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EARLY ABBASID ADMINISTRATION IN THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN
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Nicol, Norman Douglas, Ph.D.
University of Washington, 1979

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*EARLY ^CABBĀSID ADMINISTRATION IN THE CENTRAL
AND EASTERN PROVINCES,
132-218 A.H. /750-833 A.D.*

by

NORMAN DOUGLAS NICOL

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1979

Approved by *Jerome I. Bacharach*
Chairperson, Supervisory Committee

Program Authorized
to Offer Degree History

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Norman Douglas Nicol
Norman Douglas Nicol

Date: 25 July 1979

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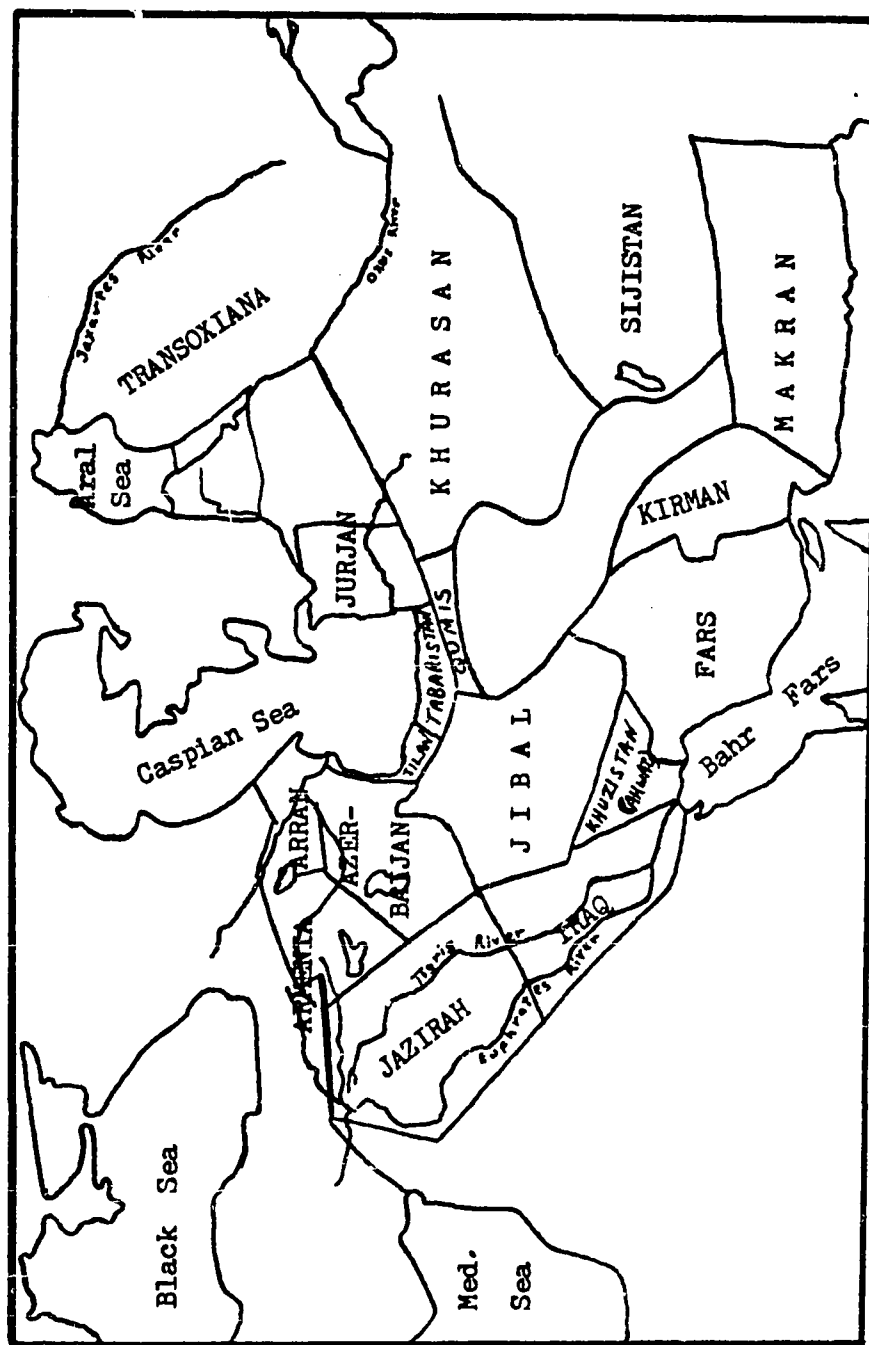
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CHAPTER I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The ability to control the widespread regions of their Empire was of paramount importance to the ^CAbbāsīd family. The first two caliphs of that dynasty—Abū al-^CAbbās al-Saffāh (reigned 132-36/749-54) and Abū Ja^Cfar al-Manṣūr (reigned 136-58/754-75)—relied on the strength of several of their provinces to maintain the powerful and loyal army necessary for consolidating their recently acquired gains following the downfall of the Umayyads. Their immediate successors looked to the territories beyond the central area of Iraq, particularly Armenia and Khurasan, to provide the economic foundations for an opulent court as well as a formidable military arm, both based on a sophisticated tax system. The last two caliphs—Muḥammad al-Amīn (reigned 193-98/809-813) and ^CAbd Allāh al-Ma'mūn (reigned 198-218/813-33)—of this early period found, in the artificial division of the Empire between them by their father, Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned 170-93/786-809), the territorial and, hence, the economic basis upon which to wage a civil war. None of these ^CAbbāsīd caliphs could have realized their aspirations by merely wishing it. They required a well-organized system of provincial administration to keep the extensive Empire under their control.

The purpose of this study is to elucidate the system by which the central and eastern provinces of the Islamic Empire were administered during the reigns of the first seven ^CAbbāsīd caliphs (132-218 AH/750-833 AD). Of primary importance to the present writer is the manner in



The Caliphate: Central and Eastern Provinces

which individual provinces were ruled by the caliphal appointees, where such evidence is available from the sources. Each province of the Empire differed from the others and thus, for the purposes of this study, four separate provinces of varying characteristics have been chosen as representative models: Iraq, Armenia, Jibal and Khurāsān.¹ A separate section is devoted to each of these four provinces, which details these differences and provides an annotated chronology of the governors and other officials. In those sections will be treated the identification of the provincial governors, from what social ranks they were drawn, and the periods of their tenure in office, as well as the political developments as they occurred under each individual. How much autonomy the governor enjoyed *vis-à-vis* the central administration, as well as the extent to which the various governors were subordinate to each other, also commands our attention.

SOURCES FOR EARLY ʿABBĀSĪD PROVINCIAL HISTORY

A. Textual Sources

Any attempt to write a relatively complete account of the system of provincial administration in the Islamic Empire during the first century of ʿAbbāsīd rule is bound to be frustrated by the search for evidence. This is not to say that such a study is infeasible, but rather that it is complicated by the need to search through a large body of mostly irrelevant material for pertinent information. Most of the early Arabic historical, traditional (Ḥadīth) and biographical literature that has survived to the present day is concerned primarily with notice of the central government and the caliphal court in particular. Other than the

occasional mention of provincial governors and the other officials, the sources rarely discuss events in areas outside of the capital. Only when major insurrections, led by dissident Muslim groups in the outlying territories or when border raids by peoples beyond the Empire, occurred did the provinces gain the attention of the Arab historians. A limited number of local histories do, however, provide us with some useful information not found in the larger general works. The textual sources, being rather thin on provincial history, force one to consider other types of evidence; e.g., numismatic material (see below).

Almost nothing remains of what can be considered primary textual material, especially for the caliphal territories east of Syria under consideration in this study. Papyri dating from the ^CAbbāsid period do exist, but they pertain only to Egypt and, to a much lesser extent, Syria.² The amount of paper work required to administer the vast ^CAbbāsid Empire must have been very great indeed, yet no trace of those archives have come to the attention of modern scholars. Much of the blame for this situation has been placed on the Mongols, whose thorough destructiveness leveled many of the cities in the eastern part of the Empire. Not even the capital city of Baghdad was spared this onslaught, although whole sections of that once-glorious metropolis already lay in ruins before the coming of the Mongols hastened the work of time. However, the changing fortunes of the ^CAbbāsid dynasty over the centuries contributed to the difficulties inherent in preserving the records of the caliphal bureaucracy.³ Although the papyri which come from Egypt show that the administrative system of ^CAbbāsid Iraq had spread, the lack of contemporary texts from the East make it necessary to turn to literary works as the

primary sources of information.⁴

The writings of historians contemporary with the period of this study (132-218 AH/750-833 AD) have not survived in any degree of completeness. Identifiable fragments of historical works by authors who lived during the early ^ʿAbbāsid era are very few. They are to be found in the extant historical literature of later writers who utilized the material of their predecessors, often quoting them verbatim. Fortunately, plagiarism was more of a virtue than a sin and the latter-day compiler frequently named his sources. One of the most important of the early ^ʿAbbāsid historians was ^ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'inī. Born in Baṣrah in 135/752, he wrote several books concerning the history of the caliphs and probably died in 235/850, although several other dates are given.⁵ His most important work was the *Kitāb akhbār al-khulafā' al-kabīr* (The Great Book of Accounts Concerning the Caliphs), which extended to the reign of Mu^ʿtaṣim (218-227/833-842) and was preserved by Ṭabarī.⁶ Of Madā'inī's other historical writings, only the *Kitāb al-dawlah* (Book of the Dynasty) found its way into the works of several later authors.⁷ A rather successful attempt has recently been made to gather a number of the extant fragments of Madā'inī's caliphal history, together with a study of his life and writings.⁸ The importance of Madā'inī is that, as a contemporary of the period of this present study, information gleaned from his writings should be considered more authoritative than that of some of the later historians.⁹ Aside from the fact that his writings exist only as fragments of the original, Madā'inī remains a valuable source for early ^ʿAbbāsid history.

The earliest complete historical text that has come to light is

al-Tārīkh (The History) by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt al-^ʿUṣfurī (d. 240/854). This and another work by the same author have only recently been discovered and edited. This author's early date alone makes his history an important source for this study, but the lists of provincial and other governmental officials enumerated at the end of each caliph's reign fill in many of the lacunae found in other sources.¹⁰ In some places Khalīfah's lists of governors of Baṣrah and their dates of appointment and dismissal differ greatly from Ṭabarī and other sources. However, he lived in Baṣrah most of his life and had better access to correct accounts of the city's history. Therefore, when the various sources do not agree on the chronology of governors and other officials of Baṣrah, Khalīfah is accepted as the more informed authority.

The next earliest complete historical texts available to modern scholarship are those of writers one or two generations removed from Madā'inī and ^ʿUṣfurī. The *Kitāb al-ma^ʿrifah wa-al-tārīkh* (The Book of Knowledge and History) of Fasawī is one of the lesser known works dating from the second half of the third Islamic century, during which period a number of exceptional historians flourished. Ya^ʿqūb ibn Sufyān al-Fasawī was born in Fasā, Persia in 219/834. He traveled widely throughout the Muslim world, particularly in Egypt and Syria, and died in Baṣrah in 277/890.¹¹ His other works are known only through later writers. Dhahabī (d. 748/1347) based some of his own history on Fasawī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* (The Great History) and fragments of his biographical writings survive in Bukhārī's *Tārīkh* (History). Fasawī's extant historical work has long been available to scholars only in manuscript form, but a recent edition has been published in Iraq.¹² This book belongs to the genre of

ṭabaqāt literature, in that it contains whole sections of narrative history, followed by longer biographical descriptions detailing the lives of eminent personalities of each generation. It is the material preserved in the biographies which makes Fasawī worthy of our attention, since much of the chronological history can be found in more extensive writings.¹³

One of the most important historians of the 3rd/9th century is Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), who was in a position to preserve much of Madā'inī's historical writings, since he was the latter's student. Balādhurī's usefulness as a source for ʿAbbāsīd history lies not so much in his *Futūḥ al-bulḏān* (Conquests of the Countries),¹⁴ but in his *Ansāb al-ashrāf* (Genealogies of the Notables).¹⁵ The *Ansāb al-ashrāf* is a huge work arranged somewhat like *ṭabaqāt*, in that it progresses through generations of renowned Arab clans beginning with the family of the Prophet. The section on the ʿAbbāsīds is particularly valuable because it contains some information not found in other sources, some of which is derived from the lost works of Madā'inī. The sections concerning distinguished personalities of other major families are also useful, since the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs drew a number of provincial officials from their ranks. Although Balādhurī is considered to be generally reliable as an historical source, he does not always give the original texts in full as has been believed, but tended rather to have made numerous abridgements which, however, were still faithful to the original.¹⁶

Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897) represents a different historical tradition than most of the other early ʿAbbāsīd historians. He was an ʿAlid who grew up in Armenia and later was an official of the

Tāhirids in Khurāsān.¹⁷ Although he rarely mentions his sources, Ya^cqūbī's *Tārīkh*¹⁸ is valuable as a check on other historical traditions and provides useful information about conditions in the northern and eastern parts of the ^cAbbāsīd Empire. To a lesser extent, his geographical work, *Kitāb al-bulḍān* (The Book of the Countries)¹⁹ is informative on topographical and financial aspects of some of the provinces. A generally good picture of early ^cAbbāsīd Armenia can be realized when Ya^cqūbī's *Tārīkh* is compared with and complemented by the work of Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī.²⁰

If sheer volume alone were enough to rank the early Arab historians, then Abū Ja^cfar al-Ṭabarī (225-311/839-923) would clearly tower above most of his competitors. The value of his monolithic *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* (History of the Apostles and the Kings)²¹ cannot be underestimated, since it contains an almost unmanageable amount of material set in a roughly annalist framework. Through Ṭabarī's *History*, many of the lost books by earlier historians have been preserved, albeit in rather fragmentary condition. Among his sources were the *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa-al-riddah* (The Book of the Conquests and the Apostasy) by Sayf ibn ^cUmar;²² al-Nawfalī's *Kitāb al-akhbār* (Book of Notices);²³ several works by al-Haytham ibn ^cAdī, *Kitāb al-dawlah* (Book of the Dynasty), *Kitāb wulāt al-kūfah* (Book of the Governors of Kūfah), and *Kitāb ʿummāl al-shuraṭ li-umara' al-ʿIrāq* (Book of the Police Chiefs for the Governors of Iraq);²⁴ Ibn Shabbah's *Akhbār ahl al-Baṣrah* (Information Concerning the People of Baṣrah);²⁵ and the *Tārīkh Baghdād* (History of Baghdad) by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr.²⁶ Because the work is a compilation from many sources, its usefulness is somewhat diminished by the author's

habit of inserting every available version of a particular event into the body of the narrative, thus disrupting its chronological continuity. This work does contain some information about provincial officials that is helpful, but such notices are very spotty or incomplete. Lists of governors, *qāḍīs* and members of the bureaucracy are found at the end of each year up to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but occur only occasionally thereafter. Important events in the provinces are given much attention, particularly revolts and insurrections, if they have a direct bearing on the stability of the central government. Despite these limitations, reliance is placed on Ṭabarī to provide the basic chronological narrative of the four provinces chosen for this study. Other sources are referred to as needed to fill in the lacunae which do occur in Ṭabarī's work.²⁷

As mentioned above, city and provincial histories by local writers supplement the general chronologies and sometimes provide us with information possibly considered too trivial for inclusion by the universal historians. Some of these local histories may not have been available to Ṭabarī and other authors, as most of them are either not extant today or are found only in scattered fragments. It is doubtful that they held much interest outside their immediate areas and, therefore, were not circulated widely. For the province of Iraq a number of city histories have been more or less preserved. Ibn Shabbah's work on Baṣrah was utilized by Ṭabarī, as was the *History of Baghdad* by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (see above). Another work on Baṣrah was written by al-Sājī, *Tārīkh al-Baṣrah* (History of Baṣrah), but only fragments were preserved by Yāqūt.²⁸ Kūfah was the subject of two later historians, but even

their works have not come down to us in their entirety. Ibn al-Najjār's *Tārīkh al-Kūfah* (History of Kūfah) was a source for Yāqūt in his biographical dictionary.²⁹ A section of al-^cAlawī's *Faḍl al-Kūfah* (Merit of Kūfah) is preserved in a late 5th/11th-century manuscript in Damascus, but has not been edited.³⁰ The *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ* (History of Wāsiṭ) of Baḥshal al-Wāsiṭī is mostly a biographical dictionary of scholars of Wāsiṭ, but does contain some interesting information of the early ^cAbbāsīd period, since the author used Wahb ibn Baqīyah (155-239/772-853) as one of his sources.³¹

There are no known local Arab histories for Armenia, but three exist for Jibāl: Abū al-Faḍl al-Hamadhānī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Hamadhāniyyīn* (Classes of the People of Hamadan), utilized by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī;³² and the *Kitāb dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān* (Remembrance of News of Iṣbahān) of Abū Nu^caym,³³ both biographical works rather than actual narrative histories. al-Qummī's *Tārīkh Qumm*, of which a section is extant in a Persian translation made in 805/1402, is only marginally helpful since Qumm was not a provincial capital.³⁴ Khurāsān received somewhat better treatment from early writers, the history of the province as a whole having been recorded by al-Salāmī in two works: *Tārīkh Khurāsān* (History of Khurāsān) and *Tārīkh wulāt Khurāsān* (History of the Governors of Khurāsān), neither of which has been fortunate enough to survive to the present day.³⁵ The city of Harāt was the subject of Ibn Yāsīn al-Ḥaddād's *Tārīkh Harāt*, which is preserved in a few scattered fragments,³⁶ but the history of Marw was recorded by no less than three authors. Aḥmad ibn Sayyār,³⁷ al-Sanjī³⁸ and Ibn Ma^cdān³⁹ each wrote a *Tārīkh Mawr* (History of Marw), but all exist only in fragments. The centuries took a toll on

these early works, especially in the East, where the Mongol devastation turned countless libraries into ashes. Because the local histories would not have had a wide circulation due to limited interest, the chances of their transmission west of Syria were very slim. Most of their partial remains have been preserved mainly by later Syrian compilers of history.

Later historians built upon various combinations of the works mentioned above. Most of these relatively more recent histories have found their way into modern editions and are therefore available to the scholar.⁴⁰ The earliest recorded sources are the most desirable from the modern researcher's view, but so little remains of them that only where they can definitely be identified as making up sections of later compilations can they be put to use as authentic contemporary or nearly contemporary sources. Some of these contemporary writers were members of the state bureaucracy and, as such, had access to the central governmental archives. Even some of the later historians exercised this privilege and thus preserved some of the otherwise lost ^cAbbāsīd records.⁴¹ Some idea of the financial system in the provinces of the Empire can be grasped by utilizing the several works on taxes called *Kitāb al-kharāj*.⁴² Although these works basically provide a theoretical overview of the tax system, some specific information about provincial revenues is occasionally given. The administrative practices exercised in the ^cAbbāsīd bureaucracy are recorded in books on specific officials or protocol. These are helpful in eliciting information concerning the lines of communication between Baghdad and the provincial capitals. Among this genre are Jahshiyārī's *Kitāb al-ʿuzarāʾ wa-al-kuttāb* mentioned above and the *Rusūm*

dar al-khilāfah (Ceremonies of the Caliphal Palace) by Hilāl al-Ṣābī',⁴³

both of which date from a later period, thus causing some doubt as to the relevance of reported practice of the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries with that of the early ^CAbbāsīd period.

It is evident from the above that there is a more-than-ample amount of raw material available for a serious study of ^CAbbāsīd provincial history. However, other types of historical evidence may be of considerable use. Papyrus has been ruled out, at least as far as the eastern parts of the Empire are concerned. The same holds true for epigraphic evidence, in that very little remains from this period east of Syria.⁴⁴ However, another type of historical evidence is extant in abundant quantities, especially for the period and provinces covered in this study.

B. Numismatic Sources

Of the hundreds of thousands of Islamic coins which have been preserved to the present day in museums, libraries and private collections, a large percentage are ^CAbbāsīd from those parts of the Empire east of Syria. Silver dirhams predominate, but gold dinars and copper *fulūs* also exist in large numbers. The technical aspects of ^CAbbāsīd provincial coinage and mint distribution will be dealt with elsewhere.⁴⁵ It is to the importance of coins as historical evidence that we will now turn our attention.

Utilized with the textual sources, numismatic evidence can either corroborate, disprove or supplement the written record. Very many ^CAbbāsīd coins, silver and copper in particular, were struck with the names of provincial governors, city prefects or other officials. Dirhams always show the place of mintage and the date; *fulūs* often have

either one or both. Therefore, those specimens with the most value as historical evidence are ones with the governor's (or other official's) name, the mint and the date. Since the coins in question are undoubtedly contemporary evidence; whereas, the textual sources are not, the information provided by numismatic material takes precedence. Thus, numismatic evidence is corroborative when the name of a governor—mentioned in Ṭabarī, for example—as having been appointed to a particular province in a specific year, is found on coins from one or more of the mints of that province and with the matching date. If any one of these three criteria—name, mint or date—is not in agreement, then it is assumed that the author of the written record received and transmitted faulty information. The numismatic evidence is most valuable where it can supplement the textual sources and eliminate lacunae in the chronology of provincial governors. A good example of this is at the end of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign, where Ṭabarī merely lists the governors of the major cities and provinces without giving the dates of their tenure in office.⁴⁶ A few names had been mentioned earlier in the ongoing narrative of Hārūn's caliphate, but the majority are only known from the list of names. A careful study of the coins of this period elucidates a number of these names, allowing for a more complete record of the length of each governor's tenure. During the reigns of Amīn and Ma'mūn, when mention of provincial officials in the texts becomes even less frequent, more reliance is placed on the available numismatic source material.⁴⁷

Other than the three important items of information found on coins (name, mint, date), other aspects of their design are helpful. These take the form of words, letters, dots, stars and other symbols and pat-

terns of annulets, or small circles, on one or the other side of the coin. Indeed, changes in the patterns of annulets on Umayyad dirhams of Baṣrah, Kūfah and Wāsiṭ have been shown to coincide with the appointment and dismissal of the governors in Iraq.⁴⁸ Indications are that the same does not generally hold true for dirhams struck during the early ʿAbbāsīd period.⁴⁹ Meaningful explanations for the various words, letters and symbols on ʿAbbāsīd coins are more difficult to arrive at, but some of these seem to indicate provincial officials' names, perhaps of those individuals connected with mint operations. A detailed discussion of the problems presented by these different markings can be found in the section dealing with provincial coinage.

The source material for a study of ʿAbbāsīd provincial administration appears to be substantial. No contemporary written evidence survives, except where specific official correspondence and financial records have been preserved in the literary sources. In lieu of archives must be substituted numismatic evidence, which is the only extant historical record for the eastern section of the Empire remaining to us from that period. Used side by side, the textual and numismatic sources provide sufficient evidence to enable several hypotheses to be formulated. At first, the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs trusted the most important provinces to members of their own family, but finding their relatives becoming a threat to their position, they reduced them to minor posts or eliminated them altogether. Governorships on the frontiers, Armenia and Khurāsān in particular, were, more often than not, placed in the hands of military leaders whose primary function was to guard the borders of the Empire against foreign invaders and to control the large non-Muslim

populations in their territories. Eventually, many provincial posts, including that of governor, were given to *mawālī*, who were trusted by the caliph much more than either his own family or members of the powerful Arab tribes because they were bound to no one but the caliph himself. In most cases, the caliph kept a close watch on provincial affairs and a governor who attempted to exercise an independent course of action was usually branded a rebel and dealt with accordingly. This was true until the end of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign, after which the semi-autonomous representative of the caliph in a large amalgamation of territories became an hereditary ruler of sorts. During this period of 86/83 years, the makeup of provincial administration and bureaucracy did not remain static. The system of government in the various regions of the caliphate was slowly evolving, sometimes changed by attempts to meet day-to-day exigencies, more often to provide for the needs and expectations of the central government. In Part One of the following study the chronological history of each of the four provinces under consideration is dealt with in detail. Particular attention is given to the familial or ethnic background of the governors, as well as important events in those territories which affected local and central governmental policies. Part Two examines in detail the roles of the more important provincial officials: the governor, the heads of tax collection, police, post and military affairs, and the system of provincial coinage during this period.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹ See map on following page.

² Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 6 v. (Cairo, 1934-1963). For a remarkable introduction to the usefulness and range of Arabic papyri, see Grohmann's *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952). Some Syrian papyri of the ^cAbbāsīd period are discussed in Nabia Abbott's "Arabic Papyri of the Reign of Ga^cfar al-Mutawakkil ^cala-llah (A.H. 232-47/A.D. 847-61)," *ZDMG* 92 (1938), pp. 88-135.

³ One such instance is recorded by Qudāmah ibn Ja^cfar, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. M.J. de Goeje in *BGA* VI (Leiden, 1889), pp. 236-237, in which the archives in Baghdad were destroyed by fire in 197/812-813 during the civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn.

⁴ Frede Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), p. 9. Lengthy discussions about the sources for ^cAbbāsīd history are found in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (London, 1962), pp. 46-58; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS* I (Leiden, 1967), pp. 309-360; Farouk Omar, *The ^cAbbāsīd Caliphate 132/750-170/786* (Baghdad, 1969), pp. 12-54.

⁵ *GAS* I, p. 314.

⁶ *GAS* I, p. 310.

⁷ It is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Irshād* V, p. 315, as having been preserved in a book by Abū Sa^cīd al-Sukkārī (212-175/827-888).

⁸ Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, *Shaykh al-ikhbārīyīn—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī* (Najaf, 1975).

⁹ A contemporary of the latter part of Madā'inī's life, Muḥammad ibn ^cAlī ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī (fl. first half of 3rd/9th century), utilized his historical writings in his own lengthy work, *Kitāb al-futūḥ* (Book of the Conquests), ed. Haydarabad (1968-1975), 8 v. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī brings together a number of other important early authors, along with Madā'inī, in describing the overthrow of the Umayyads by the ^cAbbāsīd *da'wah* and the problems of administering the frontier, particularly Armenia, in the face of the hostile Turkic peoples on the northern borders of the Empire. Cf. *GAL* SI, p. 220; *GAS* I, p. 329; M.A. Shāban, "Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī," *EI*², Vol. III, p. 723; Z.V. Togan, "Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī," *IC* 44 (1970), pp. 249-252; A.N. Kurat, "Abū Muḥammad ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī'nin *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*'u," *AUDTCE* 7 (2949), pp. 255-282.

¹⁰ Cf. S. Zakkar's article in *EI*² III, pp. 838-839. The edition used in this present study is the second recension by Akram al-^cUmārī (Baghdad, 1977).

¹¹GAS I, p. 319.

¹²Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı, Revan Köşk 1554 (Cat. No. 5852; *IAM* 819 *tārīkh*) is Vol. 2 and covers the years 129-241/746-855; Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 2391 is Vol. 3. This writer has only seen Vol. 1 of the recent Iraqi edition, but was told the work is complete in three volumes. Cf. GAL I, p. 112 and Claude Cahen, "Les Chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Égypte et la Mésopotamie de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *REI* 10 (1936), p. 336.

¹³Fasawī's contemporary, Abū Muḥammad ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), specialized in a different sort of literary history placed under the general heading of *adab* literature, wherein much historical factual evidence is retold in anecdotal fashion. His *Kitāb al-maʿārif* (Book of Knowledge), ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850), and Tharwat Ukashah (Cairo, 1960) contains some valuable information, but his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (Well-Springs of Information), part. ed. G. Brockelmann, 4 vols. (1900-1908); complete edition in 4 vols. (Cairo, 1925-1930), has characteristics of both narrative history and *adab* literature. Cf. G. Lecomte, "Ibn Qutayba," *EI*² III, pp. 844-847.

¹⁴*Liber Expugnationis Regionum*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1863-1866); [trans. P.K. Hitti and F.C. Murgotten], *The Origins of the Islamic State* (N.Y., 1916, 1924).

¹⁵It is unfortunate that this great source of early Islamic history has not been completely edited and published. Only those sections on the Prophet, the Alids, and the Umayyads have come to print. Thus, those parts dealing with the Abbasid family and Abbasid officials, who were numbered among other tribes or clans, must be consulted in the manuscript copy. For quite some time the only complete manuscript was believed to be that located in Istanbul: Reisülküttap Mustafa Aşir Efendi (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), 597 and 598. However, two incomplete sets of the work by different scribes (together they constitute the entire contents of the Istanbul manuscript) have been located in Rabat, Morocco: al-Khazānah al-Malakīyah, Nos. 2518 and 6914. Because the Istanbul manuscript is older (1123/1711) than that of Rabat (1209/1794) and because it was more readily available to this writer, it is the one referred to for purposes of this study. The manuscript itself is conceived on a very large scale and is presently bound into two volumes of 598 and 634 folios, respectively, each page of which contains 37 lines written in a clear hand. The edited sections, which have been arbitrarily numbered and which are not particularly germane to this study are: Vol. 1 (Cairo, 1959); Vols. 2 and 3 (Beirut, 1974, 1977); Vols. 4a, 4b and 5 (Jerusalem, 1971, 1938, 1936). It should be noted that the Cairo and Beirut editions are numbered consecutively, while the Jerusalem volumes follow a different system. If continued, the Beirut edition will overlap the Jerusalem volumes.

¹⁶Cf. C.H. Becker and Franz Rosenthal, "al-Balādhurī," *EI*² I, pp.

971-972; GAS I, pp. 320-321.

¹⁷C. Brockelmann, "al-Ya^ckūbī," *EI*¹ IV, pp. 1152-1153.

¹⁸*Ibn-Wādhīh qui dicitur al-Ja^cqubī*, *Historiae*, ed. M.T. Houtsma, 2 Vols. (Leiden, 1883); and (Beirut, 1970), 2 Vols.

¹⁹*Kitāb al-boldān auctore Ahmed ibn abī Ja^ckūb ibn Wādhīh al-Kātib al-Ja^ckūbī*, eds. M.J. de Goeje et al., *BGA VII* (Leiden, 1892).

²⁰See Footnote 8.

²¹*Annales quod scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 15 Vols. (Leiden, 1879-1901); *Tārīkh al-Tabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 10 Vols. (Cairo, 1960-1967).

²²Sayf ibn ^cUmar al-Asadī (Usaydī) al-Tamīmī (died during reign of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd). GAS I, pp. 311-312; GAL SI, p. 213. Very little is known of his life, but a conflicting view of the dates of his active literary period is found in Fikret Işılta'n's article, "Seyf b. Ömer," *İslām Ansiklopedisi* 10, pp. 531-532, where he is placed as living in Baghdad from 180/796-797 until about 200/815-816. See also "Saif b. ^cUmar in *EI*¹ IV, p. 73.

²³Abū al-Ḥasan ^cAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Nawfalī (died early 3rd/9th century). GAS I, p. 312. Ṭabarī found large fragments of his work (see Index).

²⁴Abū ^cAbd al-Rahmān al-Haytham ibn ^cAdī al-Tā'i (born about 120/738 in Kufah; died at Fam al-Silḥ about 206-209/821-824). He was also a source for Ya^cqubī and Mas^cūdī, among other historians. Cf. Charles Pellat, "al-Haytham ibn ^cAdī," *EI*² III, p. 328.

²⁵Abū Zayd ^cUmar ibn Shabbah (Zayd) ibn ^cAbīdah (^cUbaydah) ibn Rayṭah al-Nūmayrī (173-264/789-877). Other writings of his were utilized by Abu Faraj al-Isbāḥānī in his *Kitāb al-aghānī*. Cf. GAL SI, p. 209; GAS I, pp. 345-346.

²⁶Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (204-280/819-820-893). A small part of his book is extant, covering a section of Ma'mun's reign. GAL I, p. 144; SI, pp. 210, 236; GAS I, pp. 348-349, 688. Cf. F. Rosenthal's article in *EI*¹ III, pp. 692-693.

²⁷A number of later historians provide some information not found in Ṭabarī. Among the most useful are al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942). *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb* (Book of the Wazirs and Secretaries) [Full references to the available published editions of this and the following works are found in the Bibliography and need not be reiterated here.]. al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawāhir* (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels) and *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf* (Book of Advice and Review); the *Kitāb al-uyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq* (Book of the Well-Springs and the Gardens Concerning the True News) by

an anonymous 11th-century North African; and Miskawayh, *Tajārīb al-umam* (The Trials of Nations).

²⁸ Abū Yahyā Zakarīyā' ibn Yahyā ibn ^CAbd al-Rahmān al-Baṣrī al-Sājī (220-307/835-920). GAS I, pp. 349-350; Yāqut, *al-Mu^Cjam al-bulḍān* I, p. 905; II, pp. 141, 650.

²⁹ Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn Ja^Cfar ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār (303-402/915-1011). GAS I, p. 350; Yāqut, *Irshād* I, p. 410; III, pp. 69-70; IV, p. 245; V, p. 113; VI, p. 467.

³⁰ Abū ^CAbd Allāh Muhammad ibn ^CAlī ibn al-Hasan ibn ^CAbd al-Rahmān al-Kūfī al-^CAlawī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 445/1053). GAS I, pp. 350-351. Ms. Maktabat al-Ẓahirīyah, *maj.* 93, folios 282a-307b, dated 474/1081.

³¹ Abū al-Hasan Aslam ibn Sahl ibn Aslam Bahshal al-Wāṣitī (d. about 290/903). GAS I, p. 349. Cf. F. Rosenthal, "Bahshal," *EI*² I, p. 949.

³² Abū al-Faḍl Ṣalīh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī al-Simsār (303-384/915-994). GAS I, p. 352; al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* II, p. 286; V, pp. 446-447; X, p. 340.

³³ Abū Nu^Caym Aḥmad ibn ^CAbd Allāh al-Isbahānī (d. 430/1039), ed. Sven Dederling, 2 Vols. (Leiden, 1934). Cf. J. Pedersen, "Abū Nu^Caym al-Isfahānī," *EI*² I, pp. 142-143.

³⁴ Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Qummī (d. 406/1-15). GAL I, p. 130; GAS I, pp. 352-353. *Tārīkh-i Qumm*, ed. Sayyad Jalāl al-Dīn Tihirānī (Teheran, 1934-1935). Cf. Ann K.S. Lambton, "An Account of the Tārīkhi Qumm," *BSOAS* 12 (1948), pp. 586-596.

³⁵ Abū ^CAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Salāmī (fl. 350/961). GAS I, p. 352; Yāqut, *Irshād* VI, pp. 293-294; Yāfi^Cī, *Mir^Cāt al-janān* II, p. 6.

³⁶ Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yāsīn al-Harawī al-Haddād (d. 334/946). GAS I, p. 351. Ibn Hajar al-^CAsqalānī, *Iṣābah* III, pp. 414, 553, 782; *Lisān al-Arab* VI, p. 316.

³⁷ Abū al-Hasan Aḥmad ibn Sayyār ibn Ayyūb al-Marwazī (198-268/814-881). GAS I, p. 351. Yāqut, *al-Mu^Cjam al-bulḍān* I, pp. 695-696; Ibn Hajar al-^CAsqalānī, *Iṣābah* I, p. 125.

³⁸ Abū al-Rajā' Muḥammad ibn Hamdawayh al-Sanjī al-Hūraqānī (d. 306/918). GAS I, p. 351. Ibn Hajar al-^CAsqalānī, *Iṣābah* I, p. 125.

³⁹ Abū al-^CAbbās Aḥmad ibn Sa^Cīd ibn Aḥmad ibn Ma^Cdān (291-375/904-986). GAS I, p. 352. Parts of his book, also known as *Marāwizah*, are preserved in Ibn Makulā, *Ikmal* IV, pp. 51, 131.

⁴⁰ One glaring exception to this statement is Muḥammad ibn Salāmah al-Qudā'i, whose *Uyūn al-ma^Carif wa-funūn akhbār al-khalā'if* (The Sources

of Knowledge and the Arts of News Concerning the Caliphs), which still remains in manuscript form at Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı 5744 (Cat. A-2898), 120 folios, dated 748/1347.

⁴¹A large number of the official caliphal letters have been gathered together from the widely scattered literature by Ahmad Zakī Safwat and published as *Jamharat rasā'il al-^cArab fī ^cuṣūr al-^carabīyah al-zāhirah*, 4 Vols. (Cairo, 1356/1937). Vol. 3 covers the early Abbāsid period to 218/833.

⁴²The earliest of these is by Abū Yūsuf Ya^cqūb ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 182/798), who was the chief *qāḍī* of Baghdad. 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1382/1962-1963); excerpts translated into English in A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam* II (Leiden, 1965), pp. 70-76; and III (Leiden, 1967). Next is the work by Yahya ibn Adam al-Qurashī (d. 203/818), ed. Ahmad Muḥammad Shākīr (Cairo, 1927; new ed. 1964-1965); translated by A.B. Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam* I (Leiden, 1967). The third is by Qudamah ibn Ja^cfar (d. 337/948); Part VII of his work translated and with an important Introduction by A.B. Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam* II. Parts V and VI, in BGA VI, deal with geography and provide some statistics on provincial revenues. See Footnote 2.

⁴³Hilāl al-Ṣabī', al-Muḥassin (d. 448/1056-1057), ed. Mikhā'il ^cAwwād (Baghdad, 1383/1964); translated (Beirut, 2977).

⁴⁴RCEA I.

⁴⁵See Chapter VIII.

⁴⁶Tab 739-740/8, 346-347; IA VI, pp. 214-215. References to Ṭabarī will always be given as the preceding. Only Vol. 3 of the Leiden edition is referred to in this study and, therefore, only the page number is provided. This is followed by a slash, after which comes reference to the Cairo (Ibrāhīm) edition, shown as volume number (either 7 or 8), comma, and then page.

⁴⁷References to pertinent numismatic material, either published or unpublished, are cited in the course of the study as the need to enhance the textual evidence occurs.

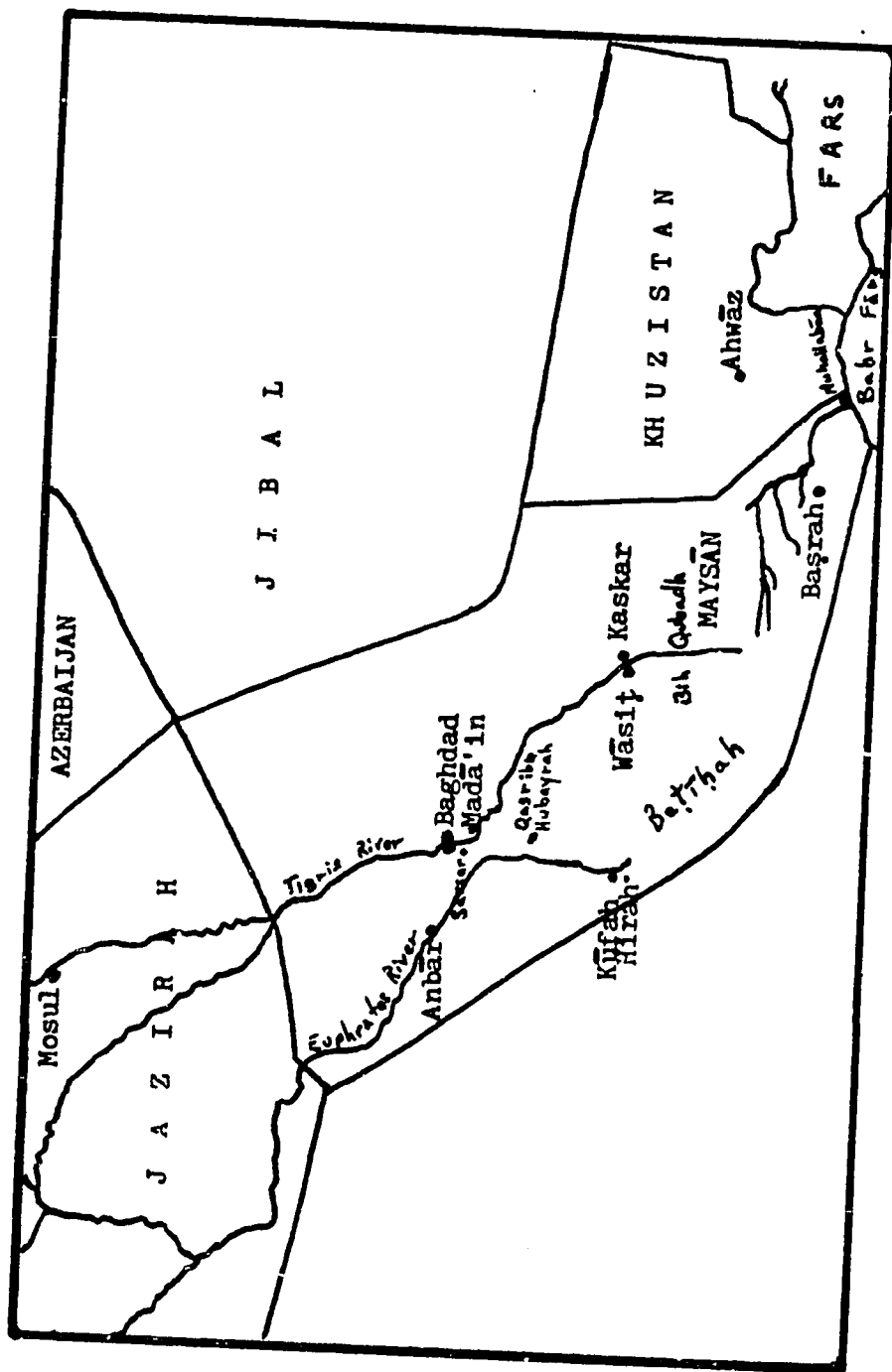
⁴⁸M.L. Bates and A.S. DeShazo, "The Umayyad Governors of al-^cIrāq and the Changing Annulet Patterns on their Dirhams," *NC* series 7, 14 (1974), pp. 110-118.

⁴⁹See Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER II

PART I: THE PROVINCE OF IRAQ

Iraq¹ is unique among the many provinces of the ʿAbbāsīd Empire for several reasons. From the overthrow of the Umayyads in 132/749 to the demise of the ʿAbbāsīds in 656/1258 at the hands of Hūlāgū, Iraq remained the administrative center of the Empire. To remain in the former Umayyad capital of Damascus would have been anathema to the ʿAbbāsīds. Alternatively, had the new ruling family decided to conduct the affairs of the Empire from Khurāsān, the source of their military power, they may have found their western territories rapidly becoming alienated from the eastern half of their realm. Iraq seemed to be the area from which the entire Empire could be most effectively administered. It was ideally situated between the eastern and western halves of the Caliphate and had a strong economy based on the rich agricultural production of its land, which generated large amounts of tax revenues.² Politically, Iraq was a more favorable area for the location of the ʿAbbāsīd capital than was Syria. In the Iraqi cities, particularly in Kūfah, the careful preparations for revolution had been secretly nurtured during the last years of Umayyad power.³ Once the gains of the revolution were consolidated and the new régime established on the throne, Iraq became the natural choice as the central ʿAbbāsīd province and the seat of the imperial capital: eventually Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdad).⁴ Besides the prestige of containing the capital city under the ʿAbbāsīds, Iraq differed from other provinces in having two governorates, Baṣrah and Kūfah,⁵ each with its own



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sphere of influence.

From the time they were founded during the initial Arab conquests of Sassanid Mesopotamia, the two cities remained important centers, first of military concentration, later of commercial and cultural interests. The two governorates were consolidated together when the Umayyads attempted to control the unruly populace of Iraq by appointing a single, strong military governor for the entire province.⁶ Later, in a few instances, two governors were assigned to Iraq: one for Kūfah and Wāsiṭ, the other for Baṣrah. After the successful ʿAbbāsīd revolution, Saffāḥ appointed a governor to each city and its district. This arrangement remained in effect with a practically unbroken succession of governors until the turmoil of the civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn (195-198/811-813) resulted in the latter placing the entire province under a single governor.

A. The Baṣrah Governorate

The governor of Baṣrah was responsible for administering not only the city and its environs, but many scattered districts and areas far from his provincial capital. The list of appurtenances attached to Baṣrah varied greatly during the early ʿAbbāsīd period and depended on which territories the caliph placed in the hands of his ʿāmil. During Saffāḥ's time the governorate was an immense agglomeration of geographical entities. Thus, in 133/751 and 134/752, to Baṣrah were attached the Kuwar Dijlah (Tigris districts), Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, the ʿarḍ (cultivated land around Baṣrah) and Mihrijānqadhaq.⁷ Late in Maṣmūn's caliphate (156/772), the governor of Baṣrah was given charge of the districts, colonies and countryside of the city itself, but those are not enumer-

ated.⁸ Presumably, they were very much the same places given under Saffāh, but in the very next year (157/773) Baḥrayn is mentioned as having had over it a separate governor.⁹ During the period in which Maḥdī was caliph (158-169/775-785, other duties and territories came under the jurisdiction of Baṣrah's governor, in addition to the Kuwar Dijlah, Baḥrayn and ʿUmān. In 160/776 these included control of the urban militia (*aḥdāth*) and isolated prefectures (*ʿamāl al-mufradah*) of Baṣrah, as well as Ahwāz and Fārs.¹⁰ The two last-named places would seem unlikely to be parts of the Baṣrah territories, since they were themselves provinces. A clarification of this point is presented under the lists for 163/779 and 164/780 when, in addition to the other districts named for 160, are given the *furaḍ* (the coastal ports), the districts (*kuwar*) of Ahwāz and of Fārs.¹¹ This indicates that not all of the territory of both Ahwāz and Fārs came under the control of Baṣrah, but only those ports (*furaḍ*) and the coastal areas of Ahwāz and Fārs on the northern shores of the Baḥr Fārs (Persian Gulf) were attached to this governorate. Then the size of the Baṣrah administrative unit was greatly contracted during 165-167/781-783, as the *ʿamil* was given only the city and its immediate area. The Kuwar Dijlah, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, Kaskar, the districts of Ahwāz and Fārs, Kirmān, and the isolated prefectures of Baṣrah were all removed from the control of the governor of Baṣrah and put under a separate official, whose seat of government is not indicated.¹² This situation did not last very long, however, for in 170/786, the dependencies of Baṣrah are listed as Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, Yamāmah, the ports (*furaḍ*), and the districts of Ahwāz and Fārs.¹³ No enumeration of lands attached to Baṣrah is given again until the reign of Ma'mūn when, in 206/821,

the governor of Baṣrah is also given control of the Kuwar Dijlah, Yemen and Baḥrayn.¹⁴

The districts controlled by the governor of Baṣrah were altered on occasion as a matter of necessity. By increasing or decreasing the extent of territory under the governor's control, the caliph had a means of limiting the power of his subordinate. The *ʿamīl* was often required to leave his capital and undertake military expeditions against elements hostile to the ʿAbbāsīd régime. Sometimes the caliph would charge him with carrying out a municipal building project or leading the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) for a particular year. From the beginning of ʿAbbāsīd rule in Iraq, Baṣrah was a very important part of the Empire's central domains. As with most of the important governmental posts, it was entrusted early to a member of the ruling family, but not before passing through the hands of two prominent tribal leaders.

1. The first ʿAbbāsīd governor of Baṣrah was Sufyān ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Yazīd al-Muḥallabī (Azd-Yaman), who was appointed by the ʿAbbāsīd revolutionary leader, Abū Salamah on behalf of Saffāḥ in 132/749-750.¹⁵ Prior to his appointment, Sufyān had been a rather controversial figure in Baṣrah, having incurred the animosity of Salm ibn Qutaybah, the last Umayyad governor. About Ṣafar 132 (September-October 749), Abū Salamah urged Sufyān to take control of Baṣrah for the movement. The latter hesitated until a number of the leading Arab tribes in the city began to align themselves, with some supporting the Umayyads and others supporting the ʿAbbāsīds. Then Sufyān attempted to use force to oust Salm, but he was defeated and Salm remained in Baṣrah until he received news of the death of Yazīd ibn ʿUmar ibn Hubayrah, the last Umayyad governor of all

Iraq, who had been murdered at the instigation of Abū Muslim after he had surrendered Wāsiṭ.¹⁶ ... Saḥm then withdraw and Abū Salamah appointed Sufyān to govern Baṣrah in the name of the ʿAbbāsīd family.¹⁷ Before the end of the year, however, Saffāḥ replaced him,¹⁸ although he had given Sufyān the estate of Muhallabān in Baṣrah.¹⁹

2. Abū Jaʿfar ʿUmar ibn Ḥaṣṣ ibn ʿUthmān ibn Qabīṣah ibn Abū Ṣafrāh Hazārmard al-ʿAtikī (ʿAzd-Yaman) (132-133/750-751).²⁰ No details concerning his first tenure have come to light.

3. Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (133-137/751-755).²¹ Sulaymān was an effective administrator, and the records show he took his position seriously. Among his various achievements while in office were the enlargement of the governor's residence, building a dam and the Nahr Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī canal, improving the water supply of the city, and draining a nearby swamp.²² Many Umayyads remained in Baṣrah after their fall from power and Sulaymān allowed them to live there in peace and security.²³ In 134/751-752, Sulaymān sent the great revolutionary general, Khāzim ibn Khuzaymah, to put down a revolt by the Kharijites in ʿUmān.²⁴ Sulaymān had the privilege of leading the *hajj* in 135/753,²⁵ and before Saffāḥ died (136/754), he granted him an estate called ʿAbbāsān.²⁶ When Sulaymān's brother, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī, the governor of Syria, revolted against Manṣūr's succession, met defeat, and fled to him in Baṣrah (Jumādā II 137/November 754), Sulaymān lost favor with the caliph.²⁷ He was dismissed that same year (137),²⁸ but not before he attempted to reconcile his brother with the caliph by writing the latter, asking for a pardon on ʿAbd Allāh's behalf.²⁹ Sulaymān was never to occupy an important post again. He died in 141/758 or 142/759, probably

at his estate of ʿAbbāsān.³⁰

4. Sufyān ibn Muʿāwiyah (Azd-Yaman); second appointment (137-138/755-756). He arrived in Baṣrah in Ramaḍān 137 (March 755).³¹ If Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī did not depart Baṣrah until some two or three months later,³² the situation in that city must have been rather unsettled during this period. According to Ṭabarī, who records these events under the year 139/756-757, Manṣūr had ordered Sufyān to have Sulaymān and ʿIsā ibn ʿAlī bring their brother, ʿAbd Allāh, to the caliph, who promptly imprisoned him.³³ Sufyān again did not exercise his position as governor for long, but was dismissed in 138/756.³⁴

5. ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣ (Azd-Yaman); second appointment (138-140/756-758). Other than saying he was appointed and dismissed in these years, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ gives no details.³⁵

6. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī (Yaman)(140-[141?]/758-[759?]).³⁶ Numismatic evidence confirms that he was in office at least part of 140/758.³⁷

7. Sawwār ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qudāmah ibn ʿAnzah al-Tamīmī al-ʿAnbarī (Mudār)(141-142/759-760). Sawwār was already the prestigious *qāḍī* of Baṣrah, who also controlled the *ṣalāt* and *maʿūnah* (the ordinary police) when a slave revolt broke out in the city. He was given control of the *shurṭah* and had the rebellious slaves put to death.³⁸ Manṣūr united the posts of *qāḍī* and *ʿamil* in the person of Sawwār, perhaps hoping that such a concentration of power might enable him to control unruly elements more effectively, but this arrangement lasted only for a short time. He was dismissed from the governorship in 142/760, but continued

in the position of chief *qādī* of Baṣrah, with the exception of one short interval, until his death in 156/773.³⁹

8. ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣ (Azd-Yaman); third appointment (142-143/760-761).⁴⁰ He was soon replaced and then appointed governor of Sind in 143/761.⁴¹ He was later made governor of Ifrīqīyah in 151/768 and was killed during a major Kharijite revolt in 153/770.⁴²

9. Abū Jamal ʿIsā ibn ʿAmr al-Saksakī (Yaman)(143/761). Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt only mentions that this person was appointed governor by Manṣūr and dismissed in the same year.⁴³

10. Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (143/760).⁴⁴ He appointed a temporary successor (Khalīfah) and left after only a short period in office.⁴⁵ Ismāʿīl died in 147/764.⁴⁶ A *faḥṣ* struck in Baṣrah, dated 143, has his name inscribed on it, thus supporting the textual evidence.⁴⁷

11. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (143-[144]/760-[761]). Left in control of Baṣrah by Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, when the latter departed his office, Muḥammad was dismissed by the caliph after a relatively short term as governor.⁴⁸

12. Sufyān ibn Muʿāwiyah (Azd-Yaman); third appointment (144-145/761-762).⁴⁹ While he was governor this time, it seems that Sufyān went to meet with Manṣūr (at Anbār ?) and left his son, al-Mughīrah ibn Sufyān, in charge of affairs at Baṣrah.⁵⁰ Shortly after Sufyān returned, the revolt of Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh broke out (1 Ramaḍān 145/November 23, 762).⁵¹ Ibrāhīm was the brother of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakīyah, who had raised a dangerous ʿAlid revolt against ʿAbbāsīd

rule in Medina, beginning on 1 Rajab (September 25) of the same year. Muḥammad had been easily overcome and killed, but Ibrāhīm's revolt lasted much longer and covered more territory than that of his brother.⁵² Sufyān was either intimidated by Ibrāhīm's support in Baṣrah or was sympathetic to his cause, since he offered no resistance to the 'Alid takeover of the city. Sufyān's chief of police (*ṣāhib al-shurṭah*), Jābir ibn Ḥammād, was warned of the impending crisis, but the governor was unmoved and did nothing.⁵³ Ibrāhīm took a number of his followers and came to the governor's mansion (*dār al-imārah*), wherein Sufyān waited, and they entered without a struggle.⁵⁴ Ṭabarī says that Sufyān was in his house with a number of his son's family when Ibrāhīm arrived, accompanied by his confederates. Sufyān asked for safe conduct for everyone in the building, which was granted by Ibrāhīm. But when they were let in, Ibrāhīm released all except Sufyān, who was then imprisoned in the citadel.⁵⁵ Ibrāhīm remained in Baṣrah from Ramaḍān to Shawwāl 145 (November–December 762), meanwhile sending forces into the neighboring provinces.⁵⁶ Eventually, his revolt covered Ahwāz, Fārs, Wāsiṭ, Madā'in, Kaskar and the Sawād, as well as Baṣrah.⁵⁷ In Shawwāl (December), Ibrāhīm left Baṣrah for Kūfah and put his son Ḥasan in charge of the city.⁵⁸ Ḥasan's control of Baṣrah lasted only until news of his father's death on 25 Dhū al-Qa'dah 145 (February 14, 763) reached him, at which time Sulaymān ibn Mujāhid (or Mujālid), a *mawlā* of the Banū Du-bay'ah, wrested the city away from him.⁵⁹

Sulaymān was charged by Manṣūr to take control of Baṣrah and it seems that he was able to accomplish this task to some extent between Dhū al-Qa'dah and Dhū al-Ḥijjah 145 (January–February 763).⁶⁰ Meanwhile,

Numaylah ibn Murrah had released Sufyān from prison and he was granted safe conduct to Manṣūr's army. However, the caliph never trusted him again after learning of Sufyān's part in Ibrāhīm's revolt.⁶¹ He is not mentioned in the sources after these events.

13. Ja^cfar ibn Sulaymān ibn ^cAlī al-^cAbbāsī (145-146/763). Manṣūr appointed him sometime in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 145 (February-March 763) and sent him a diploma of office.⁶² At practically the same time, Manṣūr also issued a diploma of appointment to Salm ibn Qutaybah to govern Baṣrah. Ja^cfar maintained that his writ had been issued before Salm's and that he had entered the city as an *amīr*.⁶³ He only exercised his authority for about one month, however, before giving way to Salm.⁶⁴

14. Salm ibn Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī (Mudar) (145-146/763-764).⁶⁵ He was a strong military leader who had been sent from Rayy to help contain and extinguish Ibrāhīm's revolt. Once in office, Salm tended to exercise moderate control over the populace and did not carry out Manṣūr's order to demolish the houses and destroy the palm trees of those who had joined in the rebellion. For this he was summarily dismissed by the caliph after serving only a few months.⁶⁶ He must have returned to Rayy soon after, since we find him there in 147/764.⁶⁷ He later died in Rayy in 149/766.⁶⁸

15. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn ^cAlī (^cAbbāsī); second appointment. (146-147/763-764). He seems to have been governor for only a short time and then was replaced by Manṣūr's nephew.⁶⁹

16. Abū Ja^cfar Muḥammad ibn Abū al-^cAbbās al-Saffāḥ al-^cAbbāsī (147/764).⁷⁰ The people of Baṣrah nicknamed him Abū al-Dibs (Father of

Honey), possibly out of affection for him, but he does not seem to have wished to remain at his duties. He asked to resign from the position and Manṣūr consented. No sooner had Muḥammad returned to Baghdad than he died under mysterious circumstances.⁷¹

17. ʿUqbah ibn Salm ibn Nāfiʿ al-Hunāʾī (Azd-Yaman) (147-151/764-768).⁷² When Muḥammad ibn Abū Jaʿfar resigned, he appointed ʿUqbah as his successor, with Manṣūr's approval.⁷³ In 151/768, when the caliph sent him on a military expedition to Baḥrayn, ʿUqbah left his son Nāfiʿ to administer Baṣrah in his absence. When ʿUqbah returned, he was dismissed, but the sources give no reason for Manṣūr's decision.⁷⁴

18. Jābir ibn Tawbah al-Kilābī (Mudar) (151-152/768-769). Other than stating that Jābir was appointed in 151/768 and dismissed in 152/769, details of his period in office are not mentioned by the Arab historians.⁷⁵

19. Yazīd ibn al-Manṣūr al-Himyarī al-ʿAbbāsī (152-153/769-770). There is some dispute among the sources as to how long he was in office. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt says he was appointed in 152/769, but lasted only one month before being dismissed.⁷⁶ Whereas, Ṭabarī agrees with the date of his appointment, he shows him still in office in 153/770, and then quotes Wāqidī as saying that Yazīd was Manṣūr's *wālī* of the Yemen in that year (153).⁷⁷ He later held posts in the Sawād of Kūfah and in Yemen a second time, and died either in 165/781-782 or 167/783-784.⁷⁸

20. ʿIsā ibn ʿAmr (Yaman); second appointment (152/769). According to Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, he was appointed governor of Baṣrah for a second time after Yazīd ibn al-Manṣūr had served only one month.⁷⁹ It

is likely that his position was that of acting governor for a short period, perhaps while Yazīd was absent from the city. He may also have filled the office during the transition period between Yazīd and the next governor.

21. ^cAbd al-Malik ibn Ayyūb ibn Zūbyān al-Numayrī (Qays-Muḍar)(153-155/770-772). The year of his appointment is uncertain. Ṭabarī gives 154/771 as his first year as governor, but the chronology of the preceding official causes some doubt.⁸⁰ Khalīfah's statement that he was appointed in 15.. is due to a gap in the manuscript.⁸¹ All are agreed that he was dismissed in 155/772.⁸²

22(a). Haytham ibn Mu^cāwiyah al-^cAtikī al-Azdī (Yaman)(155-156/772-773). During the period of 155 to 158/772 to 775, the responsibilities and powers of governor were shared among several people. Haytham was appointed in 155/772 and joined in office with Sa^cīd ibn Da^clij. In that same year, Manṣūr ordered Haytham to construct walls around Baṣrah and a moat outside of the walls, all to be financed with the public revenues.⁸³ It is interesting that Manṣūr would appoint representatives of the two main Arab tribal groups to share the governmental powers in Baṣrah. Haytham was from the Azd, a clan of the Yaman, while Sa^cīd was of the Tamīm, a Muḍar clan; and these two were historically hostile to one another.⁸⁴ Perhaps Manṣūr hoped to lessen the tribal factionalism in Baṣrah by allowing members of the major groups to share in the government of the city. In 156/773, Haytham captured ^cAmr ibn Shaddād, who had been Ibrāhīm ibn ^cAbd Allāh's ^camil of Fārs, and had him crucified in Baṣrah.⁸⁵ He was dismissed later that same year and died in Baghdad. The caliph himself said the funeral prayers over him and had him buried

in the Banū Hāshim cemetery.⁸⁶

22(b). Sa^cīd ibn Da^clij al-Tamīmī (Mudār) (155-159/772-776). At first he shared his position with Haytham ibn Mc^cāwiyah until 156/773; then he was placed in charge of the *shurṭah*, *aḥḍāth* (urban militia), *jawālī* (tax collected from emigrants), and *ṣadaqāt* (alms) of Baṣrah.⁸⁷ When the chief *qāḍī* of the city, Sawwār ibn ^cAbd Allāh, died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 156 (November 773), Sa^cīd pronounced the funeral prayers over him.⁸⁸ He was appointed governor of Baḥrayn in 157/774 after Ja^cfar ibn Sulaymān did not go to take up the post. Sa^cīd himself did not go to Baḥrayn, but sent his son, Tamīm, to govern there.⁸⁹ He is still mentioned as having had control of the *aḥḍāth* in 158/775 and ^cUmārah ibn Ḥamzah ibn Muṣ^cab ibn al-Zubayr was head of the *diwān al-kharāj* (tax office) of Baṣrah at the same time. Ṭabarī also mentions a severe plague as having occurred this year.⁹⁰ Although it appears that Sa^cīd had control of the *aḥḍāth* taken from him some time during 158, he still functioned in some official capacity until being dismissed by Maḥdī in 159/776.⁹¹ He died during the caliphate of Maḥdī while governor of Sijistan.⁹² A fragment of ^cUmar ibn Shabbah's *Akḥbār al-Baṣrah*, preserved by Ibn Khallikān, mentions that Sa^cīd was in correspondence with the contemporary *littérateur* and poet of Baghdad, Abū Dulāmah, while he was in charge of the *aḥḍāth* of Baṣrah and the latter addressed some verses to him.⁹³

22(c) Sawwār ibn ^cAbd Allāh (Mudār); second appointment (155-156/772-773). He was the chief *qāḍī* of Baṣrah for a number of years.⁹⁴ When Haytham was dismissed in 156/773, Sawwār was also placed in charge of

the *ṣalāt*,⁹⁵ the offices of *qāḍī* and *ṣahib al-ṣalāt* having been joined together by Mansūr. He died at the end of Dhū al-Hijjah 156 (November 773) and was succeeded by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan.⁹⁶

22(d). ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Mālīk al-ʿAnbarī (Tamīm/Muḍar) (156-159/773-776). When Sawwār died in 156/773, ʿUbayd Allāh was appointed by Mansūr to control the *ṣalāt*.⁹⁷ He was made chief *qāḍī* in 157/774 and both posts were joined together under his direction.⁹⁸ ʿUbayd Allāh continued in these offices until 159/776, but then was relieved of his *ṣalāt* responsibilities, yet continued as chief *qāḍī* until 166/782-783.⁹⁹ He died in 168/784-785.¹⁰⁰

23. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ayyūb (Qays/Muḍar); second appointment (159-160/776-777). The offices of *qāḍī*, *aḥḍāth* and *ṣalāt* were given to ʿAbd al-Malik when he was appointed in 159/776.¹⁰¹ Maḥdī wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik admonishing him to do justice for any citizen of Baṣrah who complained of wrongdoing at the hands of Saʿīd ibn Daʿlīj. He was then relieved of his charge over the *aḥḍāth*, which was given to ʿUmārah ibn Ḥamzah who, in turn, appointed a local Baṣran by the name of al-Miswar ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī (cousin of Salm ibn Qutaybah) to the post.¹⁰² ʿAbd al-Malik was given free control of the *ṣalāt*, but ʿUmārah was then placed over the neighboring districts of the Tigris (Kuwar Dijlah), Ahwāz and Fārs.¹⁰³ In 160/777, Maḥdī wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik, informing him of his dismissal and his successor's appointment as governor.¹⁰⁴

24. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān (ʿAbbāsī); third appointment (160-164/777-781). When he became governor of Baṣrah for a third time, Muḥammad was given wide-ranging controls in his territory. Besides being made

wālī and having charge of the *aḥdāth*, he had the isolated prefectures of the city (*al-māl al-mufradah*), the Kuwar Dijlah, Baḥrayn ^ʿUmān, Ahwāz and Fārs under his jurisdiction.¹⁰⁵ To these were added control of the ports (*furaḍ*) in 163/780.¹⁰⁶ Maḥdī ordered the Friday mosque of Baṣrah to be enlarged and, in 161/778, Muḥammad was put in charge of that project.¹⁰⁷ Maḥdī also had houses added onto the mosque at this time.¹⁰⁸ Of his tenure as governor, very little is related of Muḥammad's activities. He did provide for religious endowments in Baṣrah and, at one time, was confronted with a rebellion of his slaves.¹⁰⁹ In 164/781 he was dismissed from all his offices.¹¹⁰

25. Ṣāliḥ ibn Dā'ūd (*mawlā*) (164-165/781-782). There is some confusion in the sources as to his identity. Ṭabarī refers to him as Ṣāliḥ ibn Dā'ūd ibn ^ʿAlī in one place¹¹¹ and as Ṣāliḥ ibn Dā'ūd ibn Ṭuhmān in another.¹¹² Pellat follows this and refers to Ibn Ḥazm's *Jamharah*.¹¹³ However, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ states that Ṣāliḥ was a *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym.¹¹⁴ When Maḥdī appointed him over the *ṣalāt*, *aḥdāth* and *furaḍ* of Baṣrah, as well as the Kuwar Dijlah, Ahwāz, Fārs, Baḥrayn and ^ʿUmān, he sent along ^ʿAṣim ibn Mūsā al-Khurāsānī the *kātib* to take charge of the *kharāj* of those territories.¹¹⁵ He also ordered Ṣāliḥ to take Ḥammād ibn Mūsā and ^ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ^ʿUmar, the successive *kātib*s of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, and their deputies and show that they had acted in bad faith while in office.¹¹⁶ For some unknown reason, Ṣāliḥ departed from his territory and left his own *mawlā*, Abū Muqātil, in charge of governmental affairs.¹¹⁷ He was dismissed from his position in 165/782 and nothing more is heard of him.¹¹⁸

26, Abū Ḥātim Rūḥ ibn Ḥātim ibn Qabiṣah ibn al-Muhallab (Azd-Yaman)

(165-167/782-784). Rūḥ held a number of posts under both Maṣṣūr and Maḥdī. The latter appointed him *ʿāmil* of the *aḥḍāth* and *ṣalāt* of Baṣrah in 165/782, but entrusted the Kuwar Dijlah, Ahwāz, Fārs, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, Kaskar and Kirmān to his (Maḥdī's) *mawlā* by the name of Maʿalī.¹¹⁹ This arrangement continued through 166/783, a year which found Rūḥ's son Dāʿūd becoming a Zindīq (i.e., one professing heretical views similar to the earlier Manicheans). Dāʿūd's conversion did not endear him to his father, who reproached him and ordered his punishment.¹²⁰ A severe plague spread through Baṣrah and Baghdad in 167/784, but Rūḥ was probably gone by this time.¹²¹ A careful examination of the sources shows that, when the death of the powerful rival for the caliphal succession, ʿIsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad, occurred in Kūfah (26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 167/July 20, 784), Rūḥ was already governor of that city.¹²² He was later sent as governor of Ifrīqīyah, died in Qayrawān on 19 Ramaḍān 174 (February 3, 791), and was buried in the tomb of his brother Yazīd, the governor there before him.¹²³

27. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān (ʿAbbāsī); fourth appointment (167-173/784-789). Muḥammad's last and longest governorship of Baṣrah began in 167/784, when he was given control of both the *aḥḍāth* and *ṣalāt*.¹²⁴ He was in charge of the *hajj* of 169/786, accompanied by Caliph Hādī.¹²⁵ In 169-170/786-787, the caliph sent him to suppress the Kharajite revolt in the Hijaz led by Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī.¹²⁶ After the death of Hādī (15 Rabīʿ I 170/September 14, 786), Hārūn al-Rashīd confirmed him in his position, which by then had included the office of *ʿāmil* over Baṣrah and its ports (Fārs, Ahwāz, Yamānah, Baḥrayn and ʿUmān).¹²⁷ Muḥammad remained governor of Baṣrah and its territories until his death in that city at the age of

51 ended his long career in the service of his family (28 Jumādā II 173/ November 22, 789).¹²⁸ That he also had found the time and means to enrich himself is apparent from the report that, after his demise, Hārūn sent a group of men down to Baṣrah to cart away all the wealth Muḥammad had amassed while in office, which amounted to 60 million dirhams!¹²⁹

28. Sulaymān ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī (173-174/789-790). Upon the death of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, Hārūn appointed Sulaymān to the governorship, presumably in Rajab 173 (December 789).¹³⁰ He was a son of Caliph Manṣūr and Fāṭimah bint Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ṭamīmī,¹³¹ and must have been a good choice as far as the Banū Tamīm of Baṣrah were concerned, as his family connections could have been a major influence in Baṣrah/Baghdad relations. Sulaymān did not remain long in this post, however, as he was transferred to the Jazirah in 174/790, and we find him leading the annual summer expedition (*ṣāʿifah*) against the Byzantines in that year.¹³²

29. ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī (174-[175?]/790-[791?]). Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt states that he was governor of Baṣrah from the end of 174 (April-May 791), but if it is true that his predecessor was leading the summer raids that year, it would mean that he had vacated the office by Ṣafar or Rabīʿ I (June-July 790).¹³³ Early in 174 (mid-790) seems to be the more reasonable date for the beginning of ʿĪsā's governorate. Nevertheless, he departed from the city after a short while in office and, in late 174 or early 175 (April-June 791), deputized al-Muhallab ibn al-Mughīrah to handle affairs in his absence.¹³⁴ This must not have met with the approval of Hārūn because Khuzaymah ibn

Khāzim appeared in the city and led the people in the Friday prayers and claimed a diploma of appointment to the governorship.¹³⁵ Shortly afterward, ʿĪsā was officially dismissed, probably during 175/791-792.¹³⁶ ʿĪsā was in Baṣrah long enough to accomplish a task set before him by Hārūn, which was to incorporate the official gubernatorial residence into the mosque complex. It was said that this mansion of ʿĪsā's stood near the spot where the first baths in the city were located.¹³⁷

30. Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī (ʿAbbāsī); second appointment (175-176/791-792 ?). The sources do not mention any dates for his tenure, nor are any details given concerning his actions as governor.¹³⁸ Khalīfah merely says that he succeeded ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar and was, in turn, followed by his son, Sulaymān.¹³⁹

31. Sulaymān ibn Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (176-177/792-793 ?). Only Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt states that he was a governor of Baṣrah during this period, placing him some time between 174/790 and 178/794, the most likely date being 177/793.¹⁴⁰

32. Abū Faḍl Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr al-Aṣghar al-Kurdiyyah al-ʿAbbāsī ([177?]-178/[793?]-794). Not to be confused with his older brother of the same name (Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Akbār), this Jaʿfar was appointed most likely in 177/793 by Hārūn and was dismissed in 178/794.¹⁴¹ No other details of his tenure are known, but he died in 186/802.¹⁴²

33. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (178/794-795). This old veteran of the ʿAbbāsīd revolution was appointed governor of Baṣrah in 178/794 after having served his family in many capacities.¹⁴³

He left the city in Shawwāl 178 (January 795) and appointed Mālīk ibn ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī to take his place. However, the latter was replaced at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 178 (March 795).¹⁴⁴

34. Ishāq ibn Sulaymān (al-Ḥashimī) ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (178-179/795-796). After being dismissed as governor of Egypt in 178/794-795, Ishāq was appointed to the post vacated by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad late in that same year (March 795).¹⁴⁵ His tenure lasted only for one year or less, since he was removed from the Baṣrah office after Ramaḍān of 179 (December 795).¹⁴⁶

35. Sulaymān ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī (179/795). Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt states only that he was appointed governor in 179 and it is possible that he confused this name with that of the governor in 173-174/789-790.¹⁴⁷

36. ʿIsā ibn Jaʿfar (ʿAbbāsī); second appointment; dates uncertain, but possibly 179-180/795-796. According to Khalīfah, ʿIsā was made governor for a second time after Sulaymān ibn Jaʿfar was dismissed. He goes on to say that, once again, ʿIsā departed from Baṣrah, leaving al-Muhallab ibn al-Mughīrah in charge. But then ʿIsā dismissed Muhallab and appointed Muḥammad ibn Zuhayr al-Gḥamidī as his deputy. Eventually—and Khalīfah gives no date—ʿIsā himself was removed from his position by Hārūn.¹⁴⁸ This must have been in 180/796 because he was appointed to Khurāsān in that year, and later to Tabaristan where he died at Daskarah in 192/808 attempting to rendezvous with Hārūn.¹⁴⁹

37. al-Ḥasan (al-Ḥusayn ?) ibn Jamīl, *mawlā* of Hārūn al-Rashīd (180-191/796-807 ?). The date for the beginning of his tenure as gov-

ernor is uncertain as is his first name. Ṭabarī calls him Ḥasan and places his governorship between that of ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar and Ishāq ibn ʿĪsā.¹⁵⁰ Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ also places his appointment between those two men, but gives Ḥusayn as his name.¹⁵¹ In 191/807 he was placed over the *ṣalāt* and *kharāj* of Egypt when al-Khuṣayb ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd was dismissed.¹⁵² This must have followed his removal from Baṣrah. Other available evidence demonstrates the possibility that Ḥasan may have been moving from province to province during this period (180-191) gathering information for the caliph. He may have been only an acting governor when he was present in Baṣrah, or deputies may have been appointed in his absence whose names are not extant. In 182/798, Ḥasan was acting governor of Mosul for Harthamah ibn Aʿyan.¹⁵³ He may also be the Ḥasan or Ḥusayn ibn al-Janāḥ, described as a *mawlā* or Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, whose name is found on *ḥuṣūl* of Jayy (a precinct of Iṣbahān), dated 181 and 191.¹⁵⁴ Another possible identification for this person is Ḥusayn, the *khāʾim* (servant) of Ḥārūn, whom the caliph sent in 189/805 from Rayy to Tabaristan with a pardon for Shirwīn Abū Qarn.¹⁵⁵ Exactly who administered the governorate of Baṣrah during this period is highly speculative and any of the above-named persons could have been the caliph's representative there. The sources provide scant commentary on events in Baṣrah during the reign of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, let alone the precise chronology of that city's governors.

