

**Fatimid Material Culture in Al-Andalus: Presences and Influences of  
Egypt in Al-Andalus Between the X<sup>th</sup> and the XII<sup>th</sup> Centuries A.D.**

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*To my family, friends and every interested reader*

لعائلتي, لأصدقائي و لكل قارئ مهتم

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ANDALUS BETWEEN THE X<sup>TH</sup> AND THE XII<sup>TH</sup>  
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**CULTURA MATERIAL FATIMÍ EN AL-ANDALUS:  
PRESENCIAS E INFLUENCIAS DE EGIPTO EN AL-  
ANDALUS ENTRE LOS SIGLOS X Y XII D.C.**

**CULTURA MATERIAL FATIMIDA EM AL-ANDALUS:  
PRESENCAS E INFLUÊNCIAS DO EGIPTO NO AL-  
ANDALUS ENTRE OS SÉCULOS X E XII D.C.**

الثقافة المادية الفاطمية في الأندلس: تواجد وتأثيرات مصر في الأندلس بين القرنين  
العاشر والثاني عشر الميلاديين.

**ZABYA ABO ALJADAYEL**

## ABSTRACT

Until today, there is no research dedicated to studying the Fatimid-Andalusi relationship. Most of the studies that deal with the subject, either they were in the scope of archaeology, archaeometry, art history or history, are specific and limited to one material or a particular site.

This dissertation presents a comprehensive study of all the Fatimid materials found in the Iberian Peninsula and their influences during the X<sup>th</sup>-XII<sup>th</sup> centuries. It collects all the results from the different academic references to build a database to be analysed according to the geographical distribution, the chronology and the amounts. Furthermore, the analysis results are compared with the historical facts to see their rapprochement to the Fatimid-Andalusi relationships.

**KEYWORDS:** Material culture, Fatimid influence, Al-Andalus, X<sup>th</sup>-XII<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., Taifa, Umayyads.

## RESUMEN

Hasta hoy, no existe ninguna investigación dedicada a estudiar la relación Fatimí-Andalusí. La mayoría de los estudios relacionados con el tema, ya sea en el ámbito de la arqueología, la arqueometría, la historia del arte o la historia, son específicos y limitados a un material o a un sitio en particular.

Esta disertación presenta un estudio exhaustivo de todos los materiales fatimís se encuentran en la Península Ibérica y sus influencias durante los siglos X-XII. Recoge todos los resultados de las diferentes referencias académicas para construir una base de datos a analizar según la distribución geográfica, la cronología y las cantidades. Además, los resultados del análisis se comparan con los hechos históricos para ver su acercamiento a las relaciones Fatimí-Andalusí.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE:** Cultura material, Influencia Fatimí, al-Andalus, siglos X-XII d.C., Taifa, Omeyas.

## RESUMO

Até hoje, não há nenhuma investigação dedicada ao estudo da relação Fatimida-Andaluza. A maioria dos estudos que tratam do assunto, seja no âmbito da arqueologia, arqueometria, história da arte ou história, são específicos e limitados a um material ou a um sítio em particular

Esta dissertação apresenta um estudo compreensivo de todos os materiais Fatimidas encontrados na Península Ibérica e suas influências durante os séculos X-XII. Recolhe todos os resultados das diferentes referências académicas para construir uma base de dados a ser analisada de acordo com a distribuição geográfica, a cronologia e as quantidades. Além disso, os resultados da análise são comparados com os factos históricos para ver sua aproximação às relações Fatimida-Andaluza.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Cultura material, Influência Fatímida, Al-Andalus, séculos X-XII d.c., Taifa, Omíadas.

## ملخص

حتى يومنا هذا، لا يوجد بحث مخصص لدراسة العلاقة الفاطمية-الأندلسية. معظم الدراسات التي تتناول هذا الموضوع، سواء أكانت في مجال الآثار، علم الآثار، تاريخ الفن أم التاريخ، فهي متخصصة ومحدودة في مادة واحدة أو موقع معين.

تقدم هذه الأطروحة دراسة شاملة لجميع المواد الفاطمية المعثور عليها في شبه الجزيرة الايبيرية وتأثيراتها خلال القرنين العاشر والثاني عشر الميلاديين. وهو يسعى لجمع كل النتائج من المراجع الأكاديمية المختلفة لبناء قاعدة بيانات لتحليلها وفقا للتوزيع الجغرافي، والتسلسل الزمني والكميات. وعلاوة على ذلك، فإن نتائج التحليل تقارن بالحقائق التاريخية لترى تقاربها مع العلاقات الفاطمية-الأندلسية.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الثقافة المادية، النفوذ الفاطمي، الأندلس، القرنين العاشر-الثاني عشر الميلاديين، ملوك الطوائف، الأمويون.

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## INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century witnessed significant changes in the Islamic world when three central political powers existed together — the Fatimids in North Africa, the Umayyads in al-Andalus and the Abbasids in Iraq. However, the decline of the Abbasids left the Umayyads and the Fatimids as the best Muslim political antagonists.

Politics was not the only motivation, but the different religious affiliations for the Sunni Umayyads and the Shi'ite Fatimids were enough reasons for the hostile relationships between the two. Nevertheless, this didn't prevent the movements of trade and people between the two regions. Especially after the mid of the 10<sup>th</sup> century when the Fatimids established their stronger rule in Egypt. At that point, economic benefits from trade in the Mediterranean Sea helped in reducing the escalation of conflict between them.

Historical sources richened the evidence for the mercantile activities and the travelling trips through the Mediterranean. Most significant ones were the documents of the Geniza in Cairo. These historical documents were related to Jews merchants sailing across the Mediterranean. Their trips were manily between the Egyptian coasts, Italy, North Africa and al-Andalus, starting by the 11<sup>th</sup> century. These documents were studied and introduced by S. D. Goitein in his book: *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*.

O. R. Constable covered the major part of the market movements, the shipped products as well as the mercantile contracts and treaties in the Mediterranean society during the Medieval period in her book: *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain. The commercial realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*. She also cited Geniza documents and used them as a base for building many facts in her investigation.

The archaeological findings gave credibility to the historical addressing. However, the studies of these findings were mostly fragmented and limited by the results of one site. Nevertheless, more collective and extensive studies gave us information about findings from many sites. A good example is the article of C. Doménech Belda: “La Moneda

Fatimí y Su relación con al-Ándalus.” *Cuadernos de Madinat al-Zahra* 5. In her article, she covered the results of 51 groups of Fatimid monetary findings across the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands.

In the scope of ceramics, A. Heidenreich studied the imported lusterware ceramics and their influences on the local productions of the Iberian Peninsula. In particular, she gave her interpretation of the imported Fatimid lusterware findings and their impacts in her book: *Islamische Importkeramik des hohen Mittelalters auf der Iberischen Halbinsel..*

For the findings of Fatimid rock crystal in the Iberian Peninsula, M. Casamar Pérez and F. Valdés Fernández addressed all the imported rock crystals in their article “Saqueo o comercio. La difusión del Arte Fatimí en la Península Ibérica.” *Codex aquilarensis Cuadernos de investigación del Monasterio de Santa María la Real* 14. They mentioned 41 pieces and their preservation places.

Other references from the different fields of History of Art, Archaeometry and History could contribute to our work, but they all weren't inclusive enough. Therefore, our goal was to build a database of all the Fatimid materials existing in the Iberian Peninsula and analyse it.

Due to the lack of concerned studies in the libraries in Portugal, our work was based on a personal effort in collecting information about the Fatimid findings in the Iberian Peninsula. It was accomplished mainly in the libraries of CAM, Mertola, and Tomás Navarro Tomás, Madrid. Moreover, the online publications, especially the ones in the ACADEMIA.ORG website, RESEARCHGATE.NET, JSTOR.ORG and others. Those could give us the most significant part of the information we used.

During the building of the database, we put many aspects into our consideration. The treasure's name or the place of finding, the province of the treasure, the metal, the total number of findings, the number of the Fatimid findings in the treasures, the percentage of the Fatimid findings, the chronology of findings according to each caliph, the place of manufacturing (mintage place in the case of coins). Moreover, we made a dataset of other Fatimid imported materials such as metalwork, ceramics, rock crystals, textile, ivory and stones. Last but not least, we put a special set for the andalusi findings influenced by the Fatimid production.

However, the information weren't complete in all these categories. For many of them, we couldn't get their numbers and details because they are not published. They are only mentioned in the context of the articles. Thus, our conclusion had to be gained only from the information we could get. Therefore, we believe that further study can add to this conclusion with better facilities to get the accurate details.

Eventually, this work was built on three chapters. The first one introduces the history of the Fatimid caliphs, the Umayyad caliphs as well as the Taifa rules. In this chapter, we give an important element to help us understand the reflection of political circumstance on Fatimid-Andalusi relationships, which are introduced in the next chapter. Whereas, the second chapter is a supplement of the first one. In this chapter, we come over the direct, undirect and commercial relationships. The third chapter treats the collected information about the Fatimid Materials in the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands. This chapter introduces the general characteristics of each Material. Furthermore, we give our conclusion which intersect the geographical distribution of the materials, the chronology and the amounts with related historical facts. Finally, we put our database in the annex accompanied with the explanatory maps, figures and tables.

# CHAPTER I

## HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

### 1. Fatimid State

Fatimids are an Ismaili Shiite dynasty that belongs to Fatima, the Prophet Mohammad's daughter. Hence their title came. They established their state in North Africa. Then, they extended it to include Sicily, Egypt, Sudan, Hijaz and the Levant. Their rule lasted for more than two centuries, between 909-1171. Fatimid reign was in two phases geographically. We can describe it as the North African period and the Egyptian one. In North Africa, four caliphs ruled the state; al-Mahdi, al-Qa'im and al-Mansur. Whereas, al-Muizz moved his seat to Egypt in 973 to start a new era for him and his heirs (CANARD, 1991: pp. 850-853).

In 909, **al-Mahdi** established the first Shi'ite caliphate in North Africa after ending the Aghlabid rule by his *da'i* Abu Abdallah al-Shi'i. This propagandist took the lead previously to spread the Ismaili doctrine among Kutama, part of Sanhaja which is one of the biggest tribes of Berber in *Maghreb*. Al-Mahdi founded the capital of his empire, al-Mahdiyyah on the Tunisian coast near to Qayrawan. His state spanned an area with parts of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya (DACHRAOUI, 1986: pp. 1242-1244).

Fatimid navy was one of their important advantages. Even, the Bulgarian emperor Simeon I and the Byzantine emperor Romanos I both sent envoys to al-Mahdi asking for maritime support against each other in 922 (FINE, 1991: p. 31).

Al-Mahdi was able to take control of most of the extreme west after a dispute with its Idrisids rulers. Where the Fatimid leader Musa ibn Abi al-Afia defeated them in 312 H./ 924 A.D. This same leader announced his loyalty to the Umayyads of al-Andalus later. However, he was removed by Abu al-Qasim, the son of al-Mahdi in 315 H./ 927 A.D. Eventually, he got the dominance back on his areas (DACHRAOUI, 1986: pp. 1242-1244).

Fatimids were later forced to have many wars with the Kharijites in Morocco. Before the death of al-Mahdi, a rebel called Abu Yazid Makhlad ibn Kaydad al-Nukkari started his war against the Fatimids. His revolution began in the time of the next Fatimid caliph al-Qa'im in 937. It lasted until 948 when al-Mansur, the fourth Fatimid caliph defeated him (DACHRAOUI, 1986: pp. 1242-1244).

In 934, **Al-Qa'im** succeeded his father as Caliph. He sent an expedition against Genoa, Corsica and Sardinia. Obviously, Byzantines were one of the enemies of the Fatimids. Since the time of al-Mahdi, they were in fight against them in Italy and Sicily. Eventually, they paid a tribute to the Fatimid caliph of 22,000 golden pieces. However, they kept having treaties and exchanging embassies (CANARD, 1991: p. 853).

Al-Qa'im, couldn't win the war against the rebel Abu Yazid. However, his son **al-Mansur** could beat him in 947. He recovered large areas of today's Algeria and Tunisia to his control (STERN, 1960: p. 163). He built al-Mansūriyyah near Qayrawan and made it his new capital. Al-Mansur had to resume the prestige and indirect wars against the Umayyads of Spain through the revolution of Abu Yazid. Whereas, he had to manage his position in Sicily against the Byzantines who used the same strategy by supporting the revolutions in the island. Indeed, he could settle his realm against them both and entrust the Kalbids to rule in Sicily (DACHRAOUI, 1991: p. 435).

Before the end of al-Mansur's reign, Fatimid army and navy raided Calabria in 950. The Byzantines lost at that encounter. Eventually, they had to repay the tribute to the Fatimids. Moreover, Naples started to get against them too after they lost in Calabria. However, it didn't last long before Byzantines get their control back on Naples in 956 (LEWIS, 1951: p. 247).

In 952, **al-Muizz** became the new caliph after the death of his father al-Mansur. Following the events in Sicily and Italy as well as the Bulgar embassies to the Fatimid caliph, Byzantines had to ally with the Umayyads of al-Andalus against the North African caliph. Where they supported them in the hostilities with the Fatimids in 955-956. Nevertheless, the Fatimid fleet gained a great success over them. Later, Byzantines had a truce with the Fatimids in 957-958 and another peace treaty in 967 (CANARD, 1991: p. 853).

Following the events in 955-956, al-Muizz sent his general Jawhar to Morocco in 959. He had to suppress the Rustamids and Idrisids. Indeed, he was able to pose the Fatimid authority on the whole region except Ceuta. It was kept under the rule of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Rahman III. However, Fatimid realm reached to the apogee of its prevalence in North Africa at that point (LEWIS, 1951: p. 237).

After laying the foundation of his rule in North Africa and Sicily, Egypt was the target for al-Muizz and his general Jawhar. In 969, a new phase of the Fatimid rule started. Jawhar made a peaceful entry into Fustat. Later, he built the city of *al-Qahira* in the north of Fustat. It became the new capital of the Fatimid caliph after moving the seat to Egypt and entrusting the Buluggin b. Ziri on the rule of *Ifrikiya*. Moreover, an expedition was sent to Syria commanded by the same general and the lieutenant Jafar b. Falah in the same year. During this period, another threat was formed by the Karmatis there. Indeed, Syria was not seized by the Fatimids during the reign of al-Muizz (DACHRAOUI, 1993: pp. 488-489).

In 975, a new caliph received the reins of the rule. **Al-Aziz** succeeded his father al-Muizz and continued his expansionary policy. In his time, the state reached to its largest geographical limit. The name of al-Aziz was called in *Khutba* and the Fatimid sovereignty was recognized from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, in Hijaz, Yemen, Syria and even in Mosul in the time of the Ukaylid ruler (CANARD, 1991: p. 854). However, he had to face some internal and external issues. In Syria, his army had to fight against Byzantine and Abbasid ruling remnants, the Hamadanids as well as the arrived Carmatians from Bahrain. Moreover, the situation in North Africa was getting out of the caliphs control. The emirate of Zirids started to loosen its link to the Fatimid caliphate under the governorship of Mansur b. Bulukkin. Whereas, he started to take disissions from Cairo between 984-996 (CANARD, 1986 B: pp. 824-825).

Al-Aziz made major changes in the construction of his army and court personnel. He incorporated Turk and Black African slave troops with the Berbers who had brought his dynasty to power (SANDRES, 1998: p. 152). He created the position of vizier in his court and put Christians and Jews in high offices. He was keeping the spirit of tolerance with other religions and races (CANARD, 1986 B: p. 823).

Al-Aziz was concerned about the financial administration. He entrusted the director of taxation Yaqub b. Killis and gave him the title of *wazir* or minister. Thus, his period was flourished and full of luxury despite the vast sums expended on military and other issues (CANARD, 1986 B: p. 823-824).

Al-Aziz passed away before posing the Fatimid control over the emirate of Aleppo. His son **al-Hakim** became the new Imam in 996. He could achieve his father's ambition in Aleppo where it was seized in 1015. Like his father, al-Hakim was also recognized as Imam and caliph by the 'Ukaylids of Mosul for a period of time in 1010-1011 (CANARD, 1986 A: pp. 80-81).

Due to the threat of the Fatimid propaganda in Iraq, the Abbasid caliph commanded his scholars to declare that al-Hakim and his predecessors lacked genuine Fatimid 'Alid ancestry. In fact, he was the most controversial Fatimid caliph. At his time, a new religion known as Durze emerged attributing divinity to him. This religion proclaimed the end of the Islam's period. That weaken the ties between the Fatimids and the Muslim society. Although there is no evidence of the caliph's support to this group, unrest in the social ties started to affect them. Whereas, Ismailis communities were massacred in North Africa by the Maleki Sunni mobs (DAFTARY, 2012: pp. 572-573).

Moreover, rebellions such as the Arab tribe Banu Kurra near Alexandria and the Umayyad prince Walid b. Hisham known as Abu Rakwa disturbed the reign of al-Hakim. Abu Rakwa started revolutions in different regions. Lastly, he appeared in Barka accompined with the previous rebels Banu Kurra and got the support of Zanata Berbers during 1005-1007 (CANARD, 1986 A: p. 79). However, he could rid himself of the danger and settledown these movements (CANARD, 1991: p. 854).

In 1021, al-Hakim disappeared in a mysterious situation and his son **al-Zahir** succeeded him (BIANQUIS, 2002: p. 391). During his ruling period, central and northen Syria were endangered by the Kalbis and the Jarrahids. Whereas, Aleppo was lost in the hand of the Kilabi Salih b. Mirdas in 1025 (CANARD, 1991: p. 854). Meanwhile, Egypt was having a stressful famine followed by an epidemic. As well as the Jarrahids were attacking Ramla, Kalb 'Adawis from Palmyra attacking Damascus and Mirdasids attacking Aleppo (BIANQUIS, 2002: p. 391).

Sitt al-Mulk the half-sister of al-Hakim played an important role in the reign of her nephew al-Zahir. Because she kept her Christianity, she had good relationships with the Byzantines and could build bridges between the two. Indeed, they had an agreement that the invocation in the mosque at Constantinople would be in the name of the Fatimid Imam while the Emperor Basil II would have the right to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and all the churches in Egypt which had been destroyed and not transformed into mosques. In 1032, they even had a joint expedition against the Durzes in Jabal Summak. Moreover, the treaty included a clause assure that in the famine, corn would be transferred from the better-off state to the needy one (BIANQUIS, 2002: p. 392).

In 1036, **al-Mustansir** received the reins of government after his father's death. His ruling period lasted longer than any other Imam. At the beginning of his reign, his state remained strong thanks to his father's *wazir* Abu 'l-Kasim al-Djardjara'i until his death in 1045. Then, his mother began to interfere in state affairs and became the first word in appointing ministers and supervising their actions. Because she was a Sudani slave, her interference in the affairs of government has fuelled animosity and strife among the army communities (GIBB & KRAUS, 1993: pp. 729-730).

During al-Mustansir's reign, there were many attempts to get back the lost territories in central and northern Syria. The Fatimid general Anushtekin al-Duzbari won a battle in Palestine, and re-occupied Damascus and retook Aleppo from the Mirdasids in 429/1038. Thanks to this general, Fatimid domination extended as far as Harran, Sarudj and Rakka. However, Aleppo fell again to a Mirdasid in 433/1041. In spite of two attempts to re-take it in 440/1048 and 441/1049 and its surrender to the Fatimids in 449/1057-450/1058, it returned into the hands of the Mirdasids in 452/1060. Then, it was irrevocably lost to the hands of the caliph of Baghdad and to the Seldjuk sultan Alp Arslan in 1069-1070 (CANARD, 1991: p. 854). Whereas, during 1067-1072, a famine stricken Egypt. The country was a prey to the utmost misery. The palaces of the caliph were looted and the treasuries were sold (GIBB & KRAUS, 1993: p.730).

The situation in North Africa was getting worst. The Senhaji Zirid ruler al-Muizz ibn Badis threw off the Fatimid sovereignty and followed the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad in 1051. Moreover, The Kalbid governors in Sicily became virtually independent from Cairo. They were supporting the Zirids of Africa and recognized their suzerainty since

1036. Nevertheless, the coins in Sicily, unlike for the Zirids, were still struck in the name of the Fatimid caliph until the time of al-Mustansir (CANARD, 1991: p. 854).

Nevertheless, the Fatimid influence reached for the first time to Baghdad the seat of the Abbasid caliph during al-Mustansir's rule. Whereas, al-Basasiri one of the chief military leaders at the end of the Buwayhid dynasty took the control over Baghdad and made the *Khutba* in the name of the Fatimid Imam between 1058-1059 (CANARD, 1986 C: pp. 1073-1075).

The relationships with the Byzantines remained excellent until the death of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus in 1054. At that year a famine stricken Egypt and the Byzantine Emperor was asked to supply wheat to the Fatimids. Later, the new Emperor had colder relations and even a resumption of hostilities (CANARD, 1991: p. 855).

Despite the returning of the Zirid ruler Tamim b. Muizz to allegiance with the Fatimid caliph, it didn't last long. Where, in 1070, the Normans conquered Sicily. At that point, Barka became the limit of the Fatimid state from the west (GIBB & KRAUS, 1993: p. 730).

The success of the Saldjuks affected the Fatimid presence in Arabia. In 1069, the Abbasid caliph was acknowledged in the Holy Cities. In spite of the brief return to the Fatimid obedience between 1074 and 1081, the Hijaz passed to the Abbasid cause. In Yemen, the Sulayhids in the interior and the Zuray'ids in the important commercial centre of 'Aden maintained the suzerainty of the Fatimids. It was kept for the Zuray'ids until the Ayyubid conquest by Turanshah in 1173 (GIBB & KRAUS, 1993: p. 731).

In 1073, al-Mustansir invited the Armenian governor of 'Akka Badr al-Jamali to recover the situation in Egypt and the whole state. He managed to get rid of the Turks and their leaders with a large number of Egyptian notables and officials. For his administrative measures, he restored order and relative prosperity in Egypt. Whereas, he could increase the total revenue of Egypt and its remaining Syrian possessions, from 2,800,000 dinars in 1073-1074 to 3,100,000 dinars in 1090. However, he couldn't inhibit the Suljuks in the Levant (GIBB & KRAUS, 1993: p. 730).

After the death of al-Mustansir in 1094, a political-religious split occurred between a loyal to Nizar (the eldest son of al-Mustansir) and a supporter of the rule of his younger

brother Musta'li. As a result, the state has entered into a new phase known by the seizure of ministers on the power. Thus, was the beginning of the decline of the Fatimid state (CANARD, 1991: pp. 856-858).

The reign of al-Musta'li didn't last long. He died in 1101 after seven years of getting the rule only. During them, the Crusaders captured Jerusalem and the Fatimid army was defeated in Askalan in 1099 (GIBB, 1993: p. 725).

The Fatimid caliphate was almost limited in Egypt during the next caliphs Al-'Amer, al-Hafiz, al-Zafir, al-Fa'iz and al-'Adid. The actual control was in the hands of the ministers and the patronates of the court. Finally, the Fatimid state was officially ended in 1171 by Saladin when the Ayyubid reign started thereafter (CANARD, 1991: p. 857; RICHARDS, 1995: p. 910).

## 2. Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus

After the decline of the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus and the overthrow by the Abbasids rule, a member of the Umayyad dynasty could maintain the Umayyad rule in Al-Andalus. Abd al-Rahman I established a new independent Umayyad emirate in 756 (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986: pp. 81-82; MOLINA, 2000: p. 848).

In 929, the Umayyad emire Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir declared himself as a caliph. His announcement came as a response to the Fatimid Imam al-Mahdi who preceeded him in the statement in 909 (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986 C: p. 83).

Before his declaration, **Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir** had to work on solving the internal unrest represented by te rebellions. Since he took the control of the state, he dedicated himself to eliminate Ibn Hafsun who formed the biggest threat to the Umayyad rule. He occupied the city of Ecija in 913. Then at the same year, personally led a campaign against the rebel groups of the villages of Jaen and Granada, many of whom were allies of Ibn Hafsun. Seville was also recovered and later Bobastro was seized by his troops in 928. Evtually, the south of the Peninsula was pacified. As a result, Marches against the Umayyad rule raised in other places. Indeed, Merida submitted in 928, Badajoz in 930, Toledo in 932 and finally Saragossa was captured in 937 (MOLINA, 2000: p. 851).

Besides supporting the North African Bereber tribes against the Fatimid rule, al-Nasir's realm extended to occupy cities on the Morroccian coast including Mellila, Tangier and most importantly Ceuta in 931 (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986 C: pp. 83-84).

The political activities didn't prevent abd al-Rahman from building different palaces in Córdoba and more important the city of Madinat al-Zahra to the north-west of the capital. The city building began between 936-940 in a way to show the Umayyad pomp and confirm his rule infront of the Fatimid caliph who had built al-Mahdiyya in 921 (FAIRCHILD, 2008: pp. 152-153).

In 961, Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir was succeeded by his son **al-Hakam II al-Mustansir**. His state had the period of greatest splendour in all aspects. His rule was stable but had to deal with the idrisids who changed sides for many times to the Fatimids and the

Umayyads. Finally, he ended their state in Morocco and kept his support to the Berbers (MIRANDA, 1986: pp.74-75). In his strategy in *Maghreb*, the caliph assured that Umayyad influence should remain whatever the cost. That was obvious in his letters to his troops in North Africa (MOLINA, 2000: p. 852).

In 976, al-Hakam II died and his eleven years old son **Hisham II al-Mu'yyad** acceded to throne. Due to his young age, some in the court were trying to replace him with another Umayyad member or even to gain it to themselves. Eventually, the caliph remained in his position but his authority was limited. The *Hajib*/minister Muhammad b. Abi Amer al-Mansur, who received administrative posts since the reign of al-Hakam, took the actual control (DUNLOP, 1986: pp. 495-496).

He personally led more than fifty campaigns reaching cities as far away as Santiago de Compostela, Astorga, Leon, Pamplona and Barcelona. The objectives of these campaigns mainly to obtain booty and captives. It was maybe an attempt to compensate for the enormous expenses occasioned by the intervention in North Africa (MOLINA, 2000: p. 852).

After the death of b. Abi Amer, his son Abd al-Malik became his successor as *Hajib* in 1002. He followed his father's policy without any changes. Until his death, the situation was good in the state. However, things started to get worst in the *fitna* time and the demise of the Umayyad dynasty in 1008 (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986 A: pp. 75-76).

In 1008, Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Amir known as Sanchuelo took the position of *Hajib* after his brother Abd al-Malik. He was less efficient as governor than his brother and father. Moreover, he forced Hisham II to put him as heir to the caliph. As a result, the population of the capital rose up against him and was executed later (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986 B: p. 84).

During the protesting movements against *hajib* Sanchuelo, a member of the Umayyad dynasty took advantages and forced Hisham II on abdication. However, the reign of Muhammad al-Mahdi didn't last long. It was ended by the Berber who assigned another Umayyad member as the caliph called Sulayman b. al-Hakam al-Musta'in in 1009. From then until the end of the caliphate in 1031, there was a series of political changes. They were between the three caliphs of the *fitna*: Hisham II, al-Mahdi and al-Musta'in; the

members of the family descended from the Idnsids, the Banu Hammud; and some other Umayyads like al-Mustazhir, al-Mustakfif and al-Mu'tadd (MOLINA, 2000: p. 853).

