THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE SPACES BETWEEN THE TEETH:
ENVIRONMENT, SETTLEMENT, AND INTERACTION
ON THE ISLAMIC-BYZANTINE FRONTIER

VOLUME ONE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

A. ASA EGER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2008

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE SPACES BETWEEN THE TEETH:
ENVIRONMENT, SETTLEMENT, AND INTERACTION
ON THE ISLAMIC-BYZANTINE FRONTIER

VOLUME TWO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

A. ASA EGER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2008

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the product of much wonderful collaboration and could not have been done without the inspiration, motivation, assistance, and cooperation of a large and significant group of individuals. First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Prof. Donald Whitcomb, who pushed me towards the murky world of frontiers and marshes, knowing that I would soon happily submerge myself within it. His continued guidance and constant support, not to mention his sharing of his own past research into the swamps of the *thughūr* frontier, were invaluable and at times, a necessary life-raft. I would also like to thank the other two members of my committee, Profs. Fred Donner and Walter Kaegi, whose previous and continued historical insights into the *thughūr*, provided me with important parameters to the study which helped to balance the work. Indeed, all three scholars have returned to the *thughūr* many times throughout their scholarship, and together formed the perfect team for a study in *thughūr*-ology. I would also like to thank Dr. Adam Smith who, as an outside reader, provided an important anthropological perspective on the research.

The fieldwork for this project spanned six summers, from 2001 to 2006. Work in Turkey and in research collections at Princeton and Cornell would not have been possible without the continued summer financial assistance of the Helen Rich Fellowship and Edward Ryerson Fellowship. Equally, I am incredibly grateful to the Dolores Zohrab Liebmann Fellowship for a generous two-year grant during the dissertation writing stage. On the ground, many people were helpful during the course

of my fieldwork. First of these is Dr. Andrea de Giorgi, my colleague and partner-in-crime in all of my exploits in Turkey who has been a wonderful co-field archaeologist, road companion, and dear friend. For the Amuq Survey, I would particularly like to thank Prof. Tony Wilkinson for initially taking me on board and teaching me first-hand the techniques of survey and landscape archaeology. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Jesse Casana who not only provided valuable comments on the dissertation, but strongly encouraged the pursuit of 'late period' research on the Amuq Survey and who has remained an important colleague and friend throughout my research. Thanks also must go to Drs. Aslıhan Yener, David Schloen, Fokke Gerritsen, Rana Özbal, Tasha Vorderstrasse, Timothy Harrison, Steve Batiuk, and Amir Sumak'ai Fink for their immeasurable encouragement and collaboration. For the Domuztepe excavations, I would particularly like to thank Dr. Liz Carter and Dr. Stuart Campbell for allowing me the honor of 'piggy-backing' on their wonderful Halaf site, scraping off the "late" layers for my own mysterious purposes. This could not have been done without my keen co-supervisior Liz Mullane, the assistance of Mhairi Campbell, and wonderful specialist expertise by Claire Heywood, Dr. Ben Gearey, Will Fletcher, Kate Grossman, and Robert Tate. For the Kahramanmaraş survey, I would like to reiterate my gratitude to Liz Carter who carted sack after sack of pottery for me to examine and drove me around the plain to inspect the sites she had surveyed years ago. Finally, for the Kinet Höyük/Tüpraş Field survey and soundings, I am indebted to Dr. Scott Redford, who encouraged me to come and do fieldwork along this lovely if not sweltering stretch of coast. Equally, I owe a debt of gratitude to

Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates for her graciousness and strong interest in accommodating my project. Further thanks must go to the rest of my collaborators on the project: Dr. Timothy Beach, Fran Cole, Dr. Salima Ikram, Ben Claasz Coockson, Rado Kabatiarova, Mert Çatalbaş, Sezen Kayhan, and Ahmet Çağan.

Throughout the way, several people have provided me with useful insights and comments great and small who must be thanked: Dr. Alastair Northedge, Dr. Hugh Kennedy, Prof. McGuire Gibson, Prof. Gil Stein, Prof. Scott Branting, Prof. Seth Richardson, Prof. John Woods, Dr. Ian Straughn, Dr. Jason Ur, Dr. Carrie Hritz, Linda Wheatley-Irving, and Rana Mikati. I would also like to single out the outstanding members of the small but lively Dissertation Support Group (Alyssa Gabbay, Pat Wing, Mayte Green, Adrian de Gifis, Vanessa de Gifis, Jonathan Brown, Yuval ben Bassat, Nukhet Varlık, and Noha Forster) for their sharp discerning critiques and warm tea gatherings. I am also indebted to Katie Johnson and Sang Lee, whose meticulous editing of the dissertation proved an amazing help. Finally, I must thank my friends and family. My Chicago (Inverts) and New Jersey (FRN) friends, none of whom study archaeology or Islam, were the most amazingly comforting, intellectually challenging, and thoroughly grounding family I could ever ask for while writing the dissertation. A last note of gratitude is for my family, particularly my parents, whose persistent support and encouragement enabled me to navigate the murky wilderness and traverse this personal frontier.

ABSTRACT

The Islamic-Byzantine frontier *(al-thughūr*) traditionally has been described either as a "no-man's land" or as a closed fortified border dominated by a line of castles. Such perceptions convey a sense of propaganda and hyperbole, as the frontier was neither an empty wilderness nor a delineated boundary. These views have become particularly intransigent in scholarship due to a disciplinary frontier that separates history from archaeology which hinders the use of archaeological evidence in historical inquiry. Through an interdisciplinary approach that combines landscape archaeology with frontier theory, the dissertation re-examines the frontier by looking at its environment and settlement. More specifically, the study examines how anthropogenic manipulations affected the environment and how subsequent environmental change led to settlement adaptation. These processes help to dictate the nature of interaction of groups across the frontier. Using data from three surveys and two excavations undertaken by the author in the Amuq Valley, Kahramanmaraş Valley, and the Plain of Issos in Turkey, the study builds a diachronic narrative of environment, settlement, and interaction in the Early Islamic period (seventh-tenth centuries). Furthermore, the narrative analyzes these processes with earlier and later evidence from the Byzantine and Middle Islamic periods, respectively.

The narrative produced three layers of frontier interaction: external, internal, and ideological. External interaction was an annual competition for grazing lands and other resources by pastoralist tribes that shared the pasture rich marshland plains in the

winter and migrated seasonally to the Byzantine controlled uplands in the summer. Internal interaction occurred between the central state and the desire to control frontier societies, often the home of local powers and political outlaws in inaccessible marshlands or mountains. Transhumance interaction and core-periphery relations are not unique to the Islamic-Byzantine frontier or frontiers in general but part of upland-lowland environmental frontiers that occur throughout history. However, a third layer, the political-religious ideology of holy war (*jihād*) to justify the back and forth annual raids between Muslims and Christians was imposed from central lands to internally control the mixed frontier societies; galvanizing them towards an external threat. This ideological interaction gives the Islamic-Byzantine frontier a historical poignancy.

The dissertation contributes to the fields of Islamic archaeology and Islamic history in three ways. The ambiguous Byzantine-Islamic transition is partially untangled through close study of its ceramics and settlement patterns. The focus on rural and peripheral settlements expands on the entrenched assumption of Islam as an urban religion emanating from a central core. Finally, the dissertation attempts to bridge the disciplinary frontier between archaeology and history by using landscape archaeology to view the frontier not solely through historical events but in layered frameworks that better accommodate the various perceptions and processes that comprised the frontier.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
AST	*Araştırma Sonucları Toplantısı*
Borders Barriers	*Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by F. Curta. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.
Castrum 3	*Guerre, fortification et habitat dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge*, edited by A. Bazzana. Castrum 3. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988.
Castrum 4	*Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge*, edited by J. -M. Poisson. Castrum 4. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1992.
Castrum 7	*Zones côtières littorales dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge: défense, peuplement, mise en valeur*, edited by J. -M. Martin. Castrum 7. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2001.
Céramique Byzantine	*La Céramique Byzantine et Proto-Islamique en Syrie-Jordanie (IVe-VIIIe siècles apr. J.-C.),* edited by E. Villeneuve & P.M. Watson. Beirut: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2001.
Continuity and Change	*Continuity and Change in Northern Mesopotamia from the Hellenistic to the Early Islamic Period*: *Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at the Seminar für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde, Freie Universität Berlin, 6th–9th April, 1994*, edited by K. Bartl and S. Hauser. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1996.
EI2	*Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs.

Frontier in Perspective	*The Frontier in Perspective*, edited by W. Wyman and C. Kroeber. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957.
Frontiers in Question	*Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700,* edited by D. Powers and N. Standen. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999
KST	*Kazı Sonucları Toplantısı*
Medieval Frontiers	*Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, edited by D. Abulafia and N. Berend. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002.
Medieval Frontier Societies	*Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by R. Bartlett and A. MacKay. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
MEHAT	Middle Eastern History and Theory Conference
Shifting Frontiers	*Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity: Papers from the First Interdisciplinary Conference on Late Antiquity, The University of Kansas, March 1995*, edited by R. W. Mathisen and H. S. Sivan. Aldershot, Great Britain, 1996.
TAÇDAM	*Ilısu ve Karkamış Baraj Gölleri Altında Kalacak Arkeolojik ve Kültür Varlıklarını Projesi* [Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities], edited by T. Numan, J. Özturk, and J. Velibeyoğlu. 4 Vols. Ankara: METU, 1999-2002.

.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIVIDE ACROSS THE ISLAMIC-BYZANTINE FRONTIER

At the farthest edges of the Empire was the frontier. Beyond that lay unexplored space. Every man that fled into that wilderness dragged the frontier with him. The frontier followed willingly, and after a while, when that particular piece of itself matured, it became a part of the Empire, and the state of mind known as frontier had moved on. Thus, the Empire grew.[1]

I. Unexplored Spaces

The moment when the Islamic-Byzantine frontier was created should reveal something of the conflict and clash of the two armies contending over the same territory. However, there was no clash. Rather anti-climactically, the Arabs found a ghost country. Curiously, both Islamic and Byzantine written sources are in accord as to the events surrounding the formation of the frontier. When the Arab armies arrived both sets of sources depict the frontier as a wilderness, a no-man's land whose forts were destroyed and whose inhabitants had been deliberately removed in a scorched-earth policy in the wake of Heraclius' retreat: "What is known to us is that Heraclius moved the men from these forts, which he shattered [*sha'athaha*]. So when the Muslims made their raids, they found them vacant."[2] Upon leaving, Heraclius

[1] D. Gerrold, *Space Skimmer* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), 10–11.

[2] al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār al-Nashr lil-Jāmi'īyīn, 1957–1958), 224. Translation following P. K. Hitti, trans., *Origins of the Islamic State* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002), 253.

allegedly utters from the Cilician Gates north of Ṭarsūs: "'Peace unto thee, O Syria, and what an excellent country this is for the enemy' — referring to the numerous pastures in Syria."[3] Indeed, when the Arab armies arrived at Ṭarsūs, they found it abandoned and in ruin. Similarly, the sites of Mar'ash and Sīs (or Sīsiya) were abandoned by the Byzantines, who fled to the mountains and left these cities to fall into ruin (*kharāb*).[4] Accounts use the word *'imāra* (rebuild), but whose root has a greater range of implications than simply restoring buildings. The word refers to cultivated land, crops, or food supplies unavailable to the Arab armies due to Heraclius' destruction of the land.[5] In a larger sense, the word connotes becoming prosperous, populous, and civilized. It also has meaning in a religious and obligatory sense, used for the Hajj pilgrimage (*'umra*). These wider meanings add a level of necessity to rebuilding: the need to create something that was better than its predecessor. As such, despite the remains of a preexisting civilization, the perception of the Arab armies of their frontier environment was not only as a wilderness but as unexplored space.

However, the verb *sha'athaha* (from *sha'atha,* meaning "to dishevel, ruffle") suggests that he did not destroy the forts but allowed them to fall into disrepair.

[3] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 186. Translation following Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State,* 210; L. I. Conrad argues that the Heraclius' farewell salute is a literary topos that may still have a historical basis. For a discussion of this historical moment in sources, see L. I. Conrad, "Heraclius in Early Islamic Kerygma," in *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, eds. G. J. Renink and B. H. Stolte (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002).

[4] Ibn Shaddād, *al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra*, Vol. 2 (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1956–1991), 153 (for Ṭarsūs), 128 (for Mar'ash), 127 (for Sīs). The book was written in the thirteenth century.

[5] Conrad, "Heraclius in Early Islamic Kerygma," 146.

A century later and on the other side of the Islamic world, the Umayyads were negotiating a similar frontier with the Asturians in Spain (al-Andalus). When the Umayyad armies (comprising Arabs and Berbers) arrived they established the northern frontier at the Duero Valley, which they noted was "depopulated."[6] Like Heraclius, Alfonso II took the existing population and left the valley an empty land that was then settled or populated (*repoblación)* by Arab and Berber tribes. Several scholars have shown that the zones were not in fact empty, but void of administration and lacking infrastructure such as hydraulic installations (*desertus et incultus locus*). Furthermore, they reinterpreted the verb *poblar* not necessarily to mean "to populate" but "to organize an area administratively," which had further territorial implications. The *populator* was a ruler who not only gathered his people together but organized the cultivation of a previously uncultivated territory.[7] The association with the first Arab and Berber tribes and the need to not only populate, but administrate and cultivate an emptied space is strikingly similar to the Islamic-Byzantine frontier.

The frontier as a wilderness would not resonate from the archaeological evidence, perhaps supporting the fact that these events were stories rather than eyewitness testimony. Excavations at major frontier sites such as Ṭarsūs, Anṭākiya, and Sumaysāṭ

---

[6] T. F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 113. Like the Islamic-Byzantine frontier, the Spanish frontier or "march": was also known as the *thughūr.* It was north of the Pyrenees Mountains and divided into three areas: the lower, middle, and upper. This last one, the upper frontier (*al-thughūr al-aʿlā*), was also variously known as the farther frontier (*al-thughūr al-aqṣā*), the great frontier (*al-thughūr al-akbar*), or the supreme frontier (*al-thughūr al-aʿẓam*), and included the main cities of Huesca and Barbitaniya. Similar to the Islamic-Byzantine *thughūr*, these frontiers were not precise, static lines but expanded and contracted over time.

[7] E. Manzano Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier: Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, Eighth to Eleventh Centuries," in *Frontiers in Question*, 32-54; Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 114.

show no dramatic destruction, ruin, or burning of the cities in the seventh century C.E. Rather, evidence of excavations and surveys in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia have shown continuity in settlement from the sixth to seventh centuries into Early Islamic period. For example, a recent reassessment of the excavations of the frontier urban site of Anṭākiya (former Antioch) and the rural site of Déhès in the Syrian Jebels (also known as the Dead Cities, *massif calcaire*, or limestone massif) led to a significant redating. At Anṭākiya, the main colonnaded street, originally thought to be abandoned by the mid-sixth century C.E. was redated as having been built in the mid- to late seventh century. At Déhès, the earliest floors dated to the first half of the seventh century, rather than the fourth century as previously thought.[8] In Spain, the persistence of habitation of seventh and eighth century sites with Roman or Gothic and Arab and Berber toponyms belies any depopulation. The idea of an empty frontier falls in line with an academic view that has been strongly questioned and largely abandoned in the last thirty years, namely, the decline of settlement in the seventh century.

Although archaeological investigation would normally not expect to perceive short-term depopulation followed by resettlement, the type of depopulation described in the historical sources seems doubtful. Deliberate destruction and the burning of forts would leave archaeological traces, besides involving an excessive amount of labor for a people in retreat. Furthermore, while many city-dwelling elites and garrisons may have fled with the Islamic conquests, many other peoples remained, particularly those

[8] J. Magness, *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 344.

peoples settled in rural areas, many of which were monastic and other Christian communities of non-Chalcedonian Monophysite orders. They welcomed the new rulers who administered the territory with great religious tolerance, in contrast to the Orthodox theological persecution under the Byzantines. Islamic settlement was initially very limited and focused on administrative urban areas, as demonstrated by R. Schick for the Christian communities in Palestine immediately following the conquest.[9] Settlement probably would have been even more marginal on the edges of Islamic territory. Arab tribes who practiced nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralism were also part of the landscape, but often archaeologically invisible. An empty landscape of smoke and ruin seems unlikely.

Creating a concept of a mythic wilderness is a powerful legitimizing tool for a new rising power and important to the construction of a new ideological frontier. Abandoned buildings and burned lands can imply a time ripe for a new beginning and, metaphorically speaking, new growth. Indeed, the same themes of ruin and compulsion to rebuild using the civilizing concept of *ʻimāra* repeats in key moments of political maneuvering in the Early Islamic frontier. Both the sites of Adhana and Maṣṣīṣa were described as ruined (and abandoned) until the ʻAbbāsids arrived, thus denying an Umayyad historical claim to the sites. Similarly, al-Mahdī at the start of the ʻAbbāsid caliphate sent his Khurāsānī horsemen to Ṭarsūs only to find it in ruin, which he then ordered rebuilt. Not long after, Hārūn al-Rashīd did the same for Ṭarsūs

[9] R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*: *An Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995).

in 806–07 C.E.[10] A. Smith draws comparisons among similar phenomena in history, using the establishment of the Urartian state and Theodore Roosevelt to elaborate his point: "Both rulers were speaking of 'wildernesses' that had been occupied by other peoples for centuries; by reclassifying them as 'waste spaces,' expansion was not only conscionable, it was mandated."[11]

At the onset, the Islamic-Byzantine frontier was perhaps not such a wilderness as previously emphasized. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that there are two visions of the frontier, each supported by its own categories of evidence (historical or archaeological). As such, the frontier occupies a discursive realm, an ideological layer superimposed on a physical landscape. Interestingly, the frontier is re-imagined throughout history. If one were to represent a divided or unexplored frontier, it would be the epistemological realm of ideas between historical and archaeological interpretations of its own meaning.

---

[10] Ibn Shaddād, *al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra,* 150.

[11] A. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 23. Interestingly, a similar event occurred in 965 C.E. when, after most of the *thughūr* had been reconquered by the Byzantines, Nicephorus asked the Syrian Jacobites to resettle the area, filling in the "deserted" towns. J. -M. Fiey, "The Syriac Population of the Thughūr al-Shāmiya and the 'Awāṣim, and its Relation with the Byzantines and Muslims," in *Bilād al-Shām during the 'Abbāsid Period (132 A.H./750 A.D.–451 A.H./1059 A.D.)*, Proceedings of the Vth International Conference on Bilad al-Sham, eds. M. A. al-Bakhit and R. Schick (Amman: Lajnat Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām, 1991), 43. See also I. Kopytoff who calls this process the creation of an institutional vacuum: "The definition of the frontier as 'empty' is political and made from the intruders' perspective." "The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture," in *The African Frontier: The Reporoduction of Traditional African Societies*, ed. I. Kopytoff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 25.

II. Frontiers in Islamic Archaeology

Disciplinary gaps and challenges are most evident in attempting to define the relatively fledgling field of Islamic archaeology. Islamic archaeology, as a relative newcomer to a crowded stage of specialized archaeologies, in many ways has yet to define itself, striking a balance with how it is internally negotiated and how other fields view it. As such, the challenges inherent in its self-definition parallel the formation of the Islamic frontier. Three of these main challenges will be addressed here as starting points: 1) archaeology and its relation to history, 2) the traditional association of Islamic archaeology as an urban phenomenon and the relationship between core and periphery, and 3) the question of continuity and change in the transitional seventh century.

Archaeology and History

Despite attempts in modern scholarship to mediate the two forms of historical inquiry through an interdisciplinary approach, the fields of Islamic archaeology and Islamic history continue to operate in separate spheres, only occasionally utilizing, in uncritical and cursory ways, information the other field has produced.[12] Ideally, the two fields of historical archaeology and history should complement each other. The

[12] M. Rautmann, "Archaeology and Byzantine Studies," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990): 137–65. The archaeological/historical or text/artifact divide has been the focus of several recent conferences and panel discussions, most notably the panel on Islamic archaeology and history with papers given by R. Mikati, "The Predicament of Islamic Archaeology" and K. L. Johnson, "Historical Archaeology in Ottoman Studies" (papers presented at the annual meeting of MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2007); and various papers at a conference entitled "Text Envy and Artifact Allure" at the University of Chicago, 2007.

documentary evidence of the historian supplies mainly rich political and religious information, although the source material is often retrospective, elitist, and government approved. The material culture of the archaeologist provides insight into daily life, social and economic history, and patterns of urban and rural society, or to put it in a general way, the tangible (and often lower class) areas of society.[13] This evidence, too, can be frustrating for the historian and archaeologist alike, as contexts and stratification are not always known, dating is broad, and artifact typologies can be safely treated only as regional phenomena.

In addition to the source-based problems, there are, of course, methodological obstacles that would prevent the archaeologist or historian from fully grasping and interpreting each other's work. Archaeological reports are often alien and incomprehensible to historians (and even, at times, archaeologists) as they can be fraught with technical and internally circuitous references with "no clear guide on interpretation."[14] Students of history with no archaeological background are at a disadvantage in trying to incorporate archaeological evidence into their research. This is compounded further by the slow process of publishing archaeological reports, if they are published at all.[15] On the other hand, Islamic archaeologists have fared better in studying the documentary historical sources and historical research for two main reasons: 1) Islamic archaeology has not attained the status of an independent field (at

[13] Although this in itself is a relatively recent phenomenon, as early archaeological investigations tended to focus on standing remains and imperial-aristocratic social structures.

[14] D. Whitcomb, "Toward a *Common Denominator*: An Archaeological Response to M. Morony on Pottery and Urban Identities," in *Identity and Material Culture in the Early Islamic World*, ed. I. A. Bierman (Los Angeles, UCLA, 1995), 47-66.

[15] M. I. Finley, "Archaeology and History," *Daedalus* 100.1 (1971): 168–86.

least in the United States) and it is often subsumed and taught under history, historically related fields, and anthropology;[16] and 2) the Islamic archaeologist, as a result of working in a historical period with surviving texts, must be able to understand epigraphic, numismatic, papyrological, and other documentary sources. The linguistic skill required for translation of inscriptions and coins in the field, of course, does not measure up to the historian's command of the sources.[17] For the student of Islamic archaeology, the documentary sources, both primary and secondary, are often fraught with heavy detail including chains of names (*isnād* and long *nisbas*), dates, and specific events that can be both alienating and less useful to the archaeologist who wishes to understand historical events in larger temporal perspectives. In studying Islamic civilization, the disciplinary divide of archaeology and history often falls upon chronological markers where the first two centuries of Islamic rule, where sources are few, are best informed by archaeological evidence and the subsequent centuries by textual sources. What is left then are two fields, neither of which are a product of the other or a means to an end, but rather equal in their desire to elucidate history, whether through documentary sources or material culture. The challenge is to make both categories of evidence mutually beneficial to all scholars.

[16] Including both Humanities (Near Eastern Studies, Medieval Studies, and perhaps Classics) and Social Sciences (Anthropoplogy).

[17] There are some archaeologists who would do away with linguistic proficiency at all, owing to the time that must be invested in a multitude of other skills and tools that are of equal necessity such as: identification of ceramics, bone, and glass; GIS and remote sensing; drawing, drafting, and surveying; statistics and sampling; scientific analysis and dating; and preservation and conservation.

The Core/Periphery Model and Urban/Rural Divide

Islamic archaeology and its focus on cultural, historical, and religious development have been traditionally associated with the rise of urban networks. The field examines the consolidation of the Near East into cities interconnected with trade networks and unified under a singular Islam that extended from Spain to India; the Islamicate civilization term of Hodgson.[18] Historians, guided by the predominance of state-produced documents, have tended to follow this framework, staying within the unified empire periods of the Umayyad and ʻAbbāsid caliphates. There is an exponential increase in texts of subsequent periods, especially when compared to the dearth of texts in earlier developmental periods. Given the nature of the majority of textual evidence, these interpretations are certainly valid as evidence-based conclusions but cannot always pick up the potential voices which are non-urban, resistant to the state, and live outside the framework of the empire, in what was "unexplored space."

The archaeological record of the Islamic Middle East has similarly produced a narrative of urbanism and networks of trade, although geographically tempered with more regional frameworks. Islamic archaeology as a historical archaeology was text-driven, rooted in narratives and using them as guides to search out the nature of this urbanistic culture and religion. For example, bounded by the historical timeline of the city, the material culture from the early excavations of Sāmarrā served as important dating tools until recently.[19] Newer research has expanded the scope of urbanism,

[18] M. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

[19] See D. Stacy, *Excavations at Tiberias, 1973–1943: The Early Islamic Periods* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004).

focusing on an urban landscape, connecting these cities in networks of trade and institutional patterns, examining the elements of empire: its cities and towns, its mosques and urban institutions, and its primary centers of production.[20] Though these projects have been less reliant on historical documents, texts still serve as important supplemental and often legitimizing tools for excavation. In some cases, texts have replaced archaeological research where actual fieldwork was impossible.[21] For better or for worse, the conclusions drawn have intervened as much as intersected with historical narrative and the motivations for this urban-based research did much to serve as a foundation for the field. However, the archaeological narrative is usually seen as providing the voice for the everyday and the silent majority, creating interpretive systems of locally organized culture and society reliant on material culture.

Studies on the rural Islamic landscape have had differing results and agendas. Often these non-urban studies remain as singularly focused excavations arguing for an urban/city model of comparison by patterns of physical resemblance or material culture production.[22] Studies that use landscape archaeology are beginning to expand

---

[20] This is ingrained in the introduction to the 1971 issue of *Archaeology* devoted to Islamic Archaeology written by O. Grabar, "Islamic Archaeology: An Introduction," *Archaeology* 24.3 (1971): 197–99, who wrote that the main objectives of Islamic Archaeology are to: 1) identify and restore standing monuments; 2) study the technology and chronology or objects from an art historical viewpoint; and 3) excavate within the urban setting.

[21] A. Northedge, *The Historical Topography of Samarra* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, Fondation Max van Berchem, 2005).

[22] Chief among these are the desert castles. See also G. Davies and J. Magness, "Yotvata – 2005," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 118 (2006); C.-P. Haase, "The Excavations at Madīnat al-Fār/Ḥiṣn Maslama on the Balikh Road," in *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, ed. H. Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 54–60. D. Genequand is recently looking at the structures beyond the enclosure ("Umayyad Castles: The Shift from Late Antique Military

upon our knowledge of the Islamic periods and give voice to the "silent majority", but are still quite nascent. While irrigation and agricultural innovations have been historically tied to Islamic period developments, such as the Green Revolution of Watson,[23] few studies have actually focused on these in the Near East. By contrast, researchers in Spain have uncovered a rural network of Early Islamic, multi-ethnic villages centered on hydraulic features using remote or extensive archaeology that employs surveys, aerial photography, and linguistic continuities rather than excavation.[24] A noticeable lacuna in Islamic archaeology in both the Near East and Spain is the existence of the nomad or semi-pastoralist, particularly given the strong association with the initial spread of Islam through Arab tribes. In the Near East, studies often maintain the strict dichotomy of the "desert and the sown" or discuss the sedentarization of the nomad, eschewing the difficult attempt to look for the existence of the nomad in the archaeological record.[25] As a result, the thesis that Islam was an

---

Architecture to Early Islamic Palatial Building," in *Muslim Military Architecture*, 3–25). G. R. D. King attempts a landscape view which is still rooted firmly in the environment of the desert castles themselves and therefore relies on a rigid divide of the nomad/farmer, "Settlement Patterns in Islamic Jordan: The Umayyads and their Use of the Land," in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, eds. S. Tell et al. (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1992), 369–75.

[23] A. M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[24] For examples, see A. Bazzana, "Villages et terroirs andalous: Quelques aspects du peoplement medieval et de l'exploitation agraire dans al-Andalus," *Ruralia II* (Pamarky Archeologicke) Supplementum 11 (1998): 140–51; A. Bazzana and J. de Meulemeester, "Irrigation Systems of Islamic Origin in the Valle de Ricote (Murcia, Spain)," *Ruralia II* (Pamarky Archeologicke) Supplementum 11 (Spa 1997): 152–60; J. de Meulemeester, "Islamic Archaeology in the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco," *Antiquity* 79.4 (2005): 837–43; Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*; and idem, "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain: History and Archaeology," in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Sense of Place in Western Europe*, eds. J. Howe and M. Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 113-135. For further discussion, see Chapter 6.

[25] Most recent exceptions to this have been by surveys that have found campsites using CORONA satellite imagery, see K. Alizadeh and J. A. Ur, "Formation and Destruction of Pastoral and Irrigation

urbanizing civilization is constantly upheld by those who search for it in cities and towns. Beyond the urban network was a thriving rural landscape of villages and multi-ethnic communities, many of which were non-Muslim. Beyond the villages and settled communities were many nomadic tribes whose transhumant ways of life often moved out of the range of the empire. Beyond the empire was frontier. Was the frontier part of a no-man's land as described in the texts, was it comprised of rural settlements and societies, or perhaps was it part of the urban Islamic fabric? The question is rhetorical and indeed already partially answered, as the frontier has been characterized in all three ways. Yet, the landscape of the frontier, its environment, its settlements, land use, diverse groups, and the interactions among these groups and with their environment remain topics to be negotiated for the field of Islamic archaeology and Islamic studies in general.

Seventh Century Continuity

A third challenge for Islamic archaeology has been the transition from the Late Roman to the Early Islamic period which, like any transition, always been difficult to

---

Landscapes on the Mughan Steppe, North-Western Iran," *Antiquity* 81.311 (2007): 148–60. The work in the Negev has also focused on nomadic and sedentary settlement and their interactions, thus creating a debate. Y. D. Nevo argues for nomadic cult sites in *Pagans and Herders: A Re-examination of the Negev Runoff Systems in the Byzantine and Early Arab Periods* (Sde Boqer: Israel Publications Service, 1991). M. Haiman disagrees with favoring governmental authority in "Agriculture and Nomad-State Relations in the Negev Desert in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 297 (1995): 29–53. G. Avni demonstrates a gradual sedentarization of nomads in *Nomads, Farmers, and Town-Dwellers: Pastoralist-Sedentist Interaction in the Negev Highlands, Sixth-Eighth Centuries CE* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1996). Indeed, this last argument has been followed by others such as D. Whitcomb and F. Donner. Whitcomb shows that Qinnasrīn, Mampsis, and some desert castles have a gradual urbanization from previously permanent encampments in "Archaeological Research at Hadir Qinnasrin, 1998," *Archèologie Islamique* 10 (2000): 7–28. F. Donner (personal communication, 2004) argues that the desert castles were ways of controlling (and settling) nomadic groups, which falls along similar lines of the settling of the *amṣār* by tribes into specific quarters (*khiṭāṭ*).

trace. In the seventh century C.E., the transformation occurred unevenly with political changes manifesting as the quickest and most visible, followed by economic reorientation, and finally the cultural (and material cultural) milieu evincing the most gradual response. It follows that settlement patterns and environmental change would also not be readily or quickly apparent. The invisibility of the seventh century has been typically interpreted as a period of decline, the end of the classical world. Three decades of scholarship by Islamic archaeologists has resoundly discarded the notion of seventh century decline, arguing rather for continuity.[26] However, the majority of studies have focused on the urban and monumental, leaving out a discussion of landscape. Recently, landscape work in the "historical" periods including the Late Hellenistic through Islamic, has begun to address these issues.[27] Yet, the transition into the Islamic periods and the formation and fluctuation of the cultural landscape from the seventh century C.E. onwards have often been given cursory attention or entirely omitted from the study of landscape archaeology.

---

[26] For a general yet up to date and optimistic discussion on seventh century decline, see A. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria,* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2007), 15-47.

[27] See particularly Wilkinson's extensive survey work in the Near East synthesized in *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East*, particularly 128-150. To name but a handful on classical, late antique, and medieval landscapes, see S. Alcock, "Greece: A Landscape of Resistance?" in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire,* ed. D. J. Mattingly (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997), 103–15; J. Bintliff, "The Roman Countryside in Central Greece: Observations and Theories from the Boeotia Survey (1978–1987)," in *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region,* ed. G. Barker (London: British School at Rome, 1991), 122–32; A. U. de Giorgi, "The Formation of a Roman Landscape: The Case of Antioch," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20 (2007), 283–98; J. Casana, "The Archaeological Landscape of Late Roman Antioch," in *Culture and Society in Late Roman Antioch: Papers from a Colloquium, London, 15th December 2001*, eds. J. A. R. Hiskinson and B. Sandwell (Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Company, 2002); M. Decker, "The History and Archaeology of Byzantium's Desert Frontier" (paper presented at At the Edges of Empire Conference, University of Chicago, February 17–19, 2006); R. Matthews, "Landscapes of Terror and Control: Imperial Impacts in Paphlagonia," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67 (2004): 200–11.

The inattention given particularly to the Late Roman–Early Islamic transition and Early Islamic period follows a similar pattern with the Late Roman period.[28] At one point, the Late Roman period was considered too recent and poorly understood, even by archaeologists. This is reflected both in R. Braidwood's important survey of the Amuq Plain (1937) where he recorded only seventeen sites of "Late Roman" occupation. His total decrease in Phase S pottery ("Early Christian," 350–650 C.E.) led to the incorrect hypothesis that few sites in the plain were occupied at this time despite the massive presence of nearby Antioch.[29] Braidwood acknowledged this discrepancy and concluded that, "In all probability, the landowners lived in the great towns up on the hills or in Antioch, while the peasant population lived in reed huts in only semi-permanent villages much as the fellahin do today."[30] A. Archi's Gaziantep Plain survey identified only two sites as Late Roman, a sharp distinction from his eighteen Roman sites, which seems immediately questionable.[31] N. Yardımcı, in his

[28] The term Late Roman is used instead of Byzantine as a cultural designation rather than a political period. This is because there is direct continuity both in terms of settlement patterns and material culture with the Roman period that is not easy to separate. Late Roman here refers to the conventional range of the Byzantine period (or early Byzantine; fourth through mid-seventh centuries), not to the chronological range sometimes attributed to the Late Roman period as an interstice between Roman and Byzantine (second–third centuries). In describing the central state and certain communities, particularly after the mid-seventh century, I retain the term Byzantine (i.e. Byzantine reconquest).

[29] Phase S pottery included brittle and corrugated red wares. These, in fact, continue through until the tenth centuries (Early Islamic period). R. Braidwood, *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1937), 46. Late Roman and/or Early Islamic decline is also an interpretation from a lack of ceramic diagnostic evidence on surveys, particularly since Roman terra sigilatta and Islamic glazed wares (eighth century and beyond) are easily spotted on walking surveys and easily dated.

[30] Ibid., 46. See T.J. Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East,* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003), 128ff; J. Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch: Settlement, Land Use, and Environmental Change in the Amuq Plain of Southern Turkey" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2003), 254ff.

recent publication of the Harran Plain survey, made no distinction of Late Roman or even Sāsānian sites, leaving a large gap in settlement between the Roman and Islamic periods that is unexplained.[32] This lack of Late Roman sites now seems immediately glaring to the archaeologist, as virtually every survey in the Near East has shown not only significant settlement and population, but arguably the highest peak in settlement and population even until today. Thus, B. Ward-Perkins' statement that: "Wherever intensive field survey has been carried out, extensive and dense rural settlement patterns … have always been found in at least part of the Roman period"[33] should be extended to the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods. These sites tend to be dispersed and are very small (less than 1 ha) with no topographic relief; they are only distinguishable by scatters of pottery, roof tiles, and building stones. Surveys that concentrated on only recording tells would not have picked up this specific landscape signature of dispersal.[34] Furthermore, not every landscape was equally preserved. The settlements on the Kurt Dağ and Syrian Jebels represent a rare landscape of survival (apparent by the name Dead Cities), based mainly on their upland location unaffected by flooding and sedimentation and the use of stone as a construction material. In the plain, construction of settlements would have used local materials, such as mudbrick

---

[31] A. Archi, P.E. Pecorella, and M. Salvini, *Gaziantep e la Sua Regione: Uno studio storico e topografico degli insediamenti preclassici* (Rome: Edizioni dell'ateno, 1971).

[32] N. Yardımcı, *Harran Ovası yüzey araştırması* (Istanbul: [Nurettin Yardımcı], 2004).

[33] B. Ward-Perkins, "Land, Labour, and Settlement," *Cambridge Ancient History* 14 (2001), 315–45.

[34] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 256; Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes in the Near East*, 137.

and reeds. Ward-Perkins notes this distinction, and the archaeological bias in finding sites whose remains are visible (not decomposed) and large/beautiful:

> However excavation has shown that both 5th and 6th century westerners and 7th century Byzantines generally lived in much less imposing and more "biodegradable" surroundings than their Roman predecessors with pottery that is less abundant and more difficult to identify than that of the preceding periods; in houses that were often of perishable materials; and with the public buildings and churches of former ages, rather than new ones.[35]

Regardless, once the rich and pervasive Late Roman landscape was universally accepted, the point of change was marked at the end of the Late Roman period with the arrival of the Muslims in the seventh century.

In recent years, archaeologists working on rural landscapes have departed from notions of seventh century decline, recognizing the archaeological, and in some cases, economic continuity from the Late Roman to Early Islamic Near East.[36] For some archaeologists, the notion of decline was not dispensed with entirely but simply pushed further to the 'Abbāsid period,[37] or back to the early sixth century Persian conquests.[38] This was based on an over-reliance on misdated coins and ceramics and the wish to align historical-political timelines with material culture. In archaeological

---

[35] Ward-Perkins, "Land, Labour, and Settlement," 324.

[36] See, for example, A. Walmsley, "Economic Developments and the Nature of Settlement in the Towns and Countryside of the Levant, ca. 565–705 CE;" G. Varınlıoğlu, "Living in a Marginal Environment: Rural Habitat and Landscape in Southeastern Isauria" (papers presented at Urban and Rural Settlement in Anatolia and the Levant 500–1000 AD: New Evidence from Archaeology, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposium, Washington, D.C., 2005); J. Magness, *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine*.

[37] Such as R. K. Falkner argues for Jordan, "Jordan in the Early Islamic Period: The Use and Abuse of Pottery," *Berytus* 41 (1993–94), 39–52. See also D. Whitcomb, "Reassessing the Archaeology of Jordan of the Abbasid Period," in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* IV (1992), 385–90.

[38] J. Magness, "A Reexamination of the Archaeological Evidence for the Sāsānian Persian Destruction of the Tyropoeon Valley," *Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research* 287 (August 1992): 67–74.

context, Late Roman–Early Islamic continuity has created a redefined transitional period encompassing the sixth to eighth centuries. Further, ceramic analyses particularly on surveys have swung toward the cautious, often identifying "late period sites" as dating from the Roman to Early Islamic, or the first century B.C.E. to tenth century C.E.[39]

On the one hand, this macroscopic view of continuity highlights two important factors of settlement patterns: 1) that there was never a period of abandonment or decline in the Early Islamic period; and 2) that sites with Late Hellenistic/Early Roman to Early Islamic occupation are often a part of a different system of settlement patterns than pre-Roman or post-Early Islamic occupied sites. One example of the shift in scholarship occurs in the continuous debate over the upland cities of the Syrian Jebels that gradually changed from a model of seventh century decline to Late Roman–Early Islamic transition.[40] However, as part of the larger Islamic-Byzantine frontier, the Syrian Jebel sites perhaps can only be understood by distinguishing the

[39] This is due usually to two main reasons. Apart from finewares (Hellenistic and Roman sigillatas, Late Roman finewares, and Islamic glazed wares) the majority of buff and brittlewares have rarely been given the full attention that could discern types and forms into more specific chronologies. The second reason is that many surveys are intended to search for pre-Roman sites, and accordingly are not staffed with specialists of later periods. Given the ambiguity in coarsewares, this results in the cautious readings of a general Hellenistic through Early Islamic dating.

[40] We see an evolution in the first settlements that: 1) continued until the end of the Late Roman period (G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: Le massif du Bélus a l'époque romaine, I–III* [Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1953–58]); 2) continued until the tenth century but in a state of decline (J.-P. Sodini, et al., "Déhès (Syrie du Nord), Campagnes I–III (1976-1978), Recherches sur l'habitat rural," *Syria* 57 [1980]: 1–303; G. Tate, *Les Campagnes de la Syrie du nord du Iie au VIIe siècle: Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique dans les campagnes à la fin de l'antiquité* [Paris: Libr. orientaliste P. Geuthner, 1992]); 3) already reached decline by the mid-sixth century due to natural disaster and plague (H. Kennedy, "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 [1985]: 141–83); 4) instead of decline, stagnated until the tenth century (C. Foss, "Syria in Transition, A.D. 550–750: An Archaeological Approach," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 [1997]: 189–269; and 5) continued from the Late Roman to Early Islamic period until the tenth century (Magness, *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine*).

processes and dynamics of both Late Roman and Early Islamic settlement and interaction separately. On the other hand, while this transition correctly identifies the difficulty in assigning ceramic typologies to political changes, such a fluid categorization limits the study of the last centuries of Byzantium, the beginnings of Early Islam, and the identification of its initial settlement. With regards to the Islamic-Byzantine frontier, its formation and choices for settlement have become blurred in favor of a general continuity.

Yet, can a landscape archaeology approach detect socio-political and religious differentiations or is this perspective perhaps too coarsely grained to pick up such subtlety?[41] This is particularly important for the fields of historical archaeology where scholars have too often relied on texts to portray a vision of the landscape. So too, is this important in areas that have been designated as historical border zones or frontiers and time periods that have been determined to be transitional.[42] The task of correlating political/cultural periods to archaeological and geomorphological time seems an oversimplification of two very different datasets. However, I would argue that the opposite is true. The process of transformation occurred over an important benchmark in the Near East, that is, the Islamic conquest. As such, it is important to take advantage of this cultural shift and the new populations, communities, settlements, and

[41] Although landscape archaeology, at least on a theoretical level if not in practice, seeks to understand landscapes on ideational levels, accepting that landscapes are imbued with cultural and religious memory. For a full discussion of landscape archaeology approaches, see T. J. Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes in the Near East,* 10–14, 219–20.

[42] See S. Bunimovitz, "Socio-Political Transformations in the Central Hill Country in the Late Bronze-Iron I Transition," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, eds. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1994), 179–81.

material culture that were introduced or developed as a response to cultural mixing in key places such as frontier zones. When this cultural shift is overlaid on a profoundly transformed landscape, it allows for a greater distinction to be made between the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods in terms of newer categories, such as the settlement and land use practices of communities that both influenced and responded to specific landscape change. Such a study can inform whether settlement and land use was linked more with cultural and ethnic practices or evolved naturally as a response by any culture to the changing landscape.

III. Islamic Frontiers: Real and Imagined

Beginning in the ninth century C.E., Muslim historians, jurists, and geographers frequently discussed the Islamic-Byzantine frontier (*al-thughūr*) and the province of *al-'awāṣim* ("the protectresses"), primarily as a no-man's land, a wilderness, and as a militarized boundary (*dār al-ḥarb*). Warriors of the faith, in their view, performed symbolic yearly raids (termed *jihād*) against non-Muslims in *bilād al-Rūm* or, as it was sometimes known, *bilād al-kufr*. This vision of the frontier has been largely left unchallenged by modern historians and untouched by archaeologists working on the periods of Late Antiquity and Islam.[43] However, the historical sources' retrospective

[43] However, there are few synthetic approaches. W. E. Kaegi in his examination of the frontier in the seventh century from textual sources raises several important issues testing the physicality of the frontier from a military, economic, and transhumant perspective. W. E. Kaegi, "The Frontier, Barrier or Bridge?" *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1986), 279–303. See also A. M. Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1980).

and idealized political/military and religious interpretations are problematic and do not adequately explain the choices of frontier settlement, yearly raiding, or the diverse communities that comprised the frontier region. Rather, both views are crucial to constructing (and deconstructing) Islamic frontiers and should be viewed as superimposed layers that impart different meanings, whether real or imagined. The following section will examine the history of *al-thughūr* and the most recent historical work on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier and contemporary frontier theory.

The History of the thughūr *and Its Scholarship*

Modern scholarship has made very few inroads in the region of the *thughūr* or Islamic-Byzantine frontier. This stands in contrast to the frequent references made of the region in the Early and Middle Islamic periods. As a result, the traditional view of the frontier as a military and religious arena has remained unaltered,[44] despite recent scholarship in virtually every other medieval frontier. In the last twenty-five years, the dearth of evidence has changed with the appearance of several publications, the most important of which includes the work of J. F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, P. von Sivers, A. M. Abu Ezzah, I. Straughn, and M. Bonner.[45] All of these are historical works, with

[44] For instance, A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* (Bruxelles: Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales, 1935); M. A. Cheïra, *La Lutte entre arabes et byzantins: La conquête et l'organisation des frontières aus XIIe et VIIIe siècles* (Alexandria: Société de publications Égyptiennes, 1947).

[45] J. F. Haldon, and H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization and Society in the Borderlands," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloski Institut* (*Recueil des Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Byzantines*) (Belgrade) 19 (1980): 79–116; P. von Sivers, "Taxes and Trade in the Abbasid Thughūr, 750–962/133–351," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25 (1982): 71; Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr;" I. Straughn, "Materializing Islam: An Archaeology of Landscape in Early Islamic Syria (c. 600-1000 CE)" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2006); M. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihād and the Arab-Byzantine*

the exception of the archaeological/anthropological study of Straughn. These contributions greatly elucidate the *thughūr* through varied methodologies that focus on its political, economic, and social history and make use of a range of sources including Islamic historians, jurists, theologians, geographers, travelers, poets, and Arab Christian and Byzantine writers. A general picture has been obtained for the frontier (see Fig. 1).

The first Islamic-Byzantine frontier was established at the northern extent of the province of Shām (modern southeast Turkey and northern Syria). It extended from the Mediterranean Sea at Anṭākiya to the Euphrates. The Arabs met with little resistance when they took over the major cities and towns in 638 C.E.[46] Many citizens, particularly of the upper classes left, if they had not already done so. Anṭākiya in the mid-seventh century lost its importance as a regional capital and became first a military post and then a small provincial town. The capital of the region on the Islamic frontier shifted further east to Ḥalab (Aleppo). The hinterland of Anṭākiya, the Amuq Plain (formerly a borderland in the early Umayyad period), was also subsumed within the frontier zone. In the Umayyad period, the Islamic-Byzantine frontier was pushed farther north and established along the southern edge of the Taurus Mountains, stretching from southwest to the northeast encompassing the Cilician Plain from the Lamas River to the west, incorporating the whole of the Amanus Mountain range, the

---

Frontier (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1996); M. Bonner, Introduction to *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times,* M. Bonner, ed. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), xiii-lv.

[46] Anṭākiya, Manbij, Dulūk, Ra'bān were taken by treaty. For the cities of the northern Taurus frontier, Malaṭiya and Maṣṣīsa were evacuated prior to the Arab arrival; Mar'ash resisted. Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 32–35; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 146.

Kahramanmaraş Plain (northern extension of the Amuq Plain), and the rolling hills, river valleys, and lowland steppes of the Euphrates River. This entire region was the province of *al-thughūr*, a term possibly derived from the word for the spaces between teeth.[47] It was so named because of the line of frontier fortresses (singular *thaghr*) evenly spaced and strategically situated at key mountain passes and routes stretching from Ṭarsūs in the west to Malaṭiya in the east and even farther into Armenia. From these frontier forts, summer annual raids or *ṣawā'if* (singular *ṣā'ifa*) north into Byzantine lands are recorded in the literature for virtually every year; however, enemy territory was never taken and enemy forts only were held for a token period of time. By the 'Abbāsid period, the rather peculiar military strategy took on a symbolic form.[48] Taken at face value from the primary sources, this traditional view demands explanations of why the frontier expanded and then stabilized, why conquest shifted to symbolic raiding, and how administration of the frontier differed among various Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs. Rather than point out the shortcomings of the various interpretations made by other scholars, I argue that these levels of evidence contribute to a layering of the frontier, whereby the frontier can be composed of multiple superimposed frontiers, each of which constitutes a valid perspective. These include: a) the military and administrative frontier, b) the religious and ideological frontier, c)

---

[47] The term *thaghr* (plural *thughūr*) can mean frontiers, mouth, or front-teeth; *thaghra* (plural *thaghar*) can mean a mountain pass, chink, crevice, gap, breach or pit of the neck with uses referring to the gums of the teeth *(mathghar*, plural *mathāghar*) according to J.G. Hava, *al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary,* Fifth Edition (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq, 1982), 69. A logical meaning of *thughūr* in the frontier sense combining the ideas of mountain passes and teeth or gums would refer to the spaces between the teeth. I am grateful to D. Whitcomb for drawing my attention to this possible derivation.

[48] H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 106.

frontiers of society, economy, and settlement. I will review the history of the *thughūr* and its scholarship by treating each layer of the frontier separately and focusing on some of its key themes.

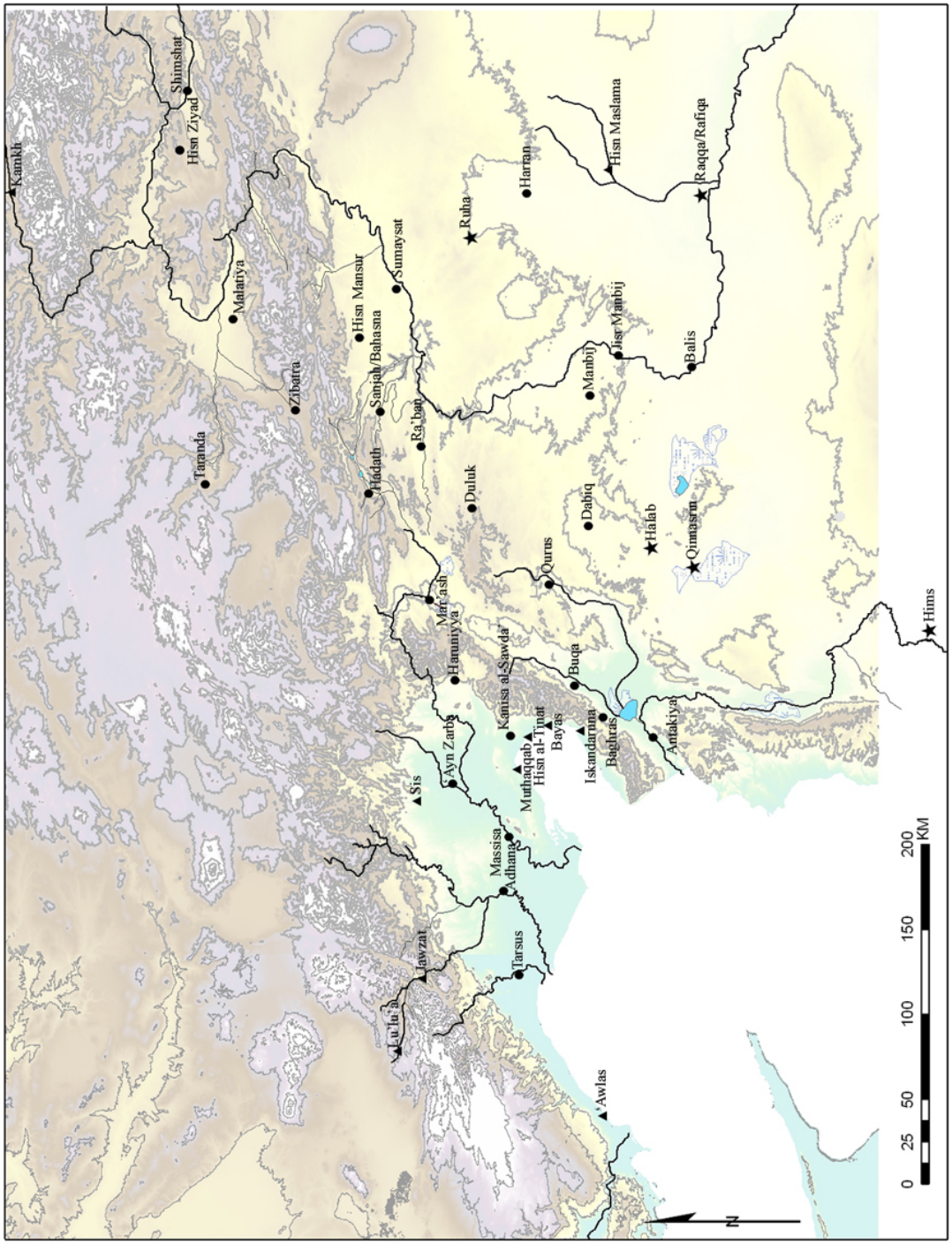

Figure 1 Map of thughūr and 'awāṣim

The Administrative and Military *thughūr*

Immediately following the conquest of Shām in 637 C.E., the *thughūr* became part of the *jund* district of Qinnasrīn, itself a former part of the province of Ḥimṣ.[49] Both Qinnasrīn and the *thughūr* were administered by appointed local governors who were responsible for its military garrisons, border defenses, internal security, taxation, and religious custodianship. These early governors were likened to police officers[50] as they had no independent power, but they monitored the periphery for the central state. Raiding into Byzantine lands started immediately; the earliest raids under ʻUmar I between 638 and 644 C.E. were mainly meant to harass the Byzantines rather than conquer Anatolia.[51]

Abu Ezzah, in his dissertation on the Syrian *thughūr*,[52] frames his historical synopsis of the frontier with three chronological periods: 1) expansion (from the rise of the caliph ʻUthmān in 644 C.E. to the death of Sulaymān in 717 C.E.); 2) stabilization and defense (from ʻUmar II, 717 to 869 C.E.); and 3) collapse (from the Zanj revolt until the fall of Ṭarsūs, 869 to 965 C.E.). While his work overall lacks historiographic analysis, he frames the history of the *thughūr* in broad transformative developments. Further, he focuses not only on the military and Islamic-Byzantine relations, but on the demography and economy (and settlements) of the *thughūr*, thereby placing the study in line with an archaeological narrative. Furthermore, he

[49] Bāladhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 180.

[50] Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr," 44.

[51] Ibid., 57–58.

[52] Ibid.

provides important references with a wide range of primary sources. From these, he argues for an early development of a policy of expansionism, which was motivated strongly by the caliph ‘Uthmān, Mu‘āwīya, and the early Umayyad caliphs. While the explicit aim was to gain land, money, and power, the subtext was to keep the many disparate settled Arab tribes and non-Arab populations loyal by focusing their attentions on an external threat.[53]

The shift from a conquering ethos to a stabilizing one along the frontier traditionally dates to the Umayyad/‘Abbāsid transition. However, Abu Ezzah argues that the expansionist military strategy of the frontier transformed into a more defensive line before the rise of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs.[54] The turning point for a change in policy is attributed to ‘Umar II who ceased the expansionist aims of the earlier Umayyads and opened diplomatic dialogues of religion with the Byzantine emperor, Leo III.[55] Military movement across the frontier was characterized from this point as annual summer raiding and temporary occupation of enemy lands.[56]

---

[53] Ibid., 59.

[54] Ibid., 69.

[55] Sources state that ‘Umar II wanted to demilitarize the frontier, abandon forts, and withdraw troops. Abu Ezzah questions the veracity of these claims on account that they would have been militarily and administratively poor choices. However, his anti-expansionist policies are documented (Ibid., 69–70). See also M. Vaiou, “Diplomatic Relations Between the Abbasid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire: Methods and Procedures” (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2002). This work was unavailable to me at the time of completion of this dissertation.

[56] However, several raids ventured far into Anatolian territory such as the Sea of Marmara (781 C.E.), Ephesus (798 C.E.), Ankara (806 C.E.), Cappadocia (830 and 831 C.E.), Amorion and Ankara (838 C.E.). These were not expansionist as they did not conquer Anatolian lands. Rather, these deep penetrations were usually led by the caliphs themselves such as Hārūn al-Rashīd, Ma’mūn, and Mu‘taṣim. The involvement of these caliphs on the *thughūr* is important as it indicated a need to galvanize the frontier communities through military and political prestige and religious ideologies in face of a larger enemy. Hārūn based himself in Raqqa. Ma’mūn died at the Cilician Gates, the pass

The transformation in the military policies of the *thughūr* belies a greater subtext in how the later Umayyads and ʻAbbāsid caliphs were to administer this frontier. The most recent analysis of the *thughūr* and the only book on the subject by Bonner follows the political and social history of the area from 700–850 C.E., dealing mainly with the reigns of the ʻAbbāsid caliphs Manṣūr and Hārūn al-Rashīd.[57] Bonner launches a careful and extremely detailed, fine-tuned historical and historiographic analysis based on the primary sources for this period of time in the *thughūr*. Typical of historical approaches, his study is primarily political and military, focusing on the activities and administration of the caliphs and their appointments and rivalries on the frontier. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the efforts of the ʻAbbāsid regime to establish its legitimacy are reflected in contrasting Umayyad and ʻAbbāsid frontier policies.[58] Local Syrian administrators who were often feared for their potentially residual Umayyad loyalties governed the Syrian *thughūr*. The caliph Manṣūr resolved the problem by actively rotating administrators and soldiers around the frontier, while Hārūn al-Rashīd implemented a gradual ethnic mixing, evidenced mainly in the relocation of large settlements of Khurāsānī soldiers to the Syrian frontier posts.

In order to lessen the distance between empire and the frontier, the capital, or rather, caliph frequently moved to the frontier (embodying the notion that the capital was wherever the caliph resided) as another political administrative statement

---

between Muslim and Byzantine territory on the Taurus and was buried at Ṭarsūs. Muʻtaṣim headquartered at Dābiq (north of Ḥalab) and received his caliphate at Ṭarsūs.

[57] Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*.

[58] For more, see P. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in ʻAbbasid Syria, 750–877* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001).

regarding the caliph's involvement with the *thughūr*. Marwān II moved his residence from Dimashq (Damascus) to Ḥarrān on the Jazīran frontier. This move was in response to a declining power base and generated strong Umayyad loyalties in this region that proved problematic to the rising 'Abbāsids. Abū al-'Abbās moved the capital from Kūfa to Anbār. When Manṣūr came to power, he transferred the capital to Baghdād. Despite claims by other scholars that the shift away from the frontier encouraged Byzantine victories on the frontier,[59] Abu Ezzah instead sees a focus of attention paid on the *thughūr* by the early 'Abbāsid caliphs, starting with Manṣūr and policies of refortification.[60] Indeed, Mahdī moved the capital from Baghdād to Ḥalab and Hārūn al-Rashīd made his headquarters at Raqqa.[61] The personal presence of the caliph on the frontier via the transference of the capital was a physical symbol of consolidation of loyalties and sympathies to the central state.

In the late eighth/early ninth century C.E., the 'Abbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd apportioned the area from Anṭākiya to Ḥalab into a new province, *al-'awāṣim*, governed from the site of Qinnasrīn (classical Chalcis). Sources say it served as a second line of defense behind the frontier.[62] Cities of the *'awāṣim* province, such as Anṭākiya, served mainly as winter garrisons and departure points for summer military campaigns. M. A. Shaban states that the creation of the *'awāṣim* by Hārūn al-Rashīd shows a return to a defensive line because the forward frontier was collapsing due to

---

[59] For example, see A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, *324–1453,* Vol. 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), 238.

[60] Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 89–91.

[61] See footnote 55 above.

[62] Such as Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 180.

soldiers "losing military character" and "engaged in a most lucrative trade with the Byzantines."[63] Abu Ezzah asserts that, on the contrary, the Arab armies had the advantage and its forward towns, such as Malaṭiya, were in no danger of being lost. Furthermore, he states that the term *al-'awāṣim* was used interchangeably and inconsistently with *al-thughūr*; perhaps *al-'awāṣim* was a term given locally to a region as a matter of pride.[64]

Bonner challenges the accepted dual frontier view, and he asserts that the creation of the *'awāṣim* in the first year of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign was a political move designed to break up the province known as the Umayyad North (including Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the *thughūr*).[65] Further, Hārūn wanted to consolidate the frontier into a separate but unified administrative province that he could personally supervise and be able to eliminate local accumulations of power under stray commanders. In this way, the *'awāṣim* and the *thughūr* were essentially combined, only to be separated after Hārūn al-Rashīd's death into the two-tiered frontier system promoted by Balādhurī as an idealized vision.[66] Bonner follows Ṭabarī's description, changing the traditional view of the double-lined frontier that has taken precedence in the secondary

---

[63] M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation*. A.D. 750–1055 (A.H. 132–44) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 28–29.

[64] Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 94. Straughn states that territorial ambiguities may have been an indication that the articulation of the frontier was *not* a political enterprise, as then it would have been more clearly defined, "Materializing Islam," 164.

[65] For more on the Umayyad North, see M. Bates, "The Dirham Mint of the Northern Provinces of the Umayyad Caliphate," *American Numismatic Journal* 15 (1989): 89–111; D. A. Spellberg, "The Umayyad North: Numismatic Evidence for Frontier Administration," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 33 (1988): 119–27.

[66] Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, 87. For the purposes of this dissertation the term *thughūr* or Islamic-Byzantine frontier will refer to both the *thughūr* and *'awāṣim* frontiers.

literature. Although, semantically, this study will use the word *thughūr* to denote both tiers of the frontier, the survey data will test the arguments by Bonner of the *thughūr* as a single frontier area, combining the two-tiered arrangement.

Although the references to the frontier are frequent in the primary sources, as cited by Bonner, they do not necessarily answer the questions that modern scholarship would pose. In addition the sources conflict with one another. Bonner demonstrates this rift may indicate two schools of Muslim sources: 1) the synoptic or classical school including Ṭabarī, Balādhurī, Wāqidī, Azdī, and Agapius of Manbij; and 2) the other unnamed school, including Ya'qūbī and Khalīfa b. Khayyāt. Throughout the book he includes sources from all of these authors, although he emphasizes their disagreements and mostly supports the former school rather than the latter. From a historiographic analysis, Bonner prefers Ṭabarī because the historian often gives transcriptions of official documents whereas Balādhurī provides an idealized and classical scheme prone to anachronism.

Bonner's careful examination of all the primary sources and his attention to detail and resolving source conflict in specific cases, such as the role of the *'awāṣim*, is an important contribution.[67] However, his position overall is weakened because he does not commit to any historiographic claims. Although he prefers one set of historians/geographers to another, this is never explicitly stated. What is lacking is a review of the primary sources and the accuracy of each author regarding the *thughūr* in an attempt to approach the issue of source reliability and contextual motivation. For

[67] However, Bonner pays very little attention to the *'awāṣim* province throughout the remainder of his book. What of its forts, scholars, ascetics, and the confusion of the capitals of Manbij or Anṭākiya? These are themes investigated in Bonner's treatment of the *thughūr*.

example, Bonner illustrates that only Ya'qūbī and Khalīfa report on the yearly summer expeditions between 757/58 and 763/63 C.E. of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī, uncle of Abū al-'Abbās and Manṣūr, while Ṭabarī and Balādhurī make no mention of the raids or Ṣāliḥ's role.[68] Which historical narrative are we to follow? Why do Ṭabarī and Balādhurī write out Ṣāliḥ's role from history? Although these specific issues will not be addressed in this thesis, these are important threads to follow if one is to build a political and military history of the frontier from textual sources. What emerges from the military and administrative frontier are different methods employed by each ruler on how to keep the *thughūr* loyal to the central state: focusing attention on an external threat, rotating governors, ethnic mixing, reapportioning administrative districts, transferring the capital, or personally leading expeditions.

The Religious and Ideological *thughūr*

Attitudes toward the frontier seem to shift in the historical sources from settlement and expansion to idealism and religious obligation. Expansion certainly seemed to be the goal of the early conquests and several raids that reached deep into Anatolia, including Maslama's attempted conquest of Constantinople in 715/16 C.E. under Sulaymān. Early 'Abbāsid apocalyptic prophecies deriving originally from the 650s from the north Syrian town of Ḥimṣ mention the "Greatest Battle" (*malḥama)* as the conquest of Constantinople.[69] The Umayyad motivation for conquest and expansion

[68] Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, 61-65. For a discussion on Ṣāliḥ, see Cobb, *White Banners*.

[69] W. Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Hims in the Umayyad Age," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31.2 (1986): 141–85. This myth continues into the Ottoman period as the "Myth of the Golden Apple"

differed greatly from the ‘Abbāsid symbolic yearly raiding. By the ‘Abbāsid period, the importance of the frontier had shifted significantly, becoming a staging ground for token raids that neither gained nor held new territory. Similarly, the discourse of *jihād* followed a convoluted history from the eighth and ninth centuries. Both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars, medieval and modern, have seldom reached a mutually agreed conclusion as to what holy war is or should be. Certainly the nature of this discourse is such that *jihād* as a religious concept has never had a single definition, but it has fluctuated over the centuries as it befitted a religio-political agenda.[70] As such, *jihād* embodied different notions of conflict throughout the history of the *thughūr*.

Focusing on the end of the Umayyad period, K. Y. Blankinship sees *jihād* both as a communally embraced ideology and as a political policy used to galvanize attention and troops toward the frontier while legitimizing political rule.[71] Bonner emphasizes his belief that the frontier was strongly committed to the concept of *jihād* as not just

---

until 1453 C.E., the conquest of Constantinople, when the myth is proven. Sometimes the apple is thought to be Venice in the later periods. I am grateful to Katie Johnson for this comparison.

[70] See F. Donner, “The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War,” in *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*, ed. John Kelsay and James Turner Johnson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 31-69. For a summary of pre-Islamic and juridical aspects of *jihād*, see A. Morabia, *Le gihad dans l’Islam medieval: Le combat sacré des origines au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Michel, 1993). Morabia accepts a constantly evolving *jihād* but at the same time sees a religious constancy throughout history in how the Muslim community internalized it (Ibid., 342). See also Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practices* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006). Cook notes how the “greater *jihād*” or nonviolent struggle against the lower self, was actually a derivative form in the mid-eighth century following the more aggressive *jihād* employed during the conquests, D. Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 32-48.

[71] K. Y. Blankinship, *The End of the Jihād State: The Reign of Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads* (New York: State University of New York, 1994), 78–79. Bonner disagrees, stating that in reality, the Umayyads could never have been able to compel so many individuals or groups with this ideology, particularly given the existence of so many local rulers (*Jihad in Islamic History*, 122). I disagree with Bonner. Practice of political policy has little to do with the incentive of ideology which, for exactly Bonner’s reasons of local rulers, was the main need to assert a state legitimacy using *jihād* ideology.

warfare (or political policy), but as an act that merited divine rewards. He supports his argument by examining a body of texts from a class of ascetics and scholars in the ʻAbbāsid period who wrote often of *jihād* or *siyār* (conduct of warfare) on the frontier, participated as *ghazīs* in fighting, and developed a certain authority by cultivating followers and companions.[72] Bonner links this idea of military/martyrhood with the ideologies behind the Crusading movements. This comparative approach is necessary to analyze the frontier because it underscores the major current of *jihād*. Bonner outlines the developments of holy war as it was practiced and indoctrinated, arguing that there was no single notion of *jihād* but one that shifted over different times and places and was used by groups to further their own agenda, often contributing to Islamic state formation. The connecting points, however, were the actors: the warriors, rulers, scholars, and volunteers that embraced *jihād*.[73] As such, Bonner views the frontier from their eyes, or rather, their textual traditions, highlighting the religious practice of *jihād* — whether as a symbolic or real act — as integral to the frontier lifestyle. Straughn does not see a need to distinguish layers of political and religious frontiers, arguing that in Islamic discourse the two were often interconnected and not mutually exclusive. For inhabitants of the frontier itself, he sees them living in physical reality imbued with an experience and memory of Islamic religious discourse. Most recently, Sizgorich astutely demonstrates that the role of the frontier ascetic or

---

[72] Bonner raises the important issue that the fighting and call to arms of the scholars may have been a symbolic act. He cites the example of a visit by Hārūn al-Rashīd to Raqqa where, despite the caliph's visit, the *thughūr* scholar ʻAbdallāh ibn al-Mubārak (d. 797 C.E.) received more attention and adulation. Bonner, "Some Observations Concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier," *Studia Islamica* 75 (1992): 30.

[73] Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 153. See also footnote 71 above.

mujāhid or *ghazī* was perhaps not so unique a role as has been previously described.[74] The tradition of the frontier warrior directly follows that of the Christian warrior monk in the Late Roman period. Drawing upon this shared frontier cast of characters enabled the Muslims to craft a narrative of conquest. As a result, *jihād* itself is part of a long continuum of ascetic practice. These perspectives enhance other studies on the role of *jihād* on the frontier that emphasize the economy or social organization.

Controversy exists whether *jihād* was an institution or a concept developed and implemented much later, namely, in the end of the ninth century and the tenth through twelfth centuries, thereby mirroring the Crusades. Coincidentally, at least a century and a half after the initial conquest and settlement of the frontier, the notion of *jihād* began to take shape in the writings of Muslim jurists. However, most of what is known comes from historians and geographers of the ʻAbbāsid and Middle Islamic period, one to two hundred years after the first frontier settlements. Some of these works on *jihād* originated in the *thughūr*.[75] Although retroactively applied, a division of *dār al-islām* (the house of Islam) and *dār al-ḥarb* (the house of war, i.e. the frontier) was established, thus perhaps for the first time, delineating a frontier zone which was defined by an unending holy war against the unbelievers until they were converted or subjugated: "Muslim legists were motivated by a deep religious concern

---

[74] T. Sizgorich, ""Martyrs, Monks and *Mujāhidūn*: Militant Piety in Late Antiquity and Early Islam" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005 and Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming), especially see pages 9-11.

[75] Such as those by Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī (d. after 802 C.E.), *Kitāb al-siyār* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1987) and ʻAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 797 C.E.), *Kitāb al-jihād* (Cairo: Majmaʻ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmīya, 1978). According to Bonner, this literature emphasized the merit, reward, and volunteer aspects of *jihād* and the role of the individual and community with respect to God ("Some Observations concerning the Early Development." Other scholars, such as Sufyān al-Thawrī in the eighth century, however, regarded the early form of *jihād* as defensive and obligatory.

to provide and uphold an ideal framework within which the Islamic state might flourish, and it was in their books of Islamic law that the Classical theory of jihad was elaborated."[76] The proselytizing intimation of this war and call to arms by the central authority added a spiritual level to the frontier.[77] According to C. Hillenbrand, this was a form of propagandistic emperor image-making.[78]

As highlighted by Hillenbrand, stipulations also appeared, such as the notion that peace treaties could put off *jihād* for up to ten years.[79] Additionally, non-Muslims residing within Muslim lands must be protected, but this only applied to Christians and Jews and excluded pagans. The position of Christians and Jews within Muslim society should be questioned however. Non-Muslims either converted and had client (*mawālī*) status or paid the *jizya* (poll or head) tax and had protected (*dhīmmī*) status. As protected citizens (*musta'min*), they could also be given temporary safe conduct. Safe conduct (*anan*) was also given to those moving from *dār al-ḥarb* to *dār al-islām*, showing that trade and diplomacy trumped religious or even political division.[80]

---

[76] C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999), 94. See also Donner, "Sources of Islamic conceptions of War;" and Straughn, "Materializing Islam," 105–11, for review of sources. Early Muslim works in the eighth century C.E. discuss the virtues of *jihād,* its legality, and books on the military expeditions of the Prophet Muhammad and the early caliphs and on *siyār*.

[77] These have been discussed in papers by F. Donner, "The Development of the Concepts of *Dār al-Islām* and *Dār al-ḥarb*," (paper presented at annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 1991); S. al-Zaid, "The Apocalyptic Frontier: Tarsus and the End of the World." (paper presented at MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2004); and most recently by I. Straughn, "The Landscape of the Islamic Frontier: General Remarks on Archaeological Features, Medieval Geographical Representations and the Importance of Islamic Spatial Discourses," (paper presented at the Eurasian Archaeology Conference, University of Chicago, 2005).

[78] C. Hillenbrand, *Crusades*; see E. Sivan *l'Islam et la Croisade* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1968) 12-13 for *jihād* as propaganda used by both Muslims and Byzantines.

[79] Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 98–99.

By the tenth century C.E., writers from the central lands altered their perception of the frontier. Scholars mention adjustments to the dichotomies of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* by adding another metaphysical geographic layer: *dār al-ṣulḥ* (house of peace) or *dār al-'ahd* (house of covenant). In this ideological frontier, non-Muslims could remain autonomous and protected from *jihād* fighting only if they recognized Muslim power and paid tribute.[81] These changes reflected and accommodated the political realities on the *thughūr* frontier, which by the mid-tenth century was fragmented and ruled by the Byzantines and local powers such as the Hamdānids of Mawṣil and Ḥalab.[82] It is apparent that *jihād* as the medieval scholars interpreted it was more idiosyncratic than monumental. The development of *jihād* as it related must be seen as not only constantly changing, but changing to fit the political and social realities of relations with non-Muslim individuals, communities, or empires. The articulation and reinforcement of these ideological frontiers were forms of propaganda from central lands on how to effectively administrate these changing peripheral lands. Predictably,

---

[80] Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 92. There are further exceptions that changed over time and show the inconsistencies of frontier administrative policy. For example, the Jarājima of the Amanus Mountains, who were employed either by the Byzantines or by the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids as allied clients, were exempt from paying tribute (see Chapter 8). Similarly, at one time the people of al-Sāmira were employed as spies and guides and were exempt from *jizya* but paid *kharāj*. The poor, blind, children, disabled, and elderly were at times exempt from *jizya*, as were monks. See Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 53–54.

[81] Bonner asserts that these *dārs* did not affect views of *jihād*, as *jihād* was not directed at the conversion of non-Islamic populations or individuals, see *Jihad in Islamic History*, 92.

[82] At the same time, *jihād* ideology was renewed by the Hamdānids, an Arab frontier dynasty led by Sayf al-Dawla (r. 945–67 C.E.) who rallied masses of troops in response to the Byzantine reconquest. This was done with sermons, such those by ibn Nubata al-Fariqī of Mayyafāriqīn who wrote in rhymed prose, or by the poetry of al-Mutanabbī, the poet of Sayf al-Dawla. The Hamdānids also used *jihād* propaganda invoking the Umayyad conquests as historical precedent. This genre of pseudo-conquest literature in Syria romanticized the days of the Islamic conquests. See Donner, "Sources of Islamic Conception of War," 53–54.

the tolerance for independent non-Muslim communities seems to have been fueled by economic motivation either through taxation or increased facility of commerce across the frontier, rather than religious institutions.

Apocalyptic traditions were also important elements in the religious frontier landscape and similarly discursive in that their mythology could be altered to fit any actual event of war, whether a victory, defeat, or political crisis. As such, the relationship of apocalyptic to historiographic sources makes them an interesting category of historic evidence.[83] Eschatological ideas were an important motivation for *jihād* conquests and embraced by many frontier inhabitants.[84] Indeed, one strategy in this literature was to create a sense of urgency and terror on the *thughūr*, showing how Islamic frontier towns were ravaged, creating an atmosphere of fear and a need for reinforcements. This was a type of propaganda, "to attract more inhabitants and warriors to these cities."[85] One such Islamic frontier town and center of production of an apocalyptic ideology of *jihād* was Ṭarsūs. The surviving works of the frontier scholar Abū ʻAmr ʻUthmān al- Ṭarsūsī are rife with apocalyptic ideology. Using his works, al-Zaid demonstrates that the city as a locus for such militarized hysteria shifted in the early ʻAbbāsid period to attract *ghazī* soldiers interested in waging war against the *dār al-ḥarb*.[86] According to Ṭabarī, the *ghazī* fighters had no interest in

[83] See S. Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (third series) 1 (1991), 173–207.

[84] D. Cook, "Muslim Apocalyptic and Jihad" *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), 66-104.

[85] O. Livne-Kafri, "A Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition Attributed to Daniel (in Light of a Jewish Tradition)," *al-ʻUsur al-Wusta* 17.1 (April 2005): 7–8.

being controlled by the central government and so recruitment on the frontier and *jihād* against the Byzantines belies more subtle machinations at work in the construction of a frontier ideology.[87]

However, there were more serious internalized conflicts taking place, as seen in the eschatological literature. Many of these apocalyptic tales followed earlier traditions transmitted from seventh century sources around the north Syrian frontier town of Ḥimṣ. These *jihād* tales were interspersed with a series of intricate political subplots concerning inter-Arab clashes that were interrelated, such as North versus South Arabians, anti-Umayyad sentiment, and settled versus nomadic interaction. Madelung shows how Arab factionalism and division contributed to the end of the Umayyad dynasty through a set of Himyarite apocalyptic texts that speak of the defeat of the North Arabian Umayyads at the hands of the South Arabian tribes.[88] These were played out even in the epic battles (*malāḥim*) between Byzantines and Muslims.

The political tribal conflicts that underpin apocalyptic literature reveal certain economic advantages of *jihād* policy that belie purely religious motivations for holy war. Conversion, a requirement of *jihād*, is seldom mentioned — if at all — in relation to the frontier conflict and raiding. Rather what is mentioned is the collection of tax or booty. Collection of the *jizya* tax and acquisition of booty were further requirements that could often prevent *jihād* violence. Ghevond's account of eighth century 'Abbāsid

---

[86] Al-Zaid, "Apocalyptic Frontier."

[87] Al-Zaid calls this "instrumentalism" (Ibid.).

[88] Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Hims in the Umayyad Age;" Donner, "The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War," 46.

Armenia states that violence was used as a punishment if no tax was collected.[89] Groups who were encouraged to settle on the frontier by the central state (and often through a rhetoric of *jihād)* were granted certain tax incentives.[90] Al-Mawardī (d. 1058) says that *jizya* should be paid immediately and treated like booty. The term booty must be clarified somewhat as it has acquired a modern meaning of treasure or gold. Booty taken on tribal raids consisted of mobile products and resources such as livestock (sheep, goats, camels, and horses), grain and other produce, and prisoners. The collection of prisoners was an important economic resource as enemy prisoners were periodically traded for one's own men or goods.[91] Prisoners were sometimes incorporated into their captor's tribal groups. These accounts imply that: 1) tribal raids or Islamic conquests and the collection of booty or tax, whether formal activities or not, were difficult to separate; and 2) the practice of *jihād* against unbelievers had little to do with the religious spread of Islam and conversion; but 3) was an economic war, depending on acquisition of resources and payments as tribute to ensure security. W.

---

[89] A. Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad (*Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005).

[90] Similarly, Byzantine *akritai* in the thirteenth century were frontier soldiers who were also tax exempt and free to take booty from their raids of the upland tribes. Their allegiance was opportunistic and they switched sides often. See R.P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1983), 11.

[91] For more discussion on prisoner exchange, see H. Kennedy, "Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic Conquests to the Mid-Eleventh Century," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, eds. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Brookfield, VT: 1992), 133-43; Y. Rotman, *Les Esclaves et l'Esclavage: de la Méditerranée antique à la Méditeranée medieval Vie-XIe siècles* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), especially 68-72. Rotman states that Islamic prisoner exchange (*fidā*) is only recorded from the eighth century and corresponds with the shift in frontier policies from Umayyad expansionist to 'Abbāsid raiding ("incursions ponctuelles." An example of prisoner booty comes in an event from 779 C.E. where Ma'yūf b. Yahyā al-Hajūrī led a summer raid deep into Anatolia and brought back six thousand youths and children as captives. (C. Bosworth, "Byzantium and the Syrian Frontier in the Early Abbasid Period. Bilād al-Shām during the 'Abbāsid Period (132 A.H./A.D. 750-451 A.H./A.D. 1059)," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām* ed. M.A. Bakhit (Amman, 1991), 54-62. This is very similar to the Ottoman devshirme policy of recruitment.

Kaegi agrees, arguing that although the Islamic invasions were recorded as a religious enterprise, the impulse and temptation to acquire economic resources was great.[92] On the northern frontiers with Byzantium and Armenia and the peripheries of Islamic empire, the ambiguity of state sanctioned tax collection and conquests or independent raiding for booty was even more heightened. The elements of collecting booty to increase a resource base or for trade and the method of raiding typically characterize nomadic pastoralist subsistence strategies for sustaining an otherwise difficult way of life.[93]

Other *thughūrs*: Society, Economy, and Settlement

The frontiers of societies, economy and trade, and settlements are alternative visions of the frontier; they are physical spaces that contribute additional layers beyond traditional military and religious viewpoints. Like the concept of *jihād* across the frontier, the demographic composition of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier was a similar complex set of interactions influenced by external political and economic forces. Abu Ezzah and others paint a picture of the physical demographic makeup of the frontier and the various ethnic groups that comprised its society. Tribes existed in the frontier region before the Islamic conquests. The two large Christian Arab tribes of Ghassān and Lakhm were known from Syria since the second half of the sixth century

[92] W. E. Kaegi, "The Earliest Muslim Penetrations into Anatolia," *Byzantium: State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides* (Athens National Research Foundation, 2003), 269–82.

[93] Collecting booty also redistributed wealth in the form of livestock. See Donner, Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War, 34 for pre-Islamic practices; Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 11 for Ottoman practices.

and used by the Byzantines or Sāsānians as clients.[94] Various names for the Christian Arabs in Syriac and Greek reflect the existence of tribal names such as *tayyāyē* (Ṭayyi'), *'arbāyē*, *tanūkāyē* (Tanūkh), *'aqūlāyē* ('Uqayl), and *ṭu'āyē*.[95] The Quḍā'a were another pre-Islamic tribe in northern Syria. The Jazīra was full of tribes and consequently was subdivided into tribally based provinces: Diyār Muḍar, Diyār Bakr, and Diyār Rabī'a. The large tribes were composed of smaller units or clans that were known by different names. These tribes and clans descended or were part of the largest basic groupings of Northern Arabians (Qays and Muḍar) and Southern Arabians (Yaman and also the pre-Islamic Quḍā'a).

In the pre-Islamic period, northern and central Syria was mainly controlled by the Tanūkh and Bahrā' tribes, while the Kalb were in southeast Syria.[96] By the Islamic conquests, in the central *thughūr* and the *'awāṣim* area, there were several major tribal groups around the key towns of Ḥalab, Qinnasrīn, Bālis, and Manbij. Around the area of Ḥalab, including the towns of Kafar Tab, al-Ma'arra, Sarmīn, and Nasab, were the Iyād tribes, who were settled people. Also in this area were the Quḍā'a descended Qaḥṭān tribes (consisting the clans of Janab, 'Ulaym, Zubayr, and 'Adī of Kalb). Around Qinnasrīn (south of Ḥalab) and Manbij, the Ṭayyi' tribe were settled first in a

---

[94] Much work has been done on the Ghassān and Lakhm by I. Shahîd from the fourth-sixth centuries. See particularly *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century,* Vol. II, Part I: *Toponymy, Monuments, Historical Geography, and Frontier Studies* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002).

[95] Their use in non-Islamic sources was not to define them clearly, but rather to define Christian Arabs generally. The *ṭu'āyē* might have been the tribes of Bakr, 'Ijl, Namir, and Taghlib. See C. Robinson, "Tribes and Nomads in Early Islamic Northern Mesopotamia," in *Continuity and Change,* 429–52.

[96] For a general listing of pre-Islamic tribes, see Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs,* 52-57.

ḥaḍir (permanent camp) outside the city. Around Bālis and Qāṣirin, the Qays were settled by Abu ‘Ubayda. In addition there were lesser-known clans such as the Judhām, Balqayn, Balī, and ‘Āmila and the Bajila clan mentioned in eighth century Syria.

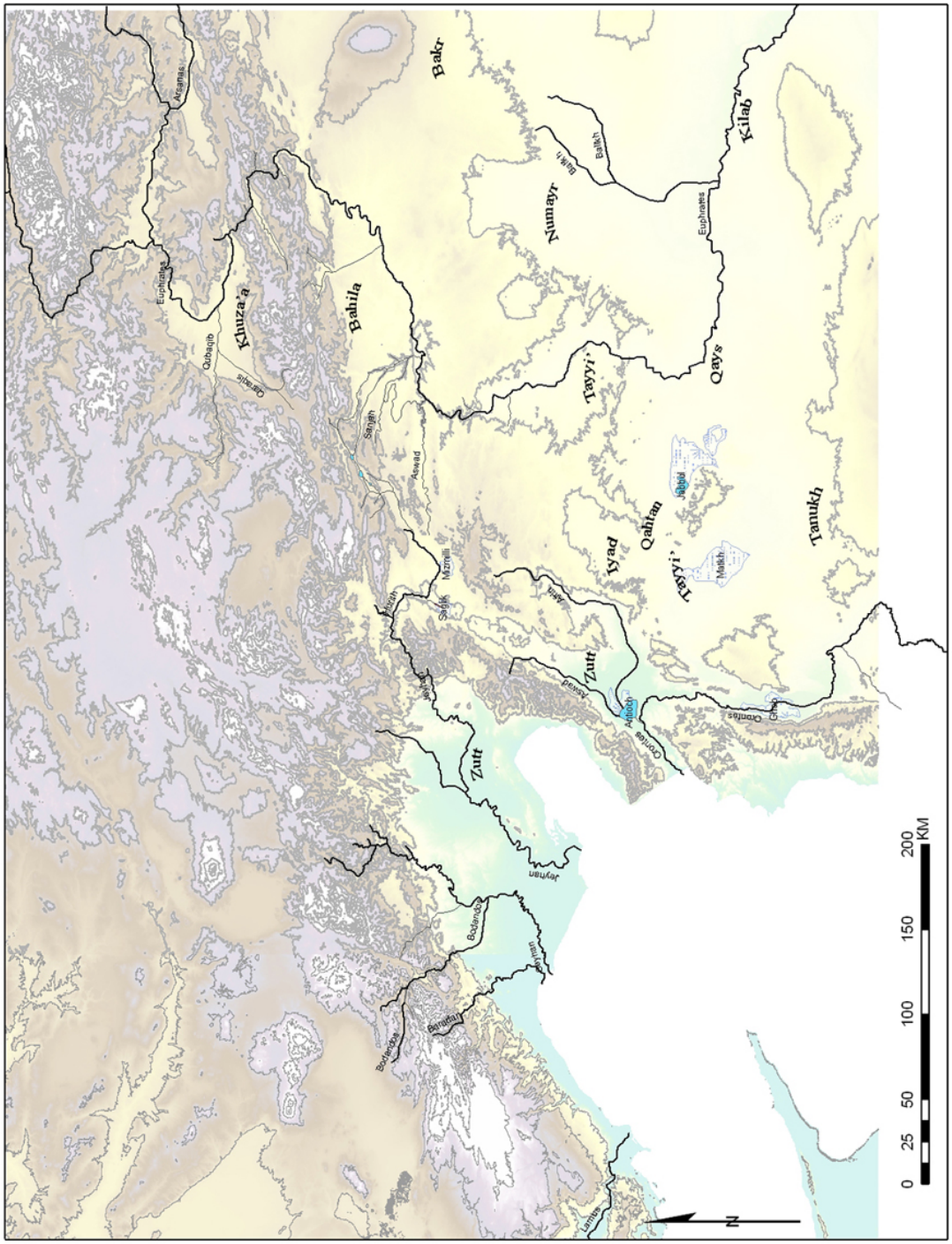

Figure 2 Tribal Map of thughūr (estimate)

Even before the Islamic conquests, the eastern part of the *thughūr* was dominated by Northern Arabian tribes, such as the Taghlib. The Iyād and Namir were also south of the Taghlib. The Taghlib were descended from the Rabī‘a and were largely Christian semi-settled groups who owned plowable land and herds (*aṣḥāb ḥurūth wa-mawāsh*) in the Jazīra.[97] A clan of this tribe, the Hamdān, was already active in the seventh century, three centuries before their rise as an important independent dynasty. The Bakr, also descendant from the Rabī‘a, was a settled tribe. Several tribes were more nomadic than others, such as the Tamīm, Kalb, and Kilab. They were active as major traders of the Taurus Mountains and also served as messengers.[98] There were also tribes on the far northern frontier from Sumaysāṭ to Malaṭiya, such as the Bāhila and the Khuzā‘a clan of the Ṭayyi’ tribe.

Administration and relation to the central government were key issues for these Early Islamic frontier tribes. Tribes from southern Iraq who demonstrated pro-Umayyad sentiments were encouraged to settle around places such as Qinnasrīn and given lands in exchange for wages (*iqṭā‘*), such as the Kinda (from Kūfa), and the Tanūkh. These tribes were administered by local governors and members of the Umayyad family in the seventh and early eighth centuries. As a result, during the Umayyad/‘Abbāsid transition, internal tribal battles ensued where tribes supported both sides. Pro-Umayyad supporters for Marwān II (r. 744–50) were found at Qinnasrīn such as the ‘Uqayl of the Jazīra. They warred against the pro-‘Abbāsid

[97] Robinson, “Tribes and Nomads in Early Islamic Northern Mesopotamia,” n. 26. Donner says by circa 600 C.E. they were full time shepherding or semi nomads occupying riverside villages, see *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 19.

[98] For example, they deliver Muhammad’s letter to Heraclius (Abu Ezzah, “Syrian Thughūr,” 202).

tribes from Sumaysāṭ and Kaysūm. In the ‘Abbāsid period, the areas of the eastern frontier as far as Malaṭiya were administered by governors who belonged to the tribes themselves, rather than members of the Umayyad family.

Non-Arabs were similarly present before the conquests and also settled in the region. Persians from Ba‘labakk, Ḥimṣ, Baṣra, and Kūfa were encouraged to settle in Anṭākiya by the state. Semitic eastern Syriac and Aramaic speaking Christians (referred to in Arabic as *Nabaṭ*) who lived in northern Syria and the Jazīra remained settled as farmers and traders, while many ethnic Greeks (*rūmī*) mainly consisting of the urban ruling elite left the cities. From historical sources, two main groups of non-Arabs were known to have lived on the frontier: the Jarājima of the mountains and the Zuṭṭ and Sayābija of the marshes. The Jarājima (Mardaites) were Christians native to the area who moved to the Amanus Mountains and remained relatively autonomous insurgents, giving their loyalties to either Byzantine or Islamic side for their own protection and exemption from paying taxes. The Zuṭṭ and Sayābija were marsh dwelling laborers from southern Iraq, but they originally came from Sind (India) and farther east. They were settled around Anṭākiya, the Amuq Plain, and Cilicia. This massive settlement policy was designed to control uprisings and further destabilize the tribal frontier with non-native groups. These groups and their interactions with each other and their environment will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 8).

The ethnic composition changed by the mid-eighth century C.E. when troops from Khurāsān were settled side by side with Syrian and Jazīran Arabs. Khurāsānī troops were sent to Adhana, Ṭarsūs, and ‘Ayn Zarba. A remark on the rebuilding of Ṭarsūs

during the caliphate of Mahdī describes troops from Samarqand, Khwārizm, Farghāna, and other parts of Central Asia.[99] Christian sects such as the Paulicians (*bayāliqa*) sided with the Muslims to avoid persecution by the Byzantines for embracing iconoclastic views in the ninth and tenth centuries.[100] Defection across the border was also prevalent as in the example of Slavs that came during the rule of Justinian II and took Arabic names.

Interestingly, instances of defection and desertion were tied to commercial enterprises: "internal conflicts and the ensuing schisms thereof encouraged the military and the civil servants to increase their involvement in trade very widely."[101] The blurring of ethnic groups on the frontier was facilitated by the importance of trade and economy. On the ground, the frontier was open and was a corridor for trade and commerce between Anatolia and the Near East. Von Sivers' analysis of the *thughūr* examines its chronological transformation and the ideas of expansion and stabilization specifically through the economic history of the region.[102] His argument is hinged on a transformation of the economic priorities of the frontier under 'Abbāsid rule. Similar to Abu Ezzah's three phased historical transformation, von Sivers outlines three stages of economic progression: 1) 750–842 C.E., a period of expansion, settlement through fiscal incentives, and financial exploitation of local Christians through tax; 2) 842–78

---

[99] Ibid., 124.

[100] The Paulicians are thought to have been Armenian, but this is still uncertain. For discussion and bibliography, see N. Garsoïan, "Paulicians," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[101] Ibid., 212.

[102] Von Sivers, "Taxes and Trade in the 'Abbāsid Thughūr, 750–962/133–351."

C.E., a period of defensive strategies, decline in commercial ventures and ties with the Byzantines; and 3) 878–962 C.E., continuation of defensive policies, commercial expansion, and military supervision.[103] Through this lens, von Sivers sheds light on the settlement of the frontier, emphasizing monetary and land grants as the primary incentive rather than religious obligation. Once the region was settled, then it gradually became linked within the commercial networks of the late ninth and tenth centuries. A prosopographical analysis further shows that over time the notable personages shift from ʻAbbāsid members and Khurāsānī military leaders on temporary assignments to Central Asians and assorted professional troops of the caliph who permanently come to reside in the frontier. Von Sivers further implies that this period coincides with the establishment of commercial trade. This perspective offers a very pragmatic view highlighting the economic importance of the frontier settlement, a case that is well argued and, perhaps, less fused with the idealist religious explanations for settlement: "Conquest might have been a religious duty, but there was a time when the Muslims discovered that the fiscal benefits of military expansion were less profitable than the commercial benefits of a militarily protected trade."[104]

Similarly, Abu Ezzah argues that the traditional concept of "raid and trade," or the acquisition of booty, was not an enduring incentive. A division of booty typically was divided into fifths or tenths, with one-fifth or one-tenth going to the treasury and four-fifths or nine-tenths being shared by all of the soldiers and commanders involved. Over time, military personnel began to be involved in commercial ventures, investing

[103] Ibid., 72–73.

[104] Ibid., 89.

their spoils for more money in trade, while non-military personnel and merchants (*ahl al-aswāq*) provisioned armies.[105] With regard to the veracity of religious obligation, Abu Ezzah is more ambivalent projecting these conflicted views on the frontier citizens, themselves:

> While it is erroneous to maintain that the people who lived in the Syrian Thughūr were mainly interested in the "holy war" against the infidels, it is equally erroneous to say that those people were no more than "hypocrites" whose real interests were centered on material gains. On both sides of the frontier there prevailed a general spirit of Crusading or Jihād; but this was not always the case.[106]

The analysis by Sivers and Abu Ezzah is beneficial to understanding the *thughūr* as a complicated administered province and military-protected zone for settlement with a long pre-Islamic tradition of rural agriculture and a key area for trade and relations with the Byzantines. The settlement policies and ethnic mixing of Christians and various Muslims (Khurāsānīs, Arab tribes) profoundly affected its economy. Both Sivers and Abu Ezzah illustrate the evolution of a military frontier into an economic frontier; Sivers brings to bear the economic incentives of settlement. I would argue that the roles were not so clearly defined. The frontier was largely self-sufficient to a degree,[107] using agricultural revenue to support military endeavors. There is mention of *awqāf* from the *'awāṣim* area of Anṭākiya and Ḥalab from agricultural production

---

[105] Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 222.

[106] Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 241. Straughn highlights a similar tension of soldiers and merchants in Ṭarsūs ("Materializing Islam," 201).

[107] The degree of self-suffiency does not refer to a closed and isolated system for the frontier in its entirety as it was well connected with Byzantine and Islamic lands. Self-sufficiency here refers to more immediate microsystems of land use between urban and rural settlements located within the frontier. This will be demonstrated in the following chapters, particularly Chapter 2 and 7.

supporting both military and religious institutions.[108] Because the frontier was less strongly integrated into central economies, the military in their seasonal movements were tied to a system of farming and pastoralism, moving across the frontier and interacting with frontier societies on both the Byzantine and Islamic sides.

What is lacking from these arguments is archaeological evidence that can greatly enhance the available sources for economy and settlement as well as other areas such as environment, land use, demography, and social organization. Admittedly, the material culture is thin; however, excavations at Ṭarsūs, Malaṭiya, and Sumaysāṭ,[109] and other smaller sites and surveys[110] can begin to fill in what we know about life on the frontier and how the groups interacted with one another and with the central lands.

Missing from the discussion of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier is an analysis of the Byzantine side. This is addressed in the first part of a seminal article (and first major work on the subject) co-written by Haldon and Kennedy.[111] The main questions posed for the Byzantine frontier by Haldon concerns its military, social, and economic history from the Byzantine period onward, as well as how the frontier was affected by the Muslim raids. Most salient is a transformation of settlement types around the

---

[108] Straughn, "Materializing Islam," 202.

[109] For a more detailed discussion and recent work, see Appendix 2/Gazetteer. For Ṭarsūs, see F. E. Day, "The Islamic Finds at Tarsus," *Asia and the Americas* 41 (1941). For Malaṭiya, see S. Equini, *Malatya II: Rapporto preliminare delle campagnes 1963–1968, il livello romano-bizantins e le testimonianze islamiche* (Rome, 1970). For Sumaysāṭ, see T. Goell, "Samosata Archaeological Excavations, Turkey 1967," *National Geographic Society Research Reports* (1967): 83–109; G. Öney, "1978–1979 Yili Samsat Kazılarında Bulunan İslam Devri Buluntularıyla İlgili İlk Haber," *Arkeoloji Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 1 (1982): 71–80.

[110] New projects are currently underway with intensive site surveys at 'Ayn Zarba (R. Posamentir), Maṣṣīṣa (G. Salmeri), and Euchaita (J. Haldon) – the site in northern Anatolia and target of a well-known Islamic expedition in the seventh century.

[111] Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries."

seventh century. The cities in Roman and Byzantine times were granted limited self-sufficient regional authority. However, by the seventh century they lost the backing of imperial funding and became administrative seats with very little power. Their revenue directly supplied the military and state. Functionally they became fortresses (*castilii*) rather than *poleis* and were places of refuge generally built on steep hills and mountains. Linked with this shift was a transformation of the social and economic life of the populace. Images of devastation, depopulation, and agricultural decline in favor of pastoralism arise from both primary and secondary sources. The issue of decline in the transition of Byzantine to Islamic Near East has been tackled variously by historians and archaeologists and more or less abandoned, not least for its implications of qualitative values but as it is now proved to be an inaccurate description (see above). Haldon treats this issue of seventh through eighth century Byzantine decline positively, asserting that despite the transformation of the region (avoiding all together the use of "decline") and the "disappearance of traditional urban society … and a corresponding extensive 'ruralisation,'"[112] the frontier operated as a well-organized militarized borderland, successfully repelling Muslim expansion, though this was a gradual process.

The focus by Haldon on the settlement of the frontier provides the basis of initial research into an important layer that has to be distinguished from the previous frontiers of political ideology and economy. This layer examines the Islamic-Byzantine frontier as a landscape of settlement. Despite the repetition of the numerous refortification programs, little attention is given to this process or the sites themselves.

[112] Ibid., 105.

Similar historiographic work on the various trends in rebuilding programs implanted by various rulers would shed light on where the rulers focused their energies, particularly in relation to Byzantine raids. Under Manṣūr's reign, there was a rebuilding program between 756–60 carried out by Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAlī of Maṣṣīṣa, Adhana, Marʻash, and Malaṭiya. Al-Ḥassān b. Qaḥṭaba, a Khurāsānī commander, implemented a second program in 778–79 at Ṭarsūs and Ḥadath. Hārūn al-Rashīd established the *ʻawāṣim* during his reign, but he also focused on the creation of three new frontier posts in 799–800: ʻAyn Zarba, Kanīsa al-Sawdāʼ, and Hārūnīyya; all three were located in a small area of the Cilician Plain, east of Maṣṣīṣa. Comparatively, Manṣūr was involved in renovating eight forts while Hārūn al-Rashīd restored only six (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer under individual site entries). Important questions are raised concerning the ramifications of such political and military policies on the frontier forts. Why were these forts highlighted in this specific area in relation to the entire frontier line? What dictated the other rebuilding programs that all occur within groupings of several years? Were there certain competing administrative, military, economic, or environmental concerns that each caliph faced or each caliph used against his predecessor? Did each fort exhibit trends based on its ethnic garrisons and if so, how did they differ? Did the forts themselves differ physically? Did they gain or lose prominence under the various administrative shifts? Unfortunately, these queries are beyond the scope of this study and are relegated to future research, necessitating a combination of historiographic study, intensive site survey, and excavation at the sites themselves. However, at the crux of these questions is the search for relational patterns

that form a new layer of perceiving the frontier, focusing on its physical landscape of settlement.

Abu Ezzah remarked on the settlements of the frontier, based on personal experience:

> … as has been seen by the present author during his travel into the Taurus and the Amanus ranges in December 1978 … The author was under the impression that all of the strongholds must have been either on high sites overlooking the mountain passes or atop some hills commanding their entrances. But after visiting the region and traveling through it he realized that this had not been the case; hill tops and the rough surface of the mountainous lands where the passes existed could only be suitable for small fortresses, accommodating small numbers of men.[113]

He noted that the frontier was not a straight, curved, or zigzagged line; the placement of forts was dictated by strategic, geographical, economic, and historical factors.[114] Additionally, he outlined several classes of forts. These included: 1) large urban bases[115] and cultural centers located on the plain, not necessarily close to mountain passes but on trade routes, capable of defending against heavy invasions; 2) medium bases[116] that could fend off small raids independently but could be reinforced with more troops; and 3) small bases[117] located on upland peaks or near larger bases (as *maslaḥa*) and designed as lookout posts to warn against enemy incursions. From accounts of cooperation between *thughūr* towns, Abu Ezzah established an informal division of four rough regions of relative cohesion based on chief cities and their

---

[113] Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 85, 103.

[114] Ibid., 8, 100.

[115] Such as Anṭākiya, Mar'ash, Malaṭiya, Maṣṣīṣa, Adhana, and Ṭarsūs.

[116] Such as al-Ḥadath, Kanīsa al-Sawdā', al-Hārūnīyya, Zibaṭra, al-Iskandarūna, and Bayās.

[117] Such as Ḥiṣn al-Jawzāt, Lu'lu'a, and Bayt Laha.

dependants including: 1) Cilician Plain and the Ṭarsūs and Amanus Mountain slopes; 2) Anṭākiya and its neighboring forts; 3) Mar'ash and its neighboring forts; and 4) Malaṭiya and its region (see Fig 1).[118] This underlies a regional and localized system based on topography rather than a superimposed, centrally dominated rule. Straughn argues that the frontier fort system was an *ad hoc* system of defense, whether initiated by the local population or central state, and that not every settlement was involved in agriculture.[119] Like Abu Ezzah, he states that successful raids encouraged an outpost to be built in advance of the main settlement to prevent and warn of future attacks, such as Tall Jubayr, Ṭarsūs, Ḥiṣn Qalawdhiya, and Malaṭiya (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer).

Kennedy describes how the frontier system of settlements was built up and operated, focusing on the 'Abbāsid period, owing to the lack of Umayyad information and the consolidation of the frontier provinces in the mid-eighth through the tenth centuries. A synthetic overview of the forts moves away from their treatment in the secondary sources as individual entities to a singular, intentionally fortified and planned frontier line. In contrast with the upland Byzantine forts sited at elevations over 1,000 m.a.s.l., Kennedy also noted that they are all: 1) located in fertile plains

[118] Abu Ezzah, "Syrian Thughūr," 105–11, 170.

[119] Straughn cites Sumaysāṭ as an example of a non-agricultural site that served for the "greater defense" ("Materializing Islam," 187–88). Sumaysāṭ was in fact located in an agricultural setting, the extremely fertile and well-watered Karababa Basin of the Euphrates. Ibn Ḥawqal and Istakhrī in 951 C.E. remarked on its location amidst irrigated and rain-fed lands. Furthermore, he cites the Gritille survey as an example of no Early Islamic settlement owing to the peak in Middle Islamic sites. By contrast with the Early Islamic period, a peak in the number of Middle Islamic sites is seen everywhere in the region and should not be interpreted that there was no Early Islamic settlement in the region (see Chapter 5).

beside rivers and not situated in the highlands, and 2) consisted of urban military and economic settlements and not isolated fortresses.[120] Returning once more to the example of the Andalusian *thughūr*, there is striking similarity: "Thus they see a diffuse Muslim/Christian frontier in the mid-tenth century, with some colonization from both North and South, persistence of a rural population in the high villages of the central sierras and pockets of Muslim settlement interdigitated with Christian settlements."[121]

Kennedy introduces a critical viewpoint regarding the frontier, questioning the motivation behind the yearly Muslim raids. He hypothesizes that since the raids were not to expand territory, they may have been a ritualized propagandistic function. Another alternative is that the conflict between the Byzantines and Muslims over the frontier could be seen as competition over favorable land for pastoralism.[122] The hypothetical suggestions are, in fact, directly relevant to further discussion on the frontier.

From the various frontiers presented, a picture is formed of the region. As the evidence is dependent on primary sources, each frontier description is formed by the emphases arising out of the sources themselves. These differences in writing illustrate very clearly the discipline-based process of constructing frontier. Yet, by tying together some of these alternate frontiers with minimal analysis, we can paint a picture

---

[120] Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 109; H. Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World we Live in* (Philadelphia: De Capo Press, 2007), 365.

[121] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress*, 114.

[122] Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 114; Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests,* 366.

of a peripheral space with many ethnic inhabitants, each practicing different ways of living, each way dictating different movements across or around the frontier. Military raiding was not a lucrative proposition for its own sake. It was subsumed under larger ecologically tied methods of subsistence such as farming, herding, extracting agricultural revenue, or collecting booty for personal survival and trade. The movement that marked these activities was between frontier societies crossing urban, rural, ethnic, and natural boundaries. As such, the Islamic-Byzantine frontier was not an empty wilderness or division between two groups, but its own zone of ecologically-based interaction imbued with further layers of administrative and military involvement and religious and ideological meaning.

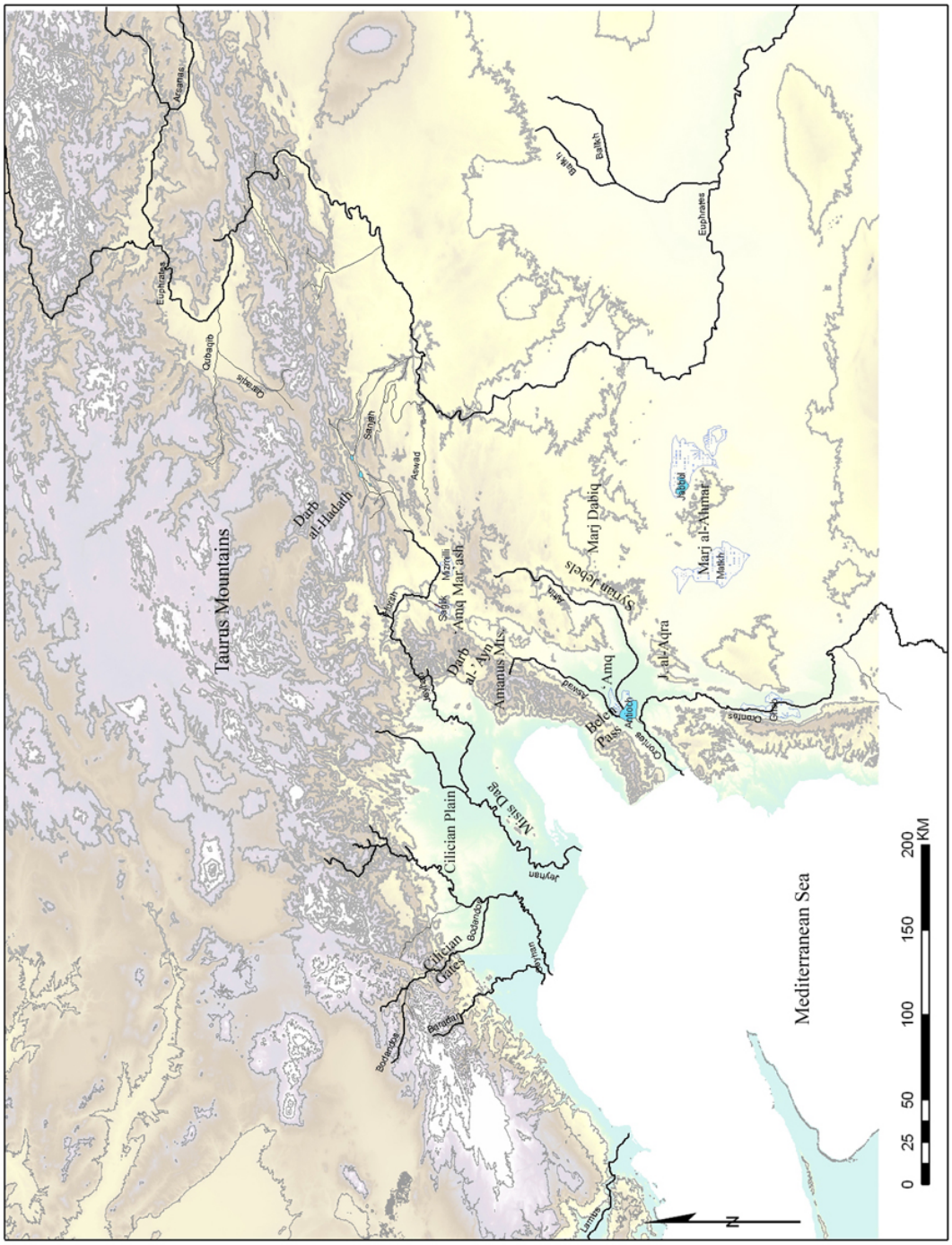

Figure 3 Map of thughūr with natural features represented

Frontier Theory

The idea of the frontier as a wilderness is attributed to the work of Frederick Jackson Turner, the father of frontier theory.[123] Turner's pioneering and controversial frontier thesis in 1893 viewed the western United States as a wilderness of savages ready to be tamed by civilization and democracy. Recent scholarship on frontier theory and medieval frontiers, however, has challenged many earlier assumptions of the frontier as a border among nations or as an untamed wilderness in the sense Turner conceived it. Frontier theorists, since then, have variously dissected, decried, or sometimes virtually deified his thesis.[124] Certainly its monumental presence in frontier literature is a testament to its durability and provocativeness as a scholarly argument. With regard to the Islamic world, however, Turner's dichotomies of the wilderness and the tame, the savage and the civilized, and the wild and the natural seem to come dangerously close to orientalist thinking and, indeed, to some current anti-Islamic polemic. Indeed, the famous Ottoman historian Paul Wittek formed his own Turnerian views on the frontier:

---

[123] F. J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 1–38.

[124] G. Wolfskill and S. Palmer see Turner as a pioneer and argue that Turner's frontier was in itself a process, always in "a state of becoming," Introduction to *Essays on Frontiers in World History*, eds. G. Wolfskill and S. Palmer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 3–11. R. J. Reynolds also sees it as a feudalistic frontier model of one side dominating the other, "The Mediterranean Frontiers, 1000–1400," in *Frontier in Perspective*, 3-21. Turner is seen as an important reference point for new scholarship by W. Wyman and C. Kroeber (Introduction to *Frontier in Perspective*, xiii–xx). P. Bohannan finds Turner problematic, but views the frontier as a device for viewing acculturation and culture change, Introduction to *Beyond the Frontier*, xi–xviii). K. Bekker discusses the Islamic-Indian frontier, booty, and tribute as part of a one-way cultural feudalistic system, "Historical Patterns of Culture Contact in Southern Asia," *Beyond the Frontier,* 71–86. One of the earliest anti-Turnerian frontier stances is from C. J. Bishko. He is perhaps the first to argue for frontier ethnogenesis: the creation of new lands, new people, and new literature on the frontier, "The Frontier in Medieval History" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., 1955).

> … a frontier culture will be, in most cases, necessarily primitive. It will be a cast-off from the high culture of the interior, mixed to such a degree with the waste products of the enemy's culture, that it will share nothing essential in common with that culture whose defender and champion it vaunted itself as being.[125]

Since the days of Turner, study of the frontier has advanced significantly and become almost a scholarly field in its own right, one that parallels the movement of the academy into broader and more interdisciplinary modes of thought.[126] Interestingly, archaeologists are among the last to join medieval historians in embracing frontier theory, despite its relevance to post-processualist inquiries.[127] Historians, archaeologists, and frontier scholars now generally accept that medieval frontiers were never conceived as specific borders of demarcation between two entities, but rather were seen as zones that were both defined by its inhabitants and by its character as peripheral lands in relation to their central ruling bodies. As a result, frontier societies seldom consisted of different communities in a state of binary opposition but rather were made up of mixed and diverse populations that fluctuated over time.[128] The evolution of frontier theory has moved from the barrier to the bridge and from the zone to zonal interaction.[129] The simplistic military vision of medieval frontiers

---

[125] P. Wittek, "Deux Chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum," *Byzantion* 11 (1936), 285–319.

[126] The most important contributions have come from conferences on medieval frontiers published with a variety of papers. For an excellent summary of the scholarship, see F. Curta, Introduction to *Borders Barriers*, 1–9; see also the following edited volumes: *Medieval Frontier Societies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); *Shifting Frontiers*; *Frontiers in Question; Medieval Frontiers.* These contributions have explored, complicated, and redefined the frontier into a set of interactive zones operating on many levels, departing from the traditional two ways of observing frontiers, either as a Turnerian wilderness or a border between two entities.

[127] Curta, "Introduction to *Borders Barriers*."

[128] For example, P. Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

dissolved into a set of interactive conflicts amid mixed communities comprising nomadic populations and settled peoples, and the effect on these of frontier institutions and religio-political ideologies.[130] Frontiers have been further broken down into a series of processes embodying the cultural interactions taking place within these diverse societies such as religious, ethnic, economic, linguistic, political, or urban frontiers.[131] These interactions, including processes of adaptation, acculturation, assimilation, and cultural ambiguity of ethnic and religious groups can create new societies (ethnogenesis), uniquely born out of living within a peripheral sense of place. Some archaeologists have argued that contrary to the assumption that the central place typifies culture, it is precisely this interconnectedness of societies and visible process of social change on the frontier that should draw attention to its importance.[132] Taken even further, the process of frontier is not rooted to a fixed periphery but is moveable, as are the internal frontiers of societies such as intra-urban settlement and intermarriage. On the other end of the spectrum, some have critiqued frontiers as becoming too generalizing and lacking definition.[133] I argue that the fragmentation of frontiers comprises a wholeness from the sum of its parts. The various definitions are

---

[129] For zonal interaction or Middle Ground theory, see: R. White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[130] R. Bartlett and A. MacKay, Preface to *Medieval Frontier Societies*, v–vii.

[131] R. W. Mathisen and H. S. Sivan, Introduction to *Shifting Frontiers*, 1–10; D. Powers and N. Standen, Preface to *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands*, viii–x; D. Abulafia, "Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity" in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, 1–34; Kopytoff "The Internal African Frontier," 16ff.

[132] S. Green and S. Perlman, Preface to *The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries*, eds. S. Green and S. Perlman (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985).

[133] N. Berend, Preface to *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, x–xv.

non-exclusive layers of meaning that can all be superimposed and variously applied in studying frontiers. These layers of frontiers parallel the history of the *thughūr* and its scholarship.

Concepts of territory during the medieval periods did not define space and frontier as we do today. Geographers described their world in terms of itineraries and traveling distances rather than geographical space; political maps were later institutions.[134] Territories were demarcated physically often by single points or boundary markers.[135] Natural features, such as the Taurus Mountains, were also used to delimit areas. This can be seen in the early maps of some of the Muslim geographers such as Muqaddasī (b. 945) and Idrīsī (d. 1165/66) show abstracted lines for mountains ranges and coasts. Cartographers abstracted space in a conceptualized ways, showing only the largest and most significant areas rather than depicting their worlds comprehensively and accurately.[136] The articulation of rule was over people rather than physical land. Similarly, forts were always described by who controlled them, rather than as physical markers of a frontier.[137] Brauer, in a lengthy analysis of Islamic geography and geographers, shows that there were no political boundaries, concepts of the frontier, or agreement on the *thughūr* by geographers. Rather, frontier was articulated as the

[134] T. Rooke, "Writing the Boundary: *Khitat al-Shām* by Muhammad Kurd 'Ali," in *The Concept of Territory in Islamic Law and Thought*, ed. Y. Hiroyuki (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 165–86.

[135] P. Squatriti, "Moving Earth and Making Difference: Dikes and Frontiers in Early Medieval Bulgaria," in *Borders Barriers*, 59–60; W. Pohl, "Frontiers and Ethnic Identities: Some Final Considerations," in *Borders Barriers*, 255–265.

[136] P. G. Dalché, "De la Liste a la Carte: Limite et Frontière dans la Géographie et la Cartographie de l'Occident Médieval," in Castrum 7, 19–31.

[137] M. Kulikowski, "Ethnicity, Rulership, and Early Medieval Frontiers," in *Borders Barriers*, 247-254; Pohl, "Frontiers and Ethnic Identities."

distance away from the capital or urban center, that is, the core-periphery model.[138] However, this division of core and periphery was not universally fixed. The capital was only given prominence and value through the ideologies and myths created by the ruler (or his propagandists) as specific situations and challenges arose.[139] Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the capital (via the caliph) moved to the frontier several times throughout the Early Islamic period.

Several important studies on specific Late Roman and Medieval frontiers around the Mediterranean have advanced the conceptualization of territory significantly. Roman frontiers (including the infamous Near Eastern *limes*) developed in stages: from 1) a traditional view of a boundary line; to a 2) zone designed to control local tribes and facilitate trade;[140] to a 3) less military more administrative concept comprising an *ad hoc* opportunistic arrangement of secure defensive forts arising from the needs of the settled population;[141] to a 4) non-military economical organization

---

[138] R. W. Brauer, *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1995).

[139] As such, J. Z. Smith argues against any universalizing mythology in Islam but an opportunistic value assigned to space, "Map is not Territory," in *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993), 289–310.

[140] S. T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986). To this we may add recent papers by A. M. Smith II, "Reconsidering the *Territorium* of Roman Aila" and G. Davies, "The Roman Fort at Yotvata in its Regional Context" (papers presented at the annual meeting of the ASOR, San Diego, CA, 2007).

[141] P. Mayerson, "Towards a Comparative Study of a Frontier," *Israel Exploration Journal* 40.4 (1990), 267; B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

based on road building networks insuring the safety of pilgrims;[142] and to an 5) interactive zone frequently crossed with commercial and cultural contact.[143]

Archaeologists have looked at ethnic groups and their material culture across frontiers. On the European Roman frontiers with the Germanic occupied lands (such as the Rhine in Germania and Raetia provinces, and the Carpathian Mountains in Dacia), excavation and examination of local and imported ceramic types, burials, housing plans, and linguistic derivations have shown that there was usually no evidence of destruction, ethnic cleansing, or single culture dominance. This evidence contradicts the Turnerian tradition (inspired in part from Roman texts) of the frontier as a wilderness peopled with barbarians set against the civilized Romans. Rather, a continuity forged by processes of assimilation and acculturation led to survival of indigenous practices,[144] non-competitive interaction and adaptation,[145] and ethnogenesis of new frontier societies.[146] Traditional views of earthen forts built by "barbarians" (in this case, the Slavs) in contrast to stone forts built by "civilized" societies (the Saxons) were overturned by archaeologists; the earthen forts were shown

---

[142] J. Eadie, "Transformation of the Eastern Frontier," in *Shifting Frontiers*, 72–82; Magness, *Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine.*

[143] H. Elton, "Defining Romans, Barbarians, and the Roman Frontier," in *Shifting Frontiers*, 126–35; C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

[144] A. J. Sirks, "Shifting Frontiers in the Law: Romans, Provincials, and Barbarians," in *Shifting Frontiers*, 146–57.

[145] L. Ellis, "Dacians, Sarmatians, and Goths on the Roman-Carpathian Frontier: Second-Fourth Centuries," in *Shifting Frontiers,* 105–25.

[146] S. Brather, "Acculturation and Ethnogenesis along the Frontier: Rome and the Ancient Germans in an Archaeological Perspective," in *Borders Barriers*, 139–72. To this we should also add religious ambiguities through conversions and re-conversions as appears in a much later example of the Castilian/Granadan frontier of Spain. See A. Mackay, "Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, 217–22.

to be Neolithic.[147] Likewise, ethnic differentiation of ceramics (Roman/Byzantine pottery as wheelmade and barbarian as handmade) was disproved as it was difficult to discern one group from the other from the material culture. However, some scholars argue that this was a process of cultural ambiguity rather than assimilation or a realization that pots don't equal people.[148]

Other studies on Byzantine frontiers have shown similar processes to Roman frontiers, adding even further layers of political and religious ideology. A common historical trope attributes the collapse of the Roman Empire to the eventual barbarian invasions. Recent studies have demonstrated that this was more a product of internal collapse of the central Roman authority.[149] J. F. Drinkwater, based on the research of the fourth/fifth century C.E. Frankish border, states that the frontier was a "stage show with created threats to mask internal instability."[150] Byzantine rulers demonized the local barbarians and actively employed aggressive policies towards them in part for

---

[147] For the seventh/eighth century, see J. Henning, "Civilization Versus Barbarians? Fortification Techniques and Politics in the Carolingian and Ottonian Borderlands," in *Borders Barriers,* 23–34.

[148] For the sixth century, see E. S. Teodor, "The Shadow of a Frontier: The Walachian Plain during the Justinianic Age," in *Borders Barriers*, 205–46. For the Medieval Spanish frontier in the thirteenth century, Burns similarly argues for separate but parallel communities of Christians and Muslims, stating that churches were actively avoiding acculturation. R. I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Frontier Societies,* 307–30. So does R. White who argues for accommodation rather than acculturation (*Middle Ground*).

[149] L. Okamura, "Roman Withdrawals from Three Transfluvial Frontiers," in *Shifting Frontiers,* 11–19. But see two recent works which reinvigorate the notion of barbarian invasions leading to post-Roman decline: B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); P. Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Macmillan, 2005). However, elsewhere Ward-Perkins writes more positively of the Late Roman rural landscape: "Even if there really was considerable stability in the social structures of the late antique countryside, this fact should certainly not lead us to embrace a view of rural life and rural dwellers in our period as entirely conservative, passive and unchanging." See Ward-Perkins, "Land, Labour, and Settlement," 345 and see footnotes 33 and 35 above.

[150] J. F. Drinkwater, "'The Germanic Threat on the Rhine Frontier': A Romano-Gallic Artefact?" in *Shifting Frontiers*, 20–30.

self-aggrandizement and to justify keeping a military force on the frontier for internal security and tax collection. Similarly, the landscape was appropriated symbolically in the reoccupation of cities and other features. In the Balkans and Eastern Europe, scholars have recently begun to question the military and border associations of elaborate and lengthy systems of dikes.[151] From an analysis of Islamic frontiers, Rooke argues that part of the process of establishing political sovereignty involved "imposing new boundaries on the past and/or old boundaries on the present … establish[ing] the stories of events …[and] interpreting aggressive attempts at regional hegemony … as glorious defensive anti-colonial struggle."[152] Part of this discourse involved establishing foreign invaders and occupants not only as enemies and the "other," but as a destructive force for political unity. Miller states:

> Anthropologists have shown us clearly that the first ethnographies of frontier native populations are always written by imperial intruders who consistently interpret the *pathological* militarized state of native society, which is the product of their own intrusion, as the *normal* state of native society, subsequently using the resultant stereotype of war-like "barbarians" as a justification, often after the fact, for aggression.[153]

These aggressive policies on the part of the central state and economic policing backlashed, eventually leading to social competition and the rise of local charismatic leaders on the frontier that were detrimental to the central state.[154] Shrouding the frontier and enemy in religious and apocalyptic rhetoric was one response to crisis and

---

[151] Pohl, "Frontiers and Ethnic Identities." For Gothic/Roman Spain, see Kulikowski, "Ethnicity, Rulership, and Early Medieval Frontiers."

[152] Rooke, "Writing the Boundary," 180.

[153] D. H. Miller, "Frontier Societies and the Transition Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *Shifting Frontiers,* 169.

[154] As seen on the Byzantine/Slavic Danube frontier: F. Curta, "Frontier Ethnogenesis in Late Antiquity: The Danube, the Tervingi, and the Slavs," in *Borders Barriers,* 173–204.

justified aggression. For the Byzantines, the seventh through ninth centuries were angst-ridden. Some have even described this period as a chronological frontier.[155] Lost borders were attributed to a difficulty in defining God's realm. The other side of the frontier became part of a dichotomous good/evil eschatological narrative of the post-apocalyptic rise of the heretical nomadic steppe lands of Gog and Magog.[156]

Frontier studies during the seventh through eleventh centuries have explored these themes further, mainly resulting from studies on the frontier of al-Andalus, the Byzantine/Frankish frontier, and other barbarian frontiers of medieval Europe. The Byzantine frontiers (including both western and eastern) were part of the rhetoric of expansion that in reality did not expand territory using military campaigns but employed local garrisons and diplomacy to follow economic motivations. They subjugated cities and their lands to tribute, managed tribes, and created client alliances with annual stipends, the promotion of trade and gift exchange, and created of personal diplomatic relations with local tribal leaders.[157] Within this precarious

---

[155] Mathisen and Sivan, Introduction.

[156] D. Olster, "From Periphery to Center: The Transformation of Late Roman Self-Definition in the Seventh Century," in *Shifting Frontiers,* 93–104; Pohl, "Frontiers and Ethnic Identities." The frontier as an arena of religious ideologies justifying aggressive policies is also strongly apparent during the tumultuous periods from the Crusaders until the Mongols in the Near East despite the fact that the frontier was permeable, open to day-to-day travelers and traders. See J. E. L. de Coca Castañer, "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier, 1369–1482," in *Medieval Frontier Societies,* 127–50; R. Amitai-Press, "Northern Syria Between the Mongols and Mamluks: Political Boundary, Military Frontier, and Ethnic Affinities," in *Frontiers in Question,* 128–52; A. Williams, "Crusaders as Frontiersmen: The Case of the Order of St. John in the Mediterranean," in *Frontiers in Question*, 209–27.

[157] Kaegi, "The Frontier: Barrier or Bridge?;" W. E. Kaegi, "Reconceptualizing Byzantium's Eastern Frontiers in the Seventh Century," in *Shifting Frontiers*, 83–92; P. Stephenson, "The Byzantine Frontier at the Lower Danube in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *Frontiers in Question*, 80–104; J. Shephard, "Emperors and Expansionism: From Rome to Middle Byzantium," in *Medieval*

landscape, the power of the central state was weak and waning; likewise, local mixed societies replaced tribal divisions. The frontier people took their own initiative and built upland forts for defense and security in times of instability. This process of *incastellamento*, an inverted feudalistic model, has been written about extensively as a medieval phenomenon that characterized a new type of frontier settlement, less classical and more medieval in character.[158]

As the idea of central state disintegrated in the Middle and Late Islamic periods, so too did the idea of a physical frontier. Rather, everyone was located somewhere on the frontier and often those on the frontier had more in common with each other than with the central state. As such, the periphery was repositioned as the center and from it radiated spheres of influence encompassing human frontiers of religious plurality, ethnic diversity, and cultural production.[159] The frontier became a matter of perspective.

Frontiers, 55–82; C. Holmes, "Byzantium's Eastern Frontier in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *Medieval Frontiers*, 83–104.

[158] To name a few relating to frontiers: M. González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085–1350)," in *Medieval Frontier Societies,* 49–74; G. Stranieri, "La frontière byzantino-lombarde de la Pouille (Italie): Sources écrites, traditions locales, recherches archéologiques," in *Centre, Region, Periphery: Medieval Europe Basel 2002*, Vol. 1, eds. G. Helmig, B. Scholkmann, and M. Untermann (Hertingen: Folio Verlag Dr. G. Wesselkamp, 2002), 228–33; R. Rashev, "Remarks on the Archaeological Evidence of Forts," in *Borders Barriers*, 51–58; S. Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier in the Medieval Near East: Excavations at Gritille* (Philadelphia: University Museum Publications, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 279. Although Redford's model of Christian agriculturalists living around fortified places where they can take shelter is partially feudalistic as it does not give them agency in constructing these sites of their own initiative.

[159] An example of this occurred with the large influx of Turks to the Near East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (such as the Mongols) which turned the central lands of the Levant and Iraq into a frontier. For the Crusaders: R. Ellenblum, "Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Frontiers in Question*, 105–19; and J. Riley-Smith, "Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Medieval Frontiers*, 121–31. For the Ottomans, see C. Heywood, "The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths," in *Frontiers in Question*, 228–50. Most recent is A. Gabbay, "The Language of Tolerance:

Turner's original thesis should not be dismissed outright, as it has significant implications for an imagined ideology of a frontier. Interestingly, the most current paper on the Islamic-Byzantine *thughūr*, appearing in a volume with many of the aforementioned papers, continues to espouse uncritically the traditional historical source-based Turnerian view of the wilderness: "Beginning with the second half of the eighth-century, a broad no-man's land separated the two empires, in which few peoples lived and only few fortified towns and castles existed," and of the uncivilized: "the inhabitants of the borderlands in general were not strong enough to act on their own and to do what they wanted."[160] It seems that the visions of wilderness and the uncivilized remain stumbling blocks. As points of departure, I will focus on these two words looking at the unexplored space and inhabitants of the physical frontier through its *landscape* of environment, settlement, and interactions from the discipline of archaeology.

Layering the thughūr

Within the discipline of Islamic archaeology, the Islamic *thughūr* as a non-urban, rural space demands further investigation. Returning to Turner's frontier model, while perhaps appropriate in identifying academic lacunae on the *thughūr* or frontier ideologies, it is certainly not physically appropriate to describe the thriving pre-

---

Amir Khusraw and the Development of Indo-Persian Culture" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007) and two papers at a recent panel entitled, "Frontiers and Frontier Societies in the Islamic World" at the MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2005, moderated by C. Heywood: A. Gabbay, "The Influence of the Frontier on Cultural Production in Medieval India: Amir Khosrow and New Systems of Meaning," and M. Luce, "Khurasān from the 8th through 11th centuries."

[160] R.-J. Lilie, "The Byzantino-Arab Borderland from the Seventh to the Ninth Century," in *Borders Barriers,* 13–21.

Islamic landscape of north Syria as a wilderness. As will be shown by older studies on the Syrian Jebels and recent surveys in the region such as the Amuq Valley Regional Project and the Kahramanmaraş Survey, the frontier experienced an explosion of settlement that started in the Late Hellenistic period (second to first centuries B.C.E.) and broadly characterized settlement continuity until the tenth century C.E. These settlements on the plains and uplands were firmly invested in agriculture, irrigation, and the whole regional economy. This, however, does not alter certain attitudes characterizing the frontier as seemingly inhospitable regions (the wilderness), full of marshes and mountainous zones.[161] Further, attitudes were influenced by the fact that the frontier included one or more ethnic groups that were nomadic (the uncivilized), moving outside the influence of the central state, whether in barbarian/Germanic Europe or the Arabian/Islamic Near East. Their interaction with settled societies was at the heart of virtually every conflict, imagined or otherwise. This introduces a new layer for the study of frontier: the landscape and coexistence of nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers, including how they negotiated the use of natural resources. As astutely stated by A. Smith, land use and settlement, including competition or sharing of resources, are not so easily mapped.[162] Nevertheless, the thesis will provide alternative routes, contributing toward a re-articulation of the Islamic landscape. Furthermore, this study will examine the archaeology of the frontier in light of how

[161] E. S. Teodor, "The Shadow of a Frontier," 205–46; J. Henning, "Civilization Versus Barbarians?," 23–34. Although his paper is Turnerian, see also P. Mackendrick, "Roman Colonization and the Frontier Hypothesis," in *The Frontier in Perspective*, 3–19.

