Introduction

Research on the City in a Muslim Context:
From Model to Concept

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The idea of publishing this special issue of *Hespéris-Tamuda* on the thematic topic of the city in the Islamic world is the outcome of a conversation that started in 2018 between the journal's editor-in-chief, Khalid Ben-Srhir and the author of this introduction. This special issue would like to be part of the commemoration of centenary of the launching of *Hespéris*. The first issue was published in 1921 after the merging of the *Archives berbères* and the *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines.* One hundred years later the journal, with its yesteryear rigor and more, is expanding its academic impact in the global scene. Initially, the journal's focus was to study Morocco and its diverse communities. Today it is opening to the world, installing its new variable geometry approach to expand its areas of study and interest.

This special issue marks the academic continuity of the journal; its objective to broaden the cultural debate and expand the space concerned by studies with a clear demarcation of the orientalist model which commanded its editorial slant. The journal is a continuation of the 1921 model, in the sense that the scholarly content is always sharp academic research on human sciences themes, but broadened without limits the areas studied.

This special issue, therefore, falls within the scope of this new editorial line.

It brings together more than fifty articles on the city in the Islamic world: genesis and changes. The content of the articles as well as the working hypothesis were presented in Rabat during an international colloquium organized jointly

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1. Mohamed Mezzine, editor of this special issue, suddenly left us on December 31, 2020, leaving this work unfinished. His colleagues from the Editorial Board of *Hespéris-Tamuda* as well as the coordinators of the thematic workshop and authors of their syntheses collaborated with the chief editor of the journal Khalid Ben-Srhir to complete the work that Mezzine had started with enthusiasm and rigor. These colleagues have made a commitment to pay Mezzine a well-deserved homage. He would have done the same for them. May this work honor his memory. May he rest in peace.

between the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco and *Hespéris-Tamuda* on February 5-7, 2020. More than fifty specialists of the Islamic city participated. This conference was the crowning achievement of the preparation of this special issue in three fascicules.

Why a special issue on the city in the Islamic world?

Used, for a long time, as a privileged place of heritage and glorification of systems of thought around the notions of citadinity, urbanization, and religiosity, the so-called Islamic City was becoming a recurring theme in the debates among researchers in the human sciences. Recent studies by archaeologists, historians and geographers have in fact created an immense field of debate. Their meeting point is undoubtedly marked by their distancing from the traditional historiographical gravities which have long marked previous works on the Islamic City. They all followed a course that has become classic. From a broken orientalist model, since the questioning of Orientalism by Edward Saïd, they have tried to build a new and fruitful urban history of cities in the Muslim world. They thus highlighted the plurality of its themes and gave its history a new lease of life.

If it seems that the researchers have gone beyond Orientalism, which some have qualified as "grandfather" Orientalism denounced by Edward Saïd, the fact remains that they continue, despite everything, to take the results, which the defenders of this Orientalism had arrived at in the so-called Muslim City, as a starting point for most of their studies. Although the goals and perspectives have changed, the stereotypes left behind by these orientalist legacies die hard. They continue to generate counter discourses among archaeologists, historians, and geographers. These are the debates that have been driven by the conferences, seminars, and publications which, for the past twenty years, have enriched the field of research on the city in the Muslim world. The Rabat Symposium, which underpinned this issue, wanted to follow on from these meetings. It thus proposed to stimulate research and studies on the question with an opening, once not usually the broadest possible, on the disciplines of the human sciences.

The articles published in this special issue of the journal *Hespéris-Tamuda*, and which report on the work of this Colloquium, aim to return to this "Islamic City" model, by involving archaeologists, historians, geographers, architects, and urbanists, *inter alia*. Their authors propose to re-study the genesis of the city and its different changes through various examples, in time, space and model.

Initial findings

The meeting of Rabat started based on several observations. The first is that studies on the Islamic city, in recent years, have multiplied and diversified. The second is that the economic environment as well as the research objectives have changed. Finally, the third, that most of the demonstrations on the city in the

Muslim world (colloquia, seminars, publications) until the end of the twentieth century, were above all a European affair, in which France occupied a prominent place.

Let's come back to each of these observations:

• The first is that production on the city, in general and on the urban area, which is already considerable, is in exponential renewal. Carried out and shaped by internal debates in disciplines, in contemporary social and political events, focusing on the interest in urbanity, the city is making a strong comeback in the curricula of researchers, although it is in dispersed order.

Indeed, the new interest that writing and research has known about the city for nearly two decades (since 2000 or so), revived by favourable international conditions, has produced work of great value. New studies open new horizons for research on the Islamic City.

What emerges from these studies is that with an almost generalized urbanization which practically intertwines modernity and the urban, the city underwent, during the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century, radical transformations compared to the centuries earlier. It now occupies, at different levels, a strategic place in societal, economic, and political issues, thus offering research in a vast field of studies, on social processes, heritage development, political choices of urbanization and on various urban aspects.

• The second observation is that research themes in the human sciences have for a while shifted the course of their interests and migrated from anthropological and ethnological themes dear to classical Orientalism such as the tribe, Berber, the *zaouïa*, and the event, and many other themes that colonial anthropology had imposed on historians, to focus on more historical and geographical themes such as the urban phenomena.

• The third observation is that the interest in writing about the Muslim city has evolved and changed its leader. For twenty years, the debate on the city, in the Muslim world, has no longer been an exclusive affair of French Orientalism. The Anglo-Saxons and then the Maghrebis have been there. Even if all readily recognize the long tradition of French research on the Muslim city, as Stephen Humphreys underlined in his book *Islamic History*,[2] they all admit that the Anglo-Saxons have opened new research perspectives. The vast corpus they have bequeathed to us calls into question many conclusions established as models by classical Orientalism and which have often been taken up, although accompanied by questioning. The publication of *Arabic-Islamic Cities Building and Planning*

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2. André Raymond, *La ville arabe, Alep, à l'époque ottomane (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Damas: IFEAD, 1998); R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 228.

Principles by Besim Selim Hakim,[3] and works by established scholars, such as Amira K. Bennison & Alison L. Gascoigne (eds.), *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society*,[4] clearly show a certain interest of English speakers for studies on the Muslim city. They even have a dedicated discipline with *Urban Studies* in the main universities of the United Kingdom and United States.[5] They thus opened new perspectives for research on the city in general, and on the city in the Muslim world.

During the same period, starting from 1998, a book, bearing the proceedings of the Colloquium, organized by the Casa de Velázquez and the CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), invited a different perspective on the Islamic city. The work is titled "*Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*."[6] The intention of its organizers was to contribute to the debate on the "model" representing the city of the Islamic West (*al-Gharb al-Islāmi*) in the Middle Ages. The participants were looking for a model of an "Islamic" city and they wanted to refine the model established by the Orientalists, making it explicit and testing it in new studies. The colloquium took as a model the case of the towns of Al-Andalus. In fact, the speakers continued a well-established tradition, at least among historians and archaeologists, of defining what the Islamic city was based on a typology of cities. Two years later, that is 2000, Patrice Cressier, Maria Isabel Fierro and Jean Pierre Van Staëvel edited another work on the basis of a round table which continued the reflexion started at the first Colloquium. It deals with the following topic: *L'urbanisme dans l'Occident musulman au Moyen Âge: Aspects juridiques*.[7]

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3. Besim Selim Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1986).

4. Amira K. Bennison & Alison L. Gascoigne (eds.), *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society*, SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East, vol. 6 (New York- London: Routledge, 2007).

