

Corpus Inscriptionum
Arabicarum Palaestinae

Addendum

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Volume 30

Corpus Inscriptionum
Arabiarum Palaestinae

Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae

Addendum

Squeezes in the Max van Berchem Collection
(Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Northern Syria) Squeezes 1 - 84

Registered, photographed and studied by

Moshe Sharon



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To Avital

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NO.	MvB NO.	SITE	SUBJECT	DATE
1.	MvB1	Abū Ghūsh	Construction	881/1476
2.	MvB46	ʿAkko (ʿAkkā, Acre)	Epitaph	ca. 120/738
3.	MvB57	ʿAmmān	Construction	Early 4 th /10 th c
4.	MvB13	Ashqelon	Epitaph	259/872-73
5.	MvB25	Ashqelon	Epitaph	390/1000
6.	MvB23	Ashqelon	Epitaph	4 th /10 th c
7.	MvB4a	Ashqelon	Epitaph	406/1015
8.	MvB5	Ashqelon	Construction	441/1049-449/1057
9.	MvB18	Ashqelon	Basmalah	5 th /11 th c
9a.	MvB45	Ashqelon	Basmalah	5 th /11 th c
10.	MvB20	Ashqelon	Q, 112 epitaph?	5 th /11 th c
10a.	MvB42	Ashqelon	Q, 112 epitaph?	Late 4 th / 11 th c
11.	MvB24	Ashqelon	Qurʿānic text	5 th /11 th c
12.	MvB19	Ashqelon	Epitaph	749/1348
13.	MvB28	Ashqelon	Restoration	777/1375-6
14.	MvB3	Ashqelon	Monogram	Date?
15.	MvB21	Ashqelon	Date fragment	5 th /11 th c
16.	MvB82	Balāṭunus	Construction	660/1262
16a.	MvB82b	Balāṭunus	Fragment of 82?	660/1262?
17.	MvB83,83a	Balāṭunus	Construction texts	708/1308-09
18.	MvB59	Buṣrā	Construction	530/1135-6
19.	MvB61	Buṣrā	Construction & waqf	544/1149
20.	MvB60	Buṣrā	Construction	620/1223
21.	MvB58	Buṣrā	Construction	629/1231-2
22.	MvB62	Buṣrā	Invocation	629/1231-2
23.	MvB10	Caesarea	Epitaph?	3 rd /9 th c
24.	MvB15	Caesarea (?)	Epitaph	307/920
25.	MvB41	Caesarea	Epitaph	327/938-9
26.	MvB11a	Caesarea	Epitaph	376/ 986
26a.	MvB11b	Caesarea	Epitaph	376/ 986
27.	MvB14	Caesarea	Epitaph	442/1050-1

28.	MvB17	Caesarea	Epitaph	ca.450/1058
29.	MvB2	Caesarea	Restoration	926/1520-974/1566
30.	MvB12	Caesarea	Qur'ānic text	5 th /11 th c
31.	MvB55	Dar'ah	Declaration of Faith	1 st -2 nd /8 th -9 th c
32.	MvB26	Dar'ah	Declaration of Faith	3 rd /9 th c
33.	MvB33	Dar'ah	Declaration of Faith	3 rd /9 th c
34.	MvB56	Dar'ah	Epitaph (woman)	396/1005-6
35.	MvB53	Dar'ah	Epitaph	553/1158
36.	MvB52	Dar'ah	Epitaph	564/1168-9
37.	MvB54	Dar'ah	Declaration of Faith	6 th /12 th c
38.	MvB37	Dar'ah	Epitaph	673/1274
39.	MvB27	Dar'ah	Epitaph	673/1274
40.	MvB31	Dar'ah	Epitaph	689/1290
41.	MvB51	Dar'ah	Epitaph	901(?) / 1496
42.	MvB77	Dayr al-Qalt	Construction	1234 CE
43.	MvB84	Dih̄his	Unreadable	Date?
44.	MvB65	Fīq	Epitaph (woman)	2 nd /8 th c
45.	MvB63	Fīq	Epitaph	2 nd /8 th c
46.	MvB64	Fīq	Unreadable	Date?
47.	MvB50	Haifa-Tall as-Samak	Pious Declaration	2 nd /8 th c
48.	MvB66	Hebron	Declaration of Faith	Date?
49.	MvB74	Hebron	Construction	732/1331-2
50.	MvB32	Hūnīn	Construction	1166/1752-3
51.	MvB39	Jaffa (vicinity)	Construction	736/1335-6
52.	MvB4	Jerusalem	Epitaph	ca.400/1009
53.	MvB44	Jerusalem	Epitaph (fragment)	409/1018-19
54.	MvB67,68,69	Karak	Exemption from taxes	792/1390
55.	MvB48	Kawkab al-Hawā	Construction	7 th /13 th c
56.	MvB71	Mashattā	Epitaph	Date?
57.	MvB72	Mashattā	Invocation	Date?
58.	MvB70	Mashattā	Invocation	Date?
59.	MvB73	Mashattā	Unreadable	Date?
60.	MvB76	Al-Mu'arribah	Construction	ca.530/1135-6
61.	MvB75	Qal'at al-Ḥaṣā	Construction	1171/1757-1187/ 1774
62.	MvB16	Ramlah (a+b)	Epitaph	4 th /10 th c

63.	MvB6a	Ramlah	Qur'ānic text	ca.400/1048
63a.	MvB6b	Ramlah	Qur'ānic text	ca.400/1048
64.	MvB36	Ramlah or Lydda	Waqf	ca.490/1097
65.	MvB22	Ramlah or Lydda	Unreadable	Date ?
66.	MvB40	Şafad	Epitaph	774/1372
67.	MvB47	Şafad	Epitaph	777/1375
68.	MvB49	Şafad	Endowment?	8 th /14 th c
69.	MvB81	Salamiyyah	Construction	481/1088-9
70.	MvB80	Zabad	Invocation Pre-Islamic	512 CE
71.	MvB79	Zur'ah (Zura' Azra')	Construction	651/1253
72.	MvB30	Unidentified	Epitaph (?)	2 nd /8 th c
73.	MvB9	Unidentified	Fragment	2 nd /8 th -9 th c
74.	MvB29	Unidentified	Epitaph (?)	3 rd / 9 th c
75.	MvB38	Unidentified	Qur'ānic text	5 th /11 th c
76.	MvB8	Unidentified	Qur'ānic text	ca. 500/1106-7
77.	MvB7	Unidentified	Qur'ānic text	5 th /11 th c
78.	MvB34	Unidentified	Declaration of Faith	Date?
79.	MvB35	Unidentified	Unreadable	Date?
80.	MvB78	Unidentified	Unreadable	Date?
81.	MvB43	Balad	Syriac Epitaph	11 th -13 th c CE

SQUEEZES IN THE ORIGINAL ORDER

NO.	MvB NO.	SITE	SUBJECT	DATE
1.	MvB1	Abū Ghūsh	Construction	881/1476
29.	MvB2	Caesarea	Restoration	926/1520-974/1566
14.	MvB3	Ashqelon	Monogram	Date?
52.	MvB4	Jerusalem	Epitaph	ca.400/1009
7.	MvB4a	Ashqelon	Epitaph	406/1015
8.	MvB5	Ashqelon	Construction	441/1049-449/1057
63.	MvB6a	Ramlah	Qur'ānic text	ca.400/1048
63a.	MvB6b	Ramlah	Qur'ānic text	ca.400/1048
77.	MvB7	Unidentified	Qur'ānic text	5 th /11 th c
76.	MvB8	Unidentified	Qur'ānic text	500/1106-7
73.	MvB9	Unidentified	Fragment	2 nd /8 th -9 th c
23.	MvB10	Caesarea	Epitaph?	3 rd /9 th c
26.	MvB11a	Caesarea	Epitaph	376/986
26a.	MvB11b	Caesarea	Epitaph	376/986
30.	MvB12	Caesarea	Qur'ānic text	5 th /11 th c
4.	MvB13	Ashqelon	Epitaph	259/872-73
27.	MvB14	Caesarea	Epitaph	442/1050-1
24.	MvB15	Caesarea(?)	Fragment	307/920
62.	MvB16	Ramlah (a+b)	Epitaph	4 th /10 th c
28.	MvB17	Caesarea	Epitaph	ca.450/1058
9.	MvB18	Ashqelon	Basmalah	5 th /11 th c
12.	MvB19	Ashqelon	Epitaph	749/1348
10.	MvB20	Ashqelon	Q 112 epitaph?	5 th /11 th c
15.	MvB21	Ashqelon	Date fragment	5 th /11 th c
65.	MvB22	Ramlah or Lydda	Unreadable	Date?
6.	MvB23	Ashqelon	Epitaph	4 th /10 th c
11.	MvB24	Ashqelon	Qur'ānic text	5 th /11 th c
5.	MvB25	Ashqelon	Epitaph	390/1000
32.	MvB26	Dar'ah	Declaration of Faith	3 rd /9 th c
39.	MvB27	Dar'ah	Epitaph	673/1274

13.	MvB28	Ashqelon	Restoration	777/1375-6
74.	MvB29	Unidentified	Epitaph ?	3 rd /9 th c
72.	MvB30	Unidentified	Epitaph (?)	2 nd /8 th c
40.	MvB31	Dar‘ah	Epitaph	689/1290
50.	MvB32	Hūnīn	Construction	1166/1752-3
33.	MvB33	Dar‘ah	Declaration of Faith	3 rd /9 th c
78.	MvB34	Unidentified	Declaration of Faith	Date?
79.	MvB35	Unidentified	Unreadable	Date?
64.	MvB36	Ramlah or Lydda	Waqf	ca.490/1097
38.	MvB37	Dar‘ah	Epitaph	673/1274
75.	MvB38	Unidentified	Qur‘ānic text	5 th /11 th c
51.	MvB39	Jaffa (vicinity)	Construction	736/1335-6
66.	MvB40	Şafad	Epitaph	774/1372
25.	MvB41	Caesarea	Epitaph	327/938-9
10a.	MvB42	Ashqelon	Q.112 epitaph?	Late 4 th /11 th c
81.	MvB43	Balad	Syriac epitaph	11 th -13 th c CE
53.	MvB44	Jerusalem	Epitaph (fragment)	409/1018-19
9a.	MvB45	Ashqelon	Basmalah	5 th /11 th c
2.	MvB46	‘Akko (‘Akkā)	Epitaph	ca.120/738
67.	MvB47	Şafad	Epitaph	777/1375
55.	MvB48	Kawkab al-Hawā	Construction	7 th /13 th c
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35.	MvB53	Dar‘ah	Epitaph	553/1158
37.	MvB54	Dar‘ah	Declaration of Faith	6 th /12 th c
31.	MvB55	Dar‘ah	Declaration of Faith	1 st -2 nd /8 th -9 th c
34.	MvB56	Dar‘ah	Epitaph (woman)	396/1005-6
3.	MvB57	‘Ammān	Construction	Early 4 th /10 th c
21.	MvB58	Buṣrā	Construction	629/1231-2
18.	MvB59	Buṣrā	Construction	530/1135-6
20.	MvB60	Buṣrā	Construction	620/1223

19.	MvB61	Busra	Construction & waqf	544/1149
22.	MvB62	Buṣrā	Invocation	629/1231-2
45.	MvB63	Fīq	Epitaph	2 nd /8 th _C
46.	MvB64	Fīq	Unreadable	Date?
44.	MvB65	Fīq	Epitaph (woman)	2 nd /8 th _C
48.	MvB66	Hebron	Declaration of Faith	Date?
54.	MvB67	Karak	Exemption of taxes	792/1390
54.	MvB68	Karak	Exemption of taxes	792/1390
54.	MvB69	Karak	Exemption of taxes	792/1390
58.	MvB70	Mashattā	Invocation	Date?
56.	MvB71	Mashattā	Epitaph	Date?
57.	MvB72	Mashattā	Invocation	Date?
59.	MvB73	Mashattā	Unreadable	Date?
49.	MvB74	Hebron	Construction	732/1331-2
61.	MvB75	Qal'at al-Ḥasā	Construction	1171/1757-1187/1774
60.	MvB76	Al-Mu'arribah	Construction	ca.530-1135-6
42.	MvB77	Dayr al-Qalt	Construction	1234 CE
80.	MvB78	Unidentified	Unreadable	Date?
71.	MvB79	Zur'ah (Zura' Azra')	Construction	651/1253
70.	MvB80	Zabad	Invocation Pre-Islamic	512 CE
69.	MvB81	Salamiyyah	Construction	481/1088-9
16.	MvB82	Balāṭunus	Construction	660/1262
16a.	MvB82b	Balāṭunus	Fragment of 82?	660/1262?
17.	MvB83&83a	Balāṭunus	Construction	708/1308-9
43.	MvB84	Dihhis	Unreadable	Date?

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Acknowledgement is due to the *Fondation Max van Berchem*, Geneva, for the permission to study and photograph the squeezes in the archives and publish them, and to the Israel Antiquities Authority for the close cooperation, and the permission granted to use its archives and to publish the photographs from these archives.

FOREWORD

Squeezes are often the only remnants of inscriptions that have already disappeared. But even if they have survived, for most people they are not accessible, and the squeezes are the nearest thing to the original. The squeezes in the Max van Berchem archives in Geneva were taken during the late 19th century under difficult conditions and using primitive methods. Max van Berchem (hereafter: MvB) and his colleagues used whichever paper that was available to prepare the squeezes. Sometimes the paper was unsuitable, yet, except in the case of unusually badly preserved inscriptions, they somehow managed to get workable copies. They had no better material than paper to prepare the squeezes, and therefore when recording these century old papers and cardboards they have to be handled carefully to prevent damage while moving them around. This is the reason I had to photograph the squeezes in primitive conditions against the window of the room in which they are kept.

The present volume is an addendum to the three volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (CIAP)* that have already been published and, whenever applicable, the entries in it refer to parallel entries in one of these volumes. It brings a detailed report of the MvB squeezes to the attention of scholars for the first time, enabling them to acquire concise firsthand information of their contents, their epigraphic context, and historical background.

Some inscriptions in this volume come from outside Palestine proper, and it is very possible that in the future work of recording the squeezes in the archives I will find more inscriptions from Palestine mixed together with those from other parts of the Middle East. This is inevitable due to the existing arrangement of the squeezes in their storage place. Shifting them around now could cause them much damage.

This is the opportunity to extend my deep gratitude to the Israel Science Foundation (ISF) for its ongoing support of my work on the CIAP, and the *Fondation Max van Berchem*, Geneva, for its constant sponsorship of the publication of the *Corpus*. I owe particular thanks to Mrs. Antoinette Harri, whose professional support, kindness and friendliness over many years has made the work in the MvB archives both a pleasant and a rewarding experience. Professor Charles Genequand of the University of Geneva, heading the scientific board of the Foundation, has always been available with good advice, collegial support, and personal friendliness. My wife, Judy and my daughter, Avital deserve deep appreciation for the invaluable assistance which they both extended to me during my work in the archives; without them I would have been unable to take a single photograph of the squeezes. Judy

also proofread and edited the draft of this volume. Linda Egger and Ami Schragger contributed much to the background research and to the technical details involved in its initial preparation for print. Sivan Lerer proofread the manuscript, made the necessary corrections, and prepared the index.

Special thanks are due to my colleague Serge Ruzer from the Department of Religious Studies, for advice and assistance whenever needed, to Dov Nahlieli from the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) and to Ariel Berman, both excellent scholars, who constantly draw my attention to current findings in the field and enable me to enrich the work on the *Corpus* with fresh material.

May they all be blessed.

Moshe Sharon

INTRODUCTION

During his travels in the East in search of Arabic inscriptions and study of Islamic archeology, art, and architecture, Max van Berchem took squeezes of many inscriptions. More squeezes were sent to him by friends and colleagues, particularly Rudolf Brünnow and Gottlieb Schumacher, and fellow scholars from the Biblical School at the Convent of St. Stephen (L'Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française, Saint-Étienne) in Jerusalem. It must have been assumed that most of these squeezes had been published. However, after examining a few drawers in which these squeezes are kept in the archives of the *Fondation Max van Berchem* in Geneva, I could ascertain that a number of squeezes had not been published. Some that had been published, could benefit with a new study, and since many of these squeezes are the only extant records of inscriptions that have already disappeared, I thought that they should be properly registered and published as an addendum to the *CIAP* even if some inscriptions are from outside Palestine proper. In most cases I have provided the necessary details about the site and its inscriptions, leaving a wide field for further study by subsequent scholars who will now have easy access to the inscriptions and to the information about them.

The first squeezes which I decided to examine were mostly taken between 1893 and 1894 in the collection of Baron Plato von Ustinow in Jaffa. Some of them were published by J. Pedersen in his *Inscriptiones simiticae collectionis Ustinowianae* (Oslo, 1928).

The Baron died in 1913 at the age of 40, and his collection was transferred to the Institute of Classical Archeology at the University of Oslo, Norway. Most of the inscriptions, according to van Berchem's notes on the squeezes, came to Ustinow's home in Jaffa from Ascalon, Caesarea or Ramlah. In many cases the origin of the inscriptions is indicated as "Ascalon or Caesarea." The reason for this uncertainty is that the ruins of both these ancient and medieval towns were a source for marble used in the lime furnaces. Many ancient columns, statues, and architectural remnants were dug up by robbers, chipped if needed, and sold to lime producers.

Abundant amounts of marble were available above the ground and near the surface, in Caesarea and Ascalon (also in Ramlah though to a much lesser extent), within the walls of the medieval cities and around them. The medieval (Muslim) cemetery of Caesarea, to the south of the walls of the late Crusader town, was the richest source of marble, easy to dig, easy to transport because of the manageable size of the marble pieces, and easy to break and use in the furnaces.

Already in the Middle Ages the Muslims used the ancient column-shafts and

capitals, architraves, friezes, and other architectural elements, as well as sarcophagi and many other pieces of marble either as building material or for making troughs and other utensils, and for engraving inscriptions. Column-shafts were cut vertically to supply two oblong surfaces for inscriptions, but ready-made marble slabs, which had been used in panels and paving or cut from sarcophagi were also frequently used for the same purpose. (See *CIAP* 2 figs. P44 – P49).

Professional carvers and engravers used large quantities of this ancient marble for engraving epitaphs and other inscriptions. If the cemeteries of Caesarea, Ascalon, Ramlah, Lydda, and a few other important medieval Muslim cities with their ready source of ancient marble, had not been vandalized, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, they would have been a mine of information about medieval Palestine.

The cemetery of Caesarea, which was richer with inscriptions than anywhere else in Palestine, is of special importance. This cemetery became a large quarry, particularly in the 19th century, and the stones with their inscriptions were broken on the spot to facilitate their transportation. (For detailed information see *CIAP* 2 *s.v.* “Caesarea.”)

When it became known that the rich European from Jaffa was looking for antiquities and was willing to pay for inscribed stones, some inscriptions, mainly broken fragments, were brought to him. It is almost certain that he was not always informed of the origin of the inscriptions, and it is not sure that even when the vendor-robbers supplied him with such information it was accurate. For this reason, Ustinow told van Berchem, regarding many of the inscriptions, that they could have come either from Ascalon or Caesarea, Ramlah or Lydda, or simply: “the environs of Jaffa.” However, when there is a choice between Caesarea and Ascalon, I tend to prefer Caesarea mainly because of the intense activity of the marble robbers at the site, the availability of the many inscriptions in its cemetery, and the proximity to Ustinow’s home in Jaffa. But I know that many inscriptions from Ascalon also found their way to him, either directly from the ruins of the town itself or from other places along the way (such as Şarafand al-Kharāb) where the inscribed stones were brought by people who used the ancient ruins as a ready source of building material.

In addition to the inscriptions from Western Palestine in the Ustinow collection, there are numerous squeezes of inscriptions in the drawers, which I hitherto examined, that came from northern Syria and from Trans-Jordan as well as from southern Syria. Overall I registered and photographed 84 squeezes for this publication. Each squeeze was given a serial number written on it in exactly the same order as I found the squeezes in the drawers of the archives. I did not interfere with this arrangement, and did not attempt to rearrange the squeezes. It is clear, therefore, that in the same drawer there may be inscriptions belonging to the same site scattered under various serial numbers. This situation is corrected in this publication. The squeezes here are

arranged according to the alphabetical order of the names of the sites and numbered from 1 to 81 (since a few squeezes are of the same inscription). Each squeeze is also referred to by its serial number in the archives. Thus, for instance, entry No. 2, a squeeze of an inscription from 'Akko ('Akkā, Acre) is also indicated as MvB46 which is its number in the archives. To facilitate the usage of the following study and the usage of the archives, the squeezes were registered in two lists: one according to the sites of their origin, and one according to their position in the archives' drawers from MvB1 to MvB84. The atlas of all the inscriptions at the end of the publication was arranged according to the second system alone.

The following study has, therefore, two aims: to review the inscriptions reproduced by the squeezes and to serve as a tool for the further usage of these squeezes. Although the method of study is identical to that which I employed hitherto in the previous volumes of the *CIAP*, the sites of the inscriptions have not been introduced at the same length. I avoided a detailed historical introduction of the sites mainly because many of these inscriptions were or will be incorporated into the volumes of the *CIAP*. However, when an adequate article introducing the site exists in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I have referred to it in the introduction to each site. When the site of the inscription is not indicated on the squeeze or is unidentifiable by other methods, the inscription appears under the title of "Unidentified." In most cases such squeezes are also unreadable.

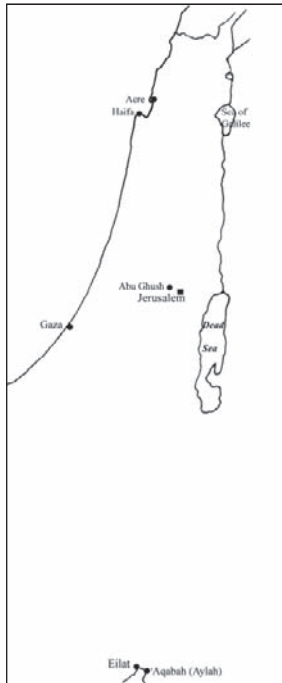
When there are two or more squeezes of the same inscription, the squeezes are indicated as a, b, c, etc. under the same MvB serial number. In some cases a squeeze represents the mirror image of an inscription which can easily be flipped over both through computer imaging and traditional photography technique.

The Negative numbers and the Disc numbers in each entry refer to the negatives and the original electronic records of these negatives in the archives of the *CIAP* in Jerusalem.

ABŪ GHŪSH

Is. Gr. 160 135 (N. Is. Gr. 210 635)

Location, historical review and inscriptions see *CIAP* 1: 3-13.
(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)



1. MvB 1

Construction text

10 Rabīʿ II 881/2 Aug. 1476

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 1, 0.66x0.47m. taken in 1893. 4 lines, Mamlūk monumental *naskhī*, points and some vowels; in relief, with dividing bands between the lines creating a separate field for each line. (Pl. 1. Fig. MvB1). [Neg. 27-09-005 No. 32A; Disc1:0310051] Publication: Pedersen 1928:32, No. 26486 Fig. 10. The following is a fresh reading and analysis.



Pl. 1. Fig. MvB1

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رسم بعمارة هذا المكان المبارك مولانا ٢) السلطان المالك
الملك الأشرف أبو النصر قايتباي أيده الله بنصره وتولى ٣) عمارة ذلك العبد الفقير الى الله
تعالى محمد الأشرفي ناظر الحرمين الشريفين ٤) في العشر الأول من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
احدى وثمانين وثمانماية هي (= انتهى؟)

In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. Has issued the order for the building of this blessed place the ruling Sultan the most honourable king (al-Malik al-Ashraf) Abū an-Naṣr Qāyit Bāy (or Qā'it Bāy) may Allah assist him with His victory; and was entrusted with its building the servant who is in need for Allah, the most exalted, Muḥammad al-Ashrafī the guardian of the two Noble Sanctuaries (in Jerusalem and Hebron) in the first ten days of the month of Rabī' II, the year 881 (=9 August 1476). End.

Ll.2-3: Pedersen: *وتولى عمارة ذلك* Read: *ونوب على*

On the margin of the squeeze there is a note saying that the inscription came from “the environs of Abū Ghūsh on the main route to Jerusalem 1893.” It is difficult to ascertain the origin of this document. The work was supervised by the *nāzīr* of the two sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Hebron who, among other functions, controlled all the endowments dedicated to the two sanctuaries and enjoyed a high position which was both administrative and religious. He was second in rank to the governor, the *nā'ib*, and reported directly to the Sultan in Cairo. Judging from the quality of the inscription, “the blessed place” which he built or probably renovated (the word *'imārah* can mean both) must have been important. It is possible that it was the khān called Khān az-Zāhir, “north west of Jerusalem.” The Khān was built by az-Zāhir Baybars (hence its name) “and its building took place in 662/1264... and (the sultan) endowed for it half of the village of Liftā, and other villages belonging to the district of Damascus, and he placed in the khān an oven and a mill and he nominated an imām for its mosque and made provisions for acts of charity in it, such as the distribution of bread at its gate and attendance to the welfare of its guests and their food and similar things.” (Mujīr, 1283: 434; 1973 (2):87)

In the middle of Rajab 880/22-24 November 1475, Qāyit Bāy visited Hebron and Jerusalem. “On Monday 17 Rajab (Wednesday 24 November) he reached Jerusalem, and camped next to Khān az-Zāhir, and thereafter he rode and entered the city (“*wa-nazala bimukhayyamihī 'inda khān az-zāhir thumma rakiba wadakhala ilā al-madīnah*”). (Mujīr 1283:684; 1973 (2):314-315) It is not far-fetched to assume that the khān was renovated in honour of this visit and the inscription was put in place about 8 months after the visit when the work was completed. The other possibility is that the Sultan himself, following his visit, gave the order to renovate the khān as we read in the inscription. These are, of course, only guesses that could well be far-fetched.

We are on firmer ground regarding the official entrusted with the building, Muḥammad al-Ashrafī (l. 3), who is mentioned here with his official title, *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn ash-sharīfayn*—the guardian, or supervisor, of the Two Sanctuaries, namely the sanctuaries in Hebron (al-Khalīl) and Jerusalem (*cf.* Pedersen, *ibid.*, 33). He is, no doubt, the amīr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rajab Nāṣir ad-Dīn, an-Nashāshībī or in short (as he usually appears in the sources) Nāṣir ad-Dīn an-Nashāshībī. He was born in Cairo in 821 and received very good religious education there. He followed his father Aḥmad, serving Jaqmaq as a treasurer (*khāẓindār*) both before and after the latter became Sultan. On 6 Muḥarran 875/5 July 1470, al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy nominated him as the Nāẓir (superintendent) of the two sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Hebron. He held this office for 18 years. (Sakhāwī, 6:308-309 No. 1025) Mujīr ad-Dīn also calls him Ibn an-Nashāshībī, but this variant, as van Berchem has already pointed out, is of no importance, since the *nisbah* refers to the family of the amīr. (See on him in detail: *CIA* 1 “Ville,” 341-342. Max van Berchem spells his name Nashāshībī, which could be a printing mistake).

Nāṣir ad-Dīn an-Nashāshībī arrived from Cairo to take up his office in Jerusalem on 28 Muḥarran 875/27 July 1470, and “it was a very memorable day.” (Mujīr, 1283:622; 1973 (2):287-88) He succeeded in holding on to this position in spite of the many attempts of his opponents to depose him, and was able to keep it until 893, having earned the reputation of being an honest and just person.

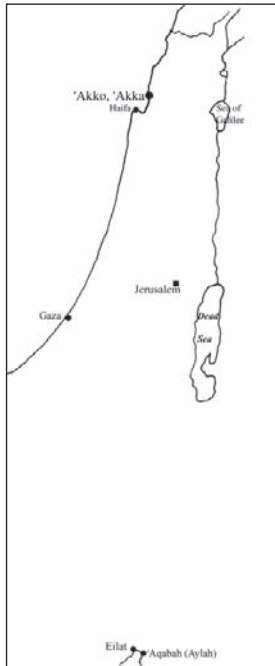
Two months after arriving in Jerusalem, an-Nashāshībī supervised the building of the splendid al-Madrasah al-Ashrafīyah for the Sultan Qāyṭbāy. The commemorative inscription of this project, above the northern window overlooking the small entrance to the ḥaram area reads: “Ordered to construct this noble *madrasah* our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū an-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy may his victory be glorious, on the date of the 1st of Rabīʿ I of the year 875 (28th August 1470) and this (was done) in the days of our lord, His Most Noble Excellency Nāṣir ad-Dīn Sīdī Muḥammad, the treasurer, superintendent of the two Noble ḥarams, may God increase his dignity” (Inscription: *CIA* I “Ville,” 358, No. 105, figs. 65,66. English translation and short biography of Nashāshībī and description of his blazon, Mayer, *Heraldry*, 1933:162-162).

In Ṣafar 893/February 1488 he resigned under much pressure, and died soon after. The posts of the *nāʿib* (governor) and *nāẓir* were united, and given to Duqmāq “the dawādār of Īnāl al-Ashrafī” who paid 10,000 dīnārs to the royal treasury for the position in addition to the bribes that went to grease the palms of “men of influence in the state.” It is no wonder that he immediately used his position to cover his expenses, and became famous for his tyranny and injustice. (Mujīr, 1283:672, 1973(2):341-42; Sakhāwī, 3:218 No. 819).

‘AKKO (‘AKKĀ, ACRE)

Is. Gr. 157 258 (N. Is. Gr. 207 758)

Location, historical review and inscriptions see *CIAP* 1: 22-78.
(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)



2. MvB 46
Epitaph of a Muslim

ca.120/ 738

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 46, 0.39x0.28m. 8 lines, professional angular script, decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 2. Fig. MvB46 [Negative 27-09-005(b) No. 0A; Disc 1:03190002]. Only the first line with the *basmalah* was broken and lost. Publication: Pedersen: 1928:36-37 No. 26459. This is a fresh reading, correcting Pedersen's reading and dating.



Pl. 2. Fig. MvB46

(١) [بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ قُلْ هُوَ اللّٰهُ (٣) اَحَدٌ اللّٰهُ الصَّمَدُ (٤) لَمْ یَلِدْ وَلَمْ یُولَدْ و (٥) لَمْ یَكُنْ لَهٗ کُفُوًا ۙ (٦) اِحَدٌ هٰذَا قَبْرِ وَصِّ <—ی—> ف (٧) مَوْلٰی عِبید اللّٰهِ بنِ (٨) عَبّاسٍ (!) رَحْمَةُ اللّٰهِ

Basmalah. Q. 112 (in full). This is the tomb of Waṣīf the *mawlā* of ‘Ubaydallah b. ‘Abbās. May Allah have mercy on him.

This is probably one of the earliest inscriptions having letters decorated with barbs. I tentatively dated it around the year 120/378, but it could easily belong to an earlier date in the first decade of the 2nd century, as I shall soon show. There are two clear mistakes in the inscription which are, however, of no consequence.

L.6. The name of the deceased must be Waṣīf, a very common name of slaves, particularly eunuchs. (Ayalon, 1999:76, 124, 250, 283) *Waṣīf* was also one of the terms used to describe eunuchs (*ibid*, 273, 276, 281, and 283). Waṣīf’s name was incised without the *yā*, which is not an unusual mistake.

L.7. Waṣīf was the eunuch slave of ‘Ubaydallah b. ‘Abbās, the Prophet’s cousin. The date of ‘Ubaydallah’s death is not sure. According to Khalīfah (*Ta’rīkh*, 1993:171) he died in 58/678. Another report says that he died in the time of Yazīd I (60/680-64/683), and yet another dates his death in the year 87, “during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik” which is impossible since ‘Abd al-Malik died in 86/705. If Waṣīf was a very young man when his master died—in his teens or early twenties—he could easily have survived ‘Ubaydallah by 50 years and died around 110-120. ‘Ubaydallah served as ‘Alī’s governor over Yemen and as one of Ḥasan’s generals during the latter’s short reign. Slanderers maintained that he sold his loyalty to Mu‘āwiyah for 1,000,000 dirham. (See, among others, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 3:22, 55-65; Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1992, 2:214).

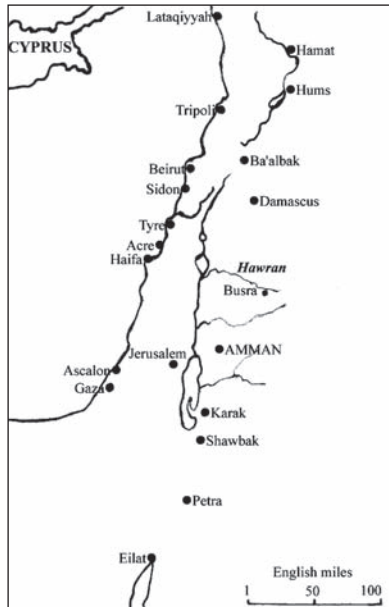
The name of ‘Abbās was also written with a mistake, with the letter *‘ayn* written twice one after the other. It seems to me that the engraver probably missed the “*al*” of al-‘Abbās or mistook it for an *‘ayn*.

How did Waṣīf come to be buried in ‘Akko (‘Akkā) or in its vicinity? This must remain an unanswered question, since it is not certain, in spite of the note on the squeeze, that the inscription originated in Acre. However, if Waṣīf died in Acre or somewhere else in Palestine, this could only mean that he had left Madīnah after the death of his master there. (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb*, 3, 1992:1010)

What seems to me more probable is that the person who brought the inscription to Ustinow gave him wrong information.

‘AMMĀN

Location: 31° 56'N 35° 56'E



Ancient Rabbah, Rabbat Bene ‘Ammon or Rabbat ‘Ammon. (e.g. 2 Sam. 11). In the 3rd century BC it received the name Philadelphia after Ptolemy II Philadelphus. After the abolishment of the Nabatean Kingdom, in 106 it became part of the Decapolis, the famous league of ten Greco-Roman cities in the southern part of the Golan, and the Batanaea, which also included Scythopolis (Bethshean) to the west of the Jordan. It was a centre of religious worship which combined Eastern and Greek gods, with vibrant Hellenistic-Roman cultural and social life as well as building activity. After the victory of Christianity, it became a Bishopric and next to Bostra (Ar. Buṣrā) in the north, an important centre for the spread of Christianity among the nomads of the Syrian Desert. It seems that under

the Ghassānids its name was changed to ‘Ammān which revived its ancient (Biblical) name—‘Ammon.

When the Islamic invasion began, ‘Ammān like most of the towns and villages in Syria did not put up any resistance and was easily taken (*fath yasr*) by agreement. (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 1957:150) The major city in Trans-Jordan at that time was Buṣrā which had emerged as the most important religious and administrative centre in the region. Still, under the Umayyads and early ‘Abbāsids, ‘Ammān retained some importance being a station on the ḥajj and a commerce route. Throughout the Middle Ages, it survived as a small village within the ruins of its glorious past, and only revived in modern times, particularly in the late 19th century after the building of the Ḥijāz railway, and early in the 20th century when it was chosen as the capital of the Hāshimite dynasty in the newly established Emirate of Trans-Jordan, later the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan.

For more information and bibliography see “‘Ammān” in *EI* and *EI*².

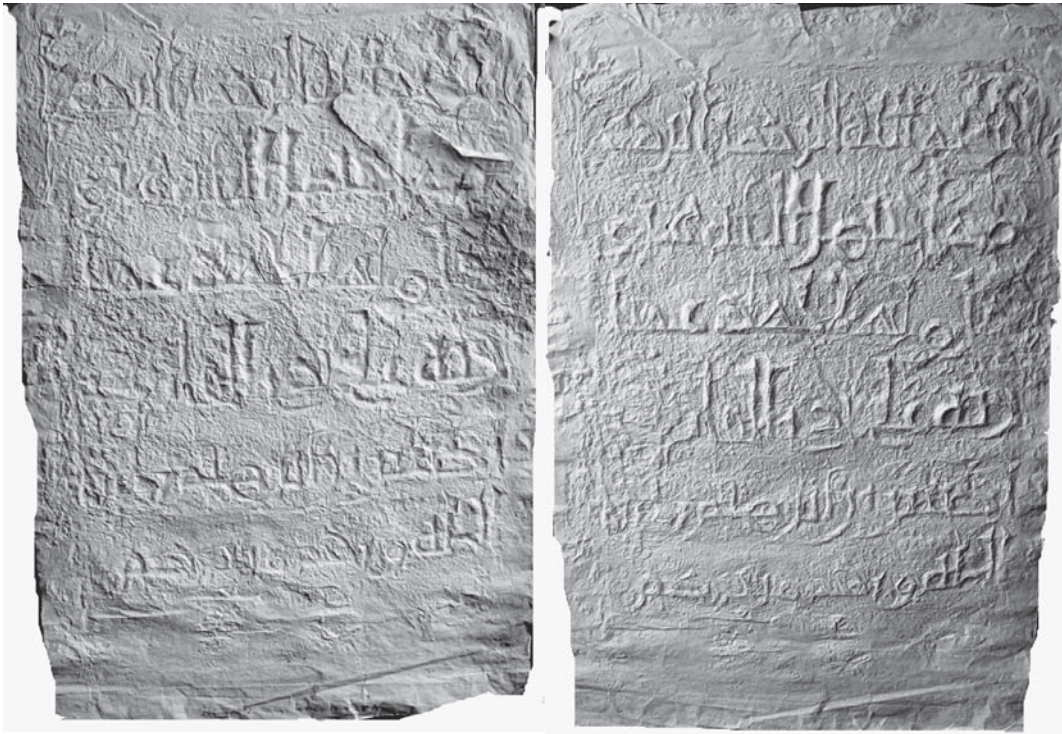
3. MvB 57

Construction text

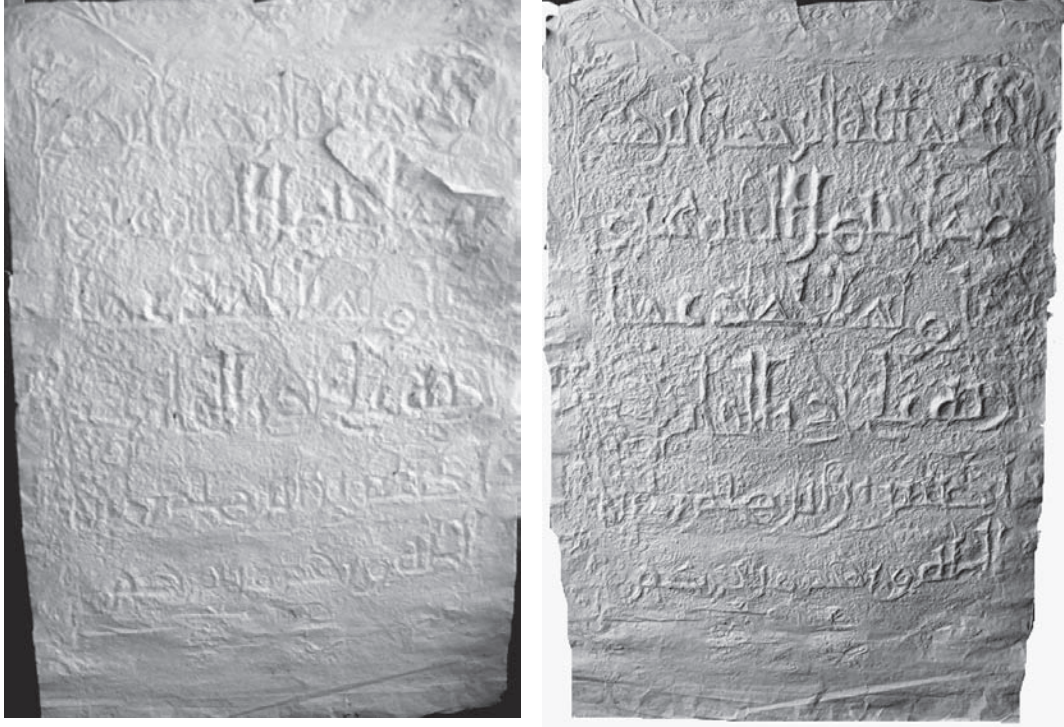
Early 4th/10th century

MvB squeeze No. 57 (formally No. 4), 0.50x0.40m. taken by Brünnow in 1897. 7 lines, monumental angular script decorated with barbs and swallow tails, no points, and no vowels, incised.

The following details appear in the MvB files: the squeeze was given to van Berchem by Jaussen accompanied by a letter describing the inscription, with a preliminary attempt to read it. Details about the inscription in the file are as follows: it was engraved inside a chamfer frame cut on the larger face of a block of limestone. The frame could be of ancient origin, and it might have framed a Greek inscription, which was erased to make room for the Arabic one. The following is MvB's reading and my additions. Pl. 3. Figs. MvB57, MvB57a [Neg. 20-02-006(1) No. 8A, 9A; Disc. 3:11860009-10]. Publication MvB files "Ammān." (Cf. Littman, *Semitic Inscriptions* 1905: 3. No. 2, fig. 2)



Pl. 3 Figs. MvB57 MvB57a (right, flipped over)



Pl. 3 Figs. MvB57 MvB57a (second set)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) مما سهل الله عز و (٣) جل وله الحمد عما (٤) رته على يدي
القا[ضي] (٥) الحسن بن ابراهيم [ر] حمه (٦) الله ورحم من ترحم (٧) عليه

Basmalah. This is what Allah, the Glorious, the Exalted, He Who deserves praise, enabled its construction by the *qāḍī* Ḥasan b. Ibrahīm, may Allah pardon him and whomever asks pardon for him (from Allah).

L.2: MvB questioned the reading of the first two words, but examining the squeeze, there is no doubt concerning the above reading. The inscription is a construction text, not an epitaph. (MvB hesitated to define the inscription either way).

The date which I suggest for the inscription is the latest possible. It is very possible that the inscription comes from an earlier date, around the middle of the 3rd/9th century. We possess Muqaddasī's description of the city from the middle of the 10th century CE. He counted it as one of the towns of the province of Filasṭīn (Muqaddasī 1987:136-160) and compared it to Mecca, not in size or appearance, but concerning its topographical position: a city surrounded by mountains. (*ibid*, 75) He also indicated its position on the major travel routes of Syria and the Ḥijāz (*ibid*, 205-206), and spoke about its being a source of grain, sheep and honey. Describing the city in more detail he wrote:

“Ammān, lying on the border of the desert, has around it many villages and cornfields. The Balqā’ district, of which it is the capital, is rich in grain and flocks. Several streams flow through the town, and the mills are worked by the waters of these. The city has a fine mosque near the market-place, the court of which is ornamented with mosaic... The castle of Goliath is on the hill overhanging the city. In this city is the Tomb of Uriah over which is built a mosque. Here, likewise, is the theatre of Solomon. Living here is cheap, and fruit is plentiful. On the other hand, the people of the place are illiterate, and the roads thither are difficult.” (*ibid*, 149; Ranking translation 1897: 287)

This description of the city, probably in the last stages of its prosperous period in the early Middle Ages, contains a reference to edifices in it that could have been sites of pious building activity, such as the one commemorated by this inscription: the mosque, the Tomb of Uriah and probably the remnants of the Roman theatre which was identified with Solomon the King-Prophet of Islam.

ASHQELON (‘ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

Location, historical review and inscriptions see *CIAP* 1: 130-143.

Is. Gr. 157 258 (N. Is. Gr. 207 758)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)

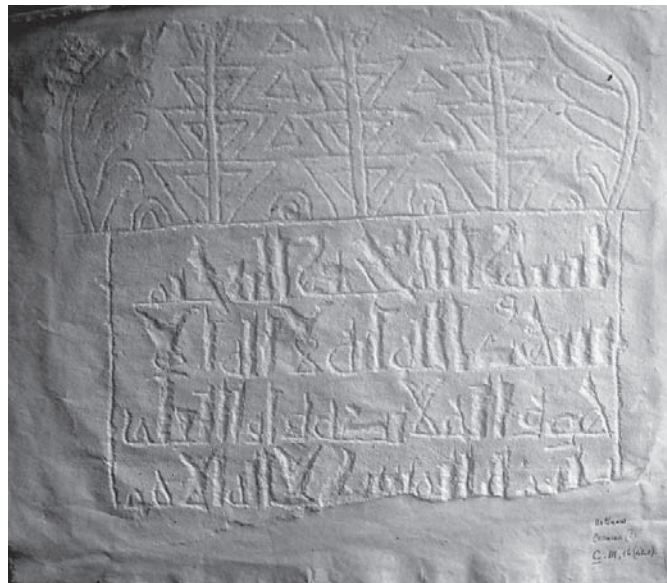


4. MvB 13 Epitaph of a Muslim

259/872-73

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 13, 0.33x0.32m. Top fragment, almost half of which is filled with decoration of stylized trees, and two branches, one on each side forming the frame of the decorative element. 4 visible lines, provincial, angular script, letters decorated with barbs and some endings curl-up in the style of the period, no points, no vowels; shallowly incised. Pl. 4. Fig. MvB13 [Neg. 27.9.05(a) No. 5A; Disc1:3190063]

In the margin there is a note by MvB: “Ustinow Caesarea(?)” I shall soon show that its origin is Ashqelon (Ascalon). Publication: Pedersen:1928:69, No. 26469.



Pl. 4. Fig. MvB13

The following is a fresh reading correcting Pedersen's mistakes.

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) شهد الله انه لا اله الا (٣) هو والملائكة واوا (!) العلم (٤)
[قائما] بالقسط لا اله الا هو...

Basmalah. Allah hath testified that there is no God but He, likewise the angels and the people of knowledge. Dispensing justice, there is no God but He, (the Sublime the Wise...) (Q, 3:18 trans. Bell 3:16).

L. 3: The word *wa-ʿulū* was defectively incised; the two letters *wāw* and *lām* were forgotten. In such a word, where similar letters appear one after the other, mistakes of this kind can happen.

This inscription, which contains only the first 4 lines of the original, would have remained a curiosity with the stylized “trees” at its top, and with its rather distinctly peculiar script which makes its dating rather tricky. However, an unusual coincidence of events which has rarely occurred in the entire history of Arabic epigraphic research, made it possible not only to determine the exact site of the inscription but also to date it and to learn much about the methods of production of such epitaphs. In February 2006, when I was working in the archives of Max van Berchem in Geneva on the squeeze, a full almost identical inscription was discovered in excavations being conducted by the IAA near the ruins of the medieval city of Ashqelon (Ascalon), buried in the sand together with a few other inscriptions and hoarded by someone (probably a marble robber) in one stockpile.

One of these inscriptions, as can be seen in the attached photographs, is so similar to the squeeze that at first glance I was sure that originally it had been produced in two copies, one of which reached the Ustinow collection. But on a close examination, the inscription just discovered (broken into a few pieces) is not only a complete one but also different in a few, very minute details. The one in the squeeze has two branches on both sides of the “trees” decoration on top, and the new inscription has only the trees. There are even smaller differences in the distribution of the text according to lines. Other than that, since the newly discovered inscription is complete, it supplies the name of the deceased and the full date, which, incidentally, fits to the day of the week the general CE date.

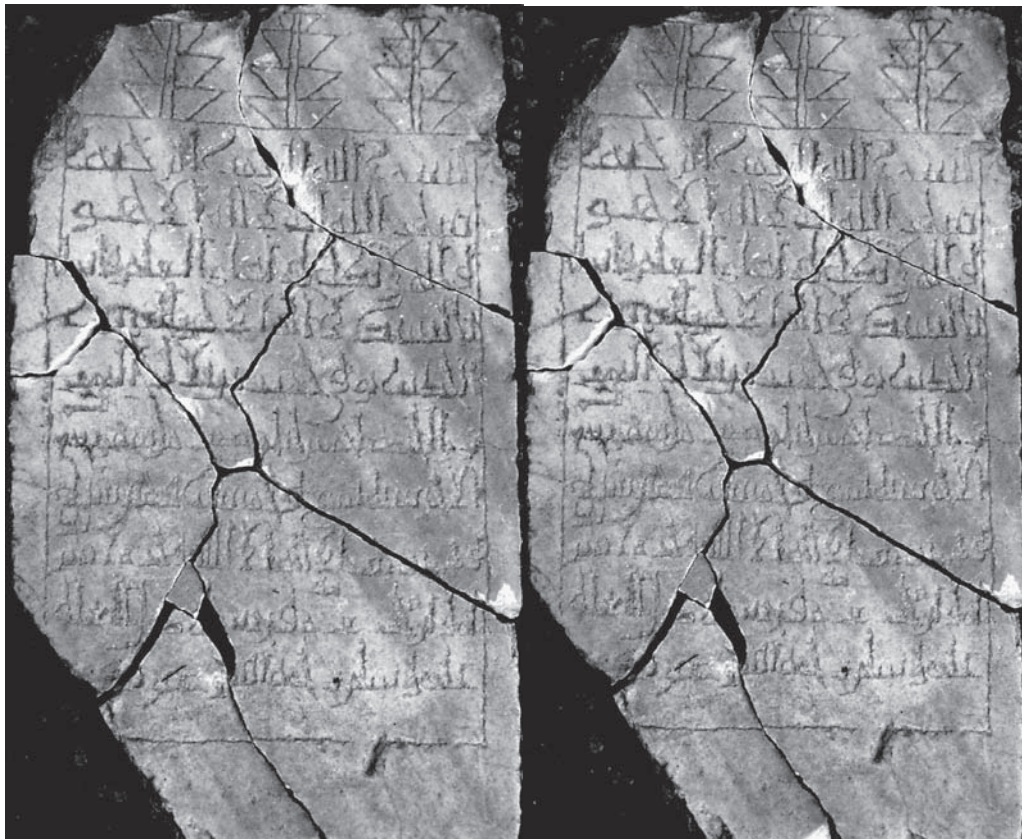
The squeeze, which represents only the top four lines of the original ten lines of the inscription, can therefore be accurately dated to the same year or thereabout. It was produced by the same engraver, who had a workshop and repeated the same decorative elements and the same script on the epitaphs he produced. To judge by the artistic and technical quality of the decoration and script, he was neither too sophisticated nor too talented. However, we have here an example of a provincial

workshop producing tombstones with its own particular design, and this is the main importance of these twin inscriptions. The master in the workshop, no doubt, wished to depict Paradise when he engraved a line of trees above the epitaphs, but he did not have the technical skill to go beyond their representation in straight lines. The addition of the two branches is an attempt to enrich the same decorative pattern which was repeated on many epitaphs in the workshop. Here is the new inscription which places the squeeze in its historical and artistic context.

Epitaph of a Muslim

Friday, 26 Rabīʿ I, 259/30 Jan. 873

A slab of gray marble 0.65x0.375m. (max.) broken into 8 pieces which were easily fitted together, discovered in excavations conducted by the IAA between the present Barzilai hospital and the ruins of the medieval city. 10 lines, provincial, angular script, decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 4a.



Pl. 4a.

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو ٣) والملائكة واولو العلم قائما
 ٤) بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز ٥) الحكيم توفي حميد بن بلال المصري ٦) يوم الجمعة
 لخمس ليال بقين من شهر ربيع ٧) الأول سنة تسع وخمسين ومائتين و ٨) هو يشهد الا اله
 الا الله وحده لا شريك ٩) له وان محمد (!) عبده ورسوله صلى الله ١٠) عليه وسلم رحمه
 الله وغفر له

Basmalah. Q 3:18. Ḥumayd b. Bilāl al-Maṣrī died on Friday, 26 Rabī I 259 (=Friday, 30 Jan. 873) while testifying that there is no god but Allah alone, He has no companion and that Muḥammad is His slave and messenger may Allah bless him. May Allah forgive him (the deceased) and pardon him.

5. MvB 25

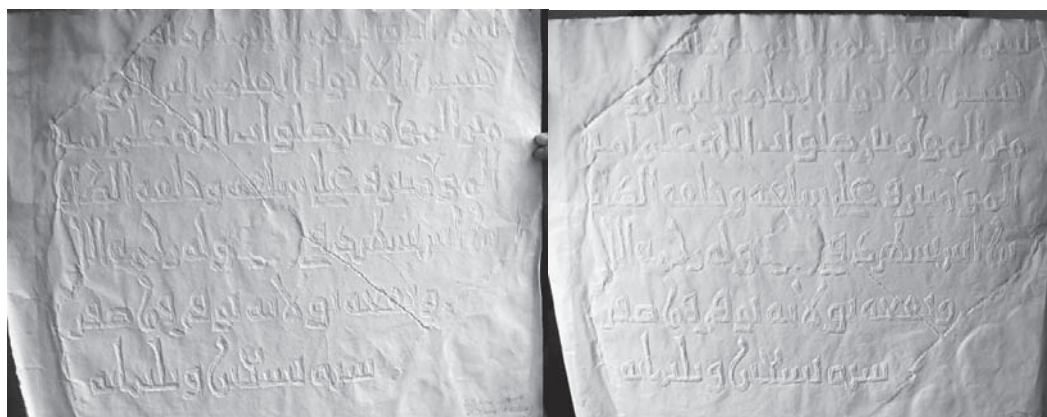
ASHQEELON (‘ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)

Epitaph of a Muslim

Ṣafar 390/15 Jan.-14 Feb.1000

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 25, 0.40x0.45m. taken by the Dominican fathers in Jerusalem. A slab of marble or limestone, broken on the top left and bottom right with a very slight effect on the inscription which is almost complete. 7 lines, monumental angular script, no points no vowels; incised. Pl. 5. Figs. MvB25, MvB25a. [Neg. 27-09-005(a) No. 29A, 30A; Disc1:03190085] Publication: MvB files “Jaffa” on the basis of the squeeze and a photograph furnished by Lagrange; Pedersen (partial) 1928:66 No. 21 Fig. 16 (=Pl. 5a. Fig. MvB25b); *RCEA* 6:36-37, No. 2078.



Pl. 5. Figs. MvB25, MvB25a



Pl. 5a. Fig. MvB25b present condition of stone.

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا قـ[ـبر]... ٢) حسين الأحول الخيامي البزالي [ا... ٣] مير
المؤمنين صلوات الله على أمير ٤) المؤمنين وعلى سلفه وخلفه الطاهـ[ر] ٥) ين استشهد
في رسوله (?) رحمه الله ٦) ونفعه بولائه توفي في صفر ٧) سنة تسعين وثلثمائة

Basmalah. This is the tomb of Ḥusayn al-Aḥwal al-Khayyāmī (or al-Khiyāmī) al-Bazzālī, (Slave of) the Commander of the Faithful—May Allah bless the Commander of the Faithful and his pure forefathers and descendants—he has asked his Messenger to be his witness may Allah forgive him and put to good use his faithfulness to Him. He died in (the month of) Ṣafar the year 390 (=Jan.-Feb 1000).

It is very fortunate that the squeeze was taken when the inscription was complete, although broken in half, as one can clearly see in the squeeze. As can be learnt from the images above, the stone that eventually reached Oslo, and from which Pedersen prepared his edition, was broken and its top half seems to have been lost. (Pl. 5b. Fig. MvB25b) The inscription is very clear, yet some words in it pose difficulty.

