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University of Washington, 1979

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EARLY ABBASID 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

Chairperson, Supervisory Committee

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS .................................................. iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ............................................... v

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION ............................................... 1
   Sources for Early 'Abbāsid Provincial History .......... 3
   Textual Sources .............................................. 3
   Numismatic Sources ......................................... 12
   Footnotes to Chapter I .................................... 16

II. PART I: THE PROVINCE OF IRAQ .......................... 21
   The Basrah Governorate .................................... 23
   The Kūfah Governorate .................................... 46
   Footnotes to Chapter II ................................... 63

III. THE PROVINCE OF ARMENIA ................................. 83
    Footnotes to Chapter III ................................. 122

IV. THE PROVINCE OF JIBAL ................................ 138
    Footnotes to Chapter IV ................................ 162

V. THE PROVINCE OF KHURĀSĀN ............................... 172
    Footnotes to Chapter V .................................. 194

VI. PART II: THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR ....................... 205
    Footnotes to Chapter VI ................................ 222

VII. OFFICIALS AND OFFICES: PROVINCIAL TAXATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS ........ 226
    Tax Systems and Collectors .............................. 227
    Quasi-Military Offices .................................. 238
    The Qādi .................................................. 240
    The Sāhib al-Barid ...................................... 241
    Footnotes to Chapter VII ................................. 244
### Chapter VIII. THE *ABBĀSID PROVINCYAL COINAGE SYSTEM*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jibal</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurasan</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes to Chapter VIII</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IX. CONCLUSION
- Page 269

### BIBLIOGRAPHY
- Primary Sources: 275
- Secondary Sources: 279
- Numismatic Sources: 288

### APPENDICES
- A. *Abbāsid Princes Appointed to Governorships*: 298
- B. Numismatic Data: 300
- C. Provincial Revenues from Early *Abbāsid Budgets*: 348
- D. Frequency of Mint Issues: 350

### VITA
- Page 359
# LIST OF MAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Caliphate: Central and Eastern Provinces.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia.</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jibal.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurasan.</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The ability to control the widespread regions of their Empire was of paramount importance to the Ābbāsid family. The first two caliphs of that dynasty—Abū al-Ābbās al-Saffāh (reigned 132-36/749-54) and Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr (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 Ābd 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 Ābbāsid 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 Ābbāsid caliphs (132-218 AH/750-833 AD). Of primary importance to the present writer is the manner in
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 ʿAbbāsid 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 Ābbāsīd period do exist, but they pertain only to Egypt and, to a much lesser extent, Syria² The amount of paper work required to administer the vast Ābbāsīd 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 Ābbāsīd 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 Ābbāsīd 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. 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 Abbāsid 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 Abbāsid historians was Āli ibn Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī. Born in Baṣra 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. His most important work was the Kitāb akhābār al-khulafāʾ al-kabīr (The Great Book of Accounts Concerning the Caliphs), which extended to the reign of Muʿtaṣim (218-227/833-842) and was preserved by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī. Of Madāʾinī’s other historical writings, only the Kitāb al-dawlaḥ (Book of the Dynasty) found its way into the works of several later authors. A rather successful attempt has recently been made to gather a number of the extant fragments of Madāʾinī’s caliphal history, together with a study of his life and writings. The importance of Madāʾinī 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. Aside from the fact that his writings exist only as fragments of the original, Madāʾinī remains a valuable source for early Abbāsid 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. 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 Madāʾinī and ʿUṣfurī. The Kitāb al-maʿrifah 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. Yaʿqūb 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. 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. This book belongs to the genre of


\( \text{\textit{tabaqat}} \) 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 Fasawi 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 Madaʿinī's historical writings, since he was the latter's student. Balādhurī's usefulness as a source for Abbāsid history lies not so much in his Futūḥ al-bulām (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 \( \text{\textit{tabaqat}} \), in that it progresses through generations of renowned Arab clans beginning with the family of the Prophet. The section on the Abbāsids is particularly valuable because it contains some information not found in other sources, some of which is derived from the lost works of Madaʿinī. The sections concerning distinguished personalities of other major families are also useful, since the Abbāsid 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 Abbāsid historians. He was an Alid who grew up in Armenia and later was an official of the
Although he rarely mentions his sources, Yaqtubī’s Tarīkh 18 is valuable as a check on other historical traditions and provides useful information about conditions in the northern and eastern parts of the Abbasid Empire. To a lesser extent, his geographical work, Kitāb al-buldān (The Book of the Countries) 19 is informative on topographical and financial aspects of some of the provinces. A generally good picture of early Abbasid Armenia can be realized when Yaqtubī’s Tarīkh is compared with and complemented by the work of Ibn Aṯīṭām al-Kūfi. 20

If sheer volume alone were enough to rank the early Arab historians, then Abu Jafar al-Ṭabarī (225-311/839-923) would clearly tower above most of his competitors. The value of his monolithic Tarīkh 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-ridādah (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 Cumāl al-shuaraṭ li-umara’ al-Īraq (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 Tarīkh Baghdād (History of Baghdad) by Ibn Abī Ṭahīr Ḥayfūr. 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, qaḍīs, and members of the bureaucracy are found at the end of each year up to the reign of Ḥarūn 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 Ǧahil; Ǧayfūr (see above). Another work on Baṣrah was written by al-Sajjī, Tarikh al-Baṣrah (History of Baṣrah), but only fragments were preserved by Yaḥyā. 28 Kūfah was the subject of two later historians, but even
their works have not come down to us in their entirety. Ibn al-Najjâr’s Tarîkh al-Kufah (History of Kufah) was a source for Yaqût in his biographical dictionary.29 A section of al-Ṣalâfî’s Faqîl al-Kufah (Merit of Kufah) is preserved in a late 5th/11th-century manuscript in Damascus, but has not been edited.30 The Tarîkh Wâsit (History of Wâsit) of Bahshâl al-Wâsitî is mostly a biographical dictionary of scholars of Wâsit, but does contain some interesting information of the early ʿAbbâsid period, since the author used Wahh ibn Baqâ’îyâh (155-239/772-853) as one of his sources.31

There are no known local Arab histories for Armenia, but three exist for Jabal: Abû al-Faqîl al-Hamadhânî’s Tabaqât al-Hamadhânîyân (Classes of the People of Hamadan), utilized by al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî,32 and the Kitâb dhikr akhbâr Iṣbaḥân (Remembrance of News of Iṣbaḥân) of Abû Nuʿaym,33 both biographical works rather than actual narrative histories. al-Qummi’s Tarîkh Qum, of which a section is extant in a Persian translation made in 805/1402, is only marginally helpful since Qum was not a provincial capital.34 Khurasân received somewhat better treatment from early writers, the history of the province as a whole having been recorded by al-Salâmî in two works: Tarîkh Khurasân (History of Khurasân) and Tarîkh vulât Khurasân (History of the Governors of Khurasân), neither of which has been fortunate enough to survive to the present day.35 The city of Harât was the subject of Ibn Yâsîn al-Haddâd’s Tarîkh Harât, which is preserved in a few scattered fragments,36 but the history of Marw was recorded by no less than three authors. Ahmad ibn Sayyâr,37 al-Sanjî38 and Ibn Maḍînî39 each wrote a Tarîkh 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. 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 ābāsīd records. 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. 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 ābāsīd 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-ʿazārāʾ wa-al-kuttāb mentioned above and the Rūṣūm


*dār al-khilāfah* (Ceremonies of the Caliphal Palace) by Hilāl al-Sabīlī, 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 *Abbāsid* period.

It is evident from the above that there is a more-than-ample amount of raw material available for a serious study of *Abbāsid* 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. 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 *Abbāsid* 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 *Abbāsid* provincial coinage and mint distribution will be dealt with elsewhere. 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 *Abbāsid* 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 Ḥārūn 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. A few names had been mentioned earlier in the ongoing narrative of Ḥārūn'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.

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 Başra, Kūfah and Wāsiṭ have been shown to coincide with the appointment and dismissal of the governors in Iraq.\textsuperscript{48} Indications are that the same does not generally hold true for dirhams struck during the early \textsuperscript{c}Abbāsid period.\textsuperscript{49} Meaningful explanations for the various words, letters and symbols on \textsuperscript{c}Abbāsid 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 \textsuperscript{c}Abbāsid 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 \textsuperscript{c}Abbāsid 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 Harūn 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 chronologi- cal 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 terr- itories 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 per- iod.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 See map on following page.


3 One such instance is recorded by Qudamah ibn Ja’far, *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 Amin and Ma’mun.


5 *GAS* I, p. 314.

6 *GAS* I, p. 310.

7 It is mentioned by Yağūt, *Iṣlaḥ* V, p. 315, as having been preserved in a book by Abu Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (212-175/827-888).


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-ʿUmārī (Baghdad, 1977).
11 Gas I, p. 319.

Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı, Revan Köşk 1554 (Cat. No. 5852; Iam 819 tārīkh) is Vol. 2 and covers the years 129–241/746–855; Suleymaniye 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.

Fasawi’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 anecdotally fashion. His Kitāb al-maʿārif (Book of Knowledge), ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850), and Tharwat ’Ukashah (Cairo, 1960) contains some valuable information, but his Uyun al-akhbar (Well-Springs of Information), part. ed. C. 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 Ḫutayba," EI 3 III, pp. 844–847.

15 It is unfortunate that this great source of early Islamic history has not been completed 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: Reisülkütta Mustafa Aşır Efendi (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), 597 and 598. However, two incomplete sets of the work by different scribes (together they consist the entire contents of the Istanbul manuscript) have been located in Rabat, Morocco: al-Khāzānah al-Malakiyyah, 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.

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


18 Ibn-Wadhib qui dictitur al-Jaක෍රෝශි, Historiae, ed. M.T. Houtsma, 2 Vols. (Leiden, 1883); and (Beirut, 1970), 2 Vols.


20 See Footnote 8.


22 Sayf ibn ʿAlī al-Asadī (Usaydī) al-Tamīmī (died during reign of Harun al-Rashid). 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 ʿIršādlı’s article, "Sayf b. ʿOmer," İslâm Ansiklopedisi 10, pp. 531-532, where he is placed as living in Baghdad from 180/796-797 until about 200/815-816. See also ʿSaif b. ʿAlī in ET IV, p. 73.

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


27 A number of later historians provide some information not found in ʿTabari. Among the most useful are al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942). Kitāb al-wusāraʾ wa-al-kutṭāb (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-Maṣūdī (d. 345/956). Muḥājir al-dhakhtar wa-maʿ addin al-jawāhir (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels) and Kitāb al-tanbih wa-al-ʾīhrāf (Book of Advice and Review); the Kitāb al-ʾuyūn wa-al-ḥadāʾiq fī akhbār al-ḥaqāʾiq (Book of the Well-Springs and the Gardens Concerning the True News) by


40. One glaring exception to this statement is Muḥammad ibn Salāmah al-Qudāʿī, whose "Uyūn al-muḥājir wa-funun akhbar al-khulāṣah (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.

41 A large number of the official caliphal letters have been gathered together from the widely scattered literature by Ahmad Zakî Safwat and published as Jamhurat rasâ'îl al-Šarîf fi usûr al-Šarabîyâh al-žâhirah, 4 Vols. (Cairo, 1356/1937). Vol. 3 covers the early Abbâsid period to 218/833.

42 The earliest of these is by Ābu Yusuf Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm (d. 182/798), who was the chief qâdi 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 Yâhya ibn Adam al-Qurashî (d. 203/818), ed. Ahmad Muḥammad Shakir (Cairo, 1927; new ed. 1964-1965); translated by A. B. Shemesh, Taxation in Islam I (Leiden, 1967). The third is by Qudamah ibn Ja'far (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.

43 Hilâl al-Šabî', al-Muḥassîn (d. 448/1056-1057), ed. Mîkhâ'îl Awwâd (Baghdad, 1383/1964); translated (Beirut, 2977).

44 RECA I.

45 See Chapter VIII.

46 Ṭabarî, Tab 739-740/8, 346-347; IA VI, pp. 214-215. References to Ṭabarî 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 (Ibrâhîm) edition, shown as volume number (either 7 or 8), comma, and then page.

47 References 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.


49 See Chapter VIII.
CHAPTER II

PART I: THE PROVINCE OF IRAQ

Iraq\(^1\) is unique among the many provinces of the *Abbasid* Empire for several reasons. From the overthrow of the Umayyads in 132/749 to the demise of the *Abbasids* in 656/1258 at the hands of Hulagu, Iraq remained the administrative center of the Empire. To remain in the former Umayyad capital of Damascus would have been anathema to the *Abbasids*. Alternatively, had the new ruling family decided to conduct the affairs of the Empire from Khurasan, 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 *Abbasid* capital than was Syria. In the Iraqi cities, particularly in Kufah, 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 regime established on the throne, Iraq became the natural choice as the central *Abbasid* province and the seat of the imperial capital: eventually Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad).\(^4\) Besides the prestige of containing the capital city under the *Abbasids*, Iraq differed from other provinces in having two governorates, Basrah and Kufah,\(^5\) each with its own
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. Later, in a few instances, two governors were assigned to Iraq: one for Kūfah and Wāṣīṭ, the other for Baṣrah. After the successful ʿAbbāsid revolution, Saffāh 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 Amin 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 ʿAbbāsid period and depended on which territories the caliph placed in the hands of his ʿamīl. During Saffāh'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, ʿUmrān, the ʿarḍ (cultivated land around Baṣrah) and Mihrijānqadhāq. Late in Maṣūr'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. Presumably, they were very much the same places given under Saffah, but in the very next year (157/773) Bahrayn is mentioned as having had over it a separate governor. During the period in which Mahdi was caliph (158-169/775-785), other duties and territories came under the jurisdiction of Basrah's governor, in addition to the Kuwar Dijlah, Bahrayn and C'man. In 160/776 these included control of the urban militia (ajdatah) and isolated prefectures (amal al-mufradah) of Basrah, as well as Ahwaz and Fars. The two last-named places would seem unlikely to be parts of the Basrah 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 farad (the coastal ports), the districts (kuwar) of Ahwaz and of Fars. This indicates that not all of the territory of both Ahwaz and Fars came under the control of Basrah, but only those ports (farad) and the coastal areas of Ahwaz and Fars on the northern shores of the Bahr Fars (Persian Gulf) were attached to this governorate.

Then the size of the Basrah administrative unit was greatly contracted during 165-167/781-783, as the C'amil was given only the city and its immediate area. The Kuwar Dijlah, Bahrayn, C'man, Kaskar, the districts of Ahwaz and Fars, Kirmn, and the isolated prefectures of Basrah were all removed from the control of the governor of Basrah and put under a separate official, whose seat of government is not indicated. This situation did not last very long, however, for in 170/786, the dependencies of Basrah are listed as Bahrayn, C'man, Yamamah, the ports (farad), and the districts of Ahwaz and Fars. No enumeration of lands attached to Basrah is given again until the reign of Ma'mun when, in 206/821,
the governor of Başrah is also given control of the Kuwar Dijlah, Yemen and Bahrayn. 14

The districts controlled by the governor of Başrah 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 c-amīl was often required to leave his capital and undertake military expeditions against elements hostile to the Abbāsid régime. Sometimes the caliph would charge him with carrying out a municipal building project or leading the pilgrimage (hājj) for a particular year. From the beginning of Abbāsid rule in Iraq, Başrah 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 Abbāsid governor of Başrah was Sufyān ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī (Azd-Yaman), who was appointed by the Abbāsid revolutionary leader, Abū Salamah on behalf of Saḥfān in 132/749-750. 15

Prior to his appointment, Sufyān had been a rather controversial figure in Başrah, 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 Başrah 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 Abbāsids. Then Sufyān attempted to use force to oust Salm, but he was defeated and Salm remained in Başrah 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 Wasit.16 Salm then withdraw and Abū Salamah appointed Sufyān to govern Baṣra in the name of the Ăbbāsid family.17 Before the end of the year, however, Saffāb replaced him,18 although he had given Sufyān the estate of Muhallabān in Baṣra.19


3. Sulaymān ibn ĆAlī ibn Ābd Allāh al-ĆAbbāsī (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 Āli canal, improving the water supply of the city, and draining a nearby swamp.22 Many Umayyads remained in Baṣra 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 Āumān.24 Sulaymān had the privilege of leading the ḥajj in 135/753,25 and before Saffāb died (136/754), he granted him an estate called Ābbāsān.26 When Sulaymān's brother, Ābd Allāh ibn Āli, the governor of Syria, revolted against Maṣūr's succession, met defeat, and fled to him in Baṣra (Jumāda 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 Ābd 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 "Abbasan. 30

4. Sufyan ibn Mu'awiya (Azd-Yaman); second appointment (137-138/755-756). He arrived in Basrah in Ramadhan 137 (March 755). 31 If Sulayman ibn 'Ali did not depart Basrah until some two or three months later, 32 the situation in that city must have been rather unsettled during this period. According to Tabari, who records these events under the year 139/756-757, Mansur had ordered Sufyan to have Sulayman and Isa ibn 'Ali bring their brother, Abd Allah, to the caliph, who promptly imprisoned him. 33 Sufyan again did not exercise his position as governor for long, but was dismissed in 138/756. 34

5. 'Umar ibn Hafiz (Azd-Yaman); second appointment (138-140/756-758). Other than saying he was appointed and dismissed in these years, Khalifah ibn Khayyat gives no details. 35

6. Abd al-'Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Azdi (Yaman) (140-[141?]/758-[759?]). Numismatic evidence confirms that he was in office at least part of 140/758. 36

7. Sawwar ibn Abd Allah ibn Qudamah ibn Anzah al-Tamimi al-Anbari (Mu'dar) (141-142/759-760). Sawwar was already the prestigious qadi of Basrah, who also controlled the halat and ma'anah (the ordinary police) when a slave revolt broke out in the city. He was given control of the shurtah and had the rebellious slaves put to death. 37 Mansur united the posts of qadi and amil in the person of Sawwar, 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). He was soon replaced and then appointed governor of Sind in 143/761. [40] He was later made governor of Ifriqiyyah in 151/768 and was killed during a major Kharijite revolt in 153/770. [41]

9. Abū Jamāl ʿĪsā ibn ʿAmr al-Saksakī (Yaman) (143/761). Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt only mentions that this person was appointed governor by Mānṣūr and dismissed in the same year. [42]

10. Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (143/760). He appointed a temporary successor (Khalīfah) and left after only a short period in office. [43] Ismāʿīl died in 147/764. [44] A jāla struck in Baṣrah, dated 143, has his name inscribed on it, thus supporting the textual evidence. [45]

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. [46]

12. Sufyān ibn Muʿāwiyyah (Azd-Yaman); third appointment (144-145/761-762). While he was governor this time, it seems that Sufyān went to meet with Mānṣūr (at Anbār?) and left his son, al-Mughīrah ibn Sufyān, in charge of affairs at Baṣrah. [47] Shortly after Sufyān returned, the revolt of Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh broke out (1 Ramaḍān 145/November 23, 762). [48] Ibrāhīm was the brother of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zākīyah, who had raised a dangerous ʿAlid revolt against ʿAbbāsid
rule in Medina, beginning on 1 Rajab (September 25) of the same year. Muhammad had been easily overcome and killed, but Ibrāhīm's revolt lasted much longer and covered more territory than that of his brother. Sufyān was either intimidated by Ibrāhīm's support in Basra or was sympathetic to his cause, since he offered no resistance to the Ālīd takeover of the city. Sufyān's chief of police (qāhib al-shurta), Jābir ibn Ḥamadān, was warned of the impending crisis, but the governor was unmoved and did nothing. 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. Ṣafartan 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. Ibrāhīm remained in Basra from Ramadan to Shawwal 145 (November–December 762), meanwhile sending forces into the neighboring provinces. Eventually, his revolt covered Ahwaz, Fārs, Wāsit, Madain, Kaskar and the Sawād, as well as Basra. In Shawwal (December), Ibrāhīm left Basra for Kūfah and put his son Ḥasan in charge of the city. Ḥasan's control of Basra 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 mawlid of the Banū Dhubayṣah, wrested the city away from him.

Sulaymān was charged by Mansūr to take control of Basra 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). Meanwhile,
Numaylah ibn Murrah had released Sufyan from prison and he was granted safe conduct to Mansur's army. However, the caliph never trusted him again after learning of Sufyan's part in Ibrahim's revolt. He is not mentioned in the sources after these events.

13. Ja'far ibn Sulayman ibn 'Ali al-'Abbasi (145-146/763). Mansur appointed him sometime in Dhul-Hijjah 145 (February-March 763) and sent him a diploma of office. At practically the same time, Mansur also issued a diploma of appointment to Salm ibn Qutaybah to govern Basrah. Ja'far maintained that his writ had been issued before Salm's and that he had entered the city as an amir. He only exercised his authority for about one month, however, before giving way to Salm.

14. Salm ibn Qutaybah ibn Muslim al-Bahili (Mu'jar) (145-146/763-764). He was a strong military leader who had been sent from Rayy to help contain and extinguish Ibrahim's revolt. Once in office, Salm tended to exercise moderate control over the populace and did not carry out Mansur'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. He must have returned to Rayy soon after, since we find him there in 147/764. He later died in Rayy in 149/766.

15. Muhammad ibn Sulayman ibn 'Ali (al-'Abbasi); second appointment (146-147/763-764). He seems to have been governor for only a short time and then was replaced by Mansur's nephew.

16. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Abu al-'Abbass al-Saffah al-'Abbasi (147/764). The people of Basrah nicknamed him Abu 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 Mansur consented. No sooner had Muhammad returned to Baghdad than he died under mysterious circumstances.  

17. Uqbah ibn Salm ibn Nafi al-Huna'i (Azd-Yaman)(147-151/764-768). When Muhammad ibn Abu Ja'far resigned, he appointed Uqbah as his successor, with Mansur's approval. In 151/768, when the caliph sent him on a military expedition to Bahrayn, Uqbah left his son Nafi to administer Basrah in his absence. When Uqbah returned, he was dismissed, but the sources give no reason for Mansur's decision.  

18. Jabir ibn Tawbah al-Kilabi (Mu'dar)(151-152/768-769). Other than stating that Jabir was appointed in 151/768 and dismissed in 152/769, details of his period in office are not mentioned by the Arab historians.  

19. Yazid ibn al-Mansur al-Himyar al-Abbasi (152-153/769-770). There is some dispute among the sources as to how long he was in office. Khalifah ibn Khayyat says he was appointed in 152/769, but lasted only one month before being dismissed. Whereas, Tabari agrees with the date of his appointment, he shows him still in office in 153/770, and then quotes Maqidi as saying that Yazid was Mansur's wali of the Yemen in that year (153). He later held posts in the Sawad of Kufah and in Yemen a second time, and died either in 165/781-782 or 167/783-784.  

20. Isa ibn Amr (Yaman); second appointment (152/769). According to Khalifah ibn Khayyat, he was appointed governor of Basrah for a second time after Yazid ibn al-Mansur had served only one month.
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. ḌAbd al-Malik ibn Ayyūb ibn Ṣubīyān al-Numayrī (Qays-Muḍar) (153-155/770-772). The year of his appointment is uncertain. Ḥabarī gives 154/771 as his first year as governor, but the chronology of the preceding official causes some doubt. Khalīfah’s statement that he was appointed in 155 is due to a gap in the manuscript. All are agreed that he was dismissed in 155/772.

22(a). Haytham ibn Muṣawiyah al-Ṣatīrī al-Azdi (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 Saṣīd ibn Daʾij. In that same year, Mansūr ordered Haytham to construct walls around Baṣrah and a moat outside of the walls, all to be financed with the public revenues. It is interesting that Mansūr 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 Saṣīd was of the Tamīm, a Muḍar clan; and these two were historically hostile to one another. Perhaps Mansūr 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 Amr ibn Shaddād, who had been Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣabbāh’s ḍāmil of Fārs, and had him crucified in Baṣrah. 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). Saʿīd ibn Dālij al-Tamīmī (Muqār) (155–159/772–776). At first he shared his position with Haytham ibn Māwiya until 156/773; then he was placed in charge of the shurtah, aḥdāth (urban militia), jawa‘lī (tax collected from emigrants), and ṣadaqāt (alms) of Baṣra.⁸⁷ When the chief qaḍī of the city, Sawwār ibn ʿAbd Allāh, died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 156 (November 773), Saʿīd pronounced the funeral prayers over him.⁸⁸ He was appointed governor of Baṣra in 157/774 after Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān did not go to take up the post. Saʿīd himself did not go to Baṣra, but sent his son, Tamīn, to govern there.⁸⁹ He is still mentioned as having had control of the aḥdāth in 158/775 and ʿUmar ibn Ḥamzah ibn Muṣʿab ibn al-Zubayr was head of the dīwān al-khārāj (tax office) of Baṣra at the same time. Tabarī also mentions a severe plague as having occurred this year.⁹⁰ Although it appears that Saʿīd had control of the aḥdāth taken from him some time during 158, he still functioned in some official capacity until being dismissed by Mahdi in 159/776.⁹¹ He died during the caliphate of Mahdi while governor of Sijistan.⁹² A fragment of ʿUmar ibn Shabbah’s Akhbar al-Baṣraḥ, preserved by Ibn Khallikān, mentions that Saʿīd was in correspondence with the contemporary littérature and poet of Baghdad, Abū Dulāmah, while he was in charge of the aḥdāth of Baṣra and the latter addressed some verses to him.⁹³

22(c) Sawwār ibn ʿAbd Allāh (Muqār); second appointment (155–156/772–773). He was the chief qaḍī of Baṣra for a number of years.⁹⁴ When Haytham was dismissed in 156/773, Sawwār was also placed in charge of
the salāt, the offices of qādi and sahib al-salāt having been joined together by Mansūr. He died at the end of Dhu al-Hijjah 156 (November 773) and was succeeded by ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Hasan. 96

22(d). ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mālik al-ʿAnbarī (Tamīm/Muḍar) (156-159/773-776). When Sawwār died in 156/773, ʿUbayd Allāh was appointed by Mansūr to control the salāt. 97 He was made chief qādi 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 salāt responsibilities, yet continued as chief qādi 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 qādi, aḥdāth and salāt were given to ʿAbd al-Malik when he was appointed in 159/776. 101 Mahdī 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 Daʿij. He was then relieved of his charge over the aḥdāth, which was given to Umārah ibn Hamzah who, in turn, appointed a local Baṣrani 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 salāt, but Umārah was then placed over the neighboring districts of the Tigris (Kuwar Dīlah), Ahwāz and Fārs. 103 In 160/777, Mahdī 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
and having charge of the ahdath, he had the isolated prefectures of the city (dam al-mufradah), the Kuwar Dijlah, Bahrayn ʿUmān, Ahwāz and Fārs under his jurisdiction. To these were added control of the ports (furaḍ) in 163/780. Mahdi ordered the Friday mosque of Baṣrah to be enlarged and, in 161/778, Muhammad was put in charge of that project. Mahdi also had houses added onto the mosque at this time. 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. In 164/781 he was dismissed from all his offices.

25. Ṣāliḥ ibn Dāʾūd (mawla)(164–165/781–782). There is some confusion in the sources as to his identity. Tabari refers to him as Ṣāliḥ ibn Dāʾūd ibn ʿAlī in one place and as Ṣāliḥ ibn Dāʾūd ibn ʿUthmān in another. Pellat follows this and refers to Ibn Ḥazm’s Jawharah. However, Khalīfah ibn Ḥayyāṭ states that Ṣāliḥ was a mawla of the Banū Sulaym. When Mahdi appointed him over the galāt, ahdath and furaḍ of Baṣrah, as well as the Kuwar Dijlah, Ahwāz, Fārs, Bahrayn and ʿUmān, he sent along ʿĀṣim ibn Mūsā al-Khurāsānī the kāṭib to take charge of the kharāj of those territories. He also ordered Ṣāliḥ to take ʿUmdat ibn Mūsā and ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, the successive kāṭibs of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, and their deputies and show that they had acted in bad faith while in office. For some unknown reason, Ṣāliḥ departed from his territory and left his own mawla, Abū Muqātil, in charge of governmental affairs. He was dismissed from his position in 165/782 and nothing more is heard of him.

26, Abū Ḥātim Rūḥ ibn Ḥātim ibn Qabīṣah ibn al-Muhallab (Azd-Yaman)
Rūḥ held a number of posts under both Mansūr and Mahdī. The latter appointed him ṣāmil of the ḥudūth and ṣalāt of Baṣrah in 165/782, but entrusted the Kuwar Dijlah, Ahwāz, Fārs, Bahrayn, Ḥumān, Kaskar and Kirman to his (Mahdī's) mawla by the name of Naṣalī. This arrangement continued through 166/783, a year which found Rūḥ's son Dāʾūd becoming a Zindiq (i.e., one professing heretical views similar to the earlier Manicheans). Dāʾūd's conversion did not endear him to his father, who reproached him and ordered his punishment. A severe plague spread through Baṣrah and Baghdad in 167/784, but Rūḥ was probably gone by this time. A careful examination of the sources shows that, when the death of the powerful rival for the caliphal succession, Ḥīsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muhammad, occurred in Kūfah (26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 167/July 20, 784), Rūḥ was already governor of that city. He was later sent as governor of Ifriqiyyah, died in Qayrawān on 29 Ramadan 174 (February 3, 791), and was buried in the tomb of his brother Yazīd, the governor there before him.

27. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān (Abbāsī); 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 ḥudūth and ṣalāt. He was in charge of the ḥajj of 169/786, accompanied by Caliph Hādī. In 169-170/786-787, the caliph sent him to suppress the Kharajite revolt in the Hijaz led by Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī. After the death of Hādī (15 Rabīʿ I 170/September 14, 786), Harūn al-Rashīd confirmed him in his position, which by then had included the office of ṣāmil over Baṣrah and its ports (Fārs, Ahwāz, Yamānāh, Bahrayn and Ḥumān). Muḥammad remained governor of Baṣrah and its territories until his death in that city at the age of
ended his long career in the service of his family (28 Jumāda II 173/November 22, 789). That he also had found the time and means to enrich himself is apparent from the report that, after his demise, Ḥārūn 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.

28. Sulaymān ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Mansūr al-ʿAbbāsī (173-174/789-790). Upon the death of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, Ḥārūn appointed Sulaymān to the governorship, presumably in Rajab 173 (December 789). He was a son of Caliph Mansūr and Fatimah bint Ṣalāḥ ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿTāmīmī, 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 (ṣaʿīfah) against the Byzantines in that year.

29. ʿIsā ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Mansūr 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 Rabiʿ I (June-July 790). Early in 174 (mid-790) seems to be the more reasonable date for the beginning of ʿIsā'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. This must not have met with the approval of Ḥārūn because Khuzaymah ibn
Khazim appeared in the city and led the people in the Friday prayers and claimed a diploma of appointment to the governorship. Shortly afterward, Isa was officially dismissed, probably during 175/791-792. Isa was in Bagrah long enough to accomplish a task set before him by Harun, which was to incorporate the official gubernatorial residence into the mosque complex. It was said that this mansion of Isa's stood near the spot where the first baths in the city were located.

30. Ja'far ibn Sulayman ibn Ali (Abasi); 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. Khalifah merely says that he succeeded Isa ibn Ja'far and was, in turn, followed by his son, Sulayman.

31. Sulayman ibn Ja'far ibn Sulayman ibn Ali ibn Abd Allah al-Abasi (176-177/792-793 ?). Only Khalifah ibn Khayyat states that he was a governor of Bagrah during this period, placing him some time between 174/790 and 178/794, the most likely date being 177/793.

32. Abu Faql Ja'far ibn Abu Ja'far al-Mansur al-Aghhar al-Kurdiyah al-Abasi ([177?]-178/[793?]-794). Not to be confused with his older brother of the same name (Ja'far ibn Abu Ja'far al-Akbar), this Ja'far was appointed most likely in 177/793 by Harun and was dismissed in 178/794. No other details of his tenure are known, but he died in 186/802.

33. Abd al-Samad ibn Ali ibn Abd Allah al-Abasi (178/794-795). This old veteran of the Abbasid revolution was appointed governor of Bagrah in 178/794 after having served his family in many capacities.
He left the city in Shawwal 178 (January 795) and appointed Malik ibn \( \text{Ab} \tilde{\text{i}} \) al-Khuz\( \ddot{\text{i}} \) to take his place. However, the latter was replaced at the end of Dh\u{a}l al-Hijjah 178 (March 795). 144

34. Ish\( \ddot{\text{a}} \)q ibn Sulaym\( \ddot{\text{a}} \)n (al-\( \dddot{\text{H}} \)ashimi\( \ddot{\text{i}} \)) ibn \( \text{Ab} \tilde{\text{i}} \) ibn \( \text{Ab} \tilde{\text{d}} \) Abd All\( \ddot{\text{a}} \)h al-\( \dddot{\text{A}} \)bb\( \ddot{\text{s}} \)i (178/179/795-796). After being dismissed as governor of Egypt in 178/794-795, Ish\( \ddot{\text{a}} \)q was appointed to the post vacated by \( \text{Ab} \tilde{\text{d}} \) Abd al-\( \ddot{\text{S}} \)amad late in that same year (March 795). 145 His tenure lasted only for one year or less, since he was removed from the Ba\( \ddot{\text{r}} \)rah office after Ramadan of 179 (December 795). 146

35. Sulaym\( \ddot{\text{a}} \)n ibn Ja\( \ddot{\text{f}} \)far ibn Ab\( \ddot{\text{u}} \) Ja\( \ddot{\text{f}} \)far al-Man\( \ddot{\text{u}} \)sr al-\( \dddot{\text{A}} \)bb\( \ddot{\text{s}} \)i (179/795). Khalifah ibn Khayyat 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. \( \text{Is} \ddot{\text{a}} \) ibn Ja\( \ddot{\text{f}} \)far (\( \dddot{\text{A}} \)bb\( \ddot{\text{s}} \)i); second appointment; dates uncertain, but possibly 179-180/795-796. According to Khalifah, \( \text{Is} \ddot{\text{a}} \) was made governor for a second time after Sulayman ibn Ja\( \ddot{\text{f}} \)far was dismissed. He goes on to say that, once again, \( \text{Is} \ddot{\text{a}} \) departed from Ba\( \ddot{\text{r}} \)rah, leaving al-Muhallab ibn al-Mughirah in charge. But then \( \text{Is} \ddot{\text{a}} \) dismissed Muhallab and appointed Mu\( \ddot{\text{m}} \)ammad ibn Zuhayr al-Ghamidi as his deputy. Eventually—Khalifah gives no date—\( \text{Is} \ddot{\text{a}} \) himself was removed from his position by Harun. 148 This must have been in 180/796 because he was appointed to Khurasan in that year, and later to Tabaristan where he died at Daskarah in 192/808 attempting to rendezvous with Harun. 149

37. al-Hasan (al-\( \dddot{\text{H}} \)usayn ?) ibn Jam\( \ddot{\text{i}} \), mawla of Harun al-Rashid (180-191/796-807 ?). The date for the beginning of his tenure as gov-
error is uncertain as is his first name. Tabari calls him Hasan and places his governorship between that of Isā ibn Ja'far and Ishāq ibn Isā. Khalīfah ibn Khayyat also places his appointment between those two men, but gives Husayn as his name. In 191/807 he was placed over the salāt and kharāj of Egypt when al-Khuṣayb ibn Abd al-Ḥumayd was dismissed. This must have followed his removal from Baṣrāh. Other available evidence demonstrates the possibility that Hasan 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 Baṣrāh, or deputies may have been appointed in his absence whose names are not extant. In 182/798, Hasan was acting governor of Mosul for Harthamah ibn Ar'ayn. He may also be the Hasan or Husayn ibn al-Janāb, described as a mawla or Harūn al-Rashīd, whose name is found on fulus of Jayy (a precinct of Isbāhān), dated 181 and 191. Another possible identification for this person is Husayn, the khaādim (servant) of Harūn, whom the caliph sent in 189/805 from Rayy to Tabaristan with a pardon for Shirwīn Abū Qarn. Exactly who administered the governorate of Baṣrāh 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 Baṣrāh during the reign of Harūn al-Rashīd, let alone the precise chronology of that city's governors.