5. Corisande Fenwick, *Early Islamic North Africa: A New Perspective* (London: Duckworth, 2002); Bennison & Gascoigne (eds.), *Cities*; Aomar Boum, "Southern Moroccan Jewry between the Colonial Manufacture of Knowledge and the Postcolonial Historiographical Silence," in *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, eds. Emily Benichou Gottreich and Daniel J. Schroeter (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 73-92; Emily Benichou Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Emily Gottreich, "Rethinking the "Islamic City" from the Perspective of Jewish Space," *Jewish Social Studies* XI, 1 (Autumn, 2004):118-46; Susan Gilson Miller, "Apportioning Sacred Space in a Moroccan City: The Case of Tangier, 1860-1912." *City & Society* XIII, l (2001): 57-83; Susan Gilson Miller, Attilio Petruccioli & Mauro Bertagnin, "Inscribing Minority Space in the Islamic City: The Jewish Quarter of Fez (1438-1912)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, 3 (Sep., 2001): 310-27.

6. *Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, eds. Patrice Cressier et Mercedes Garcia Arenal (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez et Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998).

7. *L'urbanisme dans l'Occident musulman au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques*, eds. Patrice Cressier, Maria Isabel Fierro et Jean Pierre Van Staëvel (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez et Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000).

Still, many conferences and seminars have followed this path. The Rabat conference (2020) falls within this perspective of questioning.

The other Europeans as well as the North Africans are not left out, however. Numerous publications on this same theme were published during and after the 1990s.[8] Symposia and seminars were organized, notably in Aix-en-Provence and Zaragoza,[9] or at Casa Velázquez, like the one already mentioned, on the *Genèse de la ville islamique en al Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*.[10] These meetings encouraged the collaboration of the Spaniards, the French, and the Moroccans, and they advanced the debate on the Muslim city, in particular from the Andalusian model. This research finally succeeded in going beyond the orientalist model, and even in updating it based on the collaboration between archaeologists, historians, and geographers.

The Maghrebis, for their part, have been associated with many research projects on the Islamic city. Involved in the work of European or Anglo-Saxon laboratories, many historians, town planners, geographers and archaeologists have in fact made their contributions to various conferences and publications. This Maghrebian contribution, and particularly Moroccan, was part of the vast movement of monographic studies devoted to the city from the 1980s. Consecrating the trend followed by university theses which have embarked on monographic studies of cities, the meeting of Casablanca, organized by Mohammed Naciri and André Raymond and whose work was published in 1997,[11] is an example. It was followed by many others, such as the meeting organized by

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8. Recently the publication of Mohammed Naciri's book, *Désirs de ville* (Rabat: Economie Critique, 2017). See also the article by Abderrahmane Rachik, infra and his book: *Etudes et recherches urbaines sur le Maroc, 1980-2004*: *rapport de recherche*. Study financed by the Jacques Berque Center, Rabat as part of its research program "Reading and understanding the Maghreb," May 2005 (Rabat: Centre Jacques Berque, 2005). The Spaniards are not left out, see: Salma Khadra Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, (Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1992); Christine Mazzoli-Guintard, *Villes d'al-Andalus. L'Espagne et le Portugal à l'époque musulmane (VIIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècles)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1996), 423 p. The work includes good tables that attempt a "statistical" approach to cities, based on their size, the number of scientists who are registered in bio-bibliographic dictionaries, etc. It constitutes an interesting working basis, as Pierre Guichard underlines.

9. *La Ciudad Islámica: Ponencias y comunicación* (Saragosse: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1991).

10. The papers of which were published in 1998, *Genèse de la ville islamique*, and in which many researchers participated, including P. Cressier, M. García Arenal, as coordinators, and J. Dakhlya, P. Guichard, H. Kennedy, B. Rosenberger, A. Siraj and many other researchers. The continuation of the Casa Velázquez Project of the debate on the city will, later, be initiated in the form of a specific reflection on the legal aspects of Islamic urbanization. Later, a Round Table is organized jointly by the Casa Velázquez, the Department of Estudios and the CSIC; with the coordination of Cressier, Fierro et Van Staëvel, under the theme: *Urbanisation et organisation de l'espace habité (al Andalus- Maghreb) aspects juridiques*. Voir *Genèse de la ville islamique*. See also *Hespéris-Tamuda* XLV (2010); *Hespéris Tamuda* LII, 3 (2017).

11. Mohammed Naciri et André Raymond (dir), *Sciences sociales et phénomènes urbains dans le monde arabe*, Actes du colloque de l'Association de Liaison entre les Centres de Recherches et Documentations sur le Monde Arabe, Casablanca 30 novembre-2 décembre 1994 (Casablanca: Fondation du Roi Abdul Aziz Al-Saoud pour les études islamiques et les sciences humaines, 1997).

the Jacques Berque Center in Fez on *la ville dans la ville* (the city in the city), but whose acts, unfortunately, have not been published. On the other hand, that of Taza, organized by the Moroccan Association for Historical Research (AMRH), in 2014, was published in Arabic in 2019;[12] and that of Tangier, organized by the Ahmed Boukmakh Cultural Center of Tangier, in 2018, was also published in Arabic, in 2021, in two volumes.[13]

On the other hand, the Moroccan case has been the main basis for the reflection of the work published in Morocco on the city. These publications make it possible to follow, although with difficulty, the genesis of the city, some of its changes and the influences it borrowed from other cultures. They also make it possible to underline the parallels with studies of the history of the city and of town planning carried out in Mediterranean cases, whose names or forms recall those of Morocco.

These moments of reflections were based primarily on two investigative approaches, that of archaeological excavations and that of new investigations into archives and sources. Most studies take as a starting point and anchor the city as orientalists define it while studying specific cases of local cities by reconstructing their histories.

The title of the Rabat colloquium "*La ville dans le monde musulman, genèse et mutations*,"; "*The City in the Islamic World: Genesis and Changes,*" sought to detach the city from what is commonly referred to as the "Muslim world" or "Islamic World." We have, in fact, sought to circumvent the expression "the Muslim city," dear to orientalists, without taking sides, for or against. Thus, from the outset, a discussion of the ideological value of such a name was avoided, and it was thus proposed to move its quality of urban fact away from the qualifier religious (Muslim). Even if the contributors come back to this debate. The choice had been made to let the contributors position themselves on the interpretation given to the concept of "Islamic city." Our primary concern has, in fact, been to include a serene reflection in a multidisciplinary and comparative perspective, in the context of hot news, where the city is becoming an important issue facing many challenges in the societies of the Maghreb.

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12. *Tajārib fi kitābati tārīkh al-madīna al-maghribiyya*, I'dād watansīq, Abd El Malek Nassiri (Rabat: Publications de l'AMRH, 2019).

13. *Ṭanjat fi al-'aṣr al-wasīṭ (681-1471mi): al-majāl, al-mujtama', walsulṭa*, ('a'māl al-nadwa al-dawliyya al-mun'qadat biṭanjat fī 19-20-21 'abril 2018). Tansīq Rashid al-'afāqi, Amḥamad Jabrun, Muḥamad Bakūr, Khālid Ṭaḥtah (Tanger: Publications du Centre Culturel Ahmed Boukmakh de Tanger, 2019), Vol. 1; *Ṭanjat taḥta al-'iḥtilālayn alburtughālii walianjilizii mā bayn sanatay 1471 wa 1684.* Tansīq Amḥamad Jabrun, Rashid al-'Afāqi, Abd Essalam al-Ju'māṭī, Muḥamad Bakūr. (Tanger: Publications du Centre Culturel Ahmed Boukmakh de Tanger, 2021), Vol. 2; *Ṭanjat fi al-'ahd alalwī min al-taḥrīr 'ilā al-ḥimāyat mā bayn sanatay 1684 wa 1912.* Tansīq Amḥamad Jabrun, Rashid al-'Afāqi, Abd Essalam al-Ju'māṭī, Muḥamad Bakūr (Tanger: Publications du Centre Culturel Ahmed Boukmakh de Tanger, 2021), Vol 3.

