, left largely unaffected by the patterns of crusader settlement. Although Bogdan Smarandache has highlighted several settlements under crusader dominion where there is evidence for "minority" Muslim communities, Ellenblum's model of Frankish settlement remains the most widely accepted within the field of crusader studies.[47]

[§31] But Ellenblum overlooked the potential impact of the *munāṣafa* clauses upon the early development of Frankish rural settlement.[48] These agreements—both those negotiated between Antioch and Aleppo, and those involving the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Damascus from 502/1108 onwards—ensured that the crusader states regularly received crop yields or tax revenues from the most productive agricultural areas in the vicinity of the two most densely populated and wealthy cities in Syria. This would have been the case for much of the early sixth/twelfth century, at least until Nūr al-Dīn (r. 541–565/1146–1174) took control of Damascus in 549/1154. These diplomatic arrangements also partially contradict Ellenblum's argument that a lack of Frankish settlement activity in Muslim majority rural areas was rooted in ideological antipathy. Rather, early rulers of the crusader states were willing to accept produce and revenues from what were presumably majority Muslim communities living under Damascene and Aleppine governorship. This points to a far more prosaic, inter-dependent relationship, with Damascus or Aleppo providing and managing the workforce, and Antioch or Jerusalem granting these labourers safe access to the rural hinterlands.

[§32] In conclusion, Ibn al-ʿAdīm's descriptions of these peace treaties provide important insights into several aspects of Christian–Muslim interactions in the Syrian Levant of the crusading period. First of all, this article has argued that these extracts should be read in the knowledge that Ibn al-ʿAdīm exaggerates the influence of the notables of Aleppo in the *Zubda*. By doing so, the author accentuated the historical significance of his ancestors. Secondly, although early Frankish rulers of Antioch and Jerusalem did not introduce the *munāṣafa* clauses to the Eastern Mediterranean, Köhler is probably correct that these agreements were not just continuations of previous tributary payments, but broader agreements that encompassed shared Christian–Muslim judicial practices and joint systems of rural land management. Thirdly, Muslim majority communities in the Syrian countryside had their own form of agency, which directly impacted upon the initial stages of Frankish rural settlement. This agency was most visible in the apparent reluctance of Muslim farmhands to accept Frankish rule, which, combined with a shortfall of labourers in the crusader states, led to a wider implementation of the *munāṣafa* system of land management. The fourth and final conclusion is that ideological pragmatism was an ingrained feature of early crusader settlement policies in Syria, and therefore, Christian–Muslim relations in the crusader–era Levant.

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[47] Smarandache, Reassessment, pp. 291, 304–306.
[48] Sinibaldi, Crusader Lordship, p. 127.

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