L.2: The *nisbah* al-Khayyāmī (or al-Khiyāmī) is very well known and quite a few important figures were known by it, in spite of the fact that it does not appear in Sam‘ānī’s *Ansāb*. (see e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* 10:98)

The next letters after this *nisbah* are clear yet their reading poses a problem. The text can be another well known *nisbah*—al-Bazzālī—(e.g. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Bazzālī. Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Ḥalab*, index) also missing in Sam‘ānī—which could have well been mixed up with al-Barzālī (Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:203; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tabṣīr*, 1:414; Suyūṭī, 1842:34). After this, there must have been a word consisting of three letters, and the letter *alif* which belongs to the title *amīr al-mu‘minīn* in line 3.

Unfortunately, the stone is broken here. It is possible that the word could have been ‘*Abd* (see below No. 7), or another short word that connects the deceased with the

Caliph al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh (386/996-411/1021) in some cliental relationship. The blessings of the Caliph’s “pure” ancestors and descendants belong to the Fāṭimid protocol as I have shown elsewhere. (*CIAP* 1:167-170)

L.5: The reading of the word *rasūlihi* is somewhat doubtful. The stone is damaged here, by a hole bored through it and only the letters *wāw*, *lām* and *hā’* are clear. I believe that my reading is correct, and the translation follows this reading to say that the deceased takes the Prophet to be his witness in the Other World. The invocation *naffa’ahu bi-walā’ihi* refers to Allah who is invoked to consider the faithfulness of Ḥusayn al-Aḥwal as a useful factor in his favour.

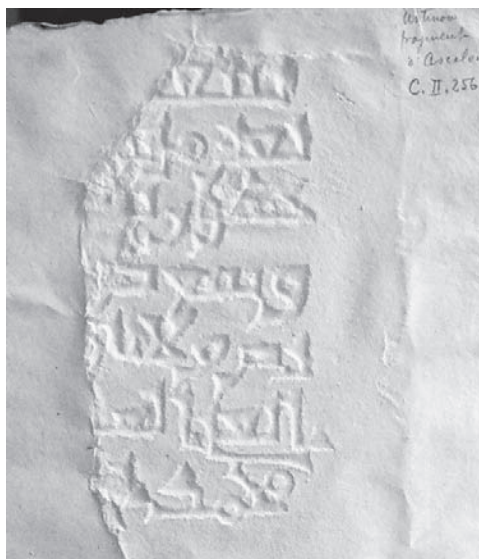
6. MvB 23

ASHQEELON (‘ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)
Epitaph of a Muslim

Early 4th/10thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 23, 0.12x0.19m. 7 lines, semi-monumental, angular script, stylized and decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 6. Fig. MvB23 [Negative 27-09-005 No. 27A; Disc1:03190087]. Mentioned(?): Pedersen 1928:69, No. 26464.



Pl. 6. Fig. MvB23

(١) يشفـ[ع....] (٢) يعرف ما يـ[يـن]... (٣) يحيطون بشـ[ي]... (٤) وسع
 كر[سيه]... (٥) والأرض ولا يا (!) [ده]... (٦) العـ[ظـيم]... (٧) محمد...

The fragment is the right side of a long inscription which began with the *Basmalah* and *āyat al-kūrsī* (“The Throne Verse” Q, 2:255).

After the last words of the verse (l.6) there could have been the words *hādhā qabr*, “this is the grave of” continuing in l.7 with one word “Muḥammad.” The word could also be a continuation of an invocation containing a customary blessing for the Prophet.

7. MvB 4A

ASHQELON ('ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

(Re-edition of *CIAP* 1 Ashqelon No. 3)

Epitaph of a Muslim

Rabī I, 406/Aug.-Sep. 1015

MvB squeeze No. 4a, 0.20x0.35m. top part broken and lost. 4 visible lines, the first partly readable. Professional, provincial, angular script, decorated with barbs; the letter *‘ayn* formed in heart shape, no points, no vowels; incised. Publication: MvB files “Ascalon”; *RCEA* 6:103 No. 2188, *CIAP* 1:149 Ashqelon No. 3 (and bibliography). Pl. 7. Figs. MvB4a, MvB4b.



Pl. 7. MvB4a, MvB4b

(١) [م]—حمّد بن (٢) علي الأنصاري الداعي في (٣) شهر ربيع الأوّل سنة (٤) ست واربعة
ماية

(Died)... Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Anṣārī the missionary in the month of Rabī' I of the year 406=Aug.-Sep. 1015).

The inscription was analyzed in *CIAP* 1:149-150.

8. MvB 5

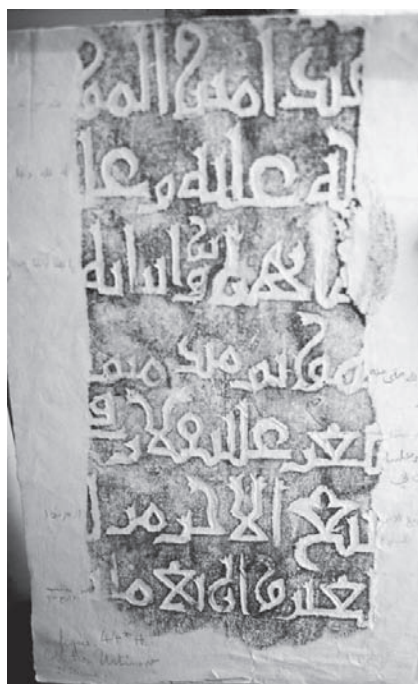
ASHQEELON ('ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

(Re-edition of *CIAP* 1 Ashqelon No. 5)

Construction text or an epitaph of a Muslim

441/1049-449/1057

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 5, 0.44x0.21m. 7 lines, monumental, angular, flori script, stylized letters ending with fishtail decorations, and bending under the line, no points, no vowels; incised. Studying the squeezes in van Berchem's Collection gave me the opportunity to re-read the following inscription from Ashqelon published in *CIAP* 1:152, Ashqelon No. 5 (fig. 59). Previous publications: *OM*, 1:160, 222-223; Pedersen: 1928: 66-68, No. 26457 Fig. 17; *RCEA* 7:122, No. 2590. Pl. 8. Fig. MvB5 [Neg. 27-9-005 No. 33A; Disc1:0310053].



Pl. 8. Fig. MvB5

The following re-reading takes into consideration that between lines 7 to 9, letters were lost on the left side of the inscription, and in most of the lines 2 letters were lost on the right side.

.....(١) عبد أمير المؤمنین صلوات (٢) الـ[له عليه وعلى] أبائه (٣) لـ[طاهرين
وابنائه] الاكرمين (٤) و[هو يومئذ متو] لي الحكم [٥] بثغر عسقلان في [مستهل (?) (٦) ر] بيع
الآخر من [سنة احدى الى تسع و (٧) أر] بعين واربع ما [نة]

...The slave of the Commander of the Faithful may the blessings of Allah be on him and on his pure forefathers and his noble sons, while he was then occupying the judiciary function in the border fort of ‘Asqalān on... Rabī’ II of the year 441-9 (=mid September 1049 – mid June 1057).

L.1: The reading *ṣalawāt* (not *ṣallā*) is the correct one; together with the four letters of the word *al-mu’minīn* there are 9 missing letters in this line. This falls within the space of the missing part of the inscription taking into consideration that two letters, *alif* and *lām*, occupy a small space.

L.2: Seven letters are missing from the end of this line, the word *abā’ihī* and *alif* (which belong to the first word in l.3).

L.3: Again seven letters (or eight if *lām alif* is regarded as two letters) are missing at the end of this line covering the necessary honorary title *al-akramūn*. The *tā’* at the beginning of the line is partly damaged but can easily be reconstructed; the *yā’* and *nūn* ending the word *aṭ-ṭāhirīn* were forgotten and added later in small script above the line.

L.4: The missing part suggested for the end of the line consists of seven letters: two, *lām* and *yā’*, of the word *mutawallī*, and five, of the word *al-ḥukm*.

L.5: There are no letters missing at the beginning of this line, which gives an idea of the right border of the inscription, and confirms the initial suggestion that no more than two letters are missing at the beginning of the broken lines. The end of the line is more difficult to reconstruct; the suggestion of van Berchem that the missing word is *shahr* is impossible. The word contains three letters and we need at least seven. What is missing is either the word *mustahall*, “the beginning of,” which contains seven letters taking into consideration that the letter *sīm* accounts for three letters with its three “teeth,” or any serial number which contains five or six letters to which the word *min*, with two letters must be added. Thus the missing number may be *ath-thānī*—the second—(six letters); *ath-thālith*—the third—(six letters); *ar-rābi’*—the fourth—(6 letters), *ath-thāmin*—the eighth—(6 letters). All the numbers that contain *sīm* or *shīn* must be excluded for although being short words, they consist of too many “teeth.” Thus, for instance, the number *al-khāmis*—the fifth—

contains five letters, but because of the *s̄n*, it has eight signs. However, if the serial number did not contain *al* at the beginning, it does not require *min* following it, and practically any serial number containing at least seven letters would fit. This leaves in the word *mustahall*, the one digit numbers with *s̄n* and *sh̄n*, and most of the numbers from ten to twenty inclusive. It leaves out the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 8 (too few letters) and 15, 16, 17, 19 (too many “teeth”). I chose *mustahall* as one possibility but it is quite safe to assume that any day in the first half of *rabī‘ al-ākhar* could fit the date.

L.6: The unit of the year and most of the word *sanah* (excluding the first “tooth” of the *s̄n*) occupied the end of this line. Of the eight to nine missing letters, five are taken by the word *sanah* (three “teeth” of the *s̄n*, and the letters *nūn* and *tā’ marbūṭah*). What is left is a space for a maximum of four letters for the units. Apart for the number *ithnatayn*, which contains six letters, all the digits from one to nine could fit. With some crowding even *ithnatayn* could fit, therefore the date of the inscription can be 440/1048 as I thought, but also 441-449/ mid-September 1049 until mid-June 1057.

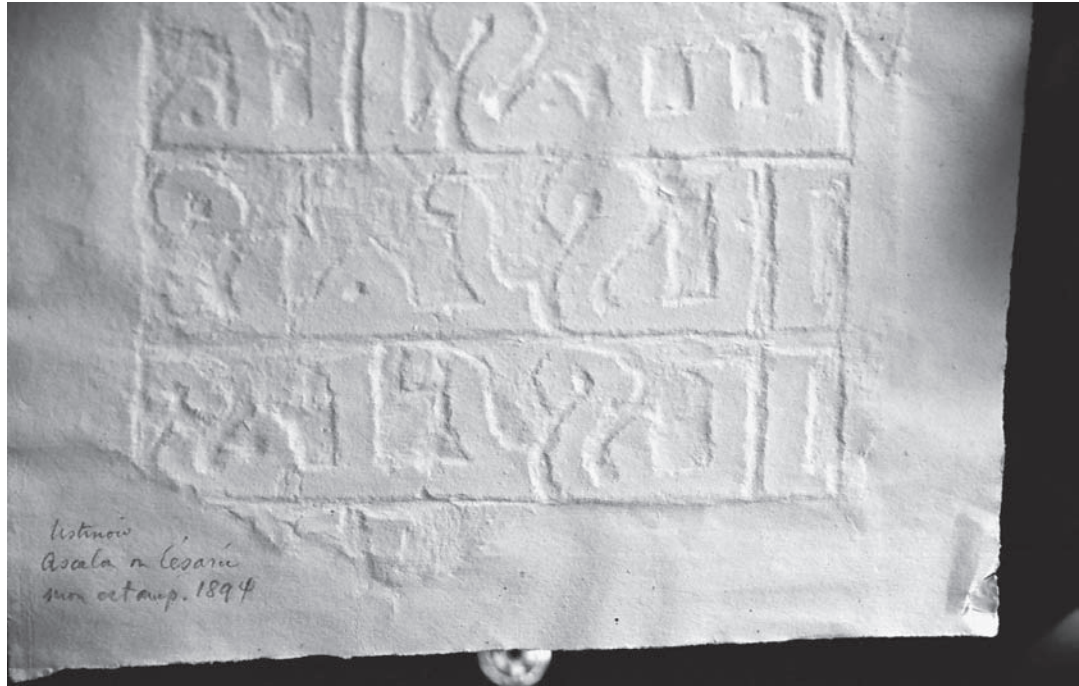
L.7: Two letters are missing at the beginning of the line: *alīf* and *rā’*, and at the end only the *tā’ marbūṭah* of the *mi’ah*. If nothing came after the *mi’ah*, the inscription finished before the end of the line. If the inscription was an epitaph after all, the words *rahimahu allah*, eight letters in all, could have filled the gap.

9. MvB 18
ASHKELON (or CAESAREA)

17c (Addendum to CIAP 1)
Basmalah

5th/11thc.

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 18, 0.170x205m. taken in 1894. 3 Lines, monumental, thick, angular script, stylized letters with curling up endings, imbedded in a sunken frame, no points, no vowels; in relief. Pl. 9. Fig. MvB18. [Neg. 27-9-005(a) No. 14A; Disc1:03190076].



Pl. 9. Fig. MvB18

١) بسم الله (٢) الرحمن (٣) الرحيم

Basmalah.

The rest of the inscription, probably an epitaph, was lost. On the margin MvB wrote: "Ustinow. Ascalon or Caesarea."

This is the same as the following inscription (no.9a) which appears in the squeezes (blackened) under the list number MvB45. The fragment belonged to a monumental inscription engraved professionally by an artist who was well trained in the style of the time. Inscriptions in relief with carefully and elegantly formed letters with curling up endings represent the high point of the angular script of the end of the 5th, early 6th century.

9a. MvB 45
ASHQELON (or CAESAREA)

(Addendum *CIAP* 1)
Basmalah

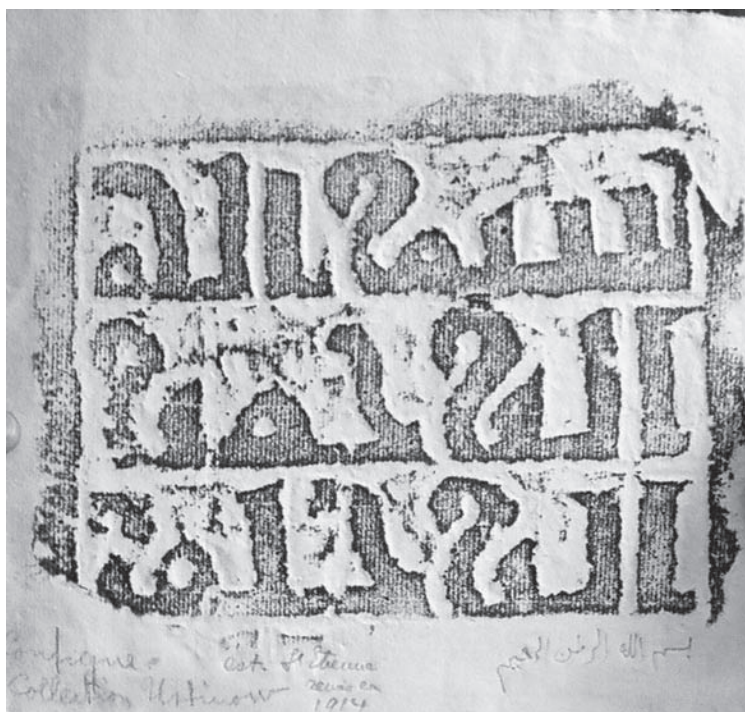
5th/11thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 45, 0.145x0.20m. taken in 1914. 3 Lines, monumental, thick angular script, stylized letters with curling up endings, imbedded in a sunken frame, no points, no vowels; in relief. Pl. 9a. Fig. MvB45. [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 36A; Disc2:12870037].

(١ بسم الله (٢ الرحمن (٣ الرحيم

Basmalah.

On the squeeze there is a note connecting this squeeze with St. Étienne and the date is 1914. This inscription is the blackened copy of the previous inscription, (no. 9) MvB18 from 1894. The dissimilarity of the measurements represents only the sizes of the existing squeezes, which were taken on two different dates, and not the size of the inscriptions which are obviously the same.



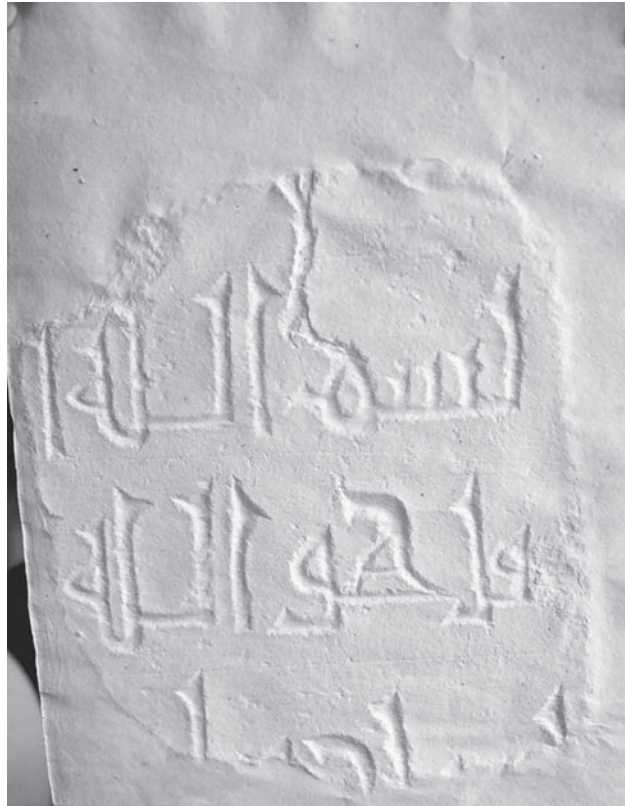
Pl. 9a. Fig. MvB45

10. MvB 20
 ASHQELON ('ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)
 Beginning of an Epitaph

Early 5th/11thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 20, 0.175x0.205m. 3 visible lines, monumental, angular stylized script, slender letters decorated with barbs, some bending under the line in a typical professional 5th century style, no points, no vowels; incised. The fragment is the top right corner of a large inscription, probably an epitaph. Pl. 10. Fig. MvB20. [Negative 27-09-005 No. 17A; Disc1:03190073]. Mentioned: Pedersen 1928:68, No. 26461.



Pl. 10. Fig. MvB20

(١) بسم الله ا[لرحمن الرحيم] (٢) قل هو الله [احد....] (٣)

Basmalah. Q, 112 (probably in full)

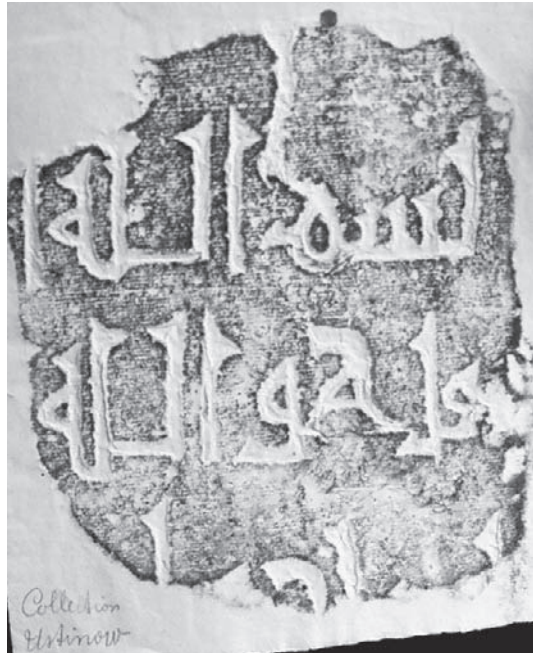
See 10a MvB42.

10a. MvB 42
ASHQEELON (‘ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)
Beginning of an Epitaph

Late 4th/early 11thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 42, 0.195x0.17m. 3 visible lines, monumental angular stylized script, slender letters decorated with barbs, some bending under the line in a typical professional 5th century style, no points, no vowels; incised. The fragment is the top right corner of a large inscription, probably an epitaph. Pl. 10a. Fig. MvB42. [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 33A; Disc2:12870034]



Pl. 10a. Fig. MvB42

(١) بسم الله [لرحمن... ٢] قل هو الله [احد...]

Basmalah. Q, 112 (probably in full)

This is the same fragment as in No. 10 above (blackened), registered as MvB20. The dissimilarity in measurements represents the different sizes of the squeezes, not the inscriptions.

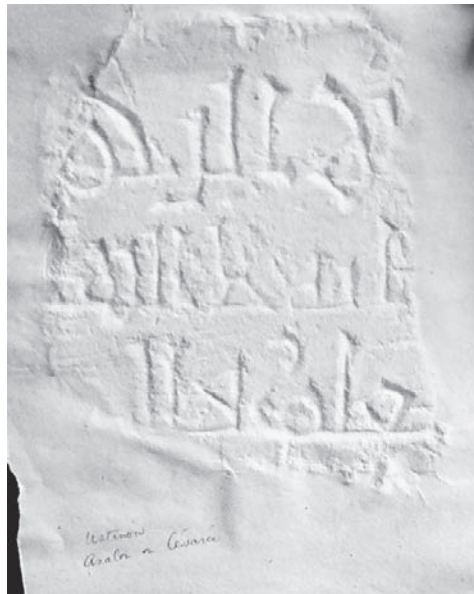
Caesarea or Ashqelon could well be the places of origin of this beautiful fragment. The style of the script allows the dating of this fragment to the late 4th early 5th/early 11th century.

11. MvB 24
ASHQELON (or CAESAREA)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)
Fragment of a Qur'ānic text

Early 5th century/11thc

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze No. 24, 0.17x0.135m. A fragment of the top right side of a longer inscription. 3 lines, monumental, angular script, letters decorated with barbs and with some curled up endings, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 11. Fig. MvB24 [Negative 27-09-005(a) 28A; Disc1:03190086]



Pl. 11. MvB24

(١) [بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ] [ن... (٢) انه لا اله الا الله (!) ... (٣) [الـ] علم قائم [ما] ...

Part of the *Basmalah* and a few words from the beginning of Q, 3:18.

L.2: The word *allāh* instead of *ilāh* is very clear.

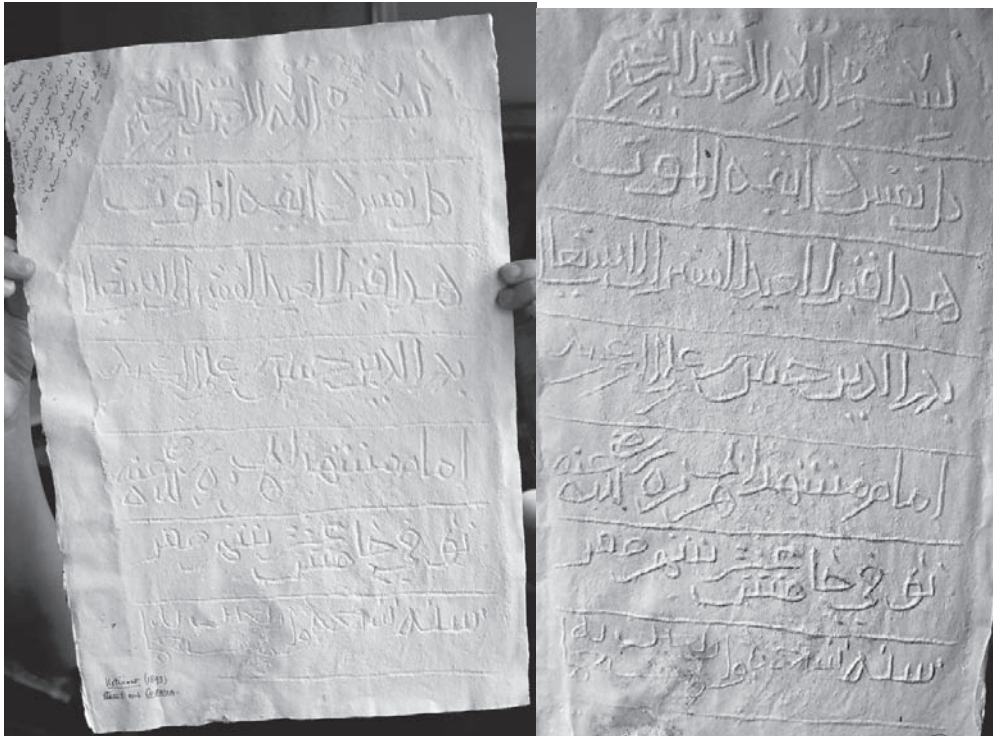
MvB note: “Ustinow Ascalon or Caesarea.”

12. MvB 19
ASHQELON (‘ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)
Epitaph of a Muslim

15 Şafar 749/22 May 1348

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 19, 0.41x0.26 m. taken in 1893. 7 lines, provincial *naskhī*, lines divided by bands, points, a few vowels; incised. Information and initial reading is supplied by MvB on the squeeze. Pl. 12. Figs. MvB19, Mvb19a (flipped over) [Neg. 27-9-005 15A, 16A; Disc1:03100974-75]. Publication: Pedersen 1928: 30-32, No. 26452. The following is a fresh reading.



Pl. 12. Figs. MvB19, MvB19a

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ (٢) کُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ (٣) هَذَا قَبْرُ الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِیْرِ اِلَى اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی (!) (With the points ٤) بَدْرُ الدِّیْنِ حَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْعَزِیْزِ (٥) اِمَامٌ مَّشْهُدٌ اَبِي هَرِيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللّٰهُ عَنْهُ (٦) تُوْفِيَ خَامِسَ عَشْرِ شَهْرِ صَفَرٍ (٧) سَنَةِ تِسْعَةِ اَرْبَعِيْنَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةَ

Basmalah. Every soul shall taste of death. (Q. 3:185, 21:35, 29:57, trans. Arberry) This is the tomb of the servant who is in need of Allah the Exalted, Badr ad-Dīn Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz the imām of the *mashhad* of Abū Hurayrah may Allah be pleased with him. He died on 15 Ṣafar the year 749 (=22 May 1348)

The letters are very clear. In line 4 the words Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz were written in such a way that the eye could be confused. On the squeeze therefore the reading was rendered as follows:

بَدْرُ الدِّیْنِ حَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ الْعَزِیْزِ عَثْمَانُ اِمَامٌ مَّسْجِدِ اَبِي هَرِيْرَةَ

The word ‘Uthmān does not exist. My reading is the correct one (as is Pedersen’s).

The exact origin of this inscription was not clear to van Berchem. It is possible that Baron von Ustinow himself did not have the details about the exact origin of this inscription which ornamented his garden in Jaffa at the end of the 19th century. The note on the squeeze mentions Caesarea. However, Ascalon and Ramlah are also possible, although the environs of Ashqelon seem to me to be the most probable places of its origin, since the tomb belonged to the *imām* of the sanctuary of Abū Hurayrah in Yabneh-Yubnā. (Mujīr, 1973 (1):263: “Abū Hurayrah ... who devotedly served the Prophet... is not he who is buried in the village of Yubnā which belongs to the district of Gaza; someone of his descendants is (buried) there” (*walaysa huwa almadfūn biqaryat yubnā allatī hiya min a’ māl ghazzah wa-innamā bihā ba’d wuldihī*).

Nevertheless, popular legend attributed the sanctuary to the famous companion of the Prophet although Muslim scholars rejected this identification knowing very well that Abū Hurayrah died in Madīnah in 59/680, and was buried there. (*Ibid*; Harawī 1953:33, and particularly the notes for variants; Canaan 1925:3, 298). The popular identification is a late development, because the sanctuary of Abū Hurayrah in Yubnā was not mentioned by the pre-Crusaders geographers; the first to mention it, expressing their doubts about the accuracy of its identification, were Harawī (d. 611/1214. *loc. cit.*) and Yāqūt (d. 626/1227. 1986: 5:428. *Cf.* Le Strange 1890: 553; Marmardji 1951:207; “Abū Huraira” *EI*, *EI*²). Mayer remarked, without reference to any documentation, that “as early as the eleventh century C.E.—if not earlier—cautious attempts were made to locate the tomb of Abū Hurairah here ...” quoting Yāqūt as his first reference. The identification is mentioned as a “non-controversial fact,” however, by Ibn Faḍl Allah al-‘Umarī (d.1349 CE). But Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maḥdīsī, the author of *Muthūr al-Gharām* (d. 865/1364) still casts doubt on this “fact” and offers the

compromise that it was one of his descendants (or his son) who was buried there (*Muthūr al-Gahrām* 1946:23, copied by Mujīr *loc.cit.*; Mayer 1950:21).

There are a few places called “Mashhad Abū Hurayrah,” in addition to Yubnā. Famous among them is the one outside Jīzah (Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, 1:207 last two lines), another near Tiberias, mentioned by Nāṣir-i-Khosrow (*Safar Nāmih*, Tehrān 1977:23) who wrote: “and in that place (Tiberias), on the south, there is the tomb of Abū Hurayrah.” However the most long-lasting legends connected with Abū Hurayrah in Palestine are those which connect his (or one of his offspring’s) name to Yubnā (See Pedersen 1928:31 for more details).

I suggest therefore that the imām of Yubnā was most probably buried in his hometown (Ashqelon-‘Asqalān? Ramlah? Yubnā?), and it is very possible that the stone with the inscription reached von Ustinow from there.

In 1348 CE, Ashqelon, to the south-west of Yubnā, was no more than a mound of debris but the imām might have been buried in Majdal-‘Asqalān, a flourishing village to the north-east of the city ruins, or thereabout.

L.7: The date is clear. The last two letters of the word **سبعماية** appear in line 7 whereas the beginning of the word—**سبعما**—was inscribed under the line.

In 673/1273, Sultān Rukn ad-Dīn Baybars renovated the sanctuary of Abū Hurayrah at Yubnā, and added a new portico. A beautiful inscription commemorates this pious work. (*RCEA* 12 No. 4686; Mayer 1951:21-24)

13. MvB 28
ASHQEELON (‘ASQALĀN ASCALON)
(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)
Restoration text

777/1375-6

Ustinow collection; MvB squeeze No. 28, 0.44x0.50m. 5 lines, provincial, Mam-lūk *naskhī*, many points, bands between the lines; incised. Pl. 13. Fig. MvB28, MvB28a (flipped over). [Negative 27-09-005 No. 35A, 36A; (mirror image). Disc1:03190091]



Pl. 13. Figs. MvB28, MvB28a (flipped over)

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) جدد هذه المنارة المباركة الحاج داود ٣) [١] بن عثمان بن
سختوى (?) الفقير الى الله تعالى ٤) في ولاية الأمير علم الدين بن (?) الشجاعي وبنظر القاضي
٥) عز الدين الصالحي بتاريخ سنة سبع وسبعين وسبعماية

Basmalah. Have restored this blessed minaret the Hājj Dāwud b. ‘Uthmān b. Sakhtawī (or Sikhtawī(?)) the needy for (the mercy of) Allah the Exalted, during the governorship of the *amīr* ‘Alam ad-Dīn b.(?) ash- Shujā‘ī and under the inspection of the *qāḍī* ‘Izz ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣāliḥī in the date of the year 777 (=1375-1376).

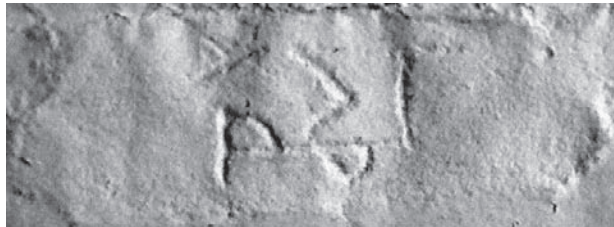
It is not completely sure that this inscription originated in Ashqelon, but if it did, then it could have come from the major mosque built in Majdal ‘Asqalān in the year 700/1300 (*CIAP* 1:185-186). I cannot be sure about the reading of the name (or *nisbah*) Sakhtawī (l.3) although the letters which I can see do not allow any other reading. The name is unusual but it does exist. (*Tāj al-‘Arūs s.v. s-kh-t*) The name of the Amīr in office, mentioned in the inscription (l.4), also poses a problem. The *nisbah* ash-Shujā‘ī is clear, but the group of letters after the word *al-amīr* poses some difficulty. I believe that the title ‘Alam ad-Dīn is pretty sure. However, this is not the famous ‘Alam ad-Dīn Sanjar ash-Shujā‘ī who lived about one hundred years earlier. (Zetterstéen 1919:28-39)

14. MvB 3

ASHQEELON (‘ASQALĀN, ASCALON)

Monogram

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze No. 3, 0.35x0.11m. A few letters which could be a monogram of some sort, seems to be a mirror image. Van Berchem wrote “Ustinow Ascalon” in the margin. Pls. 14, 14a. Fig. MvB3, MvB3a [Neg. 27-09-005 No. 29A; Disc1:03190054]



Pl. 14. Fig. MvB3



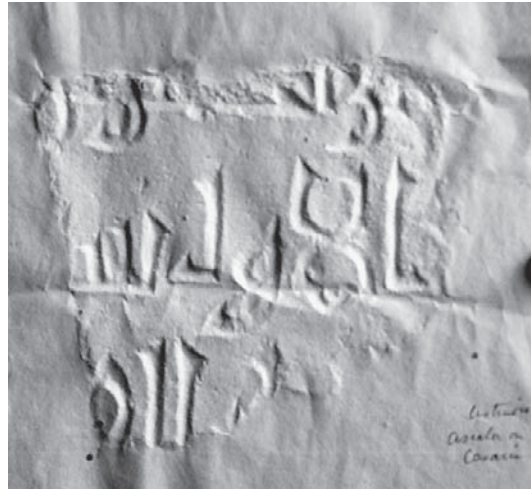
Pl. 14a. Fig MvB3a Mirror image

15. MvB 21
ASHQALON (or CAESAREA)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 1)
Date fragment (epitaph?)

5th/11thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 21, 0.10x0.09m. Remnants of 3 lines, monumental, angular script, stylized, letters decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. In the margin MvB noted “Ustinow Ascalon or Caesarea.” Pl. 15. Fig. MvB21 [Negative 27-09-005 No. 18A; Disc1:03190072].



Pl. 15 Fig. MvB21

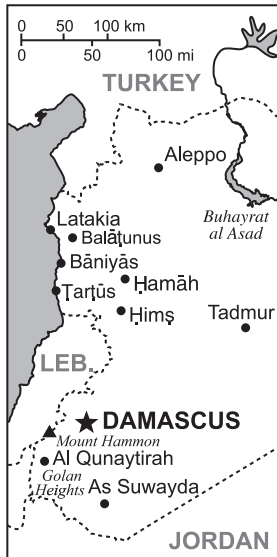
(١) [ربيع] (٢) الأول [سنة]...

(Rabīʿ) I, the year...

It is possible that the beginning of the word Rabīʿ is at the end of the damaged line 1.
The script represents an early 5th/ 11th century style.

BALĀṬUNUS (antique PLATANUS)
(Qal'at al-Muhēlbeh)

Location: 35°30'N 36°05'E



Balāṭunus was called also: Ḍaw' as-Subḥ (Qalqashandī), Dibshe, Muhaylbah or Qal'at al-Muhēlbeh. Details see MvB, *OM*, 422; “Balāṭunus” in *EI* and *EI*².

16. MvB 82

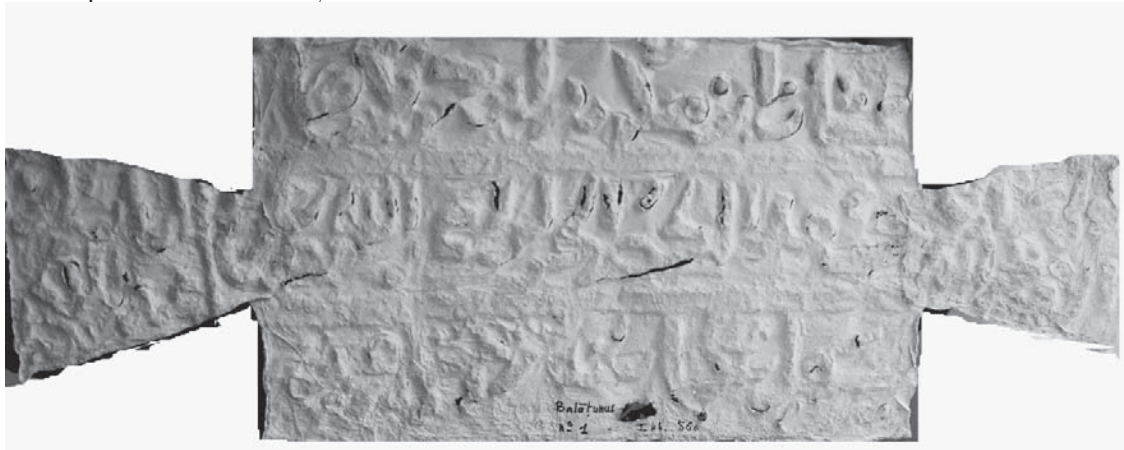
Construction text on the Walī of Nabī Yūnus at Dibsho

1 Sha'bān 660/21 June 1262

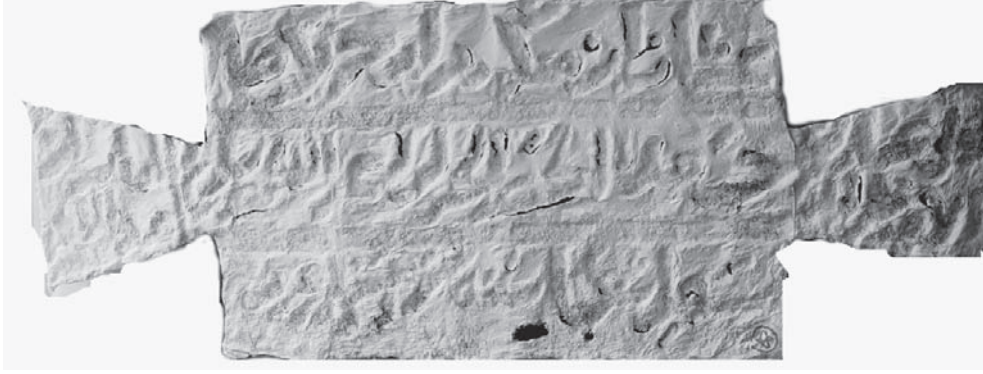
MvB squeeze No. 82 (formerly Balāṭunus 1), 0.23x0.64m. On a *tabula ansata*, 3 lines, monumental *nashkī*, Mamlūk style, some points, some vowels; in relief. Pls. 16, 16a. Figs. MvB82, MvB82a. [Neg. 14-02-06 Nos. 29A, 30A; Disc 5:11870029, ...0030] Publication: MvB files “Balāṭunus;” *OM*, 433.

The present squeeze represents only one of two inscriptions. These inscriptions were published by van Berchem (*OM*, 434), under the letters A and B but the existing squeeze is of inscription B only. Up to the writing of these lines, I have not been able to find a squeeze of A in the archives. The inscriptions were found on the gate of a local sanctuary (*walī*), called Nabī Yūnus at the entrance of Dibshō, a village in the region of Balāṭunus, in the Nuṣayrī area, on the way to Laṭāqiyyah (*ibid*, 433).

There are four inscriptions flanking the above mentioned gate of Nabi Yūnus, but the squeeze relates only to A and B.



Pl. 16. Fig. MvB82



Pl. 16a. Fig. MvB82a

A

No squeeze

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بعمارة هذا المسجد المبارك مولانا الأمير الكبير العالم
 (٢) العادل الزاهد العابد المجاهد المرابط المشاعر المؤيد مظفر المنصور الأمير (؟) (٣) عزّ
 الدنيا والدين سيّد الغزاة والمجاهدين زعيم الجيوش حافظ الثغور أحمد ابن الشهيد (؟) مظفر
 الدين (؟)

B

Squeeze (Pls. 16, 16a)

(١) عثمان ابن منكورس ابن خمركين صا (٢) حب هذا الحصن الحرير (؟) أعزّ الله نصر [ه]
 بتاريخ (٣) مستهلّ شعبان سنة ستين وستمائة هجرية

A. Right “ear”

تولى عمارته الأمير فخر الدين

B. Left “ear”

النائب (؟) ابن عبدالله

From MvB files (and *OM*, 434)

عمل علي ارحمه >يا< الله

(A) Basmalah. Has ordered the construction of this blessed mosque our lord, the great amīr, the sage, the righteous, the ascetic, the worshipper, the fighter in the Holy War, the warrior on the borders, the protector of the border fortresses, the authoritative, the defeater, the victorious, the amīr ‘Izz ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn, the master of the invaders and the warriors in the Holy

War, the commander of the armies, the guardian of the fortresses, Aḥmad the son of the martyr Muẓaffar ad-Dīn (**B**) ‘Uthmān b. Mankūrus (Mankuwirish) b. Khumartakīn the master (owner, lord) of this secure(?) fortress, may Allah strengthen his victory in the date of the first of Sha‘bān the year 660 (=21 June 1262)

(**Right ear**) Supervised its building the Amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn (**Left ear**) the governor, Ibn ‘Abdallah. (**From MvB files**) ‘Alī made it, O Allah! Forgive him.

The date (**B**) l.2: In the files we find an older and earlier suggestion of van Berchem to read 665, but his latter reading of 660 is correct. (*OM*, 434) The date 560 on the squeeze by a later hand is clearly a mistake.

(A) L.2: I suggest reading *al-amīn*—the trustworthy—instead of *al-amīr* since the title *al-amīr al-kabīr* already appears in line 1, a few words before. The honorific title *al-amīn* fits better here. I followed MvB by questioning the reading of Muẓaffar ad-Dīn only because I do not yet possess the squeeze of this part of the inscription; the information in the literary sources confirms the reading.

L.3: Muẓaffar ad-Dīn is the title of ‘Uthmān b. Mankūrus the master of Ṣahyūn, Balāṭunus and other neighbouring fortresses. (See *OM*, 427, and below, his biography in Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s *Manhal*.) The fact that the inscription speaks about “the master of this fortress” means that the inscription was not found at its original site—the fortress of Balāṭunus, as MvB thinks (*ibid*, 434), or the fortress of Ṣahyūn (Saone).

(B) L.1: Khumaratikīn (or Khumartakīn as suggested by van Berchem) is the spelling in the inscription. In the literary material, the spelling of the name is Khumāratikīn (see Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāde 1956, 1:160, and note 1).

Below is the biography of ‘Uthmān compiled by Ibn Taghrī Birdī in his *Manhal*. According to the biography, the name of ‘Uthmān’s son who succeeded him was Muḥammad, not Aḥmad. It is possible that this is the name which appears in part A of the inscription

١٥٣١ - صاحب صهيون
... ٦٩١ - ... ١٢٩٢ م

These are the dates in the text; but it should be ١٢٧٢—١٧١ as in the biography of Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān.

عثمان بن منكورس بن خمارتكين، الأمير مظفر الدين صاحب صهيون. كان جده خمارتكين عتيق مجاهد الدين، صاحب صرخد، وملك مظفر الدين هذا صهيون بعد موت والده سنة ست وعشرين وستمائة، وكان عارفاً، يقظاً، حازماً، مهاباً، طالت أيامه وعمر تسعين سنة أو أكثر، وكان بيده صهيون وبرزية وبكسراسل، وكان قد رتب أن لا يحضر أحد من نواحي صهيون وبلادها الشكوى إلا بهدية على قدر الحاجة من راس الغنم إلى الجدى إلى الدجاجة

إلى الخبز إلى الخضر، فكان يجتمع له من هذا في اليوم شيء له صورة، ويفرق آخر النهار في بيوت أولاده، وجمع من ذلك أموالاً كثيرة، واستمر على ذلك إلى أن توفي سنة تسع وخمسين وستمائة، ودفن بقلعة صهيون.

وولي صهيون بعده ابنه سيف الدين محمد، فلما ولي جمع أهله وأخوته وشرع في عمل الموكبة، وجمع المطربين من الرجال والنساء، ولم يزل في إنفاق ما ورثه من أبيه في القصف واللهو إلى أن توفي سنة إحدى وسبعين وستمائة بصهيون، وملكها الملك الظاهر بيبرس البندقداري من بعده، ووجه أولاده إلى الشام وأعطاهم أخبازاً من الأربعين إلى العشرة، واستمرت صهيون بأيدي ملوك مصر إلى يومنا هذا، وقد انحط قدرها حتى إنه يليها الأجناد.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī, 1993, 7:429-430, No. 1531.

The lord of Ṣahyūn
671AH—1273CE

The Amīr Muẓaffar ad-Dīn, ‘Uthmān b. Mankūrus (Mankuwiris[h]) b. Khumārtakīn, the lord of Ṣahyūn. His grandfather, Khumārtakīn, was the freed man of Mujāhid ad-Dīn the lord of Ṣarkhad. This Muẓaffar ad-Dīn became the master of Ṣahyūn after his father’s death in 626. He was a knowledgeable person, alert, resolute, and awe inspiring. He was blessed with long life reaching the age of ninety or more. He owned Ṣahyūn, Barziyah(?) and Biksirāsīl (Yaqūt: Biksirā’īl). He decreed that whoever comes from the environs of Ṣahyūn and its vicinity to submit a complaint (to him) must bring with him a present matching in quality the subject of the petition; anything from a sheep to a baby goat, a chicken, bread, and vegetables. Every day accumulated from this, sizeable amounts (of commodities), which were distributed at the end of the day in the houses of his sons, and he also accumulated through this (practice) great fortune. He continued like this until he died in 659 and was buried in the Castle of Ṣahyūn.

His son Sayf ad-Dīn Muḥammad followed him as the master of Ṣahyūn. And once he became the ruler, he collected his brothers and other members of his family and proceeded to arrange parties for which he summoned singers both men and women, and did not cease spending whatever his father had left on feasting and amusement until he died in 671 in Ṣahyūn. It was then taken by aẓ-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, who sent away his (Muḥammad’s) children to ash-Shām and bestowed allowances on them similar to those allotted to amīrs of ten and of forty. Ṣahyūn has remained in the hands of the sultans of Egypt to this very day. However it lost its importance to such a degree that today it is even given as fief to ordinary soldiers.

16A. MvB 82B

(Fragment of MvB82?)

660/1262

MvB Squeeze 82B 0.065x0.44m. 1 line, *nashkī*, worn out at least on the squeeze; points, in relief. Fig. MvB82b [Neg. 14-02-06 No. 31A; Disc: 11870032] This could be a fragment of No. 16. MvB82 (of the missing squeeze).



Pl. 16a. Fig. MvB82b

...[حا]فظ الثغور احمد ابن الشـ [ـهيد] (؟؟?)

...the guardian of the fortresses, Aḥmad the son of the martyr...(?)

See above No. 16A 1.3.

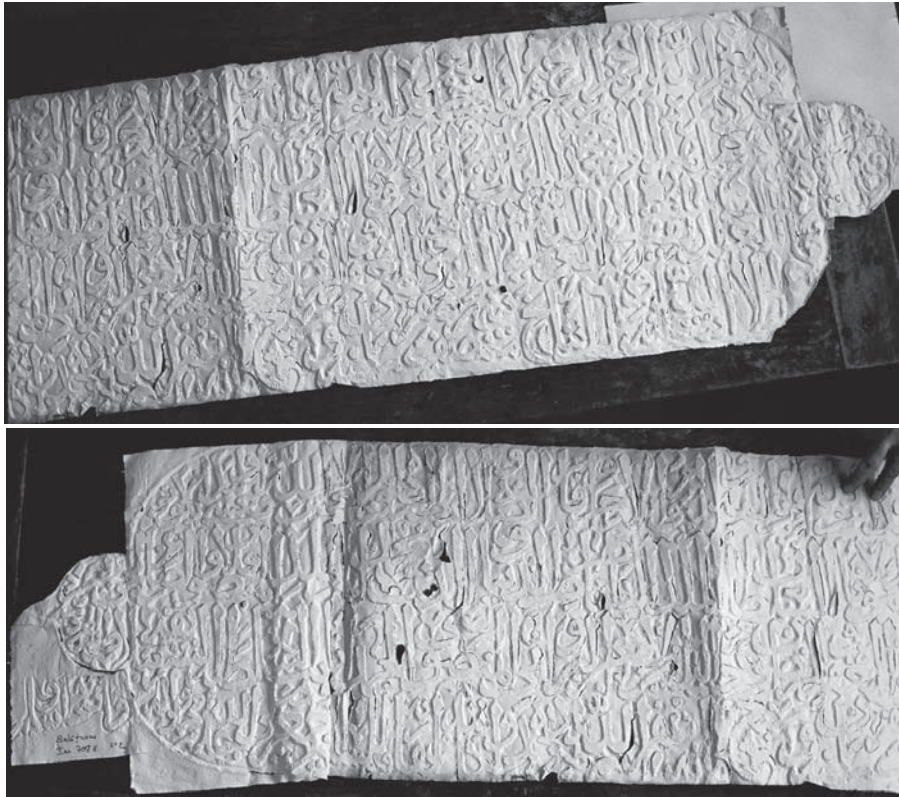
17. MvB 83 (and 83a)

Construction text

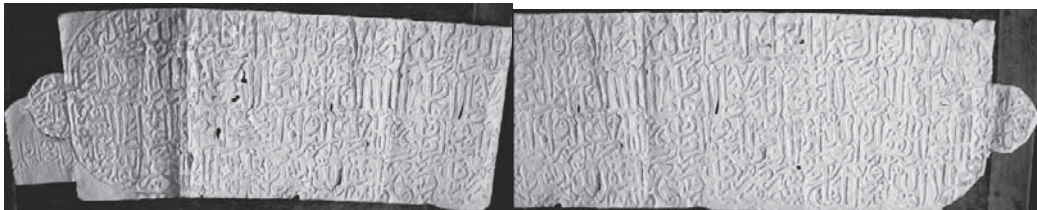
Middle Ṣafar 708/Early August 1308

MvB squeeze No. 83, 0.45x1.81m. 4 lines, beautiful, monumental Mamlūk *nashkī*, large and slender letters, partly interwoven, decorated with geometrical elements and some leaves, points, some vowels; incised. Publication: MvB files “Balāṭunus,” *OM* 422-431 Pl. VIII. Pls. 17, 17a. Figs. MvB83, MvB83a, MvB83b, MvB83c. [Neg. 14-02-06 Nos. 32A, 33A, 34A, 35A, 36A; Disc5:1870033-37].

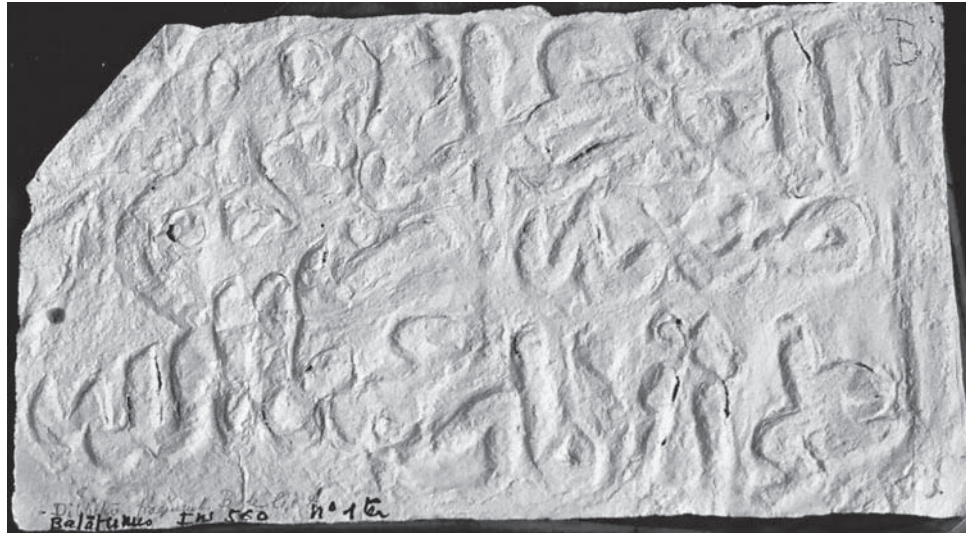
Inscription 83a. Pl. 17b. Fig. MvB83d. 0.15x0.27m. same script as the main inscription, appears on a separate squeeze (Marked “B”) but it is part of MvB83 and should be placed on the bottom right of the main inscription (see below the last two figures, Pls. 17c, 17d and discussion). [Neg. 14-020006, No. 30A; Disc5:1870031].



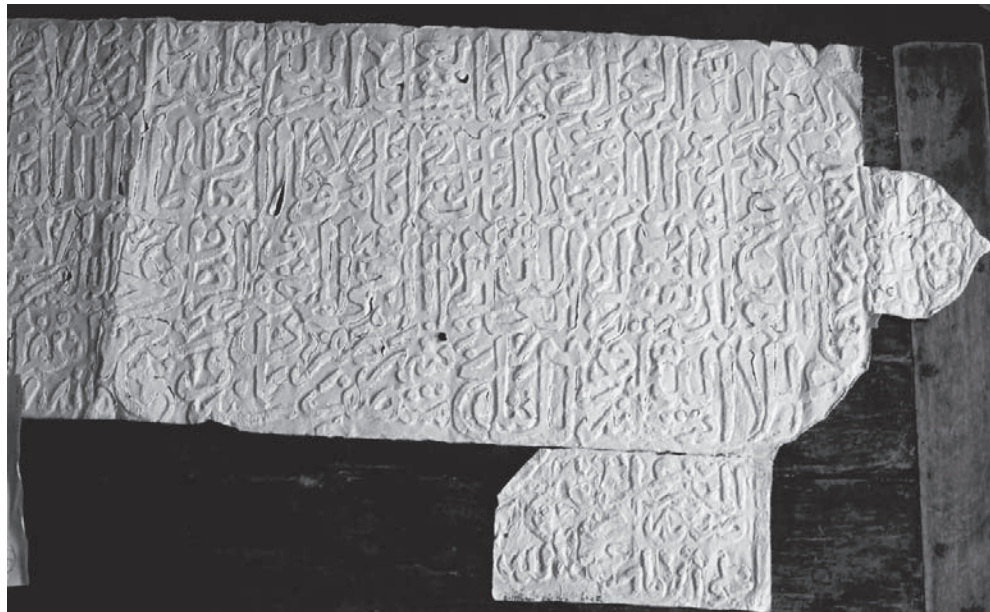
Pl. 17. Figs. MvB83 (top), MvB83a



Pl. 17a. Fig. MvB83c (MvB83 and MvB83a flipped over and put together)



Pl. 17b. Fig MvB83d



Pl. 17c. Figs. MvB83 and 83d (bottom right in place)



Pl. 17d. Inscription in situ (MvB photo)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أنما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر واقام الصلاة وآتى الزكاة ولم يخش الا الله وعسى اولئك ان يكونوا (٢) من المهتمدين جُدد عمارة هذا المسجد المبارك في ايام مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمّد ابن الملك المنصور قلاون الصالحى عز نصره (٣) وذلك بناية العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الراجي منه المغفرة والرضوان حسام الدين لاجين البروانى المنصورى الجمدار نائب السلطنة الشريفة ببلاطنس المحروسة (٤) اعلا (!) الله شأنه وذلك بتاريخ منتصف شهر صفر سنة ثمان وسبع مائة غفر الله لمن جدده ولكاتبه ولقاريه وللمسلمين اجمعين فصلى الله على محمد وآله

واصحابه وسلم: Outside the frame under the left “ear” of the main inscription:

Outside the frame on the right in the space created by the right “ear” of the main inscription’s field (see pl.17d, fig. 83e above), there is the small independent inscription in a square frame (Numbered 83a in the archives. Pl. 17b. Fig. MvB83d) continuing the main inscription. It reads:

(١) صنعہ المعلم عمر ابن الحاج (٢) علي الأبار رحمهما الله

The date 560 which appears on the squeeze is wrong!