38. Ishāq ibn Isā ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī ([191?]–193/ [807?–809]). As the last governor of Baṣrāh for Harūn, 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).
He then appointed ʿAbd al-Malik 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 Amin were allowed to assume the caliphate. The new ruler lost no time in dismissing Ishaq from his position as governor.

39. al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Abbasī (193-198/809-813). Undoubtedly appointed soon after Amin 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 Harūn al-Rashīd, including leadership of the hajj in 185/801 and governor of Palestine. He is first mentioned as being governor of Baṣrah in 195/810-811, but was most certainly in office before that. Baladhuri says Manṣūr was both governor of Baṣrah and in charge of the māl al-nās (peoples' property or treasury) for Amin during the civil war between the caliph and Maʿmūn. In Rajab 196 (May 812), Maʿmūn's general, Tāhir ibn al-Husayn, was moving down through Iraq, taking one city after another. In Baṣrah a certain Cawn ibn Jamḥūn al-Sadā begins to urge everyone there to go over to Maʿmūn. By this time, Tāhir had control of all the area around Kufah and Wasit. Realizing Amin's end was near, Manṣūr wrote to Tāhir, declaring his allegiance to Maʿmūn and forsaking the doomed caliph. Because he submitted to the inevitable, Manṣūr was confirmed in his position by Tāhir. Manṣūr continued in office until after the death of Amin, at which time Maʿmūn began to reorganize the provinces of the Empire into larger units.

From 196/812, Hasan had been in charge of the *kharāj* for all the territories formerly allotted to Amin. In 198/813, Ma'mūn appointed Hasan governor over all the provinces conquered by Tahir ibn al-Husayn, including Fars, Ahwaz, Jibal, the Hijaz, Yemen, Kufah and Basrah. Tahir remained in Baghdad awaiting Hasan's arrival from Khurasan, while the latter appointed *Alī* ibn Abū Sa'id, called Dhū al-Ālamayn (he of the two standards), to head the *dwān al-kharāj* of Iraq. At this point Tahir 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 *Alī* until the army had been paid. This he did out of the provincial coffers and then submitted the remainder to Hasan's *qāhīb al-kharāj*. Hasan arrived in Baghdad in 199/814 and it was from that city that he administered the several provinces entrusted to him. 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 *Alīd* revolt of Ibn Ṭabāṭaba and Abū Sarayā broke out in Kufah that year. In late 199 (July-August 815), Hasan ordered *Alī* ibn Abū Sa'id to drive back the *Alīds*, who by this time had taken a number of towns in Iraq. Early in 200 (August-September 815), another *Alīd*—and supporter of Abū Sarayā—had taken control of Basrah where he found many followers. This individual was Zayd ibn Musā, a descendent of Husayn ibn *Alī*, given the unusual appellation of Zayd al-Nār (Zayd of fire) because he had burnt down so many houses in Basrah, most of which had belonged to the *Abbadids*. *Alī* ibn Abū Sa'id attacked the city and managed to capture Zayd ibn Musā, although he was later pardoned by Ma'mūn.
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. Maʾmūn 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. Hartamah ibn ʿAyan brought Ḥasan back to Khurasān and it is presumed ʿAlī returned to his duties in Iraq. Perhaps he did remain in Khurasān for in 202/818 he was traveling towards Baghdad with the caliph and Faḍl ibn Sahl, brother of Ḥasan and close advisor to Maʾmūn. At Sarakhs, on 2 Shaʿbān 202 (February 13, 818), Faḍl was killed by the caliphal guard, probably at the instigation of Maʾmūn, and ʿAlī met the same fate shortly thereafter. It was expected that after his brother’s death, Ḥasan would be appointed wāzir, 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-Ṣilḥ, near Wāsīṭ, where he remained until he died on 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 236 (June 6, 851).

41. Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (ca. 201/816-817). Yaʿqūbī states that Ismāʿīl was ʿamīl of Baṣrah in 201 and was the only person who refused to wear a green robe as ordered by Maʾmūn 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 Jurjān. 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 wāli of Baṣrah, succeeding Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn,
when a certain Ibn Abū ʿUyaynah convinced ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUḥayrī to dismiss Ismaʿīl because he disliked him. He finally complained enough about the various faults, real or imagined, of Ismaʿīl until ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUḥayrī complied with his wishes and given a handsome bribe, removed Ismaʿīl.175 No other source mentions his serving in this capacity, but his death in 216/831 is given notice.176

42. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar 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-Raḍū 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-Raṣīd 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 Ḥarūn al-Raṣīd al-Ṣabbāṣ (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 ḥajj in 208/824.181 He may have still been in office when the long-lasting revolt of the Zoṭṭ 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 government affairs.

45. Ṣīṣa ibn Yazīd al-Jalūdī (ancestry unknown)(205–206/821-822?). Ṣīṣa was one of Maʿmūn's foremost military commanders and was active in Abū Saʿīd's forces during the ʿAlīd 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. He returned to Baṣrāh in 201, but Ḥasan sent him back to Mecca in 202/818, where he remained fighting the ʿAlīds until 205/821. In that year he was given command of the forces organized to war against the Zoʾlāqūm, an enterprise which seemed to have given him little success. He is later found as governor of Egypt from 212 to 214, after which time nothing more is heard of him.

46. Daʿūd ibn Māṣjūr (ancestry unknown) (206-?/821-822-?). Maʾmūn appointed Daʿūd commander of the forces fighting the Zoʾlāqūm. He was commander of Baṣrāh, the Kuwar Dīlah, Yamān and Baḥrāyn in 206/821-822. This is the only mention made of him in the sources.

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

48. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbbād ibn ʿAbbād ibn Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī (Azd-Yaman) (?-216/?-831). In 207/822 he is mentioned as being the chief or leader (ṣāyīd) of the Baṣrān populace at an earlier time. We find that Maʾmūn 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. Perhaps he was placed over Baṣrāh, which was in close proximity to the gulf ports, because he is said to have been amīr of Baṣrāh when he died in 216/831.

After this the sources make no mention of any governors of Baṣrāh until the mid-3rd/9th century. Indeed, from the period of the very dis-
ruptive civil war between Amin and Ma'mun until the death of the latter in 218/833, the chronology of administration in Basrah can only be sketchily reconstructed. Ma'mun 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 Qamils 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 Tahir ibn al-Husayn and Hasan ibn Sahl. It is unfortunate that Khalifah ibn Khayyat, 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, Basrah. 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 Kufah Governorate

As was the case with Basrah, the provincial administration of Kufah was not concerned merely with affairs of the city proper. Whereas, the governor of Basrah was often responsible for large areas bordering on the Bahir Fars (Persian Gulf) due to the commercial orientation of the city, the caliph's representative in Kufah had an equally prestigious and often as difficult a territory to manage. This was the Sawad, 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 Batṭîḥah (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 Qālīm 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." The other major cities of the governmental unit of Kūfah were assigned Qālīms 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 Ābbāsid period and often figured in the military strategy of opposing forces in times of insurrection or civil war. 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 Rabi' I 132 (October-November 749) that Abū al-Ābbās 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 Ābbāsid capital. It was to remain so for a short time only, as Abū al-Ābbās al-Saffāh and Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr moved the court several times until Mansūr built his famous round city of Madīnah 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
Abbasid prince as the victors consolidated their gains over the Umay-
yads.

1. Daʾūd ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (132/749-750). Although
all the sources agree that Daʾūd was the first Abbasid 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 Nabāhīah, Daʾūd 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, Daʾūd was transferred in the same year to the governorship
of Mecca, Medina, the Yemen and, according to some writers, Yamanah. 198
In that capacity he also led the hajj for 132 (July-August 750). 199 He
died in Medina shortly thereafter, on 1 Rabiʾ ʿĀ 133 (October 7, 750). 200

Saʿīd 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 C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a being in K\textsuperscript{3}ufah each of these years (132–136/750–754), the sources say that he led the h\textsuperscript{a}jj\textsuperscript{202} in 134. Late in 136, while Ab\textup{3}u Ja\textsuperscript{C}far was on the pilgrimage, the caliph summoned C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a to his capital at Anb\textsuperscript{3}ar. He left Talh\textsuperscript{3}ah ibn Ish\textsuperscript{4}aq ibn Mu\textsuperscript{4}ammad ibn al-Ash\textsuperscript{C}ath to act as governor in his absence and arrived in Anb\textsuperscript{3}ar to find Saff\textsuperscript{a}h dying. The caliph gave the treasury and court records over to C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a for safekeeping, who delivered them to Ab\textup{3}u Ja\textsuperscript{C}far upon his return early in 137 (July 754).\textsuperscript{203} Meanwhile, upon the death of Saff\textsuperscript{a}h, C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a administered the oath of allegiance to the new caliph in his absence.

Through his various actions, C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a ibn M\textsuperscript{3}us\textsuperscript{a} 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. Mans\textup{3}ur 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 K\textsuperscript{3}ufah each of the years from 132 to 144/754 to 762.\textsuperscript{204} A certain al-Qa\textsuperscript{C}a\textsuperscript{C}c ibn Dir\textsuperscript{3}r is noted as having been C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a's g\textsuperscript{3}ahib al-shur\textsuperscript{a}h in 141/757–758.\textsuperscript{205} Again, in 143 (March 761), we find C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a in charge of the h\textsuperscript{a}jj.\textsuperscript{206} The major event of C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a's long tenure, and one in which he played a decisive role, was the C\textup{3}Alid revolt of 145/762–763 in Mecca and Bas\textsuperscript{a}rah. As we have seen, Ibr\textsuperscript{a}h\textsuperscript{3}im ibn C\textsuperscript{3}Abd All\textsuperscript{a}h had taken control of Bas\textsuperscript{a}rah and had sent his lieutenants out to wrest adjoining territories from C\textsuperscript{3}Abb\textsuperscript{3}asid hands. Meanwhile, C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a had been sent to Medina to crush the revolt of Mu\textsuperscript{4}ammad ibn C\textsuperscript{3}Abd All\textsuperscript{a}h, Ibr\textsuperscript{a}h\textsuperscript{3}im's brother. After a successful engagement in which Mu\textsuperscript{4}ammad was killed, C\textsuperscript{3}Is\textsuperscript{3}a was hastily recalled to Iraq, as Ibr\textsuperscript{a}h\textsuperscript{3}im was advancing on K\textsuperscript{3}ufah. The two forces met at B\textsuperscript{3}akham\textsuperscript{a}r in Dh\textsuperscript{3}u al-Qa\textsuperscript{C}dah 145 (January 763) and Ibr\textsuperscript{a}h\textsuperscript{3}im was mortally wounded as his
forces were scattered. 207 This major threat to the central ābāsid province was thus narrowly averted and Manṣūr made haste to complete his new city of Mādīnāt al-Salām in order to avoid such potentially disastrous situations in the future. 208

The relationship between Manṣūr and Īsā seems to have deteriorated after the suppression of the ālīd revolt. The issue was the succession to the caliphate. In 146/763, Manṣūr wrote to Īsā, stating his wish to make his son Muḥammad (the future caliph Mahdī) the first heir-apparent. 209 When Īsā objected to this treatment, Manṣūr summarily dismissed him from his post in Kūfah (147/764). 210 He was never to hold an influential position again. Mahdī, in turn, forced Īsā to renounce his rights of succession once again, this time in favor of his own son Mūsā, who was later to be caliph Mādī. When Īsā died in Kūfah on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 167 (July 20, 784), Mahdī 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 Ālī al-ābāsid (147-155/764-772). Tābarī reports that Manṣūr appointed Muḥammad governor of Kūfah in order to show disregard for Īsā ibn Mūsā, meaning that the caliph though little of Īsā’s threat to his own son’s succession. 212 The result was not what Manṣūr expected because Īsā 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 hajj even once, but when Manṣūr led it in 152/769, Tābarī states that he was not informed whether or not Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān
joined the caliph's entourage or if Ḥisā ibn Musā or any other person of high rank from Kūfah went along. 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 Mansūr'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, Mansūr 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. 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 Mansūr by Muḥammad's ḡāhib al-shurṭah, al-Musāwir ibn Sawwār al-Jarmī.  

4. ṢAmr ibn Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (Mudarrīn) (155-158/772-775). Appointed by Mansūr 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. In 158/775, it was discovered that ṢAmr had allowed his brother, al-Musayyab, whom Mansūr had dismissed as his ḡāhib al-shurṭah, to share in the government of Kūfah and the kharāj collection of the district. Musayyab was imprisoned, but it seems that ṢAmr escaped the caliph's retribution. Although he is mentioned as governor in 158, he was probably dismissed by Mahdī shortly after Mansūr's death (6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/October 7, 775).  

5. Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Ismāʿīl al-Thaqafī (Maʿṣūlā) (158-159/775-776). As
a maslā of the Banū Naṣr of Qays, he is the first one recorded to have been made governor of Kūfah. Ismā'īl's appointment probably dates from very late in 158. He seems to have shared power with the qādī Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh al Nakhāṣī and with Thābit ibn Muṣā, who was in control of the diwan al-kharaj. Another version recorded by Ṣabāri states that Sharīk was a special qādī of Kūfah (qādī al-Kūfah khaṣṣah) and a third tradition has him in control of both the offices of qādī and galāt. Ismā'īl must therefore have been in charge of the aḥāth, since it was from this position that he was dismissed in 159.

6. Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabāḥ ibn ʿImrān ibn Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ashūr al-Kīndī (Yaman) (159-165/776-781). According to some of Ṣabāri's sources, when Ismā'īl was removed from office in 159, Ishāq was immediately appointed in his place on the advice of the qādī Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh. Ṣabāri also preserves a different tradition from ʿUmar ibn Shabbah: the governor of Kūfah became Ḥūṣain ibn Luqmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātib ibn al-Ḥārith al-Jumāhī, who appointed his nephew, ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd ibn Luqmān as his gālib al-shurṭah. At the same time, Sharīk was put in control of the galāt as well as the qādīship, while Ḥūṣain was over the aḥāth. Then Sharīk was removed from "governmental responsibilities" and Ishāq was appointed gālib al-shurṭah. ʿUmar goes on to say that Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (a later qādī of Kūfah) told him that Mahdi had united the offices of qādī and galāt for Sharīk and appointed Ishāq over the shurṭah. Later he appointed Ishāq over the galāt and aḥāth and eventually was made full governor of Kūfah. Ishāq made al-Nuʿmān ibn Jaʿfar al-Kīndī his gālib al-shurṭah, but when Nuʿmān died, he appointed his brother, Yazīd ibn Jaʿfar, to replace him. By the end of 159, ʿU
least, Ishāq was in control of the ga'ilāt and aḥḍāth and he is mentioned in that capacity for every year thereafter through 163/779-780.\textsuperscript{226} If by 161/777-778, Īsā ibn Luqmān was still performing some function in the administration of Kūfah, it came to an end as he was transferred to Egypt.\textsuperscript{227} In the same year, Yazīd ibn Mansūr 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.\textsuperscript{228} The sources do not state when Ishāq was dismissed, but Ṭabarī lists a new governor, however, over the ga'ilāt and aḥḍāth only, for 164/780.\textsuperscript{229} According to numismatic evidence, Ishāq was still acting in some official capacity in Kūfah during 165/781.\textsuperscript{230}

7. Hashim ibn Sa'd ibn Mansūr ibn Khālid (ancestry unknown)(165-[167])/781-[783]). Ṭabarī mentions that he was in charge of the ga'ilāt and aḥḍāth of Kūfah in 164/780, but the numismatic evidence introduced above precludes Hashim's complete control of the governorate in that year.\textsuperscript{231} He is also listed for the years 165 and 166, over the ga'ilāt and aḥḍāth only, and it is probable that his tenure extended into a portion of 167.\textsuperscript{232}

8. Abū Ḥātim Rūḥ ibn Ḥātim ibn Qabīṣah al-Muhallabī (Azd-Yaman)(167-169)/783-785. Rūḥ was already governor of Kūfah when Īsā ibn Mūsā died there on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 167 (July 20, 784).\textsuperscript{233} He must have been appointed much earlier in the year, since his predecessor is not mentioned at all for 167. Mahdī 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 ga'ilāt and aḥḍāth.\textsuperscript{234} He was still in office when Mahdī died (22 Muḥarram 169/August 4, 785), but was dismissed later.
in the year by Ḥādī.235

9. Muṣā ibn Īsā ibn Muṣā ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī (169–170/785–786). Ḥādī 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, ʾahdāth and ʿadaqāt and over Lower Bih Qubādh.236 Muṣā was dismissed in 170 and went on the ḥajj with Ḥārūn al-Rashīd that year.237 Another tradition states that he was directed to suppress the revolt of the Ālīd, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, in Medina during 170.238

At some time during the reign of Mahdī a certain Ḥāfs ibn Ḥumayd was given a position in the government of Kūfah. His name is found on an undated falsa issued under Mahdī with the title āmil al-Kīfah, 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-Āthīr as being governor of Kūfah after Muṣā ibn Īsā 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 Ḥārūn by Ṭabarī and third by Ibn al-Āthīr.242 Yaʿqūb led the ḥajj in 172 (May 789).243 In the same year, Ḥārūn remitted to the people of the Sawād the ʿubār (an agricultural tax), which, as said before, had been unjustly exacted from them.244
12. Musā ibn ʿĪsā (ʿAbbāsī); second appointment (ca. 173/789-790). Appointed for a second time after Yaʿqūb ibn Abū Jaʿfar, Musā was governor with chief authority (ʿāmil al-sultān) of Syria in 176/792 and was replaced that year because he handled an uprising ineffectively. His governorship there must have come between this and his third appointment.

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

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

15. Jaʿfar ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī (ca. 176/792-793). Baladhurī 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. 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 ʿAmīr al-Khurāsānī, a mawla of the Banū Layth, was made governor in his place.

16. Musā ibn ʿĪsā (ʿAbbāsī); third appointment (ca. 177-178/793-794). Replaced in 176/792-793 as ʿāmil al-sultān of Syria, Musā was definitely governor of Kūfah in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 177. 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-`Abbas ibn `Isha (`Abbasī); 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 Musā's tenure in Armenia.

18. Musā ibn `Isha (`Abbasī); fourth appointment (ca. 180-183/796-799). Musā 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, Tabarī states that Harūn appointed his son, Muhammad al-Amin, to govern the Two Iraqs—al-Iraqayn; i.e., Baghrah and Kūfah—in 180 254 Musā's varied and extensive administrative career came to an end during this governorship when he died in 183. 255

19. Ja`far ibn Ja`far (`Abbasī); second appointment (?). Ibn al-Athīr lists a Ja`far ibn Abu Ja`far as the last governor under Harūn ar-Rashid. 256 If a person named Ja`far was in office after Musa ibn `Isha, it may have been the Ja`far ibn Ja`far who also governed Kūfah about 176/792-793. Neither son of Mansūr named Ja`far was alive in 193/809, Ja`far al-Akbar having died in 150/767 and Ja`far al-Asghar in 186/802. 257

20. al-`Abbās ibn Musa al-Hādi al-`Abbāsi (c.193-198/809-814). Although he is first mentioned as Amin'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), Tāhir ibn al-Husayn sent one of his officers, Aḥmad ibn al-Muhallab, to Kūfah to win `Abbās over to Ma'mūn's side in the civil war. Aḥmad was successful and Tāhir confirmed `Abbās 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-ʿAbbās ibn Mūsā ibn ʿĪsā governor of Kūfah and sent him to regain the city for him. Tahīr 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, Tahīr was consolidating his hold on all of Iraq south of Baghdad. He captured Madaʿin from Amīn's general, ʿImrān ibn Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿArbāʾī, and then set up his headquarters at Sarsar. 261 Next, he sent a force under the command of al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥishām and Dāʾūd ibn Mūsā to Gaṣır 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 Khāzīm al-Tamīmī had been the prefect in Wāṣif for Amīn, at least from 195/810-811. He was replaced by al-Sīnī ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥarashi and al-Haytham ibn Śahabah, who were unable to check Tahīr's advance. They eventually capitulated, joined forces with their former adversaries, and were sent to fortify Fām al-$i$lḥ. 263 By the end of 196/813, most of Iraq was under Tahīr's control.

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

22. Sulaymān ibn al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī ([198]-199/[813]-815). He was Ḥasan's Camīl in Kūfah when Ibn Ṭabaṭaba began his revolt there and was replaced by Khalīd ibn Muḥajjah al-Ṭabbī, when Ḥasan found his subordi-
nate could not deal with the Alid problem effectively. Khālid was accompanied by Zuhayr ibn al-Musayyab commanding 10,000 cavalry and infantry. Abū CAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ṭabātābā had begun to plot his uprising in Medina, but was persuaded by al-Sarī ibn Mansūr al-Shaybānī—better known as Abū Sarāyā—to begin his activities in Kūfah. Shortly after the successful beginning of the revolt, Ibn Ṭabātābā died on 1 Rajab 199 (February 15, 815) and Abū Sarāyā took effective control of the movement. He had dirhams minted in Kūfah in 199 and spread the revolt throughout Iraq and the neighboring districts. 269 The wālī of Wāṣit for Hasan ibn Sahl, CAbd Allāh ibn Sa'īd al-Ḥarashi, attempted to halt Abū Sarāyā's progress, but was defeated. 270 Hasan eventually was able to obtain the services of Harthamah ibn Aʿyan, who defeated the rebel at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah in Shawwāl 199 (May–June 815). Abū Sarāyā escaped, but was captured and brought to Hasan. The governor had him beheaded on 10 Tabād 200 (October 18, 815). The revolt had lasted about ten months. 271 Only two other individuals are known to have been amīls of Kūfah during the period of Hasan's rule in Iraq. Shortly after Abū Sarāyā was executed, Hasan appointed Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī to the post, but he must not have acted in that capacity for long. 272 Harūn ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Khālid 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, Hasan was confronted with yet another major upheaval in Iraq. Maʿmūr, still residing in Marw, had named an Alid, ʿAlī ibn Muṣā 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. Hasan 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 (ʿAlīd-Muḍar, brother of ʿAlī al-Riḍā) (202-?/817-?). Ḥasan ibn Sahl appointed him in Rabiʿa II 202 (November 817) and ordered him to wear the ʿAlīd 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 Aqyan's army. On 2 Jumāda 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 Ḥirah. 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 Jumāda II (December 9th), Saʿīd and Abū al-Baṭṭ entered the city and assured all those of either ʿAbbāsid 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
Saʿid 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 ʿAbd Allāh, the brother of Abū Sarāyā, to death after he had taken him captive. Next, Saʿid appointed his nephew, al-Hawāl, 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 ʿĪsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Khālid towards that city to engage Ḥasan. On 26 Rajab 202 (February 7, 818), ʿĪsā was soundly trounced and the way to Baghdad was open. Whether or not ʿAbbās 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 Maʿmūn decided to return to Baghdad because of the troubles that had plagued Iraq since the war with Amin.

24. Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad ibn Ḥarūn al-Rashīd al-ʿAbbāsī (204-[205]/819-[820]). Maʿmūn arrived in Baghdad during Ṣafar 204 (August 819) and it was probably a short time later that he appointed his brother, Abū ʿĪsā as governor of Kūfah. It cannot be ascertained how long he remained in office, but he did appoint his own successor. He also led the hajj in 207/823.

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 ʿĪsā ibn Ḥarūn al-Rashīd. 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.\textsuperscript{281}

26. Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muṣṭafā al-Ṭahirī (Iranian) (215-[218?]/830-[833?]).\textsuperscript{282} No mention is made of the Kūfah 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.\textsuperscript{283} Kūfah is not mentioned, but it is possible the city was the focal point of the administrative region between Baghdad and Basrah. Ishāq must have left this post by sometime in 218, as he is found engaged in military operations in Jibal during that year.\textsuperscript{284}

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From the beginning of Ma'mūn's reign onward, Kūfah, like Basrah, 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 Basrah beyond the period in which ʿAbbāsid power was at its height.\textsuperscript{285} Yet, the time had passed when Kūfah, as well as Basrah, 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 ʿAlid 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 ʿamīls of Bāṣraḥ 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.\textsuperscript{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 Bāṣraḥ 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 Bāṣraḥ was based on commerce, but as a focal point for tax collections in the agricultural districts administered from that city, the stability of Bāṣraḥ 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.\textsuperscript{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 Bāṣraḥ, 18 (or roughly half) of them were ʿAbbāsids.\textsuperscript{288} The percentage is even higher for Kūfah, where 12 of the 21 governors of this period came from the ruling family.\textsuperscript{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

1. The Ābbāsid 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 Jazirah Province. Medieval Arab geographers usually meant Iraq as a designation for Lower Mesopotamia. Cf. A. Miquel, "Irāq," EI² III, p. 1252. See map on page 22.

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


4. Until Mānsūr began building his new city of Madīnat al-Salām at Baghdad, the Ābbāsid capital was called Hashimiyah. When the caliph changed residences, the name of his administrative capital moved with him and, thus, four different locations were named Hashimiyah at one time or another. Cf. J. Lassner, "al-Hashimiyah," EI² III, p. 265. At first, Saffū (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 Hashimiyah by the first Ābbāsid caliph in honor of his ancestor Hashim (Tab 37/7, 431; 60/7, 449; Futūh I, 445). Saffū 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 Anbār. Here he built a new town and a palace, in which he died and was buried before completing the structure (Tab 87/7, 470). He died on Sunday, 13 Dhū al-Hijjah 136 (June 8-9, 754). Cf. M. Streck and A.A. Duri, "al-Anbār," EI² I, p. 485; Lassner, op. cit., p. 266; Le Strange, Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate (London, 1900), pp.5-6. When Mānsūr became caliph (136/754), he established his residence at Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah (different from Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah), not far from Kūfah (Tab 272-272/7, 614-615; 319/7, 650; Lassner, loc. cit.). Futūh II, p.98, says that Mānsūr built a castle in Bağrah near the great dam in 142. He is also reported to have received his son Mahdī at Hashimiyah near Kūfah in 144/761-762 (Yaqūbī II, p.450). In 146/763, the seat of government was transferred to Baghdad and Hashimiyah is not mentioned after this. Although the chief mints of Ābbāsid Iraq were located in Bağrah and Kūfah until the establishment of Baghdad and its large mint operation, coins were produced in Mānsūr's Hashimiyah near Kūfah. Dirhams are known for the years 138 (Album 34; Ans-Neuman; BM—2 specimens, uncataloged; Deniz. Def. 207; Lavois 674; Ties. 694; Tbg. Symb. II, p.241, No. 11); year 139 (Ans-Neuman; Artuk 184 = Deniz. Def. 208; Markov, p.15, No. 33; Reşad 223; Ties. 701-702 references); year 143 (Lavois 675); year 144 (BM—Tobin Bush; Cunha 1067); and year 145 (Nützel 766).


Tab 73/7, 459; 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465.

Tab 378/8, 51.

Tab 379/8, 52.

Tab 484/8, 134.

Tab 501/8, 149; 503/8, 151.

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

Tab 605/8, 234.

Tab 1045/8, 581.

Khalīfah, Tarīkh, pp.405, 412; Tab 21-23/7, 419-420; FHA I, p.208.


Khalīfah, Tarīkh, pp.402-403, 420; Tab 21-22/7, 419-420; Ansāb I, Folios 306b-307a. 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.

Khalīfah 412.

Futūḥ II 93. The location of Muhallaban, 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.

Ibid. Complete name in Ansāb I, Folio 321b-328 and Yaʿqūbī, Tarīkh II, p.448. He received the Persian epithet ḥabūrān (meaning 1,000 men) during his adventurous military exploits in the East on behalf of the Umayyads. Cf. G. margais, "ʿOmer b. Ḥāfs," EI IV III, p.980.

Khalīfah, Tarīkh, 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 Abbasid 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.

Futūḥ II, pp. 65, 87, 92, 98, 99.

Ansāb I, Folio 285b-24-27.

IA V, pp. 451-452.
25 Ḣab 84/7, 467; Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 435.

26 Futūḥ 96. The location of this estate is not known.

27 Ḣab 99/7, 472.


29 The text of the letter is given in A.Z. Safwat, Jamharat rasāʾil qāl-Arāb [henceforth, JRAI], Vol. 3 (Cairo, 1937), p. 8, taken from Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, al-ʿIqd al-Fārid (Cairo, 1876), Vol. II, p. 203. Jahshiyārī, p. 110, mentions that Ghassan ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd was Sulaymān's secretary and as such would have been responsible for composing the text. Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 442, states that Sulaymān left Baṣra on 17 Dhu al-Ḥijjah 137 (June 3, 755) to deliver the request for ʿAbd Allāh's pardon in person. Baladhuri, Anṣāb I, Folio 291a-7-22; Mansūr sent Sulaymān ibn Muḥālid (Mujāhid ?) to Baṣra, first to find out where ʿAbd Allāh was hiding and then ordering Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī to send ʿAbd Allāh to him. Failing that approach, Mansūr then sent Ruḥ ibn Ḥātim with a force of 4,000 men to force ʿAbd Allāh out of hiding, but to no avail. Eventually, Mansur appointed Sufyān ibn Muḥāwiyyah governor of Baṣra and sent him off with a large army. Sufyān succeeded in extending Mansur's amnesty to ʿAbd Allāh, had him go with his brother ʿĪsā to the caliph, and replaced Sulaymān as governor without much difficulty.

30 Khalīfah, Tārīkh II, p. 419, says he died in 141/758. Baladhuri, Anṣāb I, Folios 286a-28-29 and 291b-7-8 gives that date of 142/759 and his age as 63, stating also that he died in Baṣra. Tab 141/7, 514, says he died in Baṣra on Friday evening, 22 Jumāda II 142 (October 20, 759) at the age of 59. Dhahabi VI, p. 74, has Jumāda II 142.


32 See Footnote 28.

33 Ḥab 126/7 501*. Ṭabarī gives the same date of departure, except for the year, as Yaʿqūbī (see F.N. 28), so it is possible that Ṭabarī mistook a bābī for a tiḥāl in whatever source he had been using, or the fault may lie with a later copier.

34 Khalīfah, loc. cit.

35 Ibid., but his name is given as ʿUmar ibn Jaʿfar Ḥaẓārmard on p. 431. Anṣāb I, Folio 329b-3 has "Umar in Baṣra before he is sent to Sind, but then has him succeeded by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, having confused "Umar's second and third tenures as governor of Baṣra."
Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 431. Ansāb I, Folio 321b25-26: when his brother rebelled in 141, Manṣūr replaced him with Sawwār; Folio 321b30-2: Ḥabīl al-ʿAzīz's governorship comes between those of ʿUmar ibn Hafs and Sawwār ibn Ḥabīl Allāh, although no dates are given; Folio 329b4-9: he was the brother of ʿAbd al-Jabār ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Azdī, governor of Khurāsān for Manṣūr. According to Tabarī (122-123/7, 498), he was sent against the rebel, Mulabbad ibn Ḥurmah in Jazīrah in 138/755-756 and was soundly defeated.

Numerous dirhams minted in Basrah and dated 140 have the word ʿAbd in the place normally reserved for the name of the governor, undoubtedly a reference to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. See Appendix B.

Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 419; Ansāb I, Folios 321b26-28; 329b5-10, 20-25.

Ibid., pp. 431,434; D. Sourdel, "Les cadis de Basra d'après Wakiʿt?," Arabica 2 (1955), p. 113. In 142, a Salamah ibn Saʿd ibn Jabir, a subprefect on behalf of Manṣūr 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 Basra. (Tab 140-141/7, 513-514).


Ibid.; Tab 142/7, 515; Ansāb I, Fol. 288a1 (year not stated); Fol. 329a17ff: he is also mentioned as having been ʿamīl of Wasiṭ at a later date.

Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 431.

Dhahabi VI, p. 39.

Lavois 1560 (countermarked with Mahdi on reverse); Nützel 2079; Paris (uncataloged, with countermark of ʿl-Mahdi on obverse).

Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 431.

Ibid., pp.421,422,431. Tab 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 hamils are all the same as for the previous year, with the exception of Khurasan. Some dirhams minted in Baghrah in 144 and 145 have the letter sin in the place where the name of the governor is usually located. This quite likely represents Sufyan. Fuhus of Baghrah, 144 also have Sufyan ibn Muawiyyah spelled out clearly. See Appendix B.

50 Khalifah, loc. cit.

51 Khalifah, op. cit., pp. 422, 431.

52 Extensive and detailed coverage of the Alid revolt of 145 is found in the sources. Khalifah, Tarikh II, pp. 421-422; Tab 189-265/7, 552-609 and 282-318/7, 622-649; IA V, pp. 529-551 and 560-571; FHA I 230-256; Ya'qubi, Tarikh II, pp. 452-456; Dhahabi VI, pp. 12-20, 22-27; Ibn al-Imrani, p. 64. See also Omar, Abbasid Caliphate, pp. 240-248; and L. V. Vaglieri, "Ibrahîm b. 'Abd Allah," EI III, pp. 983-985, especially the bibliography at the end of the article.

53 Tab 297/7, 633. For the meaning and functions of the shurtah, see Chapter VII.

54 Khalifah, op. cit., p. 422.

55 Tab 299-300/7, 635.

56 Khalifah, op. cit., p. 432.

57 Tab 300-301/7, 636; 307/7, 640; Ya'qubi, Tarikh II, p. 454.

58 Khalifah, loc. cit. But Tabari (301/7, 636) says that Ibrahîm left as his deputy in Baghrah, Numaylah ibn Murrah al-'Abshami. Further on (304/7, 638), Numaylah is again mentioned as Ibrahîm's designated successor there, but adds that he appointed his son Hasan to take his father's place, along with Numaylah. Hasan was probably quite young at this time and his father may have felt the need to leave him with a trusted supporter. Ya'qubi, Tarikh II, p. 454, states that Ibrahîm left Baghrah on 1 Dhu al-Qa'dah 145 (January 21, 763) and left Numaylah as his successor. In FHA I, his name is given as Numaylah ibn Murrah ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tamimi (p. 251), and Ibrahîm leaves Hasan as his successor and Numaylah in command of the shurtah (p. 253).

59 Khalifah, pp. 422-432. Tabari and Baladhuri spell the name as Mujalid.

60 Ansab I, Fol. 291a-9-10; Khalifah, op. cit., p. 432.

61 FHA I, p. 256; IA V, p. 571.

62 FHA I, p. 252. Khalifah, Tarikh II, pp. 423, 432, states only that
he arrived in the city and prayed with the people.

63 FHA I, pp. 252, 254.

64 FHA I, p. 254.

65 Although Khalīfah, Tarikh 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 Baṣrah 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.

66 Tab 327/7, 655-656. Khalīfah, Tarikh 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. Anṣāb I, Fol. 308b 3 says he was governor of Baṣrah in 147, but in light of other evidence, this is most improbable. See correspondence between Mansūr and Salm in JRA III, pp. 96-97. Cf. Pellat, Milieu, pp. 198, 273.

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

68 Dhahabī VI, p. 71.

69 Khalīfah, 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 Kufah in 147. Tab (327/7, 655) gives his appointment as 146 and says that in 147 (329/8, 7) he was transferred from Baṣrah to Kufah to replace Ḥasan ibn Musa. 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.

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

71 Tab 352/8, 25; IA V, p. 582; Anṣāb I, Fol. 308b 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.

72 Tab 353/8, 26, 27; 354/8, 28; 359/8, 32; 367-368/8, 39-40; Anṣāb I, Fol. 308b 3-4. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 432: he is appointed successor by
Muhammad ibn Abū al-ĆAbbās in 149. His gāhīb al-shurṭah was Jamīl ibn Moḥīf al-Azdi, according to Ibn Sa'd, Taḫqāt VII/2, p. 30.

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

Tab 367-368/8, 39-40. Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 425, 432, says these events took place in 150. However, Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit., says he was still governor of Başrah in Rajab 151 (July-August 768). Perhaps he was governor of Bahrayn and Yamāmah a second time, since Ya'qūbī II 478 states that he was dismissed to the defeated tribes in 164/780-781. Uqbah died in 167/783-784 (Tab 520/8, 165).

Tab 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.

Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 426, 432.

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

Tab 466/8, 121; 491/8, 140; 492/8, 141. Ibn Khallikān VI, p. 190, says he died in Başrah in 165; Ya'qūbī, Tarākh II, p. 481, has the year 167.

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

Tab 372, 373/8, 44, 45.

p. 432.

