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Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity
to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham
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Settlement Patterns, Economic Development and
Archaeological Coin Finds in Bilad al-Sham: the Case
of the Diyar Mudar – The Process of Transformation
from the 6th to the 10th Century A.D.

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Settlement Patterns, Economic Development and Archaeological Coin Finds in Bilad al-Sham: the Case of the Diyar Mudar – The Process of Transformation from the 6th to the 10th Century A.D.

Stefan Heidemann

1. INTRODUCTION¹

The historian of early Islamic Bilad al-Sham has almost no primary source material; legal or political documents are lacking. Most historical information derived from later medieval but secondary sources such as chronicles, biographical dictionaries and poetry written from the perspective of a major capital, a ruler, a ruling house, or one of the different Islamic communities. Furthermore Arabic historiography began as late as in the second half of the 2nd/8th century and thrived in the 4th/10th century.

At first glance Byzantine and Islamic archaeology in Bilad al-Sham seems to operate within a well known historical environment, compared with earlier periods, but historical information about medium sized cities or smaller settlements, compared to major urban centres, is scant at best. Almost nothing is known about villages in the countryside, in most cases not even their contemporary names. Archaeology in general and legends on coins in particular, as well as coin finds from archaeological contexts can provide further independent information about the settlements. Coins are the only textual sources for the reconstruction

of history and settlement patterns which can be found on almost every site². Coin finds, archaeology and literary evidence belong together for their mutual interpretation³.

First, a brief overview is given about the current state of numismatic research in both the Syrian Arab Republic and adjacent regions historically connected to it. Secondly, this study examines the archaeology of the Diyar Mudar or Osrhoene on a regional level. Coins as texts and archaeological coin finds are presented as a parallel independent source for settlement patterns from the 6th to the 10th century AD.

2. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A RELIABLE PARALLEL SOURCE TO LITERARY TEXTS

2.1. GENERAL REMARKS

Islamic numismatics is still in its infancy⁴. Our present knowledge is far from being on the same level as our knowledge of Greek, Roman and Byzantine coinage. Not all coin types have yet been discovered and many remain undated and

¹ I am grateful to the directors of the joint Syrian missions, first of all to Murhaf al-Khalaf, former director of Antiquities and Museums in the Governorate al-Raqqa until 2006. He generously supported my research. Michael Meinecke was the first to direct my attention to the coin finds in Syria in general and to the urban history of al-Raqqa in particular. I am also grateful to Sophie Berthier, Claus-Peter Haase, Haytham Hasan, Julian Henderson, Kay Kohlmeyer, Jan-Waalke Meyer and Eva Strommenger-Nagel who invited me to take part in their missions and allowed me to study the coins from their excavations. A grant by the German Research Foundation (DFG), as part of the project 'The New Economic Dynamics in the Zangid and Ayyubid Period', allowed me to visit the smaller settlements and sites in the Balikh valley (2005). We were accompanied by the

knowledgeable Mahmud al-Hasan from the Museum of al-Raqqa. I am grateful to Lidewijde de Jong, Susan Tyler-Smith und Marcus Phillips for a careful English revision of the text, and Hans-Christoph Noeske for critical comments.

² For a similar holistic approach, see Keddie 1984.

³ Noeske 1978.

⁴ Islamic numismatics had almost ceased with WWI. After WWII it started again slowly. Since the beginning of the 1990s the study of Islamic coins re-emerged on an academic level, at the same time when important collections were established or re-established, for instance Tübingen, Oxford and Jena. However a chair for Islamic history and numismatics is still missing. For a brief account about the state of the discipline and different approaches see Heidemann 2005a.

could not be attributed to a mint or date. Sometimes even their relative place in the sequence of issues is unknown. This explains why few reliable reports on Islamic coins from excavations in Bilad al-Sham were available until the late seventies/early eighties of the past century⁵. Even in the eighties significant groups of coins were sometimes classified as ‘Abbasid’, ‘Mamluk’ or merely as ‘unidentifiable’. A break through came with a scientific approach in the middle of the nineties, reflecting the general rise in the study of Islamic numismatics⁶. Compared to the abundance of numismatic material from classical antiquity, Islamic coins – in particular from controlled excavations – are scarce, thus limiting the large-scale use of statistical analysis⁷. The interpretation of small numbers of coins must always take the specific circumstances of the excavation into account⁸.

How can one use random coin finds to construct a reliable source for the political and economic history of a region and its settlements? Sometimes there are thousands of coins, sometimes less than a handful. Islamic coins found during excavations are usually heavily corroded

bronze coins, fragments of precious metal coins or debased silver. Hoards of precious metal coins are of little use in defining settlement patterns; since the circumstances of their archaeological loss follow different rules⁹. Some economic concepts must also be considered: the shift from rural subsistence to the division of labour and urban markets is indicated by the use of copper coins and other petty coinage. The degree of their use defines the extent to which a monetary economy and market activity prevailed in pre-modern societies. Most important for the reconstruction of history are, first, ‘significant sites’. These are characterised at best by a sufficient number of coins, a known archaeological context and almost continuous records in literary sources. The more coins available from one site the more precise the reconstructed historical narrative, based on the coins, can be¹⁰. Even the so-called ‘surface finds’ at these sites, with no stratigraphical context but from the area and often brought to the archaeologists by local workers, are important¹¹. Secondly, the lesser coin yield of minor sites can now be compared within the geographical grid of ‘significant sites’ to create information.

⁵ George C. Miles compiled the first modern scientific excavation report on coin finds for Antioch in 1948 and Persepolis 1959. Pioneering publications of the late 1970s for Bilad al-Sham are the reports by Gilles Hennequin and Abu l-Faraj al-‘Ush 1978 on the finds from Balis (see fn 16), Arlette Nègre 1980–1 on al-Rahba and Cécile Morrisson 1980 on Dahas. Heinz Gaube was probably the first who attempted to connect coin finds from the Khabur survey with the regional history (1979). In publications prior to 1978 generally only the few, illustrated coins are of any use for modern research. Most older Islamic coins finds need to be revisited. The Islamic coins found in the large scale pre-WWII excavations in Hama and Antioch – the first yielded about 8,400 and the second about 5,000 Islamic coins – far surpass in numbers the yield of any Syrian excavations since. They are not, though, properly catalogued yet.

⁶ Lutz Ilisch’s publication on the coin finds of al-Rusafa in 1996 marked a new step in the recording and interpreting of coin finds. Ilisch not only identified most of the coins, based on unpublished material in collections, but was also able to interpret coin circulation in relation to historical development – making the coins meaningful to the archaeologist and historian alike. Published in the same year, the present author followed a similar approach on the coin finds from Islamic Assur (northern Iraq); Heidemann – Miglus 1996.

⁷ See for example Gitler – Weisburd 2005. The authors used statistical methods on more than 15,000 late Roman coins from archaeological sites in historical Palestine. But even in this period great numbers can be misleading without taking the archaeological circumstances and shifting settlement patterns into account. For the Fayyum oasis, Hans-Christoph Noeske operates with about 100,000 coins, but he has almost no coin finds from the core of the settlements for his study, only from their fringes. Thus periods, like the Umayyad one, where only the settlement had shrunk to its core are almost missing from his sample; whereas blossoming periods of an increasing population settling at the fringes are over represented; Noeske 2006, 13–14.

⁸ For the interpretation of archaeological coin finds see the study of Noeske 1978.

⁹ Compare Potin 1976. Gold and silver coins are rare as single finds and usually turn up in hoards, reflecting private, mercantile and public hoarding for various reasons. Hoards of copper and of debased small silver coins are rare, because they could be easily replaced for hoarding by a few good silver coins or a fragment of a gold coin. However these hoards of petty coins reveal traits of the local monetary economy, which single coin finds of petty coinage do not provide.

¹⁰ The interpretation of coin finds, however, must be done with caution and with knowledge of the archaeological context. A number of factors influence the composition of coin finds from one site. Most important among them are building as well as destructive activities, the latter mostly as result of military action. An archaeological sounding within an extended urban complex opens only a small window into its past. Different soundings within a large complex, like that of the citadel in Damascus, or within extended urban sites like al-Raqqa and even a minor settlement like Tall Rifa‘at produced different compositions of coin finds. At first, they can only be representative for the immediate area itself.

¹¹ In practice the danger of ‘polluting’ the coin yield with ‘intruders’ which do not belong to the site is minimal for an experienced field numismatist. Michael Meinecke used to collect all the coins from the workers for a moderate *bakhsbīsh*, under the sole condition that they had to report whether these were from excavated layers or from elsewhere. In this way he alerted the workers to look for small finds, thus increasing the numismatic yield for historical interpretation, without ‘polluting’ the stratigraphy. In 1993, the present author was suspicious about some small groups of coins from outside the excavation area which, based on their composition, he presumed they came from the region of Mardin. This indeed turned out to be correct as they were brought by a worker from ‘Ayn al-‘Arus, whose family migrated from the region of Mardin to Syria.

Knowledge of the archaeological context and the methods of excavation have to be acquired in order to interpret the coin finds. The methods used influences the degree of observation and therefore the number of small finds¹². This can vary significantly¹³. Some groups of coins are recognized as coins by everyone, some only by the educated eye while others usually escape the excavator's and the worker's attention, due to their small size, odd shape or heavy corrosion¹⁴.

Coin finds of more than 300 coins from the major sites should provide a characteristic pattern of the petty coin circulation in the region. They allow estimates of the survival rate of certain coin types and their significance. For a reconstruction of these patterns a sound knowledge of coin types and the prevailing juridical and monetary system determining the archaeological survival rate of coins is necessary.

2.2. THE GEOGRAPHICAL GRID OF COIN FINDS: THE BODY OF EVIDENCE

During the past twenty years the present author has been able to build up a framework for the

interpretation of coin finds in the Syrian Arab Republic and neighbouring regions. The dating of coins is more precise than pottery, almost to the decade and, taken together with their archaeological context, coins tell us when a settlement was flourishing, when it declined and when it regained its prosperity. The main sources of evidence are Aleppo¹⁵ and Balis¹⁶ in the north, Damascus¹⁷ in the south, and Masyaf¹⁸ in the west. Al-Raqqā¹⁹ on the Euphrates serves as main source for the Jazira, followed by Harran²⁰, al-Rusafa²¹, al-Rahba²², and Madinat al-Far²³.

Two important pre-WWII excavations could constitute major points of reference in the future. These are Hama where a Danish mission unearthed 8,400 coins (now in Copenhagen²⁴), and Antioch where the American excavations have found 5,000 coins (now in Princeton²⁵). Their identification and analysis remain desiderata. Funding is needed to preserve this part of history of Bilad al-Sham.

Smaller coin finds from 17 further sites and three surveys, often with less than 50 coins or with insufficient descriptions from each, can now be inserted into the grid of 'significant sites' and compared with this larger body of evidence to become

¹² Compare Keddie 1984, 711.

