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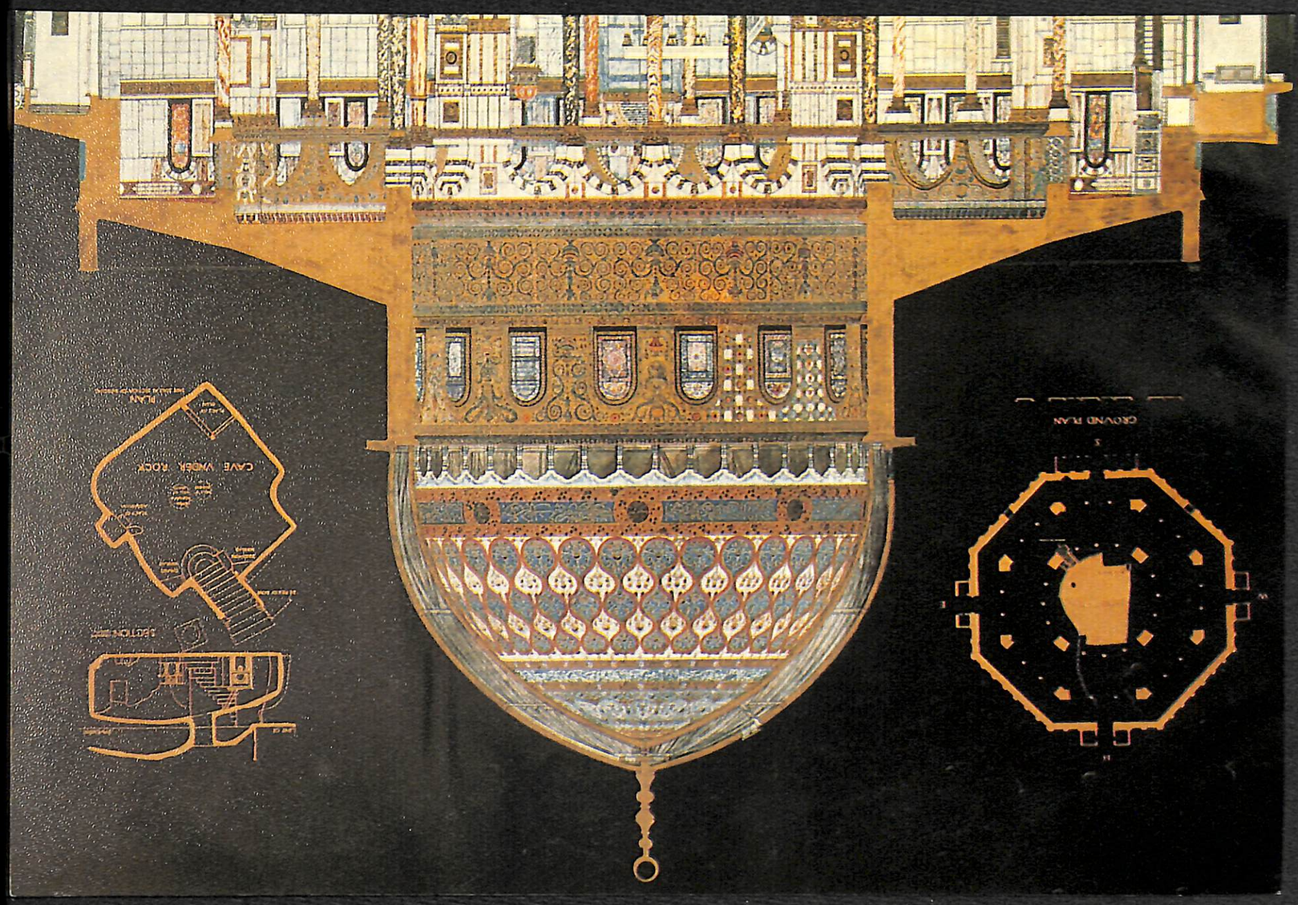
CAVE UNDER ROCK
SECTION
GROUND PLAN

Cover:

Center of Obverse: The Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan 65-86 A.H./685-705 A.D. — standing with a beard and wearing Arab dress and with his right hand on the sheath of his sword.

Inscription in Center of Obverse: clockwise from the right: In the name of God. There is no god but God alone. Muhammad is the Prophet of God.

Margin of Obverse: In the name of God this dinar was struck year seventy seven (697 A.D.).

Reverse: Modified cross on four steps.

Inside Cover:

1. The Dome of the Rock: the south elevation as drawn by William Harvey in 1909 taken from the book *Early Muslim Architecture - Umayyads* by K.A.C.Creswell, Oxford, 1969.
2. The Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. by Azad-Damascus.

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The History of Bilad al-Sham During The Umayyad Period (Fourth International Conference: 24-29 October 1987: Amman): Proceedings of The Third Symposium/Bilad al-Sham History Committee, Edited by Muhammad Adnan Bakhit and Robert Schick, Amman: The Committee, 1989.

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II - Bakhit, Muhammad Adnan, Robert Schick (Editors)
III - Title

In The Name of God, The Compassionate, The Merciful

Acknowledgement

It gives us pleasure here to acknowledge the great support which we have received from the President of the University, Dr. Abd al-Salam al-Majali, as well as the encouragement of Dr. Mohammad Hamdan of Yarmouk University. Particular appreciation is due to Dr. Robert Schick who helped to edit and proofread the text and prepare the index. Mr. Mohammad Abbadi gave of his valuable time to follow this text through the press. Thanks are due to a number of friends who helped proofreading; among them Mrs. Najwa Qattan from Harvard University and Mrs. Najwa al-Nuaymi, a graduate student at the English Department of the University of Jordan. We are obliged to Miss Najla al-Shanti and Miss Jihad Assaff both from the Bilad al-Sham staff, for their perseverance and kind attention. It gives us special pleasure to thank the director of the University of Jordan Press and his colleagues for the great efforts they put into this work. Finally, we gladly appreciate the help of both Mr. Sarkis Labajian and Mr. C.V. Mohan.

The editors regret that we were unable to obtain the thirty-odd photographs of Umayyad coins that Michael Bates wished to have accompany his article. Rather than leave his article completely unillustrated, we decided to substitute four plates of mostly phase three — post reform gold, silver and copper coins from the collections of the Jordan Archaeological Museum at the Amman Citadel. These photographs may be found at the end of the volume. We wish to thank Dr. Ghazi Bisheh and Dr. Khalaf Tarawneh for their assistance.

Though the publication of this volume is a result of the efforts of many, all shortcomings remain our sole responsibility.

Dr. M.A. Bakhit

Dr. Robert Schick

Amman
February 15, 1989

Preface

This volume contains fourteen of the English papers presented at the Fourth International Conference, Third Session, on the History of Bilad al-Sham in the Umayyad Period at the University of Jordan in October 1987. The papers examine a wide range of topics within the geographical and time limits of Bilad al-Sham in the Umayyad period, although the archaeological papers focus on Jordan.

The first two papers by Healey and Fiey examine the value of Syriac historical sources for the Umayyad period. Islamic historians have generally made little use of Syriac sources, and so both authors begin by listing the Syriac historical works that are available in printed editions. Then the authors provide samples of the kinds of information given by these sources. Prof. Healey quotes a few passages to demonstrate the style and interests of the Syriac chroniclers, while Father Fiey presents sample quotes about each caliph and observes an emphasis in the sources on the miserable conditions of life in the Umayyad period.

In the next paper Dr. Desreumaux summarizes the archaeological, epigraphic, and linguistic evidence for the Aramaic dialect and script that the Semitic Christians in southern Bilad al-Sham used in the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods for their religious writings. He clarifies its linguistic position as a language distinct from Syriac and shows how its script differed from Syriac. He then proposes a new term to describe the language: Byzantine-Aramaic.

Dr. Schick investigates the fate of the Christian communities in Palestine from the last years of Byzantine rule through the Sasanian interlude and the Umayyad period based on an analysis of many individual sites documented by literary sources and archaeology and a comparison of this information with historical accounts. He observes a sharp decline in the numbers of Christians in the period, due less to willful destruction or active persecution than general economic decline.

Professor Kaegi discusses warfare between the Byzantines and the Umayyads. He surveys recent scholarship, and examines a number of specific topics, in particular the treaties that local Byzantine rulers in the frontier areas made with the Muslims and the Byzantine emperors to these local arrangements.

The next five papers present the results of recent archaeological work in Jordan.

Dr. King summarizes the results of his regional surveys of Umayyad period sites in Hawran, Balqa' and southern Jordan. He moves beyond the common narrow scholarly focus on the architecture of the Umayyad *qusur* "desert palaces" and gains a fuller understanding of these sites by placing them in their regional contexts, especially their place in road networks.

Dr. Bisheh follows King's general treatment of the Umayyad *qusur* with a presentation of the results of his excavations at two such Umayyad sites: Qasr Mshash, a halting place for caravans on the road between Amman and the Arabian peninsula consisting of a qasr, bath and extensive water works and Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil, a small agricultural estate with a bath.

Dr. Carlier presents the results of her work at Qastal, another of the Umayyad *qusur*. She concentrates on the architectural and decorative features of the palace and mosque, and examines the lengths of the basic units of measurement and the geometric procedures for laying out buildings that the Umayyads used at Qastal and at other Umayyad palaces. She proposes an early dating for Qastal to the time of 'Abd al-Malik.

Dr. Northedge analyzes what little information there is available about the central Umayyad mosque of Amman, destroyed in 1923. From the descriptions and photographs of early travelers he is able to determine some of the features of its original construction in the Umayyad period as the largest mosque in Jordan, and several subsequent phases, including a reduction of the size of the mosque, perhaps in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries.

Dr. Whitcomb summarizes his excavations of the early Islamic port city of Aqaba, and focuses on the pottery. He sketches the pre-Islamic and Islamic history of the city and discusses possible reasons for the new foundation of the Islamic city, apparently in the time of 'Uthman, among other interpretive questions that the excavations address about the nature of early Islamic cities.

The next two papers examine artifactual evidence. Prof. Smith analyzes early Arabic paleography by selecting ten representative Arabic inscriptions from the Umayyad period and preparing a paleographic chart.

Dr. Bates then examines the gold, silver and bronze coinage produced in the mints of Bilad al-Sham in the Umayyad period in a wide-ranging survey. He proposes a new chronology for the three phase sequence of 'Abd al-Malik's imperial image, standing Caliph, and inscriptional coins in the five year period from 72 to 77 A.H./692-697 A.D., by reinterpreting the literary sources. Bates also devotes a great deal of attention to the generally neglected topic of the issues of copper coins in each of the Umayyad mints.

The final two papers investigate institutions. Dr. Rebstock studies the fiscal and tax administration of the Umayyads. He focuses on the personnel of the tax offices and the skills and training that they needed and the kind of mathematic computations they had to perform to correctly assess taxes.

Finally, Prof. Donner combs through the Arabic literary sources to gain an understanding of the *shurta*, an elite military unit, in Umayyad period Syria, better documented for the Abbasid period and for Iraq. He analyzes biographical data in an attempt to determine when the *shurta* was formed, who its personnel or at least its heads were, and what its functions were.

Contents

Syriac Sources and the Umayyad Period

J.F. Healey
University of Durham

Syriac is rarely studied by scholars who have an interest in Islamic studies and the history of the Arab lands. Syriac studies as a discipline grew up in Europe as an adjunct to the theological study of the Bible and the history of the church.[1] This is still the primary reason for studying Syriac among European and American students. In some centres, however, it has been recognised that Syriac studies could equally well be regarded as an adjunct to Arabic and Islamic studies. At the research level too the interface between Islamic studies and Syriac has received inadequate attention, except from Syriac-speaking Middle Eastern Christians, who are in a position to work closely with sources both in Arabic and Syriac.[2] It is highly desirable that others, including those more deeply steeped in the Arabic/Islamic tradition, should learn Syriac and use its resources.

In his contribution to the 1983 Bilad al-Sham Symposium outlined the Syriac sources for the earlier period.[3] Some of his sources cover the later period too. It should be noted here that there are Syriac historical texts which go back to a very early date and have their origins in the early traditions of hagiography and of civic annals-keeping.[4] It is my purpose in the present paper to describe some of the more important of the Syriac sources for the Umayyad period and to provide bibliographical information about them.[5]

It is perhaps best to preface this with a few remarks about the significance of the Christian community in general and the Syriac-speakers in particular in the Umayyad period. It is a commonplace that much of the

1. See W. Strothmann, *Die Anfänge der syrischen Studien in Europa* (Wiesbaden, 1971), of which there is an Arabic translation by 'Arafa Mustafa, "The Beginning of Syriac Studies in Europe," *Journal of the Syriac Academy* (Baghdad) vol. 3 (1977), pp. 265-287.

2. See, for example, A.M. Shabo, *An Evaluative Study of the Bahira Story in the Muslim and Christian Traditions*, unpublished M.A. thesis, (University of Birmingham, 1983). The author is continuing to work in this field.

3. A. Amos, "Syriac Sources for the History of Bilad al-Sham from the Commencement of the Byzantine Era up to the Islamic Conquest," *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilad al-Sham During the Byzantine Period, 1983*, ed. M.A. Bakhit, vol. 2 (English Section), (Amman, 1986), pp. 17-34.

4. See J.B. Segal, "Syriac Chronicles as Source Material for the History of Islamic Peoples," *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis, and P.M. Holt (London, 1962), p. 248.

5. See in addition to to Segal, "Syriac Chronicles": S.P. Brock, "Syriac Historical =

scientific and philosophical heritage of the ancient world was passed to the Muslims by means of the Christian communities of Syria and Mesopotamia. The beginnings of this transmission can be traced to the Umayyad period, when much of this activity was associated with the Greek Orthodox Christians left behind by the declining Byzantine empire. In the Umayyad period there were many outstanding figures, such as St. John of Damascus (c. 55-131 A.H./c. 675-c. 749 A.D.). For the Greek Orthodox, of course, the language of scholarship was Greek. The Syriac speakers were more marginal and their chroniclers often provide information on areas away from the main centres of power.

Three general comments are necessary to provide the framework for the consideration of individual authors.

First, chronicles which are late in the date of their final form are usually dependent upon earlier works which they at times quote *verbatim*. A good example is Michael the Syrian, one of the greatest of the Syriac historians. Among others he used Eusebius, John of Ephesus, James of Edessa and Dionysius of Tell Mahre.[6]

Second, even for the Umayyad period it is noteworthy that the Syriac historians were primarily concerned with church history and were often only peripherally concerned themselves with major events on the world stage. Such national and international events are reported in relation to local events or events within the Syriac-speaking Christian communities.

Thirdly, and related to this, the geographical focus for the Syriac writers was not really the major centre of Damascus. They focused on places like Edessa, modern Urfa in Turkey, and parts of Mesopotamia. Thus, although a chronicler may provide little of value about events at court he can be tremendously informative about conditions of life, particularly for *dhimmis*, in the provinces.

Bearing these factors or limitations in mind, we may note the following Syriac sources for the Umayyad period, starting with two major works of a later date:

1. *Michael the Syrian.* Michael lived in the 12th century A.D. (c. 520-595

= Writing: a Survey of the Main Sources," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy Syriac Corporation*, vol. 5 (1979-1980), pp. 1-30 (English Section), and note: J. Habbi, "Syriac Historical Writings," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy Syriac Corporation*, vol. 6 (1981-2), pp. 29-92 (Arabic Section); vol. 7 (1983), pp. 307-309 (Arabic Section). Note should also be made of Brock's "Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 2 (1976), pp. 17-36.

6. See J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889), pp. xxiv-xxxvii.

A.H./c. 1126-1199 A.D.) and was Syrian Orthodox Patriarch (561-595 A.H./1166-1199 A.D.).[7] His monumental chronicle covers the whole of history down to his day. As already noted, he makes use of various sources of much earlier date, some of which are not preserved elsewhere. The text is available with a French translation by J.B. Chabot.[8] Ther are unpublished Arabic translations of the chronicle.[9]

2. *Bar Hebraeus.* Gregory abu 'l-Faraj ibn-'Ibri (623-685 A.H./1226-86 A.D.), who was the eastern head of the Syrian Orthodox church, lived even later than Michael the Syrian, though again he uses earlier sources (including Michael).[10] He wrote a great variety of works including a secular history in Syriac, part of which is devoted to the Umayyad period. Indeed, as Brock notes, a large proportion of the work is concerned with the Islamic period and its secular history.[11] The Syriac text is reproduced with English translation by E.A.W. Budge.[12] There are also Arabic and Turkish translations of the Syriac chronicle.[13] Bar Hebraeus also wrote an Arabic chronicle which is edited by A. Salhani.[14]

3. *Dionysius of Tell Mahre.* For convenience I gather under this heading the genuine Dionysius material and the pseudo-Dionysius chronicle which runs to 157 A.H./774 A.D. The latter is of tremendous importance, despite its polemical and sermonistic style. The entire chronicle was edited by Chabot.[15] The first volume is available in Latin translation by Chabot.[16]

7. See A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), pp. 298-300.

8. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910, reprinted Brussels, 1963). For the Umayyad period see vol. 4, pp. 433-473 (Syriac), vol. 2, pp. 449-521 (French).

9. See Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," p. 17.

10. See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pp. 312-320.

11. Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," p. 19.

12. Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, trans. E.A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols. (London, 1932). For the Umayyad period see vol. 1, pp. 99-112 (English), and P. Bedjan, *Gergorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum* (Paris, 1890), pp. 106-22 (Syriac).

13. See Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," p. 19. For the Arabic translation of the relevant sections, see I. Armalet. "Le 'Chronicum Syriacum' de Barhaebreus," *al-Machriq* vol. 43 (1949), pp. 475-488.

14. Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'rikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal,* ed. A. Salhani (Beirut, 1890).

15. *Chronicon anonymum pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum, (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri = CSCO* 91/43, 104/53), ed. Chabot (Louvain, 1927-1933).

16. Ibid, *CSCO* 121 trans. Chabot (Louvain, 1949).

One section covers in some detail the period 587-775 A.D., providing much information on 8th century Mesopotamia.[17] Most of this exists in a French translation by Chabot.[18]

The work of the genuine Dionysius, who was the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch (202-230 A.H./818-845 A.D), is only substantially preserved within later chronicles.[19]

4. *The Chronicle to 1234 A.D.* (631 A.H.). This is a late anonymous work of the 7th/13th century, containing some unique data, though it is principally useful for the later, Crusader, period. It was edited by Chabot.[20] Volume I and part of Volume II (pp. 1-241 of the Syriac) contain secular history. Part of the chronicle is available in Latin.[21] Another part is available in French.[22]

5. Various *Minor Chronicles*. These include the anonymous chronicle to 724 A.D. (106 A.H.), that to 819 A.D. (204 A.H.), and that to 846 A.D. (232 A.H.). The earliest of these was published by E.W. Brooks in *Chronica Minora II*.[23] A Latin translation by Chabot is available.[24] The anonymous chronicle to A.D. 819 has half of its space devoted to the 7th/8th centuries A.D. It was published by Barsaum.[25] A Latin translation also by Chabot is available.[26] The anonymous chronicle to A.D. 846 was published by Brooks.[27] A Latin translation by Chabot is available.[28] There is an English translation by

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17. Ibid, vol. II, pp. 145-399.

18. *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré, Quatrième Partie,* trans. Chabot (Paris, 1895).

19. See R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre: Jakobitischer Patriarch von 818-845* (Leipzig, 1940; reprint 1966).

20. *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad a.c. 1234 pertinens, CSCO* 81/36, 82/37, ed. Chabot (Paris, 1916-1920).

21. Ibid, vol. I, *CSCO* 109/56, trans. Chabot (Louvain, 1937).

22. Ibid, vol. II, *CSCO* 354/154, trans. A. Abouna (Louvain, 1974).

23. *Chronicon miscellaneum ad. Annum Domini 724 pertinens, CSCO* 3/3, p. 77-155, ed. Brooks, (Louvain, 1904).

24. Ibid, *(CSCO* 4), trans. Chabot (Paris, 1903), pp. 61-119.

25. *Chronicon Anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens, CSCO,* 81/36, ed. A. Barsaum (Louvain, 1920).

26. Ibid, *CSCO,* 109/56, trans. Chabot (Louvain, 1937), pp. 1-16.

27. *Chronicon ad Annum Domini 846 pertinens, CSCO,* 3/3, ed. Brooks (Louvain, 1903), pp. 157-238.

28. *CSCO,* 4, trans. Chabot (Louvain, 1930), pp. 121-180.

Brooks of the part related to 574-846 A.D.[29]

6. The East Syrian *Elia of Nisibis*. Elia was Metropolitan of Nisibis (born 364 A.H/975 A.D., died after 441 A.H/1049 A.D.).[30] He wrote a bilingual Syriac and Arabic chronicle containing relevant material.[31]

7. *John of Penek*. John, from Penek on the Tigris, was a Nestorian (?) monk who lived in the latter part of the 1st/7th century.[32] He wrote an important work, the last part of which covers the Umayyad period. The text was edited in part by A. Mingana and the chapter relevant to the Umayyad period has been translated into French.[33]

We can illustrate the style and interests of the Syriac chroniclers of the Umayyad period with some fairly typical quotations. It is worthy of note that some of the chronicles or parts of them are bare recitals of facts. An extreme example may be seen in the following extract from Elia of Nisibis, whose material comes from al-Khawarizmi.[34]

> "The year ninety-nine — began on Saturday, 14th Ab of the year 1028 of the Greeks (717 A.D).
>
> In this year Sulayman son of 'Abd al-Malik died. 'Umar son of 'Abd al-'Aziz became king after him on Tuesday, 8th Safar. And in this year there was an earthquake in Mesopotamia on Friday, 15th Jumada II and many houses collapsed. And there were continual earthquakes for six months.
>
> The year one hundred — began on Wednesday, 3rd Ab of the year 1029 of the Greeks (718 A.D.).
>
> In this year Yazid son of 'Aqil was made emir of Mesopotamia.

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29. E.W. Brooks, "A Syriac Chronicle of the Year 846," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* vol. 51 (1897), pp. 569-588. Note that two of the volumes of *Chronica Minora* have been translated into Arabic and published by the Iraqi Academy: volume 1 by P. Haddad, (1976); volume 3 by J. Habbi (1983); Volume 2 is planned.

30. See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pp. 187-188.

31. See *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, *CSCO* 62/21-22 ed. Brooks (Louvain, 1909-1910); *CSCO*, 63/23-24 trans. Brooks and Chabot (Louvain, 1910). There is a French translation by L.-J. Delaporte, *La chronographie d'Élie Bar-Sinaya* (Paris, 1910).

32. See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pp. 210-211.

33. A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, I, ii (Leipzig, 1907). The relevant section is to be found on pp. 143 * -171* (Syriac), and pp. 172 *-197 *(French).

34. Elia, *Opus chronologicum, CSCO*, 62/21-22, pp. 161-163 (Syriac); *CSCO*, 63/23-24, pp. 77-78 (Latin); Delaporte, *La chronographie*, p. 100 (French).

The year one hundred and one — began on Sunday, 23rd Tammuz of the year 1030 of the Greeks (719 A.D.).

In this year 'Umar son of 'Abd al-'Aziz died and Yazid son of 'Abd al-Malik became king after him on Friday the twenty-fifth of Rajab. And in this year Leon, the king of the Romans, ordered that all the Jews in his kingdom should be baptised.

The year one hundred and two — began on Friday, 12th Tammuz of the year 1031 of the Greeks (720 A.D.).

In this year Maslamah son of 'Abd al-Malik fought with Yazid son of Muhallab and Yazid was killed. And in this year 'Umar son of Hubayrah became emir of Bet Aramaye."[35]

Similarly brief is the anonymous chronicle to 846 A.D. covering the immediately following period:[36]

"And in that year Yazid the king died and Hisham (Hashim!) son of 'Abd al-Malik reigned after him for 19 years. He founded houses and sowing-lands and workshops more than all the kings that were before; and he carried a canal from the Euphrates to water the plantations and the sowing-lands, which he made upon it.

And in the year 1037 Maslamah invaded the land of the Romans; he took Neokaisareia in Pontus and he destroyed it and carried the inhabitants into captivity to the land of Syria.

And again in the year 1039 he invaded the land of the Turks and a great army met him and he returned in defeat; and again he collected masons and carpenters and he went a second time and fought and won; and he built fortresses and great cities there.

And in the year 1045 my Lord Simeon, bishop of Harran, from the monastery of Qartemin, departed this life on 3rd Haziran and his place was taken by my Lord Simeon, his disciple. And the year 1046 died my Lord Constantine, bishop of Edessa, the disciple of my Lord James and his successor; and he was succeeded by Athanasius his disciple."

Here there are more details and interesting notes on ecclesiatical affairs of concern to the writer. Much of the material is also found in other Syriac chronicles, including Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus.

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35. The dates are as in the chronicle; it should be noted that there is often conflict on dating arising from inaccurate information.

36. *Chronicon ad Annum Domini 846, CSCO*, 3/3 (Syriac); *CSCO*, 4 (Latin); Brooks, "Syriac Chronicle," pp. 584-585 (English — used here with minor modifications.

Mention has been made of the more sermonistic style of the Pseudo-Dionysius chronicle. The writer is certainly more wordy and often irritating, but his description of events can be vivid and historically important, though again the focus is on the provincial areas. Thus:[37]

"The year one thousand and fifty-four (135 A.H./742-743 A.D.): the great bridge over the Tigris near Amida (Diyarbakir) was destroyed.

For the winter had been harsh; heavy snow had fallen from the sky and had accumulated for many days on the ground, so that all flesh was near to perishing. The animals especially and the birds perished. Then a fiercely cold wind came and days of wind and rain; the snow melted and the land was waterlogged with all that had fallen on it and also from the snow. There were frequent floods in all the rivers, especially the Tigris.

In this river there was a great overflow and violent floods and many people perished and innumerable places were destroyed. And a lot of wood came with it and the pressure of the water was so strong that great trees became stuck in the great bridge near Amida and were built up on each other as far as five or six miles above it. And thus on account of the force and power of the wood and the strength of the flood the bridge was broken up and swept away by the water. And it was not rebuilt, because when Hisham gathered workmen and masons and all that was needed to rebuild it and was hastening to rebuild it, he was overtaken by death and the work was left.

At the same time Edessa was flooded."

When we turn to Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus we frequently find the same material in both and there is often acknowledgement of sources. A good example is Michael's generous reference to his predecessor, James of Edessa.[38] Another example is in Bar Hebraeus' introduction to an illustrative section relating to the reign of 'Abd al-'Aziz:[39]

"Now hitherto the Christian nobles had been managing the public affairs of the kingdom of the Arabs. For Dionysius, Patriarch of Tell Mahre, says that Athanasius, who was called Bar Gumaye, was a very intellectual man, who was well trained in the knowledge of books, and

37. *Chronique de Denys de Tell-mahre*, p. 32 (Syriac); p. 29 (French); *Chronicum anonymum pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, *CSCO*, vol. 2, pp. 176-177 (Syriac). This is a loose translation based on the Syriac in the light of the French.

38. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. 4, p. 450 (Syriac); vol. 2, p. 482 (French).

39. Bedjan, *Gregorii Barhebraei*, pp. 112-113 (Syriac); Budge, *Chronograpy*, pp. 104-105 (English) — used here with modifications. The same material is in Michael the Syrian: Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. 2, pp. 475-477 (French).

was famous in every place. When 'Abd al-Malik, the king of the Arabs, heard the report of him, he sent and summoned him. And when he saw that he was qualified in every particular, he sent him with 'Aziz, his brother's son, to Egypt, and entrusted to him the management of the youth. And he progressed to the point that the whole kingdom of the Arabs was administered by him. And he increased and became very rich, and he possessed four thousand slaves, and mansions, and villages, and luxurious houses, and gold and silver like stones. And from the revenue of the four hundred guest-houses which he had in Edessa, there was built by his command a splendid temple to the God-bearer (Mary, the mother of God). And he also built in the city of Fostat, which is in Egypt, two great temples. And he also built in Edessa a baptistery, and he placed in it the image of Christ which had been sent to Abgar the king.... Then accusations were brought against Athanasius by a certain man, a Chalcedonian Damascene, whose name was Sergius bar Mansur. And when 'Abd al-'Aziz, the emir, died, and Athanasius went from Egypt, Sergius brought a lying charge against him, and said, 'Bar Gumaye has stolen the treasures of Egypt and taken them with him.' Now 'Abd al-Malik was not angry with Athanasius even because of these words, but he said to him in a quiet and peaceful manner, 'We do not hold it to be right that all this wealth should belong to the Christians; give us a portion of it.' And this Athanasius agreed to do willingly, and he gave until the king himself said, 'It is sufficient. And there still remained to him much more."

Texts like this shed an interesting sidelight on relations between Christians and the Islamic state in this period. Such issues were obviously important to the Syriac writers.

A little later Bar Hebraeus writes:[40]

"Now Walid was a hater of the Christians, and in respect of the great church of the Greeks which was in Damascus, the Arabs took it and gave in its stead the site on which the new church of the God-bearer was built; for Walid changed the first site of the church and built a great and famous mosque there. And he commanded also that the Christian lawyers (tax-gatherers) should no longer write the public accounts in Greek but in Arabic.... And Walid also commanded and all the Christians who were captives in all the churches of Syria were killed. And in the year 1026 Walid died."

Turning finally to Michael the Syrian, the greatest of the Syriac historians, we frequently find a juxtaposition of important church and state

40. Bedjan, *Gregorii Barhebraei*, p. 115 (Syriac); Budge, *Chronography*, pp. 106-107 (English).

events with information on meteorological and astronomical phenomena. Thus, for example:[41]

> "In the year 1056, Walid, king of the Arabs, ordered the tongue of the patriarch of the Chalcedonians whom they had established in Syria to be cut off and he was exiled to the Yemen.
>
> The same year in Kanun II (January) there was a harsh frost; the great rivers were frozen, so that one could cross them on foot. The fish died and were piled on the banks like flotsam. The rains then failed and there was a great famine and plague..."

He goes on to describe frequent earthquakes in the same year, monkeys attacking men in Yemen and heavenly phenomena. He states that 400,000 (?) people died of the plague in the Jazirah and at Bosra 20,000 per day (!). Marwan, he says, did not even believe in the existence of God. There was an earthquake in Damascus: a fortress built by Hajjaj b. Yusuf was destroyed and many Damascenes died along with people in surrounding regions (the Ghutah, Bosra, Dir'a, Baalbek).

As can be seen, although Michael the Syrian provides a parallel column of ecclesiastical history, religious events are a constant focus of interest. Disastrous portents often parallel irreligion and wicked heresy. Michael was a Syrian Orthodox and he did not hide his views on what he regarded as Christian heterodoxy, though he was more cautious in dealing with Islamic problems.

Having given these examples, I will now return to some of my opening comments by adding certain remarks about the availability or accessibility of these sources for Islamic scholarship. The fact that Syriac studies have hardly anywhere been integrated into Islamic studies means that these sources remain inaccessible in a variety of ways:

1. Obviously there is the remoteness of the Syriac language. It is not difficult, but it is sufficiently different from Arabic to provide a real obstacle and many of the texts have not been edited, let alone translated.

2. Such translations as exist are often in Latin, again note the church history connection, while others are in French and a few in German. There is relatively little in English and even less in Arabic.

3. A full appreciation of the material often depends upon the recognition of the frequent allusions Syriac writers make to the Bible and the earlier church fathers.[42]

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41. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, vol. 4, p. 464 (Syriac); vol. 2, p. 506 (French).

42. Segal, "Syriac Chronicles," p. 247.

4. A further and related problem is the fact that these histories often focus on Christian theological disputes. These disputes are almost impenetrable even to those well-acquainted with the history of Eastern Christianity. They present a further obstacle to the reader.

In all of this I have, perhaps, presented the difficulties as being so enormous as to be insuperable. This is not my intention. There is in the Syriac material a rich fund of evidence for the historian of the Islamic period and it is certainly worth making the effort to gain access to it. Indeed, the material can only be fully appreciated by scholars who are familiar with the Arabic sources. There is a tremendous opportunity for mutual illumination.

The Umayyads in Syriac Sources

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A complete list of the Syriac texts concerning the period has been given by S.P. Brock.[1] There is no need to repeat it here. The references given here are *not* to the Syriac *texts* themselves, but to the *translations* more easily available to the reader.

In Arabic :[2]

- Gregorios Ibn al-'Ibri (Bar Hebraeus), d. 658 A.H./1268 A.D.
- *Ta'rikh al-Duwal al-Suryani,* trans. Ishaq Armalet, *al-Machriq* (Beirut) vol. 43 (1949), pp. 475-488.
- *Ta'rikh al-Mukhtasar al-Duwal,* the only text written directly in Arabic, ed. A. Salhani (Beirut, 1890, 2nd ed. 1938), pp. 109-120.

In English:

- (Anonymous) "*A Syriac Chronicle of the Year 846,*" trans. E.W. Brooks in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft* vol. 51 (1897), pp. 580-586.
- Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography* (= *Syriac Chronicle*), translation Ernest A. Wallis Budge, vol. I (Oxford University Press), pp. 97-113.

In French:

- Jean de Penek (John of Penek) (ca. 81 A.H./700 A.D.) *Rish Mellé* (*Archaeology*), trans. A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, vol. I, (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 172-197.
- Pseudo-Denys de Tell Mahré (or rather "the Zuqnin monk") (ca. 159 A.H./775 A.D.), *Chronique* trans. J.B. Chabot (4th part), Bibliothéque de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, fasc. 112, (Paris, 1895), pp. 4-11.

1. S. P. Brock, "Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* vol. 2 (1976), pp. 17-36, reprinted in Brock, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London: Variorum, 1984).

2. Elias of Nisibis (Iliya bar Shinaya) is the author of an *Opus Chronologicum* translated into Arabic by Yusif Habbi, *Ta'rikh* (Baghdad: Syriac Academy Publications, 1975). His short notes on the Umayyads, pp. 139-161, are taken, according to his own account, from al-Khwarizmi and from a "Chronography of the Arabs" (?). There is no need then to quote him here among the Syriac historians.

- Michel le Syrien (Michael the Syrian) d. 589 A.H./1195 A.D., *Chronique,* trans. J.B. Chabot, vol. II., (Paris, 1901), pp. 450-518, reproducing data from the lost Chronicle of James of Edessa (d. 89 A.H./708 A.D.).

In Latin :

- Some of the previous texts can also be found in Latin translation in the Louvain collection, *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium Christianorum.* Other texts which exist only in Latin translation in the same collection are:

- *Maronite Chronicle,* (40-50A.H./660-670 A.D.), *Syri 4,* pp. 54-57.
- *Anonymous Chronicle to 819 A.D.* (204 A.H.) *Syri 56,* pp. 6-9 (Almost identical with the *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.* (232 A.H.) (listed above in English translation).
- *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* (631 A.H.), (Edessenian), 1st part, *Syri 56,* pp. 218-258.

Those three last chronicles have been translated by J.B. Chabot.

I shall not deal with the problem of the relations between Umayyads and *ahl al-dhimma* in Iraq. This subject has already been studied and falls outside our geographical area of *Bilad al-Sham.* Iraq in the eastern section of the Umayyad caliphate, was for a time under al-Hajjaj who, as it is well known, was not particularly benevolent towards the Iraqis, whether Muslims or Christians.[3] About what happened there, the most critical judgments are to be found in Eastern Syriac (Nestorian) sources.[4]

Therefore, our present study is mainly based on the western Syriac sources we have listed above, written by followers of the Patriarchate of Antioch, known in Arabic sources as the "Jacobites". In the Umayyad period they lived mainly in *Bilad al-Sham.*

3. Jasim Sukban 'Ali al-Rubay'i, *Nasara al-'Iraq fi 'l-'Asr al-Umawi,* unpublished M.A. thesis (Baghdad University, 1974). See *al-Mawrid* (Baghdad) vol. 7 (1978), p. 312.

4. Especially *Akhbar Batarika Kursi al-Mashriq* by Mari b. Sulayman, 12th cent. A.D., and, to a lesser degree, 'Amr b. Matta, or rather Saliba b. Yuhannan, both 14th cent. A.D., 2 vols. (Rome, 1896 and 1899 with a Latin translation, and reprinted Baghdad: Muthanna, no date). The Umayyad period is covered by Mari on pp. 63-67 and by Saliba on pp. 57-62. The Umayyads are totally absent from the last part of the "Chronique de Seert," *Patrologia Orientalis* vol. 13, pp. 427-639.

In western Syriac chronicles, the time of the Umayyads appears as an endless ordeal for the region characterized by a succession of battles, either between rival Arab leaders, or between Arabs and Byzantines. Armies roamed across the countryside, pillaging villages and ruining the crops, taking and retaking cities, where houses were looted, the women raped and the population abducted to slavery. In addition there an almost uninterrupted sequence of natural catastrophes: earthquakes, floods, plagues, droughts, locusts or rats, frosts that kill vines and olive trees, with the consequences of high prices, famines, etc. All of these events, which we cannot recall in detail here, form the difficult conditions of life in *Bilad al-Sham* at that time, as seen from the point of view of the people.

Even during the spells of relative peace, the major projects of irrigation undertaken by some of the caliphs (who sometimes could not finish the work before their death, as was the case with Yazid b. Mu'awiya in 63 A.H./683 A.D.) probably meant compulsory work for the peasants, or, at least, an increase of taxation, preceded by an evil census.[5] That made the people forget the possible future benefits of such enterprises, benefits of which, as a matter of fact, they saw little, because increased revenue went mainly to the prince, to his armies, and to the building of magnificent castles in the desert.

All these fill the pages of the Syriac chronicles, some of which are almost contemporaneous to the events, of which they give a vivid picture.[6]

Apart from military campaigns and the natural disasters, about which one could probably gather new details, lists of local governors are also found in our sources, although difficulties may arise here about the equivalence of dates and length of reigns. The Syriac writers give these dates according to the era of Alexander, starting in 311/312 B.C. In addition to the discrepancies about dates found in different writers, as well as in Arab historiographers one should remark that Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahre has a calculation of his own.[7]

5. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 473. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 102; Armalet, *al-Machriq*, p. 477. There is nothing in the Syriac sources about prisoners of war being used for such projects, as was probably the case.

6. As, for example, the plague and famine of 67 A.H./686-687 A.D. in John of Penek, *Rish Mello*, pp. 187*–192*.

7. Pseudo-Dionysius himself states, *Chronique*, p. 12: "The Arabs calculate only the moons and not the [solar] months, as the Syriacs do, and even so, most of the writers do not establish a complete chronology, but calculate only the years of the reign, omitting the years of vacancy between two reigns. As for myself, I have acted the same way in this chapter. Let the mind of the reader not be troubled."

But it is time now to give some samples of what Syriac chronicles have to say about the Umayyad caliphs.

Mu'awiya (41-59 A.H./661-680 A.D./972-991 G.) is highly praised by John of Penek, who reports the testimony of "our fathers and the fathers of our fathers." He writes: "Justice flourished during his reign, and a great peace was established in the countries under his government. He permitted everybody to behave as he wished," meaning, I suppose, respect for different religions and beliefs.[8] The same author concludes: "As long as Mu'awiya reigned, there was a great peace in the world, such as never happened in other times.[9]

Mu'awiya is also reported to have ordered that the old church at Edessa (al-Ruha), counted by the Arabs among the marvels of the eastern world, be rebuilt after having been destroyed by an earthquake. "It is said that [Mu'awiya] was lying in his bed, and, during his sleep, had a dream announcing the ruin of 'Ali and the confirmation of his own empire; that is why he had the church rebuilt."[10]

In spite of the general happiness of the time, an ominous fact is noted by Michael the Syrian.[11] Following the 8th century James of Edessa he writes: "Abu 'l-A'war (the general 'Umar b. Sufyan al-Sulami) made a census of Christian fellahs for the tribute in the whole of Syria. In fact, up to that time, Christian fe" .hs did not pay the tribute under the empire of the Arabs."

Bar Hebraeus gives a small detail about Mu'awiya, which seems not to be confirmed in other sources. He notes that Mu'awiya was the first caliph to deliver the Friday *khutba* sitting down, and to put the sermon before the prayer, fearing that the people would leave before the sermon, after performing the prayer.[12] This means, as it seems, that Mu'awiya was not a brilliant orator.

Things begin to change with *Yazid b. Mu'awiya* (60-63 A.H./680-683 A.D. 991-994 G.). John of Penek writes: "This one did not follow the steps

8. John of Penek, *Rish Mello*, p.175*.

9. Ibid.

10. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 457. The fact is reported by Michael for 990 G./679 A.D., while 'Ali was killed in 36 A.H./656 A.D.

11. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 450. The two dates given, 980 G./669 A.D. and 54 A.H./674 A.D. do not agree with each other.

12. Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar*, p. 110. Not mentioned in the *Syriac Chronicle*.

of his father, but he liked childish games and the amusements of idle people. The strength of men declined under his lazy government, because the devil completed the punishment of men by useless toils." [13]

Most of the Syriac sources skip the short reign of *Mu'awiya b. Yazid* (64 A.H./684 A.D./994 G.). Bar Hebraeus is the only one to characterize him by his nickname of "Abu Layla", the man who is afraid of the dark.[14]

As for *Marwan b. al-Hakam* (64-65 A.H./684-685 A.D. /995-998 G.), Michael the Syrian gives a version of the speech he delivered before he was chosen.[15] Bar Hebraeus describes him as "a wise and understanding man."[16]

One notices here a difference between the two historical works of Bar Hebraeus. In the first, the *Syriac Chronicle,* which he started writing in 1268 A.D., the author relies on Syriac sources, mainly Michael the Syrian. It has none of the Abbasid or 'Alid prejudices against the Umayyads that we find in Arab writers.[17] In the so-called *Mukhtasar,* written directly in Arabic in 1286 A.D., Bar Hebraeus, who had time to read Arab historians (the dates he gives now follow the Muslim calendar) is influenced by them. Here he describes Marwan as "the first caliph who took the caliphate by the sword."[18] Moreover, one should remember that the *Mukhtasar* is not a "resume", since Bar Hebraeus makes a lot of additions to his own Syriac work. Here a notice about the physician Marsargawsyh is added, which he says he borrowed from Ibn Juljul.[19]

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13. John of Penek, *Rish Mello,* pp. 182*–183*, hinting at the unfinished canal? This general testimony does not agree with Father Lammens' attempt at defending Yazid, in "Yazid b. Mu'awiya," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* lst ed. (Leiden, 1934) vol. 4, pp. 1162-1163. Notice also Bar Hebraeus' scepticism (*Mukhtasar,* p.111) about the Shi'ite version of the story of Karbala.

14. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* p. 102; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* pp. 477-478.

15. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 469.

16. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 102-103; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 478.

17. A prejudice criticised again by Lammens, "Marwan b. al-Hakam," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* lst ed. (Leiden, 1936), vol. 3, pp. 307-308.

18. Bar Hebraeus, *Muktasar,* p. 111.

19. The story of the Huzite does not appear in the version by Ibn Juljul, Abu Da'ud b. Hassan, d. 399 A.H./1009 A.D., *Tabaqat al-Atibba wa 'l-Hukama,* ed. F. Sayyed (Cairo, 1955), pp. 61-62, while Ibn al-Qifti, d. 646 A.H./1248 A.D., *Akhbar al-'Ulama,* ed. A. al-Khanji (Cairo, 1908), p. 214 traces the story to somebody else.

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (65-86 A.H./685-705A.D. /996-1016 G.) is not well liked by the Syriac writers. The governors he appointed, the famous al-Hajjaj and Muhammad b. Marwan, were rather ruthless, both to the Muslims and to the Christians.[20] Another census was made.[21] Every man was to go to his place of origin, where "his name, the name of his father, his vineyard, his olive trees, his possessions, his children, and everything he owned" was registered. After seeing in that "the origin of all the evil imposed on the Christians" the Pseudo-Dionysius, who calls the operation *ta'dil* adds, "Up to that time the kings were taking the tribute from the land, not from men."[22] Could that be the origin of capitation as distinct from the *kharaj*?

Other decisions attributed to 'Abd al-Malik, include the edict (in 85 A.H./704 A.D.?) that all the swine should be killed.[23] As for the striking of gold and silver coins "with no figures upon them but only legends" it caused a crisis in foreign trade, because the Byzantines refused to accept the new money.[24]

At the same time some Christians remained near the center of power.[25] Among them are mentioned the physicians Theodosis and Theodoros, the latter attending to al-Hajjaj, and above all, Athanasos bar Gumaye, from Edessa, whom the caliph made the tutor of his younger brother, 'Abd al-'Aziz, the governor of Egypt. Even when Athanasos had to leave Egypt after the death of his pupil, and fell into semi-disgrace, and after the caliph

20. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 474; summed up in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 104; Armalet, *al-Machriq*, pp. 479-480.

21. Both the *Anonymous Chronicle to 819 A.D.*, p. 9. and the *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*, p. 581) mention in the year 1009 G./698 A.D./79 A.H. a "register of foreigners" made by 'Atiya. Around that period I can find only 'Atiya b. 'Umar al-Anbari, a general of al-Hajjaj, mentioned by al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Jarir, d. 310 A.H./932 A.D., *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Muluk*, ed. De Goeje (Leiden, 1879-1901), ser. 2, pp. 1044. 1057 (A.H. 80 and 81). The word "foreigners" in Syriac could mean "the monks".

22. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique*, p. 19, in the year 1003 G., which should probably be made 1001 G./690 A.D.

23. *Anonymous Chronicle to 819 A.D.*, p. 9; *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*, p. 581; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p.475; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.*, vol 1, p. 230. Michael is the only one to add that crosses should be brought down.

24. *Anonymous Chronicle to 819 A.D.*, p. 9; *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*, p. 581; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2., p. 473. The *Maronite Chronicle*, pp. 55-56, had already mentioned the fact in 971 G./660 A.D. and attributed it to Mu'awiya, saying that the Greek emperor refused the coins, "because there was no cross on them."

25. Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar*, p. 113. Again not in his *Syriac Chronicle*.

invited him to surrender part of the fortune he had gathered during his twenty one years of service, he still remained immensely rich.[26]

Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96 A.H./705-715 A.D. /1016-1026 G.) is regarded by the Syriacs as worse than his predecessor. He was "an astute man, who made the oppressions and the exactions greater than they had been before him."[27] Practically that meant a new census, apparently carried out by Maslama, who was established as governor in the Jazira in 93 A.H./710 A.D. / 1021 G. (?).[28] According to the *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.,* "Maslama sent *amirs* over the whole of the Jazira, and they measured lands and counted vines and plants and men and cattle, and they hung seals of lead on every man's neck."[29]

In spite of these measures, the later Bar Hebraeus pictures al-Walid as very compassionate: "He gave money to the beggars and forbade them from begging, he gave to the crippled a servant and to the blind a guide."[30]

About the same time, al-Walid prescribed to the *kuttab* not to write the accounts of the *demosion* in Greek any more, but only in Arabic.[31]

Al-Walid is also said to have "destroyed and annihilated the robbers and brigands," to have put to death all the magicians, and to have built the city of 'Ayn Jarr ('Anjar today).[32] His attitude towards Christian tribesmen is much deplored by the Syriac chroniclers, who accuse him of having

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26. Theodosis: Ibn al-Qifti, *Akbar al-'Ulama',* p.74; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, d. 668 A.H./1270 A.D., *'Uyun al-Anba' fi Tabaqat al-Atibba,* ed. Nizar Rida (Beirut, 1965), pp. 179-181. Not mentioned in Ibn Juljul, *Tabaqat.* Athanasos: according to Dionysius of Tell Mahre (the true one?), reported by Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, pp. 475-477; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, pp. 229-230; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 104-105; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 480.

27. *Anonymous Chronicle to 819 A.D.,* p. 9; *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.,* p. 581; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, p. 233.

28. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique,* p.11, put it in 1020 G./708-709 A.D. (?); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 479.

29. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.,* p. 582, reproduced in the *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, p. 233, where it is ascribed to 89 A.H./708 A.D.

30. Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar,* p. 113.

31. In 1019 G./708 A.D. according to the *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, p. 233; 1022 G./711 A.D. according to Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 480. Discussion of the date by M. Sprengling, "From Persian to Arabic," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* vol. 56 (1939), pp. 175-224.

32. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.,* p. 581. In 1019 G./703 A.D., Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 481; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 106-107; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 482.

forced the Taghlibites to embrace Islam.[33]

Al-Walid played the leading role in building the new magnificent great mosque in Damascus. But the writers, Muslim and Syriac alike, do not agree on what happened exactly to the Church of St. John the Baptist which had stood there, and which had been earlier a temple of Jupiter. While certain sources merely say that the caliph had it demolished,[34]Bar Hebraeus, in spite of his saying that al-Walid was "a hater of Christians" adds that "he gave in its stead (of the church) the site on which the new church of the Theotokos was built."[35]

Michael the Syrian generalizes by saying that, after pulling down the "great church" in Damascus, the caliph "did the same in many places." It is noteworthy, that the accusations against al-Walid grew more bitter with time, but that Bar Hebraeus did not retain Michael's generalization.

About *Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik* (96-99 A.H./715-717 A.D. /1026-1028), the Syriac writers have little to say. They do not mention anything about his personality, his good qualities or his defects, nor even what he did during his short reign.[36] Only his campaigns captured their interest. One sentence should be noted in the *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*[37] When the Arab armies took the two Byzantine cities of Sardis and Pergamos in 98 A.H./717 A.D./1028 G, they "led many into captivity; and the Syriacs also who were there they carried away, and [then] let them go to safety." This means that the Arabs did not consider as their enemies the Syriacs they found in Byzantine cities, in contrast to the Byzantines proper.

33. Muhammad b. Marwan put to death certain of their chiefs: Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, pp. 480-482; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 106-107; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 482. Bar Hebraeus goes as far as to say, "Walid also commanded, and all the Christians who were captives in all churches (?) were killed." I have not found this story anywhere else.

34. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 480; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, p. 232; Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar,* p. 113.

35. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* p. 106; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 481. There are several different Arabic versions of the event, e.g. Ibn 'Asakir, *La description de Damas d'Ibn Asakir,* trans. and commentary N. Elisseeff (Damascus: Institut Francais de Damas, 1959), pp. 27-38.

36. Except in Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar,* p.114 (again inspired by Arab sources?), who credits him for "correcting the injustices, protecting the slaves and liberating the prisoners."

37. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.,* p. 583.

The character of *'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz* (99-101 A.H./717-720 A.D. /1028–1031 G.), exalted by most of the Arab sources as the model of pious kings receives a mixed treatment in Syriac sources.[38] The *Anonymous Chronicle to 840 A.D.* describes him as "a merciful king, beyond [all the kings] that were before him."[39] Later sources state on the one hand that he was "good and merciful, a friend of truth, just, opposed to evil," and praised his sobriety, while they find themselves confronted on the other hand with the so-called "Ordinance of 'Umar" attributed to the same caliph, probably erroneously.[40] This contradiction with what had been said of him before leads the writers to attempt an explanation.[41] They attribute what they call his "ill-treatment" of Christians to two reasons: his zeal for the Muslim faith, and "the disgrace which came upon the Arabs through their withdrawal from Constantinople."

Here, as in several other cases, we find two currents in Syriac sources. Ancient ones, up to the *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.* followed as usual by the *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.* as well as those deriving from Arabic sources, such as the *Mukhtasar,* are favourable to 'Umar, while Michael the Syrian followed by Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography,* is more critical. That may help to date the so-called "Ordinance of 'Umar" after 846 A.D. The final redaction remains likely attributable to al–Mutawakkil (232-247 A.H./847-861 A.D).

Whatever may be the truth, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz died in a Christian monastery, Dayr Sam'an, and was buried there.[43]

Yazib b. 'Abd al-Malik (101-105 A.H./720-724 A.D./1031-1035 G) did not reign for long.The Arabic sources don not treat him kindly, especially regarding relations with singing girls, in particular Habbaba. His grief over her death is said to have precipitated his own.

38. W.W. Barthold, "Caliph Omar II and the Conflicting Reports on his Personality," *Islamic Quarterly* 15 (1971), pp. 69-95.

39. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.,* p. 583.

40. Given twice in the *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, pp. 238, 239; Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar,* p. 115.

41. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, pp. 488-489; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 108-109; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 484.

42. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 108–109; Armalet, *al–Machriq,* p. 484, goes as far as to speak of his "hatred."

43. Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar,* p. 115. See Yaqut, al –Hamawi, d. 626 A.H./1229 A.D., *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (Beirut: Dar Sadr, 1966), vol. 2, p. 517. The eastern Syriac writer Mari, cited above, adds to the mention of the name of 'Umar II, "may his soul rest in peace," this mention is rather unexpected.

Despite his personal lack of zeal for the practice of the law, he seems to have felt remorse, and then to have taken harsh measures. For example he "commanded that all the images of every living being be obliterated from the churches, and from walls and wooden panels, and from stones and from books.[44]

The Syriac sources also mention a new census, ordered by al-Dahhak, governor of the Jazira.[45] He "sent registrars through the whole of the province, and they registered all persons, children and adults, even to him that was born that day. And they measured lands and counted plants, and made an inquisition of the like of which was never known, and every one in whom they found any false statement they shaved, and they shaved many persons." Of course, this census resulted in new taxation.

Strange decisions are attributed to Yazid by the rather fanatical "Zuqnin monk" (Pseudo-Dionysius), who claims that in 105 A.H./723-724 A.D./ 1035 G., the caliph ordered that *white* animals, dogs, doves and cocks should be slaughtered.[46] The streets of the cities were infected by the stench of their dead bodies. He would even have ordered fair-headed men to be equally put to death. The project failed thanks to godfearing people(?).[46]

The new taxes came with the reign of *Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik* (105-125 A.H./724-743 A.D. /1035-1054 G). "He oppressed men with excessive taxes and levies of money."[47] Apart from the funds needed for the repeated campaigns of the reign, money was spent on ambitious irrigation and building projects.

Among the canals Hisham dug, one took off "from the Euphrates above Callinicos (Raqqa) to water the crops and plantations, and the reclaimed lands that he had made upon it... He founded houses and workshops

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44. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*, p. 584; Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique*, p. 13; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 489; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.*, vol. 1, p. 240; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 109; Armalet, *al-Machriq*, p. 484. One remembers that it was about the same time that the emperor Leo enforced iconoclasm.

45. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*, p. 584; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.*, vol. 1, pp. 240-241, in 1033 G./722 A.D.

46. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique*, pp. 17-18. Would that mean as in Arabic, the "Greek," i.e. the prisoner of war?

47. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 490; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.*, vol. 1, p. 241; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 109; *Armalet, al-Machriq*, p. 185.

more than all the kings before him." [48] According to the Pseudo-Dionysius, "Hisham canalised the Zaytun (?), built [upon its banks] cities, castles, numerous villages that he embellished by plantations of all sorts.[49] He canalised also the river of Beyt Balash (Balis), on which he built a castle surrounded by plantations.[50] He canalised also the Hani (?), upon which he built fortresses and gardens of all kinds." As for the income [derived] from these canals, "It was more than the tribute of all his domains."

Hisham is again credited with the building of bridges, one on the Euphrates in front of Raqqa.[51] He was reconstructing the bridge on the Tigris near Amid (Diyarbakr) that had collapsed, when he died. The work was not completed.[52]

As for his captains, Maslama is said to have gathered "a great multitude of artisans, carpenters and workmen" to rebuild the fortress called the "Gate of the Turks" which he had destroyed the previous year.[53]

Towards the middle of the reign a deplorable event is noted: Hisham allowed the massacre of Byzantine prisoners of war, because he was told that Emperor Leo had put to death all the Arab prisoners. The news proved to be false, but after it was too late.[54]

Syriac sources agree with Arabic sources about *al-Walid b. Yazid* (125 A.H./743-744 A.D. /1055 G.) who "behaved wickedly to the children of the House of Hisham and plundered their palaces... The Arabs hated him greatly because he drank wine and fermented liquors, and he used to do other wicked things.[55]

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48. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*, p. 584; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 490; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.*, vol. 1, p. 241; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 109; Armalet, *al-Machriq*, p. 185.

49. *Pseudo-Dionysius, Chronique*, pp. 22-24.

50. A few lines later Pseudo-Dionysius attributes the same work to Maslama, who "built nearby castles and villas that he decorated with all kinds of ornaments."

51. Ibid, p. 28.

52. Ibid, pp. 29-30, in 1054 G./742-743 A.D. (?).

53. Or the "iron gate," Ibid, pp. 22-23; *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.*, p. 585, in 1043 G./732 A.D. (?).

54. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 501; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.*, vol. 1, p. 244.

55. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 502; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 111; Armalet, *al-Machriq*, p. 486.

This personal contempt for the religious law did not stop him from cutting out the tongue of the Chalcedonian bishop of Damascus who was accused of having spoken ill of the Prophet. The bishop was then exiled to the Yemen.[56]

Al-Walid loved "jesting, sensual pleasure, hunting and drinking wine too much."[57] He was soon assassinated in the desert. "They cut off his head and fixed it on a spear, and they hung [it] up by the side of a wine pot, and took it to Damascus."[58]

His successor, *Yazid b. al-Walid* (126 A.H./744 A.D. /1055 G.) reigned for only a few months.[59] In order to gain the favour of the emirs, he opened the treasures and distributed them among the Arab leaders.[60] He soon died, some say from a tumor in the head, some from an ulcer. But, while the Pseudo-Dionysius writes that "he did not establish governors in the Jazira," the *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.* gives a list of such governors.

Ibrahim b. al-Walid's short reign (126 A.H./744 A.D. / 1055 G.) was long enough however to leave a good impression on the chroniclers. "This was a man whom it was pleasant to meet. His natural disposition was good." And, "he is praised for his numerous good qualities."[61]

Different versions are given about how his short reign came to an end.[61] According to Michael the Syrian, he died "after a few days." The *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.* says that he was captured during his war with Marwan. In his *Syriac Chronicle* Bar Hebraeus thought that "two months after he reigned, he abdicated from sovereignty in Damascus and hid himself. And his place was not known for five years, when he was found

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56. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2., p. 506; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, p. 245. Michael the Syrian erroneously calls him a patriarch.

57. *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.* vol. 1, p. 245.

58. Ibid, pp. 245-246; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* p. 111; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 487.

59. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique,* p. 30; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, pp. 502-503.

60. *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, pp. 246-247.

61. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* p. 111; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 487; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 503.

62. The *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.* omits it, together with that of his predecessor because "they were not recognized in Mesopotamia (Jazira)"; Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique,* p. 30.

in a grave of the Arabs, among a miscellaneous crowd of Arabs who had been killed," which would refer to the battle of the Zab, in 137 A.H./750 A.D.[63] In last work, the *Mukhtasar,* the same Bar Hebraeus is more cautious and says only that Ibrahim "remained alive (after his removal from the caliphate by Marwan) up to 132 A.H."[64]

The Umayyad period ends with the grim picture of the troubled years of *Marwan b. Muhammad b. Marwan* (127-132 A.H./744-750 A.D. / 1055-1061 G.), when "brothers and nephews fell upon the stumbling blocks of their ambition."[65]

After defiling the bodies of Yazid and 'Abd al-'Aziz, Marwan carried off from Damascus to Harran the royal treasures "which formed loads for three thousand camels," both because he was "avaricious" and "preoccupied only in accumulating gold" and because he did not trust the perfidy of the Westerners (the Syrians) towards himself."[66]

Later "he made his yoke heavier upon the people of the country. His troops inflicted many evils on the men: blows, pillages, outrages to the women in the presence of their husbands.[67] He multiplied the exactions, and the guards he established to stop corruption were themselves corrupt and pernicious. His emirs and prefects inflicted evils without mercy, plundering the goods and shamelessly committing adultery and lasciviousness with women."[68]

Marwan and his associates "like voracious dogs were never satisfied, and their door was shut in front of the poet and the needy."[69] He was "oppressive and formidable to the Saracens."[70] Such a man was due to be punished by God, hence all the signs in the sky, the earthquakes, the

63. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* p. 111; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* p. 487.

64. Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar,* p. 122.

65. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique,* p. 39.

66. *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, 248; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 505; *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, p. 248; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 111-112; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* pp. 487-488; Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique,* pp. 41-42.

67. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, p. 505.

68. *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, pp. 248-249.

69. Ibid, p. 259.

70. *Anonymous Chronicle to 846 A.D.,* p. 586.

plagues, the frost, etc., up to the point, says Michael the Syrian, that Marwan "who did not even believe in the existence of God, repented and wrote a letter to the whole of the Arab empire, that they should do penance."[71] Apparently it was too late for the "wild ass of Jazira."[72] He was soon to fall under the blows of the rising new power, known as the Abbasids.[73]

Such was the miserable end of the Umayyads. How is it possible to sum up the vision of that period we get through the Syriac writers? It is sure that, for them, the picture was rather grim. The loss to Islam of a great number of the followers of their sects, especially as the result of the poll tax, was resented.[74] That may account for the statement we read in Bar Hebraeus, the last important western Syriac historian. Writing after the fall of both the Abbasids and the Umayyads, he could compare the two periods and did not hesitate to say that the Abbasids were "better for the Christians than those who were in Damascus."[75] The fear of taxation and the census is clear in several of our chronicles. This is not to say that taxation and the *kharaj* befell the Christians alone. Everyone suffered. When we see the wonderful, lavishly decorated monuments left by the Umayyads, our chronicles remind us what they cost to a people already impoverished by the wars and by so many natural disasters. Even when mentioning the irrigation projects, our sources bitterly recall where most of the profit went to.

The Syriac chronicles see history through the eyes of the common people and are free of the Abbasid prejudices that influenced the later Arabic chronicles, but both the Syriac and Arabic chronicles paint the same picture of the Umayyad period. Poetry may have flourished, the arts certainly reached great perfection, but at what cost?

71. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Chronique,* pp. 30–39; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, pp. 506-511; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* vol. 2, pp. 508-509.

72. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography,* pp. 111-112; Armalet, *al-Machriq,* pp. 487-488. Bar Hebraeus explains the nickname, "because he loved the flowers of the crocus." Armalet: "za'faran," which is called "flower of the ass."

73. The *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234 A.D.,* vol. 1, p. 245, refuses to make the dynasty stem from 'Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, "ut opinantur indocti Arabes," but from 'Abbas b. al-Walid, whom Marwan made the governor-general of his whole realm (?).

74. Daniel Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1950). Arabic translation by Fawzi Fahmi Fahim, *al-Jizya wa 'l-Islam* (Beirut, 1960). Also 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duri, "Notes on Taxation in Early Islam," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* vol. 17 (1974), pp. 136-166.

75. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum,* ed. and Latin trans., J.B. Abbelloos and T.J. Lamy. 3 vols. (Louvain, 1872-1899), vol. 2, col. 154-156.

Before ending this paper, I should make it clear that I do not make mine all the opinions I reported from the Syriac writers. (Ma 'ala al-rasul illa l-balagh!) — Every item will have to be studied on its own, and compared with the other sources, not only the details I have reported in the present paper, but the information about the wars, about the different governors, and about natural disasters, about which there was no time to talk.

The Birth of a New Aramaic Script in Bilad al-Sham at the End of the Byzantine Period

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What were the languages people spoke and wrote in *Bilad al-Sham* at the end of the Byzantine period, and did they continue during the Umayyad period? At first sight, this is a simple question, and the answer well known: two languages were commonly spoken. Greek was widely used in government and in administrative circles and was the cultural and current language of the church; indeed, Greek inscriptions are to be found in town and country. On the other hand, Syriac, originally the language of the small Arab kingdom of Edessa in Osrhoene, had become not only a common form of communication, but had also taken on its own cultural identity. Spoken by numerous rural populations in Syria and Mesopotamia, major theological works were written in it from the third century onwards. But Syriac is an "eastern" form of Aramaic: its territory extends from the Mediterranean coast in the west to the Euphrates River in the east, and from the Tur Abdin in the north to the northern frontiers of the area of Damascus in the south.[1] The few traces one finds further south are the work of a few Syrian monks who went to settle in the Holy Land. But in the steppe and rural parts of Palestine, Transjordan and northern Arabia, another kind of Aramaic was spoken. Literary works as well as numerous epigraphic remains, clearly indicate the existence of several kinds of western Aramaic: Samaritan, Nabataean Palmyrenian, Jewish-Palestinian, Galilean and Christian-Palestinian.[2] It is important to point out that not all these dialects or languages were contemporary. With the exception of Samaritan, which is geographically and socially well defined, all other written sources of western Aramaic disappeared after the fifth century. But it is precisely at this time that a Christian form of western Aramaic came into open light.

The existence of Christian texts in western Aramaic has been known since the middle of the 18th century.[3] It was Adler's pioneering studies of the

1. See J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 77, (Paris, 1964), pp. 18-19.

2. For the different kinds of Aramaic, see S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Porta Linguarum Orientalium (Weisbaden, 1969), pp. 10-12. Cf. E.Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture (Jerusalem, 1976).

3. S.E. and J.S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, pars I, t. II, *Codices chaldaicos sive syriacos* (Rome 1758), pp. 70-103 (Vat. Sir. 19).

well known Vatican Gospel lectionary that initiated research in this field.[4] As early as 1789 A.D., he had published a comparative study between the Peshitto and Philoxenian texts of the New Testament on one side and the text he called the "Jerusalem" version on the other.[5] After him, all the foremost scholars specialising in Syriac who worked on editions or biblical criticism, took an interest in Christo-Palestinian just because of the Bible.[6]

To which ethnic group should they have connected this language, its literature and its script? Its history, rise and decline were unknown, as were its territorial limits. It was not even known if it was a language in its own right with its own particular characteristics.[7] It was simply considered a part of Syriac because of a paleographic similarity to the classical form of Syriac called *Estranghelo* and also because of a morphological relationship to Syriac in general. Moreover, a misreading of the colophon of the Vatican manuscript pointed to a Jerusalem origin. As soon as they were made public, both the literature and the script were categorized "Palestinian Syriac" or "Syriac of Jerusalem"; this attribution was underlined by reference to the famous remark made by the pilgrim Egeria who explained that during the services which she attended in the Holy City, liturgical readings were regularly translated from Greek into Syriac for the crowds who gathered there: "qui siriste interpretatur propter populum."[8]

All this explains why specialists have called this western Aramaic dialect:

— "le syro-palestinien", "le christo-palestinien" or "le syriaque palestinien" in French,
— "das christlich-palästinisch Aramäisch" in German,

4. J.G.C. Adler, *Descriptio et collatio codicis unici Vaticani versionis syriacae Hierosolymitanae vel Palaestinae N.T. criticis*, (Rome, 1781-1782). It is without a doubt the misinterpretation by Adler who translates the expression, still debated today, of the Vat. Sir. 19 colophen: "n'hit 'dqus" as "e regione terrae sanctae," that lies at the origin of the later statements that the language is *Palestinian* Syriac. Land himself in 1875 gives the translation "dictionis (urbis) sanctae."

5. J.G.C. Adler, *Novi Testamenti versionis syriacae: Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana* (Copenhagen, 1789).

6. See the most complete bibliography in M. Bar-Asher, *Palestinian Syriac Studies*, unpublished thesis (Jerusalem, 1977).

7. Adler, *Novi Testamenti...*, Liber III, p. 149 is not afraid to conclude: "Satis constat ex his speciminibus, dialectum esse incultam, et inconcinnam, chaldaicae similiorem quam syriacae; orthographiam autem vagam, inconstantem, arbitrariam, et ab imperito librario rescribendo et corrigendo denuo impeditam. (On this last point, he is perfectly right).

8. H. Pétré, Ethérie, *Journal de voyage* (Paris, 1948), p. 262, ✠47.

— "Christian Palestinian Aramaic", "Christian Palestinian Syriac", "Palestinian Syriac" or "Syropalestinian" in English.[9]

None of these names is really satisfactory because they are all ambiguous. On the one hand, they all have the draw back of focusing on the region of Palestine, or, on the other, of not distinguishing between the Christian character of the literature and the Syriac character of the script.

Thus, discoveries in this field have, for a century, cast light on many aspects of the history of *Bilad al-Sham*. This research, which is archeological, epigraphical and linguistic, has provided us with evidence for the existence or implantation of Syropalestinian Aramaic speaking populations during the Byzantine and Umayyad periods.

To begin with the archeological context, only the remains of written works help us locate these populations. Nothing other than their writing distinguishes them materially; in other words, the archeologist cannot count on any other complementary material evidence to support the identification by means of inscriptions of a Syropalestinian Aramaic presence. Epigraphy and codicology are therefore the principal tools. So far, so called "Syro-Palestinian" inscriptions have only been found in Palestine and Transjordan. In the Roman-Byzantine provinces of Palestine, the sites are concentrated in two places: towards the north and along the Galilean coast, and around Jerusalem. In Transjordan, the sites are spread throughout the Decapolis and the Province of Arabia. All the inscriptions — except the one of al-'Abud — can be dated between the 5th and the 8th century.[10]

In northern Galilee, al-Bassa, Evron and Kabri are the three known sites (not fully excavated).[11]

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9. N. Pigoulewsky, "Fragments syro-palestiniens des Psaumes CXXIII-CXXIV," *Revue Biblique* 43 (1934), pp. 519-529; Ch. Perrot, "Un fragment Christo-palestinien découvert à Khirbet Mird," *RB* 70(1963), pp. 506-555, M. Baillet, *Le Museon* 76 (1963), p. 375; M. Rajji, *Al-Mashriq* 49 (1955), p. 339; H. Duensing, *Nachlese christlich-palästinisch-aramäischer Fragmente* (Göttingen, 1955), p. 115; S.P. Brock, "A Fragment of the *Acta Pilati* in Christian Palestinian Aramaic," *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971), pp. 157-158; W.Baars, "A Palestinian Syriac Text of the book of Lamentations," *Vetus Testamentum* 10 (1960), pp. 224-227; A.S. Lewis-M.D. Gibson, *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels* (London, 1899); M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Bible in the Syropalestinian Version* (Jerusalem, 1973).

10. See map on fig. 1.

11. al-Bassa: a rural establishment; see A. Desreumaux, *Les matériaux du Syro-Palestinien*, thèse, Paris X, 1979, pp. 70-72. Evron: a church with memorial inscriptions on a mosaic pavement; on the same pavement are a dated Greek inscription and nine other Greek inscriptions. The original building dates to 415, the restoration and repair from 442-443, and the additions to 492. Cf. Desreumaux, *Les materiaux*, pp. 74-76; Kabri: ibid, p. 73.

The highest density of Syropalestinian sites is to be found around Jerusalem: the church of Umm al-Ru'us, the "laura" of Saint-Firmin in the Wadi Suweinit, and the Kastellion monastery at Khirbat Mird in the Judaean desert.[12] An interesting inscription engraved on *nary* limestone commemorating the foundation of a hospital also originates, perhaps, from the region around Jerusalem and might date to the sixth century, from the time when the Emperor Justinian developed social amenities in Judaea.[13] This inscription is of particular interest because it illustrates that Syropalestinian was important enough to be used on public buildings.

The inscription engraved on a smooth limestone slab re-used in the wall of the church at al-'Abud in Samaria, is especially difficult to read because it has been damaged by a coat of hard plaster.[14] A complete decipherment would be very welcome, since it appears to be the most recent Syropalestinian inscription to have come down to us. It is written in a script which must be placed at the very end of the evolution of Aramaic writing. Indeed, the community at al-'Abud must have played a crucial role in Syropalestinian history.[15]

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12. Umm er-Ru'us: memorial inscriptions on a mosaic pavement, dating to the 6th century? See H. Vincent, "Encore l'église d'Oum er-Rous," *Revue Biblique* vol. 8 (1899), pp. 452-457; Saint Firmin: a verse from the Psalms painted in red on the walls of a rock-cut pool. See A. Desreumaux, J.B. Humbert and E. Nodet, "La Laura de Saint Firmin-1978," *Revue Biblique* vol. 85 (1978), pp. 417-419; and a mosaic inscription in a mosaic installation nearby. See M. Halloun and R. Rubin, "Palestinian Syriac Inscription from 'En Suweinit," *Liber Annuus* vol. 31 (1981), pp. 291-298 and pls. 59-62; Kastellion: fragments of parchment and papyrus. See C. Perrot, "Un fragment christo-palestinien découvert à Khirbet Mird," *Revue Biblique* vol. 70 (1963), pp. 506-555 and pls. 18-19; and a fragment of plaster with a black ink inscription. See J.T. Milik, "Une inscription et une lettre en arméen christo-palestinien," *Revue Biblique* 60 (1963), pp. 526-539.

13. Milik, "Une inscription," *RB* (1953), pp. 530-533.

14. J.T. Milik, "Inscription araméenne christ-palestinienne de 'Abud," *Liber Annuus* 10 (1959-60), pp. 197-204.

15. To complete the picture of the situation in Palestine, a large Byzantine ribbed jar sherd bearing a line written with black ink must not be forgotten. Discovered, unfortunately out of its stratigraphic context, on the coast at Tell Yunis, near Jaffa, it may deal with the wine trade; see M. Bar-Asher, "A Palestinian Syriac Inscription from Tel Yunis,"*Museon Ha'aretz. Annuaire* 17/18 (1975), pp. 17-21 (Hebrew), 28 (English). [A mosaic inscription in a church excavated at Rujm al-Kursi, in the western outskirts of Amman, in the summer of 1988 by 'Abd al-Jalil 'Amr of the University of Jordan can be added to the list — ed]

In the Decapolis, the city of Gerasa has delivered two sherds engraved, before firing, with the same name and a curious limestone tombstone.[16] To the south of Amman, at al-Quwaysma, a fairly long commemorative mosaic inscription is to be found in the little church.[17]

In the Provincia Arabia, a commemorative mosaic inscription is partially preserved in the hermitage of 'Uyun Musa.[18] To the north of Jordan, thirty-two Roman miles south of the metropolis of Bostra, on the *limes arabicus* on the edge of the steppe, al-Khirba al-Samra, "the dark ruin," perpetuates the memory of the ancient Haditha, i.e., "the (new) town." A Syropalestinian community lived there whose only distinctive remains, judging the state of the excavations, is a cemetery.[19]

To these sites, one must add the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, from where a considerable quantity, if not a majority, of all known Syropalestinian manuscripts come. What is more, some of these manuscripts are precisely dated, and represent the last known works of the Syropalestinians, who disappear from history at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. probably wiped out during the Crusades.

This rapid survey has been necessary in order to provide a setting for the history of a phenomenon which has yet to be written: the history of a linguistic and cultural manifestation of an ethnic group characterized by its written production between the Byzantine period and the Umayyad period in *Bilad al-Sham*.

The location and distribution of Syropalestinian sites show that the this phenomenon was not limited to Palestine itself, since it also extended into Transjordan. Given the linguistic relationship with its Aramaic neighbours (Samaritan, Judaeo-Aramaic, Galilean, Syriac) on the one hand, and the almost exclusively rural character of these communities along with the influence of the great monastic centres on the other, one

16. W.F. Stinespring, "Jerash in the Spring of 1934," *BASOR* 57 (1935), pp. 3-9. It contains a preposition unique to Syropalestinian; see J.T. Milik 1953, p. 527-528.

17. It dates to 717 AD; see E. Puech, "L'inscription christo-palestinienne d' 'Ayoun Mousa (Mount Nebo)," *Liber Annuus* 34 (1984), pp. 341-346.

18. M. Piccirillo, *I Mosaici di Giordania*, (Rome, 1986), pp. 72-73, 181, 222-223.

19. Dating the sixty or so Syropalestinian Aramaic inscriptions on rough tombstones is far from easy; however, the different types of crosses found on the vast collection of some eight hundred tombstones can be compared with crosses on Byzantine coins; on this basis, the cemetery seems to date to the seventh and eighth centuries. The excavations are to be published by J.B. Humbert and A. Desreumaux, ed.

could imagine it growing out of a Palestinian missionary movement centred in Jerusalem or Antioch.[20] Monasteries would have played a considerable, if not essential role, notably Saint Firmin, Castellion, Deir Siyagha and of course, Saint Catherine. It is not certain if a monastery existed at Haditha although the present excavations at Samra have brought to light a reference to a "hygoumenos". Moreover, the Syropalestinian written documents multiplied in the sixth century, the period which corresponds, in Aramaean and Arab circles, to the partial success of Justinian's policy of relying on monasticism to safeguard sites through the use of Christian ideology as much as on military power. The monastery of Saint Catherine is the most strikig example.

In any case, the fact that *written* Syropalestinian Aramaic was born and lived in the shadow of Greek Byzantinism is striking. Evidence for Greek language and culture is always present near each written manifestation of Syropalestinian. Syropalestinian inscriptions are constantly found alongside Greek inscriptions, which they do not necessarily translate. This phenomenon is one of coexistence rather than of bilingualism: the iscriptions at 'Evron, al-Bassa, Umm al-Ru'us, 'Uyun Musa, and al-Quwaysma are written next to completely different Greek inscriptions on the same pavements; the cemetery of Samra has almost as many Greek Christian inscriptions as Syropalestinian ones, forming an homogenous collection.