38. Ishāq ibn ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī ([191?]-193/[807?]-809). As the last governor of Baṣrah for Ḥārūn, Ishāq was probably appointed to the post in 191/807 and remained in that position until after the death of the caliph in 3 Jumādā II 193 (March 24, 809).¹⁵⁶

He then appointed ^cAbd al-Mālik al-Anṣārī, an *imām* of the mosque in Baṣrah, as acting governor for him and went to Baghdad. There he spoke in the mosque, predicting the troubles that lay ahead if Amīn were allowed to assume the caliphate.¹⁵⁷ The new ruler lost no time in dismissing Ishāq from his position as governor.¹⁵⁸

39. al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-^cAbbāsī (193-198/809-813). Undoubtedly appointed soon after Amīn became caliph, Manṣūr remained governor until after the death of that ruler on 25 Muḥarram 198 (September 25, 813). Before taking over the administration of Baṣrah, he had held several other high positions on behalf of Hārūn al-Rashīd, including leadership of the *hajj* in 185/801 and governor of Palestine.¹⁵⁹ He is first mentioned as being governor of Baṣrah in 195/810-811, but was most certainly in office before that.¹⁶⁰ Balādhurī says Manṣūr was both governor of Baṣrah and in charge of the *māl al-nās* (peoples' property or treasury) for Amīn during the civil war between the caliph and Ma'mūn.¹⁶¹ In Rajab 196 (May 812), Ma'mūn's general, Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, was moving down through Iraq, taking one city after another. In Baṣrah a certain ^cAwn ibn Jamhān al-Sa^cdī began to urge everyone there to go over to Ma'mūn. By this time, Ṭāhir had control of all the area around Kūfah and Wāsiṭ. Realizing Amīn's end was near, Manṣūr wrote to Ṭāhir, declaring his allegiance to Ma'mūn and forsaking the doomed caliph.¹⁶² Because he submitted to the inevitable, Manṣūr was confirmed in his position by Ṭāhir.¹⁶³ Manṣūr continued in office until after the death of Amīn, at which time Ma'mūn began to reorganize the provinces of the Empire into larger units.

40. al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl ibn Zadhānfarūkh (Iranian)(198-202/813-818).

From 196/812, Ḥasan had been in charge of the *kharrāj* for all the territories formerly allotted to Amīn. In 198/813, Ma'mūn appointed Ḥasan governor over all the provinces conquered by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, including Fārs, Ahwāz, Jibal, the Hijaz, Yemen, Kūfah and Baṣrah.¹⁶⁴ Ṭāhir remained in Baghdad awaiting Ḥasan's arrival from Khurāsān, while the latter appointed ʿAlī ibn Abū Saʿīd, called Dhū al-ʿAlamayn (he of the two standards), to head the *diwān al-kharrāj* of Iraq.¹⁶⁵ At this point Ṭāhir displayed some of the independence which characterized his later career in the service of Ma'mūn: he refused to turn over the tax revenues to ʿAlī until the army had been paid. This he did out of the provincial coffers and then submitted the remainder to Ḥasan's *ṣāhib al-kharrāj*.¹⁶⁶ Ḥasan arrived in Baghdad in 199/814 and it was from that city that he administered the several provinces entrusted to him.¹⁶⁷ The sources make no mention of any officials appointed to the individual cities and districts, according to former practice, and it may have been due in part to the centralization of provincial authority that the dangerous ʿAlid revolt of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā and Abū Sarāyā broke out in Kūfah that year.¹⁶⁸ In late 199 (July-August 815), Ḥasan ordered ʿAlī ibn Abū Saʿīd to drive back the ʿAlids, who by this time had taken a number of towns in Iraq. Early in 200 (August-September 815), another ʿAlid—and supporter of Abū Sarāyā—had taken control of Baṣrah where he found many followers. This individual was Zayd ibn Mūsā, a descendent of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, given the unusual appellation of Zayd al-Nār (Zayd of fire) because he had burnt down so many houses in Baṣrah, most of which had belonged to ʿAbbāsids.¹⁶⁹ ʿAlī ibn Abū Saʿīd attacked the city and managed to capture Zayd ibn Mūsā, although he was later pardoned by Ma'mūn.¹⁷⁰

The caliph, who had remained in Marw after the defeat and death of Amīn, called Ḥasan to come to him with an explanation of why events had gotten out of hand in Iraq. Ḥasan, sensing his own position to be rather precarious, sent ʿAlī on his behalf. Ma'mūn was not pleased and ordered one of ʿAlī's hands to be cut off, declaring Ḥasan would lose his head should he not present himself in Marw.¹⁷¹ Harthamah ibn Aʿyan brought Ḥasan back to Khurāsān and it is presumed ʿAlī returned to his duties in Iraq. Perhaps he did remain in Khurāsān, for in 202/818 he was traveling towards Baghdad with the caliph and Faḍl ibn Sahl, brother of Ḥasan and close advisor to Ma'mūn. At Sarakhs, on 2 Shaʿbān 202 (February 13, 818), Faḍl was killed by the caliphal guard, probably at the instigation of Ma'mūn, and ʿAlī met the same fate shortly thereafter.¹⁷² It was expected that after his brother's death, Ḥasan would be appointed *wazīr*, but this did not come about. Ḥasan retired from active political life about this time and went to live on his estate at Fam al-Ṣiḥ, near Wāsiṭ, where he remained until he died on 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 236 (June 6, 851).¹⁷³

41. Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (ca. 201/816-817). Ya'qūbī states that Ismāʿīl was *ʿamil* of Baṣrah in 201 and was the only person who refused to wear a green robe as ordered by Ma'mūn after he made ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā his heir apparent. The caliph sent ʿIsā ibn Yazīd to take him into custody, but Ismāʿīl fled, only to be captured by ʿIsā and eventually taken to Marw. He was later imprisoned in Jurjan.¹⁷⁴ Abū Faraj al-Iṣbahānī relates an interesting story about Ismāʿīl, whom he calls Ibn Sulaymān in one place and Ibn Jaʿfar further along. He was *wālī* of Baṣrah, succeeding Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn,

when a certain Ibn Abū ʿUyaynah convinced Ṭāhir to dismiss Ismāʿīl because he disliked him. He finally complained enough about the various faults, real or imagined, of Ismāʿīl until Ṭāhir complied with his wishes and, given a handsome bribe, removed Ismāʿīl.¹⁷⁵ No other source mentions his serving in this capacity, but his death in 216/831 is given notice.¹⁷⁶

42. Yahyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (ancestry unknown)(ca. 203/818-819). The only reference to this person is from Ibn Saʿd, who states that he was the governor of Baṣrah in 203.¹⁷⁷

43. Abū al-Rāzī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd (ancestry unknown)(?-204/?-819-820). The solitary reference concerning Muḥammad in connection with Baṣrah is that he was succeeded in the office of governor there by Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Rashīd in 204/819-820.¹⁷⁸ He was later appointed to the Yemen in 212/827 and was killed there in 214/829.¹⁷⁹

44. Ṣāliḥ ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd al-ʿAbbāsī (204-?/820-?). Ṣāliḥ became governor in 204/820, but just how long he remained in this capacity is impossible to determine.¹⁸⁰ The last mention of him is that he led the *hajj* in 208/824.¹⁸¹ He may have still been in office when the long-lasting revolt of the Zott began (205/821).¹⁸² It may be that the next person was appointed solely for the purpose of conducting operations against the insurrectionists while Ṣāliḥ was left to handle normal governmental affairs.

45. ʿĪsā ibn Yazīd al-Jalūdhī (ancestry unknown)(205-206?/821-822?). ʿĪsā was one of Ma'mūn's foremost military commanders and was active in ʿAlī ibn Abū Saʿīd's forces during the ʿAlid revolt of 199-200.¹⁸³ He

was sent to the Yemen and Hijaz to find and destroy Abū Sarāyā's followers there and was made governor of Mecca in 200-201/816-817.¹⁸⁴ He returned to Baṣrah in 201, but Ḥasan sent him back to Mecca in 202/818, where he remained fighting the ʿAlids until 205/821.¹⁸⁵ In that year he was given command of the forces organized to war against the Zott, an enterprise which seemed to have given him little success.¹⁸⁶ He is later found as governor of Egypt from 212 to 214, after which time nothing more is heard of him.¹⁸⁷

46. Dā'ūd ibn Māsġūr (ancestry unknown) (206-?/821-822-?). Ma'mūn appointed Dā'ūd commander of the forces fighting the Zott and as *ʿāmil* of Baṣrah, the Kuwar Dijlah, Yamānah and Baḥrayn in 206/821-822.¹⁸⁸ This is the only mention made of him in the sources.

47. Ṭāhir ibn ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (ca. 212/827-828). Ibn Saʿd says only that he was governor of Baṣrah in Shawwāl 212 (January 828).¹⁸⁹

48. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbbād ibn ʿAbbād ibn Ḥabīb al-Muḥallabī (Azd-Yaman) (?-216/?-831). In 207/822 he is mentioned as being the chief or leader (*sayyid*) of the Baṣran populace at an earlier time.¹⁹⁰ We find that Ma'mūn appointed a Ghassān ibn ʿAbbād (his brother ?) to take Muḥammad's place as chief of naval operations in the Persian Gulf and made Muḥammad governor in an unspecified capacity.¹⁹¹ Perhaps he was placed over Baṣrah, which was in close proximity to the gulf ports, because he is said to have been *amīr* of Baṣrah when he died in 216/831.¹⁹²

After this the sources make no mention of any governors of Baṣrah until the mid-3rd/9th century. Indeed, from the period of the very dis-

ruptive civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn until the death of the latter in 218/833, the chronology of administration in Baṣrah can only be sketchily reconstructed. Ma'mūn introduced the practice of appointing major figures, other than the heir or heirs apparent, to control large blocs of territory, which included a number of provinces. Each of the regular administrative units undoubtedly continued to be placed in the hands of *ʿāmil*s and other officials, but little or no mention is made of those individuals, since the attention of the Arab historians was focused on the activities of the larger personalities such as Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn and Ḥasan ibn Sahl. It is unfortunate that Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, who provides much detailed information on provincial governors and other officials for the period just prior to his lifetime, failed to maintain that standard for events of his own era, and especially for his native city, Baṣrah. Even useful numismatic evidence, which might otherwise shed some light on gubernatorial chronology, is lacking, for the most part, after 200/815. Thus, the chronology of governors, as presented above, is as complete a record as can be assembled from the available sources.

B. The Kūfah Governorate

As was the case with Baṣrah, the provincial administration of Kūfah was not concerned merely with affairs of the city proper. Whereas, the governor of Baṣrah was often responsible for large areas bordering on the Baḥr Fārs (Persian Gulf) due to the commercial orientation of the city, the caliph's representative in Kūfah had an equally prestigious and often as difficult a territory to manage. This was the Sawād, the intensely rich agricultural land of lower Mesopotamia, which generated

large amounts of revenue for the treasury of the Empire. The area that comprised the governorate of Kūfah stretched from that city eastward along the northern edge of the Baṭīḥah (or marshes) to the region around Wāsiṭ and Kaskar, and formed a roughly triangular-shaped district with Madā'in and Sarsar as the northernmost limits. So closely linked were the government of Kūfah and the administration of the Sawād that, whenever the *ʿālim* of the city is mentioned in the medieval texts, he is usually said to be governor of "Kūfah and the Sawād," or of "Kūfah and her Sawād."¹⁹³ The other major cities of the governmental unit of Kūfah were assigned *ʿālims* to administer them, but they were usually subordinate to the governor of Kūfah itself.

Wāsiṭ, with its twin city of Kaskar, lost much of the importance it had as the Umayyad capital of Iraq. It remained an important political center during the early *ʿAbbāsīd* period and often figured in the military strategy of opposing forces in times of insurrection or civil war.¹⁹⁴ Madā'in, being even closer to Baghdad, played a similar role to that of Wāsiṭ. Generally the sources do mention the prefects assigned to these urban centers, but more attention is usually given to the activities of the governor of Kūfah.

It was in Kūfah during Rabī^c I 132 (October–November 749) that Abū al-*ʿAbbās* was proclaimed caliph by the revolutionary forces. Thus, the city, which had been the source of much political agitation under the Umayyad régime, became the first *ʿAbbāsīd* capital. It was to remain so for a short time only, as Abū al-*ʿAbbās* al-Saffāḥ and Abū Ja^cfar al-Manṣūr moved the court several times until Manṣūr built his famous round city of Madīnat al-Salām. The various locations of the capital have al-

ready been discussed above. Like Baṣrah and many of the other important governorships, the administration of Kūfah was put into the hands of an ʿAbbāsīd prince as the victors consolidated their gains over the Umayyads.

1. Dāʾūd ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (132/749-750). Although all the sources agree that Dāʾūd was the first ʿAbbāsīd governor of Kūfah, there are different versions of how this came about. Jahshiyārī relates that he had merely taken on the governorship of his own accord.¹⁹⁵ According to the anonymous writer of the *Nabdhah*, Dāʾūd bargained with Abū al-ʿAbbās for control of Kūfah in exchange for fighting Marwān at Ḥarrān.¹⁹⁶ There may be some truth to this, since Yaʿqūbī says that he was the first person appointed to a position by the new caliph.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Dāʾūd was transferred in the same year to the governorship of Mecca, Medina, the Yemen and, according to some writers, Yamānah.¹⁹⁸ In that capacity he also led the *hajj* for 132 (July-August 750).¹⁹⁹ He died in Medina shortly thereafter, on 1 Rabīʿ I 133 (October 7, 750).²⁰⁰

2. ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (132-147/750-764). Saffāh undoubtedly made a wise choice for one of the most important posts in the Empire when he appointed ʿĪsā governor of Kūfah and the Sawād in 132/750.²⁰¹ Not only was ʿĪsā a shrewd military commander, but he also had the distinction of being designated second heir to the caliphate after Abū Jaʿfar, an honor which later was to cause him grievous difficulties. Early in his career he was entrusted with various responsibilities in addition to the demands provincial government placed before him. During Saffāh's caliphate he was left to handle affairs in Kūfah and its terri-

tories. Other than the mention of ^ʿIsā being in Kūfah each of these years (132-136/750-754), the sources say that he led the *hajj* in 134.²⁰² Late in 136, while Abū Ja^ʿfar was on the pilgrimage, the caliph summoned ^ʿIsā to his capital at Anbār. He left Ṭalḥah ibn Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash^ʿath to act as governor in his absence and arrived in Anbār to find Saffāḥ dying. The caliph gave the treasury and court records over to ^ʿIsā for safekeeping, who delivered them to Abū Ja^ʿfar upon his return early in 137 (July 754).²⁰³ Meanwhile, upon the death of Saffāḥ, ^ʿIsā administered the oath of allegiance to the new caliph in his absence.

Through his various actions, ^ʿIsā ibn Mūsā presents a figure of the devoted representative of the caliph and his loyalty to his family and its status cannot have been called into question. Manṣūr had confirmed him in his position as governor and, for a number of years, very little mention is made of him, other than the fact that he was in Kūfah each of the years from 132 to 144/754 to 762.²⁰⁴ A certain al-Qa^ʿqā^ʿ ibn Ḍirār is noted as having been ^ʿIsā's *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* in 141/757-758.²⁰⁵ Again, in 143 (March 761), we find ^ʿIsā in charge of the *hajj*.²⁰⁶ The major event of ^ʿIsā's long tenure, and one in which he played a decisive role, was the ^ʿAlid revolt of 145/762-763 in Mecca and Baṣrah. As we have seen, Ibrāhīm ibn ^ʿAbd Allāh had taken control of Baṣrah and had sent his lieutenants out to wrest adjoining territories from ^ʿAbbāsīd hands. Meanwhile, ^ʿIsā had been sent to Medina to crush the revolt of Muḥammad ibn ^ʿAbd Allāh, Ibrāhīm's brother. After a successful engagement in which Muḥammad was killed, ^ʿIsā was hastily recalled to Iraq, as Ibrāhīm was advancing on Kūfah. The two forces met at Bākhmrā in Dhū al-Qa^ʿdah 145 (January 763) and Ibrāhīm was mortally wounded as his

forces were scattered.²⁰⁷ This major threat to the central ʿAbbāsīd province was thus narrowly averted and Maṣṣūr made haste to complete his new city of Madīnat al-Salām in order to avoid such potentially disastrous situations in the future.²⁰⁸

The relationship between Maṣṣūr and ʿIsā seems to have deteriorated after the suppression of the ʿAlid revolt. The issue was the succession to the caliphate. In 146/763, Maṣṣūr wrote to ʿIsā, stating his wish to make his son Muḥammad (the future Caliph Maḥdī) the first heir-apparent.²⁰⁹ When ʿIsā objected to this treatment, Maṣṣūr summarily dismissed him from his post in Kūfah (147/764).²¹⁰ He was never to hold an influential position again. Maḥdī, in turn, forced ʿIsā to renounce his rights of succession once again, this time in favor of his own son Mūsā, who was later to be Caliph Ḥādī. When ʿIsā died in Kūfah on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 167 (July 20, 784), Maḥdī was undoubtedly relieved that the threat to his son's succession had passed from the scene.²¹¹ His services on behalf of the family went unrecognized and unappreciated.

3. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (147-155/764-772). Ṭabarī reports that Maṣṣūr appointed Muḥammad governor of Kūfah in order to show disregard for ʿIsā ibn Mūsā, meaning that the caliph though little of ʿIsā's threat to his own son's succession.²¹² The result was not what Maṣṣūr expected because ʿIsā was able to put up a quiet but stiff resistance for many years. Nevertheless, Muḥammad was placed in full control of Kūfah and the Sawād in 147, and is mentioned as governor there for each year until 155.²¹³ During these years he is not listed as the leader for the *ḥajj* even once, but when Maṣṣūr led it in 152/769, Ṭabarī states that he was not informed whether or not Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān

joined the caliph's entourage or if ^cIsā ibn Mūsā or any other person of high rank from Kūfah went along.²¹⁴ The most notable event to occur in Kūfah during Muḥammad's administration was the building of its walls and moat in 155/772, the story of which provides a prime example of Manṣūr's astute and often harsh fiscal policies. The caliph first ordered the distribution of five dirhams to each of the city's inhabitants. Once this was done, Manṣūr knew the total number of people and then proceeded to exact 40 dirhams apiece from all of them. Thus, the cost of providing walls and a moat for Kūfah was borne by the populace instead of by the central government.²¹⁵ It is obvious from this episode that the caliph, and not the governor, determined major monetary policy, at least in a governorate close to the capital. Later that same year (155), Muḥammad was dismissed, reportedly for unjustly imprisoning certain of his enemies and for other indiscretions reported to Manṣūr by Muḥammad's *ṣāhib al-shurṭah*, al-Musāwir ibn Sawwār al-Jarmī.²¹⁶

4. ^cAmr ibn Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (Muḍar)(155-158/772-775). Appointed by Manṣūr in 155, he is mentioned as being in office during 156/773, but not in 157/774, although he must have been governor during that year also.²¹⁷ In 158/775, it was discovered that ^cAmr had allowed his brother, al-Musayyab, whom Manṣūr had dismissed as his *ṣāhib al-shurṭah*, to share in the government of Kūfah and the *kharāj* collection of the district. Musayyab was imprisoned, but it seems that ^cAmr escaped the caliph's retribution.²¹⁸ Although he is mentioned as governor in 158, he was probably dismissed by Maḥdī shortly after Manṣūr's death (6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/October 7, 775).²¹⁹

5. Ismā^cīl ibn Abū Ismā^cīl al-Thaqafī (*ṭawālā*)(158-159/775-776). As

a *mawlā* of the Banū Naṣr of Qays, he is the first one recorded to have been made governor of Kūfah.²²⁰ Ismāʿīl's appointment probably dates from very late in 158. He seems to have shared power with the *qāḍī* Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh al Nakhaʿī and with Thābit ibn Mūsā, who was in control of the *diwān al-kharāj*.²²¹ Another version recorded by Ṭabarī states that Sharīk was a special *qāḍī* of Kūfah (*ʿalā qaḍā' al-Kūfah khaṣṣah*) and a third tradition has him in control of both the offices of *qāḍī* and *ṣalāt*.²²² Ismāʿīl must therefore have been in charge of the *aḥdāth*, since it was from this position that he was dismissed in 159.²²³

6. Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ ibn ʿImrān ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath al-Kindī (Yaman)(159-165/776-781). According to some of Ṭabarī's sources, when Ismāʿīl was removed from office in 159, Ishāq was immediately appointed in his place on the advice of the *qāḍī* Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh. Ṭabarī also preserves a different tradition from ʿUmar ibn Shabbah: the governor of Kūfah became ʿIsā ibn Luqmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥatīb ibn al-Ḥarith al-Jumāḥī, who appointed his nephew, ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd ibn Luqmān as his *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*. At the same time, Sharīk was put in control of the *ṣalāt* as well as the *qāḍī*ship, while ʿIsā was over the *aḥdāth*. Then Sharīk was removed from "governmental responsibilities" and Ishāq was appointed *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*. ʿUmar goes on to say that Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (a later *qāḍī* of Kūfah) told him that Maḥdī had united the offices of *qāḍī* and *ṣalāt* for Sharīk and appointed Ishāq over the *shurṭah*. Later he appointed Ishāq over the *ṣalāt* and *aḥdāth* and eventually was made full governor of Kūfah.²²⁴ Ishāq made al-Nuʿmān ibn Jaʿfar al-Kindī his *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*, but when Nuʿmān died, he appointed his brother, Yazīd ibn Jaʿfar, to replace him.²²⁵ By the end of 159, at

least, Ishāq was in control of the *ṣalāt* and *aḥdāth* and he is mentioned in that capacity for every year thereafter through 163/779-780.²²⁶ If by 161/777-778, ʿIsā ibn Luqmān was still performing some function in the administration of Kūfah, it came to an end as he was transferred to Egypt.²²⁷ In the same year, Yazīd ibn Maṣṣūr al-Ḥimyarī was appointed governor of the agricultural district of Kūfah and, although he is not mentioned for any other year, he possibly remained in that position until either 165/781 or 167/783.²²⁸ The sources do not state when Ishāq was dismissed, but Ṭabarī lists a new governor, however, over the *ṣalāt* and *aḥdāth* only, for 164/780.²²⁹ According to numismatic evidence, Ishāq was still acting in some official capacity in Kūfah during 165/781.²³⁰

7. Ḥāshim ibn Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Khālīd (ancestry unknown) (165-[167]/781-[783]). Ṭabarī mentions that he was in charge of the *ṣalāt* and *aḥdāth* of Kūfah in 164/780, but the numismatic evidence introduced above precludes Ḥāshim's complete control of the governorate in that year.²³¹ He is also listed for the years 165 and 166, over the *ṣalāt* and *aḥdāth* only, and it is probable that his tenure extended into a portion of 167.²³²

8. Abū Ḥātim Rūḥ ibn Ḥātim ibn Qabīṣah al-Muḥallabī (Azd-Yaman) (167-169/783-785). Rūḥ was already governor of Kūfah when ʿIsā ibn Mūsā died there on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 167 (July 20, 784).²³³ He must have been appointed much earlier in the year, since his predecessor is not mentioned at all for 167. Maḥdī ordered him to conduct an audit of the district's finances and placed Rūḥ in charge of the *kharāj* of Kūfah, as well as other duties concerning the *ṣalāt* and *aḥdāth*.²³⁴ He was still in office when Maḥdī died (22 Muḥarram 169/August 4, 785), but was dismissed later

in the year by Hādī.²³⁵

9. Mūsā ibn ʿIsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī (169-170/785-786). Hādī appointed the son of his former rival for the succession to the governorship of Kūfah in 169 and included for his jurisdiction control of the *ṣalāt*, *aḥḍāth* and *ṣadaqāt* and over Lower Bih Qubādh.²³⁶ Mūsā was dismissed in 170 and went on the *hajj* with Hārūn al-Rashīd that year.²³⁷ Another tradition states that he was directed to suppress the revolt of the ʿAlid, Husayn ibn ʿAlī, in Medina during 170.²³⁸

At some time during the reign of Mahdī a certain Ḥafṣ ibn Ḥumayd was given a position in the government of Kūfah. His name is found on an undated *faṣl* issued under Mahdī with the title *ʿāmil al-Kūfah*, but a careful search of the sources has not shed light upon the identity of this person.²³⁹

10(a). Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (170-?/876-?). He is mentioned only by Ibn al-Athīr as being governor of Kūfah after Mūsā ibn ʿIsā and before, or perhaps at the same time, as his son, ʿUbayd Allāh.²⁴⁰

10(b). ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad (ʿAbbāsī)(ca. 170/786). He is listed as governor with or post-dating his father.²⁴¹

11. Yaʿqūb ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī (ca. 171-172/787-788). He is mentioned as second governor for Hārūn by Ṭabarī and third by Ibn al-Athīr.²⁴² Yaʿqub led the *hajj* in 172 (May 789).²⁴³ In the same year, Hārūn remitted to the people of the Sawwād the *ʿushr* (an agricultural tax), which, as said before, had been unjustly exacted from them.²⁴⁴

12. Mūsā ibn ʿĪsā (ʿAbbāsī); second appointment (ca. 173/789-790). Appointed for a second time after Yaʿqūb ibn Abū Jaʿfar,²⁴⁵ Mūsā was governor with chief authority (*ʿāmil al-sulṭān*) of Syria in 176/792 and was replaced that year because he handled an uprising ineffectively.²⁴⁶ His governorship there must have come between this and his third appointment.

13. al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā al-ʿAbbāsī (ca. 174/790-791). He is listed as governor on two separate occasions for Hārūn al-Rashīd, but no dates are given.²⁴⁷

14. Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ (Yaman); second appointment (ca. 175/791-792). The date of his tenure is unknown but, according to Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, he was in office for only three months between al-ʿAbbās ibn Mūsā ibn ʿĪsā (?) and Jaʿfar ibn Jaʿfar.²⁴⁸

15. Jaʿfar ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī (ca. 176/792-793). Balādhurī relates that he was the son of Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Akbar and that he was the governor of Baṣrah (erroneously substituting for Kūfah) several times during Hārūn's caliphate.²⁴⁹ Khalīfah maintains that he was appointed only once to be governor of Kūfah and that came after the second governorship of Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. However, it was said that he never arrived to take up his post and Manṣūr ibn ʿAṭā' al-Khurāsānī, a *mawlā* of the Banū Layth, was made governor in his place.²⁵⁰

16. Mūsā ibn ʿĪsā (ʿAbbāsī); third appointment (ca. 177-178/793-794). Replaced in 176/792-793 as *ʿāmil al-sulṭān* of Syria, Mūsā was definitely governor of Kūfah in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 177.²⁵¹ He must have left

some time in 178, since we find him as the governor of Armenia for the years 178 and 179.²⁵²

17. al-^cAbbās ibn ^cIsā (^cAbbāsī); second appointment (ca. 178-179/794-795). No precise dates for his second governorship can be determined from the sources, but it is possible that he was in Kūfah for the duration of Mūsā's tenure in Armenia.

18. Mūsā ibn ^cIsā (^cAbbāsī); fourth appointment (ca. 180-183/796-799). Mūsā led the *hajj* in both 180/796 and 182/798, but was most likely governor of Kūfah for the last time after leaving Armenia.²⁵³ However, Ṭabarī states that Hārūn appointed his son, Muḥammad al-Amīn, to govern the Two Iraqs—al-^cIrāqayn; i.e., Baṣrah and Kūfah—in 180.²⁵⁴ Mūsā's varied and extensive administrative career came to an end during this governorship when he died in 183.²⁵⁵

19. Ja^cfar ibn Ja^cfar (^cAbbāsī); second appointment (?). Ibn al-Athīr lists a Ja^cfar ibn Abū Ja^cfar as the last governor under Hārūn al-Rashīd.²⁵⁶ If a person named Ja^cfar was in office after Mūsā ibn ^cIsā, it may have been the Ja^cfar ibn Ja^cfar who also governed Kūfah about 176/792-793. Neither son of Manṣūr named Ja^cfar was alive in 193/809, Ja^cfar al-Akbar having died in 150/767 and Ja^cfar al-Aṣghar in 186/802.²⁵⁷

20. al-^cAbbās ibn Mūsā al-Hādī al-^cAbbāsī ([193]-198/[809]-814). Although he is first mentioned as Amīn's governor in 195/810-811, it is probable that he was the only administrator of Kūfah for that caliph.²⁵⁸ In Rajab 196 (April 812), Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn sent one of his officers, Aḥmad ibn al-Muhallab, to Kūfah to win ^cAbbās over to Ma'mūn's side in the civil war. Aḥmad was successful and Ṭāhir confirmed ^cAbbās in his

position after receiving the oath of allegiance on behalf of Ma'mūn.²⁵⁹ Not long after this Amīn appointed al-Faḍl ibn al-^cAbbās ibn Mūsā ibn ^cIsā governor of Kūfah and sent him to regain the city for him. Ṭāhir sent forces against Faḍl, who was defeated and forced to flee, after holding the city for only a very short period.²⁶⁰ At the same time, Ṭāhir was consolidating his hold on all of Iraq south of Baghdad. He captured Madā'in from Amīn's general, ^cImrān ibn Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, and then set up his headquarters at Sarsar.²⁶¹ Next, he sent a force under the command of al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām and Dā'ūd ibn Mūsā to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, which prompted Amīn to make a final effort to defend the approaches to Baghdad from the south.²⁶² During this time Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim al-Tamīmī had been the prefect in Wāsiṭ for Amīn, at least from 195/810-811. He was replaced by al-Sindī ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥarashī and al-Haytham ibn Sha^cbah, who were unable to check Ṭāhir's advance. They eventually capitulated, joined forces with their former adversaries, and were sent to fortify Fam al-Ṣilḥ.²⁶³ By the end of 196/813, most of Iraq was under Ṭāhir's control.

21. al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (Iranian)(198-202/813-818).²⁶⁴ Although the written sources do not specifically mention it, Harthamah ibn A^cyan was prefect of Madā'in in 198, as demonstrated by dirhams minted there in his name.²⁶⁵ Ḥasan did not arrive to govern all Iraq until 199/814, the same year when the ^cAlid revolt led by Abū Sarāyā, in the name of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, broke out in Kūfah.

22. Sulaymān ibn al-Manṣūr al-^cAbbāsī ([198]-199/[813]-815). He was Ḥasan's *cāmil* in Kūfah when Ibn Ṭabāṭabā began his revolt there and was replaced by Khālīd ibn Muḥajjah al-Ḍabbī, when Ḥasan found his subordi-

nate could not deal with the ^CAlid problem effectively. Khālīd was accompanied by Zuhayr ibn al-Musayyab commanding 10,000 cavalry and infantry.²⁶⁶ Abū ^CAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā^Cīl ibn Ṭabāṭabā had begun to plot his uprising in Medina, but was persuaded by al-Sarī ibn Manṣūr al-Shaybānī—better known as Abū Sarāyā—to begin his activities in Kūfah.²⁶⁷ Shortly after the successful beginning of the revolt, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died on 1 Rajab 199 (February 15, 815) and Abū Sarāyā took effective control of the movement.²⁶⁸ He had dirhams minted in Kūfah in 199 and spread the revolt throughout Iraq and the neighboring districts.²⁶⁹ The *wālī* of Wāsiṭ for Ḥasan ibn Sahl, ^CAbd Allāh ibn Sa^Cīd al-Ḥarashī, attempted to halt Abū Sarāyā's progress, but was defeated.²⁷⁰ Ḥasan eventually was able to obtain the services of Harthamah ibn A^Cyan, who defeated the rebel at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah in Shawwāl 199 (May-June 815). Abū Sarāyā escaped, but was captured and brought to Ḥasan. The governor had him beheaded on 10 Tabī^C I 200 (October 18, 815). The revolt had lasted about ten months.²⁷¹ Only two other individuals are known to have been *ʿamils* of Kūfah during the period of Ḥasan's rule in Iraq. Shortly after Abū Sarāyā was executed, Ḥasan appointed Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī to the post, but he must not have acted in that capacity for long.²⁷² Ḥārūn ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Khālīd was in office for a very short period in 201/816.²⁷³ Nothing more is known concerning his tenure. Before he retired to his estates, Ḥasan was confronted with yet another major upheaval in Iraq. Ma'mūn, still residing in Marw, had named an ^CAlid, ^CAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā, as his heir earlier in 201/816. When word of this reached Baghdad, various factions in the capital proclaimed Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī caliph with the name of al-Mubārak. Ḥasan was in

Wāsiṭ at the time and could not counter this movement with the forces at his disposal. The rival caliph was able to build up a considerable following in Iraq, which threatened a civil war as divisive as that fought between Amīn and Ma'mūn.²⁷⁴ When Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the brother of Abū Sarāyā, rose up in Kūfah early in 202/817, it was Ibrāhīm's general, Ghassān ibn Abū al-Faraj, who was sent to put down the revolt, rather than Ḥasan's forces.²⁷⁵ Ḥasan attempted to curb Ibrāhīm's spreading power by appointing a new governor of Kūfah who would represent Ma'mūn's interests.

23. al-ʿAbbās ibn Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar al-ʿAlawī (ʿAlid-Muḍar, brother of ʿAlī al-Riḍā)(202-?/817-?). Ḥasan ibn Sahl appointed him in Rabīʿ II 202 (November 817) and ordered him to wear the ʿAlid green, proclaiming ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā heir to Ma'mūn. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī's supporters in Kūfah began to agitate against this policy and Ibrāhīm himself sent Saʿīd ibn al-Sājūr and Abū al-Baṭṭ from Nīl to Kūfah with elements of Harthamah ibn Aʿyan's army. On 2 Jumādā I 202 (December 6, 817), ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-ʿAlawī, along with the governor ʿAbbās, met Saʿīd and Abū al-Baṭṭ outside of Kūfah and were soundly defeated, forcing their retreat back into the city. Saʿīd went off to make his camp at Ḥīrah. Fighting continued through the next several days, with neither side gaining the advantage. Saʿīd offered ʿAbbās and his forces safe conduct if they would leave Kūfah, and the governor finally relented. On 5 Jumādā II (December 9th), Saʿīd and Abū al-Baṭṭ entered the city and assured all those of either ʿAbbāsīd or Umayyad kinship that they were in no danger. The two generals appointed al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī to govern Kūfah, but when Ibrāhīm heard of this, he told

Sa^cīd that he would approve of anyone but Faḍl for the position. They then appointed Ghassān ibn Abū al-Faraj, but then dismissed him because he had refused to put Abū ^cAbd Allāh, the brother of Abū Sarāyā, to death after he had taken him captive. Next, Sa^cīd appointed his nephew, al-Hawl, but he fled upon the arrival of Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī. With this, Ibrāhīm's control of Kūfah, which his army had little opportunity to consolidate, completely disintegrated. Ibrāhīm was rapidly becoming encircled in Baghdad and therefore decided to gamble on holding the line near Wāsiṭ. He sent a force under ^cIsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Khālīd towards that city to engage Ḥasan. On 26 Rajab 202 (February 7, 818), ^cIsā was soundly trounced and the way to Baghdad was open.²⁷⁶ Whether or not ^cAbbās returned to his post after hostilities ended is not reflected in the sources. A governor of Kūfah is not alluded to until two years later. In that year Ma'mūn decided to return to Baghdad because of the troubles that had plagued Iraq since the war with Amīn.

24. Abū ^cIsā Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd al-^cAbbāsī (204-[205]/819-[820]). Ma'mūn arrived in Baghdad during Ṣafar 204 (August 819) and it was probably a short time later that he appointed his brother, Abū ^cIsā as governor of Kūfah.²⁷⁷ It cannot be ascertained how long he remained in office, but he did appoint his own successor.²⁷⁸ He also led the *hajj* in 207/823.²⁷⁹

25. Muḥammad ibn al-Layth (ancestry unknown)(205-?/820-821?). Nothing is known of this individual other than that he was given the governorship by Abū ^cIsā ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd.²⁸⁰ It is possible that in 203 and 204, Ḥasan ibn Sahl still had some control of Kūfah and the Sawād. Dirhams of those years minted in the city bear letters which may indicate

Hasan's name.²⁸¹

26. Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muṣ^cab al-Ṭāhirī (Iranian) (215-[218?]/830-[833?]).²⁸² No mention is made of the Kūfan governorate for more than a decade, until notice that Ma'mūn appointed Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm over Madīnat al-Salām, Ḥulwān, the Sawād, and the Kuwar Dijlah.²⁸³ Kūfah is not mentioned, but it is possible the city was the focal point of the administrative region between Baghdad and Baṣrah. Ishāq must have left this post by sometime in 218, as he is found engaged in military operations in Jibal during that year.²⁸⁴

* * * * *

From the beginning of Ma'mūn's reign onward, Kūfah, like Baṣrah, is given notice in the historical sources less and less frequently. There is a perceptive decrease in the political and military importance of the city, as reflected in the lack of interest shown by the medieval Arab historians. As an economic and cultural center, however, Kūfah continued to rival Baṣrah beyond the period in which ^cAbbāsīd power was at its height.²⁸⁵ Yet, the time had passed when Kūfah, as well as Baṣrah, could play a major role in shaping events in Iraq through intertribal factionalism or seditious rebellion. Apparently, Ma'mūn's decision to return to Baghdad was mainly influenced by the troubles in Iraq following the death of Amīn. First, the ^cAlid revolt of 199-200, then the rival caliphate of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, demonstrated to Ma'mūn that stability in the area could only be ensured by his personal attention to its governorance. His popularity in the East assured him of a substantial base to fall back on should he find Iraq impossible to control. From his return to Baghdad in 204/819 can be dated Ma'mūn's own admin-

istration of the strategic and psychologically important central domains of the Empire. Ma'mūn, in effect, became his own governor of the province of Iraq with headquarters in Baghdad. The individuals mentioned infrequently as *ʿamils* of Baṣrah and Kūfah were merely his city prefects and tax collectors, the duality of the Iraqi governorate having devolved into a minor component of the province's administrative system.²⁸⁶

As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, Iraq was important to the ʿAbbāsids because it was the heartland of their Empire and contained their capital city. The close proximity of Baṣrah and Kūfah to the caliphal court precluded any semblance of autonomy on the part of the governors in the two cities. Much of the wealth of Baṣrah was based on commerce, but as a focal point for tax collections in the agricultural districts administered from that city, the stability of Baṣrah was of fundamental significance to the caliph. Kūfah was of less commercial importance, but of no less concern due to its location as the administrative locus for the Sawād.²⁸⁷ The preoccupation of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs with maintaining a strong personal hold over Iraq can be adduced from the number of family members who were appointed to govern the two provincial capitals during the period 132-218/750-833. Of the 39 individuals known to have been governor of Baṣrah, 18 (or roughly half) of them were ʿAbbāsids.²⁸⁸ The percentage is even higher for Kūfah, where 12 of the 21 governors of this period came from the ruling family.²⁸⁹ No other governorate experienced such a high concentration of ʿAbbāsid appointees, with the exception of Mecca and Medina, posts which were more honorary than politically significant.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹The ʿAbbāsīd province of Iraq falls within the borders of the present-day country of the same name. In medieval times the northern region of modern Iraq around Mosul was part of Jazīrah Province. Medieval Arab geographers usually meant Iraq as a designation for Lower Mesopotamia. Cf. A. Miquel, "Irāk," *EI*² III, p. 1252. See map on page 22.

²See Chapter VII and Appendix C for tax revenues of Iraq.

³K.V. Zetterstéen, "al-Kūfa," *EI*¹ II, p. 1106.

⁴Until Maṣṣūr began building his new city of Madīnat al-Salām at Baghdad, the ʿAbbāsīd capital was called Hashimīyah. When the caliph changed residences, the name of his administrative capital moved with him and, thus, four different locations were named Hashimīyah at one time or another. Cf. J. Lassner, "al-Hashimīyya," *EI*² III, p. 265. At first, Saḥḥāḥ (caliph 132-136/749-754) moved north out of Kūfah and began to complete the palace of the last Umayyad governor of Iraq. This was Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, renamed Hashimīyah by the first ʿAbbāsīd caliph in honor of his ancestor Hashim (Ṭab 37/7, 431; 60/7, 449; *Futūḥ* I, 445). Saḥḥāḥ soon abandoned this project and started a new palace close by. In 134/752 he moved again, this time close to the old Persian city of Anbar. Here he built a new town and a palace, in which he died and was buried before completing the structure (Ṭab 87/7, 470). He died on Sunday, 13 Dhu al-Ḥijjah 136 (June 8-9, 754). Cf. M. Streck and A.A. Duri, "al-Anbar," *EI*² I, p. 485; Lassner, op. cit., p. 266; Le Strange, *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate* (London, 1900), pp. 5-6. When Maṣṣūr became caliph (136/754), he established his residence at Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah (different from Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah), not far from Kūfah (Ṭab 272-272/7, 614-615; 319/7, 650; Lassner, loc. cit.). *Futūḥ* II, p. 98, says that Maṣṣūr built a castle in Baṣrah near the great dam in 142. He is also reported to have received his son Maḥdī at Hashimīyah near Kūfah in 144/761-762 (Yaʿqubī II, p. 450). In 146/763, the seat of government was transferred to Baghdad and Hashimīyah is not mentioned after this. Although the chief mints of ʿAbbāsīd Iraq were located in Baṣrah and Kūfah until the establishment of Baghdad and its large mint operation, coins were produced in Maṣṣūr's Hashimīyah near Kūfah. Dirhams are known for the years 138 (Album 34; ANS-Newman; BM—2 specimens, uncataloged; Deniz. Def. 207; Lavois 674; Ties. 694; Tbg. *Symb.* II, p. 241, No. 11); year 139 (ANS-Newman; Artuk 184 = Deniz. Def. 208; Markov, p. 15, No. 33; Reṣad 223; Ties. 701-702 references); year 143 (Lavois 675); year 144 (BM-Tobin Bush; Cunha 1067); and year 145 (Nützel 766).

⁵K.V. Zetterstéen, "al-Kūfa," *EI*¹ II, p. 1106.

⁶D. Sourdél, "ʿIrāk," *EI*² III, pp. 1254-1255.

⁷Tab 73/7, 459; 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465.

⁸Tab 378/8, 51.

⁹Tab 379/8, 52.

¹⁰Tab 484/8, 134.

¹¹Tab 501/8, 149; 503/8, 151.

¹²Tab 505/8, 153; 518/8, 163; 521/8, 166.

¹³Tab 605/8, 234.

¹⁴Tab 1045/8, 581.

¹⁵Khalīfah, *Tārīkh*², pp.405, 412; Tab 21-23/7, 419-420; FHA I, p.208.

¹⁶F. Omar, *The ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate, 132/750-170/786* (Baghdad, 1969), pp. 130-132.

¹⁷Khalīfah, *Tārīkh*², pp.402-403, 420; Tab 21-22/7, 419-420; *Ansāb* I, Folios 306b₂₃-307a₁₀. Tab 72/7, 458 has him as governor through the end of the year; and IA V, p.445, calls him Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah. Cf. Pellat, *Milieu*, pp. 46, 273, 280.

¹⁸Khalīfah 412.

¹⁹*Futūḥ* II 93. The location of Muhallabān, which obviously derived its name from that of Sufyān's tribe, is not known precisely. From a passage in Khalīfah 425, it was probably near the mouth of the Tigris River.

²⁰Ibid. Complete name in *Ansāb* I, Folio 321b₂₇₋₂₈ and Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p.448. He received the Persian epithet *Hāzarmard* (meaning 1,000 men) during his adventurous military exploits in the East on behalf of the Umayyads. Cf. G. Margais, "ʿOmer b. Ḥafṣ," *EI*^I III, p.980.

²¹Khalīfah, *Tārīkh*², pp.412, 417, 431. Tab 73/7, 459; 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; 84/7, 467; 91/7, 473; 121/7, 496; 124/7, 499; 126/7, 500 lists him as governor every year until 139. In FHA I, p.226, he is dismissed in 139. The numismatic evidence supports Khalīfah, however. See Appendix B. Cf. Pellat, op. cit., pp.46, 273, 280. All ʿAbbāsīd family members, who were appointed governor in one or more of the four provinces covered in this study, are included in the genealogical chart, Appendix A.

²²*Futūḥ* II, pp. 65, 87, 92, 98, 99.

²³*Ansāb* I, Folio 285b₂₄₋₂₇.

²⁴IA V, pp. 451-452.

²⁵Tab 84/7, 467; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 435.

²⁶*Futūh* II 96. The location of this estate is not known.

²⁷Tab 99/7, 472.

²⁸Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 417, 431. Fawwaz Tugan, in his article, "Abdallāh ibn ^cAlī: A Rebellious Uncle of al-Mansur," *Studies in Islam* 6 (1969), p. 22, F.N. 4, quotes Jahshiyārī, pp. 103-104, as saying Sulayman was dismissed in 138, but I do not find this date mentioned in the passage cited.

²⁹The text of the letter is given in A.Z. Safwat, *Jamharat rasā'il al-^cArab* [henceforth, JRA], Vol. 3 (Cairo, 1937), p. 8, taken from Ibn ^cAbd Rabbih, *al-^cIqd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1876), Vol. II, p. 203. Jahshiyārī, p. 110, mentions that Ghassān ibn ^cAbd al-Ḥumayd was Sulaymān's secretary and, as such, would have been responsible for composing the text. Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 442, states that Sulaymān left Baṣrah on 17 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 137 (June 3, 755) to deliver the request for ^cAbd Allāh's pardon in person. Baladhuri, *Ansāb* I, Folio 291a₇₋₂₂; Manṣūr sent Sulaymān ibn Mujālid (Mujāhid ?) to Baṣrah, first to find out where ^cAbd Allāh was hiding, and then ordering Sulaymān ibn ^cAlī to send ^cAbd Allāh to him. Failing that approach, Manṣūr then sent Ruḥ ibn Ḥatīm with a force of 4,000 men to force ^cAbd Allāh out of hiding, but to no avail. Eventually, Manṣūr appointed Sufyān ibn Mu'awiyah governor of Baṣrah and sent him off with a large army. Sufyān succeeded in extending Manṣūr's amnesty to ^cAbd Allāh, had him go with his brother ^cIsā to the caliph, and replaced Sulaymān as governor without much difficulty.

³⁰Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, p. 419, says he died in 141/758. Baladhuri, *Ansāb* I, Folios 286a₂₈₋₂₉ and 291b₇₋₈, gives that date of 142/759 and his age as 63, stating also that he died in Baṣrah. Tab 141/7, 514, says he died in Baṣrah on Saturday evening, 22 Jumādā II 142 (October 20, 759) at the age of 59. Dhahabī VI, p. 74, has Jumādā II 142.

³¹Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 417, 431.

³²See Footnote 28.

³³Tab 126/7 501. Tabarī gives the same date of departure, except for the year, as Ya^cqūbī (see F.N. 28), so it is possible that Tabarī mistook a *sab^c* for a *tis^c* in whatever source he had been using, or the fault may lie with a later copier.

³⁴Khalīfah, loc. cit.

³⁵Ibid., but his name is given as ^cUmar ibn Ja^cfar Hazārmard on p. 431. *Ansāb* I, Folio 329b₃ has ^cUmar in Baṣrah before he is sent to Sind, but then has him succeeded by ^cAbd al-^cAziz, having confused ^cUmar's second and third tenures as governor of Baṣrah.

³⁶Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 431. *Ansāb* I, Folio 321b₂₅₋₂₆: when his brother rebelled in 141, Maṣṣūr replaced him with Sawwār; Folio 321b₃₀₋₂: ^cAbd al-^cAzīz's governorship comes between those of ^cUmar ibn Ḥafs and Sawwār ibn ^cAbd Allāh, although no dates are given; Folio 329b₄₋₉: he was the brother of ^cAbd al-Jabbār ibn ^cAbd al-Rahmān al-Azdī, governor of Khurasān for Maṣṣūr. According to Ṭabarī (122-123/7, 498), he was sent against the rebel, Mulabbad ibn Ḥūrmalah in Jazirah in 138/755-756 and was soundly defeated.

³⁷Numerous dirhams minted in Baṣrah and dated 140 have the word ^cAbd in the place normally reserved for the name of the governor, undoubtedly a reference to ^cAbd al-^cAzīz. See Appendix B.

³⁸Khalīfah, op. ci., p. 419; *Ansāb* I, Folios 321b₂₆₋₂₈; 329b₅₋₁₀, 20-25.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 431, 434; D. Sourdél, "Les cadis de Baṣra d'après Waki^c," *Arabica* 2 (1955), p. 113. In 142, a Salamah ibn Sa'īd ibn Jābir, a sub-prefect on behalf of Maṣṣūr over Ubullah (on the Tigris) and the Furāt district, was charged by the caliph with building a *qiblah* (for a mosque) for the people of Baṣrah. (Ṭab 140-141/7, 513-514).

⁴⁰*Ansāb* I, Folios 321b₂₇₋₂₈; 322a₄; Khalīfah, op. ci., pp. 420, 431—called ^cUmar ibn Ja'far Hazarmard on p. 431.

⁴¹*Ansāb*, loc. cit.; Khalīfah, op. ci., pp. 420, 431, 433.

⁴²Ṭab 359/8, 33; 370-371/8, 42; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 465; FHA I, p. 265. G. Marçais, loc. cit., has 15 Dhu al-Ḥijjah 154 (November 27, 771), probably copying Ibn ^cIdhārī, *Bayān al-mughrib* I, p. 76, which calls him ^cAmr ibn Ḥafs. But Ibn ^cIdhārī quotes Ṭabarī's date of 153 on p. 77.

⁴³Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 420, 431.

⁴⁴Ibid.; Ṭab 142/7, 515; *Ansāb* I, Fol. 288a₂₁ (year not stated); Fol. 329a_{17ff}: he is also mentioned as having been ^camil of Wasit at a later date.

⁴⁵Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 431.

⁴⁶Dhahabī VI, p. 39.

⁴⁷Lavois 1560 (countermarked with *Mahdī* on reverse); Nützel 2079; Paris (uncataloged, with countermark of *li-Mahdī* on obverse).

⁴⁸Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 431.

⁴⁹Iib., pp. 421, 422, 431. Ṭab 126/7, 500; 127/7, 502; 138/7, 511; 141/7, 514; 142/7, 516; 189/7, 551; 291/7, 629; 297/7, 634; 299/7, 635,

has him as governor every year from 139 to 145, but for the year 140 (129/7, 504), when he merely says that the *ʿamil*s are all the same as for the previous year, with the exception of Khurāsān. Some dirhams minted in Baṣrah in 144 and 145 have the letter *ṣīn* in the place where the name of the governor is usually located. This quite likely represents *Sufyān*. *Fulūs* of Baṣrah, 144 also have *Sufyān ibn Muʿāwiyah* spelled out clearly. See Appendix B.

⁵⁰Khalīfah, loc. cit.

⁵¹Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 422, 431.

⁵²Extensive and detailed coverage of the ʿAlid revolt of 145 is found in the sources. Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, pp.421-422; Ṭab 189-265/7, 552-609 and 282-318/7, 622-649; IA V, pp.529-551 and 560-571; FHA I 230-256; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp.452-456; Dhahabī VI, pp.12-20, 22-27; Ibn al-Imrānī, p. 64. See also Omar, *Abbāsīd Caliphate*, pp.240-248; and L. V. Vaglieri, "Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh," *EI*² III, pp.983-985, especially the bibliography at the end of the article.

⁵³Ṭab 297/7, 633. For the meaning and functions of the *shurṭah*, see Chapter VII.

⁵⁴Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 422.

⁵⁵Ṭab 299-300/7, 635.

⁵⁶Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 432.

⁵⁷Ṭab 300-301/7, 636; 307/7, 640; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 454.

⁵⁸Khalīfah, loc. cit. But Ṭabarī (301/7, 636) says that Ibrāhīm left as his deputy in Baṣrah, Numaylah ibn Murrah al-ʿAbshamī. Further on (304/7, 638), Numaylah is again mentioned as Ibrāhīm's designated successor there, but adds that he appointed his son Ḥasan to take his father's place, along with Numaylah. Ḥasan was probably quite young at this time and his father may have felt the need to leave him with a trusted supporter. Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 454, states that Ibrāhīm left Baṣrah on 1 Dhu al-Qaḍ 145 (January 21, 763) and left Numaylah as his successor. In FHA I, his name is given as Numaylah ibn Murrah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tamīmī (p. 251), and Ibrāhīm leaves Ḥasan as his successor and Numaylah in command of the *shurṭah* (p. 253).

⁵⁹Khalīfah, pp. 422, 432. Ṭabarī and Balādhurī spell the name as Mujālid.

⁶⁰*Ansāb* I, Fol. 291a₉₋₁₀; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 432.

⁶¹FHA I, p. 256; IA V, p. 571.

⁶²FHA I, p. 252. Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, pp.423, 432, states only that

he arrived in the city and prayed with the people.

⁶³FHA I, pp. 252, 254.

⁶⁴FHA I, p. 254.

⁶⁵Although Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, p. 423, says that Salm was appointed in 146, numismatic evidence shows that Ṭabarī is correct in stating that his tenure began in 145 (319/7, 649). Some Baṣran dirhams of that year have *Salm* engraved on them. That he did govern there until some time in 146 is proved by dirhams of that year, which also have his name. See Appendix B.

⁶⁶Ṭab 327/7, 655-656. Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, p. 432, says he was governor for two months, while Ṭabarī (327/7, 656) states that he remained in Baṣrah for five months, adding that another of his sources related that Salm had arrived there after the defeat of Ibrāhīm's forces and had appointed Abū Birqah Yazīd ibn Salm (his son?) as chief of police. *Ansāb* I, Fol. 308b₃ says he was governor of Baṣrah in 147, but in light of other evidence, this is most improbable. See correspondence between Maṣṣūr and Salm in JRA III, pp. 96-97. Cf. Pellat, *Milieu*, pp.198, 273.

⁶⁷Ṭab 350-351/8, 24. See Chapter IV, No. 5(d).

⁶⁸Dhahabī VI, p. 71.

⁶⁹Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 423; in the list of governors on p. 432, he is not even mentioned as having been in office that year. FHA I, p. 254, has him being appointed governor of Baṣrah without mentioning the year, but later on (p. 257), he is appointed governor of Kūfah in 147. Ṭab (327/7, 655) gives his appointment as 146 and says that in 147 (329/8, 7) he was transferred from Baṣrah to Kūfah to replace 'Isā ibn Mūsā. Numismatic evidence: dirhams of Baṣrah with a *mīm* in the governor's name position. This letter probably refers to Muḥammad, but could be the next governor, whose name was Muḥammad also. See Appendix B.

⁷⁰Khalīfah, op. cit., pp.423, 432, says Maṣṣūr appointed him in 146 and that he left office in 149. It is very possible that a scribe later transposed a *tis*^c for a *sab*^c, since all other sources state he was governor only in 147.

⁷¹Ṭab 352/8, 25; IA V, p.582; *Ansāb* I, Fol. 308b₁₋₁₇ 32-33. Some dirhams from Baṣrah 147 may have been minted under his auspices. They have two *mīms* in the governor's name space. However, most of the 148 dirhams also have the same symbols and, therefore, these markings may not designate the governor. An alternative solution may be that Muḥammad remained in office until 148, but there is no written evidence to support this conjecture. See Appendix B.

⁷²Ṭab 353/8, 26,27; 354/8, 28; 359/8, 32; 367-368/8, 39-40; *Ansāb* I, Fol. 308b₃₋₄. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 432: he is appointed successor by

Muhammad ibn Abū al-^cAbbās in 149. His *ṣāhib al-shurṭah* was Jamīl ibn Moḥfūz al-Azdī, according to Ibn Sa^cd, *Tabaqāt* VII/2, p. 30.

⁷³Tab 352/8, 25-26; IA V, pp. 582-583, where he is called Nukhbah ibn Salīm.

⁷⁴Tab 367-368/8, 39-40. Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 425, 432, says these events took place in 150. However, Ibn Sa^cd, loc. cit., says he was still governor of Baṣrah in Rajab 151 (July-August 768). Perhaps he was governor of Bahrayn and Yamamah a second time, since Ya^cqubī II 478 states that he was dismissed from those provinces in 164/780-781. ^cUqbah died in 167/783-784 (Tab 520/8, 165).

⁷⁵Tab 369/8, 40-41; IA V 605, 608; Khalīfah, pp. 425, 432, in keeping with the dismissal date of the preceding governor, gives the date of appointment as 150, but says Jābir was dismissed in 152 (pp. 426, 432), as do the other above sources.

⁷⁶Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 426, 432.

⁷⁷Tab 369, 370/8, 41; 371-372/8, 43; IA V, pp. 608, 610.

⁷⁸Tab 466/8, 121; 491/8, 140; 492/8, 141. Ibn Khallikān VI, p. 190, says he died in Baṣrah in 165; Ya^cqubī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 481, has the year 167.

⁷⁹Loc. cit. No other source makes mention of him.

⁸⁰Tab 372, 373/8, 44, 45.

⁸¹p. 432.

⁸²Tab 373/8, 46; IA V, p. 6; Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 427, 432.

⁸³Tab 374/8, 46; 377/8, 49; Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Dhahabī VI, p. 161, gives his *nisbah* as Akkī.

⁸⁴The tribal factions accounted for much of the political agitation throughout the late Umayyad and early ^cAbbāsīd periods. The general lines were drawn between the Yamāniyah and the Nizāriyah (Mudar was a division of the latter) or the South and North Arabs, respectively. Some tribes had earlier crossed over from one grouping to another and, thus, we sometimes find a South Arab clan counted amongst the Nizāriyah and vice versa. However, political ideals counted for more than tribal origins, as the Yamāniyah groups tended generally to support the ^cAbbasids and the Nizāriyah; or at least the Mudar elements composing it were anti-^cAbbasid, which is interesting, considering that the ^cAbbasids were a subdivision of Mudar. Cf. G.L. della Vida, "Nizar b. Ma^cadd," *EI*¹ III, p. 940.

⁸⁵Tab 377/8, 50; IA VI, p. 11.

- ⁸⁶Tab 378/8, 50; Khalīfah, pp. 428, 432.
- ⁸⁷Tab 374/8, 46; 378/8, 50,51; IA VI, p. 11. Khalīfah, p. 432. For explanations of these terms, see Chapter VII.
- ⁸⁸Tab 380/8, 52; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 428, adding that he was put in charge of the *aḥdāth* in 157.
- ⁸⁹Tab 379/8, 52; IA VI, p. 13.
- ⁹⁰Tab 459/8, 115; ^cUmārah was appointed to head the *ḍiḥwān al-kharāj* in 155/772 (Jahshiyārī 124). Khalīfah 436 says he was placed over the *ard* of Baṣrah without giving the date.
- ⁹¹Tab 466/8, 120; IA VI, p. 40; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 440.
- ⁹²Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 441.
- ⁹³Ibn Khallikān II, p. 322.
- ⁹⁴Cf. Sourdél, "Les cadis de Baṣra ...," op. cit., p. 113.
- ⁹⁵Control of the *ṣalāt* entailed the leadership of the Friday prayers, in which the *khutbah*, an often politically oriented sermon, was utilized as a vehicle for proclaiming the name of the reigning caliph.
- ⁹⁶Tab 378/8, 50,51; Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, pp.428, 432. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 428; Khalīfah, *Tabaqāt* (Beirut), p. 221; (Damascus), p. 532; and Dhahabī VI, p. 189, say he died in 156, but Ṭabarī 380/8, 52 and Ibn al-Athīr VI, p. 13, give the date as 157.
- ⁹⁷Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, pp.428, 432; Ṭab 380/8, 52; and IA VI, p. 13, have 157.
- ⁹⁸Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 428; Ṭab 380/8, 52; IA VI, p. 13.
- ⁹⁹Tab 459/8, 115; 466/8, 120; 470/8, 123; 484/8, 134; 503/8, 151; IA VI, pp.36,40,41,69; Ibn Sa'd VII/2, p. 42. See Appendix A, Table 1. He at first seems to have lost his position as *qāḍī*, but regained it the same year.
- ¹⁰⁰IA VI, p. 60.
- ¹⁰¹Tab 466/8, 120; IA VI, p. 40; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 440.
- ¹⁰²Tab 466/8, 120-121; 469/8, 123; IA VI, p. 40.
- ¹⁰³Tab 466/8, 121; 469-70/8, 123; IA VI, p. 41.
- ¹⁰⁴Tab 482/8, 132; Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 430, 440.
- ¹⁰⁵Tab 477/8, 128; 484/8, 134; Khalīfah, loc. cit.; *Ansāb* I, Fol.

286b¹⁶⁻¹⁷. On the nature of the *al-māl al-mufradah*, see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), p. 166.

¹⁰⁶Tab 501/8, 149.

¹⁰⁷Tab 486/8, 136.

¹⁰⁸*Futūḥ* II, p. 65.

¹⁰⁹*Futūḥ* II, pp. 98, 109.

¹¹⁰Tab 501/8, 150. Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 438, 440, says he was confirmed in 165, but numismatic evidence proves otherwise. There are dirhams of Muḥammad dated 160, 161 and 162. See Appendix B.

¹¹¹Tab 503/8, 151.

¹¹²Tab 538/8, 181.

¹¹³*Milieu Basrien*, p. 281; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat al-ansāb* (Cairo, 1948), p. 31.

¹¹⁴Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 438.

¹¹⁵Tab 501-502/8, 250; 503/8, 151. Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 438, 440, gives the date of his appointment as 165.

¹¹⁶Tab 502/8, 150.

¹¹⁷Khalīfah, loc. cit.

¹¹⁸Khalīfah, loc. cit., says he was dismissed in 166. Tabarī does not give the date of Ṣāliḥ's dismissal, but does show his successor in office in 165. Numismatic evidence confirms that Ṣāliḥ was in office in 164 and 165, but does not prove his successor to be in that position in the latter year. See Appendix B.

¹¹⁹Tab 505/8, 153; IA VI, p. 67. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 438, gives his appointment year as 166.

¹²⁰Tab 517, 518/8, 163; IA VI, p. 73. Cf. L. Massignon, "Zindīk," *EI*¹ IV, p. 1228.

¹²¹Tab 520/8, 165. Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 440, 446, says he was governor of Baṣrah past Maḥdī's death and was dismissed in 169. See Appendix B.

¹²²Tab 519/8, 164; Ibn Sa'īd VI, p. 261.

¹²³IA VI, pp. 114, 121; Ibn Khallikān II, p. 306.

¹²⁴Tab 521/8, 166. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 446, says he was ap-

pointed in 169.

¹²⁵Tab 557/8, 196; 562/8, 199. His successor, Sulaymān, is said also to have led the *hajj* this year.

¹²⁶Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 445; FHA I, p. 284.

¹²⁷Tab 605/8, 234; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 447.

¹²⁸Tab 607/8, 237. Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 448, 461, gives the date as Rajab 173.

¹²⁹Tab 607-608/8, 237.

¹³⁰Khalīfah, loc. cit. Tab 740/8, 346-347, lists the names of the governors during Harun al-Rashīd's reign, but does not give the dates of tenure.

¹³¹*Ansāb* I, Folio 334b₂₂₋₂₃.

¹³²Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 461, 463; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 522. According to numismatic evidence, he was governor during at least part of 174. See Appendix B.

¹³³Tab 740/8, 346; *Ansāb* I, Folio 334b₈; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462.

¹³⁴Khalīfah, loc. cit. It is possible that he was the son of al-Mughīrah ibn al-Faz^c, who was made governor of Ahwāz in 145 by the ^cAlid, Ibrahim ibn ^cAbd Allah. Cf. Tab 300/7, 636.

¹³⁵Khalīfah, loc. cit.

¹³⁶Ibid. A *faṣl* of Baṣrah (Lavois 1561), with only the century and decade visible (17 x), has the names of both ^cIsā ibn Ja^cfar and al-Muḥallab on it. This specimen could only have been struck during this tenure of ^cIsā as governor. See Appendix B.

¹³⁷*Futūḥ* II, pp. 65, 72.

¹³⁸Tab 740/8, 346. Pellat, p. 282, lists him as governor circa 176. FHA I, p. 298, says he was on the *hajj* in 179.

¹³⁹Op. cit., p. 462.

¹⁴⁰Ibid. However, Ibn Khallikān II, p. 433, says he was governor in Muḥarram or Rajab of 248, 250, 254 or 255!

¹⁴¹Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215.

¹⁴²Tab 651/8, 275; Ibn Khallikān II, p. 317.

¹⁴³Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215. He was born

in 109/727-728, according to *Ansāb* I, Fol. 288b₉. But Ibn Khallikān III, pp. 195-196, has different, conflicting dates for his birth year: 104, 105 (in al-Balqā' of Syria) and Rajab 106. Ibn Sa'īd VII/1, p. 23, gives his *gāhib al-shurṭah* as Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb ibn Qaṭan ibn Qabīṣah ibn al-Mukhariq.

¹⁴⁴Khalīfah, loc. cit. He died in Baghdad in 185, according to *Ansāb* I, Fol. 288b₆; IA VI, p. 169; Ibn Khallikān III, pp. 195-196, and gives a second date of Jumada II 175, which is almost certainly erroneous.

¹⁴⁵Khalīfah, loc. cit.; *Ansāb* I, Fol. 286b₁₁₋₁₂ (does not state the year); Tab 740/8, 347; IA VI, p. 215.

¹⁴⁶Khalīfah, loc. cit. Ibn Sa'īd VII/2, p. 42, mentions that he was still governor of Baṣrah in Ramaḍān 179.

¹⁴⁷Khalīfah, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁸Ibid. Tab 740/8, 346-347, lists him as being governor of Baṣrah three times during Ḥarun al-Rashīd's reign. Muḥammad ibn Zuhayr al-Ghāmīdī may be the same person as Muḥammad ibn Zuhayr ibn al-Musayyib al-Dabbī, who was Ḥarun's last appointment to the governorship of Armenia in 193. See Chapter III.

¹⁴⁹Tab 644/8, 266; 733/8, 340; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 520.

¹⁵⁰Tab 740/8, 347.

¹⁵¹Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462.

¹⁵²FHA I, p. 313.

¹⁵³Azdī, p. 294; Paul Forand, "The Governors of Mosul According to al-Azdī's *Ta'rikh al-Mawsil*," *JAOS* 89 (1969), p. 98.

¹⁵⁴See Appendix B. Perhaps this is the same person as al-Husayn ibn al-Bahbāh found on certain coin weights. Cf. Miles, *AGW*, pp. 108-109; and *ĠAM* I, pp. 78-79.

¹⁵⁵IA VI, p. 191.

¹⁵⁶Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462. Tabarī (732/8, 340) says that a certain Tharwan al-Harūrī plotted and killed the *ḥāmil al-sultān* on the outskirts of Baṣrah in 192, but the identity of this official cannot be determined.

¹⁵⁷Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 525.

¹⁵⁸Khalīfah, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁹Tab 751/8, 274; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 522; Khalīfah, op. cit.,

p. 457; *Ansāb* I, Folio 335a₃₇.

¹⁶⁰Tab 832/8, 417.

¹⁶¹*Ansāb* I, Folio 335b₁₋₂. The meaning of the term *māl al-nās* is uncertain, but may refer to a war chest made up of contributions by prominent members of the populace.

¹⁶²Tab 856-857/8, 435; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 534; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 467.

¹⁶³Tab 857/8, 435-436.

¹⁶⁴Tab 975/8, 527; IA VI, pp. 297-298. Cf. Sourdél, "al-Hasan b. Sahl," *EI*² III, pp. 243-244. Coins minted in Baṣrah from 198 to 200 reflect the political changes in Iraq. A dirham of 198 has inscribed Tahir's honorific title, "Dhū al-Yamīnayn," while dirhams of the years 198-200 have the *wazīr*'s honorific title, "Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn"; i.e., Faḍl ibn Sahl. The dirham of 200 also has on it the name of Ḥasan. See Appendix B.

¹⁶⁵Tab 975/8, 527; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 542.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Tab 976/8, 528; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 468.

¹⁶⁸Details of the revolt are given in the second section of this chapter under the governors of Kūfah for the years 199-200. Hasan must have found refuge during this period at his estate in Fam al-Ṣilḥ. He did go there during the time Ibrahim ibn al-Mahdī was in control of Baghdad. Ibn Sa'd VII/2, p. 83; Ibn Khallikān II, p. 121.

¹⁶⁹Tab 979-980/8, 531; 984/8, 533; 985-986/8, 534-535; 999/8, 544. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 470, says Alī was the *amīr* of Baṣrah when Zayd al-Nar opened his revolt in the city.

¹⁷⁰Tab 986/8, 535. W. Millward, "The Adaption of Men to their Time," *JAOs* 84 (1964), p. 341.

¹⁷¹Tab 996/8, 541.

¹⁷²Tab 1026-27/8, 564, where ^cAlī is called Faḍl's nephew; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 549; Sourdél, "al-Faḍl b. Sahl," *EI*² II, pp. 731-732.

¹⁷³Ibn Khallikān II, p. 123, says he tired of office after the death of his brother and retired in 203 (on p. 121 he has the year 204). Ibn Sa'd VII/2, p. 76, mentions his living there in Shaḥbān 207 and, on p. 84, in Shawwāl 208. Ibn Khallikān II, p. 123, gives an alternate date and place for his death: Dhū al-Ḥijjah 235 at Sarakhs. Cf. Sourdél, "al-Ḥasan b. Sahl," p. 244.

- 174 *Tārīkh* II, p. 545.
- 175 *Aghānī* XVIII, pp. 17-19; the bribe was reported to be 100,000 dirhams.
- 176 *IA* VI, p. 420.
- 177 *Tabaqāt* VII/2, p. 51; Pellat, op. cit., p. 282, quoting Ibn Sa^cd.
- 178 Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 553.
- 179 Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 561; *Tab* 1099/8, 619; 1101/8, 622; *IA* VI, pp. 408, 415.
- 180 Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 553; *Tab* 1039/8, 576; *IA* VI, p. 358. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 41, and Genealogical Chart No. 4 confuse this person with Ṣāliḥ ibn Abū Ja^cfar al-Manṣūr.
- 181 *Tab* 1067/8, 597; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 473.
- 182 Gabriel Ferrand, "Zott," *EI*¹ IV/2, p. 1235; Pellat, op. cit., pp. 37-39, believes that special officers were appointed specifically to organize the offensive operations against this group.
- 183 *Tab* 986/8, 535; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 470.
- 184 *Tab* 986/8, 535; 992/8, 539.
- 185 *Tab* 1029/8, 567; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 553, 554.
- 186 *Tab* 1044/8, 580; *IA* VI, p. 362.
- 187 Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 561, 567.
- 188 *Tab* 1045/8, 581; *IA* VI, p. 379, where his father's name is given as Māshūr and Mabtijūr. Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 41, 203, calls him Dā'ud ibn Banijūr. Cf. Ferrand, "Zott," p. 235.
- 189 *Tabaqāt* VII/2, p. 50.
- 190 Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 557. This may allude to the statement of Ibn Sa^cd VII/2, p. 48, that he was over the ṣalāt and imrah (prefecture) of Basrah in Rabi' II 196.
- 191 Khalīfah 474. Ghassān ibn Abbād may have been the person who was governor of Khurasān from 202-205/818-821. See Chapter V, No. 23.
- 192 *IA* VI, p. 420.
- 193 Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 24; H.H. Schaeder, "Sawād," *EI*¹ IV/1, p. 184. It should be noted that the word *sawād* can take on a secondary

meaning when placed before the name of a town or city. It then specifically denotes the agricultural land adjoining the municipality. Much of this region was made up of the former Persian administrative district of Meshūn, which the Arabs called Maysān. Cf. M. Streck, "Maysān," *EI*¹ III/1, p. 147.