¹³ At al-Raqqā there is a remarkable difference between the five coins found in 1969 from palace A and the Samarra' period complex and the several hundred coins excavated in minor building complexes by Michael Meinecke; Heidemann 2003a, chapter XII.

¹⁴ For example, in Damascus important early Mamluk silver coins of rectangular shape with a greenish earthen patina were retrieved from the box of miscellaneous metal fragments excavated in the citadel. They had not been recognised as coins before.

¹⁵ The excavation was directed by Wahid Khayyata and Kay Kohlmeyer. The author took part in the excavation on the citadel mound in 1999 and 2003. About 600 coins had been catalogued by now.

¹⁶ Hennequin – al-'Ush 1978. The excavation in Balis yielded 848 coins. Already at the beginning of the 1980s Nicholas Lowick (1980) and Lutz Ilisch (1981) have tried to interpret the coins as a historical source on coin circulation in their reviews.

¹⁷ The excavation within the citadel of Damascus was directed by Edmond al-'Ajjī and Sophie Berthier. It yielded about 550 coins. The author studied the finds in 2003. Only few coins have been published; Heidemann 2003b.

¹⁸ Excavated under the direction of Haytham Ali Hasan, DGAMS. It yielded about 350 coins, studied by the author in 2005. For a preliminary overview on the coin finds see Heidemann 2006b.

¹⁹ These coins come from several joint missions by Murhaf al-Khalaf, Michael Meinecke, Eva Strommenger and Julian Henderson. Heidemann 1999; Heidemann 2003a, chapter XI–XII; Heidemann 2005b; Heidemann 2006a; Heidemann 2007.

²⁰ In the 1950s Lloyd Brice and David Storm Rice of the British Archaeological Institute in Ankara, excavated the citadel and the congregational mosque. The first 28 coins were published in Lloyd – Brice 1951 and are now in Istanbul. The other seasons yielded about 300 coins, now housed in the British Museum; Heidemann 2002a.

²¹ 476 Islamic coins; Ilisch 1996; Korn 2004. In addition information about the Byzantine coins which belong to the circulation of the Islamic period see Mackensen 1984, 27–36.

²² 174 coins; Negrè 1980–1.

²³ Between 1987 and 2001 Nassib Salibi, Murhaf al-Khalaf and Claus-Peter Haase of the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin undertook archaeological exploration and excavation at this site. In 2001 the present author studied about 210 coins.

²⁴ The citadel mound of Hama was excavated between 1931 and 1938 by the Danish Fondation Carlsberg. More than 8,400 Islamic coins were retrieved. No other place in Syria has yielded more Islamic coins. In the 1940s, Erling Hammershaimb (1904–1994), a historian of religion and Arabist, managed to catalogue 1,256 of these, of which he considered 800 as unidentifiable. Due to the lack of information on Islamic coins available at that time, many of the remaining 400 coins were misattributed. This is apparent from the few accompanying plates. In November 1998 the present author was able to make a preliminary study of some of these coins in Copenhagen. Hammershaimb – Thomson 1969.

²⁵ Excavated 1932 and 1939 by the 'Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and Its Vicinity'. Under the lead of Princeton University several institutions joined this mission, the Louvre Museum, the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Worcester Art Museum, and in 1936 the Fogg Art Museum and Center for Byzantine Studies/Dumbarton Oaks at Harvard University. The Islamic coins were then studied by George C. Miles in 1948 and the medieval non-Islamic coins by Dorothy B. Waagé in 1952. These were only selections and the majority of the coins is still waiting for further study in Princeton. Alan Stahl, curator of the coin collection in Princeton, has informed me that since then Harry Bone and Tasha Vorderstrasse have identified more coins (personal e-mail 10 October 2006). For a recent use of the coins for a revised chronology of Antioch's urban development see Magness 2003, 206–209.

historically meaningful comparisons. These originate from

- northern Syria: the monastery of St. Barlaam (65 km south west of Antioch, 70 coins of the Islamic period)²⁶; Mina (20 km south-west from Aleppo, today almost at the coast, 105 coins)²⁷; Dahas (some 40 km west of Aleppo, about 70 coins)²⁸; Tall Rifa'at (35 km north of Aleppo, 48 coins)²⁹; Tall 'Amarna (125 km north-east of Aleppo, 8 coins)³⁰; Tall Abu Danna (some 30 km east of Aleppo, 3 coins)³¹; Dibsi Faraj (east of Aleppo at the Euphrates, 129 coins)³²; Hadir Qinnasrin (25 km south-west of Aleppo, 8 coins)³³.
- southern Syria: Busra (26 coins)³⁴ and Jabal Says (24 coins).
- the Syrian desert: Qusayr al-Sayla (Tetrapyrgium, 15 coins)³⁵; Isriyya (10 coins)³⁶; Palmyra (5 coins)³⁷ and Qasr Hayr al-Sharqi (300 coins)³⁸.
- the western Jazira: Tall Mahra (12 coins)³⁹; Kharab Sayyar (4 coins)⁴⁰; Tall Khunaydij (Tell Knedij; Khabur valley, 4 coins)⁴¹ and Tall Tunaynir (northern Khabur valley, unspecified number)⁴².
- Three settlement surveys yielded coins from a number of minor places. The first, published in 1978, was conducted along the river Khabur. 17 coins were acquired in four different locations and briefly described⁴³. The second and more important survey explored the region between Dayr al-Zawr and Abu Kamal and yielded small numbers of coins – from 1 to 19 – from eleven locations which were all properly

described⁴⁴. The 363 coins belonging to the Islamic period of the 'Amuq survey in the Antioch plain were summarised in charts. The survey included Chatal Hüyük, Tall Judayda and Tall Ta'ayinat⁴⁵.

2.3. HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF COIN FINDS FROM SYRIA

Data from coin finds must first to be placed in their proper historical contexts provided by the chronicles, as well as in the legal framework provided by medieval juridical handbooks. Coin finds are the material remains of a social system of market exchange within a legal framework and influenced by political history. They reflect the state of the monetary economy or the level of exchange within urban markets.

The historical interpretation of the archaeological sequence⁴⁶ of coins has to take into account the estimated length of time each issue circulated and the presumed areas of circulation. The relative frequency of certain coin types, both in excavations and in comparison with major public collections⁴⁷, qualifies them as archaeologically 'significant coin types'. These types can be expected to occur in any group of archaeological coin finds of sufficient size from a designated period and region. These 'significant coins' were struck in larger quantities and survived in larger numbers. They are thought to be the dominant petty coinage. Their presence or absence can be used for dating a site and for comparing its history with that of neighbouring sites.

²⁶ M. Hendy, N. Lowick and D. M. Metcalf in Djobadze 1986, 217–222.

²⁷ Allen 1937; Robinson 1937; Vorderstrasse 2005, see CD-Rom, mostly Byzantine coins of the 6th and 7th centuries AD.

²⁸ Morrisson 1980.

²⁹ Clayton 1967; Militký – Novák 2002; Heidemann 2003d.

³⁰ Callataÿ 1993.

³¹ Doyen 1987.

³² Harper 1980. The coin finds were briefly described by Muhammad al-Khouli, formerly director of the Islamic department in the National Museum of Damascus. Among them is a hoard of 34 Umayyad copper coins. This hoard is fully illustrated and could be easily re-examined; Heidemann 2007.

³³ In 1998 at an early stage of the German-French-American mission 8 coins were recorded by the present author.

³⁴ Rotter 1985; Heidemann 2005d.

³⁵ Baldus – Ilisch 2001.

³⁶ Excavation in the temple of Seriana by Rüdiger Goggräfe, German Archaeological Institute in Damascus; Goggräfe 1993. For the first identification of this location see Haase 1975, 47. The coins were studied by the author in 1995.

³⁷ Krzyzanowska 1963.

³⁸ Michael Bates in Grabar *et al.* 1978, 189–190. Some 300 coins were found, 102 of them recorded and cleaned and about 60 briefly described.

³⁹ During a visit of the author to the site in September 2005 two copper coins were found on the surface. One was a Kufa-type imitation the other one belonged to the same period. These coins are now in the Raqqa Museum. Photos of further 10 coins were kindly provided by Lidewijde de Jong.

⁴⁰ Heidemann 2003c.

⁴¹ Heidemann 2005c.

⁴² Fuller – Fuller 1996.

⁴³ Gaube 1979. There are two unpublished reports on these coins by Karlheinz Kessler "Verzeichnis der griechischen, römischen und byzantinischen Fundmünzen" (dated 1991), and by Lutz Ilisch on the Islamic finds. The latter was not available to the present author.

⁴⁴ The survey was conducted by Sophie Berthier; Gyselen 2001.

⁴⁵ Vorderstrasse 2005, 2 fn 5 and the charts on an attached CD. The coins of the 'Amuq survey will be subject of a detailed discussion in the forthcoming study by T. Vorderstrasse: Coins from the Plain of Antioch.

⁴⁶ The archaeological sequence is different from the sequence of coin issues from a mint. The first provide information on a specific excavation site, the latter on the city of origin.

⁴⁷ Some copper coin types are grossly overrepresented in collections, but rare in excavation contexts; for example the so called 'standing caliph'-type approximately dating to 72–77/691–697. See below fn 89.

Not all coin types are significant. Some are extremely rare and only found in a few systematic collections but never in regular excavations or are found in one excavation but were unknown otherwise. The 'significant coin types' of a region and period allow one to distinguish between coins which were locally struck and belonging to the local circulation zone, coins which were regularly imported from other regions for local circulation, and coins which were accidental losses by foreigners⁴⁸. It must be admitted that the definition of the 'significance' of a certain coin type is still to a large extent a matter of experienced discretion. Knowledge of excavation finds and collections form the basis and our definitions will become more sound as more data are collected⁴⁹. The monitoring of coin finds in the Syrian Arab Republic is still in its infancy.

Due to the corroded state in which early Islamic bronze coins are usually found⁵⁰, coins are often illegible and frequently only a small part of the design is visible even to an experienced eye⁵¹. Knowledge and experience on how coins do corrode also helps to identify certain groups. The identification of excavated coins is mainly based on a familiarity with the coin types but this information cannot at present be provided solely by the study of published works. The situation is very different from Greek, Roman or Byzantine numismatics, whereby most coin types were already known in the 19th century. In the case of the Islamic coins, one still needs to use unpublished material in public collections in order to reduce the number

of unidentified coins⁵². The available Islamic material in public collections has grown tremendously, by at least tenfold, since WWI but only a small part has yet been published. This applies particularly to Syrian numismatics of the Abbasid and Mamluk periods, which yielded a rich variety of types, many unpublished and still only known from collections⁵³. In Germany the situation changed in the nineties of the past century with the establishment of curated collections in Tübingen and Jena.