[162] A. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 153. See also L. Ellis, "Dacians, Sarmatians, and Goths," 117.

the centralized body articulated it, revealing the points of congruity or incongruity with the frameworks of history and archaeology.

This dissertation will be divided into three analytical sections focusing on elucidating the environment, settlement, and interactions along the Islamic-Byzantine frontier. The first analytical section (Chapters 2–4) will explore the archaeological data for these environmental and land use trends using three regions in the central area of the *thughūr*: Anṭākiya (the Amuq Plain) in *al-ʻawāṣim*, Marʻash (the Kahramanmaraş Plain) as the forward post of Anṭākiya in *al-thughūr*, and Kinet (the Plain of Issos) on the coast. The studies will incorporate environmental factors, geomorphology, survey, and limited excavation data to examine the several specific categories of settlement and related land use activities.

The second analytical section (Chapters 5–6) will compare similar evidence from other surveys on the Syro-Anatolian *thughūr* and other frontiers, such as the Andalusian *thughūr*, in order to further examine if such archaeological characteristics are regional and/or inherent to Early Islamic frontiers in general. Chapter 5 will expand a view of the *thughūr* by presenting the general environment and settlement of the frontier as divided in three sections: the eastern, central, and western *thughūrs*. While most of the information will be an overview, some of the data for the elusive Late Roman-Early Islamic periods will be gleaned from older surveys and reassessed to produce a clear image of settlement patterns during this time. Chapter 6 will compare the Syro-Anatolian *thughūr* with the Andalusian *thughūr*, summarizing the important milestones reached in this part of the world with respect to a landscape

archaeology approach to the transitional frontier. Two major questions will be preliminarily answered: 1) How were these regions settled during the Early Islamic period in contrast with other periods when it was not a frontier?; and 2) Do these landscapes exhibit differences from one side of the Islamic world to the other?

The third analytical section (Chapters 7-8) returns to the two stumbling blocks of seeing the *thughūr* as a wilderness and uncivilized, focusing on the settlements (Chapter 7) and social interactions (Chapter 8) in their environmental contexts. Chapter 7 incorporates the archaeological and historical evidence cumulatively into a layered diachronic narrative of settlement. Settlement patterns are presented primarily by classification into site categories for the Amuq Plain, Kahramanmaraş Plain, and the Plain of Issos surveys and other Anatolian and Andalusian surveys. Then, historical evidence from primary and secondary textual sources provides contextual trajectories for the patterns of settlement and land use. Other types of interaction, besides those stemming from *jihād* and apocalyptic ideologies, are discussed such as sedentary and nomadic/seasonal transhumant movement and competition for resources in an attempt to understand some of the transformative processes that occurred on the frontier over time, such as the change from expansive conquests to symbolic annual summer raids. Three larger questions are addressed: 1) How did Christians and Muslims live together on a frontier crowded with such ideological concerns, not to mention pre-existing Islamic institutions?; 2) does the discipline of Islamic archaeology corroborate, contrast, or contribute to the vision of frontier left largely by the historical sources?; and 3) finally, what are the ramifications of perceived

settlement patterns and land use on a traditionally historical view of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier? While the primary locus of discussion is the Early Islamic period, the layered narrative can be extended to trace change from the Late Roman to Early Islamic and the Early to Middle Islamic[163] transitions and periods of occupation (or lack thereof).

Chapter 8 advances these insights further by looking into the nature of social interaction and competition on the *thughūr*, arguing that these processes were a function of environmental topographies of occupation. Three types of interaction are discussed: external (competition for resources between groups), internal (political relationships between the central state and peripheral groups), and ideological (military and religious conflict). Movement and communication across frontier spaces consisted primarily of upland and lowland interactions that were not limited to a singular monumental frontier, but rather duplicated across time over localized environmental frontiers constituting ecological niches of liminal space such as mountains and marshes. It is these liminal spaces that are the unexplored spaces and wildernesses of history.

Finally, the conclusion (Chapter 9) will summarize the evidence and return to many of the theoretical problems and questions raised in the introduction and indeed, throughout the dissertation. The frontier is dismantled and rebuilt. On the one hand,

[163] I use the term Middle Islamic to denote the tenth through fourteenth centuries C.E. This term is slightly inaccurate and debated, given that during part of this period the frontier region was under Byzantine and Crusader/Frankish rule. This period has been called Middle Byzantine or more commonly, Medieval. I use the term Middle Islamic as a generalizing term and one that perhaps addresses the continuity of local traditions and cultural influence rather than political periodization, much like Late Roman (instead of Byzantine).

the seeming incongruities between the historical political and religious frontiers and the archaeological environmental frontiers question the utility of regarding a frontier space, at all, particularly as it is constructed out of varying perceptions and methodologies across disciplinary divides. On the other hand, this dissertation contributes to a more complex vision of the frontier than traditional historical views by juxtaposing layers of a real ecological frontier of settlement and interaction with an imagined military/religious ideological frontier.

CHAPTER TWO

THE AMUQ PLAIN

*You will depart and alight at a meadow with ruins (*marj dhī ṭulūl)[1]

I. Introduction

The above quote is taken from Early Islamic eschatological texts, describing the Amuq Plain or Plain of Antioch as a frontier battleground for one of the final apocalyptic wars. However, it also succinctly frames how archaeologists have traditionally regarded the Amuq Plain and other similar geographic regions all over the Near East, as dotted with tells (*ṭulūl*) mainly of the fourth–second millennia B.C.E. Recently, close attention has been increasingly given to the non-tell landscape of the classical and medieval periods. The Amuq Valley Regional Project (AVRP, 1995–2005) of the University of Chicago has been a pioneering survey in revealing these different yet rich landscapes through the combination of survey methodologies and geomorphological investigation of the ancient environment. The survey revealed a crucial series of dramatic changes that occurred in a relatively short period of time between the Late Hellenistic and Early Islamic periods. In the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, there was a rise in dispersed low mounded or flat settlements in both lowlands and uplands and an increase in cultivation. By the Late Roman and

[1] Nuʿaym b. Ḥammad, *Kitāb al-Fitan*, MS Brit. Mus. Or 9449, folio 119b–20a, translated by W. Madelung, "Apocalpytic Prophecies in Hims in the Umayyad Age," 174.

Early Islamic periods, the seasonal wetlands expanded into a permanent lake and marsh. The results dispel the idea of the Amuq, a historically known frontier zone, as a no-man's land, but do raise many questions as to what changes occurred in the landscape during the transitional Late Roman to Early Islamic periods. This chapter will investigate the interconnected processes that shaped the environment and settlements of the landscape and define Late Roman and Early Islamic settlement and land use. The conclusions, appearing in Chapter 7, show a shift from the Late Roman to the Early Islamic period that follows certain patterns of continuity, while at the same time presents new forms of settlement and land use linked to complex factors combining landscape response and ethnic and cultural practice.

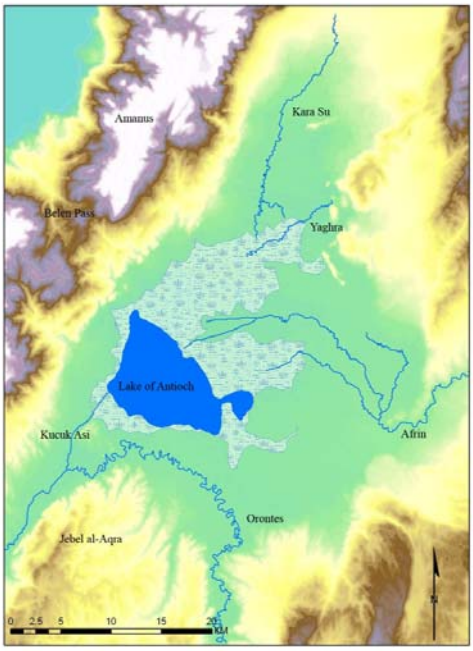

Figure 4 Map of Amuq Plain

II. Environment

The Amuq Plain (or Valley) is a low-lying depression, measuring 90–100 meters above sea level (m.a.s.l.) in elevation and roughly 37 km east-west by 50 km north-south in extent.[2] It is part of the Rift Valley, which also runs under the Red Sea, Dead Sea, Jordan River, and Ghab Plain. The Amuq is located at an intersection of major fault lines, making it a seismically active region. The valley is virtually enclosed, flanked on three sides by highlands. To the west are the steep Amanus Mountains, containing traces of metal resources such as gold, copper, zinc, and lead, as well as steatite (soapstone), which were mined in the Roman–Early Islamic periods. The Amanus were also a source for lumber throughout antiquity. To the south and east are the lower limestone hills of the Jebel al-Aqra and Jebel Zawiye, which have been referred to as the *massif calcaire* or Syrian Jebels, a region known archaeologically for its explosion of well-preserved Late Roman/Early Islamic settlements (Dead Cities) and intensive cultivation. The northeast mountain range, the Kurt Dağ, is basaltic. Three rivers flow into the plain: the Kara Su, Afrin, and Orontes Rivers. The Kara Su River flows from the north[3] and the Afrin River flows from the east[4] into the plain; they terminate in the Lake of Antioch. The Afrin has meandered across the plain in several courses throughout history. The Orontes River once flowed along the southern

[2] ʻAmq meaning depression in Arabic and ancient Semitic languages.

[3] The upper Kara Su River is the classical Labotas; the lower Kara Su River is the classical Arkeuthos/Iaphtha and Arabic Nahr al-Āswad or Nahr al-Qawshit.

[4] Classical Oinoparas and Arabic Nahr ʻAfrīn

plain[5] and connected with the outlet lake channel (Küçük Asi) south of the Lake of Antioch where it flowed out of the plain through the city of Anṭākiya (Antioch) and to the Mediterranean Sea. Another river, known as the Yaghrā, although visible only by its channel bed in satellite imagery, flowed from the northeast and merged at some point with the Kara Su north of the lake. By the 1950s, most of the Amuq Plain was taken up by the large central lake and outlying marshes covering the land north, east, and south. Rather than just descriptive geographical markers, these mountain and river elements form crucial pieces in attempting to reassemble the formation of the marsh and lake in the Amuq.

Textual, geomorphologic, and ethnographic data show that the lake and marsh were relatively late features that existed over an extended period. Braidwood[6] and Woolley[7] both recognized this phenomenon. Yet, they argued that the formation was caused by a blockage in the lake's outlet, whether gradually with sedimentation (Braidwood) or from a single earthquake (Woolley). The AVRP survey has undertaken significant geomorphologic work showing the main factors for lake and marsh formation to be upland erosion on the plain and flooding of the rivers and canals. The explanations behind these have been attributed to either natural or man-made causes, whether a result of great storm or erosion from vegetation loss due to intensive upland cultivation and settlement.[8] As often the case in many theories, a

[5] Classical Axios/Drakon/Ophites/Typhon and Arabic Nahr al-'Aṣī/Nahr al-Maqlūb

[6] Braidwood, *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch.*

[7] Sir L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1953).

combination of the two provides the likeliest scenario. In his dissertation, J. Casana presents climate, sedimentary, and land use evidence for the formation of the lake and marsh in a comprehensive detailed analysis of the environment of the Amuq Plain.[9] He uses this evidence to model the impact of natural and man-made causes for the ecology of the plain in the Roman–Islamic periods.[10] He concludes that intensive mixed cultivation of olive, vine, grain, and orchards on the upland slopes contributed to great landscape sensitivity and erosion susceptibility. During shorter periods of high rainfall (storms and flash floods), erosion would deposit 3.5–5.0 meters of alluvial sedimentation on the plain and valley floors. These episodes were punctuated by periods of stability.[11]

For the Amuq Plain, the evidence for marsh formation, expansion, and permanence (marshification)[12] in the Early Islamic period will be reviewed starting with evidence for earlier marshes in the plain. Natural and man-made causes for the

---

[8] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 75; T. J. Wilkinson, et al., "The Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin: Spatial and Chronological Patterning of Sedimentation in the Amuq Plain, Turkey," *Recherches en Archéométrie* 1 (2001): 214; K. Aslıhan Yener, et al., "The Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998," 173.

[9] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 31–79. See more recently, J. Casana, "Mediterranean Valleys Revisited: Linking Soil Erosion, Land Use, and Climate Variability in the Northern Levant," *Geomorphology* 2008 (in press); Idem., "Structural Transformations in Settlement Systems of the Northern Levant," *American Journal of Archaeology* 111.2 (2007): 195-221.

[10] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 348–434.

[11] Ibid., 433–34.

[12] I use the term marshification (the process of becoming marshland) with the similar meaning as desertification. Desertification refers to a process often on desert fringes whereby formerly productive land degrades and is no longer productive. However, marshification does not carry with it a value of degradation. Terms for marshification exist in Italian: *impaludazione*, and French: *paludification*. The English cognate, paludification, as a scientific term refers more specifically to the accumulation or extension of peat and bog inundating higher levels. I use the term marshification to denote a transformation or reversion to marsh, rather than paludification, to refer to this process more generally.

formation of the lake and marsh in the first millennium B.C.E. and the subsequent transformation of the landscape will be assessed from climate and precipitation data, the geomorphologic data of the cores, the effects of the upland slopes and river systems, the relevant archaeological data, textual sources, and ethnographic parallels. Casana's work will not be described here in detail; rather, the chapter will focus on key elements of his argument for the formation of the lake and marsh.

Earthquakes, Climate, and Precipitation

Natural causes for the formation of the lake and marsh in the Amuq Plain have traditionally been attributed either to seismic activity[13] and/or precipitation. This is also mentioned in the literary sources in at least two cases. Al-Ṭabarī describes a period of increased seismic activity in the region around 860 C.E.:

> It is reported that in *Shawwāl* an earthquake and tremor killed many people in Antioch. Fifteen hundred homes and about ninety towers along its walls collapsed as a result. Dreadful indescribable noises were heard emanating from the openings of the residences. The inhabitants of Antioch fled to the desert. [Part of] Jebel al-Aqra' shook loose and sank into the sea. The sea was stormy on that day, and black, murk, putrid vapors rose from it. A river in Antioch disappeared the distance of a farsakh (six km), and it was not known where the waters vanished.[14]

He continues to say that the same earthquake affected much of Shām and the Syrian *thughūr*, including Bālis, al-Raqqa, Ḥarrān, Ra's al-'Ayn, Ḥimṣ, Dimashq, Ruhā (Edessa), Ṭarsūs, Maṣṣīsạ, Adhana, and the coasts. While marsh formation is not explicitly stated, the process can be compared with a similar account from the end of the tenth century and beginning of the eleventh. While staying at Anṭākiya, Ibn Butlan

[13] T. A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey,* Vo. 4 (London: The Pindar Press, 1990), 293; Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, 19.

[14] al-Ṭabarī, Vol. 34: 157 translated in Zaid, "Apocalyptic Frontier," 13.

recounts the following news from the distant north Anatolian town of Gangra (modern Çankırı in Paphlagonia, Anatolia):

> From the crevice in the earth extremely hot water had been thrown up, flowing north from many springs. It had submerged seventy farmsteads. The people fleeing therefrom had escaped for safety to the hill-tops and high places around. The water covered the surface of the ground during seven days, spreading round about the city for the distance of two days' journey. After that time it disappeared, and the place where it had been became a swamp. [15]

While the region is prone to earthquakes, the suggestion that a single or several earthquakes caused the formation of the permanent lake and marsh alone is simplistic and not supported by geological evidence. Precipitation, however, may have been more influential. Local rainfall in the twentieth century showed that the area around Anṭākiya received more rainfall than any other in the region, beginning in late September/early October, peaking in December and January, and continuing until April.[16] Additionally, the area is conducive to severe storms and flash flooding. Various studies attempting to reconstruct ancient climates have stated that between the fifth and ninth centuries C.E., the Levant was wetter and more humid, suggesting that there was greater storm activity.[17] As suggested by Casana, small changes in climate

---

[15] Ibn Butlān quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1955-57), i.266-270, translated in Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems: a description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650-1500* (Beirut: Khayats, 1965), 374-5. This description can be compared to that of Malalas concerning the great sixth century C.E. earthquake of Antioch where he mentions "liquid mud" and "sea sand" rising from the ground that was most likely an occurrence of liquefaction (Malalas, *Chron.*, 13.420).

[16] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 46.

[17] See, for example, O. Reale and P. Dirmeyer, "Modeling the Effects of Vegetation on Mediterranean Climate during the Roman Classical Period, Part I: Climate History and Model Sensitivity," *Global and Planetary Change* 25 (2000): 163–84; O. Reale and J. Shukla, "Modeling the Effects of Vegetation on Mediterranean Climate during the Roman Classical Period, Part II: Model Simulation," *Global and Planetary Change* 25 (2000): 185–214.

may have caused significantly affected rainfall that would then impact upland erosion and river and canal flooding.[18]

Coring around Tell Tayinat and the Lake of Antioch

Recent work on the plain undertaken by the AVRP has demonstrated soundly from cores and surveys that the lake and marsh are features that have existed alternately or symbiotically since the Chalcolithic period, and permanently since the Hellenistic Period.[19] Earlier wetlands in the plain are evident at the early–middle second millennium site of Karatepe (AS 86), whose mud bricks contain marshy soils,[20] and at the Chalcolithic site of Tell Kurdu where excavations have revealed reed matting and wattle in house construction, rather large catfish bones, and a seal depicting a stork-type waterfowl catching a fish. Recent evidence from thirty-five cores around the mound of Tell Tayinat contained bands of coarse sand grains at 3 meters below the surface all around the mound, which radiated outward as far as the site of Tayinat al-Saghir almost three hundred meters to the south.[21] The pervasiveness of the sand bands, their extent, and the large size of the sand grains led the corers to change their initial hypothesis that the Orontes River flowed west and south of Tayinat. Rather, the

---

[18] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 51–52.

[19] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch;" T. J. Wilkinson, "The History of the Lake of Antioch: A Preliminary Note," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour*, eds. G. Young, M. Chavalas, and R. E. Averbeck (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997), 557–76; Wilkinson, et al. "Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin," 211–26; Yener, et al., "Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998," 163–219.

[20] Wilkinson, "History of the Lake of Antioch," 563.

[21] S. Batiuk and T. Harrison, "Towards Understanding the Iron Age Lower Mound at Tell Tayinat," (paper presented at annual meeting of ASOR, Philadelphia, PA, 2005).

sand was more indicative of a small, shallow lake around Tayinat in the early ninth century B.C.E., coinciding with the initial occupation of the site in the Iron Age. It also corresponds with the textual mention of the Neo-Assyrian King Shalmaneser II (858 B.C.E.), who was able to access the great swamp of Unqi (Amuq) only by flat-bottomed boats. Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) data showed an expansion of the lower city of Tayinat into the area of the former lake/marshland later during the Iron Age, indicating that the marshes were drained. The coring evidence also allowed the excavators to document the process of sediment aggradation on the plain, which they calculated at a rate of one millimeter per year or one meter per millennium. Thus by the end of the Early Islamic period, the plain would have risen nearly two meters from the Iron Age period. While this may have been true in the southern part of the plain in the Orontes River Basin and helps to partially explain the occasional formation, growth, and persistence of wetlands, the gradual infilling of sediment on the entire Amuq Plain would have occurred with varying intensities.

Cores drilled in the center of the Lake of Antioch and Gölbaşı Lake, a small spring-fed lake northeast on the edge of the plain, revealed these sequences in datable horizons. In the center of the Lake of Antioch, core GPS 61 demonstrated that a body of water with beaches existed around 5560 B.C.E. and progressively became a marsh environment or larger lake by the mid-Holocene. Starting around 4000 B.C.E., the lake/marsh began to dry; in 3000 B.C.E., it dried up until the first millennium B.C.E.[22] This was evidenced by the formation of weak paleosols followed by stable paleosols

[22] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch;" Wilkinson, et al., "The Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin," 220–22.

above the earlier lake clays. Amuq Survey (AS) sites AS 180 and 181 within the Lake of Antioch exhibited similar banded clays overlaid with sand, indicating they may have been dry land or beach settlements. Their occupation dated to the Early Bronze Age and Early Iron Age interim period when the plain was relatively dry. Silt/clay deposits from the lake covered the sites that were pre-Roman.[23] The permanent historical period marsh, thus, did not develop in a vacuum. Marshes and standing bodies of water have existed throughout the cultural history of the Amuq Plain in various intermittent, seasonal, or semi-permanent forms.

From the first millennium B.C.E., upper levels of lacustrine clays and shelly muds showed that a lake and expanding marsh reformed and continued until the present day. There are two major factors for this phenomenon: 1) sedimentation from upland erosion (alluvial fans and colluvial gravel); and 2) sedimentation from river and canal flooding (avulsion and aggradation). Increased levels of certain locally occurring metals, such as chromium, indicate that these were deposited on the plain from the eroded soils of the Amanus Mountains. Furthermore, this sedimentation in the lake was not steady, but rather episodic. Some salient — albeit more tentative — interpretations of the data revealed that the accumulation of water-logged soils were significantly weathered and pollen preservation in the cores was poor, indicating that water on the plain may never have been deep and expanded and contracted intermittently, exposing the water's sediments of soil and pollen.[24] In addition, varying deposits of sedimentation from cores led the excavators to speculate a shift from

[23] Yener, et al., "Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998," 175.

[24] Wilkinson, et al., "Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin," 222.

predominant deposition of Kara Su or Afrin River silt to mainly Orontes River sediment. The Tayinat cores corroborate the flooding of the Orontes River Basin. The Gölbaşı Lake core, GPS 71, was similar but showed that the Gölbaşı Lake formed slightly later, during the Hellenistic/Roman Periods. AS 180, while occupied during periods around the third millennium B.C.E. when there was no lake or marsh, was occupied in the Roman, Late Roman, and Early Islamic Periods following the formation of the lake. At this point, the settlements may have been islands.[25]

The absence of a lake in the Bronze and Iron Age sources and the reference to the Hellenistic city of Antigonia (precursor to Anṭākiya) founded on a lake during the late fourth century B.C.E. led Casana to further refine and hypothesize the formation of the lake between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C.E.[26] This corresponds with the transition from the Iron Age to Seleucid/Hellenistic periods (and presumably new cultivation and irrigation systems on the plain). The boundaries of the lake remained relatively stable and unchanged until recent times. Pottery from the beach ridges dated to the Roman and Late Roman periods establish that the lake maintained its size. As the marsh covered the beach ridges, the ridges provide a *terminus post quem* for the formation of the marsh in the seventh century. However, it can be extrapolated that the boundaries between lake and marsh, or even the distinguishing factors between lake and marsh were, at best, undefined. The lake may have been the permanent section of a seasonally dynamic marsh, which was linked with increases in Orontes

[25] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 64; see also Yener, et al., "Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998," 176; Wilkinson, "History of the Lake of Antioch," 562.

[26] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 65. This is corroborated by the coring evidence for the lake around Tayinat (Batiuk and Harrison, "Towards Understanding," 5).

River flooding (the shift to Orontes sediment and episodic deposition). The cores show that the formation of the marsh and lake was a complicated process caused or augmented by both cultural activity and natural occurrences.[27] Formation of the marsh was significantly spurred by human activity in the Amanus Mountains, demonstrated by washed down metal traces and soil erosion due to upland cultivation, mining, timber farming, and increased canalization and irrigation.

Upland Slopes and River Systems

The evidence revealed by the cores for upland erosion and sedimentation can be elaborated in other geomorphological studies around the plain. To the northwest of the plain, large alluvial gravel fans have been detected at base of the Amanus Mountains. At the Arpalı pits, deposits of sediment up to six meters deep of high-energy episodic flows covered Hellenistic architectural horizons. A section in the Baghras Valley showed similar gravels several meters thick covering a Late Roman land surface. These alluvial fans, like the permanent marsh, are late features in the landscape as evidenced by the sealing in of a Hellenistic wall and the lack of early sites on the alluvial fans, which are obscured by the colluvium and gravel flows.[28] Furthermore, the fans show the significant contribution of erosion on the plain. A particularly salient detail is the intensity of erosion following Hellenistic levels and also following Late Roman levels, which shows it as a by-product of the intensive upland cultivation explosion of the Roman and Late Roman periods.

---

[27] Wilkinson, et al., "Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin," 224.

[28] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 75.

Canal systems and irrigated fields in the Amuq Plain would have been an important factor in the sedimentation of the plain and formation of wetlands. In the center of the plain, canal systems detected on the ground (from upcasts) and from CORONA satellite imagery clearly show irrigation channels linearly diverging off the main Kara Su and Afrin Rivers. During the Roman/Late Roman period, the Afrin Canal B of the Afrin River was straightened and bifurcated in the section nearest to the lake. The Orontes River, five times larger than either the Kara Su or Afrin Rivers, was prone to a high level of seasonal fluctuations in volume. Flooding on the plain from the Orontes River was periodic with alternating episodes of aggradation and stability perpetrated through the avulsion process demonstrated also in the Ghab Plain of the Middle Orontes in Syria. In fact, the canalization of the Ghab in the Roman period may have increased the volume of water into the Amuq.[29] Greater and larger sand deposits in the upper levels of sedimentary sections near Tell Atchana show that the Orontes shifted to a high-energy flowing river around the first century C.E.,[30] forming a post-Roman levee.[31] The Orontes floodplain was rapidly aggraded, contributing to the same marshification process caused by the irrigation canals and upland cultivation that would have occurred sometime during the Early Islamic period.[32] This process continues to occur until the present day.[33] Although in part artificially amplified, two

[29] Ibid., 363.

[30] Wilkinson, et al., "Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin," 214.

[31] Yener, et al., "Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998," 169.

[32] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 68.

major floods in the last three years (2000–03) have severely inundated the plain around Tell Atchana demonstrating a causative factor of marsh formation by heavy sedimentation. Additionally, the Princeton University excavations in Antioch in the 1930s revealed up to six meters of alluvial Orontes sediment covering Roman levels.

Remote sensing data provides additional information. CORONA satellite imagery shows quite clearly a curtain of pale sediment — lacustrine clays — encroaching on former agricultural fields and canal systems, which would post-date the marsh expansion on the northeast corner of the lake after the Late Roman period. AS 92 (Tell Karacanlık), north of the lake in the marsh, showed a sequence of Late Roman agricultural soils covered by marsh lacustrine clays. The canalized Roman/Late Roman branch of the Afrin River was not immediately inundated as it sat upon a raised levee. While the CORONA is incredibly useful in locating the extent of the marsh, dating the expansion of the marsh is difficult using the imagery. Part of this problem is that it is assumed that the rivers ceased to function when covered by marsh. However, although marsh expansion covers parts of the Kara Su and Yaghrā Rivers in the CORONA image, the existence of the rivers is affirmed by textual evidence from the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Presumably they would have been central waterways through the marsh.

Literary Evidence

Literary evidence does not refer to a marsh in the Amuq Plain until the Islamic period. In the Umayyad period, the caliph al-Walīd imported four thousand water

[33] The Arabic name of the Orontes, al-ʻAṣī (the Rebel), refers to the unpredictable character of the river.

buffalo from al-Sind (India) to take care of a lion menace.[34] A marsh ecosystem was certainly vital to their new residence in the Levant. Abū al-Fidā' wrote that the lake: "is covered with reeds, and there are fish and birds here the like to which we have mentioned in describing the Lake of Āfāmiya."[35] Referring to Gölbaşı Lake (Buḥaira Yaghrā) to the northeast, he stated that Buḥaira Yaghrā is also called Buḥaira al-Sallūr ("Lake of the Catfish") or Buḥaira al-Jirrī ("Lake of the Eel") because of their large numbers.[36] Previous references to the Amuq Plain in the Late Roman Period by Libanius and Malalas referred only to a lake and canal systems. This may be perpetuated by a problem of translation of words that have changed meaning (such as the ambiguity of lake and swamp) that will be discussed below. Geomorphological, archaeological, and literary evidence supports the formation of a marsh by at least the end of the Late Roman Period and beginning of the Early Islamic Period.

III. Settlement

The Amuq Plain in the central *thughūr* has remained a focal point of settlement throughout antiquity. R. Braidwood of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago conducted the first archaeological fieldwork in the Amuq Plain in the

---

[34] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān,* 229.

[35] Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān*, Arabic text in M. Reinaud and M. le Baron MacGuckin de Slane, *Géographie d'Aboulfēda. Texte Arabe publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Leyde aux frais de la Société Asiatique* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1840), 42; translated by G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 71–72.

[36] Abū al-Fidā', Ibid.; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 202; Itineraire of Qait-Bey in R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Medievale,* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927), 437, n. 3–4.

1930s.[37] Braidwood, perceiving the great extent of tell settlements on the plain, recorded 178 sites and provided their location, periodization, and identification whenever possible. While his work pioneered the methodology of survey, poor knowledge of "late" period ceramics limited accurate designation of sites in the Hellenistic to Islamic Periods. All Islamic Periods were designated as "Medieval" or "Arab." In tandem, excavations at the tell sites of Çatal Höyük, Tell al-Judaidah, and Tell Tayinat from the Syrian-Hittite Expedition of the University of Chicago (1933–38) included a volume on the classical and post-classical phases by R. Haines that focused on the excavated settlements from about 1600 B.C.E. to the present.[38] In these reports, however, the phases that were discovered and predominately discussed were still pre-Hellenistic. The publication indirectly highlights the decided lack of significant occupation during these so-called late periods on the major tell sites, which in reality, was a major characteristic of settlement patterns during the Roman through Early Islamic periods.

[37] Braidwood, *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch*.

[38] R. C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch,* Volume 2: *The Structural Remains of the Later Phases* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications 95, 1971). These excavations and their material are currently being reanalyzed and published individually by Lynn Dodd (Tell al-Judaidah), Heather Snow (Tell Tayinat), and Marina Pucci (Çatal Höyük).

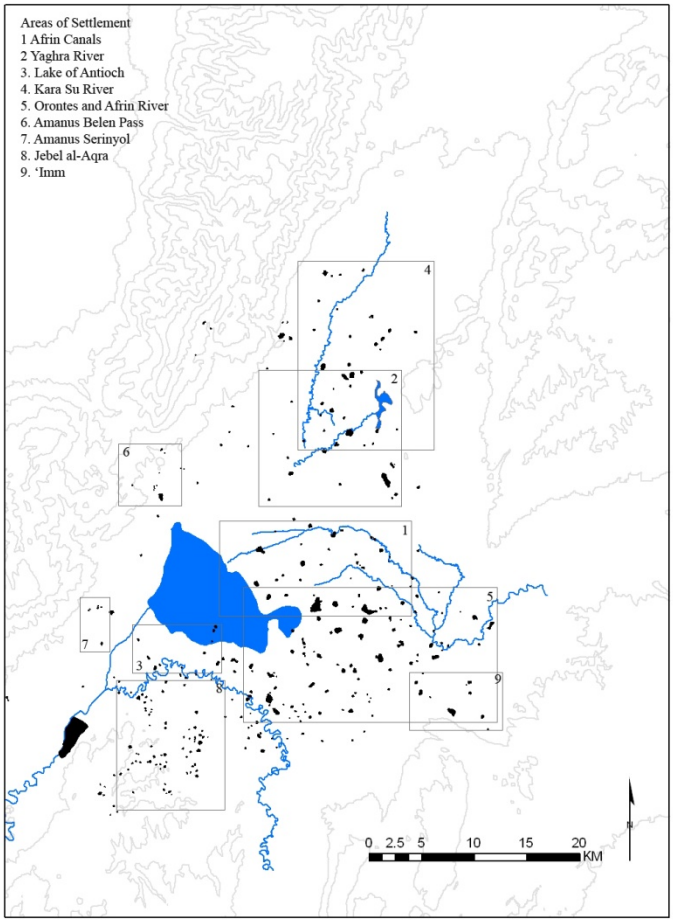

Figure 5 Amuq Plain survey sites, all periods

Inheriting this research, the Amuq Regional Valley Project under the direction of A. Yener and T. J. Wilkinson of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and recently, F. Gerritsen, has continued both survey and excavation in the plain. One hundred seventy-seven additional sites ranging in size from small sherd scatters to previously unrecorded tells in the plain and in the valleys and foothills around it have

been recorded during surveys focusing on specific questions of environmental change, settlement, and land use. As already shown, Casana has addressed questions pertaining to the association between settlement and environmental change. Of particular importance is the marked growth and expansion and dispersal of small, flat sites beginning in the Late Hellenistic Period (late third to first century B.C.E.), significantly increasing in the Early Roman Period (first century B.C.E. to third century C.E.), and remaining more or less the same in the Late Roman Period (fourth to sixth century C.E.) in all parts of both the plain and foothills. This represents a dramatic change when compared to pre-Hellenistic sites that are largely nucleated within the plain and valley floors as tell settlements. The raw data obtained from ceramic collection on sites throughout the region confirm this trend, as the overwhelming majority of the sites recorded had Late Hellenistic–Early Islamic components, some exclusively so. Even this number is by no means exhaustive but rather representative as sites of the Late Hellenistic to Early Islamic periods are harder to find in landscape surveys as compared to the conspicuous tell sites. As a result, a critical mass has been reached; further research and study into settlement patterns in the Amuq in the Late Roman and Islamic periods is necessary.

The shift from tell-based settlement centers to small rural farms was strongly tied to a change in political-environmental systems already in place. Several large centers were founded in the plain in the Late Hellenistic period. By the Roman period, Antioch was already established as the metropolis of the region, a world-class city, and capital of the eastern Mediterranean. As it had no immediate agricultural capacity

sufficient to feed its citizens, it was part of a larger system of agricultural production that included the Amuq Plain as a hinterland composed of small rural farms and villas. A. U. de Giorgi, in his recent dissertation, has focused on the role of Antioch and its hinterland as town and country.[39]

The total number of sites found in both Braidwood's survey and the AVRP totaled 355; however, the AVRP were able to collect at only 287 sites. The majority of the remainder are Braidwood sites that are now in restricted zones or in Syria and therefore could not be recollected. As such, any site that was not recollected by the AVRP will not be included in this study.

In beginning to tackle the difficult web of transitional pottery, the sites were categorized by several criteria beginning with chronologies. Late Roman finewares (Late Roman C [LRC] forms 4, 10, and 13) ranged from the late sixth to early seventh century. Early Islamic glazed finewares common in north Syrian sites are predominately Syrian yellow-glaze (more than half of the glazed wares represented), made locally in Antioch as early as the mid-eighth century until about the first quarter of the ninth century (pre-Sāmarrā). Later glaze types seen less frequently are the 'Abbāsid color-splash (polychrome) of the ninth century, which continues with sgraffiato decoration in the tenth centuries. Non-glazed wares such as the molded buffwares of the eighth to tenth centuries, kirbschnitt, "couvercle" type lids, and oil lamps are also definite diagnostic markers of the Early Islamic period. Furthermore, coarsewares including brittlewares and creamwares exhibit specific stylistic

[39] A. U. de Giorgi, "Socio-economic Studies in the Territory of Antioch in the High Roman Empire" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 2006).

differences attributable to either Late Roman or Early Islamic periods. For example, brittleware cooking pots with vertical ribbed necks are transitional seventh century types and are gradually replaced by the pervasive hole-mouth cooking pot that ranges from the eighth to tenth centuries. The Early Islamic ceramics tended to fall within two main chronological subgroups that unavoidably coincide loosely with political designations (mid-seventh to mid-eighth and eighth to tenth) that were used when the sites were founded and inhabited. As the ceramic evidence found in the surface collection does not necessarily reflect a full cross section of the occupation of the site, this category acts more as a suggestive analytic tool. Since many sites with only eighth through tenth century ceramics also had a Late Roman presence, the negative presence of an occupation in the late seventh is questionable. Slight or minor occupation can be suggested with a more significant eighth through tenth century occupation.

Sites were categorized as preexisting or newly founded based on chronology, rather than stating that the settlements were: 1) transitional or Late Roman-Early Islamic; or 2) one or the other, Late Roman or Early Islamic. On the tables, sites with preexisting Late Roman occupation are marked with a (>) before the date and sites with Middle Islamic continuity are marked with a (>) after the date. Sites were only designated Late Roman or Islamic on the basis of whether definite ceramics were present in the assemblages. Since many of these wares are similar, sites were indefinite when they had small assemblages of diagnostic sherds that were still ambiguous (i.e., handles, bases, decorated body, and unidentified coarsewares). For the purposes of this study, only those sites with definite Late Roman or Early Islamic wares are considered.

However, a separate category was made to account for Early Islamic sites with an indefinite preexisting occupation, marked with a (~) before the date. As it happens, the inclusion or exclusion of indefinite sites made little difference overall. Rather than establish sites as either Late Roman or Early Islamic as is done frequently with periodization in surveys, definite sites were categorized arbitrarily into three degrees based on physical size and assemblage size.[40] In a survey, assessing accurate site size measurements is a function of the surface spread of the ceramics and therefore imprecise. Similarly, assemblage size cannot be accurate for any single period or in relation to other periods. Too many variables exist, such as the subjectivity of the individual surveyor to collect only known or conspicuous (i.e., glazed) types; this will color the overall assemblage. Nevertheless, these factors are unavoidable and at best assumed to be part of the overall error shared by all surveys. Estimated site sizes and rank size analysis produced three general degrees of size: small sites (1 ha and less), medium sites (1.01–8.0 ha), and large sites (more than 8 ha).[41] For assemblage size,

[40] Although not explicitly for the problem of transitional periods, this has been done, to a limited extent, in the phase maps appearing in Ch. Gerber, "Die Umgebung des Lidar Hoyuk von hellenistischer bis fruhislamischer Zeit: Interpretation der Ergebnisse einer Gelandebeguhung" in *Continuity and Change*, 324–32.

[41] This method more or less follows K. Bartl's categories of (A) small farmsteads, (B) small to medium villages, and (C) towns and urban centers (K. Bartl, "Balih Valley Survey: Settlements of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine Period and Islamic Period," in *Continuity and Change*, 333–48). The assumption that small sites are farmsteads or villas is imprecise. Particularly in the Byzantine period, some sites may have been isolated buildings of religious function (churches, monasteries/nunneries) or military function (forts). See D. K. Pettegrew, "Chasing the Classical Farmstead: Assessing the Formation and Signature of Rural Settlement in Greek Landscape Archaeology," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14:2 (2001), 189–209. Casana asserts that for the sake of argument, it is most prudent to assume that small sites were farmsteads because: 1) regardless of structure, their presence in the landscape and environmental impact is the same; and 2) preserved structural evidence such as seen in the Dead Cities point to buildings of one form or another always linked with farms, vineyards, or orchards ("From Alalakh to Antioch," 276). I would agree, particularly in areas such as the Amuq Valley, whose classical and post-classical settlement greatly resembled those on the Syrian Jebels, evincing intensive agricultural use whether for household use or export.

three categories of size and importance of the site were created based on the number of Early Islamic sherds collected: light (1–2 sherds), moderate (3–5 sherds), and heavy (6+ sherds). Accordingly, this categorization more or less reflects the ambiguity of the site being occupied in the Early Islamic period. Light sites (1–2 sherds) were not discounted entirely as they may indicate traces of nomadic presence on the site.[42] These two criteria of physical size and assemblage size did not always correspond with each other. This is further complicated by general methodological problems in determining site size for late period sites, distinguishing their boundaries, and differentiating them from surrounding background field scatters.[43]

[42] Yener, et al., "The Amuq Valley Regional Project, 1995–1998," *AJA* 104.2 (2000), 190. Braidwood also recorded many of these 1–2 sherd sites. See B. Aswad, "Property Control and Social Strategies in Settlers in a Middle Eastern Plain" *Anthropological Papers* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan) 44 (1971).

[43] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 269.

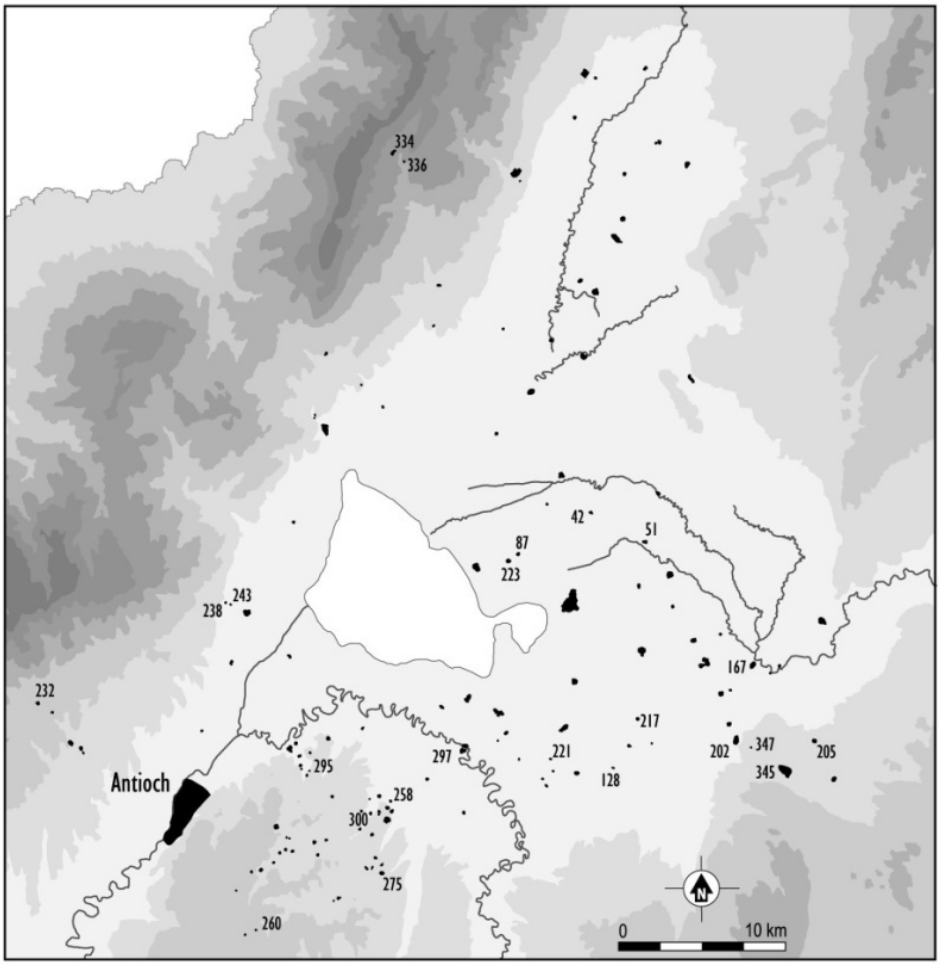

Figure 6 Late Roman sites

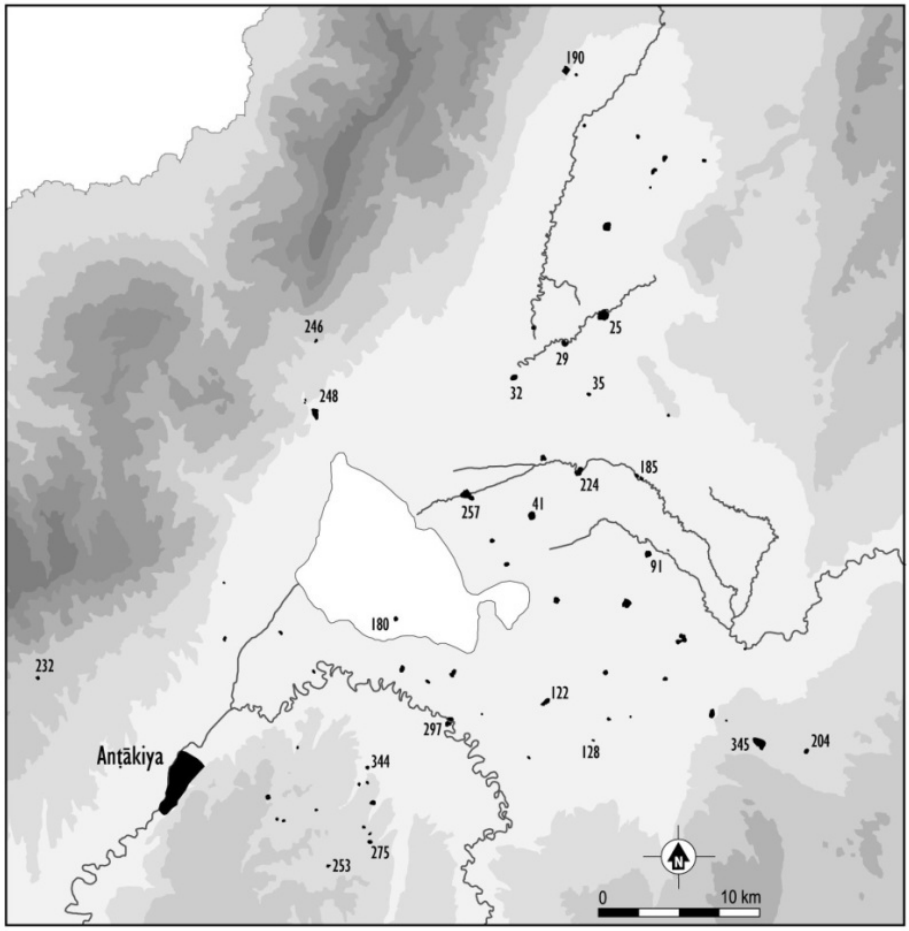

Figure 7 Early Islamic sites

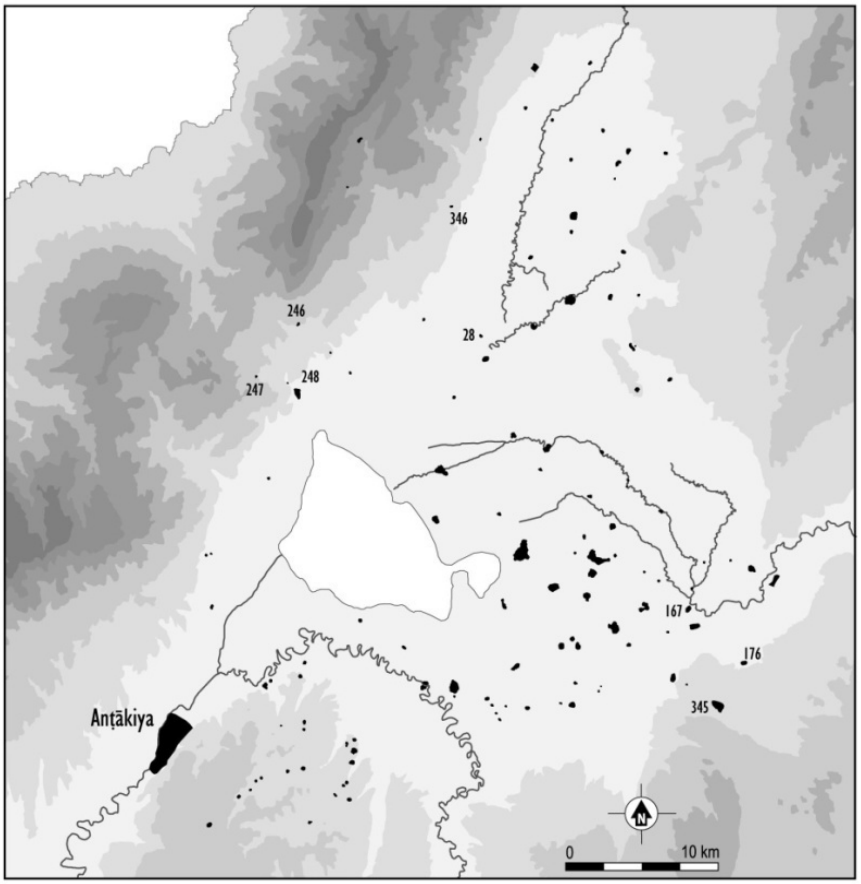

Figure 8 Middle Islamic sites

Table 1 Late Roman and Early Islamic Sites

TYPE	LATE ROMAN	EARLY ISLAMIC	
Definite	136 (47% of 287)	67 (23% of 287)	
de Novo	15 (11% of 136)	6 (9% of 67)	
Light	10	2	
Moderate	4	2	
Heavy	1	2	
Preexisting	121 (89% of 136)	47 (72% of 67)	
Light	47	21	
Moderate	50	12	
Heavy	24	14	
Indefinite *de Novo*	—	13 (19% of 67)	
Light	—	8	
Moderate	—	5	
Heavy	—	1	
(de Novo + *de Novo* Indefinite)	—	(19)	
Indefinite	84	66	
Total (largest possible number = definite + indefinite)	220 (77% of 287)	133 (46% of 287)	
	—	m.7th–m.8th centuries: 25 (37% of 67)	8th–10th centuries: 42 (63% of 67)

Settlement in the Early Islamic period did not have a direct continuity from the Late Roman period, but was significantly reduced by nearly half in a consistent 2:1 ratio, whether indefinite sites are considered or not. In other words, 35% of definite Late Roman sites continued with definite Early Islamic occupation. Furthermore, only about 37% of Early Islamic sites were initially occupied in the seventh–eighth centuries C.E. (roughly, the Umayyad period), as compared to 63% of sites first occupied by the eighth–tenth centuries (roughly, the ʻAbbāsid period). This is contrary to recent trends and assumptions that advance a more fluid continuity between the

sixth–eighth centuries, whether due to ceramic re-dating or indeterminate ceramic identification (see Chapter 1). The method of analysis used allow for a division of sites, more reliable distinctions between Late Roman and Early Islamic settlement patterns, and inferences about the environmental and cultural/ethnic background of the changes.

In the Amuq Plain, there was both a random dispersal of sites for the Late Roman period and a discernable pattern of sites aligned along the major highways (see Fig. 19) that ringed the plain. By the Early Islamic period, these groupings became more evident. As the focus of this study is the Early Islamic frontier, this chapter will present only Early Islamic sites, divided according to their geographic location which roughly follows certain site types: 1) canal and river sites; 2) tell sites; 3) upland sites; and 4) urban centers. These site types and Late Roman and Middle Islamic settlement patterns will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 7. The new, imposed analytical model allows for a division of sites and reliable distinctions between Late Roman and Early Islamic settlement patterns, site types, and choices of settlement.

Table 2 The Afrin Canal Sites

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
AS 257	Large (35)	Heavy	1	7th–10th >
AS 224	Medium (6)	Moderate	4.5	7th–10th >
AS 185	Medium (4.48)	Moderate	3.7	7th–10th >
AS 38	Small (1)	Moderate	1	> 7th–8th >
AS 41	Large (25)	Heavy	4	7th–8th
AS 91	Medium (3.75)	Light	17	> 7th–8th >

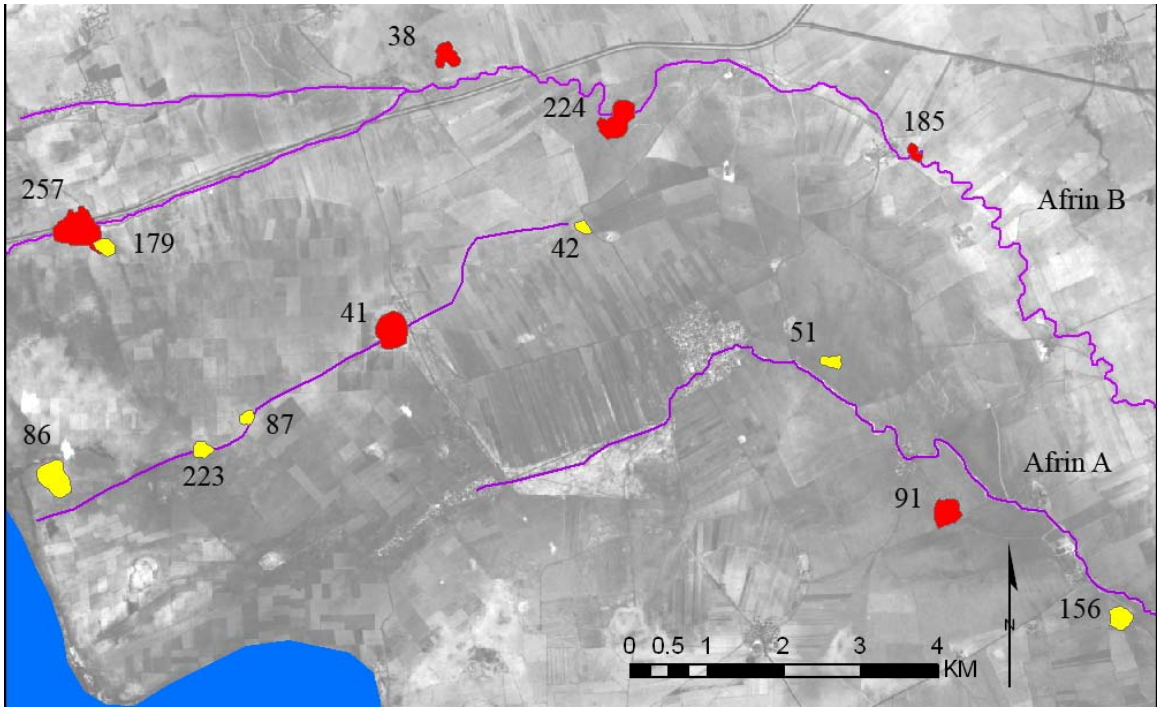

Figure 9 Afrin Canal sites (Early Islamic sites in red, Late Roman sites in yellow) [44]

The largest of the Early Islamic sites, both in terms of material culture and size, were located in one grouping in the very center of the plain. They were evenly spaced along the canalized portion of the Afrin River, Canal (or Channel) B. The Afrin Canal B sites were established *de novo* and do not have any Hellenistic, Roman, or Late Roman settlements. This implies that Afrin Canal B, on a slightly higher elevation than the surrounding plain, is dated to the Early Islamic period. Morphologically, the sites are all low double mounds either spanning the canal or to one side, with dense scatters of ceramics, roof tiles, architectural fragments, masonry blocks, mill stones, and so forth.

[44] I am indebted to Jesse Casana who originally produced the rectified CORONA images and other spatial data of the Amuq which I have been able to use with his permission as a base map here.

AS 257 is the largest Early Islamic site in the Amuq Plain, by far.[45] It is located the farthest west, as two very low mounds to the north (A) and south (B) on both sides of the southern fork of the bifurcated channel that approaches the lake.[46] Of these canal sites, AS 257 also had the widest diversity of fineware ceramics, including color-splash vessels, and glass; it had the lowest amount of Middle Islamic ceramics. AS 224 (Kocakısla/Big Garrison) is also double mounded and occupies both sides of the channel; it is elongated with a large northeast mound and smaller southwest one, both the same height. The site had an equal number of Early Islamic and Middle Islamic ceramics. AS 185 (Muharram/Uzun Kelli) has two mounds, one to the southeast (2.52 ha) and one to the northwest (1.96 ha). However, both mounds are on the northern bank of the Afrin Canal at the point where it begins to be canalized from a meandering river into a straightened and bifurcated stream. This site also had a more substantial Middle Islamic assemblage than Early Islamic. All of these sites had Syrian yellow-glaze finewares and brittle ware hole-mouth cooking pots. However, earlier Islamic brittlewares (spanning the second half of the seventh century C.E.) were only at AS 257 and AS 224, thereby suggesting that AS 185 was founded slightly later in the second half of the eighth century. From east to west, the three sites grow progressively larger in size.

[45] This does not include the known urban sites of Anṭākiya, Jisr al-Ḥadīd (AS 297), and ʻImm (AS 345) because modern towns obscure the extent of the Early Islamic settlement.

[46] The site also included AS 179, originally recorded separately but later determined to be an extension of AS 257.

AS 38, was a Roman and Late Roman site with some Early Islamic remains that was located just off the Afrin Canal between AS 257 and AS 224. Although the only preexisting Early Islamic site on the Afrin Canal B,[47] it was not situated on it and therefore may have been a plain site that was later involved in the canal system. A newly founded Late Roman site (AS 179) was located very close to the Afrin Canal B. The site was abandoned by the end of the Late Roman period and replaced by the adjacent Early Islamic new foundation, AS 257 (see above). This example suggests that new sites during the Late Roman/Early Islamic transition utilized (or reutilized) similar waterways, eventually replacing Late Roman canal sites.

A slightly earlier canal system can be traced for Afrin Canal A. AS 41 (Kiremitli) was a very large site just south of the Afrin Canal B in the marsh and the second largest Early Islamic site on the plain. With only one fragment of Eastern Sigillata (60–100 C.E.) and no Late Roman, Middle Islamic, or Late Islamic wares, this site should be considered a newly-founded single period Early Islamic site. By contrast AS 86, AS 87, and AS 223, located between AS 41 and the lake, were Late Roman sites that showed no continuity into the Early Islamic period. AS 87 was a smaller, flat site with a very large Late Roman assemblage. While both Late Roman sites AS 87 and AS 223 were medium sized, their assemblages were among the largest in the plain. Many of the wares were dated to the early seventh century but did not continue. A linear pattern formed by Late Roman sites AS 86, AS 223, AS 87, AS 42 (newly founded), and Early Islamic site AS 41 suggests that the Afrin Canal A was similarly

[47] One or two columns and capitals were found in a nearby cemetery that may have come from the site.

bifurcated as the Afrin Canal B was, with a northern forked straightened channel that drained into the lake. Further, the linear feature, visible on the CORONA image, goes through the Late Roman sites, suggesting a similar morphology of canal sites that occupied either side of the channel. Judging from the adjacent sites, the channel would have been in use in the Late Roman period at least until the early seventh century and probably through the Early Islamic period until the channel became completely silted. It is likely that AS 41 was a marsh site through part of its occupation. A newly founded Late Roman site (AS 51) may have marked the location off the canal coming off Afrin Canal A.

The Afrin Canal A channel, further south, dated even earlier. Two more sites in this area located farther up the Afrin Canal A help to provide a stronger date for the system. AS 91 was a preexisting Late Roman site situated on medium size tell site with mid-eighth to early ninth century pottery, which continued into the Middle Islamic period. The Islamic pottery, however, came from the lower town of this predominately Hellenistic and Roman site. Farther upstream, along the same bank of the Afrin Canal A was AS 156, a pre-Islamic site that was mainly Hellenistic and Roman. These two sites corroborate the dating evidence of the western end of the Afrin Canal A, and together date the Afrin Canal A to the Hellenistic and Roman periods with slight use into the seventh/early eighth century C.E.

The three major newly founded Early Islamic canal sites and marsh site mainly date from the second half of the seventh century C.E., indicating that these sites were important sites founded in the first century of Islamic occupation and located in the

exact center of the Amuq Plain. The sites date the Afrin Canal B system to this period. Furthermore, the gradual shift from seventh century occupation in the west near the lake (AS 257) to the early ʻAbbāsid and Middle Islamic settlement to the east (AS 185) shows the effects of marshification. The shift in sites along the canal away from the wetlands can be seen in the next evenly spaced site along the canal, AS 184. Farther east along the canal, AS 184 was entirely (or nearly so) made up of Middle Islamic ceramics with one or two indefinite Early Islamic sherds. As the wetlands grew, occupation became more concentrated in the east, although the canal itself was on a higher ridge of land. The expansion of wetlands did not cause these settlements to be abandoned. Rather, these shifts were gradual, as seen in the Yaghrā River sites.

Table 3 The Yaghrā River Sites

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
AS 32	Large (12.16)	Heavy	5.5	> 7th–10th
AS 29	Large (12)	Heavy	10	>7th–10th >
AS 25	Large (ca. 12)	Heavy	8	~7th–10th >

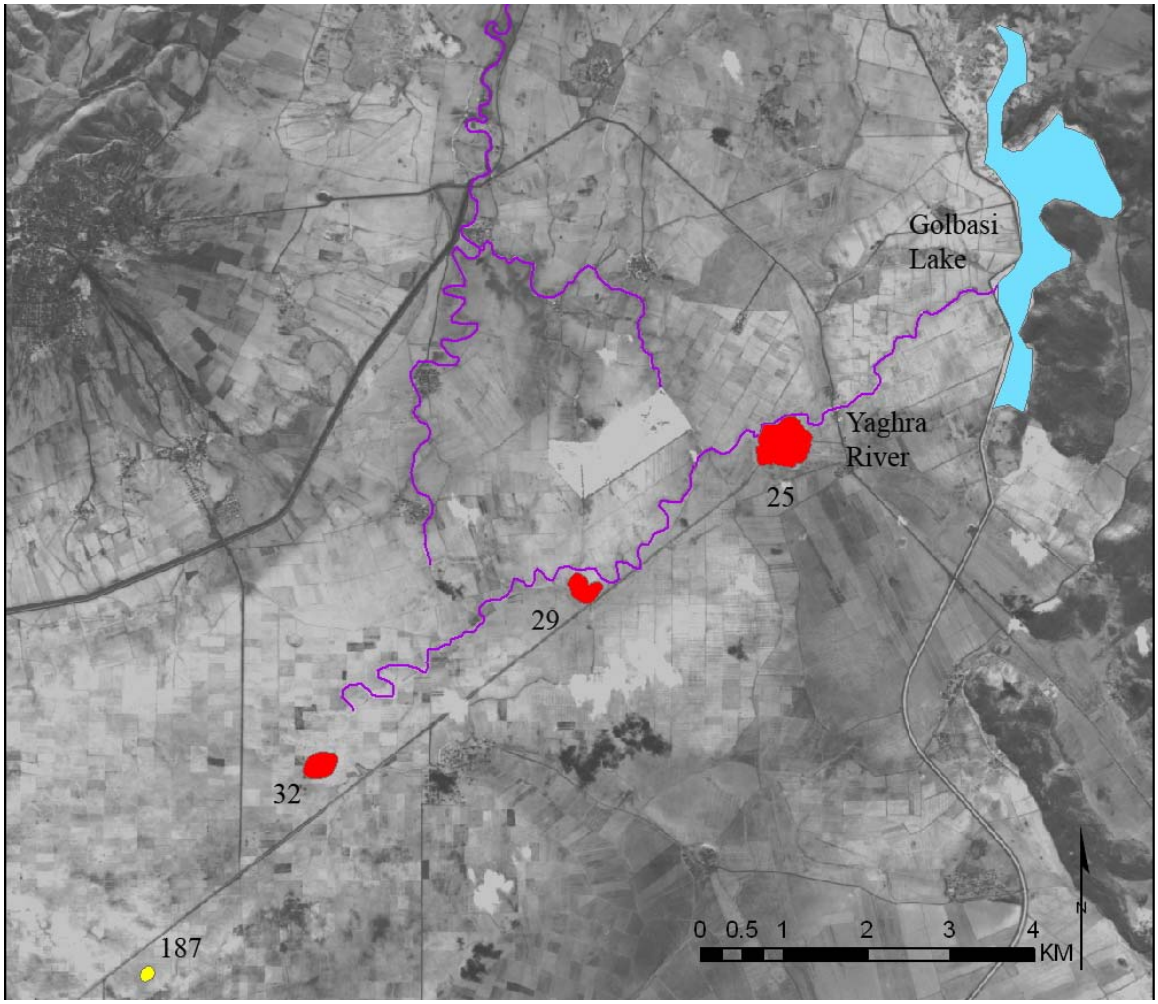

Figure 10 Yaghrā River sites

A second conspicuous grouping of the sites with the largest (heavy) assemblages are evenly spaced along the Yaghrā River, which gradually became subsumed by wetlands and follows the same pattern of the three newly founded sites on the Afrin Canal. This group to the north consists of three large sites with heavy assemblages, two of which were founded in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, while the third dates to the seventh century C.E. The sites are arranged from northeast to southwest along the southern bank of the Yaghrā River. The sites also occupy midpoints on the east–

west land route that crossed the northern part of the Amuq at the edge of the marsh, near the present day road. The first and farthest south site along the Yaghrā was located at the point where the Yaghrā and Kara Su Rivers joined and disappeared into the extensive marsh wetlands extending north of the lake of Antioch. AS 32 (Tell Sultan) was the largest of the three sites and much lower in elevation. The north facing slopes were steeper, suggesting the rivers emptied to the north of the site into the wetlands. Roman pottery from the second century C.E. and a larger amount of Late Roman pottery were present, as was some Middle Islamic pottery. The Late Roman and especially the Early Islamic periods constituted the largest assemblage. For the Early Islamic, the ceramics ranged from the seventh–tenth centuries, with many ceramics from the seventh/eighth and ninth centuries C.E. The presence of color-splash sgraffiato and the lack of twelfth–fourteenth century ceramics points to a final occupation in the tenth and possibly eleventh centuries. Additionally, there were several pieces of Islamic glass and evidence of glass slag vitrification. No historical identification has been made for this important site, although it is one of the largest post-Iron Age period settlements on the plain.

Farther upstream on the Yaghrā River was AS 29 (Esen Tepe/al-Kanisah). This site in both the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods was a low double mound. The northern and more prominent mound (A) was surrounded by a massive wall built of rough-cut basalt stone in cream mortar of indeterminable date. Associated buildings that lay to the west were conjectured as a possible church (hence the Arabic name of the site, meaning “the church”). The southern portion of the site dropped steeply

towards the canal. Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Roman finewares and coarsewares of the third century B.C.E. to the seventh century C.E. were present. The largest part of the assemblage comprised Late Roman and Early Islamic wares. There was also a small representation of Middle Islamic sherds. The Early Islamic pottery (seventh–tenth centuries C.E.) had a similar assemblage to AS 32. One salient detail was noted, however. The presence of more eighth-tenth century hole-mouth brittleware cooking pots to seventh century brittlewares implies an overlapping and slightly later chronology for the peak in settlement.

AS 25 (Muratpaşa) encompasses a modern village built over a basalt hill on the edge of the floodplain. The site's full extent was indeterminate due to the modern village overlying it, but it was probably similar to the other Yaghrā sites measuring 12 ha. A main fort was noted on the southwest mound until 1983 when it then collapsed and/or was robbed out. Well-dressed and cut basalt stones dating from the Middle and Late Islamic settlement can be seen in reuse in many of the garden and boundary walls of the modern village. Although this site had a preexisting Roman component, which was relatively slight compared to the Islamic phases, the Late Roman component is not definite. Interestingly, no Late Roman finewares or diagnostic brittlewares were found in the large collection. However, many of the indefinite brittleware diagnostics found (twenty-three handles, ten uncorrugated body sherds, nine corrugated body sherds, and one base) could be either Late Roman or Early Islamic. The large amount of indefinite transitional wares precludes calling this site confidently Late Roman. The Early Islamic seventh/eighth century was also slightly represented in contrast with the

more significant Early Islamic eighth–tenth centuries C.E. The Middle Islamic period assemblage was appreciably larger. Unlike AS 32 and AS 29, the site grew significantly into the Middle Islamic period.

These three Yaghrā River sites, besides being evenly spaced along a waterway and near a land route, show an interesting chronological development in their location. The shift from AS 32 to AS 29 to AS 25, moving upriver, is mirrored in the assemblage sizes of Late Roman to Early Islamic seventh/eighth to eighth/tenth to Middle Islamic tenth–fourteenth centuries. Although all three sites were contemporaneous and overlapped at some point during the Early Islamic period, decreasing percentages of Late Roman pottery from south to north and increasing percentages of Early Islamic eighth–tenth centuries and Middle Islamic pottery show a stronger occupational emphasis. This is emphasized by AS 187, which located nearer to the lake and farther downstream on the Yaghrā River. The site, south of AS 32, had no Late Roman or Early Islamic occupation. It was a large Roman site with good assemblages of both Hellenistic and Roman pottery. The absence of ceramics postdating the second century C.E. suggests that it was entirely submerged and left in favor of sites farther upstream. The site was re-inhabited in the Middle Islamic period as a marsh site. Like the Afrin Canal sites, this is a good cultural indicator of the process of marshification that continued to expand north of the lake and Tell Sultan. The higher elevations of sites AS 29 and AS 25 takes the surrounding wetland into consideration. Indeed, from the Middle Islamic period until today, the Yaghrā River gradually became entirely subsumed within the wetlands. Although the process of marshification was more

extensive for the Yaghrā River sites than for the Afrin Canal sites (which were raised), the Yaghrā River sites were larger Early Islamic sites in terms of assemblages. The sites remained occupied in the Middle Islamic period (particularly AS 187), showing that inhabitants built the sites higher and subsisted within a permanent wetlands environment.

The site of Yaghrā, known only in Middle Islamic sources as a village on a river of the same name should be one of the three Yaghrā River sites. In the fourteenth century, Abū al-Fidā' described its population as Christian.[48] The site has been identified with Muratpaşa (AS 25) partly on the basis of its size, which is indeterminate but larger than the 12 ha sites of AS 32 and AS 29; AS 25 also had the largest Middle Islamic assemblage, a Middle Islamic inscription,[49] and an Ottoman inscription on a nearby bridge over the Yaghrā River.[50] Yaghrā has also been associated with the classical site of Charax Meleagrum, mainly based on the corruption of the name Meleagrum. The identification of Meleagrum in the sources has been divided. Some have located it at Muratpaşa.[51] Others

---

[48] Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān,* 42, 261.

[49] A large basalt Middle Islamic inscription in two registers measuring 1.3 x 0.7 x 0.44 cm high and another monumental inscription on four basalt blocks were found associated with the site. The second inscription reads: "*al-malik al-Ashrāf/Abū Naṣr Īnāl/qul kul*[u] *y'amal*[u] *'alā/shākilati*[hi]" giving the name of a Circassian Mamlūk sultan who ruled from 1453–61 and a Qu'rānic verse from Sūra 17.84. I am indebted to Choukri Heddouchi for the translation.

[50] The bridge was built in three phases. The first phase consisted of small, dressed limestone blocks. The second phase was built against the first to the west and contained large basalt blocks, possibly reused. The blocks are presumably taken from the site. The third phase was built of small cream or orange sandy limestone blocks that were bossed and a block with an inscription dated to the Ottoman period, 1265 A.H. or 1848 C.E. The inscription reads: Vefatında vasiyyet eyledi bu cisri tamire/Resulzāde Velī Ağa ḥayātinda [?] ziyād/müyesser oldu itmamı nihayet eyleyüb [?]/içe Kevser Şarabın zevkle ol dar-ı ukbada/1265 and is translated as "upon his death he stated in his will the repair of this dike [or aqueduct?]/ in his life Resulzade Veli Agha …/finally its completion was achieved doing [?]/may he drink the wine of Kawthar with pleasure in the world to come/1858." I am indebted to Ertuğrul Ökten for the translation.

have placed it at Celanlı (Gündüzlü), where extensive Hellenistic ruins were found, based on an inscription demarcating the northern limits of Charax, and based on its distance closely matching that of the Peutinger Table — ten Roman miles.[52] On the Peutinger Table, Meleagrum would have been on the route from Anṭākiya that went north along the Amanus foothills. Furthermore, there were virtually no Late Roman ceramics discovered at AS 25. As such, Meleagrum is better associated with Celanlı then Muratpaşa.[53] However, there was no discernible Early Islamic occupation at Celanlı leading to the conclusion that the two sites were not the same.

The Yaghrā River flowed from the Gölbaşı Lake (Buḥaira Yaghrā) and passed the town before debouching into the Lake of Antioch. The proximity of the site of Yaghrā with the smaller Gölbaşı Lake supports identification with AS 25, the closest site to the lake. The Lake of Antioch and Gölbaşı Lake have in several instances been confused with one another incorrectly. The latter can firmly be identified to be the small lake northeast of the Lake of Antioch, near the site of Yaghrā (once known for its ample fish resources), near ʻAyn as-Sallūr mentioned in the Islamic sources, and near Casal Sellorie and the fishery of Agrest in Crusader texts.[54]

---

[51] P. Jacquot, *Antioch centre de tourisme* (Paris: Comité de tourisme d'Antioche, 193), 170; R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique*, 439. This identification is mainly etymological assuming Yaghrā is identified with Muratpaşa and Yaghrā is a corruption of Meleagrum.

[52] J. Mecerian and R. Mouterde, "Inscriptions de l'Amanus et de Seleucie," *Melanges de l'Universite Saint Joseph* 25.5 (1942–43), 90, 95–96; R. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Map 67, C4, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). It is interesting to note that Celanlı was one of the most important classical sites on the plain with a large Hellenistic site, Roman temple, and Roman–Late Roman town within the modern village. But there was no evidence of Islamic occupation.

[53] de Giorgi, "Formation of a Roman Landscape," 293.

Table 4 Marsh Sites in the Lake of Antioch and Other Newly Established Sites

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
AS 180	Medium (3.3)	Moderate	1	7th–10th
AS 80	Medium (1.53)	Light	1.5	8th–10th
AS 77	Medium (5.25)	Light	2	8th–10th >

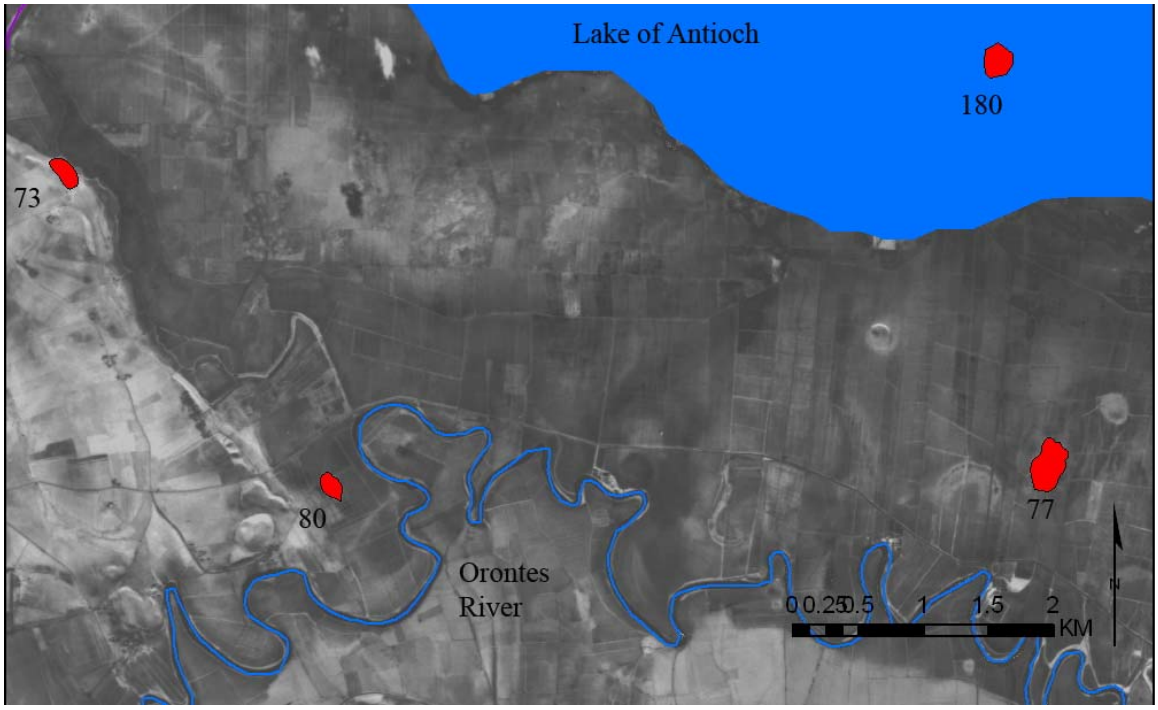

Figure 11 Other New Sites

Another site needs to be included, as it was a site within the Lake of Antioch itself and essentially a marsh site. AS 180 (Tell Hijar) was a very low and flat mound. That the site was located within the boundaries of the lake is evident not only by the paler soils visible in the CORONA images, but by a cover of freshwater gastropods on the

[54] The location of this hydronym has been clearly asserted by Jacquot, *Antioche centre de tourisme*, 169–70; Dussaud, *Topographie Historique*, 436–38.

site.[55] The site was occupied in the Hellenistic period (and earlier) with uncertain continuity into the Roman and Late Roman periods. Five to six Early Islamic wares, mainly creamwares and buffwares, and a blackware lid dating from 650–750 C.E., show the site was occupied in the Early Islamic period, and may have been newly founded. The site would have been an island, possibly built up with reed platforms as mentioned by textual sources and observed in ethnographies for marsh dwellers of southern Iraq, the Amuq, and Ghab Plains (see Chapter 8, Marsh).

The last two newly founded sites both possess light assemblages and as such, their attribution as solid Early Islamic sites is more tenuous; nevertheless, they will be considered. These sites form a group of new Early Islamic sites found along the Orontes River. AS 80 and AS 77 were located on the stretch of the Orontes River between Jisr al-Ḥadīd (AS 297, see below) and Anṭākiya. AS 80 (Tell el-Rasm) is a low, elongate mound with only one sherd: a ribbed rim of a creamware vessel. It also had only one sherd of Eastern Sigillata A (first century B.C.E.– first century C.E.). AS 80 was one of the few single period Early Islamic sites on the Amuq Plain. AS 77 (Tell Anbar, now bulldozed) was a long, elongated mound with one diagnostic sherd of the eighth–tenth centuries in addition to some Middle Islamic pottery. There was no discernable Hellenistic, Roman, or Late Roman pottery.[56]

[55] It was visible in part because of the many limestone and basalt building stones around the site.

[56] This is contrary to the original site catalog.

Table 5 Kara Su Valley

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
AS 190	Large (9)	Heavy	2	> 8th–10th >
AS 210	Medium (3)	Heavy	6	> 7th–10th >
AS 7	Small (0.12)	Moderate	16.5	~m. 8th–e. 9th >
AS 215	Small (0.33)	Moderate	29	> m. 8th–e. 9th >
AS 20	Medium (3)	Light	4	> 7th–10th
AS 13/212	Medium (2.25)	Light	12.5	~ 7th–10th >
AS 214	Small (0.8)	Light	5	~ 7th–10th >
AS 211	Medium (3.75)	Light	23	> m. 8th–e. 9th >
AS 194	Medium (4)	Light	2	~ 7th–10th >
AS 35	Medium (2.8)	Light	14	~ 7th–10th
AS 36	Small (0.8)	Moderate	16	~ 8th–10th

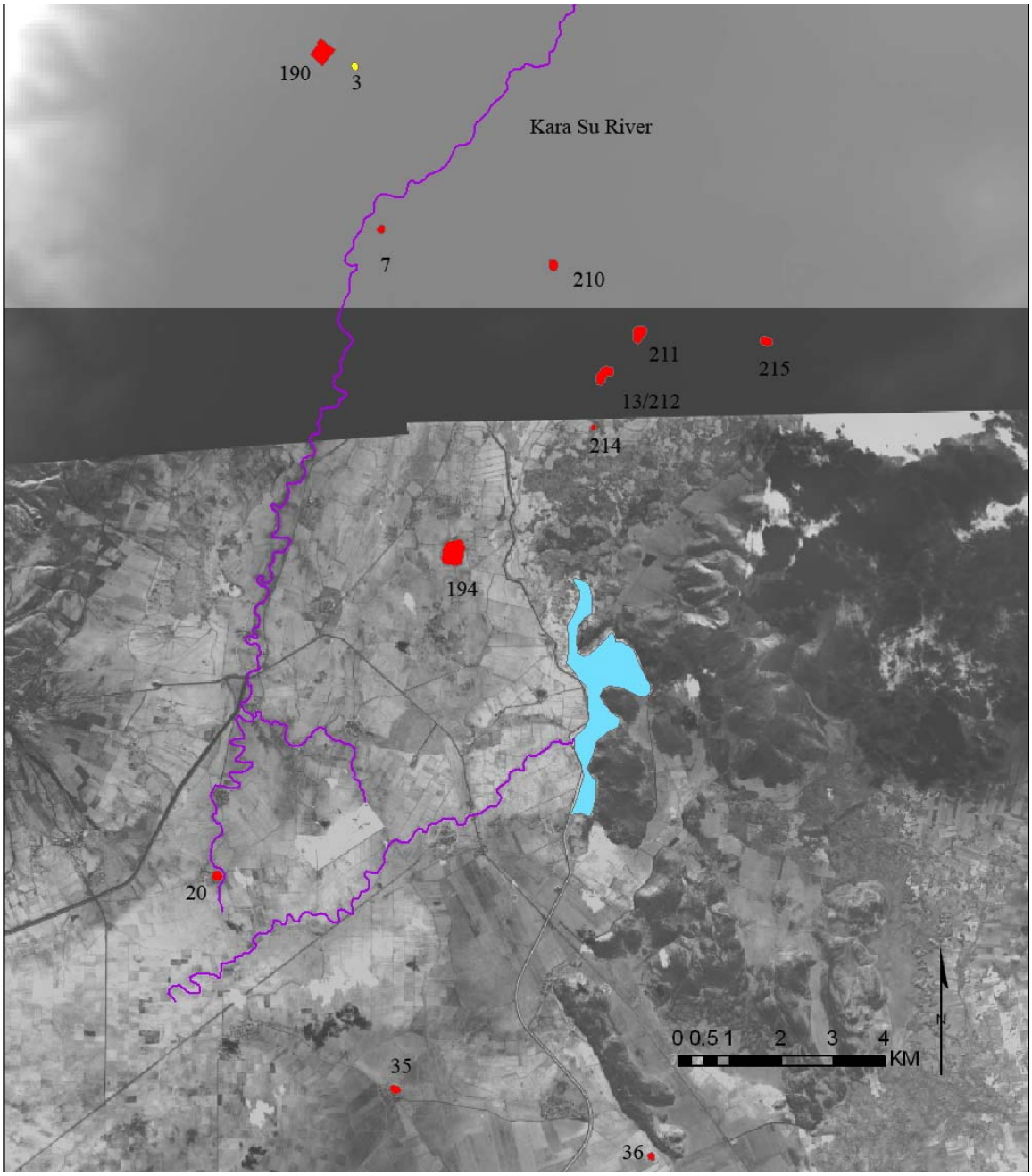

Figure 12 Kara Su Valley Sites

The northernmost site in the Amuq Plain survey area is one of the most interesting for the Early Islamic period because its architectural plan is distinguishable.[57] The site, AS 190 (Kırmıtlı), was founded near a large tell (AS 3) that had only a scanty presence (one sherd) in the Early Islamic period. As such, AS 190 shows a deliberate occupation away from the tell. AS 190 comprises several elements, the most conspicuous of which is a square enclosure (Area A), measuring 70 x 70 m; this structure has stone walls and rooms around the edge of the site walls, as visible in slight indentations on the top of the site. Area B is a lower town with a low building mound of stones to the east and northeast, built with walls of large cobbles that encompasses about 1 ha. To the south of Area A is a flat area (Area C), whose open courtyard contains numerous basalt columns up to a length of 2 meters long. West of Area A's enclosure (Area D) is a scatter of wall and building debris, including a square tower-like structure (possibly a minaret) partially preserved of different and very well-preserved masonry of a later construction. The construction and significant presence of Middle Islamic pottery suggests a continuity of the site into the Middle Islamic period. Area E has more roof tile scatter, but fewer ceramics. At AS 190, there were very few Hellenistic, Roman, or Late Roman ceramics (light assemblage), as the main occupation was from the eighth–tenth centuries C.E. The site's composition and dimensions strongly resemble an Early Islamic fortified enclosure (*qaṣr*) with possibly an attendant mosque (Area C). In its entirety, the site is 300 x 300 m (9 ha) and preserved to two meters high. Furthermore, it is located on the Anṭākiya–Mar'ash road.

[57] Unfortunately, a CORONA for the northernmost part of the Amuq survey was not available.

Figure 13 AS 190 with raised walls in mid in midground, Amanus in background (photo by B.C. Coockson)

Such a strategic and well-preserved fortified enclosure site should be known textually, not least because it comes closest to an Early Islamic approximation of a frontier fort or *thaghr*. The frontier site of Būqā is the only unidentified Early Islamic site said to be located somewhere in the Amuq Plain near the lake in the district of Anṭākiya. Ibn Khurradādhbih in the ninth century C.E. lists the place among the *'awāṣim* frontier sites.[58] Textual evidence suggests the site was occupied very early in the Early Islamic conquests and perhaps even preexisted. A fort at Būqā (*ḥiṣn*) was

[58] Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-masālik al-mamālik* (Leiden: Brill, 1889), 65.

built and then fortified and repaired under the caliph Hishām at the same time as at Baghrās (see below).[59] In 669–70 C.E., Muʻāwiya brought the Zuṭṭ and Sayābija from the wetlands of southern Iraq and resettled them at Būqā along with their water buffalo (*al-jamūs*).[60] The site was taken by the Byzantines in the reconquest between 948–49 C.E., signifying that settlement continued through the Early Islamic period. While inaccurate and unproportional, the tenth century map of Ibn Ḥawqal indicates the site of Būqā on a road between Baghrās and Marʻash, suggesting that it ought to be located at AS 190. Yāqūt's description states that the site was located in *al-ṣaʻid* and was a *ḥiṣn*.[61] The term *al-ṣaʻid,* while conventionally translated as uplands, may refer to the upper part of the Amuq Plain and Kara Su River. This is appropriate given the fact that Būqā was settled by marsh dwellers who did not live in uplands. Furthermore, it strengthens the identification of Būqā with AS 190, which was located upstream on the Kara Su Valley of the Amuq Plain.

Interestingly, there is no reference to the site as a pre-Early Islamic site although this may have been assumed. Balādhurī's mentions of the site are always from a regional perspective. Regarding the Early Islamic conquests, he states that the army of Abū ʻUbayda reached Būqā and then conquered the villages (*qurā*) of al-Jūma, Sarmīn, Martaḥwān, and Tīzīn.[62] Since Būqā was not conquered, it may not have been a pre-Early Islamic site and is being used in this ninth century text as a contemporary

---

[59] Balādhurī *Futūḥ al-buldān* 229; Yāqūt *Muʻjam al-buldān* i.510, *Marāṣid al-Ittilāʻ* i.231; Ibn Shaddād, *al-ʻAlāq al-khaṭīra* ii.422.

[60] Balādhurī, *Futūh al-buldān*, 221, 230.

[61] Yāqūt, *Muʻjam al-Buldān.*

[62] Ibid., 203.

reference point for the reader. The point that Būqā may be a newly founded Early Islamic frontier fort is important because it fits within a different category of frontier sites that differed from all of the major *thughūr* settlements which were built over preexisting Late Roman cities. The pre-Early Islamic site existed nearby, as indicated by a rubble field of architectural fragments including basalt columns, as well as a bathhouse and nearby tell (AS 3) east of AS 190. Overall, the settlement complex shows a focused area within the Amuq Plain that had an initial Roman and Late Roman settlement, which in the Early Islamic period may have shifted adjacent to the site and away from the tell to a newly established foundation.

AS 210 (Aygıroğlu) is another site at the north end of the Amuq Plain on the east side of the Kara Su River with a nearby Hellenistic and Roman tell. AS 210 was founded in the Late Hellenistic/Early Roman period and now consists of the remains of a building complex. Two building phases of ashlar masonry and roughly-hewn square stones were visible in the walls. Like AS 190, AS 210 shows a deliberate occupation off — but proximal to — the mound. It remained an important site from the Late Roman to Early Islamic periods.

AS 7 and AS 20, along the Kara Su River, and AS 13/212, AS 214, AS 211, and AS 194 were located between the Yaghrā River sites and the two northernmost sites of AS 190 and AS 210. These small to medium sites were mainly low mounds founded in the Late Hellenistic/Early Roman periods with Early Islamic occupation. At the far east side of the northern valley of the Kara Su River, AS 211 and AS 215 were the only tell sites in the this part of the plain occupied in the Early Islamic period. One can

suggest that the smaller Early Islamic sites, with light to moderate assemblages, were farmsteads that were settled peripherally to Late Roman sites. This is shown in the grouping of nearby sites AS 211, AS 13/212, and AS 214 that were most likely associated.

Two sites were located south of the Yaghrā River. AS 35 was a small tell site located centrally in the plain between the Yaghrā River and the Afrin Canal B. Early Islamic pottery was found in a west cut at the base of the mound (Area C, 2 m high), which included some floors, mud brick walls, and stone foundations. An additional tell site (AS 36) was located at the eastern foothills midway between the Yaghrā and Afrin Canals. The site had steep slopes on all sides except the southwest side. The site was most likely on the road that traversed the east side of the plain from ‘Imm (AS 345, see below) to the north and avoided those areas that were inundated. Interestingly, six of these sites had no (AS 36) or indefinite Late Roman occupation (AS 7, AS 13/212, AS 35, AS 194, and AS 214).

Table 6 Orontes and Afrin River Floodplains and the Küçük Asi

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
AS 297	—	Heavy	—	> m. 8th–e. 9th >
AS 345	—	Heavy	—	> 7th–10th >
AS 202	4.5	Heavy	0.5	> 7th–8th >
AS 347	2.25	Heavy	—	> 7th–10th >
AS 204	6.25	Heavy	3.7	> 8th–10th
AS 122	4	Heavy	4	> 7th–10th >
AS 120	3.6	Medium	3.5	> 8th–10th >
AS 138	1.75	Medium	13	> 8th–10th
AS 128	0.7	Medium	2	> 8th–10th >
AS 132	1.26	Medium	2.5	> 8th–10th >
AS 110	5	Light	2.5	> 8th–10th
AS 251	1	Light	1	> 7th–8th
AS 130	0.43	Light	3.8	> 8th–10th >
AS 108	2	Heavy	2.5	> 8th–10th >
AS 99	7	Medium	28	~ 8th–10th
AS 352	—	Medium	—	> 8th–10th
AS 89	2.1	Light	6	> 8th–10th
AS 102	1.5	Light	1.5	~ 8th–10th >
AS 115	1.6	Light	4.5	~ 8th–10th >
AS 119	2.25	Light	3	~ 7th–10th ~
AS 171	0.9	Light	1	> 8th–10th
AS 73	0.8	Light	22	> 8th–10th >

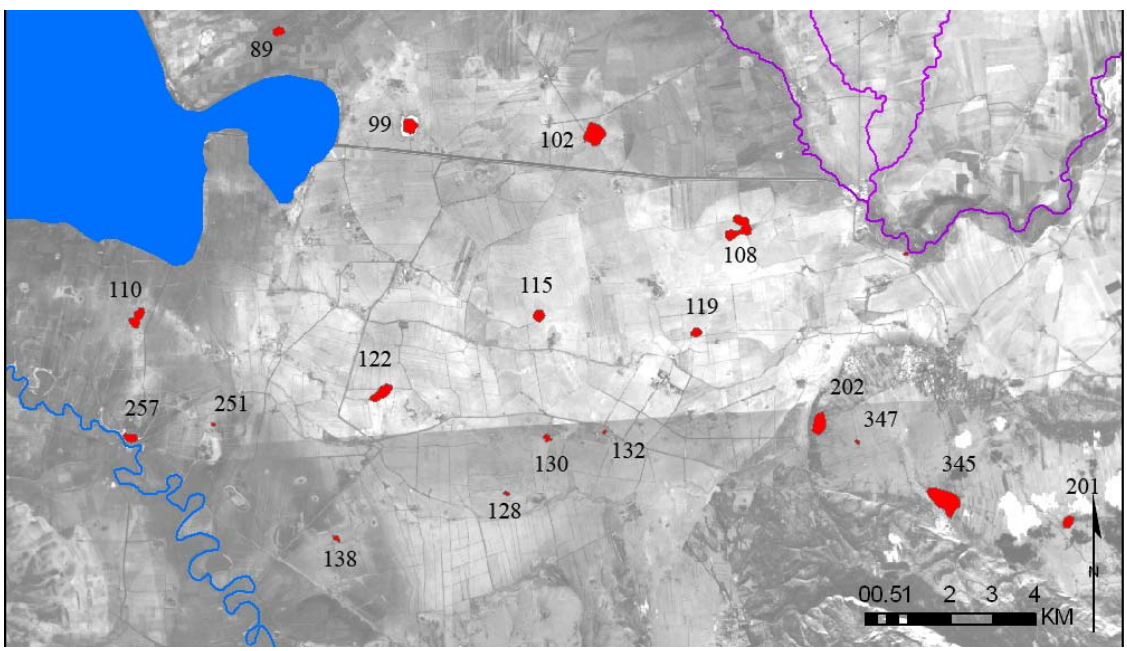

Figure 14 Orontes and Afrin River Floodplain

A series of six sites with heavy assemblages were arranged along the route between Jisr al-Ḥadīd (AS 297) on the Orontes River where it enters the Amuq Plain and ‘Imm (AS 345) at the eastern end of the plain. In the Early Islamic period, these sites no doubt highlight the importance of the road connecting Anṭākiya with the larger urban center of Ḥalab. Although a comprehensive surface collection was not possible and a heavy assemblage is assumed, a Syrian yellow-glaze sherd of high quality was found by the survey (mid-eighth/early ninth century C.E.).

At the far eastern end of the road to Ḥalab was a group sites on a low limestone plateau above the Amuq Plain. The main urban site of AS 345 had a large ceramic scatter found on the northwestern outskirts of Yenişehir; several architectural ruins and stones and columns in reuse throughout the town attest to the extent of the site. In the town itself are the remains of a mill and large fortified building (measuring 50 x 50 m) built of limestone blocks. The building was built with a tower at each of the four corners and vaulted arches. Within the structure were numerous decorated and classical spolia. The mill and fort are of Middle Islamic date and possibly even Crusader. Sinclair thought the fort was a converted church.[63] The site is identified with Late Roman Imma and Early Islamic ‘Imm, marking the entrance into the Amuq Plain from the east. The site also included the limestone slope down to the plain that had the remains of a line of three water mills. The site was probably involved in managing the water mills and treating the grain/ground flour in preparation for storage and/or transportation. These water mills connected with a channel visible on the CORONA

[63] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 295–96.

imagery that went to ‘Imm (AS 345), known in antiquity to have a lake; it is still present today. Along this watercourse and between the two sites was AS 347, which has a very large Roman assemblage and many Late Roman finewares. The site’s seventh century pottery testifies to continuity into the Early Islamic period. Slightly east of AS 345 and farther along the Anṭākiya–Ḥalab road was AS 204. Connected, circular basins were visible at the site, suggesting an industrial complex. Interestingly, this site had no Roman pottery and only one definite Late Roman sherd. The site was predominately occupied from the mid-eighth to tenth centuries with no Middle Islamic occupation. With the exception of AS 204, ‘Imm and its satellite sites had very good Late Roman and Early Islamic assemblages, which included many seventh century pottery types.

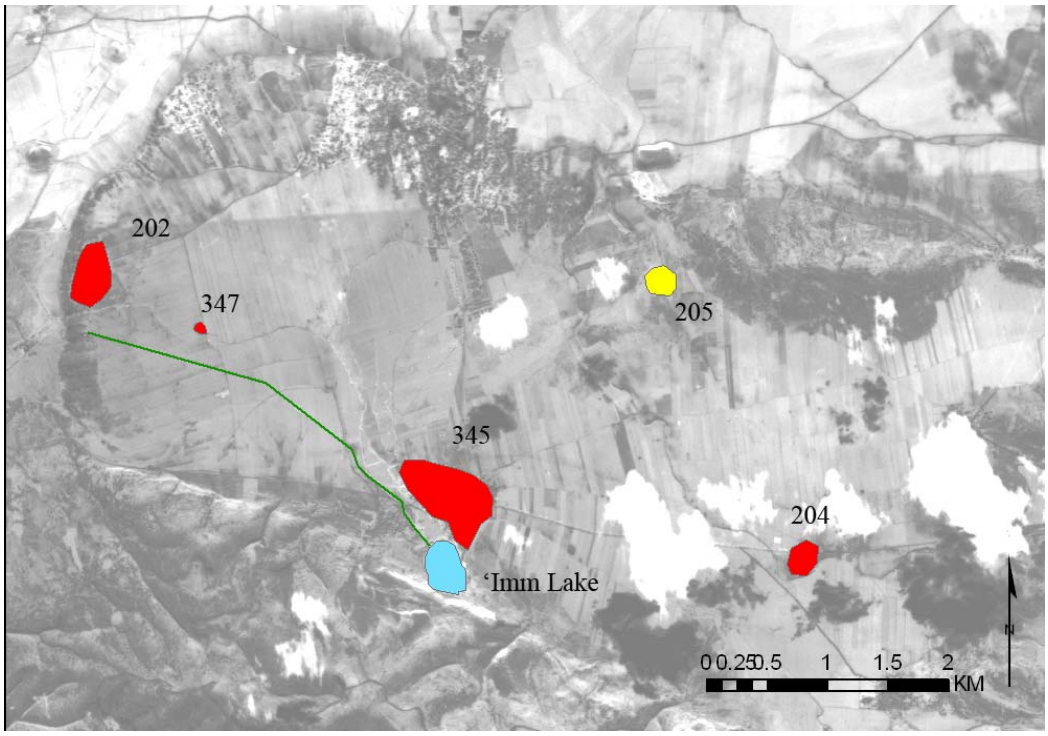

Figure 15 ‘Imm and its satellite sites

Four medium assemblage sites were arrayed along the Anṭākiya–Ḥalab road including, from west to east, AS 120, AS 138, AS 128, and AS 132. Most of these sites were founded either in the Hellenistic (or Late Iron), Roman, or Late Roman periods and have good Early Islamic collections and dense scatters of ceramics, roof tiles, and masonry. Wasters demonstrated that AS 128 also had evidence of ceramic production. With the exception of AS 138, which is a tell site, they are all low mounds, between 2 and 4 meters high and between 0.7 and 3.6 ha in size. Three light sites (AS 110, AS 251, and AS 130) exhibited the same characteristics and were interspersed throughout the heavy and medium sites. Some may have been satellite sites to larger settlements. AS 138 was the only multi-period tell site.

In the eastern plain, between the Orontes River and the Afrin Canals, is an area of very little sedimentation as compared with areas to the west and south of the Amuq Plain. This area of Afrin fans was not under permanent wetland but probably flooded only seasonally. Because it provides a better picture of the geological and archaeological depositions on the plain prior to the heavier post-Roman and post-Islamic periods of sedimentation, it is known as the Çakaltepe sedimentary window.[64] Braidwood noted this area as having the densest concentration of "Mediterranean-Arab Wares," which he dated very generally from 630–1800 C.E.[65] The area included heavy assemblage site AS 108, medium sites AS 99 and AS 352, and light sites AS 89, AS 102, AS 115, AS 119, and AS 171. AS 108 actually consisted of three mounds

[64] Yener, et al., "Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998," 174.

[65] Braidwood, *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch*, 45.

and shows the settlement pattern of classical and Early Islamic sites quite clearly. The lowest of these mounds was eastern mound AS 108B, which had mainly Early Islamic and Middle Islamic with very few — if any — transitional Late Roman wares. This is in contrast to AS 108A, which was predominately Hellenistic and Roman, and AS 108C, which was Late Chalcolithic.

Of the light sites, AS 99 was a medium multi-period tell site with vitrified slag as evidence of glass production. AS 171 had much slag and ceramic wasters from terra-cotta piping and domestic wares. The production may date from the Late Roman period, but this is difficult to determine. AS 89 was on a small tell near the lake; it would have been a marsh site. It had a larger preexisting Late Roman occupation. Early Islamic pottery did not come from the mound itself, but from a smaller adjacent mound (Area C). A light assemblage site (AS 73) was also found near the Küçük Asi, the outlet river that drained the lake (see Fig. 11); it was also a tell site. Following the pattern of canal and river sites, it is likely that the majority of the Amuq Plain east of the lake between the Orontes and Afrin Rivers, which had a relatively dense concentration of sites, would have had to be irrigated and accommodated by a secondary system of built canals. It is very interesting that there was no pottery of the second half of the seventh/early eighth century C.E.; the majority was pottery from the eighth–tenth centuries. This fact suggests that these sites were not immediately occupied in the beginning of the Early Islamic period, but were interspersed among the earlier and larger heavy assemblage sites, gradually filling-in the main east–west route across the plain. For example, the larger site of AS 122, located roughly midway

between Jisr al-Ḥadīd and ‘Imm,[66] had seventh/eighth century pottery, while AS 120 and 128, located between those sites, had eighth–tenth century pottery.

Table 7 Amanus Mountains

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
AS 246	4.2	Heavy	2.5	> 8th–10th >
AS 248	4.5	Medium	1	> 8th–10th >
AS 247	0.8	Medium	—	10th >
AS 327	0.35	Light	0	> 7th
AS 328	0.25	Light	0	> 8th–10th >
AS 243	1.04	Light	—	> 8th–10th >
AS 335	0.8	Medium	1.5	~ 8th–10th >
AS 232	—	Light	—	> 8th–10th >

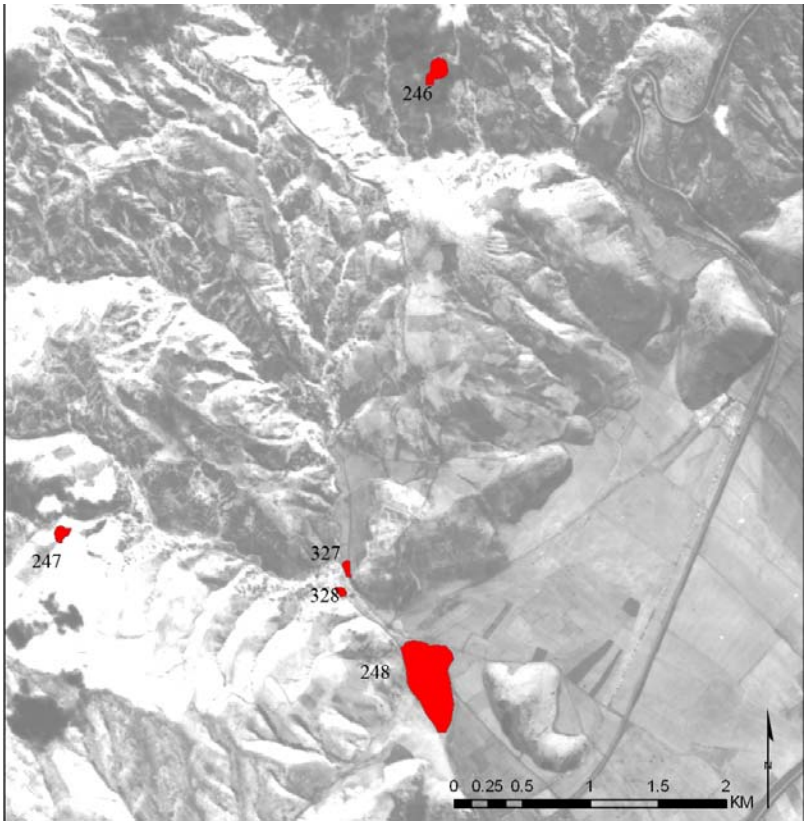

Figure 16 Amanus Belen Sites

[66] Vitrified waste was found in the eastern part of AS 122, as well as pottery wasters associated with the remains of a possible tile or pottery kiln.

There were three areas of sites along the western Amuq Plain at the foot of the Amanus Mountains. The first group of sites was clustered around the approach into the Belen Pass, the only route across the Amanus from the Amuq Plain to the Mediterranean Sea. AS 246 (Çakallı Karakol) was the largest of these sites and located north and south of the old Belen Pass road on a limestone hill near the village of Belen. Its occupation from the Chalcolithic until the Early Modern period attests to its prominent and strategic location guarding the pass. For the Early Islamic period, the ceramics belong almost entirely to the late eighth–tenth centuries C.E. with some later Early Islamic forms predominating (ninth/tenth century wares). It may have been temporarily abandoned in the seventh century C.E. In the Middle Islamic period, the site has the largest assemblage of any other site in the survey. Farther south on the plain was AS 248 (Bakras Khan/Han Karamurt) noted by Sinclair.[67] The large low site was dominated to the north by the ruins of a large khan with a stone enclosure wall. This northern part of the site also yielded Early Islamic material, while Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Roman ceramics were mainly concentrated to the south. Roughly in the center of the site, villagers reported digging up a bathhouse and mosaic flooring. The villagers also produced seven coins from the site, three of which were Roman, one Late Roman (346–48 C.E.), and three dating to the Middle Islamic period of Byzantine reconquest (970–1092 C.E.). As nothing earlier than the tenth century was found at the castle of Bakras/AS 247 (see Chapter 7), this site has been identified with the classical and Early Islamic site of Baghrās, located at the entrance of the Belen

[67] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 266. The nature of the khan structure is not yet verified. Preliminary satellite imagery may indicate that it follows the ground plan of Ottoman forts.

Pass but also on the Anṭākiya–Mar‘ash road. Two other small and light Roman–Early Islamic farm sites (AS 327 and AS 328) were located at the base of the Baghrās Valley, near the mouth. AS 327 only had one transitional seventh century sherd and therefore was a Late Roman site that continued into the beginning of the Early Islamic period before it was abandoned. Early Islamic occupation at AS 328 was scanty. Its location on a streambed and near a Late Islamic water mill suggests it could have had earlier foundations and was most likely contemporary with the Middle Islamic last phase of the site.

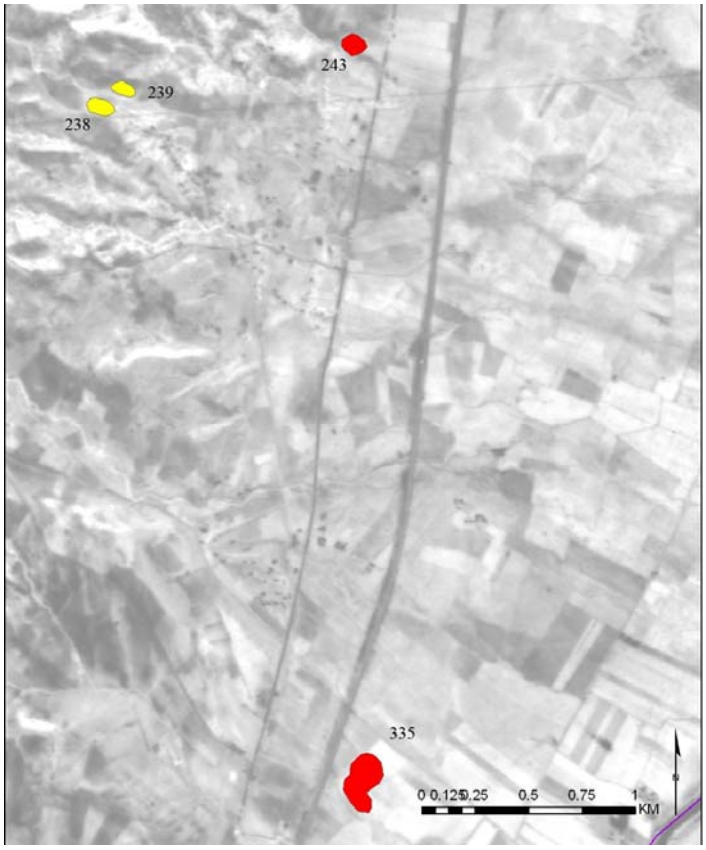

Figure 17 Amanus Serinyol Sites

The second group of two sites (AS 243 and 335) along the Amanus Mountains was in the Serinyol area, equidistant between Baghrās and Anṭākiya. Both sites were roughly the same size; they were very low sites occupied only in the Late Roman and Roman periods. AS 243 was the largest newly founded Late Roman site on the Amuq Plain in terms of assemblage size and replaced Hellenistic and Roman sites AS 241 and AS 242. It only had a light Early Islamic assemblage. The sites were most likely stopping points along the Anṭākiya–Mar'ash road between Anṭākiya and Baghrās.

A third isolated site was found in the Amanus Mountains west of Anṭākiya.[68] AS 232 was an upland site located in the Kisicik Valley. Several other Roman and Late Roman sites were found in this area associated with a steatite extraction industry. Although the ceramic evidence is slight, the presence in this area coupled with the known industry of steatite in the Early Islamic period suggests that this may have been a specialty mining site.[69]

[68] Unfortunately, there was no CORONA image available for the Kisecik area.

[69] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 298.

Table 8 Jebel al-Aqra

Site	Physical Size (ha)	Assemblage Size	Height (m)	Date (Century, C.E.)
AS 344	3	Heavy	0.5	> 7th–10th >
AS 314	1.5	Medium	1	> 8th–10th >
AS 298	0.75	Light	0.5	> 7th
AS 315	1	Light	0.5	> 7th
AS 309	1	Light	0	> 7th
AS 318	0.5	Light	—	> 7th
AS 308	0.5	Light	—	~ 8th–10th
AS 265	0.4	Light	0	> 8th–10th >
AS 267	2.1	Heavy	1.5	> 8th–10th >
AS 281	0.42	Medium	1	> 8th–10th >
AS 253	0.6	Light	11	> 8th–10th >
AS 275	3	Light	1	> 8th–9th >
AS 294	2	Medium	1	> 7th >

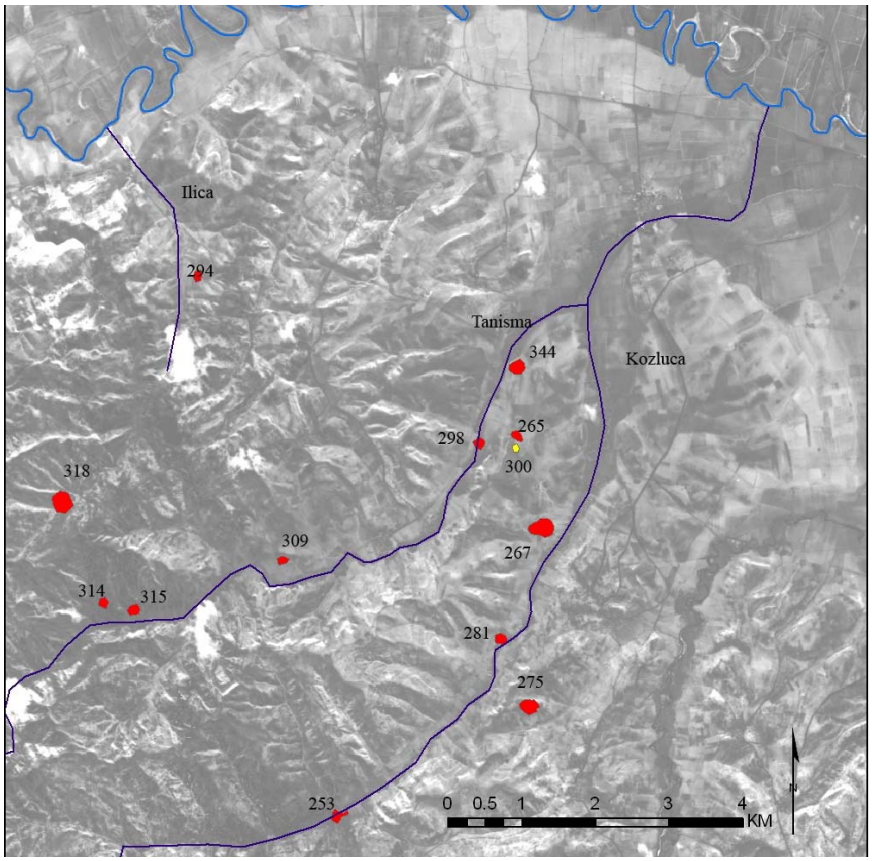

Figure 18 Jebel al-Aqra Sites

Three valleys in the Jebel al-Aqra, east of Antioch,[70] were surveyed intensively to establish a model for upland and lowland settlement patterns. These valleys, the Ilıca, Tanışma, and Kozluca, were in the southern uplands east of Antioch and west of the Orontes River. There were no newly founded sites in this area. Rather, many of the sites from the Roman and/or Late Roman periods continued to be inhabited into the seventh/eighth centuries. In the Early Islamic period, the amount of sites that continued was still significantly less by two-thirds: from thirty-eight sites in the Late Roman period to thirteen sites in the Early Islamic period.[71] Eight of these were in the Tanışma Valley, four of these were in the Kozluca Valley, and one in the Ilıca Valley. The predominate settlement pattern continued, however. Nearly all sites were located on or just above valley floors, were flat sites, and had preexisting Late Roman settlement. When located on or near tells, they were always just beside them and placed near the main valley streams or smaller side streams. There were only two heavy assemblage sites, as compared to six in the Late Roman period. Nearly half of the Early Islamic sites were abandoned by the eighth century. These were the smaller Late Roman sites located on the valley slopes or uplands and indicate that they were

[70] The western mountains of the Jebel al-Aqra were in the classical periods known as Mount Silpius and Mount Staurin.

[71] This amends the information given by Casana in his dissertation, which breaks down the chronologies of the valleys as such: fifty-eight Roman sites, sixty-seven Late Roman sites, and twenty-four Early Islamic sites occupied in the ninth–tenth centuries, and all but one preexisting ("From Alalakh to Antioch," 330). At the time of his writing the analysis for these periods was not completed. The lower (more conservative) numbers that were given by de Giorgi and myself reflect only those sites with definite occupation. Many other sites had unidentifiable brittlewares that did not firmly belong to any period, Roman, Late Roman, or Early Islamic. As such the overall settlement may have been high, in actuality. It is interesting that the numbers both in Casana's original assessments and here remain within the same 2:1 proportion of Late Roman to Early Islamic.

Late Roman sites that were occupied into the Early Islamic period. Those sites that had eighth–tenth century Early Islamic occupation (six) were the larger sites, located on valley floors in key areas (such as the valley mouth) and all continued into the Middle Islamic period.

AS 344 was a flat site at the mouth of the Tanışma Valley and had a dense scatter of pottery, roof tiles, tesserae, and building stones. Nearby were the remains of an ancient bridge or dam. The lowland site guarded the mouth of the valley and was the only heavy assemblage site for the valley. Heading up the valley to the southwest was AS 314, a small site with a medium assemblage located on a natural hill on the valley floor that overlooked the valley below. The site also included a nearby hilltop and extended down to a side wadi streambed. Six sites had light assemblages. They were arranged along the valley similarly. AS 298 and AS 315 were located on or just above the valley floor and exhibited the same building material and dense scatter signatures. AS 309 extended from the valley floor to the top of a ridge and represented Roman to Early Islamic occupation deliberately located off the nearby main mound of Tomsa Höyük (AS 283). AS 318 was in a high mountain valley and also was a transitional site. AS 308 was located on gentle hill slopes near the valley floor and was a flat site on the southeast side of a stream. Moving farther up the slopes from the valley floor, AS 265 was on a hillside near the mouth of the valley. Both sites had eighth–tenth century pottery and AS 265 had one of the only examples of lusterware found in the survey; the site continued into the Middle Islamic period. It had no definite Late

Roman pottery, but it was closely associated with a small Late Roman site (AS 300) to the south.

In the Kozluca Valley there was also only one site with a heavy assemblage. A third of the way up from the mouth of the valley, AS 267 was situated on a low terrace above the valley floor. AS 281 was a small site of medium assemblage located a kilometer and a half farther up the valley. It was sited on the north side of the valley at the base of the hills and at the edge of the active floodplain. There were two light assemblage sites. One tell (AS 253) had Early Islamic occupation. It was located on a side valley floor near a small stream and was a larger multi-period tell site. North of the riverbank was a lower town that was predominately Late Roman and Early Islamic, but continued into the Middle Islamic period. This site is another example of off-mound settlement during a period of dispersal. Finally, AS 275 was a large hilltop site on the south side of the Tanışma Valley. It had a good collection of Late Roman fineware and one abraded sherd of indeterminate Syrian yellow-glaze or color-splash. It is likely that it too was a Late Roman site, possibly a church, abandoned shortly into the Early Islamic period. Unlike settlement in the Tanışma Valley, the small Ilıca Valley had virtually no Early Islamic settlement. Only one site of medium assemblage was located midway along the valley. AS 294 was located on a low plateau near the valley floor of a side wadi to the south of the main Ilıca Valley.

While many sites along the Kara Su River had seventh–tenth century C.E. ceramics, the majority of sites in the latter three areas (Orontes and Afrin River floodplains, Amanus, and Jebel al-Aqra) spanned the eighth–tenth centuries,

indicating that they may have been abandoned for a century or so before a process of reoccupation occurred. Urban nodes such as ‘Imm and its surroundings sites were exceptions.

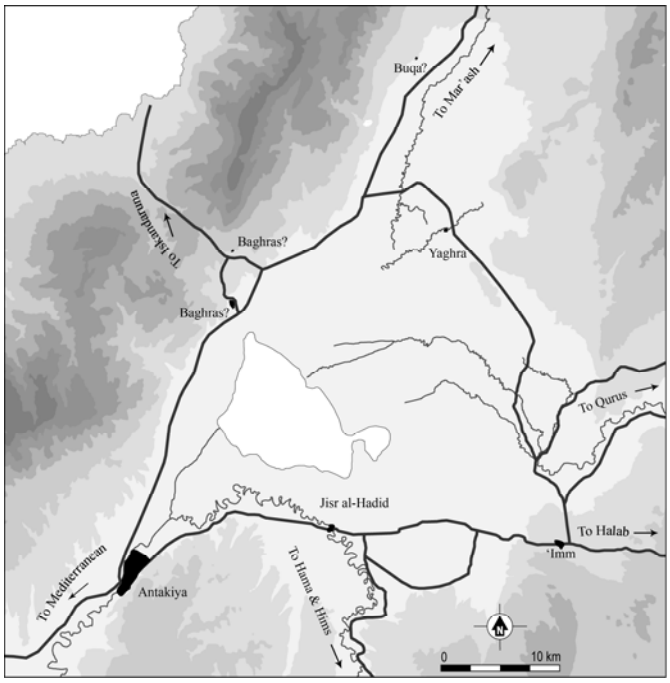

Figure 19 Early Islamic towns and roads

Cities and Towns

A new network of urban centers and towns was formed in the Late Hellenistic period, which continued through the Early and Middle Islamic periods. These main urban centers, most of which are known from textual sources, were arranged hierarchically and spatially around the edges of the Amuq Plain roughly in a triangular shape. The largest, without parallel, was the world-class city of Anṭākiya (classical Antioch, modern Antakya) situated in the narrow Orontes Valley, southwest of the

Amuq. All rivers, the lake, and other water systems drained out of the plain to flow past the city. This hydro-geographic location is no coincidence, as it emphasizes the role of the Amuq Plain as the hinterland and provider to Anṭākiya beginning in the Late Hellenistic period. Anṭākiya also stood at the entrance to the plain from the coast. Six other main sites were located along important routes in and out (and around) the plain. Jisr al-Ḥadīd (classical Gephyra, modern Demirköprü) was on the Orontes River in the south-central plain where the Orontes River entered the plain. ʻImm or Ḥiṣn ʻImm (classical Imma or Emma, modern Yenişehir) was in the southeast corner where the road led out to Ḥalab (classical Beroia, modern Aleppo). Anṭākiya, Jisr al-Ḥadīd, and ʻImm were positioned evenly along this important east–west route. Baghrās (classical Pagras/Pagrae/Pagaris, modern Bakras/Bağras) was situated midway up the western side of the plain north of Anṭākiya and along the Amanus flanks. It was specifically sited to guard both the north–south route from Anṭākiya to Marʻash and the Belen Pass over the Amanus to Iskandarūna (classical Alexandretta, modern Iskenderun); the only accessible mountain pass that linked this part of north Syria with the coast (the Syrian Gates).[72] The last two have already been described: Yaghrā on the north-south route that ran along the eastern edge of the plain, and Būqā at the northernmost apex of the plain on the route to Marʻash.

[72] Darbassāk (AS 346) and Charax Meleagrum (Celanlı/AS 287), along the Amanus flanks, were at the northern end of the plain along the same Anṭākiya–Marʻash route. Antigonia, the Hellenistic forerunner of Antioch, is as yet unidentified but located somewhere in the southwest part of the plain near the lake according to the sources. These sites are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Anṭākiya

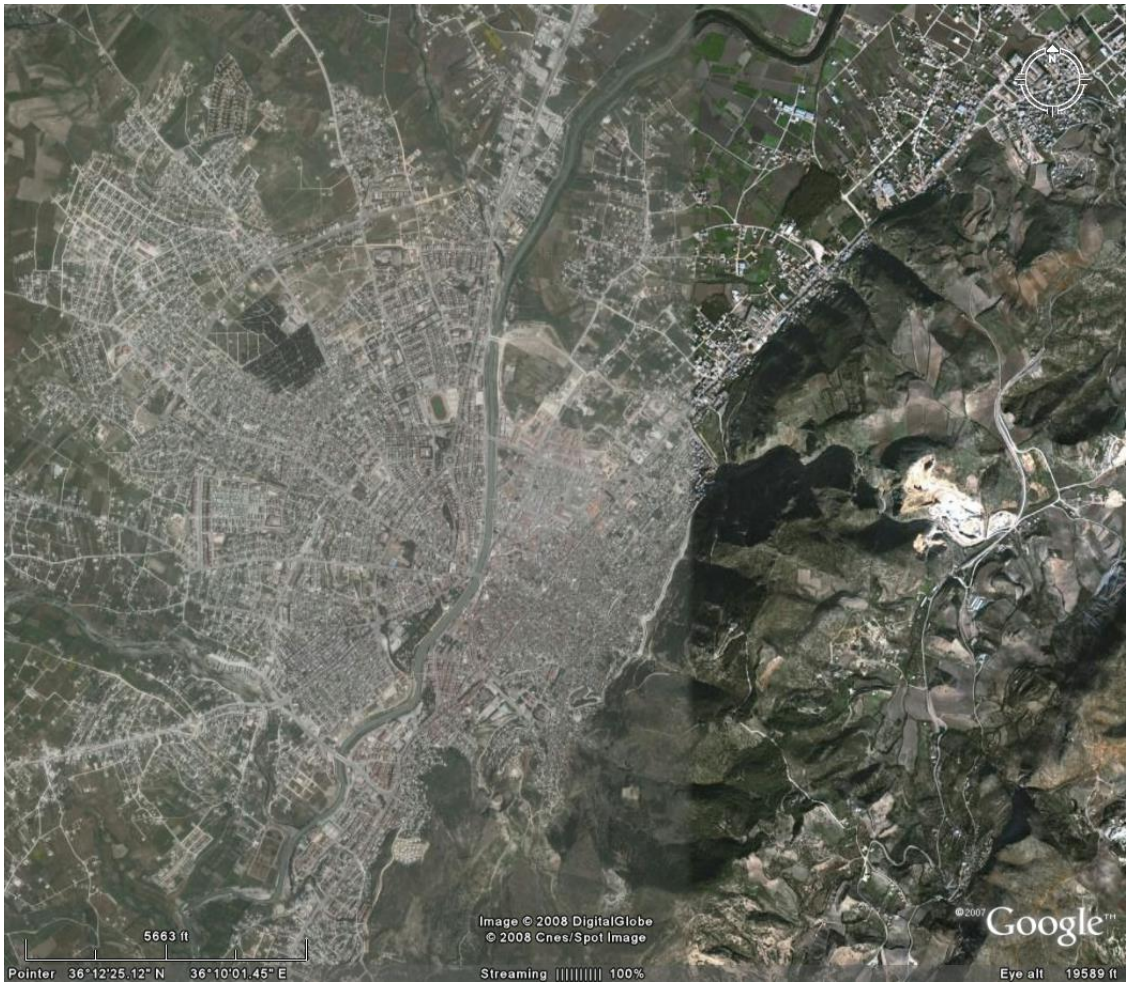

Figure 20 Anṭākiya (Quickbird from Google Earth)

Brevity of space necessitates that only a few comments should be made about Anṭākiya with regard to its changing status as a city in relation to its hinterland. By the Early Islamic period, Anṭākiya was greatly reduced from its Late Roman extent and became secondary in importance to the city of Ḥalab. It was for a time the capital (*qaṣaba*) of the *ʻawāṣim* province and mentioned as a winter garrison for the summer raids into Byzantine lands. However, the reduction of the city's settlement should not

be viewed as an Early Islamic phenomenon. Although Libanius and Malalas described it as a city that constantly outgrew its borders, evidence for the shrinking of Anṭākiya's urban sprawl is found as early as the reign of Justinian (ca. 560 C.E.), who reduced the "uselessly large wall."[73] Other historians have argued that the reasons for this include a litany of natural and man-made disasters including earthquakes, invasions, and plagues that befell the city in the sixth and seventh centuries.[74] There is some archaeological evidence for this. North of the city, an exposed section revealed a neighborhood or series of rooms, walls, and floors that suffered from earthquake damage. Collapsed roofs overlying human bones atop the floors were visible. The lack of Early Islamic ceramics led to the conclusion that this northern extent of the city was not reoccupied after the destruction.[75] The beginning of the city's transformation by the mid-sixth century C.E. coincides with the reduction in the quantity of settlements and aggregate land use in the Amuq Plain, the peak in upland sites, and the rise of self-sufficient minor towns.

As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, it was during this time that environmental changes, specifically erosion, caused by intensive cultivation over the entire landscape and deforestation and triggered by a series of natural storms, brought about the permanence of the marshland. Casana has argued that the permanent growth of the lake beyond its shores and the surrounding marshes, while gradual, occurred

---

[73] Procopius, *Buildings*, 68.

[74] For example, Kennedy, "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria," 141–83.

[75] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 295; T. J. Wilkinson, "Archaeological Survey in the Amuq Plain," *The Oriental Institute 2001–2002 Annual Report* (2002), 23.

mostly at the end of the Late Roman period into the Early Islamic period.[76] This is based on several findings: the occurrence of Late Roman ceramics on beach ridges at the perimeter of the lake, canals built in the Late Roman period as described by the fourth century author Libanius in terms of their seasonal inundations, and the post-Roman and Late Roman erosional alluvial fans created by Roman upland settlement and cultivation. While this combination of evidence is compelling, it is reasonable to assume that the chronology of the spread of lake and marsh around the plain began as seasonal inundations earlier in the Late Roman period. These environmental changes would have greatly affected Antioch, which was dependent on the Amuq Plain for agricultural production, because the city itself was located in a narrow valley with very little cultivatable land. Whatever the specific reasons, and whether one can speak of specifics at all, the decline of Anṭākiya was part of a larger set of transformations that began to take place before the end of the Late Roman period. This process, coupled with the departure of many Byzantines from the city at the time of the Early Islamic conquest in 635 C.E.,[77] would have significantly changed the face of Anṭākiya.

In the Islamic period, the character of Anṭākiya seems to have changed. Rather than a parasite city that received all of its goods and trade from the hinterlands,

[76] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 64–65.

[77] The conquest of Anṭākiya (along with Ḥalab) was deemed a successful model for how to take a city by treaty. Citizens were given the option to evacuate of pay tribute in the form of one *dīnār* and one *jarīb* (of wheat) per head, although sources vary and are inconsistent on this. See Abu Ezzah, *The Syrian Thughūr*, 51 for discussion. The city was garrisoned under ʻUmar I. Hārūn al-Rashīd intended to make Anṭākya his capital, but made his headquarters at Raqqa, instead. He separated Anṭākiya into the *ʻawāṣim* province along with Manbij, Dulūk, Raʻbān, Qurūs, and Tīzīn. Anṭākiya was the capital of this new province along with al-Manbij either alternately or alone. Abu Ezzah, 92.

numerous tenth century authors suggest a self-sufficient settlement. Idrīsī and Ibn Ḥawqal similarly speak of cultivated fields (*mazāri'*), pasturages (*marā'*), trees (*ashjār*), mills (*ārḥiya*), and gardens (*basāṭīn*, *jannāt al-buqūl*) within the city walls contributing to an overall comfortable self-sufficiency (*wa mā yastaqillā bihi ahlihā min marāfiqiha*).[78] Ibn Buṭlān said that just outside the city on the Orontes River: "there are along its banks many mills and it waters the gardens and grounds [of the city]."[79] In the 1998 survey season, evidence of water mills was found both just outside Anṭākiya to the northeast on the route into the plain and just within the city walls on the same route. Within the city, cut channels in a mountain ravine were discovered that served to contain and make use of the seasonal torrential streams.[80] At various stages and at the bottom of the channels' course basalt mill stone fragments were found. The gristmill was probably halfway up the mountain on a flat area where an associated small cave/niche was also found. This area would correspond roughly to the northeast extension of the city. The mills at Sultan Merkezi (AS 227) outside the city were very well preserved and dated to the Late Roman or Ottoman periods.[81] One virtually complete mill was of the vertical penstock type and fed by an attached aqueduct. It seems to have been rebuilt and reused; below it is an earlier Late

---

[78] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārḍ* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat Al-Ḥayā, 1964), 165; Istakhrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 62; Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq (*Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1989), II.245. To this Ibn Shaddād adds open spaces (*'irāṣ*) and channeled mountain streams (*miyā tatakharraq*) in the vicinity of its city walls (*al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra*, 354).

[79] Ibn Butlān quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, i.267, translated in Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems,* 374–75.

[80] These were discovered in 2001 by Casana and me.

[81] K. A. Yener and T. J. Wilkinson, "Amuq Plain Regional Project," *Oriental Institute 1998–1999 Annual Report* (1999).

Roman/Early Islamic millhouse. Firmer dating needs to be attributed to the mills, but this is a difficult task as ceramic scatters would not necessarily reveal the period of mill use. Thus, by the end of the Early Islamic period, references to milling and fields both in and outside of the city walls combined with the archaeological remains of water mills imply that parts of the former Late Roman city that extended into the Amuq Plain were turned over into agricultural land, forming a buffer around a reduced urban core.

Figure 21 Sultan Merkezi mills

<u>‘Imm and Jisr al-Ḥadīd</u>

‘Imm was a town roughly twenty-four kilometers east of Anṭākiya and located on a slight plateau overlooking the Amuq Plain. It figured into several sources from the Roman to Middle Islamic (Mamlūk) periods and continued to be an important

economic center from the Late Roman fourth century into the Early Islamic centuries, also acting as the portal to Antioch and the rest of Syria for the communities on the Jebels. ‘Imm appears as the location of several military engagements of Aurelian and Zenobia in the late third century C.E.[82] On the Peutinger Table in the mid-fifth century C.E., it was a town on the road that traversed the southern Amuq and connected Anṭākiya (20 Roman miles/29.6 km) and Qinnasrīn (29 Roman miles/42.92 km).[83] Also in the mid-fifth century C.E., Theodoret, the Bishop of Cyrrhus, mentioned ‘Imm as “a large and well-populated village” where the monk Palladius performed a judicial miracle during a crowded trader’s fair.[84] Evidence of wheel ruts on the Anṭākiya–‘Imm–Ḥalab road was discovered, alluding to the wheeled vehicles of the Roman and later periods.[85] It may be that this road went south of another route through Jisr al-Ḥadīd. An epigraphic identification appears in an early sixth century Byzantine inscription, found in the modern town of ‘Imm (Yenişehir), referring to a bishopric

---

[82] G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 249 n. 77, 267 n. 162; Jacquot, *Antioche: Centre de Tourisme,* 167.

[83] P.A. Poidebard, “La Route Septentrionale Antioch-Chalcis-Palmyre,” *Melanges Syriens offert a Monsieur Rene Dussaud* 2 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939), 767.