Basmalah. Q, 9:18 (full) the building of this blessed mosque was renewed during the time of our lord, the sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir, the protector of the world and religion, Muḥammad son of the victorious king (al-Malik al-Manṣūr) Qalā’un aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, may his victory be solidified, and this (took place) during the governorship (*niyābah*) of the poor slave (who is in need) for Allah, the Exalted, who hopes for His pardon and pleasure, Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lājīn al-Barwānī al-Manṣūrī

the Jamdār, the viceroy of the honourable sultanate in the (divinely) protected Balāṭunus; May Allah elevate his position and this (was) in the middle of the month of Ṣafar the year 708 (=early August 1308). May Allah pardon him who renewed it and its (the inscription's) writer and whoever reads it and all the Muslims, and may Allah bless Muḥammad and his family and give them peace.

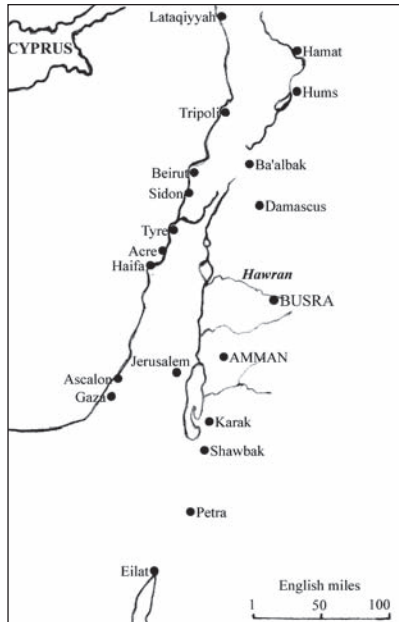
On the right:

It was produced by master 'Umar the son of the ḥājj 'Alī al-Abbār May Allah pardon both of them.

The word "al-Abbār" which van Berchem could not decide about its reading seems to me sure (See for instance Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm*, ed. Makhzūn, Beirut 1407/1987:280).

BUṢRĀ

Location: 32°30'N36°28'E



Ancient Bostra, today a town in southern Syria, the capital of the Ḥawrān. The city is one of the ancient cities in the region. It is already mentioned in Egyptian sources in the 14th century BCE. It was an important Nabatean city, which, after the abolishment of the Nabatean kingdom by Trajan in 106, became the capital of the Roman province of Arabia Petraea. It was then that the era of Bostra began, as is attested by the many inscriptions in Arabic and other languages, that use the Bostra date. Its full name was Nova Bostra Trajana, and the Legion III Cyrenaica was stationed in it. Under the Romans, the town flourished and became a centre of Hellenistic-Roman culture, with a theatre that is one of the best-preserved Roman theatres in the world (Fig. P1), as well as triumphal arches, colonnades,

baths, temples, churches and many other antique remains. Under the Byzantines it became the most significant Christian centre south of Damascus. It had 19 or 20 suffragan sees, and at least 16 Bishops of Bostra are known by name. It was also well fortified, but when the Arab invasion began, the town capitulated after an insignificant, short siege. The early Arabic sources speak about Buṣrā as the meeting place in 634 of Khālīd b. al-Walīd with the main body of the invading forces from Arabia.

The city, which had flourished in the Roman-Byzantine and early Middle Ages because of its position on the main travel and later Ḥajj route from Damascus to the south, resisted the attempts of the Crusaders to take it. Under all the Muslim rulers, including the Ayyūbids and early Mamlūks, Buṣrā retained its particular political and strategic importance being the southern gate to Syria's heartland. It gained particular attention from the rulers of Damascus, and was ruled many times by independent or semi-independent lords. Like many centres of economic and political activity, it was also a centre of Islamic learning and pious endowments. Inscription MvB59 is an excellent testimony to this Islamic learning activity. It speaks about

the scholars and those who seek to be scholars (*fuqahā' wa-mutafaqqihah*) conducting their learning activity in the *madrasah* or *madrasahs* dedicated to the study of Islamic law according to the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfah. Buṣrā also won some fame because the historian and interpreter of the Qur'ān, 'Imād ad-Dīn Ibn Kathīr, was born there in 701. In the later Middle Ages it lost its grandeur, and during the Ottoman period it deteriorated and became a small village situated on the ruins of its glorious past. The Turks called it Bosra Eski-Sham (Old Damascus). It revived following the building of the Ḥijāz Railroad in the first decade of the 20th century, and drew the attention of archeologists and French savants during the French mandate over Syria between the two World Wars. They continued the work of the scholars of the 19th century who dedicated themselves to making systematic studies of the city's antiquities, in particular the rich epigraphic material. (See entry No. 19). All the Arabic material which reached van Berchem, in addition to what he discovered himself when he visited Buṣrā in 1894, was sent to him by these scholars. Some of the material reached him directly and some via the Convent of St. Stephen (St. Étienne) in Jerusalem.

Because of its many well preserved antiquities, Buṣrā was developed by the governments of modern Syria as a centre of tourism, and UNESCO registered it as a World Heritage Site.

For more details and bibliography, see the articles "Buṣrā" in *EI*, *EF*.

18. MvB 59

BUṢRĀ

Construction text

530/1135-6

MvB squeeze No. 59, 0.61x0.64m. 10 lines, stylized monumental, angular script, with integrated decoration achieved by special formation of the letters, controlling their width and height, and imitating writing by a nib (thick vertical, thinner horizontal). Some of the letters curl elegantly upwards. Each line was engraved in a sunken field, no points, some vowels mostly used as decorative elements; incised. Pl. 18. Fig. MvB59 [Neg. 20/12/005(1) No. 17A; Disc3:118600018]. Publication MvB Files: "Buṣrā" *OM*, 303; Brünnow & Domaszewski 3:211, No. 5 Fig. 1097; *RCEA* : 199-200, No. 3077.

The following is MvB's reading:



Pl. 18. Fig. MvB59

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بعمارة هذه المدرسة المباركة (٢) من خالص ماله الأمير
 الإسفهلار الأجل الكبير المخلص أتابك (٣) بك عز الدين ربيع الاسلام أمين الدولة عضد الملة
 سيف (٤) الأمة شجاع الملوك تاج الأمراء شرف الخواص ظهير المجاهدين (٥) هدين فخر الجيوش
 ذي (!) العزيمتين أبي (!) منصور كمشتكين الأتابكي (٦) معين أمير المؤمنين وفقه الله وأسعده
 وفقاً على الفقهاء (٧) والمتفقهة الذين يلازمون درس العلم وتلاوة كتاب الله (٨) تعالى على
 مذهب الإمام أبي حنيفة النعمان بن ثابت (٩) ابتغاء ثواب الله ورضوانه ورحمته وغفرانه
 وذلك في (١٠) شهر رمضان من سنة ثلثين وخمس مائة للهجرة

Basmalah. Has ordered the building of this blessed *madrasah*, from the pure part of his (own) funds, the amīr, the most honourable great commander (*isfahsalār*), the faithful guardian of the realm, the strength of the Muslim community, the sword of the *ummah*, the brave (among) the kings (*shujā' al-mulūk*), the crown of the amīrs the noble among the elect, the support of those who engage in the holy war, the pride of the armies, he who holds the two divinely ordained duties, Abū Maṣṣūr Kamushtakīn the freed man of the Atābik (Tuḡhtakīn) the aide of the Commander

of the Faithful, may Allah give him success and happiness. (He built this *madrasah*) as a religious endowment (*waqf*) for the scholars and the students who dedicate themselves to the study of the religious sciences and the reading of the Book of Allah the Exalted (the Qurʾān), according to the legal school of the Imām Abu Ḥanīfa an-Nuʿmān b. Thābit. (The builder established this religious endowment) seeking Allah’s pardon and His pleasure, mercy and forgiveness; and that (took place) in the month of Ramaḍān the year 530 of the Hijrah. (=24 Feb.-23 Mar. 1136).

The inscription was situated over a window in the mosque called al-Mibrāk, the halting place. According to the local legend, this is the place where the Prophet’s camel halted and sat down.

L.6.: For some reason, MvB found some difficulty in reading two words in this line. The first is *waffaqahu* which is clear, but MvB thought that there was another letter before the *wāw* and read: *yuwaffiquhu* (without diacritical points). The second is *wasʿadahu*, which is also quite clear but MvB thought that the word was *mā shayyadahu*, and suggested a translation accordingly: “may Allah help him in what he built.” (*OM*, 304 n. 1) The text, however, is much simpler. It reads: **وفقه الله واسعده** “May Allah give him success and happiness.”

Kamushtakīn al-Atābikī (1.5) was a eunuch (*khādim*) who ruled Baʿalbak for quite a long period, in the service of Tutush, Duqāq, and Ṭughtakīn. Kamushtakīn was first known as at-Tājī, namely the client or slave of Tāj ad-Dawlah Tutush, (the son of the Seljūq Alp Arslān) and after the latter’s death he served his son, Shams al-Malūk Duqāq, and after him his brother, Artāsh.

During all this period he continued to serve as the ruler of Baʿalbak. He was very much involved in the internal Seljūq politics in Damascus and at some point created an independent contact with the Crusaders against the lords in Damascus. The Atābik Ṭughtakīn attacked him in Baʿalbak, but having conquered the city, pardoned him and nominated him as the governor of the strong fortress of Şarkhad. It was then that he became known as Kamushtakīn al-Atābikī, namely the client or freedman (or slave) of Atābik Ṭughtakīn rather than at-Tājī, his former cliental title. (See MvB bibliographical note in *OM*, 304 n.2, Ibn Shaddād 1962:44-46)

19. MvB 61

BUŞRĀ – DAYR AL-MUSLIM

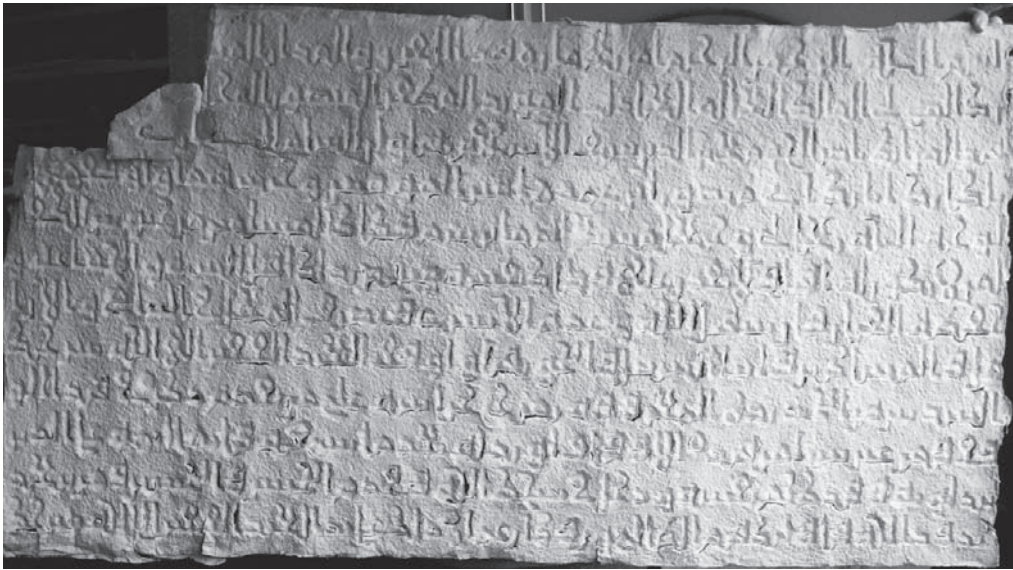
Construction and Waqf by Atābak Önör

c. 544/1149

MvB squeeze No. 61 (formerly No. 8), 0.66x1.18m. There are two squeezes which were taken by van Berchem in 1894. The inscription had been known for a long

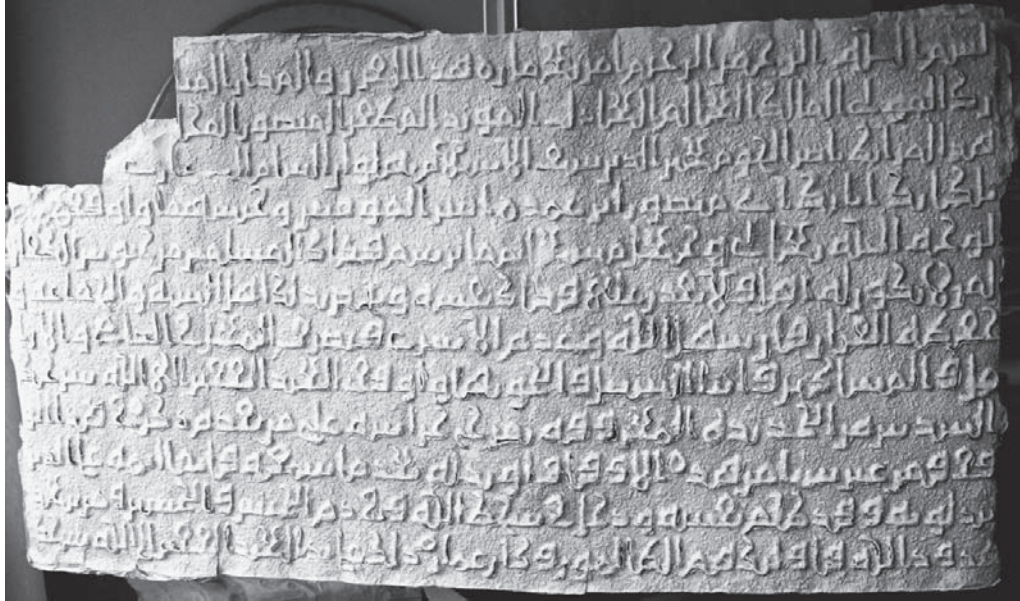
time before. Burckhardt saw it at the beginning of the 19th century (Burckhardt 1822:232); M. Rey took the first squeeze of it in 1857 and it was published by Reinaud. It was then studied by a few scholars (*OM*, 368f, and n. 1 for more details and bibliography). In 1894 MvB visited Buṣrā and “had the pleasure to find there the inscription of Anar lying at the same place, in the court of the mosque Dayr al-Muslim in a perfect state of conservation.” He “took a squeeze and two photographs of it; quite a difficult task because of the low cut of the letters and the position of the stone.” (*OM*, 368. Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 between pp. 444-445)

The rectangular stone is broken on the top left side, but this happened before the writing of the inscription. 12 lines, monumental, angular script, small letters, decorated with barbs, some elegantly curl upwards and some curve below the line, no points, and no vowels; incised. Pls. 19, 19a. Figs. MvB61, MvB61a. [Neg. 14-02-006 No. 0A, 1A; Disc4:11850001, ...0002] Publication: MvB, *OM*, 1:368-381; Brünnow & Domaszewski 3:212 No. 6, Fig. 1098; *RCEA* 8:254-256, No. 3146.



Pl. 19. Fig. MvB 61

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بعمارة هذا القرن والمدار المبا (٢) رك المولى المالك العالم العادل المؤيد المظفر المنصور المجا (٣) هد المرابط ناصر الحق معين الدين سيف الإسلام بهلوان الشام ألب غازي (٤) بلكا بك أتابك أبي منصور أنر عمدة أمير المؤمنين وحبسهما ووقفهما (٥) لوجه الله تعالى وجعل مستغلهما برسم فكاك المسلمين من حبوس الكفار (٦) لمن لا يكون له أهل ولا يقدر على فكاك نفسه ويخص بذلك أهل السنة والجماعة و (٧) حفظة القرآن فان سهل الله وعدم الأسرى فيصرف المغل في اليتامى والأرا



Pl. 19a. Fig. MvB61a (flipped over)

٨) مل والمساكين وأبناء السبيل والحقّ بها وأوقف العبد الفقير الى الله سرّخك
 ٩) السُدس من الجديّدة المعروفة بمرج حراسة على من تقدّم ذكره في هذا الو ١٠) قف
 فمن غير شيئاً في هذه الأوقاف أو بدّلّه بعد ما سمعهُ فإنّما إثمهُ على الذين ١١) يُبدّلونه وقد
 ظلم نفسه ودخل في سخط الله وفي دم الحسن والحسين ومن يتعدّ ١٢) حدود الله فأولئك
 هم الظالمون وكان عمارة ذلك على يد العبد الفقير الى الله سرخك

Basmalah. Has ordered the building of this blessed bakery and mill, the lord, the ruler, the sage, the just, the powerful, the victorious, the warrior in the holy war, the guardian of the frontier, the defender of truth, Muʿīn ad-Dīn (the helper of the religion), the sword of Islam, the hero of ash-Shām (Syria) Alp Ghāzī (the brave warrior) *bilkā bak* (the sage beg) atābak Abū Maṣṣūr Unur (Önör), the support of the Commander of the Faithful; and he consecrated both of them and made them into a religious endowment (*waqf*) for the sake of Allah the exalted. He dedicated the income yielded by them specifically for the freeing of Muslim (captives) from the prisons of the infidels (that is to say) those (prisoners) who have no families (to pay for their release) or who do not have the means to free themselves. He specified as eligible for this, in particular Muslims who are Sunnis, and those who know the Qurʾān by heart. And in case of a favorable situation when there are no Muslim captives, the income should be spent on orphans and widows, poor people and travellers. To this (*waqf*) an addition was made (also in a form of) a *waqf* by the slave who is in need of Allah Surkhak—one-sixth of al-Judaydah known as Marj Ḥarāsah (the income of which is) dedicated to the above-mentioned recipients of the benefits of this endowment. And whosoever changes anything in these religious endowments (*awqāf*) or substitutes them, “after hearing it, the sin shall rest upon those who change it.” (Q, 2:177) (“whoever does that) has wronged himself” (Q,2:231). He brings upon himself the anger

of Allah and (should be regarded as if he) participated in shedding the blood of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. “Whosoever transgresses the bounds of Allah—those are the evildoers.” (Q, 2:229. trans. Arberry) And the building of that was done by the slave who is in need of Allah Surkhak.

There is no date on the inscription but it can be dated quite accurately. Öñör took Buşrā in Muḥarram 542 (June 1147) and left it as a fief to his chamberlain (*hājib*) Fāris ad-Dawlah Surkhak. Öñör died in Rabīʿ II, 544 (August 1149). The dating of the inscription in that year, the last year of his life, cannot be far off the mark. (For more details see MvB *OM*, 368-381)

L.4: In his first publication of the inscription, MvB read the last mentioned title of Öñör as Yalkābāk, translating it “*le gouverneur*.” He was not happy with the reading and translation which represented a Mongolian title of at least two centuries later. After further study, he arrived at satisfactory reading and meaning. (*OM*, 514-517). The title is bilgä-beg, a Turkish title of the time, which means “the sage beg.”

As far as the name of Öñör is concerned, MvB transcribed it in his first publication as Anar, but in fact the nearest transcription of the Turkish name Öñör should be Unur, (see e.g. correctly, Runciman, *Crusades* 2, 1957:225-228,241-244,281-283). MvB, in his important note about this inscription in his later writings used Öñör (*OM*, *ult. loc.cit.*)

L.11: The mention of the “blood of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn” is not surprising since there was a strong Shīʿite element among the population of these regions (Muqaddasī 1987:153; Trans. Ranking 1897:295), but even the Sunnis could agree with this wording. For a few centuries, they had been exposed to the ‘Abbāsīd propaganda against the Umayyads, who were held responsible for shedding Ḥusayn’s blood (Ḥasan is mentioned, since, according to tradition, he was poisoned by the Umayyads). As we shall see further on, in the inscriptions from Darʿah, there was a strong ‘Abbāsīd presence in the area as well.

20. MvB 60

The Citadel – Construction of a mosque – Sulṭān Ismāʿīl

620/1223

MvB squeeze No. 60, 1.22x0.50m. The inscription was found on a tower incised on a *tabula ansata* with the text of the *shahādah* divided between the two “ears.” 4 lines, monumental Ayyubid *naskhī*, points and vowels; in relief. Pl. 20. Figs. MvB60, MvB60a, MvB60b [Neg. 20-02-006 Nos. 18A, 19A; Disc3:11860019-20; Neg. 14-2-

006 No. 20A (right ear) Disc 5:11870021] Publication: MvB Files: “Buṣrā.” Brünnow & Domaszewski 3:214, No. 8, fig. 1100; *RCEA* 10:192-193, No. 3884.



Pl. 20. Figs. MvB60, MvB60a, MvB60b

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر ٢) أمر بعمارة
هَذَا الْجَامِعِ الْمَبَارَكِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ الصَّالِحِ [عَمَاد] ٣) الدِّينِ أَبُو الطَّاهِرِ [سَمْعِيل]
ابن (!) الْمَلِكِ الـ [عَاد] ل [سَيْف] الدِّينِ [أَبِي بَكْر] ابن (!) أَيُّوبِ خَلِيلِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ٤) فِي
وَلَايَةِ الْأَمِيرِ بَدْرِ الدِّينِ دَاوُدِ ابْنِ (!) أَيَّدَكِينَ الصَّالِحِي فِي سَنَةِ عَشْرِينَ وَسِتْمِائَةَ لِلْهِجْرَةِ
النَّبَوِيَّةِ

On the right “ear”: لا اله الا الله

On the left “ear”: مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ [الله]

Basmalah. Q, 9:18 (first part). Has ordered the construction of this blessed Friday mosque (*jāmiʿ*) our lord the Sultan al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād ad-Dīn Abū aṭ-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf ad-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, the friend of the Commander of the Faithful during the governorship (or under the supervision) of the amīr Badr ad-Dīn Dāwūd(!) son of Aydkīn (Ayd Kīn) the freed man of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, in the year 620 of the *Hijrah* (=1223).

On the right: there is no god but Allah

On the left: Muḥammad is the messenger (of Allah).

The vowels are in the inscription.

General note: The strict rules of Arabic orthography according to which the word *ibn* should be written without an *alif* in the middle of the line, and with an *alif* at the beginning of the line, are not observed in most of the inscriptions, particularly in those from the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk periods. I usually indicated the wrong spelling of *ibn* by an exclamation mark after the word, but since this spelling is so common, one may ignore it.

The defects in the inscription are clearly seen on the excellent squeeze, but the missing parts are obvious and can be easily filled in, as MvB did.

L.4: The name Dāwūd is written with two *wāws*. It is an unusual spelling of the

name but is a perfect reflection of its pronunciation. The writer no doubt represents the name in writing as he heard and pronounced it.

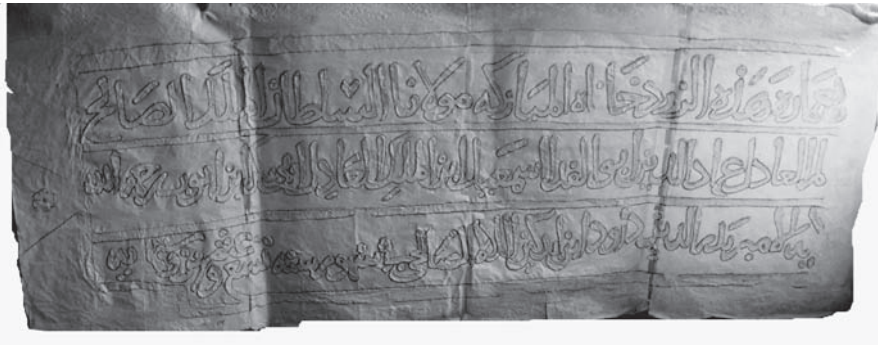
Sultān al-Malik Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, Ṣalādin's nephew, ruled Damascus twice as its sultan; a very short reign in 634-35(1237) and a longer reign in 637/1239-643(1245). See detailed note in MvB files "Boşrā Citadelle." (Cf. Schumacher, *ZDPV* 20:146; Brünnow & Domaszewski 3:45, 215)

21. MvB 58

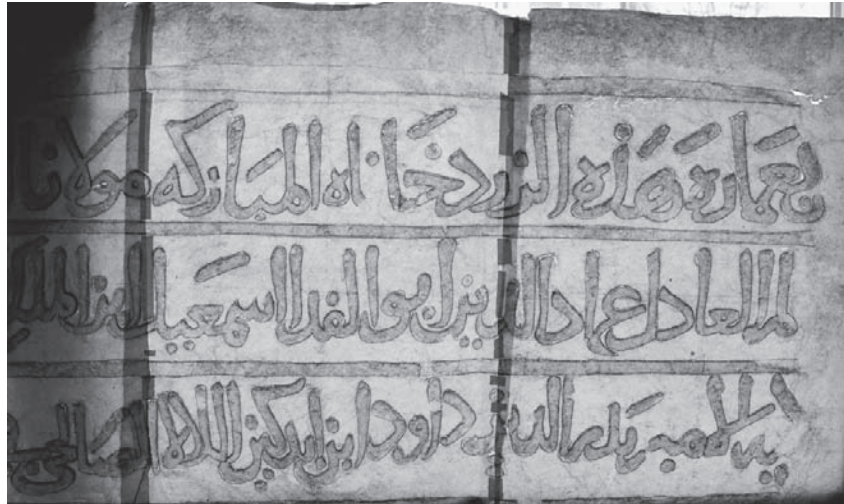
The citadel, construction text al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl

629/1231-2

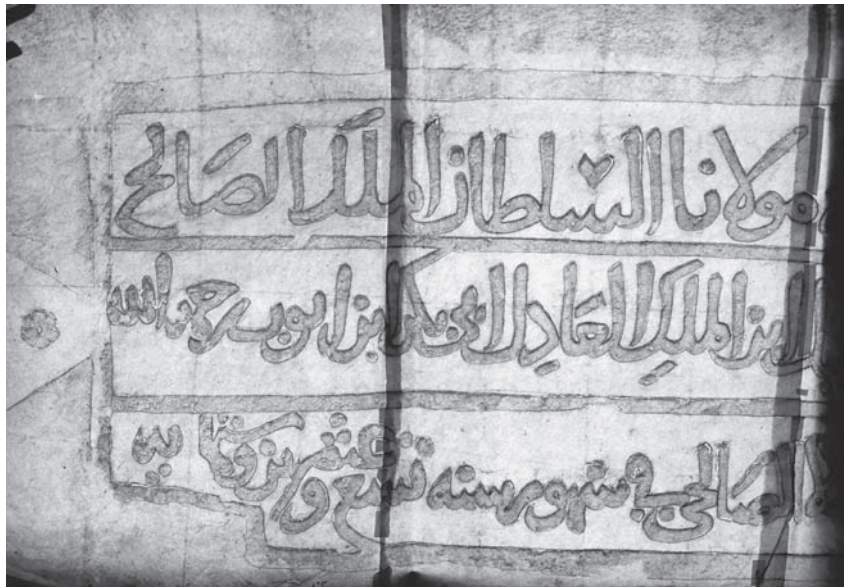
Interior of the citadel (Fig. P2). MvB squeeze No. 58, 0.55x1.53m., (stone measurements supplied by MvB: 0.80x1.70m.) taken by Brünnow on 28 June 1898 and copied in MvB files, "Buşrā." The squeeze represents only the left side of the inscription but the copy in the file is complete. The inscription was engraved over a door inside the citadel in a *tabula ansata* decorated only with a rosette. 3 lines, monumental Ayyūbid *naskhī*, large letters, bands divide the lines, points and some vowels, in relief. Pls. 21, 21a, 21b, 21c. Figs. 58a; 58b(1), 58b(2), 58b(3); 58c. [Neg. 20-02-006(1) Nos. 10A, 12A, 13A, and 14A; Disc3:118600011-15]. Publication: Brünnow & Domaszewski 3:213, No. 7, Fig. 1099; *RCEA* 11:21-22, No. 4037.



Pl. 21. Fig. MvB58a



Pl. 21a. Fig. MvB58b(1)



Pl. 21b. Fig. MvB58b(2)



Pl. 21c. Fig. MvB58c

From MvB's files we learn that squeeze No. MvB62 belongs to this inscription and forms its first line. (See below No. 22 MvB62 where MvB's photograph is displayed in full.)

The following is MvB's reading from a photograph which he took himself. The parts that are missing in the squeeze are not missing in the inscription.

(١) الحمد لله الواحد القهار (٢) أمر بعمارة هذه الزردخا [نـ] ـاه المباركة مولانا السلطان
الملك الصالح (٣) [العا] لم العادل عماد الدين ابو الفداء اسمعيل ابن (!) الملك العادل ابي
بكر ابن (!) أيوب رحمه الله (٤) [في و] لاية الأمير بدر الدين داود ابن (!) ايدكين اللالا
الصالح في شهر سنة تسع وعشرين وستماية

Praise be to Allah the One the Almighty. Has ordered the building of this blessed armoury our lord the sultan, the righteous king (*al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ*), the learned, the just, Imād ad-Dīn Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl the son of the just king (*al-Malik al-Ādil*) Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb may Allah have mercy on him, under the supervision of the amīr Badr ad-Dīn Dāwud b. Aydakīn the major-domo, client of al-Malik as-Ṣāliḥ (*aṣ-Ṣāliḥī*) in the months of the year 629 (=1231-32).

A copy of this inscription (in MvB files) made by an Arab on the spot is full of mistakes, which were all corrected by MvB. It was published by Oppenheim, *Reise*, 1: 200. The final version is van Berchem's, prepared from the squeeze supplied by Brünnow, *cf. Provincia Arabia* 3: 212.

L.1: This line does not appear in the squeeze, it is only in the copy.

L.2: *zaradkhānah* is the Persian word for armoury, *zarad* being a coat of mail. In the inscription, the word *khānah* is spelt *khānāh*. I transcribed it, like van Berchem, as it appears in the inscription although the usual spelling of the word is without the long vowel. *al-Ādil* — in the copy mistakenly: *wa-al-Ādil*, but MvB read correctly.

L.4: *bi-wilāyat* in the copy: *ibn* but van Berchem read correctly. *Aydakīn* or *Ayd Kīn* in the copy: *Abrkīz*, but van Berchem read correctly. *al-lālā* in the copy: *al-lah*, but van Berchem read correctly. The Persian word *lālā* is a title which means also major-domo. He was also the chief servant, entrusted with the education of his master's sons, and this is the translation of van Berchem: "...des Gouverneurs des Malik Ṣāliḥ." (See e.g. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1977, 1: 365; *cf.* Steingass, *s.v. lālā*)

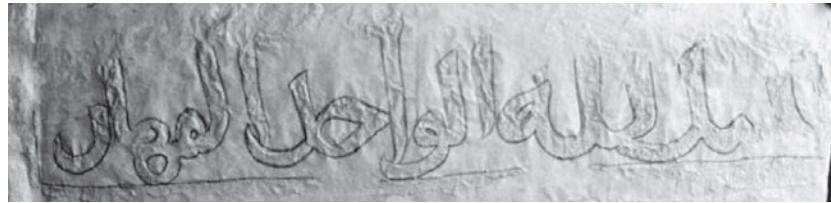
Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād ad-Dīn Ismā'īl ruled Buṣrā and its vicinity even before he became the sultan of Damascus in 634/1237 (the first time a short reign of a few months and a second time from 637/1239-643/1245). He was assassinated in 648/1251. (Abū al-Fidā' 1325(3):185)

22. MvB 62

Invocation

629/1231-2

MvB squeeze No. 62, 0.13x0.63m. A fragment, 1 line, monumental *naskhī*, in Mamlūk style, large letters, no points, no vowels (in this fragment); in relief. Pl. 22. Fig. MvB62 [Neg. 14-02-006 No. 4A; Disc4:11850005] Publication: Van Berchem files: “Buṣrā” and *RCEA* 11:21-22, No. 4037.



Pl. 22. Fig. MvB62

[أ] لملك لله الواحد القهار

Kingship belongs to Allah the One the Almighty

This line originally belongs to squeeze No. 21. MvB58 [Disc 3:11860011 Neg. 20-2-006 (1) No. 10A] and in MvB files it is photographed in place together with the main inscription from Buṣrā. (Pl. 22a. Fig. MvB62a)



Pl. 22a. Fig. MvB62a (=MvB58+MvB62)

See reading, translation and discussion above No. 21. MvB58.

CAESAREA (QAYSĀRIYYAH)

Location, historical review and inscriptions see *CIAP* 2:247-299.

Is. Gr. 141 213 (N. Is. Gr. 191 713)

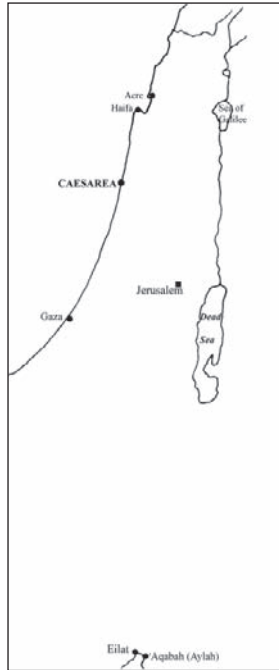
(Addendum *CIAP* 2)

23. MvB 10

Epitaph of a Muslim(?)

Early 3rd/9thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 10, 0.12x0.12m. (approx.). 3 lines, simple, angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 23. Fig. MvB10 [Neg. 27-9-05(a) No. 2A; Disc1:03190059]. (MvB note: “Ustinow Ascalon or Caesarea”).



Pl. 23. Fig. MvB10

١) الله احد [د الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يو] ٢) لد ولم [يكن له كفو] ٣) احد هـ [ذا...]

He is Allah, One. Allah the Eternal. He brought not forth nor hath he been brought forth; Co-equal with him there hath never been any one. (Q, 112, trans. Bell) This...

Sūrat al-ikh̄lās appears very frequently on epitaphs, which leads me to think that this is a small fragment of a tombstone from the cemetery of Caesarea. In l.3 I see the traces of the letter *hā* which usually begins the formula “*hādhā qabr...* This is the tomb of...”

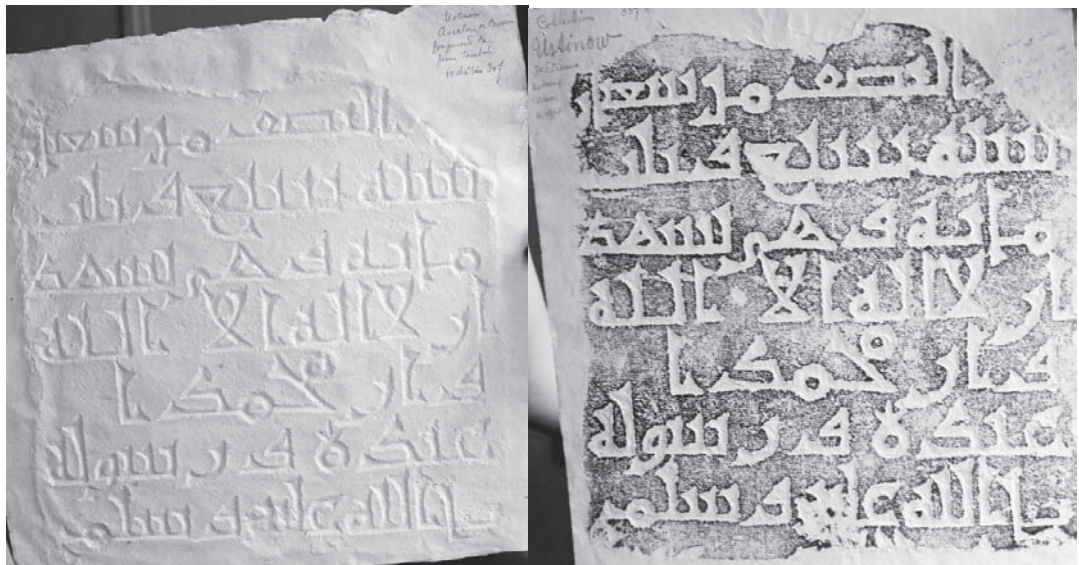
24. MvB 15
CAESAREA(?)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 2)

Fragment of an Epitaph of a Muslim Woman

15 Sha‘bān 307/14 Jan. 920

Ustinow collection. MvB squeezes Nos. 15a, 15b, 0.30x0.29m. 7 lines, monumental angular script, decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Reference to St. Étienne on the top left of one squeeze (15b), and a note on the other (15a): “Ascalon or Caesarea.” Pl. 24. Figs. MvB15a, MvB15b (blackened). [Negative 27-09-05(a) Nos. 8A and 9A; (blackened) Disc1:03190069-70]. Publication: Pedersen 1928:62, No. 17 ; *RCEA* 3:120, No. 1010.



Pl. 24. Figs. MvB15a, MvB15b

[تو (١) فيت... [النصف من شعبان (٢) سنة سبع وثلث (٣) مائة وهي تشهد (٤) ان لا اله الا الله
(٥) وان محمداً (٦) عبده ورسوله (٧) صلى الله عليه وسلم ...

(She died) in the middle of Sha'bān, the year 307 (=14 January 920) while testifying that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is His slave and messenger. May Allah bless him and give him peace.

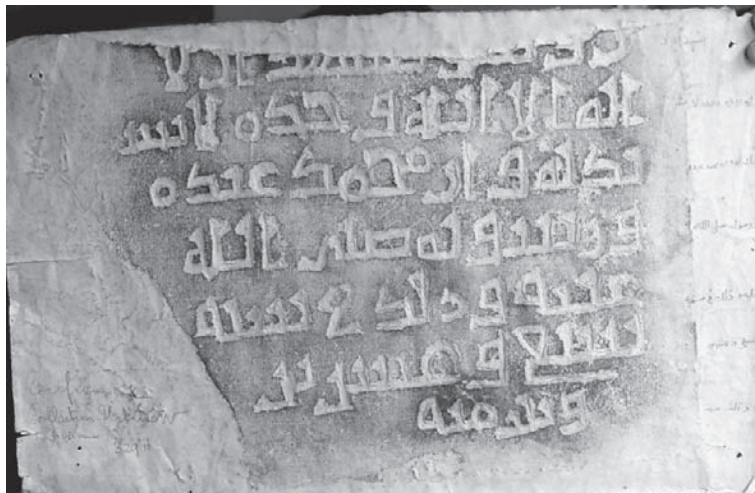
There are signs of another line but they are not sufficient for reconstruction.

25. MvB 41
CAESAREA (or RAMLAH)

(Addendum *CIAP* 2)
Epitaph of a Muslim

327/938-9

Ustinow collection. MvB Squeeze No. 41, 0.26x40m. Top part of the inscription was broken and lost. 7 lines, professional angular script, typical for the period, letters decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 25. Fig. MvB41. [Neg. 14-12-05 No. 32A; Disc2:12870033].



Pl. 25. Fig. MvB41

[تو ١] فـ[ي وهو يشهد ان لا ٢) اله الا الله وحده لا شر ٣) يك له وان محمد (!) عبده
٤) ورسوله صلى الله ٥) عليه وذلك في سنة ٦) سبع وعشرين وثلث مية (!)

(A few lines containing the *basmallah*, probably a Qur'ānic verse, and the name of the deceased). He died while declaring that there is no god but Allah alone; He has no companion, and that Muḥammad is His slave and messenger, may Allah bless him, and this was in the year 327 (=938-9).

L.1: Although the letters in this line are broken on top, there is no problem to read them accurately. The formula is a very well known one from many epitaphs.

L.6: In the margin of the squeeze the date is indicated as “329H.” However, in this case, there is no question about the reading since the letter *ba'* of *sab'* was intentionally raised above the three teeth of the *sīn*.

26. MvB 11a
CAESAREA (or RAMLAH)

7b (Addendum to Caesarea *CIAP* 2)
Epitaph of a Muslim

Ṣafar 376/June 986

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze Nos. 11a, 11b (St. Étienne) 0.425x0.195m. 4 lines, simple angular script, decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 26, Fig. MvB 11a [Neg. 27-9-005(a) 3A; Disc1:03190065] (See MvB 11b).



Pl. 26. Fig. MvB11a

(١) [بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ] ا[لرّحمن الرّحيم هذ] ا[قبر فريد] (٢) بن عمر بن العميم (?) رحمه الله تو (٣) في شهر صفر سنة ست (٤) [و س] [بعين و ثل] [ش] [ماية

Basmallah. This is the tomb of Farīd b. ...ʿUmar b. al-ʿAmīm(?), May Allah have mercy on him. He died on the month of Ṣafar, the year 376 (=June-July 986)

This squeeze is defective and I copied it as is. The following one, No. 26a (MvB 11b), is the good one, with MvB's reading on the top of the squeeze.

L.2: I could not find the name ʿAmīm in the literature, although the word ʿamīm is quite commonly used, meaning: perfect, plentiful, pure member of the tribe. There is no reason why this word, which in the inscription is clear, should not be used as a proper name. In the following entry (Pl. 26a. Fig. MvB11b) it is even clearer.

L.4: The second letter *thā* in the number *thalāthimiʿah* was forgotten by the engraver.

I think that the inscription came from Caesarea. There are many inscriptions that were engraved on ancient columns that came from Caesarea; none of the same type came from Ramlah. This entry continues in No. 26a.

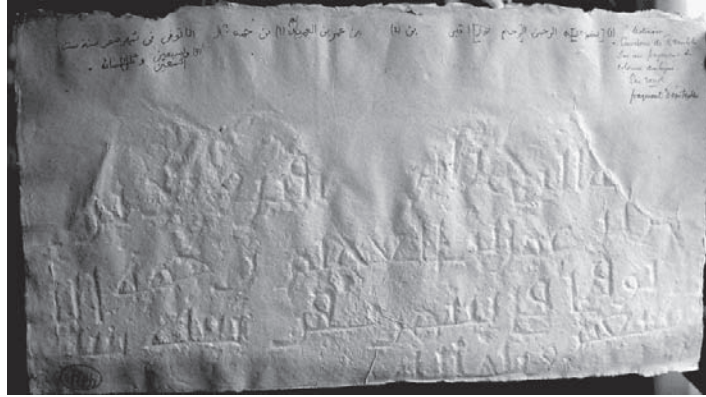
26a. MvB 11b
CAESAREA (or RAMLAH)

7b (Addendum to *CIAP* 2)
Epitaph of a Muslim

Ṣafar 376/June 986

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 11b. Same as MvB11a, but without blackening. MvB wrote on the very clear squeeze:

“Ustinow, environs of Ramlah on a fragment of an antique column; around the column; fragment of an epitaph.” Pl. 26a. Fig. MvB 11b [Neg. 27-9-005(a) 3A Disc1:03190064] (See above MvB11a).



Pl. 26a. Fig. MvB11b

MvB reading on the top of the squeeze:

(١) [بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ هٰذَا قَبْرُ... بِنِ ٢]...عمر بن العمید/م(?) بن حمه(?)
ال...٣) توفي في شهر صفر سنة ست وسبعين/تسعين وثلاث(ث)مائة

(My reading of 11a completes MvB's initial reading:

(١) [بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ هٰذَا قَبْرُ فَرِیْد(?) بِنِ... ٢] عمر بن العمیم(?) رحمه الله
تو ٣) في شهر صفر سنة ست [و]سبعين ٤) وثلاث<ث>ماية

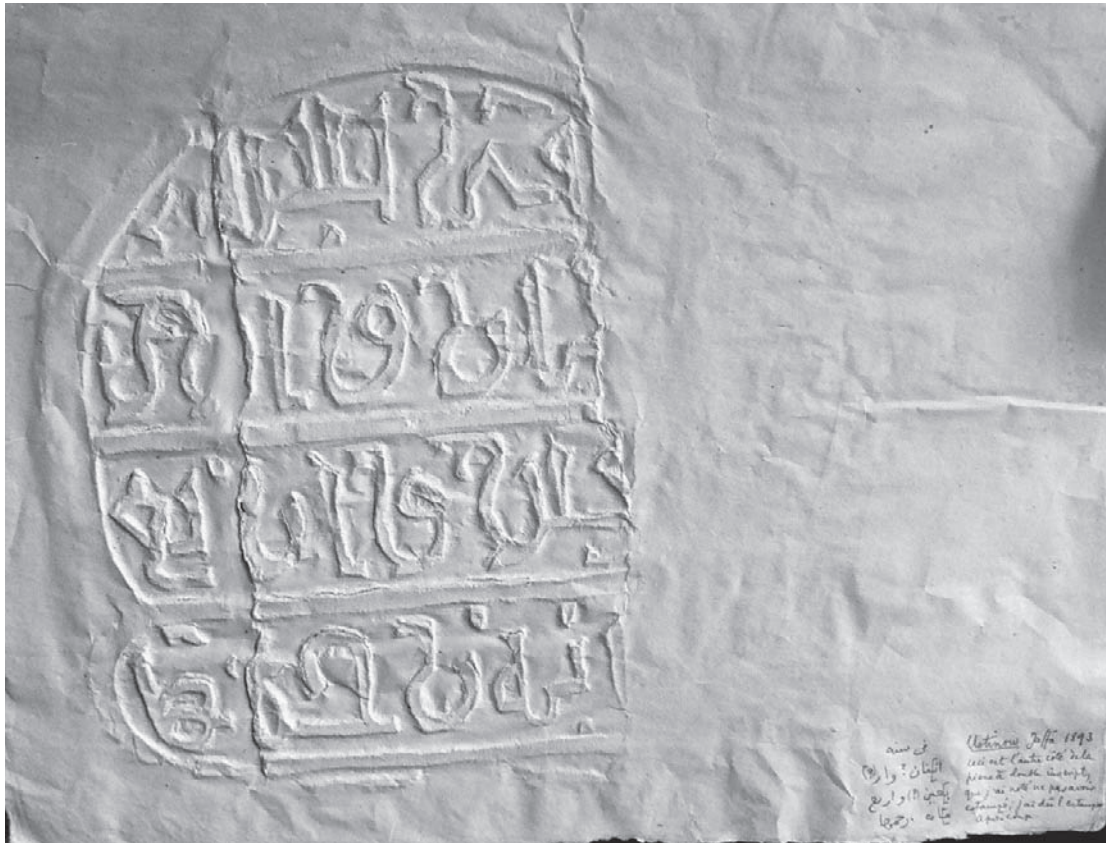
As far as the origin of the inscription is concerned, I think that it came from Caesarea. I have already pointed out that there are many inscriptions that were engraved on ancient columns that came from Caesarea; none of the same type came from Ramlah. If Ustinow says "Ramlah or Caesarea," it is most probably Caesarea. The ancient cemetery of Caesarea was accessible to antiquities robbers and lime-makers who dug in the cemetery for marble to be used in the lime furnaces. Some of the marble columns, slabs, and parts of ancient architectural structures in secondary use, mainly for epitaphs, were saved and reached Ustinow, who was well known among the Arabs as a collector of inscriptions and other antiquities. In the excavations in Caesarea, conducted by Y. Porath for the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), many similar inscriptions were discovered. They were all published in *CIAP* 2.

27. MvB 14
CAESAREA (or JAFFA)

(Addendum to *CIAP* 2)
Epitaph of a Muslim woman

442/1050-1

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 14, 0.21x0.19m. taken in 1893. 4 lines encircled by two frames, the first 3 lines in one, the last line in the other; bands divide the lines. Angular script with a strong tendency to flori, ends of letters curl up; some foliage decorations sparsely added. A few letters bend below the line in a typical 5th century style, no points, no vowels; in relief. Pl. 27. Fig. MvB 14 [Negative 27-9-005(a) No. 6A; Disc1:3190062]. Publication: Pedersen: 1928:70, No. 26475(=37). The following is a fresh reading correcting Pedersen's many mistakes.



Pl. Add Caesarea 17b. Fig. MvB14

(١... في سنة ٤٢) [اثنان (!) وار ٣] [بـ عين واربع ٤] [مـ اية رحمة]

(She died) in the year 442 (=1050-51). May Allah pardon her.

L.2: The reading (with grammatical mistake) of *ithnān* instead of *ithnayn* seems to me sure.

The missing part of the inscription was most probably on a similar slab which must have been lost, since van Berchem indicated that no squeeze had been taken of it. Judging from the existing part, the lost 4 lines included the name of the deceased woman after the *basmalah*. There was no room for a Qur'ānic verse. In this copy only the beginnings of the lines are missing.

MvB's reading can be seen on the bottom right margin of the squeeze, as well as his note that the inscription was part of Ustinow's collection and that the squeeze was taken in 1893. The origin of the inscription is indicated as being Jaffa. However, it seems very probable that it came either from Caesarea or Ramleh. I decided on Caesarea, only because the old cemetery of Caesarea used to be plundered regularly at that time. No other place had such a concentration of marble as this medieval cemetery which is still yielding inscriptions at the time these lines are being written. More inscriptions in both Caesarea and Ramleh are still awaiting extensive excavation. Only very few fragments could have been available for sale at the end of the 19th century. Jaffa seems to me to have been a poor source for such inscriptions at that time as well. Caesarea, on the other hand, was an active source for re-usable marble. This includes the columns with which Jazzār Pasha built his mosque in Acre. (See *CIAP*, 1:50).

28. MvB 17
CAESAREA

(Addendum to *CIAP* 2)
Epitaph

c.450/1058

Ustinow collection. MvB squeezes Nos. 17a, 17b, 0.225x0.28m. taken in 1893. Top part of the inscription broken on the left. 4 lines, semi-monumental angular script, engraved inside a frame, with bands dividing the lines, stylized letters, some curl up, and some bend elegantly under the line, no points and no vowels; in relief. Note particularly the letters *alif*, *wāw*, *fā*, and *mīm*. The surrounding frame was engraved

in the peculiar form of a “tablet.” (See MvB14 above)

The majority of the inscription was lost, except for a fragment of Q, 112. Pl. 28. Figs. MvB17a blackened, MvB17b [Negative 27-09-005(a) Nos. 12A (blackened) and 13A; Disc1:03190066-67]



Pl. 28. Figs. MvB17a, MvB17b

<لم> (١ يلد ولم ٢ يولد ولم ٣) يكن له كفو٤) ا احد الله...

Q, 112: 3-4 (fragment)

In the margin of the squeeze, van Berchem supplied the reading and noted that the inscription originated either in “Caesarea or Ascalon.” I tend to believe it came from Caesarea for the same reasons that persuaded me to connect No. 27, MvB14 with Caesarea. The two inscriptions show similar features, in particular their style of script and the rounded frames encircling them, and must have been produced by the same artist or in the same workshop. Since inscription No. 27 (MvB14) is dated (442/1050-1) this inscription must have belonged to the same period.

One is tempted to conclude that both inscriptions are two parts of the same inscription. The frames are the same and the number of the lines is the same; both inscriptions are in relief, and they could complement each other, one being the right side, the other the left. There is, however, some difference in certain details in the style of writing that rule out such a possibility, besides the fact that, placed next to each other, they do not fit: much extra text is required in order to create a coherent text from the two inscriptions.

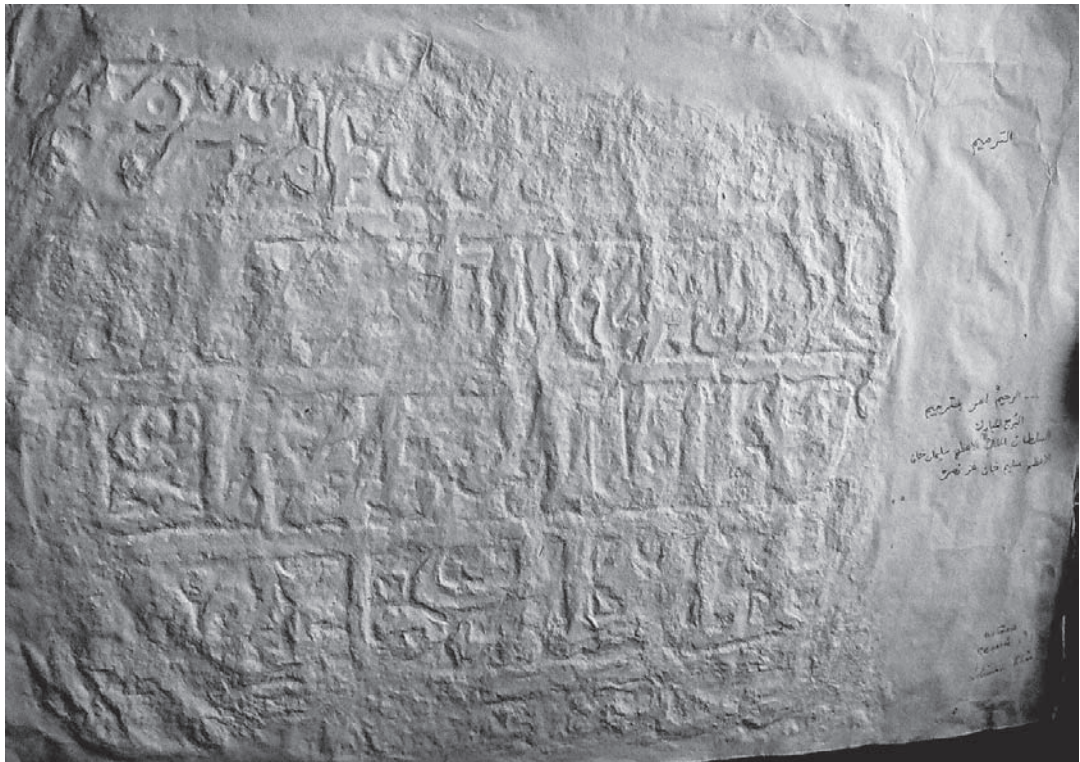
29. MvB 2
CAESAREA

(Addendum to *CIAP* 2)
Restoration of a tower

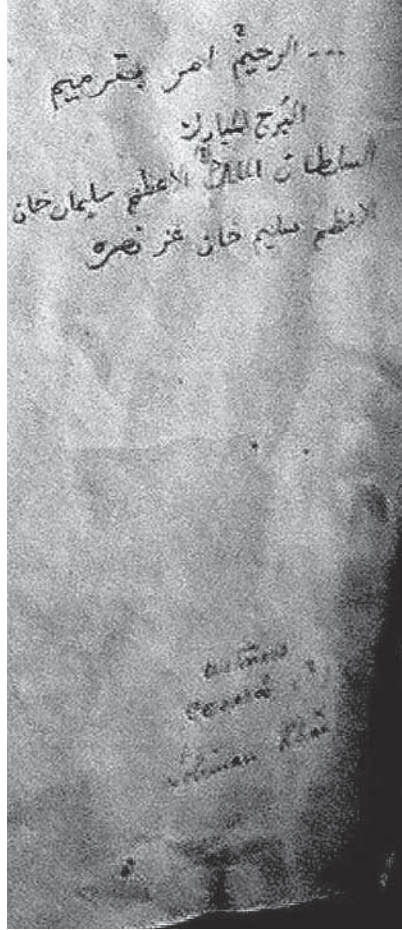
926/1520-974/1566

Ustinow Collection. MvB Squeeze No. 2, 0.38x0.48m. taken in 1893. 4 lines, Ottoman *naskhī*, very worn out script; in relief. Some parts of the inscription on the right side of the paper squeeze were lost. The reading of the visible text on the margin was probably done on the spot from the stone in Jaffa. As far as I can judge the handwriting is not van Berchem's. (Pls. 29, 29a. Figs. MvB2, MvB2a, MvB2b [Neg. 27-09-005 No. 30A; Disc1:03190053]. Publication: Pedersen 1928:35 No. 13 (=26487), Fig. 11.

