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THE RISE OF A CAPITAL

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Prof. dr. J. van der Vliet

'Tussenstadia, ontstaan, vergaan, schemer-
ingen, gedaanteverwisselingen zijn altijd
belangwekkender dan wat er al is, nog niet
is of niet meer.'

H. Mulisch, *De procedure*, Amsterdam:
De bezige bij, 2001, p. 11.

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<div style="text-align:center">

PART 2

AL-FUSṬĀṬ AND UPPER EGYPT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION, DATES, AND TOPONYMS

The transliteration of Arabic follows the system of the *Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft* except that words are transcribed in their pausal forms.

Dates are given according to both the Muslim calender and to the common era. The Muslim year comes before that of the common era, the two being separated by a slash (/), as follows: 11/632-13/634, not 11-3/632-4. When a date is based on a dating system other than the Muslim or common era (such as indiction years or dates on the Diocletianic calendar) and refers to one year only, the date is given as follows: the second indiction year 22-3/643-4. I do not refer to years on the Muslim calender when they predate the *hiǧra* or in case of dates after *c.* 1800. In the former case, only the common era, preceded by 'A.D.', is given.

Throughout this thesis, I present toponyms as they are given in medieval Arabic literature from the third/ninth century or later. For example, it is Udfū and not Edfou. When an Arabic place name is known to have had a different form in the period under discussion, this different form is used. It is Išqūh and not Eshqawh or the like;[1] it is Šīma for the widely-used Jēme;[2] it is al-Ušmūn and not al-Ušmūnayn.[3] Greek toponyms are given when a medieval Arabic toponym is first mentioned: Iḫmīm (Panopolis). Modern toponyms are only given for very common places, such as Alexandria (not al-Iskandariyya or variants) or Aswan (not Suwān or Uswān). Although the toponym 'al-Fusṭāṭ' or its Greek variant 'to Fossaton' is not documentarily attested before the end of the first/seventh century, it is assumed throughout this thesis that the place name existed. In spite of the fact that, especially in Greek and Coptic documents, 'Babylon' is used for the fortress as

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[1] For the spelling of 'Išqūh', see P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Une nouvelle lettre de Qurra b. Šarīk", *Annales islamologiques* 45 (2011), p. 257, n. 1.

[2] For which, see B. Liebrenz, "Eine frühe arabische Quittung aus Oberägypten", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 56/2 (2010), pp. 303-4, comm. to line 2.

[3] *Cf.* Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, pp. 34-5 and 43.

well as al-Fusṭāṭ,[4] in this thesis 'Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ (Babylon)' denotes the fortress and 'al-Fusṭāṭ' the settlement adjacent to it.

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[4] *P.Lond.* IV, p. xviii.

INTRODUCTION

'... and then al-Fusṭāṭ.'[1]

It is the end of the 270s/880s. A scholar named Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb (d. 292/905 or later), better known as al-Yaʿqūbī, writes a geography after years of extensive travelling. In order to connect the various parts of the world he treats in his book, he describes itineraries, some of which he may have used himself during his long journeys.[2] One such is an itinerary from Palestine to his current domicile, Egypt. Al-Fusṭāṭ, a flourishing town located at the southern end of the Nile delta, is the eighth stop on Egyptian soil which he mentions. In contrast to the towns that precede, however, there is reason to pay al-Fusṭāṭ special attention. Al-Yaʿqūbī writes:

> "Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ built its congregational mosque and its gubernatorial office, known as Dār ar-Raml. East of the Nile, he set up markets around the mosque and gave each tribe [that had participated in the conquest of Egypt] a watch tower and an official who distributed military pay. West of the Nile, he built the fortress of al-Ǧīza, made it a fortification for the Muslims, and stationed a garrison there.'[3]

It is not al-Yaʿqūbī's intention to describe al-Fusṭāṭ's foundation in the early-20s/640s; his geography is a work on the world of his time. Al-Yaʿqūbī's reference to the building of a congregational mosque and gubernatorial office as well as to the setting up of commercial, military, and administrative infrastructures is meant

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[1] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. T.G.J. Juynboll, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1861, p. 118.

[2] On al-Yaʿqūbī and the sources for his *Kitāb al-buldān*, see C. Adang, *Muslim writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: from Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996, pp. 36-9 and the references given in the notes.

[3] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, p. 118.

to tell his readership that in Egypt official authority radiates from this town.[4] Al-Fusṭāṭ's centrality, he has his readers believe, can be traced back to the very period of the town's establishment. There is no need for details. He provides on purpose only the information absolutely necessary to make this point. 'Scholars', he writes opportunistically in the introduction to his geography, 'usually refer [...] to an abridged version of a certain book. Therefore, we wrote our book in the form of an abridgement.'[5] But as summier as his words may be, and regardless of their historical value, al-Yaʿqūbī powerfully captures, in general terms, the enormous efforts that went into the establishment of a provincial capital in an area that lacked the desired commercial, military, and administrative amenities.

1. *Al-Fusṭāṭ and its hinterland*

This thesis studies to what extent al-Fusṭāṭ functioned or was percieved as a provincial capital by looking at the development of the role the town played in the province during the first century after its foundation, that is, from the alleged beginning of the Arab conquest of the province in 18/639 until the establishment of Abbasid rule in 132/750. Whereas al-Yaʿqūbī ascribes, without much nuancing, the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ to the laureate general ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. prob. 43/664), medieval historians present a wide variety of details of, and opinions about, events that surrounded the establishment of the town. By and large, they claim that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ led an Arab army into Egyptian territory in late-18/639. The army pursued its conquest in the eastern Nile delta; major battles allegedly took place at al-Faramā (Pelusion), Umm Dunayn (Tendunias), and ʿAyn Šams (Heliopolis). After a siege of reportedly seven months and the arrival of a large group of reinforcements, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ succeeded in conquering the fortress Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ

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[4] Z. Antrim, *Routes and realms: the power of place in the early Islamic world*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 102-7. See also A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle: géographie et géographie humaine dans la littérature arabe des origines à 1050*, Paris/La Haye: Mouton, 1967, pp. 290-2.

[5] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, p. 3.

(Babylon) at the apex of the Nile delta in the spring of 20/641.[6] With further conquests ahead, the Arabs are said to have set up a semi-permanent camp in the unoccupied territory around Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ.[7] From this camp, our medieval sources hold, the Arabs continued their campaigns in the western Nile delta and in Upper Egypt throughout the succeeding months, culminating in their victory over the Byzantine army in Alexandria in late-20/641 or 21/642.[8] The Arabs maintained their camp and turned it into a garrison town, named al-Fusṭāṭ (Babylon/to Fossaton),[9] after they had succeeded to subject most of Egypt to their rule.

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[6] For an outline of this phase of the conquest according to medieval Arabic historiography and a common interpretation of the late-first/seventh-century *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu, see principally A. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion*, ed. P.M. Fraser, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978 [1902]. See also V. Christides, "Miṣr, D.1: The Byzantine background, the Arab conquest and the Umayyad period 602-750", *EI*[2], VII, pp. 153-6; P.M. Sijpesteijn, "The Arab conquest and the beginning of Muslim rule", in R.S. Bagnal (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300-700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 439-44; H. Kennedy, *The great Arab conquests: how the spread of Islam changed the world we live in*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007, pp. 148-54. Divergent views are proposed in, a.o., F. Morelli, "ʿAmr e Martina: la reggenza di un imperatrice o l'amministrazione araba d'Egitto", *ZPE* 173 (2010), pp. 136-157 and P. Booth, "The Arab conquest of Egypt reconsidered", *Travaux et mémoires* 17 (2013), pp. 339-70. *Cf.* J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis: historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 187-8, who dates the fall of Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ to a year later.

[7] For possible archaeological evidence of this camp, see R.-P. Gayraud *et al.*, "Isṭabl ʿAntar (Fostat) 1987-1989: rapport de fouilles", *Annales islamologiques* 25 (1991), pp. 63-4. For the occupation of the territory around Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ at the time of the Arab conquest, see W.B. Kubiak, *Al-Fustat: its foundation and early urban development*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1987, pp. 50-7.

[8] Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, pp. 275-98; Sijpesteijn, "The Arab conquest", p. 441; Kennedy, *The great Arab conquests*, pp. 149-50, 159. *Cf.* Booth, "The Arab conquest".

[9] For the etymology of the toponym (from the Greek φοσσᾶτον, meaning 'a camp (surrounded by a moat)'), see Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, pp. 339-40. See now also J. Kramer, "*fossatum* im Lateinischen, Griechischen und Romanischen", *Wiener Studien* 109 (1996), pp. 231-42 and *idem.*, *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik*, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011, pp. 353-63. *Cf.* P. Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt: the archaeology of old Cairo and the origins of the city*, Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2010, p. 151, n. 6. For different medieval spellings or pronunciations of 'al-Fusṭāṭ', see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṯār*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, 4 vols + index, London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2002-3, II, p. 32; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā fī ṣināʿat al-inšāʾ*, ed. M.Q. al-Baqlī, 14 vols, Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-amīriyya, 1913-1919, III, p. 329; Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, 6 vols, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866-73, IV, p. 263. Interestingly, the toponym 'al-Fusṭāṭ' or its Greek equivalent 'to Fossaton' are absent from documentary sources dating from the first fifty or so years after the conquest. Documents from that period refer to the town by the Greek name of the near-by fortress, Babylon (Βαβυλών). The toponym al-Fusṭāṭ (both in the Arabic and Greek forms) appears in documents at the end of the first/seventh century. The Greek form first appears in *P.Apoll.* 6 (Udfū; *c.* 55/675 [see J. Gascou & K.A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite", *ZPE* 49 (1982), p. 89]), the Arabic in documents from the archive of Basileios, *e.g. P.Cair.Arab.* III 147 and *P.Heid.Arab.* I 2 (both from Išqūh; both from 91/710).

Even though we cannot take medieval historiography at face value,[10] Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ's strategic location doubtlessly influenced the Arabs' choice for the location of their camp and future capital. The fortress enclosed the mouth of the *Potamos Traianos*, a canal that connected the Nile with the Red Sea near al-Qulzum (Clysma).[11] Further, the two pontoon bridges that connected Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ with the Nile's west bank allowed for strict control over fluvial traffic between the Nile delta and valley.[12] But beside a strategic location, al-Fusṭāṭ inherited little from Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ. The fortress is not known to have had strong enough ties with the rest of Egypt in order to provide al-Fusṭāṭ with an immediate central role in, *e.g.*, the province's administration or economy.[13] The little information on the fortress that exists for the half century that preceded the Arab conquests indicates that it was a strategically-located military stronghold,[14] that it played a certain but undefined and probably minor or geographically limited role in the collection of taxes,[15] and that the fortress was a regular stop on itineraries, probably a toll point.[16] Consequently, and withstanding al-Yaʿqūbī's reference to the setting up of various infrastructures, al-Fusṭāṭ acquired its role as provincial capital *ex novo*.[17] In

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[10] See below, pages 11-3.

[11] Although the mouth of the *Potamos Traianos* had probably silted up at the time of the conquest, the Arabs cleared it within few years after the establishment of their rule. See Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt*, p. 52; Sijpesteijn, "The Arab conquest of Egypt", p. 447.

[12] On the Arabs' rebuilding of the bridges after the conquest, see John of Nikiu, *The chronicle of John, bishop of Nikiu: translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic text*, tr. R.H. Charles, London/Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1916, pp. 181-2 [CXIII.3]. Unless stated otherwise, all references to John of Nikiu's *Chronicle* in this thesis are to Charles's translation. See also *P.Lond.* V 1754 (al-Fusṭāṭ; first/seventh or second/eighth c.), a document recording customs levied from persons passing al-Fusṭāṭ.

[13] *Pace* J.R. Aja Sánchez, "*Babilonia* (de Egipto), de puerto fluvial heliópolitano a fortaleza tardorromana: historia, toponimia, documentación", *Ktema* 33 (2008), p. 399. The sources presented there are silent on the late A.D. sixth and early-first/seventh century.

[14] See *e.g.* R. Altheim-Stiehl, "The Sasanians in Egypt: some evidence of historical interest", *BSAC* 31 (1992), esp. p. 92; the centrality of the fortress in accounts of the Arab conquest are possibly due to the centrality of later al-Fusṭāṭ. *Cf.* J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris: Champion, 1912, p. 32.

[15] *CPR* X 14 (Manf [Memphis]; A.D. 610) and possibly *P.Haun.* III 52 (poss. Fayyūm (Arsinoitēs); A.D. sixth or seventh c.); see also *SPP* VIII 1130 (Fayyūm; A.D. sixth c.).

[16] *P.Oxy.* LVI 3872 (al-Bahnasā [Oxyrhynchos]; late A.D. sixth or first/seventh c.); *SB* XX 14449 (prov. unknown; first/seventh c.).

[17] This thesis uses the word 'capital' in a sense broader than 'the seat of political authority' and recognizes as well economic, religious, and cultural capitals (which are not mutually exclusive terms). Although considering the identity of mostly modern capital cities, B.M. Milroy, "Commentary: what is a

order to understand how and under which circumstances al-Fusṭāṭ developed from a garrison town into a provincial capital, one must analyze and contextualize (the development of) the town's relationship with the rest of Egypt. Understanding this relationship is central to the present thesis.

Neither the establishment of Arab dominion nor the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ marked a watershed in the history of late-antique Egypt. The Arab authorities' initial policy preferred continuity of existing (administrative) practices rather than prescribing large-scale reforms. At the time of the conquest, the Nile valley and delta had been divided into four eparchies, in theory independent provinces of the Byzantine empire.[18] In practice, the Melkite patriarch, seated in Alexandria, may have had far-reaching authority over the officials who headed these eparchies.[19] After the conquest, the Melkite patriarch appears to have lost considerable authority. Moreover, his office remained unoccupied for most of the Umayyad period.[20] While maintaining a good relationship with the Coptic patriarch,[21] also seated in Alexandria, the Arab authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ mostly restricted their supervision to the heads of the

capital?", in J. Taylor, J.G. Lengellé & C. Andrew (eds), *Capital cities: international perspectives*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993, pp. 85-91 and S. Campbell, "The enduring importance of national capital cities in the global era", *Urban and regional research collaborative* working paper (University of Michigan), 2003 (available online via
 <http://sitemaker.umich.edu/urrcworkingpapers/all_urrc_working_papers> [September 2013])
present thoughts on capital city as a concept that are also useful for scholars working on pre-modern times.
[18] B. Palme, "The imperial presence: government and army", in R.S. Bagnal (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300-700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 246, 248-9 and 264-5. For Barqa (Cyrenaica) and Anṭābulus (Pentapolis), see A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1959, pp. 10-1.
[19] Palme, "The imperial presence", p. 265.
[20] Before the appointment of Cosmas I in *c.* 124/742, the last Melkite patriach who held office under Arab rule died in 31/651-2. See the discussion in S.H. Skreslet, *The Greeks in medieval Egypt: a Melkite dhimmī community under the patriarch of Alexandria (640-1095)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1987, pp. 59 (n. 141) and 106-11.
[21] For the Arab authorities' favourable attitude towards the Coptic patriarch Benjamin and his successors, see P.M. Sijpesteijn, "New rule over old structures: Egypt after the Muslim conquest", in H. Crawford (ed.), *Regime change in the ancient Near East and Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 188-9.

eparchies.[22] Lower administrative officials remained in place. By thus connecting Egypt's existing administration to that of their own in al-Fusṭāṭ, the Arabs were able to control, and to extract revenues from, a province in which they formed a minority.[23] This polity, together with Islam's undifferentiated or inclusive character vis-à-vis other religions at that time,[24] created no need for those cooperating with the Arab administration to (religiously or otherwise) assimilate with their new Arab rulers.[25] The background of local notables as well as much of their social standing and authority initially remained as it had been under Byzantine rule.[26]

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[22] See John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, pp. 194-5 [CXX.29] for the administration of the Arab governor in al-Fusṭāṭ appointing local notables over Egypt's four eparchies or reaffirming others who had held that position during the conquest. These officials stood in close contact with al-Fusṭāṭ and must have derived part of their authority from the acknowledgement of their office by the central Arab administration. See, *e.g.*, *SB* VIII 9749 (Ihnās; 18.2-3.21/26.1-2.642), a document that records that the *dux* of Arcadia acknowledged that a local administrator delivered to the granaries of Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ all the tax wheat requested from that eparchy after having checked the delivered amount against a 'declaration' (Gr. ἀπόδειξις) drawn up by a deputy of the absent Arab governor.

[23] A. Papaconstantinou, "Administering the early Islamic empire: insights from the papyri", in J.F. Haldon (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria: a review of current debates*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, p. 65 and P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns in early Islamic Egypt", *Journal of agrarian change* 9/1 (2009), pp. 125-6. See also Sijpesteijn, "New rule over old structures", pp. 183-200.

[24] This thesis is best known from F.M. Donner, "From believers to Muslims: confessional self-identity in the early Islamic community", *Al-Abhath* 50-1 (2002-3), pp. 9-53 and is elaborated upon in *idem.*, *Muhammad and the believers: at the origins of Islam*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2010. For a critical discussion of Donner's works, see A. Elad, "Community of believers of 'holy men' and 'saints' or community of Muslims? The rise and development of early Muslim historiography", *JSS* 47/1 (2002), esp. pp. 246-9 and P. Crone's non-specialist review of Donner's book in her "Among the believers: a new look at the origins of Islam describes a tolerant world that may not have existed", *Tablet* (2010), available online at <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/42023/among-the-believers> [December 2013]. On Islam's undifferentiated character, see also A. Papaconstantinou, "Between *umma* and *dhimma*: the Christians of the Middle East under the Umayyads", *Annales islamologiques* 42 (2008), pp. 134-9.

[25] Documents emanating from the administration of officials of local origin implicitly refer to a perceived dichotomy between the Egyptian population and the newly-arrived Arabs (C. Décobert, *Le mendiant et le combattant: l'institution de l'islam*, Paris: Seuil, 1991, p. 84; see also R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it: a survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam*, Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997, p. 548). Conversion to Islam among the formerly Byzantine notables or administrators is not recorded for the initial decades of Arab rule (Sijpesteijn, "New rule", pp. 188 and 195; but *cf.* P. Crone, "Mawlā", *EI²*, VI, p. 876).

[26] A. Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung in Ägypten in frühislamischer Zeit", in H. Braunert (ed.), *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte: Friedrich Oertel zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Bonn: Habelt, 1964, pp. 129-30; G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka*, München/Leipzig: K.G. Saur,

Although the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ as the Arabs' political headquarters may at first have had limited impact beyond the level of the top of local administrations, the town's gradually increasing influence in the rest of the province – its acquirement of province-wide centrality – brought about changes in existing social and administrative structures. Connections developed which did not yet exist; existing ones intensified. Politics must have significantly influenced such developments. Imperial and provincial policies under the Sufyanids and Marwanids set in motion, or stimulated, processes of assimilation and integration between indigenous Egyptians and Arab new-comers. As we will see in detail in the subsequent chapters, policies under the Sufyanids predominantly affected matters related to the government of the province. The policies of their Marwanid successors not only included administrative reforms but also changed, for example, legal and fiscal practices. Other changes highly relevant to the position of al-Fusṭāṭ – such as the development of commercial relations or local conversion to Islam – are best understood as (often local or individual) reactions to developments in society and/or official policies and are only indirectly the result of the agency of Arab administrators.

Modern scholarship approaches al-Fusṭāṭ and its role in the province from predominantly two angles. One of these is that of the early-Arab administration. The idea that al-Fusṭāṭ played a central role in Egypt's (fiscal) administration from soon after its establishment permeates modern scholarship on the town's connections with the rest of the province. This is the result of the nature of much of our source material. Many medieval histories of Egypt focus on the top of the province's administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. Further, our better known documentary sources stem from administrative circles limited to a few regions in Upper Egypt (the Nile valley south of the delta), especially the Fayyūm (Arsinoitēs), al-Ušmūn (Hermopolis), Išqūh (Aphroditō), and Udfū (Apollonōpolis Anō). On the basis of (some of) these sources, such early-modern historians of

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2002, pp. 289-318; Sijpesteijn, "New rule", p. 188; Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns", p. 122; A. Steinwenter, *Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten*, Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967, pp. 6-25.

Egypt as H.I. Bell, C.H. Becker and, somewhat later, A. Grohmann studied al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with the rest of Egypt in light of the province's administrative hierarchy. Their studies allowed them to conclude that the (often not defined or properly nuanced) "early-Islamic period" saw, in Bell's words, 'an almost excessive centralization' around al-Fusṭāṭ.[27] The subsequent publication of new documents, the thorough papyrological studies, and the in-depth inquiries into medieval historiography on al-Fusṭāṭ by the hands of K. Morimoto, F. Morelli, P.M. Sijpesteijn, and S. Bouderbala – to name just a few – have greatly contributed to, and nuanced, our understanding of the development of al-Fusṭāṭ's administrative relationship with the rest of Egypt.[28] It is now clear that this relationship was not static and drastically changed throughout the first century of Arab rule under the pressure of increasing state expenses combined with lessening tax revenues and because of changing religious ideologies and social as well as demographic circumstances. The early-Marwanid period was a turning point in the history of this relationship; from *c.* 80/700, the town's administrative influence over the province increased considerably. Changes in al-Fusṭāṭ's role in the province took the shape of new administrative structures. By replacing indigenous heads of administrative districts by Arabs (who lacked a local power base), for instance, the Marwanid authorities seated in al-Fusṭāṭ secured for themselves more control over local administrations and, hence, over the districts' tax revenues.[29] It is in the same period that we have the first records of monks being subjected to taxes,[30] that unoccupied agricultural land was assigned to villagers in order to generate tax

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[27] *E.g.*, *P.Lond.* IV, pp. xvii-xxv, xxxv-xli; C.H. Becker, "Historische Studien über das Londoner Aphroditowerk", *Der Islam* 2 (1911), pp. 359-71; Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab". For the cited words, see H.I. Bell, "The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad khalifs", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928), p. 279.

[28] *E.g.*, K. Morimoto, *The fiscal administration of Egypt in the early Islamic period*, Kyoto: Dohosha, 1981; F. Morelli, "Legname, palazzi e moschee: P.Vindob. G 31 e il contributo dell'Egitto alla prima architettura islamica", *Tyche* 13 (1998), pp. 165-90; *idem.*, "*Agri deserti* (*mawât*), fuggitivi, fisco: una κλήρωσις in più in SPP VIII 1183", *ZPE* 129 (2000), pp. 167-78; *CPR* XXX; P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state: papyri related to a mid-eighth-century Egyptian official*, forthcoming; S. Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr: étude de l'administration militaire dans l'Égypte des débuts de l'Islam, 21/642-218/833*, Ph.D. thesis: Université de Paris 1/Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2008.

[29] Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, pp. 201-11.

[30] Morimoto, *The fiscal administration*, pp. 114-9.

revenues,[31] and that the number of preserved safe conducts, meant to control the movement of fiscally liable persons and issued by the central administration, sharply increases.[32] In al-Fusṭāṭ, too, contemporary administrative changes increased the authorities' power over the town's Arab populace.[33] On the basis of these and other changes, modern scholarship has been able to connect al-Fusṭāṭ's changing position in the province to developments at the level of the caliphate; we will briefly return to this below.

Since the mid-twentieth century, al-Fusṭāṭ has also received ample archaeological interest.[34] From 1964 until 1980, an archaeological team of the American Research Centre in Egypt (ARCE), under the supervision of G.T. Scanlon, conducted excavations to the north-east of the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Their publications largely consist of archaeological reports and catalogues.[35] A team of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), headed by R.-P. Gayraud, excavated between 1985 and 2003 an area to the south-east of the mosque, known as Isṭabl ʿAntar. In addition to the archaeological reports and studies, the IFAO is currently publishing the finds of its excavations there.[36] Together, the reports, catalogues, and studies of the American and French excavations map with great chronological precision the architectural and morphological development of al-Fusṭāṭ, which can be traced back to the period of its establishment.[37] Their detailed

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[31] See Morelli, "*Agri deserti*".

[32] See, *e.g.*, Y. Rāǧib, "Sauf conduits d'Égypte omeyyade et abbasside", *Annales islamologiques* 31 (1997), esp. pp. 143-9. For more literature on the safe conduct, see p. 123, n. 161.

[33] Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 210-36.

[34] In addition to being mostly relevant to the Fatimid period, excavations led by A. Bahgat Bey in the 1910s and early-1920s (reports are published in A. Bahgat Bey & A. Gabriel, *Les fouilles d'al Foustât*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1921) do not conform to modern archaeological standards and are, therefore, not considered in this thesis. For a short overview of other, but minor, excavations conducted before the mid-twentieth century, see G.T. Scanlon, "Preliminary report: excavations at Fustat", *JARCE* 4 (1965), p. 9.

[35] For an overview of their publications, see W.B. Kubiak & G.T. Scanlon, *Fusṭāṭ expedition final report*, II: *Fustat-C*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989, pp. ix-x. Add G.T. Scanlon, & R. Pinder-Wilson, *Fustat glass of the early Islamic period: finds excavated by the American Research Center in Egypt, 1964-1980*, London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2001.

[36] S. Denoix, "Les fouilles d'Istabl ʿAntar à Fustât", preface of E. Rodziewicz, *Bone carvings from Fustat-Istabl ʿAntar*, Cairo: IFAO, 2012, pp. xii-xiii.

[37] For syntheses of the finds of the American and French excavations related to the first century of Arab rule, see G.T. Scanlon, "Al-Fusṭāṭ: the riddle of the earliest settlement", in G.R.D. King & A. Cameron

documentation of al-Fusṭāṭ's material culture is an important source for studies into the economy of the town and on the town's connections with the rest of the province and the Mediterranean region at large. In addition to the American and French teams, archaeologists of three Japanese institutions, together led by M. Kawatoko, have excavated between 1978 and 1985 and are excavating again since 1998 an area east of the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ which was part of the town's central quarter and housed Arab notables. Most of the reports of their excavations are published in Japanese.[38] The team is currently publishing their finds in catalogues; one in English has appeared so far.[39] Furthermore, another team of the ARCE, led by P. Sheehan, has subjected the fortress Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ to thorough archaeological excavations between 2000 and 2006. The results of their finds, conveniently published in an easily readable monograph,[40] reveal amongst others how the Arabs adjusted the fortress to their needs and connected it, by building a road, to the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ at the centre of al-Fusṭāṭ.

Whereas archaeological and philological scholarship on al-Fusṭāṭ and the town's involvement in the provincial administration is abundantly available, modern studies only seldom discuss the town's role in the province outside the fiscal-administrative realm or study al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with areas which are not the provenance of the bulk of our documentary sources. Building on what has previously been written on the town, the present thesis maps and analyses the form and strength of al-Fusṭāṭ's ties with a number of understudied areas and/or at levels that have yet received little attention. This is done on the basis of four case studies to each of which one chapter is devoted. Two case studies deal with

(eds), *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, II: *Land use and settlement patterns*, Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1994, pp. 171-179; R.-P. Gayraud, "Fostat: évolution d'une capitale arabe du VIIe au XIIe siècle d'après les fouilles d'Istabl ʿAntar", in R.-P. Gayraud (ed.), *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique*, Cairo: IFAO, 1998, pp. 435-60.

[38] For an overview of the publications, see the bibliography to M. Kawatoko, "Multi-disciplinary approaches to the Islamic period in Egypt and the Red Sea coast", *Antiquity* 79 (2005), pp. 844-57. See also the following note.

[39] M. Kawatoko & Y. Shindo, *Artifacts of the medieval Islamic period, excavated in al-Fusṭāṭ, Egypt*, Tokyo: Organization for Islamic Area Studies, Waseda University, 2010 [*non vide*]. See also Kawatoko, "Multi-disciplinary approaches", p. 848.

[40] P. Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt: the archaeology of old Cairo and the origins of the city*, Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2010.

the development of al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with Alexandria at a military, administrative, and commercial level (chapters 1 and 2). The remaining two studies deal with the town's relationship with Upper Egypt, with much emphasis on the region around Aswan, at a military-administrative and judicial level (chapters 3 and 4). Areas such as the eastern Nile delta or Barqa (Cyrenaica) are not considered because of the unavailability of (enough) source material. The four case studies analyze al-Fusṭāṭ from the view point of the town's hinterland rather than that of al-Fusṭāṭ itself and, unlike much previous scholarship, connect al-Fusṭāṭ with Egypt's extreme north and south.

It is now widely acknowledged that any study into the first century of Arab rule should, by preference, not solely rely on the preserved Arabic literary source material. The oral tradition that dominated the transmission of knowledge among the Arabs of the first two Islamic centuries has resulted in an almost total lack of contemporary literature.[41] This is certainly true for first/seventh- and second/eighth-century scholarship from Egypt on the history of the province since the establishment of Arab dominion. There is, indeed, very little evidence of the production of scholarly writings in Arabic in Egypt during the first/seventh century.[42] By the mid-second/eighth century, Egypt had produced a considerable number of historians of whom some may have written local histories.[43] Among the first recorded is one Ḥuyayy b. Hāniʾ al-Maʿāfirī (d. 128/745), a participant in the conquest of Rhodes of 52/672 and reported author of a *Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr*.[44] Except in the form of citations in writings of the third/ninth century or later,[45] copies of

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[41] On the correlation between the oral tradition and the use of written sources, see principally G. Schoeler, "Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam", *Der Islam* 62 (1985), pp. 201-30 and *idem.*, "Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam", *Der Islam* 66 (1989), pp. 38-67.

[42] Y. Rāġib, "Les plus anciens papyrus arabes", *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996), pp. 1-19. *Cf. P.Mil.Vogl.* 1 (prov. unknown), a fragment of a literary text palaeographically dated to the first/seventh century.

[43] F.M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic origins: the beginnings of Islamic historical writing*, Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1998, pp. 224-5. See also H. Kennedy, "Egypt as a province in the Islamic caliphate, 641-868", *CHE*, I, pp. 63-4.

[44] *GAS*, I, p. 341. On Ḥuyayy b. Hāniʾ al-Maʿāfirī, see further Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 29-32.

[45] Except for a few fragments of earlier texts, the earliest works preserved today date from the late-second/eighth or early-third/ninth century. See Rāġib, "Les plus anciens papyrus arabes", pp. 2-5. For the late-medieval date and context of *Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr wa-l-Iskandariyya* (ed. H.A. Hamaker, Leiden: S. & J.

(parts of) the works of Ḥuyayy b. Hāniʾ al-Maʿāfirī and his colleagues have not been preserved. Modern scholars have long showed that this considerable span of time that separates the events from their recording in endurable form allowed for the intrusion of biased or even non-historical reports. Since the 1970s, some scholars even argued that it is no longer possible to sift the historical information from the non-historical and that future research, therefore, needs to be based on sources that lay outside the Arabic literary tradition.[46] Literary sources (originally) composed in Coptic and Greek, however, present problems similar to those of the Arabic sources.[47]

For this reason, the present thesis's case studies use these problematic literary sources only after, or in combination with, a careful examination of the available documentary source material: documents (on papyrus, potsherds, etc.; written in Arabic, Coptic, and Greek), inscriptions, coins, *exagia*, and (especially in chapter 2) archaeology. Although there are limits to the objectivity of such non-literary sources,[48] they constitute an invaluable source of information. They are

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Luchtmans, 1825) and *Kitāb futūḥ al-Bahnasā* (tr. É. Galtier, Cairo: IFAO, 1909), erroneously ascribed to the well-known Medinan historian Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822), see C. Décobert, "La prise de Maryût par les Arabes: conquête et conversion religieuse", in J.-Y. Empereur & C. Décobert (eds), *Alexandrie médiévale 3*, Cairo: IFAO, 2008, esp. pp. 146-50 (*pace* the discussion in J. Jarry, "La conquête du Fayoum par les Musulmans d'après le Futūḥ al-Bahnasā", *Annales islamologiques* 9 (1970), pp. 15-8). This thesis makes no use of these two books.

[46] For an overview of approaches towards historical scholarship on early Islam, see Donner, *Narratives of Islamic origins*, pp. 1-25.

[47] See now especially Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis*.

[48] Especially enlightening is A. Papalexandrou, "Echoes of orality in the monumental inscriptions of Byzantium", in L. James (ed.), *Art and text in Byzantine culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 161-87 on inscriptions; her discussion is also applicable to other types of documentary sources. On coins, see further S. Heidemann, "The evolving representation of the early Islamic empire and its religion on coin imagery", in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai & M. Marx (eds), *The Qurʾān in context: historical and literary investigations into the Qurʾānic milieu*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 149-95. On architecture and archaeology, see *e.g.* F.B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: studies on the makings of an Umayyad visual culture*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 213-36 and H. Taragan, "Constructing a visual rhetoric: images of craftsmen and builders in the Umayyad palace at Qusayr ʿAmra", *Al-Masāq* 20/2 (2008), pp. 141-60. As to funerary stelae, add to Papalexandrou's discussion W. Diem, *The living and the dead in Islam: studies in Arabic epitaphs*, I: *Epitaphs as texts*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004, pp. 9-114, 118-9, 211. Documents, too, are not immune to coloured or stereotyped descriptions of events and may even contain narrative elements. For the early-Islamic period, this is perhaps best illustrated by the Coptic child donation documents from second/eighth-century Šīma and environs. See T.S. Richter, "What's in a story? Cultural narratology and Coptic child donation documents", *JJP* 35 (2005), esp. pp. 242-3 and

not only the sole contemporary sources available, they also preserve details of social, administrative, and economic structures that have been lost in our literary sources' heavy focus on the top of the Arab administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. Quite some material is available from al-Fusṭāṭ itself. A considerable number of documentary sources excavated in the town and kept in the archives of institutes and private collections have been made available through scholarly publications.[49] Most of such sources, however, come from other parts of the province, making them especially useful for the present thesis.

Scholarly interest in such a multidisciplinary approach towards the study of early-Arab Egypt – an approach combining documentary sources written in Arabic, Coptic, and Greek as well as, a.o., epigraphic and numismatic sources – has considerably increased over the past years. Beside organizing workshops and summer schools dedicated to the study of Arabic documents, the International Society for Arabic Papyrology (ISAP), founded in 2002, stimulates the collaboration of scholars from different fields by organizing multidisciplinary conferences.[50] Various research projects, most of them involving a number of leading institutions, have recently followed the ISAP's lead.[51] That the project 'The

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254-61. See also L. Sundelin, "Introduction: papyrology and the study of early Islamic Egypt", in P.M. Sijpesteijn & L. Sundelin (eds), *Papyrology and the history of early Islamic Egypt*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 14-5.

[49] *E.g.*, S. Denoix, "Les ostraca de Isṭabl ʿAntar, 1985", *Annales islamologiques* 22 (1986), pp. 27-33; W.B. Kubiak & G.T. Scanlon, *Fusṭāṭ expedition final report*, II: *Fustat-C*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989; M. Kawatoko, "On the coins found at al-Fusṭāṭ", *SENRI ethnological studies* 55 (2001), pp. 55-71; the studies in J.L. Bacharach (ed.), *Fustat finds: beads, coins, medical instruments, textiles and other artifacts from the Awad collection*, Cairo: AUC Press, 2002; P.M. Sijpesteijn, "A seventh/eighth-century list of companions from Fusṭāṭ", in C. Hoogendijk, B.P. Muhs & M. Bakker (eds), *Sixty-five papyrological texts: presented to Klaas A. Worp on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, Leiden: Brill, 2008, pp. 369-77. See *P.Khalili* I, pp. 23-4 for the possibility that papyri in the Nasser D. Khalili collection come from al-Fusṭāṭ. See also A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, I: *Einführung*, Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1954, pp. 27-8.

[50] See http://www.aoi.uzh.ch/islamwissenschaft/forschung/isap.html.

[51] The project 'Late Antiquity and early Islam' (Leiden University, Princeton University, University of Oxford, CNRS-UMR 8167) ran from 2010 to 2012 and organized three conferences which proceedings are in press (http://hum.leiden.edu/lias/formation-of-islam/related-projects/late-antiquity-and-early-islam.html). The project 'Province et empire. L'Égypte islamique dans le monde antique: mutations administratives, sociétés plurielles et mémoires concurrentes' (Leiden University, New York University, CNRS-UMR 8167) started in 2013 and includes four international conferences, with proceedings, to be organized before 2017 (http://www.ifao.egnet.net/axes-2012/transition-croisements-culturels/2012-provinces-empires).

formation of Islam: the view from below', as part of which the present thesis was written, could count on funding by the European Research Council shows perhaps most clearly that the value of a multidisciplinary approach has gained wide recognition.

On the basis of this source material, the case studies in the present thesis reveal three stages in the development of al-Fusṭāṭ as Egypt's capital before 132/750. These stages largely coincide with dynastic changes or empire-wide reforms and suggest a strong relationship between the chronology of the development of al-Fusṭāṭ's role in Egypt and events at the level of the caliphate. The first stage begins with the traditional date of the beginning of the Arab conquest of Egypt, 18/639, and ends with Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's accession to the caliphate in 40/661. During this twenty-year period, the Arabs subdued Egypt to their rule, established their headquarters at al-Fusṭāṭ, and instituted changes in the existing military and administrative organization in order to maintain their rule in the province. The second stage starts in 40/661, the date of the empire-wide recognition of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's caliphate after the first civil war[52] and the relocation of the imperial administration from al-Madīna on the Arabian Peninsula to Damascus in Syria. The many reforms of the early-Sufyanid period, of which some were doubtlessly related to Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's coming to power, increased al-Fusṭāṭ's relations with the rest of Egypt to such an extent that they signify the beginning of a new stage in the town's history. This thesis, therefore, joins in the modern scholarly debate on the extent to which the caliphate was a centralized state under Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān.[53] It addresses this question from a provincial (Egyptian) point of view and by considering the effects of this (de)centralized nature of the caliphate on the relations between the provincial capital and its hinterland. Conversely, scholars widely recognize the caliphate to

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[52] See the discussion in K. Keshk, "When did Muʿāwiya become caliph?", *JNES* 69/1 (2010), pp. 31-42.

[53] See, *e.g.*, the discussions in J. Johns, "Archaeology and the history of early Islam: the first seventy years", *JESHO* 46/4 (2003), pp. 411-36; C.F. Robinson, "The rise of Islam, 600-705", *NCHI*, I, pp. 208-15; R.G. Hoyland, "New documentary texts and the early Islamic state", *BSOAS* 69/3 (2006), pp. 395-416; C. Foss, "Muʿāwiya's state", in J. Haldon (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria: a review of current debates*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 75-96.

have been (or become) a centralized state during the reigns of the Marwanid caliphs.[54] Fully in accordance with modern scholarship on the town's administrative relationship with its hinterland, referred to above, the sources used in this thesis show that the empire-wide and centralizing reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65/685-86/705) and his successors caused al-Fusṭāṭ's ties with the rest of the province to strengthen considerably. The Marwanid period, and predominantly the half century after the defeat of the rival caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. az-Zubayr in 73/692, after which most reforms were implemented, forms a third stage in the development of al-Fusṭāṭ's role in the province. This thesis's chapters follow this three-stepped chronology.

2. Al-Fusṭāṭ, 18/639-132/750: a short historical overview

Before we study al-Fusṭāṭ's relationships with the rest of the province, it is useful to briefly discuss the development of the town al-Fusṭāṭ itself. After the conquest, the majority of the Arab conquerors settled in al-Fusṭāṭ; small groups also settled, mainly on a temporary basis, in Alexandria and the rest of Egypt. Around Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ and the congregational mosque which ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ erected just north of it, the Arab authorities endorsed the distribution of, or redistributed, pieces of land (Ar. sg. ḫiṭṭa) among the tribes that had participated in the conquest.[55] In order to prevent the newly-arrived Arabs from assimilating with the local populations and, hence, the Arab authorities from losing military back-up for their control over the province and for future conquests, the Arab tribesmen were not allowed to settle outside their garrison town and to engage in agriculture or large-scale

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[54] F.M. Donner, "The formation of the Islamic State", *JAOS* 106/2 (1986), pp. 283-96; C.F. Robinson, "The rise of Islam, 600-705", pp. 215-21; Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, pp. 91-111.

[55] Much has been written on the land allotment (Ar. *taḫṭīṭ*) and early settlement of al-Fusṭāṭ. To date, the primary study remains Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*. Other seminal studies are S. Denoix, *Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr d'après Ibn Duqmāq et Maqrīzī: l'histoire d'une partie de la ville du Caire d'après deux historiens égyptiens des XIVe-XVe siècles*, Cairo: IFAO, 1992; G.T. Scanlon, "Al-Fusṭāṭ: the riddle of the earliest settlement", in G.R.D. King & A. Cameron (eds), *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, II: *Land use and settlement patterns*, Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1994, pp. 171-179; R.-P. Gayraud, "Fostat: évolution d'une capitale arabe du VIIe au XIIe siècle d'après les fouilles d'Istabl ʿAntar", in R.-P. Gayraud (ed.), *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique*, Cairo: IFAO, 1998, pp. 437-9; Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*; D. Withcomb, "An Umayyad legacy for the early Islamic city: Fusṭāṭ and the experience of Egypt", in A. Borrut & P.M. Cobb (eds), *Umayyad legacies: medieval memories from Syria and Spain*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 403-16.

pasturalism.[56] Instead, the Arab authorities set up military pay registers (Ar. sg. *dīwān*) in al-Fusṭāṭ[57] and distributed pay (Ar. *ʿaṭāʾ*), of a hight depending on one's socio-religious standing, among those tribesmen registered.[58]

Al-Fusṭāṭ rapidly grew from a conglomeration of tribal units to a large-sized town. A group of recently-published administrative documents from the early-20s/640s which record a high demand for building material in Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ evidences al-Fusṭāṭ's early transition from a camp to a town.[59] Archaeological research confirms the early construction of stone buildings over a vast area and, further, shows a considerable population density almost immediately after the foundation of the town.[60] Literary sources, indeed, tell us that the number of Arabs registered for military pay – initially some 15,000 men – almost tripled within forty years.[61] Whereas at first al-Fusṭāṭ must have been inhabited by mostly Arab emigrants (Ar. *muhāǧirūn*) belonging to so-called "southern" tribes,[62] the building of churches in or near the town soon after the conquest suggests an early, but

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[56] For Egypt, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-aḫbāruhā*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922, p. 162 (copied in as-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī taʾrīḫ Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 2 vols, ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Dār iḥyāʾ al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, 1387/1967, I, p. 155). For similar policies in the other provinces, see F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 245-50.

[57] G.-R. Puin, *Der Dīwān von ʿUmar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭāb: ein Beitrag zur frühislamischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Bonn: n.i., 1970 is still the main study on the *dīwān*. For the setting up of the Egyptian *dīwān*, see (a.o.) K. Morimoto, "The *dīwān*s as registers of the Arab stipendiaries in early Islamic Egypt", in R. Curiel & R. Gyselen (eds), *Itinéraires d'orient: hommages à Claude Cahen*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'étude de la civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1994, pp. 353-4 and H.L. Gottschalk, "Dīwān: (ii) Egypt", *EI²*, II, p. 327.

[58] H. Kennedy, *The armies of the caliphs: military and society in the early Islamic state*, London/New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 61-3.

[59] *CPR* XXX (see esp. the discussion on pp. 75-8).

[60] Scanlon, "Al-Fusṭāṭ: the riddle", pp. 175-6; Gayraud, "Fostat: évolution d'une capitale", pp. 438 and 441.

[61] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 102.

[62] J.-C. Vadet, "L''acculturation' des sud-arabiques de Fusṭāṭ au lendemain de la conquête arabe", *Bulletin d'études orientales* 22 (1969), pp. 7-14. For the possibly North Arabian origin of the so-called "southern" tribes, see S. Bashear, "Yemen in early Islam: an examination of non-tribal traditions", *Arabica* 36 (1989), esp. pp. 334-7 and Y.D. Nevo & J. Koren, *Crossroads to Islam: the origins of the Arab religion and the Arab state*, Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2003, pp. 100-2. *Cf.* the Byzantine and Persian contingents that participated in the conquest and settled on the outskirts of al-Fusṭāṭ, mentioned in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 125, 129.

probably modest, influx of non-Arabs.[63] The town's population continued to grow throughout the period under consideration. Archaeologists explain changes in building techniques that appear around 80/700 as the result of an ever increasing population density combined with a limited area available for habitation.[64] The enlargements of the town's congregational mosque, recorded in medieval historiographical sources, can be interpreted as indicative of the continuous growing of al-Fusṭāṭ's population.[65] Before the end of the first/seventh century, the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ twice needed enlargement: under Maslama b. Muḫallad as early as 53/672-3 and under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān in 77/696-7.[66] Two further enlargements are recorded for the second/eighth century.[67]

Al-Fusṭāṭ housed the top of the province's administrative authorities and formed the heart of the Arab-Muslim community in Egypt. Nonetheless, the town may temporarily have lost its role as capital in the closing decades of the first/seventh century to the town of Ḥulwān, located about twenty kilometers south of al-Fusṭāṭ. Even though the governorate of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (65/685-86/705), who founded Ḥulwān, is among the best documented governorates of the first century of Muslim rule over Egypt, the role of Ḥulwān in that period remains enigmatic. Medieval sources do not agree on the date of, and reason for, the foundation of Ḥulwān. The most common report has it that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān moved there in an attempt to escape an outbreak of the plague in al-Fusṭāṭ in 70/689-90.[68] But other sources claim that he founded Ḥulwān when he was appointed governor (which would be in line with the tradition of new Arab

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[63] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, p. 132) dates the building of 'the first church in al-Fusṭāṭ', situated just outside (!) the town, to the governorate of Maslama b. Muḫallad (47/667-62/682). But in Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ, archaeologists have found the remains of a church which was built within few years after the conquest (Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt*, pp. 88-92). See also Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*, pp. 80-1 and 106-7.
[64] Gayraud, "Fostat: évolution d'une capitale arabe", pp. 439-40.
[65] See also Sijpesteijn, "The Arab conquests", pp. 451-2.
[66] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 131; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulā wa-kitāb al-quḍā*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 38-9, 51.
[67] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 131-2; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 65, 134.
[68] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 236-7; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 49-50.

dynasties)⁶⁹ or that physicians advised him to reside there after he had fallen ill.⁷⁰ It is equally uncertain to what extent Ḥulwān actually was a capital and not merely the governor's place of residence.⁷¹ The alleged minting of dinars in Ḥulwān, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's reported building of a nilometer there, and the town's alleged housing of (the top of?) the ǧund may support the idea that Ḥulwān was an administrative capital.⁷² That ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān is said to have ordered 'notables [Ar. arāḫina] from Upper Egypt and the other administrative districts' to build in Ḥulwān residences for themselves may also point in this direction.⁷³ A late source asserts that the governor aspired to depopulate al-Fusṭāṭ and to have Ḥulwān replace al-Fusṭāṭ as the region's main commercial centre,⁷⁴ but this contradicts ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's well-known building projects in al-Fusṭāṭ on which more will be said in chapter 2. Whether or not Ḥulwān replaced al-Fusṭāṭ as Egypt's capital, the latter's position was restored under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's successors; the temporary change seems to have had little impact on the relationships between al-Fusṭāṭ and the rest of Egypt.

Significant changes occurred in the mid-second/eighth century. Although al-Fusṭāṭ continued to flourish for centuries thereafter, a deliberately ignited fire that raged through the town in 132/750 marked the end of an epoch. During the Abbasids' tumultuous assumption of power, the last Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad (r. 127/744-132/750) fled from northern Syria via Palestine to al-

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⁶⁹ Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, Muʿǧam al-buldān, II, p. 321. Cf. Ibn Taġrī Birdī, an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira, 16 vols, Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya, 1929-1972, I, p. 179, who dates the outbreak of the plague to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's first year as governor. See also Kubiak, Al-Fustat, p. 11.

⁷⁰ Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq, Annales, 2 vols, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut: E typographeo catholico, 1906-9, II, p. 369 (after, and copied in, Abū Ṣāliḥ (attr.), The churches and monasteries of Egypt, ed. and trans. B.T.A. Evetts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895, p. 155 (English), 67 (Arabic) [fol. 52b]).

⁷¹ Cf. al-Qalqašandī, Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā, III, p. 335, who reports, without chronological precision, that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān resided in al-Fusṭāṭ in the large palace known as dār al-muḏahhaba. Was this prior to 70/689-90?

⁷² Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, p. 16 [copied in al-Maqrīzī, Ḫiṭaṭ, I, pp. 150-1]; Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, Muʿǧam al-buldān, II, p. 321; al-Maqrīzī, Ḫiṭaṭ, I, p. 569.

⁷³ History of the patriarchs, ed. and tr. B. Evetts, Patrologia orientalis 1/2, 1/4, 5/1, 10/5 (1947-59), III, p. 24 [278]. Unless stated otherwise, all references to the History of the patriarchs are to Evetts's edition.

⁷⁴ Abū Ṣāliḥ (attr.), Churches and monasteries, p. 155 (English), 67 (Arabic) [fol. 52b]. For the date and author of this text, see the overview in J. den Heijer, "Coptic historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods", Medieval encounters 2/1 (1996), pp. 77-81.

Fusṭāṭ in 132/750, hoping to reach North African supporters via the Egyptian oases.[75] In an attempt to halt his Abbasid persecutors, Marwān b. Muḥammad ordered that al-Fusṭāṭ be set on fire and the pontoon bridges that connected the town with al-Ǧīza on the west bank be cut loose and burnt as well.[76] The *History of the patriarchs* writes that the town burnt 'from south to north', that the *dīwān*s went up in flames, and that the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ only nearly survived the fire. It reports that there was an immediate shortage of food among the town's surviving population as well as that of al-Ǧīza because the Umayyad caliph had burnt al-Fusṭāṭ's granaries and people had fled across the Nile *en masse*.[77] Although few other sources describe al-Fusṭāṭ's burning in such detail,[78] archaeology fully confirms its devastating effects, especially for the town's southern quarters.[79] But to Marwān b. Muḥammad the fire was of no avail: Abbasid armies eventually caught and killed him in Būṣīr (Bousiris) in northern Upper Egypt.[80] At the end of Muḥarram 133/August 750, Egypt's first Abbasid governor, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, victoriously entered al-Fusṭāṭ.[81]

Possibly as a result of the fire's destruction of al-Fusṭāṭ's administrative heart,[82] the new Abbasid government relocated Egypt's administrative headquarters to al-ʿAskar ('the cantonment').[83] Initially a garrison town, this new military and administrative district was located on the site of al-Ḥamrāʾ al-Quṣwā, a former northern suburb of al-Fusṭāṭ that was largely depopulated at the time of

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[75] Al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb at-tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1894, p. 331.

[76] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 95; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, 16 vols, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879-1901, III/1, p. 49; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 55.

[77] *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 168 [422], 181 [435], and 188 [442].

[78] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 55 and al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, III, p. 335 write that the *dār al-muḏahhaba* (*cf.* n. 71 above) was lost in the fire.

[79] Gayraud, "Fostat: évolution d'une capitale", pp. 439 and 441.

[80] Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, III/1, pp. 46, 49; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 55.

[81] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 97.

[82] *Cf.* S.J. Staffa, *Conquest and fusion: the social evolution of Cairo, A.D. 642-1850*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977, p. 28; A.F. Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque fatimide, al-Qāhira et al-Fusṭāṭ: essai de reconstition topographique*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998, pp. 28-9.

[83] P. Wheatley, *The places where men pray together: cities in Islamic lands, seventh through the tenth centuries*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001, p. 281. As to the name, *cf.* Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte*, p. 29.

the Abbasid take-over.[84] Throughout the second half of the second/eighth century, the authorities tried to keep their new headquarters separated from the habitation areas of al-Fusṭāṭ. Contact between the administration in al-ʿAskar and the (Arab) population of al-Fusṭāṭ went primarily via delegatory visits of the latter's notables.[85] To be sure, markets that sprung up around al-ʿAskar's congregational mosque, built by the governor al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ in 169/785-6,[86] took from the district its purely administrative and military character.[87] But the authorities prohibited the large-scale construction of private buildings there before 200-1/816.[88] Even though the fourth/tenth-century historian al-Kindī reports that in 146/763-4 the caliph al-Manṣūr sent a letter to Yazīd b. Ḥātim, governor of Egypt, ordering him for unknown reasons to relocate the administrative headquarters from al-ʿAskar back to al-Fusṭāṭ and to transfer the *dīwān*s to the churches of Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ,[89] al-ʿAskar remained the seat of the administration until the Tulunid period (254/868-292/905).[90]

Regardless of the close proximity between al-ʿAskar and al-Fusṭāṭ,[91] the forceful separation of the new Abbasid administrative district from al-Fusṭāṭ ended the latter's position as administrative capital of the province. The relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and al-ʿAskar, summarily outlined above, and the impact of the creation of al-ʿAskar on al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with its hinterland is beyond the scope of the present thesis. For this reason, the following chapters largely concentrate on al-Fusṭāṭ's relationships with its hinterland before the arrival of Abbasid rule.

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[84] See the remarks in Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*, pp. 86-7.

[85] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 107.

[86] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, IV/1, p. 55. Prior to 169/785-6, the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in al-Fusṭāṭ continued to be the urban conglomeration's religious centre. See Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte*, pp. 30-1.

[87] Staffa, *Conquest and fusion*, p. 28.

[88] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 56.

[89] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 115 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 62).

[90] *Cf.* al-Maqrīzī's long list of governors residing in al-ʿAskar (*Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 59-80). A third/ninth-century document (Rāġib, "Lettres arabes", II, no. 13 [prov. unknown], line 11) probably establishes a connection between al-ʿAskar (but *cf.* comm.) and the authority who was charged with receiving of the oath of allegiance from the people (Ar. *al-qāyim bi-yamīn an-nās*) after the death of an unnamed caliph.

[91] *Cf.* Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*, p. 11, where he argues that al-ʿAskar was 'nothing but the name of a quarter within the urban agglomeration'.

PART 1

AL-FUSṬĀṬ AND ALEXANDRIA

CHAPTER 1

THE ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
ALEXANDRIA AND AL-FUSṬĀṬ

When the Arab armies entered Egyptian territory in 18/639, Alexandria was the capital of the eparchy of Aegyptus, which approximately covered the area of the western Nile delta.[1] Although the eparchal capitals enjoyed in theory equal hierarchical status, Alexandria was in practice a *primus inter pares*. Besides the fact that Alexandria was Egypt's main economic centre, the city housed Egypt's most powerful administrative and religious official: the Melkite patriarch. The patriarch's authority had drastically increased since the reign of the Byzantine emperor Justinian (r. A.D. 527-65).[2] After the end of the Sasanid occupation in 7/629, Egypt's Melkite patriarch Cyrus (al-Muqawqis; in office 10/631-*c.* 21/641) held exceptionally much power and is recorded to have had civil and military authority over all eparchies.[3] Being located in Alexandria, the administration of the patriarch placed the city at the centre of the administration of Egypt's four eparchies.

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[1] Palme, "The imperial presence", pp. 248-9.

[2] G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928, esp. pp. 229-39.

[3] On Cyrus, see especially A. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of Roman dominion*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. lxv-lxvii and 508-26 [appendix C]; K. Öhrnberg, "al-Muḵawḵis", *EI²*, VII, pp. 511a-13a; and also Palme, "The imperial presence", p. 265. The first/seventh-century *Khuzistan Chronicle*, composed in the second half of the first/seventh century (C.F. Robinson, "The conquest of Khūzistān: a historiographical reassessment", *BSOAS* 67/1 (2004), pp. 14-5), writes that the Arabs had difficulty entering Egyptian territory because, in Nöldeke's translation, 'die Grenze durch den Patriarchen von Alexandria mit einen Heer und grosser Macht behütet wurde' (T. Nöldeke, "Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* 128 (1893), IX, p. 45). In *P.Lond.* I 113/10 (Fayyūm; 18-9/639-40), the only document known to refer to Cyrus, the patriarch (line 14: πάπα) demands goods from Theodorakios, pagarch of the Fayyūm, destined for Byzantine or Arab soldiers. On this document, see p. 95 below.

Modern scholarship almost unanimously agrees that Alexandria kept much of its importance after the establishment of Arab rule.[4] Mostly on the basis of the archaeological source material from Kawm ad-Dikka, a site located at the heart of the late-Antique city and excavated since the early-1960s (see map 2),[5] studies have predominantly pointed at a continuation of the city's economic life or of urban developments that already started in Byzantine times. We will turn to this in chapter 2. In the present chapter, we will study a particularly interesting aspect of Alexandria's history that received little attention: its administrative relationship with the central Arab authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ. It is not yet fully understood how the Arab administration approached Egypt's dominant city. Some scholars hold that Alexandria had an administration semi-independent from al-Fusṭāṭ,[6] whereas others stress the city's immediate dependence on the Arab administration in al-Fusṭāṭ.[7] A careful examination of the available sources, literary and documentary, allows for an adjustment of the current views on the relationship between the central authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ and the Alexandria.

The sources explored in this chapter show that the establishment of Arab rule over Alexandria in the early-20s/640s brought along significant changes in the city's social and administrative structures. The new rulers created strong social and administrative ties between the administrations in Alexandria and in al-Fusṭāṭ. This chapter uncovers a chronology along which the administrative relationship between these two cities developed. Three stages come to the fore: (1)

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[4] See especially P.E. Kahle, "Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alexandria", *Der Islam* 12 (1922), pp. 29-41; A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1959, p. 30-1; S. Labib, "Al-Iskandariyya", *EI²*, IV, p. 134a; C. Haas, *Alexandria in late Antiquity: topography and social conflict*, Baltimore/London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997, pp. 337-51; P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade on the river", in P.M. Sijpesteijn & L. Sundelin (eds.), *Papyrology and the history of early Islamic Egypt*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 121-3; Z. Kiss, "Alexandria in the fourth to seventh centuries", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300-700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 203-4. P.M. Fraser, "Alexandria, Christian and medieval", *CE*, I, p. 89 argues for less continuity.