[84] Theodoret, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, VII.1–2, 69. It is interesting to note that Libanius also points out the inter-village festivals and their interdependency on one another without urban assistance: “little which they need from the city because of the system of barter between one another,” (*Or.* 11.230). The inter-village fairs also would have replaced village shops as the milieu for trade and exchange, see P.-L. Gatier, “Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin (4ème -7ème s.), Étude régionale,” in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Vol. 2: *Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, eds. G. R. D. King and A. Cameron (Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc., 1994), 35 n. 69.

[85] K. A. Yener and T. J. Wilkinson, “Amuq Plain Regional Project,” *Oriental Institute 1995–1996 Annual Report* (1996). The roads may also date earlier.

and the people of ‘Imm (*Imminoi*).[86] Surveys in and around the town itself (AS 344 and AS 345) found many transitional seventh, seventh–eighth, and eighth–tenth century ceramics and architecture, specifically in three areas: 1) a Late Roman building (possibly a church) converted into a Middle Islamic fortification (kale); 2) a stepped podium-type structure; and 3) city walls, 200 m to the north. Late Roman materials (fifth century C.E. African Red Slip and Phocean Wares, predominantly) were collected in the first two of the surveyed sectors, and many architectural fragments were noted including columns, capitals, architraves, cornices, lintels, and door frames. While little can be said about structures and their relation to the urban layout, some more definite information about the town during Late Antiquity can be extrapolated from an inscription mentioning an archbishop that was hastily documented in 1999.[87]

Textual evidence from the Early Islamic period is scant. Later evidence can give some idea of the Early Islamic town. Ibn Buṭlān in 1051 C.E. traveled from Ḥalab to Anṭākiya and passed through a wealthy Christian town (*balda*) named ‘Imm where he spent the night. He remarked on its springs of water with fish, four churches, one mosque, and mills.[88] By 1280, the site is referred to as a village (*qarya*) and, as

[86] L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, “Gabal al-A‘la,” *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie,* Volume 2 (Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939), 338 (#624); V. Chapot, *La frontière de l’Euphrate de Pompée à la conquiste Arabe,* (Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1907), 343.

[87] Various attempts to locate the copy of the inscription in the following years were fruitless. Problematic in more than one way, the inscription suggests that ‘Imm, by means of its geographical position, was an integral part of the religious landscapes of both the adjacent Jebels and the communities settled in the plain. It thus argues against views of sacred landscapes exclusively relegated to the limestone hills of the Syrian Jebels. I am grateful to A. U. de Giorgi for this reference.

suggested from its name, was fortified and appeared as Ḥiṣn ‘Imm, but was also still predominately Christian.[89]

Such attention given to a village (a non-urban entity) in the historical accounts is encouraging and very useful. While ‘Imm’s size was relatively larger than many other villages of the plain, it does not appear as an urban center, bishopric, or large political entity. During much of the Islamic Period, the village maintained its preexisting Syrian Christian community, seen from traveler’s observations and the ratio of four churches to one mosque; however, it still was politically administered by Muslims.[90] Its strategic location on the eastern access to the Amuq at the junction of plain and limestone massif was important both militarily and commercially as seen in the above texts. Its water supply provided resources from fishing and milling industries.

---

[88] Ibn Buṭlān in Yāqūt *Mu’jam al-buldān* iv.157; Yāqūt, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā’* ii.2.81. Yāqūt (1179–1229) states that all the inhabitants are Christian and descendant from ancient times (*wa qad nasaba ilayhā qadīman*). The Christian character of this town in the early eleventh century C.E. is highlighted by its raising of pigs (*mushārīr al-khanāzīr*) and the great number of permissible places for women, prostitutes, and wine (*mubāḥ al-nisā’ wa al-zanā wa al-khumūr āmrun ‘aẓīmun*), not to mention that by this time the Muslim call to prayer had to be given secretly.

[89] Ibn Shaddād, *al-‘Alāq al-Khaṭīra,* 138; Jacquot, *Antioche centre de tourisme*, 442.

[90] The Theodosian Code at the end of the fourth century C.E. stated that churches on private land, villages, or elsewhere must have a proportionate number of clerics (and presumably churches) to the size and population of the village. (C. Pharr, translated *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Consitutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 16.233. This imperial law is interesting, particularly in indicating that a site with multiple churches may not in fact be a monastery (referring to the Dead Cities), and perhaps creating a ratio where sites with similar number of churches may be used as comparanda. For example, compare ‘Imm with Kaper Pera in the Syrian Jebels that had five churches and described by B. Ward-Perkins (“Land, Labour, Settlement,” 328) as “probably exceeded in size and splendour of many ‘true’ civitates.” This is reminiscent of Libanius: “First there are large and populous villages with a larger population than many towns.” (*Or.* 11.230). One cannot take this law as truth, however, as it may have not necessarily been implemented in northern Syria where many Christians in the region were Monophysitic. Furthermore, using such a law to determine settlement size assumes that either the law was maintained throughout the Late Roman Period and/or no new churches were erected after the Islamic conquest.

Modern evidence corroborates much of the textual accounts. Jacquot in 1931 remarked on the town's reservoirs, streams, and powerful spring several hundred meters south, as well as its location as a crossroads of routes from Anṭākiya to Ḥalab and to north part of the plain.[91] Sinclair noted a church converted into a small castle and millhouse at 'Imm. The church with an octagonal wall was originally Late Roman and later converted to a fort, although no date is provided.[92] The millhouse was fed by a spring from the lake to the south. In 1997, the AVRP survey recorded a full set of descending water mills at Khirbet al-Tahun east of 'Imm. Although the water mills were of Roman construction based on architectural parallels, the mainly Late Roman pottery and few examples of Roman and Early Islamic pottery suggest they were in use throughout the Late Roman period and into the Early Islamic.[93]

---

[91] Jacquot, *Antioche centre de tourisme*, 441–42, see also for a brief history of Imma. See also Tchalenko, *Villages antiques*, III.121.

[92] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 296, 295 for map of fort. The site was cleared in 1935 by Prost, Director of Antiquities for Syria and later, the director of the Antakya museum. The square structure has four corner towers, 10 m apart with solid interiors. Vaulted corridors are in between the towers. Reused Late Roman spolia are used to decorate the northeast tower over the now blocked door and the southeast tower. To the east, there is a wide platform with a sunken room, entered from an outside wall, and triple vaulted in brick on stone piers. The original church plan was discerned from the four towers: two to the north and two to the south of the nave and side aisles. Presumably the church was converted to military use by the Muslims, although this practice was rare. It may be that the church was converted by Crusader Christians after it had fallen out of use and/or was superfluous to the community.

[93] K. A. Yener and T. J. Wilkinson, "Amuq Plain Regional Project," *Oriental Institute 1997–1998 Annual Report* (1998).

Figure 22 AS 202 mills

Small canals for irrigation (and water-lifting) and terrace walls were also discovered, indicating a rather intensive local cultivation.[94] The water mills, however, were linked by a straight water channel measuring 3.4 km, visible in the CORONA imagery, to a reservoir (lake) in ‘Imm. Several major sites around the city and along the main water canal that fed the water mills (AS 202) show a concentrated area of large settlements in the Late Roman period. The site of AS 202 near the water mills, AS 347 near ‘Imm, and AS 205 (10 ha) to the northeast were major sites during this period. The network of ‘Imm, its satellite sites, and canal systems grew in the Early

[94] Yener, et al., “Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998,” 177.

Islamic period. The predominately Early Islamic site of AS 204 on the waterway attests to this transformation and the continued use of the canal system. It can be assumed that in the Early Islamic period (and probably the Late Roman), ‘Imm was a town similar to Anṭākiya but smaller in scale, with a self-sufficient network of satellite sites, cultivated land, and water mills (see Fig. 15).

Little is known about Jisr al-Ḥadīd (AS 297) as it is obscured by the modern town of Demirköprü. The only remaining element of the city is the bridge and city’s namesake. The Roman bridge, spanning the Orontes River, has been used continuously until the present day, where it is located on the main thoroughfare through the city.[95] This bridge would have been part of the main east–west route from Anṭākiya to Ḥalab. An additional east–west route indicated on the Peutinger Table places Jisr al-Ḥadīd on the road to Jindaris (classical Gendaros, modern Tell Jindaris in Syria). In the Early Islamic period, as in the Late Roman period, Jisr al-Ḥadīd was surrounded by satellite sites radiating north of it towards the lake. These sites may have formed a similar complex of settlements around canal systems as seen at ‘Imm.

Baghrās

The site of Baghrās (Pagras), guarding the Belen Pass has traditionally been identified with the fairly well-preserved castle (AS 247) in the uplands overlooking a small side valley in the Amuq Plain. The site of Baghrās, first mentioned by Strabo, continued appearing through the Late Roman period, but the sources become less helpful. In Libanius, Baghrās appears as Phlegrae, the first station of the pass where

[95] The presence of a bridge appears in the site’s name from every period: *gephyra* (Greek), *jisr* (Arabic), and *köprü* (Turkish).

"Giants were burned to death … against the Gods," which corresponds to a place described by Malalas where humans (giants) were encased in stone two miles north of Anṭākiya.[96] As such, Baghrās is problematic in that while mentioned in Byzantine sources as a station, its almost mythic description is not one of a settlement, *per se*. The Peutinger Table lists the site as Pagaris, the Theodosian Tables as Pagras, and the Jerusalem Itinerary as Pangrios. Other than the mention by Libanius and the various itineraries, the Byzantine texts in this period do not highlight Baghrās or any other forts of this area. This seems unusual, due to the strategic nature of the site. Perhaps this fact emphasizes that during this period the site was more town than fort, which was not built until the tenth century.[97] The proposed identification for the Late Roman site of Baghrās is AS 248, a roughly rectangular site situated at the foot of the Belen Pass, roughly located between two large round hills that look virtually identical to each other. These hills, resembling large tells, are in fact natural and echo the Late Roman description of the site near petrified giants.[98] An Ottoman khan shows up clearly in a CORONA image at the north end of the site and is named for the Karamurt River which flows nearby. South of the khan, the image and topography suggest other features.[99] Local villagers attest to having excavated what appears to be a bathhouse.

---

[96] Libanius *Autobiography* 93; Malalas 8.202.

[97] Although Strabo (*Geography,* 16.2.8) refers to an upland site: "Pagrae, which is in the territory of Antiocheia and is a natural stronghold situated near the top of the pass over Mt. Amanus, which leads from the gates of Amanus into Syria." No evidence was found for a Hellenistic site near the castle.

[98] Casana, personal communication, 2002.

[99] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 280–81.

Figure 23 AS 248 (CORONA)

Other information can be projected back in time from the accounts of the early Islamic conquests. Texts mention that various villages around the Amuq Plain were subdued indicating their pre-Islamic existence. During his conquest of the region, Muʻāwiyah found the forts along the eastern Amanus (Anṭākiya to Ṭarsūs) vacant (*khāliyatān*), and so he re-occupied them.[100] It is unclear whether this was a literary trope or if these were actually uninhabited or abandoned at the time of the conquests.

[100] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān,* 225.

In the Early Islamic period, Baghrās guarded both the east–west Anṭākiya–Iskandarūna route and the north–south Anṭākiya–Mar'ash routes in the *thughūr*. Baghrās was refortified by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ḥassan al-Anṭākī under the Umayyad caliph Hishām, who established a garrison of fifty men and built a fort (*ḥiṣn*).[101] Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that the fort had a minbar.[102] Under the 'Abbāsids, Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd (famous for her work on the Darb Zubayda), founded a hospice (*dār ḍīyāfa)* beside the fort that was referred to (perplexingly) as the only one of its type in Syria. Although numerous authors mention the fort, neither the surveys of the area nor the castle remains have revealed an Early Islamic presence.[103] Islamic sources describe the site of Baghrās as a town (*madīna*) at the foot of the Amanus Mountains (*lihf jabal al-lukām*).[104] This better corresponds with the lowland site (AS 248) situated at the foot of the Amanus. The identification of the site as Early Islamic Baghrās is supported by Early Islamic material found under the remains of the Ottoman khan at the northern end of the large Roman and Late Roman site. This suggests that the Early Islamic occupation may then have been reduced from the 3 ha classical site[105] or it may have been founded peripheral to the site. While this

---

[101] Ibid., 228; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* i.427 (from Balādhurī).

[102] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārḍ*, 169.

[103] al-Dimashqī, *Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age,* translated by A.F. Mehren (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 1874), 280; Behā ed-Dīn, *Life of Saladin*, translated by L.-C. Condor, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Societ 13 (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 136; Marino Sanuto, *Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them Recover the Holy Land*, part 14 of book 3, translated by Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 12 (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 4, Istakhrī, *al-Masālik al-Mamālik,* in *Viae Regnorum Descriptio Ditionis Moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 1 (Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1927), 65; Ibn Shaddād, *al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra,* 411; Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān,* 259. The Belen Pass may also be identified with *aqabāt al-nisā'*, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 229.

[104] Yāqūt, *Marāṣid* i.209

identification is convincing, it raises a question as to the identification of the nearby tell site of Çakallı Karakol (AS 246) situated on a hill north of AS 248. AS 246 was also a major site guarding the Belen pass and situated much closer to the old Belen pass road then AS 248. The site was not only physically larger (4.2 ha), but it had larger ceramic assemblages from the Hellenistic-Middle Islamic periods than AS 248. AS 248, while not directly on the Belen pass road connected with AS 246 via a second route. The identification of Baghrās, for the present, remains unresolved as either site presents a strong case and both Belen pass routes could have existed. Both of these sites attest to the importance of a continuing urban and unfortified presence along the routes leading either north or west to the Byzantine frontier.

[105] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 308.

CHAPTER THREE

KAHRAMANMARAŞ PLAIN

I. Introduction

Heading north from the Amuq Plain, one reaches the Kahramanmaraş Plain, the terminal point for the Great Rift Valley (the Dead Sea fault) at the foothills of the Taurus Mountains. Unlike the Amuq Plain, the Kahramanmaraş Plain, partially named after the Early Islamic *thughūr* site of Mar'ash, was at the front line of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier according to historical sources. However, recent geomorphological studies, surveys, and excavations at the site of Domuztepe, have shown very little difference with the Amuq Plain. Rather, the two lowland areas shared remarkable similarities in environmental transformation and settlement patterns.

II. Environment

The Kahramanmaraş Plain (or Valley) is the northernmost extension of the same lowland Great Rift Valley that occurs in the Amuq Plain. Indeed, it was also known in Arabic as 'Amq al-Mar'ash and both plains are ecologically very similar.[1] It is bordered by the Amanus Mountains to the west, the Kurt Dağ to the east, and the Taurus Mountains to the north. The transition from lowland plain (500 m.a.s.l.) to the uplands immediately north (1800 m.a.s.l.) is dramatic; the city of Kahramanmaraş is at

[1] There are several modern names given for this plain: Çakalovası (Jackal Valley), Şekerovası (Sugar Valley), and Kahramanmaraşovası.

the precise point where the mountains meet the plain on the southern slopes of the Taurus (700–800 m.a.s.l.). Northeast of the city is the Ahır Dağ (or Engizek Dağ) range of the Taurus Mountains, with even more dramatic climbs to 2406 m.a.s.l. Geologically, this area is known as the "Hatay Graben," where there is a quadruple junction of three continental blocks and one oceanic plate.[2] These mountains ranges have been important sources of timber, silver, and iron.

The Kahramanmaraş Plain comprises a larger southern open valley and a smaller funnel-shaped northern area, both connected by a narrow corridor. As such, the plain can be divided into roughly four sections: the southwest, southeast, corridor, and north. North of the narrower Kara Su Valley, the southern plain (also known as the Narlı Plain) opens up into a wide alluvial broad valley with two large outcropping of uplands in the center. These outcroppings of serpentine, basalt, and limestone subdivide the southern plain into two main areas, the southwest and southeast. Additionally, the outcroppings create more isolated areas and basins within the southern plain. Until recently, both southwest and southeast areas were defined by wetlands or bodies of water. In the southwest plain was the lake/marsh, the Sağlık Lake or Gavur Göl. In the southeast plain was the Mizmilli marsh. Farther north, the southern plain narrows dramatically in the corridor and opens up again just south of the modern city of Kahramanmaraş and the Taurus Mountains in the area of the northern plain. The northern plain is watered by two main rivers, both of which are tributaries of the Jayhān River. The Erkenez River flows in from the northeast. From the northwest corner, the Ak Su River (Nahr Ḥūrith) flows from the upper Jayhān

[2] E. Carter, "Introduction," in *Survey and Excavation on the Syro-Anatolian Frontier*, forthcoming.

River down through the funnel-shaped plain before crossing east along the Narlı Plain, joining the Erkenez River and smaller tributaries, forming flood-prone, seasonal wetlands in the southern part of the Kahramanmaraş Plain.

In 1993, the now drained southwestern Sağlık Lake was surveyed. It was covered with heavy vegetation and even the remains of small dead fish. Geomorphology work by H. Woldring and E. Kleine shows that the basin was seasonally flooded and watered by mountain streams. Peat layers south of Kahramanmaraş Survey (KM) site KM 17 indicated part of the shoreline as does the SPOT satellite image. The site was not occupied in the Early or Middle Islamic periods, suggesting that the lake had expanded past its earlier shores. Pollen cores supported this hypothesized transformation, showing that around 1250 B.C.E. the water level dropped dramatically and marsh vegetation such as fen sedge and bur reed, began to spread around the basin. Furthermore, clay layers overlaid by alternating clay and peat layers overlaid by peat layers show a development from seasonal inundations (peat) and drying (clay) to continuous inundation, or marshification.[3]

In the southeastern part of the Kahramanmaraş Plain, pollen cores from around the site of Domuztepe revealed that between 8000–4000 B.C.E. much of the area was covered in an oak-pistachio steppe. After 4000 B.C.E., oak forest covered the plain.[4] However, at some point the plain transformed into wetlands. Faunal evidence from

[3] Ibid. Results by H. Woldring and E. Kleine, "Preliminary Report on Holocene Vegetation and Landscape of the Kahramanmaraş Plain," in *Survey and Excavation on the Syro-Anatolian Frontier,* ed. E. Carter, forthcoming, also show peak in green alga (*Pediastrum boreanum*) starting in the Halaf period (sixth millennium B.C.E.) and became reduced, due to a change in nutrient composition of lake water as a result of cattle dung. I wish to thank for Professors Woldring and Kleine for sharing their unpublished results.

[4] Woldring and Kleine, "Preliminary Report."

Domuztepe attests to this, as several wetland species similar to the Sağlık Göl were discovered including: *Scirpus* sp. (bulrush), *Carex* sp. (sedge), *Cladium* sp. (sawgrass), *Schoenus* sp. (bogrush), *Astagalus* sp. (vetch), *Malua* sp., *Trigonella* sp., and *Juncus* sp. (rushes). Also a large quantity of pig bone found there suggests a wetland environment.[5] The combination of the faunal and macro-fossil evidence from the prehistoric periods combined with imagery suggestive of wetland flora and fauna on contemporary pottery shows that wetlands existed around the site as early as the prehistoric period.[6] Coring was done in 2004 and 2005 by B. Gearey and A. Fletcher of the Domuztepe Environments Project (DEP) to chart the depositional sequences and geomorphological evolution of the Kahramanmaraş Plain focusing first on the area immediately around Domuztepe.[7] Forty cores were taken in transects on and off site up to 9 meters in depth. The results show similar processes to the Amuq Plain and other areas: a seasonal marsh in the Roman/Late Roman and Islamic periods. Like the Amuq, the basin was susceptible to wetlands and lake formation. The earliest landscape evolution of the region constituted a Late Pleistocene lake formed by a river. This standing body of freshwater fluctuated between shallow marsh conditions to deep open water, then back to brackish wetland into the early Holocene (ca. 6000 B.C.E.) and mid-Holocene. In the Late Holocene (Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman, and Islamic periods), the overlying alluvial deposits were for the most part dense grey-

[5] S. Cambell, et al., "Emerging Complexity on the Kahramanmaraş Plain, Turkey: The Domuztepe Project, 1995–1997," *AJA* 103.3 (1999): 397.

[6] B. Gearey, "Geoarchaeological Survey in South-east Turkey: The Domuztepe Environments Project," *Anatolian Studies*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Ben Gearey for making the text available to me.

[7] Ibid.

orange mottled clays and clay silts. In one of the cores, a species of marsh snail was recovered. The interpretation was of a seasonal backswamp — a wetland formed behind the levees of a watercourse from seasonal flooding. This backswamp had large amounts of vegetal debris and experienced annual periods of drying. Roman pottery in these levels corroborates the general dating.

An upper layer on the west edge of the site at the foot of the outcroppings in the center of the Kahramanmaraş Plain that showed distinct dense, red brown clays with angular gravels up to 3.70 m deep, indicating significant deposition caused by erosion due to agricultural cultivation. Although the cores did not specifically show the formation of a permanent lake in the Late Roman/Islamic period, the cores showed an overall significant alluvial deposition on the plain from the mid-Holocene onward. On the north side of the central outcroppings, a single period eighth–tenth century site (KM 223) overlay the alluvial fans. This supports evidence for intensive cultivation and deforestation in the Roman and Late Roman periods on the central hilly outcrop. This dispersed upland land use was seen from the survey in investigations into the side valleys of the Amanus Mountains (KM 154–70 to the southwest and KM 171–85 to the northwest), where the surveyors recorded a large number of "Late Roman to Medieval" sites consisting of thin scatters pottery on hillside terraces that were possibly scattered farmsteads.[8] Subsequent analysis showed no Early Islamic occupation, thereby isolating the upland valley settlement and associated cultivation to the Late Roman period, a settlement pattern identical to the Jebel al-Aqra settlements

[8] E. Carter, "The Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Survey Project: A Preliminary Report on the 1994 Season," *AST* 13.1 (1995): 291.

in the Amuq Plain. The erosion processes that took place probably occurred sometime in the Late Roman period as dated by terminus post quem of KM 223. These processes show the intensive cultivation and subsequent erosion and aggradation of the plain and canals sometime at the end of the Late Roman and the beginning of the Early Islamic period. The permanence of the seasonal wetlands such as the Gavür Göl followed accordingly.[9]

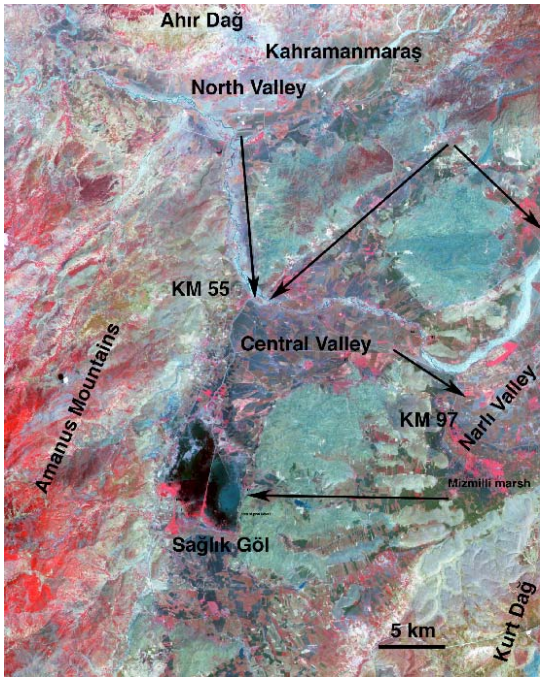

Figure 24 Kahramanmaraş Plain (SPOT image, courtesy of E. Carter)

[9] E. Carter, et al., "The Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Project Survey — 1997," *AST* 16.2 (1998): 572; D. Bates, *Nomads and Farmers: A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey*, Anthropological Papers 52 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology, 1973). The expansion and permanence of the wetlands continued until the swamps were drained in the mid-twentieth century. The region was mainly inhabited by the Yörük, a nomadic pastoral tribe who made the plain their winter quarters raising sheep and water buffaloes. The Yörük (and their water buffaloes) were noted in the sixteenth century and as recent as the 1960s. Rice was also an important staple in the plain until 1969 and grew particularly in the southern and southeastern wetlands. For general discussion, see Carter, "Introduction;" and S. Faroqhi, "Mar'ash" *EI2*.

III. Settlement

The first relevant survey work in the Kahramanmaraş Plain was conducted in 1949 by Du Plat Taylor in association with excavations at Coba Höyük, 3 km from the village of Sakçegözü/Keferdiz.[10] Several sites were identified. The surveyors noted the general settlement pattern of non-tell based dispersed settlement in the Roman to Early Islamic periods and the peak in population. Furthermore, they described the site signature of such sites and acknowledged that many more existed, but were not found due to groundcover and their flat formation:

> A feature of the plain was the number of late Roman settlements; these were built on the flat ground and must have marked outlying farms, as similar structures were also visible on the tops of several of the *hüyüks*. These settlements were shown by a scatter of cut stones, building debris, roof tiles and later Roman coarse wares. In some cases they occupied an area up to an acre in extent.[11]

Tell settlement was not very significant by the Late Roman period, as evident from the site of Coba Höyük, which was nine meters high and was located near a "marshy stream" and a spring. The latest occupations show Middle Islamic pits and silos (Strata XII) overlying Hellenistic/Roman first century C.E. occupation.[12] This type of tell occupation in the Hellenistic and Middle Islamic periods with an interim period of abandonment was seen in the Amuq Plain, as well as other mounds in the frontier,

---

[10] The first survey was done by K. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien: ausgeführt im Auftrage der Kgl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 1890), 199ff. + maps.

[11] du Plat Taylor, M. V. Seton-Williams, J. Waechter, "Excavations at Sakçe Gözü," *Iraq* 12 (1950): 61.

[12] Ibid., 82–83, 114–15.

such as Kinet Höyük. The largest mound discovered, Songrus Höyük (25 meters high), also had Middle Islamic occupation ("brown glazed Turkish wares") but no Late Roman or Early Islamic.[13] The surveyors found Late Roman sites at the base of each of these two mounds of Songrus and Coba and one on a road between the villages of Sakçegözü and Çakar. Their final assumption is that the dispersed settlements may have been outlying farms dependent on the tell settlements. This theory applies a feudalist interpretation of dependent agrarian production and territory to the typical central place Near Eastern model of the large urban center with surrounding satellite sites. This notion is generally a default in the interpretation of Near Eastern archaeology.

[13] Ibid.

Figure 25 Kahramanmaraş Plain survey site, all periods (courtesy of E. Carter)

Major extensive survey was resumed in 1993–1994 and 1997 by E. Carter. To augment the data, intensive surveys in 1995 and 1997 were conducted to cast a fine focus and pick up smaller sites and scatters. Over two hundred and fifty sites, including settlements, quarries, tombs, and so forth, were recorded in an area of lowlands and uplands covering about 1,100 km^2; also one valley was explored. The

ceramics from these sites were initially examined by the survey team in the field, which included Islamicist N. Um. A partial post-survey analysis was begun by J. Vroom and more comprehensively by D. Whitcomb in 2001[14] and the author in 2003 and 2006. The most apparent settlement pattern noted by Whitcomb was that the overall majority of Early Islamic occupied sites were in the southern parts of the Kahramanmaraş Plain near the wetlands, while the northern part of the plain and the upper tributaries of the Ak Su River near the modern city of Kahramanmaraş (the assumed Early Islamic *thaghr* of Mar‘ash) and Erkenez River had very few sites. There was no recorded Early Islamic settlement either at the modern city of Kahramanmaraş with its Middle Islamic citadel or at the Late Roman site of Germanicia, assumed to have been located at Danışman Höyük (KM 55), which was located at the north of the southern Narlı Plain, guarding the entrance to the narrow Ak Su corridor towards the northern plain and Taurus Mountains. This pattern bears strong resemblance with the Amuq Plain.

The same method of discerning the nature of Early Islamic settlement of the Amuq Plain will be used for the Kahramanmaraş Plain survey. The obvious caveat in integrating two data sets with one methodology is that both were originally conducted under conditional differences, that is, a reflection of the aims and methodologies of the different surveyors and specialists and temporal and financial restrictions imposed upon the project. Although I was participant in the survey and analysis of the Amuq survey from 2001–05, I only was able to examine the Kahramanmaraş material after

[14] D. Whitcomb, “Letters from the Field: In Search of Lost Mar‘ash,” *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 171 (Fall 2001).

the survey. This raises the issue of inconsistencies. First, assessing assemblage size and physical size cannot be assumed to be controlled as different teams were engaged in the original activities of collecting and measuring. Second, both surveys had different problem-oriented questions to answer, whether through extensive or intensive survey of various regions of the plain and uplands. The issue of coverage, of equal treatment of lowland sites to upland sites, of mounded sites to flat sites, and present day urban survey would vary somewhat. Third, there are inconsistencies in ceramic analysis. For the Amuq survey, I examined the Early Islamic material while de Giorgi examined the Roman material. Together we intersected and looked at the Late Roman ceramics and, as such, could more readily discern the chronologies of each. For the Kahramanmaraş survey I only looked at Islamic pottery. E. Laflı studied the Late Roman ceramics at a separate time. The element of time and preservation was also a factor. I analyzed the Kahramanmaraş ceramics more than ten years after they were collected, washed, and sitting in disintegrating plastic bags in crates in the unventilated basement of the Culture and Tourism Ministry of Kahramanmaraş. The Amuq ceramics that I examined were no more than six to seven years old; much of the material was analyzed shortly after collection and washing.

The differences in consistency, though noteworthy, are fortunately slight. Contrary to many other surveys in the same region (discussed in Chapter 5), both surveys were invested in the collection of material from all periods, including a good range of coarsewares and finewares from even the latest Islamic periods. Both surveys assessed the physical size of the sites. Finally, the surveys (again by contrast with other studies)

combined a large survey of not only mounds but of flat scatters in plains, with investigations into upland valleys and plateaus of higher elevations. One difference in survey methodology is that the AVRP survey included urban surveys of the major present day towns such as Antakya (Anṭākiya), whereas a proper investigation of important sites such as Kahramanmaraş is lacking, save for a collection from the citadel mound. The AVRP survey stressed a strong geomorphological component, as well, which was not a major focus for the Kahramanmaraş survey. The latter survey did find numerous encampment sites and temporary settlements, which were unfortunately few and far between for the Amuq. With regard to the ceramic analysis, my lack of control in viewing the Late Roman material for the Kahramanmaraş survey, as compared with the Amuq survey, was ameliorated in the fact that I was able to use the Amuq ceramic chronological assessments as a type collection for the Kahramanmaraş material. Although at the time of my analysis, the state of the Kahramanmaraş pottery was poorly preserved, this was tempered by the frequency of prior assessments of the Islamic periods by specialists of the material in storage. I would argue that these differences are slight in the overall state of survey evidence for the region. The two survey data sets are more comparable than contrasting, and as such are suitable for integration within a model of Early Islamic settlement.

In the Kahramanmaraş survey, 254 sites were identified in the plains, surrounding upland valleys, and central upland outcroppings in the center of the plain. Of the located sites, thirty-one were identified as definitely Early Islamic (12%) and twenty-

nine as indefinite, making the largest potential number total sixty sites (24%).[15] This compares with the Late Roman sites that ranged from eighty-eight to 143 producing an average of 115 (45%), or about twice the number in a ratio of 2:1 Late Roman:Early Islamic sites.[16] Nine of the definite thirty-one Early Islamic sites were newly established, representing nearly 4% of the total number. The preexisting Late Roman to Early Islamic sites represents 9% of the total number.

Overall, a comparison of the settlement patterns of the Kahramanmaraş and Amuq Plains is quite striking. Both show a similar 2:1 ratio of Late Roman to Early Islamic sites.[17] There are some differences, however. Newly established Early Islamic settlement in the Kahramanmaraş region as compared to the Anṭākiya region was only slightly less, perhaps owing to its more northerly frontier status; this difference does not constitute a visible no-man's land by any means. Furthermore a comparison of relative chronologies (while tentative) also shows very slight differences both within each region and comparatively (for Amuq sites: 37% seventh–eighth century, 63% eighth–tenth century versus Kahramanmaraş sites: 39% seventh–eighth century, 61% eighth–tenth century). This neither illustrates fluid continuity into the Early Islamic

[15] It should also be mentioned that not every site of the total number (254) was able to be dated due to the lack (or near lack) of diagnostic ceramics. These sites were marked by architectural or industrial/installation traces and included tombs, quarries, and temporary encampments.

[16] The Late Roman analysis, done by E. Laflı, was not finished at the time of writing and I am using approximations. E. Mullane did quantitative modeling of the results for the broad "Early Historic" period (550 B.C.E.–650 C.E.) and projected an average statistic of additional sites from the two intensive surveys onto the entire plain coming up with a total of 264 sites and covering an area of 535 ha and estimated population of 62,000. The "Medieval" period (650–1500 C.E.) total number was slightly less (249 sites), but significantly less in total land (390 ha) and population (47,000), showing nucleated rather than dispersed settlement (Mullane, "Patterns in the Past: Model Building and the Identification of Settlement Change in the Kahramanmarash Archaeological Survey Project, Turkey" MA thesis, UCLA, 2005).

[17] Mullane (ibid., 27) also demonstrated a halving of sites from the "Early Historic" to "Medieval."

period from the seventh century nor marked abandonment from the seventh to tenth century.

Table 9 Late Roman and Early Islamic Sites

TYPE	LATE ROMAN	EARLY ISLAMIC	
Definite	—	31 (12% of 254)	
de Novo	—	9 (29% of 31)	
Light	—	4	
Moderate	—	2	
Heavy	—	3	
Preexisting	—	22 (70% of 31)	
Light	—	12	
Moderate	—	7	
Heavy	—	3	
Indefinite	—	29	
Total (largest possible number = definite + indefinite	115 average (45% of 254)	60 (24% of 254)	
	—		
	—	m.7-m.8th centuries: 12 (39% of 31)	8-10th Centuries: 19 (61% of 31)

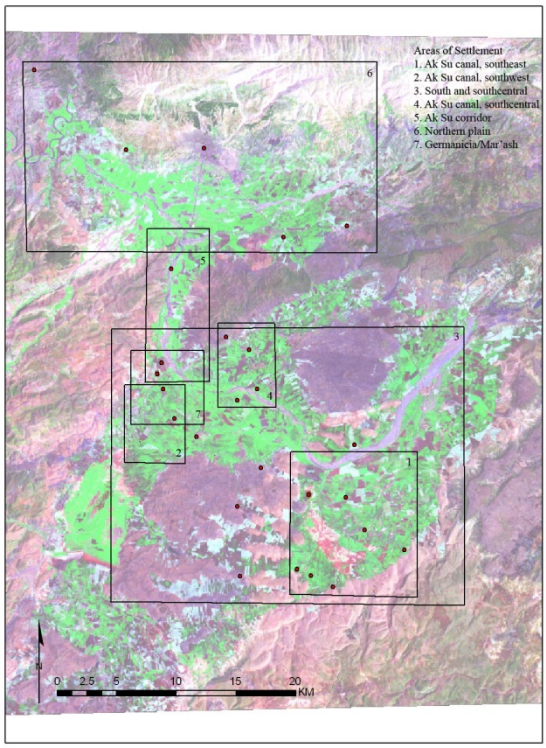

Figure 26 Early Islamic sites

Table 10 Ak Su Canal Sites

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
KM 85	1.13	Heavy	3	7th–10th >
KM 83	0.79	Heavy	1.5	7th–10th >
KM 88	6	Heavy	30	> 7th-10th
KM 95	6	Light	30	> 8th–10th
KM 96	0.2	Medium	3	> 7th–10th >
KM 94	2	Light	3	> 7th–10th
KM 219	0.2	Light	0	8th–10th
KM 48	0.22	Light	5	8th–10th

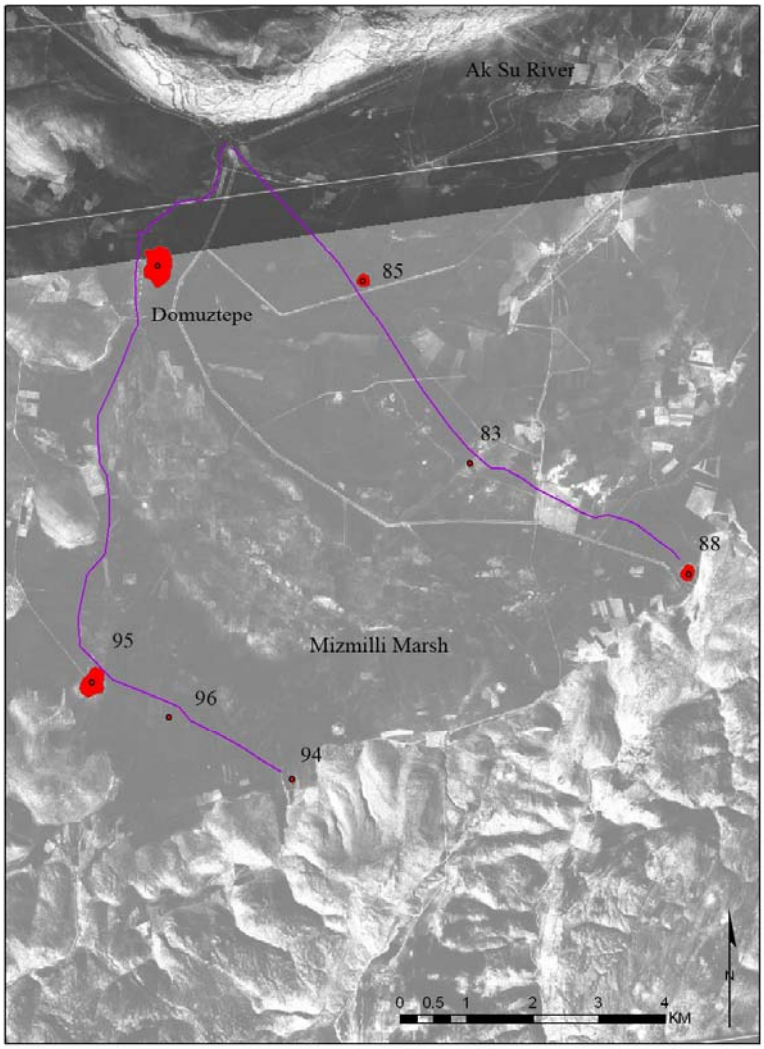

Figure 27 Southeast Ak Su Canal Sites

There is a conspicuous pattern of newly established Early Islamic sites in a linear string in the eastern part of the Kahramanmaraş Plain where several tributaries of the Ak Su River drained into the Mizmilli marsh. These sites have some of the largest assemblages. Despite their assemblage size, two of them were rather small in physical

size and founded in the seventh century. KM 85 and KM 83 were flat sites (less than three meters high). Both sites had only a token representation of Middle Islamic pottery by contrast with the Early Islamic assemblage. KM 88 was a high tell at the edge of the foothills near a spring and the canal; its perceived size (6 ha) was estimated due to the presence of a village at the foot of the tell. It is likely that the Early Islamic period settlement also included a lower town. This site was distinguished from the others in that it was located at the edge of the uplands, included a tell settlement, and had preexisting Late Roman occupation. The three sites followed a line, suggesting the presence of an Early Islamic canal in the marshland.

Another canal is suggested by a string of three sites with pre-Islamic occupation in the same region though farther south of the eastern Ak Su drainages. KM 95 was a high tell that encompassed a wider area, whereas KM 96 was a small flat site. Following the same trajectory as the streams, KM 94 (also a flat site) lay southeast at the edge of the marsh plain and rocky foothills. Associated with KM 94 were small mounds (thought by the surveyors as individual buildings or houses), a quarry, graves, and an irrigation system. The quarries (KM 93) also had associated cisterns and an installation of a "square shallow room cut into stone attached to a circular structure" with "two post holes either side suggesting some sort of canopy." These installations may have been wine presses.[18] Partially cut stone blocks, presumably from the quarry, were at KM 94, indicating perhaps that the quarries, cisterns, and other installations were used by the settlement.[19] These sites exhibited continuity from Late Roman to

[18] Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East*, 59, fig. 4.7.

Early Islamic tenth century with virtually no Middle Islamic representation. As such, this linear string suggests an earlier Late Roman canal that was still utilized in the subsequent centuries. The tell site of KM 95 was very similar to KM 88 in size and appearance. Both have small villages around the tell and KM 95 may have also been occupied as a lower town that monitored the canal and adjacent fields.

On the western side of the plain, two smaller newly founded Early Islamic sites may date the western drainage of the Ak Su River. Both sites, KM 219 and KM 48 farther south, were small, flat or low-mounded sites. Furthermore, both dated from the eighth–tenth centuries and did not continue into the Middle Islamic period. The presence of these *de novo* sites suggests that the canalization of the western Ak Su drainage was possibly expanded in the Early Islamic period, leading to the permanent formation of the lake/wetland. The sites are also in line with the north–south road from Anṭākiya to Kahramanmaraş.

[19] E. Carter, "Report on the Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Survey Project from 24/9/93 to 11/11/93," *AST* 12 (1994): 336.

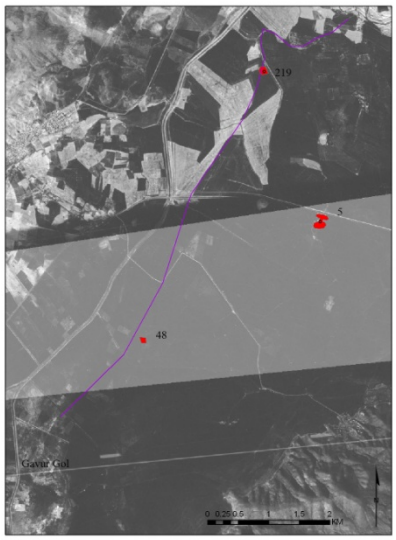

Figure 28 Southwest Ak Su Canal Sites

Table 11 Other Sites in the Southern (and South-central) Plain

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
KM 42	0.79	Heavy	8	7th–10th >
KM 223	—	Medium	0.2	8th–10th
KM 45	0.57	Light	11	7th–10th >
KM 224	0.74	Medium	8.5	> 8th–10th >
KM 97	16	Heavy	10	> 7th–10th >
KM 77	0.64	Light	0.2	> 8th–10th
KM 5	4	Heavy	5	> 7th–10th >
KM 7	—	Medium	—	> 7th–10th >
KM 9	—	Light	—	> 8th–10th >
KM 58	0.79	Light	—	> 7th–10th >
KM 72	0.16	—	4	> 8th–10th >
KM 68	2	Light	37	> 8th–10th >
KM 66	—	Light	—	> 8th–10th >
KM 22	—	Medium	—	> 8th–10th
KM 49	0.5	Medium	14	> 8th–10th >

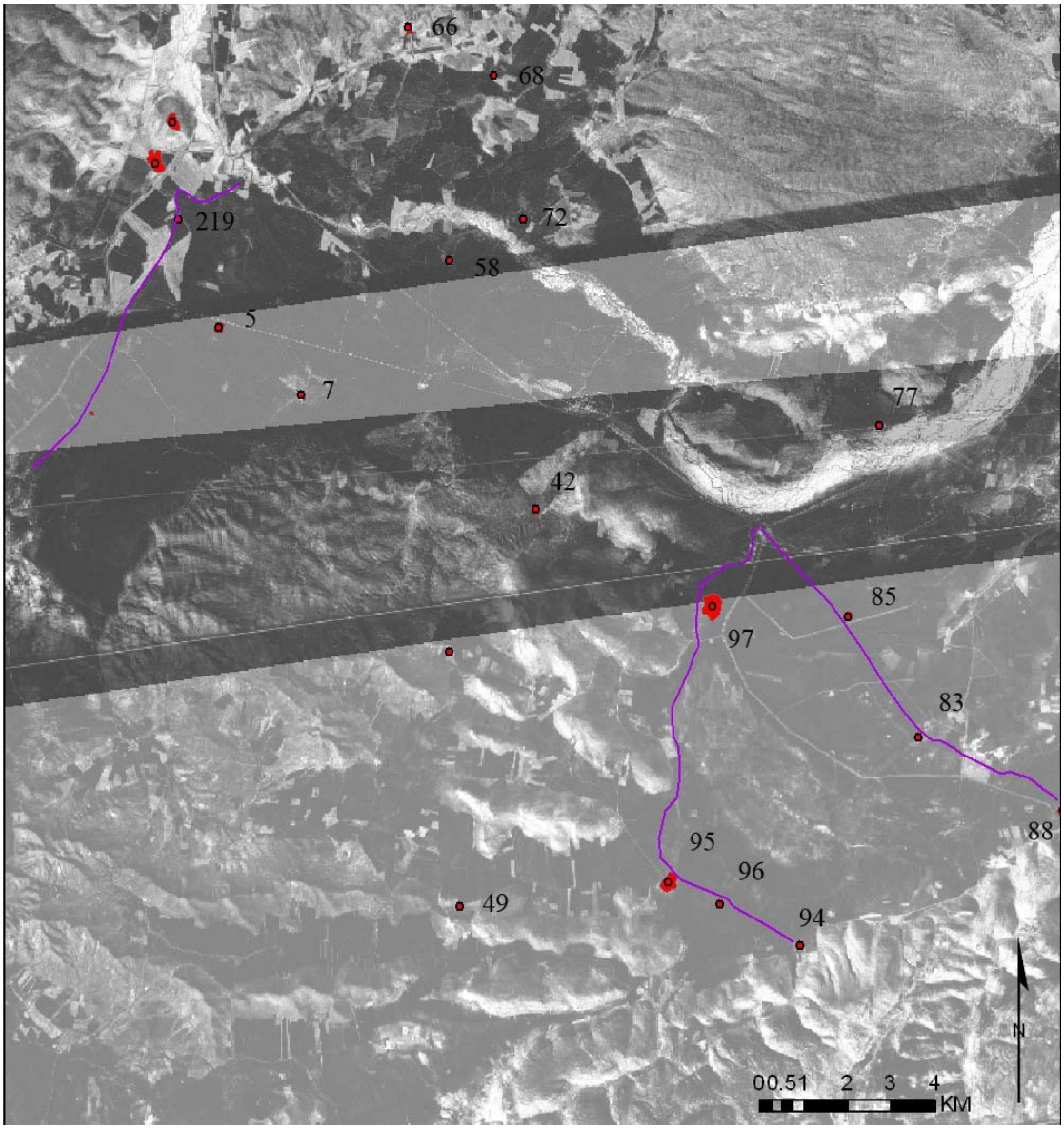

Figure 29 South and South-central Plain

The center of the southern plain is dominated by a large basaltic outcrop of several hills. Three newly established Early Islamic sites were associated with this feature; none were located in the upland territory itself. KM 42 had one of the largest

assemblages of Early Islamic ceramics on the Kahramanmaraş Plain. It was a low mound located at the northern edge of the hills (Tutdağı) on the plain, near to a spring and not far from the Ak Su River. Although not visible on the ground, a square enclosure is easily indicated from a satellite photo. A large wall of sandstone blocks in pebble cement was detected. KM 42 was occupied from the mid–late seventh/early eighth century and continued into the Middle Islamic period. Unlike the previous canal sites, the Middle Islamic assemblage was fairly well represented on this site, although smaller than the Early Islamic. Just east of the site was KM 223, a single period site only occupied from the eighth–tenth centuries. Because of its close proximity to KM 42, the two sites of KM 223 and KM 42 were probably a single settlement during this period giving a total size of 8.2 ha. KM 223 was spread over several fields over a stony mesa formation. The dark brownish-red soil of the site overlay alluvial fans, showing that the Early Islamic site postdated the alluvial fans.

Three other sites were located around the edges of the central outcropping at the intersection of the plain. On the southern edge was KM 45, a *de novo* site located in a valley on a mound with surrounding fields. The site dated from the late seventh/early eighth century C.E. On the east side were two preexisting sites, KM 224 and KM 97. KM 224 was located on a hill slope and consisted of small mounds that potentially demarcated buildings. KM 97 is the site of Domuztepe, currently being excavated by the University of Manchester and the University of California, Los Angeles, under the direction of E. Carter and S. Campbell. The site is a rather large, slightly mounded tell, averaging 8–10 m to a gradual rise of 14 m above the Kahramanmaraş Plain. The site

shared the extensive wetlands of the Ak Su eastern drainages with the *de novo* sites immediately to the west. North of KM 98 was KM 77, a small, flat preexisting site overlooking the Ak Su River at the edge of the northeastern hills. This site is the only one in the eastern side of the southern plain on the route that led out towards Ḥadath.[20]

In the area between the central outcrop and the narrow Ak Su Valley leading to the northern Kahramanmaraş Plain in the west were a series of seven sites in two groupings. The first (KM 5, KM 7, and KM 9) were in a linear string, evenly spaced between the aforementioned *de novo* sites of KM 219 and KM 42. KM 5 was the largest, consisting of two small mounds that were possibly a group of farmhouses. The ceramics extended from the late seventh/early eighth through the tenth centuries, with only two sherds of the Middle Islamic period. Early Islamic ceramics came from the east mound only. KM 7 and KM 9 lie to the southeast, continuing the line. They also had virtually no Middle Islamic occupation. KM 7 was on a natural hill near a small wadi and dated to the late seventh/early eighth century. KM 9 was a small site on a low mound near a branch of a canal that flowed on its north and east sides and had eighth–tenth century pottery. These three preexisting sites indicate either a road or another canal system dating from the Late Roman period and earlier. The newly established KM 219 and KM 42 anchored the linear feature on either end.

The second group consisted of four sites in the section of plain north of the central outcropping and Ak Su River. The sites (KM 58, KM 72, KM 68, and KM 66) all had preexisting settlement that continued into the Middle Islamic period. KM 58 was

[20] KM 76 nearby KM 77 (just north of it) was a Late Roman site with a strong assemblage that showed no continuity into the Early Islamic period.

situated in the Kahramanmaraş Plain not far from the Ak Su River on a mound with a lower town and dated to the late seventh/early eighth century. KM 72 was a flat site in the plain, located near the Ak Su. KM 68 was a high tell measuring 2 ha in the plain. Surveyors noted a possible outline of a fort on top, presumably from the latest period of Middle Islamic occupation or perhaps earlier. KM 66 was on the edge of plain and upland on a hilltop site with a lower town. The fortified natural outcrop yielded mosaics. These last three sites (KM 72, KM 68, and KM 66) dated to the eighth–tenth centuries. All of the assemblages for these four sites, however, were quite small and insubstantial. A canal flowing from the Ak Su linking KM 68 and KM 72 (and perhaps KM 68) was visible in the CORONA. This evidence encapsulates these sites in an Early Islamic canal system dated to the eighth–tenth centuries.

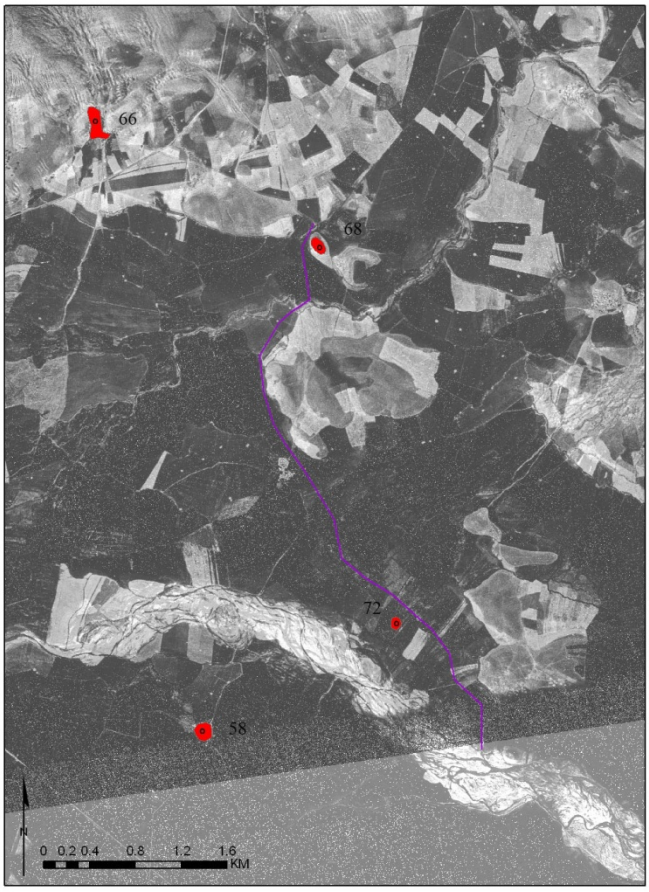

Figure 30 South-central Canal Sites

Two sites occupied the southernmost part of the plain. Both were preexisting sites that had eighth–tenth century C.E. ceramics. KM 22 was located on the eastern foothills of the Amanus Mountains on the edges of the large wetland, the Gavür Göl. It was a flat site, located near a stream that backed against the foothills. KM 49 was located south of the central basaltic outcropping and was a tell on the plain at the southern extent of the outcrop. The presence of small sites with light or medium

assemblages from the eighth–tenth centuries, many of which were occupied in the Late Roman period, shows a gradual infilling and sedentarization in the southern portion of the Kahramanmaraş Plain.

Table 12 Anṭākiya–Mar'ash Road and the Ak Su Corridor

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
KM 54	1.13	Medium	18	> 7th–10th >
KM 121	0.4	Medium	15	> 8th–10th >

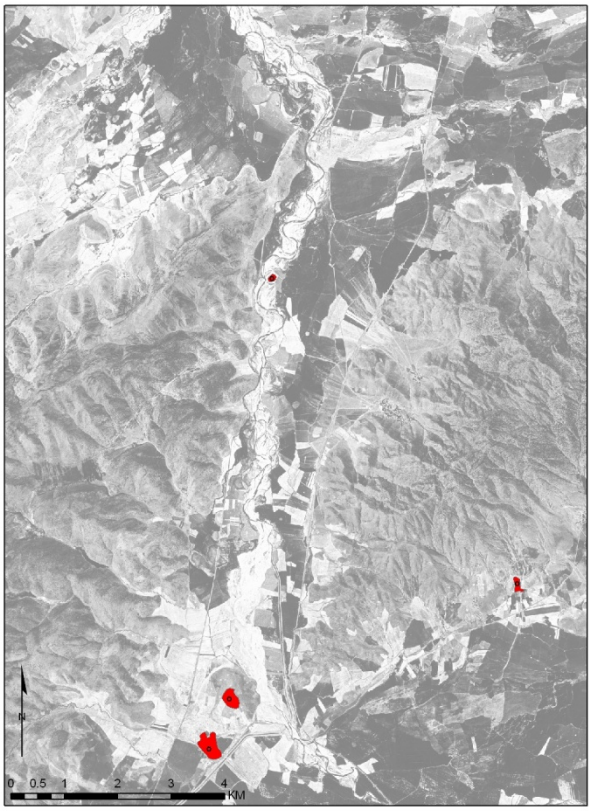

Figure 31 Ak Su Corridor

Two sites were located at either end of the roughly 10 km long and narrow corridor separating the northern and southern Kahramanmaraş Plains. KM 54 and KM 121 were both occupied from the Late Roman period. KM 54 was a lower town surrounding a citadel mound, which had mid–late seventh century ceramics and slight Middle Islamic occupation. At the northern end of the route, KM 121 was a low natural mound on the banks of the Ak Su River measuring 15 m high (at least 5 m of which was natural). It had eighth–tenth century ceramics and substantially more Middle Islamic pottery. Both sites would have controlled both the river and road traffic between the northern and southern plains on the Anṭākiya–Mar‘ash road.

Table 13 The Northern Kahramanmaraş Plain

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	HEIGHT (M)	DATE (CENTURY, C.E.)
KM 114	0.07	Light	5	8th–10th
KM 186	3.18	Light	22	> 8th–10th
KM 153	1.79	Light	4	> 8th–10th
KM 183	1.35	Light	15	> 8th–10th >
KM 180	—	Light	—	> 8th–10th

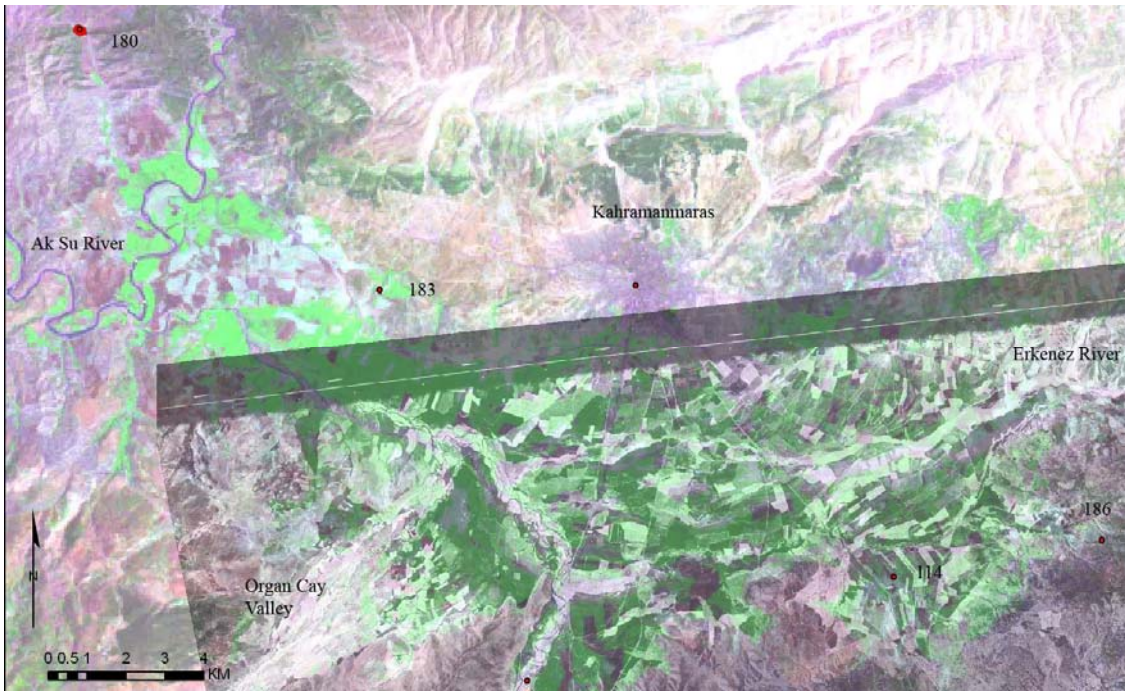

Figure 32 Northern Plain

The northern, funnel-shaped Kahramanmaraş Plain was watered by the Ak Su and Erkenez Su, but it had very few Early Islamic sites.[21] Over sixty sites in the northern plain and three side mountain valleys were explored: the Erekenez Valley to the east, the Ak Su Valley to the northwest, and the Organ Çay Valley to the southwest. Yet, the survey only identified five Early Islamic sites were identified. One of these was newly established. KM 114 was a very small site in the eastern portion of the northern plain. The surveyors noted its similarity of assemblage with KM 94 and described it as a farmhouse. Also in the eastern edge of the plain was KM 186. A stream separated it from the eastern mountains. The site was a tell with preexisting Late Roman occupation. On the west side of the plain was KM 153 which was a low mound with

[21] Two sites with strong Late Roman assemblages in the northern plain exhibited no continuity into the Early Islamic (KM 145, KM 128).

two streams, one on either side. It was located at the mouth of the western Organ Çay Valley between Yeşilyore and Doluca, west of Turkoğlu in the Amanus Mountains. Besides this small site, which only had one sherd of a brittleware hole-mouth vessel, there was no real occupation in either the Early or Middle Islamic periods. Across the plain and to the north was KM 183, located just west of the modern city of Kahramanmaraş and the closest Early Islamic site to the city. The site was on a hill slope of the wadi banks that overlooked the Ak Su River channels. Surveyors noted that the site was on a transhumance trail used by nomads to herd their sheep and goats up the mountains from the plain. The last site in this area was KM 180, located not in the plain but in the mountain valley of the Ak Su where it enters the plain from the northeast. It too was a hill slope site set at the foot of a much higher mound (30 m high). Smaller "house" mounds were noted at the site. This site occupied an important strategic position, as it stood in the mountain pass that provided access from the plain to the Anatolian Plateau. None of these northern plain sites, however, were suggestive of any strategically placed or fortified sites that guarded the mountain passes on the edges of the Byzantine frontier. All of the sites in the northern plain were very small, both in terms of assemblage and physical size; most were probably modest farmsteads that were only sparsely inhabited in the eighth–tenth centuries C.E.

Mar'ash

Mar'ash could be considered the fulcrum of the *thughūr* forts, sitting between the reported division of *thughūr al-shamīya* and *thughūr al-jazirīya*. The location of the Early Islamic city of Mar'ash is not known with any degree of certainty. Two

hindrances in historical geography have contributed to the invisibility of Mar‘ash. Firstly, Mar‘ash has always been assumed to be the site of the present modern (and most likely Middle Islamic) city of Kahramanmaraş. Secondly, Mar‘ash and the classical Germanicia have typically been conflated. I will argue that neither the Middle Islamic and modern nor classical sites are the location for Early Islamic Mar‘ash.[22]

Although Childs, upon his visit in the early twentieth century to the region recorded that: “Albeit Marash has no ancient remains and nothing even medieval…” referring to the city of Kahramanmaraş, there was and is today the large citadel that crowns the city.[23] The citadel of the city, Kahramanmaraş Kale, was built on a flat rectangular summit of a natural mound backed up against the foothills of the Taurus, 180-210 m. above the plain. G.H. Brown visited the site on January 9, 1962 and described that the mound upon which the castle sits had been converted to a public garden and that burnt layers with pits and walls ‘of classical date’ appeared in section along the access road.[24] He analyzed the material as belonging to the Iron Age and Roman periods. The dimensions of the mound are 300 x 400 x 20 meters and it is flat topped and walled. T.A. Sinclair further described it in his survey of eastern Anatolia as Ottoman with ‘Abbāsid phases.[25] The wall of the castle was only one circuit with rectangular wide towers spaced close to each other. The entrance was on the east side and set back between two towers. The south side was defended by two towers and a steep slope.

[22] For a historical overview of the site and its routes, see Appendix 2/Gazetteer

[23] W.J. Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot* (New York: Dodd, 1917), 389.

[24] G.H. Brown, “Prehistoric Pottery from the Antitaurus” *Anatolian Studies* 17 (1967), 155. Kahramanmaraş is Site 36 in his survey.

[25] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 81-3, see esp. 82 for a map.

The north side also has close towers and a gentler slope. According to Sinclair, the Early Islamic phases were represented by those few walls faced with heavy blocks in high courses. Thus, the north side's older wall, the west wall from the second tower to the corner and part of the corner tower, and the earlier entrance at the south end of the east wall were all ʻAbbāsid in date. However, given the lack of any parallel in the region for an ʻAbbāsid period castle either as a settlement type or as a specific style of construction, it is doubtful whether this was actually the site of ʻAbbāsid Marʻash.

The location of Marʻash is tied into a debate for the location of the classical capital of Germanicia, its assumed predecessor. The conflation or proximity of the location of the two cities was the cause of debate between C. Ritter, H. Kiepert, and others. [26] According to Ritter, Marʻash was located at the former Germanicia. Partial evidence for this comes from the Armenians who called Marʻash by the name Germaniki. Kiepert wanted to place Germanicia at a site much further south and east of the assumed position of Kahramanmaraş.[27] He stated, rather, that Marʻash was not the classical Germanicia, but rather the former Seleucid/classical city of Antiocheia ad Taurum. Puchstein disagreed with this identification, stating that the Kiepert's intended site was a medieval ruin with no recognizeable classical remains. Ramsay stated that the origin of the confusion probably stemmed from Ptolemy's conflation or mistaken placement of Germanicia at Marʻash. He believed that the site of Marʻash was centrally located or well connected enough to be associated with Germanicia, a

[26] Ramsay provides a good discussion on the problems of Marʻash and Germanicia, see Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Royal Geographic Society Supplementary Papers, Vol. 4 (London: John Murray, 1890), 276.

[27] At a site named Altıntaş Kale (Araban/Raʻbān)

major hub for routes east-west and north-south. Ramsay was willing to accept another location for Germanicia, but not that of Ritter and Kiepert at Altıntaş Kale.

E. Carter and L. Dodd of the Kahramanmaraş Valley survey (along with E. Laflı) initially hypothesized that Germanicia should not be identified with the modern city of Kahramanmaraş but with KM 55 (Danışman Höyük) which guarded the southern end of the Ak Su corridor.[28] I would argue that this identification seems at present the most likely. From the massive surface collection of the site (approximately sixteen areas with their own separate pottery bags), there was not a single sherd attributable to the Early or Middle Islamic periods.[29] Furthermore, there was hardly any Late Roman ceramics, and very few if any Late Roman finewares; a substantial absence. The pottery was almost entirely Hellenistic and Roman. As a result, KM 55 may have been the regional center of Germanicia however by the third or fourth centuries C.E., it was abandoned or greatly diminished. Sources describe it as a Seleucid foundation with building activities under Diocletian. Late Roman Germanicia and Early Islamic Mar‘ash may have moved to a new location. The debate is complicated by the mention of the city of Marasion, a site only mentioned in Byzantine sources and presumably the forerunner of Mar‘ash. This second city may be the solution to the two site dilemma. In the Late Roman period, the regional center city may have shifted to Marasion while Germanicia continued as small settlement. The site of Marasion may have been conflated early on with the name of Germanicia in sources, as it continued its role as the major urban center.

[28] E. Carter, personal communication, 2004.

[29] The material from KM 55 was examined by D. Whitcomb (2000) and myself (2005).

Although Late Roman Marasion and Early Islamic Mar‘ash have not been found, there are three possibilities for their location. All of them assume that both Late Roman and Early Islamic sites were the same. Nearly every major Early Islamic frontier fort was located on the site of a former Late Roman city (such as Ṭarsūs, Maṣṣīṣṣa, Kanisāt al-Sawdā’, ‘Ayn Zarba, Malaṭiya, Ḥadath, Sumaysāṭ, and Zibaṭra). Furthermore, all were located in open plains and consisted of cities rather than upland fortifications – a phenomenon noted more in the Middle Islamic period (see Chapters 6 and 7 for *incastellamento*).

The first possibility is that the Early Islamic Mar‘ash was founded *de novo* in wetlands. Following a preliminary study of the Islamic pottery from the survey, D. Whitcomb demonstrated that the concentration of Early Islamic sites in the marsh areas to the south of the Kahramanmaraş plain suggests the location of Mar‘ash there. He provides a compelling comparison in the plain around Ḥalab where the major city of Ḥalab lay to the north, classical Chalcis to the southwest, and Qinnasrīn to the southeast separated from the aforementioned cities by the Nahr Quwayk (or Quoeiq, classical Chalus/Belus) and an expanse of wetlands.[30] The Kahramanmaraş Plain was similarly arranged with the city of Kahramanmaraş to the north, the classical (but not Late Roman) Danışman Höyük to the southwest, and the concentration of major Early Islamic sites in the southeast marshes separated from the other cities by the Ak Su River. Although it is unlikely that the two plains were arranged identically, the main point is that both plains were similar ecological niches which influenced new Early Islamic settlements to be oriented deliberately in the marsh wetlands.

[30] Whitcomb, “Letters from the Field.”

Following the criteria outlined above, the Early Islamic site of Mar‘ash should be a fairly large site with a heavy assemblage located in the plain and not on a tell and well connected with land and/or river routes. If Marasion and Mar‘ash were the same, then the site should also have a definite Late Roman occupation. None of the Early Islamic sites found in the survey fit this description perfectly. The largest in size were not necessarily the heaviest in assemblage. Excavations at KM 97/Domuztepe was a large site (16 ha) whose Late Roman and Early Islamic settlement was small and confined to only part of the mound. KM 95 (6 ha), one of the longest occupied sites from pre-Early Islamic to the Late Islamic period was a high tell along a canal system but not on a land or river route. KM 88 (6 ha) did have a heavy assemblage but was located at the edge of the uplands and not central to any major route. KM 85 was also one of the longest occupied sites with a heavy assemblage in both Early and Middle Islamic periods but had no definite Late Roman occupation and was fairly small (1.13 ha) and also not on a major route. KM 42, with the same chronology and assemblage size was likely on a central route but was even smaller (.79 ha). The last potential possibility was KM 5 whose location was central, not far from KM 55/Danışman Höyük, between the narrow Ak Su corridor and the southern plain and likely on a major land route (and perhaps canal route). Further, the site compared to others in the period was fairly large (4 ha) and a low double mounded/flat site. The site was occupied continuously from the Late Roman period until the Late Islamic period. Perhaps most interesting is that the site had a heavy Early Islamic assemblage but significantly lighter Middle Islamic and Late Islamic assemblages, perhaps alluding to its brief occupation as Late Roman

Marasion/Early Islamic Mar‘ash before it was replaced by the site of the medieval and modern city of Kahramanmaraş in the northern plain on the slopes of the Taurus. A second possibility is KM 54, adjacent to KM 55. This choice seems less likely, as the site comprised a lower town built around (and later incorporating) a tell which became fortified. Furthermore, the site had only a medium assemblage, although it ranged from the Late Roman through the seventh century into the Early Islamic with very little Middle Islamic pottery.

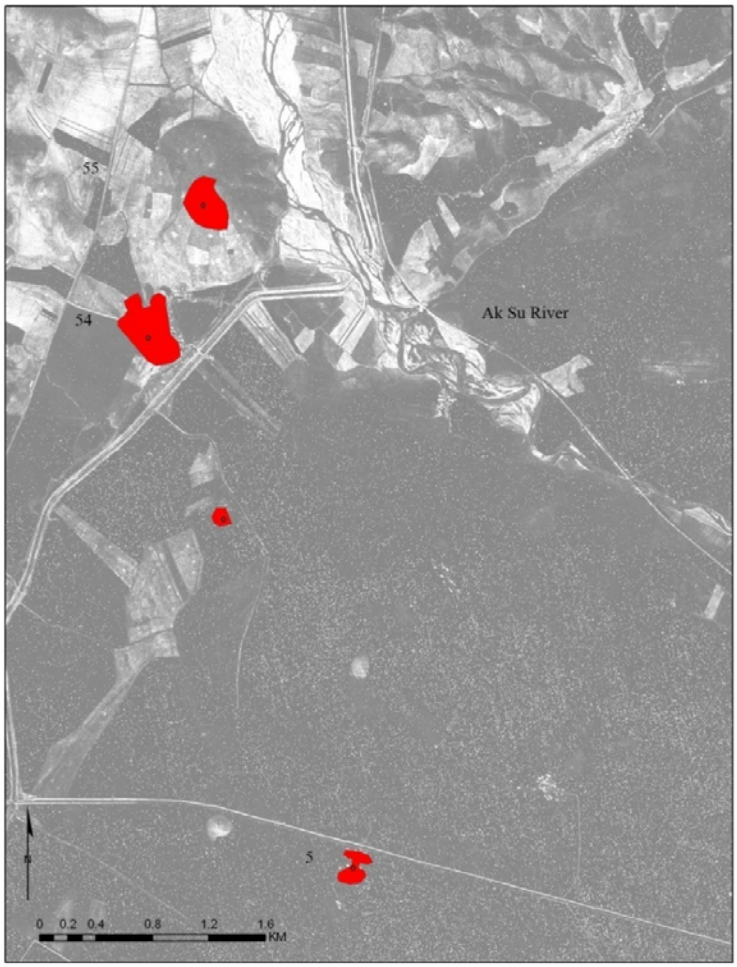

Figure 33 KM 55 (Germanicia), and 5 and 54 (possibly Marasion/Mar‘ash)

This is not to preclude a third possibility. Marʿash could have been sited under the modern Kahramanmaraş at the base of the slopes. Marasion, possibly located under the modern city of Kahramanmaraş at the foot of the mountains, could have continued as the Late Roman, Early Islamic and Middle Islamic focal point for the region. The sprawl of the urban city and the lack of significant archaeological work make it a difficult prospect to further investigate. Although Early Islamic settlement was mainly on the more southern marshy plains, the siting of Marʿash at the foot of the mountains is not without parallels. The assumed location of Hārūnīyya, just to the other side of the Amanus, was also located on the lowest slopes of the Amanus foothills where the plain joined the uplands. The site of Baghrās was similarly sited on the edge of the Amuq Plain where the Amanus Mountains rose just behind. The connecting factor is that these three sites guard important passes over the mountains. These are not upland sites, rather sites guarding mountain passes which are still lowland sites in that they are not inaccessible upland fortifications. Furthermore, the mention of extensive grazing on surrounding slopes[31] may be another important element to this choice of location.

IV. Excavation

Preliminary results from small-scale excavations (a single 10 x 15 m area with an additional 5 x 5 m area) at the summit of Domuztepe (Operation 7) in 2004–2006

[31] P. Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands Seventh through the Tenth Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 261.

revealed occupation from the Hellenistic to Middle Islamic periods.[32] Byzantine and Early Islamic occupation was present. The stratigraphy in relation to the poorly-preserved architecture proved difficult to disentangle, as the entire stratigraphic range from the Hellenistic period onwards was compressed in a little over a meter of deposition. Nevertheless, the site shows a certain level of continuity from the Late Roman period until the tenth century.

At some time probably in the Late Roman period a large square enclosure was built with thick exterior ashlar stone walls mortared with white plaster. The enclosure had several rooms paved with terra-cotta tiles.[33] Subsequent alterations were made, such as the addition of external square buttresses and long subdivided storage magazine-type spaces that probably date to the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods. Early Islamic ceramics were found in association with the remains of a large wall and several small subsidiary walls. On the whole, the ceramics were of local provenance and included no imported wares with the exception of one sherd. A local farmer discovered a large chancel screen fragment in the field just west of the summit. The decorated screen would have been part of a church on the site, as yet undiscovered. To the south of the summit, a roughly rectangular cemetery was found while excavating the prehistoric phases of the tell (Operation 1). In 2005, a sounding 65 m west of

[32] E. Carter and S. Campbell, "Report on the 2004 Excavation Season at Domuztepe," *KST* 27.1 (2005): 316; S. Campbell, "Domuztepe 2005," *Anatolian Archaeology* 11 (2005): 15; S. Campbell, "Domuztepe 2004 Excavation Season," *Anatolian Archaeology* 10 (2004): 5; S. Campbell, "Domuztepe 2003," *Anatolian Archaeology* 9 (2003): 6. Previously, limited information has been published thus far on the late periods at Domuztepe, see J. Snead, "The Local Survey around Domuztepe," UCLA Archaeological Projects in Turkey, http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/nelc/stelasite/james.html.

[33] In one room, the tile floor was badly damaged. Excavation revealed a hoard of nearly 300 late Constantinian coins.

Operation 1 revealed another burial of the ninth/tenth century cemetery, indicating that the area of the cemetery may have extended towards the summit, making it larger than previously assumed.[34] The cemetery contained approximately forty-eight bodies (both men and women) dating to the ninth/tenth centuries.[35] Based on the position of the bodies, they were identified as Christian burials. Finally, preliminary analysis of the animal bone assemblage from the sounding excavation at the summit revealed the presence of a higher amount (14%) of pig bone compared to other identifiable species (cattle, sheep, and goat) in the Early Islamic levels, suggesting the presence of a non-Muslim community who ate and raised pigs.[36]

[34] Campbell, "Domuztepe 2005," 15.

[35] J. Pearson is currently working on the skeletal remains, which are currently unpublished. Excavations of the cemetery are not complete, and more graves (5–10) are expected to be found.

[36] I am grateful to K. Grossman for making available her preliminary analysis on the faunal assemblage from Operation 7.

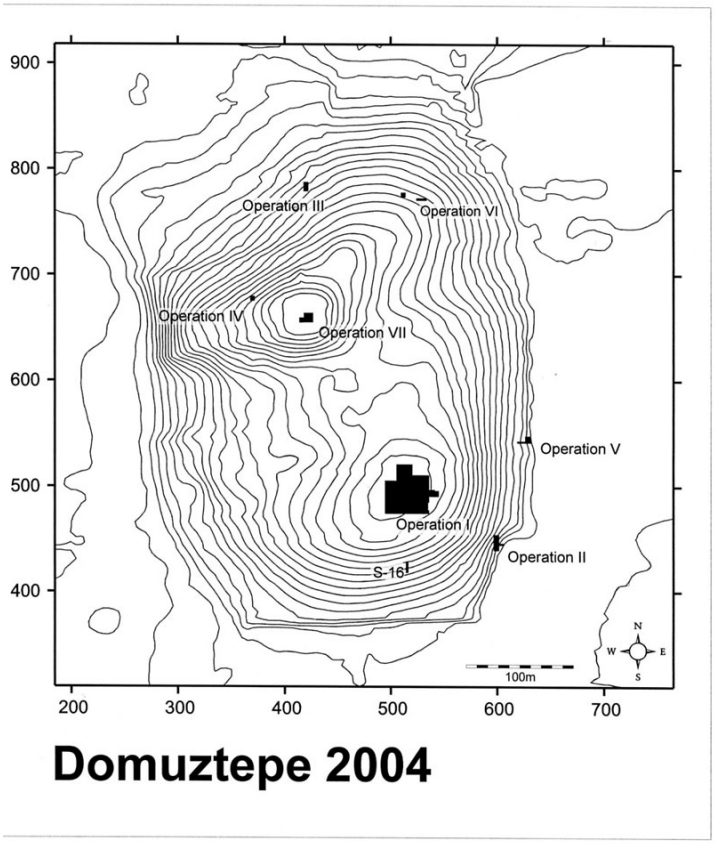

Figure 34 Domuztepe (note rectilinear shape of topography at Operation VII)

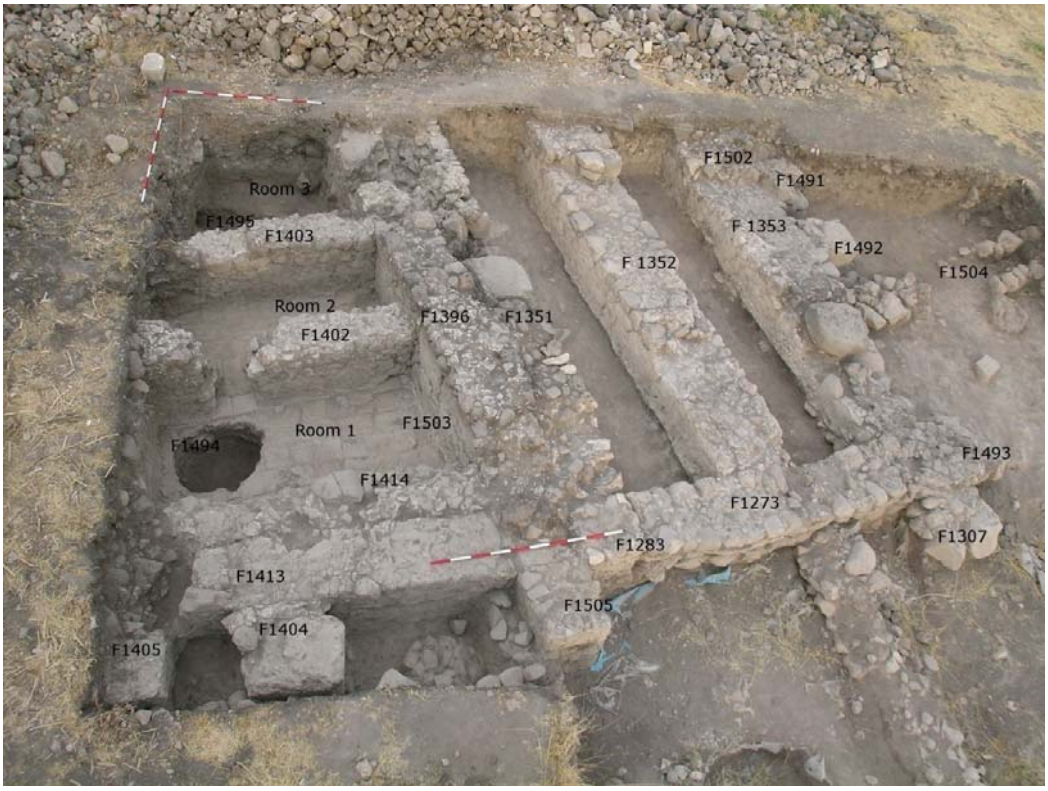

Figure 35 Op. VII enclosure building

Figure 36 Chancel screen from Op. VII

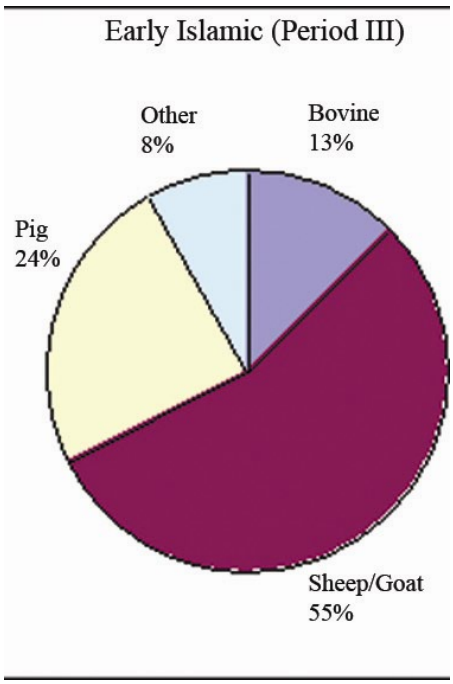

Figure 37 Faunal remains, Op. VII (courtesy of K. Grossman)

Christians are known from the Mar‘ash area in the Early Islamic period. Leo III, also called the Isaurian, was likely not from Isauria but was born in Germanicia in 685 C.E.[37] Several medieval sources describing Jacobite Syriac Orthodox communities state that in 778 C.E., the Byzantines relocated many Jacobites to Thrace due to reasons of religious persecution. The Muslims also displaced Jacobites to Ramla on account of the Muslim scouts and spies being captured by the "Rhomaye" (Byzantines).[38] Michael the Syrian lists Jacobite bishops for the town, and a century after the Byzantine reconquest (950–1050 C.E.), four new Jacobite bishoprics were established in the villages around Mar‘ash.[39] These included Arabissos (991–1002 C.E.), Gihan near the convent of Barid (965–1038 C.E.), Gudpai (40 km from Kahramanmaraş, 1027–30 C.E.), and Karshena (1047–66 C.E.).[40] It is likely that some of these were not so new or in proximity to known sites, as evidenced by Arabissos. Further, the known placement of Arabissos (modern Elbistan)[41] and the convent of

---

[37] Bosworth, "Byzantium and the Syrian Frontier in the Early Abbasid Period." I am grateful to Daniel Larison for pointing this out.

[38] For the Muslim displacement, see Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Volume 2, edited and translated by J.-B. Chabot, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), 526. The text of a Syriac inscription from the church of St. Serguis at Ehnesh (Gümüşün) not far from Domuztepe on the Turkish lower Euphrates corroborates the Byzantine displacement of its Syriac Orthodox residents to Thrace at this time. A. Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), 71.

[39] H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (Essex, UK: Longman Group Limited, 1986), 281.

[40] G. Dagron, "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient Byzantin à la fin du Xe et au Xie siècles: L'immigration Syrienne," *Travaux et Memoires* 6 (1976): 177–216.

[41] Known as a classical site and surveyed by Brown, "Prehistoric Pottery from the Antitaurus," 162.

Barid,[42] both in the Taurus Mountains north of Kahramanmaraş, suggest that the new focus of bishoprics was not on the plain but in the Byzantine uplands. The occupation at Domuztepe presents a special case where ethno-religious explanations for settlement can be tested with the combination of archaeological evidence showing diet, religious structures, and burial practice coupled with historical context. The results suggest that a small but long standing Christian community was living atop a tell situated in the marshy lowlands from the Late Roman to early Middle Islamic periods (Middle Byzantine period).

[42] The convent of Barid was located on a higher stream of the Jayhān, north of Kahramanmaraş in the region of Barid Dağ. See E. Honigmann, *Le Couvent de Barsaumā et le Patriarcat Jacobite d'Antioch et de Syrie*, (Louvain: 1954), 47 and n. 2, 52–54, 116.

CHAPTER FOUR

PLAIN OF ISSOS

The Armenian plains in the summer are hot and stifling. The mountain is fresh and healthy. As such, the inhabitants of the land have their ways in the mountain, and live there because the heat is not harsh, from the start of June until the middle of September, and before they descend to the plain because the land is temperate and less stifling.[1]

I. Introduction

On the *thughūr*, most of the sites are arranged along the inland valleys and plains of the southern Taurus Mountain areas. Coastal frontier sites are, by comparison, very few, despite the fact that the coast itself was a frontier against the mainly Byzantine-controlled Mediterranean Sea. At the intersection of two frontiers, the Plain of Issos is well situated to test a hypothesis of frontier settlement and interaction. Located near the Syrian Gates in the Amanus Mountains, this narrow coastal corridor connected Anatolia (via Cilicia) with Syria (via the Amuq Plain) and was known as a key locus for the harvesting and shipment of harvested timber. Within the plain, there are several important and historically documented Early Islamic sites. The Plain of Issos provides a valuable example to further expand upon the evidence of Early Islamic settlement on the frontier because of its important location at the nexus of both land and sea. Recent

[1] M. R. Morgan, ed., *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1982), 99. Written anonymously by the author of the history of the William of Tyre of the crossing of Cilicia by the German army in 1190: "Car les pleins d'Ermenie en esté sont chaus et enfermés. La montaigne est fresche et saine. Dont les habitans de la terre ont lor maneirs en la montaigne, et demorent illueques por la chalor dou tens, des l'entrée de juing jusques a la métier de septembre, et d'ilueques en avant descendent au plain por ce que la terre est tempree et meins enfermé."

results of geomorphological work, survey, and excavation on the Plain of Issos revealed similarities in both environmental and settlement patterns of the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods. Further, excavation at a newly founded *thughūr* site provides an additional level of understanding of frontier settlement in the Early Islamic period.

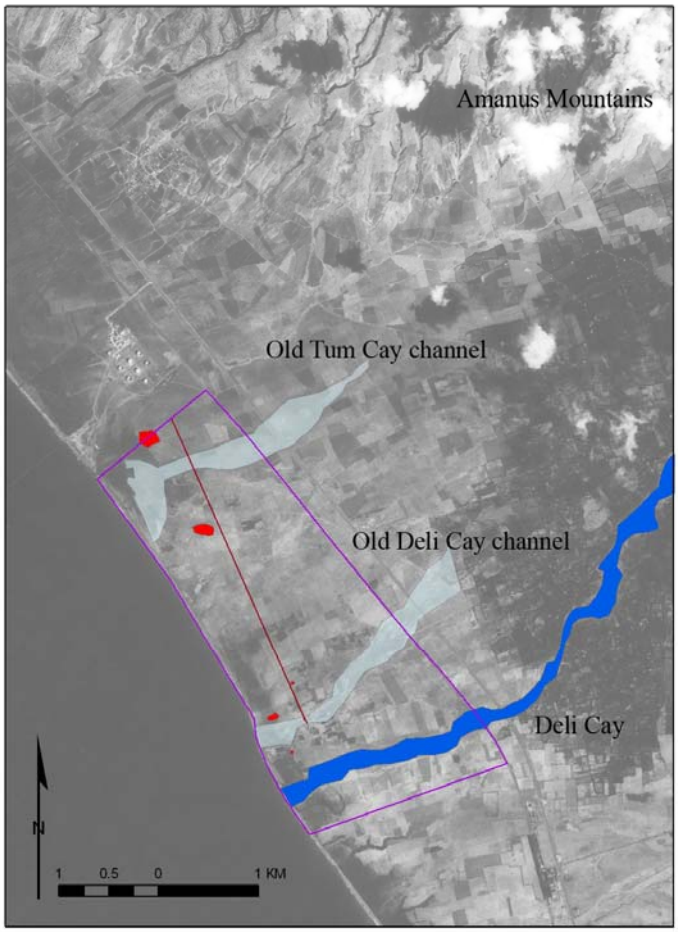

Figure 38 Kırıkköprü Survey with survey area indicated

II. Environment

The coastal Plain of Issos is dominated by Kinet Höyük, a large tell excavated since 1992 by M.-H. Gates. The tell was an important Bronze Age port and it continued until the Hellenistic period before it was abandoned and resettled only in the twelfth century C.E. The coastal plain is the easternmost part of the Cilician Plain or Aleian Plain (modern Çukorova) that extends from Kanisāt al-Sawdā' down to Iskandarūna and the Belen Pass. This area has been referred to as Black Cilicia or the Plain of Issos and separated from the low expanse of Smooth Cilicia or Cilicia Pedias farther west by the small Jebel Misis range and a series of low volcanic hills. The Cilician Plain has always been the focus of a long history of settlement, in main part due to its very rich and fertile loamy soil that made it a center for the production of various cereals, fruit trees, and wine. In addition, the region is frequently referred to as an important crossroads, forming the corridor between Anatolia and Syria. The smaller Plain of Issos is subdivided into two parts: a large northern area between the Amanus Mountains and Jebel Misis, and a narrow southern strip of plain along the northern Levantine coast. The southern part of the plain at its northern end is about 7.3 km wide and gradually narrows down to 4 km south of Payas where the Amanus reaches the sea. The region is known for fruit trees, specifically citrus, which are grown all year long. This is mainly a result of the suitable stony soil and the rainforest-like wet and humid climate. The climate is the most humid in all of Turkey, with a mean annual

rainfall of 1,080 mm in the main town of Dörtyol.[2] This is due to the narrow strip of plain located on the windward side of the sudden uplift of the Amanus.

Several rivers flow from the Amanus Mountains into the Mediterranean Sea. These include, from south to north: the Payas Çay, the Kuru Dere, the Rabat Çay, and the Deli Çay. The Deli Çay is nearest to Kinet Höyük and reaches the plain at Usuculu, where it flows in a course of 2.75 to 5.5 m wide.[3] As outlined by J. Tobin, coastal streams flowing down the Amanus create alluvial fans and where the streams and sea meet forms marshland.[4] In addition, the coastal rivers are braided and meandering, frequently migrating because of evulsion of the riverbanks, erosion, and earthquakes, and have changed their course along the coastal plain. F. S. Ozaner, who conducted geomorphological work around Kinet in the early 1990s, has shown the movements of these rivers.[5] The Deli Çay once flowed just south and adjacent to the mound in the Hellenistic/early Roman period (where it served as an anchorage), and migrated from its location to an earlier channel two km south along the plain in the Roman/Late Roman period, as evidenced by an extant bridge (Kırıkköprü). The river migrated farther south to its present position in the Ottoman period, 2.7 km south of

---

[2] T. Beach and S. Luzzadder Beach, "Aggradation around Kinet Höyük, an Archaeological Mound in the Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey," *Geomorphology*, in press.

[3] Ibn Khurradādhbih mentions that the Jayhān, the river of al-Maṣṣīṣa whose source is in the Byzantine lands, flows into the Tīnāt River and its source is in the Wādī al-Zanaḥ. Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-masālik al-mamālik* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 177.1–2. This is strange, as the Jayhān empties near Ayās (modern Yumurtalık) and does not come near the Plain of Issos, while the coastal streams around Kinet (presumably one of them being the Tīnāt River) flow from the Amanus Mountains east.

[4] J. Tobin, *Black Cilicia: A Study of the Plain of Issus during the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (Oxford, England: John and Erica Hedges, 2004), 1–2.

[5] F. S. Ozaner, "Dörtyol-Payas (Issos) Ovası'nda (Antakya) Tarihi Çağlardan Günümüze Süregelen Jeomorfolojik Değişkliklerin Kinet Höyük Üzerindeki Etkileri." *AST* 12 (1994): 513–27.

Kinet as evidenced by an Ottoman bridge and inscription. Ozaner attributed the migration from the mound south in the Hellenistic/early Roman period to an earthquake in 50 C.E. Another river, the Tum Çay, a branch of the Deli Çay, migrated across the plain in the opposite direction. At an earlier point sometime in the mid-Holocene, the Tum Çay flowed approximately 700 m north of Kinet Höyük and has since meandered farther north along the plain to its present location within the Botaş Petroleum Pipeline Corporation complex.[6]

The effect of migrating coastal streams has produced a blend of marshland and stony colluvium (gravels and cobbles) from relic streambeds along the southern Plain of Issos with two main consequences. As a result of the soil composition (as well as the high humidity and annual rainfall), the main produce of the region is limited to small-scale agriculture and plants with shallow root systems, such as fruit trees. Today, the region is known for its cultivation of citrus. The second impact on the region is the change in coastline. Erosion and colluvium from the rivers and marsh have resulted in degradation and aggradation of the plain, silting in the coastline nearly 1 km from its ancient position.[7] As a result, sites such as Kinet Höyük, Kara Höyük, and Mutallip Höyük (al-Muthaqqab) that were ports since the Bronze Age and perhaps earlier are now landlocked. However, the progradation of the coastline and landlocking of sites is not as severe as sites on the western Anatolian coast such as

[6] F. S. Ozaner, personal communication, 2006.

[7] S. Redford, et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 38 (2001): 78.

Ephesus and Troy.[8] The deep and subsided nature of the Bay of Iskenderun and the existence of a fault line that runs parallel to the coast have contributed to a gradual subsidence of the plain. Thus, while the coastline is 525 meters from Kinet, it cannot extend farther due to the faultline and has accumulated a backlog of 30 m of erosion since 1974.[9]

New geomorphological work conducted by T. Beach showed more specifically the amount of aggradation and sedimentation linked to chronological time. Beach and Beach excavated cores and manually dug seventeen trenches on the east, west, and north sides of Kinet Höyük, analyzing soil composition and content, linking its morphology to architectural features, and dating based on artifact and radiocarbon analysis. They determined that the area around Kinet accumulated all of its sediment in the middle and late Holocene — between 2 and 4 meters between roughly 300 B.C.E. to 1000 C.E. Between the Hellenistic and Late Roman periods, sediment accumulated at a rate of 0.23 cm/annum or 2.3 m per 1,000 years. From the Early Islamic period until the present, the plain accumulated 0.09 cm/annum or 0.9 m per 1,000 years. The pre-Hellenistic periods had the same rate of accumulation as the Islamic. As such, most of the migration of the coastal streams due to the aggradation of high-energy colluvium occurred during the Hellenistic to Late Roman periods. One specific example of this was found in units T2–T6 northwest of the tell, where excavations uncovered a Roman road. The road was built over 3 m of Hellenistic/early

[8] Beach and Beach, "Aggradation around Kinet Höyük."

[9] Ozaner, "Dörtyol-Payas (Issos)." Sediment depletion has occurred in the last twenty-five years due to gravel mining.

Roman sediment and itself was buried by 1 m of Late Roman accumulation. This shows that the majority of sedimentation around the tell and the silting of the harbor was already well advanced by the Roman period.[10]

Comparatively, the rates of accumulation and sedimentation in the region of Kinet Höyük on the Plain of Issos were significantly higher than in the Amuq Plain on the other side of the Amanus Mountains. Specifically, sedimentation was 1.3 times higher for the Hellenistic to Late Roman periods (1.75 m/1,000 years for the Amuq) and 1.9 times higher for the Medieval to present periods (0.48 m/1,000 years).[11] This would have to be due to the larger amount of precipitation in the coastal plain as compared to the Amuq. Nevertheless, the trend needs further explanation.

As discussed for the Amuq Plain, the debate for the cause of erosion falls along the lines of natural or anthropogenic factors. Earthquakes, meandering coastal streams, and climate change (including heavy precipitation), and the adjustment of the floodplains to rising sea levels could be cited as causal factors. However, Beach and Beach have shown that in antiquity, the rate of earthquakes (based on known occurrences) and sea level were not so different than today. What was different was the continued stress in the Roman and Late Roman periods on the uplands due to intensive cultivation, high elevation settlements, and terracing. Although survey in the higher uplands was prohibited, Beach noted in the lower uplands the presence of large and extensive gullies, mass movement scars on the slopes linked with Roman and

[10] Beach and Beach, "Aggradation around Kinet Höyük."

[11] Beach and Beach, "Aggradation around Kinet Höyük;" Yener, et al., "Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998," 178.

Hellenistic sites built on ancient terraces. Some of these ceramics from the 2005 and 2003 geomorphology surveys were examined by de Giorgi and me in 2005. We found that the majority were Late Roman wares (fourth–seventh centuries C.E.) with a significant number of finewares. We noted no Hellenistic wares and only one Early Islamic sherd.[12] As such, the peak in upland settlement and stress was during the Roman period and increased in the Late Roman period. Subsequently, the greatest upland erosion occurred towards the end of the Late Roman period and afterwards and was strongly linked with anthropogenic factors.

Although the region was susceptible to heavy precipitation and seismic occurrences, intensive land use activities in both lowlands and uplands such as agriculture, grazing, and the abandonment of terracing and sites were important factors to this Roman and Late Roman phenomenon. Heavy deforestation of trees for ship building, firewood cutting, and charcoal production and the subsequent transportation of lumber to coastal sites also contributed significantly to erosion. The western slopes of the Amanus Mountains were known throughout antiquity for their lumber resources and, accordingly, coastal sites on the Plain of Issos were involved in the lumber industry.[13] As posited for the Amuq Plain, similar heavy land use and settlement on the slopes coupled with sporadic intense storms and earthquakes (such as one in 551

[12] This was associated with a Roman road running north–south along the base of the Amanus slopes north of Kinet just on the way to Erzin (N 3654150 E 3607719). The track was being bulldozed, however, I noticed a hole-mouth cooking pot with rocker pattern at the site.

[13] For more literature on the subject see M. B. Rowton, "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26.4 (1967): 261ff.; R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); M. Lombard, "Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane Viie-Xie siècles" in *Espaces et réseaux du haut moyen âge* (La Haye: Mouton, 1971), 107ff.; B. Watson-Truemann, "Beyond the Cedars of Lebanon: Phoenician Timber Merchants and Trees from the 'Black Mountain,'" *Die Welt des Orients* 31 (2000/01): 75.

C.E.) would have caused heavy sedimentation on the plain. The consequence is that by the late sixth/early seventh century (end of the Late Roman period/beginning of the Early Islamic period) much of the coastal plain had been gradually transformed, coastal rivers shifted, and marshes expanded.

III. Settlement

The environmental transformations set the stage for an investigation into the Roman, Late Roman, and Early Islamic settlements. Known textually as Issos in the Roman and Late Roman periods and Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt in the Early Islamic periods, Kinet Höyük was missing evidence of occupation for these periods. At least one site, if not both, acted as coastal depots for the collection of cut timber and export to points throughout the Mediterranean. Such activities required a river site to manage the floating timber from the mountains.[14] As a complementary yet separate investigation, de Giorgi and I conducted the Kırıkköprü Survey for two weeks in June and July of 2005 as an intensive walking survey in the immediate area of Kinet Höyük.[15] The boundaries of the survey were the Botaş field to the north about 800 m, the modern Deli Çay about 2.5 km to the south, and the railroad line about 2 km east from the coastline, totaling an area roughly 6.5 km^2. Summer beach housing communities and

[14] As such, initial hypotheses deduced that the Roman, Late Roman, and Early Islamic site(s) were located along the strong Deli Çayı River and that the sites must have moved with the Deli Çayı River and would be located near its banks south of Kinet Höyük under 1 meter of sediment, see T. Beach (in Redford, "Excavations at Medieval Kinet"). This further supported the hypothesis that the Roman/Byzantine settlement may have been located near the bridge and continued into the Early Islamic period following patterns of settlement continuity of off-tell settlements seen in the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains.

[15] Information is from the unpublished field report: A. A. Eger and A. U. de Giorgi, "The Kırıkköprü Survey Preliminary Report, 2005."

at least seven large gas companies and their compounds consisting of massive gas tanks ranged along the coast posed a modern developmental obstruction to an archaeological investigation. Nevertheless, transects spaced 5 m apart investigated all accessible fields and citrus orchards owned both by landowners and gas companies in and out of the compounds. The largest of these companies was Botaş, the Turkish government gas company, which marked the northern edge of the survey area with a tall chain fence with guard posts. Although the survey encompassed all periods, the primary goal of the survey was to locate the Roman, Late Roman, and Early Islamic settlements not attested on the mound. As a result, results from all of these periods will be presented to better understand the dynamics of off-tell settlement and its relationship to the environment during these periods.

Table 14 South of Kinet Höyük

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	DATE (CENTURY)
KS 2	3.5	Heavy	4th–7th (C.E.)
KS 3	0.02	Medium	4th–7th (C.E.)
KS 6	—	Heavy	3th–6th (C.E.)

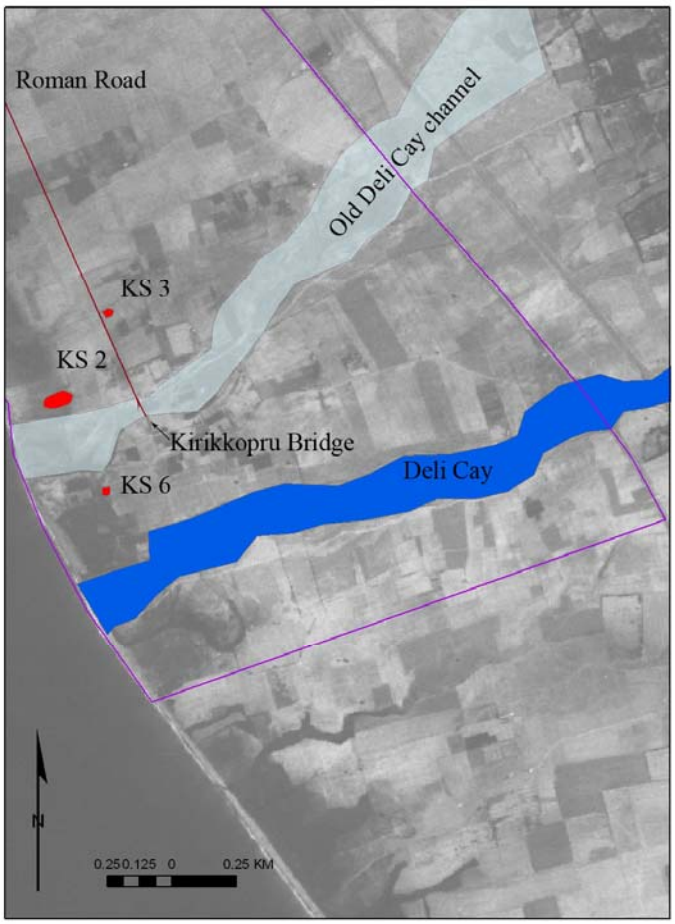

Figure 39 South of Kinet

Between the site of Kinet Höyük and the present Deli Çay located 2.0–2.7 km south of the tell, were the remains of a large Roman bridge (Kırıkköprü/KS 1), now part of the Ipragaz natural gas company and in the middle of an orange grove. Salvage cleaning and trenches along the piers by B. C. Coockson revealed that the bridge was

maintained by at least three phases of building and rebuilding.[16] Although virtually no pottery was found, it is likely that the main extant portions of the bridge, including the ramp from the road leading up to it, are probably Late Roman.

Several sites were found in association with the bridge and the line of the road, which linked the patches found north of Kinet with the bridge. Kırıkköprü Survey site (KS) 2 was located between the bridge and coastline, and was almost a meter higher than fields to the west and separated by a raised berm. The raised berm was c. 300 m. from the coast inland and suggests the location of the ancient coastline. The site shows up as a dark oval anomaly on the CORONA image. Intensive field collections identified very dense areas of pottery mainly on the southwest side of the field that included finewares (Late Roman C form 3, stamped African Red Slip) and other ceramics (plainware juglets, Late Roman 1 amphora fragments, plainware ledge rim basins, and unguentaria).[17] There were also many roof tiles and marble and mosaic fragments. At least two building groups could be discerned based on roof tile groupings. Locals say they have continuously found materials every plow season, including a building stone at a height of 1.5 m. The site's occupation can be securely dated between the fourth–seventh centuries, however the presence of one Eastern Sigilatta A sherd and one Early Islamic hole-mouth brittleware rim suggest activity attributed to those periods somewhere in the vicinity.

---

[16] B. C. Coockson, "The Roman Bridge at Yeşilköy/Dörtyol (Hatay)," *Newsletter of the Department of Archaeology and History of Art* (Bilkent University) 4 (2005), 12–14.

[17] Pottery was preliminarily analyzed by both A. U. de Giorgi (Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine) and myself (Byzantine, Early, and Middle Islamic). I am also indebted to Andrea Berlin who was visiting Kinet Höyük at the time and offered her opinions on the pottery.

KS 6 is on the south side of the Ipragaz/Aygaz complex southwest of the Roman bridge consisting of a small area amidst an orange grove dating from the third–sixth century. Compared to KS 2, there was little pottery (an Early Roman Flavian bowl fragment, third/fourth century pottery including a North Syrian mortarium and two plainware basins, and fifth/sixth century pottery including a cooking pot brittleware rim, an African Red Slip plate, and an amphora fragment). In addition, there were fragments of hypocaust round tiles, marble fragments (including one decorated piece), water pipe fragments, mosaic and wall plaster fragments, sherds with hydraulic plaster on one side, and many roof tiles. These artifacts suggest the site was a bathhouse, which would have made use of the constant water flow of the Deli Çay. South of KS 6, the soil was very stony indicating that it likely was part of the relic branch of the Deli Çay that ran under the bridge and around the site.

Only one site was found north along the proposed line of the Roman road from the bridge.[18] KS 3 was a cemetery site in an orange orchard located due north of the Roman bridge and probably associated with the road. There was a small scatter with roof tiles and Late Roman pottery over an area of about 20 x 10 m although, it was difficult to discern. In the next field north (3b), there were spaced out piles of mainly roof tile ceramics and very little pottery. These were identified as graves using "cappucina" style tiled grave covers.

The three seemingly disconnected sites on either side of the Roman/Late Roman bridge and north along the road all overlapped in third–seventh century C.E.

[18] However, at least five other points with evidence of Roman and Late Roman pottery (1–2 sherds) were found between the bridge and Kinet Höyük, always near to the line of the Roman road. These were not designated as sites.

occupation. The cemetery to the north along the Roman/Late Roman road probably marks the northern boundary of the site, as the custom of extra-urban cemeteries in during these periods was quite common. The presence of an area of buildings, large architectural fragments and finewares (KS 2), a bathhouse with marble and mosaic decoration (KS 6), and a small cemetery (KS 3) suggest that this may have been the later Roman and Late Roman site of Issos. Little is known of Issos other than the assumption that it may have been a small coastal villa.[19] In the Late Roman period, Issos was also known as the place where the Emperor Heraclius in 622 C.E. fought several battles against the Sāsānians.[20] The sites further affirm the existence of the Deli Çay and use of the bridge until at least the sixth century. One or two sherds of Early Islamic brittleware may attest to a continuation into the second half of the seventh century, that is, an Umayyad period occupation.

[19] The site of Kinet Höyük has been identified with the infamous settlement of Issos, sharing its name with the coastal plain upon which it is centrally located and made famous by Alexander and Darius' great standoff. Apart from the extensive and well-built remains on Kinet in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, the identification is corroborated by the association of the Pinarus River, key to the Battle of Issos, with the modern Deli Çayı that runs close to the site.

[20] Bosworth mentions (from al-Ṭabarī) that several Byzantine sites were captured in 712 C.E. by al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik including Sumaysāṭ, Sebasteia, and Ṭarsūs. Another "mysteriously named" site, unlocated, is mentioned but unvocalized as al-M.r.z.bān.y.n. C. E. Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers in Early and Middle 'Abbāsid Times," *Oriens* 33 (1992): 270 n. 9. S. Redford has speculated if this was the Early Islamic name for the Roman-Byzantine Issos. M.r.z.bān continues as the pre-nineteenth century name for nearby Dörtyol. Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt could be the 'Abbāsid name (Redford, personal communication, 2005). I would further suggest that the name could refer to a site nearby Tīnāt (possibly Roman/Late Roman Issos) named from the brief period of Persian occupation. This refers directly to the Persian meaning of *marzbān* as a frontier or border lord, often assigned to peripheral areas and used in the Sāsānian period.

Table 15 North of Kinet Höyük

SITE	PHYSICAL SIZE (HA)	ASSEMBLAGE SIZE	DATE (CENTURY)
KS 4	—	Medium	early 4th (B.C.E.)
KS 5	0.25	Heavy	7th–14th (C.E.)

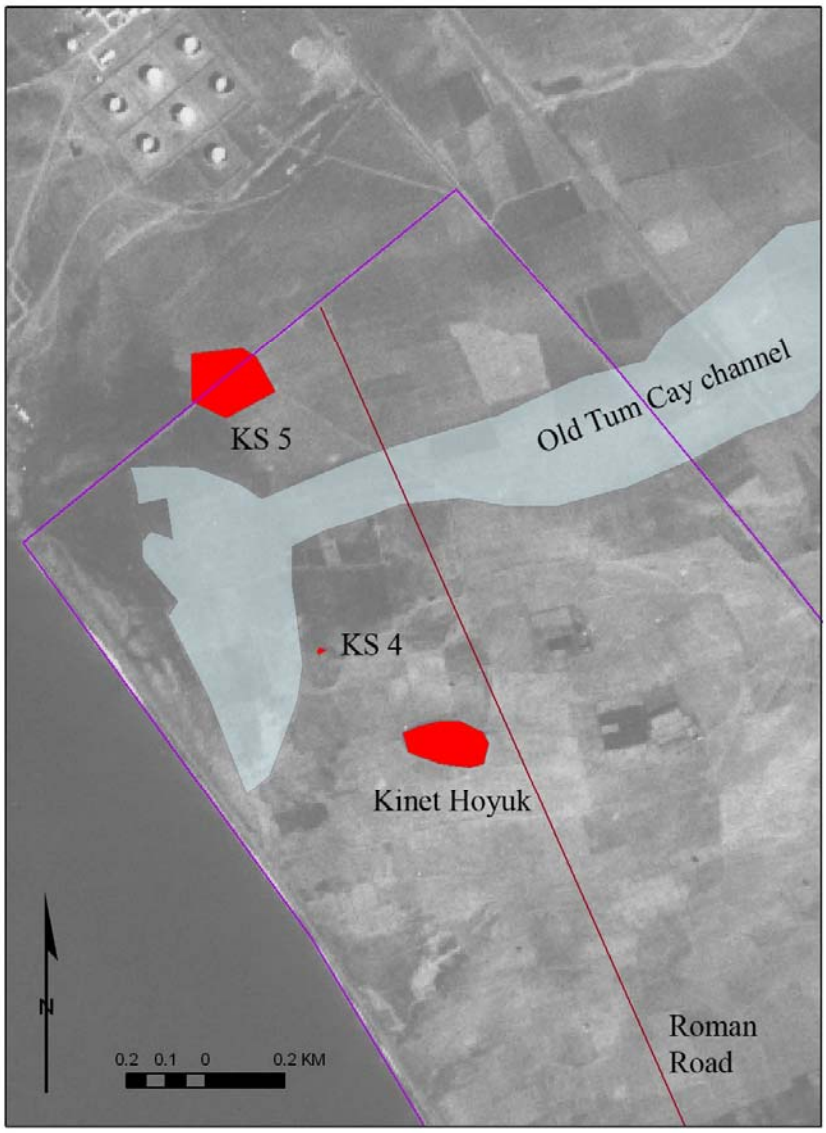

Figure 40 North of Kinet

Apart from a small coastal Hellenistic site (KS 4) located 100 meters inland dating to the first half of the fourth century B.C.E.,[21] there were no sites to the north until the very limits of the survey area were reached. KS 5 (Tüpraş Field site) was a large low mound 800 meters north of Kinet Höyük covering a series of cultivated fields owned by the Tüpraş Petrol Company. Visible in a 1969 CORONA satellite image, it extends to the other side of the Botaş southern security fence that cuts through it. South of the site is a relic streambed of the Tum Çay opening up into a delta extending west of the site. Southeast of the site, in the fields near the mound of Kinet Höyük was a continuation of the Roman/Late Roman road that extended from the Kırıkköprü Bridge. This road, uncovered in the geomorphology trenches conducted by Beach, was the primary north–south coastal road and most likely associated with KS 5. Like Site 2, there is a slight berm that demarcates the ancient faultline that is roughly 550 meters from the present coastline. KS 5 revealed several monumental stone blocks, masonry, and other architectural fragments present including two ashlar blocks measuring 1.15 x 0.56 x 0.50 m and 1.10 x 0.56 x 0.43 m and a large basalt block measuring 1.64 x 0.82 x 0.20 m. These were located on the highest part of the site in a small overgrown area of unplowed fields where the stone architecture was visible just under the grass. Within this presumed building area, a small robbing trench revealed an 80 cm deep section of a well-built stone wall just 40 cm below the surface and continuing downward. In an adjacent field, a white marble column of high quality was found measuring 65 cm in length with a diameter of 43 cm at the base and 38 cm at its other end. Pottery was found over a large area measuring roughly 400 x 400 m (16 ha), but

[21] Or Late Achaemenid corresponding to Kinet Höyük's Level 3.

with a very dense scatter of pottery in an area roughly 50 x 50 m (0.25 ha) within vegetable fields.[22] The composition of these surface collections overall was 85% Early Islamic, 10% Middle Islamic, with a few Late Roman/Roman abraded sherds. This pottery collection included many north Syrian types of Early Islamic wares, particularly hole-mouth brittlewares, Syrian yellow-glaze, and a decorated Umayyad lamp nozzle, two south Levantine imports, buffware, and a possible tile with brown/yellow glaze. Geomorphological investigation of the site in relation to the coastline in 2005 by Ozaner led to the conclusion that the area between the ancient coastline and present coastline was probably a lagoon and would have served as a perfect anchorage for the site.[23]

The Plain of Issos survey has shown two important sites or site groupings on the marshy coastal plain that fit the missing settlements: one dating to the Roman and Late Roman periods south of Kinet Höyük on the Deli Çay (KS 2, KS 3, and KS 6); and one dating to the Early Islamic period north of Kinet on the Tum Çay (KS 5). The former is a likely candidate for Issos, while the latter can be hypothesized as the Early Islamic *thagr* and port of Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt.

IV. Excavation

During the 2006 Kinet excavation season, four soundings were placed to gain a window of coverage in KS 5 and elucidate the architectural plan and excavate down to

[22] These fields are owned by the Tüpraş Gas Company and leased out to farmers.

[23] Ozaner, personal communication, 2006.

obtain a full stratigraphic record and chronology of the settlement.[24] At the highest part of the site, Sounding 1 (3 x 3 m) was placed just south of the preexisting large robbing pit where the large ashlars were removed. A large fortification wall and several walls that were perpendicular to it appeared just under the surface. The area was enlarged by three other soundings placed in the vicinity of Sounding 1. These were Sounding 4 (4 x 5 m with a 2 x 1 m eastern annex), Sounding 7 just east of 4 (3 x 3 m, then 4 x 5 with a 1 x 3 m northern extension and 1 x 2 meter northwest extension), and Sounding 6 (west of 4). The large fortification wall continued in all of these soundings and in Sounding 7, the wall terminated at a square tower measuring 1.9 x 1.9 m.

[24] Excavation was done from July 9 to July 27, 2006, (three weeks) by A. U. de Giorgi and myself under the site permit of Kinet Höyük and by permission of Kinet director Marie-Henriette Gates (Bilkent University) and government representative Burhan Bey (Gazıantep Museum). Funding came from a private donation to the Oriental Institute from Mrs. Margie Sue from Morristown, New Jersey, to whom I am indebted as the project could not proceed without the gift. The fixed datum for the soundings was a preexisting concrete datum between Soundings 4 and 7, measuring 7.77 m.a.s.l. and nearly at the highest point of the fields.

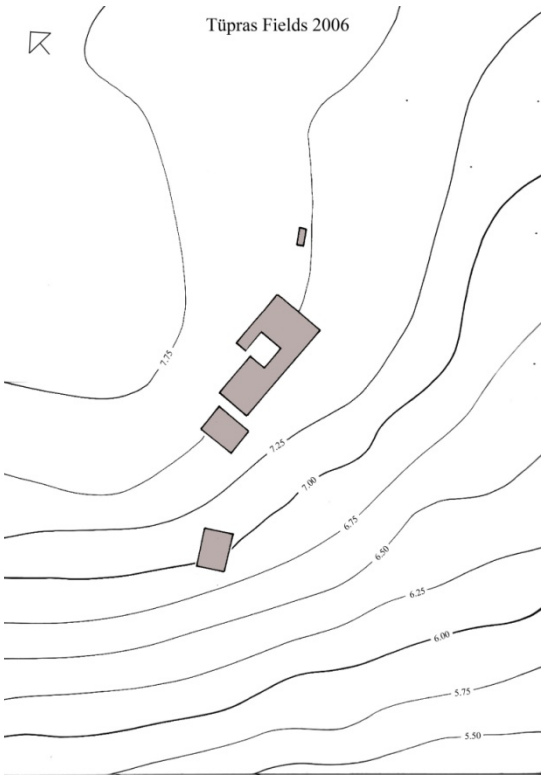

Figure 41 Contours of site and soundings

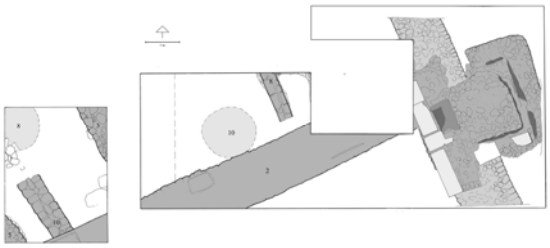

Figure 42 Soundings 1, 4, 6, 7

Several conclusions may be drawn from the soundings in the Tüpraş Field site.[25] First, the complete lack of Roman and Late Roman pottery or other material culture would indicate this site was an Early Islamic foundation *de novo*. The rather large

[25] Information is from the unpublished field report: A. A. Eger and A. U. de Giorgi, "Tüpraş Field Soundings 2006 Season Preliminary Report."

surface sherd scatters detected in the survey seems to have encompassed the main site area and an extensive offsite spread. The main site area is roughly 50 x 50 meters and rectilinear. The areas south and east of the site were part of the relic Tum Çay course, which has presently shifted farther north. Thus the site may be confined to the building encompassed by the massive fortification wall. Other structures or buildings perhaps indicated by the surface scatter remain to be seen.

The earliest phase (Phase IV) consisted of a small north–south wall in Sounding 1 of only one course (Wall 10). Farther east in Sounding 7 was a section of a large north–south fortification wall (Wall 14), 4 m long and 1.6 m wide. The wall had a foundation of cobbles and upper courses of large rectangular, alternating header and footer ashlars with a mortar and rubble core. Its preserved top elevation was 6.69 m.a.s.l. From pottery and architectural phasing, both walls were dated to the mid-eighth century C.E. (early ʻAbbāsid) and suggested a fortified enclosure of uncertain configuration.

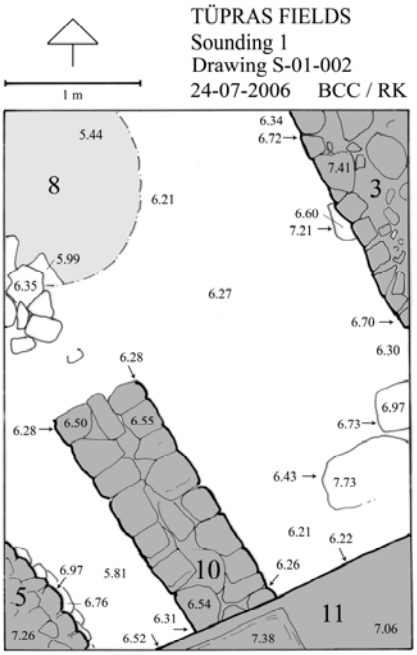

Figure 43 Sounding 1

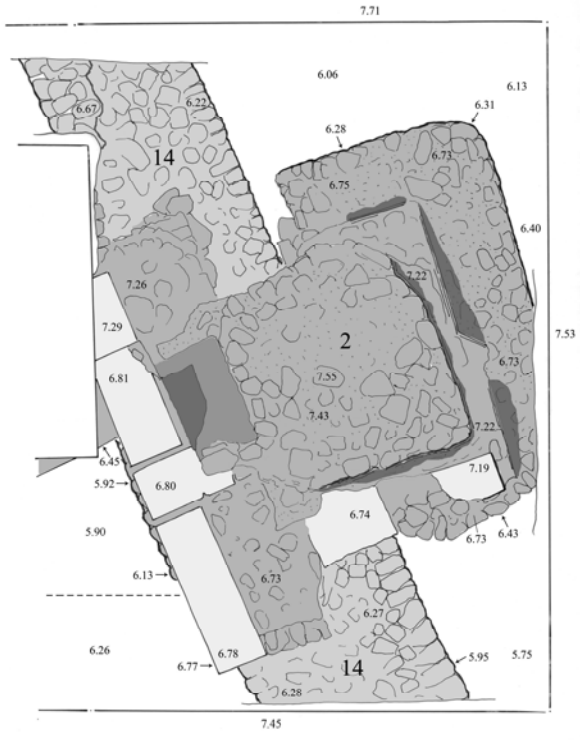

Figure 44 Sounding 7

In the following building phase (Phase III-B), two major features were uncovered: a massive fortification wall running east–west (southwest west–northeast east) and a tower (see Fig. 43 and 44, above) The east–west wall was built on a foundation of six–seven courses of river cobbles and rubble heavily bonded with mortar. This seems to have been a sunken foundation on a mortar base packed with very dense and compact reddish-brown silty clay that probably came from nearby marshes. The wall, although robbed and leveled at a later phase, originally supported an ashlar superstructure with stones approximately 46 x 88 cm and larger. The wall measured 1.44 m wide and its total length measured from Sounding 7 to Sounding 6 was about 22 m. It was preserved to a depth of 0.90 m. The top elevation ranged from 7.06 m.a.s.l. for the top of the rubble foundation and 7.38 m.a.s.l. for the preserved superstructure. Its bottom elevation was 6.22–6.52 m.a.s.l. It is certainly an enclosure wall, most likely the southern face being the exterior of the building.

The tower was built on a mortared and stone cobble platform 0.30–0.45 m thick with rounded corners measuring 1.9 m east–west and 3.2 m north–south. The platform rested on a foundation of very compact silty clay and a packed plaster layer and gravel bedding that overlaid the earlier Phase IV north–south wall, used as a foundation. The superstructure integrated the upper courses ashlars of the earlier Phase IV wall into a rubble/cobble and mortar solid tower measuring 1.9 m square that was recessed from the outer edges of the platform by about 0.60 m. The whole tower measured 3.2 m north–south by 3.5 m east–west. The pottery within the foundations of the tower was

uniformly Early Islamic and mainly ‘Abbāsid, including a nearly intact brittleware hole-mouth cooking pot, pierced *kirbschnitt,* molded buffware, and greenish buffwares. In Sounding 4, smaller interior perpendicular walls (such as Wall 8) were found subdividing the interior of the space marked by the large fortification wall; this supports the fact that the large fortification wall with tower was also an enclosure wall. The pottery dated mainly to the ‘Abbāsid period (ninth–first half of tenth century) with some Umayyad (mid-seventh–mid-eighth) pieces. Although no floor was found in these soundings, the massive fortification wall and associated tower can be dated to the ninth century (mid- to late ‘Abbāsid). It also indicates a rectilinear enclosure that had an internal organization of perpendicular rooms.

Figure 45 Photograph of fortification wall and tower and internal wall

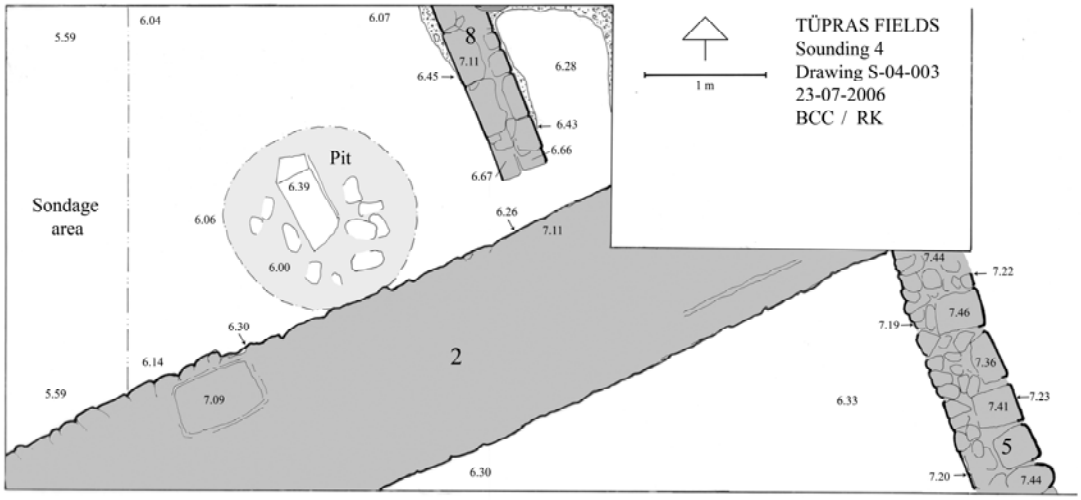

Figure 46 Internal Wall 8 and 12-14th century later pit and Wall 5

In Sounding 1, a floor dating to a slightly later occupational Early Islamic phase of the building was found. The grey-yellow floor was 4–5 cm thick at elevation of 6.65 m.a.s.l. To the north of the trench against the balk, there was a scatter of flat sherds on the floor. These were all greenish buffwares or buffwares with greenish buff exteriors/interiors; all were of an Early Islamic date (ninth/tenth century C.E.) (see Fig. 48, below). A white plaster stone block in the southeast corner at the same elevation (6.70 m.a.s.l.) likely corresponds with the same floor surface. Although the floor is of poor quality, it is possible that it corresponds with the large plastered fortification wall (Wall 11**)** directly south, since no other associated floor surface was found. On the other hand, if the wall is a sunken foundation in its entirety, then this is unlikely. Thickly glazed monochrome turquoise or green glazed creamwares also appeared extending the date from the ninth to the eleventh century.

The presence of such a wide range of Early Islamic material culture found in the relatively small areas of Soundings 1, 4, and 7 is an important feature of the site. North Syrian ceramics such as brittlewares, greenish-buff wares, couvercle or lid forms, and Syrian underglaze yellow-glazed wares probably manufactured in the nearby town of Anṭākiya show local and regional styles associated with the frontier. Southern Levantine and Iraqi wares, such as ʻAbbāsid color-splash, *kirbschnitt* pottery, and an intact molar flask cut-glass perfume bottle, signify not only connections with central lands, but a certain element of variety, value, and wealth in the range of material culture. This is especially significant in assessing the connected or isolated character of these peripheral frontier fort sites.

In Phase II, the floor of Sounding 1 was overlaid by two walls (Wall 3 and 4) perpendicular to the fortification wall, further subdividing the interior space. Wall 3 terminates several centimeters above the floor surface while Wall 4's lowest foundation course cuts through the center of the floor. Wall 3 was originally well built and composed of four courses of rubble stones with cut small basalt stones bonded with plaster. In the north and east balks, it appeared much thicker and had an edge of stones and rubble bordering an rubble core. It may have been an outer wall to the room/structure west of it in Sounding 1. Wall 4 was two courses with two rows of rubble and unmortared. To either side of it was a thick level of mud-brick collapse/wash. Wall 4 would have only been a foundation course of stones with probable mud brick superstructure. The structure remained in use with newer perpendicular walls coming off of the reused earlier fortification wall. Within the top

of the mortar rubble was a plastered, small glazed sherd of abraded turquoise-green indicating a very tentative date for the uppermost superstructure, the mid-tenth to early twelfth centuries. Several glazed sherds of color-splash non-sgraffiato glazed plates resembling proto-Port St. Symeon ware in decoration and monochrome thickly green glazed vessels corroborate dating this level to the mid-tenth to early twelfth centuries, a period poorly known from archaeological excavations (see Chapter 7).

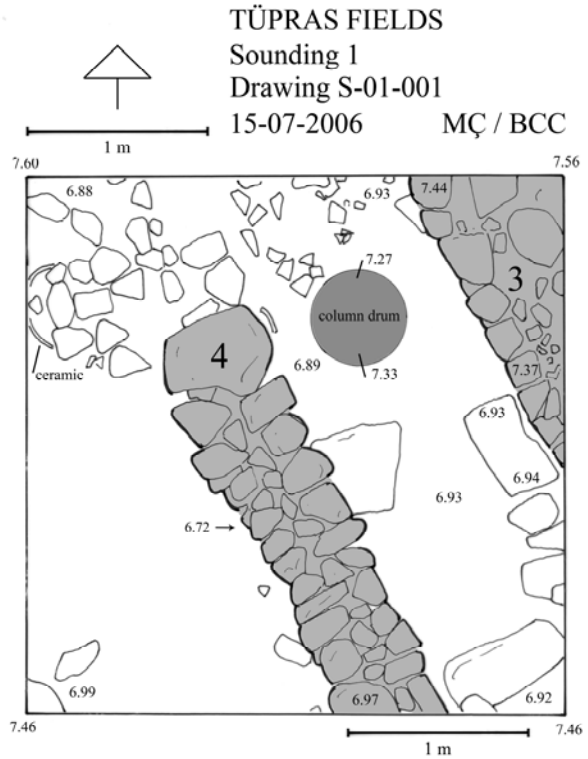

Figure 47 Walls 3 and 4

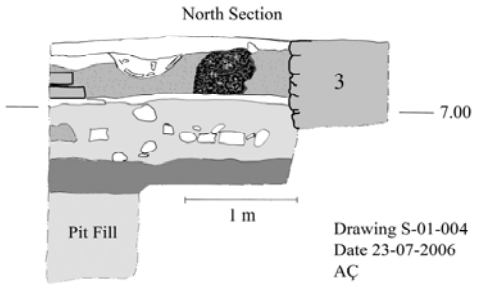

Figure 48 Floor under (and just west) of Wall 3 and 4 (not shown) and Early Islamic ceramics

The Middle Islamic period (Phase IB), reaching from the late twelfth to early fourteenth century, was one of subsequent reuse of the large enclosure walls and fortifications. The architecture and material culture contrast sharply with the Early Islamic periods. The enclosure was reconfigured and spaces were subdivided into smaller domestic spaces with unmortared, thin walls and pits filled with Middle Islamic ceramics, roof tiles, and bone. In Sounding 4, Walls 3 and 4 (see Fig. 49, below), a large circular pit on the inside of the enclosure below, and Wall 5 on the outside of the enclosure (see Fig.46, above) belonged to this period. In Sounding 1, Wall 3 continued to be used, as was a marble column drum set upright (see Fig. 47, above). Another large circular pit (see Fig. 47, above) was filled with many whole and restorable vessels including a brittle red ware with brown/olive green glaze and yellow painted glaze, four handles, and chains of looped snakes coming down the vessel, a whole jar-sieve pierced with holes all over and a hand-incised wavy decoration, and two more jars. Typical flared rim Middle Islamic black or dark brown coarse cooking pots, often with hand-incised wavy or scalloped decorations around the shoulder/neck, also appeared. There was also a considerable amount of animal bone. A grey compact floor surface associated with this phase was in Soundings 1 and 4. In the floor, a

Middle Islamic glazed oil lamp and some fragments of manganese-glazed body sherds of cooking ware were found. The site seems to have come to a dramatic end by fire, evidenced in Sounding 1 and Sounding 4 (see Fig. 50, below).