The following is a fresh reading, based also on the photograph of the inscription.



Pl. 29. Fig. MvB2a



Pl. 29a. Fig. MvB2b

(١) [بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ] الرحيم أمر بترميم (٢) هذا البرج المبارك (٣) السلطان الملك المعظم سليمان خان (٤) ابن السلطان سليم خان عز نصره...

Basmalah. Has ordered the restoration of this blessed tower the Sultan the most great King, Sulaymān Khān the son of the Sultan Salīm Khān may his victory be glorious.

Ll.1-2: Pedersen: ذلك المعمر منه ذلك Read: بترميم هذا.

L.4: The word *al-a'zam* which appears in the reading on the squeeze does not exist, but in the photograph the word *al-mu'azzam* is clear. The word *as-sultān* is visible and the line reads: ابن السلطان سليم خان عز نصره, correcting Pedersen who reads: بنصره.

From l.5 there are a few remnants but neither I nor my predecessors could offer any appropriate reading. Usually in Sulaymān's inscriptions we find his father's name accompanied by only one title: "as-sultān" without any other additions. This strengthens my suggested reading of l.4 (cf. CIA 1, "Ville," 437ff.).

The origin of this inscription is uncertain. The name Caesarea appears on the squeeze with a question mark (Pl. 29a. Fig. MvB2b bottom). I have not found any source that speaks of Sulaymān's activity in Caesarea. However, since in the seventeenth century the place was populated, it is not impossible that already in the middle of the sixteenth century the Sultan had issued an order to restore one of the ruined towers of the medieval town as part of his overall policy of fortifying key places in the country. (Heyd 1960:102f)

30. MvB12

Qur'ānic text

5th/11thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 12, 0.33x0.34m. A fragment of a beautiful inscription decorated with central elements rich with flori designs. 2 lines remain, one on top and one on the left. Originally, the inscription partly surrounded the central decorative design. Pl. 30. Fig. MvB12 (Photo: Antoinette Harri).



Pl. 30. Fig. MvB12

Top

[أ]لرحيم فان تولو [أ] فقل

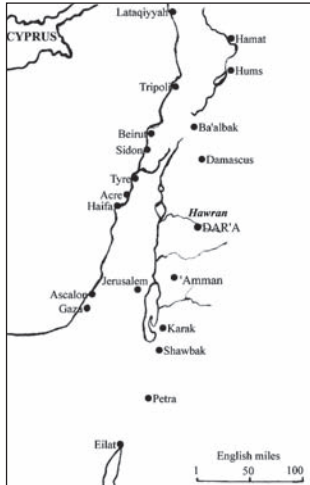
Side

حسيبي الله [لا اله الا هو]

...the Merciful (end of basmalah). So if they turn away, say thou: “What I reckon is Allah, there is no God but He...” (Q, 9:129, trans. Bell, 9:130)

DAR'AH (ADHRI'ĀT)

Location: 32°37'N 36°06'E



Da'rah (and Der'at) is the modern name of the medieval city of Adhri'āt, the biblical Edre'ī. A major town in the Ḥawrān, and usually regarded to be the capital of the Batanea (Ar. Bathaniyah) in both ancient times and the Middle Ages (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 1956:150). In the Hellenistic period it was part of the Syrian Kingdom of the Seleucids, and later was incorporated into the Nabatean kingdom until the abolishment of this kingdom in 106 CE by Trajan, whereupon it was included in the Roman province of Arabia. After the victory of Christianity in the Byzantine Empire, it became the seat of a bishop, and an important centre from which both monastic and missionary activities

were conducted in the Syrian desert.

At the beginning of the 7th century, however, it was the home of a very large Jewish community, which was definitely Rabbinic, and connected with the major Jewish centres in Palestine and Babylonia, being situated in a very convenient position on the route between the Holy Land and Iraq. This position was particularly significant. The Mishnah at the beginning of the Rosh Ha-Shanah tractate mentions that the Ḥawrān was one of the last stations where a bonfire was lit to send a signal to the Diaspora in Babylonia that the Council of Sages in the Holy Land had declared the beginning of a new month. It is clear that there were Jews in the Ḥawrān to light this fire. Adhri'āt was a place of Jewish learning, and the fact that Muslim sources specifically mention the Jewish community in Adhri'āt means that it must have been a significant one.

The sources dealing with the biography of Muḥammad report that when the Prophet expelled the tribes of Banū Qaynuqā' and Banū Naḍīr from Madīnah, they went to Adhri'āt (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1955, 2:197; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1966:180) ostensibly to join their co-religionists. The story seems doubtful, not because these refugees did not emigrate to Adhri'āt, but because the Jews of Adhri'āt were not their "co-religionists." The Muslim reports have no trace in the Jewish sources, and there is no mention of them in a very important source, a *midrash* called "The Mysteries of Rabbi Shimon Bar Yoḥāy" that was composed in Palestine, probably

even in Adhri'āt. (Its early version was written a short time after, or even during, the Islamic conquests. Cf. Crone-Cook, *Hagarism*, 1977:4f). If indeed Banū Qaynuqā' and Banū Naḍīr reached the town, they could not have been received as Jews. If there is any truth in the Islamic reports, then it is impossible to understand why the Jewish Midrash would call Muḥammad, who clearly carried out a pogrom against the Jews, "a prophet who God, by His own will, sent to the Ishmaelite," and would regard the appearance of Muḥammad and the Islamic conquest as the beginning of the redemption of Israel. (Lewis, "Apocalyptic vision" 1976:308-338)

According to Balādhurī, Adhri'āt was among the towns in Syria that had already capitulated to the Prophet at the end of his life (during his Tabūk campaign) and its inhabitants paid him *jizyah*. (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 1956:81) Arabic sources concerning the conquest of Syria describe how the people of Adhri'āt received the Caliph 'Umar, dancing with swords and sweet basil, when he came as a conqueror to their town. (Balādhurī, *op. cit.* 165) They must have been mostly Jews, and the Islamic account adds more strength to the story in the Midrash.

This is not the place to deal with the whole issue of the "Jews" of Northern Arabia. I have dealt with the problem briefly elsewhere (See "People of the Book" in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*) pointing out that they could not have been Rabbinical Jews. If there is any trace of truth in the stories about the Jewishness of Banū Naḍīr then they (and some other tribes) may have been remnants of early Judaeo-Christians who somehow left their mark on a few Arab tribes in Northern Arabia. This is the only possible conclusion that can be drawn from the fact that in the Qur'ān, Muḥammad accuses them, like the Christians, of accepting Jesus as the Messiah and the son of God. There is, therefore, no way they could be accepted as Jews by the Adhri'āt Jewish community.

Prior to the coming of Islam, the city was sacked by the Persians in 614 after they defeated the Byzantines and conquered Syria. But it seems that the population, at least the Jewish one, was not massacred. The massacre of the population occurred some three centuries later, in 293/906, during the Rebellion of the Qarāmiṭah who spread havoc throughout central Syria. It is possible that this was also the time the Jewish community was destroyed. The existence of an area called Qubūr al-Yahūd, "The Cemetery of the Jews," in the town, no doubt reflects the Jewish presence in it and could well be a silent testimony to the early 10th century massacre. On the other hand, in this part of the world, attributing antiquities to Banū Isrā'īl or the Jews was not unusual. Gottlieb Schumacher, describing Dolmens in the Ḥawrān at the end of the 19th century wrote: "...to the Arabs they are known by the name of Kubūr Bani Isrāīl—the graves of the children of Israel.'" (Schumacher, 1886:68).

Throughout the Middle Ages, Adhri'āt was a very important station on the Ḥajj route from Damascus. Its strategic position, as the gate to central Syria, was coveted

by the Crusaders, who did not succeed in capturing it for any substantial period of time. Under the Mamlūks and Ottomans its importance was always recognized. When the Ḥijāz Railroad was built at the beginning of the 20th century, Adhri'āt, now Dar'ah, became one of the chief junction stations on this route. Today also, it is the southernmost town of Syria on the border with Jordan, and an important station on the road between Damascus and Baghdad.

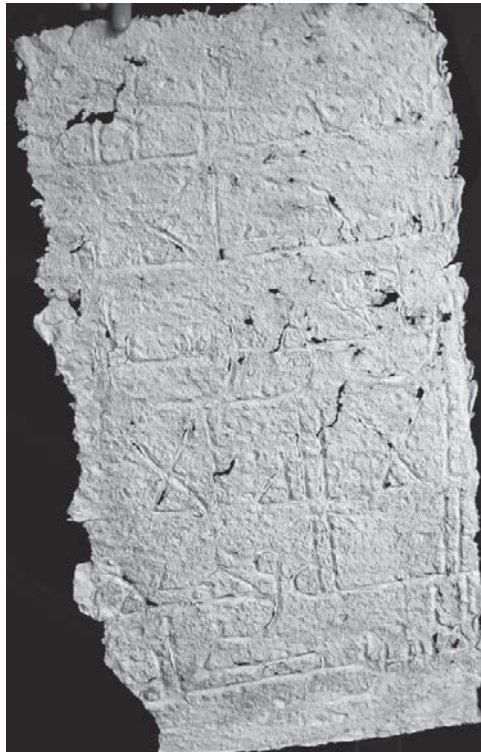
For more information, see "Adhri'āt" in *EI*².

31. MvB 55

ʿAbbāsiyyah cemetery (also: *Qubūr al-Yahūd*)
Declaration of Faith

1st -2nd/8th-9th

MvB squeeze No. 55, 0.59x0.37m. 6 lines, large, professional, angular script, long letters, early Umayyad style, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 31. Fig. MvB55. [Neg. 27-9-005(b) No. 17A; Disc1:3190013]



Pl. 31. Fig. MvB55

١) بسم الله ٢) يشهد الحسن ٣) بن حُوَيْرِث ٤) (الا اله الا ٥) الله وحده ٦) لا شريك له

In the name of Allah. Ḥasan b. Ḥuwayrith testifies that there is no god but Allah alone. He has no companion.

The script of this inscription represents the monumental script of the Umayyad period. It is similar to that of many inscriptions from the ‘Abbāsiyyah cemetery, a part of which appears to have been called during van Berchem’s time, “Qubūr al-Yahūd.”

I have pointed out elsewhere that this repeated declaration of faith, using a very similar formula to that on the coins of Abd al-Malik and his inscriptions, represents the fashion of the times. (*CIAP* 3:181) In this case, Ḥasan b. Ḥuwayrith did not simply leave graffiti somewhere, but made an effort to leave a sizeable inscription professionally incised. I therefore tend to date this inscription around the years 80/700 to 110/728.

32. MvB 26

‘Abbāsiyyah Cemetery (also: *Qubūr al-Yahūd*)
Declaration of Faith of an ‘Abbāsīd

Early 3rd/9thc

MvB squeeze No. 26, 0.58x0.44m. taken in 1894. 8 lines, simple angular script, letters slender and long, decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. At the end of words some letters engraved well below the line, and some high above it. Pl. 32. Fig. MvB26, MvB26a [Negative: 27-09-005(a) No. 31A and 32A; Disc1: 03190095, 0096 (Mirror image)].



Pl. 32. Fig. MvB26 (left) and MvB26a (right, flipped over)

(١) بسم الله يشهد (٢) محمد بن العباس بن محمد (٣) بن علي بن عبد الصمد (٤) بن علي بن عبد الله بن (٥) العباس بن عبد المطلب (٦) الهاشمي الا اله الا (٧) الله

In the name of Allah. Has testified Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib the Hāshimite that there is no god but Allah.

The mirror image, once flipped over (Pl. 32. fig. 26a) enables a sure reading of the inscription. It contains the full genealogy of Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās. It is very doubtful that this is the same Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās whose epitaph MvB found and recorded in the Mosque of Birdibak in Gaza (MvB files “Gazza”=env. 24 and carnet 6:65-66. *RCEA* 3:81-82, No. 940 and corrections, *ibid.* 3:220, to appear in *CIAP* 4, Gaza No. 1).

The present inscription contains some details that complete the defective report about ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī in Balādhurī’s biography, (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 3, 1978:71-72, 101-103) and in other books on genealogy. The information available in them contains hardly any reference to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad’s descendants. The *nisbah* “al-Hāshimī” is not too common but it appears with the name of Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd as-Ṣamad, (“al-Hāshimī”), who is mentioned incidentally, in lists of *ḥadīth* transmitters. (e.g. Sam‘ānī 2:137)

However, in spite of the fact that this inscription came from Dar‘ah, it pairs well with Muḥammad b. ‘Alī’s epitaph from Gaza. Where exactly was the inscription placed? Is there a special reason for its invocative formula? Balādhurī, in an interesting passage in a short biography of Kathīr b. al-‘Abbās, writes that the latter wrote on the shroud, which he had ordered for himself, the following words: كثير بن العباس يشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له وان محمدا عبده ورسوله “Kathīr b. al-‘Abbās testifies that there is no God but Allah alone, and that Muḥammad is His slave and messenger.” (Balādhurī, *ibid*, 67) This formula is very common in inscriptions, particularly from the early Muslim centuries. It is clear evidence for the publicity or manifestation of piety, and Balādhurī quotes this story about the shroud in order to present Kathīr as a pious man. But it is also evident that this extended declaration of faith was popular. What Balādhurī adds is that it was used in connection with death and burial. The fact that two members of the ‘Abbāsīd family used it is curious, but no more than that.

As far as the date of the inscription is concerned, it can be more or less calculated. Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās was a fourth generation after ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad who died in 185/801, (Balādhurī, *vol. cit*, 102) that is to say, he must have died about a hundred years after the death of his great great-grandfather, sometime around 285-290/898-902. (See table in No. 33, MvB33)

33. MvB 33

‘Abbāsiyyah Cemetery (also: *Qubūr al-Yahūd*)
Declaration of Faith of an ‘Abbāsīd

Early 3rd/9thc

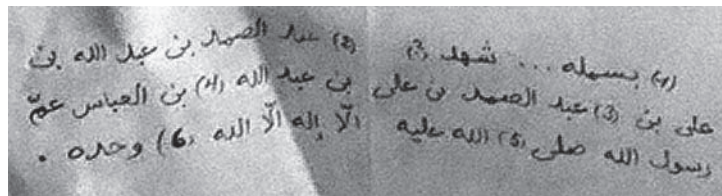
MvB squeeze, 0.44x0.50m. 6 lines, beautifully stylized, angular script, slender letters, many of which elegantly curl up, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 33. Figs. MvB33, MvB33a (flipped over) [Negs. 14-12-005 22A, 23A; Disc2:12870023-25] Read by van Berchem on the squeeze (Pl. 33a. Fig. MvB33b). Publication: *RCEA* 3:82-83, No. 941.

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم يشهد ٢) عبد الصمد بن عبدالله بن علي بن ٣) عبد الصمد بن
علي بن عبدالله ٤) بن العباس عم رسول الله صلى ٥) الله عليه الا اله الا الله ٦) وحده

Basmalah. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abdallah b. Alī b. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abbās, the uncle of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him, testifies that there is no God but Allah alone.



Pl. 33. Figs. MvB33, Mvb33a (flipped)



Pl. 33a. Fig. MvB33b Max van Berchem's reading

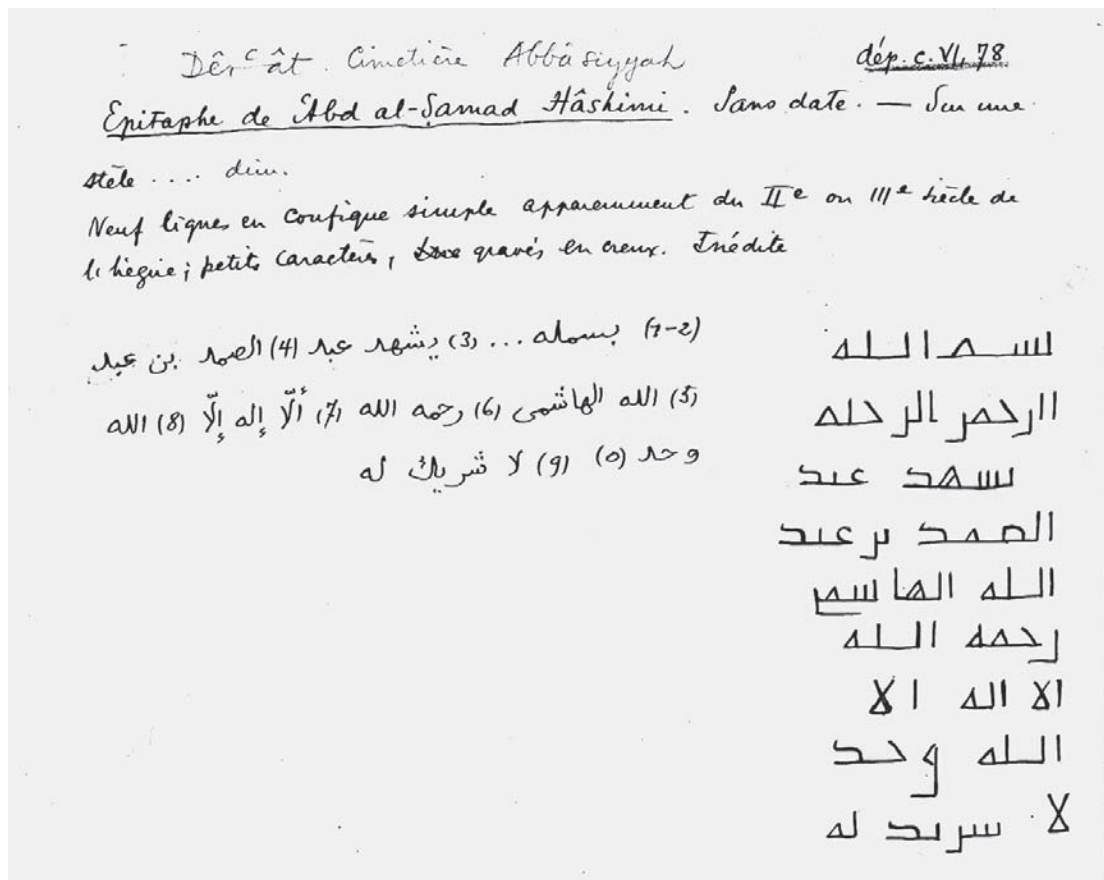
According to the note on the squeeze, the inscription came from Qubūr al-Yahūd near Dar‘ah. However, the inscription is almost a sister inscription to No. 32 MvB 26 above.

As I have already mentioned, the Tombs of the Jews (*Qubūr al-Yahūd*) seem also to have been called *Maqbarat al-‘Abbāsiyyah*—The ‘Abbāsiyyah Cemetery, or probably this name was given to a group of tombs at the same place. This name also remained in the records of MvB. The presence of ‘Abbāsid epitaphs at this particular site, and the name “the ‘Abbāsiyyah Cemetery,” should not be surprising, taking into consideration the extensive land property of the ‘Abbāsid family in Trans-Jordan, particularly in the villages of Ḥumaymah and Kudād in the south, the first headquarters of their revolution. (Sharon, *Black Banners* 1: 120, 123f, 151)

The similar, but not identical, text below was copied and read by MvB (Pl. 33b. Fig. MvB33d), “Dēr‘āt” file, under the entry “Epitaph de ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad Hāshimī,” published in *RCEA* 3:83, No. 943.

I have almost no doubt that this is a shortened version of the above inscription (MvB33) which contains the whole genealogy of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, who was the son of the great uncle of Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās in the previous inscription.

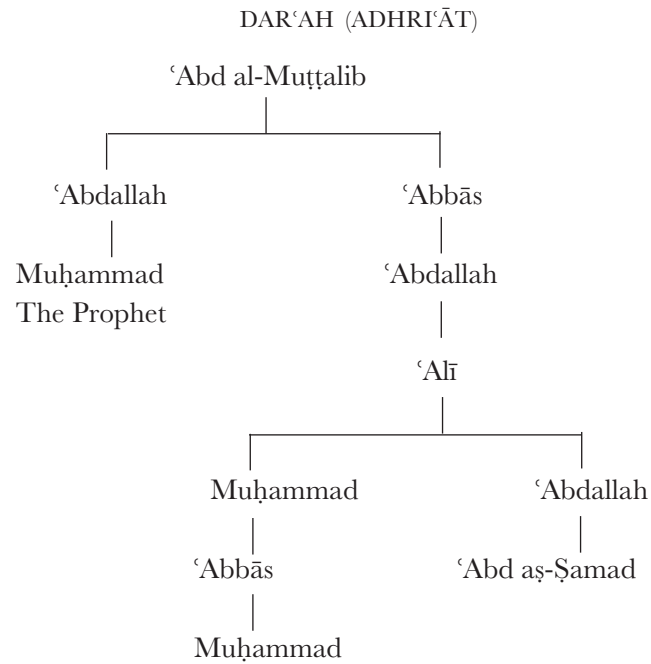
On the basis of the information supplied by the inscriptions, it is possible to reconstruct the genealogical table of this less famous branch of the 'Abbāsīd family. The branch of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs was that of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās. (Pl. 32c)



Pl. 33b. Fig. MvB33d

Basmalah. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abdallah al-Hashimī may Allah have mercy on him, testifies that there is no god but Allah alone. He has no companion.

Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī of the previous inscription (No. 32) was the first cousin of two 'Abbāsīd caliphs: as-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, the sons of Muḥammad b. 'Alī.



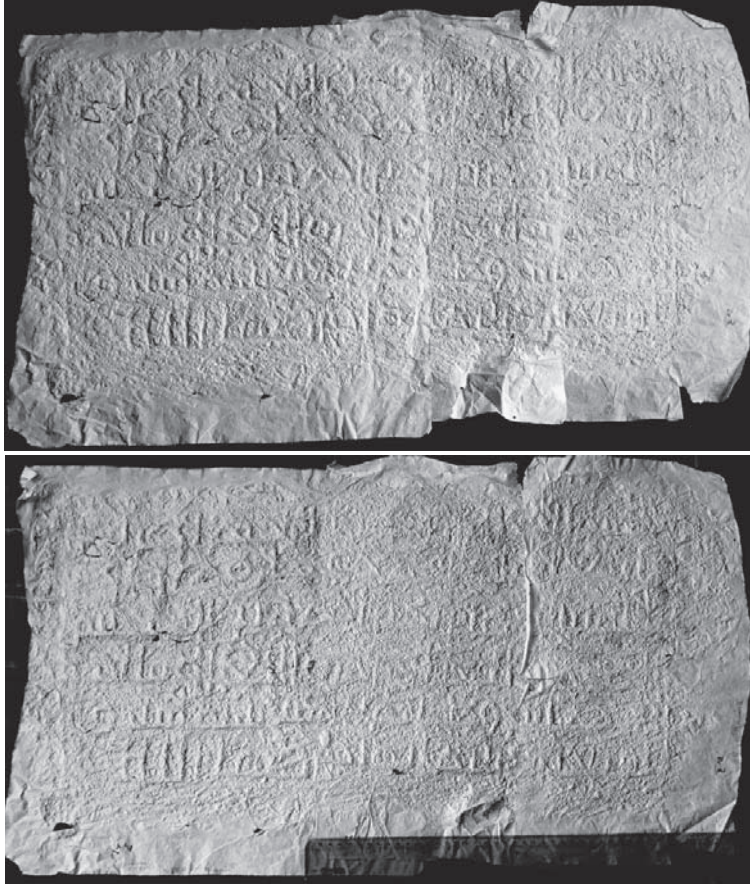
Pl. 32c ‘Abbāsīd genealogical table showing ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad’s extended family

34. MvB 56

(‘Abbāsiyyah cemetery)
Epitaph of a Muslim woman

396/1005-6

MvB squeeze No. 56 (formerly Nos. 1-3), 0.39x0.70m. taken by Brünnow on 24 April 1898 in three parts. Poor quality squeeze. 6 lines, elaborate, provincial, angular script, stylized letters, decorated with barbs, and some curl elegantly up, no points, no vowels; incised. As it is, and despite the immediate impression, the squeeze is difficult to read. No more than a few words are recognizable, but I think that I can discern the date. Pl. 34. Fig. MvB56, MvB56a (flipped) [Neg. 20-02-006(1) No. 5A, 6A; Disc3:11860007-8]



Pl. 34. Figs. MvB56 MvB56a (bottom)

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم... (٢.... (٣.... (٤.... (٥.... سنة ستة (!) و ٦) تسعين وثلاثماية رحمها
الله

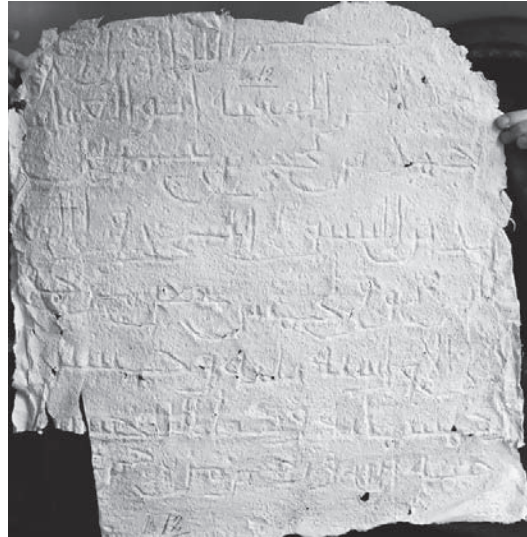
Basmalah.....(Died) in the year 396 (=1005-6), may Allah have mercy on her.

35. MvB 53

Epitaph of a Muslim

5 Jūmādah II 553/4 July 1158

MvB squeeze No. 53 (formerly No. 12), 0.54x0.56m. 8 lines, simple, provincial *naskhī*, which can be mistaken for angular, a few points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 35. Fig. MvB53 [Neg. 27-9-005(b) Nos. 12A, 13A; 03190017].



Pl. 35. Fig. MvB53

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) هذا قبر الفقيه ابو (!) العباس ٣) أحمد (?) بن يحيى (?) بن عمر
بن ٤) حسين (?)... السيفي (?)... ٥) توفي لخمس مضيّن من جما ٦) دى الآخر سنة ثلاثة (!)
وخمسين ٧) وخمسماية... ٨) رحمه الله ورحم من ترحم [عليه]

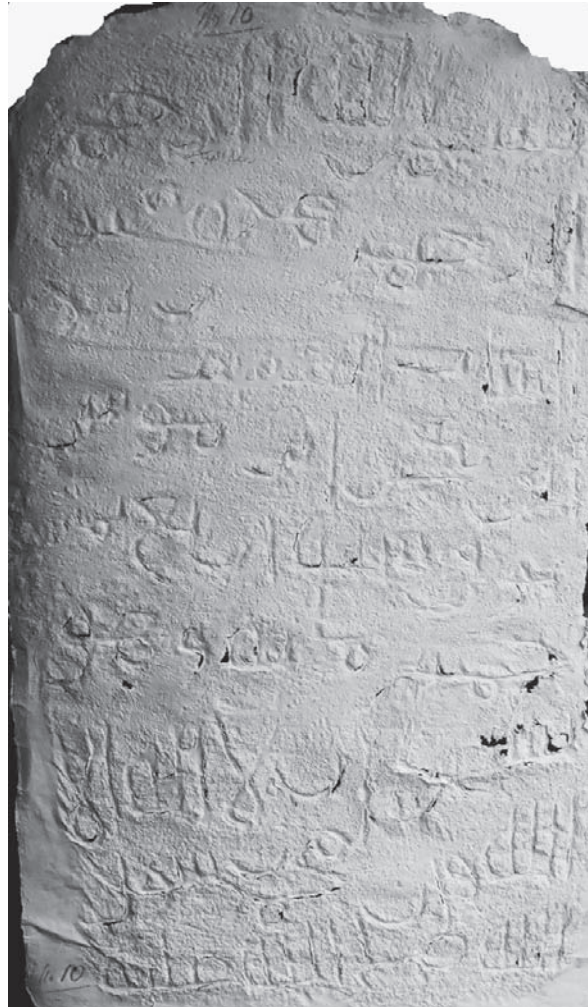
Basmallah. This is the tomb of the learned man Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad(?) b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar b. Ḥusayn(?) as-Sayfī (?)... He died on 5 Jūmādah II, 553 (= 4 July, 1158). May Allah have mercy on him and on whomever invokes (Allah’s mercy) for him.

36. MvB 52

Epitaph of a Muslim

564/1168-9

MvB squeeze No. 52, (formerly No. 10), 0.66x0.41m. 9 lines simple, primitive, provincial *naskhī*, large letters, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 36. Fig. MvB52 [Neg. 27-9-005(b) 11A; Disc3:03190007].



Pl. 36. Fig. MvB52

(١) بسم الله الرحمن (٢) الرحيم هذا قبر (٣) القاضي الفقيه زيد (٤) ابن بكير ابن (!) موسى
 (٥) توفي سنة اربع وستين وخمس مائة وهو (٧) يشهد انه لا اله الا (٨) الله وان محمد (!) رسول
 (٩) الله صلى الله عليه

Basmalah. This is the tomb of the learned *qāḍī* Zayd b. Bukayr. He died in the year 564 (= 1168-69) while testifying that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him.

L.3: I am not sure about the reading of the word *al-faqīh* (or *al-faqīr* as a remote possibility). It is almost completely defaced. At first glance, I read *al-shahād*, but the present reading seems to me a better option.

L.4: The name Bukayr looks clear but taking into consideration the nature of the inscription and the condition of the squeeze, Bakr cannot be ruled out.

L.5: The word *wa-sittīn*—sixty, looks clear although it was compressed at the end of the line and was almost lost in the squeeze.

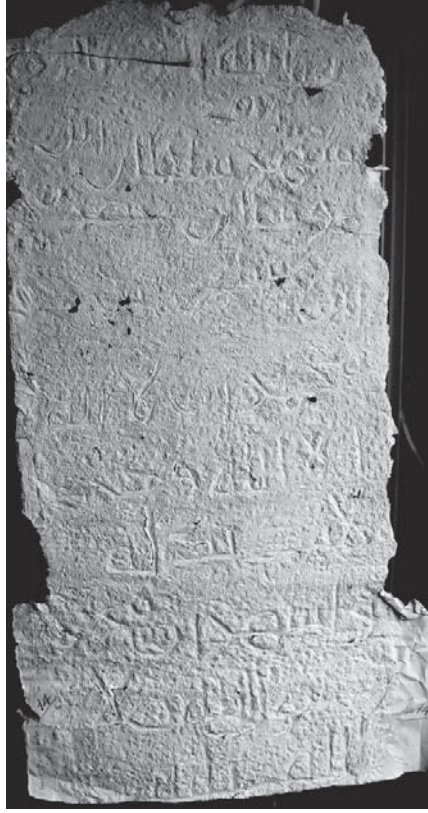
L.8: Muḥammad should have been in the accusative case but this is a very common mistake in inscriptions particularly ones that come from the rural areas and are influenced by colloquial usage.

37. MvB 54

Qubūr al-Yahūd
 Declaration of Faith

6th/12thc

MvB squeeze No. 54 (former No. 14), 0.82x0.36m. 10 lines, simple, provincial *naskhī*, which can be mistaken for angular, a few points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 37. Figs. MvB54, MvB54a, MvB54b. [Neg. 27-9-005(b) Nos. 14A; 15A, 16A; Disc3: 03190014].



Pl. 37. Fig. MvB54

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) يشهد سلمان ابن (!) ٣) موسا (!) ابن رضوان (?) ٤) بن سلم بن
 ٥) محمد ان لا اله الا ٦) الله وحده ٧) لا شريك له ٨) واشهد ان محمدا ٩) رسول الله
 صلا (!) ١٠) الله عليه

Basmalah. Salmān b. Mūsā b. Riḍwān(?) b. Salim b. Muḥammad testifies that there is no god but Allah alone. He has no companion. And I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah. May Allah bless him.

L.8: I can clearly see *wa-ashhadu* in the first person, but it is possible to read *wa-yashhadu* which fits better.

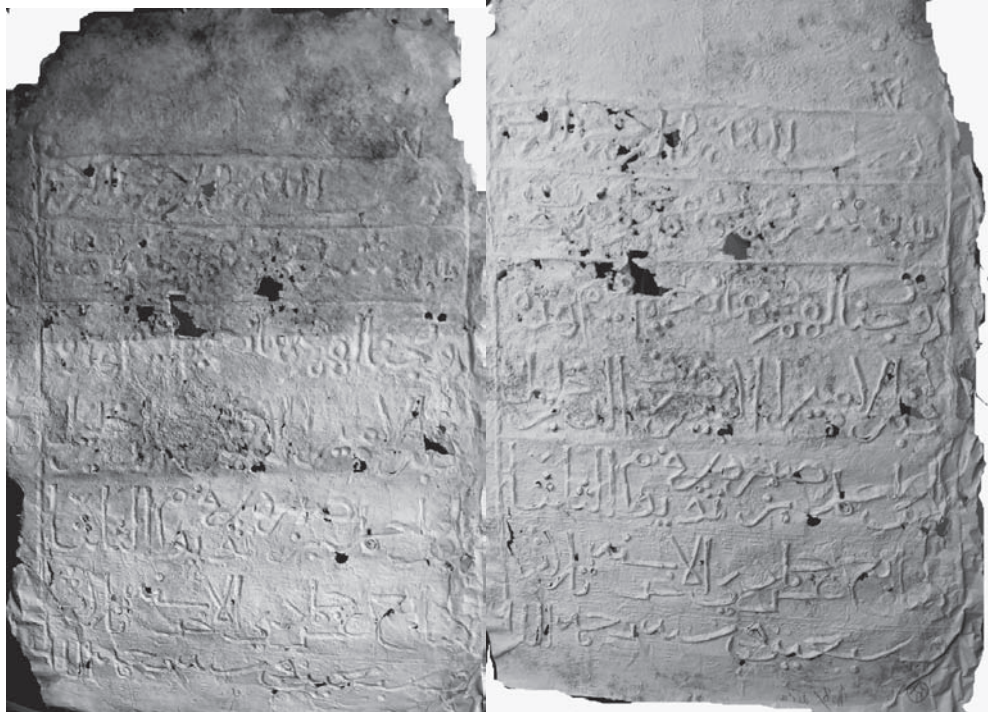
In spite of the fact that the writing gives the impression of an early Islamic script, it must be taken into consideration that in provincial writing the angular and semi-angular letters were easier to produce particularly when a less professional hand was involved. There are a few features in this inscription, particularly the points and vowels, which convince me to position it well into the 6th/12th century.

38. MvB 37

Epitaph of a Muslim

17 Jumadā II, 673/18 Dec. 1274

MvB squeeze No. 37, 0.60x0.50m. 7 lines, provincial *naskhī*, points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 38. Figs. MvB37, MvB37a. [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 26A, Neg. 20-2-006 No. 4A; Disc2:12870027, Disc3:11860004]. Publication: MvB files “Dar’ah (Adhri’āt);” *RCEA*, 12:190, No. 4685.



Pl. 38. Fig. MvB37 (left) MvB37a (flipped)

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان ٣) وجنات لهم فيها نعيم
مقيم هذه (!) ٤) قبر الأمير الكبير شرف الدين خليل ٥) ابن احمد بن صبرة توفي يوم الثلاثاء
٦) سابع عشر جمادى الآخر سنة ثلاث ٧) وسبعين وستة [ماية] رحمه الله

Basmalah. Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy and good will from Himself, and Gardens for them in which is enduring delight. (Q. 9:21, trans. Bell) This is the tomb of the illustrious amīr Sharaf ad-Dīn Khalīl b. Aḥmad b. Ṣabrah. He died on Tuesday, 17 Jumādā II the year 673 (Tuesday, 18 December, 1274). May Allah have mercy on him.

An excellent squeeze was prepared from the first 4 lines of this inscription, and registered as MvB27 (see No. 39 below). This squeeze is of the complete inscription; it complements No. 39 (MvB27) which helps with the full reading of this one, the top part of which is defective. It seems clear that once MvB realized that the top of the squeeze was not successful, he took it again. Only after comparing the two squeezes could I see that they belonged to the same inscription. My policy is to give a separate registration number to each squeeze in the archives.

L.4: It is impossible to see in this squeeze the exact honorific title of the amīr, but it is clear in No. 39 (MvB27). I am almost sure about the name of the amīr's father, Şabrah (and this is how van Berchem read it as well). It is to be found in the sources of the Mamlūk period. (See, Faḥ ad-Dīn b. Şabrah in Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1997, 2:415) As mentioned in No. 39, I could not find anything about this particular dignitary.

L.6: The reading of the *RCEA*: ست عشر is incorrect.

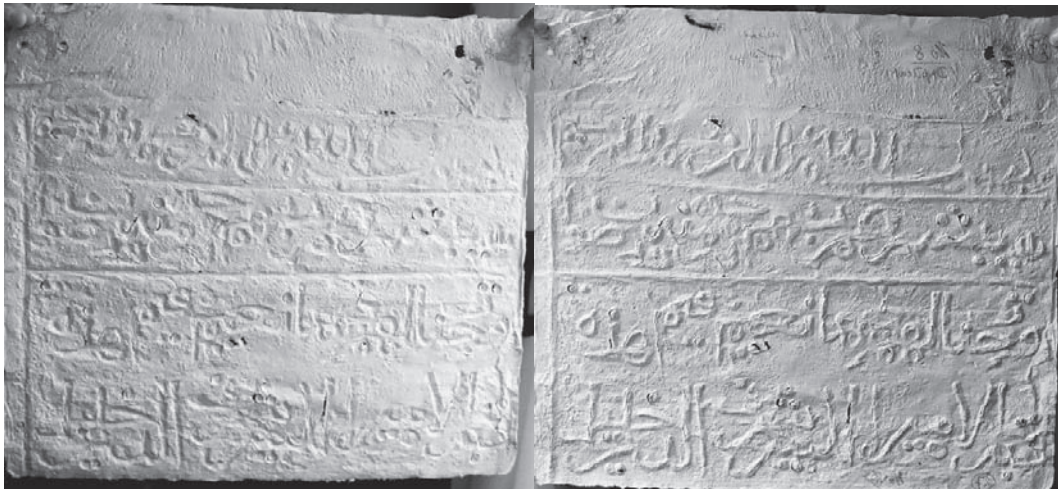
L.7: The word *mi'ah* was never incised. The reading in the *RCEA*: ستمئة is incorrect.

39. MvB 27

Epitaph of a Muslim

17 Jumādā II, 673/ 18 Dec. 1274

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 27, 0.35x0.45m. 4 lines, provincial early Mamlūk *naskhī*; points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 39. Fig. MvB27, MvB27a [Negative 27-09-005(a) 33A, (mirror image) 34A (normal image); Disc1:03190092-93] (Full report see No. 38. MvB37).



Pl. 39. Figs. MvB27, 27a

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان (٣) وجنات لهم فيها نعيم
مقيم هذه (٤) قبر (!) الأمير الكبير شرف الدين خليل

Basmalah. Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy and goodwill from Himself, and Gardens for them in which is enduring delight (Q, 9:21; trans. Bell). This is the mausoleum of the great amīr, Sharaf ad-Dīn Khalīl.

This squeeze is the top 4 lines of Pl. 38. MvB 37 (see above).

I could not identify the Amīr Sharaf ad-Dīn Khalīl. In the Mamlūk literature there are a few amīrs called Khalīl but none whose title is Sharaf ad-Dīn.

40. MvB 31

Epitaph of a Muslim(?)

29 Shawwāl 689/4 Nov. 1290

MvB squeeze No. 31, 0.465x0.61m. 6 lines, early Mamlūk *naskhī*, points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 40. Figs. MvB31, MvB31a [Neg.14-12-005 2A, 3A; Disc1:03190091]



Pl. 40. Figs. MvB31 (left), MvB31a (flipped over)

(١) ... هذا قبر ... (٢) المتوفي (٣) الى رحمة (٤) الله الحاج (٥) (٦) محمد بن ابراهيم الصهباني (٧)
(٨) في آخر يوم من شوال سنة (٩) تسعة (!) وثمانين وستماية (١٠) [رحمه] الله ورحم من ترحم
[عليه....]

This is the tomb of ...who passed away into (the realm of) Allah's mercy the *hājjī* Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣuhbānī(?) on the last day of Shawwāl the year 689 (= 4 November 1290) may Allah forgive him and forgive whomever invokes (Allah's) mercy for him...

The squeeze is in bad condition, no doubt representing faithfully the condition of the inscription. It is very possible that it is some sort of a construction text connected with the person for whom the epitaph was written. My feeling is that the first line begins with the word *ansha'a*. However, I could only see the word *hādhā* clearly, and probably also the word *qabr*. The rest of the text looks fairly readable although I have reservations about the whole of line 2.

L.3: The *nisbah* aṣ-Ṣuhbānī is a guess.

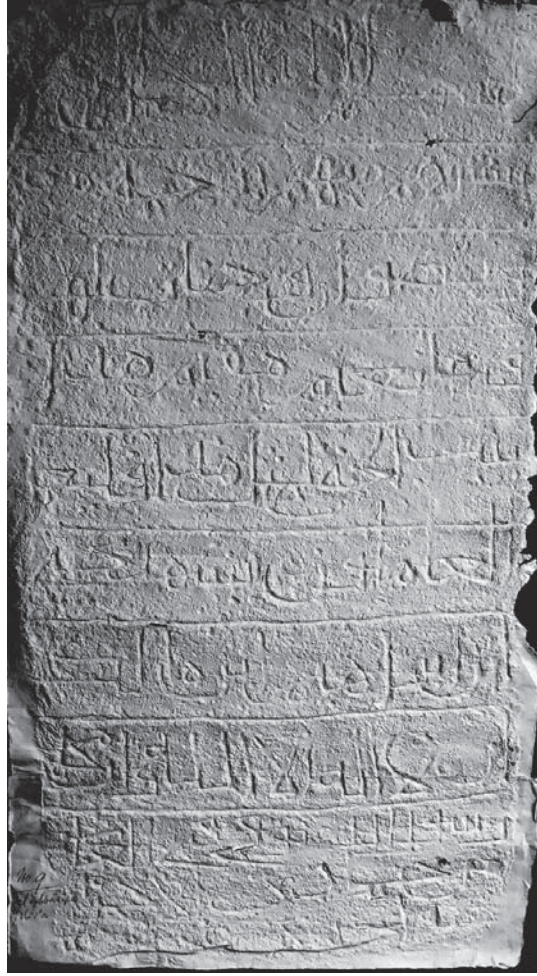
Ll.4-5: The date is fairly clear (see Pl. 40 fig. MvB31a).

41. MvB 51

‘Abbāsiyyah Cemetery
Epitaph of a Muslim

10 Jumādā II 901?/26 January 1496?

MvB Squeeze No. 51, 0.84x0.43m. 11 lines, simple, provincial *naskhī*, dividing bands between the first 8 lines, the last 3 lines are cramped, points, no vowels; incised. There was a twelfth line which does not appear in the squeeze. Pl. 41. Figs. MvB51 [Neg. 27-09-005(b) Nos. 9A, 10A; Disc1:0319008]



Pl. 41. Fig. MvB51

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ٣) ورضوان وجنات لهم ٤) فيها
 نعيم مقيم هذا ٥) قول الحق لمثل هذا فليعمل ٦) العاملون يشهد يحيى ٧) ابن ابراهيم ابن
 مالك ٨) ان لا اله الا الله وأن محمد [١] ٩) رسول الله توفي في العاشر ١٠) من جمادى الآخر
 ١١) سنة؟ احدى؟ وتسع؟ مائة؟

Basmalah. “Their god gives them good tidings of mercy from Him and good pleasure; for them await gardens wherein is lasting bliss.” (Q, 9:21, trans. Arberry) This is “the word of truth.” (Q, 19:34) “For the like of this let the workers work.” (Q, 37:61 trans. Arberry) Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Mālīk testifies that there is no God but Allah, and that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. He died on the tenth of Jumādā II, 901(?) (=25 Feb. 1496)

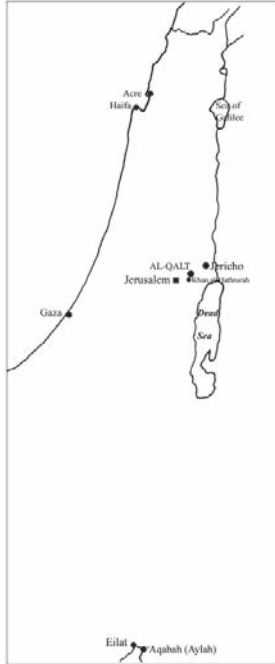
L.5: Of the three words which form a division between the two Qur’ānic texts, the

first word in this line causes a problem. I can read *thabt* meaning firm, absolute, and also *qalb*, meaning the centre or the essence, but I decided on the proposed reading—*qawl al-ḥaqq*—which is also Qur'ānic, because this is what I think is hidden behind the defect in the squeeze.

L.11: The date is very faintly inscribed and the squeeze here is very unclear. I think that I can see the date I propose, but I am not absolutely sure. The script is modern, simple, almost primitive, provincial, the like of which one can still find on epitaphs from the rural areas.

DAYR AL-QALT
DAYR MĀR JIRYIS (Monastery of St. George)

Is. Gr. 190 139 (N. Is.Gr. 240 639)



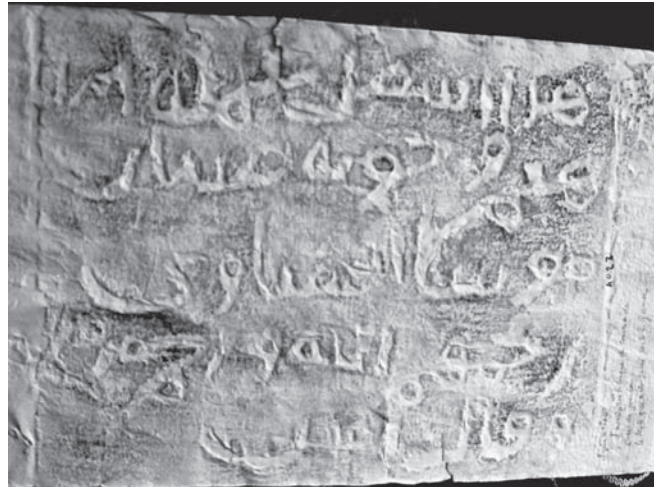
On Dayr al-Qalt and its inscriptions see in great detail in *CIAP* 3:69-113.

42. MvB 77
Construction text

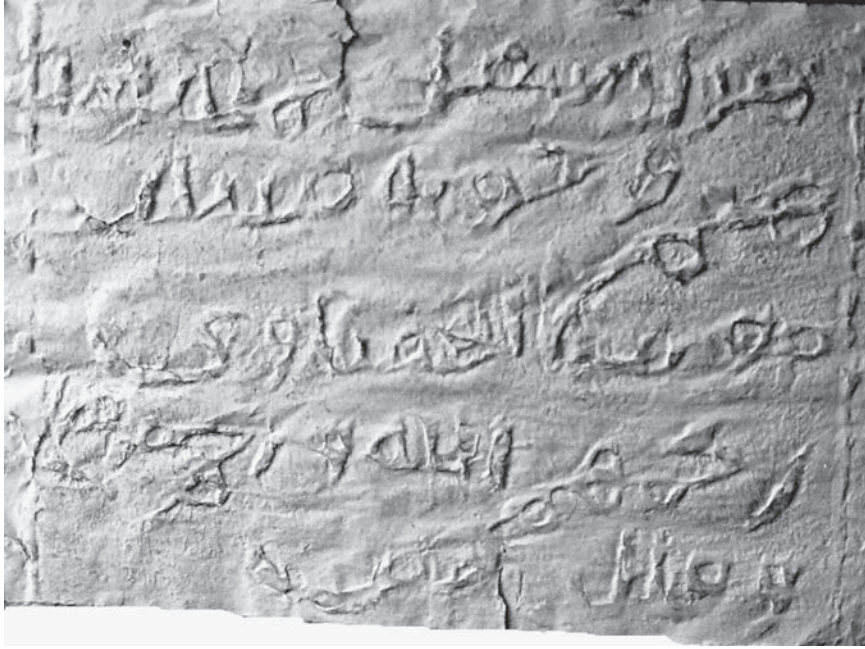
1234CE

MvB squeeze No. 77, 0.30x0.39m. 5 lines primitive semi-*naskhī*, script which looks angular only because it was produced by a non-professional hand, no points, no vowels; incised. The note on the squeeze says “Syrie” without specification of the site. The inscription came from the front gate of Dayr al-Qalt (or the monastery of St. George situated in Wadī al-Qalt to the west of Jericho. It was published, without a proper photo in *CIAP* 3:109-111 (Dayr al-Qalt No. 3), under the entry of Dayr al-Qalt. First publication MvB files env. 24 and carnet 2. Pls. 42, 42a. Figs. MvB77, MvB77a (flipped) [Neg. 14-02-006 Nos.

13A, 14A; Disc5:1870014, ... 0015]



Pl. 42. Fig. MvB77



Pl. 42a. Fig MvB77a (flipped over)

(١) + هذا اشغل (!) عمله ابرا (٢) هيم وخوته (!) صبيان (٣) موسا (!) الجفناوى (٣) رحمهم الله
ورحم من قرأ (٥) وقال أمين

[cross] This work was made by Ibrāhīm and his brothers the children of Mūsā from the (village of) Jifnah. May Allah pardon them and whomsoever reads (this) and says amen.

The Arabic inscription accompanies a longer and more detailed Greek one which says (after the reading and reconstruction of Clermont-Ganneau and Germer-Durand):

The present old/whole monastery has been restored by the hand of Ibrāhīm and his brothers [in the year of the reign of Christ the Almighty 950, the 12th of March under the hegumen Gerasimos].

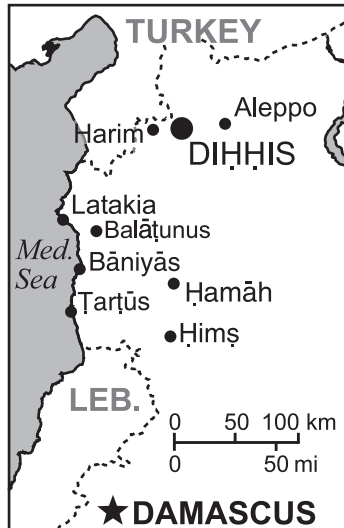
L.1: The definite article before the word اشغل was written without the *lām* exactly as it is pronounced colloquially: *hādhā shshughol*.

L.2: The colloquialisms are clear in the usage of the words: خوته (instead of اخوته) read: *khiwtoh*, and صبيان read: *ṣubyān*, instead of *awlād* or *abnā*?

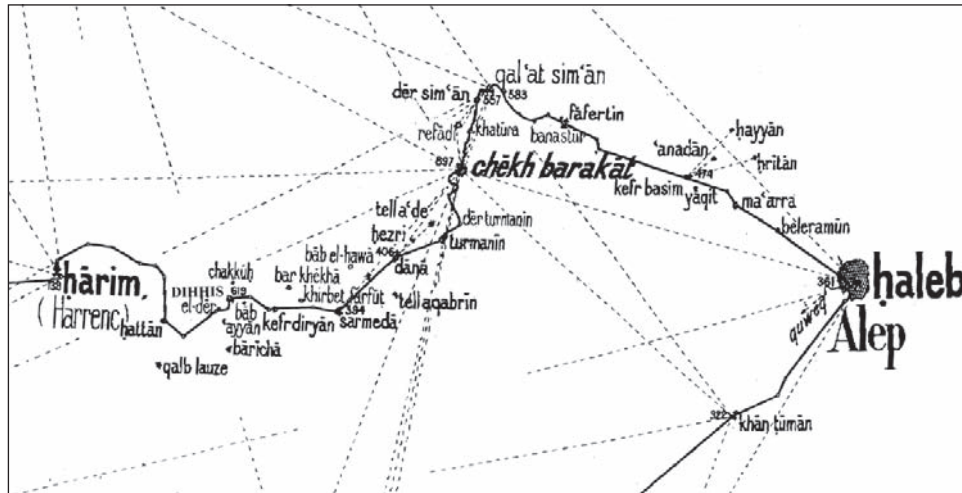
The date here is according to the Era of the Martyrs (beginning CE 284). This makes the date of the inscription 1234CE. The Arabic text is very defective, highly influenced by the colloquial Arabic. The inscription, which is poorly produced in both Arabic and Greek, represents the culture of the rural area in Palestine in the late Crusader period. For the Greek text, details and analysis see *CIAP* 3, *loc cit*.

DIḤḤIS

Location: 36°12'N 36°31'E



Diḥḥis, pronounced Deḥḥes and Déḥes, also called Déḥes el-Deir locally, is a village situated to the east of the city of Ḥarīm in northern Syria, west of Ḥalab. (See map below.) The word *deir* added to the name most probably has to do with the church (monastery) at the gate of which the inscription was found.

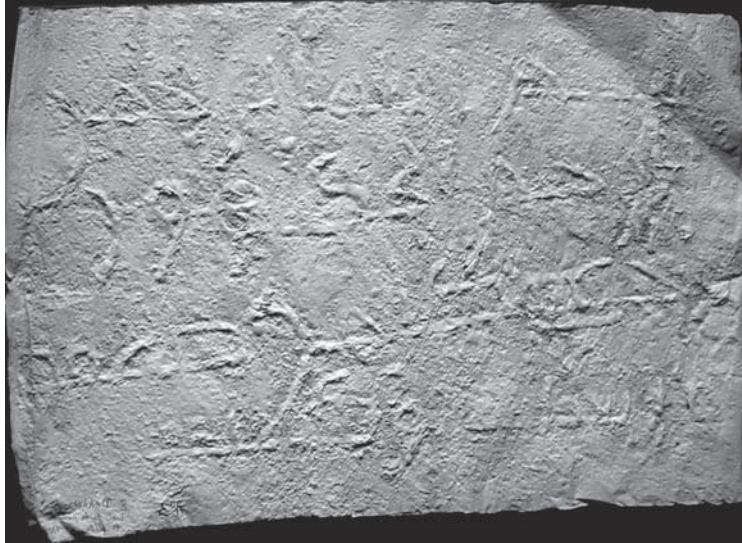


Map (from MvB files) of Ḥalab and its environment : Diḥḥis in the west.

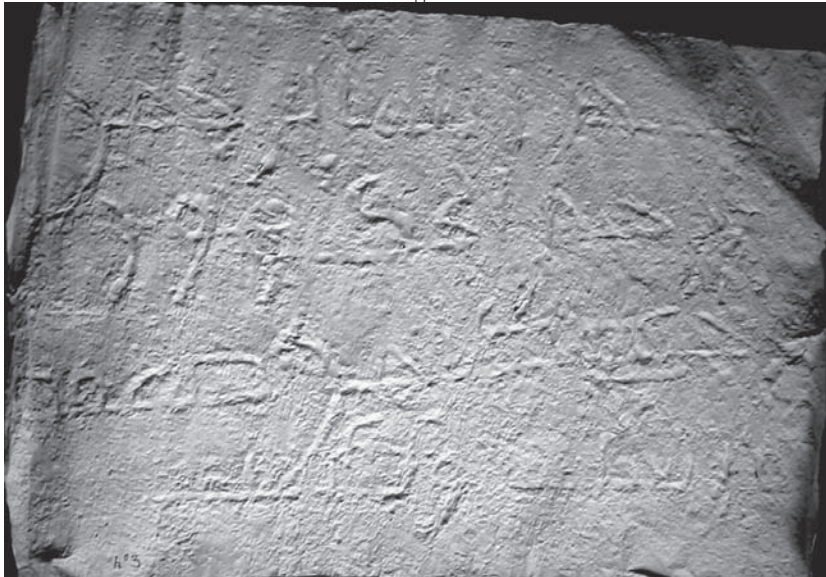
43. MvB 84

Inscription above the gate of the Church

MvB squeeze No. 84, 0.46x0.68m. 4 lines, angular script, shallow letters, no points, no vowels; incised. The inscription was produced by a non-professional hand. Pls. 43, 43a. Figs. MvB84, MvB84a (both flipped over). Only a few words can be recognized, but none can be surely read after the *basmalah*.