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

Tab 374/8, 46; 377/8, 49; Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Dhahābī VI, p. 161, gives his nīsābūh as 'Akkī.

The tribal factions accounted for much of the political agitation throughout the late Umayyad and early Ābbāsid periods. The general lines were drawn between the Yamāniyyah and the Nizāriyyah (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 Nizāriyyah and vice versa. However, political ideals counted for more than tribal origins, as the Yamāniyyah groups tended generally to support the Ābbāsids and the Nizāriyyah; or at least the Mudar elements composing it were anti-'Ābbāsid, which is interesting, considering that the Ābbāsids were a subdivision of Mudar. Cf. G.L. della Vida, "Nizar b. Ma'add," EI² III, p. 940.

Tab 377/8, 50; IA VI, p. 11.
86 Tab 378/8, 50; Khalīfah, pp. 428, 432.

87 Tab 374/8, 46; 378/8, 50, 51; IA VI, p. 11. Khalīfah, p. 432. For explanations of these terms, see Chapter VII.

88 Tab 380/8, 52; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 428, adding that he was put in charge of the aḥdath in 157.

89 Tab 379/8, 52; IA VI, p. 13.

90 Tab 459/8, 115; Umārah was appointed to head the diwān al-kharāj in 155/772 (Jahshiyari 124). Khalīfah 436 says he was placed over the ard of Baṣra without giving the date.

91 Tab 466/8, 120; IA VI, p. 40; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 440.

92 Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 441.

93 Ibn Khallikān II, p. 322.


95 Control of the salāt 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.

96 Tab 378/8, 50, 51; Khalīfah, Tarikh II, pp. 428, 432. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 428; Khalīfah, Tabaqat (Beirut), p. 221; (Damascus), p. 532; and Dhahabi VI, p. 189, say he died in 156, but Tabari 380/8, 52 and Ibn al-Athir VI, p. 13, give the date as 157.

97 Khalīfah, Tarikh II, pp. 428, 432; Tab 380/8, 52; and IA VI, p. 13, have 157.

98 Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 428; Tab 380/8, 52; IA VI, p. 13.

99 Tab 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 qādī, but regained it the same year.

100 IA VI, p. 60.

101 Tab 465/8, 120; IA VI, p. 40; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 440.

102 Tab 466/8, 120-121; 469/8, 123; IA VI, p. 40.

103 Tab 466/8, 121; 469-70/8, 123; IA VI, p. 41.

104 Tab 482/8, 132; Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 430, 440.

105 Tab 477/8, 128; 484/8, 134; Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Ansāb I, Fol.

106. *Istab* 501/8, 149.


110. *Istab* 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.

111. *Istab* 503/8, 151.

112. *Istab* 538/8, 181.


116. *Istab* 502/8, 150.

117. Khalīfah, loc. cit.

118. Khalīfah, loc. cit., says he was dismissed in 166. Ṭabarī does not give the date of Ṣalih's dismissal, but does show his successor in office in 165. Numismatic evidence confirms that Ṣalih 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.

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

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

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

122. *Istab* 519/8, 164; Ibn Saʿd VI, p. 261.


124. *Istab* 521/8, 166. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 446, says he was ap-
pointed in 169.

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


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


129. Tab 607-608/8, 237.

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

131. Ansāb I, Folio 334b, 22-23.

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

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

134. Khalīfah, loc. cit. It is possible that he was the son of al-Mughirah ibn al-Fazl, who was made governor of Ahwaz in 145 by the Alid, Ibrahim ibn 'Abd Allah. Cf. Tab 300/7, 636.


136. Ibid. A falsh of Basrah (Lavois 1561), with only the century and decade visible (17 x), has the names of both 'Isa ibn Ja'far and al-Muhallab on it. This specimen could only have been struck during this tenure of 'Isa as governor. See Appendix B.

137. Futuḥ II, pp. 65, 72.

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


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

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

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

143. Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215. He was born
in 109/727-728, according to Ansāb I, Fol. 288b, However Ibn Khallikān III, pp. 195-196, has different, conflicting dates for his birth year: 104, 105 (in al-Balqa' of Syria) and Rajab 106. Ibn Sa'd VII/1, p. 23, gives his qa'id al-shurta as Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd ibn Qāṭah ibn Qābisah ibn al-Muḥāriq.

144 Khalīfah, loc. cit. He died in Baghdad in 185, according to Ansāb I, Fol. 288b, IA VI, p. 162; Ibn Khallikān III, pp. 195-196, and gives a second date of Jumada II 175, which is almost certainly erroneous.

145 Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Ansāb I, Fol. 286b, 11-12 (does not state the year); Tab 740/8, 347; IA VI, p. 215.

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

147 Khalīfah, loc. cit.

148 Ibid. Tab 740/8, 346-347, lists him as being governor of Baṣrah three times during Harun al-Rashid's reign. Muḥammad ibn Zuhayr al-Ghāmidī may be the same person as Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd ibn Qāṭah ibn al-Muḥāriq, who was Ḥarūn's last appointment to the governorship of Armenia in 193. See Chapter III.

149 Tab 644/8, 266; 733/8, 340; Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 520.

150 Tab 740/8, 347.

151 Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462.

152 FHA I, p. 313.


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

155 IA VI, p. 191.

156 Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462. Tabari (732/8, 340) says that a certain Ṭhārwan al-Haruri platted and killed the amīl al-sulṭān on the outskirts of Baṣrah in 192, but the identity of this official cannot be determined.

157 Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 525.

158 Khalīfah, loc. cit.

159 Tab 751/8, 274; Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 522; Khalīfah, op. cit.,
p. 457; Anaab I, Folio 335a.

160. Tab 832/8, 417.

161. Anaab I, Folio 335b. 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.


163. Tab 857/8, 435-436.

164. Tab 975/8, 527; IA VI, pp. 297-298. Cf. Sourdel, "al-Hasan b. Sahl," EI II, 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, "Dhu al-Yaminayn," while dirhams of the years 198-200 have the wazir’s honorific title, "Dhu al-Ri‘asatayn"; i.e., Fadl ibn Sahl. The dirham of 200 also has on it the name of Hasan. See Appendix B.

165. Tab 975/8, 527; Ya‘qūbī, Tārikh II, p. 542.

166. Ibid.

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

168. Details 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-Ṣilb. He did go there during the time Ibrahim ibn al-Mahdī was in control of Bagh- dad. Ibn Sa‘d VII/2, p. 83; Ibn Khallīkān II, p. 121.

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


171. Tab 996/8, 541.


174 Tārīkh II, p. 545.

175 Aghānid 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'd.

178 Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 553.

179 Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 561; Tab 1099/8, 619; 1101/8, 622; IA VI, pp. 408, 415.

180 Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 553; Tab 1039/8, 576; IA VI, p. 358. Zam- baur, Manuel, p. 41, and Genealogical Chart No. 4 confuse this person with Sulaymān ibn Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr.

181 Tab 1067/8, 597; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 473.

182 Gabriel Ferrand, "Zoqī," EI 7 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'qūbī, Tārīkh II, pp. 553, 554.

186 Tab 1044/8, 580; IA VI, p. 362.

187 Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh II, pp. 561, 567.


189 Tabaqāt VII/2, p. 50.

190 Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 557. This may allude to the statement of Ibn Sa'd VII/2, p. 48, that he was over the sālāt and imrāh (prefecture) of Basrah in Rabi' II 196.

191 Khalīfah 474, Ghassān ibn ʿAbbād may have been the person who was governor of Khurasan from 202-205/818-821. See Chapter V, No. 23.

192 IA VI, p. 420.

193 Le Strange, Landās, p. 24; H.H. Schaeder, "Saʿūd," EI 7 IV/1, p. 184. It should be noted that the word saʿūd 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 Meshun, which the Arabs called Maysan. Cf. M. Streck, "Maisan," EI² III/1, p. 147.


195. p. 95. This version is possible because he was in Iraq before the revolution and, therefore, before Abu al-'Abbās and the rest of the Ābāsids arrived in Kūfah. Dinawarī, Akhbār al-ṭiwāl, p. 358.

196. Folio 290a.

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

198. Tab 72/7, 458 and IA VI, p. 445, say he was removed from Kūfah and her Sawād in 132; Ya'qubī, Tarīkh II, p. 421.


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

201. Tab 72/7, 458; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 412. Anṣāb I, Fol. 328b says he was given the governorship of Ahwaz and Kūfah.

202. Tab 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; 84/7, 467; 91/7, 473; Ya'qubī, Tarīkh II, p. 435.

203. Tab 92/7, 474.

204. Tab 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.

205. Tab 131/7, 506. Anṣāb I, Fol. 326b-16-17, mentions a Mājashī ibn Yazīd al-Dubā'ī (Dabbī? ) as Ḥasan ibn Musā's gānīl al-shurta in Kūfah at one time; Ya'qubī, Buldan, p. 240; and Tarīkh II, p. 445, gives the name of Mājashī ibn Ḥarthī.

206. Tab 142/7, 516; Ya'qubī II, p. 469.

207. Tab 311/7, 644; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 422. Cf. M. Streck and


209 Ya'qubī, Tārīkh II, p. 457.

210 Tab 329/8, 7; 352/8, 25; Dhabābī VI, p. 29; FHA I, p. 257. Khalīfah, op. cit., is uncertain about the length of ʿIsa's governorship. In one place (p. 423), he says he was dismissed in 146, calling him ʿAlī ibn Musa. Elsewhere (p. 432), he was confirmed in his position by Mansūr (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 Kufan 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 ghālib al-kharāj. See Chapter VIII.

211 Tab 519/8, 164.

212 Tab 353/8, 25.

213 Tab 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. Anēb I, Folio 286b, he was appointed on the advice of ʿIsa ibn ʿAlī. Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 423, says he was appointed in 146 and (on p. 432) he was placed over Kufah after ʿIsa ibn Musa was dismissed in 139, and was governor there for eight years. Numismatic evidence shows a Saʿīd as prefect in Wasiṭ, around the year 147. See Appendix B.

214 Tab 369/8, 41.

215 Tab 374/8, 46.

216 Tab 375-373/8, 47-49. Here Ṭabarī also relates from the work of ʿUmar ibn Shabbah that Muḥammad was dismissed in 153 and his successor, Amr ibn Zuhayr, was appointed the same year. ʿUmar points out that it was Amr who directed the construction of the moat for Kufah. It was normally a major responsibility of the ghālib 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.

217 Tab 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.


220. Tab 458/8, 115. IA VI, p. 36, but with name Ismā‘īl ibn Ismā‘īl.

221. Tab 458/8, 115. Thābit was in charge of the diwan al-kharāj of Kūfah in 158 and 159, replacing ḍAmr ibn Sulaymān (Khalīfah) or Kaylāgh (in Jahshiyārī), who had been invested with that office in 155. When Thābit was appointed, ḍAmr was imprisoned. Muhammad ibn Jamīl, a relative to Thābit by marriage, succeeded the latter when Mahdī made him his kātib in 163. He was later head of the central administrative diwan al-kharāj; and at the beginning of Harun al-Rashīd's reign, we find him over the diwan ḍIrisayn and the kharāj of Syria. Tab 469/8, 123; 500/8, 148; IA VI, pp. 41–61; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 436; Jahshiyārī, pp. 124–125, 177.

222. Tab 458/8, 115.

223. Tab 469/8, 120; IA VI, p. 40. Dhaḥabī VI, p. 165, says he was dismissed in favor of ‘Uthman ibn Luqman al-Jumāhī.

224. Tab 465/8, 120. But Tab 467/8, 121, quoting another tradition from ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, says under the same year (159), that Mahdī appointed Rub‘ ibn Wātim al-Muhallabī governor of Kūfah. Khalīfah, p. 440, states that ‘Īsā ibn Luqman was governor after ḍAmr ibn Zuhayr. Then Sharīk, the qaḍī, was put in charge and it was he who appointed Ishaq to the aḥqāf. Mahdī subsequently removed Sharīk and Ishaq 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 Mansūr. He died in Basrah in 165, according to Ibn Khallikān VI, p. 190; and IA VI, p. 68, but in 167, according to Ya‘qūbī, Tārīkh II, p. 481.

229. Tab 503/8, 151.

230. False of 165, see Appendix B.

231. Tab 503/8, 151.
232 Tab 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 Musā ibn Ḥūsain.

233 Tab 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 Bāṣrah past the death of Mahdī, but this can hardly be correct.

234 Tab 519/8, 164.

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

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

237 Tab 605/8, 234; Yaʿqūbī, Tarikh II, p. 492.


239 See Appendix B.

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

241 Ibid. Tabarī, Ibn al-Athir, and Khalīfah ibn Khayyaṭ 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-Athir (VI, p. 215). Khalīfah's list (op. cit., p. 462) is very different between Musā ibn Ḥūsain's first appointment through to the last governor under Harun:

al-ʿAbbās ibn Musā ibn Ḥūsain (1)
Yaʿqūb ibn Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (2)
Yahyā ibn Bashr ibn Hajwan al-Ḥarīthī (3)
Musā ibn Ḥūsain (4)
al-ʿAbbās ibn Musā (5)
Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ (6)
Jaʿfar ibn Abī Jaʿfar (7)
Mansūr ibn ʿAta' al-Khurasanī, mawla Banū Layth (8)
Musā ibn Ḥūsain (9)

Some time during the 170s Musā ibn Khāzīm ibn Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī was
governor of Wāṣīṭ (Anṣāb II, Folio 450b, 23-24).

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

243 Tab 607/8, 236; IA VI, p. 118; Ya`qūbī, Tarikh II, p. 521. In Anṣāb I, Folio 335a, 4-5, Ya`qūb led the hajj in 172 and fell from his horse, breaking his neck. Whether Baladhurī means that the accident happened specifically while Ya`qūb 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).

244 Tab 607/8, 236.

245 Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215.

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

247 Tab 740/8, 346; IA VI, p. 215; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 462, says he was appointed between Musa ibn `Isa ibn `Alī (?) and Ya`qūb ibn Abū Ja`far.

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

249 Anṣāb I, Folio 334b, 7-8, 12-13, adding that he owned a house near the Ṭab al-Naqūb, which looked out over the Tigris.


251 Tab 625/8, 251; Ibn Sa`id VI, p. 264.

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

253 Tab 646/8, 267; 647/8, 269; Ya`qūbī, Tarikh II, p. 522.

254 Tab 646/8, 267. Numismatic evidence points to an `Abd al-Ḥāfīz, ibn Muḥammad as `amīl of Wāṣīṭ in 182. See Appendix B.

255 IA 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 fals of 191 (?) may have been issued for Musa. See Appendix B.

256 IA VI, p. 215.

257 Tab 358/8, 32; 651/8, 275. A Sa`id was `amīl of Wāṣīṭ in 187.
See Appendix B.

258. Tab 832/8, 417. In another place (779/8, 377), Tabari states that Amin appointed Āli ibn Īsā (ibn Mahān) 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-Fadl ibn Musa ibn Īsā al-Hashimi. Ya'qobi, Tarikh II, p. 534, gives a different version, stating that Tahir headed for Wasit on 3 Rajab 196 (March 21, 812), after the people of Kufah had given allegiance to Ma'mun at the hands of al-Fadl ibn Musa ibn Īsā. Zambur, Manuel, Table G, F.N. 59, has Fadl ibn Musa ibn Īsā as being governor of Kufah from 196 to 199, which is certainly incorrect.

261. Tab 859/8, 437-438. Īmran later was Ma'mun's governor of Sind in 216 (Tab 1105/8, 626) and was killed while still in that office in 227 (Ya'qobi, Tarikh II, p. 585). Cf. M. Streck, "al-Mada'in," EI 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 Basrah.

265. See Appendix B.

266. Tab 977/8, 529. Ya'qobi, Tarikh II, p. 543, says Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Mazyad was made governor of Kufah ca. 199-200.


269. See Appendix B.

270. Tab 979/8, 530. In another place (985/8, 534), Āli ibn Abû Sa'id is said to have been wali of Wasit when Abu Saraya arrived. Abd Allah had an active career: he was appointed governor of Tabaristan in 185 (650/8, 273), governor of Hit in 194 (775/8, 374; 795/8, 388), and was head of a large army in Hamadân in 195 (753/8, 416).


273. Tab 1003/8, 547.

275 Tab 1017/8, 558.


277 Tab 1037/8, 574.

278 Ya ḥābi, Tarīkh II, p. 553, gives his name as Ḥaṣa ibn al-Rashīd.

279 Tab 1066/8, 596; IA VI, p. 385.

280 Ya ḥābi, loc. cit.

281 See Appendix B.

282 He may well have been a relative of Ṣahir ibn al-Husayn, as they share the same name of their grandfather. He received a number of appointments from the Ṣahirids. See Tabarī, Index.

283 Tab 1102/8, 623.

284 Tab 1165/8, 667-668.


286 For the ḍāmil's role in provincial administration, see Chapter VI.

287 Tax revenues of Iraq are listed in Appendix C.

288ABBASID governors of Basrah 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), Muḍar (6), as well as one Iranian. Two others were maṭāla and four governors came from indeterminable origins. See Chapter VI, Table 1.

289 Of the 86 years of this period, about 47 saw Abbasid family members as governors of Kufah. Others were from Yaman (2), Muḍar (2), Iranian (2), in addition to one maṭāla and two whose affiliation cannot be determined. See Chapter VI, Table 1.
CHAPTER III

THE PROVINCE OF ARMENIA

The first Ābbāsids 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 Armēniyāh, 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 Jazīrah 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 Ābbāsids functioned on the concept of two or three large territorial units. ¹

Armenia proper comprised the area from the headwaters of the Eu-phrates eastward to a line running roughly between Lakes Van and Urmiyah north to Lake Sevan. The capital of Armenia under the Arabs was called by them Dabīl (Armenian Dvin). ² Other major urban centers were Qalīqalā (modern Erzerum), Nashawā (Armenian Nakhchivan), and Khilāt or Akhlāt. During the period of Arab domination of Armenia, groups of Arab tribes-
men were settled in the province. This is particularly true under the early ČAbbāsids 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, Qalīqalā and in the mineral-rich area north of Lake Van, known as Bajunays (formerly the old Armenian district of Apahuniq), and particularly in the town of the same name. 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 ČAbbāsids 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 ČAbbāsid period was extended eastward to the Caspian coast and northward to the fortress city of Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband). Thus, the Arab Arran was enlarged to encompass the districts of Sharwān, Shakki and Ṭabarsarān. The principal city and capital of Arran was Bardačah (Armenian Partav), which had a large Arab population. The other major urban centers were Baylaqān, within Arran itself, and Bāb al-Abwāb on the Caspian coast.

During the early ČAbbāsid period, even the province of Azerbaijan was sometimes joined to Armenia and Arran under a single governor. Azerbaijan was situated between Lake Urmiyah 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 southeast. Ardabīl was the capital and normally the seat of an ʿAbbāsid governor when the province was ruled separately. 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.

The importance of Armenia to the early ʿAbbāsids is manifest by the interest each individual caliph took in the political situation of the province. 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.

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.\textsuperscript{12} In addition to tax revenues, Armenia was rich in natural resources which the Abbāsid were eager to exploit. Several minerals are found there in abundance, including copper, silver and lead, as well as some gold.\textsuperscript{13} The area of Bājunays, north of Lake Van, was known for the mining of natron salt, magnesia and copper.\textsuperscript{14} The province produced large amounts of cereal grains and fish, much of which was exported to Iraq and other regions of the Empire.\textsuperscript{15} In addition, Armenia was well known for its manufacture of fine cloth and carpets, the center of these activities being Dābīl.\textsuperscript{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 Abbāsid 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 Dābīl and Bānda\textsuperscript{17} although the names on the coins themselves were usually the names of the provinces; i.e., Armenia and Arran, respectively. In addition, there were occasional emanations from Bāb al-Abwāb, Hārūnābād/Hārūnīyah, and a long series from Maḍan 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.\textsuperscript{18} Hārūnābād (or
Haruniyah) has not been identified with any certainty but, because the word Arməniyah is also present on most of the coins minted there, its inclusion as a provincial mint is justified. Dirhams and fals are known for the period of 167 to 171. The Ma'adan Bājunays mint produced a series of coinage beginning in the 180s and extending almost to the end of Ma'mun'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). The identification of Bājunays with the old Armenian district of Apahuniq is undeniably correct, but because the word ma'dan (Arabic for "mine") is prefixed to Bājunays, it was possibly a state-owned operation, located near the village of Bājunays. 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. In the opinion of this writer, dirhams with the mint name of ma'dan Bājunays were struck to exploit the newly-found silver deposits directly from the minehead.

The transition from Umayyad to ʿAbbasid rule seems to have affected Armenia very little. The last Umayyad governor, Ishaq ibn Muslim al-Uqayli, attempted to hold onto this province by the force of arms but, with no help forthcoming from Marwan, had little prospect for success. Under the first ʿAbbasids, Armenia was administered, more often than not, either from or in union with the Jazirah. 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 Ṣimāra Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl (maxūlā)(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. The Arab sources give conflicting accounts concerning Muḥammad’s short-lived career under the first Abbāsid s. It seems that he was the governor of Mosul in 132 when Saffāḥ sent him with a large army to govern Armenia and Azerbaijan. When he arrived in Armenia, Muḥammad found that Musāfīr ibn Kathīr al-Qaṣṣāb, the successor of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān’s qāmil there, Ishaq ibn Muslim al-Uqaylī, had taken control of the province. After protracted military operations, Musāfīr was killed and those strongholds that had been closed to the new régime were reduced by siege. Eventually, Muḥammad arrived in Barda‘ah and remained there until he was dismissed by Saffāḥ. The confusion in the sources concerning his tenure as governor of Armenia stems from the fact that he was the deputy of Abū Ja‘far 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 Abbasid control. This was a frequent occurrence in frontier provinces such as Armenia.

2(a). Abū Ja'far ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad (al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī) (132-136/750-754). After dismissing Muḥammad ibn ʿUṯl 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. Abū Ja'far 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 Ṣasi to the Jazirah. Although he made that province his center of operations, he did conduct a campaign into Armenia. According to Ibn Aṯthan al-Kūfī, Abū Ja'far advanced into Armenia and spent the winter in a place called Kīrān and the following summer on the plain of Ṣaribah in Jurzān (Georgia). He seems not to have remained in Armenia for long, but went back to the Jazirah where he laid out the garrison town of Ṣafiqah next to Raqqah on the Euphrates. Here he stayed until 136/754 when Saffāḥ, worried about Abū Muslim's intentions of coming to Iraq from Khurasan with a large army, requested Abū Ja'far's presence. He remained governor of his provinces, but left ʿHasan ibn Ṭabah al-Ṭāʾī in charge when he went to Anbar. While he concerned himself with affairs in the Jazirah, Abū Ja'far's deputies managed the administration of his other provinces. A Muhammad ibn Yazīd was his ʿamīl 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 Ja‘far’s deputies in Armenia.

2(b). Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Kindī (mawla) (133-134/750-751). He was a mawla of Kindah, according to Baladhurī, and was appointed by Abū Ja‘far as his deputy over Armenia in 133/750-751. 34 In that same year, he was sent by Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, Abū Ja‘far’s deputy in Mosul, to Baylaqān, where he invested the town and killed many of its inhabitants. 35 Ya‘qūbī 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 Ḥarmalāh 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 Ṣāfir al-Sulami (Qays/Muṣarr) (134-136/752-754). He is only mentioned as Abū Ja‘far’s deputy in Armenia in 134 and 135. 37 No details of this, his first tenure, are recounted in the sources. When Ḥasan ibn Qahtābah was appointed over the Jazirah, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 136/754, Ṣāliḥ was dismissed from his post. 38

3. al-Ḥasan ibn Qahtābah ibn Shabīb al-Ta’ī (Yaman) (136-141/754-759). When Abū Ja‘far left for Iraq, he appointed Ḥasan governor over the Jazirah, Armenia and Azerbaijan. 39 In 137/755, Abū Ja‘far, 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’ilin in
Iraq by orders of the caliph, Ḥasan either did not find a way of complying with Manṣūr’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, and it was probably for that purpose that Baladhurī mentions that he brought in troops from Khurāsān. In 141/758-759, we find his successor already in Armenia, although Ḥasan is mentioned as an oğul of Manṣūr in Armenia, sent there to help the new governor counter an incursion by the Khazars.

4. Yazīd ibn Usayd (Qays/Muḍar); second appointment (141-[152]/759-[769]). At the time Manṣūr appointed Yazīd governor in 141, large numbers of Yamani tribesmen from Baṣrah, particularly from the clan of Ṣayy, were being resettled in Armenia and Azerbaijan. This relocation was undoubtedly devised to bolster support for the new régime in the area, since the Yaman groups were mostly loyal to the Ābāsīds. Whether or not the introduction of many Yamans 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 fīlaḥs minted in Bardaḥah extant for those years with his name on them. Baladhurī also states that he was governor of Armenia when ʿArūn al-Rashīd was born (26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 145/March 17, 763). The terminal date of his governorship cannot be determined with any certainty. He is found leading the summer raids in 149/766 and was dismissed, probably in 152/769, when Bakkar ibn Muslim was appointed governor.
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 Qahtabah, 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 Bab al-Lān and stationing a garrison there, then subduing the Sanārīyah, and forcing them to pay the khazāj.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 Aṭḥan al-Kūfī:

Yazīd ibn Usayd went from Iraq to Armenia and stayed at Bārdah. Then he set out his ʿamīls 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 Khāqan, king of the Khazars, whose name was Taʿāṣar, asking for the hand of his daughter, Khātūn. The king answered saying that he could marry her for a dowry of 100,000 dirhams. Khātun 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 Qurʾān. 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, they 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. Mansūr sent him large numbers of reinforcements, but the Muslims were defeated again at Sharwān, managing only to get back to Barda‘ah. Mansūr 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‘ah, then on to Bāb al-Abwāb, where he repaired the breaches in the walls. At this point, Yazīd was dismissed from his post.

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. 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. The numismatic evidence for Sulaymān’s governorship is a dirham of Armenia, dated 151, with a š in the space normally reserved for the name of the governor. 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. Bakkar ibn Muslim al-‘Uqayli (Muṣār)(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 Abbasid 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.  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. However, numismatic evidence shows he was in control of Armenia in 152/769 as well as 153. The length of his tenure is somewhat uncertain, but he was succeeded by Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah—probably in 154/771.

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. Ḥasan brought an army of 50,000 Khurāsānis, Syrians and Iraqis with him. When he arrived in Armenia, he was faced with a renewed rebellion by the Ṣanārīyah in Jurzán. Maṁṣūr sent reinforcements under ʿĀmir ibn ʿIsā'il al-Ḥarīthī and eventually the caliph's forces were able to defeat the rebels. Maṁṣūr's army returned to Iraq and for a time Ḥasan was able to govern the province in relative peace from Bardaʿah. He sent his sons out into the province as his deputies, placing Qaḥṭabah in Bab al-Abwāb; Ibrāhīm in Jurzān, governing from Tiflis; and Muḥammad over Armenia IV, governing the land around Akhlāṣ and Qālīqala. Non-military affairs must have occupied Ḥasan during this tranquil period, for Baladhurī reports that the Nahr al-Ḥasan canal in Baylaqān and the Bāgh al-Ḥasan (gardens or vineyards) in Bardaʿah were named for him, as were the royal estates known as al-Ḥasaniyyah.
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 Ṣanārī-yah, 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 ʿAmīr ibn Ismāʾīl to Akhlāṭ, while Ḥasan himself joined him from Barādah with a large army. The two opposing forces met on the western shore of Lake Van near Akhlāṭ 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. Wādīḥ al-ʿAbbāsī, mawla 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-
daʿah before the end of 158.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{75} Ṭabarī does say that he took part in the summer campaign of 162/779 and made forays in the region of Qāliqalā, capturing three fortresses.\textsuperscript{76} Since Qāliqalā 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 Bardaʿah in 158, 159 and 163, and from Dabil in 159 conclusively demonstrates that he was the governor of Armenia during this period.\textsuperscript{77}

10. Ḥārūn al-Rashīd (ʿAbbasī)(163-165/780-782)). Mahdi 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.\textsuperscript{78} It is impossible to determine whether Ḥārūn 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.\textsuperscript{79} However, in 164/781, an ʿAbd al-Kabīr ibn ʿAbd al-Humayd 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.\textsuperscript{80} Of Ḥārūn'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 Qāḥ-
tabah and before Ruḥ ibn Ḥātim. However, numismatic evidence shows him to have been in the province during the years 166 to 168. He was later governor of Sijistan 172-176/788-792.

12. Abū Ḥātim Ruḥ ibn Ḥātim ibn Qabisah al-Muhallabī (Azd-Yaman) (169/785-786). He is mentioned by Baladhuri and Hamadhānī as governor after Uthman and before Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim, although the date is not specified. 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. Since he left Kūfah well after Mahdī's death at the beginning of the year and his successor was already in office some time during 169, Ruḥ's tenure must not have been very long, perhaps no more than six months.

13. Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim al-Tamīmī (Muḍar) (169-170/786-787). After the death of Mahdī on 22 Muḥarram 169 (August 4, 785), and during the reign of Hādī, affairs in Armenia became unsettled. A question arises concerning when Khuzaymah was appointed governor and by whom. Tabarī mentions that he was in Baghdad when Hādī died on 15 Rabi’ I 170 (September 14, 786), but says nothing of his appointment to Armenia. Ya’qūbī, however, says that Ḥārūn 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. 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 Mahdī
was still alive and during Hādī's brief caliphate. Dirhams of Hārūnīyah, dated 169, have both Khuzaymah and Mahdī inscribed; and numerous dirhams and fulūs, dated 169 and 170, contain the names of Khuzaymah and Hādī. 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 Yaʿqūbī'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. Baladhurī says that, of the several governors of Armenia he listed for Mahdī, Hādī and Hārūn, Khuzaymah was by far the most severe. 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 amīls of the caliph who demonstrated strength and severity. When confronted by a strong governor, they would pay the kharāj and submit. This very interesting observation by Baladhurī provides a keen insight into Arab/Armenian relations during the early Abbasid 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. Yusuf ibn Rashid al-Sulami (Qays/Muqarr) (170-[171]/787-[788]).

He was appointed to replace Khuzaymah ibn Kha'zim, but does not seem to have been in office long. His name is found on a dirham of Haruniyah dated 170, but the presence of Hadi's name may indicate that he was already in the province in another capacity before replacing Khuzaymah. Yusuf undertook to transfer many of the Nizariyah to Armenia and they overwhelmed the area held by the Yaman, becoming very numerous during his governorship. The Nizariyah originally represented the great tribal grouping of North Arabs, from which came both the Mugar and Rabi'ah. It later took on a political connotation representing the power bloc, which opposed the Yamaniyah or South Arabs in the factionalism that divided the Umayyad and early Abbasid caliphates.

15. Yazid ibn Mazyad ibn Zaidah al-Shaybani (Rabi'ah-Nizār) (171-172/788-789). Although the date of his appointment is not known, it came after the dismissal of Yusuf ibn Rashid. He may have already been in Armenia as an amil of one of its regions (Azerbaijan) because his name is found on dirhams of Haruniyah, dated 169 and 170. After he became governor, he transferred a large number of Rabi'ah Arabs to the province, probably in order to provide new land for members of his own North Arab tribal grouping. 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 Mugar or Rabi'ah. The author of the Tarikh al-Bab calls Yazid ibn Mazyad the first king of Sharwan (Sharwanshah) and gives his domains as Azerbaijan, Armenia, Arran and Bab al-Abwab, probably in reference to his second appointment (see below). No other details of Yazid's first adminis-
tration are known, except that he was dismissed in 172. 99

16(a). Ĕubayd Allāh ibn al-Mahdi al- ĖAbbāsī (172-[1753]/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 Ĕubayd 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 ( Ĕubayd 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 ĖAbd al-Kabīr, and then Sulaymān, "the most malicious and most treacherous of all." 103 Vasmer argues that, because Ĕubayd 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 Ĕubayd Allāh ceased being governor of Armenia, but since Faḍl ibn Yahyā'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). ĖAbd al-Kabīr ibn ĖAbd al-Ḥumayd ibn ĖAbd al-Rahmān ibn Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al- ĖAdawi (Quraysh/Muḍar) (175/791-792). According to Ya'qūbī, he was appointed after Yazīd ibn Mazyad and made his headquarters in Harrān, sending large numbers of people from Diyar Muḍar to settle in Armenia. He was in office for only four months and was replaced by Faḍl ibn Yahyā. 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. Ṣad 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. It is interesting to note that, like several governors before him, Ṣāḥib al-Kabīr was actively engaged in having Arab tribesmen colonize parts of Armenia.

17. Abū al-Ḳāḥṣa Ṣanʿ ibn Yahyā ibn Khālid 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. Although Ṣabāri states that this appointment came about in 176/792, Faḍl's name is already found on Armenian coinage of 175. In the latter year, he had been sent to Khūrasān to receive the oath of loyalty on behalf of the heir-apparent, Aḥmīd, but he could easily have been back soon enough to have been in Armenia before the year was out. Faḍl was active in Armenia during his two-year tenure. He took a large army with him, first to Bardaṣah, and then on to Bāb al-Abwāb. In the vicinity of that city he besieged a fortress called Ḥamzān (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 Bardaṣah. Soon after he appointed Ṣayyid ibn Ayyūb as his successor and returned to Iraq. Faḍl continued to direct affairs in Armenia from Iraq (see below) but, in 177/793, he was made governor of Khūrasān and left for the East the following year.

18(a). Ṣayyid ibn Ayyūb al-Kinānī (Muṣyar)(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.\textsuperscript{113}

18(b)(c). Abū al-Šabbāh (ancestry unknown) and Sa'īd ibn Muhammad al-Harrānī (? Azd/Yaman)(177/793). After Fadl returned to Iraq, he sent Abū al-Šabbāh and Sa'īd to Armenia to replace ʿUmar ibn Ayyūb, who seems to have been only the acting governor of the province. Abū al-Šabbāh was appointed to collect the kharāj and Sa'īd was made chief of military operations (ḥarb).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{115} When Abū al-Šabbāh attempted to collect the kharāj in Armenia, the people of Barda'ah killed him and the province seemed on the edge of yet another revolt.\textsuperscript{116}

19. Khālid 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-Šabbāh, a certain Abū Muslim al-Shārī led a revolt in Baylaqān and Fadl ibn Yahyā appointed Khālid governor, with powers to deal with the insurrection.\textsuperscript{117} Numismatic evidence permits the conclusion that Khālid's tenure included part of 177.\textsuperscript{118} Our two main Arab historians differ somewhat in reporting the events which followed.

Yaʿqūbī: Fadl sent ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Khalīfah al-Ḥarashī to Khālid with 5,000 men. They engaged Abū Muslim al-Shārī at Ruyān and were defeated. Then Abū Muslim headed for the citadel of the Kilāb and took
control of it. After this, Harūn al-Rashīd appointed al-‘Abbās ibn Jarīr.\footnote{119}

Ibn A‘tham al-Kūfī: Harūn al-Rashīd sent Ishāq ibn Muslim al-‘Uqaylī 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 Harūn was informed of this, he sent al-‘Abbās ibn Jarīr.\footnote{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 Harūn each sent a force to aid the governor, Khālid. 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‘qūbī is, in all probability, the mistake of a copier.