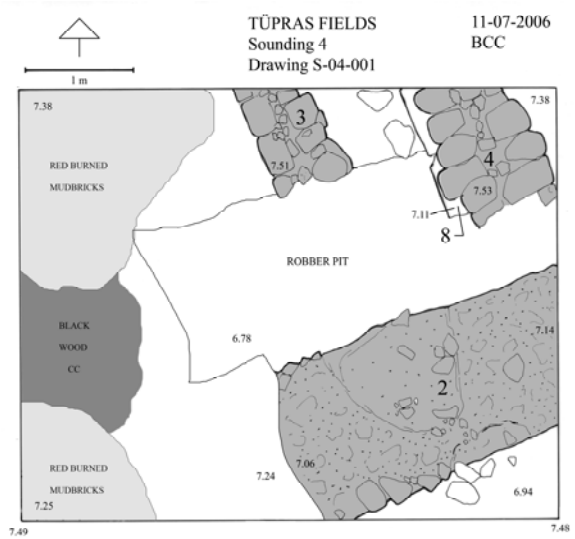

Figure 49 Middle Islamic Walls (3 and 4), pit and later destruction

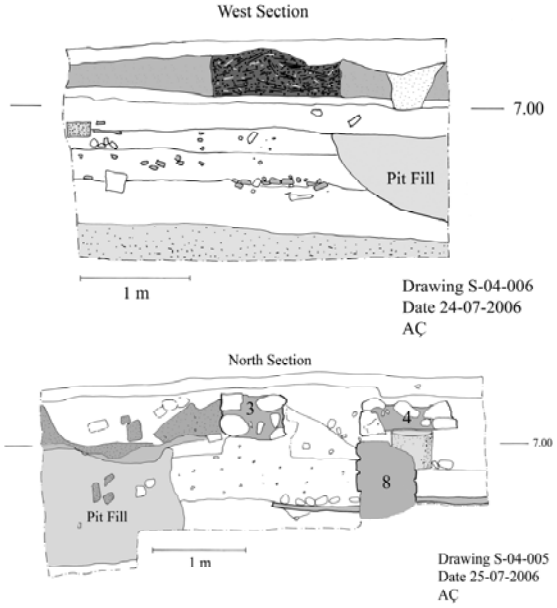

Figure 50 Middle Islamic walls (3, 4) pit, and later destruction (black area is burnt)

The arrangement of previous structures reused, subdivided with internal walls, and pierced with pits is common for the Middle Islamic periods and seen in sites throughout the region, not least of which was the nearby Medieval settlement at Kinet Höyük.[26] Unlike the material culture of the Middle Islamic settlement at Kinet or the Early Islamic phases at this site, the pottery was mainly locally made, domestic unglazed common wares. Only one sherd of the ubiquitous Port St. Symeon glazed ware was seen and no discernible imported Byzantine or Italian glazed wares were found. An Armenian inscription, however, does suggest an Armenian community living at the site in what was Little Armenia or Armenian Cilicia.[27] This is further supported by four Armenian coins from the building area and one Byzantine coin minted in nearby Aegea (modern Yumartalık) found by a local farmer, as well as an alleged grave and stela (possibly in Armenian) with a man and a woman with halos and a cross between them. In the Middle Islamic period, the Tüpraş site and former Early Islamic fort became a small agricultural or fishing settlement associated with the community at the mound of Kinet. The main reason for the diminished development of the site and its shift to the main mound of Kinet is probably due the shifting of the coastal stream or silting in of the harbor, preventing its continued use as a coastal port and timber depot. The site was subsequently destroyed by fire (Phase IA), perhaps

[26] Redford, "Excavations at Medieval Kinet," 69; Redford, *Archaeology of the Frontier,* 31–76, for a discussion and plans of Gritille and other Middle Islamic parallel frontier sites such as Taşkun Kale (pp. 68–70), Lidar (pp. 70–73), Tille (pp. 73–75), Horis Kale, Pirot, and Samsat (p. 75).

[27] The inscription was found on a large storage jar. I am grateful to Joss Weitenberg for providing a tentative and preliminary translation as reading either "vessel of Yovhanēs" or "(this) is the vessel of me, Yovhan)." While the inscription itself is not overly illuminating or its presence unusual, it is quite important in providing some of the only epigraphic evidence for Middle Islamic Armenian communities in Cilicia.

attributed to the Mamlūk armies in 1266 or later, as they remained in Armenian Cilicia until the 1290s.[28]

Several other soundings, Sounding 2 (to the southeast of Sounding 1) and Sounding 3 (due east of Sounding 1), both 10 x 1.5 m slit trenches, were designed to cross and define the edges of the site as suggested by the surface scatter and CORONA image and/or the continuation of the Roman road uncovered in various seasons (including 2005). Sounding 5 (another 3 x 3 m due south of Sounding 1) was placed at a second slightly mounded feature. These soundings, were full of cobbles and river gravels and suggest that the relic course of the Tum Çay ran adjacent and just south of the site. However, Soundings 2, 3, and 5 did not reveal any material culture suggesting the site was not as extensive as its surface scatter implied and perhaps confined to the enclosure building.

The Early Islamic site is a fortified square enclosure type. This corresponds with a type of site seen elsewhere on the frontier and typical Early Islamic plans of *quṣūr* and other sites (the prototype of the khan/caravansarai) that consisted of fortified enclosures with evenly spaced buttresses or towers and perpendicular rooms arranged around a central courtyard (see Chapter 7). Like the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains, the general pattern of off-tell sites that are flat, open, connected to rivers and well accessed (as by roads and by sea) in the Roman through Early Islamic periods

[28] Redford, et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet," 63. Although attributing archaeological destruction to political events undermines the independence of the archaeological data, an argument can be made for the visible destruction of coastal cities by the Mamlūks. See the reuse (and restructuring) and subsequent destruction by fire of a Crusader castle at the coastal site of Tel Tanninim: A. Eger, "The Stratigraphy and Architecture (Areas A and A2)," in *Tel Tanninim: Excavations at Krokodeilon Polis, 1996–1999* (Boston: ASOR, 2006), 58.

occurred on the Plain of Issos. However, a stronger causal link with changing environmental conditions and the shift in settlement pattern can be seen in this region. Rather than continue to occupy the Late Roman town (KS 2, 3, and 6) or place the Early Islamic site adjacent, the deciding factor to move the site in the Early Islamic period seems to be based on changes in the local environment and in particular, the location of the river system. When triggered by heavy precipitation and seismic activity during the Late Roman period and start of the Early Islamic period, the intensive land use in the Roman and Late Roman periods seems to have caused great erosion of the Amanus Mountain slopes onto the plain. As a result, coastal streams that were crucial for the harvesting of timber from the Amanus, shifted and the marshes expanded. The movement of the Early Islamic site shows the strong connection of these *thughūr* sites to the local region as marsh and river sites that relied heavily on natural resources. The site, hypothesized as an Early Islamic *thaghr*, alludes to the complex symbiotic relationship of a militarized and economic resource-based frontier, disintegrating the notion of a hermetically sealed border zone.

Textual Evidence

Early Islamic settlement on the coasts of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier has remained elusive. Historical accounts of sea-borne Muslim invasions as far as Constantinople and archaeological evidence of both Muslim material culture in the western Mediterranean and non-Muslim material culture in the eastern Mediterranean attest at the very least to Muslim presence and involvement in port sites, trade, and shipping. Early Islamic geographers, including Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī from

al-Kindī (ninth century C.E.), Ibn Ḥawqal, Istakhrī, and Idrīsī list a succession of sites along a coastal route following Anṭākiya via the Amanus Mountains including: Bayās, Tīnāt, Muthaqqab, Maṣṣīṣa, Adhana, and Ṭarsūs (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer).[29] Of these, four were major urban *thughūr* sites including Maṣṣīṣa, Ṭarsūs, Adhana, and Anṭākiya. The obvious and interesting quality shared by these sites is that none of them are actually on the coast but quite inland. In the Cilician Plain, the site of Maṣṣīṣa (classical Mopsuestia) was on the Nahr Jayhān (classical Pyramus, modern Ceyhan), Ṭarsūs on the Nahr al-Baradān (classical Cydnus, modern Tersus Çay), and Adhana on the Nahr Sayhān (classical Sarus, modern Seyhan), while over the mountains Anṭākiya was on the Orontes River (see Fig. 51 and 52).

In the Late Roman period, sources described these as riverine ports accessible from the sea. At some point the rivers could no longer support shipping traffic due to silting of the riverbeds. This may already have been a concern in the Late Roman period, where evidence from a fourth century C.E. law appearing in the Theodosian Code mandated that a fleet be responsible for clearing the Orontes River of obstructions; whether the problem was natural silt accumulation or pirates is uncertain.[30] Evidence that these sites continued to function as ports in the Early Islamic period is suggested by the geographers' perceptions of them as coastal or sea-accessible sites. However, on Ibn Ḥawqal's tenth century map, he indicates quite clearly that the sites are on rivers and not on the coast.

---

[29] al-Istakhrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, 63; al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq*, II.652.

[30] Pharr, *The Theodosian. Code,* 10.24.3.

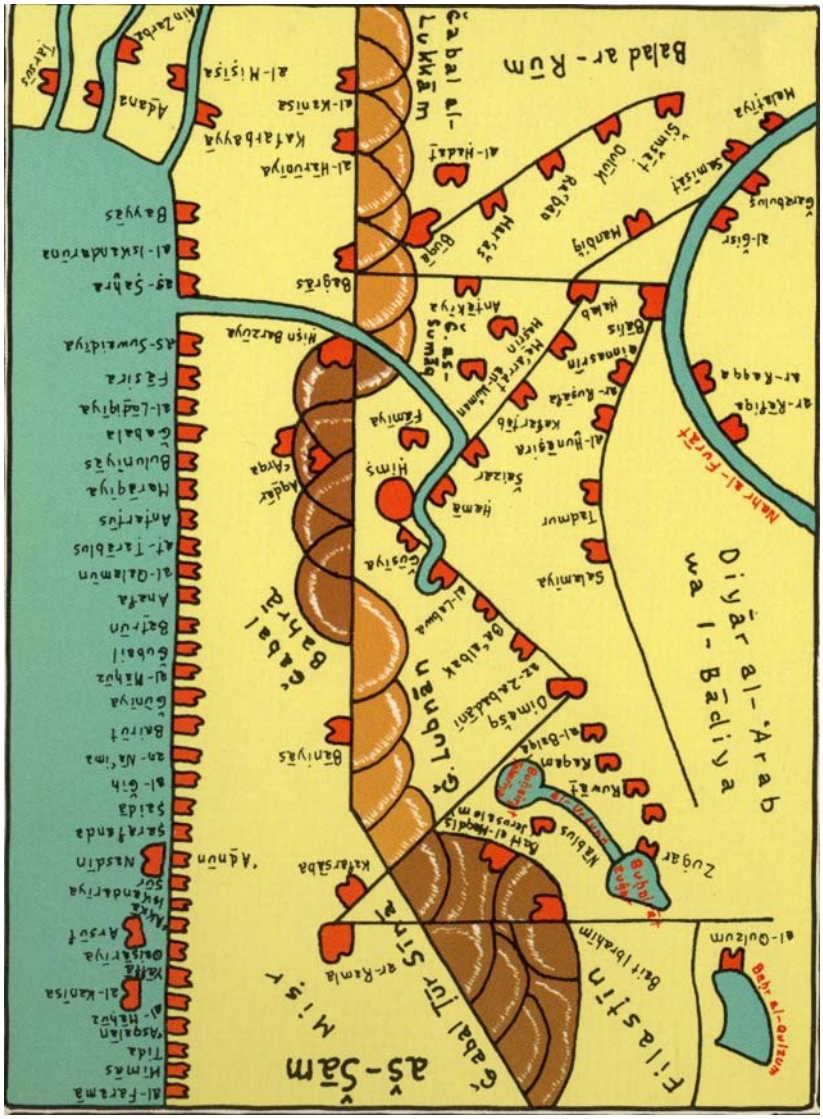

Figure 51 Ibn Ḥawqal's map

In contrast, the seaports of today that stretch along the southeast Turkish coast only grew up as ports in the Middle Islamic period, as is testified by their notable absence in historical accounts and their lack of Early Islamic material culture. These include the sites of Ayas (classical Aegea, modern Yumurtalık), often confused with Bayās/Payas, and al-Mina, the port of Anṭākiya and major producer of the widely traded Port St. Symeon ware. Al-Mina functioned in the Middle Islamic period

(twelfth century C.E.) presumably after the Orontes River was no longer navigable. Returning to the geographers' list of Early Islamic coastal sites, the smaller sites of Bayās, al-Muthaqqab, and Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt are included, as well as the two sites of al-Iskandarūna and 'Awlās (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer). Bayās, later known as Payas (classical Baiae, modern Yakacık), is listed as the first stop after the crossing through the Belen Pass in the Amanus Mountains.[31] There is virtually nothing remaining today at Bayās, save for an early Ottoman khan. Al-Muthaqqab has recently been identified with the site of Mutallip Höyük on the coast near Yumurtalık and enclosed within the compound of a large fertilizer factory. It was briefly surveyed in 1990 and 1992 by Gates and Özgen who collected a fair amount of Early Islamic pottery. While it is mentioned as a coastal site in the Early Islamic period, the geographers and historians provide no further descriptions of the site as a port or even associate it with some type of trade. This might question its proximity to the historic coastline and/or its use as a port.[32]

Two additional coastal sites slightly off the coastal road itinerary were mentioned. 'Awlās or Ulas (modern Ayaş) is the last coastal site mentioned and also a *ḥiṣn*. Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Balkhī stated that it was somewhere west of Ṭarsūs and was the farthest western site inhabited by Muslims in Early Islamic Anatolia; Yāqūt said that it was between Ṭarsūs and the Nahr Lāmus.[33] It is associated with the classical city of

[31] The site is mentioned as a small town on the coast with palms and cultivated and fertile fields. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, i.517

[32] Beach states that the mound was "probably founded on the coastline" (in Redford, "Excavations at Medieval Kinet," 79).

[33] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārḍ*, 169; Istakhrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, 64.

Elaioussa-Sebaste in Rough Cilicia. Farther south of Bayās was al-Iskandarūna (classical Alexandretta, modern Iskenderun). It was named a *ḥiṣn*, but noted to be rich in agricultural production, specifically date palms and timber.[34] Similarly, the *thughūr* site of Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt is mentioned not only as a military frontier post, but as a port invested in timber export in the Mediterranean trade.

Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Istakhrī in the mid-tenth century C.E. wrote that Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt was a fortress on the coast that collected *(mujama'*) and exported (*muqṭa'*) cuts of pine wood (*khishb al-ṣnūbar*) in large quantities by sea to all parts of Syria, Egypt, and the frontiers.[35] Ibn Ḥawqal further noted that the site was inhabited by "courageous warriors" (*rijāl qūttāl*), who knew well the vulnerable points (*maḍarr)* of the Byzantine Empire, as well as the easy passages (*makhā'da*) and dangerous places (*mahālaka*). Al-Muqaddasī refers to al-Tīnāt (no mention of *ḥiṣn*) as a *madīna* of the province of Qinnasrīn and, together with Iskandarūna, they are the only coastal sites mentioned.[36] Previously unlocated, Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt has been the object of some speculation as to its location. Hellenkemper, who has worked extensively on the historical geography of the Cilician Plain, and Cahen both asserted that Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt is to be identified with the site of Kinet Höyük.[37] The general location comes from the sources that list Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt in a successive line of coastal ports between

[34] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārd*, 167; Istakhrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, 63.

[35] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārd*, Istakhrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik.*

[36] Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-āqālīm* (Leiden: Brīl, 1906), 154.

[37] C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940), 150; H. Hellenkemper, "Das Wiedergefundene Issos," in *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches: völker und kulturen zwischen Orient und Okzident Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indien*, eds. J. Ozols and V. Thewalt (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1984), 48.

Bayās/Payas to the south and Muthaqqab and Maṣṣīṣa to the northwest. Kinet Höyük is the most prominent mounded site in this stretch of coast and therefore was perceived as the likeliest candidate. The similarity of the non-Turkish modern name Kinet with Tīnāt is suggestive of a connection. However, as previously mentioned, excavations on the mound since 1992 have demonstrated a long gap of abandonment from the Hellenistic and Persian periods (fourth century B.C.E.) until the Middle Islamic Period (late twelfth century C.E). Working on the medieval excavations at Kinet, Redford has identified the latest settlement with the settlement of Tīnāt or al-Tīna and the Crusader port of Canamella. Canamella and Tīnāt, mentioned separately in Crusader and Islamic sources, are the only ports named between Iskandarūna and Ayas. From the aforementioned survey, excavation, and textual evidence, KS 5 can be identified with the Early Islamic *thaghr* Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt. Further, no single site surveyed in the Amuq or Kahramanmaraş Plains on the other side of the Amanus Mountains exhibited quite the amount, range, and value of both local and imported Early Islamic pottery, and indeed no site in either plain survey areas came close to showing a total dominance of Early Islamic pottery as compared to other periods.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SYRO-ANATOLIAN *THUGHŪR*

I. Introduction

Surveys along the *thughūr* frontier have actually been fairly well represented in publications. However, the surveys have still treated late period sites very cursorily, giving only a limited depiction of settlement. Although a few exceptions have provided substantial detail of the Roman and post-Roman landscape, there is presently not sufficient information overall to be comparable or consistent with recent data. This is a result of targeting earlier periods for specialized research and unfamiliarity with the late period ceramics. Despite a level of inconsistency, certain trends can be detected that show general Early Islamic frontier settlement patterns. The surveys for the *thughūr* and ʻ*awāṣim* regions will be divided into three large areas that are bounded by natural geographic features and follow a west to east schematic including: the western frontier or Cilicia (from Rough Cilicia to the Amanus Mountains), the central frontier (from the Amanus to the Euphrates River), and the eastern frontier (east of the Euphrates including the Upper Euphrates to the Tigris River). Using only survey data, these areas will be examined from a Late Roman and Early Islamic perspective, focusing on settlement patterns and searching for evidence of the

historically known *thughūr* sites.[1] As labels and periods differ from survey to survey, the evidence will be configured into the chronologies presented so far in the dissertation while the original period designations will be parenthetically mentioned. Extending the analysis of Early Islamic settlement patterns and land use to the rest of the frontier contextualizes the patterns seen in the Amuq Plain, Kahramanmaraş Plain, and Plain of Issos surveys.

Table 16 Other Surveys on the *thughūr*, Late Period Settlement[2]

SURVEY	LATE ROMAN	EARLY ISLAMIC	MIDDLE ISLAMIC	ISLAMIC	TOTAL	AREA (KM^2)	DATE OF SURVEY
Cilicia	46?	20?	39?	39?	149		1951
Cilicia (Bilkent)	—	—	—	—	23	—	1991
Tabqa Dam	3	2	4	8	34	6.4?	1968
Sweyhat	7	4	1	—	30	60	1974, 1991-92
Gaziantep	2	—	—	6	53	—	1971
Carchemish-Birecik	42	3	15	—	85	186	1989
Adiyaman	75	—	—	73	181+	ca 2,156	1985–88
Kurban Höyük	18	5	8	—	—	100	1980-84
Gritille	17–18	3–6	9–10	—	25	43	1982–84
Titriş Höyük	—	33	0	4	40	175	1991
Bozova-Urfa	11–14	8–10	—	—	—	800	1978-80
Lidar Höyük	28	11	—	—	—	150	1978-80
Keban	4	?	22	40	52	323	1967
Harran	[103] 85	31	63	[175]	208	2000	1989
Balikh	37	55	12	—	200	2,074	1983

[1] More comprehensive discussion of these sites, further work and excavation, and historical information is listed in the gazetteer appearing in Appendix 2.

[2] Current surveys are excluded from this table as they are largely unpublished save for preliminary reports and papers.

II. Western *thughūr* (Rough Cilicia to the Amanus Mountains)

The western *thughūr* consists of the large lowland alluvial Cilician Plain and the coastal Plain of Issos (or Black Cilicia) that extends from the Lāmus River and Taurus Mountains east along the Mediterranean Sea and south around the Gulf of Iskenderun. Three main rivers run through the plain from the northern mountains and empty into the Mediterranean. They are, from west to east: the Lāmus, the Sayhān, and the Jayhān. The rivers contribute to an extremely fertile and arable landscape, and at times in history, an extremely marshy wetland.[3] In the Early Islamic period, the area included the main frontier sites of Tarṣūs, Adhana, and Maṣṣīṣa. Many Islamic geographers and historians say that three additional sites, ʻAyn Zarba, Kanīsa al-Sawdāʼ and Hārūnīyya, were established in the ʻAbbāsid period. Other smaller sites, such as the coastal forts of al-Muthaqqab, Iskandarūna, Bayās, and Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt, were also part of the *thaghr* system (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer for individual entries on all of these sites).

[3] The environment and geomorphology of the region has been discussed in Chapter 5.

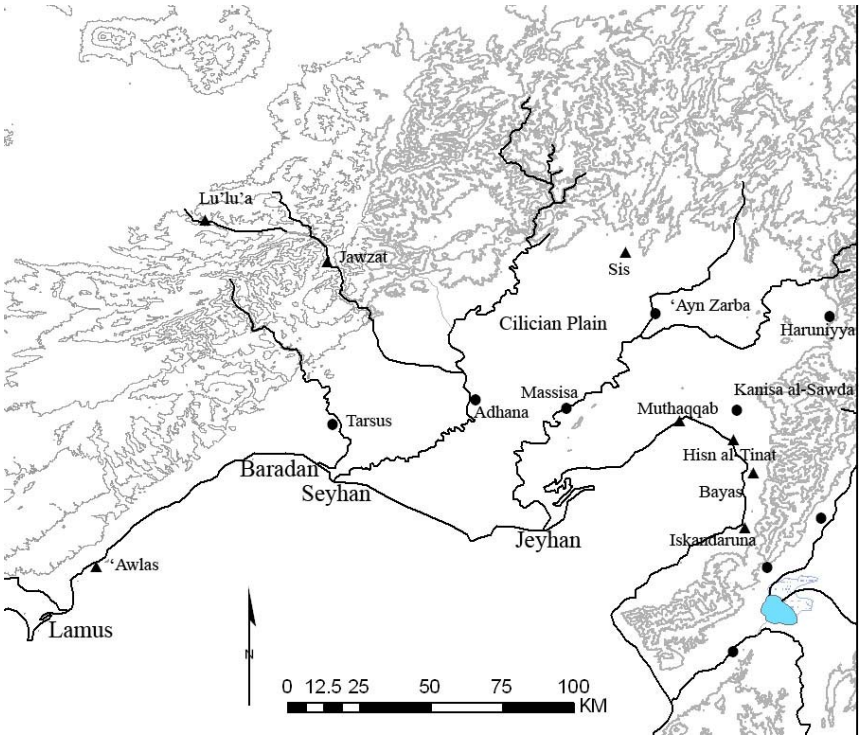

Figure 52 Western *thughūr*

Many surveys have been conducted within the very definable landscape, but very little can be said of the Late Roman or Early Islamic periods. The first was under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara.[4] M. V. Seton-Williams' surveys of Cilicia in 1938 and 1951 were intended to record and examine pre-classical sites in the Cilician Plain and around the Gulf of Iskenderun; it does not include many of the important classical and post-classical sites.[5] Her observations are interesting to

[4] In 1962, a second survey of the British Institute of Ankara was done of the coastal cities in the rugged mountainous Western Cilicia: E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, G. Huber, S. Onurkan, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia: Preliminary Report* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1976). The surveyors focused mainly on the four classical sites of Anemurium, Antiochia ad Cragum, Selinus, and Iotape and were largely epigraphic and architectural in their analysis. Interpretation or dating was not really done and so nothing can be said if Early Islamic occupation ever extended past the limits of the Cilician plain west into Rough Cilicia.

[5] Seton-Williams' periodizations for the later periods are conflated but guesses can be made based on finewares from tables that show sites by ware types. Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Roman are grouped together but forty-six sites have Late Roman finewares ("Red"). "Cooking Pots" and "Wine Jars" are

note, as she stated that the Cilician Plain was heavily inundated with wetlands and that the best time to travel through these marshes is in the early summer months of June and July.[6] I. Özgen and M.-H. Gates conducted a survey on the coastal strip between Yumurtalık and Iskenderun in 1991. They located twenty-three sites, seventeen of which were not found in Seton-Williams' survey. Although only preliminarily and briefly published, the surveyors noted, contrary to Seton-Williams' conclusions, that in the eastern Cilician Plain, settlement flourished and population expanded during the Roman/Late Roman and Islamic settlement periods: "the region became much livelier during the Iron Age … and especially during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Medieval periods, when settlement extended over broad terraces around the foot of all of these mounds."[7] Included within this survey was the coastal harbor site of Mutallip Höyük (Site 1), which had Roman remains on the tell and Islamic remains (standing walls) on the tell and on a southeast terrace just east.[8] The site can be identified with the *thaghr* al-Muthaqqab (see Appendix 2 Gazetteer, al-Muthaqqab).[9]

Current surveys mainly targeting the frontier forts of Cilicia are hopefully filling in much of the missing information for settlement. These include a survey around

---

undifferentiated by period. Islamic wares are more difficult to discern. Twenty sites have "Islamic Wares" but thirty-nine have "Sgrafito Ware". Perhaps these categories reflect Early Islamic (twenty sites) and Middle Islamic (thirty-nine sites) groupings thereby showing a 2:1 Late Roman and Middle Islamic to Early Islamic ratio, but this is largely conjectural. The "Coarse Red" category is also unclear. M. V. Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," *Anatolian Studies* 4 (1954): 139-141.

[6] Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," 121.

[7] I. Özgen and M. -H. Gates, "Report on the Bilkent University Archaeological Survey in Cilicia and the Northern Hatay: August 1991," *AST* 10 (1992): 388.

[8] Ibid., 390.

[9] Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 16–17.

Osmaniye (including the site of Hārūnīyya) in eastern Cilicia and the Amanus foothills conducted by F. Tülek. Limited survey and excavation around Maṣṣīṣa are being done by G. Salmeri and A. L. d'Agata (Cilicia Survey Project). Late Roman and Islamic fortifications were revealed, despite the survey's focus on the Hellenization of the area.[10] A survey of the whole plain conducted by M. Sayar focused mainly on inscriptions, while intensive architectural, geophysical, and ceramic survey of 'Ayn Zarba is currently being conducted by R. Posamentir as a sub-project of the Cilician survey. De Giorgi and I are analyzing the ceramics for the Hellenistic to Middle Islamic periods. The Mopsus survey, conducted by G. Lehmann, A. Killebrew, and B. Halpern, is studying the southeastern part of the plain, including the Plain of Issos and Amanus foothills. The Mopsus survey has found 150 sites since 2004, most of which date from the Hellenistic to Late Roman-Early Islamic (Late Antique).[11]

III. Central *thughūr* (Amanus Mountains to Euphrates River)

The area between the Amanus Mountains and the north–south course of the Euphrates River included the lowland rift valley river plain areas represented by the

[10] G. Salmeri, et al., "Cilicia Survey 2002" *Anadolu Araştırma Toplantısı* 21.2 (2003): 111–15. Previous work on the site appears in O. A. Taşyürek, "1973 Yılı Kilikya Araştırma," *Türk Arkeoliji Dergisi* 12.1 (1975): 117–18.

[11] A. Killebrew, M. –H. Gates, G. Lehmann, "The Mopsus Survey (2004-2007 Seasons): Landscape Archaeology in the Issos and Iskenderun Regions, Eastern Cillicia" (paper presented at annual meeting of ASOR, San Diego, CA, 2007). Although many Hellenistic and Roman sites have been identified (such as Alexandretta/Iskenderun, Myriandros, and Epiphaneia), Byzantine or Early Islamic occupations have not. This is mainly due to a lack of knowledge for these later periods by the surveyors. I conducted an examination with A. de Giorgi of the pottery from the 2004 season in 2005 with the permission of M.-H. Gates. Important Byzantine-Early Islamic sites did exist, most notably at Epiphaneia/Kanīsa al-Sawdā' (Site 1) and Mutallip Höyük/al-Muthaqqab (Site 15). Possible Byzantine-Early Islamic occupation occurred at Site 7. Byzantine sites that did not continue also occurred at Kara Höyük (Site 2), Küçük Burnaz (Site 3), and Sites 4, 6, 8, and 18. Interestingly, most of these Byzantine sites were re-occupied in the Middle Islamic (late twelfth to early fourteenth centuries).

Amuq Plain and Kahramanmaraş Plain surveys. Additionally, besides the sites of Anṭākiya and Mar‘ash, the central *thughūr* contained all of the other *‘awāṣim* sites (Dābiq, Tīzīn, Ra‘bān, and Manbij) and the *thughūr* sites of Ḥadath, Dulūk, Kaysūm and Bahasnā farther north (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer for entries).[12] These last four were mainly located on the rugged hills and limestone Gaziantep Plateau and in smaller river valleys (such as Ḥadath in the Göksu Valley). Along the Euphrates River, a corridor between Halfeti south towards Birecik was an important area of settlement where the river widened from a narrow gorge (Karakaya) to two km. Frontier settlement continued south around the Euphrates River in the area from Birecik to Raqqa and Raqqa to Bālis. The alluvial floodplain of the braided and meandering Euphrates River was a landscape of trees, backswamps, abandoned channels, and wetland vegetation. Settlement was generally a slight distance away from the flood plain on river terraces at six m.a.s.l.[13] These areas were grassy steppes, excellent for pastoralist grazing activites.

[12] The Adıyaman survey in the eastern *thughūr*, included the uplands region in the Gölbaşı Valley in the central *thughūr*. Also, the Çakırhoyuk-Kizilin plain around Kaysūm was surveyed, revealing many mounds, and the Besni area revealed very few mounds but many classical and Islamic sites, see S. R. Blaylock, D. H. French, G. D. Summers, "The Adıyaman Survey: An Interim Report," *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1980): 81–135.

[13] T. J. Wilkinson, *On the Margin of the Euphrates: Settlement and Land Use at Tell es-Sweyhat and in the Upper Lake Assad area, Syria* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2004), 20-22.

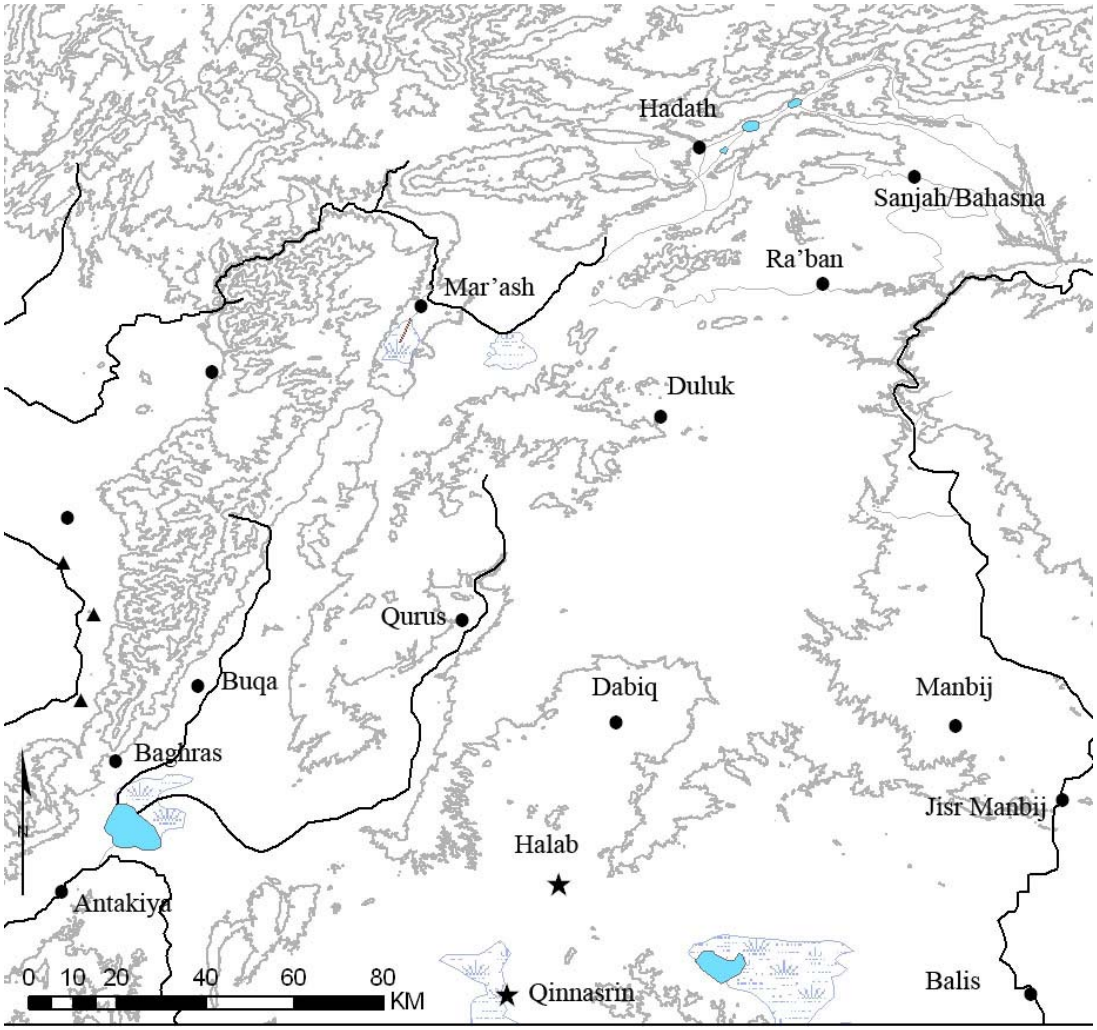

Figure 53 Central *thughūr*

In this last area of the *'awaṣim* between Raqqa and Bālis, 147 km east of Ḥalab, the Tabqa Dam Euphrates Survey, a salvage survey conducted in 1968, identified thirty-four sites. The surveyors noted that many of the classical sites had Islamic remains.[14] Of these, the main sites were Bālis (classical Barbalissus/Meskene), Dibsi Faraj (classical Athis), and Abou Houreira (classical Hararis). Several questions are

[14] A. Bahnassi, "Le Sauvetage des Vestiges de la Zone de Submersion du Barrage de Tabqa sur l'Euphrate," *Monumentum* 17 (1978): 60.

raised by the survey. Although Jisr Manbij and Bālis are the only sites mentioned as being specifically Early Islamic, this dating only comes from textual sources and not survey evidence (Jisr Manbij was not located; see Appendix 2/Gazetteer for both sites).[15] The chronology of many of the sites is inconsistent with one another. Some sites are designated by a specific century, while most are called "Arab" with no further designation. Some sites are misdated, the map is incomplete, and only the major sites and tells were visited. However, the same shift in settlement pattern between the Early and Middle Islamic periods was noted: continuity from Late Roman to Early Islamic settlements and the construction of fortresses in the Middle Islamic period, including Qal'at Ja'bar and Qal'at Najm.

[15] The surveyors call the site of Dibsi Faraj a classical site, citing Harper's excavations between 1972-74 but did not mention the Early Islamic pottery that he found and presented at the Colloquium on the archaeology of the Middle Euphrates in Strasbourg in March 1977 which was later published, R. Harper, "Athis-Neocaesareia-Qasrin-Dibsi Faraj," in *Le Moyen Euphrate: zone de contacts et d'échanges,* ed. J. Cl. Margueron (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 327-48.

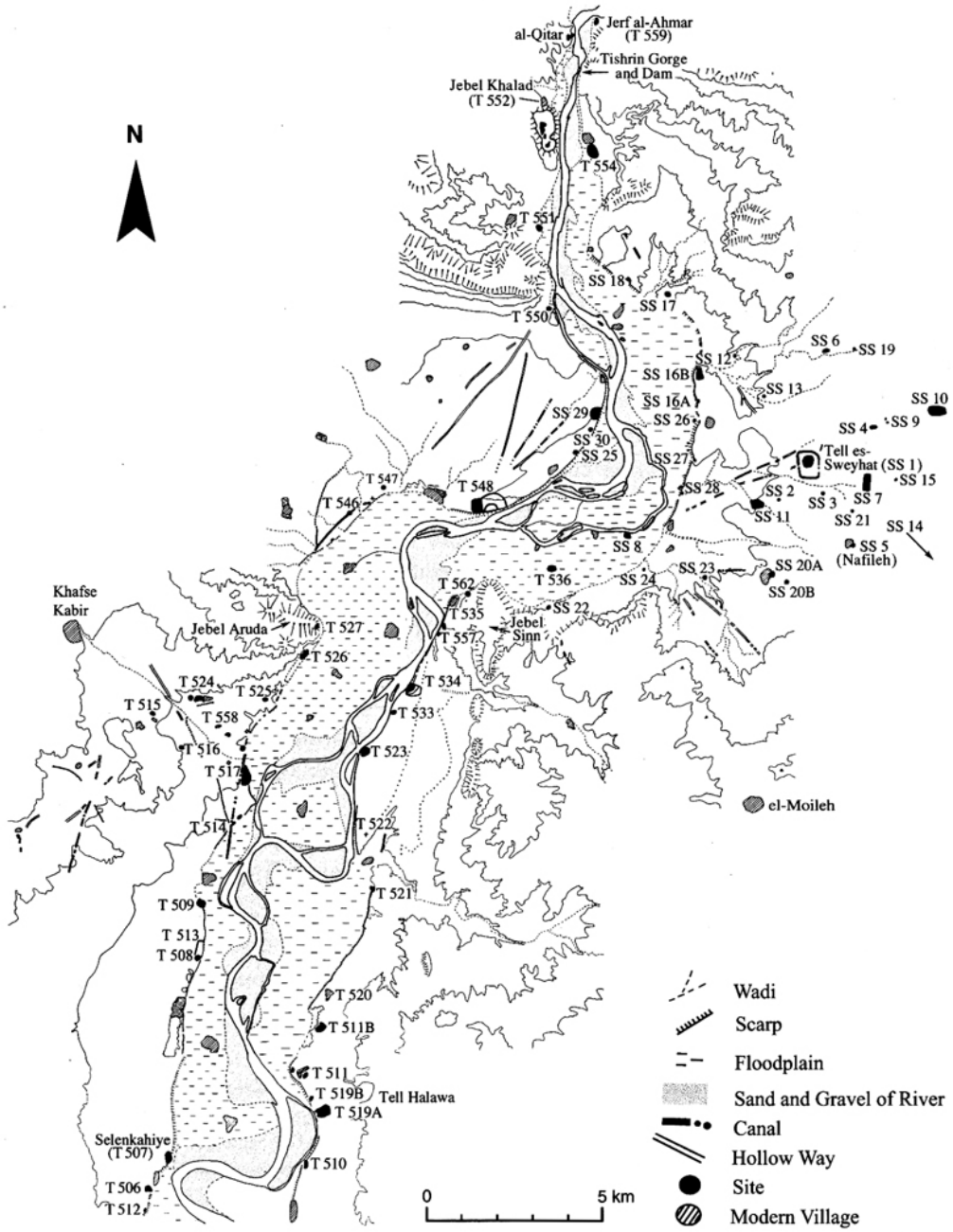

Figure 9.1. Archaeological Sites in the Upper Lake Assad Area

Figure 54 Tabqa Dam Survey sites (T) and Sweyhat Survey sites (SS) (from Wilkinson 2004, fig. 9.1)

The region was surveyed again in 1974 by D. Whitcomb and T. Holland and in 1991-1992 by T. J. Wilkinson as the Sweyhat Survey, a regional survey around the site of Tell Sweyhat on the river terrace at the edge of the Euphrates River floodplain. Thirty sites were recorded in total. In the Roman period (Phase XII) there were four sites occupied which jumped to seven in the Late Roman period (Phase XIII), showing a peak in settlement.

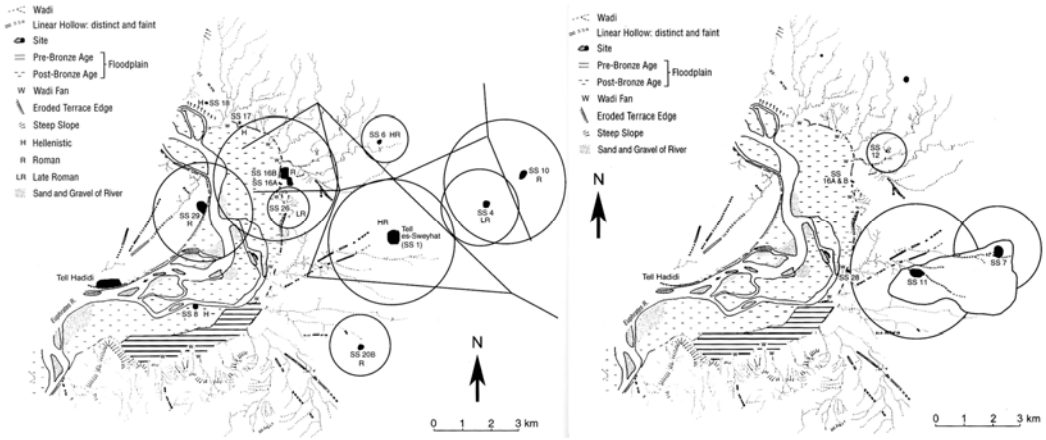

Figure 55 Sweyhat Late Roman and Early Islamic phase maps (from Wilkinson 2004, figs. 7.8, 7.9)

By the Early Islamic period (Phase XIV), all but one of these sites was abandoned. However, there were three important new Early Islamic foundations whose composition could be discerned from the topography and aerial photographs. These were treated separately by D. Whitcomb who described them as located near to Tell es-Sweyhat but deliberately sited away from the tell on low flat depression sites, the "inversion of the tells or mounds."[16] All three sites consisted of several blocks of

[16] D. Whitcomb, "The Ceramic Sequence from Surveyed Sites," in *On the Margin of the Euphrates,* Wilkinson, 99.

residential buildings around a larger rectilinear walled enclosure. They were only occupied for a short period from about 750-800 C.E.[17] Furthermore, the Early Islamic foundations were occupied on land that was only marginally occupied in the Roman period. In the Middle Islamic period, only one site was occupied. The settlement pattern generally mirrors that seen in the Amuq, Kahramanmaraş, and Issos areas shedding new light on the nature of *de novo* Early Islamic foundations (see Chapter 7).

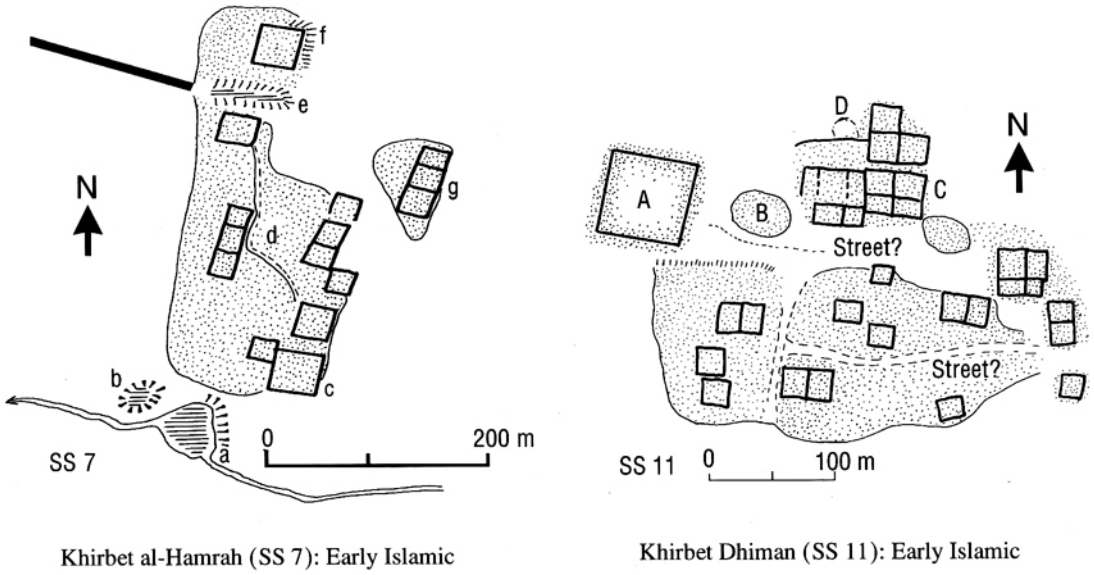

Figure 56 Sweyhat Survey, Early Islamic sites (from Wilkinson 2004, fig 7.10)

The Gaziantep Plain survey in 1971 conducted by Archi is a good example of a survey that did not give much attention to the "late" periods. The primary goal was to create a topographic map of the region to be used by historians for historical

[17] Ibid. At SS11, there were 3 blocks of structures, consisting of 2-4 rectangular courtyard buildings 20-25 m. per side with a walled enclosure (a) 70 x 70 m. on the periphery. At SS7 there were 2 housing blocks consisting of 3-4 houses in linear units and a smaller rectilinear enclosure (f) also at the periphery of the site. At SS12, there were small buildings around one larger rectilinear enclosure 18 x 18 m. The first two were rather substantial villages (SS11-9ha, SS7-5 ha) calculated with populations of 864-1,350 people at SS11 and 360-563 people at SS7. The latter site (SS12-.8 ha) was posited as a sheikh's residence.

geography. The landscape north of Gaziantep was fairly hilly and composed of two transverse valleys of the Merzumen Dere and Kara Su Rivers, both tributaries of the Euphrates River. The *ʻawāṣim* site of Raʻbān was located in the center of the Kara Su River valley.[18] The surveyors noted that small centers grew up along these two tributary river valleys. South of Gaziantep the uplands flattened out, moving into large plains and include the sites of Tilbeşar (Tall Bāshir), Oylum Höyük, and Carchemish. A large number of settlements were found around these three sites because the plains are broad, well watered, and well suited to agriculture. From the survey, settlement patterns in this area are difficult to discern. First, the site gazetteer is not always complete with chronologies and not systematic. This is most likely due to poor dating of the sites from the surface pottery for the late periods. Perplexingly the surveyors stated, "Unfortunately because of technical difficulties, it has not been possible to utilize surface pottery materials" and they note somewhat over-cautiously that, "One must bear in mind, however, that it is not possible to establish possible continuities of site locations with sufficient certainty, because the gathering of surface pottery finds is too dependant on fortuitous factors."[19] Secondly, the team seemed to focus only on tell settlements.

Of the 216 sites found, seventeen were Hellenistic (18%) and seventy-six were Roman (35%), showing the general patterns of dispersal during this period. For the Late Roman period, only six sites (2.7%) were documented and for the Islamic period there were seventeen sites (8%). It seems immediately strange that in the Late Roman

[18] This is not the same Kara Su River that flows into the Amuq Plain from the north.

[19] Archi, *Gaziantep e la Sua Regione,* 109–10.

period there was a drastic reduction in settlement, particularly when neighboring regions and other surveys (the Amuq Plain, the Syrian Jebels, and the Kahramanmaraş Plain) found evidence of continuity from the Roman to the Late Roman periods. In some cases, there was a slight increase or decrease in settlement between the periods, but in no case was there a drastic decline. The lack of Late Roman sites might stem from problems with the surface pottery. Most likely, it has to do with a conflation of Roman and Late Roman pottery, similar to conflation for the Islamic periods, where there is no differentiation between Early and Middle periods. What is useful is that the site of Ra'bān is included and described in the center of a lowland river valley surrounded by two upland ranges to the north and south. Furthermore, the site is described with a tell, lower city, and circuit walls. For the Middle Islamic period, a castle was found near Gaziantep by the mounds of Turlu, Battal, and Arıl. It was not situated in the lowland plains, but on a natural rise in elevation.

More encouraging, the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project in 1989–90[20] yielded very interesting Early Islamic settlement patterns in the Birecik area. The project was one of the Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (GAP)[21] dam rescue projects focusing on the potential impact of the Birecik and Carchemish dams, and as such its goal was to document the archaeological and historical sites threatened by the

[20] G. Algaze, G. Breuninger, J. Knudstad, "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Final Report of the Birecik and Carchemish Dam Survey Areas," *Anatolica* 20 (1994): 1–96; G. Algaze, et al., "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Preliminary Report of the 1989–1990 Seasons," *Anatolica* 17 (1991): 175–240; G. Algaze, "First Results of the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48 (1989): 241–81.

[21] A predominately irrigation and hydro-electric project designed to increase the sustainability of agriculture in the southeastern region of Turkey which, until today, has resulted in the construction of several large dams on the Euphrates River.

impending rise in water. The area of the project included both sides of the Euphrates River up to an elevation of 400 m from Halfeti in the north down to Carchemish in the south (60 km long and 186 km^2). Over one hundred sites were recorded.[22] The Hellenistic to Late Roman (Periods 11/12) was characterized by flourishing settlement with a shift in importance from Carchemish in the south to Birecik in the north and the establishment of the river crossing of Zeugma/Apamaea just north of Birecik. The rise in settlement closely matches the explosion or dispersal of settlements beginning in the Late Hellenistic/Seleucid period as seen throughout the Near East. The authors linked the expansion to the use of the Euphrates both as bridge and border in Seleucid/Roman and Partho-Sāsānian imperial policies.[23] In the Late Roman period, settlement peaked with forty-two sites represented. A three-tiered structure of settlement was surmised based on site size. The largest and most important settlements were the twin sites of Zeugma/Apamaea. Below were the major towns including Antiochia on the Euphrates (Horun Höyük)[24] and newly founded 20 ha sites farther south oriented towards Carchemish. The third level of sites consisted of satellite small farmsteads that surrounded the major sites. Many of these were new Late Roman foundations that replaced nearby Late Hellenistic sites.

---

[22] Between 1998 and 2000, the Middle East Technical University (METU) and the Centre for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment (TAÇDAM) conducted salvage excavations on several of the sites surveyed by Algaze. This was in preparation for the impending Carchemish dam. Two hundred fifty sites were recorded, sixteen of which were excavated. See N. Tuna, et al., *Ilısu ve Karkamış Baraj Gölleri Altında Kalacak Arkeolojik ve Kültür Varlıklarını Projesi* [Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities], four yearly volumes (Ankara: METU, 1999–2002).

[23] Algaze, et al., "Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Final Report," 19.

[24] Not to be confused with Antioch (Anṭakiya) in the Amuq Plain.

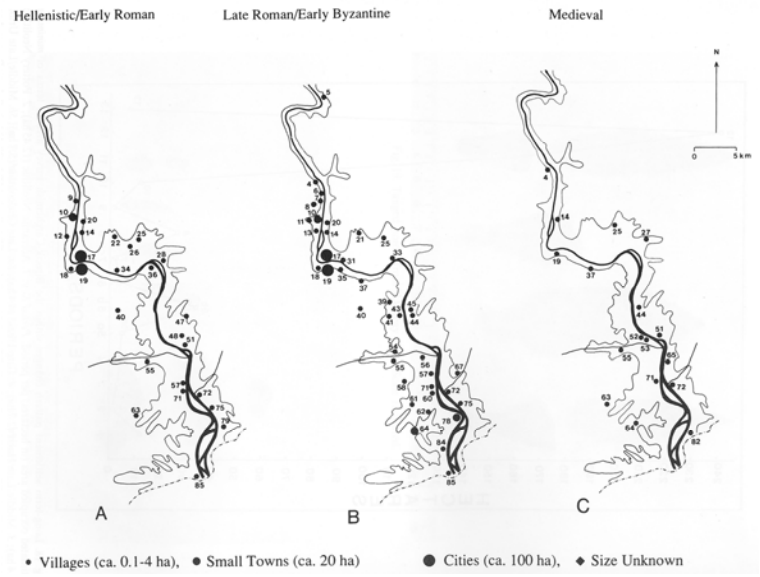

Figure 57 Birecik-Carchemish Survey settlement patterns (from Algaze et al. 1994, fig. 17)

Islamic settlement on the Euphrates River was divided into two sub-periods: Early Islamic (Period 13a) and Middle Islamic (Period 13b). For the Early Islamic period, only two sites with small occupations were identified based on diagnostic Early Islamic pottery of color-splash and cut (excised) glazed wares.[25] Pinar Tarlası (Site 4) was south of Halfeti on the west bank of the Euphrates and consisted of the ruins of a *qaṣr*/*khan* type structure (80 x 70 m, 0.56 ha), well built with stone facing. It was inhabited only in the mid-eighth to mid-tenth centuries. At 375 m.a.s.l. Site 4 was located on an upper part of a narrow alluvial fan overlying a low river terrace. The low terraces were ideal places for settlement because the river followed its incised course and rarely shifted; well-developed paleosols made the soil suitable for irrigable agriculture.

[25] Ibid., 22 and fig. 32. Also see G. Algaze, *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia,* Volume 2: *The Stratigraphic Sequence at Kurban Höyük,* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1990), 390–91 and notes 1–5, for details of parallels.

The second site was an area within Zeugma (Area D, Site 19) encompassing 2.5 ha on a hill overlooking the Euphrates. Geomorphologically, the site was located at 395-400 m.a.s.l. on a pediment, a spoon-shaped erosional surface with no perennial streams and shallow ground water. A scatter of mid-eighth to mid-ninth century pottery stretched over 180 m in diameter. The occupation of Zeugma in the Early Islamic period was greatly reduced from the 87 ha site in the Late Roman period. It represented the continuation of Zeugma on a smaller scale, perhaps as a *ḥāḍir* or peripheral camp-type settlement, similar to other Early Islamic settlements that were proximal to sites seen at Qinnasrīn.[26] An additional site (Karapınar Harabe/Site 42) was noted by the excavators as Islamic, but it was not specified if it was occupied in the Early Islamic period. Site 42 was on a low ridge between two incised wadis on the Nizip Plateau. Nearby was a spring. The Early Islamic diagnostic pottery consisted of an unglazed "long amphorae handle with applied knob on top" (eighth–tenth century C.E.) and a "bowl base with a central protuberance, serving as a lid" (the couvercle type, seventh/eighth century C.E.).[27]

[26] Whitcomb, "Archaeological Research at Hadir Qinnasrin."

[27] Algaze, "Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Final Report," 44.

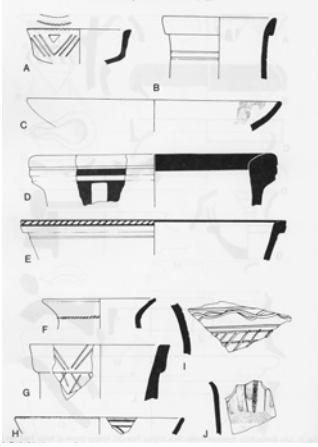

Figure 58 Islamic ceramics

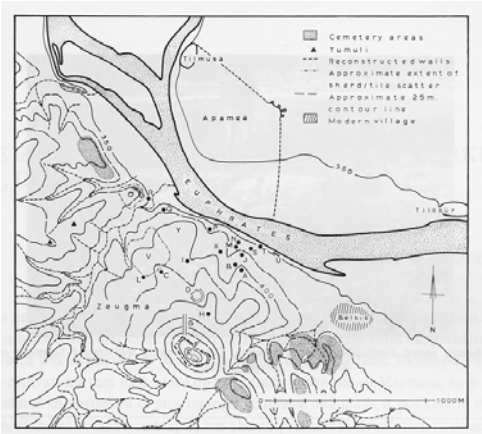

Figure 59 Zeugma (from Algaze et al. 1994, figs)

By contrast, the fifteen widely scattered sites were dated to the Middle Islamic period. The settlement pattern differed with smaller settlements occupying earlier multi-period mounds. Additionally, there was no evidence of site hierarchy in the Islamic periods. Both patterns, Early Islamic sites that were either founded on classical foundations (Roman and Late Roman sites) or newly established, and Middle Islamic sites on large multi-period mounds, perfectly parallel the settlement patterns seen in

other parts of the frontier.[28] Early Islamic sites were located on the lowlands or small rises just near the riverbank. Of course, the survey only cursorily explored the upland and inland terrain and so a larger area is not available for comparison.

IV. Eastern *thughūr* (Euphrates River to Tigris River and the Upper Euphrates)

The eastern *thughūr* encompassed a very large area including the Upper Euphrates and the areas east toward the Tigris River. It also included areas in modern day Syria that were east of the *'awāṣim* in the area of northern Mesopotamia, known as the Jazīra. There have been many surveys in this region owing mainly to the salvage dam projects of GAP along the Euphrates River. The major settlement areas covered by the surveys fall into three geographically distinct lowland areas: the Karababa Basin, the Malatya Plain (Tohma Basin) and Elazığ Plain (Keban Basin), and the Harran Plain and Balikh River Valley.[29]

---

[28] Excavations of some of the sites revealed a further aspect of settlement pattern seen in *thughūr* surveys such as Adıyaman, the Amuq (Chapter 3), and Kinet Höyük (Chapter 5). Virtually all of the tells excavated had Hellenistic and/or earlier occupation followed by Middle Islamic. Tell sites that had Roman or Late Roman material culture were always very scanty. See Chapter 8.

[29] The Khabur River Basin and most of the Jazīra will not be included here. For more information, see survey work mainly published in K. Bartl and S. Hauser, *Continuity and Change,* including St. J. Simpson, "From Tekrit to the Jaghjagh: Sāsānian Sites, Settlement Patterns and Material Culture in Northern Mesopotamia," 87–123; B. Lyonnet, "Settlement Pattern in the Upper Khabur (N.E. Syria), from the Achaemenids to the Abbasid Period: Methods and Preliminary Results from a Survey," 349–61; R. Bernbeck, "Settled and Mobile Populations in the Southern Gazīra (3rd through 9th centuries A.D.)," 401–14; W. Ball, "The Upper Tigris Area: New Evidence from the Eski Mosul and North Jazira Projects," 415–28. Also, see T. J. Wilkinson and D. J. Tucker, *Settlement Development in the North Jazira, Iraq: A Study of the Archaeological Landscape* (Baghdad: British School of Archeaology in Iraq, Department of Antiquities and Heritage, 1995); J. A. Ur and T. J. Wilkinson, "Settlement and Economic Landscapes of Tell Beydar and its Hinterland," in *Beydar Studies* 1, ed. M. Lebeau (Turnhout: Brepols, in press); J. A. Ur, "Archaeological Survey and Landscape Studies in the Hamoukar Region, 1999–2001," in Arabic, translated by S. al-Quntar, *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syrienne* (in press); V. Vezzoli, "L'insediamento di epoca islamica nell'area di Tell Leilan (Gazira settentrionale): Studio del materiale ceramico," *Tesi di Laurea quadriennale in "Lingue e Civiltà orientali"* (Venice: Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2004).

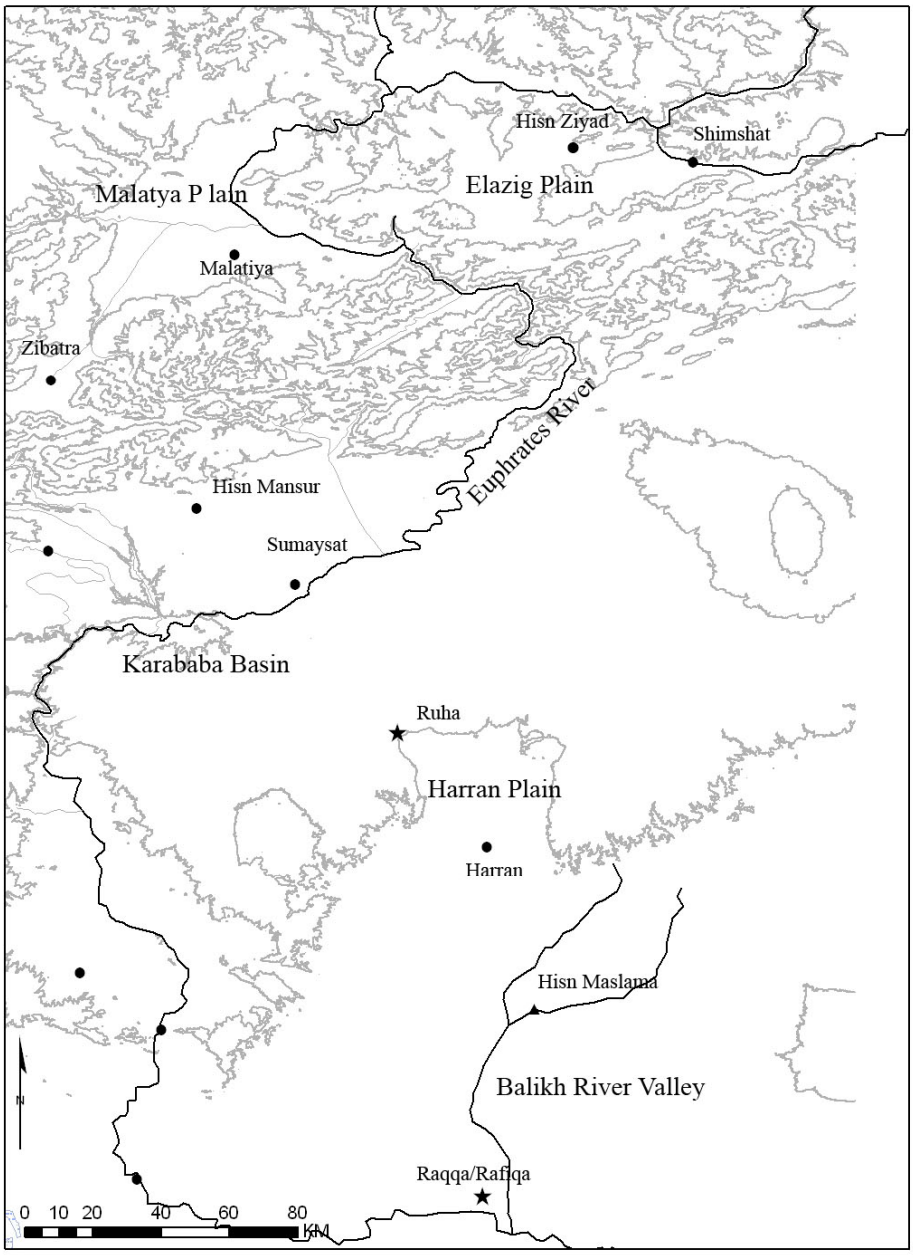

Figure 60 Eastern *thughūr*

Karababa Basin

The Karababa Basin begins around Gerger to the north and extends toward the Karakaya (Halfeti) Gorge, roughly 10 km south of Sumaysāṭ (modern Samsat) at the Atatürk Dam, measuring about 35 km long and widening from 2 up to 12 km. The basin is defined mainly by limestone plateaus. The limestone plateaus descend into highly dissected marl and limestone badlands. The basin itself consists of separate Pleistocene river terraces with a calcium carbonate and cobble conglomerate descending towards the Euphrates River. These are overlaid by reddish brown calcareous soil eroded from the plateaus. The lowest of these terraces is 400 m.a.s.l. and 20 m above the Euphrates.[30] Other patches of irrigable and arable land are alluvial silt areas made when the Euphrates had shifted course and cut into the cliffs, creating lowlands that served as good pasture areas. River shifts have occurred within the last thousand years.[31] Prior to the dams, flooding usually occurred every spring (from March to June, peaking in April and May), while August and September had the lowest flow rates for the Euphrates. Besides the Euphrates as the main contributor of water, most of the streams and tributaries north and west of the region in the Adıyaman Plain limestone plateau, and some to the east such as the Incesu (Azaz) empty into this lowland, as well as snowmelt from the surrounding limestone hills and springs on the edges of the river terraces. The west bank of the Euphrates from the Adıyaman Plateau had many of these springs, which dictated settlement. These spring-

[30] G. Stein, "Medieval Regional Settlement Organization in the Gritille Hinterlands," in Redford, *Archaeology of the Frontier*, 254.

[31] Ibid.

fed small tributaries formed isolated fertile geomorphological strips of settlement between the Euphrates and the Balikh Valley.

Precipitation in the Karababa Basin averages between 400–600 mm/year, similar to levels in Northern Syria. Vegetation zones are also important, as there are three distinct areas that intersect here. The Mediterranean zone (with pine and oak) stretches from the coast over the Amanus Mountians, and across much of the *thughūr*, lessening until it hits the Euphrates River and Urfa. South and east of this zone is the Irano-Turanian steppe, from Urfa down into the North Syrian Plain. The steppe vegetation was used by pastoralists as a grazing resource predominately in the winter and early spring. By summer, the pastoralists moved their flocks north to the base and foothills of the eastern Taurus Mountains in the Kurdo-Zagrosian steppe-forest zone, today a greatly deforested and eroded area. Cultivation consisted primarily of wheat and secondarily of barley, as well as viticulture and fruit orchards on the slopes, and extensive pastoralism. The dry-farming technique practiced in the early twentieth century included September sowing and July harvest. In the summertime, pastoralists also grazed their flocks in wetlands areas around and in rivers (on islands). The Karababa Basin of the Euphrates was a major transition point between the north Syrian steppe and the eastern Taurus Mountains (and Anatolian Plain beyond). As such, the basin was a nucleus of human activity and settlement, as well as transportation and trade as it was the farthest part north of the Euphrates that was navigable. The river was spanned by floating pontoon bridges in key locations. The

region includes the *thughūr* sites of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr and Sumaysāṭ[32] (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer).

The first large survey was conducted along the Euphrates River from the Keban Dam in the northeast down past Sumaysāṭ (modern Samsat) in the area of the Karakaya, Karababa, and Bedir Dams in 1975. The project was undertaken in 1975 by the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, whose aim was to catalog all cultural remains.[33] The survey focused only on main tells and castles. The preliminary report described the sites in a narrative format, regardless of chronology, making it difficult to interpret. In addition, the surveyors refer to many "Byzantine yellow-glazed" wares. It is unclear what ceramic ware they are referring to; it probably indicates the monochrome yellow (mustard and dark yellow) glazes of the Middle Islamic period.[34] Many of the sites had Late Roman and Middle Islamic occupation. For the site of Sumaysāṭ, the surveyors noted satellite settlements of small mounds around it, such as Kurban Höyük.

The Adıyaman survey, conducted by S. Blaylock, D. French, and G. Summers was a salvage project between 1985 and 1991 for the impending Atatürk Dam. It was part of the British Institute's excavations at Tille Höyük and focused on the Euphrates

---

[32] I wish to thank Linda Wheatley-Irving for her previously unpublished work on this site and its region and her continued encouragement, "Samosata and its Environs in the 7th–9th Centuries CE" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the ASOR, Cambridge, MA, 1999).

[33] Ü. Serdaroğlu, *Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin, 1975* (*Aşağı Firat Havzasında Arastırmalar 1975),* Lower Euphrates Project Publications Series 1, no. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1977).

[34] Rather than the Early Islamic yellow-glazed family discussed by O. Watson, "Report on the Glazed Ceramics," in *ar-Raqqa* 1: *Die Frühislamische Keramik von Tall Aswad*, ed. P. A. Miglus (Mainz am Rheim: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 81–87.

Valley and the Kahta Çay tributary system. There was also limited surveying in the central *thughūr* areas of the Bahasnā and Gölbaşı districts in an attempt to include some upland territory. Besides this area, two other areas were surveyed. First was a triangular area including the flat lowland Kahta Çay Valley, above the confluence of the river with the Euphrates. The second area was the Euphrates Valley below Sumaysāṭ, but not including the site itself. This included the relatively lowland areas (below 550 m) of the Çakal, Kalburcu, and Ziyaret tributaries and the Turuş area. The general pattern of settlement perceived was a clustering of sites around the confluence of the Çakal Çay and Kalburcu Dere tributaries.

Keeping in mind that the report was an interim report (with a small article published later), evidence for the later periods was slight but still valuable. Out of 281 sites, there were eighty sites for the Hellenistic period, when the region was part of the Commagene province and 103 sites for the Roman period. Of these, thirty-eight continued into the Late Roman period. In the Islamic periods, there were 119 sites.[35] No major towns were established. Rather, many of these sites retained classic signatures of dispersed small farmstead sites of this period, consisting of small ploughed-out field scatters of roof tiles and tesserae along terraces or bluffs overlooking tributary streams. Larger sites were located under or near modern villages. Unfortunately, the excavators did little to distinguish the Roman Period from the Late Roman Period and the two periods should be treated together. This is because

[35] S. Blaylock, "Adıyaman Survey 1985-1991," in *Ancient Anatolia: fifty year's work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, ed. R. Matthews (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1998), 105.

the pottery is directly linked with the Tille ceramic record, which is ambiguous for these periods.[36]

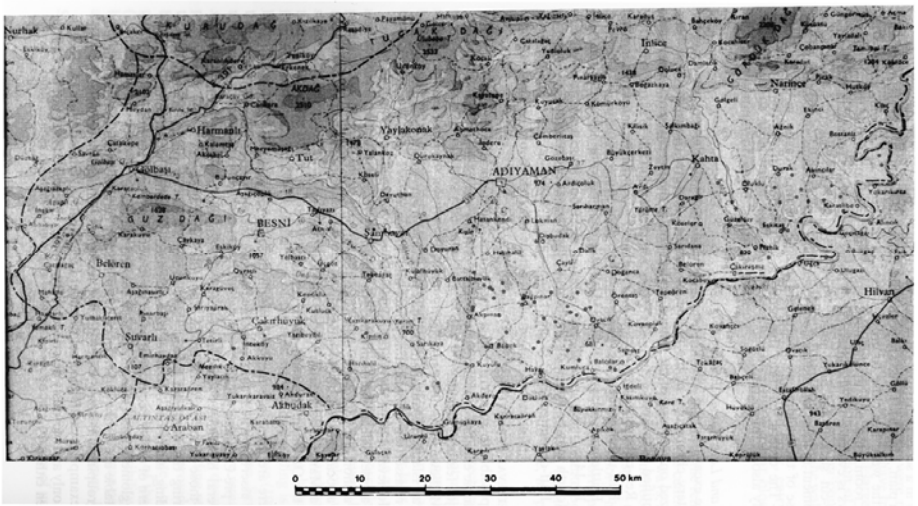

Figure 61 Adıyaman Islamic phase map (from Blaylock et al. 1980, fig. 30)

Although the Islamic periods were divided into Early Islamic and Middle Islamic, there was no differentiation on the phase map. While the surveyors highlight only two sites, they correctly point out the major settlement pattern that differentiates the Early from Middle Islamic periods: "During the Medieval period there arose, at sites or places not previously outstanding, a number of centres (characterized by castles) which somewhat alter the pattern of earlier occupation when there were few major centres but numerous small agglomerations (villages, farmsteads, and the like)."[37] The surveyors mention many Jacobite hermitages and monasteries that sprang up along the Euphrates in the Islamic periods. Another structure described is the church at Sayören,

[36] Blaylock, et al., "The Adıyaman Survey: An Interim Report," 125.

[37] Ibid.

200 m south of the village of the same name. Presumably this is part of that system but no date is given for the church. Seventy-three sites are listed on the phase map (Fig. 61) for both the Early and Middle Islamic sites combined. Only one plate of pottery is given with ceramics from four sites, thus making it difficult to reconstruct the dating for the sites. The ceramic identifications are for the most part correct. For the Early Islamic period pottery (Fig. 62), numbers 4, 5, 6, 9, and 13 are grouped together, identifying Site 63 and Site 25 as Early Islamic. Both of these sites continued from the Late Roman period. It can be assumed that Site 25, which has multi-period occupation beginning in the Uruk period, was a tell, while Site 63, which only has Late Roman occupation, was not a tell but a flat site). For the Middle Islamic pottery, numbers 1, 2, 3, 12 are grouped together. Number 7, the handle with snake application, should also be assigned to this group, identifying Sites 74, 63, and 14 as Middle Islamic. Of these three, Sites 74 and 14 have no Late Roman occupation. They do have occupation in the Early Bronze Age, suggesting that they were all tell sites abandoned in the Late Roman (and presumably Early Islamic period) and reoccupied in the Middle Islamic. Numbers 8 and 10, called Early Islamic by the surveyors, cannot be further identified as no information is given about these decorated body sherds. From this single plate of pottery, two patterns arise: continuity of Late Roman–Early Islamic sites that avoided tells, and a discontinuity with Middle Islamic sites that reoccupied earlier tells.

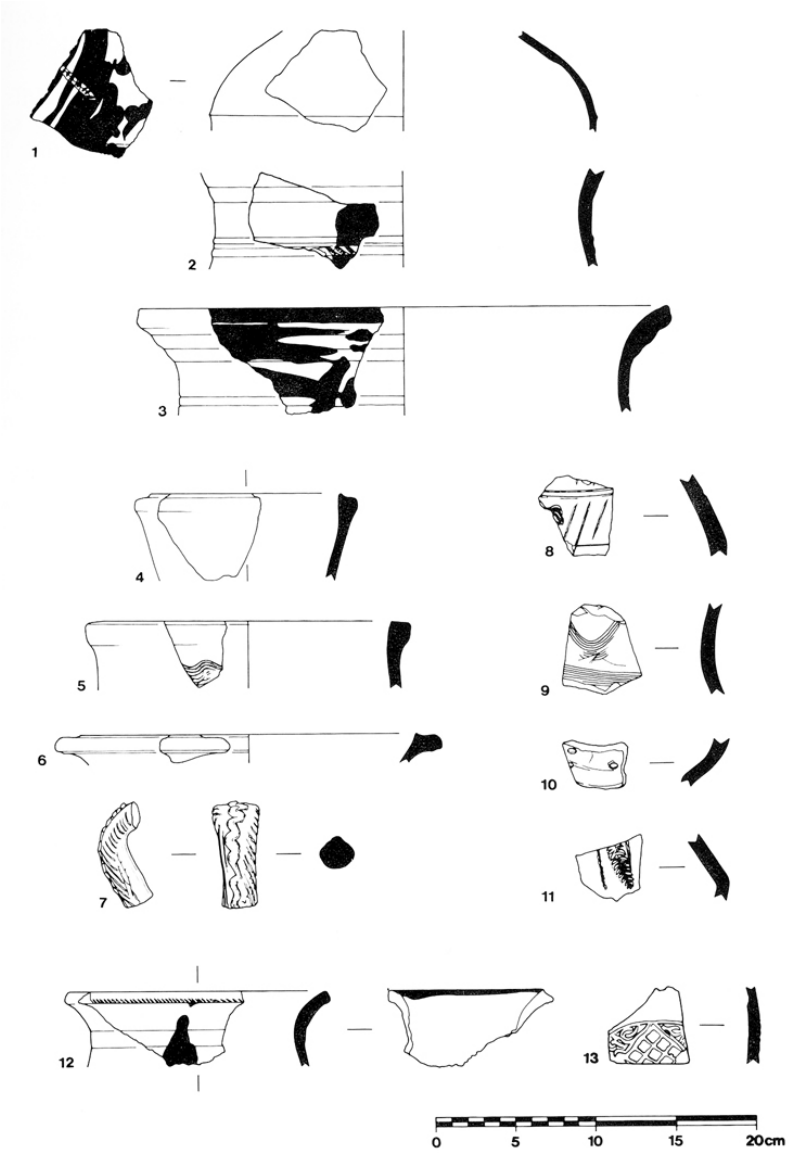

Figure 62 Adıyaman Islamic pottery (from Blaylock et al. 1980, fig. 31)

Between 1980 and 1984, the Chicago Euphrates Archaeological Survey under the direction of L. Marfoe conducted a comprehensive survey of the region surrounding Kurban Höyük in conjunction with excavations there. T. J. Wilkinson was responsible for the final analysis and publication of the survey. The work was part of a salvage

mission for the impending Karababa/Ataturk Dam and covered a 1000 km^2 area, with a 5 km radius around Kurban Höyük on the southern bank of the Euphrates. Building up from the previous explorations of the major tells, emphasis was placed on single period sites, flat sites, and field scatters. The terrain consisted of low rolling hills that were part of the Urfa-Gaziantep Plateau. The first major trend discovered was the dispersal of sites and population increase beginning in the Late Hellenistic, followed by a peak in settlement in terms of site quantity and aggregate settlement area between the fourth–sixth centuries C.E. Similarly, slope erosion, gravel fans, and valley aggradation resulting from deforestation was charted to have begun in the third millennium B.C.E. Settlement in the Late Hellenistic and Roman (Period K) showed an increase in sites dated to the second century/early third century C.E. and then a slight gap in the third century. In the Late Roman period (Period L) many sites were continuations from the Seleucid/Roman period. The sites were classed in six categories: 1) multi-period nodal sites, 3.0–6.5 ha in size, and along the Euphrates at 1.3 to 3.5 km intervals; 2) small settlements on the upland high terraces with springs, 0.9 to 1.5 ha in size; 3) sites in the Incesu Deresi Valley, 0.6 to 1.0 ha in size; 4) very small sites and scatters and single buildings; 5) a small pastoral site in the limestone uplands with walls and a circular stone pen; and 6) two sites north of the Euphrates. During the Late Roman period, the same pattern of dispersal occurs with settlement of small farmstead type sites and movement towards the uplands. Also the existence of pastoral sites in the uplands expands on the strictly agricultural system often modeled for the Late Roman period. Some of the multi-period nodal sites were also not tells,

but larger, flat settlements evident from extensive field scatters, for example at Sumaysāṭ where most of the population during this period were within the larger 50 ha lower town.[38]

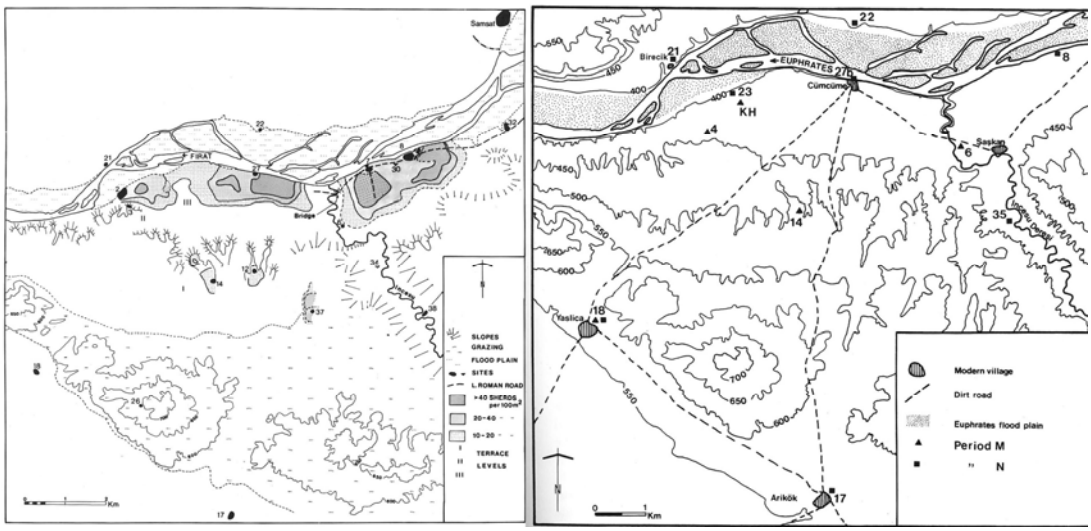

Figure 63 Kurban Höyük Late Roman and Early Islamic maps (from Wilkinson 1990, figs 5.4, 5.7)

In the Early Islamic Period (Period M) there was a significant drop in seventh century sites, followed by a rise in the eighth century, which correlates to the Umayyad and late Umayyad/early ʻAbbāsid periods, respectively. Site 14, one of the Late Roman sites on the high terraces, only exhibited eighth century brittlewares and nothing later. It is possible that this site was a church or monastery that continued from the Late Roman period into the Umayyad period and was then abandoned. Several main sites continued from the Late Roman in to the ninth and tenth centuries. On Kurban Höyük, a rectilinear building was excavated measuring 57 x 57 m and composed of rooms arranged around a central courtyard. This was most likely a way

[38] T. J. Wilkinson, *Town and Country,* Volume 1: *Settlement and Land Use at Kurban Höyük and Other Sites in the Lower Karababa Basin* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, 1990), 126.

station poised on the Raqqa-Saruj–Sumaysāṭ road[39] linking northern Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra) with the *thughūr*. Yaslica (Site 18) to the south was also a site located on this route. Site 6 in the Incesu Deresi was initially a small Late Roman site that formed on the edge of Site 7. In the Early Islamic period, Site 6 grew in size into the tenth century and exhibited hydraulic features, such as a watermill. This was most likely continued as a point on the Ruhā-Sumaysāṭ road. The surveyors concluded that while all major Late Roman sites were abandoned during the late sixth or seventh centuries, some Early Islamic settlements continued, usually occupying border locations at the edge of a site's territory.[40] This pattern is also seen in other sites like Qinnasrīn, which grew up on the edge of Chalcis as a *ḥāḍir*.[41] The small number of Early Islamic sites led the surveyors to the conclusion that, during this period the region had a low sedentary population, occupied by pastoralists moving in and out of the frontier. The urban focus of the region would have been Sumaysāṭ, for which Kurban Höyük was a satellite settlement. The Euphrates River would have been the main water source, as the Roman aqueducts had gone out of use.

[39] Ibid., 128-9

[40] Ibid., 128.

[41] D. Whitcomb, "Archaological Research at Hadir Qinnasrin, 1998," 7–28.

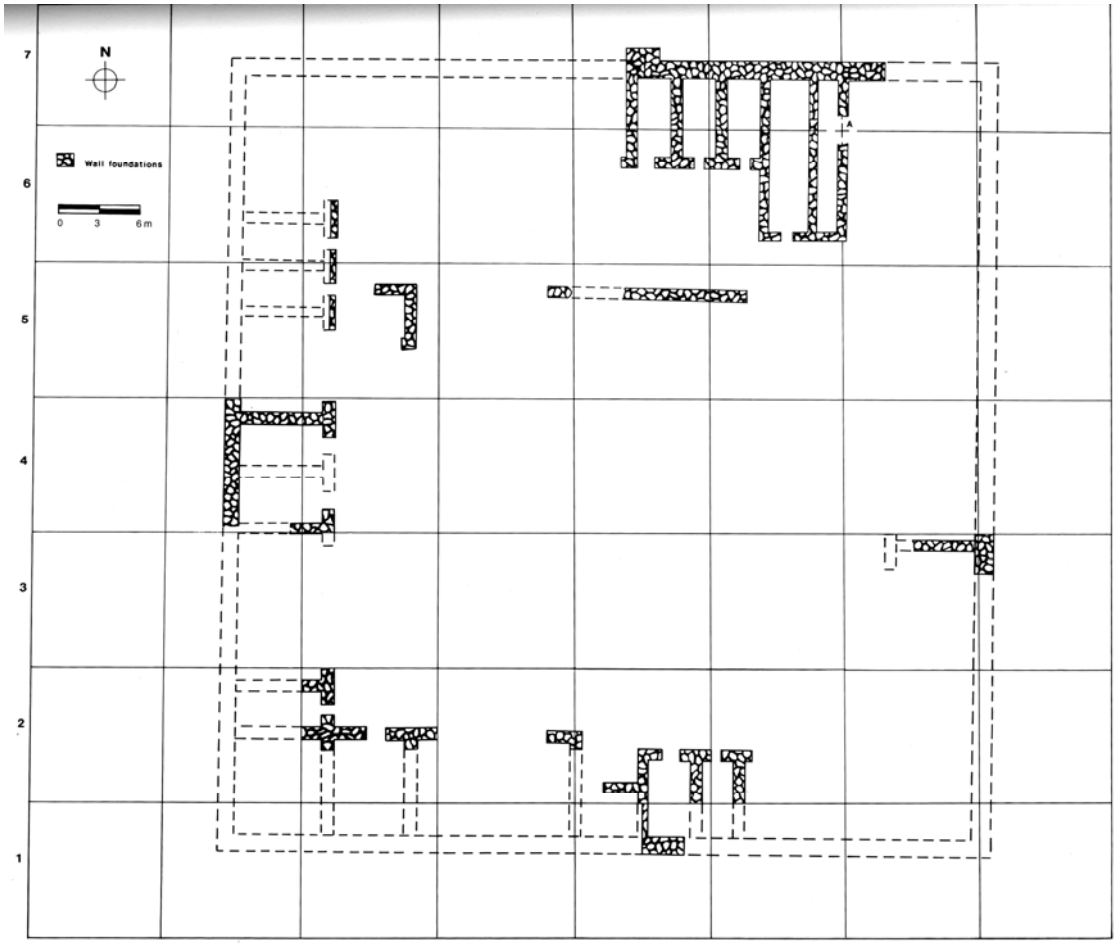

Figure 64 Kurban Hoyuk Early Islamic waystation (from Algaze 1990, fig. 124)

In the Middle Islamic period (Period N) the settlement of the landscape shifted and slightly intensified. Only Site 18 was preexisting from the Early Islamic. Sites 17 and 18 — multi-period sites from the Late Roman period — were reoccupied; five other sites showed Middle Islamic occupation. These sites tended to be ranged along both banks of the Euphrates River 2 to 4 km apart and 1 ha in size. The re-introduction of river sites on the Euphrates in the Middle Islamic period reinforces the pattern of

discontinuity with Early Islamic river sites. There were also small Middle Islamic rural settlements and indications of pastoralism on the terraces.

The Gritille regional survey, conducted between 1982 and 1984, was another regional survey at threatened sites. Fortunately, the Late Roman and Middle Islamic periods were treated separately. While illustrating unparalleled attention for these periods, G. Stein omits the Early Islamic from the discussion, focusing on the Middle Islamic regional patterns to better contextualize the same occupation at the mound of Gritille.[42] The area covered was 43 km^2 in a 5 km radius around the site, which included two terraces parallel to the Euphrates: an upper terrace at 450 m.a.s.l. and a lower one at 400 m.a.s.l. To the south was the site of Sumaysāṭ, to the east was the Euphrates, to the north and west was the badlands at the edge of the basin. The aim of the survey was to expand on M. Özdoğan's (METU) survey of the 1970s[43] and focus an intensive small-scale survey around a rural center to examine agropastoral land use.[44] The main area of the survey comprised the west bank of the Euphrates, and the perennial springs and seasonal watercourses that emptied into the river. The sites tended to be small and occupied only for a single period or sporadically, as these were the satellite sites of the larger centers of Sumaysāṭ, Lidar, and Gritille. Twenty-five sites were recorded, twenty-one of them were smaller than 0.5 ha and classed accordingly as farmsteads. Between the late Iron Age and Late Hellenistic/Roman,

[42] Stein, "Medieval Regional Settlement Organization," 253–67.

[43] M. Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey*, Lower Euphrates Project Publication Series 1, no. 2 (Istanbul: Middle East Technical University Keban and Lower Euphrates Projects, 1977).

[44] Stein, "Medieval Regional Settlement Organization," 257.

settlement density jumped from two or three to seven sites. By the Late Roman period there were seventeen sites, nearly all less than 0.5 ha. Stein noted two main characteristics of the Late Roman period. During this time, there was no occupation on the tell of Gritille, only on the smaller flat sites. Secondly, Late Roman pottery was found in field scatters all over the 400 m lower terrace denoting the practice of manuring and intensive farming.[45] The sites were also evenly distributed, an example of dispersal rather than nucleation. On the lower terrace, sites were distributed along the Euphrates River course.

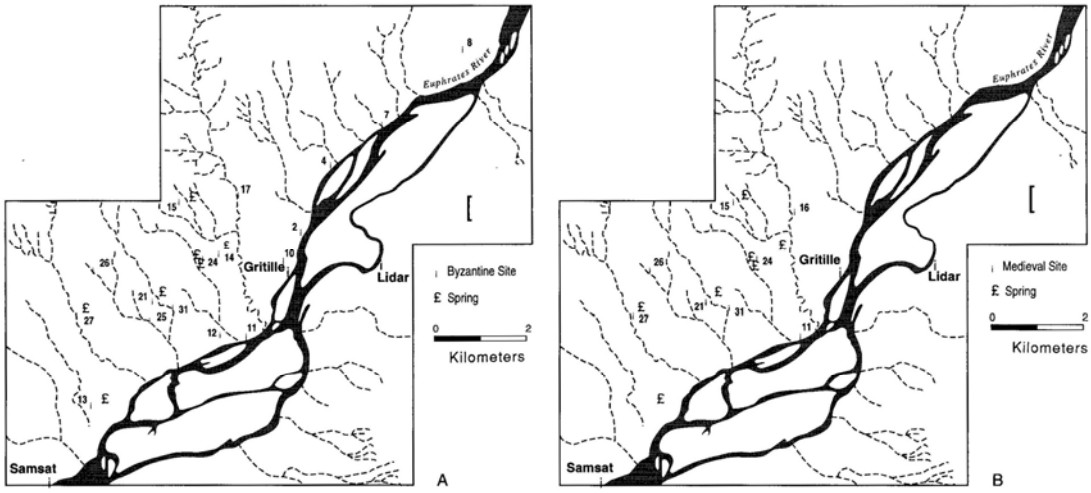

Figure 65 Gritille Late Roman and Middle Islamic phase maps (from Redford 1998, fig. 7.2)

For the Early Islamic period, three sites (Sites 14, 17, and 27) were occupied and three sites (Sites 11, 25, and 31) were marked as possible Early Islamic sites.[46] Of

[45] For further discussion on ceramic taphonomy from manuring practice, see T. J. Wilkinson, "Definition of Ancient Manured Zones," 323–32; idem, "Extensive Sherd Scatters," 31–46 in *Settlement and Land Use at Kurban*.

[46] From the published selected pottery, (Stein, "Medieval Regional Settlement Organization," 265, fig. 7.3.H) a sherd of molded buffware from Site 11 is a strong indicator of Early Islamic presence.

these sites, four (Sites 14, 17, 27, and 11) had preexisting Late Roman occupation, but two (Sites 14 and 17) of the four did not have Middle Islamic occupation. All of them were located on the upper terrace with the exception of Site 11, which was on the Euphrates. They were all less than 0.6 ha. Site 27 was located midway up a tributary valley near a spring. Sites 14 and 17 were evenly distributed throughout a larger tributary valley; Site 14 also was sited near a spring. Only one of the Late Roman sites along the Euphrates was reoccupied, showing the Early Islamic avoidance of river sites. The Middle Islamic period had a second peak in sites totaling nine, including Gritille. The settlements remained smallish farmsteads except for Gritille, which was fortified. Occupation remained focused around springs except for one river site. Stein points out that the medieval sites were larger than the Late Roman sites, averaging 1.19 ha, thus the total occupied area for both the Late Roman and Middle Islamic periods was the same, even though there were nearly half as many sites in the Middle Islamic. According to him, this suggested a clustering of the population and cultivated fields (there was no evidence of manuring or field scatters), rather than the more dispersed Late Roman pattern. This was perhaps due to security risks, as was the abandonment of exposed Euphrates River sites.[47] Redford argued that the clustering of sites around springs denoted small-scale agriculture and involvement with the nomadic/pastoral systems.[48] More specifically, the sites with springs would have

---

While these were also made in the Middle Islamic period (on specific local North Syrian vessels such as pilgrim flasks) the design of circles and diamonds is strongly suggestive of ninth/tenth century molded buffware "Mafjar" jugs. Redford argues that it was probably an Ayyūbid/Mamlūk Damascus flask from the eleventh–fourteenth centuries.

[47] Stein, "Medieval Regional Settlement Organization," 263.

accommodated groups of migrating herds in a cycle that also included post-harvest grazing, among other activities. The sites were dependent on the regional centers of Gritille and Sumaysāṭ and were abandoned at the same time as Gritille and Sumaysāṭ were during the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries. This implies that the Late Roman dispersal of sites was during a time of relative stability. For the Middle Islamic period, Redford finally comes to the conclusion that these were small settlements of Christian agriculturalists and that they could, in times of danger, seek solace within the larger fortified centers such as Sumaysāṭ, Tille, and Lidar. The relationship of fort to village may in fact have been less of a feudal relationship than assumed. Parallels with Islamic settlement in al-Andalus and other parts of the western Mediterranean provide useful comparanda (see Chapters 6 and 7).

A localized survey was conducted by Wilkinson in 1991 covering 7.5 km^2 around the site of Titriş Höyük, 20 km east of Kurban Höyük. The site was situated in a 50 km^2 lowland plain and corridor allowing natural passage and land routes between Gaziantep to the west and Āmid (modern Diyarbakr), Ruhā, and Ḥarrān to the east. The survey focused within this lowland corridor, finding forty sites. By far, the settlement peak was reached during the Late Roman period. Thirty-three sites were Late Roman, as compared to twenty sites for the Roman period. Aside from the settlement peak, Wilkinson highlights two other main characteristics of this period: 1) sites moved off the main mounds and occupied lower mounds and "daughter settlements;" and 2) there was an intensification of agriculture and movement towards

[48] Redford, *Archaeology of the Frontier*, 277.

a village/farmstead/villa economy.[49] The nature of the stony soil and the extensive manuring of sherds in the Late Roman period suggested a major viticulture economy. For the Early Islamic period, no sites were occupied in the ninth–tenth centuries and no mention was made of the seventh–ninth centuries. From his work at Kurban Höyük, Wilkinson suggested that the Late Roman settlement pattern and economical/agricultural system probably continued into the Early Islamic period. During the Middle Islamic period, four sites arranged along a watercourse were occupied, all formerly Late Roman settlements, including Titriş Höyük (Site 1).

[49] G. Algaze, et al., "Şanlıurfa Museum/University of California Excavations and Surveys at Titriş Höyük, 1991: A Preliminary Report," *Anatolica* 18 (1992): 44.

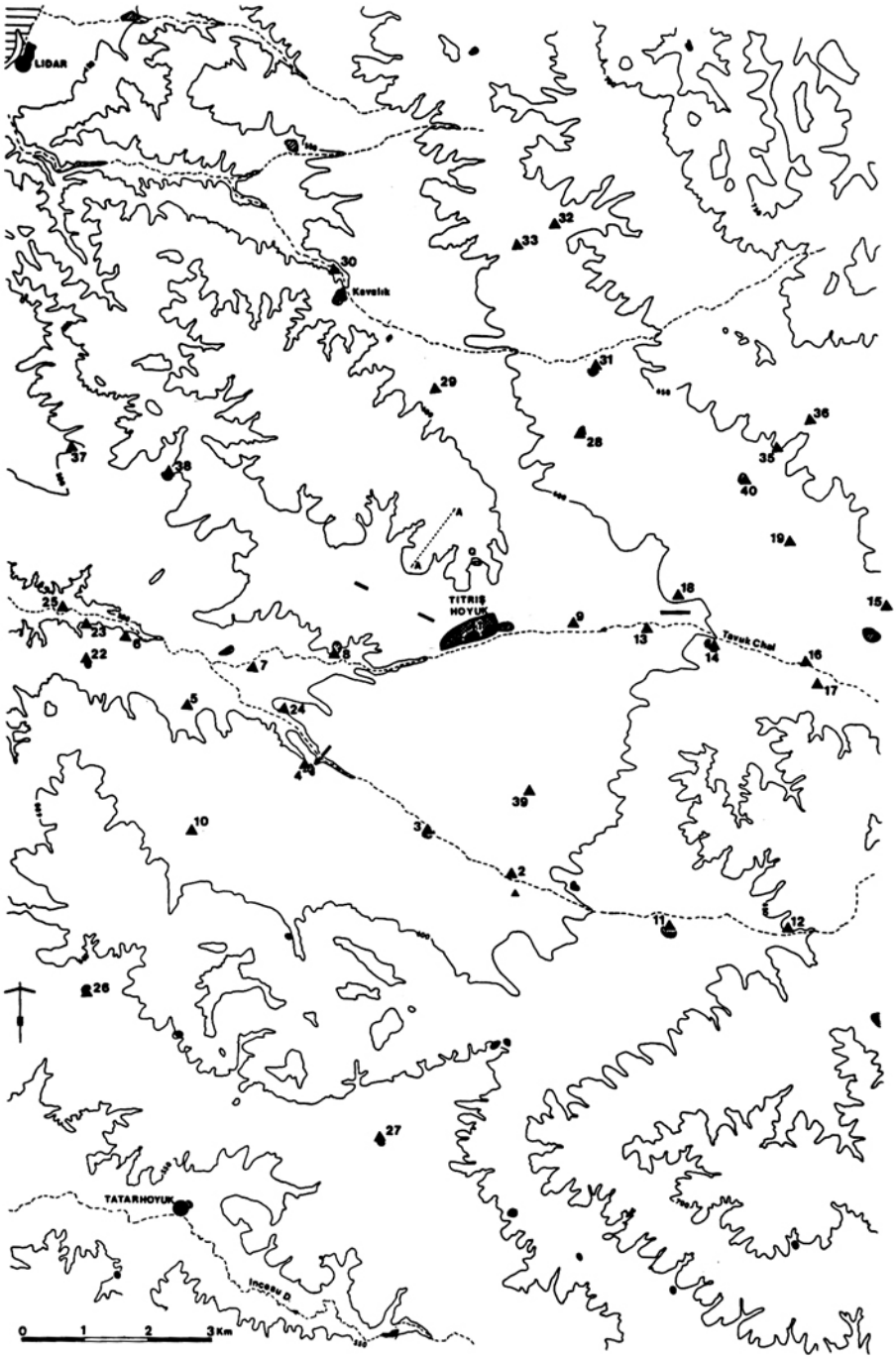

Figure 66 Titris phase map (Algaze et al, 1992, fig. 14)

Two surveys around Lidar Höyük (the regional Bozova-Urfa survey and the immediate Lidar Höyük survey) yielded many of the same settlement patterns with interesting interpretations by Ch. Gerber. Despite the fact that the Bozova-Urfa survey focused on forty of the major tells of the area, the surveyors heavily emphasized that tell settlement ended in the Hellenistic period and did not pick up again until the Middle Islamic period.[50] As such, they cautioned against future tell-focused survey work that would fail to recognize primarily Roman to Early Islamic sites. Roman to Early Islamic occupation on tells, when present (which was rare), was often scanty and shifted to a lower town, such as Lidar Höyük itself. An interesting point that was noted was that often Roman to Early Islamic sites, although flat, were long lived and developed into small mounds. Secondly, they noted that the peak and densest trend in settlement in the Lidar survey was reached in the fourth–sixth centuries (although in the Bozova-Urfa survey, the Hellenistic period was the peak). Roman and Byzantine sites were grouped together: fourteen sites out of forty-five on the Bozova-Urfa survey (five main sites, five with few finds, and four with isolated sherds); and twenty-eight sites for the Lidar survey (ten main sites and eighteen secondary sites). Sites shifted from Hellenistic single farms under 1 ha to larger and more consolidated villages. They were also spaced approximately 2 km from one another in these valleys. However, patterns of chiefly Euphrates River sites in the Hellenistic period shifted by the Roman/Late Roman to sites on terraces overlooking the Euphrates and in side valleys. This brings the pattern of river site avoidance several centuries prior to the Early Islamic period.

[50] Ch. Gerber, "Die Umgebung des Lidar Höyük," 306.

Early Islamic settlement was sparse, with ten sites occupied in the Bozova-Urfa survey (two main sites including Kurban Höyük, six sites with few finds, and two sites with isolated sherds) and eleven sites in the Lidar survey (five main sites, six smaller sites). Occupation in the Lidar region was focused on two main areas: the previously densely settled Kantara Valley and the upland valleys of Incirli, Gazbek, and Oğlan. It seems that this mainly occurred in the seventh and eighth centuries C.E.[51] Gerber posits that this may have been connected to an evacuation of the area by the Byzantines following the Arab conquests; historical accounts mention the Byzantines resettling the Syrian population to Thrace. An interesting observation made by Gerber is that in the sixth century C.E., settlement exploded on the hilly land between Ruhā and the Euphrates in part because the Byzantines were seeking refuge from the plains whose resources were taken over by the demands of the Sāsānian armies and Bedouin tribes passing through.[52] This may explain why the peak in the hills and upland valleys east of Lidar was more densely settled in the Byzantine period than the Euphrates River region. This shift from lowlands to uplands based on resource competition is an important point that will be further discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

[51] Ibid., 309.

[52] Ibid., 310.

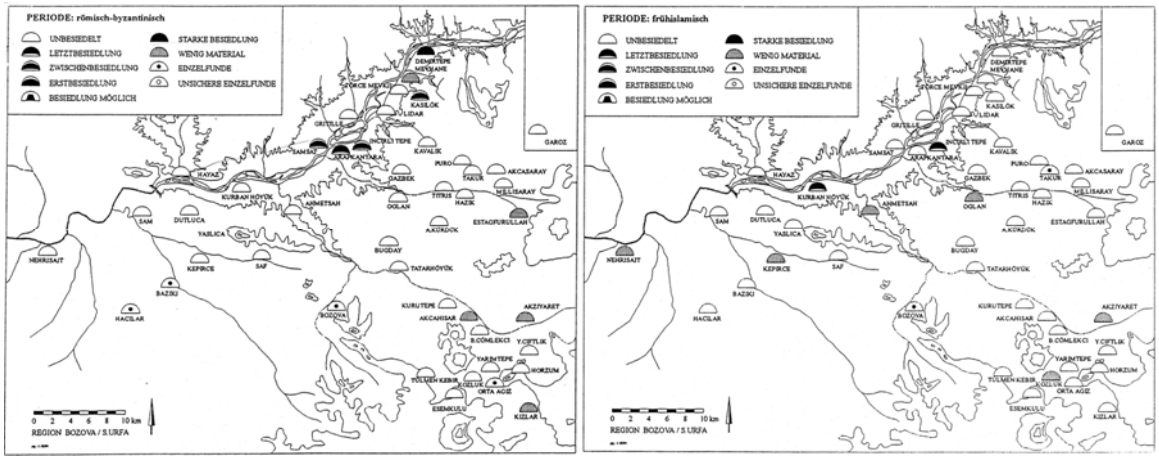

Figure 67 Bozova-Urfa Late Roman and Early Islamic sites (from Gerber 1994, p. 327)

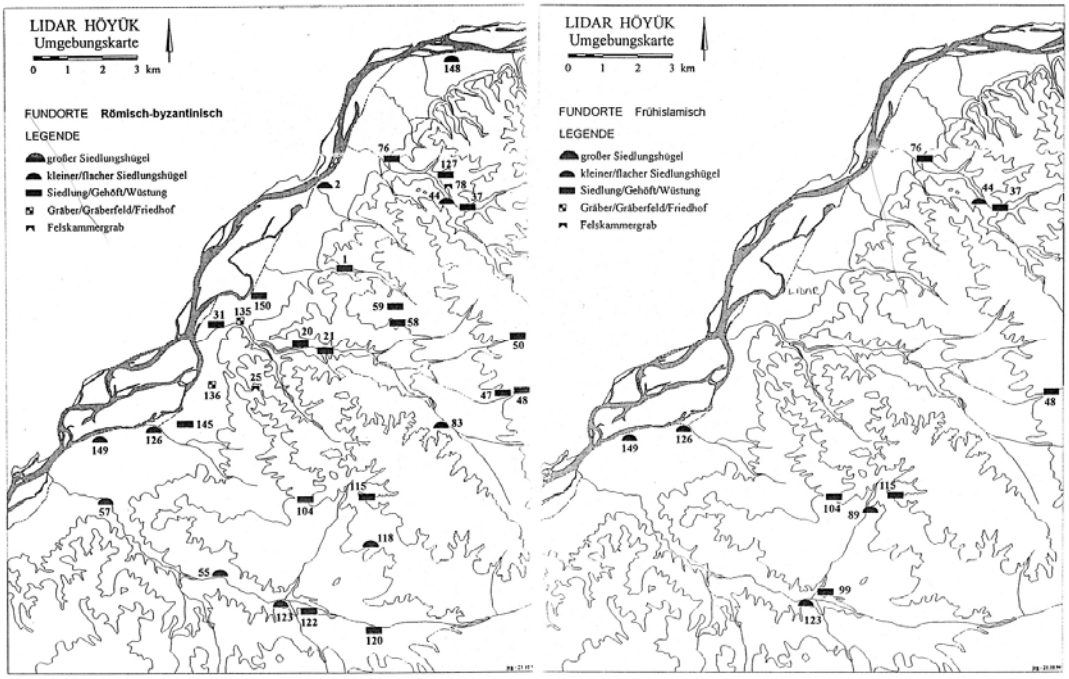

Figure 68 Lidar H Late Roman and Early Islamic (from Gerber 1994, p. 331)

Malatya Plain (Tohma Basin) and Elazığ Plain (Keban Basin)

The Malatya Plain, surrounded by the Anti-Taurus Mountain ranges to the west, south, and east and the Hekimhan Mountains to the north was a semi-enclosed basin, 900 m.a.s.l. and watered by both the Euphrates and the Tohma Çay, the latter of which

crosses the basin west to east before emptying into the Euphrates. The Malatya Plain is not completely level but is marked by some undulating ridges and tells.[53] To the east, the Elazığ Plain consists of high valleys with broad river valleys that are ideal for both agriculture and pastoralism. The plain is watered by the intersection of the Euphrates and Murat Rivers, which continue into the Malatya Plain. Several other wide fertile valleys were included such as the Aşvan Valley, which is north and east of the Keban Dam, and the Altınova Valley (Uluova or Mollakendi Ovası), which is east of Elazığ. The plains are 700–845 m.a.s.l. In the smaller tributary valleys that had some alluvial and fertile soil, recent settlements tended to be located in the uplands at 1,500–2,000 m.a.s.l. This region experiences a combination of the long Middle Eastern hot summers and the short Anatolian cold winters with significant precipitation in the uplands during the winter and early spring. Although forests are attested in the Bronze Age, much of it has been deforested, most likely during the Hellenistic to Early Islamic periods. The Euphrates would have facilitated timber transport.

In the Malatya and Elazığ Plains, sites were located mainly along the north–south and east–west routes that connected the frontier lands. From the south, roads from Raqqa would have gone up the length of the Balikh Valley to Ḥarrān and Ruhā and then Sumaysāṭ. This stretch, about 180 km, probably traced the Balikh and Incesu Rivers (Nahr al-Azaz).[54] From Sumaysāṭ, the Euphrates would have been crossed and routes continued on to Adıyaman and then to Malaṭiya via Gölbaşı. The Gölbaşı road

[53] J. Yakar, and A. Gürsan Salzmann, "Archaeological Survey in the Malatya and Sivas Provinces, 1977," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1977): 34–53.

[54] Redford, *Archaeology of the Frontier*, 10–12.

connected to Mar‘ash and points farther west. Continuing east–west routes would have crossed just north or south of Sumaysāṭ. Farther north, the Tigris Valley connected with the Euphrates Valley by roads connecting with Elazığ and Keban and crossing the Euphrates to Malaṭiya. Malaṭiya also connected with Cappadocia and crossed the mountains due west via the Elbistan Plain and Ṭaranda. As such, the major settlements were used both as way stations and frontier posts. The *thughūr* sites of Malaṭiya, Ḥiṣn Ziyād, and Shimshāṭ were part of the Malatya and Elazığ Plains farther upstream on the Euphrates, while the sites of Zibaṭra and Ṭaranda were at the foothills of the Taurus (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer).

The Keban Reservoir Area survey conducted in 1967 was also a salvage dam project. The goal was to search for early domestication and agriculture in the Elazığ Plain including the Aşvan and Altınova River Valleys. The surveyors only concentrated on tell sites and found forty-four new sites in addition to eight sites that were already recorded. General settlement patterns showed that only valleys with spring-fed streams had a reasonable number of settlements and associated agriculture. Most of the settlements were concentrated in the Altınova (thirty-eight sites) along the Haringet Cay stream and by the springs, and in the Aşvan Valleys (eight sites) along two small and steep tributary stream valleys to the south of the Murat River Valley. Islamic periodization was confusing as it seemed to fall either within the Middle Islamic (termed “Byzantine-Selcuk” and mainly 1200–1400 C.E., but presumably fourth to fourteenth century) or Late Islamic (termed “Medieval” and presumably Ottoman to present). However, Islamic *pottery* was classified as in general categories

that were largely undifferentiated such as "Medieval Brick Ware" which included virtually all redwares including all brittlewares from the Late Roman to Late Islamic periods. Only those sites with sgraffiato or glazed ware (monochrome glazes) showed Middle Islamic occupation; however, one must bear in mind the possibility of early glazes. Early Islamic occupation was very difficult to identify as it was grouped with "Byzantine." Around the Aşvan area, nine sites had "Medieval" pottery and around Altınova fifteen sites had "Medieval." From the former, three sites in the Aşvan area and thirteen sites in the Altınova area were all small occupations.[55]

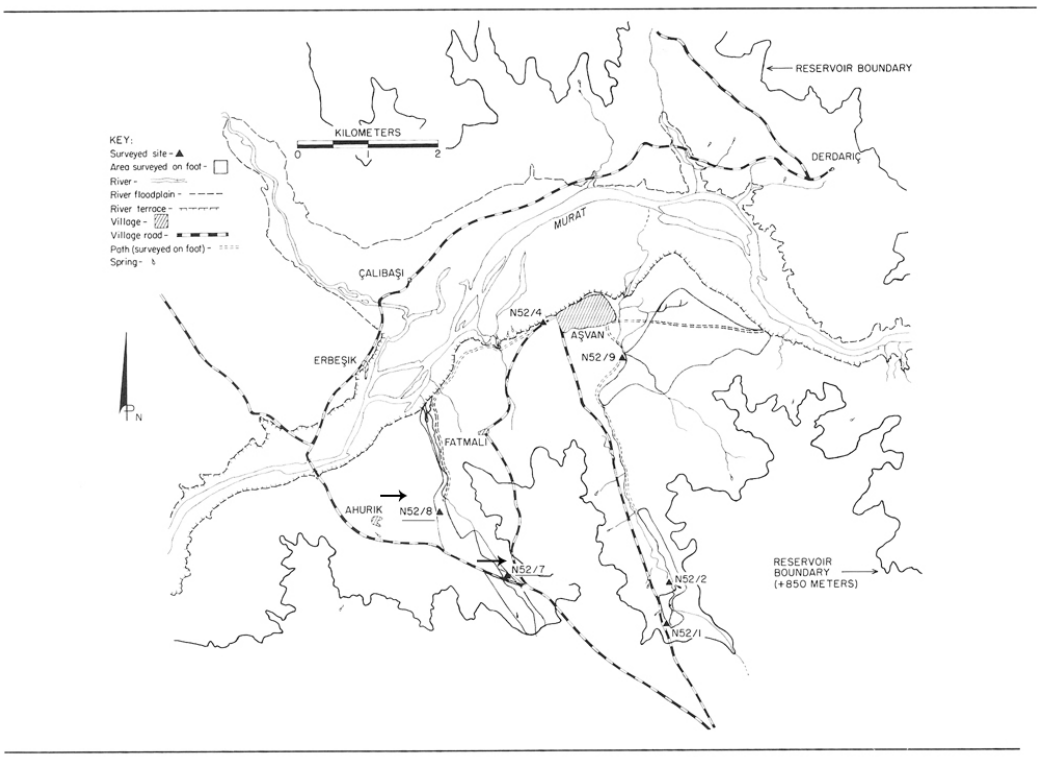

Figure 69 Asvan area, all Islamic sites (potential Early Islamic sites underlined, arrow) (adapted from Whallon 1979, fig 3)

[55] R. Whallon, *An Archaeological Survey of the Keban Reservoir Area of East Central Turkey*, Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 11 (Ann Arbor: Regents of the University of Michigan, 1979), 276.

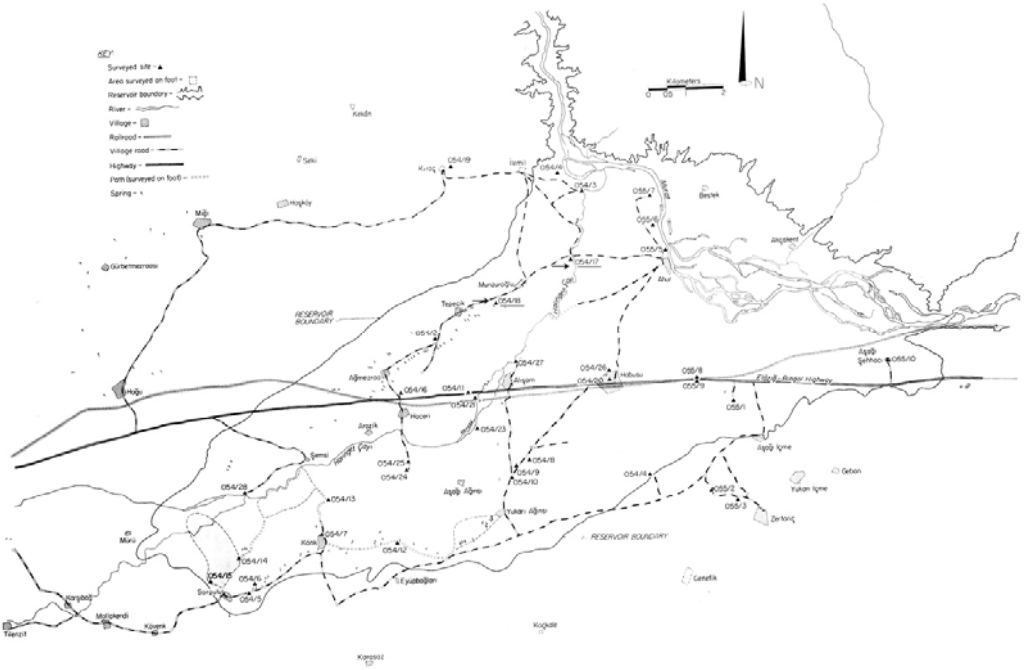

Figure 70: Altinova area, all Islamic sites (potential Early Islamic sites underlined, arrow) (adapted from Whallon 1979, fig. 4)

Upon going through the individual site records and the pottery, there is a slight difference. For the Islamic period in general, ten sites were in Aşvan and thirty sites were in Altınova. Three sites in the Aşvan area and nineteen sites in the Altınova area qualified as Middle Islamic. If one were to search for Early Islamic sites that had no subsequent occupation it would come from the remaining seven sites of Aşvan and eleven sites of Altınova. Several sites (N52/7 and N52/8) in the Aşvan area that also had no preexisting occupation are likely candidates. Both of these were comprised only of "Medieval Brick ware" assemblages and neither were tells. N52/7 was a surface scatter on a small natural rise near a small stream north of the Murat River. N52/8 exhibited some foundations in ruin on a small rise near a stream and spring. In

the Altınova area, two sites (O54/17 and O54/18) were also surface scatters with O54/18's assemblage comprised only of "Medieval Brick ware." From the surveyors, there was no clear pattern established in the Middle Islamic period. However, the fact that virtually all sites were inhabited shows an extensive occupation. Furthermore, those sites yielding positives on diagnostic Middle Islamic pottery (sgraffiato and monochrome glazed wares) constituted about half the total, or twice the number of sites without glazes. If one were to conjecture roughly about Early Islamic settlement in the area without later occupation, then it would follow a pattern seen in other frontier areas: few Early Islamic sites followed by a more extensive occupation in the Middle Islamic period. Current surveys around the Malaṭiya region have yielded few results for the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods. Focusing on the Malatya Plain, publication of the survey results from 2003 showed that thirty-three sites were discovered, sixteen of which were post-classical. Unfortunately, no further distinguishing periodization was given. However, all of the sites were located on the plain.[56]

Harran Plain and Balikh River Valley

The third basin, including the Harran Plain and Balikh River Valley, is incised by the Balikh River and other seasonal tributaries, such as the Jullab and Daysan (Kara Koyun) Rivers which begin around Ruhā (classical Edessa, modern Urfa) and flow south into Syria, emptying into the Euphrates. Like the Amuq Plain, the Harran Plain is a broad lowland about 400 m.a.s.l. It is bordered to the east by the Tektek

[56] G. M. di Nocera, "2003 Archaeological Survey in the Malatya Territory," *AST* 22.2 (2004), 325–36.

Mountains and to the west by a series of low hills. As one progresses south the landscape becomes more sparsely vegetated into the steppes of northern Syria. Although this area received less than 400 mm/annum of rain, the plain is very fertile and watered by the Jullab River, whose source comes from the mountains north of ā. The river is the primary water source for the Harran Plain and empties into the Balikh. The Urfa-Harran Basin was very susceptible to flooding as has been documented by medieval sources.[57] The Harran Plain slopes north (470 m.a.s.l.) to south (345 m.a.s.l.) with a slope gradient of 0.2%; it has no outcrops except for the many tells. The floodplain of the Balikh basin is 70 km wide and bordered by limestone and gypsum plateaus. It spans about 100 km before emptying into the Euphrates River at Raqqa. Work by Wilkinson (the Western Jazira Archaeological Landscape Project) showed that the Balikh landscape comprised a network of canals, marshes, and dry riverbeds.[58] Dominating this landscape in the sixth–eighth centuries was a major canal (Nahr al-Abbara/Nahr Turkumān), which was straightened and ran parallel from the top of the Balikh Valley down its east side, irrigating large areas of land. It replaced an earlier, slightly smaller canal system (the Saḥlan-Ḥammām canal), which was used from the Hellenistic period to the sixth century C.E.

Framed by the cities of Ruhā, Ḥarrān, and Raqqa, the Harran Plain and Balikh River Valley formed a major transportation and trade route for south–north roads going to the *thughūr* and the east–west routes. Indeed, Ḥarrān (classical Carrhae)

[57] Wheatley-Irving, "Samosata and its Environs."

[58] T. J. Wilkinson, "Water and Human Settlement in the Balikh Valley, Syria: Investigations from 1992–1995," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 25.1 (1998), 63–87.

comes from the Akkadian word for caravan route or a way station. The name reverted back to its Semitic origin in the Islamic period.[59] The Harran Plain survey, directed by N. Yardımcı, was also part of the GAP salvage work. The team covered a large area of 2,000 km^2, visiting all of the tells in the plain plus low tells and flat scatters. They found a total of 208 sites (including Harran) in the districts of Harran, Akçakale, and Mesudiye. The aim of the site, besides the impending salvage recording of the GAP project, was to complement the excavations on the mound of Ḥarrān. The survey area was bordered to the north by the Urfa–Mardin highway, to the northeast and east by the Tektek Mountains, to the west by the foothills, and to the south by the Syrian border. From north to south the area of the survey was 50 km and from east to west it was 42 km. For the survey, mainly tells and low mounds were surveyed and all the sites were measured. Flat sites and the occasional ceramic scatter were also recorded when found. All of the surveying was done on the lowland plain. While the publication is visually impressive, the dating for the classical and Islamic periods is unspecified, as compared to the three sub-divisions within the Chalcolithic period, for example. For the classical periods, sites fall within Hellenistic (eighteen sites) or Roman periods (103 sites) with absolutely no mention of Late Roman (or Partho-Sāsānian) sites. Presumably these are included within the Roman period. For the Islamic periods, sites were dated only generally to the seventh-twentieth centuries. From the settlement map one can see that this is already problematic as 175 sites (out of 208) are Islamic, a number which is so conflated and undifferentiated so as to be meaningless. Fortunately, a sampling of the ceramics is shown in drawing and

[59] Yardımcı, *Harran Ovası*, 14.

photograph for each site, allowing for a partial reassessment of the pottery. In some cases, specific ceramics are tied to either Roman or Islamic periods. In others, there is not enough published information providing the necessary links between the drawings or photographs and the period provided. Although the surveyors dated the historical periods very generally, they have specific assumptions of the very broadest of ceramic coarseware types, while offering no parallels for their assertions.[60]

[60] An example of this is Site 12 (Kayaca), where there are four small sherds labeled Roman. They were all coarsewares of different pastes (one is a brittleware). There are also two sherds with rolled everted rims of buff ware labeled Islamic. While some are generally in the right period, some of these sherds could be coarsewares of virtually any period.

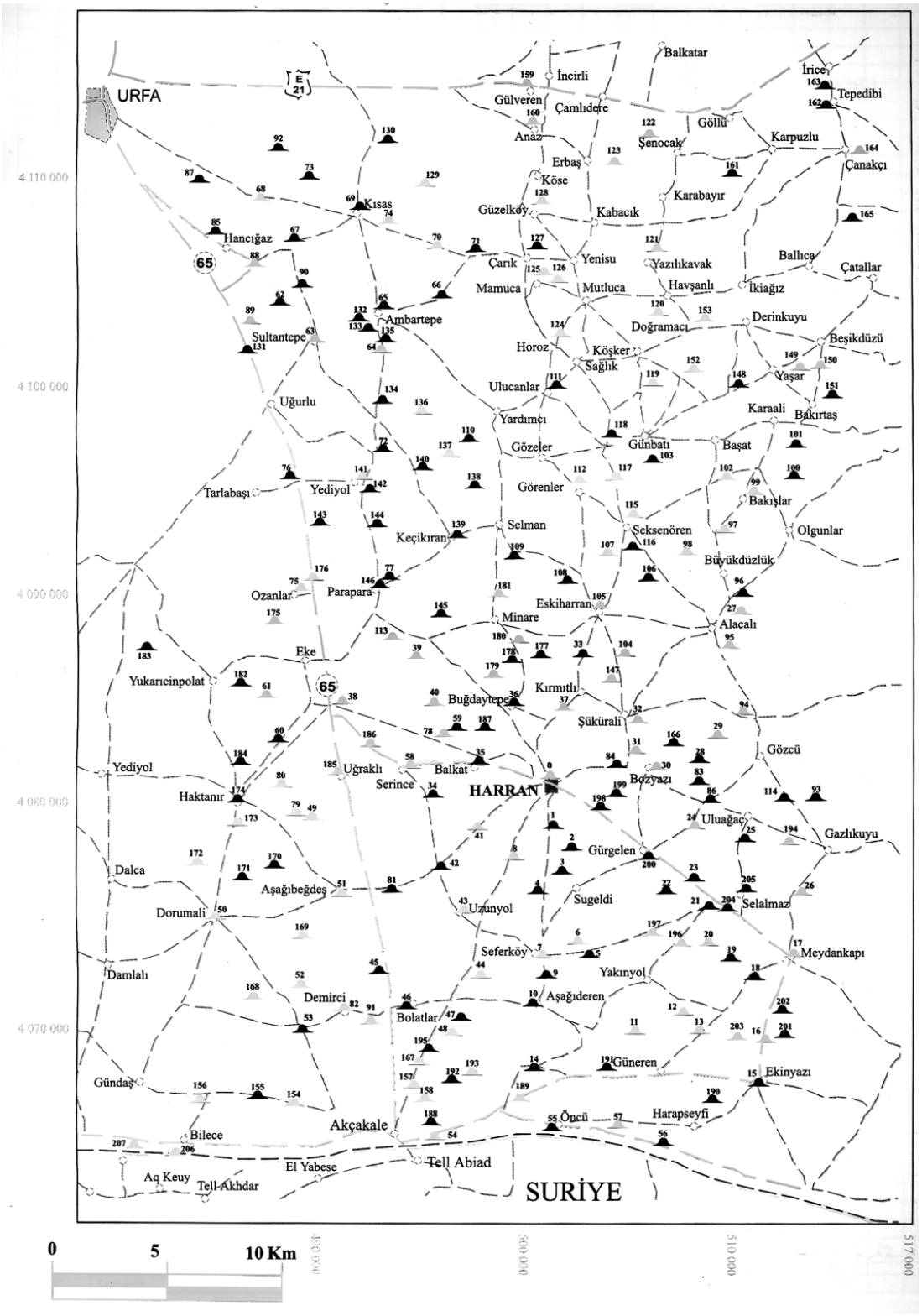

Figure 71 Harran Survey, Roman sites in gray (from Yardımcı 2004, p. 393)

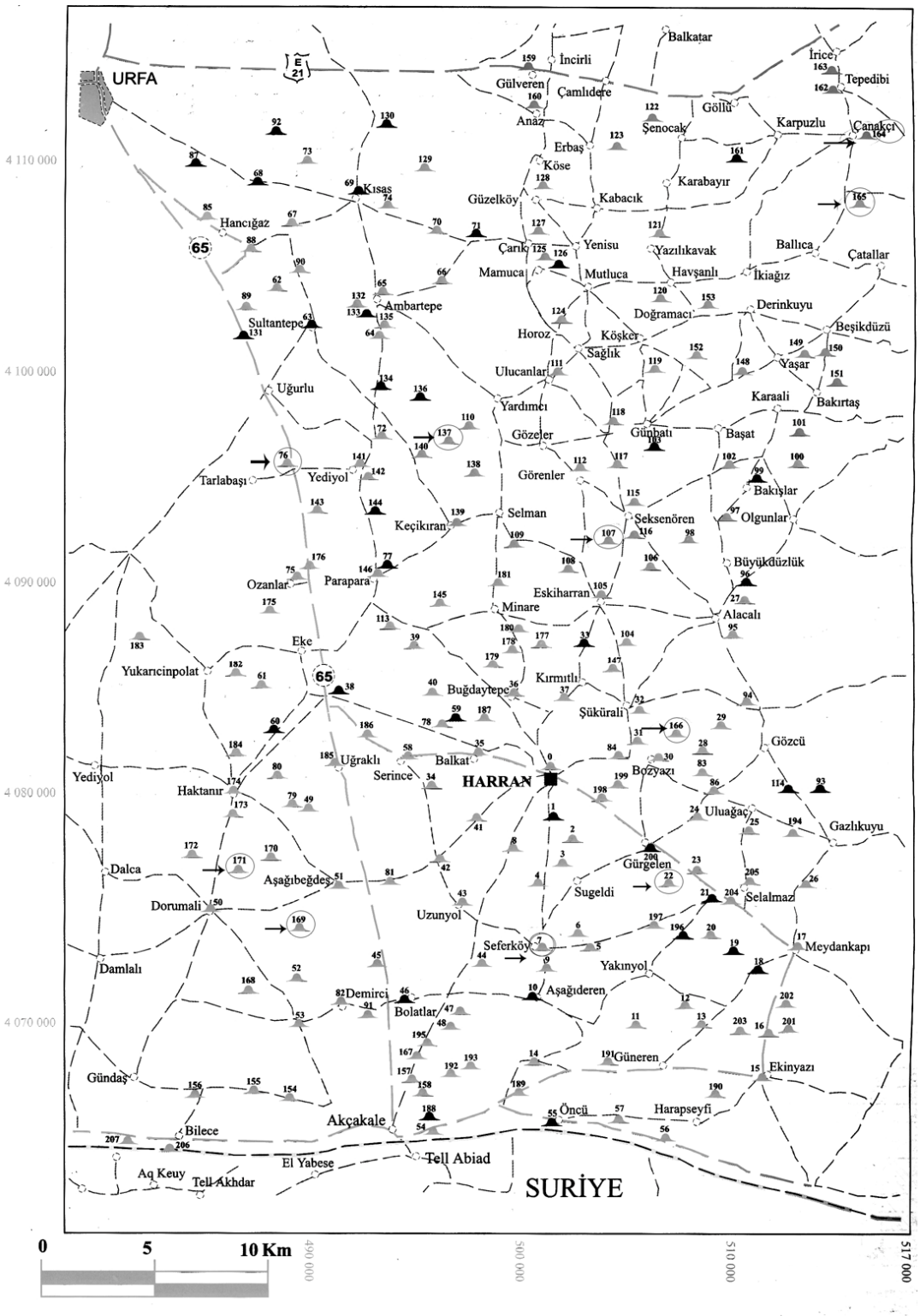

Figure 72 Harran Survey, Islamic sites in gray (possible Early Islamic sites circled with arrows to the left) (adapted from Yardımcı 2004, p. 394)

There are several characteristics that are worthy of note. First, there are virtually no finewares from the classical and Islamic periods (including few terra sigillatas), no Late Roman finewares, and very few glazed ceramics from the Early and Middle Islamic periods. Second, almost all of the coarsewares are greenish buffwares or cream buffwares. While this is perhaps correctly assigned by the surveyors to the Islamic period, these wares are most often associated with the Early Islamic period. Third, there are virtually no brittlewares. These characteristics would suggest that for this region, there is a slightly different ceramic tradition at play, one for which the fourth–seventh centuries is representative of a Partho-Sāsānian tradition rather than Late Roman. Furthermore, the prolific occurrence of greenish buff ware questions its attribution as an Early Islamic ware, but rather a ware that is of local clay and widespread as a coarseware in the Late Roman/Partho-Sāsānian and Middle Islamic periods as well.[61]

In going through the publication, I have redated (or rather, dated more specifically) the sites as best as possible from a preliminary identification of the published photographs and drawings (that is, I did not look up each example from each site for parallels). This is by no means a definitive statement but rather a general differentiation within Islamic settlements in the Harran Plain. The sites have been grouped in various categories of definite or indefinite Early and Middle Islamic occupation. The trend is quite clear: in the Early Islamic period there were thirty-one definite sites occupied and in the Middle Islamic there were sixty-three definite sites.

[61] An example of this is Site 50 (Dorum Ali), which has a cooking pot with two loop handles and combing on a cream/greenish buff ware. The surveyors, in my opinion, mistakenly date it to the "Medieval-Islamic." While its ware may be consistent, its form is quite Late Roman.

For the indefinite or undetermined sites there were approximately ninety-six Early Islamic sites and sixty-five Middle Islamic sites. The high number of potential Early Islamic sites, I believe, is misleading as this is generally directed by the widespread greenish buffware. Give or take several sites in each category, the trend would remain the same. As such, the Middle Islamic period had twice as many sites, a peak seen throughout the frontier. The 2:1 ratio is also a pattern seen in other surveys. In the Early Islamic period, 15% of the total number of sites was occupied, while in the Middle Islamic period this number climbs to 30%. Regarding the types of settlement with regard to period (obtained from site description when given or a photograph/plan) general comments can be observed about the two Islamic settlement periods. In the Early Islamic period, about fifteen sites were on tells and fifteen sites were on low mounds or flat sites. However, of the fifteen sites with only definite Islamic occupation (single period sites), fourteen of them are flat or low mounded sites. Of these, eight sites are definite Early Islamic foundations, five sites are possibly so, and one site is not.[62] In the Middle Islamic period, about forty sites were on tells while only twenty sites were on low mounds/flat sites. This both compares and contrasts interestingly with evidence from the rest of the frontier. The overall preference of flat/low sites in the Early Islamic period, following the Roman/Late Roman off-mound settlements is apparent, but in the Harran Plain it would seem that in the Early Islamic period tell settlement did occur, a result which is quite different than the evidence suggested by other surveys. The majority of Early Islamic sites established *de novo*

[62] Excavations at Aşağı Yarımca revealed a ninth century Early Islamic farmhouse, S. Lloyd, "Aşağı Yarımca," *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952), 11–13.

was on flat or low-mounded sites. Not much can be observed about the changes from Roman to Early Islamic periods, as the ceramic evidence of the Late Roman/Partho-Sāsānian period (fourth–seventh centuries C.E.) is undefined and there is a lack of firmly identifiable coarsewares or finewares in the publication.