Pl. 43. Fig. MvB84



Pl. 43a. Fig. MvB84a

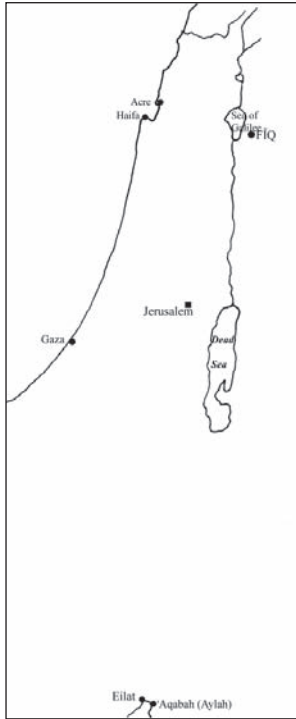
١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Basmalah....

I could not find any more material about this inscription. The writing looks clear, but the condition of the squeeze does not allow me to read the inscription. If indeed the inscription was seen over the gate of the church then it must have been brought from somewhere else. Why would an inscription on a church begin with the *basmalah*?

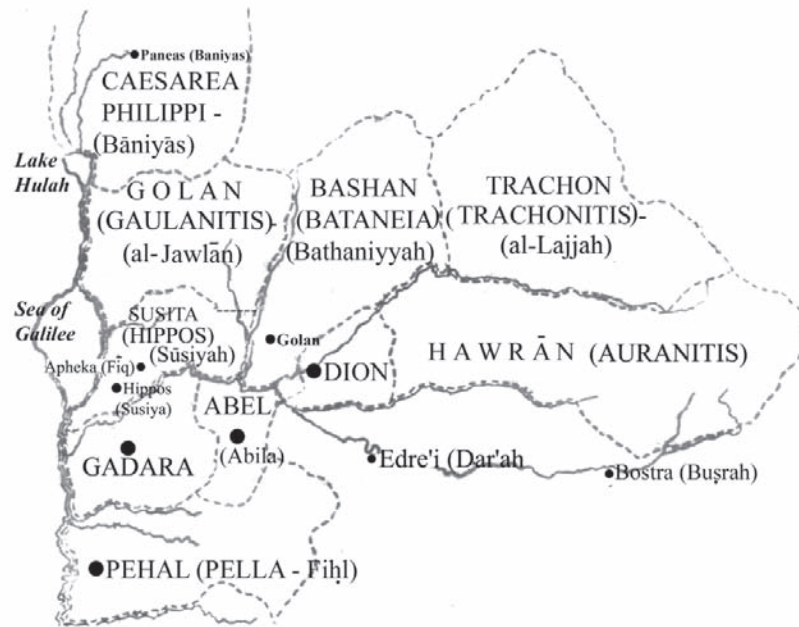
44. MvB 65
FĪQ

Is. Gr. 216 242 (N. Is. Gr. 266 742)



Also called Afīq. During the Roman and Byzantine periods the large area to the north of the Yarmuk River was divided into several administrative regions, a few of them were named following the older appellations such as the Auranitis (Ḥawrān), Trachonitis, Golan, and some following the name of a central town such as Pellah, Gedarah, Dion, Sūsīta-Hippos and Paneas. The village of Apheka-Fīq fell in the district of Sūsīta-Hippos. (see attached map below, and Avi-Yona, 1963:150-160) After 93CE Paneas (Baniyās) was eventually included in Phoenicia Prima; after 106CE, Sūsīta-Hippos was included in Palaestina Secunda (following a transitional period in which it belonged to Syria-Palaestina); and after 218CE the Golan (Gaulanitis) also belonged to Palaestina Secunda. (Elad, 1999:65)

When the Muslims took over from the Byzantines in the 7th century, they did not introduce any changes in the Byzantine administrative system. It was only in 696 that ‘Abd al-Malik inaugurated his major administrative reforms. The language of the administration was officially changed from Greek to Arabic, the monetary system was Islamicized and Arabicized. The great majority of the inscriptions from his time included Islamic formulae very prominently, bearing the message that Islam was the ruling, victorious and true religion (*dīn al-ḥaqq*). These Muslim slogans (mainly Qur’ānic) represent a complete breakaway from the former Christian imperial order. Moreover, ‘Abd al-Malik made sure to emphasize, through the Qur’anic quotations, which he chose to use on his coins, and in inscriptions commemorating state projects, not only the superiority of Islam, but in many cases also perfect Islamic monotheism refuting the main tenets of the Christian religion.



Fīq in the map of the Golan, the Ḥawrān and their environs

Most of the inscriptions from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik relating to Fīq show that the caliph paid special attention to the route that passed through this village. He ordered the cutting of a better road through the mountain pass (*‘aqabah*) which led to the village and thereafter to Damascus and beyond (*CIAP 1, ibid*). He continued the Roman-Byzantine custom of placing milestones along major routes and he did so for the roads leading from Damascus to Jerusalem (at least), displaying his Islamic policy, his administrative ability and his concern for the easy flow of news from the periphery to the capital. (See *q.v.* “Dayr al-Qalt” *CIAP 3*, and *CIAP 1, s.v.* “Abū Ghūsh;” Elad, 1999:48-50 for a summary of the Arabic sources).

In the Arabic sources from the early as well as from the late Middle Ages, Fīq is always mentioned as a station on the route to Damascus. There is no description of the place, but mention is made of the mountain pass leading to it from the gorge of the Yarmūk. Here is what Yāqūt, who summarized the previous material, wrote:

Afīq is a village in the Ḥawrān on the road to the Jordan valley (*al-ghawr*). It stands at the entrance of the celebrated mountain pass of Afīq, which the common people pronounce Fīq. By this mountain pass you descend to the *ghawr*, which is the Jordan. This pass is about two miles long. The town overlooks Tiberias (*Ṭabariyyah*) and the lake and many times I have been there. (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1866-70, 3: 924)

The other geographical sources give the distance between Fīq and the other stations

on the road (Le Strange, 1890:385; Marmardji, 1951:10,163). The two milestones of ‘Abd al-Malik, and the inscriptions relating to the building of a *khān* (caravanserai) near the mountain pass (*khān al-‘aqabah*) found in the ruins of Fīq are clear evidence of the special position of the place on the main road. (*CIAP* 3:220-224)

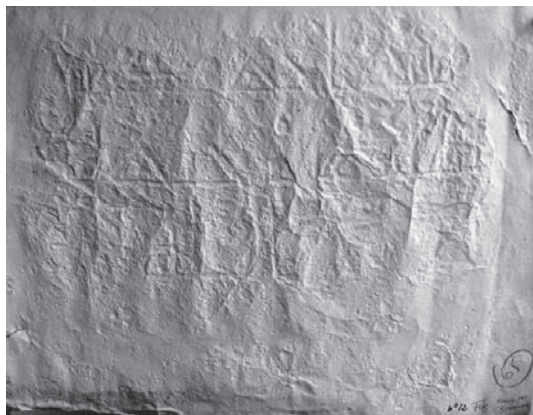
For more details on Fīq and its inscriptions see *CIAP* 1, *q.v.* “‘Aqabat Fīq;” *CIAP* 3, *q.v.* “Fīq- Afīq” (epitaphs pp. 224–234).

44. MvB 65

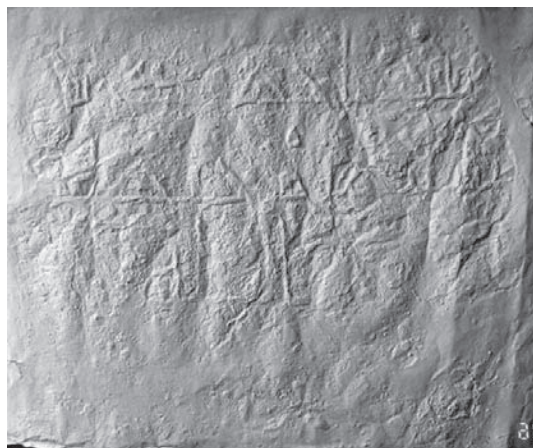
Epitaph of a Muslim woman

2nd/8th_c

MvB squeeze No. 65 (formerly No. 12), 0.39x0.24m. 3 lines, provincial, angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Only a few letters are recognizable. Pls. 44, 44a. Figs. MvB65, MvB65a (flipped over) [Negs. 14-02-006 Nos. 9A, 10A; Disc 4: 1860010-11]



Pl. 44. Fig. Mvb65



Pl. 44a. Fig MvB65a (flipped over)

(١) بنت أحمد بن (٢) سليم رحمها (٣) الله

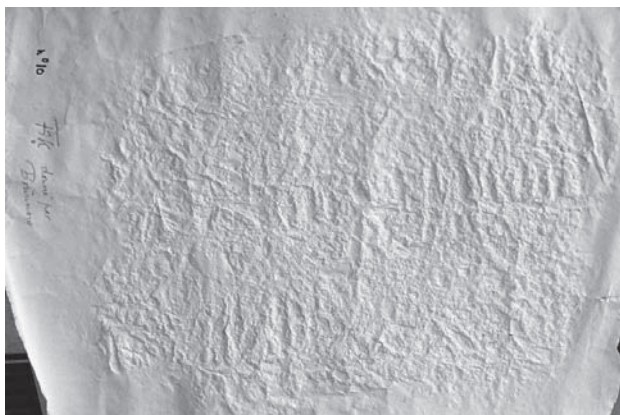
(This is the tomb of)... the daughter of Aḥmad b. Salīm may Allah pardon her.

45. MvB 63

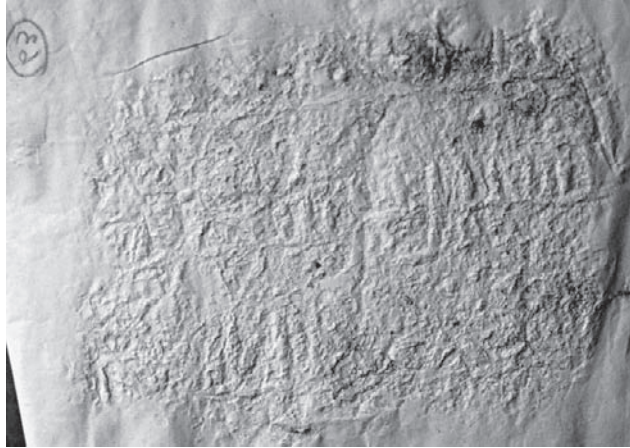
Epitaph

2nd/8thc

MvB squeeze No. 63, 0.19x0.24m. 3 lines, shallow provincial angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. The following reading is based upon the recognition of a few letters, and is, therefore, for the most part a guess. Pls. 45, 45a. Figs. MvB63, MvB63a (flipped over) [Negs. 14-2-006 Nos. 5A, 6A; Disc4:1850006-7]



Pl. 45. Fig. MvB63



Pl. 45a. Fig. MvB63a (flipped over)

(١) هذا قبر (٢) بشير (٣) بن سلم/سلم [ان] رحمه الله (٤)

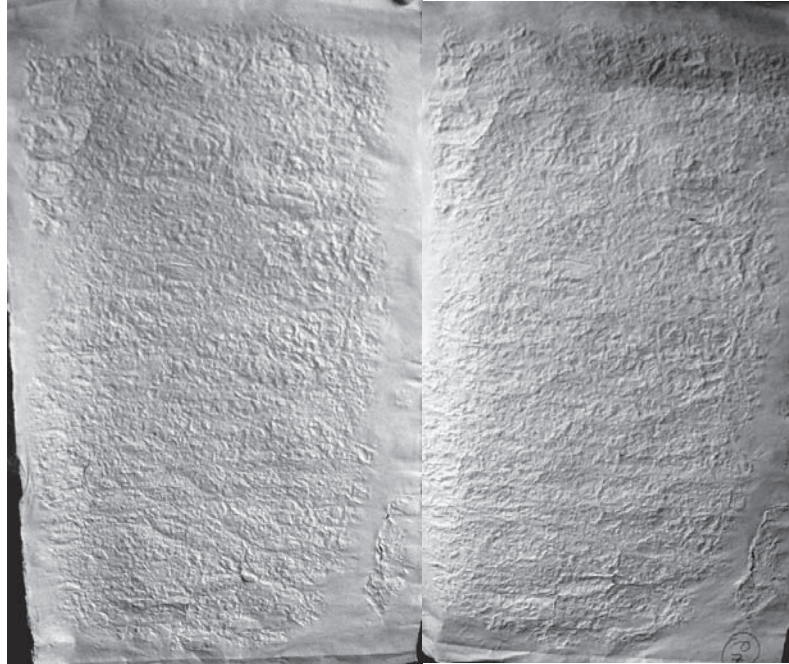
This is the tomb of Bashīr(?) b. Salm/Salmān may Allah pardon him.

L.2: The name Bashīr is only one possibility since in the squeeze there are far more lines than are needed for this name. Some of these lines could well be the result of the texture of the stone. The name, therefore, could also be al-Ḥusayn or al-Bashīr or any other combination which would allow as many of these vertical lines as possible.

46. MvB 64

Unreadable

MvB squeeze No. 64 (formerly No. 11), 0.63x0.28m. traces of shallow, angular script. No recognizable letters on the squeeze, which was most probably taken by Brünnow (or Schumacher) from a basalt stone. I published the epitaphs from Fīq in *CIAP* 3, and it is possible that some of the squeezes were taken from these or similar epitaphs. Figs. Pls. 46, 46a. Figs. MvB64, MvB64a (flipped) [Neg. 14-02-006 Nos. 7A, 8A; Disc4:1850008, 1850009]

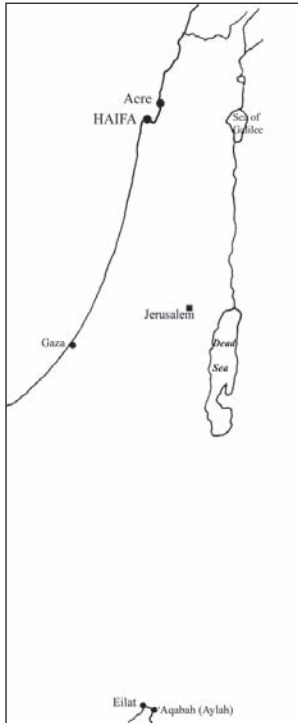


Pls. 46, 46a Figs. MvB64, MvB64a (flipped over)

The rough texture of the stone makes the reading of even one word tricky. The imagination in this case can, with some stretching, come up with some text, but this would be complete guess work.

ḤAIFĀ – SHIQMONAH – TALL AS-SAMAK

Is. Gr. 1562 2478 (n. Is. Gr. 2062 7478)



Tall as-Samak (Colloq. Tell es-Samak) is a mound overlooking the Mediterranean, past the bend of Cape Carmel to the west. It has been identified with the site of the ancient twin towns of Haifa-Sycaminon (Hebrew: Tel Shiqmonah also: Shikmonah), today incorporated within the borders of the modern city of Haifa (see map below). This identification is confirmed by the extensive excavations which began on the site in 1951, and continued systematically from 1963 onwards. The findings show that the Tel, which at its highest point is only 12.74m above sea level, was inhabited by successive settlements from the Canaanite period through the Israelite, the Persian, the Roman and the Byzantine periods. Four cities were discovered from the Israelite period alone, from the 11th to the 7th centuries BC, each built on the ruins of the previous one.

A whole residential quarter from the Byzantine period was found in the southern part of the Tel where a beautiful, complete, mosaic floor was uncovered. From the excavations it is apparent that the Byzantine settlement was suddenly destroyed. No findings were discovered in the Tel or around it, which could be dated later than the 7th century. (*NEAEHL* 4:1553-1559, Hoade, 1984:671-672)

During the Second Temple period and the following Roman and Byzantine periods, Shiqmonah was mainly a Jewish town. Shiqmonah is mentioned once in the Mishnah in connection with fruits that grew wild around it. (Mishnah, *Demai*, 1:1) After the establishment of Haifa, some time after the destruction of the Second Temple, at the end of the 1st century CE, the two cities stretched towards each other and became a twin city which was called Sycaminon (Συκαμίνων) and Sycaminos Polis (Συκμυνος πόλις). (See Greek inscription in which the name of Sycaminon is mentioned in Ulman and Galili 1994: 116-122).

Eusebius does not differentiate between the two locations and regards them as one city which he calls Haifa (Ἡφά). In other words, it is safe to say that Haifa and Shiqmonah were the two names of the same place. Eusebius (and St. Jerome,

his translator to Latin) knew the area very well and could not have made a mistake concerning a town which existed to the north of Caesarea, Eusebius' hometown. (See Guérin, *Samarie*, 2, ch.60 and ch.61). Haifa is mentioned or referred to in the Talmudic sources more than 100 times and many scholars of high standing came from or lived there. However, its Jewish inhabitants were scorned for not being able to pronounce the guttural letters in Hebrew properly, and were therefore forbidden to read the Torah in public. For a short period in the 11th century it was the seat of the supreme Rabbinical council that had fled there from Jerusalem. (For some of the major Talmudic sources see Press, 1948, 2: 258; Gill, *Megillat Eviatar* 1979: 84).



British Mandatory Map of Haifa indicating the site of Tall as-Samak

The natural hinterland of Shiqmonah was Mount Carmel rising over it to the south and east. It was regarded from ancient times to be a holy mountain. During the Israelite period the mountain (Carmel “the vineyard of God” in Hebrew) was a centre of the local pagan worship of the Phoenician major deity, the Bā‘al, which greatly influenced the Israelites and brought the wrath of their prophets down upon them, particularly that of Elijah. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, rituals connected with either Zeus (Jupiter) or with the unnamed, figureless, god of Carmel took place on it. The cave known as the Cave of Elijah on the top of the Carmel above Shiqmonah was part of the local holy precincts on the mountain. According to Tacitus, Vespasian was informed by Basilides the priest that he was going to have “a great seat,” after he had offered a sacrifice to the local god on the Carmel. This was understood to be a prophecy about his becoming the Emperor. (*Cf.* Guérin, *op. cit.* ch.60)

The cemetery of Shiqmonah was on the slopes of Mount Carmel. It served both the Jews who lived in it and the Jews of Acre who brought their dead to be buried there, because Acre was not regarded to be part of the Holy Land. In the 19th century the cemetery was the target of antiquities robbers who caused great damage to the burial caves, and stole their contents. In 1895 the Ottoman authorities stopped the theft for a while, after Schumacher had drawn their attention to the perpetual robbery of the site. However, after a short while the robbing was resumed and continued well into the British mandatory period. The customers of the robbers were some of the most celebrated museums in Europe.

Along the shore between Haifa and Sidon, fishermen used to collect snails from which a substance for the purple dye was extracted. It seems that this was the reason the city of Haifa was called Porphyreon (Πορφυρέων), or Porphyrea around the 6th century (William of Tyre in Guérin, *loc. cit.*)

After the Arab conquest, Haifa took the place of the already ruined Shiqmonah. There are no reports about the city from the early Islamic period, but there is the frequently quoted evidence of Nāṣir-i-Khosrow from the 11th century. He called Haifa *dih*, a village. It was situated near the sea, surrounded by palm gardens and trees. “There are in this town shipbuilders, who build very large craft. The sea-going ships of this place are known under the name of *jūdī*.” (*Safar Nāmih* 1977:23-24. Trans. Le Strange 1890:446).

The Crusaders took the city after a siege in 1100, and it became part of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It gained some importance then, and Idrīsī mentions that it was regarded as the harbour for Tiberias. In 1187, it fell into the hands of Saladin and was restored to the Crusaders’ hands in 1191. (Ibn al-Athīr 1982, 10:325; 11:540; 12:69) In 1250 its wall, which had been previously destroyed by Saladin, was rebuilt by Louis IX (Saint Louis), but the Crusaders finally lost it to the

Mamlūks in 1265. Baybars, true to his policy of destroying the coast of Syria and Palestine, ordered the demolition of Haifa's wall too. After that the city deteriorated and became a small fishing village. Old Haifa (*Ḥaiḡā al-ʿAtīqah*) was finally deserted under Zāhir al-ʿUmar in 1761. The new city was established at the end of the 18th century to the east and south of Old Haifa, overlooking the Bay of Acre and the city of Acre to the north. It was surrounded by a wall in the beginning as we learn from the description of Victor Guérin in the second half of the 19th century. He also indicates that the city had already extended beyond the walls of the original town. (Guérin, *Samarie* 2, Ch. 59). Because of the natural qualities of the Bay of Acre (today: "Bay of Haifa"), the modern city of Haifa was bound to become the major port of British Mandatory Palestine and modern Israel, eclipsing the old ports of Acre and Jaffa. It has also become one of the two holy cities of a modern religion, the Bahāʾī faith, and the Carmel became its Holy Mountain where the body of the faith's martyr-prophet, the Bāb, was put to final rest in a magnificent shrine.

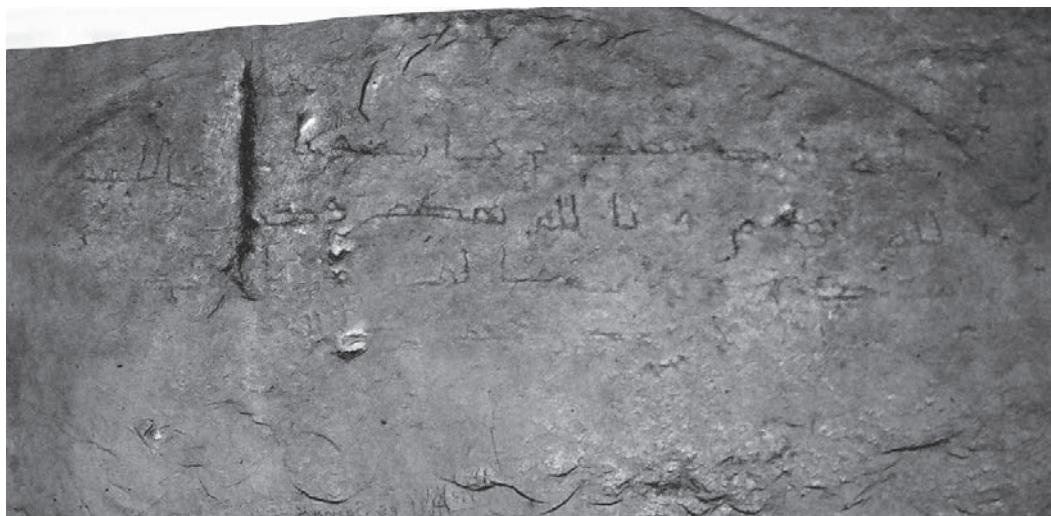
The inscriptions which were found in Tall as-Samak, although only pious declarations incised on a rock, testify to Muslim presence in the area but also to the absence of a proper settlement in the place. It adds another source of confirmation for the other archeological findings. (See also "Haifa" *EI*, *EI*²)

47. MvB 50

Pious declarations

Late 1st/late 7th- early 8thc

MvB squeeze No. 50, 0.10x0.39m. taken in February 1895. Remnants of 4 lines, graffiti, simple angular script, no points no vowels; incised. The inscription consists of a few similar (but not identical) personal declarations of faith in Allah. Pl. 47.Fig. MvB50 [Negative 27-09-005(b) No. 7A; Disc1:03190010]



Pl. 47. Fig. MvB50

بالله يُعَصِّمُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ هَاشِمٍ وَبِهِ يُؤْمِنُ (٢) بِاللَّهِ يُؤْمِنُ وَبِاللَّهِ يُعَصِّمُ وَكَتَبَ (٣) مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَالِمٍ

In Allah Muḥammad b. Hāshim finds safety and in Him he believes. By Allah he is protected.
And wrote (this) Muḥammad b. Sālim.

There are remnants of another line, which is too shallow to be deciphered. There is one word “Allah,” which belongs to another similar text at the end of lines 1-2.

Although by nature the inscription can be defined as graffiti, the writing is good, and the script represents the style of the first century of the Islamic period. It should be noted that the writer was not necessarily the person who is the subject of the inscription. It is clear from many inscriptions of this kind that when there was somebody available who could write, he produced inscriptions, even if only graffiti, for others. Similar invocations and declaration of faith from the same period were discovered all over the country, in Sinai, the Negev, and along the coast. (*cf.* e.g. *CIAP* 3: 148-152 Eilat Nos. 1-6 particularly nos. 2,4)

HEBRON (AL-KHALĪL)

Is. Gr. 160 103 (N. Is. Gr. 210 603)



One of the most ancient towns in the Holy Land. Its name “*Hbrn*” (in old Hebrew letters) appears on a signet from the 8th century BC found in the excavations of Lachish (see left). According to the Bible, it was the first capital of King David, and the burial place of the Patriarchs and their wives. This Biblical tradition was accepted by Christianity and Islam. Since the title of Abraham (Ar. *Ibrāhīm*) in

the *Qur’ān* is *al-Khalīl*, the Friend, the Beloved (of God), once the city came under Islamic rule it was also called *al-Khalīl* which is the exact Arabic translation of the ancient Hebrew name *Ḥeb̄ron* (from the Hebrew: *haber*—friend). It retained, however, its original name and the Islamic sources call it *Ḥabrūn*, and *Ḥabrā*. *Muqaddasī* knows only this last name. He writes: “*Ḥabrā*

is the village of *Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl*, peace be on him. In it there is an impregnable fortress, which was built, so it is said, by the jinns. It was built with huge ashlar, well dressed, in the middle of which there is a great stone dome over the tomb of Abraham from the Islamic period. The tomb of Isaac (*Ishāq*) is in front of it in the covered part of the building and the tomb of Jacob is at the back. Opposite the tomb of each one of these prophets is the tomb of his wife. The garden round it has become a mosque and around it were built houses for the visitors that (in time) were combined with the building of the sanctuary. They also have a small water-channel. This village (of Hebron) is surrounded by villages, and vineyards, and gardens in which they grow grapes, and apples. The district is called *Jabal Naḍrah*. There is nothing like it. Its fruits are exported to Egypt and the country around. At times, here, apples of good quality will sell at a thousand for a dirham... In the sanctuary of Hebron is a public guest-house, with a cook, a baker, and appointed servants thereto. They present a

dish of lentils with olive oil to every poor person; it is also offered to rich people if they take it.” Muqaddasī adds that most of the people think that these free meals came from the original guest-house of Ibrāhīm the friend of Allah. In fact this was a *waqf* attributed to Tamīm ad-Dārī the companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. Although Muqaddasī himself said that he had reservations about accepting these free meals, he acknowledged that the custom of Abraham, who was famous for his hospitality, was best observed at his sanctuary, and that the management of that charity was the best in all the lands of Islam. (Muqaddasī 1987:147-148; Ranking 1897:282-283; Le Strange 1890:309)

In his geographical dictionary, Yāqūt described the town under the entry “Ḥabrūn: “It is the name of the village in which there is the tomb of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl in the vicinity of Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem). However, the name al-Khalīl took over; the place is also called Ḥabrā.” Yāqūt concentrates on the Islamic traditions connected with Hebron and Abraham, and brings the story according to which the Prophet bestowed on Tamīm ad-Dārī his companion, the city of Hebron and its environs, quoting no less than the document of the deed itself. (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, Dār Ṣādir, 2: 212) (For a full description of Hebron under Islam see my article “al-Khalīl” *EI*² and the translation of major sources in Le Strange 1890:309-327).

48. MvB 66

Qur’ānic texts and declarations of faith

Copies of inscriptions (not a squeeze, formerly No. 13) made by a local young man on the spot. These copies are stored together with the squeezes. Four texts, three Qur’ānic and one the usual declaration of faith, with special reference to al-Khalīl.

- (A) ثم اوحينا اليك ان اتبع...وما كان من المشركين (Q 16:123)
- (B) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم إن ابراهيم كان امة... ولم يك من المشركين (Q 16:120)
- (C) إن ابراهيم لحليم اواه منيب (Q 11:75)
- (D) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
لا اله الا الله ابراهيم خليل الله

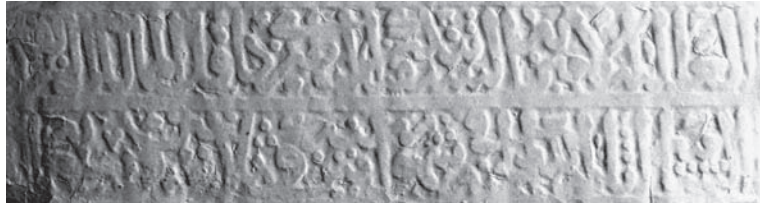
A)Q, 16:123 B)Q, 16:120 C)Q, 11:75 D) There is no God but Allah, Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. There is no God but Allah, Ibrāhīm is the friend of Allah.

49. MvB 74

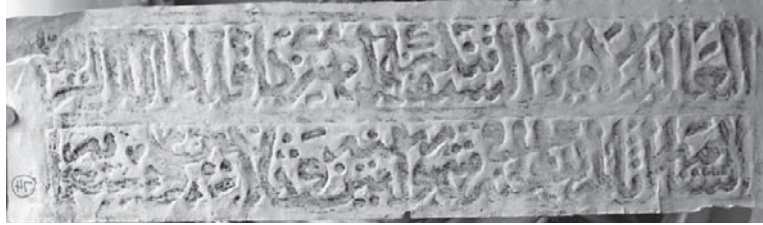
Construction text
an-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Tankiz

732/1331-2

MvB squeeze No. 74, 0.15x0.60m. 2 lines, monumental Mamlūk *naskhī*, bands dividing the lines, points, some vowels; in relief. On the squeeze there is a note which says that it is one of two squeezes. Only the one with the second half of the inscription is available at the writing of these lines. The full inscription was published in MvB Files. Pls. 49, 49a, 49b Figs. MvB74, MvB74a. [Negs. 14-02-006 Nos. 5A, 6A; Disc5:1870006, ...0007] Publication: *OM*, 307; *RCEA* 15:13 No. 5619. The first 2 lines in the following reading are not in the present squeeze.



Pl. 49 Fig. MvB74



Pl. 49a. Fig. Mvb74a (flipped over)

(١) أمرُ بإنشاء هذا الرخام المبارك في أيام مولانا السلطان (٢) الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا
والدين محمد بن قلاون بالإشارة

In the squeeze

(٣) العالمة الأميرية السيفية تنكز الناصري كافل الممالك الشريفة (٤) الشامية أثابه الله الجنة
في شهر سنة اثنين وثلاثين وسبعماية

The order was issued for the establishment of this blessed marble (cover on the walls) in the time of our lord, the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir, Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn the protector of the worldly matters and the Faith through the sublime, honourable instruction of the amīr Sayf ad-Dīn Tankīz an-Nāṣirī, the governor of the noble provinces of ash-Shām (Syria), may Allah reward him with paradise, in the months of the year 732(=1331-1332)



Pl. 49b (Photo MvB)

Mujīr ad-Dīn gave an exact description of the work commemorated by this inscription:

“And the marble (tiles) cover the walls of the mosque all around, on all four sides. It is the building project of Tankīz the governor of ash-Shām during the sultanate of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā’ūn in the year 732. (Mujīr, Būlāq 1283:58) See also p. 438: “and the front of the Aqṣā mosque and the mosque of our master (Ibrāhīm) al-Khalīl, blessing and peace be on him, was tiled with marble by the instruction of Tankīz the governor of ash-Shām.”

HŪNĪN

Is. Gr. 201 291 (N. Is. Gr. 251 791)



Hūnīn was a small Shī'ite village not far from the modern border between Lebanon and Israel. Next to it are the impressive remains of the Crusader castle Castellum (Castrum) Novum, Chastiau Neuf ("the New Castle," in modern French: Château Neuf). It was built in 1106-1107 or possibly even in 1105 together with Toron (Tibnīn) by Hugue de Saint-Omer on a hill, half way between Baniyās and Toron, to strengthen the Crusaders' defenses against Damascus and the ring of castles around Tyre, which still held out against the Crusaders. The two fortresses together with Baniyās controlled the main route from Damascus to the coastal plain of Lebanon. Hūnīn was protected by a strong wall with moats on the north, west, and south, about 18m wide, dug into the rock. The east wall was built on top of an inaccessible slope. Round towers protected the corners of the fortress. In July or August 1167, Hūnīn was attacked by Nūr ad-Dīn of Damascus, and was abandoned by the Franks after they

burnt it down. Nūr ad-Dīn followed, demolishing its fortifications. (Ibn al-Athīr, 11:328; Prawer, 1984, 1:184, 337) The fortress was rebuilt by Hamphrey of Toron in 1178, following the attempts of Saladin to invade the Galilee the year before. (Prawer, *ibid*, 449; Runciman 1957, 2:418) After the Crusaders' defeat at Ḥiṭṭīn in 1187, the castle of Hūnīn surrendered to Saladin. (Prawer, *ibid*, 560) It was entrusted, together with Tibnīn (Toron) and Qal'at ash-Shqīf (Beaufort), to the Amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn Iyās Chihārkas (Jahārkas), who appointed his own Mamlūk Ṣārim ad-Dīn Qāymāz to be in charge of the first two fortresses. (Ibn al-Athīr 2:557; Ibn Shaddād 1963:152-153; *CIAP* 2:49). In 617/1220 the fortress of Hūnīn passed to the hands of Mu'azzam 'Īsā (who destroyed it in 1219), and in 638/1241 it was given to the Franks following an agreement between them and al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, together with Tibnīn, Ṣafad, and other important strongholds in the Galilee. (Ibn Shaddād, *loc. cit.*; Prawer, 1984, 2: 271, 430 n.34). In 664/1266, during his offensive against the Crusader fortresses in the Galilee, Baybars conquered both Hūnīn and Tibnīn. The citadels were demolished. Under

the Mamlūks the rural area became part of the district of Tibnīn—*ʿAmal Tibnīn*—in the province (*mamlakah*) of Ṣafad. Under the Ottomans it was the capital of a sub-district bearing its name, *Nāḥiyat-Hūnīn*, in the province (*Wilāyah*) of Acre -*ʿAkkā* (see detailed map in *Atlas of Israel IX/11*).

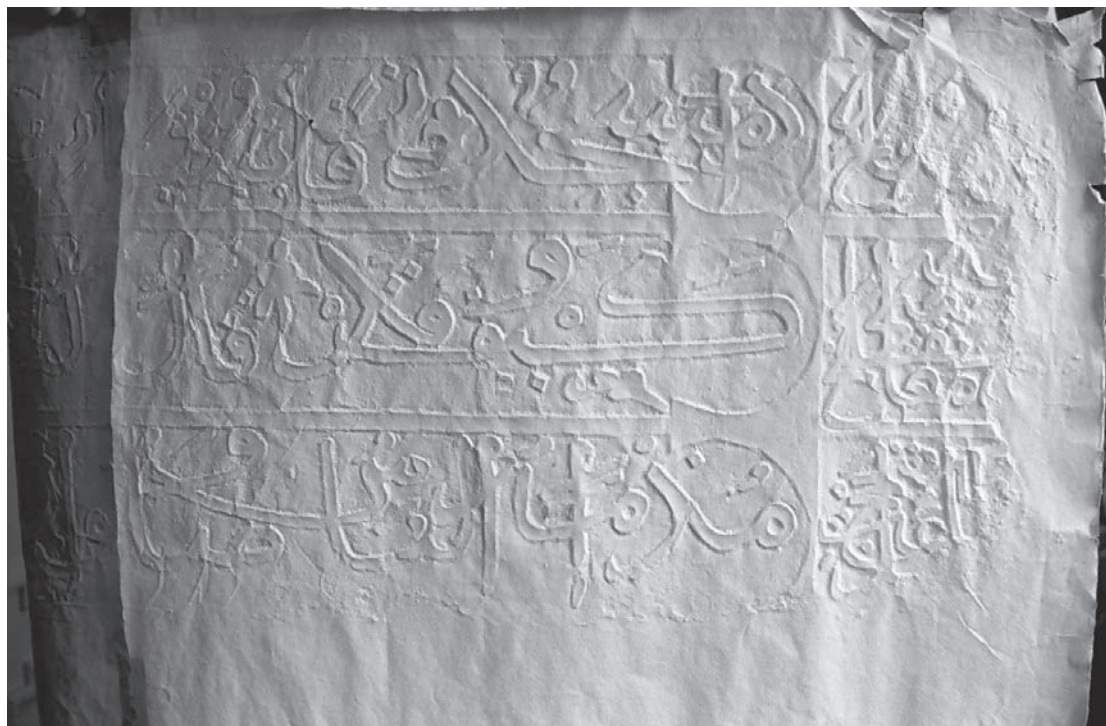
A mosque was added to the citadel of Hūnīn sometime during the Muslim rule. It is not the mosque mentioned in this inscription, which was built in the village itself in the middle of the 18th century. Like most of the inhabitants of south Lebanon, the inhabitants of Hūnīn were Shīʿites locally known as Matāwilah (colloq. Matāwleh). Travelers in the 19th century report that the local peasants used the ruins of the fortress as stables and cowsheds. (See e.g. Guérin, 3, Galilee 2, ch.104)

50. MvB 32

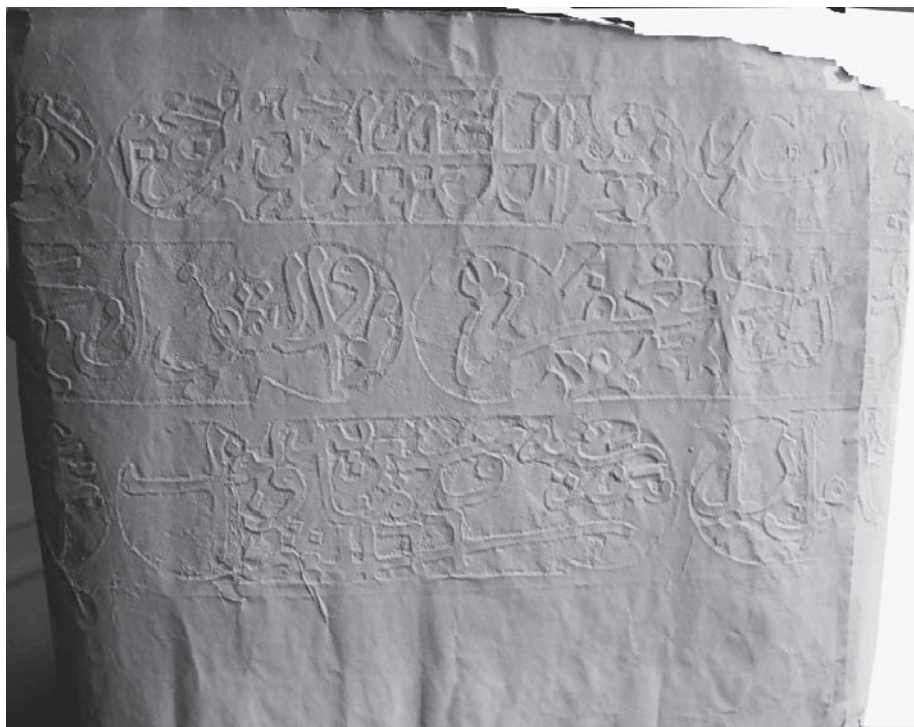
Construction of a mosque

1166/1752-3

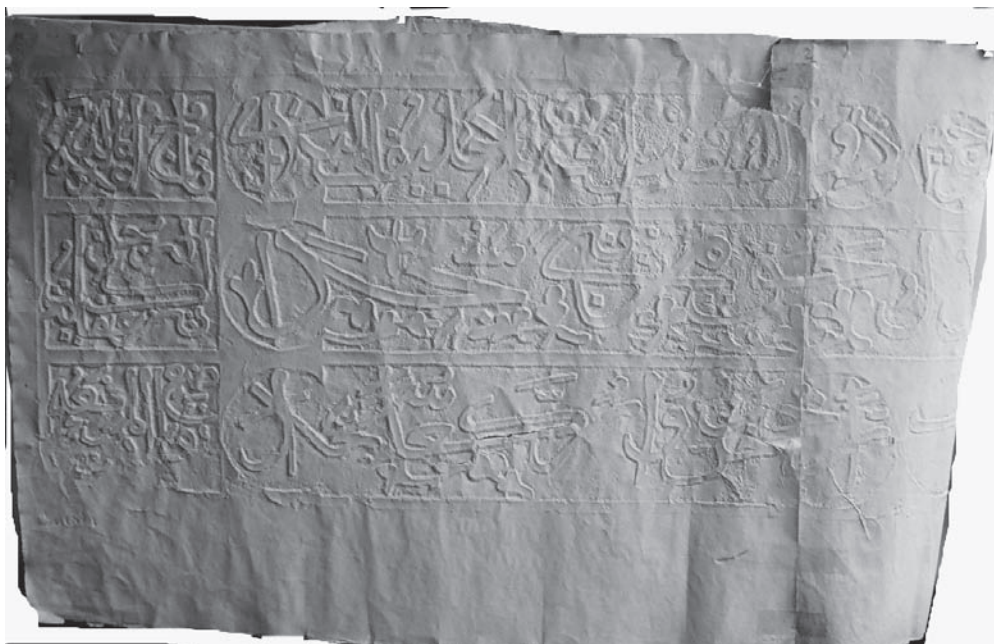
MvB squeeze No. 32, 1.62x0.32m. 3 lines, monumental, modern *naskhī*, points and many vowels; in relief. The text was divided in a rather complicated way on the stone. The main parts in the middle and other parts on both sides in smaller letters. The text is surrounded by frames, also in relief, which create sunken fields of various shapes. The long squeeze was taken in three parts which were put together before photographing. There are five photographs. Pls. 50, 50a, 50b, three Figs. MvB32a, MvB32b, MvB32c, make one set, and Pls. 50c, 50d. two Figs. , MvB32a(a) and MvB32b(b) make the second set. [Negatives: 14-12-005 4A, 5A, 6A, 7A, 8A; Disc1:03190092]. The following is an attempt at reading the inscription, which is not completely satisfying, but it is the first attempt to give a complete idea of the text.



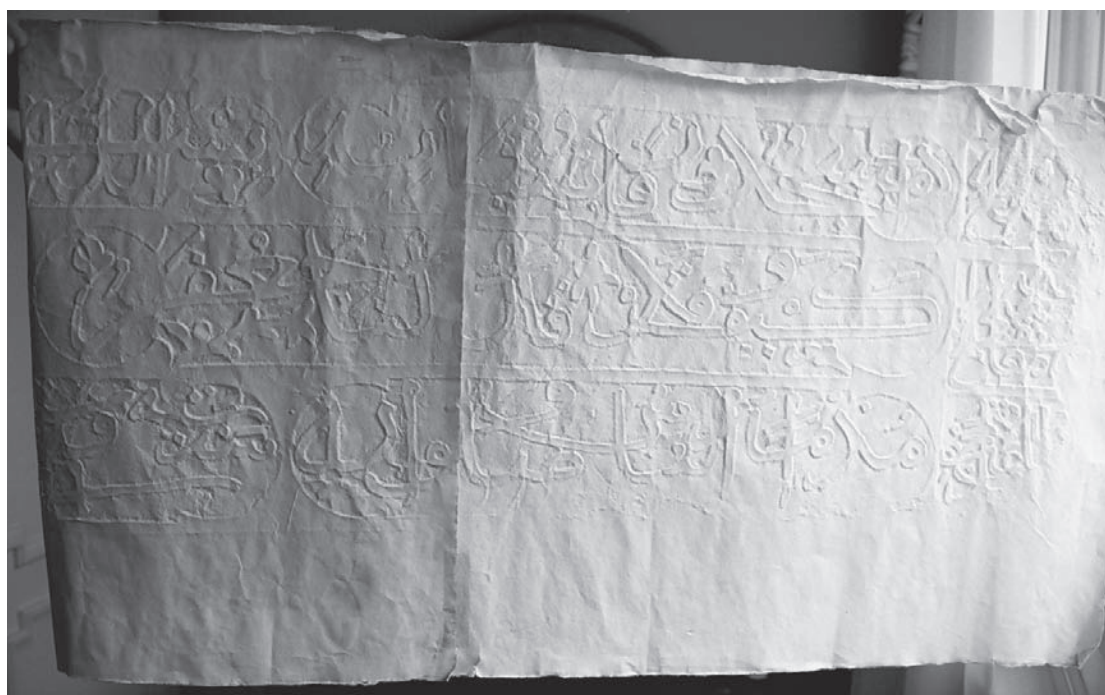
Pl. 50. Fig. MvB32a



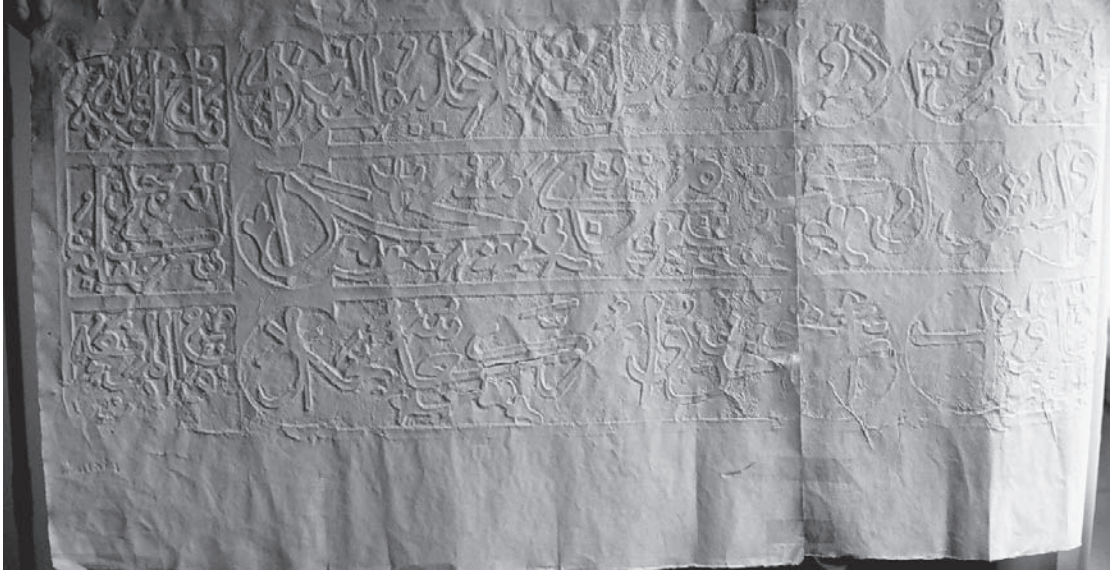
Pl. 50a. Fig. MvB32b



Pl. 50b. Fig. MvB32c



Pl. 50c. Fig. MvB32a(a)



Pl. 50d. Fig. MvB32b(b)

(١) ... ذا مسجد فاز ببنيانه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ذو الفضل قبلان حليف الندى تاج الملة
 عدله (٢) ... كيف وقد قال لنا جعفر والقول حق من بني مسجد (٣) ... مُدَامَهُ امْر لَنَا (٤)
 وصلواته سنة ستة وستين مائة والى سنة ١١٦٦ ارخه خر واركعا سجدا

[Basmalah] (in the middle). This is a mosque whose building had been gained by the owner of nobility Qabalān the ally of benevolence |the crown of the community is his righteousness (in a special field on the left).| How is it, and Ja‘far had said to us, and no doubt the saying is true: “whoever builds a mosque...” since from him there is an order to us and his prayers... the year 1166 (=1752). Fix its date by (the numerical equivalent of the words): “fall on your face prostrating in worship” (=600+200+6+1+200+20+70+1+60+3+4+1=1166);

L.2: The reference to Ja‘far here could very well be to Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) the sixth imām of the Shī‘ah, quoting an imāmī ḥadīth about the reward for the building of a mosque (See *CIAP* 1:44). This would make the mosque a Shī‘ite one. This fits well since Hūnīn, as we saw, is a Shī‘ite village.

The reading above does not cover the frames on either side of the inscription. There are many unread parts, and I tried to decipher as much as I could from the existing squeeze.

JAFFA (YĀFĀ)

Is. Gr. 126 162 (N.Is. Gr. 176 662)



Jaffa is regarded as one of the most ancient towns in the Holy Land, and probably in the world. It has been known by this name since the 15th century BCE. It was a major port for centuries. In the Roman period it lost this position to Caesarea, and in modern times to Haifa and Ashdod. It was an important coastal, frontal post in the Islamic period, and the centre of the County of Jaffa in the Crusader period; the stage of major battles between the Crusaders and the Muslims, notably the battle of Jaffa in August 1192 between Saladin and Richard I the Lion Heart (Prawer, 2:92). Baybars took it in 1268 and destroyed it, but it was restored about fifty years later, and returned to be the main port of Palestine and the gate to the Holy Land for pilgrims and merchants until the 20th century. In modern history it became famous because of the Napoleonic campaign and the carnage of the Muslim prisoners of war perpetrated by Napoleon in 1799, followed by a plague which almost destroyed his army. See detailed description and history of the city

under “Yāfā,” *EI*² (written by Buhl and updated by Bosworth).

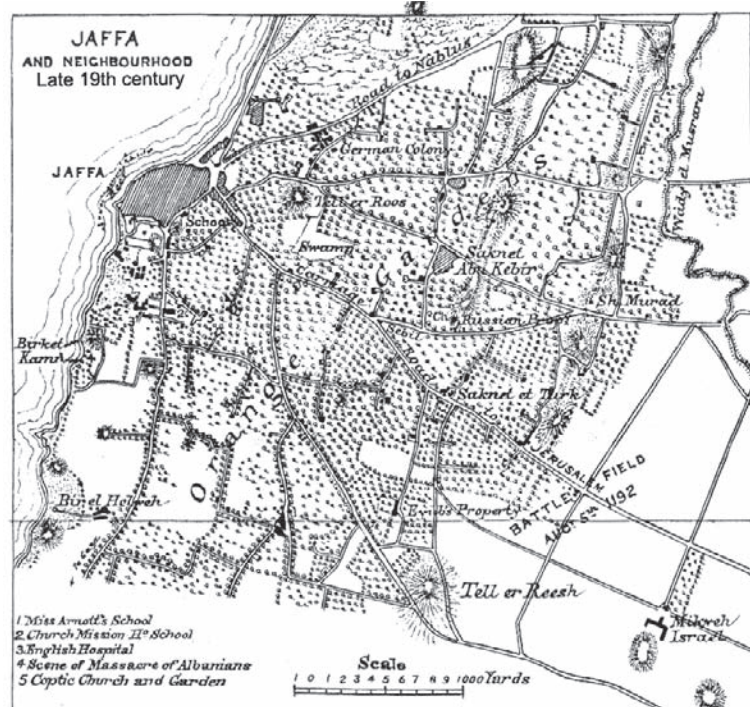
51. MvB 39

SHAYKH MURĀD (THE MUSLIM CEMETERY IN THE VICINITY OF JAFFA)

Is. Gr. 12870 16207 (N. Is. Gr. 17870 66207)

The following inscription was first discovered by Clermont-Ganneau. It came from the Walī (Welī) of Shaykh Murād (see map below). The slab on which the Arabic inscription was engraved is a small fragment of the original slab of marble or limestone, which covered the grave of a Crusader clergyman (bishop?), and bore a dateable Latin inscription. The following is Clermont-Ganneau’s description of this find:

While exploring the gardens round Jaffa... I penetrated as far as the wely of Sheikh Murād, which lies on the extreme edge of the gardens, in the north-east corner, about 2500m from the town. The sanctuary is guarded by an old Mussulman, who told me he had found close to the Kubbeh a large inscription and bas-relief. The object had been removed by someone whose name he did not know. Finally after much searching, I discovered that this someone was a converted Jew, and found the stone in question in his house. Afterwards, in 1881, I again saw the original in the possession of Baron Ustinoff (*sic!*), who had acquired it meanwhile from its possessor. (*AR* 2: 152-153; cf. his letter in *PEFQ* 1874:271; and J.E. Hanauer in *PEFQ* 1898:246)



Map of Jaffa in the late 19th century. Shaykh Murād: in the east. (Source: *PEFQ* 1898)

This is interesting evidence about the way in which antiquities found their way to the Baron's collection. According to Clermont-Ganneau, the slab's measurements were 0.70x0.55x0.05m and it represented about one-fifth of the original Crusader tomb's cover. Even this fragment was broken in two, as can be seen on the squeeze, but the broken parts fit perfectly. MvB saw the fragment in 1893, and took a squeeze of the inscription. His measurements are: 0.70x0.60m. In one of his notes he mentioned that the inscription had been "published"; on another he writes: "unedited." (In fact Clermont-Ganneau published it in 1876). Although he pointed out that the latter clearly read the date 736/1335-6, he believed that the type of writing was that of one century earlier, and suggested 636/1238-9 as the date of the inscription, that is to

say the late Ayyūbid period. However, this is impossible since the Arabic inscription was engraved on the back of a stone bearing a fragment of a Latin inscription. The fragment has a clear date: 1258. This eliminates the possibility of dating the Arabic inscription in 1238. The date offered by Clermont-Ganneau is therefore the correct one. What is sure is that both Clermont-Ganneau and MvB saw the same fragment in Ustinow's collection within two years of each other. But the former had the advantage of studying the Crusader bas-relief, and the Latin inscription (pl. 51b). Since the Latin inscription is important for the discussion of the Arabic one, here are the relevant parts of Clermont-Ganneau's description of the Latin side:

Here we see, carved in outline, a full face representation of a man with shorn beard with mitre on his head, and holding in his left hand the Episcopal crozier. It is hard to say... whether this is a bishop or an abbot. The head and the shoulders are surrounded with a trilobated arcade resting on a small column with a capital. In the right portion of the arcade there is ... a winged angel, with a nimbus, carrying incense, which he wafts round the head of the deceased... Evidently we have here the remains of one of those flat tombs, sunk to ground level, that were so numerous at this period... The slab must have represented the deceased at full length, but all that is left of it is the left half of the head as far as the place where the shoulders spring from. The primitive slab must have been divided into five or six pieces...