3. CASE STUDY: SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE DIYAR MUDAR

3.1 OVERVIEW

The Osrhoene or Diyar Mudar in present-day Syria is one of the best surveyed and archaeologically explored regions of the early Islamic period. Exploration started in 1907 when Mark Sykes surveyed the archaeological sites in the Balikh valley, published in his 'Journeys in North Mesopotamia'⁵⁴. In the 1980s Kay Kohlmeyer conducted a survey in the middle Euphrates region at the delta of the Balikh valley⁵⁵. In 1994 Karin Bartl's observation on the pottery laid the foundations for all future research on Islamic settlement patterns in the Balikh valley. This study was part of a general archaeological exploration project in the Syrian Balikh valley by Peter M.M.G. Akkermans and M. N. van Loon of the University of Amsterdam⁵⁶. Tony Wilkinson studied historical

⁴⁸ Deciding which of these alternatives is correct can be based on the frequency of the coins' archaeological occurrence and in comparison with historical events. Or even better – but more rare – is a reference to their use in literary sources. For example Ilisch 1996, and the coins of al-Basra 136 h found in al-Rusafa; their presence suggests a connection with military movements and battles during the wars of succession after the death of the caliph Abu l-'Abbas. This idea was later supported by the absence of these coins from the finds of al-Raqqa and other places in the Middle Euphrates region. For the literary evidence see for example Heidemann 2002b, 391–421, concerning the import of Byzantine copper coins at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century. They were referred to in the Arabic literary sources as *qaratīs* (sing. *qirtās*).

⁴⁹ The situation is different in Europe where a systematic cataloguing process has been established for example in the archaeological departments of the federal states in Germany after WWII. The resulting project "Fundmünzen der Antike (Coin Finds of the Classical Period)" and its numerous publications allow for more far reaching historical conclusions. Several European countries have adopted this model. It will now be extended to the medieval coin finds as well.

⁵⁰ Islamic coins are usually made of a metal which corrodes much more easily than, for example, Roman coins. The surface of late Roman bronze coins was usually slightly silver enriched giving them better protection against chemical reaction with the environment. Early Islamic coins usually

have a significant lead content, giving them a 'golden', yellowish appearance. Islamic coins of the later middle ages were usually, by contrast, almost pure copper. Both alloys tend to react easily in an acid environment. The results of a recently undertaken metal analysis by J. Riederer, Rathgen-Forschungslabor Berlin, and the present author are currently in preparation for publication.

⁵¹ The conservation department of the National Museum of Damascus has for many years done an excellent job on the coin finds from various sites.

⁵² If all coin finds are electronically photographed, the images can be taken to any collection for comparative purposes.

⁵³ See fn 4. It should be mentioned here that the rich and important coin collection of the National Museum of Damascus has remained an almost untapped source for the history of Syria since the days of Muhammad Abu l-Faraj al-'Ushsh, who passed away in 1984.

⁵⁴ Sykes 1907.

⁵⁵ Kohlmeyer 1984; Kohlmeyer 1986. Berthold Einwag conducted a 'western Jazira survey' but focussed on the Ancient Orient; Einwag 1993.

⁵⁶ Bartl 1994a; Bartl 1996. The problems of all these settlement surveys and the counting of sites per period were made obvious by Jodi Magness in the case of a region in historical Palestine. There are questions of continuous use of pottery types, and communal installations without alterations as well as historical preconceptions, Magness 2003, esp. 72–74. 195–199.

water management in the same project⁵⁷. Recently, under the direction of Jan-Waalke Meyer, Islamic settlements in the Wadi Hamar adjunct to the north east of the Balikh valley have been surveyed⁵⁸.

The most important sites in terms of coin finds are those excavated by various joint missions in al-Raqqā and Tall al-Biʿa on the Euphrates (Fig. 1) and in the northern plain of Harran. Madinat al-Far, the early Islamic Hisn Maslama, lies almost at the junction of the Balikh river with the Wadi Hamar (Fig. 2). It consists of a square complex (330 x 330 m), with an attached, walled, almost trapezoid extension with sides about 1,000 m long⁵⁹. The urban ruin of Kharab Sayyar, located within the Wadi Hamar, measures 650 x 650 m (Fig. 3). In the middle Abbasid period it had served as a regional centre and can be identified with the small Abbasid town of al-Jarud⁶⁰. The major town between Hisn Maslama and al-Raqqā was Tall Mahra (Fig. 4)⁶¹. It yielded a small number of coins. Five important sites and settlements are still missing from the map of coin finds. These are the metropolis of al-Ruhaʿ/Edessa/Urfa and Saruj (present day Sürüç) in the north, both in modern Turkey. Two other places are mentioned in the sources, but need more archaeological investigation: Bajadda, presumably present-day Khirbat al-Anbar⁶² a few kilometres south of Hisn Maslama (Fig. 5), and Bajarwan, which was identified by Karin Bartl with Tall Damir al-Sharqi and al-Gharbi on opposite banks of the Balikh river⁶³. A fifth site between Madinat al-Far and Harran on the western side of the valley also requires a closer archaeological investigation. ʿAyn al-ʿArus⁶⁴ has

so far yielded a hexagonal geometrical mosaic of 92 m², presumably belonging to a bathhouse. It can roughly be dated to the late antiquity⁶⁵.

3.2. THE BYZANTINE PERIOD AND THE EARLY DECADES OF ARAB RULE

In the Byzantine period the Diyar Mudar was called Osrhoene⁶⁶. The emperor Justinian I (reigned 527–565 AD) rebuilt his eastern border defences and, according to the historian Procopius (d. 555 AD), Batnae (Saruj), Edessa (al-Ruhaʿ), Carrhae (Harran) and Kallinikos (al-Raqqā al-Baydaʿ) were restored and fortified⁶⁷. During the Byzantine and early Islamic period until the foundation of al-Rafīqa in 155/772, the centre of growth lay in the north at al-Ruhaʿ and Harran. Literary sources, archaeological evidence, and coin finds show the steady rise of this region. The sixth century is well represented by coin finds⁶⁸ from Harran⁶⁹, al-Raqqā⁷⁰ and Tall al-Biʿa⁷¹. Also, if we look to the south of the Euphrates to al-Rusafa and to the west of it to Balis, coin finds give the impression of a flourishing Byzantine landscape. Karin Bartl identified 37 sites dating to the Roman-Byzantine period, 23 of which could safely be ascribed to the Late Roman/Byzantine era⁷². However the mountainous region south of the Euphrates at Samosata, still in the Diyar Mudar, seems to have suffered from the Byzantine to the early Islamic period⁷³.

Until the Islamic conquest Edessa/al-Ruhaʿ remained the capital of the province of Mesopotamia⁷⁴. The Sasanian wars and occupation of

⁵⁷ Wilkinson 1998; see also Schirmer 1987.

⁵⁸ Jan-Waalke Meyer, *Wadi Hamar-Survey – Frühislamische Perioden – Kartierung der Siedlungen (1997–2000)*, to be published.

⁵⁹ Haase 1991; Haase 1994; Haase 1996; Haase 2001; Haase 2006.

⁶⁰ Meyer 2000; Meyer 2001; Meyer *et al.* 2001; Meyer 2006 and Heidemann 2003c.

⁶¹ Haase 1991, 207, identification of the site. Karin Bartl studied the pottery; Bartl 1994a, 215–217, 255f.; Bartl 1994b; Bartl 1999–2000. Murhaf al-Khalaf and Lidewijde de Jong are currently exploring this site; De Jong – Kaneda, Tell Sheikh Hasan.

⁶² Yaqut, *Buldan*, 453; Bartl 1994a, 219, 255.

⁶³ Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Masalik*, 97; Yaqut, *Buldan*, I, 454. Bartl 1994a, 209–210, 256.

⁶⁴ Regling 1901, 461–462; Gogräfe 1995, 179 (extensive discussion of the literature), and Thomas Weber (fn 66) suggest that ʿAyn al-ʿArus might be identified with the late Roman Davana at the source of the Balikh. Ibn Khurradadhbih (*Masalik*, 175) and Yaqut (*Buldan* II, 725) mention al-Dhahbana or al-Dhahbaniyya indeed as a source of the Balikh. However Yaqut, *Buldan*, I, 734–735, also mentions that it was close to Harran and that Hisn Maslama is located 5 miles (8 km) downstream. This reference was not used by the authors mentioned above and makes the identifica-

tion of Davana with ʿAyn al-ʿArus unlikely. The first mention of ʿAyn al-ʿArus in the historical records is, as far as the present author knows, in connection with a skirmish in the year 497/1104; Heidemann 2002b, 193–194.

⁶⁵ Al-Ḥalaf – Weber 1995; Weber 2003, 72. The design is geometric with a few floral designs at the edges. The tesserae range in colour from ochre, red and black to dark brown. A continuation of this town into the Umayyad period should be investigated. For the discussion of the mosaic I would like to thank Denis Genequand and Alastair Northedge.

⁶⁶ For Byzantine Osrhoene see Dillemann 1962, 104–110; Gogräfe 1995, 173–179.

⁶⁷ Procopius, *De aedificiis* II.VII.1–18, pp. 67–68.

⁶⁸ Even in Madinat al-Far one *folles* was found, although the site has evidently no Byzantine layer; Heidemann, Hisn Maslama, inv. no. MF95-33.

⁶⁹ Heidemann 2002a, no. 1 and a second among the coin finds preserved in Istanbul.

⁷⁰ Heidemann 2003a, chapter XII nos. 20–26: 5 folles and 2 half folles.

⁷¹ 5 folles and 4 half folles, Heidemann 2007, nos. 21 to 29.

⁷² Bartl 1996, 334.

⁷³ Wilkinson 1990, vol I, 126–129.

⁷⁴ See Schmitt 2001, 204–206; Foss 2003, esp. 156; Heidemann 2003a, 13.

the Osrhoene between 606–7 and 628 and further the Islamic conquest in 18/639 left no archaeological remains: there are no destruction layers⁷⁵ or significant strata of coins⁷⁶; nor do the literary sources mention any destruction in this region⁷⁷. On the contrary irregular mints were established in Syria to supplement the circulating stock of copper coins⁷⁸. The immigration of the Arab Mudar tribe into the Balikh region went without detectable interruption in the settlements, taking probably the pasture of the Ghassanid tribes which left for the Byzantine territory⁷⁹. This is contrary to the situation in Byzantine Asia Minor where cities like Ephesus and Sardis were badly damaged and life was disrupted⁸⁰.