### 3. Taifa

After the fall of Mansurid dictatorship and the decay of Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus in 1031, each emir ruled independently. Thus, Taifa or party kings included a combination of almost forty states. In fact, prior to declaring the end of Umayyad caliphate in 1031, some states were already formed independently. The earliest Taifas appear to have emerged by 1013 Almeria, Badajoz, Dénia, Granada, Huelva, Saltes and possibly even before that date (WASSERSTEIN, 1993 A: p. 552).

There were only few large political blocs among the emerged Taifas, the Kingdoms of the ‘Abbadids of Seville, the Aftasids of Badajoz, the Zirids of Granada, the Dhu 'l-Nunids of Toledo and the Hudids of Saragossa (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986 B: p. 495). Toledo, Saragossa and Seville were the most important states. They were ruled respectively by the Dhu 'l-Nunid, Hudid and ‘Abbadid dynasties. According to their location in the interior of the Peninsula, their economies flourished depending on agriculture. Whereas, for the eastern states on the Mediterranean coasts had economies based on extensive maritime trade (WASSERSTEIN, 1993 A: p. 552).

There was always a political rival between the states because they were based on different ethnical and religious groups. The inferior and weaker states were absorbed by others. Seville was the most successful state in this respect. Eventually, it came to be that state which aims to reunite the territories in the peninsula formerly subject to the Umayyads (WASSERSTEIN, 1993 A: p. 552).

One of the most important eastern Taifas was the Taifa of Dénia. It played an important role as a front to the commercial movements in the Mediterranean Sea. It was also a naval base used for piracy movements. From there, the fleet of Mujahid went to seize the Balearic islands and Sardinia in 1015 (SEYBOLD, 1991: pp. 111-112).

Mujahid Al-Muwaffak B. ‘Abd Allah Al-‘Amiri, was a Slav converted to Islam. He became the governor of Dénia in the time of the two sons of Abi Amir. In 1015-1016, he conquered Sardinia for a while before he got ejected from there by the fleets of Pisa and Genoa. Then, he went back to rule Dénia for thirty years keeping it isolated from the

political troubles in the Peninsula. He seems to have occupied Murcia temporarily at the end of his life, but didn't get any ambitions for more territories (WASSERSTEIN, 1993 B: pp. 292-293).

Ali Ikbal al-Dawla succeeded his father Mujahid in 1044. He reigned for 32 years until 1076. In an interesting incident, he sent a large ship full of food in 1054-1055 to Egypt, where famine was raging. It came back full of money and jewels. He couldn't resist in front of his brother-in-law, al-Muktadir, who wanted to enlarge his frontiers on the Dénia side. Thus, his subjects abandoned him delivering the town up to al-Muktadir who sent him to Saragossa where he died in 1081 or 1082 (SEYBOLD, 1991: p. 112).

Later on, the successors of al-Muktadir including his son and grandson continued to rule under the suzerainty of the Banu Batir until 1091. Then in the same year, Almoravids seized Almeria along with Murcia, Jativa and Dénia (SEYBOLD, 1991: p. 112).

In the interior, the Taifa of Banu Abbad in Seville was the most important one. It started by the end of the Umayyad Caliphate reigned by the Arab Abbadids since 1013. It expanded rapidly in the time of Abbad al-Mu'tadid. Where it extend to the south and west of Andalusia to includ several cities such as Carmona, Huelva, Saltés, Algeciras and Córdoba (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1993: pp. 760-761; BOSCH VILA, 1997: pp. 114-117).

The state lived at the height of its prosperity during the reign of al-Mu'tamid Ibn Abbad. It expanded further annexing Murcia, Valencia and other cities. Then, it became the most powerful state among the others. Finally, it was ended by the Almoravids in 1091. When they captured al-Mu'tamid and expelled him to Maghreb to die there four years later (SCHEINDLIN, 1993: pp. 766-768; LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986 A: pp. 5-7).

During the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Christian monarchs stimulated the efforts of the Reconquista. They were conscious of the necessity of reforming national unity against the Muslim rule. Thus they took advantages of the turmoil—opposing interests, rivalries and perpetual disputes between the Taifas. The ethnic groups that didn't get absorbed by their more powerful rivals joined issue with each other. Andalusians fought against Berbers, and Slavs fought against both. Indeed, the Christian monarchs imposed heavy tribute from them. Furthermore, King Alfonso VI was making himself the arbiter in disputes between the muluk al-tawd'if and could occupy Toledo in 1085 without much resistance (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986 B: p. 495).

The fall of Toledo shook the Andalusí rulers. They didn't have much choices than asking the support from the Almoravids of North Africa. In their turn, Almoravids responded and had a swift series of campaigns against them and the Christians. They had a victory against the Christians at the battle of Sagrajas or Zallaka in 1086. Indeed, they could save the Muslim rule in the Peninsula but they destroyed the Spanish Islamic autonomy and the Taifas states ( WASSERSTEIN, 1993 A: p. 553).

Almoravids rule lasted few years before the second Taifs period starts soon after 1118 and stands till the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Almoravid state had several decades of prosperity during the reign of Yusuf Ibn Tashfin. Where he could recapture most of the areas from the Christians and the Taifa rulers. For example, he recaptured Valencia from the hands of the Cid Campeador Rodrigo Diaz in 1102 as well as Saragossa after the death of the Hudid al-Musta'in. However, the Almoravid ruler wasn't able to recapture Toledo. He even couldn't stand in front of the Christian threat which took Saragossa again in 1118. Moreover, Almoravids couldn't face the revolts which were appearing in all sides of Al-Andalus (WASSERSTEIN, 1993 A: p. 553).

## CHAPTER II

### FATIMID-ANDALUSI RELATIONSHIPS

In the political history we don't observe the clear relationship between the Fatimid caliphs and the Andalusí rulers. Their direct contact was mentioned only in two occasions whereas the undirect relationships were prolonged. Moreover, the Mediterranean revived these relationships via the commercial movements. In this chapter we shed the light on these relationships forthrightly.

#### 1. General policies and direct contact

##### Fatimid-Umayyad relationships

In spite of the hostile Fatimid-Umayyad relationship, it was rarely under a direct conflict. Fatimids and Umayyads always faced each other through supporting their allies and rebels in the other's land. Nevertheless, the only coincidence happened when an Umayyad merchantman sailing from Alexandria to Almería captured a Fatimid ship sailing from Sicily to Almahdiyya in 955. Then, the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz ordered al-Hasan al-Kalbi to pursue. Al-Kalbi was unable to catch the boat before it reached the port of Almería. The result was attacking the harbour and burning the arsenal and the Umayyad ships anchored there. The Umayyad response was by sending admiral Ghalib al-Siklabi with a fleet of 70 vessels to Ifriqiya to strike the port of al-Kahzar and the surrounding of Susa and Tabarqa (LEV, 1984: p. 236; HALM, 1996: pp. 393-394; BRETT, 2001: p. 235).

Umayyad Caliph sent an embassy to Constantine VII in 344 A.H. (April 955 – April 956) asking for support against the Fatimids after their attack to Almería. However, the Byzantine fleet which was supporting the Umayyads was defeated by the Fatimids

according to Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, the official historian of the Fatimid caliphs (SIGNES, 2004: pp. 237-238; FERNANDES CARDOSO, 2019: p. 98).

### Fatimid-Taifa relationships

Taifa period was much quieter for both sides. Fatimids even could build bridges with some of the Taifa rulers, such as the Taifa of Dénia. Where Ali ibn Mujahid, the ruler of the Taifa, sent a supplement ship loaded with food to the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir around 447/1055-6. This ship came due to the famine that stroked Egypt. Whereas, the ship was sent back to Dénia filled with precious stuff. Moreover, Ali didn't stop there, but he also sent presents to the Fatimid caliph on two occasions; in 452/1060-1 and 462/1070 (BRUCE, 2010: p. 278).

## 2. Undirect relationships through scholars, allies and revolutions

### Fatimid side

According to the enmity between the Fatimids and the Umayyads, both had to hide their intention about interfering in the others' sovereign. They used their influences to spread their ideology and support the revolutions in other's land. In other words, they used the same strategy used in what we know today as cold war. Whereas, Ismaili Fatimid propagandists such as the geographer Ibn Hawqal entered al-Andalus to spread Shi'ism. They hid their actual purposes under the pretext of other activities such as commerce, or science, or the roaming Sufism (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 82).

Obviously, Shiite and Ismaili propaganda existed in al-Andalus before the declaration of the Fatimid caliphate in 909. During that time we see Ibrahim b. Muhammad known as Abu Yusr al-Riyadi entering al-Andalus as a scholar. Then, after al-Mahdi caught the corner of the verdict, he became one of his most important writers and propagandists until his death in 911 (JAMES, 2012: pp. 129-130; LABIDI, 1997: p. 396).

The Fatimid influence wasn't limit to the Andalusí ideology, but it also interfered in political movements. Revolutions led by Andalusí rebels such as Ibn al-Qitt and Ibn Hafsun were supported by Fatimids. Whereas, the member of the Umayyad family called Ahmad b. Mu'āwiya. known as Ibn al-Qitt al-Mahdi, led a call for holy war against the Umayyad regime and the Christians. The spiritual guid behind this call was the Ismaili *dai'* Abū Ali al-Sarrāj. They both succeeded in attracting thousands of Berbers living in the Valle de Ios Pedroches, Sierra de Almadén as well as the community of Nafza and Kutāma tribes who lived in the Guadiana valley (MAKKI, 1994: p. 33).

In 901, Ibn al-Qitt and al-Sarraĵ went with 60,000 of their followers to the city of Zamora where a battle took place there ending in the death of Ibn al-Qitt al-Mahdi and the defeat of his comrades (HUICI MIRANDA, 1986: p. 842).

Umar Ibn Hafsun was one of the most famous opponents of umayyad state authority in al-Andalus. He experienced four Umayyad emirs during his movement starting by the year 880 during the reign of Muhammad Ibn abd al-Rahman till the time of abd al-

Rahman al-Nasir (TIBI, 2000: pp. 823-824). He was supported by the Fatimids and called for their Imam. Where he exchanged embassies with signified gifts to Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi (MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, 2009: p. 272). Eventually, formed a big threat for the Umayyad caliphs whereas he could capture large areas of the south. He led his revolution with the Muwallads in Málaga and the Ronda Mountains (MAKKI, 1994: p. 31). His movements took 50 years to be suppressed finally by the Umayyad caliphate Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir in 928 (SAFRAN, 1998: p. 187-188).

During the Taifa period, Fatimid-Andalusi political relationship were not hidden. Thus, revolutions didn't occurred in the name of the Fatimids. Indeed, the influences of the confidential campaigns of the Ismaili Fatimid *da'wa* or propaganda in al-Andalus were evident in the ideology of the Andalusi sufi currents in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Well examples of the mystics of whom approached to the Ismaili Fatimid doctrine were Ibn Masarra in Córdoba, Ibn al-Arif in Almería and Ibn Qasi in Silves, Portugal (CAVALEIRO DE MACEDO, 2008: pp. 158-163).

### Andalusi side

In their turn, Umayyads always took the chance to interfere in North Africa and make allies of Berbers against the Fatimid caliphate. Starting by 917, Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir became involved in support of Berber resistance to Fatimid rule. Among those was Muhammad ibn Khazar the chief of Zanata tribe with his brothers and son (MARÇAIS, 1993: p. 1223; VIKOR, 2002: pp. 212-213; HAMES, 2002: pp. 442-443). Then later included more members such as the chief of Miknasa Musa ibn Abi al-'Afiya who was previously in the service of the Fatimids (SAFRAN, 1998: pp. 184-185). After getting rid of Umar Ibn Hafsun in 928 and settle things out for his realm in the south of al-Andalus, Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir started his movements in Morocco. He captured some coastal cities on the Strait of Gibraltar such as Ceuta in 931 (LEVI-PROVENCAL, 1986: pp. 83-84).

Meanwhile and before the death of Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi, another rebel started his revolution against the Fatimid caliph in 937. Abu Yazid Makhlad ibn Kaydad al-Nukkari, a Kharijite Berber from Zenata, started his war against the Fatimids and got the backup from Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir too. This revolution threaten the Fatimid existence in

*Maghreb* and lasted for long till 948 (DACHRAOUI, 1986: pp. 1242-1244; PELLAT, 1986: p. 106; STERN, 1986: pp. 163-164; MARÇAIS, 1986: p. 699; YVER, 1986: p. 770).

We also have the revolutions of the Arab tribe of Banu Kurra near Alexandria and the Umayyad prince Walid b. Hisham known as Abu Rakwa. Those which formed danger to the reign of al-Hakim in North Africa. Their revolutions were in different regions and was ended by capturing the Umayyad rebel in Barka during 1005-1007 (CANARD, 1986: p. 79).

### Conclusion

In studying the undirect Fatimid-Andalusi relationships, we should manily focus on North Africa. In fact, it was the field of their conflict through the Berbers and other communities such as Idrisids.

During the time of Abd al-Rahman III, hostilities between Umayyads and Fatimids seems to reach the top. Whereas, the reign of Abd al-Rahman III was contempory to four Fatimid caliphs; al-Mahdi, al-Qa'im, al-Mansur and al-Muizz. During this time we notice that most of the Umayyad-supported revolts were raised in North Africa.

However, things seems to get different in the time of al-Muizz and the end of Abd al-Rahman's rule. When the superiority of the Fatimid caliph was on the whole *Maghreb* except Ceuta 959.

During the time of both al-Aziz and Hisham II, no movements were supported against the Fatimids. We can relate that to the weakness and conflict in Hisham's authority, whereas al-Aziz's realm extended to the east and was powerful.

The situation was the opposite in the time of al-Hakim and *Hajib* Mansur. Where, Andalusi intervention was back again taking advantages from the unrest of al-Hakim's rule. However, al-Hakim could get his control back on the region specially after 1009, when *fitna* started in al-Andalus.

Eventually, Andalusī intervention was ended in the region but Zirids started to get independent from the Fatimid caliph by al-Muizz ibn Badis who declared this loyalty to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad.

Obviously, the revolutions against the Fatimids was built on political but more on religious bases in North Africa. Same for the Umayyads and the Sunni rulers in al-Andalus. Ibn Hawqal mentions that the trips of the Andalusī scholars was decreased between 1030-1040 while the number of the arriving ones was increasing between 1023-1041. In conjunction with *finta* and the start of the Taifa period. Moreover, information about the arriving groups of scholars from Syria and Egypt were rare in the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century coinciding with Almoravid arrival to the Iberian Peninsula (CONSTABLE, 1994: p.83-84). This indicate to the rule of the religious propaganda held by the scholars.

### 3. Commercial movements and traveling routes: trade and pilgrimage

#### Geography of the Mediterranean Sea

After the decline of the Abbasids in Iraq and the demise of their capital as a main trade hub, commercial movements in the Mediterranean were revived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Coastal cities such as Tripoli (In the Levant), Tyre, Acre, Alexandria, Tripoli (Libya), Tunis, Mahdia, Palermo ending with the coastal cities of the Iberian Peninsula such as Malaga, Almería, Dénia, Valencia and Seville were the milestones for the Navigants between the east and the west of the Muslim world (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 5).

Navigation in the Mediterranean was affected by the currents, tides, prevailing winds, the composition of the coasts and the meteorological situation. The major rivers that flow into it compensate for only about 25% of the loss through evaporation above rainfall over the surface of the sea. While 71% comes from the Atlantic Ocean. Thus, the currents' circulation turns counter-clockwise started with the Strait of Gibraltar in the west (Fig. 1) (PRYOR, 1988: p. 12-13). Moreover, the daily morning and evening sea and land breezes helped, besides the currents' movements, near-coast voyages to go from east to west and from south to north against the prevailing winds (PRYOR, 1988: p. 15). Opposite-way navigation took advantages from the predominant winds (PRYOR, 1988: p. 89).

The geography of the northern coasts of the Mediterranean gave advantages to them. They had many bays and sheltered beaches which were important for the ships in the bad weather. While the southern coasts were always notorious for its treacherous character (PRYOR, 1988: p. 21).

Winter prevented ships from sailing due to the dangerous squally weather. During the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Mediterranean was closed between November and March (PRYOR, 1988: p. 88). However, the dominant Etesian winds which blows in the east of the sea made it difficult to sail even between May and October. Known as *Meltemi*, they overwhelmed the region from north-east in the northern Aegean to north-west in the southern Mediterranean (Fig. 1) (PRYOR, 1988: p. 20).

### Trunk routes

Islands played an important role for the trade in the Mediterranean. By capturing them, Muslims guaranteed their control over the trunk routes between the east and the west of the Muslim world. Islands were the sheltering and the supplying points, especially for the small-sized merchantile ships adopted by Muslims after the 7<sup>th</sup> century (PRYOR, 1988: pp. 26-27).

Since the control of the islands was changing by time, routes were changing too. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Cyprus was reconquest by the Byzantines in 965 after being under the Arab-Byzantine condominium for three decades (BURKIEWICZ, 2017: p. 140). The Byzantines also reconquered Crete in 961 after being seized by Andalusian exiles (pirates) in the 9<sup>th</sup> century (KALDELLIS, 2015: p. 304). Moreover, Italian cities started to get their independence from the Byzantine Empire. Amalfi was the first of the later ‘Maritime Republics’ to raise economically. They founded mercantile bases in southern Italy and to create a colony in Constantinople in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Other cities raised after the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (MATHEWS, 2018: pp. 43-55).

The situation was different in the western part of the sea which became the labour domain for Muslim trade. Muslim Spanish shipping could still follow the trunk routes adjacent to the Balearics, Sardinia, and Sicily in their way to Egypt and Syria. These islands were yet available to secure the ships as they were still in Muslim hands (PRYOR, 1988: p. 107). Voyages from east to west also used those islands. For example, the natural route from Cape Bon to the Straits of Gibraltar was via Sicily, Sardinia and the Balearic Islands (PRYOR, 1988: p. 39).

Sicily played an important role in controlling the trade in the Mediterranean. It’s position in the middle of the sea shortened the distance for the ships. According to the currents’ movements, the prevailing winds and other aspects, we conclude that the southern route adjacent to the coastal line of North Africa was dangerous (PRYOR, 1988: p. 12-13, 15). As well as, sailing from east to west and from south to north was difficult because it is against the currents movements. Thus, going through Sicily and the Balearic islands was the best way to abbreviate the distance of using the safer route turning around the coastal line of the Mediterranean Sea (PRYOR, 1988: p. 20).

Another aspect affected the drawing of Muslim ships' routes was the Christian pirates fleets and corsairs. As were their preceding Muslim ones, they formed danger for the Muslim ships that didn't use the southern route (PRYOR, 1988: pp. 39, 155). Moreover, Byzantines controlled the eastern part of the sea by seizing Cyprus and Sicily. They imposed a tax to the ships that were going from east to west passing through those islands (LEWIS, 1951: p. 266). In this context, traders allocated the routes to the Iberian Peninsula between northern and southern roads. Although the sea was a free trade zone, European traders took the northern path adjacent to their countries, whereas the country's Islamic-ruled merchants relied on southern itineraries (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 58-59).

### Fatimid-Andalusi commercial movements

There were mainly three types of merchants in the Islamic realm. The first one, was called *Khazzan* or stapler which means a sedentary merchant who stocks goods when they are cheap for later resale when the prices increase. The second category is known as *rakkad*. This type of travelling merchants or traders who travel on business for themselves or in a partnership. The third which is the *Mujahhiz*, seems to have operated on the largest scale of the international export and import. He was also a central organizer for a network of the first two types of merchants too (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 52).

Partnerships took different shapes between the Mediterranean traders. The first type known as *shirka* or *khulta* in the Islamic sphere. It indicated usually to two or more partners investing both capital and labor for economic gains. In this kind of partnerships, profits were split between them according to each one's investment. In this case, the *qirad* or *Mudaraba* was the best arrangement between the two sides. Whereas, the investor provided the capital while the second party gave the work. *Qirad* existed in the Islamic law since the 9<sup>th</sup> century. It was known previously among the Jews in the name of *Isqa* and among the Byzantines as *Cherokoinonia*. Thus, it helped in the establishment of relationships among partners from different religious background and was preferred specially that the factor don't take the responsibility in case of capital loss (CONSTABLE, 1994: pp. 70-71).

Besides the three categories of merchants involved in the international trade, there were more types of local ones in al-Andalus. Those included agents, brokers and middle-

men engaged in foreign commerce (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 53). Obviously, trade in al-Andalus or anywhere was restricted with the political authority represented by the sultan and his bureaucrat administration system. Unlike the traders in sea who were free to travel wherever they wanted without laws or taxes (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 112).

The monitoring administration of commercial movements was so strict. Various kinds of employees with different jobs were related to the central authority specially during the Umayyad period. Their metions were mainly to administrate the ports and shipping, collect the taxes and tolls as well as the regulation of prices and goods (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 112). Therefore, employees of local agents were the legal representatives of foreign and international merchants infront of the administration authorities in solving their problems. Other brokers and middle-men were helping the merchants in dealing with the diwan or paying goods for an amout of money (CONSTABLE, 1994: pp. 118-119).

Umayyad caliphs were interested in the international trade and had their own commercial and maritime fleets. They even were dealing like merchants, were they used to rent their ships or engage mechants or ship-owners to transfer goods for the government (CONSTABLE, 1994: pp. 113, 121). Taifa ruler were less engaged with the international trade, except for Mujahid and his son Ali the rulers of the taifa of Dénia (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 113). The adminstartion of the ports imposed taxes to the coming ships and people were not allowed to come close to the ports unless they paid the taxes. Moreover, some goods were prohibited from exporting specially the wood which might be used for building the ships and navy (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 133).

Al-Andalus was full of ports in the eastern caostal line on the Mediterranean Sea. Almería was one of the most important ports between the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, was known for its industries including ships manufacturing and silk production. Malaga was also an important port for the international trade. It's importance came of being a shelter for the ships waiting for the appropriate winds to pass through the strait of Gibraltar to Seville. To the east of the Iberian coastal line, there is also the port of Dénia. It is specially known to be used during the Taifa period for wide maritime movements and exchanges with the Balearic and the Mediterranean world. To the north of Dénia, Valencia became also an important port during the Taifa period. Finally, there is the port of Seville which was a

unique and a strategic port to the west of the Strait of Gibraltar. Its location allowed it to control of the movements through it, which gave it a political dimension too (CONSTABLE, 1994: pp. 20-27).

It is also important to mention that Córdoba was an important commercial center especially during the Umayyad rule. It was engaged with indirect way in the Mediterranean trade. Besides the land route between the city and the eastern coasts, the Guadalquivir river was a way to connect it with the port of Seville. In which boats or small ships were transporting goods to the city. International traders didn't take this responsibility, however, it was on the local merchants (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 29).

Fatimids do not seem to have imposed discriminatory customs tariffs like the Andalusi ones, varying according to whether the traders were Jewish, Christian or Muslim (CANARD, 1991: p. 861). Whereas, the percentage of the taxes on the arriving traders in Al-Andalus was varying according to their religion and the country of the origin. For the Andalusi Muslims they had to pay 5.2% on their goods, the non Muslim Andalusi 5% and the non Muslim foreigners 10% (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 127). However, Fatimids put a tax of one tenth for the merchants and the Muslims pilgrims who were forced to pass through Qairwan to pay the tax (LEWIS, 1951: p. 247).

Fatimid were the dominantes of the Mediterranean Sea. Especially after having the actual hegemony on Sicily in 917 (LEWIS, 1951: p. 202). By capturing Sicily, Fatimid controlled the movements in the Sea. They also sent expedition from there against Genoa, Corsica and Sardinia in the time of al-Qa'im. They even attacked Calabria in 918 and 938 and Orto in 925. Therefore, the Italian rulers such as the governor of Calabria paid a tribute to the Fatimid caliph of 22,000 golden pieces (CANARD, 1991: p. 853; LEWIS, 1951: p. 203).

They also captured the gold of Sudan by controlling its routes. There were three routes that convoys followed to reach the Sudanian gold. The first one goes from Sijilmasa to Sudan via the Senegal. The second was in the middle. It was passing through the Ouargla oasis to the Niger river onward. The last one was to the east. It started by the South Western Tunisia Region called el-Djerid or by Tripoli to Sudan passing by Gadamis in Libya. Whereas, the Rustamids controlled the two western routes until the second half of

the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Then, the Fatimid general of al-Muizz Jawhar managed to overcome them in 958. Fatimids occupied the routes since then (LEWIS, 1951: p. 255).

After the annexing of Egypt in 973, Fatimids had the control of the coastal line of North Africa and Sicily. Meanwhile, they tried to regain their rule in Morocco in 975 after many wars with the Kharijites. However, until the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the control of Morocco was contested between the Fatimids, Umayyads and Idrisids (TUCKER, 2011: p. 234).

Meantime, the Red Sea was also a path for the commercial movements coming from India and South Asia. Indeed, Egypt played an important role as a connection point for the mercantile axes. It formed the target for the shipped parcels in the Indian Ocean coming from the east. From Egypt, the goods were distributed between the markets of Africa and al-Andalus, and from there, they spurred for the Christian lands through secondary ways (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 5).

Indeed, the exchange of goods and mercantile activities between North African and the Iberian Peninsula was only flourished after 969. For example, the city of Tunis wasn't popular for the Andalusí ships before 969, maybe that was related to the hostilities between the Umayyads and the Fatimids. However, it became so familiar to the Andalusí goods and merchants during the 11<sup>th</sup> century (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 30).

Trade between the two regions reached to the peak during the Taifa period. Goitein remarks that the eleventh-century the Mediterranean Sea was a "free-trade community," in which goods and men travelled without restrictions." (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 112; GOITEIN, 1967-88: P. 275).

At this period, good relationships were between the taifa rulers such as the ruler of Dénia and the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. Here we remember the tax (paria) that Andalusí Muslims had to pay to the Christians kingdoms in the north of Spain. Maybe that was a reason to encourage the commerce and merchantile exchange between the Taifa and other nations of the Mediterranean Sea (WASSERSTEIN, 1993: p. 553). As a result, movements of goods and people were facilitated. Whereas, Fatimid Egyptian ceramists were brought to Seville at the order of the Abbadids. They came with their new techniques for the Andalusí craftsmen, such as the wooden wheels instead of the stone ones. That was mentioned by the cordovan physician Abu 'l-Walid Marwan Ibn Janah

(1039 A.D.) (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 259). Then, it was reduced again during the Almoravid and Almohad ruling period (CONSTABLE, 1994: p. 32).

## CHAPTER III

### FATIMID MATERIALS IN AL-ANDALUS

Recent investigations showed a group of Fatimid materials in the Iberian Peninsula. These materials were various, including metals, ceramics, rock crystals, ivory, textile as well as stones. This chapter studies all these findings derived from the academic references. It also introduces the general characteristics of each Fatimid material alone and adds unstudied Fatimid coin from Mértola to the results of the study of the coins.