As has already been stated, the Syropalestinian communities were not alien to Byzantine civilisation; they were an integral part of it. From the material point of view, they are undetectable within Byzantine civilisation and they remained so within Umayyad civilisation. The written use of their language is the only factor which can differentiate them inside the empire; as such, it is irrefutable proof of the successful maintenance of the individual expression of a community. However, in contrast to what went on in northern Syria and Mesopotamia, where Syriac competed well with Greek to remain a great cultural language, Syropalestinian was in a weak position with regard to Greek and, later, to Arabic. Indeed, from the very beginning Syropalestinian texts were infiltrated with Greek terms and Syropalestinian literature stands out mainly as a literature translated from Greek. While Syriac was the expression of a culture producing original works in every field, Syropalestinian was the product of monasteries which offered to rural populations in translation the texts, works and rites elaborated in the dominant culture of the empire. Thus, the Syropalestinian liturgies were only the translations of the official liturgies, those called "Melkite", that is to say "imperial".

20. Kutscher, *Studies*, p. 5 adopts a very sharp position: "Christian Palestinian Aramaic is presumed to be the language of Palestinian Jews who were forcibly converted to Christianity during the reign of Justinian." This is not certain evidence is lacking.

This does not mean that Syropalestinian was not a language in its own right. From a linguistic point of view, it took several decades to acquire its autonomy in the minds of specialists in Semitic languages.[21] But today, no confusion is possible; it has its own vocabulary and grammar.[22]

The comparison with all the different Aramaic dialects and the evaluation of consequent relationships could constitute a means of learning something about the ethnic group that used Syropalestinian. It certainly has something in common with Samaritan and Galilean. These similarities, however, are not enough evidence to indicate that Syropalestinian originated in Palestine because it is not surprising to detect a relationship among all the western Aramaic dialects. Furthermore, one must not neglect other relationships, particularly those revealed by the excavations at Samra. There, onomastics reveal a parallel between Syropalestinian and Nabataean, Palmyrenian and Safaitic. It is true that Samra is situated in a region where one would expect to find links between these populations; the ancient road which passes through Samra goes to Bostra. This road, the Roman *Via Nova*, was earlier a Nabataean route. At the same time, the wadis of the steppe where "the New Town" was built were used as tracks by the Safaitic bedouin as the inscriptions on the basaltic rocks all around Samra prove. All these facts could be convergent. The presence throughout the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries of those kinds of populations linguistically integrated with a community speaking Syropalestinian Aramaic is because the latter had achieved an ultimate linguistic stage, that reached by spoken Aramaic in the region comprising northern Arabia, southern Syria, Judaea, Samaria and Galilee, after the mingling of different related populations. Several of these communities, it must not be forgotten, were descended from ancient Aramaic groups which had made up an essential part of the cultural and linguistic occupation of this region for two thousand years. I propose, therefore, to see in Syropalestinian the ancient Aramaic of rural and nomadic groups after an evolution of several centuries and after having been influenced by Arabic. In this part of the Byzantine Empire, the integration of these populations finally brought about the writing down of the language under the protection of the dominant culture.

The palaeography of Syropalestinian shows clearly that the script of this language was created and standardized rapidly. The ancient or what one may call "classical" type of script stayed the same during the end of the

21. For example, R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacum* (Oxford, 1879-1901), incorporated a "Jerusalemic" vocabulary into the Syriac vocabulary. Syropalestinian words are mainly taken from the rather bad edition Miniscalchi Erizzo of codex Vat. Sir. 19.

22. *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), and *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Tübingen, 1924).

Byzantine period and during all of the Umayyad period. It is a script which undoubtedly was derived from the Syriac *Estranghelo*. This is visible at first sight and explains, moreover, how easy it was for the early specialists to confuse the two scripts, but it also indicates a close relationship between the *Estranghelo* Syriac script and Syropalestinian. Indeed, this explains why Syropalestinian manuscripts are so often catalogued alongside Syriac manuscripts.[23]

However, a closer look reveals that there are important differences between the two scripts and that each is quite unique. The Syriac script is essentially linear, i.e. it links together graphems which are produced by the intersection and coiling of a continuous line which loops and, when possible, ties the end of one letter in with the beginning of the next. It is also a vertical script (cf. fig. 2): the copyist has to turn his page ninety degrees to the left and write downwards from a horizontally ruled, etched line which becomes the right hand vertical margin when reading the text. The Syropalestinian script is, on the contrary, geometric, i.e. it is made up of graphems like simple shapes: squares, circles, semi-circles, vertical or oblique segments. It is a horizontal script because all the graphems are set out on a real horizontal line (cf. fig. 3) which acts as a link between them; it is a down-and-thin-stroke script. Due to these structural differences, the evolution and transformation of the two scripts were different.

Obviously, the two scripts did not have the same life span. The Syriac script developed for at least fifteen centuries, while the Syropalestinian script lasted only seven centuries at the most, although this was long enough to mark an evolution. Yet, very surprisingly, the Syropalestinian script *appeared suddenly*, already formed in the way that it remained for about three centuries in the classical manuscripts. This suggests the following hypothesis: while a script like Syriac was evolving slowly and taking several centuries to reach its classical form, a creative act fixed one day, in a geometric form due to the Greek context, a Syriac script at its classical height, thus producing a new script, that of this Syriac-related Syropalestinian language. This fixing was carried out according to simple guidelines, in a necessarily simplified structure, since it caught a moment of a complex evolutionary state. This structure with its simple rules meant that the script evolved very little and stayed within the guidelines which were defined when it was fixed. Is this a gratuitous assumption? The facts would seem to indicate otherwise. It is only possible to understand the sudden appearance of a script like this in creative terms. The creation of a script for the communication of a language which, without doubt, had been

23. For example J. Assfalg, *Syrische, Karshunische, Christlich-Palästinische, Neusyrische und Mandäische Handschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1963), nos. 83-86, pp. 183-187. Naturally, this grouping is fully allowable and remains the best solution.

spoken for a certain time before, cannot be but the sign of an historical event.

The essential question is, therefore: should we not explain this punctual phenomenon by taking into account the ethnic, religious and linguistic practices of the community that created it? It seems to us that all of the hypotheses proposed permit this.

Towards the middle of the sixth century, the political and religious integration of the populations of Palestine and Transjordan was such that they would have needed the tools which would allow them to function socially; and this could only be regulated by the Holy Scriptures and the liturgy. Aramaic nomads and farmers educated and forged by the Chalcedonian monks were more fully integrated as the result of the use of their own language. The Monophysite missionaries spread their faith and developed the idea of political resistance in Syriac. The Arameans staying with or won over to imperial Orthodoxy were all present with their now unified written language in the churches of the region, a model of a successfully integrated society. They were probably the ancestors of the current Melkites. It seems that it was these populations, who remained Christian in *Bilad al-Sham* in the Umayyad period, who were gradually influenced by Arabic to the extent that they continued their liturgy in Arabic. They continued, in any case, to produce manuscripts in an Arabic environment. One of them, which comes from al-'Abud dates from the turn of the twelfth century, contains a colophon which mentions a town called "Antioch of the Arabs". If this town could be identified, we would probably know more about the populations who spoke Syro-Palestinian or Christo-Palestinian, the only living traces of which might be found today in the Aramean villages around Damascus.[24]

In conclusion: Syro-Palestinian or Christo-Palestinian? I propose that we replace these inconvenient expressions with another term which expresses more completely the linguistic and chronological position of the language; I propose to call this language and script which for a while unified the Aramaic and Arabic Christians of *Bilad al-Sham: Byzantine Aramaic.*

24. Cf. the works of Parisot, in *Journal Asiatique* 11 (1898-99), pp. 293-312; 400-519, 12 (1900), pp. 124-176 and 19 (1907), pp. 51-61 about the dialects of Ma'alula, Bakh'a and Jub'adin.

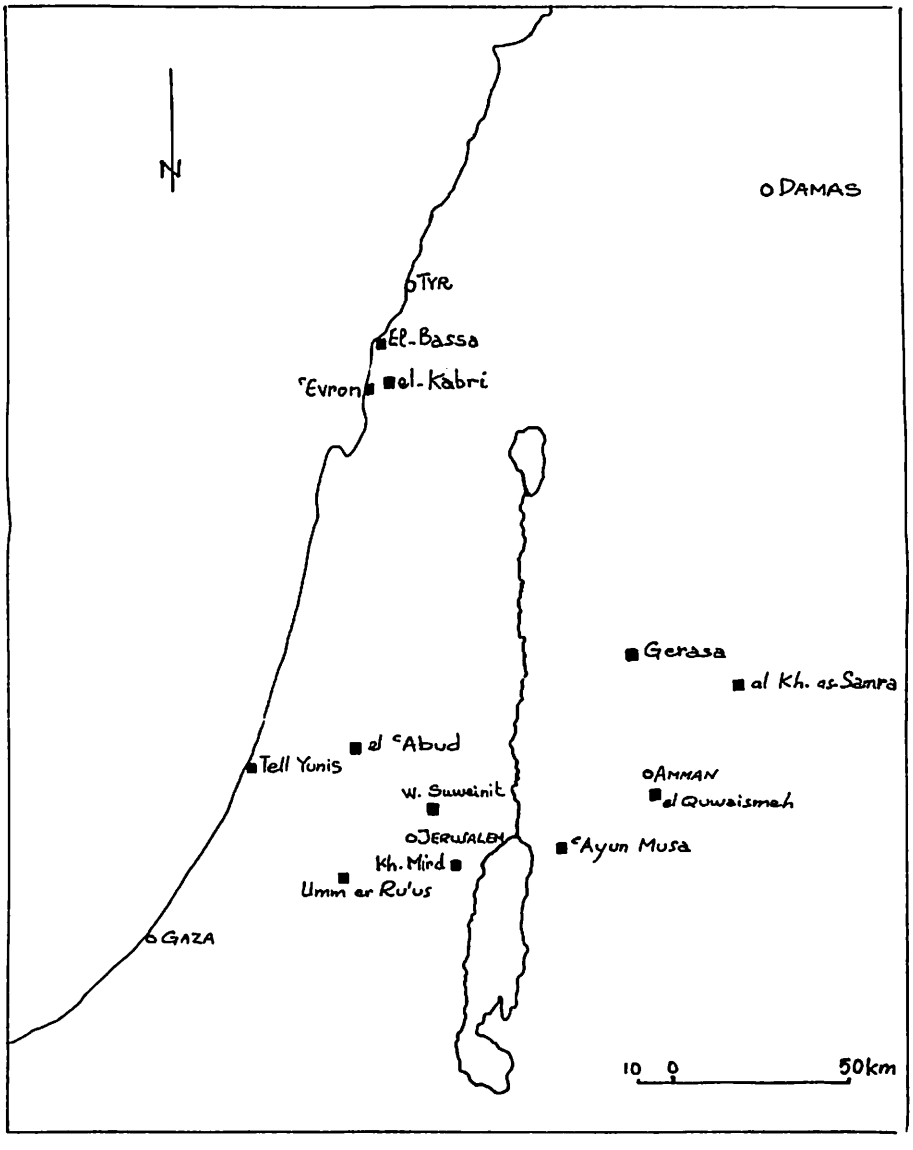


Fig. 1: Map of Byzantine Aramaic Sites

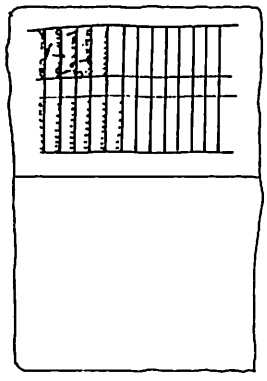


Fig. 2: Writing of a Syriac page from top to bottom

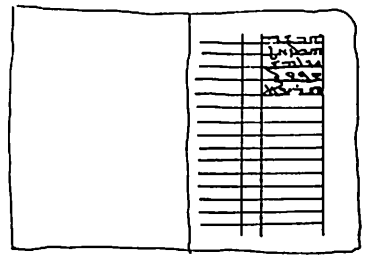
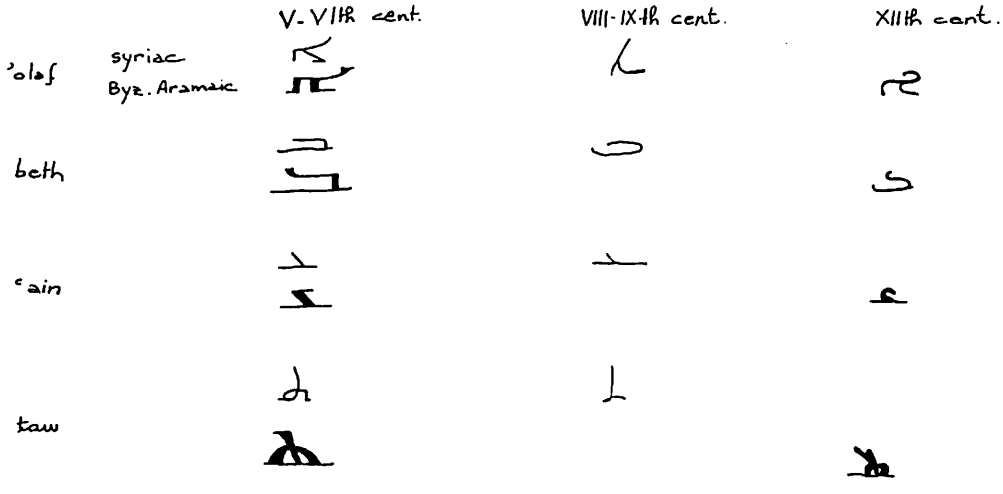


Fig. 3: Writing of a Byzantine Aramaic page from right to left



Samples of Evolution : Syriac and Byzantine Aramaic

The Fate of the Christians in Palestine During the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, 600–750 A.D.

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In Palestine the period of 150 years from 600 to 750 A.D. that marked the end of Christian Byzantine rule and the establishment of Muslim Arab rule had a profound effect on the life of the Christians. A careful analysis of the literary and archaeological evidence reveals that around 600 A.D. the Christian communities in Palestine were still thriving, but by around the time of the Abbasid revolution in 132 A.H./750 A.D. their numbers had declined sharply. The evidence is unmistakable: the number of churches and monasteries that the Christians were still using in 132 A.H./750 A.D. was half or less of the number that they had been using in 600 A.D., and even where Christian communities continued, this period was disruptive. The impact of the events of this 150 years on the Christians and the reasons for the sharp decline will be the subject of this paper.

This paper is a summary of my recently completed Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago, which examines the historical events of the years between 600 and 614 A.D., the eve of the Sasanian invasion, the Sasanian invasion and occupation from 614 to 628 A.D., the brief Byzantine recovery from 628 to the mid–630s A.D., the Muslim conquest in the 10s A.H./630s A.D. and the Umayyad period up to the Abbasid revolution in 132 A.H./750 A.D. It also examines a number of specific topics, such as Monothelitism, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, pilgrimage, conversion to Islam, Muslim governmental policies towards the Christians and iconoclasm. The study covers Palestine, roughly the Byzantine provinces of Arabia, Palaestina Prima, Secunda and Tertia, and the Umayyad *junds* of al–Urdunn, Filastin, and the southern part of Dimashq. The study is based on literary sources and archaeological evidence, and examines every site in Palestine, whether a city, town, village, or isolated monastery, in order to glean concrete information about what happened to the Christians

at each specific site, as well as to determine whether Muslims were present during the Umayyad period[1].

Around 600 A.D. the Christians were still flourishing in Palestine. In general they were unaffected by the barbarian invasions and the wars with the Sasanians that adversely affected the rest of the most everywhere else in the empire. The Christians continued to build new churches, or to extensively remodel existing ones, documented best at Jerash, Jerusalem, Madaba, Mount Nebo, Nessana, Rihab, and Shelomi. The riots of the circus factions in the last years of the reign of Phocas and their suppression by the general Bonosus had little lasting impact.[2] Nor did the rebellion of Heraclius that overthrew Phocas in 610 A.D. have much effect on Palestine.

The Sasanian invasion in 614 A.D., however, was a much more significant disruption, from which the Christians in Palestine were never to recover fully. The physical destructiveness of the Sasanian invasion itself, however, has often been exaggerated. Excavators, as for example at Abila, Dor, Hesban, Jericho, Madaba, Magen, and Pella, have claimed that the Sasanians destroyed churches at these places, all too often less on the basis of the archaeological evidence than on unsubstantiated assumptions about the wide-spread damage that the Sasanians must have caused. In fact there is little concrete evidence for destruction that must be attributed to the Sasanian army. The places along the line of march of the Sasanian army

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1. Robert Schick, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine During the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, A.D. 600-750,* unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Chicago, 1987), which gives full documentation and bibliographic references for the information cited here in passing. Much bibliography for Israel can be found conveniently in: Asher Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land,* Theophania, no. 22 (1970), with supplements in *Levant* vol. 13 (1981), vol. 14 (1982) and vol. 16 (1984). Jordan is less well served by: Michele Piccirillo, *Chiese e Mosaici della Giordania Settentrionale,* Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor, no. 30 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981); Sylvester Saller and Bellarmino Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo,* Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, no. 7 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1949); Michele Piccirillo, et al, *I Mosaici di Giordania* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1986).

2. Gérard Garitte, ed., *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614,* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Arabici no. 26–29 (Louvain, 1973); Gérard Garitte, ed. *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614,* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Iberici nos. 11–12 (Louvain 1973), section IV: 6–7. David Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation: The Reign of Phocas,* unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Chicago, 1986).

generally surrendered without resistance.[3] The destruction that is attested outside Jerusalem can mostly be attributed either to bedouin, who took advantage of the unsettled conditions to sack a few isolated monasteries in the Wilderness of Judaea (Mar Saba and Choziba) or to Jews, embittered against Byzantine rule, who allied themselves with the Sasanians and destroyed a number of churches (Shavei Zion, Shelomi, Shiqmona among others) along the Mediterranean coast when they laid siege to Acre and Tyre after the Sasanian army had returned to Persia.[4] While the amount of physical destruction outside of Jerusalem may have been limited, nonetheless the life of the Christians everywhere was greatly affected. Some Christians fled, especially to Egypt, while others were taken captive.[5] The Sasanian siege and sack of Jerusalem, however, was devastating to the Christians.[6] The Sasanians, along with their Jewish allies, killed a large portion of the Christian population and took back to Persia many of the survivors, including the Patriarch Zacharias and the True Cross. They also certainly looted the churches in Jerusalem, but in many cases perhaps did not completely destroy them.

The subsequent Sasanian occupation up to 628 A.D. lasted long enough for conditions to stabilize and for the Christians to begin to recover from the destructiveness of the invasion, especially after 617 A.D., when the Sasanids switched their initial policy of favoring their Jewish allies to one of favoring the Christian majority in Palestine. Modestus, the *locum tenens* for the exiled Zacharias, was able to repair many churches in Jerusalem, with the assistance of the Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver, while Yazdin, the Sasanian minister of finance, also contributed

3. Sebeos, *Historie d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebêos,* trans. Frédéric Macler (Paris: E. Leroux, 1904), p. 68.

4. Antiochus of Saint Saba, "Epistola ad Eustathium," *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 89, columns 1421-1428. "Vita S. Georgii Chozebitae," *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 7 (1888), pp. 95-144, 336-359; vol. 8 (1889), pp. 209-210. Eutychius, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien,* ed. Michael Breydy, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Arabici (Louvain, 1985), no. 44, p. 12, no. 45, p. 102. Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine* (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 267-268.

5. André Jean Festugière, ed., *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre,* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Institut francais d'archéologie de Beyrouth, vol. 95 (Paris, 1974), pp. 326-327.

6. Garitte, *Expugnationis;* Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem.*

funds for repairs.[7] Outside Jerusalem at Rihab and Samah three churches actually were dedicated or rebuilt in the period of the Sasanian occupation.

The Christians continued to recover during the brief period of restored Byzantine control under Heraclius, between 628 and the mid–630s A.D., but it is clear that they had not fully regained their earlier strength by the time of the Muslim invasion. They had not yet rebuilt a number of destroyed churches in Jerusalem, for example Saint Stephen and Gethsemane, and elsewhere, including those that the Jews had destroyed along the Mediterranean coast, and the monks in the Wilderness of Judaea did not fully recover their numbers. Monks returned to some of the monasteries, for example Mar Saba and Choziba, but other monasteries, such as Ma'ale Adummim, had ended permanently at the time of the Sasanian conquest.

The period of renewed Byzantine control was not long enough for them to fully reestablish government authority throughout Palestine before the Muslim invaders appeared on the scene. They first clashed with Byzantine forces at Mu'ta in 8 A.H. /629 A.D. A few places, such as Aqaba and Udhruh had already surrendered to the Muslims in A.H. 9 by the time Heraclius come to Jerusalem to return the True Cross in March, A.D. 630.[8] Heraclius also introduced a disruptive element into the ecclesiastical life of Palestine through his policy of promoting Monothelitism, a leading opponent of which was the Patriarch Sophronius. In this period there is only limited evidence for new construction or repairs, best attested at Rihab, rather than a surge of new building activity or reconstruction. This suggests that while the Christians had mostly recovered from the Sasanian invasion in 614 A.D. during the subsequent years of the Sasanian occupation before the Byzantine recovery and that the period of the Byzantine recovery was too short to bring about any dramatic improvement to the life of the Christians.

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7 . Festugière, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, pp. 365-366. "Chronicon anonymum," ed. Ignazio Guidi, *Chronica Minora I.* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri series 3 tomus 4 number 1 (Louvain, 1960), pp. 26-27.

8 . al-Baladhuri, Ahmad b. Yahya, d. 279 A.H./892 A.D., *Futuh al-Buldan*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), pp. 59, 68.

In the course of the 10s A.H. /630s A.D. the Muslims conquered all of Palestine, but their conquest was not characterized by extensive destruction, or total disruption of everyday life. The evidence for destruction that the Muslims caused is considerably less than that associated with the Sasanians and their Jewish allies and bedouin. This notably contradicts the accounts of Muslim destruction recorded in the hostile Greek literary sources, in particular the Epiphany sermon on baptism that the Patriarch Sophronius delivered in 14 A.H. /January, 635 A.D.[9] The major battles of Ajnadayn, Fihl, and the Yarmuk took place in the countryside, and most of the cities surrendered on terms to the Muslims, with or without undergoing sieges, even if many of the details in the lengthier versions of the capitulation agreements are projections back from the systematized Abbasid period formulations of Muslim jurists.[10] The Muslims did not routinely pillage and sack cities, although they seem to be the ones who burned down Avdat, one of the first places that they would have captured, and after a long siege they also sacked Caesarea. At Rihab and Khirbat al-Samra, by contrast, the Christians were dedicating new churches around 14 A.H. /635 A.D. Construction of these churches would have begun before the Muslims first appeared in strength in the summer of 13 A.H./634 A.D., but their continued construction and completion prior to the battle of the Yarmuk in the summer of 15 A.H./636 A.D., indicates that the inhabitants neither fled as refugees nor were killed off by the Muslims, but rather were unconcerned with the fact that they were being conquered. The Patriarch Sophronius also was not completely preoccupied with the conquest, and was able to send a delegation of bishops to attend an anti-Monothelite synod in Cyprus.[11]

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9 . Sophronius, "On Holy Baptism," *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Staxyologias*, ed. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, vol. IV, pp. 151-168; Demetrios Constantelos, "The Moslem Conquests of the Near East as revealed in the Greek Sources of the VIIth and the VIIIth centuries," *Byzantion* vol. 42 (1972), pp. 325-357.

10 . Albrecht Noth, "Die literarisch überlieferten Verträge der Eroberungszeit als historische Quellen für die Behandlung der unterworfenen Nicht-Muslims durch ihre neuen muslimischen Oberherren," *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam*, Bonner Orientalische Studien, Neue Serie, vol. 27, no. 1 (1973), pp. 282-314; D.R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests* (London: Luzac, 1971).

11 . Sebastian Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 91 (1973), pp. 299-346.

Once the situation quieted down after the Muslim conquest the new Muslim rulers maintained amicable relations with the population of Palestine, who remained overwhelmingly Christian throughout the Umayyad period. The number of Muslims remained small, and seems to have consisted mostly of tribal immigrants from the Arabian peninsula, rather than local Christian converts. The Muslims in the Umayyad period appear to have stayed somewhat apart from the native population. Military garrisons were to be found throughout Palestine, especially along the Mediterranean coast, and government officials were present in many places, but the greatest concentration of evidence for Muslims comes from the numerous palaces and agricultural estates that the Umayyads constructed, such as Khirbat al-Mafjar and Qasr Hallabat among many others, often on the desert fringes and removed from sites occupied at the time. Mosques are difficult to detect archaeologically before al-Walid first introduced concave mihrabs when he reconstructed the mosque in Madina in 88-90 A.H./707-709 A.D.[12] Nonetheless, it seems that the Umayyads rarely converted churches into mosques; Samah, Umm al-Surab and the Numerianos church at Umm al-Jimal are the only three possible such cases, and even in these three cases it is not known whether local converts to Islam or recent Muslim immigrants were responsible. Muslims eventually did take over part of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, but both places continued to function as churches.

The Umayyad Muslims did not actively persecute the Christians although they did subject the Christians to social discrimination through their tax policies. Most of the Islamic legislation aimed at restricting the Christians was first formulated by Muslim jurists in the Abbasid period, but this legislation did not apply in practise in the Umayyad period.[13] Contrary to Muslim legal theory the Christians continued to build new churches, a few at the time of the conquest or the first few years thereafter,

12 . Ghazi Bisheh, *The Mosque of the Prophet at Madinah Throughout the First Century A.H. with Special Emphasis on the Umayyad Mosque,* unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of Michigan, 1979).

13 . Abu Yusuf, Ya'qub b. Ibrahim al-Kufi, d. 182 A.H./798 A.D., *Kitab al-Kharaj* (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Salafiya, 1934); trans. E. Fagnan, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier (Kitâb el-kharâdj)* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1921); Antoine Fattal, *Le statut légal des nonmusulmans en pays d'Islam,* L'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Recherches vol. 10 (Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1958).

as at Avdat, Beth Guvrin, Jerusalem and Rihab, but also some well after the establishment of Umayyad rule at Abila, al-Ramla and Tell Masos as well as Ma'in in 101 A.H./719-720 A.D., and Umm al-Rasas as late as 138 and 169 A.H./756 and 785 A.D. The Christians also extensively repaired old churches in the Umayyad period, again contrary to Muslim legal theory, at Qasr el-Yahud and Khan al-Ahmar, both after an earthquake in 39 A.H. / 659–660 A.D., al-Quwaysma in 99 A.H./717-718 A.D., and Pella and Khirbat en-Nitla. The Muslims also prohibited the public display of crosses, at least in theory. Although there is some literary evidence to indicate that the Umayyads did order the removal of crosses, the presence of a cross in the commemorative inscription at Hammat Gader during the reign of Mu'awiya indicates the opposite.[14]

The number of Christians who suffered martyrdom in the Umayyad period is small, but was to increase in the Abbasid period. Peter of Bayt Ras had to go out of his way to provoke the Muslim authorities into making an example of him and executing him in 96 A.H./714 A.D., after legal proceedings, for the crime of repeatedly defaming Islam in public.[15] At the time of the conquest the Muslims executed the garrison of sixty soldiers in Gaza in 17 A.H./638 A.D. after lengthy legal proceedings, for nothing more than their refusal to convert to Islam, apparently an isolated case of attempted forced conversion.[16] This incident seems to have inspired a fabricated account of Muslims killing sixty pilgrims around 106 A.H./724 A.D. for no apparent reason.[17]

The Muslims in the Umayyad period do not seem to have interfered in purely ecclesiastical affairs. The succession of the patriarchs of Jerusalem did break after the death of Sophronius around 17 A.H./638 A.D. until the

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14. *Chronicon Anonymum ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. Jean Baptiste Chabot, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri, series 3, tomus 14, text (Paris, 1920), p. 262; trans. (Louvain, 1937), p. 205.

15. Paul Peeters, "La Passion de S. Pierre de Capitolias," *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 57 (1939), pp. 299-333.

16. Hippolyte Delehaye, "Passio Sanctorum Sexaginta Martyrum," *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 23 (1904), pp. 289-307; André Guillou, "Prise de Gaza par les Arabes au VIIe siècle," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* vol. 81 (1957), pp. 396-404.

17. George Huxley, "The Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* vol. 18 (1977), pp. 369-374.

sixth ecumenical church council in 61 A.H./680-681 A.D.[18] But this gap probably had more to do with the Monothelite controversy in the Byzantine Empire than with Umayyad policy. Christians from Palestine continued to participate in church councils in the Byzantine Empire throughout the Umayyad period, although contact seems to have broken off by the early Abbasid period. The Umayyads would have reduced the special status of the Orthodox Christians, supported by the Byzantine government, to the same status as the other non-Muslim religious groups in Palestine. By so doing the Muslims removed the policies that the Byzantines had directed against the non-Orthodox Christians, and so actually improved their legal status. Although the Christian population in Palestine remained solidly Orthodox throughout the Umayyad period, the Nestorians seem to have benefited from the changed conditions after the Muslim conquest. They founded new monasteries at Tell Masos, the Mount of Olives, and possibly Jericho.

Monasticism continued to flourish, and John of Damascus is only the most famous of many important authors in the monasteries of the Wilderness of Judaea after the Muslim conquest. In the Umayyad period and early Abbasid period monks often wandered around in the Wilderness of Jodaea and around the Dead Sea without being bothered, although relations between the monks and the local bedouin were not always congenial.[19] It was only in the Abbasid period that the monasteries in the Wilderness of Judaea were again exposed to attacks by bedouin.[20] Stylites are also attested, a further indication of thriving monasticism.

Pilgrims continued to come to the holy places after the Muslim conquest, but in reduced numbers, and at the risk of facing imprisonment or harrassment from the Muslim officials, as did the pilgrim Willibald (c. 106-

18. Frank Trombley, "A Note on the See of Jerusalem and the Synodal List of the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680-681)," *Byzantion* vol. 53 (1983), pp. 632-638.

19. "Vita S. Stephani Sabaitae Thaumaturgi Monachi,"*Acta Sanctorum* July III, vol. 30, pp. 497-584; Gérard Garitte, "Un extrait georgien de la vie d'Étienne le Sabaite," *Le Muséon* vol. 67 (1954), pp. 71-92; Leontius of Damascus, *Vita di S. Stefano Sabaita,* trans. Camillo Carta, Quaderni de "La Terra Santa" (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1983); Francois Halkin, "Saint Jean l' Érémopolite," *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 86 (1968), pp. 13-20.

20. Stephan the Sabaite, "Passio SS XX Martyrum Laurae S Sabae," *Acta Sanctorum,* March III, vol. 9, pp. 165-179; Theophanes, *Chronographia,* ed. Carolus de Boor (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1885), A.M. 6301, p. 484; A.M. 6304, p.497; A.M. 6305, p. 499.

112 A.H./724-730 A.D.). [21] The holy place of Shepherds' Field at Keniset er—Ra'wat clearly shows evidence of decline. After its destruction, perhaps during the Sasanian or Muslim invasions, it was rebuilt on a smaller scale and converted from a major pilgrimage site to an ordinary monastery, apparently because there were no longer enough pilgrims coming to support it.

One other feature of Christian life unique to Palestine for which there is extensive archaeological evidence is the deliberate damage to figures of people and animals in church mosaic floors. This deliberate damage is usually attributed to Muslim opposition to images in art, manifested in Umayyad government policy, notably the edict of Yazid in 102-103 A.H./ 721 A.D.[22] A careful analysis of the archaeological evidence, however, reveals no cases of deliberate damage that can be attributed to this edict. The often-cited inscription of Ma'in dated to 101 A.H./719-720 A.D. refers to the original construction of the church, not to the repairs of the deliberate damage. The damage to the figures in the mosaics was usually carried out with considerable care in order to remove just the offensive images while leaving the rest of the mosaics intact, and then carefully repaired, on occasion with great artistic ability, as at Khirbat Asida, Ma'in, and Masuh. This careful damage and careful repair seems to indicate that the Christians themselves did the damage and repairs. A few cases, such as Kursi, where the damage was done carelessly and was not repaired, can be attributed to the later occupants of the church buildings that had gone out of use earlier.

Only rarely is it possible to determine a date for the damage. At al-Quwaysma the careful damage and careful repairs occured after 99 A.H. / 717—718 A.D., at Ma'in after 101 A.H./719-720 A.D., at Nitil within the late Umayyad or early Abbasid period, and at Umm al-Rasas after 169 A.H./785 A.D. The late date at Umm al-Rasas is in the Abbasid period, and

21 . Titius Tobler and Augustus Molinier, ed., *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,* (Geneva: J.-G. Fick, 1879-1885), pp. 258-260; John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), p. 126.

22 . Alexander Vasiliev, "The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D. 721," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* vols. 9-10 (1956), pp. 25-47. Stephan Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III,* Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium, Subsidia, 41 (Louvain, 1973); Rudi Paret, "Die Entstehungszeit des islamischen Bilderverbots," *Kunst des Orients* vol. 11 (1976-1977), pp. 158-181; André Grabar. *L'iconoclasme byzantine: le dossier archéologique,* 2nd ed. (Paris: Flammarion, 1984).

it is conceivable that all of the other cases could have occured then as well, rather than in the Umayyad period. Many mosaics escaped damage entirely, and of these undamaged mosaics only the apse mosaic from the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai was clearly visible throughout the centuries; none of the other undamaged mosaics need have been visible for long after the Muslim conquest, and many certainly were not.

The motivation for the damage is also obscure. It has little in common with the Iconoclastic movement in the Byzantine Empire, where the idolatrous veneration of icons was the issue, not the artistic depiction of ordinary people and animals. Rather the Christians may have been influenced by Muslim and Jewish social pressure and criticism of the Christian veneration of images, as reflected in the writings of Theodore Abu Qurrah around 184 A.H./800 A.D.[23]

Neither the Sasanian nor Muslim invasions caused widespread destruction and the Umayyads did not seriously persecute the Christians. Yet the period from 600 to 750 A.D. did have a serious adverse effect on the Christians. The clearest indication that something major happened to the Christian communities is the dramatic number of churches and monasteries that went out of use. To be sure dozens of churches and monasteries did continue in use throughout and after the Umayyad period, most extensively documented for Jerusalem, which seems to have suffered little if any decline after the Muslim conquest. But as many or more churches and monasteries went out of use in the course of the one hundred and fifty years from 600 to 750 A.D., while the fates of a great number of additional sites remain unknown. During the Umayyad period the end of some churches can be attributed to earthquakes, especially in 39 A.H./659-660 A.D. and 130 A.H./748 A.D,.[24] or to other natural causes, as at Jerash, Mitspe Shivta, Pella, Tell Kison, Susita, and Umm Qays. There is, on the other hand, no evidence for the willful, violent destruction of churches or for further events that seriously disrupted the Christians in Palestine after

23 . Sidney Griffith, "Theodore Abu Qurrah's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practise of Venerating Images," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 105 (1985), pp. 53-73.

24 . Kenneth Russell, "The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the Mid–8th Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* no. 260 (1986), pp. 37-59.

the Sasanian and Muslim conquests. The long struggle between 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr in the 60s A.H./680s A.D. enabled the Byzantines to at least raid if not regain temporary control of the coastal cities of Palestine.[25] However, only during the last years of collapse of the Umayyad dynasty and the Abbasid revolution did the Christians and the population of Palestine as a whole noticeably suffer.

Peaceful abandonment was a more frequent cause for the end of churches and monasteries than either natural or willful destruction. In many cases later Umayyad period occupants reused the abandoned churches, although most often there clearly was no connection between the later occupation and the reason for the abandonment of the churches, as at Beth Yerah, Kursi, Ma'ale Adummin and Rujm Barakat. Often churches were used as dwellings, and almost all churches, unless they were destroyed and so were quickly buried by debris, suffered from stone robbing, and the removal of their marble liturgical furnishings to produce lime; at Ramet Rahel and Shavei Zion lime kilns were found in the churches for on-the-spot processing of the marble. At Umm al-Jimal during the Umayyad period the mosaics of the Numerianos and Julianos churches were removed carefully, perhaps for reuse elsewhere.

The reason for the widespread abandonment of churches is primarily due to general economic and social factors that had little to do with specific Christian–Muslim religious relations. Kennedy argues that Syria as a whole had declined towards the end of the sixth century A.D. and so well before the Muslim conquest, but the sharp decline in the number of Christian communities, reflected by the decline in the numbers of churches in use, mostly occurred after the Muslim conquest.[26] The decline was due to the broad economic changes that resulted from the Muslim conquest, after which Palestine ceased to be a major conduit for international trade or an

25 . al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan,* p. 143.

26 . Hugh Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria," *Past and Present* no. 106 (1985), pp. 3-27; Kennedy, "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: a reinterpretation," *Byzantinische Forschungen* vol. 10 (1985), pp. 141-183; Kennedy, "The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy," *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 325-343.

exporter of such products as olive oil and wine into the Mediterranean. The general population of Palestine, as well as Syria as a whole, declined, and not only the Christian communities because they were Christian, as the orientation of the Muslim world turned to the east and away from the Mediterranean. Many cities and towns seriously declined or were abandoned, such as Caesarea, Nessana, Pella and Umm al-Jimal. Even whole regions, like the Negev and southern Jordan, were largely abandoned in the course of the Umayyad period, and as these places were abandoned so were their churches.

Observations on Warfare between Byzantium and Umayyad Syria

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Warfare[1] between the Byzantines and Umayyads has received some attention in the last several decades, but the broader picture has not changed very much.[2] Cheïra introduced no new sources.[3] Marius Canard provided a valuable survey and discussion of newly edited as well as older sources in an impressive article.[4] It is worth attempting to determine some features of the present state of historical research on warfare between the Umayyads and the Byzantines. For the most part, however, the important subjects of naval expeditions and naval warfare, which would require a vast separate and intensive investigation, are not within the scope of this paper.[5]

A premise is the relative weakness of Byzantium during the period. The Byzantines were unable to carry major expeditions far into Syria after their withdrawal from it and their naval. defeat at the battle of Phoenix or

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1. I wish to thank the University of Jordan and Yarmuk University and especially Professor Adnan Bakhit for the opportunity to participate in the conference of the History of Bilad al-Sham and for the gracious hospitality that I have received.

2. R.-J. Lîlie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Munich, 1976); J. Haldon and Hugh Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Zbornik Radova. Vizantoloshki Institut. Srpska Akad. Nauka* vol. 19 (Belgrade, 1980), pp. 79-116. W.E. Kaegi, "The Frontier: Barrier or Bridge"?,in session on "Byzantium and Arabs," *Major Papers. The 17th International Byzantine Congress* (New Rochelle: A. Caratzas, 1986), pp. 279-303. On general problems of Byzantine warfare: W.E. Kaegi, *Some Thoughts on Byzantine Military Strategy* (Brookline MA: Hellenic College Press, 1983).

3. M.A. Cheïra, *La lutte entre arabes et byzantins. La conquete et l'organisation des frontières aux VIIIe siècles* (Alexandria, 1947).

4. Marius Canard, "Quelques à coté de l'histoire des relations entre Byzance et les arabes," *Studi medievali in onore di Georgio Levi della Vida*, pp. 98-119. esp. 106-107; repr. in Canard, *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient* (London: Variorum, 1973).

5. There is no first-rate study of Byzantine-Umayyad naval warfare. There is a fine study of the Byzantine navy by H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), but it includes little discussion of the situation in the seventh century. There are many errors and misleading statements in Archibald R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1000* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951). It should be used only with great caution.

"The Battle of the Masts" in 34 A.H./655 A.D. They could harass cities in the far northern frontier areas, such as Melitene/Malatya, Germanikeia/Marash, and possibly even Samosata, and there could be worries that they might try to recover Hims/Emesa, but they lacked the appropriate troops, resolve, and strategy to invade the center of Umayyad Syria with any serious hope of recovering it for their empire. Although civil wars among the Muslims gave valuable respites to the Byzantines, civil and internal revolts within the Byzantine Empire also created opportunities for Umayyad Syria.[6]

A number of difficulties have impeded progress in research on Byzantine-Umayyad relations. The problem of untangling Christian and Muslim sources, which sometimes draw on common, now lost, traditions, complicates the achievement of clear historical understanding of Byzantine-Muslim relations.[7] The disinclination to study military history in recent decades, in favor of social and economic and socio-cultural history, has not assisted the illumination of this subject. There has been more attention, however, given to economic, social, and cultural contacts, and a deemphasis of the military.[8] Personalities of respective rulers have not received major new interpretations. Even the publication of critical editions of al-Baladhuri's *Ansab al-Ashraf*, and the *Ta'rikh* and *Kitab al-Tobaqat* of Khalifa b. Khayyat al-'Usfuri, Ibn A'tham al-Kufi's *Kitab al-Futuh*, and al-

6. In general, W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest 471-843: An Interpretation* (Amsterdam: Las Palmas, 1981). On structures: Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang-und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1985), and his *Quellenstudien zur herrschenden Klasse von Byzanz im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1986).

7. Among the scholars who have worked on this important but difficult problem are: Lawrence I. Conrad, "Al-Azdi's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilad al-Sham: Some Historiographical Observations," *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilad al-Sham during the Early Islamic Period Up to 40 A.H./640 A.D. Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham*, ed. by Muhammad Adnan al-Bakhit, ed.(papers of the 1985 conference, Amman: University of Jordan 1987), vol. I, pp. 28-62; Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Transmission: Some Indications of Intercultural Transmission," paper read at Delphi, Greece, in 1985, lent to me by kindness of the author. Fred M. Donner is also exploring these problems. See also: Ann S. Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty," *Byzantion* vol. 44 (1974), pp. 367-439.

8. W.E. Kaegi, "The Crisis in Military Historiography," *Armed Forces & Society* vol. 7 (1981), pp. 299-316. I have prepared, but not yet published, a new version, which is entitled, "The Crisis in Military Historiography Reconsidered." See on nonmilitary aspects of Byzantine-Muslim relations: H.A.R. Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* vol. 12 (1958), pp. 219-233.

Fasawi's *Kitab al-Ma'rifa wa 'l-Ta'rikh* has not changed the essentials of broader interpretation. Details, yes, but no important new lode of source material on this specific subject.

There are likewise no important changes to make in the known and generally established chronology of Muslim raids and invasions of Anatolia, except for the dating of the first Muslim expedition against Amorion.[9] It is impossible to ascertain the size of Muslim raiding expeditions, but it is assumed that those of the age of Mu'awiya were larger than most subsequent ones, at least until the great revival of expeditions in the early Abbasid period. Byzantine field armies seldom exceeded 15,000 soldiers and usually were much smaller. Likewise there are no new major sources on the Muslim sieges of Constantinople (first and second sieges, 54-58 A.H/674-678 A.D., including a blockade, and 98-99 A.H/717-718 A.D.).[10] The useful monograph of Haase contains much information, however limited, on the organization of Muslim armies in northern Syria for expeditions against the Byzantines in the Umayyad period. He has clarified some problems concerning the leadership and points of concentration of Muslim expeditionary forces in Syria for raids into Byzantine Anatolia. Yet the sources did not permit Haase to clarify many questions.

For a combination of reasons, the nature of Byzantine armies in this period is likewise, if not even more controversial and not well understood. The sources, whether Byzantine or Muslim, are poor. No Muslim geographer, for example, has left a description of Byzantine armies of this

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9. J. Wellhausen, "Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaijiden," *Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.* Philol.-hist. Kl. (1901), pp. 414-447, establishes much of the basic chronology. There are omissions in E.W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* vol. 18 (1898), pp. 182-208, and Brooks, "Additions and Corrections to the *J.H.S.* vol. XVIII pp. 182-280," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* vol. 19 (1899), pp. 31-33. L. Caetani, *Annali dell 'Islam,* (repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1972), of course, does not cover the entire Umayyad period, although he is good on some particulars. On Amorion, see W.E. Kaegi, "The First Arab Expedition Against Amorium," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* vol. 3 (1977), pp. 19-22, repr. in Kaegi, *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium* (London: Variorum, 1982).

10. The standard modern studies are by Marius Canard, "Les expéditions des arabes contre Constantinople," *Journal Asiatique* vol. 108 (1926), pp. 61-121, repr. in Canard, *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient,* and Rodolphe Guilland, "L'Expédition de Maslama contra Constantinople," repr. in his *Études Byzantines* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1959), pp. 109-133. It is worth noting that Guilland does not appear to have possessed a reading knowledge of Arabic.

period, or how Muslims of this period raided.[11] The absence of any Byzantine general staff or Joint Chiefs of Staff and the disappearance of archival records makes it impossible to make reliable statements about Byzantine strategic planning against the Muslims in the Umayyad period. There can be conjectures and little more. Efforts to impose paradigms are risky.[12] The early ninth-century A.D. description of a Muslim camp in Armenia may also be typical of Muslim camps in the late seventh century or early eighth century A.D. but this is not certain.

Heinrich F. Wüstenfeld published an Arabic version of a Graeco-Byzantine military manual of "Aelian". He dated it to the middle of the eighth century A.D. Thus it probably reflected, to some degree, the situation under the Umayyads. Byzantinists have never looked carefully at this text for whatever it might reveal about Byzantine armies in the seventh or eighth centuries A.D. It solves no problems of Byzantine military institutions. Yet it is vivid testimony to how Muslims adapted Byzantine military thought and organization to their own needs and problems.[14] It contains a valuable description or at least a schema of a Muslim camp.[15] It contains a fascinating section on the examination of physiological qualities, including men's hair, to determine their martial qualities, which it probably owes to the lost Greek original.[16] Important also for an understanding of Umayyad ways of waging war, although it is not a treatise about warfare against the Byzantines, is the *Risala* of 'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya.[17]

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11. C.-P. Haase, *Untersuchungen zur landschaften Nordsyriens in der Umayyadenzeit* (Kiel, 1975), pp. 52-60. There are no sources or studies on Byzantine-Muslim warfare in the seventh century comparable to the excellent ones on the tenth century, such as: *Le traité sur la de l guérilla l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas,* ed., trans., and comment. by Gilbert Dagron and Haralambie Mihaescu, Le monde byzantin (Paris: Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1986), or another critical edition of that text and English translation of George T. Dennis, "Skirmishing," in: Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, 1985), pp. 137-239.

12. See my review of R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* in *Speculum* vol. 53 (1978), pp. 399-404, for cautionary remarks about imputing strategies in the absence of documentary evidence.

13. Ibn 'Asakir, Abu'l-Qasim, d. 571 A.H./1176 A.D. *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq,* S. al-Munajjid, ed. (Damascus, 1954), vol. 1, p. 261.

14. Heinrich F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Heerwesen der Muhammadener* Abhandlungen der Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Hist,-Philol. Klasse, 26 (1880), also publ. separately in Göttingen: (Dieterich, 1880).

15. Wüstenfeld, *Heerwesen,* p. 2, and diagram between pp. 2 and 3 of Arabic text.

16. Wüstenfeld, *Heerwesen,* pp. 3-8, German text.

17. This important text may contain borrowings from Greek originals.

Despite the above challenges, it is possible to make some general observations and reconsiderations about Byzantine-Umayyad warfare. There are still some points concerning land warfare that warrant refinement and additional research. The Muslims' wintering in Asia Minor is an example of the vulnerability of the Byzantines, but also of the Byzantines' readiness to avoid open battle. This Byzantine strategy continued the last policy of Heraclius in Syria and his alleged advice, as reported by Michael the Syrian, to his officials/commanders in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Armenia, to try to hold on to what they had, but avoid battles in the open against the Muslims.[18] There were then many continuities between the earlier events of the fighting in Syria itself and the experiences of the Byzantines fighting the Muslims who largely invaded Asia Minor from recently-conquered Syria. The Byzantine troops who defended Anatolia against the Muslims had come in substantial part from previous service in Syria. It is wrong to assume that they had virtually all been destroyed at the battle of the Yarmuk. They were at least somewhat familiar with Syria. But they had also been accustomed in Syria to passive strategies of holding walled towns and avoiding open battle with the Muslims whenever possible. This policy did not begin once they retreated into Asia Minor; it had already begun in the defense of Syria. It was unnecessary to train troops to develop new tactics better adapted to the terrain of Anatolia. The Byzantines in Anatolia probably drew on several military heritages and experiences in developing their ultimately successful tactics and strategy against the Muslims.

Byzantine Asia Minor did not have a homogeneous population, but it was probably more homgeneous than that of Syria or Armenia. Probably earlier Byzantine experiences in defending Armenian passes helped provide some precedents for developing defenses of passes against Muslims coming from Syria. There was little possibility of troops switching sides the way they were doing in parts of Armenia.[19] There were no local traditions of autonomous military actions and initiative in Anatolia such as existed in Armenia.

18. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique,* 11.7, trans. by J.-B. Chabot (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901), vol. 2, pp. 242-425.

19. In fact, there was some danger that troops who were nominally within Umayyad territory might switch to the Byzantine side. Note Sebeos, *History,* chapter 38, trans. by Robert Bedrosian (New York, 1985), p. 182, or *Histoire,* trans. by F. Macler (Paris 1904), who mentions the desertion of 15,000 troops in Egypt to the Byzantine side in 661 A.D. together with their apparent conversion to Christianity.

Starting at least as early as 'Umar, Muslim leaders wished to prevent the flight of disgruntled Arab tribesmen into Byzantine territory, and strove to secure the return of those who had fled.[20] The Byzantines similarly sought to prevent individuals and groups, and especially local civilian authorities, from travelling to or engaging in unauthorized negotiations with the Umayyad authorities in Syria or their deputies in Mesopotamia or other Muslim commanders who were raiding Byzantine Anatolia.

It is easy to look back and criticize the Muslims about what they might have done better. It is likewise easy to remark that they should have first occupied and settled the Tauros Mountains, and established permanent military bases there, not simply raided the Anatolian plateau.

In retrospect, the most vulnerable point of the Byzantines against the Muslims was immediately following the battle of the Yarmuk, during the imperial succession crisis at the death of Herclius in 641 A.D., and in the earliest years of the reign of Emperor Constans II, whose reign began in late 641 A.D. and lasted until 688 A.D. By the time Mu'awiya emerged as Caliph, the hour was late for a Muslim conquest of Byzantium. Internal stabilization was beginning in the Byzantine Empire. Constans II rapidly gained military experience and judgment. He resolutely developed Byzantine defenses against the Muslims.[21] Historical knowledge of internal conditions of the Byzantine Empire in these decades of the 640s, 650s, and 660s A.D. is very limited due to the lack of more primary sources. But enough exists to gain some, however slight, appreciation for the energy of Constans II and his advisers in shoring up their empire against Muslim military threats from Syria.

Some of the greatest progress has been made in the understanding of Byzantine apocalyptic visions of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries, although such sources have limited historical value and require extreme caution and care in their calculation. In this context several recent studies

20. al-Tabari, Muhammad ibn Jarir, d. 310 A.H./923 A.D., *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa'l-Muluk,* M.J. de Goeje, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1879-1901), p. 2508.

21. Such is the opinion of Clive Foss, University of Massachusetts at Boston, who has extensive archaeological experience in Anatolia. He has spoken with me about this problem.

on Pseudo-Methodios and Pseudo-Daniel should be mentioned.[22] These sources provide information on the psychological and material effects of Muslim invasions from Syria, but little detail concerning events or conditions.

It seems that 'Umar b. al-Khattab wanted to create a zone of destruction or devastation between Byzantium and Islam, just as Heraclius had begun to do. There are a number of sources that indicate this, including al-Baladhuri, al-Ya'qubi, Michael the Syrian and al-Tabari. Al-Ya'qubi reports that, " 'Umar said, whenever he spoke of the Byzantines, 'I would like God to make the passes during coals (*jamra*) between us and them, this side [of the passes] for us and what is behind [the passes] for them.' "[23] Al-Baladhuri reports that 'Umar ordered the destruction of Arabissos (modern Afshin, in Turkey) and the forced removal of its inhabitants after learning that they refused to provide information on movements of Byzantine troops to the Muslims while they continued to give it to the Byzantines.[24] The not too distant area of Duluk and Ra'ban, in northern Syria, had a similar arrangement with the Muslims, which its inhabitants apparently kept.[25] In the caliphate of 'Uthman, 29 A.H./648-649 A.D., Mu'awiya imposed a similar obligation on the Cypriots to report on the Byzantines and not aid them, which they failed to respect.[26]

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22. Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985); Harald Suermann, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenische Apokalyptik des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, New York: Lang, 1985); Francisco Javier Martinez, "Early Christian Apologetic in the Early Muslim Period," unpub. Ph. D. Diss. (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1985), pp. 58-205, for edition, translation, and commentary on Syriac text of Pseudo-Methodios. Klaus Berger, *Die griechische Daniel Diegese* (Leiden: Brill, 1976). A. Lolos editions of Greek text of Pseudo-Methodios: *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios, Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Ps.-Methodios* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976, 1978).

23. al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad b. Abi Ya'qub, d. 284 A.H./897 A.D. *Ta'rikh*, M. Th. Houtsma, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1883), vol. 2. pp. 178-179.

24. al-Baladhuri, Ahmad b. Yahya, *Futuh al-Buldan*, M.J. De Goeje, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1866 and repr), pp. 165-167. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 11.7, vol. 2, pp. 422-423. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 2349. On zones of destruction, see also: W.E. Kaegi, "The Frontier: Barrier or Bridge?," esp. pp. 284-303.

25. al- Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 150.

26. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p 150. See also pp. 153-157. Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam, d. 224 A.H./878 A.D., *Kitab al-Amwal*, Muhammad Khalil Haras, ed. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kuliya al-Azhariya, 1968), pp. 248, 253; 184-185, 187-188 (reprint Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1986). He cites al-Awza'i as his authority.

During this early period, namely the 10s to the 30s A.H./630s t0 650s A.D. the Muslims and the Byzantines at times sought to create zones of absolute destruction devoid of habitation. At other times they allowed the inhabitants to remain on condition that they provide information and refuse to give active assistance to their enemies. These more charitable arrangements appear not to have worked well. There was a tendency to clear out populations who were identified as hostile and either leave total devastation or settle their own armed troops and population loyal to themselves.[27]

Thus there was a tendency, after experimentation, to determine that neutral inhabited buffer zones did not function well, that local populations did not adhere to strict neutrality. Both Byzantines and Muslims inflicted severe reprisals on local inhabitants who made or attempted to make arrangements with the armed forces or leaders of their opponents. Such a situation was obviously a very difficult one for local inhabitants of those contested areas, who somehow had to try to satisfy the often conflicting demands of the leaders of the conflicting empires. There was a certain symmetry of interests in both Byzantine and Muslim governing circles in creating such zones of devastation. In both cases, the result was the creation of tighter government control on both sides of the border, to prevent centrifugal political authority from emerging independent of central governments. This was part of the process of state-building for both states.

Problems of exchange of Byzantine and Muslim prisoners and outright hostages were also very important yet common problems in the Umayyad period; much of the negotiation about them took place either at Damascus or at Constantinople, not in smaller provincial localities.[28] The negotiations required the consent and policy decisions of the leaders of the respective states, not of local commanders on either side. The process emphasized that effective foreign relations remained the prerogative of the Umayyad caliph in Damascus and the Byzantine emperor at Constantinople, and their respective authorized envoys. Diplomatic practice reinforced political centralization and bipolarity. Neither party made any ultimate theoretical or religious concessions in making accommodations to political realities. Umayyad diplomacy with Byzantium developed out of practices already in place in the Caliphate of 'Umar and the same was true on the Byzantine side.

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27. P. Charanis, "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 3 (1961), pp. 140-154; repr. in Charanis, *Studies in the Demography of the Byzantine Empire* (London: Variorum, 1972).

28. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M., 6142, Boor, ed. (Leipzig, 1983), p. 344. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 158-159.

On the Byzantine side, this effort to control local authorities probably contributed to the development of the so-called *"themes"*, although it is unclear when that term first emerged for Byzantine military corps districts, or even for military corps.[29] That is because the Byzantines — starting with Heraclius — appointed military commanders to replace some civil governors who were too willing to make quick arrangements with the Muslims. By appointing military commanders the Byzantines hoped to place all power in the hands of military leaders who would be totally beholden and obedient to the central government, that is, to the emperor, and therefore who would make no local settlements with the Muslims without explicit imperial authorization and approval. In fact this process was part of the process of creating what eventually became known as the *"themes"*.[30]

It is essential to remember that Mu'awiya had developed remarkable experience in fighting the Byzantines and had gained unusual familiarity with their territory. Most significant is the early raid by Abu 'l-A'war al-Sulami and Wahb b. 'Umayr in 23 A.H./644 A.D. against the important Byzantine Phrygian city of Amorion.[31] Whether or not he joined this expedition, Mu'awiya personally participated in other expeditions into Anatolia. From those experiences in Asia Minor, at the very moment in which Byzantine resistance was beginning to harden, contemporary with

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29. The recent suggestion by Dr. James Howard-Johnston, "Thema," *Maistor. Classical Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1984), pp. 189-197, that the term *thema* originated from an Altaic root word is unpersuasive and must be rejected. *Thema* is a Greek word for which one needs to find no foreign explanation.

30. On the broader problem of the emergence of the themes, see the important long review of scholarly literature by R.-J. Lilie, "Die zweihundertjährige Reform," *Byzantinoslavica* vol. 45 (1984), pp. 27-39, 190-201; for additional interpretations of aspects of the emergence of the themes, see W.E. Kaegi, "Heraklios and the Arabs," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* vol. 27 (1982), pp. 109-133; W.E. Kaegi, "Two Studies in the Continuity of Late Roman and Byzantine Military Institutions," *Byzantinische Forschungen* vol. 8 (1982), pp. 98-113; W.E. Kaegi, "Late Roman Continuity in the Financing of Heraclius' Army," *Kürzbeiträge, 16c Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Akten* II/2 (= *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* vol. 32, no. 2 (1982), pp. 1-9.

31. See W.E. Kaegi, "The First Arab Expedition against Amorium," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* vol. 3 (1977), pp. 19-22. For other references to this tradition, also from the traditionalist Layth b. Sa'd al-Fasawi (wrongly entitled al- Basawi), *Kitab al-Ma'rifa wa'l-Ta'rikh,* A.D. al-'Umari, ed. (Baghdad, 1976) vol. 3, p. 307. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, d. 852 A.H./1449 A.D., *Isabah fi Tamyiz*. (Cairo 1939) vol. 2. p. 533.

the obscure yet important efforts of the Byzantine Emperor Constans II to fortify cities and strongholds and develop a coherent resistance, Mu'awiya probably gained valuable experience in how to fight and negotiate with the Byzantines. He probably also gained an appreciation for their terrain and the problems and challenges of the climate and logistics in Asia Minor. No other caliph probably had so much personal military experience against the Byzantines. Affairs were in flux when Mu'awiya was governor of Syria and caliph. It is conceivable that the Byzantines could have collapsed, but they did not.

It was the *arkhon* [Greek; Arabic *urkun*] or governor of Cyprus who negotiated with Mu'awiya in 29 A.H./648-649 A.D. for the terms of the settlement of Cyprus with the Muslims. According to al-Baladhuri, the Cypriots agreed to pay 7,200 dinars annually to the Muslims, as well as report to the Muslims information about the Byzantines.[32] Again, the negotiation on the part of the *arkhon* underscored the readiness of local civil leaders, who were not Byzantine thematic commanders [*theme* = military

32. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 153. Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, d. 314 A.H./924 A.D., *Kitab al-Futuh*, (reprint Beirut), vol. 2, p. 119, calls the Cypriot governor *Malik*, which distorts his role. In no sense was the governor a "king", although a number of late Arabic sources may loosely term individual Byzantine provincial governors or even bishops as *malik*. In contrast, al-Baladhuri is very correct in using the term *urkun*.

corps and its military district], to make their own best possible settlements for their regions and their subjects.[33]

Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam, who lived from 157 to 224 A.H./770 to 838 A.D. also reports the existence of such a treaty (he specifies 7,000 dinars annual tribute) between Mu'awiya and the Cypriots, who also continued to pay taxes, which he interpreted to be tribute, to the Byzantine government. He is a source earlier than al-Baladhuri, athough he does not specifically mention the governor of Cyprus in connection with this treaty, nor does he

33. A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Amsterdam, Las Palmas: A.M. Hakkert, 1965), vol. 3, p. 40, doubts the authenticity of the information of al-Baladhuri, arguing that Cyprus had no "ruler" at that time. But the Arabic terminology indicates the very old origin of the source, The *urkun* was the old Late Roman *praeses provinciae*, somewhat comparable to the old *curator* John Kateas who had negotiated with the Muslims at Chalkis in A.D. 637. Al-Baladhuri's information is not distorted on this point. That a local civilian official would make such negotiations was part of Byzantium's problem. Better is Costas P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1985), pp. 176-185, who accepts the plausibility of a Byzantine-Muslim agreement in 39 A.H./648-649 A.D. or soon after. Kyrris, p. 184, is aware that there was a Byzantine *arkhon,* but he does not know of other examples of local negotiation, such as that of John Kateas. What is unclear is whether the Byzantine government in Constantinople authorized or ultimately confirmed this agreement. The date is not absolutely certain, but probable. See also: Kyrris, "The Nature of the Arab-Byzantine Relations in Cyprus from the Middle of the 7th to the Middle of the 10th Century A.D.," *Graeco-Arabica* vol. 3 (1984), pp. 149-176, with more citations of scholarly literature. Kyrris expresses his strongest skepticism on p. 154. This incident in the history of Cyorus requires examination in the light of the larger context of Byzantine-Muslim relations in the seventh century to become intelligible. Note that Nikolas Oikonomakis, "He en Kypro Arabokratia kata tas arabikas pegas," *Praktika tou protou diethnous kyprologikou synedriou (Lefkosia, 14-19 Apriliou 1969)* (Lefkosia, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 192-193, apparently accepts the genuineness of the 29 A.H./648-649 A.D. negotiated tribute payments of the Cypriots to the Muslims. A.I. Dikigoropoulos, "The Political Status of A.D. 649-695," *Report of the Department of Antiquities* (1940-1948; publ. Lefkosia, 1958), pp. 94-114, questions the veracity of the Muslim tradition. See also: A.I. Dikigoropoulos, "Agrarian Conditions and Demography of Cyprus during the Period of the Arab Wars 648-965," *Bulletin of the Cyprus Geographical Association* vol. 8 (1978), pp. 3-14. I owe this reference to Dr. Joseph Greene. I have not seen the unpublished 1961 Oxford Ph.D. diss. (Lincoln College) of Dikigoropoulos "Cyprus Betwixt the Saracens and the Greeks A.D 648-956." Dikigoropoulos does know the seventh-century archaeological evidence very well, but it cannot provide any decisive refutation of the reports of al-Qasim ibn Sallam and al-Baladhuri. There is no relevant material in the article of K. Chatzipsaltes, "He Kypros, to Byzantion kai to Islam," *Kypriakai Spoudai* vol. 20 (1956), pp. 15-29.

give a specific date; but he and his early source al-Awza'i, (d. 157 A.H./774 A.D. in Beirut), are the source for the tradition that al-Baladhuri cites.[34] Al-Qasim b. Sallam's text cannot give absolute confirmation to that of al-Baladhuri, but it does help to establish its probable veracity.[35] The Muslim requirement that the Cypriots report on the Byzantines has been doubted, but this requirement was also imposed in Syria on the inhabitants of Duluk. It is plausible for the Muslims to have attempted, however mistakenly, to have imposed this obligation on the local inhabitants in Cyprus.

Byzantinists have ignored Ibn Sallam's testimony, perhaps because there is no translation. Cypriot historians such as A. Papageorgiou, Andreas Stratos, A.I. Dikigoropoulos, and Costas Kyrris have misunderstood the valuable information on the relationship between Syria and Cyprus in the *Futuh al-Buldan* of al-Baladhuri.[36] Although they have questioned his veracity, al-Baladhuri's description of this incident in the Syrian governorship of Mu'awiya is a confirmation of the authenticity of this tradition, and is consistent with other information on local Byzantine governors' attempts to negotiate special settlements with the Muslims.[37] These were the kinds of actions that the Heraclian dynasty generally tried to prevent from happening whenever possible. In this case, the Byzantine governor probably had no alternative.

The treaty between Mu'awiya and the Cypriots in 29 A.H./648-649 A.D. is best understood in the larger context of efforts of earlier Byzantine governors in Egypt and Mesopotamia, namely Kyros and John Kateas, to negotiate special settlements to protect the subjects of their provinces from Muslim attacks. The Cypriot case cannot be properly understood in

34. Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam, *Kitab al-Amwal* (Cairo, 1968), p. 248; reprinted Beirut, 1986), p. 188. On al-Awza'i: F. Donner, "The Problem of Early Arabic Historiography in Syria," *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilad al-Sham During the Early Islamic Period Up to 40 A.H. (640 A.D.)*, Adnan al-Bakhit, ed. (Amman, 1987), pp. 23-24.

35. Marius Canard, "Deux épisodes des relations diplomatiques arabo-byzantines au Xe siècle," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* vol. 13 (1949-1950), pp. 62-63; repr. in his *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient* (London: Variorum, 1974), apparently accepts the credibility of the earlier source for Ibn Sallam, who is al-Awza'i.

36. A. Papageorgiou, "Les premières incursions arabes à Chypre et leurs conséquences," *Aphieroma eis ton Konstantinon Spyridakin* (Lefkosia, 1964), pp. 152-158, esp. 153-155, doubts the the veracity of al-Baladhuri's account.

37. Especially convincing is al-Baladhuri's vocalization of the Greek *arkhon* as *urkun*, with its effort to to reproduce the omega of the original Greek word. It indicates some contact or knowledge of actual Greek institutions of that early period. The term was not so common later, but it was the correct word for a governor in the middle of the seventh century.

isolation. It is part of a larger pattern of local Byzantine governors attempting to make separate arrangements for their provinces. It is unclear whether the government in Constantinople formally approved this governor's arrangements with Mu'awiya. They may simply have acquiesced. In any case, the incident proves that Heraclius' efforts at the end of his life to stop such separate local agreements with the Muslims had ultimately failed, or at any rate that his successors could not always maintain such a strict policy of control from Constantinople. Mu'awiya had benefited from his knowledge of other negotiations between Muslims and local Byzantine civilian authorities during and immediately following the rapid conquests in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Precedents had already been established. The anonymous governor of Cyprus on his part probably was familiar with arrangements that had been made previously in Syria. These helped create a pattern for the terms of 29 A.H./648-649 A.D. on Cyprus. The evidence in al-Qasim b. Sallam and al-Baladhuri indicates that the Muslims also later thought in terms of broader patterns of terms for such negotiations (the Arabissos precedent, for example).

'Umar b. al-Khattab probably was correct that the Muslims needed to consolidate before any resumption of conquests. Hence he appears to have wished a pause after the great territorial expansion of the initial years of his caliphate. Mu'awiya obviously favored a much more aggressive policy against the Byzantines. This probably resulted from a calculation of his own interests as well as of the benefits that he believed would acrue to Islam. There are traditions (repeated by al-Baladhuri, for example), that 'Umar restrained Mu'awiya from earlier invasions of Cyprus.[38] This is plausible and consistent with the well-known tradition that states that 'Umar also tried to restrain 'Amr b. al-'As from invading Egypt.[39] Mu'awiya only succeeded in implementing his aggressive policy against the Byzantines, by land and sea, after the death of 'Umar. By that time the Muslims had consolidated their authority in Syria, but the Byzantines had also had gained even more valuable time to pull themselves together and develop new ways to resist the Muslims.

By the end of the seventh century A.D. under 'Abd al-Malik, the Muslims had even given up on allowing Cyprus to remain independent, although they soon repudiated that decision.[40] All of these incidents

38. al- Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 152.

39. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*,p. 212.

40. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 154-157. Romilly Jenkins, "Cyprus Between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688-965," *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London: Variorum, 1970), pp. 1006-1014, repr. from *Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson* (St. Louis: Washington University, 1953), vol. 2.

reinforced the degree of control by centralized authority along the borders. This control, however, never became perfect or absolute. It dissipated in later centuries, which are not within the scope of this study. It was difficult for any locality on the edge of Syria to maintain neutrality between the competing Muslim and Byzantine authorities. Both Byzantine and Muslim sources indicate that Muslim and Byzantine states found it necessary to tighten controls over the frontier zone and to leave no independence for local populations. Either they introduced garrisons, as the Muslims reportedly did on a temporary basis in Cyprus, or they evacuated the local population and destroyed the remains of cities, as was the fate of Arabissos. None of these acts created absolutely hermetically sealed borders, but they did increase the authority of these two governments. Neither state wanted the creation of independent buffer states between Byzantium and Umayyad Syria.

Despite reports of Byzantine mobilization in the caliphate of Mu'awiya, it is unlikely that the Byzantines could have sponsored major military expeditions back into Syria. The Byzantines could and did threaten Marash and Melitene/Malatya, and they could use the Jarajima ["Mardaites," in Greek] as valuable allies or surrogates, even as far as Lebanon.[41] But they lacked the resources and willingness at that time to take sufficient risks to attempt the recovery of Antioch or major northern strongholds such as Qinnasrin, let alone points south of those towns. It is unclear how quickly Byzantine familiarity with Syria faded in the later seventh century after Byzantine evacuation of it in 16-18 A.H/637-639 A.D. The problem may have been gaining knowledge about what had changed in Syria. The Byzantines may never have possessed a clear understanding of what had happened during the Muslim conquest. All that reached Constantinople may have been mere rumors, wild speculation, and jumbled details without any coherence.

41. M. Canard "Djaradjima," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 456-458, contains some of the latest conclusions and references to the earlier scholarly literature. For an important and possible explanation of the term: Hratz Bartikian "He luse tou ainigmatos ton Mardaiton," *Byzantion. Aphieroma ston Andrea N. Strato... Byzantium. Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos* (Athens, 1986), vol. 1. pp. 17-39, who argues for an ultimate connection with the Armenian *Mardoi* and *Mardpet* and *Mardes Mardotzek'* of the Late Roman or early Byzantine province of Armenia IV in upper Mesopotamia. But Bartikian believes that the actual Mardaites of the late seventh century A.D. originated in Mardali of Tourouberan, which is not far from Theodosiopolis (modern Erzerum).

There is a tradition that when Mu'awiya was told that the Byzantines had raised an army, a governor had run off, and prisoners had escaped, 'Amr b. al-'As advised him not to worry: "This is not much [trouble] for you. As for the Byzantines, satisfy them with a few concessions with which you can restrain [dissuade] them. ... And Mu'awiya followed his advice."[42] This may be a hostile tradition intended to malign the alleged easy-going nature of the Umayyads. But the tradition may reflect the fact that Byzantine threats did not need to be taken too seriously, that it was possible to reach negotiated settlements with them without recourse to battle. It was not only the Byzantines who always wished to avoid battle.

Another type of problem, relations between Christians and Muslims within Syria, were affected by Byzantine-Muslim warfare in many ways. Long ago Henri Lammens explored the problem of the alleged murder of 'Abd al-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid in 46 A.H./666 A.D.[43] Lammens was especially interested in the report of the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes that the bishop of Hims was burned in the caliphate of Mu'awiya, which he assumed resulted from an outbreak of religious hostilities in that city.[44] This incident deserves, in my opinion, to be examined in the light of reports of failed Byzantine attempts to recapture Hims from the Muslims.[45] This surely contributed to the heated context in which the bishop was burned alive. Lammens was aware that there was a significant Christian population at Hims for a long time. Muslim sources, such as Ibn al-'Adim, whom Lammens did not use, are more explicit about the presence not only of Greeks but also of Christian Arabs there, such as the Tanukh.[46] The history of the alleged poisoning of 'Abd al-Rahman b. Khalid should be viewed against a longer history of the vicissitudes of Hims. There was instability

42. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, Ihsan 'Abbas, ed. (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1979) vol. IV. 1, p. 47; Max Schloessing-M. Kister, ed., IVA, p. 36.

43. H. Lammens, " 'Abdarrahman ibn Halid et les chrétiens de Homs," in: "Études sur le règne du Caliphe Omaiyade Mo'awia 1er," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Université de Saint-Joseph* vol. 1 (1906), pp. 3, 14.

44. Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.M. 6157, p. 348. Lammens, " 'Abdarrahman," pp. 3, 14.

45. Ibn al-'Adim, d. 660 A.H./1262 A.D., *Zubdat Halab min Ta'rikh Halab*, vol. 1, pp. 25-29; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, I, pp. 2393-2394, 2498-2503; al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 149; Yaqut al-Hamawi, d. 626 A.H./1229 A.D., *Mu'jam al-Buldan* Wüstenfeld, ed. (Leipzig, 1866-1873), vol. 2, p. 73; Ibn al-Athir, 'Izz al-Din, d. 630 A.H./1233 A.D., *al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh* Tornberg, ed. vol. 2, p. 413. Less probable is the alleged planned assault mentioned by Pseudo-Waqidi, *Futuh al-Sham* (Beirut, 1972), vol. 1, p. 245.

46. Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, 1984). See appendix on the Tanukh at Hims in the seventh century, pp. 455-460.

there and, however improbable and unrealistic, the memory of Byzantine attempts to recover it from the Muslims after its capture (twice) in the 10sA.H./630s A.D. The truth of the story of his poisoning by a Christian is uncertain, but the larger historical context of Christian troubles at Hims should not be forgotten or neglected when trying to understand this incident. It is unclear how much fear of the Christian population, or any segment of it, affected Muslim calculations in making war against the Byzantines after the initial conquests. According to Ibn al-'Adim Hims remained prominent in military expeditions against Byzantium in the Umayyad period.[47]

It may have been easy for the Umayyads in Syria to hope that the Byzantines would succumb by wooing local frontier governors to desert or to make special arrangements with the Muslims. They would have been encouraged by the surrender of local towns in Syria, beginning with the bishop or governor of Ayla (Aqaba) in 9 A.H./630 A.D., and followed by the negotiations at Chalkis (Qinnasrin) concerning Mesopotamia, Kyros' negotiations for Egypt, as well as Gregory the exarch's abortive rebellion in Africa in 26-27 A.H./647 A.D., and the unnamed governor of Cyprus' apparently separate negotiations for terms for the island.[48] But that was not to be the prevailing pattern in the future.

The abortive rebellion of Saborios, the *strategos* [commander, general with civil and military authority within the military district] of the Armeniaks [this Byzantine Armenian region's capital at one time was Coloneia; it included Theodosiopolis or modern Erzerum], failed in 47 A.H/667-668 A.D., despite negotiations with Mu'awiya at Damascus.[49] True, a fall from horseback accidentally killed Saborios, and quelled his

47. I own this reference to Professor S. Daredkeh.

48. On Gregory: Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest*, pp. 159-160. See also on civilian official's negotiations at Chalkis, esp., Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.M. 6128, p. 340. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 2, pp. 345-350. Agapius of Membji, *Patrologia Orientalis* vol. 8, pp. 476-477. Egypt: Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.M. 5216, p. 335. Agapius Membji, *Patrologia Orientalis vol. 8, pp. 471-472.*

49. For background and discussion of problems of this revolt: A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Amsterdam, Las Palmas: A.M. Hakkert, 1965), vol. 3, pp. 236-247. See also: P. Peeters, "Pasagnathes-Persogenes," *Byzantion* vol. 8 (1933), pp. 406-423.

rebellion, but his was a rare phenomenon.[50] This story was repeated in Byzantine and Syriac chronicles, which underscored the terrible fate that could await those who attempted private or personal diplomacy with Mu'awiya, or other successor caliphs at Damascus, while emphasizing the advantages to all, including the Muslim leadership in Damascus, of direct diplomacy between Byzantine imperial and caliphal authorities.[51] According to Theophanes, "the general of the Armeniaks Saborios (who was of the Persian race) rebelled against the Emperor Constans. He sent his general Sergios to Mu'awiya, promising to subject Romania [= Byzantine Empire] to him if he would ally with Saborios against the Emperor. When the Emperor's son Constantine IV learned of this, he sent Andrew the *cubicularius* to Mu'awiya with gifts so that he would not cooperate with the rebel. Theophanes reports that Mu'awiya declared 'You are both enemies, I will help him who gives the most.' Andrew told him 'You should not doubt, Caliph, that it is better for you to get a little from the Emperor than a greater deal from a rebel. Do this after all, as you are friendly."[52] Mu'awiya allegedly advised Saborios' envoy Sergios not to bow to Andrew. During the next audience, Sergios insulted Andrew as a eunuch. Andrew refused to match Sergios' promise to Mu'awiya that his master, the rebel Saborios, offered to hand over the entire public revenues of the Byzantine Empire to Mu'awiya. So Andrew left Damascus without having persuaded Mu'awiya. But he successfully ordered the capture of Sergios at a mountain pass near Arabissos, and then had Sergios castrated and hanged. Saborios died in a subsequent accident. Thanks to the revolt of Saborios the Muslims succeeded in temporarily capturing Amorion and raiding to the Bosphoros, but during the following winter the Byzantines annihilated the Muslim garrison at Amorion.[53]

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50. On the general problem of Byzantine military revolts: W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest 471-843: An Interpretation,* and on Saborios: pp. 166-167, 182, 201, 234. For a more Marxist interpretation of seventh-century Byzantine military revolts: John Haldon, "Ideology and Social Change in the Seventh Century: Military Discontent as a Barometer," *Klio* vol. 68 (1986), pp. 139-190.

51. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* 11.12, vol.2, pp. 451-457; Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.M. 6159, pp. 348-451.

52. Adapted from translation of Theophanes, by H. Turtledove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 48-49.

53. Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.M. 6159, pp. 350-351; but cf. al-Tabari *Ta'rikh*, II, pp. 84-86 (A.H. 47-49).

The story of Saborios also emphasized many techniques that the imperial government employed, including use of skillful and ruthless eunuchs, to enforce the authority of the emperor on the frontier and punish and liquidate those who attempted to become separatists. Arabic sources appear to neglect or ignore the revolt of Saborios, but it appears from the chronicles of Theophanes and Michael the Syrian that the revolt of Saborios marked the culminating point of Umayyad Syrian diplomacy in trying to win control of the Byzantine Empire through negotiations with local Byzantine commanders. Saborios, however, was not a civilian governor; he was one of the relatively new thematic *strategoi* [commanders]. For the Byzantines, the story of Saborios provided lessons and a warning against attempting separate deals with Damascus. The fate of Saborios and his supporters encouraged the belief that death and destruction was the consequence of revolt against Constantinople or direct negotiations with the Muslims.[54]

The core areas of Byzantine Anatolia did not possess commanders who would reasonably find it in their interest to switch sides. The key failure of Mu'awiya's and his successors' diplomacy was to find a *strategos* of the critical Anatolik Theme, normally headquartered at Amorion, who would be willing to betray his command to the Muslims. The closest known case of that was the negotiations of Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik and Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik with the crafty Leo "the Syrian" or "Isaurian" in 98 A.H./717 A.D., but Leo never intended to subjugate the Byzantine Empire to the Umayyads; his was a ruse, as Sulayman and Maslama learned to their bitter regret.[55] The Byzantine emperors selected the commanders of the Anatolik Theme very carefully. It was the most powerful thematic or army field command, and its commanders, despite occasional rebellions, never betrayed their commands to the Umayyads. If they had, the road to Constantinople via land would have been open. That, however, was not to be the case. There were too many pressures, including religious and social ones, within Byzantine Empire to permit breakaway local authorities or regions. There were internal Byzantine military rivalries, which could rebound to the benefit of Damascus, but only within definite limits. Yet earlier Muslim experiences with such surrenders and some diplomatic contacts and simple hope encouraged Muslims to pursue that diplomatic option for expansion, as well as the military one. No decisive centrifugal process occurred at that time.

54. Yet there continued to be numerous military revolts after the failure of Saborios. For examples, see W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest*, pp. 186-208.

55. Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.M. 6208, 6219, pp. 386-391, 395. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, II, pp. 1314-1317. On Leo III: Karl Schenk, *Kaiser Leon III* (Halle, 1880), esp. pp. 13-21.

The last sequel in such efforts were the celebrated or notorious negotiations with Leo, *strategos* of the Anatoliks, which, as is well known, helped him to become emperor in 98[1] A.H./717 A.D. but created only embarrassment and defeat for the Muslims. [56] But Umayyad Damascus and its court continued to hope for such opportunities. It took almost the whole duration of the Umayyad dynasty before it had become apparent that earlier instances did not offer the key to solving the problems on Umayyad Syria's northern borders. The Byzantine Empire turned out to be more resilient and its leaders restored sufficient controls over their borders and peripheral regions to prevent what were, from their perspective, negative developments.[57]

One may conjecture that there was an inherent contradiction between some Muslims' desire for tempting and profitable booty from raiding Anatolia, *Bilad al-Rum*, and the diplomatic need to tempt local inhabitants and leadership to seek a settlement with the Muslims. It is doubtful that this would ever have been practicable. In any case, the raiding, however damaging for the old regions of Cappadocia and Phrygia and Galatia, did not coerce the local inhabitants into seeking some new permanent arrangements with the Umayyads in Damascus. Logistical and political realities — as well as religious sentiments — simply never led that Hellenic population to make any permanent capitulation.

Some two decades ago I argued that Byzantinists had insufficiently appreciated the role of the Muslim civil wars as possible explanations or partial explanations for the Muslim inability to crush and conquer the Byzantine Empire in the Umayyad period.[58] These civil wars are not the total explanation, but in my estimation they are as important as Byzantine institutional restructuring. In other words, the Byzantine history of the period cannot be understood primarily as a self-contained whole. It may

56. Best monograph: S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973). Also Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest,* pp. 190-195, 204-213, 224-235.

57. For discussion of some centrifugal tendencies in the seventh century: André Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VIIe siècle* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1969), pp. 229-254, but for criticisms of his thesis, with respect to Byzantine Italy, see T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800* (London: British School at Rome, 1984), pp. 67-68, 205-220 and passim.

58. W.E. Kaegi, "Some Reconsiderations on the Themes," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* vol. 16 (1967), pp. 43-49. Now amplified by R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber,* pp. 68, 103, 154.

appear to be obvious and unnecessary to mention these points to a group of Islamic historians, but it is important to do so, given the sometimes narrow perspectives of some specialists.

Most major Byzantine territorial losses, in the seventh or other centuries of Byzantine history, did occur as a result of internal Byzantine rivalries. One thinks of the loss of Egypt during the Heraclian succession crisis, the revolt of Theodore Reshtuni causing the loss of much of Armenia,[59] and the revolt of Gregory the Exarch in 26-27 A.H./647 A.D. and its relationship to the loss of much of Africa.[60] So Umayyad efforts to exploit internal Byzantine divisions were not foolish. But the imperial government in the seventh century managed to maintain sufficiently tight control over the critical regions between Constantinople and the Syrian border so that no Muslim diplomacy or military campaign could sever Cappadocia or the surrounding regions from the central government. That might have been possible in more peripheral regions of the empire, such as Sicily, or even Armenia, but not in the regions that lay directly between Syria and Constantinople.

The controls that developed were surely part of the eventually mature Byzantine "theme system," but its process of emergence is still poorly understood. Emperors could not rely on civilian governors of the old Roman provinces. Repeatedly those governors had made arrangements with Muslims which, however satisfactory to local subjects, were unsatisfactory to the Byzantine emperor and his government at Constantinople. The appointment of generals over dispersed soldiers helped to check the process of disintegration of authority, yet potentially ambitious generals needed checks too, which took the form of "prefects of themes"[61] (initially, but later suppressed), and eventually *chartoularioi* and *protonotarioi* of the themes,

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59. Sebeos, *Histoire d'Héraclius,* chapter 35 (trans. F. Macler), pp. 132-133. See also, *Sebeos' History* (trans. Bedrosian), pp. 158-159; cf. chapter 32, pp. 137-139 (Bedrosian). On the problem of Armenia, very useful is Joseph Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquete arabe jusqu'en 886.* revised by Marius Canard. Armenian Library of Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1980).

60. See conclusions of Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest,* p. 298; Kaegi, "Patterns of Political Activity of the Armies of the Byzantine Empire," *On Military Intervention,* M. Janowitz, ed. (Rotterdam University Press, 1971), pp. 29-31, repr. in Kaegi, *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium* (London: Variorum, 1982).

61. W.E. Kaegi, "Two Studies in the Continuity of Late Roman and Byzantine Military Institutions," *Byzantinische Forschungen* vol. 8 (1982), esp. pp. 98-113.

who respectively controlled the muster lists and financial resources of the themes and reported directly back to superiors in Constantinople.[62]

The Byzantines continued to look at warfare against the Muslims of Umayyad Syria through the prism of earlier Greek and Roman military maxims. But precisely how they were digesting their recent experiences in Syria, for them a military catastrophe, cannot be documented today. Until about 711 A.D. the reigning dynasty was that of Heraclius and it may have been too embarrassing to write historical evaluations of what had happened. By 711 A.D. direct personal memories of Syria had passed from most living Byzantines, except for the small number of renegades and refugees. Despite recent warfare, the borders were stabilizing, however precariously.

As long as the Byzantine Empire's Armenians were somewhat unreliable in their loyalties, any long-term offensive against Umayyad Syria was impractical, no matter how much money Byzantine leaders might extort from Syria's rulers for peace during the Muslim civil wars. Only the Armenians could provide enough tough manpower for the Byzantines. Yet they had complex relationships with other Armenians under Muslim control in the historical heartland of Armenia.

The reinterpretation and investigation of Byzantine-Umayyad relations involves not only details, but a sharpening of focus. There is more clarity, yet many obscurities remain. The study of Umayyad-Byzantine relations helps to understand the subject itself, of course, but also contributes to understanding how and why certain Byzantine military and bureaucratic institutions and controls developed in the way that they did.[63] It was not simply important to organize the defenses of Byzantine provinces better than local governors (of the traditional Late Roman type) had been doing; there was also the need to impose tighter controls in order to prevent local separatist negotiations with the Muslims, that probably accelerated the development of appointing Byzantine military commander to supplant or overlap with civil jurisdictions in remaining Byzantine territory in the path of Muslim invaders. These military district governors

62. H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècles," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* vol. 84 (1960), p.43. N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1972), pp. 315, 341, 364.

63. See Walter E. Kaegi, "Some Perspectives on Byzantine Bureaucracy," *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East.* McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, ed. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 46 (Chicago 1987), pp. 151-160.

or thematic *strategoi* were not always politically reliable, but they were less likely than the old civilian governors or other local civilian leaders to seek a negotiated settlement with the Muslim invaders from Syria.[64] Umayyad Syria and its rulers had to take account of these changing realities north of the frontier.

Among the desiderata that will require the cooperation of Byzantinists and Islamicists are the following: (1) study of Greek terminology within al-Baladhuri's *Futuh al Buldan;* (2) more study of the role of Hims in expeditions against the Byzantines, and more study of Christian-Muslim tensions there; (3) more study of how the winter and summer expeditions against Byzantium were prepared in Syria, and how they were provisioned and planned; (4) comparative studies; (5) exploitation of new critical editions of Greek texts, such as the new edition of the sermons of St. Anastasius the Sinaite in the *Corpus Christianorum*;[65] (6) investigation of methodological problems, including how Greek sources can be used as a check on some Muslim traditions, not so much by comparing traditions, but by using the larger body of Late Roman and early Byzantine institutional, topographic, and economic sources to confirm some details.[66]

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64. On the borders: Fathi 'Uthman, *Al-Hudud al-Islamiya al-Bizantiniya* (3 vols. Cairo: Dar al-Qawmiya, 1967). Classic is E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, 1935, repr., 1961). A discussion of the conception of Byzantine borders in the sixth century: J.-P. Arrignon, J.-F. Duneau, "La frontière chez deux auteurs byzantins: Procope de Césarée et Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *Geographica byzantina,* H. Ahrweiler, ed. (Paris, 1981), pp. 24-27.

65. *Anastasii Sinaitae Opera. Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundem imaginem Dei necnon Opuscula adversus Monotheletas.* Karl-Heinz Uthemann, ed.. Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 12 (Brepols-Turnhout: Leuven University Press, 1985).

66. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the financial of a grant from the Social Science Divisional Faculty Research Fund of the University of Chicago, which helped to make possible the preparation of this paper.

The Umayyad Qusur and Related Settlements in Jordan

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The past decade or so has seen important additions to our knowledge of the Umayyad period in Jordan as a result of intensive archaeological survey and excavations. Hitherto, much of our understanding of sites in Umayyad Jordan had not changed in fundamentals from that provided by K.A.C. Creswell in 1932.[1] The stress on architecture that pervades Islamic archaeology has had the unfortunate effect of confining interest to buildings at the expense of the broader archaeological and environmental context. Given the wealth of information available on Umayyad architecture and decoration, what is required now is the picture of material culture which can only be supplied by archaeological techniques. Although much remains to be done, the study of the Umayyad period in Jordan in recent years has been distinguished by the emphasis on the techniques of archaeology rather than those of the architectural historian alone.

In the stress on the Umayyad *qusur* that has characterized much of Umayyad archaeology in *Bilad al-Sham*, there lies an obvious tendency to concentrate on the deserts and the arid regions. Yet while the Umayyads certainly devoted their efforts to building in the deserts, they were not the first to do so, nor were these sites the only ones in the region settled in the Umayyad period. To emphasize their impressive palatial buildings without perceiving the existence of less grandiose Umayyad period rural and small urban settlements in *Bilad al-Sham* is to fall into error on three counts. First, there is the straightforward failure to recognize the extent of rural settlement in the Umayyad period. Secondly, there is the fact that the Umayyad *qusur* which stand near the settled land are misunderstood if their relationship to the settled areas is overlooked. Thirdly, the distribution of the Umayyad *qusur* and settlements as a whole is only comprehensible if all of them are seen as a totality and in the context of the physical environment including other contemporary settlements.

The research that has taken place in Jordan during the past few years has contributed to a more complete perception of the material culture of the Umayyad period in the area. In particular, this has derived from the results of field survey and excavation in a number of the agricultural areas of Jordan that were settled in the Umayyad period. As far as field survey is concerned, advances in ceramic identification have contributed greatly to

1. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1932), vol. I.

the identification of sites occupied in Umayyad times. This method of assessing occupation of sites has been no less significant for early Islamic archaeology than it has been for Roman *limes* studies in Jordan. There are obviously limitations on how much can be construed from the presence of ceramics and from sherd counts; yet whatever the limitations, with better knowledge of ceramics, we are now possessed of a tool that was denied to previous generations studying the incidence of early Islamic settlement in *Bilad al-Sham*.

The areas of settlement in Jordan to which this paper is principally addressed are those along the northern and the western perimeters of the Jordanian desert. By these are meant the Hawran in the north of Jordan, and the Balqa' in the west, the region lying between the desert, the Dead Sea and the Jordan River. Both the Hawran and the Balqa' are bordered by the same desert area so notable for the number of its Umayyad *qusur*.

The Hawran

The Hawran was an area of agricultural villages from at least Nabataean times with settlement continuing under the Romans and the Byzantines; at some sites, settlement persisted into the Islamic period. The water supply was based on rainfall; even the southern edge of the Hawran lies within the 100—200 mm annual average rainfall line, with greater rainfall to the north within Syria. Public water storage tanks for animals and other tanks belonging to private houses are in evidence at Umm al-Quttayn, Sabha and elsewhere. The limit of 100 mm of annual rainfall more or less coincides with the southernmost limit of settlement and the beginning of empty desert just north of 32° 15′N. This writer is unaware of any study of the ancient crops in the Hawran, although grain is known to have been planted in the Hawran in the 19th century, as it still is now. During the Roman period, a system of roads was developed in the Hawran which was used in Byzantine and, doubtless, in Umayyad times.

There is now ample evidence that the Hawran was still settled quite extensively in the Umayyad period, although the available evidence suggests that occupation declined thereafter. The early Islamic period occupation of these villages and small towns was in direct continuation of the Byzantine settlement of the same sites, as far as can be estimated at present. This sequence can be demonstrated at the town site of Umm al-Quttayn or at other villages to the west: al-Dafyana, Sabha, Sirat al-Arnab, Umm al-Surab, Samah and Jabir. The most outstanding town in the area is Umm al-Jimal, amazingly neglected by archaeologists until recent years. B. de Vries has suggested that this major Roman-Byzantine town continued to be actively occupied into Umayyad times, although he hints at some contraction.[2] Umayyad occupation of the site appears to have been given no

2. B. de Vries, "The Umm el-Jimal Project, 1972-1977," *BASOR* no. 244 (Fall, 1981), pp. 53-72.

serious attention before the current excavations.

The Umayyad period in the Hawran, like earlier periods, thus presents a picture of settled villages and towns, based on agriculture. The inadequacies of water supply were eased by the construction of water-tanks, some of which were public, while others appear to have been private. The Hawran must have prospered from the passage of caravans between Arabia and Syria. Whether settlement remained at the same level under the Umayyads as in earlier times requires further investigation at sites so far unexcavated; sherd counts from field survey are an inadequate basis for confident assessment of population variations. There may have been contraction at some sites and expansion elsewhere, although this process in the Hawran was not peculiar to the Umayyad period. An interesting point arising from survey results is that in the Jordanian Hawran those sites occupied in late Byzantine times generally were still settled in the Umayyad period. By contrast, there are other settlements which had declined and had been deserted in earlier times; Dayr al-Qinn in the eastern Hawran is one such where no sherds later than the early Byzantine period have been found. However, this seems to have been related to the remoteness of Dayr al-Qinn. Other sites in the central region and the west of the Jordanian Hawran remained settled until the end of the Umayyad period.

Before turning to the desert south of the Hawran it must be borne in mind that the Umayyad period settlement in the Hawran was not confined to this area. It was apparently no less significant to the west, as the recent excavations at Jerash demonstrate.[3] These show a remarkable degree of activity continuing through the Umayyad period. Survey and ensuing excavations at Abila in northwest Jordan have also produced great quantities of Umayyad sherds, indicating that here too the Byzantine period settlement of the town continued into early Islamic times.[4] Likewise, the excavation of early Islamic levels at Pella (al-Fihl) shows continuity from the late Byzantine period at the site.[5] In short, there seems to have been a band of urban settlement in the agricultural lands of the entire north of Jordan in the Umayyad period. This linked up with that of the Balqa', as we shall see, and Umayyad settlement was probably widespread across the Syrian border as well.

3. A.N. Barghouti, "Urbanization of Palestine and Jordan in Hellenistic and Roman Times," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* I ed. A. Hadidi, (Amman, 1982), pp. 209-229.

4. W. Harold Mare, "The 1982 Season at Abila of the Decapolis," *ADAJ* vol. 28 (1984), pp. 39-54.

5. A. McNicoll, R.H. Smith and B. Hennessey, *Pella I*, (Canberra, 1982), pp. 123-157.

It is to the immediate south of this settled southern rim of the Hawran that some of the best known Umayyad desert *qusur* are situated. In part, their position is explained by the existence of routes from Arabia to Syria. It also seems that at least at some of these *qasr* sites, the presence of water resources long used by desert travellers led to the construction of the existing *qusur* or other facilities by the Umayyads. Some of these sites with water had been used in ancient times -- Jilat and al-Kharana are good examples -- and the Umayyad presence there was probably only a late element in the sequence of use. The position of some of the Umayyad *qusur* -- Qasr al-Kharana and Qasr al-Tuba are prime examples -- seems a great deal more reasonable if seen in the context of routes out of Arabia that converge on the Hawran road system and its villages, before continuing to Damascus.[6]

There is good evidence that routes from Wadi 'l-Sirhan and Azraq reached the Hawran through Umm al-Quttayn and Dayr al-Kahf nearby. There is a concentration of Umayyad period sites in this area; ceramics of Umayyad date were located at Dayr al-Kahf, itself, while at Umm al-Quttayn there were a number of Umayyad sherds, especially from around a building known as the Dayr.[7] There is also a site on the summit of the hill of al-Qis, perhaps a lookout commanding Umm al-Quttayn from the south, which was used in Byzantine times, a fact once again indicated by ceramics.[8] The pottery and the literary evidence that the Umayyads used the eastern desert tracks from Arabia both suggest that the routes from the Hawran were still followed in the 2nd/8th century.

A similar situation seems to have existed with the distribution of Umayyad sites to the south of Umm al-Jimal, which seems to have been the main metropolis on the western side of the Jordanian Hawran for traffic from the south. Umayyad sites south of Umm al-Jimal are distributed as though along a road from the southern desert. The Roman and Byzantine Qasr al-Hallabat has been shown by recent excavations to have undergone major refurbishment in Umayyad times.[9] Qasr al-Hallabat lies only some

6. G.R.D. King, "The distribution of sites and routes in the Jordanian and Syrian deserts in the early Islamic period," *Proceedings of the 20th Seminar for Arabian Studies,* vol. 17 (1987), pp. 91-105.

7. G. King, C.J. Lenzen and G. O. Rollefson, "Survey of Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Jordan, Second Season Report, 1981," *ADAJ* vol. 27, p. 425.

   S. Thomas Parker, "Archaeological Survey of the Limes Arabicus: A Preliminary Report," *ADAJ* vol. 20 (1976), p. 23.

8. King, Lenzen and Rollefson, op. cit. pp. 426-427.

9. G. Bisheh, "The Second Season of Excavation at Hallabat, 1980," *ADAJ* vol. 26 (1982), pp. 133-143.

27 kms to the south south west of Umm al-Jimal while Qasr al-Kharana is only 43 kms south of al-Hallabat, with a number of Umayyad sites in its vicinity, notably Qasr al-Mshash and Qusayr 'Amra. South again lies Qasr al-Tuba at a distance of 47 kms. The present writer has discussed this issue of Umayyad *qusur* distributed along the desert routes at greater length elsewhere.[10] Here it is only intended to emphasize the fact that we cannot see the Umayyad *qusur* in the eastern desert in isolation. They lay within reach of each other and led to established and numerous farming settlements in the Hawran; they were on caravan routes from Arabia that passed to Syria through the Hawran, routes much frequented in early Islamic times.

Balqa'

Turning to the western perimeter of the desert, the Balqa', there is evidence of a similar degree of settlement to that which we have seen in the Hawran. The desert margin lies about 36° E where the border runs between the land enjoying 100-300 mm average rainfall annually, and the desert area with less than 100 mm annually. In contrast with the gravelly desert, the *badiya* with its *qusur*, the land to the west of the desert has richer soil and clearly has been farmland from ancient times. The transition from desert to farmland is abrupt and the difference in rainfall is marked. Indeed, on the heights above the Jordan Valley, there are some areas where rainfall reaches an average of 600 mm annually.[11]

The farmland on the western perimeter of the desert is scattered with villages and towns that were settled from Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine times and, in many cases, they continued to be setteled into the Umayyad period. The most outstanding city of the region was, of course, Amman, now shown to have been a major administrative centre during the Umayyad period.[12] However, it was by no means an isolated urban settlement. There were many other villages which continued to be occupied during early Islamic times. Madaba, Ma'in and Hisban have long been known sites settled in Umayyad times, while Umm al-Walid and Umm al-Rasas are but major examples of Umayyad settlements, apparently continuing earlier occupations. There is evidence that a number of other sites in the country north of Wad 'l-Mujib also remained settled in the Umayyad period in a pattern of village occupation similar to that seen in Byzantine times.

10. G.R.D. King, op. cit., pp. 96 - 97.

11. *Climatic Atlas of Jordan* (Amman, 1971).

12. A. Almagro Gorbea, *El Palacio Omeya de Amman I. La Arquitectura* (Madrid, 1983), with bibliography.

The existence of so many well-established rural villages and towns along the desert margin makes the presence of Umayyad *qusur* on the edge of the agricultural land seem the consequence of coherent organization by the regime, or the leading figures in society who founded such settlements. This writer has long felt that the view of the *qusur* as isolated buildings is extremely deceptive; seen separated from their environment, it is easy to emphasize the element of princely or caliphal whim, and love of the desert life that these *qusur* are said to embody. Some *qusur* may demonstrate this as an aspect of their existence, but not all. It is harder to see either Qasr al-Muwaqqar or Qasr al Mshatta' in this light when their relationship to settlements in the farmland of the Balqa' is considered. Indeed, neither palace can be understood properly unless it is realized that they lie very close to, or, in the case of al-Muwaqqar, actually on the margin of the desert and the sown.

Qasr al-Muwaqqar has been rather neglected as a result of its ruinous state. Yet one of the most important aspects of al-Muwaqqar -- its position -- has not been disturbed. Its siting is of major significance for it stands on high ground surveying the desert to the east and the farmland to the west. It also stands at the junction of several tracks, with one leading northwest to Sahab and Amman, another leading southwest to Qasr al-Mshash and Qastal, on the Hijaz road, and a third leading eastwards to Qasr al-Mshash and Qasr al-Kharana in the desert. Qasr al-Muwaqqar was apparently a residence of the Umayyad Caliph Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik,[13] and as such was one of several sites in Jordan associated specifically with the ruling family. Its strategic position on an eminence, and the manner in which it straddles the desert and the farmed land, serves as a symbol of the manner in which the Umayyad presence in this region encompassed both the *badiya* with its *qusur* and its nomadic population on the one side and the old farming villages along the desert edge on the other.

The case of Qastal and Qasr al-Mshatta', just to the southwest of Qasr al-Muwaqqar, is also interesting in this context. The site of Qastal is associated with al-Walid II and with 'Abbas b. al-Walid I on the basis of literary evidence,[14] while the Umayyad period at the palace has become increasingly well-understood as a result of the excavations of P. Carlier and

13. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 490-497.

14. al-Isfahani, Abu 'l Faraj, d. 356 A.H./967 A.D., *Kitab al-Aghani* (Cairo, 1953) vol. vii, p. 25.

al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far b. Jarir, d. 310 A.H./923 A.D., *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Muluk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leuden, 1885-9), second series, vol. III, p. 1784.

F. Morin.[15] It lies on the eastern perimeter of the Balqa' farmland with its small villages, and it surveys the country to the east, somewhat like al-Muwaqqar. Qastal stands today on the route from Damascus to Ma'an and the Hijaz just as it did in Umayyad times. The importance of the site and its position seems underlined by the very fact that the Umayyad aristocracy should have chosen to reside there.

The history of Qastal and its position are of relevance to the site of Qasr al-Mshatta'. Al-Mshatta' is 6.7 kms to the east of Qastal, a short canter across the intervening plain. Qasr al-Mshatta' is associated with the Caliph al-Walid II and this writer has proposed elsewhere that one of its purposes was related to patronage of the Syrian *hajj* caravan. It is important to stress in the present context that al-Mshatta' was not built in a remote area. It lies close to Qastal as we have seen, and to the west beyond Qastal, there were numerous agricultural sites still settled in Umayyad times. Al-Mshatta' can be portrayed as a royal foundation, a suburb of Qastal which pre-existed it and to which al-Mshatta' related. As for the land around Qasr al-Mshatta', after good winter rains it provides lush green pasturage which would have attracted shepherds and which belies the view of al-Mshatta' as a palace in desolate isolation.

To turn to the mosque of Qastal, there is much of the Umayyad building extant.[16] It measures 21 m x 18 m and occupies a prominent position at the site, befitting the mosque of a major Umayyad royal settlement. It is interesting to contrast it with two smaller mosques in the same neighbourhood, those at Umm al-Walid and Khan al-Zabib, and to consider them in the light of what they suggest regarding the presence of Muslims at these sites in the early Islamic period.

Umm al-Walid lies southwest of Qastal while Khan al-Zabib lies south-east of Qastal, further into the desert. Both sites have similar histories of occupation, with ceramics testifying to use in Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine and Umayyad times.[17] There is reason at both Umm al-Walid and Khan al-Zabib to see the Umayyad period settlement as a direct continuation of earlier occupation, although no excavation has taken place

15. P. Carlier and F. Morin, "Recherches Archéologiques au Chateau de Qastal (Jordanie)," *ADAJ* vol. 28 (1984), pp. 343-383.

    P. Carlier and F. Morin, "Qastal, un chateau du desert en Jordanie," *Archeologia*, no. 206 (Oct.-Nov. 1985), pp. 46-57.

    P. Carlier and F. Morin, *Qastal al-Balqa'* (Grignan, 1986).

    See also P. Carlier's paper in the present volume.

16. H. Gaube, "'Amman, Harane and Qastal," *ZDPV* vol. 93 (1977), pp. 67-72; 77-78.

17. King, Lenzen and Rollefson, op. cit., pp. 399-405.

to determine the truth of this. The mosques of both sites are known, although that at Khan al-Zabib has vanished since it was recorded by Brünnow and von Domaszewski in 1897. It stood to the south of the main complexes at the site as a separate structure, and measured 11.19 m x 10.38 m, and it lacked either a *sahn* or a minaret. The mosque of Umm al-Walid survives and it is very similar. It stands about 60 m east of the main town and it is 12.68 m x 11.67 m externally. Once again, it lacks a *sahn*. In both cases the mosques are small and they are apparently the only mosques at each site.[18] The implication of the small mosques at both Umm al-Walid and Khan al-Zabib is that when constructed, these two small mosques served the need of accommodating all the Muslims at each site at Friday prayer. The argument may be raised that these were no more than tribal mosques, but this would have to be substantiated. Until proven otherwise, it must be assumed that mosques, when initially designed, were considered adequate for the community. On the evidence presently available, it seems that the Muslim population at Umm al-Walid and Khan al-Zabib was small when the mosques were first founded, apparently in the Umayyad period. This seems reasonable as a conclusion to draw from the fact that the mosques provided were intended for only small congregations. Clearly in time this situation would have changed, but the numbers to be accommodated by the original builders must be related to the area allowed for the two mosques. The same is true of the small mosques at Qasr al-Hallabat, Hammam al-Sarah, and Qasr Jabal Usays. If the Muslim population at Umm al-Walid and Khan al-Zabib was small, it may be that it consisted of only officials or a few settlers, and was not large enough to require a larger mosque. By contrast, at Qastal, the Muslims were in greater numbers and built a larger Friday mosque with a *sahn* to serve the greater numbers of worshippers at a site connected with the ruling regime. Still larger mosques were provided for the same reason at Amman and Busra.

It would be interesting to know of other places where small mosques were built to meet the needs of a limited number of worshippers. The implication of the small size of the mosque at Umm al-Walid in particular, and the very definite separation of the mosque from the settlement, is that the Muslims at this stage were in the minority, worshipping at some distance from the main settlement. If Umm al-Walid and Khan al-Zabib are similar to other sites in the Balqa' then it may be considered that such small mosques for few worshippers reflect the Umayyad concern to avoid interfering with the indigenous agriculturalists of the farming areas. As these were by and large Christians at this stage, the Muslims may have

18. R. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* (Strasburg, 1905) vol. II, p. 89, fig. 671 and p. 90.

been content not to disturb them and their cultivation of the land by large-scale settlement. This contention is dealt with at some length as it seems to bear on the desire of the first caliphs and the Umayyads to preserve the integrity of the agricultural land. Its productivity was regarded as necessary both in its own right and for its taxable value to the government. F. M. Donner has suggested that immigration into Syria from Arabia was much more restricted than that which occurred in al-Iraq, al-Jazira or Egypt.[19] Indeed, Donner has suggested that the Syrian peasantry in the countryside tended to stay put out of their economic dependence on the farmland which they worked, regardless of the Muslim conquest. By contrast, the deserted land which Arabian settlers took over tended to be in the towns of *Bilad al-Sham*, abandoned by its more prosperous owners when they left for Byzantine territory. The continuity that such a scenario suggests matches well with the implications of archaeological results in rural Jordan, whether in ceramics, or in the mosaic traditions or in the manner in which Umayyad settlement seems to follow on without significant break with earlier patterns. It would also fit very exactly with the situation hypothesized here for the mosque at Umm al-Walid, and perhaps that at Khan al-Zabib.

It may be the case that the early Islamic government was content to see the traditional farmland continue to be worked by its resident peasantry and yield revenue. Where they chose to establish new estates on the desert margins of the settled land, they neither infringed on the farmland nor contravened treaties which are reported as having protected the rights of the original inhabitants who resided under Islamic rule. The *qusur* in the *badiya* meanwhile developed the regions important to tribes whose affections were vital to the Umayyads.

The South

We have a great deal of information available on the Umayyad period in northern Jordan and its archaeology. However, the south is less well known, and seems to be very different. First of all, there are apparently none of the *qusur* in the desert areas of the south of Jordan which are so marked a feature of the north. The ceramic record in the south also seems to differ as distinctive types known in the north are rarer or often absent in the south. The significance of this situation remains to be clarified by future research. Results of excavations in the south, especially those at Aqaba, may well

19. F.M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 246-250. Corroboration of the view that continuity marked the Umayyad period may also be found in the refurbishment of churches and even their construction in the early Islamic period in these regions of Jordan. See M. Piccirillo, "The Umayyad Churches of Jordan," *ADAJ* vol. 28 (1984), pp. 333-341.

transform our understanding of southern Jordan in the early Islamic period, while research results from Saudi Arabia will eventually help clarify the picture within southern Jordan, or at least, place it into a broader context. At present it suffices to state that the seeming paucity of sherds of Umayyad date suggests a decline in the south in the period, or at least in parts of it. In view of the relevance of Arabian material to that emanating from Jordan, it is interesting to note that at al-Rabadha in western Arabia ceramics of the Umayyad types known in northern Jordan have been excavated in stratified contexts.[20] This reflects the relationship and unity that existed in the Umayyad period between Jordan and western Arabia, and which will require investigation in the future to establish their archaeological significance.

20. S. A. al-Rashid, *Al-Rabadhah*, (London, 1986), p. 54 (English) and fig. 87.

Qasr Mshash and Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil: Two Umayyad Sites in Jordan

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The establishment of the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus witnessed a transformation of the Jordanian steppe far beyond the scope of any that had occurred earlier. The Umayyads were responsible not only for introducing lavishly decorated residential buildings and baths, but also for establishing political stability and peace which were conducive to the rehabilitation and growth of marginal lands. The area of Mshash is an example of the ecological transformation brought about to a practically waterless area by careful husbanding of runoff water in innumerable reservoirs and cisterns.

Qasr Mshash is situated about 19 km to the east of al-Muwaqqar and 21 km to the northwest of Qasr al-Kharana, the two well-known Umayyad sites (Pl. 1: a).[1] Mshash was visited by Musil, Moritz, and Sir Aurel Stein whose description is the most detailed and instructive of the three.[2] More recently the site was investigated by Dr. Geoffrey King in the course of a survey to re-examine the material remains in Jordan relating to the transition between the Byzantine and the Early Islamic periods.[3] This investigation was conducted during several visits to the site in the summer of 1980 and included a random collection of pottery sherds from different areas of the site. A preliminary analysis indicates that almost 90% of the identifiable sherds were Umayyad in date and the rest were either Byzantine or Late Byzantine.[4] In view of the important results brought out

1. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 2nd edition vol. I, pt. II (New York, 1979), pp. 447-448, 493-497 where additional references can be found.
2. A. Musil, *Kuseir Amra*, I, (Vienna, 1907), p. 115; figs. 104-105. B. Moritz, "Ausflüge in der Arabia Petraea," *Mélangés de la Faculté Orientale, Université Saint Joseph*, vol. III, fasc. 1 (1908) pp. 425-427. M. A. Stein, "Limes Report," in D. L. Kennedy, *Archaeological Explorations on the Roman Frontier in North-East Jordan*, BAR International Series (Oxford, 1982), pp. 254-255. The accounts of Musil and Moritz are given in an appendix to Geoffrey King's report on the survey of Byzantine and Islamic sites in Jordan. G. King, "Survey of Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Jordan, Second Season Report, 1981," *ADAJ* vol. 27 (1983), pp. 435-436.
3. G. King, ibid, pp. 386-392. Idem, "Preliminary Report on a Survey of Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Jordan 1980," *ADAJ* vol. 26 (1982), pp. 86-88. Idem, "Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Northern and Eastern Jordan," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* vol. 13 (1983), p. 83.
4. C.J. Lenzen, "Preliminary Pottery Report," an appendix to G. King's survey report, *ADAJ* vol. 27 (1983), pp. 418-419.

by the survey of Dr. Geoffrey King, the site was chosen for investigation. This was carried out by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan during two short sessions in April 1982 and April 1983. In the first season a plan of the *qasr* was prepared as well as an area plan showing the main ancient remains to the west,[5] and limited soundings were conducted in the *qasr* and in a small low mound which was thought to cover a bath-house.[6] In the second season, which lasted for 18 days, the investigation was limited to excavation of the bath the identity of which had been firmly established in the first season.

The area of Mshash is a broad plain cut by Wadi Mshash which approaches from the northwest and runs eastward to join Wadi al-Janab before emptying into the depression of al-Shaumari to the south of Azraq. To the north of Wadi Mshash there is a series of low rising hills interrupted by minor wadis, which run north-south and drain into the main wadi. What is particularly striking about the site is the obvious concern for the collection and storage of water in numerous reservoirs and cisterns. These water installations deserve special notice on account of both their number and their location in an otherwise arid region where the only source of water comes from the episodic showers that fall in the winter season and produce runoff. Additional water is provided by seep holes in the wadi bed.[7] The ancient remains are widely spaced along the northern edge of Wadi Mshash and are situated in such a way as to make the channelling of water from the main wadi and the minor ones to the north most effective (Pl. 1:b). Additional features are scattered along the minor wadis. Since these remains and their location have already received a detailed treatment by Dr. King, they will only be described here briefly.

5. I am most grateful to architects Suzane Balderstone and Rik Pillen for drawing the plans of Qasr Mshash and Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil.

6. G. King, "Survey," *ADAJ* vol. 27 (1983), p. 388.

7. In this respect the name Mshash or Mushash is instructive, for the word *al-mushashas* means among other things a ground layer which is not as hard as the bedrock and in which rain is collected and protected from the sun by a layer of earth. This layer prevents the water from seeping into the lower strata and is easily replenished. It is likely that the name of the site derives from the numerous waterholes in the wadi bed. In the course of our work at the site, I noticed the water from these holes being pumped into numerous large barrels and then carried away in lorries to bedouin camps in the vicinty. It is also possible that the name derives from the verb *mashsha* which means to milk the she-camel leaving some of the milk in the udder. Since the broad wadi-bed becomes an ideal grazing ground for sheep, goats, and camels in the spring, this derivation cannot be ruled out. Ibn Manzur, Muhammad ibn Mukarram (d. 711 A.H/1311-1312 A.D.), *Lisan al-'Arab* (Beirut, 1956) vol. 6 pp. 347-348. al-Zabidi, Muhammad Murtada, *Taj al-'Arus min Jawahir al-Qamus* (Cairo, 1306 A.H.). Reprinted by al-Hayat Publishing House (Beirut, n.d.) vol. 4. p. 350.

The Qasr, the Bath, the Cisterns and Reservoirs

The *qasr* is a nearly square building measuring externally 26.60 m from north to south and 26.30 m from east to west.[8] The walls, which average 1.75 m in thickness, are built of two facings of roughly shaped friable limestone blocks with a rubble fill in between. Small stones were placed in the interstices to level the courses. The building follows the central courtyard type with thirteen rooms of different sizes arranged around it and leaning against the curtain walls (Pl. 2:a). In size, construction, and layout, the building is comparable to the ruined little structure to the north of Qusayr 'Amra.[9] The *qasr* was entered through a doorway 1.90 m wide in the center wall which opened into a passageway measuring 4.30 m by 4.30 m. The passage had been paved with irregular flat slabs, and along both its north and south sides was a bench 0.80 m wide and 0.50 m high built of roughly dressed stones and a few square baked bricks measuring 0.33 x 0.10 m. A small probe trench opened in the passageway yielded a few body sherds and two complete bricks incised on one side with diagonal double lines. There is some evidence to show that the doorway which led into the rectangular room to the north (Room 1) was partially blocked. The relationship of this blocking to the construction of the benches cannot be understood without further excavation. At the end of the passageway there is a doorway 2.35 m wide which opens into the central courtyard. The courtyard, which is strewn with fallen stones, might have had a well or a cistern in the southwest corner. Another probe trench dug in the north side of Room 6 indicated that both the floor and the inner face of the side walls were originally plastered. A wall almost flush with the ground runs parallel to the north wall of the *qasr* at a distance of about 5.00 m. This wall may have formed a sort of stylobate for an arcade or portico. One inscription in Kufic characters was found scratched on a stone incorporated into the south wall facing the wadi

8. For the distribution of these features cf. G. King "Survey," *ADAJ* vol. 27 (1983), pp. 388-392, fig. 1.

9. A. Musil, *Kusejr Amra*, 1, p. 63; fig. 48. M. Almagro, et-al, *Qusayr Amra: Residencia Y Banos Omeyas en el Desierto de Jordania* (Madrid, 1975), p. 27; fig. 2 (no. 1). The plan of Qasr Mshash is also comparable to the building identified as a caravanserai at Umm al-Walid and the *mansio* in the western *vicus* of the legionary camp of el-Lejjun which is dated to the fourth century A.D. S.T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier*, American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series, Number 6 (1986) pp. 41-43, 70; fig. 14;30.

and placed upside down (Pl. 2:b-c).[10] At a distance of 40.00 m to the northeast of the *qasr* is a circular, stone-lined and plastered cistern measuring 4.80 m in diameter. Three arches on a level with the surface of the ground support a roof of long slabs set above the arches (Pl. 3:a). The first arch to the north has fallen down but its springers can still be seen. The water was led to the cistern from a little catchment basin to the east in an underground channel. The end of this channel can be seen in the northeast side at a depth between 0.80 and 1.30 m below the rim of the cistern for a length of 65.00 m to the north before turning west for another length of 45.00 m. In the section where periodic floods have cut away portions of the wadi bank, the wall extends 0.70 m below the present ground surface and appears to consist of two facings with a core of small stones set in grey mortar.

Several additional walls generally extending north-south are still visible in the flat area west of the *qasr* (Pl. 1:b). Many portions of these walls have been washed out by floods, but since two of these walls reappear on the opposite bank of the wadi bed, it is likely that the walls originally extended for the full width of the wadi. The precise nature or function of these walls is not quite clear at present. They may have served as barrages and deflecting walls to prevent water coming down the minor wadis from inundating the flat areas near the main structures.

About 400 m to the west of the *qasr* and built along the east bank of the main wadi is a square reservoir with sides measuring 25.40 m. Because it was silted up its depth could not be ascertained. Its walls are 1.30 m thick and are built of two facings of roughly shaped limestone blocks with the uppermost course protruding 0.10 m from the inner face of the course below.

10. The inscription reads as follow :

اللهم اغفر لرجا بن
بشار ما تقدم من ذ
نبه وما تأخر .....
..... امين رب (العالمين)

"May God forgive to Raja b. Bashshar his past and future sins..... Amen God [of the universe]".

The last few words preceding the word "Amen" can not be deciphered. The absence of diacritical points and the squareness of the letters indicate a date in the Umayyad period. The placement of the inscribed stone upside down does not necessarily imply a secondary use. The inscription was simply scratched on the stone by one of the workmen before it was placed in its present position. The stone has long since fallen down into the wadi by undercutting caused by the periodic flash floods. For a similar inscription and an explanation for such an invocation cf. M.A. al-'Ush, "Unpublished Arabic Inscriptions in Jabal Usays," (in Arabic) *al-Abhath* vol. 17, pt. 3 (1964), pp. 236-237, inscription no. 9.

Both the inner and outer faces of the walls were plastered. On the outer face the plaster was applied in two coats: an undercoating of rough plaster in which small stone chips were embedded, and an upper coating of smoothly finished plaster. In order to minimize the silting of the reservoir, the water was first directed into a square sedimentation tank measuring 2.70x2.70m and 1.60 m deep (Pl. 3:b). The inner faces of the side walls of the tank were made waterproof by a layer of plaster .05 m thick. The water then passed through a channel 10.75 m long and 1.00m wide into the reservoir. The sides of the channel were coated with a layer of plaster .05 m thick, and the floor was covered with two layers of mortar bedding 0.10 and .07 m thick respectively. Towards the end of the channel a rectangular slab was placed edgewise in the middle, possibly to support some kind of a walkway across the channel. Since no barrage, which would have been necessary to raise the level of water flowing in the wadi after heavy rain, is distinguishable in the immediate vicinity, it may be assumed that a sloping conduit high up the wadi bed brought water to the reservoir. Almost halfway between this reservoir and the *qasr* there are three structures (Pl. 1:b); the first is a square depression measuring about 35.00 m flanked by earth embankments above which several bedouin tombs were constructed. This depression certainly marks an ancient reservoir, the earth embankments having been formed by the regular cleaning out of the reservoir. About 30.00 m to the west is a rectangular, stone-lined pool measuring 17.80 by 7.00 m. In the best preserved section the stone courses are nine, making a depth of 2.50 m. The pool was fed by a channel 0.34 m wide placed in the center of the west side. To the north, south, and west of the pool there are three low earthen mounds. One of these mounds might cover a silting basin.

Between the square depression and the rectangular pool is the bathhouse which was almost completely excavated. The walls of the bath, which are not of uniform thickness, exhibit most of the characteristics of the *qasr*'s masonry and construction technique. A glance at the plan (Pl. 4:a) shows that the bath consisted of four rooms: a rectangular room on the east side and three small rooms strung along a north-south line on the west side. The rectangular room was entered through a door 0.90 m wide and as deep as the wall is thick, pierced in the north wall. This door, which was the only entrance to the bath, had neither splayed door-jambs nor a proper door-sill. A stone bench ran along the side walls with a break at the entrances. The outlines of two square recesses measuring about 0.60 m to the side can be traced in the east wall high above the bench. These recesses were apparently used as receptacles for the bather's belongings. The presence of benches indicate that this room served as a vestiary (*apodyterium*). A door in the southwest corner led to the first room of the bath proper (*frigidarium*). The floor of this room was lined with marble slabs, traces of which can still be seen along the edges, and the side walls were faced with a layer of plaster 0.05 m thick. A door in the north walls and a step led to the moderately hot room (*tepidarium*). The floor of this room has caved in except for a small

section in the southwest corner which was still preserved. The floor was carried on rectangular brick piers most of which are still standing. Those along the east and west walls measured 0.55 x 0.45 x 0.5 m, and the ones in the middle 0.45 x 0.40 x 0.40 m. The space between the piers was bridged by basalt slabs over which a thin layer of plaster was laid (Pl. 4:b). Since a few marble fragments were recovered from the debris of this room, it may be assumed that marble slabs were used to pave the floor.

This assumption is supported by the impressions left in the preserved mortar bedding in the southwest corner (Pl. 4:b). A plastered bench (0.40 m wide and 0.30 m high) was preserved along the western side of the south wall and along portions of the west wall. It is likely that the bench originally ran along the entire length of the side walls. The hot room (*calidarium*) was heated by a hypocaust connected with a furnace which must lie further north at the far end of the passageway (Pl.4:a). The furnace had an arched opening towards the hot room whose curve can be traced in the unexcavated section of the north side. Behind the furnace would have been an unroofed walled enclosure which served as the service and storage area. No actual flooring was found in this room; only the brick piers which supported the floor were still standing. They were of different sizes, the central piers along the side walls being more massive than the ones in the middle of the room. The hot air from the hypocaust was carried up the walls by pottery pipes set in the southwest and southeast corners (Pl. 4:c). In the middle of the east wall was a rectangular recess (1.20 x 0.70 m) with plastered sides and floor. Its floor was lower than the original floor level of the room and therefore it might have served as a hot water container or as a tub in which bathers could splash themselves with water. A similar recess must exist in the center of the west wall. Since the room is almost a square and has massive walls at the corners, it is possible that it was originally roofed with a cupola. This bath lacks the formal setting and the exuberant decorations of Qusayr 'Amra and Hammam al-Sarah. Therefore, it might have been intended for public use rather than for private or official use.[11]

Additional remains are dispersed over a wide area along the minor wadis to the north and northeast of the *qasr*. These include walls, walled enclosures which might well have been animal corrals, and barrages.[12] Of particular interest is a rectangular reservoir situated about 80 m to the north of the *qasr* on the west side of a gulley which descends towards Wadi Mshash. It measures 21.00 m from north to south and 18.40 m from east to

11. D.L. Kennedy has published a Latin inscription from Qasr al-'Uwaynid which refers to the construction of a bath (*Balneum)* Kennedy, *Archaeological Explorations*, p. 125.

12. G. King, "Survey," *ADAJ* vol. 27 (1983), pp. 380-91, fig. 1.

west, and to present floor level has a depth of 4.70 m. The walls, 1.20 m thick, are built of two facings of roughly shaped limestone blocks with a core of small stones set in mortar. The uppermost course protrudes 0.10 m from the course below. The plaster which covers the inner faces of the side walls was applied in two layers: a lower one which has small stone chips set in the plaster, and above it a smoothly finished layer (Pl. 5:a). Along the west side is a one-course curb wall to keep out debris rolling down from the slope above. Stones jutting out of the north wall near the west corner indicate a stairway (Pl. 5:b). Higher up in the same corner is a channel 1.00 m wide which can be traced for a distance of 5.40 m to the north.

About 2.2 km to the northeast of the *qasr* is a T-shaped cistern cut into the limestone slope so that it is completely below the surface of the ground. It has a maximum measurement of 13.30 m from north to south and 10.80 m from east to west with a depth of 5.60 m to present floor level. The entire inner surface was faced with two layers of plaster as in the previous reservoir. The smoothly finished upper layer was scratched with numerous tribal marks (*wusum*). Beside the cistern to the east there is a silt mound, obviously the result of repeated cleaning of the cistern. Perhaps a sloping conduit high up the gulley brought water to the cistern.

There still remains one feature to be noted, although it is not situated in the immediate vicinty of the *qasr*. About 8 km to the northeast of Qasr Mshash is Tell al-Raghl. This hill, although not high, easily commands the surrounding plains providing an ideal position for a watch-tower. Outside the small ruined tower on the hillock are several Safaitic inscriptions and tribal marks scratched on rock outcroppings (Pl. 5:c-d).[13] These inscriptions indicate that the area around Mshash was traversed in the pre-Islamic period.

The preceding account has been primarily a description of the main features of the site. There remains the task of discussing the date of these features and providing an explanation for the *raison d'être* of the site and the function it fulfilled.

Admittedly we do not have concrete evidence for dating precisely the main water installations. It is logical to assume, however, that they belong to the period when the area was most intensively used, i.e. the Umayyad period. This assumption is borne out by the pottery sherds which are predominantly Umayyad.[14] It is worth recalling at this point that the huge reservoir at al-Muwaqqar, which is only 19 km to the west of Mshash was

13. These inscriptions will be published by Dr. Sabri Abbadi of the University of Jordan.

14. Cf. note 4.

built during the caliphate of Yazid II (101-105 A.H./720-724 A.D).[15] Another reservoir near the village of Rimat Hazim situated about 7 km from al-Suwayda in southern Syria was built by the order of Yazid's brother, Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik (105-125 A.H./724-743 A.D.)[16] One early source informs us that Hisham ordered the construction of aqueducts and reservoirs on the way to Mecca for the convenience of the pilgrims.[17] According to another source, however, it was the Caliph al-Walid I (86-96 A.H /705-715 A.D) who had water-tanks built in the halting places along the pilgrim route between Syria and Mecca.[18]

The construction of the small *qasr* without corner towers and the building of a bath house, as well as the distribution of the water installations over wide areas imply a considerable degree of stability and peace on the one hand, and the existence of a pastoral community on the other. This last point leads us to the observation that the area of Mshash was primarily non-residential in character. Aside from the small *qasr* which could not have accommodated more than 40 people, there is no evidence of dense occupation in the area unless the inhabitants lived in tents, which is likely. It is also evident that water stored in the numerous reservoirs and cisterns far exceeded the requirements of the inhabitants of the *qasr*. Therefore we are justified in assuming that the water installations were intended to serve people other than the local inhabitants. Along a more or less straight line extending from Amman to the oasis of al-Azraq in the east, there are a series of Umayyad sites and buildings placed at almost 20 km intervals. These include al-Muwaqqar, Qasr al-Kharana, Qusayr 'Amra, al-'Uwaynid, and al-Azraq (Pl. 1:a). It is reasonable to assume that a track had linked these sites which served as watering places for caravans. According to the Arab geographer al-Maqdisi (died ca. 390 A.H./1000 A.D.) the traveller going from Amman to the Hijaz had three choices of route: he could either go due south to Ma'an and from there continue via Tabuk to Tayma, or he could strike southeast to Bayir (Wubayr) and from there continue to Tayma via al-Ajwali and Thujr. The third track followed the Amman-al-Azraq route. From al-Azraq, which forms a center for the intersection of several principal highways, the traveller continued through Wadi al-Sirhan (Batn al-Sirr), which slants southeastwards to al-Jawf in

15. L.A. Mayer, "Note on the Inscription from al-Muwaqqar," *QDAP* vol. 12, nos 3-4 (1966), pp. 73-74.

16. A. Rihaoui, "Decouverte de deux inscriptions arabes," *Les Annales Archéologique de Syrie* tomes 11-12 (1961-1962), pp. 207-211.

17. al-Mas'udi, Abi al-Hasan 'Ali b. al-Husayn, d. 346 A.H./946 A.D., *Muruj al Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar*, 5th edition (Cairo, 1973) vol. 3, p. 217.

18. Ibn al-Faqih, Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hamdani, 3rd cent A.H/9th cent A.D., *Kitab al-Buldan*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 2nd edition (Leiden, 1967), p. 106.

northwestern Saudi Arabia.[19] This long depression with major oases at its northern and southern ends had long been a favourite route between southern Syria and the interior of the Arabian Peninsula.[20] Al-Maqdisi, who travelled these three routes more than once, describes them as generally safe, being protected by tribes from the Kilab.[21] In another place, however, he says that it is not possible to pass through the Syrian steppe without proper escort and protection.[22] Unfortunately al-Maqdisi does not give this itinerary from Amman to Wadi al-Sirhan and he only mentions al-'Awnid ('Uwaynid), which is situated near the northern end of the long depression.[23] He places it at a two-day march from Amman and describes it as having two rain pools with bitter water.[24] Since the area of Mshash is situated almost halfway between Amman and 'Uwaynid, we are justified in regarding it as a halting place for caravans on their way from Amman to the interior of the Arabian Peninsula via Wadi al-Sirhan.[25]

After describing the three routes from Amman to the Hijaz and the stages between the various stopping points, al-Maqdisi adds the interesting piece of information that the routes were the ones used by the postal service in the Umayyad period.[26] This may suggest that at least two of the three routes (the Bayir and Wadi al-Sirhan routes) were used in the Umayyad period primarily by civil servants, government officials and soldiers rather

19. al-Maqdisi, Shams al-Din Abi 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Abi Bakr, d. 381 A.H./992 A.D., *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 2nd edition (Leiden, 1967), p. 350.

20. N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (New Haven, 1940), p. 40. G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 7-8.

21. al-Maqdisi, op. cit., p. 350.

22. Ibid. p. 252.

23. For 'Uwaynid cf Kennedy, op. cit. pp. 113-128; figs. 24-25; pls. 31 a-d, 32 a-f. S.T. Parker, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

24. al-Maqdisi, op. cit., p. 253; 350. Jaussen and Savignac report that their Arab guides refused to drink the water from rain pools because of its bitterness. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie, III: les Châteaux Arabes*, (Paris, 1922), p. 11.

25. This explanation has long been suggested by Sir Aurel Stein. He, however, regarded Mshash as dating from Roman times. A. Stein, op. cit. p. 254.

26. al-Maqdisi, op. cit. p. 350.

than by merchants and pilgrims.[27] Such a suggestion may explain in part the paucity of pottery sherds recovered from the limited excavations at Mshash, and the complete absence of any evidence for Umayyad occupation at 'Uwaynid and Bayir.[28] Finally there is no evidence for extended occupation in the area of Mshash or for its use in the period which followed the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in the middle of the eighth century. While it is unlikely that the Amman-Wadi al-Sirhan route was closed down altogether after the transfer of the seat of government from Damascus to Baghdad, there can be little doubt that much less traffic passed through this route in the post-Umayyad period. This decrease apparently coincided with a substantial increase in the cost of maintenance of the numerous water installations which dot the site of Mshash and which eventually led to the abandonment of the site.

Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil

The second monument we are dealing with, Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil, is situated 1.75 km to the northeast of al-Azraq castle (Pl. 1:a). It was examined recently by David Kennedy who suggested that "the main structure is a Roman fortlet or perhaps a well-built farmhouse re-occupied and rebuilt in the Umayyad period."[29] He also noted that, "the interior is still largely filled with sand up to the height of the walls."[30] In March and April, 1984 the Department of Antiquities cleared away the sand accumulated in the interior rooms, while earlier in 1978, the bath-suite built against the west wall of the *qasr* was excavated.

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27. The suggestion that the Wadi al-Sirhan route was used in the Umayyad period primarily by government officials rather than by merchants and pilgrims is strengthened by the inscriptions scratched on the attached columns which support the transverse arches in the west upper story central hall of Qasr al-Kharaña. These inscriptions which have escaped detection until recently include the name of 'Umar bin al-Walid who was the governor of the military district of Jordan (Jund al-Urdunn) throughout the caliphate of his father, al-Walid I. For the inscriptions and their significance cf. G. Bisheh, "Some Observations on Recent Umayyad Discoveries," (In Arabic) *ADAJ* vol. 30 (1986), pp. 10-12; pl. 8 a-b; 9 a-c.

28. S.T. Parker, op. cit., p. 17. Idem, "Archaeological Survey of the Limes Arabicus: A Preliminary Report," *ADAJ* vol. 21 (1976), p. 23. G. King, "Survey," *ADAJ* vol. 27 (1983) p. 399.

29. D. Kennedy, op. cit. p. 132.

30. Ibid p. 128.

The *qasr* forms an irregular square enclosure which, excluding the bath-suite along the western wall and the room which projects beyond the eastern corner of the north wall, measures 17.70 m by 17.60 externally (Pl. 6). The walls are built of two facings of roughly quadrated basalt blocks with a rubble fill and vary in thickness, the average being 1.40 m. The courses are made level by small stone chips which fill the interstices. At a height of 1.80 m from the floor level, the upper 2-3 courses of the south and east walls recede 0.12 m from the inner faces. There are no foundations, for the walls appear to have been set directly on the ground surface. A narrow entrance, 0.64 m wide with splayed jambs, in the center of the east wall leads into a passageway at the far end of which is a doorway 1.8m high and 0.87m wide opening into a central courtyard. Ranges of seven rooms are built against the enclosure walls. These rooms opened directly into the courtyard with the exception of the southeast room which opened into the passageway (Pl. 6). A flight of three steps led up to a platform (2.60 x 2.00 m) placed in the southeast corner of the central courtyard. One room protrudes beyond the northeast corner of the *qasr*. It contained two ovens (*tabuns*) built of clay and faced with thick pottery pieces. Each oven was pierced near the base with a little hole, apparently for ventilation. The north oven measured 0.75 m in diameter and was preserved to a height of 0.30 m. The second oven was oval in shape with maximum dimensions of 1.00 m by 0.80 m and 0.50 m high. The central room on the north side contained an olive press consisting of a raised, stone-faced, circular receptacle (0.70 m high and 1.53 m in diameter) fitted with a thick basalt wheel (0.32 m thick and 0.85 m in diameter) pierced with a square-sectioned hole in the middle (Pl. 7:a). The upper surface of the receptacle, around which the basalt wheel rolled to crush the olives, consists of wedge-shaped basalt slabs placed around a central pivot, which turned out to be a Roman mile-stone dating from the beginning of the third century (Pl. 7:b).[31] Another olive-press was found in the northwest room. It consists of an oval basalt stone measuring 1.40 m by 1.10 m with an average thickness of 0.35 m. The long ends terminate in square-sectioned holes to receive wooden bars, and the upper surface is grooved to carry the oil to a large jar placed below at floor level (Pl. 8:a).

Abutting the west wall of the *qasr* is a bath-house which consists of three rooms: a cold room (*frigidarium*) and two hot rooms (*calidaria*) arranged along a north-south line (Pls. 6, 8:b). However the exposed

31. D. Kennedy and H. MacAdam, "Latin Inscriptions from the Azraq Oasis, Jordan," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Band 60 (1985), pp. 105-106. A similar olive-press dated to the first half of the third century was found in Jerash. J. Seigne, et al., "Recherches sur le Sanctuaire de Zeus à Jerash," in *Jerash Archaeological Project, 1981-1982* ed. F. Zayadine (Amman, 1986), p. 47; pl. 6: 1-2; 7: 1-3. For olive-presses and the mechanism of their operation cf. O. Callot, "Remarques sur les huileries de Khan Khaldé (Liban)," in *Archéologie au Levant: Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah* (Lyon, 1982), pp. 419-428.

plastered floor beyond the south wall of the cold room suggests the existence of another room, probably the vestiary (*apodyterium*). This assumption is also supported by the existence of a thick layer of plaster on the outer face of the south wall. The cold room was entered through a narrow entrance, 0.78 m wide, pierced at the eastern end of the south wall. A plastered bench 0.30 m high but of uneven width (0.45-0.95 m) ran along portions of the side walls with the exception of the south wall. The southwestern corner of the room was occupied by a water-tank (1.75 by 0.85 m). Its floor was paved with flagstones and covered with plaster like the side walls. In the center of the east wall was an arched alcove placed 0.30 m above the floor of the room. The arch was built of thin limestone slabs placed edgewise. The center of the west wall was pierced by a plastered drain 0.38 m wide. The side walls were faced with a layer of plaster 0.05 m thick and applied in three coats: a lower coarse coat incised with chevron patterns to provide a grip for the upper coat, which was replete with sand bits, and a thin, smoothly finished coat on top.

A door 1.00 m wide in the north wall led to the central hot room whose floor had long since caved in. Only few of the hypocausts close to the side walls remained standing. These consisted of square supports (0.45 m on a side) built of square baked bricks (0.22 by 0.40 m). A few circular bricks, 0.20 m in diameter and 0.5 m thick, as well as rectangular and round pottery pipes were recovered from this room. The pipes were apparently the vertical flues usually placed at the corners to allow the smoke to escape. The floor was originally supported by sixteen square columns arranged in four rows. An arched firebox (0.95 m high to the apex of the arch with a maximum width of 0.56 m), built of thin limestone slabs placed edgewise, was cut through the west wall. Behind it was an unroofed walled enclosure (2.30 m by 1.90 m) which served as the storage and service area (Pl. 9:a). The second or north hot room has suffered considerable damage. What is preserved of the hypocausts indicate that it originally consisted of four brick piers placed along the east and west walls, and supports built of rectangular basalt slabs placed in the middle (Pl. 9:b). In the center of the west wall was a basin 1.80 wide and 0.70 m deep. Water drained out from the basin through a small hole pierced in the west. To the north of this room extended a passageway now largely destroyed (Pl. 8:b). At the far end of this passage would have been the stoke-hole and behind it the service area.

About 20 m to the southeast of the *qasr* is a masonry-lined well averaging 2.20 m across. A number of rooms whose walls are obscured by wind-blow deposits can be seen to the north and east of the *qasr*.

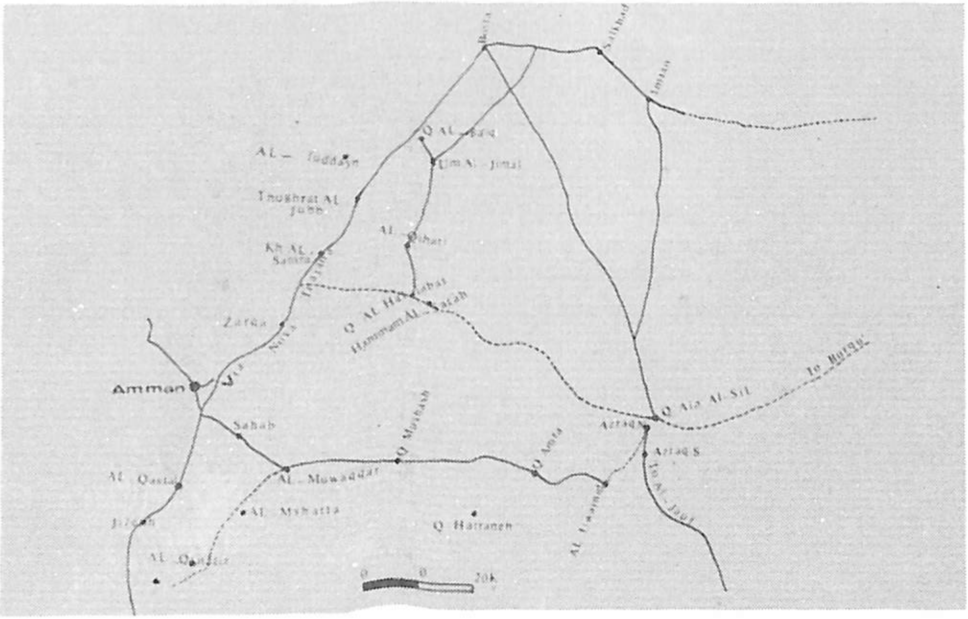
The existence of two olive presses and their size indicate that Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil was the homestead of a small agricultural estate more adapted to family use than to a large plantation. Agricultural activity is also indicated by the large quantity of plain, thick-bodied sherds recovered from the interior rooms of the *qasr*. Other finds included Umayyad pottery sherds

(Pl. 10:a), a lamp (Pl. 10:a-b), and a silver seal ring which bore an Arabic inscription engraved with retrograde letters (Pl. 10: c-d). It reads: : الله عون الرحيم "God is the helper of the compassionate."[32] The archaeological evidence, meager as it is, points to an Umayyad date for the construction of the structure, and although the bath is built against the west wall of the *qasr*, there is no reason to assume a significant time lapse between the initial construction of the two structures. One recognizes neither any signs of modification in the building nor significant stratigraphy in the debris cleared away from the interior rooms, which consisted largely of wind-blown deposits accumulated above a compacted reddish soil mixed with lime flecks and lumps of mortar. What is particularly remarkable about Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil is the introduction of an urban amenity to what was primarily an agricultural estate.[33]

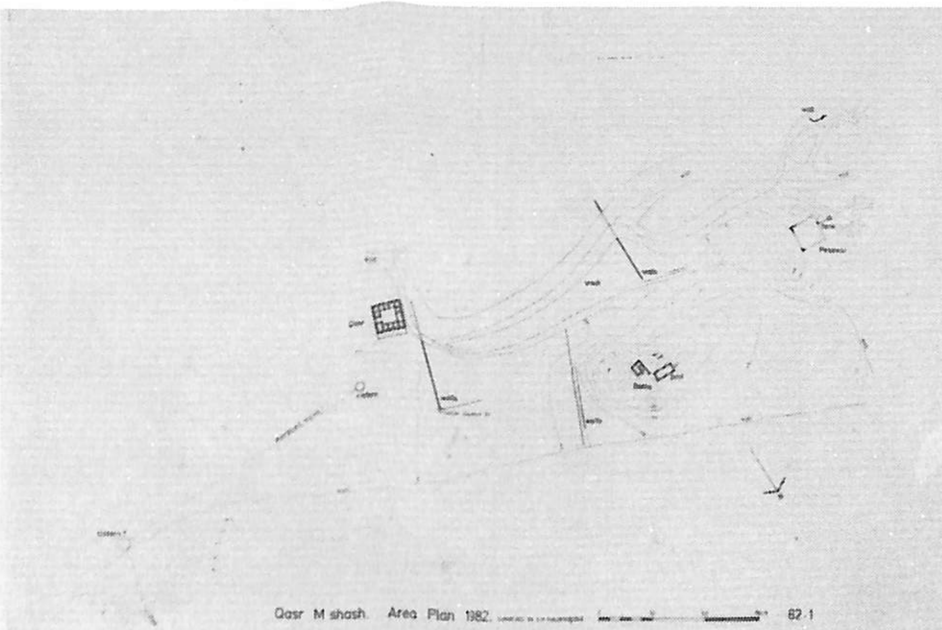
32. I am most grateful to Mr. Musa al-Zayyat, curator of the Amman Archaeological Museum, for suggestions on reading the inscription, especially the last word.

33. For baths in estate houses from Byzantine Egypt cf. E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt,* Columbia University Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 354, 2nd edition (New York, 1968), pp. 83, 84, 129. It has been argued, however, that the architectural origins of the Umayyad bath should be sought in the Byzantine baths of the Syrian towns. O. Grabar, et-al, *City in the Desert : Qasr al-Ḥayr East* (Cambridge, Mass., (1978), pp. 94-97. For the changes brought about to baths in the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods cf. H. Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria," *Past and Present* no. 106 (February, 1985), pp. 8-11.