In 18/639 an Islamic army under the command of ʿIyad ibn Ghanm occupied the cities of Kallinikos and al-Ruhaʿ and the rest of the Diyar Mudar by agreement. During the first decades of Islamic rule, coins/*folles* of Heraclius and of his successor Constans II (reigned 641–688 AD) were in circulation (Fig. 6). The latter must have been imported from Byzantium and have been found at every Syrian site of this period. In the Diyar Mudar coins of Heraclius and Constans II were found in Harran (3), al-Raqqa (8), Tall Mahra (2) Tall al-Biʿa (1), and in the vicinity in al-Rusafa (3), in Balis (3), and in Isriyya (Serianos/Suriyya) (3). These imports are an indication that, in some respects, Byzantine distribution practice did not cease with the Arab-Islamic occupation⁸¹. The conquered provinces were perhaps seen by the Byzantine government as merely being in temporary rebellion. The coin import from Byzantium came to an halt in about 655–658 AD⁸². These Byzantine coins together with their subsequent imitations – one was found in al-Raqqa⁸³ (Fig. 7)

and another one in Tall Mahra⁸⁴ – probably circulated until the late 70s/690s or even longer.

3.3. REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN THE Umayyad PERIOD

Members of the Umayyad ruling house and their retainers founded as landed gentry estates in the Diyar Mudar as elsewhere. They invested in irrigation – following the Sasanian pattern, thus laying the foundations for the economic blossoming of the region during the Umayyad and early Abbasid period⁸⁵. The chronicles mention a number of building activities in the region, especially during the reign of Hisham ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (reigned 105–125/724–743) while he was residing in al-Rusafa⁸⁶. Irrigation canals were constructed with adjacent estates (*ḡaiʿa*), al-Hani wa-l-Mari, as well as south of al-Raqqa a manor (*ḡaiʿa*) Wasit al-Raqqa; a bridge and a market were built in al-Raqqa; Hisn Maslama and its nearby villages were founded in the north. The chronicle of Dionysius of Tall Mahra (d. 230/845) tells us that Jacobite monasteries around Kallinikos/al-Raqqa, and in the north around al-Ruhaʿ, were flourishing in the early Abbasid period. This is confirmed by archaeology.

In the period of ʿAbd al-Malik (reigned 65–86/685–705) in the 70s/690s Umayyad Harran and al-Ruhaʿ issued copper coins of the standing caliph type (Fig. 8), thus proving their importance as major urban markets⁸⁷. Neither of these issues nor any other coin of the standing caliph type have turned up in any of the Syrian excavations mentioned above. They are not archaeologically significant and thus must have been comparatively scarce issues⁸⁸. Presumably they were only supple-

⁷⁵ Gábor Kalla, however, suspected a destruction of parts of the monastery Tall al-Biʿa in al-Raqqa during the middle of the 7th century, the period of the Sasanian wars and the Arab conquest; Kalla 2004, 263 fn. 36. But on the contrary, Umayyad coins of the 2nd/8th century are well represented on the site; see Heidemann 2007. Kalla's supposition would weaken the identification of this monastery with the Dayr Zakkaʿ which is mentioned in the sources until the 10th century; Krebern timer 1991.

⁷⁶ However, the Museum in al-Raqqa preserves a hoard of about 20 Byzantine gold coins from the 7th century, mainly from the period of Heraclius which need further attention. It was briefly studied by the author in 1991; Heidemann 2003a, 170.

⁷⁷ For the history of this period see Foss 1997, Foss 2003 and Foss 2004.

⁷⁸ Pottier 2004.

⁷⁹ Aṣmāʿī, Tārīkh, 111–112. See the discussion Posner 1985, 328–329, Posner 1988, Heidemann 2003, 13–14 and ʿAthamina 1986, 199.

⁸⁰ In Asia Minor, the destruction layers contained numerous coin finds; Foss 1975 and Foss 1977.

⁸¹ See also for some trade patterns which continued uninter-

rupted after the initial Muslim invasion; Morony 2004, 179.

⁸² Heidemann 1998; Phillips – Goodwin 1997, 67.

⁸³ Heidemann 2003a, chapter XII, no. 36.

⁸⁴ Tall Mahra, trench 1,2,3, coin no. 2 and no. 4.

⁸⁵ Compare Kennedy 1992; Morony 2004.

⁸⁶ Compare Bacharach 1996, 30–31; Heidemann 2003a, 18, 20–22.

⁸⁷ A die-study of these issues is currently in preparation by Ingrid and Wolfgang Schulze, Essen, in order to measure the actual size of this issue.

⁸⁸ The standing caliph coins in general – which are common in public collections – are absent almost from any published excavation in Syria. This proves that collections were usually a selection, where rarer coins usually were better represented than in their own time, and frequent coins are necessarily under represented. Among the coins from the excavation in Tall Mahra, a rather unfocused photo of only one side of the coin might show an example of the standing caliph type; Tall al-Mahra, no. THS05-02. In the Jund al-Urdunn, in Jarash, however four coins of the standing caliph type were found in an regulated excavation; Bellinger 1938, no. 549; Marot 1998, nos. 1450–1452.

menting the Byzantine *folles*, mainly those of Constans II and their imitations, which were still the dominant circulating coinage. In the Umayyad period Harran became the capital of the northern Mesopotamia and the northern super province which extended from the Euphrates to the Caucasus⁸⁹. In the later Umayyad period, first al-Rusafa, then Harran, became caliphal residences thus adding to the growing importance of this region which was at the crossroads from Syria to Iraq and from Palestine to Asia Minor and the Caucasus. In Harran the caliph Marwan II (reigned 127–132/744–750) set up an additional mint for precious metal during his residence. In these last decades of Umayyad rule, Harran surpassed al-Ruha' in importance⁹⁰.

The coin finds from the period of the reforms, from the end of the 70s/690s to the end of the Umayyad period, show a broad variety of mints and types and allow us to comment on the regional patterns of movements. One may expect coins from Harran and al-Ruha' to be the dominant finds of the Umayyad and early Abbasid period, but they are not. Only one coin of Harran and an additional one from an undetermined mint in the Diyar Mudar⁹¹ was found at al-Raqqa/Tall al-Bi'a, out of 24 Umayyad coins of this period⁹². In Harran only 2 out of 10 Umayyad coins are of northern Mesopotamian origin⁹³. Al-Jarud yielded two Umayyad coins and neither of them originates from the Diyar Mudar. These coins, though, follow a common and significant pattern.

First, the excavated coins show that there was a well-traveled route from Palestine, Dimashq, Hims, Tadmur and al-Rusafa to al-Raqqa and further north to Harran. The predominance of certain coins at sites along this route was first recognised by Lutz Ilisch, analysing the coin finds from al-Rusafa⁹⁴. According to the coin finds the road seems to have been especially frequented during the period of Hisham's residence in al-Rusafa, when he also built a bridge over the Euphrates. The coin finds from Tetrapyrgium between al-Raqqa and al-Rusafa reflect this southern route and its proximity to al-Rusafa⁹⁵. Surprisingly, very few coins from the northern Syrian mints, namely the prolific mints of Aleppo and Qinnasrin, have been found in al-Raqqa, Tetrapyrgium and al-Rusafa. Secondly, the coin finds from the northern Diyar Mudar, from Harran and Hisn Maslama, show a connection via Saruj and Manbij with northern Syria, that is Aleppo and Qinnasrin, but fewer coins than those of the southern connection. Thirdly, al-Raqqa, Harran and al-Jarud, were well connected to the east, via Ra's al-^cAyn, to Mosul. To sum up, coin evidence suggests that the Diyar Mudar, with its caliphal residences, had stronger connections with the flourishing imperial centres

of Damascus and al-Ramla than with the cities of northern Syria.

Although a broad variety of copper coins circulated in the Diyar Mudar during the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, there were nevertheless attempts to control the circulation and perhaps to unify it. Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik made al-Rusafa his residence and in 116/734–5 new copper coins were struck in mints in the Diyar Mudar, at al-Ruha' and Harran (Fig. 9), as well as at the mints of Jund Hims, Jund Dimashq and Jund al-Urdunn. They and their subsequent imitations are significant archaeological markers for the period between 116/734–5 and the 140s/760s. Although they differ in design they share certain features, consisting of a diameter of about 20 to 21 mm and weigh about 4 g which is significantly heavier than earlier copper coins. The religious inscription on the issues in the Diyar Mudar and the Jund al-Urdunn starts with parts of the *ṣūrat al-ikhblāṣ* (Sura 112), the preferred text on the contemporary current silver and gold coins. Two copper coin hoards of about the 120s/740s from Tall al-Bi'a and Dibsī Faraj (Qasirin) on the Euphrates suggest that this reform probably intended the new coins to replace the previous lighter copper coins⁹⁶. The success of this reform seems limited. In the second half of the 120s/740s the copper coinage of the cities once again developed independently and imports from southern Syria and the Diyar Rabi'a continued into the Abbasid period. Within the Diyar Mudar the coins of the 116/734–5 reform remained the 'significant copper coinage' in circulation. They were imitated until the prototype was hardly recognisable, proving that they were common for several years or decades, presumably until the 140s/760s. These coins and their imitations were frequent among the single coin finds from al-Raqqa (2–3 examples), Harran (2), Tetrapyrgium (1) and al-Rusafa (25).

⁸⁹ Blankinship 1994, 50–57

⁹⁰ For the *dirham* mint of Harran see Bates 1989; Heidemann 2002a, 271. For the lesser importance of the Kallinikos al-Raqqa at that time see Heidemann 2003a, 11–23.

⁹¹ Heidemann 2007, no. 41.

⁹² Heidemann 2003a, chapter XII, no. 42.

⁹³ Heidemann 2002a, nos. 13, 14.

⁹⁴ Ilisch 1996, 130–131.

⁹⁵ Ilisch in Baldus – Ilisch 2001. Among the 10 identifiable Umayyad coins were 2 from al-Rusafa, 1 from Hims, 2 from Damascus, 1 from al-Ramla, 1 from Mosul, 2 from undetermined Syrian mints and only 1 from the Diyar Mudar.

⁹⁶ An analysis of both hoards can be found in the forthcoming publication of the Tall al-Bi'a excavation; Heidemann 2007 (hoard Bi84-27/49 to 71); Harper 1980. The reform was briefly mentioned by Ilisch 1993, 7, and then by Bone 2000, 287–289.

3.4. Umayyad AND EARLY Abbasid SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The strategic importance of this area in general, and that of the Diyar Mudar in particular, and its growing prosperity during the Abbasid period, is evidenced by the numerous newly planned cities and other building activities. The urban and economic growth was not confined to the caliphal building project of al-Rafiqa which was founded in the year 155/772. In this early Abbasid period, building, and thus settlement expansion, can be archaeologically traced at Hisn Maslama (Fig. 2), al-Jarud (Fig. 3), Tall Mahra (Fig. 4), and in Bajadda (Fig. 5). These share an almost rectangular layout and have distinct city walls. Excavations at the first three sites revealed projecting half towers. Bajadda and Bajarwan, mentioned above, have not yet been archaeologically explored.