#### 1. Metals

##### 1.1.Coins

The Fatimid economic system was well organised in the state. The *diwan al-amwal* or ministry of finance was the central core of provincial offices or subsidiary *dawawin* (DAFTARY, 2006: p. 252; JOHNS, 2002: pp. 16-17). Moreover, the coinage had its reputation of purity as they were a subject to strict authorities. Thus, the control of the mints and the bureau of weights and measures were under the reign of the *qadi* or the chief justice of the empire. He was responsible for the fulfilment of obligations concerning the purity of the coinage taken by the religious law (WALKER, 2002: pp. 78, 98; SANDERS, 1994: p. 86).

Many mints spread along the Fatimid empire (Table 4). They had different dates of issue due to their activation period for the various Imams. They existed in ‘Akka (Acre), Ayla (‘Aqaba), ‘Asqalan (Ascalon), Baghdad<sup>1</sup>, Barqa, Dimishq (Damascus), Fez,

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<sup>1</sup> During the time of Al-Mustansir, the Turkish Mamluk Abu'l-Hārith Arslān al-Muzaffar al-Basāsīrī revolted against the Abbasid Caliph al-Qa'im in Baghdad and seized power in 1059. Then, the Shi'I adhan and the Khutba was in the name of the Fatimids (CANARD, 1987: p. 1074 ). Moreover, the coinage in the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir were minted in Baghdad during the one year of al-Basāsīrī's ruling of Baghdad (RICHARDS, 2000: p. 124; WILKER: 2015: p. 81).

Filastin (Ramala), Halab (Aleppo), al-Iskandariyah (Alexandria), al-Mahdiyyah, al-Mansuriyya, al-Muhammadiyah (Masilah), Madinat Qus (Kos in Egypt), Makka (Mecca), Medina, Misr (Cairo), al-Qayrawan (Kairouan), Sana'a, Sijilmasa, Siqilliyah (Palermo), Sur (Tyre), Tabariyah (Tiberias), Tarabulus (Tripoli in Syria), Tarabulus (Tripoli in Libya), Zabid and Zawilah (MILES, 1951: pp. 50-51; WALKER, 2002: p. 98).

### **Technical & artistic characteristics**

Fatimids did not issue copper coins; they only used silver and gold in their coinage (WALKER, 2002: p. 95). Thus, they had to use fractions of the dinar and the dirham as small change. Besides the full dinar, there was a quarter or *rub'*. For the dirham, there were even more fragmented pieces such as the half, the quarter and the eighth according to their weights (BALOG, 1961: p. 116). The legal standards of weights were 4.25 g. for the dinar and 2.97 g. for the dirham. However, al-Muqaddasi addressed that the Fatimid dinar recorded 4.18 or 4.19 g and the dirham was below the norm, too (BATES, 1981: p. 90).

*Sanjat* or jetons or glass weights holding inscriptions, usually the name of the ruling Imam and his titles, were found beside the coins. They ranged in size from nine to thirty-six millimetres in diameter. Most of them were related to Al-Hakim, and their purpose was argued either to be coin weights or to serve as official fiduciary currency (WALKER, 2002: p. 99; BATES, 1981: p. 64).

For the first three Fatimid Imams (al-Mahdi, al-Qa'im and al-Mansur), the designs of their coins didn't indicate to Shi'ism. The early dinars of Al-Mahdi imitated the Aghlabid model. They bore his name, the mint name of Quayrawan and Qur'anic XVII: 81 or VI: 115 in addition to the traditional Quranic IX: 33. After 912 A.D., larger dinars of the same Imam were struck in Sijilmasa with Kufic scripts but without the mint name. The coinage of the next Imam al-Qa'im was minted in al-Mahdiyyah. It had the same Quranic *ayahs*, and two marginal inscriptions were similar to Abbasid dinars (ANWAR &

BACHARACH, 2010: pp. 261-262; ALI, 2005: p. 10). The design of coins related to the third Imam al-Mansur continued the previous pattern. The only difference was the layout, in which the inner and outer margin separated by a blank margin (ANWAR & BACHARACH, 2010: p. 263).

A new style was introduced by al-Mu'izz. This style called "bullseye" became the classical form of the Fatimid coins. Its layout was composed of inner, middle and outer legend margins with different inscriptions in the centre. The horizontal inscriptions changed to concentric circular bands. Then, the centre changed to be empty or to have a raised dot. This "bullseye" style of al-Mu'izz had three groups. The coins of the first group were struck, starting by the year 341 H./ 952 A.D., in Siqilyah (Sicily), Misr (Egypt), al-Mansuriyah (Tunisia), and al-Mahdiah (Tunisia). The second group was minted only in al-Mansuriyah. The wording, which read "And 'Ali ibn Abi Talib is the nominee of the Prophet and the most excellent representative [of God] and the husband of the Radiant Chaste One [i.e., Fatima, daughter of the prophet]," was an apparent Shi'ite indication in this group of coins. The coins of the third group were minted in all the empire except in Sijilmasa. They were the most famous spread coins known as *al-Mu'izzi* and were struck until the death of al-Mu'izz. The wording of this style was a form for future Fatimid coins to adopt it. For the next Imams, they only had to change the name of the al-Mu'izz and put the name of the present ruler. The Shi'ite indication existed on these coins as well, but without referring to the genealogy of Ali and his marriage to Fatima (ANWAR & BACHARACH, 2010: pp. 264-273).

### **Archaeological findings of Fatimid coins in the Iberian Peninsula**

Fatimid coins found in the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands (al-Andalus territories) formed the majority of the foreign monetary findings (CANTO GARCÍA, 2002: p. 107; DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: p. 481). They generally existed as a part of Caliphal or Taifa hoards. However, some were found alone in some exceptions like in Benidorm and Migjorn Gran (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 341).

Starting in 1897, F. Codera first published an article on the treasure of Belalcázar (Córdoba). He mentioned some thirds, quarters or even unequal pieces smaller than quarters of dinars related to the Fatimids (CODERA, 1897: p. 451). Then, in 1915, A. Prieto published the findings of Rio Guadalquivir. He mentioned them as less useful than the discoveries might be found in other places (PRIETO, 1915: p. 11; DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 340). However, he later mentioned them as “Valuable collections” after the appearance of many other discoveries in 1934 (PRIETO, 1934: pp. 300-301; DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 340). Nevertheless, these Fatimid coins were not touched at length in the numismatic documents till the 1990<sup>th</sup>. Whereas many monetary clusters were found, and S. Martinez made the first specific study of the Fatimid coinage in 1990. In his article, he considered eleven Andalusí treasures, including Fatimid currencies (MARTINEZ, 1990: pp. 135-141). Moreover, C. Doménech Belda covered a big part of the Fatimid numismatics in al-Andalus too. In 1998, she published her article about the Fatimid coins in *Šarq* al-Andalus. In this article, she studied the findings of eighteen discoveries. Eleven of them were in monetary sets, and the rest were isolated, consisting of one or two coins (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: pp. 481-490). Her second article was in 2004. She published the analytical results of 51 groups of findings containing Fatimid coins. This study included the concentration of the silver and gold coins in Andalusia’s region comparing with the Mediterranean coasts of the Iberian Peninsula, the chronology of the coins and the provenance of these coins (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: pp. 339-354). Finally, her specific article of the Fatimid golden coins in al-Andalus was published in 2016. It included fourteen findings across the Peninsula as well as the study of the *ruba’a* or the Quarters of dinars, which dominated the results (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2016: pp. 199-232).

In this study, we could collect results of 70 Fatimid groups of findings speared across the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands. One of them is from the Islamic Museum of Mértola, Portugal. It was not studied or published before and was added the findings here.

Most crowds of findings were in the region of Andalusia and the Mediterranean coasts (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 340). On the eastern coasts, there were 34 treasures in the districts of Alicante, Castellon, Valencia, Almería, Murcia and Tarragona as well as Ibiza and Menorca. According to Doménech Belda, *Šarq* or the East of al-Andalus was

forming the source for the earliest and the latest Fatimid pieces (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 345). The rest of the discoveries were separated in the internal regions in Cadiz, Jaen, Soria, Badajoz, Malaga, Toledo, Granada, Caceres, Seville, Mértola, Alfundão de Ferreira do Alentejo, Algarve and mostly in the Cordovan capital (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 340).

### Algarve

In Algarve (341-380 H. / 952-990 A.D.), there is a treasure of ninety-six coins. Ninety-one of them were Caliphal copper dirhams and five Fatimid dirhams of al-Mahdi (CANTO GARCÍA, 2002: p. 119).

### Alicante

We have ten sets of findings. The findings of El Frare, Relleu, Benichembla, El Casteller, MAMA (Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Alcoy), Isla de Benidorm, Elche and Almoradí included Fatimid silver coins. Whereas, the groups of Levante and Benidorm Casco Urbano had gold ones. El Frare had only one *rub'* or quarter of dirham related to al-Hakim out of 43 pieces. Thirty-two of them were Islamic and contained eleven copper Felus (DOMÉNECH & TRELIS, 1993: p. 336).

The finding of Relleu also had one coin, a semi dirham of al-Mahdi (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: p. 484). The treasure of El Casteller, Alcoy had two findings; one of them was a *rub'* of dirham related to al-Hakim (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: p. 484).

In MAMA (Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Alcoy), there were thirteen pieces found in two groups. The first one had one dirham of Hišam I of the Independent Emirate, another of al-Hakam II, two dirhams and one-quarter of the dirham related to Hišam II of the Caliphal period, two dirhams of the Taifa of Dénia and three unidentified of Almohad period. In the second group, there was a quarter of the dirham of al-Mu'izz and a half of dirham of al-Hakim. Apart from these silver pieces, there is one felús probably related to 'Abd al-Rahman II or Muhammad I (SANTOS-OLMO & GARRIGÓS, 2012: pp. 63-67).

In Benichembla there were found fifty-five Emiral, Caliphal, Almohad and Fatimid dirhams. The Fatimid pieces were six; four of them were semi dirhams of al-Zahir (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 1995: p. 289). In the treasure of Almoradi (330-395 H. / 942-

1005 A.D.), there were 246 Caliphal and Fatimid coins. Thirty-nine of them were Fatimid pieces (one Semi dirham of al-Mahdi, two dirhams & seven fragments of the dirham of al-Muizz, twenty-three dirhams of al-Aziz, five dirhams of al-Hakim and one dirham of al-Zahir) (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 1990 A: pp. 129-131; 1991: p. 34).

In the findings of Elche (321-453 H. / 933-1061 A.D.), the Fatimid coins formed the most significant part. Out of 175 pieces consisted of Umayyad and Taifa examples, there were 149 Fatimid coins. They are 135 complete dirhams (4 of al-Aziz, 121 of al-Hakim and ten unidentified). There were also 14 fragments (10 of al-Hakim and four unidentified) (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 1990 B: pp. 232-233).

The hoard of Levante (401-444 H. / 1010-1052 A.D. had the most significant number of Fatimid golden coins in the region of Alicante. It had 54 *rub's* of gold dinars (17 of al-Hakim, 31 of al-Zahir and 6 of al-Mustansir). This amount forms 35.52% of the total of the deposit. It had 97 fragments of the dinar (3 caliphal pieces in the name of Hishām II, 8 of the cordovan revolutions, 68 of the 'Āmiríes of Almería and 1 of Valencia, 3 of the Tuŷībíes of Zaragoza, 4 of the Hūdíes, 10 of the Dūnníes of Toledo and one unidentified). The Fatimid coins in this hoard were minted in al-Mansuriyya and Sicily (CANTO GARCIA, 2002: pp. 121-122).

The hoard of Benidorm Casco Urbano (392 H./1001 A.D.- the mid of the XI<sup>th</sup> century) provided a smaller number of Fatimid pieces than the one of Levante. However, this site had only Fatimid coins. It consisted of 17 *ruba'a* of dinars (2 of al-Hakim, 12 of al-Zahir and 3 of al-Mustansir). Four *rub's* of al-Zahir and one of al-Hakim were minted in al-Mansuriyya, while two pieces of al-Zahir and 2 of al-Mustansir were minted in Sicily (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2003: p. 64).

### Almería

There are three deposits. In Tijan, Vera and Velez-Blanco, Rio alcaide. The treasure of Tijan (3xx-429 H. / 9xx-1038 A.D.) had 377 Caliphal and Fatimid silver coins. Among them, there were 152 Caliphal fragments of the dirham, 115 Fatimid pieces of the dirham including 57 fragments related to al-Hakim (FONTENLA BALLESTA, 1998: pp. 77-81).

In the findings of Vera (330-410 H. / 941-1020 A.D.), the Fatimid coins were 3 out of 349 (79 of Abd al-Rahman, 54 of al-Hakam II, 158 of Hisham II, 17 of Muhammad II, 11 of Sulayman, 8 of Hisham in his 2<sup>nd</sup> kingdom, 3 of Mujahid, 8 of Ali Ibn Hammud and 8 of al-Qasim) (CANTO GARCÍA, 2012: pp. 27-28).

Finally, the treasure of Vele-Blanco Rio alcaide (412-487 H. / 1021-1094 A.D.) had 190 dirhams. Hundred and sixty-four of them were related to the Taifa of Valencia, 6 to the Taifa of Dénia, 2 to the Taifa of Toledo, 12 Fatimid pieces and one unidentified fragment of the dirham. The Fatimid pieces were 12; one was a fragment of the dirham of al-Aziz, four parts of the dirham were related to al-Zahir, one fragment of the dinar was of al-Mustansir and six unidentified pieces. The fragment of al-Mustansir was minted in Palermo, Sicily (FONTENLA BALLESTA, 2005: p. 136).

group represented in five dirhams and a quarter of dinar minted in Sicily and dated to 428 H. / 1036-37 A.D. (SÁENZ-DÍEZ, 1991: pp. 231-244).

### Badajoz

Two treasures are containing Fatimid coins. Morería, Merida (243-411 H. / 857-1020 A.D.) which has 134 pieces (24 total coins, 110 fragments). One currency of them is related to the independent Emirate, 91 to the Cordovan Caliphate, 38 to the Fatimid and four unidentified. The Fatimid dirhams are two fragments of al-Muizz, eight fragments of al-Aziz and 28 (25 semi dirhams whole pieces, three fragments) of al-Hakim. They were probably minted in al-Mansuriyya (PALMA GARCÍA & SEGOVIA SOPO, 2007: pp. 439-476).

The treasure of Santa Julia was found in a pot since 1962. Its findings were only studied in 2010 by R. Segovia Sopo (SEGOVIA SOPO, 2010: pp. 839-852). The hoard composes 263 silver pieces, 258 of them are Umayyad Caliphate and five Fatimid. The chronology of the set is between (317-402 H./ 929-1011 A.D.). The Caliphate pieces have a continuous chronology since ‘Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir till Hišām II al-Mu’ayyad bi-llāh. The Fatimid dirhams form only 1.91% of the findings. Three of them are dirhams of al-Aziz, and the other two are of al-Hakim. One of them was minted in al-Mansuriyya (SEGOVIA SOPO, 2010: pp. 839-843).

### Beja

In the district of Beja, there are findings in Alfundão de Ferreira do Alentejo and in Mértola. In Alfundão de Ferreira do Alentejo, we don't have the right number of the coins but some Fatimid dirhams were mentioned as found in a Caliphal treasure of more than 1000 pieces (RODRIGUES MARINHO, 1998: p. 180).

In Mértola, there is a silver coin exposed in the Museu Municipal de Mértola, Nucleo Islamico since 2001. Its museum's registration number is (Nº.27), the diameter is 12 mm, and the weight is 0.3 gm<sup>2</sup>. The provenance and the chronology are unknown, and the legend is unreadable (Fig. 3). It is a 1/8 of dirham according to its weight (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 1997: p. 422; BALOG, 1961: pp. 117-121).

Although the legend is unreadable, the bullseye style of the coin with the concentric circles was adopted by the Fatimid Caliphs (BACHARACH, 2001: p. 9). In this case, the loops are surrounding a raised dot. al-Muizz, al-Aziz, al-Mustansir and Nizar al-Mustafa adopted this style. However, the first circle surrounding the central boss in the coins of al-Aziz is not empty (CARPENTER MILES, 1951: pp. 1-51). Thus, this dirham can be related to either al-Muizz, al-Mustansir or Nizar al-Mustafa.

Nizar was the son of al-Mustansir. He was to be the heir of his father, but his half-brother al-Musta'li had the support of the chief vizier al-Afdal to get the rule. Nonetheless, Nizar minted his currency in Alexandria before he gets arrested by his brother. That can be indicatable from the dinar dated 488/1095 published by F. Daftary in his book *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines* (DAFTARY, 2007: p. 242). However, the coin from Mértola gives a small possibility to be related to Nizar as his coins were rarely found.

### Cáceres

The treasure of Trujillo, Cáceres (320-407 H. / 932-1016 A.D.) provides 283 Fatimid coins and fragments of al-Muizz, Nizar al-Aziz and al-Hakim. They are a part of a group of 6142 coins (CANTO GARCÍA, IBRAHIM & ALVARADO, 2002: p. 312).

### Cadiz

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<sup>2</sup> The details of this coin are registered in the treatment form of the non-ceramic materials of CAM (Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, form No. 24), on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December, 2001.

The treasure of Castillo de Medina Sidonia, Cadiz has 77 complete dirhams, 166 Semi dirhams and few hundreds of Caliphal and Fatimid fragments (OCAÑA ERDOZÁIN, MONTAÑÉS CABALLERO & MONTAÑÉS CABALLERO, 2014: p. 1363).

### Castellón

There are three findings. First, the Castell de Vilavella, Nules isolated treasure made of one coin of al-Mahdi. This coin was thought to be of al-Muizz before (VICENT I CAVALLER, 1979: pp. 299-305; DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: p. 484).

In Castillo de la Magdalena, there were some Fatimid dirhams too, less than 50. However, still missing their details in the references (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: pp. 339-354).

Finally, the treasure of Font de Beca was composed of 166 coins. Eighty-three of them were Umayyad, 1 of Taifa and 80 Fatimid. The Fatimid coins were 80 dirhams (40 of al-Zahir, 5 of al-Hakim and 1 of al-Aziz) (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 1997: p. 45).

### Córdoba

There are fourteen monetary discoveries, including Fatimid coins. The treasure of Belalcázar has over 1000 Islamic golden pieces, including some Fatimid dinars (CODERA, 1897: p. 451).

Ferrocarril Córdoba is an isolated treasure composed of two dinars of al-Mahdi (one was dated to 317 H. /929-930 A.D. and another to 322 H. /932-934 A.D.). One of these dinars was minted in al-Mansuriyya (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2016: p. 213).

The set of Río Guadalquivir (392-437 H. / 1000-1047 A.D.) has twenty-three Fatimid golden dinars. Seven of them were related to al-Hakim, eleven to al-Zahir and five of al-Mustansir. Four coins of al-Zahir were minted during the time of al-Mustansir; one in al-Mansuriyya and three in Sicily. The majority of these coins were from Sicily, some from al-Mansuriyya, many could be from Tripoli and nothing from Egypt. Indeed, they were in a group of 4000 pieces; only 500 of them were studied (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2016: p. 203).

The group of Cruz Conde (322-435 H. / 973-1044 A.D.) has 237 dinars and fragments of the dinar. They were related to the Cordovan Caliphs, the Ḥammūdīes and the Taifas.

Five pieces of the Tuŷībīes of Zaragoza and one of Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād of Sevilla. Moreover, there are pieces of North African dynasties. Thirty-two coins were related to Banū Masʿūd of Siŷilmāsa and one to Banū Sulaymān. Finally, there are 107 Fatimid dinars and fragments of the dinar (one of al-Muizz, one of al-Aziz, seventy-one of al-Hakim, thirty-two of al-Zahir and two of al-Mustansir). Only one of the Fatimid pieces was recognised as an Egyptian minting (SÁENZ DÍEZ, 1984: pp. 147-152).

The discovery of Haza del Carmen (321-388 H. / 933-998 A.D.) has 277 Fatimid dirhams and fragments of the dirham in a group of 6.816 Caliphal dirhams (CANTO GARCÍA, 2006: pp. 23-31; GLORIA GARCÍA, 1999: pp. 723-730; FROCHOSO SÁNCHEZ, 2007: pp. 39-40). In Olivos Borrachos there were discovered a group of 143 Caliphal dirhams. Only one fragment of them, dated to 394 H. / 1000-1001 A.D., was considered as a Fatimid coin (MARCOS POUS & VICENT ZARAGOZA, 1992: pp. 192-215).

The hoard of Fontanar de Cabanos has some Fatimid coins too, but the number was not stated in the references (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 350).

Córdoba M.A.N. (Museo Arqueológico Nacional) has 30 Fatimid dirhams (four Semi dirhams of al-Aziz, eighteen of al-Hakim and eight unidentified) in a group of 706 Silver dirhams & 79 Copper coins. The silver dirhams consisted 423 dirhams of Abd al-Rahman III, 46 of al-Hakam, 139 of Hisham II (with one in a Fatimid type), 18 of Muhammad II, 19 of Sulayman and one Emiral coin. The copper coins are five Roman, one Felus of Abd al-Rahman II, seven African felus with some related to Felipe IV of the 17th century (FROCHOSO SÁNCHEZ, 2007: pp. 34-36).

The treasure of Av. de Aeropuerto has one Fatimid semi dirham in a group of 200 coins (FROCHOSO SÁNCHEZ, 2007: p. 41).

The set of Cercadilla (247-32? H./ 861- 93? A.D.) is composed of three isolated dinars. Two of them are Fatimid related to al-Mahdi (FROCHOSO SÁNCHEZ, 2007: p. 44).

The treasure of Peñalosa (321-401 H. / 933-1010 A.D.) contained two Fatimid dirhams. They were in a group of 148 dirhams (40 of Abd al-Rahman, 21 of al-Hakam

II, 42 of Hisham II, 19 of Muhammad II, 24 of Sulayman) (CARMONA ÁVILA, 2002: p. 177; CANO MONTORO, 2012: pp. 673-674).

The treasure of Av. Menenda Pidal (332-400 H. / 943-1009 A.D.) had a group of 53 Islamic dirhams, 3 of them were Fatimid semi dirhams (FROCHOSO SÁNCHEZ, 2007: pp. 42-43).

The treasure of El arrabal del Saqunda had two Fatimid semi dirhams in a group of 165 Caliphal dirhams (25 complete and 140 fragments) (FROCHOSO SÁNCHEZ, 2007: pp. 38-39).

Finally, the treasure of Baena (323-401 H. / 934-1010 A.D.) had six Fatimid coins in a set of Caliphal coins (27 complete and 97 fragments) (MARTIN ESCUDERO, 2005: p. 24; 2002: p. 39).

There are three treasures known as CP2, CP3 COP and CP3 PRP. These treasures contained some Fatimid coins too. The hoard of CP2 (318-401 H. / 930-1011 A.D.) includes three Fatimid coins. They were minted in al-Mansuriyya. One of them is related to al-Aziz, and the other two to al-Hakim. They existed in a group of 107 Umayyad pieces dated till 401 H. The hoard of CP3 COP (328-392 H. / 940-1002 A.D.) composes of ninety bits. They were all Umayyad except two Fatimid coins (one of al-Muizz and the other is related to al-Aziz). These two coins were minted in al-Mansuriyya. Finally, the hoard of CP3 PRP (328-392 H. / 940-1002 A.D.) includes 142 coins. Hundred and forty-one of them are Umayyad and, one is Fatimid. The Fatimid coin was minted in al-Mansuriyya (CANTO GARCÍA, 2002: p. 120).

### Granada

The hoard of Loja in Granada has a group of six Islamic dirhams, one of them is Fatimid related to al-Muizz (GÓMEZ MORENO, 1951: pp. 338-341; MATEU Y LLOPIS, 1956: pp. 191-192).

### Ilhas Baleares

There are four more groups of Fatimid coins. The group of San Rafael and Jesus in Ibiza, as well as the one of Menorca and Migjorn Gran, San Cristobal in Menorca (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2004: p. 350).

Migjorn Gran, San Cristobal set has 300 dirhams and dinars of al-Mansur, al-Muizz, al-Aziz and al-Hakim (MOLL I MERCADAL,1994: p. 28; OLEO Y QUADRADO, 1876: pp. 433-436).

### Jaen

In the region of Jaen, there are three more discoveries; (X<sup>th</sup> century), Marroquíes Altos and Sierra de Cazorla.

The treasure of Ermita Nueva included 115 coins: forty-two of Abd al-Rahman III, thirteen of al-Hakam II, fifty-one of Hisham II, three of Muhammad II, four of Sulayman and two Fatimid of al-Hakim (CANTO GARCÍA & IBRAHIM, 1997: p. 191; CALVO AGUILAR, 2017: p. 343).

The treasure of Marroquíes Altos (300-411 H. / 912-1020 A.D.) has 28 dirhams of al-Aziz and al-Hakim. They are a part of 256 dirhams (75 of Abd al-Rahman III, 39 of al-Hakam II, 89 of Hisham II, 10 of Muhammad, 12 of Sulayman) (CAMPOS, 2000: p. 186).

The hoard of Sierra de Cazorla (316/18-401 H. / 928/30-1011 A.D.) is composed of 237 coins without fragments. One hundred seven of them are of al-Hakam II, and eight are Fatimid (PELLICER I BRU, 1982: pp. 140-165).

### Malaga

The hoard of Ardales, Malaga has only one Fatimid fragment of a dirham related to al-Aziz. It existed in a set of 456 pieces including three complete Caliphal dirhams, 278 fragment and 174 complete dirhams of the Hammudies (ARIZA ARMADA, 2010: pp. 61-72).

### Murcia

There are six groups of findings with Fatimid currencies. Three were made of silver coins, and the others were made of gold ones.

The monetary findings of Begastri, Cehegin (XI<sup>th</sup> century) was composed of 237 coins. Twenty-nine of them were Umayyad fragments, 207 were Fatimid, and one was from North African. The 207 Fatimid silver dirhams were made of 17 dirhams of al-Hakim

and 89 of al-Zahir. One of the Fatimid coins was minted in al-Mansuriyya (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2006: pp. 211-249).

The deposit of Lorca had 27 coins; 15 of the Taifa and seven were Fatimid. The seven semi dirhams and quarters of the dirham were: a quarter of al-Hakim, four quarters and two semi dirhams of al-Zahir (BOFARRULL, 1985: pp. 183-189).

In the Museum of Santa Clara, there is one *rub* ' of the dinar of al-Hakim. This quarter was in the collection of the Comisión Provincial de Monumentos and was minted in Tripoli (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2016: p. 213).

In Calle San Pedro (357-421 H. / 967-1030 A.D.), there are 2 Fatimid *rub* 's of the dinar. They were in a group of 19 golden pieces. Three dinars of them are related to al-Hakam, 8 dinars to Hisham, 1 dinar to Sulayman and 5 to the Hammudies (CANTO GARCÍA, 2015: p. 63).