¹⁹⁴M. Streck, "Wāsīt," *EI*¹ IV/2, p. 1129; Streck and J. Lassner, "Kaskar," *EI*² IV, pp. 724-725.

¹⁹⁵p. 95. This version is possible because he was in Iraq before the revolution and, therefore, before Abū al-Abbās and the rest of the Abbāsīd family arrived in Kufah. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-tiwāl*, p. 358.

¹⁹⁶Folio 290a.

¹⁹⁷*Tārīkh* II, p. 420. He also acquired former estates belonging to the Umayyads in Iraq (Qudamah, p. 241).

¹⁹⁸Tab 72/7, 458 and IA VI, p. 445, say he was removed from Kūfah and her Šawād in 132; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 421.

¹⁹⁹Tab 72/7, 458; IA V, p. 448; Iban Sa^cd VI, p. 234; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 414: governor of Yamamah; Dhahabī V, p. 243; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 434.

²⁰⁰Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 410, gives exact date; Tab 73/7, 459; Dhahabī, loc. cit., says only Rabī^c I 133, the latter adding that he was born in 81/700. FHA I, p. 233, states he died on Friday, 13 Šafar 133 (September 20, 750).

²⁰¹Tab 72/7, 458; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 412. *Ansāb* I, Fol. 328b 21ff. says he was given the governorship of Ahwāz and Kūfah.

²⁰²Tab 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; 84/7, 467; 91/7, 473; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 435.

²⁰³Tab 92/7, 474.

²⁰⁴Tab 121/7, 496; 124/7, 499; 127/7, 502; 129/7, 504; 138/7, 511; 141/7, 514; 189/7, 551; 319/7, 649. FHA I, p. 227, says he was left in charge of the government when Mansūr went on the *hajj* of 140.

²⁰⁵Tab 131/7, 506. *Ansāb* I, Fol. 325b₁₆₋₁₇, mentions a Majāshi^c ibn Yazīd al-Dubā^cī (Dabbī ?) as ^cIsā ibn Mūsā's *gāhīb al-shurtah* in Kufah at one time; Ya^cqūbī, *Buldan*, p. 240; and *Tārīkh* II, p. 445, gives the name of Majāshi^c ibn Ḥarīth.

²⁰⁶Tab 142/7, 516; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 469.

²⁰⁷Tab 311.7, 644; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 422. Cf. M. Streck and

S.H. Longrigg, "Bākhmrā," *EI*² I, p. 952.

²⁰⁸J. Lassner, *Foundations of Power: Studies in the Formation of 'Abbāsid Government* [Unpublished typescript], pp. 211-213.

²⁰⁹Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 457.

²¹⁰Tab 329/8, 7; 352/8, 25; Dhahabī VI, p. 29; FHA I, p. 257. Khalīfah, op. cit., is uncertain about the length of 'Isā's governorship. In one place (p. 423), he says he was dismissed in 146, calling him 'Alī ibn Musā. Elsewhere (p. 432), he was confirmed in his position by Manṣur (in 137), then dismissed in 139. This date may have been the mistake of the manuscript copier. Although this is not confirmed by any other literary source, the numismatic evidence is consistent with the alternative chronology. A comparison of the annulet patterns of Kūfan dirhams for the years 132 to 147 shows a clear transition from one pattern to another around the year 139. Since it has not been conclusively established that the annulet pattern can always be identified with a particular governor, other possibilities must be considered. The changing annulet pattern may have been due to the replacement of another official such as the chief administrator of the mint or the ṣāhib al-kharāj. See Chapter VIII.

²¹¹Tab 519/8, 164.

²¹²Tab 353/8, 25.

²¹³Tab 329/8, 7; 353/8, 27; 354/8, 28; 359/8, 32; 369/8, 40; 370/8, 41; 371/8, 43; 373/8, 45; FHA I, p. 257. *Ansāb* I, Folio 286b²⁷⁻²⁸: he was appointed on the advice of 'Isā ibn 'Alī. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 423, says he was appointed in 146, and (on p. 432) he was placed over Kūfah after 'Isā ibn Musā was dismissed in 139, and was governor there for eight years. Numismatic evidence shows a Sa'īd as prefect in Wāsiṭ, around the year 147. See Appendix B.

²¹⁴Tab 369/8, 41.

²¹⁵Tab 374/8, 46.

²¹⁶Tab 375-373/8, 47-49. Here Ṭabarī also relates from the work of 'Umar ibn Shabbah that Muḥammad was dismissed in 153 and his successor, 'Amr ibn Zuhayr, was appointed the same year. 'Umar points out that it was 'Amr who directed the construction of the moat for Kūfah. It was normally a major responsibility of the ṣāhib al-barīd, who was appointed directly by the caliph, to report all the activities of the governor to the caliph (see Chapter VII). Other officers of the provincial administration are found to have reported certain actions of governors to the caliph, usually in an attempt to enhance their own position and show the governor in a bad light, as was probably the case here.

²¹⁷Tab 375/8, 47; 377/8, 49; 378/8, 51. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 432,

alludes to 147 as the appointment date.

218^{Tab} 384/8, 57.

219^{Tab} 458/8, 115; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 440.

220^{Tab} 458/8, 115. IA VI, p. 36, but with name Ismā^cīl ibn Ismā^cīl.

221^{Tab} 458/8, 115. Thābit was in charge of the *diwān al-kharāj* of Kūfah in 158 and 159, replacing ^cAmr ibn Sulay (Khalīfah) or Kaylagh (in Jahshiyari), who had been invested with that office in 155. When Thābit was appointed, ^cAmr was imprisoned. Muḥammad ibn Jamīl, a relative to Thābit by marriage, succeeded the latter when Maḥdī made him his *kātib* in 163. He was later head of the central administrative *diwān al-kharāj*; and at the beginning of Harūn al-Rashīd's reign, we find him over the *diwān Irāqayn* and the *kharāj* of Syria. ^{Tab} 469/8, 123; 500/8, 148; IA, VI, pp. 41, 61; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 436; Jahshiyari, pp. 124-125, 177.

222^{Tab} 458/8, 115.

223^{Tab} 469/8, 120; IA VI, p. 40. Dhahabī VI, p. 165, says he was dismissed in favor of ^cUthman ibn Luqman al-Jumāhī.

224^{Tab} 465/8, 120. But ^{Tab} 467/8, 121, quoting another tradition from ^cUmar ibn Shabbah, says under the same year (159), that Maḥdī appointed Ruḥ ibn Ḥatim al-Muḥallabī governor of Kūfah. Khalīfah, p. 440, states that ^cIsa ibn Luqman was governor after ^cAmr ibn Zuhayr. Then Sharīk, the *qāḍī*, was put in charge and it was he who appointed Ishāq to the *ahḍāth*. Maḥdī subsequently removed Sharīk and Ishāq was made governor of all functions.

225^{Tab} 466/8, 120.

226^{Tab} 469/8, 123; 484/8, 134; 492/8, 141; 494/8, 143; 501/8, 149; IA VI, pp. 40, 41, 56, 62.

227^{IA} VI, p. 56.

228^{Tab} 491/8, 140; 492/8, 141; IA VI, p. 56. IA VI, p. 68, says that he died in 165, but Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 431, states that he was the last governor of Yemen under Maṣṣūr. He died in Baṣrah in 165, according to Ibn Khallikān VI, p. 190; and IA VI, p. 68, but in 167, according to Yaḥyā qubī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 481.

229^{Tab} 503/8, 151.

230^{Fals} of 165, see Appendix B.

231^{Tab} 503/8, 151.

²³²Tab 505/8, 153; 518/8, 163; IA VI, p. 74. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 441, merely states that he was governor after Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ and before Mūsā ibn ʿIsā.

²³³Tab 519/8, 164. Notices of his being governor in 167: Tab 521/8, 166; Ibn Saʿd VI, p. 261. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 440, says he was governor of *Bagraḥ* past the death of Maḥdī, but this can hardly be correct.

²³⁴Tab 519/8, 164.

²³⁵Dhahabī VI, p. 165. By the end of the year, Mūsā ibn ʿIsā was governor (Tab 568/8, 204).

²³⁶Tab 568/8, 204. Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 441, 446, calling him Mūsā ibn ʿIsā ibn ʿAlī (?), states he was governor of Kufah until Maḥdī's death, and was confirmed in that office by Hādī where he remained until the latter's death. Yaʿqubī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 480: when ʿIsā ibn Mūsā died (167), Maḥdī appointed Mūsā to the post at Kūfah.

²³⁷Tab 605/8, 234; Yaʿqubī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 492.

²³⁸FHA I, pp. 284-285.

²³⁹See Appendix B.

²⁴⁰IA VI, p. 215. He held a number of other posts prior to and after this, including the governorships of Mecca and Ta'if, leadership of the *hajj* and summer campaigns several times. He died in Baghdad in 185 (IA VI, p. 171).

²⁴¹Ibid. Tabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt provide lists only of the governors for Harun al-Rashīd without dates of tenure. The order in which the names are placed, and even the names themselves, vary from one source to the other. Alternative references provide some specific years during which certain of these individuals were in office, but the chronology from this point on is tentative at best. I have followed a combination of Tabarī (740/8, 346) and Ibn al-Athīr (VI, p. 215). Khalīfah's list (op. cit., p. 462) is very different between Mūsā ibn ʿIsā's first appointment through to the last governor under Harun:

al-ʿAbbās ibn Mūsā ibn ʿIsā (1)
 (Yaʿqub ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr
 (Yahyā ibn Bashr ibn Hajwān al-Ḥārithī
 Mūsā ibn ʿIsā (2)
 al-ʿAbbās ibn Mūsā (2)
 Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ (2)
 Jaʿfar ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar
 Manṣūr ibn ʿAtā' al-Khurasānī, *mawla* Banū Layth
 Mūsā ibn ʿIsā (3)

Some time during the 170s Mūsā ibn Khāzim ibn Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī was

governor of Wāsiṭ (*Ansāb* II, Folio 450b²³⁻²⁴).

²⁴²Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 448, says he was appointed after al-^cAbbas ibn Musā, but he never arrived at his post, having made Yahyā ibn Bashr al-Ḥajwānī al-Ḥarithī his acting governor. The latter was dismissed within a short time, however.

²⁴³Tab 607/8, 236; IA VI, p. 118; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 521. In *Ansāb* I, Folio 335a⁴⁻⁵, Ya^cqub led the *hajj* in 172 and fell from his horse, breaking his neck. Whether Baladhurī means that the accident happened specifically while Ya^cqub was on this trip, or at a later time, is a matter of conjecture. However, he is reported to have still been alive in 224 (IA VI, p. 502; FHA II, p. 512).

²⁴⁴Tab 607/8, 236.

²⁴⁵Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215.

²⁴⁶Tab 625/8, 251. FHA I, pp. 294-295, states that he was dismissed from the post in Egypt in 176.

²⁴⁷Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462, says he was appointed between Musā ibn ^cIsa ibn ^cAlī (?) and Ya^cqub ibn Abū Ja^cfar.

²⁴⁸Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215; Khalīfah, loc. cit.

²⁴⁹*Ansāb* I, Folio 334b^{7-8, 12-13}, adding that he owned a house near the Bāb al-Naqb, which looked out over the Tigris.

²⁵⁰Op. cit., p. 462.

²⁵¹Tab 625/8, 251; Ibn Sa^cd VI, p. 264.

²⁵²Coins issued in his name for Armenia and Arran for these years are extant. See Appendix B.

²⁵³Tab 646/8, 267; 647/8, 269; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 522.

²⁵⁴Tab 646/8, 267. Numismatic evidence points to an ^cAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad as *amīl* of Wāsiṭ in 182. See Appendix B.

²⁵⁵IA VI, p. 165. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462, states he was still in office when Harun al-Rashīd died in 193. This may be true and his death date of 183 could be in error, since the period in office of the next governor is very uncertain. A *faṭṭa* of 191 (?) may have been issued for Musā. See Appendix B.

²⁵⁶IA, VI, p. 215.

²⁵⁷Tab 358/8, 32; 651/8, 275. A Sa^cīd was *amīl* of Wāsiṭ in 187.

See Appendix B.

258 Tab 832/8, 417. In another place (779/8, 377), Tabarī states that Amīn appointed ^CAlī ibn ^CIsā (ibn Mahan) governor of Iraq in 194.

259 Tab 856/8, 435; 857/8, 436.

260 Tab 857/8, 436; 858/8, 437; and IA VI, p. 265, where he is called al-Faḍl ibn Mūsā ibn ^CIsā al-Hashimī. Ya^Cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 534, gives a different version, stating that Ṭahir headed for Wasit on 3 Rajab 196 (March 21, 812), after the people of Kūfah had given allegiance to Ma'mūn at the hands of al-Faḍl ibn Mūsā ibn ^CIsā. Zambaur, *Manuel*, Table G, F.N. 59, has Faḍl ibn Mūsā ibn ^CIsā as being governor of Kūfah from 196 to 199, which is certainly incorrect.

261 Tab 859/8, 437-438. ^CImrān later was Ma'mūn's governor of Sind in 216 (Tab 1105/8, 626) and was killed while still in that office in 227 (Ya^Cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 585). Cf. M. Streck, "al-Mada'in," *EI*¹ III, p. 77.

262 Tab 857/8, 436-437.

263 Tab 856/8, 435.

264 Events during his governorship of all Iraq have been discussed under the same years for Baṣrah.

265 See Appendix B.

266 Tab 977/8, 529. Ya^Cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 543, says Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad was made governor of Kūfah ca. 199-200.

267 Cf. B. A. Scarcia, "Ibn Ṭabāṭabā," *EI*² III, pp. 950-951.

268 Cf. H.A.R. Gibb, "Abū'l-Sarāyā," *EI*² I, pp. 149-150.

269 See Appendix B.

270 Tab 979/8, 530. In another place (985/8, 534), ^CAlī ibn Abū Sa^Cīd is said to have been wālī of Wasit when Abū Sarāyā arrived. ^CAbd Allāh had an active career: he was appointed governor of Tabaristan in 185 (650/8, 273), governor of Ḥimṣ in 194 (775/8, 374; 795/8, 388), and was head of a large army in Hamadān in 195 (831/8, 416).

271 The sources give notice to this important ^CAlid insurrection. Tab 976-986/8, 528-535; IA VI, pp. 302-307, 309-310; Ya^Cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 542-543; Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 468-470; FHA I, pp. 345-347.

272 Ya^Cqūbī II, p. 543.

273 Tab 1003/8, 547.

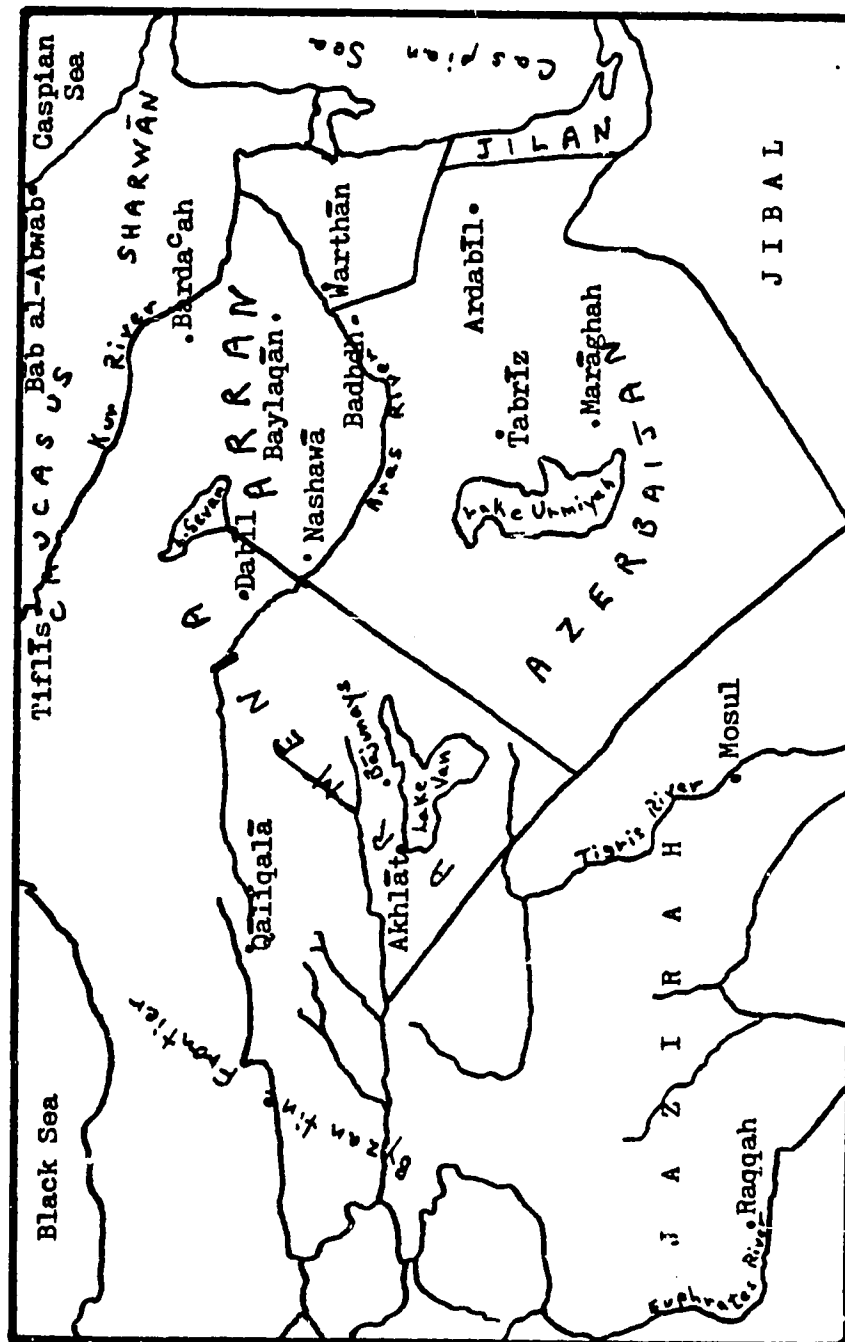
- ²⁷⁴Tab 1012-13/8, 554-555. Cf. B. Lewis, "^cAlī al-Ridā," *ET*² I, pp. 399-400.
- ²⁷⁵Tab 1017/8, 558.
- ²⁷⁶Tab 1019-23/8, 559-562. Sourdél, "Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī," *ET*² III, p. 987.
- ²⁷⁷Tab 1037/8, 574.
- ²⁷⁸Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 553, gives his name as ^cIsā ibn al-Rashīd.
- ²⁷⁹Tab 1066/8, 596; IA VI, p. 385.
- ²⁸⁰Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.
- ²⁸¹See Appendix B.
- ²⁸²He may well have been a relative of Ṭāhir ibn al-Husayn, as they share the same name of their grandfather. He received a number of appointments from the Ṭahirids. See Ṭabarī, Index.
- ²⁸³Tab 1102/8, 623.
- ²⁸⁴Tab 1165/8, 667-668.
- ²⁸⁵Although D. Waines, "The Third Century Internal Crisis of the Abbasids," *JESHO* 20 (1977), p. 286, shows revenues from the Sawad decreasing from early in the reign of Harun al-Rashīd, this does not preclude the Baṣrah/Kufah rivalry in social, economic and cultural spheres as having abated.
- ²⁸⁶For the ^camīl's role in provincial administration, see Chapter VI.
- ²⁸⁷Tax revenues of Iraq are listed in Appendix C.
- ^{288c}Abbāsīd governors of Baṣrah were in office for approximately 34 of the 86 years (Muslim reckoning) covered in this study. Other governors were drawn from the various Arab tribal divisions: Yaman (8), Mudar (6), as well as one Iranian. Two others were *mawālī* and four governors came from indeterminable origins. See Chapter VI, Table 1.
- ²⁸⁹Of the 86 years of this period, about 47 saw ^cAbbāsīd family members as governors of Kufah. Others were from Yaman (2), Mudar (2), Iranian (2), in addition to one *mawālā* and two whose affiliation cannot be determined. See Chapter VI, Table 1.

CHAPTER III

THE PROVINCE OF ARMENIA

The first ^CAbbāsids inherited the province of Armenia from their predecessors, the Umayyads, and with it the task of ruling a populace generally hostile to the Arabs since the initial conquests in the region dating from 24/645-646. What the Arab historians and geographers termed *Armīniyah*, in reality comprised a region made up of several distinct territories inhabited by a diverse number of peoples. The Arabs merely took the name of the most prominent of these lands, the former kingdom of Armenia, and applied it to the entire area stretching along the southern slopes of the Caucasus, from the Caspian Sea westward to the Byzantine frontier that extended south from the Black Sea. The southern limits of this vast territory were defined by the caliphal provinces of the Jazirah and Azerbaijan, both of which were sometimes joined to Armenia for administrative purposes. The Arab geographers applied several systems of division to Armenia according to groupings of districts, but the administrative mechanism of the ^CAbbāsids functioned on the concept of two or three large territorial units.¹

Armenia proper comprised the area from the headwaters of the Euphrates eastward to a line running roughly between Lakes Van and Urmiah north to Lake Sevan. The capital of Armenia under the Arabs was called by them Dabīl (Armenian Dvin).² Other major urban centers were Qālīqalā (modern Erzerum), Nashawā (Armenian Nakhichewan), and Khilāt or Akhlāt. During the period of Arab domination of Armenia, groups of Arab tribes-



ARMENIA

men were settled in the province. This is particularly true under the early ^CAbbāsids when certain governors made a conscious effort to bring in large numbers of Arabs, mainly from the Jazirah and Iraq. Normally, the new settlers were members of the governor's own tribal grouping, brought in to bolster his influence in the province. Thus, parts of Armenia, by this process, came to have a large Arab population, centered principally in Dabīl, Qālīqalā and in the mineral-rich area north of Lake Van, known as Bājunays (formerly the old Armenian district of Apahuniq), and particularly in the town of the same name.³ The Arab population, allowed to become established in the cities and towns, developed its own interests and was often as much a source of trouble for the administration as were the indigenous peoples of the area.

For administrative purposes, the ^CAbbāsids joined the province of Arran to Armenia under a single governor. This territory, the classical Albania, comprised the region between the Aras (Araxes) and the Kur (Kura) Rivers, but during the early ^CAbbāsīd period was extended eastward to the Caspian coast and northward to the fortress city of Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband).⁴ Thus, the Arab Arran was enlarged to encompass the districts of Sharwān, Shakkī and Ṭabarsarān.⁵ The principal city and capital of Arran was Barda^Cah (Armenian Partav), which had a large Arab population.⁶ The other major urban centers were Baylaqān, within Arran itself, and Bāb al-Abwāb on the Caspian coast.

During the early ^CAbbāsīd period, even the province of Azerbaijan was sometimes joined to Armenia and Arran under a single governor.⁷ Azerbaijan was situated between Lake Urmīyah and the Caspian Sea on the west and east, respectively, and was limited by the Aras River and Arran

to the north and the provinces of Jibal and Jilān to the south and south-east. Ardabīl was the capital and normally the seat of an ^CAbbāsīd governor when the province was ruled separately.⁸ During times when Azerbaijan was united with Armenia and Arran, the governor usually placed a deputy in the city or occasionally administered all three provinces from there, especially when his presence was required to quell disturbances or revolts localized in that province. Other important urban centers of the province were Marāghah, Warthān and Badhdh. The last-named place became famous as the center of operations for the revolutionary leader Bābak, who began his long-lasting insurrection from there about 201/816-817.⁹

The importance of Armenia to the early ^CAbbāsīds is manifest by the interest each individual caliph took in the political situation of the province.¹⁰ Time after time, armies were sent under able—and sometimes incompetent—leaders to put down revolts by Armenians and local Arabs alike. The caliphs were interested in maintaining strong control of Armenia and there were several reasons for this policy. Armenia was a frontier province; that is, it bordered on non-Muslim territory and the need was perceived to maintain the province as a buffer zone against the attacks of peoples to the north, particularly the Turks and Khazars.¹¹ It was also an area where large numbers of Arab tribesmen, whose numbers had been increasing dramatically since the initial Arab conquests, could be settled. Such resettling fulfilled two needs:

- the requirement for more land by Arab tribes and the necessity to maintain adequate manpower to meet the military exigencies of guarding the frontier and quelling disorders; and
- a second reason for caliphal interest in Armenia was economic in nature.

Although the province was taxed only moderately in comparison to other parts of the Empire, it generated large amounts of revenue for the central government.¹² In addition to tax revenues, Armenia was rich in natural resources which the ^CAbbāsids were eager to exploit. Several minerals are found there in abundance, including copper, silver and lead, as well as some gold.¹³ The area of Bājunays, north of Lake Van, was known for the mining of natron salt, magnesia and copper.¹⁴ The province produced large amounts of cereal grains and fish, much of which was exported to Iraq and other regions of the Empire.¹⁵ In addition, Armenia was well known for its manufacture of fine cloth and carpets, the center of these activities being Dabīl.¹⁶ Although the reported amounts of taxes in dirhams and dinars levied on Armenia do not seem excessively large, the wealth of the province in other forms attracted the interest of the central administration, and taxes in kind were collected in addition to those payable in cash.

Several mints were in operation in Armenia during the early ^CAbbāsīd period and the almost unbroken series of silver and copper coinage they produced is a major source of historical information for that period. The two primary mints were located at Dabīl and Barda^Cah, although the names on the coins themselves were usually the names of the provinces; i.e., Armenia and Arran, respectively.¹⁷ In addition, there were occasional emanations from Bāb al-Abwāb, Hārūnābād/Hārūnīyah, and a long series from Ma^Cdan Bājunays. A few copper issues, probably struck by prefects on behalf of the governors, are known for Bāb al-Abwāb, the fortress city that marked the northern limit of Arab rule in Armenia and which was subject to frequent attacks by the Khazars.¹⁸ Hārūnābād (or

Hārūnīyah) has not been identified with any certainty but, because the word *Armīniyah* is also present on most of the coins minted there, its inclusion as a provincial mint is justified.¹⁹ Dirhams and *faḷs* are known for the period of 167 to 171.²⁰ The Ma^cdan Bājunays mint produced a series of coinage beginning in the 180s and extending almost to the end of Ma'mūn's reign. The location of the mint town has been a matter of conjecture for some time, however. H.M. Ghazarian summed up the various possibilities for Bājunays, based on both Arab and Armenian sources, and finally concluded that it was the area northwest of Lake Van near Manzikert (Malazgird).²¹ The identification of Bājunays with the old Armenian district of Apahuniq is undeniably correct, but because the word *ma^cdan* (Arabic for "mine") is prefixed to Bājunays, it was possibly a state-owned operation, located near the village of Bājunays.²² It is perhaps coincidental that the first year of issue from this mint is dated 183/799. Canard reports that, according to the Armenian writer Leontius, silver mines were discovered at the end of the 8th century A.D.²³ In the opinion of this writer, dirhams with the mint name of *ma^cdan Bājunays* were struck to exploit the newly-found silver deposits directly from the minehead.

The transition from Umayyad to ^cAbbāsīd rule seems to have affected Armenia very little. The last Umayyad governor, Ishāq ibn Muslim al-^cUqaylī, attempted to hold onto this province by the force of arms but, with no help forthcoming from Marwān, had little prospect for success. Under the first ^cAbbāsīds, Armenia was administered, more often than not, either from or in union with the Jazirah.²⁴ Whenever a particularly dangerous revolt threatened or actually broke out, which spread beyond the

confines of one province, the caliph was forced to take drastic measures to re-establish his authority. This usually involved sending reinforcements to the provinces and appointing a territorial governor with military experience over the several provinces in question. Instances when governors were appointed over more than one of the northern frontier provinces, especially where one of these was Armenia, are mentioned below in the course of reconstructing the chronology of each governor.

1. Abū ʿImārah Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl (*mawḷā*) (132/749-750). When control of the Jazirah slipped from Umayyad hands, the first representative of the new dynasty in that province, and by extension, in Armenia and Azerbaijan, was Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl.²⁵ The Arab sources give conflicting accounts concerning Muḥammad's short-lived career under the first ʿAbbāsids. It seems that he was the governor of Mosul in 132 when Saffāḥ sent him with a large army to govern Armenia and Azerbaijan.²⁶ When he arrived in Armenia, Muḥammad found that Musāfir ibn Kathīr al-Qaṣṣāb, the successor of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān's *ʿāmil* there, Ishāq ibn Muslim al-ʿUqaylī, had taken control of the province. After protracted military operations, Musāfir was killed and those strongholds that had been closed to the new régime were reduced by siege. Eventually, Muḥammad arrived in Bardaʿah and remained there until he was dismissed by Saffāḥ.²⁷ The confusion in the sources concerning his tenure as governor of Armenia stems from the fact that he was the deputy of Abū Jaʿfar in Azerbaijan during the time the future caliph was in control of a vast area comprising the Jazirah, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Therefore, it is possible that some of the events described by the Arab historians concerning Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl actually took place while he was governor of

Azerbaijan and not Armenia. Because of the unsettled political situation in these territories, it was often necessary to send a military commander from one province into an adjacent one in order to quell revolts and restore ^CAbbāsīd control. This was a frequent occurrence in frontier provinces such as Armenia.

2(a). Abū Ja^Cfar ^CAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad (al-Manṣūr al-^CAbbāsī) (132-136/750-754). After dismissing Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl from Armenia, probably late in 132, Saffāḥ appointed his brother governor of the entire northern and western frontiers, including the Jazirah and Mosul, the Thughūr (i.e., the line of forts on the Byzantine frontier), Armenia and Azerbaijan.²⁸ Abū Ja^Cfar was sent out to fill this post because of the devastating insurrections which had broken out in those regions and, accordingly, he took a large army that had been engaged in the siege of Wāsiṭ to the Jazirah.²⁹ Although he made that province his center of operations, he did conduct a campaign into Armenia. According to Ibn A^Cthan al-Kūfī, Abū Ja^Cfar advanced into Armenia and spent the winter in a place called Kīrān and the following summer on the plain of Ḍāribah in Jurzān (Georgia).³⁰ He seems not to have remained in Armenia for long, but went back to the Jazirah where he laid out the garrison town of Rāfiqah next to Raqqah on the Euphrates.³¹ Here he stayed until 136/754 when Saffāḥ, worried about Abū Muslim's intentions of coming to Iraq from Khurāsān with a large army, requested Abū Ja^Cfar's presence. He remained governor of his provinces, but left Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah al-Ṭā'ī in charge when he went to Anbār.³² While he concerned himself with affairs in the Jazirah, Abū Ja^Cfar's deputies managed the administration of his other provinces. A Mujāshi^C ibn Yazīd was his *ʿāmil* of Azerbai-

jan in 133 and 134/751-752, but was soon replaced by Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, who was his representative there until about 136/754.³³ Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ and Yazīd ibn Usayd were consecutively Abū Jaʿfar's deputies in Armenia.

2(b). Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Kindī (*mawlā*) (133-134/750-751). He was a *mawlā* of Kindah, according to Balādhurī, and was appointed by Abū Jaʿfar as his deputy over Armenia in 133/750-751.³⁴ In that same year, he was sent by Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, Abū Jaʿfar's deputy in Mosul, to Baylaqān, where he invested the town and killed many of its inhabitants.³⁵ Yaʿqūbī does not give the reason for this action, but Baylaqān is often mentioned as a trouble spot in the province, usually as a center for revolutionary intrigue. Ṣāliḥ was dismissed in 134, but is found later leading the forces sent to the Jazirah in 137/754-755 to put down the revolt of Mulabbad ibn Ḥarmalah al-Shaybānī. He was defeated by the latter and nothing more is heard of him after that time.³⁶

2(c). Yazīd ibn Usayd ibn Zāfir al-Sulamī (Qays/Muḍar) (134-136/752-754). He is only mentioned as Abū Jaʿfar's deputy in Armenia in 134 and 135.³⁷ No details of this, his first tenure, are recounted in the sources. When Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah was appointed over the Jazirah, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 136/754, Ṣāliḥ was dismissed from his post.³⁸

3. al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah ibn Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī (Yaman) (136-[141]/754-[759]). When Abū Jaʿfar left for Iraq, he appointed Ḥasan governor over the Jazirah, Armenia and Azerbaijan.³⁹ In 137/755, Abū Jaʿfar, by then the caliph, wrote to Ḥasan urging him to kill Abū Muslim, who was in Mosul at the time.⁴⁰ Since Abū Muslim was later killed at Madā'in in

Iraq by orders of the caliph, Ḥasan either did not find a way of complying with Maṣṣūr's request, or was reluctant to be blamed for the famous revolutionary's demise. Of his first tenure as governor of Armenia, very little is known and it may be that he spent much of his time on military operations outside of the province. He is found leading the summer campaign against the Byzantines in 140/757,⁴¹ and it was probably for that purpose that Balādhurī mentions that he brought in troops from Khurāsān.⁴² In 141/758-759, we find his successor already in Armenia, although Ḥasan is mentioned as an *ʿamil* of Maṣṣūr in Armenia, sent there to help the new governor counter an incursion by the Khazars.⁴³

4. Yazīd ibn Usayd (Qays/Muḍar); second appointment (141-[152]/759-[769]). At the time Maṣṣūr appointed Yazīd governor in 141, large numbers of Yamani tribesmen from Baṣrah, particularly from the clan of Jayy, were being resettled in Armenia and Azerbaijan.⁴⁴ This relocation was undoubtedly devised to bolster support for the new régime in the area, since the Yaman groups were mostly loyal to the ʿAbbāsids. Whether or not the introduction of many Yamanis into Armenia disturbed Yazīd, who was of the Muḍar, is not revealed by the sources, which do not provide the length of his second appointment either. He was definitely in Armenia in 142/759-760 and 143/760-761, as there are *fulūs* minted in Bardaʿah extant for those years with his name on them.⁴⁵ Balādhurī also states that he was governor of Armenia when Hārūn al-Rashīd was born (26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 145/March 17, 763).⁴⁶ The terminal date of his governorship cannot be determined with any certainty.⁴⁷ He is found leading the summer raids in 149/766⁴⁸ and was dismissed, probably in 152/769, when Bakkār ibn Muslim was appointed governor.⁴⁹ How-

ever, Vasmer, citing Armenian sources, says that from about 149 to 152/766-769, the governor was a person named Sulaymān, although he may have been only a subordinate of Yazīd.⁵⁰

Despite a rather sketchy chronology, a fair number of the details of Yazīd's second tenure can be reconstructed from the sources. Ignoring Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah, both Balādhurī and Hamadhānī say that Manṣūr appointed Yazīd governor of Armenia upon his accession to the caliphate. Yazīd immediately began a campaign into the Caucasus, conquering first the Bāb al-Lān and stationing a garrison there, then subduing the Ṣan-ārīyah, and forcing them to pay the *kharāj*.⁵¹ He sent a representative to the naphtha and salt mines in Sharwān, levied a tax on them, and put a person in charge of their operations. He also founded the cities of Greater and Lesser Arjīl and settled people from Palestine in them.⁵² By far the most important events of Yazīd's career were those concerning the Khazars and their relations with the caliphate. The details are best preserved by Ibn A^cthan al-Kūfī:

Yazīd ibn Usayd went from Iraq to Armenia and stayed at Barda^cah. Then he set out his *camels* separately in the land. Manṣūr wrote to him saying that the condition of Armenia was not good and would not be peaceful unless there was a marriage arranged with the Khazars. Thus, Yazīd should marry the king's daughter so that conditions could improve. When Yazīd got Manṣūr's letter, he sent to Khāqān, king of the Khazars, whose name was Ta^cāṭar, asking for the hand of his daughter, Khātūn. The king answered saying that he could marry her for a dowry of 100,000 dirhams. Khātūn came with 10,000 retainers (and many expensive possessions, which will not be enumerated here). Yazīd undertook to convert her and had some women teach her the Qur'an. In a period of two years and four months she gave birth to two children, both of whom died and she died during the birth of the second. When the Khazars heard of the death of Khātūn, they⁵³ set out against the Muslims.

The death of the Khazar princess is held up as the main reason for the devastating raids by those peoples into Armenia in 145-147/762-764.⁵⁴

The Khazars attacked at Bāb al-Abwāb and forced Yazīd back, even though he had 7,000 cavalry. Manṣūr sent him large numbers of reinforcements, but the Muslims were defeated again at Sharwān, managing only to get back to Barda^cah. Manṣūr was deeply troubled by these setbacks, but resolved to see his northern frontier protected. He sent Yazīd out with new contingents and, by the time the governor arrived in his province, the Khazars must have withdrawn. He went first to Barda^cah, then on to Bāb al-Abwāb, where he repaired the breaches in the walls.⁵⁵ At this point, Yazīd was dismissed from his post.⁵⁶

5. Sulaymān (ancestry unknown)(148-152/766-768). Although no Arab source names a Sulaymān as governor of Armenia at this time, Vasmer included him in his enumeration for two reasons: his mention in the Armenian sources and numismatic evidence. Vasmer cites works by Saint-Martin and Petermann, saying that a certain Sulaymān was governor of Armenia from 148 to 152 and that before him was an Armenian prince, Sahak (Isaac) the son of Pakarad, from 143 to 149/760-766.⁵⁷ Vasmer notes that Saint-Martin shows Yazīd as the person who appointed Sahak and, therefore, both this individual and Sulaymān must have been deputies for Yazīd.⁵⁸ The numismatic evidence for Sulaymān's governorship is a dirham of Armenia, dated 151, with a *szn* in the space normally reserved for the name of the governor.⁵⁹ Admittedly, this evidence is inconclusive, but no better explanation can be offered than that this single letter represents the Sulaymān mentioned in the Armenian sources, and that he was in a strong enough position to have coins with his initial minted under his auspices.

6. Bakkār ibn Muslim al-^cUqaylī (Muḍar)(152-[154]/769-[771]). This

military leader came to Armenia with a great deal of experience in difficult situations. He had performed many services for the first two ^CAbbāsīd caliphs, including the termination of the revolt in the Jazirah in 132-133/750-751 and the war against the rebel Ustadh Sīs in Khurāsān in 150/767.⁶⁰ Ṭabarī states that he was appointed governor of Armenia in 153/770 and other sources agree that he did follow Yazīd ibn Usayd in office.⁶¹ However, numismatic evidence shows he was in control of Armenia in 152/769 as well as 153.⁶² The length of his tenure is somewhat uncertain, but he was succeeded by Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah—probably in 154/771.⁶³

7. al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah (Yaman); second appointment (154-158/771-775). The date of Ḥasan's second appointment is not recorded in the Arab sources, but coins with his name are extant for the years 154, 155 and 158.⁶⁴ Ḥasan brought an army of 50,000 Khurāsānis, Syrians and Iraqīs with him. When he arrived in Armenia, he was faced with a renewed rebellion by the Ṣanāriyah in Jurzān.⁶⁵ Maṣṣūr sent reinforcements under ^CAmir ibn Ismā^Cīl al-Ḥārithī and eventually the caliph's forces were able to defeat the rebels.⁶⁶ Maṣṣūr's army returned to Iraq and for a time Ḥasan was able to govern the province in relative peace from Barda^Cah. He sent his sons out into the province as his deputies, placing Qaḥṭabah in Bāb al-Abwāb; Ibrāhīm in Jurzān, governing from Tiḥlīs; and Muḥammad over Armenia IV, governing the land around Akhlāt and Qālī-qalā.⁶⁷ Non-military affairs must have occupied Ḥasan during this tranquil period, for Balādhurī reports that the Nahr al-Ḥasan canal in Bay-laqān and the Bāgh al-Ḥasan (gardens or vineyards) in Barda^Cah were named for him, as were the royal estates known as al-Ḥasaniyah.⁶⁸

This peaceful interlude was not to last for long, and it was Ḥasan's son Muḥammad who was responsible for initiating another conflict between the caliphal administration and the indigenous population. When Muḥammad attempted to take the property and goods of an Armenian prince named Michael, the latter called the Armenian nobility to revolt. The Ṣanārīyah, always ready to attack the Arab overlords, joined in the fray and were led by the prince of Jurzān, Ḥamrah, son of Jurjīq. Ḥasan asked Manṣūr for help and the caliph sent a force under ʿĀmir ibn Ismāʿīl to Akhlāt, while Ḥasan himself joined him from Bardaḥ with a large army. The two opposing forces met on the western shore of Lake Van near Akhlāt on 29 Jumādā II 158 (May 5, 775) and the Armenians were utterly routed, losing more than 3,000 men, including Prince Michael. The Muslim army stripped the local church of its wealth, which was most likely carried back to Manṣūr, along with the heads of the Armenian princes.⁶⁹ The caliph may have learned the cause of the insurrection was linked to Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan's avarice, for shortly after this victory Ḥasan himself was dismissed from office.⁷⁰ Although Ḥasan was not to hold a major governmental post again, he was active in military operations after his dismissal from Armenia and lived until 181/797, when he died at the age of 84.⁷¹

8. Wāḍiḥ al-ʿAbbāsī, *mawlā* of Manṣūr (158/775). He was the great, great grandfather of the historian Yaʿqūbī and was appointed governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan after Ḥasan was dismissed.⁷² He seems never to have entered Armenia proper, but resided in Azerbaijan and was there only until the death of Manṣūr on 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 158 (October 7, 775).⁷³ Numismatic evidence demonstrates that his successor was already in Bar-

da^cah before the end of 158.⁷⁴

9. Yazīd ibn Usayd (Qays/Muḍar)(158-163/775-780). The Arab sources do not mention this last appointment of Yazīd to govern Armenia, but an Armenian historian shows him to have been in office during this period.⁷⁵ Ṭabarī does say that he took part in the summer campaign of 162/779 and made forays in the region of Qālīqalā, capturing three fortresses.⁷⁶ Since Qālīqalā was part of the province of Armenia, Yazīd was obviously acting in his capacity as governor that year. Extant coinage with Yazīd's name from Barda^cah in 158, 159 and 163, and from Dabīl in 159 conclusively demonstrates that he was the governor of Armenia during this period.⁷⁷

10. Hārūn al-Rashīd (ʿAbbāsī)(163-[165]/780-[782]). Mahdī appointed his son governor of all the provinces west of Iraq up to, but not including, Egypt, as well as Armenia and Azerbaijan, in 163.⁷⁸ It is impossible to determine whether Hārūn did indeed go to Armenia during his appointment, as he spent much time campaigning against the Byzantines. He led the summer raids of 163 and 165.⁷⁹ However, in 164/781, an ʿAbd al-Kabīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd led the summer campaign, which must have centered on the Armenian frontier. He was opposed by a force of 90,000 men, led by an Armenian, Prince Michael, and the affair seems to have culminated in neither side gaining the advantage.⁸⁰ Of Hārūn's part in the affairs of the province at this time, there is no evidence.

11. ʿUthmān ibn ʿUmārah ibn Khuraym (Qays/Muḍar)([165]-168/[782]-785). Almost nothing is known of his governorship in Armenia. Balādhurī and Hamadhānī say only that he was governor after Ḥasan ibn Qaḥ-

ṭabah and before Rūḥ ibn Ḥātim.⁸¹ However, numismatic evidence shows him to have been in the province during the years 166 to 168.⁸² He was later governor of Sijistān 172-176/788-792.⁸³

12. ^cAbū Ḥātim Rūḥ ibn Ḥātim ibn Qabīṣah al-Muhallabī (Azd-Yaman) (169/785-786). He is mentioned by Balādhurī and Hamadhānī as governor after ^cUthmān and before Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim, although the date is not specified.⁸⁴ However, a dirham minted in Arran and dated 169 demonstrates that he was in Armenia after having been dismissed from the governorship of Kūfah by Hādī.⁸⁵ Since he left Kūfah well after Maḥdī's death at the beginning of the year and his successor was already in office some time during 169, Rūḥ's tenure must not have been very long, perhaps no more than six months.

13. Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim al-Tamīmī (Mudār) (169-170/786-787). After the death of Maḥdī on 22 Muḥarram 169 (August 4, 785), and during the reign of Hādī, affairs in Armenia became unsettled.⁸⁶ A question arises concerning when Khuzaymah was appointed governor and by whom. Ṭabarī mentions that he was in Baghdad when Hādī died on 15 Rabī^c I 170 (September 14, 786), but says nothing of his appointment to Armenia.⁸⁷ Ya^cqūbī, however, says that Hārūn al-Rashīd sent him as governor to that province and that he was there one year and two months, during which time he restored the peace and order in the country and received obedience from the people.⁸⁸ If this chronology is correct, then Khuzaymah's tenure would have begun in 170/787 and extended into 171/788, although available evidence points to a new governor being named in 170. Numismatic evidence shows that Khuzaymah was indeed in Armenia while Maḥdī

was still alive and during Hādī's brief caliphate. Dirhams of Hārūnīyah, dated 169, have both Khuzaymah and Maḥdī inscribed; and numerous dirhams and *fulūs*, dated 169 and 170, contain the names of Khuzaymah and Hādī.⁸⁹ If we assume that the data on the coinage is correct, Khuzaymah's tenure was during the years 169 to 170. The possible conflict with Ya'qūbī's statement is alleviated since Hārūn, in his capacity as son of the caliph and second heir-apparent, could have very well appointed Khuzaymah. He may have also retained the authority over those provinces, including Armenia, which he had controlled earlier.

In any case, whatever troubles had unsettled the province, Khuzaymah worked to stabilize conditions during his term in office. Balādhurī says that, of the several governors of Armenia he listed for Maḥdī, Hādī and Hārūn, Khuzaymah was by far the most severe.⁹⁰ He introduced the system by which Dabīl and Nashawā paid the land tax (*kharāj*) according to the area under cultivation and not by the produce. The Armenian nobility attempted always to hold on to their individual properties and respected only those *ʿamīls* of the caliph who demonstrated strength and severity. When confronted by a strong governor, they would pay the *kharāj* and submit.⁹¹ This very interesting observation by Balādhurī provides a keen insight into Arab/Armenian relations during the early ʿAbbāsīd period. The indigenous population of the province, the majority of whom were Christians, must have looked on the caliph's representative as an oppressor who kept order and collected taxes. Any sign of weakness on the part of the governor would almost certainly be met with revolt. It is not surprising that the office of governor in Armenia was more often than not filled by a military leader.

14. Yūsuf ibn Rāshid al-Sulamī (Qays/Muḍar)(170-[171]/787-[788]).

He was appointed to replace Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim, but does not seem to have been in office long.⁹² His name is found on a dirham of Hārūnīyah dated 170, but the presence of Hādī's name may indicate that he was already in the province in another capacity before replacing Khuzaymah.⁹³ Yūsuf undertook to transfer many of the Nizārīyah to Armenia and they overwhelmed the area held by the Yaman, becoming very numerous during his governorship.⁹⁴ The Nizārīyah originally represented the great tribal grouping of North Arabs, from which came both the Muḍar and Rabīʿah. It later took on a political connotation representing the power bloc, which opposed the Yamanīyah or South Arabs in the factionalism that divided the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsīd caliphates.⁹⁵

15. Yazīd ibn Mazyad ibn Zāʿidah al-Shaybanī (Rabīʿah-Nizār)(171-172/788-789). Although the date of his appointment is not known, it came after the dismissal of Yūsuf ibn Rāshid. He may have already been in Armenia as an *ʿamil* of one of its regions (Azerbaijan) because his name is found on dirhams of Hārūnīyah, dated 169 and 170.⁹⁶ After he became governor, he transferred a large number of Rabīʿah Arabs to the province, probably in order to provide new land for members of his own North Arab tribal grouping.⁹⁷ The overall effect was to make the North Arabs the predominate Arab faction in Armenia, a fact reflected in the many governors of the province whose tribal background was Muḍar or Rabīʿah. The author of the *Tārīkh al-Bāb* calls Yazīd ibn Mazyad the first king of Sharwān (Sharwānshāh) and gives his domains as Azerbaijan, Armenia, Arran and Bāb al-Abwāb, probably in reference to his second appointment (see below).⁹⁸ No other details of Yazīd's first adminis-

tration are known, except that he was dismissed in 172.⁹⁹

16(a). ^ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Mahdī al-^ʿAbbāsī (172-[175]/789-[791]). Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed his brother to the post in Armenia in 172, after dismissing Yazīd ibn Mazyad.¹⁰⁰ In reporting the notices of the Armenian sources concerning ^ʿUbayd Allāh, Vasmer notes that there is some confusion as to the length of his governorship.¹⁰¹ Ghevond gives the period 172-182/788-798, but Saint-Martin, who relied on different Armenian writers, has 172-189/788-803.¹⁰² According to Ghevond, this Owbedlye (^ʿUbayd Allāh) was a rival to Hārūn and was strong enough to compel the caliph to concede to him Atrpatakan (Azerbaijan), Armenia, Georgia and Arvan (Arran). Owbedlye took advantage of his position to appoint his own governor, first Yazīd ibn Mazyad, then ^ʿAbd al-Kabīr, and then Sulaymān, "the most malicious and most treacherous of all."¹⁰³ Vasmer argues that, because ^ʿUbayd Allāh's name appears on some of the Armenian coinage without the name of the caliph, this is an indication of his independent status.¹⁰⁴ This is a possibility, but other specimens than the ones Vasmer cites do have Hārūn's name. There is no record of when ^ʿUbayd Allāh ceased being governor of Armenia, but since Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā's name appears on some of the coinage in 175/791, he was probably out of office at some point in this year.¹⁰⁵

16(b). ^ʿAbd al-Kabīr ibn ^ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd ibn ^ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-^ʿAdawī (Quraysh/Muḍar) (175/791-792). According to Ya^ʿqūbī, he was appointed after Yazīd ibn Mazyad and made his headquarters in Ḥarrān, sending large numbers of people from Diyār Muḍar to settle in Armenia. He was in office for only four months and was replaced by Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā.¹⁰⁴ His short tenure and the fact that he made

his headquarters in the Jazirah undoubtedly are the reasons why no coinage bearing his name is known. ^CAd al-Kahīr's only other known involvement in Armenia was his ill-fated expedition against Prince Michael in 164, which earned him the wrath of Mahdī and a period of imprisonment.¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note that, like several governors before him, ^CAbd al-Kabīr was actively engaged in having Arab tribesmen colonize parts of Armenia.

17. Abū al-^CAbbās al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī (Iranian) (175-177/791-793). Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed Faḍl governor of a large territory consisting of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Jibal and the provinces stretching along the southern shore of the Caspian.¹⁰⁸ Although Ṭabarī states that this appointment came about in 176/792, Faḍl's name is already found on Armenian coinage of 175.¹⁰⁹ In the latter year, he had been sent to Khurāsān to receive the oath of loyalty on behalf of the heir-apparent, Amīn, but he could easily have been back soon enough to have been in Armenia before the year was out.¹¹⁰ Faḍl was active in Armenia during his two-year tenure. He took a large army with him, first to Barda^Cah, and then on to Bāb al-Abwāb. In the vicinity of that city he besieged a fortress called Ḥamzīn (or Ḥamzayn), although the reason for this action is not apparent from the sources. He was unable to reduce the stronghold and so withdrew to Barda^Cah. Soon after he appointed ^CUmar ibn Ayyūb as his successor and returned to Iraq.¹¹¹ Faḍl continued to direct affairs in Armenia from Iraq (see below) but, in 177/793, he was made governor of Khurāsān and left for the East the following year.¹¹²

18(a). ^CUmar ibn Ayyūb al-Kinānī (Mudār)(177/793). Faḍl himself

appointed this man to take his place when he left Armenia, but whether or not he was still in office when the next officials arrived is impossible to determine.¹¹³

18(b)(c). Abū al-Ṣabbāh (ancestry unknown) and Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarrānī (? Azd/Yaman)(177/793). After Faḍl returned to Iraq, he sent Abū al-Ṣabbāh and Saʿīd to Armenia to replace ʿUmar ibn Ayyūb, who seems to have been only the acting governor of the province. Abū al-Ṣabbāh was appointed to collect the *kharāj* and Saʿīd was made chief of military operations (*ḥarb*).¹¹⁴ This marks the only reported instance in the period of this study that the several functions of the governor were delegated to named individuals. Some of the names found on Armenian provincial coinage minted during this period may be those persons charged with these offices under particular governors, but they have so far eluded identification in the medieval sources.¹¹⁵ When Abū al-Ṣabbāh attempted to collect the *kharāj* in Armenia, the people of Bardaʿah killed him and the province seemed on the edge of yet another revolt.¹¹⁶

19. Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī (Qays/Muḍar)(177-[178]/793-[794]). Most likely, as a result of the disturbances touched off by the killing of Abū al-Ṣabbāh, a certain Abū Muslim al-Shārī led a revolt in Baylaqān and Faḍl ibn Yahyā appointed Khālīd governor, with powers to deal with the insurrection.¹¹⁷ Numismatic evidence permits the conclusion that Khālīd's tenure included part of 177.¹¹⁸ Our two main Arab historians differ somewhat in reporting the events which followed.

Yaʿqūbī: Faḍl sent ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Khalīfah al-Ḥarashī to Khālīd with 5,000 men. They engaged Abū Muslim al-Shārī at Rūyān and were defeated. Then Abū Muslim headed for the citadel of the Kilāb and took

control of it. After this, Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed al-^ʿAbbās ibn Jarīr.¹¹⁹

Ibn A^ʿtham al-Kūfī: Hārūn al-Rashīd sent Ishāq ibn Muslim al-^ʿUqaylī with 5,000 Iraqi cavalry. When this news reached Abū Muslim, he marched towards Ishāq until he came to the city of Warthān. The two forces met in a fierce battle there and Ishāq was surrounded, suffering a shameful defeat at the hands of Abū Muslim. When Hārūn was informed of this, he sent al-^ʿAbbās ibn Jarīr.¹²⁰

Several aspects of the above reports point to two separate armies engaged in the same battle against Abū Muslim al-Shārī. Probably, upon learning of the revolt led by Abū Muslim, Fadl and Hārūn each sent a force to aid the governor, Khālīd. There seems to be some discrepancy in the geographical location of the battle as well. Warthān was a locality south of Baylaqān on the Aras River in Azerbaijan. It is very likely that the correct location of the battle was near that place, since the Muslims would have been coming north from Iraq and Abū Muslim was reported to have marched from Baylaqān to meet them. Rūyān was an area southwest of the Caspian Sea and, therefore, a very unlikely location for this battle. Warthān and Rūyān look so similar in Arabic that the name in Ya^ʿqūbī is, in all probability, the mistake of a copier.

20. al-^ʿAbbās ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd ibn Jarīr ibn ^ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī (Yaman)(178/794).¹²¹ When Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed ^ʿAbbās to Armenia, that province was still in a state of turmoil caused by Abū Muslim al-Shārī's revolt. As soon as he arrived in Barda^ʿah, he was attacked and pinned down in the city by the rebel's forces from Baylaqān. The caliph sent a relief force of 6,000 men under Ma^ʿdān al-Himṣī, who

met defeat and death at the hands of Abū Muslim. After seizing the *kharāj* of Qaswā¹²² and distributing it among his followers, Abū Muslim laid siege to Dabīl for four months. Unable to take the provincial capital, he returned to Baylaqān with much of Armenia still in his control. Hārūn sent new armies to deal with the situation: Yahyā al-Ḥarashī to the Jazirah and Azerbaijan and Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī to Armenia with 10 to 12,000 men each. Yahyā quelled a separate revolt in Azerbaijan, led by a Muhalhal al-Tamīmī, and then joined Yazīd in Armenia. Abū Muslim suddenly died—the sources do not reveal the circumstances—and his revolt was taken up by al-Sakn ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥayyān al-Baylaqānī. The additional armies sent from Iraq apparently were too strong for the rebel forces and Sakn soon asked for a pardon, which was granted. During these operations ʿAbbās is not mentioned again; therefore, it must be assumed that he did not long remain in office.¹²³

21. Mūsā ibn ʿIsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī (178-179/794-795). Hārūn al-Rashīd took Mūsā away from Kūfah for a short time and placed him over the government of Armenia. He was only in office for a year before being dismissed and was not able to prevent new revolts from breaking out, although details on these disturbances are lacking.¹²⁴ Coins from Armenia and Arran from the years 178 and 179 with Mūsā's name demonstrate that the period of his governorate occurred during those two years.¹²⁵

22. Abū Ṣāliḥ Yahyā ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī (*mawlā*) (179/795). After dismissing Mūsā ibn ʿIsā, Hārūn appointed his *mawlā*, Yahyā al-Ḥarashī as ʿāmil of Armenia. In the words of Yaʿqūbī, "he wielded the sword until the state of affairs was put right, then Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed Aḥmad

ibn Yazīd ibn Usayd."¹²⁶ Yaḥyā's short tenure was during 179, according to a dirham of Armenia from that year.¹²⁷

23. Aḥmad ibn Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī (Qays-Muḍar)(179-[181]/795-[797]). While he was governor of Armenia, a number of Khurāsānis, who had come to the province in the armies of Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī and other generals before him, attacked Aḥmad ibn Yazīd. They vowed never to obey him, but no reason is given for this attitude. The caliph had no choice but to recall him and appoint a new governor.¹²⁸ The period of Aḥmad's governorship is conjectural and the dates given here are deduced from the more definite chronology of his predecessor and successor.

24. Saʿīd ibn Salm ibn Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī (Muḍar)(181-183/797-799). Although numismatic evidence shows that Saʿīd was governor as early as 181, the only datable reference to him in that capacity is for the year 182/798.¹²⁹ He arrived in Bardaʿah upon being appointed and affairs of the province went well for a number of months. Saʿīd sent Naṣr ibn ʿInān as his *ʿamīl* to Bāb al-Abwāb, and shortly thereafter sent a *maṣlā* of Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā by the name of Ḥārith to collect the *kharāj*. The people of Bāb al-Abwāb complained that, because they lived on the border and had defended the province from the Khazars, they had never before had the *kharāj* exacted from them. The city's populace sent Najm ibn Ḥāshim as their representative to Saʿīd in Bardaʿah, but while he was there, his son Ḥaywan led a revolt because Ḥārith insisted on collecting the *kharāj*. Saʿīd accused Najm of complicity in his son's revolt and imprisoned him in Bardaʿah. Ḥaywan then attacked Naṣr ibn ʿInān and put him in prison. Upon learning of this, Saʿīd ord-

ered Najm beheaded, resulting in similar treatment being accorded his ^ʿalim, Naṣr, at the hands of Ḥaywan.¹³⁰

At about this time, a daughter of the Khazar Khāqān was brought to Barda^ʿah, ostensibly to marry Faḍl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī. The princess met the same fate as the Khazar bride of Yazīd ibn Usayd in 145/762 and again the Khazars prepared for war against the Muslims.¹³¹ Sensing an ally in the person of the Khāqān, Ḥaywan plied him with a gift of 100,000 dirhams and asked for his help against Sa^ʿīd. The Khāqān responded with a reported 40,000 cavalry and the people of Bāb al-Abwāb allowed them to pass into Armenia. Sa^ʿīd was on the march between Barda^ʿah and Bāb al-Abwāb at this time, but fled back to his headquarters upon learning of the Khazars' approach. They and Ḥaywan's rebels rampaged through the territory, killing and enslaving many Muslims. Then the Khazars returned to their land and Ḥaywan went back to Bāb al-Abwāb. Hārūn was very upset with this turn of events and moved swiftly to replace Sa^ʿīd.¹³²

25. Naṣr ibn Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī (Azd-Yaman)(183/799). Appointed to succeed Sa^ʿīd, Naṣr did not stay in any one place in Armenia for very long and was soon dismissed.¹³³ Since numismatic evidence accurately dates the governor before and after Naṣr, his governorate could only have covered a part of 183.

26. ^ʿAlī ibn ^ʿIsā ibn Māhān (Khurāsāni Arab)(183/799). ^ʿAlī was governor of Khurāsān¹³⁴ when he was given the additional responsibility of controlling Armenia. Soon after his arrival, ^ʿAlī mounted an expedition in Sharwān and met with stiff resistance. He made no secret of

his displeasure in being sent to Armenia and his inability to bring order to the province was readily apparent. After a short term as governor covering part of 183, he was dismissed.¹³⁵

27. Yazīd ibn Mazyad (Rabī^cah); second appointment (183-185/799-801. Yazīd was appointed governor of both Armenia and Azerbaijan in 183.¹³⁶ As had already occurred once that year, the Khazars made a second major incursion in Sharwān and Arran through a breach in the defenses at Bāb al-Abwāb. The reason given for the raid—that Sa^cīd ibn Salm had beheaded an astrologer named Sulamī—seems superficial.¹³⁷ It is more likely that the Khazars perceived, in the frequent change in officials and general unrest in the province, an opportunity to strike a blow against the Muslim-dominated lands to their south. In any event, Yazīd, with the help of Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim, drove the invaders back past Bāb al-Abwāb and repaired the breach in the walls there.¹³⁸ The province finally settled into a more or less peaceful state while Yazīd ruled from Barda^cah. He mended the bruised relations with the Armenians by assuring their leaders and nobles that they would be safe and allowed to live in peace.¹³⁹ Yazīd also brought tribal factions under control by making compromises between the Nizār and Yaman Arab tribal factions.¹⁴⁰ To appease the people of Bāb al-Abwāb, who had been forced to pay the *kharāj* by Sa^cīd ibn Salm, Yazīd rounded up Ḥārith, the *mawlā* of Fadl ibn Yahyā, and others who had served Sa^cīd, and sent them off in chains to Ḥārūn.¹⁴¹ Yazīd managed to do what few governors of Armenia had been able to accomplish: he brought some semblance of order and non-belligerency to his province. In the words of Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, "... he wrote to the people of al-Abwāb offering them correct guidance and peace

in the land. The great and small loved him and he never left his abode at Barda^ḥ until death overtook him."¹⁴² The coinage issued during his tenure shows that Yazīd appointed his son Asad and his brother Aḥmad as his deputies in the province.¹⁴³ He died in Barda^ḥ in 185 and was succeeded by Asad.¹⁴⁴

28. Asad ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad ibn Zā'idah al-Shaybānī (Tabī^ḥ) (185-186/801-802). Asad followed his father in office, but was probably dismissed in 186.¹⁴⁵ No details are known of his brief first tenure as governor.

29. Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad ibn Zā'idah al-Shaybānī (Rabī^ḥ) (186-187/802-803). Although the Arab sources say that Muḥammad was a governor of Armenia, the years of his tenure are not given.¹⁴⁶ Numismatic evidence provides the correct chronological position of his governorate, however.¹⁴⁷ The only detail known about Muḥammad's time in office is that he discontinued the assessment of the *kharāj* for Dabīl and Nashawā by area introduced by Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim (see above) and let it revert to calculation by the products grown on the land.¹⁴⁸ The last mention of Muḥammad is his participation in the summer campaign against the Byzantines in 191/807.¹⁴⁹ Although there is no mention of his being in the province a second time while governor of Khurāsān, a coin of Arran, dated 187, has the name of ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā inscribed on it.¹⁵⁰

30. Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim (Muḍar); second appointment (187-191/803-807). After relative quiet under three successive Shaybānid governors, the beginning of Khuzaymah's second governorate in Armenia was marked by increasing unrest. The new governor had no sooner settled in at Bar-

da^cah, then he moved swiftly to restore order in the province.¹⁵¹ In sharp contrast to the Shaybānīd method of developing cordial relations with the indigenous population, Khuzaymah characteristically resorted to brutal methods of enforcing his rule. He rounded up the Armenian princes and popular leaders, who had been allegedly inciting the people to revolt, and had them executed.¹⁵² In Bāb al-Abwāb, Khuzaymah had all those who were causing trouble simply gathered together and sent off to Hārūn, presumably as slaves.¹⁵³ The Ṣanāriyah then began to cause trouble, so Khuzaymah sent Sa^cīd ibn al-Haytham al-Tamīmī with a large army and forced the rebels to emigrate to Tiflīs.¹⁵⁴ By such heavy-handed methods, Khuzaymah was able to establish himself as a very powerful figure in the province.

It seems that Khuzaymah was not always in Armenia during these four years. He must also have had control of Azerbaijan for Balādhurī says that he built walls around Marāghah and fortified the city, making it his headquarters and establishing a garrison there.¹⁵⁵ In 189/805 he journeyed to Rayy in order to present gifts to Hārūn, who had been meeting there with ^cAlī ibn ^cIsā ibn Māhān.¹⁵⁶ Khuzaymah was succeeded in 191/807 by Sulaymān ibn Yazīd, and the next year was off with the caliph in Khurāsān waging war against the rebel, Rāfi^c ibn Layth.¹⁵⁷

Armenian coinage is known for all the years of Khuzaymah's governorate.¹⁵⁸ In addition, the names of some of his appointees, and others who held some kind of office in the province, are found on the coinage of this four-year period. The name of Khuzaymah's son Bishr is found on some of the coins for 189, possibly because he was serving as acting governor when his father went to Rayy. Then for both 189 and 190, a

Haytham, who may have been Bishr's son, is found on dirhams of Armenia only.¹⁵⁹ A person known only as Ismā^cīl ibn Ibrāhīm had his name inscribed on Armenian dirhams of 190 and 191.¹⁶⁰ A series of coins from the rich mining area of Bājunays and extending past Khuzaymah's governorate to 195/810-811 contains the names Dā'ūd and Umm Ja^cfar. The latter personage is none other than Zubaydah, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd. She is reported to have owned a former Umayyad estate at Warthān in Azerbaijan,¹⁶¹ and her name on the coinage may be an indication that she also had interests in the silver mining of Bājunays. The name Dā'ūd remains a mystery, but he may have been Zubaydah's agent at the mining works.¹⁶² There is also a dirham of Arran, dated 292, with the name Sa^cīd, who perhaps can be identified with the Sa^cīd ibn al-Haytham sent by Khuzaymah to put down the revolt of the Ṣanāriyah (see above). Other possible identifications of this Sa^cīd are the Sa^cīd ibn ^cAmr al-Ḥarashī, governor of Tabaristan in 189,¹⁶³ or Sa^cīd ibn Salm al-Bāhilī, who was on the summer campaign with Harthamah ibn A^cyan in 191.¹⁶⁴

31. Sulaymān ibn Yazīd ibn al-Aṣamm al-^cĀmirī (subdivision of both Muḍar and Yaman)(191-192/807-808). Of this man, only Ya^cqūbī mentions him: "After Khuzaymah ibn Khāsim was dismissed, Sulaymān was appointed governor of Armenia. He was an old man, apathetic and feeble, and his orders were never carried out so that he was kept from getting control of the country."¹⁶⁵ The only evidence that he was in office at this time are dirhams of Arran, dated 192, with the name Sulaymān ibn al-Aṣamm.¹⁶⁶ The practice of dropping the father's name is not common, but does occur and it seems reasonable to regard those dirhams as having been struck under Sulaymān ibn Yazīd's auspices.¹⁶⁷

32. Ayyūb ibn Sulaymān (ibn Yazīd ibn al-Aṣamm al-^CĀmirī ?)(either Muḍar or Yaman)(192-193/808-809). None of the written sources mention him, but the presence of his name on coins of 192 and 193 allows us to speculate that Ayyūb was left by the previous governor (his father ?) as his successor.¹⁶⁸

33. al-^CAbbās ibn Zufar al-Hilālī (Muḍar)(193/809). Ya^Cqūbī states that he was appointed to Armenia after Sulaymān ibn Yazīd. The Ṣanāriyah rebelled against him, but he was able to end their latest insurrection.¹⁶⁹

34. Yahyā ibn Zufar al-Hilālī (Muḍar)(193/809). His name on Armenian dirhams of 193 can mean he was either his brother's short-termed successor or his lieutenant in that year.¹⁷⁰ The written sources provide no aid on this matter.

35. Muḥammad ibn Zuhayr ibn Musayyab al-Ḍabbī (Muḍar)(193-[194]/809-[810]). Nothing is known of this individual, except he was the last governor of Armenia appointed by Hārūn al-Rashīd.¹⁷¹ He was dismissed after Amīn succeeded to the caliphate (Jumādā II 193/March 809), but when is not clear. The next governor's name is not found on the coinage until 194.

36. Asad ibn Yazīd (Rabī^Cah); second appointment (194-195/810-811). When Asad arrived in Armenia as Amīn's first appointment to that province, Yahyā ibn Sa^Cīd, called Kawkab al-Ṣubḥ (Morning Star), had taken control of the country. In Jurzān a *mawlā* by the name of Ismā^Cīl ibn Shu^Cayb had set himself up as ruler. Asad used a trick to take them both into custody, but then let them go, as was his nature.¹⁷² He was then dismissed and Amīn appointed Ishāq ibn Sulaymān.¹⁷³

37. Aḥmad ibn Yazīd ibn Usayd (Rabī^cah); second appointment (195-[196?]/811-[812?]). He is not mentioned in conjunction with Armenia for this period, numismatic evidence being the only clue to his presence in the province in 195.¹⁷⁴

38. Ishāq ibn Sulaymān (al-Hāshimī) ibn ^cAlī ibn ^cAbd Allāh al-^cAbbāsī (196/812). Amīn appointed Ishāq, according to the sources, after Asad ibn Yazīd.¹⁷⁵ This probably occurred in 196, since coinage with his name exists from that year.¹⁷⁶ Ishāq sent his son Fadl with an advance party into Armenia and kept in contact with him concerning conditions there.¹⁷⁷ If Ishāq ever did enter the province himself, he was not there long. With the opening of hostilities between Amīn and Ma'mūn, Harthamah ibn A^cyan ousted Ishāq from Armenia and the province became aligned with Ma'mūn's faction.¹⁷⁸

39. Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣan^cānī (ancestry unknown) (196-197/812-813). The tenure of Ma'mūn's first appointment to Armenia is datable from numismatic evidence.¹⁷⁹ The only mention of him in the Arab sources is a detailed description of events during his governorship by Ya^cqūbī: ¹⁸⁰

Ma'mūn made Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣan^cānī governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is said that Harthamah ibn A^cyan was sent from Ḥamadan while Ṭāhir was headed for Iraq and then towards Warthan in the prefecture of Azerbaijan. He (Ṭāhir) corresponded with the forces in Armenia and they sent him (the province's) army and took the oath to Ma'mūn. The ^camīl of Armenia on behalf of Amīn was Ishāq and with him were ^cUmar, Hazun, Narsī and ^cAbd al-Raḥman, the prince of al-Rān (Arran) and many other princes. They came with the intention of taking Barda^cah and getting the people there to join in their revolt. Ṭāhir was sent to them as Ma'mūn's ^camīl along with Zuhayr ibn Sīnan al-Tamīmī and a large following. They met and fought Ishāq and his companions and defeated them. They captured (Ishāq's) son, Ja^cfar, and sent him and those with him to Ma'mūn. Ṭāhir did nothing when ^cAbd al-Malik ibn al-Jaḥḥaf

al-Sulamī revolted against him.¹⁸¹ [ʿAbd al-Malik] fell upon the people of Baylaqan and Ṭāhir's (forces) fortified (themselves) in the city of Barda^cah, remaining entrenched there for a number of months. News of this reached Ma'mūn and he appointed as governor Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān al-Hashimī and he arrived in Armenia. Ṭāhir was hard-pressed, so Sulaymān took him out, informed him of his dismissal, offered ʿAbd al-Malik a pardon and the country was straightened out.

40. Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥashimī (al-ʿAbbāsī) (197/813). As mentioned in the above passage from Ya^cqūbī, Sulaymān was sent to replace Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad. According to numismatic evidence, this occurred in 197.¹⁸²

41. al-ʿAbbās ibn Zufar (Muḍar); second appointment (197-[198?]/813-[814?]). After his first appointment in Armenia ended, ʿAbbās was in Syria in 196/812 with the forces resisting Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn.¹⁸³ There is no mention of his being appointed governor of Armenia a second time, but his name is found on some of the coinage of 197.¹⁸⁴ His second time in office was probably very brief. ʿAbbās is last mentioned as *ʿamil* of Qinnasrīn in 206/821-822.¹⁸⁵

42. [?] ibn ʿAbd Allāh (ancestry unknown) (198/814). This individual's incomplete name is found on dirhams of Barda^cah (Arran) for this year.¹⁸⁶ It is not possible to know who he was, but Vasmer surmised that it was struck for the predecessor of Ḥātim ibn Harthamah and, therefore, unfit for circulation.¹⁸⁷ This can hardly be true because coinage issued under a number of governors circulated simultaneously.¹⁸⁸

43. Ṣard ibn Muḥammad (ancestry unknown) (198-?/814-?). This name is found on a dirham of Arran, dated 198.¹⁸⁹ He may be the same person referred to on earlier coins of Ma^cdan Bājunays and Muḥammadiyah.¹⁹⁰ If

this Ṣard was a governor of Armenia, he is not to be found as such in the available Arab sources. Yet, the next governor of Armenia is not mentioned until 200/815-816.

44. Ḥatīm ibn Harthamah ibn A^cyan al-Khurāsānī (Khurāsānī Arab) (200-203/816-819). No date for his appointment has come to light, but he was already in the province when word came that his father had died at the hands of Faḍl ibn Sahl in Dhū al-Qa^cdah 200 (June 816).¹⁹¹ When Ḥatīm arrived in Armenia, there was trouble between the Mu^ctazilites and the Aṣabīyah, which was leading to bloodshed, but his mere presence was enough to quiet the two factions.¹⁹² After hearing of his father's death, Ḥatīm left Barda^cah and began to make preparations for a general rebellion in cooperation with Bābak and the Khurramīyah.¹⁹³ He died before getting his revolt under way, but Bābak opened hostilities from Badhdh in Azerbaijan, beginning a revolt which was to continue into the reign of Mu^ctaṣim.¹⁹⁴

45. Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd (ancestry unknown) (203-204/819-820). This individual is not mentioned in any of the written sources, but his name is inscribed on coins of Ma^cdan Bājunays for these two years.¹⁹⁵

46. Yaḥyā ibn Mu^cadh ibn Muslim al-Dhuhlī (*mawla* of Banū Dhuhl-Rabī^cah) (204-[205?]/820-[821?]). Appointed governor of Armenia in 204, he attacked Bābak, but could not manage to defeat him.¹⁹⁶ Ma'mūn was apparently not happy with Yaḥyā and he was dismissed. When this came about is not revealed by the sources, but he was made governor of the Jazirah in 205 and died the following year.¹⁹⁷

47. ʿIsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Khālīd al-Ma'mūnī (*mawla*) (205-208/

821-824). ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ 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49. ^ʿAbd al-A^ʿlā ibn Aḥmad ibn Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī (Rabī^ʿah) (209-212/825-827). The dates of this individual's governorship are derived solely from the numismatic evidence.²⁰⁵ Since a reference to ^ʿAbd al-A^ʿlā as governor of Armenia is found only in Ya^ʿqūbī, it is worthwhile to present the passage in its entirety:²⁰⁶

Ma'mūn appointed ^ʿAbd al-A^ʿlā governor of Armenia at the same time he made ^ʿAlī ibn Hishām governor of Azerbaijan and commander of the war against Bābak.²⁰⁷ [^ʿAbd al-A^ʿlā] arrived in the country and found that Muḥammad ibn ^ʿAṭṭab had taken control of Jurzān and that the Ṣanāriyah had joined him. Ibn ^ʿAṭṭab fought and defeated (^ʿAbd al-A^ʿlā) because he lacked organization and knew nothing of war. So Ma'mūn appointed Khālīd ibn Yazīd.

From this it appears that ^ʿAbd al-A^ʿlā, as a third-generation provincial administrator under the ^ʿAbbāsids, had as much difficulty governing Armenia as did his father and grandfather before him.²⁰⁸

50. Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad ibn Zā'idah al-Shaybānī (Rabī^ʿah) (212-217/827-832).²⁰⁹ Appointed to replace ^ʿAbd al-A^ʿlā, Khālīd obtained the release of all the fellow tribesmen he could find in the prisons of Iraq and sent them to the Jazirah. There he joined them with a large group of Rabī^ʿah (of which Shaybān was a subdivision) and then headed for Armenia.²¹⁰ It seems Khālīd made a grand tour of his provinces, settling disputes and ending localized insurrections, before taking up a permanent residence. At Khilāṭ, Sawādah ibn ^ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd al-Jaḥḥāfī came to him and received a pardon. Khālīd then journeyed to Nashawā, which a certain *mawlā* of the Banū Muḥārib (named Yazīd ibn Ḥasan) had taken control of and the governor forced him to flee. At Kasāl he pardoned Muḥammad ibn ^ʿAṭṭab, then moved on to subdue the Ṣanāriyah who had overrun Jurzān.²¹¹ Another report says that the people of

Shakkī had revolted, killing Ma'mūn's (unnamed) ^Camil. Khālīd marched against them and created such a slaughter that they sued for peace. It was granted on the condition that the inhabitants pay 500,000 dirhams per year.²¹² Once there was quiet in the province, Khālīd went to Dabīl, which he made his residence.²¹³ No attempt has been made to place the activities of Khālīd listed above in chronological order, since no dates are given in the written sources. It is certain, however, that he was dismissed at some point during 217/832.

51(a). al-^CAbbās ibn al-Ma'mūn al-^CAbbāsī (217-218/832-833). Ma'mūn appointed his son governor of a vast area of the northwest frontier, including the Jazirah, Thughūr and ^CAwāsīm in 213/828.²¹⁴ During the years after his appointment, ^CAbbās must have exercised control of Armenia for certain lengths of time. His name is found on coins of Arran, dated 213 and 214, and of both Armenia and Arran, dated 217 and 218.²¹⁵ In the latter two years he must have been either in the province for part of the time or had a major influence in its governance, although the written sources do not reveal what role he played there during these years. More likely, the administration of Armenia fell to several men during the last two years of Ma'mūn's reign.

51(b). ^CAbd Allāh ibn Muṣād al-Asadī (Rabī^Cah) (217/832). The successor of Khālīd ibn Yazīd, known to have been appointed, is ^CAbd Allāh ibn Muṣād. He died shortly after arriving in Armenia and left his son ^CAlī to assume his duties. Unrest soon surfaced in the province and Ma'mūn was moved to appoint yet another governor.²¹⁶

51(c). ^CAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khāqān (Turk) (217-218/832-833). His name

would imply that he was a son of a Turkish ruler, converted to Islam. Although ^CAbd al-Raḥmān was later an official in the court of Mutawakkil, he is not mentioned in conjunction with Armenia in Ma'mūn's caliphate.²¹⁷ However, since his name is found on dirhams of Armenia, dated 217 and 218, we may conclude that he held an important post, possibly that of governor, in those years.²¹⁸

51(d). al-Ḥasan ibn ^CAlī al-Badhghīsī al-Ma'mūnī (*mawlā*) (218-?/833-?). After ^CAbd Allāh ibn Muṣād died and left his son ^CAlī in his place, Ma'mūn appointed his *mawlā* Ḥasan governor of Armenia. He arrived in the midst of resurgent revolutionary activity and started his tenure by reducing a rebel fortress. Ḥasan made his headquarters at Dabīl and forced the people of Tiflīs to pay what may have been taxes owed from previous years, but which were extracted from that city by rather extortionist methods.²¹⁹ He remained governor after Ma'mūn's death on 18 Rajab 218 (August 9, 833) and into Mu^Ctaṣim's reign.²²⁰

* * * * *

Armenia, as can be seen, was administered somewhat differently than Iraq during the early ^CAbbāsīd period. The caliph's representative in the province had a vast area to control and was far from the central government in Baghdad (or at first, Ḥāshimīyah). In spite of the distance separating the caliph and his *ʿāmil* in Armenia, the caliph was usually well-informed of conditions on the frontier due to the efficiency of the imperial post.²²¹ He often made administrative changes and sometimes sent reinforcing armies in times of trouble based on reports brought in by his official messengers. As to the administration itself,

the governor was responsible for maintaining order within the country and protecting the borders from would-be invaders. It is not surprising that most of the governors appointed to Armenia were men with military backgrounds. In addition to his martial tasks, the governor was responsible for ensuring the prompt collection of the various taxes and forwarding the requisite amounts to the central government.²²²

The governor was usually appointed by the caliph. However, in a few instances, when the caliph delegated control of Armenia as part of a large bloc of territories as Saffāh did in appointing Abū Jaʿfar, or if the governor was a powerful absentee official—Fadl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, for example—then that person had the authority to appoint the governor in his own right. The governor, in turn, appointed his own *ʿamils* to posts in the major cities of the province while he resided in the capital. From the many references to the place where the governors spent most of their time when not engaged in military action elsewhere, it is apparent that Bardaʿah, the capital of Arran—and not Dabīl, the capital of Armenia proper—was the official residence of most of the governors of the province during the period of this study. There are specific references to ten different governors making Bardaʿah their official residence, but only two such references for Dabīl.²²³

Many of the city prefects whose names have come to light were closely related to the governor and often succeeded their fathers, brothers or uncles in the provincial government. Several families provided a number of governors to Armenia: the Shaybānids even became an hereditary dynasty in Sharwān in the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries.²²⁴ Alongside the Muslim governor and his deputies, the local Armenian petty

nobility handled the everyday affairs of administration, enjoying a certain amount of independence, depending on the political climate at any given time.²²⁵

Regarding the ethnic background of the 51 different governors appointed to Armenia during the early ^CAbbāsīd period, it is interesting to note that only seven were princes of the ^CAbbāsīd family who were in office a total of 12 years, and two of these (Manṣūr and Hārūn al-Rashīd) were later caliphs. It will be remembered that approximately half of the governors of Baṣrah and Kūfah during this same period were ^CAbbāsīds. The largest number of governors of Armenia were from subdivisions of North Arab tribes. This group accounted for 20 (52 years) of the caliphal appointees to Armenia; whereas, their rivals, the Yaman, were only four in number (10 years). Nine *mawālī* (9 years)—some with tribal affiliations and others the direct clients of the caliphs—were the second largest group. The remainder was made up of two from central Arabian tribes (2 years), one Iranian (2 years), one of Turkish extraction (less than 1 year), two Khurāsānis (4 years), and five whose origins could not be determined (7 years).²²⁶ It is not readily apparent that the caliphs made their choices of governor with a particular family background in mind. For the important frontier post of Armenia, an individual's military abilities were undoubtedly of greater importance to the caliph than his tribal affiliation. However, several generations of Arab *condottieri* (mercenaries), such as the Shaybānīd and Sulamīd governors, managed to succeed one another from father to son in Armenia.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹For the systems of division and naming of sections of Armenia, see Le Strange, *Lands*, pp.182-184; M. Canard, "Armīniya," *EI*² I, pp.634,642; René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1947), pp. 13-25; N. Slousch, "Le Caucase, l'Arménie et l'Azerbeïdjan d'après les auteurs arabes, slaves et juifs," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 10 (1910), pp.494-508; 11 (1910), pp. 54-65,260-279; 12 (1910), pp.262-272.

²Cf. M. Canard, "Dwin," *EI*² II, pp. 678-681.

³Canard, "Armīniya," p.643; Slousch, op. cit., 11 (1910), pp. 59, 261, 278.

⁴Cf. R.N. Frye, "Arrān," *EI*² I, p. 660; Le Strange, *Lands*, pp.176-9.

⁵A good general survey of the areas north of Arran proper, particularly the region of the Caucasus, is C.E. Bosworth, "al-Ḳabḳ," *EI*² IV, particularly pp. 344-345 and map. See also Le Strange, *Lands*, pp.179-81.

⁶Canard, "Armīniya," p. 643.

⁷The statement of Minorsky, "Ādharbaydjān," *EI*², p. 190, that it was *usually* governed jointly with neighboring Armenia and Arran, would lead one to believe this was the normal governmental structure of the three provinces. However, the careful survey of the historical sources has revealed that, for the period of this study, the combined administration of Azerbaijan with Armenia and Arran occurred less often than Minorsky's statement would appear to purport.

⁸Cf. R.N. Frye, "Ardabīl," *EI*² I, p. 625.

⁹See below, under the governors for the years 200 on.

¹⁰The term "Armenia" is used henceforth to designate the Arab province, even though it included territories with a variety of names.

¹¹In the accounts of medieval Arab and Armenian writers, the terms Khazar and Turk are interchangeable. Cf. W. Barthold and P.B. Golden, "Khazar," *EI*² IV, p. 1172.

¹²Canard, "Armīniya," op. cit., p. 642. For an enumeration of provincial revenues, see Appendix C.

¹³Canard, op. cit., p. 645.

¹⁴Yāqūt, *Muḳjam* (Wüstenfeld) I, p. 455. See below for discussion of a mint location here.

¹⁵Canard, op. cit.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷I find no evidence to support the conjecture of Richard Frye, "Arrān," op. cit., p. 660, that the mint of Arran was either in Barda^cah or Baylaqān. Although not common, a number of coins are extant with the mint name *Barda^cah*, but none with *Baylaqān* have ever come to my attention. It would be reasonable to assume that if some of the coins bearing the mint name *Arrān* were produced in Baylaqān, then specimens with the actual city's name would have been minted also, as they were for Barda^cah. Frye, loc. cit., also states that coins bearing the mint name *Madīnat Arrān* are known from 207, but the earliest of these date from 197. This mint, designating the first city of the province, can be none other than Barda^cah, the capital. For an enumeration of Armenian provincial coinage during the early ^cAbbāsīd period, which pertains to the chronology of the governors, see Appendix B.

¹⁸Cf. D.M. Dunlop, "Bāb al-Abwāb," *EI*² I, pp.835-836. See Appendices B and D.

¹⁹There were two other places called Hārūnīyah: one was in the Thughur, on the Byzantine frontier, but was founded by Hārūn al-Rashīd only in 183/799. The other was near Jalūla in Iraq and could not have been the Armenian Hārūnīyah. Cf. T.H. Weir, "al-Haruniyya," *EI*² III, pp. 234-235.

²⁰The issues are listed in Appendix B.

²¹H.M. Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft* (Marburg, 1903), pp. 74-75.

²²Slousch, op. cit., 11 (1910), p. 59.

²³"Armīniya," p. 645. Canard identifies these mines with a location between Trebizond and Erzerum, but a more likely place would be Bajunays.

²⁴The governor's seat at this time was Mosul, the capital of the Jazirah.

²⁵His father was the ruler of Dihistān on the shore of the Caspian Sea (Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, pp.379-381), north of Jurjān. Sūl submitted to Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab, the governor of Jurjān in 99/716 (*Nadhbāt*, p. 197, F.N. 601). According to Azdī, pp.145-146, he was a *mawla* of Khath^cam.

²⁶Tab 47/7, 439; IA V, p.424; FHA I, p.203; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 210.

²⁷Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p.429, where he is said to have been made governor in 133; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit. *Futūh* I, p. 328, identi-

fies Musāfir al-Qaṣṣāb as a Kharajite rebel against whom Abū Jaʿfar (Mansūr) sent an unnamed Khurāsāni general.

²⁸Tab 57/7, 447: he is appointed over the Jazīrah, Azerbaijan and Armenia in 132; IA V, p. 435: appointed in 133. Yaʿqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 430, under the year 134, says he was appointed over the same three provinces mentioned above and adds Mosul and the Thughur.

²⁹IA V, p. 435.

³⁰8₂ p. 210. Kīrān was a town in Azerbaijan between Tabrīz and Bay-laqān (Yaqut, Muʿjam [Wüstenfeld] III, p.332). Ḍaribah cannot be identified. Jurzān was used by medieval Arab writers to denote both the Georgians, a Christian people on the southwestern flanks of the Caucasus, and their country. Cf. V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharwān and Darband* (Cambridge, 1958), Index, p. 181.

³¹Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit. Although he had been named governor over the Jazīrah, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 132, and remained in that capacity until he became caliph on 13 Dhū al-Hijjah 136 (June 9, 754) (Tab 57/7, 447; 72/7, 458), he is mentioned under the years 133 to 135 as governor of the Jazīrah only (Tab 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; 84/7, 467). His name is given in these instances as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, leading some modern scholars to believe that this denoted a separate individual assigned to the Jazīrah as a deputy by Abū Jaʿfar (Ghazarian, op. cit., p. 40, No. 20; and Ter-Ghevondian, *Armeniā i Arabskii Khalifat* (Erivan, 1977), pp. 99, 274). However, Richard Vasmer, "Khronologiia namestnikov Armenii pri pervykh Abbasidakh," *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov* 1 (1925), p. 382, rightly points out that this individual was none other than Abū Jaʿfar himself.

³²Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī 8, p. 211; Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit. Tab 87/7, 470, says that when he left the Jazīrah and, according to Waqīdī, Armenia and Azerbaijan as well, to go on the hajj of 136 with Abū Muslim, he left Muqatil ibn Hakīm al-ʿAkkī in charge of the Jazīrah.

³³Mujāshiʿ was appointed over Azerbaijan in 133 (Tab 75/7, 460; IA V, p. 449), and Muḥammad ibn Ṣul was sent to replace him in 134 (Tab 81/7, 465; IA V, p. 454). The latter is mentioned in the same capacity in 135 (Tab 84/7, 467). He was killed in 136, according to Azdī, p. 137, by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī (Mansūr's uncle) because he had massacred the people of Mosul (in 133). However, Ibn Khallikān I, p. 46, says that ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī had him killed because he had revolted along with Maqatil ibn Hakīm al-ʿAkkī. A third version is given by Ibn al-Athīr V, p. 465, who says he went to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī in 137 to deceive him about the succession (of Mansūr to the caliphate) and was beheaded by the irate ʿAbd Allāh. The date 137 may be correct, since he was reported to have been in Simsāt in western Armenia in that year (*Ansāb* I, Fol. 289b₁₂₋₁₃).

³⁴*Ansāb* I, Fol. 326b₃₅; Tab 75/7, 460.

³⁵Ya^cqūbī II, p. 429. Muḥammad ibn Sūl, being Abū Ja^cfar's deputy in Mosul, probably had control of the military forces in all the territories under Abū Ja^cfar's governorship. In this position he could direct contingents in Armenia to locations where they were most needed, as shown by the action taken by Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ upon Muḥammad's orders.

³⁶Tab 81/7, 465; 120/7, 496; IA V, p. 482; *Ansāb* I, Fols. 326b₃₅ to 327a₁, 18-21.

³⁷Tab 81/7, 465; 84/7, 467; IA V, pp. 454, 456; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 430.

³⁸Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 211; Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.

³⁹Tab 95/7, 476; 99/7, 479-480; IA V, p. 468; Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit.

⁴⁰Tab 95/7, 476; IA V, p. 468; *Ansāb* I, Fol. 289b_{12-15,24}; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, p. 374.

⁴¹Tab 125/7, 500; IA V, p. 488.

⁴²*Futūḥ* I, p. 292.

⁴³Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 446, 447.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 446.

⁴⁵See Appendix B.

⁴⁶*Ansāb* II, Fol. 594b₈₋₉, adding that Yazīd was a stammerer (*wa kanū tantāman*).

⁴⁷Tab 353/8, 27, states that Mansūr sent Humayd ibn Qaḥṭabah al-Ṭā'ī to Armenia in 148/765-766 to fight the Turks who had raided the province the year before (see Tab 328/8, 7). However, it is doubtful that he was actually appointed governor. At any rate, he was sent to Khurasan as governor in 151/768. See Chapter V, No. 5.

⁴⁸Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 470.

⁴⁹Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 233.

⁵⁰"Khronologiā," pp. 383, 391.

⁵¹*Futūḥ* I, p. 328; *Ansāb* II, Fol. 594b₁₋₉; Hamadhānī, p. 294. The Bāb al-Abwāb on the Caspian coast. Cf. Bosworth, op. cit., p. 342. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 162, identifies the Ṣanāriyah as the Ts'anar, a people who lived in the region of the Darial Pass. They were very independent-minded and often rebelled against Muslim rule.

⁵²*Futūh* I, p. 328; *Ansāb* II, Fol. 594b₆₋₇, has Ardabīl, which is curious, since that city was in existence prior to the Arab conquest. Ardabīl was the capital of Azerbaijan under the Abbasids. Cf. Le Strange, op. cit., p. 159.

⁵³Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 1, pp. 229-231. Khāqān and Khātūn are titles rather than the names of individuals. The name of the Khazar ruler has been transliterated here from the Haydarabad edition of Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī: Ta^catar. However, the diacritical points may be incorrect, as W. Barthold and P.B. Golden, "Khazar," *EI*² IV, p. 1174; and K. Czeplédy, "Khazar Raids in Transcaucasia in 762-764 A.D.," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 11 (1960), p. 80, quoting from Folio 241b of the Istanbul manuscript, give the name Baghatūr.

⁵⁴Czeplédy, loc. cit.

⁵⁵Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 9, pp. 231-232. Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, pp. 446-447, says that the king of the Khazars, named Ras Tarkhān, led his army in attacking Yazīd. After several Muslim defeats, Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah was sent to save the province.

⁵⁶Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 233. Numismatic evidence demonstrates that Bakkar ibn Muslim was already in the province for part of 152. See Appendix B.

⁵⁷"Khronologiā," pp. 383, 385, citing Antoine J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* (2 vols., Paris, 1818) I, p. 417, who uses several Armenian sources not consulted directly by Vasmer; and Julius H. Petermann, *De Ostikanis, Arabicis Armeniae Gubernatoribus* (Berlin, 1840), p. 6. See also A.N. Ter-Ghevondian, "Le 'Prince d'Arménie' à l'époque de la domination arabe," *Revue des études arméniens*, N.S. 3 (1966), p. 191.

⁵⁸"Khronologiā," p. 384.

⁵⁹Op. cit., p. 385. The specimen cited is Ziya 248 and is the only one known for that year that has a *sīn* on the reverse. Other known dirhams, dated 151, have either a small crescent (∩) in the same position (Lavoix 612; Denizbacı Definesi 201; Album 24), or have nothing at all there (ANS-uncataloged; Denizbacı Definesi 202; Nützel 643; Tiesenhansen 2763a). Ziya may well have mistaken a small crescent for a *sīn*.

⁶⁰Tab 57/7, 447; 356/8, 30; IA V, p. 591; FHA I, p. 263.

⁶¹Tab 371/8, 43; Dhahabī VI, p. 160. *Futūh* I, p. 329, says he was governor of Armenia between Yazīd ibn Usayd and Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 233, states that when Mansūr dismissed Yazīd, he appointed Bakkar in his place.

⁶²See Appendix B. *Futūh* I, p. 329; and Hamadhānī, p. 294, merely say he was appointed after the dismissal of Yazīd ibn Usayd.

⁶³Although Vasmer, op. cit., p. 384, quoting an Armenian source, says that Bakkār was in office for less than a year, Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit., gives the length of his governorship as one year, four months. Since he was in Armenia long enough to have coins struck in his name at Dabīl and Barda^cah in both 152 and 153, and at Bāb al-Abwāb in 153, his tenure must have begun late in 152 and probably extended into the early part of 154.

⁶⁴See Appendix B. However, Dhahabī V, p. 161, says Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī was governor of Armenia in 155, which is almost certainly erroneous.

⁶⁵Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 233. The edited text mistakenly has Dīyarabah for Ṣanāriyah.

⁶⁶Op. cit., pp. 233-234. The reinforcements sent under ^cAmir totaled 30,000 cavalry, with contingents under the command of ^cIsā ibn Musa al-Khurasani, Faḍl ibn Dīnār, and Muqatil ibn Ṣalīḥ.

⁶⁷Op. cit., p. 234. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī here uses the Byzantine designation by which Armenia was divided into four regions. Qalīqala and Akhlāt were part of Armenia IV, which comprised the southwestern portion of Armenia. Cf. M. Canard, "Arminiya," p. 642.

⁶⁸*Futūh* I, p. 329; Hamadhānī, p. 294.

⁶⁹Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, pp. 234-235, has the most detailed account of these events and gives the prince's name as Mushābadh. Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 447, only mentions that Maṣṣūr sent reinforcements totaling 20,000 men under ^cAmir ibn Isma^cīl to fight the Ṣanāriyah. *Futūh* I, p. 329, gives a very brief account, calling the prince Mushā'il. Hamadhānī, p. 294, repeats Baladhurī's brief notice, calling the prince Mushayil. The date of the battle is given by Vasmer, "Khronologiā," p. 386, quoting Armenian sources, which actually say there were two battles: the first near the village of Archesh on 19 Jumādā II 158 (April 25, 775), and the second in Bagrevand near the village of Artsni ten days later.

⁷⁰Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.; Vasmer, loc. cit.

⁷¹He led the summer raid in 162 (Tab 493/8, 142; IA VI, p. 58; Khalīfah, *Tārīkh* II, p. 437; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 486; Hamadhānī, p. 113; *Futūh* I, pp. 261, 295); and accompanied Harun al-Rashīd on his major expedition against the Byzantines in 163 (Tab 495/8, 145; IA VI, p. 60). Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462, says he was governor of Khurasān for a short time. His death is recorded by Ṭabarī 646/8, 268; and Ibn al-Athīr VI, p. 159.

⁷²Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 447; Vasmer, op. cit., p. 386.

⁷³Ibid. According to Tab 383/8, 56, Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī was governor of Azerbaijan in 158.

⁷⁴See Appendix B. Wādīh later held posts in Egypt under Maḥdī and was executed by order of Hādī for his ^cAlid leanings.

⁷⁵Vasmer, op. cit., p. 386, quoting Ghevond. Balādhurī, *Futūh* I, p. 329; and Hamadhānī, p. 294, both state that Ḥasan ibn Qaṭṭabah was succeeded by ^cUṭṭmān ibn ^cUmarah. Dhahabī VI, p. 155, says he was governor of Armenia in 155, but this can hardly be correct. He also lists him in the death notices for the decade 151-160 (p.316), but gives no date of death for him!

⁷⁶Tab 493/8, 143, repeated by IA VI, p. 58.

⁷⁷See Appendix B.

⁷⁸Tab 500/8, 148.

⁷⁹Tab 495/8, 144; 503-505/8, 152-153.

⁸⁰Tab 501/8, 150.

⁸¹*Futūh* I, pp. 329-330; Hamadhānī, p. 294. This is corroborated by Ghevond; cf. Vasmer, op. cit., pp. 389-390.

⁸²See Appendix B. On some dirhams of Armenia, dated 167, is found the name Nuṣayr. It is doubtful that he was a governor of Armenia, as his name is also found on coins of Azerbaijan (166-169), Basrah (167-168), Baghdad (166), and Mosul (168). Vasmer, op. cit., pp. 387-389, thinks he may have been an official of the central government in charge of fiscal affairs or the coinage in a number of provinces. Miles, *Persepolis*, pp. 74-75, suggests that he may possibly be a certain eunuch and freedman by the name of Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf, who was in charge of the postal service in 169.

⁸³C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs* (Rome, 1968), pp. 84-85.

⁸⁴*Futūh* I, pp. 229-230; Hamadhānī, p. 294.

⁸⁵See Appendix B for Arran 169 dirham and Chapter II for Rūḥ's tenure as governor of Kūfah.

⁸⁶Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 515.

⁸⁷Tab 602/8, 232.

⁸⁸Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit. Vasmer, op. cit., p. 392, quotes an Armenian source (Ghevond) as saying he was appointed by Hādī.

⁸⁹See Appendix B. The location of Ḥārūnīyah was, without doubt, in Armenia, since the coins also have *Armīniyah* on them, but cannot be placed exactly. See Footnote 18.

⁹⁰*Futūh* I, p. 330.

⁹¹Ibid. For an explanation of the tax system, see Chapter VII.

⁹²Yaqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 515.

⁹³See Appendix B.

⁹⁴Yaqūbī, loc. cit.

⁹⁵Cf. G. L. della Vida, "Nizār ibn Ma'add," *EI*¹ III, pp. 939-941. Continued rivalry between the two main Arab tribal factions is apparent in Yūsuf's action. He was of the Sulaym, a division of Mudar, and he obviously was exploiting his position as governor of Armenia to cause problems for the Yaman groups settled there. Since the Yaman Arabs were traditionally more supportive of the 'Abbasids than were the Mudar, Harun al-Rashid may have viewed Yūsuf's action with displeasure, and this may explain his short tenure.

⁹⁶See Appendix B.

⁹⁷Yaqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 516. Balādhurī, *Futūh* I, pp. 330; and Hamadhānī, p. 294, simply place his appointment between Khuzaymah ibn Khazim and 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Mahdī.

⁹⁸Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, *Tārīkh al-Bāb* (ed./trans. as *A History of Sharvān and Darband* by V. Minorsky (Cambridge, 1958), p. 1.

⁹⁹Tab 607/8, 236; IA VI, p. 118; Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, loc. cit., calling him the *wālī* of Armenia; 'Abd al-Jabbar Jumard, *Yazīd ibn Mazyad* (Beirut, 1961), pp. 175-176. Yaqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 516, says his successor was 'Abd al-Kabīr al-Adawī.

¹⁰⁰Tab 607/8, 236; IA VI, p. 118. *Futūh* I, p. 330; and Hamadhānī, p. 294, say he was governor between Yazīd ibn Mazyad and Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā. *Ansāb* I, Fol. 335a₃₆₋₃₇, mentions only that he was a governor of Armenia and the Jazirah.

¹⁰¹Vasmer, op. cit., p. 392.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid. See Appendix B. Some of 'Ubayd Allāh's *ʿamils* are manifested in the coinage. A dirham of 172 has a *ṣīn*, which may be for the Sulaymān mentioned by Ghevond. The name, Naṣr ibn al-Jahm, is found on dirhams of 174, but nothing of him is known from the literary sources.

¹⁰⁵Vasmer, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁶*Tārīkh* II, p. 516. Since Yaqūbī fails to mention 'Ubayd Allāh at all, 'Abd al-Kabīr's short tenure could just as easily come before 'Ubayd Allāh's governorate as after it.

- ¹⁰⁷Tab 501/8, 150; IA VI, p. 63; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 438.
- ¹⁰⁸Tab 612-613/8, 242; FHA I, p. 293; Jahshiyarī, p. 190. *Futūḥ* I, p. 330; and Hamadhānī, p. 294, say he was governor of Armenia between Ubayd Allah and Sa^cid ibn Salm.
- ¹⁰⁹*Faḍl* is also inscribed on Armenian coinage, dated 176 and 177. See Appendix B.
- ¹¹⁰FHA I, p. 292.
- ¹¹¹Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 516; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 254. According to Tab 613/8, 242, Faḍl resided at a place called Ashabb in Ṭalaqān (northwestern Jibal, near Daylan) in 176, described as very bold and with much snow. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 221, 225.
- ¹¹²Tab 629/8, 255; 631/8, 257; Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 492 (no year given). FHA I, p. 296, says he was appointed to Khurasan in 178. In the words of Jahshiyarī, p. 190, he was appointed to govern the East, from Nahrawan to the farthest limits of the Turks, in 176, and he headed for his provinces in 178.
- ¹¹³Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 516, says that after Faḍl appointed him, he sent Abu al-Ṣabbah and Sa^cid ibn Muḥammad. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 254, states that he was dismissed before the next two individuals were jointly appointed.
- ¹¹⁴Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 516. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 254, adding that Abu al-Ṣabbah was a *mawla* of the Ash^carīs.
- ¹¹⁵For example, Nuṣayr, found on dirhams of Armenia of 167 (Berlin 788; Markov 269), see F.N. 82; and Naṣr ibn al-Jahm, on dirhams of Armenia for 174 and 177 (see Appendix B and F.N. 104).
- ¹¹⁶Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit., adds that Sa^cid was appointed in Abu al-Ṣabbah's place after the latter was killed in Barda^cah.
- ¹¹⁷Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit.
- ¹¹⁸See Appendix B.
- ¹¹⁹Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.
- ¹²⁰Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, pp. 254-255.
- ¹²¹This is the form of his name given by Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 255, has al-^cAbbas ibn Jarīr ibn Khālīd al-Qasrī.
- ¹²²I have been unable to identify this town.

¹²³The events outlined under this governor are drawn from Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 516-517; and al-Kūfī 8, pp. 255-256, which differ from each other only on some minor points. However, Ya^cqūbī says the next governor was Musa ibn ^cIsa; whereas, Ibn A^ctham al-Kufī names Sa^cid ibn Salm. Numismatic evidence points to Ya^cqūbī's version as the more probable. There is a coin of Yahyā al-Ḥarashī minted in Bāb al-Abwāb, dated 178. See Appendix B.

¹²⁴Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 517. *Ansāb* I, Fol. 335b³³, says he was governor of Armenia for Harun without giving the date.

¹²⁵See Appendix B.

¹²⁶*Tārīkh* II, p. 517.

¹²⁷See Appendix B. A *faṣl* of Bāb al-Abwāb, 178, was undoubtedly minted while he was in the province to aid ^cAbbas ibn Jarīr.

¹²⁸Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit. *Ansāb* II, Fol. 594b⁷⁻⁸, only says he was governor of Armenia for Harun.

¹²⁹See Appendix B. He was in the Jazīrah for a part of 181, when he defeated the rebel, Jarāshah al-Sharī, in hand-to-hand combat somewhere on the upper Euphrates (Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 456). *Futūḥ* I, p. 330, and Hamadhānī, p. 294, say he was governor between Faḍl ibn Yahyā and Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad. Tab 647/8, 269, has him as governor of Armenia in 182, when the daughter of the Khaqān was brought to Barda^cah and later died. But FHA I, p. 302, has this happening in 183. It is possible that the princess arrived in 182 and died in 183.

¹³⁰Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, pp. 517-518; al-Kūfī 8, pp. 256-258.

¹³¹Tab 647/8, 269; FHA I, p. 302.

¹³²Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 528; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, pp. 258-259. According to Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 475, Sa^cid died in 217.

¹³³Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit. The only other mention of Naṣr in the Arabic sources show him to have been the governor of Ifrīqīyah for 1-1/2 years, about 175-177 (Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 496, IA VI, p. 136; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 464).

¹³⁴See Chapter V. Cf. D. Sourdél, "Ibn Māhān," *EI*² III, p. 859.

¹³⁵Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 518, says he was appointed after Naṣr ibn Ḥabīb. Ibn A^ctham al-Kufī 8, p. 259, states that he succeeded Sa^cid ibn Salm. See Appendix B.

¹³⁶Tab 648/8, 270; Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.; FHA I, p. 302; Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, *Tārīkh al-Bāb*, p. 1; al-Kufī 8, p. 259.

¹³⁷Tab 648/8, 270.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit.

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³See Appendix B.

¹⁴⁴Tab 650/8, 273; IA VI, p. 169; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 457; Ahmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, op. cit., p. 2; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit. Dīnawārī, *Akhbār al-tiwāl*, p. 390, says that, while he was governor of Armenia, he went from Raqqaḥ to Baghdad in 184 and then died.

¹⁴⁵Tab 650/8, 273; IA VI, p. 169. Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit., states that his successor was Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim, but his brother, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, was actually next, before Khuzaymah. Numismatic evidence shows that Asad was in office in both 185 and 186. See Appendix B.

¹⁴⁶*Futūḥ* I, p. 330; Hamadhānī, p. 294: both say he was governor after Sa^cīd ibn Salm.

¹⁴⁷See Appendix B.

¹⁴⁸Hamadhānī, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁹Tab 712/8, 324; IA VI, p. 296; FHA I, pp. 312-313.

¹⁵⁰See Appendix B.

¹⁵¹Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, pp. 259-260.

¹⁵²Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 519.

¹⁵³Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 260.

¹⁵⁴Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁵*Futūḥ* II, p. 26.

¹⁵⁶Tab 705/8, 316.

¹⁵⁷Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.; Tab 730/8, 338. Khuzaymah died in Sha^cban in 203 (February-March 819) (IA VI, p. 356; FHA I, p. 358).

¹⁵⁸For this and subsequent references to other names on the coinage

under Khuzaymah, see Appendix B.

¹⁵⁹There was a Haytham ibn Shu^cbah, who succeeded Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim as ^camil of Wasīṭ in 195 or 196/810-812, according to Tab 856/8, 435.

¹⁶⁰He may have been the Abū Qatīfah Ismā^cīl ibn Ibrāhīm, a *maṣṣala* of the Banū Asad, who was appointed finance director of Egypt in 164/780 (Kindī, p. 123).

¹⁶¹*Futūh* II, p. 25; Hamadhānī, p. 284.

¹⁶²Several possible identifications of Dā'ūd are: 1) the Dā'ūd ibn Mūsā ibn ^cIsā or, simply, Dā'ūd ibn ^cIsā, who was governor of Mecca and Medina in 196/811-812 (IA VI, p. 264; Ya^cqubī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 544); or 2) Dā'ūd ibn Yazīd al-Muḥallabī, governor of Sind in 195/810-811, in which year he died (Ya^cqubī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 532). Curiously enough, the names Dā'ūd and Umm Ja^cfar are found together on the coinage of Muḥammadīyah (Rayy) for the year 187. On the same mint's coinage, Dā'ūd is found alone for the years 170-174, 177, 182-184, 186 and 195, while Umm Ja^cfar is on the coins of the years 188-190. See Appendix B under Jibal-Rayy/Muḥammadiyah.

¹⁶³Tab 705/8, 316.

¹⁶⁴Tab 712/8, 324; IA VI, p. 206.

¹⁶⁵*Tārīkh* II, p. 519.

¹⁶⁶See Appendix B.

¹⁶⁷Cf. Vasmer, "Khronologiā," op. cit., p. 397.

¹⁶⁸See Appendix B.

¹⁶⁹*Tārīkh* II, p. 519. That he was in office for part of 193 is demonstrated by his coinage from that year. See Appendix B.

¹⁷⁰See Appendix B.

¹⁷¹Ya^cqubī, loc. cit.

¹⁷²Ya^cqubī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 528. He was in office during 194 and 195, according to numismatic evidence. On coins of Ma^cdan Bājūnays, the names of Dā'ūd, Umm Ja^cfar (Zubaydah), mentioned first under Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim, continue to be found, as well as that of a certain ^cUbayd, hitherto unidentified. See Appendix B.

¹⁷³Ya^cqubī, loc. cit.; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 9, p. 295.

¹⁷⁴Dirhams of Armenia, dated 195, simply have *Aḥmad ibn Yazīd*. Torn-

berg, *Symbolae* III, p. 11, believes he was the son of Yazīd ibn Mazyad. However, Vasmer, "Chronologie der Statthalter von Armenien unter den Kalifen al-Amin und al-Ma'mun," *Handes Amsorya, Monatsschrift für armenische Philologie* 41 (1927), cols. 867-868, thinks it is more probable that he was the son of Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī, but adds that he could have been another Ahmad ibn Yazīd, who may have filled a high position in the provincial mint. See Appendix B.

¹⁷⁵Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 528; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 295. *Ansāb* I, fol. 286b₁₁₋₁₂, says he was governor of Armenia for Amin, without stating the year.

¹⁷⁶See Appendix B.

¹⁷⁷Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī, loc. cit.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.; Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, pp. 562-563.

¹⁷⁹See Appendix B.

¹⁸⁰*Tārīkh* II, pp. 562-563.

¹⁸¹His name is found on dirhams of Ma^cdan Bājūnays, dated 196 and 197. See Appendix B. When the revolt of Abū Sarayā broke out in 199, he and Muhammad ibn Aṭṭab were Abū Sarayā's representatives in Armenia (Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 540). He was later killed by the people of Dabīl (Vasmer, op. cit., col. 869).

¹⁸²See Appendix B. From this year (197), Barda^cah is called *Madīnat Arrān* on the coinage.

¹⁸³*Futūh* I, p. 225; Tab 845/8, 427.

¹⁸⁴An unidentified *Salīm* is found on the same coin. See Appendix B.

¹⁸⁵FHA I, p. 363.

¹⁸⁶See Appendix B.

¹⁸⁷Op. cit., col. 870.

¹⁸⁸Hoards of ^cAbbāsīd dirhams, unearthed in countries that formerly comprised the eastern part of the Empire, are almost always made up of coins struck at various mints. For example, a hoard studied by this writer contained 287 early ^cAbbāsīd dirhams, representing 17 different mints.

¹⁸⁹See Appendix B.

¹⁹⁰See Appendix B. George Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*

(N.Y., 1938), p. 57, in reference to the *ṣard* found on coins of Muḥammadīyah, believes it to be a word meaning "pure" or "unmixed" and not a person's name. However, it is sometimes found as a proper name. Cf. Ṭabarī and Ya^cqūbī indices.

¹⁹¹Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 563; FHA I, p. 350; Ṭab 998/8, 542; IA VI, p. 315. Cf. C. Pellat, "Harthama b. A^cyan," *EI*² III, p. 231; and Bernard Lewis, "Ḥatim b. Harthama," *EI*² III, p. 274.

¹⁹²Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit. Generally speaking, Mu^ctazilites adhered to a school of theological thought, based upon philosophical reasoning, which was the official religious dogma of the early ^cAbbasid court. In the political sense, this group in Armenia represented the pro-^cAbbasid community. ^cAṣabīyah, on the other hand, refers to the pre-Islamic notion of kinship within one's tribe or clan upon which the Umayyads had based their administrative appointments. Thus, the passage in Ya^cqūbī, cited above, reflects the continued animosity between those who supported the ^cAbbasid policy of centralization and bureaucratization of the provincial administration and the proponents of the old order, founded upon family and tribal precedence. Cf. F. Gabrieli, "^cAṣabiyya," *EI*¹ I, p. 681; H.S. Nyberg, "al-Mu^ctazila," *EI*¹ III, pp. 787, 789.

¹⁹³Ibid. Before long Bābak had control of all of Azerbaijan and extended his revolt into Armenia, the districts south of the Caspian and into Jibal. Cf. D. Sourdél, "Bābak," *EI*² I, p. 844; D.S. Margoliouth, "Khurramīya," *EI*¹ III/1, pp. 974-975; E.M. Wright, "Bābak of Badhdh and al-Afshīn During the Years 816-841 A.D.," *Muslim World* 38 (1948), pp. 48, 51-55.

¹⁹⁴Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.; FHA I, p. 350; Sourdél, loc. cit.; Wright, op. cit., p. 48. The date of Ḥatim's death is not recorded, but coins with his name are extant for the years 202 and 203. See Appendix B. Bābak's revolt is believed to have begun in 201 (Sourdél, *idem*).

¹⁹⁵See Appendix B.

¹⁹⁶Ṭab 1039/8, 576; IA VI, p. 358; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 563.

¹⁹⁷Ṭab 1044/8, 580; 1045/8, 581; IA VI, pp. 362, 363; Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, pp. 554, 563-564; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 472. Although Yahyā's name is not found on any of the coinage for the two years of his tenure, several of his lieutenants are named on dirhams of 204. Among them are his sons, Asad and Aḥmad, a Hasan or Husayn ibn Sa^cd and Ba^cith ibn Ḥalbas (see Appendix B). Asad is not mentioned in any source, but Aḥmad is reported to have succeeded his father as governor of the Jazīrah in 206 (Ṭab 1045/8, 581; IA VI, p. 363). Neither is there any record of who Hasan or Husayn ibn Sa^cd may have been. As for Ba^cith, his family had settled in Marand, a village in Azerbaijan, during the governorship of Yazīd ibn Usayd, in the 140s, where they became a local power (*Futūḥ* II, pp. 26-27; Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 446).

¹⁹⁸Ṭab 1044/8, 580; Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 564, who says he was

governor of both Armenia and Azerbaijan.

¹⁹⁹Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.

²⁰⁰Tab 1045/8, 581; Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit.

²⁰¹Ya^cqūbī, loc. cit. ^cIsā was in office at least until 208, since coins with his name are extant for both 207 and 208. The names of his deputies, al-^cAbbās ibn Abū Ayyūb and Muhammad ibn ^cAbd Allāh al-Kalbī, are found on coinage of ^cIsā's period in office. See Appendix B.

²⁰²Tab 1072/8, 601; IA VI, p. 390; Azdī, p. 366; Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 564. See Appendix B. His prefect, al-^cAbbās ibn Khālīd, figures on the coinage of 208.

²⁰³Tab 1072/8, 601; IA VI, p. 390; Azdī, p. 366; Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 564.

²⁰⁴Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 564-565. Tab 1101/8, 622, says he was killed on 25 Rabi^c I 214 (June 2, 829).

²⁰⁵See Appendix B. The name, ^cUbayd Allāh ibn Yahyā, is found on the coinage of the period also, but no identification has so far been made.

²⁰⁶*Tārīkh* II, p. 565.

²⁰⁷This passage is given under the year 214 when ^cAlī ibn Hishām was reportedly named governor of Azerbaijan in addition to his territories in Jibal (see Chapter IV). Yet, the numismatic evidence and a firm chronology for ^cAbd al-^cAla's successor would preclude 214 as the correct date.

²⁰⁸See above: governors numbered 2c, 4, 9, 23 and 37.

²⁰⁹The dates of his tenure are drawn from the available numismatic evidence. See Appendix B.

²¹⁰Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, pp. 565-566. Ahmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, *Tārīkh al-Bāb*, p. 3, says he was sent to Azerbaijan, Arran and Armenia in 205 by Ma'mun, but if the author means he was appointed governor in that year, he is in error.

²¹¹Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 566; Ahmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, loc. cit. The name of Ibrahim ibn ^cAttāb is found on Armenian coinage issued during most of the years of Khālīd's tenure as governor. It is possible that he is the brother of the Muhammad ibn ^cAttāb who received a pardon from Khālīd. Some coins of this period also have an Ibrahim ibn Zayd, but he has not been identified. See Appendix B.

²¹²Ahmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, loc. cit.

²¹³Ibid. It is interesting to note that Khālīd made Dabīl his capital; whereas, most of the governors before him preferred (or were forced to live in) Barda'ah. Khālīd reportedly died in either 228 or 230, according to Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, op. cit., p. 3.

²¹⁴Tab 1100/8, 620. Cf. K.V. Zetterstéen, "al-^cAbbās b. al-Ma'mūn," *EI*² I, pp. 11-12. He died in 223/838 in the prison of Manbij.

²¹⁵See Appendix B.

²¹⁶Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīkh* II, p. 566.

²¹⁷Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 597.

²¹⁸See Appendix B. Miles, *RIC*, p. 75, surmises that he was either a lieutenant-governor under ^cAbbās or took over the administration of Armenia upon Ma'mun's demise. The second conjecture cannot be true in light of the 217 specimen which Miles (loc. cit., F.N. 127) thought contained the name of ^cAbbās, but actually has that of ^cAbd al-Raḥman.

²¹⁹Ya^cqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 566.

²²⁰*Futūh* I, p. 330; Hammadhānī, p. 294.

²²¹See Chapter VII for a discussion of the *barīd* system.

²²²For a description of the tax system, see Chapter VII. Revenues of Armenia are listed in the tables of Appendix C.

²²³Canard's statement ("Dwin," *EI*² II, p. 678) is, therefore, not correct for much of the period 132-218/750-833.

²²⁴Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, op. cit., pp. 20, 116-117.

²²⁵Canard, op. cit., p. 679. Ter-Chevondian, "Le 'Prince d'Arménie' à l'époque de la domination arabe," *Revue des études arméniens*, N.S. 3 (1966), pp. 185-200, makes a case for the dual government of ^cAbbasid governor and Armenian prince, but the Armenian sources he used emphasize the importance of the indigenous princes as much as the Arab sources do for the caliphal governors.

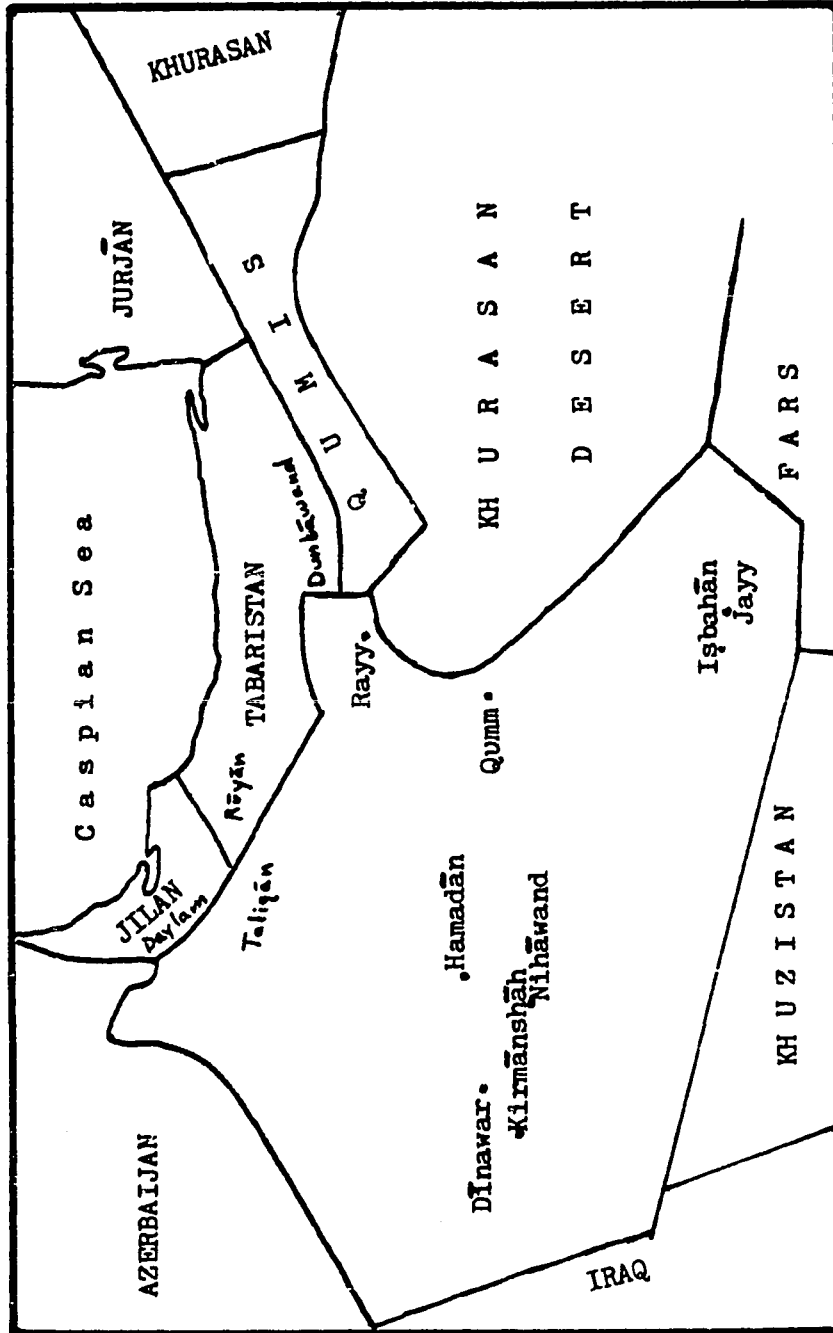
²²⁶The preceding material is summarized in Chapter VI, Table 1.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROVINCE OF JIBAL

The Arabs aptly named the region they called Jibal, known in classical times as Media, for its mountainous terrain.¹ Although the boundaries of the province were altered at various times, they remained generally stable during the early ^CAbbāsīd period. On the west Jibal was flanked by Iraq and on the northwest by Azerbaijan. To the north lay the Caspian districts: Daylam, Jilān, Rūyān and Dunbāwand, while to the northeast stretched the province of Qūmis and the main route to Khurāsān. Most of the eastern border was limited by the Khurāsānian desert and on the southern borders were the provinces of Fārs and Ahwāz (Khuzistān). Despite these definite geographic limits, Jibal was not administered consistently as a single entity under the first ^CAbbāsīds.² Rather, control of a number of the major urban centers, each with its surrounding district, was often delegated to a representative of the caliph. The fundamental characteristic of Jibal during this period was its division into several major city-states, each with its own dependent towns, villages and rural countryside. Usually the province was nominally under the control of a single governor appointed by the caliph, yet the major cities, excluding the provincial capital, were treated like semi-autonomous entities.

Rayy was the capital of Jibal during the early ^CAbbāsīd period, the name of the city being practically synonymous with the province as a whole. Whenever a particular individual is mentioned in the written



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and numismatic sources as *ʿāmil* of Rayy, the meaning conveyed is that he was governor of the entire province, prefects in other cities notwithstanding. The chief mint of Jibal was located at Rayy, whose almost unbroken series of emanations were matched only by the imperial facility at Baghdad. While Maḥdī was governor of the East for his father (see below), he resided in Rayy and embarked on a major building program. Under the heir-apparent's direction, the city was enlarged and a new Friday mosque built. In honor of Maḥdī, whose given name was Muḥammad, Rayy was renamed Muḥammadiyah and this appellation began appearing on the coinage from the year 148/765, although the construction program was not completed until 158/775.³ The city and district, however, continued to be referred to in the chronicles under the old name of Rayy, which name also reappeared on the coinage from time to time.

The second city of Jibal in importance administratively—and probably first in size—was Iṣbahān, which dominated southeastern Jibal and the region stretching towards Hamadān.⁴ Iṣbahān was usually accorded its own *ʿāmil*, who was normally subordinate to the governor in Rayy, although some of the prefects appointed there were able to act with a measure of independence. A few of these individuals have become known to us, either through mention in the Arab chronicles or as the issuing authority on the city's coinage. Where these *ʿāmil*s of Iṣbahān are known, they are discussed in conjunction with their counterparts at Rayy. Iṣbahān was the site of an ʿAbbāsīd provincial mint, although the name appears very infrequently on the coinage until the caliphate of Ma'mūn. Up to that time the name Jayy, by which the administrative center of Iṣbahān was called, occurs on a rather intermittent series of

dirhams and *fulūs*.⁵

There were several other urban centers which figured in the administration of this province and of which there are occasional notices to the effect that prefects were appointed to them. Hamadān, the ancient Ecbatana and capital of Media, was a very large city under the ʿAbbāsids.⁶ It is frequently mentioned by the Arab historians and emitted a series of copper coins, all during the period under discussion. Nihāwand, also called Māh al-Baṣrah because its revenues were allotted to the troops of Baṣrah in Iraq after the initial Arab conquest, was an important city located south of Hamadān.⁷ It was sometimes included in the districts put under the control of a governor when the appointment was for certain specified areas of Jibal only. Nihāwand's mint issued some coinage, with both names for the city found on its very infrequent issues, though not together.⁸ Dīnawar, to the west of Hamadān, is also mentioned as comprising the domains of certain governors, while several prefects of that city are referred to in the chronicles. Like Nihāwand, Dīnawar was given a second name due to its revenues being apportioned—in this case, to the Arabs of Kūfah and was, therefore, called Māh al-Kūfah.⁹ Qumm, on the road between Rayy and Iṣbahān, merited its own *ʿamil*, although none of their names for the early ʿAbbāsīd period is known to us.¹⁰ This city, however, was an important one in the province and was made a separate district in 189/805; whereas, it had formerly been part of the district of Iṣbahān.¹¹ Qumm was the location of a major uprising against Ma'mūn in 210/825-826 (see below).

After the ʿAbbāsīd revolution was declared in Khurāsān (late 129/June 747), the Umayyads tried desperately to contain the forces of Abū

Muslim in the East. However, Abū Muslim's General Qaḥṭabah reached Rayy and began to threaten all of Jibal. In a great battle fought near Iṣbahān on 24 Rajab 131 (March 19, 749), the main Umayyad army in the East was utterly routed and the way opened to Iraq and Syria. Jibal was, from this moment on, an ʿAbbāsīd province in Abū Muslim's hands.

1. Abū Muslim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim (*mawlā*) (132-137/749-755).

The man who was instrumental in securing the caliphate for the ʿAbbāsīd family remained governor of much of the East after Saffāḥ had been proclaimed commander of the faithful in Kūfah. He spent most of his governorship in Khurāsān and Transoxiana quelling disorders and revolts, affairs in Jibal being left in the hands of the prefects in the major cities.¹² Abū Muslim left Khurāsān and traveled through Jibal on his way to join Abū Jaʿfar (Manṣūr) for the *hajj* in 136/754. To assure his own position in the East, he divided his 8,000-man force between Naysābūr and Rayy, then gathered together the revenues of Jibal and left the whole of it at Rayy.¹³ Abū Muslim was not to return to the East. Manṣūr, after his succession to the caliphate, resolved to rid himself of the powerful revolutionary and Abū Muslim was killed at Madā'in on 24 Shaʿban 137 (February 12, 755).¹⁴

2. Jahwar ibn Marrār al-ʿIjlī (Rabīʿah) (137-138/755-756). He was in charge of Manṣūr's cavalry corps in 137 when the rebellion of Sunbādh, a partisan of Abū Muslim, broke out in Khurāsān.¹⁵ When the revolt spread from Naysābūr to Qūmis and then to Rayy, the caliph sent Jahwar to Jibal to restore order there.¹⁶ The battle which ensued between Rayy and Hamadān resulted in a total rout of the rebels. Sunbādh fled from Jahwar's forces, but was caught and killed somewhere between Qūmis and

Tabaristan, the revolt having lasted about 70 days.¹⁷ The treasury left behind by Abū Muslim at Rayy proved to be Jahwar's undoing. Sunbādh had confiscated the revenues during his revolt and, when Jahwar seized that money to pay his troops, Manṣūr dismissed him as governor of Rayy (in 138). Jahwar himself then rebelled and the caliph had to send Muḥammad ibn al-Ash^cath and ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣ Hazārmard against him. Jahwar was defeated near Iṣbahān, then tried to join the Kharajite Mulabbad in Azerbaijan, but was caught and put to death.¹⁸

3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ash^cath ibn ʿUqbah al-Khuzā^cī (Yaman)(138-139/756-757). Muḥammad had been Abū Muslim's appointee to govern Fārs early in Saffāh's caliphate.¹⁹ In 138 he was sent to replace Jahwar ibn Mar-rār as governor of Rayy and to suppress the former's rebellion.²⁰ Although there is no notice of his dismissal, it must have come late in 138 or early in 139, since numismatic evidence shows his successor in office in the latter year.²¹ We find him governor of Egypt in 141/758-759,²² of Ifrīqīyah in 145/762-763,²³ and participating in the summer campaign against the Byzantines in 149/766, at which time he died.²⁴

4. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Ja^cfar ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥakim ibn Rāfi^c al-Anṣārī (Yaman)(139-141/757-759). None of the written sources states that he was appointed governor of Jibal. However, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's name is found on coins of Rayy, dated 139 and 141, thus demonstrating that he filled that office during those years.²⁵ He later sided with the ʿAlid, Muḥammad al-Nafṣ al-Zakīyah, in 145/762, but seems to have escaped punishment when the revolt was suppressed.²⁶ ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd died in 153/770.²⁷

5(a). Muḥammad al-Mahdī ibn Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh al-Manṣūr (ʿAbbāsī) (141-151/759-768). Manṣūr appointed his son governor of a large part of the East, including Jibal and Khurāsān.²⁸ When he first went to his territories in 141, Mahdī stayed at Rayy while his lieutenant was sent to Khurāsān to deal with the rebellious governor there.²⁹ In 144/761-762 he set out for Iraq, met his father at Nihāwand and proceeded with him back to Hāshimīyah.³⁰ He must have returned shortly thereafter, since he was again in Rayy in 145/762 when Manṣūr wrote to him requesting Khāzim ibn Khuzaymah be sent to Ahwāz to counter the revolt of Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh.³¹ It was during this second half of his governorship that Mahdī rebuilt much of Rayy and renamed it Muḥammadiyah.³¹ He returned to Baghdad in Shawwāl 151 (November 768).³³ During Mahdī's tenure as governor, he appointed deputies in Rayy, as well as the other major cities of the province. Some of these individuals are known only from their names on the coinage.³⁴

5(b). Aṣghar (or Asʿad) ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (ancestry unknown) ([141?] -143/[759?]-760). His name, which is uncertain, is known only from *fulūs* of Rayy, dated 143.³⁵ He may have been in office prior to that year, but was succeeded in the course of the only year for which his coinage is extant.

5(c). ʿImrān (or Ghafrān) ibn Ṣāliḥ (ancestry unknown) (143-[145?]/760-[762?]). Although this name is found only on *fulūs* of Rayy, dated 143 and 144, where he is called *ʿamil* of Muḥammad (Mahdī), ʿImrān may have been in office until 145, the year in which his successor's name appears on the coinage.³⁶

5(d). Salm ibn Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī (Mudār)([144?]-145/[761?]-763). Salm was definitely in office in 145/762-763, according to numismatic evidence, and perhaps for part of the preceding year.³⁷ When the dangerous extent of the revolt of Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh became apparent, Manṣūr wrote to Salm in Rayy to go to Baṣrah, where he soon was appointed governor late in 145/early 763.³⁸ No details of his short tenure at Rayy are known, but Salm returned to the city later and died there in 149/766.³⁹

Mahdī continued in his capacity as overall governor of the East, but the names of ʿāmil^s at Rayy, between 145-160/763-777, are not extant. While a lacuna in the chronology of governors in the provincial capital does exist, there is sufficient evidence of the ʿāmil^s in the other major cities of Jibal for this period to permit its record to be enumerated here:

Hamadān: An ʿUmar ibn Salm is found on *fulūs*, dated 147 and 148.⁴⁰ The name Ṭayfūr is inscribed on *fulūs* of 151 and 152.⁴¹ This may be the same Ṭayfūr, a *mawlā* of Manṣūr who, during Mahdī's caliphate, helped found the city of Sīsar when the region between the districts of Hamadān and Azerbaijan became overrun with brigands and outlaws.⁴² There was a Ṭayfūr, possibly our present subject, who was the prefect of Iṣbahān in 169/785-786 (see below). *Fulūs*, dated 154, carry the name Ṣubayḥ, while those of 156 have ʿAbd al-Rahmān, but their identification cannot be surmised.⁴³

Iṣbahān: The prefect of Iṣbahān in 150 was an otherwise unidentified Saʿīd, according to a *faṣl* of Jayy struck in that year.⁴⁴ The

name of Ismā^cīl ibn Mus^cab is found on a *faḥs* of 154, but no trace of him can be elicited from the chronicles.⁴⁵

Nihāwand: The Sulaymān whose name is engraved on a *faḥs*, dated 154, is possibly Sulaymān ibn Barmak, who was with Khālīd ibn Barmak when the latter was governor of Mosul in 158.⁴⁶ Sulaymān ibn Barmak later participated in the summer raid of 163/780, with nothing more of him being mentioned after that date.⁴⁷

6. Ḥamzah ibn Malik ibn al-Haytham al-Khuzā^cī (Yaman)(160-161/777-778). The textual evidence does not directly show him to have been governor in Jibal, but his tenure can be deduced from notices of his other appointments and from numismatic sources. Prior to his governorship in Jibal, Ḥamzah was appointed *ʿāmil* of Sijistān at the end of 159 (September-October 776) and was dismissed from that office in Sha^cbān 160 (May-June 777).⁴⁸ He was in Rayy as governor after the latter date, as evidenced from *fulūs* minted in that city, dated 160.⁴⁹ He was not in office long, as Maḥdī appointed him *ṣāhib al-shurṭah* in 161.⁵⁰ Ḥamzah was later governor of Khurāsān⁵¹ and died in 181/797-798.⁵²

7. al-Ṭāhir ibn Ṭalḥah (ancestry unknown)(161-163/778-780 ?). Dirhams of Muḥammadiyah, dated 162, have the name of this otherwise unknown prefect.⁵³ He may have been appointed to replace Ḥamzah ibn Mālīk and was probably in office until the arrival of Kulthūm ibn Ḥafṣ.

8. Kulthūm ibn Ḥafṣ (ancestry unknown)(163-164/780-781). We only know of his tenure in office during these years from *fulūs* issued by the Muḥammadiyah mint.⁵⁴ In 163 there was a change of prefects at Iṣbahān. Yahyā ibn Sa^cīd al-Ḥarashī was dismissed and al-Ḥakīm ibn Sa^cīd (his

brother ?) was appointed in his place.⁵⁵

9. Khalaf ibn ^cAbd Allāh (164-165/781-782). This individual was appointed governor of Rayy in 164 and dismissed in 165.⁵⁶ The numismatic evidence confirms these dates as being correct.⁵⁷

10. ^cIsā, *mawlā* Abū Ja^cfar al-Mansūr (165-[166]/782-[783]). Both Tabarī and Ibn al-Athīr state that ^cIsā, a *mawlā* of Ja^cfar, was appointed to replace Khalaf in 165.⁵⁸ He is likely the same ^cIsā, *mawlā* of Mansūr, which the anonymous *ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadāʾiq* mentions as having been one of Mansūr's secretaries.⁵⁹ No record of his dismissal from Rayy is found in the sources, but he was probably in office when Sa^cd was sent to take his place.

11. Sa^cd, *mawlā* al-Mahdī (166-?/783-?). Sa^cd was appointed governor of Rayy in 166⁶⁰ and was still in office in 167/784.⁶¹ The sources do not reveal the date of his dismissal, yet he was in Rayy as late as 168/785, according to numismatic evidence.⁶²

12. Between 167/784 and 176/792 a bewildering number of names appears on the coinage of Jibal Province.⁶³ Not one of these individuals is mentioned as having been governor of Rayy or of Jibal during this period. Therefore, any attempt to link names on the coinage with persons mentioned in the written sources is based on pure speculation, yet it is useful to record the possible identifications. The name of a Dāʾūd is found on dirhams of Muḥammadiyah, issued during the years 170 to 174, as well as on later issues between 177 and 195. He may be the same Dāʾūd whose name is inscribed on dirhams of Ma^cdan Bājūnays, dated 190 to 195.⁶⁴ There are two possible identifications for this individual. The most

probable is Dā'ūd ibn ʿIsā ibn Mūsā al-ʿAbbāsī, who led the *hajj* in 193⁶⁵ and was governor of Mecca and Medina in 196.⁶⁶ The other possibility is Dā'ūd ibn Yazīd ibn Ḥatīm al-Muhallabī, who was governor of Egypt in 174⁶⁷ and appointed to Sind in 184/800.⁶⁸ On dirhams of Muḥammadiyah, dated 171 and 172, is found the name Ḥārith, who may be General al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, later sent (in 196/811-812) by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn to Qaṣr ibn Hubayrah during the war between Amīn and Ma'mūn.⁶⁹ The Yahyā of Muḥammadiyah dirhams of 172 and 173 may have been Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī, appointed *wazīr* by Ḥārūn al-Rashīd in 170/787,⁷⁰ as Miles speculates.⁷¹ However, it is also possible—and I believe, more likely—that he is to be identified with Yahyā ibn Mu'adh ibn Muslim al-Dhuhli, whose name is found on *fulūs* of Jayy, dated 174. No written record of his holding a post in Isbahān or Jibal in general is known, but he was later governor of Armenia for Ma'mūn.⁷² Dirhams of Muḥammadiyah, minted in 173, have the name Bahlūl as well as that of Yahyā, but Miles could not offer any suggestion as to his identification.⁷³ It is just possible that he was the Bahlūl ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid who figured in the affairs of Ifrīqīyah as a *kātib* (secretary) in 181/797-798.⁷⁴ Also, on some dirhams of Muḥammadiyah, dated 173, is inscribed the name Mu'āwiyah, who may have been Mu'āwiyah ibn Zufar ibn ʿĀsim al-Hilālī, brother of two governors of Armenia⁷⁵ and leader of the summer raids of 178/794 and 180/796,⁷⁶ and whose name is found on coin weights of Egypt, dating from about 180-190/796-806.⁷⁷ Dirhams minted at Muḥammadiyah in 175 are extant in large numbers with the name Yazīd, who Miles identifies as Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī.⁷⁸ Although no mention of him is made in the sources between the years 172-179/788-795, he is the most likely

candidate.

Prefects of other cities in Jibal are also known for this period. Ṭayfūr, *maḥlā* of Hādī, was appointed governor of Isbahān in 169/785-786, yet nothing is known of the length of his governorate.⁷⁹ A person by the name of al-^cAbbās ibn Mu^cāwiyah was prefect in Hamadān between 170 and 180/787 and 796, but he is not mentioned at all by the Arab historians.⁸⁰ Perhaps he was the son of the Mu^cāwiyah found on dirhams of Muḥammadiyah discussed above.

13. Abū al-^cAbbās al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī (Iranian) (176-179/792-795). Faḍl was appointed governor of a large bloc of territories, including Jibal, Tabaristan, Dunbāwand, Qūmis, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 176.⁸¹ In the same year Rayy, Jurjān and Rūyān were added to his governorate and he set up residence at a place called Ashabb in Ṭāl-aqān, located in northwestern Jibal near Daylam and described as "cold and snowy."⁸² In 177/793, Faḍl was made governor of Khurāsān and Sijistan⁸³ and he set out for the East in 178/794.⁸⁴ In 180/796, Hārū al-Rashīd dismissed him from Tabaristan and Rūyān as well as Rayy, from which date is marked the end of his governorship of Jibal.⁸⁵

The coinage of Jibal during this period does not reflect Faḍl's tenure, unless a single dirham of Muḥammadiyah, dated 179, was meant to represent him.⁸⁶ However, the name of his brother Ja^cfar is found very frequently on the coinage, not only of Muḥammadiyah, but on many scattered mints throughout the Empire until the year of his death (187/803). This was not because Ja^cfar was acting as governor of Jibal or any of the other provinces; rather, his name on the coinage is a reflection of his appointment by Hārūn al-Rashīd as supervisor of the coinage in 176.⁸⁷

Two of Fadl's prefects in Rayy are known from numismatic evidence. ^ʿAbd Allāh, whose name is found on a single dirham each of 176 and 177, may be identified with ^ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sa^ʿīd al-Ḥarashī,⁸⁸ ^ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khāzim ibn Khuzaymay,⁸⁹ or ^ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn ^ʿAlī al-^ʿAbbāsī.⁹⁰ In 177/793, there was a Rūḥ in charge of the district, who was possibly the *mawlā* of Fadl mentioned in Ṭabarī under the year 175.⁹¹ Also prefect of Rayy in 177 was an al-^ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad.⁹² Miles surmises he may have been ^ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ^ʿAlī, governor of Mecca for Hārūn al-Rashīd at one time, or more likely, ^ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Musayyab, placed in charge of Ja^ʿfar ibn Yahyā's *shurṭah* (police corps) in 180/796.⁹³ ^ʿUthmān ibn Zufar was *ʿāmil* of Rayy in 178 and 179/794 and 795, according to numismatic evidence.⁹⁴ He is not to be found in the chronicles, but was probably the brother of Mu^ʿāwiyah ibn Zufar, tentatively identified as prefect in Rayy in 173/789-790 (see above). The above plethora of names on the coinage of Jibal during Fadl's governorship illustrates the extent to which minor officials of this period go practically unnoticed in the written sources. In most cases, the only record of these individuals having been part of the ^ʿAbbāsīd bureaucracy is contained in the numismatic evidence.

14. Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Shikḥkhīr (? Hawāzin-Mudar) (179-181/795-797). When Fadl ibn Yahyā was dismissed as governor of Rayy, along with his other territories, Hārūn appointed Muḥammad to Jibal, reportedly in 180/796.⁹⁵ However, numismatic evidence shows that Muḥammad was already in his governorate in 179 and remained until at least 181.⁹⁶ Muḥammad may also be referred to on a *faḥs* of Jayy, dated 181, when al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Jannāḥ, a *mawlā* of Hārūn, was prefect of

Isbahān.⁹⁷

Again, there is a short lacuna in notices of governors of the province as a whole. A certain Asad is found on dirhams of 181 and 182, whom Miles surmises may have been Asad ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī, governor of Armenia 185-186.⁹⁸ In 182/798, Hārūn made his son Ma'mūn governor of Khurāsān and the territory westward to Hamadān.⁹⁹ The same is recounted under the year 186/802, when the caliph had formal notices of the succession set up in Mecca.¹⁰⁰ This would imply that Ma'mūn was in control of all of northern Jibal but, in fact, he spent most of his time in Khurāsān relying on deputies to administer his other districts.