Plate 1

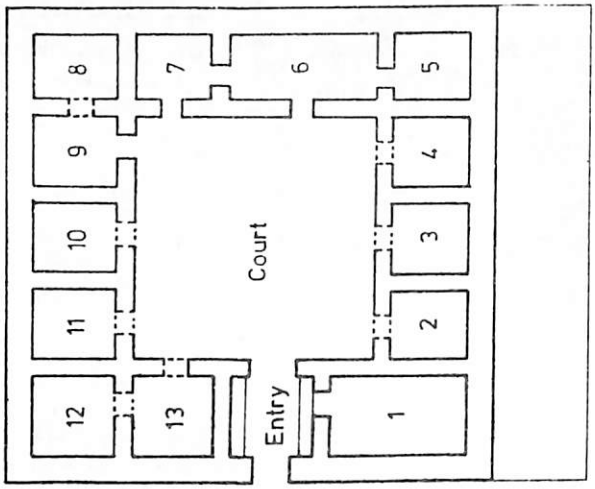


a) A map showing the main Umayyad sites

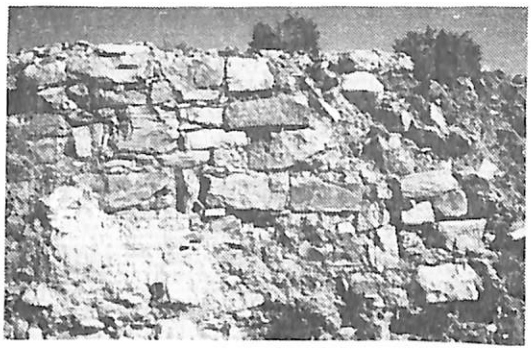


b) Qasr Mshash: area plan

Plate 2



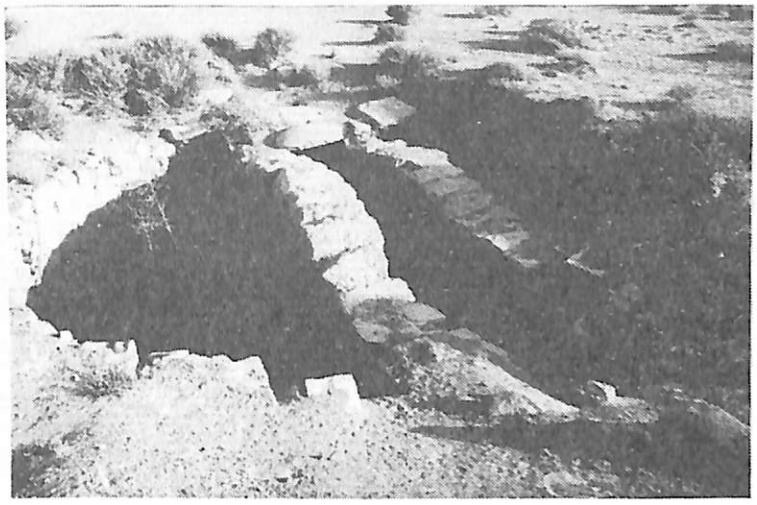
a) Qasr Mshash: ground plan



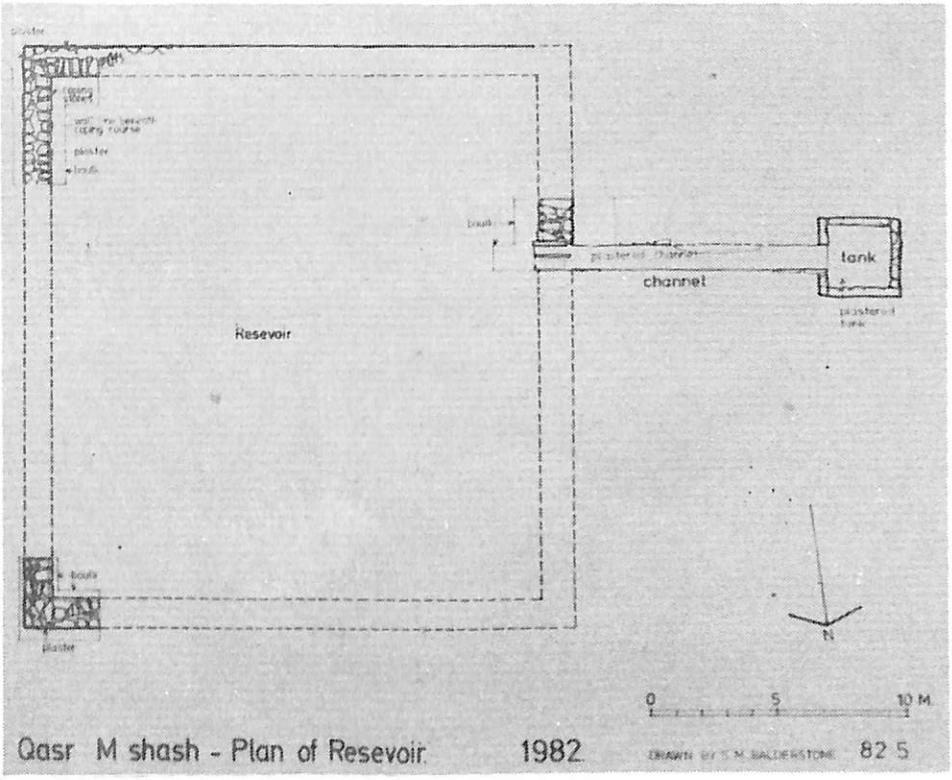
b) Inscribed stone placed upside down

c) Close-up of the inscription

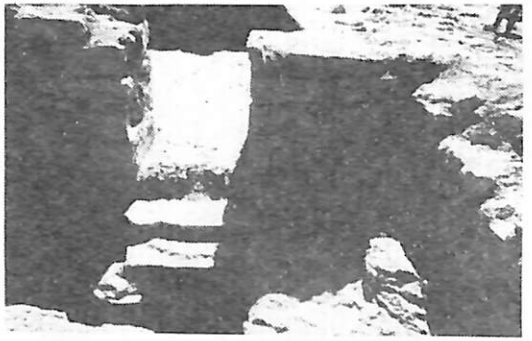
Plate 3



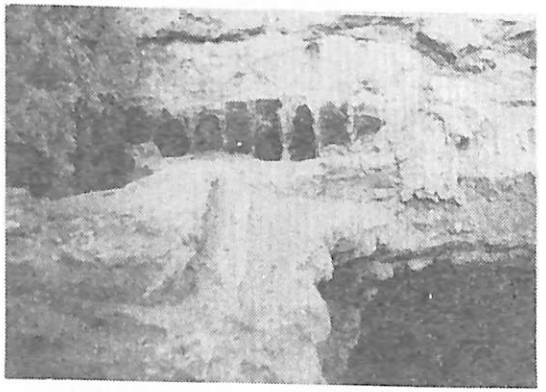
a) A cistern roofed with arches



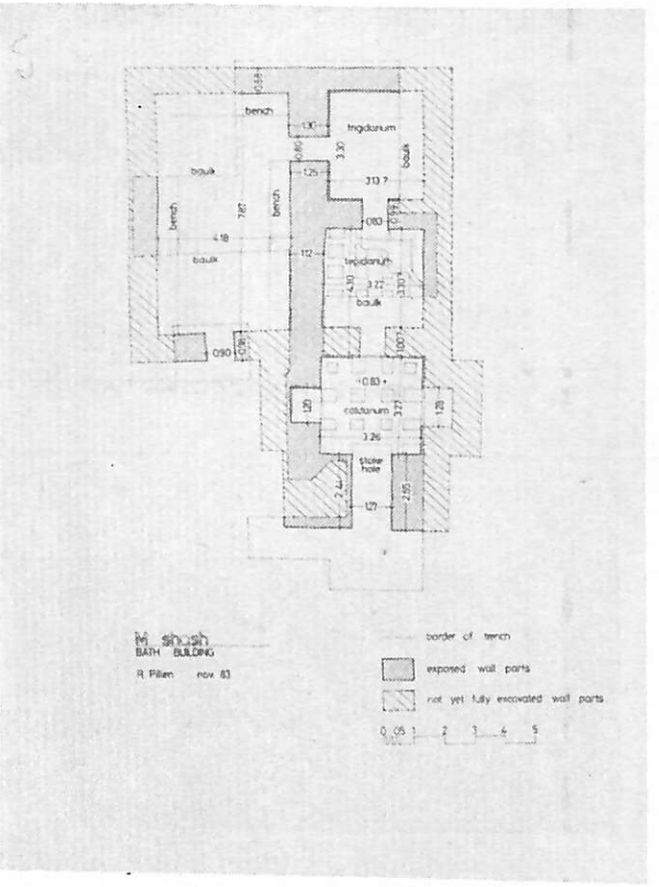
b) A reservoir and silting basin (Plan).



b) The tepidarium: looking south

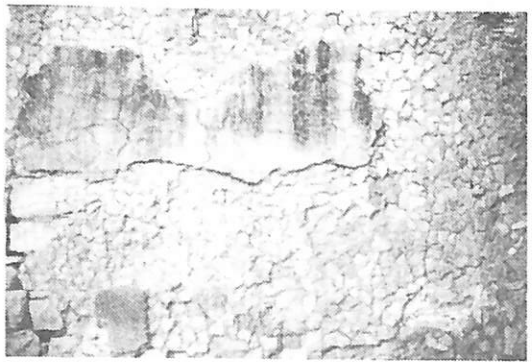


c) The calidarium



a) Plan of the bath (Mshash)

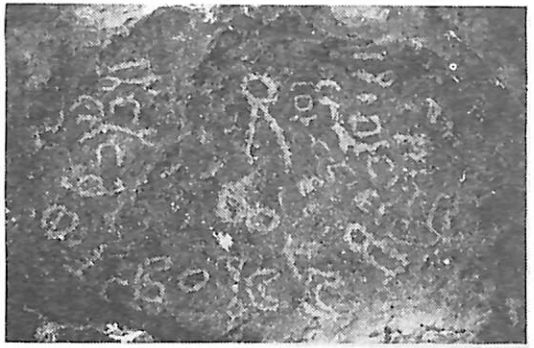
Plate 5



a) A close-up of the plaster layer in the reservoir north of Qasr Mshash

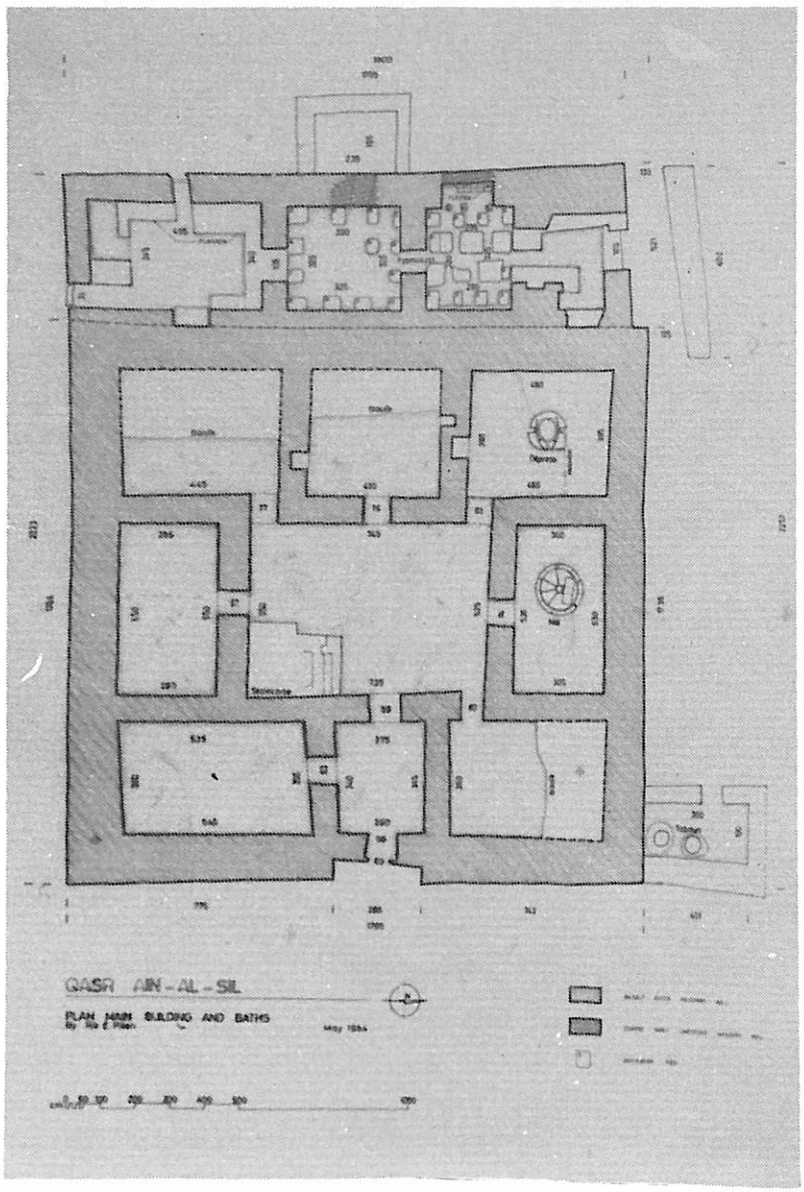
c) Tell al-Raghl: tribal marks and Safaitic inscriptions

b) Reservoir



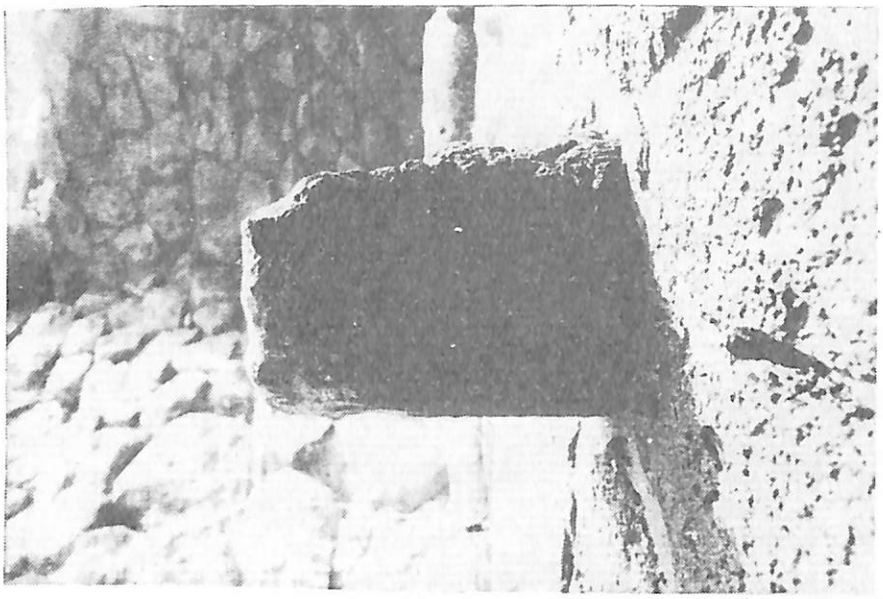
d) Tell al-Raghl: tribal marks and Safaitic inscriptions

Plate 6



Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil: ground plan

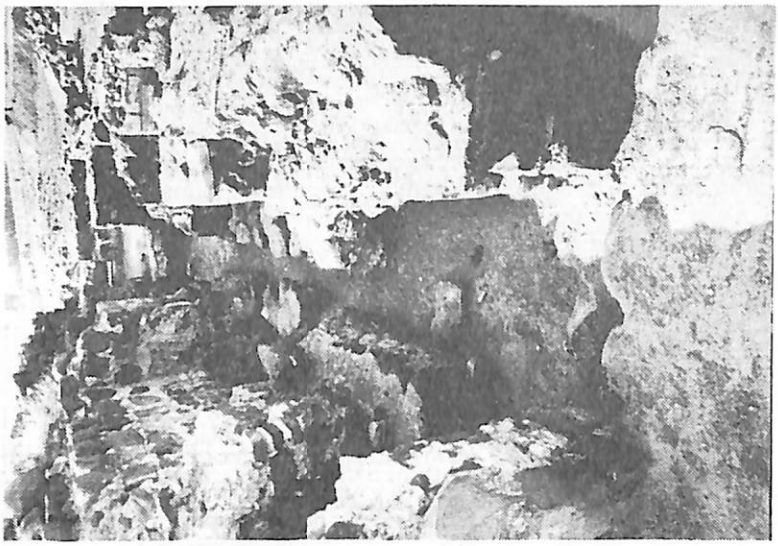
Plate 7



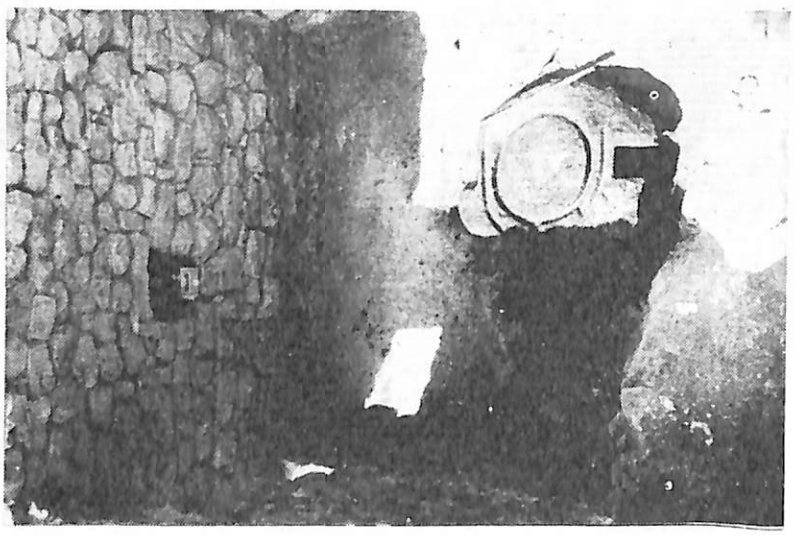
b) A Roman mile-stone re-used as a central pivot

a) Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil: an olive-press

Plate 8



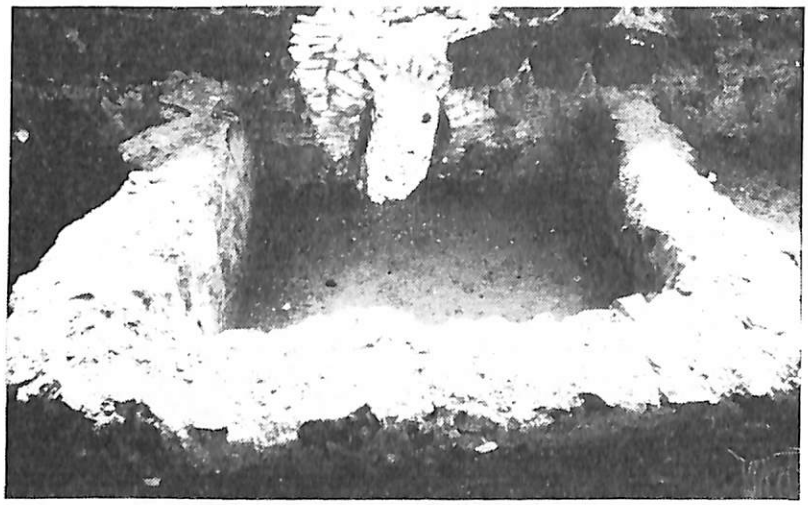
b) The bath-suite: looking south



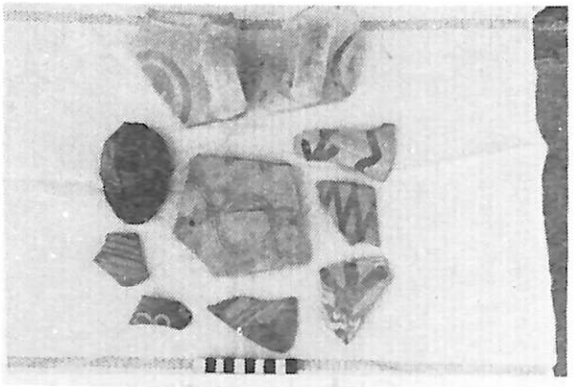
a) Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil: another olive-press

Plate 9

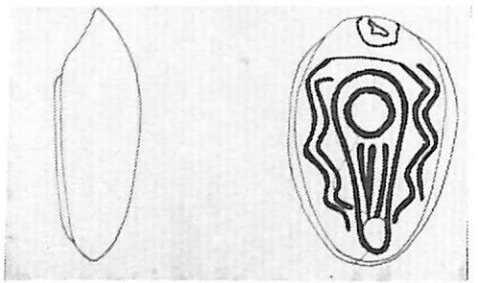
b) Hypocausts of the northern hot room.



a) The service area and the fire-box of the central hot room



a) Umayyad pottery sherds and a lamp



b) An Umayyad lamp (drawing)

c)A silver seal-ring engraved with retrograde letters

d) The inscription on the silver seal-ring

Qastal al-Balqa': An Umayyad Site in Jordan

Patricia Carlier
Taulignan, France

Between 1979 and 1981 I studied Umayyad civil architecture with the help of Frédéric Morin, an architect. Based on visits to the sites and the study of archaeological reports, this research was confined to thirteen "Umayyad palaces" and Qastal, and tried to define them better through the architectural analysis of their spatial arrangement and building techniques.[1] The main result of this work was the production of comparative tables in which the Umayyad sites, palaces, mosques and baths were described, analysed and compared.

The Umayyad sites are characterized by agricultural facilities rather than defensive capabilities; water was easily supplied by numerous installations, such as dams, canals, reservoirs and cisterns. The Umayyads reoccupied some ancient sites, but always constructed their buildings next to the ancient ones.

At any given site the Umayyad buildings include one or more palaces, some water installations, a farming complex, a mosque, a bath and some outlying constructions. Different building techniques follow the various local capabilities and traditions. The palaces were laid out as imperfect squares and their enclosure walls have round towers, often filled with masonry. Their size is 150 Umayyad cubits on each side, (1 cubit = 0.45m +/− 0.005m discovered on the water-guage at al-Muwaqqar), i.e about 67.50m, or else half or twice as much.[2] The entrance often pierces a side tower, and a vestibule leads to a central courtyard surrounded by a portico. Around the courtyard are several apartments, organized as *bayts* with a central main room providing access to several smaller rooms. Latrines are present. A second story duplicates these arrangements.

An audience hall was often found by the archaeologists, thanks to the concentration of decoration in some spots, more often than not near the entrance hall or vestibule; in such cases the audience hall was upstairs. Unlike

1. P. Carlier, *Les Châteaux Umayyades de Syrie-Palestine, aménagements et techniques de construction*, 2 vols. thesis (Aix en Provence, 1981).

2. A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2nd edition, part 1, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1969), pp. 496-497. R. Hamilton, "Some Eighth-century Capitals from al Muwaqqar," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* vol. 12 (1946), pp. 63-64.

Roman or Byzantine forts, these Umayyad palaces do not have real military capabilities; for example the towers are filled in and there is no space to stand behind the enclosure walls. Their defenses would have been effective enough against bedouin raids, but not against a strong army. Their peaceful function is also attested by their sometimes lavish decorations, including mosaics and paintings as well as stone carving and stucco.

In 1982 the Department of Antiquities of Jordan asked me to continue my research through the study of the remains at Qastal. The problem was to determine whether the site, or rather the main square building, was Umayyad or not. After a short mission in the spring of 1983 a six month mission was organized in the summer of 1983 thanks to the help provided by the Department of Antiquities.[3]

At Qastal I dug where I hoped to uncover typical Umayyad features. For example, in the palace, the excavations concentrated first on the entrance hall, where benches, staircases, mosaic floors, remains of cupolas and numerous carved blocks were found, as expected on the basis of my previous comparative study of Umayyad palaces. A number of plans and sections were drawn in the palaces and a draft restoration was prepared by Frédéric Morin. The remains of several structures were recognized during a survey of the site: a large dam east of the palace, a tank or *birka* to the northwest, the remains of a bath to the west, some 70 cisterns and numerous walls of a permanent settlement north and west of the palace. There was no doubt that Qastal was the center of an important farming complex (fig. 1). This 1983 mission showed that the palace and the associated mosque at Qastal

3. The 1983 mission was organized by Patricia Carlier for her thesis, presented in 1984. We are grateful to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, especially to Dr. A. Hadidi and F. Zayadine for their care and support of the Qastal project, also organized with the help of the Groupe de Recherches et d'Études sur le Proche–Orient (GREPO/CRNS) from Aix-en-Provence and Frédéric Morin. Under the direction of P. Carlier, the staff included five members: Dr. Y. Billaud (geologist), L. Ifrash and S. Metz (architecture students), V. Morin (agronomist), and F. Morin (architect). See P. Carlier, "Recherches archéoiogiques au château de Qastal, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* (ADAJ) vol. 18 (1984), pp. 353-383 and plates pp. 491-493.

were built during the early Umayyad period. Later, in 1985, an epigraphic survey of the site led to the discovery of an Umayyad cemetery.[4]

In addition, Tell Zabayir al-Qastal, southwest of the site, was visited, and a complete sequence of pottery from the Iron Age to the present day was found. Here was the ancient settlement, reoccupied by the Umayyads who built the palace and mosque next to it.

Despite the efforts of the Department of Antiquities, the palace was damaged and partially destroyed by a large modern house built on its north corner. Without any concern for Jordanian laws or his own Muslim heritage the builder ordered the complete destruction by a bulldozer of the northwest and north apartments. The mosque also was damaged by the bulldozer; the east wall was knocked down, the iron door of the prayer room was broken and the minaret was partially knocked down. The remains of a bath, not yet studied but consisting mainly of the heating unit, were also damaged by some alterations to the modern meeting room just above it.

The Palace (figs. 2 and 3)

The Umayyad palace of Qastal was built of very good and large headers and stretchers, reused in medieval and modern buildings. The enclosure wall was nearly square, 67.80m on the south and west sides, equaling 150.00x 0.452m – the Umayyad cubit. Each side of this square enclosure had five round towers filled with masonry. A crenelation using merlons was set on the enclosure wall. The entrance was located on the east side set into a large tower; this part was decorated with carving (ills. 1, 2 and 3).

The vestibule gave access to the central paved courtyard, surrounded by a portico with seven arches on each side roofed with beams. Under this portico the floor was ornamented with mosaics (ills.6 and 10). Six apartments opened on to the courtyard through their large central rooms, each of which gave access to four smaller rooms. The floors of these rooms were or-

4. The 1985 mission was organized with the help of the Department of Antiquities, which continued its efforts to save Qastal, in addition to GREPO/CRNS, the French Ministére des Relations Extérieures, the Conseil Régional Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, the Jordanian Embassy in France, the French Embassy in Jordan, Alia Airlines, some French telecommunication companies working in Jordan: Cables de Lyon, CIT-Alcatel, Sofrecom, TRT, and Muhammad J. Shami. Under the direction of P. Carlier, and F. Morin for the architecture, the staff included five members: S. Bacquey and F. Imbert (Arabic epigraphy students), F. Isler (photographer), E. Ordener and G. Rogier (architecture students). See P. Carlier, and F. Morin, "Archaeological Researches at Qastal, Second Mission, 1985," *ADAJ* vol. 31 (1987), pp. 221–246.

namented with mosaics; those of the northern apartment were of the finest quality. The apartments were roofed with heavy beams. Starting from the corners of the courtyard, four corridors led to the latrines. These corridor mosaics had a white ground with rosebud or border-carpet motifs using black, red and orange cubes.

In the exact centre of the palace was the mouth of an underground cistern, 11.20m deep. This cistern had four trefoil chambers, supported with square pillars. A stairway, now obstructed, opened on to one of these chambers. Thanks to Glueck's account and the recollections of an old bedouin, the entrance of this stairway to the central main cistern was located at the southwest corner of the courtyard, perhaps leading to an underground bath (*sirdab*).[5]

The Entrance Hall

The paved entrance hall was provided with six lateral benches; two others stood outside between the two half towers (ill. 2), and it was covered with two cupolas. Two small vaulted rooms opened on the vestibule, and their floors were also ornamented with mosaics. Two wide symmetrical staircases also started from the vestibule and led to the upper gallery and to an audience hall, to be reconstructed above the entrance (ill. 5).

During the 1983 mission the archaeological levels in the entrance hall were studied. The stratigraphy above the Umayyad pavement was recent in this area. Therefore, the entrance, including the two stairways, was cleared, thanks to the Department of Antiquities which provided five workmen and a loader to remove the heaviest blocks.

The north staircase still rises 14 steps high and was originally 37 steps high to the upper gallery. The gate is now open, and a carved door jamb can be seen on the left; unfortunately the right one is missing (ill. 2). The entrance hall was covered with two cupolas resting on six lateral arches (ill. 4) and a seventh one, which divided the vestibule into two compartments. The north central pilaster still stands as high as the cornice (ill. 5). It must be noted that the dimensions of the entrance hall cannot be divided by 0.452m – the Umayyad cubit at Qastal– but by 0.63m – another cubit employed by the Umayyads (see below).

5. N.Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* vol. 19 (1934), pp. 5-7.

Outside, the large Umayyad tower was later dismantled or destroyed, and then rebuilt as a defensive structure that was probably vaulted and that reused the Umayyad blocks, both carved and uncarved, to create an external room. The great number of Ayyubid-Mamluk sherds, in addition to the remains of a hearth with a Mamluk pot, found in situ in the place of the missing north door jamb, indicates that it may have been used as a room during the medieval periods.

The Audience Hall

During the excavations in the vestibule and outside about a hundred carved blocks from pilasters, arches, vaults and cupolas were found. These carved blocks at Qastal mixed both Oriental Persian and Sasanian and Occidental Greek, Roman and Byzantine motifs, and so resembled other Early Umayyad carvings, such as in the Dome of the Rock and the Umayyad palace at Amman (ill. 8). The measurements employed for the blocks found at Qastal are 0.45m (the Umayyad cubit), 0.53m (perhaps an Umayyad value for the Abbasid black cubit), and 0.63m (see below). These different measurements were also employed for the tombstones in the cemetery. From their different characteristics, such as motifs, diameters, etc., these blocks cannot be used to restore the vestibule, but must belong to an upper audience hall.

Morin completed his draft reconstruction with a scale model (1/20), on which the drawings of the carved blocks have been pasted, in order to restore the decoration.

This audience hall had a *trichonos* (ills. 7 and 9), with an anteroom opening to the west in a very similar manner to the arrangements of the Umayyad palace at Amman. The central space was square, 6.30m on a side (10 x 0.63 cubits), and was covered with a large cupola resting on a drum pierced with eight windows. Three apses opened on the north, east and south sides of the audience hall. The south and north apses were covered by semi-cupolas, 5.05m wide (8 x 0.63m), 6.30m high (10 x 0.63m), and 3.85m deep (6 x 0.63m). These apses were ornamented with a row of niches, similar to those still in place in Amman (ills. 8 and 9). The east apse was preceded by a short vault, surrounded by two small square rooms covered with cupolas 3.15m in diameter (5 x 0.63 m). The apse was 5.40m wide (19 black cubits). This east part of the audience hall may have been the private apartment of the owner of the palace. The glass mosaics, of which some cubes were found in the palace, may also have been here.

The Mosaics under the Porticoes

The lowest level that the bulldozer left above the mosaics of the east portico in 1985 — about 0.30m thick instead of 4 m when we left the palace in December 1983 — was exclusively medieval, but no occupation level was recognized beyond the simple reuse of the Umayyad mosaic floor, covered in one area by a stone bench and in another area affected by a fire. Numerous beam holes noted in the highest part of the east wall of the courtyard may indicate the level of the medieval roofing in this area after the collapse or destruction of the Umayyad portico.

The mosaics of the east portico were cleared along the full width of the portico (3.20m, around 5x0.63m). Except for a small area of destruction about one square meter in size, it seems that this mosaic was entirely preserved, at least until October 1985 (ill. 10). The pattern is identical to the one uncovered during the 1983 mission in the south corner of the south portico. The former has circles alternating with squares parallel to the walls (fig. 4), instead of the latter which mixes the same circles with smaller squares, turned 45 degrees. The eight colors used are the same: white, grey, black, red, pink, orange, yellow and light green, organized in colored stripes using five cubes, for example black, red, pink, white and black again. The different colored stripes are woven around the circles and squares.

The borders along the walls and the foundations of the columns are also identical, alternating circles and squares woven with two colored stripes. The same pattern was used in the west portico, but its central part has not yet been recovered; the northern half of this portico was destroyed or covered up by the recent construction.

The mosaics of the north portico were in a very bad state of preservation and only a few parts were found. Although very similar, the pattern differs from the other mosaics. In the central part, the pattern is composed of circles only, drawn with the same colors, but here intersecting. The borders also differ: three stripes are braided, and the outer side offers a carpet border using black, red, and orange cubes. This last motif is also used for the border in the apartments and the corridor leading to the latrines.

The same pattern of intersecting circles was also found by Musil and later by Creswell at Qusayr 'Amra in the small rooms to the left and right of the central apse of the audience hall. [6]

6. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture.*

The North Apartment

In this area the enclosure wall and towers were completely destroyed below the level of their foundations. The first course of the south wall, i.e. the wall immediately beside the courtyard, was partially preserved. Miraculously preserved from the bulldozer, some remains of the finest kind of mosaics at Qastal were found beside this wall (fig. 5 and ill. 11). The cubes are about 8 mm on each side, instead of 15mm on each side for the mosaics of the porticoes or the other apartments, and more than twelve colors may be noted: white, two grays, black, red, pink, orange, yellow, several yellowish and browns, two blues and green.

The borders are divided into three parts. The outer one reuses the carpet border already mentioned in the north portico. The middle part is composed of intersecting circles, using white, gray, black, red, orange, yellow and yellowish cubes. The inner part offers a red ground, on which appear white squares and polychrome circles, including white, blue, black, yellow and red cubes.

In the central area the pattern is composed of very complicated, large intersecting squares turned 45 degrees. In these squares are octagons or circles of different sizes, each ornamented with a rosette, a flower, a leaf or a fruit, depicted with a minimum of eight colors (ill. 11). It must be noted that the rosettes are identical to those found at Khirbat al-Mafjar in the bath, decorating the passage leading to the throne room.[7]

It is evident that these mosaics uncovered at Qastal belong to the finest examples known from the Umayyad period, along with those at Qasr Hallabat or in the bath at Khirbat al-Mafjar. Unfortunately, very few of them survived after the destruction of the bulldozer in 1985, and we are afraid after seeing some pictures taken in July 1986 that these few remains have also been destroyed.

An Umayyad Level at the Central Cistern

Around the mouth of the main cistern in the center of the courtyard an Umayyad level was recognized during the 1983 season and studied further in 1985. The most important discovery was a crushed Umayyad pot in situ above a sandy level that included some glass mosaic cubes, one of which was gold.

7. R. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar: an Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley*, (Oxford, 1959). D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, (Paris, 1976), photo 124.

According to Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani, who wrote three centuries later, and al-Tabari, the Caliph al-Walid II and his cousin al-'Abbas were thought to have stayed at Qastal.[8] That would have been between 125 and 127 A.H./ 743 and 745 A.D. The palace, including the courtyard and the mouth of the cistern, is though to have been cleaned at that time. It is also well known that the country was affected by a major earthquake around 129 A.H./747 A.D.

Thus we hypothesize that the sandy Umayyad level corresponds to the time between the end of the period that al-Walid II or al-'Abbas lived at Qastal and the earthquake, i.e. between 127 and 129 A.H./744-745 and 747 A.D. During this interlude some glass mosaics were destroyed, at least partially. It is possible to imagine that somebody was living in the palace; the cistern was still in use because the Umayyad pot was left at the end of this interlude.

After the Umayyad pot was crushed, whatever the cause, Qastal was not abandoned. Two graves, dated to the early Abbasid period, were discovered at the cemetery, beside Umayyad ones. But was there any reason for damage to the glass mosaics before the earthquake or the end of the Umayyad period? This first destruction may also be related to the well-known political and economic crisis at the end of the reign of al-Walid II and to his murder.

The Lay-Out of the Palace

This research has been carried out by Morin. His observations at Qastal allow him to propose a new interpretation of Islamic measurements, described as a trigonometric system establishing relationships between the different cubits employed and quoted by the authors.[9] These trigonometric relationships between cubits are very easy to visualize. Using the Umayyad cubit (0.45m +/− 0.005m), take a piece of cloth exceeding two Umayyad cubits square and fold it diagonally in half. Then fold it again perpendicularly in two other parts. The folding marks form a perfect 90 degree angle. Then measure along the folding marks the length of one Umayyad cubit. The distance between the new points is 0.63m long. This 0.63m distance is

8. al-Isfahani, Abu 'l-Faraj, d. 356 A.H./967 A.D., *Kitab al-Aghani*, (Cairo, 1952), vol. 7, pp. 25. al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir, d. 310 A.H./923 A.D. *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa'l-Muluk*, (Cario, 1972), II: 1784.

9. F. Morin, "Umayyad measurement in Jordan," *Muqarnas* forthcoming. Also P. Carlier, and F. Morin, "Archaeological Researches at Qastal, Second Mission, 1985," *ADAJ* vol. 31 (1987), pp. 221-246.

the diagonal of a square 0.45m on each side, i.e. one Umayyad cubit. Whatever trigonometric knowledge the Umayyads may have had, it is easy to understand how a square ten Umayyad cubits on each side may easily be laid out by measuring ten times this 0.63m distance as the diagonal of the square. As described, this procedure may be done without any knowledge of mathematics, geometry or trigonometry, although it is based on a trigonometrical relationship:

$0.63\ m \cong 0.45\ m/\cos 45° = 0.45m \times \sqrt{2} = 0.6363...\ m$
$0.63\ m \cong 0.445\ m/\cos 45° = 0.445\ m \times \sqrt{2} = 0.6293...\ m$

Another relationship may be established between the Umayyad cubit and 0.53 m:

$0.53\ m \cong 0.45/\cos 30° = 0.45\ m \times 2/\sqrt{3} = 0.5192...\ m$

At Qastal the south and west walls, the ones first laid out, are both 67.80 m long; that would be 150.00 x 0.4520 m rather than 150.66 x 0.45 m. Combining the 0.53 m cubit, perhaps an Umayyad value for the Abbasid black cubit, and the 0.63m cubit with the 0.452 m Umayyad cubit, the different steps in the lay-out procedure at the palace of Qastal were the following (fig. 6):

a) lay-out of the south wall, 67.80m long (150.00 x 0.452 m).

b) lay-out of the northwest corner, 67.80 = 150 Umayyad cubits away from the southwest corner and 95.00 m = 150.79 x 0.63 m from the southeast corner. The southwest angle is 89 degrees, not 90 degrees, a value verified in the field. The error made by the builder is 0.52%, partially compensating for the trigonometric error.

c) lay-out of the northeast corner, 67.43 m = 149.18 Umayyad cubits from the northwest corner and 68.51 m = 151.57 Umayyad cubits from the southeast corner. The difference is due to the entrance hall on the east side of the palace, which disturbs the organization of this part. The maximum error is 1.03% on the east side, which is quite reasonable.

d) Lay-out of the apartments. The general proportion of the northeast one is two squares each, measuring 35 Umayyad cubits each. The group of five rooms is a rectangle measuring 50 Umayyad cubits long and 50x0.53 m cubits (the black cubit?) diagonally. The large central room is laid out with the same system combining the Umayyad cubit and the 0.53m cubit (the black cubit?) for triangulation.

The Dam

The dam is located half a kilometer away from the palace. Oriented

northeast/southeast the remains of the wall are 400m long. The Wadi al-Qastal has now gone around the north end of the wall. Today the catchment of the Wadi al-Qastal is over a wide area exceeding 70 square kilometers.

A section cut was done in the northern part of the dam. The wall, 4.30m wide, is very carefully built of large ashlar headers and stretchers and its central part is filled with masonry. The first two courses are recessed so that the base of the wall is 4.86m. Underneath is the foundation, 0.85m wider than the wall on its west side; the total width of the foundation may exceed 6.56 m. At that place the total remaining height is 2.19 m; most of the wall was dismantled by the Ottomans for the construction of the Hijaz Railway.

Calculations about the depth of water and the construction of such walls allow us to estimate the depth of water as three times the width of the wall, i.e. here 12 m. Starting from an hypothetical height of water only twice the width of the wall, i.e. 8m, then the wall of the dam might have exceeded 700m in length and might have contained over 2,000,000 cubic meters of water. The mortar, including numerous pieces of charcoal, is identical to that used in the palace and in the mosque, and the stone came from the same quarries northwest of the palace. It must therefore be assumed that the dam also belongs to the period when the palace and the mosque were constructed.

The Northwest Reservior

The northwest reservoir or *birka* reuses one of the numerous quarries used for the construction of the palace, mosque and dam. The reservoir is roughly rectangular in plan, about 30m long, and 22m wide. On the west side a stairway leads down into the reservoir, 650 m deep (fig. 7). Some of the courses on the north side were robbed out; four of them remain. The sides were provided with a waterproof coating, but most of this coating is now missing. The water was collected on the upper part of the hill by two canals running from the southeast and southwest corners (ill. 12). The total amount of water held by the reservoir may have exceeded 4,000 cubic meters. Although the collection system is no longer in use, the reservoir usually contains 0.50 m of water in the spring, some of which remains until July.

A water gauge was set at the center. It was still in place in September 1985, but the base of the column was pulled up during the winter of 1985-1986. A long shaft lies in the mud beside the base and another drum was recently stolen. Unfortunately this water gauge does not bear any inscription or graduation, but its shape is rather interesting.

The outer diameter of the grooved column is 0.53m and its inner diameter is 0.45 m; the grooves are also 0.53m in diameter. The 0.45m and

0.53 units have already been mentioned in our study of the procedure for laying out the palace. This 0.45m cubit is the Umayyad cubit (0.445m/ 0.45m) found at the reservoir at al-Muwaqqar, associated with an inscription dated 104 A.H./722-723 A.D. from the time of Yazid II (101-105 A.H./ 719-724 A.D.), and the 0.53 unit may be an Umayyad value for the Abbasid black cubit.[10]

Thus the section of the water gauge found at Qastal is important for the geometric relationship established between the Umayyad cubit and the Umayyad value of the black cubit. This explains the distortion of the plan of the mosque (see below).

It must be noted that the lowest level of sediment in the tank contains Umayyad sherds exclusively, and we must assume that the tank was also built and used during the Umayyad period.

The Umayyad Cemetery

During the 1983 season I saw several Umayyad inscriptions, mainly on the walls of the mosque. In 1985, therefore, I asked for some specialists in Arabic epigraphy to study these inscriptions. Unfortunately they were lost due to the destruction that occurred at the mosque, but I asked for an epigraphic survey of the site.[11] Consequently, the Umayyad cemetery was discovered to the southwest of the palace by Sylvie Bacquey and Frédéric Imbert. Fourteen inscriptions were found in September 1986 and eleven of them were moved to the museum in Madaba, thanks to the help of Taysir Attiyat. During an epigraphic survey in July 1986 three more steles were discovered.[12]

It must noted that two inscriptions bear dates from the Abbasid period, while most of the other ones belong to the early or late Umayyad period (ill. 13).

The Mosque

In view of the continually increasing amount of destruction at the site, we asked the Department of Antiquities to permit some research at the mosque (ill. 14). The mosque was also very carefully built with good ashlar headers and stretchers; its enclosure wall is only 0.678 m thick.

10.See footnote 2.

11.This epigraphic project was organized by GREPO/CNRS in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities and the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR).

12.S. Bacquet, and F. Imbert, "La Nécropole de Qastal," *ADAJ* vol. 30 (1986), pp. 397-404.

With Morin we decided to record very carefully at the scale of 1/50 the plan and a cross section of the mosque in the event of its destruction (figs. 8 and 9). From a study of the architecture, it appears that the prayer-room first opened on the courtyard through three large arches; their springers are still in place and the key-stones are to be seen here and there around the mosque. The central arch is 5.07 m wide, i.e. 8.04 x 0.63 m. The west arch is 3.00 m wide and the pillar between is 2.67 m wide, i.e. 5.03 x 0.53 m.

The external measurements of the mosque differ slightly from those given on the plan by Gaube.[13]

diameter of the minaret: 5.00 m = 7.93 x 0.63 m (an error of 0.87%).

general width of the north and south walls: 17.95 m = 39.88 x 0.450 m or 39.71 x 0.452 m (40 Umayyad cubits with an error of 0.3%).

northwest/southeast diagonal of the courtyard: 21.30 m = 40.18 x 0.53 m (40 black cubits with an error of 0.45%).

Thus the courtyard of the mosque was laid out using the procedure already explained for the apartments of the palace. The long side of the rectangle was measured using the Umayyad cubit and one of the diagonals using the 0.43 m cubit (black cubit). But we were not able to follow this procedure in the prayer-room; the south wall (*qibla*) should have been 1.50m south of the present one.

Therefore we decided to open a trench outside the mosque and there we uncovered the original *qibla* 1.55 m south of the present one, as expected. Two *mihrabs* are to be seen (ill. 15). The latest one is a circular niche, roughly built and reusing the original one, a rectangular recess 0.45m deep (one Umayyad cubit) and 1.80 m wide (4 Umayyad cubits). Thus, the external measurements of the original prayer hall are: (fig. 8)

width (*qibla*): 17.95 m = 39.71 x 0.452 m (40 Umayyad cubits).

depth: 10.55 m =19.90 x 0.53m (20 black cubits with an error of 0.5%).

southwest-northeast diagonal: 21.25 m = 40.09 x 0.53 m (40 black cubits with an error of 0.22%).

Total length: 22.75 m = 50.33 x 0.452 m (50 Umayyad cubits with an error of 0.66%).

13.H. Gaube, "Amman, Harane und Qastal: Vier frühislamische Bauwerke in Mitteljordanien," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. 92 (1977), pp. 67-86.

The steps in the lay-out of the mosque were:

a) lay-out of the *qibla* wall, 40 Umayyad cubits long.

b) lay-out of the northeast corner of the prayer-room, 20 black cubits away from the southeast corner and 40 black cubits away from the southwest corner of the prayer room; this is an exact application of trigonometric laws.

c) extention of the east wall of the prayer room to a length of 50 Umayyad cubits.

d) lay-out of the northwest corner 40 Umayyad cubits away from the northeast corner of the mosque and 40 black cubits away from the northeast corner of the prayer room (also the southeast corner of the courtyard).

It is to be noted that the proportions of the prayer room and the courtyard differ, although they were both laid out using a combination of the Umayyad cubit and the black cubit. The shape of the former is based on the use of the 30 degree trigonometric relationship affected by the error between the two cubits (the depth of the prayer hall is half the diagonal), instead of the courtyard where the depth was not verified. It must be noted that the *qibla* wall is not perpendicular to the direction of Mekka; the error is 29 degrees to the west.

Finally, the mosque at Qastal differs from the other mosques built around the Umayyad palaces. Here the prayer room is not deep (only one row, as at Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, instead of two rows at Jabal Says and three everywhere else), there is a minaret (including stairs), the original *mihrab* is a rectangular recess, and the *qibla* is not perpendicular to the direction of Mekka.

Umayyad Lay-out Procedures

From archaeological reports it appears that the exact measurements of the Umayyad enclosures vary, although I must assume with Morin that the outer walls of early Umayyad palaces were laid out 150 Umayyad cubits on each side. Thus the exact value of the Umyyad cubit changed from place to place and from palace to palace. The variation in the Umayyad cubit is summarized in fig. 10. From a survey of a half-century of Umayyad architecture, lay-out procedures, and building techniques, it appears that the 0.53 m Umayyad value of the black cubit and the 0.63 m cubit did not change. This observation seems to be confirmed by Hinz who mentions the use of the 0.63 cubit in Damascus.[14]

14. W. Hinz, "Dhira'," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 231-232.

The actual value of the Umayyad cubit seems to have decreased with time. In the list of Umayyad buildings Morin was able to reconstruct the lay-out procedures at Qasr al-Kharana, Qastal, Jabal Says and Khirbat al-Mafjar, in addition to the Dome of the Rock, and the mosques of Qastal, Qasr al-Hallabat, Khirbat al-Mafjar and Umm al-Walid.[15]

Some of these building definitely date from the Umayyd period: the Dome of the Rock, Jabal Says, Qasr al-Hallabat and Khirbat al-Mafjar. The fact that is is possible to explain the rectangular plan at Qasr al-Kharana and the distortion of the overall plan of the palace at Qastal through the use of the same lay-out procedures observed at other Umayyad buildings argues very strongly for an Umayyad period date of Qasr al-Kharana and Qastal, from the reign of al-Walid I or earlier. Such arguments should be added to the others that lead to the same conclusion.

In Morin's detailed paper "Umayyad Measurement in Jordan," a new hypothesis concerning the lay-out of the Dome of the Rock was presented, which provided a better explanation for the measured errors and imperfections.[16] This procedure is based on the 0.4520 Umayyad cubit used for the lay-out of the circle inscribed in the outer wall (49.75 m in diameter, i.e. 110.06 x 0.452 m − 110 Umayyad cubits − with an error of 0.54%) and the inside diameter of the central drum, measured at the bottom (20.33 m in diameter, i.e. 44.97 x 0.452 m− 45 Umayyad cubits with an error of 0.066%) (fig. 11).

The lay-out procedure is based on the translation of measurements from the 0.4520 Umayyad cubit into the 0.63 m cubit, or the opposite, mixed with an octagonal design. The constant value of the measured error, never more than 0.03 cubits measured in radius, ensure that the proposed procedure is correct.

The relationships between the different octagons and the central drum depend clearly on the relationship between the 0.452 m Umayyad cubit and the 0.63 m cubit. Theoretically this ratio equals $\sqrt{2} = 1/\text{Cos } 45° = 1.4142135$. The measured ratio in the Dome of the Rock is 0.63m/ 0.452 m = 1.3938053.

The study of Umayyad lay-out procedures shows the importance of the varying ratio between the Umayyad cubit and the 0.63 m cubit, as the real but wrong value of $\sqrt{2}$ used during the period of construction. Fig. 12

15.F. Morin, "Umayyad Measurement."

16.Ibid.

shows the varying value of the ratio between the 0.63 m cubit and the Umayyad cubit, where the lay-out procedure has been explained.

From this list (fig. 12) it seems that the ratio between the Umayyad cubit and the 0.63 m cubit was somewhat less than the exact value of $\sqrt{2}$. This measured value seems to increase during the Umayyad period, until one obtains a ratio very close to the ideal value with an error of around 0.10% by the end of the period. It is also to be noticed that this improved value of $\sqrt{2}$ measured in the late Umayyad buildings (Khirbat al-Mafjar, Mshatta) corresponds in fact to an improved lay-out. The enclosures at Khirbat al-Mafjar (palace, mosque, bath and pool) are nearly right angles, while new measurements are required to verify the same fact at Mshatta.[17]

A New Dating Hypothesis at Qastal

In the two lists above, there is one pair of buildings characterized by the same values of the cubit used (the 0.4520 m Umayyad cubit, the 0.53 m black cubit and the 0.63 m cubit), and therefore the same incorrect value of $\sqrt{2}$: the Dome of the Rock and Qastal, which always appear together in such lists. We therefore wonder about the relationship between the Dome of the Rock and Qastal.

Thanks to René Saupin of the French Institut Geographique National, who, while working at the Jordanian National Geographic Center, provided us with a map on which the directions from Qastal to Mekka and Jerusalem were indicated, we were able to record that the south wall of the palace at Qastal, the first one laid out, is not perpendicular to the direction to Mekka (off by 31 degrees to the west), but rather is fixed on a line running approximately through Jerusalem (off by 7 degrees to the north). The same thing was recorded at the mosque at Qastal; its south wall is not perpendicular to the direction of Mekka (off by 29 degrees to the west), but is fixed on a line running approximately through Jerusalem (off by only 5 degrees to the north). The wrong position of Jerusalem is 7 km north of its correct position, i.e. about 10% of the total distance of 68 km between Jerusalem and Qastal. Elsewhere, several graves in the Umayyad cemetery are fixed on a line passing through Jerusalem without any error.

Morin made the same calculations for the other Umayyad palaces, unfortunately not so exact, from the orientations given by archaeologists and the location of the buildings, beginning with the first wall that was laid out (fig. 13).

17. After the plans and measurements in Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar.*

Qasr al-Kharana, Jabal Says, Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, and Rusafat Hisham are all oriented toward Mekka; the error is less than 8 degrees to the west. It appears also from this list that the error decreases over time and then always clockwise. From al-Walid I to Hisham the *qibla* to Mekka was not well calculated and usually diverged about 4 degrees west of its true position.

Qastal and 'Anjar are not oriented toward Mekka, given the 31 and 29 degrees of error measured at Qastal. If one considers that the orientation may have been toward Jerusalem instead of toward Mekka, however, then the amount of error decreases to 7 and 5 degrees to the north (i.e. clockwise) at Qastal, just over the average error of 4 degrees to the west (also clockwise) measured at the other Umayyad palaces oriented toward Mekka.

Some other features must be noted about the palace and the mosque at Qastal in comparison to other Umayyad buildings, especially those at Qasr al-Kharana, Jabal Says, Khirbat al-Minya and 'Anjar usually attributed to the reign of al-Walid I (86-96 A.H./705-715 A.D.).

a) The *mihrabs* of the Umayyad mosques at Jabal Usays, Khirbat al-Minya and 'Anjar are concave niches. The rectangular recess uncovered in the mosque at Qastal seems to be earlier than the other three; we do not know of any other rectangular *mihrab* built under the Umayyads.

b) As we have been able to restore them, the six apartments of the palace at Qastal are identical; only the eastern one is smaller because of the entrance hall.[18] At Khirbat al-Minya and 'Anjar the apartments are quite different and vary significantly. The organization at Jabal Says is far better than the Qastal. At Jabal Says 23 doors open onto the courtyard instead of 13 at Qastal. The rigid arrangement at Qastal seems to be earlier than the others.

c) The audience hall of the palace at Khirbat al-Minya is a basilica, and the audience halls at 'Anjar and Jabal Says have a simple apse opening onto a basilica. As for the other Umayyad palaces, everywhere that an audience hall has been recognized (Mshatta, Amman), or restored (Khirbat al-Mafjar), a basilica is to be found. Only two palaces are different (Qasr al-Kharana and Qastal). At Qasr al-Kharana there is a cupola to be restored at the supposed throne room above the entrance, while the audience hall is not a basilica (the building is not large enough).[19] At

18. R. Brünnow, and A. von Domaszewsi, *Die Provincia Arabia*, (Strasbourg, 1905), vol. 2, pp. 95–105.

19. Jaussen and Savignac. *Les Châteaux arabes de Qusayr Amra, Haraneh et Juba, Mission archéologique de Arabie III*, (Paris, 1922), pp. 66-67.

Qastal we were able to restore the audience hall as a *trichonos* with an anteroom, based on the remains and carved blocks uncovered. By comparing the audience halls built during the Umayyad period it appears that both Qasr al-Kharana and Qastal seem to be earlier than all the others. At Qastal the lavishly carved stone decoration, not stucco as at Khirbat al-Mafjar, leads to the same conclusion.

d) Around the courtyard the four galleries are ornamented with mosaic floors with a total surface area exceeding 430 square meters. There is no other example of such richness in the other Umayyad palaces.

e) The palace was finished, as the presence of glass mosaic cubes and the crenelation using merlons indicate. If we admit that the palace, with over 19,000 cubic meters of ashlar blocks and 22,000 cubic meters of masonry, and the mosque and the dam, with over 5,000 cubic meters of ashlar blocks and 21,000 cubic meters of masonry, were built together, as the similarity of building techniques indicates, then we must consider that the construction of the whole site required a long time of at least a decade, however many laborers were employed. Thus the reign of al-Walid I (86-96 A.H./705-715 A.D.) may have been a little too short.

f) Qastal was cited by the Umayyad poet Kuthayyir 'Azza when he was at al-Muwaqqar at the court of Yazid II (101-105 A.H./719-724 A.D.).[20] The way he turned his compliment shows that Qastal was well known and already completed at that time, and that the owner was proud of it. This is enough to make a date in the reign of Hisham (105-125 A.H./724-743 A.D.) for Qastal impossible, and so raises a problem. According to the evidence, Yazid II could not have been the builder of Qastal. Could he have been proud of a place built by his brother Walid I? If so, why did he build al-Muwaqqar? If not, why did Kuthayyir 'Azza turn his compliment the way he did?

g) If we study the variation in errors of orientation at Qastal, we must note that first the palace was laid out with an error of seven degrees, then the mosque with an error of five degrees, and finally a number of graves with no error for some of them. The more accurate orientation of the graves indicates that some years separate the lay-out of the palace and some of the graves, enough to improve the orientation, but not too much to change the burial customs. If such an orientation is not to be recorded during the ten year-long reign of al-Walid II, then the hypothesis of dat-

20. Kuthayyir, 'Azza d. 105 A.H./723 A.D., *Diwan*, vol. 2, p. 130, edited by H. Pérès (Algers: Bibliotheca Arabica, 1928-1930). J. Sauvaget, "Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades, châteaux de Syrie," *Journal Asiatique* vol. 231 (1939), p. 20, footnote 2.

ing Qastal to the time of 'Abd al-Malik (65-86 A.H./685–705 A.D.) may not be absurd.

Finally, al-Walid I is famous because he ordered the restoration of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina, and we cannot see why he would have used an orientation towards Jerusalem. On the contrary 'Abd al-Malik tried to develop a new pilgrimage center in Jerusalem, ordering the construction of the Dome of the Rock. Therefore, the relationships that were established between Qastal and the Dome of the Rock may be interpreted as favoring a dating of Qastal to 'Abd al-Malik.

Dating Qastal to 'Abd al-Malik would explain:

1) The same value for the Umayyad cubit: 0.5420m in the Dome of the Rock and Qastal.
2) The orientation of the first wall laid out at the palace.
3) The orientation of the *qibla* of the mosque.
4) The rectangular recess in the mosque.
5) The rigid arrangement of apartments.
6) The enormous quantity of stone-work, some 25,000 cubic meters of ashlar blocks, and its high quality, unknown in other Umayyad buildings. This was often the sole argument for a Roman dating of Qastal.
8) The incredible richness of the decorations, mosaics, glass mosaics and carved stone, without parallel in the other Umayyad palaces.
9) The completed construction of the palace.
10) The mosaic and carved-stone patterns which seem to belong to the earliest Umayyad art, related to the Dome of the Rock.
11) The way in which Kuthayyir 'Azza turned his compliment to Yazid II, who may have been proud to own Qastal, his father's construction.

Morin and I have not been able to provide any proof to date Qastal to 'Abd al-Malik, and until such proof is forthcoming, this dating is only hypothetical. But we feel convinced that Qastal, or at least the palaces and the mosque, was laid out, built and completed in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (65-86 A.H./685-705 A.D.). This would make the palace the oldest agricultural, civil complex in Islam still surviving, and the mosque at Qastal with its minaret the oldest mosque still extant. But for how long? Given the ever-growing amount of destruction at Qastal we believe it better to draw immediate attention to Qastal as a site of major importance, instead of awaiting its complete destruction.[21]

21. In 1987 a joint project was organized with the Department of Antiquities, We are grateful to Dr. Ghazi Bisheh who accepted the responsibility of directing this project. Many thanks also to Dr. Fred Donner, who corrected this paper.

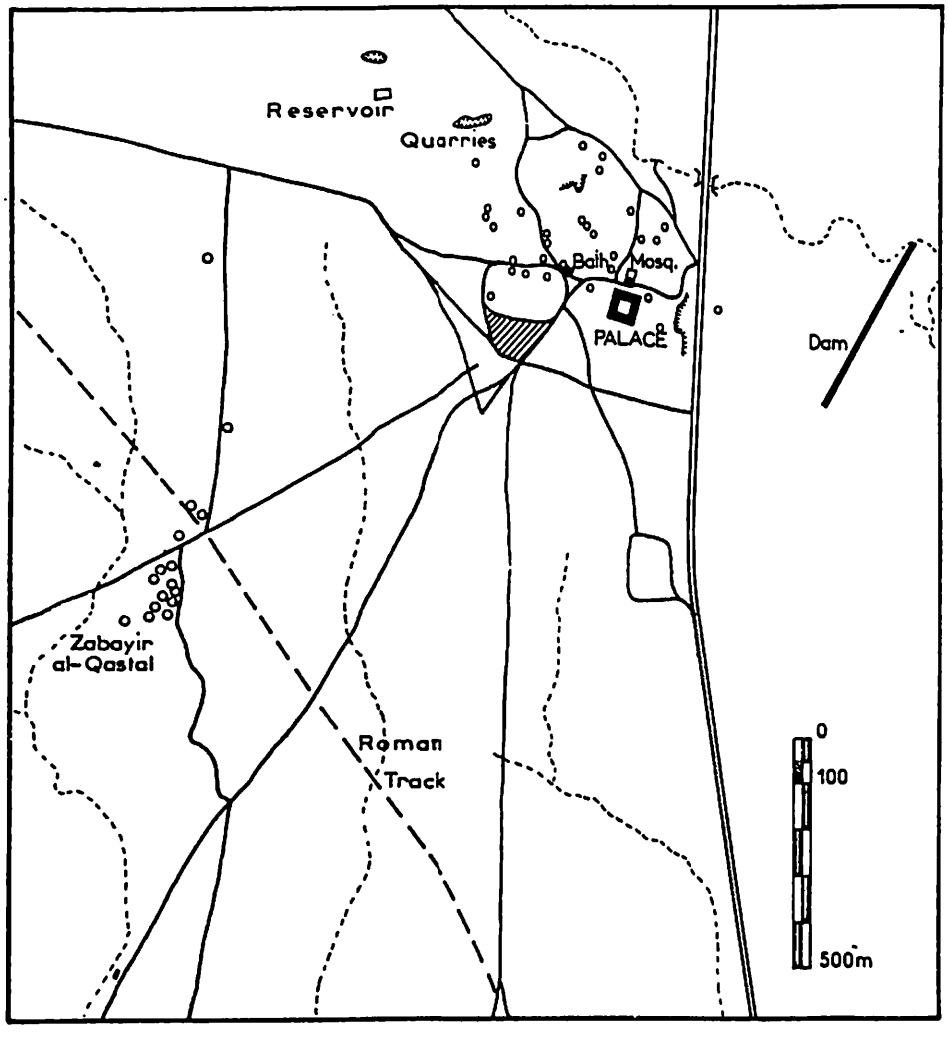


Figure 1

Qastal: plan showing the general location of the remains at the site: the Umayyad settlement including the palace, mosque, dam, bath, quarries, reservoir and the Umayyad cemetery, in addition to the ancient settlement (Tell Zabayir al-Qastal) with a group of cisterns. (Map — Dr. Y. Billaud).

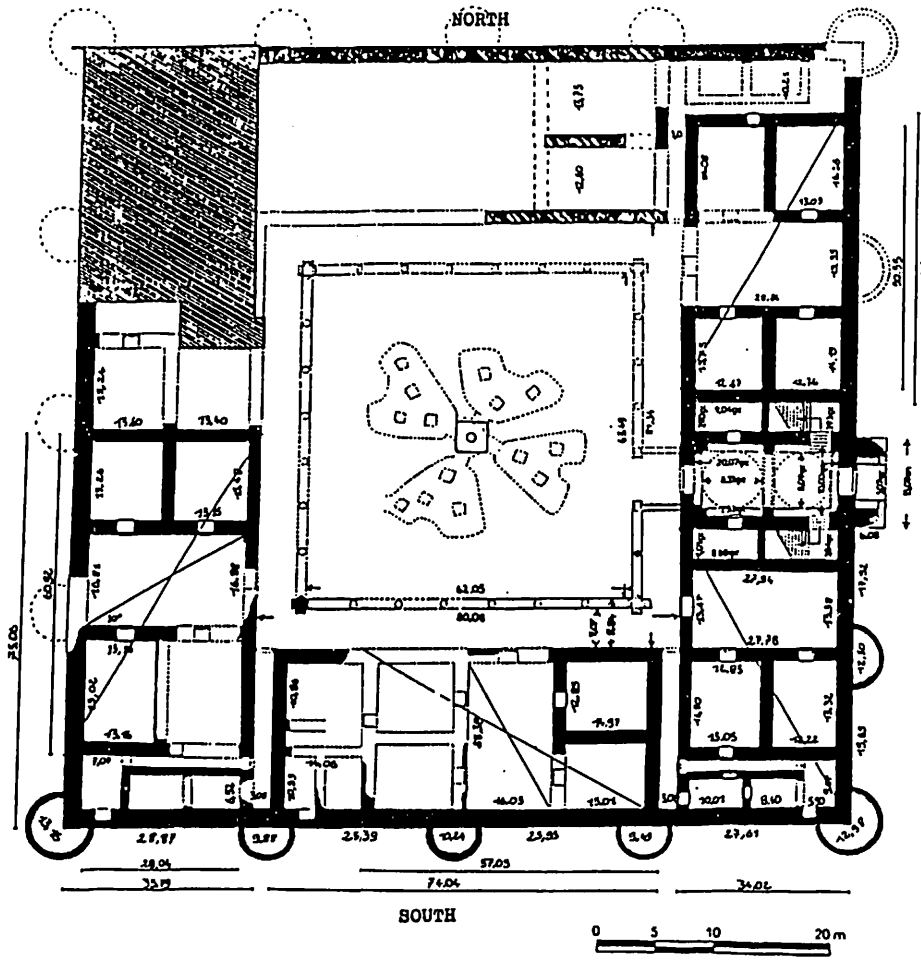


Figure 2

Qastal: plan of the palace showing the use of the 0.4520 m Umayyad cubit. (Plan – F. Morin).

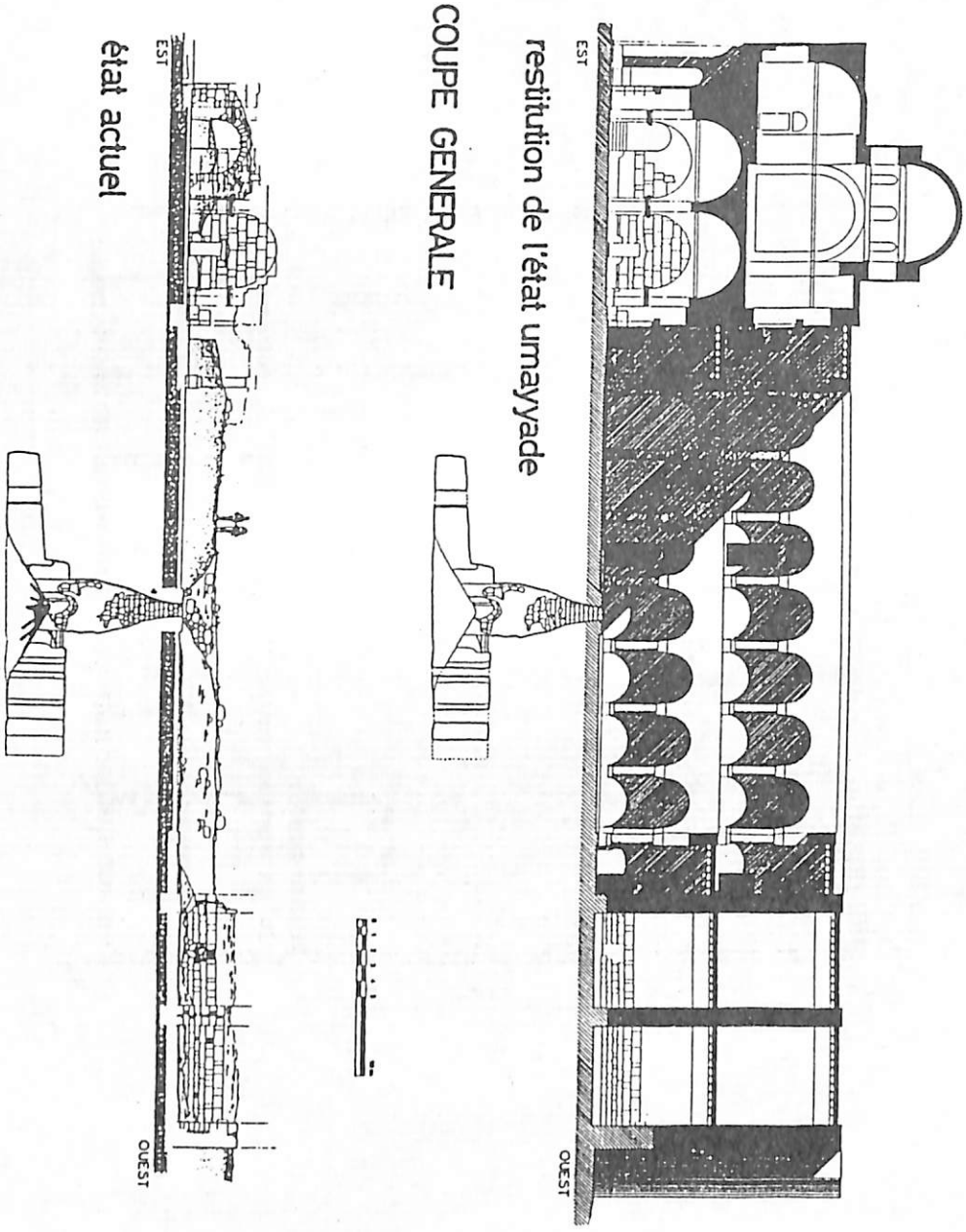


Figure 3

Qastal: East-West general section of the palace, upper part restored, lower part as extant in October 1983. (Restoration – F. Morin, drawing – L. Irah).

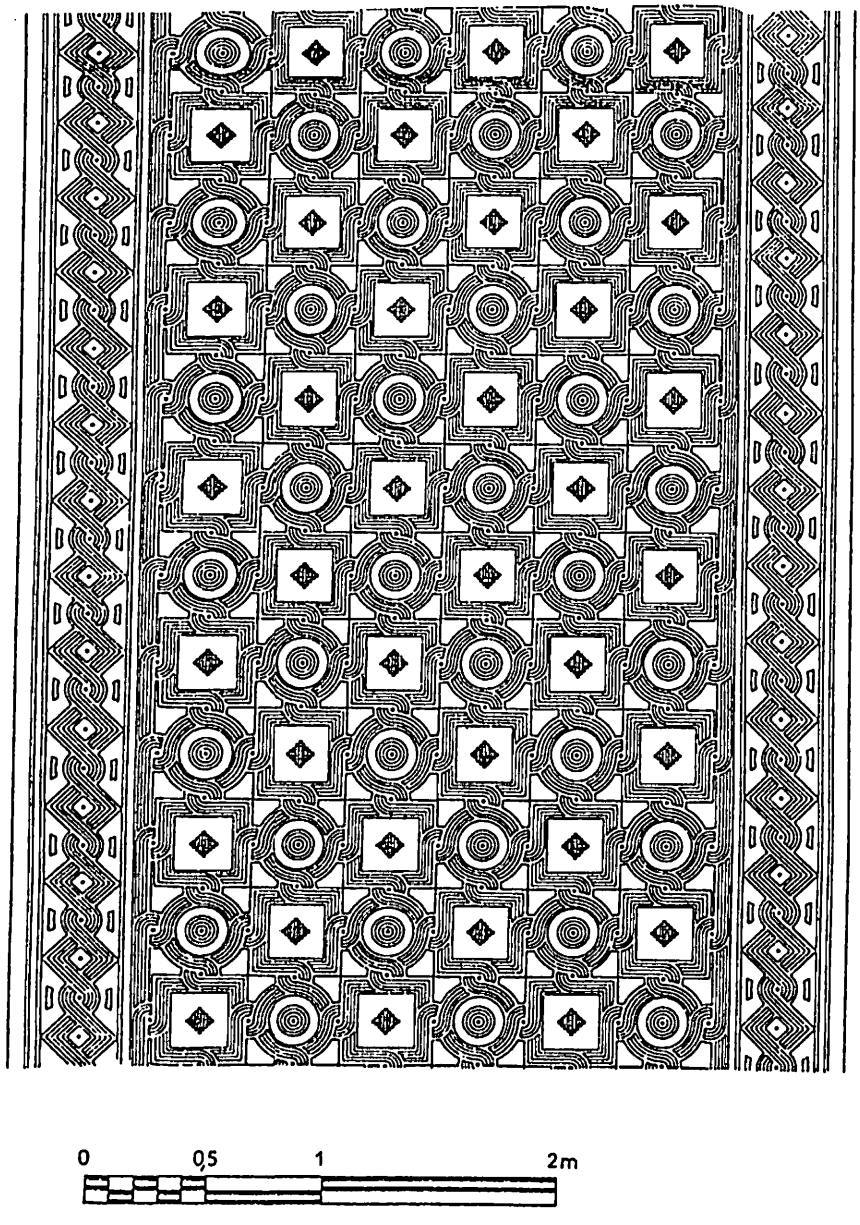


Figure 4

Qastal, the palace: restored plan of the mosaics in the east portico. (Drawing – G. Rogier).

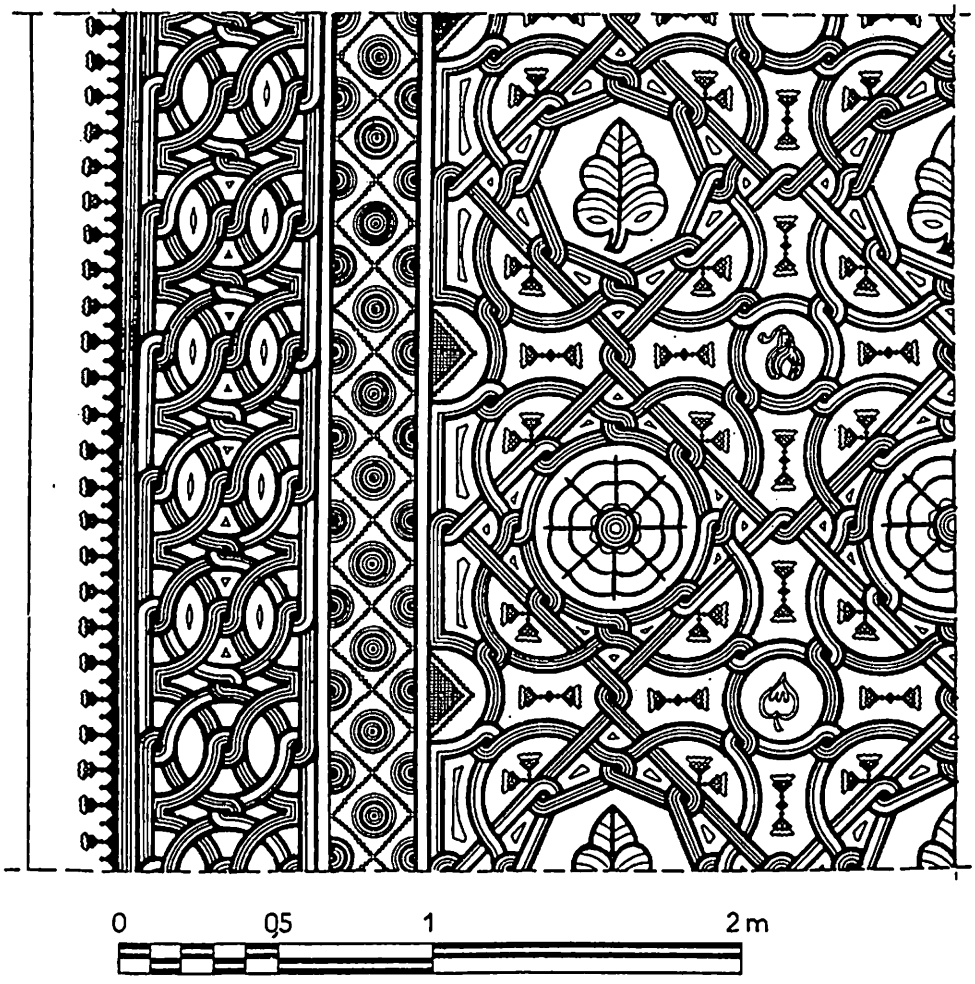


Figure 5

Qastal, the palace: restored plan of the mosaics in the north apartment. (Drawing — E. Ordener).

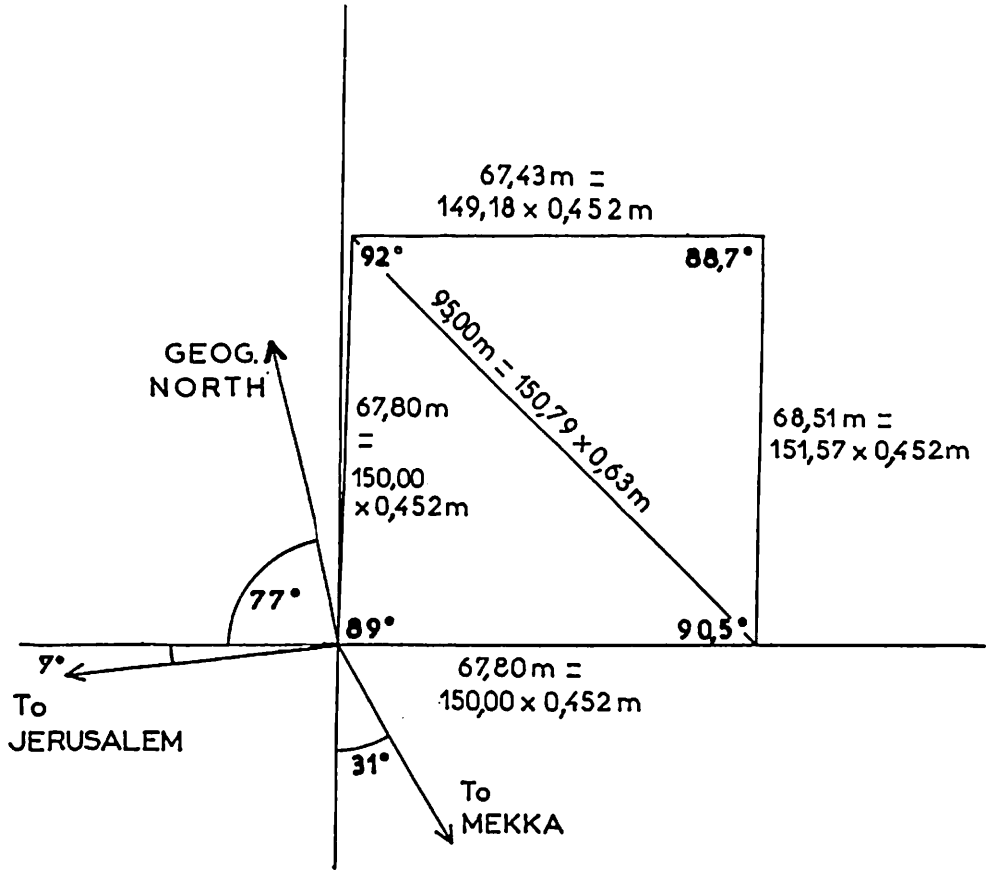


Figure 6

Qastal, the palace: restoration of the lay-out procedure. (Restoration – F. Morin).

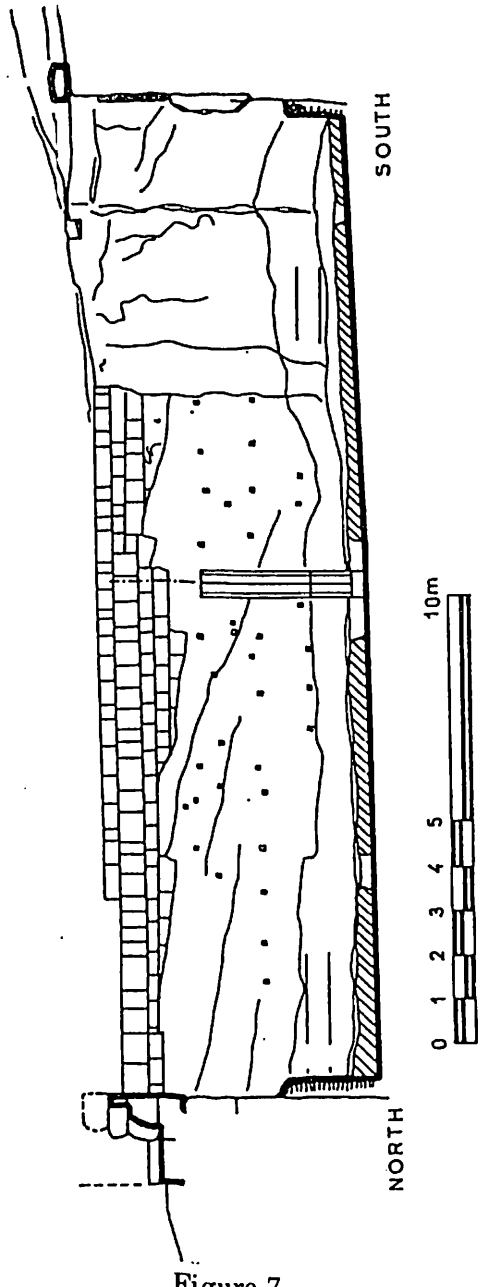


Figure 7
Qastal, the Umayyad reservoir? Section. (Drawing – F. Morin).

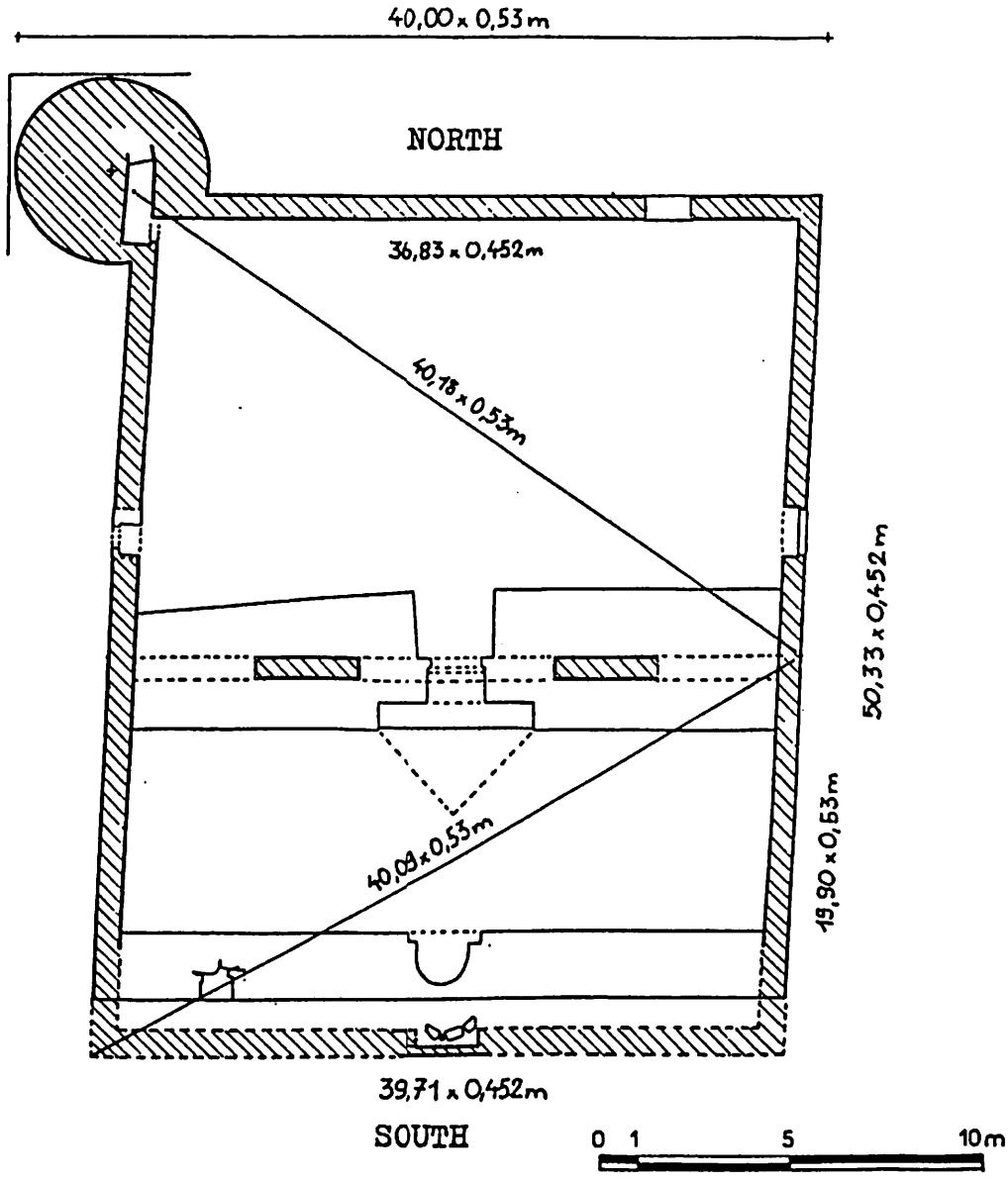


Figure 8

Qastal, the mosque: plan showing the lay-out procedure. (Measurements and drawing – F. Morin).

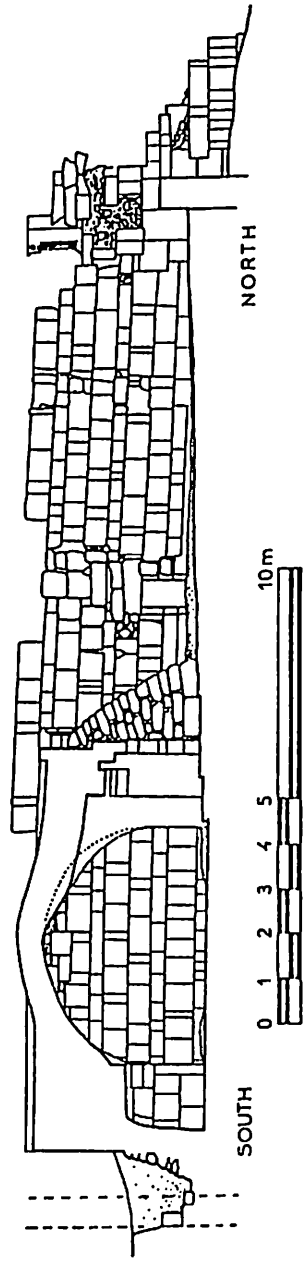


Figure 9

Qastal, the mosque: axial section. (Measurements and drawing – G. Rogier and E. Ordener).