\footnote{20. al-‘Abbās ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd ibn Jarīr ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajalī (Yaman)(178/794).\footnote{121} When Harūn al-Rashīd appointed ‘Abbās 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‘ah, 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‘dān al-Himṣī, who}
met defeat and death at the hands of Abu Muslim. After seizing the kharūj of Qaswa and distributing it among his followers, Abu 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: Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashi to the Jazirah and Azerbaijan and Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī to Armenia with 10 to 12,000 men each. Yaḥyā quelled a separate revolt in Azerbaijan, led by a Muhalhal al-Tamīmī, and then joined Yazīd in Armenia. Abu 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 Ābbās is not mentioned again; therefore, it must be assumed that he did not long remain in office. 123

21. Mūsā ibn Īsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-Ābbāsī (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. Abu Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā ibn Saḥīd al-Ḥarashi (mawla)(179/795). After dismissing Mūsā ibn Īsā, Hārūn appointed his mawla, Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashi as qāmil of Armenia. In the words of Yaḥqūbī, “he wielded the sword until the state of affairs was put right, then Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed Ahmad
ibn Yazīd ibn Usayd.\textsuperscript{126} Yahyā's short tenure was during 179, according to a dirham of Armenia from that year.\textsuperscript{127}

23. Āḥmad ibn Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulami (Qays-Muḏar)(179-[181]/795-[797]). While he was governor of Armenia, a number of Khurāsānis, who had come to the province in the armies of Yahyā al-Ḥarashī and other generals before him, attacked Āḥmad 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.\textsuperscript{128} The period of Āḥmad'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-Bāhili (Muḏar)(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.\textsuperscript{129} He arrived in Bādarah upon being appointed and affairs of the province went well for a number of months. Saʿīd sent Naṣr ibn ʿInān as his Ćanīl to Bāb al-Abwāb, and shortly thereafter sent a masla of Faḍl ibn Yahyā by the name of Ḥarīth 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 Bādarah, but while he was there, his son Ḥaywan led a revolt because Ḥarīth insisted on collecting the kharāj. Saʿīd accused Najm of complicity in his son's revolt and imprisoned him in Bādarah. 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 "alim, Naṣr, at the hands of Haywan. 130

At about this time, a daughter of the Khazar Khāqān was brought to Bardeh, ostensibly to marry Faḍl ibn Yahya al-Barmakī. The princess met the same fate as the Khazar bride of Yazid 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, Haywan plied him with a gift of 100,000 dirhams and asked for his help against Sa'īd. The Khāqān responded with a reported 40,000 cavalry and the people of Bāb al-Abwāb allowed them to pass into Armenia. Sa'īd was on the march between Bardeh and Bāb al-Abwāb at this time, but fled back to his headquarters upon learning of the Khazars' approach. They and Haywan's rebels rampaged through the territory, killing and enslaving many Muslims. Then the Khazars returned to their land and Haywan went back to Bāb al-Abwāb. Harun was very upset with this turn of events and moved swiftly to replace Sa'īd. 132

25. Naṣr ibn Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī (Azd-Yaman) (183/799). Appointed to succeed Sa'īd, 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. Āli ibn Īsā ibn Māhān (Khurasan Arab) (183/799). Āli was governor of Khurasan 134 when he was given the additional responsibility of controlling Armenia. Soon after his arrival, Āli mounted an expedition in Sharwan 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 (Rabū’ah); 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 Saʿīd ibn Salm had be-
headed an astrologer named Sulamiī—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’ah. 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 Saʿīd ibn Salm, Yazīd rounded up Ḥarith, the mawla of Faḍl ibn
Yahyā, and others who had served Saʿīd, and sent them off in chains to
Ḥarun. 141 Yazīd managed to do what few governors of Armenia had been
able to accomplish: he brought some semblance of order and non-bellig-
erness to his province. In the words of Ibn Aḥθam 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'ah until death overtook him.\textsuperscript{142} The coinage issued during his tenure shows that Yazīd appointed his son Asad and his brother Aḥmad as his deputies in the province.\textsuperscript{143} He died in Barda'ah in 185 and was succeeded by Asad.\textsuperscript{144}

28. Asad ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad ibn Zā'īdah al-Shaybānī (Tabī'ī) (185–186/801–802). Asad followed his father in office, but was probably dismissed in 186.\textsuperscript{145} No details are known of his brief first tenure as governor.

29. Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad ibn Zā'īdah al-Shaybānī (Rabi'ī) (186–187/802–803). Although the Arab sources say that Muḥammad was a governor of Armenia, the years of his tenure are not given.\textsuperscript{146} Numismatic evidence provides the correct chronological position of his governorate, however.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{148} The last mention of Muḥammad is his participation in the summer campaign against the Byzantines in 191/807.\textsuperscript{149} Although there is no mention of his being in the province a second time while governor of Khurasān, a coin of Arran, dated 187, has the name of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā inscribed on it.

30. Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim (Muṣr); 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'ah, then he moved swiftly to restore order in the province. In sharp contrast to the Shaybanid 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. In Bab al-Abwâb, Khuzaymah had all those who were causing trouble simply gathered together and sent off to Harûn, presumably as slaves. The Sanâ'iyah then began to cause trouble, so Khuzaymah sent Sa'd ibn al-Haytham al-Tamîmî with a large army and forced the rebels to emigrate to Tiflis. 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 Baladhuri says that he built walls around Marâghah and fortified the city, making it his headquarters and establishing a garrison there. In 189/805 he journeyed to Rayy in order to present gifts to Harûn, who had been meeting there with Alî ibn 'Isâ ibn Mahân. Khuzaymah was succeeded in 191/807 by Sulayman ibn Yazîd, and the next year was off with the caliph in Khurasân waging war against the rebel, Rafîc ibn Layth.

Armenian coinage is known for all the years of Khuzaymah's governorate. 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.\textsuperscript{159} A person known only as Isma'il ibn Ibrahīm had his name inscribed on Armenian dirhams of 190 and 191.\textsuperscript{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'far. 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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{162} There is also a dirham of Arran, dated 292, with the name Sa'id, who perhaps can be identified with the Sa'id ibn al-Haytham sent by Khuzaymah to put down the revolt of the Sānā'īyah (see above). Other possible identifications of this Sa'id are the Sa'id ibn Āmūr al-Ḥarashi, governor of Tabaristan in 189,\textsuperscript{163} or Sa'id ibn Salm al-Ṭāhirī, who was on the summer campaign with Harthamah ibn A'yān in 191.\textsuperscript{164}

31. Sulaymān ibn Yazīd ibn al-Āsamm al-Āmirī (subdivision of both Muğar and Yaman) (191-192/807-808). Of this man, only Ya'qūbī 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."\textsuperscript{165} The only evidence that he was in office at this time are dirhams of Arran, dated 192, with the name Sulaymān ibn al-Āsamm.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{167}
32. Ayyūb ibn Sulaymān (ibn Yazīd ibn al-ʿAṣamm al-ʿAmmī ?)(either Muṣār 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-ʿAbbas ibn Zufar al-Hilālī (Muṣār)(193/809). Yaʿqūbī states that he was appointed to Armenia after Sulaymān ibn Yazīd. The Ṣanāʾīyah rebelled against him, but he was able to end their latest insurrection. 169

34. Yaḥyā ibn Zufar al-Hilālī (Muṣār)(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-Dabhī (Muṣār)(193-[194]/809-[810]). Nothing is known of this individual, except he was the last governor of Armenia appointed by Harūn 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 (Rabiʿah); second appointment (194-195/810-811). When Asad arrived in Armenia as Amīn's first appointment to that province, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, called Kawkab al-Ṣubh (Morning Star), had taken control of the country. In Jurzān a masūd by the name of Ismāʿīl ibn Shuʿayb 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 (Rabiʿah); 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-Ḥashimī) ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (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 Faḍl 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 Maʿmūn, Harthamah ibn ʿAyyān ousted Ishāq from Armenia and the province became aligned with Maʿmūn's faction. 178

39. Ẓahrīr ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣanʿānī (ancestry unknown) (196-197/812-813). The tenure of Maʿmūn'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 Yaʿqūbī. 180

Maʿmūn made Ẓahrīr ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣanʿānī governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is said that Harthamah ibn ʿAyyān was sent from Hamadan while Ẓahrīr was headed for Iraq and then towards Warthān in the prefecture of Azerbaijan. He (Ẓahrīr) corresponded with the forces in Armenia and they sent him (the province's) army and took the oath to Maʿmūn. The āmil of Armenia on behalf of Amīn was Ishāq and with him were ʿUmar, Hazūn, Nasīr and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the prince of al-Rān (Arran) and many other princes. They came with the intention of taking Bārdah and getting the people there to join in their revolt. Ẓahrīr was sent to them as Maʿmūn's āmil along with Zuhayr ibn Ṣīnān al-Tamīmī and a large following. They met and fought Ishāq and his companions and defeated them. They captured (Ishāq's) son, Jaʿfar, and sent him and those with him to Maʿmūn. Ẓahrīr did nothing when ʿAbd al-Malik ibn al-Jahhāf
al-Sulami revolted against him.\(^{181}\) [\(^{6}\)Abd al-Malik] fell upon the people of Baylaqan and Tahir's (forces) fortified (themselves) in the city of Barda\(^{6}\)ah, remaining entrenched there for a number of months. News of this reached Ma'mun and he appointed as governor Sulayman ibn Ahmad ibn Sulayman al-Hashimi and he arrived in Armenia. Tahir was hard-pressed, so Sulayman took him out, informed him of his dismissal, offered \(^{6}\)Abd al-Malik a pardon and the country was straightened out.

40. Sulayman ibn Ahmad ibn Sulayman al-Hashimi (al-\(^{6}\)Abbasi) (197/813). As mentioned in the above passage from Ya\(^{6}\)qubi, Sulayman was sent to replace Tahir ibn Muhammad. According to numismatic evidence, this occurred in 197.\(^{182}\)

41. al-\(^{6}\)Abbasi ibn Zufar (Mu\v{g}ar); second appointment (197-198?)/813-814?). After his first appointment in Armenia ended, \(^{6}\)Abbasi was in Syria in 196/812 with the forces resisting Tahir ibn al-Husayn.\(^ {183}\) 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. \(^{6}\)Abbasi is last mentioned as \(^{6}\)amil of Qinnasrin in 206/821-822.\(^ {185}\)

42. [?] ibn \(^{6}\)Abd Allah (ancestry unknown) (198/814). This individual's incomplete name is found on dirhams of Barda\(^{6}\)ah (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 Hatim 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. Sard ibn Muhammad (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\(^{6}\)dan Bajunays and Muhammadiyah.\(^ {190}\) If
this Şard 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. Ḥātim ibn Harthamah ibn Aḥyan al-Khurāsāni (Khurāsāni 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 Dhu al-Qa'ādah 200 (June 816). When Ḥātim arrived in Armenia, there was trouble between the Mu'tazilites and the ḤĀṣābiyyah, which was leading to bloodshed, but his mere presence was enough to quiet the two factions. After hearing of his father's death, Ḥātim left Barda'ah and began to make preparations for a general rebellion in cooperation with Bābak and the Khurramiyyah. He died before getting his revolt under way, but Bābak opened hostilities from Badhād in Azerbaijan, beginning a revolt which was to continue into the reign of Mu'taṣim.

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'dan Bājunays for these two years.

46. Yaḥyā ibn Mu'āadh ibn Muslim al-Dhuhlī (mawla) of Banū Dhuhlī-Rabi'ah (204-[205?]/820-[821?]). Appointed governor of Armenia in 204, he attacked Bābak, but could not manage to defeat him. 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.

47. Īsā ibn Muhammad ibn Abū Khālid al-Ma'mūnī (mawla) (205-208/
821-824). Īsā was appointed to the governorship of Armenia in 205, after Yahyā ibn Muʿādh met defeat at the hands of Bābak. Maʿmūn ordered him to equip his army and pay its wages from his own resources, which Īsā did, although it was reported that not one who marched out of Baghdad ever returned from the war. Bābak defeated the governor in 206/822, but did not go on the offensive. Thus, Īsā remained in Armenia for some time and was successful in putting down a minor revolt and restoring order. Babak's power continued to grow unchecked, which caused Maʿmūn great concern. Eventually, he dismissed Īsā, who had not done much to curb the expanding Khurramī rebellion, and appointed a new governor.

48. Šadaqah (Zurayq) ibn Āli ibn Šadaqah ibn Dīnār al-Azdi (mawla) (208-209/824-825). Although the textual sources state that Maʿmūn appointed Šadaqah (or Zurayq, as he was known) governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan in 209, numismatic evidence shows him to have been in Arran as early as 208. Perhaps the Arab historians meant that it was in 209 that Azerbaijan was taken from Zurayq and put under the control of Ibrahīm ibn Layth al-Tajībī, since that is what actually happened. Zurayq was unable to make any progress against Bābak; therefore, Maʿmūn sent Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Tūsī to lead the military operations. When Zurayq heard of his dismissal, he openly revolted and Muḥammad al-Tūsī was faced with two rebellious groups. Zurayq was defeated, asked for a pardon, and was sent to Maʿmūn. He was later declared an outlaw. Muḥammad continued the war against Bābak, but was killed by the Khurramī in 214/829.
49. ʿAbd al-ʿAḍlā ibn ʿAḥmad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Usayd al-Sulamī (Rabiʿah) (209-212/825-827). The dates of this individual's governorship are derived solely from the numismatic evidence. Since a reference to ʿAbd al-ʿAḍlā as governor of Armenia is found only in Yaʿqūbī, it is worth-while to present the passage in its entirety:

Maʿmūn appointed ʿAbd al-ʿAḍlā governor of Armenia at the same time he made ʿAlī ibn Hishām governor of Azerbaijan and commander of the war against Bābak. ʿAbd al-ʿAḍlā arrived in the country and found that Muḥammad ibn ʿAṭṭāb had taken control of Ṣanāʿīyah and that the Ṣanāʿīyah had joined him. Ibn ʿAṭṭāb fought and defeated ʿAbd al-ʿAḍlā because he lacked organization and knew nothing of war. So Maʿmūn appointed Khālid ibn Ṭāhir.

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

50. Khālid ibn Ṭāhir ibn Mazyad ibn ʿAlī ibn Shabābīr (Rabiʿah) (212-217/827-832). Appointed to replace ʿAbd al-ʿAḍlā, Khālid obtained the release of all the fellow tribesmen he could find in the prisons of Iraq and sent them to the Jazira. There he joined them with a large group of Ṣaʿdah (of which Shabābīr was a subdivision) and then headed for Armenia. It seems Khālid made a grand tour of his provinces, settling disputes and ending localized insurrections, before taking up a permanent residence. At Khilat, Sawādah ibn ʿAbd al-Humayd al-Jaḥfī came to him and received a pardon. Khālid then journeyed to Nashawā, which a certain maʿṣūlā of the Banū Muḥārib (named Ṭāhir ibn Ḥasan) had taken control of and the governor forced him to flee. At Kasāl he pardoned Muḥammad ibn ʿAṭṭāb, then moved on to subdue the Ṣanāʾīyah who had overrun Ṣanāʾīyah. Another report says that the people of
Shakkī had revolted, killing Ma'mūn's (unnamed) āmil. Khalīd 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, Khalīd went to Dabīl, which he made his residence.213 No attempt has been made to place the activities of Khalīd 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-ʿAbbās ibn al-Maʾmūn al-ʿAbbāsī (217-218/832-833). Maʾmūn appointed his son governor of a vast area of the northwest frontier, including the Jazirah, Thughūr and ʿAwāsim in 213/828.214 During the years after his appointment, ʿAbbās 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 Maʾmūn's reign.

51(b). ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muṣād al-ʿAsadī (Rabīʿah)(217/832). The successor of Khalīd ibn Yazīd, known to have been appointed, is ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muṣād. He died shortly after arriving in Armenia and left his son ʿAlī to assume his duties. Unrest soon surfaced in the province and Maʾmūn was moved to appoint yet another governor.216

51(c). ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Khaqān (Turk)(217-218/832-833). His name
would imply that he was a son of a Turkish ruler, converted to Islam. Although ČAbd al-Rahmān was later an official in the court of Mutawakkil, he is not mentioned in conjunction with Armenia in Ma'μūn's caliphate. 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.

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

* * * * * * * * *

Armenia, as can be seen, was administered somewhat differently than Iraq during the early ČAbbāsid 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, Ḥashimīyah). In spite of the distance separating the caliph and his ċamīl in Armenia, the caliph was usually well-informed of conditions on the frontier due to the efficiency of the imperial post. 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.\textsuperscript{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 Saffah did in appointing Abū Ja'far, or if the governor was a powerful absentee official—Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā 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 ṣanīls 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 Bardaḵah, 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 Bardaḵah their official residence, but only two such references for Dabīl.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Abbasid period, it is interesting to note that only seven were princes of the Abbasid family who were in office a total of 12 years, and two of these (Manṣūr and Ḥārūn al-Rashīd) were later caliphs. It will be remembered that approximately half of the governors of Basrah and Kūfah during this same period were Abbasids. 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 mawāli (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 Shaybānid and Sulamid governors, managed to succeed one another from father to son in Armenia.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III


5 A good general survey of the areas north of Arran proper, particularly the region of the Caucasus, is C.E. Bosworth, "al-Kabk," EI² IV, particularly pp. 344-345 and map. See also Le Strange, Lands, pp. 179-81.


7 The statement of Minorsky, "Adharbaydžan," EI², 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.


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

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

11 In the accounts of medieval Arab and Armenian writers, the terms Khazar and Tybr are interchangeable. Cf. W. Barthold and P.B. Golden, "Khazar," EI² IV, p. 1172.

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

13 Canard, op. cit., p. 645.

14 Yaqt, Muğjam (Wüstenfeld) I, p. 455. See below for discussion of a mint location here.
15 Canard, op. cit.

16 Ibid.

17 I find no evidence to support the conjecture of Richard Frye, "Arran," op. cit., p. 660, that the mint of Arran was either in Barda'ah or Baylaqan. Although not common, a number of coins are extant with the mint name Barda'ah, but none with Baylaqan have ever come to my attention. It would be reasonable to assume that if some of the coins bearing the mint name Arran were produced in Baylaqan, then specimens with the actual city's name would have been minted also, as they were for Barda'ah. Frye, loc. cit., also states that coins bearing the mint name Madīnat Arran 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'ah, the capital. For an enumeration of Armenian provincial coinage during the early Abbasid period, which pertains to the chronology of the governors, see Appendix B.


19 There were two other places called Haruniyyah: one was in the Thughur, on the Byzantine frontier, but was founded by Harun al-Rashīd only in 183/799. The other was near Jalula in Iraq and could not have been the Armenian Haruniyyah. Cf. T.H. Weir, "al-Haruniyya," EI² III, pp. 234-235.

20 The issues are listed in Appendix B.

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


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

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

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


27 Ya'aqūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 429, where he is said to have been made governor in 133; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, loc. cit. Futūḥ I, p. 328, identi-
fies Musāfir al-Qassāb as a Kharaqite rebel against whom Abū Ja'far (Mansūr) sent an unnamed Khurasanī general.

28. Tab 57/7, 447: he is appointed over the Jazirah, Azerbaijan and Armenia in 132; IA V, p. 435: appointed in 133. Ya'qūbī, 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.

29. IA V, p. 435.

30. Ḍarribāh cannot be identified. Jurzān was used by medieval Arab writers to denote both the Georgians, a Christian people on the southeastern flanks of the Caucasus, and their country. Cf. V. Minorsky, A History of Shamšan and Darband (Cambridge, 1958), Index, p. 181.

31. Ya'qūbī, loc. cit. Although he had been named governor over the Jazirah, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 132, and remained in that capacity until he became caliph on 13 Dhu 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 Jazirah only (Tab 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; 84/7, 467). His name is given in these instances as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mūhammad, leading some modern scholars to believe that this denoted a separate individual assigned to the Jazirah as a deputy by Abū Ja'far (Ghazarian, op. cit., p. 40, No. 20; and Ter-Gheondjian, Armeniа i Arapskii Khalīfаt (Erevan, 1977), pp. 99, 274). However, Richard Vasmer, "Khronologiа namestnikov Armeniа pri pervym Abbassidakh," Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov 1 (1925), p. 382, rightly points out that this individual was none other than Abū Ja'far himself.

32. Ibn ʿAthām al-Kūtī 8, p. 211; Ya'qūbī, loc. cit. Tab 87/7, 470, says that when he left the Jazirah and, according to Waqīdī, Armenia and Azerbaijan as well, to go on the ḥajj of 136 with Abū Muslim, he left Muqatil ibn Hakīm al-ʿAkkī in charge of the Jazirah.

33. Muğāshi ʿ was appointed over Azerbaijan in 133 (Tab 75/7, 460; IA V, p. 449), and Mūhammad ibn ʿSūl 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 killed because he had revolted along with Maqatil ibn Hakīm al-ʿAkkī. A third version is given by Ibn al-ʿAthīr 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 Simṣāt in western Armenia in that year (Anṣāb I, Fol. 289b, 12-13).

34. Anṣāb I, Fol. 326b, 35; Tab 75/7, 460.
35 Yaṣṣūb II, p. 429. Muhammad ibn Ṣūl, being Abu Jaʿfar's deputy in Mosul, probably had control of the military forces in all the territories under Abu Jaʿfar'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 Śāliḥ ibn Śubayḥ upon Muhammad's orders.

36 Tab 81/7, 465; 120/7, 496; IA V, p. 482; Ansāb I, Fols. 326b-327a, 18-21.
37 Tab 81/7, 465; 84/7, 467; IA V, pp. 454, 456; Yaṣṣūbī, Ṭārīkh II, p. 430.
38 Ibn Aṭḥam al-Kūfī 8, p. 211; Yaṣṣūbī, loc. cit.
39 Tab 95/7, 476; 99/7, 479-480; IA V, p. 468; Yaṣṣūbī, loc. cit.; Ibn Aṭḥam al-Kūfī, loc. cit.
40 Tab 95/7, 476; IA V, p. 468; Ansāb I, Fol. 289b, 12-15, 24; Dīnawarī, Akḥābar al-ʿīʿāl, p. 374.
41 Tab 125/7, 500; IA V, p. 488.
42 Futūḥ I, p. 292.
43 Yaṣṣūbī, Ṭārīkh II, pp. 446, 447.
44 Ibid., p. 446.
45 See Appendix B.
46 Ansāb II, Fol. 594b, adding that Yazīd was a stammerer (wa kanū tamtaman).

47 Tab 353/8, 27, states that Mansūr sent Ḫumayd ibn Qaḍṭabah al-Taʾī 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.

49 Ibn Aṭḥam al-Kūfī 8, p. 233.

52 Futūḥ I, p. 328; Ansāb II, Fol. 594b, 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.

53 Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī 1, pp. 229-231. Khaqān and Khātu are titles rather than the names of individuals. The name of the Khazar ruler has been transliterated here from the Haydarabad edition of Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī: Tašṭar. However, the diacritical points may be incorrect, as W. Barthold and P.B. Golden, "Khazar," EI IV, p. 1174; and K. Czeglédy, "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 Baghātu.

54 Czeglédy, loc. cit.

55 Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī 9, pp. 231-232. Yaqūbī, op. cit., II, pp. 446-447, says that the king of the Khazars, named Ras Tarkan, led his army in attacking Yazid. After several Muslim defeats, Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah was sent to save the province.

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


59 Op. cit., p. 385. The specimen cited is Ziya 248 and is the only one known for that year that has a ین on the reverse. Other known dirhams, dated 151, have either a small crescent (٧) in the same position (Lavoix 612; Denizbacı Defiesesi 201; Album 24), or have nothing at all there (ANS - uncataloged; Denizbacı Defiesesi 202; Nützel 643; Tiesenhauen sen 2763a). Ziya may well have mistaken a small crescent for a ین.

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

61 Tab 371/8, 43; Dahabī VI, p. 160. Futūḥ I, p. 329, says he was governor of Armenia between Yazid ibn Usayd and Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah. Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī 8, p. 233, states that when Mansūr dismissed Yazid, he appointed Bakkar in his place.

62 See Appendix B. Futūḥ I, p. 329; and Hamadhānī, p. 294, merely say he was appointed after the dismissal of Yazid ibn Usayd.
Although Vasmer, op. cit., p. 384, quoting an Armenian source, says that Bakkar was in office for less than a year, Ibn Aᶜḥam 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 Barḍah 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.

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

Ibn Aᶜḥam al-Kūfī 8, p. 233. The edited text mistakenly has Diyarabāh for Şanāriyah.


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

Futūḥ I, p. 329; Hammadhanī, p. 294.

Ibn Aᶜḥam al-Kūfī 8, pp. 234–235, has the most detailed account of these events and gives the prince's name as Mushābadh. Yaᶜūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 447, only mentions that Mansūr sent reinforcements totaling 20,000 men under Cāmīr ibn Isma'īl to fight the Şanāriyah. Futūḥ I, p. 329, gives a very brief account, calling the prince Mushā'īl. Hammadhanī, p. 294, repeats Balādhūrī's brief notice, calling the prince Mushayil. The date of the battle is given by Vasmer, "Khronologīṭā," 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.

Yaᶜūbī, loc. cit.; Vasmer, loc. cit.

He led the summer raid in 162 (Tab 493/8, 142; IA VI, p. 58; Khalīfah, Tarīkh II, p. 437; Yaᶜūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 486; Hammadhanī, p. 113; Futūḥ I, pp. 261, 295); and accompanied Harūn 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 Khurasan for a short time. His death is recorded by Ṭabarī 646/8, 268; and Ibn al-Athīr VI, p. 159.

Yaᶜūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 447; Vasmer, op. cit., p. 386.

Ibid. According to Tab 383/8, 56, Yaḥyā ibn Khalīd al-Barmakī was governor of Azerbaijan in 158.
See Appendix B. Wāḍī was later held posts in Egypt under Mahdī and was executed by order of Hādī for his 'Alid leanings.

Vasmer, op. cit., p. 386, quoting Ghevond. Balādhurī, Futūh I, p. 329; and Hamadhānī, p. 294, both state that Hasan ibn Qahtābah was succeeded by 'Uthman ibn 'Umrah. Dhahabi 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!

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

See Appendix B.

Tab 500/8, 148.

Tab 495/8, 144; 503-505/8, 152-153. Tab 501/8, 150.


See 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), Baṣrah (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-Wāṣif, who was in charge of the postal service in 169.

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


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

Yaṣqūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 515.

Tab 602/8, 232.

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

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

Futūh I, p. 330.

Ibid. For an explanation of the tax system, see Chapter VII.
92 Ya'qūbī, op. cit., II, p. 515.

93 See Appendix B.

94 Ya'qūbī, loc. cit.

Continued rivalry between the two main Arab tribal factions is apparent in Yusuf'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 Yusuf's action with displeasure, and this may explain his short tenure.

96 See Appendix B.


99 Tab 607/8, 236; IA VI, p. 118; Ahmad ibn Lutf Allah, loc. cit., calling him the wali of Armenia; 'Abd al-Jabbar Jumard, Yazīd ibn Mazyad (Beirut, 1961), pp. 175-176. Ya'qūbī, op. cit., II, p. 516, says his successor was 'Abd al-Kabir al-Adawi.

100 Tab 607/8, 236; IA VI, p. 118. Futūh I, p. 330; and Hamadhanī, p. 294, say he was governor between Yazid ibn Mazyad and Fāḍl ibn Yaḥya. Anṣāb I, Fol. 335a, 36-37, mentions only that he was a governor of Armenia and the Jazirah.

101 Vasmer, op. cit., p. 392.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid. See Appendix B. Some of Ubayd Allah's kamils are manifested in the coinage. A dirham of 172 has a DINAR, which may be for the Sulayman 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.

105 Vasmer, loc. cit.

106 Tarikh II, p. 516. Since Ya'qūbī fails to mention Ubayd Allah at all, 'Abd al-Kabir's short tenure could just as easily come before Ubayd Allah's governorate as after it.
107 Tab 501/8, 150; IA VI, p. 63; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 438.

108 Tab 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 Ubayḍ Allāh and Saʿīd ibn Salm.

109 Faḍl is also inscribed on Armenian coinage, dated 176 and 177. See Appendix B.

110 FHA I, p. 292.

111 Yaʿqūbī, Tarikh II, p. 516; Ibn Aṯīm al-Ḵūṭī 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.

112 Tab 629/8, 255; 631/8, 257; Yaʿqūbī, 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 Nahrawān to the farthest limits of the Turks, in 176, and he headed for his provinces in 178.

113 Yaʿqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 516, says that after Faḍl appointed him, he sent Abu al-Ṣabbāḥ and Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad. Ibn Aṯīm al-Ḵūṭī 8, p. 254, states that he was dismissed before the next two individuals were jointly appointed.

114 Yaʿqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 516. Ibn Aṯīm al-Ḵūṭī 8, p. 254, adding that Abu al-Ṣabbāḥ was a mawla of the Ashʿaris.

115 For example, Nusayr, 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).

116 Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit. Ibn Aṯīm al-Ḵūṭī, loc. cit., adds that Saʿīd was appointed in Abu al-Ṣabbāḥ's place after the latter was killed in Baradah.

117 Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit.; Ibn Aṯīm al-Ḵūṭī, loc. cit.

118 See Appendix B.

119 Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit.

120 Ibn Aṯīm al-Ḵūṭī 8, pp. 254-255.

121 This is the form of his name given by Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit. Ibn Aṯīm al-Ḵūṭī 8, p. 255, has al-ʿAbbas ibn Jarīr ibn Khalīd al-Qasrī.

122 I have been unable to identify this town.
123. The events outlined under this governor are drawn from Ya'qūbī, Tarikh II, pp. 516-517; and al-Kūfī 8, pp. 255-256, which differ from each other only on some minor points. However, Ya'qūbī says the next governor was Musa ibn Īsā; whereas, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī names Sa'īd ibn Sālm. Numismatic evidence points to Ya'qūbī's version as the more probable. There is a coin of Yahyā al-Ḫarashi minted in Bab al-Abwāb, dated 178. See Appendix B.

124. Ya'qūbī, Tarikh II, p. 517. Ansāb I, Fol. 335b, says he was governor of Armenia for Harun without giving the date.

See Appendix B.

125. Tarikh II, p. 517.

126. See Appendix B. A fals of Bab al-Abwāb, 178, was undoubtedly minted while he was in the province to aid Ābās ibn Jārīr.

127. Ya'qūbī, loc. cit., Ansāb II, Fol. 594b, only says he was governor of Armenia for Harun.

128. See Appendix B. He was in the Jazirah for a part of 181, when he defeated the rebel, Jarashah al-Shārī, in hand-to-hand combat somewhere on the upper Euphrates (Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 456). Futūh I, p. 330, and Hamadhānī, p. 294, say he was governor between Fadl ibn Yahyā and Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad. Ibab 647/8, 269, has him as governor of Armenia in 182, when the daughter of the Khaqān was brought to Bardah 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.


130. Ibab 647/8, 269; FHA I, p. 302.


132. Ya'qūbī, loc. cit. The only other mention of Naṣr in the Arabic sources show him to have been the governor of Ifriqiyyah for 1-1/2 years, about 175-177 (Ya'qūbī, Tarikh II, p. 496, IA VI, p. 136; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 464).


134. Ya'qūbī, op. cit., II, p. 518, says he was appointed after Naṣr ibn Ḥabīb. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī 8, p. 259, states that he succeeded Sa'īd ibn Sālm. See Appendix B.

Ibn Aṣ'ham al-Kūfī, loc. cit.

Ibid.

Ibn Aṣ'ham al-Kūfī, loc. cit.

Ibid.

See Appendix B.

Tab 650/8, 273; IA VI, p. 169; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 457; Ahmad ibn Lutf'Allah, op. cit., p. 2; Ibn Aṣ'ham al-Kūfī, loc. cit. Dinawāri, Akhbar al-ṭīval, p. 390, says that, while he was governor of Armenia, he went from Raqqah to Baghdad in 184 and then died.

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

Futūh I, p. 330; Hamadhānī, p. 294: both say he was governor after Sa'id ibn Salm.

See Appendix B.

Hamadhānī, loc. cit.

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

See Appendix B.

Iban Aṣ'ham al-Kūfī 8, pp. 259-260.

Yaṣ'ubi, Tarīkh II, p. 519.

Ibn Aṣ'ham al-Kūfī 8, p. 260.

Yaṣ'ubi, loc. cit.


Tab 705/8, 316.


For this and subsequent references to other names on the coinage
under Khuzaymah, see Appendix B.

159. There was a Haytham ibn Shu'bah, who succeeded Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim as amīl of Wasiṭ in 195 or 196/810-812, according to Ṣab 856/8, 435.

160. He may have been the Abu Qatīfah Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm, a mawla of the Banu Asad, who was appointed finance director of Egypt in 164/780 (Kindī, p. 123).


162. Several possible identifications of Daʿūd are: 1) the Daʿūd ibn Musā ibn Isā or, simply, Daʿūd ibn Isā, who was governor of Mecca and Medina in 196/811-812 (IA VI, p. 264; Yaʿqūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 544); or 2) Daʿūd ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī, governor of Sind in 195/810-811, in which year he died (Yaʿqūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 532). Curiously enough, the names Daʿūd and Umm Jaʿfar are found together on the coinage of Muḥammadīyah (Rayy) for the year 187. On the same mint's coinage, Daʿūd is found alone for the years 170-174, 177, 182-184, 186 and 195, while Umm Jaʿfar is on the coins of the years 188-190. See Appendix B under Jībal-Rayy/Muḥammadīyah.

163. Ṣab 705/8, 316.

164. Ṣab 712/8, 324; IA VI, p. 206.

165. Tarīkh II, p. 519.

166. See Appendix B.


168. See Appendix B.

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

170. See Appendix B.

171. Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit.

172. Yaʿqūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 528. He was in office during 194 and 195, according to numismatic evidence. On coins of Maʿdan Bahūnays, the names of Daʿūd, Umm Jaʿfar (Zubaydah), mentioned first under Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim, continue to be found, as well as that of a certain Ubayd, hitherto unidentified. See Appendix B.


174. Dirhams of Armenia, dated 195, simply have Ahmed ibn Yazīd. Torn-
berg, *Symbolae* III, p. 11, believes he was the son of Yazīd ibn Mazyaḏ. However, Vasmer, "Chronologie der Statthalter von Armenien unter den Kalifen al-Āmīn und al-Maʿmūn," *Handes Amserya, Monatschrift für armenische Philologie* 41 (1927), cols. 867-868, thinks it is more probable that he was the son of Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulami, 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.

175 Yaʿqubī, *Tarikh* II, p. 528; Ibn Aṯham al-Kufī 8, p. 295. *Ansāb I*, col. 286b 11-12, says he was governor of Armenia for Amin, without stating the year.

176 See Appendix B.

177 Ibn Aṯham al-Kufī, loc. cit.


179 See Appendix B.

180 *Tarikh* II, pp. 562-563.

181 His name is found on dirhams of Maʿdan Bajunays, dated 196 and 197. See Appendix B. When the revolt of Abū Sarayā broke out in 199, he and Muhammad ibn Aṯtab were Abu Saraya's representatives in Armenia (Yaʿqubī, op. cit., II, p. 540). He was later killed by the people of Dabil (Vasmer, op. cit., col. 869).

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

183 Futūḥ I, p. 225; Jāb 845/8, 427.

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

185 Fī Ḥā I, p. 363.

186 See Appendix B.


188 Hoards of ʿAbbasid 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 ʿAbbasid dirhams, representing 17 different mints.

189 See Appendix B.

190 See Appendix B. George Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*
(N.Y., 1938), p. 57, in reference to the qarq found on coins of Muḥam-
dam-yah, 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 Yaṣubī indices.

191 Yaṣubī, Taṣīkh II, p. 563; FHA I, p. 350; Taβ 998/8, 542; IA VI,

192 Yaṣubī, loc. cit. Generally speaking, Muṣtaẓīlīites adhered to
a school of theological thought, based upon philosophical reasoning,
which was the official religious dogma of the early Abbasid court. In
the political sense, this group in Armenia represented the pro-Abbasid
community. "Aṣābiyah, on the other hand, refers to the pre-Islamic no-
tion of kinship within one's tribe or clan upon which the Umayyads had
based their administrative appointments. Thus, the passage in Yaṣubī,
cited above, reflects the continued animosity between those who supported
the Abbasid policy of centralization and bureaucratization of the pro-
vincial administration and the proponents of the old order, fougūd upon

193 Ibid. Before long Babak had control of all of Azerbaijan and
extended his revolt into Armenia, the districts south of the Caspian and
into Jībal. Cf. D. Sourdel, "Babak," EI 3 3, p. 844; D.S. Margoliouth,
"Khurramiya," EI 3 3 I/1, pp. 974-975; E.M. Wright, "Babak of Badhād
and al-Afšūn During the Years 816-841 A.D.," Muslim World 38 (1948), pp. 48,
51-55.