Several of these mainly or solely Early Islamic occupied sites can be examined more closely. The most important sites (ten of them) are all flat sites with the exception of two (Sites 7 and 164). Sites 22, 76, 137, 107, 165, 166, and 171 all were described as "very densely" covered with pottery. Site 169 was only "densely" covered. The difference is one of ceramic taphonomy, indicating that flat sites have denser surface scatters than tell sites. Important and often imported ceramics were found at several of these sites. Site 22 had the only example of Syrian yellow-glaze, seen in the eastern *thughūr* surveys (perhaps due to nearby Raqqa).[63] Site 107 had molded buffware and color-splash glazed ware. Site 164 had molded buffware and brittle ware. The distribution of these sites follows several rough patterns. The majority were located in the southern part of the plain around Harran as satellite sites (Sites 166, 22, 7, 169, and 171). Three were located in the center of the plain (Sites 107, 137, and 76); Site 76 was on the road from Ḥarrān to Ruhā. Finally, two were located in the top northeast corner of the plain (Sites 164 and 165). The majority of the northern part of the plain was unoccupied in the Early Islamic period, the emphasis

[63] Syrian yellow-glaze wares are thus confined to the western and central *thughūr* regions; their centers of production are in Raqqa and Antioch. Large amounts of the ware were found in the Princeton excavations of Antioch in the 1930s. Redford demonstrated that these mainly came from bathhouses indicating that previously Roman or Late Roman bathhouses were converted to ceramic kilns (S. Redford, "Early Islamic Antioch" [paper presented at the Third International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, ICAANE, Paris, 2002]). See also this chapter, footnote 31 for Watson's work on the yellow-glaze family from Raqqa.

concentrating around the vicinity of Ḥarrān and the route between Ruhā and Ḥarrān. This pattern fits in closely with that seen in the Kahramanmaraş Plain with sites congregating in the lower part of the valley (see Chapter 3). In both cases, the lower parts of the valley would have received far more drainage from the plain streams, inundating the fields and creating seasonal to permanent wetlands.[64]

The Balikh Valley Survey should also be reviewed here. Although part of the Jazīra or northern Mesopotamia, the geography of the region as a fertile land south of the eastern frontier along the Taurus Mountains is analogous to the relationship between the *'awāṣim* region and the western frontier. Secondly there was one major frontier urban site that dominated the region, the city of Raqqa. The survey was conducted in 1983 by the University of Amsterdam under M. N. van Loon and P. M. M. G. Akkermans. It was intended to contextualize in a regional survey the area around Tell Hammam et-Turkman. In total, 200 sites from all periods were found in a region that extended from Raqqa north to the Turkish border just south of Ḥarrān. The area follows the Balikh River, a narrow, 6 m wide river that originates in the subterranean springs in the Harran Plain at 'Ayn al-'Arus. The terrain is mainly semi-arid steppe.

The first observation noted by K. Bartl was the same dispersal pattern of settlement from the Roman/Parthian period to the Islamic thirteenth century. In the Late Roman (fourth–seventh centuries) they found twenty-three sites of definite date and fourteen potential sites. The sites were typically small, between 0.1 and 5.0 ha.

[64] Interestingly, surveyors noted that in recent history the many tells on the plain were not occupied but used as cemeteries. Inhabitants tended to live on the peripheries of the plain.

Several of the sites were of medium size and these tended to be occupied in the Early Islamic period. Settlement patterns were mainly evenly spread out with some clustering in the southern part of the valley. The only large settlement was the twin *thughūr* towns of Raqqa and Rāfiqa. The main sites mentioned from historical sources besides Raqqa were Leontopolis (from the mid-fifth century onward), the Mar Zakkj/Dayr Zakka monastery, Kadar or Amud Monastery, and Dabana/Davana castle. A site (BS 273) with square enclosure walls, 250 m per side and visible entry, in the northeast part of the valley which was also inhabited in the Early Islamic period may have been the site of Dabana.

In the Islamic period, eighty sites were found. The earliest evidence came only from the mid-eighth century C.E. As asserted by Bartl, the dearth of evidence for the Umayyad period is likely a manifestation of the difficulty in identifying the transitional pottery, specifically the coarse wares. The region is known textually from the Umayyad period, not least from the existence of Ḥiṣn Maslama (Madīnat al-Fār). Fifty-five sites were attributed from the mid-eighth to the beginning of the tenth century (Phase I) and dated by stratified material at Raqqa and Madīnat al-Fār. Common buffware basins with broad, slightly carinated rims, brittlewares, and splash glazed ceramics were among the major diagnostic pieces. For the Middle Islamic period, two phases were discerned. Phase II (eleventh century) had only four sites. Although it is likely that most of the twenty-five sites that the surveyors mention as characterized by green or turquoise glazed monochrome sherds also date to this period. Only eight sites were attributed to the last period, Phase III (mid-twelfth to

mid-thirteenth century). The general size of all the sites (seventy out of eighty) was also small like the Late Roman period, between 0–5 ha, and most sites were under 1 ha. These were posited as farmsteads. Three sites were 5–10 ha (small and medium sized villages) while four sites were between 10 and 40 ha (large villages). Only two sites were larger than 50 ha and newly founded. Madīnat al-Fār (over 100 ha) was identified with Ḥiṣn Maslama (BS 187), named after its founder, the son of ʻAbd al-Malik. Bāghaddā (BS 172), besides Raqqa, was also attributed as a Maslama foundation, although the surveyors could not find Umayyad pottery. Both of these sites are attested historically as are Bāgharwān (BS 108–10) and Tell Maḥrē (BS 142/Tell Sheikh Hassan), both pre-Islamic Roman sites. Interestingly, twelve sites had Roman to Islamic continuity, suggesting that forty-three sites were founded *de novo*. Seven of the twelve sites were on the larger side of the small class (3–5 ha) of farmsteads.

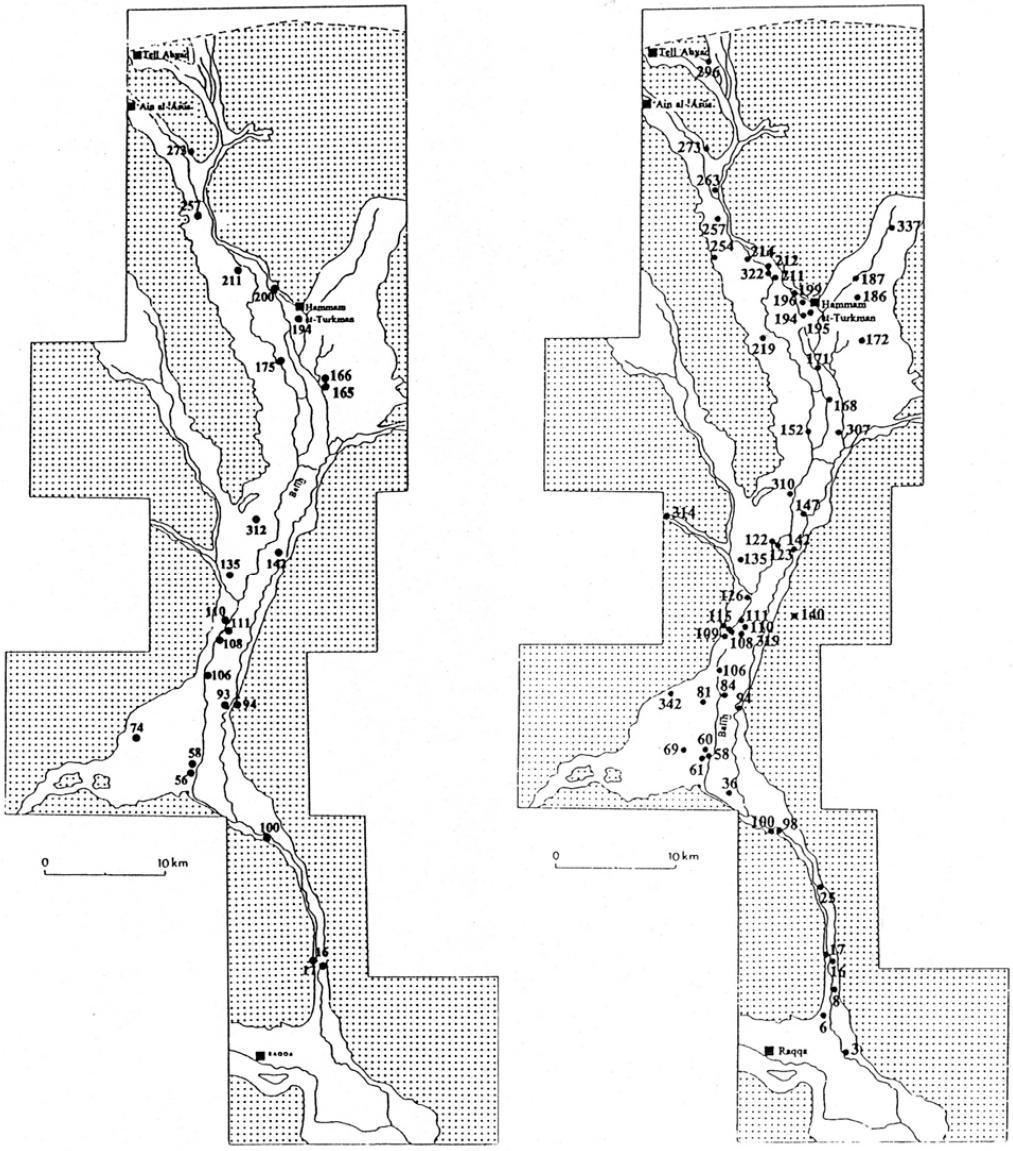

Figure 73 Balikh Late Roman and Early Islamic (from Bartl 1994, pp. 345 and 348)

Bartl posits that decline in the mid-tenth century came on the heels of the Byzantine reconquest that contributed to political and economic decline, fragmentation, and the birth of smaller dynasties; it was a harbinger of the end of the centralized caliphal rule of the ʻAbbāsids.[65] Rather than decline, this region seems to reflect a fragmentized and politically unstable rule by shifting from farmsteads to fortresses, from villa to village. Also an increase in nomadism with the influx of Turkic tribes may have been influential to the disparity between agricultural sites in the Early Islamic period and fortress sites in the Middle Islamic. From the Zangid/Ayyūbid periods until the end of the Mongol invasion, encompassing the Mamlūk period, the region experienced a brief secondary prosperity.

As noted by the surveyors, the Balikh area was unusual for the entire region because it exhibited nearly twice as many Early Islamic sites as Late Roman sites, the majority of which were early ʻAbbāsid. Several reasons were given for this anomalous pattern. Firstly, textual sources say that between 796 and 808 C.E. Hārūn al-Rashīd moved from Baghdād to Raqqa/Rāfiqa, making it his temporary capital; it was already the provincial capital of the Diyār Muḍar. Like the Amuq Plain, the Balikh was an important conduit to the *thughūr*, specifically the eastern frontier with the cities of Ḥarrān, Ruhā, and the Upper Euphrates: "The extensive occupation density of the valley districts during that period is obviously to be viewed as a result from the strategically favorable location of the valley."[66] Secondly, the region owed its efflorescence to close connections with the Euphrates and central lands of Iraq. This

[65] K. Bartl, "Balih Valley Survey," 337.

[66] Ibid.

might explain why Umayyad settlement was grossly misrepresented. To this I would add that this survey is perhaps the only one of the region with an Islamic ceramic specialist, thus potentially readily identifying sites with Early Islamic assemblages. However, even gross settlement patterns show that the Balikh basin differed greatly from all other frontier settlement patterns. This is an important contrast, showing that the Balikh area in the Jazīra was not at all like the *thughūr* frontier zone or even like the *ʻawāṣim* plains (the Amuq) situated well behind the Taurus Mountains. I would suggest that this is because it was not part of the frontier zone, but closer in proximity to ʻAbbāsid central lands and thus administered differently. In the eastern *thughūr*, the Karababa Basin and Harran Plain with the sites of Ḥarrān, Ruhā, and Sumaysāṭ were more comparable to the spatial relationship of the Amuq hinterland plains to the Taurus as part of a frontier zone.

Considering all of the other *thughūr* surveys, settlement patterns for the late periods can be broken down into three views: 1) patterns that apply generally to Roman to Early Islamic periods; 2) patterns that are uniquely Early Islamic; and by contrast 3) Middle Islamic patterns.

Table 17 Settlement Patterns on the *thughūr*

Late Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman, Early Islamic Patterns
Settlement on low flat sites Avoidance or very scanty occupation on tells (partially excludes Late Hellenistic) Occupation of lower towns beside tells Small sites, often under 1 ha, and dispersed Sites located near canal networks (partially include Middle Islamic)
Early Islamic Patterns
Sites located near springs, sites with hydraulic devices (watermills) [also Middle Islamic] Sites in marshland or marsh susceptible lowlands Avoidance of upland sites Sites established on periphery of larger earlier sites Avoidance of major river port sites Half the number of sites occupied as in the Roman or Late Roman (the highest peak) Low sedentary population shared with pastoralists
Middle Islamic Patterns
Occupation on large low flat Early Islamic sites continued Sites are clustered together and agglomerative Settlement on tells, some following Hellenistic occupation Tells often included as part of a low flat site Construction and occupation of upland castles Revival (second highest peak) in settlement

An overview and reassessment of the disparate and wide range of data provided in surveys conducted in the *thughūr* region begin to show cohesion of settlement patterns and land use in the Early Islamic period, whether directly or indirectly through settlement in the preceding Late Roman or subsequent Middle Islamic period. These patterns when taken together provide a general picture of traits of the period, which can then be used for comparison in elucidating a layered narrative of Early Islamic frontier settlement with the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş surveys.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ANDALUSIAN *THUGHŪR*

I. Introduction

On the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, similar settlement patterns occurred on the *thughūr* of al-Andalus[1] and in other places such as the Italy and Sicily. Landscape archaeologists and medieval historians working in these areas contributes to that these patterns are part of a larger process of *incastellamento* (or the villa to village). The process of *incastellamento* describes the shift in settlements from lowland unfortified and open farms to upland fortified and nucleated villages and/or strongholds (the *ḥiṣn/qarya* complex) from Late Antiquity through the Middle Islamic/Medieval Period.[2] The chronology in pre-Islamic Visigothic al-Andalus and Lombard Italy need to be reconfigured before it can be applied to Late Roman and Early Islamic Anatolia and Syria, particularly as the Muslim conquest occurred approximately one century

[1] See chapter 1, footnote 6. The *thughūr* of al-Andalus includes not only the Pyrenees Mountain area of Aragon, Castile, and Asturias but the eastern coastal area of Valencia, Murcia, and Almería, and the Balearic Islands. This area was also known as *sharq al-Andalus*.

[2] *Incastellamento* was first introduced by P. Toubert (1978) and developed by Guichard and others subsequently. Guichard focused on the nature of rural social organization particularly with the advent of Berber tribes. For Italy, see R. Francovich and R. Hodges, *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy, c. 400–1000* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2003). For an excellent synthetical and theoretical overview of the scholarship, see T. F. Glick, "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain: History and Archaeology," and *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*.

earlier in the Near East. Still, the process is similar and merits further study.[3] This is *not* intended as a comprehensive study of landscape archaeology in al-Andalus and the western Mediterranean. Nor is this a review on *incastellamento* which constitutes a separate work unto itself. Rather, settlement patterns and land use on the Andalusian *thughūr*, and specifically in the Early Islamic period, will be discussed in direct comparison with the Anatolian *thughūr*.

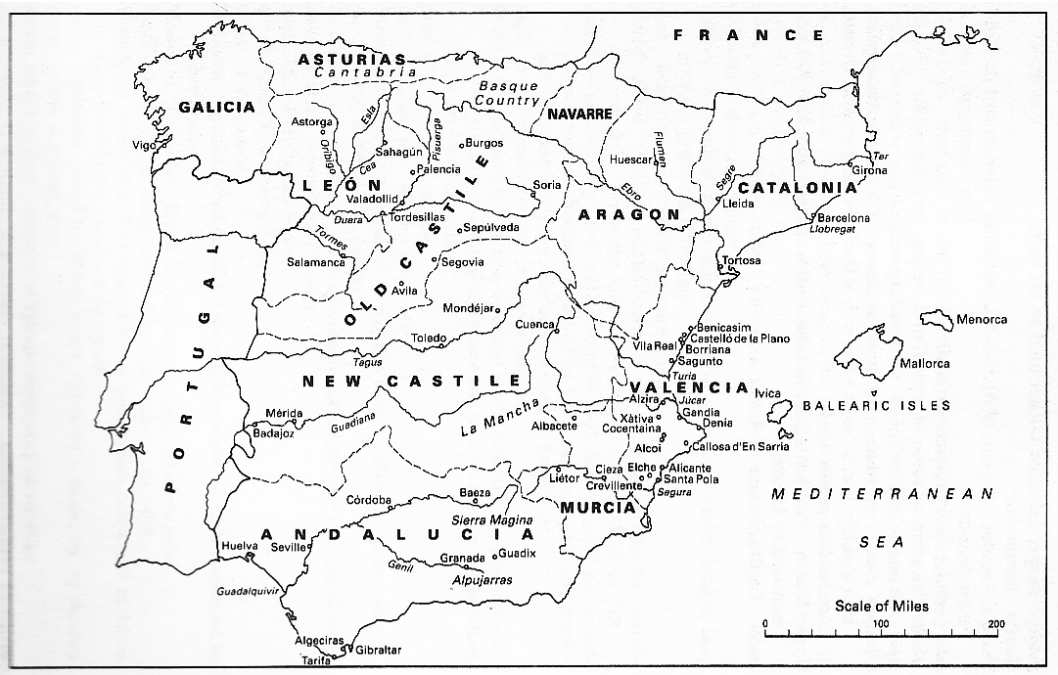

Figure 74 Map of Spain and Italy (from Glick 1995, p. x)

II. The Late Roman and Visigothic Period (Fourth to Eighth Centuries)

Settlement patterns in Late Roman (fourth century) and Visigothic (fifth to eighth centuries) al-Andalus bear some similarity to the situation in the Near East. Villas that

[3] For the purposes of comparison with the Near East, I try to use the same periodization.

outgrew their original functions as rural farm-estates and resembled cities, as well as cities themselves, were in state of transition by the sixth/seventh centuries C.E. These villas began to spread small hills or hillsides near larger cities. Hispano-Roman populations led by Visigothic aristocracy (*muwallad*) fled from the lowlands to the mountains and began to settle hilltop sites (*oppida)*. An example of this was in the Duero Valley where, a century before the Muslim conquest, the country was "depopulated" by Alfonso II and his people who left "an empty buffer zone" between Islamic and Visigothic lands.[4] Many of the upland settlements were dated from the sixth/seventh centuries and are identified as Hispano-Roman based on the survival of Latin toponyms.[5] Several other groups (Mozarabs) that left the cities and villas to which they were attached did not join the oppressive feudal Visigothic aristocracy,[6] but resettled in other areas. Interestingly, some settled the fertile coastal swamps on the Mediterranean relying on a subsistence diet and economy of resources from the sea and marsh.[7] In Italy, this same process occurs as part of the villa to village model in four stages of transformation: 1) the desertion of the countryside by the aristocracy and abandonment of Roman villas; 2) a shift to hilltop nucleated settlements in the sixth and early seventh centuries C.E. by the remaining peasantry; 3) the reintroduction of a local aristocracy and agrarian specialization in *curtes* or farm

---

[4] See Chapter 1, note 6; Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle,* 113.

[5] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 14.

[6] Ibid., 62–63.

[7] See, for example, S. Gutiérrez Lloret, "La formación de Tudmir desde la periferia del estado islámico," *Cuadernos de Madīnat al Zahrā, III* (1991): 9–21.

manors in the eighth–early ninth centuries; and 4) a fortification of the hilltop villages (*castelli)* and implementation of rural markets and local governments by the tenth century.

III. The Early Islamic Period (Eighth to Tenth Centuries)

The Early Islamic period in al-Andalus was marked by a transformation in culture and settlement with the advent of Arab and Berber tribal populations in 711 C.E. This period, extending from the mid-eighth to the end of the ninth century was also termed "Paleoandalusi" by J. Zozaya and S. G. Lloret referring to the continuity of Hispano-Roman (Visigothic) communities into this period, evidenced by the transition of mainly coarseware ceramic forms, as in the Near East. Lloret argues that a collapse of Roman commercial networks in the sixth century shows an increase in localized ceramic production.[8] There is no evidence to support the same phenomenon in the Near East, although in the Early Islamic period, trade and economical trajectories were certainly reordered from previous trans-Mediterranean shipping. In al-Andalus, the introduction of glazed wares has been taken by many scholars as a sign of Islamization of diverse populations.[9] Kirchner disagrees, arguing against such claims, stating that one cannot argue for an implantation of a foreign cultural form when acculturation

[8] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle,* 40 note 8; J. Zozaya, "The Islamic Consolidation in al-Andalus," in *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique*, ed. R.-P. Gayraud (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1993), 245-58; S. Gutiérrez Lloret, "La cerámica paleoandalusí del sureste peninsular (Tudmir): Producción y distrubución (siglos VII al X)" in *La cerámica altomedieval en el sur de al-Andalus,* ed. Antonio Malpica Cuello (Granada: Universidad, 1993), 43–44, 49.

[9] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 43.

would have affected both Muslim and non-Muslim populations equally; Glick falls somewhere in between these two viewpoints.[10] For Glick, the introduction of ceramics as a process of Islamization is faulty, but it provides a framework of transition from Hispano-Roman to Islamic culture, which was pushed forward in part by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān II's introduction of ʻAbbāsid socio-cultural practices.[11]

I would argue that such linear distinctions are still problematic. The process of Islamization as illustrated by ceramics would not have necessarily followed an inevitable trajectory as some scholars have traced with conversion.[12] Ceramics follow their own evolution that combines more deliberate cultural aesthetics (seen in finewares) with utilitarian forms that often persist and are manifestations of regional styles. Along a mixed Islamic/Hispano-Roman ethnic frontier these forms take on their own development, which is both synthetic and functional but not a stamp of Islamization. Furthermore, in frontier areas, local and regional styles often show up with greater regularity than finewares or other core imperial ceramics. This is seen on the Anatolian frontier. In both frontiers in the Early Islamic period, finewares and glazed wares are mainly of local production. When the region is no longer ruled by a distant central body but rather by break-away dynasties in the Middle Islamic period, the vast majority of ceramics are coarsewares that are both functional and decorative and appear on both sides of the frontier. What is more cogent in differentiating

---

[10] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 41 note 13; H. Kirchner, discussion in: A. Malpica Cuello, ed., *La Cerámica altomedieval*, 143, 203.

[11] Ibid., 42.

[12] For example Bulliet, see chapter 8, footnote 99.

between new Berber/Arab settlements and Hispano-Roman ones is examining the types of settlement patterns as revealed in the persistence of toponyms.

River, Canal, and Marsh Sites

In the Early Islamic period, newly settled areas, particularly on the Andalusian frontier, were part of a transformative process from Roman villas with agricultural lands to dispersed lowland hydraulic villages (*aldea* or *alquería* from *al-qarya*) and land parcels linked by tribal kinships. Similar to the case in the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains, water supply, canalization, irrigation, and marshlands were elements that dictated settlement in the Early Islamic period. M. Barceló working in the Balearic Islands, Cressier and Malpica, working in Granada and Almería discovered *alquerías* grouped around a shared water supply without attendant castles.[13] As such, sites were chosen for settlement not necessarily for their strategic location but primarily for their proximity to water sources. In the Islamic period, settlement patterns of evenly spaced *alquerías* were dictated by canals and rivers: "…it is the characteristic structure of the people of the Islamic period, divided in nuclei of inhabitants not too far from one another and bound closely by irrigation canals which are evident."[14] Gutiérrez Lloret and Azuar Ruiz, working in al-Andalus

[13] M. Barceló, "Immigration Berbère et établissements Paysans à Ibiza (902–1235)," in Castrum 7; P. Cressier, "Archéologie des structures hydrauliques en al-Andalus," in: *El agua en zonas áridas: Arqueología e historia*, I Coloquio de Historia y Medio Físico, Vol. I (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1989), li-xcii; A. Malpica Cuello, "Repoblaciones y nueva organización del espacio en zonas costeras granadinas," in: *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla*, ed. M.A. Ladero Quesada (Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1993), 513-58.

[14] "…c'est la structure caractéristique du peuplement d'époque musulmane, éclatée en noyaux d'habitats peu distants les uns des autres et lies étroitement aux canaux d'irrigations, qui apparaît." Bazzana, "Villages et terroirs andalous: Quelques aspects du peoplement medieval et de l'exploitation agraire dans al-Andalus," 142.

and Bresc, in Sicily, have shown that many of these Early Islamic hydraulic settlements were in marshlands.[15]

Glick presents an excellent synthesis of this evidence, which shall be treated here to explicitly bring together the striking similarity between Spanish and Near Eastern frontier marsh settlements. In the marshes (*marjal*) along the eastern littoral of al-Andalus (such as Olivia, Valencia, Murcia/Orihuela), Late Roman upland settlements were replaced by settlements along irrigation canals and river meanders that were part of the marsh landscape.[16] In Catalonia from the ninth–eleventh centuries, irrigated lots of land producing fruit trees, legumes, and vine were found in the intermittent beds of rivers as islands watered by surface canals or seasonal flooding. When they were not cultivated, they were used as pasturage. These areas were appropriately called by the toponym al-Jazīra, or similar corruptions such as Algeciras or Alcira.[17] Primary sources support this type of new Islamic settlement in marshes. By the start of the eleventh century, al-'Udhrī states that the Segura River ends in a marsh "in a district of Muwalladūn in the direction of the alquería called al-Juzaira."[18] In addition to the evidence of settlement pattern and toponym, many of the ceramics found at these sites were not Late Roman forms. While this is not a stand-alone indicator, as argued

---

[15] For Gutiérrez Lloret, see footnote 7 above; for Azuar Ruiz, see footnote 17 below; for H. Bresc, see "Les eaux siciliennes: une domestication inachevée du XIIe au XVe siècle," in: *Water Control in Western Europe, Twelfth-Sixteen Centuries*, ed. E. Crouzet-Pavan and J.-C. Maire-Vigueuer, Proceedings of the Eleventh International Economic History Congress, vol. B2 (Milan: Università Bocconi, 1994), 73-85.

[16] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle,* 44.

[17] See for example, R. Azuar Ruiz, "La rábita califal de Guadamar y el paleoambiente del Bajo Segura (Alicante) en el siglo X," *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval* 5 (1991): 135-50, esp. 145.

[18] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 44.

earlier, the presence of many fragments of nuria jars (*qādūs*) links a traditionally Islamic irrigation technology with material culture. During this period, the Júcar River was a marsh floodplain irrigated with nurias and possessed alquerias with present-day Latinized Arabic names, such as Alásquer (*al-'askar)* and Resalany (*ra's al-'ayn*). Both names are linked not only with the presence of eighth century Islamic sites, but with possible military encampments and localized around springs.[19]

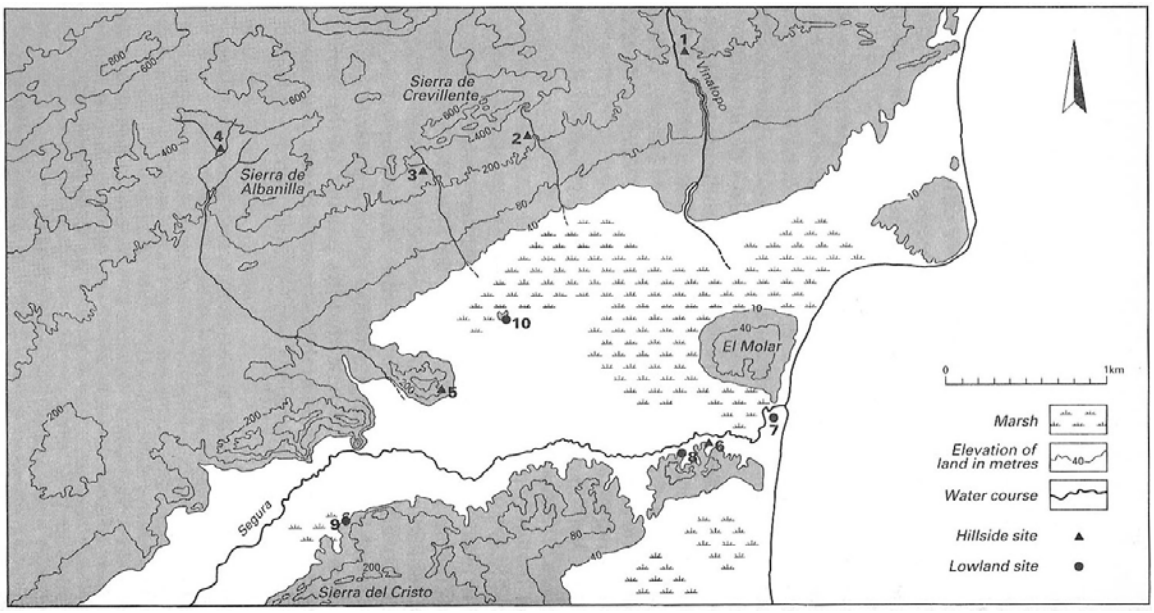

Figure 75 Eighth-tenth century Paleoandalusi marsh settlements in the Lower Segura Basin (from Glick 1995, Map 5, 36)

Tell and Upland Sites

Few of these hydraulic settlements incorporated associated castles or forts. In the area around Torrent and Picanya south of Valencia, six of a group of ten villages had

[19] Ibid., 45.

an associated Maghribī Berber-style tower-refuge.[20] Cressier showed that forts or castles were built primarily to defend the water source and as such were located by the main canal, usually at the head.[21] Guichard also incorporated the importance of water supply in his *incastellamento ḥiṣn/qarya* complex suggesting that perhaps defense was secondary to water supply.[22] Forts that protected water systems and major canals or were militarily strategic and villages that administered water systems and canals were not mutually exclusive to any area. They were all part of the landscape and often their roles cannot be clearly discerned. For example, tell sites with forts may be perceived as control point on higher ground or permanent villages in marsh. Glick cites an example in the marshland south of the Segura River where early sites were on mounds (*cabezos*). These had associated irrigation using *nurias* (imported from the east) and had land apportioned out in fan-shaped patterns.[23] Sites on high ground, like the Near Eastern tells in the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains may have been permanent island sites in the marshland in addition to serving as upland administrative points and defensive sites for the water supplies.

---

[20] T.V. Pérez Medina, "Regadiu i poblament als afores de l'Horta de València," *Afers* 33/34 (1999): 603-17.

[21] One isolated exception is a ninth century C.E. rectangular fort in Almiserát (Mount Xelibre), which was 35 x 22 m with circular corner towers and square central towers. Bazzana who excavated a sounding in 1985 found parallels for the fort with others in the Maghrib such as Ajdābiya in Libya (Bazzana, "Un fortin omeyyade dans le Sharḳ al-Andalus," *Archéologie Islamique* 1 [1990]: 87–108).

[22] See the foundational work by A. Bazzana, P. Cressier, and P. Guichard, *Les châteaux ruraux d'Al-Andalus* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988). See an example of recent work by S. Gilotte, "L'Estrémadure centre-orientale (VIIIe-XIIIe s.): peuplement et formes d'habitat aux marges d'al-Andalus" (PhD diss., Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2004).

[23] Glick, "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain," 122.

Irrigation and Social Organization

Islamic irrigation in al-Andalus has often been thought by historians to have reshaped the landscape and to be largely innovative, even carrying the term the Green or Agricultural Revolution, coined by A.M. Watson.[24] This "revolution" encompasses two perceived advancements: the introduction of new cultivars and the implantation of new technologies. With the advent of the Arabs from the east and the establishment of different networks of trade, population movement, and settlement, new varieties of cultivars were introduced that were more amenable to small-scale intensive gardens. As a result, Glick and others suggest that in al-Andalus, agricultural practice shifted from an extensive Late Roman/Visigothic (fourth to eighth centuries) cultivation of cereals to more localized intensive irrigated gardens around villages and towns.[25] Similarly, irrigation practices employing waterlifting devices such as the *shaduf, nuria,* and *cenia* or water transport methods such as *qanats* were seen as part of the new Islamic revitalization of the landscape.[26] Glick acknowledges the paradox of a region (particularly a frontier) with heavy ethno-cultural mixing and the introduction of new ways of life: "A culturally complex and new society like that of Early Islam cannot have presented any unified set of institutions. The Arabs pulverized the societies of antiquity and adopted cultural elements torn from their original

[24] Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World.*

[25] Glick, "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain;" Bazzana, "Villages et Terroirs Andalous," 142–47.

[26] The *shaduf* is a waterlifting device composed of a counterweighted bucket that swings on a lever. The *nuria* is an undershot waterwheel. The *cenia* is a waterlifting device composed of a wheel with a chain of pots. The *qanat* is a line of wells that are dug into an underground aquifer.

contents."[27] Glick's first statement is correct and mirrors many aspects of transition and formation of Islamic culture throughout the Near East, as represented in the previously discussed process of ceramic transition and innovation. However, he adds too much agency in the process of acculturation, which particularly in rural areas would not have been so deliberate so as to 'tear' anything, but simply to adapt to environmental and local constraints. K. Butzer goes further and completely deemphasizes the Islamic contribution, arguing that irrigation was well practiced for centuries prior to the arrival of the Arab and Berber tribes.[28]

As for the introduction of new cultivars, Butzer states that in actuality only nineteen of 134 plants were newly introduced in al-Andalus.[29] Based on settlement and land use practices, as well as environmental changes to human activities in the Near East, I would argue that these innovations were isolated and minor and operated within a strong system of agricultural irrigation in place certainly by the Roman (and Late Roman period) if not earlier. One could argue that in al-Andalus, Arab and Berber tribes were newcomers to the area, whereas in the Near East, Arab tribes were preexistent for centuries. However, these tribal communities were not living in a vacuum. They would have been exposed and participants in landscapes with

---

[27] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle,* 67.

[28] K. Butzer, et al. "Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?" *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 75.4 (1985): 47–509. An example of continuity mentioned by al-Zuhrī in the twelfth century describes a spring-fed Roman canal on the left and right banks of the Segura River associated with first–second century C.E. villa sites and an Islamic canal on the right bank dating to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries that reused the Roman canal (Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 65).

[29] Butzer, et al., Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain. An example from the Near Eastern *thughūr* could lead one to argue that similar eastern crops were introduced to the Amuq Plain and Cilician region by the resettlement of the Zuṭṭ tribes originally from India.

agricultural irrigation in North Africa just as in al-Andalus. Rather, the continuity of these systems attests to the lasting durability of local and regional environmentally sustainable agricultural practices. While adaptation to expanding marsh would have demanded some change in local subsistence strategies, the implantation of a foreign agricultural "revolution" would have been hardly felt. Similarly, new hydraulic and irrigation technologies may have been introduced but the idea of an agricultural revolution more speaks of lauding advancements in Islamic science and technology rather than any real radical reshaping of the landscape.

While there is a basic continuity of irrigation practices and settlement, some comments can be made on the development of Islamic irrigation systems and social organization in al-Andalus that have application in the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş regions. Butzer divided irrigation practice into a tripartite system based on scale: macro, meso, and micro. The macro-scale of irrigation was a Roman development encompassing 50–100 square km on the major floodplains such as the Ebro and Segura Rivers and the coastal plains including the South Mijares, Sagunto, Palancia, Valencia, and Tura Rivers in the regions of Valencia, Alicante, and Murcia/Orihuela. These floodplains had large canals, which then broke off into secondary irrigation canals. By the fifth century C.E., these irrigation systems began to collapse until the period of Early Islam, when these macro-systems were revitalized. Butzer writes that the Islamic regulation of water rights in al-Andalus was adapted from the Roman system and was similar to certain practices in the Near East (the "Syrian System").[30]

[30] Ibid., 490.

These regulations attached proportional water allocations to land property holdings. Representatives from major communities could bring their claims to the city.

The meso-scales and micro-scales were more distinctly Islamic systems of organization. Meso-scale irrigation involved a small group (approximately seven) of villages that shared water from springs and small rivers in an area 15–125 ha in size. Water may have been lifted by *cenias*, stored in tanks, and then distributed to smaller canals. Irrigation was seasonal, usually between late June and mid-October; it was regulated by an irrigation officer who allocated water rights to villages in groups of hours or days. The last degree of irrigation, microscale, involved small lots of land around 1 ha watered by springs; water that was held in tanks or cisterns and shared by small groups of landholders, rather than villages. Butzer concludes that by the beginning of the Islamic period an infrastructure of cultivars, crop rotation, agricultural calendars, and regulation were already in place. As such, the Islamic contribution was one of intensification, "evolutionary rather than revolutionary."[31] The intensification, however, was not necessarily of the macro-scale systems of irrigation but of the meso- and micro-scales.

As Glick points out, the organization of state-sponsored hydraulic protection activities is in many ways similar to K. Wittfogel's Theory of Oriental Despotism,[32] but on an extremely localized level and without the totalitarianism ideology that his

[31] Ibid., 503–04.

[32] K. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957).

studies on hydraulic civilizations implied.[33] Rather than centralized control and bureaucratic organization, tribal organization took place on the scale of individual river valleys and plains. Furthermore, smaller meso and microscales of irrigation correlated well with tribal organization, as argued by Glick, Barceló, and Martínez, due to the necessary cooperation between groups and the rigid social ordering of space: "there is a perfect fit between 'hydraulic microspace' and 'strong' tribal parameters."[34] Bardhan agrees: "Not surprisingly, cooperation works better in small groups with similarity of needs and clear boundaries, and shared norms and patterns of reciprocity. In such communities monitoring is easier."[35] In the Early Islamic period, such cooperation and sharing is shown by Barceló in the Catalan region by the prioritizing of irrigation canals over mills, which are always at the end of the system so as not to disrupt the allocation of equal water rights.[36] Many of these water systems that were more directly involved with agriculture and irrigated cultivation rather than milling was shown to be Berber creations.[37]

---

[33] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 68.

[34] Ibid., 69; M. Barceló, *The Design of Irrigation Systems in al-Andalus* (Bellaterra : Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publications, 1998).; L.P. Martínez Sanmartín, "El studio social de los espacios hidráulicos" *Taller d'Història* (Valencia) 1 (1993), 90-3.

[35] P. Bardhan, "Symposium on Management of Local Commons," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7 (1993), 87-92, esp. 90; Glick, Ibid., 69.

[36] M. Barceló, "La arqueología extensiva y el studio de la creación del espacio rural," in: *Arqueología medieval: En las afueras del 'medievalismo',* ed. M. Barceló (Barcelona: Crítica, 1988), 213; Glick, Ibid., 69.

[37] See A. Poveda Sánchez, "La investigación sobre el hidraulismo andalusí y los asentamientos localizados en el Alto Maestrazgo (Castellón)," *Revista de Historia Económica* 17 (1999: 343-69; Glick, "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain," 117.

The use of meso- and micro-scales of irrigation and the attendant settlement patterns are further highlighted as an Islamic development by historical geographic research. Using evolved toponymic evidence in Ibiza, Barceló was able to derive names for the villages that were replications of Berber tribal names (often starting with the prefix "beni").[38] Berber tribes came with the first wave of settlers in the eighth century C.E. and were not necessarily Arabicized or Islamicized. In all of the Balearic Islands, Berber tribes represented the majority (85% in Mallorca [Mayūrqa], 100% in Manorca [Manūrqa], and 58% in Ibiza [Yābisa]).[39] As such, these hydraulic settlements were linked to tribal segmentary organization rather than a Visigothic pre-Islamic feudal model. Portions of land without servile or tenant farming attachment was part of the Islamic *iqṭāʿ* system. Research and analysis on tribal organization shows one arrangement of multiple tribes along the same canal with individual parcels of land of varying sizes. Although irrigated portions of land and villages may not always have been equal, the even distribution of water rights insured that the water resources were not overdrawn. Individual parcels of lands and equal water rights under smaller systems of irrigation insured a level of self-regulation and enforcement. This arrangement was designed to avoid a concentration of one or two key areas dedicated to activities such as milling that could disrupt the shared water supply and thereby lead to conflict.[40] Settlement and demographic expansion was negotiated by overlapping

[38] See Barceló, "Immigration Berbère et établissements Paysans à Ibiza (902–1235)," 291–321.

[39] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 32.

[40] Glick, "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain," 116-118. For studies that have focused on multiple tribes settling along one river system, such as in Coanegra and other valleys in Mallorca, see H. Kirchner, "L'Arqueología hidráulica a al-Andalus," in *El curs de les aigües: Treballs sobre els pagesos*

spaces that were shared: "Sometimes population growth led to the establishment of complementary agricultural spaces (for herding, for example.)"[41] It is important to consider that not all Christian groups would have migrated from the plains. As such, different ethnic groups would have had different agricultural and subsistence practices such as a greater emphasis on pastoralism among the Berber tribes.[42]

IV. The Middle Islamic Period (Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries)

The hydraulic-centered village settlement pattern in al-Andalus, as in the Levant, was a phenomenon of the Early Islamic period (eighth–tenth centuries C.E). Following this period, the landscape evolved from village sites around communal springs or canals that were tribe- or clan-based to periurban agglomerated settlements (*huertas*) of the twelfth century. In these mixed clan settlements, water supply administration and access was privatized rather than communal. According to Barrio-Nuevo and J. Rodríguez López, this was a natural manifestation of an increasingly settled space. Expansion led to more social interaction and complexity between villages and varying tribal groups, which eventually led to a form of privatization.[43]

---

de Yābisa, M. Barceló, ed. (Ibiza: Consell Insular d'Eivissa I Formentera, 1997), 32. For studies that have focused on the range of sites settled by one tribe or clan, such as in Liétor, Albacete, see C. Navarro, "El *ma'gil* de Liétor: Un sistema de terrazas de origen andalusí en activo," *I Congreso de Arqueología Peninsular* (Porto, 1995), 6:365-78.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 29–30.

[43] C. Barrionuevo and R. López, "Territorios campesinos: una lectura del paisaje agrícola andalusí de Níjar y Huebro, en el distrito de Arsal-Yaman (Almería)," in *Agricultura y regadío en Al-Andalus, síntesis y problemas: actas del coloquio, Almería, 9 y 10 de junio de 1995* (Almeria, 1995), 233-34; Glick, "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain," 126.

Incastellamento began to occur by the end of the Early Islamic period, ca. 1000 C.E..[44] The process began with the sixth/seventh century C.E. flight of Late Roman Visigothic communities and the settlement of upland mountain sites (*oppida* or *ummahāt al-ḥuṣūn*) with large populations on the eve of the Islamic conquest. These *muwallad* communities differed from Berber or Maghrebi style settlements in they functioned as defensive fortifications which controlled localized areas and were refuges for rebel mountain groups who practiced banditry on the lowland Islamic communities.[45] However, Muslim fortification and *incastellamento* was a late process. The first phase is the transition from dispersed tribally-based *alquería* hydraulic sites to more nucleated groupings of village settlements around a fortification (the *ḥiṣn*/*qarya* model) at the end of the tenth century. Just as most upland castles have Latin toponyms, most *alquerías* have Arab or Berber names. Those castle names that were Arabized (i.e., Alcalá, from *qal'a*) occurred from the tenth century onwards and were located in lowlands or at the margins of upland and lowland. This mirrors similar cultural and settlement change in the transition from Early Islamic to Middle Islamic in the Near East.

Some of these forts reoccupied classical sites. The earliest *ḥuṣūn* consisted of three elements: 1) a central residence, 2) *sāluqiya* or celoquia where the *qā'id* resided, 3)

---

[44] According to R. Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982), 107-211, incastellamento starts in the tenth century C.E. in Northern Italy, then beginning of eleventh century in Southern Italy. In Provence before 950-1030 C.E., in Catalonia between 960-1020. See also Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 111.

[45] Acien Almansa from Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 28. Small-scale Christian raids on large fortified villages was the method employed in the "*reconquista*" as mentioned by A. Bazzana and P. Guichard, "La Conquête de Région Valencienne d'Après la Chronique de Jacques 1er et les Données Archéologiques," in Castrum 3, 21–31.

and a cistern and walled in enclosure. This enclosure (*baqqār* or albacar) was most likely for the sheltering of cattle, as evident from the name, along with the rural population of the area. From the arrangement of the earliest *ḥusūṇ*, it seems fairly clear that it functioned as refuge for the local population.[46] That the *ḥuṣūn* were used for refuge rather than serving a military function is evident from two elements mentioned by Glick.[47] First, the greatest density of these fortifications was in the southern large plains and river valleys of Castelló, Mijares, and Palancia, where most of the population lived, rather than the northernmost frontier (*al-thughūr al-a'lā)* on the Christian border. This could indicate a general sense of instability and threat that was felt throughout al-Andalus. Second, the arrangement of fortifications on the *thughur al-a'lā* was not necessarily suggestive of a borderline; rather, the *ḥuṣūn* protected the main cities, forming a defensive perimeter around them. This is seen in the city of Huesca, which had twelve *ḥuṣūn* around it. Textual information corroborates the use of upland fortifications for refuge as in the Mudéjar Revolt of 1276–77 where Muslims "emptied out their villages in the plains and went up with the beasts and clothing to the feet of the castle walls."[48]

---

[46] Senac, however, sees these *ḥuṣūn* as centers of local administration, as in the example of the *ḥiṣn* of La Iglesiata in the region of Aragon on the *thughūr al-a'lā* (Upper Marches) near the city of Huesca and dated to the second half of the tenth century. The plan of the site included a triangular tower and nearby an open-aired building (P. Sénac, "Une fortification musulmane au nord de l'Ebre: Le site de La Iglesiata," *Archéologie Islamique* 1 (1999): 123-146. The open building is suggestive, however, of the *baqqār* enclosure.

[47] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 17–18.

[48] Bernat Desclot cited by J. Torró, "El problema del hábitat forticado en el sur del reino de Valencia después de la segunda revuelta mudéjar (1276-1304)," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 7 (198-1989), 55. See also Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 17 note 9.

The *ḥuṣūn* were also responsible for protecting local resources. The *ḥiṣn*/*qarya* model in relation to water sources has already been discussed. In addition, there were fortified granaries. A fortified granary in the Valle de Ricota (middle Segura Valley, Murcia) called Cabezo de la Cobertera was located on a steep mound 100 m above the river and is dated to the late twelfth to early thirteenth century C.E.. The existence of a fortified granary illustrates two points well. First, as shown by ethnoarchaeological parallels of granaries and their communities in Morocco, a fortified granary is indicative of a sedentary community, a process of transformation that occurred between the Early and Middle Islamic periods with the agglomeration of villages into *huertas*.[49] Second, the fortified granary shows clearly the use of an upland fortified site as a place for refuge and protection not only of the local population, but of its resources. In the case of the Cabezo de la Cobertera, individual cells had both family quarters and storage areas either for grain or animals.[50] Although the granary was not explicitly a *ḥiṣn*, several *ḥuṣūn* also possessed collective storage spaces often associated with the *albacar,* such as those at Uxó, Monte Marinet, Silla, Montroy, and la Magdalena.[51] As pointed out by J. de Meulemeester, this is not unlike the role of

[49] See J. de Meulemeester, "Même problème, même solution: Quelques réflexions autour d'un grenier fortifié," in *Le Village Medieval et son environnement: ètudes offertes á Jean-Marie Pesez*, eds. L. Feller, P. Mana, and F. Piponnier (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), 97–112; idem, "Granaries and Irrigation: Archaeological and Ethnological Investigations in the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco," *Antiquity* 70.3 (2005): 609–25.

[50] J. de Meulemeester and A. Matthys, "The Conservation of Grain and the Fortified Granaries from the Maghreb to Central Europe," *Ruralia II* (Pamarky Archeologicke) Supplementum 11 (Spa 1997): 165.

[51] Ibid., 166.

churches during the same period, which also possessed storage spaces for a community's wealth.[52]

The system of *ḥuṣūn* from the tenth–thirteenth centuries presented an inversion of the feudal model. These settlements are not following a clearly military borderline arrangement or feudal function as centers of urban power, tax collection, and rural population control. Rather, these settlements were non-linear and defensive comprised of complexes, which held areas population, for grain storage, and holding areas for livestock.[53] The multiple functionality and high importance of refuge/defense for these fortifications puts these settlements in an entirely different class than castles in the Western European (and Christian Medieval) model.

[52] In some cases there were specific cellars for storing the community's wealth located around the church. See de Meulemeester, "Même problème, même solution," 104; idem, "Conservation of Grain," 166–67.

[53] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 23.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HYDRAULIC VILLAGES AND FORTIFIED CASTLES: A NARRATIVE OF SETTLEMENT

In the days of old, cities were numerous in Rūm, but now they have become few. Most of the districts are prosperous and pleasant, and have (each) an extremely strong fortress, on account of the frequency of the raids which the fighters of the faith direct upon them. To each village appertains a castle, where in time of flight (they may take shelter).[1]

I. Introduction

The observation above, made by an anonymous geographer writing in Persian in 982–83 C.E., describes two very different settlement patterns succinctly: one characterized by numerous cities before the tenth century and one characterized by defensible fortifications with villages attached. The process of settlement transformation encapsulated in the anecdote is precisely that of *incastellamento,* or the villa to village model of transition from open lowland towns and cities to upland defensible fortified villages and castles. From the archaeological evidence, this basic process has been shown in the Amuq Plain, Kahramanmaraş Plain, Plain of Issos, and other surveys throughout the Near Eastern and Andalusian *thughūrs* as a key settlement change that took place from the Roman/Late Roman to Middle Islamic periods. Yet the motivations and consequences for this transformation remain unclear.

[1] V. Minorsky, trans., *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam: "The Regions of the World"* (Oxford, Printed at the University press for the Trustees of the "E. J. Gibb Memorial;" London: Luzac & Co., 1937), 156–57.

As such, the historical evidence for the Islamic-Byzantine frontier should not be avoided but rather configured with the archaeological picture. These archaeological and historical pieces can be layered to form a diachronic narrative of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier, which addresses several key issues. Although the Early Islamic period is the main focus of the study, the Late Roman and Middle Islamic periods will be similarly interrogated on a lesser scale with the same set of questions: 1) What are the main types of settlement from the Amuq, Kahramanmaraş, Issos, other Anatolian and Andalusian surveys?; 2) What are other parallels for the settlement, settlement pattern, and environmental context from other areas of Anatolia and the Near East?; and finally, 3) What are the historical trajectories behind these settlements including the movement and interaction of frontier populations?

The layering narrative offers several means of analysis through problems associated with Islamic archaeology and the frontier, such as how to represent seventh century continuity, the rural and environmental landscape, and archaeology and history (see Chapter 1). First, it allows for a differentiation to be made between the transitional periods of Late Roman and Early Islamic settlement. Second, it builds upon a symbiotic relationship between settlement and the changing environmental landscape of the frontier. Third, in incorporating historical evidence, it provides political and social context for shifts in settlement with changing trajectories of settled and nomadic peoples over time. Finally, it allows for social, cultural, and ethnic inferences to be drawn about frontier society that will be explored more fully in Chapter 8.

II. The Late Roman Period (Fourth to Seventh Centuries)

Evidence from regional surveys has shown that by the Late Roman period, settlement in the plains and surrounding foothills and uplands reached its height, with sites dotting every part of the landscape, a continuation and peak of the dispersal of settlement that began in the Hellenistic period.[2] This was supported by a phenomenon of widespread urbanization spanning the fourth to sixth centuries C.E.,[3] epitomized by the spectacular villages on the north Syrian Jebels,[4] as well as, several surveys carried out in nearby regions.[5] However, the expansion of sites in the Late Roman period was not consistently seen in all parts of the Near East at precisely the same time.[6] In the Amuq, the peak in settlement was reached in the Early Roman period (72% of sites occupied) and there is decline by the fourth century C.E. (47%). Further, only 3.5% of the Late Roman sites consisted of new foundations.[7] The apparent dwindling of

---

[2] For example, see preliminary Amuq Plain research of Yener, et al., "The Amuq Plain Regional Project, 1995–1998;" Wilkinson, *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia*, fig. 6.2; Stein, "Medieval Regional Settlement Organization;" Algaze, et al. "Şanlıurfa Museum/University of California Excavations."

[3] R. Duncan Jones, "Economic Change in the Transition to Late Antiquity," in *Approaching Late Antiquity: The Transformations from Early to Late Empire*, ed. S. Swaine and M. Edwards (New York: Oxford University Press), 20–52.

[4] J.-L. Biscop, "*Deir Déhès, Monastère d'Antiochène. Etude architecturale*" (Beirut: Institut Francais d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, 1997); Tate, *Les Campagnes de la Syrie du nord*; Sodini, et al., "Déhès (Syrie du Nord);" Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*; M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale: Architecture civile et réligieuse de 1er au VIIe siècle*, 2 volumes (Paris: J. Baudry, 1865–77).

[5] Tate, *Campagnes des la Syrie du nord*.

[6] See Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East*, 137–41.

[7] The comparison takes into consideration only sites with definite ceramic identifications, omitting more ambiguous coarsewares, handles, and bases. Yet, even including sites with indefinite Late Roman attribution brings the percentage to around that of the Roman period.

settlement in the Amuq Plain at this time was rooted in three main trends: 1) the consolidation of villages in the plain into fewer sites with strengthened occupation and disappearance of several small Roman farms in the Orontes and Afrin Valleys; 2) the expansion of settlement on the highlands and further expansion of oleoculture on the Syrian hills; and 3) the emergence of a web of lesser towns equipped with markets.[8] These patterns are a prologue to the trajectories of *incastellamento* crystallized in the Middle Islamic period.

Consolidation of Rural Plain Sites

Sites on the plain in the Late Roman period, both preexisting and newly founded, were predominately flat or low mounds. Tell sites were mainly avoided or had small occupations limited to isolated buildings or small villages. While the arrangement of Late Roman sites was seemingly random, clear patterns from the Roman period can be discerned by their location either along canals or rivers or routes around the plain. In some cases, where canals have not been detected, their presence can be extrapolated by their attendant sites. Three newly founded sites were associated with these canal systems. All of these newly founded sites were rather small in size with small assemblages. Settlements depended on canals and rivers not only for irrigation, but also as natural field boundaries and transportation conduits, echoing Libanius' remarks of a landscape subdivided by canals and rivers conveying produce to the city.[9]

---

[8] A. U. de Giorgi and I collaborated to produce the Late Roman Amuq interpretations. The emphasis on the results from the Amuq for the Late Roman period is a reflection of the fact that at the time of writing, the Kahramanmaraş Plain Late Roman analysis, undertaken by E. Laflı, was not completed.

[9] Libanius *Or.* 11.260–62.

Route sites were equally important markers for newly founded sites including the largest *de novo* Late Roman site which replaced several smaller abandoned Hellenistic and Roman sites, suggesting that this new settlement was a consolidation taking advantage of its prominent location on the Antioch–Germanicia northern route out of the Amuq Plain. Furthermore, the site was equidistant from both Antioch and Pagrae. Several other Late Roman small sites were newly founded on the Antioch–Chalcis–Beroea (Ḥalab) eastern route out of the plain.

While the overwhelming majority of Late Roman sites were sited off tells, a few tell sites did have occupation. These settlements were greatly reduced from the pre-Hellenistic occupational phases on the tells, as shown by excavations of fifth and sixth century levels of a small walled village on Çatal Höyük (AS 167) and a small monastery atop Tell al-Judaidah (AS 176).[10] More recently, intensive on- and off-site survey at Tell Atchana (AS 136) also demonstrated a scant presence of Late Roman ceramics and roof tiles, suggesting that the settlement on the mound, was perhaps limited to "isolated farmsteads, buildings, or encampments"[11] or cemeteries[12] and at

[10] T. Vorderstrasse, "The Romanization and Christianization of the Antiochene Region: The Material Evidence from Three Sites," in *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch*, 91–94. The Çatal Höyük village was confined to the northeast end of the site with a wall separating it from the rest of the tell. It also had an attached cemetery of twelve graves. The Tell al-Judaidah monastery consisted of a chapel, residential building with mosaic floor, and tombs, encircled by a wall with a cistern beyond the walls. The stone chapel comprised a rectangular nave paved with red brick and a small square sanctuary at its east end with a small room possibly for a tomb attached to the south wall of the nave. The church is comparable to many in the limestone massif and dates to the fifth or sixth centuries. These excavations of the 1930s were reanalyzed by T. Vorderstrasse; however, for the original publications, see Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch,* 10–13, 31–34, plates 49C, 62, 63B.

[11] J. Casana and A. Gansell, "Surface Collection, Off-site Survey, and Floodplain Development at Tell Atchana," in *The Amuq Plain Regional Projects,* Volume 1: *Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002,* ed. K. A. Yener (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 2005), 157; Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 262. Furthermore, a high density field scatter north of the mound may suggest either off-site scatter or off-site settlement at the base of the tell in the form of a lower

Tell Kurdu (AS 94) the presence of a countermarked coin of Heraclius and some roof tiles may tenuously indicate the presence of a farmhouse or military encampment in the first half of the seventh century.[13] Tells in the eastern *thughūr*, such as those surveyed in the Bozova-Urfa and Lidar Höyük surveys also generally had no or very scanty Early Islamic remains or ceramics came from lower towns such as Lidar Höyük which had a village to the north at the foot of the tell. This small inhabitation type also demonstrates the elusiveness and near invisibility of detecting Late Roman (and Early Islamic) occupation on tells. As such, tell occupation in the Late Roman period can be misleading in terms of data. While the sites may have been physically large or tall in relation to other sites, their settlements may have been very small.[14]

Expansion of Upland Sites

The picture of a reduction of Late Roman sites as compared with the Roman period changes when the uplands are included. Numerous Late Roman sites were located both on the foothills and in the uplands in all of the valleys of the Amuq. In the

---

town. A modern example of the same type of settlement is the modern village of Atchana clustered around the southern end of the tell.

[12] See the Roman cemetery at Fıstıklı Höyük on the Euphrates in S. Pollock and R. Bernbeck, "Excavations at Fıstıklı Höyük," in *TAÇDAM* 1999, 59–60; and for a Late Roman cemetery at Zeytinlibahçe Höyük on the Euphrates, see M. Frangipane and E. Bucak, "Excavations and Research at Zeytinlibahçe Höyük, 1999," in *TAÇDAM* 1999, 122.

[13] T. Vorderstrasse, "A Countermarked Byzantine Coin of Heraclius (610–41) from Tell Kurdu," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 166 (2006): 433–38.

[14] These discrepancies reveal themselves when assemblage size is weighed against site size or height. Example of this include AS 101, which was 17.5 in ha but only had one or two Late Roman sherds or AS 86, which was almost 12 ha and 13 m high but had a similarly small assemblage. AS 111, on the other hand, was perhaps the largest non-urban Late Roman site (18 ha) with a matching assemblage. From scanty evidence at Tell Atchana and Tell Kurdu, J. Casana argues that if one were to look hard enough, one would probably find some evidence of Late Roman (or Roman and Early Islamic) occupation (personal communication, 2008).

Kisecik Valley and uplands, five sites were identified and all were occupied in the Late Roman period. The farthest one up the valley (AS 232) was a Late Roman foundation. These sites suggest that the extractive industries of the Kisecik mines exploited in the Roman period continued and even flourished in the Late Roman period. As presented in Chapter 2, the Jebel al-Aqra was perhaps the most interesting area for the Late Roman period as it was during this time where settlement reached its peak and was the densest, with sites found all over the lowlands and uplands, slopes and hilltops. Virtually every site found was inhabited during the Late Roman period throughout the valleys and uplands. There were thirty-eight sites occupied. Of these, many had good assemblages[15] with finewares (71%), corroborating the pattern seen in the Roman period when over 50% of these sites had associated mosaics. The evidence suggests that these sites were perhaps more than isolated farms but included churches, villas, or large farmsteads, despite the fact that there was no main road, canal, or river networks or other strategic and economic considerations. This suggests a slightly different settlement pattern from the plain itself. The six largest sites with the heaviest assemblages were all previously inhabited in the Roman period and located in valleys or near the valley floors. As compared to the plain, the Jebel al-Aqra had a larger proportion of newly established sites (four), all of them were located on hilltops in the uplands. In addition, many were at the heads of the valleys, similar to Kisecik, showing the furthest extent of dispersal of upland settlement in the Late Roman period. Late Roman settlements with fineware ceramic assemblages and associated

[15] Besides six heavy assemblage sites, note the top-heavy ratio of eighteen medium as compared with only fourteen light assemblages.

agricultural activity including terracing were similarly seen on the other side of the Amanus on the upland slopes over the Plain of Issos.

The chronology of these sites began as early as the early fourth century C.E. By the mid-fifth to mid-sixth century the settlement reached its peak. Interestingly, the majority of the Jebel al-Aqra sites did not go beyond the mid-sixth century while Late Roman sites on the plain had evidence of continuation into the early seventh (and also the Early Islamic mid–late seventh century).[16] Similar settlement patterns show the highest peaks by the sixth century for Lycia at the western end of the Taurus range and for the Jebels in northern Syria where churches, monasteries, and villages were found with associated wine and olive presses, terraced fields, and animal pens.[17]

Late Roman fortified sites were also found in the uplands. In the mountains above Kırıkhan, AS 334 at 960 m a.s.l. was high above olive and vine producing elevations, yet yielded Late Roman pottery. Nearby Kale Tepe (AS 336) was a square building (20 x 20 m) of large ashlar masonry with a perimeter wall. It was interpreted as a military fort or watchtower. AS 332 (Fenk Kale), which yielded very little pottery overall but was similar in size and plan architecturally, may have also been a Late Roman military site. So too was AS 238 (Serinyol Kale) along the Amanus between Baghrās and Anṭākiya was also a square structure of stone with a vaulted roof measuring 9.3 x 9.3 m in a larger square platform measuring 30 x 34 m. A parallel for

[16] As evidenced by the frequent presence of later LRC forms (4, 10, and 13) and seventh century brittlewares.

[17] C. Foss, "Lycia in History," in *Cities, Fortresses, and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996), 19, 23.

these buildings is the site of Burç from the Adıyaman Survey.[18] As such, Late Roman military fort sites resembled small well-defended watchtowers in the uplands. These were probably connected as part of a signaling system to warn against incursions.

Rise of Minor Towns

The role of Roman Antioch as both a world class city and as a parasitic settlement dependent on the bounty of its hinterland has been adequately shown, not least by Antioch's own citizen Libanius who wrote in the fourth century: "By lake and river craft they empty the countryside of its produce and transport it to town."[19] By the fifth century, urban centers remained part of the network of key transportation nodes on the edges of the Amuq Plain. Other cityscapes changed, however, operating more independently by incorporating agricultural lands, gardens, canals, and watermills within the city walls, as well as satellite sites in a micro-regional system. In the Amuq, Hellenistic and Early Roman foundations like Imma, Gephyra, and Artesia, hitherto minor towns and stations along the main routes, now acquired centrality on account of their location and the services that they offered to the surrounding countryside. The alleged self-sufficiency of Antioch's rural district in the fourth century C.E.[20] may have been grounded in the economic opportunities and new markets that centers like Imma provided its surrounding sites. While this notion of self-sufficiency is

[18] Although surveyors refer to it as a building of "obscure purpose." Blaylock, et al, "The Adıyaman Survey," 122–24; Blaylock, "Adıyaman Survey 1985–1991," 106.

[19] Libanius *Or.* 11.260–62.

[20] J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: The City and the Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press 1972), 60.

problematic,[21] it is apparent that this historical phase witnessed important economic changes tied to fact that Antioch was no longer the preferred economic outlet. The region's economic thrust was now situated on the limestone hills to the southeast of the city. The intense building activity in this region between the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. corroborates the picture.[22] What needs to be emphasized is that by swinging toward the Jebels, Antioch's economic pendulum broke with the tradition of town *and* country that was a hallmark of the Hellenistic and Early Roman period.

In the Kahramanmaraş Plain, similar trajectories can be deduced although the precise chronology of when these occurred is unknown for the Late Roman period.[23] Working backwards from the Early Islamic period evidence of new or preexisting sites demonstrates that in the Late Roman period, more settlements were abandoned in Kahramanmaraş than in the Antioch region where there is more continuity into the Early Islamic period.[24] The advanced state of transformation in the Late Roman period in the Kahramanmaraş region is true also for urban centers. Germanicia, identified as

---

[21] It can be safely inferred that the Late Roman Jebels's economy, centered upon the production olive oil was rather integrated in far-flung commerce exchanges that had Constantinople as a main terminus. For a thorough discussion of this problem see M. Decker, "Food for an Empire: Wine and Oil Production in North Syria," in *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*, eds. S. Kingsley and M. Decker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 69–86.

[22] Foss, "Syria in Transition;" Gatier, "Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin," 45.

[23] See note 8 above.

[24] The percentage of Late Roman settlements is the same for the two survey areas (49% definite for the Amuq versus an average of 45% for Kahramanmaraş). What is known is that by the seventh century Early Islamic period there are twice as many sites in the Antioch region as there are in the Kahramanmaraş region (23% for the Amuq versus 12% for Kahramanmaraş). Even if the indefinite Early Islamic sites were to be considered with the definite sites in total, the ratio is still maintained (49% for the Amuq versus 24% for Kahramanmaraş). The main difference lies in the number of preexisting Late Roman sites continuing into the Early Islamic. Thus, while the *de novo* Early Islamic sites are more or less consistent (7% for the Amuq, 4% for Kahramanmaraş), the preexisting Late Roman to Early Islamic sites are not (21% for the Amuq, 9% for Kahramanmaraş).

site KM 55/Danışman Höyük and situated in the center of the Kahramanmaraş Plain between the northern and southern basins, was the local urban center for the Kahramanmaraş region in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period. However, in the Late Roman period the site, if occupied at all, did not approach the size and extent of an urban site such as Antioch, nor did it continue to be an urban site but may have shifted. Factors of environmental change may have influenced this shift, with much of the southern plain becoming wetlands. The difference in degree of wetland between the Kahramanmaraş and Amuq Plains is indeterminable as of yet.

Removing the arbitrary boundaries of the AVRP survey and surveys on the Syrian Jebels to the east and south, a certain level of continuity does, in fact, remain. In general, new Late Roman sites tended to be quite small with small assemblages and scattered. Former Early Roman sites that continued consolidated into larger sites. The absorption of land that previously belonged to villages and independent farms was a typical component of Late Roman landscapes by and large and Antioch was no exception. Libanius' speeches, in particular, reflect this situation and inform us of these dynamics of change.[25] This echoed a similar process described in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods and showed a gradual evolution of small, scattered farms that either consolidated over time into larger settlements or were abandoned in favor of upland settlements.[26] Sites occupied upland ecological niches more intensively than in the Roman period. The density and chronology of settlement matches exactly the highest peak in growth that is seen in the Syrian Jebels farther east

[25] Libanius *Or.* 47.4.

[26] De Giorgi, "The Formation of a Roman Landscape."

and southeast,[27] although increased activity in the uplands peaked in the mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries in the Jebel al-Aqra while many of the Syrian Jebel sites continued until the ninth century.[28] As such, while the fact that there was no further explosion or peak of sites in the Late Roman period on the plain, the decline of sites in the Late Roman period is not a rupture of settlement but shows: 1) a continuum from the Early Roman phase without apparent breaks including the third century; and 2) a dynamic response to changing environmental and economic conditions.

This process is linked into a particularly dynamic environment; the steady growth of the lake and surrounding marshes earlier in the Late Roman period, in particular, played a major role in determining the economic strategies in the valley. Certainly, upland settlement and cultivation and canal building were in full force during the Roman period. The subsequent abandonment of plain sites in favor of dispersed upland settlements could take advantage of the burgeoning olive oil and wine producing markets. According to de Giorgi, the reduction of the number of villages and farms in the central Amuq Plain must be seen as a reflection of the expansion of larger estates that incorporated smaller holdings and often entire villages.[29] These properties had belonged essentially to the Antiochene administrators and wealthy landowning families on the rise that had expanded their estates and monopolized the city's markets. By the end of the Late Roman period, a depopulation of the wealthier

[27] Gatier, "Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin," 45.

[28] Magness, *Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement*, 198.

[29] De Giorgi argues that this process showed also an endemic vulnerability where a minority owned most of the land and controlled the markets, resulting in an inevitable collapse (de Giorgi, personal communication, 2008). See also Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*.

Byzantine citizens of Antioch seems to have occurred but a mass exodus of the region is certainly unlikely. Such a shift would also have affected surrounding Late Roman rural sites dependent on the urban center and its markets causing smaller farmsteads to be abandoned for more conglomerate villages with larger populations and more secure resources. Other groups went up into the Byzantine controlled upland territories in the Taurus or formed breakaway communities in the uplands such as the Mardaites (Jarājima) of the Amanus (see Chapter 8). The pattern of al-Andalus more closely mirrors the state of urban polities in the Near Eastern frontier. Similarly, the urban Visigothic aristocracy emigrated to the uplands and settled in villas by the sixth century. Like Antioch, a similar litany of disasters such as agricultural crisis, population reduction and nucleation, loss of a labor force in the seventh century, drought, and insect plague as part of a range of explanations for the Late Roman decline in al-Andalus, which took place at the end of the sixth century.[30] Setting the literary tropes of disaster aside, it seems that there is some truth in a human response to changing environmental conditions, just as patterns of settlement such as contraction and nucleation adjusted to depopulations of the cities.

III. The Early Islamic Period (Seventh to Tenth Centuries)

By the Early Islamic period, the number of settlements in the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains decreased by half, a pattern seen in other surveys in the region

[30] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle,* 12.

at Birecik-Carchemish and Kurban Höyük.[31] While Early Islamic sites remained characteristically lowland and flat, new patterns of settlement arose on the frontier that included marsh settlements and fortified square enclosure sites while river and canal sites and canal building continued. Patterns of settlement begun in the Late Roman period advanced such as the avoidance of tell sites, the consolidation of preexisting sites, appearance of a small number of dispersed new sites, and equalization of major urban cities with minor towns as self-sufficient polities. Upland sites, settled thickly in the Late Roman period, in some cases declined and in some cases stabilized owing to the decline in Late Roman urban agricultural connections. Classification by settlement of the patterns of continuity will be presented initially, followed by changes in settlement, with historical information introduced after each pattern to deepen the processes of change characterized during the Late Roman to Early Islamic period.

Persisting Patterns of Settlement

The Late Roman transformation of major urban centers into contracted and reduced towns and the rise to prominence of minor towns advanced further in the Early Islamic period. In the Amuq Plain, the network of urban centers and towns located around the edges of the plain continued through the Early and Middle Islamic periods. By the Early Islamic period, Anṭākiya was further reduced from its Late Roman extent and became secondary in importance to the provincial capital city of Ḥalab, which was for a time the capital (*qaṣaba*) of the *ʻawāṣim* province. The process of reduction seen in the Late Roman period coupled with the departure of a limited

[31] Algaze, et al., "Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project;" Wilkinson, *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia*.

number of Byzantines from the city at the time of the Early Islamic conquest in 635 C.E. would have significantly changed the face of Anṭākiya. Early Islamic textual sources refer to a reduced urban core and expansion of an outer buffer of agricultural lands, fields, gardens, pastures, canals, and watermills up to the Late Roman walls. Combined with the archaeological remains of Late Roman/Early Islamic watermills at Sultan Merkezi, these transformations describe a greatly transformed, more self-sufficient, smaller town in the Early Islamic period rather than the Roman parasite city that received all of its goods and trade from the hinterlands. ʻImm and Baghrās are similarly arranged in the Islamic period, as noted by geographers.

Watermills, for the grinding of wheat and grain, can be used as indicators of self-sufficiency, as they provided for the immediate vicinity of the settlements, while surplus could have been exported via canal or road system. Mills were found at all three settlements in the Amuq survey. The exact dating of the mills at ʻImm, while Roman in construction style, is difficult to determine. The dating of attendant sites, however, shows continued use into the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods. At Antioch, urban space was redefined. In the Late Roman period it has been written and supported archaeologically that certain families constructed villas that extended northeast into the Amuq Plain causing the enclosing wall to be rebuilt several times.[32] Under the new administration of the Islamic city, these portions of land (probably abandoned) were cultivated and equipped with mills, creating an immediate

[32] Libanius *Or.* 11.234; Malalas 8.346, praetorian Antiochus the Elder reporting to Emperor Theodosius: "the great city of Antioch in Syria had spread out and increased in size, and has many buildings extending up to a mile outside its walls. Then the emperor Theodosius ordered that the houses outside the city should also be surrounded by a wall."

agricultural zone that would have provided for various families, such as the preexisting rural population and new resettled groups from elsewhere in the Islamic empire.[33] Watermills were also associated with the Early Islamic occupation at Site 6 in the Kurban Höyük survey, a small Late Roman site that grew in size until the tenth century and in Jordan.[34]

While the majority of tell sites had no evidence of Early Islamic occupation (including Çatal Höyük, Tell al-Judaidah, and Tell Atchana), several tell sites did. In the Amuq, of the definite Early Islamic sites 12% were tell sites.[35] All of these had light to moderate Early Islamic assemblages. At three of the sites (AS 253, 35, 91) pottery came from the base of the tell in what was perceived as a lower town. Thus, tell occupation during the Early Islamic period was few and far between as Early Islamic settlements followed the Roman-Late Roman pattern of dispersed, non-tell-based sites and lower towns.

In the Kahramanmaraş Plain, the number of tell sites was higher — nearly one-third the total number of sites. However, nearly all of these sites were ranged from 0–6 ha and had small ceramic assemblages. An exception was KM 97/Domuztepe, which covered 16 ha. Surface survey and excavation indicated the presence of a Late Roman

---

[33] Such as resettled Persians and inhabitants from Ba'labakk, Ḥimṣ, Baṣra, and Kūfa (*al-miṣrān*) brought to the Anṭakiya by Mu'āwiya in 662/663 C.E., see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 201. This model of an immediate agricultural zone utilized by clans or families in an urban or peri-urban zone has been seen in the *huertas* of al-Andalus. For ancient Near Eastern and Islamic cities, see D. Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001).

[34] Similar mills and subsequent dating difficulties were uncovered in the 'Ajlūn-Kufranja Valley in Jordan. Their tentative dating was to the Islamic periods. J. Greene, "The Water Mills of the 'Ajlūn-Kufranja Valley," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 757–65.

[35] These were AS 36, 73, 91, 138, 215, and 253. AS 246 is possibly another tell site.

church and possibly other buildings and a Christian cemetery. Following the example of the Domuztepe and the Amuq sites of Tell al-Judaidah and AS 275 in the Jebel al-Aqra (not to mention the sites of the Syrian Jebels), it is likely that the buildings atop tells and hills were churches with small preexisting rural settled communities that certainly were known to continue into the Early Islamic period and were likely inhabited by Christians. The majority of tells and land on top of them may have been given over to farming or pasturing with small attendant settlements, much like today.

In the Early Islamic period, there were, by contrast very few upland sites. In the Amuq, of the five Late Roman sites in the Kisicik Valley, only AS 232, in the immediate vicinity of copper, gold, and steatite mines, continued to be occupied. AS 246 was a medium sized upland site and a major heavy assemblage site. It clearly guarded the road through the Belen pass. In the Jebel al-Aqra, the number of sites that continued was reduced by two thirds: thirteen sites in the Early Islamic period. However, more than half of these sites only bore slight continuity into the late seventh century and thus could be seen as Late Roman sites with extended occupations. It would be wrong to attribute this simply to the reverberating effects of Islamic conquest. Many of the ties that linked upland agricultural enterprises in the Late Roman period with Antioch were severed due to the major transformations of the city and the reorganization of the economy into more immediate self-sufficient localities. The upland sites that did continue were for the most part located on the valley floors or on nearby low slopes. An exception was AS 275 located on a hilltop overlooking

the Kozluca Valley. It may have been a Late Roman settlement that continued to be occupied, based on its continuity and location.

Only one site (KM 66) in the Kahramanmaraş Valley was a definite upland site occupied in the Early Islamic period. However, surveyors noted that this hilltop site at the edge of the plain also had a lower town. Furthermore, mosaic floors were found at the upland site, suggesting that it too may have been a Late Roman settlement that continued. That there were only three upland sites in the Early Islamic period in the Amuq and one in the Kahramanmaraş Plain is not an indication that settlement patterns during this time reverted to the patterns of lowland nucleated settlement centers seen in the Bronze and Iron Ages.[36] Early Islamic settlement avoided the whole mountain and small wadi area of the Jebel al-Aqra and the Amanus as a whole. Similarly, in the Kahramanmaraş Plain, the central outcropping had three major Early Islamic sites located at the base of the rise but still on the plain. Surveys in the side valleys of the Amanus revealed many Roman and Late Roman sites and associated terraces indicating cultivation that were not used in the Early Islamic period. The avoidance of upland sites in favor of canal, river, and marsh locations is an important contrast, particularly due to the fact that much of the plain was given over to permanent and seasonal wetlands. Those upland sites that were occupied may have been continued from the Late Roman period or fulfilled special functions such as the Kisicik mining site. AS 246 in the Belen pass was an exceptional site in every period. It was perhaps the only upland site of significance occupied from the Early Chalcolithic through the Early Modern period with virtually no interruption. Its large

[36] Casana, "Structural Transformations in Settlement Systems," 209.

size and assemblage in the Early Islamic period indicate a deliberate continuity of the site based on its strategic location after a possible seventh century gap.

Byzantine upland sites occurred during the periods of Early Islam, particularly fortified sites. While very limited survey[37] or excavation has been done in the Byzantine side of the frontier on the Taurus north of the *thughūr* several other studies show interesting patterns. Survey in Cappadocia revealed an important Byzantine fortification known from Early Islamic sources. The site was near Ḥiṣn Sinan (modern Akhısar) on a mountaintop that offered good views of the Lycaonian Plain. The site also offered a view to another fortress, al-Agrab (classical Argalos). As such, the two may have part of a system of Byzantine upland fortifications that also functioned as signaling stations including Ḥiṣn Sinan, Aksaray to the north, Sivrihısar to the east, and al-Agrab to the south.[38] Similar shifts to upland sites were recorded in other areas of Anatolia such as Paphlagonia[39] (north central Anatolia), Lycia (southwest

[37] Brown, "Prehistoric Pottery in the Antitaurus," 123–64. While the survey's focus was on prehistoric periods, the survey noted general classical and medieval sites and stated that a large focus for classical sites was in the area of the Jayhān River and Arabissos/Elbistan Plain in the Antitaurus Mountains north of Mar'ash. Although it is unknown whether Late Roman and Islamic settlements shifted, it is important to consider that while sites are considered as "upland" they may in fact have been in upland valleys and plains, though still inaccessible.

[38] See R. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005). Akhısar is known to have also had a church and *strategos* that continued into the eleventh century based on dedicatory inscriptions. The *strategos* denotes a connection with Constantinople.

[39] In Paphlagonia, surveys have discovered that Roman period sites were dispersed near river lowlands and mountain passes but in the Middle Byzantine period (700–1350 C.E., Early and Middle Islamic period elsewhere) twenty fortified sites were documented on natural prominences. Matthews attributes these isolated upland fortresses to times of instability when the local population sought refuge in them temporarily (such the Muslim conquest of Gangra/Çankırı and Turkic tribal raids) creating a "landscape of terror" as opposed to periods of calm and control as in the Hittite and Roman periods where there was a "landscape of control:" "such sites can be associated with episodes of severe stress and instability, and that they constitute the materialization of extreme emotions, namely terror and a

Anatolia), and Pamphylia[40] (south central Anatolia) on the coast at the western end of the Taurus range.[41] Around Lidar Höyük, Gerber argues that a concentration of Byzantine upland settlements was keyed into displacement due to sixth century incursions of Persian armies and pre-Islamic Arab tribes on the plain competing for resources. Haldon demonstrates that by the seventh through early ninth centuries, the city and rural countryside on the Byzantine frontier were left to their own devices and had little to do with the Byzantine state or imperial armies. It is interesting that during the period of Byzantine reconquest in the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries, new bishoprics tended to be sited in the Taurus Mountains on the Byzantine frontier, as in the case of those around Mar'ash (see Chapter 3). As such, there arose the need for

---

desire or need for control." R. Matthews, "Landscapes of Terror and Control: Imperial Impacts in Paphlagonia," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67.4 (2004): 200–11.

[40] In Lycia and Pamphylia on the western end of the Taurus range, the process of abandonment of the low open flat sites in the plains of the Roman and Late Roman period and movement to upland fortified castles began as early as the seventh and eighth centuries. These settlements were densely packed buildings arranged around a church on a hilltop. The fort of Dereğzi is an example of a newly founded seventh century hilltop fort built to protect the surrounding plain. Foss attributes this move to the precariousness of the coast and its subjugation to constant raiding. Foss, "Lycia in History," 30.

[41] While the synchronicity of lowland to upland *incastellamento* during this period all around Anatolia is striking, the chronology of Foss and Matthews with regard to keying shifts in settlement patterns to specific historical events should be lengthened. It is unlikely that these shifts occurred contemporaneous with the Arab conquests of the mid-seventh century. Rather, a gradual removal from coastal plains for the uplands in the Early Islamic period and perhaps earlier is more likely. Indeed, Foss' references to the mid-seventh century as a moment of decline, devastation, drastic change, the start of the "Dark Ages" are pervasive and too numerous to cite. Trombley strongly disagrees with Foss, arguing that the move to fortified upland sites occurred earlier, F. Trombley, "The Decline of the Seventh Century Town: The Exception of Euchaita," in *Byzantine Studies In Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Sp. Vryonis (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1985), 65–90, see fn. 14 and 39. He cites that existence of small hilltop garrisons (*phrouria*) since the Roman period as evidence for an early type of fortified upland refuge. This settlement type, corresponding with the Byzantine upland fortifications surveyed in the Amuq, is not a specific pattern of *incastellamento* per se, but rather small military upland garrisons always existed during the Roman/Late Roman periods. He also cites a series of fortified lowland towns east of the Amasya-Malaṭiya road over the Taurus, which provided for safety for the population. See J. Haldon, "Some Considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century," in *State, Army, and Society in Byzantium*: *Approaches to Military, Social and Administrative History, 6th–12th Centuries* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995), III.90–91.

fortified refuges for the local rural population with a local administration and regional garrison. Nevertheless, the observations are important, as they show a Byzantine upland fortification and settlement system moving farther away from the Islamic frontier and its lowland settlements. This process of *incastellamento* also occurred appreciably earlier than on Islamic lands in the tenth century.

Byzantine Pastoralism

The word nomadic or pastoralist automatically evokes its perceived opposite, settled. This is especially the case in outlining the nature of interaction between the two, whether ideological conflict or competition for resources. Implicit in this understanding is the assumption that some tribes on the Islamic frontier comprised nomads who competed for resources with the settlers on the Byzantine frontier. However, the archaeological evidence has shown that Islamic frontier sites were in the lowlands while Byzantine frontier sites were in the mountains, not the most viable region to subsist on cultivated agriculture. This raises the question: did the Byzantines on the Taurus Mountains lead a pastoralist lifestyle as well? There has been little evidence about frontier societies from a Byzantine perspective. However, historians such as Dagron and Haldon have painted a picture that largely corroborates the archaeological evidence and opens the discussion of Islamic-Byzantine interaction even further.[42] In the second half of the seventh century and early eighth century C.E., urban cities as self-governing centers of administration for the region and generators

[42] For example, see Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier;" G. Dagron, "Guérilla, places fortes et villages ouverts à la frontière orientale de Byzance vers 950," in Castrum 3, 43–48.

of imperial revenue lost their economic and political importance. Many of the Byzantine population (wealthier urban officials, elite, merchants, and aristocracy) left the cities to the local populace and withdrew to the Taurus Mountains.[43] One instance records the departure of Byzantines from Sīs in Cilicia for the "Greek Mountains."[44] Left largely to their own devices by the central state, the Byzantines enacted a general policy of avoidance and guerilla warfare, rather than drawn out battle. This strategy is supported in military treatises which describe that a response against Islamic raids should be defensive, protecting people, animals, and wealth above all and only retaliating while the raiders were returning back home, tired, and laden with their booty.[45] The Byzantines did not have an imperial army, but rather locally gathered garrisons that were mobilized (if at all) when needed. These garrisons consisted of prisoners and local villagers.[46] Booty was collected when possible by the Byzantine militias.[47] Byzantine strategy also included a measure of surveillance by mobile units

---

[43] Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 92–93; Haldon, "Some Considerations on Byzantine Society," III.89–94.

[44] This occurred in either 711–12/712–713 C.E. (according to Ibn Shaddād, *al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra*, 127 and others) or 808–09/809–10 C.E. (Balādhurī [after al-Wāqidī], *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 233).

[45] From J. Shepard, "Byzantium in Equilibrium, 886–944," in *New Cambridge Medieval History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995–2004), 555; and J. Shephard, "Byzantine Relations with the Outside World in the Ninth Century: An Introduction," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the 30th Spring Symposium of Byzanitne Studies*, ed. L. Brubaker (Brookfield, VT, Variorum, 1998), 167–80; W. E. Kaegi, "The Strategy of Heraclius," in *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham*, Volume 1, eds. M. A. Bakhit and R. Schick (Amman: al-Jāmi'ah al-Urdunīyah, 1989), 104–15.

[46] The prisoners were mainly from Islamic raids. Dagron, "Guérilla, places fortes et villages ouverts," 45.

[47] Nicephoros Phocas' military treatise, *Traité sur la guerilla,* states that plundering was acceptable. Selling or exchanging of prisoners was another type of booty (discussed in Dagron, "Guérilla, places fortes et villages ouverts," 46). Pedro Chalmeta speaks on a Spanish system of booty between Christians and Muslims (published in the discussion following Dagron's article).

in key positions and passes. The main goal of this was part of an early warning and evacuation system.[48] The use of the military in evacuation (*expelatores*) and defense was also tied into Byzantine settlement patterns.

Under threat of attack, villagers were to evacuate with their livestock to a designated defensible fortified mountain site called either a *kataphygia* (fortified village for refuge) or *ochyromata* (refuge in mountains).[49] The *kataphygia* were not part of a formal network but an *ad hoc* system used by the rural population in times of danger. Dagron states that the evacuations were seasonal in keeping with the time of Islamic raids. In Cappadocia, they were called *al-matāmīr* (sing. *al-matmūra*) referring to subterranean granaries, which were hidden from the raiding nomads.[50] The hidden granaries are similar to fortified granaries in al-Andalus and the Maghrib and indicative of a rural population in unstable times.[51] The priority to protect villagers, livestock, and grain is an indication of the type of booty that was collected by nomads. Furthermore, the Byzantines were practicing *incastellamento* by the seventh century in

---

[48] Dagron, "Guérilla, places fortes et villages ouverts," 45–46.

[49] Dagron outlines two other types of settlement: *phrouria* (garrison stations for defense) and *aplekta* (fortified camps for lodging of troops).

[50] Dagron, "Guérilla, places fortes et villages ouverts," 46. Abū Isḥāq took these granaries on a raid in Cappadocia in 831 C.E., see Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes,* i.289. See also E. W. Brooks, "Additions and Corrections to J. H. S. Vol. XVIII: The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750), from Arabic Sources," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1899) 19: 32. Brooks also refers to a granary in al-Maṣṣīṣṣa and a theme in Cappadocia called Matāmir.

[51] De Meulemeester, "Meme problème, meme solution," 104. Using ethnographic evidence he shows how granaries by semi-nomadic people are deposited in caves to also protect and hide the location when the tribe returns from its annual migration. It is interesting to note that by the twelfth century, the *ribāṭ* of Munastīr was used as a fortified refuge by those living around it, and as a fortified granary. M. Hassen, "Les Ribāṭ du Sahel d'Ifrīqiya: Peuplement et évolution du territoire au Moyen Age," in Castrum 7, 147–62.

Anatolia, as the Visigoths who fled the Andalusian plains to upland fortified sites did around the same time. This process continued into the tenth century and was noted not only by Byzantine military treatises but by Islamic geographers such as Ya'qūbī: "The Byzantine border districts are a land of fortresses and villages, not of cities;"[52] and Ibn Ḥawqal: "Rich cities are few in their [Byzantines'] kingdom and country, despite its situation, size and the length of their rule. This is because most of it consists of mountains, castles [*qilā'*], fortresses [*ḥuṣūn*], cave dwellings and villages dug out of the rock or buried under the earth."[53]

Did the Byzantines practice pastoralism? Historical evidence for the Byzantine frontier has shown a general shift from a military policy to a socio-economic one, where raising livestock was the most vital subsistence strategy. Cattle- or sheep-raising would have been more viable to the upland terrain, requiring less manpower, and being a portable resource.[54] Secondly, Byzantine populations practiced a form of transhumance by either moving from the same village to fortified upland sites and back based on the seasonal raiding calendar (semi-nomadic) or by moving from new site to new site continuously and treating these sites as temporary camps (nomadic).[55] While this is described in the sources as a defensive and reactive form to Islamic

[52] Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1892), 362.

[53] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārḍ,* 181. One textual mention shows a type of interaction that caused Christian settlers to leave their lands. The gradual sedentarization of tribes (and loss of military subsidies) caused some to work the lands themselves, displacing the former Christian tenants. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, 75.

[54] Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 100–01.

[55] These questions are raised in the discussion following Dagron's article and published. Notably, M. Bourin-Derruau, J.-M. Martin, and P. Guichard participate in the discussion with Dagron. The result of the discussion, however, still skirts around the issue of Byzantine pastoralism. (Dagron, "Guérilla, places fortes et villages ouverts.")

seasonal transhumance, the responses evoke an almost tribal cohesion in Byzantine movements. Third, Byzantines practiced forms of raiding through an *ad hoc* army of local peasants and prisoners that used guerilla and surveillance tactics and acquired booty whether as prisoners, livestock, or other supplies. This would have been crucial for subsistence particularly in the fortified refuge sites where there was no food. Fourth, the Byzantines not only attacked Islamic raiders but raided Islamic frontier towns on the plain. This is a form of transhumance where pastoralists who live in the uplands come down to the plains for raiding or to sell their goods at market in the winter. Though the Byzantines did not identify themselves as nomadic or semi-nomadic, circumstances and adaptation to environmental realities transformed them from settled to pastoralist. This does not represent a Byzantine decline, despite the rural and pastoral focus on society but rather an adaptive transformation.[56] Furthermore, the example of the Byzantine socio-economic agenda can teach us a valuable lesson for the Islamic frontier agenda, which may have been less about military strategy and religious war, but rather environmental and economic resilience. Haldon and Kennedy's initial observation rings clearer in light of the historical and archaeological evidence:

> much of the conflict along the border may have been focused around a competition for the best pasture and grazing land, as villagers from both sides drove their flocks up to the summer pastures, and in which the local military will again have been able to play a significant role.[57]

---

[56] Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 105. See also Cobb who states on the general subject of preexisting settled peasants in the Early Islamic period: "The fluidity and flexibility of rural lifeways in the mixed pastoral/agricultural economy of Syria meant that some peasants could avert disaster by complementing (or replacing) their farming with full or part-time pastoral nomadism" (Cobb, *White Banners*, 111).

[57] Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 101.

Changing Patterns of Settlement

River, Canal, and Marsh Sites

The largest and most important sites in the Early Islamic period were flat or low mounded sites along canal or river systems and in the expanding lake and marshlands. The sites also reflect the gradual expansion and permanence of the marsh. The three large sites along Afrin Canal B, evenly spaced, were established *de novo* and accordingly date the canal's construction and use to the Early Islamic period, beginning in the second half of the seventh to early eighth century. Two of these sites, including AS 257 — the largest Early Islamic site on the plain — were spread out to either side of the canal as double sites, while the third site was divided into two mounds on one side of the canal.[58] That great importance was placed on controlling water sources on the plain from the beginning of the Early Islamic period in the seventh–eighth century is evidenced by the establishment of four out of six new Early Islamic sites whose large size and heavy assemblage size were pronounced by their central location on the Afrin canals. Furthermore, it demonstrates how such canals can be dated via their proximal sites. The Yaghrā River sites had larger assemblages both by comparison with their previous Roman and Late Roman occupations and with the

[58] AS 29, one of the three major preexisting Yaghrā River sites, was also similarly arranged as a double river site. A parallel for this occurs in the Balikh Valley where the sites of BS 108, 109, and 110 on both sides of the Balikh River formed one site, primarily dating to the ninth century. This site was identified as Bāgharwān, one of five named sites in the valley and a medium sized center (K. Bartl, "The Balih Valley, Northern Syria, during the Islamic Period: Remarks Concerning the Historical Topography," *Berytus* 41 (1993/94): 36.

Afrin sites, even though the expansion of wetlands was more extensive for the Yaghrā River area rather than the Afrin canal area by the Early Islamic period.[59]

In both the Afrin channels and Yaghrā River, the site assemblages show a growth in physical size and assemblage from west to east, away from the spread of marsh. This is mirrored by a gradual chronological shift from predominately Late Roman and Early Islamic seventh centuries nearer to the lake to late Early Islamic and Middle Islamic tenth centuries farther east and by the eventual abandonment of the Afrin Canal A in favor of Canal B. While these shifts were to accommodate the expanding lake and the encroaching wetlands, the sites were not immediately abandoned in the Early Islamic period. Rather they had a fairly contemporaneous overlap with each other indicating that the sites were in or in close proximity to wetlands throughout much of their occupation. Some of these sites, such as AS 32 and AS 41 were certainly marsh sites, as was a seventh/eighth century site found in the Lake of Antioch (AS 180).[60] These new marsh/canal sites were partially a response to the growth of marsh caused by advanced erosion sedimentation on the plain and subsequent flooding of the rivers and canals of the previous periods.

The economy, however, seems to show general continuity. Hydro-irrigation activities, such as the construction of canals and watermills, and the expansion of river sites and the continuation of plain settlement despite the increase of marsh attests to

[59] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 65.

[60] A parallel for this lake/marsh site is found in the Jabbul plain east of Aleppo. Site 144 (Tell Wasta) was an island site on a rocky outcrop in the similar large marshy Jabbul Lake and dated to the Late Roman period (G. Schwartz, et al., "Excavation and Survey in the Jabbul Plain, Western Syria: The Umm el-Marra Project, 1996–1997," *American Journal of Archaeology* 104.3 (2000): 453.

this, as does a continuation of ceramic and glass industries at key Early Islamic sites. Adaptation to the marsh ecosystem may have added new elements for the agricultural economy and trade as the changing environment brought with it its own resources and an ideal landscape for pasturage. The ceramic connections shown by the site assemblages were overwhelmingly of local North Syrian production with very few examples of finewares and imports. Those finewares present were most likely produced at the nearest regional center of Anṭākiya.

In the Kahramanmaraş Valley, the newly established Early Islamic sites located centrally in the plain in association with canal systems remarkably complements almost perfectly the Afrin canal sites in the Amuq. These sites and associated three canal systems show an expansion of the irrigation system already in place during the Late Roman period in sites that were for the most part singularly Early Islamic. Furthermore, the abandonment of these sites by the Middle Islamic periods suggests a different system of settlement in place; one that avoided flat canal sites in the inundated expanded marshy plains. Both the east and west drainages of the Ak Su until very recently represented the wettest part of the plain often occupied by permanent lake/wetland, and as a result, the richest agricultural land and pasturage. In the Early Islamic period, the Nahr Ḥūrith (Ak Su) flowed through the Kahramanmaraş Plain and created marshes in this smaller basin. Undoubtedly, the Early Islamic settlement and irrigation canalization contributed to this already occurring phenomenon of marshification. Although the low flat site predominates and there is a concentration of heavy assemblage settlements, what is slightly different to the Amuq

pattern is that these sites are much smaller in physical size. Furthermore, two of the three canal systems incorporate a tell and presumed lower town as part of the irrigation network. The near absence of Early Islamic sites — *de novo* or preexisting — in the northern plain shows a restructuring of settlement towards the southern more wetland areas. This could suggest that the Early Islamic Mar‘ash was located somewhere in this southern region, as opposed to the present day site of Kahramanmaraş at the northern base of the Taurus foothills, long assumed to be the Early Islamic site.[61]

Canal building and local systems of canals and sites are known in the Early Islamic period on the frontier. In the Balikh Valley, Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik built a canal (Nahr Maslama) diverting the Balikh River to supply water to a large cistern and irrigated (*yusaqī*) lands around Ḥiṣn Maslama (BS 187/Madīnat al-Fār) at the local inhabitants’ request.[62] A secondary canal, flowing from the main Nahr al-Abbara to the site, was recorded and is likely the same feature.[63] It is also possible that the Nahr Maslama is the same as the primary Nahr al-Abbara, dated to the sixth–eighth centuries, as it also flowed along the east side of the Balikh where all of the major Early Islamic sites (including Bāghaddā/probably BS 172, Mahrē/BS 142, and

[61] For a full discussion of this issue, see the listing for Mar‘ash in the site gazetteer in Appendix 2. A discussion of the Late Roman site of Marasion and its relation to Germanicia is in Chapter 3.

[62] C. Haase, “Is Madīnat al-Fār, in the Balikh Region of Northern Syria, an Umayyad Foundation?” *Aram* 6 (1994), 247. The accounts come from Ibn Serapion who describes the Balikh as a densely population region, rich in domains, villages, gardens and also a semi-arid area with intensive land use, artificial irrigation. Canal digging for irrigation appears in Balādhurī (*Futūḥ al-buldān*, 205, 383, 407–10). Mention is also made in the first century after the conquests of importing Byzantine water engineers (*muhandisū al-mā’*) on the frontier (see Abu Ezzah, “The Syrian Thughūr,” 237).

[63] Wilkinson, “Water and Human Settlement,” 75.

Bāgharwān/probably BS 108–10) were found. Many Early Islamic field scatters alongside canals show archaeological evidence for manuring and cultivation of irrigated land. In Raqqa, a canal was used as the western side of the city and functioned as a moat-ditch or *khandaq*.[64] Bālis had a canal from the Euphrates feeding it as did Ḥarrān,[65] and Jazīrah ibn ʻUmar, a district capital north of Mawṣil (Mosul) on the Tigris. It was situated on an island formed partly by the Tigris and partly by a diverted canal.[66] The Nahr Saʻīd was a large canal that diverted waters from the Euphrates in a loop to water the district capital of Raḥba and built in Umayyad times. Similar to the major Afrin canal sites, almost all of these settlements are Early Islamic foundations or flourished in the Early Islamic period and were largely abandoned by the tenth century. Many localized canal/settlement systems were described during this period in al-Andalus, Sicily, and the Balearic Islands (see Chapter 6) while many have yet to be revealed.[67] Water-lifting irrigation devices such as *nurias* would also have been associated with canal networks.[68]

---

[64] S. Heidemann, "The History of the Industrial and Commercial Area of ʻAbbāsid al-Raqqa, Called al-Raqqa al-Muḥtariqa," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69.1 (2006): 32–52.

[65] Ibn Shaddād, *al-ʻAlāq al-Khaṭīra*, 14. The canal at Ḥarrān was built by Hārūn al-Rashīd called Jullāb and other travelers noted canals around Ḥarrān, see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems,* 103.

[66] The town was known in the tenth century for its products of cheese and honey, nuts and butter, and horses owing to its rich pastures, Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārḍ,* 202–03.

[67] A likely area is in the Khabur Valley in the Wadi Jagjag floodplain, where canal features were identified around Tell Brak. Their dating by associated sites has not been done, however, a fortified square enclosure near the mound originally thought to be a Roman or Late Roman fort (see Poidebard) but redated to the Sāsānian or Early Islamic period attests to an off-site Early Islamic agricultural system. J. Ur, "The Evolution of Settlement at Tell Brak, Syria: Preliminary Results of the 2003 Surface Collection," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Annual Schools for Oriental Research, San Antonio, Texas, 2004); idem., "The Evolution of Settlement at Tell Brak: New Data on Urban Emergence" (paper presented at the annual meeting of ASOR, Washington, D.C., 2006).

Although today most wetlands in the *thughūr* region have been drained completely, marshes have been documented in most other areas of frontier settlement including the coasts and inland plains and valleys until recently. Most of the coastline consisted of wetlands by the Early Islamic period. The Cilician Plain was dominated by marsh near the outlets of the Sayhān and Jayhān Rivers and the land along the coast between them. Travelers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century remarked on the extensive marshes of the southern Cilician Plain that by recent history had few settlements but used mainly as pasture for the fields of clover that covered the areas in spring when the winter flood waters receded.[69] The area south of Ṭarsūs to the coast and watered by the Nahr al-Baradān was also a marshland as was the coastal plain around Arsus and Alexandretta (and Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt and Kinet Höyük).[70] *Salina* basins were dug in many of these coastal wetlands for salt gathering.[71] Besides the Kahramanmaraş and Amuq Plains, wetlands also existed in many other inland plains and valleys in the *thughūr* and *'awāṣim* frontiers. The Quwayk River that flowed

---

[68] These are known since pre-Islamic times. See a depiction of a *nuria* on a mosaic from Apamaea dating to the mid-fifth century in C. Dulière, *Mosaïques des Portiques de la Grande Colonnade* (Brussels: Centre Belge de Recherches Archéologiques á Apamée de Syrie, 1974), 36-8, pls. 62-63. I am grateful to Linda Wheatley-Irving for pointing this out to me.

[69] Naval Staff Intelligence Department (British Admiralty), *A Handbook for Asia Minor*, Volume 4, Part 2 *Cilicia, Anti-Taurus and North Syria* (London: Naval Staff Intelligence Department, 1919), 13; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie. Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure,* Volume 2 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890–95), 23.

[70] British Admiralty, *Handbook for Asia Minor*, 19.

[71] Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 23. The site of Saltés near Huelva, Spain was a long lasting classical and Islamic site located on an island in a wetland delta and mentioned by Islamic geographers. Its Islamic name, Shaltīsh, alludes to the production of salt, and excavations revealed two *salina* basins dated to the Roman period. A. Bazzana, et al., "Shaltīsh (Huelva-Espagne) une ville dans les marais," *Archéologie Islamique* 4 (1994): 92.

through Ḥalab and Qinnasrīn south to the Marj al-Aḥmar (Red Meadow) followed an extent of nineteen km known as the Buḥaira al-Matkh (Lake of Mud) marshes.[72] East of Ḥalab was the Jabbul Lake, another permanent swamp watered by the Nahr al-Dahab (classical Dardas). Perhaps most telling is the major Early Islamic twin sites of Raqqa/Rāfiqa (sometimes referred to as Raqqa al-Sawdā') in the Jazīra of Northern Syria. The city was surrounded by marshland. Indeed, the word *raqqa* in Arabic refers to marsh areas that form along rivers during seasonal flooding (further emphasized by *raqqa al-sawdā'*, the black swamp). That Hārūn al-Rashīd chose to make the city his headquarters when he was attempting to endorse his campaign of Byzantine raiding ties together the importance of marsh and pasture for frontier settlement, whether nomadic or sedentary. Canal settlements and canal networks in seasonal marshes were documented in several districts of al-Andalus and Sicily where sites were built as islands on low hills in the wetlands and used the inundated landscape alternately for gardens and pasturage. Since irrigation strategies reduced water flow both in the main rivers and subsidiary canals, settlement arrangements would have demanded systems of resource sharing, as noted in al-Andalus.

The selection of Early Islamic (Umayyad and 'Abbāsid) frontier sites near marsh and pasture is an important connection that cannot be overlooked. Marshlands were important ecological niches for certain types of inhabitants, supporting a way of life characterized by mixed cultivation, reed gathering, and fishing.[73] In the Amuq Plain

[72] Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 61.

[73] J. Pournelle, "Marshland of Cities: Deltaic Landscapes and the Evolution of Early Mesopotamian Civilizations," (PhD diss., University of California San Diego, 2003).

and other parts of the frontier, marsh dwellers from the wetlands of southern Iraq were settled there and adapted to a familiar way of life. In replicating similar settlements, they may have lived on islands or mounded settlements built up with reeds (see Chapter 8 for extensive discussion on marshes and marsh dwellers). Such marsh settlements of reed and mudbrick are notoriously hard to discern in the archaeological record and so it is certainly possible that the gap between the number of Late Roman and Early Islamic sites was smaller than it appears. Furthermore, marshes were prime areas for pasture.[74] This is important for large groups with herding animals or horses such as pastoralists or armies. During the Early Islamic period, the Amuq Plain was a central staging area and pasturage for summer transhumance (and raids) over the Taurus Mountains into Byzantine land. The summer months would have been when the plain was driest. In the winter when the plain was fully inundated, pastoralists and armies remained and made use of it as a wet pasturage, particularly as the waters receded by early spring. Marsh settlement constituted a new form of adaptation to an increasing wetlands environment previously regarded as marginal. The seasonal expansion and reduction of the marsh waters and the constantly renewed pastureland would have created a joint subsistence system. This system would have reduced stress on water supply thereby also limiting competition for water resources. Such dimorphic strategies are known from anthropological and ethnographic marginal environments.[75]

---

[74] Strabo (*Geography*, 16.2.10), writing in the early first century C.E., specifically comments on the site of Apamea farther up the Orontes River in Syria almost completely encircled by the river and the utilization of part of the surrounding plain as horse and cattle pasturage side by side with the activities of marsh dwellers.

[75] M. Rowton, "Urban Autonomy in a Nomadic Environment," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973): 201–15 discusses this, see also Wilkinson, "Water and Human Settlement," 80.

Fortified Square Enclosures (Waystations)

A new type of site can be attributed to the Early Islamic period — the fortified square enclosure. These poorly known sites are can best be categorized as waystations or *khans* found in other surveys and excavations throughout the Islamic-Byzantine frontier. These were typically smaller than the larger and well-known urban frontier cities, placed on key north–south land routes, and usually not identified or known by name in the primary sources. Furthermore, although retaining the same architectural pattern, they varied in size.

In the Amuq Plain, the three small upland fortifications were part of the Late Roman settlement pattern but showed no continuity with Early Islamic fortifications. Rather, in the Early Islamic period, upland sites for fortifications were eschewed for fortified square enclosures built on important land routes on the plain. At least one site, AS 190, was discernable as a square enclosure with fortified walls and towers.[76] AS 190, potentially the Early Islamic Būqā, at the top of the Amuq Plain was sited both for its strategic location, as it offers a long view north in the Kara Su Valley and south to the Amuq Plain (and guards the entrance), and for its location on the main north–south Anṭākiya–Mar‘ash road. The site was dated to the eighth–tenth centuries but had a few Roman and Late Roman sherds that may have belonged to an earlier phase of this site and/or a nearby tell. Two square enclosures dated to the

[76] There may be more; southeast of AS 190 was another square enclosure identified in the CORONA imagery but not visited. While the pre-Islamic evidence at AS 190 is thin (1–2 sherds), an earlier origin cannot be discounted. Several military inscriptions of various legions and the nearby road built that connected Anṭākiya to Mar‘ash could have been used to move troops north and northeast to Sumaysāṭ and beyond (de Giorgi, personal communication, 2008). Military roads of these types are typically flanked by tiny *castella* as seen all over the Mediterranean. However, the site was part of a larger complex.

Sāsānian/Early Islamic transition were found in the Jazīra and Khabur near tells such as one at Tell Brak,[77] and several in the North Jazīra Project/Tell al-Hawa survey on the edge of Site 110. Site 110 had a square shaped embankment either from dumped earth or collapsed mud bricks.[78] Two more were found in the same survey, one at Site 47 and one close to Tell al-Hawa (Site 4) and dated only to the mid-eighth to mid-tenth centuries.[79] In the Balikh Valley, Madīnat al-Fār on the Raqqa-Ḥarrān route, was a large walled compound with three elements, two of which were the square (330 x 330 m) and rectangular (80 x 40 m) enclosures. The compound was dated in two phases to the early eighth and eighth/ninth centuries.[80] However, this enclosure with several elements seems to bear stronger similarity with the *quṣūr* of eastern Syria such as Qaṣr al-Hayr al-Gharbī or Qaṣr al-Hayr al-Sharqī.[81]

This fortified square enclosure site type is similar to others found throughout the *thughūr* in the eighth–tenth centuries (mainly ʻAbbāsid period). Site 4 (Pınar Tarlası)

---

[77] See note 67 above. J. Ur believes it to be more Early Islamic than Sāsānian (J. Ur, personal communication, 2008).

[78] T. J. Wilkinson and D. J. Tucker, *Settlement Development in the North Jazira, Iraq: A Study of the Archaeological Landscape*, 70, 153 fig. 7.

[79] Ibid., 71, 121, fig. 78 for ceramics, fig. 20 below for proximity to Tell al-Hawa.

[80] Haase, "Madīnat al-Fār," 245–53.

[81] For a discussion on the philological origins of the *qaṣr* as an Arabian/Semetic term, see L.I. Conrad, "The *Quṣūr* of Medieval Islam: Some Implications for the Social History of the Near East" *Al-Abhath* 29 (1981): 7–24. Shahîd disagrees with Conrad, stating that the term is derived from the Latin *castra* and filtered into Arabic vocabulary because many Roman and Late Roman *castra* were garrisoned with Arabian tribes, see *Byzantium and the Arabs,* 67ff. Although Shahîd's criticism is convincing regarding the philological derivation, he does not refute Conrad's second and arguably more relevant point: that the term *qaṣr* connotes an enclosure in the most basic (and agrarian/pastoral) sense and does not necessarily have to refer to a palace or fortification. Furthermore, it functioned both as a temporary or permanent residence for local clans or tribal leaders and as a place of refuge for local villagers and their livestock, see p. 19.

in G. Algaze's Euphrates survey around Birecik and Carchemish was a nearly square enclosure measuring 80 x 70 m dating only to the mid-eighth to mid-tenth centuries.[82] It was on the western bank of the Euphrates and along a route that would have followed the Euphrates from south to north. At Kurban Höyük farther upstream on the Euphrates near Sumaysāṭ, a square enclosure was excavated measuring 57 x 57 m and composed of rooms arranged around a courtyard. It was dated to the ninth century.[83] The excavators concluded that it was a waystation on the Raqqa–Sumaysāṭ–Malaṭiya road. Farther upstream on the Euphrates and the same route, excavators at Lidar Höyük uncovered another square (or nearly square) enclosure originally thought to be Late Roman, but later considered to be Early Islamic and contemporaneous with the building at Kurban.[84] The building measured 20 x 18 m and consisted of rooms around a courtyard. Both of these were on the Raqqa–Sumaysāṭ–Malaṭiya road. Interestingly, the pre and post-Early Islamic occupation of the Amuq site may also be seen at the other sites, such as Kurban Höyük and Pınar Tarlası where one Late Roman sherd was also found, although the evidence is far more tenuous.

The site of Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt, whose full size is still undetermined, is similar in scale to the fortified waystations seen in the Amuq and central *thughūr*. Furthermore, it is not only located on the coast as a port but on the land route from Iskenderun into Cilicia. However, sources mention that Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt was not only a port but military garrison or *thaghr* while the other fortified waystations do not seem to be known from sources.

---

[82] Algaze, et al., "Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project," 390–91.

[83] Algaze, *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia*, Volume 2, 395, fig. 124, photo fig. 132.

[84] Redford, *Archaeology of the Frontier*, 17, fn. 74.

As such, does KS 5/Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt fall into the same category as a fortified enclosure or waystation or does it represent a slightly different type of newly founded Early Islamic site? Part of the ambiguity surrounding the military or trading nature of frontier forts is because none of these structures has actually been excavated, their plans discerned, and the terminology used in the historical sources to describe them varies considerably. Although named a *ḥiṣn* (castle), Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt as a frontier site is a *thaghr* (frontier fort-town), yet its location along the Palestinian coast is part of another line of forts termed *ribāṭ*. The *ribāṭ* was a type of frontier fort frequently located along coastlines and designed to defend them against Byzantine naval incursions. The terminology of *ḥiṣn*, *ribāṭ*, or *thaghr,* is ambiguous in describing Early Islamic frontier forts. Two seventh century *ribāṭ* buildings with thick walls and semi-circular towers were excavated at Ashdod-Yam and Habonim/Kfar Lab in Israel,[85] while a fortified enclosure reusing a Roman amphitheatre at the southern limit of Byzantine Caesarea, show that initial Early Islamic settlement was often peripheral to the classical site yet well defended militarily.[86] The *ribāṭ* along the North African coast tend to follow a standardized plan of rooms around a courtyard built on two floors with a mosque in one of the rooms along the center of the southern enclosure wall. However, all of the major and historically attested *thughūr* forts on the frontier

[85] D. Nachlieli, et al., "Ashdod-Yam" *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 112 (2000): 101–03; H. Barbé, Y. Lehrer, & M. Avissar, "Ha-Bonim," *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 114 (2002): 34–38; Y. Masarwa, Early Islamic Military Architecture: A Study of the Umayyad Ribats of Palestine Based on Archaeological Remains and Historical Sources (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005), 44–51, figs. 24, 24A.

[86] Y. Porath, "Caesarea — 1994–1999," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 112 (2000): 39.

were located within the former Byzantine town walls.[87] Furthermore, the nature of *ribāṭ* on the frontier is unclear, as seen for example at nearby Ṭarsūs where Islamic sources speak of one such large enclosed frontier site that had several *ribāṭ* garrisons within its city walls. It is possible that an urban plan developed out of one or several *ribāṭ* enclosures.[88] Despite the difference in terminology and without knowledge of the full plan of these sites, Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt may very well correspond to one of these smaller frontier square enclosure sites dated to the ninth century ʻAbbāsid period.

[87] One possible exception is Ḥiṣn Manṣūr which was built several kilometers south of the classical site of Perre. This also assumes that Byzantine Pordonnium was located at Perre and not at Ḥiṣn Manṣūr (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer). For North African examples, see D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest: An Account of the Military History and Archaeology of the African Provinces in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, BAR International Series 99 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1981).

[88] A fortified enclosure site at Saltés (Shalṭīsh), was situated on the coast in a marshy river delta is more comparable in location and size (70 x 40 m) and had six rectangular towers however dates later to the twelfth–thirteenth century of Almohad occupation. The site had a surrounding town dated approximately a century earlier and textual sources referred to the site as a *qaṣaba.* Bazzana, et al. "Shaltīsh (Huelva-Espagne) une ville dans les marais," *Archéologie Islamique* 4 (1994): 87–115.

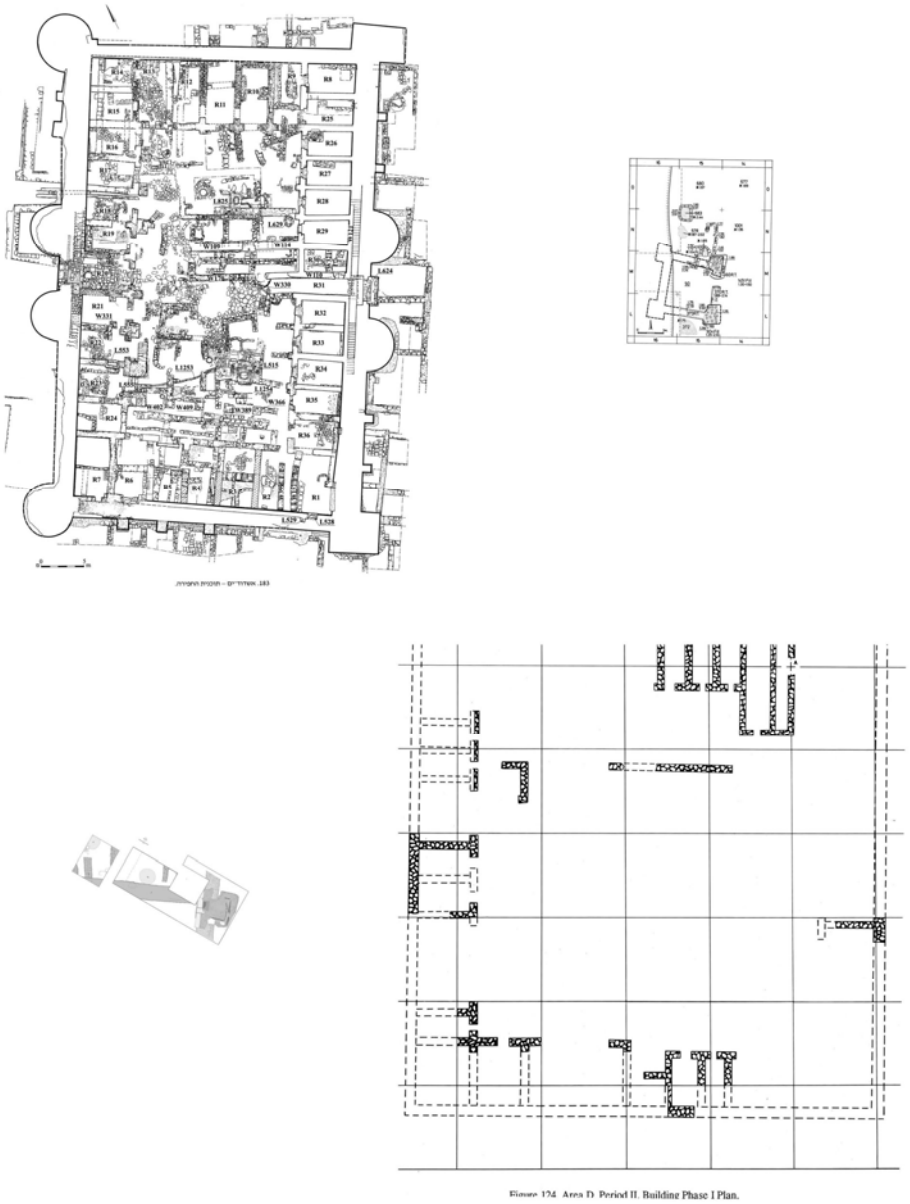

Figure 76 Comparative Early Islamic fortifications. From top left clockwise: Ashdod-Yam, Israel (from Nachlieli et al 2000); Minat Abu Zabura, Israel (from Masarwa 2005); Kurban Höyük, Turkey (from Algaze 1990, fig. 124); Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt, Turkey (courtesy of B. C. Coockson).

These Early Islamic newly established rectilinear waystations (fortified or otherwise) all occupied important stopping points on north–south land routes connecting North Syria (*al-ʿawāṣim*) and Northern Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra) with the

thughūr and along the coasts. Interestingly, although sites were associated with smaller rivers and canals or coastal rivers, they eschewed the major rivers such as the Euphrates for settlement. Surveys such as Gritille, Birecik, and Bozova-Urfa show far fewer sites in the Early Islamic period and even Late Roman period on the Euphrates River as compared to Hellenistic and Roman period sites which were placed at intervals along the west bank of the river. The Northern Jazīra and Saddam Dam (Eski Mosul) Salvage Projects similarly showed an avoidance of major river settlements in the Early Islamic period and preference for sites associated with land routes, such as the lower town Early Islamic settlement at Tell al-Hawa adjacent to the "'Abbāsid Road" hollow way. The Hellenistic–Roman pattern of river settlements is suggestive of a border, using the river as the dividing line between the Sāsānians, however, many of the sites do not seems to be fortified in any way. If it was a border or frontier on the eastern line, then it was undefended. Similarly for the Early Islamic frontier (and the Middle Islamic), this settlement pattern is not suggestive of any type of border. Rather, it suggests that the early Islamic transhumant tribes avoided this type of Euphrates River trade for caravan trade, which undoubtedly blended easily into traditional pastoral routes. River travel is often mentioned by sources. For travel on the Euphrates or even crossing the river, rafts of inflated animal skins (*aṭwāf* or *kelek* in Turkish) were used. However, Redford points out that while the Islamic geographers mention this type of transport, emphasis seems to be placed far more on land routes where multiple routes of specific stops and distances and times are frequently given.[89] He therefore concludes that sites such as Sumaysāṭ (see below) on the Euphrates were

[89] Redford, *Archaeology of the Frontier*, 13.

given importance to insure safe river crossings rather than a riverine port. From the settlement evidence this can be seen archaeologically. I would also suggest that shifts in the river at this point in the Karababa Basin, where it was less deeply inscribed, might have also deterred settlement.

These sites are also situated within their own micro-environments. They are not only well connected by land and river routes but take advantage of their immediate resources as marsh sites, timber sites, and coastal sites. It is this localization in low areas that are cultivated, well irrigated, and offer important subsistence strategies that belie a random scattering of sites along the frontier or any one explanation for site settlement, such as strategic or transportation locations. If the ecological elements are a determining factor then the settlements are not reliant solely on their position within networks of trade but also within rural networks involved in some form of land use that is self-sufficient to a degree.

As frontier sites, they are small by comparison to the *thughūr* cities such as Ṭarsūs, al-Maṣṣīṣṣa, ‘Ayn Zarba, Kanīsa al-Sawdā’, Ḥadath, and Malaṭiya (see Appendix 2/Gazetteer). Nevertheless they seem to be part of an organized system of new Early Islamic sites established in the late eighth–tenth centuries. Because the landscape of the frontier is assumed to have been tumultuous in some fashion, these walled representations dominate their setting, disseminating power and providing refuge for the surrounding community, whether nomadic or sedentary. As such, they inherit a classical legacy of sites that are consolidated as fortified farms, religious buildings, and forts. At the same time, the imprint of a distinct Islamic Near Eastern architectural

type based on Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid forms and duplicated along the marginal frontier region becomes a visual symbol for Islamic authority.[90] Was this a state or military sponsored sedentarization program or the initiative of local rulers of dominant nomadic-pastoralist tribes?

Sedentarization: Eighth to Tenth Centuries

Examples of state and/or military sponsored sedentarization exist in sources. Balādhurī describes an intentional sedentarization process during the seventh century conquests in the form of a report from Raqqa where the caliph ‘Uthmān orders Mu‘āwiya, the governor of Syria, to settle both nomadic and settled tribes in non-urban rural areas all over the Jazīra:

> When Mu‘āwiyah ruled over Syria and Mesopotamia [Jazīra] in the name of ‘Uthmān ibn-‘Affān, he was instructed by him to settle [*yanzila*] the Arabs in places far from the cities and villages, and allow them to utilize [*aytimāl*] the lands unpossessed by anyone. Accordingly, he caused the banu-Tamīm to settle at ar-Rābiyah; and a promiscuous multitude of Ḳais and Asad and others, in al-Māziḥīn and al-Mudaibir. The same thing he did in Diyār Muḍar. In like manner, he stationed the Rabi‘ah in their Diyār.[91]

Other examples occur in the early Islamic period, such as al-Manṣūr who settled 4,000 soldiers in Malaṭiya, giving them plots of farmland (*iqṭā‘*).[92] Certainly as a written

---

[90] This argument is presented for *ribāṭ* by Pentz. For him, the *ribāṭ* represents consciously applied symbols of Islamic power often established *de novo* within a region that was dominated by earlier fortifications. However, within that view, there is a danger in assuming Western-influenced perceptions of feudalism over a rural countryside. P. Pentz, *From Roman Proconsularis to Islamic Ifrīqīyah,* (Göteborg: Nationalmuseet Göteborgs Universitet, 2002), 133.

[91] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 245. Translation following P. K. Hitti, trans., *Origins of the Islamic State*, 278.

[92] Malaṭiya soldiers received one hundred *dīnār* pay raises while those in Ḥadath received forty *dīnār* per soldier as well as bonuses and houses. For discussion, see von Sivers, “Taxes and Trade in the ‘Abbāsid Thughūr,” fns. 15 and 24 for other frontier fort settling incentives with housing and land.

document, the anxiety of an uncontrolled nomadic population on the frontier is visible as a subtext for a settling process. The report taps into the familiar trope of the need to settle the unexplored spaces and wildernesses of the empire. As Robinson argues, the report is full of generic motifs peppered with specific places and names so as to condense or "telescope long processes of social change into specific historical events."[93]

However, gradual sedentarization also occurred on the frontier that can be classified under the aforementioned conditions comprising shifting economic realities, environmental conditions, such as numerous plagues,[94] famine, and earthquakes mentioned in texts, and trend-setting behaviors. Although difficult to gauge accurately, most of the early Islamic tribes that were semi-nomadic eventually adopted sedentary practices.[95] Historically, movement across the Islamic-Byzantine frontier in the conquest period was expansive, taking land and settlements, while by the ʻAbbāsid period (mid-eighth century), annual raiding did not take land and was seen as

---

[93] Robinson, "Tribes and Nomads," 439. He sees this not as a state sponsored policy against nomads but a reaction to the ongoing threat of security. Donner does see this as an example of state sponsored sedentarization, see *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 253, 266.

[94] The frequent mention of plagues, especially during the sixth and seventh centuries (see Chapter 2 on Anṭākiya, Chapter 6 on Late Roman al-Andalus) is worthwhile to note. Although it seems unlikely that plagues would have decimated the urban and rural populations, it is difficult to quantify, one way or the other, the effects of plague. However, L. I. Conrad interestingly notes that non-settled groups (i.e. nomads and pastoralists) were resilient mainly because they spent the summers (the time of greatest infection) isolated in the uplands: "At the same time, however, the nomadic population of the Near East remained for the most part unscathed. Thus the pandemic had a marked erosive effect on settled life, but not on the pastoral life of the Bedouins." See L .I. Conrad, *The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East (*PhD diss., Princeton University, 1981). I am grateful to Nükhet Varlık for bringing this to my attention.

[95] Exceptions were the Kilāb and Kalb, known as nomadic camel herdsmen and traders over the Taurus. See A. J. Cappel, "The Byzantine Response to the ʻArab (10th–11th centuries)," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20 (1994): 115, fn. 5.

symbolic. The mainly Arab tribes often wintered during these initial long ranging conquests. This would have demanded a different sort of transhumance that was much more nomadic in nature. One mention of a raid on ‘Amuriyya (classical Amorion) in 634–54 C.E., describes that the army consisted of 5,000 Arabs with mounts, pack animals, and herds of cattle for subsistence.[96] However, annual raiding in the summer still is recorded as early as 640–44 C.E. although certain years had winter raids (*shatiya*) and certain raids ventured as far as Constantinople.[97] In the ‘Abbāsid period, the regularization of annual raids increased while the longer winter forays decreased. At the same time, the ‘Abbāsids began to use Khurāsānī professional soldiers (*abnā’*) more and more on the *thughūr*. This mixing of armies with local Arab tribes and imported soldiers was designed to unbalance the independent tribal chiefs from controlling their own armies with loyal ‘Abbāsid troops.[98] Some soldiers gradually lost their *iqṭā‘* lands and were forced to settle down and work the lands themselves.[99] The raiding strategies from expansionist to symbolic correspond to a process of

---

[96] Although somewhat exaggerated, the difference between long nomadic migrations and short-term seasonal ones is plain. As they wintered around the city they spread out in a perimeter of 2.8 miles (1 man for 1 yard of space for 5,000 people). Furthermore, they “had collected a large captive band in men and animals from various provinces” before returning to the Taurus Mountains in the spring. Mu‘āwiya in a raid on Caesarea in 647 C.E. did not destroy the city but depopulated it, taking flocks and captives. See Acta S. Theodori 54B cited in Trombley, “The Decline of the Seventh-Century Town: The Exception of Euchaita,” n. 63, n. 33, p. 80.

[97] See Kaegi, “The Earliest Muslim Penetrations into Anatolia,” 273 for more on winter raids. Kaegi asserts that the earliest winter raids into Anatolia started in 663 C.E. (personal communication, 2008).

[98] Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, 65–68. The use of Khurāsānī soldiers continued until the 830s or fourth fitna. Some scholars point out that this contributed to an internal collapse of the Umayyads and to tribal structure, such as Wellhausen, Shaban, Crone, and Blankinship. Blankinship also sees the end of the Umayyads as having brought about an end to frontier expansion and peripheral areas (*The End of the Jihad State,* 5). It should be noted that Hishām also brought Syrian troops to Khurāsān with a motivation to invigorate the peripheral areas and make them less homogenized.

[99] Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War,* 65–68.

sedentarization and are part of an evolutionary trajectory of nomadic to settled peoples.

As the settlement patterns show, sites in the seventh/early eighth century were far fewer than sites in the eighth to tenth centuries. In the Amuq Plain, sites along the Kara Su River and urban nodes such as ‘Imm and its surrounding sites had seventh–tenth century C.E. ceramics. However, the majority of preexisting Late Roman sites in all of the other areas on the plain (the Orontes and Afrin Basins, Amanus Mountains, Jebel al-Aqra) spanned the eighth–tenth centuries, indicating that they may have been reoccupied after a period of abandondment. Frontier forts, such as Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt, were founded in the eighth century. New evidence at the frontier fort of ‘Ayn Zarba has shown that the site has only a slight ceramic presence in the seventh/early eighth century in contrast to a major ceramic presence in the mid-eighth to tenth centuries. The slight physical presence of the initial Early Islamic settlement in contrast with the later Early Islamic settlement is seen at other sites in more deliberate ways connected to ideas of sedentarization. The *ḥīra* found at many sites is often the earliest Islamic presence in the form of a camp outside a preexisting city that eventually becomes a permanent camp (*ḥāḍir*) and then a quarter.[100] Archaeological studies have been done in the Near East of the sedentarization of nomads seen through the permanence of tent sites.[101] At Qinnasrīn, Whitcomb excavated an isolated two room structure of two phases — first of mudbrick and second of stone — which he argued was an example

[100] Whitcomb, “Archaeological Research at Hadir Qinnasrin, 1998,” 27.

[101] Such as R. Jarno, “Tente et maison, le jeu annuel de la sédentarisation à Qdeir (Syrie),” in *Nomades et sédentaires*, ed. O. Aurenche (Paris: Centre Jean Palerne, 1984), 191–229.

of a tent which became a permanent foundation (*sibāt*) "just before or during the early 'Abbāsid period."[102]

Settlement Communities

Who lived in these sites, abandoned them, and resettled them? The question is a complicated one and until now the inhabitants of the frontier have comprised rural and urban or settled, semi-nomadic, or nomadic populations. However, until now I have argued that the transition from the Late Roman to Early Islamic period was not a seamless seventh century continuity but one marked by distinguishing factors in ceramics and settlement. Further, I have argued that the frontier was composed of many different ethnic, religious, and political communities. As such, it is worth speculating whether these various site categories can be further distinguished with ethnic associations. Ethnic groups, for the most part, also had certain identifiable religious affiliations, although the processes of conversion,[103] cultural blending, and political defection diluted clear representations of religious identity over time.

---

[102] Whitcomb, "Archaeological Research at Hadir Qinnasrin," 27. This *ḥāḍir* was posited as the settlement of the Ṭayyi' and of the Tanūkh.