[5] For a short overview of the archaeological excavations at Kōm ad-Dikka, see Z. Kiss, "Alexandria: past research", in E. Laskowska-Kuztal (ed.), *Seventy years of Polish archaeology in Egypt*, Warsaw: Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, 2007, pp. 116-24.

[6] *E.g.* P. Kahle, "Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alexandria", pp. 30-1; Labib, "Al-Iskandariyya", p. 134a; Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade", p. 122.

[7] *E.g.* Haas, *Alexandria in late Antiquity*, p. 345; Fraser, "Alexandria", p. 89.

the establishment of social and administrative ties between Alexandria and al-Fusṭāṭ, especially on a military level, in the wake of the conquest, (2) the active strengthening of the city's ties with the top of the province's administration under the early-Sufyanids, and (3) al-Fusṭāṭ's gradual attainment of natural dominion over Alexandria in the course of the second/eighth century. This chronology is not particular to the early-Arab history of Alexandria; we will encounter it again when discussing al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with other areas, especially in chapters 3 and 4. As we will see on the following pages, the basis for the initial stage was laid before the Arabs had conquered Alexandria.

1. The establishment of Arab rule over Alexandria and the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ
According to Arabic historical tradition, al-Fusṭāṭ was founded after the Arabs had conquered Alexandria. Allegedly, the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb ordered the Arabs to return to their camp near Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ after their succesful conquest of the city and that, contrary to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's wish, they should not make Alexandria Egypt's Arab capital. The caliph is said to have disliked a situation in which the Nile separates the Arabs from al-Madīna.[8] A. Noth has convincingly argued that this tradition largely consists of literary motifs.[9] It is, for this reason, a dubious source for the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ and, hence, for the origins of the early relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. The following reappraisal of the conquest of Alexandria shows that the Arabs' conquest administration at Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ (that is, prior to the surrender of Alexandria) greatly influenced the future relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria.

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[8] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 222; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 91 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 30-1; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 359).
[9] A. Noth (with L.I. Conrad), *The early Arabic historical tradition: a source-critical study*, tr. M. Bonner, Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1994, pp. 19-20. Nonetheless, that the caliph wanted close contact between the provincial and imperial capital is perhaps visible in the importance of the *ḫalīǧ amīr al-muʾminīn* (Gr. *Potamos Traianos*), which connected Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ via the Red Sea with the Arabian Peninsula, for the Arabs' choice to maintain their centre near Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ. See P. Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt: the archaeology of old Cairo and the origins of the city*, Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2010, pp. 51-2.

Arab armies conquered Alexandria in late-20/641 or 21/642. The conquest was not a sudden event. Doubtlessly with knowledge of Alexandria's position in Egypt,[10] the Arabs engaged in occassional raids on Egyptian territory and the conclusion of agreements (involving the Arab leaders and the Byzantine authorities in Alexandria) a little less than a decade prior to their siege of the city in 20/641. The first small campaigns directed against 'Egypt and Alexandria' mentioned in our source material were launched during Abū Bakr's caliphate (11/632-13/634),[11] probably in 12/633.[12] Military successes are not reported. An Arabic tradition on the final authority of ʿUlayy b. Rabāḥ al-Laḫmī (d. 114/732-3 or 115/733-4) states that Abū Bakr sent one Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa to Cyrus (al-Muqawqis) and that this Ḥāṭib concluded treaties with various towns in the (eastern) Nile delta.[13] It is well possible that the conclusion of such treaties was these campaigns' main aim.[14] But the treaties may as well be related to a temporary defensive policy adopted by the emperor Heraclius, after the Arabs'

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[10] Arabs inhabiting the Arabian Peninsula and Syro-Palestine were familiar with Alexandria prior to the start of the conquest. The *vita* of John the Almsgiver tells us that 'Saracens' fled to Alexandria at the arrival of the Sasanid armies in A.D. 618-9. See W.E. Kaegi, "Egypt on the eve of the Muslim conquest", *CHE*, I, p. 56. The *Khuzistan Chronicle* mentions someone from north-east Arabia who witnessed (and helped) the Sasanids conquer Alexandria in A.D. 619. See Nöldeke, "Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik", p. 25 (with Robinson, "The conquest of Khūzistān", p. 32). For the date of the Sasanid conquest of Alexandria, see R. Altheim-Stiehl, "Würde Alexandreia im Juni 619 n. Chr. durch die Perser erobert?", *Tyche* 6 (1994), pp. 14-5. An anecdote that has ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ visit the city prior to the Arab conquest, preserved in some Arabic sources, also refers to such contact between Alexandria and the Arabian Peninsula. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 54 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 82). Some medieval Muslim scholars claim that the Qurʾānic verse 'Iram with columns, of which no equal has been created in the lands' (Q. 89:7-8) refers to Alexandria. See the overview in Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, 6 vols, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866-73, I, pp. 155-7.
[11] Theophanes Confessor, *The chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern history, AD 284-813*, trs. C. Mango & R. Scott, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, p. 467; Dionysios of Tell-Maḥrē (A. Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993, p. 146 [§ 48]); *Chronicum ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, I, tr. I.-B. Chabot, Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1952, pp. 188-9; Agapius of Manbiǧ, *Historia universalis*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut: E typographeo catholico, 1912 [CSCO, Scriptores Arabici, 3rd ser., V], p. 340; Michael the Syrian *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jakobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, 4 vols, ed. & tr. J.-P. Chabot, Paris: Ernest Laroux, 1899-1910, II, p. 413. Theophanes Confessor (*Chronicle*, p. 466) writes that Muḥammad already appointed the relevant army leaders.
[12] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 584-5. *Cf.* F.M. Donner, *The Islamic conquests*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 113 and 124-6.
[13] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 53. See also Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 579.
[14] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 579.

numerous military successes, meant to to save part of the tax revenues of the besieged areas and allowing the emperor to send reinforcements.[15]

A number of medieval Arab historians claim that the Arabs conquered Alexandria in 16/637-8.[16] Instead of an actual conquest, this date refers to the conclusion of a treaty between Cyrus and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to which we find references in a Byzantine source tradition. This treaty reportedly stipulated that the Arabs would not invade Egypt in return for the payment of a tribute. Non-compliance to the agreement from the side of the Byzantines after three years is said to have caused the Arabs to invade Egypt.[17] There is no unanimity among the Byzantine sources on the date of this agreement.[18] The three-year interval between the conclusion of the agreement and the Arab invasion matches the years 16/637-8 and late-18/639, the latter being the traditional date of the start of the Arabs' conquest of Egypt in the Arabic source tradition and in John of Nikiu's *Chronicle*, composed in the second half of the first/seventh century.[19] "The conquest of 16/637-8" represents some medieval historians' interpretation of the treaty as proof for the subjugation of Egypt and, subsequently, as a conquest.

The Byzantines' refusal to pay tribute, at last, led the Arabs to try to forcefully subdue the country to their rule. They took the eastern Nile delta and the fortress Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ (Babylon) at the apex of the Nile delta between the end of

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[15] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, pp. 424-5; ps.-Sebeos, *The Armenian history attributed to Sebeos*, 2 vols, tr. R.W. Thomson, comm. J. Howard-Johnston, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999, I, p. 97; Nicephorus, *Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople: short history*, ed., tr., & comm. C. Mango, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990, pp. 71 [§ 23]. See also Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 585-7.

[16] Sayf b. ʿUmar in aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, 16 vols, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879-1901, I, p. 2580; al-Quḍāʿī in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, 294. *Cf.* al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ al-Yaʿqūbī*, 2 vols, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1883, II, pp. 169-70, who gives no date but places the advance on, and conquest of, Alexandria before the founding of al-Kūfa in 17/638.

[17] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 574-90. Nicephorus (*Nikephoros*, pp. 71-3 [§ 23]) adds that Cyrus had the plan to offer one of the Byzantine emperor's daughters to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in marriage so that he would have himself baptised and to create a tight relationship between the Byzantine royal family and the Arabs. Sayf b. ʿUmar (in aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 2594) reports that Egypt was actually in Arab hands (*cf.* Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, XVI, p. 265).

[18] Theophanes Confessor (*Chronicle*, p. 470; but *cf.* Donner, *Islamic conquests*, pp. 124-6) connects it to the campaigns during Abū Bakr's caliphate and dates it to as early as 12/633. His account confuses the early campaigns with the treaty between Cyrus and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.

[19] *Cf.* Beihammer, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, pp. 27-8; A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the seventh century*, 5 vols, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968-80, II, pp. 88-9.

18/639 and the spring of 19/640 before they proceeded to Alexandria via Naqyūs (Nikious) and al-Kiryawn (Chaireou) in the western Nile delta. The conquest of Alexandria itself took place in the course of 20/641 and, as we shall see below, 21/642. There is no unanimity on the length of the siege of Alexandria; we hear of three, six, or fourteen months.[20] Medieval historiographical sources do not give an exact date for the city's surrender. The dates they propose range between the years 20/640-1 and 23/643-4.[21] Based on al-Maqrīzī's claim that the city surrendered nine months and five days after the death of Heraclius, A. Butler argued in 1902 that Alexandria surrendered on Ḏū al-Qaʿda 28, 20/November 8, 641.[22] On the basis of a careful reading of John of Nikiu's *Chronicle*, J. Howard-Johnston recently proposed to date the surrender of Alexandria to Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 21/November 642.[23] The following examination of documentary sources shows that, in support of Howard-Johnston's dating, Alexandria's surrender is most likely to have occurred in the course of 21/642.

The Greek document *CPR* XXIII 35, sent from Alexandria and dated to Šawwāl 28/October 10 or Ḏū al-Qaʿda 29/November 9, 20/641, presents a *terminus post quem* for Alexandria's surrender to the Arabs. The consular formula at the beginning of this document gives the latest known reference to the Byzantine

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[20] Three months: al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 220; al-Kindī, *Al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 9; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, II, p. 169; and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 72. Six months: al-Quḍāʿī in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 448; Ibn Ẓuhayra, *al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, eds. M. as-Saqqā & K. al-Muhandis, 2nd ed., Cairo: Dār al-kutub wa-l-waṯāʾiq al-qawmiyya, 1420/2009, p. 99. Fourteen months: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 80; Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq, *Annales*, 2 vols, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut: E typographeo catholico, 1906-9 [CSCO, Scriptori Arabici, 3rd ser., VI-VII], II, p. 24.

[21] The year 20/640-1: aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, 2580 (on the authority of al-Wāqidī and Abū Maʿšar); al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, II, 176-7; Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq, *Annales*, II, p. 26; Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, I, p. 264. The year 21/641-2: aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, 2581; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 178; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 220; al-Kindī, *Al-wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 9. The year 22/642-3: aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, 2581; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 178. The year 23/643-4: al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. T.G.J. Juynboll, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1861, p. 119. *Cf.* John of Nikiu, *The chronicle of John, bishop of Nikiu: translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic text*, tr. R.H. Charles, London/Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1916, pp. 183 [CXV.2] and 200 [CXXI.4], who places the Arab take-over of the city between the fifteenth indiction year (*i.e.* 20-1/641-2) and the following second indiction year (*i.e.* 22-3/643-4).

[22] Butler, *The Arab conquest*, p. 541. For the date of Heraclius' death, see Butler, *The Arab conquest*, p. 300.

[23] J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis: historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, esp. p. 469, but *cf.* p. 188 where he has the eleven-month armistice end in Šawwāl 22/September 643.

royal family as the ruling authorities in the city.[24] There is, further, reference to the arrival of the Arabs near Alexandria in two funerary inscriptions from al-Munā (Kellia), a monastic site located west of the Nile delta between Wādī an-Naṭrūn and lake Maryūṭ (Mareotis) at a distance of 50 to 60 kilometers from Alexandria. These inscriptions are dated Tybi 19, A.M. 381 (Šawwāl 20, 44/January 14, 665) and add with much precision that this date corresponds to the twenty-fourth year and third month of Arab rule over the site.[25] In other words, the inscriptions tell us that the Arabs established their rule over al-Munā in *c.* Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 20/November 641.[26]

The inscriptions give valuable insight in the time and locale of Arab military activity during the conquest of Lower Egypt, especialy because the conquest of Egyptian territory south of lake Maryūṭ hardly finds discussion in our source material. That of al-Munā itself goes unmentioned. Medieval chronicles report that, after the surrender of Alexandria, the Arab armies withdrew to Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ or proceeded east to towns in the Nile delta that had not yet been taken. Al-Maqrīzī claims that a large group of monks from Wādī an-Naṭrūn met ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in aṭ-Ṭarrāna, also known as Tarnūṭ (Therenoutis), in the western Nile delta, on his way back from Alexandria.[27] Medieval historiography shows considerably more interest in the conquest of what lies to the west of Alexandria, Barqa (Cyrenaica) and Anṭābulus (Pentapolis), unanimously dated after Alexandria's surrender. Dates for the conquest of these areas range between mid-21/642 and mid-22/643,[28] suggesting a possible connection with the conquest of al-Munā. For

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[24] For a discussion of the consular formula of *CPR* XXIII 35, see R.S. Bagnall & K.A. Worp, *Chronological systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 95-8 and C. Zuckerman, "On the titles and office of the Byzantine βασιλεύς", *Travaux et mémoirs* 16 (2010), pp. 875-6.

[25] P. Bridel *et al.* (eds.), *Explorations aux Qouçoûr el-Izeila lors des campagnes 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989 et 1990*, Leuven: Peeters, 1999, nos 131 (pp. 302-3) and 132.bis (pp. 304-5); see also P. Luisier, "Les années de l'indiction dans les inscriptions de Kellia", *ZPE* 159 (2007), pp. 217-22.

[26] *Pace* Luisier, "Les années", pp. 221-2, who sees the inscriptions as confirmations of Butler's date for the surrender of Alexandria.

[27] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 507. For the identification of aṭ-Ṭarrāna with Tarnūṭ, see M. Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-ǧuġrāfī li-l-bilād al-miṣriyya min ʿahd qudamāʾ al-miṣriyyīn ilā sanat 1945*, 3 vols, Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-miṣriyya al-ʿāmma li-l-kitāb, 1994, II/2, pp. 331-2.

[28] For medieval source material, see the overview in L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, 6 vols, Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1905-26, IV, pp. 532-6. This material is interpreted in Butler, *The Arab conquest*, esp. p. 428, n. 1.

the following reason, however, the establishment of Arab rule over al-Munā is best understood as not having occurred while Arab armies travelled to Barqa but as part of the events that led to the siege of Alexandria.

Whereas most traditions on the conquest of Alexandria focus on the Arabs' camping to the east of the city,[29] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam preserves an interesting account on the transference of Arab armies 'from the direction of the lake' (Ar. *min nāḥiyat al-buḥayra*) to a town named al-Maqs located west of the city.[30] Such Arab military activity at the city's west is supported by an account that states that the Arabs entered the city after its surrender near the so-called 'Church of Gold'. This church most likely stood on mount Serapeion in the city's south-west corner.[31] Since Alexandria's defence system reportedly forced the Arab armies to camp at a considerable distance from the city,[32] it is unlikely that the transference of part of the Arab army to the west of Alexandria took place north of lake Maryūṭ. By travelling south of the lake, the Arab army virtually passed through al-Munā. The fact that the Arabs were able to cross the area south of the lake most likely indicates that they already controlled that area or that they established their rule there while traversing it. Therefore, the funerary inscriptions from al-Munā may well refer to a situation prior to the Arab victory over the Byzantine army in Alexandria. As such, they would postulate Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 20/November 641 as another *terminus post quem* for the surrender of Alexandria.

That the conquest of Alexandria had not yet come to an end in Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 20/November 641 or even in early-21/642 finds confirmation in a number of documentary sources from Upper Egypt. Al-Balāḏurī and Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar report

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See also E.W. Brooks, "On the chronology of the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 4 (1895), p. 444.

[29] Butler, *The Arab conquest*, pp. 293-5.

[30] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 75-6. Butler, *The Arab conquest*, p. 294, n. 1.

[31] D. Behrens-Abouseif, "Topographie d'Alexandrie médiévale", in C. Décobert (ed.), *Alexandrie médiévale 2*, Cairo: IFAO, 2002, p. 114.

[32] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 189 [CXIX.4]. A rare tradition on the authority of ʿUṯmān b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 219/834) also refers to the Byzantines' efforts to keep the Arabs away from Alexandria. It reports that Byzantine soldiers left the city each day to fight the Arab armies camped in the city's hinterland. See M. Breydy, "La conquête arabe de l'Égypte: un fragment du traditionniste Uthman ibn Salih (144-219 A.H. = 761-834 A.D.) identifié dans les Annales d'Eutychios d'Alexandrie", *Parole de l'orient* 8 (1977-8), p. 392

that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ appointed Ḫāriǧa b. Ḥuḏāfa as his deputy in Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ when he campaigned in the direction of Alexandria.[33] This Ḫāriǧa b. Ḥuḏāfa had the authority to establish the tax quota according to the tax receipt *SB* VIII 9749 (Ihnās), datable between Ṣafar 18/January 26 and Rabīʿ I 18/February 24, 21/642.[34] Indeed, this normally was a task falling under the responsibility of the governor.[35] Other documents record ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Ḫāriǧa b. Ḥuḏāfa's place from about a year later.[36] Together with that of the funerary inscriptions from al-Munā, our interpretation of these documentary sources disagrees with the date Butler proposed for Alexandria's surrender. A firm date for the conquest cannot be given, but the possiblity that the surrender took place in the course of 21/642 cannot not be excluded.

The date of the conquest of Alexandria adds considerably to our understanding of the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ. The discussion above shows that the Arabs' conquest administration at Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ had developed close (fiscal) connections with the conquered territories even before the surrender of Alexandria. In contrast to the medieval explanation of why the Arabs maintained their camp and why the camp came to be the Arab capital, the existence of close fiscal-administrative ties between Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ and its hinterland during the conquest of Alexandria, clearly visible in the just-discussed documents from Upper Egypt, must have been an important reason for the Arabs to leave Alexandria for Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ.

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[33] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 220; Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar, *Kitāb al-ḫarāǧ wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba*, ed. M.Ḥ. az-Zubaydī, [Baghdad:] Dār ar-rašīd li-n-našr, 1981, p. 340.

[34] In another, but undated, document (A. Grohmann, "The value of Arabic papyri for the study of the history of mediaeval Egypt", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Historical Studies* 1 (1952), pp. 52-3 [Ihnās; mid-first/seventh c.]), Ḫāriǧa b. Ḥuḏāfa orders the delivery of wheat to a group of soldiers stationed in the pagarchy of Ihnās.

[35] Morimoto, *The fiscal administration*, pp. 93-4. See also *P.Lond.* IV, p. xxvii.

[36] *SB* XX 14443 (Ihnās; 11.2.22/9.1.643); *CPR* XXX 16 (al-Ušmūn; early-20s/640s). See also *P.Lond.Copt.* 1079 (al-Ušmūn; 21/641-25/645 or 38/658-43/664) with the discussion on p. 104 below.

2. Connecting Alexandria to al-Fusṭāṭ 1: the settlement of Arab notables

Although not all of Egypt had been brought under Arab rule by the time the Arabs succeeded in conquering Alexandria (beside areas in the Nile delta, the southernmost part of the Thebaid awaited the establishment of Arab control in the following months or even years), the Arab authorities took measures to firmly establish their hegemony. They addressed this most directly by transforming to a permanent settlement the camp that they had set up during the conquest near Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ, from then on known as al-Fusṭāṭ. The settlement was not formed *ad hoc* but rather in accordance with the main urban form prevalent among the Arabs outside the Arabian Peninsula at that time: the *miṣr*.[37] The early townscape of al-Fusṭāṭ, therefore, shared elements with other early-Arab *miṣr*s such as al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa.[38] Medieval sources refer, indeed, to a carefully thought-out planning of al-Fusṭāṭ and to a relation between the residence areas of the various tribes and the central administration.[39] A corpus of administrative documents from the pagarchy of al-Ušmūn (Hermopolis), dating from the first half of the 20s/640s, contains official orders for the dispatchment of building materials to Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ which were probably intended for the building of urban structures in the new town adjacent to the fortress.[40] As such, these documents confirm the role of the authorities in the actual building of al-Fusṭāṭ.

Central to the new settlement was a congregational mosque which ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ erected approximately 230 meters north of the Byzantine fortress.[41] Entirely in accordance with prevalent ideas on the morphology of a *miṣr*, ʿAmr's mosque was surrounded by a single plot of land (Ar. *ḫiṭṭa*), belonging to 'the people of the banner' (Ar. *ahl ar-rāya*), where members of the nobility of various tribes had their

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[37] P. Wheatley, *The places where men pray together: cities in Islamic lands, seventh through the tenth centuries*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001, p. 266.

[38] D. Whitcomb, "The *miṣr* of Ayla: settlement at al-ʿAqaba in the early Islamic period", in G.R.D. King & A. Cameron, *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, II: *Land use and settlement patterns*, Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1994, pp. 150-77.

[39] K. Morimoto, "The *dīwān*s as registers of the Arab stipendiaries in early Islamic Egypt", in R. Curiel & R. Gyselen (eds), *Itinéraires d'orient: hommages à Claude Cahen*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'étude de la civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1994, pp. 354-6.

[40] *CPR* XXX (see esp. the discussion on pp. 75-8).

[41] Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*, pp. 58, 96.

residences.[42] In this part of al-Fusṭāṭ, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ owned his residence (Ar. *dār*), located to the east of the mosque.[43] Al-Fusṭāṭ further consisted of plots of land mostly allotted to individual tribes. These *ḫiṭṭa*s were directly related to the administration of al-Fusṭāṭ's Arab populace. One's residence on a particular *ḫiṭṭa* defined, for example, one's place in the military pay registers. During ʿAmr's governorate and that of his two successors ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ (in office 25/645-35/655) and Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥuḏayfa (in office 35/655-36/656), al-Fusṭāṭ had no special office for Egypt's governor (Ar. *dār al-imāra*). It is highly likely that these first three governors held office in their own houses,[44] located in the just-mentioned *ḫiṭṭa* of 'the people of the banner'.[45] A centrally-located mosque founded near an existing town or fortress and an élite quarter around the mosque including the residences and offices of the provincial governors are some of the features of al-Fusṭāṭ's townscape which it shared with such *miṣr*s as al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa.[46]

Although medieval references to Arab settlement in Alexandria are few and far between, the information that can be found, primarily in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-aḫbāruhā*, indicates that early-Arab settlement in Alexandria compares well with that in *miṣr*s such as al-Fusṭāṭ. As we shall see shortly, the Arabs set up a religious and administrative infrastructure in Alexandria that facilitated the establishment and maintenance of Arab hegemony over the city soon, if not immediately, after they conquered the city. By erecting a mosque and locating the residences of the provincial governor and Arab notables in its vicinity, they gave Alexandria a new, Arab administrative, religious, and social centre.

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[42] On the *ḫiṭṭa* of the *ahl ar-rāya*, see Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*, pp. 95-7 and Wheatley, *Places where men pray together*, p. 265.
[43] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, IV/1, p. 12; Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, IV, p. 62; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira*, I, p. 67.
[44] Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, esp. pp. 110-3.
[45] For ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's *dār*, located near Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 110.
[46] For (recent ideas on) other elements typical of a *miṣr*, see D. Whitcomb, "An urban structure for the early Islamic city: an archaeological hypothesis", in A.K. Bennison & A.L. Gascoigne (eds), *Cities in the pre-moderns Islamic world*, London/New York: Routledge, 2007, pp. 15-16.

The Arab authorities chose to locate this centre in the heart of the city. Despite the archaeologically attested presence of vacant areas within the city walls at the time of the Arab conquest,[47] medieval sources do not report any interest from the side of the Arabs in these parts of Alexandria. On the contrary: the sources make most explicit that plots of land (Ar. sg. ḫiṭṭa) were not allotted to Arab individuals or tribes (allegedly with the sole exception of a plot of land given to az-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām[48]) but that Arabs wishing to settle in Alexandria were directed to take residence in houses or on urban estates abandoned in the course of the conquest (units our sources designate by the term aḫāʾiḏ).[49] One medieval tradition reports that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ allowed Arab tribesmen to claim a dwelling by planting a spear in it – a practice that is said to have resulted in the cohabitation of members of various tribes in one compound, contrasting the mostly uni-tribal ḫiṭṭas of al-Fusṭāṭ.[50] Another report tells that the Arab authorities distributed (Ar. ashama) immovable property that had been deserted during the conquest among Arab warriors as a form of booty,[51] but reports claiming that this was not the case also exist.[52] It is nonetheless clear that, similar to Arab settlement in other existing cities captured during the conquest,[53] the Arab authorities were mostly interested in the inhabited and, in Alexandria's case, the western part of the city.[54]

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[47] M. Rodziewicz, "Transformation of ancient Alexandria into a medieval city", in R.-P. Gayraud (ed.), *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique: IFAO, le Caire, 3-7 février 1993*, Cairo: IFAO, 1998, p. 372.

[48] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 130; Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Amwāl*, pp. 152-3 [no. 225]; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Mušākala*, p. 13.

[49] In the glossary to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, p. 29*), C.C. Torrey writes that aḫāʾiḏ is the plural of iḫāḏa, which could mean 'waste land brought into a state of cultivation', 'confiscated land', or 'an ownerless land grant' (Lane, *Lexicon*, I/1, p. 30c). Modern research has not been able to interpret this term adequately; *cf.* Wheatly, *Places where men pray together*, p. 298: 'it is not at all clear precisely how an ikhādhah differed from a khiṭṭah'. Pace ʿU.ʿA. Tadmurī, "Ṯuġūr bilād aš-Šām", in M.ʿA. al-Baḫīt (ed.), *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām during the Umayyad Period: proceedings of the third symposium, 2-7 Rabīʿ I 1408 A.H./24-29 October 1987*, Arabic section, I, Amman: University of Jordan, 1989, p. 316.

[50] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 130-1 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 451).

[51] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 178.

[52] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 82 and 84.

[53] H. Kennedy, "Inherited cities", in S.K. Jayyusi *et al.* (eds), *The city in the Islamic world*, 2 vols, Leiden: Brill, 2008, I, p. 99.

[54] For the inhabited part of Alexandria in late-Antiquity and the early-Middle Ages, see Behrens-Abouseif, "Topographie d'Alexandrie", p. 124.

In this part of Alexandria, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ built a mosque (Ar. *masǧid*), subsequently named after him, soon after the Arab army had taken control over the city.[55] This mosque was located on a hill, called Kawm Waʿla or Kawm an-Naḍūra by late-medieval and early-modern sources,[56] in the north-west corner of the city (see map 2).[57] The environs of the hill are known to have housed buildings associated with the city's Byzantine nobility and administration: the Melkite church of St Theonas (a former patriarchal see) and a building said to have been built by Cyrus (al-Muqawqis) prior to the Arab conquest.[58] The possibility that the hill's surrounding morphology influenced the Arabs' choice of the location of their mosque cannot be excluded. The site itself – the top of a hill and looking out over the western as well as eastern harbour, (what remained visible of) the Heptastadium,[59] and the western part of the city – certainly was a prominent one. There is no doubt that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's mosque became Alexandria's congregational

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[55] The date of the building of the mosque is not known. It occurred prior to the Byzantine reconquest of the city in 25/645-6, at the end of which ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ is said to have built a second mosque, the so-called 'Mosque of Mercy' (Ar. *masǧid ar-raḥma*; see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 176).

[56] For Kawm Waʿla/Kawm an-Naḍūra, see S. Sauneron, *Villes et légendes d'Égypte*, 2nd ed., Cairo: IFAO, 1983, pp. 215-20 with the remarks and bibliography in J. McKenzie, *The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 300 BC – AD 700*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 15.

[57] Behrens-Abouseif, "Topographie d'Alexandrie", pp. 114-6; see also W.B. Kubiak, "Mosque of Amr ibn al-As in Alexandria: an unexisting monument of Islamic architecture", *Roznik orientalistyczny* 50/2 (1995), p. 127. É. Combe ("Notes sur les forts d'Alexandrie et des environs", *BSAA* 34 (1941), p. 99) and, apparently independant of him, W. Kubiak ("Mosque of Amr ibn al-As", p. 129) argue that the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ stood where the medieval Western Mosque (Ar. *al-ǧāmiʿ al-ġarbī*) was located; *cf.* now Behrens-Abouseif, "Topographie d'Alexandrie", pp. 114 and 117 and the counter arguments given in Kubiak, "Mosque of Amr ibn al-As", p. 130. *Cf.* Kennedy, "Inherited cities", pp. 98-9.

[58] For the Church of St Theonas, see *e.g.* Haas, *Topography and conflict*, p. 269 and Tkaczow, *Topography*, pp. 58-9 [no. 7]. The Mamluk historian Ḫalīl b. Šāhīn aẓ-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1468) writes that patriarch Cyrus ordered the building of what was called in aẓ-Ẓāhirī's time the *dār as-sulṭān*. This building remained in continuous use until aẓ-Ẓāhirī's days (*Kitāb zubdat Kašf al-mamālik wa-bayān aṭ-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik*, ed. P. Ravaisse, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894, p. 40). Other sources indicate that the Mamluk *dār as-sulṭān* was located near the Western Mosque, which stood in the north-western part of the city (on the site of the Church of St Theonas), close to the western harbour and Kawm Waʿla on which the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was located (Behrens-Abouseif, "Topographie d'Alexandrie", p. 119). Indeed, the *dār as-sulṭān* stood close to the shore (aẓ-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kašf*, p. 40), just as houses in the vicinity of the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 130).

[59] On the accumulation of sediment on both sides, but especially the eastern side, of the Heptastadium, see A. Hesse *et al.*, "L'Heptastade d'Alexandrie", in J.-Y. Empereur, *Alexandrina 2*, Cairo: IFAO, 2002, pp. 233-5.

mosque (Ar. ǧāmiʿ)[60] and, therefore, formed the religious heart of the Muslim community there. Clearly resembling the townscape of the *miṣr*, the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Alexandria occupied a central position in respect of the settlement of Arab notables in the city. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam gives the following, telling information on the occupation of urban property in the mosque's vicinity:

> 'After its conquest, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ went to Alexandria together with ʿUbāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit until they reached the top of the hill [Ar. *al-kawm*] on which the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ is located. Then Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayǧ said: "We should take up a residence". So, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ occupied the fortress [Ar. *qaṣr*] that was to become ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's property. He donated it to him when the latter was appointed governor over the country. Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī took a house that stood west of the prayer court [Ar. *muṣallā*] near to the Mosque of ʿAmr, near the coast line; it has been destroyed. And Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayǧ occupied the area of his house which is on this hill [Ar. *fawqa hāḏā at-tall*]. ʿUbāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit built a house which he did not leave until he departed from Alexandria.'[61]

The hill on which ʿAmr's mosque is mentioned to be located is doubtlessly that which later sources call Kawm Waʿla or Kawm an-Naḍūra. The passage directly connects three buildings to this location of the mosque: a fortress owned by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ which later became property of ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ and two houses, one owned by Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī and the other by Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayǧ. All these persons belonged to Egypt's new Arab nobility and are known to have also owned a plot of land in al-Fusṭāṭ or to have been closely related to the Arab

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[60] Kubiak, "Mosque of Amr ibn al-As", p. 126. There is no certain documentary evidence for the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, or any mosque at all, in first/seventh- and second/eighth-century Alexandria. The reading of the expression 'the mosque of Alexandria' (Ar. *masǧid Iskandariyya*), found in a document dating from 205/821, is not only odd (it would imply one mosque in the city) but also cannot be confirmed by a re-reading of the document. The supposed word *masǧid* is almost fully broken off. See C.C. Torrey, "An Arabic papyrus dated 205 A.H.", *JAOS* 56/2 (1936), pp. 289 and 291 with the commentary in N. Abbott, "An Arabic papyrus dated A.H. 205", *JAOS* 57/3 (1937), p. 315.

[61] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 130; copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 451.

administration there.[62] All buildings mentioned in the passage stood in close proximity to Alexandria's main mosque. Of the two houses, the location vis-à-vis the mosque is most explicitly given. The house of Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayǧ stood atop the same hill, *i.e.* close to the mosque. That of Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī was located near a prayer court which, in its turn, stood close to the mosque. The passage implies that also ʿUbāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit owned urban property in the mosque's vicinity, but a location is not given. In the same area, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ occupied a fortress. That ʿAmr donated the fortress to his successor as governor over Egypt gives the strong impression that governors on visit in Alexandria used the fortress as a residence and office.[63] It further shows the existence of a direct connection between the area and the top of Egypt's administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. The situation which Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam describes – a mosque with the settlement of Arab notables around it – is strikingly reminiscent of the urban morphology of the *miṣr*s founded in the same period. Indeed, our medieval sources' statement that Alexandria differed from al-Fusṭāṭ because it had so-called *aḫāʾiḏ* instead of *ḫiṭṭa*s implies that Arab settlement in the city actually resembled settlements as al-Fusṭāṭ on other points. This is not entirely surprising; the Arabs are known to have implemented a *miṣr*-like morphology on existing townscapes elsewhere.[64]

As for Alexandria, an important effect of such settlement of Arab notables in close proximity to the city's main mosque doubtlessly was that it gave the city a strong religious, administrative as well as social centre that was directly related to the Arab authorities, also those in al-Fusṭāṭ. The site's centrality is, indeed, hinted at in an appendix to a tradition transmitted on the final authority of Šufayy b. Mātiʿ al-Aṣbaḥī (d. 105/723-4). He states that '[the tribe of] al-Maʿāfir's point of

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[62] For Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī's *ḫiṭṭa* in al-Fusṭāṭ, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 109; for that of ʿUbāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 104. Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayǧ is only known to have owned urban property in Alexandria (*cf.* al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 18-9), but his connections, as well as that of his offspring, with the central administration are well known (see H. Kennedy, "Central government and provincial élites in the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate", *BSOAS* 44/1 (1981), p. 36).
[63] Kubiak, "Mosque of Amr ibn al-As", p. 127; Behrens-Abouseif, "Topographie d'Alexandrie", p. 116.
[64] For the 10s/630s and 20s/640s, this is especially known for Ḥimṣ; see al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 131 and D. Whitcomb, "*Amṣār* in Syria? Syrian cities after the conquest", *Aram* 6 (1994), esp. p. 16. For the succeeding period, see Wheatly, *Places where men pray together*, p. 266.

assembly [Ar. *mawqif*] was located at the foot of the hill'. A later traditionist adds that Šufayy 'means [the hill] in Alexandria'.[65] Although neither traditionist specifies which of Alexandria's two hills is meant,[66] that tribes such as al-Maʿāfir chose to assemble close to the Arab heart of the city certainly is most probable. With the Arabs being the central authorities in the city, such a social, administrative, and religious centre gave the Arabs a visible place in Alexandria's society. It may well have added to their local prestige and, hence, contributed to their power there.[67] As such, the creation of a centre of Arab presence was part of a series of changes instituted by the Arabs to establish their control over the city. Among the more prominent changes in the city were also the establishment of an Arab garrison and the demilitarization of the local administration. As I shall point out in what follows, these changes in Alexandria's existing military and administrative apparatus also closely tied the city to the authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ.

3. *Connecting Alexandria to al-Fusṭāṭ 2: the creation of a military loyalty network*
It were members of Alexandria's Byzantine nobility as well as soldiers who left behind those houses which Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam mentions, in the passage translated above, to have been inhabited by Arabs around ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's mosque. Whereas these notables (Ar. *ahl al-quwwa*) chose to leave the city because of their strong identification with the Byzantine empire,[68] Alexandria's Byzantine garrison was

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[65] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 127.

[66] See the references given in note 56 above.

[67] *Cf.* D. Whitcomb, "An Umayyad legacy for the early Islamic city: Fusṭāṭ and the experience of Egypt", in A. Borrut & P.M. Cobb (eds), *Umayyad legacies: medieval memories from Syria to Spain*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, p. 411.

[68] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 82; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, ed. M.Q. al-Baqlī, 14 vols, Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-amīriyya, 1913-1919, III, p. 323. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's source estimates the number of Byzantine notables that left the city to 30,000. Al-Qalqašandī writes that all Byzantine notables in Alexandria before some departed numbered 100,000. For nuns fleeing from Alexandria to North Africa, see H. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien vom Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993, p. 64, n. 126. Research on developments among the nobility in Syria in the mid-first/seventh century shows that not only the Arab conquest caused some of them to leave their hometowns. See C. Foss, "Syria in transition, A.D. 550-750: an archaeological approach", *Dumbarton Oaks papers* 51 (1997), p. 224 and H. Kennedy, "Syrian elites from Byzantium to Islam: survival or extinction?", in J.F. Haldon (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic*

forced to leave after the Arabs conquered Alexandria.[69] In its stead, the Arab authorities appointed a garrison that entirely consisted of Arab soldiers. This garrison was organized in tribal groups each headed by an *ʿarīf*. Whereas the actual soldiery found accomodation in houses or on estates abandoned during the conquest,[70] these *ʿarīf*s took residence in towers of the city wall (which the Arabs had not destroyed during their siege of the city[71]) or fortresses in Alexandria's vicinity.[72] The so-called garrison is, therefore, likely to have been located at several places throughout the city. Although of uncertain historicity, anecdotes circulating in Alexandria in the eighth/fourteenth century confirm the scattered nature of early-Arab settlement in the city.[73] The administration of this newly-appointed garrison was headed by the garrison commander, the *amīr*.[74] As we shall

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Syria: a review of current debates, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, esp. pp. 189-93. The source material on Alexandria only points at coming of the Arabs.

[69] John of Nikiu (*Chronicle*, pp. 193-4 [CXX.17-21]) presents the forced departure of the Byzantine garrison as one of the stipulations of the Alexandrian peace treaty. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, p. 72) and al-Balāḏurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 221), ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ ousted the Byzantine soldiers.

[70] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 130-1; *cf.* al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 222.

[71] Although some sources claim their destruction during the conquest (*e.g.* Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 175-6; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221; *History of the patriarchs*, II, p. 494 [229]; Agapius, *Historia universalis*, p. 345), the city wall and nearby fortresses are mentioned in the itinerary of the pilgrim Arculf who visisted the city around 50/670 (Adomnan, *Arculfs Bericht über die heiligen Stätten*, tr. P. Mickley, *Arculf: eines Pilgers Reise nach dem heiligen Lande (um 670)*, 2 vols, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1917 [*Das Land der Bibel* 2/2], II, 42). The *History of the patriarchs* (III, p. 159 [413]) mentions the city wall for the year 133/750. See also Labib, "Al-Iskandariyya", p. 132b.

[72] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 130; J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris: Champion, 1912, p. 38.

[73] An-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-ilmām bi-l-iʿlām bi-mā ǧarat bihi al-aḥkām wa-l-umūr al-maqḍiya fī waqʿat al-Iskandariyya*, eds. É. Combe & A.S. ʿAṭiyya, 7 vols, Ḥaydarabād: Maṭbaʿat Maǧlis dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿuṯmāniyya, 1968-76, II, p. 135. An-Nuwayrī writes that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ settled the tribes of Laḫm, Ǧuḏām, Kinda, al-Azd, and Ḥaḍramawt at various places within the city for the protection of the city's harbours. As an-Nuwayrī bases his information on anecdotes that circulated in his time among the inhabitants of the relevant Alexandrian quarters (II, pp. 135-6: 'the progeny of these tribes are still today, in the year 775 [1373-4], known as "the tribes"; there are anecdotes [Ar. *aḫbār*] about them'), its historicity remains uncertain. Indeed, Ibn Yūnus does not mention a single person belonging to the tribes listed by an-Nuwayrī among the early settlers in Alexandria (he mentions people from Ǧuhayna (*Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 141 [no. 364], 131 [no. 336], 200 [no. 529], and 521 [no. 1433]), Qurayš (I, pp. 275 [no. 749], 383 [no. 1047]), Ḫawlān (I, p. 317 [no. 849]), Mahra (I, p. 160 [no. 434]), and al-Maʿāfir (I, p. 305 [no. 822])). Nonetheless, an-Nuwayrī may be right in locating the various tribes throughout the city.

[74] With the source material available, it is yet uncertain whether intermediate hierarchical levels existed between the *ʿarīf*s and the garrison commander. That intermediate levels existed in the early-Umayyad period may be inferred from Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's answer to the complaint of a garrison commander concerning the low number of soldiers stationed in the city: 'I gave you ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ,

see in more detail below, the office of the *amīr* took over the military responsibilities of the existing administration. The creation of an Arab garrison, headed by an Arab *amīr*, was part of the Arabs' initial efforts at maintaining their control over the city. In order to understand the effects, and extent, of the introduction of an Arab military element in the city, we begin with a study of the garrison itself before we turn to the top of its administration.

3.1. *Alexandria's Arab garrison and the Byzantine capture of 24/645-25/646*

Initially, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ allegedly appointed a garrison of 1,000 men, headed by one ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥuḏāfa b. Qays, when he returned to the Arab camp near Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ or pursued Byzantine troops seeking refuge in the Nile delta.[75] Among this initial garrison's soldiers are likely to have been groups of the tribes of al-Azd and Fahm. Al-Maqrīzī writes that these groups returned from Alexandria to the Arab camp near Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ after the land surrounding the latter fortress had been allotted among the tribes already present.[76] That ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ immediately stationed a garrison in the city may well have been more a matter of early-Arab policy than one of tactics. There are clear similarities with policies concerning the conquered territories in Syro-Palestine where, in al-Balāḏurī's words, 'each time the Muslims conquered a city on or near the coast they stationed [Ar. *rattabū*] there as many Muslims as was needed'.[77] By the end of the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb (r. 13/634-23/644), the Palestinian coastline had a sound system of fortifications.[78] But Alexandria's garrison initially was of limited defensive quality, even though it was considerably enlarged after the conquest turmoil had settled. Two almost identical reports, on the authority of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (d. 128/745-6) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Hubayra (d. 126/743-4), are preserved in our source material and inform

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with 4,000 Medinese, as a reinforcement' (Ar. *qad amdadtuka bi-ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ fī arbaʿat ālāf min ahl al-Madīna*). See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192.

[75] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 80; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221; al-Quḍāʿī in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I p. 448.

[76] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 35. *Cf.* note 73 above.

[77] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 128.

[78] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 128 (esp. lines 12-5); H.S. Khalilieh, "The *ribāṭ* of Arsūf and the coastal defence system in early Islamic Palestine", *Journal of Islamic studies* 19/2 (2008), p. 169; A.M. al-ʿAbbādī & ʿA. Sālim, *Taʾrīḫ al-baḥriyya al-islāmiyya fī Miṣr wa-š-Šām*, Beirut: Dār al-aḥad, 1972, p. 45.

us about the size of the garrison. One has it that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ selected a fourth of his companions in al-Fusṭāṭ for the garrison in Alexandria and had them replaced after six months by a winter army (Ar. *šātiya*) that was stationed near the coast.[79] The other tells that ʿAmr stationed a fourth of the Arab army in Alexandria, another fourth on the littoral, and the remaining half with him in al-Fusṭāṭ. Only the garrison stationed in Alexandria was replaced by another group of soldiers after six months.[80] With the Egyptian army said to have numbered approximately 15,000 men at the end of the conquest,[81] ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's garrison in Alexandria must have counted *c.* 3,750 soldiers and possibly a similar number of soldiers were stationed on the Mediterranean shore. The caliph is said to have sent each year a group of Medinese warriors to reinforce the Alexandrian garrison.[82] The actual number of soldiers stationed in Alexandria in the first years after 21/642 must, when we accept these numbers, have been a bit higher. Compared to even the lowest estimates of the size of Alexandria's population at that time (100,000 inhabitants),[83] the Alexandrian garrison was a small one. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam records that the Arab authorities were reluctant to station a large number of soldiers in the city and preserves caliphal orders to keep the city's garrison small.[84]

The death of ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb in 23/644 not only resulted in empire-wide unclarity as to caliphal succession, it stopped the Medinese troops being sent to Alexandria and made the city more vulnerable than it already was. One source writes that information about the city's poor defense reached the Byzantine emperor.[85] Taking advantage of the situation, the emperor dispatched a fleet under the command of a general named Manuel and captured the city in 24/645.[86]

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[79] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 191-2.
[80] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 130.
[81] See the discussion and references in Stratos, *Byzantium*, II, pp. 107 and 213-4.
[82] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 452).
[83] C. Morrisson & J.-P. Sodini, "The sixth-century economy", *EHB*, I, p. 174. See also Haas, *Alexandria in late Antiquity*, p. 340, who gives 200,000 as the number of the city's inhabitants, and Labib, "Al-Iskandariyya", pp. 133-4 for (historically uncertain) material found in medieval sources.
[84] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 452).
[85] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221.
[86] Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, p. 470; Agapius, *Historia universalis*, pp. 342 and 345; Dionysios of Tell-Maḥrē (Palmer, *The seventh century*, pp. 158-9 [§§ 69-70]). *Cf.* H. Heinen, "Das spätantike Ägypten

With the limited size of the Alexandrian garrison in mind, it is little surprising that Manuel was able to take the city and kill most of the Arab soldiers.[87] But the Byzantines not only took advantage of Alexandria's poor military state. As we will see shortly in more detail, the city still housed a considerable group of Byzantine notables who continued to hold influential posts after the Arab conquest. Medieval historiographical sources write that these notables, together with (chief) inhabitants of a number of surrounding villages, sided with the Byzantine forces during the fighting.[88] The Arab authorities not only set up an inadequate defense system, they also had failed to gain the loyalty of a powerful group in Alexandria's society.

The Byzantine authorities may well have tried to influence this loyalty. Copper coins from the reign of, and depicting, Constans II (r. 20-1/641-48/668) widely circulated in Egypt and possibly continued to be struck in Alexandria after the Arab take-over of 21/642.[89] Some numismatists argue that the Byzantine authorities considered Arab rule temporary and used such coins to propagandize their rule.[90] Others hold that these coins were struck when the Byzantines controlled the city.[91]

Whatever the case, a number of medieval sources confirm that not everyone shared the conviction of main-stream Arab historiography that the Arabs ruled Alexandria between 21/642 and 24/645. Some even give the impression that within the Byzantine empire Alexandria was not seen as lost to

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(284-646 n.Chr.)", in M. Krause (ed.), *Ägypten in spätantik-christlicher Zeit: Einführung in die koptische Kultur*, Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998, p. 55.

[87] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221. *Cf.* Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 80.

[88] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 175; Ibn Duqmāq, *Intiṣār*, V, p. 118; Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam*, I, p. 264.

[89] J.R. Phillips, "The Byzantine bronze coins of Alexandria in the seventh century", *The numismatic chronicle and journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 7th ser., 2 (1962), pp. 235 and 241, no. 11; L. Domaszewicz & M.L. Bates, "Copper coinage of Egypt in the seventh century", in J.L. Bacharach (ed.), *Fustat finds: beads, coins, medical instruments, textiles, and other artifacts from the Awad collection*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002, pp. 94-5.

[90] T. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine coinage*, London: The Nour Foundation, 2005, p. 14; C. Foss, *Arab-Byzantine coins: an introduction, with a catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks collection*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 2009, p. 20. See also Heidemann, "The evolving representation", pp. 153-4.

[91] Domaszewicz & Bates, "Copper coinage of Egypt", pp. 94-5.

the Arabs. Sources from the Byzantine realm that draw on Theophiles of Edessa's history neglect the Arab conquest of Alexandria of 21/642 and mention neither fighting nor the conclusion of treaties between 16/637-8 and 24/645. They end Byzantine rule over the city with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's ousting of Manuel in the first year of ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān's caliphate (23/644-35/655).[92] Similar information can be found outside the Byzantine historical tradition.[93] The *History of the patriarchs*, in a passage ultimately going back to a Coptic source composed seventy years after the conquest,[94] places the capture of Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ in A.M. 357 (19-20/640-1) but dates the fall of Alexandria to three years later, to A.M. 360 (22-3/643-4).[95] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam preserves an account, transmitted on the final authority of the renowned historian al-Layṯ b. Saʿd (d. 175/791), which presents the period 21/642-25/645 as one of uninterrupted struggle for power over the city. Reacting upon this account, ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 174/790) identified its latter part as the conquest of 25/645.[96] In a similar vein, al-Yaʿqūbī writes that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ 'continued to fight its [*i.e.* Alexandria's] inhabitants for three years and conquered the city in the year 23 [644-5]'.[97] Whereas the historicity of such reports remains uncertain, recent scholarship confirms that in the early-20s/640s neither the Arabs nor the Byzantines held full control over the province and argues for a joint Arab-Byzantine government on the basis of a hypothetical restauration of a lacuna in a Greek document from the Fayyūm.[98] All in all, the Byzantine authorities seem not to have fully lost their influence over the city after the Arab conquest of 21/642.

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[92] *E.g.* Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, p. 470; Agapius, *Historia universalis*, p. 345; *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234*, I, p. 197; Dionysios of Tell-Maḥrē (Palmer, *The seventh century*, pp. 159-60 [§ 71]); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, pp. 424-5. See also Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 641.

[93] In addition to what follows, see John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 183 [CXV.1], who writes that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ 'spent twelve years [but corrected by R.H. Charles into 'months'] in warring against the Christians of Northern Egypt'. H. Zotenberg suggests to read 'two years' instead of twelve (see John of Nikiu, *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, ed. & tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883, p. 441, n. 2).

[94] J. den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Mufarriǧ et l'historiographie copto-arabe: étude sur la composition de "l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie"*, Leuven: Peeters, 1989, p. 143.

[95] *History of the patriarchs*, II, pp. 493-4 [229-30].

[96] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 80 (lines 10-7).

[97] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. T.G.J. Juynboll, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1861, p. 119.

[98] F. Morelli, "'Amr e Martina: la reggenza di un'imperatrice o l'amministrazione araba d'Egitto", *ZPE* 173 (2010), p. 155, n. 65.

That local loyalty could easily shift to, or stay with, the Byzantines is little surprising.[99]

But despite much loyalty towards them, the Byzantines were not able to maintain power over Alexandria. Interestingly, a modern interpretation of book XIV of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, dated to *c.* 50/670 at the latest,[100] argues that by the mid-20s/640s there also was considerable support for the Arab cause among the city's population.[101] Similarly, Arabic historical tradition mentions an Arab named Ibn Bassāma who allegedly helped ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's army entering the city,[102] but this may be a *topos* of *futūḥ* literarure.[103] With heavy military machinery at his disposal[104] and with possibly more violence than three years before,[105] ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ succeeded to drive away Manuel and to reconquer Alexandria in 25/646.

Probably a result of the Byzantines' successful, albeit temporary, capture of Alexandria and the help they received from local notables, the city witnessed changes in its military organisation that furthered the Arabs' grip over the city. Increased concern for Alexandria's protection is visible in the caliph ʿUṯmān b.

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[99] See also P.M. Sijpesteijn, "New rule over old structures: Egypt after the Muslim conquest", in H. Crawford (ed.), *Regime change in the ancient Near East and Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 186.

[100] On the *Oracula Sibyllina* in general, see J.J. Collins, "The development of the Sibylline tradition", in H. Temporini & G.G.W. Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, vols I/1-4 and II/1-37, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972-96, II/20.1, esp. pp. 452-4; D.S. Potter, *Prophecy and history in the crisis of the Roman empire: a historical commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline oracle*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, pp. 95-140. H. Ewald dates book XIV to *c.* 50/670 ("Entstehung Inhalt und Werth der Sibyllischen Bücher", *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 8 (1858-9), pp. 139-152; most recently (in 1915!), W. Scott has argued for a composition in two instalments: one from the early-00s/620s and the other from the late-20s/640s ("The last Sibylline oracle (*Oracula Sibyllina* XIV.284-361)", I, *The classical quarterly* 9/3 (1915), pp. 155 and 161 and III, *The classical quarterly* 10/1 (1916), p. 11). See also the references in A. Rzach, "Sibyllinische Orakel", *RE*, II/A, p. 2163.

[101] W. Scott, "The last Sibylline oracle (*Oracula Sibyllina* XIV.284-361)", II, *The classical quarterly* 9/4 (1915), pp. 220-3.

[102] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 80; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 517 [no. 1423].

[103] Noth, *The early Arabic historical tradition*, p. 19.

[104] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221; *History of the patriarchs*, II, p. 494 [230]; Agapius, *Historia universalis*, p. 345.

[105] The *History of the patriarchs* (II, p. 494 [230]) records that the Arabs burnt churches in the city. See also P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns in early Islamic Egypt", *Journal of agrarian change* 9/1 (2009), p. 125. Another recension of the *History of the patriarchs*, however, ascribes this burning to the Byzantines, see J. den Heijer, "La conquête arabe vue par les historiens coptes", in C. Décobert (ed.), *Valeur et distance: identités et sociétés en Égypte*, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2000, p. 231 (incorrectly regarding the events as part of the conquest of 20/641-21/642).

ʿAffān's imperial policy to make garrisons permanent (not necessarily stopping the rotation of groups of soldiers) and their stipends to be distributed on a regular basis. This policy was implemented in Alexandria after the reconquest of 25/646.[106] Further, the Arab authorities increased the number of soldiers stationed in the city. The actual size of the garrison in the first years after 25/646 is unknown. But the garrison had drastically increased twenty years later. One report has it that during the governorate of ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān (in office 43/664-44/665) the total number of soldiers stationed in the city was approximately 27,000.[107] Another tells that they numbered 16,000 and that they could rely on a garrison of 4,000 stationed at ar-Ramla (Nikopolis), similar to what had been the case in Antiquity.[108] That the first Sufyanid garrison commander is said to have complained that, despite these high numbers of soldiers, the city was still inadequately protected[109] surely illustrates the Arab authorities' awareness of the measure of military presence that was needed to protect Alexandria. This garrison not only served to protect Alexandria itself, but other places in the Nile delta as well.[110] Alexandria's important role in the creation of a war fleet in the late-20s/640s at the initiative of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, then governor of Syria, further militarized the city.[111] Governors in al-Fusṭāṭ appointed a special official to direct the navy in Alexandria (the so-called ṣāḥib al-baḥr).[112] Many documents from the first/seventh and early-second/eighth century record the considerable effort that went in the

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[106] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 223; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192. For this policy in other parts of the empire, see *e.g.* al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 126-7, 128, 142-3 (?), 147.

[107] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192. See also al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 36.

[108] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192. Nikopolis was located at a distance of 20 to 30 stadia (4 to 6 kms) from Alexandria in Antiquity (H. Kees, "Nikopolis: in Ägypten", *RE*, XVII, pp. 538-9). H. Heinen, "Das spätantike Alexandrien", p. 62; S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit: eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters (Dēr Abū Mina), der Skētis (Wādi n-Naṭrūn) und der Sinai-Region*, 6 vols, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1984-92, VI, pp. 2857-9.

[109] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192.

[110] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, LXII, pp. 433-4.

[111] Nicephorus, *Nikephoros*, p. 117 [§ 50]; Dionysios of Tell-Maḥrē (Palmer, *The seventh century*, pp. 173-6 [§§ 93-7]); *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234*, I, p. 209; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, II, pp. 441-2. See also ps.-Sebeos, *The Armenian history*, II, p. 259.

[112] Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 277-91.

maintenance of Alexandria's docks and garrison.[113] Even though part of the Alexandria's fleet was transferred to al-Ǧazīra, opposite al-Fusṭāṭ, in 54/673-4 after a severe Byzantine attack on the coastal town of al-Burullus (Parallos),[114] Alexandria remained an important naval centre until the mid-second/eighth century.[115]

Through the abolishment of the Byzantine garrison and the appointment of an Arab garrison after the conquest of 21/642, the Arabs established military precedence over the city. The changes in Alexandria's military organisation after 25/646 meant to remove, or at best annihilate, a Byzantine power base that remained among the city's populace after the departure of the Byzantine soldiers and to protect the city against future attacks. Thus, the Arabs deliberately altered existing social, administrative, and military structures in order to promote their position in the city. This is even more visible at the top of Alexandria's military administration, to which we turn in the following section. We will see that the Arabs created a thoroughly Arab military network with direct ties to the authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ.

3.2. Changes at the top of Alexandria's civil and military administration

Prior to the Arab conquest, Alexandria's administration was headed by a *dux et augustalis* who enjoyed the highest civil as well as military authority.[116] The last such administrator, one Theodore, left the city for Cyprus at the end of the eleven-month armistice in 21/642 together with the Byzantine garrison.[117] Unlike many aspects of the existing Egyptian administration, the Arabs did not keep this office unchanged. In a demilitarized form, they left it in the hands of the Alexandrian nobility. Military powers went to an Arab. In this way they Arabized the city's

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[113] Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", p. 35; C. Foss, "Egypt under Muʿāwiya. Part I: flavius Papas and Upper Egypt", *BSOAS* 72/1 (2009), pp. 18-22.

[114] Al-Kindī cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 570 and al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, III, p. 339.

[115] For Alexandria as a naval centre, see Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", esp. pp. 32-7; Fahmy, *Naval organisation*, pp. 27-30.

[116] Palme, "Imperial presence", pp. 245-9; J.-M. Carrié, "Le gouverneur romain à l'époque tardive: les directions possible de l'enquête", *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998), pp. 19-20.

[117] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXX.72].

military apparatus. As a result, two administrators simultaneously headed Alexandria's administration.