The first archaeologically 'significant' Abbasid copper coins were struck by al-^cAbbas ibn Muhammad at his capital Harran between 142/759 and 155/772 (Fig. 10) when he was governor of the northern, now Abbasid, super province al-Jazira. He was the first powerful governor in the area after a period of turmoil caused by the Abbasid usurpation and the wars of succession following the death of the first Abbasid caliph Abu l-^cAbbas (reigned 132–136/749–754). In Harran 7 to 8 examples of this type were found⁹⁷, 9 were found in Madinat al-Far, 2 in al-Raqqā, and only 1 in al-Rusafa. Among the 5 coins found in Kharab Sayyar there is one example⁹⁸. No coins of this type were found in Tetrapyrgium, Balis, Aleppo or in al-Rahba. The circulation was seemingly confined to Harran and its vicinity, and the Diyar Mudar.

The coin finds of Hisn Maslama seem to demonstrate the transformation of an Umayyad agricultural estate of the landed gentry to a rural town. The foundation of Hisn Maslama is connected in the literary sources with the famous commander Maslama ibn ^cAbd al-Malik (d. 121/738). In 114/732 he resigned from military service and retired to his estates in the Diyar Mudar, probably to Hisn Maslama in the Jazira, although he possessed a homonymous estate close to Balis, currently excavated by Thomas Leisten of Princeton University. This foundation by Maslama can be identified with the northern enclosure of about 330 x 330 meter. Surprisingly, in Madinat al-Far no Umayyad coin finds can be associated with his lifetime⁹⁹. The sequence of coin finds begins after his death, in 121/738, with about 4 coins datable to the 120s/740s. The following issue of al-^cAbbas ibn Muhammad is surprisingly abundant, with 9 examples. The latter is also the most numerous single group among the coin finds of Hisn Masla-

ma, thereby making it the most common single coin type in archaeological excavations in the region.

How can this be explained¹⁰⁰? There are at least two possibilities. First, the building complex might have served as military post with the character of a princely residence. This seems unlikely and can be rejected because garrison sites usually yield an abundance of small coins which were used as a means of exchange for daily needs. Secondly, Hisn Maslama could have been the administrative centre of Maslama's rural estates in the northern Diyar Mudar. The coin finds then suggest that – at least during the first two or three decades – Hisn Maslama existed as an *oikos* in the Greek sense. Large rural estates were usually self sufficient and had no need for local markets and their associated petty coinage. This might explain the almost total lack of coins dateable to Maslama's lifetime. The origin of Hisn Maslama as an agricultural residence fits into the pattern of late Roman and Umayyad estates (*quṣūr*)¹⁰¹. With the beginning of the Abbasid period, the character of the large estate might have changed. Hisn Maslama became urban and developed into a small city with coin based market activities. Probably the large until now almost unexplored southern urban extension – about 700 x 750 m – were built up then (Fig. 2). From this time onwards the sequence of coins is almost continuous, parallel to the coin finds in Harran, until the 3rd/9th century.

3.5. AL-RAQQA – THE DOMINANT CITY IN THE DIYAR MUDAR

In 155/772 the most important change in the life of the Diyar Mudar came with the decision of the second Abbasid caliph Abu Ja^cfar al-Mansur (reigned 136–158/754–774) to build a fortified garrison city west of al-Raqqā in order to stabilise the fragile Abbasid power in northern Syria, Cilicia and northern Mesopotamia, to reorganise the border defences and to establish a base for assaults against Byzantium. An eastern Iranian, Khurasanian detachment loyal to the Abbasid cause was set-

⁹⁷ Heidemann 2002a, nos. 15–20.

⁹⁸ The layer in which it was found belongs to the later Samarra' period.

⁹⁹ There are no coins of the Harran-type from the 90s/708s nor regular issues of Harran and al-Ruha' from the 116/734-5 reform or any other type.

¹⁰⁰ The following facts are taken for granted: the foundation of Hisn Maslama by Maslama ibn ^cAbd al-Malik according to the reports of Ibn Hawqal and Yaqut and Claus-Peter Haase's identification of layer 1 as the Umayyad foundation.

¹⁰¹ Compare Kennedy 1992, esp. 293, 294, 296; Morony 2004, esp. 168–170. For the term see Conrad 1981.

tled here. The caliph named the new city al-Rafīqa, literally ‘the companion’ to the city Kallinikos/al-Raqqā with an indigenous population¹⁰².

After the foundation of al-Rafīqa, al-Raqqā became one of the fastest growing urban agglomerations in the Abbasid empire¹⁰³. The centre of economic activity and urban growth in the Diyar Mudar shifted from the north, from the old provincial capital Harran, to al-Raqqā in the south. The agglomeration of al-Raqqā was composed of the cities of al-Raqqā/Kallinikos and al-Rafīqa. Twentyfive years later, in 180/796–7, the speed of urban development increased when Harun al-Rashid (reigned 170–193/786–809) added a vast palace area to the north of the twin-cities. From about the year 200/815–6 the industrial facilities were enclosed by a wall and formed an urban entity of their own. It was later called al-Raqqā al-Muhtariqa which may have been its original name. The army, the administration and later the court of the caliph Harun al-Rashid created a vast demand for services, industrial products and foodstuffs. This resulted in an increase in industrial and agricultural production, which in turn led to an increase in the number of villages and small agricultural towns. This is visible in increased Abbasid urban building activity in the Diyar Mudar: Tall Mahra, Hisn Maslama, and presumably Bajadda and Bajarwan.

Tall Mahra, although a Christian Byzantine city, became a thriving Abbasid rural town. It is best known for Dionysios of Tall Mahra, the chronicler of the ninth century and Jacobite patriarch of Antioch with his seat in Kallinikos. An ancient settlement mound is located in the centre of the urban precincts of Tall Mahra. The town has a church, a small mosque, a quadriburgium and an almost rectangular Abbasid city wall, about 450 x 450 m, with projecting half-towers (Fig. 4). Tall Mahra constituted the largest and most important rural town between Hisn Maslama and al-Raqqā¹⁰⁴.

Present-day Khirbat al-Anbar, identified by Karin Bartl with the rural town of Bajadda, lies to the south of Hisn Maslama¹⁰⁵. The name is of Aramaic origin thus probably reflecting an indigenous Syriac speaking population. It appears to be almost square, 800 x 700 m, consisting of a low mound with a flat top, suggesting one main building phase. Its most significant and only visible monument is a large dome seemingly covering an underground cistern or well (Fig. 5). It was first discovered and photographed by Mark Sykes in 1907¹⁰⁶. Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsi (d. 286/899)¹⁰⁷ who traversed the Balikh valley in 271/884–5 reports that the small town had been given to a retainer of Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Malik: “He built the city and surrounded it with a wall. In it,

there are gardens (*basāʿīn*) irrigated by a well (ʿayn) which springs up in the midst (*wasatūhā*) of the town. People drink from that fountain. With the surplus water, the grain fields are irrigated”¹⁰⁸. This spring might be identified with the dome. Tall Aʿfar, an Abbasid village also mentioned by al-Sarakhsi as having gardens and vineyards, lay close to Hisn Maslama on the way to al-Raqqā but it has not yet been located¹⁰⁹. The small early Islamic town of Bajarwan, situated between al-Raqqā and Tall Mahra was identified by Karin Bartl with present-day Tall Damir al-Gharbi and Tall Damir al-Sharqi on opposite banks of the Balikh river. In the literary sources its existence is attested from the Umayyad period until the 4th/10th century¹¹⁰.

It was probably under ʿAli ibn Sulayman, governor of northern Mesopotamia between 166/782–83 and 169/785, that vast amounts of copper coins were imported from southern Iraqi mints into the Jazira and northern Syria. Most notable among these imports were the huge quantities of coins from al-Kufa (Fig. 11) and smaller quantities from Madinat al-Salam. They were minted between 163/779–80 and 169/785. The large scale import was probably organised¹¹¹ to serve the growing demand for small-change for daily expenses. The reign of al-Mahdi Muhammad (reigned 158–169/775–785) witnessed a general

¹⁰² Heidemann 2003a, 24–25.

¹⁰³ For an outline of the urban development of al-Raqqā see Heidemann 2006a and Heidemann, *Defining an Imperial Metropolis*.

¹⁰⁴ De Jong – Kaneda, Tell Sheikh Hasan. Karin Bartl 1999–2000 offers a different picture of Tall Mahra. Based on the pottery collected mostly from the top of the ancient settlement mound Karin Bartl suggested an end the occupation after the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. In comparison, the settlement mound in Abbasid al-Jarud has almost no traces of an early Islamic occupation too.

¹⁰⁵ Bartl 1994a, 219, 255. K. Bartl did not describe the dome and did not mention 12th–13th century pottery. During a visit of the author in September 2005, however, some blue-glazed medieval pottery lay on the surface. Bajadda was probably inhabited in the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries. It was the origin of the famous family of the Hanbali scholars, the Banu Taymiyya, Yaqut, Buldan I, ed. Wüstenfeld, 453; ed. Beirut, 313.

¹⁰⁶ Sykes 1907, 240, see the photo of the dome p. 243. He identified this site with Hisn Maslama. The map at the end of the article makes it obvious that he did not see Madinat al-Far but Khirbat al-Anbar.

¹⁰⁷ Rosenthal 1943.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Sarakhsi in Yaqut, Buldan I, ed. Wüstenfeld, 453; ed. Beirut, 313; trans. Rosenthal 1943, 73.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Sarakhsi in Yaqut, Buldan I, ed. Wüstenfeld, 864; trans. Rosenthal 1943, 73. This reference dates the site to at least the second half of the 3rd/9th century.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Masalik*, 97.

¹¹¹ Petty coins usually do not travel far. The vast amount of south Iraqi coins in Syria has thus to be explained as an organised import by private enterprises or by the authorities.

shortage of silver coins, along with coinage reforms and an enormous increase in the copper coinage. After the initial influx people became accustomed to use these Iraqi petty coins as the lowest denomination available and subsequently these coins were imitated in vast numbers up to c.180s/800s (Fig. 12). Al-Raqqā was probably one of the mints where these imitations were manufactured; others were identified as Nasibin, Damascus, and Qinnasrin. This imitative coinage continued well into the time of Harun al-Rashid as the excavations by the German Archaeological Institute in the palace area of al-Raqqā have shown¹¹². The period of importation from southern Iraq and the subsequent imitations are most visible among the coin finds from the Balikh valley: in Harran 6 specimens¹¹³, in al-Raqqā and Tall al-Bi'ā more than 41 examples, in Hisn Maslama more than 17, and at least one surface find in Tall Mahra.