All around the figure of the deceased there ran a Latin inscription in medieval letters. The following is my reading...:

[*Anno d(omi)ni millesim]o ducentesimo, qui(n)quagesimo octavo in festo sanctorum (O...or C, perhaps M?)*
 In the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fifty eight on the feast of the saints...?"
 (AR 2:153-154; cf. *idem*, PEFQ 1874:272)

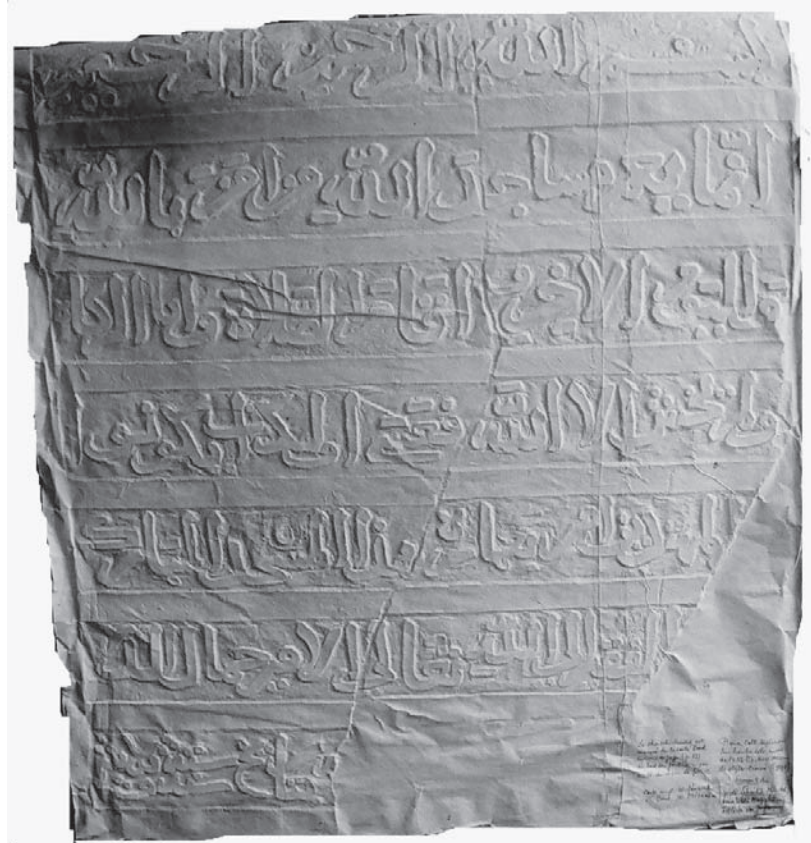
From the remnants of one letter it is impossible to know the day of the month in this inscription (All Saints - November 1; or Saints Cosme and Damian - September 27?) but Clermont-Ganneau has no question about the year: "The date of the year is beyond doubt, it is 1258." But the stone, he says, has another peculiarity, namely that it was subsequently used, after being broken away from the large original slab, for an Arabic inscription. The Arabic inscription was written when the stone fragment was nearly square, since the broken and lost corner contained the missing text of the present inscription. (*Ibid.*)

Construction text

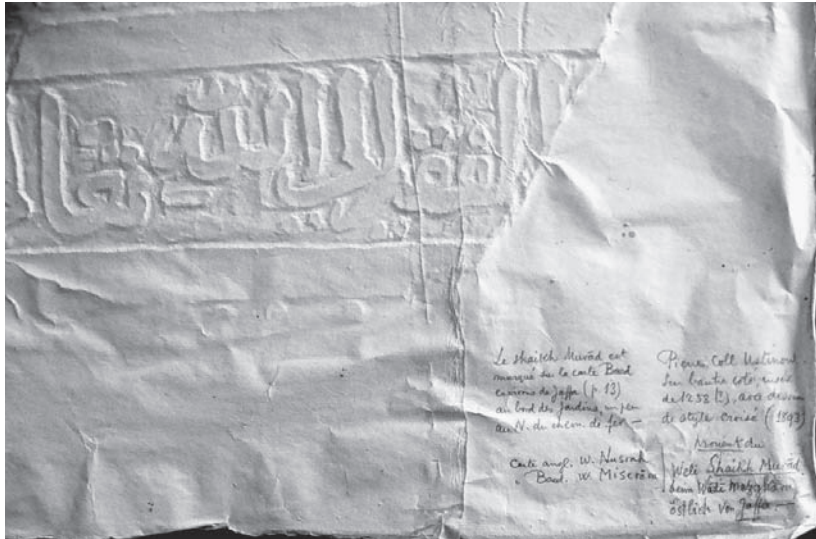
736/1335-6

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 39, 0.63x0.57m. taken in 1893. 7 lines, early Mamlūk *naskhī*, points, some vowels, bands divide the lines; in relief. The lower right part of the inscription (from the spectator's point of view) was broken and lost. On the margin of the squeeze, van Berchem noted that the inscription came to Ustinow's garden from the Walī (*welī*) of Shaykh Murād "north of the railway"

near wādī al-Mazgharah. Pls. 51, 51a 51b. Figs. MvB39, 39a. [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 28A; Disc2:12870030]. Publication: Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876, pp. 29-41. *Idem*, *PEFQ* 1874:271-272; *AR* 2:154 only translation; MvB files: "Jaffa;" H. C. Kay *PEFQ* 1898:247 (oblivious of the former publications); Pedersen, 1928:34; *RCEA* 15:58-59, No. 5687.



Pl. 51. Fig. MvB39



Pl. 51a MvB 39a (Detail)



Pl. 51b. Fig. MvB39b (Latin inscription)

The reading below is based on that of Clermont-Ganneau (*Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876: 29-41).

(١) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ (٢) اَنَّمَا یَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللّٰهِ مِنْ اٰمَنَ بِاللّٰهِ (٣) وَالیَوْمَ الْاٰخِرِ وَاَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ (٤) وَلَمْ یَخْشَ اِلَّا اللّٰهَ فَعَسَىٰ اُولَٰئِكَ اَنْ یَّکُونُوْا (٥) [من] المَهْتَدِیْنَ اَمْرَ بَعْمَارَةِ هٰذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَکِ (٦) [العبد] الْفَقِیْرُ اِلَى اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی الْاَمِیْرُ جَمَالُ الدِّیْنِ [بن] (٧).... [بن] اسْحَاقُ [بتاریخ سنة سنة (!) وثلاثین [وسبعماية]

Basmalah. Q. 9:18 (full). Has ordered the building of this blessed mosque, the slave who is needy for (the mercy of) Allah the Exalted, the amīr Jamāl ad-Dīn... [b. Ishāq] in the date of 736 (=1335-6).

L.7: The words “ibn Ishāq” appear in Clermont-Ganneau’s translation but not on the squeeze. Since he was so sure about them I bring them here in square brackets. MvB did not see them, and he notes in his files that the inscription is missing about 5 words here.

The engraver made a point of supplying the Qur’ānic verse with vowels. The date of the inscription was partly lost in the squeeze but, as I mentioned above, the year 736 seems to be the only possibility. Because of the script, it is impossible to opt for a later date (unlike H.C. Kay *loc. cit.*: “736, 836, 936 etc.”).

It is clear that the Muslims removed the long slab from a Christian tomb, and broke it into a few pieces in order to re-use them for inscriptions and other purposes.

There still remains the question whether the inscription originally commemorated some building project at Shaykh Murād, or whether it was brought to Jaffa from elsewhere.

JERUSALEM

Is. Gr. 171 132 (N. Is. Gr. 221 632)



The holiest place in the world for Jews and Christians, and the third holiest place for Islam after Mecca and Medina. The city has a recorded history of over 4000 years backed by every conceivable type of evidence: archeological, epigraphic, numismatic, and various written sources. It has been the subject of study and research by the most creative minds, particularly when Biblical research developed beyond language and exegesis, and began to place Biblical evidence “on the ground” or “on the map” from the 3rd and 4th centuries onwards (Eusebius, Hieronymus). Jerusalem has fired the imagination of artists and musicians, story tellers, writers and poets; it has been the ideal of travelers, pilgrims, and dreamers, and the battlefield of mighty powers. It was the ground on which civilizations were born and religions flourished. This was the place where monotheism reached its purest manifestation. For half the world it has been the centre of the earth, the cornerstone of creation.

It was the capital city of Israel and Judea. This conforms to the general, unwritten, historical rule that only a people whose culture is based on the Bible and who has established a separate, independent or semi-independent political entity in the Holy Land, has chosen Jerusalem as its capital. All other rulers of Palestine, from the Babylonians to the Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, and the modern Jordanians, did not choose Jerusalem as their capital. Only the Jews, the Crusaders, and the British, who represented, on the one hand, the Biblical heritage and, on the other hand, created a separate political entity in Palestine, awarded Jerusalem with the honour of being the capital. The Romans and Byzantines chose Caesarea as their capital and the Arabs opted for the new city of Ramlah.

The Muslims took Jerusalem in 638, and soon recognized the importance of its historical holiness. The heroes of the Qur’ān came alive here. They were also the heroes of the People of the Book, but they, the nation of Muhammad, were the rulers. The Qur’ān Islamicized history, and, through it, geography was also Islamicized. There was nothing wrong with discovering the location of the Temple of Solomon;

he was, after all, a Muslim prophet as his father David had been. Their names were slightly changed to Sulayman and Dāwud but not beyond recognition of the original. (Wāsītī, *Fadā'il*, 1979:5ff; Abū al-Ma'ālī 1995:12-25; Kister, 1969:173-196)

In time, the Islamicized past was not sufficient. Muslim tradition brought the Prophet of Islam himself to Jerusalem, through an ingenious interpretation of a fairly faceless verse in the Qur'ān (Q, 17:1). This tradition replaced the obscurity of the Qur'ānic verse. And what an exciting tradition! The Prophet was brought by night to Jerusalem and from the Rock at the top of the Temple Mount he ascended to heaven to meet the Almighty himself and to receive from Him the directive of five obligatory daily prayers a day. ("Isrā'" *EI*, *EI*²; Busse, 1991:1-40)



Coin from the Hasmonean period
The inscription in ancient Hebrew letters
reads: *Yerushalayim ha-Qodeshah*
"Holy Jerusalem" (c 132 BCE)

This mysterious drama became the cornerstone of the Islamic sanctity of Jerusalem. (cf. Goitein, 1966:135-148 Lazarus-Yaffe 1981:58ff; Hasson, 1996:353ff) But still, even after the dramatic description took a grip on their hearts, and became the object of interpretations and augmentation, the Muslims did not connect the name of the city to its holiness. They came to know it in the seventh century by its Roman name: Aelia Capitolina. This name was too long: Īlyā was enough. It was the name that they must have heard from the Christians in the city. It was not until the 10th century

that the holiness of the city ousted the Roman name, the last remnant of the final destruction of Jewish freedom by Aelius Hadrianus. Jerusalem, the Holy, began to be called after its most important historical and religious feature: the Temple—in Hebrew: *Beit ha-Miqdash*, which was rendered in Arabic as Bayt al-Maqdis. In those old days, when the Muslims were the supreme rulers, they had no reservations about learning from the People of the Book—Jews and Christians. The traditionalists even gave full permission for this by attributing to the Prophet of Islam the saying: "You can transmit traditions from the mouths of the Children of Israel, and there is no objection." (M.J. Kister 1972:215ff)

In fact, all the names that the Jewish-Biblical tradition gave to Jerusalem were readily accepted and used by the Muslims: Zion (Ṣahyūn), Qodesh (Quds); Yerushalayim (Ūrshalīm, Ūrshalim, Īrūshālīm and Ūrīshallūm) were the most popular (Mujīr ad-Dīn 1283:8,9,137,435 = 1972 (1):7,8,152 (2):88; cf. Goitein 1946:120-126; *idem*, "names" 1950:62-66). The Muslim traditionalists described the Temple and the service that took place in it with great love and admiration. Many of them regarded the building of the Dome of the Rock by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik as the miniature restoration of that grand temple, and the twice-weekly rituals that took place at the Dome (Mondays and Thursdays) as reminiscent of the rituals in the

Temple. (Wāṣiṭī, *Fadā'il* 1979:81ff; Sharon, 1992; Elad, 1995) But even then, with all the affection and religious attachment, Jerusalem occupied only the third place after the two cities of Mecca and Medina in Arabia, the cradle of Islam. (Wāṣiṭī, *Fadā'il* 1979:4-5, 81ff; Abū al-Ma'ālī, 1995: 11, 58ff; Goldziher, 1890, 2:35f; Kister, 1969:174ff)

The building of the Dome of the Rock was the most spectacular architectural achievement of the Umayyads in the city. No one among the Muslims themselves remembered why it had been built. All the reports of the historians and traditionalists represent their own views and interpretations rather than hard facts. Their writings influenced modern scholars in the West, and there are as many scholarly theories as there are Muslim accounts, reports, and traditions. (Most of these theories were summarized by Elad, 1992:33-58 who added yet another one. See Caskel, 1936; Goitein, 1950:104-108; Busse, 1968:441-468; Grabar, 1959:33-62; Peters, 1983:119ff; Sharon, 1992). There is, however, one piece of evidence, which is beyond any doubt and this is the inscription inside the Dome of the Rock from the time of its construction (72/692). It is Qur'ānic. That is to say it is comprised of a selection of Qur'ānic verses—a very careful selection. These verses speak about two subjects: the superior truth of Islam and the false beliefs of Christianity. Most of the inscription, which is about 240m long, is dedicated to a direct attack on the Trinity and the Sonship of Jesus. (CIA, 2, "*Haram*" No. 216) Important as it is to pay attention to the verses selected to be inscribed in the Dome, it is also noteworthy to pay attention to the verse which was ignored: verse 1 in Sūrah 17, the verse which speaks about the mysterious night journey.

One cannot escape the conclusion, therefore, that the Dome was built as a monument for discrediting Christianity as a religion and degrading its military and political powers by showing the falsehood of the central Christian beliefs and emphasizing the superiority of Islam. It was not built to commemorate the Prophet's journey to heaven or the Night Journey. This would come later, probably after Walīd (705-715) built the covered Friday Mosque to the south of the Dome (usually, but wrongly, called the Aqṣā Mosque).

Throughout the Islamic rule, Jerusalem attracted scholars, mystics, and pilgrims, Muslims as well as Jews and Christians. Many came to die and be buried in it. (*cf.* Wāṣiṭī, 1979:46-47; Abū al-Ma'ālī, 1995:281) The fact that Islam, similar to Judaism and Christianity, placed the events of the Resurrection and the Day of Judgment in Jerusalem contributed to the development of the wish to die in Jerusalem among the Muslims as well.

Following the Crusader period, under the Ayyūbids and more so under the Mamlūks, it attracted people of influence, local rulers, nobility, rich people, retired officers (most of whom were exiles) and the like, who came to the city and built

religious buildings in it: mosques, madrasahs, zāwiyahs, and mausoleums. Many also contributed non-religious buildings: hospitals, khāns, markets, public fountains (*sabīls*) and so on, adorning the city and the Temple Mount, which was now called al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf—the Noble Sanctuary—with scores of beautiful structures, most of which were functional, and adding to the enrichment of life in the city. There is no question that the Mamlūk period left the greatest number of architectural contributions in the city to which the Ottomans added a substantive part, the most important of which was the building by Sulayman the Magnificent (1520-1566) of the walls of Jerusalem, which had been in ruins for more than three hundred years.

Almost all the building activity of the Mamlūks and Ottomans has been documented in inscriptions. A great number of inscriptions also survived from earlier Muslim periods, so that the whole history of Jerusalem can be reconstructed very well through the inscriptions, with minimum intervention of other sources. This was done by Max van Berchem in his monumental work on the inscriptions of Jerusalem. His Corpus of the inscriptions of the city (*CIA* 1, “Ville”) and the Ḥaram (*CIA* 2, “Ḥaram”), with the meticulous and copious studies which accompany each inscription, represent the best documented history of Islamic Jerusalem ever published. Even the edited inscriptions themselves, without the accompanying studies, are enough to reconstruct the cultural, religious, and social history of Jerusalem. (On the basis of her father’s work, Marguerite Gautier-van Berchem, in cooperation with Solange Ory, published a beautiful volume: *La Jérusalem Musulmane dans l’œuvre de Max van Berchem*, Lausanne, 1978, which represents the graphical side of van Berchem’s work, and summarizes its main contributions to the study of the city. The three volumes of van Berchem’s *CIA*, were reprinted by the *Fondation Max van Berchem* in Geneva, in 2001.)

The research on Jerusalem is voluminous and highly diversified. For the history of the city and related subjects, as well as a bibliography, see “al-Quds” *EI* and *EI*² (written by Goitein and Grabar).

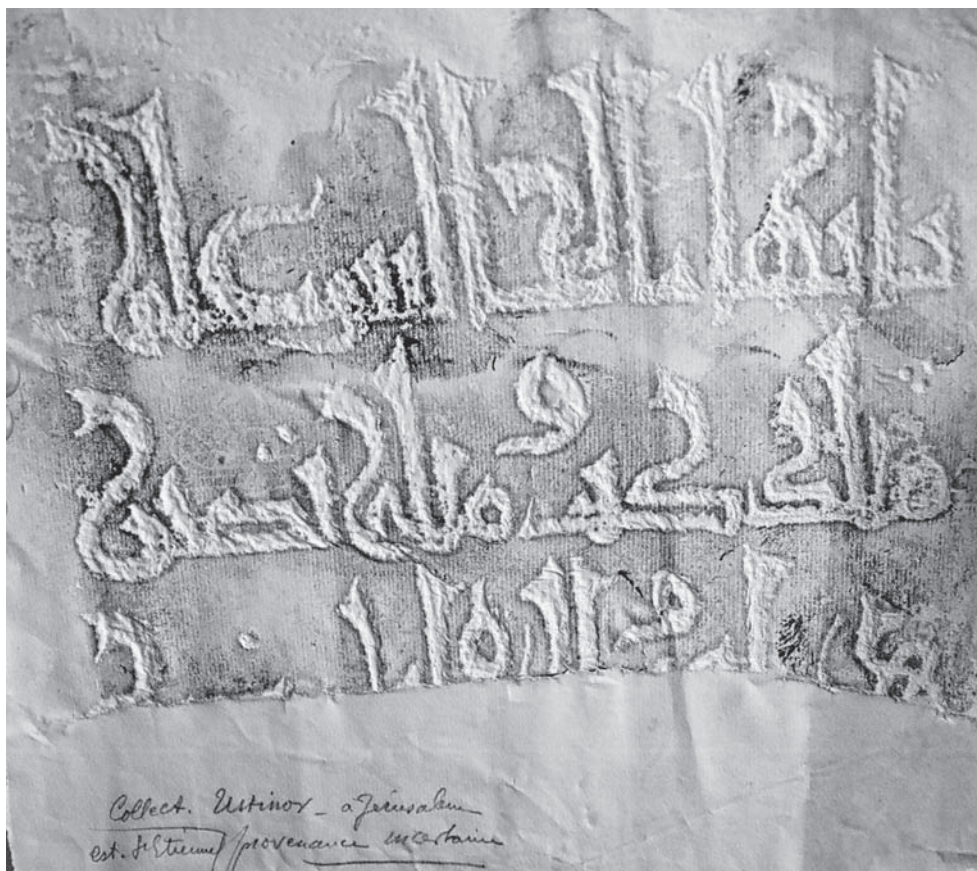
52. MvB 4

Epitaph

ca. 400/1009

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 4, 0.21x0.275m. 3 lines, angular, stylized script, ends of letters decorated with barbs and curl up, few points and vowels; incised.

MvB note on margin: “Collection Ustinow, squeeze St. Étienne in Jerusalem, origin uncertain.” Pl. 52. Fig. MvB4. [Negative 27-09-005 No. 31A; Disc1:03190052]



Pl. 52. Fig. MvB4

(١) يا ايها (!) الجالس علي (٢) مثلك كنت ومثلي تصير (٣) هذا [اقبرُ العبد (؟) ...]

O you who are sitting on me, I was like you and like me you shall be. This is the tomb of the (humble) servant (of Allah)...

The inscription does not appear in the *CIA* 1, “*Ville*,” but *cf. ibid.* No. 12. The formula usually used is: *mithluka kumtu wa mithlī takūn*. It is the exact translation of the Latin saying found on tombs: *sum quod eris, quod es ante fui*. “I am as you shall be; as you are, I was before.” This aphorism was one of the clichés used by tombstone makers, and found its way to the Arabs. It should be remembered that the engravers of inscriptions handed down their profession from generation to generation. Like all professions they remained a closed circle of artisans, in most cases belonging to certain families. After the Arabic language got the upper hand in the Muslim empire these same artisans continued to practice their profession using Arabic versions of

some of the older formulas that came mainly from Greek, Latin, and Syriac. It seems to me that this particular formula was used mainly, but not solely, by Christians who must have continued an older Greco-Roman tradition. (*Cf.* Hoyland, *JSAI*, 21, 1997)

L.3: The traces of the words of the whole of this line seem sufficient to reconstruct at least the first three words.

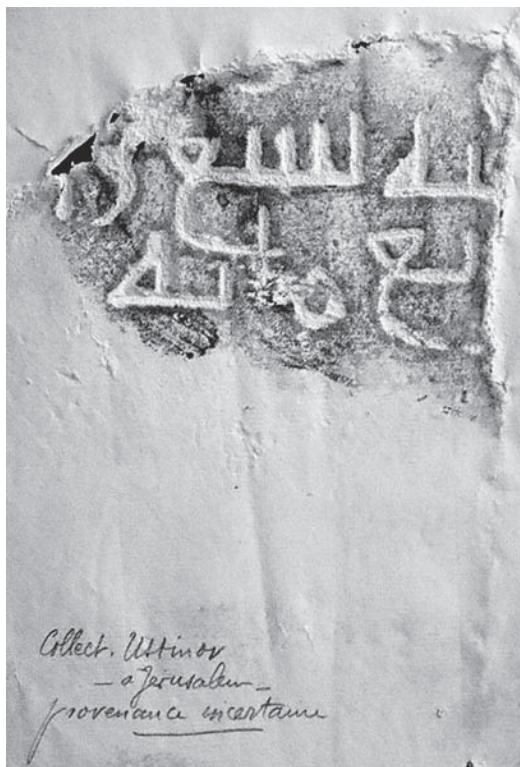
This fragment is epigraphically very important. Some of the letters are supplied with points and at least one vowel. There is no question that if we had the full inscription we would see these elements throughout the whole text. The points are clear: in l.2 over the *thā'* and *tā'* and there is one point over the last word in the broken l.3. If my reading of the word *qabr* in l.3 is correct then it seems to be voweled with *dammah*. This is the only explanation I can give to the sign between the letters on top, unless there is an error in my reading of the whole line. The points and the vowels hardly appeared before the replacement of the angular script (erroneously called *Kūfi*) with *naskhī* in the 6th/12th century.

53. MvB 44

Fragment of an epitaph (?)

409/1018-19

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze, 0.095x0.14m. 2 lines, simple, angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 53. Fig. MvB44 [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 35A; Disc2:12870036]. MvB note: "Uncertain origin."



Pl. 53. Fig. MvB44

(١) [سنة تسع و ٢٠] [ر]بع مائة

The year 409 (=1018-1019)

The date above allows a very small break on the left side of the inscription, and the loss of only the letter *rā'* of the four hundred. However, if the break is substantial then any date between 429 and 499 could fit. At any rate, the script does not allow a deep 5th/11th century date, which makes the date suggested above a very probable one.

KARAK

Is. Gr. 217 065 (N.Is. Gr. 267 565)



Karak was a fortress on the top of an isolated mountain surrounded by a small town, to the east of the southern section of the Dead Sea. It was identified with ancient Qir or Qir Moab in Isaiah 15:1. Its topographical position on top of a mountain with almost no access made it impregnable. (Pl. P54) It is interesting that nothing is said in the Arabic sources about Karak during the Islamic conquests or afterwards, before the Crusaders period. They called it Le Krak and erroneously identified it as “Petra Deserti.” It is first mentioned by Yāqūt who speaks only about its strong castle “on a high hill” and about its important strategic position “between Jerusalem and Aylah.” (Yāqūt, 4:453; Le Strange 1890: 479). It appears in the annals of medieval history when it was built in 1141 by Payen the cup-bearer of King Fulk as part of the latter’s grand plan of strengthening the defense system of the kingdom. Situated on the main Ḥajj and commerce route from Damascus to Arabia and

from Syria to Egypt, it was able to cause the Muslims much trouble, and all their attempts to take it failed. Only in 584/1188, did al-‘Ādil, Saladīn’s brother, succeed in capturing it after starving its garrison, which could not hope for any help after the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn.

After that it remained in the hands of various Ayyūbid Princes until it was occupied by Baybars in 661/1263. This period is well covered by the reports of Ibn Shaddād. (See references below). Under the Mamlūks it was the capital of a province (*Mamlakat al-Karak*), which stretched mainly to its south. Its governor (*nā’ib*) was often called the governor of Karak and Shawbak, as in the following inscription, since the two fortresses were the only major strongholds in the province, in which there were only a few settlements. The castle of Karak was strengthened, and gave protection and power to its rulers. In 1309 the Sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qala’ūn found refuge in it after he had been expelled from Cairo in his second reign, and could prepare there for his return to power for his third and very long reign. Karak dwindled under the

Ottomans and became a poor desert village, and revived only at the beginning of the 20th century after the construction of the Ḥijāz railway. In modern Jordan it became a tourist attraction. Its famous castle has long been in ruins.

All the Arabic sources which speak about Karak belong to two periods: the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk (see particularly in great detail Ibn Shaddād al Ḥalabī 1962:59, 69, 75, 88, 124, 148, 156, 221, 225, 235, 242, 246-248; Le Starnge 1890: 479-480). For details and bibliography consult “Kerak” *EI*, and “Karak” *EI*².



Pl. P54: ruins of Karak fortress late 19th century (MvB Files)

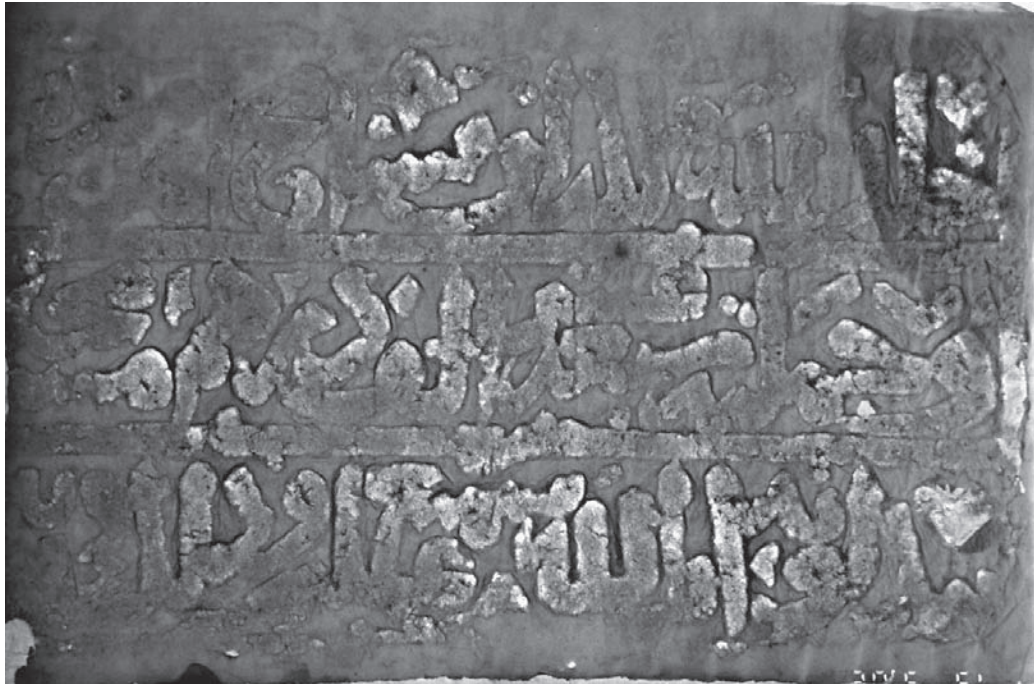
54. MvB67-69

Decree: exemption from taxes

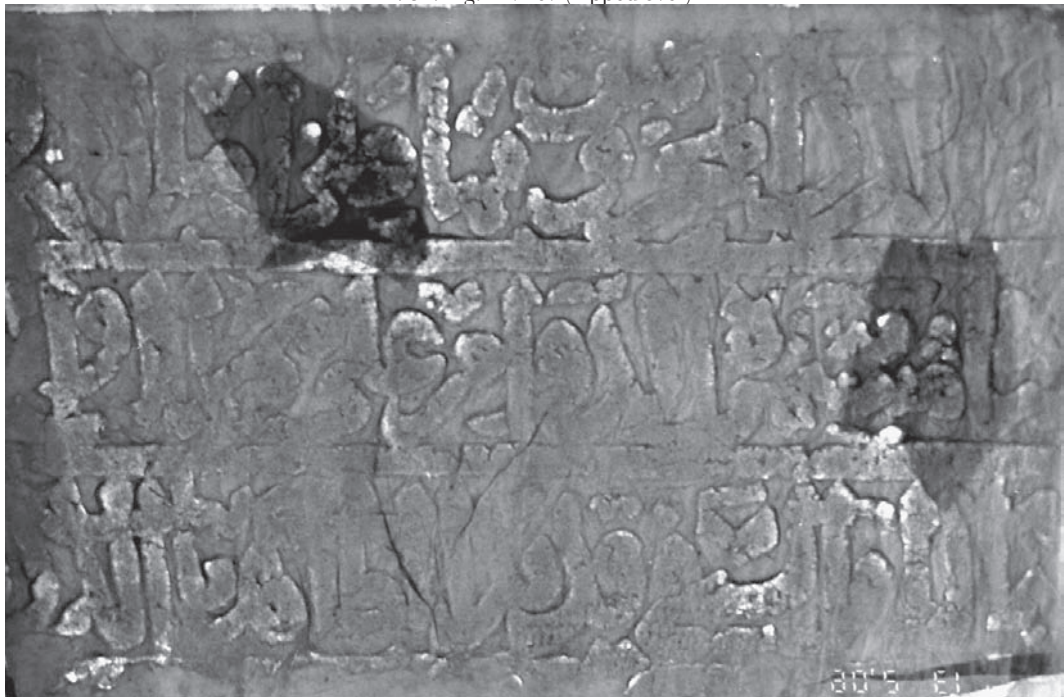
Jumādā I 792/17April-May 1390

MvB squeezes Nos. 67, 68, 69 (formerly No. 14-16). (One inscription taken by Brünnow in three squeezes). 0.39x2.26m. 3 lines monumental Mamlūk *naskhī*, large letters, no points no vowels; in relief. Pls. 54, 54a, 54b, Figs. MvB67, MvB68,

MvB69 (only negative images flipped over horizontally). [Neg. 14-2-006 Nos. 23A, 24A, 25A, 26A, 27A, 28A; Disc 4: 11850024-29]. Publication: MvB files "Karak." *RCEA* 18:126, No. 792 003. Duc de Luynes 1872:201, No. 19. The stone with the inscription was lying near the gate of the minaret of the ancient mosque. (MvB Note: "...I could not recover the stone with the beginning of this inscription.")



Pl. 54. Fig. MvB67 (flipped over)



Pl. 54a. Fig. MvB68 (flipped over)



Pl. 54b. Fig. MvB69 (flipped over)

[برز مرسوم مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر سيف الدين برقوق]

١) خلد الله ملكه أن يُسامح اهل مدينة الكرك المحروس بما على املاكهم ودورهم وواقفهم
 وبساتينهم من الأحكار ٢) وجملته سبعة عشر الف درهم مسامحةً مستمرةً الدوام على ممرّ
 السنين والأعوام فمن بدّله بعد ما سمعه فأنما اثمه على الذين ٣) يبدّلونه إن الله سميع عليم
 وذلك في نيابة المقرّ السيفي قديد الظاهري نائب الكرك والشوبك أعزّ الله انصاره بتاريخ
 شهر جمادى الأوّل سنة اثنين وتسعين وسبعمئة

(A decree has been issued by our lord al-Malik az-Zahīr Sayf ad-Dīn Barqūq) may Allah perpetuate his realm, (ordering) that the inhabitants of the divinely protected town of Karak should be exempted from the rent imposed on their land property, their homes, and their religious endowments (*awqāf*), and their gardens amounting all in all to 17,000 dirhams. This exemption is unlimited in time, to be perpetuated over the years and ages, and whoever changes it, “after hearing it, the sin shall be on those who change it; surely Allah is All-hearing All-knowing” (Q, 2:181). This was during the governorship of his Excellency Sayf ad-Dīn Qadīd, the Mamlūk of al-Malik az-Zāhīr (Barqūq), the governor of Karak and Shawbak, may Allah strengthen his victories in the month of Jumādā I, the year 792 (=April-May 1390).

Barqūq was exiled to Karak after he had been defeated and deposed in 791/1389. It was from Karak that he began his comeback to a second reign in 792/1390. I surmise that it was he who gave, in that year, or the year before, the orders to exempt the population of Karak from land taxes and other real estate taxes, and I suggest, therefore, the above reconstruction of the missing part at the beginning of the inscription. I modeled it on the inscription dated 854/1450-51 of Sulṭān Jaqmaq abolishing unjust taxation which had been imposed on the Armenian convent of St. James in Jerusalem. (*CIA*, 1, “Ville,” Nos. 100, 101).

Maqrīzī dedicated a rather lengthy report to Barqūq’s buildings, development projects, and benevolent deeds which included abolition of taxes and levies and

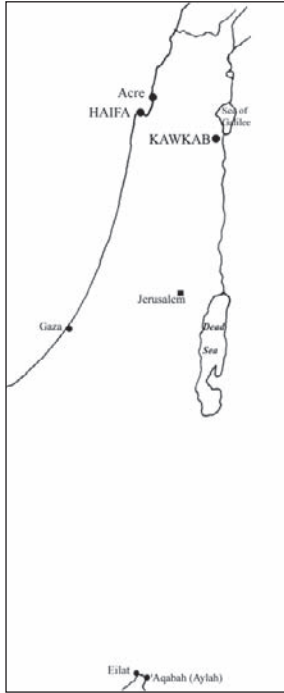
other charges not only in Karak and Shawbak (*wa-abṭala ḍamān al-maghānī bimadīnat Karak wa-ash-Shawbak*) but also in many other parts of the empire. (Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1997 (5): 447)

L.3: Sayf ad-Dīn Qadīd az-Zāhiri al-Qalamṭāwī was an important amīr who filled several positions during the sultanate of Barqūq. During the short reign of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī in 783 he was nominated amīr of ten, (*ibid*, 97) and two years later in 785/1383, under Barqūq we find him in the important position of the supervisor of the religious endowments (*shādd al-awqāf*, *ibid*, 150). In 791 he was elevated to the rank of *amīr ṭablkhānah*. (*Ibid*, 217) Following the Battle of Shaḡhab in Syria, (14 Muḡarram 792/2 Jan. 1390), in which Barqūq defeated his opponents and resumed his second term of rule (792/1390-801/1399), he bestowed the governorship of Karak on Qadīd. (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, 11, 1970:371; Ibn al-Furāt, 9:188) He remained in office until 7 Rabī I 793, and in Jumādā II 793 he was nominated in Cairo to the office of *ḡājib thālith* and confirmed in the position of *amīr ṭablkhānah*. (Ibn Taghrī Birdī 12, 1970:27). Soon afterwards he became the governor of Alexandria until 16 Sha'bān 799, but a short time later he was exiled (sent as an *amīr baṭṭāl*) to Jerusalem where he died on Rabī I, 801. (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, 13, 1970:10; Ibn al-Furāt, 9:464; Sakhāwī, *Daw'*. 6, 1313:214. No. 709)

The inscription commemorates a decree which was issued in the name of the sultan by Qadīd almost immediately after he took his position as the governor of Karak. It is very possible that in this way the Sultan showed his gratitude to the people of Karak for their help during the period of his exile.

KAWKAB AL-HAWĀ

Is. Gr. 199 222 (N.Is. Gr. 249 722)



The original Arabic name is Kawkab; “al-Hawā” is a local, and late addition. This is the name the Muslims gave to the Crusader castle of Belvoire (also: Belveir, Belvedere). The name represents the high location of the castle (measuring 160x160m.) that overlooked the Jordan valley (321m. above sea level) and controlled all the area from Bethshean (Baysān) to Tiberias. It seems that the place had not been fortified before the Crusaders period, since William of Tyre called it *castrum novum*, and today the only remnants on the mountain are those of the Crusaders’ castle which was one of the fortifications strengthened by King Fulk around 1141 as part of his plan to upgrade the defenses of the kingdom. (See Guérin below). Yāqūt mentioned it briefly in his entry on Kawkab: “It is a name of a fortress on the mountain which rises above the city of Tiberias. It is strong and fortified and overlooking the Jordan. It was occupied by Saladin among the rest of the country which he had conquered. It fell

into ruin after his days.” (Yāqūt, 4:494. Le Strange, 1890:483). Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, supplies more details about the place. It capitulated to Saladin after a long siege aimed at starving its defenders, at the end of 584/early 1189. The sultan gave it as fief to the Amīr Ṣārīm ad-Dīn Qaymāz, who also received other captured fortresses in the north (see “Hūnīn” in this volume). It remained in his possession until his death in the time of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, who eventually gave it to his own son al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā. The latter, in 1219-1220, demolished it with other castles all over the country for fear that the Crusaders, who had taken Damietta in 1218, would re-conquer their lost Palestinian territories and establish themselves in the strong castles if they found them still intact. He demolished, therefore, most of the strongholds in Palestine including Jerusalem, Tabor, Ṣafad and many others. (Ibn Shaddād, 1962:161,223) Kawkab was never rebuilt.

When Guérin visited the place in June 1875, he found a few families who had built poor dwellings in the ruins and using some of the vaulted spaces still standing. (Guérin, *Galilée* 1, ch. 9) The main source of water for the inhabitants of Kawkab

was a natural spring which enjoyed the attention of a benevolent amīr, who left the following inscription near it. (SWP 2:85, 117).

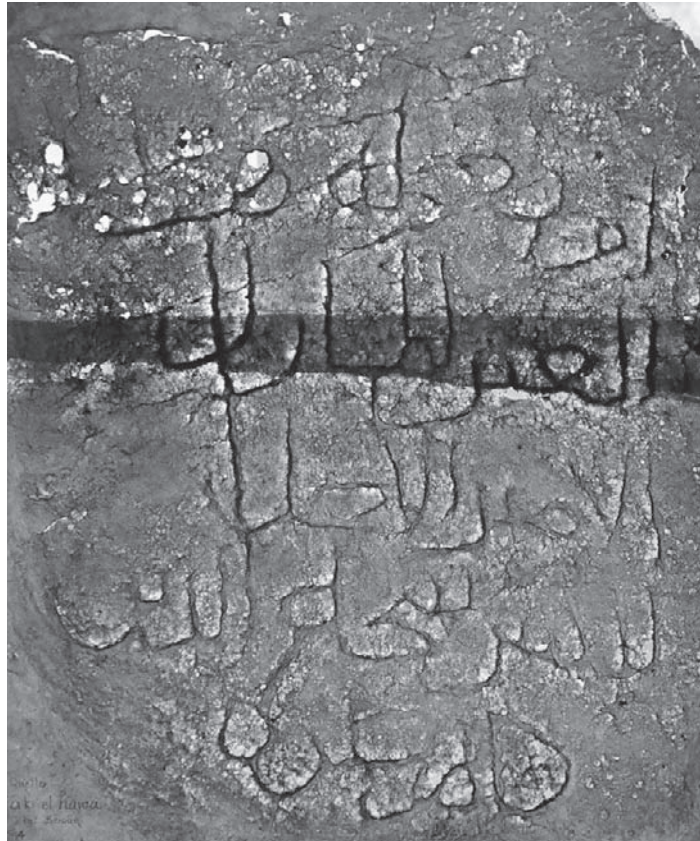
The spring is located some 500m to the south of the fortress. (Is. Gr. 199 221; N. Is. Gr.249 721) It is locally called ‘Ayn al-Ḥilū (in the SWP, index 2, *Arabic Namelist* 1888:157: عين الحلو وقيل عين المزوقة “and it is said that there is another name: ‘Ayn al-Muzawwaqah—the adorned spring.”)

55. MvB 48

Construction text

Early 7th/13th century

Ustinow collection. MvB Squeeze No. 48, 0.35x0.30m. (approx) taken by Schumacher in December 1894, 5 lines, large simple *naskhī*, incised. Pl. 55. Figs. MvB48, MvB48a. [Negative 27-09-05(b) Nos. 3A, 4A; Disc1:03190004, 005]. Publication: MvB files “Kaukab al-Hawā,” *cf.* Conder *PEFQ* 1874:179.



Pl. 55. Fig. MvB48

(١) أمر بعمله (!) هذا (٢) العين المباركة/لمبارك (٣) الأمير الأجل (٤) الكبير شجاع الدين (٥) دام
عزه

Has ordered to make this blessed fountain the illustrious amīr, the great, Shujā‘ ad-Dīn, may his glory be perpetuated.

The inscription was incised on a basalt rock near the spring at Kawkab al-Hawā. The cracks in the stone interfered with the writing and could easily lead to an incorrect reading.

L.2: The words *hādhā* (l.1) and *mubārah* do not strictly fit the gender of *al-‘ayn* which is usually feminine. The reading *hādhīhī* and *mubārahah* is also possible if one considers the worn out surface of the stone.

L.4: The reading of the words *al-kabīr* and *shujā‘*, which I proposed, looks very possible. I am not completely sure, however, about the reading of *al-kabīr*, but I think that this is the only reasonable reading. The first letter looks like a *lām* not *alīf*, but I believe that the bending to the left of this letter is due to the condition of the stone, beside the fact that in the early *naskhī* inscriptions the bottom end of the *alīf* did bend to the left. The word *shujā‘* can not be seen at first glance, however, the last letter is not *tā’ marbutah* but two letters: *alīf* and *‘ayn* which in time were connected to each other exactly as happened to a few other letters in the inscription: for instance, the *alīf* of *al-mubārahah* which got attached to the *mīm* (l.2) and the *dāl* and *alīf* in the word *dāma* (l.5).

It is a pity that the inscription is not dated. The simple script does not allow dating. The letters, in spite of being simple, were professionally incised and the whole inscription was well planned. The form of the letter *kāf* at the end of l.2 and the *lām alīfs* bring me to venture the possibility that the inscription belongs to the Ayyūbid period, or to the time of the renewal of the Islamic settlement in Belvoire after 683/1283, the date of the armistice agreement between Qalā’ūn and the Crusaders. (Prawer, 1984 2:510) I prefer the early 7th century date before its demolition by Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā.

It is possible that an Ayyūbid *amīr* was responsible for the work when Belvoire was in Muslim hands between 1189, the year of its capture by the Muslims (*ibid*, 70 note 5), and the year 1219 when the fortress was destroyed (*ibid*, 141) or even until 1241, when the area was returned to the Crusaders (*ibid*, 271, 296 and map p. 272).

The inscription does not commemorate the work of digging, but most probably the building of a structure over the natural spring to enable easy drawing of its water.

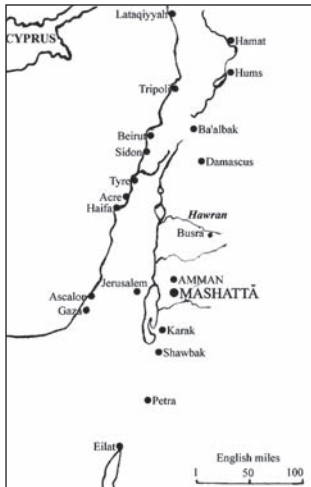
MvB read the inscription from the squeeze. What follows is his reading, which I saw after I read the same squeeze:

١)مما(؟) أمر بعمله هذا ٢)العين المبارك ٣)الأمير الأجلّ ٤)...two words...الدين ٥)دام عزّه

My reading above completes MvB's reading. I cannot see a place for the word *mimmā* suggested (with a question mark) at the beginning of the first line.

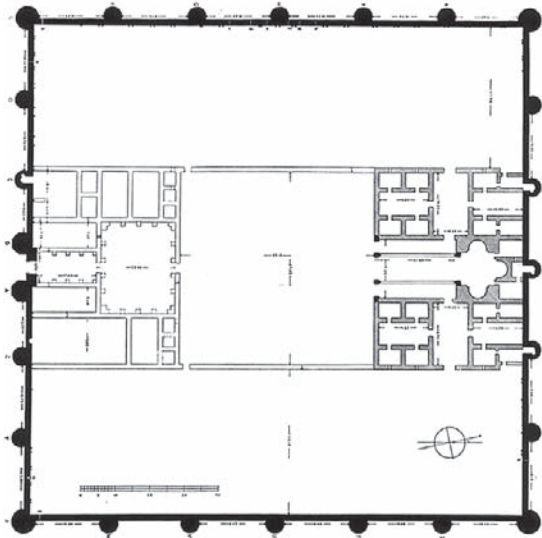
MASHATTĀ (MUSHATTĀ)

Location: 31° 07'N35°85'E



Colloquial name: Mshattā. The word means “winter dwelling,” but it is doubtful whether it is possible to reach any conclusions from this name which was given to the ruins of an unfinished “desert palace,” attributed to the Umayyads (see plan below). The site, a square structure (144x144m), 35km south of ‘Amman, like almost all the so called “Desert Palaces” has not been mentioned in the written sources. It was first discovered in 1840 by Layard (but his report was not published until 1887) and again independently by Tristram in 1872. (Creswell, 1958:124 n.1) Creswell (who preferred the colloquial name Mshattā) studied it thoroughly in his *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols.

Oxford 1932 and 1940; summarizing account, Pelican book, 1958:124ff). An abridged description was prepared by Oleg Grabar and Richard Ettinghausen (1987:50-52 and 390 note 77 for bibliography. For an up-to-date report and review of the various views about the structure, of which only the northern central section was built, see “Mushattā” *EI* ²). The inscriptions below were found next to the ruins. They might have been left by people who had used the ruins as temporary dwellings sometime during the Islamic period. Being semi-graffiti and lacking any historical message they add no information to the existing data about the building.



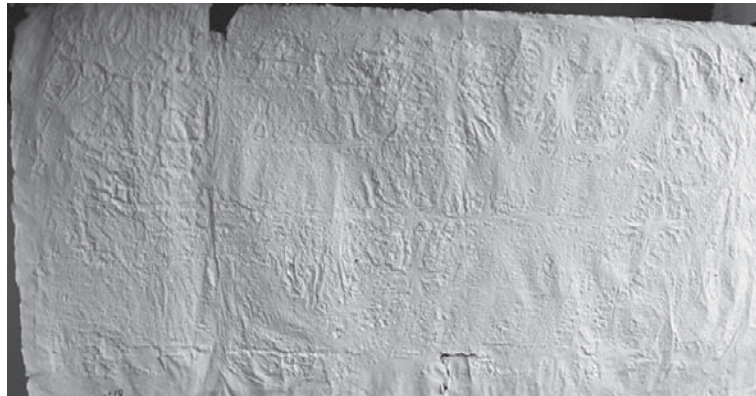
Plan of Mashattā (after Creswell).

Only the eastern section of the middle part was finished.

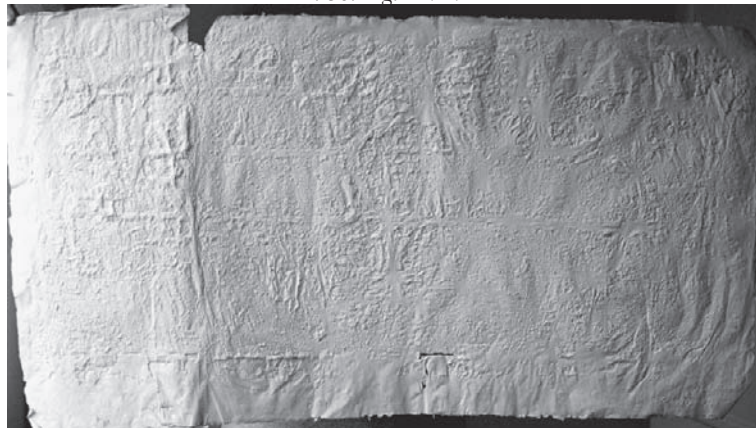
56. MvB 71

Epitaph of a Muslim(?)

MvB squeeze No 71 (formerly No. 18), 0.40x0.78m. 4-5 lines(?) very shallow large angular script, no points, no vowels detected; incised. Pls. 56, 56a Figs. MvB71, MvB71a [Negs. 14-10-006 Nos. 33A, 34A; Disc4:1850034, ...0035] From the squeeze it is impossible to reach any meaningful reading. However, as with other squeezes, the photograph of this squeeze was also taken both in the normal fashion (Pl. 56. Fig. MvB71) and as a mirror image, flipped over horizontally (Pl. 56a. Fig. MvB71a), which enabled the recognition of a few letters.



Pl. 56. Fig. MvB71



Pl. 56a. Fig. MvB71a (flipped over)

(١)...العبد الفقير (٢)[الى] الله نِهَاد/تَمَام (٣)[ابن؟] سعيد(؟)

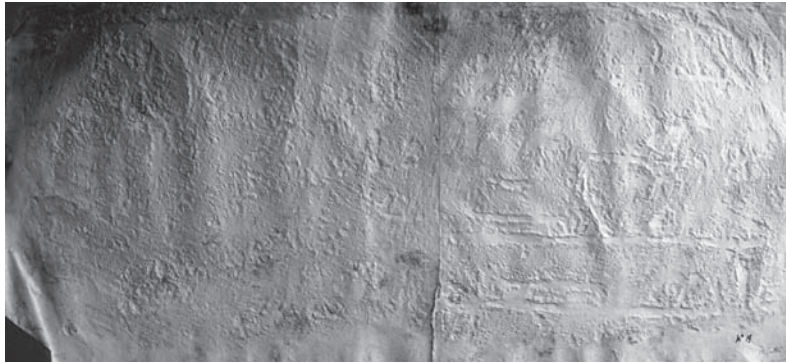
...The slave who is poor for Allah Nihād/Tammām b. Sa'īd

The reading is based on some traces of letters which I can recognize. It seems very possible that the inscription is an epitaph of a Muslim. I think that the name Saʿīd was incised along the whole of l.3.

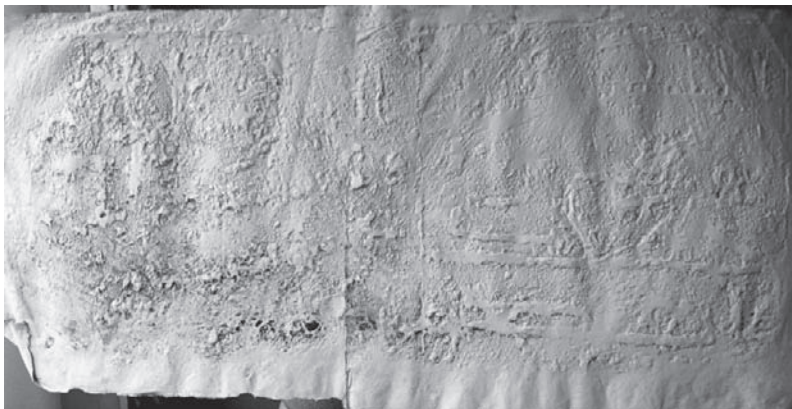
57. MvB 72

Invocation

MvB Squeeze No. 72, 0.35x0.79m. taken by Brünnow. 4 lines, graffiti, first line small letters, the next three lines large angular letters, no points, no vowels; incised. Initially, the text on the squeeze seems completely unreadable. Further attempts enable the recognition of a few letters and the possible reading offered below. It seems that Brünnow saw more text, but this is completely lost in the squeeze. Pl. 57 Figs. MvB72, MvB72a. [Negs. 14-02-006. Nos. 35A, 36A; Disc4:1850036. ...0037]



Pl. 57. Fig. MvB72



Pl. 57a. Fig. MvB72a (flipped)

١) الله/اللهم(?) [اغفر ل(?)..بن ٢]....(٣)سعد(?) (٤) ما تقدم [من ذنبه وما تأخر]

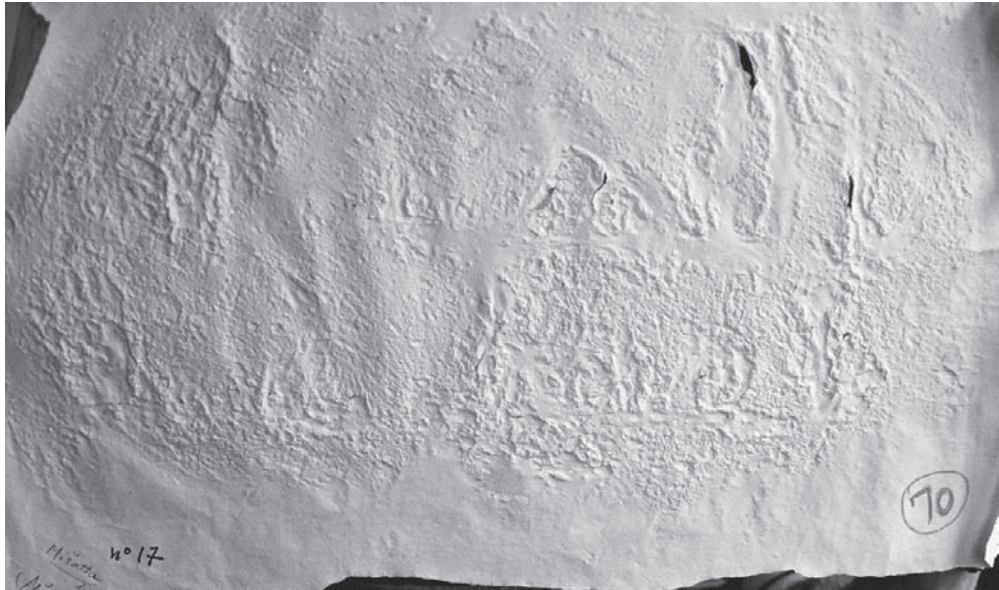
“O, Allah pardon the early and later sins of...”

From the few letters that I can recognize I suspect that the main inscription consists of a well-known formula encountered frequently in graffiti. (See this formula in a long (painted) inscription dated Muḥarram 92/Nov. 710 from another “Desert Palace”—Qaṣr Kharānah *RCEA* 1:18, No. 20). In this case I think that the name of the person could well be (Somebody)... b. Sa’d. The squeeze bears traces of more than one graffiti.