[103] Bulliet, in establishing a model for the process of conversion shifting from a small percentage of innovators to early adopters, and early majority, a late majority, followed by late-comers. Chronologically, the period of Early Islam constituted the early adopters and early majority. By 861 C.E., the stage of early adoption to Islam would have been reached (16%). By 961 C.E., the period of early majority (50%) converted to Islam. Specifically for Syria, the Muslim majority was reached in the ninth century and emphatically by the Fatimid period. Although the dates seem too specific and somewhat arbitrary, the general pattern of a Muslim majority (50% of the population converting to Islam) by the end of the Early Islamic period ties in quite nicely with the same pattern of 50% of Late Roman sites being occupied in the Early Islamic despite Bulliet's claim that because all Muslims migrated to cities, the conversion was different in rural areas: "partly because of the remoteness of the countryside slowed the pace of conversion." R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 55–56, 81, 104–13.

There are, of course, apparent problems in attempting such a study, problems inherent in the archaeology of any transitional period or culturally mixed frontier zone. Discerning difference and change in a heterogeneous cultural landscape could be seen as a forced exercise. I would even argue that an inbuilt ambiguity is made especially manifest in transitional regions such as frontiers. Preexisting Syrian communities and Arab tribes, Christian and Muslim, coexisted on the frontier. How is one able to differentiate among these communities or account for sites with mixed populations? Haldon and Kennedy established criteria for distinguishing Byzantine from Early Islamic frontier forts based on differences of upland defensible locations versus lowland open urban layouts, respectively. Yet, it is a stretch to say that all upland communities on the Byzantine frontier were Christian and all lowland settlements on the Islamic frontier were Muslims. There is evidence of preexisting Syriac and Aramaic speaking rural Christian communities on the plains. Some minority groups such as the Syriac Orthodox (and they may have hardly been a minority) appear to have thrived in the *thughūr* where virtually every major *thaghr* also had a bishop's seat for some or all of the Early Islamic period. Similarly certain Arab tribes such as the Taghlib were largely non-nomadic settled Christians. Tracing an Early Islamic signature in a pre-established Late Roman landscape from ceramic surface collections becomes less clear. Not all Islamic pottery is indicative of Muslim settlement and pre-Islamic pottery traditions would have persisted. Indeed, there is almost a tautological danger of seeing difference because difference is implied.

In order to tackle the issue of ethno-religious representation on the frontier, the argument initially needs to be framed in a different way. Proceeding from the historical contexts, an examination of the sites using criteria gained from archaeological evidence such as physical size and assemblage size, chronology, definite or indefinite occupation, and preexisting or newly established settlement based on known ceramic types, has added levels of variance and degree to Late Roman and Early Islamic settlement. There is also precedent for such analysis. Interestingly, some studies have been done to distinguish Christian and Berber settlements in al-Andalus. Acien Almansa demonstrated that areas of Berber settlement and Berber sites (often known from toponyms) had no Late Roman pottery types and were mainly *de novo*.[104] Gutiérrez Lloret shows that marsh sites in the eighth and ninth centuries also did not contain any Late Roman pottery and therefore *de novo*. Rather, they had newer pottery formers not seen in Late Roman assemblages including waterwheels (nūria) pots (*qādūs*) for irrigation.[105]

What can be suggested is that newly founded settlements in canals and marshes, the largest and most important sites on the plains (such as the Amuq Afrin canals and Kahramanaras Ak Su canals), and new fortified square enclosures were probably occupied or deliberately settled by Arab tribes and their clients (*mawālī*) and were largely non-Christian Muslim communities. This is based on the archaeological

[104] In the regions of Valencia on the eastern coast and Serrania de Ronda on the southern coast, see Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 35 note 76: M. Acién Almansa, "Cerámica a torno lento en Bezmiliana. Cronología tipos y diffusión', *I Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, Vol. 4 (Zaragoza), 248.

[105] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 44; S. Gutiérrez Lloret, "El origen de la huerta de Orihuela entre los siglos VII y XI: Una propuesta arqueológica sobre la explotación de las zonas húmedas del Bajo Segura," *Arbor* 151 (1995): 83.

evidence that shows large newly founded Early Islamic sites associated with new canal construction and deliberate marsh settlements as an Early Islamic phenomenon which parallels other similar settlement patterns seen throughout the *thughūr* in regions such as Kahramanmaraş and Qinnasrīn, the Cilician Plain, and Raqqa/Rāfiqa. As shown in al-Andalus, these hydraulic villages occupying equidistant plots of land along canals and rivers may have been organized by tribe or clan. Late Roman settlements that increased significantly in the Early Islamic period (urban centers and river sites such as the Yaghrā in the Amuq) may suggest mixed ethnic and religious Muslim and Christian communities resulting from incoming Muslims adding to a community of already present Christians. That all of these sites expanded in the Early Islamic period from the seventh century suggest that they constituted large hydraulic villages or perhaps towns sited to control water rights and utilize the broad wetlands resources. Fortified enclosures, similarly, were waystations that controlled frontier movement. By contrast, scattered Late Roman sites that were reduced in physical size and/or assemblage size by the Early Islamic period on the plain or that showed some continuity in the uplands may represent persisting Christian communities who did not leave the region.

IV. The Middle Islamic Period (Tenth to Fourteenth Centuries)

A Century of Discontinuity

During the Middle Islamic period, there was a second peak in settlement seen not only in the Amuq (with approximately 44% of sites occupied) and Kahramanmaraş,

but the Birecik-Carchemish, Adıyaman, Kurban Höyük, Gritille, Keban, and Harran surveys. However, only about half the number of Early Islamic sites occupied (47%) continued into the Middle Islamic and the majority of Middle Islamic settlements occupied in the Amuq was between the late eleventh to early fourteenth centuries, a pattern observed in the Balikh, Northern Jazira, and Quoeiq surveys.[106] As such, settlement patterns in the Middle Islamic period can be separated into two phases, the poorly settled mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries (or Middle Byzantine period) followed by the late eleventh to early fourteenth centuries (Middle Islamic/Frankish periods). The intervening century immediately following the Byzantine reconquests can be seen as simply another decline, pushing the notion of decline from one transition of Islamic history (seventh century) to another. Archaeologically this period is very poorly represented in the region. Although settlement continued at the largest villages and towns, by the tenth century, two/thirds of the small and dispersed upland sites in the Jebel al-Aqra and many of the sites on the Syrian Jebels were abandoned indicating a general trend.[107] Part of this lost century may stem from an ambiguity in the pottery.[108] This may be supported textually by the observations of the Christian doctor Ibn Butlān traveling through the Amuq Plain in 1051 C.E. who remarked on its prosperity:

---

[106] T. Vorderstrasse, personal communication, 2008. I would like to thank Tasha Vorderstrasse for sharing many of her observations on this period with me.

[107] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 331; Magness, *The Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine*, 205. Some sites continued only into this period such as AS 32 in the Amuq (Tell Sultan) and 'Imm.

[108] The main glazed ware indicator is color-splash sgraffiato, likely produced at Antioch. However, the chronology of coarsewares for this period is poorly known. T. Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina: A Port of Antioch from Late Antiquity to End of the Ottomans* (Leiden: NINO, 2005).

> and we found all the country between Halab and Antakiya populous, nowhere ruined abodes of any description. On the contrary, the soil was everywhere sown with wheat and barley, which grew under the olive trees; the villages ran continuous, their gardens full of flowers, and the waters flowing on every hand, so that the traveler makes his journey here in contentment of mind, and peace and quietness.[109]

However, the century or so of discontinuity is well attested in many historical sources independently as a period of general decentralization in the frontier region with the waning influence of the central government and large urban polities creating a period of instability both politically and economically. Further, the period was predominated by local independent tribal dynasties based around major towns that used the surrounding lands as pasture. Bartl, from similar evidence in the Balikh Valley survey, supports the political and economic fragmentation and shift toward nomadism in the first phase of the Middle Islamic, followed by a brief secondary resurgence during the Zangid/Ayyūbid/Mamlūk period until the Mongol period.[110] The existence of a transformation of the settled landscape of villages to a more transient landscape of camps would be difficult to find in the heavily aggraded plains of the frontier.[111] On the other hand, it is precisely the accrued level of aggradation from irrigation systems, which may have contributed to this settlement transformation, as demonstrated by

---

[109] Ibn Butlān quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, i.267, translated in Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems*, 370.

[110] Bartl, "Balīḥ Valley Survey: Settlements of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine and Islamic Period," 337.

[111] Although mention is made in the Kurban Höyük survey of small Middle Islamic rural settlements on terraces and indications of pastoralism. Wilkinson, *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia,* 129.

increased marshification and evidence from the Balikh, which showed a termination of major canal irrigation systems by the end of the Early Islamic period.[112]

Renomadization: Tenth to Eleventh Centuries

In the absence of archaeological evidence, historical processes can fill in the picture of frontier settlement. By the tenth century C.E., the importance of tribal arrangement and organization on the frontier was crucial, as there arose a series of Bedouin Arab tribal dynasties of local power from the Jazīra (the western and central *thughūr* being in Byzantine hands). The influx of Arab tribes should not be seen as static and having taken place only in the seventh century. Between the Byzantine reconquests and the Saljūq invasions (tenth–eleventh centuries) there was a large migration of Bedouin that were mainly nomadic but also semi-settled. This was seen as the largest Bedouin migration out of Arabia since the conquests and changed the balance of tribes that had largely become sedentary on the *thughūr*.[113] As such, Syria and the Jazīra became renomadized. Several important frontier independent dynasties formed from these tribes at the twilight of ʻAbbāsid centralized power, the most powerful being the aforementioned Hamdānids. Robinson and others have argued that these periods of political instability in history have traditionally favored pastoralist power.[114] In the wake of the Hamdānids, came the former Qays tribes of the ʻUqayl,

[112] Although the Early Islamic Nahr al-Abbara, which replaced the Hellenistic-Late Roman Saḥlan-Ḥammām, created more irrigation land its more gradual gradient contributed to greater sedimentation and ultimately the collapse of system. Wilkinson, "Water and Human Settlement," 82.

[113] Some tribes were nomads (*ahl wabar lā madar*) and sedentarized (*ahl madar lā wabar*) and some were both. For further discussion, see Cappel, "The Byzantine Response to the ʻArab."

Kilāb (Mirdāsids), and Numayrids.[115] The Hamdānids were focused in two groups around Ḥalab and Mawṣil. Following them, the Mirdāsids of the Kilāb tribe took over power around the lands between Ḥalab and Raḥba on the Euphrates, while the ʻUqayl were based around Mawṣil and Naṣībīn. The Numayr were located along the east bank of the Euphrates south of Raqqa, and in the Balikh Valley until the steppe and hill-country between Ḥarrān and Ruhā. The rise in power of certain tribal groups meant the decline of other tribes and their influence. This was tied in with sedentarization and the loss of certain tribal identity among certain groups.[116] Another factor of tribal power and survival was political alliance. Several of these tribal dynasties paid allegiance either to the ʻAbbāsids, Fāṭimids, or Byzantines. At the same time, they were difficult to control as in the case of Numayrids. The Numayrids were first ʻAbbāsid Jazīran troops that supported the Hamdānids and were given more power. Eventually, they could not be controlled and declared themselves independent, taking Raqqa and Ruhā and fighting the Byzantines.[117]

The renomadization of the tenth century corresponds with the settlement patterns of the region that show a marked abandonment of sites between the mid-tenth to late

---

[114] Robinson, "Tribes and Nomads in Early Islamic Mesopotamia;" R. Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 25; J. S. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (New York: Longman, 1979), 147f.

[115] There were also two more tribes: the Qushayr and the ʻAylān. D. Rice, "Medieval Harran: Studies on its Topography and Monuments, I," *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952): 36–84.

[116] Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates,* 285–86.

[117] Rice, "Medieval Harran." For more information, see S. Heidemann, "Numayrid ar-Raqqa: Archaeological and Historical Evidence for a 'Dimorphic State' in the Bedouin Dominated Fringes of the Fatimid Empire," *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras,* Vol. 4, eds. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 85-110; idem., *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1994).

eleventh centuries. This is not only seen in the Amuq, Kahramanmaraş, and Kinet surveys but others around Qinnasrīn and around the frontier.[118] Both indicate through separate lines of evidence that the region experienced a transformation from a settled agrarian based landscape to one controlled by nomadic or semi-pastoral tribes. In the mid-tenth century, Mas'ūdī states that the villages of the Orontes Valley were heavily depopulated due to "official negligence" and peopled by Bedouin.[119] The predominance of nomadic pastoralists on the frontier would have shifted the balance of agrarian lands towards pasturelands. The success of these dynasties were not because they supported the urban populations and merchants, but facilitated an open commercial economy and controlled trade routes that were safe from other nomadic incursions.[120]

Conglomerate Villages and Tell Occupation

In the second Middle Islamic phase, the patterns of consolidation traced in the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods advanced even further where newer and dispersed settlements shifted from scattered farms toward conglomerate villages (some made up

---

[118] For example: C.-P. Haase, "Ein archäeologischer Survey im Gabal Sbet und im Gabal al-Ahas," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* (Damascus: Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, 1983), 75; C. Cahen, "Quelques mots sur les Hilaliens et le nomadisme," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 11 (1968): 130–33. This archaeological and historical concomitance is noted by Cappell, "The Byzantine Response to the 'Arab," fn. 5. See also C. Tonghini, *Qal'at Ja'bar Pottery: A Study of a Syrian Fortified Site of the late 11th–14th centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 18, 71.

[119] Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, (Baghdad, 1938), 131–32 cited in Cappel, "The Byzantine Response to the 'Arab," 115. In the early eleventh century, the 20,000 tribesmen of the Ṭayyi' and Kalb settled in this area near Anṭākiya between Qasṭūn and Inab, southeast of Anṭākiya, near Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. See Honigman, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinisches Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Vol. 3 of *Byzance et les Arabes* by A. A. Vasiliev (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, 1935), 117 and n. 6 for location.

[120] Cappel, "The Byzantine Response to the 'Arab," 115.

of groups of farms) and small towns, recombining a similar process of pre-Hellenistic nucleation with already dispersed sites in a new pattern of nucleated dispersal. In some cases the villages grew to the level of importance of the cities, advancing the pattern of equalization of cities and towns in the Late Roman and Early Islamic periods. Interestingly, Muqaddasī writes of the Amuq that: "in this region villages (*qurā*) are more splendid and larger than most of the cities (*mudun*)."[121] Unlike the Early Islamic period, there were no discernable canal building projects. Agriculture was probably practiced in extremely localized fields around sites with a heavy emphasis on nomadic pastoralism. Industry, including ceramic and glass production, was also present. One such example of a conglomerate village was the town of Arṭāh (classical Artesia)[122] a few kilometers north of 'Imm in the Amuq. The site is only known as a Middle Islamic site, rather than Early Islamic site. Islamic sources, such as Ibn Shaddād, describe a small town (*madīnatūn saghiratūn*) that possessed gardens (*basāṭīn*), springs, (*'uyūn*), mills (*ārḥā'*),[123] as well as, villages (*qurā*). The four villages are named and include Tell al-Judaidah, which was nearby.[124] These various rather

[121] Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-āqālīm*, 155.1–5. The plural of *madīna* is alternately used by al-Muqaddasī as *mudun* or *madā'in*. P. Wheatley argues that *mudun* referred specifically to district capitals while *madā'in* referred to cities in a general sense. Furthermore, these cities were often in "ecologically-marginal" zones, see *The Places Where Men Pray Together*, 78 and 397, footnote 181.

[122] Numerous sources locate an important Roman settlement that proceeded the important sixth century C.E. monastery at this site (Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord,* 153). The town owed its importance to its location on the road that departed from Imma and reached Cyrrhus to the northeast, thus connecting the communities and villages scattered about the northern corridor of the Amuq Plain and particularly the Afrin district.

[123] Ibn Shaddād, *al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra*, 423. In 2005, the AVRP survey confirmed numerous fragments of mills and other architectural remains in the gardens of modern houses.

[124] Ibid. The villages are al-Ḥaṭṭānīya, al-Barghārīya, al-Mash'ūfīya, and al-Jadīda (Tell al-Judaidah).

insubstantial sites likely depended (and even comprised) Arṭāh,[125] which was an example of nucleated dispersal, a conglomerate village that arose in the Middle Islamic period.

Furthermore, in the Middle Islamic period, many large sites were occupied and very few new sites were founded. In the Amuq, this is seen in the large number of Early Islamic sites that continued in occupation (forty-one out of sixty) and pre-Early Islamic sites reoccupied in the Middle Islamic. One noticeable characteristic was a return to occupying large multi-period tells, which were only formerly occupied until the Hellenistic period. AS 28, near the Yaghrā River is an example of this pattern. The site had Late Hellenistic and Middle Islamic but no Roman through Early Islamic occupation. The site could have been abandoned for nearby Tell Sultan (AS 32) perhaps due to a shift in the river. The tell sites were often small, similar to the few Late Roman and Early Islamic scanty occupations of tells. Examples of this are numerous over the entire frontier at such important sites such as Kinet Höyük, Coba Höyük in the Sakcegözü/Kahramanmaraş Plain, and Mezraa Höyük, Akarçay Höyük, Şaraga Höyük, and Gre Virike excavated but initially recorded from the Birecik-Carchemish survey.[126] In Lycia in southwestern Anatolia, fortified Byzantine hilltop or upland settlements also reoccupied places last inhabited by Lycians.[127]

---

[125] Jacquot, *Antioche, centre de tourisme,* 442.

[126] Mezraa Höyük had Hellenistic, very little Late Roman and Middle Islamic, and no Roman or Early Islamic (A. T. Ökse, et al., "Research at Mezraa Höyük, 1999," in *TAÇDAM* 1999, 213–29*)*; Akarçay Höyük had Middle Islamic (Y. Mergen and A Deveci, "Akarçay Höyük Excavations: 2000," in *TAÇDAM* 2000, 340–46); Şaraga Höyük had Middle Islamic over Iron Age (K. Sertok and F. Kulakoğlu, "Results of the 1999 Season Excavations at Şaraga Höyük," in *TAÇDAM* 2000, 475–86); Gre Virike where occupation went from fourth–first half of third millennia to Middle Islamic: A. T. Ökse, "Excavations at Gre Virike, 1999," in *TAÇDAM* 2000, 292–307.

Fortified Upland Towns and Castles

Often villages would incorporate tells as a defensible high point, which was walled and offered refuge for villagers and their livestock. Although the investigation of the post Early Islamic settlement on the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains is hampered by the fact that many modern villages are built over the Middle and Late Islamic sites, the differences from the Early Islamic patterns and the Middle Islamic and modern-day continuities are self-evident.[128] Other examples on the frontier illustrate this pattern. At Zeytinlibahçe Höyük on the Upper Euphrates, a Middle Islamic fortified building was discovered occupying much of the tell with a 1.5 m thick wall built along the tell's contour line interspersed with buttresses and watchtowers.[129] In a second phase of this fortified building, subdivided space and animal skeletons suggest that the fortified site also contained space for containing livestock. This is strongly reminiscent of *incastellamento* practices seen at earlier Byzantine upland sites that incorporated open courtyards for villagers to bring their livestock in times of trouble. In al-Andalus, the upland *ḥuṣūn* were similarly arranged with a large enclosure for sheltering livestock the local populace. Furthermore, as argued by Glick for al-Andalus, the protective nature of these sites is emphasized rather than their military nature by virtue

---

[127] Foss, "Lycia in History," 30.

[128] Casana, "From Alalakh to Antioch," 331.

[129] C. Alvaro and F. Balossi, "Byzantine Occupation," in "The 2000 Campaign Zeytinlibahçe Höyük," by G. M. Di Nocera, in *TAÇDAM* 2000, 89–96.

that many are found in the plain near villages and towns and not exclusively along a borderline (see Chapter 6).[130]

Newly founded sites tended to be fortified upland castles constructed in this period. In the Middle Islamic Period, several important forts were constructed and occupied by Byzantines, Crusaders, Ayyūbids, Mamlūks, and Armenians such as Baghrās and Darbassāk in the Amuq. The castle of Baghrās (AS 247) was built in the tenth century.[131] Sources say that Nicephorus Phocas took the fort and rebuilt it in three days during the Byzantine reconquest.[132] Along with the presence of the Middle Islamic upland castle, the Late Roman and Early Islamic lowland site was not abandoned. Ibn Ḥawqal and Idrīsī, writing in the tenth and early twelfth centuries respectively, mentioned Ḥiṣn Baghrās and include a Friday Mosque (*masjid al-jāmi'*) and large population.[133] Although a complete surface survey could not be accurately done within the well-preserved and precariously situated castle, Early/Middle Islamic

---

[130] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 17–18.

[131] The castle of Baghrās was known as Crusader Gaston, Gastin, or Guaston, Armenian Baghras, and modern Bakras Kale. The preserved castle architecture was dated to the Crusader period with later Mamlūk or Armenian additions (Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, Vol. 4, 266–71). R. W. Edwards conducted detailed analysis of the architecture and masonry and concluded that the majority of the castle was not of Armenian style and that from textual evidence, they occupied the fort for less than twenty-eight years: "The Armenian presence here is no more than a flirtation." This is for two main reasons: 1) the trend in Armenian forts to destroy the preexisting one is not apparent; and 2) the trend for Armenians to build forts in visible distance to one another as in Cilicia is not the case as Baghrās is isolated. See R. W. Edwards, *Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1983), 431.

[132] Other castles built during this period include the Antakya castle (built in 969 C.E. following the Byzantine reconquest of 964 C.E.) and the first phase of the 'Ayn Zarba castle. The mention that Baghrās was built in three days seems unlikely in referring to the monumental castle preserved today, as R.W. Edwards points out, see *Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 416. Rather, there may have been an earlier fort built in the same location or the Byzantines took the lower site of Baghrās (AS 248) and the castle was built by the Armenians in the same century.

[133] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 169.

transitional tenth and eleventh century pottery was found including molded buffware and color-splash sgraffiato sherds, suggesting a presence (rather than dating the construction) of the tenth century and a move to an upland occupation from the lowland town. At the lower town on the plain, pottery of the Early, Middle, and Late Islamic periods further suggests certain continuity. Abū al-Fidā' in the fourteenth century described springs, gardens, and fields all around it.[134] It is not altogether clear whether they are referring to the castle or the lower town. Several architectural features were discerned just below the castle on the slopes including a bathhouse and gate associated with twelfth–fourteenth century Middle Islamic pottery. Watermills found in the vicinity of the khan show that the area was still being used and perhaps relatively self-sufficient. This is an important point as it shows that construction of the castle was not at the expense of the lower town, but rather part of an overall complex that added a level of defense and refuge for the lower town dwellers. The upland site of AS 246 just north and also guarding the Belen pass was also an important settlement as it had the largest Middle Islamic assemblage of ceramics found on the survey.

The nearby site of Darbassāk (or Darbsāk, classical Trapezon, Crusader Trapesac, AS 346) farther north along the Amanus range and near the site of Celanlı (see below) is quite similar to Baghrās. Darbassāk (same as Dair Bassāk, although not a monastery) was also a fort built on a flattened limestone plateau (hence the Greek name Trapezon "tabletop").[135] Abū al-Fidā' noted a Friday Mosque and springs and

[134] Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān,* 259.

gardens around it.[136] Darbassāk also guarded a mountain pass (Çalan Pass) albeit a much smaller, narrower, and sinuous one that began in the plain from the site of Celanlı.[137] Darbassāk was also built by Armenians and refortified in the Crusader Period and consisted of a large castle on a high and natural rocky outcrop at the base of the Amanus Mountains. The site has earlier phases, as indicated by the reuse of classical masonry and architectural fragments. The classical site was not located although it may be part of an obscured extensive lower town on the lower slopes and plain around the outcrop. Measurements and collection were difficult as the site today is covered over by a heavily visited modern pilgrimage shrine complex (türbe). Middle and Late Islamic pottery was apparent on the surface and also noted by Sinclair.[138] Traces of walls were noted on the southern end of the site were identical in masonry style to Baghrās.[139] Across the Amuq in the Afrin Valley, the fortress of al-Rāwandān on a hilltop, was also provided with gardens, fruit trees, and springs.[140] A pre-Islamic settlement for this site is not known and the site is in present-day Syria and outside the

---

[135] Dimashqī, *Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age*, 280; Behā ed-Dīn, *Life of Saladin,* 135; Marino Sanuto, *Secrets for True Crusaders,* 4 (as Trapasa); Ibn Shaddād, *al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra,* 419.

[136] Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān,* 261.

[137] Indeed, one possible translation of Darbassāk or *darb assāk* may refer to a narrow path.

[138] The modern site is known as Terbezek, the village built on the site as Ala Beyli or Beyzil Bostan, the pilgrimage site as Beyazid-i Bestami. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* Volume 4, 297. Sinclair recorded a small mosque on the hill, near the modern village of Ala Beyli. A date is not provided and it is unclear to which period the mosque belonged to. Unlike Baghrās, which had a similar complex of lower town and castle, Darbassāk may not have been an Early Islamic site. Although the name is derived from the Greek name Trapezon "tabletop" and mentioned by Strabo (*Geography* 16.2.8), there is no mention of the site in the Early Islamic period. Furthermore, no Late Roman or Early Islamic site was found around the Middle Islamic castle site, although an intensive survey was not conducted. Classical masonry and other architectural fragments reused in the castle suggest a nearby site existed.

[139] See also Edwards, *Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 253, plate 246a, 247a, b.

[140] Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān,* 267.

boundaries of the Amuq Plain survey. In the Adıyaman Survey, Kale Boğaz, 15 km southwest of Gölbaşı on the main road to Pazarcık, was a thirteenth–fourteenth century double enclosure castle.[141]

It would seem that these mountain fortified settlements, some with lower towns, were of a single type, self-sufficient to a point, and, in effect, were part of a process of *incastellamento*. Their prominence within the literature of the Islamic geographers as *huṣūn* is interesting. Many of these authors lived at the end of the ʻAbbāsid period when the frontier changed hands frequently and defensible castles were built. In the Middle Islamic Period, many previously Roman/Late Roman sites were mentioned in texts as Islamic forts (*ḥiṣn*), such as Baghrās and Darbassāk due to their strategic location on the frontier or *thughūr* as transportation nodes along military or trade routes. However, it is important to note that textual descriptions of sites, particularly in the *thughūr* often referred to sites including fortified towns as *ḥiṣn*. The word *ḥiṣn* has also been used to describe ʻImm. As such the term may denote a fortified frontier site in the most general sense.

A general picture emerges when synthesized with the historical evidence of a transformation from far ranging migration to restrained transhumance or enclosed nomadism and increased economic entrepreneurship. Tribal identities also became more heterogeneous including members of other tribes, non-Muslims, settled peoples from other parts of the Islamic world: Khurāsānīs, Zuṭṭ, etc. These multi-cultural groups formed their own frontier societies with their own economic interests involving cultivation and pastoralism and trade. Now with the Middle Islamic period (mid-

[141] Blaylock, et al., "The Adıyaman Survey: An Interim Report," 128–29.

eleventh), settlement and demography reached a secondary peak, where mixed communities agglomerated into towns with upland fortifications, the process of *incastellamento.* As in al-Andalus and on the *thughūr,* the transformative processes are ones in which Islamic nomads eventually would become sedentary while the Byzantine local populace would become nomadic. These are examples of adaptive strategies to changing environmental and economic (resource) conditions and show necessary subsistence strategies.

V. Summary

By the fifth and sixth centuries, Late Roman settlement began to shift, with dispersed settlements consolidating on the plain into fewer sites and newer settlements in the uplands, reflecting attempts to find new areas for cultivation and avoiding the spread of marsh. During the Early Islamic period, and probably a century before, Late Roman settlements were in the process of becoming gradually abandoned due to many factors including environmental transformations of the landscape and competition for farmland. On the Islamic-Byzantine frontier, the mountain regions had many upland settlements that were fortified and easily defendable, a practice that continued into the Early Islamic period. As indicative of many marginalized societies acting contrary to a central state, incursions into Islamic lands were small guerilla type raids. These shifts in settlement patterns do not indicate abandonment, decline, or a level of squalor in the Early Islamic period or even earlier, as argued by historians and archaeologists alike. Rather, these are transformations in settlement patterns based on a response to

changing environmental conditions and political atmospheres. These responses led to a restructuring of administrative/economic concerns that took place both by the end of Late Roman period (communities organized around and fiscally inter-dependent on local churches) and in the Early Islamic period (creation of a frontier region, resettlement of Muslim and *mawalī* communities, and reorientation of trade and production towards Islamic lands and the frontier).

While sites such as those in the Syrian Jebels show continuity and new construction from the sixth to ninth or tenth centuries, it is equally important to note that not every Late Roman site followed this chronology. The overall number of settlements (and sedentary population) was roughly half the number of the Late Roman period.[142] Early Islamic settlement followed a general continuity seen in the Late Roman periods whose characteristics included consolidation of smaller villa and farmstead type sites, avoidance of tell occupation, and the equalization of Anṭakiya with its minor towns in terms of hierarchical and self-sustaining status. However, Early Islamic settlement contrasted from Late Roman patterns in that they eschewed upland settlement in favor of establishing newly founded sites within or on the peripheries of the increasingly inundated marshy plain, showing an adaptation in terms of settlement and land use to the changing environment and the inheritance of marsh subsistence strategies by resettled marsh-dwellers. Canal and river sites were evenly spaced showing an independent hydraulic based society that cooperatively managed and shared water rights and irrigated land allocations. The localization of settlement in relation not only to canals and springs but wetlands gives an indication of the

[142] See note 102 above.

immediate subsistence catchment areas. These sites were hydraulic villages and were predominately Muslim and were organized along tribal segmentary structures that easily corresponded to the even distribution of settlement and division of resources. Cities of mixed Christian and Muslim communities no longer controlled the landscape and were parasites receiving all of the resources of the hinterland as in the Late Roman period, but were nuclei of individual self-sufficient micro-regions like the hydraulic villages that were also dependent on water sources. These sites, mainly unidentified, probably constituted consolidated towns or large villages, a continuity of the Byzantine *kômai megalai* or *metrokômai*.[143] It should be noted, however, that the ephemeral nature of marsh settlements, particularly small sites, would not appear in the archaeological record and so it is certainly possible that the gap between the number of Late Roman and Early Islamic sites could be narrowed. Further, the comparatively low sedentary population did not include pastoralist tribes that both shared the pasture rich marshland plains in the winter and migrated seasonally to the uplands in the summer.

Finally, a new type of Early Islamic site was founded that consisted of a small to medium sized fortified square enclosure. These were lowland sites located on land (caravan and trade) routes leading from the southern frontier to the edge of Byzantine uplands. These sites were more waystations than military outposts and connected the Byzantine and Islamic frontier zones, being placed along key transhumance routes. The north–south trajectories in the Early Islamic period of transhumance, trade, or military function contrasted with the placement of sites along major rivers such as the

[143] Gatier, "Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin," 27.

Euphrates in the Roman and Late Roman periods, showing a discontinuity and restructuring of the region.

In the Middle Islamic period, the frontier did not suffer a complete decline post-tenth century but rather experienced a transformation, shift, or reversion followed by a nucleation patterns of reinhabiting tells (often with former Hellenistic occupation) with upland fortresses and villages around as fortified towns. This fort/village arrangement shows a development from villa to village, or *incastellamento* that was organized on an inverted feudalist structure where the villagers built the upland forts and used them for refuge and safety. As implied by a reversion to nucleation principles, these upland fortified communities were less dispersed and tribally based, but more agglomerate and mixed and extremely localized. This was not a new phenomenon attributed to the post-tenth century Islamic communities but similarly seen on the Byzantine frontier beginning in before the seventh century with the focus on upland sites and invested agricultural interests and in the seventh century with the advent of the Muslims and the desertion of villas and cities by the Byzantine/Visigothic aristocracy and the reestablishment of localized governments. Similarly, it was seen in Byzantine Anatolia in coastal areas such as Lycia and Pamphylia. As such, this process was less a product of ethnic and cultural practices of land use and more a spontaneous reaction of communities to periods of political and economic instability in the landscape where the waning influence of central government gave rise to the rise of local powers.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FRONTIER OR FRONTIERS: SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL INTERACTIONS

Although each group likes to think of itself apart and contrasts its way of life with that of the other group, all are organized in a single economic system geared to the utilization of all the resources, agricultural and pastoral, of the total environment.[1]

In the seventh century, a popular apocalyptic story from the frontier town of Ḥimṣ in North Syria describes the events leading up to the final conquest of Constantinople by the Arabs. This battle, coincidentally, takes place in the Amuq Plain. Strangely, a truce is drawn between the Byzantines and Arabs and an alliance of the two is forged against the defecting North Arabian Muslims of Kūfa.[2] Although the prophecy depicts a rivalry with the Northern Arabs, the main hostility is directed at the Quḍāʿa: the non-urban nomadic South Arabians who established themselves in northern Syria and the *thughūr* before the Islamic conquests: "surely, the people will not stop until they will take (flocks of) sheep and milk them, competing with each other for them, until, when they have become numerous, they will leave the towns, communities, and mosques

[1] D. P. Cole, *Nomads of the Nomads: The Āl Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter* (Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1975).

[2] "The fighting of al-A'maq has been put among the tribulations (*fitan*) because a third of the Arabs, whole tribes with their banners will join the infidels (*al-kufr*), and a group of the Hamra' will break away and join them also." From the Ḥimṣ scholar Artā b. al-Mundhir al-Alhānī (d. 779–780) translated by W. Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Hims in the Umayyad Age." The battle of the aʿmāq is preserved only in *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāhim* of Nu'aym b. Hammād (d. 842) (folio 122a–b, 135 [a–b], 139 [b], 144 [a]). Interestingly, Livne-Kafri traces this tradition to a Jewish source describing the third *malḥama* of the *biqaʿ gdola* (Great Valley), see "A Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition," 7; see also Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials," 183–89, Cook, "Muslim Apocalyptic and Jihad," 83.

and lead a Bedouin life with them."[3] The Quḍā'a's status as a free ranging nomadic group who were already inhabitants of the frontier was the cause of much anxiety and the South Arabians viewed them also as defectors of Islam, moving to Byzantine land with their *mawālī*. This anxiety masks two conflicts. The first is a general tribal rivalry over land and resources. The second is between a peripheral group and a central authority. Both are two sides to the same coin and present ambiguity towards clear-cut ideas of *jihād* and a militarized Islamic-Byzantine frontier, an additional ideological conflict. On the frontier, settlements were dictated by gradual responses and adaptations to changing landscapes and by interactions between local peripheral groups with the central authority. Like the apocalyptic prophecies, these constitute three layers of frontier interactions: 1) ideological, ideological, military and religious conflict; 2) external, the competition over resources; and 3) internal, the political relationships between local peripheral groups with the central authority. In the first type of interaction, the frontier is a singular physical space; in the last two types of interaction, the frontier becomes a set of peripheral environmental frontiers or localized zones composed of interactions between uplands and lowland groups. Both are integral to show how the interactions between humans and their environment are part of complex adaptive systems that respond and contribute to larger historical cycles and ultimately, a deeper understanding of history. This chapter will examine the external and internal interactions in light of ideological conflict on both frontier and frontiers.

[3] From Madelung, Fol. 63b, fol. 28a. Hims, the site of this apocalyptic tradition of the nomads, was coincidentally the site of departure for many of the earliest raids into Byzantine uplands.

I. External Interactions: Holy War or Competition for Resources?

From the archaeological evidence, certain ethno-religious characteristics were inferred from the various site types. Were these characteristics tied into shifting trajectories of lowland and upland settlements? For example is it possible to say that the Byzantine frontier consisted of mountainous uplands while the Islamic frontier comprised lowland plains and marshes and by extension all upland settlements were occupied by Byzantine (and Christian) settlers and lowland settlements by Islamic nomads? Yaghrā and ‘Imm in the Amuq Plain and Domuztepe in the Kahramanmaraş Plain have already been discussed as examples of preexisting Christian communities living on the plain. How would Christian settlements in Islamic lands be treated? Were these communities exempt or part of a protracted political/religious Holy War between Christian and Muslim or were they participants in an environmental/economic symbiotic relationship of land and water rights between the settled and the nomadic.

Robinson outlines several models of interaction between nomads and settlers. In a mutualism model there is symbiosis between nomads and settlers. In a conflict model, nomads are perceived as dangerous and uncontrolled entities who raid, taking prisoners and booty. A conflict model would also support a “large scale investment in fortifications.”[4] Superficially, these models reflect the historical and archaeological perceptions of viewing the frontier in layers of an environmental/economic symbiosis

[4] Robinson also calls into this model the discussion of the Roman *limes* and fortification policies of policing nomads, see “Tribes and Nomads,” n. 63; see also Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 255ff.; Mayerson, “Towards a Comparative Study of a Frontier,” 38.

(archaeological mutualism) or a political/religious aggression (historical conflict). While potentially useful as theoretical frameworks, the two views are not mutually exclusive but represent different orders of layered views of the frontier. Further, these models are not completely adequate and leave out the role of environmental change and human adaptation to the landscape. Robinson states that a mutualist model would assume a political and environmental stability. This is not necessarily the case, as has been demonstrated from the archaeological data. The same is true for historical interactions across the frontier when placed in their environmental contexts. It is possible to show the gradual transformations and relationships between humans and their environment in both historical and archaeological layers on the frontier.

It would be the crudest simplification to see the frontier as inhabited by Muslim communities on one side and Christian ones on the other. Crucial to understanding the frontier as a complex landscape is the notion of tribal interaction. At the periphery of empire, the *thughūr* and its well-watered plains were home to many tribes, some pre-existing and some settled since the Islamic conquests. The interaction of these tribes with each other, with settled communities, and with the central state illustrates many vectors of interaction taking place over time, rather than a unilinear interaction from one side of the frontier to the other. So too, are the complexities of settlement. It should be emphasized that tribal and clan size, affiliation, and grazing areas varied throughout the Early Islamic period of the seventh–tenth centuries. This was partially because while some tribes were nomadic, others (often the Christian tribes) were sedentary and some were both. However, the majority practiced seasonal annual

transhumance, moving uplands in summer for better pasture and returning to the lowland plains for winter pasture, which was not as far ranging as that practiced by the purely nomadic migratory tribes of Central Asia, and perhaps employed a mixed strategy of sedentarism and pastoralism. Rowton calls this practice "enclosed nomadism," that is, their range of mobility included a settled area of seasonal agriculture and adjacent uplands for pasture.[5] Semi-nomads had lowland camps and practiced limited agriculture, and semi-sedentarized nomads lived in permanent villages but became mobile part of the year.[6]

The Islamic writer Qudāma b. Ja'far wrote: "Muslims, having fattened their beasts in their own lands in early summer, moved up to the lands of the Byzantines where there was still pasture and they could enjoy a second spring."[7] The degree to which certain tribes were more settled than others or more pastoral differed among clans. Additionally, most pastoral tribes were probably associated with sedentary communities at the very least through economic ties and probably through a gradual process of nomadization to increased sedentarization that occurred over many generations of time.[8] The annual movements of crossing the Islamic-Byzantine

---

[5] M.B. Rowton, "Enclosed Nomadism," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17.1 (1974): 1–30.

[6] Because most tribes practiced transhumance to a degree, I use the generic (though imperfect) terms pastoralist or transhumant to refer to both nomadic and semi-nomadic or semi-sedentarized groups.

[7] Qudāma b. Ja'far 259 *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. Translation in Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier."

[8] Donner states that because of the gradual but continuous process of sedentarization, most settlements were inhabited by tribesmen, many of which had been nomadic illustrating a more complicated interrelationship between settled and nomadic groups. For more on nomads see F. Donner, "The Role of Nomads in the Near East in Late Antiquity (400–800 C.E.)," in *Tradition and Innovation*

frontier for summer raiding in uplands and winter retrenchment in lowlands describes in perfect terms (without political or religious ideologies), pastoralist transhumance movement. Competition for resources (i.e., grazing lands and water rights) comprised certain interactions between Islam and Byzantium, pastoralists and settlers, or pastoralists and other pastoralists.

It is important to understand that pastoralist presence and competition on the frontier does not preclude the existence of a military agenda. The difference is a matter of perception, particularly with regard to frontier interaction. It should be emphasized that pastoralists were not just herders moving their animals passively across a general background of the Middle East. Robinson states that they also were: "*auxilia* in imperial armies, *foederati*, phylarchs, traders, smugglers, messengers, agriculturalists, spies, scouts, boatsmen, guides, and pilgrims."[9] It is known that nomadic and semi-nomadic groups made up the armies that crossed the frontier annually.

Muslim classical authors write that the division of the *thughūr* into *thughūr al-shāmiya* and *thughūr al-jazīriya* was done to distinguish the regional tribal makeup of the armies that crossed the frontier from either side.[10] Robinson gives two examples: 1) the *shākiriyya* were an 'Abbāsid cavalry in the service of the caliph on the *thughūr* that were made up of nomads; and 2) the *rawābiṭ* was a mobile militia composed of

---

in Late Antiquity, eds. F. M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys (Madison: U. Wisconsin, 1989), 73–85, esp. 81, 83.

[9] Robinson, "Tribes and Nomads," 434.

[10] For example, see Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 154; Balādhurī, *Futuḥ al-Buldān,* 264–65, translation following Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 292–93: "Al-Manṣūr settled in Malaṭyah 4,000 fighters from Mesopotamia [*āhl al-Jazīra*], Malaṭyah being one of the Mesopotamian frontier towns [*thughūrihim*]."

nomads of the region whose purpose was to route out rebels.[11] Ties between the state and the frontier frequently involved setting up local pastoralist tribal leaders as governing administrators. Historians document many instances of local chiefs being appointed on the frontier. Moreover, as Robinson argues, accounts from the major cities of the frontier that had strong settled communities scarcely mention the role of administrators, implying perhaps that these chiefs were less based and involved in urban life. Tribal leaders could amass their own armies that invariably came from their own nomadic or semi-nomadic groups and were non-urban.[12]

The nomad/pastoralist who worked as an auxiliary, soldier, spy, etc., certainly existed. The line between either a nomad as a soldier in the imperial army, or a transhumant tribe as the army unit and the tribal leader as the army general is quite tenuous. On the frontier, these lines were crossed all the time and the increasing mixture of non-Arab soldiers, such as Khurāsānīs and Turks shows attempts by the central state to avoid tribal autonomy, implying that such concerns were valid. Transhumant or nomadic tribes could have exacted a certain amount of self-directed motivation on the frontier by virtue of their power in local administration, their homes on the margins of central lands, and their need for self-preservation. Steps could have been taken to insure migration routes by occupying or building waystations (such as Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt, Būqā, or Kurban Höyük) and, at the same time, controlling trade routes

[11] For more discussion on the *shākiriyya*, see Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 199-201. The nomadic character of the *rawābiṭ* is implied by the Arabic word *rābita*, see Robinson, "Tribes and Nomads," 442.

[12] Robinson outlines four types of state/nomad interactions: 1) state controlling nomads by giving them certain benefits; 2) state circulating anti-Bedouin traditions and granting them land; 3) state using nomadic militias to round up nomadic rebels (similar to how Byzantines and Sāsānians handled nomads); and 4) dependence of the state on tribal power. See "Tribes and Nomads," 442.

(such as Iskandarūna–Maṣṣīṣṣa–Ṭarsūs, Anṭākiya–Mar'ash, or Raqqa–Sumaysāṭ–Malaṭiya). The controlling of trade routes, keeping them safe from bandits (i.e., other tribes), was a transhumant tribe's attempt to secure more regional power amidst a milieu of tribal diffusion. In this way, they brought a mob rule (of sorts) to the settled populations.

Similar arguments of tribal autonomy have been used to explain the nature of the desert castles or Early Islamic *quṣūr*[13] and of the rise of the later Turkic nomadic groups in the same region. Most notable is the study of J. Woods, which shows how the Aqquyunlu tribal chiefs secured strategically located strongholds and on key migration routes along the Taurus farther east, thereby also controlling the eastern Anatolian trade, collecting protection and toll money from merchants and traders which functioned as an important source of revenue.[14]

---

[13] Donner, personal communication, 2004; Bacharach deconstructs the notion of these as caliphal or state-sponsored buildings entering into the debate the important aspect that these buildings should be examined individually. See "Marwanid Umayyad Building Activities: Speculations on Patronage," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 27–44. Northedge subscribes to a military model but one dominated by a tribal authority of notables (*ashrāf)* that may have inhabited these structures. See "Archaeology and New Urban Settlement in Early Islamic Syria and Iraq" in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Vol. 2: *Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, eds. G.R.D. King and A. Cameron (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1994), 231–66. As opposed to the *quṣūr* or waystations as occupied by armies of the central state used to "keep tabs" on nomads, see Gaube. King (1993) takes a middle ground and sees these waystations as key spaces for both pastoralist and settled groups to commingle but cannot attribute them as tribally owned because their constructions are too massive, expensive, and "antithetical" to the nomadic livelihood.

[14] J. E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*: *Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 29–31, fn. 26, 239. In the case of the Aqquyunlu and other Turkic tribes at this time, urban centers were also controlled so as to secure commercial markets. The similarity of the Aqquyunlu Turks with Near Eastern tribes suggests that perhaps the ecology of eastern Anatolia dictated ways of life, regardless of where these tribes originally came from. This a deviation from T. Barfield's thesis which states that Turkic tribes differed from Near Eastern tribes as they were more interested in trade and extortion than conquest, had separate armies and administration outside the tribal system, and had a system of "fief" supporters. See "Tribe and State Relations: The Inner Asian Perspective" in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, eds. P.S. Khoury and J. Kostiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 174.

Three examples of institutions or strategies existed that demonstrated both pastoralist tribal *and* military economic control and environmental management. While many tribal pasturelands were shared due to overlapping migrating routes, some systems protected pastures and routes with restricted access. In the frontier zones of the former Islamic al-Andalus following the *reconquista*, specialized routes for moving sheep were created, or rather, more regulated from traditional routes that are documented since the sixth-seventh century, if not earlier.[15] Often these routes deliberately moved in between fallow fields, showing a symbiotic adjustment between settled and pastoralist groups. The routes were protected militarily as were lowland pastures and tolls were exacted on these sheep roads. Sources describe lowland shepherds in the uplands encountering competition with upland pastoralists.

[15] The frontier of al-Andalus provides important parallels, showing that military pastures and transhumance was not just a product of the Near East but an environmental and economic strategy. Although pastoralism has been practiced in Spain since before the Roman period, the famous merino sheep from the Medieval period was introduced by the thirteenth century Marīnids of Almohad Berber and Umayyad Spanish descent. Analysis of the transhumant Castilian pastoralist practices show that they too were learned from Arab or Berber tribes. This is reflected in the Spanish terminology for pastoralism which is all etymologically of Arabic origin. Prominence of pastoralism during this period is attributed probably to a combination of factors: favorable lowland/upland climate and topographic changes and an aftermath of economic instability on the frontier. These routes traversed from the northern uplands to southern plains. See J. Klein, *The Mesta, A Study of Spanish Economic History, 1293–1836* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1920), pp. 5, 8.

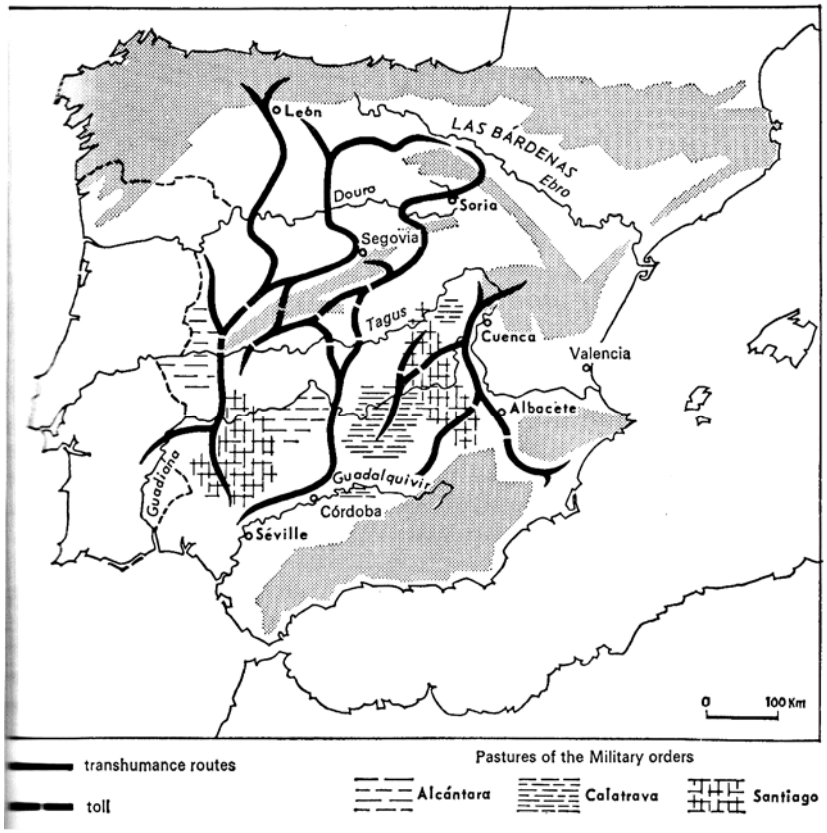

Figure 77 Transhumance routes in al-Andalus (from Braudel 1966, p. 83)

The *ḥimā* was a protected tribal pasture that had a military aspect and was known since pre-Islamic Arabia.[16] In the early Islamic period, the *ḥimā* takes on the function

[16] There has been little scholarship on the *ḥimā (*plural *aḥmā'*). It extended since pre-Islamic times as a secular parcel of land that was owned and under protection of a specific tribe and provided access to grazing and water rights. Enforcement of this access or restriction was done by the clan or clans that temporarily settled there and are an example of tribal solidarity (*'aṣabiya*). The restricted seasonal access allowed the vegetation to return the following year. Certain *ḥimās* allowed only cattle and equids, barring sheep and goats which typically overgraze a piece of land. They were designed specifically for stock breeding. Some *ḥimās* also had a permanant water supply. As such, the system had a component of sustainability and prevented lands from becoming desertified, overgrazed, or deforested. See J. Shoup, "Middle Eastern Sheep Pastoralism and the Hima System," in *The World of Pastoralism: Herding Systems in Comparative Perspective*, edited by J. G. Galaty and D. L. Johnson (New York: Guilford Press, 1990), 195–198; L. Gari, "A History of the Hima Conservation System," *Environment and History* 12.2 (2006): 213–228; Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 57–60.

of a protected pasture for the mounts of the military, as well as, the herds of the tribes.[17] The *ḥimā* is also mentioned in relation to land around the frontier *ribāṭ* of North Africa as a protected pasture and refuge from raids.[18] Straughn hypothesizes that the settlement of new Early Islamic communities in marsh/pasture lands throughout the frontier shows an intentional "cultural logic" in creating a *ḥimā* space "which has a particular designation in Islamic law as a public good that can serve the whole community as a pasture."[19] Evidence of the *ḥimā* in archaeological contexts is elusive. Clues might come from water installations such as reservoirs, wells, and cisterns. One distinct possibility of a *ḥimā* is the large enclosed open spaces (*hayr*) of the *quṣūr*/desert castles of Syro-Palestine often thought to be hunting grounds.[20]

Trade of booty, a portion of which had to go to the state, also required pastoralists to interact with settled people in markets and fairs: "The application of this Islamic commandment involved all the military personnel in commercial dealings since it was impossible for the soldiers to retain all the articles of spoils that might become their

---

[17] Examples are known from early Islamic Arabia, such as at the site of al-Rabaḍa where the *ḥimā* was developed by 'Umar in 637 C.E. as a vast breeding ground for camels and horses which numbered 40,000. See S. al-Rāshid, *al-Rabadhah: A Portrait of Early Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia* (Essex: Longman, 1986); Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 66–67; J. Chelhod, "Ḥimā" EI2.

[18] The system spread with the Islamic conquests and was used by the Berbers in North Africa and the Turkic peoples in the Jazīra. The *ḥimā* of North Africa were also called *qidal* and documented during the tribal invasions of the Hilāl and Sulaym in 1052 C.E. In this case it is more like the example of Byzantine fortified refuges with protected lands around them. See M. Hassen, "Les Ribāṭ du Sahel d'Ifrīqiya"; Shoup, "Middle Eastern Sheep Pastoralism," 197.

[19] Straughn, "Materializing Islam," 206.

[20] At Qinnasrīn, the marshlands (and pastures) of the Matkh are also a likely example. Whitcomb, personal communication, 2008.

share; they had no alternative but to sell them, or to sell most of them."[21] Traditionally, pastoralist and settled groups have forged an important symbiosis where pastoralists require markets to sell or trade their dairy, wool (important for textiles), and meat to buy other food (other meat, grain, produce) and manufactured goods, and vice-versa. Beyond the local economy, nomadic pastoralists on the frontier were necessary in conveying goods for international import/export between Byzantium and the Islamic lands, whether for legitimate trade, smuggling, or gift exchange. This economy, using nomadic or transhumant tribes as middlemen or brokers for items consisting mainly of crafts, craft specialists, and luxury goods was part of a larger frontier economy.[22] The presence of local and international economies implies that markets were important in frontier towns and the frontier was open to trade.

The settlement pattern of major *thughūr* urban cities and villages in lowland areas on major routes, rather than defensible strongholds, strongly suggests an open involvement with frontier trade and exchange. During the time of al-Ma'mūn, a new community called Kafarbayyā was built on the opposite bank of the Jayhan from al-Maṣṣīṣa and became the commercial center with many *khāns* (see Appendix 2).[23] Ibn al-'Adīm observed that fine sheep wool coats sold at al-Maṣṣīṣa for thirty *dīnārs* a piece. Markets are also mentioned for Ṭarsūs and Mar'ash among other towns, such as

[21] Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr," 222.

[22] See von Sivers, "Taxes and Trade" and Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr," 191–238 for full discussion. From Byzantine lands came imports of gold/silver utensils, herbs, brocades, female slaves, lyres, water engineers, agricultural experts, marble workers, eunuchs, see C. Pellat, "Ǧāḥiẓiana, I: Le Kit-ab al-Tabaṣṣur bi-l-tiǧara attribute à Ǧāḥiẓ," *Arabica* 1.2 (1954): 159. Muhammad's envoy delivered a letter to Heraclius along with goods for trade (Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughur," 202).

[23] Balādhurī, *Futuḥ al-Buldān*, 228. See Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 107.

‘Imm in the Amuq (see Chapters 2 and 7).[24] Traveling markets and fairs passed through villages creating an interdependent self-sufficient economic system between the transhumant tribes and rural communities that was not necessarily dependent on the nearest city.

Transhumant tribal groups enabled access rights to grazing lands, water sources, and trade routes, as well as protection under chiefs, greater resistance in difficult times due to shared resources (i.e., maximizing grazing areas and minimizing herd loss), and market interaction. As such, tribes operated as political units and should not be seen as strictly genealogical or kinship based.[25] The family comprised the most basic and small unit and was generally blood linked. While many members shared kinship linkages, tribes could incorporate defectors from other tribes, defectors from settled communities, prisoners taken during raiding, and any other type of recruitment.[26] An important category in the Early Islamic period is that of the *mawālī* (converted Muslim or client). Instances of *mawālī* joining groups and being treated as pure-blooded

---

[24] See discussion by Haldon and Kennedy, “The Arab-Byzantine Frontier,” 108. Annual fairs existed in the early Islamic cities of Palestine, see M. Gil, *A History of Palestine 634–1099* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 241–42. Markets corresponded with religious festivals commemorating martyrs and were on fixed days of the year called *panegyris* or *tagūrtā*, the Syriac word for trade or commerce. Evidence in 795 C.E. and the eleventh century showed that markets continued to occur after the Islamic conquest of the city 795 C.E. Mention is also made of annual markets in Byzantine cities and former Byzantine cities invaded by the Muslims such as Euchaita and post-Islamic markets at Ephesus and Shimshāṭ, see Trombley, “The Decline of the Seventh Century Town,” 85, fn. 51.

[25] Ample anthropological ethnographic work on the subject in the Near East in the last thirty years has convincingly demonstrated that tribal units should be seen more as political designations.

[26] For prisoners being incorporated into tribes see the example from the winter raid on Euchaita (Chapter 7, footnote 96, above). See P. Crone, who argues that tribal affiliations eroded into shifting political parties competing for resources and power, “Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?” *Der Islam* 71 (1994): 1–57.

members can be see in historical sources, as in the example of Zurayq, a *mawlā* of the Khuzā'a Arab tribe.[27] The Zuṭṭ and Sayābija, marsh dwellers in the *thughūr* were originally from India and Indonesia and came to the Islamic lands as *mawālī* of the Tamīm.[28] Similarly there are numerous instances of discontented individuals or groups that crossed the frontier to identify with the other side.[29] The notion of an ancestral genealogy was often a binding mechanism for tribal solidarity (*'aṣabiya*) that was kept deliberately vague or mythic but important nevertheless.[30]

Lindner's work on the early Ottomans as nomads provides valuable comparison. He argues against the prevailing *ghazī* thesis of Wittek which states that the formation of the early Ottoman state in the late thirteenth century was an outcome of Ottoman religious warriors fighting a Muslim Holy War. The absolutist political and religious agenda envisioned by Wittek was not the case in the formative periods; the Turkish tribe was not purely Muslim (rather syncretic) and their initial goals were not to convert Christians. Rather, Lindner states, the educated sedentary classes that became part of the administrative structure used the character of the *ghazī* as a way for the orthodox and sedentary to understand the formation of the early Ottoman state,

---

[27] D. Elton, "The 'Ahl Al-Taqadum' and the Problem of the Constituency of the Abbasid Revolution in the Merv Oasis," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7.2 (1996): 174.

[28] M. Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of 'Ayyārān and Futuwwa* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1995), 221.

[29] One example of a defecting tribe was the Ḥabīb in 930 C.E. who allied themselves with the Byzantines, converted to Christianity and raided Islamic lands, taking several of the frontier forts. Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together*, 107.

[30] Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*. Lindner provides an important discussion on the Early Ottoman tribe that counters Wittek's theories that the Ottomans could not have been a tribe because they were not blood tied.

converting the "nomadic pragmatist to a clever Holy Warrior" as had been used to justify earlier Islamic expansion: "As the Holy War, the jihad, was invoked for the initial Bedouin operations in early Islam, so too was the early Ottoman predation justified by the ghaza [raids]."[31] As such, the tribal unit was inclusive and functioned more or less as a politically ordered group, not unlike an army garrison. Both were composed of tribal members that were mainly but not necessarily blood linked (including prisoners, defectors, and *mawālī*) and both were bound by ideological concepts: for tribal identity, the eponymous ancestor; for an army garrison, political/religious motivations.[32] By extension, frontier conflict was a competition over resources for grazing and water rights, which combined ideological or military identity and solidarity with economic and environmental necessity.

II. Internal Interactions: Frontier Societies and the Central State

Through all of this discussion, the notion of the Islamic-Byzantine *thughūr* frontier has been an important setting. However, if frontier communities and their settlements responded to their natural surroundings and vice versa in contexts that underlay political and religious motivations, what can be said about the existence of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier as a singular physical and geographic space and its role in

[31] Ibid., 40. This is echoed by Blankinship for the Umayyads: "The *jihād* policy had worked rather well for the Umayyads by concentrating attention at the distant frontiers, keeping the troops employed, dispersing discontented elements, and above all, by legitimating Umayyad rule" *End of the Jihad State*, 78–79.

[32] Interestingly, the Muslim social historian Ibn Khaldūn comments that *'aṣabiya* was best obtained for alliances and for conquest when framed within religious ideology (such as *jihād*). See P.S. Khoury and J. Kostiner, "Introduction: Tribes and the Complexities of State Formation in the Middle East," in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, 10–11.

bringing about these transformations? The physical frontier of the transhumant and sedentary societies comprised lowland plains that had become increasingly marshy in the winter months and mountain uplands that were only accessible by a handful of important passes in the summer months. Both mountains and marshes have traditionally always been on the edges of settlement. This may in part be associated with modern perceptions that tend to dismiss mountains and marshlands as peripheral and uninhabited zones within the landscape. In these uncultivated and wild landscapes, it is generally thought that mountains are zones of very limited agriculture, while in marshes irrigation systems no longer function properly and insects and disease are rampant. In addition, these spaces are conceived as obstacles to travel and transportation, particularly for the large commercial and trade-based economies that dominated the Near East following the first millennium B.C.E. Finally, these wildernesses are the realms of wild beasts, rebels and bandits, social and political outlaws.

Of course, these perceptions reflect a central state/settled point of view. It is no coincidence that these regions configured prominently in the lives of pastoralists. Pastoralists tend to be locally autonomous and governed by their own tribal group and practice herding to various degrees. More clearly, mountain pastures provided summer grazing areas while marshes provided winter grazing areas.[33] Pastoralists did not

[33] Marshes were also closely associated with pasturelands. Artemidorus explained that swamps are the realms of shepherds not travelers, as demonstrated by the association of the Latin word for swamp, *palus*, with the shepherd goddess, Pales. The association of pasturing and wetlands, while seemingly counterintuitive, is a natural resource relationship where the receding marsh waters annually renew the vegetative ground cover below. In addition, it is noted that marshes provide better grass for pasture than anywhere else.

regard movement through them as impediments but as a way of life. Because they lived on the periphery of settled society and their movements were difficult to control, they were regarded as thieves and dissidents. Much as military expeditions and competition for resources were two sides of the same coin, the peripheral pastoralist was seen equally as a bandit or soldier, depending on the level of perceived control by the central state. Muqaddasī, referring to the nomads of the deserts (another environmental frontier) states that they are both dangerous brigands and hospitable guides.[34]

Likewise, the mountains and marsh have been regarded as uninhabitable wildernesses and wastes. As such, regardless of political frontiers, each of these smaller ecological regions were themselves localized frontiers. The previous section argued that interaction over the frontier can be seen as a competition for resources. This section will move further, deconstructing the notion of Islamic-Byzantine frontier as a physical space and showing how similar interactions occurred across localized environmental frontiers.

[34] "The people here are highwaymen, yet they give shelter to the stranger, and guide those who have gone astray; they also convoy caravans, and indeed, it is not possible for a person to travel this way without either a guard or some force." Muqqadasī, *Aḥsan,* 252. Translated by B.A. Collins, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions* (Reading: Garnet Publishing Ltd., 1994), 227. Also see Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society*, 238: "The tendency of armed soldiers to deteriorate into asocial or para-legal bands of mercenaries and bandits was great under the Umayyad's exclusive policies and disregard for the subjugated people. The line of demarcation between the ordinary warrior and rebel, outlaw and policeman in the Iranian world of the early middle ages was much diffused. Numerous rural desparados, warriors or peasants by origin … retainers, policemen, and mercenary soldiers were thus uften recruited from the same material as bandits." Cobb, *White Banners,* 118ff. also argues that bandits were often former soldiers and vice-versa, they could be conscripted as soldiers.

Mountains

Perhaps unsurprisingly, one of the last areas of Syria to be conquered was the mountains to the north, unlike the lowland communities that capitulated quickly:

> This was especially true of the large peasant populations of the great river valleys and plains, such as the Aramaeans of Iraq and Syria, and the Copts of Egypt. It was principally mountain peoples who maintained long, fervent, and sometimes permanent opposition, such as the inhabitants of the Lebanon and Amanus Mountains, the Armenians, the Berbers, and the inhabitants near modern Kabul, many of these never having been digested by an imperial system before.[35]

The thickly forested mountains uplands were difficult to access and remained on the peripheries of settlement often as refuges for native populations. In the *thughūr,* the mountains, specifically the Amanus range, were the abodes of the Jarājima (Mardaites), who had set up local autonomy.[36] The Jarājima were treated extensively by Balādhurī who describes them as Christians who lived in the Amanus (al-Lukkam) in a town called al-Jurjuma between Bayās and Būqā near the Maʻdin al-Zāj (Vitriol Mine). They were neither Arab nor Byzantine Greek but either of Persian[37] or

[35] Blankinship, *The End of the Jihād State*, 23. The Lebanon Mountains have long been avoided and left isolated (see footnote 36, below).

[36] They also dwelt in the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains within Islamic lands. F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 153ff. Interestingly, it is mentioned that they were intentionally left by Heraclius to guard the frontier outposts (see M. Canard, "al-ʻAwāṣim" EI2, 761-62) although this is surely a misrepresentation of a local populace that had no wish to evacuate or be resettled.

[37] It is thought that the Jarājīma were cavalry from Persia that had remained in Syria, cultivating tax-free plots of land on the "frontier" in exchange for service. They would have been in Syria since Anūshirwān's invasion and victory over Anṭākiya in 540 C.E. The association with Mardaites might come from the Mazdakites who were exiled to the Syrian frontier by Anushirwan. These Persian groups that were also mountain and frontier societies existed elsewhere like the Asāwira of Baṣra and Kūfa, Khaḍārima of the Jazīra, or Jarāmiqa of Mawṣil. This last group was a mountain society, coming from the city of Ḥazr on the Takrit Mountains between the Euphrates and Tigris. See: Zakeri, "Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society," 128, 170ff; Elton L. Daniel, "Arabs, Persians, and the Advent of the Abbasids Reconsidered," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117.3 (1997): 542–48.

Armenian/Caucausus descent.[38] They were nominally governed by Anṭākiya and during the conquest of Anṭākiya in 636 C.E., some barred themselves in the city. Following the fall of Anṭākiya, they retreated as a group to the mountains. The accounts are unclear whether they were mountain folk before the conquest with certain members living in the city, or if they retreated to a new upland residence upon the conquest. Nevertheless, the Jarājima were still problematic and deemed insurgents by the new Islamic rulers. During the conquests, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah al-Fihrī, the acting governor of Anṭākiya, attempted to forge a peace treaty in efforts to control them. Terms were established whereby if the Jarājima became spies and participated in raids they were absolved from paying tax and allowed to keep any booty.[39] However, the mountain people's allegiance only went as far as it was convenient for them and they continued to be a threat to the Islamic rulers. Balādhurī mentions that during 'Abd al-Malik's time the Jarājima would raid the villages of Anṭākiya and the Amuq and strike

[38] They may have also come from the highlands of Armenia and the Caucauses, specifically from Mardali of Tourouberan, near Qālīqalā (classical Theodosiopolis, modern Erzurum), see W. E. Kaegi, "Observations on Warfare between Byzantium and Umayyad Syria," in *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham in the Umayyad Period*, edited by M. A. Bakhit and R. Schick (Amman, 1989), 62, n. 41; H. Bartikian, "He luse tou ainigmatos ton Mardaiton," *Byzantion: Aphieroma ston Andrea Strato,* Volume 1 (Athens, 1986), 17–39, 62 n. 41. Keiko speculates if the name is associated with Gurgum, the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Mar'ash. (O. Keiko, "The Expansion of the Muslims and Mountain Folk of Northern Syria – The Jarājima in the Umayyad Period," *Orient* 27 (1991): 74–94, esp. 75.

[39] Balādhurī (*Futuḥ al-Buldān*, 217–8) and others mention that this extended to the citizens of Jurjuma, its merchants and employees, and dependants and locals of surrounding villages (called *al-rawādif* meaning those who follow) (see also Keiko, "The Expansion of the Muslims," 78, n. 15). Balādhurī (*Futuḥ al*-Buldān, 218, 221) also suggests that *al-rawādif* could refer to followers who joined their cause, such as former slaves of the Muslims, rather than just those who resided in the villages. This raises an interesting question concerning the settlement of al-Jurjuma — was it a small urban area or large village in the mountains that would have merchants and dependant villages? If so, this is quite unusual given the settlement patterns during both the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods that focused on small, dispersed sites in the uplands. The settlements on the Syrian Jebels, while larger entities with churches and other buildings, still did not possess communities of merchants and surrounding dependent villages.

at lagging Islamic troops during the annual summer expeditions.[40] During the second *fitna* in 678/79–88 C.E., they allied with the Byzantines under Justinian II.[41] They forayed as far south as Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Galilee, keeping only to the mountains and avoiding the plains. As such, they remained out of reach by any major army and so their resistance was as much independently carried out as it was nominally a Byzantine incursion. On the one hand, the use of the Jarājima as buffers and allies of the Byzantines is typical of Byzantine warfare on the frontier. In this case, the Jarājima are seen as a potentially dangerous group and the Byzantines use them to keep them *in* the Islamic frontier rather than raiding their own lands.[42] On the other hand, the inability of either the Byzantine or Islamic side to control them suggests that these mountain folk were self-governing and had little interest in alliances. Both Arabic and Syriac sources call them brigands (*luṣūṣ* in Arabic, *Garegūmāyē* or *Marīdayē* in Syriac) showing how they may have been perceived by either group.[43]

Eventually, several other peace treaties were made in efforts to control the Jarājima which involved Islamic tribute to the Byzantines in exchange for attempts by the Byzantines to resettle 12,000 of these people in Byzantine lands. This was not entirely successful and most of the Jarājima resettled in their Amanus Mountain homes while some joined the Islamic summer expeditions.[44] In some cases they were

---

[40] Balādhurī, *Futuḥ al-Buldān*, 221.

[41] Kaegi, see footnote 39, below, and Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr," 65.

[42] Kaegi, "Reconceptualizing Byzantium's Eastern Frontiers."

[43] Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society*. 188.

given money, wheat, and oil, strikingly similar to incentives for Arabs and other groups to settle on the *thughūr* and showing attempts to sedentarize rebellious mountain people on the plains. Maslama under al-Walīd in 708 C.E. tried to settle them elsewhere in further efforts to control them or get them out of the way in places such as the lowlands of ʻAmq Tīzīn, Ḥimṣ, and Dimashq; or the Byzantine uplands of Sunḥ al-Lūlūn near Lu'lu'a.[45] In one instance in the early ʻAbbāsid period, a leader of the Jarājima, Bundār or Theodore, rallied other disenfranchised peasants and runaway slaves to revolt against taxation in Lebanon. They raided and plundered Baʻlabakk and villages of the Biqāʻ Plain. Sāliḥ b. ʻAlī, governor of Syria under al-Manṣūr, sent a force to rout them out of their mountain stronghold and forcibly resettled them around the province. Cobb's analysis of this revolt argues that they were a nativist and messianic movement like other millenarian bandit movements in history (the Judaic revolt).[46]

Several points are important concerning the Jarājima. As Christians living within the Islamic frontier, they were exceptions as targets of Holy War, being given economic incentives and even recruited in seasonal raids/expeditions. Further, these Christians were semi-nomadic mountain dwellers whose practices (including raiding,

---

[44] According to Keiko, this decline in power and scattering of population allowed the Muslims to expand further into the *thughūr* ("The Expansion of the Muslims," 84).

[45] Also the location of Mt. Ḥuwwār, whose topographic setting is unclear. Ibid., 85 and n. 47) states that it was west of the Jayhan in Cilicia. See also Blankinship, *The End of the Jihād State*, 23.

[46] Cobb, *White Banners,* 111–115. Theodore hailed from the village of Munayṭira. Cobb highlights two other bandit movements that lived in liminal zones: the Zawāqil and the Ṣa'alik, both loose political tribes composed of Qaysī and Yamanī tribesmen, respectively. The Zawāqil inhabited the Ḥawrān steppe lands in eastern Jordan. For a general discussion of conflict between peasants and local/urban elites, see 106ff.

collecting booty, and acquiring followers or defectors) were fairly overt and characterized them as a political tribe. As mountain dwellers, they became bandits and political dissidents and much anxiety was felt over the inability of either Islamic or Byzantine sides to control them and attempts to resettle them in the lowland plains. As nomadic Christians, mountain dwellers, and political dissidents, they were not unlike the local frontier Byzantines whose transformation in lifestyle and settlement in mountain refuges was an environmental response to their political situation.

In al-Andalus, Roman Visigothic communities that occupied mountain sites following the Early Islamic conquests similarly practiced raiding and banditry on the lowland Islamic communities. Examples of Islamic groups living in the mountains exist as well. During the Umayyad– ʻAbbāsid transition in the mid eighth century, certain groups took advantage of the political vacuum to establish themselves in the mountains and practice armed resistance. Qurra b. Thābit was one such local governor and tribal chief who raided the lowland towns causing the local Arab and Christian communities of Mayyafārīqīn to form an alliance against the mountain folk.[47] In the very early eleventh century, key mountain areas such as the Jabal al-Summāq (Syrian Jebels), Jabal al-Lukkām (Amanus), and the Jabal al-Rawādīf "were primarily inhabited by a tribally organized peasantry [*ʻashāʼir*] who were fiercely antagonistic toward any type of outside authority."[48] The Jabal al-Rawādīf, south of Anṭākiya, was populated by the al-Aḥmar and the Ghannāj under the local chieftain Naṣr b. Musarraf. This is the Mousaraph mentioned by the Byzantine historian John Skylitzes. In 1027

[47] Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 48–50.

[48] Cappel, "The Byzantine Response to the ʻArab," 116.

C.E., Musarraf started an insurrection against Byzantine controlled Anṭākiya that lasted for five years. Similar rebellions were started by the Druze who lived in "virtually inaccessible strongholds" on the Jabal al-Summāq and the Munqidh who lived in the uplands near Shayzar farther south along the Orontes. Cappel states that the Byzantines attempted to control them by enlisting them in their armies to guard the mountain passes between Ḥalab and Anṭākiya.[49]

The similarity between the attempts by the Islamic rulers to control the Christian Jarājīma in the seventh and eighth centuries C.E. and the Byzantines to control the Bedouin tribes in the early eleventh centuries C.E. in the same exact region is striking. Both cases occur in the mountains of Anṭākiya, not on the Taurus Mountains of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier. As such, the interactions between Islam and Byzantium, Muslims and Christians regardless of who was in power, occurs across a localized frontier of mountains and plain. The rebel mountain groups, who probably practiced a semi-nomadic/semi-settled strategy previously, were forced to adopt upland lifestyles to maintain local autonomy.

Marsh

Like the mountains, the marshes were also thought to be uninhabited wastelands. However, the wetlands were also localized frontiers where settlement and interaction was equally significant but qualitatively undetermined, particularly in the *thughūr*. As has been shown, by the Early Islamic period much of the lowland plains were seasonal

[49] It is interesting to note that the Byzantine armies were divided into two groups of soldiers: the white (*abyaḍ*) and brown (*āsmar*) reflecting the mix of people and use of tribesmen. The *āsmar* were given mountain passes to control as this was in many ways, their own territory. Ibid., 116–17, fn. 7.

to permanent marshes. Unlike the mountain areas, there are no good accounts of marshes on the frontier and how they supported settlement or group interaction,[50] although there is limited work on marshes in the classical periods.[51] Sources briefly and indirectly state that the mountain Jarājima also lived in the marshes of the Amuq Plain and farther north, but nothing further is mentioned.[52] However, there are several specific references to marsh dwellers who were resettled from southern Iraq (see Chapters 2 and 7). An examination of their origins and settlements in the well-known marshes of southern Iraq (*al-Baṭā'iḥ*), an important parallel to the marsh settlements of the frontier, will better reveal how these spaces were localized frontiers.

Textual references to known structures, mainly in the marshlands of southern Iraq appear throughout the Islamic periods and imply settlement. Balādhurī referred to a lighthouse in the swamp.[53] Other sources in the early tenth century documented the

---

[50] One impediment to the idea that marshes were settled is the assumption that they were malaria-ridden environments. F. Braudel states that malaria may have been a significant factor in the decline of Rome, see *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* translated by S. Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 63–65. J.R. MacNeill, however, argues that flourishing coastal plain cities in ancient until Sāljuq times implies that malaria was not a rampant concern but a relatively recent one, as indicated by the abandonment of many coastal plain settlements during the summer from the seventeenth to twentieth century, particularly in Anatolia. See *Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 345.

[51] Academic scholarship on the subject of marsh settlement in antiquity is strangely sparse. Unfortunately, ancient literary references to marsh settlements are equally scant. In perhaps the only treatment of the subject, G. Traina explores the role of the marsh in antiquity using Latin and Greek sources in his book. He explains that part of the problem is that marshes were so common and infused within the normal pastoral/agricultural world by the fifth century B.C.E. that there was no need to mention them. With regards to formation, only natural disasters that affected large and important cities were described in painstaking detail. See G. Traina, *Paludi e Bonifiche del Mondo Antico* 1988, see part. 32, 49, 77.

[52] From Zakeri, Sāsānid Soldiers, 170ff. This is referring perhaps to them also settling in the 'Amq Tīzīn.

[53] Balādhurī, *Futuḥ al-Buldān*, 411.

export of salted fish from the marshes and described barges that transported cargoes to inter-marsh canoes for transport. In addition, they mention stations built on reed platforms (like the *dibūn*) to guard these trade routes from outlaws living in the swamps. Further, they enumerated four main lagoons in the swamps and stated that in one there was a tower called Manāra Ḥassān.[54] These marsh sites may be imperceptible. Furthermore, their absence within the geographical sources as properly named communities may be more a function of their size and loose tribal organization. The presence of outlaw communities in the marshes would probably go unnoticed in any official or semi-official geographical or historical text. This raises an important issue concerning the perception of marshes and settlement.

Muqaddasī mentions the site of al-Salīq, a pre-existing Sāsānian city and a typical swamp settlement on the order of a *madīna* on the edge of a lagoon in the swamps below Wāsiṭ in southern Iraq:

> The fields [of Ṣalīq] extend right up to the outskirts of al-Kūfah, but the heat is very great, and the air foul and oppressive. The mosquitoes are a perfect pest, making life miserable. The food [of the inhabitants] is fish, their drink is warm water, and nights are a torture. [The populace] is boorish and its speech corrupt. There is a shortage of salt and great misery. However, [the district] is a source of abundant flour, has a benign government, abundant water and considerable quantities of fish. The city [of Sāliq] has a great name, and the inhabitants are without exception good fighters, and knowledgeable about the river. One of the localities is reminiscent in its pleasantness of the canal of al-Ubullah.[55]

---

[54] Marshes and swamps are frequently associated as the hideouts of bandits and rebels. In the fourteenth century, Ibn Baṭūṭa described the region as full of Shiite bandits that raided caravans, see A. Popović, *The Revolt of African slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th century* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 11; for discussion on marshes in Islamic sources, see G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate : Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of the Timur* (New York: AMS Press, 1976), 42.

[55] Muqqadasī, *Aḥsan*, 119, translated in Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together*, 89.

Muqaddasī's skeptical views of marsh settlement should indeed be taken with a grain of salt. Apart from his trademark descriptions of towns, which frequently alternate good qualities with bad, he was a city boy from the high elevations of Jerusalem. However, that he views the government as benign and considered it a *madīna* — based to some degree on its politics — is interesting. Around the time of his writing, al-Salīq was in its second period of independent rule (ca. 983 C.E.). During the first period (949–79 C.E.), 'Imrān b. Shāhīn established himself as an independent ruler and used al-Salīq as his headquarters in the marginal swamps away from the eyes of the 'Abbāsid government. The 'Abbāsid armies made several attempts to depose him, all of which failed on account of their unfamiliarity with the wetlands terrain.[56] That an independent ruler could maintain power for at least thirty years in relatively close proximity to the seat of the government capital gives great significance to the power of the marshlands as marginally viewed territory from a central lands perspective.

The marsh dwellers and supporters of the independent insurgents consisted of several ethnic groups that became clients of Arab tribes and could, on political terms, be termed a sub-tribe or clan. Generally, literature describes the major insurgent rebellion of the marsh dwellers as the Zanj Revolt. Although the Zanj are East African slaves,[57] the term collectively refers to all non-Arab slaves, including the Zuṭṭ from India and the Sayābija from Indonesia. The Zuṭṭ or Sindī were made up of two groups based on the different routes they took in migrating or being resettled from their Indus

[56] Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together*, 89.

[57] They were brought to work the swamps of southern Iraq and consisted of four subgroups: the Qunbula, Lanjawīya, Naml, and Kilāb, Ibid., 44.

Valley homelands to the wetlands of southern Iraq. One group came to the Persian Gulf coasts in the early fifth century, although sources are divided as to why. Some sources say that the Zuṭṭ were musicians and entertainers also called Lūrī or Lūlī who came in numbers of 12,000 to settle down at the behest of Bahram Gur. This group came from the area of Lūristān and pastoralists who lived in marshes and ate fish.[58] Other sources say that they were brought by the last Sāsānid king as mercenaries against the Arabs.[59] Still other sources suggest that they migrated naturally westward searching for pasture via a canal called the Nahr al-Zuṭṭ, which was dug for them or by them in the marshlands of southern Iraq. A district in Khūzistān called Zuṭṭ may also indicate their migratory trajectory.[60] Whether or not they were deliberately settled, the Zuṭṭ were a nomadic people, migrating over distances with their families and livestock for better resources. During the Islamic conquests, they converted and became *mawālī* and were based around Baṣra. The second group came in the Umayyad period and was brought by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī who was prefect (*ʿāmil*) of al-Ḥajjāj after his campaigns in the Indus Valley. They were settled in the area of Kaskar, east

---

[58] M.J. de Goeje, *Memoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes a travers l'Asie* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1903); Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Islamic Society*, 158ff. They were said to be from the area of the city of Mihrān from the northern shore of the Persian Gulf to Multān on the west side of the Nahr Mihrān. R. Levy states that the source for this is from the tenth century Ḥamza of Iṣfahān and also Firdawsī's *Shahnameh*. It is interesting to note that their migratory routes eventually took them to Armenia and Asia Minor and they are ancestors of the "gypsies." "A Note on the Marsh Arabs of Lower Iraq," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 44 (1924): 133.

[59] Balādhurī says that the Zuṭṭ as well as the Sayābija and Andaghār were Indians (Sindī) in the Persian army. al-Khwārazmī in the tenth century said that their original name is *jiṭ* (pl. *juṭṭān* and ancient Getae) which was Arabicized to Zuṭṭ and they were also employed to protect roads (*badhraqa*). See Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers In Early Muslim Society*, 158ff; Levy, "A Note on the Marsh Arabs," 130–133.

[60] Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society*, 160. One canal in the Euphrates marshes near Babylon was called the Nahr al-Zuṭṭ.

of Kūfa, in the lowlands of the Tigris around Wāsiṭ with their families and livestock.[61] The Zuṭṭ also included deserters from the Persian cavalry (Asāwira) who were of Indian origin, much like the Jarājima of the Amanus. The Zuṭṭ revolted between 813–33/34 and were subdued by being resettled by Mu'taṣim's commander Ujayf who sent 27,000 first to Khāniqīn north of Baghdād, then to 'Ayn Zarba on the *thughūr*. The government armies had great difficulty quelling the revolt as they could only access the Zuṭṭ settlements by boat. This clearly reflects the perspective of the governmental central lands that were unfamiliar with the territory and saw the swamps as the edges of civilization.

The Sayābija were another non-Arab marsh-dwelling group with debated origins. They were most likely of Sumatran Indonesian origin also originally employed by the Sāsānians as treasury guards. They also lived in the region of Baṣra and were used to fight pirates, indicating that they were perhaps seafaring and used, like the Jarājima, as buffers against other seafaring rebels.[62] Etymologically, the *sayābija* derives from the Tamil root word of "sapa" or "saba" (Arabic *Zabag* via *Sabag*) referring to a river estuary. The inhabitants of these environments were the Savaka or people of the Saba, which was then Arabicized to *sayābija*.[63] Zakeri states that they were also possibly

[61] Balādhurī, *Futuḥ al-Buldān*, 230.

[62] In Baṣra there was a Nahr al-Sayābija. Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society*, 162. Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together*, 44.

[63] Levy, "A Note on the Marsh Arabs," 130–33. Also mentioned by de Goeje (*Memoire sur les Migrations*) and Bosworth ("al-Zuṭṭ") in early Islamic texts as a group of pre-Islamic settlers in Sind and the Persian Gulf.

Persian cavalry, similar to the Jarājima, Zuṭṭ, and Asāwira, as evidenced by an Arabicization from the Middle Persian *nishāstag* (garrisoned warrior).[64]

The Zuṭṭ, Sayābija, and Zanj show a clear ecological relationship with their surrounding wetland environment, echoing almost exactly the marsh dwellers of southern Iraq today. They subsisted on cattle and fish, as well as fruit and vegetables from surrounding orchards and gardens and date palms, and of course, reeds.[65] In addition, they participated in various local industries such as weapons manufacture, boat building, and textile production. The proliferation of markets and minting attest to a wider economic base that was in part facilitated by exchange and trade of agricultural goods with Bedouin merchants. Furthermore, they practiced raiding (as described by several raids on Baṣra[66]); however, land or settlements were never taken. Rather, only what was mobile and useful was acquired, such as booty (money, horses, weapons), troops, and boats (often with cattle and grain).[67] This type of subsistence can be closely compared to the trade and raid view of transhumant tribes who relied on sedentary markets to trade animal products for cultivated goods and raiding of sites. These raids, perceived as robbery and banditry by the central state who could not readily control the marshes, were probably designated as revolts when crescendoes of

---

[64] Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society*, 162. One other possibility is that they came from the Armenian district of Sīsajān, again similar to the Jarājima, see de Goeje, *Memoire sur les Migrations.*

[65] For reeds, see M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 246–47.

[66] Zakeri, Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society, 221. The Bāhila were another Arab tribe who lived in the swamps and were resistant to the central state. See Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together*, 44 and Popović, *The Revolt of African Slaves*, 86, n. 70.

[67] Popović, *The Revolt of African Slaves*, 57, 134–35.

multiple insurgencies were reached. Most importantly, the settlements and interactions by the marsh dwellers demonstrate an internal localized frontier within Islamic lands. Further, it provides evidence for interpreting the sites on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier and interactions of the marsh-dwellers, who were the very same Zanj and Zuṭṭ relocated from southern Iraq.

As has already been stated the Zuṭṭ were resettled to the *thughūr* from southern Iraq in efforts to control them following a revolt in the 834 C.E. Several previous settlements had already taken place by Muʿāwiya in 669/70 C.E. who settled Zuṭṭ and Sayābija families of Baṣra in Anṭākiya and Būqā in the Amuq. Along with the Zuṭṭ, four thousand water buffalo, both male and female, were brought to the frontier under the caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. They were among thousands brought from India. Four thousand more female water buffalo (*al-jamūs*) were sent to Maṣṣīṣa by Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik who took them from the Muhallab making the total at Maṣṣīṣa upwards of 8,000 water buffalo.[68] These three instances suggest either deliberately episodic resettlement policies and/or migratory routes of the pastoralist and nomadic marsh dwellers to the *thughūr*. Further, they show how the central state was preoccupied with how to control these marsh dwellers of localized frontiers.

Like the mountain frontiers, there was no specifically ethnic or religious attachment to these peripheral localized spaces. Rather the groups that inhabited these spaces were often politically or economically marginalized. Abū al-Fidā' described the way of life of the marsh inhabitants in the Ghab Valley along the Middle Orontes[69] in

[68] Balādhurī, *Futuḥ al-Buldān*, 230.

the fourteenth century when the region was under Mamlūk rule and relatively far from the Taurus Mountain border. These settlements were highly adaptive to the ecosystem and bear very close resemblance to those of the marsh dwellers in southern Iraq. Abū al-Fidā' writes: "… there are Christian fishermen who live here in huts built on posts (*buyūt 'ala al-khawāzīq* [sing. *khāzūq*]), in the northern part of the lagoon. This lake is four times larger than the Afāmiyya Lake. In the middle of the Lake of the Christians (*buḥairat al-naṣārā*) the dry land appears."[70] The sites may be artificially built islands such as the *īshān* seen in southern Iraq made of reeds and mud,[71] or they may be the tops of tells on the plain and along the silted and inundated main canal. The lake was populated by all manner of reeds and papyrus that would have been used in the day-to-day existence of these inhabitants in constructing houses and the infamous reed mats which were known to have been exported from marshes around the Levant such as the Ḥula in Palestine and the Biqā' in Lebanon.[72] Various waterfowl including swans, pelicans, and cranes and fish and eel would have been part of the diet of these Syrian

---

[69] The Ghab is part of the same geological lowland rift that included the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains.

[70] Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān,* 41. Recent excavations in the lower town (south) of Tell Qarqur in the Ghab revealed an Early Islamic/Middle Islamic lower town that was not built up but could have been an example of island or "pile" marsh settlement. The majority of the faunal evidence showed wetlands subsistence, while the pottery was mainly fourteenth century, corroborating Abū al-Fidā''s accounts. It is interesting to note that the tell was only slightly occupied and perhaps given over to agriculture and pasture (Casana, personal communication, 2007). Ethnographic accounts of marsh dwellers who lived in settlements such as these in the Ghab and Amuq provide further comparison. See J. Weulersse, *Le Pays des Alaouites*, Volume 1 (Tours: Arrault & C[ie], Maitres Imprimeurs, 1940); W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia,* Volume 1 (London: John W. Parker, 1842), 36–39.

[71] Ethnographic accounts of the lifeways and settlements of the southern Iraq Marsh Arabs are extensive. For a good overview, historical, and anthropological work, see G. Young, *Return to the Marshes: Life with the Marsh Arabs of Iraq* (London: St. James Place, 1977). For reed and mud platform settlements, see p. 41.

[72] Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān,* 41.

marsh dwellers. When integrated within the larger economical framework of the Levant, the marsh dwellers may have maintained the Orontes waterways linking trade traffic between Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā, and Anṭākiya. What is interesting from Abū al-Fidā''s comments on the marsh dwellers is that they are Christian communities, rather than Muslim. From archaeological evidence and literary sources virtually nothing is known about marsh dwellers in the Roman and Byzantine periods. This suggests that either the adaptive strategies of marsh settlement and subsistence were learned from the Iraqi (and Sindī) marsh dwellers that settled in the Early Islamic period, or developed independently and simultaneously as a response to the environment and political circumstances.

Environmentally determined, localized frontiers show several types of interactions taking place such as competition for resources between pastoralist and settled groups and pastoralist and other pastoralist groups, and security and counter-insurgency measures between the central state with its peripheral communities. These were not unique to specific ethnic groups and did not occur solely in the *thughūr* but were adaptive resilient responses to historical occurrences.

III. Environmental Frontiers: Upland and Lowland Interactions

The notion of the Islamic-Byzantine frontier as a physical space has been deconstructed. Further primacy based on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier as a special moment in history is similar to parallels in other periods of history. Ultimately, what is left is a set of upland and lowland interactions between groups.

Shaw shows examples of pre-Islamic interactions on the *thughūr* between the areas of the uplands of Isauria (or Rough Cilicia) and the marshy lowlands of the Cilician Plain (or Smooth Cilicia) in the Iron Age, Hellenistic/Persian, Roman, and Byzantine periods. In the pre-classical periods the large empires controlled the plains and coast, but had limited power often maintained by treaty over the neighboring highlands of Isauria. This was true of the Hittites, who created the Cilician Gates, the Assyrians whose center was Tarsus, and the Achaemenids.[73] A story of the Persian King Datames (385–362 B.C.E.) shows a different type of interaction, besides just diplomacy and treaty writing. In efforts to control the mountains he both raided them intermittently and created alliances with other mountain chiefs, eventually succeeding. As a result, the central court from which he came deemed him a rebel governing an autonomous region and attacked him. Shaw shows how the "mountains made the man," that is, whether or not Datames intended to establish an autonomous base, his presence in such a region made him a political outlaw.[74] This shows several further points. The mountains were examples of localized frontiers and to properly deal with them, one had to become a part of them. This creates some anxiety on the part of the central state in managing the peripheries of empire. Second, Datames' successful methods of raiding, formed tribal alliances, and negotiating only loose control are strongly evocative of nomadic and settled interactions. Third, although these events

[73] B.D. Shaw, "Bandit Highlands and Lowland Peace: The Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33 (1990): 210. Alexander also could not take this region, see p. 217.

[74] Ibid., 213. Shaw mentions a fascinating literary anecdote: Datames had to form an alliance with one such mountain tribal chief, named Thuys who was depicted as a barbarian with a black face, huge body, and beard. Datames takes him down into the plains and washes him, that is, attempts to civilize him.

occur nearly one thousand years earlier in a landscape governed by different political borders, they are similar to interactions that occurred on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier. What is consistent is the physical landscape itself and the perceptions of it.

The Romans had similar trouble with the mountain areas. Their goals, however, were not to acquire them in the folds of the empire, so much as to secure overland routes for communication, trade, and transport. Attempts to rout out mountain settlements on the Amanus were unsuccessful. Similarly, the Romans had to forge alliances and in some cases gave areas of the mountains to local dynastic leaders as gifts, a practice seen often in the Early and Middle Islamic periods.[75] An important point is that the inhabitants of these areas, called by Cicero "wild savages beyond the pale of civilization" were not just mountain dwellers but ethnic Cilicians (linguistically Luwian) from the plains, who moved upland to seek refuge, avoid oppression, maintain independence, and preserve ethnic and cultural ways of life.[76] As such, the practice of using the local inhabitants as clients or buffers could easily backfire. Shaw provides another example of the Emperor Probus who settled soldiers and required them to not only defend the land against incursions but also police each other.[77] The military on the frontier were as much of a protection of an external threat as insurance that they themselves would not defect or worse, set up local power.

---

[75] Ibid., 264. This is also seen in the recent mid-nineteenth century where the Tarsus Ottomans attack the Isaurian mountain dwellers the Derebeys who were considered outlaws (*sakı*) who raided the plains. The Ottomans dealt with the threat by giving them local power. The Derebeys became employed as middlemen to collect tribute and recruit soldiers and then were given offices of power.

[76] Ibid., 221ff. for Cicero, (Cic. *ad. Att.* 5.20.5).

[77] Shaw, "Bandit Highlands," 239.

Yet Cilicia was known in the Roman period for its mountain resources, the products of sheep and goat herding, that would have been sold or traded on the plains: "We know that the two [uplands and lowlands] were linked, at very least, by an economy of transhumant pastoralism, vividly described by Cicero and confirmed by the widespread identification of the economic emblems of Cilicia as its wool and woolen garments, goats and goat-hair fabrics."[78] Like the early Islamic period, interaction was also marked by a competition of resources. Further, these interactions between nomad and settler, nomad and nomad, and central state and periphery were enshrouded in a religious ideology that justified conflict, much as an ethic of *jihād* and apocalyptic literature did in the early Islamic period. Cilicia was the home of Saint Thekla, a fifth century saint who was worshipped particularly in the areas between Rough Cilicia and the Cilician Plain, the localized frontier of settlement. Another personality was Konon of Bidana who converted bandits: "not in a spiritual sense, but also in an economic one, by turning them from wandering and free pastoralists to cultivators of the land who became his slaves."[79] Through the religious lens of a local saint, the enemy was seen as sacrilegious and the saint and her worshippers as the bringers of a religious truth.

Shaw explores the idea of upland and lowland frontiers as both physically and mentally constructed spaces:

> A prevalent ideology shared by most landowners tended to reflect, from their perspective, the political and military frontier between mountain and plain as a dividing line between the 'barbarian' and the 'civilized' But there

[78] Ibid., 244 for Cicero, (Cic. *de Div*. 1.42; Cic. *Verr*. 2.1.38.95).

[79] Ibid., 246–47.

> was an element of illusion in this idea, since montane societies, even if they rejected political and military forces directed against them, seem to have been open to, and permeable by, various cultural and economic forces stemming from the lowlands.

His work demonstrates that the same processes of interaction were not unique to the Islamic-Byzantine frontier, either as a singular physical border or zone or a special period of history. Examples have shown that the inhabitants of the localized frontiers who participated in upland and lowland interactions were not fixed, but changed depending on historical events. The local Byzantine populace became mountain pastoralists during the seventh/eighth centuries, as did the local Hispano-Romano population led by the Visigothic aristocracy of al-Andalus at the end of the Late Roman period, and the Cilicians during the Roman period. The Jarājima in their mountain refuges similarly retreated to the Amanus with the arrival of the Islamic conquests. These movements are not bound to chronological or ethno-religious restraints but evince interactions between uplands and lowlands. Further, they show the importance of localized frontiers, how they are created by historical occurrences and maintained by a level of environmental and economic resilience. These processes are part of a larger cyclical history where patterns are repeated in an ebb and flow of complex adaptive relationships between humans and the landscape.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS: DISMANTLING AND REBUILDING THE FRONTIER

The frontier in history, cultural consciousness, and current scholarship has always remained just beyond the grasp of understanding. Indeed its traditional definitions, either as a wilderness on the edge of civilization or as a boundary separating two entities, have deliberately avoided a specific identity. Recent scholarship on the frontier has redefined and reshaped its meanings into a multitude of interpretations such as military frontiers, religious frontiers, natural frontiers, frontiers of trade and economy, urban/rural frontiers, social and cultural frontiers, and ethnic frontiers. Instead of monolithic appellations that take on static meaning, frontiers now describe a set of processes where systems of accommodation, acculturation, assimilation, adaptation, conflict, competition, and resolution are negotiated. The increased level of attention surrounding frontiers shows a shift in scholarship in addressing areas, cultures, histories, and populations that are poorly understood. To use an archaeological/anthropological model, scholarship has begun to devote itself to the periphery rather than the core.

Despite the advances in frontier studies across the map, the Islamic-Byzantine frontier (*al-thughūr*) has remained fixed in the traditional view: a wilderness or a closed fortified border dominated by a line of castles across which Muslims fought

non-Muslims in the name of holy war. Such perceptions are inaccurate and idealistic and products of Islamic and Byzantine authors who promoted ideological propaganda. The frontier, as demonstrated by the archaeological evidence, was neither an empty wilderness nor a delineated boundary and arena for *jihād*. Rather, the frontier encompassed various social and physical spaces; each draped one over the other as a series of layers. These layers are constructed out of several perceptions of meaning and function, including an administrative and military frontier, a religious and ideological frontier, and frontiers of settlement, society, and economy. When layered together, the Islamic-Byzantine frontier cannot be seen as a single physical or ideological landscape. It becomes a set of landscapes where one can examine various diachronic processes such as settlement shifts, social interaction and competition, and environmental change.

Besides the larger notion of frontier, this study directly addresses three key problems in the field of Islamic archaeology. The first is the recent trend to regard the seventh century Byzantine-Islamic transition as a period of seamless continuity rather than decline. The second is the heavy focus on the urban landscape and lack of rural studies or frontier studies. The final problem is the discipline of Islamic archaeology as a historical archaeology and its relation to Islamic history. While this dissertation is not explicitly framed around these problems, it indirectly addresses them. The Byzantine-Islamic seventh century transition is re-examined and the ambiguous Byzantine-Islamic transition is partially untangled through close study of its ceramics and settlement patterns. The focus on rural and peripheral settlements expands on the

entrenched assumption of Islam as an urban religion emanating from a central core. Finally, this dissertation produces an interpretation born from archaeological and historical hypothesis and data. The interpretation contributes to an environmental and frontier history by viewing the process of frontier not solely through historical events but in interdisciplinary frameworks that better accommodate the slow and gradual transformations of landscape.

Through an interdisciplinary landscape approach that combines environmental analysis, survey, excavation, and historical textual evidence, this dissertation re-examines the Islamic-Byzantine frontier by looking at its environment, settlement, and interactions. This is achieved using several levels of analysis. The first uses primary data from three surveys and two excavations undertaken in the Amuq Valley, Kahramanmaraş Valley, and the Plain of Issos in Turkey. The data are used to create a methodological model with which to examine the Early Islamic frontier (seventh to tenth centuries) and its relationship to and differentiation with the earlier Byzantine one (fourth to seventh centuries). Environmental data shows how anthropogenic manipulations affected the environment and how subsequent environmental change led to settlement adaptation and influenced the interaction of groups across the frontier. As the Byzantine-Early Islamic period of transition is notoriously difficult to discern, the model considers sites with nuance and degree. Sites are characterized both by physical size and assemblage size and whether they were preexisting or newly founded to determine whether they grew, contracted, or remained the same from the Byzantine to Early Islamic periods.

The second level of analysis brings in secondary data from work undertaken elsewhere on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier on the Syro-Anatolian *thughūr* and also the Andalusian *thughūr* in the western Mediterranean. Byzantine and Early Islamic evidence from other surveys on the Syro-Anatolian frontier is brought forward and in some cases reanalyzed as many of these studies did not specifically focus on these periods. The Anatolian frontier, on the other hand, offers a wide range of evidence focusing specifically on Early Islamic settlement and the frontier. Both the primary and secondary data of the first two levels of analysis are remarkably congruent showing that environmental/human relationships and Byzantine and Early Islamic (and also Middle Islamic) settlement patterns were neither unique to the Amuq, Kahramanmaraş, and Issos Surveys, nor to the Islamic-Byzantine Syro-Anatolian *thughūr* as a whole.

A third level of analysis combines all of these patterns to examine two types of frontier process: settlement and interaction in light of the third process of environmental change. The first process follows a diachronic narrative of settlement patterns and site categories and how they reacted or adapted to changing environmental and political conditions. The second examines the inhabitants, ethnic groups, and religious communities that inhabited these frontier settlements in light of how they interacted with one another. These processes accept the imposed political boundaries and religious ideologies of the *thughūr*.

From the primary and secondary evidence, several key patterns are formed which are connected with changes occurring 1) from the Late Hellenistic through Early

Islamic periods; 2) from the Late Roman to the Middle Islamic period; 3) only in the Early Islamic period; and 4) only in the Middle Islamic period. Recently, Near Eastern landscape archaeologists have strongly argued that one of the greatest impacts of settlement and landscape transformation was marked by a change from a nucleation of tell-based settlement centers in the plains and valleys to a dispersal of numerous small sites located across the plain and uplands. This shift began in the Late Hellenistic/Seleucid period (second–first centuries B.C.E.), but peaked in the (Early) Roman period (first century B.C.E.), and continued in the Late Roman period and the Early Islamic period. At the same time, a new network of cities and towns was formed in lowland accessible areas that were well connected with main trade routes and fortified. This network continued through the Early Islamic period.

At a very general level, absolute continuity between the classical and Islamic periods is not tenable; change carried political, religious, and cultural implications and occurred on every level from material culture to rural sites and urban cities to trade networks and land use projects. Many of these changes occurred gradually starting in the Late Roman period. During the Late Roman period, a process of marshification in lowland areas resulted from intensive cultivation of the uplands and subsequent erosion filling in the plains and canals and rivers, causing flooding. Several patterns of settlement were discerned that directly related to the environmental change: small, dispersed plain sites consolidated, settlements shifted towards the uplands, and urban centers equalized. Minor towns grew in importance while major towns contracted. During this period, many Byzantines abandoned the cities and emigrated farther into

the uplands to defensible fortresses that were less accessible. In the Early Islamic period some of these patterns persisted such as consolidated plain settlements and equalized and self-sufficient urban centers. The consolidation of sites on the plain and the movement of settlements upland foreshadow the further transition of dispersed farms to small villages, many of which incorporated high, defensible, and inaccessible castles in the Middle Islamic period.

In the Early Islamic period, new patterns arose demonstrating that the Byzantine-Early Islamic transition was neither a sharp decline nor a seamless continuity. Although settlement favored the Late Hellensitic/Roman/Late Roman pattern of dispersed small sites, the overall number of settlements was roughly half the number of the Byzantine period. Early Islamic settlement was noticeably different, not only in number, but location with several new types introduced to the landscape such as marsh sites and fortified square enclosures.

It has been demonstrated that marshes formed around the Late Byzantine/Early Islamic period in the Near East as a consequence of anthropogenic factors, such as intensive land use coupled with natural factors that contributed to a marshification of the landscape. These environmental changes dictated new types of settlement and subsistence. Despite the spread of marsh, upland sites were not occupied or newly established. New settlement patterns showed that continuing and newly founded Early Islamic sites were evenly spaced along canals and rivers or within marshlands. These sites imply an independent hydraulic based society that was cooperatively managed, shared water rights, distributed land allocations for agriculture and pastoralism, and

organized along tribal segmentary structures. Alongside agrarianism and pastoralism, marsh settlement necessitated a third subsistence strategy that takes advantage of the rich natural resources renewed seasonally by cycles of flooding and drying. As such, marshes were prime areas for pasture, irrigation and cultivation, and reed gathering. These patterns closely parallel frontier settlement in Early Islamic Spain. Canal and marsh sites were founded in the seventh century and increased significantly in the eighth to tenth centuries.

A new type of Islamic site, the small fortified enclosure, were waystations on north–south transhumance and trade routes leading across the frontier into Byzantine lands. These waystations, some of which are known textually as *thughūr* forts, appeared mainly in the eighth century and seemed to be part of an organized system of settlement, dominating their setting, disseminating power, and providing refuge for the surrounding nomadic and sedentary communities. Like the *quṣūr* desert castles, their function is ambiguous. They may have been examples of a state or military sponsored system of defense or the residences or headquarters of local tribal leaders. Either way, both canal and marsh settlements and waystations demonstrate a process of gradual sedentarization of Arab and other tribes that occurred from the eighth to tenth centuries following the initial settlement of the frontier in the seventh century.

The continuities and discontinuities of preexisting and new settlement types advance hypotheses as to the ethnic and religious makeup of communities on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier. While there is no definitive way to know the ethnic or religious identity of each community, the model supports a cultural mottling that

undermines traditional notions of the frontier as a border between Christians and Muslims. Newly founded sites were settled by Arab tribes and their clients and later by other ethnic groups such as Khurāsānīs. They would have been mainly Muslim, while Late Roman sites that continued and expanded were a result of new Arab and other tribal groups settling alongside preexisting rural communities, most likely local Syriac- or Aramaic-speaking Christians. Sites that were abandoned in the Early Islamic period or were greatly reduced represent vestigial rural Byzantine communities who have gone farther into the Byzantine controlled uplands.

While the ethno-religious hypotheses shows processes of accommodation and adaptation among groups, it does not take into account acculturation and assimilation processes (such as conversion) that would have occurred gradually over time. Nevertheless, all of these processes suggest that interaction on the frontier was not simply a matter of Muslims fighting against Christians in a Holy War. Three types (or layers) of frontier interaction occurred: external, internal, and ideological. External interaction was an annual competition for grazing lands and water rights by transhumant tribes that shared the pasture rich marshland plains in the winter and migrated seasonally to the Byzantine controlled uplands in the summer. The competitive movements of nomadic pastoralist tribes in association with settled groups or other pastoralists (the "trade and raid"), is ambiguously synonymous with the annual military expeditions into Byzantine land for booty. Internal interaction occurred between the central state and its frontier societies. The frontiers, including the inaccessible marshlands or mountains, were often the home of local powers,

political outlaws, and bandits. Competitions for resources and core-periphery political relationships are neither unique to the Islamic-Byzantine frontier nor frontiers in general. Rather, these interactions constitute upland–lowland interactions across environmental frontiers and are part of longer cyclical histories. However, an ideology of frontier and articulated sense of place gives the Islamic-Byzantine *thughūr* poignancy. In this case, Islamic and Byzantine authors articulated the third layer, the political-religious ideology of holy war (*jihād*). This ideology was imposed from central lands to justify the back and forth annual raids between Muslims and Christians and to internally control the mixed frontier societies by galvanizing them towards an external threat.

Just as the authors of the historical sources were influenced by their patronage, audience, and own training, in many ways, frontiers have become a projection of our own disciplinary outlook. For example, how can an archaeologist perceive frontiers? In the medieval periods there were no linear boundaries. Therefore the concept of borders, so much a part of contemporary nationalism, may not have been felt as acutely. For the archaeologist, ethnic or religious categories such as Arabs or Christians may not be readily identifiable within sites. Further, settlement patterns on the *thughūr* reflect the same patterning seen in the central Islamic landscapes of Early Islamic Palestine and Egypt. The contrasts then are two-fold. On the one hand, the material culture of assumed Byzantine or Christian communities in proximity to Arab or Muslim communities (or vice versa) delineates a zone where two groups were interacting over a two hundred year period of time. On the other hand, the material

culture is not necessarily paradigmatic of a frontier society. Frontier sites and societies reflect the dominance of local traditions and industries dictated in part by closer connections to and subsistence upon an immediate environment, rather than more distant connections to central cities and societies. Frontier settlements may also differ from other frontier settlements that were situated in different elevations and terrain or even from other more central Islamic lands that exhibit wider connections, the importation of material culture and animals, and the proximity to larger and denser settlements and urban areas. These qualities are not exclusive to identifying frontier societies, however, based on the fact that the archaeological evidence is so site specific. But they cast the idea of territoriality in an archaeological light that distinctly avoids political subjectivity. Reacting to political subjectivist claims on the subject of territoriality, A. Smith states: "Ecological change or alterations in the nutrient requirements of populations are the *only clear determinants* that might explain changes in attachments between people and place."[1] Taken further, though categories of evidence may suggest ethno-religious frontier societies, to the archaeologist, the frontier as an identifiable regional space is imperceptible. The *thughūr* becomes an imagined frontier composed of religious/political ideologies. Stripped of its ideology, archaeology can show a "real" region of continuity, ecological subsistence, and local economy.[2] However, frontiers — whether real or imagined — all have historical relevance.

---

[1] Smith, *Political Landscape*, 154.

[2] Indeed, some have argued whether it is possible to escape ideology at all, since these concepts are relative. Archaeology and its motivations for discerning truth or historical narrative in pseudo-scientific

The *thughūr* cannot be defined simply as a singular physical space. Rather, it is the simultaneous accumulation of several layers of perception. One layer is a clearly defined historical frontier actively imbued with a definitive purpose by its inhabitants. Another layer is an archaeological landscape across which settlements are passively dictated by changing environmental conditions. The *thughūr* can be redefined as *processes of interaction* that take place across these layers: the interactions between groups and each other and between groups and their environment.

Much like Heraclius's destruction of the frontier, we have moved toward a final deconstruction. The ongoing dialogue of analytical scholarship on these peripheries participates in the system of processes encompassed by the frontier. The frontier, no longer a means to an end, is a tool with which to address problems across disciplines. As such, the frontiers in history have become defined by the research and range of disciplines involved in their understanding. Perceptions of frontiers are a product of the disciplines that created them. It is no wonder that the frontier has been reified by both historians and archaeologists as encompassing multivalent pluralistic layers as these have been motivated by the diverse disciplines and ambitious attentions. The study of frontiers thus far has expanded into an interdisciplinary discussion that at the same time has raised certain borders. Examining the *thughūr* has shown how our own disciplines (whether archaeology, history, or literature) determine where we place

---

terms are also part of imbedded ideologies whether consciously constructed or not. For example, this work establishes an alternate vision of a religiously fueled military Muslim/Christian frontier utilizing themes of environment and human ecology, and showing societies as rural and peripheral, pluralistic and nomadic/sedentary, resistant to a central authority yet inter-cooperative. In a twenty-first century Western (and American) context, this too can be perceived as the product of a liberal and reactive ideology. See also A. Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts: Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* (New York: Plenum Press, 1998), 142.

frontiers and whether they are, in fact, real or imagined. In studying these sets of liminal processes and change, our own interdisciplinary interactions become imbedded participants in the creation of frontiers.[3] At present, the state of the frontier seems not to reside in its function, which has been dismantled in its monumental form and rebuilt over and over again across diverse socio-physical geographies. If I were to have embraced a total deconstruction of the concept of the frontier, it would have made for a very short thesis. Rather, this deconstruction becomes a point of departure with which to rebuild or repopulate the frontier, bridging the disciplinary divide, and creating something new in the process: an epistemolgical *'imāra*. The value of frontier is as a discursive framework in which historians and archaeologists can speak of change and process by testing various theories, such as the influence of centralization or decentralization on marginal societies, sedentary or nomadic, or the assimilation or liminalization of ethnic and religious identities.

[3] Of all the frontier studies mentioned, only scholars working on the Andalusian *thughūr* of the eighth through eleventh centuries have discussed this view. Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier;" A. Christys, "Crossing the Frontier of Ninth-Century Hispania," in *Medieval Frontiers*, 35–53. I have also presented this argument, "Dār al-Islām, dār al-ḥārb: The Discourse of Islamic Frontiers, Real or Imagined," (paper presented at the MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2005). See footnote 159 above.

APPENDIX 1

THE CERAMICS

The following section will present plates of Early Islamic pottery from the seventh century transition into the tenth and eleventh centuries mainly from the Amuq Plain and Plain of Issos surveys. The section is not intended to provide a comprehensive catalog of all the ceramics found, rather it is meant to be working typology. Since the majority of ceramics are from survey and are not stratified or complete vessels, only key diagnostic and chronological pieces are presented with a minimal number of parallels. Plates 1 and 2 show a general typology of brittleware cookingpots from the late seventh/early eighth (vertical rims) to the tenth centuries (holemouth and inverted rims). The creamwares, harder to date, are shown in Plate 3 with transitional and general Early Islamic types. Many of these come from KS 5 (Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt) in the Plain of Issos survey since this site exhibited no occupation before the seventh century. Plate 4 shows better understood creamwares of the Early Islamic period with typical and prolific eighth-tenth century types (eggshell ware or molded buffware). Finally, the glazed wares (Plate 5) are shown starting with the early pre-Samarran Syrian underglazes (late eighth-early ninth) then moving to the colorsplash glazes without sgraffiato (tenth century) and with sgraffiato (eleventh century).

Figure 77 Brittlewares

Cooking Pots: Vertical Rims, Late Seventh Century C.E.

a) AS 4B, rim, d=12, exterior black-dark grey, interior dark red, core red, moderate medium sand, rare small white grits. Mackensen 11.23, 24.5, 29.5.

b) AS 120B, rim, d=12, exterior dark red, interior/core red, moderate medium sand, few very small white grits. Harper D.62, Sack 52.9.

c) AS 344, rim, d=16.5, exterior grey, interior dark red, core red, moderate medium sand, fairly common white grit. Mackensen 21.4; Sack 52.8-11.

d) AS 29B, rim, d=13, exterior black-grey, interior dark red, core red, few very small white grits. Harper D.64; Mackensen FP1 11-13; Sodini, et al. 307 Type 5a.

e) AS 345, rim, d=16, interior red, exterior dark red, core, moderate medium sand, very very small white grit. Mackensen 24.7.

f) AS 345, rim, d=9, exterior/interior/core red, moderate medium sand, very small white grits. Mackensen 27.15-16.

Cooking Pots: Vertical Rims, Late Eighth-Early Ninth Century C.E.

g) AS 32, rim, d=11, exterior dark red, interior red, core dark red, moderate medium sand, few very small white grits. Bavant & Orssaud 9.38; Mackensen 11.25.

h) AS 32, rim, d=10, exterior/interior dark red, core red, moderate medium sand, red core, very rare very small white grit and mica. Harper D.64, Watson 32.k.

Cooking Pots: Vertical Rims, Late Seventh-Eighth Century C.E.

i) AS 20, rim, d=13, exterior/interior dark red, core dark red, moderate medium sand, very few grits and mica. Bavant & Orssaud 2.7.

j) AS 32, rim, d=10, exterior black-grey, interior dark red, core red, few very very small mica. Northedge 1981 245.3; Konrad 4.7.

k) AS 20, rim, d=15, exterior dark red, interior/core red, moderate medium sand, few white grits. Bavant & Orssaud 2.7; Mackensen 11.28.

l) AS 32, rim, d=21, exterior/interior dark red, core red, moderate medium sand, few very small white grits. Harper D.65

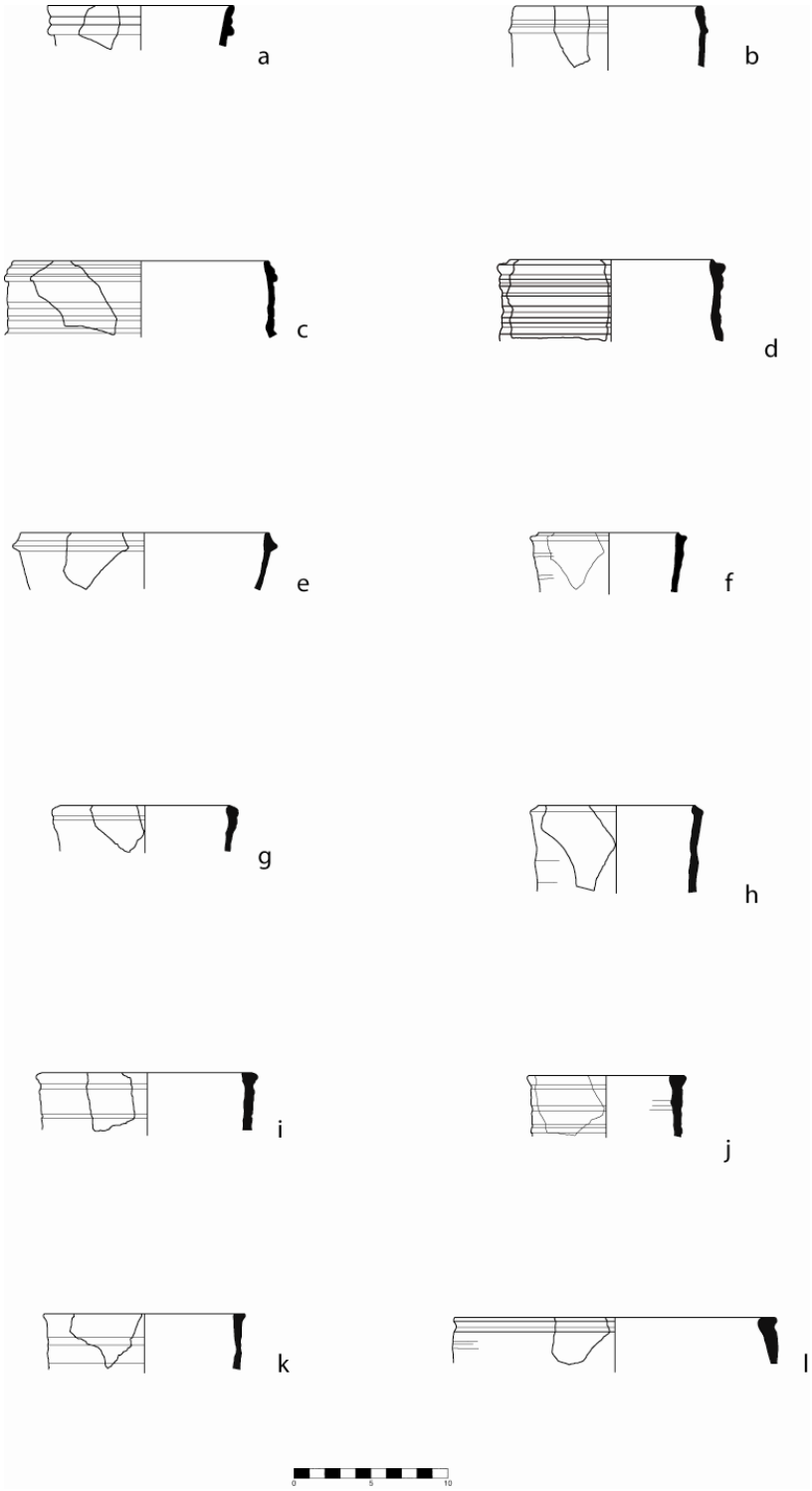

Figure 78 Brittlewares

Figure 78 Brittlewares

Cooking Pots: Holemouth Rims, Eighth-Tenth Centuries C.E.

a) AS 202A, rim, d=13, exterior/interior/core dark red, moderate medium sand, small white grit, rocker decoration, slightly abraded. Sack 52.3; Grabar et al. B.11.

b) AS 25, rim, d=25, exterior/interior dark red, core red, moderate medium sand, very very small mica, rocker decoration. Sodini et al. 307.7, 148.3/4, 53, 7; Northedge 1988 42.6, 39.9/10c.

c) AS 41, rim and handle, d=23, exterior/interior dark red, core red, moderate medium sand, few very small white grit, incised wave decoration, slight blackened exterior. Sodini et al. 307.6; Bartl 1996 4.5.

d) KS5, d=25, rim and handle, exterior dark red, interior/core red, moderate medium sand, few small mica. Whitcomb 2000 7.i.

Cooking Pots: Inverted Rims, Eighth-Tenth Centuries C.E.

e) AS 202A, rim, d=17, exterior/interior/core dark red, moderate medium sand, common small white grit, rare large grit. Whitcomb 2000 25.q; Mackensen 32.19, 32.21; Konrad 4.5.

f) AS 202A, rim and handle, d=21, exterior/interior/core dark red, moderate medium sand, common very small white grit. Northedge 1981 245.5; Grabar et al. B.10, Bavant & Orssaud, 9.42; Konrad 4 5-6.

Decorated Body Sherds and Handle

g) AS 190, body, exterior/interior red, core dark red, common very small mica, stylized rocker decoration, deeply incised. Sodini et al. 345.

h) AS 25, body, exterior/interior red, core dark red, moderate medium sand, very small white grits, rosette decoration.

i) AS 194, handle, exterior/interior/core dark red, moderate medium sand, rocker decoration, deeply incised.

Incense Burner

j) AS 128, base and handle, exterior red-brown, interior dark grey-black, inner core red, outer core dark grey-black, moderate medium sand, few medium white grits, incised decoration on bottom

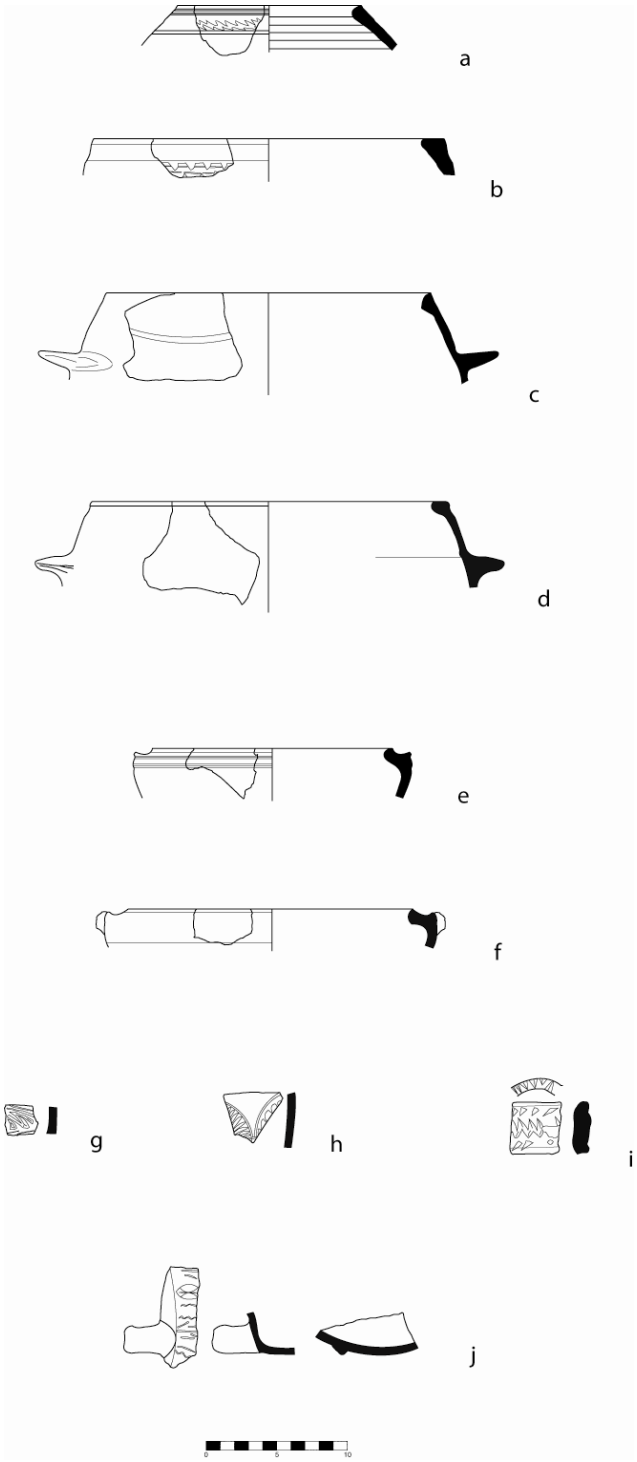

Figure 79 Brittlewares

Figure 79 Creamwares

Amphorae, mid-seventh to mid-eighth centuries, C.E.

a) AS 27, rim and handle, exterior/interior/core buff-pink, common very small white grits. Konrad 13.9-10; Bartl 1994 4.4

b) AS 27, rim, exterior/interior/core buff, moderate medium sand, common small white grit. Konrad 13.9-10; Bartl 1994 4.4.

Jugs and Juglets

c) AS 89C, rim, d=12, exterior/interior greenish-buff, core greenish-cream, moderate medium sand, common very small black grit. Mackensen 12.20; Sack 52.2; Moore 105.24.

d) AS 89C, rim, d=8, exterior/interior buff, core, moderate medium sand, small common white grit. Bartl 1994 4.15; Bavant & Orssaud 4.19; Sodini et al. 3.14.

e) AS 99E, rim, exterior/interior/core, moderate medium sand, common red clay and some chaff. (parallels, see c and d).

f) AS 29B, rim, d=c. 13, exterior/interior cream, core brown core, moderate medium sand, very small black grits. (parallels, see c and d), Qinnasrin HQ00 A2c-3 RN647 (unpublished).

g) AS 224, rim, d=11, exterior/interior/core cream-buff, moderate medium sand, very small black grits. Whitcomb 2000 7.n; Gerber 2.2; Aylward (in press) Kenrick PT631.

Jars and Containers

h) KS 5, rim, d=16, exterior cream, interior/core buff, moderate medium sand, very common medium black grit. Qinnasrin HQ00 A2b-3 RN 643 (unpublished).

i) KS 5, rim, d=17, exterior/interior cream, core buff, moderate coarse sand, many red and brown inclusions, very abraded. Wilkinson 2004 6.29.6.

j) KS 5, rim, d=15, exterior/interior cream, core buff, moderate coarse sand, common black grit. Wilkinson 2004 6.29.6.

k) AS 29B, rim, exterior/interior brown, core cream, moderate medium sand, few small white grits. Qinnasrin HQ00 A2a-40, RN 640 (unpublished).

l) AS 345, rim, d=14, exterior/interior/core cream core, moderate medium sand, few small red and white grits, rare blue pebble grit. Bartl 1996 2.1; Mackensen 28.1.

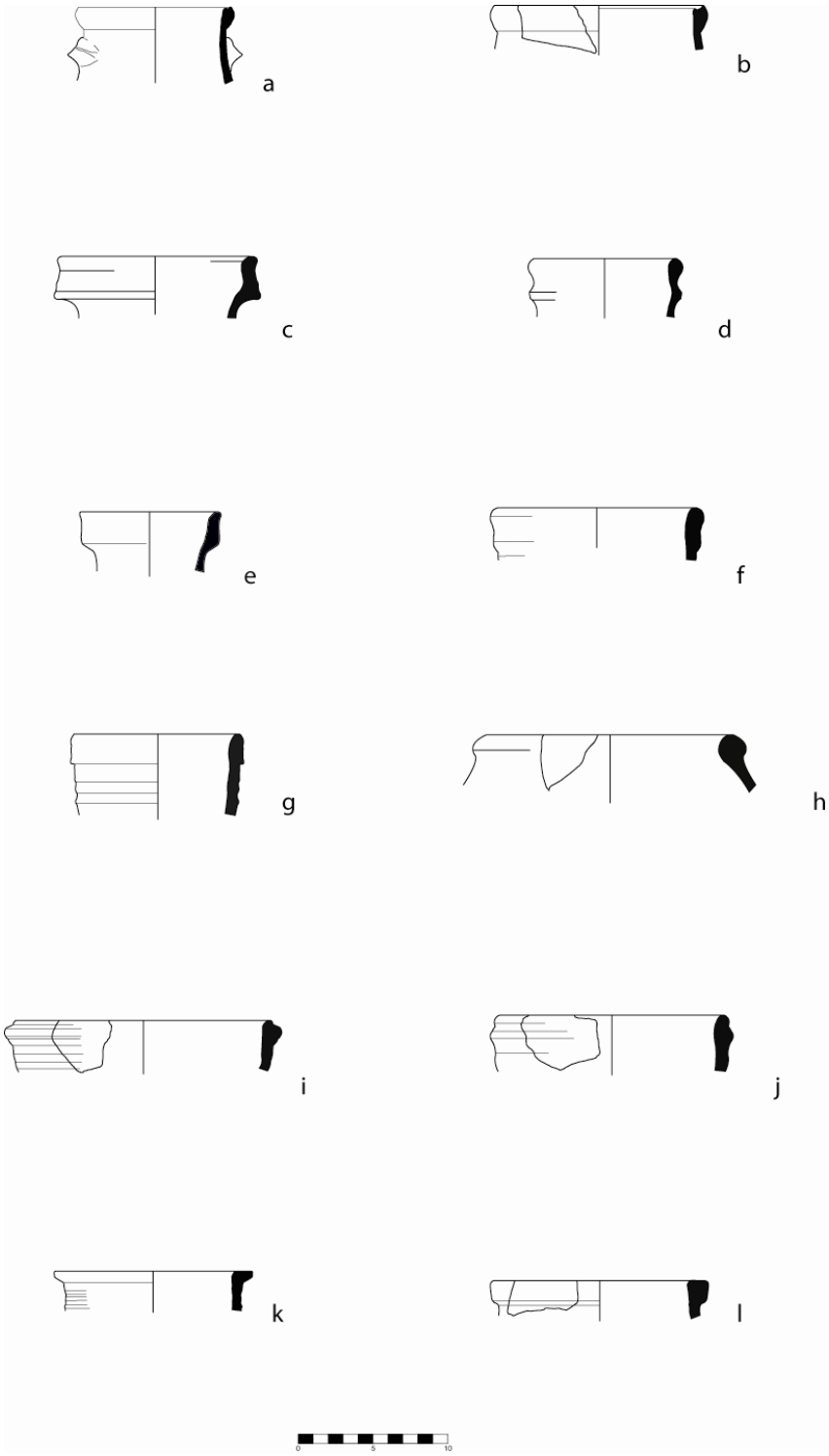

Figure 80 Creamwares

Figure 80 Creamwares

Eggshell/molded buffwares or "Mafjar" ware, eighth to tenth centuries C.E.

a) AS 122A, rim, d=6, exterior/interior/core cream, moderate medium sand, very small black grit. Northedge 1988 40.8-11.

b) AS 99, rim, d=c. 10.5, exterior buff, interior cream, core buff-orange, fine sand, very rare very small white grits. Whitcomb 2000 5.d, Mackensen 58.28, Northedge 1988 40.8-11, Walmsley 2001 2.10.

c) AS 101, rim, d=16, exterior/interior buff, core buff-orange core, common very small white grits. Walmsley 2001 2.19.

d) AS 120, rim, d=26, exterior/interior cream, core buff, moderate medium sand, very small common red grits. Walmsley 2001 2.9.

e) KS 5, handle, exterior/interior/core, moderate fine sand, rare very small black grit. Wilkinson 2004 6.24.12.

f) KS 5, base, d=14, exterior/interior cream, core cream-buff, moderate medium sand, small black grits. Wilkinson 2004 6.23.23.

g) KS 5, base, exterior/interior/core cream, moderate medium sand, rare small white grits. Moore 105.38.

h) KS 5, base, d=6, interior/exterior buff (and plastered?), core buff, moderate medium sand, few white grits. Moore 105.38; Aylward (in press) Kenrick PT622.

i) AS 29B, body, exterior/interior/core cream, moderate medium sand, relief molded decoration. Wilkinson 2004 6.28.14.