The second part of the title proposes to study the genesis and the changes of the city in the Muslim world. It is this project that buttressed our proposal to bring together researchers, with different specialties and approaches, with the idea of producing syntheses from knowledge scattered over time and in the writings. We were expecting a new lease of life and the Symposium fully justified the expectations. It is the privilege of this issue by *Hespéris-Tamuda* to offer researchers from different disciplines the opportunity to contribute to the same project, that of an inventory and syntheses of knowledge on the Islamic City.

Why the choice of the city in the Muslim world?

While the domain of the city and urbanity is very vast, the kinds of cities are numerous, a choice had to be made. This took its first legitimacy in our belonging to the historical-geographical area of the Muslim world. But it also emanated from the observation of the place which the Muslim city occupied in the debates of the researchers of the human sciences; a space as vast as it is specific.

Extending over a geographical area crossed by various influences and having suffered full force from modernity, throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the world of Islam experienced uneven urbanization. The Orientalists, already in the XIXth century, went so far as to make the city of the Muslim world a genre. Today's researchers are revisiting this name. It is because the city in the Muslim world has known all the vicissitudes of its interpretation, as it has known all its evolutions. It has undergone a modernity which has brought it back to universality. The Muslim city thus offers, in these new models, a rich and fertile ground for research and debate.

Questions as hypotheses

Many questions have been proposed to serve as starting points for these studies. These questions have cast a wide net and have made it possible to integrate the various concerns about the Islamic city that crosses research, in different disciplines. These concern first archaeological data and their specific use, but also the methodologies that historians propose to fabricate a new history of the Islamic city. This, of course, without forgetting the approach of geographers which links the past to the future by taking advantage of the conclusions of historians and the field research of sociologists and anthropologists.

The first group of questions was formulated by archaeologists. What are the new elements that archaeology offers to historians, even to anthropologists? Can we discern new models of Muslim cities? And can we indirectly bring together two disciplines whose relations have often been delicate and start a constructive dialogue between the two? How to organize it? What are its limits? What are its prospects? And implicitly to what extent can archaeology contribute to the history of the city today?

The second group refers to the study of the city in its historical dimension, with new materials. Beyond traditional sources, such as chronicles, we can now refer to sources closer to everyday life, such as hagiographic books, *ḥawālāt* of *ḥabūs*, *nawāzil* from the *fiqh* (texts of religious jurisprudence).[14] What is their contribution? How do we see the diversity of experiences that the city has had? Does the study of the changes and gestations underway in urban and city-dwelling societies, that of mixtures following different migrations and many other factors, allow us to build a richer history?

The third group of questions focused on the study of the balance between public power, the upholders of Orthodox religious law and traders. The examples of Baghdad, Timbuktu, Fez, Kairouan, Algiers, Cairo and others, in fact, invite us to ask ourselves what the place of the city as a determinant is, at different periods of the history, of the relationship, serene or conflictual, between the religious, the political and the mercantile.

Various responses to a complex reality

The answers, direct or implicit, to the above-mentioned questions, served as a basis for setting up an editorial line, a work plan allowing the different researchers to express themselves according to their specialties, and to propose avenues of research in a perspective of reconstruction of the field of knowledge about the city.

The image of the city, in the Muslim world, which seems to emerge from the answers to these questions appears as a still shapeless and diffuse model, with its varieties and its similarities, its shadows and its lights, its simplicity and its complexity. It challenges the orientalist and colonial model, which the monographs of the time had constructed, and which post-orientalist studies had updated by dusting off and grooming it. There is no doubt that the lessons of the meeting, which above all condemned the first model and shed new light on the second, will constitute a new engine for reflection on the Muslim city. This confrontation was one of the essential objectives of the work of the Rabat Colloquium. It formed the raw material for the texts of this special issue.

It was part of this logic that three major blocks of contributions make up this work and give it the thematic entries of its structure: that of archaeology, that of history and finally that of geography and other social sciences. These blocks are not watertight, and we have tried a mixture of documentary genres and approaches to facilitate the interaction between disciplines which remain well circumscribed in their own disciplinary confines. This was made possible during the colloquium by three synthesis conferences which proposed to mark out the

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14. See Abderrahman Rachik, *Études et recherches urbaines sur le Maroc, 1980-2004*, rapport de recherche, Centre Jacques Berque, Rabat, dans le cadre de son programme de recherche "Lire et comprendre le Maghreb," mai 2005. En ligne http://www.ambafrance-ma.org/cjb/docligne.cfm.

scope of the debate. It is obvious that this distribution of articles into three blocks was underpinned by a constant reference: the interdependence of the different fields of knowledge relating to the Islamic city. These presentations highlighted the richness of the discoveries but also the road that remained to be taken to better promote the results of the dialogue, still in its infancy, which is gradually being established between archaeologists, historians, and other researchers in the social sciences. Emphasis was placed on approaches, the knowledge gathered that fertilize knowledge and on the new contributions of archaeology. The speakers, in a sort of common message, proposed to reconfigure the knowledge on the city in the Muslim world, until now disjointed, waiting "to operate these cross-fertilizations," which could lead to a model shedding light on their interdependencies.

Mohammed Naciri's keynote attempted to historicize the debate based on the model proposed by the Orientalists which he put into context by referring to the numerous recent works on the Islamic city, and to the interpretations conveyed by their hypothesis.[15] Our ambition is to bring new elements to the reflection on the historicity of the concept of "Muslim City," considering both a more elaborate periodicity and a geographical zoning.

In the same vein, the work highlighted the relevance of the debate on the qualification of the city in the Muslim world as an "Islamic city, or Muslim." They attempted to theoretically reconstruct an updated model based on the readings offered by Claude Cahen,[16] Eugen Wirth,[17] André Raymond[18] and by all those who helped to reconstruct the model. It is indeed a reading of the city through its institutions and not its architecture or its town planning.

The contributions, which followed, came to deepen the debate on identity, to clarify this development and to provide illustrations.

The Contributions of archaeology

The seventeen papers included in the archaeological section of the meeting were divided into four thematic sessions, preceded by a very rich introductory conference. Abdallah Fili draws up an assessment of past archaeological research on the Islamic city of the Maghreb, and Morocco in particular. Outlining the prospects for the future, he outlined the concerns raised today by the study and protection of heritage, in the face of the increasing attacks to which it is subjected.[19] As with the other disciplines (history, geography and town planning), some of the

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15. Mohammed Naciri, (Keynote): "Y'a-t-il une ville arabo-islamique?"

16. Claude Cahen, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain," *Arabica* 5 (1958): 226.

17. Eugen Wirth, *The Middle Eastern City: Islamic City? Oriental City? Arabian City?*, conférence donnée à l'Université de Harvard, en 1982, p. 9.

18. André Raymond, "Villes musulmane, ville arabe: mythes orientalistes et recherches récentes," in *La ville arabe, Alep*, 23-50.

19. Abdallah Fili, "La ville islamique au Maroc, l'apport de l'archéologie."

contributions were not sent and others were dismissed by the *Hespéris-Tamuda* editorial board because they did not meet the required scientific requirements.

The archaeological component is thus articulated around three themes: "Islamic Cities in Morocco, Chronological Debates and Population Dynamics," "Capital Cities in the Muslim West," "Islamic Cities, Regional Perspectives." We regret that we must reshape the theme on the Saharan Moroccan (Sijilmassa) and African (Mauritania and Mali) cities, only a part of which is the subject of publication in this issue. It is important to specify that such a compartmentalization could not be waterproof. A capital is – by this very role – brought to become a political symbol. Maintaining and intensifying its influence is dependent on the power which founded it, or which controls it. This influence is all the stronger, of course, as it is also religious (or should we not rather say "spiritual"?) And, even when it is old, political gestures are sometimes necessary to revitalize it. Fez is a good example, not only through the stubbornness of successive powers – except for the Almohads – to transform and embellish its Qarawiyyin mosque,[20] but also through the Merinid recovery of the worship of ʾIdrīs II. This last process is, moreover, not so different from the late formalization of the circuit of the Seven Saints in Marrakech. However, there are also cases where it is a city already in decadence which becomes for a time an attractive pilgrimage center when it welcomes the tomb of Mahdī Ibn Tūmart and other high Almohad figures (Tinmal), before the mausoleums are destroyed under the Merinids, in 1276 as Ibn Khaldūn reminds us.