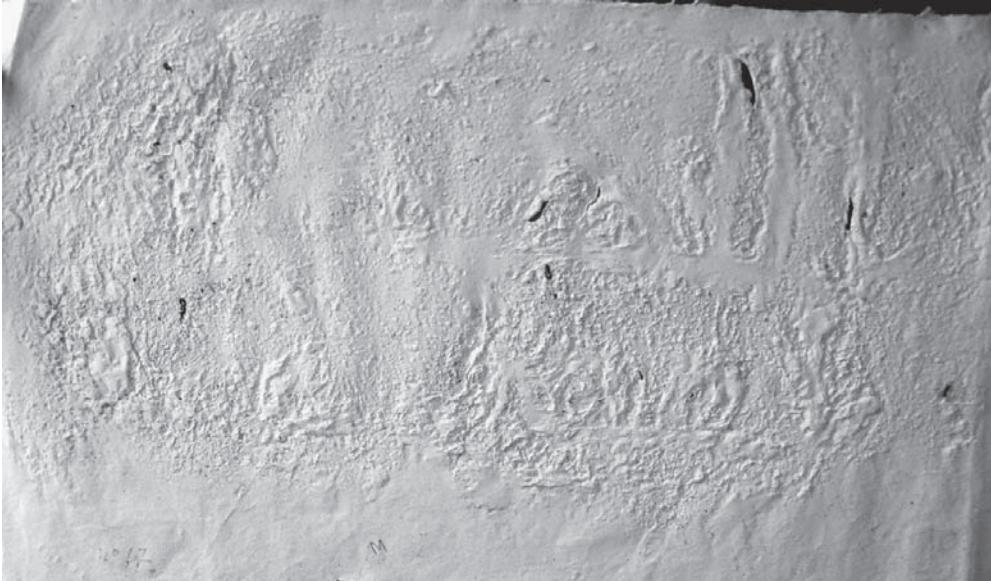
58. MvB 70

Invocation

MvB Squeeze No. 70 (formerly No. 17), 0.20x0.41m. taken by Brünnow. 2 lines, graffiti, large shallow angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Pls. 58, 58a. Figs. MvB70, MvB70a [Neg. 14-12-006 No. 31A, 32A; Disc4:11850032, ...0033]



Pl. 58. Fig. MvB70



Pl. 58a. Fig. MvB70a (flipped over)

(١) اللهم (٢) اغفر

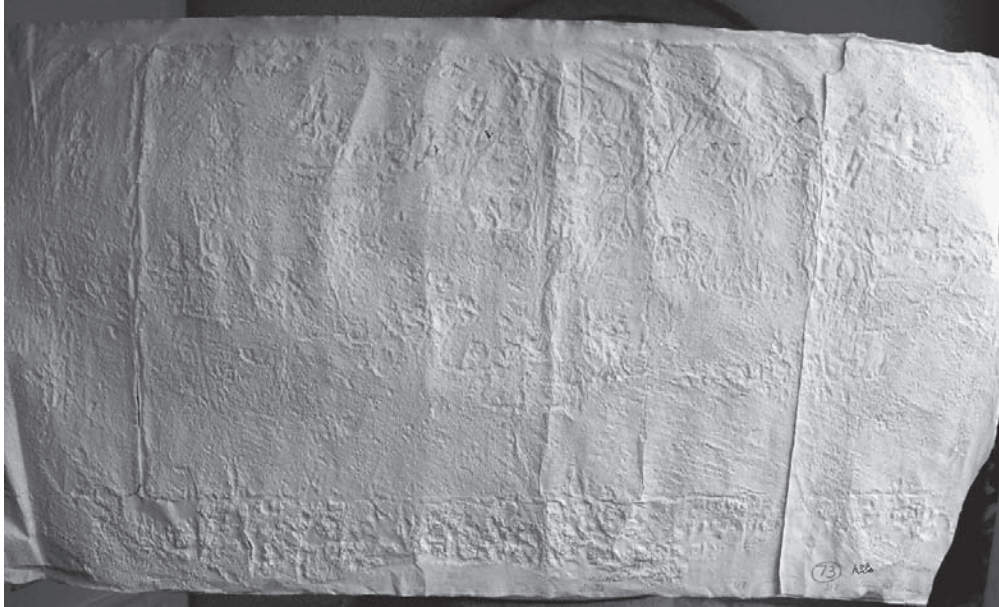
O Allah! Pardon...

59. MvB 73

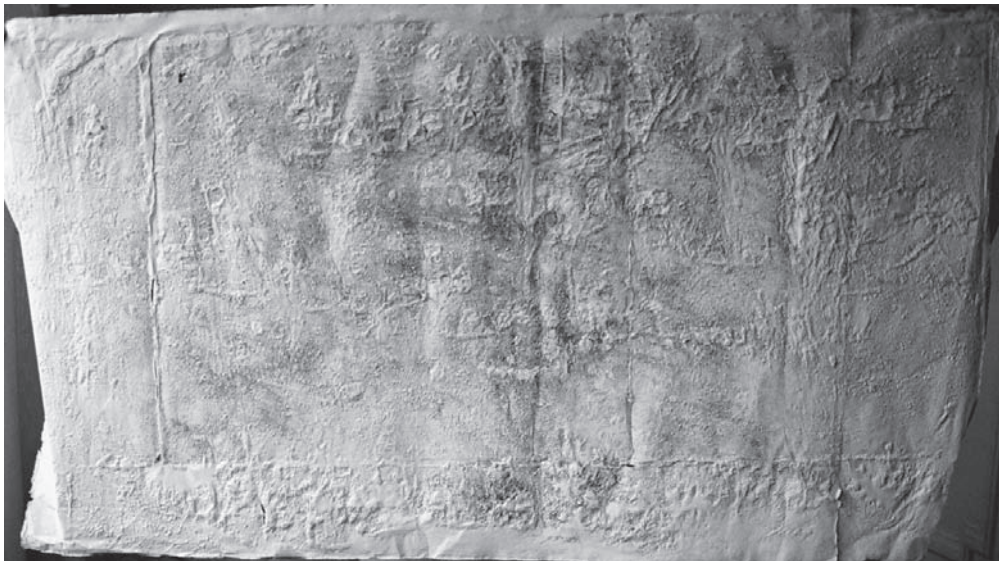
Unreadable

MvB squeeze No. 73, 0.435x0.80m. taken by Brünnow. 4 lines, graffiti, angular script, shallow letters, unreadable. Pls. 59, 59a. Figs. MvB73, MvB73a, [Negs. 14-02-006 Nos. 0A, 1A; Disc5:11870001, ...0002]

The inscription, from which only traces of some letters are recognizable, must have been a formal one since it was incised in a frame, the traces of which are very clear.



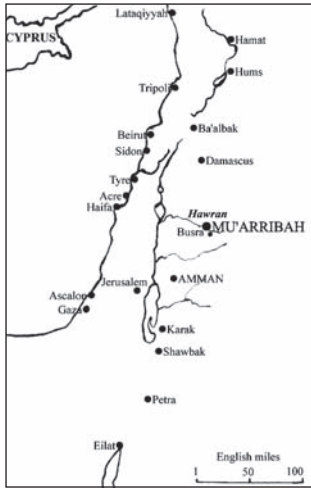
Pl. 59. Fig. MvB73



Pl. 59a. Fig. MvB73a (flipped over)

AL-MU'ARRIBAH

Location: 32°60'N 35°45'E



Al-Mu'arrabah, where the inscription was found and copied by Schumacher in 1894, is a small village in the Ḥawrān, 3km to the north-west of Buṣrā.

60. MvB76

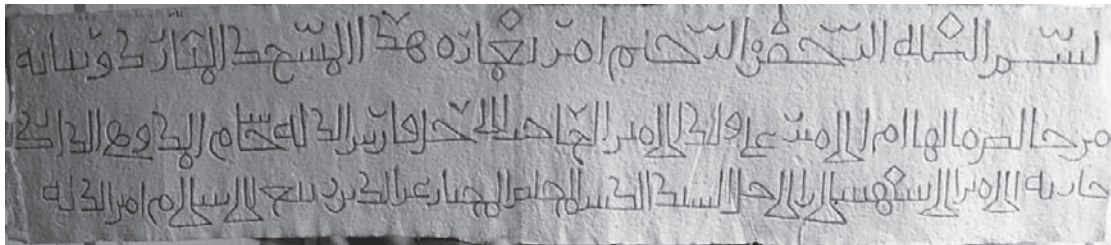
Construction text

ca. 530/1135-6

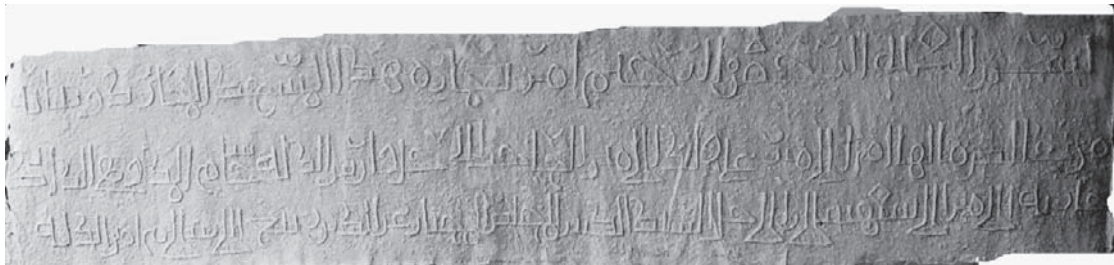
MvB squeeze No. 76 (formerly No. 21), 0.23x1.20m. taken by Schumacher in 1894. 3 lines, monumental angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Pls. 60, 60a.

Figs. MvB76, MvB76a [Neg. 14-02-006 Nos. 10A, 11A; Disc5:1870011, 0012]. Publication: MvB in *ZDPV* 19, 1896:105-106, pl. V (*OM* 301-302); Littmann, *Arabic Inscriptions*, 61-62, No. 74.

This is an unusual example of the angular script in the final stages of its usage. The artist created a complete, peculiar set of characters and other integrated decorative elements which, except for in a few places, form part of the characters themselves. The letters *lāmālif*, *jīm* and *hā'* catch the eye by their stylization.



Pl. 60. MvB76



Pl. 60a. MvB76a (flipped over)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر (!) بعمارة هذا المسجد المبارك وبنائه (٢) من خالص مالها ام الأمير علي ولد الأمير الحاجب الأجل فارس الد >و< لة حسام المُ >ل< ك وهي الدارك (٣) جارية الأمير الأسفهلار الأجل السيد الكبير المخلص المختار عز الدين ربيع الإسلام أمين الد >و< لة [عضد الملة سيف الأمة شجاع الملوك تاج الأمراء شرف الخواص فخر الجيوش ظهير المجاهدين ذى العزيمتين أبي منصور كمشتكين الأتابكي الظهيري معين أمير المؤمنين >في سنة ثلاثين وحمسمائة<؟]

Has ordered (in the masculine!) the construction of this blessed mosque and its building, using her own funds the mother of the amīr 'Alī the son of the amūr, the chamberlain Fāris ad-Dawlah Ḥusām al-Mulk. She is ad-Dārik the slave-girl of the amīr the most exalted commander (*isfahsalār*), the great master, the trustworthy, the elect, 'Izz ad-Dīn (who is) the springtime of Islam the faithful one of the state [the power of the community, the sword of the *ummah*, the brave among the kings, the crown of the amīrs, the honourable among the elect, the pride of the armies, the succor of the fighters in the holy war, the possessor of the double determination, Abū Maṣūr Kamushtakīn the mamlūk of the Atābak Ḥahīr ad-Dīn (Tuḡtakīn) the helper of the Commander of the Faithful in the year 530(?)]

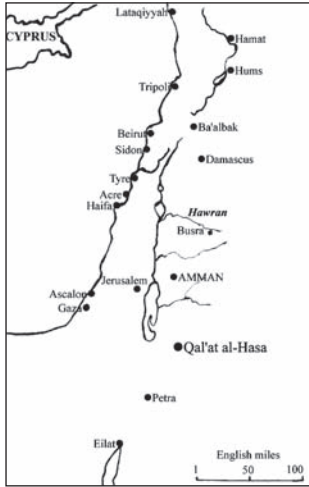
MvB remarked on the peculiarity of the script (*OM*, 302, as I did above). Following this inscription MvB published two inscriptions from Buṣrā (*ibid*, 303-304) with the full name of the amīr who was no doubt the master of the slave girl Dārik in this inscription. He correctly pointed out that all three inscriptions, the two inscriptions from Buṣrā and this one from Mu'arribah should be read together. (*Ibid*, 305) In fact on the basis of the inscriptions from Buṣrā we can continue the present inscription by adding the full titles and name after the words *amīn ad-dawlah* (as I have done above in square brackets). Since the two inscriptions from Buṣrā are from 528 and 530 it is not too far-fetched to assume that this inscription belongs to the same period. (*Ibid*. and see above No. 18 Mvb59: the inscription from Buṣrā and details about Kamushtakīn).

The name of the slave-girl who was raised no doubt to the position of a princess was, according to the inscription, ad-Dārik, certainly a strange name. MvB raised the possibility that the name is ad-Dārikah, but this does not make much difference since women with masculine sounding names are not unusual.

(For more Arabic inscriptions from Mu'arribah see Littmann, *op. cit.* pp. 62ff)

QAL'AT AL-ḤAṢĀ

Location: 30°47'N 35°51'E



A fortress and a village on the Syrian Ḥajj Route some 53 kilometers to the south of 'Ammān (as the crow flies) at the head of Wādī al-Ḥaṣā. (See detailed description of the fortress in Brünnow & Domaszewski, 3:17 and fig. 571 and Gray Hill in *PEFQS*, 1897:42).

61. MvB 75

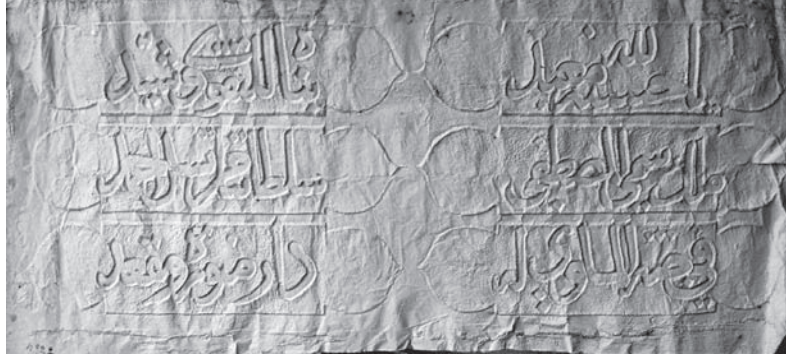
Construction text, Muṣṭafā III

1171/1757-1187/1774

MvB squeeze No. 75 (formerly 22), 0.26x0.61m. taken by Brünnow in 1897. He found it at the southern part of the castle on the “back wall” of the middle room in the second floor. 3 lines of a poem, two hemistiches, each verse embedded in a sunken field created in the form of a tablet with pointed ends. Beautiful, monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, points and some vowels; in relief. Pls. 61, 61a. Figs. MvB75, MvB75a [Neg. 14-02-006 Nos. 8A, 9A; Disc:5:1870009, 1870010. Publication: MvB files: “Qal'at al-Ḥaṣā.” Brünnow & Domaszewski, 3:18, fig. 572.



Pl. 61, Fig. MvB75



Pl. 61a. Fig. MvB75a (flipped over)

بناه للتقوى وشيّد
سلطاننا من نسل احمد
دارٌ مُنوّرةٌ ومقعدٌ

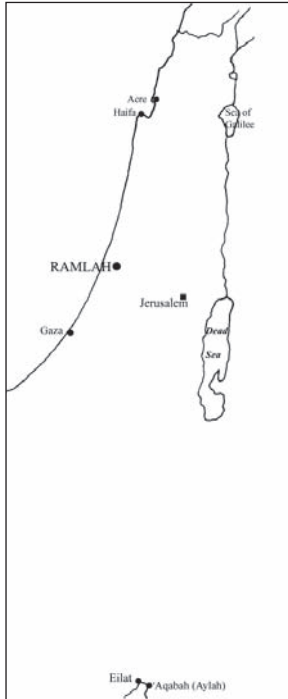
(١) يا حُسْنَهُ لله مَعْبُدٌ
(٢) مَلِكٌ يُسَمِّي المصطفى
(٣) في جَنَّةِ الماوى لَهُ

O what a beautiful place of worship it is for Allah!
For piety has built and set it up
A king called Muṣṭafā;
Our Sultan the descendant of Aḥmad
In the resting place of Paradise he has
A glittering abode and a seat.

This is Brünnow's reading and MvB's in the files. The metre is *kāmil – muraffal*. (See Wright, *Grammar* 2:363). The poem clearly speaks about a mosque built in the castle by the Sultan Muṣṭafā III. Brünnow does not mention specifically the mosque, but the position of the inscription in a central room in the southern part of the *qaṭ'ah* also calls for such conclusion.

RAMLAH

Is. Gr. 137 248 (N.Is. Gr. 187 748)



The Muslim capital of Jund Filasṭīn. It was established by the Caliph Sulaymān (96/715-99/717) at a completely new location. Having no sources of water of its own, an aqueduct called Baradah (after the name of the river of Damascus) was constructed to bring water to the city from the springs of Gezer on its southeast. The ‘Abbāsīd Hārūn ar-Rashīd ordered the building of a large water reservoir in the city which was completed at the end of 172/ May 789. An inscription commemorating the building can still be read on the original plaster next to the staircase leading down to the water level. (*RCEA* 1:41 No. 53 corrected in 5 “Additions et corrections” to 1, No. 53) The Crusaders thought that the reservoir was a church built by St. Helen and called it after her. Locally it is called Birkat al-‘Anaziyyah. The city developed as a commercial and industrial centre. It was traversed by the most important travel route that connected Syria and Egypt, and gained further importance when Syria and Egypt were detached from the centres of the Empire in

the east after 887. In 1033 and 1068 it was almost completely destroyed by earthquakes. It was rebuilt; and in 1099 it fell to the Crusaders. In 1187 it was conquered by Saladin who ordered the rebuilding of its “White Mosque” (originally built by the Umayyads). In order to prevent its becoming a Crusader stronghold again, he ordered the city walls to be destroyed. In 1266 Ramlah was captured by Baybars who rebuilt the White Mosque (1268), the remnants of which stand to this day. The main Crusader cathedral was turned into a Friday Mosque. During the Mamlūk period the city was the capital of a district (*amal*) in the Province of Gaza (*mamlakat Ghazzah*). Under the Ottomans it had the same position: capital of *qaḍā*, in the Sanjaq of Gazzah. In 1318 the Mamlūk Sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā’ūn built a very impressive tower in the area of the White Mosque which later became the symbol of the city. (Pl. P62)



Pl. P62. The tower of the White Mosque at the end of the 19th century (MvB files)

In the excavations that were carried out in the city by the IAA for many years, some remains from the Umayyad period were uncovered, particularly the Baradah canal which hitherto had been known only from the written sources. (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 1956:170). Many fragments of inscriptions were found from later periods, mainly of epitaphs, but also *waqf* and building documents. Most of the important inscriptions are still in situ on the original buildings. Before the systematic excavations took place many inscriptions found their way to antiquity robbers and even more to the lime furnaces.

62. MvB 16

Epitaph of a Muslim

Early 4th/10thc

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze Nos. 16a, 16b, 0.335x0.355m. taken in 1893. Top part of the inscription broken and lost, and the bottom left corner was also chipped away, but the inscription is almost complete. 9 lines, quasi-monumental angular

script, decorated with barbs typical of the early 4th/10th century, no points, and no vowels; incised. The following is van Berchem's reading in his handwriting at the bottom of the squeeze. In the MvB collection there are two squeezes: 16a and 16b. The first squeeze blackened. The inscription was most probably more than twice the size of the existing fragment if indeed it contained the whole *āyat al-kursī* (Q, 2:255) of which only the last seven words have remained. Pl. 62. Figs. MvB16a, MvB16b. [Negative 27-09-05(a) Nos. 10A, 11A; Disc1:03190067, 0068]. Publication: Pedersen 1928:61-63, No. 16 (26470) Fig. 13. The following is a fresh reading correcting Pedersen's mistakes.



Pl. 62. Figs. MvB16a, MvB16b

[وسع كرسيه السموت] ١) والارض ولا يؤر [ده] ٢) حفظهما وهو العلي العظـ [يم] ٣) هذا قبر عبد الرحيم ٤) بن صحصح العتبي ٥) (!) رحمه ٥) الله وغفر له والحقه ٦) بنبيه محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم رحم ٨) الله عبداً ورحم والد ٩) يه <ومن> دعا له بالرحمة والمغفرة

(His throne extendeth over the heavens) and the earth, to guard them wearieH Him not; He is the Exalted the Mighty (Q, 2:255; tr. Bell, 2:256). This is the tomb of 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Ṣaḥṣaḥ al-'Ut̄bī, may Allah have mercy on him and forgive him, and attach him to his prophet Muḥammad, may Allah bless him and give him peace. May Allah forgive a slave (of Allah) and forgive his parents and whoever invokes Allah's mercy and pardon for him.

L.3: The name of the deceased's father Ṣaḥṣaḥ sounds strange although it appears in literature (Khalīfah, *Ta'riḫ*, 1993:318). I can offer no other reading to the text.

The *nisbah* al-‘Utbī is only one of many possibilities, such as al-‘Aynī (Suyūṭī, *Lubb*, 1840:184); al-‘Inabī (*ibid*, 182); al-Ghanthī (*ibid*, 188); after the *nisbah* there is the letter *hā’* or *tā’ marbūṭah*. I can not place it in the context of the inscription, and although I refrain from blaming the engravers, I think that in this case it is a mistake.

L.8: The words *rahīma allāh ‘abdan* need a few more words such as *da‘a lahu bi-ar-rahmah*. The sentence would then be, “May Allah forgive a slave (of Allah) who invokes mercy for him, and forgive his (‘Abd ar-Raḥmān’s) parents etc.” However, since the general request for forgiveness for anybody who invokes Allah’s mercy for the deceased appears at the end of the inscription, the formula in ll.7-8 should be left as is, and the word ‘*abd*’ remains hanging most probably referring to the deceased himself.

L.9: The inscription finishes with another small peculiarity: the *hā’* (*tā’*) of the word *maghfirah*, ending the inscription, had to be incised under the line.

In spite of the fact that the inscription is rather ordinary, these small peculiarities make it somewhat of a special specimen.

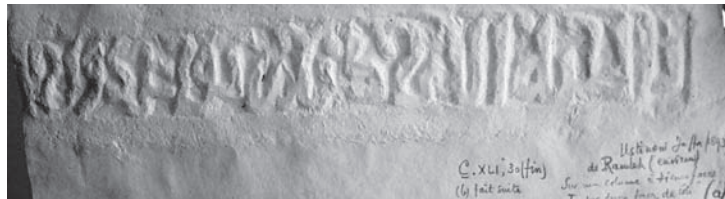
63. MvB 6A

(See 63a. MvB6b)

Qur’ānic text

ca. 400/1048

Ustinow Collection. MvB Squeeze No. 6a, 0.07x0.33m. taken in 1893. 1 line, engraved on an ancient octagonal column, angular flori script, end of letters curl up, no points no vowels; in relief. The inscription was brought from Ramlah to Ustinow in Jaffa. Pl. 63. Fig. MvB6a [Negative 27-09-005 No. 34A; Disc1:0310049]



Pl. 63. Fig. MvB6a

[وايشروا]بالجنة التي كنتم توعدون

...and have good tidings about the paradise which you had been promised... (Q. 41:30 (end) trans. Bell).

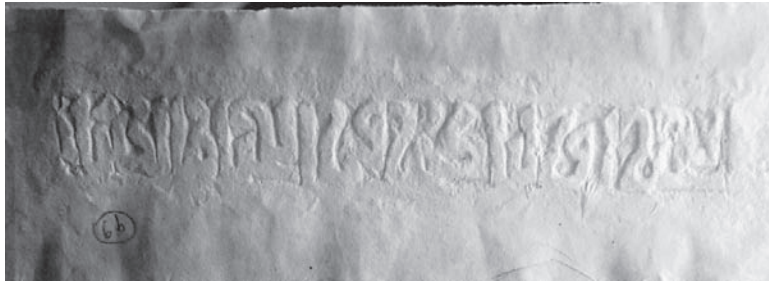
63a. MvB 6b

(See 63. MvB6a)

Qur'ānic text

ca. 400/1048

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze No. 6b, 0.065x0.435m. taken in 1893. 1 line monumental angular flori, ends of letters curl up, no points no vowels; in relief. Pl. 63a. Fig. MvB6b) [Negative 27-09-005(a). No. 0A; Disc.1:03190049]



Pl. 63a Fig. MvB6b

نحن اولياؤكم في الحياة (!) الدنيا

We are your patrons in the nearer life... (Q. 41:31 (beginning) trans. Bell).

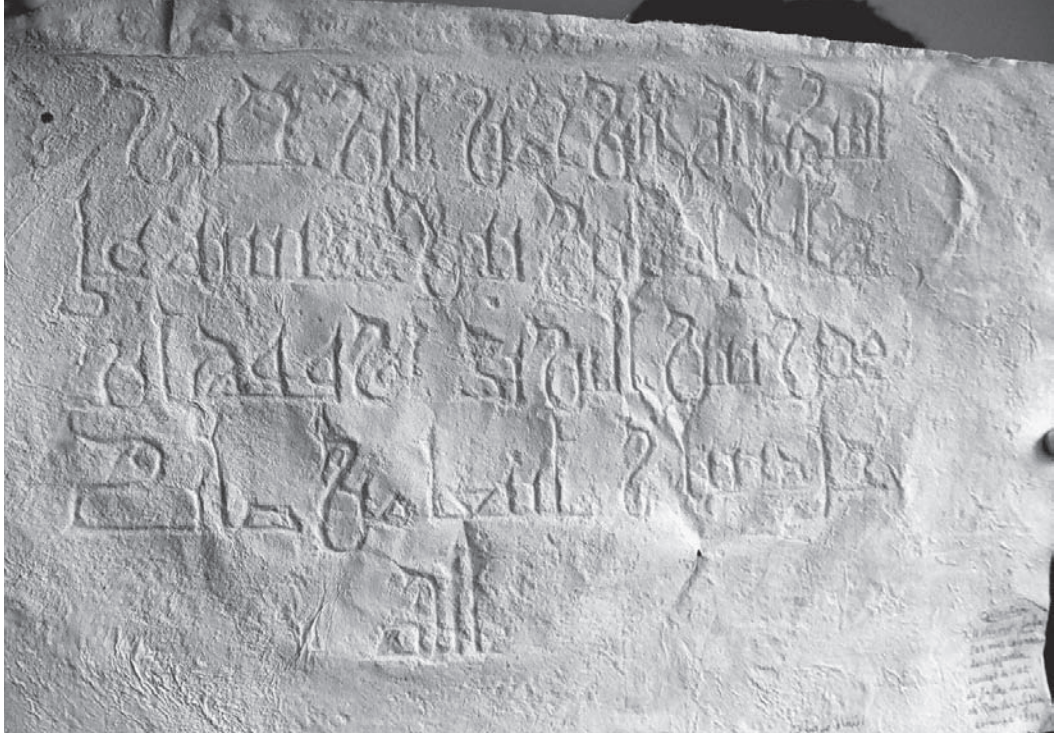
64. MvB 36

RAMLAH (or LYDDA or JAFFA)

Waqf

ca. 490/1097

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze, 0.27x0.40m. taken in Jaffa in 1893. 5 lines, monumental, stylized angular script, letter ends decorated with barbs, and many curl elegantly upwards, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 64. Fig. MvB36 [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 25A; Disc2:12870026].



Pl. 64. Fig. MvB36

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) هاذا/هاذه (?!)(one word...) ([محـ]بسة على (٣) محرس
البريد اوقفها ر (٤) جل حسان ابتغا مرضاة (٥) الله

Basmallah. This/these... is a charitable endowment for the guarding station of the post. It was dedicated as a religious endowment by a benevolent person seeking to please Allah.

On the margin of the squeeze, van Berchem wrote that the inscription was written on a marble column and had come to Ustinow's garden from an area to the east of Jaffa on the Lydda Ramlah side.

It seems very probable that the inscription came from the vicinity of Ramlah where there was a postal station, since the town was on the postal route. The style of script of this inscription is very similar to the script on an inscription from Ashqelon ('Asqalān) dated 544/1150 (*CIAP* 1 No. 13 Table 1). This inscription must have come from an earlier period if in fact it came from Ramlah or Lydda which had already been in Christian hands from 1099 C.E. In such case, the inscription must have been written very close to the Crusaders' conquest around the year 490/1097.

I could not fully read line 2 which contains a clue to the nature of the endowment. Since, in line 3, the verb for the dedication is in the feminine form, it is clear that the

object endowed has the feminine gender in Arabic, or the plural form.

Ll. 3-4: The term *maḥras* means a guarding post and is sometimes used to denote a fortress. (For these usages of *maḥras* see Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* 1:199; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ed. Dār Ṣādir, 3:283 *s.v.* “Sūsa”). I am not entirely sure about the reading of *rajul ḥassān*, but I cannot suggest anything better.

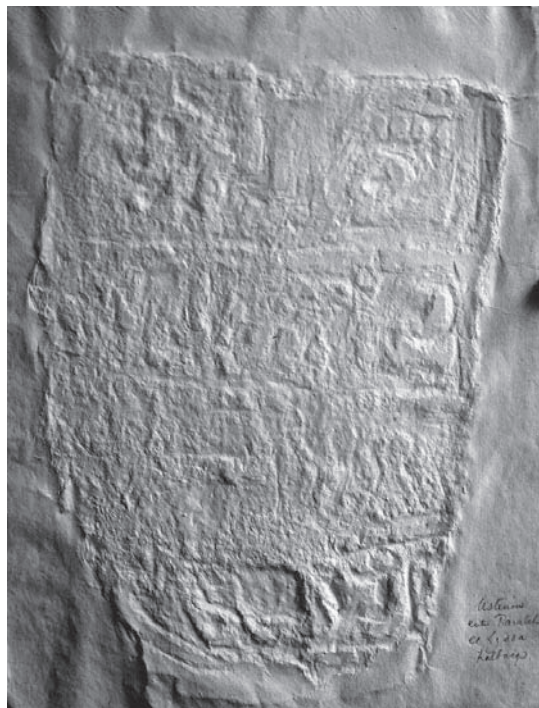
The inscription is also very intriguing because no name is mentioned in it, as far as I can see. The second line could have a completely different reading from my suggestion above, which I question myself.

65. MvB 22

“Between RAMLAH and LYDDA”

Unreadable

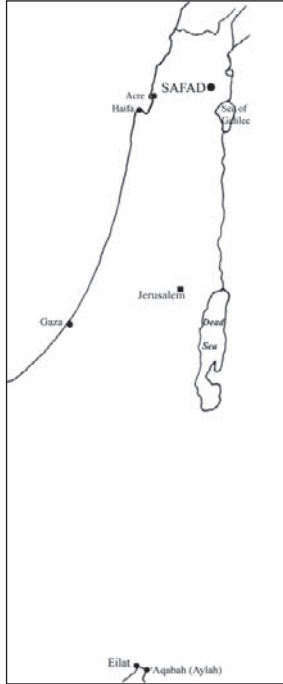
Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze No. 22, 0.28x0.19m. 4 lines, probably Mamlūk or Ottoman *naskhī* script, some points and vowels; in relief. Only remnants of a few letters can be recognized on the squeeze of the fragment. It is very possible that the fragment reached Ustinow from Ramlah. Pl. 65. Fig. MvB22 [Neg. 20-2-006(1) No. 3A; Disc3:11860004].



Pl. 65. Fig. MvB22

ŞAFAD (ŞEFAT, SAFED)

Is. Gr. 196 263 (N. Is. Gr. 246 763)



The capital of the upper Galilee and the highest city in Palestine, 845m above sea level. Its Hebrew name is Tsefat (Şefat תצפת), in the European languages—Safed, and in medieval Latin sources: Saphet, Sephet. (Guérin, *Galilée* 2, 1880 ch. 113) The Hebrew name already appears in the Talmud (e.g. JT, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 2, 1). Josephus mentions the city (as Σέπτο) amongst the strategic places he fortified in preparation for the war against the Romans during the first Jewish revolt in 66-70 CE. (BJ 2:20,6). Safed, however, does not appear in historical or other records before the time of the Crusades. King Fulk, in his overall strategy of strengthening the defenses of the kingdom, built a strong fortress there together with that of Belvoir and those in Karak and Shawbak (Montreal) in Trans-Jordan.

In 1188, Safed fell, after a siege, to Saladin who permitted its inhabitants to go to Tyre. In 1220 Mu‘azzam Īsā demolished its castle (*qaṣʿah*) and other fortifications for fear of them falling into the hand of the Franks. In 1240 it was returned to the Christians by agreement, and the Templars restored its castle. It could not, however, stand against Baybars who conquered it in 1266. He upgraded its fortifications and built two mosques there. From that time on, Şafad was one of the two capitals of Palestine. The second, in the south, was Gaza. Safad was the capital of a province named after it—*Mamlakat Şafad*. In the following century it was the object of public building activity and became a minor centre of Islamic learning. A *khān* was built in it (1325), bath houses and a hospital (donated by the famous, Tankiz the governor of Damascus). It had a few religious schools and it was also an important station on the route of the Royal Post. The main mosque of the city is al-Jāmi‘ al-Aḥmar which, according to the inscription in it of which only part has survived, was built by Baybars in 674/1275-6 (Mayer, *Muslim Buildings*, 1950:46; for the description of Safed and its main Muslim monuments see *ibid*, 41-48).

The city does not figure until the late 13th century in the Muslim geographical sources. Ibn Shaddād, in his geographical history of Syria written in 674/1275,

dedicated detailed discussions to the vicissitudes that befell the city under the Ayyūbids until 638/1240 when the town returned to the Crusaders and became a Templar's castle. (Ibn Shaddād, 1962:133, 135, 146, 150, 153, 159, 161, 234) It is mentioned neither by Yāqūt, nor in the *Marāṣid*. On the other hand, Dimashqī, writing in 1300, described it at length. He described the castle and its well, which had a complicated mechanism for drawing water from its great depths. Dedicating a detailed report to this mechanism that was operated by mules, he concluded: "All this is one of the wonders of the world to see." (Le Strange, 1890:525). Sometime later, Abū al-Fidā' also emphasizes the strength of the castle, its water supply, and its strategic importance on one of the main routes of the empire. (*ibid.*) All three inscriptions below belong to this period.

After the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims from Spain in 1492, many Jews came to live in Şafad, and up to the 16th century a large Jewish community developed there, and it became a centre for Jewish learning, in particular Jewish mysticism (Cabbala). In 1759/60 Şafad was hit by an earthquake that badly damaged its castle, and buried almost half its inhabitants under the ruins of their houses. The earthquake, as frequently happens, was followed by a plague. Another plague in 1812-1814 further decimated the population. Many of its inhabitants left, reducing its population to about one fifth of its original number. For a few years the city revived and flourished under the Egyptian rule of Ibrāhīm Pāsha (1830-1840). It suffered again during the revolt against the Egyptians, but even more from the massive earthquake of 1837 in which more than 5000 people were killed, mostly Jews.

Towards the middle of the 19th century Şafad revived again, but its castle was never rebuilt and every earthquake added to its destruction. When Guérin visited it in 1875 the castle was being used as a quarry which supplied ready building stones for the extensive building activity which he saw in the city. (Guérin, *loc. cit.*). In the early 1890s its population was estimated to be approximately 21,000. (For details see R. Amitai-Preiss "Şafad" *EI*²).

66. MvB 40

Epitaph of a Muslim

6 Rabī' II 774/6 October 1372

MvB squeeze No. 40, 0.56x0.50m. 4 lines, monumental professional Mamlūk *naskhī*, large letters, interwoven and slightly decorated, points and some vowels; in relief.

Pl. 66. Fig. MvB40. [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 30A; Disc2:12870032]. Publication: *RCEA* 17:194, No. 774 005; Mayer, *Heraldry*, 1933:170.



Pl. 66. Fig. MvB40

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) كل من عليها فان ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والإكرام
توفي العبد الفقير الى الله (٤) تعالى موسى بن ارقطاي في سادس ربيع الآخر سنة اربعة
وسبعين وسبعماية

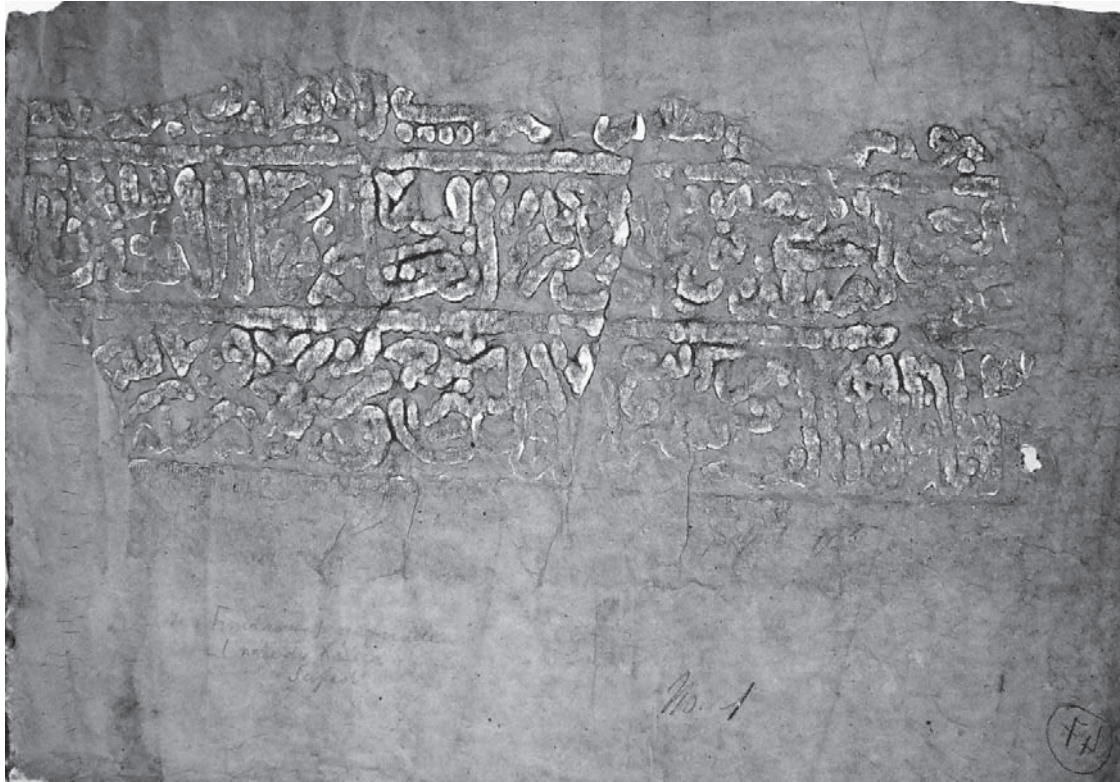
Basmalah. Q. 55:26-27. The slave, needy (for the mercy of) Allah, the Exalted, Mūsā b. Uruqtāy died in the sixth of Rabī II the year 774 (=6 October 1372).

67. MvB47

Epitaph of a Muslim

Rabīʿ I, 777/July 1375

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze, No. 47, (formerly No. 1), 0.26x0.58m. taken in 1895. 3 lines provincial, Mamlūk *naskhī*, some simple decorations filling empty spaces between letters, lines divided by bands, many points and vowels; in relief. A note on the squeeze indicates that the inscription was found “near the *qaʿah*.” Pl. 67. Fig. MvB47 [Negative 17-09-005(b) Nos. 1A, 2A; Disc1:13190001]



Pl. 67. Fig. MvB47

(١ ... ٢) توفي الى رحمة الله تعالى نهار الأحد (٣)... من شهر ربيع الأول سنة سبع وسبعين
وسـ[بعما]ية

...He died (“was taken to the mercy of Allah the Exalted”) on Sunday... of Rabī
I, 777 (July 1375).

68. MvB 49

Endowment?

8th/14thc

MvB squeeze No. 49, 0.31x0.43m. 3 surviving lines, monumental Mamlūk decorated
naskhī, some points, some vowels; in relief. Pl. 68. Fig. MvB49 [Negative 27-09-
005(b) No. 5A; Disc1:03190003].



Pl. 68. Fig. MvB49

With due reservation I offer the reading of ll.2-3 as follows:

(١ ... ٢)... لصاحبها/لصاحبهم لوك الكريم (٣)... سنة سبـ[ع]ة/تسـ[ع]ة عشاـ[ر]

...for its owner, the honourable Lūk... The year (and) fifteen

SALAMIYYAH (SALAMYAH)

Location 34°50'N 36°55'E



A town in central Syria some 40km southeast of Ḥamāt and 51km northeast of Ḥumṣ. The name is pronounced Salamyah in the early Muslim sources (Iṣṭakhrī 1927:61, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 110) but also Salamiyyah (Ibn Khurdāhbeh [Khurradādhbih], *BGA* 6:98, Muḳaddasī, 1987:136); the centre of the largest Ismāʿīlī (today Qāsim Shāhī) followers of the Nizārī imāms in the Middle East. Situated in the district of the Orontes river (Nahr al-ʿĀṣī) about 450m above sea level, it commands a very fertile area. Evidence of its ancient origin (Salamias or Salaminias) is clear-cut (Le Strange, 1890:528 and see Yāqūt *q.v.*, Dār Ṣādir 3:240). It was an important city under the Byzantines but neither under them nor

later did it acquire military importance, in spite of its strategic position on the routes connecting central Syria through the Syrian steppe with Mesopotamia.

It fell without resistance to the Muslims around 15/636, but began to appear in the records of the chroniclers only after the ʿAbbāsīd revolution, when it became the home of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallah b. ʿAbbās, one of the uncles of the first two ʿAbbāsīd caliphs. He and his descendants contributed greatly to the development of the town and the prosperity of its inhabitants, taking advantage of the abundance of water and fertile land around it (*cf.* Yāqūt *ibid.*). The town gained importance in the 9th century when it became the centre of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwah*, and the traditional site of the concealed Ismāʿīlī *imāms*. From it, *Imām* ʿUbaydallah al-Mahdī, the last of these *imāms*, left for North Africa in 902 to establish the Fāṭimid caliphate there. The city was attacked a year later by the Qarmaṭīs, who had broken away from the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīliyyah sometime before and had started a revolt. They captured the city and massacred its inhabitants.

In the 10th century, the city fell to a local brigand Khalaf b. Mulāʿib who is well-known not only from the historical records but also from an inscription which he left over the gate of the Mosque of Salamiyyah, dated 481/1088 (see below).

During the Crusader period, the city shared the fate of Ḥumṣ as it had in the past, but it was not the scene of any particular battles. Not much can be said about it in the Mamlūk period, except that in 1500 it was officially joined to the district of Ḥamāt although, according to Yāqūt (*loc. cit.*), this had happened much earlier.

Under the Ottomans it deteriorated to such an extent that by the 19th century it was no more than a heap of ruins. In the middle of the 19th century, the Ottoman government brought about its revival by allowing the Ismāʿīlis to establish a settlement in and around it. The settlement grew quickly, and soon a new large village of modern Salamiyyah with a flourishing area around it was reborn. In 1887 the Ismāʿīlis of Salamiyyah, who like all the Syrian Ismāʿīlis, belonged to the Muḥammad Shāhī branch of the Ismāʿīli Nizārīs, decided to give their allegiance to the Qāsim Shāhī branch of the Nizārī imāms, under the leadership of Āgā Khān. (For more details and bibliography see “Salamiyyah” *EI*²)

69. MvB 81

Construction text over the door of the Mosque

481/1088-9

MvB squeeze No. 81, 0.20x2.14m. 2 lines, monumental, decorated, angular script, letters curl up elegantly, with some bending below the lines, no points, no vowels; incised. Publication Hartmann, “Die arabischen inschriften von Salamja,” *ZDPV* XXIV, 1901:49-67; Max van Berchem 1909:32-34; Tafel VI Inschrift 35. Littmann 1905:169-178). Because of the length of the inscription it was taken in two squeezes: Pls. 69, 69a, 69b, 69c. Figs. MvB81, and MvB81a; MvB81b (flipped over) MvB81c (flipped over). [Neg. 14-02-006 No. 24A, 25A, 26A, 27A; Disc5:11870025, ...0026, ...0027, ...0028] For comparison the drawing of the inscription is also provided here (Pl. 69d. Fig. MvB81d)



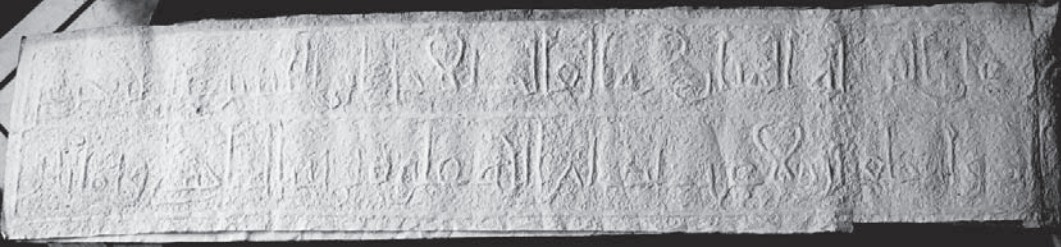
Pl. 69. Fig. MvB81



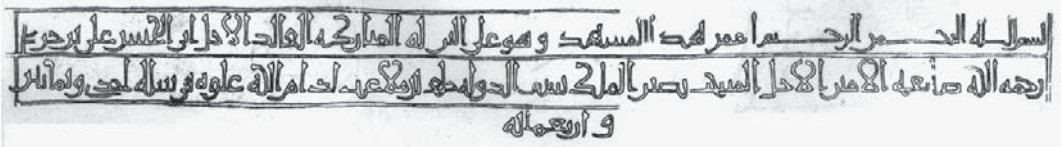
Pl. 69a. Fig. MvB81a



Pl. 69b. Fig. MvB81b



Pl. 69c. Fig. MvB81c



Pl. 69d. Fig. MvB81d

The current reading and translation is as follows (but see below different version):

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اعمر (!) هذا المشهد وهو على التربة المباركة القائد الأجلّ ابي الحسن علي بن جرير ٢) رحمه الله صانعه الأمير الأجلّ المنتخب نصير الملك سيف الدولة خلف بن ملاعب أدام الله علوه في سنة احدى وثمانين ٣) واربعماية not in the squeeze

Basmalah. Has built this *mashhad* which is (built) over the blessed mausoleum, (of) the most exalted commander Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Jarīr may Allah pardon him, his servant the most illustrious amīr, the elect, the defender of the rule, the sword of the state Khalaf b. Mulā‘ib; may Allah perpetuate his elevated position in the year 481 (=1088-89).

The language of this inscription is somewhat strange. The reading and the translation above follow the previous studies of the inscription which maintained that Khalaf

b. Mulā‘ib defines himself as the servant (*ṣānī‘*) of the “commander” (*qā‘id*) ‘Alī b. Jarīr, and that the *mashhad* was built over the latter’s “blessed” tomb. However, something is missing between the word *mubārakah* and the word *al-qā‘id* to create a relation between them as this understanding of the inscription requires, and in such word order no genitive construction (*idāfah*) can be created. This can easily be solved by another reading and translation of the inscription, which I offer below.

The local Syrian Ismā‘īlīs regard this mausoleum as the burial place of one of their early hidden *imāms*—‘Abdallah. Giving credit to this tradition, Heinz Halm suggested in 1986 (“Le Fātimids à Salamiya” *REI* 54:133-149), that the mausoleum had probably been erected around the year 400/1009 over the tomb of this *imām* by the *Kutāmī* Qā‘id Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ja‘far b. Falāh who captured Salamiyyah for the Fātimids. His name should be read at the end of l.1 instead of the unknown one, Ibn Jarīr. Khalaf b. Mulā‘ib merely repaired the mausoleum, and left the inscription on it. Halm’s interpretation seems to me the correct one, and the inscription should, therefore, be read and translated as follows:

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اعمر (!) هذا المشهد وهو على التربة المباركة القائد الأجل ابي
الحسن علي بن جعفر (٢) رحمه الله صانعه الأمير الأجل المنتخب نصير الملك سيف الدولة
خلف بن ملاعب أدام الله علوه في سنة احدى وثمانين (٣) واربعماية not in the squeeze

Basmalah. Has reconstructed this *mashhad* which is over the blessed mausoleum, the most exalted commander Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ja‘far. Its builder is the most illustrious amīr, the elect, the defender of the rule, the sword of the state Khalaf b. Mulā‘ib; may Allah perpetuate his elevated position in the year 481(=1088-9).

L.1: The verb *a‘mara* (in the 4th form) is very unusual, but not impossible.

‘Alī b. Jarīr in the first reading is Ibn Ja‘far as was suggested by earlier scholars. (Cf. also Littman, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 1905:169-178)

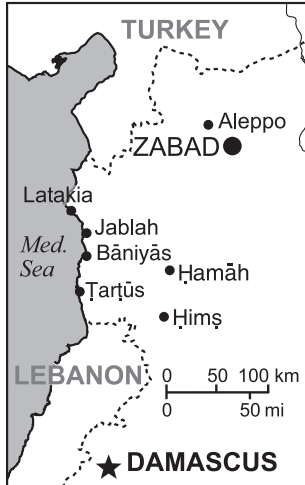
L.2: *ṣānī‘uhu* is the key word which changes the meaning of the inscription. The word does not mean “his servant” but it is a verbal noun (or better: *nomen agentis*) of the verb *ṣana‘a* (3rd per. sing.)—to make, to build. It describes Khalaf as the person who accomplished the work and repaired the place. He could not bear any allegiance to the original builder who had lived some eight decades before him. The Blessed Mausoleum (*at-turbah al-mubārakah*) belonged, as the local tradition says, to the hidden *imām* ‘Abdallah.

The title “*al-muntakhab*” can also be “*al-muntajab*” which means “of noble birth” and also “the generous.” See specifically the usage of this title in Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, ed. Zakkār and Zirikī, 1996, 6:367.

Khalaf b. Mulā‘ib al-Kilābī, is the “brigand chief” of Bedouin origin (as his *nisbah* testifies) who took Salamiyyah in about 476/1083 (Ibn al-Athīr 10, 1982:408-410; *OM*, 299; *EI*² *loc. cit.*).

ZABAD

Location: 35°52'N 37°52'E



A town to the south west of Ḥalab (Aleppo). The ruins of the ancient site are between Qinnasrīn and the Euphrates.

70. MvB 80

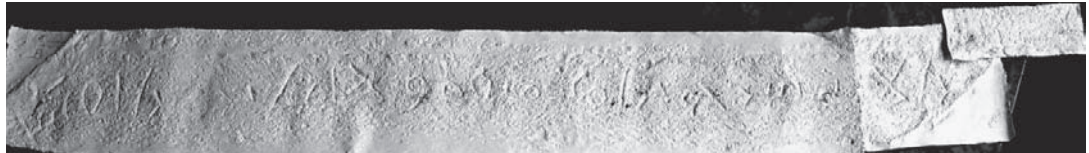
Pre-Islamic inscription
(Trilingual: Syriac, Greek, Arabic)

823 SE/512 CE

Arabic part:

MvB squeeze No. 80, taken in 4 pieces and put together before measuring, 0.23(left) and 0.115 (right)x1.69m. (the max. figure refers to the left side of the inscription

where the writing (Syriac) turns down vertically. 1 line (Arabic) ancient angular script, no points no vowels; incised. Pls. 70, 70a. 70b. 70c. Figs. MvB80, MvB80a, MvB80b. [Neg. 14-02-006. Nos. 21A, 22A, 23A; Disc5:11870022, ...0023, ...0024]. Publication: *RCEA*, 1:2-3 No 2 (and references).



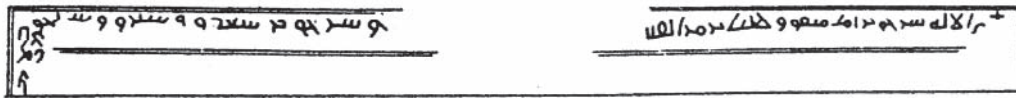
Pl. 70. Fig. MvB80



Pl. 70a. MvB80a (detail)



Pl. 70b. MvB80b (detail)

Arabic inscription from Zabad, A.D. 512. After Eduard Sachau in *MPAW*, 1881, pl. facing p. 190. Scale, about 1:15.

Pl. 70c. Fig. MvB80c

+ [بنـ] صر الاله سرجو بر أمت منفو وهليا بر مرالقيس وسرجو بر سعدو وسترو وسرجو

(Cross) In God's help! Sergius son of Amat Manaf (Manafu) and Helya (Elias) son of Imru al-Qays and Sergius son of Sa'dū and Sitrū and Sergius. (every Sergius in Arabic: =Sarjū).

The drawing is missing at least one letter which can be seen in the squeeze. The word *binaṣr* can be easily reconstructed.

The date of the inscription is according to the Seleucid Era, which among the Jews the Babylonians and the Syrians began in the spring of 311CE, although as a rule it started in October 312CE, marking the official inauguration of Seleucus, rule. This calendar was the official calendar among the Jews and the Syrians for fiscal purposes and was known among the Jews as the “era of the contracts” (*æra contractuum*). In time it was called “the Greek Era” by both Jews and Syrians and was in use for a long time after the Islamic conquest. Thus two common calendars existed concurrently before Islam: the Bostra (Buṣṣrā) calendar beginning with the establishment of the Roman Provincia Arabia in 106CE in the south, and the Seleucid (Greek) calendar prevalent throughout Syria.

The usage of Arabic at such an early date and as far north as the district of Aleppo, shows that the Arabic language was already in use side-by-side with the formal Greek and Aramaic, which had been the main language in use for the last 1000 years in the area. Christianity had also spread widely among the inhabitants of Syria in the early sixth century, in the sedentary regions as well as in the desert, as we learn from another pre-Islamic, bilingual Greek-Arabic inscription from Ḥarrān commemorating the building of a martyry (*martyrion*, *martūl*) for St. John by a local tribal chief with a full Arab name: Sharāḥīl b. Ḥalmū. This inscription is dated 463 according to the Bostra Era—568CE (Shroeder in *ZDMG*. 38, 1884:530-531. *RCEA*, 1 No. 3. *Cf. PEFQ*, 1884:193). It is also dated by an extraordinary event which occurred far away from Ḥarrān, but created such a great impression that it was used as a mark of time: “one year after the destruction of Khaybar”.

ZUR'AH (ZURA' AZRA')

Location: 32°51'N 36°15'E



Ancient Adra, Edrata; other names: Izra', Ezra' (the modern village in the administrative district of Dar'ah), Izra'a, Zorava and many other variations. Yāqūt calls it Zarrā (with a long *alif* at the end) but it is also spelled Zur' and Zurrah (*Buldān*, ed. Dār Ṣādir, Beirut 1:420, 3:135), indicating that it is a place in the Ḥawrān. The village is located on the route from Damascus to Dar'ah (Adhrī'at), 30 km to the north of the latter, 599m above sea level.

As far as I could ascertain, the place is not referred to in the early Arabic sources, in spite of its importance as a station on the King's Way to Damascus. It is first mentioned by Ibn Faḍlallah al-'Umarī in connection with a list of *ziyārah* places in Trans-Jordan. Among these places he mentions

a group of holy tombs in a village called Maḥajjah in which companions of the Prophet were buried, adding that it was situated “to the left of the traveller to Zura' (*alā yasār adh-dhāhib ilā zura'*), and in it was the battle of Ajnādayn.” This is a very important piece of information not only about Zura' but particularly about the site of Ajnādayn. Unintentionally, Ibn Faḍlallah placed Ajnādayn in the Ḥawrān, a much more logical site for the famous battle than the usually accepted site near Bayt Jubrīn in Western Palestine. (Ibn Faḍlallah al-'Umarī, 1342/1924:216; Harawī, 1953:16)

71. MvB 79

Construction and restoration of a mosque

Ramaḍān 651/25 Oct.-24 Nov. 1253

MvB squeeze No. 79, 0.30x0.33M. 3 lines, thick provincial Āyyūbid *naskhī*, no points no vowels; incised. Pl. 71. Fig. MvB79 [Neg. 14-02-006 Nos. 17A, 18A; Disc5:1870017, 1870018] Publication: MvB files “Zur'a (Adra, Edrata).”