The abundance of copper coins further increased between the 180s/795s and the early decades of the 3rd/9th century. Struck imitations of copper coins were no longer made, but instead casts were produced. These casts were then used as models for further cast imitations until the original type was no longer recognisable and the resulting object merely appears in a small and coin like shape (figs. 13, 14). In addition to the cast coins, small, usually octagonal, pieces of copper were cut out of metal sheets, and almost had no trace of striking (Fig. 15). The economic background of this rapid 'unofficial'¹¹⁴ increase of copper coinage is not yet explored in its entirety. Nevertheless, their abundance suggests a high degree of penetration of the society by the monetary economy. The end of this practice is hard to define as these cast and cut metal pieces are frequently overlooked in excavations.

Aside from the abundance of irregular coins, a sequence of regular coin issues was minted in certain years. Al-Raqqā had by now emerged as the only important mint in the Diyar Mudar¹¹⁵. In al-Rafīqa copper coins were struck in archaeologically significant numbers only in certain years

between 181/797–8 and 226/840–1 (figs. 16, 17)¹¹⁶. Most spectacular are the large (27 mm) golden looking brass coins of Harun al-Rashid of the year 189/804–5 (Fig. 16). It is probable that the regular and irregular coins circulated at different values¹¹⁷.

Coins from the regular issues of al-Raqqā and al-Rafīqa were among the finds from al-Raqqā (64 coins), Hisn Maslama (8 coins), and Harran (2 coins), although at the latter two sites there are less than one would expect compared to the relative abundance of these coins in al-Raqqā. None were found in al-Rusafa, up to three in Qasirin¹¹⁸ and only a single coin in Balis further west. It can thus be deduced that the regular issues were produced mainly to serve the circulation needs of the urban agglomeration of al-Raqqā and its vicinity. By contrast the irregular cast and cut coins were produced to meet the demand for small coins not only in al-Raqqā but in the rest of the Diyar Mudar and the immediate Middle Euphrates region. It is clear from these coin finds that al-Raqqā had become the dominant thriving city of the area. Even after the return of the court to Baghdad in 193/809, following the death of Harun al-Rashid, al-Raqqā remained the capital of the western part of the empire including Egypt and the major urban centre west of Baghdad.

3.6. THE PROBLEM OF COIN FINDS AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE ABBASID PERIOD

Defining the end of occupation of most settlements in the Diyar Mudar raises problems, in terms of both numismatics and archaeology. The copper or petty coin circulation of the 3rd/9th century is one of them. The case studies of al-Jarud and Hisn Maslama are illustrative.

The last dated copper issues of any size from the Diyar Mudar, which one can expect to find in the Abbasid excavation layers, were struck in the years 210/825–6 and 226/840–1 in al-Rafīqa. Examples of these issues were found in al-Raqqā's

¹¹² For an extensive discussion of this phenomenon of Kufā-type coins see Heidemann 2003a, chapter X.

¹¹³ Heidemann 2002a, nos. 26, 28, 30–33.

¹¹⁴ The reason why these coins can be described as 'unofficial' is that they do not bear any official mint name, date or official mark, nor were they produced to any regulated standards of weight, size or fabric. One can surmise that their circulation was 'officially' sanctioned or at least tolerated because they served urgent economic needs.

¹¹⁵ No coins from al-Ruha³ and Nasibin minted during the period of Harun al-Rashid or *fulūs* minted later at Harran (200 h) are present among the controlled coin finds from the Diyar Mudar. Later issues from Nasibin and Ra's al-^cAyn occasionally surface. For these issues see Ilisch

1986; Heidemann 2002a, 273 fn 33; Heidemann 2003a, 137 fn. 105, 106.

¹¹⁶ The archaeologically significant years are 181/797–8, 183/799–800, 189/804–5, 199–200/814–6, 208/823–4, 210/825–6 and 226/840–1. The later issues of 255/868–9 and 279/892–3 are extremely rare and known from less than six specimens. Only one turned up in the excavation in Fustat, Egypt. See in detail Heidemann 2003a, chapter IX.

¹¹⁷ A study of the copper coin denominations in Abbasid al-Raqqā is in preparation by the author.

¹¹⁸ Harper 1980, 346, area 2 nos 7–9. To judge by the size of these coins all of them were minted in al-Rafīqa in 189 h.

industrial city¹¹⁹, in Harran¹²⁰, in Hisn Maslama¹²¹ and as well in Tarsus¹²² in Cilicia. No coins from al-Kufa and none of the regular ‘significant’ coin issues of al-Rafiqa were found in al-Jarud. According to the coin finds, the settlement of al-Jarud seems only to have been built, to any significant extent, after about the 230s/840s. Jan-Waalke Meyer now also excludes settlement in the Umayyad and early Abbasid period, but based on different archaeological evidence¹²³. This was already predicted on the basis of the coin finds¹²⁴. The main settlement phase of al-Jarud, which is also corroborated by the stucco, can thus be dated to the Samarra’ period in the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

It seems that petty-coin circulation – at least in the first half of the 3rd/9th century – was still dominated by cast copper coins whose prototypes are barely recognisable, as well as by roughly octagonal-shaped cut sheet metal coins (figs. 13–15). These coins are associated with the last occupation phase of the industrial and commercial areas of al-Raqqā and Hisn Maslama (Fig. 14, 15). Only three cast coins, with traces of inscriptions, are preserved from Harran¹²⁵. Unfortunately it is not known when the circulation of these forms of irregular copper coins ended.

Regular copper coins had ceased to be struck in the core lands of the Abbasid empire by the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The last known, extremely rare, dated copper issue for al-Raqqā was struck in 279/892 but it has never been found in any controlled excavation. Copper coinage was abandoned in the central Islamic lands about the last third of the 3rd/9th century to be replaced to some extent by fragments of precious metal coins.

We know from coin hoards and single finds that from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century onwards, silver and gold coin fragments were used as small change for daily expenses¹²⁶. These fragments usually remain undetected in excavations, even by an experienced eye, because they are almost indistinguishable from any irregular piece of dirt. Thus whole strata of coins are potentially lost for archaeological, numismatic and historical research alike¹²⁷. In Tall al-Bi‘a, fortunately, a fragment of a gold coin (10 x 4 mm) of this period was found by chance (Fig. 18).

The coin finds of Hisn Maslama and al-Jarud can provide an approximate date for the termination of the circulation of the cast and octagonal coppers and thus for the end of the occupation of these settlements in the last third of the 3rd/9th century. A fragment of a contemporary forgery of a dirham of Nasibin, year 273/886–7 (Fig. 19), is the latest dated evidence. It was discovered on the surface, and corroborates the literary evidence for the existence of Hisn Maslama at this time¹²⁸. In the year 271/884–5 Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsi had visited the city of Hisn Maslama and left a short note about it in his report¹²⁹. The latest dated evidence from al-Jarud is a dirham fragment from the reign of the caliph al-Mu‘tadid billah, who reigned between 279/892 and 289/902 (Fig. 20). It corresponds to the period immediately after the Samarra’-style stucco¹³⁰.

Karin Bartl counted nearly 80 early Islamic settlements in the Syrian part of the Balikh valley. Among these, the identification of 25 to the early Islamic period is uncertain¹³¹. This figure nevertheless indicates a significant increase from the late Roman/Byzantine period and stands in sharp con-

¹¹⁹ A single coin from Tall Aswad (Fig. 01, no. 32) belongs to the 210 h-issue (Heidemann 1999, no. 4) and another one from Tall Zujaj (Fig. 01, no. 31) to the 226 h-issue (Heidemann 2003d, no. 502). The analysis of the pottery from Tall Aswad and Tall Zujaj seems to corroborate a production date between the period of Harun al-Rashid and the beginning of the so-called ‘Samarra’ ware’, which was also produced in al-Raqqā. The activity in al-Raqqā’s industrial district was not limited to the period of residence of Harun al-Rashid and his court.

¹²⁰ A cast of the issue of 210/825–6 was found in Harran; Heidemann 2002a, no. 25.

¹²¹ A coin of the 226 h-issue was found in Hisn Maslama (no. MF87-F1).

¹²² 3 examples of the 210 h-issue; Miles 1956, no. 10.

¹²³ In previous publications Jan-Waalke Meyer had favoured an Umayyad phase; Meyer 2000; Meyer 2001; Meyer *et al.* 2001; Meyer 2006, 48.

¹²⁴ Heidemann 2003c.

¹²⁵ Heidemann 2002a, nos. 25. 34. 35. It is probable that cast and cut coppers which are barely identifiable as coins may not have reached the British Museum where the coin finds are housed today.

¹²⁶ Compare Ilisch 1990; Heidemann 2002b, 365–369.

¹²⁷ A new methodological approach was tested in Santueri, Mallorca. On the citadel the archaeologists had found only a few medieval coins by regular archaeological observation. Later, an archaeologically controlled metal detector survey yielded about 1,000 coins, among them about 600 small, fragmented and highly alloyed *dirhams* of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th century, comparable to those which were in circulation in Syria at this time. Only the use of a metal detector was able to retrieve the corroded coins, many of them weighing less than a gram. The use of a metal detector on archaeologically excavated ‘spoil heaps’ would change our picture about coin circulation and settlement patterns in Bilad al-Sham at the end of the early Islamic period. Ilisch *et al.* 2005.

¹²⁸ Heidemann, Madinat al-Far, inv. no. MF99–29.

¹²⁹ Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsi passed Hisn Maslama in the year 271/884–5; in Yaqut, *Buldan II*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 287.

¹³⁰ Meyer *et al.* 2001; Heidemann 2003c. In 2006 a second dirham fragment was found, minted between 133/749 and 206/821–2.

¹³¹ Bartl 1994a, 186–187; Bartl 1996, 335. Compare Kennedy 1992, 297; Morony 2004, 173.

trast to the 4 settlements detected for the following 5th/11th century¹³². Karin Bartl coined the word ‘Siedlungslücke’, the ‘lack of settlements’¹³³. How can this evidence for the decline or end of settlement in Hisn Maslama, al-Jarud, al-Raqqā al-Muhtariqa, Bajadda and several other places be explained? First, systematic errors should be considered because the cast coppers and cut sheet metal coins cannot be dated precisely. Secondly, fragments of silver and gold coins have usually been systematically overlooked in archaeological excavations. Thirdly, the sequence of pottery is still not well established for the period between the 3rd/9th and the 6th/12th centuries¹³⁴.