The bridges that have been stretched in this way between each of the defined themes are therefore infinitely numerous; it would be pointless to multiply the examples here.

Moreover, it appeared that the orientations given by the researchers to their reflexion were also underpinned by other scientific concerns, perhaps even better shared, but not in any case exclusive of those we have just outlined. These concerns, which for the most part coincide with those of textual historians, were in part announced by the colloquium's subtitle: "Genesis and Changes." This structuring – in a way – imposed on reflection and discussion, has proved to be very fruitful: the richness and volume of the contributions to this work bear witness to this. So, what were these other guiding axes?

The first is that of the genesis of the city. The contributions dealing with this question for the first three centuries have shown us – less explicitly than implicitly – that it is inseparable from that of the emergence of the first Muslim states of the Maghreb, autonomous from the Umayyad caliphate of the East (Sijilmāssa no doubt , the North of Maghrib al-ʾAqṣā[21] and Nakūr, probably

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20. Ahmed Saleh Ettahiri et Asmae El Kacimi, "L'art dans la ville, les décors sur plâtre de la mosquée al-Qarawiyyīn de Fès."

21. Sanaa Hassab, "De la ville maurétano-romaine à la ville amazigho-islamique au Maroc: transition brutale ou lente gestation urbaine?."

the oldest, but which has only been the subject of a few allusions during the debates) then, above all, Abbasid (Volubilis/Walīla,[22] al-Baṣra[23] and the Banū ʾAbī al-ʿĀfiya.[24] In turn, it led us to question the forms that these states took, their relations with the tribal structure of the pre-existing settlement as well as with other neighboring state entities. We can go further in the interpretation of these relations, in the case of the cities of new foundation surely but not only: everything happens as if the city took, even partially, the relay of the tribe, in the organization of the territory in particular, while in their turn the tribal structures would impose on these cities (perhaps initially rather proto-urban settlements) a particular morphology although variable from one case to another (among the examples coming from to the Aghmāt spirit, of course, but also Ṣaddīna). However, even when the historical conditions of the foundation are known to us, neither the written sources nor (for the moment) the archaeology allow us to access the details of the process. The prince's decision alone is not enough: who chooses the place? Who else is involved in the decision and the actual construction? Who defines the urban plan? Who finances and in what form is the financing done? How long does this founding phase last? We do not have this information for any of the cases just mentioned, even those investigated on the larger extension. We can of course argue that archaeology is not the best equipped to provide them, but it helps to formulate the questions and to trace avenues of reflection, from material and therefore tangible data (in bulk: the impact on the landscape, forms of habitat, the organization of urban spaces, social hierarchy, artisanal productions, etc.).

It is, moreover, thanks to archaeology that we will perhaps succeed, sooner or later, in drawing up a somewhat unreliable list of the material criteria necessary and sufficient to consider that a disappeared establishment, never mentioned by the written sources or referred to in them under another term, was indeed a *madīna*.

With regard to the emergence of the "Islamic City" (with all the quotation marks that the term requires), things obviously look different for pre-existing late-ancient urban settlements, whether there was absolute continuity or not of occupation. The contributions relating to the cities inherited from Antiquity here concerned (North of Morocco,[25] Volubilis, Ceuta[26] or Cordoba[27] have underlined that these are distinguished from the others in that there is no foundation strictly

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22. Elizabeth Fentress, Corisande Fenwick & Hassan Limane, "Early Medieval Volubilis: The Archaeology of a Berber Town."
23. Mustapha Atki, "Madīnat al-Baṣra al-ʾidrīsiyya bi al-Maghrib."
24. Mohamed Belatik, "Essai sur le phénomène urbain au Maroc médiéval Physionomie urbaine, réseaux et organisation territoriale sous la principauté zénète des Banū Abī al-ʿĀfiya."
25. Hassab, "De la ville maurétano-romaine."
26. Fernando Villada Paredes, "Desvelar la Ceuta medieval. La aportación de la arqueología."
27. Rafael Blanco-Guzmán, "Le développement urbain de la Cordoue islamique (VIIIème-XIIIème siècles)."

speaking but a transition, with or without reactivation. The question of the weight of the inheritance is therefore posed in strong terms. It also appeared that, beyond their unequal dimensions, it was they which provided the most information is simple and it is not the quality of the researchers and the teams involved that is at stake: they are, comparatively, those which have been the most intensely excavated. Its accessibility and the interest aroused among specialists in antiquity. As for Ceuta and Cordoba, on different scales, if we now know their medieval past so well, it is precisely because they are still in activity and that the danger the increasingly rapid transformation of their town planning can be – partially – combated or even prevented by active emergency archaeology. This of course assumes that there is legislation relating to preventive archaeology and that it is applied, which is not the case for Morocco. However, this legislation cannot be sufficient: there must also be a sufficient number of quality archaeological teams and researchers capable of synthesizing a posteriori all the data acquired, which is disparate and dispersed in the end-of-work reports. imposed by administrations.

In several contributions the transition processes were at the center of the questioning, a transition seen as a passage from late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages, in phase or not with the stages of Islamization (religious Islamization, but also "cultural" according to the term often used by Spanish researchers). This was an important part of the reflection carried out about Cordoba, Volubilis, Ceuta. In addition to these different forms of "transition," there are mutations that occur over time. These are, in a way, changes that are also highlighted in the contribution on the Qarawiyyin mosque and its decoration, or in that relating to the Moroccan cities occupied by the Portuguese[28] or the one on Taroudant in the Saadian era.[29] It should also be underlined how rich in lessons can be for researchers working in the Romanized Mediterranean area, the studies underway on the ancient cities of Mauritania and Mali, even if the latter have not been published for reasons beyond the journal. Through material culture, we perceive better and better the fluidity of these processes of transition between "proto-urban" establishments of various facies and the "Islamic City" which succeeds them. For, while there is no doubt that the rapid expansion of Islam has resulted in the spectacular emergence or regeneration of urban centers, it is not improbable that the idea of the city was already in gestation in various regions from North and West Africa. Now it's up to archaeology to confirm this.

The genesis processes were also perceived according to another parameter: the exploitation of natural resources and mainly the question of water (Sijilmāssa,

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28. André Teixeira, Luis Serrao Gil et Azzedine Karra, "L'appropriation portugaise des villes marocaines atlantiques à la fin du Moyen Âge: Fortification et espace urbain à Safi et à Azemmour."
29. Samir Kafas, "Taroudant (al-Muḥammadiyya), capitale du Souss et ville fortifiée aux XVIème-XVIIème siècles."

[30] all the Saharan cities),[31] a key element of planning prior to colonization of the space that the establishment of a new city supposes. In this, the Muslim city innovates compared to the ancient city. During the founding, water is not only sought and domesticated for the supply of the future or already present population. It is just as important for the agricultural development as soon as possible of a large nourishing territory, able, moreover, to provide a large volume of surpluses, these being called upon to play an essential role in the economy from the city. What has been presented about Sijilmāssa has been very revealing on this point.

Regarding the question of the relationship between the city and its immediate or more distant territory, other forms of exploitation of natural resources have also appeared, but unfortunately only in the background: mining resources, agricultural potential, the weight of pastoralism (and nomadism which is partly linked to it). Still others have not been mentioned (fishery resources, for example), probably because they have never been so restrictive.