Qasr al-Kharana	0.4532m,	0.4500m, 0.445m
Dome of the Rock	0.4520m	
Qastal	0.4520m	
Jabal Usays	0.4502m	
Khirbat al-Minya	0.4500m,	0.4486m and 0.482m
Qusayr 'Amra	0.4500m,	0.4480m, 0.445m and 0.48m
Al-Muwaqqar	0.4500m,	0.4480m, 0.445m
Average of palaces built by Hisham	0.4500m,	0.4487m, 0.445m and 0.48m / 0.49m
Khirbat al-Mafjar	0.4500m,	0.4485m, 0.445m, 0.435m
Mishatta	0.4500m,	0.4487m, 0.445m and 0.49m
Qasr al-Tuba	0.4500m,	0.432m and 0.48m
Mosque at Qasr al-Hallabat	0.4500m,	0.445m
Hammam al-Sarakh	0.4500m,	and 0.48m / 0.49m
Mosque at Khan al-Zabib	0.4500m,	0.445m and 0.48m
Mosque at Umm al-Walid	0.4500m,	0.445m and 0.48m

Figure 10

Evolution throughout Umayyad buildings of the exact length of the Umayyad cubit employed. (F. Morin).

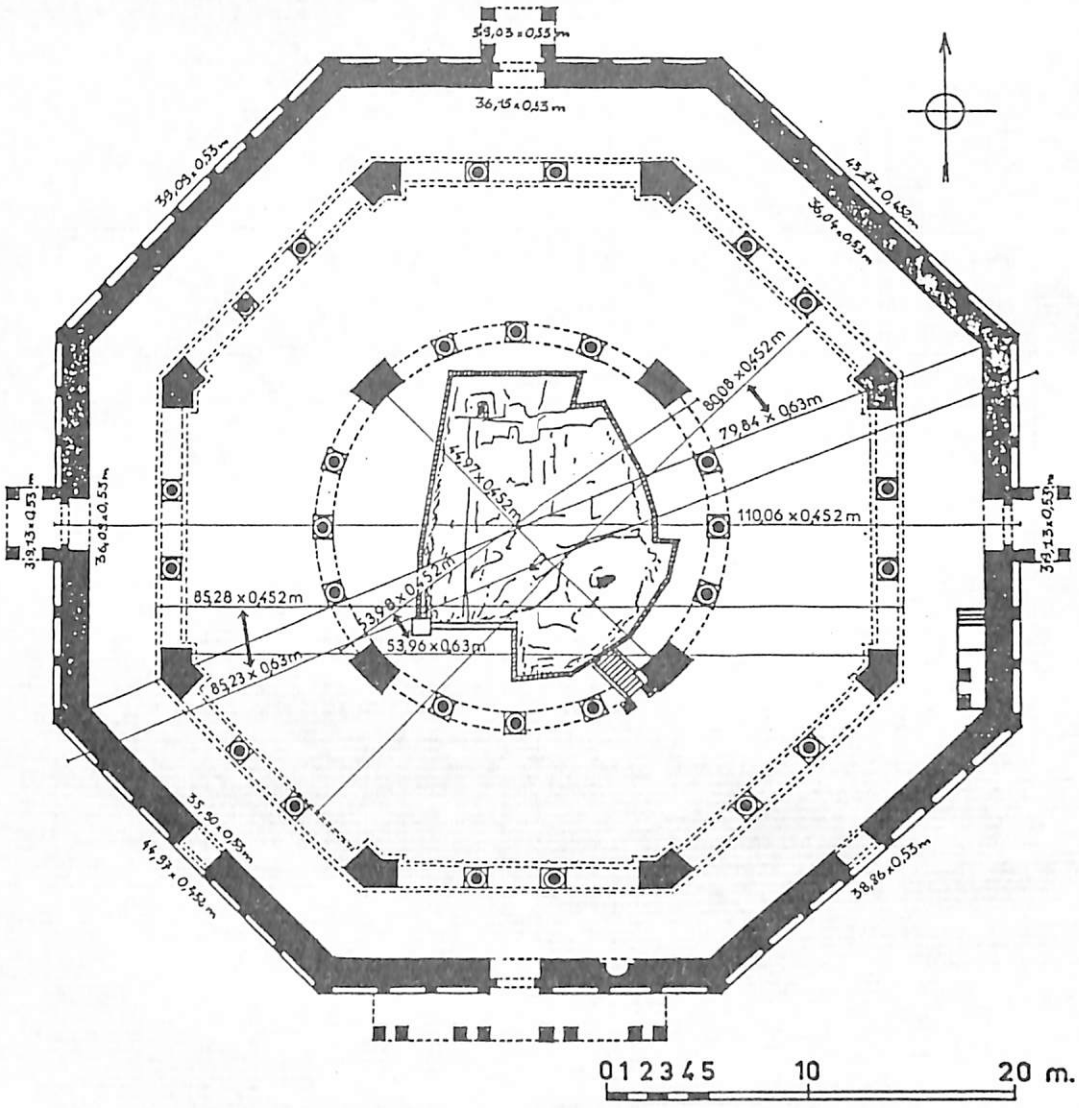


Figure 11

The Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem : the laying-out Procedure and the use of the 0.4520m Umayyad Cubit, the 0.53m Cubit and the 0.63m Cubit : please note the translation of measures from the 0.4520m Umayyad Cubit into the 0.63m Cubit. Drawing F. Morin after the plan given by GOLVIN L. : *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse musulmane*, 4 Vol. Paris, 1977, T.2, fig. N°4.

exact value of $\sqrt{2}$	= 1.4142135...		% error
Qasr al-Kharana :	0.63m / 0.4532m = 1.3901147...	implantation	(1.704%)
	0.63m / 0.4500m = 1.4000000...	construction	(1.005%)
	0.63m / 0.4450m = 1.4157303...	decoration	(0.107%)
Dome of the Rock :	0.63m / 0.4520m = 1.3938053...		(1.443%)
Qastal :	0.63m / 0.4520m = 1.3938053...		(1.443%)
Jabal Usays :	0.63m / 0.4502m = 1.3993780...		(1.049%)
palaces built under Hisham :	0.63m / 0.4487m = 1.4040561...	average	(0.718%)
Khirbat al-Mafjar :	0.63m / 0.4485m = 1.4046822...	layout palace	(0.673%)
	0.615m / 0.435m = 1.4137931...	layout bath	(0.029%)
	0.63m / 0.4450m = 1.4157303...	layout pool	(+0.107%)
Mishatta :	0.63m / 0.4450m = 1.4157303...	subdivision into 3	(+0.107%)
exact value of $\sqrt{2}$	= 1.4142135...		

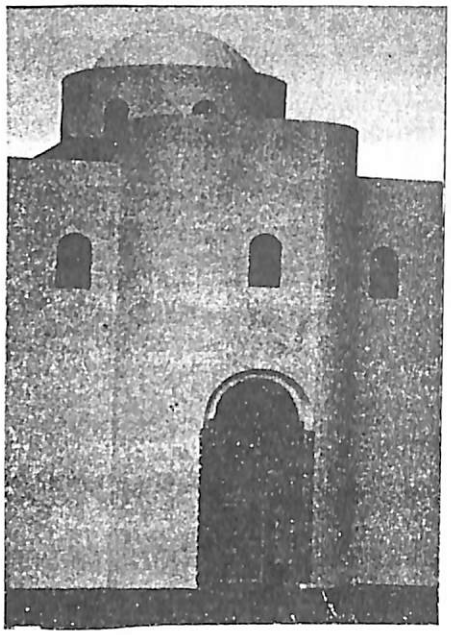
Figure 12

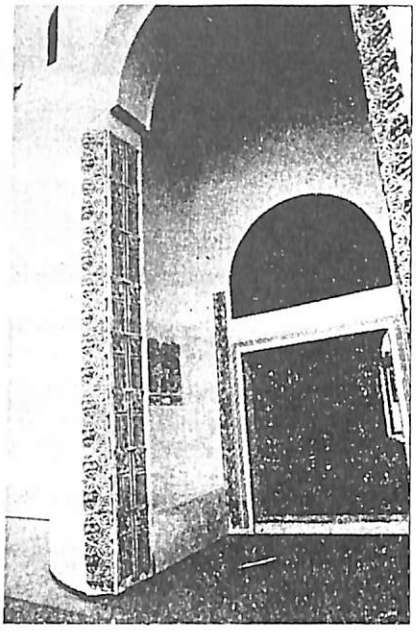
Evolution, throughout Umayyad Buildings, of the ratio between the exact value of the Umayyad Cubit recorded and the 0.63m Cubit (i.e. the varying approched value of $\sqrt{2}$). F. Morin.

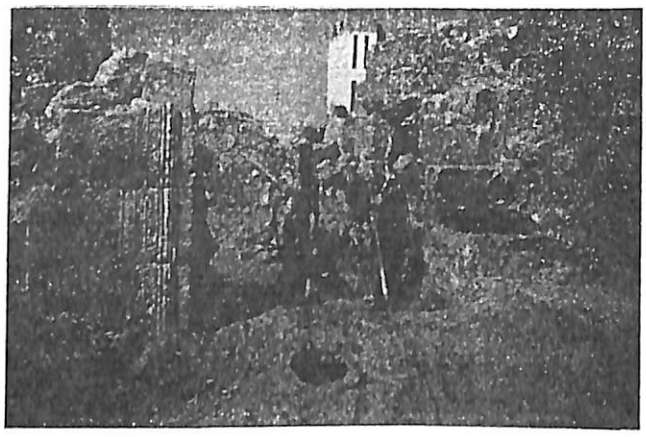
Qastal	: south wall	: line running 7° north of Jerusalem;
	: qibla	: line running 5° north of Jerusalem;
	:	or perpendicular 31°W & 29°W of Mekka;
Qasr al-Kharana	: west or east wall	: line running 7° west of Mekka;
Jabal Usays	: east wall	: line running 4° west of Mekka;
Khirbat al-Minya	: South-wall (qibla)	: perpend. 18° west of Mekka;
	:	or line running 14° south of Jerusalem
'Ayn al Jarr	: South-wall (qibla)	: perpend. 4° west of Jerusalem
	:	or perpendicular 28° west of Mekka;
Q. al-H. al-Garbi	: east wall	: line running 6° west of Mekka;
Q. al-H. al-Sharki	: east wall	: line running 1° west of Mekka;
Rusafat-Hisham	: east wall	: line running 4° west of Mekka;
Khirbat al-Mafjar	: east wall	: line running 19° west of Mekka;
	: South-wall (qibla)	: perpend. 19° west of Mekka;
Mishatta	: South-wall (qibla)	: line running 12° north of Jerusalem
	:	or perpendicular 40° west of Mekka;
Qasr al-Tuba	: South-wall (qibla ?)	unknown
	: north wall	: line running 13° south of Jerusalem
	:	or perpendicular 34° west of Mekka.

Figure 13

Evolution, throughout Umayyad Buildings, of the orientation error recorded at the first wall staked out . F. Morin.

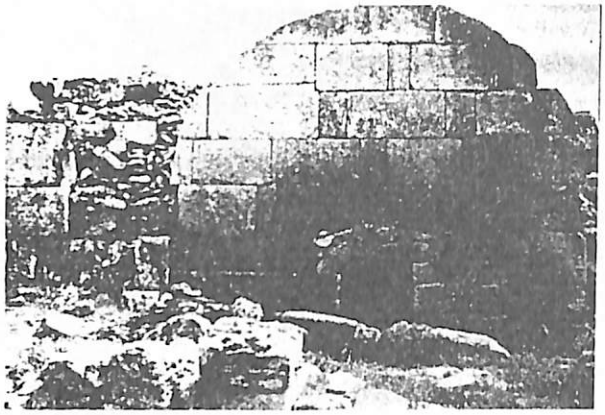


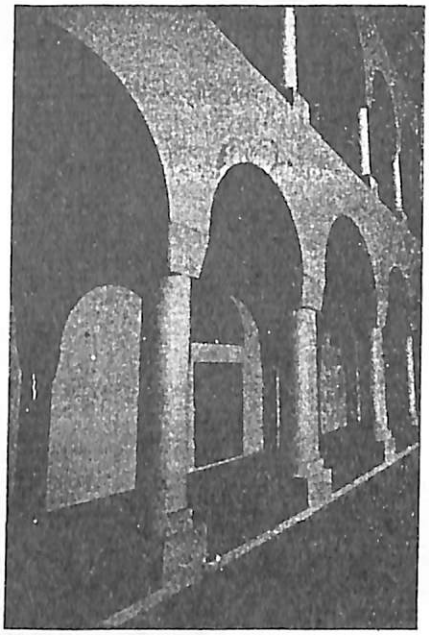


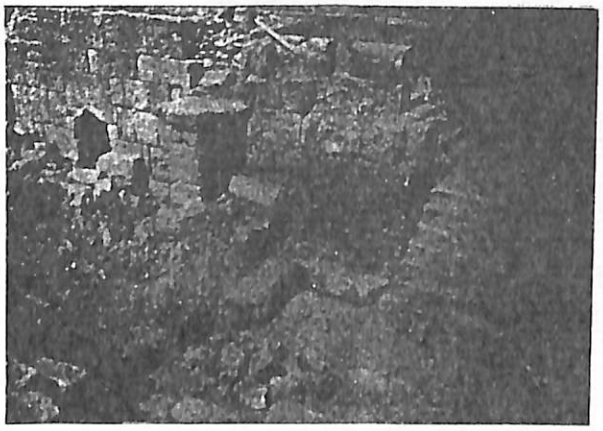


Illustrations 1-3

1. The entrance of the palace, restored. (Restoration, model and photo – F. Morin).
2. The remains of the entrance, with the carved door jamb on the left and the bench on the right. (Photo – F. Isler).
3. The same entrance of the palace, restored. (Restoration, model and photo – F. Morin).





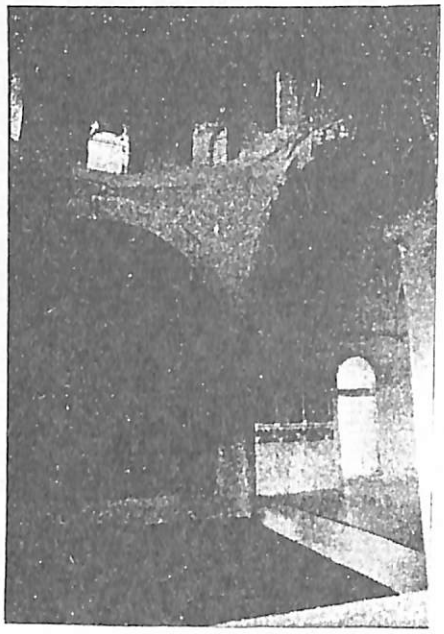


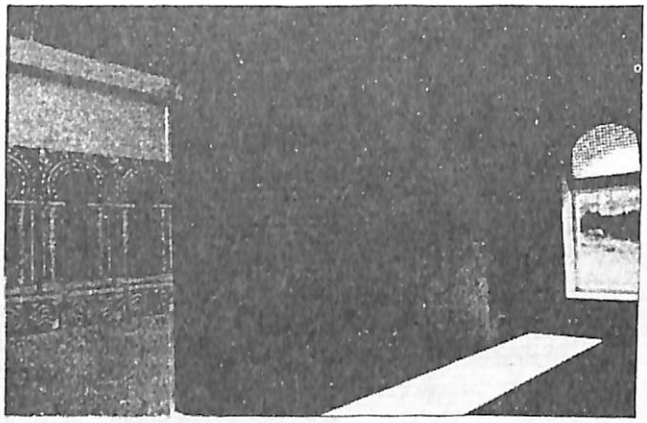
Illustrations 4-6

4. The vestibule, remains of a lateral arch. (Photo – P. Carlier).

5. The entrance hall after some clearance: the north staircase, the medium plaster and the opening of the small north lateral room. (Photo – F. Isler).

6. The facade of the two-story portico, restored, (Restoration, model and photo – F. Morin).



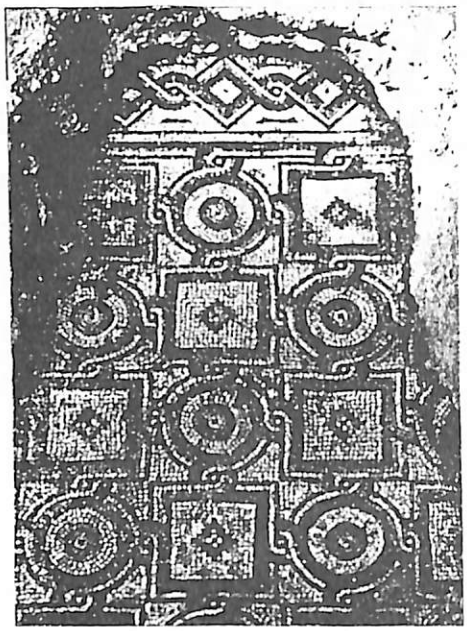


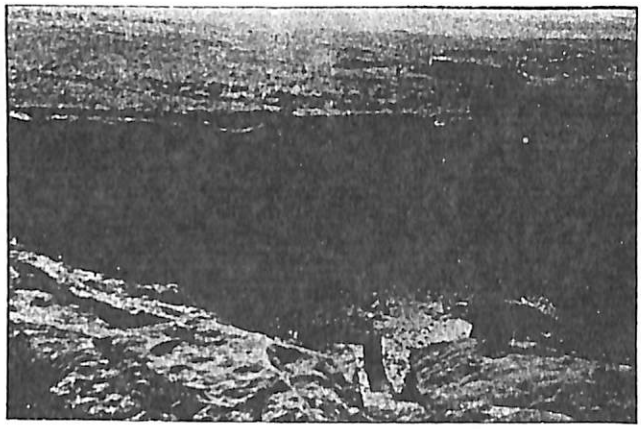
Illustrations 7-9

7. The audience hall seen from the south apse: on the left the north apse, on the right the central apse and the opening of a side room. (Restoration, model and picture – F. Morin).

8. One of the niches uncovered during the excavation, (L.1) mixing Oriental and Occidental patterns, and very similar to those still *in situ* in Amman. (Photo – P. Carlier).

9. The audience hall seen from the central apse, to the south. (Restoration, model and photo – F. Morin).



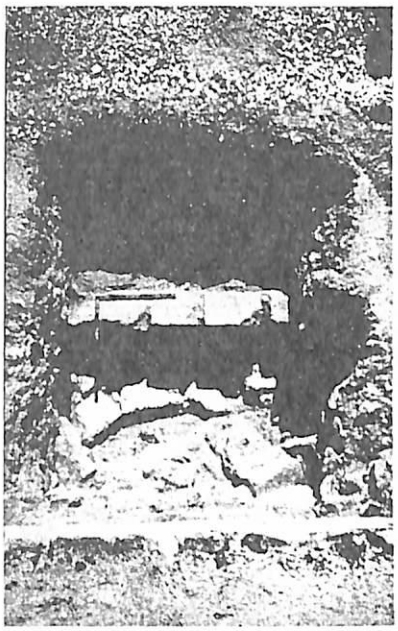


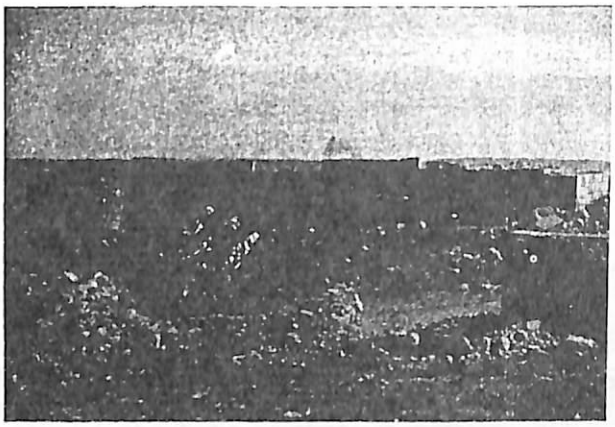
Illustrations 10-12

10.Mosaics in the east portico. (Photo – F. Isler).

11.Mosaics in the north apartment, the red border, one of the leaves, a fruit (guava?) and a rosette. (Photo – F. Isler).

12.The Umayyad reservoir: the collection-channel, the water-guage, and the staircase, as extant in June 1983 (Photo – F. Morin).





Illustrations 13-16

13.An Umayyad stele found in the cemetery. (Photo – F. Isler).

14.The mosque: from right to left the prayer room, the courtyard and the minaret. (Photo – F. Morin).

15.The two earliest *mihrabs* outside the mosque; the circular one is roughly built inside a rectangular recess in the Umayyad wall 1.55 m south of the present *qibla* wall of the mosque. (Photo – F. Isler).

The Umayyad Mosque of Amman

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University of London — SOAS

Introduction

It has long been known that there was an early mosque in Amman, but the disappearance of the last traces of the mosque over 60 years ago has meant that it has remained little known and unpublicised, while there have been few attempts to date it or discuss its development. Nevertheless, as we shall see, it was one of the most important historical mosques of Jordan.

The mosque was located at the junction of King Hussein and King Talal Streets, on the site of the present main mosque, the Jami' al-Husayni al-Kabir (fig. 1). It was located well to the west of the Roman *forum* — presumably the centre of the city in the Roman period.

Because its remains are no longer visible, the evidence about the building is limited, but enough perhaps to say something worthwhile about it. There are two descriptions with drawings, an inscription, and a number of photographs spread over the period between 1867 and 1922. However, so far I have been unable to find photographs of the prayer-hall of the mosque during the period when it was rebuilt and used by the Circassian community between the 1880s and 1922.

The Evidence

We have one textual reference to a mosque at Amman, by al-Muqaddasi in the *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim* (c. 375 A.H./985 A.D.):[1]

> "wa-lahu jami' zarif bi-taraf al-suq mufasfas al-sahn"
> "There is in the area of the market a fine mosque, whose courtyard is ornamented with mosaics."

In October 1881 the survey party of the Palestine Exploration Fund, under the direction of C.R. Conder, spent a week at Amman, planning the site of the ancient city. In the course of this visit, the party surveyed a large mosque. In the publication, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*, vol. I, *The*

1. al-Muqaddasi, Muhammad b. Ahmad, d. 356 A.H./967 A.D., *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1906), p. 175. French trans. A. Miquel (Damascus, 1963), section 186. The clause following this sentence "wa-qad qulna innahu shahiba Makka," has taken to describe the mosque also, and in the Leiden text the pronoun is correct. However the statement refers to the position of Amman and Mekka in a wadi.

Adwan Country, published in 1889, there is a description with a plan and three further drawings (figs. 2-3).[2] Their detailed photograph of the mosque was not successful, but the mosque appears in two general photographs of the wadi preserved in the Palestine Exploration Fund archive (pls. 1-3).[3] One of these (pl. 2) is earlier, and perhaps dates to Warren's visit in 1867.

Conder's Description:

"The minaret is described by Lord Linsay as the 'lofty steeple' of a church, but this is an error. The plan of the mosque is quite distinct, with its mihrab and minaret; and the brackets which supported the gallery of the Muedhdhen remain intact. The mosque is of the typical form, with a large square court to the north, and a broad, short, covered building on the south. The court is 120 feet wide east and west, by 135 feet north and south inside; the covered part is 37 feet north and south, by 120 feet east and west. The court had three entrances, the middle one 10 feet wide, the side ones 7 feet. The roof of the mosque was supported on narrow arches which sprung from the wall, and were corbelled out in such a manner as to be apparently — but not structurally — of the Moorish form, or rather more than a half-circle or ellipse. The mihrab in the south wall is 11 feet 9 inches in diameter, and a smaller mihrab has been built up inside it. The arches of the entrance-gates are semi-circular in two cases, while the central one is segmental. The segmental arch has a lintel-stone 16 feet long beneath it, and a second lintel lower again forming the head of the door. The west entrance has a lintel 9 feet long, similar to this last. The arrangement of segmental relieving arch and lintel is similar to that so often found in Byzantine buildings, but is also not uncommon in Arab work. There are four windows in this north wall between the entrances, also with round arches. This wall is standing to its original height, but the others are ruined in parts; the masonry is of moderate size and finish, not drafted. The Ausâm, or tribe-marks, of all the principal tribes are found on the walls. ... The minaret of this mosque is on the north wall near the west end, and although the masonry in this structure is smaller than that in the wall, there seems no reason to suppose that the minaret is a later addition. The minaret is square on plan, a tower 10 feet side. A shaft of stone 14 inches in diameter in the centre supports the winding stair in a cylindrical well about 6 feet in total diameter, the stairs being only 2 feet wide. There are thirty-three steps, with a total height of 33 1/2 feet, leading to a platform with four windows, one in each wall. The total height is about 45 feet, and the top is crowned by a dome, which is concealed outside by an elegant octagonal shaft which springs from the corbels of the

2. C. R. Conder, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*, vol. 1, *The Adwan Country* (London, 1889), pp. 57-59.

3. Photographs nos. 546 and 548 in the Palestine Exploration Fund archives.

Muedhdhen's gallery above the windows. The windows are round-arched, and partly filled in with a balustrade of stone 3 1/2 feet high. The minaret stair is reached from a low door in the east wall having a lintel above it, on which is crudely incised an Arab inscription. ... It is merely the formula: 'No God but Allah; Muhammed is the messenger of God."

"The use of round arches in this building seems to indicate (an) early date. ... The mosque at 'Ammân would thus appear to be a building of the Ommiyeh Khalifs (661-750 A.D.), or more probably one of the Abbaside family (750-850 A.D.) at latest."

The visit of the Palestine Exploration Fund in autumn 1881 appears to have preceded the foundation of the Circassian settlement at Amman, for no trace of settlement can be seen in their photographs. However after the Circassians arrived, the prayer hall of the mosque was cleared out, and the roof rebuilt, for service as the mosque of 'Amman. When H.C. Butler, leading the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria, visited Amman in 1904, the development of Amman had meant that the north wall of the building had become separated from the restored prayer hall. Bulter did not appreciate the unity of the building, and includes the north wall in the *Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria* under the heading "Ancient Wall near Mosque," with two drawings.[4]

Butler's Description:

"The best preserved of the fragments of buildings that are later than the great Roman period, is a fine section of wall, with three portals and four windows in it, that now forms the north side of the court-yard of the mosque. The wall is of great thickness (1.55 m), laid dry, in courses of 45-50 cm; the portals are high and spacious, two of them have flat lintels and stilted relieving arches, and the other, the middle one, has a lintel below a flat segmental arch. The windows are all roundheaded. The structure is devoid of ornament of any kind. To the north or outer face of the wall, near its west end, is attached a tower, or minaret, of later and poorer workmanship, built in courses 30 to 40 cm wide, laid in mortar. The entrance to this tower has been roughly cut through the ancient wall. The great central portal has been reduced in size by the insertion of new jambs and lintel. The wall, when mentioned by travellers, has always been considered as Mohammedan work, and part of the mosque. It has at present no further relation to the mosque, which is a small structure, and, as I imagine, not very ancient, further than that it bounds one side of the court before the mosque. The wall

4. H.C. Butler, *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, (PAES) Div. 2, Sect. A, *Southern Syria* (Leiden, 1913-1919), pp. 60-61.

itself with its portals and windows was built to form one side, or the front, of a building; it is not a courtyard wall, and if it formed the front of an earlier mosque than the present one, as it may have done, the mosque was, in all likelihood, the one described in the 10th century by Mukaddasi. But even so the matter of the date of the wall is not settled. It is difficult for me to believe that the wall is Mohammedan work ... but the character of the wall seems either very late Roman, or early Christian. The wall might easily have formed the north side of a large church ... the typical side wall of Syrian basilicas."

Inscription

A building inscription was recorded by Littmann for the Princeton Expedition.[5] This was a stone, size probably 80 x 55 cm, found in a disturbed location in the mosque, no details of position. Kufic script with pronounced serifs: whether relief or incised is unknown. No diacritical marks (fig. 6)
Text:

١ ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
٢ ـ مما سهل الله عزور
٣ ـ جل وله الحمد عمار
٤ ـ رته على يدى القائد
٥ ـ الحسن بن ابرهيم رحمه
٦ ـ الله ورحم من ترحم
٧ ـ عليه

Transcription:

1. bism Allah al-Rahman al-Rahim
2. mimma sahala Allah 'azza wa
3. jalla wa-lahu al-hamd 'ima-
4. ratuhu 'ala yaday al-qa'id
5. al-Hasan bn Ibrahim rahimahu
6. Allah wa-rahima man tarahhama
7. 'alayhi

Translation:

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate/this is among what God who is mighty and/great, and to whom be praise facilitated to be/built under the direction of the Commander/ al-Hasan b. Ibrahim, may God have mercy/ upon him, and may He have mercy upon him who says God have mercy/ upon him."

The text is undated. The script may be compared to two gravestones attributed to either the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th centuries.[6] These scripts however lack serifs and are described as archaising. A third gravestone in this style carries a date of 3?5 A.H., suggested to be 305 A.H./917-918 A.D.[7]

5. E. Littmann. *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div 4, Sect. D, *Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1949), no. 2.

6. M. Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, part 2, vol. 1, *Syrie du Sud, Jérusalem "Ville"* (Cairo, 1922), nos. 10 and 15.

7. Ibid, no. 19.

It seems most likely that the inscription belongs to the 4th/10th century, but the possibility of the 3rd/9th century cannot be excluded.

al-Hasan b. Ibrahim also appears unknown to history. The name is Arab, but without a *nisba*. The title of *qa'id* (tr. "commander" or "general") denotes a professional military officer of the Caliphate or its successor states.[8] This man ought to be an Abbasid, Tulunid, Ikhshidid or possibly Fatimid general.

Later Visitors

In 1921 the mosque was visited and photographed by Creswell (pls. 4-5), but he seems to have made no notes about the building.[9] In 1923 the site was also photographed by the English archaeologist Garstang,[10] and St. John Philby, while he was adviser to Amir 'Abd Allah.

Assessment of the Evidence

The survey party of the Palestine Exploration Fund were military engineers and surveyors. They were not experts in archaeology, but the publication attempted to record impartially all the remains of Amman. H.C. Butler was a Classical archaeologist, and his account of the monuments of Amman is intended to be a description of the Classical remains. The description omits the Islamic remains. Although his account of the remains at the mosque, as quoted above, is uncertain about their date, he gave the impression to the British Mandate authorities in Palestine that the building was definitely a church.[11] It is for this reason that the building has remained unknown.

The photographs of 1881 show clearly that the whole was a separate building (pls. 1-3), and Conder's plan can be seen to give a generally accurate idea of its layout. The evidence of an early date of construction discussed later suggests that it is the same building as that mentioned by al-Muqaddasi.

Although we have a good idea of the courtyard and the north wall and minaret from the photographs, we have very little evidence about the prayer hall, of which no photographs have come to light.

As it stood in 1881 (fig. 2), the mosque was a rectangular building measuring 56.8 x 39.7 m. It was entered by three gates in the north wall. The two flanking entrances had stilted semicircular arches, the western one

8. G.S. Colin, "Ka'id," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., (Brill, 1978), p. 456.

9. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum: Transjordan nos. 68-69.

10. Garstang Collection, housed at the Palestine Exploration Fund: nos. G180, G183.

11. E. Monroe, *Philby of Arabia* (London, 1973), p. 129.

having a stone lintel. The central entrance had a lintel and flat segmental arch. A secondary lower lintel and jambs had been fitted into this entrance. The wall was also pierced by four windows. Towards the northwest corner there was a square minaret. At the top there was an interior room lit by four windows, and approached by a spiral staircase. Above the square section there were the brackets for a gallery, and a further octagonal section, of which four courses survived.

The prayer-hall measured 39.7 x 14.0 m, and was divided from the courtyard (*sahn*) by a solid wall with three entrances. The *mihrab* was set in a salient, and a second smaller *mihrab* was built up inside it. The springing of six arcades perpendicular to the *qibla* wall was observed, and these had the slight return of a horseshoe shape.

Bulter was probably wrong in suggesting that the masonry was laid dry; it is usual for mortar to erode out of the joints, and for traces only to survive in the interior of the wall.

The photographs also show that Butler was more correct than Conder in claiming the minaret to be a later addition.

Reconstruction of the Phasing

A mosque in use over such a long period of time, as this one, clearly had a complex constructional history. We cannot hope to recover that in detail from the evidence available. That which we do have suggests four main periods of construction:

Period 1: Original Construction

The exterior wall, a rectangle measuring 56.8 x 39.7 m, belonged to the original construction. It was built of finely dressed plain limestone ashlars in courses 0.40-0.50 m deep. The north wall was 1.55 m thick, as were probably the remainder. The enclosure wall stood 5.9 m high in Butler's elevation drawing (fig. 4), but it is clear that the top of the foundation level on the inside was 1.0-1.2 m lower, making a total surviving height of 7.0-7.1 m.

There were three entrances in the north wall, the part about which we know most. The central entrance was not placed axially; rather its western jamb lay on the axis of the mosque. It was 3.55 m wide, with a lintel and segmental relieving arch. The two flanking entrances were 2.30 m wide. While only the western entrance preserved a lintel, it is clear that the eastern had had one also. Both had stilted, semi-circular relieving arches.The wall was also pierced by four round-arched windows, 0.98 m wide and 1.5 m high.

Why the facade was not symmetrical is not at all clear. While it is possible that there was an earlier minaret that was later replaced, it should be remembered that the mosque was built in the centre of an already

existing city, and it may be that limitations of the site demanded an asymmetric design.

A row of beam holes in the exterior facade over the doors and windows shows that the building had had a colonnaded porch; but the photographs do not show whether it continued to the western corner. The Jami' al-'Umari at Busra has a similar porch in front of a triple entrance; the mosque of Qasr al-Hallabat also has a porch around three sides of the building.[12] At the top of the inside face there is a ledge; this should be interpreted as intended to carry the roofing timbers of an arcade for the *sahn*.

The *qibla* end of the mosque is more of a problem. The *mihrab* was clear enough. It was set in a rectangular salient 4.9 x 0.75 m, and there is no reason to suppose that the salient, which is visible in the Palestine Exploration Fund photographs, was not original. The *mihrab* itself was large — 3.58 m in diameter — and topped with a semi-dome.

The Palestine Exploration Fund plan shows that the prayer hall measured 39.7 x 14.0 m overall. The facade wall facing the *sahn* was a solid wall with only three entrances, each 2 m wide. If this wall belonged to the period 1 construction, then the plan would be unique among hypostyle mosques: the usual architectural practice in areas with cold winters was an arched facade filled in with wooden doors. While it is possible that the building was unique, it is more likely that the facade was a rebuild. At the much smaller mosque of al-Qastal the Umayyad facade arches have been covered over with a later wall, turning the mosque into a small enclosed building.[13] The same may have happened here; the facade was originally composed of arches; at a later date a solid facade wall was built to enclose a smaller area. In addition Butler thought the period 4 mosque, which incorporated this wall as its facade, "not very ancient," a remark which suggests that he distinguished this masonry from the period 1 work.[14] Finally we have no way of knowing whether this wall was on the same line as the original facade; examples of mosques are known where the width of the prayer-hall has been increased, and decreased.[15]

12. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture (EMA)*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Oxford, 1969), figs. 546, 558-559.

13. H. Gaube, " 'Amman, Harane und Qastal: vier frühislamische Bauwerke in Mitteljordanien," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* vol. 93 (1977), pp. 69-72.

14. Butler, *PAES*, p. 61.

15. Examples of mosques where an aisle has been added to widen the prayer-hall are common, for example Harran. The mosque of 'Ana is an example of a prayer-hall reduced in width from three to two transverse aisles: A. Northedge, A. Bamber and M. Roaf, *Excavations at 'Ana* (Warminster, 1988), fig. 6.

The Palestine Exploration Fund plan also shows the springing of six arches perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, on centres 3.7 m apart, with a wider axial nave 6.5 m centre to centre. The 3.7 m spacing fits perfectly with there having been two more arches in the original plan, making a total of eight.

How was the roof supported by these arches? The 1923 mosque, which appears to follow the plan of the mosque as repaired in the 1880s quite closely, was built with a single row of eight columns the length of the centre of the prayer-hall. It is difficult to believe that this was the original arrangement, though this possibility cannot be entirely excluded. The interior dimension north-south was 11.3 m — making an arch span of 5.65 m — and the distance between the arcades was only 3.7 m. It was usual in Umayyad mosques for the space between the arcades to be greater than the span of the arches.

We may suppose then that, in the period when the horseshoe arches were built, the arcades were carried on either two or three columns or piers. If there had been two in each arcade, then the arch span would have been equal to the spacing of the arcades, resulting in square bays; if three, the arch span would have been less, with a ratio of 3:4. Both solutions are known to be possible.[16]

The horseshoe form of the arches, noted by Conder, in their springing from the facade wall of the prayer hall could have belonged to this original phase: structural horseshoe arches are found before Islam in 6th century churches, such as at Rusafa, and in the Umayyad period at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, and the mosque of Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi.[17] Decorative horseshoe arches are common, and are found in 'Amman in the niches of the reception hall of the palace in the Citadel. However, structural horseshoe arches are also particularly a feature of post-Umayyad architecture in Syria; the gates of the third period of walls at 'Ayn Zarba (now Anavarza in Turkey), attributed to Sayf al-Dawla in the middle of the

16. Hypostyle mosques in the east, e.g. Damghan — A. Godard, "Le Tari Khana de Damaghan," *Gazette de Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, vol. 12 (1934), pp. 225-235; Siraf — D. Whitehouse, *Siraf III: The Congregational Mosque and Other Mosques from the 9th to the 12th Centuries* (London, 1980); Wasit — F. Safar, *Wasit, the Sixth Season's Excavations* (Cairo, 1945); and the Great Mosque of al-Mutawakkil at Samarra' — K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Oxford, 1940), fig. 105, usually had an arrangement of square bays. Umayyad mosques of the Levant, for example the Umayyad mosque of Damascus — Creswell, *EMA*, 2nd ed., fig. 90; al-Jami' al-'Umari in Busra — Creswell, *EMA*, 2nd ed., fig. 546; the mosque of Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi — O. Grabar, et. al, *City in the Desert*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass, 1978), fig. 27D, and Harran all have aisles wider than the intercolumnation.

17. Creswell, *EMA*, 2nd ed., pp. 198-201 — Damascus; fig. 578 — Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi.

4th/10th century, the Numayrid gateway in the Citadel of Harran (5th/11th century), and the 6th/12th century facade of the mosque of Harran all have horseshoe arches.[18]

The horseshoe arches here at 'Amman then could be either original or an early addition. It is impossible to be certain in the light of the very limited knowledge that we have. This is nevertheless a significant issue, for Conder's plan indicates that the arcades were aligned perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, an unusual feature for the Umayyad period. There is at least one example, the Mosque of 'Amr in Fustat,[19] where the direction of the arcades has been changed from parallel to the *qibla* wall, to perpendicular to that wall, in the course of the building's history. It is thus possible, but not very likely, that if the horseshoe arches here represent a rebuild, then the direction of the arcades was also changed.

To the period 1 construction surely also belongs the single detail from al-Muqaddasi: that the courtyard was ornamented with mosaic. These were presumably wall mosaics similar to those of the Dome of the Rock, or the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus.

The Palestine Exploration Fund survey calculated the *qibla* of the mosque to be 185°, that is, to the west of due south. The correct *qibla* from 'Amman is 165°, to the east of south. The *qibla* of the mosque was therefore apparently incorrect by 20°. However there is some reason to believe that the survey's north point was incorrect. Comparison with the modern orientation of buildings also shown on the town plan suggests that the error was 11-12°.[20] The probable *qibla* was therefore about 173-174°, and inaccurate by 8-9°.[21] The mosque could be described as pointing roughly at Mecca.

Thus the mosque as it first stood can be reconstructed (fig. 7) as a rectangular hypostyle building, probably with no minaret, but with three entrances in the north wall, which also had a colonnaded porch. The

18. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien* (Bonn, 1976), p. 380; M. Gough, "Anazarbus," *Anatolian Studies* vol. 2 (1952), pp. 98, 103-107; D. S. Rice, "Studies in Medieval Harran I," *Anatolian Studies* vol. 2 (1952), pp. 36-84. The latest discussion of the mosque of Harran, including drawings from D.S. Rice's unpublished work, is to be found in T. Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden, 1986).

19. Creswell, *EMA*, 1st ed., fig. 186.

20. Magnetic variation since 1981 amounts to 2° 34'.

21. When the present mosque was built, the *qibla* was recalculated by Philby. A poet of Amman celebrated this event (Monroe, *Philby*, p. 129):
Our prince like the moon which enlightens the east and the west,
Abandoned the *qibla* of Omar, because he thought Philby's the best.

courtyard had a *riwaq*. The prayer-hall had eight arcades aligned most probably perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, and there was a wider axial nave. The *mihrab* was large and set in a rectangular salient. The *qibla* was only approximate, but it could not be said to be outside a margin of error to be expected.

Dating: The dating evidence lies in the architecture, principally in the details of the north wall. The combination of round-arched windows, and doors with lintels and round relieving arches is found in Umayyad religious architecture, at the Dome of the Rock, the Jami' al-'Umari at Busra, the mosque of Qasr al-Hallabat, and the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus.[22] Outside the Umayyad period the parallels are earlier, particularly the cathedral at Busra, Qalb Lozeh, and Qal'at Sim'an.[23]

The masonry is also typically Umayyad, well-laid ashlar limestone masonry. This also resembles Byzantine masonry, but in the context of a mosque, of course it can only be Umayyad.

These features would suggest that period 1 is Umayyad, and less strongly that it is an earlier rather than a later Umayyad building, before the more systematic introduction of the pointed arch towards the end of the period. For example the architecture of this phase is quite different from the Umayyad palace in the Citadel. The reception hall of that building has its parallels with late Umayyad construction, and probably belongs to the reign of the Caliph Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik.[24] The most likely place for the construction of the mosque would be between the reigns of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-105 A.H./705-724 A.D.).

Period 2: Modification

A number of changes took place between the completion of the original mosque, and the addition of the minaret:

(i) As above, the facade of the prayer-hall was rebuilt with a wall with three entrances, each 2 m wide. The construction appears to have been of ashlars (pl. 5). Plate 5 also shows that this reconstruction was a rebuild of the original wall, for a filled-in earlier and wider central entrance is visible.

22. Creswell, *EMA*, 2nd ed. fig. 24 — Dome of Rock; pls 79-80-Busra; fig. 559 — Qasr al-Hallabat; fig. 88, 92 and 96 — Damascus.

23. Butler, *PAES*, Div. 2, Sect. A, Part 4, ills. 248, 281-286 — Busra; H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, ed. Smith (Princeton, 1929 - Qalb Lozeh and Qal'at Sim'an.

24. A. Northedge, *Qal'at 'Amman in the Early Islamic Period*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1984), pp. 99-100.

(ii) The colonnaded porch and *riwaq* of the *sahn* disappeared before the construction of the minaret. The seating of the minaret on the wall overlaps the ledge that held the roof timbers of the *riwaq*.

(iii) The two flanking doors of the north wall were blocked up and the central entrance was reduced in size with new smaller jambs and a lintel. The jambs are constructed of dry-laid ashlars.

(iv) A secondary *mihrab* was built inside the earlier one.

These items of modification could have belonged to one programme of work; equally they could belong to more than one period. However items (i) and (ii) are certainly related. Perhaps the mosque was damaged in an earthquake, similar to the damage known to have been caused in the citadel and only the prayer-hall was restored. The mosque was reduced in size, and the *sahn* left unbuilt. We can not prove whether items (iii) and (iv) are contemporary.

However what construction does the inscription of al-Hasan b. Ibrahim apply to? Al-Muqaddasi's description of the mosque as a fine building with a decorated *sahn* is difficult to reconcile with a collapse of the *riwaqs*, and a rebuild of the prayer-hall. Perhaps this change post-dated the composition of the *Ahsan al-Taqasim* (c. 375 A.H./985 A.D.). Such a *terminus post quem* rather post-dates the likely date range of the inscription. For this reason I suggest that the inscription refers either to building operations of which we know nothing, or to the new *mihrab*. The damage to, and reconstruction of, the mosque (i) & (ii) might be linked to the termination of Stratum III at the citadel, possibly caused by an earthquake in the 5th/11th or early 6th/12th centuries.[25]

Period 3: The Minaret

The minaret was composed of two sections, and was clearly an addition, according to Butler. The lower section was a square tower 3.3 m to the side. There was a circular spiral staircase 1.8 m in diameter, reached through a low secondary doorway cut in the north wall of the mosque. Over the doorway was a graffito of the *shahada: la ilaha illa Allah Muhammad rasul Allah*. The staircase led up through 33 steps to a domed room with four windows. The windows were partly filled with balustrades *circa* 1 m high. The upper section was octagonal, and contained the brackets of an octagonal gallery, and four courses of a drum. As there was no obvious access to the gallery from below, this section may have been an addition. The minaret was built of courses of ashlars 0.30-.40 m high, in mortar. An unidentifiable blazon was incised above the window on the south face of the minaret.

25. Ibid, pp. 210-212.

Dating and Discussion: The result resembled the usual Middle Islamic minarets of the Levant - a square tower surmounted by a short drum with a roofed gallery. In other minarets such a drum might be square, octagonal or round. Square tower minarets had a long history in the Levant, the earliest purposefully built structure being the minaret of the Jami' al-'Umari at Busra (104 A.H./720-1 A.D.). However the circular spiral staircase implies a much later date. The smaller drum and roofed gallery also appeared later, possibly at the Saljuq minaret of the Great Mosque of Aleppo (483 A.H./1089 A.D.).[26] Minarets of this form continued into the 9th/15th century, cf. particularly the close parallels of the minarets of the Khanqah Salahiyya (820 A.H./1417 A.D.), and of the mosque of Afdal 'Ali in Jerusalem.[27] On the whole the small size of the masonry favours a later rather than an earlier date. Possibly the minaret is Mamluk, late 7th/13th century or 8th/14th century.

Period 4: Modern Reuse

Subsequent to the Palestine Exploration Fund survey of 1881, when the building was a ruin, the mosque was put back into use, and remained the city's congregational mosque until 1923. Only the prayer-hall was restored, and no record of what was done to the building has yet come to light.

Discussion

The congregational mosque of Amman then was originally an Umayyad construction. One might divide Umayyad mosques into categories, the small private *masajid* (sg. *masjid)* in the palaces, and the *jawami'* (sg. *jami'*) of the cities. But the dividing line in the archaeological evidence is not clear; the larger planned settlements at 'Anjar, and Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi have mosques intermediate in size between the two classes.[28]

Amman falls clearly under the heading of an urban *jami'*. Of similar buildings we know the plans, or parts of the plans, of four others: Damascus, Jerusalem (al-Aqsa), Busra, and Harran. At Damascus the longer axis is east-west, a product of the pre-existing Roman *temenos*. The prayer-hall has three aisles parallel to the *qibla* wall, and a wider axial nave. Harran has a similar plan, a wider axial nave with four aisles parallel to the *qibla* wall; it may once have had three. The Jami' al-'Umari at Busra is a roughly square building with a prayer-hall with two aisles parallel to the *qibla* wall and a

26. Creswell, *EMA*, 2nd ed., p. 492.

27. M. van Berchem, *Corpus*, pp. 87-90 - Khanqah Salahiyya; pp. 101-103 - Afdal 'Ali

28. Creswell, *EMA*, 2nd ed., fig. 540 —'Anjar; Grabar, et. al., *City*, fig. 27D — Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi.

wider axial nave. At the Aqsa, Hamilton's Aqsa I of Umayyad date had a so far unknown number of aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, and possibly a wider axial nave. Amman was thus most similar to the Aqsa in probably having aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall.[29] But it also shared with the other Levantine mosques a wider axial nave.

The *mihrab* was unusual among Umayyad mosques in being set in a rectangular salient. None of the Umayyad mosques so far known have this feature. At the four quoted above, the *mihrab* is set into the wall, as also at 'Anjar and Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi. The smaller mosques at Qasr al-Hallabat, Umm al-Walid, and Jabal Says have curved salients.[30]

The mosque of Amman also possesses some important points of resemblance to a slightly later building which is often thought to be of Syrian influence: the first period of the mosque of Cordova, a building of the Spanish Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahman I, begun in 169 A.H./785-6 A.D.[31] At Cordova the aisles, including a wider axial nave, are also perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, but because the original construction is bigger than Amman (96.8 x 73.5 m), there are ten arcades. Also the *mihrab* is unusually large in size, and set in a rectangular salient. However the prayer-hall at Cordova was much deeper, and the *sahn* lacked a *riwaq*. It could be suggested that Amman was in some way an antecedent of the first period at Cordova.

A city's mosque can be an indicator of population changes. A *jami'*, if there is only one, ought to be able to hold a city's male Muslim population. Mosques were often rebuilt to accommodate larger congregations, for example the mosques of the Round City of Baghdad, Siraf, and Cordova.[32] Of course the proportional correspondence is likely to be inexact, because of the long intervals between building and rebuilding. Also in the early period, the Muslim population might be no guide to the size of the total population of the city.

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29. So far the Aqsa mosque has been unique among mosques of the Umayyad period in having aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, J. Sauvaget, *La mosquee omeyyade de Mèdine* (Paris, 1947), pp. 100-101, and H. Stern, "Recherches sur la mosquee el-Aqsa," *Ars Orientalis* vol. 5 (1963), pp. 28-48, take this fact to be significant in that the aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall in the Aqsa suggest that the building was a "copy" of the Constantinian Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. This was also indicated by the building's alignment with the Dome of the Rock, as the Basilica was with the Anastasis. Amman of course is now another example of an Umayyad mosque with aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall.

30. Creswell, *EMA* 2nd ed., fig. 561 — Umm al-Walid; fig. 537— Jabal Says.

31. Creswell, *EMA* 1st ed., pp. 138-161, figs. 143, 146-147.

32. Ibid, pp. 31-38 — Baghdad; Whitehouse, *Siraf* — Siraf.

The sequence of development of the Amman mosque was from a large period 1 mosque (56.8 x 39.7 m) to a much smaller period 2 building (39.7 x 14 m), a size that was later maintained. Period 1 was considerably smaller than the mosques of the great cities of the early Islamic world: Damascus (157.5 x 100 m), Harran (c. 100 x 100 m), or Wasit (104.3 x 103.5 m) in the Umayyad period; or Raqqa (108.1 x 92.9 m), the first period at Cordova (96.8 x 73.5 m), or the Mosque of 'Amr (120 x 110 m), in the Abbasid period.[33] But it was comparable in size with those of other cities: Period 1 at Siraf (51 x 44 m), Susa (58 x 47 m), and Damghan (47 x 37 m), all of which post-date the Abbasid revolution.[34] It was larger than the contemporary Jami' al-'Umari at the neighbouring city of Busra (c. 35 x 34 m).

Taking into account its early date, this mosque was a building of some significance in the early Islamic world, but not one of the first rank. This evidence illustrates the importance of Amman in the Umayyad period. After the end of the Umayyad period, the mosque provides evidence of a population decline, for only a smaller building was required when the mosque came to be rebuilt.

It is important to note that it is the largest Umayyad mosque known from the area of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. No monumental mosques are yet known from the other Roman cities of Jordan at which Umayyad occupation has been found: Jerash, Tabaqat Fahl (Pella), Umm Qays (Gadara), Bayt Ras (Capitolias), and Hesban. No doubt this was because Amman was the seat of the governor of the Balqa', and the main centre of Jordan in the Umayyad period.[35]

It is possible also that the people of the desert palaces, Qusayr 'Amra, Qasr al-Hallabat, al-Qastal, Muwaqqar, Mshatta, Qasr Kharana, etc. came to Amman for the Friday prayers, and at least the two festivals of 'Id al-Fitr and 'Id al-Adha. In a parallel example forty years later in Iraq, 'Isa b. Musa, an uncle of the Caliph al-Mansur, "went out to an estate of his (which Creswell identified with the great palace of al-Ukhaydir), and only used to come into Kufa in two months of the year, in Ramadan to be present at the Friday prayers and the 'Id, and then he would return to his estate, and in the beginning of Dhu al-Hijja; and when he had been present at the 'Id, he returned to his estate."[36]

33. Creswell, *EMA* 1st ed., pp. 45-48, fig. 33 — Raqqa; pp. 171-196 — 'Amr.

34. R. Ghirshman, "Une mosquée de Suse du dèbut de l'Hegire," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* vol. 12 (1947-1948), pp. 75-79.

35. Northedge, *Qal'at Amman*, pp. 38-40; Y. Ghawanmeh, *'Amman. Hadaratuha wa Ta'rikhuha* (Amman, 1979).

36. al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir, d. 310 A.H./923 A.D., *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Muluk*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1879-1901), ser. 3, p. 497. 'Isa b. Musa was unusual in that he was famous for having become a recluse; his practice illustrates the minimum attendance that was acceptable,

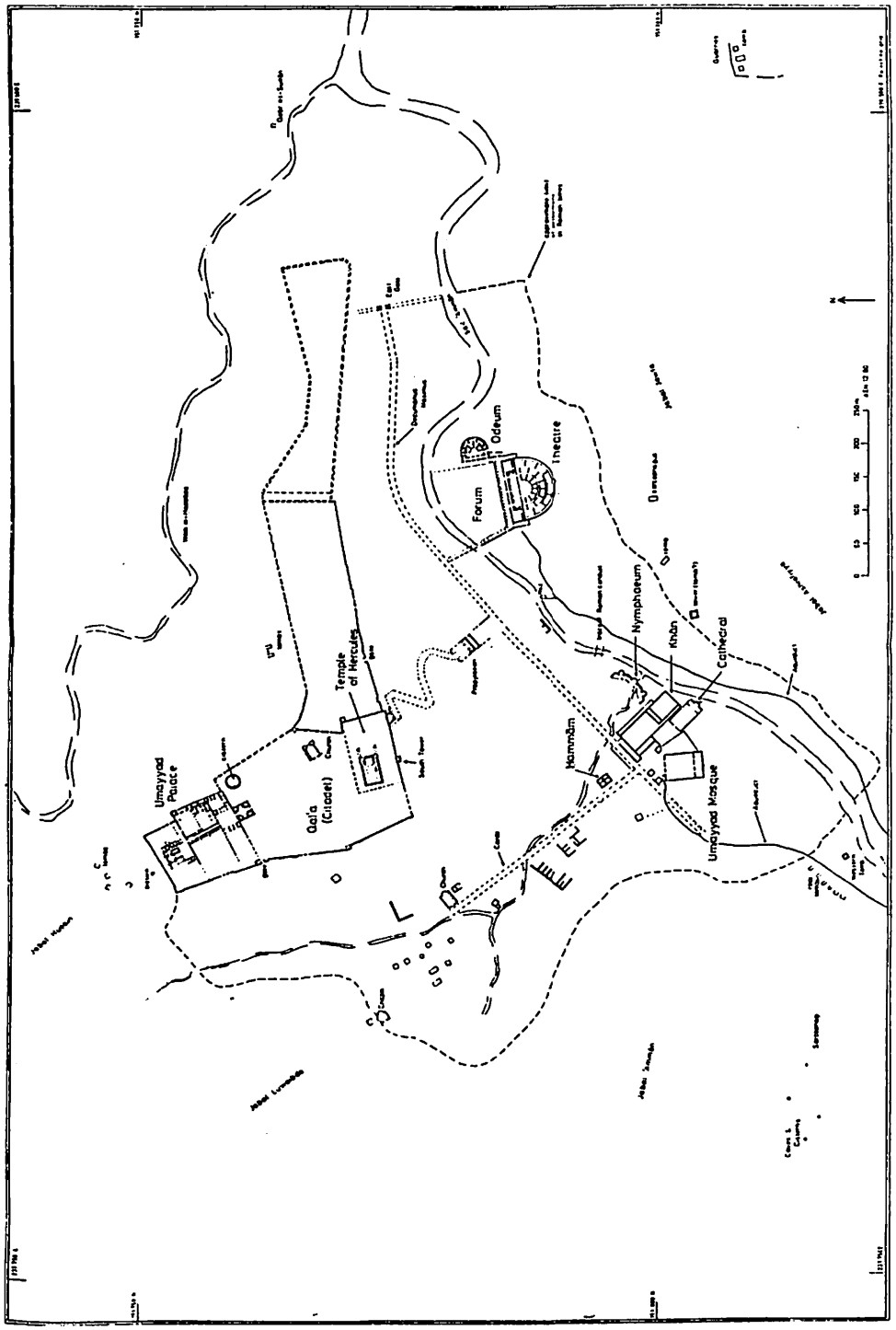


Figure 1. Roman and pre-modern Islamic topography of Amman, showing location of the mosque.

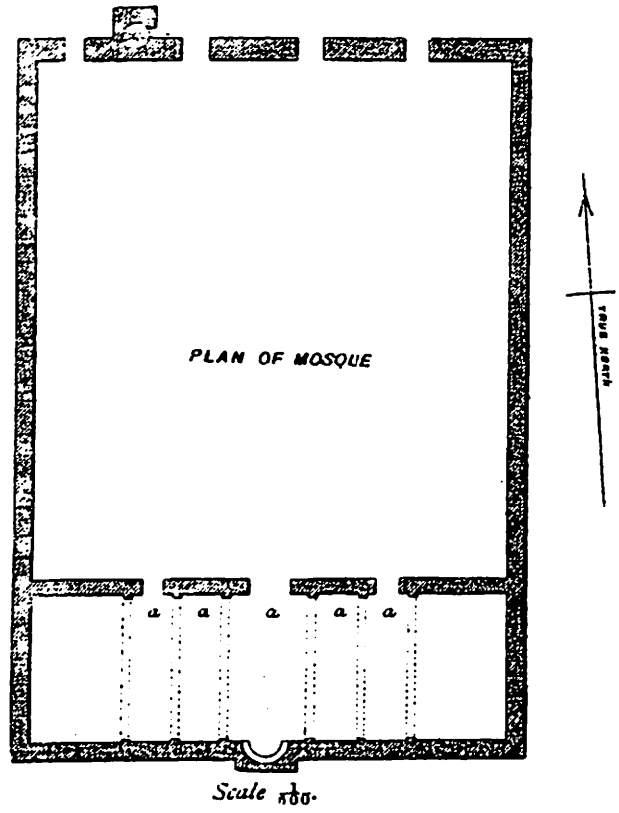
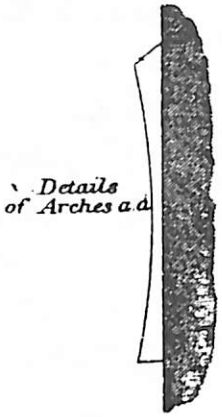
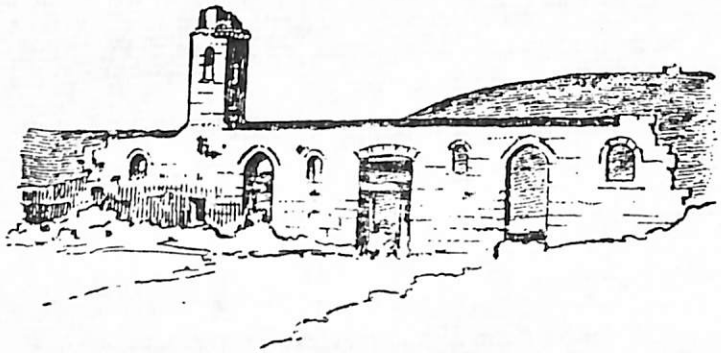


Figure 2. Palestine Exploration Fund plan of the mosque (1881).

Figure 3



3(a). Detail of horseshoe arch (after Conder, *Survey*, 1989).



3(b). Sketch of north wall (after Conder, *Survey*, 1889).

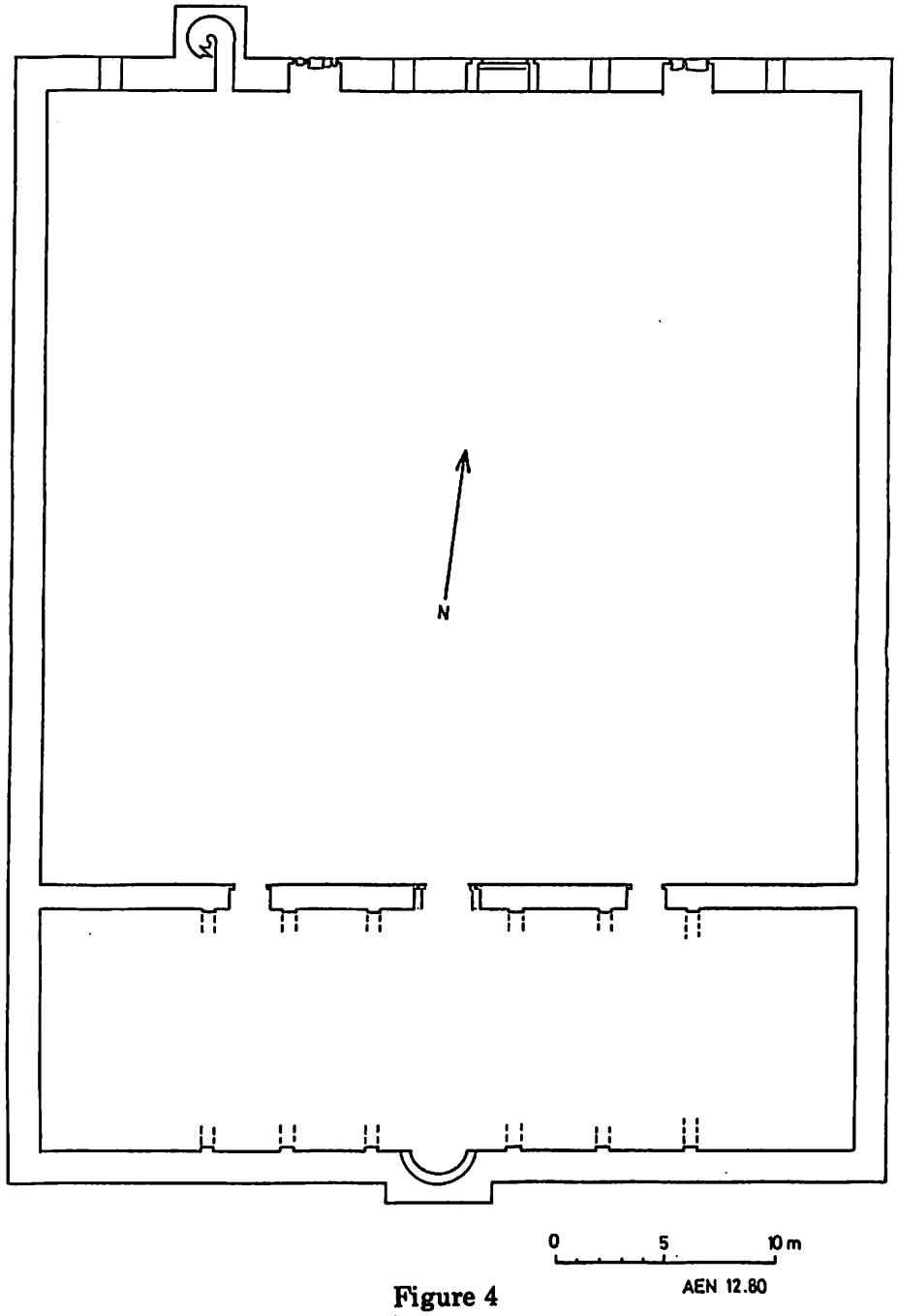


Figure 4

Plan of the mosque showing evidence from Butler, *PAES*, 1913-19 and Conder, *Survey*, 1889.

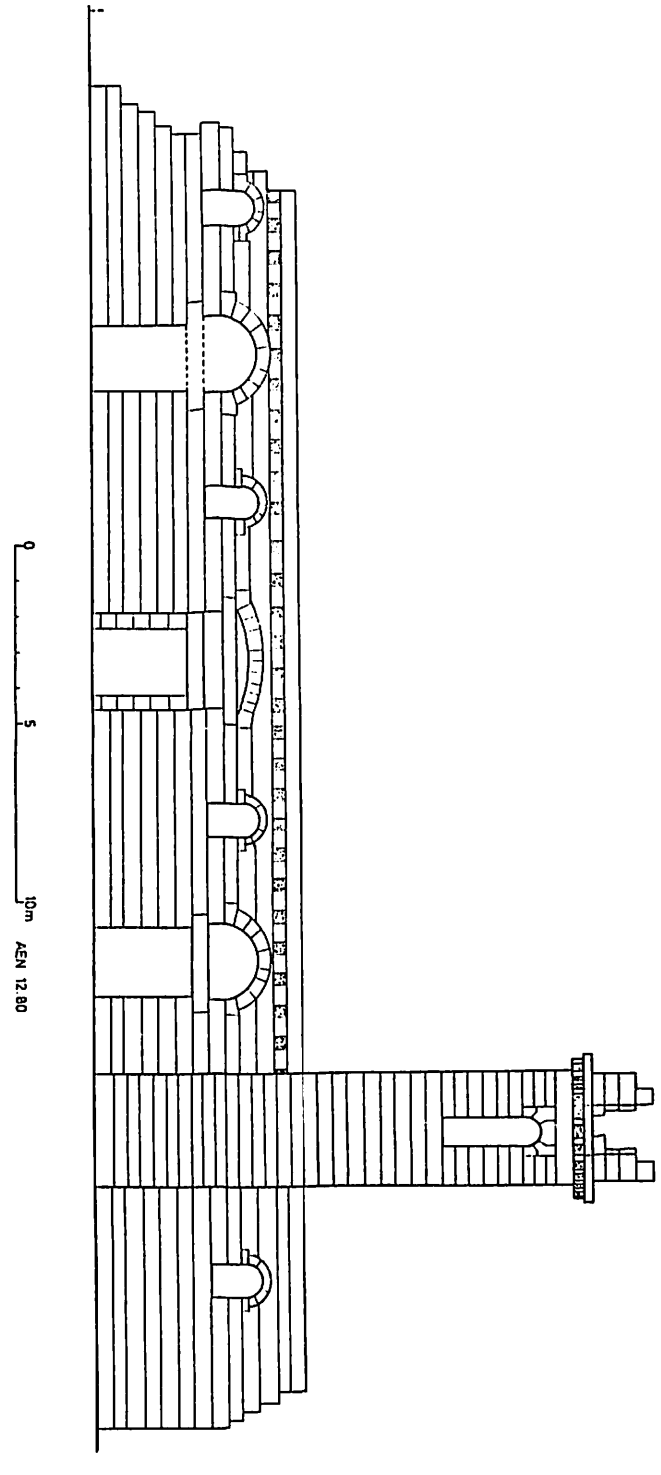


Figure 5. Elevation of the north wall (after Butler, *PAES*, 1913-19).

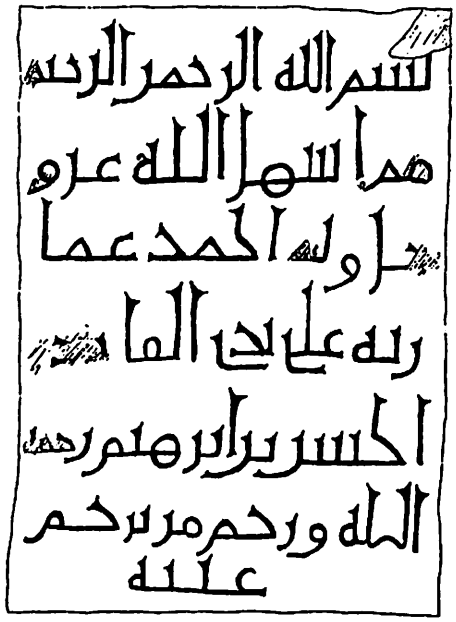


Figure 6

Building inscription from the mosque (after Littman, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 1949).

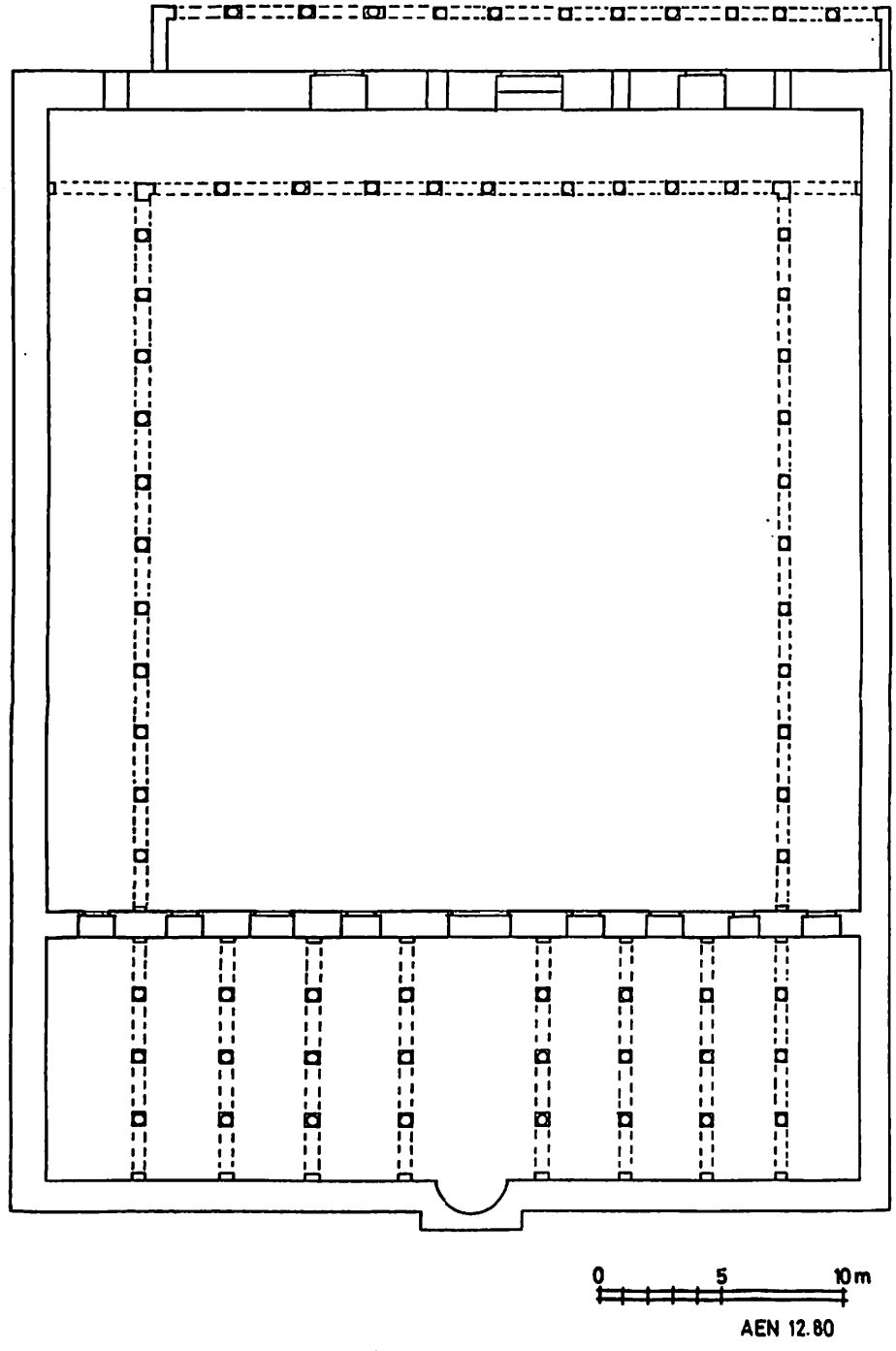


Figure 7. Reconstruction of the plan of Period 1 (Umayyad).

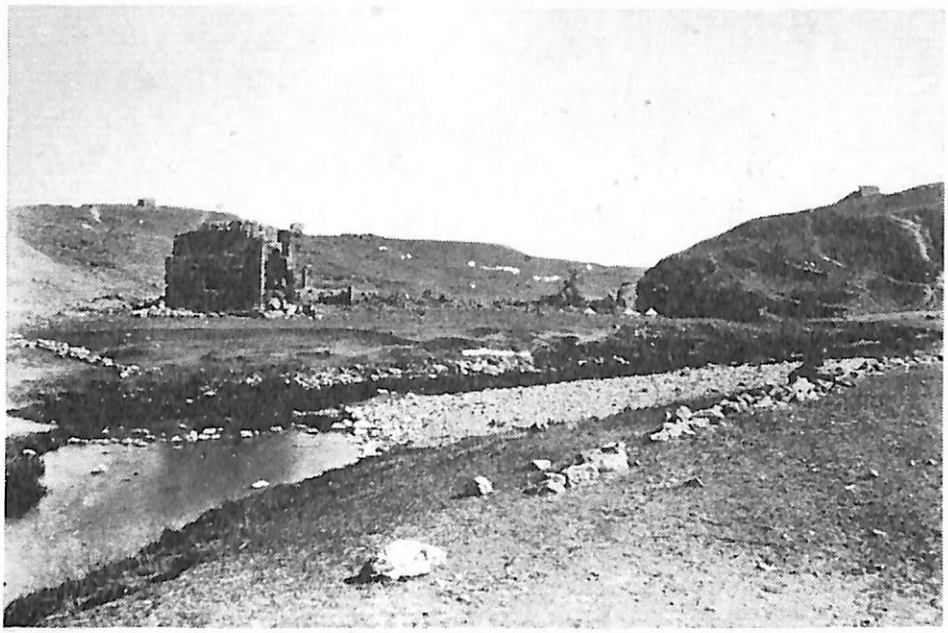


Plate 1

General view of the site of Amman in 1881, looking east down the wadi (Palestine Exploration Fund).

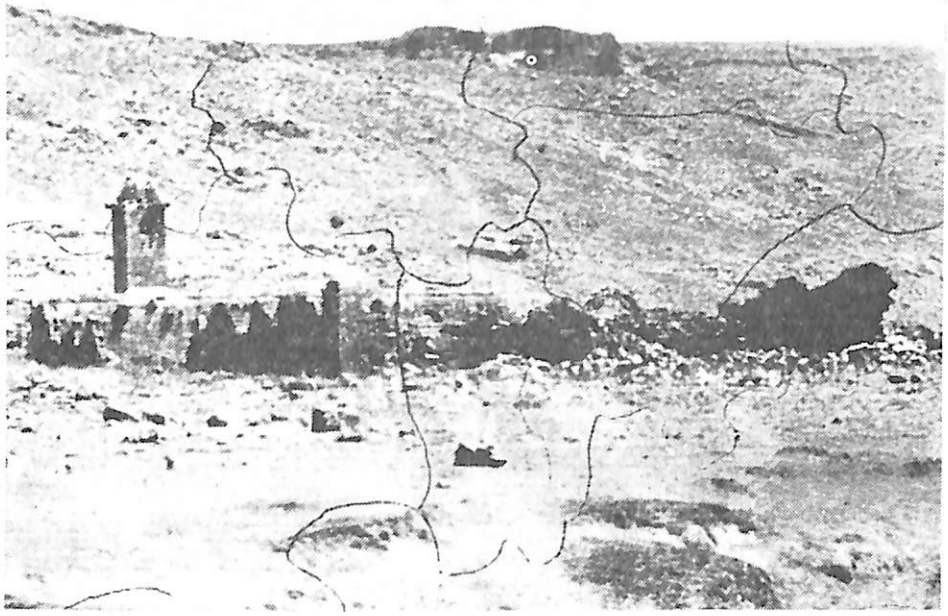


Plate 2

View of the mosque possibly dated about 1867 (Palestine Exploration Fund).

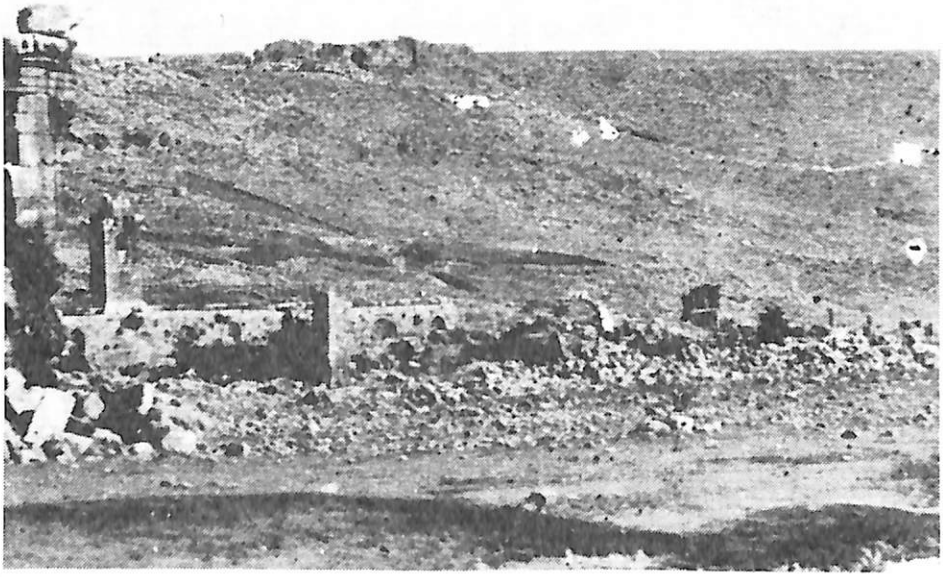


Plate 3

Enlargement of view of the mosque from no. 1.