The first of these two high administrators in Alexandria was the *augustalis* (Gr. αὐγουστάλιος),[118] the remainder of the Byzantine office of *dux et augustalis*. Beside references to a civil governor of the city in medieval literary sources, the *augustalis* is mentioned in at least two documents: *SB* XX 15101 (prob. Išqūh; 88/707) and *P.Lond.* IV 1392 (Išqūh; 92/711).[119] In the latter document we read his name: Theodore, apparently a Christian and possibly an offspring of the Byzantine Alexandrian nobility as his epithet 'the Chalcedonian' in literary sources reveils.[120] Despite our limited source material on the *augustalis* (collected in appendix 1), it is safe to hypothesize that the office existed from the end of the Arab conquest until the first two decades of the second/eighth century. After having gained power over the city in 21/642, the Arabs kept (from *c.* 21/642-3 onwards) one John of Damietta as 'prefect of the city of Alexandria'.[121] He had already been appointed by the last Byzantine *dux et augustalis*.[122] There are no indications that John of Damietta had military powers. The *augustalis*' office remained in existence until at least the 90s/710s, when it appears for the last time in our sources. In subsequent years, the office gradually Arabized. Still in the mid-second/eighth century

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[118] *Pace* J.-M. Carrié, "Séparation ou cumul? Pouvoir civil et autorité militaire dans les provinces d'Égypte de Gallien à la conquête arabe", *Antiqité tardive* 6 (1998), p. 121.

[119] Possible other but uncertain documentary references to the Alexandrian *augustalis* are found in *O.Crum* 320 (Theban area; poss. first/seventh c. [both before and after the Arab conquest]), *O.CrumVC* 86 (Theban area; first/seventh or second/eighth century) and *SB Kopt.* I 25 (Theban area; date unknown). In *O.CrumVC* 86, *augustalis* may also be a personal name; see *O.CrumVC* 86, note 2.

[120] A Theodore appears a number of times at the head of the Alexandrian administration in literary sources; see appendix 1. A Theodore the Chalcedonian is found for the years 40/661-57/677 and 85/704-96/714. During the papacy of Simon I (in office 67/686-81/700), a Theodore also headed Alexandria's civic administration. Whether they are the same person remains unclear. For studies of these Theodores, see Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", p. 30, n. 5; Grohmann, *Studien*, p. 31a, n. 3; A. Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung in Ägypten in frühislamischer Zeit", in H. Braunert (ed.), *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte: Friedrich Oertel zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Bonn: Habelt, 1964, p. 122.

[121] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXXI.4-5].

[122] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXXI.5]; John of Nikiu, *Chronique*, , pp. 464-5. Before John of Damietta and after the last *dux et augustalis* Theodore, an army officer named Menas conducted the city's fiscal affairs. He was disposed by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ soon after John took up his position in Alexandria. See also *PLRE*, III/A, 705 [*s.v.* 'Ioannes 251'], III/B, 881-2 [*s.v.* 'Menas 41'], and 1280-2 [*s.v.* 'Theodorus 166'].

Alexandria's civil administration is found separate from its military administration.[123] But at that time, it was no longer in the hands of the city's old Byzantine nobility. We will treat this in more detail below.

The *augustalis* stood in direct contact with the Egyptian governor seated in al-Fusṭāṭ. The *vita* of patriarch Isaac (in office 67/686-70/689), composed only a generation after the events it describes,[124] writes that the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (in office 65/685-86/705) ordered the Alexandrian *augustalis* to send him the patriarch so that he could have the latter executed for contacting an enemy of the empire.[125] Furthermore, the two above-mentioned documents mention goods to be send to the *augustalis*. As the governor in al-Fusṭāṭ gave orders for writing the documents, he clearly was involved in the *augustalis*' affairs.[126] The *augustalis* is once recorded to have been directly responsible to the caliph. As something of an anomaly, a passage in the *History of the patriarchs* and a Coptic synaxary relates that one *augustalis* paid the caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (r. 60/680-64/683) much money for a document stating that 'the governor of Egypt had no jurisdiction over him' in Alexandria and surrounding districts. This enabled him to keep for himself as much tax money as he wanted.[127] The passage illustrates the governor's otherwise direct control over the *augustalis*' office.

In the above-mentioned documents *SB* XX 15101 and *P.Lond.* IV 1392, the *augustalis* appears as the central official in the organisation of the yearly naval expedition against the Byzantine empire (Gr. sg. κοῦρσον). The documents report about torches (Gr. φακλίων) and butter (Gr. βούτυρον), destined for the warships, to be sent to the *augustalis*.[128] The involvement of a non-Arab official in the upper levels of the military administration in Alexandria was not strange. Literary

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[123] See appendix 1.

[124] Den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr*, pp. 142-5.

[125] *Vie d'Isaac, patriarche d'Alexandrie de 686 à 689*, ed. & tr. E. Porcher, *Patrologia orientalis* 11 (1913), pp. 378-81 [80-3]. See also Grohmann, *Studien*, pp. 30b-31a.

[126] *SB* XX 15101 does not mention its sender but the editors think, in light of the letter's contents, that its sender must also be the governor (see also F. Morelli, "P.Berol. inv. 25041 e le fiaccole dell'emiro dei credenti", *ZPE* 115 (1997), p. 199).

[127] See the *History of the patriarchs* (ed. Evetts), III, pp. 5 [259] and 9 [263]; *Le synaxaire arabe-jacobite (rédaction copte)*, I, ed. R. Basset, *Patrologia orientalis* 1 (1907), p. 341.

[128] See also the commentary in Morelli, "P.Berol. inv. 25041", pp. 198-9.

sources mention such involvement as early as the papacy of Agathon (in office 40/661-57/677).[129] Despite his involvement in the organisation of a military expedition, the *augustalis* had no military powers as the *dux et augustalis* had had before the Arab conquests. Military powers in Alexandria lay in the hands of a second high administrative official.

This second official was the *amīr*, 'commander', of Alexandria.[130] He stood at the head of the Arab garrison of the city and at times headed the Egyptian fleet participating in the naval expeditions against the Byzantine empire.[131] He always was an Arab (see appendix 1). While Alexandria's *augustalis* lost military authority right after the Arab conquest of 21/642, an Arab *amīr* was appointed to Alexandria immediately following the conquest. As already mentioned, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥuḏāfa b. Qays as his deputy over the Arab garrison of the city after the first conquest of Alexandria in 21/642.[132] Historiographical sources report that the Arab governor seated in al-Fusṭāṭ usually appointed the *amīr* as his deputy in Alexandria.[133] The *amīr* of Alexandria was, therefore, directly subordinate to the highest administrative official in the country. Only in exceptional situations (such as the Byzantine siege of Alexandria in 24/645[134] or the turbulent last years of the Umayyad caliphate[135]), caliphs themselves appointed the *amīr*. The ties that were thus created between the provincial rulers and the top of the military in Alexandria were at times strengthened through personal relationships between both parties. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥuḏāfa b. Qays was a Sahmī just as ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ;[136] the *amīr* Ǧanāb b. Marṯad reportedly was a close

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[129] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 5 [259].

[130] For documentary evidence of the title, see J. David-Weill *et al.*, "Papyrus arabes du Louvre III", *JESHO* 21/2 (1978), no. 25 (unknown provenance; second/eighth c.), lines 2-3: *amīr al-Iskandariyya*.

[131] Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 277-90.

[132] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221.

[133] *E.g.* al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 36, 58, 81, 153, 157-8; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 409 [1103]; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 222.

[134] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 11; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 41; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 223.

[135] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 385 [1051]; see also *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 67 [321], 70-1 [324-5].

[136] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221 (for ʿAbd Allāh's lineage); al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 6 (for ʿAmr's lineage). Probably not a coincidence, Alexandria's 'chief of the fleet' (Ar. *wālī al-baḥr*) in 23/643, *i.e.* during ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's first governorate, also was a relative of his. See Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 279-80.

friend of the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān.[137] Reminiscent of the above-mentioned *augustalis* who paid the caliph for independence from the governor in al-Fusṭāṭ, close relationships are recorded to have existed between the *amīr* and the caliph Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41/660-60/680). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam gives the alleged text of a private correspondance between the *amīr* ʿAlqama b. Yazīd (who headed the garrison in the period 43/664-44/665) and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān in which ʿAlqama writes that the caliph appointed him as his deputy.[138] Dionysios of Tell-Maḥrē records that Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān gave orders to an Alexandrian *amīr* without the involvement of Egypt's governor.[139] It is evident and of minor importance for the present discussion that the *amīr* enjoyed considerable social status.[140] His close relationship with the provincial government or even the caliphate stood at the centre of his office.

The creation of the office of the Alexandrian *amīr* and the demilitarization of the old office of *dux et augustalis* aimed at securing the loyalty of those who were able to enforce power, *i.e.* the military. In order to do so, the Arab authorities divided the top of Alexandria's administration in two.[141] Leaving civil affairs in the hands of local non-Arab notables, the Arabs deprived the old office of *dux et augustalis* of all military powers, making it just *augustalis*, as soon as the they conquered the city. Indeed, the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb is reported to have ordered the Alexandrian commanders not to trust a Byzantine over the garrison.[142] In place of a *dux*, the Arabs created the office of *amīr* who headed an Arab garrison. Via the *amīr*s' close relationship with the governors seating in al-Fusṭāṭ or sometimes even the caliphs, the Arab rulers secured the loyalty of the military in

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[137] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 236.
[138] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192.
[139] Dionysios of Tell-Maḥrē (Palmer, *The seventh century*, p. 173 [§ 93]).
[140] See also David-Weill *et al.*, "Papyrus arabes", no. 25 (unknown provenance; second/eighth c.) for people seeking justice from the Alexandrian *amīr* in case a *qāḍī* pronounced unjust justice.
[141] *Pace* Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", p. 30; Grohmann, *Studien*, p. 30-1; Labib, "Al-Iskandariyya", p. 134a; Fraser, "Alexandria, Christian and medieval", p. 89; Haas, *Alexandria in late Antiquity*, p. 345; Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade", p. 122; Z. Kiss, "Alexandria in the fourth to seventh centuries", p. 204. Foss, *Arab-Byzantine coins*, p. 272 calls the *augustalis* 'governor' (implying a combined administration) but correctly notes that he had no military powers.
[142] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192.

Alexandria. In Upper Egypt, similar changes occurred in the administration. In the decades before the Arab conquest, documents still refer to the office of *dux et augustalis*.[143] The use of terminology differed in Upper Egypt from that in Alexandria. After the Arab conquest, the title *augustalis* disappears from our source material on the administration of Upper Egypt. Instead of a *dux et augustalis*, documents related to the administration of Upper Egypt show a new office: that of the *dux*. Similar to the *augustalis* in Alexandria, the Upper Egyptian *dux* no longer held military authority after the Arab conquest.[144] As we will see in more detail in chapter 3, *amīr*s were appointed beside the local civil administrations. Irrespective of terminology, then, changes in Alexandria's administration were not characteristic of the Arabs' treatment of the city. They were province-wide.

4. *Strengthening al-Fusṭāṭ's control over Alexandria around 40/660: gubernatorial presence*

We saw above that the creation of an Arab centre and the appointment of an Arab over the city's military administration created direct ties between Alexandria and the top of the administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. The early-Umayyad period saw a strengthening of these ties. This is most clearly visible in the building of a *dār al-imāra* in Alexandria during the governorate of ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān (in office 43/664-44/665), *i.e.* the early years of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's caliphate (41/661-60/680),[145] in order to house governors on a visit in the city.

As I noted above, the first three Arab governors over Egypt, seated in al-Fusṭāṭ, held office in their own residences. The location of the gubernatorial seat in al-Fusṭāṭ, as well as that in other cities, changed soon after Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān became caliph. Despite earlier attempts to create one office for future Egyptian governors during the governorate of Qays b. Saʿd (in office for about five months in 37/657),[146] Muʿāwiya designated a building called *dār ar-raml*, located in

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[143] *E.g. P.Prag* I 64 (Fayyūm; 15/636), line 6-7: a *dux et augustalis* of the eparchy of Arcadia; *P.Amh.* II 151 (al-Ušmūn; A.D. 610-19 or, less likely, 7/629-20/641 [see N. Gonis, "Two Hermopolite leases of the reign of Heraclius", *ZPE* 145 (2003), p. 205]): a *dux et augustalis* of 'the two Thebaids'.
[144] Grohmann, "Der Beamtestab", p. 123.
[145] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 36.
[146] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 98.

the ḫiṭṭa of 'the people of the banner',[147] to serve as al-Fusṭāṭ's *dār al-imāra*.[148] Changes in the official seat of the top of the provincial government were empire-wide. Muʿāwiya himself had an office of the former Byzantine governor in Damascus converted to a *dār al-imāra*. This office was located on the *qibla* side of the court in front of the Church of St John, which the local Muslim community at that time used as their congregational mosque.[149] The location of this seat of provincial government mirrored the position of Muḥammad's house in al-Madīna vis-à-vis al-Madīna's mosque.[150] As such, locating the caliph's residence in line with prophetic presedence aimed at establishing a link between Muʿāwiya's caliphate and an early-Islamic ideal and, thus, aimed at legitimizing Muʿāwiya's rule.[151] In 45/665, Muʿāwiya's governor in al-Baṣra, Ziyād b. Abīhi, relocated the town's *dār al-imāra* to the *qibla* side of al-Baṣra's congregational mosque.[152] In the early-50s/670s, the same Ziyād b. Abīhi, now also governor of al-Kūfa, rebuilt this town's mosque and attached to it the local *dār al-imāra* (which seems to have faced the *qibla* from the start).[153] The *dār al-imāra* in Alexandria was built in the same empire-wide wave of architectural reforms that occurred soon after Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān came to power.[154] We will see in what follows that it was directly related to his coming to power.

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[147] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's 'Account of who was given land [Ar. *iḫtaṭṭa*] around the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ' in his *Futūḥ*, pp. 100-1.

[148] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 100-1. *Cf.* Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*, p. 129; Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 112-3.

[149] On the *dār al-imāra* in Damascus, see F.B. Flood, *The great mosque of Damscus: studies on the making of an Umayyad visual culture*, Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 147-59.

[150] H. Djaït, *Al-Kūfa: naissance de la ville islamique*, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1986, esp. p. 201; Wheatley, *Places where men pray together*, p. 229. See also J. Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the concept of the mosque", in J. Johns (ed.), *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and early Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 86-8.

[151] Wheatley, *Places where men pray together*, p. 229.

[152] Whitcomb, "The *miṣr* of Ayla", p. 162.

[153] K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, rev. ed., Cairo: AUC Press, 1989, p. 10; Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, pp. 96-103.

[154] Although the building of a *dār al-imāra* in Jerusalem to the *qibla* side of the Temple Mount during Muʿāwiya's reign has been suggested (Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 222-3), archaeology has not yet confirmed this (see J. Johns, "Archaeology and the history of early Islam: the first seventy years", *JESHO* 46/4 (2003), p. 423, n. 20).

The accession of Muʿāwiya to the caliphal throne in 41/661 gave impetus to a renewed relationship between the top of Egypt's administration in al-Fusṭāṭ and the military and civil administration of Alexandria. From approximately that date onwards, Egyptian governors are found to have visited Alexandria on a regular basis. One possible, if historical, precedent for this practice may be found in a (late) report telling that the patriarch and governor Cyrus (al-Muqawqis), prior to the Arab conquest, 'spent some parts of the year in Alexandria, some parts in the city of Manf [Memphis], and some in Qaṣr aš-Šam'.[155] Another possible precedent we have already encountered in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's passage, translated above, telling that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and, after him, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ possessed urban property in Alexandria. A passage preserved by al-Balāḏurī confirms, albeit implicitly, that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ visited Alexandria during his first governorate.[156] But all in all, there is an almost total lack of evidence for governors spending time in Alexandria in the period between the end of the conquest in 21/642 and the Umayyads' coming to power in 41/661. With the exception of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's visit implied in al-Balāḏurī, the first governor said to have visited Alexandria in our present source material is ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān (in 44/665).[157] Not a coincidence, this very ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān, brother of the new caliph,[158] built Alexandria's *dār al-imāra.* As we will see shortly, the construction of the building and the first visit of a governor went hand in hand. An overview of references to governors visiting the city in medieval sources (appendix 1) shows that we are dealing with an Umayyad practice. Only one governor, Manṣūr b. Yazīd (in office 162/779), is known to have visited the city after the Abbasid revolution.[159] This practice came and went with the Umayyad dynasty.

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[155] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, II, p. 412. Cyrus is called 'king of Egypt' (Ar. *malik Miṣr*), thus setting the anecdote before the Arab conquest. See also Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira*, I, p. 60. *Cf.* al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 4.

[156] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 222. See also appendix 1.

[157] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 36; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, XXXVIII, p. 268.

[158] Interestingly, Ziyād b. Abīhi, who rebuilt the *dār al-imāra* in al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, was also closely related to Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. He was adopted by the Sufyanid family. See I. Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi", *EI²*, XI, p. 520.

[159] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 121.

Reasons why governors visited Alexandria are hard to come by. Governors certainly kept all governmental powers.[160] ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān is said to have wished to participate in, or head, the Alexandrian garrison.[161] The third/ninth-century historian Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ gives an interesting list on the basis of which there is room to develop some thoughts about the relationship between the governor and the top of the military administration in Alexandria. He writes that in the year 73/692-3 'Kurayb b. Abraha descended [Ar. *habaṭa*] to Alexandria', that in the year 74/693-4 'ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān descended to Alexandria', and that in the year 75/694-5 'Ǧanāb b. Marṯad descended to Alexandria'.[162] The historian gives no other information on governors visiting Alexandria or other persons travelling to Alexandria. The phrasing of these passages is strikingly similar. And as the three years are consecutive, the list gives the impression that the three persons succeeded each other, that is to say, that the well-known governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (in office 65/685-86/705) took Kurayb b. Abraha's place and that Ǧanāb b. Marṯad took ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's place. We have no information on Ǧanāb b. Marṯad's role in Alexandria. But one medieval historian reports that Kurayb b. Abraha was appointed head of the garrison.[163] If we are right to conclude that these men replaced their predecessor, the logical conclusion is that the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān took from Kurayb b. Abraha his role as garrison commander. In that case, governors visiting Alexandria temporarily took over the duties of the top of the city's military administration. This, however, was not the only reason for governors to visit Alexandria.

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[160] Many of the governors mentioned to have visited Alexandria are explicitly said to have left a deputy in al-Fusṭāṭ while important administrators and soldiers moved along with them. See *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 95 [349]. (For the retinue of a governor who traveled to Manf, see *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 75 [329].) See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 234 and al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 39 for the governor Maslama b. Muḫallad (in office 47/667-62/682) exercising his authority over al-Fusṭāṭ's nobility while visiting Alexandria (*cf.* Wakīʿ, *Aḫbār al-quḍā wa-taʾrīḫihim*, ed. ʿA. al-Marāġī, 3 vols, Cairo: al-Maktaba at-tiǧāriyya al-kubrā, 1366/1947-1369/1952, III, pp. 223-4).

[161] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 36; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, XXXVIII, p. 268.

[162] Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 343, 345, 347.

[163] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 409 [no. 1103] (copied in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, L, p. 116 [no. 5807]).

A highly interesting passage in the *History of the patriarchs*, based on a Coptic source from the mid-Umayyad period,[164] tells us that governors customarily visited the city at the beginning of their governorate: 'in the first year of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's governorate, he went to Alexandria, according to the custom of those who were appointed governors, to receive its taxes.'[165] Indeed, many governors known to have visited Alexandria did so at the beginning of their governorate, although some visited the city more than once.[166] The passage continues with a description of the governor's arrival at the city and gives the impression that the arrival was one of ceremony. It tells that the governor was publicly entertained by the city's non-Arab notables, including the Coptic patriarch.[167] As such, the ceremony publicly displayed his authority over the city's notables and, hence, the entire city of Alexandria. A display of power over the patriarch may even have aimed at proclaiming authority over all of Egypt.

The passage from the *History of the patriarchs* indicates how the governor publicly displayed his power over the civic administration of the city: he publicly collected the city's taxes. By doing so, he demanded the loyalty of the local Byzantine nobility that headed this administration. The governor's visit also entailed his taking control over Alexandria's military administration. His heading the city's garrison demanded the loyalty of a body of government that was thoroughly Arab. A governor's visit to Alexandria seems, therefore, simultaneously to have aimed at establishing, maintaining, or reasserting his power over the Byzantine as well as Arab segments of Alexandria's administration. The visits' symbolism indicates that, regardless of the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ, Alexandria continued to enjoy a powerful and central position in Egypt well into the Umayyad period.[168]

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[164] Den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr*, pp. 142-5.
[165] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 13 [267].
[166] See appendix 1.
[167] *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 13-5 [267-9].
[168] See also Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade", pp. 122-3 and A. Papaconstantinou, "Confrontation, interaction, and the formation of the early Islamic *oikoumene*: review article", *Revue des études byzantines* 63 (2005), p. 173.

The gubernatorial visits were introduced by the Sufyanids. They must, therefore, be counted among those early-Umayyad innovations that tried to establish and legitimize Umayyad rule such as their taking firm control of the *qaṣaṣ*,[169] their introduction of new coinages and administrative structures,[170] or the proclaimation and legitimization of their rule in papyrus protocols and monumental inscriptions.[171] As such, it is an early example of the itinerancy of rulers, best known from Marwanid Syro-Palestine but also practiced by Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and meant to establish authority in relatively remote areas.[172] The (re)building of gubernatorial offices served the same purpose. In Alexandria's case, the city's *dār al-imāra* was located in an 'old' (Ar. *qadīm*) and presumably Byzantine fortress (Ar. *ḥiṣn*).[173] Thus, the *dār al-imāra* not only facilitated a governor's visit but even visualized his power over the city's ruling nobility: it was now an Arab governor who resided in a building that used to be associated with Byzantine rule over the city. In short, by not residing in al-Fusṭāṭ but in Alexandria a governor aimed to subdue the powerful city of Alexandria to his administration in al-Fusṭāṭ.[174]

5. *Concluding remarks*

Socio-political changes in the course of the first half of the second/eighth century altered this administrative relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria and reduced the need for governors to visit the city. With the arrival of the Marwanids

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[169] K. ʿAthamina, "Al-Qasas: its emergence, religious origin and its socio-political impact on early Muslim society", *Studia islamica* 76 (1992), pp. 53-75.

[170] C. Foss, "A Syrian coinage of Muʿawiya?", *Revue numismatique* 158 (2002), pp. 353-65; S. Sears, "The legitimation of al-Hakam b. al-ʿAs: Umayyad government in seventh-century Kirman", *Iranian studies* 36/1 (2003), pp. 5-25; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses: the evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 30-1; F.M. Donner, "The growth of military institutions in the early caliphate and their relation to civilian authority", *Al-Qantara* 14/2 (1993), p. 323.

[171] R. Hoyland, "New documentary texts and the early Islamic state", *BSOAS* 69/3 (2006), p. 399.

[172] A. Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir: l'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (v. 72-193/692-809)*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011, pp. 396-443 (for Muʿāwiya, see pp. 404-5).

[173] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 36. See also Kubiak, "Mosque of Amr ibn al-As", pp. 127-8 and Behrens-Abouseif, "Topographie d'Alexandrie", p. 116.

[174] *Pace* Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade", p. 122 (who writes that governors visited Alexandria 'out of personal preference') and C. Foss, "Egypt under Muʿāwiya. Part II: Middle Egypt, Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria", *BSOAS* 72/2 (2009), pp. 269-70.

in mid-65/late-684 and their centralization programmes,[175] al-Fusṭāṭ increased its control over the civic administration of Alexandria. This is particularly visible in the gradual Arabization of Egypt's administration, affecting Alexandria from around 80/700 at the latest, and the creation of administrative offices in Alexandria that were directly connected with the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. As such, the first half of the second/eighth century formed a last stage in the relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria before 132/750.

Traces of the Arabization of Alexandria's civic administration are first seen around the turn of the second/eighth century. *P.Lond.* IV 1412 (Išqūh; 80/699-86/705) lists part of the pagarchy of Išqūh's taxes of the fourteenth indiction year 81-2/700-1. Although we saw above that the *augustalis*'s office is still attested in documents from the 90s/710s, line 279 of *P.Lond.* IV 1412 states that the pagarchy transferred tax money to an Arab named al-Ḥāriṯ b. ʿAbs who at that time headed the treasury in Alexandria and, therefore, was involved in the city's civil administration. By the time of the Abbasid revolution, one Ibrāhīm al-Māḥikī/al-Mawṣilī is mentioned to have been Alexandria's civil administrator.[176] His name and *nisba* suggest that he was an Arab or a convert to Islam. His title *arḫun*, designating in his time an elevated social status,[177] shows that in the mid-second/eighth century the top of the city's administration was taken over by members of the local Arab or Muslim nobility and was no longer in the hands of non-Arab notables.[178] After him, indeed, members of other influental local Arab families are recorded to have headed Alexandria's administration.[179] The reduction of the authority of the city's non-Arab nobility in the first half of the

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[175] There is much literature on the Marwanid innovations. For overviews, see C.F. Robinson, ʿAbd al-Malik, Oxford: OneWorld, 2005, pp. 66-80; Sijpesteijn, "New rule", pp. 195-7; *idem.*, *Shaping a Muslim state*, pp. 91-111.

[176] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 130 [384]. See also appendix 1, n. 34.

[177] L.S.B. MacCoull, "Patronage and the social order in Coptic Egypt", in L. Criscuolo & G. Geraci (eds), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba*, Bologna: LCUEB, 1989, pp. 500-2.

[178] Non-Arabs are still attested as working in Alexandria's fiscal administration in the third/ninth century, see *History of the patriarchs*, IV, p. 449 [563].

[179] Our sources give no information on the head of the civil or military administration for the period 132/750-195/811. But in 195/811 and 198/813, Alexandria was administered by Bahlūl al-Laḫmī and Ḥudayǧ b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid respectively. See al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 153.

second/eighth century compares well with the contemporary increase of the central administration's power over the Coptic patriarchate[180] and with the Arabization of pagarchs and *duces* in Upper Egypt.[181]

These changes in the identity of Alexandria's administrative personnel coincided with the appearance of administrative offices in Alexandria that were closely connected to the administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. Around the turn of the second/eighth century appears Alexandria's first known *qāḍī*, Marṯad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī (d. 90/708-9), holding office during the governorate of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. We will revisit him in chapter 4. At approximately the same time mention medieval historiographical sources for the first time a *qāṣṣ* in Alexandria: al-Ǧulāḥ al-Qurašī (d. 120/737-8), a Byzantine client of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān or one of his sons and appointed over Alexandria's *qaṣaṣ* during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99/717-101/720).[182] Further, Egypt's first *ṣāḥib al-ḫarāǧ*, Usāma b. Zayd (in office 96/714-99/717 and 102/720-104/722-3), is recorded to have held office in Alexandria during both his tenures.[183]

The close connections between these officials and the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ together with the officials' Arab ethnicity must greatly have reduced the *raison d'être* of the gubernatorial visits discussed above. The visits were no longer needed to publicly display Arab rule over the city. Indeed, when the Abbasids came to power in 132/750 and neglected Alexandria as a naval base,[184]

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[180] Décobert, *Le mendiant et le combatant*, pp. 86-7; Sijpesteijn, "New rule", p. 196.

[181] Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns", pp. 126-7.

[182] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 97 [no. 257]; as-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī taʾrīḫ Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 2 vols, ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Dār iḥyāʾ al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, 1387/1967, I, p. 265 [no. 75]; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahḏīb at-tahḏīb*, 2 vols, eds I. az-Zaybaq & ʿA. Muršid, Beirut: Muʾassasat ar-risāla, 1416/1995, I, p. 321.

[183] *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 67 [321], 70-1 [324-5] writes that Usāma b. Zayd held office in Alexandria before he died on a forced journey to al-Fusṭāṭ, *i.e.* during his second tenure. For the identity of the 'governor' (Ar. *wālī*) Usāma mentioned there, see Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, p. 31. Ibn Yūnus (cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 290-1; *idem.*, *al-Muqaffā*, II, p. 38 [no. 710]; and Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, VIII, p. 84 [no. 597]) implies that Usāma b. Zayd held office in Alexandria during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86/105-96/115), *i.e.* during his first tenure as *ṣāḥib al-ḫarāǧ*.

[184] The participation of an Alexandrian fleet in assaults on Byzantine territory is not recorded after a planned but failed attempt to raid Cyprus in 127-8/745-6 (Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, p. 466 [*anno mundi* 6238]; Nicephorus, *Nikephoros*, p. 141 [§ 68]). It is in 136/754 that we hear for the last time in the second/eighth century of a fleet being prepared in Alexandria. But this time it was destined for

the custom was entirely abolished.[185] Administratively speaking, al-Fusṭāṭ now dominated Alexandria. These changes in the administrative relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria in the course of the first half of the second/eighth century were part of a larger development. They mark al-Fusṭāṭ's maturation as Egypt's capital. In the chapters that follow, we will see that al-Fusṭāṭ's position in Egypt on other levels developed along the same chronology.

Ṭarābulus in North Africa and not Byzantine territory (al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 103). The city had to wait almost a century for renewed interest among the authorities in Egypt's coastal defence. Only after the Byzantine sack of Dimyāṭ in 238/853 did al-Mutawakkil order the governor ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāq to fortify the Egyptian littoral, including the erection of a city wall around Alexandria's much shrunken urban core and the rebuiling of the Egyptian fleet. See G. Levi della Vida, "A papyrus reference to the Damietta raid of 853 A.D.", *Byzantion* 17 (1944-5), pp. 212-21 and Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", p. 39.

[185] See p. 53 above.

CHAPTER 2

THE COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AFTER
THE FOUNDATION OF AL-FUSṬĀṬ

> 'When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Alexandria
> he found there twelve thousand green gro-
> cers who were selling fresh vegetables.'[1]

When the Gaulish bishop Arculf visited Alexandria around the year 50/670 on his way from Yāfā on the coast of Palestine to Constantinople, he experienced the city as 'a port which is, in a manner, the emporium of the whole world, for innumerable people from all parts go there for commerce'.[2] Despite the fact that Arculf – or, perhaps better, Adomnan (d. 85/704), who penned Arculf's travelogue – based his wording on a passage in Strabo's *Geographika* (XVII 1, 13), his description was certainly not misplaced.[3] It is true that archaeological research shows that the city gradually lost some of its classical grandeur from the A.D. fourth century onwards.[4] But it kept enough of its splendour to impress visitors and to allow for a mass of, sometimes wondrous, descriptions of the city in medieval literature.[5] Despite this urban transformation and in spite of changing

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[1] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 82.

[2] Wright, *Early travels in Palestine*, pp. 10-1.

[3] *Cf.* Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", pp. 31-2.

[4] W. Kołątaj, "La dernière période d'utilisation et la destruction des thermes romains tardifs de Kôm el-Dikka", *ÉT* 9 (1976), pp. 219-20; M. Rodziewicz, *Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie: à la lumière des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka*, Warsaw, PWN-Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1984, pp. 61 and 336-47; *idem.*, "Transformation of ancient Alexandria into a medieval city", in R.-P. Gayraud, *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique*, Cairo: IFAO, 1998, pp. 376-82; G. Majcherek, "Kom el-Dikka excavations and preservation work, 2002/2003", *PAM* 15 (2004), p. 33; *idem.*, "Kom el-Dikka excavations and preservation work, 2003/2004", *PAM* 16 (2005), p. 19; E. Kulicka, "The Moslem cemeteries on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria: excavation season 2004/2005", *PAM* 17 (2007), p. 38.

[5] See, *e.g.*, the following medieval geographers' descriptions of Alexandria: al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 449; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, V, p. 166; Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, I, p. 186; Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-aʿlāq an-nafīsa*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1892, p. 118; al-Iṣṭaḫrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje,

trade patterns and a decreasing number of inhabitants,[6] most modern scholars argree that Alexandria possessed a thriving economy up to the late-second/eighth century.[7]

This chapter addresses an aspect of the relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria which has yet received little attention: the impact of the development of al-Fusṭāṭ's commercial role in the province on domestic and international trade in and with Alexandria. A close examination of various types of sources reveils that, regardless of al-Fusṭāṭ's gradually growing commercial centrality, Alexandria maintained its markets through their international character. Even though the city's commerce leaned more and more towards its Egyptian hinterland, its markets' international character distinguished Alexandria

Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1870, p. 51; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1877, p. 197; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers, 2 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938, I, p. 151; al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāq fī iḫtirāq al-āfāq*, ed. E. Cerulli *et al.*, 9 vols, Neapoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli & Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970, I, p. 319. See also Ibn al-Kindī, *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, eds I.A. al-ʿAdawī & ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1391/1971, p. 48; Ibn Zūlāq, *Faḍāʾil Miṣr wa-aḫbāruhā wa-ḫawāṣṣuhā*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿāmma li-l-kitāb [n.d.], pp. 60-1, 63. A recurring element in these descriptions is the extensive use of marble throughout the city. The Palestinian patriarch Sophronius, who visited Alexandria in the first half of the first/seventh century, also mentions the frequent use of marble in his travelogue (see McKenzie, *The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt*, p. 255) and, thus, adds to the credibility of this element in the descriptions in the Arabic sources.

[6] See p. 41, n. 83 above. The city's third/ninth-century city wall shows most visibly to what extent the city had shrunk in comparison with classical times (see map 2). See C. Benech, "Recherches sur le tracé des mureilles antiques d'Alexandrie", in J.-Y. Empereur (ed.), *Alexandrina 3*, Cairo: IFAO, 2009, esp. pp. 414-8.

[7] Much has been written, mostly on the basis of archaeology, on trade in or with Alexandria in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries. Among the most recent studies are Haas, *Alexandria in late Antiquity*, pp. 344-51; G. Majcherek, "The late Roman ceramics from sector 'G' (Alexandria 1986-1987)", *ÉT* 16 (1992), pp. 81-117; M. McCormick, *Origins of the European economy: communications and commerce, A.D. 300-900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 584-6; M.D. Rodziewicz, "Graeco-Islamic elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of the new discoveries: remarks on early mediaeval Alexandria", *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982), pp. 35-49; *idem.*, "Tranformation of ancient Alexandria"; *idem.*, "Wine production and trade in late Roman Alexandria", in C. Décobert, J.-Y. Empereur & C. Picard (eds), *Alexandrie médiévale 4*, Alexandria: Centre d'études alexandrines, 2011, pp. 39-56; E. Rodziewicz, "Ivory, bone, glass and other production at Alexandria, 5th-9th centuries", in M. Mundell Mango (ed.), *Byzantine trade, 4th-12th centuries: the archaeology of local, regional and international exchange*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 83-95; *idem.*, "Alexandria and trade in late Antiquity: the testimony of bone and ivory production", in Décobert, Empereur & Picard, *Alexandrie médiévale 4*, pp. 57-79; Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade", pp. 119-22. Other studies will be mentioned in the course of this chapter. For divergent views, see Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", p. 31; Fraser, "Alexandria", p. 91 (followed by Foss, *Arab-Byzantine coins*, pp. 271-2).

from markets elsewhere, such as in al-Fusṭāṭ. It will be argued that this internationality allowed for much commercial continuity in the first century after the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ. Nonetheless, Alexandria relinquished some of its economic as well as political privileges to al-Fusṭāṭ in the first half of the second/eighth century. This is in perfect keeping with al-Fusṭāṭ's attainment of an upper hand position during that period in its administrative relationship with Alexandria, detected in the previous chapter. Before we focus our attention on Alexandria, we start with a short overview of commercial activity involving al-Fusṭāṭ in the first century and a half after the Arab conquest.

1. *Al-Fusṭāṭ: commercial activity in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries*

In light of the distribution of ʿaṭāʾ among al-Fusṭāṭ's considerable Arab population, it is not surprising that the town became a commercial centre soon after its establishment. Indeed, medieval literary sources refer to commerce in the town during the first years of its existence. They claim that the town hosted a number of markets already soon after its foundation. Medieval historiographers mention alleged first/seventh-century markets named after contemporary individuals or events such as Sūq Wardān,[8] Sūq Barbar,[9] or Saqīfat Abī al-Ḥusayn.[10] The historian and geographer al-Yaʿqūbī, mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, writes that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ himself erected markets around his mosque in al-Fusṭāṭ.[11] Similar information cannot be found elsewhere. It is very likely that al-Yaʿqūbī refers to a house ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ built for the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb, in the proximity of the mosque, which the caliph is said to have donated to the Arab

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[8] Named after Wardān ar-Rūmī (d. 53/672), a client of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. See Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 32; Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, III, p. 284.

[9] Named after a group of Berbers who allegedly settled in the market's vicinity in the attempt to be close to Kaʿb b. Yasār b. Ḍinna (possibly *qāḍī* in 23/644; *cf.* pp. 132-3 below) whose father they held for a prophet. See al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 301-2 and 304-5; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 32; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Cairo: Maktabat al-ḫānǧī, 1418/1998, pp. 310-1 [no. 165]; Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, III, p. 283. *Cf.* n. 13 below.

[10] Part of the house of, and named after, one Abū al-Ḥusayn Hayṯam b. Šufayy, who participated in the conquest. See Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 499 [no. 1364].

[11] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, p. 118.

community and subsequently became a slave market.[12] Although the historicity of (the date and naming of) these markets is not certain, a recently-published document from the late-first/seventh or early-second/eighth century mentions two of them in addition to a roofed market (Ar. *saqīfa*) in one of al-Fusṭāṭ's northern suburbs. This document implies the markets' existence prior to the date of the document's composition.[13]

Scattered information on al-Fusṭāṭ's early-Arab community confirms commercial activity in the town soon after its establishment. The Egyptian historian Ibn Duqmāq (d. 790/1388) reports that Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, who headed Egypt's governorate in 37/657, possessed a watering place for camels (Ar. *munāḫ*) where he had a sugar refinery (Ar. *maṭbaḫ*).[14] The same author writes that a daughter of Maslama b. Muḫallad owned an empty plot of land (Ar. *faḍāʾ*) where working animals (Ar. *dawābb*) were sold.[15] Interestingly, this seems to have pre-dated the end of the caliphate of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41/661-60/680) when all vacant plots in al-Fusṭāṭ are said to have had been built over.[16] Furthermore, a son of the *ṣaḥābī* Kaʿb b. Yasār b. Ḍinna possessed an inn (Ar. *qaysāriyya*) near to the heart of the town in the early-60s/680s.[17] Although such snippets of information can surely be taken to indicate that the tax money distributed among the Arabs as ʿaṭāʾ was locally spent,[18] they tell us hardly anything on al-Fusṭāṭ's commercial hinterland. For this, we need to turn to non-literary sources.

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[12] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 92. *Cf.* A.R. Guest, "The foundation of Fustat and the khittahs of that town", *JRAS* (1907), p. 78, n. 3.

[13] Sijpesteijn, "A seventh/eighth-century list of companions", p. 372, lines 4, 7, and 9. Interestingly, this document tells that at the time of its composition Sūq Barbar was known as (the more logical) Sūq al-Barbar, 'the Berbers' market' (see Sijpesteijn, "A seventh/eighth-century list", p. 374, commentary at line 4).

[14] Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 34. One al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh, Qays b. Saʿd's 'partner' (Ar. *ṣāḥib*), was in charge of the watering place. The term *maṭbaḫ* is generally used for a sugar refinary (see Dénoix, *Décrire le Caire*, p. 87), but Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Muġrib fī ḥulā al-Maġrib*, eds Z.M. Ḥasan, Š. Ḍayf & S.I. Kāšif, 2 vols, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Ğāmiʿat Fuʾād al-Awwal, 1953, I, p. 11) writes about a *maṭbaḫ* producing soap (Ar. *ṣābūn*).

[15] Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 34.

[16] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 132. *Cf.* Gayraud, "Fostat: évolution d'une capitale arabe", p. 438.

[17] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 136; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 39.

[18] *Cf.* C. Wickham, *Framing the early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 2005, p. 140 but *cf.* p. 769.

Non-literary source material for trade in or with al-Fusṭāṭ confirm that the town possessed an active albeit restricted market during most of the first/seventh century. Recent archaeological research reveals that al-Fusṭāṭ's first/seventh-century market for bone and ivory objects greatly attracted Alexandrian artisans.[19] This seems not, however, to have influenced the manufacture of such objects in Alexandria itself.[20] Further useful information can be gleaned from pottery found in Umayyad strata at Isṭabl ʿAntar in al-Fusṭāṭ. As we will see in more detail below, the almost total absence of foreign wares there suggests, in harmony with the study of bone and ivory findings, that the town largely drew on commercial relationships with its Egyptian hinterland and, hence, that al-Fusṭāṭ only very limitedly consumed imported products.[21] Glass wares of that period, too, are of local rather than foreign origin.[22] This sharply contrasts the abundance of foreign wares found in Alexandria on which we will elaborate below. However, a coin minted in Constantinople between 40/660 and 48/668[23] and a first/seventh-century imitation of a Byzantine coin of possibly Syro-Palestinian origin,[24] both excavated in al-Fusṭāṭ in first/seventh-century layers, indicate that the town was not entirely cut off from other Mediterranean regions.

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[19] E. Rodziewicz, "Alexandria and trade in late Antiquity: the testimony of bone and ivory production", in C. Décobert, J.-Y. Empereur & C. Picard (eds), *Alexandrie médiévale 4*, Alexandria: Centre d'études alexandrines, 2011, pp. 65-8; *idem.*, *Bone carvings from Fustat-Istabl ʿAntar: excavations of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale in Cairo 1985-2003*, Cairo: IFAO, 2012, pp. 53-4.

[20] Rodziewicz, "Ivory, bone, glass and other production at Alexandria", pp. 89-91; *idem.*, "Alexandria and trade in late Antiquity", p. 66.

[21] C. Vogt, "Les céramiques ommeyyades et abbassides d'Istabl'Antar-Fosat: traditions méditerranéennes et influences orientales", in G. Démians d'Archimbaud (ed.), *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée: actes du VIe congrès de l'AIECM2, Aix-en-Provence 13-18 novembre 1995*, Aix-en-Provence: Narration éditions, 1997, pp. 257-9. Still in the Abbasid period, Middle Egyptian goods transhipped in amphorae of the *LRA* 7 type were, in general, brought to al-Fusṭāṭ for local consumption and not for further trade beyond the Egyptian borders; see C. Vogt *et al.*, "Notes on some of the Abbasid amphorae of Istabl ʿAntar-Fustat (Egypt)", *BASOR* 326 (2002), p. 77.

[22] Y. Shindo, "The early Islamic glass from al-Fustat in Egypt", in [no ed.,] *Annales du 14e congrès de l'Association internationale pour l'histoire de verre, Italia: Venezia-Milano, 1998*, Lochem: AIHV, 2000, p. 236.

[23] J.L. Bacharach, "Coins", in J.L. Bacharach (ed.), *Fustat finds: beads, coins, medical instruments, textiles, and other artifacts from the Awad collection*, Cairo/New York: The American University of Cairo Press, 2002, p. 54. For Constans II-type coins found at Abū Mīna, Ǧabal aṭ-Ṭārif (near Qinā [Kainēpolis]), and Saqqāra, see the references in Foss, *Arab-Byzantine coins*, pp. 174-5.

[24] G.T. Scanlon, "Fusṭāṭ expedition: preliminary report, 1972: part 1", *JARCE* 18 (1981), p. 58. See also Foss, *Arab-Byzantine coins*, p. 98.

Sources for commerce in or with al-Fusṭāṭ, be they archaeological, papyrological or literary, testify to a drastic increase of the extent of al-Fusṭāṭ's commercial position at the end of the first/seventh century. Marwanid building projects, especially those commissioned by the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (in office 65/685-86/705), represent this trend in literary sources. Although, as we have seen above, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān was not the first governor said to have built or owned commercial complexes in the town, his projects certainly outnumbered those of his predecessors.[25] Among those buildings he commissioned were a guesthouse (Ar. *dār al-aḍyāf*),[26] inns and/or markets.[27] What is more, he did not limit his building projects to Egypt's Arab capital; he reportedly also invested in the economic infrastructures of Alexandria and Ḥulwān.[28] After him, the caliphs al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 86/705-96/715)[29] and his brother Hišām (r. 105/724-125/743)[30] as well as the governor Qurra b. Šarīk (in office 90/709-96/714)[31] are reported to have patronized the construction of buildings used for commercial purposes.[32] The commissioning of such projects was, in part at least, politically motivated.

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[25] *Cf.* W.B. Kubiak, "ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Marwan and the early Islamic building activity and urbanism in Egypt", *Africana bulletin* 42 (1994), pp. 9-10. *Cf.* A.F. Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque fatimide, al-Qāhira et al-Fusṭāṭ: essai de reconstitution topographique*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998, p. 27 who presents ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's building projects as al-Fusṭāṭ's first real phase of urbanisation.

[26] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 133; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 11.

[27] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 113 and 136; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 39; *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 42 [p. 296].

[28] The *History of the patriarchs* (III, p. 42 [p. 296]) has it that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's building projects included 'every town on the river from Miṣr [*i.e.* al-Fusṭāṭ] to Alexandria'. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did not built markets or inns in Ḥulwān (*pace* Kubiak, "ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Marwan", p. 17). He is said to have added to the new town's agricultural amenities by investing in the surrounding country's irrigation (see, *e.g.*, *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 42-3 [pp. 296-7]; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 236 [copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 568]; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 50). Note that, except for the passage from the *History of the patriarchs* quoted at the beginning of this note, the sources only mention al-Fusṭāṭ, Ḥulwān, and Alexandria as the locales of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's building projects, that is, towns of considerable political importance.

[29] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 137.

[30] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 136; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 35; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 74.

[31] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 131; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 63.

[32] And it did not stop with the end of the Umayyad dynasty. Ibn Duqmāq (*al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 40) writes that Ḥuwayy b. Ḥuwayy, governor in 181/797 (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, II, p. 708), constructed a roofed market.

The Marwanids are well known for their use of architecture to promote and maintain their rule. But it is often forgotten that their architectural policy had Sufyanid precursors. In Mecca, for example, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān acquired a remarkably high number of courts and houses. He is said to be the first to have dug wells and to have planted orchards in the city. Most significantly for the present discussion, this appears to have been a very lucrative enterprise.[33] Taken together with his reconstruction of a public bath in southern Palestine,[34] his building of a complex that has been interpreted as resembling the later Marwanid *quṣūr*,[35] the dams he constructed at aṭ-Ṭāʾif and al-Madīna on the Arabian Peninsula,[36] and especially his rebuilding of mosques and *dār al-imāra*s discussed in the previous chapter, Muʿāwiya's were not *ad hoc* building projects. They are examples of early imperial architecture.[37] Beside the rebuilding of the Mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in al-Fusṭāṭ and the building or designating of gubernatorial offices in al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria, however, there is no record of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's architectural policies being executed in Egypt. An important reason for this must be sought in al-Fusṭāṭ's restricted economic position during Muʿāwiya's caliphate, discussed above.

The Marwanids could make use of an economic situation not yet present in Muʿāwiya's time. As is well known, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's building projects share their socio-political and/or socio-economic context with other Marwanid commercial complexes such as those excavated in Tadmur (Palmyra), Ruṣāfa, and Baysān in Syro-Palestine.[38] Beside serving as a tool to propagate authority,

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[33] M.J. Kister, "Some reports concerning Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam", *JESHO* 15/1-2 (1972), pp. 84-6 and 89-90.

[34] Y. Hirschfeld, *The Roman baths of Hammat Gader: final report*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1997, pp. 237-40 [no. 54].

[35] D. Whitcomb, "Khirbet al-Karak identified with Sinnabra", *al-ʿUṣūr al-wusṭā* 14/1 (2002), pp. 1-6.

[36] G.C. Miles, "Early Islamic inscriptions near Ṭāʾif in the Ḥijāz", *JNES* 7/4 (1948), pp. 236-41; Hoyland, "New documentary texts", pp. 415-6 [no. 4].

[37] C. Foss, "Muʿāwiya's state", in J. Haldon (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria: a review of current debates*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 83-4. *Pace* the negative tenor in R.S. Humphreys, *Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan: from Arabia to empire*, Oxford: Oneworld publications, 2006, p. 11.

[38] For these complexes, see K. al-Asʿad & F.M. Stępniowski, "The Umayyad Sūq in Palmyra", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4 (1989), pp. 205-23; T. Ulbert, "Beobachtungen im Westhofbereich der Großen Basilika von Resafa", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 6 (1992), pp. 403-16; E. Khamis, "Two wall mosaic inscriptions form the

whether or not via inscriptions,[39] recent scholarship argues that the just-mentioned market complexes were constructed in order to provide the Marwanid cause with, a.o., long-term income.[40] This directly reminds us of Muʿāwiya's lucrative wells and orchards in Mecca. Indeed, the idea combines well with such late-first/seventh-century or early-second/eighth-century changes as the modification of the fiscal status of agricultural lands,[41] the transformation of ʿaṭāʾ from a pension to a salary,[42] and the use of ṣadaqa to extract tax money from Muslims,[43] all meant to financially support the Marwanids. In this line of thought, the building projects in al-Fusṭāṭ of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān *cum sui* not only facilitated commerce in that town but also took advantage of it.[44] Implicitly then, they testify to the existence of sound commercial circumstances at the beginning of the second/eighth century at the latest.

Non-literary sources confirm al-Fusṭāṭ's increased second/eighth-century commerical position. From the end of the first/seventh century on, documents record Egyptian merchants, Arab and non-Arab, travelling to al-Fusṭāṭ for commercial purposes.[45] The earliest safe-conduct allowing a non-Arab Egyptian to

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Umayyad market place in Bet Shean/Baysān", *BSOAS* 64/2 (2001), pp. 159-76. See also Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, pp. 433-4.

[39] See for example H. Taragan, "Constructing a visual rhetoric: images of craftsmen and builders in the Umayyad palace of at Qusayr ʿAmra", *Al-Masāq* 20/2 (2008), pp. 141-60; J. Bacharach, "Marwanid Umayyad building activities: speculations on patronage", *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), pp. 27-44; Hoyland, "New documentary texts", p. 397.

[40] A. Walmsley, "Economic developments and the nature of settlement in the towns and countryside of Syria-Palestine, ca. 565-800", *Dumbarton Oaks papers* 61 (2007), esp. p. 339.

[41] A. Noth, "Some remarks on the 'nationalization' of conquered lands at the time of the Umayyads", in T. Khalidi, *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984, pp. 223-228.

[42] H. Kennedy, *The armies of the caliphs: military and society in the early Islamic state*, London: Routledge, 2001, pp. 76-8.

[43] P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Creating a Muslim state: the collection and meaning of ṣadaqa", in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.-28. Juli 2001*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, pp. 661-73.

[44] Kubiak, "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān", p. 14. Anonther reason proposed for the large-scale building projects of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his successors is the enormous growth of al-Fusṭāṭ's population in the first/seventh century; see P.M. Sijpesteijn, "The Arab conquests of Egypt and the beginning of Muslim rule", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300-700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 452.

[45] *P.Cair.Arab.* III 147 (Išqūh; 91/710); *P.Heid.Arab.* I 2 (Išqūh; 91/710); L. Reinfandt, "Leinenhändler im Herakleopolites in arabischer Zeit: P.Vindob. A.P. 15021 (*PERF 576*)", *BASP* 44 (2007), pp. 99-102 (Ihnās;

travel to al-Fusṭāṭ 'in order to acquit himself of the poll tax and to obtain his subsistence' dates from 116/734.[46] Archaeology confirms the second/eighth-century growth of al-Fusṭāṭ's position on the Egyptian and international market in comparison with the preceding half century. The appearance of Egyptian building techniques in the first half of the second/eighth century has been interpreted as a sign of an increased population of Egyptian, as opposed to Arab, origin.[47] These architectural changes coincide with the appearance of foreign products, indicatings the town's increase of commercial contact with areas beyond the provincial borders. From the late-first/seventh century come the first examples of imported glass wares.[48] Such imports become more regular in the course of the second/eighth century.[49] Scholars hold imports from Iran or even the Far East in al-Fusṭāṭ responsible for changes in local glass production dating to the second half of the second/eighth century.[50] Products made of bone or ivory, the latter material imported in al-Fusṭāṭ from the mid-second/eighth century at the

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early-second/eighth c.); *CPR* IV 150 (al-Ušmūn; first/seventh c.). See also *CPR* II 228 (al-Fusṭāṭ; second/eighth c.); *CPR* IV 17 (Saqqāra; second/eighth c.); *CPR* IV 102 (prov. unknown; first/seventh or second/eighth c.); *P.Cair.Arab.* III 180 (prob. al-Ušmūn; 113/731-2); *P.KRU* 93 (Theban area; *c.* 150s/770s); Y. Rāġib, "Lettres arabes", I, *Annales islamologiques* 14 (1978), no. 2 (Fayyūm; second/eighth c.); Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, no. 25 (Fayyūm; early-second/eighth c.); *SB Kopt.* III 1306 (Šīma; first/seventh or second/eighth c.); K.M. Younes, *Joy and sorrow in early Muslim Egypt. Arabic papyrus letters: text and content*, Ph.D. thesis: Leiden University, 2013, nos 38 and 41 (poss. al-Fusṭāṭ; second/eighth c.).

[46] Y. Rāġib, "Sauf conduits d'Égypte omeyyade et abbasside", *Annales islamologiques* 31 (1997), no. 4 (prov. unknown; 116/734); see also documents 5 and 6 (both from Manf [Memphis]; both from 133/750).

[47] Gayraud, "Fostat: evolution d'une capitale arabe", pp. 439-40. Indeed, a second/eighth-century document mentions someone from the Sudan who settled in the town. SeeYounes, *Joy and sorrow*, no. 23 (prob. al-Fusṭāṭ).

[48] D. Foy, "L'héritage antique et byzantin dans la verrerie islamique: exemples d'Istabl ʿAntar-Fostat", *Annales islamologiques* 34 (2000), p. 156.

[49] G.T. Scanlon & R.H. Pinder-Wilson, *Fustat glass of the early Islamic period: finds excavated by the American Research Center in Egypt 1964-1980*, London: Altajir World of Islam trust, 2001, pp. 33 [no. 12], 53 [no. 24], 65-6 [no. 32.j], and possibly 110 [no. 45.a].

[50] G.T. Scanlon, "Egypt and China: trade and immitation", in D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the trade of Asia: a colloquium*, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970, p. 84. Y. Shindo, "The Islamic glass excavated in Egypt: Fustāt, Rāya and al-Tūr al-Kīlānī", in K. Janssens *et al.* (eds), *Annales du 17e congrès de l'Association internationale pour l'histoire du verre, Anvers, 2006*, Brussels: University Press Antwerp, 2009, p. 308 connects the use of Iranian techniques in Egypt with the province's increased ties with the east after the establishment of Baghdad.

earliest,[51] also show influences of Iranian motifs from the second half of the second/eighth century.[52] Recent chemical analyses of contemporary lead glazed pottery confirm the possibility of contact with Iran and, hence, the existence of commercial connections on such a scale.[53]

2. Alexandria in domestic trade: the papyrological evidence

Al-Fusṭāṭ's commercial rise around the turn of the second/eighth century had limited effects on the development of Alexandria's commercial position. As we will see in what follows, unabated continuity characterized commerce in or with Alexandria in the second half of the first/seventh century, mirroring the little commercial impact which the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ seems to have made throughout that period. Even when al-Fusṭāṭ's commercial importance increased at the end of the first/seventh century or during the first half of the second/eighth century, only a few changes are visible in Alexandria's commercial position. Papyri, studied on the following pages, mostly attest to continuity and only very little to change.

Egyptian traders continued to visit Alexandria throughout the chronological scope of this thesis. Papyri from the first/seventh century report about indigenous Egyptians travelling to Alexandria for commercial purposes.[54] In the wake of political reforms that stimulated their involvement in trade,[55] Arabs appear in documents from the early-second/eighth century on.[56] The sender of a

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[51] Rodziewicz, *Bone carvings from Fustat-Istabl ʿAntar*, p. 253 [no. 443].

[52] Rodziewicz, *Bone carvings from Fustat-Istabl ʿAntar*, pp. 51-3.

[53] S. Wolf *et al.*, "Lead isotope analyses of Islamic pottery glazes from Fustat, Egypt", *Archaeometry* 45/3 (2003), pp. 408 and 415.

[54] *CPR* VIII 70 (Fayyūm; A.D. sixth-seventh c.); *O.CrumST* 390 (Theban area; first/seventh c.); *P.Fouad* I 85 (unknown prov.; A.D. sixth-seventh c.); *P.Louvre* II 161 (prov. unknown; A.D. sixth-second/eighth c.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1846 (al-Bahnasā; A.D. sixth-seventh c.); *SB Kopt.* II 844 (poss. Anṣinā; first/seventh c.); and possibly *CPR* IV 52 (prov. unknown; first/seventh c.).

[55] Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, ch. 1.

[56] Y. Rāġib, "Lettres arabes", II, *Annales islamologiques* 16 (1980), no. 12 (prov. unknown; second/eighth c.). Rāġib dates the document to the third/ninth century (p. 12), but the presence of the names of the sender and addressees after the *basmala* as well as the handwriting (cf. *P.Khalili* I, pp. 126-7) allows to date this document to the second/eighth century. Similar to most of the collection of Arabic papyri in the Louvre, where this document is kept, its most probable provenance is the Fayyūm (Grohmann,

second/eighth-century document of uncertain provenance, for instance, a certain Ḥadīd b. Salama, writes that a companion of his, named Rāšid, was to pay back on his return to Alexandria a debt of a dinar to two persons he had met in the city on a previous visit.[57] Another document, from the Fayyūm and dated to 117/735, shows a merchant on his way to Alexandria who passed through al-Fusṭāṭ, stayed there for only one night in order to observe the new moon, and then travelled on to Alexandria. After his arrival, he waited for a week for the prices to rise before he displayed his goods for sale.[58] *Vice versa*, the protocols of the documents *CPR* III 124 (Šīma), dated 140/757-8, and *CPR* III 139 (Fayyūm), dated 170/786-7, which state that these papyrus sheets were produced in Alexandria, provide rare but unmistakable papyrological evidence of Alexandrian products finding a market in the Nile valley in the second/eighth century.[59]

But whereas these documents record a continuity of Alexandria's commerce well into the Abbasid period, others show that from the early-second/eighth century Alexandria's position in domestic commerce changed under the influence of al-Fusṭāṭ's growing commercial and political centrality. In papyri, this commercial redirection from Alexandria towards al-Fusṭāṭ is most directly visible in the passing into disuse of the Alexandrian gold standard and the appearance of the standard of the central treasury in al-Fusṭāṭ. We will study this more closely in what follows.