In Calle Jabonerias (X-XI centuries), a hoard of 424 golden coins was found. Two hundred and eight of them were related to Hisham II, Muhammad al-Mahdi, the Taifa of Valencia, the Taifa of Valencia-Toledo, the Taifa of Tortosa, the Taifa of Calatayud, the Taifa of Zaragoza, the Taifa of Dénia, the Taifa of Granada and the Taifa of Seville. The Fatimid part consisted of 276 dinars and fragments of the dinar. Hundred and ninety-five of them were of al-Mustansir, 48 of al-Zahir, 16 of al-Hakim and seventeen unidentified pieces. 82% of the Fatimid coins were from Sicily, 12% from al-Mansuriya, 1% from al-Mahdiya and 5% from Tripoli (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2013: pp. 9-12; DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2015: p. 68).

### Seville

There are four discoveries too. In El Pedroso (320-400 H. / 932-1010 A.D.), there are 16 dirhams and Semi-dirhams. One of them is related to al-Aziz, and the other 15 are of al-Hakim. Fourteen of them were minted in al-Mansuriyya and two in al-Mahdiyyah. They were in a set of 144 Islamic dirhams (CANO ÁVILA & MARTÍN GÓMEZ, 2004: pp. 446-447).

Los Rosales-Tocina treasure has between 51-100 Fatimid dirhams (CANO ÁVILA & MARTÍN GÓMEZ, 2007: p. 801).

The set of Lora del Río (331-418 H. / 943-1027 A.D.), has two Fatimid pieces in a group of 165 coins (58 of al-Hakam II and 58 of the Hammudies) (PELLICER I BRU, 1985: pp. 158-160).

Finally, Carmona has some Fatimid pieces in a group of 150 Caliphal dirhams (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2003: pp. 125-140, 189-194).

### Soria

The treasure of Cihuela, Soria has 799 pieces: 585 silver coins, 47 golden coins, 2 of Vellon and 156 of Electrum. They include Caliphal dirhams with examples of all the caliphs, 56 dirhams of them were related to the Hammudies with Emiral fragments of dirhams. Moreover, there are 199 particle and complete dinars. Four of them are caliphal, one of the Hammudies and 194 of the Taifa period. The Taifa dinars include 110 of Abd al-Aziz of Valencia, one of Almería, 76 of Dénia (72 of Yahya and four of al-Zafir) as well as eight of the Hudies from Zaragoza and Calatayud. The Fatimid coins from this

### Tarragona

In Tarragona, the hoard of Masdenverge (300-411 H. / 912-1020 A.D.) has 157 dirhams. Fifteen of them are of Abd al-Rahman III, sixteen of al-Hakam II, fifty of Hisham II, four of Muhammad I, five of Sulayman and eleven Fatimid dirhams. The Fatimid dirhams are seven of al-Hakim and four of al-Zahir (LLORENS, RIPOLLES & DOMÉNECH BELDA, 1997: p. 52; DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: p. 485).

### Toledo

The treasures of Consuegra and Santa Ollala in Toledo have Fatimid coins too. Whereas, the set of Consuegra (220-396 H. / 835-1006 A.D.) has 173 Caliphal and Fatimid coins related to the Fitna time (civil war) in al-Andalus. Nine Fatimid dirhams of them associated with al-Aziz and al-Hakim (MARTIN ESCUDERO, 2016: p. 293).

The hoard of Santa Ollala (318-441 H. / 930-1048 A.D.) has 97 dirhams. Seventy-nine of them are the Umayyad, eight of the Hammudies, two of the Abaddies, one of the Amiries, two unknowns, one of Almoravids and three unidentified. In this group, there is only one unidentified Fatimid piece (CANTO GARCÍA, 1990: pp. 315-332).

### Valencia

There are six more discoveries. The one of Bellveret, Jativa, was one of the isolated treasures consisted of two Fatimid pieces (MARTINEZ GARCIA, 1987: pp. 45-59).

The other one of Castillo de Sagunto was another example with only one dirham of al-Hakim minted in al-Mansuriyya (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: p. 484).

The last isolated one in this group was in Torrebufilla, Betera. This treasure had only one dirham of al-Hakim, too (LOPEZ ELUM, 1994: p. 75). Los Villares-Caudete de las Fuentes had one silver Fatimid coin, but it was found in a group of 103 pieces (MARTÍNEZ, 1987-1988: pp. 177-196).

The treasure of Las Suertes, Sinarques was made of 57 coins; 3 of them were golden. Forty-eight were related to the Umayyads, 1 of the Taifa and 8 of the Fatimids. The Fatimid coins were five fragments of the dirham of al-Hakim, 3 of al-Zahir (2 *rub's* of the dirham and one unidentified dinar). The dinar of al-Zahir was minted in al-Mansuriya in 417 H. / 1026 A.D. (MATEU I LLOPIS, 1972, pp. 114-119; ARROYO ILERA, 1989: pp. 467-479).

The treasure of Santa Elena provided a significant number of Fatimid golden coins. It consisted of a total of 1944 complete and fragments of the dinar. Ninety-nine of them were Umayyad, 572 of the Taifa and 531 from Siyilmāsa. The Fatimid part formed 37.8% of the total. They were 735 dinars and fragments of the dinar; eight *rub's* of al-Muizz, one dinar of al-Aziz, 128 fragments and 30 dinars of al-Hakim, 253 *rub's* and 25 dinars of al-Zahir and 241 pieces and 6 dinars of al-Mustansir. The dinars of al-Muizz were from al-Mansuriya, the ones of al-Aziz were from al-Mahdiya, the ones of al-Hakim were from al-Mansuriya, the ones of al-Zahir were from Sicily, while the ones of al-Mustansir came from al-Mansuriya and Sicily (CANTO GARCÍA & MARTÍN ESCUDERO & DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2017: p. 1083).

In the Region Valenciana, there were 2 dirhams, one of them was of al-Muizz. They were minted in al-Mansuriyya (DOMÉNECH BELDA, 2002: p. 486).

## **Analysis results**

The total number of Fatimid coins is approximately 2949 pieces. It represents the details of 60 of the sets — the other ten were mentioned in the references without further information about their number of findings. Silver coins are the majority with 1789 pieces forming 58% of the total. While the 1262 pieces of golden coins represent 42% of the total. Moreover, there are 12 coins of unidentified metals (Fig. 4).

Two thousand thirty-six of the coins were found in *Šarq* al-Andalus (69% of the total). They are spread in the districts of Alicante, Almería, Castellon, Murcia, Valencia, Tarragona and Ilhas Baleares (Fig. 8). The average of the silver and the golden coins in *Šarq* al-Andalus is almost the same. The number of silver coins is 939. Whereas, the number of golden ones is 1093 (Fig. 5).

In *Gharb* al-Andalus and the interior areas, there are 913 Fatimid coins (31% of the total). Seven hundred seventy-six of them are of silver, and 135 are golden. They are separated between Badajoz, Cáceres, Cádiz, Córdoba, Granada, Jaen, Malaga, Seville, Soria, Toledo and Portugal (Fig. 8). The average of the silver and gold coins here is unequal. The silver coins are the majority representing 85% of the 913 pieces (Fig. 6).

The chronology of all findings is between 220-495 H./ 835-1011 A.D. The Fatimid coins in these findings dated to 909-1101 A.D. They relate to 8 Fatimid Caliphates; Muhammad al-Mahdi (909-934 A.D.), al-Mansur Billah (946-953 A.D.), al-Muizz (953-975 A.D.), al-Aziz (975-996 A.D.), al-Hakim bi-Amrillah (996-1021 A.D.), al-Zahir li-I'zaz Dinillah (1021-1036 A.D.), al-Mustansir Billah (1036-1094 A.D.) and al-Musta'li (1094-1101 A.D.). We also have the possibility of having one-eighth of dirham related to Nizar al-Mustafa (1094-1095). Moreover, we notice that the coins of al-Qa'im (934-946 A.D.) are missing in the findings.

The most considerable amount of coins is of al-Zahir's minting. However, the averages of gold and silver are not equal in these coins. There are 448 golden pieces and 150 silver ones. The coins of al-Hakim record a good number too but with almost the same average of silver and gold. The percentage of golden coins increases respectively starting, by the time of al-Zahir. The silver coins disappear while the golden dinars reach 464 pieces in the time of al-Mustansir (Fig. 7).

According to information from 20 sets of findings (in Levante, Benidorm Casco Urbano, Velez-Blanco, Santa Julia, Moreria, Ferrocarril Córdoba, Río Guadalquivir,

Cruz Conde, Begastri, Calle Jabonerias, Museu de Santa Clara, Region Valenciana, Monestir de Camp, El Pedroso, Cihuela, Castillo de Sagunto, Santa Elena, Las Suertes, CP2, CP3 COP and CP3 PRP), we could have some general and approximate results about their minting place. Generally, the majority had come from Al-Mansuriyya in Tunisia and Sicily. Seven coins came from Al-Mahdiyya, while Egypt was recognised only on three. Pieces from Tripoli also existed as many in the set of Río Guadalquivir, fifteen in Calle Jabonerias and an unknown number in Museu de Santa Clara. However, more details are still missing, and an in-depth study with accurate numbers should be done on this matter.

## **1.2. Metalwork**

Fatimid metalwork included a variety of objects such the aquamaniles, boxes, bowls, buckets, candlesticks, door knockers, fans, faucets, hinges, incense burners, keys, ladles, lamps, lampstands, lamp-chains, lids, mirror-backs, plates, plaques, polycandela, protomes, tools and waterspouts. These were implemented in bronze, copper, brass, iron and silver. The essential element which distinguished the Fatimid productions from other Islamic ones was the freestanding figural representation, either human or animal (BILOTTO, 2013: pp. 46-47).

The industry of jewellery was flourished in the Fatimid region. It had general common properties bore on its pieces. We address here, the box-like construction, the open-work surface, the gold loops, the S-curves, the single or paired coiled wires, the crescent shape, the hemispheres overlaid by a granule fused to a circle of twisted wires and the arabesque motifs (JENKINS, 1988: p. 40).

### **Fatimid findings and influences in the Iberian Peninsula**

One of the most important findings of the Fatimid productions in the Iberian Peninsula is the treasure of Dénia. It was discovered in the 1920<sup>th</sup> in an earthenware jar during building work in the Historiador Palau street; today known as Colon street. It consisted

of 184 metal fragmented and complete pieces. Today, 145 of them are in the Archaeology Museum of Dénia, and the rest are in the MARQ, Alicante's Archaeology Museum. The pieces included: a dye mixer, an oil lamp, a Balance counterweight, two Saucers or trays, three bowls or cups of "S" profile and ring foot, two bowls of open walls or of "S" profile and flat bases. It also had two trunk-cylindrical bowls with convex and flat bases, three bowls of curved and high walls and flat bases, seven truncated conical bowl and flat bases or tulipiforms, seven aces, seven handles, nine semi-spherical bowls, eleven perfume burners, four censers, fifteen braziers, five lamps, eight candils, twenty-nine fragmented and complete handles, twelve bases and one leg. They were all made of bronze and dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (AZUAR RUIZ, 2012: pp. 25-83).

In the treasury of the Real Colegiata of San Isidoro de León, there is a silver-gilt and niello casket. This casket bears inscriptions dedicating it to Sadaqa ibn Yusuf, the vizier of al-Mustansir (Fig. 12). Therefore, the production date should be between 1044 and 1047, the years in which Sadaqa held the office (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 43). The signature of the artist Uthman who made it is also included. However, it is only visible when the box is open, as it's written from inside of it (CARBONI, 1993: pp. 99-100).

Another casket made of silver-gilt and niello was also found in the Real Colegiata of San Isidoro de León. This one doesn't indicate to known identities related to the court officials (Fig. 13). Nevertheless, it held blessings inscriptions to its owner (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 44). The casket is in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid since it was a donation in 1869. It's thought that maybe this casket was among the donations made by King Ferdinand and Queen Sancha to the church of San Isidoro in 1063 (CARBONI, 1993: p. 98).

The third casket made by wood, silver-gilt and niello contain the relics of the Roman Christian martyr Santa Eulalia of Merida. It is preserved in the Cámara Santa of Oviedo Cathedral. As the previous casket of San Isidoro, this casket bears blessings phrases (Fig. 14). Indeed, this casket was presumed to have the same Fatimid origin, which was suggested by M. Rosser-Owe. She built her prediction according to the similarity in the shape of the three caskets mentioned here (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: pp. 45-46).

There are two oil lamps were found in Spain and the south of Portugal. These lamps have a possible Fatimid origin dated to the XI<sup>th</sup>-XII<sup>th</sup> centuries. They share the same

ovoid bodies; the thin flared necks, the single spouts, knobbed bases, hinged tops and ringed handles with detailed ornamentation and protomes (Fig. 15-16) (BILOTTO, 2013: pp. 85-86).

There are two bronze legs of a brazier from Madinat Ilbira in the Museo Arqueologico y Etnologico de Granada (Fig. 17). These remains hold protomes of a lion head and must be one of the Fatimid productions imported in the Iberian Peninsula (ZOZAYA, 2010: p. 13).

### Jewellery

According to M. Jenkins, Fatimid style has apparent influences on the Andalusí Jewels. He built his conclusion based on comparing Fatimid jewellery with some Nasrid examples preserved today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Among these examples, there are two Spanish pendants of necklaces and a bead from the Nasrid period in the 15<sup>th</sup> century most probably (Fig. 18-20). The golden pendants share the same boxlike construction and the gold loops shown on Fatimid ones. Other characteristics of the second pendant such as the open-work and granulated decoration as well as the cloisonné inlays, were similar to the Fatimid ones (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 41-42).

Moreover, he mentioned seven pieces existing in the Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore, which were found at Madinat al-Zahra. They include five fish elements and two crescent-shaped pendants (Fig. 21). These pieces are related to the pre-Nasrid period, in which he suggests that they have the possibility of being produced in a Fatimid center. In addition to them, there is a star-shaped element of jewelry from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It was found in Spain and it is similar to the ones of Madinat al-Zahra (Fig. 22). Finally, he mentioned the object was found near Granada at Madinat Elvira (Fig. 23) (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 41-42).

We can also add the earrings from the Museo de Majorca, Palma de Majorque. They were discovered among other pieces, inside a small earthenware jar. They certainly belonged to a Muslim family. They date from the Almoravid or Almohad period according to the coins accompanied them. They have the shape of a semi-circle with two facing birds in the middle section (Fig. 24). These earrings hold similarity to the Fatimid

ones such as the ones in the Kuwait National Museum (ZOZAYA, 1992: pp. 300-301; JENKINS, 1983: p. 91).

Finally, we have the earrings discovered in the treasure of Alcalá la Real “Ermita Nueva” in Jaén. It is shaped in semi-circles, ornamented with points at their extremities (Fig. 25). It can be considered to date from the 10th century, judging from the coins that were among the treasure. As we addressed in the part of the coins, this treasure included two currencies of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim. These pieces showed similarity with the previous groups as well (CANTO CARCIA, 2001: p. 227; CALVO AGUILAR, 2017: p. 343; CANTO GARCÍA & IBRAHIM, 1997: p. 191).

## 2. Ceramics

Many aspects interfere in the glazed ceramics' studies: the paste's components, the pottery forming and firing as well as the decoration and the glazing techniques. Thence, different descriptions, definitions and labels for the same type may be confusing the researchers. Especially, with the ill-structured perspectives between the art history, the museums' catalogues, the archaeological and archaeometry reports on the studied ceramics. Moreover, C. Barceló & A. Heidenreich mentioned that the exceptional number of Fatimid pieces in the Museums, books and exhibitions are missing in the archaeological researches. They are considered more as an art history cases of study than as a part of Islamic archaeology (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 253). Therefore, we will try to find a cross-point where we can understand the general artistic elements of the Fatimid ceramics as well as their geographical distribution and influences in the Iberian Peninsula.

### Lusterware

By the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Muslims in Basra, Iraq invented the lustre-glazes technique. It was an attempt to simulate the golden vessels which were prohibited in the Islamic culture (CAIGER-SMITH, 1985: pp. 24-30). These ceramics were produced in a sophisticated process resulting in layers of metallic and glass nanocomposites from the reaction of copper and/or silver paint with a glaze (alkaline or alkaline-lead glaze). To get the shiny layer, it was necessary to return the copper and silver to their metallic state by reducing or introducing the gas level (PRADELL, MOLERA, BAYES, ROURA, 2006: p. 206; CHABANNE, AUCOUTURIER, BOUQUILLON, DARQUE-CERETTI, MAKARIOU, DECTOT, FAÏ-HALLÉ, MIROUDOT: 2011: p. 48).

## Technical & Material characteristics

Fatimid ceramists could revive and develop the lusterware ceramics production with their own artistic and technical methods. The most creative innovation was the “fritware” or the stone-paste (MASON & TITE, 1994: pp. 34-35). The proto-stonepaste ceramics consisted of some two parts crushed quartz, three parts glass and five parts clay. The use of this paste could reduce the need to the white firing clays and the high temperature firing technology as well as providing a permanent solution for the less-quality clays (TITE; WOLF; MASON, 2011: pp. 570-571).

The Fatimid lustres were monochrome and vibrant of silver. However, reaching the appropriate high firing temperatures and the better-reducing conditions resulted in the production of a variety of colours; green, yellow, and brown. The tin glaze was used as an opacifier, and golden metallic shine was favoured due to the use of the high lead-contained glazes (PRADELL; MOLERA; SMITH; CLIMENT-FONT; TITE, 2008: pp. 125-126). Moreover, the opaque white ground was replaced by green or turquoise opaque base (PINDER-WILSON, 1976: p. 207).

Analyses of the lustre layers have shown an intention to increase the lead oxide to have a better possibility of getting the golden lustre (GIRALT, 2014: p. 18). Moreover, Fatimid lusterware vessels (especially Egyptian) were characterised by sandy buff ware tends to be somewhat micaceous (TAXEL: 2014, p. 129).

## Artistic characteristics

The signature of Fatimid chef ceramists such as *Muslim 'ibn al-Dahan* and *Ali al-Baitar*, was a brand put on their productions. The names of the caliph or the ordering people, which were mostly in high positions, sometimes added to their ceramics too (WIET, 1936: p. 173; JENKINS, 1968 B: p. 126; JENKINS, 1968 A: p. 361; BLOOM & BLAIR, 2009: p. 453; BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 249). Such as *Ghaban*, a military

commander who served al-Hakim (WALKER, 2004: p.46). *Sa'd* was also one of the principle Fatimid ceramists who signed their productions. His pieces came later at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. His name was connected to the glass industry, and his atelier was the first to use the coloured transparent glazes as backgrounds for lustre painting (PHILON, 1980: pp. 176, 180).

Litany phrases such as *al-yumn* (good fortunate), was usually found on Fatimid ceramics. Notably, on the pieces signed by *Sa'd* as well as those brought to the Iberian Peninsula from the mid-eleventh century, which were imitated later by the Valencian Gothic pottery (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 248).

Animal and human figurative themes including fishes, rabbits, birds, horsemen and dancers were so familiar too (BLOOM & BLAIR, 2009: p. 453). The figure usually occupied the centre of the dish or the vessel (MARKS, 2015: p. 260). Animal shapes were well represented in *Muslim's* pieces. They were combined with abstract motifs such as interlaced bands, calligraphy or "pseudo-calligraphy," and floral patterns (ATIL, 1973: p. 133). However, after him, human figures overwhelmed the decorative subjects along with spiral sgraffito (JENKINS, 1968 A: pp. 361-364; BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 253).

### **Imports of Fatimid Lusterware in the Iberian Peninsula**

Different groups of lusterware ceramics were found in the Iberian Peninsula. In the beginnings, Almohad lusterware pieces from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century were considered to be the first examples there (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 256). However, sherds of earlier pieces found in Madinat az-Zahra "Samarran" from the 10<sup>th</sup> century were marked as the oldest examples in the Iberian Peninsula. They were defined first as imported ceramics from Samarra in Iraq. Then, studies could confirm their Egyptian origin from Susa (HEIDENREICH, 2012: p. 280). Fatimid lusterware ceramics also existed in the Iberian Peninsula from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. They were found in Medinaceli, Valencia and probably Tiermes (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2017: p. 86).

A. Heidenreich studied 287 pieces of imported lusterware ceramics in the Iberian Peninsula. She put them in 19 groups dedicating the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> groups for the Fatimid or probably-Fatimid examples. The 8<sup>th</sup> group included 13 pieces. All of them were found in Valencia except one from Medinaceli. The represented symbols in this collection included stereotypes, animals, and boats of the art of sgraffito. The ornamental motifs were also characteristics of the lusterware from the Middle Ages in Fustat (Fig. 26). The 9<sup>th</sup> set consisted of 6 pieces, all of them were from Valencia too except one from Tiermes. They were dated between the XI<sup>th</sup>-XII<sup>th</sup> centuries. The fragment from Tiermes is most probably Fatimid according to its epigraphic decoration ('al-yumn') similar to the group 8. Nevertheless, the paste has brick fragments as degreasers similar to pieces from the northeastern region of the Peninsula (Fig. 27) (HEIDENREICH, 2007 A: pp. 257-258).

New investigations uncovered one more fragment of lusterware in Calle Pascual of Murcia. It is glazed from both sides and was addressed as a Fatimid piece. However, further studies can reveal its exact origin wither it was Fatimid or imitating the style (CASTILLO, 2018: p. 177).

### **Imitations of Fatimid lusterware in the Iberian Peninsula**

The most notable examples of direct Fatimid imitations of lusterware ceramics were those of the Abbadids of Seville from the second half of the eleventh century. During fifty years ruling of al-Mu'tadid and his successor al-Mu'tamid, their lusterware ceramics had no changes from the examples of the Fatimid Imam al-Hakim. The only way to distinguish their non-Fatimid origin was the name of the Abbadid prince put instead of the name of al-Hakim. They even had the same format with the same position of inscriptions and the same calligraphic details (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 254). The pieces of these ceramics were painted in two colours: light brown and olive brown. Their exterior side was decorated with large circles containing smaller ones and medium-sized stripes (Fig. 28) (HEIDENREICH, 2007 B: p. 410). These Abbadid ceramics were found in different sites across the geographical area dominated by their Taifa. Pieces of them came from Palma del Río, old quarter or train station (HEIDENREICH, 2007 A: pp. 359); Castle of Silves (HEIDENREICH, 2007 A: pp. 363-

364); Seville, center of old town (HUARTE, IBAÑEZ & DÉLÉRY, 2012: p. 623); Seville, Arabic baths (CARRASCO MARTIN, 1987: p. 535); Seville, Calle Imperial (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 253), and Coimbra, Pátio dos Escolas (University of Coimbra) (CATARINO, 2009: pp. 353-354).

More imitations came from the Ebro valley in the twelfth century. This group was defined as the ceramics of the Marca Superior (*al-thaghr al-a'la*) of the Almohad caliphate. Some pieces of them were decorated with pseudo-epigraphic motifs similar to one of *Sa'd's* styles (Fig. 29-30). Findings of them were found in Tudela, Albarracin, Onda castle and Zaragoza (SUBIZA & GRACIA, 2003: pp. 260-261). They all had the imitation of the word of *al-yumn* written with the motifs of the animals and the tree of life. Moreover, there is a similar piece from Tiermes, but this one has the word of *al-yumn* written in the correct letters (BARCELÓ & HEIDENREICH, 2014: p. 255-256).

### 3. Rock Crystal

One of the most luxurious materials crafted by the Fatimids was the rock crystal. The industry of carved-relief pieces was prosperous in Egypt. They were not limited in the court patronage but were made for the public, too (CONTADINI, 1999: p. 321). According to Nasir-i Khusraw who visited Cairo between 1046 and 1050, “extremely fine crystal, which the master craftsmen etch most beautifully.” was sold in the Lamp Market of Cairo (THACKSTON, 2001: p. 69). Moreover, the Qadi Ibn al-Zubayr described the rock crystal vessels in the palace treasury of Caliph al-Mustansir (KAHLE-BONN, 1935: p. 345).

#### Technical and artistic highlights

In its pure form, *Billawr* or rock crystal consists of clear quartz without metallic impurities. It is featuring excellent hardness measured at a rate of seven on the Mohs scale, which makes it harder than any metal. Transparent nature made the existence of gas bubbles in it, reflecting the colours of the spectrum (WARD, 2008: p. 576). However, most of the rock crystal is cloudy due to the inclusions or internal fractures in it. Whereas, the Fatimid rock crystal vessels were famous about their clarity and pureness. They maintained the pure form of their hyaline quartz without colouring them (HORTON, BOIVIN, CROWTHER, GASKELL, RADIMILAHY & WRIGHT, 2017: p. 103).

There is no archaeological evidence on the manufacturing techniques of the Islamic medieval rock crystal. However, modern studies concerning the carving method tried to cross the information derived from the different scientific approaches on Fatimid pieces, and used experimental reconstructions of ancient manufacturing techniques, to rebuild the implemented process. They concluded that whatever the used equipment was, the process should be done in certain steps — first, the rough shaping of the exterior. Then, hollowing out the interior of the vessels. Finally, the polishing process which can be

processed by some later modifications (MORERO, JOHNS, PROCOPIOU, VARGIOLU & ZAHOUANI, 2017: pp.119-132; MORERO, PROCOPIOU, VARGIOLU & ZAHOUANI, 2013: pp.150-155).

Fatimid artisans invested rock crystal in making artefacts with different shapes according to the size of the used raw piece. Thus, they used large ones in making big pieces such as pear-shaped ewers, lamps and other vessels. Whereas, the remains resulted from the rough shaping of the exterior process were hollowed to shaped smaller samples such as the chess pieces (CASAMAR PÉREZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1999: p. 135).

As on ceramics, epigraphic inscriptions were a part of the Fatimid artistic style adopted on rock crystal too. Carved dedicatory phrase to the caliph or the patronage members were added to them sometimes. There are 180 rock crystal artefacts worldwide defined as Egyptian productions between 868-1170 AD (Tulunid-late Fatimid rule) (ERDMANN, 1951: pp. 144-145). Three pieces of them have inscriptions referring to their Fatimid origin. One of them belonging to the treasury of San Marco in Venice bears the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Aziz. Another one in the Pitti Palace Museum in Florence has inscriptions referring to the Fatimid general Husain Ibn Jawhar. The third one is in the German Museum at Nuremberg. It is thought to be a part of a horse trapping and has a crescent shape. This piece has the name of caliph al-Zahir (CONTADINI, 1999: p. 321).

Another artistic element was the carved vegetal ornaments where multi-petalled palmette and curved floral decoration helped in reflecting the light in the vessels (CONTADINI, 2010: p. 44; GARCÍA GIMÉNEZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1996: p. 269).

### **Fatimid rock crystal in the Iberian Peninsula**

There are 41 pieces of rock crystal in Spain deposited in: Museum of Alhambra of Granada (1); Cathedral of San Clemente of Toledo (2) and Convent of San Clemente of Toledo (1); National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (1); Cathedral of Orense (8); Cathedral of Astorga (Fig. 32) (1); Church of San Pedro and San Ildefonso of Zamora

(1); Collegiate church of San Salvador of Oña (Burgos) (1); Monastery of Cañas (1) and San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja) (3) and Museo Diocesano of Lérida (20). They are arranged in 3 groups: jars, bottles and chess pieces (CASAMAR PÉREZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1999: p. 135). Moreover, there is one fragment from the Alcazaba of Badajoz showed similarity to the bottle of Astorga (Fig. 33) (GARCÍA GIMÉNEZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1996: p. 260). Large samples of them were previously used in decorating convents, churches and cathedrals. While smaller ones, such as the chess pieces, were used in decorating religious objects (GARCÍA GIMÉNEZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1996: p. 269).