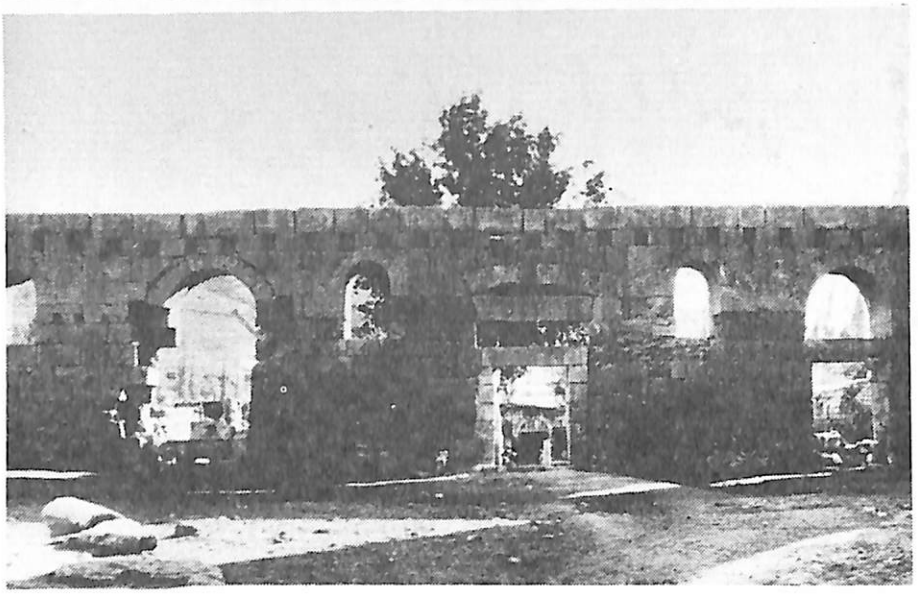


Plate 4

North wall of the mosque from the outside in 1921 (Creswell Archive).

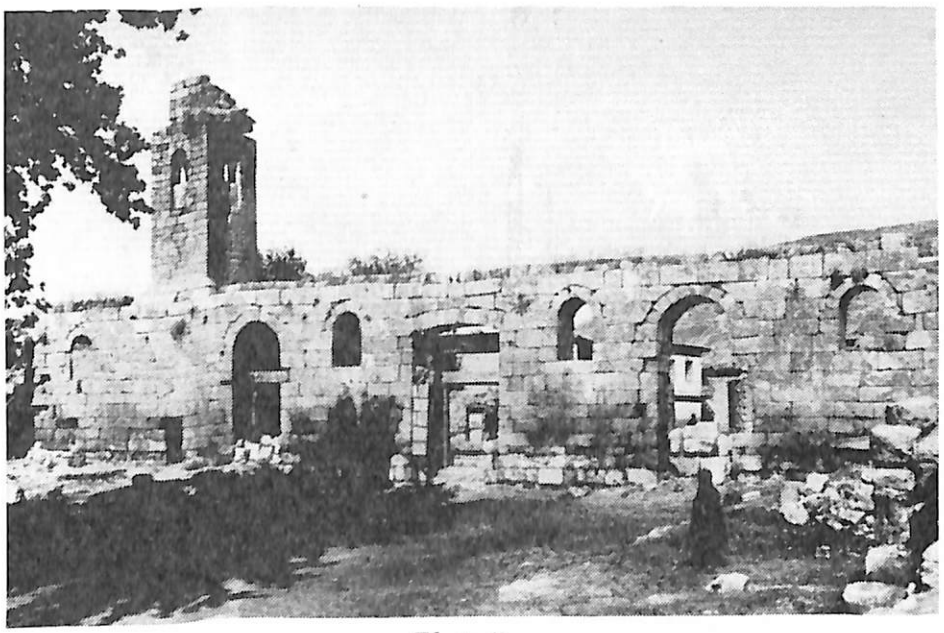


Plate 5

North wall of the mosque from the inside in 1921 (Creswell Archive).

Evidence of the Umayyad Period from the Aqaba Excavations

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The purpose of the archaeological excavations at Aqaba is the investigation into an aspect of Islamic history, specifically the role of Aqaba in the commercial network of the Indian Ocean and the interrelation of this port with the urban centers of Egypt, Palestine and Jordan in the Islamic period.[1] The history of southern Jordan in the early Islamic period is crucial for understanding early movements and indeed the formation of Islamic culture. Mayerson has recently described, based on historical sources, the crucial role of Ayla during the conquest of Palestine. This paper will present archaeological evidence that this Ayla was a *misr* or "camp city" and, as an urban foundation, presents important information on early Islamic urbanization and, more specifically, on Umayyad history.[2]

Historical Background

The port of Aqaba is Jordan's southern window on the world and has become a commercial port and tourist resort of primary importance. The castle of Aqaba, where pilgrims to Mekka rested in Mamluk and Ottoman times, was only the most recent settlement. Before Salah al-Din fought the Crusaders in this place, merchants of the Abbasid and Fatimid periods traded in goods from areas stretching from the Maghreb to China. And before this, a procession of Byzantine, Roman, Nabataean, and even Biblical peoples inhabited this town.

Most of the history of Ayla is only vaguely known. There is little direct evidence for the Nabataean port, though the commercial prowess and proximity of Petra make such a port an obvious possibility. The Ptolemies took Elath from the Nabataeans and renamed it Berenice, beginning a pattern of Egyptian attempts to dominate this region. The Romans constructed the *via nova* to Bosra (111-116 A.D.) and stationed the Xth legion Fretensis at Ailana. Bishops of the town are known from 325 A.D.

1. The author has specialized in the archaeological study of such trade in both excavations (Quseir al-Qadim, on the Egyptian coast) and surveys (in the Sinai, Aden and the Hadhramaut, Oman, and the eastern province of Saudi Arabia).

2. The modern name, Aqaba, is a contraction of Aqabat Ayla, known from the 13th century. The name of the early Islamic town, presently under discussion, was Ayla, which name derives from older forms: Aela, Haila, Ailana, Elath, etc. For purposes of clarity, the site of the Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine settlement will be referred to in this paper as Ailana.

until the early 7th century.[3] The Prophet made a treaty with the town, represented by Yuhanna ibn Ru'ba, in 9 A.H.[4] This early submission greatly facilitated the first attacks on Palestine under 'Amr ibn al-'As in 13 A.H./634 A.D.[5]

One must turn to the geographers of the 2nd and 3rd/9th and 10th centuries for descriptions of the development of Ayla. The commercial prosperity of the town is reflected in the account of al-Ya'qubi: "The city of Ayla is a great city on the shore of the salt sea and in it gather the pilgrims of Syria, Egypt, and the Maghreb. There are numerous merchants and common people... ."[6] The passage from al-Muqaddasi, witten about a century later, bears careful consideration. He says that:

> "Wayla, at the very end of the eastern arm of the China sea, is a chief-place (*madinah*), very prosperous, having palms and fish; it is the port of Palestine and the storehouse of the Hijaz. It is usually called Ayla, but [the true] Ayla, ruined, is nearby [toward the mountains], about which it is written, 'Ask them concerning the town by the sea.'"[7]
>
> "And in Wayla, there is disagreement among the people of Syria, the Hijaz, and Egypt, like in Abbadan, but I join it to Syria because its customs and measures are Syrian. It is the port of Palestine, from which come its imported goods."[8]

This description testifies to the prosperity of Ayla and its connections with Egypt, Palestine and the Hijaz. The latter was its primary customer and, while Egypt may have been primary supplier, the cultural identification of Ayla was with *Bilad al-Sham.* An important impetus for this interconnection was the annual pilgrimage to Mekka; both the north

3. The ecclesiastical history of the town is recounted in P. Schertl. "Ela-Akaba, die Geschichte einer altchristlichen Bischofsstadt," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* vol. 2 (1936), pp. 33-77, partially superceded by R. Schick, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine During the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, A.D. 600-750,* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, 1987).

4. L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam,* 10 vols. (Milan and Rome: Ulrico Hoepli, 1905-1926).

5. P. Mayerson, "The Saracens and the *Limes*," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* no. 262 (1986), pp. 35-47, 42.

6. al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad ibn Abi Ya'qub, d. 284 A.H./897 A.D., *Kitab al-Buldan,* M. J. de Goeje, ed. (Leiden: Brill, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 7, 1892), pp. 340-341.

7. al-Muqaddasi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, d. 381 A.H./992 A.D., *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim,* M.J. de Goeje, ed. (Leiden: Brill, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 3, 1906), p. 178, lines 10-13.

8. Ibid, p 179, lines 2-4.

African/Egyptian and the Palestinian/Syrian roads passed through Aqaba, which was stocked with food supplies from Gaza.[9]

For the end to this prosperity, one may allude to a variety of causal factors. An Egyptian Fatimid garrison was stationed at Ayla in 350 A.H./961 A.D., fighting revolts until the town was sacked in 415 A.H./1024 A.D. Ayla suffered an earthquake in 465 A.H/1072-1073 A.D. Finally the Crusaders captured Ayla in 510 A.H./1116 A.D., after which it was retaken by Salah al-Din in 566 A.H./1170 A.D. A decade later, there was a brief occupation by Renaud de Chatillon. Throughout the latter exchanges the town does not seem to have been fortified; it is therefore tempting to see the end of the site under discussion here during the early 5th/12th century. Correspondingly, Abu 'l-Fida says there was nothing left but a stronghold near the shore in the 6th/13th century.[10] It would seem that the castle of the Ayyubid Mamluk period, about a kilometer to the south of the site of Ayla, became the focus for settlement until modern times.

Archaeological Evidence

For the last 50 years, in the midst of the development of the modern city, little attention has been paid to ruins in the heart of the city, which ran the risk of being sold for development. In these circumstances the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, began salvage excavations in the spring of 1986.[11] On the basis of these results, a major excavation revealed a number of architectural features of this city, the most dramatic of which was over 80 m of the city wall, with four towers and the northwest city gate (see fig. 1). The artifacts recovered from the excavations show a continuous occupation from the 1st to the early 7th/7th to early 12th centuries, from the Umayyad through the Fatimid periods. During this occupation, and particulary in the Abbasid period, ceramics indicate participation in an extensive trade network connecting Egypt and Syria with Iraq and China.

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9. J. Jomier, *Le mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque (XIIIe -XXe siècle)* (Cairo: Institute francais d'archéologie orientale, 1953).

10. H.W. Glidden, "al-'Akaba," and "Ayla," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2nd ed. (Leiden; Brill, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 314-315; 783-784.

11. The success of this excavation is due to the assistance of Dr. Adnan Hadidi, Dr. Ghazi Bisheh, and Mr. Suleiman Farajat, of the Department of Antiquities, and Dr. Dureid Mahasneh of the Aqaba Region Authority. Funding was provided by grants from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the National Geographic Society, and the University of Chicago. Among the talented staff were Dr. Khairieh Amr and Ms. Hanan 'Azar from the Department of Antiquities and Mr. Essam al-Hadi from Yarmuk University.

One of the most important results of this excavation is evidence for the foundation of the Islamic city of Ayla. The primary dating evidence comes from stratigraphic soundings, deep probes into the site in Aqaba. Umayyad levels were usually encountered between 3 and 4.5 m beneath the surface, beneath successive Abbasid and Fatimid layers. Naturally, given the massive amount of deposition with important information for these later periods, the size of the Umayyad exposures is usually very limited. Nevertheless, there is an impressive consistency, a repetition of the same assemblages of artifact types, which allows for some certainty about the basic characteristics of the inventory of material culture for the Umayyad period *at Aqaba*. (The numbers of the following paragraphs refer to the circled numbers on the map, figure 1.).

1. Area A had two deep trenches placed on the exterior of the central Pavilion building. The first was a probe in the street next to the northeast wall (in square G11a, 1.5 x 1.5 m). The laminated soils of street accumulation went down 3.5 m beside this wall. The base of the wall was constructed on a very hard surface with ashy material, locus 28. The loci above this, 26 and 27, were red brown soil and sand. Glazed wares began with locus 25, some 0.84 m above the base of the wall. Much of this wall appeared to be reconstructed very early in the history of the site.

2. The second probe in area A was against the southeast wall (in square H11a), where the Abbasid house was clearly an alteration of a building with a monumental arched gateway. Another arched gate on the adjacent northwest wall has suggested the provisional name, the Pavilion building. An accumulation of debris with glazed sherds, locus 13, was deposited on a thick plaster floor. Below the floor at almost 4 m depth (in an excavated area 2.5 x 3 m) was further debris, loci 14, 15, and 16, full of Umayyad and pre-Umayyad and unglazed sherds, down to paving stones.

3. Area B, excavated in1986, was located on the bank of the drainage channel (the wadi) near the beach. Trench Bld (about 6.8 x 1m along the bank) revealed the city wall, i.e., the sea wall, and a perpendicular mudbrick wall. Loci 23-25 and 27-31, are occupational strata beside the lower portion of this secondary wall. Below this are loci 34-40, deposits of fallen debris down to the stone base of the wall at 4 m depth.

4. A second trench (2 x 1.2 m along the edge of the bank), B2d, revealed superimposed architectural fragments, the lowest of which was a massive stone wall, G, the base of which was almost 5 m below the surface. Deposits beside this wall were loci 13, 14 and 19-21. Loci 17, 18, and 20 were immediately above this wall.

5. Area C was a long trench between the central Pavilion building and the northwest city gate. The Umayyad level was found here in a deep probe in square F9d (2 x 1.5 m), where late buildings had encroached on the

originally wide main street. Loci 12, and 18 traced these street levels below the late walls to a depth of 4.7 m.

6. One of the most interesting sections of the site was area D, the northwestern city gate, probably the Bab al-Misr. The exterior face of the gate between the two towers revealed a complex architectural history. The gate was repaired and narrowed with subsidiary rectangular rooms during the earliest period of occupation.[12] Two sequences against the lower portion of the gate in E8a were: loci 16, 24, 30 and loci 32, 35, and 37.

This area between the two towers also produced a series of limestone blocks with a Kufic inscription (E8a-2, FN-h; see fig. 2). The stratigraphic location suggests that the inscription was reused in a late rebuild of the gate area. The original position of the inscription was probably over the early gate. As the distance between the towers is ca. 6 m and the estimated length of the inscription would have been 7.5-8.0 m, the composition was probably originally in two or more lines. The letters, carved with a flat-ended chisel, are in an irregular Kufic style, perhaps the work of more than one carver. The inscription was identifed as parts of the Ayat al-Kursi by the excavator, Dr. Ghazi Bisheh, and was no doubt intended for the protection for the city.

7a, 7b. The excavation of tower 2 in E8b, beside the city gate, produced late fill and partition walls with early materials, locus 33/34, in an area 1.8 x 1.2 m and 3.3 m in depth. A corresponding sequence inside the city wall was found in E8d in an area 2.6 x 1.2 and 4.6 m deep. The loci against the interior face of the city wall were 21 and 25.

8. The final deep probe to be considered was placed in a structure which, unlike the city gate, was most enigmatic in character. This large enclosure had entrance stairways and a floor of multiple layers of gravel. Near one of the stairways, in square E12c, was a plastered pilaster with a foundation over 4m deep. The loci here (in a probe 3 x 2m) were 11, 12, 13 down to a running foundation and plastered floor. The locus beneath this floor was 16.

The ceramics from these deepest trenches are presented in figs. 3, 4, and 5. These types are selected as characteristic of the earliest stratigraphic materials but cannot be considered a complete corpus of this period. It is possible that some earlier Roman materials may have slipped into this corpus. On the other hand, care has been taken to avoid inclusion of types which seem stratigraphically to belong to the later Umayyad or early

12. The area between the gate and towers (6 x 4.8 m) was excavated to a depth of 4.5 m below present surface when the water table (sweet water) was reached. The wall foundation and original street level may be explored by use of pumps in the future.

Abbasid periods which must await further study. What follows are brief comments on the more important types.

The finest ceramics are bowls and plates of a red or orange ware with a darker red (or orange) slip, often burnished (fig. 3, a-f, h-j, s, t). Other red wares are of a coarser material, intended mainly as cooking pots (fig. 3,o,p) and jars (fig. 4, i, j). These cooking pots and jars occur also in a cream surfaced (or slipped) red-orange ware. This cream surfaced ware is usually ribbed on the exterior and occurs as heavy basins (fig. 3, q, r), jars (fig. 4, g, k, l), larger storage jars (fig. 4, m, p) and amphorae (fig. 5, a, c, g, i). With the exception of the basins, each of these forms is also found as a cream ware.

Parker refers to a particular late Byzantine ware with cream surfaces from Kithara and Khalde, two sites in the Wadi Yitm near Aqaba. He claims to have found this ware nowhere else in Jordan. This ware is most typical of the Aqaba assemblage and is readily associable with Egyptian (Coptic) ceramics. Whether these represent imports from Egypt or a transfer of technology producing such results may soon be determined. The amphora (fig.5,a) is a waster, a damaged reject from kilns 500 m from the site.[13] This

13. The Wadi Yitm material is published in S. T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier* (Winona Lake: American Schools of Oriental Research, dissertation series 6, 1986), pp. 177-178, where he calls the type "cream slip ware." The cream slip is more often not a surface resulting from salts, very common in Egyptian manufactures. See F. R. Matson, "Technological Studies of Egyptian Pottery-Modern and Ancient," *Recent Advances in Science and Technology of Materials,* vol. 3, A. Bishay, ed. (New York: Plenum, 1974), pp. 129-140. Dating of this ware was based on thick, wide ribbed sherds, probably from amphorae like fig. 5a. This specific amphora was presented to the expedition by the discoverer of the kilns, Mr. Najib al-Faylat. Perhaps the most abundant sherds on this site, such amphorae are very unusual elsewhere. The form is generally Egyptian, but the closest examples are from various parts of the Mediterranean. See S. J. Keay, *Late Roman Amphorae in the Western Mediterranean, a Typological and Economic Study: the Catalan Evidence* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 196, 1984), M. G. Fulford and D.P.S. Peacock, *Excavations at Carthage, the British Mission,* vol. 1, 2: *The Pottery and other Ceramic Objects from the Site* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1984), 40.67, and A. Zemer, *Storage Jars in Ancient Sea Trade* (Haifa: Maritime Museum, 1978), p. 70; the type is probably related to Riley's late Roman amphora 7, J. A. Riley, "General Discussion of Imported Eastern Mediterranean Amphoras and Roman Fine Wares," *Excavations at Carthage 1977, conducted by the University of Michigan,* vol. 6, J.H. Humphrey, ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1981), p. 70, and datable to the late 6th or 7th centuries A.D. Parallels with ceramics in the Wadi Yitm (Qasr Kithara and Khalde): Parker, op. cit, fig. 72-74 are: fig. 3, l = 574; r = 573, 604; u = 615; fig. 4, k = 597; p = 554, 603; fig. 5, h = 614.

type of amphora is common at Aqaba but very rare elsewhere, raising questions as to the stylistic origin and distribution and, more importantly, the reasons for amphora production at a site with no commercial product except for fish (*garum* ?) and dates (*dibs* ?).

While there is a range of ceramic forms in the Negev, Sinai and southern Palestine similar to the Aqaba sherds, these sherds show clear formal connections with the assemblages in Coptic Egypt.[14] The sites with the closest comparisons are Kellia, Alexandria and Rosetta in the Delta.[15] Other assemblages come from Upper Egypt, particularly the sites of Epiphanius, Karnak, and Luxor temple.[16] The fine wares known as Egyptian A-ware are closely duplicated at Aqaba.

The ceramics under consideration are usually known as late Byzantine types, ranging from the 6th century into the 7th century A.D. While a number of these forms are known to continue, Umayyad ceramics as defined at Pella, Jerash and in the synthesis of Sauer are not found at

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14. Recent work at Caesarea by N. Brosh, "Pottery of the 8th-13th centuries (strata 1-3)," *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima: 1976, 1976-Final Report,* L.I. Levine and E. Netzer, eds. (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Qedem 21, 1986), pp. 66-89. and by Magness (personal communication) at several sites supplement the corpus from Nessana, T.J.C. Baly, "Pottery," *Excavations at Nessana,* vol. 1, H. D. Colt, ed. (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 270-303. Comparanda with Nessana are as follows: fig. 3, a = 48.12; c = 48.14; d = 48.13; e = 47.24; i = 48.11; k = 49.34; o = 52.75; p = 52.74; fig. 4, a = 53.112; e = 55.80; i = 56.134; m = 55.130; fig. 5, c, e = 55.126; i = 58.36.

15. Comparisons with Kellia are found in M. Egloff, *Kellia, la poterie copte: Quatre siècles d'artisanat et d'échanges en Basse-Egypte,* 2 vols. (Geneva: Librairie de l'Université, 1977). The fine wares from Alexandria are published in M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie I: La céramique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw: Editions scientifiques de Pologne, 1976). Both compare closely to the surface remains of the medieval site of Rosetta (Abu Mandur: Whitcomb, unpublished). Some of the Kellia parallels are: fig. 3, a = 39.1; b = 36.8; c = 37.10; d = 39.12; e = 43.12; f = 36.3; h = 37.3; i = 37.5; j = 40.8; o = 47.5; p = 47.7; r = 82.5; fig. 4, e = 55.4; g = 53.2; j = 57.2; q = 60.4; fig. 5, c = 57.4; e = 58.2.

16. The pottery from the pioneering work at Epiphanius by H. E, Winlock, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes,* vol. 1: *The Archaeological Material* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926) may be compared to East Karnak, D. B. Redford, "Interim Report on the Excavations at East Karnak, 1977-1978, Roman Pottery (by J. Haynes)," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* vol. 18 (1981), pp. 11-41, for the fine red wares, and to the full corpus of materials from Luxor temple (Whitcomb, unpublished).

Aqaba.[17] If one considers two typical Aqaba types, the heavy basins (fig. 4, r) and the amphora (fig. 5, a), both of which are very common and were probably made locally in cream slip ware, one notes that these are not found at any other recorded site in Palestine, Jordan or the Sinai. First, this implies a strong local tradition, a regional variation distinct from the Umayyad known from other Jordanian sites.

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17. J. Sauer, "Umayyad Pottery from Sites in Jordan," *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies, Presented to Siegfried Horn*, L. T. Geraty and L. G. Herr, eds. (Berrien Springs: Andrews Unversity, 1986), pp. 301-330, counts 16 excavated sites with Umayyad ceramics, though fewer than 6 of these are adequately published. Stratigraphic associations from several sites show that a jar or jug type with broad wavy red painted lines is clearly Umayyad; the type is also absent from Khirbat al-Mafjar, D. Whitcomb, "Khirbat el-Mafjar Reconsidered: The Ceramic Evidence," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* forthcoming, suggesting that it fell out of use shortly after 700 A.D. New work, making such assessments possible, has taken place at Pella, A. McNicoll and A. Walmsley, "Pella/Fahl in Jordan During the Early Islamic Period," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, I*, A. Hadidi, ed. (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1982), pp. 339—345. A. McNicoll, et. al. *Pella in Jordan I: An Interim Report on the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella 1979-1981* (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1982), where Walmsley has refined the classic study by R. Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis, vol 1:The 1967 Season of the College of Wooster Expedition to Pella* (Wooster, Ohio: College of Wooster, 1973). From the numerous works at Jerash one might select as particularly relevant the work of R. Pierobon, "Sanctuary of Artemis: Soundings in the Temple-Terrace, 1978-1980. Gerasa I," *Mesopotamia*, vol. 18-19 (1983-1984), pp. 85-111. Idem, "Archaeological Research in the Sanctuary of Artemis, 2. The Area of the Kilns," *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*, F. Zayadine, ed. (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1986), pp. 184-188, and J. Schaefer and B. K. Falkner, "An Umayyad Potters' complex in the North Theater, Jerash," *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*, F. Zayadine, ed. (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1986), pp. 411-459. The valuable study of G.L. Harding, "Excavations on the Citadel, Amman," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, vol. 1 (1951), pp. 7-16 on the citadel of Amman has been followed by the corpus of M. Almagro, *El palacio omeya de Amman* (Madrid, 1983) and the stratigraphic excavation of A. Northedge, *Qal'at Amman in Early Islamic Period*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1984) and C. Bennett and A. Northedge, "Excavations at the Citadel, Amman, 1976: Second Preliminary Report," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, vol. 22 (1977-1978), pp. 172-179. One site of special relevance to Aqaba is Mt. Nebo, N. Schneider, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, pt. III: *The Pottery* (Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1950). Comparanda with just one of the sites, Pella, may be illustrated here (McNicoll et al, op.cit): fig. 3, a = 139.10; d = 139.11; o = 143.2; fig. 4, g = 140.1; h = 145.5; k = 138.9; p = 139.6, 147.14; q = 141.2; r = 146.3.

Secondly, this implies a basic terminological problem in labelling ceramics as "Umayyad." It seems clear that, for almost a century after the advent of Muslim political and religious influence, there was little felt need to alter the style of pots and pans. Further, contra the opinion of Sauer, ceramics were probably never a prominent aspect of Umayyad culture; considering the quandry which the definition of early Islamic material culture has produced in as astute an observer as Grabar,[18] difficulties of ceramic identification are hardly surprising. The change in material culture may be assumed to have been gradual and to have involved relative stylistic change in popularity which will be best shown in statistical analysis.

Interpretations

The earliest ceramics from the excavations are small fragments of Nabataean and Roman date consistently mixed in all layers (from the 1st to 6th/7th to 12th centuries). They bear the characteristics of importation from an older but neighboring site. The location of the Nabataean-Roman town, Ailana, can be fixed as immediately northwest of the medieval site. There are surface collections of sherds and areas of walls visible in this region, though no trace of the Roman camp of the Xth legion Fretensis has yet been found.

This Roman camp must have been large and impressive; in his discussion of the camps of Lejjun and Udhruh in southern Jordan, Parker gives an average size of 240 x 190m but claims this as small for a legionary camp.[19] In this connection, one may recall al-Muqaddasi's description: "Wayla... is usually called Ayla, but [the true] Ayla is in ruins nearby." The name Wayla, which no other geographer uses, may be a diminutive and reflects al-Muqaddasi's observation of the ruins of the large Roman camp.[20] At a much later date al-Maqrizi states that Ayla, "... was formerly the last place of the Roman empire. At a mile there was built a vaulted gate which belonged to a fortress; this was the citadel where road taxes were received." As the town in al-Maqrizi's time was around the Mamluk – Ottoman castle, this ruined gate may have been visible at the site of Ayla or even the Roman camp.[21]

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18. O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University, 1973).

19. Parker, op. cit. pp. 63, 98. See M. Gichon, "The Plan of a Roman Camp Depicted Upon a Lamp from Samaria," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, vol. 104 (1972), pp. 38-58.

20. A. Musil, "Aila," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 1st ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1913), pp. 210-211.

21. U. Bouriant, *Description topographique de l'Égypt de Maqrizi.* Mém, mission archéologique francaise au Caire. vol. 17 (Paris: Leroux 1900), p. 530. It is not necessary to claim this was a Roman triumphal arch.

The earliest ceramics on the site of Ayla in stratigraphic assemblages are consistently datable to the 6th or 7th centuries A.D., that is, belonging to the late Byzantine period. Thus the ceramics would permit two interpretations, construction during the final century of Byzantine control, or construction during the first decades of Islamic rule. In his discussion of southern Jordan from the perspective of Byzantine garrisons, Parker sees a clear decline in the 6th and early 7th centuries A.D., "...the majority of Roman military posts lay abandoned by the 6th century A.D."[22] This corresponds to the urban changes discussed by Kennedy and styled "from polis to medina," a pattern he dates to the mid-6th century A.D., and more generally confirmed in the research of Claude.[23] Thus it is difficult to imagine construction of a new town during the decline of the 6th or the turbulence of the early 7th centuries A.D.

As this paper now postulates, the late Byzantine town of Ailana (or Ayla) was located on the site of the Roman legionary camp, rather like the situation at Udhruh.[24] Given the economic situation of Palestine in the late 6th century A.D. it is likely that the town did not fill the whole camp and at least part of it was in ruins. The presence of the bishop and Muhammad's meeting with him as the representative of the town suggests a lack of civil authority in the town, perhaps not reestablished since the Sasanian occupation (or, in this region, neglect).[25]

One question which can not be ignored is, why was it necessary to build a new city at Aqaba? If the older Ailana was based on the legionary camp, it is unlikely to have been too small, though it may well have been neglected and partially in ruins. The treaty made with Muhammad specified a *jizya* of 300 dinars, one dinar per taxable adult. Based on the population estimates of contemporary Nessana, the population may be estimated at 6 times the

22. Parker, op, cit. p. 112.

23. H. Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria," *Past and Present,* vol. 106 (1985) pp. 3-27. I dem, "The Towns of Bilad al-Sham and the Arab Conquest," *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilad al-Sham During the Byzantine Period,* 1983, M. A. Bakhit and M. Asfour, eds. (Amman: University of Jordan, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 88-99. D. Claude, *Die byzantische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich: C. Beck'sche, 1969).

24. A. Killick, *Udhruh, Caravan City and Desert Oasis, A Guide to Udhruh and its Surroundings* (Romsey: A. C. Killick, 1987), p. 4.

25. See Schick, op. cit. p. 96.

taxed persons or 1800 persons in (and around) Ailana.[26] It is also very likely that there was a settlement of immigrants, as at Kufa and other places in Iraq, too large for accommodation in the older town. This construction and settlement suggest strong economic reasons for the new town, the revitalization of the trade network connecting with Gaza and Palestine and with Damascus and Jordan.

The decision to build a new, though smaller, Ayla may have been a developmental scheme on an economic or ideological basis. What is crucial is the determination of the population. Either the new town was inhabited by *mawali* who abandoned the old town, or the new town was a *misr* intended for the settlement of new immigrants in the area.[27] In this connection it may be significant that medieval geographers repeat that the people of Ayla claimed, apparently with some pride, to have descended from *mawali* of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan.[28] This suggests an identification of Ayla as an early Umayyad center and direct caliphal attention to the town. Though direct evidence is lacking, it is possible that either settlement of immigrant Arabs (of the Umayyad clan?) or the acceptance of a large group of non-

26. C.J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana,* vol. 3: *Non-Literary Papyri* (Princeton: Colt, 1958), p. 218. See also K.C. Gutwein, *Third Palestine: A Regional Study in Byzantine Urbanization* (Washington: University Press of America, 1981), p. 233. The recruitment from Ayla of a police force of 200 men by the governor of Mecca under Mu'awiya indicates an expansion of the population of the town, Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani, d. 356 A.H./867 A.D., *Kitab al-Aghani* 10 vols. N. al-Hurini, ed. (Bulaq, 1868), vol. 4. p. 156. Likewise, the short episode of 69 A.H./688 A.D. when Muhammad ibn al-Hanifiya occupied the town mentions the presence of 7000 followers, Y. Ghawanmah, *Ayla (al-'Aqaba) wa 'l-Bahr al-Ahmar* (Irbid, 1984), p. 35.

27. The identity of these *mawali* may be connected with the control of this region by settled elements of the Judham, a part of the Quda'a, who arrived in southern Palestine in the late 6th century A.D. T. Khalidi, "Tribal Settlement and Patterns of Land Tenure in Early Medieval Palestine," *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* T. Khalidi, ed. (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1984), pp. 181-188. Also C.E. Bosworth, "Djudham," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. vol. 2, p. 573. Perhaps even the al-Dubayb, who converted to Islam very early, may have "inspired" the submission of Ayla, as well as Udhruh, Jarba, and Maqna. F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1981), p. 109.

28. It is possible that this may indicate a direct Umayyad familial connection. P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1980), appendix b. The interest in the development of ports may give credance to the traditional foundation of Jedda by 'Uthman. G. R. Hawting, "The Origin of Jedda and the Problem of al-Shu'ayba," *Arabica* vol. 31 (1984), pp. 318-326.

Arabs led to the foundation of a new Islamic town. Thus a date for the foundation of Ayla within the caliphate of 'Uthman is proposed, 30±10 years A.H./650±10 years A.D.

The prime importance of the *amsar* in early Islamic history has been rather neglected, except as studies of particular cities, such as Fustat. In one of the earliest and most comprehensive studies, Reitemeyer stresses the complex inducements to the foundation of new towns.[29] The most famous began as military camps, such as Fustat, Kufa, Basra and Shiraz. Others were associated with individuals as residences, both the *badiya* settlements and foundations near urban entities.

A third class of foundations partakes of both the militaristic and the individualistic elements and may be considered a sort of colonization attendant to the conquest. In certain regions, the Iranian plateau in particular,[30] this became formalized and may be traced on archaeological sites, while in other regions the Arab settlement is less formalized, such as in *Bilad al-Sham*.: In the latter case this may be only apparent until hypotheses are formulated and tested through archaeological projects. One aspect which is apparent is the strong tendency for the *amsar* to be located adjacent to older towns. Usually the *misr* developed into a major city, if not a metropolis, and displaced the pre-Islamic town, which was abandoned or engulfed.

This very success of most of the *amsar* means that the archaeological evidence is masked by later occupations. The archaeologists' luck is somewhat better with the residences, the so-called desert castles or chateaux.[31] Many of these were never finished or occupied with little

29. E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam nach den arabischen Historikern und Geographen:* (Munich: F. Straub, 1912).

30. Reitemeyer, op. cit, pp. 2-6, though her comparisons to foundations of Alexander or the Romans are obviously superficial and misleading. Discussion of settlement and planning of Kufa and Basra is found in Donner, op. cit, pp. 226-230. Concerning Fustat, one may now consult W. Kubiak, *Al Fustat: its Foundation and Early Urban Development* (Warsaw: Warsaw University, 1982). Archaeological remains of the *amsar* in Iran are discussed in D. Whitcomb, *Trade and Tradition in Medieval Southern Iran,* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, 1979), Idem. "The City of Istakhr and the Marvdasht Plain," *Akten des VII. international Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie* (Berlin, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, 1979), pp. 363-370. Idem, *Before the Roses and Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985).

31. J. Sauvaget, "Remarques sur les monuments omeyyad I: Châteaux de Syrie," *Journal Asiatique* vol. 231 (1939), pp. 1-59. Idem. "Châteaux umayyades de Syrie: Contribution à l'étude de la colonisation arabe aux Ier et IIe siècle de l'Hégire," *Revue des Études Islamiques* vol. 35 (1967), pp. 1-52.

alteration during the Abbasid and later periods.[32] The majority of the chateaux are approximately one quarter the size of Ayla. There are two examples which approximate the size and tower arrangement at Aqaba: Mshatta and Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi. Grabar describes the large enclosure at the latter site as a *madinah*, a small, fortified settlement with special functions. He further characterizes such *madinahs* as restricted settlements built next to an older city and often transformed into urban centers. The orthogonal arrangement within the *madinah* at Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi was perhaps from an older Byzantine or Roman inspiration but, whatever the origin, proved unsatisfactory and was altered early in the history of the site.[33]

The plan of the *madinah* of Ayla has both formal aspects, Byzantine style walls, towers, and street plan (?), and an irregularity one might expect of what has been called the *ville spontanée*. This latter impression may be partially the result of structural changes during the later Abbasid and Fatimid periods. That the original plan, whether pre-Umayyad or Umayyad, may have been more elaborate is suggested in the monumental and well-carved arched gateway (6), the arches of the Pavilion building (2), and the foundations of the large enclosure (8).

The *misr* or town of early Islamic Ayla is thus a response to a new set of concepts of what a town should be. The town is a combination of the experience of the late Byzantine city and the new Muslim attitudes toward urbanism. As in many innovations, one may expect continuation of many non-essential feature from the Byzantine period. What will be different is the integration of elements, as well as many institutions. In short this is an early attempt at the realization of an Islamic city, the fruition of which will not be identifiable until the 3rd or 4th/9th or 10th centuries.

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32. See the report on Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, where almost no Umayyad ceramics were found. O. Grabar, *City in the Desert: Qasr al-Hayr East,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1978).

33. Grabar describes this process as the "miniaturization and readaption of the camp-city," Ibid, p. 150. His definition of the *madinah* is found on pp. 79-80. As he has noted elsewhere, there is an inherent danger in comparing towns to palaces, or even to royal towns. O. Grabar, "al-Mushatta, Baghdad, and Wasit," *The World of Islam, Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti.* J. Kritzeck and R.B. Winder, eds. (London: MacMillan, 1959), p. 107, note 4. The towers on all of these sites have ceased to have military importance and probably have a symbolic function, identifying an urban or royal nature.

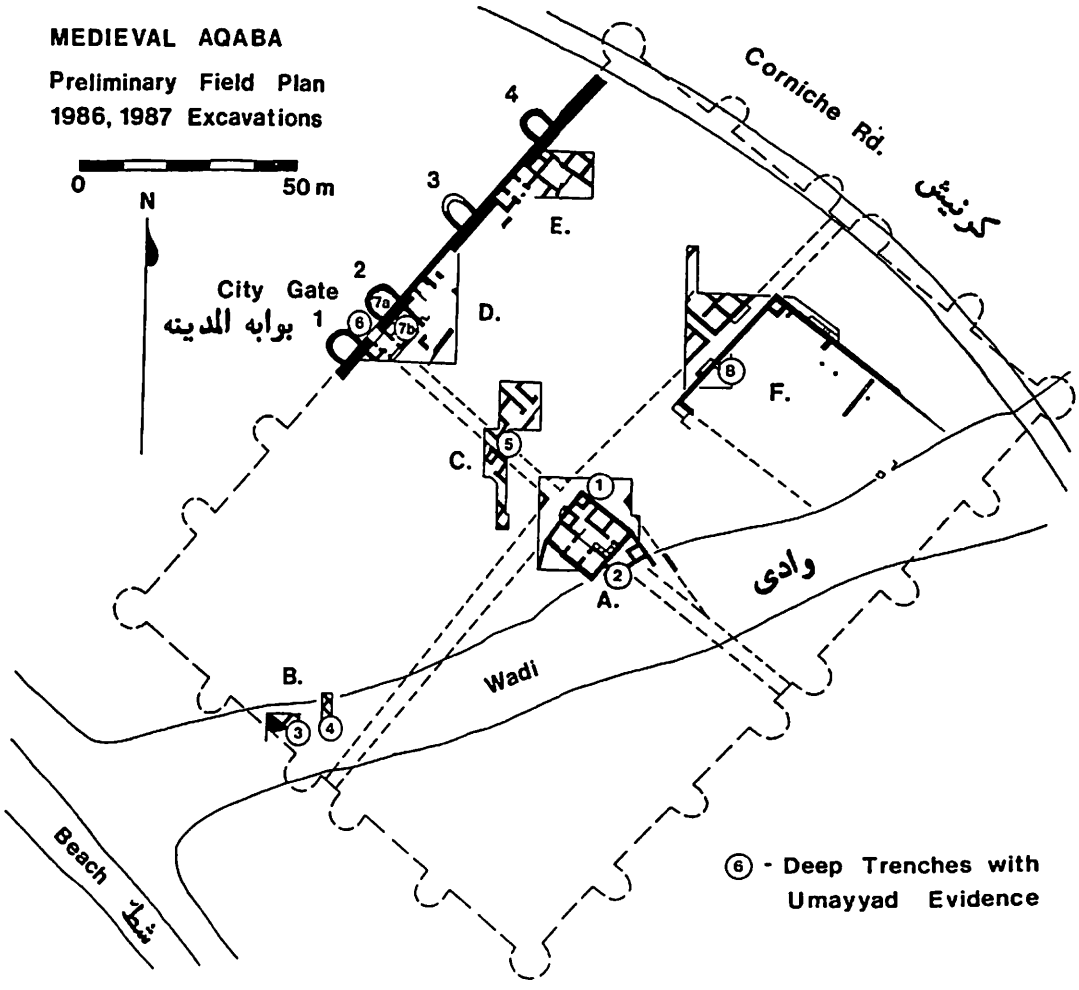

Fig. 1: Preliminary field plan of the excavations at Aqaba.

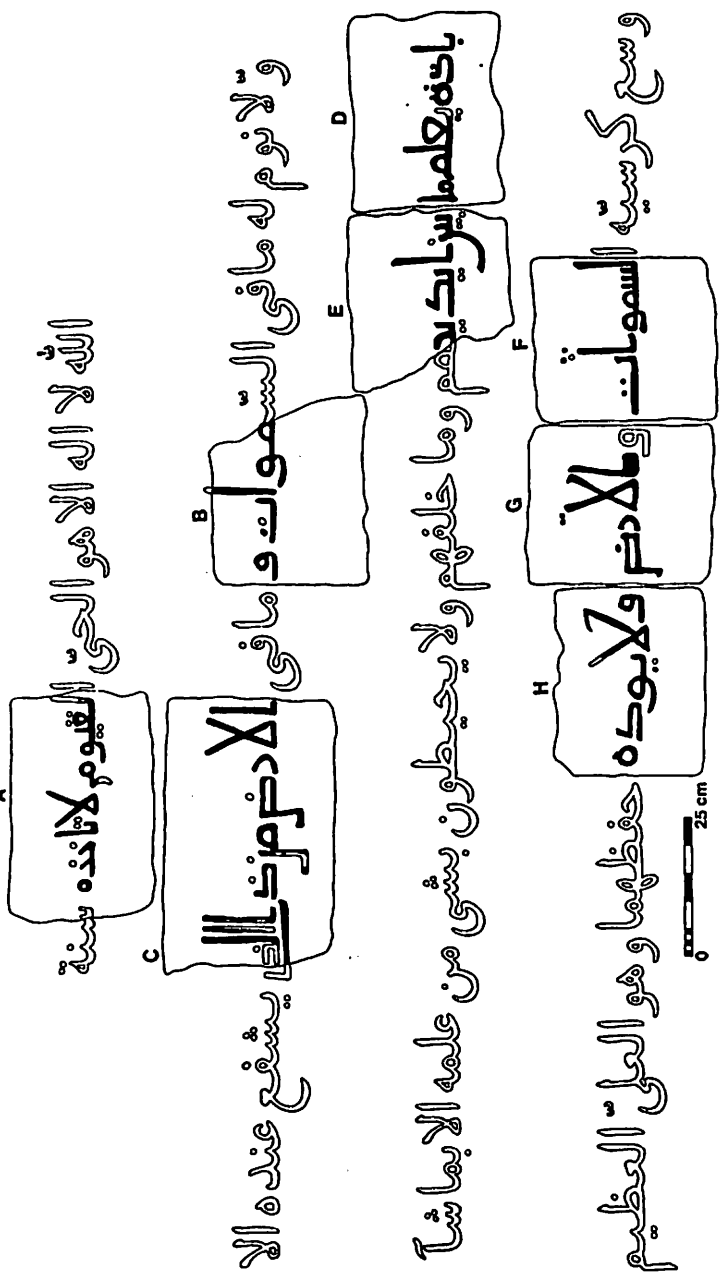

Fig. 2: Arabic inscription from the gate area.

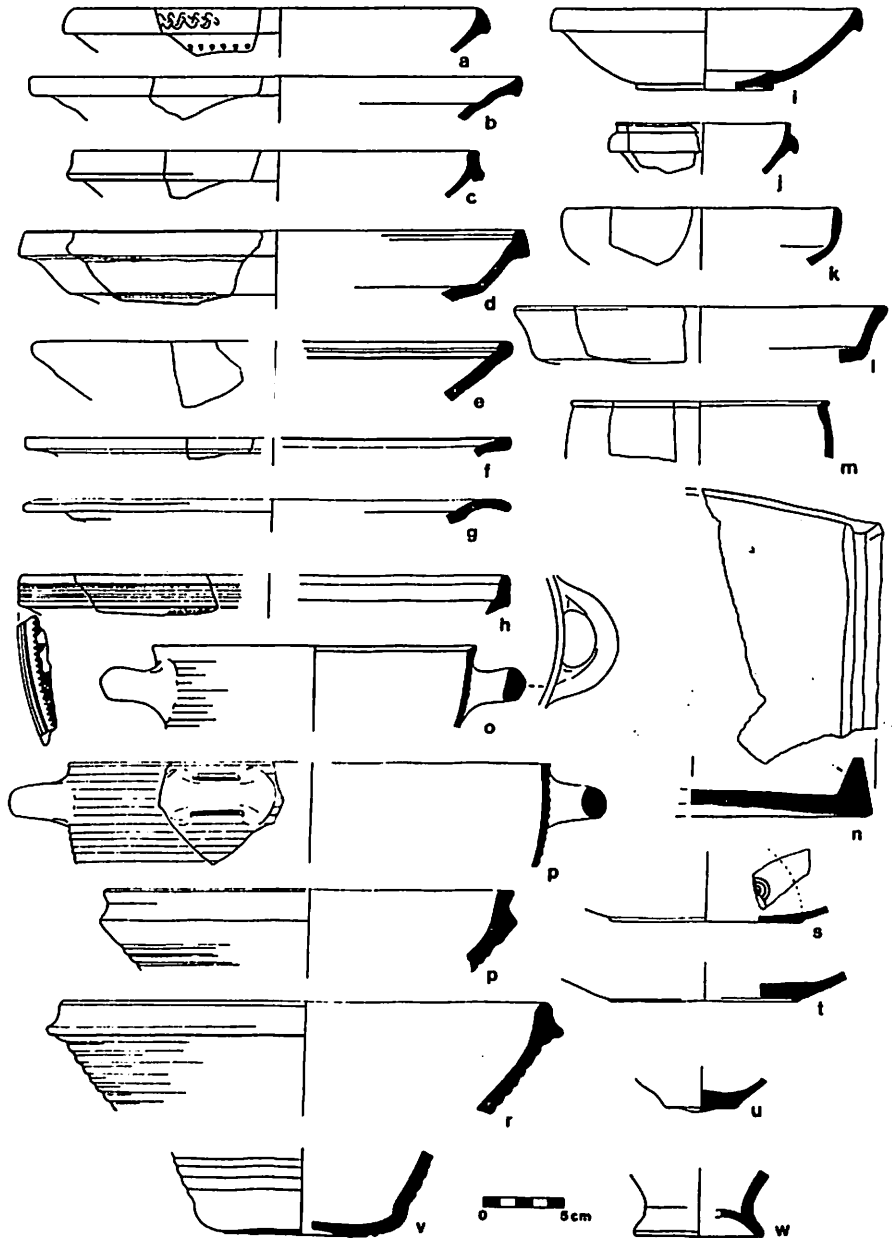

Fig. 3: Bowls, basins and cooking pots

Fig. 3:

Bowls, basins and cooking pots

	Locus	RN	Description
a	Hilla-15	87-159	light red ware, traces of brown slip on interior and exterior, incising and roulette, moderate medium sand.
b	E12c-16	87-145	Orange-red, red slip on interior and exterior, common medium sand.
c	E8d-22	87-396	red-orange, traces of red slip on rim, burnished interior, moderate medium sand.
d	B1d-28, 34	86-120 126	orange, dark orange slip on exterior, burnished, orange-brown paint on rim, moderate medium sand.
e	B1d-38	86-252	red-orange, orange slip, burnished, moderate medium sand, diameter 36 cm.
f	B1d-16	86-122	orange-red, red slip, burnished, moderate medium sand, diameter 46 cm.
g	B2b-17	86-260	cream, blackened on interior, common medium sand.
h	B2b-19	86-351	orange-red, dark orange slip, burnished, roulette on exterior, fine, diameter 36 cm.
i	Surface	87-134	orange-red, burnished, common medium sand.
j	B2b-20	86-353	dark grey, tan surface on exterior, burnished on interior, moderate medium sand.
k	E8d-22	87-396	tan, cream surfaces, moderate medium sand.
l	E12c-12	87-143	cream, abundant coarse grit.
m	B1d-6	86-53	orange-red, cream slip, common medium sand.
n	B1d-38	86-252	light orange, cream surfaces, common medium sand, rough base.
o	B1d-32	86-228	red, blackened exterior, common medium sand.
p	B2b-13	86-256	red-orange, dark red surfaces, blackened on exterior, abundant medium sand, diameter 30 cm.
q	B2b-21	86-352	red-orange, orange surface on interior, cream slip on exterior, moderate coarse grit.
r	B1d-6	86-53	red-brown, cream surfaces, common coarse grit.
s	B2b-6	86-235	red, stamped, burnished on interior, fine.
t	B2b-18	86-350	light orange, red slip, moderate medium sand.
u	E8a-30	87-170	orange, cream surfaces, common medium sand.
v	B1d-38	86-252	light orange, cream surfaces, common medium sand.
w	B1d-30	86-117	red, cream surfaces, common medium sand.

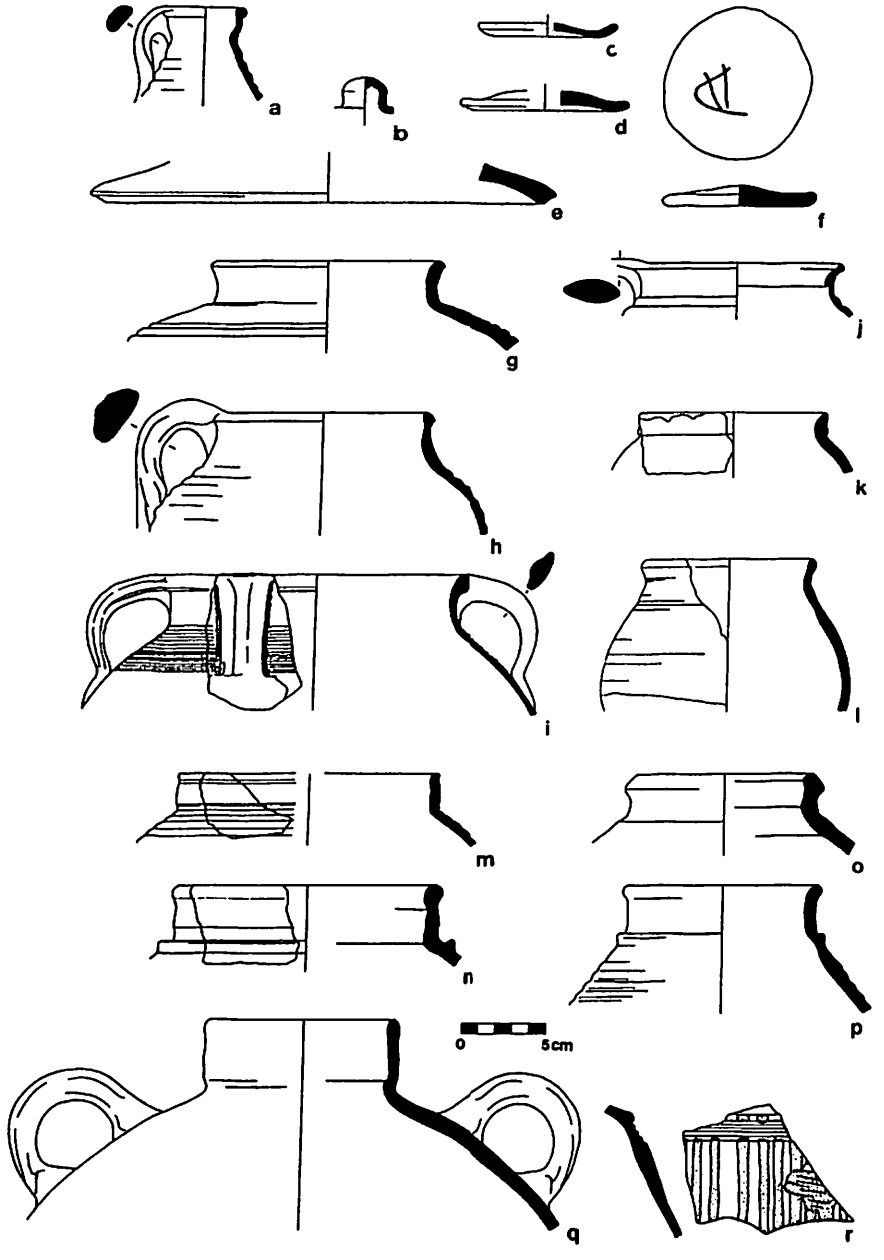
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Fig. 4

Jars and lids

	Locus	RN	Description
a	E12c-6	87-139	light orange, cream surfaces, vitrification on rim, common medium sand.
b	E12c-6	87-139	red, cream surface on exterior, common medium sand.
c	B1d-25	86-121	cream-orange, common coarse grit.
d	B2b-18	86-350	greenish cream, moderate coarse grit.
e	E12c-12	87-143	tan, traces of cream surfaces, common medium sand.
f	Surface	87-127	greenish cream, common medium sand.
g	B2b-13	86-256	red-orange, cream surfaces, common medium sand.
h	E12c-6	87-139	cream, common medium sand.
i	B1d-38	86-252	dark red, blackened exterior, abundant medium sand.
j	E12c-6	87-139	black, red core, common medium sand.
k	A1b-31	86-226	red, cream slip on exterior, moderate coarse grit.
l	A1b-19	86-214	orange, cream-light orange surface on exterior, moderate medium sand and mica.
m	B1d-18	86-124	orange-red, cream surface on exterior, moderate coarse grit, diameter unknown.
n	B1d-23	86-118	greenish cream, abundant coarse grit.
o	B2b-13	86-256	greenish cream, abundant coarse grit.
p	D1a-4	86-264	red-orange, cream slip, common coarse grit.
q	D1a-8,10	86-271	greenish cream, common medium sand.
r	E8a-30	87-170	grey-tan, dark brown surface on exterior, white paint on exterior, moderate medium sand.

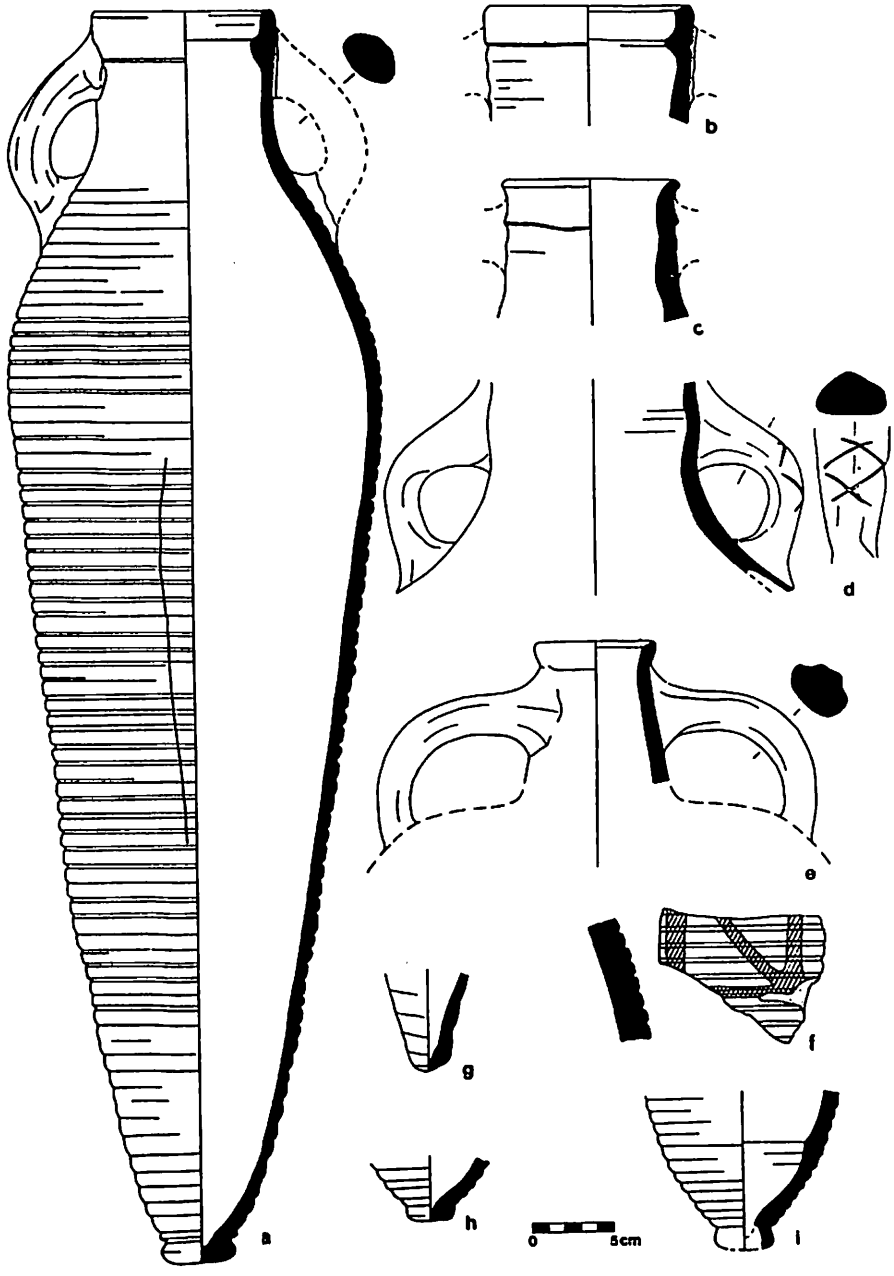

Fig. 5: Amphorae

Fig. 5

Amphorae

	Locus	RN	Description
a	Kiln site	87-	red-orange, cream surfaces, common coarse grit.
b	B1d-31	86-130	orange-cream, abundant coarse grit.
c	E12c-6	87-139	red-orange, greenish cream slip on exterior, common medium sand and coarse grit.
d	A1b-3	86-45	greenish cream, incised on handle, abundant coarse grit.
e	E8b-26	87-352	cream-tan, abundant coarse grit.
f	B1d-38	86-252	cream-orange, red paint on exterior, common coarse grit.
g	A1b-3	86-45	red-brown, thick cream slip on interior and exterior, twisted, moderate medium sand.
h	B1d-38	86-252	greenish cream, moderate coarse grit.
i	B1d-38	86-251	orange-tan, cream surfaces, abundant coarse grit.

Some Umayyad Inscriptions of Bilad Al-Sham – Palaeographic Notes

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The great need for palaeographic studies of early Arabic documents remains. While one must remember with gratitude the fine efforts of scholars like van Berchem, Grohmann, Hawary, Littmann, Moritz, Sauvaget and Wiet, the science of Arabic palaeography remains in its early infancy.

In recent years, it is true, some academic attention has been paid to the pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions, in particular the one from Namarah (328 A.D.), still the earliest dated Arabic inscription written in what can tentatively be described as the Arabic script, studied by such scholars as Beeston, Ballamy, Shahid, and also Healey and Smith (see references). The script of the Namarah inscription, however, is still so strongly Nabataean in character that its direct use to the Arabic palaeographer handling early Kufic material is somewhat limited. In any case, scholars are in the main still struggling to establish a satisfactory reading of the text and are unable to concentrate on its palaeographic aspects. Much more relevant are inscriptions like those of Zabad (512 A.D.), Harran (568 A.D.) and Umm al-Jimal (6th century A.D.). These, however, are exceedingly brief and thus often more of a source of frustration than of practical palaeographic value.

The time has come perhaps to concentrate more on the early dated Arabic inscriptions, of which the Umayyad era, particularly in *Bilad al-Sham*, yields an interesting corpus. This paper attempts to catalogue a selection of this corpus, ten in number, fashioned in such diverse materials as stone, clay and silk, all of which can be precisely dated, or at least fall within the reign of one of the Umayyad caliphs.

The first criterion of selection has been to include, for obvious reasons, only those inscriptions that can be more or less precisely dated. The second criterion has been to include only those inscriptions, the script of which has been sufficiently well reproduced to make the reproduction of real palaeographic value.

The results of this study appear in tabulated form below. First, it is necessary to describe briefly the ten inscriptions, adding a full list of references for each, where reproductions can be found.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

No. 1 — 72 A.H./691 A.D.
General location — Jerusalem
Precise location — QUBBAT Al-SAKHRAH, running along the upper edge of the intermediate arcade on both faces
Material — Stone (?) mosaic
Measurements — c.240 m

Orthography

The *alif* lengthening the 'a' vowel is consistently missing: e.g. *w'lslm = wa- 'l-salam; 'lktb = al-kitab. cf.*, however, *m' = ma; l' = la. Ta'* tawilah is invariably used for *ta' marbutah* in the construct: e.g. *wrhmt 'llh = wa-rahmat Allah.* The *ta' marbutah* is employed in a non-construct position: e.g. *tlth = thalathah. Alif maqsurah* is represented by the letter *ya'* e.g. *wkfy = wa-kafa; qdy = qada; bny = bana; sly* appears for the imperative *salli.* Not surprisingly, no *hamzah* sign is employed.

Other comments

There are two extraordinary features of this massive inscription. First as is well known, the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (199-218 A.H./813-833 A.D.) substituted his own name for that of the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik (65-86 A.H./685-705 A.D.) This is found on the southeast outer face of the octagonal arcade. What is also quite remarkable is that the inscription contains numerous diacritical points which are contemporary with the letters themselves. These have been carefully introduced into the palaeographic table below. What is perhaps as remarkable as the existence of these points themselves is the fact that it was only in 1970 that Kessler recognised them for what they are, having escaped the notice of a number of prominent scholars who had published material on the Dome.

References

Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil* vol. 1, p. 213 and pl. 11; Clermont-Ganneau, "Notes," I, p. 484; Berchem, *Matériaux,* vol. 2, no. 215 and fig. 35; al-Harawy, "Islamic Monument," pl. 5; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *Repertoire,* no. 9; Creswell, *Architecture;* Kessler, "Abd al-Malik," p. 2-14. These are the most important references.

No. 2 81 A.H./700 A.D.
QASR AL-BURQU'
Not *in situ*, built into a doorway as the lintel stone

3 lines
Width of doorway over which stone rests – 1.06 m

Orthography

The word *bana,* he built, 1.2. is spelt with *alif mamdudah.*. *Wahidah* is spelt in 1. 3 without *alif.*

Other comments

The script is rough and irregular with some notable linguistic peculiarities: *ha'ula' 'l-buyut,* these rooms, 11. 2-3, *Wahidah wa-thamanin,* eighty-one, 1. 3.

References

al-Harawy, "Islamic Monument," p. 328 and pl. 4; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 12; Field, *North Arabian Desert,* especially pp. 154-155; Gaube, "Examination," p. 93; Shboul, "Later Arabic Inscription," pp. 95-98.

No. 3 Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, 86 A.H./705 A.D.
KHAN AL-HATHRURAH, milestone on the Jericho road
Tshinili Kyöshk Museum, Istanbul
Marble
7 lines, incomplete
41 x 40 cm

Orthography

Ta' tawilah is used for the *ta' marbutah* in the contruct: *rhmt 'llh = rahmat Allah. Ya* is used for *alif maqsurah:* 'ly = ila.
Alif is used consistently for the long 'a' vowel.

References

Clermont-Ganneau, "Notes," p. 474; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil* vol. 1, p. 202 and pl. 11; Berchem, *Matériaux,* vol. 1, no. 1; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 14.

No. 4 Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, 86 A.H./705 A.D.
BAB AL-WAD, milestone on the Ramlah road
Musée du Louvre
Limestone
5 lines, incomplete
57 x 39 cm

Orthography
Ta' tawilah is used for *ta' marbutah* in the construct. *Alif* is used to lengthen the 'a' vowel.
Other comments
The Arabic word *thamaniyah,* l. 5, has two slanting strokes above the *tha',* one above the *nun* and two below the *ya,* (cf. below, Paleographic table).

References

Berchem *Matériaux,* vol. I, no. 2; al-Harawy, "Islamic Monument," pl. 5 (reading khamsah in error); Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 15.

No. 5 Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, 86 A.H./705 A.D.
DAYR AL-QALT', milestone, north of the Jericho road
Marble (?)
6 lines, incomplete
31 x 39 cm

Orthography
Ta' tawilah is used for *ta' marbutah* in the construct. *Alif* is used to lengthen the 'a' vowel.

References

Academie, *Réportoire d' épigraphie sémitique,* I, no. 366, 300; Berchem, *Matériaux,* vol. 1, no. 3; al-Harawy, "Islamic Monument," p. 324; Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 16.

No. 6 Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, 86 A.H./705 A.D.
ABU GHAWSH
Benedictine monastery
Limestone (?) milestone
5 lines, incomplete
30 x 30 cm

Orthography
Ya is used for *alif maqsurah.*

References

Vincent, "Notes," p. 271; Berchem, *Maériaux,* vol. 1, no. 4; al-Harawy, "Islamic Monument," p. 324; Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 17.

No. 7 92 A.H./710 A.D.
QASR AL-KHARANAH
NW corner of room 51 (JS, III,100)
Black ink/paint on wall
11 lines and 3 lines

Orthography

Alif is found consistently to lengthen the 'a' vowel.

English translation
The text is still far from adequately read, but cf. Abbott, "Kharana," pp. 190-192.

Other comments
The "cursive" Kufic script is of great interest, although also of great difficulty. It is, however, where it can be read satisfactorily, of palaeographic value and is included below in the table. It should be remembered that the letters are here applied in ink or paint to the surface of the wall and are not incised.

References

Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission,* pp. 100-102; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission, Atlas,* pl. 58; al-Harawy, "Islamic Monument," pl. 4; Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, *Répertoire,* nos. 20-21; Abbott, "Kharana," pp. 190–192; Urice, "Kharana," p. 5.

No. 8 110 A.H./728 A.D.
QUSUR AL-AKHAWAYN, south of Rusafah, east and not far from Palmyra
Stone
7 lines, damaged

Orthography

Alif is used to lengthen the 'a' vowel: e.g. *hs'm = Hisham; wk'n = wa-kana.*
Other comments
Clermont-Ganneau's pl. 7, A, is a drawing of the inscribed stone and should therefore be accepted here only with some caution.

References

Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil* vol. 3, pp. 285-287 and pl. 7, A; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 28.

No. 9 125 A.H./724 A.D.
JARASH
Baked clay lamp
2 lines
10 cm long

Comments
Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil* vol. 3, p. 48 and Germer-Durand, "Inscription", p. 591, for the two readings published. Clermont-Ganneau in the former publication states clearly that he has the original in his possession and one hopes therefore that his drawing accurately reflects this. Note the *ta'* of the name Tadur (Theodore) has the two dots above the letter. This is shown below in the table.

References

Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil* vol. 2, p. 49; Germer-Durand, "Inscription," p. 591; Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 33.

No. 10 Caliphate of Marwan, 132 A.H./750 A.D.
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON (no. 1314—1888)
Yellow silk on red ground
1 line
35 x 15 cm

Orthography
The *alif* to indicate the long 'a' of Marwan is omitted.

References
Guest, "Notice," p. 390; Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, *Répertoire,* no. 36.

THE PALAEOGRAPHIC TABLE
See separate page.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON ORTHOGRAPHY
Nos. 1 and 2 (72 and 81 A.H.) contain no *alif* to lengthen the 'a' vowel. From 86 A.H. onwards (nos. 3-6), however, the *alif* is used for this purpose entirely consistently, with the exception of no. 10 (132 A.H.) which omits it.

Ya' is employed throughout to express *ya'* and *alif maqsurah*, although *bana* , he built, in no. 2 (81 A.H.) is spelt with final *alif.* This, however, it

should be recalled, contains one or two errant linguistic forms. Where it occurs, the *ta' marbutah* in the construct form is written with *ta' tawilah*.

GENERAL PALAEOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

The presence in the Sakhrah (72 A.H.), Bab al-Wad (86 A.H.) Qasr Kharanah (92 A.H.) and the Jarash (125 A.H.) inscriptions of diacritical points is of the utmost importance (see Palaeographic table). That they appear so frequently in the first and on three occasions in the brief Bab al-Wad inscription would seem to add weight to the commonly propounded theory that radical reforms of the Arabic alphabet were carried out under the Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al Malik. The single dash above marking *fa'* and the single dash below marking *qaf* are particularly noteworthy (cf. the Maghrebi script).

The period under review, the 60 years between 72 and 132 A.H./691 and 750 A.D. within Bilad al-Sham was, not surprisingly, one of some palaeographic stagnation, although the following point should be noted. The two end teeth of *sin* and *shin* are beginning to appear more brow-like than straight from Qasr al-Kharanah (92 A.H.) onwards. Even the Khan al-Hathrurah (86 A.H.) is similarly shaped. Note the closed initial *shin* of Qasr al-Kharanah. Both *'ayn* and *ghayn* have closed flat tops in the Qasr al-Kharanah inscription and this could well mark the beginning of such a letter shape. Final *qaf* is particularly interesting (see Palaeographic table), progressing from the quite elaborate Sakhrah type (72 A.H.) to the more angular forms of the Bab al-Wad and Dayr al-Qalt (both 86 A.H.). These latter two are beginning to take on more of the eventual shape of the final *qaf*. Final *mim* too is worthy of mention, with one or two attempts during the period at a left curve more reminiscent of the final form of the letter (cf. nos. 1, 3, 6 and 10). Lastly, one should note final *ya'* and the long flourish towards the right beneath the previous letters.

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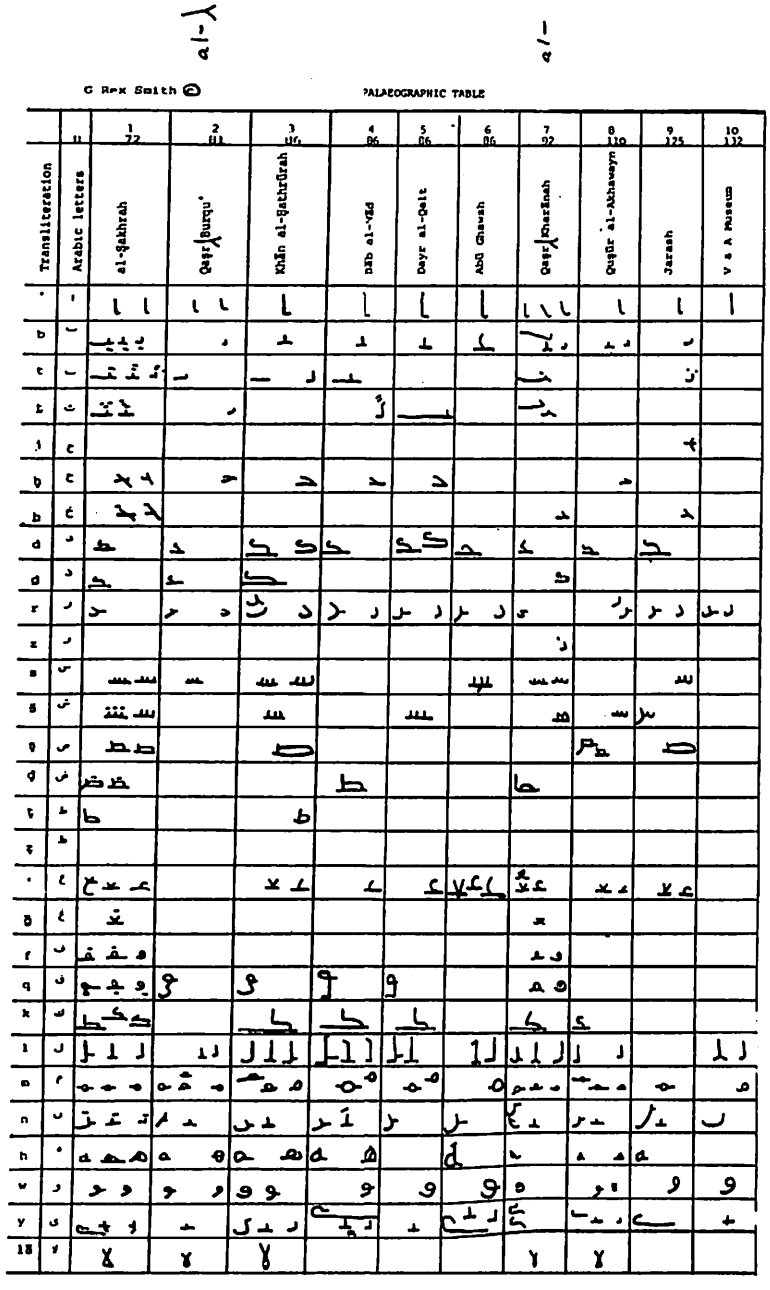

Paleographic Table

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The Coinage of Syria Under the Umayyads, 692-750 A.D

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The coinage of Syria in the Umayyad era has a special interest for Islamic numismatists and historians because this is the coinage of the metropolitan province of the caliphate in the formative era of Islam. Indeed, it was the era of the invention of Islamic coinage itself, which we can place in the city of Damascus in the year 77 A.H./697 A.D. Furthermore, this coinage is a contemporary source for a time and place about which we know surprisingly little. We know something about the lives of the Umayyad caliphs, it is true, but there is little in the historical sources about the details of Umayyad central administration or the administration of Syria, or about the economic life of the province. The surviving Arabic histories were all written later, under the Abbasids — ideological enemies of the Umayyads — and in Iraq or Iran, and so events in Damascus and Syria are neglected. The coinage, however, can tell us something about the history of the province and the caliphate only when we understand the history of the coins themselves.

Usually the coinage of the Umayyads, including Syria, is studied as several different series: Arab-Byzantine, Arab-Sasanian, and post-reform, with the coinage in each metal — gold, silver and copper — kept separate within each of those series.[1] In what follows, we will see what happens when we look at the Umayyad coinage of Syria all together. We will begin with the assumption that coins minted in the same time and place will have certain features in common, reflecting a general minting policy, and conversely that coins which are similar are likely to have been minted at the same place and time. If we consider the issues of the various mints of Syria as part of the continuous history of each mint, it becomes easier to put the parts of that history together, and to understand when, how, and why the coinage began and evolved.

1. The standard references for Umayyad numismatics are John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum: A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassaninan Coins (Umaiyad Governors in the East, Arab-Ephthalites, 'Abbasid Governors in Tabaristan and Bukhara)* (London, 1941) and ibid., *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum, II: A Catalogue of the Arab–Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins* (London, 1956; Cited hereafter as *BMCArabByz)*, but these, although still essential as a listing of then–known specimens, are quite misleading as historical descriptions of the coinage. See also Michael L. Bates, "History, Geography, and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage," *Revue suisse de numismatique* vol. 65 (1986), pp. 231-262.

Naturally any such study has to begin with the coinage of Damascus, the capital, which set the pace for the other Syrian mints. Because Damascus alone had gold and silver coinage, with one or two exceptions, the evolution of Syrian coinage is clearer there; we can compare the three coinages, gold, silver, and copper, using evidence from one when it is lacking for the other two. Naturally also, the few useful historical references for the period relate to the coinage of Damascus. Once its coinage has been put in order, it should be easier to deal with the other mints.

In this study I will divide the coinage of Umayyad Damascus into three phases, each including gold, silver, and copper coins. The first phase, from 72 to 74 A.H./692 to 694 A.D. can be described as the imperial images period, because the coins have depictions of emperors and religious images adapted or copied from the coinage of the predecessor Byzantine or Sasanian empires. The second phase, from 74 to 77 A.H./694 to 697 A.D. is that of Arab images, when Arab Muslim images were substituted for foreign ones. Since the principal Arab image used in Syria at this time shows the caliph himself standing, girt with his sword, it is also appropriate to call this the standing caliph phase. The third phase, from 77 A.H./697 A.D. to the end of the Umayyad caliphate in 132 A.H./750 A.D., is that of the Islamic inscriptional coinage, also called the reformed or post-reform Umayyad coinage, which had only religious inscriptions in Arabic.

Phase One

Let us now look at the coins of phase one in more detail. The gold coins of phase one include two subseries, which imitate or adapt a single rather unusual Byzantine prototype, a Constantinople issue of the last years of the Emperor Heraclius that can be assigned to the years 636-639 or 638-641 A.D.[2] The Arab coins have three standing figures on the obverse, like the

2. Type IVb in Philip Grierson's classification, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II, 1 (Washington, 1968). p. 224; *Byzantine Coins* (London, 1982), p. 94. See also Wolfgang Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini von Heraclius bis Leo III./Alleinregierung (610-720)* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veroffentlichungen der numismatischen Kommission, Vienna, 1981), p. 86. It is hard to understand why the Arabs chose this particular obverse prototype. In the previous century, only a single issue, that of Heraclius and his two sons, shows three figures. It is also the only Constantinople gold issue of the period to show full-length standing figures instead of busts. Why was this one issue, out of all the possibilities, selected? Purely by chance? Or is there some significance in the choice of a type with three figures? Who do the three Arabicized figures represent? Might the three figures represent three Arab persons? Islam had no provision for co-caliphs, the system of Au-

prototype, but the crosses associated with these figures, as well as the standing cross potent on the reverse of the prototype, have been modified or eliminated. One of the two Arab subseries has Greek inscriptions like the prototype, and the other has Arabic inscriptions.