The narrative sources explain the reasons for the decline of cities, towns and villages during the late 3rd/9th century. The region of the Diyar Mudar suffered from the Abbasid-Tulunid wars in the 270/880s and the following destructive wars against the Shiite Qarmatian groups which ravaged the region¹³⁵. Nevertheless, during these wars al-Raqqā retained its position as a fortified garrison city between Egypt, Byzantium and Iraq. Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsi reports, for the year 271/884–5, that al-Raqqā was in decline, even though its continued importance is shown by a period of almost uninterrupted minting of gold and silver coins until the year 323/934–5. After this date, only sporadic issues occur. We have a similar picture in the north of the Diyar Mudar, in Harran. During the second half of the 3rd/9th century Harran almost continuously minted gold and silver coins until 323/934–5. Afterwards minting only occurred sporadically. The conquest of al-Raqqā by the Hamdanids in 330/942 marked the end of al-Raqqā as a military garrison. Economically, this meant an end to the transfer of military income from Iraq to al-Raqqā for the maintenance of a garrison. The purchasing power of the citizens, and therefore the income opportunities for craftsmen and artisans, in the city must have decreased. The devastating reign of the Hamdanid

ruler Sayf al-Daula ʿAli (reigned 333–356/945–967) followed. In 351/962 he deported the Shiite population of Harran in order to re-populate Aleppo after the massacre in this city carried out by the Byzantines¹³⁶. In the year 353/964 he dismantled the iron gates of al-Raqqā¹³⁷. The contemporary chronicler Ibn Hawqal (d. after 378/988) was very outspoken about the deliberate devastation in his home region¹³⁸.

The first half of the 4th/10th century saw a new migration of nomad tribes from the Arabian peninsula to the Diyar Mudar at the expense of the sedentary population. Since the 380s/990s the Bedouin *amīrs* had been in control of the land, cities and towns in the Diyar Mudar and the Middle Euphrates area. The Bedouin *amīrs* as a rule had no interest in urban life. Their power base was in the pasture land and they usually resided in their camp (*hilla*) outside the cities¹³⁹. Judging from the sporadic mint activity and the relative frequency of references in the literary sources Harran in the fertile northern plain once again became more important than al-Raqqā in the second half of the 4th/10th century. During the 5th/11th century, al-Ruha³, Harran and al-Raqqā remained urban centres and were still mentioned in the literary sources. But decline went on. In 423/1032 or 424/1033, the pagan temple in Harran was finally destroyed and the pagan Sabian community was extinguished by impoverished Shiite groups. The congregational mosques of al-Rafīqa fell into ruins¹⁴⁰. There are as of yet no coins finds from any site in the Diyar Mudar from the 4th/10th century¹⁴¹. Nevertheless during the 5th/11th century there is occasional mint activity at Harran and al-Raqqā and a few of the debased ‘black dirhams’ they produced have been found in excavations (Fig. 21). Our only information about the occasional minting of ‘black dirhams’ in al-Ruha³, struck before the advent of the crusaders and Seljuqs, comes from the literary sources¹⁴².

¹³² This increase in settlement and prosperity is also confirmed by the re-evaluation of the northern Syrian surveys, of the excavations in Antioch and Qaisariyya by Magness 2003, 195–214. On the basis of pottery and coin finds, she challenged successfully Kennedy’s older views about a decline in the middle of the 6th century; Kennedy 1985.

¹³³ Bartl 1994a, 116, 187; Bartl 1999–2000, 477–478. The term refers to the almost complete lack of datable artefacts and architectural structures for the period of Bedouin domination, that is between the early Islamic and the Zangid/Ayyubid period, a problem which appeared most obviously during a survey undertaken under the direction of P. M. M. G. Akkermans and M. N. van Loon of the University of Amsterdam.

¹³⁴ See Bartl 1994a; Tonghini 1995; Tonghini 1998; Tonghini–Henderson 1998 and Jenkins 1992.

¹³⁵ For al-Raqqā see Heidemann 2003a, 41–46. Al-Rusafa was ravaged in the year 289/901–2; Kellner-Heinkele 1996, 141.

¹³⁶ Bikhazi 1981, 867–868; Bianquis 1991–94, 54; Heidemann 2002b, 54–56.

¹³⁷ Bikhazi 1981, 899–902; Heidemann 2002b, 51.

¹³⁸ Ibn Hawqal, Sura, 225–26.

¹³⁹ For the decline and its reasons in detail Heidemann 2002b, 29–60.

¹⁴⁰ Heidemann 1999.

¹⁴¹ This holds true as well for the rest of Syria. Only in al-Rusafa a fragment of a Buyid silver coin was found, dated between 367–372; Ilisch 1996, no. 253. For the continued practice of cut dirhams coins in northern Syria see as well the hoard of Ra³ al-Basit, buried after 337/948–9; Toueir 1983.

¹⁴² Heidemann 2002b, 129.

4. SUMMARY

Coin finds are a parallel source to literary and archaeological evidence for the history and settlement patterns in Syria in general and in the Diyar Mudar in particular. During the 6th century several fortified cities, Edessa/al-Ruha³, Carrhae/Harran and Kallinikos/al-Raqqa, marked the Byzantine border with the Sasanian empire. Edessa remained the capital of the Osrhoene and its military headquarters during the Sasanian occupation and afterwards. Numerous monasteries were built and prospered during that period. Life went on during the transition period, from Byzantine rule, through the Sasanian occupation and the Arab conquests in the first half of the seventh century, without any disruption detectable by archaeology or numismatics. In the early Umayyad period the two northern cities of al-Ruha³ and Harran remained the dominant economic and administrative centres. Harran took over from al-Ruha³ as the provincial centre. It became the capital of the Umayyad northern super province and later even the residence of an Umayyad caliph. During the Umayyad period the ruling family had acquired land in the Diyar Mudar and invested in its cultivation, thus further stimulating the prosperous agriculture, as witnessed by the numerous estates of the ruling family and their retainers as landed gentry, amongst the small towns were Hisn Maslama and Bajadda. In the early Abbasid period Hisn Maslama may have changed from a self sufficient rural estate, owned by a leading member of the Umayyad family, to a small rural town with a local market using petty coinage for day-to-day transactions. Umayyad and early Abbasid coins from mints along the road between Palestine, Damascus, Hims, Tadmur and al-Rusafa, are often found in the Diyar Mudar, suggesting frequent traffic between these regions. These movements are especially significant for the period of the residence of the caliph Hisham in al-Rusafa.

The decision of al-Mansur in 155/772 to build the fortified garrison city of al-Rafiqqa on the

Euphrates shifted the centre of economic growth from the fertile northern plain to the delta of the Balikh in the south. In 180/796–7 the caliph Harun al-Rashid transferred his court and government to al-Raqqa and, even after the return of the court in 193/809 to Baghdad, al-Raqqa remained the capital of the western half of the empire, only to be overshadowed later by the foundation of Samarra³. The demand of the new metropolis for services and industrial products stimulated industry and provided a growing population with income. Their need to be fed, in turn, stimulated the growth of agricultural settlements.

The system of petty coinage in the 3rd/9th century, which also included cast imitations and small pieces of cut metal sheet as well as official coins, raises problems in dating the layers and thus the demise of many settlements. In al-Raqqa al-Muhtariqa and Hisn Maslama these coins are connected with the last occupation phase. Samarra³-style stuccos from al-Jarud, Hisn Maslama, al-Rafiqqa and al-Raqqa al-Muhtariqa provide evidence for a flourishing region in the middle of the century. Al-Jarud was probably founded as late as in the 3rd/9th century and blossomed only during the Samarra³ period. The last dated coins from Hisn Maslama and al-Jarud are fragments of silver coins from the last third of the 3rd/9th century. In this period the region suffered from the Tulunid and Qarmatian wars. The final blow for the smaller rural towns and villages may have occurred during the devastating rule of the Hamdanids and the immigration of the a new wave of superficially Islamicised Arab nomads, namely the Banu Numayr, in the middle of the 4th/10th century. From being one of the richest agricultural areas of the empire, with a system of irrigation canals, nomadic pastoral life now prevailed. The monetary economy shrank dramatically, to a low, probably not experienced since the pre-Hellenistic antiquity, as is shown by the coin finds, minting activity and the literary sources.

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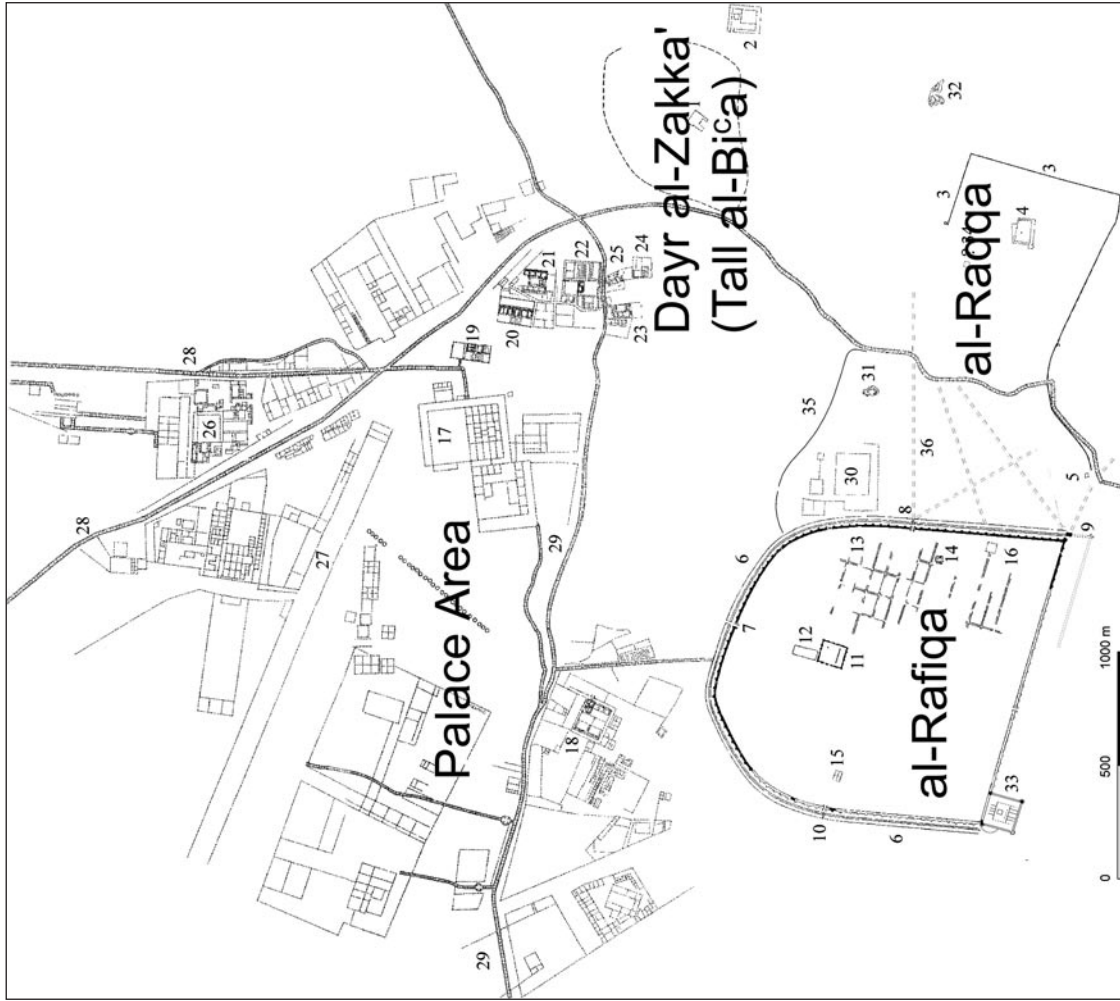
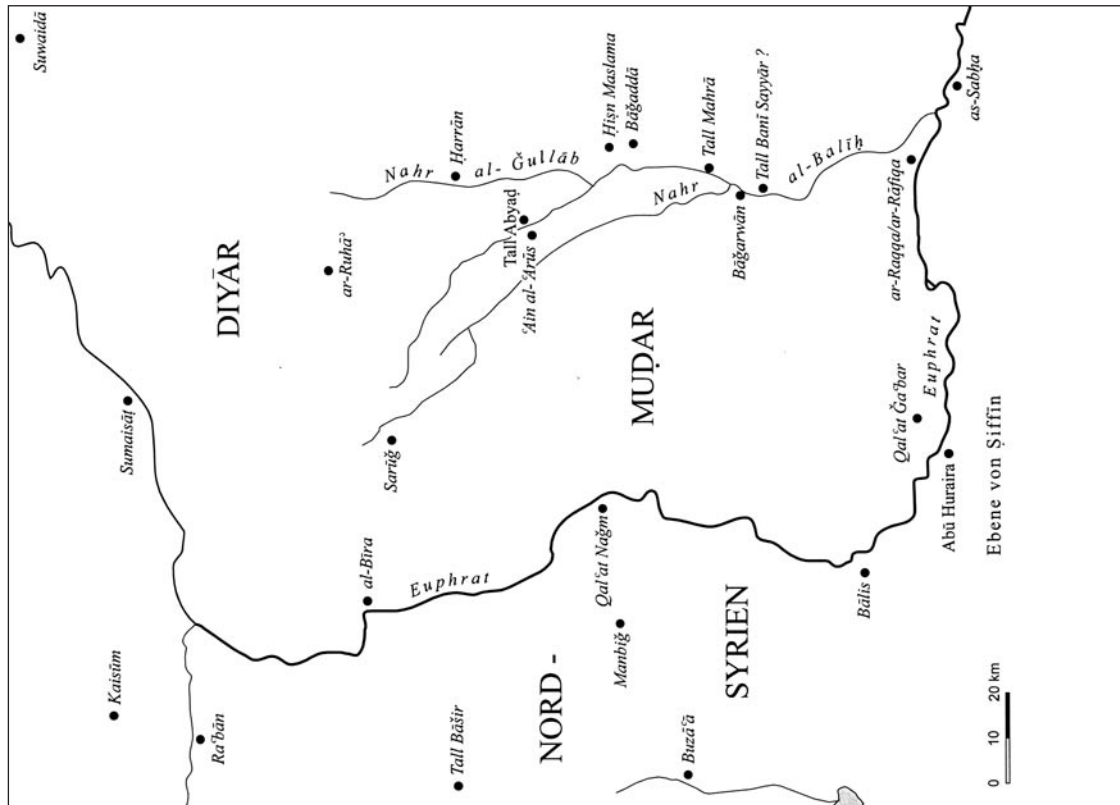