2.1. *The Alexandrian gold standard*

A corpus of mainly Greek and some Coptic documents in which prices are reckoned 'according to the Alexandrian gold standard' (Gr. ζυγῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας; C. ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ) indicate that Alexandria continued to be a reference point for monetary transactions throughout the rest of Egypt after the foundation of al-

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Einführung, p. 76). See further Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, nos 26, 28/b, and 32 (all from the Fayyūm; all from the first half of the second/eighth c.); Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade", pp. 134-6 (Fayyūm; 117/735); Younes, *Joy and sorrow*, no. 39 (prov. unknown; second/eighth c.).

[57] Rāġib, "Lettres arabes", II, no. 12.

[58] Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade", pp. 134-6.

[59] On Egypt's early-Abbasid papyrus market, see now W.M. Malczycki, "The papyrus industry in the early Islamic era", *JESHO* 54 (2011), pp. 185-202.

Fusṭāṭ. As coins circulated in different stages of abrusion, using one weight standard in transactions allowed the different coins to be valued with a common denominator. After the Arab conquest, the Alexandrian gold standard predominantly appears in fiscal contexts,[60] but it can also be found in documents recording financial transactions of a private nature.[61]

The Alexandrian standard probably came into existence in the A.D. 540s as a result of Alexandria's favourable economic position between its Egyptian hinterland and other Mediterranean countries.[62] The standard was based on the Byzantine solidus, which weighed approximately 4.55 grams. On the Alexandrian standard, a full-weight Byzantine solidus contained 23 carats of 0.1957 grams.[63] At least two documents from the mid-first/seventh century confirm that this was the case when the Arabs came to rule Egypt.[64] Although other Egyptian standards are

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[60] Dated documents: *e.g.*, *P.Lond.* I 116/a [p. 221] (Fayyūm; 25/645), *SB* I 5133 (Fayyūm; 24/645), *SPP* VIII 820 (Fayyūm; *c.* 31-2/652-3), *SPP* VIII 1085 (Fayyūm; between 47/667 and 54/674). Documents datable to the first/seventh or second/eighth century: *e.g.*, *O.Leid.* 368-9 (prov. unknown), *P.Laur.* IV 182 (Fayyūm), *SB* XXIV 16018 (Upper Egypt), *SPP* III 642 (Fayyūm), *SPP* III 699 (Fayyūm), *SPP* VIII 1086 (prov. unknown), *SPP* XX 163 (prob. Fayyūm). Documents datable to the second/eighth century: *e.g.*, *P.Prag.* I 75 (Fayyūm), *P.Ross.Georg.* V 46/7 (prov. unknown), *SB* I 4900 (Fayyūm), *SPP* III 648 (prov. unknown; *cf. CPR* XXII 16, comm. to line 3 [p. 84] for the date of this document), *SPP* VIII 818 (Fayyūm), *SPP* XX 188 (Fayyūm).

[61] Documents datable to the first/seventh or second/eighth century: *e.g.*, *BGU* II 550 (Fayyūm), *O.Vind.Copt.* 140 (prov. unknown), *P.Ryl.Copt.* 191 (al-Ušmūn), *SPP* III 266 and 269 (Fayyūm), *SPP* VIII 787-8 (Fayyūm). Documents datable to the second/eighth century: *e.g.*, *P.Ross.Georg.* V 46/3 (prov. unknown).

[62] K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia: Beiträge zur Geldgeschichte Ägyptens im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994, p. 109.

[63] For the weight of this Egyptian carat, see G.C. Miles, "On the varieties and accuracy of eighth century Arab coin weights", *Eretz-Israel* 7 (1963), p. 84.

[64] *P.Flor.* I 70 (al-Ušmūn; 6/627 or 21/642) and *SB* VIII 9750 (Ihnās; 21/642 or 36/657) describe a solidus of 23 carats on the Alexandrian standard as ὄβρυζα or ὀβρυζιακά, 'of full purity and weight' (the interpretation of these terms follows that of J. Banaji, "Discounts, weight standards, and the exchange-rate between gold an copper: insights into the monetary process of the sixth century", in *Atti dell'Accademia romanistica Constantiniana: XII convegno internazionale sotto l'altro patronato del presidente della Repubblica in onore di Manlio Sargenti*, Napels: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1995, p. 189 but see Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia*, pp. 26-7 for a more precise one). *CPR* VII 47 (Ihnās; *c.* 24/645) also defines a full-weight solidus as 'of 23 carats' (probably according to the Alexandrian standard, see Banaji, "Discounts, weight standards, and the exchange-rate", p. 189). *BGU* II 367 (Fayyūm), often seen as another indication that the Alexandrian standard contained 23 carats to the Byzantine solidus in early-Arab times, most likely dates from the A.D. sixth century. See J.M. Diethart & K.A. Worp, *Notarunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*, Vienna: Hollinek, 1986, p. 41.

well attested to as late as the mid-second/eighth century,[65] the Alexandrian gold standard became the most prevalent standard in Egypt in the course of the first/seventh century.[66] Because documents that mention the Alexandrian standard are often only dated by indiction years, it is difficult to tell with any accuracy until when the standard remained in use. The latest document datable with some precision is *SPP* VIII 1085 (Fayyūm), composed between 47/667 and 54/674.[67] But documents provisionally dated to the second/eighth century on the basis of their script and style make it very likely that the standard continued to be used in that century.[68] Two documents support this idea.

An anomalous reference to the Alexandrian standard in the Coptic documents *P.Ryl.Copt.* 158 and 191 (al-Ušmūn), without much precision dated to the first/seventh or second/eighth century, confirms the standard's survival of metrological reforms of the late-first/seventh and early-second/eighth century. Instead of 23 carats, these documents claim that a full-weight solidus contained 22 1/2 carats according to the Alexandrian standard.[69] The reason for this must be sought in a change of the weight of the carat under the Marwanids. By the early-

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[65] *SB* VI 8986 (Udfū; 20/641) and 8988 (Udfū; 26/647) still mention a standard of Udfū. *T.Varie* 8 (al-Bahnasā; 49/669) mentions a 'standard of the lowly people' (line 5: παγανικῷ ζυγῷ). For the interpretation of *paganikos*, see *CPR* XXII 1, comm. at line 7; *cf.* C. Zuckermann, *Du village à l'empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)*, Paris: AACHCB, 2004, p. 78. *Pace* J. Banaji, "Discounts, weight standards, and the exchange-rate", pp. 191-2. A standard of šīma occurs as late as 143/760 in *CPR* IV 26 (Šīma) and can be found in many other documents from the first/seventh century or the first half of the second/eighth century (*e.g.*, *P.KRU* 1-6, 9-12, 14-5, 18, 28, 35, 38 (Theban area; all documents are dated, or datable to, the first half of the second/eighth c.), *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 (Theban area; first/seventh-second/eighth c.) and *SB Kopt.* II 943 (Theban area; early-second/eighth c.) and 946 (Thebes; 104/722)). *O.Medin.HabuCopt* 146 (Theban area; first/seventh-second/eighth c.) orders the addressee to 'take two solidi [...], they being full weight on the standard of this district [ⲥ. ⲧⲟⲩ]' (lines 5-7). Although this document probably also refers to the standard of šīma, one of the *kūra* of Armant (Hermonthis), to which the Theban area belonged, cannot be excluded. A recently-edited papyrus from the second/eighth century documents the 'standard of the monastery' at Bawīṭ (A. Delattre, "Trois papyrus du monastère de Baouît", *BIFAO* 112 (2012), p. 104 [Bawīṭ]; see the comm. to line 6 for other standards in the region of the monastery). See David-Weill, "Papyrus arabes du Louvre", II, no. 16 (prov. unknown; 156/773) for 'dinars from the district of al-Bahnasā' (lines 4-5: *danānīr min kūrat al-Bahnasā*), possibly testifying to a distinct metrological system in al-Bahnasā in the 150s/770s.

[66] Nikolaos Gonis, personal communication, October 2010.

[67] For an elaborate discussion of this document, see pp. 145-7.

[68] See the documents listed in nn. 60 and 61 above.

[69] See possibly also *SPP* VIII 1310 (Fayyūm; first/seventh or second/eighth c.).

second/eighth century, metrological reforms that started with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān's of the 70s/690s had replaced the existing Egyptian carat of 0.1957 grams with a slightly heavier one, weighing 0.2015 grams.[70] On the basis of the reformed carat, 22 1/2 carats weighed almost exactly as much as 23 pre-reform carats and, therefore, equalled the weight of a Byzantine solidus.[71] *P.Ryl.Copt.* 158 and 191 show, for this reason, that the Alexandrian standard remained in use after the Marwanid metrological reforms and continued to refer to the Byzantine solidus.[72]

Because references to the Alexandrian standard are absent from documents from the third/ninth century, the standard must have stopped being used at some point during the second/eighth century. Interestingly, it disappears from our documentation when 'the standard of the central treasury' (Ar. *wazn bayt al-māl*) in al-Fusṭāṭ comes to the fore. This standard appears for the first time in the early-second/eighth-century *P.Cair.Arab.* III 149,[73] a document from the archive of Basileios, pagarch of Išqūh during the governorate of Qurra b. Šarīk (90/709-96/714). In this document, the governor urges Basileios to send a requested amount of poll tax (Ar. *ǧizya*) money only in accordance with the standard of the central treasury. *SB* XX 15102, dated Rabīʿ II 3, 90/February 19, 709, tells us that the pagarch, on a probably earlier occasion, sent tax money in badly-minted coins that were too heavy and that, as a result, the central fiscal administration was unable

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[70] M. Bates, "Coins and money in the Arabic papyri", in Y. Rāġib (ed.), *Documents de l'islam médiéval: nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, Cairo: IFAO, 1991, p. 56. This metrological change is first attested to in glass *exagia* of the early-second/eighth century. See T.M. Hickey & K.A. Worp, "The dossier of Patermouthios *sidêrourgos*: new texts from Chicago", *BASP* 34 (1997), p. 90, n. 46.

[71] See the calculations in Hickey & Worp, "The dossier of Patermouthios *sidêrourgos*", pp. 89-90. *Cf.* Banaji, "Discounts, weight standards, and the exchange-rate", pp. 191-2 who equals 24 carats on the Alexandrian standard to 22 1/2 reformed carats of 0.208 grams (which were little used in Egypt, see the references in n. 70 above and P. Grierson, "The monetary reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik: their metrological basis and their financial repercussions", *JESHO* 3/3 (1960), p. 254).

[72] This interpretation of the references to the Alexandrian standard in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 158 and 191 and possibly *SPP* VIII 1310 (see n. 69 above) establishes an early-second/eighth century or later date for these documents.

[73] A. Grohmann's dating of this text to the period 90-1/708-10 seems to be on no grounds. It must probably be dated after *SB* XX 15102 (Išqūh; Rabīʿ II 3, 90/February 19, 709) which will be discussed shortly. For other second/eighth-century examples of the standard of the central treasury, see *Chrest.Khoury* I 66 (Fayyūm; 179/796); *CPR* XXI 4 (Fayyūm; 179-80/796); Diem, "Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden", nos 3 (Fayyūm; 162/779) and 4 (Fayyūm; 177/793-4 or 178/794-5).

to verify his tax quotas. During Qurra b. Šarīk's governorate, the central administration preferred coins in accordance with the gold standard of the central treasury in al-Fusṭāṭ.

The central treasury did not adopt the Alexandrian standard. The metrology of the gold standard of the treasury has yet seen little study.[74] But since its appearance around the turn of the second/eighth century coincides with the first issues of reformed *exagia*[75] and the first evidence of the central authorities' direct involvement in the regulation of prices,[76] a relationship between that standard and the Marwanid monetary and metrological reforms is most likely. A rare, official *exagium* for the weight of a Byzantine solidus, issued during Qurra b. Šarīk's governorate,[77] indicates that the Arab authorities still endorsed, albeit on a much reduced scale, pre-reform metrology at the beginning of the second/eighth century. This concords with the appearance of the Alexandrian standard in a fiscal

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[74] See esp. Bates, "Coins and money in the Arabic papyri", p. 46. The early history of the central treasury is somewhat enigmatic. Literary sources claim that the *ṣāḥib al-ḫarāǧ* Usāma b. Zayd first built a treasury in al-Fusṭāṭ in 97/715-6, but circumstantial evidence suggests the existence of a treasury in the late-first/seventh century (F. Hussein, *Das Steuersystem in Ägypten von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Machtergreifung der Ṭūlūniden 19-254/639-868 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Papyrusurkunden*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982, pp. 124-5, 150-1). Two Greek papyri mention a 'palace of the poll tax', which was most likely related, if not identical, to the treasury. One of the papyri, *P.Lond.* IV 1515 (Išqūh), probably dates from 88-9/707-8 and refers to this building's construction. It remains uncertain, however, whether or not the building stood in Egypt. See the discussion in F. Morelli, "Legname, palazzi e moschee: P.Vindob. G 31 e il contributo dell'Egitto alla prima architettura islamica", *Tyche* 13 (1998), pp. 183-6.

[75] Glass *exagia* based on ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān's reformed standard are first found in Egypt under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (in office 65/685-86/705). See A.H. Morton, "A glass *dīnār* weight in the name of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān", *BSOAS* 49/1 (1986), pp. 179-80 [no. 2].

[76] *P.Cair.Arab.* III 147 and *P.Heid.Arab.* I 2 (both from Išqūh and dated 91/710) record Qurra b. Šarīk's orders to the pagarch to send corn (Ar. *ṭaʿām*) merchants to al-Fusṭāṭ so that the price of corn will not rise on al-Fusṭāṭ's markets. The first examples of *exagia* stipulating prices of certain commodities stem from the offices of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb (105/724-116/734), his son al-Qāsim (116/734-124/742), and Yazīd b. Abī Yazīd (103/721-107/726) as *ṣāḥib al-ḫarāǧ*. See A.H. Morton, *A catalogue of early Islamic glass stamps in the British Museum*, London: British Museum Publications, 1985, pp. 36-7; *cf.* K. Eldada, "Glass weights and vessel stamps", in J.L. Bacharach (ed.), *Fustat finds: beads, coins, medical instruments, textiles, and other artifacts from the Awad collection*, Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002, p. 123. This coincides with the appearance of (a precursor of) the *ṣāḥib as-sūq/muḥtasib* in documentary sources. See A.H. Morton, "Ḥisba and glass stamps in eighth- and early ninth-century Egypt", in Y. Rāǧib (ed.), *Documents de l'islam médiéval: nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, Cairo: IFAO, 1991, pp. 27 and 39.

[77] P. Balog, *Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid and Ṭūlūnid glass weights and vessel stamps*, New York: American Numismatic Society, 1976, pp. 43-4 [no. 3] with Bates, "Coins and money in the Arabic papyri", p. 46.

context in second/eighth-century documents. The standard of the central treasury in al-Fusṭāṭ must gradually have replaced that of Alexandria during the second/eighth century. Although it bears directly on Alexandria's position in domestic trade, this development is clearly related to the increasing political and administrative centrality of al-Fusṭāṭ during the first half of the second/eighth century which we saw in chapter 1.

3. *Alexandria and international trade*

The Alexandrian gold standard's passing into disuetude had no implications on the city's general commercial position. In spite of al-Fusṭāṭ's growing centrality on a commercial level, the unique character of the city's markets continued to attract Egyptian merchants. A document from the early-second/eighth-century archive of ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad, an administrative official in the Fayyūm, for example, tells us that Alexandria's markets differed from those elsewhere. The document records that this official had an associate in Alexandria who notified him about the price of sheep.[78] As sheep were no rare commodity in the Fayyūm,[79] it is most likely that the Alexandrian (sheep) market was attractive itself and only to a limited extend vied with markets in the Fayyūm. In a similar vein, an unpublished document, palaeographically datable to the late-second/eighth or early-third/ninth century, mentions 'Alexandria's barley' (line 5: *šaʿīr al-Iskandariyya*) and perhaps implies the difference of Alexandria's barley market from markets elsewhere.[80] The city's markets derived their unique character from Alexandria's central position on international trade routes – something directly referred to in Arculf's travalogue

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[78] Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, no. 32 (Fayyūm; first half of the second/eighth c.).

[79] D. Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit", III, *Der Islam* 32 (1957), pp. 156-7. See also *P.Lond.Copt.* 585 (Fayyūm; date unknown), *P.Lond.Copt.* 1252 (poss. Fayyūm; date unknown), *P.World*, p. 144 (Fayyum; 195/811).

[80] Unpublished document without inventory number in the collection of T. Bernhardt. For a digital image, see <http://papyri.tripod.com/ArabicPapyri/arabicpap1.html> [February 2012]. The document's provenance is not known, but it most likely comes from Upper Egypt. A similar reason may lie behind the appearance of Alexandria in the third/ninth-century archive of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. This merchant family from the Fayyūm mostly traded with al-Fusṭāṭ, but some of their documents record that, without giving explicity reasons, they chose to sell their goods in Alexandria (*e.g.*, *P.Marchands* II 36, 38; *P.Marchands* III 33).

cited at the beginning of this chapter.[81] Ceramology and literary sources, studied in what follows, provide not only clear evidence of Alexandria's internationality, but also of the difference of al-Fusṭāṭ's markets from those in Alexandria.

3.1. *The ceramological evidence*

In the first/seventh century, Egypt imported foreign products on a regular basis. Among foreign amphorae, two types dominate Egypt's imports in that century: the Carthage types *Late Roman Amphora* (*LRA*) 1 and 4.[82] The first, *LRA* 1, most probably contained wine[83] and the principle places of its production in the A.D. sixth and seventh centuries are the coastal towns of Cilicia and Cyprus.[84] *LRA* 1 is found in small quantities in archaeological strata of the second half of the first/seventh century in Alexandria.[85] The mass of *Cypriot Red Slip* (*CRS*) tableware found in Alexandria in seventh-century contexts, however, evidences Alexandria's close commercial ties with Cyprus in that century.[86] *LRA* 4, used in the transport of

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[81] See also Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, I, p. 70 and Ibn Riḍwān cited in Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens", III, p. 156. Papyri that possibly bear direct testimony to this have not yet been published; *cf.* J. von Karabacek, *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Vienna: [n.i.] 1894, p. 168 [PERF 642].

[82] For a description of *LRA* 1 and 4, see D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ushmunein*, V: *Pottery, lamps and glass: the late Roman and early Arab periods*, London: British Museum Press, 1998, pp. 121-2 and 123-4. Other types of amphorae are also found, be it in lesser quantities, such as the Aegean *LRA* 2 and the Cypriot *LRA* 13.

[83] M. Bonifay & D. Piéri, "Amphores du Ve au VIIe siècle à Marseille: nouvelles données sur la typologie et le contenu", *JRA* 8 (1995), p. 109; *cf.* Bailey, *Excavations*, p. 119.

[84] J.-Y. Empereur & M. Picon, "Les régions de production d'amphores impériales en Méditerranée orientale", in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherches: actes du colloque de Sienne (22-24 mai 1986) organisé par l'Università degli Studi di Siena, l'Università degli Studi di Roma-La Sapienza, le Centre nationalde la recherche scientifique (RCP 403) et l'École française de Rome*, Rome: École française de Rome, 1989 (*Collection de l'École française de Rome* 114), pp. 236-43. See also Morrisson & Sodini, "The sixth-century economy", pp. 191-2.

[85] Majcherek, "The late Roman ceramics", pp. 116-7 [*LRA* 1 = Kellia 164 and 169].

[86] Rodziewicz, *La céramique romaine tardive*, p. 68 [group D]; Majcherek, "The late Roman ceramics", p. 87. According to the latter, *CRS* tableware forms 25.6 percent of all tableware found in three auditoria at Kawm ad-Dikka. The auditoria ceased to function around the middle of the first/seventh century and the Muslim cemetery that arose in their place dates to the late first/seventh or early second/eighth century (E. Promińska, *Investigations on the population of Muslim Alexandria: anthropological-demographic study*, Warsaw: PWN-Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1972, p. 48). Between these dates the pottery was deposited (Majcherek, "The late Roman ceramics", pp. 82-3).

wines and oils,[87] is usually thought to originate from Ġazza in Palestine although production centres in the eastern part of the Nile delta cannot be excluded.[88] Throughout the first/seventh century, the majority of imported amphorae found in Alexandria belongs to this type.[89] The heavy import of *LRA* 4 at the end of the first/seventh century suggests that its import continued for at least some decades in the second/eighth century.

Amphorae of the types *LRA* 1 and 4 are found with some regularity in the Nile delta and the northern Sinai, but had a much more limited distribution in Middle and Upper Egypt, and gradually stopped being imported in the second half of the first/seventh century.[90] Egyptian wares replaced those from abroad from the early-second/eighth century on.[91] The situation in Alexandria was different, for the import of *LRA* 4 seems to have lasted longer there than throughout the rest of Egypt. But also in Alexandria, the market for Egyptian wares gradually increased. This development set in about fifty years before the Arab conquest and continued without interruption during the two centuries that followed until Egyptian wares dominated Alexandria's market in the second half of the second/eighth or in the third/ninth century.[92]

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[87] Bonifay & Piéri, "Amphores du Ve au VIIe siècle à Marseille", p. 112; C. Vogt, "La céramique de Tell el-Fadda - Sinai du nord", *CCE* 5 (1997), pp. 13-4; Bailey, *Excavations*, p. 124.

[88] Empereur & Picon, "Les régions de production", pp. 149-50. S. Marchand & A. Marangou, "Conclusion", *CCE* 8/2 (2007), p. 760 hold this type to be an import.

[89] Majcherek, "The late Roman ceramics", pp. 116-7 [compare tables 1 and 2: 70 percent of *all* amphorae in the mid-first/seventh century and 76 percent at the end of that century; *LRA* 4 = *Kellia* 182].

[90] Vogt, "La céramique de Tell el-Fadda", p. 5; Marchand & Marangou, "Conclusion", pp. 761-2. At al-Ušmūn, examples of *LRA* 1 have been found in layers that might date to the second/eighth century (see Bailey, *Excavations*, p. 122 [esp. T50, but also T29-34, T34 *bis ter*, and T35-9]).

[91] Marchand & Marangou, "Conclusion", pp. 761-2.

[92] G. Majcherek, "Alexandria's long-distance trade in Late Antiquity: the amphora evidence", in J. Eiring and J. Lund (eds), *Transport amphorae and trade in the eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26-29, 2002*, Arhus: Arhus University Press, 2004, p. 235. In the current state of research, second/eighth- and third/ninth-century developments are particularly visible through Egyptian tablewares; see Rodziewicz, *La céramique romaine tardive*, pp. 60-4 (but *cf.* Rodziewicz, *Les habitations romaines tardives*, p. 343) and M. Bonifay, "Alexandrie: chantier du théâtre Diana. Note préliminaire sur les sigillées tardives, IVe-VIIe siècles", in J.-Y. Empereur (ed.), *Alexandrina 1*, Cairo: IFAO, 1998, pp. 145-6. See M. Rodziewicz, "Graeco-Islamic elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of the new discoveries: remarks on early mediaeval Alexandria", *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982), pp. 44-5 for a broader discussion.

Whereas in Alexandria foreign pottery remained doubtlessly imported up to the end of the first/seventh century and probably even during the first half of the second/eighth century, there is hardly evidence that such imports reached al-Fusṭāṭ. At present, one piece of Cypriot tableware and some fragments of Palestinian amphorae of the type *LRA* 5/6, probably used for the transport of wine, have been found during excavations at Isṭabl ʿAntar in strata belonging to the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.[93] The constrast between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria as concerns their dependency on the international market could hardly be more visible.[94] Intriguingly though, in the first/seventh and even early-second/eighth century, foreign wares, amongst which *LRA* 5/6, did reach places in Middle and Upper Egypt[95] (probably via al-Fusṭāṭ) and may be expected to be found in Alexandria as well.[96] Whereas Egypt continued to import products from Palestine,

[93] C. Vogt, "Les céramiques ommeyyades et abbassides d'Istabl'Antar-Fostat: traditions méditerranéennes et influences orientales", in G. Démians d'Archimbaud (ed.), *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée: actes du VIe congrès de l'AIECM2, Aix-en-Provence 13-18 novembre 1995*, Aix-en-Provence: Narration éditions, 1997, pp. 244 (with n. 4) and 257. Within the confines of the old fortress of Babylon a number of different types of foreign amphorae have been identified, but due the early state of research these amphorae could not be dated (see A.L. Gascoigne, "Amphorae from old Cairo: a preliminary note", *CCE* 8/1 (2007), pp. 164-5). *Cf.* W.B. Kubiak & G.T. Scanlon, "Fustat: re-dating Bahgat's houses and the aqueduct", *Art and archaeology research papers* 4 (1973), p. 140 for fragments of another, possibly imported, vessel from the first/seventh or second/eighth century found in al-Fusṭāṭ.

[94] *Pace* W.B. Kubiak & G.T. Scanlon, *Fusṭāṭ expedition final report*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989, p. 33 who believe that the large quantity of Egyptian unglazed wares in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries 'bespoke a rather limited purchasing power'.

[95] Bailey, *Excavations*, pp. 7 [B8] and 122 [esp. T50, but also T29-34, T34 *bis ter*, and T35-9]; S. Marchand & D. Dixneuf, "Amphores et conteneurs égyptiens et importés du VIIe siècle apr. J.-C.: sondages récents de Bawouît (2003-2004)", *CCE* 8/1 (2007), p. 321; A. Marangou & S. Marchand, "Conteneurs importées et égyptiennes de Tebtynis (Fayoum) de la deuxième moitié du IVe siècle av. J.-C. au Xe siècle apr. J.-C. (1994-2002)", *CCE* 8/1 (2007), p. 269.

[96] Towards the end of the first/seventh century, an increase in the import of *LRA* 5/6 is visible in Alexandria (see Majcherek, "The late Roman ceramics", p. 116 [compare tables 1 and 2: 2.8 percent of *all* amphorae in the mid-first/seventh century versus 8.8 percent at the end of that century; *LRA* 5/6 = *Kellia* 186]), but its popularity in the second/eighth century has not yet been studied. There is, however, a dubious indication of continued import of *LRA* 5/6 in the second/eighth century: excavations at Kawm ad-Dikka in 1997 hit upon a deposit of rubble that contained fragments of amphorae of this type (but also *LRA* 1 and 4) together with examples of early lead-glazed Egyptian ware (G. Majcherek, "Alexandria: Kom el-Dikka excavations 1997", *PAM* 9 (1998), p. 36). Production of the latter started in the second half of the second/eighth century at the earliest (R.-P. Gayraud, "Les céramiques égyptiennes à glaçure, IXe-XIIe siècles", in G. Démians d'Archimbaud (ed.), *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée: actes du VIe congrès de l'AIECM2, Aix-en-Provence 13-18 novembre 1995*, Aix-en-Provence: Narration éditions, 1997, pp. 263-6), a possible *terminus a quo* for the examples of *LRA* 5/6.

foreign products shipped in amphorae and imported tableware were not regularly consumed in al-Fusṭāṭ. The absence of tableware may be explained by the availability of such pottery from the town's own workshops or those in its direct vicinity, which presence is likely although no trace of them has yet been found before the third/ninth century.[97] The absence of foreign wares used for transport strongly suggests a heavy commercial dependence on its Egyptian hinterland.[98] The dominance of Egyptian wares in al-Fusṭāṭ may also be related to the proliferation of those wares on markets throughout Egypt from the early-first/seventh century on, referred to in the previous paragraph.

Although the import of foreign wares may have lessened, Egypt doubtlessly continued to export products transported in amphorae as well as tableware in the second/eighth century. The main Egyptian amphora for long-distance trade was *LRA* 7. Amphorae of this type, used for the transport of wine,[99] are known to have been produced near lake Maryūṭ and, a.o., at al-Bahnasā (Oxyrhynchos), al-Ušmūn (Hermopolis), Anṣinā (Antinoopolis), Isnā (Latopolis) and Udfū.[100] Around the middle of the first/seventh century, examples of *LRA* 7 are found throughout the Mediterranean basin.[101] The export of *LRA* 7 lessened

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[97] Vogt, "Les céramiques ommeyyades et abbassides", p. 259; R.-P. Gayraud, J.-C. Tréglia & L. Vallauri, "Assemblages de céramiques égyptiennes et témoins de production, datés par les fouilles d'Istabl Antar, Fustat (IXe-Xe siècles)", in J. Zozaya *et al.* (eds), *Actas del VIII congreso internacional de cerámica Medieval en el Mediterano*, 2 vols, Ciudad Real: Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, 2009, I, p. 174-7. See G.T. Scanlon, "Ceramics from the late Coptic period", *CE*, II, p. 508, for possibly third/ninth-century or later kilns at al-Ǧīza.

[98] A petrographic study into late-first/seventh- or second/eighth-century ceramics found in al-Fusṭāṭ similarly suggests that al-Fusṭāṭ in that period did not produce its own pottery but imported pottery from elsewhere in Egypt. See R.B. Mason & E.J. Keall, "Petrography of Islamic pottery from Fustat", *JARCE* 27 (1990), pp. 171-2.

[99] Bailey, *Excavations*, pp. 129-30. For a description of *LRA* 7, see Bailey, *Excavations*, p. 129.

[100] Empereur & Picon, "Les régions de production", p. 244. See also P. Ballet *et al.*, "Artisanat de la céramique dans l'Égypte romaine tardive et byzantine: prospections d'ateliers de potiers de Minia à Assouan", *CCE* 2 (1991), pp. 136-7; D. Dixneuf, *Amphores égyptiennes: production, typologie, contenu et diffusion (IIIe siècle avant J.-C.-IXe siècle après J.-C.)*, Alexandria: Centre d'études alexandrines, 2011, pp. 157-63.

[101] *E.g.*, Carthage: P. Reynolds, *Trade in the western Mediterranean, AD 400-700: the ceramic evidence*, Oxford: Tempus reparatum, 1995, pp. 77, 79, 81; Marseille: M. Bonifay, M.-B. Carre & Y. Rigoir, *Fouilles à Marseille: les mobiliers (Ier-VIIe siècles ap.J.-C.)*, Paris: Errance, 1998, p. 112; Crete: A. Marangou, "Importation d'amphores égyptiennes dans le bassin égéen", *CCE* 8/2 (2007), p. 672; Istanbul: J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, II: *The pottery*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press/Dumbarton Oaks

considerably in the second/eighth century. In the eastern Mediterranean, *LRA* 7 is still attested, a.o., in Bayrūt and on Crete and, to a lesser extent, in southern Turkey.[102] But at other places in the Near East this type of amphora disappears from the archaeological record in that century.[103] Due to changes in late-Antique trade patterns,[104] export to western Mediterranean places, such as Marseille, stopped in the latter half of the first/seventh century.[105] In sum, contrasting Egypt's import of products transported in amphorae, Egypt's export of such products continued in the second/eighth century albeit on a geographically-reduced scale.

The partial continuation of Egypt's export finds confirmation in studies into the distribution of other Egyptian wares in the eastern Mediterranean, such as an Egyptian variant of the above-mentioned *LRA* 5/6, *Egyptian Red Slib* (*ERS*) wares, and lead-glazed Egyptian wares. All these Egyptian wares have abundantly been found in Syro-Palestine, the first predominantly in first/seventh-century layers and the latter two also in second/eighth-century contexts.[106] At some sites,

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research library and collection, 1992, p. 67; Naples: Reynolds, *Trade in the western Mediterranean*, pp. 77, 81; Rome: Reynolds, *Trade in the western Mediterranean*, p. 72. *Cf.* P. Arthur, "Eastern Mediterranean amphorae between 500 and 700: a view from Italy", in L. Saguì (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo*, 2 vols, Firenze: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 1998, I, pp. 162-3.

[102] P. Reynolds, "Pottery and the economy in 8th century Beirut: an Umayyad assemblage from the Roman imperial baths (BEY 045)", in C. Bakirtzis (ed.), *VIIe Congrès international sur la céramique médiévale en Méditerranée, Thessaloniki, 11-16 Octobre 1999: actes*, Athens: Édition de la caisse des recettes archéologique, 2003, p. 732; Marangou, "Importation d'amphores égyptiennes", p. 672; J. Vroom, "The other Dark Ages: early medieval pottery finds in the Aegean as an archaeological challenge", in R. Attoui (ed.), *When did Antiquity end? Archaeological case studies in three continents*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011, pp. 151-4.

[103] *E.g.* in al-Qaysāriyya (Caesarea), see Y.D. Arnon, *Caesarea Maritima, the late period (700-1291 CE)*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008, pp. 54 and 56.

[104] McCormick, *Origins of the European economy*, pp. 103-11.

[105] S. Bien, "La vaisselle et les amphores en usage à Marseille au VIIe siècle et au début du VIIIe siècle: première ébauche de typologie évolutive", in M. Bonifay & J.-C. Tréglia, *LCRW2: Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean: archaeology and archaeometry*, 2 vols, Oxford: Archeopress, 2007, I, pp. 265-6.

[106] For the Egyptian variant of *LRA* 5/6, see Dixneuf, *Amphores égyptiennes*, pp. 142-5 and 239. For *ERS* wares, see, *e.g.*, Reynolds, "Pottery and the economy in 8th century Beirut", p. 726; C.L. Williams, *Egyptian Red Slib pottery at Aila*, Ph.D. dissertation: North Carolina State University, 2009, pp. 20-1, 30, 35, 37; P.M. Watson, "Ceramic evidence for Egyptian links with northern Jordan in the 6th-8th centuries AD", in S. Bourke & J.-P. Descœudres (eds), *Trade, contact, and the movement of peoples in the eastern Mediterranean: studies in honour of J. Basil Hennessey*, Sydney: Meditarch, 1995, pp. 305, 310-11. For lead-

such as in Bayrūt and Baysān, imported *ERS* wares replace in the second/eighth century *Cypriot* or *Phocaean Red Slib* wares that previously dominated the market.[107] Egypt's share in the markets of these towns apparently increased during that century. Ceramologists have also noted an increase of the export of Egyptian wares to Palestine in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries.[108] From a ceramological point of view, then, Egypt's export market increasingly leaned towards the eastern Mediterranean from the mid-first/seventh century on. A coin minted in Alexandria during the governorate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (132/750) and found in Arīḥa (Jericho) attests to the existence of trade relations between Alexandria and the Near East and makes it likely that the city also played a role in the distribution of such pottery.[109] Itineraries, to which we will turn in the following section, confirm Alexandria's international commercial position.

3.2. *The literary evidence: Alexandria on itineraries*

Accounts of voyages agree with the international character of Alexandria's markets visible in the above study of the origin and distribution of amphorae. Medieval geographers describe itineraries, predominantly land routes, between Alexandria and North Africa and, via the Sinai, Palestine.[110] Alexandria's role in

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glazed Egyptian wares, see, *e.g.*, D. Whitcomb, "Coptic glazed ceramics from the excavations of Aqaba, Jordan", *JARCE* 26 (1989), p. 171; Watson, "Ceramic evidence", p. 313; M. Rosen-Ayalon & A. Eitan, *Ramla excavations: finds from the VIIIth century C.E.*, Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1969, pl. 14.1 (cited in Whitcomb, "Coptic glazed ceramics", p. 180).

[107] Reynolds, "Pottery and the economy in 8th century Beirut", p. 726; Watson, "Ceramic evidence", pp. 305, 319 (*cf.* Williams, *Egyptian Red Slib pottery at Aila*, pp. 19-24 and 40).

[108] I. Taxel & A. Fantalkin, "Egyptian coarse ware in early Islamic Palestine: between commerce and migration", *Al-Masāq* 23/2 (2011), pp. 79-80.

[109] J.B. Pritchard, *The excavation at Herodian Jericho, 1951*, New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1958, p. 38 [no. 47].

[110] For these routes, see, *e.g.*, Ibn Ḫurdāḏbih, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1889, pp. 84-5, 220-1; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, pp. 214, 244-5; Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar, *Kitāb al-ḫarāǧ wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba*, ed. M.Ḥ. az-Zubaydī, [Baghdad:] Dār ar-rašīd li-n-našr, 1981, pp. 119-22; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 2 vols, eds A.P. van Leeuwen & A. Ferré, Tunis: ad-Dār al-ʿarabiyya li-l-kitāb and al-Muʾassasa al-waṭaniyya li-t-tarǧama wa-t-taḥqīq wa-d-dirāsāt "Bayt al-Ḥikma", 1992, II, pp. 626-8 [nos 1045-8]; al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāq fī iḫtirāq al-āfāq*, ed. E. Cerulli *et al.*, 9 vols, Neapoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli & Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970, III, pp. 317-8. See S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society: the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in*

maritime travel, the principle way to transport amphorae beyond Egypt, is much less present in medieval sources. Al-Muqaddasī (*fl.* second half of the fourth/tenth c.) gives an itinerary from al-Faramā to Alexandria,[111] indicating direct commercial relationships between Palestine and Alexandria. Writing in the fifth/eleventh century, the North African al-Bakrī reports about a sea route ranging from Alexandria via the Syro-Palestinian coast to Anṭāliya on the south coast of Asia Minor and adds that Alexandrian ships could sail on to islands in the Aegean.[112] The eighth/fourteenth-century al-Maqrīzī writes that, in his time, Alexandria's harbours principally served such places as Crete, Sicily, and North Africa whereas he mentions Tinnīs, Dimyāṭ, and al-Faramā as the main harbours for the Near East and Asia Minor.[113] It is uncertain, even unlikely, that al-Maqrīzī's case also applies to the period under consideration. The following overview of persons travelling to, from, or via Alexandria gives the strong impression that Alexandria was an important stop on various trade routes, including maritime ones, that linked the city with North Africa, Palestine, and even southern Europe. As travellers mostly sailed on board of commercial ships, visitors to Alexandria may be taken to indicate the existence of commercial relations.[114]

In 35/655, the Cretan archbishop Paul travelled to Constantinople via Alexandria.[115] About fifteen years later, the already-mentioned bishop Arculf visited the Holy Land and travelled from Yāfā on the Palestinian coast to

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the documents of the Cairo Geniza, 6 vols, Berkely: University of California Press, 1967-93, I, p. 212 for caravans reaching Alexandria.

[111] Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, p. 214, lines 3-4 (al-Faramā, Tinnīs, Dimyāṭ, al-Marḥala al-kabīra, Alexandria).

[112] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-muġrib fī ḏikr bilād Ifrīqiya wa-l-Maġrib*, ed. & tr. M.G. de Slane, 2 vols, Alger: Adolphe Jourdan, 1911-3, p. 86 (Arabic).

[113] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* I, p. 74. The early-seventh/thirteenth-century Ibn Mammātī (*Kitāb qawānīn ad-dawānīn*, ed. ʿA.S. ʿAṭiyya, repr. Cairo: Madbūlī, 1991, pp. 325 and 327) writes that Alexandria surpassed all Egypt's coastal towns (he does not mention al-Faramā).

[114] M. McCormick, "Les pèlerins occidentaux à Jérusalem, VIIIe-IXe siècles", in A. Dierkens & J.-M. Sansterre (eds), *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle*, Geneva: Librairie DROZ S.A., 2000, p. 304; D. Claude, "Spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Orientfahrten: Routen und Reisende", in A. Dierkens & J.-M. Sansterre (eds), *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle*, Geneva: Librairie DROZ S.A., 2000, p. 240.

[115] P. van den Ven, *La légende de S. Spyridon évêque de de Trimithonte*, Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1953, p. 89.

Alexandria in forty days (!) and from there to Constantinople.[116] Aṭ-Ṭabarī writes
that a certain ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, whom we probably should identify with
the ṣaḥābī ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Quḥāfa al-Qurašī (d. 53/672-3),[117] departed
from Alexandria on his way to North Africa in 47/667-8.[118] The following accounts
of second/eighth-century travellers suggest that Alexandria kept its position on
trade routes in the second/eighth century.[119]

The fifth/eleventh-century North African historian ʿAbd Allāh b.
Muḥammad al-Mālakī writes that one Ḫālid b. Abī ʿImrān (d. 125/742-3 or 129/746-
7) fled from North Africa to Alexandria in order not to be appointed qāḍī.[120] He also
writes that the North African pious Marwān b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Yaḥṣubī
travelled for unknown reasons from Qayrawān to Alexandria.[121] Al-Mālakī gives no
date for his departure, but a passage in al-Kindī's al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā, situated in
Egypt and in which al-Yaḥṣubī appears, allows us to place it before or during the
governorate of al-Walīd b. Rifāʿa (109/727-117/735).[122] One other account is of
uncertain interpretation.[123]

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[116] Adomnan, Arculfs Bericht über die heiligen Stätten, tr. P. Mickley, Arculf: eines Pilgers Reise nach dem
heiligen Lande (um 670), 2 vols, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1917, II, p. 38.

[117] Ibn Yūnus, Taʾrīḫ, I, p. 298 [no. 807] (with n. 5).

[118] Aṭ-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīḫ, II/1, p. 84.

[119] In addition, an account preserved by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (Futūḥ, p. 232) and Wakīʿ (Aḫbār, III, p. 222)
tells us that the qāḍī Sulaym b. ʿItr (d. 75/694-5) spent seven days worshipping God in a cave. Although
the account's rāwī is Sulaym himself, it has an interesting interpolation. After Sulaym's opening words
'I left Alexandria', the words 'I reckon he said "where I had arrived from the sea"' (Ar. aḥsubuhu qāla
ḥīna qadimtu min al-baḥr) follow. The account's isnād is broken. The first transmitter mentioned after
Sulaym b. ʿItr is the well-known Ḍimām b. Ismāʿīl (97/715-6-185/801-2). As we have it at present, Ḍimām
b. Ismāʿīl is the isnād's common link. His words are transmitted by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd as-Salām and
Saʿīd b. al-Ḥakam. The latter is the Ibn Abī Maryam of Wakīʿ's isnād (see Ibn Yūnus, Taʾrīḫ, I, p. 204 [no.
540]). Because both Muḥammad b. ʿAbd as-Salām and Saʿīd b. al-Ḥakam transmitted the same matn, the
interpolation must be Ḍimām b. Ismāʿīl's or of one of his unnamed informants. The interpolation, which
connects Alexandria with sea travel, must therefore date from the late-first/seventh or second/eighth
century.

[120] Al-Mālakī, Kitāb riyāḍ an-nufūs, 2 vols, ed. B. al-Bakkūš, Beirut: Dār al-ġarb al-islāmī, 1983, I, p. 164 [no.
68]. See Ibn Yūnus, Taʾrīḫ, II, pp. 72-3 [no. 179] for the death date of Ḫālid b. Abī ʿImrān.

[121] Al-Mālakī, Kitāb riyāḍ an-nufūs, I, p. 195 [no. 81].

[122] Al-Kindī, al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā, p. 78.

[123] This account tells that in c. 149-50/766-7 the Coptic patriarch Cosmas sent a monk to Rome
(McCormick, Origins of the European economy, p. 874 [no. 171]). As the patriarchate had its see in
Alexandria, the monk probably departed from that city.

Of special importance is a passage in the *History of the patriarchs* which records the existence of commercial relations between Alexandria and the western Mediterranean in the second/eighth century. It reports that among the city's Andalusian population of the early-third/ninth century was 'a very old man who had come to Alexandria in his youth'.[124] Whereas the study of trade patterns on the basis of amphorae in section 3.1 suggested a sharp decline of trade relations with the western Mediterranean in the course of the first/seventh century, this passage, supported by a small number Egyptian products found in Europe,[125] indicates that commercial contact between Egypt and the western Mediterranean did not disappear entirely.[126]

Other references for such travelling in the second/eighth century could not be found, but much seems not to have changed in the third/ninth century which, for that reason, may give us comparable information. In 200/815, pirates who originally came from Qurṭuba harboured in Alexandria to sell slaves they had caught on their raids.[127] In the late-210s/820s, Venetian merchants arrived in Alexandria (allegedly by accident as there was an embargo on Byzantine trade

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[124] *History of the patriarchs*, IV, p. 430 [544].

[125] See, *e.g.*, the delivery of (possibly Egyptian) papyrus at a monastery near Fos (near modern Marseille) mentioned in a document dated Ramaḍān 2, 97/April 19, 716 (H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, tr. B. Miall, 3rd ed., New York: Meridian Books, 1959 [first published in 1939], pp. 89-93; I thank J.-C. Tréglia for this reference), a set of Umayyad ivory reliefs, probably made in Alexandria, used for the pulpit in the Aachen cathedral (Rodziewicz, "Alexandria and trade in late Antiquity", pp. 72-3), the late-first/seventh- and second/eighth-century Egyptian coins found in Germany, France, Norway and Italy (McCormick, *Origins of the European economy*, pp. 816-7 [A1.1], 822 [A17], 823 [A21.c.7], 825 [A22.2], and 830 [A34.a.6-8]), and an Egyptian seal from the early-second/eighth century found in Spain (T. Ibrahim, "Evidencia de precintos y amuletos en al-Andalus", *Arqueología medieval española* 2 (1987), p. 707 [after C.F. Robinson, "Neck-sealing in early Islam", *JESHO* 48/3 (2005), p. 424]).

[126] This finds direct confirmation in Anglo-Saxon bishop Willibald's (d. *c.* 170/787) report of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the first half of the second/eighth century in which the author mentions a ship destined for Egypt in the harbour of Naples (T. Wright, *Early travels in Palestine, comprising the narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, De la Brocquière, and Maundrell*, London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848, p. 13). See also a first/seventh-century document from al-Bahnasā mentioning trade with North Africa (Y. Rāġib, "La plus ancienne lettre arabe de marchand", in Y. Rāġib (ed.), *Documents de l'islam médiéval: nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, Cairo: IFAO, 1991, pp. 5-6) and, for similar information, the *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 190-1 [444-6]).

[127] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 158; *History of the patriarchs*, IV, p. 429 [543]; Ibn al-ʿAbbār, *Kitāb al-ḥulla as-sayarāʾ*, 2 vols, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo: aš-Šarika al-ʿarabiyya li-ṭ-ṭibāʿa wa-n-našr, 1963, I, pp. 44-5.

with Egypt[128]) and did business there beside stealing the head of St Mark.[129] Further, the late-second/eighth or third/ninth-century Epiphanios the Hagiopolite writes that from Cana in Galilee one had to travel to 'the holy city of Alexandria' in order to travel back to Byzantine territory.[130] And around 257/870, Bernard the Wise travelled in thirty days from southern Italy to Alexandria on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[131] Alexandria was certainly not the sole place on the Egyptian littoral where travellers to the Holy Land stopped,[132] but the city does emerge as an important junction in international travel and trade routes in the first/seventh through third/ninth centuries.

4. Concluding remarks

Medieval Arabic literature preserves an interesting corpus of anecdotes that deal with the delapidation of Alexandria's cityscape and the government's wish to restore the city's old glory. All anecdotes centre around the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān and, thus, claim a late-first/seventh- or early-second/eighth-century context. Some of the anecdotes are doubtlessly legendary,[133] but to others we can attach more historical value.[134]

The *History of the patriarchs* presents an example of the latter type; we briefly referred to it above. It reports that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān restored

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[128] McCormick, *Origins of the European economy*, pp. 913-4 [no. 406].

[129] A. Carile & G. Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia*, Bologna: Pàtron, 1978, pp. 210-11; McCormick, *Origins of the European economy*, pp. 913-4 [no. 406].

[130] H. Donner, "Die Palästinabeschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita", *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87 (1971), p. 91 [XIII.5-7]; A.P. Kazhden *et al.*, *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, I, p. 714b.

[131] *The itinerary of Bernard the Wise*, tr. J.H. Bernard, London: Palestine pilgrims' text society, 1893, p. 4.

[132] Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, p. 214 mentions sea travel from Palestine via al-Faramā, Tinnīs, Dimyāṭ, al-Maḥalla al-kabīra to Alexandria, a route that is fully confirmed by Bernard the Wise (*The itinerary*, p. 6) and in part by Epiphanios the Hagiopolite (who only mentions al-Faramā and Dimyāṭ; see Donner, "Die Palästinabeschreibung", p. 86 [V.18-VI.4]).

[133] Ibn al-Kindī, *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, p. 48 (copied with divergencies in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 439). For the legendary nature of this anecdote, compare it with Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 42; see also Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, V, p. 122. Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, I, p. 186. For the legendary nature of this anecdote, compare it with Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 433-4; see also al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, II, pp. 639-40 [no. 1068].

[134] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 133-4 (copied from Ibn Yūnus in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, XXXIII, p. 417 [no. 3657]).

Alexandria's streets (*i.e.*, the porticoes?) which had fallen into ruins (Ar. *aqāma šawāriʿahā baʿda an saqaṭū*). It also mentions that the governor ordered the canal that linked Alexandria with the Bolbitine branch of the Nile to be dredged and that he had milestones erected along that canal.[135] This restauration most likely was part of the Marwanid building programs, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The *History of the patriarchs* takes this information from a Coptic *History of the church*, composed by one George the Archdeacon. The *History of the patriarchs* mentions George the Archdeacon to have been a companion and secretary of the Coptic patriarch Simon I, who held office in 70/689-81/700.[136] As a contempory of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān and probably writing during his governorate, we may regard George the Archdeacon's information as highly valuable.

Whereas Egypt's political élite continued to build commercial complexes in al-Fusṭāṭ (see section 1), there is no information on similar interest in Alexandria among ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's successors.[137] Although the Alexandrian canal quickly silted up again, resulting in only a seasonal navigability already during the governorate of Qurra b. Šarīk,[138] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's orders to dredge the canal are the last recorded for about a century and a half. The first deepening of the canal after him occurred, according to literary sources, in 239/853-4.[139]

These anecdotes are examplary for the economic and political relationship between Alexandria and al-Fusṭāṭ at the turn of the second/eighth century and the development of this relationship thereafter. The present chapter argued for much continuity of trade with or in Alexandria, mainly due to the international character of the city's markets, throughout and even beyond the period under discussion. The increase of trade involving al-Fusṭāṭ around the turn of the second/eighth century, which produced our first evidence of changes in

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[135] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 42 [296]. *Cf.* Kahle, "Zur Geschichte", p. 46, n. 2.

[136] Den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr*, p. 143; *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 90-1 [344-5].

[137] *Cf. History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 95 [349] for the *ṣāḥib al-ḫarāǧ* al-Qāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh who travelled in the 120s/740s to Alexandria, in McCormick's words, 'looking for cash' (*Origins of the European economy*, p. 585).

[138] *P.Lond.* IV 1353 (Išqūh; 91/710).

[139] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 469; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-mawālī* cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 463.

Alexandria's economic position, was part of a broader trend. It reflects the growth of al-Fusṭāṭ's centrality vis-à-vis Alexandria during the first half of the second/eighth century. To this we saw administrative parallels in the previous chapter. In sum, both the previous and the present chapter show that Alexandria's position in Egypt largely remained unchanged throughout the first/seventh century, while from the beginning of the second/eighth century al-Fusṭāṭ began to dominate its relationship with Alexandria.

PART 2

AL-FUSṬĀṬ AND UPPER EGYPT

CHAPTER 3

CHANGES IN THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF UPPER EGYPT
AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH AL-FUSṬĀṬ

> '[A]t the beginning of the dynasty, so long
> as its people are occupied in establishing
> power, the need for "the sword" is greater
> than that for "the pen".'[1]

In this and the next chapter, we turn our attention to Upper Egypt, whose administrative relationship with al-Fusṭāṭ developed along lines similar to what we have seen for Alexandria. The following pages will concentrate on al-Fusṭāṭ's involvement in the administration of the Arabs' military apparatus in the Nile valley. The few studies on Egypt's early-Arab military organization focus on the nuclei of Arab military settlement and predominantly on al-Fusṭāṭ.[2] Source material, both literary and documentary, for the Arab army outside al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria is extremely rare. Especially for the period after the 30s/650s source material is hard to come by. Medieval historiographical sources present post-conquest Upper Egypt as virtually without Arab military activity. They report that,

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[1] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history*, tr. F. Rosenthal, 3 vols, New York: Pantheon Books, 1958, II, p. 46.

[2] Although currently the primary study of the early-Arab military organization, H. Kennedy's *The armies of the caliphs: military and society in the early Islamic state* (London/New York: Routledge, 2001) hardly touches upon Egypt and should be read together with M.S.A. Mikhail, "Notes on the *ahl al-dīwān*: the Arab-Egyptian army of the seventh through the ninth centuries C.E.", *JAOS* 128/2 (2008), pp. 273-84 and P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Army economics: an early papyrus letter related to ʿaṭāʾ payments", in R.E. Margariti *et al.* (eds), *Histories of the Middle East: studies in Middle Eastern society, economy and law in honor of A.L. Udovitch*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 245-67. See also F.M. Donner, "The formation of the Islamic State", *JAOS* 106/2 (1986), esp. pp. 285-6; K. Athamina, "Some administrative, military and socio-political aspects of early Muslim Egypt", in Y. Lev (ed.), *War and society in the eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th centuries*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, esp. pp. 104-7; and Bouderbala, Ğund *Miṣr*. For the early-Arab fleet in Egypt, see *P.Lond.* IV, pp. xxxii-xxxv; A.M. Fahmy, *Muslim naval organisation in the eastern Mediterranean from the seventh to the tenth century A.D.*, 2nd ed., Cairo: National publication & printing house, 1966.

in the first years after the conquest, Arabs were forbidden to settle outside the main garrison towns except for temporary visits to villages in the Nile delta or the northern part of Upper Egypt for the grazing of horses during the spring (the so-called *murtabaʿ al-ǧund*).[3] However, historians of early-Arab Egypt long know of the existence of a small corpus of documents that give explicit information of the organization of garrisons stationed in the Egyptian countryside. These documents date from the 20s/640s and early-30s/650s and are mostly related to the pagarchy of Ihnās. Despite their relevance to the present subject, they have largely been excluded from studies into the early-Arab military administration. As we will see below, these and a few similar documents from the Umayyad period are highly informative on the relationships between the central Arab authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ, Upper Egyptian civil administrations and groups of soldiers stationed outside the capital.

It will be argued below that these relationships largely developed along a chronology similar to the development of the relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. The chronology established in chapter 1 is applicable to at least Arcadia, the northern eparchy of Upper Egypt, and especially to the pagarchies of the Fayyūm, Ihnās, and al-Ušmūn from which comes much of our source material. In this chapter, we will see that a demilitarization of the local non-Arab administrations and the stationing of Arab garrisons on these administrations' territory characterized an initial phase of Arab rule over northern Upper Egypt. As in Alexandria, changes are visible early during the Umayyad caliphate. This second phase saw an increase of the involvement of the central authorities in the administration of the military stationed in Upper Egypt and, additionally, a systematization of the provisioning of local soldiers.

The Thebaid, Upper Egypt's southern eparchy, needs a discussion separate from its northern neighbour. Especially for Egypt's southern fringes, the

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[3] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 139-45; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, IV/1, p. 44. For studies of the *murtabaʿ al-ǧund*, see A.L. Gascoigne, *The impact of the Arab conquest on late Roman settlement in Egypt*, Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 2002, pp. 74-86; Bouderbala, *Ǧund Miṣr*, pp. 150-61 and S. Bouderbala, "An occasion for exploration and exploitation of a newly conquered countryside: the spring grazing of the *ǧund* in the delta and Middle Egypt", forthcoming.

same chronology cannot be established. This is not only due to the lack of source material, but also because this part of Egypt remained outside Arab-ruled territory for almost a decade after the conquest of northern Upper Egypt. We will see, nonetheless, that the political situation in the southern Thebaid in the 20s/640s and 30s/650s, especially the establishment of a frontier zone[4] around Aswan in 31/652, had considerable impact on the Arabs' military presence in the rest of Upper Egypt and how the Arab authorities ruled this region from al-Fusṭāṭ. It explains in part the invisibility of the Arab army of Arcadia and the northern Thebaid in sources for the period after the 30s/650s. In order to better understand Arab polity more to the north, we must study the form of their rule in the southern Thebaid and this region's relationship with al-Fusṭāṭ. We begin, therefore, with determining the southern reach of Arab rule in the Thebaid prior to 31/652.

1. The Thebaid: determining the reach of Arab rule before 31/652 and the establishment of the southern frontier near Aswan

Whereas the Nile delta and much of the Nile valley north of Aswan came under Arab rule in the early-20s/640s, the new rulers did not establish Egypt's southern frontier around Aswan before 31/652. The scarcity of relevant source material makes it difficult to understand how far south the political influence of al-Fusṭāṭ reached prior to 31/652. After the Sasanids retreated from Egypt in 7/629, the Byzantines regained power over Egypt. The *History of the patriarchs* tells us that the emperor Heraclius 'assembled all his troops from Egypt as far as the borders of Aswan' at the arrival of the Arabs,[5] suggesting Byzantine military presence throughout the whole of Egypt.[6] Elsewhere, the same source tells that 'Heraclius

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[4] This chapter uses the term 'frontier' or 'frontier zone' in the European sense of the word, for a characterisation of which see D. Power, "Frontiers: terms, concepts, and the historians of medieval and early modern Europe", in D. Power & N. Standen (eds), *Frontiers in question: Eurasian borderlands, 700-1700*, London: MacMillan Press, 1999, pp. 1-12.