As several contributions to this archaeological aspect have clearly shown, another angle from which the urban question can be approached is that of the networks and poles which define the network. In recent years, some historians have considered this outdated perspective as, a little earlier, the dialectic established from the centers and margins of a given territory had gone out of fashion. To tell the truth, this disinterest seems unjustified to us because both of these approaches remain very useful for understanding certain processes, for establishing models of evolution and for better framing the interpretations, whatever the scale of the phenomenon observed. And we note, again, that these scales are very variable, from that of the small emirate of Banū Abī al-'Āfiya[32] or in the region of Souss,[33] where a hierarchical network of establishments is being set up including town and fortresses, until that of the Sahara in its immensity. In this regard, we think of the famous trans-Saharan tracks, on the route and chronology of which much more than we think remains to be said. Indeed, this route has not remained frozen between the urban centers of the south shore, several of which were presented in this conference, and those of the north shore, even if the convergence towards Sijilmāssa has remained constant for several centuries. No example from the central Maghreb nor from Ifrīqiya was mentioned in this connection; however, the tracks were not only north-south, but also north-east / south-west, as the excavations at Tegdaoust have clearly shown by the abundance of Ifrîqiyan import artefacts collected at this site.

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30. Chloé Capel, "Histoire hydraulique et histoire urbaine: Lorsque les pratiques d'irrigation renseignent les dynamiques de peuplement des villes. L'exemple de Sijilmassa."

31. Ahmed Mouloud Eida El-Hilal, "Ḥawāḍir tijāriyya ʾislāmiyya bi al-Ṣaḥrāʾ (mudun al-qawāfil)."

32. Belatik, "Essai sur le phénomène urbain."

33. Ahmed Oumouss, "Villes du Souss (Maroc), dynamiques et structures du peuplement à l'époque islamique."

Like the other caravan ports in southern Morocco active in the Middle Ages (Tāmdult or Nūl Lamṭa), even if it would be more necessary than ever to promote systematic comparative research between the structural features of these cities and those of their equivalents in the southern margins, Azūgi, Awdaghust, Kumbi Sālih/Ghana, Gao/Kawkaw, Tādmakka or even Djenné. For, obviously, the similarities and differences that can be ultimately interpreted, both historically and anthropologically, still need to be calibrated with precision.

But the reading through the prism of the networks that we are proposing here could apply to many of the other cities discussed in this conference. Al-Baṣra, for example, can only be understood by placing it back in the very dense network of Idrissid settlements of the Tingitane peninsula (and before them that of the late-ancient agglomerations of the region, which is significantly different). Likewise, five centuries later, the occupation and restructuring of the city of Azemmour[34] is one of the milestones of the coastal control and exploitation program undertaken by Portugal. From the early Middle Ages, Ceuta was the major node of the complex grid formed by the ports of the Strait, competing or complementary.

Ultimately, it should come as no surprise that the founding –sometimes –, development – especially –, but also the disappearance of some of the cities studied had to do with the conflict between the Umayyad and Fatimid caliphs. Cordoba/Madīnat al-Zahrā' and Kairouan/Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya[35] are indeed the two-great dipole centers around which almost all the political and economic life of the Western Mediterranean was organized for a century, and which more or less strongly impacted on the urbanization process of the territories they control.

Whatever the level of economic development of the country in question, conservation, restoration, enhancement, awareness of the societal importance of this heritage, dissemination of information concerning it, including the historical discourse that it may arouse training for young people have been called for on several occasions (for Tīṭ, al-Baṣra and many others). There is no doubt that these directions are the ones in which we need to work, especially as a side effect would be to give archaeologists themselves the place they deserve in social dialogue. But then we would like the sense of responsibility shown by these same archaeologists for a long time to find a more enthusiastic echo than it is currently with the administrations having a legal and moral duty to support their initiatives.

Finally, other themes would have deserved a larger place; we are certainly forgetting some, but two in particular would have seemed particularly interesting to us to develop and discuss as such: urban morphology and the methodology followed. They are, as we will see, closely related. The first theme timidly treated in this conference is paradoxically that of the morphology of the medieval city. A double paradox, moreover, first because archaeology is particularly suited

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34. André Teixeira, Serrao Gil et Azedine Karra, "L'appropriation portugaise."
35. Patrice Cressier, "Avant Le Caire: Les premières capitales fatimides. Perspectives archéologiques."

to tackling this question, then because, as was recalled both in the inaugural conference of the colloquium and in the two framework conferences on the historical[36] and archaeological[37] aspects, this morphology was one of the criteria for defining the "Muslim city" in so-called "colonial" or "orientalist" historiography. If the *topoi* inherited from this historiography are moreover still too often conveyed – alas not only by the media or the so-called "disclosure" works –, it is certainly not because of the archaeologists, who were among the first to denounce this reductive and anachronistic vision. In fact, during the first half of the XXth century and in its reconstruction of what was the medieval Maghreb city, archaeology had to fight not only against a certain orientalist model but above all against another, more openly colonial, in which the weight of Rome and its heritage were preponderant.

It is nevertheless disappointing that even for supposedly well-known establishments, their morphology is precisely what still escapes us for many reasons. In part, this is due to the type of approach taken, and this comes to the second of the themes left out.

The only surface prospecting can allow a global perception of the spatial arrangement, hardly ever a detailed reconstruction of town planning; at best, we only have a blank map, and the chronological imprecision is far from always being eliminated, as has emerged from the debates relating to several sites. The use of certain (geo)physical methods, the efficiency of which has greatly improved in recent years, could make it possible to go further (for example in the mapping of the main features of the spatial organization), but – except for errors of our part – this was only the case for one or two of the sites that were presented to us (al-Baṣra). As for excavation, the use of random surveys was predominant for a long time for essentially economic reasons. However, if we can thus obtain reliable point stratigraphies and above all better orient future interventions (like what was done in Nakūr and Tāmdult), the risk of distortion of perception is great. Some of the medieval archaeological work carried out in the Rif area at the end of the 1970s bears witness to the advantages and disadvantages of limiting itself to this approach alone, very effective only when carried out on a large scale and over a long period of time. The cases of Cordoba and Ceuta have confirmed this to us. Reduced to interventions too localized and/or too staggered in time, the approach adopted as well as the reasons and criteria for the choice made, the presentations presented during these two days were very discreet on this point: excavations or surveys? Extensive excavations or surveys? What types of surveys and on what scale? Architectural surveys or architectural archaeology? All these methods are valid, but their precision and their ability to answer given historical questions are highly variable.

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36. Given by Mohamed Mezzine.
37. Presented by Abdallah Fili.

Coming back to urban morphology, which remains the basis of many hypotheses and interpretations and is the starting point for these few remarks, we have seen that, in an early and relatively narrow chronological range, it does not answer not to a single type: walled city from its foundation (al-Baṣra) or much later (Tīṭ), possibility of a polynuclear city (Sijilmāssa perhaps), urban dipoles (Cordoba/Madīnat al-Zahrā', Kairouan/Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya , but also – for a time – Ceuta or even Gao), cities with a *qaṣr* or a *qaṣba* enclosing the command center (Cordoba, again, but also Tinmal or Algiers), open cities (Djenné), etc. If it were to be based only on this criterion, the traditional characterization of the "Islamic city" would indeed be a myth.

It is curious to note that one of the few novelties concerning the urban morphology of the Moroccan medieval cities was brought during this conference by a work which had initially given itself a completely different objective. In Azemmour, the analysis of aerial photographs and cadastral documents shows the existence of an enclosure of still imprecise chronology, today totally disappeared but fossilized in the urban fabric, reviving in fact the questioning on the evolution of the city before and after the Portuguese establishment.

What can be concluded from this archaeological component is above all that of a reactivation of archaeological research – in the broad sense – on the Islamic cities of Morocco, as well as the dynamism and enthusiasm of researchers, young and old. This did not go without a relative heterogeneity of the presentations, some taking up work completed for a few years already, others being of very fresh topicality, some offering the results acquired within the framework of international cooperation programs, others the product of individual research, which of course implies, among other things, differences in budgets and differences in methodology. The participation of researchers working in territories other than Morocco provided welcome additional insight.