15. Abū Ṣāliḥ Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī, *mawla* Hārūn al-Rashīd (184-[189?]/800-[805]). Yahyā was appointed governor of Jibal in 184,¹⁰¹ but there is no indication, either from textual or numismatic sources, of the duration of his governorship. The prefect of Rayy in 184 and 185 was al-Ḥarb, *mawla* Hārūn al-Rashīd, whose name is found on *fulūs* minted in those years.¹⁰² In the same year a short-lived revolt was begun in Jibal by Abū 'Amr al-Shārī. Zuhayr al-Qassāb was sent to deal with him and the rebel was killed at Shahrazūr.¹⁰³

16. 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Khuẓā'ī (Yaman) (189-[194?]/805-[810?]). 'Abd Allāh was given the governorship of a large area of northern Jibal and the districts south of the Caspian Sea by Hārūn when the caliph was in Rayy meeting with 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Māhān in 189. The territory allotted to 'Abd Allāh consisted of Rayy, Hamadān, Tabaristan, Rūyān, Dunbāwand and Qūmis.¹⁰⁴ In addition, Hārūn appointed Muhammad ibn al-Junayd to control the road which ran between Rayy and Hamadān, probably to protect the route from brigands who infested the district in large

numbers.¹⁰⁵ ʿAbd Allāh was not often in Jibal because of his military duties. He participated in the summer campaigns of 190/807¹⁰⁶ and returned to Jibal with Amīn, the heir-apparent, where he led a force of 10,000 cavalry to put down a revolt by the Khurramīyah on the border between Jibal and Azerbaijan in 192/808.¹⁰⁷ He is mentioned as being one of those in company with Hārūn when the caliph died in 193/809.¹⁰⁸ ʿAbd Allāh himself died on Dhū al-Hijjah 212 (February-March 828).¹⁰⁹

Several prefects of various districts of Jibal under ʿAbd Allāh are known from the indigenous coinage.¹¹⁰ The names of Yazīd and Saʿīd are found on a dirham of Muḥammadiyah, dated 189, but they have not been identified. Bishr ibn Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim al-Tamīmī is named *amīr* on a *fals* of Hamadān for 189, the same year in which his name is found on dirhams of Armenia and Arran.¹¹¹ He may have had control of the border area between Azerbaijan and northern Jibal. A person known only as Hishām is named on the same *fals* and was probably the prefect of the city.¹¹² In Iṣbahān, the prefect was al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) ibn Jannāh, a *mawla* of Hārūn al-Rashīd.¹¹³

17. al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mālīk al-Khuzāʿī (Yaman)(/-194/?-810). ʿAbbās was left in charge of Rayy, perhaps by his father some time before Hārūn's demise. He is named Ma'mūn's *ʿamīl* there in 194 and played a minor role in the growing feud between Amīn and his brother.¹¹⁴ Amīn wrote to ʿAbbās, requesting him to send rare plants of the district to him as a test of his loyalty. When Ma'mūn discovered that his prefect was open to his brother's machinations, he dismissed him and appointed Ḥusayn al-Rustamī in his place.¹¹⁵ To counter this, Amīn put ʿIsmah ibn Ḥammād ibn Sālīm al-Hamadhānī in charge of the *ḥarb* of Jibal

and sent him to Hamadān with 1,000 men.¹¹⁶

18. al-Husayn ibn ʿUmar al-Rustamī, *maḥḥal* al-Ma'mūn (194-[195?]/810-[811?]). As mentioned under the last-named governor of Rayy, Rustamī was appointed to replace ʿAbbās in 194.¹¹⁷ He raised 1,000 men for Ma'mūn's army in Rayy and in the war between his master and the ill-fated caliph, he played a significant role as a military leader in Jibal.¹¹⁸ By 196/812, he was in Ahwāz on behalf of Tāhir ibn al-Husayn.¹¹⁹

19. ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā ibn Māhān al-Khurasānī (195/811). Amīn entrusted the government of a large part of Jibal, including Nihāwand, Hamadān, Qumm and Isbahān, as well as the *ḥarb* and *kharaḥ* of the area, on 1 Rabīʿ II 195 (January 1, 811). All of Amīn's forces were placed under his command and he was allotted 200,000 dinars and 50,000 dinars for his son Mūsā.¹²⁰ ʿAlī left Baghdad on 15 Jumādā II (March 15) and headed for Rayy, which was the only major city in Jibal left under Ma'mūn's control. When he arrived in Hamadān, he appointed ʿAbd Allāh ibn Humayd ibn Qaḥṭabah over that city and ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Jiblah al-Abnāwī over Dīnawar.¹²¹ Just outside of Rayy, ʿAlī met Ma'mūn's forces under the command of Tāhir ibn al-Husayn and, in the ensuing battle, ʿAlī was killed and Tāhir gained his famous epithet, "Dhū al-Yamīnayn," reportedly for wielding his sword with two hands.¹²²

20. Yahyā ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā ibn Māhān al-Khurasānī (Khurasānī Arab) (195/811). After his father was killed, Yahyā was appointed governor of Rayy by Amīn, who provided him with a new army, to be paid from the *kharaḥ* revenues of the district.¹²³ It is not clear how Amīn expected his representatives to collect the taxes in the area, since Ma'mūn's

forces were in control of Rayy and its environs. Yahyā probably never managed to enter the city, but is reported to have taken possession of the region between Rayy and Hamadān.¹²⁴ Eventually Tāhir ibn al-Husayn directed his forces westward in order to consolidate all of Jibal under the rule of Ma'mūn. As he approached, many of Yahyā's troops deserted to Tāhir and Yahyā was severely defeated.¹²⁵ It is not clear what happened to Yahyā, but he must have escaped, since he was in Madā'in in 201/816-817.¹²⁶

21. 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Jiblah al-Abnāwī (Tamīm-Mudar)(195/811). While Yahyā was still in Jibal, Amīn sent 'Abd al-Rahmān from Anbār with another army to confront Tāhir.¹²⁷ He occupied the region around Hamadān as Tāhir consolidated his gains, reducing one stronghold after another. After defeating Kathīr ibn Qādirah, Amīn's *amīl* at Qazwīn, Tāhir moved against 'Abd al-Rahmān.¹²⁸ The first battle was indecisive, but before the second confrontation could be brought about, 'Abd al-Rahmān's own men fell on him and, after killing him, either went over to Tāhir or fled back towards Iraq, thus leaving the way to Baghdad open.¹²⁹

22. Abū al-Tayyib Tāhir ibn al-Husayn ibn Muṣ'ab al-Būshanjī al-Khuzā'ī (Iranian)(195-196/811-812). Ma'mūn's general was also his *amīl* in Rayy in 195 and 196, according to numismatic evidence.¹³⁰ He is also mentioned in this capacity several times in the written sources,¹³¹ but greater attention is generally paid to his military exploits in Jibal, and later in Iraq and the Jazirah during the war between Amīn and Ma'mūn.

23. al-Fadl ibn Sahl ibn 'Abd Allāh [Zadhānfarūkh](Iranian)(196-198/812-814). In Rajab 196 (March-April 812), Ma'mūn put Fadl over all

of the East (al-Mashriq), from Hamadān to the borders of China, and from the Persian Gulf and India to the Caspian Sea and Jurjān. Fadl was allotted three million dirhams for the expenses of his administration over this vast territory and received the honorific title of Dhū al-Riyā'satayn, meaning "Commander of both Military and Civil Affairs." His brother Hasan was appointed to control the *diwān al-kharāj* of these regions.¹³² Fadl, of course, appointed lieutenants to each district and major city, but only one in Jibal has come down to us. Harthamah ibn A'yan, next to Tāhir (Ma'mūn's most able general), was prefect of Iṣbahān from 196 to 198, according to numismatic evidence.¹³³ He does not seem to have been in that area continually during this period and may have himself had to appoint a deputy to govern the Iṣbahān district. He was with Tāhir in Jibal and Iraq during the war against Amīn in 195,¹³⁴ in Hulwān early in 196,¹³⁵ and in Ahwāz later in the year.¹³⁶ In Ramadān 196 (May-June 812), he defeated another of Amīn's armies, led by 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn Nuḥayk, near Nahrawān.¹³⁷ In 198 Ma'mūn ordered him to come to Khurāsān,¹³⁸ so between the battle in late 196 and the caliph's order in 198, Harthamah may well have looked after affairs in Iṣbahān.

24. Abū Muḥammad al-Hasan ibn Sahl ibn 'Ahd Allāh [Zadhānfarūkh] al-Sarakhsī (Iranian) (198-205/814-821). Hasan was appointed governor in 198 of all the provinces which Tāhir ibn al-Husayn had conquered during the recent war between Amīn and Ma'mūn. These territories included Jibal, Fārs, Ahwāz, Baṣrah and Kūfah.¹³⁷ Hasan spent most of this period in Iraq and a few of the prefects he appointed to the districts of Jibal are known to us through the coinage.¹⁴⁰ A certain Tayfūr was the

prefect in Hamadān in 200/815-816, as his name is found on a *faḥs* of that date, along with that of the governor of Jibal, al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿUmar al-Rustamī.¹⁴¹ Yaʿqūbī relates that Ḥusayn—whom he calls al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAmr—had been appointed over Jibal by Ḥasan ibn Sahl on Ma'mūn's orders. In 204/819-820, Ma'mūn ordered Dīnār ibn ʿAbd Allāh to replace Ḥusayn ibn ʿUmar, but the latter was reluctant to abandon his post. When he became rebellious, Dīnār was forced to engage him in battle and eventually Ḥusayn was made a captive and deprived of his position.¹⁴² A combination of the numismatic and written sources shows that Ḥusayn was governor in Jibal at least from 200 to 204/815 to 820.¹⁴³

No other notices occur concerning administrative officials during Ḥasan ibn Sahl's territorial governorship, but there are some passages in Ṭabarī concerning Jibal worth mentioning. It was reported in 201/816-817 that there was widespread starvation in Khurāsān, Rayy and Iṣbahān. Food was scarce and expensive and many people died.¹⁴⁴ As Ma'mūn passed through Rayy in 203/late 818, he reduced the amount that district and city was assessed in taxes by two million dirhams.¹⁴⁵ This action was to cause a great deal of trouble with the people of Qumm later in Ma'mūn's caliphate (see below under Ṭalhah ibn Ṭāhir).

25. Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (Iranian); second appointment (205-207/821-823). Ma'mūn's able general was appointed governor of all the territories from Baghdad to the extreme eastern limits of the Empire in 205.¹⁴⁶ He left the capital on 29 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 205 (May 6, 821) to assume his duties in the East, and was to spend most of his 1-1/2 year tenure in Khurāsān.¹⁴⁷ We know of two prefects of Rayy for Ṭāhir from numismatic sources, both of whom were in office during part of 206/821-

822.¹⁴⁸ The first was Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī al-Ṭāhirī, who is not mentioned by Arab sources as being specifically connected with the government of Rayy. He had earlier been one of Ṭāhir's lieutenants during the war against Amīn, having been called al-Ṭāhirī from the time in 198/813-814; then he was put in charge of the Khurāsānī troops by Ṭāhir.¹⁴⁹ He was later sent by the caliph to prosecute the war against Bābak and the Khurramīyah, in which capacity he lost his life in 214/829.¹⁵⁰ It is evident from the coinage that, in 206, he had control of an area on behalf of Ṭāhir, which was greater than the district around Rayy, since his name is found on coins of Naysābūr/Abrashahr struck in the same year.¹⁵¹ The other prefect of Rayy for 206, whose name is preserved on the coinage, is Ishāq ibn Yahyā ibn Muḥadh al-Dhihlī. His father was governor of Armenia shortly before 206, but of Ishāq's appointment to Rayy, the historians are silent.¹⁵² Some details of his later career are known, however. He was appointed *ʿāmil* of Damascus in 218/833,¹⁵³ placed in control of the guard (*ḥaras*) by Muṭaṣim in 225/840,¹⁵⁴ and was commander of the guard at some time during the caliphate of Muta-wakkil (232-246/846-860).¹⁵⁵ Ṭāhir himself died in 207/822 and was succeeded in all his territories by his son Ṭalḥah.

26. Ṭalḥah ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (Iranian) (207-213/822-828). When his father died suddenly in 207, Ṭalḥah succeeded him as governor of the East.¹⁵⁶ Ṭalḥah spent most of his governorship in Khurāsān, and coinage issued under his name at Rayy provides no clues to the identification of his prefects there.¹⁵⁷ In 210/825, the resentment of the people of Qumm over the reduction of Rayy's tax assessment by Ma'mūn in 203/818 (see above) erupted into open revolt when they did not receive

similar treatment. The inhabitants of the city repudiated the caliphal authority and refused to pay the *kharāj*, which amounted to two million dirhams, a sum they deemed excessive. They requested that their assessment be lowered as it had been for Rayy, but Ma'mūn answered with force. He sent ʿAlī ibn Hishām and called in a general from Khurāsān named Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf to assist him. The rebellion was put down with great severity as ʿAlī fought and killed Yaḥyā ibn ʿImrān, the rebel leader, and pulled down the walls of the city. ʿAlī then proceeded to collect seven million dirhams in taxes; whereas, the people had previously complained that two million was exorbitant!¹⁵⁸ The direct involvement of Ma'mūn in suppressing the revolt in Qumm demonstrates that, although Ṭalḥah was the nominal governor of the East, the caliph maintained a watchful eye on conditions in the provinces. Ṭalḥah died in 213/828 and was succeeded by his brother, ʿAbd Allāh, in the government of the East.

27(a). Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (Iranian) (213-230/828-844). At the time that his father died in 207/822, ʿAbd Allāh was occupied with putting down the revolt of Naṣr ibn Shabath in the Jazirah, so he sent Ṭalḥah to govern what had become the Ṭāhirid domains in the East.¹⁵⁹ ʿAbd Allāh was continually occupied in the West and was governor of Egypt, Syria and Jazirah from 211 to 213/826 to 828,¹⁶⁰ while Ṭalḥah remained in the East until his death (213/828). In 213 or 214—the sources are not clear on this—ʿAbd Allāh was in Dīnawar organizing resistance against Bābak and the Khurramīyah when his brother died.¹⁶¹ Ma'mūn offered him the choice between governing Khurāsān or taking over the administration of Jibal, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the war

against Bābak. ʿAbd Allāh chose Khurāsān and headed for that province.
 162 To ʿAlī ibn Hishām was given the task of containing Bābak's insurrection, while ʿAbd Allāh attended to affairs in Khurāsān.¹⁶³

27(b). ʿAlī ibn Hishām al-Marwazī (Khurāsānī) (214-217/829-832).
 When ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tāhir accepted the governorship of Khurāsān, Ma'mūn appointed ʿAlī ibn Hishām over Jibal (here meaning the district of Rayy), Qumm, Isbahān and Azerbaijan.¹⁶⁴ ʿAlī does not seem to have been a capable administrator and soon fell under the caliph's suspicions. The *ṣāhib al-barīd* in Jibal, al-ʿAbbās ibn Saʿīd al-Jawharī, reported to Ma'mūn that ʿAlī had been killing some of the inhabitants of the province and expropriating their goods and wealth. The caliph became very angry and sent several officers to seize his treasury and weapons. One of the officers, ʿUjayf ibn ʿAnbasah, took ʿAlī into custody and conveyed him to Ma'mūn, who ordered him beheaded. The sentence was carried out on 16 Jumādā I 217 (June 19, 832).¹⁶⁵ After the unpleasant task of ridding the province of his disreputable governor was completed, Ma'mūn circulated a notice requesting the people to make their grievances known to him concerning the unfavorable actions of his governors, adding that the Khurramīyah had now (217/832) gotten control of Jibal, Azerbaijan and Armenia.¹⁶⁶

The most striking feature of Jibal as an ʿAbbāsīd province, in viewing its administrative structure, was the lack of cohesiveness among the several districts. Unlike either Iraq, which was divided into two well-defined governorates, or Armenia, which was comprised of several large territories—actually provinces in themselves—Jibal was, and still is, merely a convenient geographical term for an amorphous agglomeration

of city-districts. As such, the province functioned primarily as the vital link between the two most important ʿAbbāsid provinces, Iraq and Khurāsān. There was no urgent reason for imposing a sense of unity on Jibal, as was the case with Iraq, the central heartland of the Empire; or Armenia, the northern bulwark against non-Muslim invaders; or even Khurāsān, which was both a frontier province and the cornerstone of ʿAbbāsid power in the eastern part of the Empire.

Other than providing tax revenues to the central government, the task of keeping the route open between Baghdad and Khurāsān was one which did not require a strong measure of centralized control in the province. As long as peace and security were maintained in the major cities along the post road, the local administration was left in the hands of the district *ʿamils*. It is for this reason that governors of Jibal *per se* are rarely mentioned in the sources, except when a combination of territories is allotted to those individuals. The frequent references concerning appointments of governors to Rayy suggest that a posting to the city was regarded as conferring the governorship of all of Jibal upon the person named. However, the fact that *ʿamils* of Isbāhān, Hamadān, Dīnawar and Nihāwand are sometimes named implies that the governor in Rayy was no more than the *ʿamil al-ʿummāl* of the province.

The relatively unimportant role of Jibal militarily in the structure of the ʿAbbāsid Empire is reflected in the backgrounds of the officials appointed to that province.¹⁶⁷ Only one ʿAbbāsid prince, Mahdī, was appointed to govern Jibal, not counting Ma'mūn's honorary governorship and, in this instance, it was only part of a larger territory appended to Khurāsān. Among those appointed to Rayy were a large number

whose origins are indeterminable (five for six years), and one is tempted to label most of them *mawālī* on the rather shallow evidence of their all-too-brief mention in the sources and the fact that a large proportion of identifiable governors at Rayy were *mawālī* (five), and were in office for 13 of the 86 Muslim years concerned in this study. Of the two major Arab tribal divisions, governors from Yaman are in the majority (five for ten years), while three Mudarites and one from Rabī^cah were in office for an average of little more than one year. Not surprisingly, men of Iranian lineage held the office of governor for a total of 25 years. These included two Barmakids, the two sons of Sahl and, for the last 12 years of this period, the founding members of the Tāhirid dynasty. Of the remainder, three were Khurāsānī Arabs who were in office for a total of four years. Of the *ʿāmil*s posted to the other districts of Jibal whose affiliation can be determined, four were *mawālī*, three were from Yaman clans, two from Mudar, and one was a Khurasānī Arab. It is interesting to note that, except for Tāhir ibn al-Husayn's two tenures as governor, the first of which was to meet the military exigencies of the war with Amīn, none of the known governors of Jibal were appointed more than once, although many were given positions of responsibility elsewhere in the Empire after leaving this province. In general, the length of term in office for governors of Jibal was comparable to those in other provinces. With few exceptions, the average length of a governorship was about one to three years.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹L. Lockhart, "Dijibāl," *EI*² II, p. 534.

²The ʿAbbāsids continued the divisional administrative characteristics of Jibal under the Umayyads to some extent, only emphasizing the importance of Rayy more. The Umayyads allowed Rayy, as one of the *amsār*, to control northern Jibal, while southern Jibal, with Isbahān as the administrative center, was subordinate to the governors of Baṣrah and Iraq. Cf. V. Minorsky, "Rayy," *EI*¹ III, p. 1106; Ann K.S. Lambton, "Isfahan," *EI*² IV, p. 99.

³*Futūḥ* II, pp. 6-7; Minorsky, loc. cit.; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (London, 1905), p. 214.

⁴Lambton, op. cit., p. 97; Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 202-203.

⁵See Appendix B. The whole of Isbahān actually was comprised of two cities built adjacent to one another. Jayy contained the governmental and military buildings; whereas, Yahudiyah—said to have been settled by Jews in the time of Nebuchadnezzar—was twice as large as Jayy and was the commercial hub of the region. Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

⁶Le Strange, pp. 194-195.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

⁸See Appendix B.

⁹Le Strange, p. 189. The word *Māh*, found here compounded with Basrah and Kufah, is probably equivalent to the older Madah or Media, as it is found only in geographic names of that province (i.e., Jibal). Cf. Lockhart, "Dīnawar," *EI*² II, 299; V. Minorsky, "Nihāwand," *EI*¹ III, 912.

¹⁰Ann K.S. Lambton, "An Account of the *Tārīkhī Qumm*," *BSOAS* 12 (1948), p. 586. Part of the missing section of this history contained accounts of the governors of Qumm.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 587.

¹²Abū Muslim is specifically mentioned as the governor of Jibal in 132, 133 and 134 (Tab 72/7, 458; 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; IA V, 445, 449, 454). For his activities in Khurasān during this period, see Chapter V. One of his prefects was Zuhayr ibn al-Turkī, a *mawlā* of Khuṣāʿah, whose name is found on a mintless *faṣṣ* of 133 (see Appendix B). Since Zuhayr is mentioned as prefect of Hamadān in 137 (Tab 118-119/7, 493-494; IA V, 478), he may have held that position in Hamadān from at least 133.

Cf. C. Wurtzel, "The Coinage of the Revolutionaries in the Late Umayyad Period," *ANSMN* 23 (1978), p. 196.

¹³Tab 87/7, 469; IA V, p. 458.

¹⁴Ibn Khallikān (Slane) II, p. 100 (which gives the full date); Ya^cqūbī II, p. 441; S. Moscati, "Abū Muslim," *EI*² I, p. 141.

¹⁵Tab 98/7, 479; 119/7, 495; IA V, 468, 481; *Ansāb* I, Fols. 326a-326b¹ ff. (on Sunbādh). There are coins of Jahwar known for 138; see Appendix B.

¹⁶Tab 119/7, 495; IA V, 481; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 442; *Ansāb* I, Fol. 326b⁴⁻¹⁵; FHA I, p. 224. Khalīfah, pp. 426-417, says Mansūr sent Muḥammad ibn al-Ash^cath against Sunbādh, adding that others say he sent Jahwar.

¹⁷Tab 120/7, 495; FHA I, p. 224.

¹⁸Tab 122/7, 497; IA V, 484; FHA I, 225. *Ansāb* I, Fol. 326b¹⁶⁻²⁸, states that Mansūr appointed Mujāshi^c ibn Yazīd al-Dab^ci (Dabbī ?) to succeed Jahwar, but when he arrived in Rayy, the latter had him killed, then proclaimed his revolt.

¹⁹Tab 75/7, 460 and IA V, 449, under the year 133; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 376, where he is called Muḥammad ibn al-Ash^cath ibn Abd al-Rahmān. *Ansāb* I, Fol. 285a²⁴⁻²⁶, relates that Saffāh had sent Isā ibn Alī to Fārs, only to find Muḥammad already there on behalf of Abū Muslim.

²⁰Tab 122/7, 497; IA V, 484; FHA I, 225; *Ansāb* I, Fol. 326b¹⁹⁻²¹.

²¹There are undated *fulūs* of Rayy issued by Muḥammad, which can only have been struck during his short tenure there. See Appendix B.

²²Tab 138/7, 511; IA V, 508.

²³Tab 305/7, 639. *Futūḥ* I, pp. 361, 368, mentions he was governor of Ifriqiyah for Saffāh.

²⁴Tab 353/8, 28; IA V, 590; Dhahabī VI, p. 117; *Futūḥ* I, p. 288.

²⁵See Appendix B.

²⁶Tab 190, 193, 199, 227, 260/7, 552, 555, 559, 580, 605; Dhahabī VI, p. 221.

²⁷IA V, 611; Dhahabī, loc. cit.; Khalīfah, p. 426.

²⁸Tab 134/7, 508. Although Maḥdī spent part of his time at Rayy, the major events of his period as governor occurred in Khurāsān. See Chapter V.

²⁹Tab 138/7, 511; Ya^cqūbī II, pp. 445-446.

³⁰Ya^cqūbī II, p. 450.

³¹Tab 305/7, 639. Ya^cqūbī II, p. 457, states that Mansūr sent him back to Khurasān with an army and companions as his ^camil there in 146.

³²See above, under the introductory remarks for this chapter.

³³Tab 364/8, 36-37; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 462.

³⁴See Appendix B.

³⁵See Appendix B. Cf. Miles, *NHR*, p. 25.

³⁶See Appendix B. Miles, loc. cit., suggests that the letters *ṣḥ* on the coins must be *Ṣuḥ* or *Ṣaliḥ* for Ṣaliḥ.

³⁷A *faḥs* of 145. There is a dirham of Muḥammadiyah, dated 150, with the name Salm reported by Widad al-Qazzāz, *Sumer* 18 (1962), p. 138, No. 1/8453. If the coin was minted under the auspices of Salm ibn Qutaybah, then perhaps the reported date of his death is incorrect (149/766), or the die was made late in 149 for the following year and Salm's death was unexpected. Thus, he may have been ^camil over Rayy in 149-150, although the written sources do not reflect this. Another possible candidate is Salm ibn ^cAbd Allāh, whose name is found on a *faḥs* of Muḥammadiyah, dated 164. See Appendix B.

³⁸Tab 305/7, 639. See Chapter II.

³⁹IA V, 590; Dhahabī VI, p. 71.

⁴⁰See Appendix B.

⁴¹See Appendix B.

⁴²*Futūḥ* I, pp. 482-483; Hamadhānī, pp. 129-240.

⁴³See Appendix B.

⁴⁴See Appendix B. For Jayy, see introductory remarks at the beginning of this chapter.

⁴⁵The several *fulūs* of Jayy, dated 158, with the name of the prefect poorly preserved, may be this same Isma^cil ibn Muṣ^cab. See Appendix B.

⁴⁶See Appendix B. Tab 384/3, 56.

⁴⁷Tab 497, 498/8, 246, 247; IA VI, 60. There is also a *faḥs* of Muḥammadiyah, dated 158, which has the name al-Hasan. This may refer to Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah al-Ta'i, but the Arab sources do not say where he was

located in that year.

⁴⁸Tab 459/8, 116; Bosworth, *Sīstān*, p. 84. Khalīfah, p. 441, says he was Mahdī's first governor of Sijistān and gives his name as Hamzah ibn Malīk ibn Zuhayr ibn Muhammad al-ʿĀdhī.

⁴⁹See Appendix B. Cf. Miles, *NHR*, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁰IA VI, 56. Yaʿqūbī II, p. 483, has his elevation to head of the *shurṭah* under the year 168, replacing his brother Nasr, when the latter died. Tabarī 491/8, 140, however, gives the year of Nasr's death as 141, without mentioning Hamzah.

⁵¹See Chapter V.

⁵²Tab 646/8, 268; IA VI, 159.

⁵³See Appendix B.

⁵⁴See Appendix B. Miles, *NHR*, p. 43, believes some specimens show the *nisbah* al-Mawsilī.

⁵⁵Tab 500/8, 249; IA VI, 61. Yahyā's tenure in Iṣbahān was necessarily short, since he had only been appointed governor of Egypt in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 162 (July-August 779). Dirhams of Jayy, dated 162, have the name Yahyā on them and, judging from the large numbers of extant specimens, great quantities of these coins must have been struck. It is highly unlikely that the Yahyā of these dirhams is the same Yahyā al-Harashī. Muḥammad al-Ushsh, *Kanz Umm Hajarah al-Fiḍāl* (Damascus, 1972), pp. 75-76, lists several possible identifications, but chooses Yahyā al-Harashī as the most likely candidate. Unless there is a mistake in the dating of his Egyptian governorship and Yahyā was in Iṣbahan for a much greater portion of 162, one of the other of al-Ushsh's possibilities is more likely, the best one being Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī, who was governor of Azerbaijan 158-161, named Harūn al-Rashīd's tutor in 161, then placed over the *diwān al-rasā'il* in 163. As was to occur frequently under the far-reaching power and influence of the Barmakids, various members of the family had their names placed on the coinage of diverse provincial mints, even though they themselves were not officially present in those places. The Iṣbahan 162 issues may be evidence of one of those instances.

⁵⁶Tab 503/8, 252; 505/8, 153; IA VI, 67.

⁵⁷See Appendix B. The one known *faṣl* of 164 is recorded by Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, p. 68, No. 52, as having the name Salm ibn ʿAbd Allāh, but Miles, *NHR*, pp. 43-44, believes that Zambaur misread Salm for Khalaf.

⁵⁸Tab 505/8, 153; IA VI, 67. *Fulūs* of Muḥammadīyah, dated 165, have an *ayn* in the reverse area, which may denote ʿIsa. See Appendix B.

⁵⁹FHA I, 269.

- ⁶⁰Tab 518/8, 163; IA VI, 74.
- ⁶¹Tab 521/8, 166.
- ⁶²See Appendix B.
- ⁶³See Appendix B for all numismatic references to this section.
- ⁶⁴See Chapter III.
- ⁶⁵Tab 775/8, 373; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 537.
- ⁶⁶Tab 857/8, 436. Ya^cqūbī II, p. 544, has him in Mecca 199-200. IA VI, 264, calls him Dā'ūd ibn Mūsā ibn ^cIsā al-Khurasānī.
- ⁶⁷Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 11.
- ⁶⁸Tab 649/8, 272.
- ⁶⁹Tab 857/8, 436.
- ⁷⁰Tab 603/8, 233; K.V. Zetterstéen, "Yahyā b. Khālīd," *EI*¹ IV, p. 1151.
- ⁷¹Miles, *NHR*, p. 55.
- ⁷²See Chapter III.
- ⁷³Miles, *NHR*, p. 56.
- ⁷⁴IA VI, 156.
- ⁷⁵See Chapter III under al-^cAbbās and Yahyā ibn Zufar.
- ⁷⁶Tab 637/8, 260; 645/8, 266; IA VI, 145, 152.
- ⁷⁷Miles, *CAM* I, pp. 77-78.
- ⁷⁸Miles, *NHR*, pp. 58-59.
- ⁷⁹Tab 568/8, 204; IA VI, 95. He may be the person of the same name found on *fulūs* of Hamadān, dated 151 and 152. See above.
- ⁸⁰It is possible that all the *fulūs* with his name are dated either 170 or 180, but I believe that I have recorded the dates correctly on the specimens that I have personally examined.
- ⁸¹Tab 612/8, 242; Jahshiyārī 190; FHA I, 293. For his activities as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan, see Chapter III.
- ⁸²Tab 613/8, 242.

⁸³Tab 629/8, 255; Jahshiyārī, loc. cit.; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 492; FHA I, 296.

⁸⁴Tab 631/8, 257; Jahshiyārī, loc. cit.; FHA I, loc. cit. His tenure as governor of Khurasan is discussed in Chapter V.

⁸⁵Tab 645/8, 266, but numismatic evidence would tend to refute this date as too late. His successor was already in office in 178.

⁸⁶*Fulūs* of Nihāwand, dated 186 with al-Faḍl, may have been issued by or for him, but he was not there in any official capacity that year. See Appendix B.

⁸⁷Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr al-ʿuqūd* (ed. Kirmilī in *al-Nuqūd al-ʿArabīyah wa-ʿilm al-nummayyāt* (Cairo, 1939), pp. 47-48; and ed. D. Eustache, "Traité des Monnaies," *Hesperis Tamuda* 10 (1969), pp. 116-117. Cf. Miles, *NHR*, p. 61; and A.S. Ehrenkreutz, "Studies in the Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages," *JESHO* 2 (1959), p. 142, both of whom refer to L.A. Mayer's edition of Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr* (Alexandria, 1933).

⁸⁸Governor of Yamāmah 168-169 (Zambaur, op. cit., p. 13), of Tabaristan in 185 (Tab 650/8, 273), of Ḥimṣ in 194 (Tab 776/8, 374; 795/8, 388), and of Wasīṭ in 199 (Tab 979/8, 530).

⁸⁹*Sāhib al-shurṭah* for Maḥdī in 163 (Tab 494/8, 144); and 167 (Tab 519/8, 164); dismissed from that post by Ḥadī in 169 (Tab 548/8, 189); governor of Tabaristan, replacing Faḍl ibn Yahyā in 180 (Tab 645/8, 266).

⁹⁰Governor of the Jazirah in 163 (Tab 500/8, 149; Azdī, p. 244); died in Rabī^c I 186 (March-April 802) (IA VI, 174). See Appendix B.

⁹¹Tab 611/8, 240. Cf. Miles, *NHR*, p. 64. See Appendix B.

⁹²*Fulūs* of this date. See Appendix B.

⁹³Miles, *NHR*, p. 64.

⁹⁴See Appendix B.

⁹⁵Tab 645/8, 266.

⁹⁶See Appendix B. Miles, *NHR*, p. 67, rightly points out that Rayy is used on the 179 dirhams of Muḥammad ibn Yahyā to denote the province of Jibal and not merely the city. Miles did not know of a dirham of this governor from the year 181 and thus concluded his tenure covered only 179 and 180.

⁹⁷See Appendix B. However, the Muḥammad of the 181 *faḷs* may also have been Muḥammad ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, whose name is found on a 182-dated *faḷs* of Jayy, although no connection between the Barmakid and the

city administration can be found. Husayn ibn al-Jannah may be identical to the Hasan ibn Jamil who was governor of Basrah ca. 180-191. See Chapter II.

⁹⁸Miles, *NHR*, p. 70. See Chapter III.

⁹⁹Tab 647/8, 269.

¹⁰⁰Tab 652/8, 275.

¹⁰¹Tab 649/8, 272; IA VI, 166.

¹⁰²See Appendix B.

¹⁰³Tab 649/8, 272; IA VI, 166.

¹⁰⁴Tab 705/8, 316-317. Ya^cqūbī II, p. 514, lists only Qumis, Tabaristan and Dunbawand. In 189 Qumm was separated from Isbahan and made into a separate district. Cf. A.K.S. Lambton, "An Account of the *Tārīkhi Qumm*," op. cit., p. 587.

¹⁰⁵Tab 706/8, 317.

¹⁰⁶Tab 709/8, 320; 712/8, 324.

¹⁰⁷Tab 732/8, 339; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-tiwāl*, p. 392.

¹⁰⁸Tab 734/8, 341.

¹⁰⁹Ya^cqūbī II, p. 562.

¹¹⁰See Appendix B.

¹¹¹See Chapter III.

¹¹²There was an Hishām ibn Farkhasraw who figured in events of Khurāsān and Jibal in 191 and 194 (Tab 714/8, 325; IA VI, 203, 229).

¹¹³The *fulūs* of Jayy, dated 191, are very similar to those of the same mint from 181, mentioned above. The two dates have been read correctly and it is not inconceivable that this individual held office for a ten-year period, although lack of other evidence allows for the possibility that he was in office under two separate appointments.

¹¹⁴He is named on a dirham of Muḥammadiyah for this year. The coinage of 194 reflects the changing political situation in Rayy. Part way through the year, Amin ceased to be mentioned and Ma'mun's name is the only Abbasid named. This is also the first year in which Fadl ibn Sahl's name is found on the coinage. See Appendix B.

¹¹⁵Tab 777/8, 375; IA VI, 229.

- 116 Tab 794/8, 387; Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 297.
- 117 Tab 778/8, 375.
- 118 Tab 800/8, 392.
- 119 Tab 851-853/8, 432-433.
- 120 Tab 796/8, 389-390.
- 121 Tab 797/8, 390-391; Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī 8, pp. 298-299.
- 122 Tab 799-801/8, 391-393; IA VI, 242-245; Ya^Cqubī II, pp. 530-532; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, p. 398. The date of the battle and death of ^CAlī varies with the sources. Tab 825/8, 412, has mid-Shawwāl 195 (mid-July 811), but Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 650, gives 7 Sha^Cban 195 (May 6, 811).
- 123 Tab 819/8, 406.
- 124 Tab 827/8, 413.
- 125 Tab 828/8, 413.
- 126 Tab 1006/8, 550.
- 127 Tab 827/8, 412; Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī 9, p. 299.
- 128 Tab 830-831/8, 416.
- 129 Tab 831-32/8, 416-417; IA VI, 248.
- 130 See Appendix B.
- 131 Tab 816/8, 404; Dīnawarī, op. cit., p. 394.
- 132 Tab 841/8, 424. Cf. Sourdél, "al-Fadl b. Sahl," *ET*² II, p. 731.
- 133 See Appendix B.
- 134 Tab 802-803/8, 394.
- 135 Tab 840/8, 423.
- 136 Tab 851/8, 432.
- 137 Tab 864/8, 441.
- 138 Tab 975/8, 527.
- 139 Tab 975/8, 527; IA VI, 297-298; Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī 8, p. 330.

¹⁴⁰For Ḥasan's activities as governor of Iraq, see Chapter II. The letter *ḥā'* on coins of Muhammadiyah and Isbahān during this period may represent Ḥasan. See Appendix B.

¹⁴¹See Appendix B.

¹⁴²Ya^cqūbī II, p. 553.

¹⁴³Dīnā ibn ^cAbd Allāh may have continued to be governor of Jibal into 205 if the *dal* on a dirham minted in Muhammadiyah in that year is meant to represent his name. See Appendix B.

¹⁴⁴Tab 1015/8, 556.

¹⁴⁵Tab 1030/8, 568; *Futūḥ* II, 8: the amount had been 12 million before Ma'mun reduced it by two million.

¹⁴⁶Tab 1039/8, 577; W. Barthold, "Tāhir b. al-Ḥusain," *EI*¹ IV, pp. 610-611.

¹⁴⁷Tab 1043/8, 579. Details of his activities as governor of the East, especially of Khurāsān, are given in Chapter V.

¹⁴⁸See Appendix B.

¹⁴⁹Tab 917/8, 482.

¹⁵⁰Tab 1099/8, 619; 1101/8, 622; IA VI, 407, 412; Ya^cqūbī II, pp. 564-565.

¹⁵¹See Appendix B. Cf. Miles, *NHR*, p. 111.

¹⁵²For Yahyā ibn Mu^cādh, see Chapter III.

¹⁵³Tab 1133/8, 646.

¹⁵⁴IA VI, 516.

¹⁵⁵Ya^cqūbī II, p. 602.

¹⁵⁶Tab 1065/8, 595; IA VI, 383. Details of his governorship in Khurāsān are given in Chapter V.

¹⁵⁷See Appendix B. One possible exception is a dirham of Muhammadiyah, dated 208, which has the name Jarīr on it, the rest of the inscription having been effaced. This person may have been Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Bajalī, governor of the Yemen about 196 (Ya^cqūbī II, p. 528), and a governor of Tabaristan at some point (Hamadhānī, p. 304).

¹⁵⁸Tab 1092-93/8, 614; IA VI, 399; *Futūḥ* I, pp. 488-489; Cl. Huart, "Kumm," *EI*¹ III, p. 1117.

¹⁵⁹Tab 1065/8, 595; 1067-1072/8, 598-601.

¹⁶⁰Tab 1094/8, 615.

¹⁶¹Tab 1102/8, 622 (214); Ya^cqūbī II, 565 (214); Ibn Khallikān (Slane) II, p. 49: calling him governor of Dīnawar (213).

¹⁶²Tab 1102/8, 622; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 565, says he was appointed to Khurāsān by Ma'mun without mentioning the options.

¹⁶³See Chapter V for ^cAbd Allāh's governorship of Khurāsān.

¹⁶⁴Tab 1102/8, 622; IA VI, 415. Ya^cqūbī II, p. 565, states only that he was appointed governor of Azerbaijan and leader of the war against Babak. His *nisbah*, al-Marwazī, indicates that he is of the *Ahl Khurāsān* and specifically from the vicinity of Marw. Cf. F. Omar, *Abbāsiyyāt* (Baghdad, 1976), p. 44.

¹⁶⁵Tab 1105/8, 626; 1107/8, 627; IA VI, 420-421; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 570.

¹⁶⁶Tab 1108/8, 628.

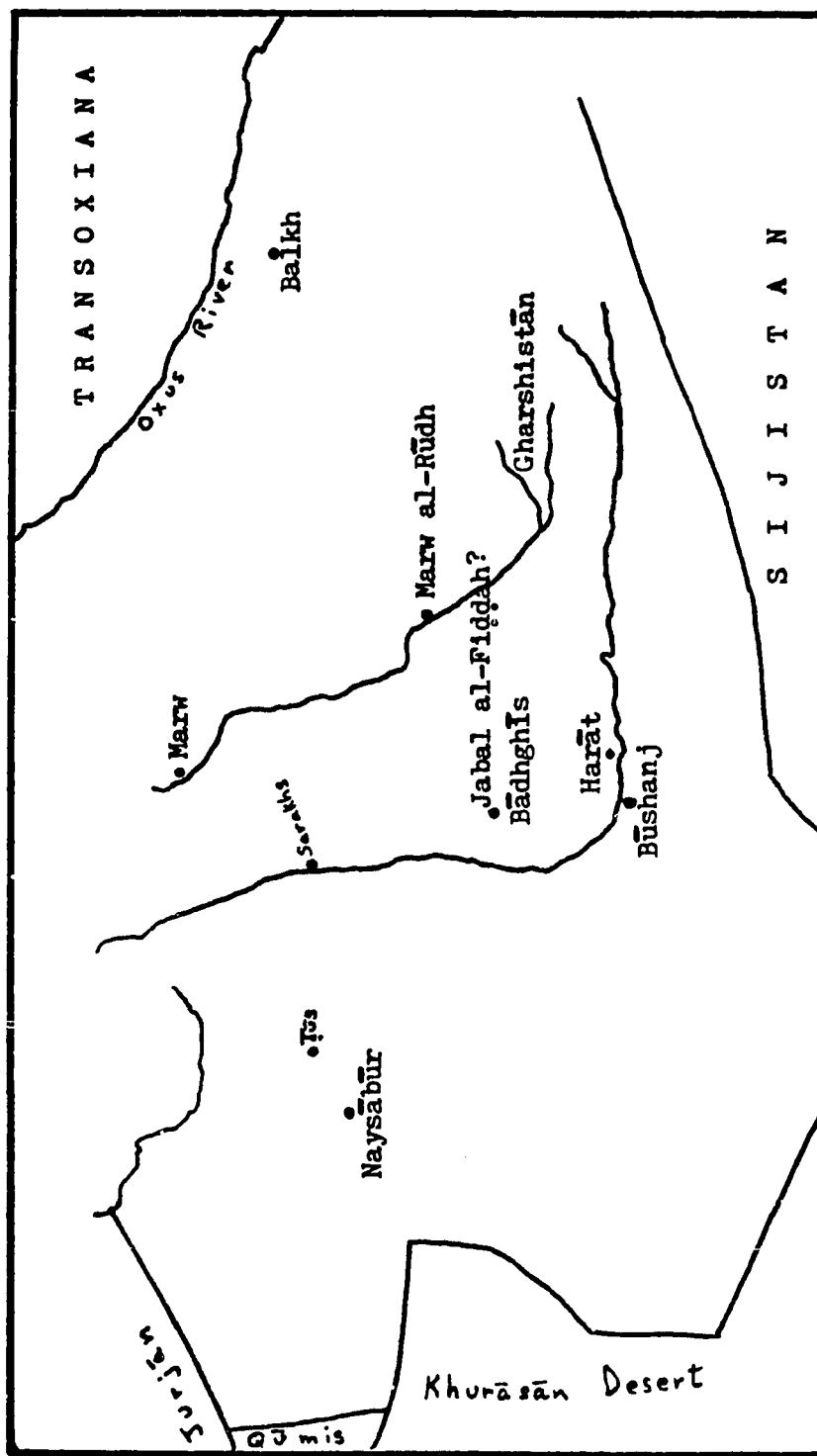
¹⁶⁷See Chapter VI, Table 1.

CHAPTER V

THE PROVINCE OF KHURĀSĀN

Khurāsān, which means "Land of the East," or "of the rising sun" in Persian, was the name retained by the Arabs after they conquered this area from the Sassanids in the 7th century A.D. Under the Arabs the term Khurāsān came to denote both a broad stretch of territory and one of the provinces of which it was composed. In the broad sense of the name, Khurāsān referred to all of the Muslim lands lying between the Great Khurāsānī Desert and the borders of India. The province of Khurāsān likewise shared the same east/west limits, but was curtailed on the north by the Oxus River and on the south by Sijistān or Sīstān.¹ It was the usual practice of the early ʿAbbāsīd caliphs to appoint a governor to administer the entire territory of Greater Khurāsān, and not infrequently some individuals were given control of the entire East; i.e., that portion of the Empire east of Iraq. The governor-general, if we may use that term, of Greater Khurāsān, in turn, usually appointed his own governors of Mā Warā' al-Nahr (Transoxiana) and Sijistān, while he concerned himself with the administration of Khurāsān Province. In the following reconstruction of the chronology of the governors, the focus is primarily on the affairs of the chief governor within the province itself and references to events in or appointments to Sijistān and Transoxiana are made only insofar as they affect Khurāsān itself.

The province of Khurāsān was divided into four regions: one for each of the four large cities within its borders. These were from west



to east: Naysābūr, Marw, Harāt and Balkh. Of the four, Naysābūr probably had the largest population, although it was not the greatest in area. The city remained an important provincial center all through the early ʿAbbāsīd period, but gained special recognition when ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, the last governor of the East under Ma'mūn, made Naysābūr his capital.² Before this time Marw was the most frequent capital of the province and was remembered by the ʿAbbāsīds as the city from which Abū Muslim had openly launched the revolution which drove the Umayyads from power.³ Harāt, lying east of Naysābūr and south of Marw, was a great trading center under the ʿAbbāsīds, noted for its textiles.⁴ Within the political orbit of Harāt, and located southwest of that city, was Būshanj, which was important from the late Umayyad period as the hereditary prefecture of the family from which Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn was descended.⁵ The eastern part of Khurāsān was dominated by the great city of Balkh. In the 3rd/9th century Balkh was the largest city, in total area, of the province, with 13 gates and three concentric walls.⁶ This city was well situated on a fertile plain and enjoyed the advantage of a commercial crossroad between the Muslim lands to the west and India and China.⁷ The districts of each of these principal cities were administered by *ʿamils* directly appointed by the provincial governor. For the latter part of the period being dealt with here, the names of some of these *ʿamils* have been preserved on their coinage.

From the beginning of ʿAbbāsīd rule until the second decade of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign (180s/turn of 9th century), the coinage output of the provincial mints of Khurāsān was extremely meager and intermittent. It is difficult to discover the reason for the lack of a regularly

produced coinage in Khurāsān for the first 50 years of ʿAbbāsīd rule. But after that time, and into the reign of Ma'mūn, coinage was produced in each of the four major cities on a more or less regular basis. One wonders what source of money for circulation could have met the demand within Khurāsān, as very little was produced in the mints of the adjacent areas: Sijistan, Kirmān, Bukhārā and Samarqand. In the opinion of this writer, only the very large yearly production of dirhams at Rayy, as evidenced from the abundance of specimens from that mint that have survived to the present day, could have satisfied the need for circulating cash, not only for Jibal but for Khurāsān as well.

It may be fairly stated that Khurāsān was an ʿAbbāsīd province before there was an ʿAbbāsīd caliph. From the time Abū Muslim openly proclaimed the revolt against the Umayyads near Marw on 25 Ramaḍān 129 (June 9, 747),⁸ the area under his control gradually grew, although not without several setbacks and much bitter fighting.

1. Abū Muslim ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muslim (*mauḷā*) (132-137/749-755). The revolution having been secured for the ʿAbbāsīd family, Abū Muslim remained in Khurāsān as governor of much of the East.⁹ In 133/750-751, a serious ʿAlid revolt, led by Sharīk ibn Shaykh al-Mahrī, broke out in Bukhārā. Abū Muslim sent Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzāʿī, who suppressed the revolt with great severity, killing Sharīk and his followers, then went on to Samarqand and executed the remaining rebels.¹⁰ It became apparent that Ziyād had been acting on behalf of Saffāḥ to undermine Abū Muslim's authority in the East, and was a reason for the deepening rift between the caliph and his governor.¹¹ Abū Muslim left Khurāsān in 136/754 to accompany Abū Jaʿfar (later Caliph Manṣūr) on the *hajj*.¹² Upon

their return to Iraq, Mansūr succeeded Saffāh, but his uncle, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī, revolted in Syria to contest the position of the new caliph. Mansūr sent Abū Muslim against his rival who, upon his defeat, fled to his brother Sulaymān in Baṣrah.¹³ Then Mansūr, determined to dispose of the powerful Abū Muslim—once his caliphal dignity was secure—had him murdered in Madā'in on 24 Shaʿbān 137 (February 12, 755).¹⁴ His death prompted a series of uprisings throughout the East, which occurred at frequent intervals for many years and were a major concern of the governors appointed to that province.¹⁵

2. Abū Dā'ūd Khālīd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dhuhlī (Rabīʿah)(137-140/755-758). He was appointed governor in place of Abū Muslim before the latter's death.¹⁶ Nothing noteworthy occurred during his governorship until 140, when an unexplained uprising by members of his military forces broke out near his residence at Bāb Kushmāhan in Marw. Abū Dā'ūd fell from the wall of his garden during the disturbance, breaking his back and died shortly thereafter. His *sāhib al-shurṭah*, ʿIsām, managed governmental affairs until the next *ʿāmil* arrived.¹⁷

3. ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Azdī (Khurāsānī-Yaman)(140-141/758-759). Upon his arrival in Marw, ʿAbd al-Jabbār moved against those who had instigated the riot that brought about Abū Dā'ūd's death. He had several Shiʿite sympathizers, including Mughīrah ibn Sulaymān and Mujāshīʿ ibn Hurayth, the *ʿāmil* of Bukhārā, executed and he imprisoned many others.¹⁸ ʿAbd al-Jabbār then confiscated what remained of Abū Dā'ūd's property and began to use extortionist methods to extract more from his officers.¹⁹ When Mansūr heard of his governor's actions, he dismissed him and sent Maḥdī to govern the province from Rayy. Khāzim

ibn Khuzaymah was placed in charge of Maḥdī's military forces and sent against ʿAbd al-Jabbār, who was putting up resistance against his dismissal. Maḥdī then moved on to Naysābūr as Khāzim marched to intercept the rebellious ex-governor. Before Khāzim could meet ʿAbd al-Jabbār in battle, however, the people of Marw al-Rūdh seized the latter and turned him over to Maḥdī. He was taken to Maṣṣūr, who had him put to death, probably in early 142/759-760.²⁰ ʿAbd al-Jabbār's son, ʿAbd al-Rahmān, escaped to India and later went to the Yemen, where he died in 170/786-787.²¹

4(a). Muḥammad al-Maḥdī ibn Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh al-Maṣṣūr (ʿAbbāsī) (141-151/759-768). Maṣṣūr made his son governor of Jibal and Khurāsān in 141 and Rayy as his capital seat. Maḥdī himself appointed al-Sarī or Usayd ibn ʿAbd Allāh to manage his affairs in Khurāsān.²² In 142/759-760, Maḥdī sent Khāzim ibn Khuzaymah and Rūḥ ibn Ḥatīm to subdue Tabaristan.²³ From 144 to 146/761 to 763, according to Yaʿqūbī, Maḥdī was in Iraq visiting with the caliph.²⁴ In the latter year Maṣṣūr sent him back to Khurāsān with an army and subordinates to maintain order there, but soon after his return to the East, when he was officially named Maṣṣūr's heir (147/764), a local dissident named Ustādh Sīs began to stir up rebellion in Bādhghīs.²⁵ This revolt began in earnest in 150/767 and quickly encompassed Bādhghīs, Harāt and Sijistān. Maṣṣūr sent Khāzim with a large force to prevent the rest of Khurāsān from being swept up in the rebellion. Maḥdī, who was in Naysābūr at this time, seems to have been reluctant to allow Khāzim full authority to deal with the danger. Eventually Maḥdī realized that Khāzim would have to be allowed to deal with the revolt as his military experience dictated and

the general was given complete charge of the operation. Aided by large Khurāsānī contingents, headed by the local Arab chiefs and several Iranian notables, Khāzim finally defeated the rebel in 151/786. He sent news of Ustādh Sīs' defeat to Mahdī, who relayed it to Mansūr.²⁶ Mahdī returned to Iraq from Khurāsān in Shawwāl 151 (November 768).²⁷

4(b). Usayd ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mālīk al-Khuzāʿī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (141-[151]/759-[768]). When Mahdī arrived in Rayy in 141, after having been given the governorship of Jibal and the East by Mansūr, he sent Usayd as his *ʿamil* over Khurāsān and gave him an army with which to fight the dissident governor, ʿAbd al-Jabbār.²⁸ No other mention of his activities is given in the sources, except that, when he died in Dhū al-Hijjah 151 (December 768-January 769), he was *amīr Khurāsān*.²⁹

5. Humayd ibn Qaḥṭabah ibn Shabīb ibn Khālīd ibn Maʿdān al-Tāʾī al-Tūsī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (151-159/768-776). Humayd was sent to attack Kābul in 151, just prior to being named governor of Khurāsān.³⁰ It is reported that, in 153/770, three supporters of the disinherited ʿIsā ibn Mūsā were brought from Khurāsān in chains for forming an alliance with the anathematized ʿAbbāsīd prince. They were ʿAbbād, the *mawlā* of Mansūr, Harthamah ibn Aʿyan, and Yūsuf ibn ʿUlwān.³¹ Humayd is not mentioned again until 158/774-775, when he is still governor of Khurāsān.³² He died in 159/775-776 while still in office and only a short while after the beginning of the revolt led by Hāshim ibn Ḥakīm al-Muqannaʿ.³³

6. Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Mālīk ibn Yazīd al-Azdī al-Khurāsānī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (159-160/776-777). This veteran general of the revolution against the Umayyads held a number of posts prior to serving in Khurāsān.³⁴ Of

his brief tenure there, nothing more is revealed in the sources than he was appointed to the post in 159 and was dismissed from there and Sijistan in 160.³⁵

7. Mu^cadh ibn Muslim (ancestry unknown) (160-163/777-780). Mahdī appointed Mu^cadh to replace Abū ^cAwn in 160.³⁶ The dangerous and long-lasting revolt of Hāshim ibn Hakīm al-Muqanna^c (the Veiled One), which had been smoldering during the previous year or more, became widespread in 161/778.³⁷ al-Muqanna^c came from a village near Marw and went out preaching a doctrine that included profession of the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh al-arwāh*) and divine incarnation. Humayd ibn Qaṭṭabah had tried to stop him before he died (see above), but al-Muqanna^c went off to Transoxiana. Mahdī sent Mu^cadh, accompanied by ^cUqbah ibn Muslim (perhaps ^cUqbah ibn Salm), Jibrīl ibn Yahyā, and Layth, *mawlā* al-Mahdī. At this point al-Muqanna^c started to gather food for the forts of the citadel at Kish, anticipating a siege by the caliphal forces.³⁸ No progress was made against the rebel and his followers until 163, when Sa^cīd al-Ḥarashī was sent to invest their stronghold at Kish. al-Muqanna^c was eventually killed (or committed suicide), but his influence remained in that area for many years.³⁹ Mahdī must not have been pleased with Mu^cadh's inability to cope with the insurrection, as he was dismissed that same year.⁴⁰

8. al-Musayyab ibn Zuhayr ibn ^cUmar ibn Muslim al-Ḍabbī (Mudar) (163-166/780-783). He was the brother of ^cAmr ibn Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, governor of Kūfah 155-158/772-775,⁴¹ and was himself appointed to replace Mu^cadh in 163.⁴² His harsh measures in raising and collecting the taxes led to a general dissatisfaction with Musayyab, which bordered on open rebellion

and he was relieved of his position in 166.⁴³

9. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl ibn Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī (Khurāsānī) (166-171/783-787). Faḍl was appointed in 166 to the governorship of both Khurāsān and Sijistān. Faḍl himself placed Tamīm ibn Saʿīd ibn Daʿlīj over the latter province.⁴⁴ Faḍl was considered a good administrator and is remembered by the historians as having done much for the welfare of his province.⁴⁵ One of his *ʿamils* of Harāt, al-Hajjāj, is known from a *fals* of 168, but his identity is a matter of conjecture.⁴⁶ In 171 Faḍl returned to Baghdad from Khurāsān and was placed in charge of the *khātam* (i.e., the department which affixed the caliphal seal to official documents)⁴⁷ by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, his predecessor in that office, was sent to assume the duties of governor in Khurāsān.⁴⁸

10. Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath ibn ʿUqbah al-Khuzāʿī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (171-173/787-789). The son of a governor of Jibal under Mansūr,⁴⁹ Jaʿfar was Hārūn al-Rashīd's first official in charge of the *khātam* when he was sent to Khurāsān in 171 after exchanging positions with Faḍl ibn Sulaymān.⁵⁰ Upon his arrival in the province, he sent his son ʿAbbās on an expedition against Kābul.⁵¹ He returned to Hārūn's court in 173 after the caliph appointed his son as his successor in Khurāsān.⁵²

11. al-ʿAbbās ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (173-175/789-791). Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed ʿAbbās governor of Khurāsān in place of his father in 173.⁵³ Of events in the province during his brief tenure, the Arab historians say nothing. He was dismissed from office in 175.⁵⁴

12. al-Ghitrīf ibn ʿAtā' al-Kindī (Yaman) (175-176/791-792). Ghitrīf was the brother of Hārūn's mother, Khayzurān.⁵⁵ The caliph appointed his uncle to the governorship of Khurāsān in 175.⁵⁶ In this same year a Kharajite revolt, led by an Ḥuṣayn or Ḥudayn, a *maṭāʾ* of the Qays ibn Thaʿlabah, broke out in Khurāsān. The governor of Sijistān, ʿUthmān ibn ʿUmārah,⁵⁷ took an army to deal with the rebellion, but Ḥuṣayn's forces defeated him. The Kharajites then moved into eastern Khurāsān, taking control of Bādghīs, Būshanj and Harāt. Hārūn wrote to Ghitrīf answering his request for aid, saying that he sent Dāʾūd ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī with 20,000 men. Ḥuṣayn was only able to muster 600 followers, most of whom were slain when the two armies met in battle. Ḥuṣayn apparently escaped, but was tracked down and killed in 177/793-794.⁵⁸ Ghitrīf's performance in office seems to have been less than desirable and Hārūn removed him in 176.⁵⁹ His *ṣāhib al-kharāj* in the province was Sulaymān ibn Rashīd al-Thaqafī.⁶⁰

13. Ḥamzah ibn Mālīk ibn al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī (Yaman) (176-177/792-793). Of Ḥamzah's governorship in Khurāsān, the sources say only that he was appointed in 176⁶¹ and dismissed in 177.⁶² He held several other posts before his short tenure in Khurāsān. Ḥamzah was a *ṣāhib al-shurṭah* under Mansūr⁶³ and later held the same office under Maḥdī, replacing his brother Naṣr when he died.⁶⁴ He was Maḥdī's first governor of Sijistān in 159-160/776-777,⁶⁵ was in charge of the *khātim* for Hārūn al-Rashīd,⁶⁶ and died in 181/797-798.⁶⁷

14. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī (Iranian) (177-179/793-795). Faḍl was already governor of Jibal, Tabaristan, Dunbāwand, Qūmis, Armenia and Azerbaijan when Hārūn appointed him to the

post in Khurāsān and Sijistān in 177 to replace Ḥamzah ibn Mālīk.⁶⁸ By all reports, Fadl was one of the more conscientious governors of the province. He built mosques and fortresses and conducted a policy of conciliation with dissident groups, particularly the ʿAlids within his territories.⁶⁹ He also launched a series of raids into the lands bordering Khurāsān, attacking Khārākharah, king of Ushrūsanah, and sending Ibrāhīm ibn Jibrīl, his *ṣāhib al-shurṭah wa-al-ḥaras* against Kābul, which he conquered, taking many prisoners and capturing much booty.⁷⁰ Fadl was responsible for raising a large standing army of Khurāsānīs that became known as the *ʿAbbāsīyah*. They were reported to have numbered 500,000 men, of which 20,000 were sent to Baghdad, the rest being stationed in Khurāsān.⁷¹ In 179 Fadl departed from Khurāsān and went back to Iraq, leaving ʿAmr ibn Shurahbīl as acting governor.⁷²

15. Mansūr ibn Yazīd ibn Mansūr al-Himyarī al-ʿAbbāsī (179-180/795-796). Hārūn appointed Mansūr, a nephew of his father Maḥdī, to the post in Khurāsān in 179.⁷³ In that same year a revolt broke out in Khurāsān, led by a Ḥamzah ibn Atrak al-Sijistānī.⁷⁴ Nothing is heard of this revolt again until 185/801, when ʿIsā, the son of the governor in that year, was forced to deal with Ḥamzah.⁷⁵ Mansūr was dismissed in 180, but the sources do not agree on his successor.⁷⁶

16. Abū al-Fadl Jaʿfar ibn Yahyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī (Iranian) (180/796). When Jaʿfar was appointed governor of both Khurāsān and Sijistān, he, in turn, placed Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah over both provinces. After a tenure of only 20 days, Jaʿfar was replaced by ʿIsā ibn Jaʿfar al-ʿAbbāsī and made commander of the caliphal guard.⁷⁷

17. ^ʿIsā ibn Ja^ʿfar ibn Abū Ja^ʿfar al-Mansūr al-^ʿAbbāsī (180/796).

This grandson of Caliph Mansūr, who was twice governor of Baṣrah for Hārūn,⁷⁸ was appointed to replace Ja^ʿfar al-Barmakī after the latter's very short tenure.⁷⁹ Although there is no mention of his dismissal, it undoubtedly occurred in 180, since ^ʿAlī ibn ^ʿIsā was in office before the end of that year.

18. ^ʿAlī ibn ^ʿIsā ibn Māhān al-Khurāsānī (Khurāsānī Arab)(180-191/796-807). The sources do not state when ^ʿAlī ibn ^ʿIsā was appointed to govern Khurāsān. He was already dealing with a revolt of the Muḥammadīyah in Jurjān, on the northwest border of his province in 180, however.⁸⁰ ^ʿAlī's entire term in Khurāsān was marked by his extremely extortionist policy towards the Iranian nobles and oppression of the general population. Despite complaints of his harsh rule that reached the caliph, ^ʿAlī was able to maintain Hārūn's confidence by showering his master with some of the riches he managed to squeeze from the people.⁸¹ After several years in office, ^ʿAlī visited Hārūn, bringing a great treasure to him (in 183/799) and the two men agreed that the governor's son Yahyā would succeed him in Khurāsān, thus establishing what was in principle an hereditary governorate in the province. ^ʿAlī was then sent back to Khurāsān with the understanding that he was governing the province on behalf of Ma'mūn, who had been made the honorary governor the previous year.⁸² ^ʿAlī had no sooner returned to Khurāsān than he was confronted with a revolt at Nasā, led by Abū al-Khuṣayb Wuhayb ibn ^ʿAbd Allāh al-Nasā'ī, a *mawlā* of the Harīsh.⁸³ The reasons for this revolt are not made known, yet most of the uprisings while ^ʿAlī was governor are attributed to his repressive policies.⁸⁴ In any case, this first revolt

of Abū al-Khusayb was short-lived, as he asked for and was granted a pardon by ʿAlī in 184/800, when he came to the governor in Marw.⁸⁵ In 185/201, Abū al-Khusayb rebelled again in Nasā and this time managed to take control of Abīward, Tūs and Naysābūr. He then marched off to Marw, was besieged there and defeated, so he retreated to the area of Sarakhs, where he fortified his position.⁸⁶ ʿAlī marched out of Marw in 186/202 to put an end to Abū al-Khusayb's revolt, the rebel having returned to Nasā by this time. In what must have been a brief encounter, Abū al-Khusayb was killed and ʿAlī returned to the provincial capital.⁸⁷ A much more serious Kharajite rebellion confronted ʿAlī, beginning in 185/201, when Hamzah ibn Atrak al-Sijistānī's revolt broke out anew in Bādhghīs.⁸⁸ Hamzah's disruption of tax collection and general administration throughout the East continued for many years beyond ʿAlī's dismissal from Khurāsān, until he was finally killed in 213/828.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, Hārūn al-Rashīd began to contemplate dismissing ʿAlī due to the mounting crescendo of complaints against his governor, but had to be assured of the continued loyalty of Khurāsān to the dynasty. First, the caliph moved in 186/202 to establish firmly the line of succession after him, with Amīn and then Ma'mūn as first and second heirs. He set up official documents in the Ka'bah at Mecca and divided the governance of the Empire among his three sons. Then Ma'mūn was made governor of all the territory from Hamadān to the eastern extent of the Empire, and in the same year he set out for the East carrying a copy of the oath to the succession, as well as a large amount of jewels and money.⁹⁰ Yet, even with the prince in his midst, ʿAlī continued his policy of oppression in Khurāsān, aware all the while of the caliph's

growing suspicions.⁹¹ In mid-189 (May-June 805), Hārūn set out for Khurāsān to confront ʿAlī with the many accusations he had received about the governor. ʿAlī came to meet him at Rayy, bearing money and gifts, and reaffirmed his loyalty and support of Amīn as heir-apparent. This restored Hārūn's confidence in ʿAlī for the time being and he was sent back to Khurāsān.⁹²

ʿAlī's inability to crush the revolt of Rāfi^c ibn Layth finally gave Hārūn the opportunity he needed to replace his hated but powerful governor. Rāfi^c's family had been in Khurāsān for many generations. His grandfather, Naṣr ibn Sayyār, had been an Umayyad governor of Khurāsān and his father had supported Governor Mu^cādh ibn Muslim against the insurrection of al-Muqanna^c (see above). Rāfi^c himself raised the standard of revolt in Samarqand in 190/806 after having been punished by ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā for allegedly committing adultery. Rāfi^c succeeded in winning over a large segment of the Transoxianan populace, who were ready to go to any lengths to rid themselves of the insufferable governor. Before the end of the year, Rāfi^c defeated ʿAlī in one battle as the governor mobilized his forces.⁹³ In 191/807, Hārūn finally dismissed ʿAlī and appointed Harthamah ibn A^cyan, disregarding the earlier agreement that ʿAlī's son should succeed him. The caliph then confiscated all of ʿAlī's hoarded wealth, which was reported to have amounted to 80 million dirhams!⁹⁴ ʿAlī resisted Harthamah's appointment at first, but was eventually taken into custody and conveyed to Baghdad where he was imprisoned in his house.⁹⁵

With ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā's governorship a largely uninterrupted series of provincial coinage began and evidence of his direct control of the mint

issues is found on numerous extant specimens from Balk, Marw and Naysābūr.⁹⁶ Two of ʿAlī's local prefects are also known from numismatic evidence. Ismāʿīl ibn al-Mansūr is named *amīr* of Būshanj on a *fals*, dated 190.⁹⁷ A certain Nūh (ibn Muhammad) was ʿAlī's prefect in Naysābūr in 191, according to *fulūs* of that date and mint, but his identity has not been confirmed by the written sources.⁹⁸

19. Harthamah ibn Aʿyan al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī (191-[194]/807-[810]). Harthamah's appointment to the governorship of his native Khurāsān could not have occurred any earlier than about Dhū al-Qaʿdah 191 (September 807) since, in that year, he led a force of 30,000 Khurāsānīs against the Byzantines in the annual raid.⁹⁹ He arrived in Marw late in the year, only to find ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā waiting with his forces. Harthamah finally was able to arrest ʿAlī and send him back to Iraq. The war against Rāfiʿ ibn Layth continued unabated through 192 and 193/808 and 809, until Harthamah conquered Bukhārā and took Rāfiʿ' s brother Bushayr captive.¹⁰⁰ Rāfiʿ gathered the remainder of his forces in Samarkand and was soon besieged by Harthamah from late 193 (September-October 809) into 194/810. Realizing the hopelessness of his situation, Rāfiʿ requested safe conduct to go see Ma'mūn in Khurāsān and was soon granted a full amnesty by the ʿAbbāsīd prince.¹⁰¹ No date for Harthamah's dismissal is recorded, but by 195/811 he was with Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn in Jibal involved in the growing hostilities between Amīn and Ma'mūn.¹⁰²

There is some numismatic evidence for Harthamah's tenure as governor, as well as for several of his prefects.¹⁰³ Naṣr ibn Saʿd's name is found on dirhams of Balkh, Abrashahr (Naysābūr) and Harāt, dated 192 and 193. He has not been identified, yet his name on the coinage of more

than one city in the same years would preclude his being a local prefect. Perhaps he was the provincial coinage supervisor or tax collector. Hamawayh, whose name is found on dirhams of Balkh, Naysābūr and Harāt, minted in 193, can be none other than the former *mawla* of Maḥdī and Hārūn's servant who was the *ṣāhib al-barīd* of Khurāsān from 191-193/807-809.¹⁰⁴ The ʿUthmān inscribed on Naysābūr dirhams of 193 and 194 may be ʿUthmān ibn ʿIsā ibn Nuḥayk, appointed by Amīn over his *ḥaras* in Rābiʿ I 194 (December 809-January 810).¹⁰⁵ Some dirhams of Balkh, dated 193, have the name al-Ḥakīm who, according to Miles, is al-Ḥakīm ibn Sinān, governor of Sijistān for Harthamah for 192-193.¹⁰⁶ On a *fals* of Marw for 194 are found an *amīr* Muḥammad ibn Abbān (?) and his prefect, Ismāʿīl ibn (Muḥammad ?). No identification has been made of either of these two names. Ismāʿīl is perhaps the same person whose name is inscribed on the *fals* of Būshanj mentioned above.

20. al-ʿAbbās ibn Jaʿfar al-Khuzāʿī (Khurāsānī-Yaman); second appointment (194-195?/810-811?). He is only mentioned by several sources as governor of Khurāsān after Harthamah ibn Aʿyan for Ma'mūn.¹⁰⁷ No numismatic evidence exists for his governorship, although several prefects mentioned on the coinage may have served under him.¹⁰⁸ Jibrīl is named on some dirhams of Naysābūr, dated 194, and Ismāʿīl on dirhams of the same mint from 195 and 196. Neither person can be identified for certain, however; Ismāʿīl may be the same individual earlier mentioned on *fulūs* of Būshanj and Marw (see above).

21. ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah al-Tāʾī (Yaman) (195-196?/811-812?). ʿAlī is listed only as governor of Khurāsān after ʿAbbās ibn Jaʿfar, nothing more being known in connection with this appointment.¹⁰⁹

22. al-Faḍl ibn Sahl ibn ʿAbd Allāh [Zadhānfarūkh] Dhū al-Riʿāsatayn (Iranian) (196-202/812-818). After the initial phase of the civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn culminated in the defeat and demise of Amīn's general, ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā ibn Māhān, in 195/811, Ma'mūn gave his close advisor Faḍl far-reaching powers. In Rajab 196 (March-April 812), Faḍl was placed in charge of both civil and military affairs in the entire East (*al-Mashriq*).¹¹⁰ The honorific title, Dhū al-Riʿāsatayn, which reflected this dual command and which began to appear on the coinage in that same year, was bestowed on Faḍl at this time.¹¹¹ His brother, Ḥasan ibn Sahl, was placed in charge of the *diwān al-kharāj* of this vast territory when Faḍl received his appointment from Ma'mūn, but in 198/814 was given charge of the regions conquered by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn.¹¹² In 201/816, Ma'mūn nominated the eighth Imām of the Twelver Shiʿites, ʿAlī ibn Mūsā, as his heir-apparent with the name al-Riḍā. Violent opposition to the caliph's plan broke out in Baṣrah (see Chapter II) and later in Baghdad, where Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was elected caliph in open hostility to Ma'mūn.¹¹³ Faḍl may not have had much to do with Ma'mūn's decision to name ʿAlī al-Riḍā as heir, but was connected with implanting the idea in the caliph's mind. Upon hearing of the growing problems in Iraq, Ma'mūn decided to leave Marw and return to Baghdad. On the long journey Faḍl was murdered by members of the caliphal guard at Sarakhs on 2 Shaʿbān 202 (February 13, 818).¹¹⁴ ʿAlī al-Riḍā did not survive the journey either, having died at Ṭūs early in 203 (Fall of 818).¹¹⁵

Several of Faḍl's prefects of Naysābūr are known to us from the numismatic sources.¹¹⁶ An ʿAbd Allāh was in office in 197 and 198/813 and 814, who may have been ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī.¹¹⁷ Dirhams

of 200 have the name Yahyā and this person may have been either Yahyā ibn Khāqān al-Khurāsānī¹¹⁸ or Yahyā ibn Asad ibn Sāmān.¹¹⁹ Mūsā ibn Khāqān, possibly the brother of Yahyā, is found on a *faṣl* of 201, but no one of this name is mentioned in any of the sources I have checked.¹²⁰

23. Ghassān ibn ʿAbbād ibn Abū al-Faraj Abū Ibrāhīm ibn Ghassān (Iraqi Arab) (202-205/818-821). The origins of this man are obscure, the only authority who can enlighten us concerning his background being Balādhurī, who states that he was a native of the Sawād of Kūfah.¹²¹ Ghassān was the *ṣāhib al-ḥaras* of Khurāsān in 200/814-815, when he was sent to Iraq during the insurrection of Abū Sarāyā. He was *ʿāmil* of Wāsit for a short time in 202/817-818, but was back in Khurāsān by the end of the year.¹²² When Ma'mūn decided to leave Marw and return to Iraq, he first appointed Raja' ibn Abū al-Daḥḥāk, a relative of Ḥasan ibn Sahl, to govern Khurāsān. Raja' did not seem able to handle affairs so, after a short while in office, Ma'mūn dismissed him and appointed Ghassān, who he felt was better suited to the position.¹²³ Through the intrigues of the caliph's secretary, Aḥmad ibn Abū Khālīd, Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn was able to undermine Ma'mūn's confidence in Ghassān and offer himself as a suitable replacement. Ghassān was dismissed in late 205 (Summer 821) to make way for Ṭāhir.¹²⁴ Ghassān's name is found on some of the coinage of Balkh and Naysābūr, dated 202 and 204, and that of Naysābūr also contains the name of his prefect there, one Sahl, whose identity cannot be determined.¹²⁵ At the insistence of Ma'mūn, Ghassān also appointed Ilyās ibn Asad Sāmānī governor of Harāt during his governorship.¹²⁶

24. Abū al-Tayyib Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Musʿab al-Būshanjī al-

Khuzā^cī (Iranian) (205-207/821-822). Tāhir was given control of all the territory between Baghdad and the farthest extent of caliphal power in the East in 205.¹²⁷ He left Baghdad on 29 Dhū al-Qa^cdah (May 6, 821) to assume his new duties, but was delayed in reaching Marw for two months at Naysābūr where he was forced to put down the revolt of ^cAbd al-Rahmān al-Naysābūrī.¹²⁸ He arrived in Marw early in 206 (Fall 821) and took over the government of Khurāsān from Ghassān.¹²⁹ Upon his son ^cAbd Allāh's appointment as governor of the lands between Baghdad and Egypt in the same year, Tāhir composed a long letter to him of advice on just and able government, in anticipation of his eventual succession to rule the East.¹³⁰ Tāhir died suddenly in 207, shortly after he conspicuously omitted the caliph's name from the Friday *khutbah*.¹³¹ Since the remembrance of the caliph in the weekly *khutbah*, which was normally a politically oriented sermon, was an outward sign of allegiance to the régime, such an omission was tantamount to declaring an independent territorial claim on the part of Tāhir. His early demise is evidence of Ma'mūn's unwillingness to allow his subordinate's action to go unchecked. Evidence of his short tenure in Khurāsān is provided by numismatic material, which also is informative on several of his lieutenants.¹³² Tāhir's *maṣlā*, Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī (called al-Ṭāhirī), was over Naysābūr, according to dirhams minted there in 206.¹³³ The prefect of Harāt in 206 was al-Shakir ibn Ibrāhīm, a name not found in the Arab sources.