[5] *History of the patriarchs*, II, p. 493 [229]. This part of the *History of the patriarchs* is based on a work of one George the Archdeacon who served patriarch Simon (d. 81/700); see Den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr*, pp. 7-8, 142-5. *Cf.* Butler, *The Arab conquest*, p. 208, n. 1.

[6] For the frontier in pre-Sasanid Egypt, see Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, pp. 12-4.

appointed bishops throughout the land of Egypt as far as Anṣinā',[7] possibly referring to the end of the reach of Byzantine control over ecclesiastical matters. As the southernmost military confrontation between the Byzantines and the Arabs reported in narrative sources is located around Anṣinā,[8] some modern scholars have seen the description of Heraclius' involvement in the appointment of bishops as indicating that Byzantine control reached no further south.[9] There is little veracity in this argument. Documents attest to Byzantine rule to the south of Anṣinā in the period between the end of the Sasanid occupation and the Arab conquest.[10] The latest document known to me bearing undebated testimony to Byzantine control over the southern Thebaid is *SB* VI 8986, a document from Udfū that should be dated between Šawwāl 19/October 640 and the beginning of Ǧumādā II 20/the end of May 641,[11] *i.e.* during the Arab conquest. The consular formula at the beginning of this document mentions the Byzantine family as the ruling authorities and, therefore, indicates that the Arabs did not control that area at that time but that it was under Byzantine control.

Narrative sources report that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ divided his army and sent troops to different parts of Egypt after the fall of Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ in the spring of 20/641. The general Ḫāriǧa b. Ḥuḏāfa allegedly conquered 'the Fayyūm, al-Ušmūnayn, Iḫmīm, al-Bušrūdāt, and the villages of Upper Egypt'.[12] Our sources may have considered the military confrontation at Anṣinā, mentioned in the previous paragraph, as part of this expedition.[13] John of Nikiu nuances the course of the conquest and writes that the Arab army took Upper Egypt during the eleven-month armistice that followed the siege of Alexandria at the end of 20/641

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[7] *History of the patriarchs*, II, p. 492 [228].

[8] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 184.

[9] Butler, *The Arab conquest*, p. 188, n. 3; O. Schmitt, "Untersuchungen zur Organisation und zur militärischen Stärke oströmischer Herrschaft im Vorderen Orient zwischen 628 und 633", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 94/1 (2001), p. 211.

[10] For an overview of these documents, see Bagnall & Worp, *Chronological systems*, pp. 215-6, 267-71.

[11] For the dating of this document see the discussions in P.J. Sijpesteijn & K.A. Worp, "Chronological notes", *ZPE* 26 (1977), p. 284; N. Gonis, "*SB* VI 8986 and Heraclius' sons", *ZPE* 166 (2008), pp. 199-202; Zuckerman, "On the titles and office", pp. 867 and 869-74.

[12] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, I, p. 254; Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar, *Kitāb al-ḫarāǧ*, p. 338. *Cf.* Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, p. 163.

[13] E. Amélineau, "La conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes", II, *Revue historique* 120 (1915), p. 14.

or in early-21/642.[14] Although of uncertain interpretation, documents on the establishment of Arab rule over Upper Egypt exist. As for the eparchy of Arcadia, for example, effects of the arrival of the Arabs to Egypt on the pagarchy of the Fayyūm are first seen in *P.Lond.* I 113/10 (Fayyūm), dated indiction year 13 (18-9/639-40). Modern scholars, however, disagree about this document's interpretation. They see it as evidence for either local resistance against, or cooperation with, Arab army units.[15] Similarly, a recent interpretation of an unusual regnal formula in another document, *P.Paramone* 18 (al-Ušmūn; Ramaḍān-Šawwāl 20/August-September 641), sees this formula as proof of a short-lived interregnum in which there was uncertainty about the effective rulers (possibly due to a pact between the Arabs and the Byzantines).[16] Others, however, understand this document to indicate Byzantine hegemony over al-Ušmūn.[17] Leaving these troublesome documents aside, the first unequivocal reference to Arab authority over northern Upper Egypt comes from *SB* VIII 9749 (Ihnās; 18.2-3.21/26.1-2.642), an official quittance for the delivery of taxes in kind to an Arab official in Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ.

Such information on the conquest of the Thebaid, however, is more difficult to come by. Possibly the oldest document from the southern half of Upper Egypt that refers to Arab control is *P.Apoll.* 2. This document belongs to the archive of *flavius* Papas, pagarch of Udfū, and is dated to Rabīʿ II 3, 27/January 6, 648.[18] It reports that an Arab will bring a package containing gold and bearing the seal of the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ (in office 25/645-35/656) to Liberios, Papas's father and predecessor. *SB Kopt.* I 242 (Udfū), related to the same Liberios

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[14] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, pp. 183-4 [CXV.1-12]. For the dating see Butler, *The Arab conquest*, pp. 320-1; *cf.* Amélineau, "La conquête", II, pp. 14, 20. On John of Nikiu's presentation of the conquest of Upper Egypt, see now also P. Booth, "The Muslim conquest of Egypt reconsidered", *Travaux et mémoires* 17 (2013), pp. 639-70.

[15] See the discussions in especially F. Morelli, "'Amr e Martina: la reggenza di un imperatrice o l'amministrazione araba d'Egitto", *ZPE* 173 (2010), p. 155, n. 65 and Zuckerman, "On the titles and office", p. 874. *Cf.* Papaconstantinou, "Administering the early Islamic empire", pp. 66-7.

[16] N. Gonis, "*P.Paramone* 18: emperors, conquerors and vassals", *ZPE* 173 (2010), pp. 133-5; Morelli, "'Amr e Martina", esp. pp. 143-4, 156-7. See also p. 130, n. 14 below.

[17] Zuckerman, "On the titles and office", p. 874.

[18] Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", pp. 86-7.

and dated Ṣafar 11, 29/October 24, 649, confirms Arab hegemony over the pagarchy of Udfū. It contains an oath 'by God Almighty and the salvation of the all-praiseworthy Abdelas [*i.e.* ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ], the great governor'; we will revisit this and related oath formulae in chapter 4. *P.Apoll.* 2 gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the Arab conquest of Udfū. We find a *terminus post quem* in a Coptic inscription dated Phaophi 13, A.M. 414 (11th ind.; Raǧab 19, 78/October 11, 697) and commemorating the renovation of a monastery dedicated to St Abraham in the pagarchy of Qifṭ (Koptos), about 150 kilometers north of Udfū.[19] In lines 14 and 15 of the inscription it is written that A.M. 414 equals fifty-five years after 'the gentile nation of the Saracens' became rulers over the region.[20] In other words, the inscription tells us that the Arabs conquered the region of Qifṭ in A.M. 359, *i.e.* 21-2/642-3. So, on the basis of our present source material we can date the beginning of Arab rule over Udfū to some time between 21-2/642-3 (the Coptic inscription) and early-27/648 (*P.Apoll.* 2) after it had been under Byzantine control (as indicated by *SB* VI 8986). Still, Udfū is located about 105 kms north of the frontier near Aswan.

When reviewing the information on Egypt's southern frontier, one notices that after the end of the Sasanid occupation of Upper Egypt the area around Aswan plays no role in our sources.[21] There are no indications that Arabs who came with the conquest lived there.[22] Although the oldest known Arabic

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[19] W. Brunsch, "Koptische und griechische Inschriften aus Alexandrien", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 84 (1994), p. 30 [no. A 14529].

[20] J. van der Vliet, "*Christus imperat*: an ignored Coptic dating formula", in Y.N. Youssef & S. Moawad (eds), *From Old Cairo to the New World: Coptic studies presented to Gawdat Gabra on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, Leuven: Peeters, 2013, pp. 175-6.

[21] *Pace* J.-C. Garcin, "Uswān", *EI*², X, p. 938. I find no sources for his claim that the Arabs set up a camp near Aswan during the conquest of Upper Egypt. The sole reference to an Arab presence there, a passage in al-Maqrīzī's *Ḫiṭaṭ* (I, p. 151) which states that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ built a nilometer near Aswan during the conquest of Egypt, most probably is non-historical. This nilometer was most likely the one on the island of Elephantine which already existed in Strabo's time (see M. al-Ḥuwayrī, *Uswān fī al-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā*, al-Haram: ʿAyn li-d-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūṯ al-insāniyya wa-l-iǧtimāʿiyya, 1996, p. 17; Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, III, p. 1044) and remained in use in late-Antiquity (see J.H.F. Dijkstra, "Late Antique inscriptions from the first cataract area discovered and rediscovered", *JJP* 33 (2003), pp. 63-6).

[22] *Pace* S. Māhir ("Muḥāfiẓāt al-Ǧumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Muttaḥida fī al-ʿaṣr al-islāmī", *Maǧallat kulliyyat al-ādāb*, 21/1 (1959), pp. 71-2), a source for many other scholars, who holds that the

epitaph, dated Ǧumādā II 31/January-February 652, is sometimes thought to come from Aswan, its place of origin may as well be al-Fusṭāṭ.[23] Because of this lack of clarity, the epitaph cannot be used as proof for Arab presence in Aswan in the early-30s/650s. The oldest documentary source that securely indicates that Arabs lived in Aswan is another Arabic epitaph, found at the city's cemetery and dated Ḏū al-Qaʿda 15, 71/April 20, 691.[24] In addition, the oldest references to Arab presence in Aswan in literary sources go back to Umayyad times (*i.e.*, from 40/661 onwards).[25] Our current documentary and narrative source material, therefore, does not allow for conclusions on the reach of Arab rule south of Udfū in the 20s/640s. Fortunately, there is some valuable information on Arab activity in that area in the early-30s/650s that helps us understand the nature of the area north of the first cataract.

Medieval Arabic historiography reports that after the conquest of Egypt ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ continuously fought Egypt's southern neighbour, the Christian kingdom(s) of Nubia,[26] in the form of summer campaigns (Ar. *ṣawāʾif*).[27] These campaigns utterly failed to subdue the Nubians to Arab control; the high number of Egyptian casualties and the military qualities of the Nubians are expounded upon in Arabic literature.[28] Without much precision, medieval historians write that the Arabs attacked 'Nubian territory' (Ar. *arḍ an-Nūba*).[29] Some modern

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gravestones from the cemetery of Aswan indicate that *anṣārīs* lived in the city. Her source, Monneret de Villard's *La necropoli musulmana di Aswan* (Cairo: IFAO, 1930) was not available to me.

[23] The publisher of the epitaph, H.M. el-Hawary ("The most ancient Islamic monument known dated A.H. 31 (A.D. 652) from the time of the third calif ʿUthman", *JRAS* (1930), pp. 321-33), writes that he found the epitaph in the Egyptian Museum and that its place of origin is not recorded (p. 321). El-Hawary assumes that the epitaph comes from al-Qarāfa cemetery near al-Fusṭāṭ (p. 333).

[24] H.M. el-Hawary, "The second oldest Islamic monument known dated A.H. 71 (A.D. 691) from the time of the Omayyad calif ʿAbd-el-Malik ibn Marwān", *JRAS* (1932), pp. 289-93.

[25] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab wa-maʿādin al-ǧawhar*, 9 vols., ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard & P. de Courteille, Paris: L'Impririe impériale, 1861-77, III, pp. 41-3; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān wa-l-iʿrāb*, p. 144; K. Morimoto, *The fiscal administration of Egypt in the early Islamic period*, Kyoto: Dohosha, 1981, p. 148.

[26] The date of the unification of the Nubian kingdoms is still debated. See D.N. Edwards, *The Nubian past: an archaeology of the Sudan*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 237 and B. Hendrickx, "The 'lord of the mountain': a study of the Nubian *eparchos of Nobadia*", *Le muséon* 124/3-4 (2011), pp. 303-5.

[27] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 169-70; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, I, p. 280; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 542; al-Bakrī, *Muʿǧam mā istaʿǧama min asmāʾ al-bilād wa-l-mawāḍiʿ*, ed. M. as-Saqqā, 4 vols, Cairo, 1945-51, I, p. 323.

[28] David Ayalon, "The Nubian dam", *JSAI* 12 (1989), pp. 372-90.

[29] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 169; al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, I, p. 280; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 179-80.

scholars take for granted that this means that the attacks aimed at Nubian territory south of the frontier zone near Aswan.[30] Yet, aṭ-Ṭabarī writes on the basis of a relatively early source that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ did not fight the Nubians south of the cataract, but rather on Egyptian soil: 'when the Muslims conquered Egypt they raided (Ar. ġazaw) the Nubians of Egypt (Ar. Nūbat Miṣr)'.[31] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam gives similar information on the same authority.[32] During ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's term as governor over Egypt and the first half of that of his successor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, Nubia and Egypt remained in a state of war. It was ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's advance on Nubia of 31/652 that resulted in a peace agreement between both countries (the famous baqṭ). Ibn Ḥawqal (writing between 331/942 and 378/988) describes the effects of this advance on the political control over the region of Aswan as follows:

> 'Abū al-Manī Kuṯayyir b. Aḥmad al-Ǧaʿdī al-Uswānī transmitted to me that ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ conquered [Ar. iftataḥa] Aswan in the year thirty-one [652]. He also conquered Elephantine [Ar. Hīf > C. ⲉⲓⲏⲃ],[33] which is a town that faces Aswan on the western shore of the Nile and was called "Village of the potsherds". He also conquered Philae, a town located on a solid rock rising out of the water in the middle of the Nile six miles from Aswan. This town, being an island, is of difficult access.'[34]

A late-Umayyad source tells that ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ was able to enter Nubian territory as far as Dunqula (Dongola).[35] The comparatively meagre results of his advance are striking and may, in fact, reveil that on this point

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[30] Y.F. Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan: from the seventh to the early sixteenth century*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967, p. 18; J.M. Cuoq, *Islamisation de la Nubie chrétienne: VIIe-XVIe siècle*, Paris: Geuthner, 1986, pp. 9-15. See also V. Christides, "Sudanese at the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 75/1 (1982), esp. pp. 10-1.

[31] Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḫ*, I/5, p. 2593, on the final authority of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (d. 128/745-6).

[32] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 188: ''Abd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ was [the caliph] ʿUṯmān's administrator of Egypt in the year 31 [652] when the Nubians attacked him [*fa-qātalathu an-Nūba*]', similarly suggesting fighting on Egyptian territory.

[33] *Cf.* John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 40.

[34] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, I, p. 51; G. Vantini, *Oriental sources concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975, p. 153.

[35] Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (*cf.* note 31 above) in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 188; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 13. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 542.

historiography is corrupted.[36] It appears that the Egyptian governor was merely able to restore the old frontier by making, or being driven back on, a peace agreement.[37] This agreement formed the basis for diplomatic gift exchanges through which a peaceful relationship between the two countries was maintained.[38] That the source of aṭ-Ṭabarī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam tells us that the Arabs needed to fight the Nubians north of the cataract and that Ibn Ḥawqal relates that the area came under Arab control only after ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's attack on Nubia allows us to conclude that at least the northern part of the cataract area, including Aswan, was a zone of contested control, dominated by Nubians, throughout the 20s/640s.[39]

ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's advance on the southern fringes of Egypt, with Arab armies probably also coming from ʿAyḏāb on the Red Sea littoral,[40] not only resulted in a peace agreement with the Nubians but may as well have ended

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[36] *Cf.* the apocalyptic *Fourteenth vision of Daniel*, verses 30-2, which writes, according to one modern interpretation, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's armies fought the Nubians 'until they entered the capital of the [Nubian] kingdom, that is Aswan'. These verses imply that there was little fighting south of the cataract. For these verses in the Arabic text of the apocalyps and the interpretation in question, see C.H. Becker, "Das Reich der Ismaeliten im koptischen Danielbuch", *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse* (1916), pp. 13, 37). For other interpretations, see L. Ditommaso, *The book of Daniel and the apocryphal Daniel literature*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 179-84.

[37] *Cf.* J. Spaulding, "Medieval Christian Nubia and the Islamic world: a reconsideration of the *baqt* treaty", *International journal of African historical studies* 28/3 (1995), pp. 577-94; H. Halm, "Der nubische baqṭ", in U. Vermeulen & D. de Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, II: *Proceedings of the 4th and 5th international colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1995 and 1996*, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1998, pp. 70-2. Without wishing to qualify the kingdom of northern Nubia, I should state that this goes somewhat against B. Hendrickx' view ("The 'lord of the mountain'", p. 305) that northern Nubia was a 'weak kingdom'.

[38] G. Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia: a social and economic history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 7-8.

[39] This may be corroborated by the remains of a culturally Nubian fortress that have been found 20 kms south of Udfū (see P. Grossmann & H. Jaritz, "Ein Besuch in der Festung von Qalʿat al-babēn in Oberägypten", *MDAI Kairo* 30/2 (1974), pp. 199-214). The pottery found at the fortress and, hence, its occupation have recently been dated primarily to the A.D. sixth and first/seventh centuries (see L. Op de Beeck, "Pottery from the fortified town site of Qal'at al-Babên", *CRIPEL* 24 (2004), pp. 143-69; but *cf.* A.L. Gascoigne & P.J. Rose, "Fortification, settlement and ethnicity in southern Egypt", in P. Matthiae *et al.*, *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the ancient Near-East*, 3 vols, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, III, p. 47, n. 8). See note 36 above for the reference to Aswan as 'the capital of the [Nubian] kingdom' in the *Fourteenth vision of Daniel.*

[40] T. Power, "The origin and development of the Sudanese ports (ʿAydhâb, Bâdiʿ, Sawâkin) in the early Islamic period", *Chroniques yéménites* 15 (2008), pp. 92-110 [esp. § 18 in the online edition (<http://cy.revues.org/1685>; March 2013)].

hostilities from the side of nomadic Buǧa tribes (Blemmyes) inhabiting the eastern desert.[41] The conclusion of a real treaty is not reported. Medieval Arabic historical tradition reports that ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb (ṣāḥib al-ḫarāǧ in 105/724-116/734) was the first to conclude a treaty with the Buǧa.[42] But of importance here is that the advance of 31/652 removed, at least in theory (*cf.* below), major threats of large-scale hostility on southern Upper Egypt.[43] It established a frontier zone around the first cataract, the nature of which we will explore in what follows, on which the Arab authorities concentrated their Upper Egyptian military activity.

2. *The Thebaid: Arab authority and the southern frontier*

The southern frontier was an area of fortresses and fortified towns[44] where Egyptian and Nubian rule met.[45] Where the Arab and Nubian authorities thought

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[41] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, I, pp. 50-1.

[42] The exact date of the treaty is not known. But in the preceding period, the Buǧa 'had no agreement nor peace treaty' (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 189). *Cf.* Christides, "Sudanese at the time of the Arab conquest", esp. pp. 10-3, who argues that the 'treaty of Miṣr', preserved by aṭ-Ṭabarī, addresses groups of Buǧa living on Egyptian territory.

[43] Indeed, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ reportedly met a group of Buǧa on the shore of the Nile when he returned from his campaign. No hostility is mentioned. ʿAbd Allāh is said to have found them to be too insignificant to deal with (Ar. *hāna ʿalayhi amruhum*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 189). That there was an understanding between groups of Buǧa living near Udfū and the Arab administration is visible in *P.Apoll.* 15 (Udfū), dating from 39-40/660-1 or 55-6/675-6 (Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 88). In this document, the secretary of the *dux*, seated in Anṣinā, orders the pagarch of Udfū to prepare a ship for the collection of 'the gold of the territories of the Buǧa and of the value of [their] cattle' (lines 4-5: τὸ χ]ρυσίον τῶν γηδίων τῶν Βλεμμύων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν προβάτων).

[44] The military aspect of the frontier for the period under discussion is most directly referred to in the *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 145 [399], according to which a Nubian messenger discouraged the Nubian king to approach Egypt's fortresses in 130-1/747-8. In addition to this, al-Maqrīzī (*Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 539) writes that Aswan housed a large number of Arab soldiers and implies that this was so until the Fatimid period (after R. Seignobos, "La frontière entre le *bilād al-islām* et le *bilād al-Nūba*: enjeux et ambiguïtés d'une frontière immobile (VIIᵉ-XIIᵉ siècle)", *Afriques* 2 (2010), <http://afriques.revues.org/800> [November 2013], § 22). Further, a large wall, constructed in previous times, protected the road from Aswan to Philae (see map 3). The wall has been excavated in two sessions, see H. Jaritz, "The investigation of the ancient wall extending from Aswan to Philae", *MDAI Kairo* 43 (1987), pp. 67-74 and H. Jaritz & M. Rodziewicz, "The investigation of the ancient wall extending from Aswan to Philae", *MDAI Kairo* 49 (1993), pp. 107-31. *Cf.* Locher, *Nilkatarakt*, pp. 115-9. The excavators estimate the wall to have been 5 m wide and 10 m high. For the date of the wall, see the discussions in Maspero, *Organisation*, pp. 21, 25-7; Jaritz & Rodziewicz, "The investigation", pp. 112-4; and Locher, *Nilkatarakt*, pp. 118-9. The *Khuzistan chronicle* (Nöldeke, "Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik", p. 45) writes about lofty walls along the Nile that greatly hindered the Arabs in their conquest of 'Egypt, the Thebaid, and Africa'. One of Yāqūt ar-Rūmī's informants has it that a wall in the south of Egypt protected Upper Egypt from

the frontier zone started and ended is not known, but it certainly included the entire area of the first cataract, which treacherous rocks and unpredictable currents formed natural obstacles (see map 3).[46] As we shall see shortly, the frontier probably also included the Nile valley south of the town of Umbū (Ombos), located *c.* thirty kilometers north of Aswan. It is unlikely, however, that the frontier zone under Arab rule included the town of Armant (Hermonthis), located more than 150 kilometers more to the north, as it had done in the Byzantine period prior to the Sasanid occupation.[47] By the time the Arabs conquered the territory around Armant, it had long been demilitarized.[48] Although sources for the administrative division of this part of Upper Egypt are rare, Armant most likely fell within the administrative jurisdiction of the *dux* of the Thebaid and, hence, seems not to have fallen within the territory of frontier zone.[49] As we will see below, the frontier was administratively distinct from the Thebaid. As to the

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Nubian raids (*Muʿǧam*, II, p. 190). Parts of this wall could still be seen at the time of Napoleon's visit to Egypt (M.A. Lancret ("Description de l'île de Philae", *Description de l'Égypte*, I, Paris: L'imprimerie impériale, 1809, pp. 3-4) describes the remainder(s) of the wall as 4 meters high and 2 meters wide).

[45] Medieval Arabic geographies describe the frontier as consisting of an Egyptian and Nubian part. Ibn Ḥawqal, for example, writes about 'the end of the border [Ar. *ḥadd*] of Islam and the beginning of the border of Nubia' (*Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, I, p. 51). Al-Maqrīzī writes of Aswan as located at 'the southern end of the border [Ar. *ḥadd*]' (*Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 349, 531) and, similar to Ibn Ḥawqal, implies that Egypt held authority over part of the frontier. See also Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam*, I, pp. 710-1 and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, p. 68. The frontier must not be seen as consisting of two well-defined zones (R.W. Brauer, *Boundaries and frontiers in medieval Muslim geography*, Philadelphia: The American philosophical society, 1995, pp. 12-14). Certainly at the heart of the frontier, the reach of Egyptian or Nubian control remained contested. For example, medieval Arabic geographers do not agree as to who held authority over Philae. Al-Maqrīzī (*Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 517, 540) writes that Philae belongs to Egypt, al-Idrīsī (*Nuzhat al-muštāq*, I, p. 38) claims the island to be part of Nubia, and Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam*, I, pp. 710-1) has it that Philae is 'a village in the most southern part of Upper Egypt and the beginning of the land of Nubia as if it is a border between both [countries]' (Ar. *balad fī āḫar ʿamal aṣ-Ṣaʿīd wa-awwal bilād an-Nūba ka-l-ḥadd baynahumā*). For the possible existence of a no-man's land at the heart of the frontier, *cf.* A.L. Gascoigne & P.J. Rose, "The forts of Hisn al-Bab and the first cataract frontier from the 5th to 12th centuries AD", *Sudan & Nubia bulletin* 16 (2012), pp. 88-95; see also Seignobos, "La frontière", esp. §§ 44-7.

[46] Only with the help of local fishermen, smaller boats may have been able to sail through the cataract. See Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī (*fl.* fourth/tenth c.) in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 518; Locher, *Nilkatarakt*, p. 100. See also the discussion in Seignobos, "La frontière", §§ 24-34.

[47] C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)*, Paris: AACHCB, 2004, pp. 174-5.

[48] Wilfong, *Women of Jeme*, p. 8.

[49] *P.KRU* 10 (Šīma; 104/722) testifies to the involvement of the *dux* in Anṣinā in legal disputes in Šīma, just north of Armant. *O.CrumVC* 9 (Theban area; 78/698 or 109/728) is a legal document drawn up by two village heads as well as in the name of the *dux*.

beginning of Nubian territory, medieval sources report that a fortress called al-Qaṣr (possibly 'the fortress of the Blacks' of an A.D. sixth- or seventh-century document[50]), located on the east bank of the Nile about seven kilometers south of Aswan, was the first fortress under Nubian control.[51] However, the same sources also report that this fortress was at times in Arab hands and, thereby, bear testimony to the fact that the area occupied by the frontier was not fixed and that control over it depended much on military dominance.[52]

Evidence for the presence of Arab authority in Aswan and its evirons prior to the coming of the Abbasids is extremely rare. Documentary sources from the late-first/seventh and early-second/eighth century may well attest to this frontier zone or, perhaps better, that part of it controlled by Egyptian authorities. As we shall see in what follows, the area's important role in the defence of the Nile valley north of it and the maintenance of Arab rule there, as well as the constant threat of Nubian invasions, demanded the direct involvement of the authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ in matters pertaining to the southern frontier.

Secure testimony of Arab rule over the area comes first from a Coptic inscription, found about thirty kilometers north of Aswan, near Umbū, and dating from the end of the first/seventh century.[53] As it tells that the all-praiseworthy (Gr. πανεύφημος) *amīr* Apoulase (C. ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲗⲁⲥⲉ) carried out the repair of roads (line 5: ⲁϥⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϩⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ) in the area,[54] the inscription shows the Arab authorities' care for the accessibility of the area (presumably in the first place for officials and

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[50] A. Łajtar, "Τὸ κάστρον τῶν Μαύρων τὸ πλησίου Φίλων: der dritte Adam über *P.Haun.* II 26", *JJP* 27 (1997), pp. 47-51. As to the date of this document, see also *CPR* XXII 56, comm. at line 2.

[51] Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 517-8; al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, p. 334. For the fortress's identification with modern Ḥiṣn al-Bāb, see Gascoigne & Rose, "The forts of Hisn al-Bab".

[52] Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, pp. 14-5; Seignobos, "La frontière", §§ 41-7.

[53] *Cf. SB* V 8704, an undated Greek inscription from Umbū commemorating the building of a gate by a direct subordinate of a *dux* named Aritha (> Ar. Ḥāriṯ). In his reedition, J. Gascou ("Deux inscriptions byzantines de Haute-Égypte (réédition de *I.Thèbes-Syène* 196 rᵒ et vᵒ)", *Travaux et mémoires* 12 (1994), pp. 339-41) argued that for the date of this inscription '[l]'époque arabe [...] ne serait pas à exclure'. But *cf.* L.S.B. MacCoull, "Notes on Arab allies as *foederati* in inscriptions", *Tyche* 11 (1996), p. 158, who dates this inscription to the late A.D. sixth century.

[54] A. Mallon, "Coptica", *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale (Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth)* 5/2 (1911-12), pp. 132-3. See also the (unexplained) restauration of some lacunae in W. Kosack, *Lehrbuch des Koptischen*, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974, p. 398 [no. 191].

soldiers and their retinue; the inscription has 'men and animals' in lines 5-6). Modern scholarly disagreement on the date of the inscription has obscured the inscription's relevance to the present discussion. Therefore, we have to study the inscription in considerable detail.

At the end of the nineteenth century, U. Bouriant read the date of the inscription as Pharmouti 1, A.M. 409 (lines 13-4: ⲁⲡⲟ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗ[ⲏⲧⲓ]ⲁ[...] ⲅⲑ ⲡⲁⲣⲙ̄ ⲁ̄), which equals Ḏū al-Qaʿda 14, 73/March 27, 693.[55] Approximately twenty years later, however, A. Mallon abandoned this date in a reedition of the inscription. He opined that an Arabic inscription, carved just below the Coptic one and clearly dated to 737/1336-7, mentions the same amīr and repair of roads. Following Bouriant's earlier attempts to decipher the Arabic inscription, he read the name in that inscription as 'Sayf Abū Lazz Baktamur[56] al-Badrī'. He identified the Arabic Abū Lazz with the Coptic Apoulase and then changed the earlier editors' reading of the name into Apoulass. On the basis of this identification, Mallon argued that the Coptic inscription must have a date similar, if not identical, to that of the Arabic inscription and that the reading of the year 409 is wrong.[57] Subsequently, however, the Arabic inscription has been reinterpreted. G. Wiet's edition of the text, published in 1956, correctly reads the name as 'sayf ad-dīn Baktamur al-Badrī'.[58] Although a valuable corrective to our understanding of the Arabic inscription, its implications for the relationship between the Arabic and Coptic inscriptions have not been discussed.[59] As the inscriptions do not refer to the same person, it can now safely be concluded that the Coptic inscription is unrelated to the Arabic one. Hence, the date of the latter bears no implications on the date of the Coptic

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[55] U. Bouriant, "Notes de voyage", *Recueil de travaux* 15 (1893), p. 177 [no. 17] (also published, with minor changes, in J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, 3 vols, Vienne: Holzhausen, 1894-1909, I/1, p. 208). For the size of the lacuna before ⲅⲑ, see the line drawing in De Morgan, *Catalogue*, 206.

[56] Mallon vocalised the name as Boktomir. For the correct vocalisation of the name, see J. Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks", *Journal asiatique* 238 (1950), p. 43 [no. 59].

[57] Mallon, "Coptica", p. 133-4.

[58] *RCEA* XV 5705 (without explanatory notes).

[59] Already in 1908, L. Massignon pled for a reassessment of the relationship between the two inscriptions ("Note sur l'état d'avancement des études archéologiques en Égypte hors du Caire", *BIFAO* 6 (1908), pp. 3-4).

inscription. As we shall see in more detail shortly, the use of the honorific title 'all-praiseworthy' in the Coptic strongly places the date of the inscription in the first/seventh or early-second/eighth century. Reading the date of the Coptic inscription as A.M. 409 (ⲁⲡⲟ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗ[ⲏⲧⲓ]ⲁ[ⲛⲟⲩ] ⲩ·ⲑ)[60] makes perfect sense.[61]

Dating from the period under discussion in this thesis, the Coptic inscription is a welcome source for the Arab administration of southern Upper Egypt. Although Apoulase's name (an Arabic *kunya* possibly to be understood as Abū al-ʿĀṣī[62]) and title suggest that he was an Arab or an Arabized Egyptian closely related to the Arab administration, the identity of this *amīr* remains unknown. The honorific title attached to his title *amīr*, referred to in the preceding paragraph, gives us some information on his place in the province's administrative hierarchy. The inscription calls Apoulase πανεύφημος, 'all-praiseworthy'. This honorific occurs in dated Greek and Coptic documents throughout the first/seventh century and in the first decades of the second/eighth century. In these documents, *paneuphēmos* is mostly reserved for the highest officials in the province: the governor seating in al-Fusṭāṭ and the Upper Egyptian *dux/amīr*.[63] From the early-

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[60] *Cf.* note 55 above.

[61] I thank A. Delattre and J. van der Vliet for discussing this with me. Bouriant saw the inscription *in situ* (De Morgan, *Catalogue*, pp. xi-xiii) but his two editions (*cf.* note 55) differ on details (in lines 6, 10-1, 13-4). It is therefore valuable to note that the editions agree on the reading of ⲩ·ⲑ. *Pace* Kosack, *Lehrbuch*, p. 398 [no. 191] (who suggests to read ⲁⲡⲟ ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗ[ⲏⲧⲓ]ⲁ ⲁⲛⲉ, *i.e.* A.M. 1055 (738-9/1338-9, not corresponding to 737/1336-7!)) and Bagnall & Worp, *Chronological systems*, p. 81 with n. 95.

[62] 'Apoulase' is not attested as a personal name in Coptic documents and is best understood as an Arabic *kunya* transcribed in Coptic. For the transcription of the Arabic *abū* in Coptic as ⲁⲡⲟⲩ, see the examples collected in *NB Copt.*, p. 15. For the personal name al-ʿĀṣī, see W. Caskel & G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab: das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996, II, p. 202. The elision of the *alif* of the Arabic definite article in Coptic transcriptions of names starting with *abū* is well attested (see, *e.g.*, ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲗⲁⲡⲡⲉⲥ for Abū al-ʿAbbās, ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁⲣⲁⲅ for Abū al-Faraǧ, and ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓⲣ for Abū al-Ḫayr listed in *NB Copt.*, p. 15). An ⲉ as the transcription of an *ī* in Arabic is unusual (*cf.* H. Worrell, *Coptic sounds*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan press, 1934, p. 128; J.H. Greenberg, "The interpretations of the Coptic vowel system", in K. Denning & S. Kemmer (eds), *On language: selected writings of Joseph H. Greenberg*, Stanford: Stanford University press, 1990, p. 435), but may be due to the fact that in al-ʿĀṣī the *ī* is not stressed and therefore almost pronounced as an *i*, for which ⲉ is found as a transcription (*cf.* Worrell, *Coptic sounds*, p. 125 and Greenberg, "The interpretations", pp. 435-6).

[63] For a similar use of *paneuphēmos* in the Byzantine and Persian period, see (the references in) F. Morelli, "Consiglieri e comandanti: i titoli del governatore arabo d'Egitto *symboulos* e *amîr*", *ZPE* 173 (2010), p. 159. For the value of honorifics in the first/seventh and second/eighth century, see A. Papaconstantinou, "'What remains behind': Hellenism and Romanitas in Christian Egypt after the Arab

second/eighth century, the honorific title is not found anymore but for the governor.[64] Apoulase was not a governor. Beside the fact that those governors' *kunya*s which medieval literary sources record do not resemble the name Apoulase,[65] texts publicly displayed (such as inscriptions,[66] papyrus protocols,[67] and exagia[68]) normally give a governor's name and patronymic whereas his *kunya* is always lacking. What is more, Coptic (as well as Greek) documents never use the title *amīr*, but rather *symboulos*, when referring to Egypt's governor. In the period under discussion, a.o. administrators such as *duces* and pagarchs could bear the title *amīr*.[69] That Apoulase is a governor is therefore very unlikely. Taking into

conquest", in H.M. Cotton *et al.* (eds), *From hellenism to Islam: cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, esp. pp. 451-3.

[64] Most second/eighth-century documents that use *paneuphēmos* come from the archive of Basileios, see the index of *P.Lond.* IV, p. 634. Add to the documents listed there, in chronological order, *P.Sijp.* 25 (Anṣinā; 79/698 or 94/713), *CPR* XXII 55 (Išqūh; 87/706), *P.HermitageCopt.* 21 and 27 (Išqūh; 90/709-96/714), *CPR* XXII 54 (Išqūh; 101/719 or 85/704). All these documents use *paneuphēmos* for the governor. The last dated document giving the honorific title to the *dux* is *P.Apoll.* 9 (prov. unknown; 56-7/676-7 or 40-1/660-1). The same document is also the latest dated document attaching *paneuphēmos* to the title *amīr*. But, many documents from the archive of *flavius* Papas that can only approximately be dated to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth quarter of the first/seventh century (*P.Apoll.* 10, 26-9, 33, 37-8, and 40 (all from Udfū)) also use the honorific in combination with the title *amīr*. Note that none of the documents mentioning the *dux* or the *amīr* date from after the turn of the second/eighth century. An inscription from northern Nubia dated 88/707 similarly uses the honorific title for the country's second to highest administrative official, the eparch (*I.KhartoumCopt.* 1 (Faras); I thank J. van der Vliet for referring me to this inscription). Only in two instances do we find *paneuphēmos* (possibly) used in the second/eighth century for the pagarch: *O.CrumST* 183 (Armant; second half of the first/seventh or second/eighth c.) and *P.CLT* 3 (Theban area; 110-1/728-9 or 125-6/743-4).

[65] Medieval literature records only few *kunya*s of governors relevant to the present discussion. Ibn Yūnus gives the following for the governors under the Rightly-Guided and Umayyad caliphs: Abū ʿAbd Allāh for ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 374 [no. 1026]); Abū Yaḥyā for ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ (*idem.*, I, p. 269 [no. 737]); Abū al-Qāsim for Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥuḏayfa (*idem.*, I, p. 441 [no. 1186]); Abū al-Qāsim for Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (*idem.*, II, p. 194 [no. 501]); Abū ʿAbs and/or Abū Ḥammād for ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir (*idem.*, I, pp. 345-6 [no. 949]); and Abū al-Aṣbaġ for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (*idem.*, II, p. 129 [no. 338]).

[66] *E.g.* *RCEA* 8 (al-Fusṭāṭ; 69/688), *RCEA* 12 (Qaṣr Burqa, Jordan; 81/700-1); *RCEA* 13 (prov. unknown; 85/704-5); *RCEA* 19 (al-Fusṭāṭ; 92/711). Except *RCEA* 12, these inscriptions are known from literary sources.

[67] *CPR* III/2, pp. xxvii-xlviii, liv-lviii, lxxiii, and lxxvii.

[68] See, *e.g.*, Morton, "A glass *dīnār* weight", p. 179 [no. 2]; A.H. Morton, *A catalogue of early Islamic glass stamps in the British Museum*, London: British Museum Publications, 1985, pp. 45-6, 67, 75-81 [nos 1-2, 91, 129-34, 141, 144-58]; Balog, *Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid and Ṭūlūnid glass weights and vessel stamps*, pp. 43-5, 72-5 [nos 1-13, 124-34].

[69] Morelli, "Consiglieri e comandanti", p. 161; A. Grohmann, "Beamtenstab", p. 121.

consideration his honorific title, his title *amīr*, and the use of a *kunya* only, Apoulase must have been an Upper Egyptian *dux*.

The identity of Apoulase shows the direct involvement of the top of Egypt's first/seventh-century administration in the maintenance of the infrastructure of the southern frontier. The inscription has clear connections with Byzantine inscriptions from the area. The *dux* Apoulase's repair of roads is in line with the many architectural improvements or innovations, especially those of the fortifications of Aswan and Philae, executed at the order of Byzantine *duces* of the Thebaid or their lieutenants. Similar to Apoulase's repair of roads, these improvements and innovations are recorded in inscriptions.[70] And like Apoulase, these *duces* and lieutenants held the highest authority over the frontier zone in Byzantine times.[71] As such, the inscription illustrates, with respect to the area's infrastructure, the continuity of the region's administrative-military dynamics in the first forty years of Arab rule.[72]

Two Greek documents dated 90/708 provide further information on the administration of the frontier zone and its relation to al-Fusṭāṭ. They mention a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Šurayḥ, an official (Gr. ἐπικείμενος) appointed by the central authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ to search for fiscal fugitives in what is called the λίμιτον.[73] A number of scholars have discussed the location and character of the *limiton* and to date it is generally thought to stand for the frontier zone between Egypt and

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[70] Esp. *I.Philae* II 216-26 (Philae; mostly datable to the A.D. sixth c.); *I.Thèbes-Syène* 235-7 (Aswan; A.D. sixth c.). See also note 53 above.

[71] Maspero, *Organisation*, pp. 101-2; Amélineau, "La conquête de l'Égypte", I, p. 303. *Cf.* B. Isaac, "The meaning of the terms *limes* and *limitanei*", *JRS* 78 (1988), p. 146.

[72] J. van der Vliet, "Contested frontiers: southern Egypt and northern Nubia, AD 300-1500. The evidence of the inscriptions", in G. Gabra & H. Takla (eds), *Christianity and monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, Cairo: AUC Press, 2013, pp. 71-2. The roads could have been used for non-military purposes as well such as for commercial transport. But usually, commercial transport to Aswan from the north went by ship and not over land. See al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, III, p. 40; Abū Ṣāliḥ (attr.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, ed. and tr. B.T.A. Evetts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895, pp. 274-5; Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam*, I, pp. 710-1; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 517.

[73] *P.Lond.* IV 1332-3 (Išqūh). See also *P.Lond.* IV 1518 (Išqūh; 90/708) and 1542 (Išqūh; 91/709) and H. Cadell, "Nouveaux fragments de la correspondance de Ḳurrah ben Sharik", *Recherches de papyrologie* 4 (1967), pp. 133-7.

Nubia proper.[74] As ʿAbd Allāh b. Šurayḥ was explicitly sent to 'the frontier', it has been argued that the *limiton* was distinct from the rest of Upper Egypt and was probably even administered separately.[75] The documents in question indicate that the *limiton* was an area that required special attention in the eyes of the Arab government at the beginning of the second/eighth century. As political authority in the area may not always have been clear[76] and Egyptians as well as Nubians are found to live on neighbouring territory,[77] the frontier was a natural haven for fiscal fugitives.[78] The appointment of ʿAbd Allāh b. Šurayḥ over the comparatively small area of the *limiton* further indicates that this area was relatively more problematic than the much larger Thebaid and Arcadia over either of which one official was similarly appointed.[79] Although the documents in question do not present evidence of *de facto* Arab control over (part of) the southern frontier, the

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[74] C.H. Becker, "Papyrusstudien", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 22 (1909), p. 141 (*contra* H.I. Bell, "The Aphrodito papyri", *The journal of Hellenic studies* 28 (1908), p. 108); E. Kornemann, "Zur Limesforschung", *Klio* 9 (1909), p. 502; Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, pp. 26-8 (*contra* R. Rémondon in *P.Apoll.*, p. 21); and P. Mayerson, "The meaning of the word *limes* (λίμιτον) in the papyri", *ZPE* 77 (1989), pp. 287-91. *Cf.* Ǧ. b. Ḫ. Abū Ṣafiyya, *Bardiyyāt Qurra b. Šarīk al-ʿAbsī*, Riadh: Markaz al-malik Fayṣal li-l-buḥūṯ wa-d-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 1425/2004, p. 222, n. 3.

[75] Mayerson, "The meaning of the word *limes*", p. 289; Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, p. 28, n. 6; *P.Apoll.*, p. 21; *cf.* H.I. Bell, "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum", *Der Islam* 2 (1911), p. 270 where *limiton* is translated as 'the Frontier'. A Coptic letter from the A.D. fifth century indicates that the *limiton* was indeed separately administered at that time, for it mentions an officer 'who has been placed over all the soldiers who are in the *limiton* of Egypt' (see T. Eide, *Fontes historiae Nubiorum: textual sources for the history of the middle Nile region between the eighth century B.C. and the sixth century A.D.*, III, Bergen: University of Bergen, 1998, no. 320). *Cf.* also Zuckermann, *Du village à l'empire*, pp. 53 and 174-5.

[76] See p. 102 above.

[77] Nubians in Egypt: al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, I, pp. 38-9; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, 4 vols, Paris: Leroux, 1899-1910, III, p. 91; see also epitaphs 7, 26, 28, 49, and 50 from the monastery of St Simeon's, dating to the A.D. sixth or first/seventh century and mentioning that the deceased monks were Nubians, in H. Munier, "Les stèles copte du Monastère de Saint-Siméon à Assouan", *Aegyptus* 11/3 (1931), pp. 257-300. Egyptians in Nubia: al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, III, pp. 41-3; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān*, p. 144; S. Jakobielski & J. van der Vliet, "From Aswan to Dongola: the epitaph of bishop Joseph (died A.D. 668)", in A. Łajtar & J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian voices: studies in Christian Nubian culture*, Warsaw: University of Warsaw, Faculty of law and administration, 2011, pp. 15-35. *Cf. Vie d'Isaac patriarche d'Alexandrie de 686 à 689*, p. 377 [79] on the prohibition to Egyptian bishops to enter northern Nubia.

[78] *Cf. P.Hamb.Arab.* I 13 (prob. Udfū; third/ninth c.) for an administrator's messenger who fled from Udfū to 'the border' (line 4: *al-ḥadd*; a connection with Aswan is established in line 11) but was captured it its vicinity by a number of soldiers (line 3: *baʿḍ al-ǧund*).

[79] *P.Lond.* IV 1332-3 (Išqūh; 90/708).

limiton's administrative separation from the Thebaid shows us the central Egyptian authorities' great concern for controlling this area and indicates that they actively sought to exercize their authority there in the second half of the Umayyad caliphate.

Whereas ʿAbd Allāh b. Šurayḥ visited the frontier at the orders of Egypt's central authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ, the region's general administrative and military administration must have concentrated in Aswan, at the northern end of the cataract.[80] A Greek-Coptic epitaph from 48/668 or 50/670 evidences that Aswan was the capital of a pagarchy in the decades following the Arab conquest and testifies to the town's administrative centrality.[81] Similar information exists for the period between the 90s/710s and the early-120s/740s when Aswan reportedly saw the visit of two high administrative officials who had their sees in al-Fusṭāṭ and came to establish the pagarchy's tax quota or collected tax money in person.[82] There is little information on the size of Aswan's pagarchy. Arabic papyri from the third/ninth century indicate that the territory of Aswan's *kūra* included Udfū.[83] For the period under discussion, however, our sources are silent. Without source

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[80] In agreement with the Syene papyri from before Islam, medieval Arab geographers indicate that Aswan was highly militarised. See J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the end of ancient Egyptian religion: a regional study of religious transformation (298-642 CE)*, Leuven: Peeters, 2008, p. 76; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 74 and 539 (also p. 293); *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, p. 152; Nāṣir-i Ḫusraw, *Book of travels*, tr. W.M. Thackston, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, p. 64.

[81] See Jakobielski & Van der Vliet, "From Aswan to Dongola". Aswan became the capital of a nome or pagarchy after A.D. 425-50 and appears as such in the Syene papyri (see J.H.F. Dijkstra & K.A. Worp, "The administrative position of Omboi and Syene in Late Antiquity", *ZPE* 155 (2006), pp. 183-7).

[82] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 156; *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 95 [349]. For Aswan's administrative centrality, see also al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 95, where there is explicit reference to Abbasid support in Aswan during the revolution (epitomized in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 55). In Becker's interpretation, verse 50 of the *Fourteenth vision of Daniel* tells that the last Umayyad caliph sought refuge in Aswan against Abbasid armies (Becker, "Das Reich der Ismaeliten", p. 37, *cf.* pp. 25-6). Although this contradicts general medieval Arab historiography, which places the caliph's death in Būṣīr (see p. 19), it concords with sources drawing on Theophiles of Edessa's (d. 169/785) *Chronicle* (see R.G. Hoyland, *Theophiles of Edessa's Chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in late Antiquity and early Islam*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011, pp. 280-3).

[83] Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, p. 41; *P.Hamb.Arab.* I 10 with comm. to line 3. Much later, al-Maqrīzī (*Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 194) and al-Bakrī (*Muʿǧam*, II, p. 619) write about seven unnamed villages belonging to a district (Ar. *kūra*, ʿamal) of the town and that this district reached as far as the mosque of ar-Rudaynī, located near the fortress al-Qaṣr.

material available, it also remains uncertain who controlled the fortress al-Qaṣr in the period under consideration.[84]

The earliest evidence for the role of the town of Aswan itself in the frontier comes from the mid-second/eighth century. In a letter dated 141/758 appears an administrator (Ar. *ʿāmil*) of Aswan, named Salm b. Sulaymān, who was directly subordinate to the governor in al-Fusṭāṭ. This letter, together with a number of related documents that have not yet been published,[85] shows that this administrator was the highest authority in the province, below the governor in al-Fusṭāṭ, to deal with matters pertaining to the relationship between Egypt and Nubia.[86] At this time, *duces* such as Apoulase formed no longer part of the administration.[87] The document shows that in the mid-second/eighth century high Arab officials seated at the northern end of the first cataract. This situation differed from that in Byzantine times when the highest authority over the southern frontier, the 'lieutenant of the *limiton*' (Gr. τοποτηρητής τοῦ λιμίτου), seated in Armant.[88]

Diplomatic relations between Egypt and Nubia were at times strained after 31/652. Literary sources attest to both Nubian and Egyptian attacks on neighbouring territory during the Umayyad caliphate.[89] Two eighth/fourteenth-century authors write that the Arabs attempted, but failed, to conquer Nubia for a

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[84] See p. 102 above.

[85] For a short description of Coptic documents related to the document from 141/758 (which refer to the *ʿāmil* with the term *amīr*), see J.M. Plumley, "An eighth-century Arabic letter to the king of Nubia", *JEA* 61 (1975), p. 245, comm. to line 38. J. Hagen currently works on an edition of these documents; they will be published in his Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Multilingualism and cultural change in medieval Nubia: the evidence of Coptic texts from Qasr Ibrim*.

[86] M. Hinds & H. Sakkout, "A letter from the governor of Egypt concerning Egyptian-Nubian relations in 141/758", in M. Hinds (eds J. Bacharach *et al.*), *Studies in early Islamic history*, Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1996, p. 176, lines 32-3 (Ibrīm, northern Nubia).

[87] Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, p. 104; M.A.L. Legendre, *Pouvoir et territoire: l'administration islamique en Moyenne-Égypte pré-ṭūlūnide (642-868)*, Ph.D. dissertation: Leiden University, 2013.

[88] C. Kunderewicz, "Les topotérètes dans les Novelles de Justinien et dans l'Égypte byzantine", *JJP* 14 (1962), p. 44.

[89] According to Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, LXVIII, pp. 227-8 [no. 9234] (see also Ibn Manẓūr, *Muḫtaṣar Taʾrīḫ Dimašq*, 29 vols + 2 indices, Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1404/1984-1417/1996, XIX, p. 303 [no. 344]), a Nubian attack on Egypt as far north as al-Fusṭāṭ was not unthinkable in the days of Mūsā b. Wardān (d. 117/735-6). See also Grohmann, *Geographie und Verwaltung*, p. 28.

second time during the caliphate of Hišām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105/724-125/743).[90] On the basis of a source dating from around 152/770,[91] the *History of the patriarchs* records that the Nubian king Kyriakos twice invaded Egypt in the mid-second/eighth century.[92] The same source also tells us that the Arabs 'were in the habit of stealing Nubians and sold them as slaves in Egypt [or, al-Fusṭāṭ]'.[93] It is beyond doubt, then, that one of Aswan's primary functions was to protect Egyptian territory north of it from the peoples that lived beyond *dār al-islām* – an obvious reason for the existence of direct connections between Aswan and the authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ.

3. *Arcadia*

The establishment of Arab rule over Aswan in 31/652 and, subsequently, the Arab authorities' strong efforts to maintain their control there greatly affected the form of Arab rule in Arcadia, Upper Egypt's northern eparchy. There, the Arabs initially removed military authority from local non-Arab administrators[94] and stationed Arab soldiers under the command of Arab *amīr*s who were closely related to the administration in al-Fusṭāṭ[95] – as was the case with Alexandria. As we will see shortly, the establishment of the southern frontier in 31/652, amongst others, made possible the implementation of large-scale administrative reforms in the early-40s/660s which altered the administration of the military. These reforms predominantly concerned the provisioning of Arab soldiers stationed in al-Fusṭāṭ as well as in the Egyptian countryside and may be related to a decline of the Arabs' military presence in Upper Egypt north of the frontier zone.

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[90] Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīḫ Ibn al-Furāt*, VII-IX, ed. Q. Zurayq, Beirut: The American Press, 1936-42, VII, p. 45 and an-Nuwayrī, translated in Vantini, *Oriental sources*, p. 476.

[91] Den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Manṣūr*, pp. 8 and 145-6.

[92] *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 144-5 [398-9]; see also Abū Ṣāliḥ, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, p. 123 [Arabic; fol. 97a]. In Becker's interpretation, verse 37 of the *Fourteenth vision of Daniel* also refers to a Nubian attack at the end of the Umayyad period, penetrating Egypt as far north as al-Ušmūn (Becker, "Dar Reich der Ismaeliten", p. 34-7).

[93] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 145 [399].

[94] *Cf.* John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 184 [CXV.11].

[95] *Cf. CPR* XXX, p. 16.

3.1. *The initial period: 21/641-c. 40/661*

We begin our survey of al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with the Arab military apparatus in Arcadia with mid-first/seventh-century documents from Ihnās. These documents emanate from the administrations of Apa Kyros and his sons and successors Christophoros and Theodorakios, pagarchs of Ihnās in the 20s/640s.[96] In contrast to contemporary documents from the Fayyūm and al-Ušmūn, which we will briefly discuss below, those from Ihnās are very explicit about the identity of the Arabs stationed on the pagarchy's territory and mention, for instance, Arab soldiers of various types as well as personnel serving them.[97] The Arabic part of *P.World*, pp. 113-5 (Ihnās; 28.6.22/25.4.643) mentions a battalion (Ar. *katāʾib*), heavily-armed soldiers (Ar. *ṯuqalāʾ*), and shipmen serving the *amīr* (Ar. *aṣḥāb sufunihi*). Two Greek documents, *SB* VIII 9753 (Ihnās; 11.1.23/29.11.643) and *SB* VI 9577 (Ihnās; mid-first/seventh c.), mention attendants (Gr. παιλικάρια) and so-called 'companions-in-arms' (Gr. σύμμαχοι); the military character of the latters' duties remain uncertain.[98] Overlap between the Arabic and Greek terminology is possible. The documents further tell us that these soldiery were (administratively) organized along tribal lines[99] and were stationed at 'a reserved place' (Gr. χῶ(ρον) πεποιημέ(νον)).[100]

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[96] For an overview of the documents from Ihnās and documents related to them, see *CPR* XXII, p. 48. Add *SPP* III² 89 (Ihnās; mid-first/seventh c.) to the documents listed there. Apa Kyros and his son Christophoros may have headed the northern *skelos* of the pagarchy together for some while; see *PLRE* III/A, p. 312 [*s.v.* 'Fl. Christophorus 4'].

[97] *Cf.* Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, pp. 223-4. In addition to the overview below, see also *SB* VI 9577 (Ihnās; mid-first/seventh c.) for a yet unknown type of soldier (Gr. λυκαρρ/; with H. Harrauer & P.J. Sijpesteijn, "20 Bemerkungen zu Papyri", *Tyche* 3 (1988), pp. 111-2 and F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo (V-VIII d.C.)*, Firenze: Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli", 1996, p. 87).

[98] *Symmachoi* attached to the office of local administrative officials were armed but had no military powers, see A. Jördens, "Die ägyptische Symmachoi", *ZPE* 66 (1986), esp. pp. 106-7. In *P.World*, pp. 113-5, however, they are under the command of an Arab general, a fact which may have altered their duties.

[99] *SB* VI 9578, line 2, and A. Grohmann, "The value of Arabic papyri for the study of the history of mediaeval Egypt", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Historical Studies* 1 (1952), pp. 52-3, line 4, (both from Ihnās and dated 22/642) are orders for the delivery of provisions for the tribe of Quḍāʿa (Gr. Κουτα). It is unknown whether soldiers belonging to other tribes were stationed in/near Ihnās. *Cf.* Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, pp. 223-4. See also *SB* VIII 9753, line 2. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, p. 142) writes that the tribes of Ḥimyar and Ḫawlān visited 'the villages of [the district of] Ihnās' as part of the yearly *murtabaʿ al-ǧund*. It is uncertain whether Quḍāʿa belonged to Ḥimyar or not (M.J. Kister, "Kuḍāʿa", *EI²*, V, p. 315);

Beside the soldiers, two garrison commanders (Gr. sg. ἀμιρᾶ(ς); Ar. sg. *amīr*) appear *expressis verbis* in these documents: *SB* VIII 9755 (15.8.21/19.7.642) mentions an *amīr* named Ǧabala and the well-known *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Ǧābir appears nine months later in the just-mentioned *P.World*, pp. 113-5.[101] Although not explicitly called an *amīr*, one ʿĀmir b. Aslaʿ headed local troops in the winter of 21-2/642-3;[102] that is to say, he is attested chronologically between Ǧabala and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ǧābir. It is unknown whether Ǧabala, ʿĀmir b. Aslaʿ, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ǧābir successively held the post of garrison commander, headed troops simultaneously, or were of different hierarchical ranks. The mentioning of 'the *amīr* of Ihnās', one Qays, in a document dated 32/653 suggests a more or less permanent presence of an Arab military element on the territory of the civil administration of the pagarchy and strongly reminds us of the situation in Alexandria.[103]

These commanders were the main persons through whom the pagarch's administration stood in contact with the local Arab garrison. In fact, the documents show that, at times, the Arab authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ gave orders that were meant to keep the local civil administration and garrison as much separated as possible. The most illuminating document in this regard is *SB* XX 14443, dated Ṣafar 11, 22/January 9, 643. In this document, the governor ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ orders 'the pagarch of Ihnās' to hand over to ʿĀmir b. Aslaʿ four bundles of fodder (at the

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Ḫawlān may, indeed, have been a subtribe of Quḍāʿa (A. Grohmann & A.K. Irvine, "Khawlān", *EI²*, IV, p. 1134).

[100] *SB* XX 14443 (Ihnās; 11.2.22/9.1.643), line 4.