In general, it appears that Moroccan medieval archaeology is still very dependent on cooperation programs. Far from thinking that this cooperation is unwelcome, we know first-hand how useful it is for the circulation of researchers, the comparison of training, methods, and experiences. But the fact remains that an increase in financial and institutional support is necessary from the Moroccan institutions themselves, to give their teams greater autonomy in the choice of objectives and the implementation of adequate programs.

The initiative and the personal implication of the researchers appeared to be constant– which should, in passing, be welcomed – but unless we forget on our part, no communication, for the Moroccan cases at least, has given an account of this planned heritage management programs. However, the number of emergency excavations carried out during the last two decades in the country is very far below the needs, while in all the ancient cities of Morocco the archaeological heritage is in rapid erosion. Is it impossible to imagine that one day archaeologists,

historians, architects, restorers, and town planners could finally intervene jointly and serenely in any intervention on the monuments or the urban fabric of these cities? May the holding of the conference and the publication of this special issue have contributed to an awareness of this major problem and to the smoothing out of the obstacles to understanding between specialists in these different fields.

Perhaps in this regard it is possible to think of possible extensions to this meeting, with regard to the reflection on the medieval city from archaeology, but without losing sight of the impact they could have on the promotion of the study and protection of heritage. These extensions could take various and complementary forms.

One of these could be the long-term organization by academic institutions of a seminar on the medieval city in North and Sub-Saharan Africa. Each session would welcome a small number of speakers, mainly archaeologists and historians, but also according to the topics covered by geographers, sociologists, restorers, and planners and would focus on topical or more general topics, helping to identify common objectives. The comparative archaeological approach of deserted urban sites and currently active cities would be one of these themes, just like, at a very distinct level, that of the processes of genesis and foundation or that of the interaction between the city and its environment.

Another undertaking would be useful, both from a scientific point of view and that of heritage management: an atlas of the disappeared medieval towns of Morocco, designed collectively by archaeologists and historians and drawing up an inventory of each of these sites (historiographical assessment, textual sources, preserved remains, specific conservation and protection issues). Widely illustrated, it could constitute both an excellent basis for reflexion for the development of future research and a good tool for persuading the authorities concerned.

There is no doubt, in short, that the conference and this special issue of *Hespéris-Tamuda* which is the fruit of it will mark, hopefully, an inflection point in research on the medieval Moroccan city and it is to be hoped, as such, that it will have a stimulating effect both on the supervisory institutions and on planning decision-makers. It is up to each of us now, within our means, to work in this direction.

The Contribution of historians

Historizing the urban phenomenon in the Muslim world is a difficult task and the historians who contributed to this book have tried it. Backed by a rigorous disciplinary foundation, they have relied on methodological practices that open to archaeology but also to other human sciences.

This section is in turn divided into three successive axes: "The Islamic City, Medieval Version, Powers and Economy," "The Islamic City, Daily Life

and Religion" and "The Muslim City, Variances and Modernity." The first axis and the most enriched by seven contributions touching the whole of the Muslim West (Occident musulman) from north to south. The Moroccan cities take a good place there with a contribution on the cities of the High Middle Ages in Morocco according to the Idrissid and Almoravid currencies[38] and the implications of the monetary organization on the establishment and maintenance of urban networks during its two eras. This economic role and its impact on cities is highlighted for the Saharan cities of the caravan trade.[39] This is a component that deserves further development by including it in a comparative approach between these cities south of the Sahara and those located in the North covering the entire North African latitude from east to west. The study of the Almoravid *Qoubba* of Marrakech[40] focuses on the monumentality in which the Almoravid power inscribes its urban action. The fine analysis of the organization of the fabric of the city and of this aedicule with such a refined decoration makes it possible to highlight a power that is losing ground, but which gives the city of Marrakech a monumental center. The role of central power, largely mentioned above, is accentuated, or diminished in accordance with historical vicissitudes like Bernard Rosenberger does.[41] He takes a long-term approach to the phenomenon of autonomous cities which break away from the grip of central powers at times of weakness, starting with the case of Ceuta as a medieval example, and the cities on the Moroccan coast at the start of the modern era. This phenomenon of "littoralization" has brought about the emergence of Algiers,[42] which is part of a more general process developing throughout the Maghreb in the tenth-eleventh century, with the first Islamic cities of the region, mostly located in the region, as its starting point located mostly in the rear-country.

To use the term "Islamic City" here for some of these cities of the hinterland, like Tahert, is not abusive, because it is not based on the characteristics of their town planning, but indeed on the fact that they are founded by a political power claiming the specificity of its religious affiliation.

The Andalusian city is not left out and concludes this axis with two contributions. A fine posthumous synthesis by the late Pierre Guichard[43] allows us to lay down the general framework on the chronological evolution of urbanization in al-Andalus from the origins until the reconquest of Granada in 1492. There he assesses the weight of social and political traditions and the economic importance in the evolution of Andalusian urban environments. He points out that it is difficult to classify the Andalusian city because "The establishment of

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38. Mohamed El Hadri, "Mulāḥaẓāt ḥawla taṭawwur al-ʿumrān bi-l-Maghrib al-Aqṣā khilāla al-qurūn al-ūlā li l-Islām."
39. Eida El-Hilal, "Ḥawāḍir tijāriyya."
40. Quentin Wilbaux, "Une lecture architecturale de la *qoubba* almoravide de Marrakech."
41. Bernard Rosenberger, "Villes et pouvoir central au Maroc (XIIIᵉ-XVIᵉ siècles)."
42. Allaoua Amara, "Alger, de la fondation ziride à la capitale régionale (Xᵉ-XVᵉ siècle)."
43. Pierre Guichard, "Histoire de l'urbanisation d'al-'Andalus VIIIᵉᵐᵉ-XVᵉᵐᵉ siècles."

the urban framework characteristic of 'Islamic cities' is just as difficult to pin down precisely, even if its components are nevertheless well known." Reviewing the main works on Andalusian cities, he questions the many assumptions of historians who have taken over from the orientalists of yesteryear, such as J.-P. Garcin and André Raymond.[44] Seville, analyzed with precision by J. M. Viguera Molins,[45] brings her Almohad experience, and shows "the decisive influence that political power may have had on the urban destiny" of Muslim cities. The author recalls that the Almohad heritage constitutes a contribution to the construction of an Andalusian, Muslim model of the city.

The second axis refers to an aspect very little discussed in the colloquium and concerns the city as a receptacle of the dominant or minority religious identity. Only three contributions are included, two of which concern the Moroccan Jewish community and more specifically the religious monuments (the old synagogues) of the Mellah of Fez.[46] These are *Ṣlat* Shelomo Ibn Danān, *Ṣlat* ʾal-Fāssiyyīn and *Ṣla* de Mimūn Mansāno whose historical and archaeological analysis has allowed us to approach a little studied Moroccan religious heritage. Hicham Rguig considers them to be important architectural elements in the urban environment which, through their architectures and their evolutions in space, make it possible to understand the urban and architectural fabric of the district and the city.

Life in the *Mellah* and the mix between Jews and Muslims has always attracted the curiosity of travelers and Europeans, among them, in the first place. The in-depth study by Khalid Ben-Srhir and Lahoucine Aammari[47] has made it possible to follow the perception of these neighborhoods by British writers and explorers visiting pre-colonial Morocco. The authors conclude that the Mellah space is perceived "not as a site delimited by fixed identities and cultural practices, but rather as "a critical ground" of encounters and transculturation. The "porosity" of the Mellah and the "Islamic City" as liminal spaces leads to the production of a transcultural, ambivalent, fluid and protean reality." Spirituality in the Islamic city has been the subject of work still in its infancy at *Ribāt* of Tīt.[48] This center of spirituality without an initial urban character may have evolved more or less long term in the city: this is the case of the *Ribāṭ* of Tīṭ, founded in the tenth century, but which does not acquire its urban characteristics until much

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44. Jean Claude Garcin, "Le Caire et l'évolution urbaine des pays musulmans à l'époque médiévale," *Annales islamologiques* 25 (1991): 289-304; see also Pierre Guichard, "Les villes d'al-Andalus et de l'Occident musulman aux premiers siècles de leur histoire. Une hypothèse récente," in *Genèse de la ville islamique*, 37-52; Raymond, "Villes musulmane," 23-50.