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

195 See Appendix B.

196 Taβ 1039/8, 576; IA VI, p. 358; Yaṣubī, Taṣīkh II, p. 563.

197 Taβ 1044/8, 580; Taβ 1045/8, 581; IA VI, pp. 362, 363; Yaṣubī, op.
cit., II, pp. 554, 563-564; Khalīfah, op. cit., p. 472. Although Yahya'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 Ahmad, a Hasan or Husayn ibn Sa'd and Baith ibn
Ḫalbas (see Appendix B). Asad is not mentioned in any source, but Ahmad
is reported to have succeeded his father as governor of the Jazīrah in
206 (Taβ 1045/8, 581; IA VI, p. 363). Neither is there any record of
who Hasan or Husayn ibn Sa'd may have been. As for Baith, his family
had settled in Marand, a village in Azerbaijan, during the governorship
of Yazid ibn Usayy, in the 140s, where they became a local power (Futūk

198 Taβ 1044/8, 580; Yaṣubī, Taṣīkh II, p. 564, who says he was
governor of both Armenia and Azerbaijan.

199 Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit.

200 Īb 1045/8, 581; Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit.

201 Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit. Īsā 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-ʿAbbas ibn Abu ʿAyub and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Kalbī, are found on coinage of Īsā's period in office. See Appendix B.

202 Īb 1072/8, 601; IA VI, p. 390; Azdī, p. 366; Yaʿqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 584. See Appendix B. His prefect, al-ʿAbbas ibn Khalīd, figures on the coinage of 208.

203 Īb 1072/8, 601; IA VI, p. 390; Azdī, p. 366; Yaʿqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 584.

204 Yaʿqūbī, Tarīkh II, pp. 564–565. Īb 1101/8, 622, says he was killed on 25 Rabiʿ I 214 (June 2, 829).

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

206 Tarīkh II, p. 565.

207 This passage is given under the year 214 when Ḥālīb 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 ʿAbd al-Aʿlā's successor would preclude 214 as the correct date.

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

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

210 Yaʿqūbī, Tarīkh II, pp. 565–566. Ahmad ibn Lutf Allāh, Tarīkh al-Bab, p. 3, says he was sent to Azerbaijan, Arran and Armenia in 205 by Maʿmun, but if the author means he was appointed governor in that year, he is in error.

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

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


See Appendix B.

Yaᶜqūbī, Tarīkh II, p. 566.

Yaᶜqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 597.

See Appendix B. Miles, HIC, p. 75, surmises that he was either a lieutenant-governor under ġAbbās or took over the administration of Armenia upon Ma'ūn'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 ġAbbās, but actually has that of ġAbd al-Rahman.

Yaᶜqūbī, op. cit., II, p. 566.


See Chapter VII for a discussion of the barrid system.

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

Canard's statement ("Dvin," EI² II, p. 678) is, therefore, not correct for much of the period 132-218/750-833.


Canard, op. cit., p. 679. Ter-Chevondian, "Le 'Prince d'Arménie' à l'époque de la domination arabe," Revue des études arménienes, N.S. 3 (1966), pp. 185-200, makes a case for the dual government of "Abbasid 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.

The 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 \(^{C}\)Abbasid period. On the west Jibal was flanked by Iraq and on the northwest by Azerbaijan. To the north lay the Caspian districts: Daylam, Jīlān, Rūyān and Dūnbāwand, 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 \(^{C}\)Abbasids.\(^2\) 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 \(^{C}\)Abbasid period, the name of the city being practically synonymous with the province as a whole. Whenever a particular individual is mentioned in the written
and numismatic sources as āmil 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 Mahdī 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 Mahdī, whose given name was Muḥammad, Rayy was renamed Muḥammadīyah and this appellation began appearing on the coinage from the year 148/765, although the construction program was not completed until 158/775. 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 Isbahān, which dominated southeastern Jibal and the region stretching towards Hamadān. Isbahān was usually accorded its own āmil, 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 āmils of Isbahān are known, they are discussed in conjunction with their counterparts at Rayy. Isbahān was the site of an Ābāsid provincial mint, although the name appears very infrequently on the coinage until the caliphates of Ma'mūn. Up to that time the name Jayy, by which the administrative center of Isbahān was called, occurs on a rather intermittent series of
dirhams and *fu*lūs.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 ābbāsids.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 Iṣbāhān, merited its own *amīl, although none of their names for the early ābbāsid 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 Iṣbāhān.¹¹ Qumm was the location of a major uprising against Ma'mūn in 210/825-826 (see below).

After the ābbāsid revolution was declared in Khurāsān (late 129/June 747), the Umayyads tried desperately to contain the forces of Abū
Muslim in the East. However, Abu Muslim’s General Qahlabah reached Rayy and began to threaten all of Jibal. In a great battle fought near Isbahān 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 Abbasid province in Abu Muslim’s hands.

1. Abu Muslim Abd al-Rahman ibn Muslim (mawla)(132-137/749-755). The man who was instrumental in securing the caliphate for the Abbasid family remained governor of much of the East after Saffah had been proclaimed commander of the faithful in Kufah. He spent most of his governorship in Khorasan and Transoxiana quelling disorders and revolts, affairs in Jibal being left in the hands of the prefects in the major cities. Abu Muslim left Khorasan and traveled through Jibal on his way to join Abu Ja’far (Mansur) for the hajj in 136/754. To assure his own position in the East, he divided his 8,000-man force between Naysabur and Rayy, then gathered together the revenues of Jibal and left the whole of it at Rayy. Abu Muslim was not to return to the East. Mansur, after his succession to the caliphate, resolved to rid himself of the powerful revolutionary and Abu Muslim was killed at Madain on 24 Sha’ban 137 (February 12, 755).

2. Jahwar ibn Marrar al-Ijlī (Rabi’ah)(137-138/755-756). He was in charge of Mansur’s cavalry corps in 137 when the rebellion of Sunbadh, a partisan of Abu Muslim, broke out in Khorasan. When the revolt spread from Naysabur to Qumis and then to Rayy, the caliph sent Jahwar to Jibal to restore order there. The battle which ensued between Rayy and Hamadan resulted in a total rout of the rebels. Sunbadh fled from Jahwar’s forces, but was caught and killed somewhere between Qumis and
Tabaristan, the revolt having lasted about 70 days. 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, Mansūr dismissed him as governor of Rayy (in 138). Jahwar himself then rebelled and the caliph had to send Muḥammad ibn al-Ashrath and Umar ibn Ḥafṣ Hazārmad against him. Jahwar was defeated near Isbāhan, then tried to join the Kharajite Mulabbad in Azerbaijan, but was caught and put to death.  

3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ashrath ibn Uqbah al-Khuḍī (Yaman) (138-139/756-757). Muḥammad had been Abū Muslim's appointee to govern Fārs early in Saffah's caliphate. In 138 he was sent to replace Jahwar ibn Marār as governor of Rayy and to suppress the former's rebellion. 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. We find him governor or Egypt in 141/758-759, of Ifriqiya in 145/762-763, and participating in the summer campaign against the Byzantines in 149/766, at which time he died.  

4. CAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Ja'far ibn CAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥakim ibn Rāfī C al-Anšārī (Yaman) (139-141/757-759). None of the written sources states that he was appointed governor of Jibal. However, CAbd al-Ḥamīd's name is found on coins of Rayy, dated 139 and 141, thus demonstrating that he filled that office during those years. He later sided with the CAlid, Muhammad al-Nafṣ al-Zakīyah, in 145/762, but seems to have escaped punishment when the revolt was suppressed. CAbd al-Ḥamīd died in 153/770.
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 Khurasan.²⁸ When he first went to his territories in 141, Mahdī stayed at Rayy while his lieutenant was sent to Khurasān 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 Hashimiyah.³⁰ He must have returned shortly thereafter, since he was again in Rayy in 145/762 when Manṣūr wrote to him requesting Khāzīm 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 Muḥammadīyah.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). Asghar (or Asʿad) ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān (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 Sāliḥ (ancestry unknown) (143-145/760-762). Although this name is found only on fulūs of Rayy, dated 143 and 144, where he is called ʿamīl of Muḥammad (Mahdī), ʿImrān may have been in office until 145, the year in which his successor’s name appears on the coinage.³⁶
Salm was definitely in office in 145/762-763, according to numismatic evidence, and perhaps for part of the preceding year. When the dangerous extent of the revolt of Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh became apparent, Mansūr wrote to Salm in Rayy to go to Bāṣrah, where he soon was appointed governor late in 145/early 763. No details of his short tenure at Rayy are known, but Salm returned to the city later and died there in 149/766.

Mahdī continued in his capacity as overall governor of the East, but the names of ʿamīls 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 ʿamīls 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. The name Ṣayfūr is inscribed on fulūs of 151 and 152. This may be the same Ṣayfūr, a muṣliḥ of Mansūr 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. There was a Ṣayfūr, 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.

Iṣbahān: The prefect of Iṣbahān in 150 was an otherwise unidentifiable Saʿīd, according to a falsa of Jayy struck in that year. The
name of Ismāʿīl ibn Musʿab is found on a fals of 154, but no trace of him can be elicited from the chronicles. 45

Nihāwand: The Sulaymān whose name is engraved on a fals, dated 154, is possibly Sulaymān ibn Barmak, who was with Khālid 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. Hamzah ibn Malik ibn al-Haytham al-Khuzaʿī (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, Hamzah was appointed ṣāmil of Sijistān at the end of 159 (September-October 776) and was dismissed from that office in Shaʿbān 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 Mahdī appointed him saḥib al-shurtah in 161. 50 Hamzah was later governor of Khurasān 51 and died in 181/797-798. 52

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

8. Kulthūm ibn Ḥafs (ancestry unknown) (163-164/780-781). We only know of his tenure in office during these years from fulūs issued by the Muḥammadīyah mint. 54 In 163 there was a change of prefects at Isbahān. Yahyā ibn Saʿīd al-Harashi was dismissed and al-Hakim ibn Saʿīd (his
brother?) was appointed in his place.\textsuperscript{55}

9. Khalaf ibn ČAbd Allāh (164-165/781-782). This individual was appointed governor of Rayy in 164 and dismissed in 165.\textsuperscript{56} The numismatic evidence confirms these dates as being correct.\textsuperscript{57}

10. ČĪsā, āwala Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr (165-166/782-783). Both Tabari and Ibn al-Athir state that ČĪsā, a āwala of Ja'far, was appointed to replace Khalaf in 165.\textsuperscript{58} He is likely the same ČĪsā, āwala of Mansūr, which the anonymous āUyūn wa-al-hadā'iq mentions as having been one of Mansūr's secretaries.\textsuperscript{59} No record of his dismissal from Rayy is found in the sources, but he was probably in office when Sa'd was sent to take his place.

11. Sa'd, āwala al-Mahdi (166-783-?). Sa'd was appointed governor of Rayy in 166\textsuperscript{60} and was still in office in 167/784.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{62}

12. Between 167/784 and 176/792 a bewildering number of names appears on the coinage of Jibal Province.\textsuperscript{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 Dā'ūd is found on dirhams of Muhummadiyah, issued during the years 170 to 174, as well as on later issues between 177 and 195. He may be the same Dā'ūd whose name is inscribed on dirhams of Ma'dan Bajunays, dated 190 to 195.\textsuperscript{64} There are two possible identifications for this individual. The most
probable is Da‘ūd ibn CIsā ibn Mūsā al-CAbbasī, who led the Ḥajj in 19365 and was governor of Mecca and Medina in 196.66 The other possibility is Da‘ūd ibn Yazīd ibn Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, who was governor of Egypt in 17467 and appointed to Sind in 184/800.68 On dirhams of Muhammadiyyah, dated 171 and 172, is found the name Ḥarīth, who may be General al-Ḥarīth ibn Hishām, later sent (in 196/811-812) by Ẓahir ibn al-Husayn to Qaṣr ibn Hubayrah during the war between Amin and Ma‘mun.69 The Yahyā of Muhammadiyyah dirhams of 172 and 173 may have been Yahyā ibn Ẓa‘lid al-Barmakī, appointed wāzier by ʿHarūn al-Rashīd in 170/787, as Miles speculates.71 However, it is also possible—and I believe, more likely—that he is to be identified with Yahyā ibn Mūṣīd ibn Muslim al-Dhuḥlī, whose name is found on fulūs of Jayy, dated 174. No written record of his holding a post in Isbahan or Jibal in general is known, but he was later governor of Armenia for Ma‘mun.72 Dirhams of Muhammadiyyah, 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-Wahīd who figured in the affairs of Ifriqiyah as a kātib (secretary) in 181/797-798.74 Also, on some dirhams of Muhammadiyyah, dated 173, is inscribed the name Muṣawiyah, who may have been Muṣawiyah ibn Zuḥair ibn ʿĀsim al-Ḥilālī, 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 Muhammadiyyah 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. Tayfūr, mawla of Hādī, was appointed governor of Ḥisbān in 169/785-786, yet nothing is known of the length of his governorate. A person by the name of al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥāwiya was prefect in Hamadān between 170 and 180/787 and 796, but he is not mentioned at all by the Arab historians. Perhaps he was the son of the Muḥāwiya found on dirhams of Muḥammadīya discussed above.

13. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Fadl ibn Yahyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī (Iranian) (176-179/792-795). Fadl was appointed governor of a large bloc of territories, including Jibal, Tabaristan, Dunbāwand, Qūmis, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 176. In the same year Rayy, Jurjān and Ru’yān were added to his governorate and he set up residence at a place called Ashabb in Tal-aqān, located in northwestern Jibal near Daylam and described as "cold and snowy." In 177/793, Fadl was made governor of Khurasān and Sijistan and he set out for the East in 178/794. In 180/796, Hārūn al-Rašīd dismissed him from Tabaristan and Ru’yān as well as Rayy, from which date is marked the end of his governorship of Jibal.

The coinage of Jibal during this period does not reflect Fadl's tenure, unless a single dirham of Muḥammadīya, dated 179, was meant to represent him. However, the name of his brother Jaʿfar is found very frequently on the coinage, not only of Muḥammadīya, but on many scattered mints throughout the Empire until the year of his death (187/803). This was not because Jaʿfar 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-Rašīd as supervisor of the coinage in 176.
Two of Fadl’s prefects in Rayy are known from numismatic evidence. CAbd Allah, whose name is found on a single dirham each of 176 and 177, may be identified with CAbd Allah ibn Sa’d al-Harashi,88 CAbd Allah ibn Khazim ibn Khuzaymay,89 or CAbd Allah ibn Salih ibn CAli al-CAbbasi.90 In 177/793, there was a Ruh in charge of the district, who was possibly the mawla of Fadl mentioned in Tabari under the year 175.91 Also prefect of Rayy in 177 was an al-CAbbás ibn Muhammad.92 Miles surmises he may have been CAbbás ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn CAli, governor of Mecca for Harun al-Rashid at one time, or more likely, CAbbás ibn Muhammad ibn al-Musayyab, placed in charge of Jafar ibn Yahya’s shurtah (police corps) in 180/796.93 CUthman ibn Zufar was Camil 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 Muwa’iyah 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 CAbbásid bureaucracy is contained in the numismatic evidence.

14. Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn al-Harith ibn Shikhkir (? Hawazin-Mudar) (179-181/795-797). When Fadl ibn Yahya was dismissed as governor of Rayy, along with his other territories, Harun appointed Muhammad to Jibal, reportedly in 180/796.95 However, numismatic evidence shows that Muhammad was already in his governorate in 179 and remained until at least 181.96 Muhammad may also be referred to on a fals of Jayy, dated 181, when al-Husayn ibn al-Jannah, a mawla of Harun, was prefect of
Iṣbahan. 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, Ḥarūn made his son Maʿmūn 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 Maʿmūn 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. ʿAbū Ṣāliḥ Yahyā ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī, mawla Ḥarūn 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 Ḥarūn 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 ʿAbū ʿAmr al-Šārī. Zuhayr al-Qassāb was sent to deal with him and the rebel was killed at Shahrazūr. 103

16. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Khuzaʿī (Yaman) (189-[194?]805-[810?]). ʿAbd Allāh was given the governorship of a large area of northern Jibal and the districts south of the Caspian Sea by Ḥarūn when the caliph was in Rayy meeting with ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā ibn Māḥān in 189. The territory allotted to ʿAbd Allāh consisted of Rayy, Hamadān, Tabaristan, Rūyān, Dunbāwānd and Qūmis. 104 In addition, Ḥarūn 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.\textsuperscript{105} ʿAbd Allāh was not often in Jibal because of his military duties. He participated in the summer campaigns of 190/807\textsuperscript{106} and returned to Jibal with Ṣāmīn, the heir-apparent, where he led a force of 10,000 cavalry to put down a revolt by the Khurramiyah on the border between Jibal and Azerbaijan in 192/808.\textsuperscript{107} He is mentioned as being one of those in company with Ḥarūn when the caliph died in 193/809.\textsuperscript{108} ʿAbd Allāh himself died on Dhū al-Hijjah 212 (February-March 828).\textsuperscript{109}

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

17. al-ʿAbdās ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Khuzaʿī (Yaman) (194/710–810). ʿAbdās was left in charge of Rayy, perhaps by his father some time before Ḥarūn's demise. He is named Ḍaʿūmūn's amīl there in 194 and played a minor role in the growing feud between Ḍāmūn and his brother.\textsuperscript{114} Ḍāmūn wrote to ʿAbdās, requesting him to send rare plants of the district to him as a test of his loyalty. When Ḍaʿūmūn discovered that his prefect was open to his brother's machinations, he dismissed him and appointed Husayn al-Rustamī in his place.\textsuperscript{115} To counter this, Ḍāmūn put ʿĪsāmah ibn Ḥammad ibn Ṣālim al-Hamadhānī in charge of the ḥarb of Jibal
and sent him to Hamadān with 1,000 men. 116

18. al-Husayn ibn ṞUmar al-Rustamī, masāfa al-Ma'mūn (194-[195?]/810-[811?]). As mentioned under the last-named governor of Rayy, Rustamī was appointed to replace Abbās 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 Ṭahir ibn al-Husayn.119

19. Āli ibn Ḥaṣa ibn Māhān al-Khurāsānī (195/811). Amīn entrusted the government of a large part of Jibal, including Nihawand, Hamadān, Gumm and Isbahān, as well as the ḥarb and kharāj of the area, on 1 Rabi' 2
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 Musa.120 Āli left Baghdad on 15 Jumāda 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 Ābd Allāh ibn Humayd ibn Gahtabah over that city and Ābd al-Rahmān ibn Jiblah al-Abnawī over Dinawar.121 Just outside of Rayy, Āli met Ma'mūn's forces under the command of Ṭahir ibn al-Husayn and, in the ensuing battle, Āli was killed and Ṭahir gained his famous epithet, "Dhū al-Yamīnayn," reportedly for wielding his sword with two hands.122

20. Yahyā ibn Āli ibn Ḥaṣa ibn Māhān al-Khurāsānī (Khurāsānī 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 kharāj 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. Yahya probably never
managed to enter the city, but is reported to have taken possession of
the region between Rayy and Hamadan. Eventually Tahir ibn al-Husayn
directed his forces westward in order to consolidate all of Jibal under
the rule of Ma'mun. As he approached, many of Yahya's troops deserted
to Tahir and Yahya was severely defeated. It is not clear what hap-
pened to Yahya, but he must have escaped, since he was in Madain in
201/816-817.

While Yahya was still in Jiblah, Amiin sent Abd al-Rahman from Anbar
with another army to confront Tahir. He occupied the region around
Hamadan as Tahir consolidated his gains, reducing one stronghold after
another. After defeating Kathir ibn Qadirah, Amiin's amil at Qazwini,
Tahir moved against Abd al-Rahman. The first battle was indecisive,
but before the second confrontation could be brought about, Abd al-
Rahman's own men fell on him and, after killing him, either went over to
Tahir or fled back towards Iraq, thus leaving the way to Baghdad open.

22. Abu al-Tayyib Tahir ibn al-Husayn ibn Musaab al-Bushanjii al-
Khuzay (Iranian)(195-196/811-812). Ma'mun's general was also his amil
in Rayy in 195 and 196, according to numismatic evidence. He is also
mentioned in this capacity several times in the written sources, but
greater attention is generally paid to his military exploits in Jiblah,
and later in Iraq and the Jazirah during the war between Amiin and Ma'mun.

23. al-Fadl ibn Sahl ibn Abd Allah [Zadhanfarukh](Iranian)(196-
198/812-814). In Rajab 196 (March-April 812), Ma'mun 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. Fāḍl 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 Ḥasan was appointed to control the dīwān al-kharāj of these
regions. Fāḍl, of course, appointed lieutenants to each district and
major city, but only one in Jibal has come down to us. Ḥarthamah ibn
Aḥyar, next to Ṣahḥar (Ma'mūn's most able general), was prefect of Isbahān
from 196 to 198, according to numismatic evidence. 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 Isbahān district. He
was with Ṣahḥar in Jibal and Iraq during the war against Amin in 195,
in Hulwan early in 196, and in Ahwāz later in the year. In Ramadān
196 (May-June 812), he defeated another of Amin's armies, led by
Ṣayr ibn Muhammad ibn Ṣūfah ibn Nahrawān. In 198 Ma'mūn
ordered him to come to Khurāsān, so between the battle in late 196 and
the caliph's order in 198, Ḥarthamah may well have looked after affairs
in Isbahān.

al-Sarakhṣī (Iranian)(198-205/814-821). Ť had been appointed governor in
198 of all the provinces which Ṣahḥar ibn al-Ḥusayn had conquered during
the recent war between Amin and Ma'mūn. These territories included
Jibal, Fars, Ahwāz, Basrah and Kufah. Ť had spent most of this pe-
riod in Iraq and a few of the prefects he appointed to the districts of
Jibal are known to us through the coinage. Ť  A certain Tayfur was the
prefect in Hamadan in 200/815-816, as his name is found on a fals of that date, along with that of the governor of Jibal, al-Husayn ibn Umar al-Rustami. Ya'qubi relates that Husayn—whom he calls al-Hasan ibn Amr—had been appointed over Jibal by Hasan ibn Sahl on Ma'mun's orders. In 204/819-820, Ma'mun ordered Dinar ibn Abd Allâh to replace Husayn ibn Umar, but the latter was reluctant to abandon his post. When he became rebellious, Dinâr was forced to engage him in battle and eventually Husayn was made a captive and deprived of his position. A combination of the numismatic and written sources shows that Husayn was governor in Jibal at least from 200 to 204/815 to 820.

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

25. Tahir ibn al-Husayn (Iranian); second appointment (205-207/821-823). Ma'mun's able general was appointed governor of all the territories from Baghdad to the extreme eastern limits of the Empire in 205. He left the capital on 29 Dhû al-Qa'dah 205 (May 6, 821) to assume his duties in the East, and was to spend most of his 1-1/2 year tenure in Khurasan. We know of two prefects of Rayy for Tahir from numismatic sources, both of whom were in office during part of 206/821-
The first was Muhammad ibn Humayd al-Tusi al-Tahirī, who is not mentioned by Arab sources as being specifically connected with the government of Rayy. He had earlier been one of Tahir's lieutenants during the war against Amin, having been called al-Tahirī from the time in 198/813-814; then he was put in charge of the Khurasānī troops by Tahir. He was later sent by the caliph to prosecute the war against Babak and the Khurramiyah, in which capacity he lost his life in 214/829. It is evident from the coinage that, in 206, he had control of an area on behalf of Tahir, which was greater than the district around Rayy, since his name is found on coins of Naysābur/Abrashahr struck in the same year. The other prefect of Rayy for 206, whose name is preserved on the coinage, is Ishaq ibn Yahyā ibn Mu'adh al-Dhihlī. His father was governor of Armenia shortly before 206, but of Ishaq's appointment to Rayy, the historians are silent. Some details of his later career are known, however. He was appointed amīl of Damascus in 218/833, placed in control of the guard (chāras) by Mu'tasim in 225/840, and was commander of the guard at some time during the caliphate of Mutawakkil (232-246/846-860). Tahir himself died in 207/822 and was succeeded in all his territories by his son Talhah.

26. Talhah ibn Tahir ibn al-Husayn (Iranian)(207-213/822-828). When his father died suddenly in 207, Talhah succeeded him as governor of the East. Talhah spent most of his governorship in Khurasān, and coinage issued under his name at Rayy provides no clues to the identification of his prefects there. 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 Muhammad ibn ʿUṣūf to assist him. The rebellion was put down with great severity as ʿAlī fought and killed Yahyā 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! 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 ʿAbū al-Husayn (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 Ṣāfīr ibn Shabath in the Jazirah, so he sent Talḥah to govern what had become the Taḥirid 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 Talḥah 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 Khurramiyyah 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 Babak. Abd Allah chose Khurasan and headed for that province. To Ali ibn Hisham was given the task of containing Babak's insurrection, while Abd Allah attended to affairs in Khurasan.


When Abd Allah ibn Tahir accepted the governorship of Khurasan, Ma'mun appointed Ali ibn Hisham over Jibal (here meaning the district of Rayy), Gumm, Isbahan and Azerbaijan. Ali does not seem to have been a capable administrator and soon fell under the caliph's suspicions. The sahib al-barid in Jibal, al-A Abbas ibn Sa'id al-Jawhari, reported to Ma'mun that Ali 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, Ujayf ibn Anbasah, took Ali into custody and conveyed him to Ma'mun, who ordered him beheaded. The sentence was carried out on 16 Jumada I 217 (June 19, 832). After the unpleasant task of ridding the province of his disreputable governor was completed, Ma'mun circulated a notice requesting the people to make their grievances known to him concerning the unfavorable actions of his governors, adding that the Khurramiyah had now (217/832) gotten control of Jibal, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The most striking feature of Jibal as an Abbasid 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 Abbāsid 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 Abbāsid 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 āmilīs. 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 āmilīs of Isbaḥān, Hamadān, Dīnawar and Nihāwand are sometimes named implies that the governor in Rayy was no more than the āmil al-winnāl of the province.

The relatively unimportant role of Jibal militarily in the structure of the Abbāsid Empire is reflected in the backgrounds of the officials appointed to that province. Only one Abbāsid 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'ah 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 *qāmil* 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 Khurāsānī 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


2 The Ābbāsids continued the divisional administrative characteristics of Jībal 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 Jībal, while southern Jībal, with Iṣbahān as the administrative center, was subordinate to the governors of Baṣrah and Iraq. Cf. V. Minorsky, "Rayy," EI² III, p. 1106; Ann K.S. Lambton, "Iṣfahān," EI² IV, p. 99.


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

5 See Appendix B. The whole of Iṣbahān actually was comprised of two cities built adjacent to one another. Jāyān 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 Jāyān and was the commercial hub of the region. Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

6 Le Strange, pp. 194-195.

7 Ibid., pp. 196-197.

8 See Appendix B.

9 Le Strange, p. 189. The word Māh, found here compounded with Baṣrah and Kufah, is probably equivalent to the older Madah or Media, as it is found only in geographic names of that province (i.e., Jībal). Cf. Lockhart, "Dīnawar," EI² II, 299; V. Minorsky, "Nihawand," EI² III, 912.


11 Ibid., p. 587.

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

13. Tab 87/7, 469; IA V, p. 458.


15. Tab 98/7, 479; 119/7, 495; IA V, 468, 481; _Anṣāb_ I, Fols. 326a 27–326b1 ff. (on Sunbādḥ). There are coins of Jahwar known for 138; see Appendix B.


17. Tab 120/7, 495; FHA I, p. 224.

18. Tab 122/7, 497; IA V, 484; FHA I, 225. _Anṣāb_ I, Fol. 326b 16–28, states that Mansūr appointed Muṣṭafā ibn Yazīd al-Dabbī (Dabbī ?) to succeed Jahwar, but when he arrived in Rayy, the latter had him killed, then proclaimed his revolt.

19. Tab 75/7, 460 and IA V, 449, under the year 133; Dīnawarī, _Akhbār al-tiwāl_ , 376, where he is called Muḥammad ibn al-Asḥath ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān. _Anṣāb_ I, Fol. 285a 24–26, relates that Saffāh had sent ʿĪsā ibn Ṭālī to Fars, only to find Muḥammad already there on behalf of Abū Muslim.

20. Tab 122/7, 497; IA V, 484; FHA I, 225; _Anṣāb_ I, Fol. 326b 19–21.

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

22. Tab 138/7, 511; IA V, 508.

23. Tab 305/7, 639. _Futūḥ_ I, pp. 361, 368, mentions he was governor of Ibfīqiyah for Saffāh.

24. Tab 353/8, 28; IA V, 590; Dhahābī VI, p. 117; _Futūḥ_ I, p. 288.

25. See Appendix B.

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

27. IA V, 601; Dhahābī, loc. cit.; Khalīfah, p. 426.

28. Tab 134/7, 508. Although Muḥādī spent part of his time at Rayy, the major events of his period as governor occurred in Khurasān. See Chapter V.
29. Tab 138/7, 511; Yaʿqūbī, II, pp. 445-446.
31. Tab 305/7, 639. Yaʿqūbī, II, p. 457, states that Mansūr sent him back to Khurasan with an army and companions as his ʿamīl there in 146.
32. See above, under the introductory remarks for this chapter.
33. Tab 364/8, 36-37; Yaʿqūbī, II, p. 462.
34. See Appendix B.
35. See Appendix B. Cf. Miles, NHR, p. 25.
36. See Appendix B. Miles, loc. cit., suggests that the letters ʿliḥ on the coins must be ʿulḥ or ʿalḥ for Salih.
37. A fals of 145. There is a dirham of Muḥammadīyah, 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 ʿamīl over Rayy in 149-150, although the written sources do not reflect this. Another possible candidate is Salm ibn ʿAbd Allāh, whose name is found on a fals of Muḥammadīyah, dated 164. See Appendix B.
38. Tab 305/7, 639. See Chapter II.
39. IA V, 590; Dhahabī, VI, p. 71.
40. See Appendix B.
41. See Appendix B.
42. Futūḥ I, pp. 482-483; Hamadhānī, pp. 129-240.
43. See Appendix B.
44. See Appendix B. For Jayy, see introductory remarks at the beginning of this chapter.
45. The several fulūs of Jayy, dated 158, with the name of the prefect poorly preserved, may be this same Ismaʿīl ibn Muṣʿab. See Appendix B.
46. See Appendix B. Tab 384/8, 56.
47. Tab 497, 498/8, 246, 247; IA VI, 60. There is also a fals of Muḥammadīyah, dated 158, which has the name al-Ḥasan. This may refer to Ḥasan ibn Qaṭtabah al-Tāʾī, but the Arab sources do not say which he was.
located in that year.

48. Tab 459/8, 116; Bosworth, Sīstān, p. 84. Khalīfah, p. 441, says
he was Mahdi's first governor of Sijistan and gives his name as Hamzah
ibn Malik ibn Zuhayr ibn Muhammad al-'Adhi.

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

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

51. See Chapter V.

52. Tab 646/8, 268; IA VI, 159.

53. See Appendix B.

54. See Appendix B. Miles, NHR, p. 43, believes some specimens show
the nisba al-Mawsili.

55. Tab 500/8, 249; IA VI, 61. Yahyā's tenure in Iṣbahān was neces-
sarily short, since he had only been appointed governor of Egypt in Dhu
al-Qa‘dah 162 (July-August 779). Dirhams of Jayy, dated 162, have the
name Yahyā on them and, judging from the large numbers of extant speci-
mens, great quantities of these coins must have been struck. It is high-
ly unlikely that the Yahyā of these dirhams is the same Yahyā al-Harashi.
Muhammad al-'Ushsh, Kanawatt Bajarahat al-Fiddāt (Damascus, 1972), pp. 75-
76, lists several possible identifications, but chooses Yahyā al-Harashi
as the most likely candidate. Unless there is a mistake in the dating
of his Egyptian governorship and Yahyā was in Iṣbahān 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 Khalid al-Barmakī, who was governor
of Azerbaijan 158-161, named Harun 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 Iṣbahān 162 issues may be evidence of one of those instances.

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

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

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

59. FHA I, 269.
60. Tab 518/8, 163; IA VI, 74.

61. Tab 521/8, 166.

62. See Appendix B.

63. See Appendix B for all numismatic references to this section.

64. See Chapter III.

65. Tab 775/8, 373; Ya‘qūbī II, p. 537.


IA VI, 264, calls him Da‘ūd ibn Musā ibn ‘Isa al-Khūrāsānī.

67. Zambaur, Manuel, p. 11.

68. Tab 649/8, 272.

69. Tab 857/8, 436.


71. Miles, NHR, p. 55.

72. See Chapter III.

73. Miles, NHR, p. 56.

74. IA VI, 156.

75. See Chapter III under al-Abbās and Yahyā ibn Zufar.

76. Tab 637/8, 260; 645/8, 266; IA VI, 145, 152.

77. Miles, CAM I, pp. 77-78.

78. Miles, NHR, pp. 58-59.

79. Tab 568/8, 204; IA VI, 95. He may be the person of the same name found on fulūs of Hamadan, dated 151 and 152. See above.

80. It 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.

81. Tab 612/8, 242; Jahshīyārī 190; FHA I, 293. For his activities as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan, see Chapter III.

82. Tab 613/8, 242.
83. Tab 629/8, 255; Jahshiyarī, loc. cit.; Yaḡūbī II, p. 492; FHA I, 296.

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

85. Tab 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 Nihawand, dated 186 with al-Fadl, may have been issued by or for him, but he was not there in any official capacity that year. See Appendix B.


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

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

90. Governor of the Jazirah in 163 (Tab 500/8, 149; Aḏī, p. 244); died in Rabi‘ I 186 (March-April 802) (İA VI, 174). See Appendix B.

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

92. Fulūs of this date. See Appendix B.

93. Miles, NHR, p. 64.

94. See Appendix B.

95. Tab 645/8, 266.

96. See Appendix B. Miles, NHR, p. 67, rightly points out that Rayy is used on the 179 dirhams of Muhammad 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.

97. See Appendix B. However, the Muhammad of the 181 fals may also have been Muhammad ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, whose name is found on a 182-dated fals of Jayy, although no connection between the Barmakid and the
city administration can be found. Husayn ibn al-Jannāh may be identical to the Hasan ibn Jamīl who was governor of Basra ca. 180-191. See Chapter II.

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

99 Tab 647/8, 269.

100 Tab 652/8, 275.

101 Tab 649/8, 272; IA VI, 166.

102 See Appendix B.

103 Tab 649/8, 272; IA VI, 166.


105 Tab 706/8, 317.

106 Tab 709/8, 320; 712/8, 324.

107 Tab 732/8, 339; Dinawarī, Akhbār al-tīwāl, p. 392.

108 Tab 734/8, 341.


110 See Appendix B.

111 See Chapter III.

112 There 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).

113 The fulūb 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.

114 He is named on a dirham of Muḥammadiyyah 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 Abāsid named. This is also the first year in which Fadl ibn Sahl's name is found on the coinage. See Appendix B.

115 Tab 777/8, 375; IA VI, 229.
116 Tab 794/8, 387; Ibn A' tham 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' tham al-Kūfī 8, pp. 298-299.

122 Tab 799-801/8, 391-393; IA VI, 242-245; Ya' qūbī II, pp. 530-532; Dīnawārī, Akhīār al-ṭiwal, p. 398. The date of the battle and death of ʿAlī varies with the sources. Tab 825/8, 412, has mid-Shawwal 195 (mid-July 811), but Khallīkan (Slane) I, p. 650, gives 7 Shaʿbān 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' tham 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; Dīnawārī, op. cit., p. 394.


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' tham al-Kūfī 8, p. 330.
For Hasan's activities as governor of Iraq, see Chapter II. The letter Ḥ2 on coins of Muḥammadīyah and Isbahan during this period may represent Hasan. See Appendix B.

See Appendix B.

Ya'qūbī II, p. 553.

Dīnā ibn ʿAbd Allāh may have continued to be governor of Jibal into 205 if the dāl on a dirham minted in Muḥammadīyah in that year is meant to represent his name. See Appendix B:

Tab 1015/8, 556.

Tab 1030/8, 568; Futūḥ II, 8: the amount had been 12 million before Māʾmun reduced it by two million.

Tab 1039/8, 577; W. Barthold, "Ṭahir b. al-Husain," EI1 IV, pp. 610-611.

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

See Appendix B.

Tab 917/8, 482.

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

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

For Yahyā ibn Muʿadh, see Chapter III.

Tab 1133/8, 646.

IA VI, 516.