[101] Other *amīr*s named ʿAbd Allāh (without patronymic) appear, in a chronological order, in *SB* VI 9578 (Ihnās; 27.1.22/26.12.642), *SB* VIII 9751 (Ihnās; 7.7.22/1.6.643), *SB* VIII 9753 (Ihnās; 11.1.23/29.11.643), *SPP* VIII 741 (Fayyūm; 11.2.25/7.12.645), *P.Lond.* I 116/a (Fayyūm; 18.2.25/14.12.645), *BGU* II 681 (prov. unknown; 5.3.25/30.12.645), *P.Vindob.* G 56038 (al-Ušmūn; mid-first/seventh c.; see *CPR* XXX, p. 17), and *SB* VI 9577 (Ihnās; mid-first/seventh c.). With no further information, we cannot identify one or more of these ʿAbd Allāhs with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ǧābir or, as some have suggested, with ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ. The latter is said to have ruled (a part of) Upper Egypt from the Fayyūm during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 173-4; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 11). *Cf.* note 123 below.

[102] *SB* XX 14443 mentions soldiers under ʿĀmir's command (line 3: ἀνθ(ρώπων) αὐτοῦ). He also appears in *SB* VI 9578 (Ihnās; 27.1.22/26.12.642).

[103] *SB* VIII 9756 (Ihnās; 8.6.32/14.1.653), line 1: Καεὶς ἀμιρᾶς Ἡρακλέ(ους πόλεως). As to the date of this document, *cf.* A. Papaconstantinou, "Administering the early Islamic empire: insights from the papyri", in J.F. Haldon (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria: a review of current debates*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, p. 63.

value of 2 solidi). The pagarch should also provide an *irdabb* of bread (line 3: ψωμίω(ν)) for each of ʿĀmir's men and assign them a suitable place to reside. A note on the back tells that the village of Kephalē delivered the requested fodder. This village lay on the eastern shore of the Nile and is associated with the region around Būṣīr, to the north of the city of Ihnās.[104] The Arab garrison may well have been stationed in the village's vicinity.[105] Strikingly, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ orders the pagarch only to contact the garrison through ʿĀmir b. Aslaʿ and writes that the pagarch 'should not trouble this place by (billetting) others (but ʿĀmir)'.[106] *SB* XX 14443 illustrates the separation between the Arab military apparatus and the local civil administration.[107] At times, however, this separation was less strict. The above-mentioned *SB* VIII 9755, addressed to the administration of Apa Kyros, records the witnessing of a number of Arabs, probably regular soldiers, to the sound delivery of horses. Nonetheless, the administrative distinction between civil and military matters was real and is strongly reminiscent of the situation in Alexandria (see chapter 1).[108] It is in this respect that we must turn to the documents from the pagarchies of the Fayyūm and al-Ušmūn.

The documents from the Fayyūm are part of the archive of Theodorakios, who is attested as pagarch of the Fayyūm in documents dating from 18-9/639-40 to 30/651.[109] Those from the pagarchy of al-Ušmūn emanate from the administration of the pagarch Athanasios (early-20s/640s) and probably come from an archive of an administrator of the northern *skelos*, administrative division, of that pagarchy.[110] In contrast to the documents from Ihnās, those from the Fayyūm and al-Ušmūn give no explicit information on an Arab military presence on these

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[104] Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, III, p. 1235 [*s.v.* 'Kephalē (II)'] and A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, 5 vols + 4 suppl. vols, Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1966-2007, III, p. 115 and suppl. 3, p. 60.

[105] *Cf. CPR* XXX, p. 14.

[106] For the interpretation of the text (line 4: μὴ βαρέσ(ης) χῶ(ρον) ὑπὲρ ἄλλου), see *P.World*, p. 116.

[107] See also CPR XXX, pp. 16-7.

[108] *Pace* F.M. Donner, "The growth of military institutions in the early caliphate and their relation to civilian authority", *Al-Qanṭara* 14/2 (1993), pp. 321-2.

[109] *CPR* XXIV, pp. 197-200.

[110] On the date and exact provenance of the archive, see *CPR* XXX, pp. 15-6 and 21-7.

pagarchies' territories.[111] They do show, however, that Arabs in the Fayyūm and al-Ušmūn in the first years after the conquest were not attached to the local administrations but were subjected to Arab *amīr*s of various hierarchical positions. Similar to the administrative situation in the pagarchy of Ihnās and in Alexandria, a yet unedited Greek document tells us that an '*amīr* of al-Ušmūn' existed beside the pagarch of that district.[112] As such, these documents confirm the continuation of the local civil administrations and the different organization of the newly-arrived Arab military units.

The documents related to locally stationed soldiers generally belong to two kinds: orders for the delivery of provisions and receipts of delivery. The authorities who order provisions are the top of the Arab administration in al-Fusṭāṭ (ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and his deputy Ḫāriǧa b. Ḥuḏāfa[113]) and Arab garrison commanders stationed with their soldiers on the pagarchies' territory (found in documents from Ihnās as well as from the Fayyūm and probably also from al-Ušmūn).[114] The local authorities addressed in the documents vary. They mostly are the pagarchs or their staff,[115] but demands directly addressed to heads of villages also exist.[116] Some documents make it clear that the Arab authorities regarded the requisitions as advance payments of tax money in the form of provisions valued at

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[111] But *cf.* the interpretation of *CPR* VIII 85 (al-Ušmūn; mid-first/seventh c.) in *CPR* XXX, pp. 16-7.

[112] *P.Vindob.* G 14447 (al-Ušmūn; mid-first/seventh c.); see *CPR* XXX, p. 16.

[113] For his role in the administration, see pp. 30-1 above.

[114] The administration in al-Fusṭāṭ: *SB* XX 14443; Grohmann, "The value", pp. 52-3. Locally-present *amīr*s: *P.Lond.* III 1081 (prob. al-Ušmūn; prob. early-20s/640s [*cf. CPR* XXX, p. 225]); *SB* VIII 9748 (Fayyūm; mid-first/seventh c.); *SB* VIII 9752 (Fayyūm; mid-first/seventh c.); *SB* VIII 9753 (Ihnās; 11.1.23/29.11.643). See F. Morelli, "*Gonachia e kaunakai* nei papiri con due documenti inediti (P.Vindob. G 1620 e P.Vindob. G 18884) e uno riedito (*P.Brook.* 25)", *JJP* 32 (2002), pp. 61-2 for a document that records an undefined group of people, probably locally-stationed Arabs, requisitioning wool from a villager.

[115] *SB* VIII 9753 is addressed to the *dioikētēs* Kosmas. This Kosmas probably also appears in *BGU* I 304 (Ihnās; 16.2.27/21.11.647), in which he is a secretary (line 5: χαρ(του)λ(αρίου)) of the pagarch Christophoros. For the *dioikētēs*, see Steinwenter, *Studien*, pp. 19-25 and Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, pp. 305-7.

[116] *E.g.*, *SB* VI 9578 (Ihnās; 27.1.22/26.12.642) and *CPR* VIII 85 (al-Ušmūn; mid-first/seventh c. [*cf.* note 111 above]). *BGU* II 681 (Fayyūm; 25/645) and *P.Lond.* I 116/a (Fayyūm; 25/645) are quittances of the payment of a part of the *diagraphon* tax by two quarters (Gr. sg. λαύρα) in Madīnat al-Fayyūm (Arsinoitōn Polis) at the order of an *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh.

their market prices, resembling the Byzantine system of *coemptio*.[117] Other documents, however, show that the soldiery also had to provide for themselves by buying supplies on the local markets. The documents record how the central Arab authorities ordered the local administrations to prepare goods for selling to the Arab soldiers or to buy supplies on their behalf which were then deducted from the tax quota.[118] Only the authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ issued demands that state that the provisions should be reckoned as an advance payment of taxes.[119] The orders of garrison commanders to deliver provisions never contain such information. The fact that, at times, these commanders do appear as supervising the collection of taxes and are recorded to have issued tax receipts shows that they, like their colleagues in al-Fusṭāṭ, had the power to exercize authority in fiscal matters.[120] It is important to note that, in contrast to what we will see below for a slightly later period, the authorities who demanded provisions from the local administrations (the highest administrators in al-Fusṭāṭ or local *amīr*s) differed, according to circumstances unknown to us, and did not form one body of government demanding taxes. The goods or money requisitioned by the *amīr*s in Ihnās, the Fayyūm, or al-Ušmūn doubtlessly were part of the larger fiscal administration headed by the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ.[121] But the *amīr*s' authority to

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[117] D.C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 75; Papaconstantinou, "Administering the early Islamic empire", p. 66.

[118] Orders to prepare the selling of supplies: *SB* VI 9578 and *SB* VIII 9753. An order to buy: Grohmann, "The value", pp. 52-3. See also *BGU* II 366 (Fayyūm; 24/645 or 40/660), a document in which one Iōannēs son of Mēnas agrees to prepare a *gonachion* and three matrasses 'on account of the Saracens' (line 12-3: εἰς λόγον τῶν Σαρκηνῶν) and *SPP* XX 238 (Fayyūm; second half first/seventh c.), a list of payments or deliveries including the phrase 'on account of the camels of the *magaritai*' (*recto*, line 4: εἰ(ς) λ(όγον) τῶ(ν) καμήλ(ων) μαγαρί(ται)). (For the meaning of *gonachia*, see Morelli, "*Gonachia* e *kaunakai*", esp. pp. 55-6.) See also H. Kennedy, "Military pay and the economy of the early Islamic state", *Historical research* 75 (2002), pp. 165 and 168.

[119] Grohmann, "The value", pp. 52-3 explicitly states that the *irdabb*s of wheat, requisitioned by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's deputy, should be paid 'out of the money tax' (*recto* line 3 and *verso*: ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου). As a fiscal term, *dēmosion* designates the broad fiscal category of the money tax (*P.Lond.* IV, p. xxv; see also Hicky & Worp, "The dossier of Patermouthios *sidêrourgos*", pp. 84-6). But *dēmosion* could equally mean 'municipal treasury' (see Gascou, "De Byzance à l'Islam", p. 101).

[120] *P.World*, pp. 113-5, issued by the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğābir, explicity states that the delivery of provisions was 'on account of the money tax' (*verso*: εἰ(ς) τ(ὴν) ἐξάνυσιν τῶ(ν) δημοσίω(ν)). See also *SB* VIII 9755, 9756 and *SB* XX 14443.

[121] Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, p. 74.

demand provisions and to issue tax receipts, seemingly at an *ad hoc* basis,[122] shows that local garrisons were to some extent economically independent from the central authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ.[123]

3.2. *Developments after c. 40/660*

SB VIII 9756 (Ihnās), dated Ǧumādā II 8, 32/January 14, 653, is the latest dated document that attests to local Arab garrison commanders being involved in requisitioning provisions and issuing receipts. After the 30s/650s, documents no longer refer to Arab garrisons as frequently as do those from the pagarchies of Ihnās, the Fayyūm, and al-Ušmūn of the 20s/640s. Literary sources too are rather reserved with their information on Arab military presence outside the main garrison towns of al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria.[124] We discussed the probability of Aswan's military importance above. Garrisons are not anymore found demanding provisions from local civil administrations or to issue tax receipts. The use of the title *amīr* underwent telling changes. This title is only once attested for presumably a military commander after the 30s/650s,[125] but got more regularly attached to the office of the *dux*, who had no military responsibilities,[126] from the

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[122] Dennett, *Conversion*, p. 75; Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns", p. 122. See also Morimoto, *The fiscal administration of Egypt*, pp. 40-1. For the continued levying of existing taxes beside the requistions meant for locally-stationed soldiers, see Gascou, "De Byzance à l'Islam", p. 101.

[123] For the operational decentrality of the Arab military during the conquests and early thereafter, see F.M. Donner, "Centralized authority and military autonomy in the early Islamic conquests", in A. Cameron (ed.) *The Byzantine early Islamic Near East*, III: *States, resources and armies*, Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, 1995, pp. 358-9. It is in this context that we probably must see ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's alleged independence from ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in the early-20s/640s. Arabic historical tradition has it that ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ ruled Upper Egypt from the Fayyūm (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 173-4; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 11). The just-discussed documents that mentions ʿAmr's authority disprove ʿAbd Allāh's administrative independence. *Cf.* note 101 above.

[124] Al-Kindī (*al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 21) mentions a large contingent of soldiers stationed near Ḫaribtā (Andropolis) during the first civil war (36/656-41/661). Ar-Ramla, near Alexandria, possibly housed a military unit under the Umayyads (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192), as did Dimyāṭ and Tinnīs (al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 70 and 74). Soldiers were also found, of course, opposite al-Fusṭāṭ at al-Ǧīza (Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, pp. 125-6; Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, *Muʿǧam*, II, p. 177). Most of the Nile valley, however, goes unmentioned. We do not know until when the *murtabaʿ al-ǧund* remained practiced.

[125] *CPR* VIII 72 (poss. Fayyūm; poss. late-first/seventh or early-second/eighth c.) mentions the *amīr* Yaḥyā b. Adian (*lege* ʿAdnān?).

[126] Grohmann, "Der Beamtestab", p. 123.

early-40s/660s at the earliest.[127] The novel use of the title *amīr* in the Umayyad period has recently been explained as being part of a development in which ties between the *dux* and the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ increased and in which *duces* increasingly identified themselves with that central administration.[128] From approximately the Sufyanid period on, then, most of the *amīr*s we encounter in our sources are civil administrators and not part of the military.

Only very rarely do we find documents that evidence Arab military presence in Arcadia and the northern Thebaid after the 30s/650s. The few documents that we presently possess show remarkable divergencies from the situation of the 20s/640s and early-30s/650s. These are central to the following discussion.[129] They help us understand the local garrisons' relationship with the central authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ and the local civil administrations and point at a centralization of military authority in the early-Umayyad period.

This relationship is, albeit almost cryptically, visible in the early-second/eighth-century document *P.Cair.Arab.* III 150 (Išqūh; 90/709). This administrative document tells us that soldiers (Ar. *ahl al-ǧund*) claimed forty years of military duty in the pagarchy of Išqūh before the governor Qurra b. Šarīk (in office 90/709-96/714). The governor seems to have found no record of this in his archives in al-Fusṭāṭ and asked Basileios, head of the said pagarchy, to search for information in the local archives. The relationship between the pagarch and these *ahl al-ǧund* remains unarticulated. Other documents allow us to develop some thoughts on this relationship. Three documents from after 40/661 and all from the Fayyūm are particularly informative on Arab military presence outside al-Fusṭāṭ. The relationship between the local civil administrations and the garrisons, as visible in these documents, clearly differs from that of the 20s/640s and early-30s/650s. They show a much more centralized and systematized requisitioning of provisions for the soldiery.

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[127] The title *amīr* for the *dux* is first attested in *P.Apoll.* 9 (prov. unknown, prob. Udfū; 40-1/660-1 or 56-7/676-7).

[128] Legendre, *Pouvoir et territoire*, esp. pp. 119-93.

[129] For possible implicit references to soldiers in the Fayyūm, see Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, pp. 130-1.

SPP VIII 1085 (Fayyūm) is one of the three post-40/660 documents known at present to refer to an Arab regiment (line 2: τọύρ[μης).[130] The document stems from the archive of Pettērios, pagarch of the Fayyūm. Pettērios was in office some time between the years 47/667 and 54/674.[131] As *SPP* VIII 1085 mentions Pettērios to be pagarch, the document stems from this period.[132] Pettērios belonged to the local nobility. *Flavius* Mēnas, who might well be Pettērios's father-in-law, headed the same pagarchy before the Arab conquest.[133] Pettērios himself, as well as his son and wife, owned and leased out agricultural land in the Fayyūm.[134] Considering Pettērios's origin, he had no military authority. In *SPP* VIII 1085, Pettērios orders a village to deliver to 'the men of ʿUṯmān b. Yazīd' 332 *irdabb*s of wheat.[135] The document mentions that the requisitions were in accordance with an official communication of a fiscal assessment (line 2: δ(ιὰ) ἐπιστ[άλματος]).[136] The identity of the authority who made the assessment cannot be identified,[137] but on the basis of other documents from Pettērios' archive we may assume that he was a high administrative official, subordinate to the governor.[138] *SPP* VIII 1085 shows that the

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[130] The *editio princeps* presents this word as entirely lost in a lacuna. F. Morelli informs me (personal correspondence, February 2013) that the first three letters can be read to some extent. The ρ is least certain and may in fact be a ξ. But close parallels between *SPP* VIII 1085 and *CPR* VIII 74 and 75, which will be discussed below (see also note 135 below), make the reading τọύρ[μης preferable.

[131] *CPR* X, p. 154. From 54/674 comes the first dated document that mentions Pettērios's successor (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 52 [Fayyūm]). The latest dated document from Pettērios's archive dates from 49/669 (*P.Mert.* II 100 [Fayyūm]); Pettērios is mentioned deceased in *SPP* III 324 (Fayyūm), datable to 52/672 or 67/687.

[132] The succession of pagarchs in the Fayyūm in the first fifty years after the conquest is well established; see *CPR* X, pp. 154-5 and *CPR* XXIV, pp. 197-200.

[133] *CPR* XXIV, p. 179.

[134] *SPP* VIII 869, 1079, and 1188 (all from the Fayyūm and dating from the *c.* mid-first/seventh c.). See also Banaji, *Agrarian change*, pp. 157-8.

[135] Line 2, *lege* ἀπὸ σί(του) ἀρτ(αβῶν) Γϡϱβ σị(του) [ἀρ]τ(άβας) τλβ τριακοσι( ) τρ[ιάκοντα δύο] instead of ἀπὸ στρ( ) Γϡϱβ [στρ( ) τ]λβ τριακοσι( ) τρ[ιάκοντα δύο] of the *editio princeps*. The closest parallels are found in the other two documents that mention a regiment: *CPR* VIII 74, lines 3-4: ἀπὸ σί(του) ἀρτ(αβῶν) Ασξδ σί(του) ἀρτ(άβας) ρν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντ(α) μ(όνας) and in *CPR* VIII 75, line 3: ἀπὸ σί(του) ἀρτ(αβῶν) ϡκ ʃ σί(του) ἀρτ(άβας) ν πεντήκ(ον)τ(α) μ(όνας). I thank F. Morelli for checking the original for me.

[136] For the interpretation of *epistalma*, see N. Gonis & F. Morelli, "A requisition for the 'Commander of the Faithful': *SPP* VIII 1082 revised", *ZPE* 132 (2000), p. 195, comm. at line 4.

[137] *Cf.* Foss, "Egypt under Muʿāwiya. Part II", p. 263.

[138] In *SPP* III 254 (Fayyūm; 3.9.47/27.10.667) and *P.Mert.* II 100 (Fayyūm; 18.9.49/20.10.669), both part of the archive of Pettērios, the authorities are respectively the unidentifiable Saʿīd and the *dux* Iordanēs.

delivery of provisions to locally-stationed Arab soldiers formed part of an official assessment, contrasting the *ad hoc* demands of the 20s/640s and early-30s/650s.

A similar situation is visible in the other two documents that refer to an Arab regiment, *CPR* VIII 74 and 75. They belong to the archive of *flavius* Atias/ʿAṭiyya b. Ǧuʿayd who is attested as pagarch of the Fayyūm in 75/694, *dux* of the Thebaid between 76/696 and 78/698, and finally as *dux* of the combined eparchies of Arcadia and the Thebaid between 80-1/699-700 and 84/703.[139] Like Pettērios, ʿAṭiyya is not known to have enjoyed military authority.[140] In *CPR* VIII 74 (Fayyūm), dated Ǧumādā II 6, 79/August 20, 698, the *dux* ʿAṭiyya orders the inhabitants of the village Dikaion, in the Fayyūm, to deliver 150 *irdabb*s of wheat 'to those of the third division of Muḍar, [that is?] the regiment of Lefif of the Banū Taym b. al-Ḥāriṯ'.[141] The troops are perhaps to be identified with the Banū Taym b. al-Ḥāriṯ of Qurayš.[142] The document's *verso* informs us that the wheat was meant as the troops' *roga*.[143] Similar to the requisitions mentioned in *SPP* VIII 1085, the amount of *roga* of *CPR* VIII 74 is in accordance with an official communication of a fiscal assessment, this time made by the administration of the governor ʿAbd al-

Cf. P.Apoll. 96, comm. at line 4. The governor appears as the issuing authority in documents from *c.* 80/700 onwards: *SB* XXVI 16797 (Ihnās; 67-8/687-8 or 83-4/702-3), *P.Lond.* IV 1416/f (Išqūh; 116/734), 1434-5 (Išqūh; 98/716) 1436 (Išqūh; 100/719), and 1447 (Išqūh; 65/685-86/705).

[139] *CPR* VIII, pp. 192-7; J. Cromwell, "Coptic texts in the archive of Flavius Atias", *ZPE* 184 (2013), pp. 283-4.

[140] On the stages of his career, *cf.* Banaji, *Agrarian change*, pp. 138-9.

[141] *CPR* VIII 74, line 2: τοῖς τοῦ γ μέρου(ς) Μωδρ τούρμ(ης) Λεφιφ τῶν υἱ(ῶν) Θεειμ υἱο(ῦ) Αλερθ.

[142] Caskel & Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, plate 30. See M.ʿA. ar-Rīṭī, *Dawr al-qabāʾil al-ʿarabiyya fī Ṣaʿīd Miṣr*, Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī [n.d.], p. 80 for the presence of the Banū Luʾayy b. Ġālib, to whom belonged the Banū Taym b. al-Ḥāriṯ, in the Fayyūm. Other Banū Taym b. al-Ḥāriṯ descended not from Muḍar but from Rabīʿa b. Nizār (Caskel & Stranziok, *Ǧamharat*, I, plate 165) and, therefore, do not fit *CPR* VIII 74. Note that the so-called al-Lafīf, a conglomeration of various tribal groups living on one *ḫiṭṭa* in al-Fusṭāṭ with which one may want to identify the document's Lefif (but *cf.* Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, ch. 2), did not include groups of Muḍar according to al-Maqrīzī (*Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 34-5) and Ibn Duqmāq (*al-Intiṣār*, IV, pp. 3-4). An identification of Lefif with al-Lafīf is not probable. The tribal groups that together formed this conglomeration were administered separatedly (*mutafarraqīn fī ad-dīwān*; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 34; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār*, IV, p. 3). Therefore, that al-Lafīf is used in *CPR* VIII 74 (and 75) as an administrative unit is unlikely. Perhaps the Greek corresponds to al-ʿAfīf?

[143] For *roga*, used for both military pay and provisions, see the discussions in J. Kramer, "*roga*", *ZPE* 94 (1992), pp. 185-90; P. Mayerson, "'Ρουζικόν and ῥογά in the post-conquest papyri", *ZPE* 100 (1994), pp. 126-8; Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni*, p. 113; R. Stroumsa, *People and identities in Nessana*, Ph.D. dissertation: Duke University, 2008, pp. 131-7.

ʿAzīz b. Marwān in al-Fusṭāṭ (line 4).[144] The fragmentary *CPR* VIII 75 (Fayyūm), dated to *c.* 79/698, contains a similar order addressed to a different village in the Fayyūm. Like *SPP* VIII 1085 and *CPR* VIII 74, the delivery of provisions in *CPR* VIII 75 is part of an official assessment.

The explicit references to an official assessment in these three documents points at a more centralized system of requisitioning provisions for local troops than that of the first decade after the conquest. In contrast to the garrisons of the 20s/640s, it were not Arab soldiers who demanded provisions from local civil administrations or from villages after *c.* 40/661. Instead, more central levels of the administration directed their provisioning.[145] In contrast to the restricted provenance of the just-discussed three documents, evidence for this comes from a larger area. For example, two documents emanating from the civil administration of Udfū of the 50s/670s deal with blankets (Gr. γονάχια) that are said to be part of *rouzikon* (*i.e.*, *rizq*) demanded by the authorities.[146] These two documents, together with a group of documents from Naṣtān (Nessana, Palestine),[147] are the first to use *rizq* in an administrative context and may be taken to support the idea of a recent change in the administration of the military. A document dating from the governorate of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, *P.Ness.* III 92 (Naṣtān; *c.* 65/685), lists payments of *rouzikon* and *roga* to soldiers stationed in Palestine. Some of the soldiers belong administratively to Egypt. An official called 'rizq guard' (Gr. φύλαξ ῥουζικοῦ), appointed directly by the Egyptian governor, supervises the distribution of these soldiers' maintenance and pay. The direct and seemingly exceptional involvement of the governor may be explained by the fact that the Egyptian soldiers of *P.Ness.* III 92 are stationed outside the province. But other

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[144] See note 138 above.

[145] *Cf.* Simonsen, *Studies*, p. 83.

[146] *P.Apoll.* 49 and 50 (both from Udfū; both dated 55-6/675-6). For the meaning of *gonachia*, see note 118 above. From the same pagarchy but with no precise date, *P.Apoll.* 94 and 95 (both from the second half of the first/seventh c.) mention hides (Gr. δέρματα) requisitioned as *rouzikon*. For *rouzikon* and *rizq*, see the references in note 143 and Simonsen, *Studies*, pp. 109-12; Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni*, pp. 92-3; Kennedy, *The armies of the caliphs*, pp. 73-4.

[147] *P.Ness.* III 60-6 (Naṣtān; dates range between 54/674 and 57/676).

documents, particularly documents related to the administration of Qurra b. Šarīk, confirm such involvement of the governor.[148]

In *P.Lond.* IV 1335 (Išqūh; 90/709), for instance, Qurra b. Šarīk demands wheat from the pagarchy of Išqūh 'on account of the *rizq* of the *muhāǧirūn* of al-Fusṭāṭ'. In another letter, Qurra demands the quick delivery of bread for Arab soldiers (Ar. *muqātila*) who partake in the *cursus*.[149] Of special interest are *P.Lond.* IV 1435 (Išqūh; 96/716) and *CPR* XXII 44 (prov. unknown; late-first/early eighth c.). Emanating from the archive of an Upper Egypt pagarchy, these two documents register fiscal levies for the maintenance costs of soldiers (Gr. μάχοι)[150] stationed with their animals on the Mediterranean shore at the mouths of the Nile.[151] They illustrate how Arab soldiers outside al-Fusṭāṭ at the turn of the second/eighth century depended for their needs on a central body of government and not directly on the civil administrations on whose territory they were stationed.[152]

In sum, the administration of the military in Upper Egypt under the Umayyads differed from that of the first decade of Arab rule. The economic independence of Arab garrisons during this period, discussed in section 3.1, is no longer visible in our documentation of the Umayyad period. Rather, the increased role of the Arabs' central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ which our Umayyad sources do show meant, in reality, an increase of these garrisons' economic dependence on, and hence an increase of the power of, the administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. At the

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[148] In addition to the documents that will be mentioned in what follows, see *e.g.* also C.H. Becker, "Neue arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes", *Der Islam* 2 (1911), no. 1, *Chrest.Khoury* I 90, *P.Cair.Arab.* I 148, *P.Heid.Arab.* I 13, *P.Lond.* IV 1404, 1407, 1434, and 1435. All documents are from Išqūh and date from the period 90/709-96/714.

[149] Y. Rāġib, "Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Šarīk", *JNES* 40/3 (1981), no. 1 (Išqūh; 90/709-96/714).

[150] *Cf.* V. Christides, "Continuation and change in early Arab Egypt as reflected in the terms and titles of the Greek papyri", *BSAA* 45 (1993), p. 72.

[151] *P.Lond.* IV 1435, line 87 and *CPR* XXII 44, line 8.

[152] See also Sijpesteijn, "Army economics", esp. pp. 253-7. Documents concerning the provisioning of Arab soldiers in Palestine present a similar situation there (*pace* Kennedy, *The armies of the caliphs*, p. 67). *P.Ness.* III 60 to 66 (Naṣtān), dated between 54/674 and 57/677, are bilingual *entagia* issued by the Palestinian governor seating in Ġazza and addressed to the village of Naṣtān. (For the possible identification of two of the mentioned tribes, see Kennedy, *The armies of the caliphs*, p. 66.) These documents demand the delivery of *rizq* (wheat and oil) to tribally organized Arab troops stationed in the area. But *cf. P.Lond.* IV 1441 (Išqūh; 87/706), intr., according to which the travelling costs of Arab or *mawlā* messengers were borne by the administrative district to which they were sent.

beginning of the present section, I referred to *P.Cair.Arab.* III 150, a document from the archive of Basileios that mentions soldiers who contacted the governor, Qurra b. Šarīk, because of a problem concerning their pay. The centrality of the governor's administration in al-Fusṭāṭ in military matters under the Umayyads may well be the reason why these soldiers stationed in the pagarchy of Išqūh turned to the governor instead of the pagarch.[153]

4. *Concluding remarks*

Although it might be thought that the Arabs' decreased military presence in Arcadia and the northern part of the Thebaid after the 40s/660s, of which we just reviewed the rare source material available, paralleled a weakening of Arab rule over the area, this was not the case. Papyri from the first/seventh and early-second/eighth century amply attest to the way the Arab administration tried to subject the local population to its regime. Whereas in al-Fusṭāṭ the *šurṭa*, a semi-military police and security force attached to the upper levels of the central administration, defended the governor's rule against dissidents,[154] outside al-Fusṭāṭ much of the system that once enforced compliance to the Byzantine rulers remained in place and now enforced obedience to the Arab administration through an elaborate hierarchy of command. This is particularly visible in how the pagarchal administrations dealt with persons who refused to pay the taxes imposed upon them. As in Byzantine times,[155] local administrators had the authority and personnel to detain those who resisted payment of taxes. Documents show that these administrators employed this authority in order to secure the generation of tax income for which they were responsible to the Arab

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[153] *Cf.* Becker, "Arabische Papyri", p. 95 and *P.Cair.Arab.* III, pp. 21-2.
[154] On the *šurṭa* in Egypt, see now especially Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 248-57. See also Kennedy, *The armies of the caliphs*, pp. 13-4 and F.M. Donner, "The shurta in early Umayyad Syria", in M.A. Bakhit & R. Schick (eds), *The fourth international conference on the history of Bilād al-S̲h̲ām during the Umayyad period: proceedings of the third symposium, 2-7 Rabīʿ I 1408 A.H./24-29 October 1987*, vol. 2, Amman: [the commitee,] 1989, pp. 256-9. For other forms of relationships between the governor and the Arab inhabitants of the *amṣār*, *cf.* Crone, *Slaves on horses*, p. 31.
[155] W. Liebeschuetz, "The pagarch: city and imperial administration in Byzantine Egypt", *JJP* 18 (1974), p. 165; J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine (recherches d'histoire agraire, fiscale et administrative)", *Travaux et mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 24-6.

authorities.[156] Although not belonging to Egypt's military apparatus and mosly appearing in documents as letter carriers, tax collectors, and escorts,[157] the continued attachment of armed "soldiers" (Gr. sg. *stratiōtēs*; C. ⲘⲀⲦⲞⲒ) and *symmachoi* to local administrative offices illustrates the means of (fiscal) enforcement that were in the hands of non-Arab administrative officials.[158] Occassionally do we find evidence of *stratiōtai* imprisoning fiscal fugitives.[159] Especially in an urban context, the *ekdikos* (*defensor civitatis*) and his *riparioi* continued to have similar authority.[160] Documents also show that the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ as well as that of the *duces* in Upper Egypt began to issue safe conducts immediately after the conquest in order to control the movement of people and to limit their possibilities of fleeing before tax collectors.[161] It is clear, then, that the non-Arab civil administration, disconnected

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[156] See *CPR* XXII 1 (al-Ušmūn; early-20s/640s) and *P.Apoll.* 9 (Udfū; 55-6/675-6 or, less likely, 39-40/660-1 [Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 88]) for respectively a pagarch and a *dux* ordering lower officials to detain fiscal fugitives. *P.Apoll.* 18 (Udfū; from the same year(s) as *P.Apoll.* 9) probably presents a similar situation. See also *P.Apoll.* 42 and 44 (Udfū; late-first/seventh c. [Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 89]); *CPR* XXII 35 (Fayyūm; mid-second/eighth c.); *P.Horak* 64 and 65 (Fayyūm; second/eighth c.). For imprisonment as a method to exact payment among the Arabs themselves, see I. Scheider, "Imprisonment in pre-classical and classical Islamic law", *Islamic law and society* 2/2 (1995), pp. 158-61.

[157] For the duties of a *stratiōtēs*/ⲘⲀⲦⲞⲒ, see *CPR* XXII 56, comm. at line 2; for those of a *symmachos*, see the reference in note 98 above.

[158] H.I. Bell, "The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad khalifs", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928), p. 280.

[159] *P.Horak* 65 (Fayyūm; second/eighth c.), lines 9-16, mentions men and women detained by a *stratiōtēs* named Panistos in the prison of a village called Aninou. Two of the men are said to have been imprisoned because they were fiscal fugitives.

[160] See especially *SPP* X 252 (Fayyūm; second/eighth c.), lines 19-21, which records that a *riparios*, most likely subordinate to the *ekdikos* mentioned in the same document, arrested a woman whose son had refused to pay (tax) money to a *symmachos*. (Village *riparioi*, not subordinate to the *ekdikos*, disapear from the sources at the beginning of the early-first/seventh century, see S. Torallas Tovar, "The police in Byzantine Egypt: the hierarchy in the papyri from the fourth to the seventh centuries", in C. Riggs & A. McDonald (eds), *Current research in Egyptology 2000*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000, pp. 119-20.) *CPR* XXII 56 (Išqūh; early-second/eighth c.) mentions a *riparios* together with a *stratiōtēs* and a *hypourgos*.

[161] Preserved safe conducts (Ar. sg. *siǧill*; Gr. sg. σιγέλλιν/σιγίλλιον) date from the late-first/seventh or early-second/eighth century. However, references to safe conducts already appear in documents soon after the Arab conquest: *e.g.* in *CPR* XXII 1 (al-Ušmūn; early 20s/640s), *CPR* XXX 16 (al-Ušmūn; early-20s/640s), and *SB* VI 9577 (Ihnās; 15.8.21/19.7.642). On the safe conduct, see the discussions in *CPR* XXII 1, comm. to line 4; S. Schaten, "Reiseformalitäten im frühislamischen Ägypten", *BSAC* 37 (1998), pp. 91-100; Y. Rāġib, "Sauf conduits d'Égypte omeyyade et abbasside", *Annales islamologiques* 31 (1997), esp. pp. 143-9; and *CPR* XXI, pp. 106-7 (for especially modern terminology describing the type of document under consideration). For the formulaic and typological continuities of, and differences between,

from the Arab military in order to secure the latter's loyalty to the Arab rulers, had enough means and authority to enforce its rule and, hence, the regime of the Arab administration.[162] The absence of revolts among the local population in the first fifty or so years of Arab dominion shows that this polity succesfully maintained Arab rule and that the central Arab authorities controlled the local administrations.[163]

In fact, the decrease of Arab military presence in Arcadia the northern part of the Thebaid may well be related to the changing geo-political situation in at the southern end of Upper Egypt. We saw above that the Arab authorities had much and continuous military concern for the area around Aswan throughout the period under discussion. If any, threats of hostility against southern Upper Egypt came from Egypt's southern neighbour, Nubia, and the Buǧa tribes in the eastern desert. The agreements between Egypt on the one hand and Nubia and the Buǧa tribes on the other, combined with the Arabs' intense military presence at the southern frontier, greatly reduced the threat of foreign hostility north of the frontier zone. As I have indicated in chapter 1, the coastal area of the Nile delta, Egypt's northern frontier, saw a similar militarization in the 20s/640s and especially in the period between 25/646 and 40/661. And in between the northern and southern frontiers, Arab soldiers concentrated, of course, in al-Fusṭāṭ, whence they could be sent to both the Nile delta and the Nile valley. In other words, by the time our source material shows less soldiers in much of Upper Egypt, the Arabs had implemented heavy military defence systems in those areas where foreign hostility was most expected. Because the non-Arab civil administrations maintained Arab rule over the Egyptian population, the need for much military

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documents related to the safe conduct from Byzantine and Arab times, see B. Palme, "Asyl und Schutzbrief im spätantiken Ägypten", in M. Dreher (ed.), *Das antike Asyl: kultische Grundlagen, rechtliche Ausgestaltung und politische Funktion*, Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2003, pp. 206-12.

[162] *Cf.* Donner, "The growth of military institutions", pp. 323-5, where it is argued that, although early-Islamic society had a strong military character, it was ruled by a civil administration.

[163] For large-scale and fiscally motivated revolts against Arab policies, which started according to the literary sources in 107/725, see Y. Lev, "Coptic rebellions and the Islamization of medieval Egypt (8th-10th century): medieval and modern perceptions", *JSAI* 39 (2012), esp. pp. 308-12. For other, and mostly smaller, uprisings against the Arab authorities recorded in documentary sources from 78/697, see Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, pp. 100-1 and 105.

presence outside the frontier regions was greatly reduced by the 40s/660s.[164] The establishment of the southern frontier near Aswan doubtlessly contributed to the reduction of the number of soldiers stationed outside the main garrison towns.

This is, of course, not to say that changes in Egypt's military organization fully and passively depended on local military achievements. This chapter revealed differences in the administration of Egypt's military apparatus of before and after the 40s/660s. The *ad hoc* and decentralized requisitioning of provisions from the local administrations characterized the initial period, that of the first decade after the conquest. A changed situation appears in our sources at the end of the 40s/660s.[165] The sources for this second period abundantly show a much more centralized and systematized provisioning of soldiers. The date of this change, early in the Sufyanid period, is not a coincidence. Other and contemporary military-administrative changes may well be related to the one revealed above. Historiographical sources record, for example, the increased inspection of the central Egyptian *dīwān* under Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41/661-60/680).[166] The same caliph is also said to have established in Egypt a connection between the payment of bloodmoney and the distribution of military pay[167] – something we will return to in the following chapter. Furthermore, an early-Sufyanid reorganization of the military administration of the *amṣār* divided those enrolled on the provincial *dīwān*s into 'quarters' (Ar. sg. *rubʿ*) or 'fifths' (Ar. sg. *ḫums*).[168] A recently edited document, confirming literary sources, shows that al-Fusṭāṭ, indeed, was divided into quarters.[169] Related to these changes in the administration of military pay, the *ʿirāfa*, a tribal institution that directed the distribution of pay among the tribesmen, became an administrative institution

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[164] In the A.D. sixth century, the Nile valley, except the *limiton*, saw a demilitarization for similar reasons. See R. Rémondon, "Soldats de Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou", *Recherches de papyrologie* 1 (1961), pp. 80-3; Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire*, pp. 170-6.

[165] *Cf.* Simonsen, *Studies*, pp. 83-4, who argues for a systematization a decade after the conquest.

[166] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 102 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, p. 252).

[167] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 309; Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 167 [no. 79].

[168] Crone, *Slaves on horses*, pp. 30-1.

[169] Sijpesteijn, "Army economics", p. 247, line 5 and the comm. on pp. 253-4.

early under the Sufyanids.[170] Finally, one could see the documentary appearance of the title *amīr al-muʾminīn*, 'commander of the believers', early during the reign of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān[171] as an unprecedented articulation of the new caliph's assumption of central, religio-military authority.[172] These early-Sufyanid changes in Egypt's military administration correspond to the chronology presented in chapter 1: first, a demilitarization of the existing administrations and the implementation of an Arab military element following the conquest and, second, the increase of central control over the military related to the Sufyanids' coming to power.

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[170] Kennedy, *The armies of the caliphs*, p. 22; P. Crone, "ʿArīf", *EI*[3], I/1 [2007], p. 161.

[171] R.G. Hoyland, "New documentary texts", p. 399. *Cf.* F.M. Donner, "Qurʾânicization of religio-political discourse in the Umayyd period", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 129 (2011), pp. 79-92 [esp. § 8 in the online edition (<http://remmm.revues.org/7085>; March 2013)].

[172] This is, admittedly, almost an argument *ex nihilo.* The single documentary source referring to a caliph before Muʿāwiya, a recently edited inscription that refers to the death of ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb and is dated 24/644-5, gives the latter caliph no title. See A.I. Ghabban & R.G. Hoyland, "The inscription of Zuhayr, the oldest Islamic inscription (24 AH/AD 644-645), the rise of the Arabic script and the nature of the early Islamic state", *Arabian archaeology and epigraphy* 19 (2008), pp. 212 and 235. P. Crone and M. Hinds (*God's caliph: religious authority in the first centuries of Islam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 5-6) confirm that titles for the caliph were a relatively new phenomenon by the time of Muʿāwiya's ascension to the caliphal throne; they argue that the title *ḫalīfat Allāh* is first securely attested to (in literary sources) for the caliph ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān (r. 23/644-35/655).

AL-FUSṬĀṬ AND THE LEGAL ADMINISTRATION OF UPPER EGYPT

> '[A]cts of punishment and mercy by kings
> are performed purely as manifestations of
> power and capacity.'[1]

This thesis's last study on al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with its hinterland concentrates on the town's involvement in the administration of law in Upper Egypt. In contrast with that of the preceding chapters, sources for the legal administration in the Nile valley during the first century of Arab rule are numerous.[2] The legal contents or aspects of commercial and fiscal documents, personal letters, and petitions beside juridical documents have long been known to modern scholars. Two corpora of documents have received most scholarly attention: the early-second/eighth-century archive of Basileios, pagarch of Išqūh,[3] and documents generally dating from first half of the second/eighth century and found in or near the Theban village of Šīma.[4] In addition to these, a number of studies deal with the

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[1] A. Al-Azmeh, *Muslim kingship: power and the sacred in Muslim, Christian, and pagan polities*, London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1997, p. 77.

[2] For a useful overview of the Arabic papyrological evidence of legal practices concerned with what would nowadays fall under penal law, see L. Reinfandt, "Crime and punishment in early Islamic Egypt (AD 642-969): the Arabic papyrological evidence", in T. Gagos & A. Hyatt (eds), *Proceedings of the 25th international congress of papyrology: Ann Arbor, July 29-Agust 4, 2007*, Ann Arbor: Scholarly Publishing Office, University of Michigan Library, 2010, pp. 633-40.

[3] *E.g.*, Steinwenter, *Studien*, pp. 13-8; Donner, "The formation of the Islamic state", pp. 288-9; Diem, "Drei amtliche Schreiben", pp. 148-51; M. Tillier, "Du pagarque au cadi: ruptures et continuités dans l'administration judiciaire de la Haute Égypte (Ier-IIIe/VIIe-IXe siècle)", *Médiévales* 64 (2013), pp. 22-9; and *passim.* in L. Reinfandt, "*Law and Order* in einer frühen islamischen Gesellschaft? Strafverfolgung in Ägypten und Palästina nach der arabischen Eroberung (7.-9. Jahrhundert)", in R. Rollinger *et al.* (eds), *Interkulturalität in der alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, pp. 655-83.

[4] T.S. Richter, "Koptische Rechtsurkunden als Quellen der Rechtspraxis im byzantinischen und frühislamischen Ägypten", in C. Gastgeber, F. Mitthof & B. Palme (eds), *Quellen zur byzantinischen Rechtspraxis Aspekte der Textüberlieferung, Paläographie und Diplomatik. Akten des Symposiums Wien, 5.-7.*

so-called 'archive of Philēmōn and Thekla' from al-Bahnasā (Oxyrhynchos), dating from the late-00s/620s until the mid-20s/640s.[5] Further, the importance of the late-first/seventh-century archive of Papas, pagarch of Udfū, for scholarship on Egypt's legal administration has long been recognized, but a thorough examination of the relevant material is still lacking.[6]

In spite of the availability of sources that span almost the entire first century after the establishment of Arab rule, diachronic studies into Upper Egypt's legal administration in that century are rare.[7] The present chapter takes this diachronic approach and studies the extent to which the establishment of Arab rule affected legal practices in Upper Egypt. This chapter's analysis and contextualization of documents from the entire century reveals a development in al-Fusṭāṭ's involvement in the administration of law in Upper Egypt which coincided with the same dynastic changes and/or political reforms that shaped the development of the subjects treated in the previous chapters. In other words, al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with Upper Egypt at a legal level developed along the same three-stepped chronology that we encountered most visibly in chapters 1 and 3. This chapter's diachronic approach also allows to set developments in Upper Egypt's administration of law against changes in the legal administration of the Arab community in al-Fusṭāṭ. Modern scholarship predominantly considers the latter without reference to legal practices current among Egypt's indigenous

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November 2007, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, pp. 39-59 and the literature referred to in the footnotes.

[5] On this archive, to which also belongs the 'Budge Papyrus' referred to below, see L.S.B. MacCoull, "Coptic documentary papyri as a historical source for Egyptian Christianity", in B.A. Pearson & J.E. Goehring (eds), *The roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, pp. 42-50; S. Allam, "Glossen zu einem schiedsrichterlichen Verfahren (kopt. p.Budge + griech. pBM 2017), *MDAI Kairo* 47 (1991), pp. 1-9; *idem.*, "Observations on civil jurisdiction in late Byzantine and early Arabic Egypt", in J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a multi-cultural society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and beyond*, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1992, pp. 1-8; B.H. Stolte, "The challenge of change: notes on the legal history of the reign of Heraclius", in G.J. Reinink & B.H. Stolte (eds), *The reign of Heraclius (610-641): crisis and confrontation*, Leuven: Peeters, 2002, pp. 191-204; and Richter, "Koptische Rechtsurkunden als Quellen", pp. 40-3.

[6] But see now the analysis in Tillier, "Du pagarque au cadi", pp. 21-2. See also the short description of some of the documents in C. Foss, "Egypt under Muʿāwiya. Part I", pp. 11-2.

[7] Again, see now Tillier, "Du pagarque au cadi", who proposes a development of Egypt's legal administration from around the 50s/670s on.

population.[8] As we will see, also the Arabs' legal administration followed the just-mentioned chronology – a fact that reveals a relationship that has hitherto remained invisible.

1. *Before 40/660: separated legal practices*

When the Arabs established their rule in Upper Egypt, legal disputes were generally settled semiprivately. Adjudicators were chosen on the basis of their social standing, relationship to the dispute, judicial capabilities, and personal network beside financial and time-related factors.[9] They could be administrative officials, but equally family members, clergy men, or others. These adjudicators derived their legal authority from their social power (be that based on their possession of wealth or land, or religious status), means of enforcement, and tasks delegated to them by the imperial authorities. Imperial legislation continued to influence the outcome of dispute settlements,[10] but in late-antique Egypt the relationship between the plaintiff and the defendant on the one hand and the adjudicating party on the other had become more private and less institutionalized than that it had been in Roman times.[11] As a result, there was not one way of legal procedure. Rather, the form of procedure and who presided over it depended to a large extent on the disputants' social and economic capital and, as

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[8] For recent studies on the official administration of law in al-Fusṭāṭ, see Bouderbala, Ǧund *Miṣr*, pp. 268-77 and M. Tillier, *Histoire des cadis égyptiens:* Aḫbār quḍāt Miṣr, Cairo: IFAO, 2012, pp. 22-43.

[9] T. Gagos & P. van Minnen, *Settling a dispute: toward a legal anthropology of late antique Egypt*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994, pp. 32, 41-3; G. Ruffini, *Social networks in Byzantine Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 168-73.

[10] J. Beaucamp, "Byzantine Egypt and imperial law", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300-700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2007, pp. 271-87. See Papaconstantinou, "'What remains behind'", pp. 449-50 and T.S. Richter, "Coptic legal documents, with special reference to the Theban area", in G. Gabra & H.N. Takla (eds), *Christianity and monasticism in Upper Egypt*, II: *Nag Hammadi-Esna*, Cairo: AUC Press, 2010, pp. 122-32 for the continued influence of Byzantine legal practices in the Theban region in the first half of the second/eighth century.

[11] The absence of a court system was stressed by A.A. Schiller ("The courts are no more", in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra*, Milano: Casa editrice dott. A. Giuffrè, I, 1971, pp. 469-502) but consequently has been nuanced much (see, *e.g.*, D. Simon, "Zum Zivilgerichtsbarkeit im spätbyzantinischen Ägypten", *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 18 (1971), pp. 623-57). See also G. Frantz-Murphy, "Settlement of property disputes in provincial Egypt: the reinstitution of courts in the early Islamic period", *Al-Masāq* 6 (1993), pp. 95-105 and J. Gascou, "Les pétitions privées", in D. Feissel & J. Gascou (ed.), *La pétition à Byzance*, Paris: AASHCB, 2004, pp. 93-103.

one legal scholar put it, their 'criteria to determine the meaningful details and the relevant features of the [impugned] activity'.[12] Pluriformity remained characteristic of Egypt's legal administration well after the establishment of Arab rule.[13] But as we will see on the following pages, structural changes do appear in our documentation soon after the conquests.

Within a few years after the conquest,[14] it is in the formulae of legal documents with an administrative context that the Arab government first appears. In *SB Kopt.* I 242 (Udfū), an official acknowledgement of the distribution of pepper dated to Ṣafar 11, 29/October 24, 649,[15] we find an oath 'by God Almighty and the salvation [C. ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ][16] of the all-praiseworthy Abdelas [*i.e.,* ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ], the great governor, and the salvation of Damianos, the most glorious *dux*' (lines 27-9). Parallels are known from Greek and other Coptic documents. A small corpus of Greek declarations (Gr. sg. καταγραφή) of the payment of tax money contain an oath by the 'salvation' (Gr. σωτηρία) of 'the *amīr*s' (Gr. τῶν ἀμιράτων),[17] Arab officials subordinate to the governor.[18] The provenance of these documents is confined to the district of al-Ušmūn (Hermopolis); their date is estimated to the second half of the first/seventh

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[12] B. de Sousa Santos, "Law: a map of misreading. Toward a postmodern conception of law", *Journal of law and society* 14/3 (1987), p. 287. See also U.I. Simonsohn, *A common justice: the legal allegiances of Christians and Jews under early Islam*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, pp. 12-4 and 25-40.

[13] L. Reinfandt, "*Law and Order* in einer frühen islamischen Gesellschaft?", pp. 666-9.

[14] The early *SB* VI 8987 (Udfū; 23/644-24/645) has the seemingly carelessly phrased oath by 'the salvation of any authority that has power over us' and may attest to a period of transition between the effective end of Byzantine rule and the acknowledgement of Arab rule. See the document's interpretation interpretation in J. Gascou, "Edfou au Bas-Empire d'après les trouvailles de l'IFAO", in [no ed.] *Tell-Edfou soixante ans après: actes du colloque franco-polonais, Le Caire – 15 octobre 1996*, Cairo: IFAO, 1999, p. 20 (after Papaconstantinou, "'What remains behind'", p. 456). See also p. 95 above.

[15] Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 94.

[16] For the use of the word 'salvation', *cf.* H.I. Bell, "An oath formula of the Arab period in Egypt", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 22 (1913), pp. 392-4.

[17] See Bagnall & Worp, *Chronological systems*, p. 289 [appendix G.i].

[18] See p. 105 above. Wilcken (*P.Würzb.,* pp. 103-4) speculates that the governor and the ṣāḥib al-ḫarāǧ are meant (J. Gascou, "Notes critiques: *P.Prag.* I 87, *P.Mon.Apollo* 27, *P.Strasb.* VII 660", *ZPE* 177 (2011), p. 249, n. 33). *Cf.* the similar use of the plural in oath formulae found in Coptic documents in E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht*, 2 vols, München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933-5, II, pp. 139-41, suggesting the possibility of a formulaic background to the plural in the Greek.

century.[19] Two Coptic declarations (both edited as *P.Lond.Copt.* 1079 [21/641-25/645 or 38/658-43/664]), attached to a Greek list related to the fiscal administration and similarly from the region of al-Ušmūn, contain an oath by the salvation of the governor ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. These Greek and Coptic declarations sometimes concern considerable sums of money and give the impression to have been made by local authorities such as pagarchs or landowners (*e.g.*, *P.Laur.* III 121 is a declaration of the payment of tax money for al-Ušmūn's pagarchy and a near-by *epoikion* and *chōrion*; the second list of *P.Lond.Copt.* 1079 concerns taxes of *geōrgoi*, 'agricultural workers'). The change in the oath formula indicates that the Arab authorities first penetrated existing legal practices in matters related to the collection of taxes.

A change soon after the Arabs came to power that must have been more noticeable was that affiliation with the Arab authorities became a basis for legal authority. This is attested in a document dating from the first years after the conquest. It is in this context that references to al-Fusṭāṭ in the well-known document *SB Kopt.* I 36 (Udfū), also known as the 'Budge Papyrus', dating from 25-6/646, must be understood. This document records the proceeding of two parties before arbitrators in al-Bahnasā in order to settle a dispute over the ownership of a house.[20] It records that in a previous attempt to settle the dispute one of the parties, a woman living in a village located to the north of al-Bahnasā, contacted several men travelling to or from al-Fusṭāṭ and asked them to help the parties come to an agreement. The reasons for these men's travelling (lines 154-5: bringing a tax assessment (Gr. διανομή) to al-Fusṭāṭ; line 158: travelling from al-Fusṭāṭ with the post (Gr. ἀλλαγή);[21] see also lines 149-50) suggests that they had contact with the Arab administration. Despite the fact that the other party lived in far-away Udfū, the woman in question is likely to have had the possibility of

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[19] Gascou, "Notes critiques", p. 248, n. 26.
[20] For recent studies on the legal procedure documented in this and three related documents, see the references in note 5 above.
[21] For the use of ἀλλαγή in the Arab period, see *CPR* XXII 6, comm. at line 3.

travelling to Udfū.[22] The woman's choice for men with contacts in al-Fusṭāṭ is striking.

The Arabs themselves, concentrated in Egypt's few garrison towns and mostly in al-Fusṭāṭ, had legal practices different from those of the country's indigenous people.[23] If we are to believe medieval historiographical sources, the young Arab administration in al-Fusṭāṭ soon, if not immediately, came to include an administration of law (Ar. *qaḍāʾ*), headed by an administrative official (Ar. *qāḍī*) who was directly subordinate to the provincial governor.[24] As is typical of the source material for the pre-Umayyad *qaḍāʾ* in general, the sources for the *qaḍāʾ* in Egypt disagree on the person who was the first to hold the office.[25] Some say that

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[22] For the mobility of women in late-Antiquity, see especially R.S. Bagnall, *Women's letters from ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, pp. 81-3. See also R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993, pp. 92-9 and 130-2; T.G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: lives in a Coptic town in late antique Egypt*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002, pp. 127 and 145-8.

[23] For a useful overview of judicial practices in pre-Islamic Arabia, see Simonsohn, *A common justice*, pp. 72-8. Studies into legal formulae in Arabic documents from early-Arab Egypt show that the Arabs brought with them legal practices unknown to Egypt (G. Frantz-Murphy, "A comparison of Arabic and earlier Egyptian contract formularies, part IV: quittance formulas", *JNES* 47/4 (1988), pp. 269-80; G. Khan, "The pre-Islamic background of Muslim legal formularies", *ARAM* 6 (1994), pp. 193-224). Nonetheless, they may have shared with indigenous Egyptians legal practices common throughout the Near East. Especially telling is the widely-used practice of lot-casting. For lot-casting practised by the Arabs of the first/seventh century, see P. Crone & A.J. Silverstein, "The ancient Near East and Islam: the case of lot-casting", *JSS* 55/2 (2010), pp. 423-50. For lot-casting among native Egyptians, see, *e.g.*, *P.KRU* 26, 39-43, 45-6 and *O.CrumVC* 6 *verso* (all documents come from the Theban area; they date to the second quarter of the second/eighth century). Note especially the case of *P.KRU* 42 (Theban area; 106-7/725-6) where lots are cast at the orders of an Arab *amīr* (*pace* Crone & Silverstein, "The ancient Near East and Islam", p. 449). See also P. Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law: the origins of the Islamic patronate*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, esp. pp. 93 and 97.

[24] For the different situation in Medina during the Rightly-Guided caliphs, see M. Tillier, *Les cadis d'Iraq et l'état Abbasside (132/750-334/945)*, Damascus: IFPO, 2009, pp. 72-4.

[25] There is, for this reason, disagreement among modern scholars on the historical validity of such information. Influential scholars such as É. Tyan (*Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960, *e.g.* pp. 92-3 and 123) and J. Schacht (*An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, pp. 16 and 24) denied the existence of the *qaḍāʾ* during the first thirty or so years after the death of Muḥammad on the basis of the contradictory nature of our sources for that period and that these sources assert a highly centralized appointment of the first *qāḍīs*. More recently, scholars have argued that weaknesses in the source material not necessarily imply that the *qaḍāʾ* did not exist (*e.g.* Tillier, *Les cadis*, esp. pp. 72-4; W.B. Hallaq, *The origins and evolution of Islamic law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, esp. pp. 34-40; M.K. Masud, "Procedural law between traditionists, jurists and judges: the problem of *yamīn maʿ al-shahīd*", *Al-Qanṭara* 20/2 (1999), pp. 398-9). *Cf.* G. Conrad, *Die Quḍāt Dimašq und der Maḏhab al-Auzāʿī: Materialen zur syrischen Rechtsgeschichte,*

one Qays b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ was the province's first *qāḍī*[26] whereas others claim this to have been a certain Kaʿb b. Yasār b. Ḍinna.[27]

But whoever headed the office in the first decades after the Arab conquest, the sources agree that the *qaḍāʾ* was still rudimentary and allowed for the continuation of pre-Islamic judicial practices among the Arabs. By and large, there is little information on the actual functions of the early *qaḍāʾ*;[28] for Egypt such information is lacking entirely. However, the sources do record that certain types of dispute came to fall under the jurisdiction of the *qaḍāʾ* at a later time and, thus, indicate that they did not belong to the jurisdiction of the *qaḍāʾ* of the first decades after the conquest.[29] The lack of information on Egypt's initial *qaḍāʾ* makes it is hard to distinguish it from continued pre-Islamic judicial practices. Arbitration (Ar. *taḥkīm*),[30] for example, continued throughout the first/seventh century and even thereafter and is known to have existed beside the *qaḍāʾ*.[31] Ibn Yūnus, for instance, writes that one Asʿad b. Lahīʿa al-Ḥimyarī, who belonged to the first generation of Arabs in Egypt, was an arbitrator (Ar. *ḥakam*) for the tribe of

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Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994, pp. 587-94, where it is argued that the sources primarily show a second/eighth-century discussion on the early *qaḍāʾ*, that already at that time conflicting information circulated, and, hence, that it is hardly possibly to clarify the situation under the Rightly-Guided caliphs.