Only four examples are known for the first subseries. All four coins reproduce the prototype closely with the same images and inscriptions, except for the modification of the crosses. Each of the four has a different Greek numeral on the reverse: there is *iota,* for 10 (*iota* to right, a monogram as on the prototype to left);[3] *iota-alpha* for 11 (*alpha* to left, *iota* to right);[4] *iota-beta* for 12 (*iota* left and *beta* right;[5] and *iota-gamma* for 13 (*iota,* left, *gamma* right).[6] I will return to discuss the significance of these numerals.

The second subseries, the three-figure coins with Arabic inscriptions,[7] has the figures in what seems to be Arab dress (certainly not Byzantine imperial costume) with no inscription on the obverse. On the reverse, the cross is modified to a vertical line with a knob on top, a device not easy to name.[8] Around the reverse margin is an Arabic inscription, "In the name of God:

gusti and junior Caesars as depicted on many Byzantine issues, but the Umayyads generally designated one or two of their sons as the next successive heirs to the caliphate, with the title *wali 'ahd.* At the time of the new Arab coinage (and until he died in 85 A.H./704 A.D.) 'Abd al-Malik's brother 'Abd al-'Aziz was the next designated heir to the caliphate, as ordered by their father Marwan; there was no second designated heir, so far as is known, 'Abd al-Malik's sons al-Walid and Sulayman were not designated until after the death of 'Abd al-'Aziz.

3. Spink Zurich auction catalogue, 18 February 1986, no. 86.

4. Numismatic Fine Arts (Encino, California) auction II, 25-26 March 1976, no. 513; also in the same firm's mail bid list no. 3 (Beverly Hills, California), December 1977, no. 40.

5. British Museum collection (*BMCArabByz,* p. 18 no. 54; Miles, "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* vol.13 (1967), p. 209 no 4).

6. Miles, "Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," p. 209 no. 5; Spink Zurich auction catalogue 22, 17 March 1987, no. 153. Spink Zurich action catalogue 27, 1 June 1988, no. 1 (these are all the same unique coin).

7. BMCArabByz, p.18, no. B.2, and at least 8 others listed by Miles, "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," pp. 210-211, class B. An issue of forgeries of these dinars was produced in Beirut about 1967; the forged coins can be distinguished from genuine ones by the shape of the letter *dal* in *wahda;* on the genuine coins the letter is rectangular, on the forgeries triangular.

8. It might be a representation of the staff, *qadib,* carried by the caliph in his capacity as imam, or religious leader of the community. Miles, "Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," p. 210 n. 14, had already raised the possibility that the staffs that the three figures appear to hold in their right hands are *qadibs.*

Plate 1 Gold Dinars

a.

b.

c.

d.

a. 93 A.H./711 A.D.

b. 86 A.H./704 A.D.

c. 125 A.H./742 A.D.

d. 107 A.H./725 A.D.

Plate 2 Silver Dirhams

a. 97 A.H./715 A.D.

b. 96 A.H./714 A.D.

c. 100 A.H./718 A.D.

d. 95 A.H./713 A.D.

a.

b.

c.

d.

there is no god but God alone; Muhammad is the messenger of God." This is the first recorded appearance of the Muslim *shahada* on coins, and possibly the earliest surviving physical record of it. Like the Greek inscription coins, there is a Greek numeral on the reverse, which is always *iota-beta 12.*

The silver coins of this phase are an adaptation of the Arab-Sasanian coinage of the Umayyad east (that is, Iraq and Iran). They bear explicit evidence for their attribution in the form of the mint name *Dimashq* and the dates 72, 73, and 74 written in Arabic at either side of the reverse central image.[9] They have on the obverse a portrait of the Sasanian Emperor Khusraw II, with his name in Pahlavi (Middle Persian) script and ancillary inscriptions and ornaments just as on his coins and on the great majority of the Arab-Sasanian coins of Iran issued between about 650 and 670 A.D. except that in Iran under the Arabs the use of the name of the Sasanian emperor had long since been replaced by the name of the Arab official under whose authority the coin was issued. In the obverse margin of these coins, interrupted by the star/moon symbols, is an Arabic inscription. This takes two forms: On the coins dated 72, there is only "In the name of God: Muhammad is the messenger of God," while the issues of 73 and 74 have the same longer inscription found on the gold coins described above. The coins of 72 also differ in having the mint name to the left on the reverse and the date to the right, while on coins of 73 and 74 the positions are reversed. The central image of the reverse of all these is a Zoroastrian fire altar with two attendants, just as on Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins of Iran.

The Damascus copper coins of this phase have a Byzantine imperial image on the obverse, either a single emperor enthroned, an emperor standing, or two standing imperial figures. These obverse varieties were combined with two reverse varieties, both with a large capital M in the center, but one with Greek inscriptions including the mint name DAM and the other with the Arabic inscription *duriba bi-Dimishq ja'iz.* The obverses and reverses were presumably introduced in the order that they have just been listed, but there is a good deal of overlapping between them in the sense that

9. Only two specimens of the dirham issue of 72 A.H. are known today, one in the Cabbinet des Medailles, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (1968.863), first published by Miles, "Some Arab-Sasanian and Related Coins," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* vol. 7 (1957), p. 191 no. 6, and another in the Ashmolean Museum (University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. *Report of the Visitors* 1969-1970, p.43, pl.XIII, 1). Examples of 73 and 74 A.H. are listed by Miles, loc. cit. A dirham of 72 A.H. from Hims mint has recently been acquired by a private collector, and there is a credible rumor that another such coin exists in a New Jersey collection. Damascus, therefore, was not the only Syrian mint for dirhams, but evidently silver was minted at Hims only occasionally and in minute quantity.

a single obverse die may be found with both reverse types, and a single reverse die with two different obverses. The types are also stylistically very similar. In sum, the evidence of the coins themselves points to a brief period of issue.[10]

Having described these three coinages, it remains to show that they actually belong together. Only the silver coins have both a mint name and date. The gold coins have neither, and the copper coins have only a mint name. What is the evidence for the attribution of all three coinages to Damascus in the years 72-74 A.H./692-694 A.D.?

I will not discuss the place of minting in detail, since the silver and copper coins bear an explicit mint name and most scholars are agreed that the gold dinars of the Umayyads, except for those with the mint names al-Andalus and Ifriqiyya, were issued in Damascus. Later, I will suggest that the site of the central gold mint of the caliphate might not have been Damascus, but rather the actual residence of the caliph himself, but this fine distinction need not detain us here.

In trying to date the gold and copper coins, the evidence is separate for the two coinages. Among the gold coins, we also have two different series, the imitations with Greek inscriptions and those with Arabic inscriptions. I believe, however, that the two series are closely linked, and that the Greek inscription dinars must have been the immediate predecessors of those with Arabic. The two are connected by their adaptation of a very unusual prototype, the issue of Heraclius and his two sons which was struck for 3 or 4 years and is the only Byzantine gold issue of the seventh century with three adult standing figures. They are further connected by their similar treat-

10. Michael L. Bates, "The 'Arab-Byzantine' Bronze Coinage of Syria: An Innovation by 'Abd al-Malik," in *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles (1904-1975)* (New York, 1976), pp. 16-27. Elsewhere in Syria, this phase includes all coins with mint names and Byzantine images, They are mostly similar to issues of Heraclius and Constans II, but there are also large coppers of Scythopolis and Jarash imitating coins of Justin and Sophia of the sixth century. See Philip Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London, 1982), pp.145-146, for the latest discussion of the prototypes for these coppers. Official issues were produced in this phase at seven Syrian mints, Amman, Baysan (Scythopolis), Jarash (Gerasa), Damascus, Baalbak, Hims (Emesa), Tabariyya (Tiberias), and Tartus. There are no coins with imperial images from the southernmost jund, Filastin, or from the northern Jund Qinnasrin (including Aleppo), but there are "mintless" coins of this period, with the same fabric and style as the issues bearing a mint name, which may come from the north or south, as well as another group of coins without a mint name or, usually, any indication of Arab origin, most often poorly struck on irregular flans, which remain still to be attributed and may be unofficial issues of an earlier date.

ment of the date monogram that appears on the prototype: although the two-letter dates on the prototype coins are written as a monogram to the right of the central cross, on both series of imitations these monograms have been resolved into their separate letters placed to the right and left of the cross.[11] Since the Greek inscription coins are extremely rare, one would guess that they were struck for only a brief time – weeks or months – before it was decided that the coins should have Arabic inscriptions.

As for the meaning of these monograms, I have no good answer. We have four coins with the numerals 10, 11, 12, and 13, but it is impossible to regard these, on the imitations, as dates; they cannot be made to correspond to any contemporary calendar, indictional, or regnal years. Moreove, if the coins were really struck over a period of four years, it is difficult to understand why they are so rare today. I believe the numbers were copied merely as one design feature of the prototype.[12]

As for the three-figure dinars with Arabic inscriptions, they certainly seem to be the immediate predecessors of the dated standing caliph dinars beginning with the year 74 A.H./694 A.D. The similarity of their reverses and inscriptions substantiates this assumption. Their starting point, however, is not obvious.[13] The only numismatic evidence is the date of the first silver coins of Damascus, 72 A.H./692 A.D., but this is only evidence if we assume that gold and silver coinage began at the same time. I believe they did, but evidence is preferable to faith. One point I might mention, however, is the similarity of the epigraphical style of the Arabic inscriptions on the silver and gold; not only is it similar, but in both cases it is what one

11. Miles, "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," pp. 207-210, Class A, classified these coins with two other issues, one imitating an issue of Phocas and another imitating Heraclius' two figure issue (since discovered: a second example of an imitation of Phocas, Miles 1, Bonhams (London) auction sale no. 6 (14-15/9/81), no. 651; a variant of Miles 2-3, Bank Leu auction, 11 October 1983, no. 1) and placed them all in the late 680s or early 690s A.D. In 1980, however, William Metcalf restudied these coins and noted that they were not really very similar, probably not from a single mint, and probably not official Arab issues ("Three Seventh-Century Byzantine Gold Hoards," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* vol. 25 (1980), pp. 97-101). On the basis of a hoard, he suggested that at least one of these was issued before 70 A.H./690 A.D. His conclusion, however, does not seem to apply to the three figure imitations for the reasons advanced above.

12. See Bates, "History, Geography and Numismatics," pp. 241-242, for a longer discussion of these numerals.

13. *BMCArabByz*, p. 18 and Miles, "Earliest Arab Gold Conage," p. 229, agreed in placing the Arabic inscription series in the early 70s A.H./690s A.D. immediately before the standing caliph series, but without further precision as to the date of its commencement.

might call the Pahlavesque script characteristic of the Arab-Sasanian coinage of the east, engraved by die cutters who were more used to writing Pahlavi than Arabic. That is, the letters are Arabic, but the individual strokes that form them are similar to the strokes that form the Pahlavi inscriptions. This point has a certain importance in the historical context, as we shall see. One other possible bit of numismatic evidence I mention only to dismiss: the possible relationship, which has been much commented on, of the first Arab coins to a new issue of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II allegedly of 692 A.D. I disregard this relationship because we do not know what it was: that is; we do not really know whether the Arab coinage was a response to the new Byzantine issue or vice versa; nor do we know precisely when the Byzantine coin was first issued – the date 692 A.D. which has become canonical rests upon speculation piled on hypothesis.

Having quickly exhausted the numismatic evidence, we turn to the historical sources. On the Arab side, there are a number of statements by the Muslim historians, but it must be remembered that the earliest surviving writings on the subject come from one or two centuries later, and, with one exception, do not rest upon sound *hadith,* that is to say, on eyewitness reports. For the most part, the dates proposed by al-Tabari, al-Baladhuri, and the rest are either their own speculations or the speculations of their authorities. Some of the dates might refer to the introduction of the standing caliph dinar or the post-reform dinar, but scarcely any of the dates given have any relevance to the very first Arab gold coins, the three-figure imitations. The single exception is a statement that originates with Abu'l-Zinad 'Abd Allah b. Dhakwan, a scholar of the Umayyad era who died about 130-132 A.H./748-750 A.D.[14] The report in its simplest version reads in full, "'Abd al-Malik was the first to strike gold and silver coins in the *'am al-jama'a,*". Notice, by the way, that this report speaks of both gold *and* silver coins.

14. His reports were recorded by al-Waqidi, whose works are lost, but al-Baladhuri and al-Tabari quote the report from al-Waqidi (al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan,* ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), p. 469; also quoted by al-Baladhuri, p. 467, and by al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa'l-Muluk,* II, 939, with the same *isnad "citation"* but in the two latter places adding respectively the specific years 74 and 76 A.H. Since neither of these years can correspond to the *'am al-jama'a* mentioned in the report, and since each of the two authors has previously quoted a report specifying the year which is added to Abu 'l-Zinad's report, it is evident that the specific years have been added by the two authors and were not mentioned in al-Waqidi's version of the report. The second version of the report in al-Baladhuri is surely closest to the original.)

The other important piece of literary evidence is from a Byzantine historian, Theophanes, who also wrote about a century later but whose account has enough detail to make it credible as originating from a contemporary source. In his *Chronographia,* Theophanes records under three successive years first, the restoration of unity in the Islamic world after the civil war for the caliphate between 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr; second, the refusal of Justinian to accept new gold coins paid to him in tribute by the Arabs; and third, the battle of Sebastopolis in which an army led by Justinian was severely defeated by the Arabs.[15] Two plausible sources, therefore, agree in placing the new coinage in the *'am al-jama'a,* or after the end of the contest for the caliphate between 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr. We must therefore ask, when did the civil war end? For modern historians and for the medieval Arab writers, this is generally considered to be the year 73 A.H., in which Ibn al-Zubayr was killed (on 17 Jumada I 73 A.H./5 October 692 A.D. according to most sources), but this is too late for the coins; it is after the battle of Sebastopolis, which is a definitive *terminus ante quem* because there would have been no reason for 'Abd al-Malik to send coins to Justinian after the Arab victory. I would propose that from the point of view of contemporary Byzantines, as well as for the mass of the population of Syria and the Fertile Crescent, the event that marked the reunification of the caliphate was not the death of Ibn al-Zubayr far away in the Hijaz, but rather the victory of 'Abd al-Malik over Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in Iraq in Jumada I or II 72 A.H./October-November 691 A.D. This battle effectively unified the central lands of the Islamic world; the subsequent fighting in and around Mecca was only an epilogue.

'Abd al-Malik's victory in Iraq is a good *terminus post quem* for the new gold and silver coinage for another reason: for the first time, important mints in Basra and Kufa fell into his hands, making available experienced mint personnel who could organize a new mint in Damascus and engrave the dies with the inscriptions which I have described as Pahlavesque.

If we accept these two termini, the date of the first official Arab gold issues can be stated fairly precisely. After the victory in Iraq, some time must have elapsed before the mint could have been set up in Damascus, pushing the first issues certainly into the year 72 A.H./691-692 A.D. On the other hand, the first gold coins must have come out considerably before the battle

15. *The Chronicle of Theophanes,* tr. Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 63-64. See Bates, "History, Geography and Numismatics," pp. 247-248, for a more extended analysis.

of Sebastopolis to allow time for them to be sent to Justinian and for the subsequent exchange of correspondence and mobilization of armies. In any case, the mint was open before the end of 72 A.H./May 682 A.D. because the first silver coins bear that date. We are justified therefore in putting the opening of the mint at Damascus, and the beginning of Arab gold coinage, in the winter or early spring of 692 A.D. in the second half of the year 72 A.H.

As for the copper, the redating implied by assigning the copper coins with imperial Byzantine portrayals to the same era as the phase one silver and gold is far more radical and controversial. It has been generally accepted that the coppers of Byzantine type began with the Arab conquest of Syria, about 635-640 A.D. or shortly thereafter, and extended nearly to the end of the century, while the standing caliph coppers are dated by Walker from ca. 670 A.D. into the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (685-705 A.D.). I would propose, as I did in an article over ten years ago, that in reality no copper coins were struck in Syria until 72 A.H./692 A.D. that is, until the same time that gold and silver coinage began. The standing caliph coppers have already been redated by others, to the period 74-77 A.H. when the standing caliph gold was being issued, and this redating leaves a span of some 60 years for the imperial image coppers if they began at the time of the conquest. Two main arguments, however, can be made against this chronology.[16] First, it is extremely unlikely that the Arabs began issuing coinage in Syria immediately after the conquest, and improbable that they would have begun at any time in the subsequent years before 'Abd al-Malik's reign; and second, the coinage with imperial images cannot have extended over a long period, but rather was only a brief issue.

The first proposition is based on the absence of any Byzantine minting in Syria when the Arabs conquered it, with the improbability that any caliph before 'Abd al-Malik would have made such an innovation;[17] on the marked

16. For details, see Bates, "The 'Arab-Byzantine' Bronze Coinage."

17. An anonymous Syriac chronicle of uncertain date refers to the introduction by Mu'awiya of gold and silver coins and their rejection by the populace (Th. Nöldeke, "Zur Geschichte der Araber im I. Jahrhundert d. H. aus syrischen Quellen," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenlandische Gesellschaft* (1876, pp. 94, 96), but the statement must surely be a posterior confusion of Mu'awiya with 'Abd al-Malik. There is no numismatic or literary evidence to substantiate the statement; it is not clear why, if the coins were unsuccessful, the project was simply dropped without attempting alternative designs; and the reference to objectionable silver coins without crosses is anachronistic because no silver coins of the mid-seventh century had crosses.

difference in fabric between the Byzantine and Arab coppers, showing that mint technology was not taken over by the Arabs from the Byzantines; and on the fact that the Arab coins are not simple perpetuations of a Byzantine prototype (as was the case in Egypt and Iran) but merely have the familiar attributes of Byzantine money, intended to circulate with it, or substitue for it.

The second argument, that the series was very brief, is supported by the fact that the different imperial types at each of the Syrian mints are few in number and very similar in style, and, at least at Damascus, are often die-linked to each other. There is virtually no possibility that the issue of these coins extended over five decades. Their lifespan must have been short, and can easily be fitted into two or three years, as the copper parallels of the earliest gold and silver coins of Damascus, immediately preceding the standing caliph issues and probably to be put in the years 72-74 A.H./692-694 A.D. Although it is impossible to prove that the copper coinage of Damascus did not begin a year or a few years before the gold and silver, the commencement of the latter coinages seems the most likely time for the beginning of the copper also. We should also compare the style of the gold and copper coins, to see what similarity exists. In any case, then, Syria got along before 72 A.H./692 A.D. on gold and copper coins which were in the country when it was conquered or imported later from Byzantium, and, probably, silver coins from Iraq and Iran. The gold and copper coins are often found in hoards of the seventh century and the Iranian silver in hoards of the eighth.

We might finally ask why coinage was introduced in Damascus at this particular time. In all the historical literature, there is only one report that purports to reveal the discussions that might have taken place at the court of 'Abd al-Malik. This is the well-known story involving 'Abd al-Malik's change in the inscription marked on the papyrii exported from Egypt to Constantinople.[18] The Emperor Justinian reacted to the introduction of

18. In its longest form, in al-Bayhaqi, Zahir al-Din, d. 565 A.H./1169-1170, *al-Mahasin wa 'l-Masawi'* (Cairo, 1961), II, 232-236 (know to me only as extensively quoted and paraphrased by Hassan 'Ali Hallaq, *Ta'rib al-Nuqud wa 'l-Dawawin fi al-'Asr al-Umawi* [Beirut and Cairo, 1978], pp. 33-39); a shorter version is in al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, p. 240; the version of the story in al-Damiri, d. 808 A.H./1405-1406 A.D., *Hayat al-Hayawan*, translated by H. Sauvaire (*Materiaux pour servir á l'histoire de la numismatique et de la metrologie musulmans* [Paris, 1882], pp. 26-31), is explicitly derived from al-Bayhaqi, though it is different and longer. Neither author cites a source for the story, al-Bayhaqi as usual but untypically for al-Baladhuri. The latter, however, quotes ancillary reports supporting the story from al-Mada'ini, a reputable historian, and 'Awana b. al-Hakam, the best informed of the *muhaddithun* on Syria under the Umayyads.

Islamic markings by threatening to put anti-Muslim inscriptions on the coinage that come to the Arabs from Constantinople. 'Abd al-Malik was advised to counter this threat by introducing Arab coinage and forbidding the circulation of Roman dinars. The story is suggestive, although it is difficult to say how much truth there is in it, if any. The versions of the story in different historians differ considerably, and none of them are supported by an *isnad* to an original eyewitness source. In the story, the proposed new Arab coinage is similar to the post-reform Arabic coinage, but we know from numismatic evidence that Damascus was already striking coins at least five years before the introduction of the reformed Arabic type. Most of the remaining Arabic reports on the beginning of Islamic coinage are relevant to the Umayyad east, not to Damascus, and none gives any reason for the introduction of the new coins.

So we are left to speculate. I would like to point out one factor that has not been previously considered: the tribute in gold, said to be 365,000 dinars (that is, solidi) per year, that 'Abd al-Malik paid to Constantinople as the price of peace while he dealt with his opponent for the caliphate, Ibn al-Zubayr. We know that the tribute had to be paid in cash, because, if the Byzantines were willing to accept bullion, Justinian would have no grounds for objection to the new Arab coins which were as good bullion as any other. Where, then, did the solidi for the tribute come from? As suggested earlier, there was probably a substantial stock of solidi in Syria, in the caliphal treasury or in circulation available for taxation, but the supply could not have been infinite. By 72 A.H./692 A.D., 'Abd al-Malik had been paying the tribute for some five or six years. On the other hand, there must also have been a certain stock of gold bullion in Syria in one form or another. I would suggest as a possibility that the availability of mint personnel to 'Abd al-Malik after his capture of Iraq made it possible, for the first time, to make bullion into coins, and that this might have been an urgent reason for setting up a mint.

Still, this cannot be the entire explanation; it does not, for example, explain why silver and copper coins were also minted. We are on safer ground if we simply assume that 'Abd al-Malik had perceived the inconvenience and economic loss that resulted from the absence of minting in Syria and proceeded to remedy the situation as soon as he could. We know that 'Abd al-Malik was a reformer on a grand scale; for example, it was he who ordered the conversion of the administrative system throughout the caliphate from Greek, Persian, and other languages into Arabic.

Let us remember that the ultimate function of a mint is to turn metal

into money. Without a mint in the vicinity, the only recourse for a possessor of bullion is to sell it in the marketplace, at a price which will reflect the relative supply and demand for bullion and coins. Since the only mint for gold near Damascus was Constantinople, the relative value of bullion and solidi in Damascus would necessarily reflect the round trip transportation costs between the two centers, the profits of the various middlemen who would have handled the gold, the cost of smuggling the solidi past the prohibition of Roman law (which forbade the export of gold), and the risks of the journey. With a mint in Damascus, gold could be turned into coins for little more than the cost of labor. Indeed, the difficult question is not why a mint was set up in 72 A.H./692 A.D., but rather why a half century elapsed after the Arab conquest before minting began in Damascus. It may be that booty and trade were previously sufficient to meet Syria's needs (before 'Abd al-Malik began paying tribute), or simply that 'Abd al-Malik's predecessors were too conservative or too preoccupied with other matters.

Phase Two

In phase two, the standing caliph coinage, the gold coins have on the obverse a standing figure, wearing what seems to be a *kaffiya* or Bedouin scarf headdress, with his hand on a sword girt around his waist.[19] Around the margin of the obverse is the same religious inscription that appears on the reverse of the previous gold issue. On the reverse of the standing caliph gold is the same symbol as the previous issue, the modified cross on steps, and an Arabic inscription "In the name of God this dinar was struck" followed by the date in words, ranging from 74 to 77 A.H./694 to 697 A.D.[20]

The corresponding dirhams are so far known only with the date 75 A.H./695 A.D. Their obverse greatly resembles the previous dirhams of Damascus, with the same imperial portrait, except that the knot of hair at the back of the figure's head has been eliminated, and the Pahlavi inscriptions to the right and left have been replaced by an Arabic inscription reading "struck in the year five and seventy." The reverse is radically modified. The Zoroastrian fire altar and attendants of the previous dirhams have been

19. For details, see Miles, "Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," pp. 216-224.

20. Nearly all the known specimens are cataloged by Miles, "Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," pp. 212-214. The unique example of 74 A.H. is in the Karachi Museum. The unique dinar of 75 A.H. described by Miles is now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (1970.63.1). The two specimens of 76 A.H. are in the British Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale, and there is now a third specimen of the year 77 A.H. in the Ashmolean Museum, in addition to the two listed by Miles in the Bibliothéque Nationale and formerly in the Jena collection.

replaced by the standing caliph, like the image on the gold, with inscriptions to the left and right reading *amir al-mu'minin khalifat Allah* "Commander of the Believers, Caliph of God." The name of the mint is not inscribed on the coin.[21]

The copper coinage of this phase has the standing caliph image on the obverse, surrounded either by the same religious inscription as on the obverse of the gold and silver coins or by the inscription *li-'Abd Allah 'Abd al-Malik Amir al-Mu'minin*, "of the servant of God 'Abd al-Malik Commander of the Believers." On the reverse is another modified version of the cross on steps, with a circle replacing the horizontal arm of the cross. To the right is the mint name Dimashq and in the margin either the *shahada* as on the obverse of the corresponding dinars and dirhams, but without the preface "In the name of God"; or 'Abd al-Malik's name and titles. The coins without his name are the most common and probably came first, for a reason to be explained below. At other mints in Syria, it is standard (with a very few exceptions) to have the name on the obverse and the *shahada* on the reverse. Standing caliph coppers were also issued at about fourteen other mints in Syria.

The attribution of the standing caliph coins presents little problem. The dinars and dirhams are dated, and even though they bear no mint name, analogy is a sufficient argument for their attribution to Damascus. The analogy of the obverse of the standing caliph coppers with that of the gold, as well as the use of the modified cross on steps reverse (which does not appear on Byzantine copper), caused Grierson and Miles to assign these coppers to the same period as that of the dated gold, in opposition to Walker who dated them about twenty years earlier.[22] It is all but certain that the commencement of the standing caliph coppers at Damascus (and elsewhere in Syria and Jazira) coincided with the commencement of the standing caliph gold in 74 A.H./693-694 A.D. because, if imitation of previous imperial coins was unacceptable in gold, it would most likely have been forbidden in copper as well. It is not certain how long the standing caliph phase lasted for silver coinage, because the subsequent Arabic post-reform

21. Only two specimens exist, one in Moscow and one in the ANS (1966.151.1); see George C. Miles, "Mihrab and 'Anazah: A Study in Early Islamic Iconography," in *Archeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952), nos. 4-5.

22. Philip Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik: Their Metrological Basis and Their Financial Repercussions," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* vol. 3 (1960), pp. 246-247; Miles, "The Iconography of Umayyad Coinage," *Ars Orientalis* vol. 3 (1959), p. 209.

dirhams were not introduced until 79 A.H./698 A.D., two years after the commencement of post-reform dinars. The question is complicated by the existence of another dirham issue which possibly should be placed at Damascus between the standing caliph and reformed dirhams. This issue, which bears no mint name or date, is quite different from those that preceded it. The obverse has an unusual portrait of Sasanian style but without the normal Sasanian regalia, and on the reverse there is a representation of the *mihrab* of a mosque with the spear *('anaza)* of the Prophet upright within it. The obverse inscriptions include the name Khusraw in Pahlavi script and the standard religious inscription, while the reverse has the same caliphal titles as on the standing caliph reverse, along with a new inscription, *nasarahu Allah*: "May God grant him victory."[23] It is not certain that this issue should be placed at Damascus, despite the fact that it has caliphal titles not known on coins elsewhere outside in Syria. If from Damascus, should it be regarded as contemporary with the standing caliph gold coinage, replacing the standing caliph silver issue in 75 A.H. or later or did it fill the gap between the end of the standing caliph gold in 77 A.H. and the beginning of post-reform silver coinage in 79 A.H.? One thing is almost certain: the standing caliph coinage in copper and silver (if it was still being issued) ended when the standing caliph gold ceased in 77 A.H. If the image came to be unacceptable on gold, we may be sure it was also forbidden in the other metals.

Phase Three

Phase three, beginning in 77 A.H./697 A.D. for gold and 79 A.H./699 A.D. for silver, is that of the purely Islamic coinage bearing only religious inscriptions in Arabic. The most remarkable feature of this new coinage, considering its longevity, is the near total absence of any experimentation or fumbling in its adoption. The first gold dinars of 77 A.H./697 A.D. are exactly like the last Umayyad ones of 132 A.H./750 A.D., and not greatly different from the Abbasid dinars of the first 70 years or so. In silver, there is only one dirham without a mint name, probably from Damascus (though its attribution still needs to be carefully considered) to attest to a preliminary stage of dirham production before the adoption of the standard design, which was, like that of the dinar, retained to the end of the Umayyad era and, with minor modification, for some time into the Abbasid period. Moreover, the general design of the new coins, with several lines of horizontal inscription enclosed by a circular marginal inscription,

23. Miles, "Mihrab and 'Anazah," no. 3. Four specimens are now known.

remained standard on Islamic coins for many centuries. Most of the inscriptions were also retained, even when their arrangement varied.

I would like to raise a number of disparate points regarding the reformed Arabic gold and silver coinage of Umayyad Damascus, without any general theme or order. I begin by urging the importance of a die study of the dinars and dirhams of Damascus, directed toward the compilation of a complete repertoire of all the dies used to strike the two coinages, similar to the repertoires that have been made for many ancient series. Such a study would increase our knowledge in several different ways. For example, the number of dies used in each year is a much better indicator of the production of the mint than the number of surviving specimens. It would be interesting to know what were the periods of greater or lesser production in Damascus, as some indication of the flow of bullion into the city; at the same time, some caution has to be used in interpreting the results, inasmuch as bullion supply is not the only factor determining production. We might expect, for example, production to be abnormally high in the early years as the old coinage was melted down and restruck. A die study of either precious metal coinage from Damascus would also yield suggestive data for the interpretation of the secret points on the coins, which I will discuss in a moment, and probably also for the organization of work in the mint.

One example of the utility of die study is provided by a discovery by Prof. John F. Wilson who has been working on a large hoard of Umayyad dinars found at Capernaum. The hoard contained a dinar with the reverse inscription *Ma'dan Amir al-Mu'minin bi 'l-Hijaz,* as well as ordinary dinars of the same date, 105.[24] Wilson looked at the obverse dies of these coins and all other known specimens with these inscriptions, and found that the same obverse dies were used for the *Ma'dan Amir al-Mu'minin* coins and for the regular dinars without additional inscriptions of the same years. That is, all the obverse dies of the *Ma'dan Amir al-Mu'minin* coins were

24. George C. Miles, "A Unique Umayyad Dinar of 91 H./A.D. 709-710," *Revue numismatique* ser. 6, 14 (1972), pp. 264-268; Samir Shamma, "al-Madina Ma'dan Amir al-Mu'minin," *al-Maskukat* vol. 7 (1976), pp. 106-109. Dinars with the inscription *Ma'dan Amir al-Mu'minin,* which are very rare, are recorded for 91 and 92 A.H. Those with the added phrase *bi 'l-Hijaz* are more common but are only known with the date 105 A.H. There are copper coins with the inscription "stuck in al-Madina Ma'dan Amir al-Mu'minin" (first identified by Shamma), suggesting that the *ma'dan* ("mine") is a metaphorical reference to Madinat Rasul Allah, but these coins, according to Lutz Ilisch, are found commonly at Rusafa, the residence of the caliph Hisham. The significance of the phrase remains unclear, but the die identities among dinars prove beyond argument that all dinars of these years were issued in a single mint.

also found with regular reverse dies, without the additional inscription. This means, of course, that the *Ma'dan Amir al-Mu'minin* coins were struck in the same mint as the coins with no mint name, and not in Arabia. Perhaps they were made from gold brought from the Arabian mine.

It is notable and surely significant that dirhams of Damascus in the last years of the Umayyad caliphate are extremely scarce. Three of the last four years are not represented at all in Walker's catalogue, in contrast to a reasonable abundance of all years up to about 126 A.H./743 A.D. although all the missing dates have now been found to exist.[25] The rarity of late Damascus dirhams is doubtless related to the resumption of dirham minting at the mint "al-Jazira" in 127 A.H./744-745 A.D. after a hiatus of several decades. The explanation of both phenomena is the accession to the caliphate in 127 A.H. of Marwan II, who had been governor of the north and maintained his capital at Harran after his accession to the caliphate. The caliphal revenues that had flowed to Damascus to help supply the mint there now went to the Mesopotamian mint. In addition, the disintegration of the eastern part of the caliphate must have contributed to a reduction in caliphal revenues, but despite this, the late issues of the al-Jazira mint are not uncommon today. This explanation also raises the question whether dinar production was moved to the al-Jazira mint in these last years.

A great desideratum in Umayyad numismatics is a rigorous study of the evolution of epigraphic style at the Damascus mint, taking into account both dinars and dirhams. Comparison of a coin of 77 A.H./697 A.D., with one of 132 A.H./750 A.D. shows that although the inscriptions are the same, the style of the epigraphy evolved considerably.[26] Although epigraphical evolution can be seen in the comparison of any two dinars or dirhams a decade apart, it is not so easy to distinguish clear turning points for the changes. Research on this important topic would be best undertaken by an art historian or at least by someone with a better visual sense than I

25. One of 129 A.H. is in a private collection; one of 130 A.H. is published by Nicholas Lowick, "The Sinaw Hoard of Early Islamic Silver Coins," *Journal of Oman Studies* vol. 6 (1983), p. 213 no. 94 (and two more are reported in private collections); and one of 132 A.H. (with the Umayyad reverse inscription, not the shorter Abbasid one) is in a private collection.

26. It should be noted that the epigraphical style of Damascus dirhams is quite different from that of other mints, such as Wasit in Iraq. As with other topics, the evolution of Umayyad epigraphy must be studied mint by mint and province by province, not as an entity. The variation in epigraphical style from mint to mint is the most obvious argument against the proposals sometimes put forward that minting under the Umayyads was somehow centralized in one location.

have, but a chronological atlas of the epigraphy of Damascus dinars and dirhams would be most useful; it could serve as an index for putting the undated coppers of Damascus and perhaps other Syrian mints in order, and would serve as a precise basis of comparison with the epigraphy of manuscripts and inscriptions on objects and buildings. More definite results might be yielded by a quantitative study, measuring the changes over time in such features as the total height of the central inscriptions on the obverse of dinars or the diameter of the inner marginal circle on dirhams (both increase markedly with the years; is the increase gradual or spasmodic?). The evolution of style on dinars and on dirhams seems to be parallel, but a careful examination might show whether dies for the two coinages were engraved by the same group of diecutters or not.

Another feature common to dinars and dirhams is the presence on many of them of small dots that are regularly associated with certain letters of their inscriptions. These are called "secret points" by numismatists, by analogy with similar dots that occur on other coins to provide information only to employees of the mint and other persons who knew the codes. For example, the coins of France from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century had dots near one letter or another to indicate the mint of issue. On Umayyad Damascus dinars and dirhams, the points are most commonly placed above or below certain letters; in fact, they are nearly all the same as the diacritical marks used to distinguish consonants of similar shape, but generally only one letter of the hundred or so on a coin has such marks, and this is never a letter that has particular need of special distinction. Rather, the points occur on the same place for several years at a time then, are changed to another position, or omitted for a while. It has been suggested that the dots on Umayyad dinars indicate different mints, but this is not possible because in any year or span of years there is only one dot pattern, not separate contemporary patterns. At any given time, all have the same points; the variation is chronological. At some times, the location of points on dinars and dirhams is the same, but at other times it is different.

As a possible hypothesis, since the dots on dinars began shortly after the beginning of striking of dirhams, it may be suggested that the points at first were intended to distinguish two separate minting establishments, one for dinars and one for dirhams. Changes in the dots on dinars might indicate changes in the administration of that establishment. When the points on dinars and dirhams are the same, it may indicate that production of both currencies was in the same place. Perhaps, to be more specific, dinars were initially produced at a mint in the caliph's residence (even

outside Damascus itself), while dirhams were produced in the city. Consolidation of these two facilities under one roof may have been indicated by the use of dots under the same letters on dinars and dirhams; once this had become permanent, the dots became superfluous, explaining why they were eliminated from 108 A.H./726-727 A.D. onwards.

Whatever the explanation, the frequent congruence of these points on Damascus dirhams and dinars with no mint name is concrete evidence for the attribution of the dinars to the caliphal mint in or near Damascus, rather than to some other province such as Egypt; and the uniformity of the sequence through the years is evidence against the hypothesis that dinars with no mint name were struck in more than one place.[27]

Damascus also issued fractional dinars, halves *(nisf)* and thirds *(thulth)*, from 90 A.H./708-709 A.D. until 106 A.H./724-725 A.D. Walker[(27)] absurdly tried to attribute these fractions to one of the Western mints, Ifriqiyya or al-Andalus, but this does not make sense because both these mints at that time were issuing their own quite different fractional gold coins. It is hardly to be imagined that either mint would simultaneously issue two series with Latin and Arabic inscriptions, especially several years before they took up the issue of full dinars with Arabic inscriptions. The fractional dinars without mint names should be returned to Damascus where they belong. Since payments in fractions of dinars are often mentioned in documents from Egypt of the eighth to tenth centuries, one wonders why the issue of these convenient fractions was halted at Damascus. No obvious answer presents itself.

One final point of the greatest importance: all the literature of Umayyad numismatics and monetary history says that the standard *mithqal* or dinar of 'Abd al-Malik weighed 4.25 grams, and the standard dirham was 7/10 of that figure, or 2.975 grams. In reality, we do not know this. It is almost certainly incorrect, at least as regards dirhams. The evidence for weight standards of Umayyad dinars and dirhams has yet to be properly studied. The figure 4.25 grams seems to be right for Damascus dinars, but the weight of the mithqal elsewhere was different; in the East it was equal to the weight of the full-size Arab-Sasanian dirham, about 4.00 grams, and in the West it may have been slightly heavier than in Damascus. As for the dirham, however, the 7/10 relationship is a complete myth and the weight standard 2.975 grams never existed in the Umayyad period. There

27. Bates, "History, Geography, and Numismatics," pp. 257-259.

28. *BMCArabByz*, pp. lviii-lix, 99.

is no evidence for such a standard, and plenty of evidence against it. The 7/10 relationship comes from later eastern sources, and derives from a consensus among the Islamic jurists that emerged gradually in the eighth and ninth centuries, and was then back-projected into the seventh century. There is in fact hard evidence for the use of the 7/10 ratio, but only in the east and only as one of several contemporary standards there; in any case, since it was based on the Eastern mithqal of about 4.00 grams, the result was a dirham of about 2.80 grams, not 2.975. Nor is there any evidence that the system of expressing the weight of a dirham as a ratio of that of the mithqal, in the form "weight of x" indicating that 10 dirhams weighed x mithqals, was used in Damascus; it is an eastern practice.

For Damascus itself, there is no contemporary written evidence for the weight standards of the new Islamic coinage nor any reports that seem to be based on contemporary sources. We have only the coins themselves and a few glass weights that can be identified as Umayyad Syrian. The dirhams of Damascus (as well as other mints) never weigh as much as 2.975 grams. Taking as a group either the dirhams listed in Walker's catalogue, or those in the ANS collection that have been weighed, one finds for each a modal weight of just under 2.90 grams. The heaviest coin in each group is 2.94 grams. It is impossible to assume a weight standard which is heavier than any surviving coin. Clearly, then, the dirham of Damascus was not 7/10 of the Damascus mithqal of 4.25 grams. Also, the Damascus dirham was not a dirham of 2/3, for which there is evidence among the Egyptian glass weights, because 2/3 of 4.25 is 2.833... grams, and nearly half of the Damascus coins are heavier. There is no obvious simple ratio between 2/3 and 7/10, leading to the conclusion that the weight of the Damascus dirham was not defined in relation to the mithqal, but independently; perhaps as a certain number of carats (*qirats*).

This discussion is only preliminary, to clear the ground. There is a lot of work ahead before we can say anything definite about Umayyad metrology. As in other aspects of Umayyad numismatic and monetary history, the first step is to examine the coins and other metrological evidence of each province and each mint separately.

Syrian Copper Coinage in the Umayyad Period.[29]

In the preceding discussion, the Umayyad copper coinage of Syria has

29. A preliminary version of this section was read by Stephen Album, Lutz Ilisch, and Sharqa Qedar, all of whom have responded generously with extended comments and many corrections. Many of their remarks have been incorporated and it has not always

been referred to as part of the argument for the chronological sequence of issues from Damascus. The sequence and dates proposed for Damascus – phase one with Byzantine images, 72-74 A.H.; phase two, standing caliph, 74-77 A.H.; and phase three, reformed coinage, 77 A.H. onwards – apply to the other mints of Syria as well. Within these general limits, however, the chronological sequence of issues at each of the same thirty Syrian copper mints that have so far been identified is not clear at all; nor has anyone examined the question of control and coordination of the Syrian mints outside Damascus.

Seven other mints began copper coin production with Damascus in 72 A.H. or soon afterwards. These can be divided into two groups. Damascus itself, along with Hims and Tartus, Ba'labakk, Tabariyya and Amman, constitute one group which was, apparently, very tightly linked. At each of these mints there was one main type borrowed from Byzantine prototypes, although at Tartus and Amman (both exceedingly rare) there are also one or more other varieties, relatively insignificant in surviving numbers. In three instances, at Damascus where one of these minor issues has the obverse type of Ba'labakk, and at Ba'labakk and Tabariyya where the only variant issues use the standing emperor type of Damascus with very similar design and ancilliary features, the subsidiary issues are in fact the types of other mints and may well result from confusion of dies between mints. The ultimate extreme of such confusion is a unique coin with the mint name TIBERIADO on one face and DAMASCUS on the other in the collection of John Solcum. As Solcum has suggested, this coin is clear evidence of the centralization of minting, which could have taken any one of several forms: (1) dies may have been engraved at a central office, presumably in Damascus, and distributed to the provincial mints; (2) minting in this early period may have been carried out by, in effect, a mobile mint, a roving team of minters; (3) all the coins may have been minted in Damascus, with the mint names on the coins indicating only distribution centers. These three hypotheses are by no means equally plausible, but none is impossible. Further research, including a thorough die study of each mint, may elucidate the situation. The coins from all these mints are also very similar in style and fabric. One may finally note that, although the standing emperor type was also used at Hims, it is rather different from the same type at other mints suggesting that Hims (and its sibling mint Tartus) stood somewhat apart from the system for Damascus, Ba'labakk, Tabariyya and Amman.

= been possible to acknowledge every detail of their help. Album is undertaking a general study of the Syrian copper coinage, while Qedar will do a paper on the subject at the October Balog Congress in Jerusalem and Ilisch projects a paper on Jund Qinnasrin at the same venue.

A second imperial images group, evidently quite separate from the first, is constituted of the issues of Baysan (Scythopolis) and Jarash (Gerasion), with possibly a third mint as yet unidentified. These issues are much larger and heavier than the other Syrian Arab-Byzantine coins, imitate a different prototype with two imperial figures, and vary from the other mints in style as well. Evidently these two towns formed an enclave of autonomous monetary practice which continued as well into the standing caliph period, exemplified by coins of similar large fabric with two standing caliphs in place of one.[30]

In the standing caliph period also, from 74 to 77 A.H., the coinage is much simpler than Walker's complex classification would indicate. At nearly every mint, there is one type and one type only. Most mints use a standard central Syrian type, with the standing caliph on the obverse surrounded by 'Abd al-Malik's name and titles, and on the reverse, the "cross-on-steps" modified into an oval on a staff, with the *shahada* and the mint name. At two mints only, Damascus and Amman, there is a second type (with the *shahada* on both faces); this may represent a tentative early phase. Several peripheral mints (in Jund Qinnasrin and Jazira in the north and Filastin in the south) use variant designs, but each of these mints, like most of the mints that used the standard type, had one and only one type. In sum, the variation in this series is purely geographical, not chronological, and accords well with a minting lifetime of three or four years.

The reformed Umayyad copper coinage of Syria is far more diverse than the earlier copper phases or the contemporary reformed silver and gold. There are many varied inscriptions, from the briefest form of the *shahada* with nothing else to issues with full date, mint, and caliph's name. Some Syrian coppers have simple images as well as inscriptions. Neither the beginning nor the end of the reformed Umayyad copper coinage at any mint can be precisely dated because most of the coins do not bear dates. The earliest issues must have been about 77-79 A.H./697-699 A.D., but we cannot as yet identify securely which issues these might have been. At the other end of the chronological span, there is no way to be sure that some of the Syrian coppers in the Umayyad catalogues are not in fact from the early Abbasid era. The change of dynasties had important consequences for gold and silver minting in Damascus, but there was no appreciable impact on the copper issues of local mints nor any universal indicator that would serve to distinguish issues before 132 A.H./750 A.D. from later ones.

30. A possible third group among the imperial Byzantine issue is constituted by certain specimens recently attributed to Iliya and Ludd in Filastin, but these identification remain to be confrmed. See below footnote 69.

Potentially, however, the Umayyad copper of Syria can be attributed and placed in chronological order with some approximation of absolute dating. The key is traditional basic numismatic technique, using die linkage, overstriking, hoard evidence, archaeological provenance, and stylistic comparison, to which may be added the more modern evidence available from the analysis of metal composition. As a sequence is built up for each mint, comparison of nearby mints will yield further precision, until we can form a general chronology for each jund and perhaps for all of Syria. We could begin by establishing precisely how many issues there were from each mint. Walker's catalogue lists individual coins, but does not attempt to divide them into classes or issues. All this work scarcely begun; but it is clear that no progress is made as long as the coins are classified in alphabetical order by mint and each coin is treated in isolation.

One can therefore speak about the copper coinage of Umayyad Syria only in a general way. The following remarks are very general and hasty, and intended as a preliminary survey only. Because Syria in the Umayyad period seems to have been organized into five junds (military and administrative districts), we shall see what happens when we look at the coinage of the mints grouped together by jund.

The list of mints by jund given by Walker[32] is somewhat in error. Jund Dimashq extended southward to include Adhra'a and Amman.[33] Jund Filastin included only lands west of the Jordan River. In the north, Walker included the mints of al-Jazira province with those of Jund Qinnasrin, "since these coins form a natural group," but in reality they form a parallel but distinct series. Al-Jazira was split off from Syria and made a part of a new governorate just at the time the imperial Byzantine and standing caliph coinage were being issued. Beyond these errors, however, the surviving descriptions of the junds by the Arab geographers date at the earliest from the tenth century, more than two hundred years after the innovations of

31. Stephen Album has announced his intention to undertake a study of Syrian reformed coinage, and Sharqa has distributed in typescript a classification which has been useful in the compilation of the present survey, although the general schema here is different. Andrew Oddy has begun a die study of the imperial Byzantine series from Hims mint.
32. *BMCArabByz*, p. xciv (and also the map by Jere L. Bacharach, *A Near East Studies Handbook, 570-1974* [Seattle and London, 1974], p. 59).
33. To cite only one reference easily available to Walker, Guy Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (London, 1890), pp. 35, 39, 40. Adhra'a, however, is also assigned to Jund al-Urdunn by some medieval geographers. Since the Arabic writers themselves are all much posterior to the Umayyad period, it is better to leave ambiguous cases to be resolved on the evidence of the coins rather than the other way around.

'Abd al-Malik's time, and also vary somewhat from one text to another. Umayyad administrative boundaries probably did not correspond completely to any of these descriptions and may have varied much more than we now realize, though the picture is perhaps accurate in general. The copper coins themselves can provide evidence for administrative arrangements, once the sequence of issues at each mint is established in comparison to the sequence at neighbouring cities.

Jund Dimashq

The principal mint of Jund Dimashq was, naturally, Damascus. The issues of the two other mints in the jund are inconsequential in comparison. We have seen that in Damascus there were three obverse and two reverse types of phase one *fulus*, though it is not entirely certain to what extent these were separate issues because of their extensive interlinking. The principal and distinctively Damascus obverse type, however, is the standing emperor alone. When this type is found at other mints, specifically at Ba'labakk and Tabariyya, it is very rare and seems to be a result of confusion of dies between those places and Damascus, for the same peculiar ancilliary markings are found at all three places. The very rare Damascus coppers with two standing figures seem to be the result of confusion of obverse dies for Ba'labakk with reverse of Damascus. The enthroned emperor type of Damascus in contrast, is found only there and might be regarded as another standard type of the mint, probably very early and very short-lived. There were also two varieties of standing caliph phase two coppers, similar in design but bearing either the *sahada* or the name of 'Abd al-Malik on the obverse.

The post-reform copper coinage of the city, with Arabic inscriptions only, ia quite extensive, with approximately thirteen issues listed in Walker's catalogue.[34] In addition, it is almost certain that some of the very common issues with no inscriptions except the *shahada* and no ornament but marginal circles[35] are from Damascus, though there is no way to know which ones. Three Damascus issues are dated, 87-88, 102 and 126 A.H. respectively; but the undated issues did not all precede the dated issues: it is quite unlikely that the ten very diverse undated issues were crowded into the years 77-87 A.H./696-706 A.D. Some, indeed, may be from the early Abbasid period; or even much later. In epigraphical style and fabric these also vary considerably.

34. *BMCArabByz*, pp. 248-255; it is far from certain that all of these are separate and distinct issues.

35. *BMCArabByz*, pp. 207-213.

The other two mints in Jund Dimashq are Ba'labakk (Balbek) and Busra. Ba'labakk's main imperial phase one issue has two standing imperial figures, like a comparatively scarce issue of Damascus, while there is also a much rarer variety with only one standing figure much like the similar type at Damascus and the mysterious inscription ΛΕΟ which otherwise occurs only at Damascus, a possible indication of sharing of personnel and equipment between the two places. The reverse of the two Ba'labakk varieties is identical, with the mint name both in Greek (Heliopolis) and Arabic.[36] There is only one standing caliph issue from Ba'labakk, the usual type with 'Abd al-Malik's name on the obverse. Seven Ba'labakk issues with Arabic inscriptions only have been identified, though at least two of these need confirmation as separate varieties. Some similarities with Damascus issues appear; for example, a Ba'labakk issue dated 87–88 A.H.[37] is very similar to the Damascus of those years. One Ba'labakk issue, not recognised by Walker,[38] was issued in 99 A.H./717-718 A.D. and is inscribed "fals of 18 *qirat,*" otherwise, known only on an issue of Egypt; cf. the "fals of 20 qirat" from Tabariyya, below.[39]

From Busra, there is only one confirmed very rare issue, almost identical to an issue of Damascus in inscriptions and design but completely different in fabric.[40]

The mint of Amman, our host city, is classified by Walker among those of Jund Filastin, but the geographers agree it was in Jund Dimashq and its coinage has little in common with the other mints of Filastin. The

36. Ba'labakk's imperial image coinage is rather more abundant than one might expect, since it is not a large city nor the capital of a jund like Hims, and Tabariyya. According to Nicole Ziyada in the Arabic papers of this conference Ba'labakk was sometimes the summer residence of 'Abd al-Malik; this might have provided enough business to occupy its mint. It may be also that the town had a greater administrative importance in the late 7th century than would be indicated by the later geographers; that is, it may have been the capital of a district unnoted by the geographers.
37. Reported by Album.
38. Published *BMCArabByz* no. 77, misread (according to Album).
39. For the coins of Ba'labakk, see *BMCArabByz,* pp. 5, 12-14, 32, 236-239. A coin of 18 qirats is listed in Stephen Album's fixed price list 27, no. 287 illus. (2 specimens); others are known. The Egyptian analogue (if indeed the two have anything to do with one another) was published by Jere L. Bacharach and Henry Amin Awad, "The Early Islamic Bronze Coinage of Egypt: Additions," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles,* ed. Dickran K. Kouymjian (Beirut, 1974), p. 188 no. U.3.
40. *BMCArabByz,* p.236 no. P.126; cf. for Damascus, *BMCArabByz,* p. 251 no. 829.

imperial image coinage of Amman is exceedingly rare and was not known to Walker.[41] The two known specimes have an enthroned imperial figure left and a standing emperor right, with *M* reverse; it must be admitted that on both the inscription including the mint name is rather effaced. The standing caliph copper has the modified cross on steps reverse typical of the issue and not the minuscule *m* of Iliya. Most of the coins have 'Abd al-Malik's name on the obverse, unlike Iliya but like most other standing caliph *fulus;* a small number from Amman have the *shahada* on both sides. Walker, however, records three examples of an issue with the standing caliph, 'Abd al-Malik's name and a majuscule *M* on the reverse, without mint name but similar to Amman in workmanship.[42] Amman's post-reform issues consist of one type with, on the reverse, a sort of fleur-de-lys in a square inscription, and another with rather late epigraphy.[43] In general, the series is parallel to the coinage of Damascus.

Adhra'a has recently been identified as the mint name on a coin published by Miles and Walker as "Adharbayjan".[44] The reading is much more plausible than "Adharbayjan", and the types (four or five varieties are known, but mostly unpublished) seem to concord well with the issues of Damascus.[45]

Jund Hims

Moving northward to Jund Hims, there is one main mint, Hims itself, and a very minor mint, Tartus. Hims is the only Syrian mint besides Damascus known to have issued dirhams, at the very beginning of coinage in Syria and evidently in very small quantity. One Arab-Sasanian dirham of 72 A.H./692 A.D. in a private collection, cited above, is known; a convincing photograph has been circulated but the coin awaits publication.

41. The first known example, in the ANS (1002.1.2317, on permanent loan from the University Museum, Philadelphia), was published by George C. Miles, *The Iconography of Umayyad Coinage* [a review of Walker's volumes], *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959), p. 211 and pl. I, no. 10; another is in Samir Shamma, *al-Nuqud al-Islamiyya allati quribat fi Filastin* (Damascus, 1980), p. 85 and pl. 1, no. 22.
42. *BMCArabByz,* p. 29 no. 96; pp. 38-39 nos. 126-A.4; p. 32 no. 104.
43. *BMCArabByz,* pp. 274-275 nos. 905-906 and 907.
44. Lutz Ilisch, "Umayyad Muñzstättennotizen," *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung* 10, no. 2 (May, 1980; in Münzhandlung Holger Dombrowski [Münster] *Intermüntz-Kurier* 89), p. 18 nos. 1-4.
45. *BMCArabByz,* p. 228 no. ANS.38; no. Bel.6, p. 289, is another variety from the same mint. Ilisch in a letter has noted the parallels with Damascus and Busra. On some varieties the name may be Dhira't istead of Adhra'at. The modern town is Deraa.

Hims is the only Syrian mint to have a special study of its coppers, an excellent conspectus by Lutz Ilisch that is full of comments of general importance for Syrian and Umayyad copper in general.[46] There are two different issues in phase one. One has a standing imperial figure like the most common issue of Damascus, but with the Greek word ΚΑΛΟΝ ("good, valid") and usually with *bism Allah;* the reverse has a majuscule *M* with the city name in Greek (Emesis) and the Arabic word *tayyib* ("good, valid"). The second issue differs in having an imperial bust rather than a standing figure, with ΚΑΛΟΝ and the city name in Arabic, and on the reverse the same inscriptions as the first but with a minuscule *m*. The two issues are closely linked not only by similar inscriptions but also by details of their adventitious ornamentation. Both issues seem to be quite large.[47]

There is only one standing caliph issue, with the usual types and inscriptions.[48] The post-reform Arabic coinage of Hims began, probably, with *fulus* bearing only the *shahada* and therefore difficult to attribute to specific mints. Lutz suggests that *shahada* coins overstruck on earlier Hims issues may be those of Hims itself, but unfortunately coins from any mint may be overstruck by another. There follows in Ilisch's listing two varieties, numbered 6 and 7, which have on the reverse *Muhammad rasul Allah bi-Hims* in different configurations; a dated issue of 116-117 A.H./734-735 A.D. (Ilisch 8-9); an issue of small fabric with crescents in the center on both sides (Ilisch 10); an issue with an elephant, the *shahada,* and the mint name (Ilisch 11); and a series that has either a jerboa or the name of an unidentified governor, Marwan b. Bashir, or both (Ilisch 12-13), which Ilisch now

46. "Die Umayyadischen und 'abbasidischen Kupfermünzen von Hims: Versuch einer Chronologie," *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung* X,3 (August 1980), pp. 23-30.

47. Ilisch issues 2 and 3. His issue 1 is a brave but unconvincing attempt to identify an earlier cruder issue from Hims. Andrew Oddy of the British Museum is working on a more detailed study of Ilisch 3; his article "The 'Constans II' Bust Type of Arab-Byzantine Coins of Hims" appeared recently in *Revue numismatique* 6 ser., 29 (1987), pp. 192-197. Oddy has since undertaken a die study of the latter issue, with interesting results so far; my own abortive attempt at a die study found some 40 obverse and an equal number of reverse dies, with many more specimens left to study.

48. It may be suggested that the usually smaller issue of standing caliph coins from Syrian mints, despite the fact that the series lasted almost twice as long (according to the chronology set forth in this article) as the previous imperial images phase, can be explained by the large quantity of imperial phase coins issued, which remained in circulation, whatever the authorities thought, and reduced the need for small change from the mint.

places at the beginning of the Abbasid period (late 130s A.H.).[49] This last issue was imitated in cast copies probably in the ninth or tenth centuries, a common phenomenon for late Umayyad and early Abbasid Syrian issues.[50] Ilisch's sequence of what seems to be five issues is quite different from Walker's but very plausible in general, even if individual issues may be reordered, and provides a useful index for comparison to other mints.

The other mint of Jund Hims, Tartus (spelled Tardus on the coins), has only one rare issue, an imperial type with the same inscriptions as the second issue of Hims except for the city name (which is in Greek and in Arabic); it has the imperial bust of Hims's second issue but the majuscule of the first.[51]

Jund Qinnasrin[52]

Still more to the north, in Jund Qinnasrin or Halab, the picture is somewhat different. No imperial type phase one coppers have been identified for mints in this jund, though some of those with no mint name may have been struck here. With the introduction of the standing caliph type, however, there begins a seemingly large production from many mints, contrasting with the relative centralization of the three immediately southern junds and perhaps to be explained by a pent-up need for small change. The mints are Halab, Qinnasrin, Manbij, Ma'arrat Misrin, Sarmin, and Qurus; one should note also the somewhat parallel issues of Harran and al-Ruha in the Jazira which seem to have been administratively connected with Jund Qinnasrin at the beginning of this era, though the standing caliph issues of the two divisions are already quite distinct.[53] For the most part, the standing caliph issues of this jund have the usual obverse caliphal inscription, *li-'Abd Allah 'Abd al-Malik Amir al-Mu'minin,* but at Ma'arrat Misrin and Manbij, two neighboring towns, the inscription is rather *khalifat Allah Amir al-Mu'minin* (the same as on the Damascus standing caliph and in al-Jazira mihrab silver dirhams), and in al-Jazira at Harran, al-Ruha, and possibly

49. This redating was conveyed to me in his manuscript comments on an earlier draft of this article.

50. These cast copies have been extensively studied by Ilisch, whose dating is reflected here. Album writes "[Ilisch] feels, on the basis of provenance, that they come principally from the Jund Qinnasrin."

51. *BMCArabByz,* p. 19 nos. 55-56.

52. Lutz Ilisch is preparing a study of the coppers of this province to be presented at the Symposium in Memorium Paul Balog, Jerusalem 1988.

53. Ilisch comments that these Jaziran pieces never circulated in Jund Qinnasrin.

Sarmin the obverse inscription is sometimes simply *Muhammad rasul Allah.* The differences may reflect confusion about the instructions for the new coins, or simply that general instructions were interpreted differently in different districts.

After the change to coinage with Arabic inscriptions, Qurus and Manbij cease minting, while the Jazira mints begin to go their own way. Only one issue is attributed to Aleppo by Walker, with the *shahada* and the identifying inscription in the reverse margin *bism Allah duriba hadha 'l-fals bi-Halab,* often so crudely written that Walker also attributed the same issue to "Saruj in Iraq" and "Jabrin in Jund Filastin".[54] The variation in epigraphical style of this issue, from clear to degenerate, suggests a relatively long period of issue (but not past 133 A.H./750 A.D. when the first Abbasid coppers appear. Another issue, a coin with *amara Allah bi 'l-wafa' wa 'l-'adl* on the reverse, has a palm branch under the first part of the *shahada* and was listed by Walker among the issues with no mint name, but in 1974 the ANG acquired another example with the same obverse die showing that the palm branch originally was the word *bi-Halab;* the die was carefully re-engraved to conceal the mint name. The reason for this remains mysterious. Coppers with the reverse inscription of this coin are otherwise known only from mints in Iraq of the time of the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz.[55]

At Qinnasrin, after the standing caliph issue with standard inscriptions,[56] there were two reformed issues, one analogous to that of Aleppo and one with the *shahada* and the unusual formula *bism Allah min darb Qinnasrin.*[57] Ma'arrat Misrin also issued coppers analogus to the issue of Qinnasrin and Aleppo,[58] as did Sarmin.[59] I would like to argue that the "Sarmin" coins as nothing more than crudely engraved examples of the well-known Aleppo issue, but Album and Illisch agree on the unmistakable existence of this

54. *BMCArabByz,* p. 241 no. 782 and P. 264 nos. 884 and p. 134. The coins of "Bayt Jibrin," pp. 239-240 nos. 784 and Th.14, may also be this issue. These are the only issues of Jibrin and Bayt Jibrin (presumably the same place) in Walker's catalogue, and the crudeness of the other coins attributed to Saruj make it doubtful that it too can be considered an Umayyad mint.
55. *BMCArabByz,* p. 229 no. 729; American Numismatic Society *Annual Report* 1974, pp. 17-18.
56. *BMCArabByz,* p.39 nos. 132-135.
57. *BMCArabByz,* p. 277 nos. * and 921, 914-920.
58. *BMCArabByz,* p. 281 nos. 926 and B. 57.
59. *BMCArabByz,* p. 264 no. 883 and other specimens cited by Walker.

mint separately from Aleppo. They also know of Manbij, Antakiyya,[60] Tanukh, Qurus, Jabrin, and a mint identified (quite implausibly) by Walker as Balkh (p. 239). Presumably these attributions will be justfied in Illisch's forthcoming paper (cited above, note 52). In general, though, the coinage of this jund seems to have been quite uniform and limited mostly to two main mints, Aleppo and Qinnasrin.

Jund al-Urdunn

Returning now to the junds south of Damascus, we find in Jund al-Urdunn only one major mint, the capital, Tabariyya.[61] In the imperial images phase, Tabariyya had only one important type, an issue with three imperial figures on the obverse (no inscriptions) and the usual majuscule *M* on the reverse, with the city name on the reverse in Greek (Tiberiado) and Arabic. A second variety, which is quite rare, has only one standing figure on the obverse.[62] Remarkably, Tabariyya issued no standing caliph coppers. Approximately seven reformed issues can be counted, but only one of these is common today; it is a simple design with an abbreviated *shahada* obverse and reverse and the denomination and city name in the reverse margin. On the reverse there are ornaments at times: an eagle or a palm branch. A quite similar issue was produced at other mints in the same jund: 'Akka, Saffuriyya, and Baysan. For the first two, this was their only Umayyad issue. Another issue of Tabariyya has the inscription "'ishrin *qirat*," 20 *qirats*," and is regarded by Album as the correllary issue of the Damascus fals with the name al-Walid and the dates 87-88.[63] Another minor issue from Tabariyya is dated 110 A.H.[64] The only other post-reform mint identified in this jund is Sur, known only for one anomalous coin which may or may not be Umayyad (and indeed may or may not be Sur).[65]

Two mints generally considered to be in Jund al—Urdunn are quite

60. Ilisch, "Umayyadische Münzstättennotizen," p. 19 no. 5-

61. For Tabariyya, see Sharqa Qedar. [The Coins of Tiberias in the Period of Arab Rule] (in Hebrew) in *The Book of Tiberias*, ed. Oded Avissar, (Jerusalem, 1973).

62. *BMCArabByz*, pp. 15-16 nos. 43-51; p. 11 no. p.4.

63. Album letter to the author, 13 January 1988; Lutz Ilisch also drew attention to this issue. An example is Walker, p. 270 no. Zam.1, very badly misread (as 120 A.H.) based on a defective specimen. Album mentions another Tabariyya issue with al-Walid's name dated 91 A.H.

64. *BMCArabByz*, pp. 267-270 for Tabariyya; Saffuriyya, p. 266; 'Akka, p. 274.

65. *BMCArabByz*, p. 266 no. P. 136.

anomalous in their issues in the 70s A.H./690s A.D. raising the possibility that at this time they were administratively separate. These are Baysan and Jarash. Both towns, in the imperial images phase, issued coppers much larger than the typical Syrian size, from twice to three or four times the usual weight, and clearly derived from a specific Byzantine prototype (unlike all other Arab imperial type coins) dating back over a hundred years before their issue. These have on the obverse two enthroned imperial figures and the mint name in Greek, either Scythopolis (Baysan) or Gerasion (Jarash). (Some issues of this type have garbled or illegible inscriptions and can only be assigned to one or the other mint on the evidence of die linkage. Where this is not possible, the Jarash coins can be identified by the presence of a star between the two imperial heads where the Baysan coins have a cross.) The reverse has the usual large *M* and reproduces closely the Greek inscriptions of the prototype, including the mint abbreviation NIKO for Nicomedia. The prototype is an issue of the Emperor Justin II and his consort Sophia, who reigned 565-578 A.D. Between that Byzantine issue and the seventh century Byzantine issues copied by the other Syrian mints several reductions in the weight of the forty nummi piece had occurred. Bellinger, in his report on the Jarash excavations, noted that the large coppers of the sixth century A.D. were very common on that site,[66] and in a hoard which I have prepared in part for publication, there were forty-odd authentic Byzantine pieces compared to eight from Baysan and Jarash. It seems that the populace of this area had a preference for these larger coins, and one can imagine that such coins were sorted out by moneychangers all over Syria and sent to the district where they enjoyed a premium over their value elsewhere. Baysan, at least, also issued smaller coins, approximately the same size as the normal imperial type Arab issue, with the denomination mark K, for "twenty," that is, with half the value of the larger *M* coins.[67]

The large Baysan coppers were formerly thought to be among the earliest Arab issues in Syria, struck not long after the conquest, but in fact they belong to the years 70-74 A.H./692-694 A.D. like the rest of the Arab imperial types, as proven by another issue of the standing caliph type but

66. Alfred R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash, 1928-1934* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs 81; New York, 1938), p. 13.

67. Baysan *M* coins: *BMCArabByz*, pp. 1-2. The K issue was not known to Walker, and was first published by Nicholas Lowick, "Early Arab Figure Types," *Numismatic Circular* 76 (1970), p. 90 nos. 1-2. The Jarash issues have only been identified recently; Bank Leu auction catalogue 29 (1981), no. 4; *ANS Annual Report* 1981, pp. 15-16.

with two standing figures instead of one and the same large heavy fabric as the Baysan coins (though there is no mint name on the issue), which might be from Jarash as well.[68] Since it is not credible that the substantially uniform imperial series was issued continuously for a 60 year period before being replaced by the obviously derivative standing caliph coins, or that the imperial types were issued briefly in the 10s A.H./630s A.D. and then followed 60 years later by an issue so derived from the imperial type, it is obvious that the two series were issued in close succession and in a short time period in the 70s A.H./690s A.D. Baysan and Jarash also minted in the post-reform period, apparently very briefly as the coins are quite rare.[69]

Jund Filastin

The southernmost jund, Filastin, did not issue coins in the imperial images period, at least none that can be identified, although it is possible that some of the anomalous coins without a mint name came from there.[70] The standing caliph coinage of the mint Iliya Filastin, that is, Jerusalem, is quite anomalous. The obverse has the inscription *Muhammad rasul Allah,* otherwise found only on the standing caliph coins of certain mints in Jazira province. The reverse is even more remarkable, because it uses, instead of the cross on steps that is found elsewhere, the minuscule *m* symbol of the previous imperial images phase, with the city name. These coins are very abundant.[71]

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68. *BMCArabByz,* p. 43 nos. A.5-A.6.

69. *BMCArabByz,* p. 240 no. Bel. 4 for Baysan; Ilisch, "Umayyadische Münzstättenotizen," p. 20 no. 7 for Jarash.

70. Very recently, Yacov Meshorer has published a coin with the letters *IERO[COL]* and the minuscule letter *m* in the reverse field, the latter a feature introduced only by Constans IV so that the coin must be an Arab issue of Jerusalem if the reading is correct "Coins of Jerusalem under the Umayyads and Abbasids," (in Hebrew) in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Islamic Period (638-1099)* ed. Joshua Prawer; (Jerusalem, 1987, p. 339, illus. p. 341 no. 1). Ludd has also been identified as a mint name on an Arab imperial image issue: Hess Auction 255, no. 5. Both these references were provided by Sharqa Qedar; Andrew Oddy also reminded me about the coin ascribed to Ludd. Amman, which issued imperial image types, is in Jund Dimashq, not Jund Filastin as Walker thought.

71. *BMCArByz,* pp. 22-25. Several authorities have recently attributed similar coins to Yubna. Ariel Berman, *Islamic Coins: L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art* (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 29 no. 60; Bank Leu auction 29, no. 6; *BMCArByz* no. 85 is regarded as an example from this mint, but it is really difficult to accept this identification on the basis of the few semi-legible specimens known, when the name can just as easily be a barberous engraving of "Iliya". Why would Yubna have been a mint for this issue and none of the other more important cities of Palestine?

In about 90 A.H./ 708 A.D. al-Ramla was founded as the capital of Filastin. Its coinage is quite abundant, with three issues. Not necessarily in chronological order, these include (1) an issue with a palm branch in obverse center and crescent and dot on the reverse (a small minority of specimens of this large issue have the date 101 A.H./719-720 A.D. but the issue was probably not all struck in this year and may be the original issue of the city commencing in 90 A.H.); (2) an issue with a palm branch next to the Prophetic confession on the reverse;[72] (3) a relatively scarce issue with wide but thin flan and on the obverse the unusual inscription *lillah al-mulk fals waf.*[73] Coins very similar to the second issue, but without the palm branch, were issued at Iliya, Bayt Jibrin, Jibrin, Ludd, and Yubna.[74] Coins almost identical to the third issue, even with the same orthographic peculiarities, were struck at Filastin, 'Asqalan, Ghazza, and Ludd.[75] The mint name Filastin in this instance probably still indicates Jerusalem. Walker makes the point that this latter issue may be evidence for centralized die engraving, a plausible idea within this small territory — or a team of minters may have moved from place to place providing coins. 'Asqalan issued one other rather anomalous type during the Umayyad period.[76]

The Evolution of Copper Coinage in Umayyad Syria

The preceding hasty and somewhat superficial overview of Syrian copper issues in the last decade of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth has assuredly omitted much detail. For raw data, it has relied

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72. Album, however, reports an example of this issue overstruck on a Basra *fals* of 136 A.H., suggesting if confirmed that the issue continued at least until that date, some years into the Abbasid period.

73. *BMCArByz*, pp. 255-259, respectively: (1) nos. 855-879 (and p. 292 no. P. 151); (2) nos. 846-P.131; (3) nos. P. 132-854. Album suggests the denomination on the latter issue might be *falsan*, "2 fals."

74 *BMCArabByz*, p. 235 no. 124; p. 239 no. 781; p. 241 no. 782; p. 280 no. 925; and p. 288 no. Th.17. The standing caliph coins ascribed to Jabrin by Walker, p. 33, are nothing but Aleppo issues with the mint name crudely written, as indicated by the distinctive northern, tall, thin, modified cross on steps and the word *waf* which is otherwise found only on Halab, Manbij, Qinnasrin , and Qurus-as Walker points out, p. 41n. Lutz and Album, on the other hand, accept the mint-name Jibrin but locate the town in Jund Qinnasrin.

75 *BMCArabByz*, p.276 nos. 911-13; p. 274 no. P. 139; p. 275 no. 908; and p. 280 no. 924.

76 *BMCArabByz*, p. 274 no. P. 139. Ilisch adds Nablus and Qaysariyya (Caesarea) to the list of post-reform Filastin mints.

largely (though not entirely) on Walker's corpus, lacking any similar compilation for the new varieties that have been identified since. A great deal of new work has been done just in the interval between the first and last drafts of this article (from summer 1987 to summer 1988), and it has not been possible to include all this work in the text. A more important omission is a discussion of the many Umayyad coppers with no mint name, a large proportion of which are surely Syrian, but it is premature to try to identify those and even more premature to attempt to assign them to specific mints. This can only be done when the study of coins with mint names has proceeded sufficiently to identify specific mint characteristics. Another omission is forced by the terms of this study, limited to the coinage of the Umayyads, but whereas there is a clear change in silver and gold coinage with the arrival of the Abbasids, there is no break in the evolution of Syrian copper coinage. Overstrikes indicate that some of the issues in Walker's catalogue belong to the Abbasid period, and may even come after coins with Abbasid dates or the names of Abbasid governors.

Still, from this quick study, one can make a few generalizations. In each jund, the capital is the major producer of copper coins, with more varieties and more surviving examples than the other mints. The peripheral mints usually had only one or two issues each represented today by a few coins. There is also a clear family resemblance among the issues of a single jund, so much so that quite anomalous issues like those of Baysan and Jarash or Amman, can be regarded as evidence of administrative separation of these places from the junds to which they are usually assigned. It is to be remembered that the medieval Arab geographers all wrote a long time after the Umayyad period and their descriptions may not reflect the administrative boundaries of the Umayyad period. It is also known that these boundaries changed during the Umayyad period itself, and the evolution of the coins may reflect this.

In the first two phases, of imperial images and the standing caliph, an organization by mints does much to bring some order to the chaos of Walker's catalogue. There was at each mint substantially only one main variety of imperial image: the standing emperor at Damascus, three standing figures at Tabariyya, an imperial bust at Hims and Tartus (in the same jund), two figures, one enthroned and one standing at Amman and two standing figures at Ba'labakk (as well as the large anomalous coins of Baysan and Jarash). There are, it is true, one or two other varieties at the larger mints, but these are proportionately few in number and probably reflect a period of initial improvisation. The standing emperor, which is most frequent as a minor type, perhaps is the work of die engravers sent out from Damascus (or

Plate 3 Copper Fulus

a. Copper Fals of 'Abd al-Malik

b. Copper Fals of 'Abd al-Malik — minted in Hims

c. Copper Fals

d. Copper Fals

a.

b.

c.

d.

Plate 4 Copper Fulus

a. Copper Fals

b. Copper Fals minted in Dimashq

c. Copper Fals

d. Copper Fals

a.

b.

c.

d.

engraving at Damascus for the other mints) simply reproducing the standard type before the need was perceived for distinct images to differentiate the products of the different mints.

The plethora of varieties of standing caliph coinage described by Walker is also reduced to simplicity when one looks at the coins jund by jund and mint by mint. There is essentially one standard type, which only at Damascus and Amman has two varieties: with *shahada* on the obverse and with 'Abd al-Malik's name. At Damascus the former is the more common type, while at Amman it is rather rare. Since Damascus probably began the new issue before the other mints, the *shahada* type should be regarded as the earliest; Damascus produced a great deal (lessening the need for coinage after the change to the type with 'Abd al-Malik's name) and Amman a few, and the decision to put 'Abd al-Malik's name and titles on the coins was made before the other mints entered into production of the standing caliph variety. At all other mints there is only one variety which is most often that with 'Abd al-Malik's name, to be regarded as the norm for the issue. Walker's second, intermediate class "without caliph's name but with titles", proves to have come only from two minor mints in northern Syria that produced no other standing caliph coins and probably did not understand the instructions correctly. At the periphery of Syria, at Jerusalem and at the two mints of Jazira province, the issues do not conform to the two standard type, but again in these places these were the only issues. In sum, except for Damascus and Amman, there was only one standing caliph issue at each mint.

The evolution is much less clear for the post—reform series, but its complexity is not surprising given the chronological framework proposed above: phases one and two lasted only three and four years respectively, while the post—reform Umayyad coinage went on for more than five decades. It would be premature to make any generalizations for the whole of Syria. One can speak in a general way of early and late epigraphy, and one can sometimes see general resemblances that may reflect a minting policy for the whole province, but without further study it would be rash to say anything definite. Quite suddenly, there is an explosion of interest in the problem of mapping out the evolution of Syrian Umayyad copper coinage, perhaps because the critical mass of data has at last been reached, and in a few years we shall understand this coinage much better, with important results for political, administrative and economic history.

Observations on the Diwan al-Kharaj and the Assessment of Taxes in Umayyad Syria

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In discussing the development of the tax system in Syria under the Umayyads I do not intend to put forth a new theory about this poorly documented, yet often treated period of early Islamic cultural history. The information we are left with from the preserved sources is too scarce and fragmentary. The attempt here rather will be to link these disparate bits of information to one another in such a manner that the interrelated factors and the functioning of this tax system are displayed.