Ya'qūbī II, p. 602.

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

See Appendix B. One possible exception is a dirham of Muḥammadīyah, dated 208, which has the name Jarir on it, the rest of the inscription having been effaced. This person may have been Jarir ibn Yazid al-Bajālī, governor of the Yemen about 196 (Ya'qūbī II, p. 528), and a governor of Tabaristan at some point (Hamadhānī, p. 304).

Tab 1092-93/8, 614; IA VI, 399; Futūḥ I, pp. 488-489; Cl. Huart, "Kūmn," EI I, III, p. 1117.
159 Tab 1065/8, 595; 1067-1072/8, 598-601.

160 Tab 1094/8, 615.

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

162 Tab 1102/8, 622; Yaʿqūbī II, p. 565, says he was appointed to Khurāsān by Māʾmun without mentioning the options.

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

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

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

166 Tab 1108/8, 628.

167 See 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 Khurasānī 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 Ābbāsid 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 ābāsid period, but gained special recognition when āh Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir, the last governor of the East under Ma'mūn, made Naysābūr his capital. Before this time Marw was the most frequent capital of the province and was remembered by the ābāsids as the city from which Abū Muslim had openly launched the revolution which drove the Umayyads from power. Harāt, lying east of Naysābūr and south of Marw, was a great trading center under the ābāsids, noted for its textiles. 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 Tāhir ibn al-Husayn was descended. 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. 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. The districts of each of these principal cities were administered by āmīls directly appointed by the provincial governor. For the latter part of the period being dealt with here, the names of some of these āmīls have been preserved on their coinage.

From the beginning of ābāsid rule until the second decade of Harūn 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 Khurasan for the first 50 years of Abbasiid rule. But after that time, and into the reign of Mamun, 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 Khurasan, as very little was produced in the mints of the adjacent areas: Sijistan, Kirmân, Bukhârâ 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 Khurasan as well.

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

1. Abu Muslim Abd al-Rahman ibn Muslim (maula) (132-137/749-755). The revolution having been secured for the Abbasiid family, Abu Muslim remained in Khurasan as governor of much of the East. In 133/750-751, a serious Alid revolt, led by Sharik ibn Shaykh al-Mahri, broke out in Bukhara. Abu Muslim sent Ziyad ibn Salih al-Khuza'ai, who suppressed the revolt with great severity, killing Sharik and his followers, then went on to Samarqand and executed the remaining rebels. It became apparent that Ziyad had been acting on behalf of Saffah to undermine Abu Muslim's authority in the East, and was a reason for the deepening rift between the caliph and his governor. Abu Muslim left Khurasan in 136/754 to accompany Abu Ja'far (later Caliph Mansur) on the hajj. 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 Basrah. 13 Then Mansūr, determined to dispose of the powerful Abū Muslim—once his caliphal dignity was secure—had him murdered in Madāʾin 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 Dāʿūd Khālid ibn Ibrahīm al-Dhuḥlī (Rablīṣah)(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 Dāʿūd fell from the wall of his garden during the disturbance, breaking his back and died shortly thereafter. His qāḥib al-shūrtaḥ, ʿIsām, managed governmental affairs until the next qāmil 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 Dāʿūd's death. He had several Shiʿite sympathizers, including Mughīrah ibn Sulaymān and Mūjāshi ibn Hurayth, the qāmil of Bukhārā, executed and he imprisoned many others. 18 ʿAbd al-Jabbār then confiscated what remained of Abū Dāʿūd'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 Mahdī to govern the province from Rayy. Khāzim
ibn Khuzaymah was placed in charge of Mahdi's military forces and sent against ʿAbd al-Jabbār, who was putting up resistance against his dismissal. Mahdi 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 Mahdi. He was taken to Mansūr, 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). Muhammad al-Mahdi ibn Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh al-Mansūr (ʿAbbāsī) (141–151/759–768). Mansūr made his son governor of Jibal and Khurāsān in 141 and Rayy as his capital seat. Mahdī himself appointed al-Sarī or Usayd ibn ʿAbd Allāh to manage his affairs in Khurāsān. 22 In 142/759–760, Mahdī sent Khāzim ibn Khuzaymah and Ruh ibn Hātim to subdue Tabaristan. 23 From 144 to 146/761 to 763, according to Yaʿqūbī, Mahdī was in Iraq visiting with the caliph. 24 In the latter year Mansūr 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 Mansūr'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. Mansūr sent Khāzim with a large force to prevent the rest of Khurāsān from being swept up in the rebellion. Mahdī, who was in Naysābūr at this time, seems to have been reluctant to allow Khāzim full authority to deal with the danger. Eventually Mahdī 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 Iran-
ian notables, Khāzim finally defeated the rebel in 151/786. He sent
news of Ustadh 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 Mālik al-Khuzaʿī (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 ʿamīl over Khurāsān and gave him an army with which to
fight the dissident governor, ʿAbd al-Jabbar.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 ʿamīr Khurāsān.29

5. Humayd ibn Qahtabah ibn Shabīb ibn Khālid ibn Maʿdān al-Taʿī
al-Tusī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (151-159/768-776). Humayd was sent to attack
Kabul in 151, just prior to being named governor of Khurāsān.30 It is
reported that, in 153/770, three supporters of the disinherited ʿĪsā ibn
Mūsā were brought from Khurāsān in chains for forming an alliance with
the anathematized ʿAbbasid prince. They were ʿAbbād, the maʾālī of Man-
ṣūr, Harthamah ibn Aʾyan, and Yūsuf ibn ʿUlwan.31 Humayd is not men-
tioned 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 Ḥāshim ibn Hakīm al-Muqanna.33

6. Abū ʿAwān ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Yazīd al-Azdi 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. Muʿādh ibn Muslim (ancestry unknown) (160-163/777-780). Mahdī appointed Muʿādh to replace Aḥū ʿAwn in 160. 36 The dangerous and long-lasting revolt of Hāshim ibn Hakīm al-Muqanna (the Veiled One), which had been smoldering during the previous year or more, became widespread in 161/778. 37 al-Muqanna 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 Qahtabah had tried to stop him before he died (see above), but al-Muqanna went off to Transoxiana. Mahdī sent Muʿādh, accompanied by ṬUqbah ibn Muslim (perhaps ṬUqbah ibn Salm), Jibrīl ibn Yahyā, and Layth, mawla al-Mahdī. At this point al-Muqanna 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 Saʿīd al-Harashi was sent to invest their stronghold at Kish. al-Muqanna was eventually killed (or committed suicide), but his influence remained in that area for many years. 39 Mahdī must not have been pleased with Muʿādh’s inability to cope with the insurrection, as he was dismissed that same year. 40

8. al-Musayyab ibn Zuhayr ibn ʿUmar ibn Muslim al-Dabbi (Mudar) (163-166/780-783). He was the brother of ʿAmr ibn Zuhayr al-Dabbi, governor of Kufah 155-158/772-775, 41 and was himself appointed to replace Muʿādh 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.  

9. Abū al-ʿAbbas al-Fadl ibn Sulaymān al-Tusi (Khurāsānī) (166-171/783-787). Fadl was appointed in 166 to the governorship of both Khurāsān and Sijistan. Fadl himself placed Tamīm ibn Saʿīd ibn Daʿlīj over the latter province. Fadl was considered a good administrator and is remembered by the historians as having done much for the welfare of his province. One of his ṣamīls of Harāt, al-Hajjāj, is known from a fālsa of 168, but his identity is a matter of conjecture. In 171 Fadl 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) by Ḥarūn al-Rashīd. Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad, his predecessor in that office, was sent to assume the duties of governor in Khurāsān.  

10. Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAshath ibn ʿUqbah al-Khuzaʿī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (171-173/787-789). The son of a governor of Jibal under Mansur, Jaʿfar was Ḥarūn al-Rashīd's first official in charge of the khātam when he was sent to Khurāsān in 171 after exchanging positions with Fadl ibn Sulaymān. Upon his arrival in the province, he sent his son ʿAbbas on an expedition against Kabul. He returned to Ḥarūn's court in 173 after the caliph appointed his son as his successor in Khurasan.  

11. al-ʿAbbas ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAshath al-Khuzaʿī (Khurāsānī-Yaman) (173-175/789-791). Ḥarūn al-Rashīd appointed ʿAbbas governor of Khurāsān in place of his father in 173. Of events in the province during his brief tenure, the Arab historians say nothing. He was dismissed from office in 175.
12. al-Ghitrīf ibn Ātā' al-Kindī (Yaman) (175-176/791-792). Ghi-trīf was the brother of Ḥārūn's mother, Khayzurān. The caliph appointed his uncle to the governorship of Khurasān in 175. In this same year a Kharajite revolt, led by an Husayn or Hudayn, a maṣla of the Qays ibn Thaqīlabah, broke out in Khurasān. The governor of Sijistān, Īuthmān ibn Īumarah, took an army to deal with the rebellion, but Husayn's forces defeated him. The Kharajites then moved into eastern Khurasān, taking control of Bādghīs, Būshanj and Harat. Ḥārūn wrote to Ghi-trīf answering his request for aid, saying that he sent Dālūd ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī with 20,000 men. Husayn was only able to muster 600 followers, most of whom were slain when the two armies met in battle. Husayn apparently escaped, but was tracked down and killed in 177/793-794. Ghi-trīf's performance in office seems to have been less than desirable and Ḥārūn removed him in 176. His saḥib al-kharāj in the province was Sūlaimān ibn Rashīd al-Thaqafī.

13. Hamzah ibn Mālik ibn al-Haytham al-Khuzaī (Yaman) (176-177/792-793). Of Hamzah’s governorship in Khurasan, the sources say only that he was appointed in 176 and dismissed in 177. He held several other posts before his short tenure in Khurasan. Hamzah was a saḥib al-shurtah under Mansur and later held the same office under Mahdi, replacing his brother Nasr when he died. He was Mahdi's first governor of Sijistān in 159-160/776-777, was in charge of the khātim for Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, and died in 181/797-798.

14. Abū al-‘Abbās al-Fadl ibn Yahyā ibn Khalīd al-Barmakī (Iranian) (177-179/793-795). Fadl was already governor of Jibal, Tabaristan, Dunbawand, Qūmis, Armenia and Azerbaijan when Ḥārūn appointed him to the
post in Khurasan and Sijistan in 177 to replace Hamzah ibn Malik. 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 Alids within his territories. He also launched a series of raids into the lands bordering Khurasan, attacking Kharakharah, king of Ushrusanah, and sending Ibrahim ibn Jibril, his sahib al-shurtah wa-al-haras against Kabul, which he conquered, taking many prisoners and capturing much booty.

Fadl was responsible for raising a large standing army of Khurasanis that became known as the Abbasyah. They were reported to have numbered 500,000 men, of which 20,000 were sent to Baghdad, the rest being stationed in Khurasan. In 179 Fadl departed from Khurasan and went back to Iraq, leaving Amr ibn Shurahbil as acting governor.

15. Mansur ibn Yazid ibn Mansur al-Himyar al-Abbas (179-180/795-796). Harun appointed Mansur, a nephew of his father Mahdi, to the post in Khurasan in 179. In that same year a revolt broke out in Khurasan, led by a Hamzah ibn Atrak al-Sijistani. Nothing is heard of this revolt again until 185/801, when Isa, the son of the governor in that year, was forced to deal with Hamzah. Mansur was dismissed in 180, but the sources do not agree on his successor.

16. Abu al-Fadl Ja'far ibn Yahya ibn Khalid al-Barmaki (Iranian) (180/796). When Ja'far was appointed governor of both Khurasan and Sijistan, he, in turn, placed Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Qahtabah over both provinces. After a tenure of only 20 days, Ja'far was replaced by Isa ibn Ja'far al-Abbas and made commander of the caliphal guard.
17. CIsā ibn JaCfar ibn Abū JaCfar al-Mansūr al-CAbbāsī (180/796).

This grandson of Caliph Mansūr, who was twice governor of Baṣrah for Harūn, was appointed to replace JaCfar al-Barmakī after the latter's very short tenure. Although there is no mention of his dismissal, it undoubtedly occurred in 180, since CAli ibn CIsā was in office before the end of that year.

18. CAli ibn CIsā ibn Māhān al-Khurāsānī (Khurāsānī Arab) (180-191/796-807). The sources do not state when CAli ibn CIsā was appointed to govern Khurāsān. He was already dealing with a revolt of the Muhammarah in Jurjān, on the northwest border of his province in 180, however. CAli'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, CAli was able to maintain Harūn's confidence by showering his master with some of the riches he managed to squeeze from the people. After several years in office, CAli visited Harūn, 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. CAli 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. CAli had no sooner returned to Khurāsān than he was confronted with a revolt at Nasā, led by Abū al-Khūṣayb Wuhayb ibn CAbd Allāh al-Nasā'ī, a mawlā of the Harīsh. The reasons for this revolt are not made known, yet most of the uprisings while CAli was governor are attributed to his repressive policies. In any case, this first revolt
of Abū al-Khusayb was short-lived, as he asked for and was granted a
pardon by Ẓāli in 184/800, when he came to the governor in Marw. 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. Ẓīli 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 Ẓīli returned to the provincial capital. A
much more serious Kharajite rebellion confronted Ẓāli, beginning in 185/
201, when Hamzah ibn Atrak al-Sijistanī’s revolt broke out anew in
Badghis. Hamzah’s disruption of tax collection and general adminis-
tration throughout the East continued for many years beyond Ẓāli’s dis-
missal from Khurāsān, until he was finally killed in 213/828.

Meanwhile, Ḥarūn al-Rashīd began to contemplate dismissing Ẓāli
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 suc-
cession after him, with Amīn and then Ma’mūn as first and second heirs.
He set up official documents in the Kaʿbah at Mecca and divided the gov-
ernance of the Empire among his three sons. Then Maʾmūn was made gov-
ernor 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. Yet, even with the prince in his midst, Ẓāli continued his
policy of oppression in Khurāsān, aware all the while of the caliph's
growing suspicions. In mid-189 (May-June 805), Harūn set out for Khurāsān to confront Alī with the many accusations he had received about the governor. Alī came to meet him at Rayy, bearing money and gifts, and reaffirmed his loyalty and support of Amīn as heir-apparent. This restored Harūn's confidence in Alī for the time being and he was sent back to Khurāsān.  

Alī's inability to crush the revolt of Rāfi ibn Layth finally gave Harūn the opportunity he needed to replace his hated but powerful governor. Rāfi's family had been in Khurāsān for many generations. His grandfather, Nasr ibn Sayyār, had been an Umayyad governor of Khurāsān and his father had supported Governor Mu'adh ibn Muslim against the insurrection of al-Muqanna (see above). Rāfi himself raised the standard of revolt in Samarqand in 190/806 after having been punished by Alī ibn Isā for allegedly committing adultery. Rāfi 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 defeated Alī in one battle as the governor mobilized his forces. In 191/807, Harūn finally dismissed Alī and appointed Harthamah ibn Ayyān, disregarding the earlier agreement that Alī's son should succeed him. The caliph then confiscated all of Alī's hoarded wealth, which was reported to have amounted to 80 million dirhams! Alī resisted Harthamah's appointment at first, but was eventually taken into custody and conveyed to Baghdad where he was imprisoned in his house.

With Alī ibn Isā'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 Nay-
śabūr. Two of ʿAlī's local prefects are also known from numismatic
evidence. Ismāʿīl ibn al-Mansūr is named amīr of Bushanj on a fals, 
dated 190. A certain ʿŪlū (ibn Muhammad) was ʿAlī's prefect in Nay-
śabūr in 191, according to fālūq of that date and mint, but his iden-
tity has not been confirmed by the written sources.

19. Harthamah ibn ʿAyyān 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 Dhu al-Qaḍah 191 (September
807) since, in that year, he led a force of 30,000 Khurāsānīs against
the Byzantines in the annual raid. He arrived in Marw late in the
year, only to find ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā waiting with his forces. Harthamah
finally was able to arrest ʿAlī and send him back to Iraq. The war
against ʿRāfī ibn Layth continued unabated through 192 and 193/808 and
809, until Harthamah conquered Bukhārā and took ʿRāfī's brother Bushayr
captive. ʿRāfī gathered the remainder of his forces in Samarqand and
was soon besieged by Harthamah from late 193 (September–October 809) into
194/810. Realizing the hopelessness of his situation, ʿRāfī requested
safe conduct to go see Maʿmūn in Khurāsān and was soon granted a full
amnesty by the ʿAbbāsid prince. No date for Harthamah's dismissal is
recorded, but by 195/811 he was with ʿAbīr ibn al-Husayn in Jibal in-
volved in the growing hostilities between Amīn and Maʿmūn.

There is some numismatic evidence for Harthamah's tenure as gover-
nor, as well as for several of his prefects. 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 Mahdi and
Harūn’s servant who was the šahib al-barid of Khurāsān from 191-193/807-
809.104 The Ĉūthmān inscribed on Naysābūr dirhams of 193 and 194 may
be Ĉūthmān ibn Ĉīsā ibn Nuhayk, appointed by Amīn over his hāras in
Rābi I 194 (December 809-January 810).105 Some dirhams of Balkh,
dated 193, have the name al-Hakim who, according to Miles, is al-Hakim
ibn Sinān, governor of Sijistān for Harthamah for 192-193.106 On a
fals of Marw for 194 are found an amīr Muhammad ibn Abbān (?) and his
prefect, Ismā’il ibn (Muhammad ?). No identification has been made of
either of these two names. Ismā’il is perhaps the same person whose
name is inscribed on the fals of Būshanj mentioned above.

20. al-ĈAbbās ibn Ja’far al-Khuza Ĉī (Khurāsānī-Yaman); second
appointment (194-1957/810-811?). He is only mentioned by several sources
as governor of Khurāsān after Harthamah ibn A’yan for Ma’mūn.107 No
numismatic evidence exists for his governorship, although several pre-
fec tors mentioned on the coinage may have served under him.108 Jibrīl is
named on some dirhams of Naysābūr, dated 194, and Ismā’il on dirhams of
the same mint from 195 and 196. Neither person can be identified for
certain, however; Ismā’il may be the same individual earlier mentioned
on fulūs of Būshanj and Marw (see above).

21. ĈAlī ibn al-Hasan ibn Qahtabah al-Tāʾī (Yaman)(195-1967/811-
812?). ĈAlī is listed only as governor of Khurāsān after ĈAbbās ibn
Ja’far, nothing more being known in connection with this appointment.109
22. al-Fadl ibn Sahl ibn Ābd Allāh [Zadhānfarūkh] Dhū al-Riṣāsatayn (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, Ālī ibn Īsā ibn Mūḥān, in 195/811, Ma‘mūn gave his close advisor Fadl far-reaching powers. In Rajab 196 (March–April 812), Fadl was placed in charge of both civil and military affairs in the entire East (al-Mashriq). The honorific title, Dhū al-Riṣāsatayn, which reflected this dual command and which began to appear on the coinage in that same year, was bestowed on Fadl at this time. His brother, Hasan ibn Sahl, was placed in charge of the diwan al-kharāj of this vast territory when Fadl received his appointment from Ma‘mūn, but in 198/814 was given charge of the regions conquered by Tāhir ibn al-Husayn. In 201/816, Ma‘mūn nominated the eighth Imām of the Twelver Shi‘ites, Ālī ibn Mūsā, as his heir-apparent with the name al-Rida. Violent opposition to the caliph’s plan broke out in Basrah (see Chapter II) and later in Baghdad, where Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was elected caliph in open hostility to Ma‘mūn. Fadl may not have had much to do with Ma‘mūn’s decision to name Ālī al-Rida 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 Fadl was murdered by members of the caliphal guard at Sarakhs on 2 Sha‘bān 202 (February 13, 818). Ālī al-Rida did not survive the journey either, having died at Tus early in 203 (Fall of 818).

Several of Fadl’s prefects of Naysabūr are known to us from the numismatic sources. An Ābd Allāh was in office in 197 and 198/813 and 814, who may have been Ābd Allāh ibn Sa‘īd al-Harashi. Dirhams
of 200 have the name Yahyā and this person may have been either Yahyā ibn Khaqān al-Khurāsānī or Yahyā ibn Asad ibn Sāmān. Mūsā ibn Khaqān, possibly the brother of Yahyā, is found on a fala of 201, but no one of this name is mentioned in any of the sources I have checked.

23. Ghassān ibn Ābbād 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 Bālahdūrī, who states that he was a native of the Sawād of Kufah. Ghassān was the sahib al-haras of Khurāsān in 200/814-815, when he was sent to Iraq during the insurrection of Abū Sarāyā. He was qāmil of Wasīt for a short time in 202/817-818, but was back in Khurāsān by the end of the year. When Ma‘mūn decided to leave Marw and return to Iraq, he first appointed Raja‘ ibn Abū al-Dahhak, a relative of Hasan 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. Through the intrigues of the caliph's secretary, Ahmad ibn Abū Khālid, Tāhir ibn al-Husayn 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 Tāhir. 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. At the insistence of Ma‘mūn, Ghassān also appointed Ilyās ibn Asad Sāmānī governor of Harāt during his governorship.

24. Abū al-Tayyib Tāhir ibn al-Husayn ibn Mus'ab al-Būshanjī al-
Khuza'ī (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. He left Baghdad on 29 Dhū al-Qa‘dah (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 ʻAbd al-Rahmān al-Naysaburi. He arrived in Marw early in 206 (Fall 821) and took over the government of Khurasān from Ghassān. Upon his son ʻAbd 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. Tāhir died suddenly in 207, shortly after he conspicuously omitted the caliph's name from the Friday khutbah. 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 Khurasān is provided by numismatic material, which also is informative on several of his lieutenants. Tāhir's mawla, Muhammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī (called al-Tāhirī), was over Naysābūr, according to dirhams minted there in 206. The prefect of Harāt in 206 was al-Shakir ibn Ibrāhīm, a name not found in the Arab sources.

25. Talhah ibn Tāhir ibn al-Husayn (Iranian) (207-213/822-828). It seems that Talhah's brother, ʻAbd Allāh, was to have succeeded their father in the East, but in 207 he was involved in the Jazirah fighting against the rebel, Nasr ibn Shabath. Whether he was at first acting
only as ĔAbd Allāh's lieutenant, as Tabari states, is not clear. 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. Talhah made Naysābūr the capital of his domains, rather than stay at the older seat of government at Mawār, and this fact seems to be reflected in the coinage produced during his governorship. However, Naysābūr became the permanent capital of the Tahirids only under ĔAbd Allāh. Other than Naysābūr, dirhams of Harāt, dated 207, carry Talhah's name and that of ĔAbd Allāh. Talhah died at Balkh in 213 and was succeeded by his brother ĔAli.

26. ĔAli ibn Tahir ibn al-Husayn (Iranian) (213-214/828-829). When Talhah died, he left ĔAli as his successor until ĔAbd Allāh could come from Dinawar where he was raising troops for the war against Babak. No other mention is made of ĔAli in connection with his short period in office.

27. Abū al-ĆAbbās ĔAbd Allāh ibn Tahir ibn al-Husayn (Iranian) (214-230/829-844). After the death of Talhah, Ma'mūn gave ĔAbd Allāh the choice of pursuing the war against Babak or going to Khurāsān to govern what had become hereditary domains of his family. ĔAbd Allāh decided on Khurāsān and headed for Naysābūr, which now became the permanent Tahirid capital. ĔAbd 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! He died at his palace in Naysābūr on 11 Rabi' ē I 230 (November 26, 844),
the dynasty founded by his father being firmly established. 142

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If one were to rank the many provinces of the ČAbbāsid Empire in order of their importance, Khurasān 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 Khurasān, although several generations removed from their conquering forebears, remained divided along tribal lines until the ČAbbāsid da'wah, under the leadership of Abū Muslim, brought many of the rivals together. 143 Among the individuals who served as governors of Khurasān during the early ČAbbāsid 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 Khurasānī Arabs. 145 In contrast, only two North Arabs (one each from Mudar and Rabī‘ah), one of whom was only in charge of the kharāj, were appointed to Khurasān, their total time in office being only six years. Mawālik 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 mawālik held prefectures in several of the districts. ČAbbāsid interest in maintaining the family's support in Khurasān is evident from the appointment of two future caliphs, Mahdī 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 Khurasānīs, 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 Tahirid rule in all of the East, including Khurasan. The Tahirids themselves were Persians, but enjoyed emphasizing their connection to the tribe of Khuza‘ah, a subdivision of Yaman, which stemmed from the time of Tahir ibn al-Husayn’s great-grandfather, who was a mawla of that family. 146

The primary importance of Khurasan to the Abbāsids was its military potential. The central régime utilized Khurasanīs, both Arab and Iranian, as the major armed support group of its power. The many revolts and insurrections which occurred in Khurasan 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 Abbāsid Khurasan 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, Khurasan was important for reasons other than its military position. Economically, Khurasan was a vital part of the foundations upon which rested the Abbāsid 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 Khurasan amounted to more than any other province of the Empire, with the exception of Iraq.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 Le Strange, Lands, pp. 382-383; Cl. Huart, "Khorasan," EI 2 II, p. 866.


3 A full description of the city and its environs is given in Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 398-403.


6 Le Strange, op. cit., p. 420.


8 Tab II 1954/7, 356.

9 He is named governor of Khurasan for the years 132, 133, 134 (Tab 72/7, 458; 75/7, 460; 81/7, 465; IA V, 445, 449, 454).


12 Tab 84-87/7, 468-470.

13 Tab 92-99/7, 474-479; IA V, 466-468. See Chapter II, under Basrah, No. 3.

14 Ibn Khallikan (Slane) II, p. 100. Ya'qubi II, p. 441, gives only Shawban 137. Cf. S. Moscati, op. cit.; Zambaur, Manuel, p. 44.

15 Omar, op. cit., pp. 180-181; Moscati, loc. cit.

16 Tab 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).

17 Tab 128/7, 503; IA V, 498.
18 Tab 128/7, 503; IA V, 498.
20 Tab 134-135/7, 508-509; IA V, 505-506; Yaqūbī II, p. 455; Moscati, loc. cit. Yaqūbī II, p. 446, says Mahdi appointed Usayd ibn Abd Allah al-Khuza’i to Khurasan, who then met Abd al-Jabbar in battle at Marw, defeated him and took him back to Mansūr. For the problem concerning this name, see under Usayd ibn Abd Allah.
21 Tab 135/7, 509; IA V, 506.
22 Tab 138/7, 511; Yaqūbī II, pp. 445-446.
23 Tab 139/7, 512. Khāzim was governor of Tabaristan in 144-145 (H. L. Rabino di Borromale, "Les Préfets du califat au Tabaristan," JA, 231 (1932), pp. 148-149). According to numismatic evidence, Abu ‘Awān, Abd al-Malik ibn Yazid was prefect of Marw in 143 (see Appendix B). He was in Khurasan in 144 also (Tab 183/7, 547).
24 Yaqūbī II, p. 450.
26 Tab 354-358/8, 29-32; IA V, 591-593; FHA I, 262-264; Khalīfah, pp. 424-425, says the revolt of Ashna Shish 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. Yaqūbī II, pp. 457-458, gives brief mention to the revolt under the year 147 and states that Ustaḏ Sis was taken to Baghdad where Mansūr had him executed.
27 Tab 364/8, 36-37; Yaqūbī II, p. 462.
28 Yaqūbī II, p. 446 (see F.N. 20 above). Tabari and Ibn al-Athir have confused this Usayd with an ‘Abbasid prince, al-Sari ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Harith ibn al-‘Abbas. He is said to have been appointed Mahdi’s lieutenant in 141 (Tab 138/7, 511; IA V, 508), but in 143 was sent from Yamamah to be governor of Mecca and Ta’if (Tab 142/7, 515; IA V, 512). The last time Tabari 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 Jurjan. It is obvious that Tabari has substituted the name of al-Sari for that of Usayd under the year 141, as the following citations indicate: al-Sari 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). Yaqūbī II, p. 461: al-Sari ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Tammam [ ] ibn al-‘Abbas, ibn ‘Abd al-Mutallib was governor of Mecca for Mansur; 469: al-Sari ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Harith (correct here) ibn al-‘Abbas led the hajj in 145. Other notices of al-Sari: Khalīfah, p. 414: governor of Yamamah after Dā‘ud ibn ‘Ali died (133); pp. 420, 431: appointed governor of Mecca in 144; 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 Ābāsid daʿwah in Khurasan and is the person who Mahdī appointed as his ʿamīl in the province. Naḥdatāb, Fol. 274b: Qaṭābah appointed Usayd governor of Jurjān in 130 (see p.191, F.N. 531); Fol. 277a: Qaṭābah appointed him governor of Rayy in Rabīʿa 131 (February–March 749) and went to Isbahān; Fol. 278b: called from Rayy and put over Isbahān (also in 131). Jahshīyārī 90, says Usayd took part in the killing of Abū Salāmāh in Rabīʿa 132 (February–March 750). Fī Ḥādi, I, 208: Asad [ṣaṣṣa] ibn Ābū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzaʿī was in charge of the ʿharās for Saffāh. Khālīfah, p. 405: Abū al-ʿĀbās (Saffāh) sent Asad [ṣaṣṣa] ibn Ābū Allāh ibn Malik al-Khuzaʿī to Kūfah during the Ābāsid revolution (ca. 131–32); 415: he was in charge of Saffāh's khāṭim and ʿharās; 432: governor of Khurāsān for Mansūr after Ābū al-Jabābār. 29

IA V, p. 697.

Tab 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 Maʿmūn's reign that the Kabul-Shāh adopted Islam. Cf. C.E. Bosworth, "Kabul," ET IV, p. 356.

Tab 371/8, 42; IA V, 610, does not mention ʿUṣuf ibn ʿUṭwān. Hārthamān, of course, survived to become a celebrated general during the Amin/Maʿmūn civil war. Ābād is not mentioned in any other source that I have checked, but he is found on a unique ʿalās minted at Jabal al-Fīdāḥ in 155 (Paris 1973, 161, uncataloged, 19 mm, 2.464 g.). [I am grateful to M. Raoul Curiel for bringing this unusual coin to my attention.] On the ʿalās he is called Ābād mawlī al-Mahdi and the ʿamīl of Ruḥ. The latter was probably Ruḥ ibn Ḥatīm, although we have no record of his whereabouts in 155. He is mentioned before 155 as subduing Tabaristan (Tab 139/7, 512) or 143 (Tab 140/7, 513); then as governor there in 147 (Rabīʿa, op. cit., pp. 249–251). Nothing of Ruḥ is known until 159, when he was appointed governor of Sind (Tab 461/8, 117). The ʿalās shows that he was in the region where Jabal al-Fīdāḥ was located in some official capacity and that Ābād was the local prefect, probably in charge of the mining operations. There were two places, both in mining districts, called Jabal al-Fīdāḥ, mentioned by the Arab geographers. The first was in Kirmān, northwest of Jīruf (Le Strange, Lands, p. 316). The other, and more likely the origin of the above-mentioned coin, was in the Badghis district of Khurasan, northwest of Harāt (Yaqt, Muhātārāk, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 94–95; Le Strange, op. cit., p. 414).

Tab 458/8, 115; IA VI, 36.

Tab 459/8, 116; IA VI, 38, 41, 42.


Tab 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-Rudh, Taliqan, Jurjan and Bushanji. In the last-named place Mus'ab ibn Zurayq, the grandfather of Tahir ibn al-Husayn was prefect at the time (IA VI, 43; Barthold, Turkestân, op. cit., p. 208). Mahdi sent Yazid ibn Mazyad al-Shaybani to handle the revolt and in a short time Yusuf 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, Abbásîyyât Caliphati, op. cit., pp. 301-303, which also lists the sources wherein the revolt is recorded.

36. Tab 477/8, 128; IA VI, 46. He is listed as governor that year (160) in another place (Tab 484/8, 134; IA VI, 49). Khalifah, p. 441.


38. Tab 484/8, 135; IA VI, 51.

39. Tab 494/8, 144; Khalifah, p. 437; Omar, Abbāsiyya, op. cit., p. 81. Barthold, op. cit., p. 200, says that the revolt was put down under the next governor, Musayyab.

40. Tab 500/8, 149; IA VI, 61; Khalifah, pp. 437, 441.

41. See Chapter II.

42. Tab 500/8, 149; Khalifah, p. 441. He is mentioned as governor of Khurasan in 163 (Tab 501/8, 149); and 164 (Tab 503/8, 151). Barthold, loc. cit., cites several other sources which say he arrived in Khurasan in Jumada I 163 (December 779-January 780) or Jumada II 163 (January-February 780), but a third source states that he entered the province in Jumada I 166 (November-December 782) and remained only eight months.

43. Tab 517/8, 162; Futuh, 297; Barthold, op. cit., p. 203, citing Gardizî, Zayn al-akhbar. Khalifah, 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 musayyab; dirhams. Cf. Barthold, op. cit., pp. 205-207.

44. Tab 517/8, 162-163; IA VI, 73; Bosworth, Sistan, p. 84, calls his amil in Sijistan Tamim ibn Sa'id ibn Da'raj, adding that Hadi replaced him with Kathir ibn Salim shortly before he died. Khalifah, pp. 438, 441, says Fadl was appointed in 165. He is listed as governor of Khurasan and Sijistan in 166 (Tab 518/8, 163); in 167 (Tab 521/8, 166); and in 170 (IA VI, 109).

45. Barthold, loc. cit.

46. See Appendix B. He is probably al-Hajjaj, marja of Hadi, who was governor of Jurjan in 169 (Tab 568/8, 204; IA VI, 95).

48. Tab 605-06/8, 235; IA VI, 114; Khalīfah, p. 441.
49. See Chapter IV.
50. Tab 606/8, 235; IA VI, 114; Khalīfah, pp. 462, 465.
51. IA VI, 114. Not mentioned by Tabarî.
52. Tab 609/8, 238; IA VI, 120.
53. Ibid.
54. Tab 612/8, 241; IA VI, 122. Khalīfah, p. 462, only lists him as the third governor for Harūn al-Rashīd.
56. Tab 612/8, 241. By what appears to be the mistake of a copier, Ibn al-Āthīr VI, p. 122, has Khalīdan al-Ghiṭrīf for khalīun, an error which Zambaur, op. cit., p. 48, compounds by listing Khalid ibn Ghiṭrīf ibn Ṭabṣab [sic] as governor of Khurasan in 174. Khalīfah, p. 462, lists him as governor of Harūn al-Rashīd after a very short term of office by Hasan ibn Qaḥṭabah, who is not named as such in any other source that I have seen. Another anomaly is presented by Ya`qūbī II, p. 488, who states that Hādī appointed Ghiṭrīf governor of Khurasan and its prefectures. This may be connected to the story related by Tabarî (590/8, 222), that Khayzuran, in 170, asked Hādī to appoint Ghiṭrīf governor of the Yemen.
57. Governor of Armenia 165-168. See Chapter III.
58. IA 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 Sijistān, Hudayn (or Husayn), finally being killed in 177. Bosworth points out that the author of the Tarikh-i Sīstān was clearly not interested in Hudayn's activities outside of Sijistān.
60. Tab 740/8, 347; IA VI, 215. He led a rarely conducted winter campaign against the Byzantines shortly after he left office in Khurasan, either in 177 (Khalīfah, p. 450) or in 178 (Tab 637/8, 260; IA VI, 145).
61. Tab 626/8, 252. Khalīfah, p. 462, lists him as governor without a date.
62 Tab 629/8, 255; IA VI, 140.

63 Khalīfah, p. 435.

64 IA VI, 56, says he was appointed in 161; Yaʿqūbī II, p. 483, has Nasr’s death under the year 168.

65 Tab 459/8, 116; Khalīfah, p. 441, gives his name as Hamzah ibn Malik ibn Zuḥayr ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAḍḥī; Bosworth, Sīstān, p. 84: arrived in Sijistan at the end of 159 (September-October 776), dismissed in Shaʿbān 160 (May-June 777). IA VI, 41, gives his name as Hamzah ibn Yahya.

66 Khalīfah, p. 465.

67 Tab 646/8, 268; IA VI, 159.

68 Tab 629/8, 255. Jahshīyārī 190, says 176, as does Yaʿqūbī, Burdān, p. 289. FHA I, 296, has 178. He went out to Khurasan 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 Jībal, see Chapters III and IV, respectively.