[26] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 230, lines 10-11; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 300-1; Wakīʿ, *Aḫbār*, III, p. 220; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 404 [no. 1091] (repeated in Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 308 [no. 164]); al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, I, p. 418. This is probably also meant by Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 339 [no. 927], but *cf.* Bouderbala, *Ǧund Miṣr*, p. 271 for an alternative interpretation.

[27] Wakīʿ, *Aḫbār*, III, p. 221; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 414 [no. 1108].

[28] See Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, pp. 34-5 for an example of the functions the early *qaḍāʾ* of al-Baṣra.

[29] Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, pp. 59-62. The *qāḍī* Tawba b. Namir (in office 115/733-118/735 or 120/737, *cf.* Wakīʿ, *Aḫbār*, III, p. 231), for example, is supposed to have been the first *qāḍī* who dealt with endowments (Ar. *aḥbās*). Before his judgeship, the sources explicitly state, the administration of endowments was 'in the hands of their proprietors [Ar. *ahl*] or the latter's trustees [Ar. sg. *waṣī*]' (al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 346; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 110 [no. 48]; *cf.* al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, I, p. 418). For more and earlier examples, see section 2 below.

[30] For arbitration in pre-Islamic Arabia, see Tyan, *Organisation*, pp. 29-61.

[31] *Pace* Schacht, *Introduction*, p. 24. It is in this context that we should understand Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's (*Futūḥ*, p. 104, lines 12-3) report that in a dispute between al-Aṣbaġ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 86/705) and ar-Rabīʿ b. Ḫāriǧa concerning certain urban property 'Ibn Šihāb was his [*i.e.* al-Aṣbaġ's] *qāḍī* on that day [Ar. *yawmaʾiḏin*]'. The last words, 'on that day', indicate that the "*qāḍī*" was temporarily chosen to adjudicate between the two parties. The term *qāḍī* in this instance must be understood as an arbitrator rather than a *qāḍī* appointed by the authorities. With Ibn Šihāb the well-known and highly respected Medinan traditionist Muḥammad b. Muslim az-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) is meant. He is not known to have been a *qāḍī* (on him, see M. Lecker, "Al-Zuhrī", *EI²*, XI, pp. 565-6).

Ḥimyar.[32] A late-first/seventh-century document confirms the consultation of such arbitrators with regard to conflicts in marital spheres.[33] And some of the first *qāḍī*s, such as the above-mentioned Kaʿb b. Yasār b. Ḍinna,[34] were drawn from among those who had been an arbitrator before the coming of Islam. As we will see in what follows, Egypt's *qaḍāʾ* gradually encroached upon, or more clearly distinguished itself from, arbitrative jurisdiction among the Arabs from the Sufyanid period onwards.

2. *Changes under the Sufyanids*

Changes in the Arabs' judicial system and its relationship with the Upper Egyptian countryside are first visible in the early-Umayyad period. Medieval historiographical sources relate that Egypt's first Umayyad *qāḍī*, Sulaym b. ʿItr (in office 40/660-60/680), initiated the issuing of documents stating the *qāḍī*'s verdict.[35] Interestingly, he reportedly also was the first to deal with bodily injury and started to do so at the orders of the caliph Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān.[36] The same caliph is recorded to have introduced new procedures regarding the taking of oaths as well.[37] It is tempting to see these changes in the *qaḍāʾ* as a result of the first civil war and the change of the caliphate. In the course of the war it had been, and after the war it remained, necessary to establish and legitimize Sufyanid rule.[38] Chapters 1 and 3 showed that many changes aiming at establishing or increasing Umayyad power followed the end of the first civil war. A redefinition of the *qaḍāʾ*, that is to say a redefinition of the relationship between the Arab

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[32] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 41 [no. 120].

[33] Younes, *Joy and sorrow*, no. 2 (prov. unknown). An arbitrator may similarly have been involved in the failed settlement of a dispute on an inheritance recorded in *CPR* XVI 3 (prov. unknown; second/eighth c. or later). This petition to an unnamed *qāḍī* informs us that the parties involved had not been able to come to an agreement after hearing witnesses. Through this letter, they ask for the *qāḍī*'s help after having tried to solve the dispute without his involvement.

[34] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 111; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 305; Wakīʿ, *Aḫbār*, III, p. 221; *cf.* Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 414 [no. 1108]).

[35] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 309-10; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 167 [no. 79].

[36] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 309; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 167 [no. 79].

[37] Masud, "Procedural law", p. 399.

[38] *Cf.* H.A.R. Gibb, *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, eds J. Shaw & W.R. Polk, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962, p. 41.

populace and the Arab administration on a judicial level, during the reign of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān fits this pattern well.

It is similarly in the early-Umayyad period that the *qaḍāʾ* appears in our documentary source material. Two recently published documents recording debts between Arabs, dating from 42/663 and 57/677, refer in their formulary to the *sunna*, 'normative precedent', of the *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn*, 'jurisdiction of the believers'.[39] That the expression occurs in a fixed formulary signifies its official character. The documents are not only valuable as proof for the early existence of *qaḍāʾ*. At the time the documents were composed, the word *qaḍāʾ* had strong Qurʾānic connotations.[40] In combination with the explicit socio-religious setting of the documents' *qaḍāʾ* (the community of 'the believers'[41]), the documents are early examples of the authorities' giving judicial practices a religious context.[42] What is more, the documents show that already early during Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's caliphate forms of jurisdiction endorsed by the central Arab authorities were applied in every-day legal transactions.

Although it is not recorded where these documents have been found, their most likely provenance is not al-Fusṭāṭ but rather Upper Egypt.[43] As such, the documents indicate that Arab forms of private legal transaction, *i.e.* legal practices beyond the fiscal realm, were no longer restricted to the Arab garrisons after the 40s/660s. They had found their way into Upper Egypt, probably via Arab merchants or through Arabs settling there. In a similar vein, other documents

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[39] For the documents, see Y. Rāġib, "Une ère inconnue d'Égypte musulmane: l'ère de la jurisdiction des croyants", *Annales islamologiques* 41 (2007), pp. 194-204. On the interpretation of these documents formulae, see appendix 2.

[40] F.M. Donner, "Qurʾânicization of religio-political discourse in the Umayyad period", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 129 (2011), pp. 79-92 [especially § 16 in the online edition (<http://remmm.revues.org/7085>; June 2013)].

[41] On 'the believers', see F.M. Donner, "From believers to Muslims", *Al-Abhath* 50-1 (2002-3), pp. 9-53 and *idem., Muhammad and the believers: at the origins of Islam*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2010, esp. pp. 56-86.

[42] See also W.B. Hallaq, "Model *shurūṭ* works and the dialectic of doctrine and practice", *Islamic law and society* 2/2 (1995), p. 113.

[43] The documents are presently kept in the Louvre and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. For the mostly Upper Egyptian provenance of the documents kept in these two libraries (in the early-1950s), see Grohmann, *Einführung*, pp. 48 and 54-6.

show that in the course of the second half of the first/seventh century legal contact existed between Arab individuals and the indigenous population and that this contact was not confined to al-Fusṭāṭ. For example, a probably Upper Egyptian document,[44] dated on palaeographical grounds to the first twenty-five years after the conquest, records a legal transaction in Arab fashion (it starts with the usual *hāḏā mā*)[45] involving at least one Arab party named Ibn Āzād/Āzāḏ.[46] At the end of the only line preserved, it is stated that the transaction involved wheat (Ar. *qamḥ*), possibly confirming the document's rural context. Another first/seventh-century document that follows Arabic legal conventions, *Chrest.Khoury* I 48 (prov. unknown), records one ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmays's payment to the native Egyptian Isidurah for, or of, probably twenty-three buckets of something no longer legible on the document. Isidurah is said to come from Qahqawh, near modern Abūtīǧ.

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[44] A. Grohmann, "Zum Papyrusprotokoll in frūharabischer Zeit", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960), no. 1. For the mostly Upper Egyptian provenance of documents kept in the University Library in Ann Arbor, see Grohmann, *Einführung*, pp. 41-2. For a digital image, see <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-2927/6714r.tif> [July 2012]. The commentary in the following notes is based on this image.

[45] Grohmann's reading of *aʿṭā* cannot be confirmed. I was unable to find this verb in medieval formularies as following *hāḏā mā*. The formula *hāḏā mā aʿṭā* does occur in a number of letters allegedly documenting legal transactions of the prophet Muḥammad and in the text of a number of conquest treaties. See M. Lecker, "A pre-Islamic endowment deed in Arabic regarding al-Waḥīda in the Ḥijāz", in M. Lecker, *People, tribes and society in Arabia around the time of Muḥammad*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, pp. 6-8.

[46] The edition's reading of the patronymic, 'ibn Iḏāḏ', is incorrect. The *rasm*s of the *ḏāl* and *dāl* are very distinct. And since the *dāl* is so characteristically written with its top bending to the right (*P.Khalili* I, pp. 29-30; B. Gruendler, *The development of the Arabic scripts: from the Nabatean era to the first Islamic century according to dated texts*, Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1993, charts on pp. 55 and 59), we cannot but read the presumed *ḏāl* as a *zāʾ* (already noted by Gruendler, *The development*, p. 34, n. 45). This gives the Arab name Āzād or Āzāḏ (for which, see al-Buḫārī, *at-Taʾrīḫ al-kabīr*, 4 vols, Ḥaydarābād: Dār al-maʿārif al-ʿUṯmāniyya, 1361/1942-3, I/2, p. 202 [no. 2197] and Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Raf al-iṣr*, p. 36 [no. 9]). The word *ibn* (intended in the edition, *cf.* the translation) is written with an *alif*, contrary to proper classical Arabic usage in patronymics following someone's *ism* (see W. Wright, *Arabic grammar*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1896-8, I, p. 23 [§ 21.b]). Although not uncommon in Arabic papyri (see S. Hopkins, *Studies in the grammar of early Arabic: based upon papyri datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D.*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 50 [§ 49.b.vii]), it leaves us with the possibility that Ibn Āzād/Āzāḏ is the object of the verbal clause and that the name preceding it is its subject. In theory, too, the possibility exists that *ibn Āzād* specifies the *ism* in a more general way and means 'a member of the Banū Āzād', to whom belonged a number of medieval scholars living in northwestern Persia (ar-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī, *at-Tadwīn fī aḫbār Qazwīn*, 4 vols, ed. ʿA.A. al-ʿAṭṭāridī, Ḥaydarābād: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAzīziyya, 1984, II, pp. 229-30). As to the name that precedes 'Ibn Āzād/Āzāḏ', Grohmann reads اهما. The papyrus has clearly ليويل], with possibly traces of a preceding *ḫāʾ* visible, suggesting a name such as Ḥayawīl.

Thus, *Chrest.Khoury* I 48 establishes a (documentary) reach of the Arabs' legal system into the far south of Egypt.

3. *Changes after c. 80/700*

But despite the fact that the Egyptian countryside was introduced to the Arabs' legal system in the course of the first/seventh century through its inhabitants' commercial interaction with Arabs, Greek and Coptic documents show that indigenous legal practices did not change until the turn of the second/eighth century and continued to dominate the form of legal administration among the local population. The archive of Papas, pagarch of Udfū around the third quarter of the first/seventh century, contains a considerable number of documents dealing with legal disputes. As had been the case before the Arab conquest, the highest legal authority in Egypt mentioned in this archive is the *dux* or his administration in Anṣinā (Antinoopolis).[47] The pagarch continued to deal with disputes that rose in his district and could not be settled through the arbitration of village chiefs or so-called 'great men'.[48] We also have records for the continued jurisdiction of clergy men.[49] The high social standing of such authorities formed their main base of judicial power.

Changes in al-Fusṭāṭ's role in the judicial system of Upper Egypt are documented from the very end of Sufyanid rule onwards. But by and large, the major changes coincide with the great Marwanid reforms and, as we shall see below, may well have been part of them. Two partially distinct developments can be discerned.

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[47] *E.g. P.Apoll.* 7 (Udfū; late-first/seventh or early-second/eighth c. [see Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 91]). For the judicial authority of the *dux* in pre-Islamic times, see Simon, "Zum Zivilgerichtsbarkeit", pp. 639-45.

[48] *E.g., P.Apoll.* 37 and 61 (Udfū; late-first/seventh or early-second/eighth c. [see Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 89])

[49] *P.Berl.Zill.* 8 (Fayyūm; 43/663), *P.CLT* 1 (Theban area; 79/698), *P.Apoll.* 41, 46 (Udfū; late-first/seventh c. [see Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 89]), and *P.CLT* 5 (Theban area; 93/711-2). See also *P.Lond.* III 1081 (poss. al-Ušmūn; second half of the first/seventh c.).

3.1. *The appearance of the governor and* qāḍī *as legal authorities outside al-Fusṭāṭ*

First, it is from the Marwanid period onwards that our sources record people from Upper Egypt petitioning the Arab governor, seated in al-Fusṭāṭ, and asking him to settle their disputes. An Arabic document from 65/684-5 is the first record for the direct involvement of an Arab administrative official in the settlement of disputes in the Egyptian countryside.[50] This document gives no information on the administrative position of the administrator. The fragmentary state of the document removes the nature of the dispute from our sight. Moreover, it is uncertain to what extent this one document is representative for the general situation in the mid-60s/680s. From the early-90s/710s onwards, however, our source material systematically shows that the top of the Arab administration, and especially the Arab governor, dealt with legal disputes outside al-Fusṭāṭ and among Egypt's non-Arab population.[51] Whereas some fell within the realm of administrative law,[52] these disputes most often belonged to the sphere of what nowadays would be called law of property.

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[50] Diem, "Der Gouverneur an den Pagarchen" (poss. al-Ušmūn; 65/684-5), an official Arabic document ordering the addressee to look into a dispute. The names and functions of the sender and addressee are not preserved; the formulary indicates that the document stems from administration circles, but precisely which level of the administration remains unknown (*pace* Diem, "Der Gouverneur an den Pagarchen", p. 107).

[51] He is first fully identifiable as the Arab governor in the well-known documents from the archive of Basileios, *e.g. P.Cair.Arab.* III 150 (90/709), 151 (91/710), 154 (91/709), 155 (91/709-10), all documents are from Išqūh; Becker, "Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes", nos. 1 and 2 (Išqūh; 91/709), no. 3 (prov. unknown; n.d.); *P.Heid.Arab.* I 10 and 11 (Išqūh; 91/710); *P.Qurra* 3 (Išqūh; 91/709). On these documents, see also W. Diem, "Philologisches zu den arabischen Aphrodito papyri", *Der Islam* 61 (1984), pp. 254-5, 257 and 259. See also Younes, *Joy and sorrow*, no. 3 (prov. unknown; second/eighth c.), with comm. to line 6.
        The *dux* still appears as a legal authority in the first decades of the second/eighth century (*e.g.*, *P.KRU* 10 [Theban region; 104/722]; see also *O.CrumVC* 9 [Theban region; 78/698 or 109/728]). Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab", p. 123.

[52] *E.g.*, *P.World*, pp. 130-1 (Išqūh; 91/709), with corrections in Diem, "Philologisches zu den arabischen Aphrodito Papyri", pp. 261-4 (see also Cadell, "Nouveau fragments", pp. 155-7): a letter through which Qurra b. Šarīk fines one Buṭrus, a tax collector (Ar. *qabbāl aḏ-ḏahab*), for improperly surveying agricultural land or for the unjust collection of tax money (Ar. *ǧibāya*) in the year 88/706-7. Other documents dealing with disputes concerning the relationship between the government and the populace are, *e.g.*, *P.Apoll.* 41 (Udfū; late-first/seventh c. [see Gascou & Worp, "Problèmes", p. 89]), *CPR* XVI 7 (prov. unknown; first/seventh-second/eighth c.), *P.Berl.Arab.* II 26 (prob. Fayyūm; second/eighth c.), and *P.Heid.Arab.* II 6 (prov. unknown; second/eighth or third/ninth c.). See also *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167, discussed in detail below. Other documents, such as *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 15 (Išqūh; 91/710) and *P.Heid.Arab.* I

Documents that show the first involvement of the Arab governor in the settlement of legal disputes also show that it was the Arab element in the administration at which judicial authority concentrated. This sharply contrasts the period of the Rightly-Guided and Sufyanid caliphs during which, as we saw above, local non-Arab administrators enjoyed judicial authority. In some documents, for example, the governor Qurra b. Šarīk orders the non-Arab pagarch Basileios to judge the veracity of a complaint brought before him by hearing the plaintiff or by investigating the plaintiff's and defendant's evidence. Significantly, Qurra writes in many of his letters that the pagarch is to procure the plaintiff his rights 'if the evidence concords with what he told me [*i.e.* the governor]' (Ar. *in aqāma al-bayyina ʿalā mā aḫbaranī*).[53] If not, the pagarch has not to pronounce a verdict but rather to inform the governor of the results of his investigation (*e.g.*, *P.Cair.Arab.* III 154, lines 17-9: *illā an yakūna šaʾnuhu ġayra ḏālika fa-taktubu ilayya bihi*).[54] In other words, in the case of Qurra's correspondences with Basileios, the pagarch has no authority to formulate a verdict on his own account.[55] Rather, the governor prescribes a verdict on the basis of the information at hand. When during the conduct of a case information is brought to light that conflicts with the plaintiff's contentions, it is the governor who needs to reformulate the verdict.[56] The advanced position of Arab officials in the administration of law *vis-à-vis* the

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3 (Išqūh; 91/710), prescribe measures to be taken against misbehaving officials. But by and large, our documentation on disputes falling in the sphere of administrative law only becomes substantial in the Abbasid period (Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, p. 215). *Cf.* Schacht, *Introduction*, pp. 23-4 and *idem.*, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950, p. 198.

[53] For this and other formulae in related documents, see Diem, "Drei amtliche Schreiben", p. 149.

[54] Becker, "Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes", no. 1 (Išqūh; 91/709); *P.Cair.Arab.* III 150 (Išqūh; 90/709), 154 (Išqūh; 91/709), 155 (Išqūh; 91/709-10); *P.Qurra* 3 (Išqūh; 91/709). *Cf.* Diem, "Der Gouverneur and den Pagarchen" (poss. al-Ušmūn; 65/684-5). In a number of documents, the executive official is ordered to procure someone the rights he is entitled to, if so supported by the evidence, but not to report to the superior in case there is conflicting evidence; see A. Grohmann, "Ein Qorra-Brief vom Jahre 90 d. H.", in *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur: Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin: [n.i.] 1933, pp. 37-40 (Išqūh; 90/709); Becker, "Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes", no. 2 (Išqūh; 90/709); Diem, "Drei amtliche Schreiben", no. 1 (prob. Ihnās; 130s/750s); *P.Heid.Arab.* I 10 and 11 (both from Išqūh; both from 91/710).

[55] See also Hussein, *Das Steuersystem*, p. 102; N. Edelby, "L'autonomie législative des chrétiens de terre d'islam", *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental* 5 (1950-1), p. 321.

[56] *Cf.* Steinwenter, *Studien*, pp. 15-6.

non-Arab nobility finds close parallels in the Marwanids' preference for Arabs, instead of indigenous notables, at influential administrative positions. Arab pagarchs, gradually introduced into the Egyptian countryside from around the 80s/700s as part of the Marwanids' fiscal-administrative reforms, had more administrative responsibilities, and were closer connected with the top of Egypt's administration, than their non-Arab predecessors.[57] Indeed, in contrast to non-Arab pagarchs such as the just-mentioned Basileios, also Arab pagarchs are recorded to have enjoyed legal authority.[58] In other words, not only do we see the introduction of the governor as a legal authority in the Egyptian countryside and Arab pagarchs enjoying the same authority as their non-Arab predecessors, we even see that Arab segments of the administration arrogated this legal authority.[59] We will come back to this below.

Second, it is in this period too that we hear for the first time of *qāḍī*s outside al-Fusṭāṭ. Documentary sources are of little use for this period. Documents found outside al-Fusṭāṭ contain references to *qāḍī*s as early as the first half of the second/eighth century. They show the involvement of the *qaḍā*ʾ in the settlement of disputes related to financial transactions, ownership, inheritances, and, once, imprisonment outside Egypt.[60] In these papyri, the identity and whereabouts of

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[57] See the elaborate discussion in Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, pp. 102-5.

[58] For Arab pagarchs ordering subordinate officials to investigate complaints directed to the pagarch and to inform the latter of their findings, see *P.Berl.Arab.* II 23 (prob. Fayyūm; mid-second/eighth c.) with commentary to lines 9-10; Rāġib, "Lettres arabes", I, no. 1 (Fayyūm; 130s/750s) with the discussion in *CPR* XXII 7, comm. to line 2; and Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, no. 6 (Fayyūm; first half of the second/eighth c.). The same situation is probably also referred to in lines 1-2 of Jahn, "Vom frühislamischen Briefwesen", no. 4 (prov. unknown; 127/745); but *cf.* N. Gonis, "Another look at some officials in early ʿAbbāsid Egypt", *ZPE* 149 (2004), pp. 189-92 for this document and the pagarch involved. In Sijpesteijn, *Shaping Muslim state*, no. 21 (Fayyūm; first half second/eighth c.), an Arab pagarch orders the head of an administrative district (Ar. *ḥayyiz*) to bring to him the two defendants in a case so that the plaintiff 'receives the right he is entitled to from them' (Ar. *yatasallamu min al-ḥaqq allaḏī ʿalayhimā*). *P.KRU* 25 (Šīma; 104/722-105/723) even suggests that while the litigants proceeded before the Arab pagarch's deputy (Gr. πρόσωπον) it is the pagarch who formulates the verdict.

[59] *Pace* Tillier, "Du pagarque au cadi", p. 29.

[60] The earliest known documentary reference to a *qāḍī* appears in Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, no. 26 (Fayyūm; first half of the second/eighth c.). For other references, see *CPR* XVI 3 (prov. unknown; second/eighth or early third/ninth c.), Hinds & Sakkout, "A letter" (Qaṣr Ibrīm; 141/758), *P.Cair.Arab.* I 51 (prov. unknown; 195/811), *CPR* XXI 66 (prov. unknown; *c.* 257/870-270/884), and David-Weill *et al.*, "Papyrus arabes du Louvre", no. 22 (prov. unknown; third/ninth c.). For possible implicit references to

the mentioned *qāḍī* are mostly not given. Therefore, the possibility that he has his seat in al-Fusṭāṭ can in most cases not be excluded. The first indisputable reference to a provincial *qāḍī* is given in *P.Cair.Arab.* I 51 (prov. unknown; Šaʿbān 195/May 811). It mentions a certain *qāḍī* named ʿAmr b. Abī Bakr who is not known to have headed the *qaḍāʾ* in al-Fusṭāṭ.[61] Literary sources tell us that in the year this document was composed, one Hāšim b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bakrī was *qāḍī* there.[62] The office of the *qāḍī* ʿAmr b. Abī Bakr of *P.Cair.Arab.* I 51 apparently existed beside that of Hāšim b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān. The document has a relatively late date. It is unlikely to stem from a period of change in the administration of law outside the Arab capital, all the more because *qāḍī*s outside al-Fusṭāṭ are encountered about a century earlier in medieval historiographical literature. *P.Cair.Arab.* I 51 gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of *qāḍī*s in the Egyptian countryside.

The first *qāḍī* outside al-Fusṭāṭ mentioned in the chronicles is one Marṯad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī (d. 90/708-9), who adjudicated in Alexandria.[63] This appearance of a *qāḍī* outside the province's capital in the early-Marwanid period coincides with similar developments in Syria where the appearance of *qāḍī*s

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the *qaḍāʾ*, see *CPR* XVI 26 (prov. unknown; second/eighth c. or later [the dating of the *textus anterior CPR* XVI 3]), David-Weill *et al.*, "Papyrus arabes du Louvre", no. 25 (prov. unknown; second/eighth c.), and *P.Berl.Arab.* II 27 (prov. unknown; third/ninth c.). See also al-Qāḍī, "An Umayyad papyrus".

[61] Although it is tempting to identify ʿAmr b. Abī Bakr with the prominent *qāḍī* ʿAmr b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī, who originally came from al-Mawṣil and was *qāḍī* of Damascus under Hārūn ar-Rašīd (r. 170/786-193/809), we lack information on the whereabouts, origins, tribal affiliation etcetera of the *qāḍī* of *P.Cair.Arab.* I 51 that might identify the former with the latter. For ʿAmr b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī, see az-Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Qurayš*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif, 1953, p. 368; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 6 vols, Haydarabad: Maǧlis dāʾirat al-maʿārif an-niẓāmiyya, 1329/1911-1331/1913, IV, p. 287; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ Dimašq*, XLIII, p. 550 [no. 5182] (*lege* "Amr" instead of "Umar" in line 2; *cf.* lines 5 and 13 where ʿAmr's brother ʿUmar is called *qāḍī* of al-Urdunn whereas ʿAmr himself was *qāḍī* of Damascus). We also lack biographical information that links ʿAmr b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī with Egypt. There is, therefore, no solid base for identifying him with the *qāḍī* of *P.Cair.Arab.* I 51.

[62] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 245-6; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 411-7; Wakīʿ, *Aḫbār*, III, p. 239; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, II, pp. 246-7 [no. 656]; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, pp. 455-8 [no. 241]. Confusingly, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, al-Kindī, and Wakīʿ call him Hāšim b. Abī Bakr, but see Ibn Yūnus and Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī for his genealogy: he belonged to the descendants of the caliph Abū Bakr and had a grandfather with the *kunya* Abū Bakr.

[63] Aš-Šīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut: Dār ar-rāʾid al-ʿarabī, 1970, p. 78; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, IV/1, p. 31.

outside the main places of Arab settlement and administration can be dated to the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65/685-86/705).[64]

Martad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī is primarily remembered as a traditionist.[65] Much information on his background cannot be found beside the names of his teachers and pupils.[66] The scant source material indicates, though, that throughout his career he held several high administrative positions and that, towards the end of his career, his authority was province-wide. His occupations before his judgeship in Alexandria are obscure and possible references to them are of dubious quality. Martad was most probably not the high administrative official in Anṭābulus as an account preserved by Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ suggests.[67] What we know of his career with more certainty is that Martad, having gained much legal experience as a qāḍī in Alexandria, was summoned to al-Fusṭāṭ in order to advise in

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[64] Conrad, *Quḍāt Dimašq*, esp. pp. 712-6. See also Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, p. 58.

[65] Aš-Šīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ*, p. 78 mentions him among Egypt's five prominent *faqīh*s of the first two Muslim centuries.

[66] For extensive references to medieval biographical literature, see al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ ar-riǧāl*, 35 vols, ed. B.ʿA. Maʿrūf, Beirut: Muʾassasat ar-risāla, 1400/1980-1412/1992, XXV, p. 357, n. 1.

[67] In this account, Ḫalīfa b. al-Ḫayyaṭ (*Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 138) reports '[...] on the authority of Ibn Lahīʿa, on the authority of Martad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, that he, when he was appointed governor over Anṭābulus, went to the inhabitants of Anṭābulus with the document stating their pact' (Ar. [...] *ʿan Ibn Lahīʿa ʿan Martad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī annahu atā ahl Anṭābulus ḥīna wuliya Anṭābulus bi-kitāb ʿahdihim*). Note that in this account Martad has the incorrect *nisba* 'al-Ḥaḍramī'. (The *nisba* 'al-Yazanī' refers to Ḏū Yazan, a sub-tribe (Ar. *baṭn*) of Ḥimyar. See ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam qabāʾil al-ʿarab al-qadīma wa-l-ḥadīṭa*, Damascus: al-Maktaba al-Hāšimiyya, 3 vols, 1368/1949, III, p. 1268b and A.F.L. Beeston, "Yazan", *EI²*, XI, p. 302a.) A medieval copyist of the manuscript corrects Martad's tribal affiliation to the Ḏū Yazan in the margin (Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 138, n. 1). Elsewhere, Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ lists Martad among the first class of North African traditionists (Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ, *Kitāb aṭ-ṭabaqāt*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀnī, 1387/1967, p. 293). Now, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, p. 170) gives a much similar account in which he writes that '[...] Ibn Lahīʿa transmitted on the authority of Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī that Ibn Dayyās, when he was appointed governor over Anṭābulus, went there [or, to him] with the document stating their pact' (Ar. [...] *ḥaddaṭanā Ibn Lahīʿa ʿan Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī anna Ibn Dayyās ḥīna wuliya Anṭābulus atāhu bi-kitāb ʿahdihim*; see also Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Amwāl*, p. 208 [no. 401]). In Arabic script, the names Martad and Yazīd are easily confused. The name Martad may, therefore, have been written in place of the name Yazīd. Hence, it cannot be excluded that Martad is not at all meant as the transmitter in Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ's account let alone that he is the account's subject. However, there is no Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī known to have been a traditionist and the name occurs not among ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa's informants (for whom, see *e.g.* al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb*, XV, pp. 488-9 [no. 3513] and R.G. Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn Lahīʿa (97-174/715-790): juge et grand maître de l'école égyptienne*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986, pp. 87-117). The context of both accounts – whether or not Anṭābulus had a treaty with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ – may be taken in favour of that of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. On the basis of this source material, one can only speculate on Martad's relationship with North Africa.

the legal matters of no one less than the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān.[68] Instead of a *qāḍī* whose jurisdiction was limited to Alexandria and possibly the city's direct hinterland, Marṯad was now, in Ibn Yūnus' words, *muftī ahl Miṣr*, that is, the highest legal consultant of the *ǧund* of Egypt.[69] Al-Maqrīzī writes that Marṯad succeeded ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥuǧayra al-Ḥawlānī as chief of the *qaṣaṣ*, probably in al-Fusṭāṭ, after he had been *qāḍī* in Alexandria.[70] Although the functions of a *muftī* and *qāṣṣ* may partially have overlapped, the historicity of this report cannot be ascertained; it contradicts other reports on the succession of those who headed the *qaṣaṣ* during Marṯad's lifetime.[71] Nonetheless, al-Maqrīzī's report may very well be indicative of Marṯad's considerable socio-religious authority near the end of his career. After all, both a *muftī* and a *qāṣṣ* advised in religious matters and other sources remember Marṯad as an *imām*, 'religious leader'.[72] Despite the scantiness of this information, it suggests a close relationship between the *qaḍāʾ* of Alexandria and the top of the juridico-administrative hierarchy seated in al-Fusṭāṭ. Marṯad's appointment coincided with that of other officials in Alexandria who had close connections with al-Fusṭāṭ. As we already saw at the end of chapter 1, his appointment was part of a larger development that strengthened al-Fusṭāṭ's ties with Alexandria.[73] Marṯad's career and shift from

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[68] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 467-8 [no. 1285]; Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb aṭ-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 11 vols, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḫānǧī, 1421/2001, IX, p. 517 [no. 4872].

[69] Marṯad's province-wide authority is more explicitly referred to by *e.g.* aḏ-Ḏahabī (*Siyar aʿlām an-nubalāʾ*, 25 vols, gen. ed. Š. al-Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut: Muʾassasat ar-risāla, 1406/1986-1412/1992, IV, p. 284 [no. 105]) who calls him *ʿālim ad-diyār al-Miṣriyya wa-muftīhā*, 'the Egyptian territories' [main] scholar and their legal consultant'. It is not entirely certain whether or not the term *muftī* was in use at Marṯad's time. For a discussion, see D.S. Powers, "Legal consultation (*futyā*) in medieval Spain and North Africa", in C. Mallat (ed.), *Islam and public law: classical and contemporary studies*, London: Graham and Trotman, 1993, pp. 85-7; Tillier, *Les cadis*, pp. 74-5; Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, p. 62.

[70] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, IV/1, p. 31.

[71] If the report is true, Marṯad is likely to have held the office for a short time after ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥuǧayra was deposed in 83/702 (Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 299 [no. 811] with n. 8.). However, Ibn Yūnus (*Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 424 [no. 1128]) reports that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān appointed one Mālik b. Šarāḥīl al-Ḥawlānī over the *qaṣaṣ* in 83/702.

[72] *E.g.* aḏ-Ḏahabī, *Siyar aʿlām an-nubalāʾ*, IV, p. 284 [no. 105]. *Cf. e.g.* as-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿA.ʿU. al-Bārūdī, 5 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Ǧinān, 1408/1988, V, p. 691 where Marṯad is called 'rightly guided' (Ar. *mahdī*). For the interpretation of the term *imām*, *cf.* P. Crone, *God's rule: government and Islam*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, pp. 21-3.

[73] See pp. 56-9 above.

Alexandria to al-Fusṭāṭ not necessarily qualifies the hierarchical and social relationship between the *qaḍāʾ* in al-Fusṭāṭ and that in other places. For this, we need to turn to another *qāḍī* holding office outside al-Fusṭāṭ.

Beside one Ḥumayr b. Mālik al-Ḥimyarī, a hardly documented *qāḍī* in Alexandria during the caliphate of Hišām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105/724-125/743),[74] historiographical sources mention by name one other second/eighth-century *qāḍī* having had his seat outside al-Fusṭāṭ. Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī is said to have been *qāḍī* in Iḫmīm (Panopolis) prior to his appointment as the deputy of the *qāḍī* Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān in al-Fusṭāṭ four months before his death in Ḏū al-Qaʿda 140/March 758.[75] In contrast with that of Marṯad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī, the career of Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī is known in more detail.

Ibn Yūnus writes that Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh was a secretary (Ar. *kātib*) of the *qāḍī* Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān (at some time) before he became *qāḍī* of Iḫmīm and then Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān's deputy in al-Fusṭāṭ.[76] Al-Kindī claims Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh to have been 'governor' (Ar. *wālī*) of Iḫmīm, that is, its chief administrator, when he was asked to become Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān's deputy.[77] Although Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh may have held both posts of *qāḍī* and *wālī* separately (in which case he must first have been *qāḍī* and then *wālī*), the possibility that he was the highest administrative official in Iḫmīm and at the same time held judicial authority

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[74] See Tillier, *Histoire des cadis égyptiens*, p. 23.

[75] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 392 [no. 1064] and 511 [no. 1401]; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 243 (with note 6); al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 359-60; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 467 [no. 251]. Ibn Yūnus (*Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 392 [no. 1064]) writes that Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh may also have died in early-141/759. For deputy *qāḍī*s, *cf.* H.F.S. Kasassbeh, *The office of qāḍī in the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate (132-247/750-861)*, Ph.D. thesis, London: SOAS, 1990, pp. 289-92.

       Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, p. 243) reports that Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān confirmed (Ar. *aqarra*) Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh as his deputy after he saw him holding sessions (Ar. *wa-kāna yaǧlisu li-n-nās*) in the White Mosque in the quarter of the tribe of Ḥaḍramawt in al-Fusṭāṭ (see also al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 360 and Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 467 [no. 251]). It is most likely that this occurred at the beginning of the month between Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān's return from the summer raid (Ramaḍān 140/January-February 758 [al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 359; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 392 [no. 1064]; Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 467 [no. 251]]) and Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh's sudden death in Ḏū al-Qaʿda 140/March 758.

[76] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 392 [no. 1064] and 511 [no. 1401] (copied in Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 467 [no. 251].

[77] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 359-60.

cannot be excluded.[78] Whatever the case, Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh was an administrative official in Iḥmīm during the judgeship of Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān. Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān himself was appointed as head of the *qaḍāʾ* by the governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd in Ramaḍān 135/March 753 and continued his judgeship until Ǧumāda II 140/October 757;[79] no interruption is mentioned to have been caused by the accession of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī to the governorate in 136/753 and the reinstallation of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd in Ramaḍān 137/February 755 (who headed the governorate until Rabīʿ II 141/August 758). Interestingly, Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh rose from being a *qāḍī*'s secretary, via some administrative posts in the countryside, to being a *qāḍī*'s deputy in al-Fusṭāṭ in half a decade.[80] He made a judicial career. After having obtained the prestigious position of secretary to a *qāḍī* seated in al-Fusṭāṭ probably through his and Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān's shared affiliation with the tribe of Ḥaḍramawt,[81] Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh became an official with judicial authority in the provincial town of Iḥmīm.[82] This position gave him access to the most influental levels of the (legal) administration. Such details on the chronology of Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh's career show a close relationship with the (provincial and local) administration on the one hand and the *qaḍāʾ* in al-Fusṭāṭ as well as in Iḥmīm on the other.

Fortunately, the trilingual document *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167 (second/eighth c.) adds to our knowledge of Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh's career. This document, found in Iḥmīm, contains an official declaration on the soundness of a local fiscal administrator's conduct. The declaration is made by a governor's 'overseer [Ar.

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[78] Although literary sources predominantly use the word *wālī* for a provincial governor, a second/eighth-century document, *P.Khalili* I 14 (prov. unknown), mentions a *wālī* of a village in the Nile delta with judicial powers (line 11).

[79] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 356-9; *cf.* Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 241. On his journey to Palestine in 137-8/755, Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān was *qāḍī*-in-absence; he is said not to have appointed a deputy (al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 357-8).

[80] For possible but uncertain documentary information on the career of other Abbasid officials who held offices in the Egyptian countryside before they served at the top of the administration in al-Fusṭāṭ, see Gonis, "Another look", pp. 193-5 (see also *CPR* XXII 35, comm. to line 1).

[81] M. Tillier, "Scribes et enquêteurs: note sur le personel judiciaire en Égypte aux quatre premiers siècles de l'hégire", *JESHO* 54 (2011), pp. 390-1.

[82] For the social relationship between a *qāḍī* and his secretary, see Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, pp. 60-1 and Tillier, "Scribes et enquêteurs", esp. pp. 395-6 and 397-9.

ḥāfiẓ][83] over the [combined] district of Iḥmīm and Ṭahṭā' (lines 95-6) named Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh. This Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh has long been identified with Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī.[84] The Coptic part of the document calls him *dēmosios logos* (line 2), 'public authority'.[85] Village communities are known to have used this term to address the governor in official deeds.[86] The term is also found used by such communities to address pagarchs in documents dealing with tax-related matters.[87] What *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167 tells us on Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh's career heavily depends on our dating of the document. Palaeography and the beginning of a governor's name in line 4 (ⲁⲃ[ⲗ = ʿAbd) securely assign the document to the second/eighth century.[88] The identification of the document's overseer with Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, further, only allows for a date before Ḏū al-Qaʿda 140/March 758, the month in which the latter died. For unknown reasons, A. Grohmann has dated the document to the period 137/754-140/757.[89] A close examination of the document makes a slightly earlier date more probable.

The document contains at two places (the remains of) a date: the possibly partially broken off ⲭⲟⲓⲁ2ⲕ ⲅ̄ ⲓ/ [in line 1 (*lege* thus, see *P.Cair.Arab.* III, plate 8) and the fully readible ⲙ̄ ⲭ\ⲟⲓ/ ⲅ ⲓ/ in line 82. The interpretation of these dates remains uncertain.[90] The *gamma* in both the Coptic and Greek date can stand for the day of the month, the indiction year, or both at the same time. Considering the fact that in line 82 the date is fully preserved and probably intentionally written as it is, the

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[83] The word *ḥāfiẓ* occurs nowhere else in the papyrological record of the first Muslim centuries except in reference to God (*e.g.*, *P.Marchands* II 10 (Fayyūm; third/ninth c.)).

[84] A.R. Guest, "An Arabic papyrus of the 8th century", *JAOS* 43 (1923), p. 247. See also *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167, lines 2-3 (+ comm.) of which the extant parts establish a connection between 'our lord' (C. ⲡⲉⲛ[ⲝ[ⲟⲉ]ⲓⲥ) Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh and 'the city of Iḥmīm' (C. ⲧⲡ]ⲟⲗⲓⲥ [ϣ]ⲙ[ⲓⲛ) alone and do not mention Ṭahṭā.

[85] See *P.Mert.* I 49, comm. to line 8. As the governor's *ḥāfiẓ*, it is unlikely that Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh was an employee of a local financial bureau and that he was subordinate to the pagarch (*cf. P.Apoll.* 47, intr.; *P.Würzb.* 19, comm.).

[86] T.S. Richter, "Language choice in the Qurra dossier", in A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The multilingual experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, esp. p. 206, n. 55.

[87] *E.g.*, *P.Bal.* 122 (Dayr al-Balāʾiza; prob. 105/724), *P.Ryl.Copt.* 115 (al-Ušmūn; first/seventh or second/eighth c.), and *P.Ryl.Copt.* 116 (al-Ušmūn; first half of the second/eighth c.).

[88] *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167, comm. to lines 4-5.

[89] Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab", p. 132. See also n. 94 below.

[90] The editors understood the Coptic as '(On) the third of Choiak, i[ndiction ...]' and the Greek as 'Month of Choiak, third' (neglecting the abbreviation ⲓ/).

most likely interpretation is that the *gamma* stands at least for the indiction year, making it a third. A month Choiak in relevant indiction years 3 before 140/758 ran approximately as follows:[91] Ǧumādā I 101/December 719, Šawwāl-Ḏū al-Qaʿda 115/December 733 and Rabīʿ II 132/December 749. These are not dates in which a governor whose name starts with "ʿAbd' is known to have ruled. The governor who comes closest to one of these dates is ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose governorate is said to have started in Ǧumādā II 132/January 750, *i.e.* one month later than the month Choiak in 132/749.[92] Most probably, *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167 evidences that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān had become governor at least one month before the start of his governorate recorded in literary sources. Other papyri testify, indeed, to inaccuracies in the medieval historical tradition as to the dates of governorates of the mid-second/eighth century.[93] If ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān ruled one month earlier than recorded in the literary sources, *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167 dates from between Rabīʿ II 11/November 27 and Ǧumādā I 11/December 26 of the year 132/749.[94]

Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, then, was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān's overseer in Iḫmīm and Ṭaḥṭā before he became secretary of Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān. Within about

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[91] The month Choiak runs from November 27 to December 26.

[92] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 93. The current but faulty edition of *P.Ryl.Arab.* I § IV 5 suggests that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān was governor as early as 131/749. The name of the governor mentioned in this document should be read as ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd. The date of the document, which depends on the reading of the governor's name, should be corrected to 133/751.

[93] ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān's second successor, the above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd (in office for the first time in 133/751-136/754), is known from two documents to have been governor at least two months before the beginning of his governorate recorded in literary sources. See Y. Rāġib, "Lettres du service au maître de poste d'Ašmūn", *Archéologie islamique* 3 (1992), p. 5, n. 2.

[94] I thank L. Berkes for discussing this with me. An alternative but much less secure way to precise the date of the document rests on three rather weak assumptions: first, that Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh climbed the hierachical ladder throughout his career; second, that for this reason his post as *ḥāfiẓ* in *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167 must be identical to his post as *wālī* of the literary sources; and third, that the number of the indiction year in line 82 is mistakenly left out. In combination with the details of his career outlined above and the fact that the governor's name in line 4 starts with ʿAbd, these assumptions lead to the conclusion that *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167 stems from the time of Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān's judgeship under ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd, *i.e.* between Ramaḍān 135/March 753 and Rabīʿ II 136/October 753 or between Ramaḍān 137/February 755 and Ǧumāda II 140/October 757. More precisely, the document dates to a month of Choiak in one of these years, that is, between Ǧumādā II 17/November 27 and Raǧab 17/December 26 of the year 138/755 or between Ǧumādā II 28/November 27 and Raǧab 28/December 26 of the year 139/756. Such an argument may have led A. Grohmann to his further unfounded dating of the document to the period 137/754-140/757 (see above).

five years, he became *kātib* of Ġawṯ b. Sulaymān in al-Fusṭāṭ, then *qāḍī* and/or *wālī* back in Iḫmīm, and finally deputy-*qāḍī* in al-Fusṭāṭ. Even though it remains uncertain whether Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh actually was *qāḍī* in Iḫmīm, the proposed date of *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167, in combination with our detailed knowledge of Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh's career outlined above, indicates that administrators with official authority to adjudicate outside al-Fusṭāṭ were (at least at times) appointed to where they had served the government before and, thereby, had gained social standing. This added to his authority as an adjudicator and, hence, closely tied the local administration of law to that of the authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ.

3.2. *Related changes in the Arab and non-Arab communities*

Reference has been made above to the appearance of *qāḍī*s outside al-Fusṭāṭ during the Marwanid period. As has been noted by W.B. Hallaq, this appearance 'mirrored a collateral demographic movement that saw the Arabs relocate from the chief garrison towns to the smaller cities and towns previously inhabited exclusively by non-Muslims'.[95] Indeed, papyrological studies show that from the end of the first/seventh century onwards Arabs increasingly settled in the Egyptian countryside, amongst others for financial reasons.[96] This movement and the correlated increase of financial transactions involving Arabs outside al-Fusṭāṭ naturally brought along legal practices current among the new settlers. But there were more forces behind the spread of the use of the *qaḍāʾ* than changes in demography alone. Among others, these forces must be sought in the reception of official Arab administration of law among Egypt's countryside population and a growth of the complexity of the *qāḍī*'s office.

First, through the settlement of Arabs outside al-Fusṭāṭ and, additionally, conversion to Islam among the Egyptian population,[97] local Egyptian society came

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[95] Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, p. 58.

[96] *E.g.*, Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns", pp. 124-5. See also the discussions on pp. 68-9 and 135-7 above.

[97] On conversion to Islam in the period under discussion, see especially G. Frantz-Murphy, "Conversion in early Islamic Egypt: the economic factor", in Y. Rāġib (ed.), *Documents de l'Islam médiéval: nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1991, pp. 11-17; C. Décobert, *Le*

to stand in direct contact with a minority but dominant Arab/Muslim segment of society. As we saw above, legal interaction between Arabs and native Egyptians followed Arab legal prescriptions and, thus, diffused Arab legal concepts among the native population.[98] The intensified contact between the Arabs' legal system and the native Egyptian population from the early-second/eighth century onwards caused the Arabs' legal system to slowly find acknowledgement among non-converted Egyptians. Transcribed Arabic legal terminology in Coptic documents (such as ⲡⲁⲣⲁ for *barāʾa*, 'quittance',[99] or ⲇⲩⲛ for *dayn*, 'debt of money'[100]), for example, appears in documents dated to the late-first/seventh and second/eighth centuries, coinciding with the settlement of Arabs outside al-Fusṭāṭ.[101] Although most of the indigenous population stuck to existing legal practices, a small number of Coptic documents, further, record legal transactions involving native Egyptians that observe practices acceptable before Arab legal authorities. The documents *P.Mich.* inv. A 930 (prov. unknown; prob. before 108/727),[102] involving both Arab and non-Arab parties, and *CPR* II 151 (prob. Fayyūm; second/eighth c.), of which the section describing the parties is lost, for

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mendiant et le combattant: l'institution de l'islam, Paris: Seuil, 1991, pp. 83-95; H. Suermann, "Copts and the Islam of the seventh century", in E. Grypeou, M. Swanson & D. Thoman (eds), *The encounter of eastern Christianity with early Islam*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006, pp. 95-109; Sijpesteijn, "New rule", pp. 195-7. See also C. Décobert, "Sur l'arabisation et l'islamisation de l'Égypte médiévale", in C. Décobert (ed.), *Itinéraires d'Égypte: mélanges offerts au père Maurice Martin*, Cairo: IFAO, 1992, pp. 273-300; J. Iskander, "Islamization in medieval Egypt: the Copto-Arabic 'Apocalypse of Samuel' as a source for the social and religious history of the medieval Copts", *Medieval encounters* 4 (1998), pp. 219-227.

[98] For early legal interaction between Arabs and non-Arabs (all following Arab legal prescriptions), see *Chrest.Khoury* I 48 (prov. unknown; first/seventh c.); Liebrenz, "Eine frühe arabische Quittung" (šīma; late-first/seventh or early-second/eighth c.); *Chrest.Khoury* II 17 = *P.Vente* 14 (Fayyūm; first/seventh or second/eighth c.). See also *CPR* XXVI 36 (prov. n.i.; second/eighth c.); Diem, "Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden", no. 3 (Fayyūm; 162/779); *CPR* XXI 1 (Fayyūm; 169/785); *Chrest.Khoury* I 64 (Fayyūm; 180/796); *CPR* XXVI 37 (prov. unknown; second/eighth or third/ninth c.); *P.Terminkauf* 1 (poss. Fayyūm; 200/816).

[99] *P.Bal.* 291 (Dayr al-Balāʾiza; early-second/eighth c.), see comm. to line 5 for more references. See also T.S. Richter, "*O.Crum* ad. 15 and the emergence of Arabic words", p. 108, n. 45.

[100] *P.Bal.* 102 (Dayr al-Balāʾiza; late-first/seventh or early-second/eighth c.).

[101] Richter, "*O.Crum* ad. 15 and the emergence of Arabic words", esp. pp. 105-9; T.S. Richter, "Arabische Lehnworte und Formeln in koptischen Rechtsurkunden", *JJP* 31 (2001), pp. 76-9.

[102] An Arabic document which mentions the governor al-Ḥurr b. Yūsuf (in office 105/724-108/727) and which, for this reason, can be dated approximately reuses the papyrus on which the Coptic is written. For the Arabic, see Younes, *Joy and sorrow*, no. 21. The Coptic part was presented by A. Delattre during the *Fifth ISAP conference* (Tunis) on 30.3.2012.

instance, record legal transactions to which two Arabs bore testimony.[103] From the mid-second/eighth century there is evidence that commercial transactions between non-Arabs or non-Muslims were recorded in Arabic.[104] Indeed, in two Coptic legal documents from Šīma and dated to 115/733 appears for the first time a formula explicitly stating that these documents were composed 'in the Egyptian language', suggesting that documentary practices in another language (Arabic being the most likely candidate[105]) had recently entered local legal administration.[106] Similarly, changes in the stipulation clause in Coptic legal documents in the first half of the second/eighth century have been interpreted as the result of the presence of Arab legal authorities outside al-Fusṭāṭ. Instead of agreeing to the transaction recorded in the document, the new stipulation clause records that one of the contracting parties 'will testify that he agreed', *i.e.* stipulating that he will provide (oral) evidence before adjudicators. Thereby, the change in the stipulation clause is thought to have brought Coptic evidentiary practices in accordance with legal practices to which the Arab authorities adhered.[107]

By the second/eighth century, these authorities may well have been the Arab or Muslim fiscal administrators discussed in the previous section (who, as we saw, arrogated legal authority). We may also expect them to have been locally-appointed *qāḍī*s, especially in those areas where substantial Muslim communities lived. That *qāḍī*s began to enjoy legal authority among Egypt's indigenous population around this time is clearly stated by al-Kindī. He mentions Christian Egyptians proceeding before the *qāḍī* in al-Fusṭāṭ for the first time in his entry on

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[103] See also *CPR* IV 58 (prob. Fayyūm; second/eighth c.), of which the only preserved party seems to have been Egyptian (line 1: '…] son of Kōsma'), for a legal transaction witnessed over by one Arab. In *CPR* XXXI 1 (al-Ušmūn; second/eighth c.), one of the three witnesses to the recorded payment has an Arabic patronymic: Papnoute son of Ziyād.

[104] A. Hanafi, "Two unpublished paper documents and a papyrus", in P.M. Sijpesteijn & L. Sundelin (eds), *Papyrology and the history of early Islamic Egypt*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, no. 3 (prov. unknown; 144/761-2).

[105] See now the Arabic legal document published by B. Liebrenz ("Eine frühe arabische Quittung", pp. 300-1 with p. 298 on the date of the document) which not only comes from Šīma and dates to the late-first/seventh or second/eighth century but also testifies to the presence of detailed knowledge on the Arab authorities' official administration of law (see the commentary to lines 5-6).

[106] Frantz-Murphy, "Settlement of property disputes", p. 99.

[107] Frantz-Murphy, "Settlement of property disputes", pp. 98-100.

Ḫayr b. Nuʿaym's first office as *qāḍī* (120/738-128/745),[108] *i.e.* shortly after (legal) contact between Arabs and non-Arabs had intensified.

Second and related to the above, it is around the same time that the the Arab legal administration itself enlarged and specialized. Around the turn of the second/eighth century, literary sources mention for the first time assistants, such as a secretary (Ar. *kātib*),[109] at the *qāḍī*'s court or its involvement of legal specialists.[110] The growing number of types of legal dispute covered by the *qaḍāʾ* in the course of the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries doubtlessly contributed to this development.[111] This increased complexity of the *qaḍāʾ* is likely to be one of the reasons for the disassociation of the administration of law from other civil offices during the first half of the second/eighth century.[112] Combined with the demand for official Arab adjudication from among an ever-growing Arab/Muslim population living outside al-Fusṭāṭ as well as from part of Egypt's indigenous population, the complexity of the *qaḍāʾ* necessitated the presence of other, *i.e.* provincial, *qāḍī*s who were subordinate to their colleague in al-Fusṭāṭ. Their position discussed above suggests, indeed, that they were appointed to meet local demands rather than to replace the *qāḍī* in al-Fusṭāṭ. In light of the early and substantial Arab presence in Alexandria in the second half of the first/seventh century, the city's strategic location, and, hence, the continuous need for Arab authorities to maintain their rule there, it is not at all surprising that the first *qāḍī* outside al-Fusṭāṭ mentioned in our literary source material, the above-mentioned Marṯad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazanī, held office in this city: outside al-Fusṭāṭ, control over the administration of law was most pertinent there.

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[108] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 351; see also Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 154.

[109] Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, pp. 60-1. In source material related to Egypt, a *qāḍī*'s secretary appears in 97/716 (Tillier, "Scribes et enquêteurs", pp. 373 and 378-9).

[110] Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, pp. 77-8; Schacht, *Introduction*, pp. 26-7.

[111] The most obvious material presented throughout the literary sources on the development of the *qāḍī*'s office is collected by al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, I, pp. 418-9. See also Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, pp. 59-62.

[112] I. Bligh-Abramski, "The judiciary (*qāḍī*s) as a governmental-administrative tool in early Islam", *JESHO* 35/1 (1992), p. 44; Hallaq, *Origins and evolution*, p. 57.

4. *Concluding remarks*

The changes in al-Fusṭāṭ's involvement in the legal administration of Upper Egypt, discussed in this chapter, responded to several social and political developments. The different stages of the involvement of Arab authorities seated in their new capital coincided with major political changes and followed the same chronology we established in earlier chapters. The last stage, which included the acknowledgement of Arab legal authority and practices by non-Arabs/Muslims and the appointment of Arab legal personnel outside al-Fusṭāṭ, firmly established al-Fusṭāṭ's involvement in the province's legal administration. Well-known for their efforts at centralizing the administration in order to increase their control over both the Arab and non-Arab populace, it comes as no surprise that the developments during this last stage were the (indirect) result of the imperial policies of the Marwanid caliphs.

Before the Marwanids came to rule, Umayyad provincial governors had appointed *qāḍī*s in al-Fusṭāṭ from among the local Arab nobility.[113] Because of their local background, *qāḍī*s formed, in legal spheres at least, an important bridge between the regularly foreign governors and the local Arab populace. Via the social and religious authority of the *qaḍāʾ*, the Arab authorities used *qāḍī*s for influencing the religious and political direction of the young Arab community in order to unite them under their rule.[114] Also the Marwanids used the Arabs' legal administration as a political instrument. Compared to the policies of their predecessors, control over the legal administration and, hence, the population under the Marwanids was in the hands of higher political authorities. Instead of the provincial governor, the caliph is recorded to have been directly involved in

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[113] H. Kennedy, "Egypt as a province in the Islamic caliphate, 641-686", *CHE*, I, p. 66; B. Johansen, "Wahrheit und Geltungsanspruch: zur Begründung und Begrenzung der Autorität des Qadi-Urteils im islamischen Recht", in O. Capitani *et al.* (eds), *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX-XI)*, 2 vols, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1997, II, p. 978. See also H. Kennedy, "Central government and provincial élites in the early ʿAbbasid caliphate", *BSOAS* 44/1 (1981), pp. 29-30. As to the authority who appointed *qāḍī*s, see Johansen, "Wahrheit und Geltungsanspruch", pp. 984-5, note 16 [ad. IV].
[114] Bligh-Abramski, "The judiciary", esp. pp. 43-4 and 62-6; Tillier, *Les cadis d'Iraq*, pp. 75-8.

the appointment of the head of Egypt's *qaḍāʾ* in al-Fusṭāṭ from 98/717 onwards.[115] The discussions above show that Marwanid policies not only affected the administration of law of Egypt's Arab community but indirectly, via the settlement of Arabs outside al-Fusṭāṭ which they encouraged, also that of the indigenous population.

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[115] ʿIyāḍ b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Azdī (*qāḍī* in al-Fusṭāṭ for a second time in 98/717-100/719; *cf.* Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Raf al-iṣr*, p. 293 [no. 157] for this date) and his three immediate successors were all appointed by caliphs or by the governor on the caliph's orders (see al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, pp. 337 and 340 (for ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Ḥuḏāmir and Yaḥyā b. Maymūn al-Ḥaḍramī; al-Kindī does not mention the latter's successor (al-)Ḫiyār b. Ḫālid al-Mudliǧī, *qāḍī* for about two months in 114/732 [see Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Raf al-iṣr*, p. 152 [no. 70]; *cf.* Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 240])).