25. Ṭalḥah ibn Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (Iranian) (207-213/822-828). It seems that Ṭalḥah's brother, ^cAbd Allāh, was to have succeeded their father in the East, but in 207 he was involved in the Jazirah fighting against the rebel, Naṣr ibn Shabath.¹³⁴ Whether he was at first acting

only as ʿAbd Allāh's lieutenant, as Ṭabarī states, is not clear.¹³⁵ However, the fact that he remained governor of the East until his death would seem to indicate that he was the ruler in that territory in his own right. Ṭalḥah made Naysābūr the capital of his domains, rather than stay at the older seat of government at Marw, and this fact seems to be reflected in the coinage produced during his governorship.¹³⁶ However, Naysābūr became the permanent capital of the Ṭāhirids only under ʿAbd Allāh. Other than Naysābūr, dirhams of Harāt, dated 207, carry Ṭalḥah's name and that of ʿAbd Allāh.¹³⁷ Ṭalḥah died at Balkh in 213 and was succeeded by his brother ʿAlī.¹³⁸

26. ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (Iranian) (213-214/828-829). When Ṭalḥah died, he left ʿAlī as his successor until ʿAbd Allāh could come from Dīnawar where he was raising troops for the war against Bābak.¹³⁹ No other mention is made of ʿAlī in connection with his short period in office.

27. Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (Iranian) (214-230/829-844). After the death of Ṭalḥah, Ma'mūn gave ʿAbd Allāh the choice of pursuing the war against Bābak or going to Khurāsān to govern what had become hereditary domains of his family. ʿAbd Allāh decided on Khurāsān and headed for Naysābūr, which now became the permanent Ṭāhirid capital.¹⁴⁰ ʿAbd Allāh proved to be a proficient and able ruler, whose stable government and dedication to improving agricultural production through efficient irrigation methods stood in sharp contrast to the majority of caliphal administrators. By the end of his governorship, the tax revenues of his domains amounted to 48 million dirhams!¹⁴¹ He died at his palace in Naysābūr on 11 Rabiʿ I 230 (November 26, 844),

the dynasty founded by his father being firmly established.¹⁴²

* * * * *

If one were to rank the many provinces of the ^ʿAbbāsīd Empire in order of their importance, Khurāsān would necessarily be placed second only to Iraq. This province had provided the manpower and zeal which was absolutely essential in the movement to overthrow the Umayyad dynasts. The Arabs who lived in Khurāsān, although several generations removed from their conquering forebears, remained divided along tribal lines until the ^ʿAbbāsīd *daʿwah*, under the leadership of Abū Muslim, brought many of the rivals together.¹⁴³ Among the individuals who served as governors of Khurāsān during the early ^ʿAbbāsīd period, the Yaman had the largest representation.¹⁴⁴ Six of the nine from this group, which held office for a total of 27 years, can be definitely identified as Khurāsānī Arabs.¹⁴⁵ In contrast, only two North Arabs (one each from Mudar and Rabīʿah), one of whom was only in charge of the *kharāj*, were appointed to Khurāsān, their total time in office being only six years. *Mawālī* were not appointed to the province with the frequency that prevailed in the other provinces. Only one governor of this category is known to have been in office for five years, although four *mawālī* held prefectures in several of the districts. ^ʿAbbāsīd interest in maintaining the family's support in Khurāsān is evident from the appointment of two future calips, Maḥdī and Ma'mūn, to govern the East on behalf of their fathers. Among other groups who are represented as governors of this province were three Khurāsānīs, who may have been either Arabs or Iranians (19 years), two Barmakids (2 years), one Iranian (6 years), one

Iraqi Arab (3 years), and one of indeterminate origin (3 years). The last 12 years of the period were filled with Ṭāhirid rule in all of the East, including Khurāsān. The Tahirids themselves were Persians, but enjoyed emphasizing their connection to the tribe of Khuẓā^cah, a subdivision of Yaman, which stemmed from the time of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn's great-grandfather, who was a *mawḷā* of that family.¹⁴⁶

The primary importance of Khurāsān to the ^cAbbāsids was its military potential. The central régime utilized Khurāsānīs, both Arab and Iranian, as the major armed support group of its power. The many revolts and insurrections which occurred in Khurāsān and its adjacent territories, as well as the need for both defensive and offensive operations on the eastern frontiers of the Empire, required a large military establishment in the province under the command of the governor. This standing army did not remain idle for long at any one time, for when there were no rebellions to be crushed, expeditions were sent into the non-Muslim areas beyond the frontier, notably against Kābul. It would follow that the governor of this province would ideally be a person with some military background. Indeed, many of the early governors of ^cAbbāsīd Khurāsān were soldiers, having gained experience in the revolution against the Umayyads, or later as officers in action against rebels in various parts of the Empire and on the yearly Byzantine campaigns. However, Khurāsān was important for reasons other than its military position. Economically, Khurasan was a vital part of the foundations upon which rested the ^cAbbāsīd state. The large area encompassed within this province comprised a varied terrain which produced an assortment of agricultural, mineral and manufactured products. The tax revenues gen-

erated from Khurāsān amounted to more than any other province of the Empire, with the exception of Iraq.¹⁴⁷

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 382-383; Cl. Huart, "Khorāsān," *EI*¹ II, p. 866.

²E. Honigmann, "Nīshāpūr," *EI*¹ III, p. 928. Cf. Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 383-388.

³A full description of the city and its environs is given in Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 398-403.

⁴R.N. Frye, "Harāt," *EI*² III, p. 177; Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 408-409.

⁵W. Barthold and B. Spuler, "Būshandj," *EI*² I, p. 1342; Le Strange, op. cit., p. 411.

⁶Le Strange, op. cit., p. 420.

⁷R.N. Frye, "Balkh," *EI*² I, p. 1001.

⁸Tab II 1954/7, 356.

⁹He is named governor of Khurāsān for the years 132, 133, 134 (Tab 72/7, 458; 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; IA V, 445, 449, 454).

¹⁰Tab 74/7, 459; W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Monggol Invasion*, 2nd ed. (London, 1928), p. 195; S. Moscati, "Abu Muslim," *EI*² I, p. 141.

¹¹F. Omar, *The ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate* (Baghdad, 1969), pp. 154, 157; Barthold, loc. cit.; Moscati, loc. cit.

¹²Tab 84-87/7, 468-470.

¹³Tab 92-99/7, 474-479; IA V, 466-468. See Chapter II, under Basrah, No. 3.

¹⁴Ibn Khallikān (Slane) II, p. 100. Yaʿqūbī II, p. 441, gives only Shaʿbān 137. Cf. S. Moscati, op. cit.; Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 44.

¹⁵Omar, op. cit., pp. 180-181; Moscati, loc. cit.

¹⁶Tab 107/7, 485; 119/7, 494; 121/7, 496; IA V, 472, 481, 493. He is mentioned as governor in 138 (Tab 124/7, 499; IA V, 486); and 139 (Tab 127/7, 502; IA V, 497).

¹⁷Tab 128/7, 503; IA V, 498.

¹⁸Tab 128/7, 503; IA V, 498.

¹⁹Tab 128/7, 503; IA V 498; Omar, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206. Cf. S. Moscati, "Abd al-Djabbar b. Abd al-Rahman," *EI*² I, p. 59.

²⁰Tab 134-135/7, 508-509; IA V, 505-506; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 455; Moscati, *loc. cit.* Ya^cqūbī II, p. 446, says Maḥdī appointed Usayd ibn Abd Allah al-Khuẓa'i to Khurasān, who then met Abd al-Jabbār in battle at Marw, defeated him and took him back to Maṣṣūr. For the problem concerning this name, see under Usayd ibn Abd Allah.

²¹Tab 135/7, 509; IA V, 506.

²²Tab 138/7, 511; Ya^cqūbī II, pp. 445-446.

²³Tab 139/7, 512. Khāzim was governor of Tabaristan in 144-145 (H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, "Les Préfets du califat au Tabaristan," *JA* 231 (1939), pp. 148-149). According to numismatic evidence, Abu Awn Abd al-Malik ibn Yazīd was prefect of Marw in 143 (see Appendix B). He was in Khurasan in 144 also (Tab 183/7, 547).

²⁴Ya^cqūbī II, p. 450.

²⁵Ya^cqūbī II, p. 457.

²⁶Tab 354-358/8, 29-32; IA V, 591-593; FHA I, 262-264; Khalīfah, pp. 424-425, says the revolt of Ashnā Shīsh began in 149, was put down by Jibril ibn Yahya and Mu'adh ibn Muslim, who defeated him that year, and that he was killed in 150. Ya^cqūbī II, pp. 457-458, gives brief mention to the revolt under the year 147 and states that Ustadh Sīs was taken to Baghdad where Maṣṣūr had him executed.

²⁷Tab 364/8, 36-37; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 462.

²⁸Ya^cqūbī II, p. 446 (see F.N. 20 above). Tabarī and Ibn al-Athīr have confused this Usayd with an Abbāsī prince, al-Sarī ibn Abd Allah ibn al-Hārith ibn al-Abbās. He is said to have been appointed Maḥdī's lieutenant in 141 (Tab 138/7, 511; IA V, 508), but in 143 was sent from Yamamah to be governor of Mecca and Tā'if (Tab 142/7, 515; IA V, 512). The last time Tabarī mentions Usayd ibn Abd Allah is II 2004/7, 391, under the year 130, when he is found making war on the Umayyad governor of Jurjān. It is obvious that Tabarī has substituted the name of al-Sarī for that of Usayd under the year 141, as the following citations indicate: al-Sarī ibn Abd Allah was governor of Mecca in 144 (Tab 189/7, 55; IA V, 527); governor of Mecca and leader of the *hajj* in 145 (Tab 318/7, 649; IA V, 572). Ya^cqūbī II, p. 461: al-Sarī ibn Abd Allah ibn Tammām [] ibn al-Abbās ibn Abd al-Muṭallib was governor of Mecca for Maṣṣūr; 469: al-Sarī ibn Abd Allah ibn al-Hārith (correct here) ibn al-Abbās led the *hajj* in 145. Other notices of al-Sarī: Khalīfah, p. 414: governor of Yamamah after Da'ud ibn 'Alī died (133); pp. 420, 431: appointed governor of Mecca in 143; p. 423: led *hajj* in 145; IA V, 542:

in Mecca during Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh's revolt in 145; 576: dismissed from Mecca in 146. Usayd, on the other hand, was a former member of the ʿAbbasid *daʿwah* in Khurasan and is the person who Maḥdī appointed as his *ʿamil* in the province. Nadhbat, Fol. 274b: Qaḥṭabah appointed Usayd governor of Jurjān in 130 (see p. 191, F.N. 531); Fol. 277a: Qaḥṭabah appointed him governor of Rayy in Rajab 131 (February–March 749), and went to Isbahan; Fol. 278b: called from Rayy and put over Isbahan (also in 131). Jahshiyarī 90, says Usayd took part in the killing of Abu Salāmah in Rajab 132 (February–March 750). FHA I, 208: Asad [sic] ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuẓaʿī was in charge of the *haras* for Saffāh. Khalīfah, p. 405: Abu al-ʿAbbas (Saffāh) sent Asad [sic] ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Malik al-Khuẓaʿī to Kufah during the ʿAbbasid revolution (ca. 131–32); 415: he was in charge of Saffāh's *khātim* and *haras*; 432: governor of Khurasan for Mansur after ʿAbd al-Jabbār.

²⁹IA V, p. 697.

³⁰Tab 369/8, 41, adding that he was appointed in 152, which may be a copier's error. IA V, 608, mentioned under the year 152, but says his appointment was in 151. The intermittent raids on Kabul had little lasting effect. It was not until Ma'mun's reign that the Kabul-Shah adopted Islam. Cf. C.E. Bosworth, "Kabul," *EI*² IV, p. 356.

³¹Tab 371/8, 42; IA V, 610, does not mention Yūsuf ibn ʿUlwān. Harthamah, of course, survived to become a celebrated general during the Amīn/Ma'mun civil war. ʿAbbād is not mentioned in any other source that I have checked, but he is found on a unique *faḥs* minted at Jabal al-Fiddah in 155 (Paris 1973.161, uncataloged, 19 mm, 2.464 g.). [I am grateful to M. Raoul Curriel for bringing this unusual coin to my attention.] On the *faḥs* he is called ʿAbbād, *mawla* al-Maḥdī and the *ʿamil* of Ruḥ. The latter was probably Ruḥ ibn Hatim, although we have no record of his whereabouts in 155. He is mentioned before 155 as subduing Tabaristan (n 142: Tab 139/7, 512) or 143 (Tab 140/7, 513); then as governor there in 147 (Rabino, op. cit., pp. 249–251). Nothing of Ruḥ is known until 159, when he was appointed governor of Sind (Tab 461/8, 117). The *faḥs* shows that he was in the region where Jabal al-Fiddah was located in some official capacity and that ʿAbbād was the local prefect, probably in charge of the mining operations. There were two places, both in mining districts, called Jabal al-Fiddah, mentioned by the Arab geographers. The first was in Kirman, northwest of Jiruft (Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 316). The other, and more likely the origin of the above-mentioned coin, was in the Badghīs district of Khurasan, northwest of Harāt (Yāqūt, *Mush-tarak*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 94–95; Le Strange, op. cit., p. 414).

³²Tab 458/8, 115; IA VI, 36.

³³Tab 459/8, 116; IA VI, 38, 41, 42.

³⁴Cf. K.V. Zetterstéen, "Abū ʿAwn," *EI*² I, p. 108.

³⁵Tab 459/8, 116; 470/8, 123; 477/8, 128. It was during Abū ʿAwn's governorship that the brief revolt of Yusuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Barm took

place. Among the areas he overran were Marw al-Rūdh, Taliqān, Jurjān and Bushanj. In the last-named place Muṣṣab ibn Zurayq, the grandfather of Tahir ibn al-Husayn was prefect at the time (IA VI, 43; Barthold, *Turkestan*, op. cit., p. 208). Mahdī sent Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī to handle the revolt and in a short time Yūsuf and his followers were taken into custody, sent to Baghdad and executed. For a discussion of this episode and its various interpretations, see F. Omar, *Abbāsīd Caliphate*, op. cit., pp. 301-303, which also lists the sources wherein the revolt is recorded.

³⁶Tab 477/8, 128; IA VI, 46. He is listed as governor that year (160) in another place (Tab 484/8, 134; IA VI, 49). Khalīfah, p. 441.

³⁷Cf. Barthold, op. cit., pp. 199-200; F. Omar, *Abbāsīyyāt* (Baghdad, 1976), pp. 81-84.

³⁸Tab 484/8, 135; IA VI, 51.

³⁹Tab 494/8, 144; Khalīfah, p. 437; Omar, *Abbāsīyyāt*, op. cit., p. 81. Barthold, op. cit., p. 200, says that the revolt was put down under the next governor, Musayyab.

⁴⁰Tab 500/8, 149; IA VI, 61; Khalīfah, pp. 437, 441.

⁴¹See Chapter II.

⁴²Tab 500/8, 149; Khalīfah, p. 441. He is mentioned as governor of Khurāsān in 163 (Tab 501/8, 149); and 164 (Tab 503/8, 151). Barthold, loc. cit., cites several other sources which say he arrived in Khurāsān in Jumādā I 163 (December 779-January 780) or Jumādā II 163 (January-February 780), but a third source states that he entered the province in Jumādā I 166 (November-December 782) and remained only eight months.

⁴³Tab 517/8, 162; *Futūh* I, 297; Barthold, op. cit., p. 203, citing Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*. Khalīfah, pp. 438, 441, says he was dismissed in 165. Musayyab died in 175 or 176 (IA VI, 124). It was Musayyab who was responsible for issuing the debased dirhams in Transoxiana, which became known as *musayyabī* dirhams. Cf. Barthold, op. cit., pp. 205-207.

⁴⁴Tab 517/8, 162-163; IA VI, 73; Bosworth, *Sīstān*, p. 84, calls his *emīl* in Sijīstān Tamīm ibn Saʿīd ibn Daʿraj, adding that Hādī replaced him with Kathīr ibn Salīm shortly before he died. Khalīfah, pp. 438, 441, says Fadl was appointed in 165. He is listed as governor of Khurāsān and Sijīstān in 166 (Tab 518/8, 163); in 167 (Tab 521/8, 166); and in 170 (IA VI, 109).

⁴⁵Barthold, loc. cit.

⁴⁶See Appendix B. He is probably al-Hajjāj, *mawlā* of Hādī, who was governor of Jurjān in 169 (Tab 568/8, 204; IA VI, 95).

⁴⁷Cf. D. Sourdel, "Khātam," *EI*² IV, p. 1105.

⁴⁸Tab 605-06/8, 235; IA VI, 114; Khalīfah, p. 441.

⁴⁹See Chapter IV.

⁵⁰Tab 606/8, 235; IA VI, 114; Khalīfah, pp. 462, 465.

⁵¹IA VI, 114. Not mentioned by Ṭabarī.

⁵²Tab 609/8, 238; IA VI, 120.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Tab 612/8, 241; IA VI, 122. Khalīfah, p. 462, only lists him as the third governor for Ḥarūn al-Rashīd.

⁵⁵Yaqūbī II, p. 481; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* (facsimile ed., London, 1912), Fol. 410a₂₀.

⁵⁶Tab 612/8, 241. By what appears to be the mistake of a copier, Ibn al-Āthīr VI, p. 122, has *Khālīdan* al-Ghitrīf for *khālūh*, an error which Zambaur, op. cit., p. 48, compounds by listing Khālīd ibn Ghitrīf ibn 'Aṭṭab [*sic*] as governor of Khurasān in 174. Khalīfah, p. 462, lists him as governor of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd after a very short term of office by Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah, who is not named as such in any other source that I have seen. Another anomaly is presented by Yaqūbī II, p. 488, who states that Ḥadī appointed Ghitrīf governor of Khurasān and its prefectures. This may be connected to the story related by Ṭabarī (590/8, 222), that Khayzuran, in 170, asked Ḥadī to appoint Ghitrīf governor of the Yemen.

⁵⁷Governor of Armenia 165-168. See Chapter III.

⁵⁸IA VI, 124, where his name is correctly given. Bosworth, op. cit., p. 85, records the story given by Ibn al-Āthīr after recording an alternative version extracted from several Persian sources. The revolt broke out near Zaranj and spread throughout Sijistan, Hudayn (or Husayn), finally being killed in 177. Bosworth points out that the author of the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* was clearly not interested in Hudayn's activities outside of Sijistan.

⁵⁹Tab 626/8, 252. Ghitrīf was responsible for the infamous debased *ghitrīfī* dirhams, issued under his name for use in Transoxiana. Cf. Barthold, op. cit., pp. 204-207; Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "An Observation on the Alloy of the Ghitrīfī Coins," *ANSMN* 1 (1945), pp. 101-104.

⁶⁰Tab 740/8, 347; IA VI, 215. He led a rarely conducted winter campaign against the Byzantines shortly after he left office in Khurasān, either in 177 (Khalīfah, p. 450) or in 178 (Tab 637/8, 260; IA VI, 145).

⁶¹Tab 626/8, 252. Khalīfah, p. 462, lists him as governor without a date.

⁶²Tab 629/8, 255; IA VI, 140.

⁶³Khalīfah, p. 435.

⁶⁴IA VI, 56, says he was appointed in 161; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 483, has Naṣr's death under the year 168.

⁶⁵Tab 459/8, 116; Khalīfah, p. 441, gives his name as Ḥamzah ibn Mālik ibn Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad al-^cĀ'dhī; Bosworth, *Sīstān*, p. 84: arrived in Sijistān at the end of 159 (September-October 776), dismissed in Sha^cban 160 (May-June 777). IA VI, 41, gives his name as Ḥamzah ibn Yahya.

⁶⁶Khalīfah, p. 465.

⁶⁷Tab 646/8, 268; IA VI, 159.

⁶⁸Tab 629/8, 255. Jahshiyārī 190, says 176, as does Ya^cqūbī, *Bulḍān*, p. 289. FHA I, 296, has 178. He went out to Khurāsān in 178 (Tab 631/8, 257) and the confusion in the sources probably stems from the difference in the appointment date and that of his arrival in the province. For Fadl's governorships of Armenia and Jibal, see Chapters III and IV, respectively.

⁶⁹Tab 631-634/8, 257-259; FHA I, 296; Jahshiyārī 191-192; Sourdell, "al-Fadl b. Yahya al-Barmakī," *EI*² II, p. 732.

⁷⁰Tab 631/8, 257; 634/8, 259; Barthold, op. cit., p. 202; Bosworth, "Kābul," p. 356.

⁷¹Tab 631/8, 257; Barthold, op. cit., p. 203.

⁷²Tab 637/8, 261. Jahshiyārī 192, gives the name of his acting governor as ^cUmar ibn Jamīl.

⁷³Tab 638/8, 261; IA VI, 146. According to Bosworth, *Sīstān*, p. 86, Maṣṣūr (who Bosworth says was the cousin of Maḥdī) was appointed in Dhu al-Qa^cdah 179 (January-February 796) and held office only for two months; i.e., until Muharram or Safar 180 (April-May 796).

⁷⁴Tab 638/8, 261; IA VI, 147.

⁷⁵See under ^cAlī ibn ^cIsā ibn Māhān.

⁷⁶IA VI, 250, replaced by ^cAlī ibn ^cIsā; Ya^cqūbī II, 515, ^cAlī ibn ^cIsā appointed to replace Maṣṣūr in 189 (means 179; mistake in text). Tabarī does not mention Maṣṣūr's dismissal. Bosworth, loc. cit., also misses the two short governorships before that of ^cAlī ibn ^cIsā.

⁷⁷Tab 644/8, 266; IA VI, 152. His short term in office was most likely in the beginning of 180 (Spring 796).

⁷⁸See Chapter II.

⁷⁹Tab 644/8, 266; IA VI, 152.

⁸⁰Tab 645/8, 266. Ya^cqūbī II, 515, gives his appointment in place of Maṣṣūr in 189, but this is clearly a mistake for 179.

⁸¹Sourdel, "Ibn Māhān," *EI*² III, p. 859; Barthold, op. cit., p. 203.

⁸²Tab 649/8, 270. Ma'mūn's honorary appointment in 182 (Tab 647/8, 269).

⁸³Tab 649/8, 270.

⁸⁴Bosworth, *Sīstān*, op. cit., p. 90, refers to the thesis of Bogdan Skladenек, which ascribes the Kharijite revolts of the second half of the second Islamic century to the fiscal policies and oppressive administration of the governors and their tax collectors in the eastern part of the Empire.

⁸⁵Tab 649/8, 272.

⁸⁶Tab 650/8, 273.

⁸⁷Tab 651/8, 275. Khalīfah, p. 457, lumps several years of activity on the part of Abū al-Khuṣayb under 186, saying that after he took control of Tus and Sarakhs, he was killed at Marw.

⁸⁸Tab 650/8, 273.

⁸⁹For an excellent, detailed account of Hamzah's prolonged rebellion, see Bosworth, *Sīstān*, pp. 91-102.

⁹⁰Tab 652-654/8, 275-277.

⁹¹Tab 675/8, 293.

⁹²Tab 701-704/8, 314-316.

⁹³Tab 707-708/8, 319-320.

⁹⁴Tab 713/8, 324.

⁹⁵Tab 720/8, 329; 732/8, 340.

⁹⁶See Appendix B.

⁹⁷See Appendix B. He is not identified in the written sources, but may be the same Ismā'il ibn Maṣṣūr whose name is found on *fulūs* of Jurjān tentatively dated 184. Cf. Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, p. 70, Nos. 58 and 59.

⁹⁸See Appendix B. If Muḥammad is not his father's name, he may be

Nuḥ ibn Asad ibn Sāmān, who was installed in Samarqand in 204 by Ghassān ibn Abbad, governor of Khurasan 202-205 (Ibn Khallikan [Beirut] I, p. 173) and was later *amīr* of Transoxiana in 224 and 225 (IA VI, 509, 513).

⁹⁹Tab 712/8, 323; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 523. Appointment to Khurāsān (Tab 713/8, 324).

¹⁰⁰Tab 719-720/8, 328-329; 732/8, 340; 734/8, 341-342; Ya^cqūbī II, pp. 528-529.

¹⁰¹Tab 775/8, 373; 777/8, 375; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 529, says Rāfi^c received the pardon in Muharram 194 (October-November 809).

¹⁰²Tab 802-803/8, 394. Cf. C. Pellat, "Harthama b. A^cyan," *EI*² III, p. 231.

¹⁰³See Appendix B for numismatic examples mentioned in this paragraph.

¹⁰⁴Tab 712/8, 323: appointed over *barīd* of Khurāsān in 191; 718/8, 328: over *barīd* there in 192; 764/8, 365; IA VI, 221: head of *barīd* in Khurāsān in 193; wrote to his counterpart in Baghdad concerning the death of Harun.

¹⁰⁵Tab 794/8, 387; IA VI, 235.

¹⁰⁶Miles, *RIC*, p. 63, gives evidence that dirhams of Zaranj, dated 193, have the full names of Harthamah and al-Hakim (Tiesenhausen 1542; BMC I 180). Bosworth, *Sīstān*, p. 97: sent to Sijistan as governor in 192; Khalifah, p. 463: al-Hakim ibn Sinān al-Bahilī, governor of Sijistan on behalf of Harthamah until the death of Harun al-Rashīd.

¹⁰⁷IA VI, 215; Khalifah, p. 462.

¹⁰⁸See Appendix B for following examples.

¹⁰⁹IA VI, 215. Tab 740/8, 347, says he was governor for Hārūn after Ja^cfar ibn Yahya (?) and before ^cAlī ibn ^cIsa (ca. 180). Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 48, lists him as lieutenant-governor under Hasan ibn Sahl (197-198).

¹¹⁰Tab 841/8, 424; IA VI, 257.

¹¹¹Ibid. See Appendix B. *al-Fadl* appears on the coinage of the East before 196, but this may either reflect his position as Ma'mun's chief advisor or perhaps his control of administrative affairs in Khurāsān as early as 194, when Harthamah ibn A^cyan seems to have quit the area.

¹¹²Tab 841/8, 424; IA VI, 257. His appointment in 198 (Tab 975/8, 527; IA VI, 297-298). See Chapters II and IV. I find no reason to support Zambaur's (*Manuel*, p. 48) inclusion of Hasan as governor of Khur-

asan 198-205. It is clear from the sources that his responsibilities in these years did not include Khurasan.

¹¹³Tab 1012-14/8, 554-555. Cf. Bernard Lewis, "Ali al-Ridā," *EI*² I, pp. 399-400.

¹¹⁴Tab 1025-27/8, 564-565; IA VI, 347; Khalīfah, p. 471; FHA I, 355; Cf. Sourdél, "al-Fadl b. Sahl b. Zadhanfarukh," *EI*² II, pp. 731-732.

¹¹⁵Tab 1030/8, 568; B. Lewis, op. cit.

¹¹⁶See Appendix B for examples mentioned in this paragraph.

¹¹⁷He was governor of Yamamah 168-169 (Zambaur, op. cit., p. 13) of Tabaristan in 186 (Rabino, op. cit., p. 261), and of Wasit in 199 (Tab 979/8, 530).

¹¹⁸A secretary of Khurasānī origin who served Hasan ibn Sahl. Cf. Sourdél, "Ibn Khākan," *EI*² III, p. 824.

¹¹⁹Installed in Shāsh (in Transoxiana) by Governor Ghassān ibn Abbād in 204 and confirmed in office by Tāhir ibn al-Husayn. Zambaur, op. cit., p. 203.

¹²⁰The specimen was published by Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, p. 72, No. 65, and he notes that both the names of the mint and prefect are conjectural.

¹²¹*Futūh* II, p. 231.

¹²²Tab 985/8, 534; 1006-07/8, 550; 1017/8, 558; 1022/8, 561. See Chapter II.

¹²³Ya^cqūbī II, p. 550. Bosworth, *Sīstān*, pp. 101-102, F.N. 3, cites Persian sources, giving Rajab 204 (December 819-January 820) as his appointment, but surmises that this was when he became full governor of Khurasan after having been subordinate to Hasan ibn Sahl. It is my contention that Hasan was never governor of Khurasan and that Ghassan was full governor from 202 to 205, inclusive.

¹²⁴Tab 1043/8, 579; IA VI, 361; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 554: gives the changeover in governorship as taking place at the beginning of 206. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 208.

¹²⁵See Appendix B. Sahl might have been Sahl ibn Sanbāt, who died during the reign of Mu^ctaṣim (Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-tiwāl*, p. 405), or possibly Sahl ibn Harun, a Persian who was in high office under Ma'mūn. Cf. J.H. Kramers, "Sahl b. Harun," *EI*¹ IV, pp. 62-63.

¹²⁶Barthold, op. cit., p. 209. This Ilyās was one of the ancestors of the Samanids.

¹²⁷Tab 1039/8, 577. Cf. W. Barthold, "Tāhir b. al-Husain," *EI*¹ IV, pp. 610-611.

¹²⁸Tab 1043-44/8, 579-580.

¹²⁹Ya^cqūbī II, p. 554, says he replaced Ghassān in early 206; Ibn Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 652, states that he arrived in Khurāsān (Marw ?) in Rabi^c II 206 (September 821).

¹³⁰Tab 1046-62/8, 582-591. Cf. C.E. Bosworth, "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes," *JNES* 19 (1970), pp. 25-41. See Chapter VI.

¹³¹Tab 1065/8, 594, gives Jumādā I (September-October 822); Ibn Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 652, has 24 Jumādā II 207 (November 14, 822).

¹³²See Appendix B for the following examples.

¹³³That he was in control of a larger territory extending to Rayy is evident from coinage of Muhammadiyah issued in the same year. See Chapter IV concerning this and his later activities, especially in the war against Babak.

¹³⁴Tab 1065/8, 595; Khalīfah, p. 472.

¹³⁵Ibid. Also IA VI, 383; and Ibn Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 654.

¹³⁶Barthold, "Tāhirids," *EI*¹ IV, p. 614. See Appendix B.

¹³⁷This ^cAbd Allāh may not be a prefect at all, but Talhah's brother, in which case the possibility that Talhah was acting on behalf of his brother becomes more likely. If ^cAbd Allāh was merely a prefect, he may be the person of the same name found on dirhams of Naysabur, dated 197 and 198. See Appendix B.

¹³⁸Tab 1099/8, 620; IA VI, 409; FHA I, 371; Ibn Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 654. Rabino, op. cit., chart after p. 274, has Rajab 213 (September-October 828). Ya^cqūbī II, p. 565, alludes to a date early in 214.

¹³⁹IA VI, 414; Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 48; Rabino, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁰Tab 1102/8, 622; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 565.

¹⁴¹E. Marin, "^cAbd Allāh b. Tāhir," *EI*² I, pp. 52-53. Hamadhānī, p. 328, gives the total revenues of Khurāsān and dependencies under him as 440,847,000 dirhams, plus payments in kind.

¹⁴²Ibn Khallikān (Slane) II, p. 53, gives this date, but says he died at Marw. Ya^cqūbī II, p. 586, says that he died in 230 at Naysabur at age 47.

¹⁴³Cf. F. Omar, *Abbāsīd Caliphate*, op. cit., pp. 89-94.

¹⁴⁴For a statistical breakdown of governors' origins, see Chapter VI, Table 1.

¹⁴⁵One of the most important Yaman tribes in Khurāsān was the Azd, some of whose members held offices not only in Khurāsān, but in other posts around the Empire as well. Cf. Herbert Mason, "The Role of the Azdite Muhallabid Family in Marw's Anti-Umayyad Power Struggle," *Arabica* 14 (1967), pp. 206-207.

¹⁴⁶C.E. Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 14 (1969), pp. 47-48.

¹⁴⁷See Appendix A.

CHAPTER VI

PART II: THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR

Having enumerated the governors and some other officials of the four provinces dealt with in this study in the previous chapters, our attention is now drawn to the role of the governor in the provincial administrative process. Since the ethnic and social background of each official was an important determining factor in the limits placed upon his power and authority, family origins must necessarily be scrutinized. However, a preliminary consideration of this subject is the means by which individuals can be identified as governors in the extant historical evidence.

References to provincial governors of the early ^CAbbāsīd period, found both in textual and numismatic sources, reveal the titles by which these officials were addressed in the administrative hierarchy. In evaluating the following technical terminology, it must be understood that the meanings employed here are strictly confined to the usage of the early ^CAbbāsīd period. It serves no purpose to refer to a particular title in its 4th or 5th/10th or 11th-century connotation in attempting to understand its use in the 2nd or 3rd/8th or 9th century if a shift in the technical meaning has occurred.¹ However, the usage and meaning of the words for governor remain rather consistent for the period of this study.

The most frequently encountered term for governor in references to the four provinces surveyed is *ʿamīl* (pl. *ʿummal*) from the Arabic root

^ʿ*amal*, "to work" or "to do." Less frequently the word *amīr* (pl. *umarā'*) is found as a synonym for ^ʿ*amil*. Very rarely *wālī* (pl. *wulāt*) is used to denote a governor, but the second-form verb from whose root it is derived, *wallā*, is the most frequently used word to show a person's appointment to office. Because ^ʿ*amil* is used so often as the title of provincial governors, as well as members of the administrative hierarchy on lower levels, there is the possibility of confusion unless one identifies its use in context. Simply stated, the precise meaning of ^ʿ*amil*, as related in a source, is arrived at by determining the geographical entity to which the official has been assigned, whether it is a province or a smaller administrative unit. There are numerous examples in both the textual and numismatic sources.

When Ṭabarī states (under the year 132/749-750): *wa-kāna al-^ʿamil ^ʿalā al-Basrah fī hadhihi al-sanah Sufyān ibn Mu^ʿawiyah al-Muhallabī*, he means precisely that Sufyān was the governor of Basrah for that year.² As Ṭabarī enumerates the governors of various provinces at the end of each year's notice after 132, he usually drops the word ^ʿ*amil*, but retains the preposition ^ʿ*alā* to denote an individual's control over a particular area. Scattered throughout Ṭabarī's text are notices of governors mentioned casually in the course of the narrative: (under the year 169/785-786)—*katāba al-Mahdī ilā Ja^ʿfar ibn Sulaymān wa-huwa ^ʿamil al-Madīnah ...*³ [Mahdī wrote to Ja^ʿfar ibn Sulaymān and he was the governor of Medina.] The main point here was that the caliph wrote to Ja^ʿfar; his position as governor of Medina was given only to show where he was located at the time. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt uses the plural when enumerating the governors of all the provinces at the end of each caliph's reign with

the phrase *tasmiyat* ^ʿ*ummāl* Abī al-^ʿ*Abbās* (Abī Ja^ʿ*far*, etc.); i.e., naming the governors of Abī al-^ʿ*Abbās*, etc. These examples all refer to governors of provinces, but occasionally a reference in a text may be to the prefect of a city or the governor's deputy in a particular section of the province. Such is the case where a certain Tayfūr, the *mawla* of Hādī, was named as prefect over Isbahān in 169/785-786: *wa-(al-^ʿāmil) ^ʿalā Isbahān Tayfūr mawla al-Hādī*.⁵ Here the word ^ʿ*āmil* is understood to come before ^ʿ*alā*, since it is in the capacity of prefect of the city and district of Isbahān that Tayfūr is mentioned in the text.

In cases where the provincial governor's title is found on the coinage, *amīr* is of more frequent usage than is ^ʿ*āmil*. The reason for this is not clear, but does demonstrate the interchangeability of the two terms. The name of the governor of a province is often given on *fulūs* after the prefatory phrase, *minnā amr bihi al-amīr...* ["from that which has been ordered by the governor ..."].⁶ The names of governors appear on dirhams normally without a title reference. One rare exception is a dirham of Arran, dated 209/824-825, with an added inscription on the reverse margin: *barakah min Allāh lil-amīr Sadaqah ibn ^ʿAlī mawla Amīr al-Mu'minīn* [i.e., "blessing from God for the governor Sadaqah ibn ^ʿAlī, *mawla* of the Commander of the Faithful (the caliph)"].⁷ Although the title *amīr* may have been used at an earlier time specifically to designate members of the ^ʿ*Abbāsīd* family and the Arab nobility,⁸ the last-mentioned numismatic example clearly demonstrates that, by the reign of Mu'mūn, a *mawla* could enjoy the title in recognition of his governmental appointment. The word ^ʿ*āmil* is employed on a number of *fulūs* minted in Rayy 143-144/760-762, in a context which can have no other meaning than

that of deputy for Prince Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who was governor of the East at the time.⁹ The phrase employed on these *fulūs* is: *mimmā amr bihi* (name) *ʿāmil al-amīr Muḥammad ibn Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.

It is clear from the many references in the historical sources that the technical terms for provincial officials during the early ʿAbbāsīd period had not become standardized. Individuals named as *ʿāmil* of a province in the written record are often titled *amīr* on the coinage. A reason for this may be that, since both the governor of the province and the local city prefect are frequently mentioned together on the *fulūs*, the governor was thereon entitled *amīr* to differentiate between him and the city prefect, who was normally untitled on the coinage. The basic lack of uniformity of gubernatorial titulature belies the diverse backgrounds of the individuals appointed to provincial posts.

The first seven ʿAbbāsīd caliphs drew their provincial governors from a variety of ethnic and social backgrounds. Of primary importance were their own relatives—sons, uncles, brothers and cousins—who could normally be depended upon to place the interests of the family before personal aspirations. Notable exceptions were: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī, who contested Maṣṣūr's succession to the caliphate; and ʿIsā ibn Mūsā, whose claims to the succession caused him to lose his governorship of Kufah and brought about his ostracism from the family.¹⁰ Nevertheless, many ʿAbbāsīds were appointed to governmental posts in Baṣrah and Kūfah, Iraq being the dynasty's heartland and most important province politically and economically. This practice served two purposes:

- 1) the caliph could easily monitor the activities of potential family rivals if they were posted near the capital; and
- 2) some degree of control could be exercised over Baṣrah and Kūfah,

which had historically been hotbeds of revolution and sedition. The other provinces—Armenia, Jibal and Khurāsān—did not receive ʿAbbāsīd princes as governors on the same scale as did Iraq. The few ʿAbbāsīds who were posted to those provinces were, in the main, next in line to the succession, and their time spent in the provinces can be viewed as a period of training and practical experience in handling administrative and military affairs.¹¹ The ʿAbbāsīd caliphs could not fill all their administrative ranks with members of their own families, however, as other supporting factions of the régime required placating with appointments to office.

Leading members of many of the Arab tribes, both in Iraq and Khurāsān, had taken part in the overthrow of the Umayyads and their replacement by the ʿAbbāsīds. After the consolidation of the revolution, many of the Arab chieftains, who were well-versed in military or administrative matters, were utilized as provincial governors, as well as functionaries in the central bureaucracy. The very nature of frontier provinces such as Armenia and Khurāsān required a governor with military experience. The seemingly interminable insurrections and internal troubles in each of the provinces emphasized the need for military administrators. The caliphs found in the Arab military commanders the experience necessary to fill these posts. Most of these men were third- or fourth-generation tribesmen whose forefathers had settled in former Sassanid territories comprising Muslim Iraq, the Jazīrah and Khurāsān after the initial Arab conquests. Tribal loyalties remained strong and, in general, the various groups remained attached to one or another of the great genealogical subdivisions. The South or Yaman Arabs were gener-

ally anti-Umayyad and some were early supporters of the ^ʿAbbāsids. Hence, they were looked upon with favor by the new régime. The North Arabs, represented by the two main branches of Mudar and Rabī^ʿah, had been pro-Umayyad and were viewed with suspicion by the early ^ʿAbbāsids. As the ^ʿAbbāsids gradually replaced the tribal aristocracy with a centralized bureaucracy, however, the political divisions of the tribes decreased, particularly in Khurāsān, and many Mudar and Rabī^ʿah tribal leaders were appointed to govern in the provinces.¹²

As the bureaucracy throughout the central and eastern parts of the Empire became more developed and the scope of its activities widened to include all aspects of both the central and provincial administration, the ^ʿAbbāsid form of government gradually approached the dimensions of its pre-Islamic, Sassanid model.¹³ Some Persian institutions, such as the *diwān al-khātām* (the office for affixing the caliphal seal to documents), were adopted and retained by the Arabs from the immediate post-conquest period onwards.¹⁴ However, the office of chief minister had become defunct after the conquest and was only resurrected under the ^ʿAbbāsids.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, the revival of Persian institutions, or their expanded use where they had been retained by the Arabs after the conquest, was accompanied by increasing numbers of Iranians finding places in the bureaucracy.¹⁶ At first, these appointments were confined to the lesser post, as prefects of provincial towns and offices in the provincial capital. Gradually Iranians came to be appointed to provincial governorships and, by the end of Ma'mūn's reign (218/833), fewer Arabs are found to have been given those posts. A glance at the lists of governors of each of the four provinces studied reveals that the de-

crease in Arab appointments is true not only for Armenia, Jibal and Khurāsān, but for the ʿAbbāsīd heartland of Iraq as well.

From the appointment of the first ʿAbbāsīd governor of Armenia, Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, by Saffāb in 132/749-750, *mawālī*, most of whom were Iranians, grew in importance as members of the new régime's central and provincial governmental hierarchy.¹⁷ Believing that his personal clients would have no other loyalty than to himself, Manṣūr placed his most able *mawālī* in governmental offices and strongly advised his son Maḥdī to maintain their position in his court and government as a source of personal support.¹⁸ Unlike the powerful members of the ʿAbbāsīd family, who could possibly count on the support of some of the Arab tribes, or Arab tribal leaders themselves, the *mawālī* had no group to which they could turn for help in undermining the caliphal authority. Their only claim to power was in exercising the offices granted them by the caliph.¹⁹ Throughout the period covered in this study, *mawālī* are found as governors of all four provinces, as well as in lesser positions as district and city prefects and other offices of the provincial administration. This is reflected in the provincial coinage, particularly the local copper issues, in which the term *mawālā Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (client of the caliph) employed thereon seems to have been a mark of particular distinction.

The last major category of individuals who rose to high office under the early ʿAbbāsīds were free Iranians. Of these, three main families are the most important: the Barmakids, Hasan and Faḍl ibn Sahl, and the Ṭāhirids.²⁰ Unlike any of the other groups from which provincial governors were drawn, with the exception of Maḥdī and Ma'mūn as

heirs-apparent, several Iranian family members were appointed to govern simultaneously a number of provinces which were collectively referred to as the East (*al-Mashriq*).²¹ The Barmakids rose to power under Mansūr and remained the most influential members of the central administration until their fall at the hands of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 187/803.²² Hasan and Fadl ibn Sahl entered the administrative ranks under the Barmakids early in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. After the Barmakids' fall from power, they rose rapidly in the service of Ma'mūn, particularly as his advisors during the civil war with Amīn.²³ Tāhir ibn al-Husayn belonged to a Khurāsānian family that had long controlled the prefecture of Būshanj.²⁴ He became distinguished for his role as leader of Ma'mūn's forces against Amīn and later was appointed by Ma'mūn as governor of all the East.²⁵ Tāhir was noted not only for his military prowess, but also for his sound administrative skills; and the semi-autonomous dynasty that he founded was based on his own governmental principles, at least through the reign of his son, 'Abd Allāh.²⁶ As significant as these appointments to govern the East were, Iranians were not found in provincial posts before the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, having come into prominence only after the decline in the power of the Arab tribal aristocracy.

The following table statistically summarizes the foregoing paragraphs:

Table 1
Origins of Provincial Governors of Early ^cAbbāsīd Period

Origins	I r a q				Armenia		Jibal		Khurāsān		Total	
	Basrah		Kufah		No.	Yrs	No.	Yrs	No.	Yrs	No.	Yrs
	No.	Yrs	No.	Yrs								
^c Abbāsīd	18	34	12	47	7	12	1	10	3	11	41	114
Yaman	8	15	2	9	4	10	5	10	3	2	22	26
Khurasani-												
Yaman	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	25	6	25
Mudar	6	14	2	5	16	38	3	4	1	3	28	64
Rabī'ah	--	--	--	--	4	14	1	1	1	3	6	18
Najd	--	--	--	--	2	2	--	--	--	--	2	2
Iraqi Arab	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	3	1	3
Khurasani	--	--	--	--	2	4	3	4	3	19	8	27
<i>mawālī</i>	2	12	1	1	9	9	5	13	1	5	18	40
Iranian	1	4	2	7	1	2	6	25	7	19	17	57
Turk	--	--	--	--	1	<1	--	--	--	--	1	<1
Unknown	4	6	2	3	5	7	5	6	1	3	17	25
Totals:*	39	85	21	72	51	99	29	73	27	93		

* The total number of years of gubernatorial rule should equal 86 Muslim years. However, due to inexact data where tenures covered fractions of years or lacunae exist that do not permit a precise determination of the true length of an individual's term in office, the gross totals given are more or less than the correct 86 Muslim years (132-218 A.H.).

The extant historical record does not report the method or criteria by which a provincial governor was chosen. We may assume, however, that the caliph, or an official acting on his authority (*wazīr* or territorial governor), maintained certain requirements for each governorship. For example, a prospective governor of Kūfah may have been favorably considered if he had some understanding of the tax and agricultural system of the Sawād. An individual's record of military service most likely was the main basis for choosing a governor for Armenia. The desire to reward a loyal *mawālā* for past services may have been a factor in filling the post at Rayy for governing northern Jibal. If the caliph ever took advice from his inner circle on the matter of appointing and dismissing

governors, very little of the record remains from which to draw any firm conclusions. Several incidents do show that, in making his decision, the caliph sometimes had to consider the influence of the more powerful members of his court.

When Hārūn al-Rashīd first learned about the excesses of ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā ibn Māhān in Khurāsān, he was advised by Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī to rid himself of the hated governor. Yazīd attempted to warn Hārūn that ʿAlī had resolved to become the caliph's successor through intrigue and machination, but the caliph refused to dismiss his deputy.²⁷ In another example of how those close to the caliph attempted to shape his decisions, there is the story of when Khaysurān, Hārūn al-Rashīd's mother, requested that Hādī appoint her brother, Ghitrīf ibn ʿAtā', as governor of the Yemen in 170/786.²⁸ When Tāhir ibn al-Husayn wished to return to Khurāsān as governor over that province, he worked to undermine Ma'mūn's confidence in the then-present ʿAmīl, Ghassān ibn ʿAbbād, while at the same time promoting his own candidacy.²⁹ Undoubtedly, the caliph was continuously subject to the advice, opinions and entreaties of his court which served to influence his decisions concerning governmental appointments.

Initially the question of who had the authority to appoint provincial governors was raised soon after the ʿAbbāsids came to power. In 132/750, Abū Muslim sent Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath to Fārs with orders to take the ʿAmīls of Abū Salamah in that province into custody and to execute them. This Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath did. At the same time, Saffah sent his uncle, ʿIsā ibn ʿAlī, to govern the province. Muḥammad refused to relinquish control, saying that his appointment came from Abū Muslim.

Isa eventually convinced Muhammad to leave by means of diplomacy but, because he had refused to use force against Muhammad, ^ʿIsā incurred the wrath of the caliph.³⁰ For this he was replaced immediately and was never to hold a post again, yet the principle of the caliph's right to appoint or confirm governors in office was upheld. Throughout this period the majority of governors were appointed by the caliph but, in some instances, a territorial governor had the authority to name his own deputies.³¹ This was certainly true of the heirs-apparent when they were governors of the East, as well as for several of the Iranians who reached high office under Ma'mūn, as the following examples illustrate:

During the civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn, Ṭāhir ibn al-Husayn, upon reaching Ahwāz, transferred the ^ʿ*amils* from that province and Basrah to Yamāmah, Bahrayn and ^ʿUmān without referring to Ma'mūn.³² Tahir was not acting in the capacity of a governor, but as Ma'mūn's commander-in-chief, yet was permitted to move deputies around at will. After Ma'mūn had triumphed over his brother and had become caliph, he appointed Hasan ibn Sahl in 198/813-814 to govern all the provinces conquered by Ṭāhir, including Fārs, Ahwāz, Jibal, the Hijaz, the Yemen, Kūfah and Basrah (i.e., Iraq).³³ Hasan did not arrive in Baghdad until 199/814-815, but then proceeded to appoint his own governors to each of the provinces and districts under his control.³⁴ There is one instance when the son of a caliph was appointed territorial governor, yet did not exercise any control over the administration or his deputies. Ṭabarī reports that, in 169/785, Maḥdī made Hārūn al-Rashīd governor of the West—from Anbār to Ifrīqīyah—but ordered Yahyā and Khālīd al-Barmakī to administer the area. To the latter was deferred the appointment of

*ʿamils and diwāns.*³⁵

In another instance, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ṣālih, an ʿAbbāsīd prince and military commander who led the summer campaign several times for Hārūn al-Rashīd, requested of Jaʿfar ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī a governorship for his son, ʿAbd al-Rahmān, for the express purpose of "ennobling his rank." Jaʿfar appointed him governor of Egypt and the caliph later ratified his minister's action.³⁶ It is apparent from this passage that the appointment to a provincial governorship brought a certain prestige to the office-holder, so much in fact that even some members of the ʿAbbāsīd family sought such administrative postings. It follows that, generally whoever had the authority to appoint a governor, also had the right to dismiss that person from office.

Just as it is impossible to know every circumstance of a governmental appointment made by the ʿAbbāsīds, it is equally difficult to arrive at conclusive reasons for the removal of an official from his post. The evidence points to several criteria by which the decision to dismiss a governor was arrived at:

- succession of a new caliph,
- signs of the governor's inability to fulfill the duties of his office, or
- a loss of trust on the part of the caliph.

Following late Umayyad administrative tradition, each ʿAbbāsīd caliph, upon his accession, usually dismissed his predecessor's governors and appointed his own men.³⁷ Occasionally a particularly competent and trusted official was retained in his province, but did not often remain long into the new reign. When it appeared that a governor was incapable of handling the duties of his office, the caliph, of necessity, moved quickly to replace him. Thus, Sulaymān ibn Yazīd al-ʿĀmirī was dis-

missed on short notice after Hārūn al-Rashīd learned that the governor could not retain control of Armenia and that his orders were never carried out.³⁸ The provincial governor, who fell under the caliph's suspicions by committing certain indiscretions, would more often than not be ousted from office without delay. In 155/772, Mansūr dismissed his cousin, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, from the governorship of Kūfah because, among other transgressions, it was reported that Muḥammad had unjustly imprisoned certain of his enemies.³⁹ Although most cases of dismissal were a negative reaction on the part of the caliph to a situation which displeased him, in some instances the change was made to promote an individual to a more prestigious provincial post, or to a major office within the central bureaucracy as a reward for the competent performance of his duties.⁴⁰

The duties of the provincial governor of the early ʿAbbāsīd period were many and covered various aspects of the administrative, judicial, economic, financial and military organization of the province. Perhaps the best overview of the responsibilities facing a governor during the early ʿAbbāsīd period is that presented by W. Barthold:

The task of the provincial governors, especially that of the Governor of Khurasan, to which Transoxania was, as before, subordinate, was also determined by these principles (of Sasanid statecraft). As under the Sasanids, the son of the head of the state was on two occasions appointed chief of the province, which is explained by the importance of the governorship of Khurasan, where the struggle with both internal and external enemies presented peculiar difficulties. The problem before the governors lay in the strengthening of the political structure according to the spirit of the Sasanid traditions, in the union of all partisans of order and tranquility, in the pacification of the restless elements, and in making war on rebellious vassals and their allies of the Steppes. The complete subjugation of the country to Muslim rule, and the establishment of entire immunity from danger,

both internal and external, was attained only when, instead of constantly changing governors at the head of the province, hereditary rulers were appointed from among the native aristocrats, well acquainted with local conditions and enjoying the confidence of the population. It follows as a matter of course that these governors acted more in their own interests than in those of the caliphs, and that their dependence on the latter rapidly became purely nominal. 41

In his capacity as military leader, the governor had control of the army units in his province and the paramilitary forces located in the provincial capital, and perhaps in other major cities of his territory. These latter included the *shurṭah*⁴² (or police), the *ḥaras* (or guard), and the *ahḍāth*⁴³ (or urban militia), if one was organized in his capital. Although he was generally responsible for the administration of justice in his province, the governor usually relinquished the actual judgment of cases to the *qāḍī*, who was appointed directly by the caliph, rather than by the governor himself, as was the practice under the Umayyads.⁴⁴ In some instances, control of the *shurṭah*, *ahḍāth* and *ṣalāt* (i.e., the leadership of the Friday prayers), was delegated by the caliph to several persons, with no overall governor being named.⁴⁵ This arrangement was particularly common in Baṣrah and Kūfah during Mansur's caliphate.

Unless a separate *ṣāhib al-kharāj* (or prefect of taxes) was appointed by the caliph along with a governor, the latter had full powers over the tax system of his province.⁴⁶ From the provincial revenues the governor paid the troops and administrative officials; provided for the building of canals, roads, mosques and defensive works; and sent the balance to the imperial capital. The governor also controlled the striking of silver and copper coins at the provincial mint(s) over which he appointed a supervisor of coinage (or mint master).⁴⁷

Among the governor's administrative duties were the maintenance of

communications with the central government through the *barīd*⁴⁸ (or post system), and the continued order and security of the populace. In addition, he received the *bay'ah* (or oath of allegiance) from the people, particularly the city notables, on behalf of a new caliph or a newly designated heir-apparent.⁴⁹

Provincial governors generally enjoyed a great amount of personal power, especially those posted far from the caliphal court. They were allotted a salary and administrative expenses from the provincial revenues,⁵⁰ but some exploited their position to such an extent that they were able to amass great amounts of wealth. When the governor of Basrah, Muhammad ibn Sulaymān, died in 173/789, his accumulated wealth—which Hārūn al-Rashīd had had carted away—amounted to 60 million dirhams!⁵¹ Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Mahan, whose long, harsh rule over Khurāsān was marked by wholesale extortion and repression of the populace, left 80 million dirhams to be confiscated by Hārūn when he was finally dismissed in 191/807.⁵² Some governors were able to operate efficiently on the amounts allotted to them for administrative purposes. Fadl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī was able to control a large part of the East on an allowance of 500,000 dirhams per year and was remembered in those parts for his just and able rule.⁵³ When Fadl ibn Sahl was appointed governor of all the East, his annual administrative allotment was three million dirhams, not a large sum considering the potential revenues under his control.⁵⁴ There are no revenue totals extant specifically for Fadl's tenure, but the total amount for all the eastern provinces at that time must have fallen somewhere between the known budgets dating from about 184/800 and from the period of 204-237/819-852. These were, respectively, 200,000,000 and

153,191,070 dirhams.⁵⁵

The image that emerges of the provincial governor of the early ^ʿAbbāsīd period is a composite of many types of men. The ^ʿ*amīl* came from all the Muslim ethnic and social strata which constituted the imperial population of the time. Some were professional soldiers, others career bureaucrats; a few were able administrators, well-liked by the people under their rule; still others were incompetent, exploitative individuals, bent on their own self-aggrandizement. A few of the governors, particularly several of the ^ʿAbbāsīd princes and Arab military commanders, enjoyed relatively long tenures. However, the majority of appointees remained at their posts for only short periods, ranging from about one to three years. Even members of the ^ʿAbbāsīd family were given only short appointments. This is particularly true for the many ^ʿAbbāsīds assigned to Baṣrah and Kūfah under Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁵⁶ This rapid turnover seems to have been a basic policy of the caliphs, designed to prevent a governor from building up a personal following within his province, which could constitute a threat to the central government. This policy was largely abandoned by Ma'mūn who, in designating certain individuals to govern large territories in the East—namely Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn and Fadl ibn Sahl—opened the way for provincial governors to establish their own semi-autonomous states throughout the Empire.

In this chapter we have evaluated the place of the provincial governor in the administration of the Empire. The following chapters address problems of the substructure of provincial administration below the level of the governor:

- the tax system and its functionaries,
- the members of the governor's own bureaucracy: the *ashāb al-shurtah*, *barīd*, *harb*, etc., and
- the provincial coinage system.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹A prime example of the altered meaning of a term is *ʿāmil* which, during the early Abbasid period, referred to a governor or city prefect, but by the 4th/10th century had come to mean a finance officer. Cf. A.A. Duri, "ʿĀmil," *EI*² I, p. 435.

²Tab 72/7, 458. For Sufyān's governorships of Baṣrah, see Chapter II, Nos. 1, 4 and 12.

³Tab 534/8, 178.

⁴*Tārīkh*, pp. 412, 430, 440, 446, 461, 475.

⁵Tab 568/8, 204. See Chapter IV, under No. 12.

⁶Several specimens, which may serve to illustrate this common formula, are listed in Appendix B, specifically *fulūs* or Arran 177, 178, 186; Rayy 138; Naysabūr 204.

⁷See Appendix B for specimen references. For Sadaqah's tenure as governor of Armenia, see Chapter III, No. 48.

⁸Cf. Duri, "Amīr," *EI*² I, p. 439.

⁹See Chapter IV, Nos. 5(a), (b) and (c), as well as Appendix B.

¹⁰Details of the problems caused by these two princes are given in Chapter II, under Baṣrah, No. 3; and Kufah, No. 2.

¹¹Mansūr's governorship of the Jazirah, Armenia and the northwest frontier, under the caliphate of his brother Saffah, was for the purpose of meeting military exigencies of that time. The governorship of the East accorded to Maḥdī and Ma'mun by their fathers can more properly be viewed as a training period for these future caliphs.

¹²Cf. Duri, "Amīr," op. cit., p. 439. The political divisions were never completely drawn along tribal lines as some Yamanis were pro-Umayyad and some North Arabs were anti-Umayyad. G.L. della Vida, "Nizār b. Ma'add," *EI*¹ III, p. 940.

¹³For an overview of the numerous bureaus instituted or enlarged upon under the Abbasids, cf. Duri, "Dīwān," *EI*² II, pp. 324-326.

¹⁴F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), p. 145; D. Sourdel, "Khatam," *EI*² IV, p. 1105.

¹⁵Løkkegaard, p. 149.

¹⁶R. Mottahedah, "The Shu^cūbīyah Controversy and the Social History of Early Islamic Iran," *IJMES* 7 (1976), p. 179. R. Mottahedah, "The Abbasid Caliphate in Iran," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. IV (London, 1975), p. 69. B. Lewis, "Abbasids," *EI*² I, p. 17.

¹⁷For Muhammad ibn Sūl's tenure in Armenia, see Chapter III, No. 1.

¹⁸Tab 444/8, 103.

¹⁹J. Lassner, *Foundations of Power: Studies in the Formation of Abbāsid Government* (unpublished typescript), pp. 126, 147.

²⁰The Barmakids may also be classified as *mawālī*, since this seems to have been the status of Khālid ibn Barmak. However, the relationship of his grandsons, Faḍl and Ja^cfar, when they were governors for Harun al-Rashid, does not exhibit the attributes of clientage.

²¹See Chapter IV, Nos. 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27(a); and Chapter V, Nos. 13, 22, 24, 25, 26 and 27.

²²Lewis, loc. cit.

²³Sourdél, "al-Hasan b. Sahl," *EI*² III, p. 243; and "al-Faḍl b. Sahl," *EI*² II, pp. 731-732.

²⁴See Chapter V, introductory paragraphs.

²⁵Barthold, "Tāhir b. al-Husain," *EI*¹ IV, p. 610. See Chapter IV, Nos. 22 and 25; and Chapter V, No. 24.

²⁶Tāhir's letter to his son, ^cAbd Allāh, is a model of Islamic administrative and political philosophy. A full English translation is given by C.E. Bosworth in "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes," *JNES* 29 (1970), pp. 25-41.

²⁷Tab 703/8, 315, under the year 189, which was long after Yazīd's death in 185.

²⁸Tab 590/8, 222. This story may be associated with Ghitrif's appointment as governor of Khurāsān in 175/791. See Chapter V, No. 12.

²⁹Tab 1043/8, 579; IA VI, 361; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 554. See Chapter V, No. 23.

³⁰Tab 71/7, 458; IA V, 443.

³¹According to Løkkegaard, p. 71, there was always some ambiguity as to who could appoint governors and other officials.

³²Tab 855/8, 435.

³³Tab 975/8, 527; IA VI, 297-298.

³⁴Tab 976/8, 528.

³⁵Tab 545/8, 187.

³⁶Ibn al-Tiqṭaqā, *al-Faḡhrī* [trans. Whitting], pp. 204-205. Although ^cAbd al-Malik ibn Ṣalīḥ was appointed governor of Egypt in 178/794-795 (Tab 630/8, 256), I find no mention of his son, ^cAbd al-Rahman, actually having held this post. Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden/London, 1912), also makes no mention of this person in the office of governor of Egypt. It may be that this appointment was merely an honorary one.

³⁷Duri, "Amīr," op. cit., p. 439.

³⁸Ya^cqūbī II, p. 519.

³⁹Tab 375-77/8, 47-49. See Chapter II, No. 3.

⁴⁰For example, Faḍl ibn Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī was dismissed from the governorship of Khurasān in 171/787 and placed in charge of the *diwān al-khātām* in Baghdad (see Chapter V, No. 9). After Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Khuẓa'i's appointment to Jibal ended, his next assignment was to the considerably more important province of Egypt (see Chapter IV, No. 3).

⁴¹*Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), pp. 197-198.

⁴²On the *shurtah* and its functions, see Chapter VII.

⁴³Cf. Claude Cahen, "Ahdāth," *EI*² I, p. 256.

⁴⁴Duri, "Amīr," op. cit., pp. 438, 439. In one instance, the heir-apparent, Musā al-Hādī, when he visited the province of Jurjan in 166/782-783, appointed an Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub ibn Ibrāhīm as *qādī* there (Tab 517/8, 162).

⁴⁵Løkkegaard, p. 146.

⁴⁶When there was a *ṣāhib al-kharāj* assigned to the province, he took orders directly from the central government (Løkkegaard, pp. 146-147). The functions of the *ṣāhib al-kharāj* and the provincial tax system are discussed in Chapter VII.

⁴⁷The provincial coinage system is the subject of Chapter VIII. There was an office of chief supervisor of the coinage, responsible for the overall mint production of the Empire, instituted by Ḥarūn al-Rashīd. See A.S. Ehrenkreutz, "Studies in the Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages," *JESHO* 2 (1959), pp. 141-142.

⁴⁸See Chapter VII.

⁴⁹Duri, "Amir," p. 439; E. Tyan, "Bay'ā," *EI*² I, p. 1113.

⁵⁰Tabarī 434-35/8, 95-96, under the year 158/774-775, states that the salary of both *kuttāb* (secretaries) and *ummāl* during Manṣūr's reign was 300 dirhams. This salary remained constant from the time of the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj until Fadl ibn Sahl increased it during the reign of Ma'mun. The *amīls* referred to here were not provincial governors, but lesser officials of the provincial and central bureaucracies.

⁵¹Tab 607/8, 237.

⁵²Tab 713/8, 324.

⁵³Tab 613/8, 242.

⁵⁴Tab 841/8, 424

⁵⁵The ca. 184/300 budget is derived from Jahshiyārī, pp. 182-185; and that of ca. 204-237/819-852 from Qudamah ibn Ja far, *BGA* VI, pp. 249-251.

⁵⁶See the appropriate sections in Chapter II.

CHAPTER VII

OFFICIALS AND OFFICES: PROVINCIAL TAXATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

In the previous chapter we attempted to answer some questions concerning the office of provincial governor during the early Abbasid period. The governor was the focal point, the keystone, of provincial administration and it is apparent that the caliphs recognized the importance of selecting qualified individuals for those posts. A few modern scholars have made some mention of the provincial governmental hierarchy in their studies, but the superficial treatment they have accorded the subject underscores the need for a more detailed analysis here.¹

Of equal importance to the office of governor, in maintaining an effective administrative network in the various divisions of the Empire, was the entire substructure of departments and officials below the level of governor, upon which the power and authority of the ruling dynasty ultimately rested. This vast civil service work force, the majority of whose very identities have been lost to posterity, attended to innumerable, mundane details of administration that must have generated mountains of paper (or papyri) work. In this respect, it could not have differed much from the bureaucracies of the modern world, except in scale. Since the efficient collection of revenues depended on sound fiscal management at all governmental echelons, the agencies upon whom this task devolved undoubtedly contributed a large share of the caliphal archives. It is most likely due indirectly to those early tax records

that our knowledge of the tax system in the caliphate is relatively well-documented. The several Arab authorities, to whom we shall turn presently, were able to compile their treatises in part from the contents of the government tax bureau records.²

Tax Systems and Collectors

In order to understand the systems of provincial taxation under the early ^ʿAbbāsids, it is necessary to explore the historical developments of this institution as they occurred during the post-Arab conquest and Umayyad periods. A large body of primary textual evidence, which details the genesis of tax assessment and collection in early Islam, has received a fairly modern and lucid treatment at the hands of Dennett and Løkkegaard.³ Some of their interpretations will be met within the course of this chapter. Let us first turn to several early Arab works devoted to Islamic taxation.

Numerous books, almost invariably entitled *Kitāb al-kharāj* [Book of Taxes], were compiled during the first several centuries of Islam.⁴ Of these, three have survived relatively intact and are particularly germane to this present study. Indeed, the authors of the first two existing works flourished during the early ^ʿAbbāsīd period. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqub ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (d. 182/798), whose *Kitāb al-kharāj* is the oldest of this genre to have survived to the present day, wrote his book during the early part of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign (ca. 170/786-787).⁵ Yahyā ibn Ādam al-Qurashī (d. 203/818) came next in time and, although a contemporary of Abū Yūsuf, the basic structure of his book is quite different. Whereas, Abū Yūsuf was concerned primarily with the legal aspects of taxation (*fiqh*), Yahyā devoted himself to a study of the his-

torical traditions (*ḥadīth*) related to the development of the Islamic tax system.⁶ Thus, Abū Yūsuf provided the idealist's view of how the tax system should have functioned, while Yahyā produced a realist's record of the way in which the system operated in his day. To these two authors may be added the work of Abū al-Faraj Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar (d. 320/932). Although Qudāmah wrote in a period which saw the beginning of the decline in ʿAbbāsīd power, many of the administrative rules of conduct laid down in the earlier era remained in force in his day. The extant portion of his book pertaining to taxation (Part VII) is a useful summary of earlier works on the subject.⁷ Almost all of what is known about taxation in the first two centuries of Islam is derived from the above three authorities.⁸

A very important point originating from the Arab sources is that the arrangements by which taxes were first assessed and collected by the Muslims were not uniform throughout the territories which had come under the control of the Islamic state. This was due to the several ways in which the Arabs had come into possession of the land, and we are discussing here only those regions from Iraq eastward. Although it is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss the myriad historical events which gained for the Arabs all the lands formerly ruled by the Sassanids, let it suffice to state that the Arabs gained control of these territories in one of three ways: by treaty, by force of arms, or by simply taking over land abandoned by the owners. The method by which the Arabs came to possess large tracts of land ultimately determined what kind and how the taxes on the inhabitants would be imposed. In Iraq, for example, nothing remained of the Sassanid government and the Arabs had to organ-

ize their own administration.⁹ However, in Khurāsān, many of the local indigenous rulers survived the collapse of the old régime and made agreements with the conquerors to pay a fixed sum in revenues.¹⁰ A better understanding of the variety of fiscal arrangements in early Islam may be gained by a close examination of the terms employed by the medieval Arab authorities.

In the broader sense the word *kharāj* was used to denote any tax in general, regardless of legal or juridical limitations, and also denoted the bulk revenues collected in any given political entity, be it a district, province or the entire Empire.¹¹ In the narrower sense *kharāj* denoted specifically a land tax, assessed on the products of the soil. The *jizyah* was a poll tax, levied on non-Muslim subjects.¹² However, when large numbers of non-Muslims converted in Iraq to escape payment of this tax under the Umayyad governor Ḥajjāj, the effect was a dangerous eroding of the tax base. Ḥajjāj forced the convert peasants back to their land and enforced payment of the *jizyah*, even though those paying had become Muslims.¹³ Dennett has shown that *kharāj* and *jizyah*, as used by early Arab writers, were synonymous terms which could be used interchangeably.¹⁴ Another tax on land was *ʿushr*, which was assessed only on Muslims; whereas, the *kharāj* was payable by all farmers.¹⁵ The term *ʿushr* was used in the same context as *sadaqah* and *zakāt*, and all three words were used to denote a tax paid by Muslims to benefit the poor and destitute; in other words, as alms. However, these distinctions are made by Løkkegaard: *ʿushr* was assessed only on land, not animals or buildings; whereas, *zakāt* was levied on all property. Both were payable by Muslims alone, but the rate of *zakāt* was generally higher than that of

ushr.¹⁶ Since *ushr* and *kharāj* were both land taxes, some differences in the two must be made apparent.

The differences between *ushr* and *kharāj* were primarily of three categories:

- those for whom the tax was payable,
- the rate of assessment, and
- the lands to which each was applied.

While both were land taxes, non-Muslims paid only *kharāj*; whereas, *ushr* was paid by Muslims. *Ushr* was usually assessed at one-tenth of the product of the land, while the *kharāj* amounted to one-fifth, one-half, or even more of the total crop or its equivalent value.¹⁷ *Ushr* or *kharāj* were applied to the land according to who was in possession of it and how the possession was obtained. Land whose owner was an Arab Muslim or a non-Arab convert was considered *ushr* land.¹⁸ This occurred in one of three ways:

- 1) land whose inhabitants converted to Islam in order to retain possession;
- 2) formerly non-productive (dead) land reclaimed by the Muslims; and
- 3) land taken by force and divided among the conquerors.¹⁹

Land which was taken over by the Muslims, but left in the possession of the inhabitants through a treaty, was considered *kharāj* land.²⁰ These three differences between *ushr* and *kharāj* remained intact throughout the period of Umayyad rule and into the early years of the *Abbāsīd* régime.