The chess pieces formed the majority. There are 30 pieces separated between the Museo Diocesano of Lérida (19 pieces) (GÓMEZ MORENO, 1951: p. 341; CAMÓN AZNAR, 1936/39: pp. 403-404; FITE I LLEVOT, 1984/85: pp. 281-312; TORRES BALBÁS, 1965: p. 770; LONGHURST, 1926: p. 150; BERNUS-TAYLOR, 2000: p. 174; BRUNET BELLET, 1887: pp. 29-31; CASAMAR PÉREZ, 1986: pp. 19-20; CASAMAR PÉREZ, 1992: pp. 36-37; CASAMAR, 1993: pp. 54-55; CASAMAR PÉREZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1996: pp. 67-88), Cathedral of Orense (8 pieces) (GÓMEZ-MORENO, 1919: PP. 239-241) and San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja) (3 pieces) (BRUNET I BELLET, 1887: PP. 29-36). The pieces in the Museo Diocesano of Lérida were found in the Collegiate church of Sant Pere d'Àger in a wooden box including 44 pieces. Today, only 19 of them are preserved in the Museum of Lérida (Fig. 31), while there are 16 more pieces of the group existing in the National Museum of Kuwait. They form a total of 35 pieces, where the rest were lost by time (DURAN-PORTA, 2017: pp. 180-181).

Due to the absence of the Islamic rock crystals in the archaeological findings, the only way to define the origin and the chronology of these pieces was by studying them from an artistic and a historical perspective (CASAMAR PÉREZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1999: p. 154). Researchers built their evidence to confirm the Egyptian manufacturing origin of the pieces between the 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD according to different aspects. They used the historical sources we mentioned previously, such as *Safar Nama* of Nasir-i Khusraw and the one of Ibn al-Zubayr. Despite the indication to Basra in Iraq as a centre of production by al-Biruni (RUSKA & LAMM, 1975: p. 1256), the Iraqi origin was not supported in this case. In addition to them, they used the historical

source of al-Maqrizi, which described the crisis of al-Mustansir who had to sell his treasuries, including the rock crystals. The three dated Fatimid pieces of San Marco, Pitti Palace Museum and the German Museum could also be evidence. Finally, the similarity to the art style used in Egypt between the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD was relevant in studying their origin (GARCÍA GIMÉNEZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1996: p. 272).

Indeed, the existence of those pieces in the Iberian Peninsula may indicate to the market movements to fulfil the need for expensive commodities in al-Andalus. Whereas, their moves to the Christian north of the Peninsula was during the *fitna* time as war booties (CASAMAR PÉREZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1999: p. 142).

## 4. Textile

*Tiraz* or “embroidery” which indicates to the textile, had a high level of appreciation during the Fatimid rule. Starting from its religious status where the garments of the caliph were demanded to be used as a *baraka*-imbued shroud because of its inherent *baraka* (blessings) SOKOLY, 1997: p. 76). Later, when the caliph abandoned the practice of giving a piece of his own clothing, production centres started to sew fabrics inscribed with the caliph’s name to be bestowing as a robe of honour (*khil’a*), instead (STILLMAN, SANDERS, RABBAT, 2000: P. 537). Where *Khil’a* or a garment taken off and given by one person to another was known as an Islamic element related, traditionally, to the Prophet Muhammad (SANDERS, 2001: P. 225). For the Fatimids, giving the robes of honour was even more assiduously adopted (SANDERS, 1994: p. 30).

The political goal was another reason for estimating the *Tiraz*. It was an appropriate tool for the Fatimids to convey their legacy and sovereignty. With bearing the name of the caliphs, they tried to send a message about their legitimacy in the ruling (O’KANE, 2018: p. 187).

There were five principal Fatimid workshops of *Tiraz* (*dar al-tiraz*): Alexandria, Tinnis, Dimyat (Damietta), Dabik and the Fayyum (STILLMAN, SANDERS, RABBAT, 2000: P. 537). Where, *Tiraz al khassa* (textiles of the patronage) and *Tiraz al-’amma* (textiles of the public) were produced in the Nile Delta to supply the need to textiles for the court (royal-private) and the general market (CONTADINI, 2017: p. 437-438).

The management of *Tiraz* was under a strict direction same as the mint because they had the name of the caliph as well as they included golden threads in its manufacturing. It formed an essential economic income in Egypt. In the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, the revenue of *Tiraz* was more than 200000 dinars per day (STILLMAN, SANDERS, RABBAT, 2000: P. 537). However, treasures of these luxurious textiles were sold, and fabrics woven with gold or silver were burned, and their metals were melted down during the famine happened in the time of al-Mustansir (O’KANE, 2018: p. 182).

## Artistic properties and embroidering techniques

Egyptian textile was mostly made of linen. According to the *Geniza* documents, there were twenty-two different types of linen used in the industry (GOITEIN, 1967: p. 104). Making painting on linen was difficult because it is dye-resistant. Therefore, most inscriptions on them were embroidered, usually in silk (MACKIE, 2015: p. 91).

By the early Fatimid period in Egypt, *Tiraz* was decorated with the floriated script, the tops of it were ending by upwards curving in a swan-neck style (MARZOUK, 1943: pp. 164-166). The text had two lines, one of them was everted, separating between them medallions including Coptic figural imagery (KÜHNEL, 1952: pp. 144-145; BIERMAN, 1980: p. 47; O’KANE, 2006: p. 176). One example from the reign of al-Mu’izz showed this artistic style as well as many cases from the reign of al-Aziz and al-Hakim that adopted it too (KÜHNEL & BELLINGER, 1952: p. 140-143).

Besides the name of the caliph-imam, inscriptions on the *Tiraz* had Shi’i significance. Phrases such as blessings upon the prophet and his pure family, the pure Imams, the caliph’s pure ancestors and descendants, and grace from God on his friend the Imam (SOKOLY, 2017: p. 282). Moreover, from the reign of al-Hakim onward, the name of the prior imam and the name of the heir to the present ruler were mentioned in these inscriptions too (O’KANE, 2018: pp. 181-182).

Lack of interest in the inscriptions on textiles had started by the time of al-Hakim. Where examples related to him have shown poor quality of legends and reduced the phrases to only “*al-mulk li’llah*” as well as bands of arabesques (O’KANE, 2018: p. 183; MACKIE, 2015: p. 101), then, by the time of al-Zahir onward, they became artistic elements only for decoration (O’KANE, 2006: p. 166).

By the 12<sup>th</sup> century, significant changes have occurred in the script. In which the words were written in *Naskh* font after being in Kufic. Moreover, phrases have been limited to *Nasr min allah wa fath qarib* (PHILON, 1980: p. 298; BRITTON, 1942: p. 163).

In the technical part, Fatimids replaced the wool in the decoration by upholstery. They also replaced the lichen orchilla, the dye used by the Copts for the red colour, by the pellets. Another innovation was the use of the pedal loom, which provided a faster and better quality in the execution of the fabric (CABRERA LAFUENTE & BARCELO, 1998: p. 55).

### **Fatimid textiles in the Iberian Peninsula**

Despite the high quality of Andalusí textile and its exportations, the demand for luxurious *Tiraz* from different regions as well as the diplomatic gifts was the reason for having imported textiles in the Iberian Peninsula (LOMBARD: 1978: p. 94; ROSSER-OWEN, 2010: p. 34). Fatimid Egyptian textile was one of these imported goods besides the Byzantine, Baghdadi, Sicilian, and other Islamic commodities (PARTEARROYO, 1992: p. 106; RODRÍGUEZ PEINADO, 2017: 189-190).

In the funerary trousseau of San Ramon del Monte, the cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Spain, a Fatimid band of linen woven with taffeta was part of the shroud. This piece was classified in the X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries. It has a decorative border with silk patterns in the upholstery, decorated with interlocking circular medallions that house quadrupeds and in the interstices plant motifs topped with flowers of circular buttons (Fig. 34). This artistic and technical style had clear influences on the Andalusí *tiraz*, as they reveal pieces such as the almaizar de Hisham II (RODRÍGUEZ PEINADO, 2017: 198).

Another finding that is thought to have a Fatimid origin was the embroidery that lines the lid of the casket of the Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León (Fig. 35) (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 49).

## 5. Ivory

Ivory was rarely used during the early Islamic periods. No ivory remains were found during the excavations of the Umayyad and the Abbasid sites (PINDER-WILSON, 1986: p. 200). However, the Fatimid industry of ivory and its commerce was revived and monopolised by them through the Christian Coptic artisans (GALÁN Y GALINDO, 2011: p. 55).

### **Artistic characteristics and manufacturing techniques**

The iconography of the Fatimid ivory included figural representation in the scenes of chase between human and animal set against a background of scrollwork. These scenes were painted in colours. Where painted ivory was used since then and continued to show during the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries on Ayyubid and Mamluk masterpieces (ETTINGHAUSEN, 1942: p. 112; GALÁN Y GALINDO, 2011: p. 55; PINDER-WILSON, 1986: pp. 200-201).

There were two techniques of the carving decoration applied to Fatimid ivory. Muslim artisans adopted the method of incrustation in which carving was made in two levels: a low relief of interlacing scrolls in the background, and a higher relief with the central motifs. Whereas, the Copts maintained the more ancient style of intarsia decoration which the carving was on one level only with the variation of the designs. Relief cutting style was implemented on a group ascribed to the Fatimid period too. This group comprises ivory oliphants or hunting horns and caskets. The decoration consists of staggered circles containing an animal or bird in each one of them. In the caskets, human figures were included too. This style was used later in Muslim Spain too (PINDER-WILSON, 1986: pp. 200-201; CONTADINI, 2005: p. 238).

### **Fatimid ivory findings in the Iberian Peninsula**

There is a Fatimid ivory casket in the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid (Fig. 36). It is rectangular, and the sides are decorated with a border of scroll-work painted in green and red. This box was discovered during the excavations that happened in the church of San Zoilo in Carrión de Los Condes, Palencia. The inscriptions bore on it tells us that it was made for the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz in al-Mansuriyya by a[hmad] al-Khurasani. Shi'ite phrases are also included on this casket as well as a Koranic verse (61:13) (CONTADINI, 2005: p. 228; ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 43; EZZY & PLNDER-WLLSON, 1976: p. 151).

Comparing the supplicating inscription with the textile seems that the style was adopted only before the conquest of Egypt. So, it should be carved before 969 (CALVO CAPILLA, 2011: p. 89; BLOOM, 1997: pp. 20-21; ARMANDO, 2016: pp. 201-203; GALÁN Y GALINDO, 2005: p. 51-52). According to the shape of the upper cover of the casket which is consisted of two parts, it is suggested to be used as *Rab'ah* or holders of luxury books written with gold and silver (SANTA-CRUZ, 2017: pp. 241-242).

There is a group of ivory combs that found its way to the treasuries of European churches and was used for liturgical purposes (PINDER-WILSON, 1986: p. 200). Among these pieces, there is an ivory comb of San Ramon del Monte, Spain. This one was robbed from the cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Spain in 1980. It shows a Coptic priest on one of its faces and the other a gazelle (Fig. 37). This comb was dated to the X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries (GALÁN Y GALINDO, 2011: pp. 35, 42; KUHNEL, 1971: p. 78). Moreover, there is a fragment of a comb found in Murcia. The material of this comb is not known if it is made of bone or ivory (Fig. 38). A. Galán Y Galindo assumes that it is one of the Fatimid productions from the XII<sup>th</sup> century in case it was made of ivory (GALÁN Y GALINDO, 2011: p. 56).

## 6. Stones

It's important to mention here the stone of a fountain in the Castell Reial de Palma de Mallorca. This piece, ends with a protome of a lion head (Fig. 39). Due to its prototype which seems familiar for the Fatimid designs, it is most probably one of the Fatimid productions too (ZOZAYA, 2010: p. 13).

## CONCLUSION

Geography of the Mediterranean Sea including the direction of currents and prevailing winds in the eastern part, made sailing in the western part of the sea more favorable. Moreover, the capture of the islands of Crete and Cyprus by the Byzantines put Sicily in lead to the movements of the Muslim ships.

Seizing Sicily was the point of strength and the strong launch of the Fatimid state towards the domination of maritime movements. From there, they posed their power over the Byzantines and threatened them in which they had to pay tributes.

Fatimid-Andalusi relationships had hostilities mainly during the Umayyad caliphate. They were using the strategy of cold war by supporting rebels and allies in the other's land. However, these relationships became much better during the Taifa period starting by the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Taifa rulers such as Ali ibn Mujahid the governor of Dénia sent supplying ships to the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. At this period, the Mediterranean became a free trade zone and Andalusi ports became so important and busy with commercial movements.

Indeed, we have a lot of archaeological findings of Fatimid materials in the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands. Those were generally the fruits of trade between the two regions during the peaceful times. However, in some cases we have some interesting results that need to be explained more.

### Coins

Coins are the tool for trade. Their existence in one area usually indicates to its engagement with commerce. In our case, the existence of Fatimid coins in the different regions of al-Andalus may also have further explanation.

The presence of coins related to Ubay Allah al-Mahdi in al-Andalus raises questions about the nature of their use at that time. As we know, hostilities between the Fatimids

and the Umayyads were at the peak during the rule of both al-Mahdi and Abd al-Rahman III. Perhaps, the existence of these coins in Algave is related to the remaining Berbers of Nafza and Kutama tribes living in the Guadiana Valley. Those who participated in the revolution of Ibn al-Qitt and al-Sarraj previously in 901. The existence of other pieces in Castellón, Alicante and Córdoba is hard to explain. However, we might suggest that they were imported before 931 when Abd al-Rahman has already declared his caliphate and captured important ports of Morocco.

We notice the absence of coins related to al-Qa'im and al-Mansur. We might link that with political situation between the two states as well as the strict observation of Abd al-Rahman to the Fatimid movements into al-Andalus.

Fatimids coins re-existed in al-Andalus during the time of al-Muizz and al-Aziz. It is maybe related to the fact that Fatimids posed their control over Maghreb during the time of al-Muizz. Moreover, the state has reached to its most extension during the time of al-Aziz.

We see a big increase in number of Fatimid coins related to al-Hakim. It can be explained by the unrest between the Andalusí rulers during the *fitna*. The coins of al-Hakim had almost similar average of gold and silver while the rate changes in the time of al-Zahir and al-Mustansir. Whereas, the silver coins decrease starting in the time of al-Zahir and disappear in the coins of al-Mustansir. Perhaps, the silver coins were used to pay the *Paria* tribute of silver to the Christians of the north during the Taifa period.

### Metalwork

All the metalwork findings we have are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The most important is the treasure of Dénia, which was sent to Dénia during the Taifa period most probably. We can't confirm when it was sent exactly, but we suggest that it was sent during the rule of Ali ibn Mujahid. As we know, there were many embassies between him and the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. Dénia treasure can be sent in one of the returning ships of Ali from Egypt. These ships were full of gifts sent to the Andalusí ruler from the Fatimid caliph.

Other luxurious metalworks were the three caskets of silver-gilt and niello. They are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century too. We don't know exactly how they became a part of the treasury of the Real Colegiata of San Isidoro de León and the Cámara Santa of Oviedo Cathedral. They probably were transferred during the *Reconquista* as well as the pilgrimage movements through the Camino de Santiago.

There are also the two oil lamps, one of them is discovered in the south of Portugal. They are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps, it was transferred during the Taifa period. We don't have an accurate date of its production. However, it is another evidence of the traffic between the Fatimid state and al-Andalus during the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Another evidence of the Fatimid metalwork findings was the two bronze legs of a brazier from Madinat Ilbira. They are in the Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada but we couldn't get know more information about its chronology.

Jewelry pieces had different chronology. Among them, the pair of earrings in the treasure of "Ermita Nueva", Jaen were accompanied with some coins of al-Hakim dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, they are dated to the same period. Another pair of earrings in the Museum of Mallorca is dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, the pendants and the bead of the Nasrid period (15<sup>th</sup> century) showed an interesting influences of the Fatimid style on them. These pieces showed the demand on luxurious artifacts and precious commodities in al-Andalus, which most probably was by the caliph or the court persons.

## Ceramics

Fatimid lusterware ceramics didn't exist in al-Andalus until the 11<sup>th</sup> century. They were found in Valencia, Medinaceli and Termes. These findings indicate to the importance of Valencia and its port starting by the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Taifa period.

Fatimid influenced the Abbadid ceramics. We have many examples showing the imitation of the exact style adopted by the Fatimids. They only replaced the name of al-Hakim with the name of the Abbadid Mu'tamid or Mu'tadid. The ceramists who made these imitations can't be just professional Andalusis. They obviously were the same

Egyptian ceramists brought by the Abbadid rulers to teach the local ceramists their techniques.

We also have the findings of the Ebro Valley, dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. These pieces were produced in Andalusian workshops. They didn't have the direct Fatimid effects which were evident on the ceramics of the Abbadids. However, these pieces had influences and came from the production of the Huidies, the rulers of the Taifa of Zaragoza. Though they didn't choose the exact style as the Sevillians.

### Rock crystals

There are no evidences of rock crystal manufacturing in al-Andalus during the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this period, Egypt was famous in this industry. Thus, all the findings of this material were classified as mostly Fatimid. Although some may refer to the Iraqi rock crystals, the studies made on the style and carving techniques showed their Fatimid origin.

As we mentioned about the jewelry findings, their presence shows the demand on luxurious artifacts and precious commodities in al-Andalus. In fact, we can't expect their chronology. However, they were transferred to the north in the same way adopted for other luxury examples.

### Textile

We have two findings of embroidery of Fatimid origin. The first one is in the funerary trousseau of San Ramon del Monte, the cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Spain. This piece was classified in the X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries. Its artistic and technical style had clear influences on the Andalusian *tiraz*, as they reveal pieces such as the *almaizar* de Hisham II. The other one lines the lid of the casket of the Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León.

As we know that *Tiraz* or "embroidery" had a high level of appreciation during the Fatimid rule. Its religious status came by its use as a *baraka*-imbued shroud. Maybe this concept had its influence on the Christians of north Spain when they used this Fatimid *tiraz* in funeral and religious jobs.

## Ivory

like the other luxurious objects, the ivory casket of al-Muizz was preserved in a church. It is thought to be carved before 969. The most interesting part of this casket is having the name of the Fatimid caliph which makes it a possible caliphal gift? This assumption does not correspond to historical facts about the relationships between al-Muizz and Abd al-Rahman III or his son al-Hakam II.

We also have the ivory comb of San Ramon del Monte, Spain. It shows a Coptic priest on one of its faces and the other a gazelle. This comb was dated during the X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries. Moreover, there is a fragment of a comb found in Murcia. It might be one of the Fatimid productions from the XII<sup>th</sup> century.

## Stones

Finally, we have the stone of a fountain in the Castell Reial de Palma de Mallorca. Which seems familiar for the Fatimid designs in the metalwork using protome of a lion head.

Eventually, we notice that the intensity of commercial movements was in the 11<sup>th</sup> century according to fact that the majority of findings are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the eastern coasts were the domain for these movements due to the geographical distribution of the findings.

Finally, we notice that Portugal and *Gharb* al-Andalus didn't have much of the results. Maybe because of the distance that ships had to follow and the risks of sailing against the currents via the Strait of Gibraltar.

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# ANNEX

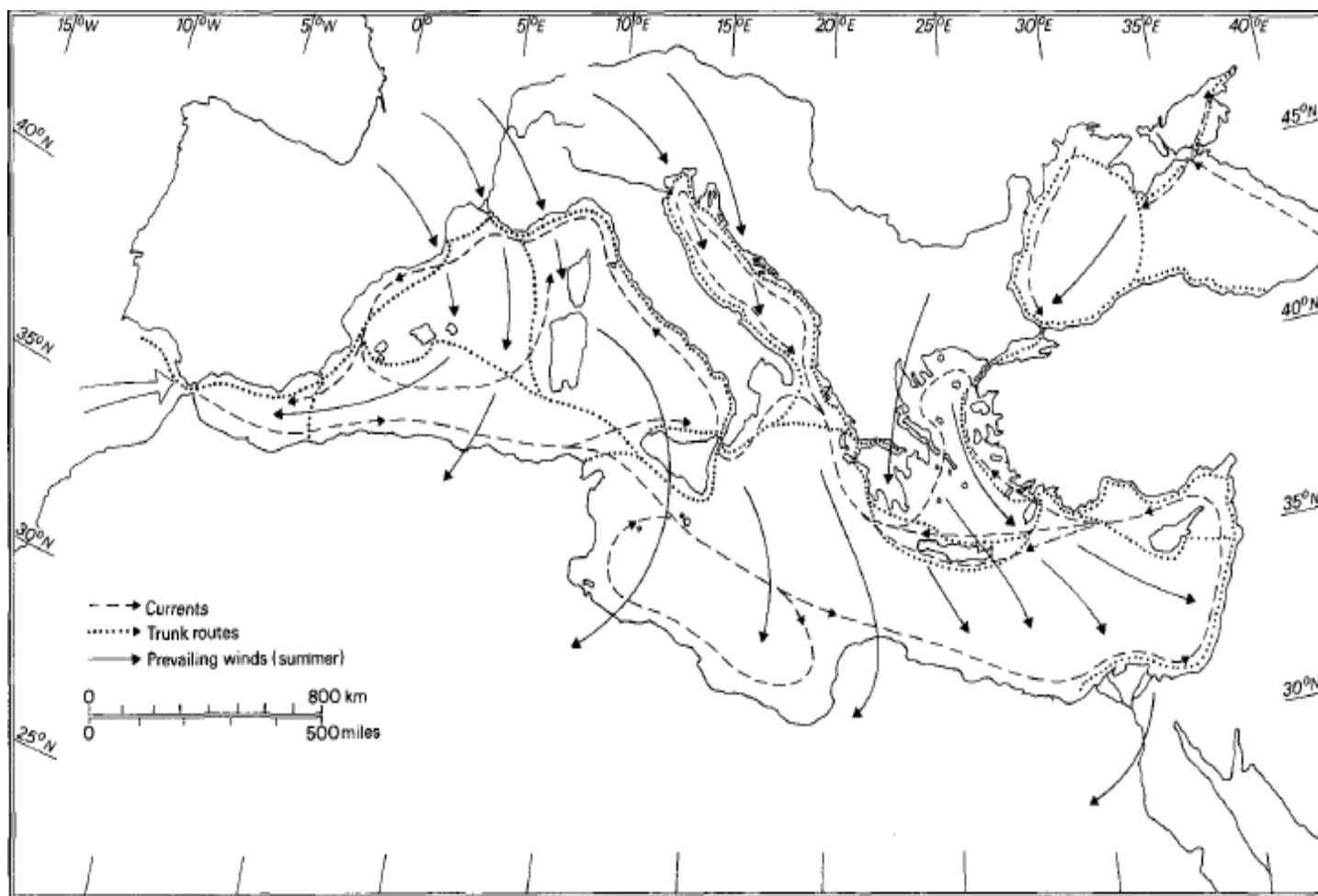
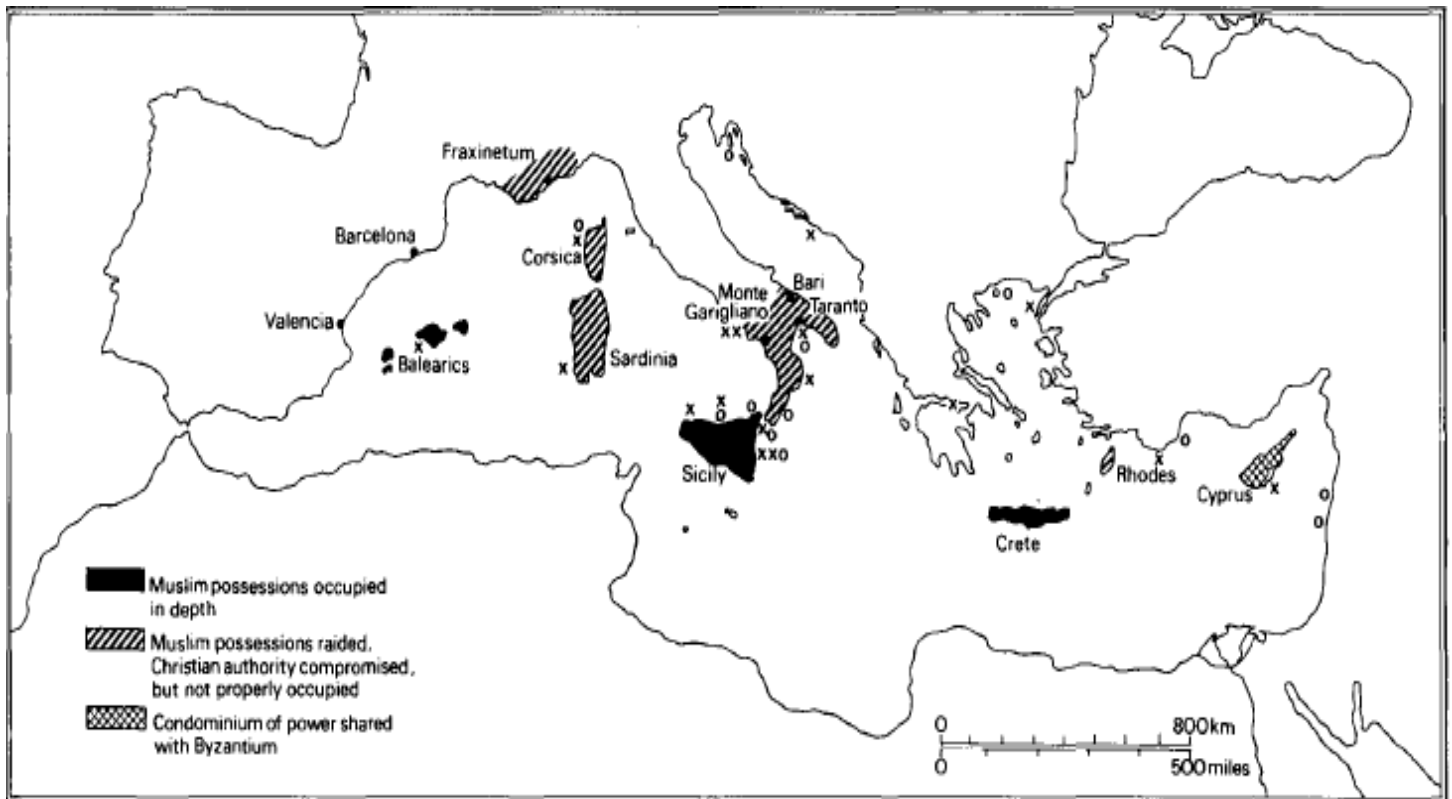