Fig. 1 Agglomeration al-Raqqa, German Archaeological Institute - Jena University.



Map Diyar Mudar.



Fig. 2 Hisn Maslama (Madinat al-Far), drawing Norbert Hagen, by courtesy of Claus-Peter Haase.

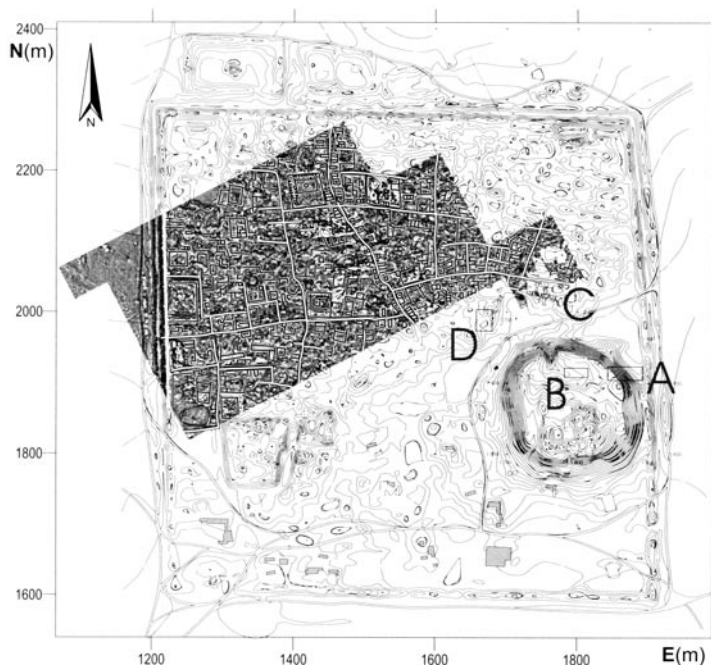


Fig. 3 Al-Jarud (Kharab Sayyar), by courtesy of Jan-Waalke Meyer.

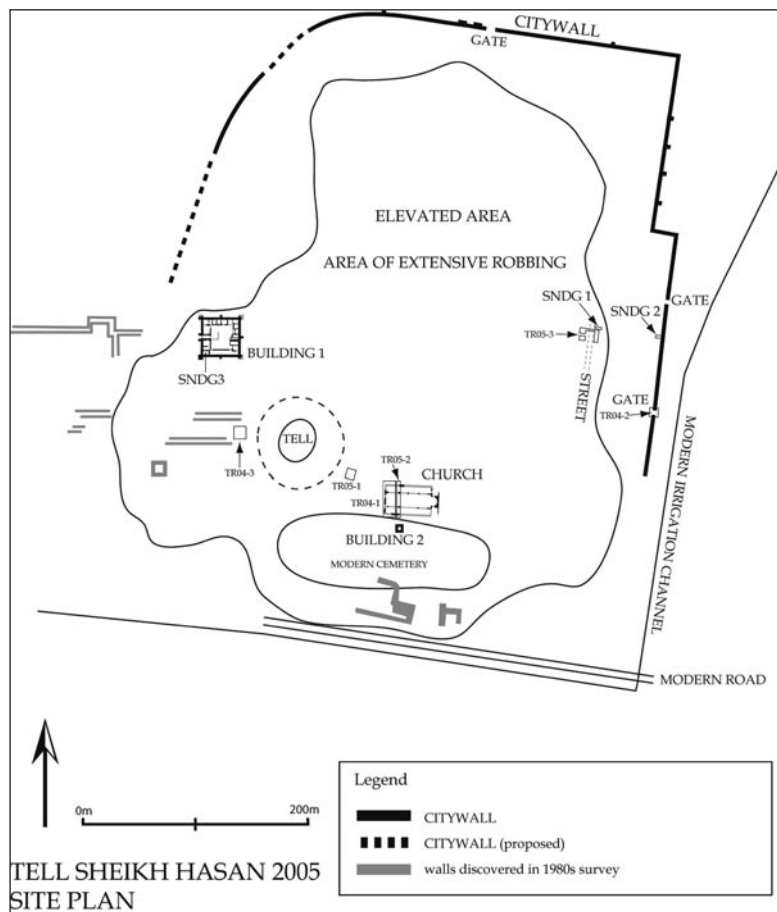


Fig. 4 Tall Mahra (Tall Shaikh Hasan), by courtesy of Lidewijde de Jong.



Fig. 5 Dome in Bajadda (Khirbat al-Anbar), photo SH 2005.



Fig. 6 Byzantine Empire, Constans II (641–688 AD), *follis*, Constantinople, 3rd officina, regnal year 7 [647–8 AD]. DOC II, 448 class IV, no. 66c. Excavation al-Raqqa. Heidemann 2003a, no. 32. Photo DAI.



Fig. 7 Imitation of a follis of Constans II, *follis*, type of regnal year 1 bis 7, compare DOC II, pl. 22, class I-IV, and DOC II, no. 64b. Excavation al-Raqqa. Heidemann 2003a, no. 36. Photo DAI.



Fig. 8 Umayyads, *fals*, al-Ruha³, [ca. 74-77/693-697] Walker 1956, 28 no. 92. Photo Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena, no. SB7579.



Fig. 9 Umayyads, *fals*, Harran, 116 h. [734-5 AD]. Nützel 1898, no. 1957; Walker 1956, 242-43 no. B44. Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena inv. no. 307-A2.



Fig. 10 Abbasids, al-⁴Abbas ibn Muhammad, governor 142–152/759–772, *fals*, Jazira, without date. Nützel 1898, no. 2260. Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena inv. no. 314-G2.



Fig. 11 Abbasids, al-Mahdi Muhammad, *fals*, al-Kufa, 166 h. [782-3 AD]. Nützel 1898, no. 2143. Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena inv. no. 315-A2.



Fig. 12 Abbasid, Kufa-type imitation, *fals*, 'al-Kufa', '167 h.' Heidemann 2003a, group IV, Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena inv. no. 315-A04.



Fig. 13 Abbasid, cast coin. Heidemann 2003a, no. 203. Excavation al-Raqqa. Photo DAI.



Fig. 14 Abbasid, cast coin. Excavation Madinat al-Far, inv. no. MF91-13. Photo S. Heidemann.



Fig. 15 Abbasid, octagonal metal sheet coin. Excavation Madinat al-Far, inv. no. MF95-221-1. Photo S. Heidemann.



Fig. 16 Abbasids, Harun al-Rashid, *fals*, al-Rafīqa, 189 h. [804-5 AD]. Heidemann 2003a, no. VI and catalogue no. 90. Excavation al-Raqqa, Photo DAI.



Fig. 17 Abbasids, al-Mu'tasim billah, *fals*, al-Rafīqa, 226 h. [840-1 AD]. Heidemann 2003a, no. XI. Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena inv. no. 321-B7.



Fig. 18 Abbasids, Gold-*dīnār* fragment, al-Rafīqa, about 270s-280s/880s-890s; 0.25 g; 10 x 4 mm. Excavation Tall al-Bi'a, Heidemann 2007, no. 43. Photo DAI.



Fig. 19 Abbasids, al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah, fragment copper core of a plated *dirham*, Nasibin, 273 h. [886-7 AD]. Excavation Madinat al-Far, inv. no. MF99-29; Photo S. Heidemann.



Fig. 20 Abbasids, al-Mu'tadid billah, fragment of a *dirham*, mint off, 2(79-89) h. [892-902 AD]. Excavation Kharab Sayyar, Heidemann, 2003c, no. 4.



Fig. 21 Numayrids, Mani' ibn Shabib, black *dirham*, al-Raqqa, 450 h. [1058-9 AD]. Excavation al-Raqqa, Heidemann 1999, no. 1.