Lamp and Lids, mid-seventh to ninth centuries C.E.

j) AS 171A, lamp body fragment, exterior cream, interior/core buff, fine medium sand, few very small white grits.

k) AS 41, base and handle, d=c.5, exterior/interior cream, core buff, medium fine sand, v small few white grits. Bavant & Orssaud 8.36-7; Northedge 1988 41.1.

l) AS 223, base and handle, exterior/interior cream-buff int/ext, core greenish-buff, moderate medium sand, common very small black grits. Dorna-Metzger 6.30.

m) AS 32, handle, exterior/interior/core greenish-cream, moderate medium sand, common small black grit. (parallels, see k and l)

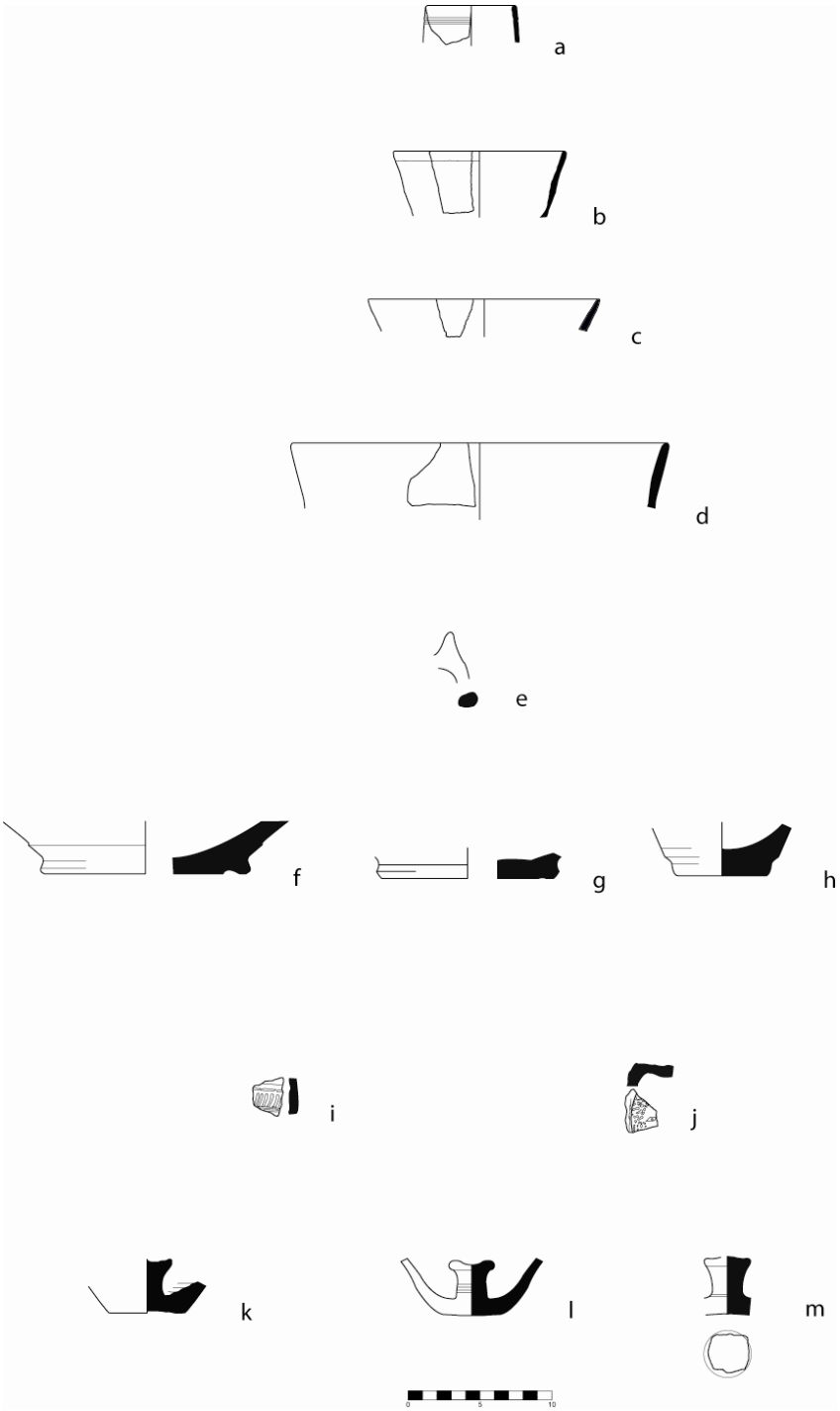

Figure 81 Creamwares

Figure 81 Glazed Wares

Syrian Underglaze, late eighth to early ninth centuries C.E.

Watson 19a-d, 94-95; Wilkinson 2004 6.27.3; Whitcomb 2000 5.c, 6.a, 6.c, 7.a, 7.b

a) AS 29B, base, d=8, core red-orange, moderate medium sand, few very very small white grits, exterior unglazed, interior yellow underglaze with green, brown lines.

b) AS 29B, base, d=9, core orange, moderate fine sand, few very.very small white and red clay inclusions, interior yellow underglaze with green.

c) AS 202C, base, d=15, core buff, moderate medium sand, common very small black and white grits, exterior unglazed, interior yellow underglaze glaze, brown line, no slip, abraded

d) AS 32, base, d=10, core-red-orange, moderate fine sand, few very small white grits, exterior green glaze, interior yellow underglaze with green and brown

e) AS 32, base, core buff, moderate medium sand, rare very small white grits, exterior buff unglazed, interior yellow underglaze, abraded

f) AS 41, base, core orange, moderate medium sand, exterior/interior yellow underglaze with darker yellow-brown splashes, white slip, abraded

g) AS 25, base, core buff-orange, moderate medium sand, very small white grits, exterior unglazed, interior yellow underglaze with green

h) AS 120C, body, core red-orange, moderate fine sand, exterior half green, half yellow glaze, interior yellow underglaze green streaks/drips closely spaced, two small yellow-brown scratches, white slip. Watson 96.a; Aylward (in press) Kenrick PT612-613.

Colorsplash, tenth century C.E.

i) AS 32, rim, d=23, core buff, moderate fine sand, exterior buff unglazed, interior brownish yellow glaze with dark red/black stripes, no slip. Bartl 1996 5.1.

Colorsplash Sgraffiato, eleventh century C.E.

j) AS 32, rim, d=15.5, core orange, moderate fine sand, exterior/interior green and yellow glaze with dark green sgraffiato, white slip. Northedge 1988 43.3-4.

k) KS 5, base, d=17,core buff, moderate medium sand, very small white grits, exterior yellow and green glaze, white slip, interior green and dark yellow glaze with brown sgraffiato, white slip. Northedge 1988 43.3-4.

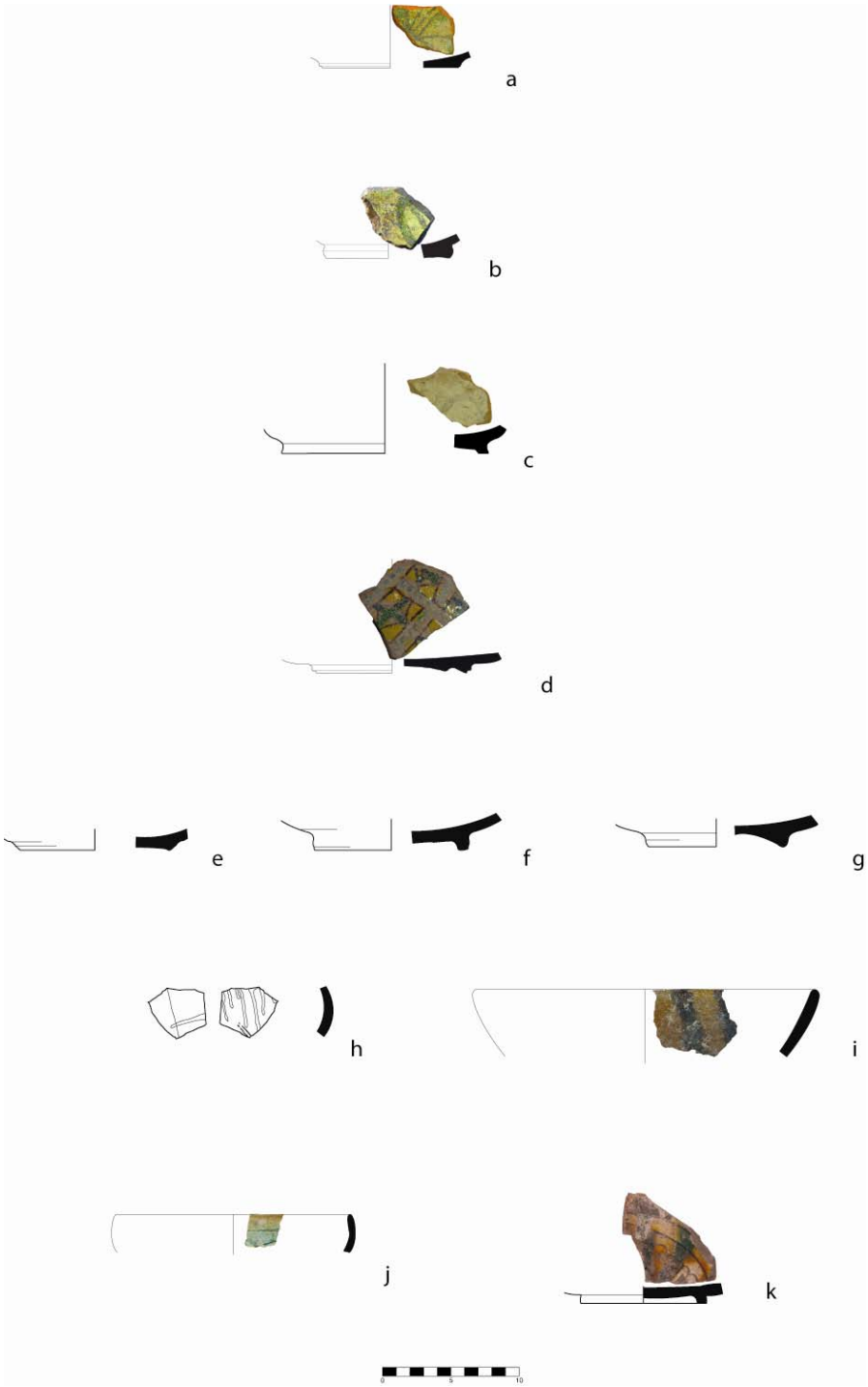

Figure 82 Glazed Wares

APPENDIX 2

A GAZETTEER OF EARLY ISLAMIC *THUGHŪR* AND *'AWĀṢIM* SITES

The following section is a gazetteer of all major, historically-known *thughūr* frontier sites. The sites are presented alphabetically in four sections: 1) location, environmental context, and routes; 2) history from primary and secondary sources;[1] 3) standing remains and archaeological work done at the site; and 4) personal observations.[2] The textual information related to building or destruction, raids, local leaders, etc., for each site has become pervasive in secondary sources related to the *thughūr* and Early Islamic history and very little of it has ever been called into question. Nevertheless, the goal is neither to provide every historical detail nor analyze the historiographic veracity of the textual evidence here. While such a study is certainly necessary, its presence here is a separate effort entirely and one which would outweigh the dissertation itself not only in new data, but in sheer volume. Rather, this section presents archaeology to amplify all of the pieces of material relevant to each site in total as a historical summary of events. In particular, the gazetteer contributes to

[1] Historical information will emphasize the Early Islamic period but include the Seleucid/Hellenistic to Middle Islamic period with Ottoman period traveler's notes. Years and centuries are in C.E. unless otherwise noted.

[2] Visits to the sites were made in the summers of 2002–2006. Sites that were not visited were those in the *thughūr al-bakriya* (Shimshāṭ, Ḥiṣn Ziyād, Kamkh, and Ḥiṣn Qalawdhiya) and those in Syria of the *'awāṣim* (Tīzīn, Dābiq, Qūrus, Jūma, and Manbij/Jisr Manbij).

the historical geography of certain *thughūr* sites that have remained elusive, identifying the sites of Ḥadath and Hārūnīyya and discussing the location of Mar‘ash.

Adhana

Seleucid: Antioch on the Sarus; Classical: Hadriana, Severiana, Adana; Modern: Adana

Location

The modern sprawling city of Adana covers an isolated circular hill rising out of the plain a few miles from the foothills of the Taurus. The Sayhān River (classical Sarus/Sinarus/Psarus of Xenophon and Saron of Stephanus) flows at the base of the hill on the eastern side. The Sayhān, like the Jayhān River, has changed courses frequently during its history. The Sayhān was navigable until Justinian's day and earlier was united with the Jayhān. Strabo noticed a great marsh stretching from the delta of the Jayhān to the Sayhān.

In the nineteenth century, travelers remarked on the many date trees and vineyards around Adhana and the castor-oil plant, native to the region. Ainsworth upon his visit noted that, "The fact is, that it is a large and populous place, and wherever that is the case, there are evil-disposed people."[3] In the city, Langlois noted a mixed population of Turks, Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and Syrian Jacobites numbering 22,500 around

[3] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (London 1888), I.129.

the mid nineteenth century.[4] Childs, in the early twentieth century, noted a population of 100,000.[5] It is twenty miles or one journey's stop to Maṣṣīṣa.

History[6]

The original Seleucid foundation was named Antioch on the Sarus. In the second century C.E., it became part of the province of Cilicia I and underwent a series of names following those emperors that traveled through it, such as Hadriana after Hadrian and Severiana after Severus in 194 C.E. In the Byzantine period, Justinian was attributed with the building of the infamous bridge that spans across the Sayhān River in the center of the city in a single arch. The latest bishop was known in Adana until ca. 681 with no further bishops until the twelfth century. Haldon and Kennedy remark that Adhana in the Early Islamic period was settled in a similar process as Maṣṣīṣa although it was not as major as Maṣṣīṣa or Ṭarsūs. The first Late Umayyad encampment was located on the west bank of the Sayhān River. Al-Walīd in 743 and Manṣūr in 758 made repairs to the city. It is generally accepted that Adhana was settled by a garrison of Khurāsānīs in an encampment built in 758/59. According to Bonner's analysis of Khalifa's text this may have been in 761/62 by Maslama b. Yahya under the direction of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī.[7] This last version suggests a Syrian

[4] V. Langlois, "Voyage dans la Cilicie, Adana," *Revue Archéologique* 11.2 (1855): 641–51.

[5] Childs, *Across Asia Minor*.

[6] General Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 131; Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 107–08; Fr. Taeschner, "Adana," EI2; F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 154-8.

[7] Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War*, 56–61.

encampment with a Syrian commander may have been founded beside with the Khurāsānī encampment. Abu Ezzah interpolates that in 758/59 Khurāsānī troops at Adhana garrisoned together with Arab troops from Syria of Bajīla and Bāhila clans.[8] There was a settlement on the east side of the river constructed during the reign of al-Manṣūr under the direction of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī. The settlement resembled a suburb of the town and was demolished and reconstructed by Hārūn al-Rashīd during the reign of al-Mahdī. In 781/82 Hārūn al-Rashīd settled peoples from Dimashq and al-Urdunn in Adhana. Hārūn fortified it in 787/88, but the date is uncertain. Yaʿqūbī, via Ibn Shaddād stated that the fortifications were not finished during Hārūn's reign but during his son's, al-Amīn, and so between 808 and 810 it was refortified with more settlers. A Turkish eunuch of Hārūn's most likely administered the work on the town in 805–806, according to Yāqūt, who was then killed in 809–810 during the reign of al-Amīn. In 879, the Byzantines sacked Adhana and killed 1,400 men and took 400 prisoners. By the tenth century, travelers remarked that it was fairly populated and prosperous.

Research

Very little archaeological research in Adhana has been done or is known about the city. Edwards noted that there were no traces of medieval walls.[9] Sinclair did not include Adhana in his survey of eastern Turkey because it was too far west. Seton-Williams in her Cilician Survey recorded a site within the city, designated as Site 10:

[8] Abu Ezzah, *The Syrian Thughur*, 123.

[9] Edwards, *Fortifications*, n. 10.

Adana Tepebağ.[10] This was a mound located in the center of the town in the Tepebağ quarter near the Museum. Bay Ali Riza Yalgin, director of the museum, dug a sounding about 4 m deep, where he revealed Hellenistic, Roman, and Islamic remains. This is most likely part of the first settlement on the west bank. Ainsworth did note some features of the city.[11] He measured the bridge over the Sayhān as 325 feet long, which Langlois noted had an inscription attributing its construction to Auxentius. Childs mentions the "Arab bridge" that in his time had irregular arches and massive piers.[12] On the east bank of the river near the bridge were the remains of fortification walls. This is possibly the fortress of Manṣūr built in the ʻAbbāsid period although Langlois considered this Byzantine. In addition Langlois noted three medieval mosques: the Eski Jami (previously an old Christian church dedicated to St. James), the Oğlu Jami, and Piri Pasha. He also noted a ruined castle and the "great mosque" as the only remains of note in the older city. The castle is presumably what he calls the castle of Hārūn al-Rashid on the east bank of the river to the right proceeding east from the city.

Personal Observations, 7/20/05

As Adana is the fourth largest city in Turkey, it is rather difficult to locate anything of antiquity, aside from the Roman bridge. Walking around just on the east side of the river revealed a sprawling poorer quarter of the city but no traces of a ruined castle or "great mosque." It is possible remnants of these are there but in rather difficult to find

[10] Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," 148.

[11] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I.129.

[12] Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 343.

places, abutting houses, within buildings, parts of foundations, etc., I did not go to the salvage excavations conducted in the Tepebağ quarter, but the area is quite close to the river and mounded on a natural rise. The two locations of settlement for Adhana — on the west bank in the Tepebağ hill and on the east bank along the river as the most probable locations, following the historical evidence — suggests two encampments (the Syrian and Khurāsānī), or a fortress and a town. The Adana museum has a horde of ʻAbbāsid silver dirhams but I could not find a provenance for them.

Coordinates: 36N N 4095901 E 708016

Anṭākiya

(see Chapter 2)

Coordinates: 37N N 4010217 E 244752

ʻAwlās/Ḥiṣn ʻAwlās

(see Chapter 4)

Coordinates: 36N N 4035867 E 602767

ʻAyn Zarba

Classical Anazarbos or Anabarza; Arabic Nāwarzā, ʿAyn Zarba; Armenian Anavarz, Anawarza, Anarzaba, Anarzap; Modern Anavarza (Dilekayya)

Location

ʻAyn Zarba is located at the foot a large limestone outcropping that stands isolated in the central eastern part of the Cilician Plain. The later castle was built on top of this feature, two hundred m in altitude and 4.5 km in length. The western face of the

outcrop drops in a nearly vertical cliff while the eastern end slopes gradually down to the valley floor. North of the city wall along the western face is a large cave. Nearby on the eastern side is the Sombaz Çay that empties into the Jayhān River. Water was supplied to ‘Ayn Zarba from aqueducts. One came from the Sombaz Çay and another from Hamamköyü, both going north. Ainsworth notes these and stated that the former from the west traveled five to six miles while the latter from the north traveled fifteen miles. Wells also provided access to water when the aqueducts ceased to function. The site is located just north of a large bend of this river and between the sites of Sīs (southwest of it, one day’s march, about twenty-four miles apart) and Tall Hamdun, the latter located on the other side of the Jayhān. As a result, its location is both strategic and secure, guarding the north–south routes toward the frontier that functioned since the Roman period (and earlier) as one of the two main trade routes linking Syria and Cappadocia. Today, the site is situated adjacent to the village of Dilekayya/Anavarza that has expanded within the ancient site. 1.5 km south is the village of Çeçen, inhabited by Circassians. Akdam, 2 km west of Çeçen, is populated by Armenians and relocated Turks from Macedonia. Turkmen in the Cilician Plain during the winter move to their yaylas in the Taurus uplands in summer for pastoralism, grazing, and refuge from heat, passing through the site in late spring. The people of Anavarza go to the area of Saimbeyli in the Taurus, beyond Kozan and Feke. Agriculture in the plain consists of wheat, barley, oats, and sesame and in the Anavarza area, rice and cotton. Ramsay, describing the road systems, lists it from the Peutinger Table on the route from Kokussos to eastern Cilicia following the route of

Cocuso–Laranda–Badimo–Praetorio–Flaviada–Anazarbo, which translates in modern geography to: Goksun–Adji Alma Plateau–Kara Kilisa Ruin, Saros River Gorge–Hancha Dere-Hadjin near Badimon-Gok Su (Saros)–Kiraz Bel–Tapandere near Praetorium–Girgen Su–Kozan–Dilekayya. Today, from Adana one can proceed along the modern highway and exit toward Ceyhan, then follow the Ceyhan road northward past Mercimek and Çatalhöyüğü to Ayşehoca where one makes a right and proceeds east 4 km toward Dilekkaya. From the north one travels south from the Taurus Mountains past Saimbeyli, Feke, and Kozan. At Kozan, the left fork will pass through Hacıbeyli until Ayşehoca where one turns left toward Dilekkaya.

History[13]

Anavarza was a Seleucid town that then fell under the Tarcondimotid Dynasty. By the second century C.E., particularly under the reign of Vespasian, it prospered and it was known primarily for its flax/linen and viticulture industries. At some point the city was called Caesarea before Octavian visited Cilicia in 19 C.E. on his way to Syria. Later it was known as Caesarea ad Anazarbus or Anazarbus. In the third century C.E., it rivaled Tarsus in size and administrative function as a *metropolis*. In 260 C.E., the city and the region of Cilicia were invaded by the Persians under Shapur. It had the standard embellishments of the classical city including two theatres (one hewn from the rock which functioned as an acropolis and amphitheatre) and a stadium, as well as

[13] General Bibliography: T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh, 1978), 153; M. Canard, "'Ayn Zarba" EI2; M. Canard, "La Prise d'Heraclée et les Relations entre Harun ar-Rashid et l'empereur Nicéphore 1er," *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 372ff; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazira et de Syrie* (Paris, 1953), i.806–08; H. Hellenkemper, "Die Stadtmauern von Anazarbos/'Ayn Zarba," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 7 (1990): 71–76; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes,* I. 126, 224; Wheatley, *The Places*, 120; Le Strange*, Lands*, 129; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 387; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 178-185.

two colonnaded streets. It was also a mint from at least 1 B.C.E. to 3 C.E. and known for its guild of linen workers. At the end of the fourth century C.E., a group comprising the Tzannoi (a Black Sea tribe), Huns, and Balbinas the Isaurian burned Anazarbus along with Irenopolis and Castabala Hierapolis. From 408–450, it attained the status of a metropolis of Cilicia Secunda (II) under Theodosius. In the sixth century the city was rebuilt twice and renamed Justinopolis and Justinianopolis after two earthquakes in 525 and 561, respectively. The metropolitan of the city in 550 was a figure named John who was associated with several important meetings with bishops ordered by the Emperor Justinian. The town had bishops from the fourth through the twelfth centuries, excluding a gap, apparently, between circa 557–680.

‘Ayn Zarba was abandoned or dramatically reduced in the Umayyad period. ‘Ayn Zarba is one of the three ‘Abbāsid frontier forts that were first constructed under the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Although Arabic sources imply that the city was newly built, in actuality, Hārūn only repaired the circuit wall and citadel in 796, and the city was garrisoned with Khurāsānī troops under the direction of Abū Sulaym, his eunuch. Abū Sulaym enticed Khurāsānīs (and others) to settle (*manāzil*) with the incentive of houses as *iqtaʿ*. Its walls were noted as quite fine and its setting was likened to the Ghaur or Jordanian lowlands, described as a plain surrounded by palm trees, and prosperous fertile and arable lands, with many fruit trees, cereal fields, and grazing lands. During this time it was considered part of Maṣṣīṣa’s territory. Abu Sulayman al-Turkī al-Khādim, governor of the *thughūr* under Hārūn, further fortified it in 804. This was most likely following a large scale Byzantine raid in 804. Another invasion

occurred in 806. ‘Abdullā b. Ṭāhir, governor of the region, resettled Egyptians to the frontier fort in 827. Al-Muʿtaṣim settled Zuṭṭ populations from the swamps of southern Iraq (*al-baṭā’ih*) who were attacked by a Byzantine raid occurring in the same year 835. In 861, al-Mutawakkil repaired the circuit wall following a fourth Byzantine raid in 855. This is hypothesized from a Kufic inscription, rather than by sources. In this last raid, the Byzantines relocated many Zuṭṭ to Constantinople along with their families and buffaloes. Following a Byzantine raid in 899, many leaders in the *thughūr* were vying for power. Al-Mu‘taḍid personally visited ‘Ayn Zarba and other sites to resolve the issue.

During the Byzantine reconquest, the Byzantine armies under Nicephorus Phocas advanced on ‘Ayn Zarba with 90,000 troops and 160,000 men against the Muslims who numbered 1,000 or 4,000. They apparently destroyed the town in 961, 962, or 964. The Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla rebuilt the city in 955–956 at a cost of three million *dirhams*. It fell into Byzantine hands again in 962. Part of the population consisted of relocated Armenians. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, it was described as a populous and prosperous city surrounded by productive villages. During the Middle Islamic period, the Saljūqs then the Crusaders captured the site and destroyed it and annexed it within the province of Little Armenia. The Armenian population remained and ‘Ayn Zarba was chosen as a new capital in 1100 by the Armenian Toros I. At this point the site was concentrated in the upland fortified castle while the lower town went out of use. Final destruction by the Mamlūks in 1374–1375 spelled ruin for the site.

Research

The first investigations to ‘Ayn Zarba were from the early travelers such as Texier, Ainsworth, Barker, Langlois, Bell, Wilhelm and Keil, and King.[14] At ‘Ayn Zarba, several buildings are still standing and well preserved. These date, primarly, from the classical settlement of the site. Ainsworth noted a church and dated it to the sixth or seventh century, although which church is uncertain. In the southwest corner of the site, there is a church built in a cruciform style with a mosaic floor. At the intersection of the main streets were another church and a bath. The church was in a basilica style and dedicated by inscription on the exterior of the apse to the Apostles of Christ. Gough and his wife were the first to extensively survey the site in 1949 for six months, then in 1950 for ten weeks and briefly in 1951.[15] They noted that the southern gate was the most massive, 4.70 m wide and flanked by towers 6.50 x 7.00 deep. This was not a triumphal arch as Gough, indicated but a monumental entrance and the main entrance with a cardo street running west from it. The street, still visible with columns alongside, must have been in use throughout the history of the site. While the accumulation has raised the surface level of the plain, the flagstones of the street were still visible. Later surveys paid little attention to ‘Ayn Zarba. Seton-Williams in her

[14] C. Texier, “De Tarse á Trebizonde, fragment d’un journal de voyage, juin 1836” *Revue française* V (1838) [first traveler to site]; C. Texier, *Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1862); Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I.121, 169, 174; W. Barker, *The Birthland of St. Paul. Cilicia: Its Former History and Present State*, edited by W. Ainsworth (London, 1855), 54–56, 275, 283**;** V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les Montagnes du Taurus, exécuté pendant les années 1852–1853* (Paris, 1861), 434; Heberdey, R. and A. Wilhelm, “Reisen in Kilikien,” *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Classe* 44.6 (1896): 34–38; E. King, “A Journey through Armenian Cilicia,” *Asian Affairs* 24 (1937): 234–36 (*Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 24).

[15] M. Gough, “Anazarbus” *Anatolian Studies 2* (1952): 85–150.

Cilician Survey only alluded to Gough's work.[16] Sinclair, although noting its location within Cilicia, did not describe the site as it was too far out of his boundaries.[17] Brief excavation in 1972 by the Turkish archaeologist Taşyürek in the village of Dilekayya uncovered a necropolis from the Roman period.[18]

Edwards in his survey of Armenian fortifications discussed the site extensively and noted the presence of Islamic remains primarily as reused stones rebuilding the original city walls. Edwards discerned five periods of construction from different types of masonry and identified the Islamic elements of the city based on these construction styles and inscriptions. His main work centered on the southern entrance wall. Unlike the northern wall, the south wall consisted of four horseshoe shaped bastions (B, C, D) and a single square tower (A). He stated that Byzantine construction included a collapsed arch of the original entrance, due north of tower B.[19] It was built with an *opus listatum* style, consisting of four layers of brick tiles sandwiched between a single course of rough cut ashlar. Beds of mortar were uneven with much rock fragment. Most of the circuit wall east of the entrance had this Byzantine masonry — dated vaguely either from sixth century repairs or tenth century repairs. It is perplexing and unclear why (and how) Edwards necessarily dated this

---

[16] Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," 148.

[17] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, I.67.

[18] O. A. Taşyürek, "Anavarza, 1972" *Anatolian Studies* 23 (1973), 15–17; O.A. Taşyürek, "Cilician Excavations and Survey, 1973" *Anatolian Studies* 24 (1974), 26; O. A. Taşyürek, "1973 yılı Kilikya Araştırma," 117; See also M. Altay, "Anavarza Mozayiklari Hakkinda On Rapor (I–II)" *Turk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 15.2 (1966): 49–54; N. Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri* (Ankara, 1959), 62–64.

[19] Edwards, *Fortifications,* plate 10a, 29–30; 69–72.

construction as Byzantine and not more specifically as Late Roman sixth century or Middle Byzantine mid-tenth century construction. The Islamic phase, according to Edwards, occurred at tower A, the square flanking towers of B, and the circuit between A and B.[20] The style of the masonry consisted of extremely smooth recycled blocks of ashlar placed in irregular courses. Foundation of the circuit east of A and lower thirty percent of square bastions flanking B had small crude stones forming a socle. The city circuit wall below had similar recycled ashlar square towers and a fragments of a dedicatory inscription in Kufic with the name of al-Mutawakkil (846–861).[21] The Islamic wall extended slightly south of its original line. Tower B still functioned as the entrance and bastions flanked the gate. The castle on the outcrop comprises several phases. It was called the Kouinda by Schlumberger and measured 5 km long, 200–300 m high, and 15 m wide. While nothing earlier than Byzantine was detected architecturally it is likely that it served once as the acropolis of the city. The well-fortified castle consisted of two enclosures. In the first enclosure, the entrance was at the west end of the south wall accessed by rock cut steps from the plain near the theater. According to Edwards, the entrance was of Armenian or (presumably Middle) Byzantine construction. East of the gate and adjoining it is a small stretch of wall with a hollow square tower, possibly Islamic with similar masonry to lower city main gate.[22] The east wall was ascertained as Byzantine. The second enclosure was

[20] Ibid. plate 9b.

[21] H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien*, Geographica Historica 1 (Bonn, 1976), 196.

[22] Edwards, *Fortifications,* plate 9a.

mainly Byzantine. In the southwest corner was a different construction style that was not Byzantine or Armenian, but possibly Islamic built over a Byzantine phase. South of the castle lower on the outcropping was a large Byzantine church dated to 516 and cut into the rock. The shrine had frescoes and the head of Christ.

Personal Observations, 8/3/04

My personal observations have greatly changed since my initial visit as I am now part of a predominantly Austrian team working on the site led by R. Posamentir from the DAI in Istanbul. To date we have conducted a topographic survey, architectural survey, and a geomagnetic survey, collecting pottery from various areas. The entire site is essentially flat short scrub — the grazing area of sheep and goats. Several buildings rise in various levels of preservation throughout the site including two well-preserved tile baths. The one farthest to the north shows the amount of sediment that comes almost up to the doors. A local villager said digging at the site for houses' foundations revealed four meters of sedimentation depth. The monumental arch (not a triumphal gateway) is in dangerous precarious disrepair. Houses have been built all around it and so searching for the Kufic inscription proved quite difficult and unsuccessful, as many of the stones have been removed. From the first visit, just glancing at the surface materials the Roman, Late Roman, Early Islamic, and Middle Islamic were fairly equal but limited to within the city walls and not located in extramural areas such as the hippodrome or castle. As such, the Early Islamic site seems to have been built within the large classical site, but future analysis of the collected transects of surface pottery may define it further. The standing architecture

was either identifiably Roman or Late Roman/Byzantine. The high state of the preserved architecture occurred in both baths specifically suggesting they continued to be used, perhaps as pottery kilns. Preliminary evidence of ceramics shows an overwhelming amount of ‘Abbāsid pottery including many brittleware holemouth rims, but almost no seventh century brittleware diagnostics and very few Syrian yellow-glaze wares, perhaps supporting the evidence that the site was only resettled in the mid-eighth century. In my first visit in 2004, however, the local villager found a post-reform Umayyad coin while we were walking the site. Further, tenth and eleventh century glazed pieces in parts of the northern city wall mortar suggest a late date for at least those sections that were rebuilt prior or following the Byzantine reconquest.

Coordinates: 36N N 412718 E 757076

Baghrās

(see Chapters 2 and 7)

Coordinates: 37N N 4038328 E 254051

Bālis

Classical Meskene, Barbalissos

Location

Bālis is located in present-day northern Syria on the west bank of the Euphrates River at the point where the river turns southeast to flow down from modern Turkey through Syria into Iraq. It is roughly equidistant between Ḥalab and Raqqa and 42 km west of Qal‘at Ja‘bar. Today it sits along the dammed Asad Lake. Due to its location,

it was sometimes included as part of Syria, the Jazīra, and part of the *ʻawāṣim*. It was considered the first stop when coming into Syria from Iraq.

History[23]

Bālis was the classical Barbalissos, and known in the Roman period as part of the province of Euphratensis, the Roman *limes* against the Persians. A large Roman force of 60,000 was defeated by the Persians in 252/53 C.E. under Shapur I. In 540 C.E., the Persians attacked the city once more under Khusraw leading Justinian to rebuild its walls, add a fortress, and fortify its surrounding villages. As a Christian site, the city's importance derives from the fact that it was the place where S. Bacchus (usually commemorated together with S. Sergius) was executed and buried. Its bishops were under the See of Hierapolis (Manbij) and the Patriarchate of Antioch.

The city was conquered by treaty in 635 C.E. either by Abū ʻUbayda or Ḥabīb b. Maslama. Balādhurī states that after the conquest of Dulūk and Raʻbān, Abu ʻUbayda advanced until he reached ʻArājīn in the area of Bālis. He sent his ambassador and an army to negotiate the treaty with the city's rulers, two Byzantine noblemen and brothers, that inhabitants could either pay the *jizya* or emigrate. Many chose the latter and went up the river to Manbij. Qays tribesmen were encouraged to settle in the city and a troop of soldiers and converted Arabs. Bālis and its dependent villages were non-irrigated lands subdued with tithe. Maslama b. ʻAbd al-Malik camped at Bālis during his campaigns against the Byzantines. Inhabitants of villages entreated him to build a canal from the Euphrates to irrigate their lands. He accepted in exchange for a

[23] General Bibliography: M. Bernus-Taylor, "Meskene-Balis" in *L'Eufrate e il tempo*, edited by. O. Rouault and M. G. Masetti-Rouault (Milan, 1993), 234, 482–83; E. Herzfeld, "Bālis" EI1, 620–21.

third of their harvest after the sultan took a tenth. He built the canal named Nahr Maslama and the inhabitants respected the conditions. His brother, Sa‘id b. ‘Abd al-Malik, built another, the Nahr Sa‘id. Maslama also restored the Justinianic city wall of the town and refortified it. It is likely that Sa‘id functioned as the city's administrator since Maslama was governor of the entire frontier and led several important raids into Anatolia.

In the ‘Abbāsid period, Hārūn al-Rashīd placed Bālis in the *‘awāṣim*. The Christian community continued as evidenced by an Episcopal conference hosted by the diocese of Bālis in 820 C.E. In 859 C.E., an earthquake damaged the city. Later in the same century, it became first an outpost of the Ṭūlūnids and then raided by an anti-Ṭūlūnid insurgent army in 882. The city remained an important trading hub and merchandise from Egypt would pass through Syria by boat from Bālis to Baghdād. It became a mint and headquarters for al-Mu‘taḍid in 900 for raids into Anatolia.

The city fell to the Byzantines in 966 who took 300 prisoners. Soon after, geographers noted that it was an ancient and small town (*madīna saghira*); once "the Port of Syria" but no longer a halting place or center for trade. Its double circuit walls were still standing and gardens and orchards were planted between the town and the Euphrates, along with wheat and barley cultivation and soap production. Interestingly, the formerly Sunni majority was replaced by Isma‘ili Shiites and commemorative shrines were built around the edges of the city. Jacobite bishops were known to have resided until the mid eleventh century C.E. The Crusaders took Bālis in 1110 under Tancred of Antioch and in 1140 it was briefly part of the principality of Edessa. Under

the Zengids and Ayyubids, there was no construction of buildings and infrastructure from the mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth century until the city was taken by the Mongols in 1259/60.

Remains

In 1907, Sarre and Herzfeld visited the site and sketched it with the possibility of excavating the Islamic city.[24] Between 1929 and 1931, the French under de Lorey, Salles, and later Cavro excavated the Ayyubid city focusing around the mosque and digging large parallel trenches through the city. In response to the impending Tabqa Dam, the French under Golvin, Raymond, and Paillet excavated between 1970–1973, uncovering more of the Ayyubid residential areas and Great Mosque as well as some of the Byzantine and Bronze Age periods.[25] In 1973–1974, the main minaret was moved to another location to avoid inundation by the impending dam waters.[26] Current work has been ongoing since 1996 jointly by Princeton University and the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities.[27] Although the city has been partially lost to the lake excavations have uncovered the western city wall and residence areas from the

---

[24] F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet* (Berlin , 1911).

[25] L. Golvin, "À la recherche de la cité médievale de Balis (Moyen-Euphrate)," in *Le Moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges,* edited by J. Cl. Margueron (Leiden, 1980), 389–396; A. Raymond and L. Golvin, "Meskeneh/Balis," in *Exposition des découvertes de la campagne internationale de sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Euphrate. Musée d'Alep*, edited by Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de la République Arabe Syrienne (Aleppo, 1974), 107–111; A. Raymond and J.-L.Paillet, Jean-Louis, *Balis II. Histoire de Balis et fouilles des îlots I et II* (Paris, 1995).

[26] Y. Jabali, "The Minaret de Meskéneh," in *Exposition des découvertes de la campagne internationale de sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Euphrate. Musée d'Alep*, edited by Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de la République Arabe Syrienne, (Aleppo, 1974), 20–21; Bahnassi, "Le Sauvetage des vestiges," 57–70.

[27] T. Leisten, "Balis. Preliminary Report on the Campaigns 1996 and 1998," *Berytos* 44 (1999–2000): 35–57.

Byzantine to Ayyubid periods. Interestingly, the site of the relocated minaret, on a high plateau just south of the city (Area C) proved to be the location of a fortified square enclosure dating to the Umayyad period. The structure is 67 x 77 m with two gates, four corner towers and the remains of an external bath and stucco paneling.

Coordinates: 37N N 3983024 E 419730

Bayās

(see Chapter 4)

Coordinates: 37N N 4071391 E 251306

Būqā

(see Chapter 2)

Coordinates: 37N N 4054953 E 269569

Dābiq

Location

Dābiq is located in Syria north of Ḥalab, east of ‘Azaz, west of Manbij, and not far from the Turkish border. The modern town of the same name covers most of the site today. In 1516, a decisive battle between the Ottomans and the Mamlūks was fought on its plains (Marj Dābiq).

History

The caliph Sulayman b. ‘Abd al-Malik moved his base from the capital in Dimashq to Ramla to Dābiq to be closer during Maslama’s campaign against Constantinople in 717. In 778, a small Arab force moved from Dābiq to help counter an invasion against Mar‘ash its plain by the Byzantines but many died and few returned. In 804, Qāsim,

the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd established a *ribāṭ*.[28] In 830, al-Ma'mūn led an expedition against the Byzantines and passed Dābiq. He entered enemy territory and took Byzantine fortresses. The 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'taṣim stayed at Dābiq.

Coordinates: 37N N 4045025 E 345134

Dulūk

Classical Doliche; Modern Dülükbaba, Dülük

Location

The site is in a valley 10 km northwest of Gaziantep. Dulūk is marked with a sign and reached from the Narlı–Antep road. Before the yellow sign marked Dülük a road goes through a village for 4 km, then a right turn before a railroad underpass leads towards the mound. Farther down the road, turning left past the railroad underpass there is a hill with some Roman type tombs cut into it. The village of Dülük is a station on the Malatya railway line. The city is on a low long hill (Keber Tepesi), half a kilometer east of the modern village of Dülük and covered with vineyards. Dülük, Sinclair notes, was an important road stop along the Mar'ash–Urfa road and (perplexingly) the Ḥalab–Anṭākiya road, although this seems strange.[29] Ainsworth confuses it with Aintab (Gaziantep).[30] He states that it was placed on the Tables (Peutinger?) on the road from Nicopolis (Islahiye) to Zeugma, twenty-one Roman miles from Zeugma en route to Sumaysāṭ/Samosata.

---

[28] Canard, "La Prise d'Héraclée."

[29] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 4.121, 200.

[30] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition,* I.102.

History[31]

The site was originally the classical city of Doliche. It was famous as a worship center for the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, an incarnation appealing mainly to the military, and the worship of Mithras. The temple was built on a hill called Dülük Baba (Tepesi) and lasted from the early first millennium B.C.E. to the Persian invasion in 235/36 when it was destroyed. In the Late Roman period it was a large town with bishops noted between 325–553. Around the time Anṭākiya was taken, Abu ʻUbayda took Dulūk along with Manbij and Ra'ban by peace treaty. In the early days of conquest, the conquered peoples of Dulūk and Ra'ban were requested to act as spies on the Byzantines for the Islamic rulers. In 746, Constantine Copronymos conquered the region of Dulūk from the Muslims. Around 753 C.E., ʻAbdalla b. ʻAlī, directed by Abū al-ʻAbbās, launched a summer raid with an army composed of Syro-Jazīrans, Khurāsānīs, and people of Mawṣil. He went to Dulūk but never entered the Taurus. Ibn Rusta in 903 C.E. mentions it as a *thughūr* site. Between 793–817 and 936–953 there were ten bishops, the first known as the bishop of "Dulūk and Mabbug" (Manbij). The town continued until the mid-eleventh century C.E. and the village continued until the thirteenth century. It had a Syrian Orthodox bishopric and was known as a Christian episcopate of the Euphratensis province and favored by Armenians and Syro-Greeks. Yāqūt mentioned that Dulūk was changed to ʻAyntab (Gaziantep). Abū al-Fidā' mentions that Dulūk was located a little north of ʻAyntab and ruined by the fourteenth century.

[31] General Bibliography: F. Cumont, *Études syriennes* (Paris: Picard,1917), 173–196; Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 47–50.

Research

Sinclair writes that to the northwest near the bottom of the hill were traces of the city wall, which he dated as Middle Byzantine tenth–eleventh century (from his visit in 1976). In the valley slope occupied by a present ridge is a cemetery with rock cut tombs. The largest cave at the west end, called Basamaklı Mağara, was an eleventh century Syrian Orthodox cave church and the monastery of Mar Shlemun (eighth–tenth centuries). Recent excavations have uncovered Islamic period finds at the site of Dülük Baba. Current research is being conducted by Engelbert Winter who is excavating with a team from the University of Münster.[32] Although their work has focused on the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus and the two mithraeums found at the mound of Dülük Baba, they have identified the main city, necropolis, and churches to the north of the mound.

Personal Observations, 9/25/04

On the side of the Dülük Baba mound were caves, rock-cut chambers, and tombs carved and fields and remants of reused rubblestone on the hill. There was much Late Roman and Early Islamic pottery scattered about. On top of the hill were more scatters but more sporadic and less dense. The area north of the mound is presumably the Late Roman and Early Islamic site, however, the presence of Late Roman and Early Islamic ceramics on the mound is interesting, particularly if it represents an occupation. The

[32] E. Winter and M. Blömer, *Doliche. Eine antike Stadt an der Schnittstelle der Kulturen* (2006); E. Winter, "Doliche in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Eine kommagenische Stadt zwischen Tradition und Innovation," in *Stadt und Stadtentwicklung in Kleinasien,* edited by E. Schwertheim and E. Winter, Asia Minor Studien 50 (Bonn, 2003), 51–67.

mound occupation would be unusual for these periods, however, it is likely a continuation of the space as the aforementioned monastery in the Early Islamic period.

Coordinates: 37N N 4113393 E 354515

Al-Ḥadath (al-Ḥamrā')

Classical Adata; Armenian Kynuk (rendered in Arabic: Kaynūk, and in Turkish: Göynük); Kurdish al-Hatt; Modern Bozlar

Location

Ḥadath has never been positively identified although its strategic location guarding the mountain pass (Darb al-Ḥadath) from Mar'ash to al-Bustān (Albistan/Elbistan) is frequently mentioned. Ramsey placed it north of Kahramanmaraş, arguing against Weil who placed it south of Kahramanmaraş between it and Manbij.[33] This was partially from Ramsay's reasoning that Ḥadath was always easier to attack instead of Mar'ash: "Adata was a fortress a little north of Germanicia defending the pass to Arabissos."[34] Le Strange placed on the Ak Su near Inikli north of the lake.[35] Hartmann changed it to a location south of the lake in 1950 at the site of Seray Köy.[36] Sinclair follows Hartmann and both are, I believe correct.[37] It lies in a narrow fertile valley made up of a chain of lakes of the Ak Su near the village of Başpınar, formerly

[33] Ramsay, *The Historical Geography*, 277–78, 301.

[34] Ibid., 277.

[35] Le Strange, *Palestine*, 443–444; Le Strange, *Lands*, 121–22.

[36] R. Hartmann, "Al-Ḥadat al-Hamra'," *Istanbuler Forschungen* 17 (1950); 40–50.

[37] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 4.76, 79.

Aksaray or Serayköy and reached from the northeast along the Gölbaşı–Narlı road. From there, one crosses the valley to its northwest side, a distance of about 19–20 km. According to Sinclair from his visit in 1973, the site was mounded and possibly a citadel site with a late medieval hamam. He does not mention the large and unmistakable city walls, which is curious (see below). Abū al-Fidā' states that Ḥadath is located twelve miles from a place on the main channel of the Jayhān where the river crossed at the Ford of the Alid. The site was watered by the Nahr Jūrīth or Hūrīth (Ak Su), a tributary of the Jayhān. Its source was the 'Ayn Zanitha which joined the river al-'Arjan and formed a series of small lakes according to Ibn Serapion. As such, the site is in a valley containing both lake and marsh. This corresponds to the present day Ak Su near Inikli (according to Le Strange). Istakhri mentions that fertile lands surrounded the site. Ibn Shaddād mentions plenty of running water (streams) and cultivated fields. Ibn 'Adīm mentions there was much fish in the Ḥadath lake. Its name (mentioned by Yāqūt) was al-Ḥadath al-Hamra due to the reddish color of the soil (and to distinguish it from Ḥadath al-Zuqaq in the Palmyrene desert). Ory places Ḥadath at the entry of a saddle between Mar'ash and Malaṭiya guarding the road to Albistan.[38] He further states that it was in the plain, 1000 m at the foot of the Taurus near three lakes on the upper course of the Ak Su. The pass was narrow and started northwest of Ḥadath in the Taurus mountain range known by one name as Nurunak Dağ. Ḥadath was reached via Roman road from the Göksu Bridge via Kaysūm

[38] S. Ory, "al-Hadath," *EI2*.

(Keysum). Abu Ezzah could not find the site but posited that it must be one day from Mar'ash in a north or northeast direction.

History[39]

The site of Ḥadath changed hands frequently on account of its strategic location. However, Haldon and Kennedy erroneously state that since it was located farther up the valley (although its location was unknown) then it was less exposed to raids.[40] According to Ramsey many expeditions crossed at the Darb al-Ḥadath. Heraclius in 640 marched through the pass to Arabissos, and apparently near Ḥadath. It should be cautioned that Ramsey seems to be referring to a pass north of Kahramanmaraş. There is no pass directly north but rather by Gölbaşı via Nurhak.

Ḥadath was only settled and fortified in the early 'Abbāsid period apparently as a new settlement, although the site is identified with the classical site of Adata, and there is mention that it was taken under the Umayyad ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb b. Maslama by general 'Iyad b. Ghanm. At this time, the name of the pass (Darb al-Ḥadath or "road of bad news") was changed to Darb al-Salāma ("road of safety"). The Byzantines briefly took and destroyed it in 778–779 under Michael Lachamodrakon. From 778/79 and 785/86 al-Hassān b. Qaḥṭaba built a mosque and undertook fortifications during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī after damage to the sun-dried brick (*libin*) walls from the winter season. Balādhurī states that ʿAlī b. Sulaymān (governor of al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn under al-Mahdī) directed the reconstruction in 783/84 from a letter by the

[39] General Bibliography: F. Hild and M. Restle, *Kappadokien. Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos* (Vienna, 1981); Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I,.95; Wheatley, *The Places*, n. 50, 407, 120; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 121; Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie*, 269.

[40] Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 108–09.

caliph. The town was also named al-Mahdīya or al-Muḥammadīya. Al-Mahdī died at the same time the restoration was complete and a garrison of 6,000 soldiers was established. Musa al-Hādī repopulated it with people from nearby towns. Another Byzantine attack where the city was burned lent the name Göynük or Kaynuk (burnt) to it.[41] It was then restored and refortified by Harūn al-Rashīd who garrisoned 2,000 men, giving them housing and land under *iqṭa'*. This was carried out by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, son of the imām Ibrāhīm who was governor of the Jazīra and Qinnasrīn under the caliph al-Hādī. Basil in 877 attempted to take Mar'ash but failed so attempted to siege Adata, but again failed and so he destroyed a little town called Geron (Geronta) in the vicinity. He tried again in 880 and was successful. Ramsay assumed he used the Göksun–Mar'ash pass as the Albistan–Mar'ash route was under Islamic control. From 817 it was a bishopric until the mid-eleventh century when the seat moved to nearby Ra'bān (Araban). Near to the site, a small castle called al-Uhaydab (the little hunchback) was located on a hill and protected the site.

Sayf al-Dawla's poet, al-Mutanabbī composed a *qaṣīda* about the castle. It is noted that in 946 (or 948/49?) Bardas, the general of Constantine, captured Hadath. In 950 Leo, son of Bardas Phocas, conquered it and dismantled its fortifications. In 954, the Ḥamdānids under Sayf al-Dawla reconquered it and rebuilt its walls. This was immortalized in another poem by al-Mutanabbī. The Byzantines took it again in 957. In 1150, the Seljuk Mas'ud, son of Qilij Arslan controlled it for a time and were replaced by the Armenians. In 1272 or 1278 the Mamluks under Baybars burned the

[41] See Hartmann, "al-Hadath," 42–43. Although this name is supposed to have been mentioned in Arabic sources as "Kainuk" it is not Arabic but Turkish sounding and its origin is unclear. An Arabic translation would be *al-muḥtariqa*.

town down. During the time of Ibn Shaddād's text (1272–1281), the fortress was ruined but the town remained and was in Islamic control. The surrounding land was a grazing area for Kurds. In 1436, the Mamlūk Barsbay used it as a base.

Research

As the site has not been properly identified, the site has never been surveyed. In December 1987, two Arabic inscriptions were found at the site by a British survey.[42] The first possibly mentions the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Hadi (785–786) while the second dates to the early tenth century.[43]

Personal Observations, 9/25/04

The site is in the Gölbaşı Valley in the village of Bozlar and not Başpınar on the right side of the road near the town government building. It is reached from the Narlı–Gölbaşı road turnoff towards Çağlayancit. It is very deliberately placed squarely at the entrance of a pass through the Taurus Mountains, certainly the Darb al-Ḥadath. The site is near a spring and is composed of a massive city wall preserved for some 50 meters with limestone ashlars and a rubble/mortar core and square buttresses at intervals. The top consists of plowed fields and some houses. The pottery is Roman through Early Islamic. Parts of the valley would have contained a string of lakes and marshes that would have been adjacent to the site. A rounded hill to the west (and slightly south) nearer to the pass might be the fortified site of al-Uhaydab, but I did not

[42] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 347. Inscription work was done also in 1989–1990 by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara as part of the Adıyaman survey, cf. Blaylock, "Adıyaman Survey 1985–1991," 110. Blaylock does identify the site with Ḥadath.

[43] Ibid., 79, 347.

investigate this. Al-Uhaydab may have been built later as an upland fortified component to the lowland site and what was destroyed by the time of Baybars (as opposed to the town).

Coordinates: 37N N 4173794 E 362406

Hārūnīyya

Classical Neronias, Irenopolis; Modern Düziçi

Location and Research

Hārūnīyya has not been identified, although there are several candidates for its location, all of which fall within the one day's march distance from Mar'ash, as mentioned in the sources. Sinclair saw Hārūnīyya as the successor city after Hierapolis Castabala and Flaviopolis (Kadırlı) fade out and as such places it in the same area. The city should also guard the Amanus pass east to Mar'ash and farther points east and so should be strategically similar to Toprakkale to the south and Hierapolis to the north. He astutely stated that it was probably on the plain, posits that it should be at the northeast inlet of the Cilician Plain into the Amanus, and suggested that it maybe a site locally known as Eskişehir, thought to be a Roman camp. The site is a mound 250 m long and 3 m high located 5 km from Osmaniye towards Bodrum Kale (Hierapolis Castabala).[44] Honigmann's location was in the Amanus at Bağdacık (now Buğdaycık)

[44] Sinclair, *Eastern Anatolia,* 4.321–22, 328, plate 80. I tried to locate Hārūnīyya following Sinclair's directions of the mound of Eski Sehir. From Osmaniye I drove toward Bodrum Kale (Hierapolis Castabala). First one passes the town of Cevdet, then a large river/canal with a dam and the road forks left and right. To the left, towards the Roman site, one passes through another village. The right fork leads to the only prominent mound, a low and long one, not far past the river and wetland area. The mound had some mortared walls that I inspected, but this proved to be recent. There was

on the Hasanbeyli Pass 25 km northeast of Osmaniye. Hellenkemper and Hild sited it at the classical city of Irenopolis which corresponds just 2 km southwest of modern Düziçi, 54 km southwest from Kahramanmaraş (the assumed Mar'ash/Germanicia), 105 km northeast from Adana, and 29.5 km north from Osmaniye at the entrance of the Darb al-'Ayn (Bahçe Pass) over the Amanus.[45]

Edwards and many others assume[46] that it was the medieval castle called Hārūnīyya Kalesi although no Early Islamic presence, from material culture or architecture, has ever been noted.[47] According to Sinclair, the castle is reached by traveling on the Osmaniye–Gaziantep road 17 km, then left 14 up a hill. Alishan incorrectly calls this site Til Hamdoun, which should rather be identified with Toprakkale.[48] Hārūnīyya castle is built on a rocky outcrop of the steep lower scrubby slopes of the western side of the Amanus. To the southwest is the eastern inlet of Cilician Plain, to the northwest is the small Andırın Ovası and Ceyhan. Next to the castle is a late medieval town to the east and fountain. Sinclair dates the castle as Teutonic and describes it in detail. Edwards contends based on the masonry that the design is not Armenian as it is too "compact." The tower with an elongated keep employs three types of masonry with the earliest original fortification identical in plan

---

absolutely no pottery on the site. I questioned the villagers extensively but they revealed no information regarding the mound of Eskişehir.

[45] Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 47–48, 245–48.

[46] The Blue Guide lists Hārūnīyya on Road 400 by a village of the same name 18 km before Osmaniye from Kahramanmaraş. Edwards, *Fortifications,* 143.

[47] R.W. Edwards, "Bağras and Armenian Cilicia," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 17 (1983): 429.

[48] G. M. Alishan, *Sissoùan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie. Description géogrpahique et historique* (Venice, 1899), 236ff.

and built of squared limestone and basalt. The castle, measuring 75 x 30 m had an entrance with a simple gate between two square towers. At the other end was a postern gate near a large horseshoe tower. He specifically highlights the north curtain wall that contains a series of arched embrasures with arrow slits and a rounded stirrup arch at the bottom of each. These are the "only certain examples of Arab embrasures in Cilicia." He suggests that the casemates may be Mamluk or attributed to other medieval construction. Despite these detailed descriptions, nothing early is mentioned about the site itself. Edwards' main argument, apart from the name, seems to stem from the fact that Balādhurī "*specifically*" [italics Edwards] refers to Hārūnīyya as a fort.

Subsequent accounts describe it as a fort and/or city. Since virtually nothing is known about Early Islamic forts and the meaning of the word *ḥiṣn* can describe fortified sites in the most general sense (see Chapter 7), there is no basis for the argument. Kennedy stated that Islamic geographers described it as a "small fort" (*ḥiṣn saghir*).[49] Reviewing Edwards' identification of the fort of Hārūnīyya, Kennedy found the dating vague and supposed it probably was built in a later period. He stated that only the design might be early but the structure does not resemble Early Islamic fortifications. Mention of the castle's building, the town, and lands are associated with the Armenian King of Cilicia in 1236. In 1337, it was abandoned by the Mamluks. The likelier candidate for the Early Islamic site, suggested by Hellenkemper and Hild but has not been fully explored, is the lower town that would correspond with classical Irenopolis.

[49] Kennedy, A*rmies of the Caliph*, 191.

History[50]

There is no known pre-Byzantine occupation for Irenopolis, however the region around the site was known as Lakanatis at least in the Seleucid/Hellenistic period where coins were minted from this area.[51] In the mid-fourth century the site is referred to as the city of Nero, or Neronias, in the province of Cilicia II, which had a bishopric led by a bishop named Narcissus. Although some sources state that Irenopolis (former Neronias) apparently came to an end by the end of the fourth century C.E.[52] A key association which gives some indication as to its general location in eastern Cilicia comes from Malalas who states that Balbinus the Isaurian (along with the Tzannoi, a Black Sea tribe, and the Huns) destroyed the cities of Anazarbus, Irenopolis, and Castabala[53] — all of which were located in the eastern part of Cilicia II. It likely continued and was rebuilt as evidenced at Anazarbus and Castabala Hierapolis. Further, the site is mentioned in the mid-fifth century as a city whose name had changed to Irenopolis (probably before 395 C.E.).[54] The *Notitia dignitatum* states

---

[50] General Bibliography*:* M. Bonner, "The Mint of Harunabad and al-Hārūnīyya," *American Journal of Numismatics* 1 (1989): 171–93; T. H. Weir, "Hārūnīyya" *EI2,* 234–235; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord,* 145–49*;* Wheatley, *The Places,* 120; Le Strange, *Lands*, 129; U. B. Alkım, "The Amanus Region in Turkey: New Light on the Historical Geography and Archaeology," *Archaeology* 22 (1969): 280–89.

[51] A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 204–05.

[52] F. Hild, "Eirenupolis in der Kilikia Pedias," in *Die epigraphische und altertumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens: Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, edited by G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenböck (Vienna, 1993), 221-25; E. Honigmann, "Neronias-Irenopolis in Eastern Cilicia," *Byzantion* 20 (1950): 39–61.

[53] Malalas, *Chron*. 13.9 (p. 345).

[54] Honigmann, "Neronias-Irenopolis."; Theodoret, in 449 or 450 stated that: "Neronias is a city of the Second Cilicia which we now call Irenopolis," *H.E.* I.7.14 (p. 33).

Irenopolis as the only town that manufactured spears, which led Honigmann to conclude it was located near forested mountains (where straight and tall wood could be obtained).[55] From other sources, the site was placed in the vicinity of Castabala and Epiphaneia in the extreme eastern part of the province.

The city appears in 831 C.E. alongside the main frontier towns of Ṭarsūs, Maṣṣīṣṣa, Adhana, and ʻAyn Zarba as sources for the Muslim army of 20,000 defeated by Theophilus. Another source revealed a succession of thirteen Jacobite bishops from 818–922. From these mentions, it is clear that the city remained populous and important.[56] Honigmann looked for the translation of the name Irenopolis (the city of peace) as the Arabic place name. His search for *madinat al-salam*, also the ʻAbbāsid name for Baghdād, lead him to search for Little Baghdād (*Bughaidīd*) which he found as a town in eastern Cilicia mentioned by Ibn al-Shiḥna identified with Kafarbayyā, part of Maṣṣīṣa. Honigmann speculated that this may be incorrect and that Bughaidīd survived as the Turkish Bağdacik near Savuran Kale and Zincerli, eighteen miles from Osmaniye, south of the Hamusçay and 5 km southwest of the railway station Bahçe. The Turkish word is a diminutive derived from Bağdadcik, meaning Little Baghdād.

According to Balādhurī, Hārūnīyya was apparently a city established *de novo* in 799 by Hārūn al-Rashid one march west of Marʻash. Hoewver, both Balādhurī and Yaʻqūbī, stated that it was built before his reign (during the time of al-Mahdī) and

---

[55] Honigmann, "Neronias-Irenopolis," 53–54.

[56] Honigmann possibly attributes the end of the line of bishops to the invasion of the Byzantines in the second half of 915 under the Armenian Mleḥ (Malīḥ al-Armanī) who took 50,000 prisoners from the area between Ṭarsūs and Marʻash (Ibid.)

completed it in his own caliphate. According to Ibn Ḥawqal, Istakhrī, and al-Balkhī (d. 934), it was small fort (*ḥisṇān saghirān*) situated on the western slopes of the Amanus in one of its paths or gorges or valleys (*fī ba'aḍ shi'abihi*).[57] Further, Ibn Hawqal talks about its prosperity and how its inhabitants are bravely involved in *jihād* against the Byzantines. In 959–960, Yāqūt mentions that Nicephorus captured 1,500 Muslim residents from the site. Sayf al-Dawla took it in 967 and paid for its construction and a neighboring town (a village 3 km south with same name, according to Edwards). It was captured by Crusaders and later became part of Little Armenia.

Personal Observations, 7/22/05

I followed Hellenkemper and Hild's identification of Hārūnīyya with Irenopolis near modern Düziçi. This town lies on the low western slopes of the Amanus and is reached either by taking the E-90 new highway to the Bahçe exit and driving north, or taking the road northeast from Osmaniye to Bahçe and then turning right heading north to Düziçi. The way takes one out of the Cilician Plain and briefly into the Amanus western slopes before heading back into a small plain which Düziçi overlooks. This is the Düziçi Ovası, a separate extension east of the Cilician Plain and is mainly enclosed by outlier hills and outcrops of the Amanus. The town of Hārūnīyya/Irenopolis is on the lowest slopes of the Amanus just slightly above the plain. The Deliçay River flows through the town from the mountains. I first drove past Düziçi to the village of Hārūnīyya and several locals pointed me first to the Hārūnīyya castle on the hill still north of the town. Near it were also the remains of a building

[57] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣurat al-arḍ*, 167

complex dating to the early twentieth century Ottoman period. It was apparently built by the Germans. As for the site of Irenopolis, it is 2 km west southwest of the modern Düziçi in Hacılar, as Hellenkemper and Hild point out. It should be noted that this is not Hacılar Köy 2 km northeast but rather a quarter of the modern town and the old name of it, also known by locals as Harab. It lies slightly down slope. There are many small houses and the gardens, fields, and orchards were littered with a high-density scatters of ceramics and roof tiles. Building stones including ashlars can be seen built into the modern houses. Two houses had columns in their gardens, one of porphyry. One house had an outdoor courtyard bounded to the south by the remains of a small aqueduct consisting of a ceramic pipe mortared in rubble stone. This probably corresponds with traces of a similarly constructed aqueduct found on the way to Hacılar village. As a result, one can assume that water was fed by aqueduct via mountain spring. Behind one house was a new foundation being put in for a building. The pier holes in the ground showed some *in situ* walls and rooftiles potentially part of buildings or a cemetery although no bone was noted. Rather, a late LRC base was found dating to the sixth/seventh century. The walls were not far below the surface (40-50 cm). Furthermore in the basement of one house was a large mosaic of a Byzantine style. It depicted grape vine creating circular panels and birds, including geese. This may have been part of a church. Early Islamic inscriptions mentioned by Hellenkemper and Hild near an old government building in Greek and Kufic were not located (nor the government building). All in all, there were no definite Early Islamic sherds in the area or Roman for that matter. However, a local museum in town run by

a schoolteacher and registered privately by the Adana museum contained a surprising amount of ‘Abbāsid silver *dirhams* (nearly a hundred) and an Umayyad triple nozzle lamp. According to him, these came from Düziçi and its surrounding farms. Given the combination of these materials, the Kufic inscription, and the site strategically located near the Bahçe Pass/Darb al-‘Ayn across the Amanus, and the presence of a preexisting Late Roman/Byzantine settlement, it is quite likely that the Early Islamic Hārūnīyya was located in the same place or just near it.

Coordinates: 37N N 4125125 E 273665

Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt

(see chapter 4)

Coordinates: 37N N 4083216 E 246048

Ḥiṣn Kamkh

Classical Kamacha, Chomacha; Modern Kemah

Location

Kamkh was located far north in the part of the frontier known as the *thughūr al-bakrīya* on the upper Euphrates in what Le Strange calls the western Euphrates, that area east of the river to the north. It was one day’s journey (50 km) below Arzanjān (modern Erzincan) on the left or south bank in the river basin. The site’s strategic importance was for entrance through passes into Armenia.

History[58]

The site is mentioned by Balādhurī, Ibn Serapion, and earlier geographers. Balādhurī states that Ḥabīb b. Maslama attacked Ḥiṣn Kamkh after he took Shimshāṭ but was unable to take it. Ṣafwān b. Muʻaṭṭal al-Sulami also failed. Finally, in 678, Ṣafwān successfully took the site with the help of ʻUmar b. al-Ḥabīb who scaled the walls. Under Yazīd II, Kamkh was taken in 724. Kamkh and its inhabitants of the Sulaym assisted Malaṭiya against the Byzantine invasion of 750 or 754. It shifted hands to the Byzantines then back to Maslama b. ʻAbd al-Malik then back to the Byzantines until it was retaken by al-Ḥassān b. Qaḥṭaba and al-ʻAbbās b. al-Muḥammad b. ʻAlī under al-Manṣūr in 766. They camped around the site and seiged it with mangonels and mantelets (*dabbāba*).[59] Al-ʻAbbās brought in merchants and established a market, introducing Islamic currency into the area. The Byzantines retook it and then the Muslims under Muḥammad b. ʻAbdallā b. ʻAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī ʻAmra al-Anṣārī in 793. The site switched hands once more and was reoccupied during the reign of Ma'mūn briefly. Mustawfī said it was a great castle with a town below on the riverbank and many fertile villages which depended upon it. Dimashqī in the fourteenth century lists it as part of the *thughūr al-jazīra*.

---

[58] General Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 118; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen*; Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliph*, 107; Blankinship, *End of the Jihad State*.

[59] The sources are conflicted whether this attack was successful or not. See Bonner for discussion (*Aristocratic Violence,* 60–65).

Remains

Although remains of a castle can be seen, very little work has been done on the area.

Coordinates: 37N N 4383256 E 503197

Ḥiṣn Manṣūr

Classical Pordonnium?[60]; Modern Adıyaman

Location

The site of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr has always been identified with modern Adıyaman. Sinclair, however, writes nothing about the Early Islamic occupation at Adıyaman. He provides a city map[61] and states that it succeeded Perre after its decline. Perhaps Ḥiṣn Manṣūr reassembled a population from the abandoned Perre. It is in a valley running southwest–northeast between the Taurus and the hills north of the Euphrates Valley in the Gaziantep–Adıyaman rolling plain and watered by a tributary of the Euphrates, the Nahr al-Azraq (Göksu) which flows northwest of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. In the Mamlūk period, it was recorded on the route from between Sumaysāṭ and Malaṭiya. Ramsay states that the Roman road from Malaṭiya (Melitene) to Sumaysāṭ (Samosata) stopped at Maisena (Elemenjik then Khan Bunar), Lakotena (Viranşehir/Surghy), and Perre (Adıyaman), before reaching Sumaysāṭ.[62]

---

[60] The identification of Pordonnium is not completely certain. In some places the site is associated with Perre, located several kilometers north of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. However, it has also been noted as a separate site on a route between Sumaysāṭ and Perre in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 1036.

[61] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 4.72–74.

[62] Ramsay, *The Historical Geography,* 280.

History[63]

General opinion states that Ḥiṣn Manṣūr succeeded Perre after its decline. After the sixth century, Perrhe/Pirin had no bishops mentioned. The new town (or small fortress) was named Manṣūr not after the ‘Abbāsid caliph as often assumed. Rather, it was founded earlier in the Umayyad period. According to Abu ‘Amr al-Bahilī, it was named for a commander named Manṣūr b. Jaʿwana b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿĀmirī of the Qays tribe under Marwān II. He was also governor of Ruhā (Edessa/Urfa) when the town revolted during the ‘Abbāsid revolution. After it had been destroyed by Byzantines, he was ordered to build and repair it with an army of Syrians and Jazīrans to fend off Byzantine incursions. This was done at the very end of Marwān’s reign, probably in 750. Manṣūr stayed there with his military garrison after fending off a Byzantine attack. Manṣūr was also in charge of the *shurta* of ‘Abdulla. ‘Abdulla died in 758 by the caliph’s hands and the town fell to ruin. Harūn al-Rashid, during his father al-Mahdī’s caliphate, refortified the settlement and placed a new garrison. Ibn Ḥawqal described it as a small town with a congregational mosque surrounded by irrigated fields. It was continuously ravaged or dismantled by Byzantines and Muslims as all *thughūr* forts were. Yāqūt states that it had a wall with three gates and a ditch outside. The inner fortress was defended by a double wall. Around 930, it was seized by defector members of the Ḥabīb. It did not receive a bishop until the eleventh century.

---

[63] General Bibliography: Wheatley, *The Places,* n. 46, 407*;* Le Strange, *Lands*, 123; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 454*;* Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie*, 268.

Ibn Shaddād states that it possessed rural districts (*rustāq*) and villages. Abū al-Fidā' in the fourteenth century describes the site in ruin but still had cultivated fields.

Research

The Blue Guide says there is possibly a citadel on the artificial mound in the town center. Today the tell rises above the city and has a tea garden on top.

Personal Observations, 9/26/04

In the center of Adıyaman is a mound that rises up among the modern houses and is wooded, very similar but much smaller than Gözlü Kule in Tarsus. The classical site of Perre is north of Adıyaman by several kilometers and has a necropolis. In this case, it is an interesting example of an Early Islamic site not founded on the classical city. Although there I found nothing definitively Early Islamic on or around the tell, there is virtually nothing to be seen at all of any period. The location is in a plain with the hilly terrain to the north and south. It is in close proximity to Sumaysāṭ and south of Malaṭiya. Between it and Malaṭiya are passes through hills. Like Sumaysāṭ, it would not have defended any mountain pass but rather trade routes east–west (Sumaysāṭ to Mar'ash) or north–south (Malaṭiya to Qūrus).

Coordinates: 37N N 4179360 E 436191

Ḥiṣn Qalawdiya

Location

Very little is known about the site. Like Ḥiṣn Kamkh, it was part of the farthest eastern extent of the frontier, *thughūr al-bakrīya*. It guarded the approach to Malaṭiya from the east.

History[64]

Ḥiṣn Qalawdiya was fortified under the early ʻAbbāsids by al-Manṣūr in 757. It did not receive its first bishop until the early tenth century.

Ḥiṣn Ziyād

Classical Enzitene; Syriac Hanzīṭ; Armenian Khartabirt/Kharput; Modern Harput

Location

Ḥiṣn Ziyād was also in the Upper Euphrates area in what Le Strange called the western Euphrates or area east of the Euphrates and north (Qālīqalā area). It lay west of Shimshāt.

History

The site maybe named after a Ziyād who was a Slav stationed on the *thughūr* by Marwān b. Muḥammad. Around 930, the site was seized by the Ḥabīb who defected to Byzantine lands. Yāqūt describes it as a large town with a good climate. A Jacobite

[64] Wheatley, *The Places*, 261.

bishopric is mentioned at the site between 1027–1038. It was held by the Artuqids in the twelfth century.

Remains[65]

Fiey posits the site as Tilenzit, east of Elazığ. Sinclair mentions the site but doesn't mention any Early Islamic presence, although an Early Islamic bridge is mentioned nearby. An inscription from 1146–47 in Kufī and Naskhī script was found and represents one of the earliest few cursive inscriptions found outside Persia.

Coordinates: 37N N 4283871 E 522378

Iskandarūna

(see Chapter 4)

Classical Alexandretta ad Issum; Modern Iskenderun

Location

The town is situated at the southern part of the Plain of Issos on the Gulf of Iskenderun where the coastal plain is widest, near Rhosos. It is also at the entrance to the Belen Pass (Syrian Gates), which connects the coast to the interior Amuq Plain.

[65] General Bibliography: A.D.H. Bivar, "Bardas Skleros, the Buwayids and the Marwanids at Hisn Ziyad in the Light of an Unnoticed Arab Inscription," in *Defence of the Roman and Byzantine Frontiers*, edited by S. Freeman and H. Kennedy (Oxford, 1986), 9–21; Wheatley, *The Places,* 107; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 18–33, plates 6–10, maps; Le Strange, *Lands*, 117; S. Redford, "How Islamic Is It? The Innsbruck Plate and its Setting," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 119–35; Dagron, "Minorités Ethniques et Religieuses."

History[66]

According to Ainsworth, the town was founded by Alexander for his horse. Balādhurī said, Iskandarūna belongs to Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik. In the Early Islamic period, a fort was said to have been constructed by Umm Jaʿfar Zubayda, wife of al-Rashīd and mother of Amīn. Balādhurī stated that it was given as *iqṭaʿ* to Raghā, a *mawlā* of al-Mahdī. Mahdī's sons, Manṣūr and Ibrāhīm, inherited it. Then it went to Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Jawharī al-Baghdādī who left Baghdād and came to ʿAyn Zarba and died between 867 and 878/79. Then it was bought by Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād al-Iyādī, a *muʿtazilī*, grand *qāḍī*, and intimate friend of al-Ma'mūn who lost his position under al-Mutawakkil. Al-Iyādī renovated the construction during the caliphate of al-Wāthiq. Then it went to al-Mutawakkil, the caliph. Ibn Ṭūlūn took it in 877. The site was described as not being a castle but a polygonal fort near Jacob's spring. The Crusader castle of Godefroy de Bouillon was close to it, about one mile in from the shore. It is likely that this castle was built on the site of Iskandarūna. It was also fortified by the kings of Armenian Cilicia.

Remains

The site was recently surveyed by the Mopsus Survey project, and the results are unpublished. The surveyors concluded from surface collection around the city and a

[66] General Bibliography: Le Strange, *Palestine,* 458; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord,* 148; R. Hartmann, "Iskandarūna," *EI2*; Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I.12.

sounding that the Hellenistic and Roman areas were south of the castle and the modern city.[67]

Coordinates: 37N N 4052271 E 248303

Jawzāt (or Ḥiṣn al-Jawzāt)

Location

Ibn Ḥawqal mentions it as part of the *thughūr al-shamiyya*. It was also mentioned by Yāqūt as being two days from Ṭarsūs. It was in a mountain pass overlooking Ṭarsūs eight farsakhs or 65 km away. Although unidentified today, it is probably near the sites of Bughaz or Pozantı near the Cilician Gates today.

History

It was a fortress that had a *qaḍī* (Abu ʻAmr al- Ṭarsūsī), an amir, a deputy amir, a preacher, a keeper of the fort, a keeper of the hammam, a clerk two couriers, a trumpet player, and troops. It is written that no women or unbearded boys were allowed. The description is valuable as it offers a view of a typical garrison and suggests that even a small frontier site had a bathhouse component.

[67] Killebrew et al, "The Mopsus Survey."

Al-Jūma

Location

The site was part of the ‘*awāṣim* and mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbih. It was supposedly on a hill overlooking the Amuq to the southeast and south of Qūrus which would place it in modern Syria. There is very little known about it.

Al-Kanīsa as-Sawdā’

Classical Oinianados, Epiphaneia, Kinisa?; Armenian or Crusader Nigrinium; Modern Gözeneler[68]

Location

Al-Kanīsa as-Sawdā’ lies at the heart of the basaltic Plain of Issos on an ancient lava bed at the eastern edge of the Cilician Plain at a low elevation on the southern edge of a series of low foothills. It is a large site enclosing a natural outcropping (not a tell) located 91 km southeast of Adana and 11 km south of Toprakkale at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean where the Adana and Hatay province meet. It is about 1.5 km west of the railroad that cuts the aqueduct just south of the Erzin/Yeşilkent railway station (the Toprakkale-Iskenderun railline) and identified with the site of Güze Han/Gözeneler, the classical city of Epiphaneia. It is easily reached by traveling north from the Iskenderun/Dörtyol road toward Erzin and turning left to cross the railroad. It is 11 km south of Toprakkale (one day’s journey to the Amanus), and 7 km west of Erzin. An ancient road passed through it from Toprakkale to Baeae and in the Islamic

[68] Not to be confused with a site called Kanisa near Haifa.

periods Hārūnīyya and Bayās. There is also a local route from Erzin/Kanīsa al-Sawdā' to Islahiye. The site is incorrectly identified as Issos with a sign. Marshy environs are suggested by the importation of Zuṭṭ people from southern Iraq (see below). Today, there is much cultivation of wheat and vegetables and the site is threatened by the newly constructed E-90 highway cutting through the western quarter of site.

History

The site like many others was originally a Seleucid foundation. It was originally named Oiniandos,[69] perhaps a Hellenized form of the Luwian Winowanda. Then, it was named after the Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes or a descendant in the second century B.C.E. In the Roman period, Epiphaneia was in the province of Cilicia Campestris. It was the seat of a bishopric from the fourth century onward. In the fifth century it fell under the province of Cilicia II. It was thought to be the birthplace of St. George and a Christian episcopate. Pompey imprisoned pirates captured at sea there.

As a *thughūr* site, it appears as an 'Abbāsid foundation established by Hārūn al-Rashid along with Hārūnīyya and 'Ayn Zarba. As such it has been assumed to be a smaller fortification, more of an outpost than a city. The site is actually quite large and the implications of this will be discussed below. The classical site then was not "founded" but rather strengthened by Hārūn (allegedly after it was abandoned as indicated by the fortress in ruins) in 799 when it was known as Kanīsa al-Sawdā' or "Black Church" as it was known to have been originally a Byzantine site built of

[69] Pliny. *Nat Hist*. 5.27 [22]; H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna: Verlag Österreichischen Akad. Der Wiss, 1986), 103 n. 17; Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," 155 note a; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 249-251.

basalt. Hārūn is also known to have garrisoned Khurāsānīs, donate money, and collect taxes there, which is interesting as it is assumed taxes were not collected on the thughur). In 806, the Byzantines led by Nicephorus attacked it while Qāsim b. Rashīd was garrisoned (*murābiṭ*) there. He defended it using *dabik* (a naptha resin) to prevent them from beseiging and succeeded with reinforcements from Maṣṣīṣa. Like Ḥadath, the town had a nickname, "the Burnt" (*al-muḥtariqa*), which referred to an incendiary attack during a Byzantine incursion.[70] After the invasion, Qāsim refortified and resupplied the city. Under al-Muʻtaṣim, Zuṭṭ were deported there and to the area of ʻAyn Zarba from marshes between Waṣit and Baṣra in 835. After 899, al-Muʻtaḍid stayed at Kanīsa al-Sawdā' for two days while personally visiting Cilicia in order to settle growing power factions. Two bishops are known from the site of in 818 and 845 and two more ("of Hamam and Kinisa" around 936/953.). Yāqūt calls the site al-Kanīsa, al-Kanīsa as-Sawdā', or al-Kanīsa al-Yahūd alluding to a Jewish community. In the tenth century, Istakhrī mentions (940–960) that it had a Friday Mosque with a minbar and was located south of the Jayhān a distance from the sea but less than a day from Hārūnīyya and coastal site of Bayās. Just after, however, Ibn Ḥawqal (967–988) wrote that Kanīsa al-Sawdā' *used* to be a fortress and *thaghr*, referring to the fact that it was taken in the Byzantine reconquest in 978. The site was named as Casale Keni in 1214, and was given by the Armenian King Leon I to the Crusader order of St. John. The former city was a small village during this time.[71] Abū al-Fidā' in the fourteenth

[70] Or possibly because it was constructed of basalt (D. Whitcomb, personal communication, 2008).

[71] Killebrew et al., "The Mopsus Survey."

century writes that it stood twelve miles from Hārūnīyya in Armenian territory. In the sixteenth century, a Greek manuscript mentions the site of Keinision.

Remains

Identification of the site has not always been unanimous. The two issues are 1) identifying the site as Epiphaneia; and 2) then as Kanīsa al-Sawdā'. Ainsworth visited the site and identified it with Epiphaneia.[72] He disagreed with Langlois who identified Epiphaneia with Myriandros. Gough (surveyed the site of Epiphaneia with his wife after 'Ayn Zarba but unfortunately there is no plan or complete publication.[73] Seton-Williams in her Cilician survey identifies Site 146 (Güzen Han) with Epiphaneia.[74] She described it as a large site with surrounding extensive settlement fed by a large aqueduct. Her identification of the site comes from Major Bennet in Ramsay[75] and Kiepert. Furthermore, she noted Roman, Late Roman, and Islamic ceramics. For the identification with Kanīsa al-Sawdā', Edwards perplexingly does not record the site of Epiphaneia and so is impressed with the task of trying to fit the known frontier site in with those castles of his survey. He makes an argument that the Early Islamic Kanīsa al-Sawdā' is to be identified with Karafrenk, a small preserved square fort near the Bahçe Pass in the Amanus. The criteria for his arguments are that the structure must have been built of basalt in the vicinity of Hārūnīyya and Maṣṣīṣa. He first states that

[72] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I. 114–17.

[73] Gough, "Anazarbus," 315.

[74] Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," 155.

[75] Ramsay, *The Historical Geography,* 38.

the construction is similar to two other forts that are probably Crusader and that the fort may corroborate with the Crusader site, "The Black Tower."[76] Nevertheless he still associates the site with the Early Islamic Kanīsa al-Sawdā' and this is further supported by accounts of Abū al-Fidā' who states that Kanīsa al-Sawdā' is twelve miles from Hārūnīyya, which corresponds with Karafrenk. Abū al-Fidā', whose distances are inconsistantly accurate and inaccurate, is a fourteenth century source and not suitable for locating an Early Islamic site by any means. Cahen, who identified Kanīsa al-Sawdā' with the village of Erzin is much more accurate,[77] although Edwards disagrees with him. Sinclair identified Güze Han with Epiphaneia and considers Karafrenk as Crusader and maybe Teutonic like the castles of Hārūnīyya and Hasanbeyli.[78] A tell called Kara Hüyük surveyed by Seton Williams (Site 147 on her survey), seven km southeast of Erzin was possibily Kanīsa al-Sawdā' but seems incorrect as no classical or Islamic remains were found.

The only real treatment of Kanīsa al-Sawdā' is by Jennifer Tobin who mentions it within a regional study of the nearby site of Küçük Burnaz to the south. Tobin visited the site annually between 1993 and 2000 and recorded her observations including the identification of the site with Epiphaneia and Kanīsa al-Sawdā'. Tobin observed that the site encompassed 150 ha (from Hellenkemper and Hild) and the acropolis sat on a natural formation made higher over time by occupational layering. Finally, the Mopsus survey in 2004 identified the site as Site 1, Gözeneler/Epiphaneia/ Kanīsa al-

[76] Edwards, *Fortifications,* 156, n. 3.

[77] Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord,* 148.

[78] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 4.320.

Sawdā' and did a surface collection and mapped the site. The Mopsus survey measured the acropolis as 160 x 60 m, and 0.75 ha. They were the first to establish the presence of some Iron and Bronze Age sherds. Persian and Hellenistic pottery was scattered around the acropolis in a 6.0-7.8 ha area. The Roman-Byzantine and "early Medieval city" area of ceramic scatter was circa 66 ha. They argued that the 150 ha mentioned by Tobin, Hellenkemper, and Hild was too large, although they also noted an extramural settlement.

The main feature of the site is the theater on the southwest of the mound. At a diameter of 87 m it is the largest theater in Cilicia. Although the scene and seats are robbed, the upper wall of the cavea survived in the preserved eastern wall. The wall is built of mortar and rubble with facing of irregularly polygonal shaped basalt stones in rough courses and semi-circular buttresses set at close intervals. This wall also served as part of the citadel's external defense walls. The walls of the castle were heavily robbed and architectural debris (columns, bricks, and tiles) lay everywhere. South of theater was a round structure, possibly an odeon according to Tobin. Marble column bases in the area form three sides of colonnaded court or agora in field below. There is also the suggestion of a colonnaded street. 200 m southwest of the theater is a structure of mortar and rubble, robbed of its facing stones. The structure is a bath, evidenced from hypocaust tiles. Tobin noted the presence of much thirteenth century sgraffiato ware including many fragments of kiln furniture of a thirteenth century type positing that Kanīsa al-Sawdā' may have been a medieval pottery manufacturing center. The Mopsus survey also found a large quantity of medieval pottery and

supported this hypothesis. During Ainsworth's visit he could see partial standing walls of the city. Gough in 1952 also recorded a large city wall two m thick with large square towers at intervals. These were though to be the Late Roman or Medieval walls.[79] Sinclair states that the medieval site of Kanīsa al-Sawdā' was much smaller, contracting around the citadel and only scattered traces remain. In 1951, a medieval wall well was observed but there are no more traces of the city wall, having been destroyed in 1969[80] and by 1983 nothing remained. To the west, a cemetery contained graves and tombs cut into bedrock. The aqueduct either brought water down from Amanus in the southeast or was spring fed by a spring near to Erzin. The aqueduct was supported on low rounded arches with 116 piers. It flowed into a circular cistern made of mortar and rubble with basalt ashlar facing near the citadel (east) whose walls were 1.5 m thick. The structure may have been a *castellum divisorum* or nymphaeum. There were remains of residential areas along the aqueduct. Greek inscriptions were found at the site.

Personal Observations, 8/2/04

The advantage of the site is its strategic location between the sea and mountains and in its protection of the coastal route from Cilicia south towards Anṭākiya to the west of the Amanus. The polygonal mortared buttress wall outside of the theater was the most conspicuous and best preserved and warranted a date. I noticed a Hellenistic/Roman potsherd set in the mortar. Although polygonal architecture is

[79] Killebrew et al., "The Mopsus Survey."

[80] Hellenkemper and Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien*, 102–04, 127–28.

suggestive of Hellenistic, the buttresses seem Islamic and the fortification of the theater walls does not make sense for periods which the theatre was in use. A distant parallel for this is the fortified walls with buttresses surrounding the amphitheatre of Caesarea Maritima in Palestine, which was likely the locus for the Early Islamic site. Here, I would suggest that this was part of the Middle Islamic/Medieval settlement fortification of the outcrop, as polygonal architecture is rare for the Early Islamic period in this area. On the outcrop near the top of the city wall I found a piece of Syrian yellow-glaze. South of the rocky outcrop the mound slopes down and encompasses a large area with some plowed fields, some untouched areas and even farther south into an orchard. Much Medieval pottery lies around these areas, specifically the bath. Ruined buildings with high preserved walls including a bath and what are termed two churches (although this is speculative, as they seem more Roman basilica buildings but pre-Christian) lie near to one another on the western part of the mound. North of the rocky outcrop is a plowed field with three ruined small mounds left unplowed, suggestive of subterranean structures. It is difficult to assess the Early Islamic settlement. One would assume that the rocky outcrop may have held an outpost of small kale and the settlement was within the classical city. Large city walls were not noticed.

I examined the pottery with Andrea de Giorgi from the 2004 season of the Mopsus Survey. Site 2, Kara Höyük, yielded only Hellenistic, Roman and Middle Islamic pottery making it ineligible for an Early Islamic site. Site 1, Kanīsa al-Sawdā', had thirteen baskets of pottery with a straight continuity of Hellenistic through Middle

Islamic. In addition, the Late Bronze, Middle Iron Age, and Persian periods are represented. The Early Islamic and Byzantine forms were less well represented. I would argue that this was due to the fact that the survey was conducted by three Iron Age archaeologists with a Late Bronze/Early Iron Age focus and so the terra sigillata, Late Roman redwares, and glazed wares of the Middle Islamic figured more prominently as they were more conspicuous then the more diagnostic cooking and unglazed wares of the Byzantine/Early Islamic periods.

Coordinates: 36N N 43750 E 95800

Malaṭiya

Classical Melitene, Maladnā; Modern Battalgazi (Eski Malatya)

Location

The city of Battalgazi is a suburb of Malatya and 12 km north of Malatya on the Sivas road. The site, mentioned by Ya'qūbī, was built on level ground and surrounded by mountains inhabited by the Byzantines. The ancient city was in the lowland Malatya Plain and watered by the Qubāqib River (classical Melas/modern Tukhman/Tokhma Su/Dermes Su) flowing on its east side and quite near to the Euphrates. From Roman times, the city guarded a Euphrates crossing at Imikuşağı. A garrison from Malaṭiya also guarded a bridge across the Qubāqib River three miles from the city where it met with the Euphrates. This was on the road west into Byzantine territory. Ramsay mentions several major roads from Malaṭiya.[81] The Roman road over the Anti-Taurus passed through Arabissos–Darende east to Malaṭiya

[81] Ramsay, *The Historical Geography,* 27.

on the Qubāqib/Tokhma Su Pass. This also indicates the direction of Byzantine/Islamic attack. There was also a road from Malaṭiya to Arca/Arga–Soğutlu Irmak–Arabissos–Kokusos that could accommodate wheeled transport. The Malaṭiya–Sumaysāṭ road included the route Malaṭiya/Melitene–Maisena (Elemenjik, then Khan Bunar)–Lakotena/Viranşehir–Perre/Adıyaman–Sumaysāṭ/Samosata. Khurradādhbih mentioned that Malaṭiya was ten farsakhs (81 km) from Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. Ibn Shaddād says that it was one stage (*marḥala*) from villages in Byzantine territory.

History[82]

The Hittite and neo-Hittite settlement was at Arslantepe, just east of the city and north of the modern city. The town of Malaṭiya was supposedly founded by Alexander. Strabo, strangely before the city's founding, speaks of a specific and famous type of wine grown in the region by the Monarites. He also mentions that it was the only city in Cappadocia with fruit trees. Malaṭiya was founded (or at least a separate settlement) in 71/72 C.E. as a Roman frontier camp. It was granted the status of a free city by Trajan in the early second century C.E. During the reorganization of Diocletian in 413 C.E., Malaṭiya fell under the under the province of Armenia II as its metropolis. In the sixth century, Anastasius and Justinian fortified it with a city wall and it was the metropolis of Armenia III.

[82] General Bibliography: Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I.252, 255, 295–96, 297; Le Strange, *Lands*, 120; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 499–500; F. Tinnefeld, "Die Stadt Melitene in ihrer späterem byzantinischen Epoche (934–1101)" in *Acts of the 14th International Congress 1971,* Volume 2 (Bucharest, 1974), 435–43; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze des byzantinischen*, 57–59, 64–67, 72-3; Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie*, 262–63, 733–36.

In the Early Islamic period, the town became a major *thughūr* city, although changing hands periodically. According to Bonner, the city was originally settled in the Early Islamic period during the late Umayyad caliphate. When the Arabs arrived, it was apparently evacuated by the Byzantines. According to Balādhurī, ʿIyād b. Ghanm conquered the city under the direction of Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī during the reign of ‘Umar I and Muslims were settled there from Ṭaranda. When Muʿāwiya became governor of Syria and the Jazīra, he sent Ḥabīb to Malaṭiya who conquered it by force in 653–654 and established there a cavalry. During the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik, the Byzantines marched against the city, destroyed it, and abandoned it. Hishām reconstructed the city and camped near it during this time. In 754 (or 750, since this is the date of Constantine V’s invasion and timed with the ‘Abbāsid revolution) Constantine V (Copronymos) conquered the town and the submitted it to treaty, letting its people leave. He then destroyed the city walls and disbanded its garrison, not establishing a new one. Even though the city had the help of the *thughūr* site of Kamkh under the Sulaym (the rest of the Jazīra was occupied in a rebellion under the governor of Ḥarrān, Musa b. Ka’b), the city fell.

As mentioned by Balādhurī, al-Manṣūr in 756/57 to 757/58 ordered al-Ḥassān b. Qaḥṭaba to rebuild Malaṭiya and construct a mosque and city wall, which was done under the direction of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, governor of the Jazīra. Al-Ḥassān camped outside the city for six months with his army while this was done. This time volunteers from Syria and Jazīra assisted in the rebuilding and he settled a garrison of 4,000 soldiers. Ibn Shaddād from Yaʿqūbī states that the city was

divided into seven quarters, one per tribe (such as Sulaym, Qays, etc.), which was also the basis for military organization. The troops were organized into *'irāfas* of ten to fifteen men. Barracks consisted of two rooms on the ground floor and two rooms on an upper floor with an attached stable and land to cultivate food. Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 1262) provides a description of the quarters for troops, the numbers of troops, and their stipends. Khalīfa (640) states that Ja'far b. Hanzala al-Bahranī and 'Abd al-Wahid rebuilt the city and planted seeds and baked lime. Following these activities, there was an expedition in to Byzantine territory. In 837, Emperor Theophilus took Malaṭiya (along with Zibaṭra) and killed men and took women and children, according to Ibn al-'Ibrī, a Christian historian from Malaṭiya. In 866, Malaṭiya and Sumaysāṭ were attacked by the Byzantines, but the Malaṭiyans successfully defended their city. From 818/845 onward there was a continuous line of bishops or metropolitans as well as a number of undatable bishops dating between the seventh and early ninth centuries.

In 925/26, the Byzantine emperor ordered the inhabitants of the *thughūr* to pay him the *kharāj* tax or he would invade. They refused and he attacked the country and destroyed Malaṭiya in 926/27. He took prisoners, pillaged the town and stayed there for twenty-six days before leaving. The citizens of Malaṭiya implored Baghdād for help but received none. In 931, Mleh (Malīḥ) the Armenian marched against the city with an army. The citizens offered peace and gave him the keys to the city. He was ousted by Sa'īd b. Ḥamdān, uncle of Sayf al-Dawla. Malaṭiya was destroyed again in 934 by John Kourkouas with an army of 50,000 during the beginning of the Byzantine

reconquest. The city was taken after a long siege and food embargo. He took the town by treaty on the 19 May 934. Syrian Christians were persuaded to live there after this point. Its circuit walls dismantled and not rebuilt until later in the eleventh century. According to C. Holmes, notables of the city lobbied for their repair to prevent further raids by Turkish nomads and Armenian brigands.[83] Several Jacobite monasteries sprang up around the city including Goubbos on the Euphrates in 957/58 and Tela Qastra to the east of Malaṭiya in 986–991. In the tenth century, Istakhrī states that it was a large town surrounded by hills where grapes, almonds, and other nut trees and crops of both hot and cold regions grew. The city was taken by the Saljūqs under Tughril Beg with 3,000 troops in the winter of 1057. Michael the Syrian gives an account of this invasion, stating that the Turks camped outside the town on a slope of a hill and for ten days slaughtered, tortured, pillaged, and then burned the city and the land around it within a day's march.[84] During the Danishmenid, Saljūq, and Mamlūk periods, the site was a main seat of governorship and then declined. The city was taken in 1257 by the Mongols, though did not destroy it. In the thirteenth century, Yāqūt mentions that Malaṭiya was in Byzantine hands, although the date is uncertain. Mustawfī in the fourteenth century calls it a "fine town with a strong fortress." It had both pasture lands and grew grain, cotton, and fruit. Nearby on a mountain peak (possibly Nemrut Dağ) was a convent called Dayr Barsuma that was sacred to the Christians.

---

[83] Holmes, "Byzantium's Eastern Frontier."

[84] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 154, 158–160.

Remains

The site had a moat and double fortified rectangular wall with polygonal and rectangular towers. The long sides were to the east and west. The entrance was to the south side. Over the west entrance was a Saljūq building from 1247 that was later altered in the fourteenth/fifteenth century. Most of the modern develoment was at the northern end. Sinclair ascertained that the present city walls were probably the sixth century walls and the outer wall of the double wall. He also credited the rectangular city layout to the Romans.[85] The eastern side where the river flowed was an exception to this. To the west and south were a row of "prow" shaped towers and to the east were large rectangular bastions. He supposed these to be eighth/ninth century. The twelfth century construction was of small rough blocks. The wall from southwest to northwest measures 500 m and from southwest to southeast measures 300 m. Sinclair stated that the Great Mosque (number four on his map and dates to 1224, Saljūq) was near the middle but slightly southwest and that the major built up area was to the north and east. The Christian population lived to the north and consisted of Armenian and Syrian Christians. The mosque in the citadel was attributed to the Mamlūk governorship. West of the ancient site are two türbeler and a small graveyard. Work by Italian teams in the 1960s also continues today but focuses mainly on Arslantepe to the south.[86]

Coordinates: 37N 4252799 E 444661

---

[85] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 3.3–12, 15, plates 1–5, map.

[86] Equini, *Malatya II*; S. M. Puglisi and P. Meriggi, *Malatya I: Rapporto preliminare delle campagne 1961 e 1962* (Rome, 1964), tav. 69, 71, 73.

Manbij/Jisr Manbij

Classical Hierapolis; Syriac Mabbogh

Location

The towns of Manbij and Jisr Manbij are actually two separate towns. Manbij was not far from the Euphrates River (1–3 leagues) while Jisr Manbij was a crossing point on the Euphrates.[87] Sources state that the crossing was done via a bridge of boats.

History

Abū al-Fīda' writes that the city was founded by the Persian Khosroes and named Manbik. In the classical period it was called Bambyce. Balādhurī stated that 'Iyad b. al-Ghanm went to subdue villages of the Euphrates including Manbij and its dependents. He gave them similar treaty terms to Ruhā: one *dīnār* and 2 modii of wheat per man. The Ṭayyi' tribe, who migrated to northern Syria, settled at Manbij and at the *ḥāḍir* of Qinnasrīn. Manbij was the eastern anchor of the *al-'awāṣim* apportioned during Rashīd and was the administrative capital alternating with Anṭākiya, although this is unclear. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣaliḥ, an appointee of Rashīd, headquartered at Manbij in 791 as did the caliph al-Qāsim. Yāqūt noted the city was watered by canals and wells and was walled. Many visitors commented on its fine markets. Abū al-Fidā' also notes that the town was surrounded by mulberry trees for cultivating silkworms. Jisr Manbij was identified as the castle Qal'at al-Najm or Ḥiṣn

[87] General Bibliography: Le Strange, *Palestine*, 501–02; Le Strange, *Lands*, 107.

Manbij on the Euphrates bank. However, it had a lower town below the walls of a castle. The castle was rebuilt by Nūr al-Din according to Abū al-Fidā'.

Remains

The Tabqa Dam Euphrates Survey in 1968 did not locate the town of Jisr Manbij and there is confusion between the two sites.

Coordinates: 37N N 4043273 E 406771 (Manbij)

Marʿash

(see Chapter 3)

Classical Marasion/Marazion, Germanikeia (nearby); Modern KM 5, KM 54, or Kahramanmaraş?

Location

Childs wrote that the city lies out of the way and is not on any great road.[88] However Honigmann says it lies at a crossroads including the road north from Anṭākiya, east from 'Ayn Zarba, south from Albistan (Abulustain) and Yarpüz, southeast from Göksun, and west from Ḥadath, Bahasnā, and Sumaysāṭ.[89] While Childs is correct in that a direct route from the Bahçe Pass (Darb al-'Ayn) across the Amanus should cross the Kahramanmaraş Plain to Pazarcık or Antep rather than go up to Kahrahmanmaraş, it might be a similar situation to routes around the Amuq which circumscribed the plain probably due to the frequent inundations of the river and the

[88] Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 388–89, 391–93.

[89] E. Honigmann, "Mar'ash" *EI2* (first part).

permanent marsh systems. Sinclair states that the Roman road would have come from the Euphrates via the Göksu Bridge into the valley (around Narlı/Pazarcık).[90] Haldon and Kennedy further Honigmann's point about Kahramanmaraş serving points north and being an anchor for mountain routes. Yet, there are no readily visible passes beyond the town; that is to say the town does not deliberately guard a pass. Nevertheless, the city was the focus of at least eight routes. The routes into the Taurus were all through steep narrow river valleys and not easy to traverse. Given the nature of these difficult roads, these routes are complicated to distinguish and have been confused with one another and misplaced numerous times.[91] Two were to the northwest to Kokussos (modern Göksun) through the Eyerbel Pass along the Tekir River and the Meryemecil Pass along the Körsolu River.[92] The Eyerbel route was used by the Byzantine emperors Basil in 877 and Romanus in 1086 to invade the town and is the location of the modern road. Two were to the north: the Ceyhan River Pass to Arabissos,[93] and the Kankarun Pass to Elbistan.[94] Two were to the northeast and east: to Ḥadath, Zibaṭra, Malaṭiya and the Euphrates via the Erkenez River and the Gölbaşı

---

[90] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 4.81–83, map.

[91] See Carter, Introduction, for a good discussion, and Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests,* 240–41.

[92] Ibid., 240, mentions another pass in this area, Mazgaçbel which went from Kukusos to Phlabias (Kadirli).

[93] This is also referred to as the Kısık pass that follows the Jayhān River up through the Ağabeyli Valley. Sinclair (*Eastern Turkey*) notes the ruins of the Kısık Köprü, an Ottoman bridge, showing the road paralleled the river gorge and moved back and forth. Childs takes this route which he says is 10 miles west of Kahramanaraş and slower than a more direct upper route through the mountains, (*Across Asia Minor)*.

[94] Ramsay, *The Historical Geography,* 276 mentions the Eyerbel Pass route and the Ceyhan River Gorge Pass route.

Valley and to Bahasnā, Sumaysāṭ, and Ruhā due east, respectively. For this last route, however, there are two main roads listed in the Antonine Itinerary from Geramanicia to Edessa (Ruhā): one via Catabana–Nisus–Tharse–Samosata, and the other via Sicos Basilisses–Dolicha–Zeugma–Benmaris. This last route shows the southeast road out of the plain toward the Euphrates. The connection from Cilicia to the west came from two routes farther (south)west: the Haci Pass via Andırın along the Ceyhan River to Mar‘ash and the Darb al-‘Ayn from Hārūnīyya (Bahçe Pass) to the southern part of the Kahramanmaraş Plain. From Marʿash, Islamic geographers state that it took one day's journey to Hārūnīyya to the west and Ḥadath to the north or northeast. Lastly there was the important and undoubtedly well-traversed north–south route from Anṭākiya and the Amuq Plain to Mar‘ash.

History

Although, Marʿash comes from a Semitic name for a city appearing in Assyrian texts (Markasi, capital of the kingdom of Gurgum), Marʿash has traditionally (and falsely) been identified with the classical Germanicia. Germanicia and Mar‘ash were in the Euphratensis, part of the province of Commagene. Germanicia was founded by Antiochus IV and bore coins of its mint from 38 C.E. That it was a bishopric since the Roman period is suggested by the mention that under Diocletian, St. Thomas, Bishop of Marʿash, was tortured for practicing Christianity (Shephard). In the Byzantine period it was the seat of the episcopacy of Eudoxius and the country of Nestorius. Earthquakes were recorded in 342 and 565.

However, the city is mainly known in the Early Islamic period. The Byzantines, who resisted the Arabs, surrendered the city in 637 and were left unharmed by Khālid b. al-Walīd, although it is noted that he destroyed the city and fort. As an Islamic settlement, it was considered a military fort since Umayyad times and was known for its markets and commercial importance. It was placed in the *thughūr al-jazīra* as it was east of the Amanus and said to be garrisoned by soldiers of the Jazīra, however, most of the soldiers came from Qinnasrīn each year, thus confusing its affiliation with *thughūr al-jazīra*. Muʿāwiya rebuilt the city and settled a garrison of soldiers there but it was abandoned in 683 C.E. Ibn Shaddād mentions that as soon as Yazīd I died in 683, there was a spate of Byzantine invasions. In 695, the Byzantines evacuated the city. In 705 it was rebuilt by ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd I who brought in people to construct a congregational large mosque. The city received yearly troops from Qinnasrīn.

During the ʻAbbāsid revolution, Byzantines took advantage of the internal crisis to attempt and take the city. The Byzantines recaptured it in 745/46 and agreed to a treaty on the condition that the inhabitants of the city leave. After the inhabitants left, the Byzantines destroyed the town. According to Balādhurī and Theophanes, the city was destroyed by Constantine V Copronymos in 746 C.E. Some sources mention that the Byzantines remained there until 770, however, it is also mentioned that in 747, Marwān II (b. Muḥammad) left Ḥimṣ (destroying its city wall) and sent an army under the command of al-Walīd b. Hishām to rebuild Marʿash. It is mentioned that with this army, he regarrisoned it, and erected a castle in the center known as al-Marwanī, although this is interpreted as an inner keep by Wheatley and an addition to

Muʿāwiya's fortification.[95] From 670–739, three Jacobite bishops are known to have resided there. In 754, the Byzantines invaded the town and destroyed it. In accordance with this date, the Byzantine duration at Marʻash is mentioned between 754 and 769 when a garrison was established. Under al-Manṣūr, the city was restored by Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī in 768 C.E and he encouraged people to settle there. In 769, all of the original inhabitants of the city and those in the ʻAmq al-Marʻash were deported to Syria and al-Ramla with suspicion that they were possible spies.[96] In 778, Byzantines crossing from the Darb al-Ḥadath attacked the city with a large force but were defeated by the Muslims led by ʻIsa b. ʻAlī. Jacobite Syrian Christians were captured and deported to Thrace.

Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, the population of the city grew and he built double walls and a ditch, a common pattern in Early Islamic fortifications.[97] The city was know to be, like Ḥadath, in a well-watered region rich in trees and cereal fields with extensive grazing on surrounding valley slopes making the town desirable for departing summer raids, such as those in 806 and 838. In one of these in 841, Abū Saʻīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was driven back and Marʻash was taken. From 818 until the twelfth century, Michael the Syrian lists bishops for Germanicia and Marʻash alternatively, further emphasizing the distinct nature of these two towns. Six scholars are known to have

[95] Wheatley, *The Places*.

[96] Ramsay, *The Historical Geography*, 277. However, Ramsay states that this is mistranslated and should actually mean that this region came away from Byzantine control into that of Palestine and Syria.

[97] Haldon and Kennedy mention that a suburb (*rabaḍ*) was developed called Hārūnīyya at the site of the original fortress of Marwān. Could they be referring to the fort of Hārūnīyya located somewhere one march west of Marʻash towards ʻAyn Zarba and built in 799? ("The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 108).

resided in the city including Ḥudhayfa b. Qatāda al-Marʻashī who died in 822/23 C.E. In 847, an earthquake was recorded. In 877, the Emperor Basil of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1057) in a famous march crossed Taurus via Kokussos to Germanicia, but was unsuccessful in breaching the walls. Many of the suburbs were plundered, however. Around this time, Abū al-ʻAbbās, son of al-Muwaffaq and the future al-Muʻtaḍid, went to Marʻash and other towns nearby to fight the Ṭūlūnid uprising. In 882, reinforcements from Marʻash helped repel Basil I's invasion on Malaṭiya. In 904, the Byzantines led by Andronicus successfully raided Marʻash even though the city had support from Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs. An attack by Mleh the Armenian in 916 succeeded in taking many prisoners.

In 938, the Byzantines took Marʻash, as well as Ḥalab. In 949, the Byzantines led by John Kurkouas managed to penetrate the city and dismantle it until 952, at the eve of the Byzantine reconquest, when Sayf al-Dawla arrived. In 953, Sayf al-Dawla won a victory near Marʻash, and also near Ḥadath killing or taking many Byzantines prisoners. He restored Marʻash in 952–953. Bardas Phocas, father of Nicephorus, attempted to prevent his restoration but was beaten back. Of this encounter, al-Mutanabbī composed a poem. Sayf al-Dawla ultimately failed and the city was taken by the Byzantines led by Nicephorus Phocas in 962 who also took Dulūk and Raʻbān. Under the Byzantines in the mid-tenth century, the city became a theme capital as well as Ḥadath and Sumaysāṭ. In the next century four new bishoprics (mainly Jacobite) were established in the region of Marʻash. The town was raided in 992 by Banjutakin, who took booty and prisoners. In 1097, the city was captured by the Crusaders under

Godfrey de Bouillon and became part of Little Armenia with an Armenian governor, Thathoul. It continued as a bishopric, as shown by Dionysus Bar-Salibihi, bishop of Mar‘ash and Manbij (Mabbog) and later Amid, who died in 1171. Conflicts occurred between the Crusaders, Byzantines (Comnene dynasty, 1057–1261), and the Armenians. In 1104 it became part of the County of Edessa and held the following year by Tancred of Antioch, then Joscelin of Turbessel, then Richard of Salerno. An earthquake in 1114 claimed 40,000 lives of the “very populous” area (according to Matthew of Edessa). The Crusaders fought with the Danishmandids and Saljūqs. Rule passed to Geoffrey the Monk in 1122 and in 1136 it became part of a separate county that also included Kesun and was ruled by Baldwin of Marash and besieged by the Danishmandids the next year.[98]

In 1149, Qilīj Arslān II (of the Rūm Saljūqs) took the town from the Crusaders and fought with the Armenians. Rule passed to Giyath al-Din Kay-Khusraw and in 1152 (or 1155) Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd took it and then gave it to the Armenian Mleh. The town remained in his possession and his sons, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn until Kaykhusraw (b. Qilīj Arslān) took it in 1208. He and his sons, Ibrāhīm and Nusat al-Dīn al-Ḥassān held it for fifty years. In 1258, the town surrendered to the Armenians. There was a large earthquake in 1268. The Mongols soon destroyed the area but were then attacked by Baybars I at Mar‘ash in 1271. The

[98] G. T. Beech, “The Crusader lordship of Marash in Armenian Cilicia, 1104–1149” *Viator* 27 (1996): 35–52.

population estimate in 1550–1600 (based on tax paying citizens) was 13,000–14,000.[99] The city at the turn of the century had roughly 50,000–60,000 people consisting of mainly Armenians and Muslims with a Christian quarter.

Remains

Other remains of note are a bridge, mentioned by Sinclair and in Carter's survey over the Ak Su. The bridge is Roman and was rebuilt in the medieval period and was part of the Anṭākiya - Mar'ash route. It is 8 km southwest of Mar'ash and consists of five–six piers with little Roman masonry but rather field stones in the medieval rebuilding. According to Sinclair, it was used until World War I.

Al-Maṣṣīṣa

Classical Mopsuestia, Mamistra/Malmistra/Manistra, Pahri; Armenian Msis, Mises, Mamestia, Mamuestia; Modern Misis, Yakapınar[100]

Location

Al-Maṣṣīṣa is located on the Jayhān River in the eastern lower Cilician Plain almost due east of Adhana (described as one stage and elsewhere 32 km) and 72 km from Ṭarsūs.[101] It sits on a natural limestone ridge at the edge of the low hills of the Cebelinur (Jebel Nur/Misis Dağ), which extends into the Cilician Plain. Its strategic

[99] S. Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia:Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520–1650*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 303, for general discussion see also Faroqhi, "Mar'ash."

[100] Not to be confused with al-Massīssa which is a village of Damascus near Bayt Liha.

[101] Ramsay mistakenly states it is situated on the Sarus/ Sayhān, *The Historical Geography*, 207, 341, 381, 385f, 451.

advantage was that it guarded the major trade routes from Adhana and Ṭarsūs to Gaziantep and could control entrance into the plain of Issos through the mountain pass in Misis Dağ, and the Darb al-ʻAyn (Bahçe) through the Amanus between Hārūnīyya and Marʻash. It also guarded the entrance into the Cilician Plain from Anṭākiya via the Belen Pass. In addition it functioned as a port as the Jayhān River in antiquity was navigable as far as Kum Kalesi. Cargo vessels could only travel as far as Maṣṣīṣa, however. In the medieval period, trade from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean port of Ayās also traveled trough Maṣṣīṣa. The settlement was comprised of two towns divided by the river: Maṣṣīṣa on the west bank and Kafarbayyā on the east. The modern village of Yakpınar on the west bank and Misis on the east bank occupy the ancient site. The east bank settlement was also recently referred to as Hārūnīyya.

History[102]

Seton-Williams provides information about the earliest occupation from her survey.[103] Beneath the Roman level, she noted a thick later of Iron Age pottery and even further below, a layer of Hittite pottery. The site was associated with the ancient name Zizi or Sizu. The classical city of Mopsuestia was originally a Seleucid foundation known as Seleucia on the Pyramus. It received its Hellenistic cognomen from the Greek seer and alleged founder of the city Mopsus, brother of Amphilochos.

[102] General Bibliography**:** Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 107; Le Strange, *Lands*, 130–31, Le Strange*, Palestine*, 62, 63, 78, 82, 105; E. Honigmann, "Maṣṣīṣa" EI1, 521; Heberdey and Wilhelm, "Reisen in Kilikien," 11–13; K. Otto-Dorn, "Islamische Denkmäler Kilikiens," *Jahurbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 2.2 (1952): 117f.; A. Grohmann, "Die arabischen Inschriften der Keramiken aus Misis," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 15 (1965): 243–63; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 259, 351–359.

[103] Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," 164.

The coins of the city depict the "Hearth of Mopsus" showing the seer and a flaming altar. The city is mentioned in Strabo, Cicero, Appian, and Pliny. The city was also called for a time Decia and Hadriana in the second century C.E. after Hadrian passed through and Antoninopolis in 215. In the Byzantine period the city is known from early church clergy who considered the city as the second most important in the province of Cilicia Pedias and part of the province of Cilicia II. John Chrysostom frequently preached there and the Bishop Theodorus resided there until 428. Justinian I, in 550, convened a synod in the great hall of the city and rebuilt the bridge which was probably originally built by Severus. By the early seventh century, the city was abandoned, unlike Adhana and Ṭarsūs, under Heraclius' withdrawal from the region, and left only with scattered population of Byzantines.

According to Abu Ezzah and Wheatley,[104] during the Early Islamic period, Maṣṣīṣa, partly due to its geographical and strategic location, was the first of the frontier settlements to be colonized during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. This is probably incorrect as Mu'āwiya found the city abandoned and destroyed the fort in 651 and it could be inferred that he established some settlement, temporary or otherwise, at the site. Maṣṣīṣa was retaken by Constantine IV from 684 until 703. Then 'Abdalla b. 'Abd al-Malik and his forces repelled the Byzantines and rebuilt the city under the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik. It was refortified with a circuit wall on the original city wall foundations and a *masjid al-jami'* by 703 by 'Abdalla b. 'Abd al-Malik. The mosque was erected on the summit of a hill where the fort was. The church

[104] Wheatley, *The Places*, 232, 260–1; Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr."

enclosed within the fortified city was transformed into a granary. Furthermore, a permanent garrison was installed. Al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik resettled 4,000 male and female water buffaloes to deal with the menace of lions between Maṣṣīṣa and Anṭākiya. During the caliphate of ʻUmar II (717–720) a second mosque was erected within a new extramural suburban settlement (*rabaḍ*) on the opposite bank of the river named Kafarbayyā. In addition, he built a great cistern with his name inscribed upon it. Sources say that the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II (744–750), established a third quarter east of the Jayhān River named al-Khusūs, and populated it with relocated Persians, Slavs, and Christians. It was surrounded by a wall and ditch and had wooden gate doors. However, there is also mention that Hishām b. ʻAbd al-Malik ordered the construction and fortification of a fort at Khusūs. Al-Azdī also mentioned the construction of a suburb, although this might be the same place. Just before Marwān II's reign in 743, a bridge was built nine miles from Maṣṣīṣa on the route to Adhana called Jisr al-Walīd after Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʻAbd al-Malik. In 747, Constantine V reportedly repeatedly attacked and destroyed Maṣṣīṣa.

Abū al-ʻAbbās, the first of the ʻAbbāsid caliphs, supplied 400 troops to the town. The next major work on the town was under the caliphate of al-Manṣūr in 756/57.[105] He rebuilt the city after an earthquake caused extensive damage in 755. The earthquake apparently left the city in ruins and the surviving population living outside the city walls, which had also crumbled. Balādhurī states that al-Manṣūr rebuilt the city walls and repopulated the city with more than 8,000 settlers from Syria and Persia

[105] Al-Yaʻqūbī states that al-Manṣūr founded the town and al-Ma'mūn founded Kafarbayyā.

in 757, and called the city al-Maʿmūriya.[106] The permanent garrison reached 2,000 soldiers. The *masjid al-jami'* was built over the ancient temple under the direction of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī. It was three times larger than the Mosque of 'Umar II. Following the restorations during al-Manṣūr's reign through until al-Ma'mūn the city became a prosperous and thriving. Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809) built in the suburb of Kafarbayyā and fortified the wall. The houses of this suburb resembled *khāns*. In 804, after another earthquake in 803, the Byzantines raided the entire area. Additional earthquakes were documented around the region in the ninth century. During this time there was a Christian community as attested by an ordained bishop who remained in office from circa 793 to 808. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Maṣṣīṣa was also a center for the iconoclastic Paulicians. Al-Ma'mūn (813–819) further added to the mosque of Manṣūr and during his reign, the newer east bank quarter of the city was filled with khans and known as a commercial center. A submission to abolish taxes on houses by the people of Maṣṣīṣa to al-Ma'mūn is interpreted by Abu Ezzah as demonstrating that the houses of the town functioned as *khans* at this time and that the tax was aimed at private houses because the houses were acting as businesses and probably storing merchandise and engaged in trade.[107] He also ordered the construction of a city wall that was not finished before his death. By the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (833–842), the Mosque of 'Umar II in Kafarbayyā was in ruin and known as *masjid al-ḥiṣn*. During his reign he restored the bridge between Maṣṣīṣa and Adhana erected in 743. Yaʿqūbī notes that the bridge had three arches. In 877, Ibn Ṭūlūn, as governor of the *thughūr*,

[106] This could also refer to a garrison of soldiers. See Le Strange, *Palestine*.
[107] Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr," 229.

passed through the town on his way to confront the people and *amīr* of Ṭarsūs. In 899, al-Muʻtaḍid visited Maṣṣīṣa and other *thughūr* towns in order to personally resolve local power struggles in Ṭarsūs. In 904, the reinforcements from Maṣṣīṣa aided Marʻash against a Byzantine raid.

By 943, the town comprised two towns, Maṣṣīṣa and Kafarbayyā, spanning either side of the Jayhān River and connected by the Roman bridge. It was noted that both settlements were well fortified and built on elevated land and that the *masjid al-jamiʻ* afforded a view to the sea four leagues away. Although which mosque Istakhrī is referring to is unknown it can be assumed to be the western bank that is considerably higher in elevation due to the limestone ridge. This indicates that in the mid-tenth century the western settlement of Maṣṣīṣa was still considered the major urban core. Istakhrī noted that the "people are agreeable, the markets numerous, and the ways excellent." According to Yāqūt, five gates allowed entry through the old city wall and dated to the original settlement while a similar wall in Kafarbayyā had four gates and was apparently quite strong with markets. He also attributes the naming of Maṣṣīṣa to its founder Maṣṣīṣa b. al-Rūm, grandson of Sam (Shem), offering a rewritten Islamicized history of the pre-Islamic city. Idrīsī adds there were extensive gardens and fields. He also mentions that south of Maṣṣīṣa, downstream of the river was a second fortification called Ḥiṣn al-Mulawwan ("the Colored Castle") near the sea, twelve miles away. It should be mentioned that Yāqūt considered Maṣṣīṣa at one point as an *ʻawāṣim* fort, showing the ambiguity of the terms *thughūr* and *ʻawāṣim* for the frontier.

In 961, the cavalry of Maṣṣīṣa aided the people of ‘Ayn Zarba during a Byzantine attack. In 963 C.E., Adhana was attacked and its people fled to Maṣṣīṣa. In 963/64, John Tzimisces, the *domesticus* of the east, raided Maṣṣīṣa attempting to remove the Islamic garrison but failed. He put sixty holes in the walls of the city. Phocas, in the following year, staged a two-month siege but ceased due to insufficient supplies. In 965, a plague struck the town adding to the lack of food and despair of its citizens. The citizens asked for peace, however, Phocas, taking advantage of the weakness of the city, took the city. The city gates were removed after the tenth century Byzantine reconquest. During its subsequent history between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the city — like so many others in the region — changed hands often from Turk to Crusader to Armenian. In Anna Comnena’s time (1109) there were two cities on either side of the river, one of which was destroyed. The Byzantines retook it from the Armenians in 1136-37. In the thirteenth century it was noted as a “goodly town”, with walls flanked by towers, though in poor condition. Wilbrand von Oldenburg noted a ruined turreted circuit wall. At this time the site was in the hands of King Layūn (Leo) of Armenia (by 1225).

Research

Perhaps the first research done on the city was in 1879 when a hand drawn map of the old city on the north/west bank was executed. The map depicts a rectangular city plan following the limestone outcrop with city wall and citadel. At the east end, foundation fragments of the wall were visible. Ainsworth noted that few medieval ruins can be seen at Misis. The castle, to the north, was built of large stones, *spolia*

from classical buildings. It stood on an elevation on the eastern side of river. The post-eighteenth century town was concentrated mainly to west side of river, the other side being Kaffirbina. Seton-Williams in her Cilician Survey recorded Misis as Site 11 in the survey. She noted that the classical city was on both sides of the river, but located mainly on the west bank; she saw architectural fragments from buildings lying all around. She fnoted extensive robbing and systematic illicit excavation often with entire walls removed to a depth of 4–5 m. The Hellenistic/Roman levels were 6 m deep in some areas. Presumably this includes the Islamic levels that she does not discuss. Over one Roman wall she noted a burnt layer. Sinclair in his survey of eastern Turkey does not include Maṣṣīṣa as it is too far west. Edwards did not survey the site due to extensive damage and active plundering in 1973, 1974, or 1981.[108] The bridge of Maṣṣīṣa is the only thing visible today, connecting the old city on the north/west bank to the east bank and Ayas road. The bridge was restored by Justinian in the sixth century, then by the ʻAbbāsids, then the Ottomans. Ainsworth says the nine-arched bridge was ornamented with two *cippi*, one with an inscription in memory of the Sixteenth Legion.[109] One of its arches was destroyed in 1832. Limited survey and excavation around Maṣṣīṣa are being done by G. Salmeri and A. L. d'Agata (Cilicia Survey Project). Though Byzantine and Medieval fortifications were revealed, the survey is focusing on the Hellenistic periods and Hellenization of the area.[110]

---

[108] Edwards, *Fortifications,* plate 167a, 30, 198–200.

[109] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition,* I.119.

[110] Salmeri et al., "Cilicia Survey 2002."

Personal Observations, 8/3/04

The Jayhān cuts deep into the plain at this point, altering the perception of the site on a flat plain, yet, this is still the case. Close to the east is the small north–south mountain range (Cebelinur) that reaches the coast. The two halves of Maṣṣīṣa are evident today by the existence of two villages. The bridge is the same as the original Roman bridge in appearance but evidently greatly reconstructed. The foundations are still visible. The west bank has a 40–50 foot high limestone plateau or several actually. On the side of the slopes are parts of walls using large ashlars and reused columns. These seem to be the few remaining antiquities of the site. Much of the top of the plateau is covered by a winding village which incorporates cut stones from the site into virtually every wall and installation. Additional exploration of the site was not possible. Farther upstream from the river is a stone preserved building extending into the river. Upon closer inspection it seems like a Medieval or Ottoman mill whose ground floor would have been in the river, while the upper floor (still intact) held several large grinding mills. In all likelihood, there was probably a *nuria*-type watermill attached to the structure that extended into the fast moving river. On the east bank there are two flat rises only slightly above the bank. On the lowest one, just north of the bridge are the remains of the western wall of a building of limestone ashlars and a large portal arch in what, at first glance, seemed a very classical looking building. The portal arch is bordered by an acanthus border and a medallion decorated to each side. However, the arch is pointed and not classical. The structure confirms the occurrence of settlement on both sides of the river. The rest of the structure is full of

collapse and several new stores. The site of the Misis Archaeological Museum, south of the site on the west bank, was on a rise with a dense scatter of artifacts, stones, and tiles around the entire building area.

Coordinates: 36N N 4093412 E 733600

Al-Muthaqqab

(see Chapter 4)

Classical Mutlubakke; Modern Mutallip Höyük

Location

Al-Muthaqqab has never been definitely identified. Historical evidence is fairly consistent from source to source, however. The *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* lists Mutlubakke directly after Hierapolis Castabala, placing it somewhere in the Plain of Issos. Balādhurī states that al-Muthaqqab was located in the *thughūr*. Mas'ūdī states that it was a *ḥiṣn* and at the foot or "on the slope" of the Jebel Lukkam. Istakhrī says it is not listed as a *thughūr* site but called a small fortress. Ibn Ḥawqal repeats much of the same information saying it was close to Kanīsa al-Sawdā'. Idrīsī also noted a succession of coastal sites including Bayās (Payas), Tīnāt, Muthaqqab, Maṣṣīṣa River (Jayhān), Adhana River (Sayhān), and Ṭarsūs. He said that Tīnāt was eight miles away. Yāqūt conflictingly states that it was a fortress on the coast close to Maṣṣīṣa but it was named thus because it is located in mountains which were "pierced" with large openings. It was also noted near Kanīsa al-Sawdā'. Ibn Shaddād from Ibn al-'Adīm noted that it was at the northern end of the Gulf of Iskandarūna and was a little fortress on the seacoast.

History[111]

According to Hellenkemper and Hild, the original name of the site was Mutlubakke.[112] Tobin states that it is not a Greek or Latin name but maybe earlier. "Mutlu" is an Anatolian/Luwian stem *muwa* meaning strength or vigor. Al-Muthaqqab meaning "pierced," was an Arabic variation on Mutlubakke. The site is also documented in 431 C.E., when a bishop Valentinos of Mutlubakke from there went to the council at Ephesus. There is disagreement regarding who built the site and when. Istakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal stated that it was built by ʻUmar (II) b. ʻAbd al-ʻAziz (717–720). Balādhurī stated it was built or repaired by ʻAbd al-ʻAziz b. Ḥassān b. Māhawayh al-Anṭākī under orders by Hishām b. ʻAbd al-Malik (724–743). It had a mosque, minbar, and a copy of the Qur'ān written by the hand of the caliph ʿUmar II (also supported by Ibn Ḥawqal). He states that it was inhabited by a noble tribe descended from ʻAbd Shams who had ensconced themselves in the fort out of monastic piety, renouncing material possessions and subsisting on food charity. Balādhurī added a possibly mythic element: that a buried very long human leg was found in a ditch dug at the *ḥiṣn*. During the Middle Islamic period there was a fortress and it was a road station.

Research

Interestingly enough, the site was not mentioned in Seton-Williams' survey of the plain. Edwards, following the geographers' descriptions, guessed that it was possibly

[111] General Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 130; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, 90–9; W.F. Ainsworth, "Notes upon the Comparative Geography of the Cilician and Syrian Gates," *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* 8 (1838): 188.

[112] Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 361–62.

the site of Gökvelioğlu, which sits atop the southernmost spur of Cebelinur Mountains/Misis Dağ near the small village of Güveloğlu at its base.[113] This site is 735 m high and strategically located along the road between Ayas and Maṣṣīṣa, both 15 km from the site. He provides no historical evidence about the fortification and dates the construction to before the mid-ninth century and states that it is Byzantine. The main problem is that the site's placement is in the uplands, and therefore does not follow the coastal placement by the historical geographers. The site was more recently surveyed Özgen and Gates,[114] Hild and Hellenkemper,[115] and Tobin[116] who speculate that the site was probably the coastal mound of Mutallip Höyük, visited originally by Ainsworth. The site is on the coast at the confluence of the Karanlıkkapı and Boğazdere streams, 4 km west of Kücük Burnaz in the fenced compound of the Toros Gubre ve Kimya fertilizer factory. It is a large and prominently tall mound 18–20 m high, ovoid on a north–south axis, and 170 m north–south by 130 m east–west. Its steep profile, graduates gently to the south. Early travelers noted walls ringing the mound and towers and arches. Özgen and Gates documented Late Roman walls found to the west and northwest sides of the mound built of mortar and rubble core with basalt facing, and occasional stringcourses of brick. At the south foot of the mound was a wall of large basalt blocks, possibly the harbor wall. The pottery ranged from the Hellenistic through Medieval period, "including many Islamic period ceramics"

[113] Edwards, *Fortifications,* 132–137 with plan.

[114] Özgen and Gates, "Report on the Bilkent University," 390.

[115] Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 361–62.

[116] Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 16–17.

and a sarcophagus from the second-third century C.E. that was transported to a nearby village of Sarımazı and placed in the courtyard of the main mosque. Earlier pottery was found north of the mound. There is also speculation that it was a port. Tobin[117] records a note from Tomaschek that in medieval European naval charts there was a site on the Iskenderun Gulf called Montecaybo, Caybo Mons, or Monte Gabo which seems to be Arabic in origin and maybe associated with Muthaqqab. The Mopsus Survey in 2004 surveyed the site (Site 15). The fenced site measured 2.5 ha: 70 x 65 m (0.35 ha) at the top and 150 x 110 m (1.3 ha) at the base with a lower shelf to the south 150 x 80 m (1.2 ha). Basalt blocks with cement were visible.

Personal Observations, 07/20/05

I attempted to visit the site and saw it from the gate of the Toros Gubre factory but was not allowed in. The mound is not on the coast but may have been in antiquity. It is quite prominent and high, and not very usual for the pattern of Early Islamic "frontier forts." Andrea de Giorgi and I examined the pottery from the Mopsus Survey. Eight baskets of pottery yielded Roman, Late Roman, Early Islamic, and Middle Islamic ceramics.

Coordinates: 36N N 4090149 E 765645

Qūrus

Classical Cyrrhus; Modern Shaykh Khuruz

[117] Tobin, *Black Cilicia,* 38.

Location

The location of Qūrus is in modern Syria, roughly 70 km north of Ḥalab. The early geographers Chesney and Ainsworth mistakenly associated Kilis and ancient Ciliza with Qūrus. Chesney described the ruins as located sixteen miles northwest by west of Kilis and called Kurus by the locals. Ainsworth described the modern town as large and bustling with a rich fertile plain "backed by precipitous cliffs of crumbling limestone and basalt."[118] Also, he stated it had thirty-two mosques, stone houses, a population of 12,000 consisting of mainly Turcomans, Kurds, Armenians, Syro-Greeks, and some Osmanlis, good markets specializing in leather work and dyed red and yellow cotton and wool. Around the area, many cotton plantations were cultivated and olive trees. It is difficult to assess what town and site Ainsworth is discussing, as it is located somewhere in Turkey. Qūrus lay in the ʻAfrīn valley and was bordered by the Kurd Dağ mountains. It was located on a smaller of two hills, 540 m high, located on the southeastern end of a plateau within and overlooking a valley formed by the ʻAfrin river and a branch of it, the Saboune-Souyou.