Under the early *Abbāsīd*s a growing discontentment with the system of tax collection was gradually making itself felt. From the time of *Umar ibn al-Khattāb* (13-23/634-644), the *kharāj* had been collected as a fixed amount, in cash or in kind, of a peasant's farm production. This harsh and unfair system, known as *muqāṭa'ah* if the amount assessed was

not based on the produce or area of land, or *misāḥah* if the assessment was made on the basis of a land measurement, became counterproductive by the early ^cAbbāsīd period. Many farmers fled their lands to escape the oppression of an insufferable tax burden and, by Mansūr's reign, agricultural production was declining.²¹ Towards the end of Mansūr's caliphate the Muslim inhabitants of the Sawād requested the caliph to change over to the system known as *muqāsamah*, by which the tax would be levied as a percentage of the actual products of the land.²² Mansūr died before this much-needed reform could be implemented, but under the able guidance of Mahdī's *wazīr*, Abū ^cUbayd Allāh (d. 170/786), *muqāsamah* replaced *misāḥah* as the system of levying the *kharaḥj*, first in the Sawād and later in other parts of the East.²³ Under the *muqāsamah* system, the amount of tax collected was up to one-half of the produce of the land.²⁴ Ma'mūn inaugurated a reform, at least in the Sawād, of requiring only one-fifth of the produce in kind from the farmers.²⁵ This may have been a move to ease the burden of an area that had been ravaged by almost continual warfare from the hostilities between Amīn and Ma'mūn to the insurrections of Abū Sarāyā and the anti-caliph, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī.²⁶ Otherwise, Ma'mūn's reform may have been a measure calculated to lessen the effect of a decrease in the amount of land under cultivation, caused by rising waters which had submerged parts of the Sawād and the Kaskar district.²⁷ The change in the system of taxation wrought by Mahdī's reform helped bring about an evermore complex and centralized tax administrative network in the central lands which only slowly pervaded the outlying provinces.

The several systems of tax assessment in use during the early ^cAbbā-

sid period allowed for many local variations.²⁸ The provinces for which we have the most detailed documentation are Iraq and Khurasan. Prior to Mahdī's reform the land tax in Iraq was called *kharāj* ^ʿ*alā m sāḥat al-ard*; i.e., the *kharāj* assessed on surveyed plots of ground. After Mahdī's reform the proportional payment (*muqāsamah*) system, especially in Iraq where its use was widespread, suited the requirements of provisioning Baghdad, which was rapidly growing into a large metropolis.²⁹ In Khurāsān the right to all the land of the province originally came into the hands of the Arabs through treaties made with the indigenous princes or chiefs of each city or territory. The populace paid *kharāj* which was a general tribute, not a land tax, and *jizyah*, but the revenues were collected by the local authorities and submitted to the Arabs in a lump sum.³⁰ With increasing centralization under the ʿAbbāsids, some of these dissimilar aspects of revenue administration disappeared, with the result being a more uniform bureaucracy tailored along the same lines in each province.

Before exploring the administrative mechanism of tax collection and assessment, as it functioned in the four provinces concerned in this study—Iraq, Armenia, Jibal and Khurāsān—an outline of provincial subdivision may aid in understanding the geographical complexities of revenue management in the early ʿAbbāsīd period. Each province was divided into *kuwar* (sing., *kurah*), the number varying from province to province. Thus, the Sawād of Iraq contained 12 *kuwar*, Jibal 3, and Khurāsān 9.³¹ We have already noticed that, on several occasions, the *kuwar* Dijlah (districts of the Tigris) and the *kuwar* of Ahwāz and Fārs were placed under the control of the governor of Baṣrah.³² It is clear from these

and other examples that the provincial *kuwar* were, in addition to their major function as administrative units, convenient blocs of territory with which the caliph could enlarge or decrease the territorial size of the entity placed under his *ʿamil*'s control.

The *kurah*, in turn, was divided into a number of *tasāsīj* (sing., *tassūj*), which varied in number according to the size of the *kurah*. The word *nāhiyah* was used frequently as a synonym for *tassūj*, and this unit was further subdivided into *rasātīq* (sing., *rastāq*). Each *rustāq* was organized around a town to which a number of dependent villages was attached.³³ The *kurah* itself normally contained a larger urban center and the provincial capital was situated within its own district, including a number of dependent towns and villages. The *kuwar* were also often given the designation *ʿmāl* (or administrative prefectures), particularly when they were assigned to a governor under a special status (*al-ʿmāl al-mufradah*).³⁴ Local variations of these geographic divisions existed in each province, although the methods of tax assessment and collection were not altered.

The agent responsible for collection of the land tax in the province was the *ṣāhib al-kharāj*, who headed the bureau known as the *dīwān al-kharāj*, a subordinate counterpart of the central bureau at the imperial capital.³⁵ During the early ʿAbbāsīd period the central tax office was sometimes given names designating the area(s) under its jurisdiction. In Mansūr's reign we find the expressions *dīwān kharāj al-Baṣrah wa-nawāḥīhā* (tax office for Baṣrah and its districts) and *dīwān kharāj al-Kūfah wa-ardahā* (tax office for Kūfah and its land);³⁶ under Hādī, the *dīwān kharāj al-ʿIrāqayn* (tax office for the two Iraqs: Baṣrah and

Kūfah);³⁷ and under Hārūn al-Rashīd, the *diwān al-kharāj bi-al-Sawād* (tax office for the Sawād).³⁸ These specialized bureaux were concerned with keeping records of the incoming taxes from the provinces. The collected revenues were turned over to the *ṣāhib bayt al-māl*, who was responsible for all funds deposited into and disbursed out of the provincial treasury (*bayt al-māl*), which was subordinate to the central treasury in the capital.³⁹ The provincial *ṣāhib al-kharāj* maintained all the records and documents necessary for the assessment and collection of taxes within his province. The most important of these records was the *qanun al-kharāj*, containing the surveys upon which the *kharāj* was collected in each district.⁴⁰

The actual collection of taxes was accomplished in one of several ways. One was through the system of tax farming (*ḍamān*), by which an individual contracted to pay the government a specified sum in return for the privilege of exacting taxes, including a profit for himself, from the inhabitants of a particular district.⁴¹ A second method was *qabālah*, whereby a group of people undertook the joint responsibility for paying the taxes of a district, with the understanding that they would be able to regain their moneys by collecting from the inhabitants of that district.⁴² A third method of collection was through the agency of a *jahbadh*, usually a private individual, although he could be an official of the administration, who operated as a banker or money-changer and often carried out on-the-spot tax collecting. The essential difference between the first and third methods was that, whereas the tax farmer (*ḍāmin*) first paid a stipulated amount to the government and then collected the tax due from the people of his district, the excess of

which was his profit, the *jahbadh* transferred the sums he collected directly to the provincial tax authorities, retaining the standard five-sixths of one percent of the total as his fee.

The *jahbadh* became an important institution during the early ^cAbbāsid period, as the economy assumed a monetary system based on both gold and silver coins. The ever-changing weights and fineness of the coinage and the relative exchange ratios required individuals knowledgeable of the various types and values of circulating money.⁴³ The *jahbadh* was closely connected with the internal operations of the provincial *dīwān al-kharāj* and, in some cases, may have even been the *ṣāhib bayt al-māl*.⁴⁴ In the Qumm district of Jibal it was customary for the *jahbadh* to represent the taxpayers at the *dīwān al-kharāj* and undertake to collect the taxes due from them.⁴⁵ In any case, because the taxes were normally paid in dirhams but calculated by the *dīwān al-kharāj* in dinars, the complicated conversion operation demanded accuracy from both taxpayer and government. This task fell to the *jahbadh*, who seems to have been the only person to convert his knowledge of the fluctuating exchange rates into a lucrative career.⁴⁶ His place in the provincial taxation apparatus was firmly established.

Regardless of the system of levying the tax, the *ṣāhib al-kharāj*, or one of his assistants, would come to the taxpayer with an array of lesser officials, including the *jahbadh*, on an appointed day. Since the assessment was based on a measurement of the land, the surveyor (*māsīh*) made the necessary calculations—this was sometimes done on a previous day—to determine the amount due.⁴⁷ The total having been arrived at and agreed upon by all parties, the *jahbadh* handled the monetary ex-

change and issued a receipt to the taxpayer.⁴⁸ After this operation had been repeated throughout each district of the province, copies of the accounts were forwarded to the central *dīwān* and the moneys divided between the amount assigned to the provincial *bayt al-māl* and that conveyed to the central treasury.⁴⁹ Although these operations pertained mainly to the collection of the land tax, the collection of the *jizyah* in rural areas was also legally accorded to the same officials.⁵⁰ Upon reaching the central tax office, the accounts were systematically examined and audited by yet another government bureau.

The *dīwān al-zimām* (comptroller's office) was first instituted by Maḥdī in 162/778-779, the function of which was to maintain fiscal control over all the other government bureaux.⁵¹ In 168/784-785, Maḥdī erected a *dīwān zimām al-azimmaḥ* to oversee all the *dawāwīn al-zimām*.⁵² There was a *dīwān al-zimām* assigned to each of the other *dīwāns* and it was the responsibility of the *zimām al-kharāj* to audit the tax accounts for discrepancies. This machinery permitted amendment of errors in tax assessment and collection (usually in the government's favor), but for the often overburdened peasants there was no recourse for dissatisfaction, except flight from the land or rebellion.

The tendency for groups of people to resort to extreme measures over taxes is well-documented for the early ʿAbbāsīd period. In 155/772, large numbers of non-Muslim peasants were forcibly returned to their lands in the Jazirah after having left to avoid payment of the *jizyah*.⁵³ Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī appointed Abū al-Ṣabbāḥ as *ṣāḥib al-kharāj* over Armenia in 177/793. When Abū al-Ṣabbāḥ attempted to collect the *kharāj*, the people of Bardaḥ murdered him, touching off a major revolt

in the province.⁵⁴ Resentment over the preferential treatment accorded to Rayy by Ma'mūn sparked a rebellion by the people of Qumm in 210/825. However, the common cause was hopeless in the face of the greatly superior caliphal forces, who suppressed the revolt with the utmost severity.⁵⁵ Most government officials remained indifferent to the plight of the peasants, as wringing all they could from their hapless victims often meant larger monetary rewards for themselves. Few governors or their subordinates recognized the importance of the lowly farmer, as did 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, governor of the East 213-230/828-844, who admonished his officials to treat their charges just.⁵⁶ Tax revolts, as one of the mounting economic problems facing the 'Abbāsīd régime at the end of the period pertaining to this study, contributed to the steady decline in imperial revenues, which was to reach a crisis stage in the later 3rd/9th century.⁵⁷

The tax system in the first three decades of 'Abbāsīd rule remained basically unchanged from Umayyad practice. However, under the direction of Caliph Maḥdī, a more just method of tax assessment, *muqāṣamah*, came into use in many parts of the central and eastern provinces. This system had its widest application in Iraq, the province that had the highest tax yield in the Empire, and its introduction helped ease the burden of the peasants. Maḥdī was also responsible for further centralizing the government, a policy begun by his father Maṣṣūr. To this end he established the *dawāwīn al-zimām* in order to maintain firm control over all the other central and provincial agencies, as well as a *diwān al-azimmaḥ* to police the activities of the lower bureaus of control. This double system of accountability Maḥdī inaugurated is the most vivid man-

ifestation of the ^CAbbāsīd centralization process. However, not every department of the provincial administration came under the direct supervision of the central government. Some agencies, especially those charged with public order and defense, received appointments from and operated under the command of the governor himself.

Quasi-Military Offices

In addition to the army units stationed in a province under the command of the governor, several other institutions, organized somewhat along military lines, were part of the provincial administrative system. These units were known as the *shurṭah*, *ma^Cūnah*, *ḥaras* and *ahḏath*. Each had a specialized function, but two or more were sometimes combined for certain operations and very often their assigned duties tended to overlap. In a few instances when the responsibility for governing a province was shared by several persons, one was usually the head of one of these corps.

The unit mentioned most often in the Arab sources is the *shurṭah* which, in times of peace, functioned as a police force charged with maintaining public order and security.⁵⁸ The chief of police was called the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* and he reported directly to the governor.⁵⁹ Because of his responsibility to preserve order, particularly in the provincial capital, the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* had greater power than the *qāḏī* (see below), since he could act on suspicion to punish potential wrongdoers.⁶⁰ In wartime the *shurṭah* comprised an elite corps in the army,⁶¹ and it seems that a general could have a non-provincial *shurṭah* directly under his command.⁶² The *shurṭah* was paid for out of the extraordinary (*ḥilālī*) taxes of the province as was the *ma^Cūnah*.⁶³ The latter was an ordinary

police force employed to preserve law and order, but could be engaged in warfare also.⁶⁴ Indeed, the commander of the *shurṭah* might sometimes be placed in charge of the *ma^cūnah*⁶⁵ or the *ḥaras*, the honor guard charged with maintaining the security of the governor.⁶⁶

Functioning alongside the *shurṭah* and *ma^cūnah* in Iraq was another unit of men known as the *ahḍāth*.⁶⁷ The sources provide very little information on the nature of the *ahḍāth*, but apparently it comprised a sort of urban militia which added to the military forces under the command of the governor.⁶⁸ Løkkegaard himself is unsure of the meaning of *ahḍāth*, but surmises it was a type of infantry corps derived from a levy of the lower classes, probably from the rural districts, the cavalry having been customarily reserved for the ruling classes.⁶⁹ The *ahḍāth*, like the *shurṭah* and *ma^cūnah*, seems to have had a dual role of responsibility for public order in peacetime and military operations in time of war.⁷⁰ In other provinces the commander of the *ahḍāth* had a counterpart in the *ṣāḥib al-ḥarb* (i.e., officer in charge of warfare). This office is found especially in border provinces such as Armenia, where frequent conflicts demanded a permanent military commander in order to allow the governor to attend to other matters.⁷¹ The governor could also call on these various units to enforce the collection of taxes and the decisions of the provincial judiciary. Because the governor needed the authority to meet local requirements for maintaining the peace and security of his constituents, the direction of his military and paramilitary forces was best left in his care. Thus, the provincial *shurṭah*, *ma^cūnah* and *ahḍāth* were not subject to a policy of centralization but, of necessity, remained outside the direct regulation by the caliph and the imperial gov-

ernment.

The Qādī

In each provincial capital a *qādī* was appointed, generally by the caliph or, in some instances, by the *wazīr* (governor) to administer the religious law. Even after the office of *qādī al-quḍāt* was instituted by Hārūn al-Rashīd, the caliph continued to appoint the *qādīs* to provincial posts. The *qādī al-quḍāt* only was able to present candidates to the caliph for nomination.⁷² Although the *qādī* judged cases, it was the *shurṭah* who was empowered to carry out punishments and suppress crime.⁷³ Among his other duties, the *qādī* administered the city mosques and pious religious endowments (*waqfs*), as well as supervised meetings of the *mazālim* (courts of complaint).⁷⁴ In several rare instances the office of *qādī* was joined with that of *ṣāhib al-ṣalāt*, the leadership of the ritual prayers that entailed the pronouncement of the Friday *khutbah*, the sermon in which the ruler's name was invoked.⁷⁵ The authority over *ṣalāt* was normally a prerogative of the governor or leading individual in times when the duties of governor were divided among two or more persons. Though he usually did not have control of the *ṣalāt*, the *qādī* was a powerful figure in provincial administration who, because he was most often appointed by the caliph, could counter a governor's excesses by reporting undesirable activities directly to the caliph. The major portion of the caliph's information concerning the activities of his governors and other officials, however, came to him via the official post service.

The *Ṣāhib al-Barīd*

Under the first ^cAbbāsīd caliphs, the imperial post system, called the *barīd*, became a highly developed institution. The *dīwān al-barīd* of the central government and its lesser counterparts in the provinces were controlled directly by the caliph, governors and other officials having no jurisdiction over them. The official function of the *barīd* was to carry official government correspondence between the central and provincial administrative centers. However, the *ṣāhib al-barīd* was given the additional duties of informing the caliph of conditions in his province, such as the economic situation, the activities of tax officials and *qādīs*, and of reporting the details of the governor's activities as well.⁷⁶ This system of surveillance was the chief means by which the caliph was able to learn of the development of a dangerous situation involving his appointed officials. Other information provided by the *aṣḥāb al-barīd* seems no less valuable, as can be ascertained from the following passage by Tabari:⁷⁷

Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā ibn ^cIsā ibn Mūsā⁷⁸ relates that the heads of the *barīd* in all the districts (*āfāq*) would write to Mansūr every day concerning the price of wheat and corn and condiments, and the price of every edible thing and what judgments the *qādīs* made in their districts (*nawāḥīhim*); and what the *wālīs* did and what monies were paid out of the treasury (*bayt al-māl*) and all other news.

As the reports arrived in the capital, they were put together by the *ṣāhib dīwān al-barīd* and turned over to the caliph for his inspection and action.⁷⁹

Because the efficient working of the *barīd* was so important to the caliphs, they took a special interest in extending the system to regions not previously having such service. Thus, Maḥdī established posts at

Mecca, Medina and the Yemen in 166/782-783, which used mules and camels for transportation.⁸⁰ Several *aṣḥāb al-barīd* were particularly favored by having their names placed on the provincial coinage.⁸¹ The smooth operation of the imperial posts was facilitated by an extensive system of roads and stage stops where riders could change to fresh mounts or rest themselves. Although it seems that the *barīd* operated primarily for the benefit of the caliph and, in some cases, to the detriment of provincial officials, the reliance on swift communications served the interest of the governor in more than one instance. This was especially true whenever an internal uprising or invasion from across the frontier forced a governor to appeal for reinforcements for his own military units. A case in point is the swiftness with which Maṣṣūr reacted to the news of a rebellion in northern Armenia by sending additional forces to aid Governor Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah in restoring order.⁸² Also, the information regarding commodities and prices probably aided the central government to stabilize the economy and to take steps to curb the effects of a famine or flood when they occurred.

Through the early ʿAbbāsīd period the various offices and departments of administration seem to have been subject to an ongoing process of change and development. New bureaus instituted by the caliph for the central government were soon extended to the provinces as the process of centralization begun by Maṣṣūr continued under Maḥdī and Ḥārūn al-Raṣhīd. Some of the ʿAbbāsīd institutions, such as the *barīd* and its system of post roads, were not innovations, but regenerated and refined agencies based on the earlier Sassanid models. A few *dīwāns*, like the *zimām* and *zimām al-zaimmah*, were original creations of the ʿAbbāsīds established

to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the central government. The ʿAbbāsids in no way felt themselves bound to maintain intact and unaltered the Umayyad institutions of government as they found them. Thus, Mahdi was not adverse to putting forth a tax reform which altered the system of assessment in use since the Arab conquest. The offices in the provincial administration, which normally fell to the purview of the governor, were carried over from the Umayyad period and, as time went on, were increasingly filled by non-Arabs who were usually Iranians. This trend is manifest in the numerous issues of copper *fulūs* struck in provincial mints bearing the names of *mawālī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, some of whom can be identified as city or district prefects and *ashāb al-barīd*. Yet it is not at all clear that the accelerating movement of Iranians into governmental echelons, both central and provincial, was due to a conscious effort on the part of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs to Persianize their régime.⁸³ Rather, it was a pragmatic response by them to offset the threat of potential opposition to their rule by dissident family members and powerful Arab tribal leaders. This policy succeeded only too well, as from Ma'mūn's reign on some Iranians were able to establish their own autonomous states.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

¹Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam* (Cambridge, 1965), looks at various governmental institutions primarily in Iraq, with a particular focus on Baghdad, while regional variations are not considered. Dominique Sourdel, *Le Vizirat abbāside de 749 à 936* (Damascus, 1959-1960), has produced a work of the utmost importance on the office of the *wazīr*. However, his subject necessarily revolves around the central administration, the provincial counterpart of which is almost completely ignored. Jacob Lassner's forthcoming *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule* (Princeton, October 1979), has much to recommend on the development of Abbasid government and discusses some aspects of provincial administration, particularly in Iraq, but only in instances where those developments influence the direction of caliphal policies.

²A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam III* (Leiden, 1969), p. 9, quotes Ibn al-Jiṭṭāqā, *Fakhrī*, who says that Abū Ubayd Allāh, Maḥdī's minister and the first person to compile a book on *kharāj*, mentioned in it the legal documents from the archives pertaining to the land tax. Qudāmah ibn Ja'far found Abū Ubayd Allāh's book 150 years later in the archives of the *diwan bayt al-māl* and discussed it in his own work. [Shemesh, op. cit., p. 12]

³Daniel C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, 1950); Frede Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950).

⁴See A.B. Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam I*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1967), pp. 3-6, for an enumeration of these works.

⁵A.B. Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam III*, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

⁶See S.D. Goitein's Introduction to Shemesh, *Taxation I*, op. cit., p. ix.

⁷A.B. Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam II* (Leiden, 1965), p. 7.

⁸Modern editions of all three authors have been published: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1382/1962-63); Yahyā ibn Adam, *K. al-kharāj* (Cairo, 1347/1928 [new ed. 1384/1964-65]); Qudāmah ibn Ja'far, *K. al-kharāj*, Pts. V, VI, VII, BGA VI, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889). A.B. Shemesh has made English translations of his three books in a series entitled *Taxation in Islam* (Leiden, 1958-1969): I — Yahyā ibn Adam, 2nd ed. (1967); II — Qudāmah (1965); III — Abū Yūsuf (1969). The citations in this chapter refer to Ben Shemesh's translations, the bodies of the texts under the author's name, and references to the introductory and explanatory material as *Taxation I*, *II* or *III*. To these works should be added Abū Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallām al-Azdī (d. 224/

838), *Kitāb al-amwāl* (Cairo, 1353/1934 [new ed. 1395/1975]), which was a main source for Qudāmah [*Taxation* II, p. 7]; and Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldan* I [trans. Philip Hitti], pp. 426 ff. The secretary of ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā ibn Mahān, governor of Khurasan 180-191/796-807, Ḥafṣ ibn Manṣūr Marwazī, wrote a *Book on the Taxes of Khurasan*, which is no longer extant [Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 7].

⁹Dennett, op. cit., p. 34; C. Cahen, "Kharādj," *EI*² IV, p. 1031.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 118.

¹¹The philological background is traced in Cahen, op. cit., p. 1030. A.A. Duri, "Notes on Taxation in Early Islam," *JESHO* 17 (1974), p. 138; C. Cahen, "Bayt al-Māl," *EI*² I, p. 1143.

¹²Qudāmah, p. 23; Abū Yūsuf, p. 84; Shemesh, *Taxation* III, p. 21; Cahen, "Djizya," *EI*² II, p. 559.

¹³Cahen, "Djizya," op. cit., pp. 560-561; Løkkegaard, pp. 128-129. On the question of converts paying *jizyah*, cf. H.A.R. Gibb, "The Fiscal Rescript of Umar II," *Arabica* 2 (1955), pp. 3, 8-9.

¹⁴Dennett, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁵Qudāmah, p. 23; Shemesh, *Taxation* III, p. 21.

¹⁶Løkkegaard, pp. 78-79. See also Ann K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London, 1953), p. 31.

¹⁷Løkkegaard, pp. 72, 78.

¹⁸Abū Yūsuf, p. 82; Qudāmah, p. 30.

¹⁹Lambton, op. cit., p. 19. In addition, there were *qata'i*^c lands, which were former Sassanid crown lands assigned to some Arab notables as inheritable property. On this cf. Cahen, "Kharādj," op. cit., p. 1031.

²⁰Abū Yūsuf, p. 82; Qudāmah, p. 28; Lambton, loc. cit.

²¹Shemesh, *Taxation* III, pp. 9-10; Lambton, op. cit., p. 33; D. Waines, "The Third Century Internal Crisis of the ʿAbbāsids," *JESHO* 20 (1977), p. 298, maintains that *misahāh* was still employed in some parts of the Sawād in the second half of the third century. Cf. M. Shimizu, "Les finances publiques de l'État ʿabbāside," *Der Islam* 42 (1965), p. 21.

²²Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* I, p. 429; Løkkegaard, p. 113.

²³Abū Yūsuf, pp. 100-101; Qudāmah, pp. 40-41; Ibn al-Tiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī* [trans. Whitting; reprinted Karachi, 1977], p. 176, remarked that the system remained in effect up to his own time; i.e., the 7th/13th century; Shemesh, *Taxation* III, pp. 10-11; F. Nomani, "Notes on the Economic

Obligations of Peasants in Iran, 300-1600 A.D.," *Iranian Studies* 10 (1977), p. 74; Shimizu, op. cit., p. 20; Waines, op. cit.; Cahen, "Fiscalité, propriété, antagonismes sociaux en Haute-Mésopotamie au temps des premiers 'Abbasides," *Arabica* 1 (1954), pp. 144-145. It is interesting to note that Waines, in following Cahen, argues that the *misāḥah* system remained side by side with the *muqāsamah* system in parts of the Sawād and that the *misāḥah* prevailed in the rest of the Empire. Ben Shemesh's opinion in *Taxation* III, pp. 10-11, that it may have taken much reorganization and effort to make the change, is valid in view of the fact that Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā reports the *muqāsamah* system was still being used five centuries later. Yet, in the Qumm district of Jibal, assessments were still made by *misāḥah*, eight separate measurements having been carried out between the years 189/804-805 and 303/915-16 (Lambton, p. 34, citing *Tarīkh-i Qumm*, pp. 101-106). See also Cahen, "Kharāj," op. cit., p. 1031.

²⁴Løkkegaard, p. 110.

²⁵Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī*, op. cit., p. 215.

²⁶See Chapter II, under Kūfah, Nos. 22 and 23.

²⁷Tab 1045/8, 581; IA VI, 379.

²⁸In towns such as Hīrah, which had surrendered during the conquest and agreed to a specific yearly tribute, the tax was called *kharāj alā al-muqāṭa'ah* and was not a land tax. Dennett, op. cit., p. 25.

²⁹Cahen, "Kharāj," op. cit., p. 1031.

³⁰Dennet, op. cit., p. 118.

³¹Løkkegaard, p. 164, quoting *BGA* III, p. 133; *BGA* VI, v. 5 for the Sawād; *BGA* III, p. 385 for Jibal; and *BGA* III, p. 295 for Khurāsān. The Arab geographers dispute the administrative divisions of Armenia, and even the use of *kuwar* to describe the divisions is not strictly adhered to. Muqaddasī, *BGA* III, p. 374, says Armenia was made up of three *kuwar*: Arran, Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, Ibn Khuradādhbih, *BGA* VI, p. 122, follows the traditional Byzantine form of dividing Armenia into four areas, but then enumerates the *kuwar* within each one. The total number of *kuwar* he gives as 21.

³²See Chapter II, pp. 23-24.

³³Løkkegaard, p. 164.

³⁴Løkkegaard, pp. 165, 166. For an example, see Chapter II, pp. 23, 34-35.

³⁵Cf. Duri, "Dīwān," *EI*² II, p. 324; Løkkegaard, p. 156.

³⁶Jahshiyārī, p. 124; Shimizu, op. cit., p. 10. Tab 459/8, 115,

has *diwān kharāj al-Basrah wa-ardahā*.

³⁷Jahshiyārī, p. 167; Tab 548/8, 189; Shimizu, loc. cit.

³⁸Jahshiyārī, p. 277, who also lists a *diwān al-kharāj* for Syria, Egypt, Ifriqiyah, Mosul, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Medina, Mecca and the Yemen, and another for the Jazirah, each with its own chief. It is apparent from this passage that even the central tax office was at one time divided along geographic lines.

³⁹N.J. Coulson, "Bayt al-Māl," *EI*² I, p. 1142. Cf. Løkkegaard, p. 156.

⁴⁰B. Lewis, "Daftar," *EI*² II, p. 78.

⁴¹Cahen, "Bayt al-Māl," op. cit., p. 1144.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³W.J. Fischel, "Djahbadh," *EI*² II, p. 382; Løkkegaard, pp. 158-159. For the provincial coinage system, see Chapter VIII.

⁴⁴Løkkegaard, p. 159.

⁴⁵Lambton, op. cit., p. 42. Following to p. 45 are several interesting documents in translation, which illustrate the duties and responsibilities of the *jahbadh*, at least as pertained to the district of Qumm.

⁴⁶Løkkegaard, p. 159; Lambton, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁷Cahen, "Kharāj," op. cit., p. 1032; Løkkegaard, p. 183; Lambton, p. 32; M. al-Rayyis, *al-Kharāj wa-al-nuzum al-māliyah*, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1969), p. 430.

⁴⁸Cahen, loc. cit.

⁴⁹Løkkegaard, loc. cit. Total revenues for the four provinces of this study from several Abbasid budgets are listed in Appendix C.

⁵⁰Abū Yūsuf, p. 85, but in the cities, the *jizyah* was collected by specially assigned officials.

⁵¹Tab 493/8, 142. Cf. Duri, "Dīwān," op. cit., p. 324; Cahen, "Bayt al-Māl," op. cit., p. 1145; Shimizu, op. cit., p. 7; al-Rayyis, op. cit., p. 439.

⁵²Tab 522/8, 167; Jahshiyārī, p. 166; Duri, loc. cit.

⁵³Cahen, "Fiscalité, etc.," op. cit., pp. 146-147.

⁵⁴Yaqūbī II, p. 516; Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī VIII, p. 254. See Chapter III, under Nos. 18(b), (c) and 19.

⁵⁵Tab 1092-93/8, 614; IA VI, 399; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* I, pp. 488-489; *Tārīkh-i Qumm*, p. 163; C. Huart, "Qumm," *EI*¹ III, p. 1117. Lambton, p. 46, states that the reason for this rebellion was an attempt to collect the full amount of tax due by force.

⁵⁶Lambton, op. cit., p. 48.

⁵⁷On the whole problem of economic difficulties in the 3rd/9th century, see Waines, op. cit.

⁵⁸K.V. Zetterstéen, "Shurṭa," *EI*¹ IV, p. 393; Cahen, "Djaysh," *EI*² II, p. 505; H. Djait, "La Wilāya d'Ifrīqiyyah au II^e/VIII^e siècle: Étude institutionnelle," *Studia Islamica* 27 (1967), pp. 119-120.

⁵⁹For examples of this, see Chapter II, under Basrah, No. 12; and Kūfah, Nos. 2, 3 and 6.

⁶⁰Zetterstéen, loc. cit.; Djait, op. cit., p. 99.

⁶¹Løkkegaard, p. 188. Examples: ^cAbd Allāh ibn Khāzim was Mūsā al-Hādī's *ṣāhib al-shurṭah* when Mahdī sent his son against Tabaristan in 167/783-784 (Tab 518-19/8, 164); Aḥmad ibn Hishām was Ṭahir ibn al-Husayn's *ṣāhib al-shurṭah* of Rayy during the hostilities against Amīn in 195/810-811 (Tab 799/8, 391).

⁶²Abū al-^cAbbās Yūsuf ibn Ya^cqub al-Badhghīsī was *ṣāhib al-shurṭah* for Ṭahir ibn al-Husayn in 197/812-813 (Tab 881/8, 455).

⁶³Løkkegaard, p. 187.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 188.

⁶⁵Ibid., citing Hilāl al-Ṣabī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, ed. H.F. Amedroz (Leiden, 1904), p. 23.

⁶⁶Ibrāhīm ibn Jibrīl, *ṣāhib al-shurṭah wa-al-ḥaras* for Fadl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, governor of Khurāsān 177-179/793-795 (Tab 634/8, 259). Cf. Djait, p. 120.

⁶⁷Of the four provinces surveyed in this study, *ahdāth* is mentioned only in connection with Iraq (Basrah and Kūfah).

⁶⁸C. Cahen, "Ahdāth," *EI*² I, p. 256.

⁶⁹Løkkegaard, pp. 187-188.

⁷⁰Zetterstéen, loc. cit.; Løkkegaard, p. 188.

⁷¹Sa^cīd ibn Muḥammad al-Harrānī, *ṣāhib al-ḥarb* of Armenia in 177/793 (Ya^cqubī II, p. 516; Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī VIII, p. 254).

⁷²E. Tyan, "Kādī," *EI*² IV, p. 373.

⁷³Tyan, loc. cit.

⁷⁴Løkkegaard, p. 146; Tyan, loc. cit.

⁷⁵This situation seems only to have occurred in Baṣrah and Kūfah. See Chapter II on Baṣrah, Nos. 7, 22(c), (d), and 23; and Kūfah, Nos. 5 and 6.

⁷⁶Sourdel, "Barīd," *EI*² I, p. 1045; Djaīt, "La Wilāya d'Ifrīqīyah, etc.," Pt. 2, *Studia Islamica* 28 (1968), pp. 870-878.

⁷⁷Tab 435/8, 96.

⁷⁸An ^cAbbāsīd prince and great-grandnephew of Mansūr.

⁷⁹Sourdel, loc. cit.

⁸⁰Tab 517/8, 162.

⁸¹A Nusayr, who may be the Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf placed in charge of the *barīd* in 169/785-786, is found on coins minted in a number of locations (see Chapter III, F.N. 82). Hamawayh, the *ṣahīb al-barīd* of Khurāsān from 191-193/807-809, had the distinction of having his name placed on the coinage of Balkh, Naysabur and Harāt during that time (see Chapter V, No. 19).

⁸²Ibn A^ctham al-Kūfī VIII, pp. 234-235; Ya^cqūbī II, p. 447. See Chapter III, No. 7.

⁸³See R. Mottahedah, "The Shu^cūbīyah Controversy and the Social History of Early Islamic Iran," *IJMES* 7 (1976), p. 175; and "The ^cAbbasīd Caliphate in Iran," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. IV (London, 1975), p. 69.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ʿABBĀSĪD PROVINCIAL COINAGE SYSTEM

Among the various duties and responsibilities of the provincial governor was the supervision of the mint(s) under his jurisdiction. However, the caliph controlled the weights and purity of the coinage, as well as the metals and, therefore, the types of coins permitted to be struck by the governors.¹ Under the early ʿAbbāsids, provincial mints in the East produced only silver dirhams and copper *fulūs*, the minting of gold dinars being reserved for the caliph's own facility in the imperial capital.² The delegated right of minting coins (*sikkah*) on the governor's authority is well-attested to by the numerous examples of their names on dirhams and *fulūs* that were struck in the provincial mints.³ This localized silver and copper coinage, produced separately in each province to serve the local economies, was itself derived from pre-Islamic models.

In the period immediately following the initial conquests, the Arabs adopted the coinage systems of the lands recently brought under their control. In the West the Byzantine gold *solidus* or *denarius aureus* was the primary unit of currency, supplemented by the copper *follis*. These denominations became Arabicized as *dīnār* and *fals*, respectively.⁴ The former Sassanid territories of the East remained firmly tied to the silver standard of the *drakhm*, which entered the Arabic language as *dirham*.⁵ Down through the reigns of the first several Umayyad caliphs, the basic Byzantine and Sassanid coin types were employed, with certain modifications and the addition of Arabic legends, as the official currency of

the Islamic Empire. However, ⁶Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (caliph 65-86/685-705), introduced a gradual reform of the coinage, resulting in a purely epigraphic style, which remained the prototype of Islamic coinage for many centuries.⁶ The first denomination to be changed was the dinar in 77/696-697,⁷ followed by the dirham in 79/698-699.⁸ The *fals* was apparently not minted in the new Arabic style for some time after the dinar and dirham, as the earliest known dated specimen is of the year 87/705-706 from Damascus.⁹ This same basic style was retained by the ⁶Abbāsids, albeit with some changes in the legends and the eventual addition of the names of caliphs, heirs-apparent, governors and other officials.

The legends employed on ⁶Abbāsīd silver and copper coinage remain fairly standard for the entire early period. Gold dinars do not contain the necessary information; i.e., mint and governor's name, useful for the purposes of this study. Therefore, the remarks that follow pertain only to dirhams and *fulūs* minted in the four provinces referred to in previous chapters.

There are four main legends found on most early ⁶Abbāsīd dirhams and many of the *fulūs*, two on each side of the coin. In the center of the obverse, written in three lines, is the legend: *lā ilāha illā// Allāh waḥdah//lā sharīk lahu* [There is no god but//Allāh alone//He has no partner]. The margin contains what is often referred to as the mint/date formula, written in a continuous circle: *bi-ism Allāh, ḍuriba ḥādḥā al-dirham (or fals) bi-al-Basrah (or other mint) sanata ...* [In the name of Allāh, this dirham (*fals*) was struck at Basrah, year ...]. Thus, the obverse on early ⁶Abbāsīd dirhams is always that side on which

is engraved the mint name and date. On the reverse the earliest ^cAbbāsīd dirhams and *fulūs* have the simple three-line inscription: *Muhammad// Rasūl//Allāh* [Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh]. During the course of the period being dealt with here, this legend became extended to include, at various times, the names of the caliph, the heir-apparent, and the governor or other official (see below). The reverse margin is always reserved for part or all of Qur'ān IX (Surat al-Tawbah), Verse 33:

Muhammad Rasūl Allāh, arsalahu bi-al-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuzhirahu alā al-dīn kullihī wa-law kariha al-mushrikun.
[Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh; He dispatched him with the guidance and the religion of truth, in order to make him prevail over all religion, even if the polytheists disapprove.]

Early in Ma'mūn's reign the annulet pattern on the obverse, of which we shall take note presently, began to be replaced with a second, outer marginal inscription (from the Qur'ān XXX, Verses 3-4):

li-Lāh al-amr min qabl wa-min ba'd wa-yawmi'dh yufrih al-mu'minin bi-naṣr Allāh.
[To Allāh is the power before and after and on that day He will make the believers rejoice at Allāh's victory.]

Although the placement of these legends holds fairly constant for the dirhams, the position of the two main marginal legends is often reversed on the *fulūs*. Thus, the mint/date formula may be found on the reverse and Qur'ān IX:33 may be on the obverse or eliminated and replaced by annulets.

As was mentioned above, the simple reverse center legend, *Muhammad// Rasūl//Allāh*, became modified during the course of this period to include a variety of names and official titles. Disregarding the names of officials, words, letters and symbols placed above the main legend, a total of 68 varieties exist for the mints (see below) and time period studied, in addition to the original three-word phrase.¹⁰ In the course

of the early ʿAbbāsid period these reverse center legends expanded to as many as 22 words in five lines, as was the case on dirhams that proclaimed Ma'mūn's nomination of ʿAlī al-Ridā as heir-apparent.¹¹ However, the introduction of names in the reverse legends occurred gradually and, in the case of the *fulūs*, the names were more often included in the reverse marginal inscription than in the center legend.

The caliph's name (Mahdī's) first appears on ʿAbbāsid dirhams, dated 160/776-777 of Baṣrah¹² and Muḥammadiyah (Rayy).¹³ But Maṣṣūr's personal name (ʿAbd Allāh) was placed on *fulūs* of Muḥammadiyah of 141/758-759,¹⁴ thus predating that innovation on the dirhams by 19 years. The son of a reigning caliph was also recognized on the copper coinage earlier than on the silver. Mahdī, as son of the Commander of the Faithful (*Ibn Amīr al-Mu'minīn*), is mentioned on *fulūs* of both Rayy¹⁵ and Marw,¹⁶ dated 143/760-761. Dirhams of Rayy for 145/762-763 were the first silver coins to bear this inscription.¹⁷ These coins were minted during the period when Mahdī was governor of the East for his father.¹⁸ However, it was not until Mahdī's own reign that the heir-apparent was recognized on the coinage with the characteristic phrase, *walī ʿahd*. Hādī is so titled on dirhams of Baṣrah¹⁹ and on *fulūs* of Muḥammadiyah,²⁰ dated 164/780-781, the first examples of this stylization. Of special interest for this study is the datable beginning of a governor's name appearing on ʿAbbāsid coinage. The earliest examples of this on the dirham are specimens of Baṣrah, dated 140/757-758,²¹ with the word ʿAbd for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Azdī.²² However, the copper coinage once again seems to have preceded silver in this particular innovation. *Fulūs* of Rayy, dated 138/755-756,²³ have the name of

Governor Jahwar ibn Marrar al-^cIjlī on them.²⁴ The name of a prefect occurs even earlier with the mention of Zuhayr ibn al-Turkī on a mintless *fals* of 133/750-751, which can probably be ascribed to Hamadān.²⁵

Generally the names of governors and their subordinates or other officials (*wazīrs*, *ashāb al-barīd*—supervisors of the coinage) were placed above and below the reverse center inscription on dirhams and in the reverse marginal legend on *fulūs*. Exceptions to this are few on dirhams, but frequent on the copper coinage. On some dirhams the governor's name is found on the obverse, between two or more of the annulets in the outer margin or beneath the center inscription. Where the name of a governor or prefect is not placed in the reverse marginal inscription, it is usually found above and/or beneath the reverse center legend, although sometimes the same name is present in both locations.

Mention has been made, in several instances, of the annulet patterns on the coinage, a feature of particular interest that occurs on most dirhams of this period and not a few *fulūs*, although their presence on the latter is not considered in the following remarks. The annulets on the dirham are a series of small circles, which occur in a variety of patterns, located on the outer margin of the obverse side of the coin. It has been conclusively demonstrated by Michael L. Bates and A.S. DeShazo in their article, "The Umayyad Governors of al-^cIraq and the Changing Annulet Patterns on their Dirhams,"²⁶ that the annulet pattern changed concurrently with the appointment of new governors to Iraq during the Umayyad period. A comparison of annulet patterns on early ^cAbbāsīd dirhams, with the reconstructed chronology of governors

appointed to the four provinces of this study, does not lead to a similar conclusion. In some instances, particularly for the silver coinage of Iraq and Armenia, the annulet pattern does change in the course of a year that saw a new governor appointed. But more often than not, the annulets do not remain the same throughout the period of a governor's tenure, particularly when the governorship in question is a relatively long one. Two examples may be cited from a seminar paper by the present writer entitled, "The Dirhams of the ^ʿAbbāsīd Governors of Baṣrah and Kūfah, 132-218/750-833." During the course of the governorship of Sulaymān ibn ^ʿAlī in Baṣrah (133-137/751-755),²⁷ dirhams with four different annulet patterns were struck. Likewise, there are five dissimilar annulet patterns found on the dirhams of Kūfah, minted during the governorship of ^ʿIsā ibn Mūsā (132-147/750-764).²⁸ In both cases no correlation can be surmised by comparing the change made for any particular year of either governor's term in office with events in the dual governorate. In most cases—and this is true even more so for the provinces of Jibal and Khurāsān—two or more annulet patterns are employed on dirhams struck under a single governor, or one pattern is used through several successive governorships. Frequently a variety of annulet patterns is found on dirhams of the same year and mint, even though no change in governor had taken place. Since the majority of annulet changes do not seem to coincide with gubernatorial appointments, we must look to other explanations for these alternations.

The possibility exists that the annulet pattern was changed with the appointment of a new mint supervisor or chief moneyer. The governor had the responsibility of naming lesser officials and, upon his appoint-

ment, a new governor would replace the department heads in the provincial administration or retain them as he pleased. If an incoming governor appointed a new mint master, this would explain why the annulet pattern changed coincidentally with a change in governors. But had the new governor reconfirmed the old mint supervisor for a time, then replaced him later on, one result may have been a new annulet pattern being introduced in the course of a governor's tenure.

A second explanation may be that the annulet patterns were employed as a means of identifying the work of several die-cutters who may have each been assigned a particular pattern arbitrarily, or were permitted to choose one themselves. Alternatively, the annulet patterns may have been used to designate each moneyer whose job it was to do the actual striking of the coins. This would imply some system of control, whereby the total number of coins struck from a pair of dies could be tallied, as well as the production rate of a worker and the quality of his work, be closely watched.

It is also possible that all the dies used in the provincial mints were manufactured in a central location, perhaps Baghdad, and that the annulet pattern was a means of identifying the die-cutter. The evidence for this latter conjecture lies in the fact that many of the same annulet patterns are found on dirhams emanating from a number of mints at the same time. For example, the dirhams of Arran for the years 152-155, Armīniyah for 152-155, and Muhammadiyah (Rayy) for 153-154 all have the same annulet pattern (oo oo oo oo). Even more striking is the use of the pattern (⊙ oo ⊙ oo ⊙ oo) during the same or proximate years at seven different mints:

Mint	Years
Marw	197
Harāt	197-200
Mada'in	198
Muhammadiyah	198-200
Balkh	199
Naysabur	200
Isbahan	200-201

Yet there are 47 different annulet patterns found on the early ^cAbbāsīd dirhams issued from the mints of the four provinces studied. Admittedly, the same pattern would probably be used during the same years at both major mints of Armenia, but there were two different governors in office during that period (152-155).²⁹ As for the mints of Jibal and Khurāsān and the single issue from Madā'in, the annulet pattern common to all during the period of 197 to 201 is probably a reflection of the governorships in the East held by Fadl and Ḥasan ibn Sahl.³⁰ This does not explain, however, how the direction of each mint was coordinated so as to produce dirhams with the same annulet pattern. Without any mint records of that period, no answer to this problem is likely to be forthcoming. Corroborative evidence is lacking to prove any of the foregoing hypotheses, as no mint records exist for the ^cAbbāsīd period which might have provided the names of mint masters and their subordinates.

The pattern of provincial distribution reflects the decentralized nature of coinage production in the early ^cAbbāsīd period at a time when other sectors of the government were becoming increasingly centralized. During this period 24 mints were active in the four provinces included in this study, although ten of these produced coinage on a very limited and intermittent basis.³¹ Each province had one or more primary mints

that produced the bulk of its coinage and several small mints whose issues were very infrequent. The following paragraphs are illustrated in part by information provided in Appendix D:

Iraq: The chief mints of Iraq (excluding Baghdad) were located in the capitals of the dual governorate, Baṣrah and Kūfah.³² Both mints produced a long series, with some gaps, of dirhams and *fulūs*, although they were superseded as the primary suppliers of currency in Iraq by the new imperial facility in Baghdad, beginning in 148/765. Production at Kūfah fell off considerably during the latter part of Ma'mūn's reign and ceased altogether at the Baṣrah mint. After remaining closed for more than three decades of ʿAbbāsid rule, the former chief Umayyad mint at Wāsiṭ was reopened during the reign of Maḥdī and produced a few intermittent issues through to the early years of Ma'mūn's caliphate.³³ Hāshimīyah, as the ʿAbbāsid capital prior to the foundation of Baghdad and not a proper provincial mint, produced a short series of dirhams under Maṣṣūr.³⁴ Only one dirham issued at Madā'in, dated 198/813-814, is existing from the site of this ancient Sassanid capital.³⁵ A single *faḥs*, possibly unique, is known bearing the mint name of Maysān and dated 166/782-783.³⁶ Since Maysān was a southern district of the Sawād, the exact location of the mint that produced this coin is not known. Perhaps it was issued at Madhār, the former capital of Maysān district.³⁷ Only a few examples of coins minted in Sāmīyah are extant and, except that it was located near Wāsiṭ, nothing more of the place is known.³⁸ The few extant examples of coinage issued by the several minor mints of Iraq underscore the importance of the facilities at Baṣrah and Kūfah, with their greater total output, even though the latter were dwarfed by

the huge production of dirhams from the central mint in Baghdad.

Armenia: The primary mints of this province were located in Dabīl and Barda^cah, the capitals of Armenia proper and Arran, respectively. Only a few issues, mostly *fulūs*, were struck with these city names. The long series of dirhams minted in Dabīl actually carry the name of the province, *Arminiyyah*, rather than that of its capital. Likewise, dirhams and *fulūs* with the mint name *Arrān*, or from *Madīnat Arrān* (197/812-813), were struck in Barda^cah.³⁹ A few *fulūs*, minted very infrequently, are known with the mint name of *Bāb* (al-Abwāb). A large number of dirhams and some *fulūs* were minted at Hārūnābād (or Hārūniyyah) during a very short period (167-171/783-787).⁴⁰ Lastly, the provincial mint at the silver mine of Bājūnays struck a long series of dirhams with the mint name of *Ma^cdan Bājūnays*, beginning in 183/799-800.⁴¹

Jibal: The chief mint of Jibal and, most likely the entire East, was Rayy or Muhammadiyyah. From the first copper issues early in the reign of Mansūr through most of Ma'mūn's caliphate, Rayy produced an unbroken series of dirhams and *fulūs*. Judging from the large numbers of Rayy/Muhammadiyyah specimens dating from this period that have been found in hoards, the total output of that mint was probably second only to the central facility in Baghdad. Iṣbahān had perhaps two mints as an intermittent series of *fulūs* and a number of dirhams were struck under the mint name of Jayy, by which the administrative center of the city was known; and a 16-year series of dirhams, with Iṣbahān as the mint, were issued during Ma'mūn's reign. *Fulūs* only were minted in Hamadān all during the early ^cAbbāsīd period. Specimens are extant for

many dates at almost regular intervals. In all likelihood, the mint in that city produced coinage on a yearly basis. The fact that other dates of this series are unknown may be attributed to the attrition rate of copper coinage over the centuries. From Nihāwand/Māh al-Basrah only three *fulūs* and one dirham have been recovered from this period, indicating that this mint did not figure significantly in total output of coinage for Jibal.

Khurāsān: It was pointed out in the introductory paragraphs of Chapter V that, for the first half-century of ^CAbbāsīd rule, the mints of Khurāsān produced very little coinage, based on the meager amount of numismatic evidence available from that province and time period. Not until the second decade of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign did the mints in the four major cities of Khurāsān begin to produce substantial numbers of dirhams. It can only be surmised that, until the 180s/turn of 9th century, whatever need existed for currency was met, for the most part, by existing supplies of circulating Sassanid and Umayyad silver, or by the large mint output of the facility at Rayy. The introduction of locally produced dirhams in Khurāsān is not reflected in a corresponding drop in mintage levels at Rayy, however. If anything, the Rayy mint produced even larger quantities of dirhams in the 180s than in the preceding decades.⁴²

It is logical to assume that a mint that produced a large quantity of dirhams in any given time period would be represented by a greater number of surviving specimens than would a mint whose output was much less during the same period. This is not to say that the number of extant dirhams is directly proportional at a set ratio to total mint pro-

duction, but the two are related in a rough proportion to one another. Simply put, when more coins are produced, more are likely to survive the ravages of time. Also, ^cAbbāsīd dirham hoards found in the former eastern provinces of the caliphate demonstrate a wide distribution of mints. Hoards have been rarely, if ever, discovered which contain coins of only one mint. However, a large proportion of eastern hoards is made up of Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdad) and Rayy/Muhammīdīyah issues, which merely reflects the large output of those two facilities.

Of the four major provincial mints of Khurāsān, Marw, the provincial capital for most of this period, was the most active mint over the longest time. However, in terms of mint output, Marw seems to have lagged behind Balkh, Naysābūr and Harāt.⁴³ There is no intermittent coinage extant from minor mints of Khurāsān during this period, except for two anomalous specimens: one with a district, the other with a town mint name. An anonymous dirham from Gharshīstān,⁴⁴ dated 137/754-755, is known,⁴⁵ but there is no indication as to the location of the mint at which it was struck. It is fabricated in the style of Umayyad dirhams and with typical Umayyad inscriptions, yet the authority and purpose for which this coin was struck remain a mystery. The *fals* of Būshanj from 190/805-806, already mentioned in Chapter V,⁴⁶ is the only extant emanation of this mint for the early ^cAbbāsīd period.

The decentralized system of mint production in the ^cAbbāsīd Empire, at a time when other departments of the government were becoming increasingly concentrated in the capital, was one of pragmatic considerations. If dinars were produced only at Baghdad—and this is not at all certain, since mint names do not begin to occur on dinars until Ma'mūn's reign,⁴⁷—

the reason may be that the central government used a large percentage of the gold coinage produced to meet its obligations. On this basis it would not have been feasible for the government to mint dinars in the provinces if the central administration absorbed most of the annual production. On the other hand, the eastern part of the Empire remained on the silver standard, a legacy of the Sassanid period, and the introduction of gold coinage production in eastern mints took place only gradually. The inclusion of mint names on dinars, beginning in the first years of Ma'mūn's caliphate, may be an indication of the increasing use of gold along with silver coinage in the East at this time.⁴⁸ Yet the fact that taxpayers required the services of a *jahbadh* to aid in converting the amounts of taxes calculated by the government in dinars into dirhams points to the widespread usage of silver, rather than gold, as the circulating medium in the East.⁴⁹

The requirement for silver currency in the eastern provinces was undoubtedly greater than the capacity of the capital mint to meet such demand. It was also not feasible to ship large quantities of coins great distances. Therefore, the decentralized system of dirham production, inherited by the Arabs from the Sassanids and passed on to the 'Abbāsids by the Umayyads, charged each provincial government with the task of meeting currency needs at the local level. The mints in the capital and other major cities provided most of a province's total coinage production, supplemented by occasional issues from secondary mints. The latter seem to have struck more copper than silver, as the minting of *fulūs* was a prerogative of the local prefect, copper not coming under the strict controls placed on gold and silver.

The decentralized nature of provincial dirham production does not seem to have restricted the circulation of these coins within the region surrounding each mint. Indeed, the remarkable uniformity of design, size and weight of early ^cAbbāsīd dirhams expedited their circulation throughout the Empire. In the matter of weight, most well-preserved specimens that exhibit little wear or physical damage (holes, chips, clips, etc.) are usually found to be very close to the canonical weight of 2.97 grams. From the diversity of mints which turn up in dirham hoards, it is certain that coins from many provinces circulated together, undoubtedly aided by activities of traveling merchants. For example, in a hoard of 8 Umayyad and 287 ^cAbbāsīd dirhams discovered at an unknown location in Iran, and kindly loaned by the American Numismatic Society and the private owner to this writer for study, there were represented 17 separate ^cAbbāsīd mints.⁵⁰ For those literate persons into whose possession dirhams from different regions of the caliphate passed, the coins may have served as tangible evidence of the unity of Islam.

In an era which was marked by the increased concentration of governmental power and its diverse agencies in the imperial capital, the decentralized system of ^cAbbāsīd provincial mints stands in sharp contrast. This system, whereby silver and copper coinage were produced in one or two major and several subsidiary mints in each province, remained under the almost exclusive control of the governors for a very pragmatic reason: it was much easier and less expensive to manufacture all the coinage needed at the regional levels where it circulated than it would have been to ship large quantities of coins from a central mint to the provinces. In addition, the vast numbers of dirhams required in the Empire-

at-large may have been beyond the capacity of any one mint to produce, even the largest imperial facility. The location of mints in the provinces afforded the opportunity for governors, whose duty it was to supervise currency production in their jurisdiction, to make their governorships known on the coinage. Many governors took advantage of this privilege and it is fortunate for modern coin scholars that they did so, since the existing numismatic material provides important historical evidence for their tenures, much of which has been cited in the course of this study.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

¹A.A. Duri, "Amīr," *EI*² I, p. 439.

²Until 198/813-814, no mint names appear on these coins, but because the first to do so was in Egypt, the Fustat mint may have been providing gold coinage all during the early ^cAbbasid period. At the same time, the limited use of a gold coinage in the East may have precluded its production to the capital mint alone. Cf. G.C. Miles, "Dinar," *EI*² II, p. 298.

³Many of these examples for the four provinces of this study have been cited in Chapters II and V, of which a complete list is given in Appendix B.

⁴Miles, "Dīnār," op. cit., p. 297; A.L. Udovitch, "Fals," *EI*² II, p. 768.

⁵Miles, "Dirham," *EI*² II, p. 319.

⁶P. Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of ^cAbd al-Malik," *JESHO* 3 (1960), pp. 244-247.

⁷J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins* (London, 1956), p. 84; Grierson, op. cit., p. 244.

⁸Miles, "Dirham," p. 319; J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), pp. 1 xii-1 xiii; Grierson, p. 245.

⁹Udovitch, loc. cit.; Walker, *Arab-Byzantine Coins*, p. 253; Grierson, p. 247.

¹⁰I am indebted to Mr. Nicholas Lowick, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, for allowing me to refer to the notes on ^cAbbasid coinage of the late John Walker. To Dr. Walker's hand list of ^cAbbasid reverse types, I added several others for the total of 69. Mr. Lowick is presently engaged in writing Volume III of the British Museum's *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, a project begun by Mr. Walker, which will cover the ^cAbbasid issues.

¹¹These include the following mints and dates: Isbāhān 202, 203, 204 and 205; and Muhammadiyah 202, 203 and 204.

¹²BMC 95; Ties 893; Paris 699; Berlin 800; Tbg 71; 27 other specimens.

¹³NHR 60a-c; BMC 116; Tbg 75; Berlin 840; Paris 718; 35 other specimens.

- ¹⁴NHR 43a, b; Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, pp. 63-64, No. 43; 5 unpublished specimens.
- ¹⁵NHR 44a, b; Zambaur, *Contrib.* III, p. 117, No. 402; Berlin 2089-90; Paris (2 uncatalogued).
- ¹⁶Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, p. 64, No. 44.
- ¹⁷NHR 47b; BMC 450.
- ¹⁸See Chapter IV, No. 5(a) and Chapter V, No. 4(a).
- ¹⁹BMC 97; Berlin 805; Ties 952; Casanova 398-399; ANS (uncatalogued); 4 other specimens.
- ²⁰NHR 64b, with reference to Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, p. 68, No. 52.
- ²¹Paris 617; Fraehn 14; Berlin 653-654; Tbg 17; Ties 707; 14 other specimens. Y. Ghanimah, "al-Nuqūd al-^cAbbasiyah," *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 107, mentions Salm ibn Qutaybah's name on dirhams of Baṣrah in 146 as the first time the name of an ^cAbbasid governor is found on the coinage.
- ²²See Chapter II, No. 6.
- ²³NHR 41; Ties 698; Zambaur, *Contrib.* I, p. 63, No. 42; Paris (2 uncatalogued); 30 other specimens.
- ²⁴See Chapter IV, No. 2.
- ²⁵ANS (uncatalogued); see Chapter IV, F.N. 10.
- ²⁶*Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th Ser., Vol. 14 (1974), pp. 110-118.
- ²⁷See Chapter II, No. 3 on Baṣrah.
- ²⁸See Chapter II, No. 2 on Kūfah.
- ²⁹See Chapter III, Nos. 6 and 7.
- ³⁰See Chapter IV, Nos. 23 and 24; Chapter V, No. 22.
- ³¹The frequency of silver and copper issues of the 24 mints surveyed in this study are tabulated in Appendix D.
- ³²The information included in the text and tables of J. Kirkman, "The Mints of Iraq During the Ommayad and Abbasid Periods," *Sumer* 3 (1945), pp. 15-36, is sometimes erroneous and has a number of glaring gaps in data.
- ³³Cf. Ulla S.L. Welin, "Wāsiṭ, the Mint Town," *K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse* 4 (1955-1956), pp. 132-135.

³⁴See Chapter II, Introduction and F.N. 5.

³⁵Album 336, issued in the name of Ma'mun with that of Harthamah (ibn A^cyan).

³⁶Ziya 386, without any names.

³⁷Cf. M. Streck, "Maisān," *EI*¹ III, p. 247; Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 42-43.

³⁸E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 137, citing *BGA* III, p. 114; and A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reise-
outen des Orients* (Leipzig, 1864), p. 62.

³⁹See Chapter III, Introduction and F.N. 16.

⁴⁰See Chapter III, Introduction and under No. 13; also F.N.s 18 and 85.

⁴¹The identification and location of Bajunays are discussed in Chapter III, Introduction.

⁴²The following data are derived from the total number of dirham specimens (published and unpublished) known to this writer, by decade for each mint:

Years: Mint	161-170 (No.)	171-180 (No.)	181-190 (No.)	191-200 (No.)	
Rayy	374	386	1,094	327	
Balkh	---	---	334	106	
Marw	---	---	37	17	
Naysabur	---	---	--	129	323
Harāt	---	---	--	71	

The extraordinarily large output of dirhams from Rayy for the decade of 181-190 is not linked to any discernible trend in reported events in the written sources. It may be that, because of the heavy extortions made by the governor of Khurasan during this period, ^cAli ibn ^cIsa ibn Mahan (see Chapter V, No. 18), great quantities of dirhams were required. It is significant that Rayy was the city in which Harun al-Rashid met with his very unpopular governor in 186/202, when the latter showered him with expensive gifts in order to retain his favor and, in effect, had paid off the caliph with a large share of his ill-gotten booty.

⁴³See F.N. 36.

⁴⁴A region southeast of Marw al-Rūd̄h and east of Harat and Badghis (see map of Khurasan in Chapter V). Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 415-416.

⁴⁵Asmolean (ex-Thorburn collection, 1966). H.W. Codrington de-

scribes a dirham of Gharshistān (*NC*, 3rd Ser., 14 (1894), p. 88; and 4th Ser., 2 (1902), p. 269), in his collection, which matches the Ashmolean specimen in every detail and may be the same coin. It is possible that the date of this coin is the result of a die-maker's error, whereby he substituted *thalathīn* (30) for *ʿishrīn* (20) as the decade, in which case the coin could be properly classified as Umayyad.

⁴⁶See under No. 18 and Appendix B.

⁴⁷Miles, "Dīnār," p. 298.

⁴⁸The first mint name east of Syria on ^cAbbāsīd dinars is found on issues inscribed with *al-ʿIrāq*, dated 198/813-814. The earliest occurrences of other central and eastern mint names on the dinars are listed in the table constructed by George Miles in his *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (N.Y., 1938), pp. 119-120.

⁴⁹See Chapter VII, pp. 233-234.

⁵⁰Notice of this hoard will be included in the forthcoming *Coin Hoards* IV (London: Royal Numismatic Society [1978 or 1979]).

CHAPTER IX

C O N C L U S I O N

An attempt has been made, in the course of this study, to reconstruct and define a picture of provincial administration in the central and eastern provinces of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate during the first century of that régime. Certain limitations are placed on our knowledge of this period by the sources available. The textual sources have a tradition of political bias, whereby their primary focus concentrated on events surrounding the caliphs, major figures in their court and the central government, and events in the capital. Provincial governors and other officials are mentioned frequently by the Arab historians, but a scant few references can be found which offer helpful insights into the day-to-day functioning of the provincial government. Regions away from the imperial capital receive the most notice whenever a revolt or insurrection from within, or an incursion from beyond the borders of the Empire threatened the stability of the central government. This concentration on developments in the caliphal court and capital is reflected in the orientation of most modern studies, which give only passing notice to provincial history.

The numismatic evidence for early ^CAbbāsīd provincial administration is limited to certain kinds of information placed upon it by the size and intent of the document. Yet provincial coinage has proved a valuable source of information in reconstructing the chronology of provincial governors and in aiding the identification of other officials. This

is due to the numerous extant specimens containing the names of governmental appointees, which are identified by place of origin and year of issue.

The scope of this study has focused on four provinces of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate in an effort to understand the functions of provincial government in the central and eastern regions of the Empire. Those territories west of Iraq have been excluded, since the concentration here has been on the parts of the caliphate which came under an increasing degree of centralization and bureaucratization on the former Sassanid Persian model. The direction of ^CAbbāsīd governmental evolution, having followed along lines that emphasize adaptation of Sassanid practices and institutions, has been a major determining factor in selecting some central and eastern provinces for study in deference to western ones. Syria, Egypt and Ifrīqīyah (North Africa), having inherited the Byzantine influences of the pre-conquest period, seem to have undergone a different line of development, resulting in a provincial administrative system in some ways unlike its counterpart in the East.

After the success of the revolution, which saw the overthrow of the Umayyads firmly realized and the ^CAbbāsīds moved to consolidate their hold on the Empire, they were faced with a series of insurrections that threatened the stability of the new régime. To counteract these breaches of order, the early ^CAbbāsīd caliphs tried several approaches to arrive at an effective system of provincial government. These attempts at control over the provinces developed along a chronological sequence, although the various forms were often in practice simultaneously. At first, the ^CAbbāsīds tried installing family members in the most impor-

tant governorships for relatively long periods of time. In addition, members of some of the more powerful Arab tribes, who had taken part in the revolution against the Umayyads, were appointed to govern provinces that required a strong military leader, particularly those areas on the frontier or which were subject to chronic insurrections. It soon became apparent, however, that some of the ^cAbbāsid princes were able to build up local power blocs which posed a threat to the caliph's power. In a few cases Arab tribal leaders used their appointments in a similar manner and they themselves rebelled when faced with dismissal by the caliph. The reaction of the latter was to use any means at his disposal, including military forces, to rid himself of the dissident official.

The problem with insubordinate officials reached a peak during the caliphate of Mansūr (136-158/754-775), and he began a policy of restricting the length of time his governors remained in any one province, by appointing and dismissing them at frequent intervals. Officials were moved from province to province and had no real opportunities to build up a following in one location which could possibly pose a threat to the caliph's authority. From the end of Mansūr's reign and into that of his son Mahdī (158-169/775-785), the two caliphs made increasing use of *mawālī* in filling the important posts of both the central and provincial administrations. Men of that class, who were mostly Iranian and who had no loyalties to any Arab tribal faction, were bound to the caliph alone, whose continued well-being and strength were the source of their positions.

Under Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned 170-193/786-809), some Iranians rose to the highest ranks in government. Among these, the Barmakids became

so influential that the caliph was forced to go to drastic lengths to curb their power. During his caliphate Hārūn experimented with placing blocs of territories comprising a number of provinces in the hands of a single governor in an effort to combat the still frequent revolts and to provide some type of uniform administration over a wide area. Fadl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī's rule in the East (177-179/793-795) proved to be very beneficial and undoubtedly the fairest administration since the inception of the ʿAbbāsīd régime. Hārūn's choice for governor of Khurāsān shortly thereafter of ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā ibn Māhān (180-191/796-807) was, on the other hand, a terrible mistake which caused the inhabitants no small measure of harm. This trend towards territorial governorships culminated during the reign of Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833) in the naming of Ṭāhir ibn al-Husayn over all the East in 205/821. When Ṭāhir's sons succeeded their father in the same capacity, the institution of hereditary governorship became firmly established and opened the way for the founding of semi-autonomous states within the Empire. Eventually the trend towards dynastic governorships hastened the breakup of the Islamic Empire into a number of independent principalities during the second century of ʿAbbāsīd rule.

Within the provincial administration itself, the caliphs delegated a certain amount of authority to their appointees for the operation of the local governments. However, the ʿAbbāsīd policy of bureaucratic centralization dictated that the caliph retain the right to make decisions affecting provincial affairs. As the central government became increasingly larger and more departments were added, these trends were reflected in the creation of similar bureaus on a smaller scale in each

of the provincial capitals. The governor retained local control of most of these agencies, the most important being the tax collection department. However, the detailed handling of revenue administration in his province he left to subordinates trained in financial affairs. The governor's most important function, after overseeing the operation of the bureaucracy, was the command of the provincial military and police forces. It was his duty to maintain peace and order, to which end he utilized his army units against rebels and invaders and his police forces to uphold the decisions of the judiciary, as well as provide for the security of the inhabitants. The one department of provincial government over which the governor had no control was the official post, which not only transmitted messages between caliph and governor, central and provincial *diwāns*, but kept watch over economic developments in the province and reported on the activities of the governor and other officials as well. Finally, the governor had the duty of supervising provincial coinage production and often used the privilege of placing his own name on dirhams and *fulūs*.

The dominant feature of ^CAbbāsīd provincial administration during the early period was the increasing centralization of the government-at-large, accompanied by a progressively sophisticated bureaucracy in both the imperial and provincial capitals. The creation of new bureaus in the central administration was almost invariably followed by the erection of a counterpart agency in each province. The first ^CAbbāsīd caliphs pursued their policy of centralization as a means of concentrating their power and maintaining their hold on the Empire. To a large degree they succeeded in constructing a governmental apparatus which made them

rich and powerful, but the problem of finding a balance between a strong central government and an effective but loyal provincial administration continued to elude them and was an underlying cause of the eventual break-up of the ^cAbbāsīd Empire.

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APPENDIX A

^cABBĀSID PRINCES APPOINTED TO GOVERNORSHIPSKey to Genealogical Chart:

Roman numerals denote generations.

Caliphs are identified by boldface capitals: **AL-MAHDĪ**

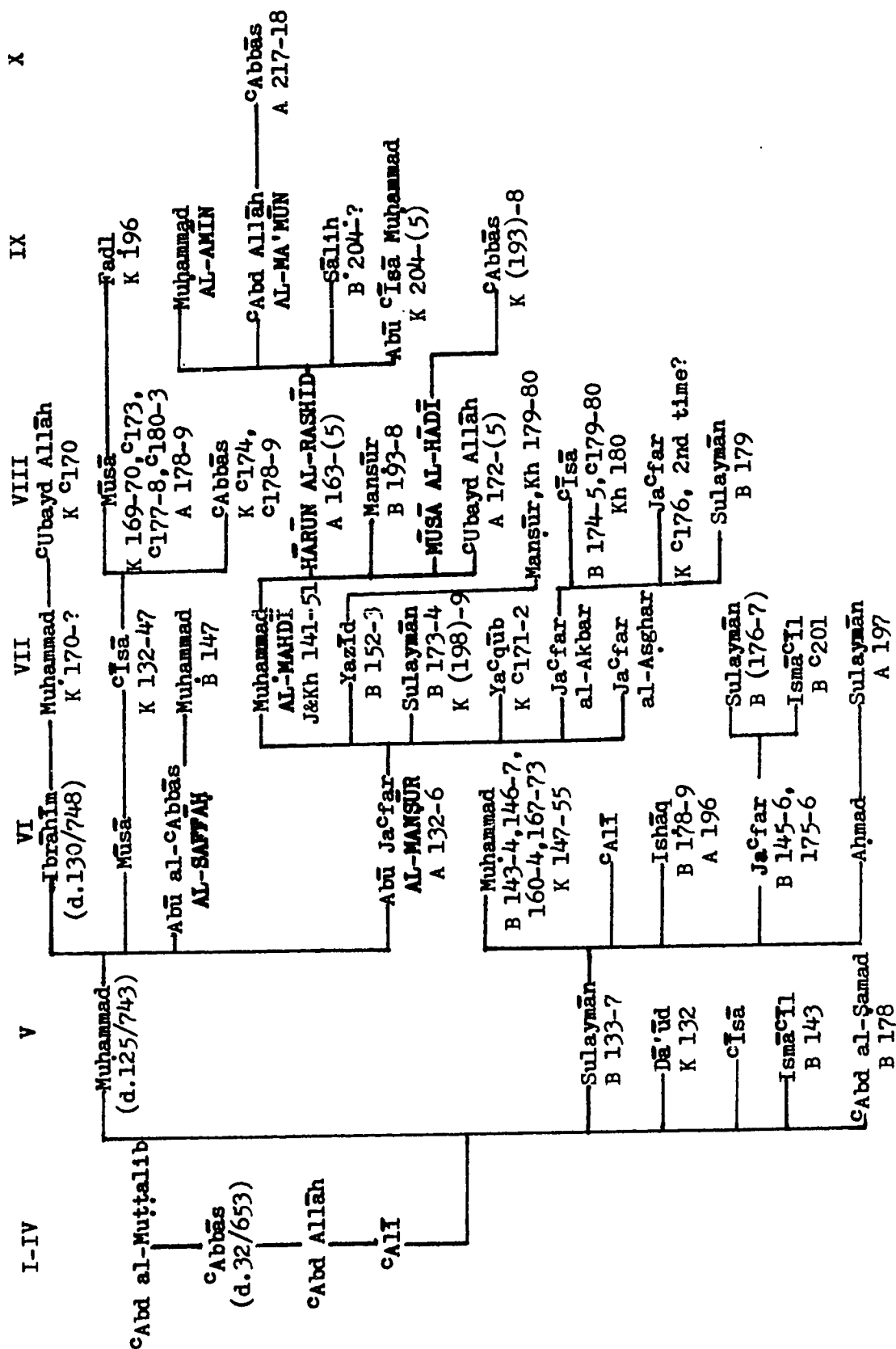
B: for Basrah

K: for Kūfah

A: for Armenia

J: for Jibal

Kh: for Khurāsān



APPENDIX B

NUMISMATIC DATA

The following tables list all known ^CAbbāsīd silver and copper coinage for the period 132-218/750-833, emanating from the mints of Iraq (excluding Baghdad), Armenia, Jibal and Khurāsān, containing the names of governors and other officials. The provinces are listed in the order in which each was treated in the course of this study. Under the name of each province the extant specimens of the major mints are listed first, followed by those of the lesser mints. The data are entered in columns as follows:

1. Date: The Muslim year as recorded on the specimen.
2. Metal: AR represents dirham; AE represents *faʿls*.
3. Name of Governor: If the name of a governor is present, the exact form, as inscribed on the coin, will be entered here. Note: A.M. is the abbreviation for *Amīr al-Muʿminīn*; i.e., the caliph.
4. Number: The corresponding number of the governor, as listed in the appropriate chapter of this study.
5. Title: Title of the governor, if present. 1 is for *ʿamil*; 2 is for *amīr*.
6. Other Names: Names of persons and single letters, other than those pertaining to the governor or caliph, as found on the specimens.
7. Caliph: If the name of the caliph or his son is present, the following key will apply:
 1. al-Saffāh
 2. al-Mansur
 - 3A. al-Mahdī as son of al-Mansūr

- 3B. al-Mahdī as caliph
- 4A. al-Hādī as heir-apparent
- 4B. al-Hādī as caliph
- 4C. al-Hādī as son of al-Mahdī
- 5A. Hārūn al-Rashīd as son of al-Mahdī
- 5B. Hārūn al-Rashīd as heir-apparent
- 5C. Hārūn al-Rashīd as caliph
- 6A. al-Amīn as son of Hārūn al-Rashīd
- 6B. al-Amīn as heir-apparent
- 6C. al-Amīn as caliph
- 7A. al-Ma'mūn as second heir-apparent
- 7B. al-Ma'mūn as heir-apparent
- 7C. al-Ma'mūn as son of Hārūn al-Rashīd
- 7D. al-Ma'mūn as caliph

8. References: Are given up to a maximum of five (5) sources for each entry, with well-known published sources taking precedence. If more than five specimens exist, the additional total number is entered in parentheses () after the last-cited specimen. All sources of numismatic material utilized in this study and abbreviations for the same are to be found in the Numismatic Bibliography above. Please note that specimens with differences in detail—such as annulet patterns, symbols and other markings—are not listed separately, but are grouped under one entry. Each individual entry is listed according to date, denomination (i.e., dirham or *fals*) and names inscribed thereon.