Fig. 1. *Currents, prevailing winds and the trunk routes in the Mediterranean in summer during the X<sup>th</sup> century (Pryor, 1988)*



Muslim possessions

Balearics	902-1229
Barcelona	711-802
Bari	840-71
Corsica	c. 900-1077
Crete	c. 824-961
Cyprus	649-965
Fraxinetum	c. 888-975

Major naval engagements

Malta	869-1091
Monte Garigliano	882/3-915
Rhodes	654-?
Sardinia	c. 900-1015
Sicily	827-c. 1070
Taranto	840-880
Valencia	c. 711-1238

x - Christian victories  
o - Muslim victories

Apulia	858 (o)
Attalya	790 (o)
Beirut	975 (o)
Cape Stilo	880 (x)
Cefalu	859 (o)
Corinth	879 (x)
Corsica	806 (o), 807 (x)
Crotone	840 (o)
Cyprus	963 (x)
Dubrovnik	867 (x)
Lemnos	923 (x)
Lycia	1035 (x)
Majorca	813 (x)
Messina	965 (o), 1005-6 (x)

Milazzo	880 (x), 888 (o)
Naples	842 (x), 879 (x)
Palermo	1063 (x)
Quarnero	841 (o)
Sardinia	1015 (x)
Syracuse	827 (x), 868 (x), 878 (o)
Taranto	867 (x)
Thasos	829 (o)
Tyre	998 (o)

Fig. 2. Muslim possessions and major naval engagement in the Mediterranean Sea during the IX<sup>th</sup> and the XI<sup>th</sup> centuries (Pryor, 1988)



Fig. 3. *Fatimid one-eighth of silver dirham from Mértola* (Photo from Campo Arqueológico de Mértola)

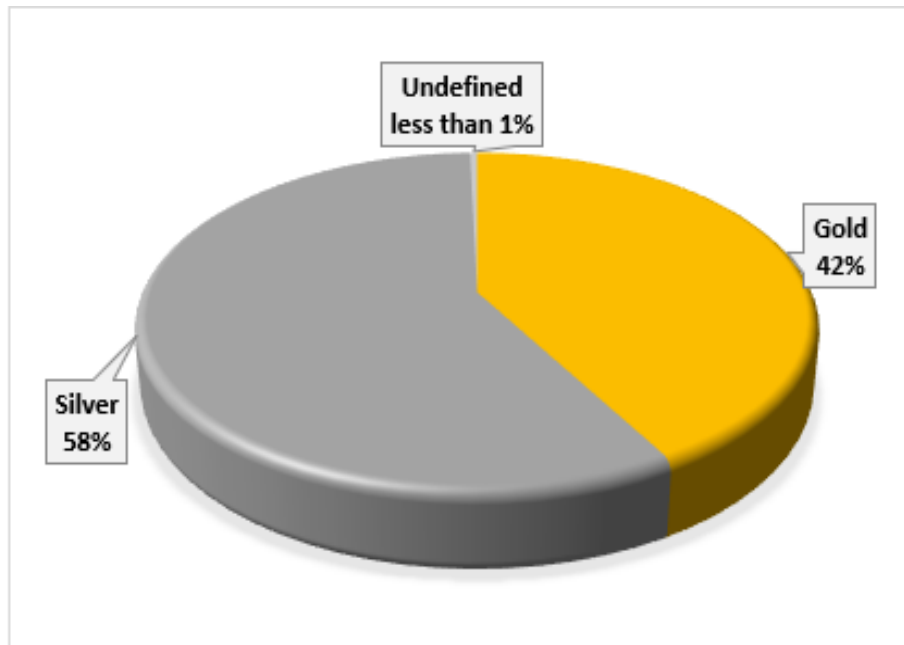


Fig. 4. *The Metal of the Fatimid coins in al-Andalus*

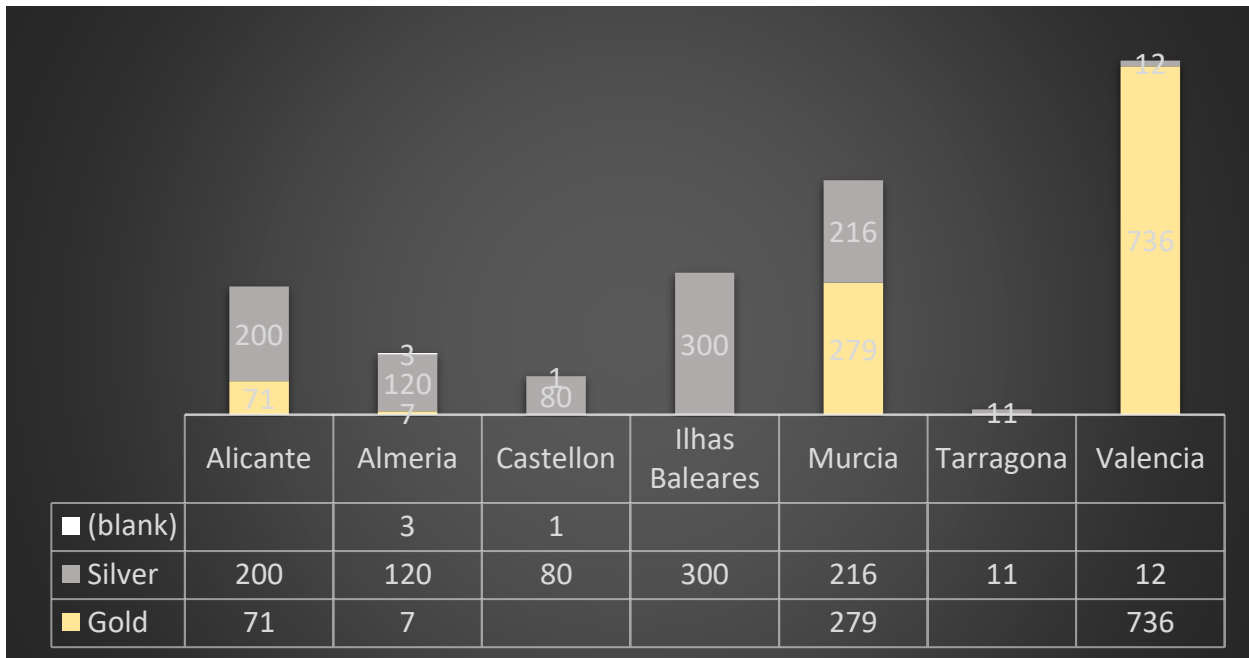


Fig. 5. *The Fatimid coins in Šarq al-Andalus*

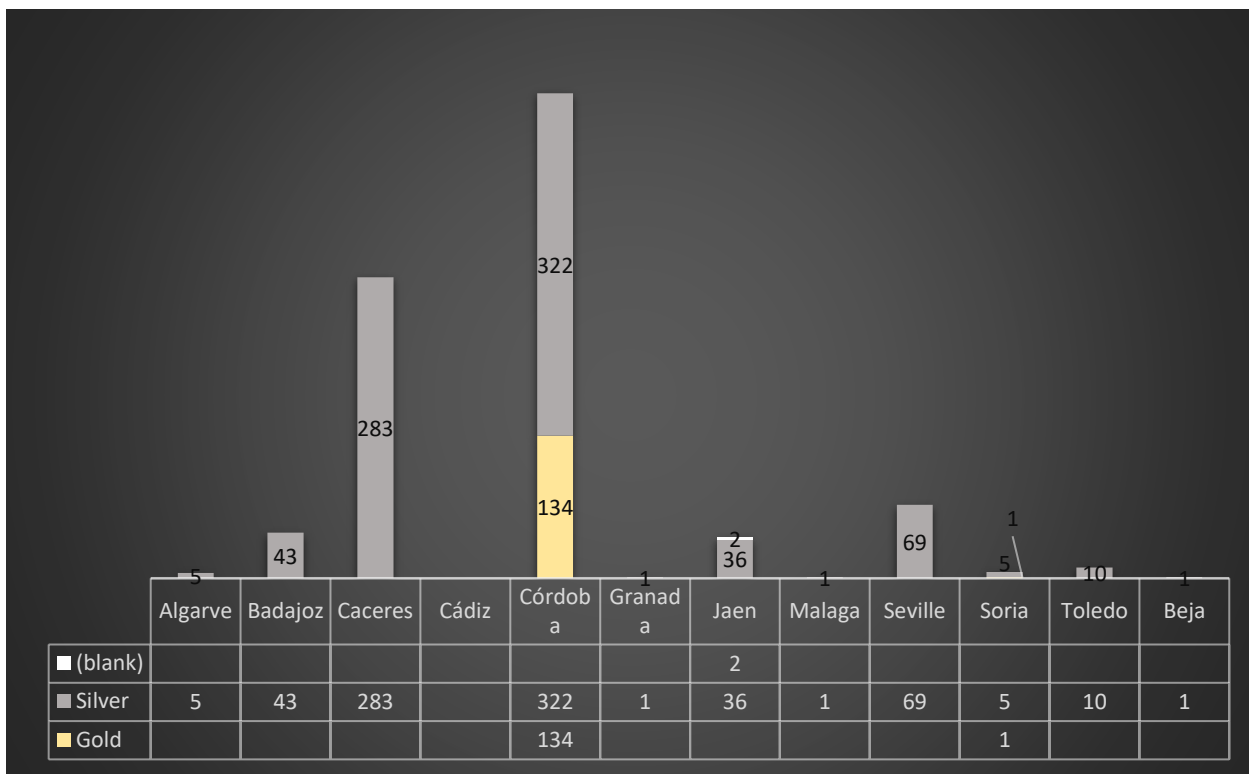


Fig. 6. *The Fatimid coins in Gharb al-Andalus and the internal areas*

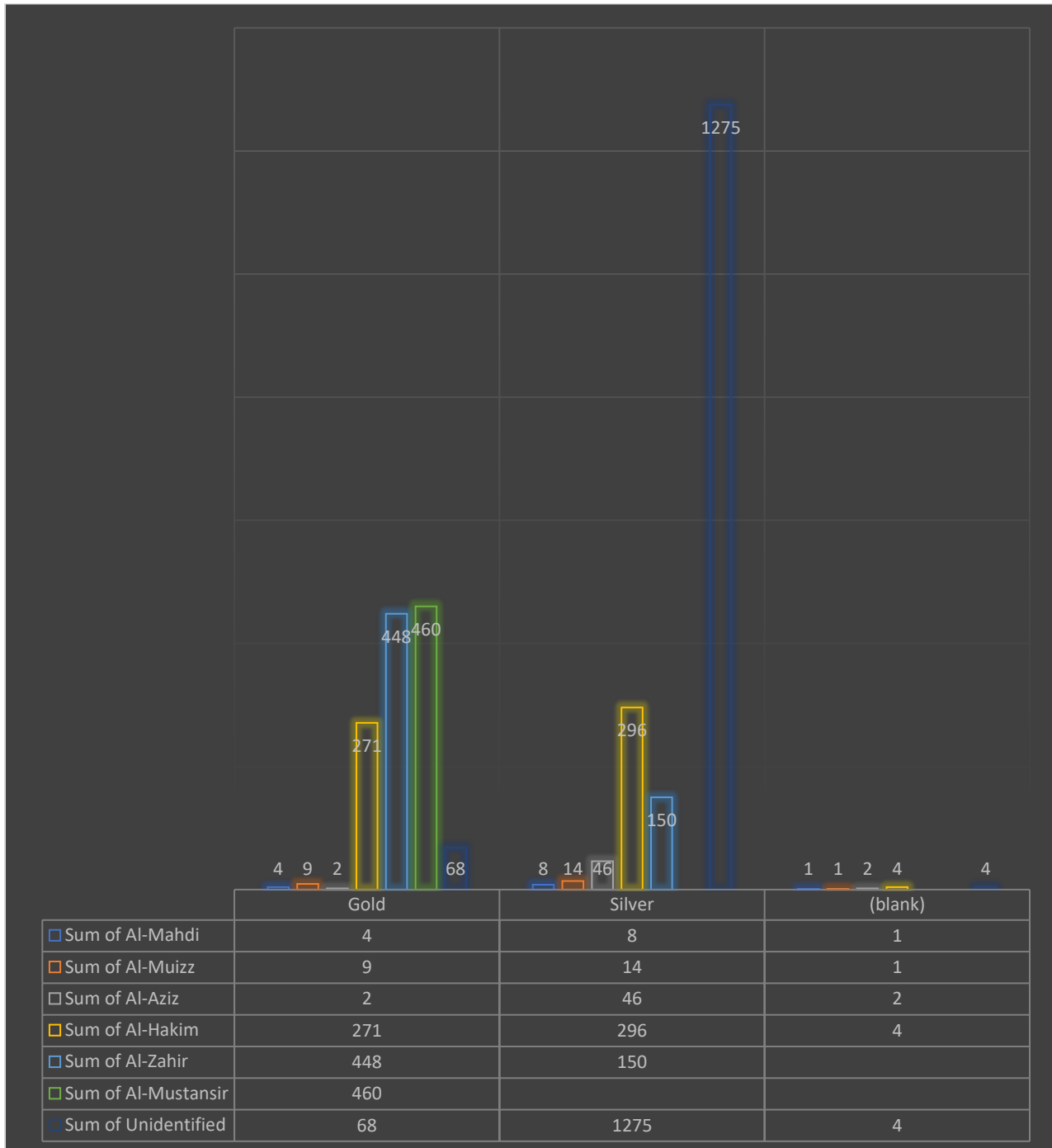


Fig. 7. *The belonging of the Fatimid coins in al-Andalus: al-Mahdi (909-934 A.D.), al-Muizz (952-975 A.D.), al-Aziz (975-996 A.D.), Al-Hakim (996-1021 A.D.), al-Zahir (1021-1035 A.D.), al-Mustansir (1035-1094 A.D.)*

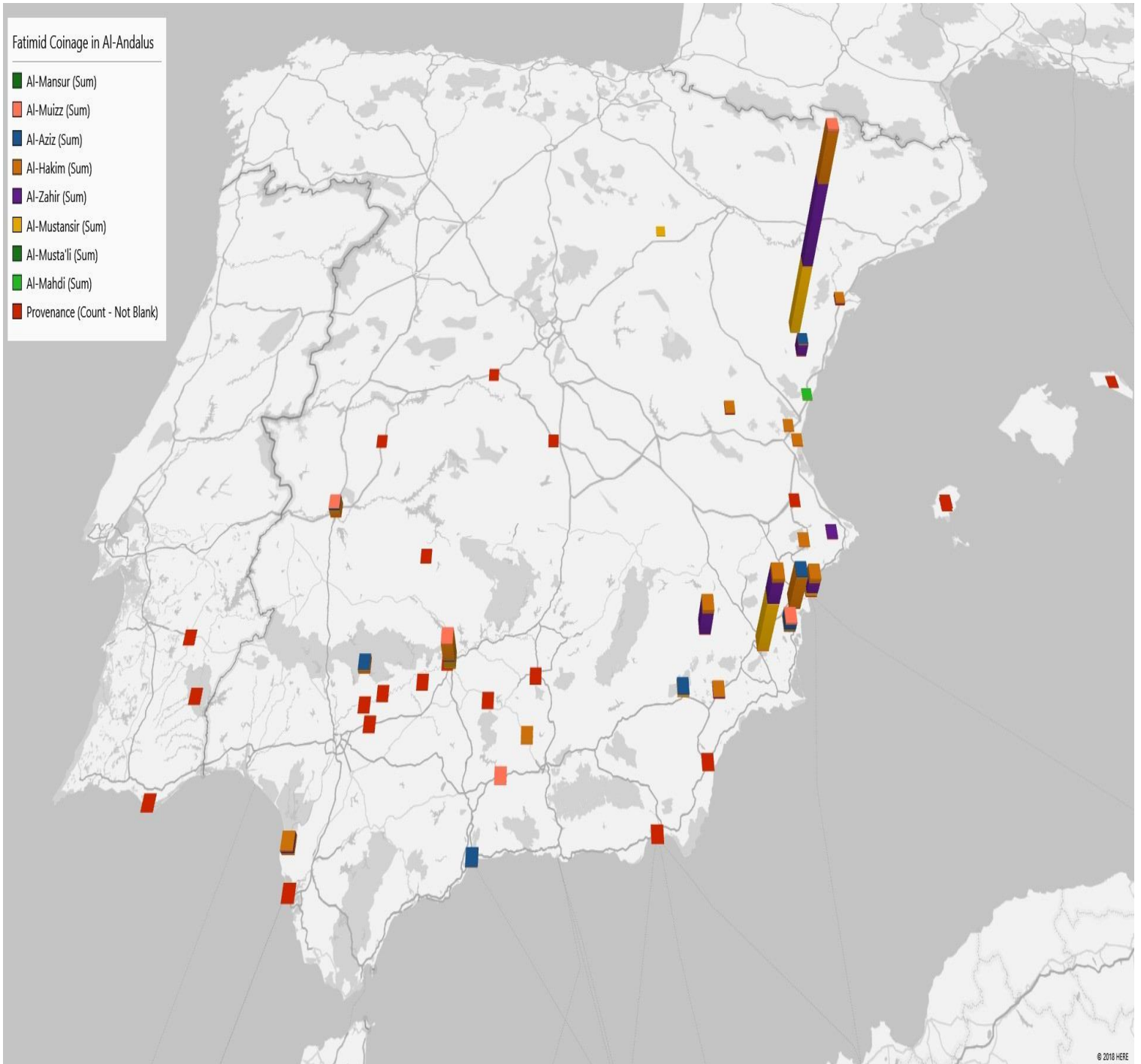


Fig. 8. *The geographical distribution of the Fatimid coins in the Iberian Peninsula and the average of coins related to each caliph.*

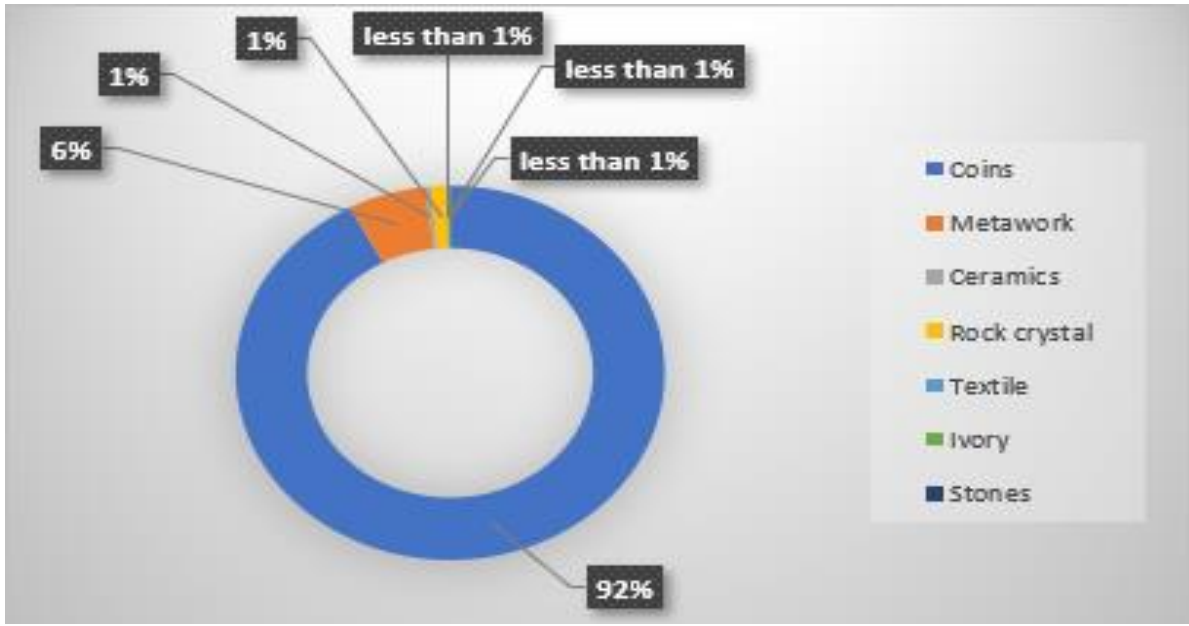


Fig. 9. The average of the Fatimid materials in the Iberian Peninsula

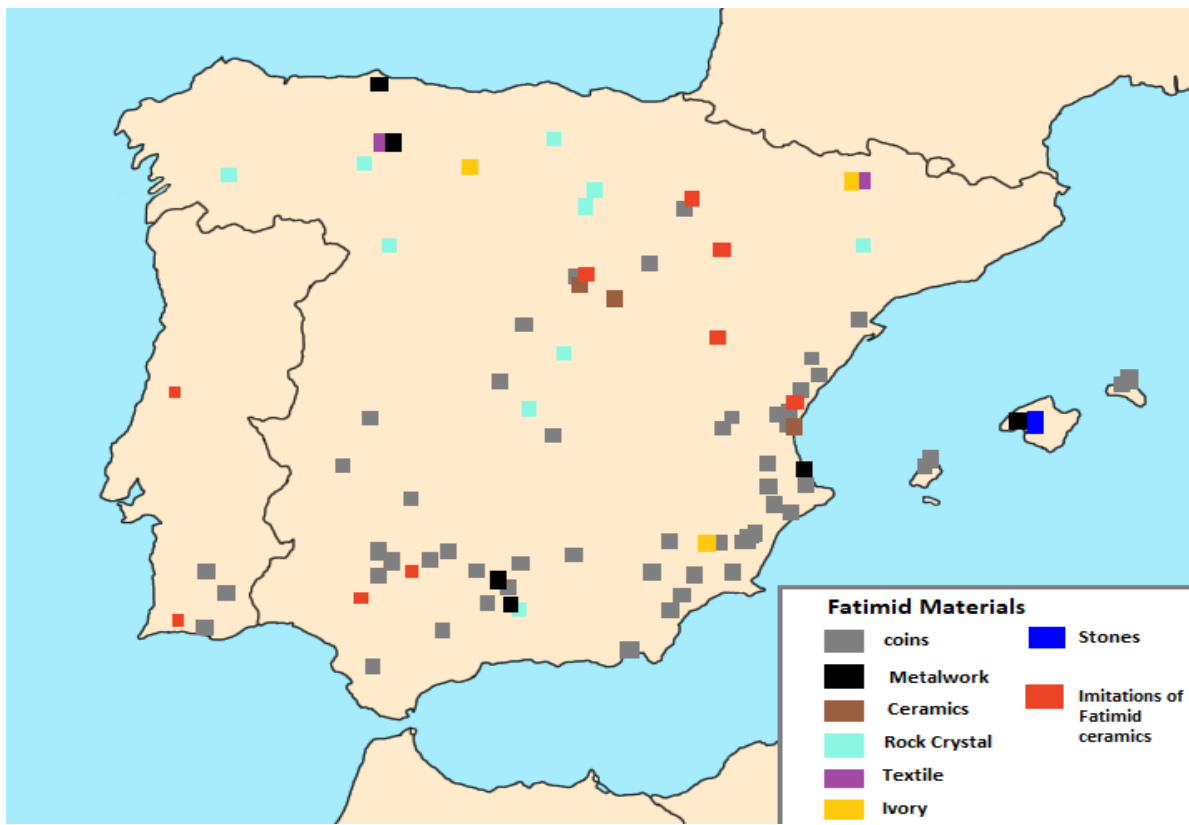


Fig. 10. The distribution of the Fatimid materials and their imitations in al-Andalus

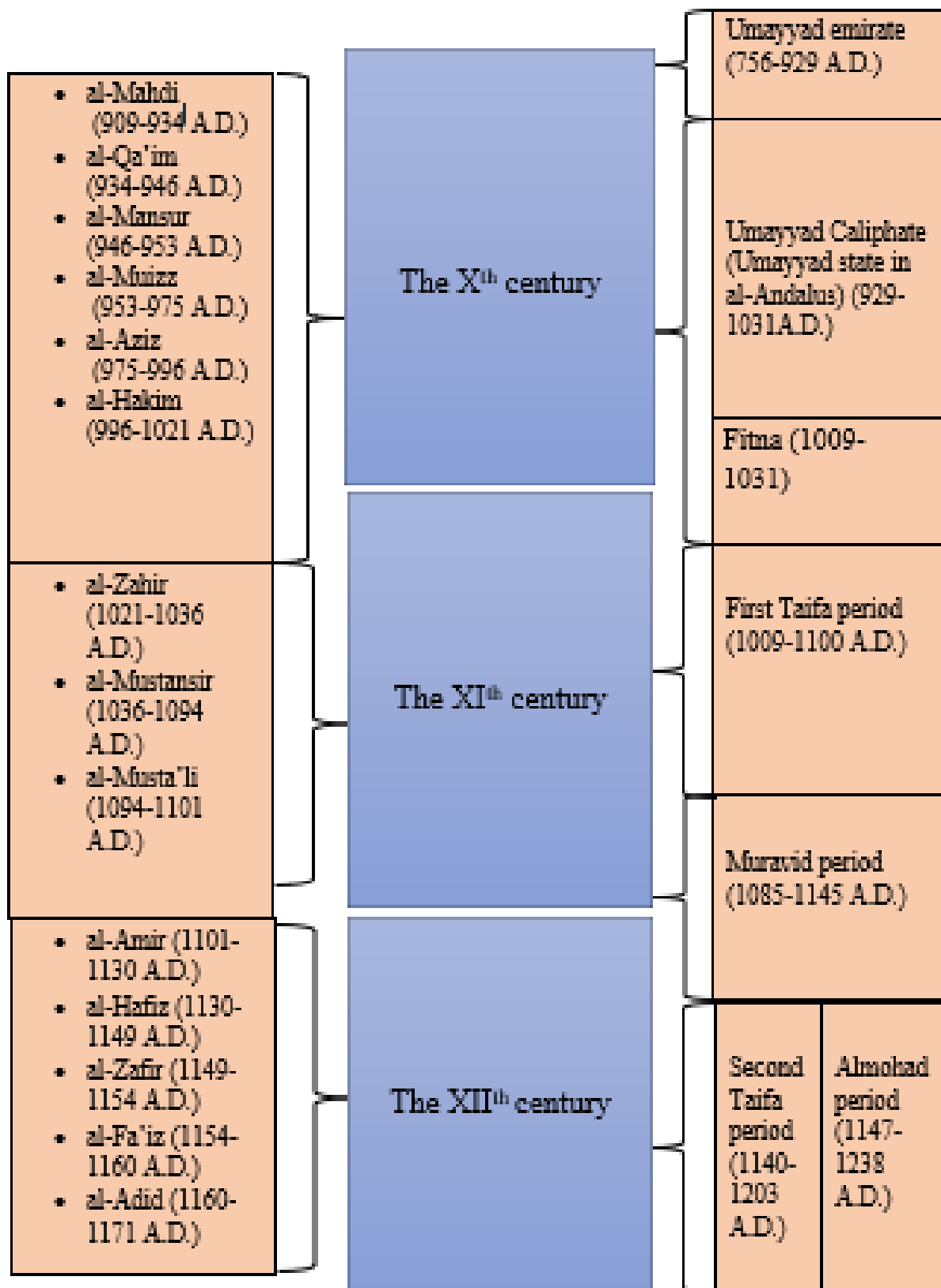


Fig. 11. *Fatimid-Andalusi chronological parallels*



Fig. 12. *Casket of silver-gilt and niello made for Sadaqa ibn Yusuf, vizier of al-Mustansir. It is dated to 1044-7, was in the treasury of the Real Colegiata of San Isidoro de León (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 44)*