History

Cyrrhus was a fairly important city in the classical periods and possessed one of the largest theaters in the region. According to Early Christians, Cyrrhus was founded by Jews from the time of Cyrus. It was in the province of Cyrrhestica and had a Christian episcopate. Indeed, there were many churches and chapels at Cyrrhus. Justinian fortified the city, elevating it to a metropolis with a garrison, building large public

[118] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, 90-–91.

buildings, and an aqueduct. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the city was caught in the middle of both Persian incursions and Arab tribes against the Byzantines. From the sixth century, the city began to dwindle in importance and size.[119]

Balādhurī (and following him Ibn Shaddād) states that Abū al-ʻUbayda distributed his cavalry and subdued all of the province of Qūrus up to Nikabulus (Islahiye) between the Amuq and Kahramanmaraş Plains: "Kurus was for Antioch the seat of a garrison that kept watch on the enemy. To it came every year a detachment [*tah'an*: 1,500–2,000 men who came in spring and returned in winter] from the Antioch army to act as garrison. Later, one of the four divisions into which the army of Antioch was divided was moved to it; and the periodical detachments were no more sent there."[120] Salmān b. Rabiʻā al-Bahilī in the army of Abū ʻUbayda, occupied the fort in Qūrus that was named after him, Ḥiṣn Salman. During the ʻAbbāsid period, it was settled with a population of Slavs and had a Syriac population and a bishopric. Ibn Khurradadhbih listed Qūrus as a fort on the Syrian frontier. Ibn Ḥawqal listed it in the frontier of Qinnasrīn, the *ʻawāṣim*, and the frontier of Anṭākiya. Ibn Shaddād mentions the tomb of the biblical figure Uriyā b. Hannān the Hittite that became a *ziyara* under the name Nabī Urī who is still venerated today. Authors such as Yāqūt mentioned the classical antiquity of the site. It is mentioned as being on a hill overlooking the ʻAmq. A source from Ibn al-Shiḥna via many other sources states that the mosque at Ḥalab built by al-Walīd had materials come from the dismantled Church of Cyrrhus,

[119] E. Frézouls, "Recherches Historiques et Archéologiques sur la Ville de Cyrrhus," *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 4–5 (1954–1955): 89–128.

[120] A.-M. Eddé, "Ḳūrus," *EI2*.

considered of the wonders of the world. In 905, the Byzantines retook the city, burned the mosque, and deported its inhabitants.

Research

The French excavated soundings in the 1950s followed by eight seasons of excavation between 1964 and 1980.[121] The research has tried to elucidate the Roman city and specifically the theater which has been published to the exclusion of the rest of the site. In addition, there are the remains of two second-century Roman bridges (one over the Afrin and one over the Saboune-Souyou) renovated in the Islamic period and in use today, after cement reinforcement. There is also a bridge to the north, although not much remains. Straughn visited Qūrus in June 2003 and documented the site in his dissertation.[122] He noted that there were reused structures whose original ashlar walls were in some cases blocked off. These were evident from excavation areas on the slope leading up to the citadel in the area of the theater, and corroborate the excavations report which states that the lower part of the theater was reoccupied sometime during the Islamic period, "in which there was an economical reutilization of the space by simply incorporating the tumble into the foundations of structures without attempts to resituate them."[123] Straughn pointed out that he could not verify the date or provide a more specific period of occupation as the excavators provided no trench plans and did not publish the Islamic material culture. The citadel was,

[121] Frézouls, "Recherches Historiques."

[122] Straughn, "Materializing Islam," 209.

[123] Ibid., 209; Frézouls, "Recherches Historiques," 126.

unsurprisingly, the best-preserved area with a scatter of mainly Ayyūbid ceramics that were largely absent from the lower town. The Nabī Urī tomb used today for this prophet was described by Straughn as a late Roman pyramidal tomb, dated by an inscription to 1304/4 and similar to those seen in the Syrian Jebels farther west.[124] Straughn posits that the site was: "not a place of significant permanent settlement in the early Islamic period, but rather served as a convenient place to station a small garrison and a site for periodic visits of larger army units ... and while the town itself may not have been as populated in the Islamic period as at its height in late antiquity, it was the most logical focal point for the region."[125]

Coordinates: 37N N 4068531 E 317837

Ra'bān

Classical (Syriac) Rhabaine/Arabena; Modern Araban, Altıntaş

Location

The site is located in the center of the northernmost of two transverse valleys north of Gaziantep. The southern one is the Merzumen Dere Valley with the central village of Yavuzeli. The northern valley's central city is Araban along the Kara Su. Both

[124] A wooden inscription of this tomb is dated to the year 703 A.H. (1303/04 C.E.). This tomb is located near the southwestern necropolis of the town, which was reoccupied during the Middle Islamic period probably at some point after the twelfth century.

[125] Straughn, "Materializing Islam," 209.

rivers are tributaries of the Euphrates. The site was on the east–west road between Sumaysāṭ and Ma‘rash and it was a road junction next to Kaysūm.[126]

History

Ra‘bān was taken by peace treaty by Abū ‘Ubayda during the Islamic conquests. By the early ninth century, it grew considerably. In 812–814 there was a documented rebellion. The city had five walls and was the seat of the Syrian Orthodox bishopric.

Research

Survey work continuing the work of P. Meriggi states that there are traces of a lower city and circuit walls at Ra‘bān (Site 10). Cumont recorded a Kufic inscription at the site.[127] Abu Ezzah did not know of the location of the site when he visited the region but posited correctly that it is north of Dulūk and Ayntab.

Personal Observations, 7/24/05

The town of Araban is backed to the east by a prominent tell of medium size with a flat top. Many buildings were apparent in the section of the eroding tell. The tell may be the largest in both the Kara Su and Merzumen Dere Valleys. Pottery is scarce on top of the mound but all periods are represented. I found no definite Early Islamic pottery, but did find some Raqqa ware of the tenth/eleventh century. A stone, lateral Ottoman mosque sits atop the tells that uses spolia from the earlier buildings. The *mihrab* is flanked by Corinthian capitals. It is likely that the Early Islamic town is

[126] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 4.200.

[127] Cumont, *Études syriennes*, 242, 298.

below the modern city; development hampered a proper investigation. I did not find the traces of the early Islamic town below, but it might be obscured by the modern city. This would have involved serious lengthy village interaction which time did not allow.

Coordinates: 37N N 4142864 E 384111

Sanjah/Bahasnā

Bethesna; Classical Octacuscum/Scasuson; Syriac Bet Hesnā; Crusader Behesdin; Modern Besni[128]

Location

The site is a poorly preserved medieval castle lying in a col between two valleys and two ravines running west to east. The site is on a small table of rock. The lower town is in between the ravines and was unfortified. The Sanjah (classical Singas) River runs by the site. Modern Besni is 2 km north of the old town. From the Gölbaşı-Adıyaman road, travel 11 km towards Adıyaman and then make a right at the sign and continue for another 14 km.

History[129]

Sanjah is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawqal as part of the *ʻawāṣim* along with Sumaysāṭ and Bālis. It is mentioned again in *Hudud al-ʻAlam* (982–83) as part of the *thughur*. It was known that embroideries of Bahasnā, as well as at Dābiq, were in high regard at

[128] Not to be confused with Bahnasā (ancient Oxyrhynchus) in Egypt.

[129] General Bibliography: Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches,* I.265*;* Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 120–21, 458*;* Le Strange, *Lands*, 123; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 4.79.

Baghdād. Sanjah known for its beautiful celebrated bridge, the Qantarah Sanjah, built in a single arch of large well-dressed ashlar blocks and is considered one of the four wonders of the world along with the Church at Edessa, the lighthouse at Pharos, and the great mosque of Dimashq. Muqaddasī confuses this with the Vespasian bridge in the Nemrut Dağ area. Bahasnā appears only in the tenth century, where it is presumed that it replaced Ḥadath. Yāqūt mentioned Bahasnā in the thirteenth century but it did not appear on his list of *thughūr* or *'awāṣim* sites. In the fourteenth century, Abū al-Fidā' mentioned Bahasnā as part of the *thughūr*. The site lay west of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr and was an impregnable fortification situated on a hilltop with a Friday Mosque and markets in the lower town below surrounded by fertile lands. The castle is listed as a northern fortification occupied by the Mamlūks. Timur sacked it in 1401 C.E.

Research

At the site are the remains of a medieval citadel and a lower town, studied by Sinclair. The citadel is Mamlūk and perhaps earlier and consists of a double wall except on the north side which has a natural very steep embankment. One tower is Ayyūbid/Mamlūk and is rectangular with three stories and loopholes. Above the middle story is an inscription with embossed stones. The curtain wall left of the tower is of inferior construction (and perhaps earlier). The old town has various mosques, Mamlūk and later. A recent Turkish publication has come out detailing new research at the site.[130]

[130] T. H. Zeyrek et al., *Besni: Parala-Octacuscum-Bahasna: Anadolu'nun güneydogusunda antik bir kent ve yakin çevresinin arkeolojik açidan genel degerlendirmesi* (Istanbul: T.C. Besni Belediye Baskanlığı, 2006).

Personal Observations, 9/26/04

The site is located in hilly terrain between Ḥadath and Adıyaman and a little south towards Gaziantep. There is a stream nearby, as well as an Ottoman mosque and bathhouse. To the east of the medieval castle there is a flat area at the base of the hill. There were some scattered rubblestones but no substantial masonry or large pottery scatters. I did not do an intensive survey of the region below and did not definitely find any Early Islamic evidence in a lower city. The site is one of the only *thughūr* sites not located in a plain. Interestingly, neither Sanjah nor Bahasnā appeared among the lists of Early Islamic *thughūr* but only appeared in the mid-tenth century, judging from sources. It is likely that they were both proximal or the same site or different names for the earlier lower town (Sanjah) and later castle (Bahasnā). Although bearing different names, the towns and lower town/upland castle may have been a settlement that shifted into an upland fortification in the thirteenth century.

Shimshāṭ

Classical Arsamosata; Modern Haraba

Location

Today the site of Shimshāṭ lies underneath the Keban Dam Lake between the Malatya and Palu Plains. It was flooded in 1974. The site was located on the Arsana River (Nahr Arsanas or present Murat Su) between the Nahr al-Dhib (Wolf River/Gunek Su) and Salqit River (Peri Çayı). The river flowed through the city from the south and curved around the citadel's southeast side and turned northeast. The site was located between Pālūya (Palu) and Ḥiṣn Ziyād. Sinclair states at the time of his

visit, that citadel was one km further jutting northeast into the lake while the rest of the settlement lay to the southeast as a rectilinear town, but submerged at the time of his visit.[131] The other villages that may have been part of the original site are visible to the south.

History

The site was founded in the late third century B.C.E. and was the only city in the Kingdom of Sophene. According to Balādhurī and Theopanes, Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAli rebuilt Shimshāṭ along with Marʻash around 768 C.E. In the thirteenth century, Yāqūt writes that it was in ruins.

Research

The site of Haraba was excavated in 1969, 1970, and 1973 as part of the Keban Dam Project with six trenches mostly on the southeast side of the hill following the walls.[132] The castle was determined to be Hellenistic, while the lower town was found, enclosed with a city wall, and posited by the excavators as medieval and possibly Saljūq. The city wall had a semi-circular tower and a city gate facing the Murat River. The arrangement of upland Hellenistic site and lowland Middle Islamic site seems curiously inverted. Sinclair writes that by the twelfth/thirteenth centuries it split up into seven villages which all bore the name Arşimşat, one of which was Haraba, implying the location of the ruins. The twelfth/thirteenth century lower city, as well as

[131] General Bibliography: Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 112, 114 map, plates 45–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 116–7.

[132] Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, *Keban Project Publications* (Ankara, 1970–1982), 1969, 39–46, plate 7, 35, 38.1, 38.2; 1970, 75–8; 1973, 25–31.

the castle, remains poorly understood. There is no mention of Early Islamic architecture or pottery.

Sīs (Sīsīya)

Ancient Sizia; Classical Pindenissus, Flaviopolis, Sision; Modern Kozan

Location

The castle of Sis is perched on a high craggy outcrop at the northern edge of the Cilician Plain at the foot of a long range of the Taurus. It is strategically situated at the entrance to the Cilician Plain to the south and a Taurus Mountain pass to Feke and Kayseri to the north and commands a high position. It is watered by tributary of the Jayhān, the Kara Buna Çay that flows through a gap in the Taurus into the plain. Ramsay comments that it was the first station from Anazarbos on the road north to Kokussos. Ainsworth interestingly states that:

> The selection of the place in succession to Anazarba attested much forethought and prudence. The cities of the plain — Tarsus, Adana, and Missis — were all open to invasion by an army moving along the high road of the Gates before described. Anazarba, removed from this highway, was still a rock on an open plain. The rock upon which the castle of Sis stood was, on the contrary, in a defile which presented many difficulties to the approach of the many enemies of the early Christians.[133]

In the early twentieth century it was a small village of two hundred houses including Turkomans and Armenians.

[133] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, 169.

History[134]

Cicero attributes it as the site of Pindenissus that was eventually shortened to Sis, an abbreviation of Issos. Later it was renamed as Flavias or Flaviopolis. It appears on the Antonine Itinerary as Flaviada, a site eighteen Roman miles from Anazarbos. Sis was first seiged by Islamic forces in 704 but repelled by a sudden advance of Heraclius. Its inhabitants left the town toward the "Greek mountains" in either 711–12/712–13 (according to al-Balādhurī, Ibn Shaddād, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, and Yāqūt) or 808–09/809–10 (Balādhurī after al-Wāqidī). Afterwards, the town fell into ruin, but was then restored by al-Mutawakkil under the direction of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī (d. 863–64), who commanded the *thughūr* troops from 851/52 to 862/63, and then commanded troops in Armenia and Adharbayjān. Fāris b. Bughā al-Ṣaghīr gave money to restore it due to a vow he had made. This was under the reign of al-Muʿtamid in 873–74 and the restoration was undertaken by the eunuch Makīn. As such, Sīs was considered a ninth century stronghold, captured by the ʿAbāssids who enlarged it and refortified it. Phocas recaptured it during the Byzantine reconquest. In 1114, the Marʿash earthquake damaged the city. The Armenians made it the capital of Armenian Cilicia and Leo I rebuilt it in 1186. It was a capital and residence of Little Armenia princes from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

[134] General Bibliography: Le Strange, *Palestine*, 538; V. F. Büchner, "Sīs," *EI1*; Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie*, 280; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 413-6.

Research

Schlumberger comments that the site is arranged like an amphitheatre on the western slopes and at the base of the mountain, rocky and isolated. There are ruins on the mountaintop of massive fortifications including walls and towers and the area of the Armenian castle is delineated. Ainsworth recorded the castle in detail.[135] It was built in three parts and each one "on a different peak of rock" similar to the 'Ayn Zarba castle. He also mentioned "bastions, castellated buildings, a keep or dungeon, a chapel, cisterns, and a grotto." In addition, are the remains of a church and large monastery dedicated to the Virgin and smaller buildings on lower terraces.

Personal Observations: 07/20/04

The Flaviopolis/Sīs Late Roman/Early Islamic settlement would have also been a key market town for the pass traffic. The precise location of the lower town (and classical and Early Islamic settlements) is unknown. They are most likely covered by the large town of Kozan, however extensive modern development made it difficult to search for them. A river flows through the town. The castle is quite precarious and well defended with strong walls, not a town. It provides a view of the Cilician Plain to the south, as well. At the base of the outcrop are some other buildings probably related to the Armenian castle.

Coordinates: 36N N 4148511 E 748786

Sumaysāṭ

Classical Samosata; Modern Samsat

[135] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, I.167.

Location

Sumaysāṭ was in the vilayet of Adıyaman and adjacent to the village of Kilisyan Köy. Today it is entirely under the waters of the Atatürk Barajı. From Adıyaman, it was 39 km and from Urfa via Bozova it was 38 km. The mound of Samsat was bow shaped. The top of the tell was fairly flat and level, save the central east side which had a large eroded deep indentation. The steep sloped edges exhibited building walls some of which were exposed and eroded. The mound was 250 m long north–south, and 150 m east–west. It was also quite tall and steeply sloped, rising 60 m above the great gorges on the west bank of the Euphrates River at 500 m a.s.l. It also lay between the mouths of the Kahta Çay (classical Nymphaios) to the northeast and Göksu (classical Singa) tributaries to the southwest where they emptied into the Euphrates. Before the existence of the lake it would have been in a very deep river valley of the Euphrates surrounded by higher plateaus of the hills mainly to the west of the site. There were also two natural springs to the northeast from the limestone outcrops. The site was the largest in the deep Karababa Basin.

Sumaysāṭ was not located directly on the frontier and did not guard a Taurus pass. Its importance was that it was a crossing point on the Euphrates and controlled the trade routes. Like Zeugma, it was a river station on the route east. Sumaysāṭ was, in fact, the northernmost point at which the Euphrates was navigable. As such it was the "zeugma of Commagena" and listed on the Antonine Itinerary and Theodosian Tables with several roads leading to it. It also would have controlled the passage between north Syria (from Ruhā) and Anatolia (from Malaṭiya). The Ruhā road went over

volcanic ridges, cones, and deep valleys and took one day. It connected into Syria through Ḥarrān or into Iraq through Nusaybin. Ramsay states that the Malaṭiya road to Sumaysāṭ went from Malaṭiya/Melitene through Maisena, Lakotena (Viran Şehir/Surghy), and Perre (Adıyaman), before reaching the site.[136] All in all it was a crossroads for four crossings of trade/military routes over the Taurus, Anti-Taurus, Amanus, and Caucasus Mountains. There was no bridge, but Goell suggests that passage over the river was done via ferry or pontoon bridge supported by inflated animal skins. An L-shaped bridge over the Göksu Bridge, now in ruins, was nearby. The modern town, visited by Ainsworth, had 400 houses with a mixed population of Armenians, Kurds, Turcomans, and some Ottoman officials. He states that: "Samosata lies in a beautiful open valley of the Euphrates, has a delightful climate and a fertile soil, with abundance of water and therefore with unlimited resources for a civilized people under a good government."[137]

History[138]

L. Wheatley-Irving wrote that Sumaysāṭ was the only site in the Karababa Basin with pre-Crusader references appearing in Syriac, Greek, and Arabic sources.[139] Samosata was initially the capital of Commagene and founded by Antiochus I on the Euphrates. The well-known Roman satirist and rhetorician Lucian was born in

---

[136] Ramsay, *The Historical Geography,* 280.

[137] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition,* I.195; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches,* I.271, 284–85.

[138] Hellenkemper, *Burgen,* 74-77; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 127**;** Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie*, 265–66.

[139] Wheatley-Irving, "Samosata and its Environs."

Samosata in the early second century. In 616, Heraclius crossed the Euphrates and passed by Samosata on his way to Germanicia. Athenasius "Gamala," the Patriarch of Antioch in the late sixth/seventh century, was from Samosata. Upon ascending to the patriarchate he appointed Severus his brother as bishop of Samosata. Samosata also had a large Syriac Monophysite population with bishops from 595–641. The site is mentioned in Procopius, Theophylact Simocatta, and Theophanes Confessor.

In the Early Islamic period, Le Strange mentions that it was part of the Diyar Mudar and in the Jazīra.[140] However it was also a major city of the *thughūr* located on the right/north bank of the Euphrates. ʻIyād b. al-Ghanm, under ʻUmar I, sent Safwān b. al-Muʻaṭṭal and Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī to Sumaysāṭ. Balādhurī writes that they destroyed many of the villages and forts around the city before the people of the Sumaysāṭ surrendered on similar terms to the conquest of Ruhā, as well as those at Raqqa and Ḥarrān. Those terms dictated that each man must pay one *dīnār* and two modii of wheat in tribute tax. Ibn Shaddād from Ibn al-ʻAdīm adds that the citizens had to offer their assistance as guides to lost travelers, repair roads and bridges and to counsel the Muslims. However, after the Islamic armies left the city to go to the Sarūj, the Sumaysāṭ citizens rebelled, causing ʻIyad to return and subdue the city. In the Early Islamic period, the Bāhilī and Khuzāʻa tribes settled the region around Sumaysāṭ and Malaṭiya. In 769, Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAlī deported the entire indigenous Greek and Armenian population of Sumaysāṭ to Palestine because under the suspicion that they were spies. Although the city was not in a specific mountain pass, it was attacked by the

[140] Le Strange, *Lands*, 108; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 39, 78, 539.

Byzantines at least ten times and it was the site of inter-Islamic conflict on two occasions.

In the transition to the ‘Abbāsid period, Sumaysāṭ was a center for the ‘Abbāsid movement under Abū Ja‘far and ‘Abdalla b. ‘Alī who were competing with Marwān II. Isḥāq b. Muslim, a loyalist of Marwān II who had allied in Anṭākiya beseiged Sumaysāṭ in 750. During the reign of al-Hadī, ‘Alī b. Sulaymān transferred 2,000 men to Ḥadath from Sumaysāṭ. In 813, the defensive walls were repaired. In 866, the Byzantines again attacked Sumaysāṭ. Abū al-‘Abbās, son of al-Muwaffaq, and the future al-Mu‘taḍid briefly stayed in Sumaysāṭ and then crossed the Euphrates there on his way to fight the Ṭūlūnids. In 927, the Byzantines took Sumaysāṭ. This may have been the first time the city actually fell and was occupied by the Byzantines, attributing much to its defense in relation to the other *thughūr* towns. The Byzantines killed inhabitants, took prisoners and took arms and money. In addition they rang their “clock” (*nāqūs*) in the congregational mosque at the time of prayer. The Islamic troops regained the city and chased out the Byzantines. The Byzantines took the city again in 934 under John Korkouas. Mas‘ūdī in 943 wrote that the *qal‘a* of Sumaysāṭ was also called the Qal‘a al-Ṭīn (“Castle of Clay”), suggesting that perhaps the fort’s superstructure was built of mudbrick. Ibn Ḥawqal and Istakhrī in 951 wrote that it was a small city built on the Euphrates with irrigated and rain-fed lands. It also had a fortress and obtained its drinking water from the river, suggesting that the aqueduct may have ceased to work. In 958, the Byzantines took the city again and defeated Sayf

al-Dawla as part of the reconquest. Muqaddasī in 985 mentions that Sumaysāṭ was part of the Qinnasrīn district.

Sumaysāṭ had a continuous line of bishops from 737 to the twelfth century and also known as one of the centers of the Paulician movement. It had twenty-one bishops and metropolitans from 595–936, two of whom served twice. However, from the sixth century, Sumaysāṭ was secondary to Manbij. This changed in the late eighth/early ninth century, when the seat of Sumaysāṭ attained metropolitan status. In the very late eighth century, the Bishop Severus had a conflict with the visiting patriarch. According to Wheatley-Irving, this instance indicated that the site: 1) could have patriarchal visits on caliphal authority; 2) had a governor; and 3) had villages.[141] Other chronicles mention an amir of Sumaysāṭ. Ṭabarī mentions a famous ghazi warrior Abū al-Agharr who was *saḥib* or master of Sumaysāṭ. After the Byzantine reconquest, five new bishoprics were established around Sumaysāṭ.

Sumaysāṭ was occupied by Timur-Taş (Timurtāsh), the Artūqid prince of Mardin in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries who conquered it from the Byzantines. It remained in Artūqid hands until Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Kūghak (Kücük), ruler of Ḥarrān (d. 1232-33) took it. Afterwards, the city was given back and forth as *iqṭāʿ* to several rulers including Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn. Yāqūt in the thirteenth century says that it had a castle and Armenian quarter. Abū al-Fidā' writes that it was on the border with Syria west of Qalʿa al-Rūm and north of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr but not far from either. This is backwards, which is surprising for Abū al-Fidā' whose directions are often correct.

[141] Wheatley-Irving, "Samosata and its Environs."

The site is north northeast of Qal‘a al-Rūm and southeast of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. The city declined after the 1260s with the Mongol invasions.

Research

Sumaysāṭ is one of the first *thughūr* sites that received archaeological attention. In 1964, an initial sounding was conducted. Between July and September 1967, T. Goell conducted a larger salvage excavation in response to the construction of the Halfeti Dam to the southwest. Goell dug a long trench east to west across the width of the mound, just south of the halfway line. It began on the western summit (higher by 10 m) and joined the east sounding dug in 1964. The foundation walls and rooms of the west side were stepped down towards the east and the river. Within the trench, she discovered six levels of mound occupation starting with an Assyrian enclosure. The last three levels are of importance here and included: Level IV (Late Roman), Level V (Early Islamic), and Level VI (Middle Islamic). Suprisingly, Goell's excavations were unusual in that they did not rip out the upper Islamic layers of the site: "Consequently, when we began to dig our trial trench in 1964 and uncovered immediately below the plateau surface a rich and varied yield of ceramic fragments and artifacts representing the Islamic-medival period, we welcomed this opportunity to augment and record so much new information concerning its daily life."[142] In the east end of the trench, in the top layer (Layer VI), was a twelfth–thirteenth century C.E. governor's palace. A 4 m deep sounding of 12.5 x 10.0 m revealed a "typical Middle East courtyard plan" with a paved courtyard and rooms one–two deep on the north, east, and south sides and stairs

[142] Goell, "Samosata Archaeological Excavations," 83–109.

to a flat roof. This was surmised by the indication of wooden beams that were probably surfaced with stone rolled clay; a technique used until modern times. Goell noted, however, that there were no ashes that might have suggested a destruction of the building by fire. The construction was of mudbrick atop rubble foundation walls of reused stone from the Roman/Byzantine/and Early Islamic periods. Some stones had Arabic inscriptions, columns, capitals, and Roman style relief. The stones were mortared and leveled with pebble and mud. The rooms had dressed limestone thresholds and stone pavements and were used as work and storage rooms and some had storage bins while one had an oven. A washroom with pits and drainage canals under the rooms and a bathroom suggested a well-conceived sanitary system. In one courtyard was a deep stone lined cesspit. The material culture corroborated these functions and was primarily domestic including cooking wares, scythes, saws, nails, bolts, hinges, doorstops, hooks, iron arrows, scale armor, iron sheeting, and horseshoes. The latter combined with the presence of stone mangers suggest stables. The military equipment may allude to the Mongol invasion and subsequent defenses in the thirteenth century.[143] The pottery was initially dated to the twelfth/thirteenth century and not beyond leading the excavators to posit that following the Mongol invasion, the site was abandoned.

In the western trench was material culture indicating kitchens including ovens, hearths, and large twelfth/thirteenth century mortaria. The pottery included luster wares, turquoise glazed (Raqqa) underglazed painted vessels, glazed molded and

[143] Ibid.

carved relief decorated vessels. There was also polychrome sgraffiato and Byzantine and Persian wares. A green celadon glazed jar with a bronze luster overglaze painted pattern was thought to be of local manufacture and perhaps Raqqan. The cooking wares had glossy (burnished) red slips and were incised with high necks and often one vertical handle and a flat base. These were found *in situ* on the floors, and many in Room 24. The ware was a coarse sandy "apricot" and some vessels had painted vertical wavy or branch patterns in red or black. Glass was of the inscribed "Syrian" types of the fourteenth century and enamel decorated. The ceramics, bones, and small finds were stored in the Archaeology Museum in Gaziantep and the metal was brought to the Archaeology Museum in Ankara. R. Pinder-Wilson, deputy keeper of the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum made the preliminary identification of the Islamic finds. A collection of pottery is located at the Harvard Semitic Museum and was studied by Redford (1995) who published the Islamic wares from Goell's drawings, notes, and catalogues.[144] He concluded that the site, like nearby Gritille, was abandoned before the end of the thirteenth century C.E. and associated with the Artūqid refortication of the site.

Beneath the palace at the east end was Early Islamic and Late Roman pottery from a paved floor and stairway comprising Level V. The Early Islamic pottery consisted of small and large jars of ninth–tenth century molded buffware, colorsplash wares and seventh–ninth century "Umayyad mottle glaze sherds" of large plate forms. In this collection was mineral pitch or "Greek fire." Mellink discusses a lower level with a

[144] S. Redford, "Medieval Ceramics from Samsat, Turkey,".*Archeologie Islamique* 5 (1995): 55–80; S. Redford, "Ayyubid Glass from Samsat, Turkey," *Journal of Glass Studies* 36 (1994): 81–91.

room filled with highly decorated glass fragments.[145] Within the room was a pit filled with seventh–eighth century painted wares. Sinclair originally perceived a gap between the ʻAbbāsid pottery and the Byzantine pottery and hypothesized a period of abandonment and regrowth.[146] However seventh–eighth century pottery shows a continuity matched by the historical sources. Level IV was confined to the east end of the strip, near the east edge, and interestingly, was unwalled until twelfth century. It consisted of a paved floor of cut stone and a limestone ashlar stairway. Many rooftiles and mineral pitch in masses were also found. The dating was to the Late Roman period.

Excavation since 1978 by University of Ankara was renewed at Sumaysāṭ due to potential dam construction. Sumaysāṭ was deemed the largest of the threatened Euphrates sites. In 1983, N. Özgüç headed a large team that excavated the mound below the Medieval, Roman, Hellenistic levels to reach the Parthian (Commagenian) palace remains in area T51/14.[147] They first encountered a Late Roman basilica built over the central court, as well as, a bathhouse to the east of the palace. The bath had a caldarium with tubulae and a praefurnum. Goell also discovered parts of the Late Hellenistic/Roman city wall on the southeast edge of the mound. The wall was a

---

[145] M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor: Addenda" *American Journal of Archaeology* 70 (1966): 280; M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor" *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984): 448.

[146] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 4.144–48, map.

[147] N. Özgüç, "Samsat 1984 yılı kazıları" *KST* (1985): 221–27; see also G. Öney, "Thoughts on Glass Beaker Fragments Found during the Samsat (Samosata) Excavations in Adiyaman," in *Aspects of Art and Iconography, Anatolia, and Its Neighbors: Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, edited by M. J. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Özgüc, 461–66 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1993); L. Bulut, "Samsat Ortaçağ Sgrafitto ve Champlevé Seramikleri" in *Prof. Şerare Yetkin Anısına Çini Yazıları*, edited by Y. Demiriz, 31–46 (Istanbul, 1996); G. Öney, "Yili Samsat Kazilarinda," 71–80.

casement style (double) constructed in the *opus reticulatum* style and robbed out. To the southeast was also the Ruhā gate facing the Euphrates River crossing. A moat at the west base of the mound was conjectured. Sinclair writes of the extant walls having a northeast–southwest orientation and the Roman walls being 5.5 km long. A newer city wall was built in the Islamic period. Sinclair, attempting to attach it to a historical event relates it to the mid-tenth century Ḥamdānid occupation or mid-tweflth century Artuqid occupation. This wall was built on the Roman wall. An inscription in a tower bearing the name of an Artūqid ruler is convincing of the latter date. To the north outside the site was the cemetery toward Kilisyan consisting of rock cut tombs. Remains of an aqueduct can be seen on the river's west bank although, as suggested by the documentary evidence of Istakhrī, was no longer working by the tenth century. Ainsworth says the aqueduct could be traced for ten miles to the Claudius River (Kahta Su) and it was this river that supplied the town's water rather than the Euphrates.

Personal Obvservations, 9/26/05

Sumaysāṭ today is, of course, under water. I drove nearby where the site used to be near the modern village. To get to where the site was, follow the road to Samsat and make a left at the fork. Then one goes past the mosque to the end of the road and turns right, drives through the city to the village of Yarımbağ. Then one turns left on a gravel road down to the lake down to a picnic site. A restaurant near the lake past Adıyaman has a private museum collection of materials from the site. In addition, the

Adıyaman Museum has Early Islamic ceramics from the excavations including ʻAbbāsid lusterwares and molded buffwares.

Tall Jubayr

Location

The site of Tall Jubayr has never been definitively located but historical sources mention that it was 20 km from Ṭarsūs.[148]

History

The site was probably an outpost (*maslaḥa*) of Ṭarsūs. It was named after a Persian of Anṭākiya who fought there.

Ṭaranda

Classical Taranta; Syriac Turanda; Armenian Daranda; Modern Darende

Location

Ṭaranda, on the upper Qubāqib River, is three marches from Malaṭiya. The Roman road came through the Taurus most likely from Cappadocia and Kayseri through Elbistan/Arabissos and went through the site to Malaṭiya. The site's status was due to its strategic location guarding a mountain pass and important trade route.

[148] Le Strange, *Palestine,* 54.

History[149]

Ṭaranda was considered a *maslaḥa* (outpost) of Malaṭiya. A garrison of about 2,000 Islamic troops was established there in 702 after Malaṭiya during the summer raids. It was soon abandoned in 719 by orders of ‘Umar II.[150] The population was relocated to Malaṭiya. The citizens were told to leave nothing to the Byzantines. In 872 C.E. it was considered one of the strongest of the fortresses of the Paulicians and known as al-Baylaqānī.

Research

Little has been done at the site. On the site was a castle on a 550 x 130 m natural limestone platform 100 m above the river with hewn cisterns. When the castle fell out of use, it was replaced by about forty houses.

Personal Observations, 8/19/05

Ṭaranda is just west of the modern Darende. One reaches it by driving off the Gölbaşı-Malatya road about an hour to the west. The landscape is quite startlingly different from the low hills and plains of the rest of the *thughūr*. Here it is mountainous, as these are the southern foothills of the Taurus and close to Cappadocia. The site is, however, is in a valley along a strong flowing river. Past the town toward the Sonunucu Baba pilgrimage site one begins to see traces of the ancient settlement. There are several square Syrian minarets probably dating to the

---

[149] General Bibliography: Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 2.503–04 and 4.364 addenda; Wheatley, *The Places*, 407, n. 48; Ramsay, *The Historical Geography,* 273; Le Strange, *Lands*, 120.

[150] Abu Ezzah agrees, although similar evacuation in Cilicia he thinks is exaggerated (“The Syrian Thughūr,” 70).

thirteenth/fourteenth centuries. There is also an Ottoman market, well preserved. The pilgrimage site has several other points of interest including a small fortification called Zengibar Castle. On the other side of the river the foothills rise sharply. They are of a strange karst limestone deeply weathered and smoothed resembling Cappadocian terrain. There is also a limestone platform above the river. I would assume that the ancient site is in the vicinity of the "minarets without mosques," also called Eskişehir. A detailed survey through the entire area, which is covered in houses and a new upscale and large hotel, was not done.

Coordinates: 37N N 4270288 E 368271

Ṭarsūs

Biblical Ibsus/Tarshish; Egyptian Toursis; Seleucid Antioch on the Cydnus; Classical Tarsus/Arsus; Modern Tarsus

Location

Ṭarsūs is located in the center of the western portion of the Cilician Plain. It is watered by the Tersus Çay (classical Cydnus, Islamic Nahr al-Baradān or al-Ghadbān) that originates in the Taurus Mountains north of Ṭarsūs and flows down near the later mouth of the Sayhān River. During Ainsworth's time at the turn of the twentieth century, Ṭarsūs was surrounded by forest and swamp and Barker noted a stagnant lake around Ṭarsūs.[151] This is presumably the Rhegma lacus mentioned by Strabo and Stephen Byzantium. Ṭarsūs functioned also as a river port via Mersin (sixteen miles

[151] Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition,* I.139.

south on the coast) [152] and had a naval arsenal. Childs recorded a population of 20,000. The city had cotton mills and small shops and there was active looting of the older buildings for their stone "on account of the flooding of the Cydnus and colluviums."[153] The hot lowland nearly sub tropical climate allowed many fruit orchards including citrus turunç, vineyards, corn, sugar, and tobacco.

History[154]

Ṭarsūs has been a settlement since the late Neolithic, although for the classical periods the founding of Ṭarsūs is mythic and multivariate. Strabo notes that Triptolemus and the men of the Argos who were on the search for Io, founded the city. Lucan says Perseus was the founder, while Dio Chrysostom says it was either Perseus or Heracles and Marcellinus says it was either Perseus or Sandan. It was known as the birthplace of St. Paul (or Saul). The Persians took over the city in 547 B.C.E., as recorded by Xenophon during Alexander's invasion. In the Seleucid period it was known as Antioch on Cydnus. In the Early Roman period (ca. 79 C.E.), Ṭarsūs was the capital of Cilicia under the new province system. It went through several temporary name changes. In 194 C.E., it was named Severiana (after Severus) and then Antoninopolis in 215. According to the Edict of Diocletian, Ṭarsūs was known for its

---

[152] Ibn Shaddād mistakenly states that the Byzantine name of the city was called Marsīn which was changed to Ṭarsūs when it was taken by the Muslims. The two are separate towns. The anonymous *Kitāb al-aḥār* mentions that the distance from Ṭarsūs to the sea was 24 km.

[153] Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 331

[154] General Bibliography**:** Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 1.67, 95, 96 and 4.199, 339 (no description in Sinclair, too far west to be included)**;** Tobin, *Black Cilicia*; Wheatley, *The Places,* 120, 261–63; Edwards, *Fortifications,* 30; Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 108; Le Strange, *Lands,* 132; C.E. Bosworth, "Ṭarsūs," *EI2*; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 428-439.

linen. The Emperor Julian was supposedly buried in Ṭarsūs in 363. In the fifth century it remained the capital of the redefined province of western Cilicia (Cilicia I). In the sixth century, after a flooding of the Cydnus River, Justinian built two bridges in the vicinity of Adhana and Maṣṣīṣa.

Mu'āwiya conquered the city in 651/52, presumably leaving a population of Arabs.[155] Ṭarsūs had a metropolitan seat for a bishop in 668. Strangely, despite the mention of activity at Ṭarsūs from over a century earlier, Islamic geographers write that Ṭarsūs was not mentioned as a *thaghr* until the caliphate of al-Mahdi. In 779, al-Ḥassān b. Qaḥṭaba, the son of the commander of the Khurāsānī troops and a general, came to a supposedly deserted site and established a settlement with a Khurāsānī legion of three notable sons, eunuchs, horsemen, envoys, 4,000 camels bearing flour. He came from Byzantine territory and camped on the plain of Ṭarsūs. He relayed to al-Mahdī that the city was in ruin and suggested rebuilding, estimating that the population capacity of the town was 100,000. It was actually neither garrisoned nor refortified until the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 786/87 or 787/88 when he brought in 4,000–5,000 soldiers.[156] They were apparently all captured by the Byzantines in 804/05 and not released until the next year. Responding to a Byzantine threat in 806/07, al-Rashīd sent his Khurāsānī general Harthama b. 'Ayan on a summer campaign to secure it and refortify the city, populating it, making it a *madīna* with a congregational mosque, and giving its inhabitants plots of land (*iqṭā'*). This was entrusted to Faragh the eunuch and finished in 810/11. Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that al-

[155] Abu Ezzah, "The Syrian Thughūr," 82.

[156] Ibid.

Ma'mūn, who died at Badhandūn (Podandos) at the Cilician Gates, was buried at Ṭarsūs in 833 on the left hand side of the Friday mosque. Al-Muʻtaṣim was in Ṭarsūs when he received his *khalīfa*.

In the late ninth century, Ibn Ṭūlūn, as governor of the *thughūr,* tried to persuade the inhabitants of Ṭarsūs to launch a campaign into Anatolia. He was unsuccessful and in 877, Ibn Ṭūlūn tried to beseige Ṭarsūs. The citizens, led by Yazaman (and al-Muwaffaq) rejected him, raising their prices and setting high costs for his large army. Ibn Ṭūlūn returned the following winter and camped outside, but the citizens diverted the Baradān River to his encampment, forcing him to evacuate. Interestingly, Abū al-ʻAbbās (the future al-Muʻtaḍid), son of al-Muwaffaq went to fight the Ṭūlūnids but was not allowed into Ṭarsūs either. It is most interesting to note the presence of a garrison of Turkoman troops stationed in 877 by an ʻAbbāsid Turkish bey named Urhuz who conducted excursions to Cappadocia. In 900, the Byzantines attacked the city. Several local governors vied for power and tried to gain control over the city. The internal conflict was resolved by al-Muʻtaḍid who came personally and punished the *thughūr* leaders and the imam of the Ṭarsūs mosque, and burned the entire war fleet of Ṭarsūs (fifty ships) and its equipment.[157] Over the next two centuries it quickly became the largest and perhaps most metropolitan commercial and military city on the plain, guarding the road to the heavily frequented Cilician Gates.

The most information is known from the tenth century from Abū ʻAmr ʻUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭarsūsī's *Kitāb siyār al-thughūr* only preserved in Ibn al-ʻAdīm's

[157] Ibid., 154, feels this is overexaggerated, as the fleet was probably involved in mercantile activities. As such, rebellious forms of opposition such as untaxed and illegal trade probably were aggravating al-Muʻtaḍid, as he was not receiving money.

Bughyat al-Talab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab.[158] He describes the city in great detail, with some presumed exaggeration. The city was first apportioned into 20,000 pieces each 20 x 20 *dhiras* (or 184 cubic meters). The city was enclosed with double walls separated by a trench (*khandaq*) and each wall had five gates. Al-Sarakhsī and Ibn Ḥawqal also attests to a double wall of stone and deep ditch but they mention six gates. Al-Sarakhsī also mentions that the Nahr Baradān traversed the town. The outer gates were plated with iron (*hadīd mulabbas*), while the inner gates were made of solid iron (*hadīd musmat*). The inner wall was pierced with 18,000 loopholes (*shurafāt*), for crossbows capable of being used by 16,000 archers at one time and set with a hundred towers (*abrāj*) at intervals, half of which were used for projectile launching. These also included anti-seige devices such as mangonels.

Al-Sarakhsī also mentions that the city wall was ancient (pre-Islamic) and that he saw the traces of twenty-five other doors that were closed up. Interestingly enough, the towers were owned by private individuals and served as living quarters for the permanent population (*muta'ahhilin*) or single warriors *('uzzab* or "bachelors"). One tower, adjacent to the *zawiya* of the rope makers, was also used as paper factory. Other housing in the city included many different terms such as *dār*, *ribāṭ*, *zawiya*, or *khānqā* and these were used by ghazis and located inside the fort. In 903, 34,000 places in 2,000 streets and alleys were documented, according to Ibn 'Atiyya's report. Two-thirds of the houses were for the *'uzzab* and *ghazīs* while the rest were for a permanent

[158] C. E. Bosworth, "Abu Amr 'Uthman al-Tarsusi's Siyar al-Thughur and the Last Years of Arab Rule in Tarsus (Fourth/Tenth Century)" *Graeco-Arabica* 5 (1993): 183–96; Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus," 268–86.

population available through *waqf*, or private ownership.[159] Ibn Ḥawqal states that the houses (*dār*) were for soldiers of each country. Several of these are described which must have been very large buildings. One was located at the end of the Street of Carpenters, founded by Shaghib, a slave mother of al-Muqtadir. It housed 150 *ghulam* (young slave warriors) along with their blacksmiths, armorers, and other attendents all supported by *awqāf* in the mid-tenth century, and raised one hundred *dīnārs* per year. Another house was sponsored by Qabiha, a slave concubine of al-Muttawakkil (and mother of al-Muqtadir) on Bab al-Safsaf Street with 150 *ghulam*, under command of an officer *mawālī*. Yet another house was occupied by freedmen/freedwomen on the Street of Barmakis. There was also a house for eunuchs and senior calvary officers. The house of Ibn Qahtabi on River Street was for Sufīs and ascetics. The house in Zuhayr b. al-Harith Street was divided with an upper floor for collective domestic arrangements and a ground floor for stabling war steeds of leading commanders, storerooms, and shops.

Waqf revenues from shops were used for horses, fodder, equipment, and caretakers. Kennedy posits that the main unit of defense was then not the castle, but the fortified city. Half of the regular troops were Khurāsānī and half were Syrian/Jazīran. These troops were given higher pay (*'ata'*). Stipends were supplemented by small land grants (*milk*) subject to lower rate of tax (*'ushr*). Call to arms was often done from the Bāb al-Jihād. The supervisor of markets and public morality (*al-muhtasib*) was in charge of recruiting men and youth (and one can surmise cleaning out the city's available manpower). During these calls to fight, Ṭarsūsī states that the all of the gates leading

[159] Abu Ezzah finds this number reasonable ("The Syrian Thughūr").

into and out of the city would be locked and the keys would be entrusted to the police chief. Once the Sultan and his troops returned from the expedition (here termed *nafīr*) the gates would be unlocked. For mercantile activities: commodities were brought into the city by camel or cart (*'ajal*) of which there many in the city. Paper was also manufactured in the city and there were ship building industries and weapons production.

Ibn Ḥawqal in the tenth century contrasts the Early Islamic controlled Ṭarsūs with the present Byzantine occupied city. He said of the Early Islamic city that it had a garrison of 100,000 cavalry of volunteers from throughout the Muslim world, comprising a majority of the garrison by 978. These volunteers were supported by powerful and wealthy people who placed property in *waqf* for support. He wrote that of all the cities from Persia to Maghrib: "there is none that does not maintain here in Ṭarsūs a hostelry (*dār*) and a ribat in which to house its warriors for the Faith (*ghazī*) …"[160] Ṭarsūs maintained a Christian population. There was a continuous line of bishops from 793/817 to the thirteenth century. There were also Byzantines who defected such as Andrynicus a patrician commander in charge of the frontier who freed 200 Muslim prisoners and moved to reside in Ṭarsūs in 906. In 965, the Byzantines led by John Tzimisces took the city under the reign of Niqfūr (Nicephorus Phocas) by capitulation. Similar to Early Islamic conquest, some citizens left the city and the ones who stayed were forced to pay a tax. However, Yāqūt notes that mosques were destroyed. The eleventh century Byzantine historian Miskawayh mentions the congregational mosque was destroyed and turned into stables for the Emperor's

[160] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣurat al-arḍ*, 184.

horses. The Turkoman garrison interestingly withdrew from the Byzantine occupied city and migrated to the Taurus Mountains. In 1275, the Mamlūks under Qalāwūn regained the city by conquest. Several presumably Armenian churches were converted to mosques including the St. Peter and St. Sophia. St. Paul, a Crusader church, is the Kilisa Jami converted church today. Ainsworth lists six mosques in Ṭarsūs including the Oğlu Jami, dating to the fifteenth century, the Kilisi Jami, Makam Jami (tomb of the Prophet Daniel), the Yeni Jami, and the Takti-minar.

Research

Currently there are three projects in the city of Ṭarsūs. Gözlü Kule, the tell in the city, is being excavated by Bryn Mawr and directed by A. Ozyar. The Cumhuriyet Meydanı excavations in the town square which revealed the Roman street are being excavated by L. Zoroğlu under the supervision of C. Toskay-Evrin, who is also doing work on the Late Roman and Early Islamic cooking wares. In 2005 there was also a salvage excavation conducted by the museum and Mersin University of the Roman bath that also has Medieval reuse as a ceramic and glass kiln. Ainsworth commented that the Eski Hammam dated from the Early Islamic period.

Gözlü Kule (or Kuçuk Kalaat) is a low mound to the south of the city that extended from the Late Neolithic through to the Islamic periods. B. Barker (British Museum) and then Langlois and Mazoillier (Louvre) first excavated the mound. Langlois considered the area a pre-Christian cemetery and sent the pottery to the Louvre. Davis mentions a castle that was built or repaired by Hārūn al-Rashid whose remains were

removed.[161] Ainsworth noted Roman and Byzantine pottery at the site and called it a necropolis. He says that the castle, (whose remains are now gone), is Byzantine with Roman foundations and continued until the Crusader period. In addition is a Roman gymnasium and stadium to the north. H. Goldmann in 1935 published a volume and the chronology extended from the late sixth century B.C.E. to late seventh century C.E.[162] There was nothing Islamic to note specifically other than a general scatter, although the map indicates an "Islamic building" unexcavated to the north. She does make note of the probable reuse of classical period building materials in the Islamic period, something picked up by Edwards later who briefly noted Islamic recycled masonry in the reconstructed city walls. This demonstrates Islamic settlement in the same zone as Late Roman/Byzantine, although no specific dates are given for the Islamic period. Today it is a fenced wooded park. To the east slope are the remains of a theater with only the lower cavea remaining. The Tarsus Museum has 'Abbāsid and Saljūq coins, oil lamps and creamware 'Abbāsid ceramics from the Gözlü Kule collection.

S. Keskil excavated Yeşiltepe, Cleopatra's Hill in 1970.[163] It is unclear if this is Gözlü Kule or a different place but it is located in the middle of Tarsus between the Palace of Justice and the town market. The area measured 70 x 50 m and was 6.50 m

---

[161] E.J. Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (London 1879), 96-101.

[162] H. Goldman, ed. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus I–III* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, 1956, 1963); see also Day, "The Islamic Finds at Tarsus," 143–46; G.C. Miles, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935–1937," in *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman,* edited by S. S. Weinberg, 297–312 (New York, 1956).

[163] S. Keskil, "Yisiltepe in Tarsus, 1970" *Anatolian Studies* 21 (1971): 40–41; S. Keskil, "Tarsus (Yisiltepe)," *Anatolica* 5 (1973–1976): 96–97.

above the asphalt road. The hill was used as a cemetery but trees were planted on top and became a park. Also a watertank for the city was constructed there and earth was taken from the slopes of the hill. In addition the town fire alarm was built on top and a summer café on its slope, as well as shops built on the north and east slopes. The salvage excavation was a result of the many new constructions and looting of antiquities. Nineteen meters square were cleared of rubble and a 5 meter square sounding dug to a depth of 15.80 m was placed on the south slope. A doorway and walls built of poor workmanship of stone and brick with upper parts plastered were discovered. North of the doorway, a floor was paved with stone but farther south, the floor was covered with a layer of weak mortar about 30 cm higher. A 3.85 x 4.00 m room was found at the bottom including an earthenware bowl and six waterpipes found *in situ*. Other vessels, a wellhead, and a deposit of Byzantine and Islamic type ceramics were found. Outside the sounding but in the same square were some graves near surface. The architecture below revealed red and yellow brick in alternating courses. On the eastern slope was the theatre with a lower cavea remaining. ʻAbbāsid and Saljūq coins, oil lamps, and Sāmarrān ceramics were found.

The Cumhuriyet Meydanı excavations were started in 1993 over an area of 8000 square meters. It consists primarily of an east–west street with a colonnade and market buildings to either side. The road is seven meters wide and paved with basalt with limestone bordering and used for the drainage. The extensive sewer and drainage system fed into the Regma lagoon south of the city. The excavations went down to mainly Roman remains including a podium, columns with Corinthian capitals, and

several mosaics including one associated with a private house as the later levels have been removed. The occupations are under a fairly substantial overburden, which as Davis remarked in the turn of the century was at the time fifteen to twenty feet below the present level. Cleopatra's Gate is also still standing and marked the southern gate to the city and adjoined the harbor. The locations of other monuments referred to by the early twentieth century explorers are unsure. Reference is made to the "Gate of Holy War" that survived allegedly and is mentioned by Childs, but was not standing during his time. Childs mentions, "In times of peace and truce one thinks the Gate of Holy War must have been also the gate of a secular commerce as rich and varied as the East could show."[164] The bridge over the Cydnus is Armenian but there is a bridge of Justinian east of the city. In the foundations of an Armenian church were found coins, jewelry, and a medallion of Constantius. Davis also mentions a fort towards the Cydnus and the Demir Kapı gate to the southeast of town and Kandji Kapı to the south heading towards Mersin. Of this last gate, Davis posits that the pointed arches are of Byzantine work and maybe Justinian, but they could be Islamic, as well. There are reparations by Hārūn al-Rashid, Leo II, and Hethoum I. The tomb of the emperor Julian and Ma'mūn are nearby. Near the Demir Kapı is the tomb of Sardanopolos built in an Asiatic style and classicizing. Nearby Tarsus, is thought to be the cave of the seven sleepers, mentioned in the Qur'ān as a sacred site.

[164] Childs, *Across Asia Minor,* 337.

Personal Observations, 7/05

As previously stated, the Cumhuriyet Meydanı excavations which are in the middle of the town, revealed a classical colonnaded street with shops with roughly 2–3 m of overburden within which are Medieval remains. However, the museum collection includes Early Islamic lamps, intact buffware jugs and juglets, and two nearly complete restored holemouth brittleware cooking pots with rocker decoration. Also there are many ʻAbbāsid, Faṭimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk coins including a horde of ʻAbbāsid silver dirhams (called "emevian" on the museum label) on display. At the time of the visit, the salvage excavation was being undertaken at the Roman bath in the middle of town. I examined their pottery and the fairly well-preserved brick structure had a considerable amount of medieval ceramics, both Early and Middle Islamic. Within the bath were both a glass and ceramic kiln, similar to the pattern seen at Anṭākiya and Kanīsa al-Sawdāʼ. The mound of Güzlu Küle to the south of the city was probably on a navigable river down to the Mediterranean. Nothing really is visible except for several sections of pottery to the south.

Ç. Toskay-Evrin's work on the cooking wares from the Cumhuriyet Meydanı excavations is an important contribution for the knowledge of brittlewares, an often neglected ceramic category. She also goes beyond the potsherd and uses its form to reflect upon the method of cooking and the diet of those that used them. However, her interpretations are problematic for the Early Islamic periods on several levels. First, four strata were discerned from the excavations, with the fourth ending in the mid-seventh century with the Islamic conquests. However, she states (mainly using

Hellenkemper and Hild's work) that although the city was abandoned following the Islamic conquests, it was rebuilt in the 'Abbāsid period.[165] Second, she dates the most ubiquitous example of an 'Abbāsid cooking pot, the holemouth brittleware with rocker decoration (her Type 4), to the end of the Late Roman period. Admittedly, she states that the final two strata were often confused with many rebuildings and later pits consisting of unsealed contexts and therefore difficult to differentiate. Regarding the appearance of this ware in the second strata, a Roman level, she states: "for especially the pits dug by later occupiers in *Area 7* clearly demonstrate that this type does not belong to *Phase 2,* but to a later stage. Its existence in 5L *Area 7* may be the result of contamination."[166] However, she overlooks the many parallels of this ware all over North Syria, the Jazīra, and even farther south: "Neither Type 4 nor Type 4a could be paralleled in Cilician or other sites"[167] that have dated this ware between the eighth and tenth centuries (see Appendix 1). Third, she states that there were numerous 'Abbāsid coins, but this is nowhere mentioned in association with the excavated levels or pottery.[168] In the effort of establishing a seriation of cooking pots, there is a real

---

[165] Ç. Toskay Evrin, "Tarsus Republic Square Late Roman Cooking Wares — 2001" (MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2002), 21, 49, 50 n. 9.

[166] Ibid., 77. For example, states on page 50: "Although the 1st half of the 5th century AD has been taken as a tentative upper limit with respect to the material finds used in this study it is certain that some cooking ware forms survived well into later periods in other settlements (i.e. Anemurium). Therefore some ceramic forms can be assigned to later periods considering the durability of these forms and the reluctant attitudes of change."

[167] Ibid., 77. For examples of the cooking pot see figures 28.4–5, 29.1–4, and 30.1–3. Toskay Evrin argues that these pots with their rounded bases sat either on tripods or directly on coals and were most likely for the cooking of stews or soups and boiling meat. That they were heavy with thick walls near the base meant that food was less likely to burn and the ribbing along the walls distributed the heat evenly (pp. 91–92).

[168] Ibid., 49–50.

disconnect between the archaeological and historical analysis. The interpretations limit insight into Early Islamic Ṭarsūs. The Type 4 ʻAbbāsid holemouth cooking pot and later types constituted nearly 30% of the entire assemblage. Several examples were completely intact, as seen on display at the Tarsus Museum. The Cumhuriyet Meydanı excavations likely reveal a transformed classical street with shops into an Islamic suq.

Coordinates: 36N N 408631 E 668364 (Gözlü Küle)

Tīzīn

History

The site was part of the *ʻawāṣim* and known from Umayyad times. It was likely in a plain known as the ʻAmq al-Tīzīn, where Maslama, the brother of al-Walīd, relocated the Amanus Mountain Jarājima to settle in 708.

Zibaṭra

Classical Sozopetra/Zapetra; Modern Doğanşehir

Location

Islamic geographers write that Zibaṭra was in a plain surrounded by mountains. It was the same distance (one day's travel) from Ḥadath to the north as Marʻash was to the south or southwest and two marches south of Malaṭiya, and the same distance to Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. Le Strange and Wheatley (following him, presumably) identifies the ruins with Viran Shahr (Viranşehir) south of Malatya.[169] The town today is

[169] Le Strange, *Lands*, 121; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 553–54; Wheatley, *The Places*, 407, n. 49.

Doğanşehir. The site is located on the Nahr Qarāqīs, a tributary of the Qubāqib (modern Sultan Su).

History[170]

The city was founded by the Emperor Caracalla and rebuilt by Constantius in the mid-fourth century. Sinclair mentions (although referring to a different site) that it was the seat of the dux of the province of Mesopotamia until 527 and then alternated with Dara. There is mention that the Byzantines destroyed the site twice in the 740s–750s. al-Balkhī states that it was the closest fortress to the Byzantine territory. Balādhurī and Istakhrī mention that it was a great fortress from Byzantine times and was located on the Byzantine frontier, while Yāqūt and others confuse Zibaṭra with Ḥadath. Balādhurī further states that it was taken at the same time as Ḥadath. It was also demolished by the Byzantines during the caliphate of Walīd II (742–743). The Byzantines seiged Zibaṭra again during the ʻAbbāsid revolution. Around 757, al-Manṣūr rebuilt Zibaṭra. It was subsequently destroyed by the Byzantines. Hārūn al-Rashīd rebuilt it under the direction of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. During al-Ma'mun's reign, the Greeks attacked Zibaṭra and destroyed its fortress. It was rebuilt immediately inferring that the attack took place after the end of the third *fitna* in 814. In 837, Emperor Theophilus took Zibaṭra (and Malaṭiya) and killed men and took women and children. The attack angered al-Muʻtaṣim who undertook his famous campaign that reached ʻAmmūrīya (Amorium), destroying and seiging fortresses along the way and killing its inhabitants.

[170] General Bibliography: Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, I. 258–9; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II.230; Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie*, 267.

Presumably after this, al-Mu‘taṣim recaptured Zibaṭra on his expedition to ‘Ammūrīya and had four forts built at the site, which were destroyed by the Byzantines. Ibn al-‘Adīm and Ibn Shaddād mention a mine where iron ore was extracted and exported to other towns. Between 793/817 and 958/969 there were ten bishops. In 1315, Abū al-Fidā’, hunting nearby in an oak forest, writes that the fortress was a ruin. The old wall lines were barely traced and in fields.

Research

There are two mentions of Zibaṭra in Sinclair and it is unclear if he is discussing the same site. For the first site in Volume 3, he states that the only detailed description is from a visit to the site in 1840. The site was rectangular with a thick double wall with towers except to the south. The 1840 description noted a mounded center with a vaulted building. The site today is covered in houses.[171] The second reference to a Zibaṭra/Sozopetra is in Volume 4,[172] where he refers to the site as a *miṣr* 90 km from Urfa. The second site is described as an important classical city that continued until the thirteenth century and whose city walls and ruins continued and were incorporated into modern structures. This city was 800 m x 800 m with a citadel to the southeast on a mound, rounded towers on the walls, four gates, and a necropolis to the north of the former town. West of the town was a church, with two of eight large inner piers and part of a rim supporting the dome and ambulatory are still standing. The church was converted into a fort in the late nineteenth century.

[171] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 3.35–36.

[172] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 4.191, plate 46.

Personal Observations, 8/19/2005

Sinclair's first site is the Early Islamic *thughūr* of Zibaṭra, located in the town of Doğanşehir. He is mistaken, however, in that although the location and physical description match, the historical evidence for the second site corresponds to the *thaghr* of Zibaṭra. The site is reached via the Gölbaşı–Malatya road and turning off towards the west. From the center of the town, the main road makes a T intersection. At this point, one makes a right, goes past the mosque that is on the right side, and then turns down the second left street past the mosque. The city walls are quite apparent and near the river. They are in fact very reminiscent of the walls of Ḥadath and Malaṭiya. They are largely intact and have no facing however one can make out corners, potential gates and towers. The walls follow both sides of the modern road and suggest a double city wall. Small houses are built over the site itself and in many cases over the earlier walls. The Dere Su flowed on the east side and is extremely lush and has a mill. No pottery was discerned on the ground however I only walked on the modern roads (which are kept quite clean and are cobblestone) and not in houses or gardens. The site itself is located in a small valley that extends from the Gölbaşı and Malatya Valleys. It is surrounded by mountains. The ancient city is known by the locals simply as the "Kale".

Coordinates: 37N N 4216642 E 402006

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abū al-Fidā'. *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān*. In *Géographie d'Aboulfēda. Texte Arabe publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Leyde aux frais de la Société Asiatique*, M. Reinaud and M. le Baron MacGuckin de Slane. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1840.

Abu Ezzah, A. M. "The Syrian Thughūr." PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1980.

Abulafia, D. "Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity." In *Medieval Frontiers*, 1–34.

Acién Almansa, M. "Cerámica a torno lento en Bezmiliana. Cronología tipos y diffusion." Vol. 4 of *I Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, 243-6. Zaragoza, 1986.

Ainsworth, W. F. *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*. London, 1888.

Ainsworth, W. F. *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia.* London: John W. Parker, 1842.

Ainsworth, W. F. "Notes upon the comparative geography of the Cilician and Syrian Gates." *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* 8 (1838): 185-95.

Alcock, S. "Greece: A Landscape of Resistance?" In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire,* edited by D. J. Mattingly, 103-115. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997.

Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E., et al., *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia: Preliminary Report.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1976.

Algaze, G. "First Results of the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48 (1989): 241-281.

Algaze, G., R. Breuninger, and J. Knudstad. "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Final Report of the Birecik and Carchemish Dam Survey Areas. *Anatolica* 20 (1994): 1-96.

Algaze, G., A. Misir, and T.J. Wilkinson. "Şanlıurfa Museum/University of California Excavations and Surveys at Titriş Höyük, 1991: A Preliminary Report." *Anatolica* 18 (1992): 33-60.

Algaze, G., R. Breuninger, C. Lightfoot, and M. Rosenberg. "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Preliminary Report of the 1989-1990 Seasons." *Anatolica* 17 (1991): 175-240.

Algaze, G. *The Stratigraphic Sequence at Kurban Höyük.* Vol. 2 of *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia.* Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1990.

Alkım, U. B. "The Amanus Region in Turkey: New Light on the Historical Geography and Archaeology." *Archaeology* 22 (1969): 280-89.

Alishan, G. M. *Sissoùan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie*. *Description géographique et historique*. Venice, 1899.

Alizadeh, K. and J. A. Ur. "Formation and Destruction of Pastoral and Irrigation Landscapes on the Mughan Steppe, North-Western Iran." *Antiquity* 81.311 (2007): 148–60.

Altay, M. "Anavarza Mozayiklari Hakkinda On Rapor (I-II)." *Turk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 15.2 (1966): 49-54.

Alvaro, C. and F. Balossi R. "Byzantine Occupation" In "The 2000 Campaign Zeytinlibahçe Höyük." *TAÇDAM* 2000, G. M. Di Nocera*,* 89-96.

Amitai-Press, R. "Northern Syria Between the Mongols and Mamluks: Political Boundary, Military Frontier, and Ethnic Affinities," In *Frontiers in Question,* 128–52.

Andrén, A. *Between Artifacts and Texts: Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective.* New York: Plenum Press, 1998.

Archi, A., P.E. Pecorella, and M. Salvini. *Gaziantep e la Sua Regione: Uno studio storico e topografico degli insediamenti preclassici*. Rome: Edizioni dell'ateno, 1971.

Aswad, A. "Property Control and Social Strategies in Settlers in a Middle Eastern Plain." *Anthropological Papers* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan) 44 (1971).

Avni, G. *Nomads, Farmers, and Town-Dwellers: Pastoralist-Sedentist Interaction in the Negev Highlands, Sixth-Eighth Centuries CE*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1996.

Aylward, W., ed. *Zeugma 2000: Rescue Excavations*. Los Altos, CA: Packard

Humanities Institute, in press.

Azuar Ruiz, R. "La rábita califal de Guadamar y el paleoambiente del Bajo Segura (Alicante) en el siglo X." *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval* 5 (1991): 135-50.

Bacharach, J. "Marwanid Umayyad Building Activities: Speculations on Patronage." *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 27-44.

Bahnassi, A. "Le Sauvetage des Vestiges de la Zone de Submersion du Barrage de Tabqa sur l'Euphrate." *Monumentum* 17 (1978): 57-71.

Balādhurī, A. *Futūḥ al-buldān*. Beirut: Dār al-Nashr lil-Jāmi'īyīn, 1957–1958.

Balādhurī, A. *Origins of the Islamic State*. Translated by P. Hitti. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002.

Ball, W. "The Upper Tigris Area: New Evidence from the Eski Mosul and North Jazira Projects." In *Continuity and Change*, 415-428.

Barbé, H., Y. Lehrer, and M. Avissar. "Ha-Bonim." *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 114 (2002): 34-38.

Barceló, M. *The Design of Irrigation Systems in al-Andalus*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publications, 1998.

Barceló, M. "Immigration Berbère et établissements Paysans à Ibiza (902-1235)." Castrum 7, 291-321.

Barceló, M. "La arqueología extensiva y el studio de la creación del espacio rural." In *Arqueología medieval: En las afueras del 'medievalismo',* edited by M. Barceló (Barcelona: Crítica, 1988), 195-274.

Bardhan, P. "Symposium on Management of Local Commons." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7 (1993), 87-92.

Barfield, T. "Tribe and State Relations: The Inner Asian Perspective." In *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, edited by P.S. Khoury and J. Kostiner. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.

Barker, W. *The Birthland of St. Paul. Cilicia: Its Former History and Present State*. Edited by W. Ainsworth. London, 1855.

Barrionuevo, C. and R. López. "Territorios campesinos: una lectura del paisaje Agrícola andalusí de Níjar y Huebro, en el distrito de Arsal-Yaman (Almería)."

In *Agricultura y regadío en Al-Andalus, síntesis y problemas : actas del coloquio, Almería, 9 y 10 de junio de 1995*, 229-259. Almeria, 1995.

Bartikian, H. "He luse tou ainigmatos ton Mardaiton," *Byzantion: Aphieroma ston Andrea N. Strato.* Vol. 1. Athens, 1986.

Bartl, K. "Balih Valley Survey: Settlements of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine Period and Islamic Period." In *Continuity and Change in Northern Mesopotamia*, 333–48.

Bartl, K. "Tell Sheikh Hasan: a settlement of the Roman-Parthian to the Islamic Period in the Balikh Valley/Northern Syria." *Archéologie Islamique* 4 (1994): 5-17.

Bartl, K. "The Balih Valley, Northern Syria, during the Islamic Period: remarks concerning the Historical Topography." *Berytus* 41 (1993/94): 29-38.

Bartlett, R. and A. MacKay. Preface to *Medieval Frontier Societies*, v–vii.

Bashear, S. "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (third series) 1 (1991): 173–207.

Bates, D. *Nomads and Farmers: A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey*. *Anthropological Papers* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan) 52 (1973).

Bates, M. "The Dirham Mint of the Northern Provinces of the Umayyad Caliphate." *American Numismatic Journal* 15 (1989): 89–111.

Batiuk, S. and T. Harrison. "Towards Understanding the Iron Age Lower Mound at Tell Tayinat." Paper presented at the annual meeting of ASOR, Philadelphia, PA, 2005.

Bavant, B. & D. Orssaud. "Stratigraphie et typologie. Problèmes poses par l'utilisation de la céramique comme critère de datation: l'exemple de la fouille de Déhès." In *Céramique Byzantine*, 33-48.

Bazzana, A. "Villages et terroirs andalous: Quelques aspects du peoplement medieval et de l'exploitation agraire dans al-Andalus." *Ruralia II* (Pamarky Archeologicke) Supplementum 11 (1998): 140–51.

Bazzana, A., J. B. García, and J. de Meulemeester. "Shaltīsh (Huelva-Espagne) une ville dans les marais." *Archéologie Islamique* 4 (1994): 87-116.

Bazzana, A. "Un fortin omeyyade dans le Sharḳ al-Andalus." *Archéologie Islamique* 1 (1990): 87-108.

Bazzana, A. and P. Guichard. "La Conquête de Région Valencienne d'Après la Chronique de Jacques 1er et les Données Archéologiques." Castrum 3, 21-31.

Bazzana, A. and J. de Meulemeester. "Irrigation Systems of Islamic Origin in the Valle de Ricote (Murcia, Spain)." *Ruralia II* (Pamarky Archeologicke) Supplementum 11 (Spa 1997): 152–60.

Bazzana, A., P. Cressier, and P. Guichard. *Les châteaux ruraux d'Al-Andalus.* Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988.

Beach, T. and S. Luzzadder-Beach. "Aggradation around Kinet Höyük, an Archaeological Mound in the Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey." *Geomorphology*, in press.

Beech, G.T. "The Crusader lordship of Marash in Armenian Cilicia, 1104-1149." *Viator* 27 (1996), 35-52.

Behā ed-Dīn. *Life of Saladin*. Translated by L.-C. Condor. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 13. New York: AMS Press, 1971.

Bekker, K. "Historical Patterns of Culture Contact in Southern Asia." In *Beyond the Frontier: Social Process and Cultural Change*, edited by P. Bohannan and F. Plog, 71-86. New York: The Natural History Press, 1967.

Berend, N. Preface to *Medieval Frontiers*, x–xv.

Bernbeck, R. "Settled and Mobile Populations in the Southern Gazīra (3rd through 9th centuries A.D.)." In *Continuity and Change*, 401-414.

Bernus-Taylor, M. "Meskene-Balis." In *L'Eufrate e il tempo*, edited by O. Rouault and M.G. Masetti-Rouault. Milan, 1993).

Bintliff, J. "The Roman Countryside in Central Greece: Observations and Theories from the Boeotia Survey (1978–1987)." In *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region,* edited by G. Barker, 122-32. London: British School at Rome, 1991.

Biscop, J. -L. *Deir Déhès, Monastère d'Antiochène. Etude architectural*. Beirut: Institut Français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, 1997.

Bishko, C.J. "The Frontier in Medieval History." Paper presented at the annual

meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., 1955.

Bivar, A. D. H. "Bardas Skleros, the Buwayids and the Marwanids at Hisn Ziyad in the light of an unnoticed Arab inscription." In *Defence of the Roman and Byzantine Frontiers*, edited by S. Freeman and H. Kennedy, 9-21. Oxford, 1986.

Blankinship, K. Y. *The End of the Jihād State: The Reign of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads*. New York: State University of New York, 1994.

Blaylock, S. "Adıyaman Survey 1985-1991." In *Ancient Anatolia: Fifty Year's Work by The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, edited by R. Matthews, 101-110. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1998.

Blaylock , S. R., D. H. French, and G. D. Summers. "The Adıyaman Survey: An Interim Report." *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1980), 81-135.

Boase, T. S. R. *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*. Edinburgh, 1978.

Bonner, M. *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihād and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier*. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1996.

Bonner, M. Introduction to *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times*, edited by M. Bonner, xiii-lv. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

Bonner, M. *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practices.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Bonner, M. "Some Observations Concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier." *Studia Islamica* 75 (1992): 30.

Bonner, M. "The Mint of Harunabad and al-Hārūnīyya." *American Journal of Numismatics* 1 (1989): 171-93

Bohannan, P. Introduction to *Beyond the Frontier: Social Process and Cultural Change*, edited by P. Bohannan and F. Plog, xi-xviii. New York: The Natural History Press, 1967.

Bostom, A. *The Legacy of Jihad.* Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005.

Bosworth, C.E. "al- Zuṭṭ" *EI2*.

Bosworth, C. E. "The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers in Early and

Middle ‘Abbāsid Times.” *Oriens* 33 (1992): 268-86.

Bosworth, C.E. “Byzantium and the Syrian Frontier in the Early ‘Abbāsid Period, Bilād al-Shām during the ‘Abbāsid Period (132 A.H./A.D. 750-451 A.H./A.D. 1059).” In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām* edited by M.A. Bakhit. Amman, 1991, 54-62.

Bosworth, C.E. “Abu Amr 'Uthman al-Tarsusi's Siyar al-Thughur and the Last Years of Arab Rule in Tarsus (Fourth/Tenth Century)” *Graeco-Arabica* 5 (1993): 183-196.

Bosworth, C.E. “Ṭarsūs.” *EI2*.

Braidwood, R. *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 1937.

Brather, S. “Acculturation and Ethnogenesis along the Frontier: Rome and the Ancient Germans in an Archaeological Perspective.” In *Borders Barriers*, 139–72.

Braudel, F. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* translated by S. Reynolds. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

Brauer, R. W. *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography*. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1995.

Bresc, H. “Les eaux siciliennes: une domestication inachevée du XIIe au XVe siècle.” In *Water Control in Western Europe, Twelfth-Sixteen Centuries*, edited by E. Crouzet-Pavan and J.-C. Maire-Vigueuer. Proceedings of the Eleventh International Economic History Congress. Vol. B2. Milan: Università Bocconi, 1994, 73-85.

Brooks, E. W. “The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898): 182-208.

Brooks, E.W. “Additions and Corrections to J. H. S. Vol. XVIII: The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750), from Arabic Sources,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1899) 19: 31-33.

Brown, G. H. “Prehistoric Pottery from the Antitaurus.” *Anatolian Studies* 17 (1967): 162.

Büchner, V. F. “Sīs,” *EI1*.

Bulliet, R. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period : an Essay in Quantitative History.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Bulut, L. “Samsat Ortaçağ Sgrafitto ve Champlevé Seramikleri.” In *Prof. Şerare Yetkin Anısına Çini Yazıları*, edited by Y. Demiriz, 31-46. Istanbul, 1996.

Bunimovitz, S. “Socio-Political Transformations in the Central Hill Country in the Late Bronze-Iron I Transition.” In *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, edited by I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman, 179-181. Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1994.

Burns, R. I. “The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages.” In *Medieval Frontier Societies,* 307–30.

Butzer, K., J. F. Mateu, E. K. Butzer, and P. Kraus. “Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 75.4 (1985): 479-509.

Cahen, C. “Quelques mots sur les Hilaliens et le nomadisme.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 11 (1968): 130-33.

Cahen, C. *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche.* Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940.

Campbell, S. “Domuztepe 2005.” *Anatolian Archaeology* 11 (2005): 13-15.

Campbell, S. “Domuztepe 2004 Excavation Season.” *Anatolian Archaeology* 10 (2004): 4-6.

Campbell, S. “Domuztepe 2003.” *Anatolian Archaeology* 9 (2003): 4-6.

Cambell, S., E. Carter, E. Healey, S. Anderson, A. Kennedy, S. Whitcher. “Emerging Complexity on the Kahramanmaraş Plain, Turkey: The Domuztepe Project, 1995-1997.” *AJA* 103.3 (1999): 395-418.

Canard, M. “al-‘Awāṣim” EI2, 761-2.

Canard, M. “‘Ayn Zarba” EI2.

Canard, M. “La Prise d’Heraclée et les Relations entre Harun ar-Rashid et l’empereur Nicéphore 1er,” *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 345-79.

Canard, M. *Histoire de la dynastie des H’amdanides de Jazira et de Syrie.* Paris, 1953.

Cappel, A.J. “The Byzantine Response to the ‘Arab (10th-11th centuries).” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20 (1994): 113-132.

Carter, E. Introduction to *Survey and Excavation on the Syro-Anatolian Frontier*, edited by E. Carter, forthcoming.

Carter, E. "The Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Survey Project: A Preliminary Report on the 1994 Season." *AST* 13.1 (1995): 289-305.

Carter, E. "Report on the Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Survey Project from 24/9/93 to 11/11/93." *AST* 12 (1994): 331-338.

Carter, E. and S. Campbell, "Report on the 2004 Excavation Season at Domuztepe." *KST* 27.1 (2005): 313-324.

Carter, E. et al., "The Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Project Survey — 1997." *AST* 16.2 (1998): 569-576.

Casana, J. "Mediterranean Valleys Revisited: Linking Soil Erosion, Land Use, and Climate Variability in the Northern Levant." *Geomorphology* 2008 (in press).

Casana, J. "Structural Transformations in Settlement Systems of the Northern Levant." *AJA* 111.2 (2007): 195-222.

Casana, J. "From Alalakh to Antioch: Settlement, Land Use, and Environmental Change in the Amuq Valley of Southern Turkey." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2003.

Casana, J. "The Archaeological Landscape of Late Roman Antioch." In *Culture and Society in Late Roman Antioch: Papers from a Colloquium, London, 15th December 2001*, edited by I. Sandwell and J. Huskinson, 102-125. Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Company, 2002.

Casana, J. and A. Gansell. "Surface collection, off-site survey, and floodplain development at Tell Atchana." In *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, Volume 1, Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995-2002,* edited by K.A. Yener, 153-170. Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 2005.

Chapot, V. *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquiste Arabe.* Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1907.

Cheïra, M. A. *La Lutte entre arabes et byzantins: La conquête et l'organisation des frontières aux XIIe et VIIIe siècles*. Alexandria: Société de publications Égyptiennes, 1947.

Chelhod, J. "Ḥimā" *EI2*.

Childs, W.J. *Across Asia Minor on Foot.* New York: Dodd, 1917.

Christys, A. "*Crossing the Frontier of Ninth-Century Hispania*." In *Medieval Frontiers*, 35–53.

Cobb, P. *White Banners: Contention in 'Abbāsid Syria, 750–877*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2001.

Cole, D.P. *Nomads of the Nomads: The Āl Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter*. Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1975.

Conrad, L.I. *The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East.* PhD. diss. (Princeton University, 1981).

Conrad, L.I. "The *Quṣūr* of Medieval Islam: Some Implications for the Social History of the Near East." *Al-Abhath* 29 (1981): 7-24.

Conrad, L. I. "Heraclius in Early Islamic Kerygma." In *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, edited by G. J. Renink and B. H. Stolte. Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002.

Coockson, B. C. "The Roman Bridge at Yeşilköy/Dörtyol (Hatay)." *Newsletter of the Department of Archaeology and History of Art* (Bilkent University) 4 (2005), 12-14.

Cook, D. *Understanding Jihad*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Cook, D. "Muslim Apocalyptic and Jihad." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 66-104.

Cressier, P. "Archéologie des structures hydrauliques en al-Andalus." In *El agua en zona áridas: Arqueología e historia*, I Coloquio de Histora y Medio Físico, Vol. I. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1989, li-xcii.

Cribb, R. *Nomads in Archaeology.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Crone, P. "Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?" *Der Islam* 71 (1994): 1-57.

Cuinet, V. *La Turquie d'Asie. Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure.* Vol. 2. Paris: E. Leroux, 1890-95.

Cumont, F. *Études syriennes.* Paris: Picard, 1917.

Curta, F. Introduction to *Borders Barriers*, 1-9.

Curta, F. "Frontier Ethnogenesis in Late Antiquity: The Danube, the Tervingi, and the Slavs," in *Borders Barriers,* 173–204.

Dagron, G. "Guérilla, places fortes et villages ouverts à la frontière orientale de Byzance vers 950." Castrum 3, 43-48.

Dagron, G. "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient Byzantin à la fin du Xe et au Xie siècles: L'immigration Syrienne." *Travaux et Memoires* 6 (1976): 177–216.

Davies, G. and J. Magness, "Yotvata – 2005." *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 118 (2006).

Dalché, P. G. "De la liste a la carte: limite et frontière dans la géographie et la cartographie de l'occident medieval." Castrum 4, 19-31.

Daniel, E. L. "Arabs, Persians, and the Advent of the 'Abbāsids Reconsidered" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117.3 (1997): 542–48.

Daniel, E.L. "The 'Ahl Al-Taqadum' and the Problem of the Constituency of the 'Abbāsid Revolution in the Merv Oasis." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7.2 (1996), 150-179.

Davies, G. "The Roman Fort at Yotvata in its Regional Context." Paper presented at the annual meeting of ASOR, San Diego, CA, 2007.

Davis, E.J. *Life in Asiatic Turkey.* London 1879.

Day, F. E. "The Islamic Finds at Tarsus." *Asia and the Americas* 41 (1941): 143-46.

de Coca Castañer, J. E. L. "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier, 1369-1482." In *Medieval Frontier Societies,* 127–50.

de Giorgi, A. U. "The Formation of a Roman Landscape: The Case of Antioch." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20 (2007), 283–98.

de Giorgi, A. U. "Socio-economic Studies in the Territory of Antioch in the High Roman Empire." PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 2006.

de Goeje, M.J. *Memoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes a travers l'Asie*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1903.

de Meulemeester, J. "Islamic Archaeology in the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco." *Antiquity* 79.4 (2005): 837–43.

de Meulemeester, J. "Granaries and Irrigation: archaeological and ethnological investigations in the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco." *Antiquity* 70.3 (2005): 609-625.

de Meulemeester, J. "Même problème, même solution: quelques réflexions autour d'un grenier fortifié." In *Le Village Medieval et son environnement: etudes offertes á Jean-Marie Pesez*, edited by L. Feller, P. Mana, and F. Piponnier, 97-112. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998.

de Meulemeester, J. and A. Matthys. "The Conservation of Grain and the Fortified Granaries from the Maghreb to Central Europe." *Ruralia II* (Pamarky Archeologicke) Supplementum 11 (Spa 1997): 161-171.

Decker, M. "The History and Archaeology of Byzantium's Desert Frontier." Paper presented at At the Edges of Empire Conference, University of Chicago, February 17–19, 2006.

Decker, M. "Food for an Empire: Wine and Oil Production in North Syria." In *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*, edited by S. Kingsley and M. Decker, 69-86. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Dennis, G. T., ed. and trans. *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*. Dumbarton Oaks Texts 9. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 25. Washington, D.C., 1985.

di Nocera, G. M. "2003 Archaeological Survey in the Malatya Territory." *AST* 22.2 (2004): 325-336.

al-Dimashqī, *Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age,* translated by A.F. Mehren.\ Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 1874.

Donner, F. "The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War." In *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*, edited by J. Kelsay and J. T. Johnson, 31-69. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Donner, F. "The Development of the Concepts of *Dār al-Islām* and *Dār al-harb*." Paper presented at annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 1991.

Donner, F. "The Role of Nomads in the Near East in Late Antiquity (400-800 C.E.)."

In *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity*, edited by F. M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys. Madison: U. Wisconsin, 1989, 73-85,

Donner, F. *The Early Islamic Conquests.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Dorna-Metzger, F. "Céramique byzantino-sassanide de Nisibe: etude préliminaire." In *Céramique Byzantine*, 13-22.

Downey, G. *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Drinkwater, J. F. "'The Germanic Threat on the Rhine Frontier': A Romano-Gallic Artefact?" In *Shifting Frontiers*, 20–30.

du Plat Taylor, J., M.V. Seton Williams, and J. Waechter. "Excavations at Sakçe Gözü." *Iraq* 12 (1950): 53-138.

Dulière, C. *Mosaïques des Portiques de la Grande Colonnade.* Brussels: Centre Belge de Recherches Archéologiques á Apamée de Syrie, 1974.

Duncan Jones, R. "Economic Change in the Transition to Late Antiquity." In *Approaching Late Antiquity: The Transformations from Early to Late Empire*, edited by S. Swaine and M. Edwards, 20-53. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Dussaud, R. *Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Medievale.* Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927.

Eadie, J. "Transformation of the Eastern Frontier." In *Shifting Frontiers*, 72–82.

Eddé, A. -M."Ḳūrus." *EI2.*

Edwards, R.W. *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987.

Edwards, R.W. "Bağras and Armenian Cilicia." *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 17 (1983): 415-55.

Eger, A. A. and A. U. de Giorgi, "Tüpraş Field Soundings 2006 Season Preliminary Report." Unpublished report.

Eger, A. A. and A. U. de Giorgi, "The Kırıkköprü Survey Preliminary Report, 2005." Unpublished report.

Eger, A. A. "Dār al-Islām, dār al-hārb*: The Discourse of Islamic frontiers, Real or Imagined*." Paper presented at annual meeting of MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2005.

Eger, A. A. "The Stratigraphy and Architecture (Areas A and A2)." In *Tel Tanninim: Excavations at Krokodeilon Polis, 1996–1999*, edited by R.R. Stieglitz, 21-59. Boston: ASOR, 2006.

Ellenblum, R. "Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem." In *Frontiers in Question*, 105–19.

Ellis, L. "Dacians, Sarmatians, and Goths on the Roman-Carpathian Frontier: Second-Fourth Centuries." In *Shifting Frontiers,* 105–25.

Elton, H. "Defining Romans, Barbarians, and the Roman Frontier." In *Shifting Frontiers*, 126–35.

Equini, E. S. *Malatya II: Rapporto preliminare delle campagnes 1963–1968, il livello romano-bizantins e le testimonianze islamiche.* Rome, 1970.

Falkner, R. K. "Jordan in the Early Islamic Period: The Use and Abuse of Pottery." *Berytus* 41 (1993–94): 39–52.

Faroqhi, S. *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: trade, crafts, and food production in an urban setting, 1520-1650*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Faroqhi, S. "Mar'ash," EI2.

al-Fazārī, A. I. *Kitāb al-siyār*. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1987.

Fiey, J.-M. "The Syriac Population of the Thughūr al-Shāmiya and the 'Awāṣim, and its Relation with the Byzantines and Muslims." In *Bilād al-Shām during the 'Abbāsid Period (132 A.H./750 A.D.–451 A.H./1059 A.D.)*, Proceedings of the Vth International Conference on Bilad al-Sham, edited by M. A. al-Bakhit and R. Schick, 45-53. Amman: Lajnat Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām, 1991.

Finley, M. I. "Archaeology and History." *Daedalus* 100.1 (1971): 168–86.

Foss, C. "Syria in Transition, A.D. 550–750: An Archaeological Approach," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997): 189–269.

Foss, C. "Lycia in History." In *Cities, Fortresses, and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor.* Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996.

Fossier, R. *Enfance de l'Europe*. Vol. 1. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982.

Francovich, R. and R. Hodges. *Villa to Village: the transformation of the Roman countryside in Italy, c. 400-1000*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2003.

Frangipane, M. and E. Bucak. "Excavations and Research at Zeytinlibahçe Höyük, 1999." *TAÇDAM* 1999, 109-131

Frézouls, E. "Recherches Historiques et Archéologiques sur la Ville de Cyrrhus." *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 4-5 (1954-1955): 89-128.

Gabbay, A. "The Language of Tolerance: Amir Khusraw and the Development of Indo-Persian Culture." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007.

Gabbay, A. "The Influence of the Frontier on Cultural Production in Medieval India: Amir Khosrow and New Systems of Meaning." Paper presented at the annual meeting of MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2005.

Gari, L. "A History of the Hima Conservation System," *Environment and History* 12.2 (2006): 213-228.

Garsoïan, N. "Paulicians." *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Gatier, P. -L. "Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin (4ème -7ème s.), Étude régionale." In *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Volume 2: *Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, edited by G. R. D. King and A. Cameron, 17-48. Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc., 1994.

Gearey, B. "Geoarchaeological Survey in South-east Turkey: The Domuztepe Environments Project." *Anatolian Studies*, forthcoming.

Genequand, D. "Umayyad Castles: The Shift from Late Antique Military Architecture To Early Islamic Palatial Building." In *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period,* edited by H. Kennedy, 3-25. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Gerber, Ch. "Die Umgebung des Lidar Hoyuk von hellenistischer bis fruhislamischer Zeit: Interpretation der Ergebnisse einer Gelandebeguhung." In *Continuity and Change,* 324–32.

Gerrold, D. *Space Skimmer*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1972.

Gil, M. *A History of Palestine 634-1099.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Gilotte, S. "L'Estrémadure centre-orientale (VIIIe-XIIIe s.): peuplement et forms d'habitat aux marges d'al-Andalus." PhD diss., Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2004.

Glick, T. F. *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Glick, T. F. "Tribal Landscapes of Islamic Spain: History and Archaeology." In *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Sense of Place in Western Europe*, edited by J. Howe and M. Wolfe, 113-135. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.

Goell, T. "Samosata Archaeological Excavations, Turkey 1967." *National Geographic Society Research Reports* (1967): 83–109.

Goldman, H. ed. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus I-III.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, 1956, 1963.

Golvin, L. "À la recherche de la cité médievale de Balis (Moyen-Euphrate)." In *Le Moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges,* edited by J. Cl. Margueron, 389-396. Leiden, 1980.

González Jiménez, M. "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350)." In *Medieval Frontier Societies,* 49–74.

Gough, M. "Anazarbus" *Anatolian Studies 2* (1952): 85-150.

Grabar, O., R. Holod, J. Knustad, and W. Trousdale. *City in the Desert: Qasr al-Hayr East*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Grabar, O. "Islamic Archaeology: An Introduction." *Archaeology* 24.3 (1971): 197-99.

Green, S. and S. Perlman. Preface to *The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries*. Edited by S. Green and S. Perlman. Orlando: Academic Press, 1985.

Greene, J. "The Water Mills of the 'Ajlūn-Kufranja Valley." *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 757-765.

Grohmann, A. "Die arabischen Inschriften der Keramiken aus Misis." *Istanbuler*

Mitteilungen 15 (1965): 243-63.

Gutiérrez Lloret, S. "El origen de la huerta de Orihuela entre los siglos VII y XI: Una propuesta arqueológica sobre la explotación de las zonas húmedas del Bajo Segura," *Arbor* 151 (1995): 65-93.

Gutiérrez Lloret, S. "La cerámica paleoandalusí del sureste peninsular (Tudmir): Producción y distrubución (siglos VII al X)." In *La cerámica alto medieval en el sur de al-Andalus*, edited by A. M. Cuello, 37-65. Granada: Universidad, 1993.

Gutiérrez Lloret, S. "La formación de Tudmir desde la periferia del estado islámico." *Cuadernos de Madīnat al Zahrā, III* (1991): 9-21.

Haase, C. -P. "The Excavations at Madīnāt al-Fār/Ḥiṣn Maslama on the Balikh Road." In *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, edited by H. Kennedy, 54-60. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Haase, C. -P. "Is Madinat al-Far, in the Balikh Region of Northern Syria, an Umayyad Foundation?" *Aram* 6 (1994): 245-257.

Haase, C. -P. "Ein archäeologischer Survey im Gabal Sbet und im Gabal al-Ahas." *Damaszener Mitteilungen* (Damascus: Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut) (1983): 69-76.

Haiman, M. "Agriculture and Nomad-State Relations in the Negev Desert in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 297 (1995): 29–53.

Haines, R. C. *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch.* Vol. 2: *The Structural Remains of the Later Phases*. Oriental Institute Publications 95. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971.

Haldon, J. F. "Some Considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century." In *State, Army, and Society in Byzantium: approaches to military, social and administrative history, 6th-12th centuries.* Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995.

Haldon, J. F. and H. Kennedy. "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization and Society in the Borderlands." *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloski Institut* (*Recueil des Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Byzantines*) (Belgrade) 19 (1980): 79–116.

Harper, R. "Athis-Neocaesareia-Qasrin-Dibsi Faraj." In *Le Moyen Euphrate: zone de*

contacts et d'échanges, edited by J. Cl. Margueron, 327-348. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.

Hartmann, R. "Al-Ḥadat al-Hamra'." *Istanbuler Forschungen* 17 (1950): 40-50.

Hartmann, R. "Iskandarūna," *EI2.*

Hassen, M. "Les Ribāṭ du Sahel d'Ifrīqiya: Peuplement et Évolution du Territoire au Moyen Age." Castrum 7, 147-162.

Hava, J.G. *al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary*. Fifth Edition. Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq, 1982.

Heather, P. *The Fall of the Roman Empire.* London: Macmillan, 2005.

Heberdey, R. and A. Wilhelm. "Reisen in Kilikien." *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Classe* 44.6 (1896): 1-169.

Heidemann, S. "The History of the industrial and commercial area of 'Abbāsid al-Raqqa, called al-Raqqa al-Muḥtariqa." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69.1 (2006): 32-52.

Heidemann, S. "Numayrid ar-Raqqa: Archaeological and historical evidence for a 'dimorphic state' in the bedouin dominated fringes of the Fatimid empire." In *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras,* Vol. 4, edited by U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.

Heidemann, S. *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261): vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo*. New York: E. J. Brill, 1994.

Hellenkemper, H. "Das Wiedergefundene Issos." In *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches: völker und kulturen zwischen Orient und Okzident Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indien*, edited by J. Ozols and V. Thewalt. Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1984.

Hellenkemper, H. "Die Stadtmauern von Anazarbos/'Ayn Zarba." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 7 (1990): 71-6.

Hellenkemper, H. *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien*. Geographica Historica 1. Bonn, 1976.

Hellenkemper, H. and F. Hild, F. *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna: Verlag der

Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986.

Henning, J. "Civilization Versus Barbarians? Fortification Techniques and Politics in the Carolingian and Ottonian Borderlands." In *Borders Barriers,* 23–34.

Herzfeld, E. "Bālis" EI1, 620-621.

Heywood, C. "The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths." In *Frontiers in Question*, 228–50.

Hild, F. "Eirenupolis in der Kilikia Pedias." In *Die epigraphische und altertumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens: Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, edited by G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenböck, 221–225. Vienna, 1993.

Hild, F. and M. Restle. *Kappadokien. Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos.* Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981.

Hild, F. and H. Hellenkemper. *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990.

Hillenbrand, C. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives.* Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999.

Hodgson, M. *The Venture of Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Holmes, C. "Byzantium's Eastern Frontier in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." In *Medieval Frontiers*, 83–104.

Honigmann, E. *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinisches Reiches von 363 bis 1071*. Vol. 3 of *Byzance et les Arabes*, edited by A. A. Vasiliev. Brussels, 1935.

Honigmann, E. *Le Couvent de Barsaumā et le Patriarcat Jacobite d'Antioch et de Syrie*. Louvain: 1954.

Honigmann, E. "Neronias-Irenopolis in Eastern Cilicia." *Byzantion* 20 (1950): 39-61.

Honigmann, E. "Mar'ash." *EI2*.

Honigmann, E. "Maṣṣīṣa" *EI1*, 521

Humann, K. and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien: ausgeführt im Auftrage der Kgl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 1890).

Ibn Ḥawqal. *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārḍ*. Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat Al-Ḥayā, 1964.

Ibn Khurradādhbih. *Kitāb al-masālik al-mamālik*. Leiden: Brill, 1889, 1967.

Ibn Shaddād. *al-'Alāq al-Khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra*. Vol. 2 Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1956–1991.

Idrīsī. *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq.* Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1989.

Istakhrī. *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

Isaac, B. *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Jabali, Y. "The Minaret de Meskéneh." In *Exposition des découvertes de la campagne internationale de sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Euphrate. Musée d'Alep*, edited by Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de la République Arabe Syrienne, 20-21. Aleppo, 1974.

Jacquot, P. *Antioch centre de tourisme*. Paris: Comité de tourisme d'Antioche, 1931.

Jalabert, L. and R. Mouterde. "Gabal al-A'la." In *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie.* Vol. 2, 338 (#624). Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939.

Jarno, R. "Tente et maison, le jeu annuel de la sédentarisation à Qdeir (Syrie)." In *Nomades et sédentaires*, edited by O. Aurenche, 191-229. Paris: Centre Jean Palerne, 1984.

Johnson, K. L. "Historical Archaeology in Ottoman Studies." Paper presented at the annual meeting of MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2007.

Jones, A. H. M. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Kaegi, W. E. "The Earliest Muslim Penetrations into Anatolia." In *Byzantium: State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides,* edited by A. Avramea, A. Laiou, E. Chryssos, 269-82. Athens National Research Foundation, 2003.

Kaegi, W. E. "Reconceptualizing Byzantium's Eastern Frontiers in the Seventh Century." In *Shifting Frontiers*, 83–92.

Kaegi, W.E. *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Kaegi, W. E. "The Strategy of Heraclius." In *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham*, Vol. 1, edited by M. A. Bakhit and R. Schick, 104-115. Amman: al-Jāmiʿah al-Urdunīyah, 1989.

Kaegi, W.E. "Observations on Warfare between Byzantium and Umayyad Syria." In *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham in the Umayyad Period*, edited by M.A. Bakhit and R. Schick, 49-70. Amman, 1989.

Kaegi, W. E. "The Frontier, Barrier or Bridge?" *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers*, 279-303. New Rochelle, NY: A. D. Caratzas, 1986.

Keiko, O. "The Expansion of the Muslims and Mountain Folk of Northern Syria – The Jarājima in the Umayyad Period." *Orient* 27 (1991): 74-94.

Kennedy, H. *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In*. Philadelphia, PA: De Capo, 2007.

Kennedy, H. *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Kennedy, H. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*. Essex, UK: Longman Group Limited, 1986.

Kennedy, H. "Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic Conquests to the Mid-Eleventh Century." In *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, edited by J. Shepard and S. Franklin, 133-43. Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992.

Kennedy, H. "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985): 141–83.

Keskil, S. "Yisiltepe in Tarsus, 1970." *Anatolian Studies* 21 (1971): 40-41.

Keskil, S. "Tarsus (Yisiltepe)." *Anatolica* 5 (1973-1976): 96-7.

Khoury, P. S. and J. Kostiner. "Introduction: Tribes and the Complexities of State Formation in the Middle East." In *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, edited by P.S. Khoury and J. Kostiner, 1-24. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.

Killebrew, A., M. -H. Gates, and G. Lehmann. "The Mopsus Survey (2004-2007 Seasons): Landscape Archaeology in the Issos and Iskenderun Regions,

Eastern Cilicia." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ASOR, San Diego, CA, 2007.

King, E. "A Journey through Armenian Cilicia." *Asian Affairs* 24 (1937): 234-36 (*Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 24).

King, G. R. D. "Settlement Patterns in Islamic Jordan: The Umayyads and their Use of the Land." In *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, edited by S. Tell, G. Bisheh, F. Zayadine, K. 'Amr, M. Zaghloul, 369-75. Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1992.

Kirchner, H. "L'Arqueología hidráulica a al-Andalus." In *El curs de les aigües: Treballs sobre els pagesos de Yābisa,* edited by M. Barceló, 29-35. Ibiza: Consell Insular d'Eivissa I Formentera, 1997.

Klein, J. *The Mesta, A Study of Spanish Economic History, 1293–1836.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1920.

Konrad, M. "Umayyad Pottery from Tetrapyrgium (Qseir as-Seileh), North Syria. Traditions and Innovations." In *Céramique Byzantine*, 163-191.

Kopytoff, I. "The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture." In *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, edited by I. Kopytoff, 3-84. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Kulikowski, M. "Ethnicity, Rulership, and Early Medieval Frontiers." In *Borders Barriers*, 247-254.

Langlois, V. "Voyage dans la Cilicie, Adana." *Revue Archéologique* 11.2 (1855): 641-51.

Langlois, V. *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les Montagnes du Taurus, exécuté pendant les années 1852-1853*. Paris, 1861.

Le Strange, G. *Palestine under the Moslems*. Beirut: Khayats, 1965.

Le Strange, G. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem conquest to the time of the Timur*. New York: AMS Press, 1976.

Leisten, T. "Balis. Preliminary Report on the Campaigns 1996 and 1998." *Berytos* 44 (1999-2000): 35-57.

Levy, R. "A Note on the Marsh Arabs of Lower Iraq." *Journal of the American*

Oriental Society 44 (1924): 130-133.

Libanius. *Autobiography (Oration I)*. Translated by A.F. Norman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Libanius. *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius.* Translated by A.F. Norman. Translated Texts for Historians 34. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.

Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. *Antioch: the City and the Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press 1972.

Lindner, R.P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1983.

Livne-Kafri, O. "A Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition Attributed to Daniel (in Light of a Jewish Tradition)." *al-'Usur al-Wusta* 17.1 (April 2005): 7–8.

Lilie, R. -J. "The Byzantino-Arab Borderland from the Seventh to the Ninth Century." In *Borders Barriers,* 13–21.

Lloyd, S. "Aşağı Yarımca." *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952), 11-13.

Lombard, M. "Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane Viie-Xie siècles" In *Espaces et réseaux du haut moyen âge.* La Haye: Mouton, 1971.

Luce, M. "Khurasān from the 8th through 11th centuries." Paper presented at the annual meeting of MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2005.

Lyonnet, B. "Settlement Pattern in the Upper Khabur (N.E. Syria), from the Achaemenids to the 'Abbāsid Period: Methods and Preliminary Results from a Survey." In *Continuity and Change*, 349-361.

Mackay, A. "Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier." In *Medieval Frontier Societies,* 217–22.

Mackendrick, P. "Roman Colonization and the Frontier Hypothesis." In *The Frontier in Perspective*, 3-19.

Mackensen, M. *Resafa I. Eine befestigte spätantike Anlage vor den Stadtmauern von Resafa*. Mainz am Rheim: Philipp von Zabern, 1984.

MacNeill, J.R. *Mountains of the Mediterranean World: an environmental history.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Madelung, W. "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Hims in the Umayyad Age." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31.2 (1986): 141–85.

Magness, J. *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

Magness, J. "A Reexamination of the Archaeological Evidence for the Sasanian Persian Destruction of the Tyropoeon Valley." *Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research* 287 (August 1992): 67–74.

Malalas, John. *The Chronicle of John Malalas*. Translated by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott. Byzantina Australiensia 4. Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986.

Malpica Cuello, A. "Repoblaciones y nueva organización del espacio en zonas costeras Granadinas." In *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla*, edited by M.A. Ladero Quesada, ed. Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1993, 513-58.

Malpica Cuello, A., ed. *La ceramic altomedieval en el sur de Al-Andalus*. Granada: Universidad, 1993.

Manzano Moreno, E. "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier: Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, Eighth to Eleventh Centuries," in *Frontiers in Question*, 32-54.

Marino Sanuto. *Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them Recover the Holy Land*. Part 14 of book 3, translated by Aubrey Stewart. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 12. New York: AMS Press, 1971.

Martínez Sanmartín, L.P. "El Estudio social de los espacios hidráulicos." *Taller d'Història* (Valencia) 1 (1993), 90-3.

Masarwa, Y. "From a word of God to archaeological monuments: A historical-archaeological study of the Umayyad ribaṭs of Palestine." PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005.

Masʿūdī. *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*. Baghdad, 1938.

Mathisen, R. W. and H. S. Sivan. Introduction to *Shifting Frontiers*, 1-10.

Matthews, R. "Landscapes of Terror and Control: Imperial Impacts in Paphlagonia." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67 (2004): 200–11.

Mayerson, P. "Towards a Comparative Study of a Frontier." *Israel Exploration Journal* 40.4 (1990), 267.

Mecerian, J. and R. Mouterde. "Inscriptions de l'Amanus et de Seleucie." *Melanges de l'Universite Saint Joseph* 25.5 (1942–43): 89-97.

Meiggs, R. *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Mellink, M. J. "Archaeology in Asia Minor: Addenda." *American Journal of Archaeology* 70 (1966): 280.

Mellink, M. J. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984): 448.

Mergen, Y. and A Deveci. "Akarçay Höyük Excavations: 2000." *TAÇDAM* 2000, 340-346.

Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, edited and translated by J.-B. Chabot. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901.

Miglus, P. A. & F. A. Stepniowski. *Die Frühislamische Keramik von Tall Aswad*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999, 19-29.

Mikati, R. "The Predicament of Islamic Archaeology." Paper presented at the annual meeting of MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2006.

Miles, G. C. "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935-1937." In *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies presented to Hetty Goldman,* edited by S. S. Weinberg, 297-312. New York, 1956.

Miller, D. H. "Frontier Societies and the Transition Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages." In *Shifting Frontiers,* 158-171.

Minorsky, V., trans. *Hudud al-'Alam: 'The Regions of the World'*. London, Luzac & Co., 1937.

Moore, J. *Tille Höyük 1: The Medieval Period*. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology, 1993.

Morabia, A. *Le gihad dans l'Islam medieval: Le combat sacré des origines au XIIIe siècle.* Paris: A. Michel, 1993.

Morgan, M. R., ed. *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197).* Paris: Paul

Geuthner, 1982.

Morony, M. *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

al-Mubārak, ‘A. *Kitāb al-jihād.* Cairo: Majma‘ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmīya, 1978.

Mullane, E. “Patterns in the Past: Model Building and the Identification of Settlement Change in the Kahramanmarash Archaeological Survey Project, Turkey.” MA thesis, UCLA, 2005.

Muqaddasī. *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-āqālīm*. Leiden: Brīl, 1906.

Muqaddasī. *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*. Translated by B. A. Collins. Reading: Garnet Publishing Ltd., 1994.

Nachlieli, D., Y. Masarawah, M. Ein-Gedi, and F. Sontag. “Ashdod-Yam.” *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 112 (2000): 101-103.

Naval Staff Intelligence Department (British Admiralty). *A Handbook for Asia Minor*, Vol. 4, Part 2 *Cilicia, Anti-Taurus and North Syria.* London: Naval Staff Intelligence Department, 1919).

Navarro, C. “El ma‘gil de Liétor: Un sistema de terrazas de origen andalusí en activo,” *I Congreso de Arqueología Peninsular,* Vol. 6: 365-78. Porto, 1995.

Nevo, Y. D. *Pagans and Herders: A Re-examination of the Negev Runoff Systems in the Byzantine and Early Arab Periods.* Sde Boqer: Israel Publications Service, 1991.

Northedge, A. *The Historical Topography of Samarra*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, Fondation Max van Berchem, 2005.

Northedge, A. “Archaeology and New Urban Settlement in Early Islamic Syria and Iraq.” In *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Volume 2: *Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, edited by G. R. D. King and A. Cameron. 231-66. Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc., 1994

Northedge, A. “Selected Late Roman and Islamic Coarse Wares.” In *The River Qoueiq, Northern Syria, and its Catchment: studies arising from the Tell Rifa’at Survey 1977-79*, edited by J. Matthers, 459-471. Oxford, 1981.

Northedge, A. et al. *Excavations at ‘Āna, Qal’a Island*. Warminster, UK: British School of Archaeology in Iraq and the Directorate of Antiquities, 1988.

Okamura, L. “Roman Withdrawals from Three Transfluvial Frontiers.” In *Shifting Frontiers,* 11–19.

Ökse, A.T., et al. “Research at Mezraa Höyük, 1999.” *TAÇDAM* 1999, 213-229.

Ökse, A. T. “Excavations at Gre Virike, 1999.” *TAÇDAM* 2000, 292-307.

Olster, D. “From Periphery to Center: The Transformation of Late Roman Self-Definition in the Seventh Century.” In *Shifting Frontiers,* 93–104.

Öney, G. “1978–1979 Yili Samsat Kazılarında Bulunan İslam Devri Buluntularıyla İlgili İlk Haber.” *Arkeoloji Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 1 (1982): 71–80.

Öney, G. “Thoughts on Glass Beaker Fragments found during the Samsat (Samosata) excavations in Adiyaman.” In *Aspects of Art and Iconography, Anatolia, and its Neighbors: Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, edited by M. J. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Özgüc, 461-66. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1993.

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi. *Keban Project Publications*. Ankara, 1970-1982.

Ory, S. “al-Hadath.” *EI2*.

Otto-Dorn, K. “Islamische Denkmäler Kilikiens.” *Jahurbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 2.2 (1952): 117f.

Ousterhout, R. *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005.

Ozaner, F. S. “Dörtyol-Payas (Issos) Ovası’nda (Antakya) Tarihi Çağlardan Günümüze Süregelen Jeomorfolojik Değişkliklerin Kinet Höyük Üzerindeki Etkileri.” *AS*T 12 (1994): 513–27.

Özdoğan, M. *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey*, Lower Euphrates Project Publication Series I, no. 2. Istanbul: Middle East Technical University Keban and Lower Euphrates Projects, 1977.

Ozgen, I. and M. -H. Gates. “Report on the Bilkent University Archaeological Survey in Cilicia and the Northern Hatay: August 1991.” *AST* 10 (1992): 387-94.

Özgüç, N. “Samsat 1984 yılı kazıları” *KST* (1985): 221-227.

Palmer, A. *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993.

Parker, S. T. *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986.

Pellat, C. "Ǧāhiẓiana, I: Le Kit-ab al-Tabaṣṣur bi-l-tiǧara attribute à Ǧāḥiẓ," *Arabica* 1.2 (1954), 153-165.

Pentz, P. *From Roman Proconsularis to Islamic Ifrīqīyah*. Göteborg: Nationalmuseet Göteborgs Universitet, 2002.

Pérez Medina, T.V. "Regadiu i poblament als afores de l'Horta de València." *Afers* 33/34 (1999): 603-17.

Pettegrew, D. K. "Chasing the Classical Farmstead: Assessing the Formation and Signature of Rural Settlement in Greek Landscape Archaeology." *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14:2 (2001).

Pharr, C., trans. *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Consitutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.

Pohl, W. "Frontiers and Ethnic Identities: Some Final Considerations." In *Borders Barriers*, 255-265.

Poidebard, P.A. "La Route Septentrionale Antioch-Chalcis-Palmyre." *Melanges Syriens offert a Monsieur Rene Dussaud* 2. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939.

Pollock, S. and R. Bernbeck. "Excavations at Fıstıklı Höyük." *TAÇDAM* 1999, 59-60.

Popović, A. *The Revolt of African slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th century*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999.

Porath, Y. "Caesarea – 1994-1999,"*Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 112 (2000): 34-40.

Pournelle, J. "Marshland of Cities: Deltaic Landscapes and the Evolution of Early Mesopotamian Civilizations." PhD diss., University of California San Diego, 2003.

Poveda Sánchez, A. "La investigación sobre el hidraulismo andalusí y los asentamientos localizados en el Alto Maestrazgo (Castellón)." *Revista de Historia Económica* 17 (1999): 343-69.

Powers, D. and N. Standen. Preface to *Frontiers in Question,* viii–x.

Pringle, D. *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest: an*

account of the military history and archaeology of the African provinces in the sixth and seventh centuries. BAR International Series 99. Oxford: BAR, 1981.

Puglisi, S.M. and P. Meriggi. *Malatya I: Rapporto preliminare delle campagne 1961 e 1962.* Rome, 1964.

Rashev, R. "Remarks on the Archaeological Evidence of Forts." In *Borders Barriers,* 51–58.

Ramsay, W.M. *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. Royal Geographic Society Supplementary Papers, Vol. 4. London: John Murray, 1890.

al-Rāshid, S. *al-Rabadhah: a Portrait of Early Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia.* Essex: Longman, 1986.

Rautmann, M. "Archaeology and Byzantine Studies." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990): 137–65.

Raymond, A. and L. Golvin. "Meskeneh/Balis." In *Exposition des découvertes de la campagne internationale de sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Euphrate. Musée d'Alep*, edited by Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de la République Arabe Syrienne, 107-111. Aleppo , 1974.

Raymond, A. and J.-L.Paillet. *Balis II. Histoire de Balis et fouilles des îlots I et II.* Paris, 1995.

Reale, O. and P. Dirmeyer. "Modeling the Effects of Vegetation on Mediterranean Climate during the Roman Classical Period, Part I: Climate History and Model Sensitivity." *Global and Planetary Change* 25 (2000): 163–84.

Reale, O. and J. Shukla. "Modeling the Effects of Vegetation on Mediterranean Climate during the Roman Classical Period, Part II: Model Simulation." *Global and Planetary Change* 25 (2000): 185–214.

Redford, S."Early Islamic Antioch." Paper presented at the Third International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (ICAANE), Paris, 2002.

Redford, S. *The Archaeology of the Frontier in the Medieval Near East: Excavations at Gritille*. Philadelphia: University Museum Publications, University of Pennsylvania, 1998.

Redford, S. "How Islamic is it? The Innsbruck Plate and its Setting." *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 119-135.

Redford, S., S. Ikram, S., E.M. Parr, and T. Beach. "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 38 (2001): 58-138.

Redford, S. "Medieval Ceramics from Samsat, Turkey." *Archeologie Islamique* 5 (1995): 55-80.

Redford, S. "Ayyubid Glass from Samsat, Turkey." *Journal of Glass Studies* 36 (1994): 81-91.

Reynolds, R. J. "The Mediterranean Frontiers, 1000–1400." In *The Frontier in Perspective*, 3-21.

Rice, D. "Medieval Harran: Studies on its Topography and Monuments, I." *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952): 36-84.

Riley-Smith, J. "Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem." In *Medieval Frontiers*, 121–31.

Robinson, C. "Tribes and Nomads in Early Islamic Northern Mesopotamia." In *Continuity and Change*, 429-52.

Rooke, T. "Writing the Boundary: *Khitat al-Shām* by Muhammad Kurd 'Ali." In *The Concept of Territory in Islamic Law and Thought*, edited by Y. Hiroyuki, 165-186. London: Kegan Paul International, 2000.

Rotman, Y. *Les Esclaves et l'Esclavage: de la Méditerranée antique à la Méditeranée medieval Vie-XIe siècles.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004.

Rowton, M.B. "Enclosed Nomadism," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17.1 (1974): 1-30

Rowton, M. B. "Urban Autonomy in a Nomadic Environment." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973): 201-215.

Rowton, M. B. "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26.4 (1967): 261-77.

Sack, D. *Resafa IV. Die Große Moschee von Resafa – Rusafat Hisam*. Mainz am Rheim: Philipp von Zabern, 1996.

Sahlins, P. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Salmeri, G., A. L. D'Agata, L. Falesi, C. Oliva, F. Martorano. "Cilicia Survey 2002." *Anadolu Araştırma Toplantısı* 21.2 (2003): 111-115.

Sarre, F. and E. Herzfeld. *Archaologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet.* Berlin, 1911.

Schick, R. *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*: *An Historical and Archaeological Study*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995.

Schloen, D. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol*. Winona Lake, IN: Eiseunbrauns, 2001.

Schwartz, G., H. H. Curvers, F. A. Gerritsen, J. A. MacCormack, N. F. Miller, J. A. Weber. "Excavation and Survey in the Jabbul Plain, Western Syria: The Umm el-Marra Project, 1996-1997." *AJA* 104.3 (2000): 419-62.

Sénac, P. "Une fortification musulmane au nord de l'Ebre: le site de La Iglesiata." *Archéologie Islamique* 1 (1999): 123-146.

Serdaroğlu, Ü. *Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin, 1975* (*Aşağı Firat Havzasında Arastırmalar 1975),* Lower Euphrates Project Publications Series I, no. 1. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1977.

Sertok, K. and F. Kulakoğlu. "Results of the 1999 Season Excavations at Şaraga Höyük." *TAÇDAM* 2000, 475-486.

Seton-Williams, M. V. "Cilician Survey." *Anatolian Studies* 4 (1954): 121-174.

Sevgen, N. *Anadolu Kaleleri.* Ankara, 1959.

Shaban, M. A. *Islamic History: A New Interpretation*. A.D. 750–1055 (A.H. 132–44). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Shahîd, I. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century.* Vol. II, Part I: *Toponymy, Monuments, Historical Geography, and Frontier Studies.* Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002.

Shaw, B. D. "Bandit highlands and lowland peace: The mountains of Isauria-Cilicia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33 (1990): 199-233, 237-70.

Shephard, J. "Emperors and Expansionism: From Rome to Middle Byzantium." In *Medieval Frontiers*, 55–82.

Shepard, J. "Byzantium in Equilibrium, 886-944." In *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 553-556. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995-2004.

Shephard, J. "Byzantine Relations with the Outside World in the Ninth Century: An Introduction in: Byzantium in the Ninth Century." In *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the 30th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, edited by L. Brubaker, 167-180. Brookfield, VT, Variorum, 1998.

Shoup, J. "Middle Eastern Sheep Pastoralism and the Hima System." In T*he World of Pastoralism: herding systems in comparative perspective*, edited by J. G. Galaty and D. L. Johnson, 195-215. New York: Guilford Press, 1990.

Simpson, St. J. "From Tekrit to the Jaghjagh: Sasanian Sites, Settlement Patterns and Material Culture in Northern Mesopotamia." In *Continuity and Change*, 87-123.

Sinclair, T. A. *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey.* Vol. 4. London: The Pindar Press, 1990.

Sirks, A. J. "Shifting Frontiers in the Law: Romans, Provincials, and Barbarians." In *Shifting Frontiers,* 146–57.

Sivan, E. *l'Islam et la Croisade: idéologie et propagande dans les reactions musulmanes aux Croisades*. Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1968.

von Sivers, P. "Taxes and Trade in the 'Abbāsid Thughūr*,* 750–962/133–351." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25 (1982): 71-99.

Sizgorich, T. "Martyrs, Monks and *Mujāhidūn*: Militant Piety in Late Antiquity and Early Islam." PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005.

Smith, A. *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Smith II, A. M. "Reconsidering the *Territorium* of Roman Aila." Paper presented at the annual meeting of ASOR, San Diego, CA, 2007.

Smith, J. Z. "Map is not Territory." In *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, 289-310. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Snead, J. "The Local Survey around Domuztepe." UCLA Archaeological Projects in Turkey, http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/nelc/stelasite/james.html. (accessed March 3, 2008).

Sodini, J. -P., G.Tate, B. Bavant, S. Bavant, D. Orssaud, J. -L. Biscop. "Déhès (Syrie du Nord), Campagnes I–III (1976-1978), Recherches sur l'habitat rural." *Syria* 57 (1980): 1–303.

Spellberg, D. A. "The Umayyad North: Numismatic Evidence for Frontier Administration." *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 33 (1988): 119–27.

Squatriti, P. "Moving Earth and Making Difference: Dikes and Frontiers in Early Medieval Bulgaria." In *Borders Barriers*, 59–60.

Stacy, D. *Excavations at Tiberias, 1973–1943: The Early Islamic Periods.* Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004.

Stein, G. "Medieval Regional Settlement Organization in the Gritille Hinterlands." In *The Archaeology of the Frontier in the Medieval Near East: Excavations at Gritille, Turkey*. Philadelphia: University Museum Publications, University of Pennsylvania, 1998.

Stephenson, P. "The Byzantine Frontier at the Lower Danube in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." In *Frontiers in Question*, 80–104.

Strabo. *The Geography of Strabo*. Translated by H.L. Jones. Vol. 7. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917-1932.

Stranieri, G. "La frontière byzantino-lombarde de la Pouille (Italie): Sources écrites, traditions locales, recherches archéologiques." In *Centre, Region, Periphery: Medieval Europe Basel 2002*, Vol. 1, edited by G. Helmig, B. Scholkmann, and M. Untermann, 228-33. Hertingen: Folio Verlag Dr. G. Wesselkamp, 2002.

Straughn, I. "Materializing Islam: An Archaeology of Landscape in Early Islamic Period Syria (c. 600-1000 CE)." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2006.

Straughn, I. "The Landscape of the Islamic Frontier: General Remarks on Archaeological Features, Medieval Geographical Representations and the Importance of Islamic Spatial Discourses." Paper presented at the Eurasian Archaeology Conference, University of Chicago, 2005.

Taeschner, Fr. "Adana." EI2

Talbert, R. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Taşyürek, O. A. "1973 Yılı Kilikya Araştırma." *Türk Arkeoliji Dergisi* 12.1 (1975): 117-118.

Taşyürek, O.A. "Anavarza, 1972." *Anatolian Studies* 23 (1973): 15-17.

Taşyürek, O.A. "Cilician Excavations and Survey, 1973." *Anatolian Studies* 24 (1974): 26.

Tate, G. *Les Campagnes de la Syrie du nord du Iie au VIIe siècle: Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique dans les campagnes à la fin de l'antiquité*. Paris: Libr. orientaliste P. Geuthner, 1992.

Tchalenko, G. *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: Le massif du Bélus a l'époque romaine, I–III*. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1953–58.

Teodor, E. S. "The Shadow of a Frontier: The Walachian Plain during the Justinianic Age." In *Borders Barriers*, 205–46.

Texier, C. "De Tarse á Trebizonde, fragment d'un journal de voyage, juin 1836." *Revue française* 5 (1838): 94-110.

Texier, C. *Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique.* Paris, 1862).

Theodoret of Cyrrhus. *A History of the Monks of Syria*. Translated by R.M. Price. Cistercian Study Series 88. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1985.

Tinnefeld, F. "Die Stadt Melitene in ihrer späterem byzantinischen Epoche (934-1101)." In *Acts of the 14th International Congress 1971,* vol. 2, 435-43. Bucharest, 1974.

Tobin, J. *Black Cilicia: A Study of the Plain of Issus during the Roman and Late Roman Periods*. BAR International Series. Oxford, England: John and Erica Hedges, 2004.

Tonghini, C. *Qal'at Ja'bar Pottery: A Study of a Syrian Fortified Site of the late 11th-14th centuries.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Torró, J. "El problema del hábitat forticado en el sur del reino de Valencia después de la segunda revuelta mudéjar (1276-1304)." *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 7 (1988-1989): 53-81.

Traina, G. *Paludi e Bonifiche del Mondo Antico: saggio di archeologia geografica*.

Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1988.

Trimingham, J. S. *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times.* New York: Longman, 1979).

Trombley, F. "The Decline of the Seventh Century Town: the Exception of Euchaita." In *Byzantine Studies In Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, edited by Sp. Vryonis, 65-90. Malibu, CA : Undena Publications, 1985.

Turner, F. J. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." In *The Frontier in American History*, 1-38. New York: Henry Holt, 1920.

Ur, J. A. "The Evolution of Settlement at Tell Brak: New Data on Urban Emergence." Paper presented at the annual meeting of ASOR, Washington, D.C., 2006.

Ur, J. A. "The Evolution of Settlement at Tell Brak, Syria: Preliminary Results of the 2003 Surface Collection." Paper presented at the annual meeting of ASOR, San Antonio, TX, 2004.

Ur, J. A. "Archaeological Survey and Landscape Studies in the Hamoukar Region, 1999-2001." In Arabic, translated by S. al-Quntar. *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syrienne,* in press.

Ur, J. A. and T. J. Wilkinson,"Settlement and Economic Landscapes of Tell Beydar and its Hinterland." In *Beydar Studies I*, edited by M. Lebeau. Turnhout: Brepols, in press.

Vaiou, M. "Diplomatic Relations Between the Abbasid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire: Methods and Procedures." DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2002.

Varınlıoğlu, G. "Living in a Marginal Environment: Rural Habitat and Landscape in Southeastern Isauria." Paper presented at Urban and Rural Settlement in Anatolia and the Levant 500–1000 AD: New Evidence from Archaeology, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposium, Washington, D.C., 2005.

Vasiliev, A. A. *Byzance et les Arabes*. Bruxelles: Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales, 1935.

Vasiliev, A. A. *History of the Byzantine Empire*, *324–1453.* Vol. 1. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952.

Vezzoli, V. "L'insediamento di epoca islamica nell'area di Tell Leilan (Gazira settentrionale): studio del materiale ceramic." *Tesi di Laurea quadriennale in "Lingue e Civiltà oriental."* Venice: Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2004.

de Vogüé, M. *Syrie centrale. Architecture civile et réligieuse de 1er au VIIe siècle*. Vols. 1-2. Paris: J. Baudry, 1865-77.

Vorderstrasse, T. "A Countermarked Byzantine coin of Heraclius (610-41) from Tell Kurdu." *The Numismatic Chronicle* 166 (2006): 433-438.

Vorderstrasse, T. "The Romanization and Christianization of the Antiochene Region: The Material Evidence from Three Sites." In *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch,* edited by I. Sandwell and J. Huskinson, 91-94. Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Company, 2002.

Walmsley, A. *Early Islamic Syria.* London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2007.

Walmsley, A. "Economic Developments and the Nature of Settlement in the Towns and Countryside of the Levant, ca. 565–705 CE." Paper presented at Urban and Rural Settlement in Anatolia and the Levant 500–1000 AD: New Evidence from Archaeology, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposium, Washington, D.C., 2005.

Walmsley, A. "Turning East. The Appearance of Islamic Cream Ware in Jordan: The "End of Antiquity"? In *La Céramique Byzantine*, 305-313.

Ward-Perkins, B. "Land, Labour, and Settlement," *Cambridge Ancient History* 14 (2001): 315–45.

Ward-Perkins, B. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Watson, A. M. *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The diffusion of crops and farming techniques, 700-1100.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1983.

Watson, O. "Report on the glazed ceramics." In *ar-Raqqa I: die Frühislamische Keramik von Tall Aswad*, edited by P. A. Miglus, 81-87. Mainz am Rheim: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999.

Watson-Truemann, B. "Beyond the Cedars of Lebanon: Phoenician Timber Merchants and Trees from the 'Black Mountain.'" *Die Welt des Orients* 31 (2000/01): 75-83.

Weir, T. H. "Hārūnīyya." *EI2,* 234-235.

Weulersse, J. *Le Pays des Alaouites*. Vol. 1 Tours: Arrault & C[ie], Maitres Imprimeurs,

1940.

Whallon, R. *An Archaeological Survey of the Keban Reservoir Area of East Central Turkey*. Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan 11. Ann Arbor: Regents of the University of Michigan, 1979.

Wheatley, P. *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands Seventh through the Tenth Centuries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Wheatley-Irving, L. "Samosata and its Environs in the 7th–9th Centuries CE." Paper presented at the annual meeting of ASOR, Cambridge, MA, 1999.

Whitcomb, D. "Letters from the Field: In Search of Lost Mar'ash." *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 171 (Fall 2001).

Whitcomb, D. "Archaeological Research at Hadir Qinnasrin, 1998." *Archèologie Islamique* 10 (2000): 7–28.

Whitcomb, D. "Toward a *Common Denominator*: An Archaeological Response to M. Morony on Pottery and Urban Identities." In *Identity and Material Culture in the Early Islamic World*, edited by I. A. Bierman, 47-66. Los Angeles, UCLA, 1995.

Whitcomb, D. "Reassessing the Archaeology of Jordan of the 'Abbāsid Period." In *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* IV (1992): 385–90.

White, R. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Whittaker, C. R. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Wilkinson, T. J. *On the Margin of the Euphrates: Settlement and Land Use at Tell es-Sweyhat and in the Upper Lake Assad area, Syria.* Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2004.

Wilkinson, T. J. *Archaeological Landscapes in the Near East.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003.

Wilkinson, T. J. "Archaeological Survey in the Amuq Valley," *The Oriental Institute 2001–2002 Annual Report* (2002): 20-23.

Wilkinson, T. J. "Water and Human Settlement in the Balikh Valley, Syria: Investigations from 1992-1995." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 25.1 (1998):

63-87.

Wilkinson, T. J. “The History of the Lake of Antioch: A Preliminary Note.” In *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour*, edited by G. Young, M. Chavalas, and R. E. Averbeck, 557-76. Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997.

Wilkinson, T. J. *Settlement and Land Use at Kurban Höyük and other Sites in the Lower Karababa Basin*. Vol. 1 of *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia.* Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, 1990.

Wilkinson, T. J. and D. J. Tucker. *Settlement Development in the North Jazira, Iraq: A Study of the Archaeological Landscape*. Baghdad: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, Department of Antiquities & Heritage, 1995.

Wilkinson, T. J., E. S. Friedman, E. Alp, and A. P. J. Stampfl. “The Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin: Spatial and Chronological Patterning of Sedimentation in the Amuq Plain, Turkey.” *Recherches en Archéométrie* 1 (2001): 211-26.

Williams, A. “Crusaders as Frontiersmen: The Case of the Order of St. John in the Mediterranean,” in *Frontiers in Question*, 209–27.

Winter, E. and M. Blömer. *Doliche. Eine antike Stadt an der Schnittstelle der Kulturen* (2006).

Winter, E. "Doliche in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Eine kommagenische Stadt zwischen Tradition und Innovation." In *Stadt und Stadtentwicklung in Kleinasien,* edited by E. Schwertheim and E. Winter, 51-67. Asia Minor Studien. Bd. 50. Bonn, 2003.

Wittek, P. “Deux Chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum.” *Byzantion* 11 (1936): 285–319.

Wittfogel, K. *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

Woolley, Sir L. *A Forgotten Kingdom*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1953.

Wyman, W. and C. Kroeber. Introduction to *The Frontier in Perspective*, xiii–xx.

Woldring, H. and E. Kleine, “Preliminary Report on Holocene Vegetation and Landscape of the Kahramanmaraş Valley.” In *Survey and Excavation on the Syro-Anatolian Frontier,* edited by E. Carter, forthcoming.

Wolfskill, G. and S. Palmer. Introduction to *Essays on Frontiers in World History*, edited by G. Wolfskill and S. Palmer, 3-11. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Woods, J.E. *The Aqquyunlu*: *Clan, Confederation, Empire*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.

Yakar, J. and A. Gürsan Salzmann. "Archaeological Survey in the Malatya and Sivas Provinces, 1977." *Tel Aviv* 6 (1977): 34-53.

Ya'qūbī. *Kitāb al-Buldān.* Lugduni Batavorum: E.J. Brill, 1892.

Yāqūt. *Muʿjam al-buldān*. Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1955-1957.

Yāqūt. *Marāṣid al-Ittilā' 'alā Asmā' al-Amkina wa al-Biqāʿ*. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992.

Yardımcı, N. *Harran Ovası yüzey araştırması*. Istanbul: [Nurettin Yardımcı], 2004.

Yener, K. A., C. Edens, T. P. Harrison, J. Verstraete, and T. J. Wilkinson. "The Amuq Valley Regional Project, 1995–1998." *AJA* 104.2 (2000): 163-220.

Yener, K. A. and T. J. Wilkinson. "Amuq Valley Regional Project." *Oriental Institute 1998–1999 Annual Report* (1999).

Yener, K. A. and T. J. Wilkinson. "Amuq Valley Regional Project." *Oriental Institute 1997–1998 Annual Report* (1998).

Yener, K. A. and T. J. Wilkinson. "Amuq Valley Regional Project." *Oriental Institute 1995–1996 Annual Report* (1996).

Young, G. *Return to the Marshes: Life with the Marsh Arabs of Iraq.* London: St. James Place, 1977.

Zakeri, M. *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: the origins of 'Ayyārān and Futuwwa.* Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1995.

al-Zaid, S. "The Apocalyptic Frontier: Tarsus and the End of the World." Paper presented at MEHAT, University of Chicago, 2004.

Zeyrek, T.H., et al. *Besni: Parala-Octacuscum-Bahasna: Anadolu'nun güneydogusunda antik bir kent ve yakin çevresinin arkeolojik açidan genel degerlendirmesi.* Istanbul: T.C. Besni Belediye Baskanlığı, 2006.

Zozaya, J. "The Islamic Consolidation in al-Andalus (8th-10th Centuries): An

Archaeological Perspective." In *Colloque Inernational d'Archéologie Islamique*, edited by R.-P. Gayraud (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1998), 245-58.