45. María Jesús Viguera Molins, "Ville et pouvoir: Séville, capitale des Almohades."

46. Hicham Rguig, "Autour de trois anciennes synagogues au *Mellah* de Fès."

47. Khalid Ben-Srhir & Lahoucine Aammari, "Muslim-Jewish Interactions in the "Islamic City" and the *Mellah* in Precolonial Morocco."

48. Jean-Pierre Van Staëvel, Abdallah Fili et Sébastien Gaïme "Tīṭ n Fṭār (Moulay ʿAbdallāh Amghār): du *ribāṭ* à la ville sainte tardomédiévale. Une approche archéogéographique et stratigraphique."

later at the end, from the XIIth and XIIth centuries. This is the first time that the analysis of the urban fabric has been subjected to an archaeo-geographic and stratigraphic analysis to establish the points of concentration of habitat and its stratigraphic evolution.

The articles of the third axis of the history section, and especially that of José Antonio González Alcantud,[49] lead the reader to the debates of the twentieth century on the heritage, and on the attitude towards the Muslim heritage, when the Andalusian city of Granada, will face contemporary problems of its classification. "The novelty of this contribution is to oppose, in the discourse – in the Foucauldian sense – the classic urban development, which hesitates between destruction, conservation, and the imaginary approach" ... in the face of triumphant modernity," as specified by the author.

Considering the various medieval models of the Muslim city, other authors have sought, in the city of the twentieth century, another model of that city. Three texts share this approach: That of Esmahen Ben Moussa on Tunis[50] and that of Mohammed Métalsi on Tangier[51] and that of Hassan Radouane and Rim Mrani.[52] The models of Tunis and that of Tangier show the Muslim city in the context of modernity. The Muslim city has an ambiguous feature because it relies on its relationship to the colonial city while seeking to extricate itself from it through its own innovations. Esmahen Ben Moussa rightly insists on "The apparent duality of the urban fact, thought of as a "double city." The author seeks to reveal specific potentialities in the cities produced in colonial situations as "shared heritage" presenting a "mixed character corollary to the development of a Maghrebian heritage framework" and a "modern anchoring in societies which are not the direct producers."

For Tangier, Mohammed Métalsi notes, on the contrary, that "faced with the absence of coordinated decisions and the multiplicity of interests, the city has undergone singular changes in its internal structure and its architectural and urban configurations" making history of this city a perpetual renewal, because the real cause of the growth of Tangier was the speculative investment and the free market of the ground. Hassan Radoine and Rim Mrani insist on the complementary character of the "Islamic" city as a rational product of logical progression and stratification of endogenous urban and architectural facts and the fact that it expresses the sum of exogenous facts. This dichotomy loses its meaning in the face of the functional necessities and community specificities

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49. José Antonio González Alcantud, "La ciudad musulmana de Granada en la prueba de la modernidad, 1840-2000."

50. Esmahen Ben Moussa, "Histoire de l'architecture contemporaine en Tunisie (1830-1960). Enjeux historiographiques du cas tunisois."

51. Mohammed Métalsi, "La médina de Tanger à l'épreuve de la modernité. L'histoire d'une ville arabo-islamique face aux puissances internationales."

52. Hassan Radoine & Rim Mrani, "La *civitas* islamique des trois cités maghrébines: Approche analytique de résilience urbaine."

specific to the North African heritage city and which have shaped its urban and architectural structure.

Historians have thus broadened the debate by focusing it on a colonial city, but at the same time Muslim. The hybrid Muslim city faces new challenges. The legacy of knowledge and colonization projects still weighs heavily on contemporary logics. The long-time adopted by the texts makes it possible to span centuries of history without distorting either the evolution or the basic question. The need for archaeological findings is felt by all of them. Where possible, anthropology attempts to make up for the lack of archaeology. To understand the colonial city, we would have to change our approach and think of the city in terms of a mosaic whose territorial borders would be defined based on exclusive features that mark the territorial borders of ethnic, religious, social and residential affiliations and identities.

The Muslim city which occasionally takes the qualifier of "colonial," is drawn into the whirlwind of modernity which puts it at odds with otherness: "the problematic of otherness, of the universality-particularism relationship and tradition-modernity has imposed itself on the various players in the colonial city." However, historians do not hesitate, even for the contemporary period, to seek out archaeologists to refine their new model. Their texts show it well, the Muslim model rubs shoulders with the colonial model (in Muslim countries). Segregation is put in place, in the name of preserving the historic character of the Muslim medina. The maintenance and the safeguard of the traditional Moslem city (the *medina*) was at this price.

The city in the Muslim world under the eye of geography

The four round tables in which the organizers brought together contributions from geography, urbanism, economics, and architecture, brought together fourteen contributions from these four disciplines. The speakers were from seven different countries (Morocco, France, Germany, Australia, India, USA, (Japan sent a video). The cities dealt with come from different regions and different countries: Morocco through different cases, cities of the Himalayas, Central Asia, the Maghreb, and the Mashreq. The historical periods concerned go from medieval times to the present day and cities that are still functional and active, but also cities that have disappeared, beautiful harvest in terms of terrain, and historical periods, with very varied angles of attack. This is to say the difficulty to present a synthesis that is complete and especially with sufficient hindsight to grasp its scope and draw the conclusions.

The interventions of this round table dealt with different themes that can be reduced to four:

• The production of knowledge around the Moroccan city.

• A series of questions about Islam and the city, the Arabs and the city, the Arab city model.

• The effects of safeguarding and rehabilitation actions and programs on the Muslim city model.

• The effects of globalization and new cities in the Muslim world.

Of these four themes, the second is the most extensive in the case of studies since it answers the main questions of the conference: Is there a specifically Muslim city? Is there a model of an Arab city? Many questions that lead researchers back to models of medieval towns to try to understand the evolution of the so-called Muslim city. An assessment of this production was necessary to situate the level at which research on the city had reached in the Islamic world today.

However, for this presentation, they can be grouped into two main sub-themes: the Arab-Muslim city today and attempts to grasp a model applicable to the city in the Muslim world from historical analyses.

The Arab-Muslim city today

The first theme begins with a review of the knowledge produced around the Moroccan city. The only intervention, by Abderrahmane Rachik,[53] on this subject is based on several databases built gradually and on different occasions. The proposed bibliometric approach leads to interesting conclusions, with in particular a development of research, through the academic theses which marked out the 1980s. This development of work on the city, was probably linked to the establishment of an urban policy made necessary to respond to the riots of 1981. A year which marked a turning point in the urban policy of the Moroccan government, but also in the production of urban planning documents and the development of research. This research was first carried out by geographers, teacher-researchers trained first in France, then in Morocco. It brings a wealth of knowledge, but very heterogeneous; without providing real answers to classic questions about the city model found in the Muslim world.

Then there are questions about the status of the Arab-Muslim city today. Jean-François Troin[54] tries to provide some answers by starting from an analysis of its quality as an Arab city. It is a question of whether there is a model of an Arab city, especially compared to other Muslim cities. His questioning starts from the models that geographers have developed to study the urban fact, in a zonal way by trying to determine "models of cities": European, North American, South American, Indian, Chinese, Japanese type cities. The communication then tries to see if the Arab world, which in 2017-2018 included around 246 million urban

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53. Abderrahmane Rachik, "La production intellectuelle sur l'urbain au Maroc."
54. Jean-François Troin, "Existe-t-il un modèle de ville arabe contemporaine?."

dwellers, could provide a clean urban model. Although the rate of urbanization varies greatly from country to country, there are common characteristics that make these cities seem related, with a notable exception for the cities of the Arabian Peninsula. The author concludes that it is ultimately the networks of cities and levels of hierarchy that most differentiate urban systems from country to country in the Arab world. But these cities have common concerns. Thus, the explosion of urban fabrics today poses major management and operational problems for Arab metropolises, as the example of urban transport shows. Finally, the planning choices adopted across the cities of the Arab world make it possible to conclude that there is a need for the conservation of an identity of these cities and for the essential safeguarding of the inherited urban heritage. Otherwise, the specificity of the Arab urban model will be greatly altered.