Fig. 13. *Fatimid Casket of silver-gilt and niello dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century probably. Formed a part of the treasury of the Real Colegiata of San Isidoro de León (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 45)*



Fig. 14. A wood, silver-gilt, and niello casket containing the relics of Santa Eulalia of Mérida. Dated to the late eleventh or twelfth century probably. It is in the Cámara Santa of Oviedo Cathedral (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 45)

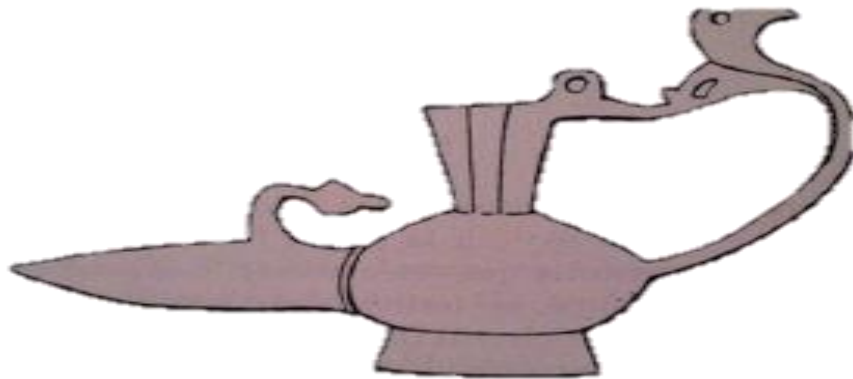


Fig. 15. Oil lamp was found in Spain, dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It has a possible Fatimid origin (BILOTTO, 2013: p. 488)

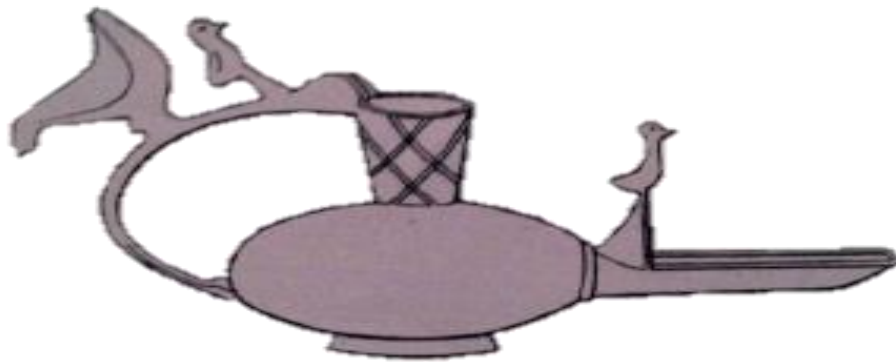


Fig. 16. Oil lamp was found in the south of Portugal, dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It has a possible Fatimid origin (BILOTTO, 2013: p. 489)

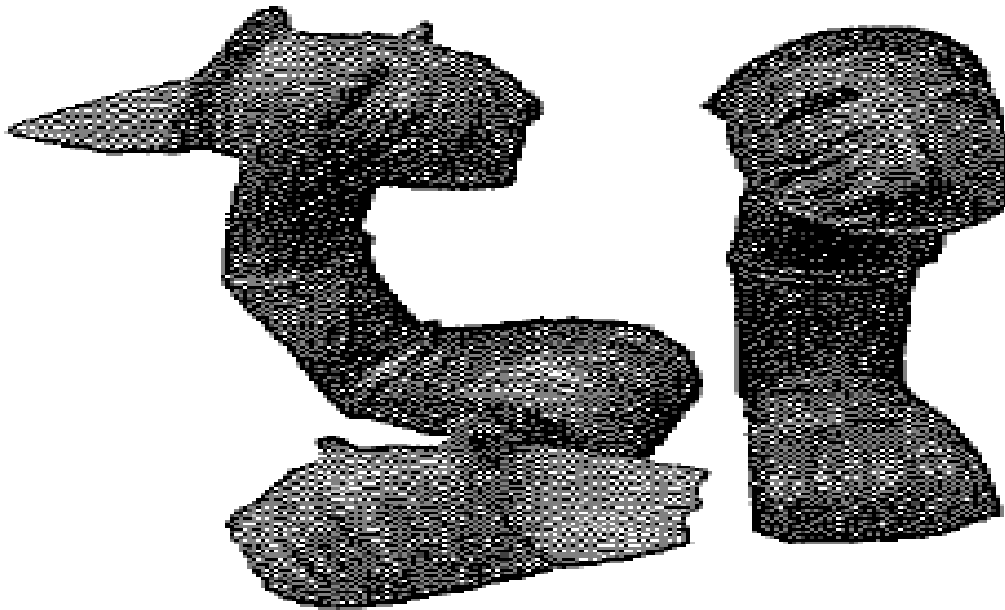


Fig. 17. Two bronze legs of a brazier from Madinat Ilbira in the Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada. Those can be some of the imported Fatimid production in the Iberian Peninsula (ZOZAYA, 2010: p. 13)

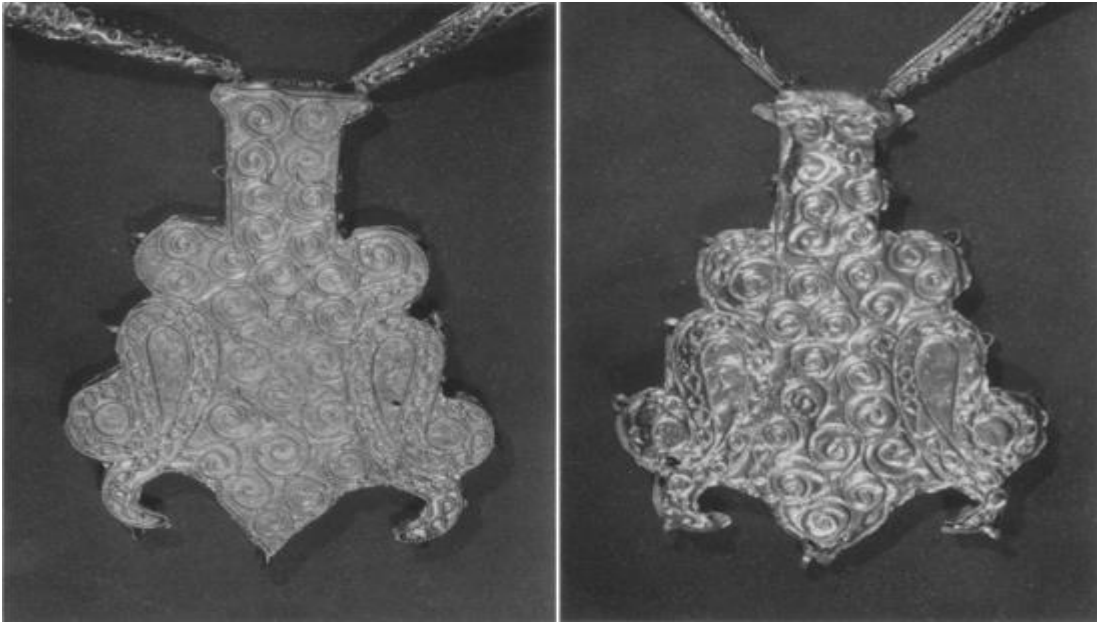


Fig. 18. A pendant from a Nasrid Spanish necklace (15<sup>th</sup> century), thought to be a Fatimid imitation. It is preserved in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 52)

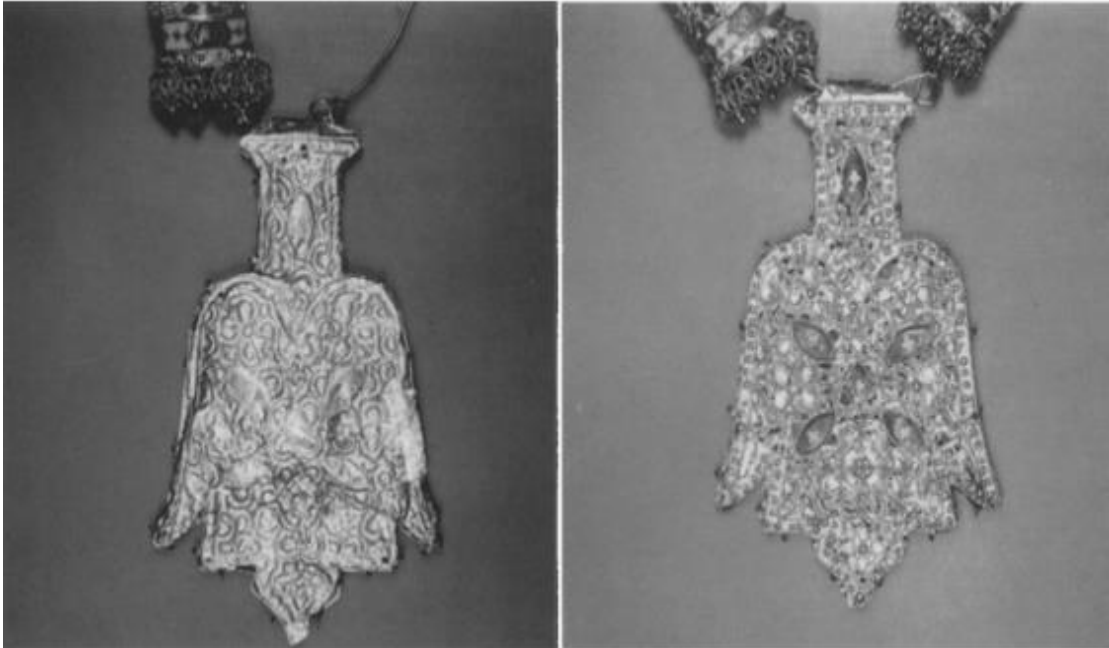


Fig. 19. A pendant from a Nasrid Spanish necklace (15<sup>th</sup> century) thought to be a Fatimid imitation. It is preserved in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 53)

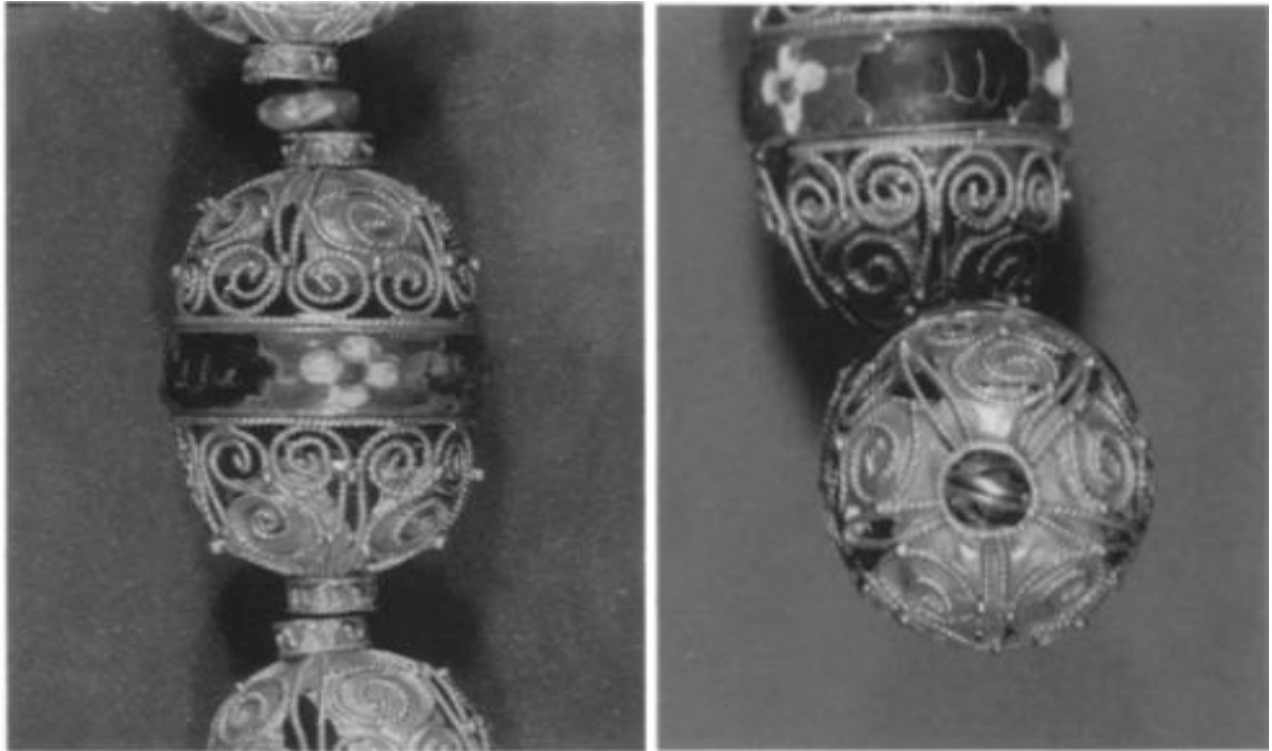


Fig. 20. A Nasrid Spanish bead thought to be a Fatimid imitation. It is preserved in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 54)

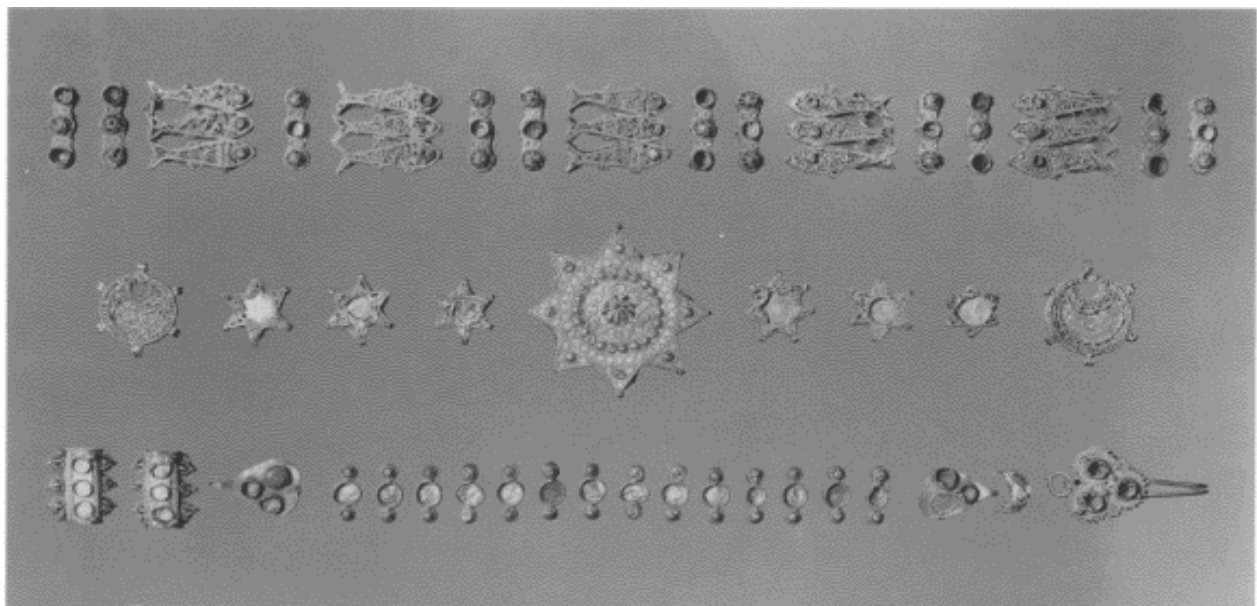


Fig. 21. Five fish elements and two crescent-shaped pendants with Fatimid influence from the group of Madinat al-Zahra in the Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 55)

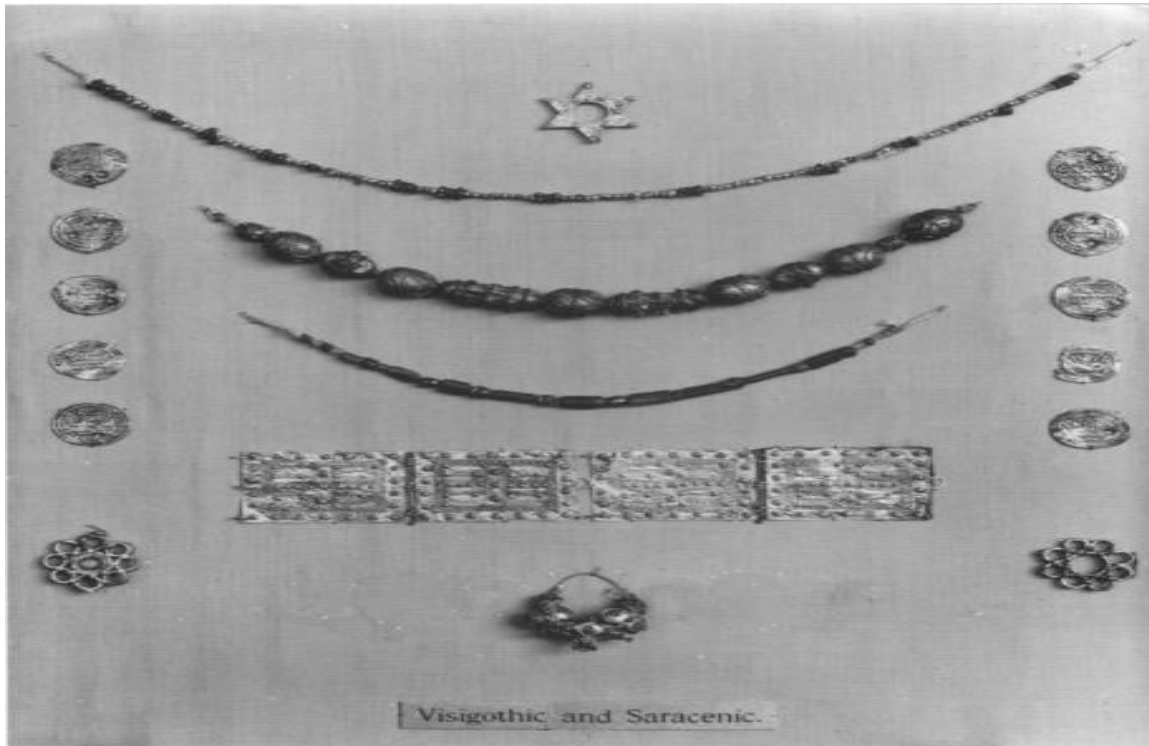


Fig. 22. The upper most star-shaped element has Fatimid influence was found in Spain, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 56)

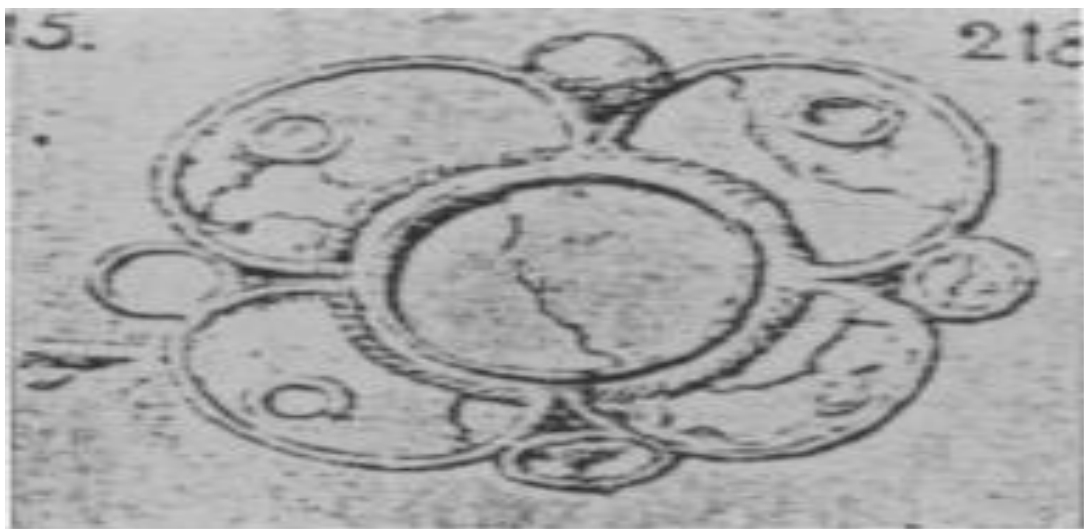


Fig. 23. An element of Fatimid influence was found in Madinat Elvira, , is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (JENKINS, 1988: pp. 57)



Fig. 24. *Pair of earrings dated probably to the 12<sup>th</sup> century with Fatimid influences. Is is in the Museo de Mallorca, Palma de Mallorca (ZOZAYA,1992: p. 300)*



Fig. 25. *Semi-circular earrings with Fatimid influence dated probably to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, were discovered in the treasure of Alcalá la Real “Ermita Nueva” in Jaén ( CANTO CARCIA, 2001: p. 228)*

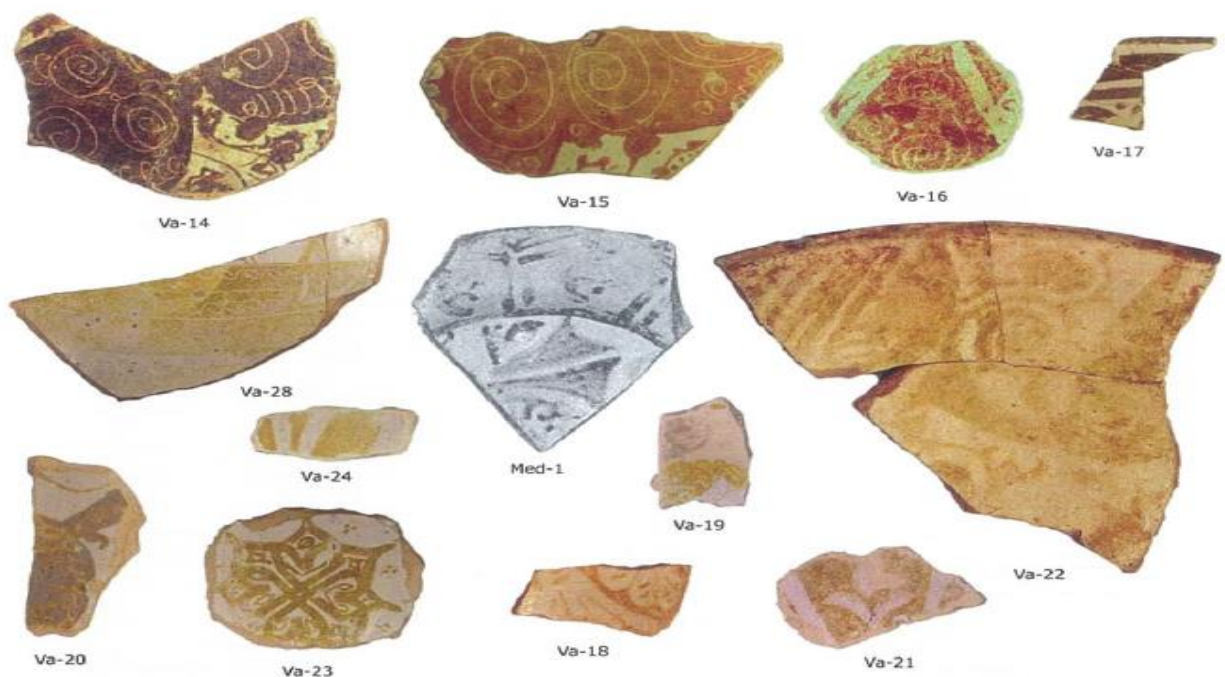


Fig. 26. *Fatimid imported ceramics in the Iberian Peninsula. All of them were found in Valencia except one from Medinaceli (HEIDENREICH, 2007: p. 460)*



Fig. 27. *Possibly Fatimid imported ceramics. All of them were from Valencia except one from Tiermes. They are dated between the XI<sup>th</sup>-XII<sup>th</sup> centuries. The fragment from Tiermes is most probably Fatimid. They have degreasers similar to pieces from the northeastern region of the Peninsula (HEIDENREICH, 2007: p. 460).*



Fig. 28. *Ceramics with fatimid imitation of the Taifa of Abbadids* (HEIDENREICH, 2007: p. 461)



Fig. 29. *Ceramics with Fatimid influence of an Ebro Valley workshop* (HEIDENREICH, 2007: p. 461)

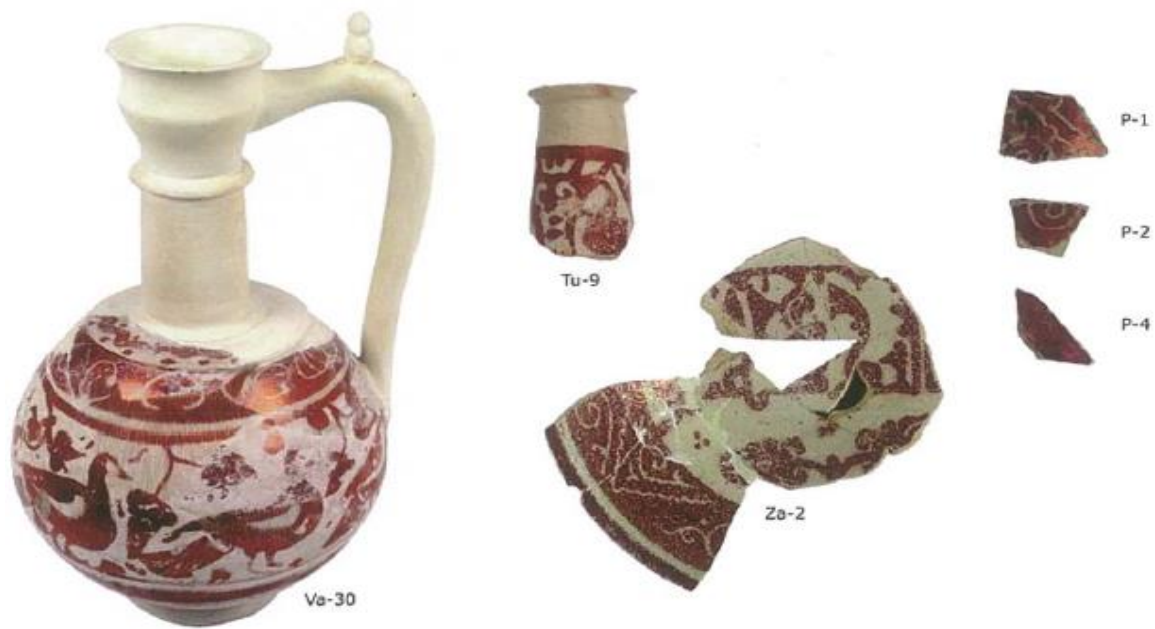


Fig. 30. *Ceramics with Fatimid influence of an Ebro Valley workshop* (HEIDENREICH, 2007: p. 462)



Fig. 31. *Fatimid imported chess pieces found in the Iberian Peninsula. They are preserved in the Museo Diocesano of Lérida* (PUIG SANCHIS, 2001: p. 79)



Fig. 32. *Fatimid bottle of rock crystal preserved in the Museo de la Catedral de Astorga* (GARCÍA GIMÉNEZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1996: p. 264)



Fig. 33. *Fatimid fragment of rock crystal found in Alcazaba de Badajoz* (GARCÍA GIMÉNEZ & VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, 1996: p. 262)



Fig. 34. A Fatimid band of linen woven with taffeta dated between the X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries. It formed a part of the shroud of the funerary trousseau of San Ramon del Monte, the cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Spain (RODRÍGUEZ PEINADO, 2017: 199).