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AL-FUSṬĀṬ'S RELATIONSHIP
WITH ITS HINTERLAND

This thesis presented four case studies that looked into the development of al-Fusṭāṭ as Egypt's main city. The point of view of these studies was that of the town's hinterland, predominantly Alexandria and Upper Egypt. Many of this thesis's chapters detected a three-stepped chronology along which al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with its hinterland developed. As al-Fusṭāṭ was the seat of the political authorities, these authorities' policies actively contributed to this development. Interestingly, official policies also, but indirectly, affected non-political aspects of this relationship, that is, at levels not directly related to the Arab administration. Policies influenced levels of society for which they were not primarily intended. It is for this reason that the chronology corresponds to three political phases: the period of the Rightly-Guided caliphs (*c.* 18/639-40/661), that of Sufyanid and early-Marwanid rule (*c.* 40/661-80/700), and the period between the start of the Marwanid reforms and the Abbasid revolution (*c.* 80/700-132/750).

1. *C.* 18/639-40/661: *al-Fusṭāṭ and the Arabs' conquest polity*
Al-Fusṭāṭ originated from the Arabs' conquest tactics. Strategically located around the fortress Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ and near territory still in Byzantine hands, the initial settlement facilitated further conquests in the Nile valley and in the western half and heart of the Nile delta. Documentary sources studied in chapter 1 testify to the development of close administrative ties between the camp al-Fusṭāṭ and parts of Egypt that had been brought under Arab rule prior to the traditional date of al-Fusṭāṭ's becoming an administrative centre. These ties enabled the Arab authorities to levy imposts on the conquered areas and, via the thus gained financial and material revenues, to make al-Fusṭāṭ a back-up for the conquering

armies. Such tactics were not particular to the conquest of Egypt. Towns such as al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra in Iraq but, later, also al-Qayrawān in North Africa similarly began as frontier outposts.[1] The existence of fiscal-administrative relationships between the Arab authorities in their camp around Qaṣr aš-Šamʿ and administrations in Upper Egypt, prior to the surrender of Alexandria, must have considerably contributed to the Arabs' maintaining of their camp around the fortress and, soon, to al-Fusṭāṭ's central role in Egypt's administration.[2]

While the conquests unabatedly continued well into the 30s/650s in the far south of Egypt, a strong military presence and the imposition of taxes characterized the 'conquest polity'[3] of the Arab authorities in the conquered territories. Religious militancy being one of the core tenets of Muslim belief at that time, modern scholarship holds this initial polity to have primarily encouraged a continuation of the conquests in order to expand the *dār al-islām*.[4] The Arabs' wish to geographically establish their rule beyond Egypt's borders directly affected their polity within the province during these initial decades.

Whereas they left much of the existing civil administrative structures intact, the Arab authorities changed the military and set up a military network of co-believers, at this time predominantly consisting of Arabs. The religion and

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[1] As to the initial role of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, see Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, pp. 227-9. Prior to the foundation of al-Kūfa, al-Madāʾin (Seleucia-Ctesiphon) served similar purposes (see, most explicitly, Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, pp. 52-3). Note that better possibilities to provide the Muslim conquerors with food and fodder figure prominently among the many reported reasons for the relocation of Muslim garrisons from al-Madāʾin to al-Kūfa (Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, pp. 65-9; Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, pp. 227-8). On al-Qayrawān, see E. Lévi-Provençal, "Arabica occidentalia, I", *Arabica* 1/1 (1954), pp. 17-33 and M. Talbi, "Al-Ḳayrawān", *EI²*, IV, pp. 825-7 (note the emphasis on grazing areas around al-Qayrawān referred to in Kennedy, *The great Arab conquests*, p. 211).

[2] *Cf.* Denoix, "Founded cities", p. 118.

[3] I take this concept from C.F. Robinson, "The rise of Islam, 600-705", *NCHI*, I, pp. 210-11, but in it clearly resonates the concept 'conquest society', mostly known from P. Crone's *Slaves on horses*, chs 3-8.

[4] On role of the conquests and *ǧihād* in early-Islamic politics, see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 554-5; K.Y. Blankinship, *The end of the jihâd state: the reign of Hishâm ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and the collapse of the Umayyads*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994, esp. pp. 11-35; Donner, *Muhammad and the believers*, pp. 82-6; P. Crone, "The first-century concept of *hiǧra*", *Arabica* 41 (1994), esp. pp. 380-6. See also Kubiak, *Al-Fustat*, pp. 78-9. For Egypt in particular, see *e.g.* Papaconstantinou, "Administering the early Islamic empire", p. 65 and Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns", pp. 125-6. See also P. Crone, "The early Islamic world", in K. Raaflaub & N. Rosenstein (eds), *War and society in the ancient and medieval worlds*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 311-2.

ethnicity that they shared with military commanders and their soldiers enabled the authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ to use loyalty as a means to secure their military powers. In Alexandria, the Arabs maintained the head of the city's civil administration, who bore the title *augustalis* after the conquest of the city, but deprived him of his military powers. Arab *amīr*s with direct ties with, and secured loyalty to, al-Fusṭāṭ assumed military authority in the city. These officials headed garrisons entirely consisting of Arab soldiers, loyal to their Arab commander. Thus, the central Arab administration secured its rule in Alexandria while leaving the city's civil (and fiscal) administration intact. At the same time, the Arab administration set up a socio- and religio-political centre in the heart of the city. This centre included a congregational mosque and the houses of Arab notables, amongst whom the governor seated in al-Fusṭāṭ. Via this centre, the central Arab authorities created further ties between them and the city of Alexandria.

Parallels are known for Upper Egypt. Here too, Arab *amīr*s with their Arab garrisons assumed military authority formerly held by Byzantine administrators. The civil administrations were kept unchanged. The unique documentary source material for the Arab military apparatus in Upper Egypt, studied in chapter 3, shows that the *amīr*s supervised and, at times, interfered with the local administrations in order to provision their soldiers.[5] In spite of this decentralized character of the Arabs' military organization at that time, documents in which the central Arab administration directs pagarchs in their contact with and provisioning of these garrisons attest to a central command in al-Fusṭāṭ.

This support of the military enabled the new rulers to impose taxes in order to financially underpin their conquest polity. Both documents and medieval historiographical literature refer to the introduction of taxes and, thereby, attest to the Arabs' concern for bringing in tax revenues.[6] In the present thesis, this

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[5] Sijpesteijn, "Landholding patterns", p. 122.

[6] *P.Rain.Cent.* 144 (Fayyūm), a receipt for the payment of 'the new *diagraphon* tax' (line 2: νέου διαγράφ(ου)) which should probably be dated to 27/648. On prosopographical grounds, the editor of *P.Prag.* II 152 (comm. to line 2) dates *P.Rain.Cent.* 144 to 27/648 or 42/663 (a sixth indiction year). The latter year is an unlikely candidate. *SB* VIII 9756 (Ihnās), dated Ǧumādā II 8, 32/January 14, 653 gives the first securely-dated reference to the *diagraphon* tax (see Gascou, "De Byzance à l'Islam", p. 102). Early references are also found in *BGU* II 681 (prov. unknown), *P.Lond.* I 116/a (Fayyūm), and *SPP* VIII 741

became most visible in the appearance of the top of the central Arab administration as a legal authority in a reformed oath formula. As this oath formula appears from as early as 29/649 in almost exclusively texts related to the tax administration (see chapter 4), it surely reflects the Arabs' early efforts to arrogate the entitlement to levies. Other scholars have showed other developments in the fiscal administration soon after the establishment of Arab rule.[7] During this initial period, then, it was mainly fiscal and military contexts in which the authorities seated in al-Fusṭāṭ operated outside the town.

Nonetheless, al-Fusṭāṭ's role in the province soon exceeded the fiscal and military realm. For one thing, the influx of tax money and the related distribution of military pay among the ever-increasing number of tribesmen registered in the *dīwān* allowed for economic activity in the town soon after its foundation. Arabs themselves are recorded in the literary sources to have engaged in trade. Archaeological records show that al-Fusṭāṭ developed strong ties with its Egyptian hinterland and attracted artisans from other Egyptian towns. During the initial period, al-Fusṭāṭ was a nascent commercial centre. Its existence is not recorded to have affected the commercial position of Alexandria, Egypt's largest commercial centre at that time. Another realm in which al-Fusṭāṭ appears in this period is that of the judicial system. There is very limited evidence for the involvement of the central administration in judicial matters, both within the Arab community of al-Fusṭāṭ and outside the town. But the Arabs' dominance in the province and their keeping of existing administrative structures caused affiliation with the central Arab authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ via, *e.g.*, the taxation system to be a basis for judicial authority among local Egyptians soon after the establishment of Arab rule. In sum, although al-Fusṭāṭ must have been almost invisible for the average Egyptian in the

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(Fayyūm), which possibly date from 25/645. See I. Poll, "Die διάγραφον-Steuer im spätbyzantinischen und früharabischen Ägypten", *Tyche* 14 (1999), p. 239, n. 9; *cf.* Papaconstantinou, "Administering the early Islamic empire", p. 63. Taking these early references into consideration, it is improbable that a document would still refer to the *diagraphon* as a 'new' tax as late as 42/663. This leaves us with 27/648 as the most probable date of *P.Rain.Cent.* 144. The interpretation of *CPR* XXII 1 (al-Ušmūn; early-20s/640s), which possibly refers to the introduction of the *andrismos* tax (Sijpesteijn, "The Arab conquest of Egypt", pp. 445-6) is not certain. See Papaconstantinou, "Administering the early Islamic empire", pp. 60-1.

[7] See, most recently, Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, pp. 69-76.

initial decades after the conquest, the Arabs' conquest polity stimulated contact, at both a political and non-political level, between the town and the rest of the province.

2. C. 40/661-80/700: al-Fusṭāṭ and Sufyanid legitimicy, a first wave of centralization
The period of Sufyanid rule over Egypt, which started in 38/658-9 with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's second appointment as governor,[8] saw a strengthening of al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with its hinterland. A good number of the changes in this relationship were directly related to the rule of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Perfectly in concord with an alleged pact between the caliph and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ which records that 'both [Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr] will participate in the best of its [*i.e.*, Egypt's] government' (Ar. *innahumā yadḫulāni fī aḥsan amrihā*),[9] the synchronism between these changes shows the close ties between Egypt and the central, imperial administration.[10] Their abundance indicates that Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's rule departed from the existing conquest polity and considerably elaborated the provincial administrative institutions, resulting, in Egypt's case, in an increase of al-Fusṭāṭ's role in the province.[11]

The dynastic change occassioned by the civil war of the late-30s/650s necessitated the active establishment and legitimization of Sufyanid rule. The first decades after the civil war saw (at times heavily centralizing) administrative

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[8] Medieval historiography proposes various dates for ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's second appointment. Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz aṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿA. b. ʿA. at-Turkī, 16 vols, Cairo: 1429/2008, VII, p. 414 [no. 5910], after Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 374, n. 6: Ṣafar 38/July 658; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 31: Rabīʿ I 38/August 658; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 374 [no. 1026]: Ḏū al-Qaʿda 38/March 659.

[9] A. Marsham, "The pact (*amāna*) between Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (656 or 658 CE): 'documents' and the Islamic historical tradition", *JSS* 57/1 (2012), pp. 69-96; for the text and translation, see pp. 72 and 83 [§ 7]. The text, at § 5, purports a date prior to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's appointment as governor of Egypt.

[10] *Cf.* Sijpesteijn, "Army economics", pp. 262-3.

[11] Modern scholars disagree on the centralized or decentralized nature of Muʿāwiya's rule. See, *e.g.*, the references in Hoyland, "New documentary texts", pp. 395 and 398 and K. Keshk, *The historians' Muʿāwiya: the depiction of Muʿāwiya in the early Islamic sources*, Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008, pp. 99-100. Medieval historiography on Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's administration is certainly not always forthcoming. See now Keshk, *The historians' Muʿāwiya*, esp. chs 4 and 5; but *cf.* T. El-Hibri, *Parable and politics in early Islamic history: the Rashidun caliphs*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2010, esp. pp. 278-94.

innovations which allowed the Sufyanid authorities in al-Fusṭāṭ to exercize more control over the province. During this period, Egyptian governors increased their power over Alexandria. From the mid-40s/660s on, they personally visited the city in order to claim authority over both Alexandria's non-Arab civil and Arab military administrations. Their visits were, as I argued in chapter 1, as much symbolic as they were practical and aimed to bring or keep the city under al-Fusṭāṭ's control.

Such interference in the military and civil administrations of Alexandria had direct parallels in Upper Egypt. The establishment of the southern frontier in 31/652 and the increased defence of Egypt's Mediterranean coast line, notably through the enlargement of Alexandria's Arab garrison, allowed for less emphasis on local military dominance and an increase of central control over the civil administrations. Whereas Arab garrisons in the pre-Umayyad period had enjoyed the authority to make *ad hoc* requisitions, such authority is not visible in the documentation on the Sufyanid and Marwanid periods. Instead, from the early-Sufyanid period on, the documentation shows a central body of government that determined the delivery and amount of requisitions for locally-stationed soldiers. Although our source base is patchy, such seems to have been the case throughout the rest of the period discussed in this thesis. The new system increased the soldiers' dependence on the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ for their provisions. These changes were not exceptional and were part of a large military reorganisation under Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (see chapter 3).[12]

It is exactly the same period, that is, early after the establishment of Sufyanid rule, and for similar reasons that changes in Egypt's legal administration appear. Judicial innovations established ties between the Arab populace in al-Fusṭāṭ and the Sufyanid administration in Egypt. In contrast to the pre-Umayyad period in which the Arab authorities were not directly involved in local legal practices, it is within few years after the establishment of Sufyanid rule that we

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[12] They may also be compared with the institutionalization of the *šurṭa* which reportedly took place during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān as well. See Kennedy, *Armies of the caliphs*, p. 13 and M. Ebstein, "*Shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra in the Umayyad period: a prosopographical study", *Al-Qanṭara* 31/1 (2010), pp. 113-6.

see the appearance of legal transactions outside al-Fusṭāṭ being concluded in accordance with *qaḍāʾ* endorsed by the central authorities.[13] Together with the changes in the civil and military relationship between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria and Upper Egypt, these changes greatly enhanced al-Fusṭāṭ's position in Egypt.

3. *C.* 80/700-132/750: *al-Fusṭāṭ and Marwanid reforms, a second and stronger wave of centralization*

In spite of such Sufyanid innovations, it is the period of Marwanid rule over Egypt, and especially the fifty years after *c.* 80/700, that saw the maturation of al-Fusṭāṭ as Egypt's capital. This development can partly be ascribed to the large-scale reforms of the Marwanid caliphs. Through reforms in the administration, the army, and the taxation system from the 70s/690s on, the Marwanids sought to legitimize and support their rule in the wake of the second civil war (64/683-73/692). In part, these reforms were ideologically motivated. They not only strengthened the position, and increased the influence, of the political élite or supported them financially, the reforms also propagated this élite's Arab/Muslim character. The centralizing effects of these reforms gave al-Fusṭāṭ a more central role in matters related to the Marwanid authorities. At the same time, changes indirectly related to the reforms brought by the Marwanids equally influenced al-Fusṭāṭ's relationship with the rest of Egypt.

Marwanid endeavours to Arabize the administration's personnel were meant to strengthen the ties between the central administration and administrative officials working outside al-Fusṭāṭ, including those in Alexandria. Prior to the Marwanid period, Melkite notables are reported to have held high posts in Alexandria's civil administration. From the turn of the second/eighth century on, our sources increasingly show Arabs or Muslims in their stead. Like their Sufyanid predecessors, governors seated in al-Fusṭāṭ visited the city soon

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[13] *Cf.* the formalization of penitentiary institutions during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and his successors noted in S. Anthony, "The domestic origins of imprisonment: an inquiry into an early Islamic institution", *JAOS* 129/4 (2009), pp. 595-6.

after they were appointed. But, as the *History of the patriarchs* tells us literally,[14] visiting the city had become customary and was no longer politically necessary. For, the religious affiliation and/or ethnicity of these Arab or Muslim officials working in Alexandria created strong ties with the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ.

The Marwanids had other means as well to draw authority, formerly held by Alexandria, towards the new capital. They positioned al-Fusṭāṭ and the central treasury there at the heart of the metrological system they introduced, which included a new gold standard. Second/eighth-century references to the old Alexandrian gold standard indicate that this standard only gradually passed into disuetude in the century after the Marwanids had come to power. Nonetheless, Egypt's new Marwanid standard, 'the standard of the central treasury', made al-Fusṭāṭ the politically endorsed reference point in financial transactions.

Increased involvement of the central authorities surpassed the civil administrative realm. As I argued in chapter 4, it is under the Marwanids that al-Fusṭāṭ gained unprecedented authority in legal practices outside the town. From the very beginning of Marwanid rule come the first indications that people living in Upper Egypt petitioned Arab administrative officials. From around 80/700, our documentation overwhelmingly shows the involvement of the Arab governor, seated in al-Fusṭāṭ, in the settlement of disputes in the Egyptian countryside. In concord with developments in Egypt's civil administration, Marwanid policies preferred legal authority outside al-Fusṭāṭ to be in the hands of Arabs. Similarly, *qāḍī*s, with close ties to al-Fusṭāṭ, appear around 80/700 outside the Arab capital. At times at least, they were appointed to places where they already enjoyed social standing. Since *qāḍī*s were administrative officials who stood between the top of the province's administration and the local population, such locally acknowledged authority greatly served the central administration's cause.

Changes in society that were only indirectly related to the Marwanid reforms equally contributed to al-Fusṭāṭ's relationships with the rest of the

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[14] See p. 55.

province, among them the acknowledgement of Arab legal authorities outside the capital. The Marwanids' reorganization of the military, which has left very little traces in Egypt beyond the settlement of Arabs outside the main garrison towns (see chapters 3 and 4), indirectly stimulated contact between Arabs and indigenous Egyptians. Arabs entered the Egyptian countryside, in greater numbers than before, in search for new financial means. The resulting commercial and legal interaction, documented to have followed Arab legal practices, must have been among the prime reasons for non-Arab Egyptians to acknowledge legal practices outside the financial realm current among the Arabs. This, then, increased the demand for Arab jurisdiction outside al-Fusṭāṭ and must have stimulated the appointment of local *qāḍī*s or the petitioning of high administrative officials.

Related to these developments is al-Fusṭāṭ's attainment of a national and international commercial position comparable to, but not at the cost of, that of Alexandria. From the turn of the second/eighth century on, various types of sources record the existence of a strongly increased role of al-Fusṭāṭ in domestic and international trade. The Marwanid authorities had a hand in this, but much of their policies influenced the town's economic development indirectly at best. Their above-mentioned monetary reforms and their elaboration of al-Fusṭāṭ's commercial amenities, discussed in chapter 2, illustrate the Marwanid authorities' direct involvement in the town's economy. But the diffusion of Arabs into the Egyptian countryside and their involvement in trade, referred to in the preceding paragraph, created ties between al-Fusṭāṭ and its hinterland that previously had only existed on a much reduced scale before.

This thesis addressed al-Fusṭāṭ's development from four persectives within a provincial and, to a lesser extent, imperial context. The coherent image that appeared from its four case studies testifies to the value of combining sources from different scholarly disciplines. But, needless to say, the topics addressed in the present thesis, in addition to modern scholarship on the early-Arab administration, do not cover all roles the town played in the province. Perhaps two of the most obvious aspects of the relationships between al-Fusṭāṭ and the rest

of Egypt that have not received due attention in this thesis are the town's influence over religious matters, whether Muslim or other, and the role al-Fusṭāṭ played in early-Arab scholarship. Future studies into such and other topics will doubtlessly add to our understanding of the complexity of the dynamics of the (capital) city-hinterland relationship.

APPENDIX 1

Overview of the heads of the civil and military administrations of Alexandria
and governors in Alexandria

Date	civil administration	military administration	governor in Alexandria[1]
Until *c.* 21/642	Theodore[2]		
Appointed in *c.* 20/641		ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥuḏāfa b. Qays[3]	
Appointed *c.* 21/642	Menas[4]		
Appointed *c.* 21/642-3	John of Damietta[5]		
Shortly before 25/645			ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[6]
”		Wardān ar-Rūmī,	

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[1] The duration of each governor's office is given between brackets.

[2] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 192 [CXX.6-7]: 'prefect of Alexandria', 'general' (*i.e.*, *dux et augustalis*).

[3] Al-Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 221: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's *ḫalīfa* over the garrison.

[4] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXXI.6]: no title mentioned. See also the following note.

[5] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXXI.4-5]: 'prefect of the city of Alexandria'. John of Damietta was appointed head of Alexandria's administration by his predecessor Theodore before the end of the conquest (John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXXI.4]: 'he had been appointed prefect of the city of Alexandria when ʿAmr entered it'). Theodore left Alexandria when the Arab victory was evident (John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXX.72]) and probably appointed a successor for this reason. John of Damietta, however, took office in the city only in 'the second year of the lunar cycle' (John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, p. 200 [CXXI.4]). In the meantime, one Menas administered the city. Although there are multiple interpretations of this 'lunar cycle', it is most likely that it refers to the cycle of indiction years (P. Booth, personal communication, September 2012). *Cf.* Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis*, p. 188, who dates John of Damietta's appointment to Šawwāl 22/September 643.

[6] In a passage not related to what precedes (dealing with the Byzantine capture of Alexandria in 25/645-6), al-Balāḏurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 222) writes that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ appointed (Ar. *wallā*) his *mawlā* Wardān ar-Rūmī (d. 53/672-3) over Alexandria and then 'returned to al-Fusṭāṭ' (Ar. *raǧiʿa ilā al-Fusṭāṭ*). That ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was in Alexandria seems implied. The passage continues by stating that little time elapsed before ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān deposed ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and made ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ governor of Egypt (in 25/645, before the Byzantine capture of Alexandria).

		mawlā of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[7]	
25/645-6 (during the Byzantine capture)		ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[8]	
Appointed between 40/661 and 57/677	Theodore the Chalcedonian[9]		
Appointed between Ḏū al-Qaʿda 43/February 664 and Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 44/April 665		ʿAlqama b. Yazīd al-Ġuṭayfī[10]	
44/665			ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān (43/664-44/665)[11]
47/667			Maslama b. Muḫallad (47/667-62/682)[12]
Appointed	the son of		

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[7] See the previous note.

[8] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 11; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 41: [ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān] *raddahu* [ʿAmr] *wāliyan ʿalā al-Iskandariyya*.

[9] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 5 [259], p. 9-10 [263-4]; *Le synaxaire arabe jacobite*, I, p. 341 (which calls him Theodosius): no title mentioned, but: 'a man named Theodore governed [Ar. *amara*] Alexandria'. Theodore was *augustalis* during the papacy of Agathon (in office 40/661-57/677).

[10] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 36: *ʿaqada* [...] *li-ʿAlqama* [...] *ʿalā al-Iskandariyya*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 192 (see also Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, LXII, p. 433): approximately the same wording as al-Kindī's. Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 354 [no. 968]: *wallāhu ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān al-Iskandariyya*.

[11] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 36; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, XXXVIII, p. 268.

[12] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 38.

between 57/677 and 67/686	Theodore the Chalcedonian[13]		
60/679-80-61/680			Maslama b. Muḫallad[14]
Between early 61/late 680 and Šaʿbān 62/May 682			Maslama b. Muḫallad[15]
65/685			ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (65/685-86/705)[16]
Appointed between 67/686 and 81/700	Theodore[17]		
73/692-3		Kurayb b. Abraha[18]	
74/693-4			ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān[19]

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[13] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 10 [264]: no title mentioned, but: 'his son was appointed *wālī* [Ar. *wallū*] in his [*i.e.* Theodore's] stead'. Theodore's son was *augustalis* during the papacy of John III (in office 57/677-67/686).

[14] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 39; copied in al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 47

[15] Ibn Yūnus (*Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 474 [no. 1297]) writes that Maslama b. Muḫallad died in Alexandria at the end of Raǧab 62/beginning of April 682. Al-Kindī (*al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 39) writes that he returned from his previous visit to Alexandria in early-61/late-680. Maslama left al-Fusṭāṭ for his last visit to Alexandria at some time between these dates.

[16] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 13 [267].

[17] *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 26-8 [280-2]: 'archon [Ar. *arḫun*] of the city of Alexandria'. Theodore was *augustalis* during the papacy of Simon I (in office 67/686-81/700).

[18] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 409 [no. 1103]; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, L, p. 116: *wuliya Kurayb* [...] *rābiṭat al-Iskandariyya*. Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 343: 'Kurayb b. Abraha descended to [Ar. *habaṭa*] Alexandria'.

[19] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 51. Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 345: "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān descended to [Ar. *habaṭa ilā*] Alexandria'.

75/694-5		Ǧanāb b. Marṯad[20]	
81/700-1			ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān[21]
83/702-3			ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān[22]
84/703		ʿIyāḍ b. Ġanm at-Tuǧībī[23]	
Appointed between 85/704 and 96/714	Theodore the Chalcedonian[24]		
Ǧumādā II-Ramaḍān 86/May-September 705		ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayǧ[25]	
Between 86/705 and 89/708			ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86/705-90/708)[26]

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[20] Ḫalīfa b. Ḥayyāṭ, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 347: 'Ḥabbāb [*sic*] b. Marṯad descended [Ar. *habaṭa ilā*] to Alexandria'.

[21] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 53 ('his third departure for Alexandria'). Note that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's previous journey to Alexandria, the first one mentioned by al-Kindī, is not numbered. The *History of the patriarchs* mentions, indeed, another journey before that of 81/700-1.

[22] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 53 ('his fourth departure').

[23] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira*, I, p. 208: *waliya imrat al-Iskandariyya*.

[24] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 57 [311], p. 66 [320]: *mutawallī dīwān al-Iskandariyya*. *P.Lond.* IV 1392 (Išqūh; 92/711), line 13: αὐγουστάλιος. The *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 84 [318] writes that a *ṣāḥib al-Iskandariyya* died during the governorate of Qurra b. Šarīk (in office 90/709-96/714), who may have been this Theodore. This must have happened after 92/711, the year to which *P.Lond.* IV 1392 is dated, and before the end of Qurra b. Šarīk's governorate in 96/714.

[25] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 58; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 237-8; Wakīʿ, *Aḫbār*, III, p. 227: *wallāhu murābiṭat al-Iskandariyya*. He held the office only for a few months; see al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 326: from the time of the arrival of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik to Egypt (Ǧumāda II 86/May 705) until Ramaḍān 86/September 705.

[26] Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 285 [no. 150]. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik visited Alexandria during ʿImrān b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān's office as *qāḍī* (from 86/705 until early-89/708). In *P.Lond.* IV 1433 (Išqūh;

91/709-10			Qurra b. Šarīk (90/709-96/714)[27]
103/721-2			Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān (102/721-105/724)[28]
122/739-40		Qays b. al-Ašʿaṯ aṭ-Tuǧībī[29]	
122/739-40		ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥudayǧ[30]	
Appointed between 127/744 and 132/750		ʿAyyāš b. ʿUqba b. Kulayb al-Ḥaḍramī[31]	
131/748			al-Ḥawṯara b. Suhayl[32] (128/745-131/748)
131/749			al-Muġīra b. ʿUbayd Allāh (131/748-132/749)[33]
132/750	Ibrāhīm al-Māḥikī[34]	ʿIyāḍ b. Ǧurayba b.	

88/707), line 73, the costs of a pagarch's journey to Alexandria are listed. If the reason for the pagarch's journey is the governor's inspection of the fiscal registers, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik is likely to have resided in Alexandria in 88/707. If a governor took over the duties of the *amīr* during his visit (as argued in chapter 1), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik will not have been in Alexandria before Ramaḍān 86/May 705 when ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya was *amīr* there.

[27] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 64.

[28] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 71; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira*, I, p. 250.

[29] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 81: *huwa ʿalā al-Iskandariyya*.

[30] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 81. Al-Kindī writes (*al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 81) that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥudayǧ headed Alexandria's garrison before, possibly as Qays b. al-Ašʿaṯ's direct predecessor, but he gives no dates.

[31] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, p. 385 [no. 1051]: *waliya al-Iskandariyya wa-l-baḥr*.

[32] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, II, p. 434 [no. 925].

[33] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 93; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II, p. 54; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira*, I, p. 314.

		Saʿd b. al-Aṣbaġ al-Kalbī[35]	
"		al-Aswad b. Nāfiʿ b. Abī ʿUbayda al-Fihrī[36]	
162/779			Manṣūr b. Yazīd (162/779)[37]
second/eighth c.		Saʿīd[38]	

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[34] *History of the patriarchs*, III, p. 130 [384]: *al-arḫun mutawallī al-Iskandariyya.* The edition of Seybold (p. 171) gives his *nisba* as al-Mawṣilī.

[35] Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 385-6 [no. 1052]; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, XLVII, p. 250: *waliya rābiṭat al-Iskandariyya.*

[36] *History of the patriarchs*, III, pp. 149 [403], 159 [413]: *al-wālī bi-l-Iskandariyya; wa-kāna bi-l-Iskandariyya raʾīs muqaddim al-muslimīn. Cf.* Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīḫ*, I, pp. 340 [no. 929] and 415 [no. 1111]; al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 95; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḫ*, L, p. 263.

[37] Al-Kindī, *al-Wulā wa-l-quḍā*, p. 121.

[38] David-Weill *et al.*, "Papyrus arabes du Louvre III", no. 25 (unknown provenance; second/eighth c.). The identity of this Saʿīd is unknown. Some glass *exagia* for the *fals* mention two unknown persons, Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd and Saʿīd b. Musayyab, as officials who ordered their production (see G.C. Miles, "On the varieties", p. 81 [table 2]; Balog, *Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid and Ṭūlūnid glass weights*, pp. 162-3 [no. 478], 164 [nos 482-5]) but it is not known whether the Alexandrian *amīr* and one of these officials are the same person.

APPENDIX 2

A note on early papyrological attestations of qaḍāʾ

A recently published document of unknown provenance but dated 42/662-3 contains (the remains of) descriptions of several debt acknowledgements (Ar. sg. *ḏikr ḥaqq*) concluded between Arabs.[1] The uniqueness of this document is a bit obscure in the current edition. The editor interprets the wording of one of the debts' terms of repayment, *ilā milʾ al-ġayl ilā milʾ iṯnān wa-arbaʿīn* (lines 2, 8, and 10), as 'jusqu'au *plein* des bassins et la *fin* de [l'année] quarante-deux' (my emphasis). As the end of the *hiǧrī* year 42 did not coincide with the end of the Nile's inundation, he comes to the conclusion that the words that follow and specify these terms, *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* ('the jurisdiction of the believers'), refer to a hitherto unknown era combining both the Coptic and Muslim calendar, a precedent of the later *ḫarāǧī* year.[2] The expression that fixes the terms of repayment contains twice and in close succession the word *milʾ*. The editor interprets this word in each instance differently: in its first occurrence he interprets it as 'filling' and in its second as 'end' or, perhaps, 'coming to fulfillment' (emphasized above). I should like to present a different interpretation of both the word *milʾ* and the document's significance.

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[1] Y. Rāġib, "Une ère inconnue d'Égypte musulmane: l'ère de la jurisdiction des croyants", *Annales islamologiques* 41 (2007), pp. 188-207, no. 1. The importance of this document has long been recognised. A photograph was first published in *P.World*, plate 7. Its contents were first described in 1982 (*P.Marchands* I, p. 8, n. 2). It has a number of times been mentioned as proof for the existence of debt acknowledgements long before their first example in documentary sources (which is *CPR* XXVI 16 (prov. unknown; 172/788-173/789); see *CPR* XXVI, p. 93; *P.Terminkauf*, p. 19, n. 35; Liebrenz, "Eine frühe arabische Quittung", 296; P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*, ch. 1) or in discussions on the rise of Muslim religious awareness (see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 690; F.M. Donner, "From believers to Muslims", *Al-Abhath* 50-1 (2002-3), p. 48; *idem., Muhammad and the believers*, pp. 176-7).

[2] Rāġib, "Une ère inconnue", pp. 192-4. For the same reason he translates a second expression of the terms of repayment, *ilā milʾ al-ġayl min sanat iṯnayn wa-arbaʿūn* (lines 5 and 13), as 'jusqu'à la fin de l'année quarante-deux'. For the *ḫarāǧī* year, see H. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt, A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 133-4.

As the words *mil'* appear in such close succession, it is likely that they are used with the same meaning. An interpretation that fits both is '(full) flooding'.[3] Be this the case, the term of repayment should then be understood as 'until the full flooding of the basins, until the flooding of [(the basins of) the year] forty-two'. That *mil'* does not mean 'end' finds confirmation in the wording of the term of two other debt acknowledgements: *ilā mil' al-ġayl min sanat iṯnayn wa-arbaʿūn* (lines 5 and 13), 'until the full flooding of the basins of the year forty-two'. Resorting to a new era is unnecessary.

This document's significance for studies into the early-Arab judicial system now appears. As we have just seen, the expression *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* is not used to indicate a certain time reckoning. The use of *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* in another document, also of unknown provenance but dated 57/676-7,[4] demonstrates that this expression refers to a legal practice. In this document, the expression occurs once in a mutilated line. It follows a statement of the indebted amount of money and precedes the term of repayment: ...] *danānīr qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn ilā mil' sabaʿ wa-*[*ḫamsīn* (lines 6-7), translated by the editor as '...] dinars de la juridiction des croyants jusqu'à la fin de (l'année) [cinquante]-sept', and, thus, interpreted as indicating a certain type of coin. Because in both documents the expressions *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* and *ilā mil'* (*sanat*) appear in tandem, our interpretation of *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* must be applicable to both documents. The document from 57/676-7 makes it clear, again, that the expression does not specify a preceding date; the document from 42/662-3 shows that it can succeed a date and, for this reason, that it does not specify the indebted amount stated in the document from 57/676-7. On the basis of our current sources for the expression, we must conclude that *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* is a partially independent formula (partially because it does appear

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[3] For the word *mil'* in this meaning, *cf.* M. Hinds & S. Badawi, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English*, Beirut: Librairie Liban, 1986, p. 834, *s.v.* 'malla³' ('to irrigate by flooding'), and D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil: divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.) d'après les auteurs grecs et latines, et les documents des époques ptolémaïque, romaine et byzantine*, Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964, pp. 61-2 for Greek verbs meaning 'to fill' (the base meaning of the root *m-l-'*) used for the Nile's flood.

[4] Rāġib, "Une ère inconnue", no. 2.

together with the expression *ilā milʾ al-ġayl* etcetera) specifying the legal transaction in general.

In fact, the use of the word *sana*, 'year', before the expression *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* in the document from 42/662-3 helps us understand what is indicated by the expression. In lines 4, 10-11, and 13 of this document, the word *sana* precedes the expression *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn*; in lines 2-3 and 8 it does not. That it is present and absent in more than one term of repayment shows that it was written or left out on purpose. Apparently, the absence of *sana* does not render the expression unintelligible. Two versions of the same expression even may have existed side by side. Searching for a common interpretation of *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn* and *sanat qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn*, a likelier interpretation of *sana* in the second expression is *sunna*, '(normative) precedent'.[5] When the opening words of the expression's two varieties (*qaḍāʾ* in the first and *sunna* in the second) are read in the accusative (Ar. *naṣb*), both varieties have effectively the same meaning and specify the documented transaction: 'according to the jurisdiction of the believers' for the first, and 'according to the normative precedent of the jurisdiction of the believers'[6] for the second.[7] Similar formulae are attested in documents of a later date.[8]

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[5] In 42/663, the word *sunna* was still mostly used in its broader meaning of '(normative) precedent' and it had not necessarily religious and official connotations although they did exist (see Schacht, *Introduction*, pp. 17-8; G.H.A. Juynboll, "Some new ideas on the development of *sunna* as a technical term in early Islam", *JSAI* 10 (1987), pp. 97-118; Crone & Hinds, *God's caliph*, pp. 58-80).

[6] The characterization of *qaḍāʾ* as a normative precedent is not unknown. A possibly late-Umayyad and embellished version of a letter from ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb to Abū Mūsā al-Ašʿarī, governor in al-Baṣra in 17/638-24/642, writes that 'the *qaḍāʾ* is [...] a followed *sunna*'. On this letter and its historicity, see R.B. Serjeant, "The caliph ʿUmar's letters to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and Muʿāwiya", *JSS* 29/1 (1984), pp. 65-79. I thank Y. Lev for this reference. See also Juynboll, "Some new ideas", p. 103.

[7] *Cf.* Wright, *Arabic grammar*, II, pp. 121-2 [§ 44.d] and note 10 below. In fact, a document dated 44/664-5, of which I am currently preparing an edition, may well confirm this. Containing the same formulary, this document is an actual *ḏikr ḥaqq* (for a third of a dinar) of the type described in the documents from 42/662-3 and 57/676-7. Although he published a (black-and-white) photograph of the document (Y. Rāġib, "Les plus anciens papyrus arabes", *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996), p. 14, fig. 3), the editor of the two documents under discussion did not take this third document into consideration. At the end of line 5 in this third document, after a statement of the term of repayment ('until the full flooding of the year forty-four'), comes one, short word starting with a *sīn/šīn*, possibly *sana/sunna*. What follows in line 6 is immediately a witness clause, not the phrase *qaḍāʾ al-muʾminīn.* There is some empty space below the word and the document is a bit darker there, but this is more likely due to a folding line (also visible

If this interpretation is correct, the documents from 42/663 and 57/677 provide direct evidence for the existence of *qaḍāʾ*, as a legal system endorsed by the central authorities, among Egypt's Arab community within thirty years after Muḥammad's death.[9] Qurʾānic verses clearly resonate in the documents' use of the term *sunna*;[10] also the word *qaḍāʾ* has strong Qurʾānic connotations.[11] The use of these religiously-loaded words in a legal formulary (as opposed to an *ad hoc* use of the words) connects them with a central authority. The time of the appearance of the formulary, the early-40s/660s, fits well the developments at the level of the caliphate and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's changing of judicial practice in order to legitimize or establish his own rule.[12] The documents, therefore, testify to the existence of a legal system supported by the central authorities, called *qaḍāʾ*, early under the Sufyanids.

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through the word *arbaʿ* in line 5) than because of some faded ink. A single word with the *rasm* of *sana/sunna*, not further qualified, only allows for the interpretation *sunna*, 'according to (normative) precedent'. Unfortunately, the photograph is not clear enough for a secure reading.

[8] *P.Fay.Monast.* 1 (Fayyūm; poss. 335/946), a contract of sale, contains in lines 23-4 the validity clause *ʿalā sunnat al-muslimīn* [*wa-ʿalā sur*]*ūṭihi*, 'according to the Muslims' *sunna* and according to its [or their?] regulations'. Validity clauses often take a form as *ʿalā* (*šarṭ*) *bayʿ al-islām wa-ʿuhdatihi*, 'according to Islam's law of sale and its documentary practice'. The earliest examples known to me date from the mid-third/ninth century: ʿA. Fahmī Muḥammad, "Waṯāʾiq li-l-taʿaqqud min faǧr al-islām fī Miṣr", *BIE* 54 (1972-3), no. 1 (Fayyūm; 238/853), line 19; *P.Cair.Arab.* I 56 (Udfū; 239/854), line 16; Fahmī, "Waṯāʾiq", no. 2 (Udfū; 246/861), line 19. For a discussion of such and other forms of validity clauses in Arabic documents, see J.A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law: the chapters on sales from Ṭaḥāwī's* Kitāb al-shurūṭ al-kabīr, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972, pp. 84-5 and *P.Vente*, II, pp. 61-2.

[9] As the expression 'until the flooding of the basins' clearly refers to the Nile's inundation, the expression may have been more current in Egypt than elsewhere. That the terms of repayment refer to the inundation may indicate that the debts were in one way or another related to agricultural work or products (see *P.Terminkauf*, pp. 55-7).

[10] E.g., Q. 33:38: *mā kāna ʿalā n-nabiyyi min ḥaraǧin fī-mā faraḍa llāhu lahu sunnata llāhu fī llaḏīna ḥalaw min qablu*, 'There is no fault in the Prophet with regard to what God has ordained for him in accordance with the way of God with those who passed away before' (Arberry adapted). See also Q. 17:76-7, 33:60-2, and 48:22-3 (*cf.* Q. 35:42-3).

[11] See p. 135.

[12] See pp. 134-5.
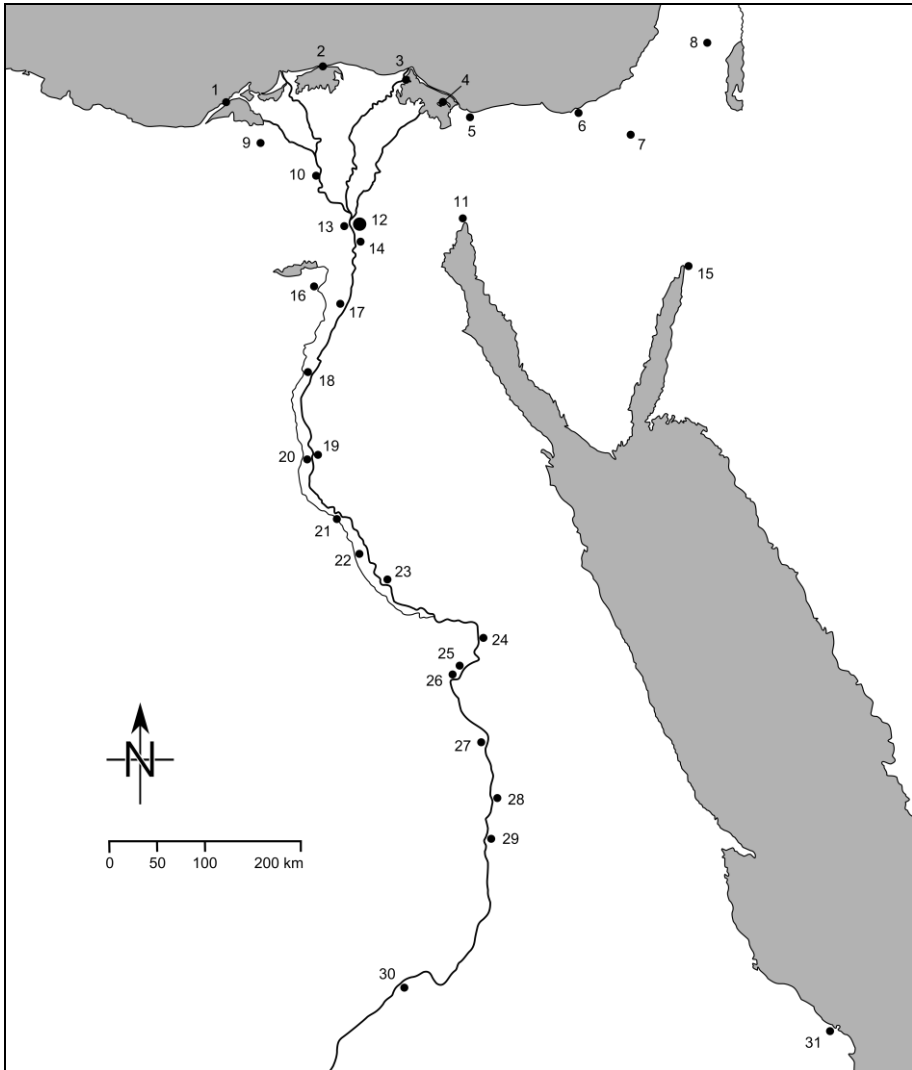
Map 1
General map of late-antique Egypt

1. Alexandria, 2. al-Burullus, 3. Dimyāṭ, 4. Tinnīs, 5. al-Faramā, 6. al-ʿArīš, 7. Nasṭān,
8. Jerusalem, 9. al-Munā, 10. Tarnūṭ/aṭ-Ṭarrāna, 11. al-Qulzum, 12. al-Fusṭāṭ,
13. al-Ǧīza, 14. Ḥulwān, 15. al-ʿAqaba, 16. Madīnat al-Fayyūm, 17. Ihnās,
18. al-Bahnasā; 19. Anṣinā, 20. al-Ušmūn, 21. Usyūṭ, 22. Išqūh, 23. Iḫmīm, 24. Qifṭ,
25. Šīma (Theban area), 26. Armant, 27. Udfū, 28. Umbū, 29. Aswan, 30. Ibrīm,
31. ʿAyḏāb.

Map 2
General map of late-antique Alexandria.

1. Pharos lighthouse, 2. Heptastadium, 3. approximate location of the Mosque of
ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, 4. Church of St Theonas/Western Mosque, 5. approximate
boundaries of Kawm ad-Dikka, 6. mount Serapeion, 7. third/ninth-century city
wall, 8. Byzantine city wall, 9. Alexandrian canal.

Map 3
General map of the first cataract

1. Elephantine, 2. Aswan, 3. ancient wall, 4. fortress of Philae,
5. island of Philae, 6. harbour, 7. al-Qaṣr.

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BSAA   *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie.*

BSOAS   *Bulletin of the School of oriental and African studies.*

CCE   *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne.*

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JAOS	*Journal of the American oriental society.*
JARCE	*Journal of the American research center in Egypt.*
JEA	*The journal of Egyptian archaeology.*
JESHO	*Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient.*
JJP	*Journal of juristic papyrology.*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman archaeology.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic society.*
JRS	*Journal of Roman studies.*
JSAI	*Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam.*
MDAI Kairo	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.*
NB Copt.	M.R.M. Hasitzka, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, available online at http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf [July 2013].
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ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

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NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING
(DUTCH SUMMARY)

Dit proefschrift bestudeert de ontwikkeling van de relatie tussen de stad al-Fusṭāṭ, net ten zuiden van de Nijldelta gelegen, en de provincie Egypte in de eerste eeuw na al-Fusṭāṭs stichting als garnizoensstad in 20 A.H./641 A.D. De stad is prominent aanwezig in modern onderzoek naar vroeg-islamitisch Egypte omdat hier de top van het provinciaal bestuur zetelde. Veel van de documentaire bronnen uit eerste/zevende- en tweede/achtste-eeuws Egypte zijn van administratieve en fiscale aard en zijn op een zeer beperkt aantal plaatsen gevonden. Literaire bronnen over deze periode richten zich hoofdzakelijk op de Arabische en bestuurlijke elite in al-Fusṭāṭ. Om deze reden is de relatie tussen de stad en de rest van de provincie bestudeerd in modern onderzoek grotendeels de bestuurlijke en fiscale relatie tussen de stad en de vindplaatsen van de documenten. Dit proefschrift, daarentegen, documenteert en analyseert de relatie tussen al-Fusṭāṭ en gebieden die onderbelicht blijven in modern onderzoek of richt zich op andere relaties dan de fiscale en bestuurlijke. Het presenteert vier casestudy's die, op één na, een duidelijke chronologie presenteren waarop de relatie tussen al-Fusṭāṭ en diens provinciale achterland zich ontwikkelde: (1) een beginperiode die gekenmerkt wordt door fiscale en militaire aanwezigheid van ca. 20/641-40/660, (2) sterke centralisatie onder de Sufyanieden en de eerste Marwanieden van 40/660 tot ca. 80/700, en (3) een tweede en sterke centralisatiegolf onder de latere Marwanieden die gepaard ging met hervormingen op rijksniveau, rond 80/700.

Hoofdstuk 1 bestudeert de bestuurlijke relatie tussen al-Fusṭāṭ en Alexandrië, op provinciaal niveau de belangrijkste stad van Egypte. Het begint met een studie naar de verovering van Alexandrië door de Arabieren en de invloed van deze verovering op de stichting van al-Fusṭāṭ. Een nieuwe contextualisering van verscheidene documentaire bronnen, in dit hoofdstuk gepresenteerd, wijst erop

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dat Alexandrië in de loop van 21/642 veroverd werd en dat al-Fusṭāṭ toen al een bestuurlijk centrum was voor de reeds veroverde delen van Egypte. Het is waarschijnlijkdat het bestaan van deze bestuurlijke contacten bijgedragen heeft aan de keuze voor al-Fusṭāṭ als bestuurlijk centrum in plaats van Alexandrië.

Dit hoofdstuk analyseert verder een aantal veranderingen die de komst van de Arabieren met zich meebracht. Ten eerste toont het aan dat de nieuwe Arabische bestuurders op een zeer prominente plek een bestuurlijk, religieus en sociaal centrum stichtten in het hart van de stad: een moskee met daaromheen de residenties van de Arabische gouverneur van Egypte en Arabische notabelen. Dit centrum toont opvallende gelijkenissen met de *miṣr*. De notabelen die hier een woning hadden, hadden directe contacten met al-Fusṭāṭ en de top van het provinciale bestuur. Op deze manier heeft het centrum bijgedragen aan de controle die vanuit al-Fusṭāṭ over Alexandrië uitgeoefend kon worden. Ook veranderden de Arabieren het bestuurlijk apparaat van de stad. Zij plaatsten er een garnizoen en ontnamen het lokale bestuur alle militaire macht. Deze macht gaven zij aan een Arabische *amīr*, 'commandant', het hoofd van het garnizoen. Civiele taken vielen, zoals daarvoor, onder de verantwoordelijkheid van een lokale bestuurder, de *augustalis*. Al-Fusṭāṭ stond met zowel de *amīr* als de *augustalis* in direct contact.

Dit contact nam sterk toe toen Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān aan de macht kwam. Onder zijn bewind kreeg Alexandrië (net als al-Kūfa en al-Baṣra in Irak, Damascus in Syrië en al-Fusṭāṭ) een gouverneurspaleis. Deze diende als residentie voor de gouverneur wanneer hij de stad bezocht. Vanaf de komst van de Sufyanieden bezochten gouverneurs de stad aan het begin van hun aanstelling om in persoon hun macht over zowel het civiele als militaire bestuur van de stad te tonen. Met andere woorden, de komst van de Sufyanieden vergrootte al-Fusṭāṭs macht over Alexandrië. Rond 80/700 lijkt zo'n gouverneursbezoek een formaliteit geworden. De toenemende arabisering van het bestuur van Alexandrië en het afnemende militaire belang van de stad heeft ertoe bijgedragen dat na 132/750 gouverneurs de stad niet meer bezochten.

Hoofdstuk 2 bestudeert de invloed van de stichting van al-Fusṭāṭ op de binnen- en buitenlandse handelscontacten van Alexandrië. Drie soorten bronnen staan centraal in dit hoofdstuk: documenten, amfora's voor het verschepen van wijn en olie en verwijzingen naar handelsreizigers in literaire bronnen. Het begint met een analyse van al-Fusṭāṭs handelspositie. Deze neemt significant toe aan het einde van de eerste/zevende eeuw. Met deze ontwikkeling in het achterhoofd wordt in dit hoofdstuk naar Alexandrië gekeken. Noch de stichting van al-Fusṭāṭ, noch diens vroeg-tweede/achtste-eeuwse economische bloei lijkt de handelspositie van Alexandrië sterk te hebben beïnvloed. Hoewel handelscontacten duidelijk veranderden – met name de contacten met west-Europa nemen af (maar verdwijnen niet) – wijzen al de bovengenoemde bronnen naar een economische continuïteit.

In tegenstelling tot hoofdstukken 1 en 2 richten hoofdstukken 3 en 4 zich op de Nijlvallei. In hoofdstuk 3 wordt er gekeken naar de organisatie van militaire aanwezigheid in dit gebied en de relatie van het bestuur in al-Fusṭāṭ daarin. Dit hoofdstuk bestaat uit twee delen: het eerste deel over al-Fusṭāṭs militair-administratieve relaties met het Egyptisch-Nubische grensgebied rond Aswan en het tweede deel over al-Fusṭāṭs relaties met de noordelijke sub-provincie Arcadia. Een evaluatie van het beschikbare bronnenmateriaal uit en over de jaren 20/640 in het eerste deel toont dat het niet mogelijk is al-Fusṭāṭs relatie in die jaren met het gebied tussen Aswan en het ca. 100 km noorderlijker gelegen Udfū te bepalen, maar wel dat er *termini post* en *ante quos* gesteld kunnen worden met betrekking tot het gebied ten noorden van Udfū. Literaire bronnen over de vroege jaren 30/650 wijzen erop dat het grensgebied, inclusief Aswan, grotendeels in handen was van Nubiërs. De Arabische verovering van Aswan in 31/652 en de verdragen toen afgesloten met Nubië en de Buǧa gaven Egypte een zuid-grens.

Aan de hand van de beschikbare documentaire bronnen wordt in het eerste deel van dit hoofdstuk verder bestudeerd hoe het Egyptische bestuur gezeteld in al-Fusṭāṭ deze zuid-grens bestuurde. Het gebied dat deze grens vormde had directe aandacht van de top van het provinciale bestuur. Een herinterpretatie van een document uit 73/693 toont dat de *dux* van Egypte's zuidelijke sub-

provincie Thebaeïs net als zijn Byzantijnse voorgangers investeerde in de militaire infrastructuur van het gebied. Deze tekst laat ook zien dat Umbū, ca. 30 km ten noorden van Aswan, nog bij het grensgebied hoorde. Op basis van andere documenten wordt er beargumenteerd dat het grensgebied zelf administratief los stond van de Thebaeïs en dat het provinciale bestuur via hooggeplaatste functionarissen direct met dit gebied in contact stond. Deze directe controle over het gebied laat zich uitleggen als het resultaat van de onzekere relatie tussen Egypte, Nubië en de Buğa.

Het tweede gedeelte van hoofdstuk 3 schetst de militair-administratieve relatie tussen al-Fusṭāṭ en legereenheden gestationeerd in en rond de Fayyūm, Ihnās en al-Ušmūn. Net als in hoofdstuk 1 is er een grote verandering zichtbaar met de komst van de Sufyanieden. Ondanks dat zij via een strikte hiërarchie aan het bestuur in al-Fusṭāṭ verbonden waren, waren legereenheden voor ca. 40/660 tot op een zekere hoogte financieel onafhankelijk van al-Fusṭāṭ. Dit verandert in de vroege jaren 40/660. Documenten tonen aan dat in tegenstelling tot de voorgaande jaren legereenheden niet meer zelf proviant en geld mochten vragen van lokale bestuurseenheden maar dat dit centraal bepaald werd in al-Fusṭāṭ. Legereenheden werden ook niet meer voorzien door de gebieden waarop zij gestationeerd werden; al het geld en al de goederen werden via al-Fusṭāṭ naar legereenheden die elders gestationeerd waren gestuurd. Deze centralisatie maakte legereenheden meer afhankelijk van al-Fusṭāṭ.

Hoofdstuk 3 sluit af met een discussie over de relatie tussen Sufyanidische, militair-administratieve politiek en lokale militaire successen aan Egyptes noord- en zuidgrenzen. De uitkomst van deze discussie is dat veranderingen in Arcadia qua administratie en aantallen zichtbare legereenheden gerelateerd zijn aan het vestigen van Arabische militaire aanwezigheid in en rondom Aswan en aan veranderingen in het militaire apparaat in Alexandrië, bestudeerd in hoofdstuk 1.

Hoofdstuk 4, het laatste van dit proefschrift, analyseert in hoeverre al-Fusṭāṭ een rol speelde in het juridische apparaat zichtbaar in documenten uit de Nijlvallei. Net als in hoofdstukken 1 en 3 tonen deze documenten de eerder

genoemde chronologie. Voor 40/660 zijn juridische praktijken van Egyptenaren en Arabieren bijna geheel gescheiden. Het Arabische bestuur van de provincie komt alleen voor in juridische documenten gerelateerd aan het belastingsysteem. Na 40/660 vinden er veranderingen plaats: de kalief verandert juridische praktijken onder Arabieren en Arabische juridische documenten die niet direct aan het provinciaal bestuur gerelateerd zijn vinden voor het eerst hun weg buiten al-Fusṭāṭ. Juridisch contact tussen Arabieren en Egyptenaren is voor het eerst zichtbaar in de jaren 40/660. Een verdere ontwikkeling vindt plaats rond 80/700. Vanaf ongeveer dat jaar verschijnen de gouverneur in al-Fusṭāṭ en Arabische *qāḍī*'s met directe contacten met al-Fusṭāṭ als juridische authoriteiten buiten de stad. Documenten tonen ook dat lokale niet-Arabische functionarissen tegen deze tijd in de ogen van het Arabische bestuur minder juridische authoriteit genoten. Deze ontwikkelingen laten zich uitleggen als onderdeel van de grote centraliserende en arabiserende veranderingen onder de Marwanieden. Maar de *agency* lag niet geheel bij deze bestuurders. Vanaf 80/700 tonen documenten ook dat de lokale bevolking Arabische authoriteiten en juridische praktijken meer accepteerden en dat vanwege de immer toenemende aantallen Arabieren die zich buiten al-Fusṭāṭ vestigden de Arabische juridische authoriteiten zich genoodzaakt voelden ook buiten al-Fusṭāṭ functionarissen te benoemen.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Jelle Bruning (January 21, 1985; Zaanstad, The Netherlands) obtained a BA degree in 'Arabic language and culture' at Leiden University in 2006. He graduated *cum laude* from the research master 'Middle Eastern Studies: Middle Eastern Christianity' in 2009 on a thesis entitled *The* Tuḥfat al-aṭibbāʾ wa-ḏaḫīrat al-aṭibbāʾ *ascribed to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq: presented together with a study into its authorship.* The findings he presented in this thesis were published as "The *Tuḥfat al-aṭibbāʾ wa-ḏaḫīrat al-aṭibbāʾ*, ascribed to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, and the *ar-Risāla al-hārūniyya*, ascribed to Masīḥ b. al-Ḥakam: two members of one family", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 19 (2010-11), pp. 1-32.

In March 2009, Jelle Bruning joined the research project 'The formation of Islam: the view from below', hosted by Leiden University, in order to conduct a socio-historical PhD research on early-Islamic Egypt. The present thesis is the outcome of this research. He has presented results of his research at many conferences and participated in specialist summer and winter schools.

From September 2011 until 2012, Jelle Bruning has been employed as a full-time lecturer in Arabic at Leiden University. Since September 2013, holds the same position at the same university.