In the course of the conquest of Syria the territorial unit *jund* taken over from the Romans developed into more or less sovereign tax districts. Their tax incomes, composed of the *kharaj* and *jizya* tax levied on the conquered populations and the yearly fulfillment of the *sulh* treaties with the different settlements and local groups, were supposed to guarantee the subsistence of the locally quartered Arab soldiers.[1] Not only their regular pay but also the additional costs of the constant *ghazawat barran wa-bahran* prescribed by the Prophet had to be satisfied by these revenues. Furthermore the administrators of finance and taxes had to cope with the fortified towns (*'awasim*) and border territories (*thughur*) continuously added to the empire.

1. The "Tax Lists"

It is difficult to appreciate the efforts of the financial administration in Syria. Not only the legal discussions about the legitimate mode of levying taxes but also the historiographical sources treat Umayyad Syria like a stepchild.

The works on the early financial administration in Egypt,[2] and Iraq,[3] by Falih Husain and Salih Ahmad al-'Ali, for example, illustrate this particularly Syrian lack of information. However, some tax lists have come down to us, the figures of which have been used to throw some light upon the effectiveness of the tax administration in Syria. These tax lists are the

1. al-Baladhuri, Ahmad b. Yahya, d. 279 A.H./892 A.D., *Futuh al-Buldan* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Hilal, 1983), pp.133-134.
2. Falih Husayn, *Das Steuersystem in Ägypten von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Machtergreifung der Tuluniden 19-245/639-868 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Papyrusurkunden* (Frankfurt, 1982).
3. Salih Ahmad al-'Ali, *al-Tanzimat al-Ijtima'iya wa 'l-Iqtisadiya fi 'l-Basra fi 'l-Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijri* (Baghdad, 1935), pp. 112-159.

fairly well-known figures given in al-Baladhuri's *Futuh*,[4] in the *Ta'rikh* of al-Ya'qubi,[5] and in the *Adab al-Kuttab* of al-Suli.[6] Comparing the different figures for the Syrian *ajnad* and *'awasim* more closely, one is struck by their remarkable similarity. Obviously only smaller errors due to the scribe's negligence and various omissions make up the differences. While al-Baladhuri gives 350,000 dinars as the total sum of the taxes for Filastin, al-Ya'qubi gives 450,000; al-Suli, however, ascribes to Filastin 180,000 dinars, exactly the same as for the *jund* of al-Urdunn. The sum 400,000 given for the *jund* of Damascus in the *Futuh* amounts to 450,000 in al-Ya'qubi and al-Suli. The total sum of taxes for al-Urdunn, Hims, Qinnasrin and the *'awasim* are identical in so far as they are added up differently, and, in the case of al-Suli, incompletely.

In spite of this evident interdependence none of the authors indicate their secondary, let alone primary sources. The context of these lists reveals another aspect which has not been taken into consideration yet. Like al-Ya'qubi, al-Suli calls these sums the "fixed amount of the *kharaj*" without refering to their mode of assessment or their composition. Al-Baladhuri, however, uses the term *al-wazifa*, which al-Khwarizmi defines in *Mafatih al-'Ulum*,[7] as "fixed amount of tax for a given period of time", the assessment of which is obligatory for the *'amil*. This term forms part of the earliest *sulh* traditions in Syria, where it represents the additional payment in kind linked to the *jizya* tax.[8] If one further considers the fact that the list of al-Baladhuri refers to the reign of 'Abd al-Malik whereas those of al-Ya'qubi and al-Suli refer to the time of Mu'awiya, then it seems reasonably justified to suppose that these sums represent nothing more than the regionally accumulated amounts of tributes concluded with different towns and regions of Syria. Al-Baladhuri goes on to say that this *wazifa* sum is meant to cover the expenses of the presumably military administration.

4. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 192-193.

5. al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad b. Abi Ya'qub, d. 284 A.H./897 A.D. *Ta'rikh*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dar Sadr, 1960), vol. 2, p. 233.

6. al-Suli, Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yahya, d. 335 A.H./946 A.D., *Adab al-Kuttab*, ed. M. Bahja al-Athari (Baghdad, 1923), pp. 216-218. Cf. Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. 45.3 (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 61.

7. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Khwarizmi, *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, ed. Van Vloten (Leiden, 1985), p. 62.

8. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 173: "wa-wazzafa 'alayhum ma'a 'l-dinar aqfiza min qamh wa-shay' min zayt wa-khall wa-asl". For further information see F. Løkkegard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), pp. 126-127; cf. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duri. "Nizam al-Dara'ib fi Sadr al-Islam," *Majallat Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiya bi-Dimashq*, vol. 49 (1974), p. 59.

The term *ma'una*, applied here, stands for the regular maintenance of those officials employed in the administration and army.[9] The Byzantine background of *ma'una* evidently forms the *dapane* recorded in various papyri from the time of Qurra's regency in Egypt, where the *dapane-ma'una* tax, originally drafted as payment in kind, was already converted directly into the corresponding payment in kind.[10] Qudama b. Ja'far confirms, without refering to any specific period of time, that the taxes collected in the Syrian *thughur* were used for the civil and military administration and for financing the summer and winter *ghazawat* which usually required further monetary support from the central treasury.[11] Here as well as in his lists concerning the Syrian *ajnad*, Qudama however deals with the actual tax yield *irtifa'*, based on *diwan* lists which apparently date back to the period between 203 and 234 A.H./818 and 849 A.D.

The above mentioned lists differ from these considerably. If they are given credence, then Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-Malik would have had at their disposal Syrian tax revenue that exceeded the average yield under the first Abbasids by two times.

There are two assumptions here: first, that the only so-called tax lists preserved from the time of the Umayyads could not have been drawn from actually assessed and collected tax rates, and second, that a considerable part, if not all, of the real tax yield was directly channeled into the maintenance of the regional administration. Both of these assumptions not only reduce the importance of the supra-regional, central *diwan al-kharaj* but also make its factual existence at least questionable. Although al-Jahshiyari once mentions the existence of two different *diwans* in Syria, an Arabic and a Greek one,[12] he explains elsewhere that 'Abd al-Malik gave the

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9. Løkkegard, *Taxation*, pp. 186-187.

10. H.I. Bell, "Greek Papyri," *Islam*, vol. 2 (1911), no. 375; vol. 4 (1913), no. 1434; cf. Falih Husayn, *Steursystem*, p. 76 ff; Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam, d. 224 A.H./838 A.D., *Kitab al-Amwal*, ed. Muhammad Hamid al-Faqi (Beirut, 1981), p. 153 a-b, gives the conversion of *sadaqa* on cattle into cash.

11. Qudama b. Ja'far, d. 320 A.H./932 A.D., *Kitab al-Kharaj wa-Sina'at al-Kitaba*, facsimile ed. F. Sezgin (Frankfurt, 1986), pp. 136, 139, 186-187.

12. al-Jahshiyari, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. 'Abdus, d. 331 A.H./942 A.D., *Kitab al-Wuzara' wa 'l-Kuttab*, ed. Mustafa al-Saqqa et. al. (Cairo, 1938), p. 38/23; J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretare von Ibn 'Abdus al-Gahsiyari. Anfänge und Umaiyadenzeit* (Walldorf-Hessen, 1958). Both this edition and the translation follow the pagination of the facsimile edition published by H. von Mzik, *Das Kitab al-Wuzara' wa 'l-Kuttab des Abu 'Abdallah M. b. 'Abdus al-Gahsiyari* (Leipzig, 1926). This pagination will be indicated following a dash.

order to translate all the *dawawin* of Syria into Arabic.[13] These translations of Greek and Persian *dawawin*, often used as evidence for the beginning of an independent Arabic administration, should direct our attention to the staff of the *diwan*.

2. The Officials

The contents and substance of these *dawawin* rendered into Arabic between 78 and 81 A.H. are not known.[14] Yet the account of al-Jahshiyari leads one to believe that this Greek *diwan*, which existed in Syria along with the *diwan al-jund* introduced by 'Umar b. al-Khattab, comprised the tax data of the native population. Indeed, the Greek Damascene Sarjun b. Mansur dominated these two *diwans*, *al-kharaj* and *al-jund*, for several decades until the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik.[15] There is much doubt whether this purely literal translation affected the composition of the ranks to a marked extent or actually brought about the Arabization of the organisation. Hisham, several decades later, gave a written order to the *diwan* to dispose of the help of the *dhimmis*.[16] In Egypt, well into the second century, bilingualism prevailed in the tax papyri.[17]

Ziyad b. Abihi, the first who disentangled and organized the Iraqi *diwan*,[18] had demanded not without reason, that "the *kharaj* officials be selected from among the heads of the *a'ajim* because of their experience in

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13. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'* p. 40/35: "jami' dawawin al-Sham".

14. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 192-193; al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 38/33; to the *diwan* of Khurasan, translated in 138 A.H. by Ishaq b. Tulayq; see al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 67/65.

15. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 24/21, 40/35; Khalifa b. Khayyat, d. 240 A.H./854 A.D. *Ta'rikh*, ed. al-'Umari (Baghdad: al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-Iraqi, 1386/1967), pp. 218, 302; D. Sourdel, "Le "Livre Des Secretaires" de 'Abdallah al-Bagdadi," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, t. 14 (1952-1954), p. 139.

16. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 61/57: "an la yusta'an bi-dhimmi". Bar Hebraeus stated that "al-Walid (the second) - a hater of the Christians - commanded also that the Christian lawyers (tax-gatherers) should no longer write the public accounts in Greek, but in Arabic". See J.F. Healey, "Syriac Sources and the Umayyad Period," *Fourth International Congress for the History of Bilad al-Sham: Third Session, Bilad al-Sham in the Umayyad Period*, ed. al-Bakhit and Schick (Amman, University of Jordan 1988), p. 8, and Gregorii Barhebraei, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan (1890), p. 115.

17. Walther Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatkanzlei in Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1928), p. 3.

18. al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 234. For later examples, see al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 67/64-65.

kharaj matters."[19] Nevertheless it did not take long, until about the 80s A.H./700s A.D., for a proper Iraqi skilled office tradition to emerge.

Salih b. 'Abd al-Rahman (or 'Abd Allah) had been entrusted with the office of his predecessor Zadhanfarrukh in the year 78 A.H./697 A.D. on the condition that he produce an Arabic version of the Iraqi *diwan*. Al-Jahshiyari ranks this Salih as the founder of an Iraqi *diwan* school, which kept the local administration under control during the Umayyad rule.[20] For Syria nothing comparable can be confirmed. After the Greek Sarjun a certain Abu Thabit Sulayman b. Sa'd al-Khushani (or *mawla* of Khushayn),[21] a *mawla* of Quda'a,[22] took over the highest office in the *diwan* administration "'ala 'l-diwan". More than three decades later he was still in charge of the *diwan al-kharaj*.[23] It was presumably his son Thabit who held this same office for Yazid b. al-Walid.[24] But apart from him only four officials during the entire Umayyad financial and tax administration outlasted the changes of government.

1. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-Harith, *mawla* of Banu Lu'ayy administered the *buyut al-amwal wa'l-khaza'in wa-nafaqat* for Sulayman,[25] and *al-khaza'in wa buyut al-amwal* for the Caliph Hisham.[26]
2. Usama b. Zayd al-Tanukhi, who directed the *diwan al-jund* of Damascus for al-Walid, was charged with the *diwan al-kharaj* of Egypt by

19. al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 234. See also Jamal Juda, *Die Sozialen und Wirtschaftlichen Aspeckte der Mawali in frühislamischer Zeit* (Tübingen, 1983), p. 115.
20. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 39/34.
21. Ibid, p. 41/35; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, pp. 302, 317, 325: *mawla* Husayn; al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir, d. 310 A.H./923 A.D., *Ta'rikh al-Umam wa 'l-Muluk*, ed. Muhammad Abu 'l-Fadl Ibrahim (Beirut: Dar Suwaydan), ser. 2, pp. 837-838: al-Husayni; al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 193: Sulayman b. Sa'd; al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 26/23: *mawla* al-Husayni.
22. David White Biddle, *The Development of the Bureaucracy of the Islamic Empire during the Late Umayyad and the Early Abbasid Period*, unpublished thesis (Austin, 1972), p. 143.
23. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 56/51.
24. Ibid, p. 117/66; Latz does not consider the possible relationship between these two persons.
25. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 325.
26. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 379.

Sulayman,[27] and later, after being dismissed by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, enjoyed complete rehabilitation as chief of the *diwan al-kharaj* under Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik.[28]

3. Salih b. Jubayr al-Ghassani (or al-Ghaddani),[29] whom 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz had nominated *'ala diwan al-kharaj wa 'l-jund*, took over the responsibility for the *diwan al-kharaj* under Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik for a short while.
4. The above mentioned Salih b. 'Abd Allah (or 'Abd al-Rahman) became head of the *diwan* for Hisham and al-Walid b. Yazid and is said to have been the teacher of the subsequently famous 'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya, the secretary of Marwan.[30] All the rest of the Umayyad *diwan* officials either held office for only a short period or were appointed to other positions.[31]

In the lists of officials first collected by Walther Björkmann,[32] then by David Biddle,[33] and by Salih Ahmad al-'Ali,[34] another aspect has been hitherto neglected. Up until the caliphate of Hisham only Sarjun b. Mansur and the first three of the above mentioned persons are said to have been installed *'ala diwan al-kharaj wa'l-jund*, according to our sources.[35] Later, 'Ubayda b. al-Habhab (or Hajjab),[36] 'Abd al-Malik b. M. b. al-Hajjaj,[37] and al-Hajjaj b. 'Umar,[38] are said to have been in charge of this double office. Al-Jahshiyari, the most professional among these sources, however, puts them

27. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 51/47; according to Ibn 'Asakir, Abu 'l-Qasim 'Ali b. al-Hasan, d. 571 A.H./1176 A.D., *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, manuscript (Damascus: al-Zahiriya), vol. 2, folio 350b. Usama was already in charge of the *diwan al-jund* for al-Walid; see R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion, Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaiman b. 'Abdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen* (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 52-53.
28. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'* p. 56/51; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 343.
29. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 331; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. 2, p. 838.
30. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, pp. 62/59, 69/66.
31. cf. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 361.
32. Björkmann, *Beiträge*, pp. 75-78.
33. Biddle, *Development*, p. 143 ff.
34. Salih Ahmad al-'Ali. "Muwazzafun Bilad al-Sham," *Abhath* vol. 19 (1966), pp. 60-70; see also Sourdel, *Secretaires*, pp. 138-141.
35. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, pp. 302, 317, 325, 343; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. 2, pp. 837-838.
36. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, pp. 361, 379.
37. Ibid, p. 385.
38. Ibid.

either generally *'ala 'l-diwan* or more precisely *'ala diwan al-kharaj*, without adding the *jund* office to their title.[39]

The titles connected with *buyut al-amwal wa'l-khaza'in* are also in disagreement. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-Harith, who held this office for Sulayman,[40] is likewise said to have been responsible for the *diwan al-nafaqat wa 'l-raqiq*.[41] For this office, apparently based on the Byzantine pattern,[42] no further evidence or successor is recorded for the Umayyad period. The same holds true for the *diwan al-mustajallat*, which al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik had conferred on Nufay' b. Dhu'ayb in Damascus.[43] On what grounds al-Jahshiyari, whose sources for the Umayyad period remain almost totally obscure, chose those titles, we do not know. Being a professional colleague and younger contemporary of Qudama b. Ja'far, he must have been familiar with the latter's detailed and informative description of the financial organisation.[44]

Most of the additional information we owe to non-professionals. This is especially true for information concerning the provincial tax administration, for which evidence had already been furnished in pre-Umayyad times.

A certain Ibn Uthal (or Awthal) al-Nasrani is said to have directed the *diwan al-kharaj* in Hims.[45] His entanglement in the assassination of the governor of Hims throws some light on the importance of this position.

In the course of his fiscal reorganisation 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, who employed no fewer than five chiefs of *diwan al-kharaj*, also supplied his *wulat* in al-Urdunn: Ishaq b. Muslim,[64] in Filastin: 'Abd-Allah b. 'Awf,[47] and in Qinnasrin: al-Furat b. Muslim,[48] with instructions concerning the

39. cf. al-Jahshiyari *Wuzara'*, p. 68/66, where 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan is given responsibility only for the *diwan al-jund*.

40. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, p. 318.

41. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 49/44.

42. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duri, "Diwan," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1983), vol. 2, p. 323.

43. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 48/43.

44. Qudama, *Kharaj*, pp. 3-19, 39 ff.

45. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 28/22.

46. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, ed. Salih al-Din al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1951), vol. 1, p. 587.

47. Abu 'Ubayd, *Amwal*, para. 236.

48. Ibid, para. 428.

assessement of taxes.[49] Hisham appointed Tadhari b. Asatin al-Nasrani *'ala diwan Hims*.[50] Yazid b. al-Walid promoted his former native spy M. b. Sa'd al-Hassan al-Urdunni and entrusted him with the *kharaj* office in al-Urdunn. Ibrahim al-Walid delegated the *diwan al-jund* to a certain Thabit b. Nu'aym al-Judhami.[51] The form of their names distinguishes most of these officials as converts, natives, or both, of the first generation.

This abridged but nearly complete record of the personnel who held office in the *jund* and *kharaj* administration in Syria permits the following conclusions.

Beyond the caliphate of Hisham, native, partly Christian officials are invested with offices in the financial administration.[52] Their title and responsibilities, however, are reported differently, sometimes contradictorily. This seems to be directly connected with the common fusion of *diwan al-jund* and *diwan al-kharaj*. Yet without further evidence it cannot be decided whether the *diwan al-jund*, which was so closely attached to the *diwan al-kharaj*, should be understood as an office which merely administered the pay-roll of the *muqatila*, or whether it should be regarded as a predecessor of the more voluminous and complex *diwan al-jaysh* maintained by the Abbasids.[53] The *diwan al-nafaqat* and *al-mustajallat* which later gained considerable importance, are but scantily documented for the Umayyad period in Syria. It is not possible that they owe their early existence in these terms to the professionally biased view of our author.[54]

3. Qualifications

The opacity of the fiscal and tax installations in Syria is well reflected by the fragmentary and divergent information dealing with the staffs. Given our obscure knowledge of the institution and its personnel, it may be useful to tackle the problem from a different direction. What kinds of qualifications were required for selection to such an office? From the earliest period, indeed, statements are to be found about the requirements officials had to meet.

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49. cf. 'Umar's letter to his *'ummal*, al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 305 ff.

50. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 60/56.

51. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. 2, p. 839; but compare Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 393-394 and al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 71/67; for him see Latz, *Wezire*, pp. 169-170.

52. for other officials from the *mawali*, see Juda, *Aspekte*, pp. 115-117 and Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 343.

53. Qudama, *Kharaj*, pp. 3-15.

54. Without further evidence, al-Duri, "Diwan," p. 324; see below note 65.

The preference for *'ajami* secretaries at the time of Mu'awiya was already clearly expressed by Ziyad b. Abihi, his governor in Iraq.[55] 'Abd al-Malik emphasized this with respect to the proficiency of one of his scribes, Abu Zur'a Rawh b. Zinba' al-Judhami: "He is loyal like a Syrian, smart like an Iraqi, legally trained like someone from Hijaz, a secretary like a Persian."[56]

However, ethnic merits are outweighed by those of character. Thus 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz admonished the Kufan Maymun b. Mihran, responsible for the *kharaj* in al-Jazira and the *bayt al-mal* in Harran:[57]

"Guard yourself against four habits:

1. Do not interfere with your *Sultan* - even if you mean to recommend to him the good and warn him against the evil!
2. Do not ever stay alone with a woman-even if you mean to teach her the *Qur'an!*
3. Never make a statement you might regret!
4. Never ask a favour of someone who would not do the same for his own relatives!"

Often, these rather general and ethical admonishments are intermingled with concrete concern about the official's truthfulness.[58] By introducing the *diwan al-khatam*, Mu'awiya had tried to counteract the temptations the officials were disposed to when dealing with huge sums of money.[59]

Nevertheless, corruption and misappropriation remain among the topoi describing the official's weakness of character. Thus 'Abd al-Malik replaced one of his agents, who had accepted a present from a client, saying: "If you accepted the present without the intention of reciprocating you are low and vile; but if you took the present planning to pay him back then you are a cheat!"[60]

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55. al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 234; cf. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 67/64-65.
56. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 35/30; al-Mubarrad, Abu 'l-'Abbas Muhammad b. Yazid, d. 285 A.H./898 A.D., *Kitab al-Kamil*, ed. W. Wright (Leipzig, 1874), p. 531.
57. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 53/49.
58. cf. al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 235.
59. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, pp. 24-25/21; cf. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. 2, p. 205; see also al-Suli, *Adab al-Kuttab*, p. 143.
60. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 43/39.

Another example illustrates dubious *diwan* practises in the time of Hisham. The *diwan* secretary in Syria, a certain Dhuwayd,[61] was tempted by Hisham to resort to a ruse in order to add the neighbouring villages to his fallow *iqta'* land, Dhurayn (or Durayn).[62] No sooner was Hisham installed as caliph than he dismissed Dhuwayd on the pretext of his corruptibility.

Numerous records exist of infringements of the law intentionally committed by tax officials. But usually these records, preserved in the *kharaj*, *ta'rikh*, and *tabaqat* books, are oriented along the criteria of loyalty and lawfulness. Not their ability, in the sense of professional qualification, but their more or less successful support of the Umayyad rule accounts for their good or bad reputation as tax officials. We know, for example, that arround 105 A.H. 'Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazari, governor under Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik, carried out a new survey of Iraq (the first one after 'Umar b. al-Khattab), on which the assessment of taxes were to be based.[63] This technical effort, however, is completely overlooked by those who remark contemptuously that "Ibn Hubayra decided to levy the *kharaj* illegally."[64]

The letter of the Syrian 'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya, secretary of the last Marwanid caliph, Marwan, to his colleagues contains the first indication that officials of the fiscal administration should possess more than a loyal and good character.[65] In it he promises them that "through their (good) management God would promote their masters' rule, taxes would accumulate and the provinces would blossom."[66] Further on he demands that "(the *katib*) has to be acquainted with all branches of knowledge and culture." After enumerating these: religion, Qu'ran studies, religious duties, Arabic language, tradition, calligraphy, poetry, history and biography he adds: "and let not wane your concern for arithmetic (*hisab*)."[67] The older

61. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. 2, p. 1735: "Katib kana bi 'l-Sham".

62. Ibid, ser. 2, p. 1735: Dhurayn; al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 60/57: Durayn.

63. al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 313.

64. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 58/53; al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 313; Qudama, *Kharaj*, p. 40/3, records that Ibn Hubayra raised the quality of the *dirham* decisively.

65. Yet the whole financial and tax-administration under Marwan lay in the hands of 'Umar (or 'Imran) b. Salih, *mawla* of Hudhayl; see Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 2, p. 433; al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 80/80 mentions Ziyad b. Abi 'l-Ward al-Ashja'i "'ala diwan al-nafaqat"; Sourdel, *Secretaires*, pp. 140, 142.

66. al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, p. 74/71.

67. Ibid, p. 75/72.

kharaj books, however, do not yet touch upon this plea for a thorough, specialized education of tax officials.[68] The first writer who offers detailed insight into the structure of the *dawawin* and gives a precise description of the qualifications required of the different officials is Qudama b. Ja'far, who draws heavily on the relevant texts of his predecessors, Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallam and Yahya b. Adam.[69] Unfortunately his chapter on the *diwan al-kharaj* is not extant.[70] But he expects, for example, the secretary of the *diwan al-nafaqat* to be well acquainted with geometry (*handasa*) and to have sufficient knowledge of higher arithmetic (*hisab*).[71] Qudama reasons elsewhere that most of the unjust treatment is not due to mischievousness but rather to insufficient mastery of the basics.[72] Qudama's younger contemporary, Abu 'l-Husayn Ishaq b. Ibrahim al-Katib goes into even more detail. In his *Kitab al-Burhan fi wujuh al-bayan*,[73] he points out that the officials of *al-majlis, al-'amil* and *al-jaysh* do not need special philological knowledge but must be skilled in quantifying and arthmetic. Then he gives a survey of the indispensable *kharaj* skills: the combination of measurements to compute the values of products and the geometric application of surface measurements. Finally he stresses the necessity of this knowledge in order to be armed against the ruses not only of the peasants and merchants but also of the tax-agents.[74] For more detailed reading material he refers to the books of the mathematics.[75]

4. The System of Taxation

In this *Kitab al-Burhan* as well as in the oldest book extant of this kind, the *Kitab fi ma Yahtaj ilayhi al-Kuttab wa 'l-'Ummal wa Ghayrihim min 'Ilm al-Hisab*, written in the second half of the 10th century A.D. by Abu 'l-Wafa' al-Buzjani, the descriptions of the *dawawin* and the scope of the duties of the officials employed there are almost exclusively demonstrated

68. cf. Abu Yusuf Ya'qub b. Ibrahim, d. 182 A.H./795 A.D., *Kitab al-Kharaj* (Cairo, 1933 A.D.), pp. 78, 122, 125, where the *ashab al-sadaqa* are asked to treat the tax-payers justly.

69. A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam* (Leiden, 1965), vol. 2, pp. 7-8.

70. Qudama, *Kharaj*, p. 4/1 ff.

71. Ibid, p. 17/1 ff.

72. Ibid, p. 41/35 ff.

73. on his authorship see Abu 'l-Husayn Ishaq b. Ibrahim b. Sulayman b. Wahb al-Katib, c. 335 A.H./946 A.D., *Kitab al-Burhan fi Wujuh al-Bayan*, ed. Ahmad Matlub (Baghdad, 1967), pp. 11-19.

74. Ibid. pp. 354-362.

75. Ibid, p. 357.

by means of Iraqi material.[76] Just as for the books on tax-law the more complex conditions of production in Iraq, along with other factors, superseded and ousted the conditions in Syria from the literature.[77]

The mathmatical level of Abu 'l-Wafa's exercise, drafted as teaching material for the *diwan* officials,[78] is demanding and bears the imprint of his epoch-making efforts in the field of resolving fractions.[79] It was only thanks to the methods presented by Abu 'l-Wafa' and the spread of the Indian number system,[80] that an economical and, as Abu 'l-Wafa' remarks,[81] correct computation of any tax was at hand. Most of Abu 'l-Wafa's examples deal with the calculation of duties belonging to various types of proportional taxes. The general type of this tax, *al-muqasama;* officially introduced by the Caliph al-Mahdi,[82] had already existed in variant forms in certain regions of the Persian provinces under the Umayyads.[83] *Al-muqasama* meant the levying of a cash amount per *jarib*, levied on the different crops whose quantity had to be measured. This method of levying taxes necessitated the existence of a well organised and highly specialised profession incorporated into the *diwan al-kharaj*. These so-called mussah drew payments, the *kifaya*,[84] or *ayin*,[85] which were credited to the *kharaj* and *'ushr* tax.

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76. Abu 'l-Wafa' al-Buz(a)jani, d. 388 A.H./998 A.D., *'Ilm al-Hisab al-'Arabi*, ed. Ahmad Sa'idan, (Amman, 1971), manzila 4-6; cf. al-Khawarizmi, *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, pp. 58-63, 64-72 and p. 59 where *tisq* is given a Persian etymology; cf. Løkkegard, *Taxation*, p. 125.

77. Abu 'l-Wafa, *'Ilm*, pp. 205, 305-306, does not mention more than a few Syrian measures and their application.

78. Ibid, pp. 204, 207, 279.

79. M. J. Medoboi, "Ob arifmeticeskom traktate Abu 'l-Wafi," *Istoriko matamaticeskiya isseldovaniya*, Moskba, vol. 13 (1960), pp. 278-279.

80. see Ahmad Sa'idan, trans and annot., *The Arithmetic of al-Uqlidisi* (Dordrecht, 1978), pp. 6-7, and his remarks on *mu'amalat*, pp. 474-475.

81. Abu 'l-Wafa', *'Ilm*, pp. 202-203, 298.

82. Abu Yusuf, *Kharaj*, pp. 49/-1 ff; Qudama, *Kharaj*, pp. 178-179; Løkkegard, *Taxation*, p. 109-110.

83. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 266-267; Løkkegard, *Taxation*, pp. 113, 115.

84. Qudama, *Kharaj*, p. 41/-4; C. Cahen, "Quelques problemes economiques et fiscaux de l'Iraq Buyide d'apres un traite de mathematiques," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, t. 10 (1952), pp. 332-333, Løkkegard, *Taxation*, p. 189, understands *kiyafa* as a sort off defence tax.

85. al-Buzjani, *'Ilm*, p. 279 ff.

Qudama b. Ja'far reports an argument among Abu Hanifa, Abu Yusuf, Sufyan al-Thawri and Malik b. Anas about who should be given credit for this tax, indirectly demonstrating the early importance of the *muqasama* tax.[86] None of the traditions dealing with Umayyad Syria are relevant to this *muqasama* tax. The types of taxes there are based on a fixed rate either per head or in connection with a survey type, *al-misaha*, which resulted in the *kharaj* payment or its regional collective form, the *musalaha* or *muqata'a*. It is worth illustrating briefly the arithmetic and juridical difficulty of such a tax computation. To my knowledge the earliest demonstration, for academic reasons is by Abu 'l-Wafa'. The following example is meant to support mathematical training yet it contains all the compositional factors of this kind of tax computation.[87]

Be given the actual crop tax, *tisq*, per *jarib* $t = 17\,D + 2$ *daniq*
the *ayin*, the payment of *masih*, per jarib $a = 4$ *daniq*
and the *kifaya*, the fee of the *jahbadh*, per *jarib* $k = 2\,D +$ *daniq* $+ 4$ *a'shar*

the tax agent, the *amil*, collects a total tax sum of T = 1940 Dirham. Wanted are the different shares of

total *tisq* = T
total *ayin* = A
and the total *kifaya* = K.

Abu'l-Wafa offers different procedures. Here is method 1:

I By the way of the percent share of the *kifaya* in proportion to its total share in the total tax

$$k:(k+100) = K:T = (2D+2d+4ash):(102D+2d+4ash) = \frac{1}{64}\quad\frac{1}{2*64}$$

the total *kifaya*

$$K = T^*(k:(k+100)) = \left(\frac{1}{64}+\frac{1}{2*64}\right)^* 1940D = 45\,D + 2d + 8\frac{1}{8}\ \text{ash}$$

is found out.

II Total tax T minus total *kifaya* K leads to total *ayin* A plus total *tisq* T

86. Qudama, *Kharaj*, p. 164/7 ff.

87. Abu 'l-Wafa', *'Ilm*, pp. 297-300.

$$T - K = A + T = 1940D - (45D+2d+8\tfrac{1}{8}ash) = 1894D + 3d + 1\tfrac{7}{8}\,ash$$

III Now, according to the proportion

$$a:(t + a) = A:(T + A) = 4d:18D = \frac{1}{3*9}$$

$$A = (T + A)^* (a: (t + a)) \text{ is found} = (1894D+3d+1\tfrac{7}{8}ash)*1\frac{1}{3*9}$$

$$= 70D+1d+\tfrac{1}{3*8}ash + \tfrac{1}{4*9}ash$$

IV The remaining step is evident

$$T = (A + T) - A \quad = (1894D+3d+1\tfrac{7}{8}ash) - (70D+1d+\tfrac{1}{3*8}ash + \tfrac{1}{4*9}ash$$

$$= (1824D+2d+(1 + \tfrac{1}{2} + \tfrac{1}{4} + \tfrac{1}{2*9})\,ash$$

Abu 'l-Wafa' continues: "This way we have entered upon is chosen by the majority of the *hussab*, formerly and nowadays. But there are some breaks and gaps. So, for example, if the *masih* says: What you give to the *jahbath* has been computed from both the *kharaj* and the *ayin*. But the *ayin* belongs to me and should not be charged with the *kifaya*, so that only the *kifaya* must be added to the *kharaj*."[88]

In the seventh *manzila* of his *Kitab al-Kharaj* Qudama b. Ja'far touched upon the legal aspect of this problem: "Abu Hanifa and Abu Yusuf said that the fees of the collectors of *'usr* and *kharaj* taxes should be taken from the whole crops, but Sufyan al-Thawri was of the opinion that the fees of the *kharaj* collector should be born by the government and the fees of the *'ushr* collector by the owners of the land. Malik is reported to have said, 'The fees of the *'ushr* collector are on the owners of the land and the fees of the *kharaj* collector are taken from the whole crop.' "[89] We can easily see that, although three different and not fully compatible opinions are put forth concerning the distribution of the *kifaya* and *ayin* charges, none of the jurists consider the relevant fact of which type of total sum should be taken as the base of this tax computation

Abu 'l-Wafa' proceeds to show the method chosen by the best *hussab* of his time. This method runs by analogy with the first one apart from the beginning, since now first, the total *ayin*, the share of the *masih* is determined.

88. Ibid, p. 298.

89. Qudama, *Kharaj*, p. 164/7-11.

I a: $(a + t) = A : T \Rightarrow A = 71\ D + 5d + 1\frac{1}{9}$ ash

The second step leads to the sum of total *tisq* and total *kifaya*

II $T - A = T + K \Rightarrow T+K = 1868\ D+ 8\frac{8}{9}$ ash

from which the total *kifaya* K is deduced

III k: $(k + 100) = K : (T + K) \Rightarrow K = 43\ D + 4\ d + 7\ \frac{1}{2*6}$ ash

It remains

IV $T = T - (A + K) \Rightarrow T = 1824\ D + 1d + (1+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{2*9})$ ash

This method takes the claim of the *masih* into consideration. His share A is approximately 2.4% bigger than in the first case, while the *jahbadh* share is 5.3% smaller than in the first case.

In order to reconcile these different claims Abu 'l-Wafa' avoids the mathemetically correct proportion of *kharaj* : *ayin* : *kifaya* $=17\frac{1}{3}$: $\frac{2}{11}$: ($2\frac{5}{2}$ % of $17\frac{3}{1}$) but suggests a mixed and more social solution to the debit of the treasury. The higher shares of the *ayin* and *kifaya* should be granted to their holder in return for which the actual *kharaj* is reduced for only 1 per mille.[90]

Following this abridged calculation of Abu 'l-Wafa' we can catch a glimpse of the complexity of *kharaj* calculations necessary for the practice of the above mentioned *muqasama* type of taxation. For Umayyad Syria no record of this type of taxation is to be found. Here, as already indicated, a different, simpler and rather collective system prevailed: the *misaha* type. as Løkkegard called it.

Abu Yusuf discovers an unfair handicap to the masses of taxpayers owing such a fixed tax because of the omission of price and harvest fluctuations inherent in this system.[91] At the same time, however, this system required a minimum of administrative efforts and qualified officials and, in addition, allowed the rulers to control, plan and manipulate the yearly revenue.

Such a tax manipulation, which the sources sometimes call adjustment (*ta'dil*), is ascribed to Mu'awiya,[92] and 'Abd al-Malik.[93] In this way,

90. al-Buzjani, 'Ilm, pp. 449-450 (note 64).

91. Abu Yusuf, *Kharaj*, p. 50/6; Løkkegard, *Taxation*, p. 144.

92. Qudama, *Kharaj*, p. 182/6 ff; al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p.174/1; cf. Falih Husayn, Al-*Hayat al-Zira'iya fi Bilad al-Sham fi 'l-'Asr al-Umawi* (Amman, 1978), p. 124; D.C. Dennett, *Conversion and Poll-Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 62.

93. Abu Yusuf, *Kharaj*, p. 41/11 ff; cf. al-Duri, "Nizam," p. 54.

beginning with the first fixing of the *jizya*, ascribed to 'Iyad b. Ghanm,[94] passing on to the introduction of three *jizya* classes in the towns, ordered by 'Umar b. al-Khattab,[95] and ending with the *ta 'dil* of 'Abd al-Malik, the tax rates were quantitatively corrected several times.[96]

'Abd al-Malik's inclusion of the means of production into the computation of taxes, however, was a decisive innovation. For the first time, his agent, al-Dahhak b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ash'ari, levied on the inhabitants of al-Jazira, al-Mawsil and Syria not only an intentionally calculated poll-tax of four dinars but also a tax based on the area of their cultivated land and its production capacity. From now on the number of olive trees, vines and crop-units and the convenience of their location were subject to the *kharaj*.[97]

This method of calculating the *kharaj* tax includes, without being explicitly mentioned, the rudimentary differentiation between fallow and tilled land, *ghamir wa amir*. If practised *lege artis*, all three components of this system — the location of the land with respect to the market, the differentiation of crops and the quality of lands — required a yearly survey, already known as *tatriz al-kharaj* under 'Uthman b. Hunayf, 'Umar's tax-agent in the Sawad.[98] There, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, too, according to al-Baladhuri,[99] had called for a threefold differentiation of the quality of land. This, however, was abolished by 'Umar; but undoubtedly these elaborated types of tax computation, called *al-misaha* II and *al-muqasama* by Løkkegard,[100] continued to be practised in some areas.

Turning to Syria, though, we lose contact with this tax reform ordered by 'Abd al-Malik. It remains all the more obscure, as the measure of 'Umar

94. to the "*jamajim*" of al-Jazira, see Abu Yusuf, *Kharaj* p. 41/11 ff; for al-Ruha and al-Raqqa, see al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 173-174; al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh* vol. 2, p. 150.

95. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 126-127; Falih Husayn, *Hayat*, pp. 123-125.

96. al-Duri, "Nizam," pp. 53-55; Falih Husayn, *Hayat*, p. 123.

97. Abu Yusuf, *Kharaj;* p. 41/14 ff.

98. Abu 'Ubayd, *Amwal*, p.69/173; *tatriz*, see Løkkegard, *Taxation*, pp. 116-117.

99. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 265/-3; Abu Yusuf, *Kharaj*, p.85/11; cf. Abu 'Ubayd, *Amwal*, pp. 69-74.

100. Løkkegard, *Taxation*, pp. 113, 120.

b. 'Abd al-'Aziz to reinstate three *jizya* classes was tied to the request to take the quality of land into consideration.[101]

This type of fixed poll-and land-tax, practised for a long time in Syria, modified by 'Abd al-Malik and criticized by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, was for the first time linked by Løkkegard with the Byzantine *juga-caput* tax-system introduced by Diocletian.[102] Thus it was Byzantine practise to levy a proportional harvest tax only on domain land and private estates, while a fixed tax was levied on municipal lands. On these grounds it is not surprising that the Muslims, who in the course of the conquest of Syria seemed to have encountered mainly the municipal type of land,[103] retained this more or less well-proven system which led, with minor modifications, to the fixed *misaha* tax.

5. Conclusions

The information on the taxation system in Syria, tersely and no doubt incompletely arranged above, seems to be no more than the loose ends of an untied net. The historical knowledge that emanates from the source material therefore does not allow us to tie them together without recourse to hypothetical statements.

Yet the lists of the Umayyad tax revenues in Syria scrutinized here, the chronology and titles of the *diwan* officials, their ethos and qualifications and the actual system and technique of tax calculation certainly represent not only commensurate but also compositional factors of a whole. It is evident that the Syrian tax organisation did not leave a lasting imprint on the highly centralized and differentiated tax system in the heyday of the Islamic Empire. The early acceptance and swift adoption of Sasanian knowledge may be regarded as one of the reasons. But surely the more effective and more easily applicable *muqasama* system, variants of which repeatedly emerged in the Iraqi and Persian provinces, contributed to this development. The Syrian fixed tax, the Byzantine background of which has been mentioned, made but modest demands on the organisation necessary for the assessment and collection of taxes. Here too, natives and converts of the first generation dominate the central *diwan al-kharaj* as well as its provincial branches.

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101. Abu Yusuf, *Karaj*, p. 85/5 ff.

102. Løkkegard, *Taxation*, p. 120.

103. Dennett, *Conversion*, p. 53.

104. Qudama, *Kharaj*, pp. 140-143.

Except for a late and aesthetically accentuated piece of evidence, no trace of a genuine Islamic professional tradition is to be found. Furthermore, we do not know the extent to which the two central institutions, the *diwan al-kharaj* and the *diwan al-jund* were interlocked with each other. Until the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik the sources present them almost unanimously as dual offices directed by one person.

At least the later accounts of the *'awasim* and *thughur*,[104] justify the conjecture that the tax revenue was directly used to meet the expenses of the military administration.

The only lists of revenues preserved for Umayyad Syria date back to the caliphates of Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-Malik, who not only had to cope with costly military campaigns and civil wars, but also ordered a so-called tax adjustment (*ta'dil*), which in reality meant a raise. The peculiarities of the fixed tax levied per head and per geometric land unit, which consequently allowed easy control and manipulation, lends meaning to these seeming coincidences.

The Shurta in Early Umayyad Syria

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1. Introduction

The Umayyad period (40-132 A.H./661-750 A.D.) witnessed the definitive crystallization of many institutions of the Islamic state. During this period, the *ad hoc* (and often very personal) arrangements for government and administration that had been made during the conquest period gradually evolved into more enduring administrative and governing institutions. Not all discrepancies arising from the *ad hoc* origins of Islamic administration were resolved during the period, of course; it seems clear, for example, that the original tax and tribute arrangement set up during the conquests survived until later times and were only in theory overlaid by a set of uniform taxation policies.[1] Indeed, as is well known, some distinctive institutions of government that are generally associated with "Classical Islam" did not first appear until after the Umayyad period (e.g., the vizierate). But the Umayyad period did see the solidification of many of the basic institutions of government in their "Classic" Islamic form: the caliphate, provincial governorship and sub-governorships, judgeships, military commands, etc. Among these institutions was an elite military force called in our text the *shurta*.

The historian faces vexing problems, however, in attempting to trace the early development of these administrative institutions. The main problem is that the narrative sources that provide most of our information about such institutions were composed much later than the early Islamic period, and one must guard against the possibility that our information is an interpolation or "back-projection" made by later historians, who assumed (or wished to assert) that the institutions in question functioned, in their earliest form, in the same manner as they did in much later times. At times, there is reason to suspect that this interpolation goes so far as to posit the existence of some institutions decades before they actually first evolved.[2]

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1. For a general statement of the problems involved, see the articles by Claude Cahen, "Djizya (1)" and "Kharadj (1)", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1960ff), vol. 2, pp. 559-562; vol. 4, pp. 1030-1034. For an analysis of the diverse tax arrangements following the conquest, see Daniel C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Mass, 1950).

2. On this problem of interpolation and systematization by later historians, see Albrecht Noth, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu Themen, Formen, und Tendenzen frühislamischen Geschichtsüberlieferungen* (Bonn, 1973), pp. 45ff.

The early development of the *shurta*, like that of other institutions, poses such problems. We cannot doubt that the *shurta* had become a well-established institution with clearly defined functions by the early Abbasid period at the latest,[3] but just how early the *shurta* existed, and what its functions were in the early days, are matters that are much less certain. There do exist accounts about the *shurta* under the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthman, but as Noth has pointed out they do not inspire much confidence in their reliability.[4] Khalifa b. Khayyat, for example, tells us that the first person to adopt a *shurta* was 'Uthman b. 'Affan, who appointed 'Abdullah b. Qunfudh of Taym/Quraysh in charge of his *shurta*.[5] All such accounts, however, which belong to the "*awa'il*" or "first" genre, are of dubious reliability; they probably reflect not valid early historical recollections, but rather a later historiographical desire to establish the (supposed) origins of institutions and practices that had by then become standard.[6] Moreover, as Noth has pointed out, if 'Uthman did have a *shurta*, it is puzzling that there is no mention of it in the accounts of the events leading up to his assassination; it was either most ineffective as a bodyguard for the caliph, or did not yet exist.

Two other accounts about the early *shurta* pose difficulties of a different kind. One of them claims that 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Abbas was in charge of the *shurta* of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, an allegation that immediately contradicts the preceding account ascribing the origins of the *shurta* to 'Uthman's initiative.[7] A second account states that 'Uthman used the *shurta* to control the crowds at the funeral of al-'Abbas, in order to keep people from crushing

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3. The old article by K.V. Zettersteen, "Shurta," *Encylopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed. (Leiden, 1934), vol. 4, pp. 393, hardly scratches the surface of the subject. Salih Daradkah, "Al-Haras wa 'l-Shurta fi Sadr al-Islam," *Dirasat* (University of Jordan) vol. 14, no. 4 (April 1987), pp. 69-95, is an invaluable collection of information. Unfortunately, the author appears to dismiss the possibility of interpolation, and hence accepts many dubious reports (often drawn from late sources) at face value; he also seems to treat the *haras* and *shurta* as roughly equivalent in function, or simply to assume that their functions were from the start those later associated with them, which sometimes clouds his analysis. His study remains, however, extremely useful.
4. Noth, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
5. Khalifa b. Khayyat, d. 240 A.H./854 A.D., *Ta'rikh*, ed. S. Zakkar (Damascus, 1967-1968), vol. 1, p. 195. cf. Ibn Habib, d. 245 A.H./849 A.D., *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstadter (Hyderabad, India, 1942), p. 373.
6. For a general discussion, see Franz Rosenthal, "Awa'il," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2nd ed. vol. 1, pp. 758-759.
7. al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad b. Abi Ya'qub, d. 284 A.H./897 A.D., *Ta'rikh* (Beirut, 1960), vol. 2, p. 159.

the B. Hashim.[8] As we have already seen, however, it seems unlikely that a *shurta* in the later sense of the term -- an elite force closely attached to the caliph or governor -- existed as early as 'Uthman's time, much less 'Umar's. It seems more likely that these two accounts were first circulated in the Abbasid period as part of the effort to bolster the legitimacy of the Abbasid claim to the caliphate. The first does so by establishing a close link between a prominent member of the Abbasid family and the caliph 'Umar, who by the Abbasid period was emerging as one of the heroes *par excellence* of the golden age of the *sahaba*. The second alleges a strong popular following for al-'Abbas himself in the early Muslim community, perhaps in an effort to overcome the well-known fact of his late conversion to Islam, and confirms the doctrine of the special status of the B. Hashim, a doctrine that had emerged in Shi'ite circles during the Umayyad period, and of which the Abbasids took full advantage upon their seizure of power.[9]

Another problem that affects all these accounts about the origins of the *shurta* during the period of the *rashidun* caliphs is that the individuals mentioned in connection with the *shurta* are either virtually unknown ('Abd Allah b. Qunfudh) or not otherwise known to have been associated with the military or administrative activities of the caliphs ('Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas).[10] These three accounts thus appear, on close inspection, to be either the product of a desire to "discover" the origins of the *shurta,* or Abbasid polemics that naively assumed that this institution, so familiar in their day, had existed in the same form over a century earlier.

Some accounts mentioning the existence of a *shurta* during the caliphate of 'Ali, however, seem more plausible. Ibn Habib states that 'Ali b. abi Talib had a *shurta* headed by Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyahi (a branch of the Yarbu' clan of Tamim).[11] Ma'qil b. Qays is known from other sources to have been one of 'Ali's followers, and evidently was a tribal chieftain of

8. Ibn Sa'd, Muhammad, *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir*, ed. E. Sachau et. al. (Leiden, 1904-1940), vol. 4A, p. 21.

9. Moshe Sharon, "The Development of the Debate over the Legitimacy of Authority in Early Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* vol. 5 (1984), pp. 121-141.

10. 'Abd Allah b. Qunfudh is not mentioned in the standard compilations on companions of the Prophet (e.g., Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqat*, Ibn al-Athir's *Usd al-Ghaba*, Ibn Hajar's *Isaba*, etc.; nor is he mentioned in the chronicle of al-Tabari or the section of al-Baladhuri's *Ansab al-Ashraf* dealing with the life of 'Uthman; nor is he mentioned in al-Jahshiyari's classic study of administration, *Kitab al-Wuzara' wa 'l-Kuttab*; nor is he mentioned by the genealogist Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Jamharat al-Nasab*. According to L. Veccia Veglieri, "Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2nd ed. vol.1, pp. 40-41, he held no adminstrative positions.

11. Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, p. 373.

some standing. He is portrayed in the sources leading military units in 'Ali's army at Siffin, and later led columns sent to chase down the Kharijite rebels Khirrit b. Rashid and al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullafa, in fighting the latter of which he was killed in 43 A.H./663 A.D. But the descriptions of his activities make him appear no different than any of a dozen or so other tribal chieftains in 'Ali's entourage, and the other sources never apply the term *shurta* in connection with him or anyone else.[12] Ma'qil's modest stature seems confirmed by the fact that he is not mentioned by most of the other standard sources of information about the period of 'Ali's reign.

There is, however, another reference which suggests that 'Ali may have maintained a *shurta* as part of his army. Al-Tabari mentions the existence of a unit called the *shurtat al-khamis,* which evidently existed in Kufa during 'Ali's rule there.[13] When al-Hasan b. 'Ali agreed to relinquish power to Mu'awiya, the *shurtat al-khamis* chose Qays b. Sa'd as their leader and pledged to resist Mu'awiya until he guaranteed the life and property of those who had supported 'Ali. We might wish to see in this account merely another interpolation from a later period of the term and institution of the *shurta.* The word *"khamis"* used in the account to mean "army", however, is a South Arabic loanword that did not long survive in general use in Arabic, and was replaced by other words, such as *jaysh, jund,* and *'askar.*[14] The use of the archaic phrase *shurtat al-khamis* in this account thus suggests that we are dealing with a truly ancient tradition that

12. Ibn al-Kalbi, Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib, d. 146 A.H./763 A.D., *Gamharat an-Nasab des Ibn al-Kalbi,* ed. W. Caskel (Leiden, 1966), vol. 2, p. 399. al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir, d. 310 A.H./923 A.D., *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa 'l-Muluk,* ed. M. J. De Goeje et al (Leiden, 1879-1901), index.

13. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh,* ser. II, pp. 7-8.

14. See A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, and J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Editions Peeters, and Beyrouth: Librairie du Liban, 1982), s.v. HMS (II), (p. 61). The original meaning of the term *"shurtat al-khamis"* seems to have been lost so completely that later Shi'ite authors could conjure up a completely new meaning for it. Thus we find it included among Shi'ite technical terms referring to religious categories of early Muslims: *al-ashab* ("companions"), *al-asfiya'* ("pure ones"), *al-awliya'* ("saints"), and *shurtat al-khamis* ("predestined ones"). See A. Arioli, "Introduzione allo studio del *'ilm ar-rigal imamita...,*" in J. Sublet, *Cahiers d'onomastique Arabe* (Paris: CNRS, 1979), pp. 55-56. On the *shurtat al-khamis,* see also Daradkah, op cit, pp. 75-76, 78.

preserves some memory of such a unit in Ali's entourage.[15]

2. The Shurta of Mu'awiya

For the first half of the Umayyad period, there are also accounts that describe the *shurta*. But, as I shall attempt to show, some of these appear to be much more trustworthy than those for 'Umar and 'Uthman.

Let us begin by considering several lists that purport to name the chiefs of the *shurta* under Mu'awiya (r. 41-60A.H./661-680 A.D.). On first view, these lists may seem to be of dubious reliability; it is just such a list, after all, that later systematizers might be expected to generate. But closer examination dispels some of our doubts:

(a) al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 205.	Qays b. Hamza al-Hamdani [dismissed]
(Ahmad b. Zuhayr < 'Ali)	Zamil b. 'Amr al-'Udhri (or al-Sakski?)
(b) Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 276.	Yazid b. al-Hurr [al-'Absi], his *mawla* [died]
(no isnad)	Qays b. Humra al-Hamdani [dismissed]
	Dhuhl [read Ziml] b. 'Amr al-'Udhri
(c) al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, vol. 4 A, p. 136.	Yazid b. al-Hurr al-'Absi [dismissed]
(al-Mada'ini)	Ziml b. 'Amr
	al-Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri
(d) Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 18, fol. 133a.	Yazid al-Hurr al-'Absi [died]
(al-Haytham b. 'Adi -- Ibn 'Ayyash)	Qays b. Hamza al-Hamdani [dismissed]

15. Unfortunately, the word *shurta* itself does not seem to have a South Arabic etymology that might clarify its meaning in Arabic. The definitions in the Classical Arabic lexicons are dubious; the meanings given are inconsistent and seem to be attempts to invent some kind of link between the obvious use of the term *shurta* in military contexts and the well-known meanings of the Arabic root *sh-r-t*, "to slit" and "to set conditions".

We can first note that, while the lists are not identical, they overlap considerably. At the same time, the very discrepancies in the lists suggest that they are not entirely made up at a later period; if they were, there would be no need to include discrepancies.

The second thing to note about these lists is that all the individuals on them are traceable in other accounts, which sometimes confirm their appointment to the *shurta*.[16] While we cannot be sure that these other accounts represent in all cases independent sources of information -- indeed, we can almost be certain in principle that they do not -- we have much more the sense that we are dealing with actual and known people when we read their biographical entries and accounts of events in which they are said to have participated.

Third, each of these individuals appears to have pursued a military and/or administrative career, details of which can be recovered from independent accounts. Their appointment to the *shurta* thus is plausible in terms of their own careers, and in some cases the timing of their appointments can be discerned in the information provided. Yazid b. al-Hurr al-'Absi, for example, had long been in close association with Mu'awiya, and served him in several military capacities, including leadership of raids against the Byzantines, and command of part of Mu'awiya's force at Siffin, before being appointed to head the *shurta*. In this respect, these accounts are quite unlike the vague attributions that we encountered in discussing the supposed *shurta* of the *rashidun* caliphs.

Fourth, the *shurta* is described by numerous accounts as playing a major role in many of the events of the early Umayyad period, in contrast to the situation during the *rashidun* period. This is especially true of events in Iraq, for which we have, as always, much fuller information than we have for Syria and other areas of the empire at this time. The problem, however, is simply that our sources provide us with so little detail about events in Umayyad Syria, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., the selection of Marwan b. al-Hakam as the Umayyad claimant to the caliphate during the second civil war). It seems reasonable to assume, despite our dearth of evidence, that the *shurta* in Syria was just as active, and in much the same kinds of roles, as it was in Iraq at this time.[17]

In any case, we cannot doubt that an elite corps of troops called a *shurta* existed by the sixties of the first century, for the nearly contemporary Syriac writer Bar Penkaye mentions their presence in the army of the rebel al-

16. For details on the individuals listed, see section 5 below.

17. On functions of *shurta* during this period, see below, section 4.

Mukhtar at the battle of Khazir in upper Mesopotamia (Muharram 67 A.H./August 687 A.D.).[18]

In sum, there is a sizable body of independent information that confirms the existence of the *shurta* in this period and the general plausibility of the claim that these particular individuals were associated with it. The same general observations apply to reports about the *shurta* of Mu'awiya's successors.

3. The Later Sufyanids and Early Marwanids

There is some disagreement on who headed the *shurta* after Mu'awiya's death and the accession to the caliphate of his son Yazid in 60 A.H./680 A.D. (a) One account claims that Yazid's *shurta* was headed by Khalid b. Ma'dan, an early *faqih* and exemplar of piety from Hims.[19] This seems possible, but not very likely. Khalid did have close ties to Umayyads, who appear to have co-opted such saintly types in certain situations, and he died on the state payroll. But he was mainly concerned with matters of law and piety, and is not known to have had any military experience.[20] (b) Ibn Habib states that Yazid b. al-Hurr al-'Absi headed Yazid b. Mu'awiya's *shurta*, and was succeeded in the post after his death by Humayd b. Hurayth b. Bahdal al-Kalbi.[21] Most authorities, however, claim that Yazid b. al-Hurr died before the end of Mu'awiya's caliphate.[22] As for Humayd b. Hurayth b. Bahdal al-Kalbi, he is described as leader of the *jund* of Marwan (composed of Kalb tribesmen) at the battle of Khazir in 67 A.H./686 A.D., and in the following year evidently supported the Umayyad pretender 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-'As in his abortive rebellion against 'Abd al-Malik, but there is no trace of him serving Yazid b. Mu'awiya in any capacity.[23] (c) Finally, al-Dahhak b.

18. A. Mingana, *Sources Syriaques* (Leipzig, 1908), vol. 1, p. 185.

19. Ibn 'Asakir, Abu 'l-Qasim 'Ali b. al-Hasan, d. 571 A.H./1176 A.D., *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq* (manuscript, Zahiriyya Library, Damascus; cited by volume number and folio), vol. 5, fol. 185b, 186b (Muhammad b. Daud al-Harrani < 'Isa b. Yunus).

20. For details on his life, see F.M. Donner, "The Problem of Early Arabic Historiography in Syria," in Muhammad 'Adnan al-Bakhit and Ihsan 'Abbas ed., *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilad al-Sham During the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H./640 A.D.* vol. 1 (Amman, 1987), pp. 7-9; the statement there that Khalid "was in charge of the police (*shurta*) of the caliphs Mu'awiya and Yazid" should be corrected to read "the *shurta* of the caliph Yazid b. Mu'awiya."

21. Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, p. 373.

22. References, see section 5 below under Yazid b. al-Hurr.

23. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh* ser. II, pp. 707-708, 784ff.

Qays, said to have been in charge of Mu'awiya's *shurta* when he was made executor by the dying caliph, is also said to have been confirmed in the *shurta* by the new caliph, Yazid.[24] This last option seems by far the most likely, especially in view of the fact that al-Dahhak appears to have held *de facto* control over Damascus upon the deaths in rapid succession of Yazid and his young son, Mu'awiya, in 64 A.H./683 A.D.

The few sources that mention Marwan's *shurta* agree that the post was held by Yahya b. Qays al-Ghassani, who died at Marj Rahit.[25] Who was appointed between his death and that of the caliph Marwan a few months later is not known.

For the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65-86 A.H./685-705 A.D.) we have lists of the leaders of the *shurta* which, like those for Mu'awiya, show significant overlaps coupled with obvious discrepancies:

(a) Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 9, fol. 165a.	Yazid b. abi Kabsha al- Sakuni [dismissed]
(Sa'id b. Kathir)	Abu Natil Riyah b. 'Abda al-Ghassani [dismissed]
	'Abd Allah b. Yazid al-Hakami al-Madhhiji [dismissed]
	'Abd Allah b. Hani' [dismissed]
	Yazid b. Bishr al-Saksaki [dismissed]
	Ka'b b. Hamid al-'Ansi
(b) Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, p. 373.	'Abd Allah b. Hani' al-Awdi [dismissed]
(no isnad)	Yazid b. abi Kabsha al-Saksaki [dismissed]
	Yazid b. Bishr al-Saksaki [died]
	Ka'b b. Hamid al-'Ansi

24. References, see section 5 below under al-Dahhak b. Qays.

25. Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, p. 373; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 331; Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 18, fol. 89a (Abu Umayya al-Ahwas b. al-Mufaddal < his father).

(c) Khalifa *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, pp. 394-395.	Yazid b. abi Kabsha al-Saksaki [dismissed]
(no isnad)	Abu Natil Riyah b. 'Abda al-Ghassan [dismissed]
	'Abd Allah b. Zayd [sic] al-Hakami [dismissed]
	Ka'b b. Hamid al-'Absi

Of these, only Yazid b. abi Kabsha and Ka'b b. Hamid al-'Ansi are found on all three lists; both seem plausible appointees, since each had considerable military and/or administrative experience for 'Abd al-Malik or for his sons and successors al-Walid and Sulayman.[26] The other four mentioned in the lists we can accept with varying degrees of credence. Abu Natil Riyah b. 'Abda al-Ghassani evidently had a military career and was famed for supplying Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik's snow-bound army in Anatolia when others had failed.[27] He is said by Khalifa b. Khayyat to have commanded the *shurta* of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid.[28] Ibn Habib, however, considers him to have served only al-Walid in this role.[29] Similarly, Yazid b. Bishr al-Saksaki, placed in lists (a) and (b) in charge of 'Abd al-Malik's *shurta*, is not mentioned in Khalifa's list (c), and according to his biography in Ibn 'Asakir he only headed al-Walid's *shurta*, although another anecdote makes it clear that he may have served 'Abd al-Malik in other capacities, as he was charged by him with delivering a new *kiswa* to the Ka'ba in Mekka.[30] 'Abd Allah b. Yazid al-Hakami, mentioned in lists (a) and (c) above, is also said to have been a member of Sulayman's *khassa*, but little else can be discovered about him.[31] 'Abd Allah b. Hani' I have not been able to trace further.

The discrepancies in these lists cannot be completely removed, but it appears that several of them may reflect lapses in memory over who served at what time.[32] In the better-documented instances, however, there is no

26. See section 5, below, for details and references.

27. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 6, fol. 154a.

28. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 418.

29. Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, p. 373.

30. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 18, fol. 127a-128b.

31. Ibid, vol. 9, fol. 165a (Ibn 'Afir < Ibn al-Kurdi al-Dimashqi).

32. Similar to the results that would emerge from an experiment in which one were asked to name the players on his favorite sports team over the past twenty or thirty years, giving the exact roster of the team for each calendar year. Much of the personnel would doubtless be right, but the makeup of a particular year's team would doubtless be somewhat scrambled.

reason to doubt that the individuals named actually did head the *shurta*, or what later became known as such. It is time, however, to consider what our evidence suggests regarding the evolution and function of the early *shurta*.

4. Function of the Caliphal Shurta in Early Umayyad Times

It is easier to know who led the *shurta* in the early Umayyad period than it is to know what its functions actually were. It seems clear, however, that the *shurta* was closely associated with the army. The fact that Ka'b b.Hamid al-'Ansi served the caliph al-Walid repeatedly as head of the *shurta* between stints on various military assignments in the "regular army" -- e.g., command of the summer raid against the Byzantines in Anatolia, or command of a force at sea -- underlines the similarity of skills and experience needed for both kinds of service.[33] As we have seen, the reference to the *shurtat al-khamis* links it specifically to the army (*khamis*). It also suggests that the *shurta* already existed at the time of 'Ali's caliphate, and we may wish to consider the possibility that the *shurta* first appeared as a separate cohort during the tensions of the first civil war, when fighting broke out in the Muslim community for the first time. For we find frequent references to the *shurat* in Iraq being used to fight or control other Muslims -- in particular, being used by the governor to chase down Kharijite rebels.[34] The regular army (*jaysh, jund*), on the other hand, seems to be used when non-Muslims are being fought on the frontiers. For Umayyad Syria, our information is (as always) less full than for Iraq, but the close connection between the *shurta* and the army continues to be visible. Some references imply that the *shurta* functioned as a kind of military police, whose responsibility it was to help ensure discipline among the army (a charge that would embrace such a task as hunting down mutinous troops, which many of the early Kharijites were). An apocalyptic tradition from the Umayyad period, describing an expected Qurayshite tyrant who would oppress the Yemenites in Syria and prepare the way for a Qahtani deliverer, has the tyrant's *shurta* numbering 20,000, driving the Yemenites from Syria before the apocalypse.[35] Two things are, in the present context, striking about this report: first the *shurta's* close ties to the ruler and his wishes, and second, the fact that the *shurta* is described as fighting (or, from the ruler's perspective, disciplining) other Muslims. Even

33. References, see section 5 below.

34. E.g., al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, vol. 4A, p. 154.

35. Nu'aym b. Hammad Abu 'Abd Allah el-Khuza'i, d. 228 A.H./843 A.D., *Kitab al-Fitan* (British Museum MS Or. 9449), fol. 111a-b, cited in Wilfred Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Hims in the Umayyad Age," *Journal of Semitic Studies* vol. 31 (1986), pp. 141-185, at page 153.

clearer is a passage from 'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya al-Katib's *Risala fi Nasihat Wali al-'Ahd.* In it the author advises the future ruler that if members of the army must be punished for serious misdeeds, such punishment should be undertaken not by the army commander, but only by the ruler himself "or by the commander of your *shurta*, acting on your orders and in accordance with your judgment and permission..."[36] Once again, the function of the *shurta* as an instrument for ensuring discipline in the army is implied.[37] Whether the sub-governors in Syria (Hims, Jordan, etc.) each had a *shurta* attached to them is not known, but seems likely since even army commanders were, apparently, sometimes equipped with a *shurta* of their own.[38]

It is not infrequently stated or implied that the *shurta* was a kind of bodyguard for the caliph or, in a province, for the governor.[39] Many accounts describe the bodyguards of various individuals in the early Islamic period, going back all the way to the Prophet Muhammad himself.[40] The same sources that list the heads of the *shurta* for the Umayyad caliphs, however, usually provide separate lists of people said to have been in charge of the *haras*, which must be understood as a personal bodyguard. This implies that the *shurta* was not, essentially, the caliph's ordinary bodyguard, but something separate.[41] It is worth noting, however, that

36. The text dates from the late Umayyad period; it can be found in Muhammad Kurd 'Ali, ed., *Rasa'il al-Bulagha'* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutubat al-'Arabiyya al-Kubra, 1913), p. 157.

37. Professor Ihsan 'Abbas, who is preparing a more complete edition of 'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya's *Rasa'il,* informs me that in the fuller text a *shurta* unit is said to be attached to each unit of the army (personal communication). This would confirm the notion of the *shurta* as a military police.

38. Kurd 'Ali, *Rasa'il,* pp. 156-157. This is, of course, what we would expect if the *shurta* was essentially a corps of military police.

39. See, for example, Julius Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 127-128, 471. Elsewhere, Welhausen calls the *shurta* variously a "gendarmerie" (p. 69) and a "vanguard" (pp. 105-106). Daradkah, "al-Haras," collects references to both the *shurta* and the *haras* (as well as to the *'asas*, "night watch"), but does not establish whether the functions of these groups were different; they are all lumped together generally as "security forces".

40. For an extensive list of references, see Daradkah, "al-Haras", pp. 69-95, esp. pp. 70-71.

41. See also the *Risala fi Nasihat Wali al-'Ahd,* which speaks of the *ahras* or "bodyguards" as something quite separate from the *shurta*: Kurd 'Ali, *Rasa'il,* pp. 139-164. In later use (e.g., early Abbasid times) the two institutions were clearly separate.

specific references to the *shurta* of a governor seldom relate it to a place ("*shurta* of Kufa", etc.), but usually to the person of the governor (e.g., "*shurta* of al-Walid b. 'Utba," who was governor of Medina).[42] This suggests that the *shurta*, while not exactly a bodyguard, was nonetheless closely linked to the person of the caliph or governor. Presumably, then, the *shurta* was responsible for defending the person of the caliph or governor, and his entire entourage, from uprisings within the army itself, and helped out during large riots, and in battlefield situations,[43] whereas the bodyguard (*haras*) was responsible for the day-to-day protection of the caliph/governor from individuals or small groups of assailants, even within the supposedly secure confines of the palace itself. The two functions are obviously related, but nonetheless distinct, and we see this distinction especially in the fact that the Umayyad bodyguards were usually *mawali*, whereas the heads of their *shurta* seem always to have been Arab tribesmen. The report that al-Dahhak b. Qays first headed Mu'awiya's *haras*, and then changed places with Yazid b. al-Hurr, whom Mu'awiya had put in charge of the *shurta*, may reflect only confusion in the mind of the transmitter (al-Mada'ini, d. 225 A.H./839 A.D.), since no one else alludes to such a switch.[44]

Just who constituted the rank and file of the Umayyads' *shurta* is not clear. It is possible that they included *mawali*, but it is just as possible that they were drawn from the Arab fighting men of the regular army, or even from the personal tribal retainers of the person who headed the *shurta*; solid evidence is simply lacking.[45]

Besides its military functions, the *shurta* may have been a post that demanded significant administrative skill as well, for we find various heads of *shurta* serving at other times in different administrative capacities: Ziml b. 'Amr, for example, had charge of Yazid b. Mu'awiya's seal (*khatam*), Yazid b. abi Kabsha governed Kufa and Basra for al-Walid and was placed in charge of the *kharaj*, or tax administration, of India, al-

42. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, vol. 4A, pp. 113-114. Compare this usage with that for judges, who are always appointed as *Qadi* of a given locality. Since there was a governor (and hence a *shurta*) in Kufa, generic references to a "*shurta* of Kufa" can be found, but appointments are not, to my knowledge, described in this way.

43. See, for example, 'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya's comment about using the *shurta* to reinforce weak points in the line when the enemy is near: Kurd 'Ali, *Rasa'il*, p. 161 middle.

44. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, vol. 4A, p. 130.

45. The statement by Daradkah, "al-Haras," p. 85, that non-Arabs and *mawali* were used by the Arabs as *shurat* and *ahras* beginning at an early date appears unfounded as far as the *shurta* is concerned.

Dahhak b. Qays served for a time as Mu'awiya's governor of Kufa.[46] In some cases, the chief of the *shurta* appears to have been left in charge of affairs upon the departure or death of the governor or caliph -- the most striking example, of course, being al-Dahhak b. Qays's role as executor following the death of the caliph Mu'awiya.[47]

5. Biographical Sketches

The following paragraphs provide, as a kind of appendix, a summary biography of some of the main appointees to the post of *sahib al-shurta* during the early Umayyad period; it was hoped that, by collecting most of the data here, the discussion of various points in the preceding sections could be streamlined.

Al-Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri was by far the best-known of all those said to have headed Mu'awiya's *shurta*, mainly for his important role in the second civil war. Born shortly before the death of the Prophet, he settled in Damascus, where he had a *dar* next to the city walls along the Barada River, in the area called Hajar al-Dhahab (?).[48] He fought on Mu'awiya's side at Siffin, where he was one of the main commanders, variously reported as commanding the center, the people of Damascus, the cavalry of Damascus, or the infantry.[49] He led some of the "raids" lauched by Mu'awiya against 'Ali's outposts in Iraq after the latter had rejected the arbiters' decision.[50] In the mid-50s A.H./670s A.D., he served for some time as Mu'awiya's governor of Kufa, perhaps from 55-58 A.H., replacing 'Abd Allah b. Khalid b. Asid and being replaced in turn by 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd Allah "Umm al-Hakam".[51] He became the head of Mu'awiya's *shurta* toward the end of the caliph's life; in 60 A.H./679 A.D., the dying caliph reportedly made al-Dahhak, then head of the *shurta*, and Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murri his

46. For references, see entries 5 below.

47. See section 5 below for references. Daradkeh collects numerous references to other instances of the *shurta* chief functioning as lieutenant in the governor's absence, "al-Haras," pp. 85-86.

48. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 8, fol. 205b.

49. Ibid, vol. 8. fol. 205b, vol. 18. fol. 132b-133a; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. I, pp. 3283, 3447.

50. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 8, fol. 207a; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. I, p. 3447.

51. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. II, pp. 170, 172, 177, 180, 181, 188; Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 8, fol. 207b-208a.

executors, to assure the smooth transfer of power to his son Yazid, who was not in Damascus at the time.[52] Al-Dahhak performed the rite of praying over the dead caliph at his burial.[53] Yazid confirmed him in his command over Damascus.[54] When Yazid died, al-Dahhak was the one who wrote the leader of Yazid's army in the Hijaz, Qays b. al-Haytham, informing him of the caliph's death.[55] When Mu'awiya b. Yazid died shortly thereafter, al-Dahhak appears to have been effectively in control of Damascus, and was leaning to recognition of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr as caliph. The exact details of what happened between al-Dahhak, on the one hand, and the Umayyads and their supporters (especially Hassan b. Malik b. Bahdal al-Kalbi and 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad) on the other, are the subject of contradictory accounts.[56] Suffice it to say that al-Dahhak, who seems to have vacillated for some time, eventually decided (or was persuaded) to support Ibn al-Zubayr openly and to break with the Umayyads, themselves belatedly rallying around Marwan ibn al-Hakam as their candidate for the caliphate. Al-Dahhak was killed fighting Marwan's force at Marj Rahit, in late 64 A.H./683 A.D.[57]

Ka'b b. Hamid [or Hamiz] al-'Ansi hailed from Darayya, a village near Damascus. He is said to have commanded the *shurta* of several Marwanid caliphs. 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walid, and Sulayman all employed him in this role. Ibn Habib relates that al-Walid appointed Ka'b to head his *shurta*; then sent him in charge of a naval expedition, replacing him with Abu Natil Riyah b. 'Abda al-Ghassani; then restored Ka'b to the *shurta* upon his return; then sent him on a summer raid, replacing him in the *shurta* with 'Abd Allah b. Yazid al-Hakami; and finally reappointed Ka'b to the *shurta* a third time upon his return. According to one source, he was dismissed by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, only to be reinstated by Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik; another source claims that he also directed the *shurta* of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-

52. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. II, p. 197; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, vol 4A, p. 124.

53. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 8, fol. 206b.

54. Ibid, vol. 8, fol. 207b-208a.

55. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. II, p. 433; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir*, vol. 7B, p. 131.

56. These are summarized conveniently by Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 138ff. Note that Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 8, fol. 208b-210a provides a fuller version of al-Mada'ini's account than those available to Rotter, one which depicts 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad playing a much larger role than in other accounts.

57. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 8, fol. 205b-210a, infra; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. II, p. 468-472, 481; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir*, vol. 7B, p. 131; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 326.

'Aziz. Later he directed the *shurta* for the caliph Hisham for a period of thirteen years, after which he was sent to Armenia as *amir*.[58]

Qays b. Hamza al-Hamdani, according to most accounts, occupied the post of *sahib al-shurta* upon the death of Yazid b. Mu'awiya. He was one of the notables (*wujuh*) of the people of Syria, and according to Khalifa was named by Mu'awiya over *al-shamat al-Urdunn*. After being in command of the *shurta*, he was dismissed by Mu'awiya.[59]

Yazid b. abi Kabsha al-Saksaki of Bayt Lihya was from the Saksak branch of Kinda, of which he is said to have been the *'arif* (distributor of pay?). He led the summer raid at least once, and commanded the *shurta* for 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Walid appointed him governor of the "two Iraqs" (Kufa and Basra), and Sulayman appointed him over the *kharaj* (tax-administration) of Sind or Hind. He died after holding the last post only about one month.[60]

Yazid b. al-Hurr al-'Absi [or: Y. b. Zahar; or: Y. b. al-Haram] was considered one of the leading Damascene notables during Mu'awiya's time, and had a compound (*dar*) in the city in *al-zuqaq al-ahad*, extending from the *darb al-rayhan* to *zuqaq al-silm*.[61] When Mu'awiya was still governor of Syria for 'Uthman, he was ordered by the caliph to raid Byzantine territory, and sent Yazid b. al-Hurr and then 'Abd al-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid on two summer raiding parties. According to al-Waqidi, this raid was in 26 A.H./646 A.D.[62] During the first civil war, Yazid is said by Ibn al-Kalbi to have commanded the infantry of the right wing of Mu'awiya's army at Siffin.[63] He was one of the witnesses on Mu'awiya's side who signed the arbitration agreement concluded between Mu'awiya and 'Ali at Siffin.[64] He served until his death as head of *shurta* for Mu'awiya, according to most authorities. Al-Mada'ini, however, claims that Yazid was dismissed by Mu'awiya and later put in charge of Mu'awiya's *haras* or bodyguard, a post vacated by al-Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri, who came to head the *shurta*.[65] Ibn

58. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 8, fol. 275b; Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, p. 373, Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, p. 431; 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Khawlani, *Ta'rikh Darayya* (Damascus, 1950), pp. 78-88.

59. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 14, fol. 220b-221a.

60. Ibid, vol. 18, fol. 186a-187b; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol.1, p. 349; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. II, pp. 1265, 1268.

61. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 18, fol. 132b.

62. Ibid, vol. 18, fol. 132b; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. 1, pp. 197-198;

63. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 18, fol. 132b-133a.

64. Ibid, vol. 18, fol. 132b; al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. 1, pp. 3336-3338 (Abu Mikhnaf).

65. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, vol. 4A, p. 136.

Habib, who lists Yazid b. al-Hurr as the sole person to head Mu'awiya's *shurta*, claims that he lived on to serve also as head of Yazid's *shurta*.[66]

Ziml [or Zamil] b. Amr al-'Udhri [or al-Saksaki] is said to have come in a delegation to the Prophet to tender allegiance to him; the Prophet gave him the banner of his tribe.[67] He settled in Syria; Mu'awiya is said to have given him a *dar* near Bab Tuma in Damascus. He was at the battle of Siffin on Mu'awiya's side, and was one of the witnesses signing the arbitration agreement.[68] After Mu'awiya's death, Ziml b. 'Amr is said to have served as supervisor of the seal (*khatam*) for Yazid b. Mu'awiya.[69] During the second civil war, he witnessed the oath of allegiance to Marwan b. al-Hakam at al-Jabiya,[70] and then died in the battle of Marj Rahit.[71]

66. Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, p. 373.
67. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 7, fol. 221a. On confusion of these two (?) people, see Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 103-104.
68. Ibid, vol. 7, fol. 220b-221a; cf. al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. 1, pp. 3336-3338.
69. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 7, fol. 221b.
70. Ibid, vol. 7, fol. 220b-221a.
71. Ibid, vol. 7, fol. 221a and 221b.

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بلاد الشام في العهد الأموي

محاضر الندوة الثالثة

٢ ـ ٧ ربيع الأول ١٤٠٨هـ ٢٤ ـ ٢٩ تشرين الأول ١٩٨٧م

القسم الانجليزي ـ المجلد الثاني

تحرير

محمد عدنان البخيت روبرت شيك

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