But this city must also be seized through the effects of globalization. For Steffen Wippel,[55] current urban research (particularly English-speaking) too often focuses on the development of global "world cities" or other megalopolises, after having long focused on national "primate cities", also in the countries of the South. This, while the "secondary cities" or "second rank" (secondary cities) in these regions and elsewhere are often neglected. However, many of these places show similar developments linked to globalization, neo-liberalization and increased post-modernization. As decision-makers try to place them in pivotal positions in the networks and flows of goods, capital, people, and images. Based on this observation, Steffen Wippel proposes to develop conceptual elements that show the important role of these cities in national, regional, and global fabrics, based on studies carried out in Tangier (Morocco), Salalah (Oman) and Edirne (Turkey) which are experiencing a certain boom and have common features but also divergent trajectories.

Mohamed Berriane[56] continues the reasoning on the contribution of globalization to the realization of a new model of Muslim city. He analyzes the impact of international tourism on it. Indeed, despite the position of the Arab world in an area of tension, the Muslim city established itself in the international tourism market in the 1960s. These same tourists settle in and become new residents after acquiring old homes and renovating them. This phenomenon challenges both the understanding of the meaning of these choices and the future of these cities which are increasingly opening to the Western world.

This discovery of the Arab-Muslim city by foreigners who become new residents is accompanied by a need for safeguard and rehabilitation. Naima Lahbil Tagemouati[57] analyzes with passion the example of Fez which is an example

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55. Steffen Wippel, "The Globalisation of "Secondary Cities" in the Middle East and North Africa: Conceptual Considerations and Empirical Findings."

56. Mohamed Berriane, "La ville arabe à l'épreuve du tourisme."

57. Naima Lahbil Tagemouati, "La médina de Fès: de l'oubli à la quête de sens."

of a Muslim city which has lived through forty years of safeguarding policy. Of course, the city "is not all history." It is now very much alive, functional, and suffering from serious problems. After presenting the rehabilitation and / or safeguard programs and actions, the author notes that the city is trying at all costs to safeguard its values as a Muslim city. It is a daily struggle to keep its old values and its medieval model which benefits from progress in urban planning and new technologies. The craftsman is at the center of this struggle. Naima Lahbil Tagemouati highlighted the role of the researcher and the intellectual in identifying avenues for action in this medina which, despite a remarkable recovery in both private and public investments in culture and heritage, the city shows signs of depopulation.

Finally, today, this Arab or Arab-Muslim city can also be found where there is no city. This is the thesis defended by Jacques Jawhar Vignet-Zunz[58] in a contribution which, through observations in the Jbala, but also among the Kabyles, and which he also suspects in the Anti-Atlas. These are corridors of "learned mountains" through which large cities like Fez had access to the coast. Along these corridors we find a certain "city-life" through a territorial anchoring, strong human densities, artisanal activities and centers of letters and scholars in rural areas, with a great importance of the status of the written word and of the know.

Some historical elements to grasp a model applicable to the Arab-Muslim city today

To understand this city today, other speakers called on historical analyzes.

This is how Abbey Stockstill's research[59] on three medieval metropolises Sijilmasa, Marrakech and Rabat, in medieval times, highlights the relationship with the city's extramural under the Almoravids and Almohads. Admitting that the wall systems were an integral part of the delimited space of the medina, these ramparts must be understood as flexible and supple limits. Indeed, the medieval city of the Muslim West is involved in complex relationships with the suburban and rural communities that surrounded it. This is particularly evident when examining the creation and maintenance of long-distance irrigation canals, which often determine the viability of long-term urban settlement and growth.

Another case reported on this subject is that of the Islamic cities of medieval and post-medieval Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. Manu Prithvish Sobti[60] questions the effects of human mobility across border regions. What have migrant populations brought to the fringes and centers of these urban

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58. Jacques Jawhar Vignet-Zunz, "La ville hors de ses murs."
59. Abbey Stockstill, "Hostile Urbanism: Three Case Studies from the Medieval Maghrib."
60. Manu Prithvish Sobti, "Suburban Cities and Fluid Boundaries: Stories beyond the Walls of Islamic Urbanities in Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent."

settlements? How were their interventions integrated into the city plan and what factors determined their longevity and survival?

In the same vein, Hakim Sameer Hamdani[61] tried to find the imprints of Muslim culture in the urban landscape of Himalayan cities from the writings of the scholar Abu Rahyan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni (X[th] and XIth century). Thus, after centuries of closure, the coming to power of Rinchana and his conversion to Islam, Kashmir becomes the center of a Himalayan sultanate opening its borders to Sufis, artisans, poets, and traders from the Persian world. The materiality of this new "Muslim culture" was represented by the khanqahs, mosques and shrines of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. The article examines how the sacred spaces linked to the Muslim faith became the cultural determinants and visual markers of the city of Srinagar.

Finally, Nour Eddine Nachouane & Aicha Knidiri[62] take us back to Morocco and Andalusia and deal with the commercial function of the so-called Muslim city. Symbolic space of the large medieval towns, the souk, beyond its tourist or folkloric character, is also a place which, with the administrative structure of the trades and the control of economic activity, manifests its intrinsic character and the relationship that unites urbanity and the presence of power. From the cases of Marrakesh and Grenada, the communication attempted to show the importance of Islamic laws in the formation of space and the control of commercial and individual institutions.

The conclusion that seems to emerge from the interventions and debates of this workshop is that a specific Muslim city does exist, and within it, there is also an Arab city model. In fact, there are Muslim cities whose specificities are not related to religion, but to the different societies that shaped them. This city has crossed centuries. It still bears traces of this, particularly with the importance of institutions. But it is changing very quickly and is now part of globalization. Its models are therefore likely to evolve under the effect of this globalization and neoliberalism. These texts are an excellent inventory of the contemporary city that has developed in the different contexts of the Muslim world.

To conclude this general presentation, we hope that this special issue will serve as a basis for further reflection and that it will help to revive and continue a debate that has already been initiated by other conferences and other publications as we have mentioned at the beginning of this text, by recalling the debates on the Andalusian and Maghrebian city. Seminar of restitution and debates, the meeting in Rabat brought together researchers from different specialties but having in common an interest for the city in the Muslim world. The Symposium also

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61. Hakim Sameer Hamdani, "Srinagar: Tracing the Footprints of Muslim Culture on the Urban Landscape of a City in the Himalayas."
62. Nour Eddine Nachouane & Aicha Knidiri, "The Souk in the Islamic City between Power and Organization of Space."

showed the scientific interest for a new meeting which would focus on analysing one or more aspects of the new convergences in research on the Muslim city.

We are happy that practically all the contributors have responded to our call and that they have shared, with us, the honor of being received by the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco. We thank its Perpetual Secretary, M. Abdeljalil Lahjomri for having invested all his weight and with all his teams in the realization of this fruitful and interesting event – under the guidance of our colleague Bachir Tamer. We would have liked to reach more researchers, to open more barriers between disciplines because such a vast subject deserved it. This is only a first attempt which we hope will likely be followed by others. Our warm thanks go also to Jamal Eddine El Hani, the Dean of the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Mohammed V University and to the dynamic Editorial and Scientific Board of *Hespéris-Tamuda*.

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