IRAQ

Basrah

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
140	AR	ʿAbd					Paris 617; Berlin 653; MH 318; Tbg 17; Ties 707; (15).
143	AE	Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī	10	2			Berlin 2079; Paris 1560; Paris (uncat).
144	AR	S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	12				BMC 40; Paris 623; Berlin 659; Tbg 15; Ties 730; (60).
144	AE	Sufyān ibn Muʿāwiyah	12	2			BM (2 ined).
145	AR	S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	12				BMC 41; Paris 624; Berlin 661; Tbg 26; Ties 738; (48).
145	AR	Salm	14				Ties 741; Fraehn 26; ANS (uncat).
146	AR	Salm	14				BMC 42; Ties 750; Berlin 663; Tbg 29; Cunha 585; (17).
146	AR	o (letter <u>mīm</u>)	15				BMC 43; Berlin 664; MH 333; Paris 626; Ties 749; (46).
147	AR	o (letter <u>mīm</u>)	15/16				Berlin 665; MH 338; Tbg 32a; Ties 761; Paris 627; (26).
147	AR	o o (two <u>mīms</u>)	15/16				BMC 44; Berlin 666; Paris 629; Ties 762; MH 336; (51).
160	AR	Muhammad	24			3B	BMC 95; Ties 893; Paris 699; Berlin 800; Tbg 71; (35).

		<u>Başrah</u>		
161 AR	Muhammad	24		3B BMC 96; Paris 700; Berlin 802; Ties 909; Tbg 83; (54).
162 AR	Muhammad	24		3B BMC 96a; Paris 701; Berlin 804; Ties 921; Tbg 88; (25).
164 AR	Ṣ (letter <u>ṣād</u>)	25		3B/4A BMC 97; Berlin 805; Ties 952; Deniz Def 290; Casanova 398; (8).
165 AR	"	25		3B/4A BMC 98; Paris 702; Berlin 806; Ties 968; Cunha 595; (11).
166 AR	R (letter <u>rā'</u>)	26		3B/4A BMC 99; Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1964) 22; Ash (uncat).
167 AR			Nasr/Nuṣayr	3B/4A Khed 357; Cunha 596; Ties 2772; Tbg 1034; Deniz Def 357; (14).
167 AE			"	3B Berlin 2136; Ties 1034; Paris (uncat).
168 AR			Nuṣayr	3B/4A BMC 100; Ties 1047; Fraehn 112; Deniz Def 293; ANS (uncat).
174 AR	S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	28		Paris 778 ^{bis} (ined).
174 AE	Sulaymān ibn A.M.	28	2	BMC 127; Berlin 2174-5; Paris 1562-3; (5).
17x AE	cīṣā ibn Ja ^c far	29	2	6A/6B Paris 1561
178 AR	Ja ^c far	32?		6A Anderson, <u>Kochtel</u> 85B.

<u>Başrah</u>			
198 AR	Dhū al-Yamīnayn		Paris (ined).
198 AR	Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn		Berlin 1348; Khed 569; Ties 1668; Tbg 272a; RBC 413; (1).
199 AR	"		Ties 1692; Casanova 541; Cunha 601; Fahmy 1981; Markov 687; (9).
200 AR al-Ḥasan	"	40	Paris 906.
<u>Kūfah</u>			
163 AE Ishāq		6	Berlin 2138; Paris 1603; Ties 947; Copen 281; Bergmann 6; (6).
165 AE Ishāq		6	RIC 388.
nd AE Ḥafṣ ibn Ḥumayd		1	BMC 119f.
191?AE c'Īsā ...		18	Ties 1503; Marsden XLIV.
199 AR	Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn		CNS 2.38:650.
199 AR	Fāṭimī al-Aṣfar		RIC 253; Artuk 313; Markov 66; Sherts1 6118; Zambaur, <u>Contrib.</u> I, p.51, nr.15; (5).
200 AR	Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn		Berlin 1386; Paris 914; MH 576; Cunha 798; Qazzāz (<u>Summer</u> 1967) 15; (3).

	3	4	5	<u>Wāsiṭ</u>	
				6	7
1 2 180?AE				Saʿīd	8 BMC 134; Ties 1551; Linder Welin, <u>Wāsiṭ</u> , p. 156.
182 AE				ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad	Paris (ined.).
187 AE				Saʿīd	5C/6A Ash (ined.); Paris (3 ined).
200 AR al-Ḥasan		K21		Dhū al-Riʿāsatayn	Anderson, <u>Kochtel</u> 185; FOK 1334; Ermitage 692c.
203 AR				"	Markov, <u>Nachtrag</u> , p. 915; Ermitage 718d; Stockholm (uncat).
198 AR				<u>Madaʿin</u>	
				Harthamah	7D Album 336.
166 AR				<u>Sāmiyah</u>	
				Naṣr	Ties 1003.

ARMENIA

Armīniyah

152 AR Bakār	6		3A	Ties 809; Deniz Def 203.
153 AR Bakār	6		3A	Ties 818; MH 311; ANS (uncat.); Kiev hoard (uncat.).
154 AR al-Ḥasan	7		3A	Paris 614; Artuk 183; Ties 833; ANS (uncat.); (3).
155 AR al-Ḥasan	7		3A	BMC 31, Berlin 645; Ties 845; Markov 140; Deniz Def 205; (15).
167 AR ibn Khuraym	11		3B	BMC 91; Paris 694; Fahmy 1666; Ties 1027; Artuk 202; (7).
167 AR		Nusayr	3B	Berlin 788; Markov 269.
168 AR ibn Khuraym	11		3B	BMC 92; Berlin 789; Khed 353; MH 423; Ties 1050; (6).
172 AR ʿU (letter ʿayn)	16.a		5C/6A	Pakh II, p. 84.
172 AR ʿUbayd Allāh	16.a 2	S (letter <u>sīn</u>)		Ziya 420; Pakh II, p. 85.
174 AR ʿUbayd Allāh	16.a 2	Nasr ibn al-Jahm		Berlin 960; Markov 378; Pakh II, pp. 86-7; Armenia hoard.
175 AR al-Faḍl	17			Ties 1197; Qazzāz (Sumer 1965) 8882; Stickel CXII; Jena I, nr. 112.
176 AR al-Faḍl	17			Pakh II, p. 88.

Armīniyah

177 AR al-Faḍl	17		Pakh II, pp. 88-9 (Georgia hoard 637); BM (uncat).
177 AR		Naṣr ibn al-Jahm	Blau, NZ (1874-5), p. 13, nr. 16.
178 AR		ʿAbd Allāh	Ties 1243; Fraehn 162; Pakh II, p. 90.
178 AR Mūsā	21		Dorn 230.
179 AR Mūsā	21		Deniz Def 377; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 395.
179 AR Yaḥyā	22		Pakh II, p. 91; Ermitage 333g.
181 AR Saʿīd ibn Salm	24		Paris 775; Markov 439; Ties 1332; Codrington NC (1902), p. 270; Pakh II, pp. 92-3; (2).
182 AR Saʿīd ibn Salm	24		Dorn 272; Ties 1332; Markov 448; Pakh II, p. 93; MKG I, p. 68, nr. 46; (1).
183 AR ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā	26		Ties 1346; Pakh II, p. 93.
183 AR Yazīd ibn Mazyad	27		Ties 1345; Dorn AM, p. 423, nr. 4; Fraehn N.S., p. 15, nr. 193a; Nesselmann 190; Pakh II, pp. 93-4; (1).
185 AR Yazīd ibn Mazyad	27		Artuk 250; Pakh II, p. 95; Ermitage 483v.
185 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	28		Pakh II, p. 96; Ties 1388; MKG I, 307

Armīniyah

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							p. 68, nr. 47; Sherts1 6054.
186	AR	Asad ibn Yazīd	28			6B	Fraehn 210; Ties 1405; Linder Welin NNA (1938), nr. 239; Pakh II, pp. 96-7; MKG I, p. 68, nr. 48; (6).
186	AR	Muḥammad ibn Yazīd	29			6B	Ties 1406; Caboul 47; Pakh II, p. 98; CNS 2.38:247; MKG I, p. 68, nr. 49; (2).
187	AR	Muḥammad ibn Yazīd	29			5C	Ties 1424; Dorn 313; Dorn AM, p. 533, nr. 1; Fraehn N.S., p. 16, nr. 214ea; Pakh II, p. 99; (3).
188	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30			6B	Ties 1440; MKG I, p. 109, nr. 115; Pakh II, pp. 100-1; Azerbaijan hoard 8238; Vasmer Khron., p. 396; (1).
189	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30			6B	AMC 23.9.j.t.
189	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30		Bishr ibn Khuzaymah	6B	Berlin 961; Pakh II, pp. 101-2; Georgia hoard 274; Ties 1461; Paris (uncat); (4).
189	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30		al-Haytham ibn S...	6B	Pakh II, pp. 102-3.
190	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30		al-Haytham ibn	6B	Berlin 963; Ties 1482; Tbg Symb III, p. 10, nr. 16; Rogers NC (1883), p. 242, nr. 321; Pakh II, pp. 104-5; (6).

Armīniyah

190 AR Khuḡaymah ibn Khāzim	30	Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm	6B	Tbg Symb III, p. 16; Barth à Soret IV, p. 330, nr. 8; MKG I, p. 69, nrs. 51, (235); Pakh II, p. 105.
191 AR Khuḡaymah ibn Khāzim	30	Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm	6B	Berlin 964; Ties 2816; Khed 441; Pakh II, pp. 105-6; RBC 321; (5).
192 AR Ayyūb ibn Sulaymān	32		6B	Ties 1513; Dorn 366; Miles, <u>Tresor</u> 2; MKG I, p. 109, nr. 116; <u>Ermitage</u> 336/574; (3).
193 AR Yahyā ibn Zufar	34		6B	Ties 1543; Pakh II, p. 108; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 398; <u>Fraehn Bull.Scient.</u> (1836), p. 102, nr. 7; <u>Fraehn Samml.</u> <u>Klein. Abh.</u> , p. 9.
194 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	36		6C	Pakh II, p. 109.
195 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	36		6C	Berlin 1246a; Ties 1610; Markov 626; Linder Welin <u>NNA</u> (1941), nr. 577; <u>Ermitage</u> 587/626; (6).
195 AR Aḡmad ibn Yazīd	37		6C	Ties 1609; Tbg Symb III, p. 11, nr. 18; CNS 2.38:592; Pakh II, pp. 109-10; Cunha 517; (3).
202 AR Ḥātim	44			Ties 1733a; Barth à Soret II, p. 78, nr. 4; Pakh II, p. 114; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 870.
203 AR Ḥātim	44			Ties 2840; Markov 722; MH 564; Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 191; Pakh II, p. 114; (2).

204	AR	<u>Armīniyah</u> Asad ibn Yahyā/ al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿd		Ties 1759; Dorn 467; Pakh II, pp. 114-15; Vasmer Chron., col. 871; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 161, nr. 251; (1).
204	AR	Ahmad ibn Yahyā/ al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿd		Tbg 308; Ties 1758; Pakh II, pp. 114-15; Vasmer Chron., col. 871.
204	AR	Ahmad ibn Yahyā/ al-Baʿīth ibn Ḥalbas		Tbg 309; Ties 1760; Vasmer Chron., col. 871; Pakh II, p. 115; Georgia hoard 324.
207	AR	al-Ma'mūnī c'īsā	47	Ties 1791; Pakh II, p. 116; Vasmer Chron., col. 872; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 165, nr. 264; Fraehn Sprewitz 189; (2).
217	AR	al-ʿAbbās ibn A.M.	51.a	Markov 774a; Vasmer Chron, col. 879; Pakh II, p. 126; MKG I, p. 150, nr. 10.
217	AR	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khāqān	51.c	Linder Welin NNΛ (1941), nr. 607 (CNS 2.38:611).
218	AR	al-ʿAbbās ibn A.M.	51.a	RIC 264.
218	AR	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khāqān	51.c	Pakh II, p. 127; Cunha 518; Vasmer Chron., col. 879; Allan NC (1919), p. 195; BM (uncat.).

<u>Arrān</u>					
1	2	3	4	5	6
					7
					8
152	AR Bakkār		4	5	3A
			6		Berlin 636; Ties 806; Artuk 181; Deniz Def 194; ANS (uncat.).
153	AR Bakkār		6		3A
					Ties 819; Tbg 50; Fraehn 50; Ziya 257; Markov 122; (8).
153	AE Bakkār		6		3A
					Markov 123; Ermitage (2 uncat.); Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> : p. 387.
154	AR al-Ḥasan		7		3A
					Paris 607; Artuk 182; Casanova 336; Fahmy 1560; MKGI, p. 162, nr. 27; (3).
155	AR al-Ḥasan		7		3A
					BMC 27; Ties 844; Paris 608; Album 26.
168	AR ibn Khuraym		11		3B
					Ties 2774; Markov 295; Pakh II, p. 81; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 389.
169	AR Rūḥ		12		3B
					Ties 1065; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 58, nr. 76b; Pakh II, p. 82; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 389.
169	AR Khuzaymah		13		4B
					Ties 1067; Pakh II, pp. 82-3; MKG I, p. 53; nr. 38.
172	AR ʿUbayd Allāh ibn A.M. 16.a				
					Pakh II, pp. 84-5.
175	AE al-Faḍl ?		17		
					Ties 1207; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 80, nr. 113; Pakh II, p. 87.

Arrān

177 AE Khālīd ibn Yazīd	19	2		Pakh II, p. 89; Pakh VII, p. 36, nr. 1775; Ermitage 405s; Azerbaijan hoard 11535; Berlin 2210 (?); (3).
178 AE Mūsā ibn cīṣā	21	2		Ties 1255; Fraehn Mus.Num.Rost. 20; Fraehn Bull.hist.phil. (1844), col. 7; Barth à Soret III, pp. 30-1, nr. 11; Pakh II, pp. 89-90.
183 AR Yazīd ibn Mazyad	27		5C	Berlin 954; Pakh II, p. 93; MKG I, p. 66, nr. 38; ANS 56/137 (unpub); Paris (uncat); (2).
183 AR	27		5C	Artuk 251 (Deniz Def 376).
184 AR	27		5C	Ties 1362; MKG I, p. 66, nr. 39; Pakh II, pp. 94-5; ANS (uncat); Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 396.
184 AR	27		5C	Ties 1361; Tbg 186b; Fraehn 195; MKG I, p. 107, nr. 109; CNS 1.13C:50; (1).
184 AE	27			Ties 1370; Barth à Soret II, p. 27, nr. 2; Pakh II, p. 95; Pakh VIII, p. 29, nr. 1966/1; Pakh IX, p. 32, nr. 2103/14; (7).
184 AR	27			RIG 364; Pakh VII, pp. 36-7, nr. 1775d; p. 57, nr. 1801-128; p. 58, nr. 1801-73; VIII, p. 29, nr. 1966/2.
185 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	28		5C	Paris 772; Ties 1389; FOK 205;

Arrān

185 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	28		Nesselmann 191; Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1965) 16/7945; (5).
186 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	28	5C	Ties 1390; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 109, nr. 163; Pakh II, p. 96; Azerbaijan hoard 9121; Georgia hoard 5424; (3). Berlin 955; Ties 1407; Nesselmann 192; Pakh II, p. 96; Paris (uncat.); (4).
186 AR Muḥammad ibn Yazīd	29	5C	Berlin 956; Ties 1422; Pakh II, p. 98; MKG I, p. 66, nr. 40; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 396.
186 AE Muḥammad ibn Yazīd	29	2	Berlin 2171; Ties 1405; Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 70, nr. 5; Pakh II, p. 98; Paris (uncat.); (7).
187 AR Muḥammad ibn Yazīd	29	5C	Paris 774; Berlin 957; Tbg 202; CNS 1.13C:51; Dorn 308; (13).
187 AR Muḥammad ibn Yazīd	29	ʿAlī ibn cīṣā	Ash (ined).
187 AR Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30	5C	Ties 1423; Paris 773; Pakh II, pp. 99-100; MKG I, p. 108, nr. 110; ANS (2 uncat.); (5).
188 AR Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30	5C	Ties 1439; Markov 525; Dorn 329; Fraehn 221; Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1965) 17/7945; (13).
189 AR Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30	5C	Ties 1459; Pakh II, p. 101; Azerbai- 313

Arrān

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							jan hoard 8245; Ermitage 330/541; Ash (uncat.).
189	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30		Bishr ibn Khuzaymah	5C	Ties 1458; Fraehn 277a; Linder Welin NNA (1938) 65; Pakh II, p. 101; ANS (uncat.); (5).
190	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30			5C	Fraehn 232; Ties 1460; Pakh II, p. 103.
190	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30				Fraehn 231, Ties 1484; Codrington NC (1902), p. 269; FOK 494; MKG I, p. 108, nr. 113; (6).
190	AR	Khuzaymah	30				Fraehn 233; Ties 1486; Dorn 345; FOK 493; MKG I, p. 108, nr. 112; (8).
191	AR	Khuzaymah	30				Fraehn 241; Ties 1499; Markov 330; CNS 2.38:248; Pakh II, p. 105; (3).
191	AR	Khuzaymah	30		Sa ^c Id		Pakh II, p. 105; MKG I, p. 109, nrs. 114, (10891).
192	AR	Sulaymān ibn al-Aṣamm	31				Berlin 958; Ties 1522; Fraehn 245; Dorn 371; Nesselmann 193; (6).
193	AR	Ayyūb ibn Sulaymān	32				Berlin 959; Ties 2819; Pakh II, p. 107; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 398.
193	AR	al-Abbās ibn Zufar	33				Ties 1549; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 137, nr. 204b; Ermitage 332/583; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 397; ANS (uncat.).

<u>Arrān</u>			
193 AE al-ʿAbbās ibn Zufar	33		RIC 365; Pakh II, pp. 107-8; Azer- baijan hoard 3047; GIM (uncat); Album.
194 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	36		FOK 526; Zambaur coll.
195 AR Asad ibn Yazīd	36		Fraehn 244; Ties 1524; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 399; Pakh II, p. 109.
196 AR Ishāq ibn Sulaymān	38		Markov 644; Pakh II, p. 110; Ermitage (2 uncat.).
196 AR Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad	39	7D	Ties 1642; Fraehn 277; Casanova 522; Fahmy 1912; Dorn 425; (13).
197 AR Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad	39	7D	Ties 1659; Fraehn 279; Dorn <u>Add.N.S.</u> , p. 230, nr. 279; Pakh II, p. 112; GIM (uncat.).
<u>Madīnat Arrān</u>			
197 AR Sulaymān	40	Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	Markov 659-60; Pakh II, p. 112; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 868.
<u>Arrān</u>			
197 AE al-ʿAbbās ibn Zufar	41	Salm	Zambaur, <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 72, nr. 64; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , pp. 397-8; <u>Chron.</u> , cols. 869-70.
<u>Madīnat Arrān</u>			
198 AR ... ibn ʿAbd Allāh	42		Ties 1684; Tbg 278; Pakh II, pp.

Madīnat Arrān

198 AR Şard ibn Muḥammad	43		7D	113-14. Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1967) 12.
207 AR c'Īsā al-Ma'mūnī	47	Muḥammad ibn c'Abd Allāh		Ties 1792; Tbg 318; Shertsl 6138; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 163, nr. 263; Pakh II, pp. 115-16; (2).
207 AR c'Īsā al-Ma'mūnī	47	Muḥammad ibn c'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī		Markov 751; Pakh II, p. 116; GIM (uncat); Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 872.
207 AR c'Īsā al-Ma'mūnī ibn Muḥammad	47			Markov 751a; Pakh II, p. 115; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 872.
208 AR c'Īsā al-Ma'mūnī	47			Copen 433.
208 AR Şadaqah ibn c'Alī	48	al-c'Abbās ibn Khālīd/ Muḥammad ibn c'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī		Ties 1795; Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 202; Markov 752; Pakh II, pp. 117-18; Georgia hoard 331; (3).
209 AR Şadaqah ibn c'Alī	48		7D	Ermitage 668e/755d; Pakh II, p. 119; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 875.
209 AR Şadaqah ibn c'Alī <u>mawlā</u> A.M.	48	S (letter <u>sīn</u>)		Berlin 1317; Markov 755a; FOK 100; Pakh II, pp. 119-20; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 875.
209 AR Şadaqah ibn c'Alī	48	S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	7D	Markov 755; Pakh II, p. 118; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , cols. 874-5.
209 AR Şadaqah ibn c'Alī al-Barmakī	48		7D	Ermitage 667a/755b, 667g/755c; Pakh II, pp. 118-19; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 875.

Madīnat Arrān

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
209	AR Ahmad ibn CAbd al-A'clā		49		CUbayd Allāh ibn Yahyā	7D	Ties 1800; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 165, nr. 266; Pakh II, p. 120; Georgia hoard 547; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 876; (4).
210	AR Ahmad ibn CAbd al-A'clā		49		CUbayd Allāh ibn Yahyā	7D	Markov 760; Pakh II, pp. 120-21; Georgia hoard 335; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 876.
210	AR CAbd al-A'clā ibn Ahmad		49		CUbayd Allāh ibn Yahyā	7D	BMC 272; Ties 1805; Fraehn 301; Pakh II, p. 121; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 876.
211	AR CAbd al-A'clā ibn Ahmad		49		CUbayd Allāh ibn Yahyā	7D	RIC 263; Ermitage 671C/763A; Pakh II, p. 122; GIM (uncat.); Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 876.
212	AR CAbd al-A'clā ibn Ahmad		49		CUbayd Allāh ibn Yahyā	7D	MKG I, p. 179, nr. 83; Pakh II, pp. 122-3; GIM (3 uncat.).
212	AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd		50		Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad	7D	Ties 1814; Pakh II, p. 123; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 877; BM (uncat.).
213	AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd		50		Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd	7D	Ties 1819; Nesselmann 259; Pakh II, pp. 123-4; Ermitage 671n/776c; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , cols. 877-78.
213	AR al-CAbbās ibn A.M.		51.a				CNS 2.38:612 (Linder Welin <u>NNÄ</u> (1941), nr. 608).
214	AR al-CAbbās ibn A.M.		51.a				Ties 1823; FOK 248.

Madīnat Arrān

214 AE Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAttāb	Pakh II, p. 124 (Pakh VIII, p. 30, nr. 1966/6 - 4 specimens).
215 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAttāb	Markov 770; Pakh II, pp. 124-5; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , cols. 877-78.
216 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAttāb	Ties 1830; Dorn 480; CNS s.38:618 (Linder Welin <u>NNA</u> (1941), nr. 609); Pakh II, p. 125; Album 313.
216 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	al-Asfar ?	Pakh II, p. 125; Georgia hoard 550.
216 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50		Ties 1329; Tbg <u>Symb</u> II, p. 250, nr. 43; Pakh II, p. 125; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 877.
217 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAttāb	Ties 1834; Tbg 327; Pakh II, pp. 125-6; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , cols. 877-78; BM (uncat).
xx7 AE Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50 2		Berlin 2210.
217 AR al-ʿAbbās ibn A.M.	51.a		Ties 1833; Tbg 327a; Markov 774; Copen 443; Sherts1 6143; (4).
218 AR al-ʿAbbās ibn A.M.	51.a		BMC 273; Berlin 1318; Ties 1837; Copen 447; Marsden LIV; (4).

Dabīl

154?AE	2	ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad	Ties 837; Markov 132; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 391.
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Dabīl

159 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd	9	2	Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 66, nr. 48.
187 AE Muḥammad ibn Yazīd	29		Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , p. 396, fn. 19.
187 AE Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	30		Markov 520a; Vasmer <u>Khron.</u> , pp. 396-97.

BardaḤah

142 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd	4		Pakh VII, pp. 35-6, nr. 1775a; Paris (uncat).
143?AE Yazīd ibn Usayd	4		Ties 726; Dorn A.M., p. 409, nr. 24; Fraehn N.S., p. 8, nr. 21a; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 15, nr. 15.
155?AE al-Ḥasan	7		Ties 850; Stickel L.
158 AE al-Ḥasan	7		Berlin 2133; Ties 2766; Markov 164; Barth à Soret IV, pp. 328-9, nr. 5; Blau <u>Odessa</u> 63; (3).
158 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd	9	2	Paris 1557.
159 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd	9	2	Berlin 2134-5; Ties 887; Markov 169-70; Sherts1 5926; (4).
163 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd	9	2	RIC 367; Ties 726, 2769; Fraehn <u>N.S.</u> , p. 10, nr. 69b; Barth à Soret IV, p. 329, nr. 6.
166 AE Ḥuthmān	11	2	Paris (ined.).

BardāCah

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
nd	AE	ʿUbayd Allāh ibn A.M. 16.a	2	S (letter <u>sīn</u>)			Pakh II, p. 87.
177	AE	Khālīd ibn Yazīd	19				Paris (ined.).
178	AE		2	Yahyā <u>mawlā</u> A.M.			Berlin 2177; Ties 1254; Blau Odessa 75; Ermitage 86/408; Pakh VIII, p. 28, nr. 1964/2; (4).
<u>Hārūnābād</u>							
167	AR			Hasan		3B/5A	MKG I, p. 96, nr. 61.
168	AR			Ḥasan		3B/5A	BMC 132m; Ties 1051.
169	AR			Ḥasan		3B/5A	BMC 132n; Paris 735; Ties 1076; Khed 393; Artuk 203; (26).
<u>Hārūniyah</u>							
169	AR	Khuzaymah	13			3B/5A	BMC 133; Paris 737; Anderson Kochtel 73; ANS (uncat.); Ash (uncat.); (1).
169	AR	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	13			4B/5A	BMC 138; Ties 1088; Berlin 926; MH 926; Khed 396; (19).
169	AR			Yazīd ibn Mazyad		4B	Ties 1090; Stickel XCIII; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 60, nr. 81; Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1964) 80.
169	AE	Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	13	2		4B	Ties 1093; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 62, nr. 82; Fraehn ms. XXXVIII, fol. 59 ^r ; Barth à Soret II, p. 27, nr.1; Album ³³ ₀

Ḥarūniyah

170 AR Yūsuf	14		4P	Paris 744; CNS 2.38:244 (Linder Welin <u>NNA</u> (1941), nr. 237).
170 AR		Ibrāhīm/Jarīr	4B/5A	BMC 139; Paris 743; Berlin 928; Ties 1099; Tbg 129; (37).
170 AR		Yazīd ibn Mazyad	4B	BMC 140; Ash (uncat.).
170 AR		Jarīr	5C	Berlin 1240; Ties 1118; RIC 233; Artuk 252 (Deniz Def 380).
170 AR		J (letter <u>jīm</u>)	5C	Khed 397.
170 AE Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	13		4B	Dorn 171.
171 AR		Ḥārith/š (letter <u>šād</u>)	5C/6A	Paris 851
<u>Maʿdan Bājunays</u>				
183 AR ʿA (letter <u>ʿayn</u>)	26		6A	Ties 2797; Tbg <u>Symb</u> IV, p. 11, nr. 10.
183 AE ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā	26			Ziya 512.
190 AR		Umm Jaʿfar/Dāʿūd	6A	Berlin 1228; MKG I, p. 71, nr. 60.
191 AR		Umm Jaʿfar/Dāʿūd	6A	Ties 1502; Artuk 256; Khed 515; Dorn 357; Markov 561; (4).
191 AR		Umm Jaʿfar/Šard	6A	Paris 846; Ash (uncat.).
192 AR		Umm Jaʿfar	6A	Dorn 370.

Ma^cdan Bājunays

192 AR	Umm Ja ^c far/Dā'ūd	6A	Ties 1525; Fraehn 247; Markov 578; Dorn 369; CNS 2.38:474 (Linder Welin <u>NNA</u> (1941), nr. 461); (4).
193 AR	CA (letter <u>Ca^yn</u>)	6A	Paris 847; Fraehn 252.
194 AR	Umm Ja ^c far/Dā'ūd	6A	Fraehn 258; Dorn 408.
194 AR	Dā'ūd/Šard	6C	Fraehn 257; Markov 613; MKG I, p. 125, nr. 174; Album 337.
194 AR	cUbayd	6C	RIC 245; Ties 2820; Markov 611; MKG I, p. 125, nr. 173.
195 AR	Dā'ūd/Šard	6A	Paris (ined).
195 AR	Dā'ūd/Šard	6C	RIC 247; FOK 88.
195 AR	Umm Ja ^c far/cU ^s rūr	6C	Ties 1604; MKG I, p. 174, nr. 70.
195 AR	al-Sayyid Umm al-Khilāfah	6C	Ties 1519; FOK 1581; Vasmer <u>Dva klada</u> , p. 31, nr. 15.
195 AR	cUbayd	6C	Ties 1603; Tbg 249; Dorn 414; Artuk 279.
196 AR	Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn		Ash (ined).
196 AR	cAbd al-Malik ibn al-Jahḥaf	6C	Ties 1620; Tbg 253; Fraehn 272; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 869.
197 AR	cAbd al-Malik ibn al-Jahḥaf	6C	Ties 1621; Fraehn 273; Fraehn <u>Spewitz</u> 243; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 869.

Ma^cdan Bājunays

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
199	AR				Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn		Markov 538; Codrington <u>NC</u> (1902), p. 271. 869.
203	AR	Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd	45				Cunha 1025, 1026; BM (uncat.).
204	AR	Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd	45				Ties 1766; Fraehn 295; Markov 731; Dorn 468; FOK 99; (3).
205	AR				al-ʿAbbās ibn Abī Ayyūb		Ties 1779; Tbg p. LI, nr. 18; Tbg Symb III, p. 13, nr. 21; Pakh VIII, p. 101, nr. II, 611; Paris (uncat.); (4).
206	AR				al-ʿAbbās ibn Abī Ayyūb		Ties 1786; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 163, nr. 262; Fraehn N.S., p. 20, nr. 298c; Dorn A.M., p. 409, nr. 29; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 872.
207	AR				Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalbī		Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 201; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 873.
208	AR				Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalbī		Berlin 1417; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 873.
210	AR	ʿAbd al-ʿAlā ibn Ahmad	49			7D	MKG I, p. 178, nr. 80; Zambaur <u>Münzpräg.</u> , p. 44.
212	AR	Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50				Ties 1812; Fraehn N.S., p. 33, pl. 6; Barth à Soret II, pp. 28-9, nr.

Ma'dan Bājunays

213 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	6; Markov 766; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 877. Ermitage 766c (Kiev hoard, 1913); Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 877; Album 339.
214 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	Markov 768; Vasmer <u>Chron.</u> , col. 877.
216 AR Khālīd ibn Yazīd	50	Berlin 1418; Tbg 324a; Ties 1828; SH 291 (now ANS); Sherts1 6140; (3).

JIBAL

Rayy

138 AE	Jahwar ibn al-Marrār	2	2		NHR 41; Ties 698; Barth & Soret I, pp. 350-1, nr. 49; Zambaur <u>Contrib. I</u> , p. 63, nr. 42; Paris (uncat).
(138AE-39)	Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath	3		2	Paris (2 ined.).
139 AE	Abd al-Hamīd ibn Ja'far	4		2	NHR 42; Berlin 2088; Album 82; ANS (uncat.); Paris (uncat.); (3).
141 AE	Abd al-Hamīd ibn Ja'far	4		2	NHR 43 A-B; Zambaur <u>Contrib. I</u> , pp. 63-4, nr. 43; Thorburn coll., GCM; Rayy (4 ined.).
143 AE	Muhammad ibn A.M.	5.a/5.b 2/1			NHR 44A; Zambaur <u>Contrib. III</u> , p. 117, nr. 402; GCM.
143 AE	"	5.a/5.b 2/1			NHR 44B; Berlin 2089-90; Paris (2 uncat.).
144 AE	"	5.a/5.b 2/1			NHR 45; Paris 1589; Berlin 2091. 2095; Fahmy 2745; Cunha 1105; (9).
145 AR	"	5.a			NHR 47B; BMC 450; ANS (uncat.).
145 AE	"	5.a			NHR 47C; Khed 854.
145 AE	"	5.a/5.d 2/1			NHR 47D; Berlin 2092.
146 AR	"	5.a			NHR 48A; BMC 46; Paris 632; Ties

<u>Rayy</u>					
1	2	3	4	5	6 7 8
146	AE	Muhammad ibn A.M.	5.a		755; Berlin 669; (42). NHR 48B-G; Paris 1590; BMC 91; Berlin 2094; Ties 757; (13). NHR 49A; BMC 47; Paris 634; Berlin 671; Ties 764; Tbg 31; (71). NHR 49B; Ties 769; Copen 244. NHR 50A; BMC 48; Berlin 672; Ties 774; Fahmy 1590; (27). NHR 50C-E; Paris 1592; Fahmy 2746-47; Ash (uncat); ANS (uncat); (9). NHR 50B; BMC 49; Paris 648; Berlin 690; Tbg 34; (66). NHR 51A-D; BMC 50; Berlin 692; Paris 649; Tbg 37; (110). NHR 51E; Cunha 1106; Rayy (uncat).
147	AR	"	5.a		
147	AE	"	5.a		
148	AR	"	5.a		
148	AE	"	5.a		
<u>MuhammadIyah</u>					
148	AR	"	5.a		
149	AR	"	5.a		
<u>Rayy</u>					
149	AE	"	5.a		
<u>MuhammadIyah</u>					
150	AR	"	5.a		

150 AR	Muhammad ibn A.M.	5.a	Salm	<u>Muhammad Iyyah</u>	Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1962) 1/8453. NHR 52F-G; Berlin 2103-4; Ties 795; Barth & Soret I, p. 352, nr. 52; Album 70; (12).
150 AE	"	5.a			
151 AR	"	5.a			NHR 53; BMC 52; Paris 653; Berlin 701; Tbg 45; (46). Paris (ined.).
151 AE	"	5.a			
158 AE			c'umar ibn Sinān?	3A	NHR 58; Ties 879; Barth & Soret I, pp. 353-4, nr. 54; Ziya 284.
158 AE			al-Ḥasan	3A	Ziya 381.
			<u>Rayy</u>		
160 AE	Hamzah ibn Malik (or ibn Haytham?)	6		3B	NHR 60F; Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 67, nr. 49; ANS (uncat); GCM (2); BM (uncat); (9).
			<u>Muhammad Iyyah</u>		
162 AR	al-Jāhir ibn Ṭalhah	7			NHR 62; Ties 924; Dorn 118; Casanova 412; Lane-Poole NC (1886), p. 228.
163 AE	Kulthūm ibn Ḥafṣ	8		3B	NHR 63B-C; Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 68, nr. 51; Augst 6; Rayy (uncat); Paris (2 uncat).
164 AE	Kulthūm ibn Ḥafṣ	8		4A	NHR 64A; Paris 1612; Ties 960; GCM; Rayy (2 uncat.); (6).

<u>Muḥammadīyah</u>			
164 AE Khalaf ibn ʿAbd Allāh	9	4A	NHR 64B; Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 68, nr. 52.
165 AE Khalaf	9	4A	Album 155.
165 AE ʿI (letter ʿaym)	10	4A	NHR 65B-C; Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 68, nrs. 53-4.
168 AR S (letter sīn)	11	3B/4A	NHR 68D; Marsden XXXII.
<u>Rayy</u>			
168 AR Saʿd	11		NHR 68E; MH 46-47; Berlin (uncat.); Istanbul (uncat.).
<u>Muḥammadīyah</u>			
170 AR		4B	Ziya 389-90.
170 AR		5C	NHR 70E; MH 497.
171 AR		5C	NHR 71B; Ties 1124; MH 498; Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 80; Markov 348; (7).
171 AR		5C/6A	NHR 71C; Berlin 1077; MH 924; Deniz Def 453; Pakh IX, p. 39, nr. 2107.
172 AR		5C	NHR 72A; BMC 190; Paris 812; Berlin 1078-9; Tbg 140b; (35).
172 AR			NHR 72B; BMC 191; Khed 467; Deniz Def 453; ANS (uncat.).
<u>Hārith/Jārib?</u> Ṣ (letter ṣād)			

<u>Muhammadīyah</u>							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
172 AR					Hārith/Jārib? al-Fadl/Fadl	5C/6A	NHR 72C-D; Khed 468; Ties 1151; Fraehn 139; Ziya 418; Deniz Def 454.
172 AR					Yahyā	5C/6A	NHR 72E; Porter NC (1921) p. 319; BM (uncat); Paris 811bis; Deniz Def 455; (13).
173 AR					Dā'ūd		NHR 73C-D; Ties 1170; Tbg 143a; Dorn 209.
173 AR					Yahyā/Bahlūl	5C	NHR 73A; BMC 193; Ties 1169; Khed 470; Dorn 208; (22).
173 AR					Muḥawīyah	5C/6A	NHR 73B; BMC 192; Ties 1172; Deniz Def 457; Qazzāz (Sumer 1965) 8482; (2).
174 AR					Dā'ūd	5C	NHR 74B; RIC 236 (ANS).
175 AR					Yazīd	5C	NHR 75B; BMC 195; Ties 1196; Paris 813; Berlin 1080; (36).
176 AR					Jaḥfar ibn Yahyā	5C/6B	NHR 76D; Deniz Def 461-2; MKG I. p. 53, nr. 40; Berlin, Assur (2 uncat).
176 AR					Jaḥfar ibn Yahyā/ Cabd Allāh	5C	Qazzāz (Sumer 1965) 9050.
177 AR					Rūḥ	5C	NHR 77C; Ties 1229; Dorn 227.

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177 AR	Dā'ūd	6A	NHR 77D; Ties 1230; Paris 814bis.
177 AR	Jacfar ibn Yahyā/ cAbd Allāh	5C	Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1965) 8904.
177 AE	al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad		NHR 77E-G; MH 780; Paris 1614; Berlin 2199; (7).
nd AE	al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad	6A-B	NHR 78; Berlin 2206-7; Zambaur Contrib. III, p. 118, nr. 405; ANS (uncat.); BM (uncat.).
178 AR	cuthmān	6B	NHR 79C; Berlin, Assur.
179 AR al-Faḍl		13	NHR 80D; Istanbul (uncat.).
179 AR	cuthmān	6B	NHR 80A; Berlin, Assur.
179 AR	cuthmān	6B	NHR 80B-C; Paris 815; Deniz Def 464- 5; Berlin, Assur.

Rayy

179 AR Muḥammad ibn Yahyā	Jacfar	6A-B	NHR 80E; Paris 793; Ties 1260; Tbg Symb II, 25; Paris (uncat); ANS (2 uncat); (2).
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MuhammadIyah

180 AR	Jacfar	6A	NHR 81A-B; BMC 196; Berlin 1086;Tbg 162; FOK 431; (80).
180 AR Muḥammad ibn Yahyā	Jacfar	6A	NHR 81C; Paris 816; Berlin 1087;

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181 AR	AR	Muhammad ibn Yahyā	14	Jacfar	6A	Khed 472; Ties 1276; (50). Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1965) 3/7945.
181 AR	AR			Jacfar	6A	NHR 82A; BMC 197; Paris 817; Berlin 1090; Markov 437; (146).
181 AR	AR			Asad	6B	NHR 82B; Deniz Def 469; Berlin, Assur.
182 AR	AR			Jacfar	6A-B	NHR 83A-H; Berlin 1094; Paris 818; BMC 198; Tbg 176a; (172).
182 AR	AR			Jacfar/S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	6A	NHR 83I; Ties 1320; Ziya 445.
182 AR	AR			Dā'ūd/Asad	6A	NHR 83J; Ties 1314a; Markov 459; MKG I, p. 169, nr. 53; Berlin, Assur.
183 AR	AR			Jacfar	6A-B	NHR 84B-C; Ties 2796; Berlin 1098; FOK 201; BMC 198a; (82).
183 AR	AR			Dā'ūd	6A	NHR 84E; Khed 480; Deniz Def 472; MKG I, p. 112, nr. 126; Markov 477.
183 AR	AR			Jacfar/S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	6A	NHR 84A; BMC 199; Paris 819; Berlin 1102; Tbg 181; (69).
183 AR	AR			cAbd/cUbayd?/Muhammad		AMC 23.5j.t.
184 AR	AR			Jacfar	6A	NHR 85E; Ties 2800; Dorn 285.
184 AR	AR			Jacfar/S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	6A	NHR 85A; BMC 200; Berlin 1105; Ties 1357; Khed 481; (86).

MuhammadIyah

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
184 AR					Dā'ūd	6A	NHR 85B-C; BMC 201; Paris 820; Ties 2804; Tbg 186a; (6).
184 AR					cUbayd	6A	Fahmy 1849-50.
184 AR					cUbayd/Muhammad	6A	NHR 85F; Ties 2803.
184 AE					al-Ḥarb <u>mawla</u> A.M.	6B	NHR 85G; Berlin 2187; Ties 1369; Barth & Soret I, pp. 356-7, nr. 61; GCM; (3).
185 AR					Ja'cfar	6A/6B	NHR 86A-B; BMC 202; Berlin 1109; Tbg 188a; cUshsh 401; (48).
185 AR					Ja'cfar/S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	6A	NHR 86C; Ties 1375; Ziya 468; Tbg Symb IV, 11; Paris (uncat).
185 AE					al-Ḥarb <u>mawla</u> A.M.	6B	NHR 86D-F; BMC 133; Berlin 2188; Ties 1392; RIC 39; (5).
186 AR					Ja'cfar	6A	NHR 87B-C; BMC 203; Paris 821; Tbg 196; Berlin 1112; (103).
186 AR					Ja'cfar/S (letter <u>sīn</u>)	6A	NHR 87B; Berlin 1111.
186 AR					Ja'cfar/Salm	6A	NHR 87A; BMC 203b; Paris 822; Tbg 197; Berlin 1116; Ties 1395; (38).
186 AR					Dā'ūd	6A/6B	NHR 87E-F; Berlin 1120; Ties 1396; RIC 241; Fraehn 209.
187 AR					Ja'cfar	6B	NHR 88B; Ties 2810; Markov 518;

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187 AR	16?	Salm	6A	Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 121B. NHR 88D; Ties 1414; Fraehn 216a; FOK 467; BM (uncat.); (6).
187 AR		Jaʿfar/Salm	6A	NHR 88A; Ties 1416; Tbg 199a; Fahmy 1855-6.
187 AR		ʿUbayd	6A	NHR 88E-F; Ties 1413, 1415; Fraehn 216; Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1965) 8481.
187 AR		Umm Jaʿfar/Dāʿūd	6A	NHR 88G; Ties 1412; Fraehn 215.
188 AR		ʿUbayd	6A	NHR 89A-B; Paris 823; Dorn 323; Ties 1433; Fraehn 223; (7).
188 AR		Umm Jaʿfar	6A	NHR 89C; Ties 1435; Dorn 324.
189 AR		Jaʿfar	6B	BM (ined.).
189 AR		ʿUbayd	6A	NHR 90B; Berlin, Assur; Ash (uncat.).
189 AR		ʿUbayd/Mujallad	6A	NHR 90A; Ties 1451; Fraehn 228; FOK 79; MKG I, p. 114, nr. 133; (8).
189 AR ʿUbayd Allāh	16?	Jaʿfar/Umm Jaʿfar	6A?	NHR 90D; Ties 1452; Dorn 334; MKG I, p. 114, nr. 134.
189 AR		Yazīd/Saʿīd	7A	Liya 493.
190 AR ʿUbayd Allāh	16?	Umm Jaʿfar	6A	NHR 91A; Ties 1475; Nesselmann <u>NPP-B</u> (1854), p. 407 and <u>ZDMG</u> (1857), p. 146; Istanbul (uncat.).

Muhammadīyah

193 AR		Jacfar	6B	NHR 94B-C; Ties 1533; Dorn 385; Lane-Poole NC (1885), p. 230; Berlin, Assur (2).
194 AR		al-Faql	7B	NHR 95L; BMC 239p; FOK 530; Berlin 1276; Ties 1571; (8).
194 AR al-ʿAbbās	17		6B?	Tbg <u>Symb</u> IV, 17.
194 AR al-ʿAbbās	17		7B	NHR 95F; Lane-Poole NC (1892), p. 161; BM (uncat.); Paris (uncat.); Berlin, Assur; (3).
195 AR		cuḇayd	6C	NHR 96B; Ties 1598.
195 AR		Dāʿūd	6C	NHR 96C; Ties 1600; Fraehn 266.
195 AR		al-Faql	7B	NHR 96E-F; Ties 1599; Tbg 248; Lane-Poole NC (1885), p. 330.
195 AR ṭāhīr	22	al-Faql	7B	NHR 96D; BMC 289s; Paris 860; Berlin 1278; Ties 1601; (12).
195 AR ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn	22	al-Faql	7D	NHR 96G-I; Ties 1631; Tbg 262; Dorn 421; FOK 234; (3).
195 AE ṭāhīr	22		7B	NHR 96J; Ties 2824; Barth & Soret I, p. 360, nr. 66; Paris (uncat.).
196 AR		Dhū al-Riʿāsatayn		NHR 97A; Berlin 1388; Ties 1644; Tbg 252; MH 577; (6).
196 AR ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn	22	al-Faql	7D	NHR 97B-C; Ties 1619; Fraehn 278;

<u>Muhammadīyah</u>					
1	2	3	4	5	6
					7
					8
197	AR				Copen 405; Dorn 429; (17). NHR 98A-D; Ties 1661; Khed 576; Berlin 1389; Markov 658; (14). NHR 99A-E; BMC 289v; Berlin 1391; Dorn 444; (14). NHR 100A-B; Ties 1697; Fraehn 288; Fahmy 1989; Thg Symb II, 37; (5). NHR 101A; BMC 289y; Ties 1706; MH 578; Dorn 453; (7). NHR 102A; Berlin 1392; FOK 617; Tbg 295; Fraehn 292; (26). NHR 103; BMC 289aa; Ties 1733; CNS 2.38:692; Markov 712; (4). NHR 104A; Ties 1745; Berlin 1395; Artuk 309; Reṣad 413. NHR 105A-B; Ties 1756; MH 580. NHR 108A-B; Dorn cl.XIII, p. 77, nr. 1; Zambaur Contrib II, p. 139; Ties Mélanges, pp. 190-1, nr. 1; Ties HNZ (1871), nr. 59.
198	AR				
199	AR				
200	AR				
201	AR				
202	AR				
203	AR				
204	AR				
206	AR	Dhū al-Yamīnayn	25		

<u>Muḥammadīyah</u>			
206 AR	Dhū al-Yamīnayn	25	Ishāq ibn Yahyā NHR 108G; Berlin 1396; Ties 1787; Artuk 310; Nesselmann 240; (5).
208 AR	Ṭalḥah	26	Jarīr?/S (letter <u>sīn</u>) NHR 110B; Dorn <u>N.S.</u> , p. 34, nr. b,1; CNS 2.8:53 (E).
209 AR	Ṭalḥah	26	NHR 111A; Ties <u>NZ</u> (1871), p. 10, nr. 61; Markov 26; FOK 781.
210 AR	Ṭalḥah	26	NHR 112 A-B; Tbg cl.VI, nr. 7; Dorn <u>N.S.</u> cl.IV, nr. 2; Markov 30; Paris (uncat), (3).
<u>Iṣbahān</u>			
154 AE	Ismāʿīl ibn Muṣṣab		Album 35.
<u>Madīnat Iṣbahān</u>			
195 AR	al-Faḍl	7B	FOK 535.
196 AR	Harthamah		BMC 274; Paris 896; Berlin 1320; Tbg 263; Copen 406; (14).
197 AR	Harthamah		BMC 275; Paris 898; Khed 565; Tbg 269; Berlin 1323; (41).
198 AR	Harthamah		BMC 275a; Ties 1675; Berlin 1325; Paris 899; 275; (30).
199 AR	Ḥ (letter <u>ḥā'</u>)	24	BMC 276a; Berlin 1334; Tbg 283; Paris (uncat).

200 AR	Madīnat Iṣbahān Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	BMC 277; Paris 901; Berlin 1335; Tbg 289; Ties 1707; (25).
201 AR	Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	BMC 278; Paris 902; Berlin 1339; Tbg 296; Ties 1721; (69).
202 AR	Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	BMC 278a; Paris 903; Tbg 301; Ties 1732; Copen 424; (7).
202 AR	calī al-Riḍā/Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	Ties 1731; Artuk 305; Reṣad 393; BM (uncat.).
203 AR	calī al-Riḍā/Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	BM (ined.).
203 AR Ḥ (letter <u>pā'</u>)		MH 569.
204 AR	calī al-Riḍā/Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	Paris 904; Berlin 1347; Tbg 300a; Fraehn 298; CNS 2.38; 646 (Linder Welin <u>NN</u> (1941) 646).
205 AR	calī al-Riḍā/Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	Dorn 471-2; <u>Maskūkāt</u> 4 (1972), p. 46; Ash (uncat.).
206 AR	Ḥ (letter <u>pā'</u>)	Copen 431; Cunha 532; FOK 777-8; BM (uncat.).
207 AR	Ḥ (letter <u>hā'</u>)	BMC 279; Paris 905; Tbg 317; Cunha 533; Fraehn 300; (10).
213 AE	Abū Ishāq ibn A.M./ calī ibn ?	Zambaur Contrib. II, p. 119, nr. 262; Paris (uncat.); Album 335.

<u>Jayy</u>							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
136 AE	Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim		1				Paris (ined.).
150 AE	al-Mahdī Muḥammad ibn 5.a A.M.				Saʿīd		Paris (ined.).
<u>Madīnat Jayy</u>							
158 AE					D... ibn Sinān?	3A	Berlin 2137; RIC 370; Album 36.
162 AR					Yahyā	3B	BMC 101-2; Paris 703; Berlin 807; Ties 922; Tbg 87; (124).
<u>Jayy</u>							
174 AE					Yahyā ibn Muʿādh		Paris (4 ined.).
181 AE	Muḥammad			14	al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Jannāh		Paris 1572.
182 AE	Muḥammad			14	Barmak		Paris (ined.).
191 AE					al-Ḥasan ibn Jannāh?		Miles, <u>Persepolis nr. 505</u> ; BM (3 uncat).
<u>Hamadān</u>							
133 AE	no mint name				Zuhayr ibn al-Turkī		ANS (ined.).
147 AE					ʿUmar ibn Salm		Paris 1691; Berlin 2122; Ties 2628; BM (uncat).

<u>Hamadān</u>				
148 AE	al-Mahdī Muḥammad ibn A.M.	5.a	ʿUmar ibn Salm	3A BMC 98p; Paris 1638; Berlin 2123.
151 AE	al-Mahdī Muḥammad ibn A.M.	5.a	Ṭayfūr	3A BM (ined); Paris (ined).
152 AE			Ṭayfūr	3A Ties 812.
154 AE			Ṣubayḥ	3A Ties 838; Gunba 1107; BM (uncat).
156 AE			ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	3A Berlin 2125.
164 AE			ʿAbd Allāh ibn Malik	4C Ties 964; Barth & Soret I, p. 355, nr. 58.
168 AE			ʿAbd Allāh ibn Malik	4C Paris (ined).
170 AE			al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥawiyah	5C Ash (ined).
180 AE			"	5C Paris 1639; Barth & Soret I, p. 356, nr. 60; Album 215.
182 AE or 6			ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad	6A BMC 135; Berlin 2201-2; Fraehn N.S. I, p. 14, nr. 188c.
188 AE			Ṣard (?)	6A Paris 1638bis; Paris (uncat).
189 AE			Bishr ibn Khuzaym/ Hishām	Album 311.

200 AE	al-Husayn ibn Umar al-Rustami	(24)	Tayfur	<u>Madīnat Hamadān</u>	BMC 143d.e; Berlin 2219; Khed 871; Ties 1712; RIC 402; RBC 518.
154 AE			Sulaymān	<u>Nihāwand</u>	Ties 835; RIC 396; Paris (uncat.).
186 AE			al-Fadl	<u>Madīnat Nihāwand</u>	Paris 1553; Berlin 2191-2; RIC 397- 400; Album 268; Paris (4 uncat.).

KHURASAN

Marw

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
143	AE	Muhammad ibn A.M.	4, a	2	ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Yazīd	3A	Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 64, nr. 44.
182	AR	ʿAlī	18			6A	Ties 1333; Dorn 273; Ziya 453; FOK 198.
184	AR	ʿAlī	18		<u>Madīnat Marw</u>	6A	Berlin 1227; Cunha 1007; BM (uncat.); Paris (uncat.).
185	AR	ʿAlī	18			6A	Ties 1380; Dorn 273; Tbg 190; Artuk 260; Fraehn 203; (18).
186	AR	ʿAlī	18			7A	Ties 1404; Fraehn <u>N.A.</u> , p. 15, nr. 211a; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 111, nr. 170; Dorn <u>A.M.</u> , p. 423, nr. 5.
187	AR				Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim	5C	Ziya 482 (may be Arran mint).
194	AR				al-Fadl	7B	Berlin 1294; Ash (uncat.).
194	AE				Muhammad ibn Abbās?/ Ismāʿīl ibn (Muhammad?)		Album 349.
195	AR				al-Fadl	7B	Ties 1611; Fraehn <u>Sprewitz</u> 241; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 148, nr. 219; Adler, p. 29.

Madīnat Mary

197 AR Dhū al-Rī'āsātayn	22	BMC 298b.
198 AR Dhū al-Rī'āsātayn	22	Ties 1670; Dorn 440; Fraehn <u>N.S.</u> , p. 19, nr. 284a; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 153, nr. 257.
199 AR Dhū al-Rī'āsātayn	22	Ties 1698; Tbg 287; Goddington <u>NC</u> (1902), p. 271; FOK 236.
200 AR Dhū al-Rī'āsātayn	22	BMC 298f.
201 AR Dhū al-Rī'āsātayn	22	Ties 1723; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 160, nr. 248.

Madīnat Balkh

189 AR 'Alī	18	7A	BMC 175; Berlin 1010; Khed 450; Tbg 211; Copen 382; (36).
190 AR 'Alī	18	7A	Album 207.
190 AR 'Alī ibn c'Isā	18 2		Paris 787; Berlin 1013; Khed 451; Artuk 247; Copen 334; (5).
192 AR			Berlin 1014; Tbg 231; Ziya 592.
193 AR			Markov 590a,c; Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 140A; CNS 2.8:40 (E).
193 AR		5C	Berlin 1015; FOK 231.
193 AR Harthamah	19	5C	RIC 243.

<u>Madīnat Balkh</u>				
193 AR	Ḥ (letter ḥā')			Tbg 235; Khed 452; Fraehn 251; RBC 332; CNS 2.38:278; BM (uncat.).
194 AR	al-Faḍl	7B		BMC 237a; Khed 525; Berlin 1259; Ties 1591; Tbg 257; (16).
195 AR	al-Faḍl	7B		Berlin 1261; Tbg 259a; Ties 1613; Cunha 632; Dorn 415; (7).
195 AR	al-Faḍl	7D		Berlin 1349; MH 570; Tbg 259; Ties 1626; Artuk 301; (11).
196 AR al-Faḍl		22		RIC 249.
196 AR Dhū al-R1'āsātayn		22		BMC 282; Ties 1647; Album 316.
197 AR Dhū al-R1'āsātayn		22		Berlin 1352; Ties 2828.
199 AR Dhū al-R1'āsātayn		22		FOK 1615.
202 AE Ghassān (?)		23		BMC 168.
<u>Naysābūr/Abrahashr</u>				
<u>Madīnat Abrahashr</u>				
190 AR	al-Faḍl	7C		Tbg 216; CNS 2.38:245.
<u>Naysābūr</u>				
191 AE ʿAlī ibn c'īsā	Nūḥ (ibn Muḥammad?)	18		Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 71, nr. 63; II, p. 143, nr. 263; Paris (uncat.).

<u>Madīnat Abrashahr</u>		
192 AR	Nasr ibn Sa ^c d	BMC 160b; Paris 771; Berlin 952; Ties 1517; Dorn 367; (10).
193 AR	Nasr ibn Sa ^c d	Berlin 953; Artuk 243; Ties 1548; Reşad 299; Dorn 390; (2).
<u>Madīnat Naysābūr</u>		
193 AR	Ḥamawayh	BMC 229; Paris 849; Berlin 1238; Copen 348; Ties 1540; (12).
193 AR	cuṭhmān	BMC 245; Paris 850; Tbg 236; Ties 1561; Cunha 1043; (2).
194 AR	cuṭhmān	Codrington NC (1902), p. 270; Album 358; Ash (uncat).
194 AR	Jibrayl	Paris 866; Khed 533; Cunha 1044.
194 AR	al-Faḍl	Berlin 1297; Fahmy 1921; Dorn 404; Artuk 282; Ties 1583; (10).
195 AR	al-Faḍl	Paris 867; Cunha 1045; Dorn 416; Fahmy 1922; Album 361; (2).
195 AR	al-Faḍl	Tbg 260; Ties 1627; Markov 632; MKG I, p. 126, nr. 176; Album 360; (2).
195 AR	al-Faḍl/Ismā ^c īl	Ties 1628; Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 161; Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> III, p. 118, nr. 406; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 148, nr. 224.
196 AR	al-Faḍl	BMC 300; Ties 1641; Cunha 1047; Dorn 344

<u>Madīnat Naysābūr</u>						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						8
197	AR	Dhū al-Rī'āsātayn	22		ʿAbd Allāh	430; Qazzāz (<u>Sumer</u> 1967) 10; (4). Paris 924; Berlin 1419; Tbg 270; MH 586; FOK 546; (8). Berlin 1420; Album 363.
198	AR	"	22		ʿAbd Allāh	Paris 925; Ties 1711; Tbg 293; Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 183.
200	AR	"	22		B (letter <u>bā'</u>)	Berlin 1421. Ties 1724.
200	AR	"	22		Yahyā	Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 72, nr. 65. Ties 2837.
201	AR	"	22			
201	AE				Mūsā ibn Khāqān	
202	AR	Dhū al-Rī'āsātayn	22			
<u>Naysābūr</u>						
203	AR	"	22			CNS 2.9:24 (A).
204	AE	Ghassān ibn ʿAbbād	23	2	Sahl	Berlin 2218a; Paris (9 uncat.).
206	AR	Dhū al-Yamīnayn	24		Muhammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Jāhiri	Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 213; Paris (uncat.).
<u>Surādiq Abrashahr</u>						
206	AR	Dhū al-Yamīnayn	24		Muhammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Jāhiri	Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 214; Markov, p. 922, nr. 4a; Dorn, p. 77, nr. 2; Tbg 315a; Blau <u>Nachlesen</u> 15; (2). 345

208 AR	Talhah	25	<u>Naysabūr</u>	7D	Lorn, cl. XIII, nr. 7.
210 AR	Talhah	25	<u>Abrashahr</u>		Tbg cl. VI, nr. 8.
168 AE			<u>Harāt</u>		
192 AR			al-Ḥajjāj	3C	Sambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 68, nr. 55.
193 AR			Naṣr ibn Saʿd		Ties 1519; Tbg <u>Symb</u> III, p. 247, nr. 31.
193 AR			Naṣr ibn Saʿd		Copen 347; Caboul 51.
193 AR			Ḥamawayh	7B	Berlin 1299; Ties 1541.
193 AR			Ḥamawayh	5C	Tbg <u>Symb</u> II, 34; Dorn 381; CNS 2.38: 282-3.
194 AR			al-Faḍl	7B	Berlin 1302; Tbg 254; Ties 1595; FOK 534; Anderson <u>Kochtel</u> 152; (7).
195 AR			al-Faḍl	7B	BMC 246; Berlin 1305.
			<u>Madīnat Harāt</u>		
195 AR			al-Faḍl	7B	BM (ined); Ash (ined).
195 AR			al-Faḍl	7D	BMC 300x; Tbg 258; Copen 399; RIC 248; Berlin 1422; (8).

Madīnat Harāt

196 AR al-Faḍl	22		Berlin 1424; Ties 2826; Khed 579A; Copen 400; Album 324; (4).
197 AR Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	22		CNS 1.130:112.
198 AR		Harthamah	Ties 1678; Fraehn 286.
199 AR Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn	22		Berlin 1427; Khed 580; CNS 2.38:623 (Linder Welin <u>NNA</u> (1941) 621).
206 AR Dhū al-Yamīnayn	24	al-Shakir ibn Ibrāhīm	BMC 301; Berlin 1428; Ties 1787; FOK 776; Copen 430; (12).
207 AR Ṭalḥah	25	ʿAbd Allāh	BMC 239g.
		<u>Būshanj</u>	
190 AE		Ismāʿīl ibn al-Mansūr	Zambaur <u>Contrib.</u> I, p. 70, nr. 62.

APPENDIX C

PROVINCIAL REVENUES FROM EARLY ʿABBĀSĪD BUDGETS

There are preserved in several early Arab sources lists of tax revenues which cover the four provinces included in this study. Two date from the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd and two from Ma'mūn's. The latter are not entirely accurate, as one is taken from tax rolls covering a period that extends beyond the death of Ma'mūn; whereas, the other is a list of revenues for the eastern provinces under the control of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tāhir. The table lists the provincial tax revenues by these sources:

I. 172/788—Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*: The final two pages, omitted in the published editions that list the tax revenues, are given by Ṣāleḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, "A New Version of Ibn al-Muṭarrīf's List of Revenues in the Early Times of Hārūn al-Rashīd," *JESHO* 14 (1971), pp. 306-10.

II. Ca. 184/800—Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 281-288 and ʿAlī, loc. cit. The approximate date is arrived at by D. Waines, "The Third Century Internal Crisis of the Abbasids," *JESHO* 20 (1977), pp. 284-286.

III. Ca. 204-237/819-851—Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, *BGA* VI (Leiden, 1889), pp. 237-251; listed in A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* I (Vienna, 1875), pp. 360-369, with some mistakes in the transcription of numbers. The amount for the Sawād has been adjusted by Waines, op. cit., p. 286.

IV. 211-212/826-827—Tax roll for the East under ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tāhir: Ibn Khuradādhbih, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*, *BGA* VI, pp. 34-39; and given by Kremer, op. cit., pp. 373-378, with some mis-transcribed figures.

In some cases several districts are listed separately on one roll and placed together on another. Note: All figures are in dirhams.

Provincial Revenues

Province	I 172/788	II Ca. 184/800	III (Ca.) 204-37/819-51	IV 211-12/826-27
<u>IRAQ:</u>				
Sawād	87,860,000	102,500,000	112,416,000 [Waines]	--
Kaskar	11,620,000	11,600,000	--	--
Kuwar Dijlah [+2,000 Dī- nārs]	20,000,000	20,800,000	--	--
<u>ARMENIA:</u>				
Armenia	12,000,000	13,000,000	4,000,000	--
Azerbaijan	4,700,000	4,000,000	4,500,000	--
<u>JIBAL:</u>				
Rayy	12,000,000	12,000,000	20,200,000	10,000,000
Isbahān	11,600,000	11,000,000	10,500,000	7,000,000
Hamadān	11,500,000	11,800,000	1,700,000	--
Qumm	--	--	3,000,000	2,000,000
Dīnawar	7,000,000)	20,700,000	5,000,000	3,800,000
Nihāwand	5,500,000)		4,000,000	--
Shahrzūg and Darabādh	1,000,000	24,000,000	--	2,750,000
Tabaristan/Rūyān /Dunbawand	6,000,000	6,300,000	1,163,070 [Tabaristan only]	--
Qūmis	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	2,196,000
Jurjān	12,000,000	12,000,000	4,000,000	10,176,800
Mihrajanqathaḡ Masbathan	4,000,000	--	1,100,000 1,100,000	3,500,000
Īgharayn	--	--	3,100,000	--
<u>KHURĀSĀN:</u>				
Khurāsān [including Transoxiana]	28,000,000	28,000,000	38,000,000	20,519,270

* All figures are in dirhams, except as noted.

APPENDIX D
FREQUENCY OF MINT ISSUES

The following tables chart the known silver and copper coinage struck at the provincial mints of the four provinces examined in this study. The data are collected from numerous sources of published and unpublished specimens (see Numismatic Bibliography above).

x = Dirham

o = *Fals*

I R A Q

Year	Basrah	Kūfah	Wāsit	Hāshimīyah	Madā'in	Maysān	Sāmiyah	Year
132		x						132
133	xo	xo						133
134	xo	x						134
135	xo	x					o	135
136	xo	x						136
137	x	x						137
138	xo	x		x				138
139	xo	x		x				139
140	xo	x						140
141	x	x						141
142	x	x						142
143	xo	xo		x				143
144	xo	x		x				144
145	x	x		x				145
146	x	x						146
147	x	x						147
148	x	x						148
149								149
150								150
151								151
152	xo							152
153	x							153
154	xo							154
155								155
156	x	x						156
157	x	x						157
158	xo							158
159								159
160	x	o						160
161	x							161
162	x	o						162
163		o					x	163
164	xo	o						164
165	x	o					x	165
166	x	o	o			o	x	166

IRAQ (cont.)

Year	Basrah	Kūfah	Wāsīt	Hāshimīyah	Madā'in	Maysān	Sāmiyah	Year
167	xo	o	o					167
168	x	o						168
169		xo	x					169
170	x							170
171	x	x						171
172								172
173								173
174	xo							174
175								175
176								176
177			o					177
178	x							178
179		x	x					179
180	x	x	o					180
181	xo							181
182	x							182
183	x							183
184	xo	x						184
185	x							185
186	xo							186
187			o					187
188	xo	o						188
189	xo							189
190			x					190
191		o						191
192								192
193								193
194								194
195		o						195
196	x	o						196
197	xo							197
198	x				x			198
199	x	x						199
200	x	x	x					200
201		x						201
202		x						202
203		x	x					203
204	x	x						204
205	x	x						205
206		x						206
207								207
208		x						208
209								209
210		o						210
211								211
212								212
213								213
214		x						214

[continued]

IRAQ (cont.)

Year	Basrah	Kūfah	Wāsīt	Hāshimīyah	Madā'in	Maysān	Sāmiyah	Year
215								215
216								216
217		x						217
218								218

A R M E N I A

Year	Arminiyah//Dabil	Arran//Bardah	Bab	Harunabad//Haruniyah	Year
132		x			132
133					133
134					134
135					135
136					136
137					137
138					138
139					139
140					140
141					141
142			o		142
143	x		o		143
144	x				144
145	x	x			145
146	x	x			146
147	x	x			147
148	x	xo			148
149	x	x			149
150	x	x			150
151	x				151
152	x	x			152
153	x	xo			153
154	x	o	x	o	154
155	x	x	x	o	155
156					156
157					157
158			o		158
159		o	o		159
160					160
161	x				161
162	x				162
163			o		163
164			x		164
165	x		x		165
166	x	x	o		166
167	x			x	167
168	x	x		x	168
169	x	x		x	169
170	x				170
171				xo	171
172	x	x		x	172
173					173
174	x				174
175	x	o			175
176	x				176

[continued]

ARMENIA (cont.)

Year	Arminiyah//Dabil	Arran//Bardacah	Bab	Madan//Bajunays	Year
177	x	o	o		177
178	x	o	o		178
179	x				179
180	x			o	180
181	x				181
182	x				182
183	x	x		x	183
184		xo			184
185	x	xo			185
186	x	xo			186
187	x	o			187
188	x	x			188
189	x	x			189
190	x	x		x	190
191	x	x		x	191
192	x	x		x	192
193	x	xo		x	193
194	x	x	o	x	194
195	x	x		x	195
196		x		x	196
197		xo		x	197
198		x			198
199				x	199
200					200
201					201
202	x				202
203	x			x	203
204	x			x	204
205				x	205
206			o	x	206
207	x	x		x	207
208		x		x	208
209		x		x	209
210		x		x	210
211		x			211
212		x		x	212
213		x		x	213
214		xo		x	214
215		x			215
216		x		x	216
217	x	x		x	217
218	x	x			218

J I B A L

Year	Rayy/Muhammadiyah	Isbahān/Jayy	Hamadān Māh	al-Basrah/Nihāwand	Year
132					132
133			o?		133
134			o		134
135			o		135
136			o		136
137	o				137
138	o		o		138
139	o				139
140					140
141	o		o		141
142					142
143	o				143
144	o		o		144
145	xo				145
146	xo				146
147	xo		o		147
148	xo	x	o		148
149	o	x			149
150		xo	o		150
151		xo	o		151
152		x	o		152
153		x			153
154		x	o	o	154
155		xo		x	155
156		o	o		156
157		x			157
158		o	o		158
159		x			159
160	o	xo	o		160
161		x			161
162		x	x		162
163		xo			163
164		xo	o		164
165		xo	o		165
166		x	x		166
167		x			167
168	x	x	o		168
169		xo	x		169
170		xo	x	o	170
171		x	x	o	171
172		x			172
173		x			173
174		x	o		174
175		x			175
176		xo			176

[continued]

JIBAL (cont.)

Year	Rayy/Muhammadiyah	Isbahān/Jayy	Hamadān Māh	al-Basrah/Nihāwand	Year
177	xo	x			177
178	xo				178
179	x				179
180	xo		o		180
181	x		o		181
182	x		xo	o?	182
183	x				183
184	xo				184
185	xo				185
186	x			o?	186
187	x		x		187
188	xo			o	188
189	x			o	189
190	x		x		190
191	x		o		191
192	x				192
193	x			o	193
194	x				194
195	xo	x			195
196	x	x			196
197	x	x			197
198	x	x			198
199	x	x			199
200	xo	x		o	200
201	xo	x			201
202	x	x			202
203	x	x			203
204	x	x			204
205	xo	x			205
206	x	x			206
207	xo	x			207
208	x	x			208
209	xo	x			209
210	x	x			210
211					211
212					212
213		o			213
214					214
215					215
216					216
217					217
218	x				218

K H U R Ā S Ā N

Year	Marw	Balkh	Naysābūr//Abrashahr	Harāt	Gharshīstān	Year
132	x					132
133	x					133
134						134
135						135
136						136
137					x	137
138						138
139	x					139
140						140
141						141
142						142
143	o		x			143
144						144
145						145
146						146
147			o			147
148						148
149						149
150						150
151						151
152						152
153						153
154						154
155						155
156			o			156
157						157
158						158
159						159
160						160
161						161
162						162
163						163
164						164
165						165
166		x				166
167						167
168		x		o		168
169		x				169
170						170
171						171
172						172
173						173
174						174
175						175
176						176

[continued]

KHURĀSĀN (cont.)

Year	Marw	Balkh	Naysābūr//Abrashahr	Harāt	Būshanj	Year
177						177
178						178
179						179
180						180
181		x				181
182	x	xo				182
183		x				183
184	x	x				184
185	x	x				185
186	x	x				186
187	x	x				187
188		x				188
189		x				189
190		x		x	o	190
191		x	o			191
192		x		x		192
193	x	x	x	x		193
194	xo	x	x	x		194
195	x	x	x	x		195
196		x	x	x		196
197	x	x	x	x		197
198	x		x	x		198
199	x	x	x	x		199
200	x		x	x		200
201	x		xo?			201
202			x			202
203			x	x		203
204		o	o			204
205						205
206		o	x	x	x	206
207				x		207
208			x			208
209						209
210	x			x		210
211						211
212	x					212
213	x					213
214	x					214
215	x					215
216	x					216
217	x					217
218						218

V I T A

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