71 Tab 631/8, 257; Barthold, op. cit., p. 203.

72 Tab 637/8, 261. Jahshīyārī 192, gives the name of his acting governor as ʿUmār ibn Jamīl.

73 Tab 638/8, 261; IA VI, 146. According to Bosworth, Sīstān, p. 86, Mansūr (who Bosworth says was the cousin of Mahdī) was appointed in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 179 (January-February 796) and held office only for two months; i.e., until Muharram or Safar 180 (April-May 796).

74 Tab 638/8, 261; IA VI, 147.

75 See under ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā ibn Māḥān.

76 IA VI, 250, replaced by ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā; Yaʿqūbī II, 515, ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā appointed to replace Mansūr in 189 (means 179; mistake in text). Tabārī does not mention Mansūr’s dismissal. Bosworth, loc. cit., also misses the two short governorships before that of ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā.

77 Tab 644/8, 266; IA VI, 152. His short term in office was most likely in the beginning of 180 (Spring 796).
See Chapter II.

Tab 644/8, 266; IA VI, 152.

Tab 645/8, 266. Ya'qub II, 515, gives his appointment in place of Mansur in 189, but this is clearly a mistake for 179.


Tab 649/8, 270. Ma'mun's honorary appointment in 182 (Tab 647/8, 269).

Tab 649/8, 270.

Bosworth, Sīstān, op. cit., p. 90, refers to the thesis of Bogdan Skladeneck, which ascribes the Kharajite 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.

Tab 649/8, 272.

Tab 650/8, 273.

Tab 651/8, 275. Khalīfah, p. 457, lumps several years of activity on the part of Abu al-Khuṣayb under 186, saying that after he took control of Tus and Sarakhs, he was killed at Marw.

Tab 650/8, 273.

For an excellent, detailed account of Hamzah's prolonged rebellion, see Bosworth, Sīstān, pp. 91-102.

Tab 652-654/8, 275-277.

Tab 675/8, 293.

Tab 701-704/8, 314-316.

Tab 707-708/8, 319-320.

Tab 713/8, 324.

Tab 720/8, 329; 732/8, 340.

See Appendix B.

See Appendix B. He is not identified in the written sources, but may be the same Isma'il ibn Mansur whose name is found on fulūs of Jurjān tentatively dated 184. Cf. Zambaur, Contrib. I, p. 70, Nos. 58 and 59.

See Appendix B. If Muhammad is not his father's name, he may be
Nuh ibn Asad ibn Saman, who was installed in Samarkand in 204 by Ghassan ibn Abbad, governor of Khurasan 202-205 ( Ibn Khallikan [Beirut] I, p. 173) and was later amir of Transoxiana in 224 and 225 ( IA VI, 509, 513).

99. Tab 712/8, 323; Yaqubi II, p. 523. Appointment to Khurasan (Tab 713/8, 324).

100. Tab 719-720/8, 328-329; 732/8, 340; 734/8, 341-342; Yaqubi II, pp. 528-529.

101. Tab 775/8, 373; 777/8, 375; Yaqubi II, p. 529, says Rafi received the pardon in Muharram 194 (October-November 809).


103. See Appendix B for numismatic examples mentioned in this paragraph.

104. Tab 712/8, 323: appointed over barid of Khurasan in 191; 718/8, 328: over barid there in 192; 764/8, 365; IA VI, 221: head of barid in Khurasan in 193; wrote to his counterpart in Baghdad concerning the death of Harun.

105. Tab 794/8, 387; IA VI, 235.


107. IA VI, 215; Khalifah, p. 462.

108. See Appendix B for following examples.


110. Tab 841/8, 424; IA VI, 257.

111. Ibid. 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 Khurasan as early as 194, when Harthamah ibn A'yan seems to have quit the area.

112. Tab 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.


115 Tab 1030/8, 568; B. Lewis, op. cit.

116 See Appendix B for examples mentioned in this paragraph.

117 He was governor of Yamamah 168-169 (Zambour, op. cit., p. 13) of Tabaristan in 186 (Rabino, op. cit., p. 261), and of Wasit in 199 (Tab 979/8, 530).


120 The specimen was published by Zambour, Contrib. I, p. 72, No. 65, and he notes that both the names of the mint and prefect are conjectural.

121 Futuh II, p. 231.

122 Tab 985/8, 534; 1006-07/8, 550; 1017/8, 558; 1022/8, 561. See Chapter II.

123 Yaqubi II, p. 550. Bosworth, Sistan, pp. 101-102, F.I 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.

124 Tab 1043/8, 579; IA VI, 361; Yaqubi II, p. 554; gives the changeover in governorship as taking place at the beginning of 206. Cf. Barthold, Turkestan, p. 208.

125 See Appendix B. Sahl might have been Sahl ibn Sanbat, who died during the reign of Mu'tasim (Dinawarî, Akhbar al-tiwâl, p. 405), or possibly Sahl ibn Harun, a Persian who was in high office under Ma'mun. Cf. J.H. Kramers, "Sahl b. Harun," EI IV, pp. 62-63.

126 Barthold, op. cit., p. 209. This Ilyas was one of the ancestors of the Samanids.

Tab 1043-44/8, 579-580.

Yaʿqūbī II, p. 554, says he replaced Ghassān in early 206; Ibn Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 652, states that he arrived in Khurāsān (Marw ?) in Rabiʿ II 206 (September 821).


Tab 1065/8, 594, gives Jumāda I (September-October 822); Ibn Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 652, has 24 Jumāda II 207 (November 14, 822).

See Appendix B for the following examples.

That he was in control of a larger territory extending to Rayy is evident from coinage of Muḥammadīyah issued in the same year. See Chapter IV concerning this and his later activities, especially in the war against Babak.

Tab 1065/8, 595; Khalīfah, p. 472.

Ibid. Also IA VI, 383; and Ibn Khallikān (Slane) I, p. 654.

Barthold, "Tāhirids," EI I IV, p. 614. See Appendix B.

This ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd Allāh was merely a prefect, he may be the person of the same name found on dirhams of Naysābur, dated 197 and 198. See Appendix B.


IA VI, 414; Zambaur, Manuel, p. 48; Rabino, loc. cit.

Tab 1102/8, 622; Yaʿqūbī II, p. 565.

E. Marin, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Tahir," EI II, pp. 52-53. Hamadhānī, p. 328, gives the total revenues of Khūrāsān and dependencies under him as 440,847,000 dirhams, plus payments in kind.

Ibn Khallikān (Slane) II, p. 53, gives this date, but says he died at Marw. Yaʿqūbī II, p. 586, says that he died in 230 at Naysābur at age 47.

For a statistical breakdown of governors' origins, see Chapter VI, Table 1.

One of the most important Yaman tribes in Khurasan was the Azd, some of whose members held offices not only in Khurasan, 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.


See 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 ʿAbbasid 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 ʿAbbasid 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 ʿanīl (pl. ʿumnāl) from the Arabic root
Camal, "to work" or "to do." Less frequently the word amīr (pl. umara') is found as a synonym for al-amīl. Very rarely wālī (pl. wulāt) is used to denote a governor, but the second-form verb from whose root it is derived, wāli, is the most frequently used word to show a person's appointment to office. Because al-amīl 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 al-amīl, 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 Tabarī states (under the year 132/749-750): wa-kāna al-al-amīl ṣalā al-Basrah fī hadhihi al-sanah Sufyān ibn Muḥānash al-Muṭallabī, he means precisely that Sufyān was the governor of Basrah for that year.2

As Tabarī enumerates the governors of various provinces at the end of each year's notice after 132, he usually drops the word al-amīl, but retains the preposition ala to denote an individual's control over a particular area. Scattered throughout Tabarī's text are notices of governors mentioned casually in the course of the narrative: (under the year 169/785-786)—kaṣaba al-Mahdī ilā Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān wa-huwa al-amīl al-Madīnah ...3 [Mahdī wrote to Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān and he was the governor of Medina.] The main point here was that the caliph wrote to Jaʿfar; 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 taṣmiyat ʿammāl Abī al-ʿAbbās (Abī Jaʿfar, etc.); i.e., naming the governors of Abī al-ʿAbbās, 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 Tayfur, the mawlā of Hādi, was named as prefect over Isbahān in 169/785-786: wa-`al-ʿamīl ʿalā Isbahān Tayfur mawlā al-Ḥādi. Here the word ʿamīl is understood to come before ʿalā, since it is in the capacity of prefect of the city and district of Isbahān that Tayfur is mentioned in the text.

In cases where the provincial governor's title is found on the coinage, ʿamīr is of more frequent usage than is ʿamīl. 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 prefactory phrase, mimma ʿamr bihi al-ʿamīr... ["from that which has been ordered by the governor ..."]. 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-ʿamīr Sadaqaḥ ibn ʿAlī mawlā Amīr al-Muʿminin [i.e., "blessing from God for the governor Sadaqaḥ ibn ʿAlī, mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful (the caliph)"]. Although the title ʿamīr may have been used at an earlier time specifically to designate members of the ʿAbbāsid family and the Arab nobility, the last-mentioned numismatic example clearly demonstrates that, by the reign of Muʿmūn, a mawlā could enjoy the title in recognition of his governmental appointment. The word ʿamīl 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 Muhammad al-Mahdī, who was governor of the East at the time. The phrase employed on these fulūs is: mimma amr bihi (name) ʿamīl al-ʿamīr Muhammad ibn Amir al-Muʿminīn.

It is clear from the many references in the historical sources that the technical terms for provincial officials during the early ʿAbbāsid period had not become standardized. Individuals named as ʿamīl of a province in the written record are often titled ʿamīr 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 ʿamīr 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 ʿAbbāsid 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 Mansūr's succession to the caliphate; and ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā, whose claims to the succession caused him to lose his governorship of Kufah and brought about his ostracism from the family. Nevertheless, many ʿAbbāsids were appointed to governmental posts in Basrah 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 Basrah and Kūfah,
which had historically been hotbeds of revolution and sedition. The other provinces—Armenia, Jibal and Khūrāsān—did not receive Abbāsid princes as governors on the same scale as did Iraq. The few Abbāsids 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 Abbāsid 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 Khūrāsān, had taken part in the overthrow of the Umayyads and their replacement by the Abbāsids. 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 Khūrāsān 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 Jazirah and Khūrāsān 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 Abbasids. Hence, they were looked upon with favor by the new régime. The North Arabs, represented by the two main branches of Mudar and Rabī'ah, had been pro-Umayyad and were viewed with suspicion by the early Abbasids. As the Abbasids gradually replaced the tribal aristocracy with a centralized bureaucracy, however, the political divisions of the tribes decreased, particularly in Khurasan, and many Mudar and Rabī'ah 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 Abbasid form of government gradually approached the dimensions of its pre-Islamic, Sassanid model.¹³ Some Persian institutions, such as the diwan al-khatam (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 Abbasids.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 Khurasan, but for the āAbbāsid heartland of Iraq as well.

From the appointment of the first āAbbāsid governor of Armenia, Muhammad ibn Sul, 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. Believing that his personal clients would have no other loyalty than to himself, Mansūr placed his most able mawālī in governmental offices and strongly advised his son Mahdī to maintain their position in his court and government as a source of personal support. Unlike the powerful members of the āAbbāsid 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. 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 mawāla Amīr al-Maʾmūn (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 āAbbāsids were free Iranians. Of these, three main families are the most important: the Barmakids, Hasan and Fadl ibn Sahl, and the Tāhirids. Unlike any of the other groups from which provincial governors were drawn, with the exception of Mahdī and Maʾmūn 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). 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. 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 Amin. Tahir ibn al-Husayn belonged to a Khurāsānian family that had long controlled the prefecture of Būshanj. He became distinguished for his role as leader of Ma'mūn's forces against Amin and later was appointed by Ma'mūn as governor of all the East. Tahir 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. 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

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins of Provincial Governors of Early 'Abbasid Period</th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>Iraq</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
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<td>39</td>
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* 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 Kufah 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 mawāli 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 Ḥārūn al-Rashīd first learned about the excesses of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā ibn Māḥān in Khurāsān, he was advised by Yazīd ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī to rid himself of the hated governor. Yazīd attempted to warn Ḥārūn 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, Ḥārūn al-Rashīd's mother, requested that Ḥādī appoint her brother, Ghitrīf ibn ʿAṭāʿ, as governor of the Yemen in 170/786. 28 When Ṭāhir ibn al-Husayn wished to return to Khurāsān as governor over that province, he worked to undermine Maʿmūn's confidence in the then-present ʿāmil, Ghassān ibn ʿAbbad, 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 Muhammad ibn al-ʿAshyaʾath to Fārs with orders to take the ʿāmilis of Abū Salamah in that province into custody and to execute them. This Muhammad ibn al-ʿAshyaʾath did. At the same time, Saffah sent his uncle, ʿĪsā ibn ʿAṭūr, to govern the province. Muhammad 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, Isa incurred the wrath of the caliph. 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. 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'mun, as the following examples illustrate:

During the civil war between Amin and Ma'mun, Tahir ibn al-Husayn, upon reaching Ahwaz, transferred the amils from that province and Basrah to Yamamah, Bahrain and Uman without referring to Ma'mun. Tahir was not acting in the capacity of a governor, but as Ma'mun's commander-in-chief, yet was permitted to move deputies around at will. After Ma'mun 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 Tahir, including Fars, Ahwaz, Jibal, the Hijaz, the Yemen, Kufah and Basrah (i.e., Iraq). 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. 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. Tabari reports that, in 169/785, Mahdi made Harun al-Rashid governor of the West—from Anbar to Ifriqiyyah—but ordered Yahya Kholid al-Barmaki to administer the area. To the latter was deferred the appointment of
In another instance, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Sāliḥ, an ʿAbbāsid prince and military commander who led the summer campaign several times for Ḥarūn 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. 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 ʿAbbāsid 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 ʿAbbāsids, 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 ʿAbbāsid caliph, upon his accession, usually dismissed his predecessor's governors and appointed his own men. 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 Ḥarūn al-Rashīd learned that the governor
could not retain control of Armenia and that his orders were never car-
rried out. The provincial governor, who fell under the caliph's sus-
picions 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 Ḫūfah because,
among other transgressions, it was reported that Muḥammad had unjustly
imprisoned certain of his enemies. 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.

The duties of the provincial governor of the early ʿAbbāsid 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 ʿAbbāsid period is that presented by W. Barthold:

The task of the provincial governors, especially that of the
Governor of Khurāsān, 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 Khurāsān, 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 tran-
quility, 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.

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 shurtah (or police), the haras (or guard), and the ahdath (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 qadis, who was appointed directly by the caliph, rather than by the governor himself, as was the practice under the Umayyads. In some instances, control of the shurtah, ahdath and salat (i.e., the leadership of the Friday prayers), was delegated by the caliph to several persons, with no overall governor being named. This arrangement was particularly common in Basrah and Kufah during Mansur’s caliphate.

Unless a separate sahib al-kharaj (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. 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).

Among the governor’s administrative duties were the maintenance of
communications with the central government through the barid (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.

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, but some exploited their position to such an extent that they were able to amass great amounts of wealth. When the governor of Basra, Muhammad ibn Sulayman, died in 173/789, his accumulated wealth—which Harun al-Rashid had had carted away—amounted to 60 million dirhams. AlI ibn CIsa ibn Mahan, whose long, harsh rule over Khurasan was marked by wholesale extortion and repression of the populace, left 80 million dirhams to be confiscated by Harun when he was finally dismissed in 191/807. Some governors were able to operate efficiently on the amounts allotted to them for administrative purposes. Fadl ibn Yahya al-Barmaki 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. 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. 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
ČAbbāsid period is a composite of many types of men. The āmīl came
from all the Muslim ethnic and social strata which constituted the im-
perial 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 govern-
ors, particularly several of the ČAbbāsid princes and Arab military com-
manders, 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 ČAbbāsid family were
given only short appointments. This is particularly true for the many
ČAbbāsids assigned to Baṣrah and Kūfah under Harūn al-Rashīd. 56 This
rapid turnover seems to have been a basic policy of the caliphs, de-
signed to prevent a governor from building up a personal following within
his province, which could constitute a threat to the central govern-
ment. This policy was largely abandoned by Ma'mūn who, in designating
certain individuals to govern large territories in the East—namely
Tāhir ibn al-Husayn 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 gov-
ernor in the administration of the Empire. The following chapters ad-
dress 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 āshāb al-
  shūrtaḥ, barid, ḥarb, etc., and
- the provincial coining system.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1 A prime example of the altered meaning of a term is "Amil" 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, "Amil," EI 1, p. 435.

2 Tab 72/7, 458. For Sufyan's governorships of Basrah, see Chapter II, Nos. 1, 4 and 12.

3 Tab 534/8, 178.

4 Tarikh, pp. 412, 430, 440, 446, 461, 475.

5 Tab 568/8, 204. See Chapter IV, under No. 12.

6 Several specimens, which may serve to illustrate this common formula, are listed in Appendix B, specifically fulūs or Arran 177, 178, 186; Rayy 138; Naysabur 204.

7 See Appendix B for specimen references. For Sadaqah's tenure as governor of Armenia, see Chapter III, No. 48.


9 See Chapter IV, Nos. 5(a), (b) and (c), as well as Appendix B.

10 Details of the problems caused by these two princes are given in Chapter II, under Basrah, No. 3; and Kufah, No. 2.

11 Mansur'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 Mahdi and Ma'mun by their fathers can more properly be viewed as a training period for these future caliphs.

12 Cf. Duri, "Amir," 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, "Nizar b. Ma'add," EI 3, p. 940.

13 For an overview of the numerous bureaus instituted or enlarged upon under the Abbasids, cf. Duri, "Diwan," EI 2, pp. 324-326.


15 Løkkegaard, p. 149.

17 For Muhammad ibn Sul's tenure in Armenia, see Chapter III, No. 1.

18 Tab 444/8, 103.


20 The Barmakids may also be classified as mawāli, since this seems to have been the status of Khalid ibn Barmak. However, the relationship of his grandsons, Fadl and Ja'far, when they were governors for Harun al-Rashid, does not exhibit the attributes of clientage.

21 See Chapter IV, Nos. 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27(a); and Chapter V, Nos. 13, 22, 24, 25, 26 and 27.

22 Lewis, loc. cit.


24 See Chapter V, introductory paragraphs.


27 Tab 703/8, 315, under the year 189, which was long after Yazid's death in 185.

28 Tab 590/8, 222. This story may be associated with Ghitrif's appointment as governor of Khurasan in 175/791. See Chapter V, No. 12.

29 Tab 1043/8, 579; IA VI, 361; Ya'qūbī II, p. 554. See Chapter V, No. 23.

30 Tab 71/7, 458; IA V, 443.

31 According to Løkkegaard, p. 71, there was always some ambiguity as to who could appoint governors and other officials.

32 Tab 855/8, 435.

33 Tab 975/8, 527; IA VI, 297-298.
34. Tab 976/8, 528.

35. Tab 545/8, 187.

36. Ibn al-Tiqaqa, al-Fakhir [trans. Whitting], pp. 204-205. Although 'Abd al-Malik ibn Saliḥ was appointed governor of Egypt in 781-794 (Tab 630/8, 256), I find no mention of his son, 'Abd al-Rahman, actually having held this post. Kindi, Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-qudat, 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.


38. Ya'qubi II, p. 519.

39. Tab 375-77/8, 47-49. See Chapter II, No. 3.

40. For example, Faḍl ibn Sulaymān al-Tusi was dismissed from the governorship of Khurasan in 171/787 and placed in charge of the diwan al-khātam in Baghdad (see Chapter V, No. 9). After Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Khuza'ī's appointment to Jibal ended, his next assignment was to the considerably more important province of Egypt (see Chapter IV, No. 3).


42. On the shurtah and its functions, see Chapter VII.


44. Duri, "Amīr," op. cit., pp. 438, 439. In one instance, the heir-apparent, Musa al-Hadī, when he visited the province of Jurjan in 166/782-783, appointed an Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Ibrahim as qādi there (Tab 517/8, 162).

45. Løkkegaard, p. 146.

46. When there was a qāḥib al-kharāj assigned to the province, he took orders directly from the central government (Løkkegaard, pp. 146-147). The functions of the qāḥib al-kharāj and the provincial tax system are discussed in Chapter VII.

47. The 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 Harun ar-Rashīd. See A.S. Ehrenkreutz, "Studies in the Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages," JESHO 2 (1959), pp. 141-142.

48. See Chapter VII.

Tabari 434-35/8, 95-96, under the year 158/774-775, states that the salary of both kuttāb (secretaries) and ʿummāl during Mansūr's reign was 300 dirhams. This salary remained constant from the time of the Umayyad governor Hajjāj until Fadl ibn Sahl increased it during the reign of Maʾmūn. The ʿamīls referred to here were not provincial governors, but lesser officials of the provincial and central bureaucracies.

Tab 607/8, 237.

Tab 713/8, 324.

Tab 613/8, 242.

Tab 841/8, 424

The ca. 184/300 budget is derived from Jahshiūrī, pp. 182-185; and that of ca. 204-237/819-852 from Qudamah ibn Jaʿfar, BGA VI, pp. 249-251.

See 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 ⁶Abbasids, 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 ⁶Abbāsid period. Abū Yūsuf Yaṣṣūb ibn Ibrahim al-Anṣāri (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 Harūn al-Rashīd’s reign (ca. 170/786-787).⁵ Yahyā ibn ʿAdam al-Qurashi (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 (hadith) related to the development of the Islamic tax system. Thus, Abū Yusuf 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 Abbasid 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. Almost all of what is known about taxation in the first two centuries of Islam is derived from the above three authorities.

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. 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. 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. In the narrower sense kharāj denoted specifically a land tax, assessed on the products of the soil. The jīsyah was a poll tax, levied on non-Muslim subjects. However, when large numbers of non-Muslims converted in Iraq to escape payment of this tax under the Umayyad governor Hajjāj, the effect was a dangerous eroding of the tax base. Hajjāj forced the convert peasants back to their land and enforced payment of the jīsyah, even though those paying had become Muslims. Dennett has shown that kharāj and jīsyah, as used by early Arab writers, were synonymous terms which could be used interchangeably. Another tax on land was ʿushr, which was assessed only on Muslims; whereas, the kharāj was payable by all farmers. The term ʿushr was used in the same context as sadaqaḥ 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 Lökkegaard: 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
Since ḥaṣr and kharāj were both land taxes, some differences in the two must be made apparent.

The differences between ḥaṣr 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, was paid by Muslims. ḥaṣr 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. ḥaṣr 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 ḥaṣr land. This occurred in one of three ways:

1) land whose inhabitants coverted 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.

Land which was taken over by the Muslims, but left in the possession of the inhabitants through a treaty, was considered kharāj land. These three differences between ḥaṣr and kharāj remained intact throughout the period of Umayyad rule and into the early years of the Abbāsid régime.

Under the early Abbāsids 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 muqāta'ah if the amount assessed was
not based on the produce or area of land, or *mīsāḥah* if the assessment was made on the basis of a land measurement, became counterproductive by the early ČAbbāsid period. Many farmers fled their lands to escape the oppression of an insufferable tax burden and, by Mansūr’s reign, agricultural production was declining.  

Towards the end of Mansūr’s caliphate the Muslim inhabitants of the Sawād requested the caliph to change over to the system known as *muqāsamaḥ*, by which the tax would be levied as a percentage of the actual products of the land.  

Mansūr died before this much-needed reform could be implemented, but under the able guidance of Mahdī’s ważir, Abū Čubayd Allah (d. 170/786), *muqāsamaḥ* replaced *mīsāḥah* as the system of levying the kharaj, first in the Sawād and later in other parts of the East.  

Under the *muqāsamaḥ* system, the amount of tax collected was up to one-half of the produce of the land. Ma‘mūn inaugurated a reform, at least in the Sawād, of requiring only one-fifth of the produce in kind from the farmers.  

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.  

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.  

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 ČAbbās-
sid period allowed for many local variations. 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* ḍalā *m bāḥat al-ard*; i.e., the *kharaj* assessed on surveyed plots of ground. After Mahdī's reform the proportional payment (*muqasamah*) system, especially in Iraq where its use was widespread, suited the requirements of provisioning Baghdad, which was rapidly growing into a large metropolis. In Khurasān 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 *jīzāh*, but the revenues were collected by the local authorities and submitted to the Arabs in a lump sum. With increasing centralization under the ʿAbbāsid, 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 Khurasān—an outline of provincial subdivision may aid in understanding the geographical complexities of revenue management in the early ʿAbbāsid period. Each province was divided into *kwwar* (sing., *kwrah*), the number varying from province to province. Thus, the Sawād of Iraq contained 12 *kwwar*, Jibal 3, and Khurasān 9. We have already noticed that, on several occasions, the *kwwar* Dīlā (districts of the Tigris) and the *kwwar* of Ahwāz and Fārs were placed under the control of the governor of Basrah. It is clear from these
and other examples that the provincial kūwar were, in addition to their major function as administrative units, convenient blocks of territory with which the caliph could enlarge or decrease the territorial size of the entity placed under his āmil's control.

The kurah, in turn, was divided into a number of tassūj (sing., tassīj), 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 rustaq 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 kūwar were also often given the designation āmal (or administrative prefectures), particularly when they were assigned to a governor under a special status (al-āmal 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 sahib al-kharaj, who headed the bureau known as the diwan al-kharaj, a subordinate counterpart of the central bureau at the imperial capital.35 During the early 7Abbāsid period the central tax office was sometimes given names designating the area(s) under its jurisdiction. In Mansūr's reign we find the expressions diwan kharaj al-Basrah wa-nasāihā (tax office for Basrah and its districts) and diwan kharaj al-Kufah wa-ardahā (tax office for Kufah and its land);36 under 6Hādī, the diwan kharaj al-6Iraqayn (tax office for the two Iraqs: Basrah and
Kufah), and under Harun al-Rashid, the diwan al-kharaj bi-al-Sawad (tax office for the Sawad). These specialized bureaus were concerned with keeping records of the incoming taxes from the provinces. The collected revenues were turned over to the sahib bayt al-mal, who was responsible for all funds deposited into and disbursed out of the provincial treasury (bayt al-mal), which was subordinate to the central treasury in the capital. The provincial sahib al-kharaj 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 qamun al-kharaj, containing the surveys upon which the kharaj was collected in each district.

The actual collection of taxes was accomplished in one of several ways. One was through the system of tax farming (daman), 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. A second method was qabalah, 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. A third method of collection was through the agency of a jakhadh, 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 (damin) 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 Abbā-ssid 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 diwan al-kharāj and, in some cases, may have even been the sahib bayt al-māl.44 In the Qumm district of Jibal it was customary for the jahbadh to represent the taxpayers at the diwan 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 diwan 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 sahib 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 (māsih) 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. After this operation had been repeated throughout each district of the province, copies of the accounts were forwarded to the central diwan and the moneys divided between the amount assigned to the provincial bayt al-mal and that conveyed to the central treasury. 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. Upon reaching the central tax office, the accounts were systematically examined and audited by yet another government bureau.

The diwan al-zimam (comptroller's office) was first instituted by Mahdi in 162/778-779, the function of which was to maintain fiscal control over all the other government bureaux. In 168/784-785, Mahdi erected a diwan zimam al-azimmah to oversee all the dawans "al-zimam. There was a diwan al-zimam assigned to each of the other diwans and it was the responsibility of the zimam al-kharaj 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 Abbasid 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. Fadl ibn Yahya al-Barmaki appointed Abu al-Sabbah as qadi al-kharaj over Armenia in 177/793. When Abu al-Sabbah attempted to collect the kharaj, the people of Barda'ah murdered him, touching off a major revolt
in the province.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textsuperscript{c}Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, governor of the East 213-230/828-844, who admonished his officials to treat their charges just.\textsuperscript{56} Tax revolts, as one of the mounting economic problems facing the \textsuperscript{c}Abbasid règime 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.\textsuperscript{57}

The tax system in the first three decades of \textsuperscript{c}Abbasid rule remained basically unchanged from Umayyad practice. However, under the direction of Caliph Mahdi, 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. Mahdi was also responsible for further centralizing the government, a policy begun by his father Mansūr. To this end he established the \textsuperscript{dawārin} al-azīmān in order to maintain firm control over all the other central and provincial agencies, as well as a \textsuperscript{diwan} al-azīmmah to police the activities of the lower bureaus of control. This double system of accountability Mahdi inaugurated is the most vivid man-
ifestation of the 'Abbasid 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 shurtah, ma‘ūnah, haras and ahdath. 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 shurtah which, in times of peace, functioned as a police force charged with maintaining public order and security. The chief of police was called the sahib al-shurtah and he reported directly to the governor. Because of his responsibility to preserve order, particularly in the provincial capital, the sahib al-shurtah had greater power than the qadi (see below), since he could act on suspicion to punish potential wrongdoers. In wartime the shurtah comprised an elite corps in the army, and it seems that a general could have a non-provincial shurtah directly under his command. The shurtah was paid for out of the extraordinary (hi‘la‘) taxes of the province as was the ma‘ūnah. The latter was an ordinary
police force employed to preserve law and order, but could be engaged in warfare also. Indeed, the commander of the shurtah might sometimes be placed in charge of the maʿunah or the haras, the honor guard charged with maintaining the security of the governor.

Functioning alongside the shurtah and maʿunah in Iraq was another unit of men known as the ḥdāth. The sources provide very little information on the nature of the ḥdāth, but apparently it comprised a sort of urban militia which added to the military forces under the command of the governor. Løkkegaard himself is unsure of the meaning of ḥdāth, 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. The ḥdāth, like the shurtah and maʿunah, seems to have had a dual role of responsibility for public order in peacetime and military operations in time of war. In other provinces the commander of the ḥdāth had a counterpart in the ṣāhib al-harb (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. 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 shurtah, maʿunah and ḥdāth were not subject to a policy of centralization but, of necessity, remained outside the direct regulation by the caliph and the imperial gov-
The Qādi

In each provincial capital a qādi was appointed, generally by the caliph or, in some instances, by the wāzir (governor) to administer the religious law. Even after the office of qādi al-quḍāt was instituted by Harūn al-Rāshīd, the caliph continued to appoint the qādis to provincial posts. The qādi al-quḍāt only was able to present candidates to the caliph for nomination. Although the qādi judged cases, it was the shurtaḥ who was empowered to carry out punishments and suppress crime. Among his other duties, the qādi administered the city mosques and pious religious endowments (waqfs), as well as supervised meetings of the masālim (courts of complaint). In several rare instances the office of qādi was joined with that of saḥib al-salāt, the leadership of the ritual prayers that entailed the pronouncement of the Friday khutbah, the sermon in which the ruler's name was invoked. The authority over salāt 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 salāt, the qādi 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 Sahib al-Barid

Under the first Abbasid caliphs, the imperial post system, called the barid, became a highly developed institution. The diwan al-barid 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 barid was to carry official government correspondence between the central and provincial administrative centers. However, the sahib al-barid 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 qadis, and of reporting the details of the governor's activities as well. 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 ashab al-barid seems no less valuable, as can be ascertained from the following passage by Tabari:

Ibrahim ibn Musa ibn Isaa ibn Musa relates that the heads of the barid in all the districts (afaq) would write to Mansur every day concerning the price of wheat and corn and condiments, and the price of every edible thing and what judgments the qadis made in their districts (nawa'him); and what the walis did and what monies were paid out of the treasury (bayt al-mal) and all other news.

As the reports arrived in the capital, they were put together by the sahib diwan al-barid and turned over to the caliph for his inspection and action.

Because the efficient working of the barid was so important to the caliphs, they took a special interest in extending the system to regions not previously having such service. Thus, Mahdi established posts at
Mecca, Medina and the Yemen in 166/782-783, which used mules and camels for transportation. Several ḥāb al-barīd were particularly favored by having their names placed on the provincial coinage. 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 Mansūr reacted to the news of a rebellion in northern Armenia by sending additional forces to aid Governor Hasan ibn Qahtabah in restoring order. 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 C Abbāsid 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 Mansūr continued under Mahdi and Harūn al-Rashīd. Some of the C Abbāsid 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 diwāns, like the zimām and zimām al-sa`īmrah, were original creations of the C Abbāsids established
to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the central government. The ābbāsids 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-Muʾminīn, 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 ābbāsid 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 Maʾmūn's reign on some Iranians were able to establish their own autonomous states.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Reuben 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 Vizir abbâside de 749 à 936* (Damascus, 1959-1960), has produced a work of the utmost importance on the office of the wazir. 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.


4. See A.B. Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam I*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1967), pp. 3-6, for an enumeration of these works.


838), Kitāb al-amrīḥ (Cairo, 1353/1934 [new ed. 1395/1975]), which was a main source for Qudamah [Taxation II, p. 73] and Baladhuri, Futūh al-
Buldān I [trans. Philip Hitti], pp. 426 ff. The secretary of āli ibn
Iṣa ibn Mahān, governor of Khurasan 180-191/796-807, Ḥafs ibn Mansūr
Marwazi, wrote a Book on the Taxes of Khurasan, which is no longer ex-
tant [Barthold, Turkestan, p. 71].

9Dennett, op. cit., p. 34; C. Cahen, "Kharādji," EI² IV, p. 1031.

10Ibid., p. 118.

11The philological background is traced in Cahen, op. cit., p. 1030.

12Qudāmah, p. 23; Abū Yusuf, p. 84; Shemesh, Taxation III, p. 21;


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

17Løkkegaard, pp. 72, 78.

18Abū Yusuf, p. 82; Qudāmah, p. 30.

19Lambton, op. cit., p. 19. In addition, there were qatalāb lands,
which were former Sassanid crown lands assigned to some Arab notables as

20Abū Yusuf, 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 Ābāsids," JESHO 20
(1977), p. 298, maintains that misānah was still employed in some parts
of the Sa'ād in the second half of the third century. Cf. M. Shimizu,

22Baladhurī, Futūh I, p. 429; Løkkegaard, p. 113.

23Abū Yusuf, pp. 100-101; Qudāmah, pp. 40-41; Ibn al-Tīqṭaḡā, al-
Fakhrit [trans. Whitting; reprinted Karachi, 1977], p. 176; remarked that
the system remained in effect up to his own time; i.e., the 7th/13th cen-
tury; Shemesh, Taxation III, pp. 10-11; F. Nomanī, "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 *mīshāh* system remained side by side with the *muqāsamah* system in parts of the Sawād and that the *mīshāh* 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-Tiqtaqā reports the *muqāsamah* system was still being used five centuries later. Yet, in the Qumm district of Jibal, assessments were still made by *mīshāh*, eight separate measurements having been carried out between the years 189/804-805 and 303/915-16 (Lambton, p. 34, citing Tarikh-i Qumm, pp. 101-106). See also Cahen, "Kharādj," op. cit., p. 1031.

24 Løkkegaard, p. 110.


26 See Chapter II, under Kūfah, Nos. 22 and 23.

27 Tab 1045/8, 581; IA VI, 379.

28 In towns such as Hūrah, which had surrendered during the conquest and agreed to a specific yearly tribute, the tax was called *kharāj al-muqāta* and was not a land tax. Dennett, op. cit., p. 25.


30 Dennett, op. cit., p. 118.

31 Løkkegaard, p. 164, quoting *BGA* III, p. 133; *BGA* VI, p. 5 for the Sawād; *BGA* III, p. 385 for Jībal; and *BGA* III, p. 295 for Khurāsān. The Arab geographers dispute the administrative divisions of Armenia, and even the use of *kawar* to describe the divisions is not strictly adhered to. Muqaddasi, *BGA* III, p. 374, says Armenia was made up of three *kawar*: Arran, Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, Ibn Khuradadhbih, *BGA* VI, p. 122, follows the traditional Byzantine form of dividing Armenia into four areas, but then enumerates the *kawar* within each one. The total number of *kawar* he gives as 21.


33 Løkkegaard, p. 164.

34 Løkkegaard, pp. 165, 166. For an example, see Chapter II, pp. 23, 34-35.


has dīwān kharāj al-Basrah wa-ardaḥū.

37 Jahshiyarī, p. 167; Tab 548/8, 189; Shimizu, loc. cit.

38 Jahshiyarī, p. 277, who also lists a dīwān al-kharāj for Syria, Egypt, Ifriqiya, Mosul, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Medina, Mecca and the Yemen, and another for the Jazīrah, 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.