Fig. 35. Lining embroidered with Silk and gold thread of the lid of the reliquary casket of San Isidoro. It is dated before 1063. It is in the Real Colegiata de San Isidoro (ROSSER-OWEN, 2015: p. 50)



Fig. 36. *Ivory casket made for al-Muizz in the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid*  
(Photo taken by the author)

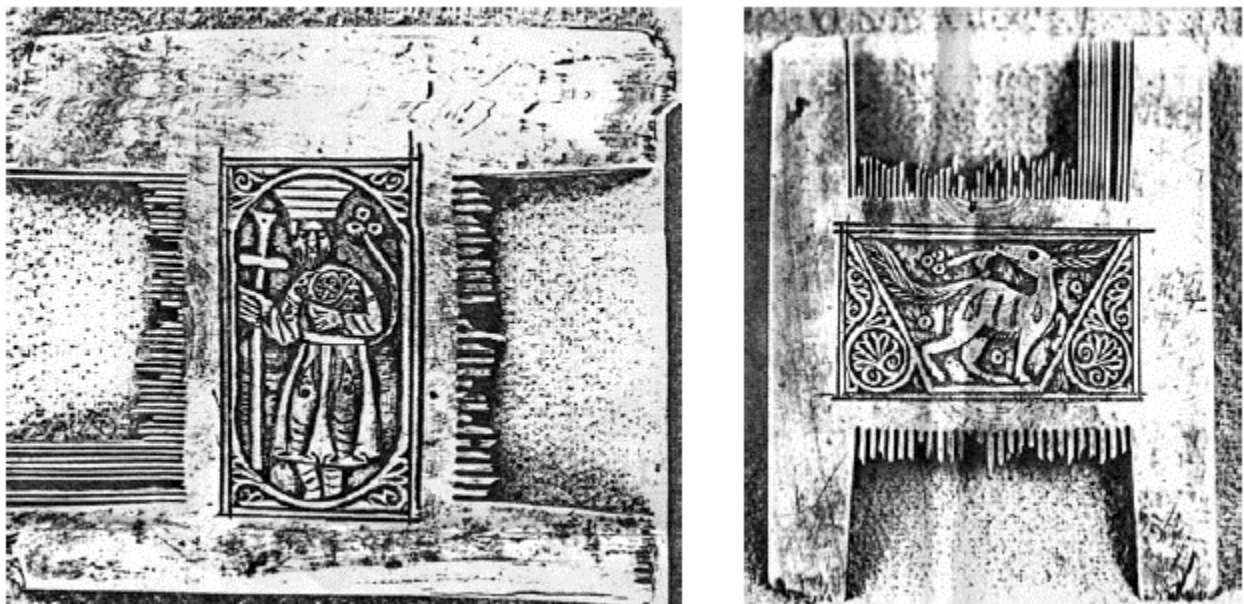


Fig. 37. *An ivory Fatimid comb of San Ramon del Monte, Spain. It was robbed from the cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Spain in 1980* (GALÁN Y GALINDO, 2011: p. 36)

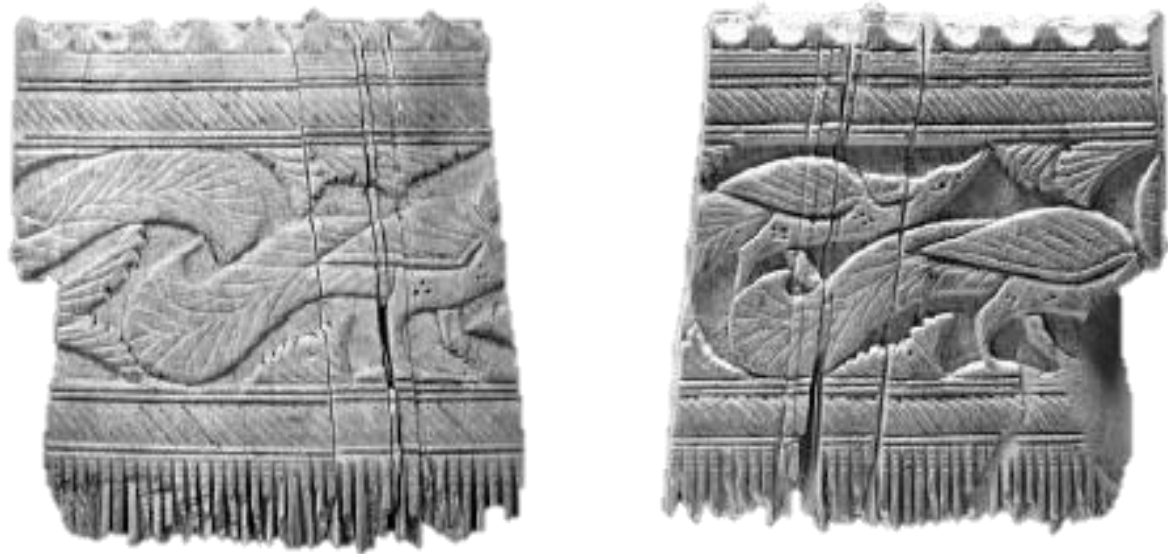


Fig. 38. A fragment of possibly fatimid ivory comb found in Murcia (GALÁN Y GALINDO, 2011: p. 30)



Fig. 39. Stone of a fountain in the Castell Reial de Palma de Mallorca. It is probably one of the Fatimid productions (ZOZAYA, 2010: p. 13)

**Table 1:** Active Fatimid mints during the role of different Imams

The mint	Al-Mahdi	Al-Qa'im	Al-Mansur	Al-Muizz	Al-Aziz	Al-Hakim	Al-Zahir	Al-Mustansir	Al-Musta'li	Al-Amir	Al-Hafiz	Al-Zafir	Al-Fa'iz	Al-Adid
Acre								✓	✓					
Aleppo								✓						
Alexandria								✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Al-Mahdiyah	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
Al-Mansuriyah			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
Aqabah	✓									✓				
Ascalon									✓					
Baghdad								✓						
Cairo						✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	
Damascus					✓	✓		✓						
Fez				✓	✓									
Fustat			✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	
Kairouan	✓	✓												
Kos										✓				
Masilah	✓													
Mecca					✓									
Medina								✓						
Ramla				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
Sabrah								✓						
Sanaa								✓						
Sicily			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
Tiberias						✓		✓						
Tripoli					✓		✓							
Tripoli, Lebanon					✓	✓		✓	✓					
Tyre				✓		✓	✓	✓	✓					
Zabid								✓						
Zawilah							✓							

**Table 2:** *Fatimid imported findings in the Iberian Peninsula (coins)*

Treasure	Province	Metal	Total coins	Sum of Fatimid coins	Chronology	Mintage place
<b>Algarve</b>	Algarve	Silver	96	5 (al-Mahdi)	341-380 H. / 952-990 A.D.	
<b>Almoradi</b>	Alicante	Silver	246	39 (1 of al-Mahdi, 9 of al-Muizz, 23 of al-Aziz, 5 of al-Hakim, 1 of al-Zahir)	330-395 H. / 942- 1005 A.D.	
<b>Benichembla</b>	Alicante	Silver	61	6 (4 of al-Zahir)		
<b>Benidorm Casco Urbano</b>	Alicante	Gold	17	17 (2 of al-Hakim, 12 of al-Zahir, 3 of al-Mustansir)	392 H./1001- mid of XIth century	Al-Mansuriya, Sicily
<b>El Casteller, Alcoy</b>	Alicante	Silver	2	2 (al-Hakim)		
<b>El Frare</b>	Alicante	Silver	43	1 (al-Hakim)		
<b>Elche</b>	Alicante	Silver	324	149 (4 al-Aziz, 121 of al-Hakim, 10 unidentified), 14 fragments (10 al-Hakim, 4 unidentified)	321-453 H. / 933-1061 A.D.	
<b>Isla de Benidorm</b>	Alicante	Silver				
<b>Levante</b>	Alicante	Gold	206	54 (17 of al-Hakim, 31 of al-Zahir, 6 of al-Mustansir)	401-444 H. / 1010-1052 A.D.	Al-Mansuriya, Sicily
<b>MAMA, Alcoy</b>	Alicante	Silver	13	2		
<b>Relleu</b>	Alicante	Silver	1	1 (al-Mahdi)		
<b>Tijan</b>	Almería	Silver	377	115 (57 fragments of al-Hakim)	3xx-429 H. / 9xx-1038 A.D.	
<b>Vele-Blanco, Rio alcaide</b>	Almería	Silver	202	5 (1 of al-Aziz, 4 of al-Zahir)	412-487 H. / 1021-1094 A.D.	(Palermo) Sicily
<b>Vele-Blanco, Rio alcaide</b>	Almería	Gold	202	7 (1 of al-Mustansir, 6 unidentified )		

<b>Vera</b>	Almería		349	3	330-410 H. / 941-1020 A.D.	
<b>Moreria, Merida</b>	Badajoz	Silver	134	38 (2 of al-Muizz, 8 of al-Aziz, 28 of al-Hakim)	243-411 H. / 857-1020 A.D.	Al-Mansuriya?
<b>Santa Julia, Mérida</b>	Badajoz	Silver	263	5 (3 of al-Aziz, 2 of al-Hakim)	317-402 H. / 929-1011 A.D.	Al-Mansuriya
<b>Alfundão de Ferreira do Alentejo</b>	Beja	Silver				
<b>Mértola</b>	Beja	Silver		1		
<b>Trujillo</b>	Caceres	Silver	6142	283 (al-Muiz, al-Aziz, al-Hakim)	320-407 H. / 932-1016 A.D.	
<b>Castillo de Medina Sidonia</b>	Cádiz	Silver				
<b>Castell de vilavella, Nules</b>	Castellon		1	1 (al-Mahdi)		
<b>Castillo de la Magdalena</b>	Castellon	Silver				
<b>Font de Beca</b>	Castellon	Silver	166	80 (40 of al-Zahir, 5 of al-Hakim, 1 of al-Aziz)		
<b>Av. de Aeropuerto</b>	Córdoba	Silver	200	1		
<b>Av. Menenda Pidal</b>	Córdoba	Silver	53	3	332-400 H. / 943-1009 A.D.	
<b>Baena</b>	Córdoba	Silver	124	6	323-401 H. / 934-1010 A.D.	
<b>Belalcázar</b>	Córdoba	Gold				
<b>Cercadilla</b>	Córdoba	Gold	3	2 (al-Mahdi)	247-32? H. / 861- 93? A.D.	
<b>Córdoba M.A.N.</b>	Córdoba	Silver	785	30 (4 of al-Aziz, 18 of al-Hakim, 8 unidentified)		
<b>Cruz Conde</b>	Córdoba	Gold	237	107	322-435 H. / 973-1044 A.D.	Egypt
<b>El arrabal del Saqunda</b>	Córdoba	Silver	165	2		
<b>Ferrocarril Córdoba</b>	Córdoba	Gold	2	2 (al-Mahdi)		Al-Mahdiya
<b>Fontanar de Cabanos</b>	Córdoba	Silver				

<b>Haza del Carmen</b>	Córdoba	Silver	6816	277	321-388 H. / 933-998 A.D.	
<b>Olivos Borrachos</b>	Córdoba	Silver	143	1 (al-Hakim)		
<b>Peñalosa</b>	Córdoba	Silver	148	2	321-401 H. / 933-1010 A.D.	
<b>Río Guadalquivir</b>	Córdoba	Gold	500	23 (7 of al-Hakim, 11 of al-Zahir, 4 of them were minted at the time of al-Mustansir, 5 of al-Mustansir)	392-437 H. / 1000-1047 A.D.	Sicily, Al-Mansuriya , Tripoli
<b>Loja</b>	Granada	Silver	6	1 (al-Muizz)		
<b>Jesus</b>	Ilhas Balears					
<b>Menorca</b>	Ilhas Balears	Silver				
<b>Migjorn Gran, San Cristobal</b>	Ilhas Balears	Silver		300 (al-Mansur, al-Muizz, al-Aziz, al-Hakim)		
<b>San Rafel</b>	Ilhas Balears					
<b>Ermita Nueva</b>	Jaen		115	2 (al-Hakim)	Xth century	
<b>Marroques Altos</b>	Jaen	Silver	256	28 (al-Aziz, al-Hakim)	300-411 H. / 912-1020 A.D.	
<b>Seirra de Cazorla</b>	Jaen	Silver	237	8	316/18-401 H. / 928/30- 1011 A.D.	
<b>Ardales</b>	Malaga	Silver	456	1 (al-Aziz)		
<b>Begasrti, Cehegin</b>	Murcia	Silver	237	207 (17 of al-Hakim, 89 of al-Zahir)	XIth century	Al- Mansuriya
<b>Calle Jaboneras</b>	Murcia	Gold	424	276 (195 of al-Mustansir, 48 of al-	X-XI centuries	Sicily, Al- Mansuriya,

				Zahir, 16 of al-Hakim, 17 unidentified)		Al- Mahdiya, Tripoli
<b>Calle San Pedro</b>	Murcia	Gold	19	2	357-421 H. / 967-1030 A.D.	
<b>Lorca</b>	Murcia	Silver	27	7 (a of al-Hakim, 6 of al- Zahir)		
<b>Museu de Santa Clara</b>	Murcia	Gold	1	1 (al-Hakim)		Tripoli
<b>Region Valenciana</b>	Murcia	Silver	2	2 (1 of al-Muizz)		Al- Mansuriya
<b>Carmona</b>	Seville	Silver	150		331-360 H. / 943-971 A.D.	
<b>El Pedroso</b>	Seville	Silver	144	16 (1 of al-Aziz, 15 of al-Hakim)	320-400 H. / 932-1010 A.D.	Al- Mansuriya, Al- Mahdiyah
<b>Lora del Río</b>	Seville	Silver	165	2	331-418 H. / 943-1027 A.D.	
<b>Los Rosales-Tocina</b>	Seville	Silver				
<b>Cihuela</b>	Soria	Silver	799	5		Sicily
<b>Cihuela</b>	Soria	Gold		1 (al-Mustansir)		
<b>Masdenverge</b>	Tarragona	Silver	157	11 (7 of al-Hakim, 4 of al-Zahir)	300-411 H. / 912-1020 A.D.	
<b>Consuegra</b>	Toledo	Silver	173	9 (al-Aziz, al-Hakim)	220-396 H. / 835-1006 A.D.	
<b>Santa Ollala</b>	Toledo	Silver	97	1	318-441 H. / 930-1048 A.D.	
<b>Bellveret, Jativa</b>	Valencia	Silver	2	2		
<b>Castillo de Sagunto</b>	Valencia	Silver	1	1 (al-Hakim)		Al- Mansuriya
<b>Las Seurtes, Sinarques</b>	Valencia	Silver	57	7 (5 of al-Hakim, 2 of al-Zahir)		
<b>Las Seurtes, Sinarques</b>	Valencia	Gold	57	1 (al-Zahir)		Al- Mansuriya
<b>Los Villares-Caudete de las Fuentes</b>	Valencia	Silver	103	1		

<b>Santa Elena</b>	Valencia	Gold	1944	735 (8 of al-Muiz, 1 of al-Aziz, 158 of al-Hakim, 278 of al-Zahir, 247 of al-Mustansir)		Al-Mansuriya, Al-Mahdiya, Sicily
<b>Torrebufilla, Betera</b>	Valencia	Silver	1	1 (al-Hakim)		
<b>CP2</b>			107	3 (1 of al-Aziz, 2 of al-Hakim)	318-401 H. / 930-1011 A.D.	Al-Mansuriya
<b>CP3 COP</b>			90	2 (1 of al-Muizz, 1 of al-Aziz)	328-392 H. / 940-1002 A.D.	Al-Mansuriya
<b>CP3 PRP</b>			142	1 (1 of al-Muizz, 1 of al-Aziz, 71 of al-Hakim, 32 of al-Zahir, 2 of al-Mustansir)	328-392 H. / 940-1002 A.D.	Al-Mansuriya

**Table 3:** *Fatimid imported findings in the Iberian Peninsula (Metalwork, ceramic, rock crystal, ivory, textile and stone)*

Name	Material	Conservation place	Cronology	Discovery place	Provenance place
Aces	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Aces	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Aces	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Aces	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Aces	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Aces	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Balance counterweight	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Complete)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Complete)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Complete)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Complete)	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Complete)	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State

Base (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Fragment)	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Base (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Bowl or cup of "S" profile and ring foot	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Bowl or cup of "S" profile and ring foot	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Bowl or cup of "S" profile and ring foot	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Bowls of open walls or of "S" profile and flat base	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Bowls of open walls or of "S" profile and flat base	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State

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Braziers	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Braziers	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Brazier	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Brazier	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Brazier	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Brazier	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Brazier	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Brazier (two legs)	Bronze	MAEG (Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada)	?	Madinat Ilbira	Fatimid State
Candil	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Candil	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Candil	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Candil	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Candil	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State

Candil	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Candil	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Candil	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Casket	Silver-gilt and niello	Museo de San Isidoro and Fernando Ruiz Tomé	1044-1047	The treasury of the Real Colegiata of San Isidoro de León	Fatimid State
Casket	Silver-gilt and niello	Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid	First half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century?	The treasury of the Real Colegiata of San Isidoro de León	Fatimid State
Casket	Silver-gilt and niello	Cámara Santa of Oviedo Cathedral	late XI <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> century?		Fatimid State
Censers	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Censers	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Censers	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Censers	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Dye mixer	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State

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Handle	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
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Handle	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle (Complete)	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle (Complete)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle (Complete)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle (Fragment)	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
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Handle (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Handle (Fragment)	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Lamp	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Lamp	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Lamp	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Lamp	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Lamp	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Lamp	Cast bronze	Unknown	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Spain	
Lamp	Cast bronze	Unknown	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Southern Portugal	
Leg	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Oil lamp	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Perfume burner	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Perfume burner	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Perfume burner	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Perfume burner	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State

Perfume burner	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
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Perfume burner	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Perfume burner	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Perfume burner	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Saucer or tray	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Saucer or tray	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
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Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State

Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Semi-spherical bowl	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Truncated conical bowl and flat base or Tulipiform	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Trunk-Cylindrical bowls with convex and flat base	Bronze	Museo Arqueologico de Alicante	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Trunk-Cylindrical bowls with convex and flat base	Bronze	Museu Arqueologic de la ciutat de Dénia	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Dénia	Fatimid State
Oil lamp	Bronze		XI <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Spain	Fatimid State
Oil lamp	Bronze		XI <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	South of Portugal	Fatimid State
Bowl (base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Cathedral of Valencia	Fatimid State

		Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)			
Bowl (base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Parcent Garden, Valencia	Fatimid State
Bowl (base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Plaza de la Reina, Valencia	Fatimid State
Bowl (wall and rim fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Calle del Mar 23-25, Valencia	Fatimid State
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Plaza de la Almoina, Valencia	Fatimid State
Bowl (base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Calle E. Sendra 22-24, Valencia	Fatimid State

		Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)			
Bowl (base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Old city of Valencia	Fatimid State
Bowl (base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Calle E. Sendra 22-24, Valencia	Fatimid State
Bowl (wall and rim fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Palais des Corts, Valencia	Fatimid State (Fustat?)
Bowl (base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Church of San Esteban, Valencia	Fatimid State (Fustat?)
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Old city of Valencia	Fatimid State (Fustat?)

		Municipal, Valencia)			
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XI <sup>th</sup> century	Calle del Mar 23-25, Valencia	Fatimid State (Fustat?)
Plate (fragment)	Ceramic	National Archaeological Museum, Madrid	X <sup>th</sup> century?	Old city of Medinaceli	Fatimid State
Bowl (wall and base fragment)	Ceramic	Numantine Museum of Soria	XI <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Tiermes, Soria	Fatimid State
Fragment	Ceramic		?	Calle Pascual of Murcia	Fatimid State or al-Andalus?
Band	Linen	Cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Huesca	X <sup>th</sup> -XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Funerary trousseau of San Ramon del Monte, Cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Huesca	Fatimid State
Embroidered lining	Silk and gold thread	Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León	Before 1063	Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León	Fatimid State?
Casket	Ivory	National Archaeological Museum of Madrid.	Before 969	Church of San Zoilo in Carrión de Los Condes, Palencia	Fatimid North Africa
Comb	Ivory	Unknown	X <sup>th</sup> -XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Roda de Isábena	Fatimid State
Comb	Ivory or bone	Museo Santa Clara, de Murcia,	XII <sup>th</sup> century?	Murcia	Fatimid State?
Fountain	Stone	Castell Reial de Palma de Mallorca	X <sup>th</sup> century?	Palau reial mallorca	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Museo Diocesano of Lérida	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Collegiate church of Sant Pere d'Àger	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Museo Diocesano of Lérida	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Collegiate church of Sant Pere d'Àger	Fatimid State



Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Museo Diocesano of Lérida	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Collegiate church of Sant Pere d'Àger	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Orense	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Orense	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja)	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja)	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja)	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja)	Fatimid State
Chess Piece	Rock Crystal	San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja)	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	San Millán de la Cogolla de Yuso (La Rioja)	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Monastery of Cañas	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Monastery of Cañas	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Church of San Pedro and San Ildefonso of Zamora	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Church of San Pedro and San Ildefonso of Zamora	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Collegiate church of San Salvador of Oña	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Collegiate church of San Salvador of Oña	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Archaeological Museum of Madrid	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries		Fatimid State
Bottle	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of Astorga	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of Astorga	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Convent of San Clemente of Toledo	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Convent of San Clemente of Toledo	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Cathedral of San Clemente of Toledo	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Cathedral of San Clemente of Toledo	Fatimid State

Fragment	Rock Crystal	Convent of San Clemente of Toledo	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Convent of San Clemente of Toledo	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Alcazaba of Badajoz	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Alcazaba of Badajoz	Fatimid State
Fragment	Rock Crystal	Museum of Alhambra of Granada	X <sup>th</sup> -XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Museum of Alhambra of Granada	Fatimid State

**Table 4:** *Fatimid imitation findings in the Iberian Peninsula*

Name	Material	Conservation place	Chronology	Discovery place	Provenance place
Lid (Fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XII <sup>th</sup> century	Calle de M Molina, Valencia	Malaga
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	XII <sup>th</sup> -XIII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Parcent Garden, Valencia	Iberian Peninsula
Bowl (rim fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)		Calle del Mar 23-25, Valencia	Iberian Peninsula?
Bowl (wall and base fragment)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)		Calle de M Molina, Valencia	Iberian Peninsula?
Fragment	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica		Calle Carcer/Cruz, Valencia	Iberian Peninsula?

		Municipal, Valencia)			
Bowl (base and wall fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Córdoba	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Palma del Rio station (Eremita de Belén)	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Seville	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Calle Imperial 41-45, Seville	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Seville	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Calle Imperial 41-45, Seville	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl (wall and rim fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Seville	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Old city of Seville	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl (wall and rim fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Seville	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Arabic baths, Old city of Seville	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Closed vessel shape (shoulder fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Seville	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Calle Imperial 41-45, Seville	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl (wall and rim fragment)	Ceramic	Castle of Silves	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Silves Municipal Museum of Archaeology	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl (base and wall fragment)	Ceramic	Museum of Mértola	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	(Alcáçova) castel of Mértola	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Pitcher (shoulder fragment)	Ceramic	Magazin of Campo Arqueológico de Mértola	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	(Alcáçova) Castle of Mértola	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)

Bowl (wall and rim fragment)	Ceramic	Coimbra	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Coimbra, Pátio dos Escolas (University of Coimbra)	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl (wall and rim fragment)	Ceramic	Coimbra	Second half of the XI <sup>th</sup> century	Coimbra, Pátio dos Escolas (University of Coimbra)	Iberian Peninsula (Abaddid Taifa region)
Bowl fragments	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Calle del Mar 19, Valencia	Ebro Valley
Bowl (wall and rim fragments)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Cullera	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Castle of Cullera	Ebro Valley
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Cullera	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Castle of Cullera	Ebro Valley
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Cullera	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Castle of Cullera	Ebro Valley
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Cullera	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Castle of Cullera	Ebro Valley
Bowl (wall and rim fragments)	Ceramic	Museum of Albarracin	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Castle of Albarracin	Ebro Valley
Bowl (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Museum of Teruel	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Castle of Albarracin	Ebro Valley
Bowl (fragments)	Ceramic	Magazine of the Department of Archaeology, Valencia (Servicio de Investigación Arqueológica Municipal, Valencia)	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	Plaza de la Almoina, Valencia	Ebro Valley

Jar (wall fragment)	Ceramic	Magazin of Campo Arqueológico de Mértola	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	(Alcáçova) Castle of Mértola	Ebro Valley
Bowl (complete with guled fragments)	Ceramic	Archaeological Museum of Dénia	Second half of the XII <sup>th</sup> century	‘El Forti’, Dénia	Ebro Valley
Pendant	Gold	Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY	XIII <sup>th</sup> - XV <sup>th</sup> centuries	?	Spain (Nasrid)
Pendant	Gold	Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY	XIII <sup>th</sup> - XV <sup>th</sup> centuries	?	Spain (Nasrid)
Bead	Gold	Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY	XIII <sup>th</sup> - XV <sup>th</sup> centuries	?	Spain (Nasrid)
Pendant (fish element)	Gold	Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	X <sup>th</sup> - XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat al-Zahra	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain
Pendant (fish element)	Gold	Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	X <sup>th</sup> - XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat al-Zahra	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain
Pendant (fish element)	Gold	Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	X <sup>th</sup> - XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat al-Zahra	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain
Pendant (fish element)	Gold	Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	X <sup>th</sup> - XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat al-Zahra	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain
Pendant (fish element)	Gold	Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	X <sup>th</sup> - XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat al-Zahra	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain
Pendant (crescent-shaped)	Gold	Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	X <sup>th</sup> - XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat al-Zahra	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain
Pendant (crescent-shaped)	Gold	Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	X <sup>th</sup> - XI <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat al-Zahra	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain
Star-shaped element	Gold	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	XI <sup>th</sup> - XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Spain	Fatimid State or Muslim Spain

Element	Gold	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	XI <sup>th</sup> - XII <sup>th</sup> centuries	Madinat Elvira	Fatimid State or Muslim Spain
Earrings (semi-circle)	Gold	Museo de Majorca, Palma de Majorque	XII <sup>th</sup> century	In a vase	Muslim Spain?
Earrings (semi-circle)	Gold	Museo Palacio Abacial, Alcalá la Real	X <sup>th</sup> century	Alcalá la Real “Ermita Nueva”, Jaén	Fatimid State or Umayyad Spain