40 B. Lewis, "Daftar," EI² II, p. 78.


42 Ibid.

43 W.J. Fischel, "Djahbadh," EI² II, p. 382; Løkkegaard, pp. 158-159. For the provincial coinage system, see Chapter VIII.

44 Løkkegaard, p. 159.

45 Lambton, 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.

46 Løkkegaard, p. 159; Lambton, pp. 40-41.


48 Cahen, loc. cit.

49 Løkkegaard, loc. cit. Total revenues for the four provinces of this study from several Abbasid budgets are listed in Appendix C.

50 Abū Yusuf, p. 85, but in the cities, the jīzyah was collected by specially assigned officials.


52 Tab 522/8, 167; Jahshiyarī, p. 166; Duri, loc. cit.

53 Cahen, "Fiscalité, etc.," op. cit., pp. 146-147.

54 Ya'cūbī, II, p. 516; Ibn Aṯham al-Kūfī VIII, p. 254. See Chapter III, under Nos. 18(b), (c) and 19.
55 Tab 1092-93/8, 614; IA VI, 399; Balādhūrī, Futūḥ I, pp. 488-489; Tarīkh-i Qum, p. 163; C. Huart, "Kumm," EI I, 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.

56 Lambton, op. cit., p. 48.

57 On the whole problem of economic difficulties in the 3rd/9th century, see Waines, op. cit.


59 For examples of this, see Chapter II, under Basrah, No. 12; and Kūfah, Nos. 2, 3 and 6.

60 Zetterstéen, loc. cit.; Djait, op. cit., p. 99.

61 Løkkegaard, p. 188. Examples: C. Abd Allāh ibn Khāzim was Musā al-Hadī's gāhib al-shurtah when Mahdi sent his son against Tabaristan in 167/783-784 (Tab 518-19/8, 164); Abū-Abd al-Madīn ibn Hishām was Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn's gāhib al-shurtah of Rayy during the hostilities against Amin in 195/810-811 (Tab 799/8, 391).

62 Abū-Abd Allāh Yusuf ibn Yaḥyā was gāhib al-shurtah for Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn in 197/812-813 (Tab 881/8, 455).

63 Løkkegaard, p. 187.

64 Ibid., p. 188.


66 Ibrāhīm ibn Jibrīl, gāhib al-shurtah wa-al-khasas for Fadl ibn Yahya al-Barmakī, governor of Khurasān 177-179/793-795 (Tab 834/8, 259). Cf. Djait, p. 120.

67 Of the four provinces surveyed in this study, ahdāth is mentioned only in connection with Iraq (Basrah and Kūfah).


69 Løkkegaard, pp. 187-188.

70 Zetterstéen, loc. cit.; Løkkegaard, p. 188.

73 Tyan, loc. cit.
74 Løkkegaard, p. 146; Tyan, loc. cit.
75 This situation seems only to have occurred in Basrah and Kūfah. See Chapter II on Basrah, Nos. 7, 22(c), (d), and 23; and Kūfah, Nos. 5 and 6.
77 Tab 435/8, 96.
78 An 'Abbasid prince and great-grandnephew of Mansūr.
79 Sourdély, loc. cit.
80 Tab 517/8, 162.
81 A Nūṣayr, who may be the Nūṣayr al-Waṣīf placed in charge of the barīd in 168/785-786, is found on coins minted in a number of locations (see Chapter III, F.N. 82). Hamawayh, the saḥib al-barīd of Khurasan from 191-193/807-809, had the distinction of having his name placed on the coinage of Balkh, Naysābūr and Harat during that time (see Chapter V, No. 19).
CHAPTER VIII

THE ĈABBĀSID 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 ĈAbbāsids, 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 (ṣīkkaḥ) on the governor’s authority if 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 sólidus or denarius aurenus 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 ārakhm, 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 6Abbāsid 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 6Abbāsid 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: 6Abilah waddah/\la sharik lahu [There is no god but/Allah 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, ḥadīth bi-al-dīrmah (or fals) bi-al-Baṣrah (or other mint) sanat ... [In the name of Allah, this dirham (fals) was struck at Baṣrah, year ...]. Thus, the obverse on early 6Abbāsid dirhams is always that side on which
is engraved the mint name and date. On the reverse the earliest Abbāsid 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, aqralahu bi-al-huda wa-dīn al-haqq
li-yughirahu ʿala al-dīn kullihī wa-law kariha al-mushrikun.
[Muhammad is the messenger of Allah; 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 Maʿmūn’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-Lah al-amr min qabl wa-min baʿd wa-yawmi dh yufrih
al-muʾminin bi-naqr 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. In the course
of the early ā'Abbasid 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 ā'Alī al-Riḍā as heir-apparent. 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 ā'Abbāsid dirhams, dated 160/776-777 of Basrah and Muḥammadīyah (Rayy). But Mansūr's personal name (ā' Abd Allāh) was placed on fulūs of Muḥammadīyah of 141/758-759, 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 (Ībn Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn), is mentioned on fulūs of both Rayy and Marw, dated 143/760-761. Dirhams of Rayy for 145/762-763 were the first silver coins to bear this inscription. These coins were minted during the period when Mahdī was governor of the East for his father. However, it was not until Mahdī's own reign that the heir-apparent was recognized on the coinage with the characteristic phrase, wālī'āh. Hādī is so titled on dirhams of Basrah and on fulūs of Muḥammadīyah, 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 ā'Abbāsid coinage. The earliest examples of this on the dirham are specimens of Basrah, dated 140/757-758, with the word ā'Abd for ā' Abd al-ā'Azīz ībn ā' Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azī. However, the copper coinage once again seems to have preceded silver in this particular innovation. Fulūs of Rayy, dated 138/755-756, have the name of
Governor Jahwar ibn Marrar al-Ijlī on them. 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 Hamadan.

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-Iraq and the Changing Annulet Patterns on their Dirhams," 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 Abbāsid 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 ʿAbbāsid Governors of Basrah and Kūfah, 132-218/750-833." During the course of the governorship of Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī in Basrah (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, Arminiyyah for 152-155, and Muhammadiyyah (Rayy) for 153-154 all have the same annulet pattern (oo oo oo oo). Even more striking is the use of the pattern (Θ oo Θ oo Θ oo) during the same or proximate years at seven different mints:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marw</td>
<td>197</td>
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<td>Harat</td>
<td>197-200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madā'in</td>
<td>198</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>198-200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkh</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naysabur</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isbahān</td>
<td>200-201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yet there are 47 different annulet patterns found on the early 力求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). 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 Faḍl and Hasan ibn Sahl. 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 力求Abbāsid 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 力求Abbāsid 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. 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, Basrah and Kufah. Both mints produced a long series, with some gaps, of dirhams and *fals*, 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 Kufah fell off considerably during the latter part of Ma'mun's reign and ceased altogether at the Basrah mint. After remaining closed for more than three decades of Abbasid rule, the former chief Umayyad mint at Wasit was reopened during the reign of Mahdi and produced a few intermittent issues through to the early years of Ma'mun's caliphate. Hashimiyah, as the Abbasid capital prior to the foundation of Baghdad and not a proper provincial mint, produced a short series of dirhams under Mansur. Only one dirham issued at Madain, dated 198/813-814, is existing from the site of this ancient Sassanid capital. A single *fals*, possibly unique, is known bearing the mint name of Maysan and dated 166/782-783. Since Maysan was a southern district of the Sawad, the exact location of the mint that produced this coin is not known. Perhaps it was issued at Madhar, the former capital of Maysan district. Only a few examples of coins minted in Samiyah are extant and, except that it was located near Wasit, nothing more of the place is known. The few extant examples of coinage issued by the several minor mints of Iraq underscore the importance of the facilities at Basrah and Kufah, 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 Bardaçah, 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, Arminiya, 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 Bardaçah. 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 Harūnabād (or Harūnīyah) during a very short period (167-171/783-787). Lastly, the provincial mint at the silver mine of Bājunays struck a long series of dirhams with the mint name of Ma'dan Bājunays, beginning in 183/799-800.

**Jibal:** The chief mint of Jibal and, most likely the entire East, was Rayy or Muhammadiyah. 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/Muhammadiyah 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 Ham-adān all during the early ʿAbbāsid 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 Nihawand/Māh al-Asrah 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 ʿAbbāsid 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 Ḥārūn 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, ČAbbāsid 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/Muhammadīyah issues, which merely reflects the large output of those two facilities.

Of the four major provincial mints of Khurasān, 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, Naysabūr and Harat. There is no intermittent coinage extant from minor mints of Khurasān during this period, except for two anomalous specimens: one with a district, the other with a town mint name. An anonymous dirham from Gharshistān, dated 137/754-755, is known, 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 Buşhanj from 190/805-806, already mentioned in Chapter V, is the only extant emanation of this mint for the early ČAbbāsid period.

The decentralized system of mint production in the ČAbbāsid 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 Maʿmūn's reign—
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. 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.

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 ŠAbbāsids 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 Abbasid 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 Abbasid 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 Abbasid mints. 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 Abbasid 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


2 Until 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 6th Abbasid 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," EI² II, p. 298.

3 Many 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.


5 Miles, "Dirham," EI² II, p. 319.


9 Udovitch, loc. cit.; Walker, Arab-Byzantine Coins, p. 253; Grierson, p. 247.

10 I am indebted to Mr. Nicholas Lowick, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, for allowing me to refer to the notes on 6th Abbasid coinage of the late John Walker. To Dr. Walker's hand list of 6th Abbasid 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 6th Abbasid issues.

11 These include the following mints and dates: Isbahan 202, 203, 204 and 205; and Muhammadiyah 202, 203 and 204.

12 BMC 95; Ties 893; Paris 699; Berlin 800; Tbg 71; 27 other specimens.

13 NHR 60a-c; BMC 116; Tbg 75; Berlin 840; Paris 718; 35 other specimens.
14. NHR 43a, b; Zambaur, *Contrib. I*, pp. 63-64, No. 43; 5 unpublished specimens.

15. NHR 44a, b; Zambaur, *Contrib. III*, p. 117, No. 402; Berlin 2089-90; Paris (2 uncatalogued).

16. Zambaur, *Contrib. I*, p. 64, No. 44.

17. NHR 47b; BMC 450.

18. See Chapter IV, No. 5(a) and Chapter V, No. 4(a).

19. BMC 97; Berlin 805; Ties 952; Casanova 398-399; ANS (uncatalogued); 4 other specimens.

20. NHR 64b, with reference to Zambaur, *Contrib. I*, p. 68, No. 52.

21. Paris 617; Fraehn 14; Berlin 653-654; Tbg 17; Ties 707; 14 other specimens. Y. Ghanimah, "al-Nuqād al-Abbāsiyyah," *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 107, mentions Salm ibn Qutaybah’s name on dirhams of Bāṣrah in 146 as the first time the name of an ‘Abbāsid governor is found on the coinage.

22. See Chapter II, No. 6.

23. NHR 41; Ties 698; Zambaur, *Contrib. I*, p. 63, No. 42; Paris (2 uncatalogued); 30 other specimens.

24. See Chapter IV, No. 2.

25. ANS (uncatalogued); see Chapter IV, F.N. 10.


27. See Chapter II, No. 3 on Bāṣrah.

28. See Chapter II, No. 2 on Kufah.

29. See Chapter III, Nos. 6 and 7.

30. See Chapter IV, Nos. 23 and 24; Chapter V, No. 22.

31. The frequency of silver and copper issues of the 24 mints surveyed in this study are tabulated in Appendix D.

32. The information included in the text and tables of J. Kirkman, "The Mints of Iraq During the Ommayad and ‘Abbāsid Periods," *Sumer* 3 (1945), pp. 15-36, is sometimes erroneous and has a number of glaring gaps in data.


35 Album 336, issued in the name of Ma'mūn with that of Harthamah (ibn A'yan).

36 Ziya 386, without any names.


40 See Chapter III, Introduction and under No. 13; also F.N.s 18 and 85.

41 The identification and location of Bajunays are discussed in Chapter III, Introduction.

42 The following data are derived from the total number of dirham specimens (published and unpublished) known to this writer, by decade for each mint:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>161-170 (No.)</th>
<th>171-180 (No.)</th>
<th>181-190 (No.)</th>
<th>191-200 (No.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rayy</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>1,094</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkh</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marw</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naysabur</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harat</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, 'Ali ibn Isa ibn Mahan (see Chapter V, No. 18), great quantities of dirhams were required. It is significant that Rayy was the city in which Harūn al-Rashīd 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.

43 See F.N. 36.

44 A region southeast of Marw al-Rūdh and east of Harat and Badghis (see map of Khurasan in Chapter V). Cf. Le Strange, Lands, pp. 415-416.

45 Ashmolean (ex-Thorburn collection, 1966). H.W. Codrington de-
scribes a dirham of Gharšištan (MC, 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 thalāthīn (30) for ḍahrīn (20) as the decade, in which case the coin could be properly classified as Umayyad.

46 See under No. 18 and Appendix B.

47 Miles, "Dinar," p. 298.

48 The first mint name east of Syria on Abbasid dinars is found on issues inscribed with al-Iraq, 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.

49 See Chapter VII, pp. 233-234.

50 Notice of this hoard will be included in the forthcoming Coin Hoards IV (London: Royal Numismatic Society [1978 or 1979]).
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

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 Abbāsid 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 Abbāsid 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 Abbāsid 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 Abbāsid 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 Ifriqiyyah (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 Abbāsids 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 Abbāsid 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 Abbāsids 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 ʿAbbasid 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 Ḥarūn 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 Harūn 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 ĞAbbāsid régime. Harūn's choice for governor of Khurāsān shortly thereafter of ĞAlī ibn ĞIsā 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 ĞṬāhir ibn al-Husayn over all the East in 205/821. When ĞṬāhir'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 ĞAbbāsid 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 ĞAbbāsid 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 atrihs, 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 fulus.

The dominant feature of Abbásid 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 Abbásid 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 Abbasid Empire.
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BGA. Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabororum.


IA. Cf. Ibn al-‘Athīr.

IAM. Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, League of Arab States, Cairo.


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RCEA. Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe. Cf. Wiet et al.


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-----. "Kabul," *EI* 2, IV, pp. 356-357.


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AGW. Cf. Miles, *Arabic Glass Weights*. 
Album, Stephen. Specimens in the collection of Stephen Album, Santa Rosa, California.


AMC. Cf. Tabātabā'ī.


ANSMN. American Numismatic Society Museum Notes.


Berlin, Assur. Hoard of dirhams unearthed by German expedition to Mesoopotamia (1900), and now preserved in the Berlin Museum, DDR [cited
in NHRJ.


--------. "Nachlese orientalischer Münzen," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 6-7 (1874-1875), pp. 1-21; 8 (1876), pp. 45-76.


BMC. Cf. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum.*


CAM. Cf. Miles, *Contributions to Arabic Metrology,* I and II.


CNS. Cf. Malmer and Rasmusson.


Copen. Cf. Østrup.


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FOK. Cf. Granberg.


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Khed. Cf. Lane-Poole, Catalogue ... Khedivial Library at Cairo.


_______. "Fasti Arabici, II. Mr. Calvert's Collection," NC, 3rd Ser., 5 (1885), pp. 229-236.
Lane-Poole, S. "Fasti Arabici, III. Mr. Theobald's Cabinet," *NC*, 3rd Ser., 5 (1885), pp. 327-332.

--------. "Fasti Arabici, IV. Mr. Leggett's Collection," *NC*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1886), pp. 227-232.

--------. "Oriental Coins at Christ Church, Oxford," *NC*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1886), pp. 233-238.


MH. Cf. Galib.


--------. "Catalogue of Islamic Coins (The Excavation of Herodian Jeri-


_______. "Dinar," EI² II, pp. 297-299.


MKG. Cf. Dzhalaganä.


NC. Numismatic Chronicle.


Nicolò Norman D. "The Dirhams of the 'ABBASID Governors of Basrah and Kufah, 132-218/750-833." Unpublished seminar paper, University of

NHR. Cf. Miles, The Numismatic History of Rayy.

NNM. American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs.


Rayy. Excavation coins listed by acquisition number in NHR.

RBC. Cf. Rogers.

Reşad. Reşad bey kolleksiyonu [cited in Artuk II].
RIC. Cf. Miles, Rare Islamic Coins.


SH. Hoard of Umayyad and Abbasid dirhams owned by Mr. Shenas, New York, and loaned to the author for study, through arrangements made by Dr. Michael L. Bates, American Numismatic Society.


APPENDIX A

ABBASID PRINCES APPOINTED TO GOVERNORSHIPS

Key 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 Khūrašān
APPENDIX B
NUMISMATIC DATA

The following tables list all known *Abbasid* silver and copper coinage for the period 132-218/750-833, emanating from the mints of Iraq (excluding Baghdad), Armenia, Jibal and Khurasan, 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 fals.

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 *Amir al-Muminin*, 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 *camil*; 2 is for *amir*.

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-Saffah
   2. al-Mansur
   3A. al-Mahdi as son of al-Mansur
3B. al-Mahdi as caliph
4A. al-Hadi as heir-apparent
4B. al-Hadi as caliph
4C. al-Hadi as son of al-Mahdi
5A. Harun al-Rashid as son of al-Mahdi
5B. Harun al-Rashid as heir-apparent
5C. Harun al-Rashid as caliph
6A. al-Ammin as son of Harun al-Rashid
6B. al-Ammin as heir-apparent
6C. al-Ammin as caliph
7A. al-Ma’mun as second heir-apparent
7B. al-Ma’mun as heir-apparent
7C. al-Ma’mun as son of Harun al-Rashid
7D. al-Ma’mun 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.
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| | Berlin 2079; Paris 1560; Paris (uncat). |
| | BMC 40; Paris 623; Berlin 659; Tbg 15; Ties 730; (60). |
| | BM (2 ined). |
| | BMC 41; Paris 624; Berlin 661; Tbg 26; Ties 738; (48). |
| | Ties 741; Fraehn 26; ANS (uncat). |
| | BMC 42; Ties 750; Berlin 663; Tbg 29; Cunha 585; (17). |
| | BMC 43; Berlin 664; MH 333; Paris 626; Ties 749; (46). |
| | Berlin 665; MH 338; Tbg 32a; Ties 761; Paris 627; (26). |
| | BMC 44; Berlin 666; Paris 629; Ties 762; MH 336; (51). |
| | BMC 95; Ties 893; Paris 699; Berlin 800; Tbg 71; (35). |</p>
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### Sāmiyah
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  - Naṣr

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Tbg Symb III, p. 16; Barth à Soret IV, p. 330, nr. 8; MKG I, p. 69, nrs. 51, (235); Pakh II, p. 105.

Berlin 964; Ties 2816; Khed 441; Pakh II, pp. 105-6; RBC 321; (5).

Ties 1513; Dorn 366; Miles, Tresor 2; MKG I, p. 109, nr. 116; Ermitage 336/574; (3).


Berlin 1246a; Ties 1610; Markov 626; Linder Welin NNA (1941), nr. 577; Ermitage 587/626; (6).

Ties 1609; Tbg Symb III, p. 11, nr. 18; CNS 2.38; 592; Pakh II, pp. 109-10; Gunha 517; (3).

Ties 1733a; Barth à Soret II, p. 78; nr. 4; Pakh II, p. 114; Vasmer Chron., col. 870.

Ties 2840; Markov 722; MH 554; Anderson Kochtel 191; Pakh II, p. 114; (2).
204 AR  
Asad ibn Yahyā/ al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'ūd  
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 Sa'ūd  
Tbg 308; Ties 1758; Pakh II, pp. 114-15; Vasmer Chron., col. 871.

204 AR  
Ahmad ibn Yahyā/ al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'ūd  
Tbg 309; Ties 1760; Vasmer Chron., col. 871; Pakh II, p. 115; Georgia hoard 324.

207 AR al-Ma'mūn Ḥīṣār  
47  
Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh/ʿAbdawayh  
Ties 1791; Pakh II, p. 116; Vasmer Chron., col. 872; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 165, nr. 264; Fraehn Sprewitz 189; (2).

217 AR ʿAbd 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-Rahmān ibn Ḥāqān  
51.c  
Linder Welin NMA (1941), nr. 607 (CNS 2.38:611).

218 AR ʿAbd al-ʿAbbās ibn A.M.  
51.a  
RIC 264.

218 AR ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥāqān  
51.c  
Pakh II, p. 127; Cunha 518; Vasmer Chron., col. 879; Allan NC (1919), p. 195; BM (uncat).
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Nesselmann 191; Qazzāz (Sumer 1965) 16/7945; (5).

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).

Berlin 956; Ties 1422; Pakh II, p. 98; MKG I, p. 66, nr. 40; Vasmer Khron., p. 396.

Berlin 2171; Ties 1405; Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 70, nr. 5; Pakh II, p. 98; Paris (uncat.); (7).

Paris 774; Berlin 957; Tbg 202; CNS 1.13(j):51; Dorn 308; (13).

Ash (ined.).

Ties 1423; Paris 773; Pakh II, pp. 99-100; MKG I, p. 108, nr. 110; ANS (2 uncat.); (5).

Ties 1439; Markov 525; Dorn 329; Fraehn 221; Qazzāz (Sumer 1965) 17/7945; (13).

Ties 1459; Pakh II, p. 101; Azerbaijan 323.
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**Arrān**

193 AE al-ʿAbbās ibn Zufar 33

194 AR Asad ibn Yazīd 36

195 AR Asad ibn Yazīd 36

196 AR ʿIṣḥāq ibn Sulaymān 38

196 AR Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad 39 7D

197 AR Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad 39 7D

**Madīnat Arrān**

197 AR Sulaymān 40

Dhū al-Riʿāsatayn 7D

**Arrān**

197 AE al-ʿAbbās ibn Zufar 41

Salm

**Madīnat Arrān**

198 AR ... ibn ʿAbd Allāh 42

Ties 1684; Tbg 278; Pakh II, pp. 35

RIC 365; Pakh II, pp. 107-8; Azerbaijan hoard 3047; GIM (uncat); Album.

FOK 526; Zambaur coll.

Fraehn 244; Ties 1524; Vasmer Khron.; p. 399; Pakh II, p. 109.

Markov 644; Pakh II, p. 110; Ermitage (2 uncat).

Ties 1642; Fraehn 277; Casanova 522; Fahmy 1912; Dorn 425; (13).

Ties 1659; Fraehn 279; Dorn Add.N.S., p. 230, nr. 279; Pakh II, p. 112; GIM (uncat).

Markov 659-60; Pakh II, p. 112; Vasmer Chron., col. 868.

Zambaur, Contrib. I., p. 72, nr. 64; Vasmer Khron., pp. 397-8; Chron., cols. 869-70.
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**Dabīl**

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Dabīl

159 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd 9 2
187 AE Muḥammad ibn Yazīd 29
187 AE Khuzaymah ibn Khāzim 30

Vasmer Khron., p. 396, fn. 19.
Markov 520a; Vasmer Khron., pp. 396–97.

Bardacīn

142 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd 4
143?AE Yazīd ibn Usayd 4

Pakh VII, pp. 35-6, nr. 1775a; Paris (uncat).
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
158 AE al-Ḥasan 7

Ties 850; Stickel L.
Berlin 2133; Ties 2766; Markov 164;
Barth à Soret IV, pp. 328–9, nr. 5;
Blau Odessa 63; (3).

158 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd 9 2
159 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd 9 2

Paris 1557.
Berlin 2134–5; Ties 887; Markov 169–
70; Shertsl 5926; (4).

163 AE Yazīd ibn Usayd 9 2

RIC 367; Ties 726, 2769; Fraehn N.S.,
p. 10, nr. 69b; Barth à Soret IV, p.
329, nr. 6.

Paris (ined).

166 AE ʿUthmān 11 2
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<td>14 4F</td>
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Maçdan Bajunays

192 AR
Umm Ja'far/Da'ud 6A
Ties 1525; Fraehn 247; Markov 578;
Dorn 369; CNS 2.38; 474 (Linder
Welin NNA (1941), nr. 461); (4).

193 AR
C A (letter CAYN) 6A
Paris 847; Fraehn 252.

194 AR
Umm Ja'far/Da'ud 6A
Fraehn 258; Dorn 408.

194 AR
Da'ud/Sard 6C
Fraehn 257; Markov 611; MKG I, p.
125, nr. 174; Album 337.

194 AR
C Ubayd 6C
RIC 245; Ties 2820; Markov 611; MKG
I, p. 125, nr. 173.

195 AR
Da'ud/Sard 6A
Paris (ined).

195 AR
Da'ud/Sard 6C
RIC 247; FOK 88.

195 AR
Umm Ja'far/CUSRUR 6C
Ties 1604; MKG I, p. 174, nr. 70.

195 AR
al-Sayyid Umm al-
Khilafah 6C
Ties 1519; FOK 1581; Vasmer Dva
klada, p. 31, nr. 15.

195 AR
C Ubayd 6C
Ties 1603; Tbg 249; Dorn 414; Artuk
279.

196 AR
Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn
Ash (ined).

196 AR
C Abd al-Malik ibn
al-Jahhāf 6C
Ties 1620; Tbg 253; Fraehn 272;
Vasmer Chron. col. 869.

197 AR
C Abd al-Malik ibn
al-Jahhāf 6C
Ties 1621; Fraehn 273; Fraehn
Sprewitz 243; Vasmer Chron. col. 322
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6; Markov 766; Vasmer *Chron.*, col. 877.

Ermitage 766c (Kiev hoard, 1913); Vasmer *Chron.*, col. 877; Album 339.

Markov 768; Vasmer *Chron.*, col. 877.

Berlin 1418; Tbg 324a; Ties 1828; SH 291 (now ANS); Shertsl 6140; (3).
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Rayy

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).

Muhammadiyah

NHR 50B; BMC 49; Paris 648; Berlin 690; Tbg 34; (66).

NHR 51A-D; BMC 50; Berlin 692; Paris 649; Tbg 37; (110).

Fayy

NHR 51E; Cunha 1106; Rayy (uncat).

Muhammadiyah

NHR 52A-D; BMC 51; Tbg 40; Berlin 696; FOK 299; (77).
Muḥammad ʿIyāh

150 AR Muḥammad ʾibn A. M. 5.a Salm

150 AE " 5.a

151 AR " 5.a

151 AE " 5.a

158 AE cUmar ʾibn Sinān? 3A

158 AE al-Ḥasan 3A

Rayy

160 AE Ḥamzah ʾibn Malik 6 (or ʾibn Haytham?)

160 AE Ḥamzah ʾibn Malik 6 (or ʾibn Haytham?)

162 AR al-Ṭāhir ʾibn Ṭalḥah 7

163 AE Kulthūm ʿibn Ḥafṣ 8

164 AE Kulthūm ʿibn Ḥafṣ 8

Muḥammad ʿIyāh

Qazzās (Sumer 1962) 1/8453.

NHR 52F-C; Berlin 2103-4; Ties 795; Barth & Soret I, p. 352, nr. 52; Album 70; (12).

Paris (ined.).

NHR 53; BMC 52; Paris 653; Berlin 701; Tbg 45; (46).

NHR 58; Ties 879; Barth & Soret I, pp. 353-4, nr. 54; Ziya 284.

Ziya 381.

NHR 60F; Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 67, nr. 49; ANS (uncat); GCM (2); BM (uncat); (9).

NHR 62; Ties 924; Dorn 118; Casanova 412; Lane-Poole NC (1886), p. 228.

NHR 63B-C; Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 68, nr. 51; Augst 6; Rayy (uncat); Paris (2 uncat).

NHR 64A; Paris 1612; Ties 960; GCM; Rayy (2 uncat); (6).
Muḥammadīyah

164 AE Khalaf ibn Ābd Allāh 9

4A NHR 64B; Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 68, nr. 52.

165 AE Khalaf 9

4A Album 155.

165 AE āI (letter ֚אֵי) 10

4A NHR 65B-C; Zambaur Contrib. I, p. 68, nrs. 53-4.

168 AR S (letter ײּ) 11

3B/4A NHR 68D; Marsden XXXII.

Rayy

168 AR Sa’d 11

NHR 68E; MH 46-47; Berlin (uncat.); Istanbul (uncat.).

Muḥammadīyah

170 AR Yazīd

4B Ziya 389-90.

170 AR Dāʾūd

5C NHR 70E; MH 497.

171 AR Dāʾūd

5C NHR 71B; Ties 1124; MH 498; Anderson Kochtel 80; Markov 348; (?) 171 AR Hārith/Jārīb? Š (letter ificates) 5C/6A NHR 71C; Berlin 1077; MH 924; Deniz Def 453; Pakh IX, p. 39, nr. 2107.

172 AR Dāʾūd 5C NHR 72A; BMC 190; Paris 812; Berlin 1078-9; Trg 140b; (35).

172 AR Hārith/Jārīb? Š (letter ificates) NHR 72B; BMC 191; Khed 467; Deniz Def 453; ANS (uncat.).
<table>
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Muhammadiah

177 AR

Da'ud 6A NHR 77D; Ties 1230; Paris 814bis.

177 AR

Ja'far ibn Yahyā/ cAbd Allah 5G Qazzās (Sumr 1965) 8904.

177 AE

al-Abbas ibn Muhammad NHR 77E-G; MH 780; Paris 1614; Berlin 2193; (7).

nd AE

al-Abbas ibn Muhammad 6A-B NHR 78; Berlin 2206-7; Zambaur Contrib. III, p. 118, nr. 405; ANS (uncat); BM (uncat).

178 AR

A'shūrān 6B NHR 79C; Berlin, Assur.

179 AR al-Fadl 13 NHR 80D; Istanbul (uncat).

179 AR

A'shūrān 6B NHR 80A; Berlin, Assur.

179 AR

A'shūrān 6B NHR 80B-C; Paris 815; Denis Def 464-5; Berlin, Assur.

Rayy

179 AR Muhammad ibn Yahyā 14 Ja'far 6A-B NHR 80E; Paris 793; Ties 1260; Tbg Symb II, 25; Paris (uncat); ANS (2 uncat); (2).

Muhammadiah

180 AR

Ja'far 6A NHR 81A-B; BMC 196; Berlin 1086; Tbg 162; FOK 431; (80).

180 AR Muhammad ibn Yahyā 14 Ja'far 6A NHR 81C; Paris 816; Berlin 1087; 320
Muḥammadīyah

181 AR Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā 14 Ja'far 6A Khed 472; Ties 1276; (50).
181 AR Ja'far 6A Qazzāz (SUMER 1965) 3/7945.
181 AR Asad 6B NHR 82A; BMC 197; Paris 817; Berlin 1090; Markov 437; (146).
181 AR NHR 82B; Deniz Def 469; Berlin, Assur.
182 AR Ja'far 6A-B NHR 83A-H; Berlin 1094; Paris 818; BMC 198; Tbg 176a; (172).
182 AR Ja'far/S (letter sīn) 6A NHR 83I; Ties 1320; Ziya 445.
182 AR Dāʿūd/Asad 6A NHR 83J; Ties 1314a; Markov 459; MKG I, p. 169, nr. 53; Berlin, Assur.
183 AR Ja'far 6A-B NHR 84B-C; Ties 2796; Berlin 1098; FOK 201; BMC 198a; (82).
183 AR Dāʿūd 6A NHR 84E; Khed 480; Deniz Def 472; MKG I, p. 112, nr. 126; Markov 477.
183 AR Ja'far/S (letter sīn) 6A NHR 84A; BMC 199; Paris 819; Berlin 1102; Tbg 181; (69).
183 AR cAbd/cUbayd?/Muḥammad AMC 23,5j.t.
184 AR Ja'far 6A NHR 85E; Ties 2800; Dorn 285.
184 AR Ja'far/S (letter sīn) 6A NHR 85A; BMC 200; Berlin 1105; Ties 1357; Khed 481; (86).

33
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Jayy

136 AE cAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim

150 AE al-Mahdī Muḥammad ibn 5.a A.M.

SaCīṭd

Paris (ined.).

Madīnat Jayy

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).

Jayy

174 AE

Yahyā ibn MuCādh

Paris (4 ined.).

181 AE Muḥammad

14 al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Jannāḥ

Paris 1572.

182 AE Muḥammad

14 Barmak

Paris (ined.).

191 AE

al-Ḥasan ibn Jannāḥ?

Miles, Persepolis nr. 505; BM (3 uncat).

Hamadān

133 AE no mint name

Zuhayr ibn al-Turkī

ANS (ined.).

147 AE

Cūmar ibn Salm

Paris 1691; Berlin 2122; Ties 2628; BM (uncat.).
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<td>3A, Ties 835; RIC 396; Paris (uncat).</td>
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<td>6A, Paris 1553; Berlin 2191–2; RIC 397–400; Album 268; Paris (4 uncat).</td>
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341
Madīnat Marw

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Madīnat Balkh

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| 193 AR | H (letter ḥā') | Tbg 235; Khed 452; Fraehn 251; RBC 332; CNS 2.38:278; BM (uncat). |
| 194 AR | al-Faḍl | BMC 237a; Khed 525; Berlin 1259; Ties 1591; Tbg 257; (16). |
| 195 AR | al-Faḍl | Berlin 1261; Tbg 259a; Ties 1613; Cunha 632; Dorn 415; (?) |
| 195 AR | al-Faḍl | Berlin 1349; MH 570; Tbg 259; Ties 1626; Artuk 301; (11). |

| 196 AR al-Faḍl | 22 | RIC 249. |
| 196 AR Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn | 22 | BMC 282; Ties 1647; Album 316. |
| 197 AR Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn | 22 | Berlin 1352; Ties 2828. |
| 199 AR Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn | 22 | FOK 1615. |
| 202 AE Ghassān (?) | 23 | BMC 168. |

### Naysābūr/Abrashahr

### Madīnat Abrashahr

| 190 AR | al-Faḍl | Tbg 216; CNS 2.38:245. |

### Naysābūr

| 191 AE ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā | 18 | ʿUḥr (ibn Muḥammad?) |

192 AR
Naṣr ibn Sa'd

BMC 160b; Paris 771; Berlin 952; Ties 1517; Dorn 367; (10).

193 AR
Naṣr ibn Sa'd

Berlin 953; Artuk 243; Ties 1548; Ṭeṣadh 299; Dorn 390; (2).

193 AR
Ḥamawayh

BMC 229; Paris 849; Berlin 1238; Copen 348; Ties 1540; (12).

193 AR
Cuthmān

BMC 245; Paris 850; Tbg 236; Ties 1561; Cunha 1043; (2).

194 AR
Cuthmān

Codrington NG (1902), p. 270; Album 358; Ash (uncat).

194 AR
Jibrayl

Paris 866; Khed 533; Cunha 1044.

194 AR
al-Fādūl

Berlin 1297; Fahmy 1921; Dorn 404; Artuk 282; Ties 1583; (10).

195 AR
al-Fādūl

Paris 867; Cunha 1045; Dorn 416; Fahmy 1922; Album 361; (2).

195 AR
al-Fādūl

Tbg 260; Ties 1627; Markov 632; MKG I, p. 126, nr. 176; Album 360; (2).

195 AR
al-Fādūl/Iṣmā'īl

Ties 1628; Anderson Kochtel 161; Zambaur Contrib. III, p. 118, nr. 406; Fraehn ms. XI, p. 148, nr. 224.

196 AR al-Fādūl

BMC 300; Ties 1641; Cunha 1047; Dorn 34.
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346
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APPENDIX C

PROVINCIAL REVENUES FROM EARLY ĈABBĀSID 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-Kāshīd and two from Maʿmūn's. The latter are not entirely accurate, as one is taken from tax rolls covering a period that extends beyond the death of Maʿmūn; whereas, the other is a list of revenues for the eastern provinces under the control of Ĉabd Allāh ibn Tāhir. The table lists the provincial tax revenues by these sources:


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.

In some cases several districts are listed separately on one roll and placed together on another. **Note:** All figures are in dirhams.

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*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).

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NORMAN DOUGLAS NICOL


Parents: Charles S. Nicol and Dorothy L. Nicol.

Education: 1964: Graduated from Dallas Senior High School
Dallas, Pennsylvania.
1972: B.A. Degree in History, King's College
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.
1973: M.A. Degree in History
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1979: Ph.D. Degree in History
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