The squeeze is almost unreadable. The following reading is based on MvB's handwritten copy (Pl. 71a. Fig. MvB79a) and his reading and corrections to the text in the files.



Pl. 71. Fig. MvB79

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بسقف هذا الجامع مولانا الطائر الملك الناصر صلاح
الدنيا والدين يوسف بن محمد بولايه فخر الدين اتابك ونظر العبد منصور بن بكر
٧ رمضان سنة احدى وخمسين وسنة

Pl. 71a. Fig. MvB79

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بسقف هذا الجامع مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر صلاح
(٢) الدنيا والدين يوسف بن محمد بولايه فخر الدين [اتابك؟] المنـ[صور؟] ونظر العبد
منصور بن ابي بكر (٣) في [شهر؟] رمضان سنة احدى وخمسين وسـ[تـ]مئة

Basmalah. Has ordered the roofing of this Friday mosque the Sulṭān al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dunyā wa-ad-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muḥammad during the governorship of Fakhr ad-Dīn the Atābak of Maṣṣūr(?) and the supervision of the slave (of Allah) Maṣṣūr(?) b. Abū Bakr(?) in the month(?) of Ramaḍān the year 651(=25 Oct – 24 Nov. 1253)

L.3: the word احدى in the MvB copy appears to have been written as احده.

Al-Malik an-Naṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf (II) named after Saladin, his great grandfather, was the son of al-Malik al-'Azīz. For a while he was the most successful

of all the Ayyūbīds (after the death of al-‘Adil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, Salādīn’s brother in 1218). His domains stretched from Ḥalab to the Jazīrah and Damascus, and its environs. He took Damascus in 648/1250, and this inscription commemorates a small construction project which was executed three years later in the small village of Zura‘ to the south of Damascus. He died in a battle with the Mongols in Adharbayjān in 658/1260. With his death came the end of the main Ayyūbid branches of Syria, save for the branch of Ḥamā which continued until 742/1342.

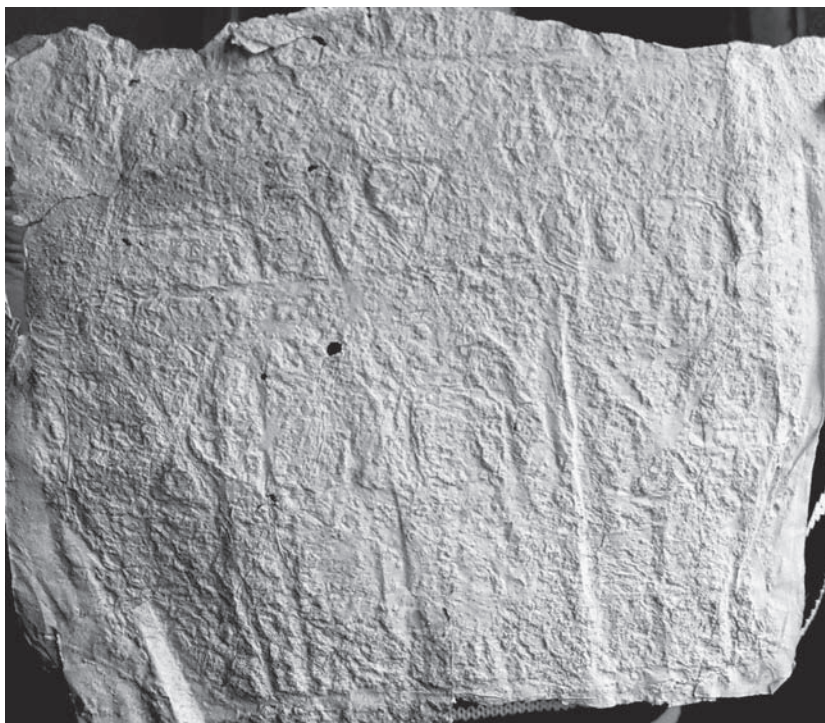
Ibn Khallikān dedicated a short biography to Salāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf (II) and noted that “his story is famous.” (Ibn Khallikān 4, 1971:10)

72. MvB 30
UNIDENTIFIED

Epitaph (?)

2nd/ 8th century

MvB Squeeze No. 30, 0.31x0.31m. 3 lines, large, semi-monumental, angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 72. Fig. MvB30. [Neg. 20-2-006 (1) No. 1A; Disc3:11860002]



Pl. 72. Fig. MvB30

١) ابن سعيد.... (٢)... لا اله الا (٣)... شريك له

Probably:

١)... ابن سعيد.... [يشهد ٢] ان [لا اله الا [الله وحده ٣] لا] شريك له

Ibn Sa'īd (or as-Sa'īd testifies that) there is no god but (Allah alone; He has no) companion

The reconstruction above is a guess based on the remaining words on the squeeze, the reading of which is certain, except for the beginning of the l.3.

73. MvB 9
UNIDENTIFIED

Fragment (1-2 letters)

ca. 2nd/8th-9thc

MvB squeeze No. 9, 0.18x0.07m. taken in 1893. 1 line, simple angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Origin unknown. Pl. 73. Fig. MvB9 [Neg. 20-2-006 2A; Disc3:1186003]



Pl. 73. MvB9

This is a piece of another squeeze. The letters, one under the other, are ends of two lines in the original squeeze. I can see in the enlarged picture of the squeeze the letters *s̄m* and *m̄m* in the first line and the letter *m̄m* in the second line finished with a swallow tail decoration. If this is correct then the fragment could be part of the *basmallah* from the beginning of an inscription. It is interesting to note that in the photograph one can see more details than in the original squeeze.

74. MvB 29
UNIDENTIFIED

Epitaph(?) of a Muslim

Early 3rd/9thc

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze No. 29, 0.50x0.30m. 8 lines, primitive, angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Stripes create divisions between the first four lines. Pl. 74. Figs. MvB 29, MvB 29a [Neg. 14-12-2005a No. 0A, 1A; Disc1:03190087]



Pl. 74. Figs. MvB29, MvB29a

١) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ (٢) الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ (٣) یَشْهَدُ عَمِیْرَةُ بِنُ (٤) عَمَّارِ (؟) بِنِ بُجَیْرٍ (؟) (٥) اِنْ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا
اللّٰهُ (٦) وَاِنْ مُحَمَّدٌ [١] رَسُوْلٌ (٧) اللّٰهُ صَلٰی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ (٨) وَوَسَّلَمُ تَسْلِیْمًا

Basmalah. ‘Umayrah b. ‘Ammār b. Bujayr(?) testifies that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah may Allah bless him and give him definite peace.

L.4: I am not sure about the reading of ‘Umayra’s father’s and grandfather’s names. The squeeze of this very shallow inscription is not clear throughout, but on the whole the reading seems certain. The negative of the squeeze flipped over enables a much better reading in a few places. But even then the names ‘Ammār and Bujayr are guesses.

The formula is well known from many other inscriptions. This extended declaration of faith and piety appears usually (though not always) on epitaphs.

The script allows the dating of the inscription between the 2nd and early 3rd century, but in such primitive inscriptions one cannot be entirely sure about the date.

There is no indication on the squeeze about its origin. My feeling is that it came from Dar‘ah, where quite a few inscriptions of the same type were found.

75. MvB 38
UNIDENTIFIED

Qur’ānic text

End 5th/11th c

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze No. 38, 0.28x0.45m. 2 lines divided by decorative bands with foliage elements, monumental, angular script typical of the end of the 5th/11th century, letters curl up elegantly, a few points, no vowels; in relief. Pl. 75. Fig. MvB38. [Neg. 14-12-005 No. 27A; Disc2:12870029].



Pl. 75. Fig. MvB38

The two lines contain parts of two verses: Q, 41:31 (1.1) and 30 (1.2).

١ نحن اولياكم (!) في الحياة الدنيا ٢)...بالجنة الذى كنتم توعدون

We are your friends in the present life... (rejoice) in the Paradise that you were promised (trans. Arberry).

The second verse (1.2) should come before the first (1.1), but it is possible that the squeeze was taken in this order from two parts of the inscription.

It is very likely that this is only a fragment of a large inscription. There is no indication on the squeeze concerning the provenance of this inscription but judging by the style of script and decorations, I think that it could have come either from Caesarea or Ashqelon.

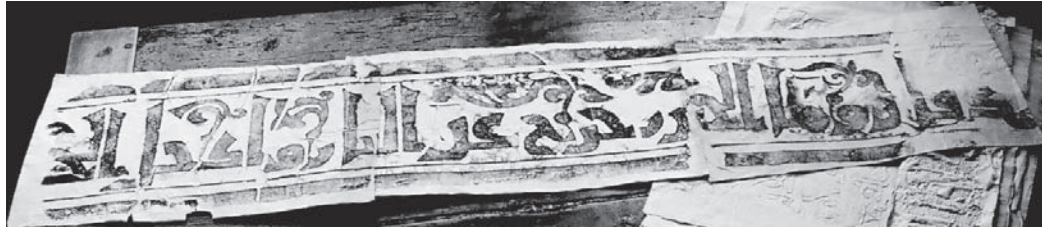
76. MvB 8
(8a, 8b, 8c)
UNIDENTIFIED

Qur'ānic text (beginning of an Epitaph)

ca. 500/1106-7

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze Nos. 8a, 8b, 8c, 1.33x0.28m. taken in 1893. 1 line, angular flori script decorated with foliage, thick letters, no points, no vowels; in relief. Origin unknown.

The squeeze was made up of parts which were not put together in order. Pl. 76. Fig. MvB8a, MvB8b, MvB8c. [Negative 27-9-005(a) No. 1A; Disc.1:03190060]



Pl. 76. Fig. MvB8

The first part of the squeeze reads as follows:

[فـ]قد فاز وما الحـ[ياة الدنيا]

The second part reads:

[فـ]ن زحزح عن النار وادخل الجـ[نة]

The correct order is:

فمن زحزح عن النار وادخل الجنة فقد فاز وما الحياة الدنيا...

Whosoever is removed from the Fire and admitted to Paradise, shall win the triumph. The present life is but [the joy of delusion]. (Q. 3:185, trans. Arberry).

It is clear that the fragment opened an epitaph with the whole verse, starting with the words كل نفس ذائقة الموت "Every soul shall taste of death."

There is no indication concerning the origin of the inscription, but in this case as well, I presume that it came from Caesarea (or Ashqelon), like many inscriptions of the same style in the Ustinow Collection.

77. MvB 7
UNIDENTIFIED

Qurʾānic text

5th/11th c

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze No. 7, 0.68x0.11m. taken in 1893. 1 line professional angular script, some letters curl up, no points no vowels; in relief. Origin unknown. Pl. 77. Fig. MvB7 [Neg. 20-2-006 0A; Disc1:1860001]. Possible origin: Ashqelon.



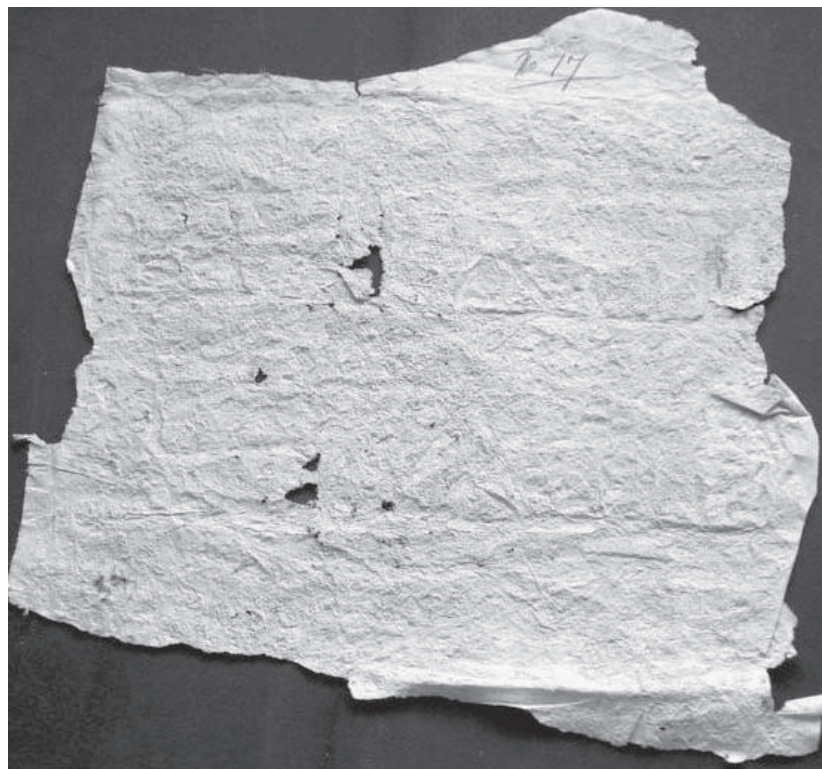
Pl. 77. Fig. MvB7

Beginning of *basmallah*.

78. MvB 34
UNIDENTIFIED

Declaration of Faith

MvB squeeze, No. 34 (Formerly, No. 17), 0.33x0.33m. small fragment, 2 lines, angular script almost graffiti, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 78. Fig. MvB34 (Photo: Antoinette Harri).



Pl. 78. Fig. MvB34

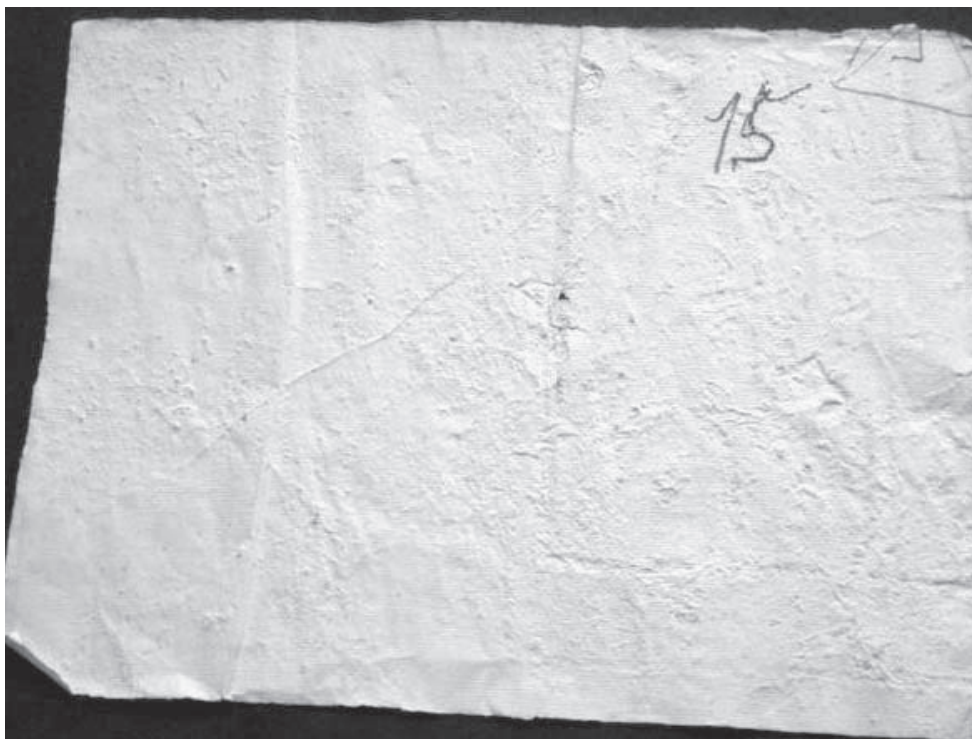
١) بسم الله يشهد

In the Name of Allah... (someone) testifies...

79. MvB 35

UNIDENTIFIED, UNREADABLE

MvB squeeze No. 35 (formerly No. 15), 0.23x0.30m. Angular script, but only a few letters can be recognized, no points, no vowels; incised. Pl. 79. Fig. MvB35 (Photo: Antoinette Harri)



Pl. 79. Fig. MvB35

With some effort I think that in the last line I can see the words *illā Allah*, and traces of *yashhadu* in the line before the last.

It is possible that this is a fragment of an epitaph which could have been:

1) ...*tuzwifya* 2) [*wahuwa yash*] *hadu* 3) *allā ilāh* [*illā allah*].

80. MvB 78

UNIDENTIFIED, UNREADABLE

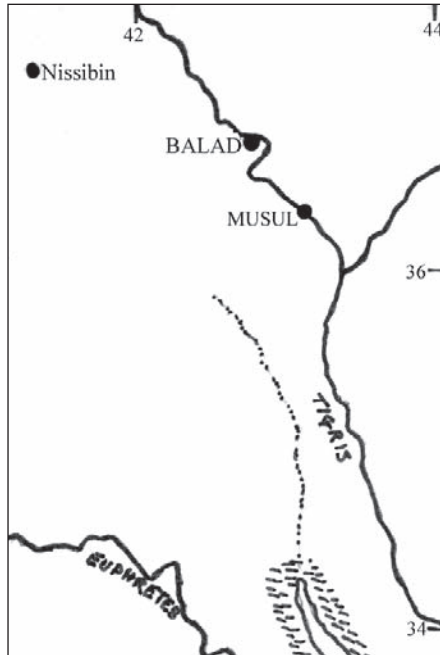
MvB squeeze, 0.45x0.63m. The script is so shallow that it is impossible to determine even the number of lines from the squeeze. There is one word at the bottom of the squeeze which should be read lengthwise **الله**. If this reading is correct then the inscription was composed of large angular letters; incised. Pl. 80. Figs. MvB78, MvB78a (flipped) [Neg. 14-02-006 Nos. 15A, 16A; Disc5:1870016, ...0017]



Pl. 80. Figs. MvB78 (left) MvB78a (flipped)

BALAD (BALAṬ) or TAKRĪT

Location: 36°34'N 43°10'E



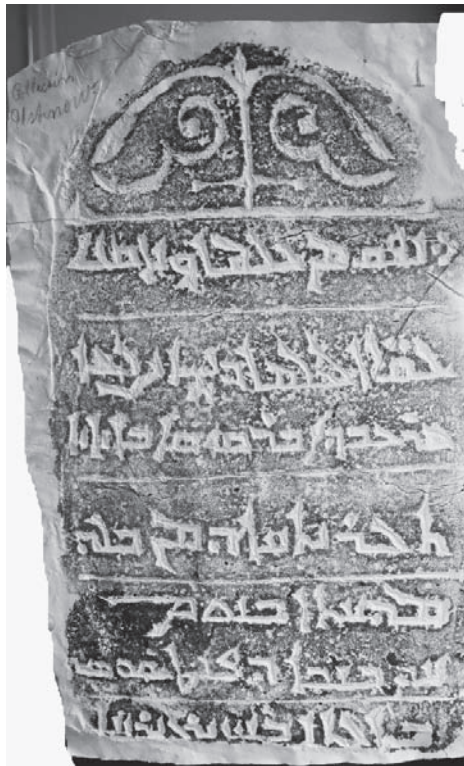
Yāqūt (1:481) has a long entry on Balad: “It is frequently called Balaṭ, ending with *tā*’ ... In Persian it is called Shahrābādh... It is an ancient town on the Tigris above Mūṣul. Seven Parasangs away, and between it and Niṣṣībīn there are 23 Parasangs. It is said that it was named Balaṭ because the fish that swallowed Jonas the prophet, peace be on him, in Ninweh opposite Mūṣul, threw him up (*balatathu*) there. In it is the sanctuary (*mashhad*) of ‘Umar b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, may Allah be pleased with him.” (In what follows Yāqūt supplies a list of many scholars who originated from Balad (“*al-baladī*,”) or were active in it for a long time). On Takrīt (or Tikrīt) see the articles in *EI*, *EI*².

81. MvB 43

Epitaph of a Christian (Syriac)

11th-13thc CE

Ustinow Collection. MvB squeeze, No. 43, 0.49x0.28m. 7 lines professional *Nestorian* script, decorated with a small cross on the top and other simple decorations, no vowels; incised. Pl. 81. Fig. MvB43 [Neg. 14-02-005 No 34A; Disc2:12870035]. Publication: Pedersen 1928:26-30, No. 26488 (=No. 9) Fig. 9.



Pl. 81, Fig. MvB43

- (1) נפס מן עלמא הנא מלא
 (2) עקתא לעלמא דחייא צלעא
 (3) בר עבדא בר סקא באזאזא
 (4) תגריטניא דמן בלד
 (5) מדינתא ביום
 (6) חד בשבא דפנטיקוס
 (7) בתלתא בחזירן ירחא

(1) נפק מן עלמא הנא מלא (2) עקתא לעלמא דחייא צלעא (3) בר עבדא בר סקא באזאזא (4) תגריטניא דמן בלד (5) מדינתא ביום (6) חד בשבא דפנטיקוס (7) בתלתא בחזירן ירחא

Has departed from this world full of sorrows to the world of life Šal'ā son of 'Abdā son of Saqqā the cloth merchant (or the linen draper) the Tagritian (Takrītian) who is from the city of Balad, on Whit Sunday the third of the month of Ḥaziran...

L.4: The deceased is attributed to two places: Takrīt and Balad. The reference to Takrīt means that this was his place of origin, and he was probably referred to by the Arabic *nisbah at-Takrītī*. Balad was where he lived and died, since the inscription indicates that he was “from Balad.”

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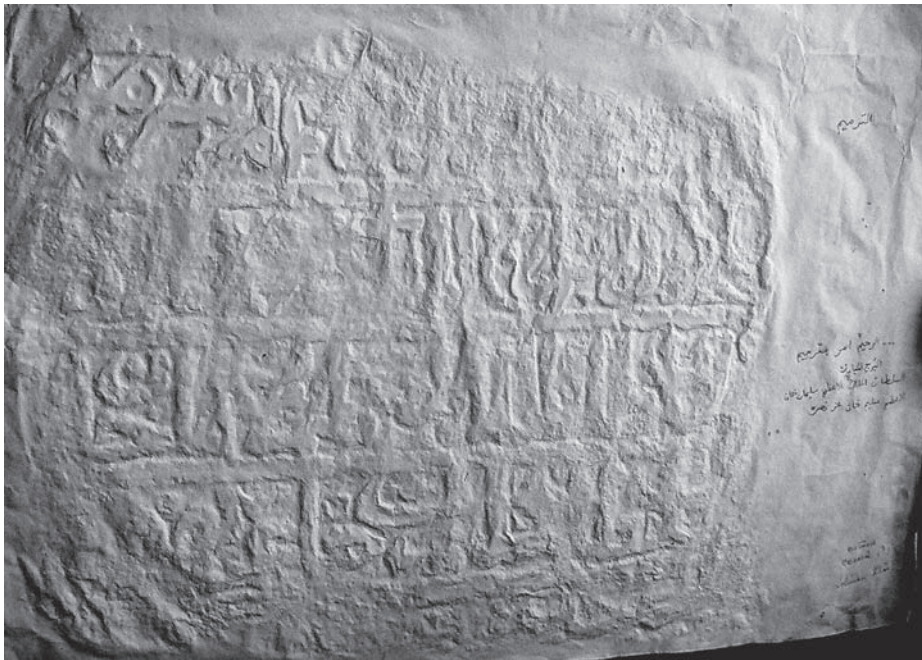
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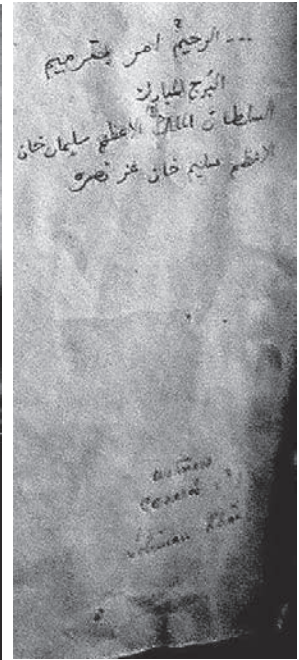
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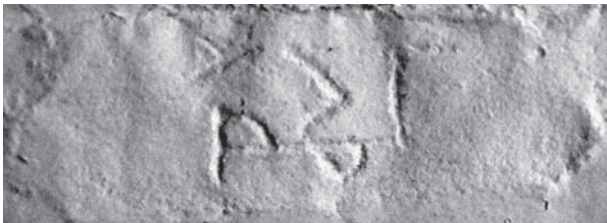
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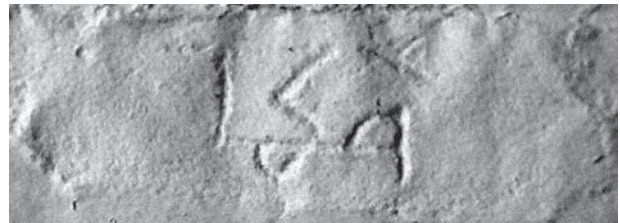
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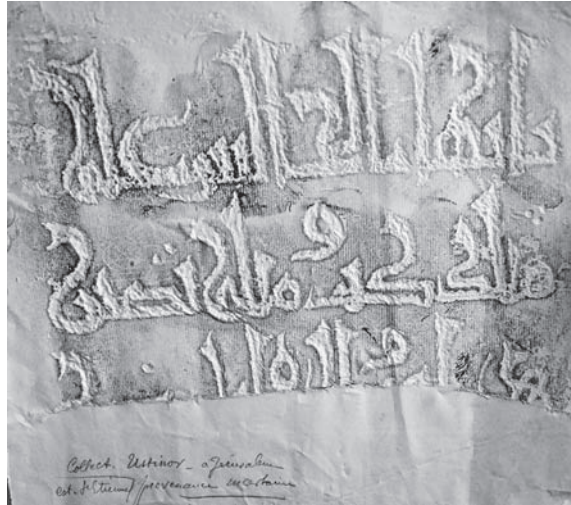
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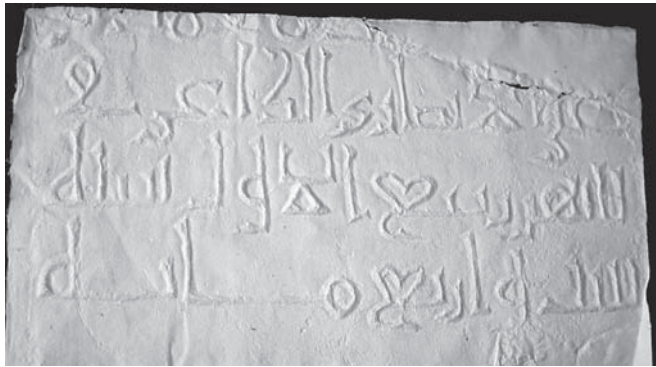
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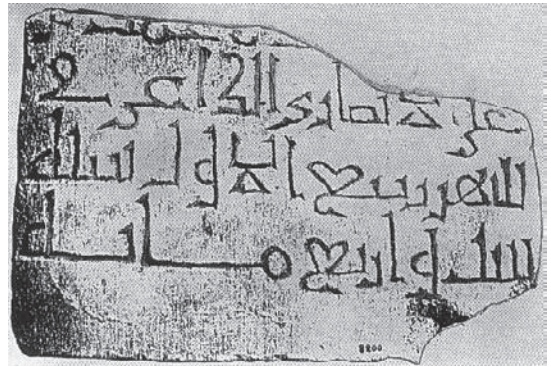
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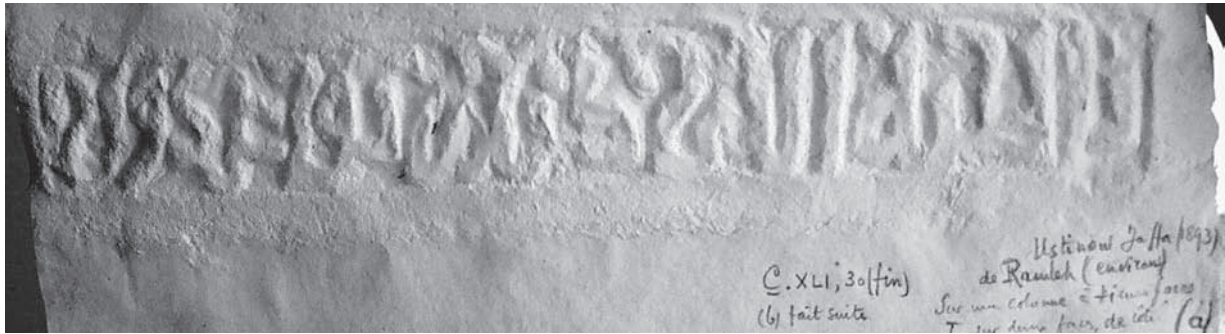
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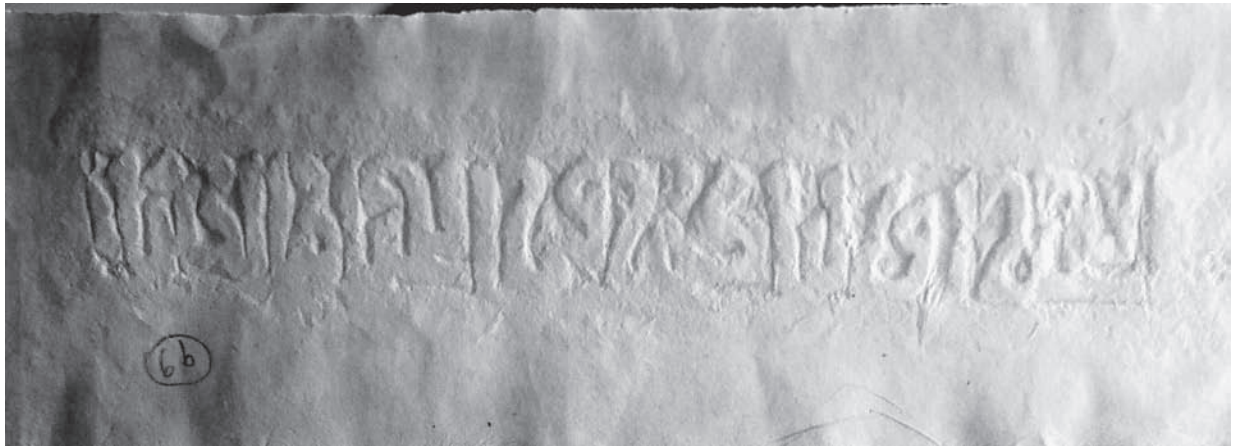
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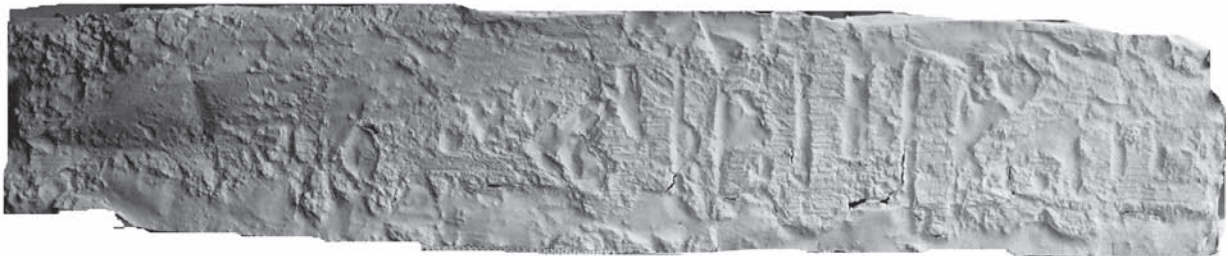
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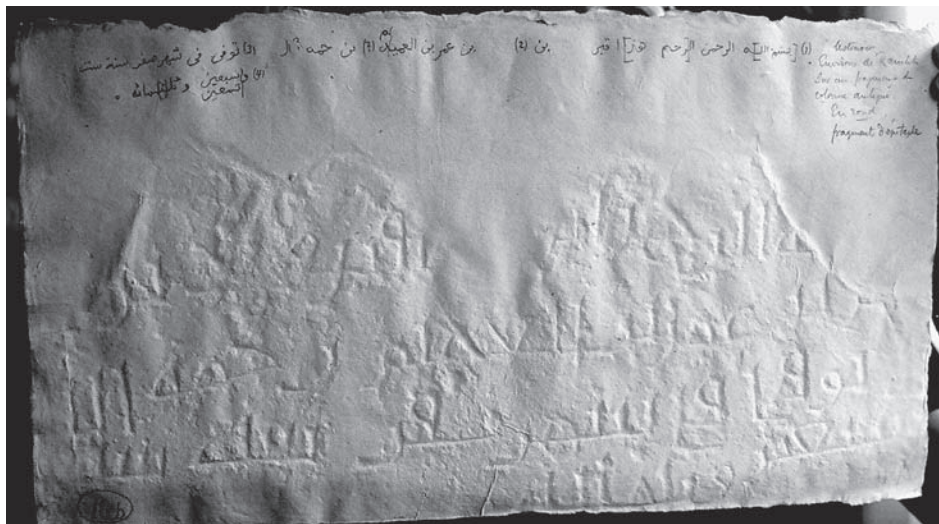
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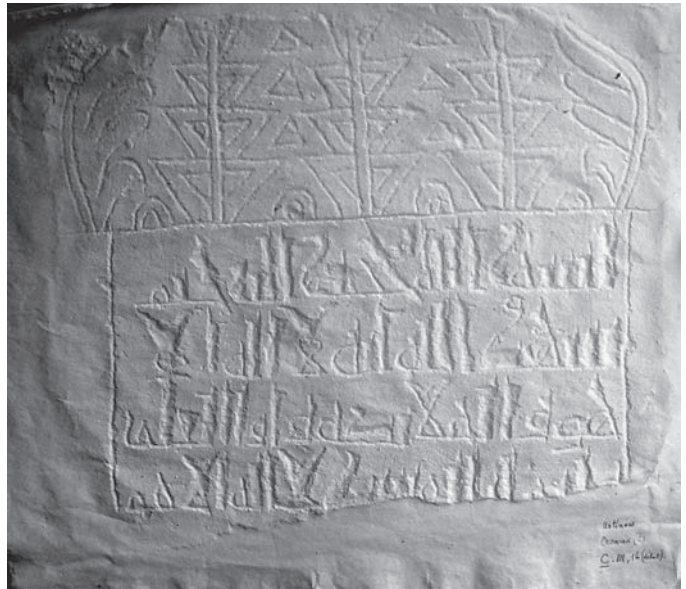
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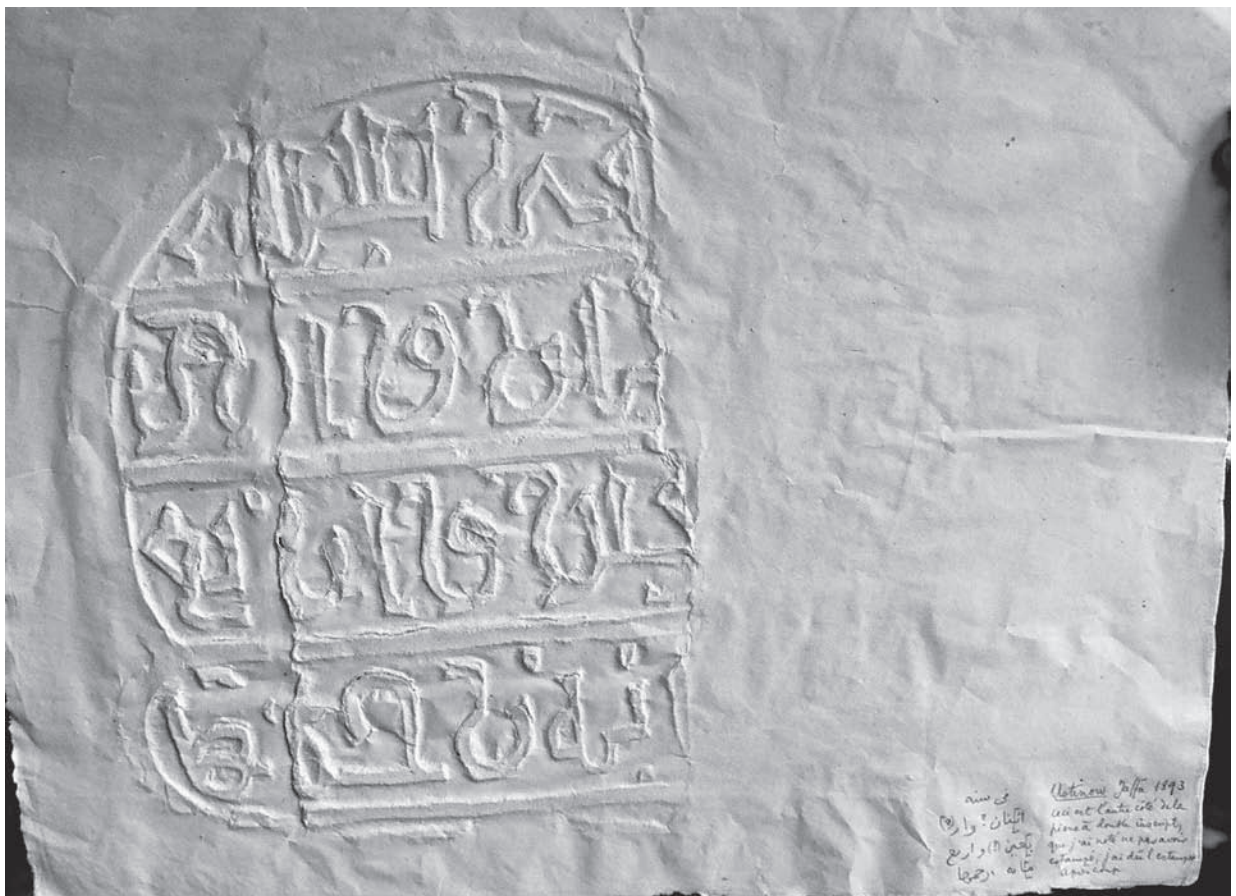
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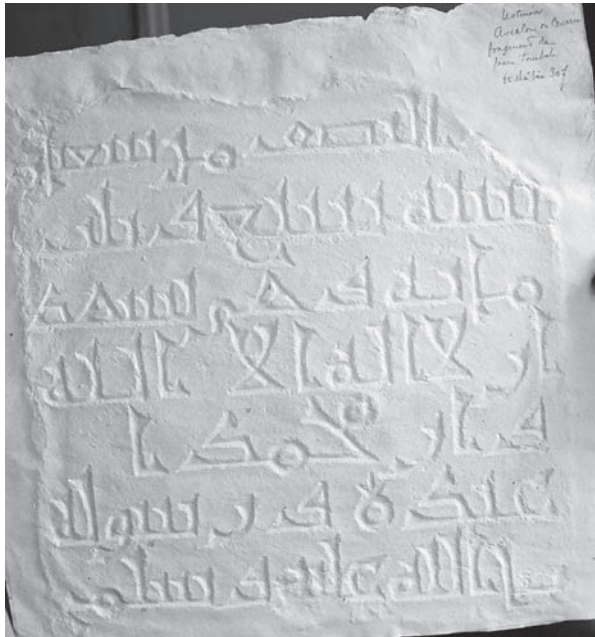
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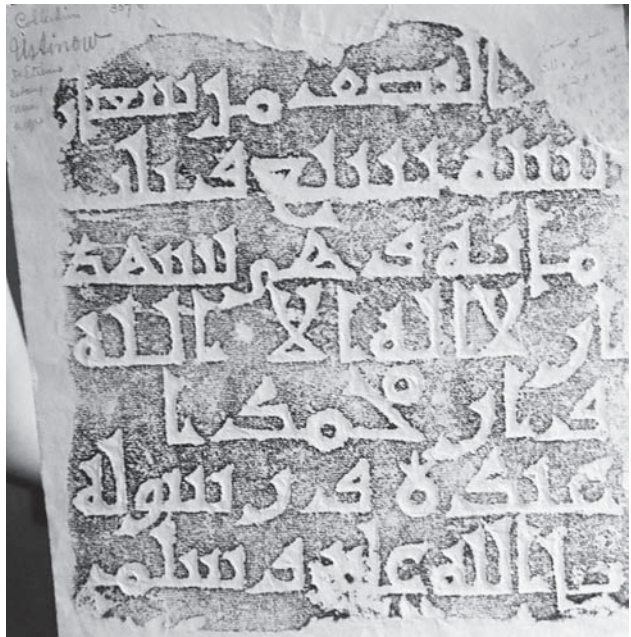
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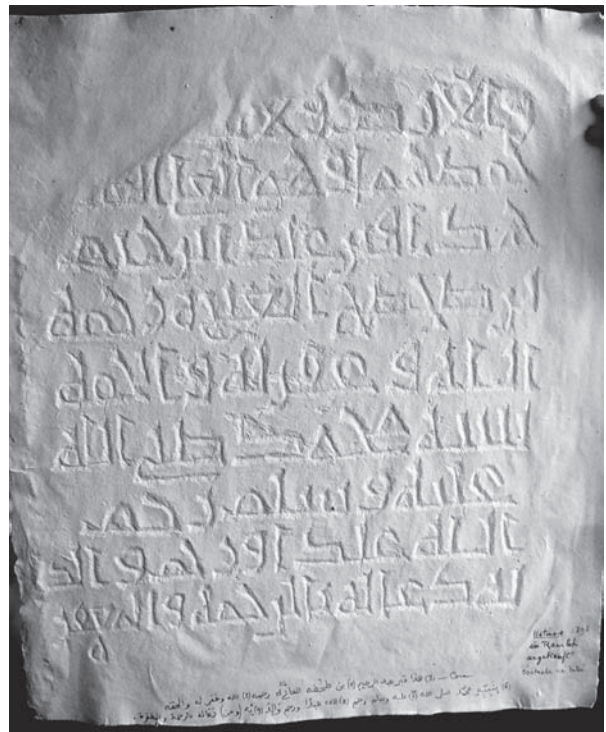
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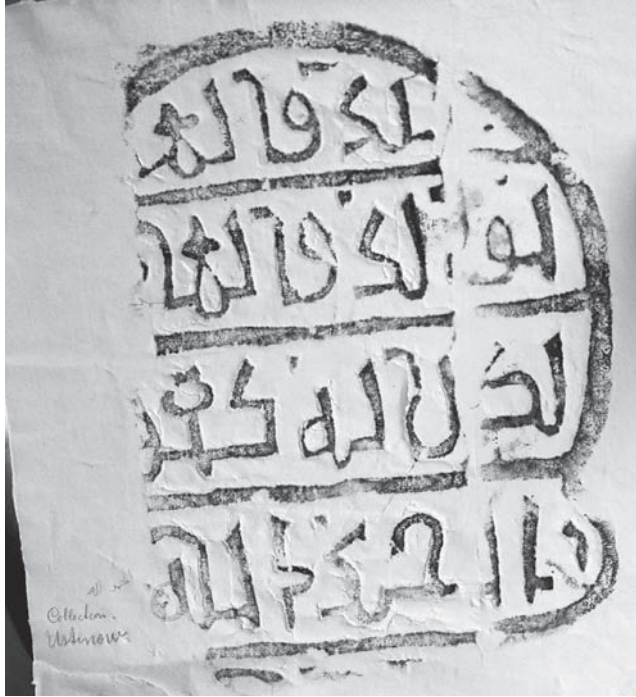
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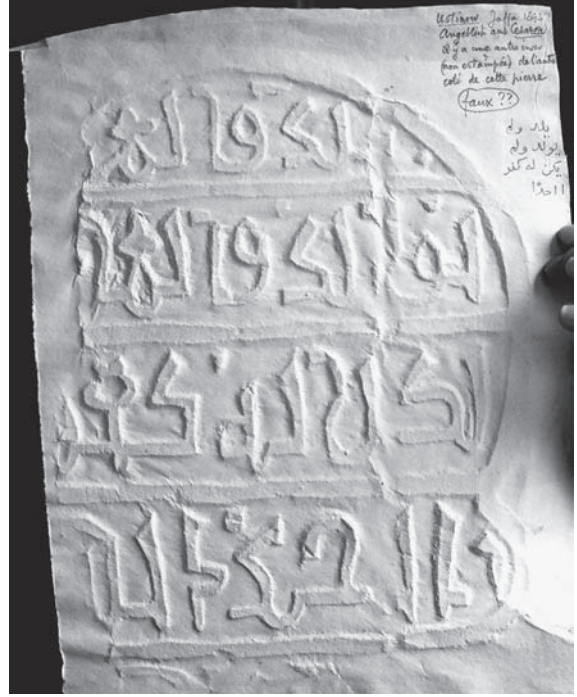
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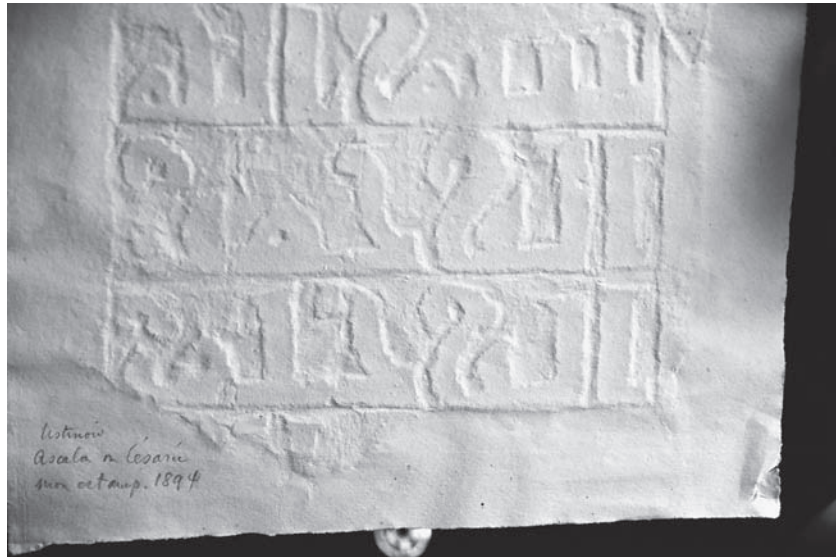
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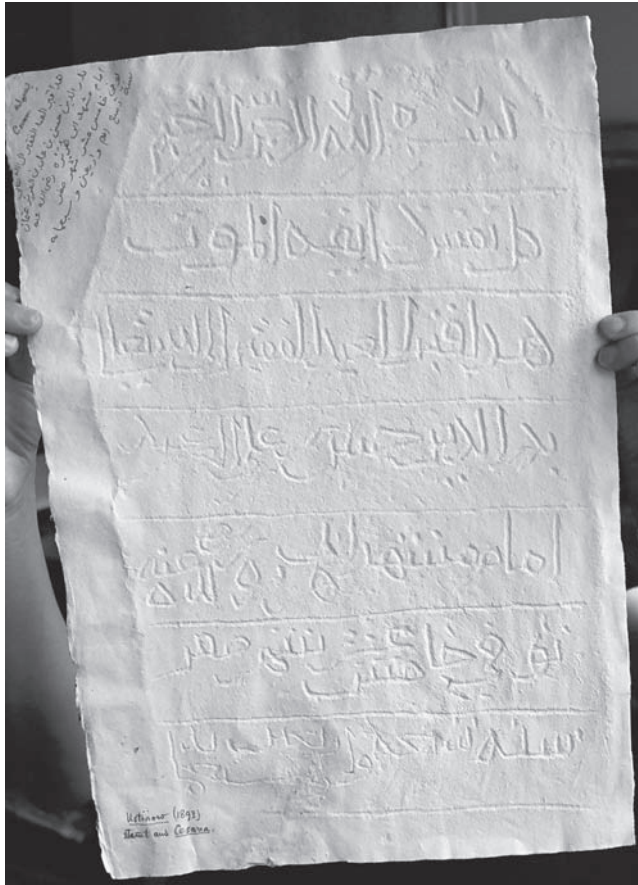
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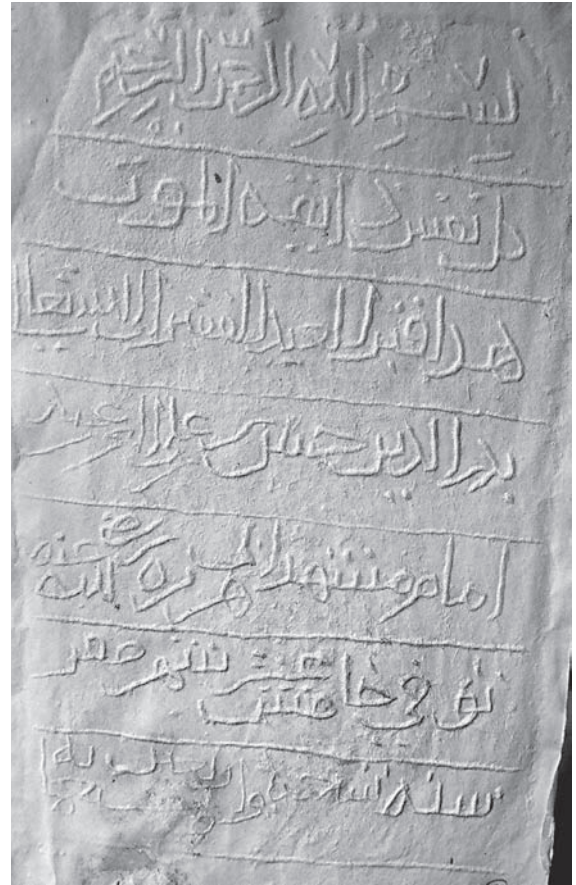
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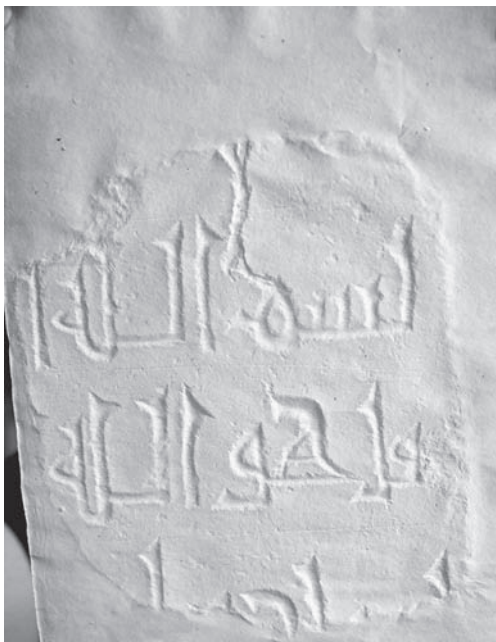
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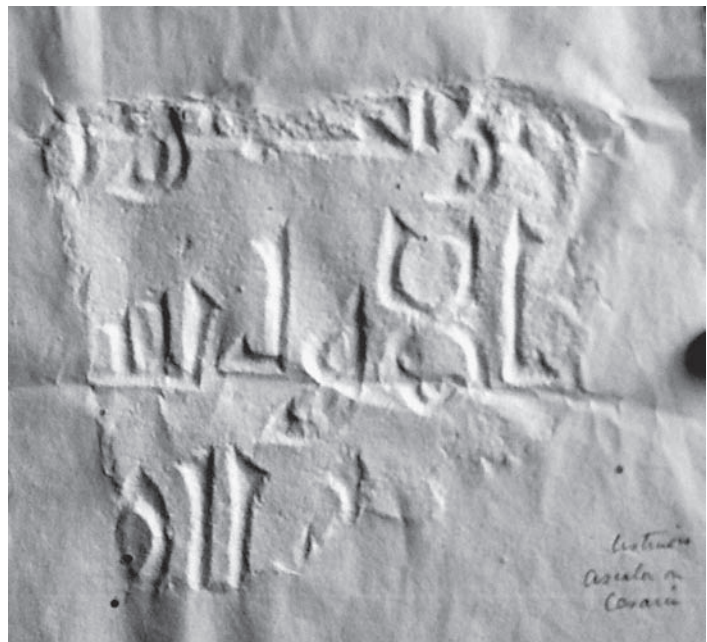
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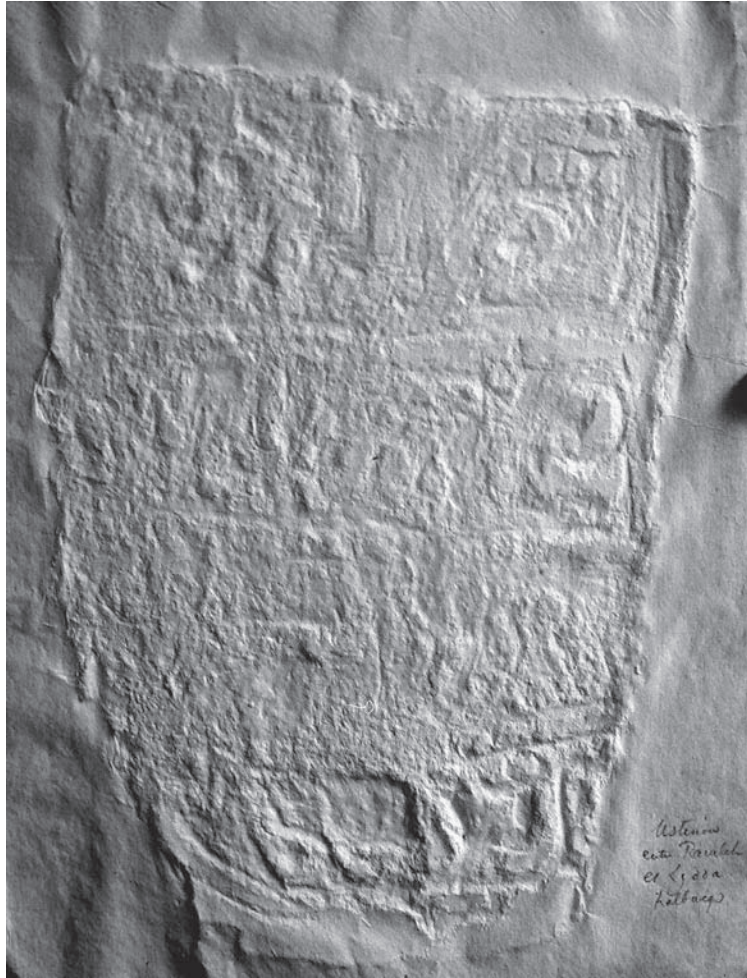
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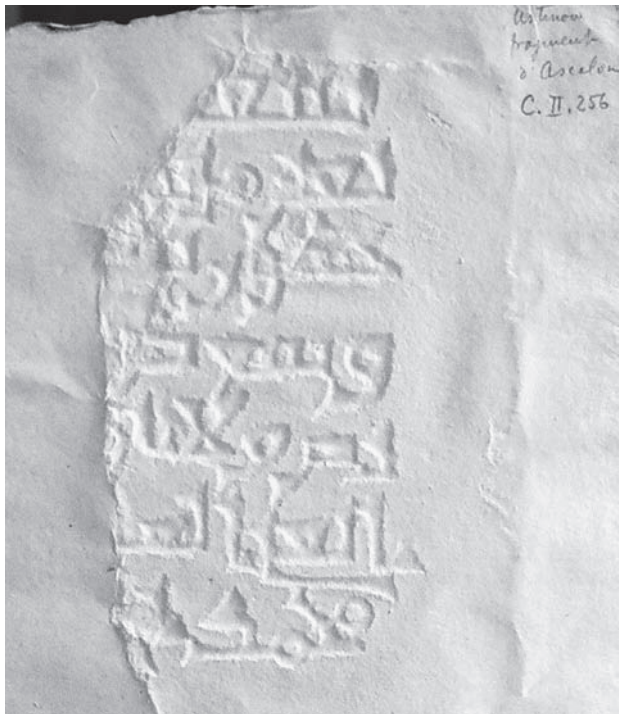
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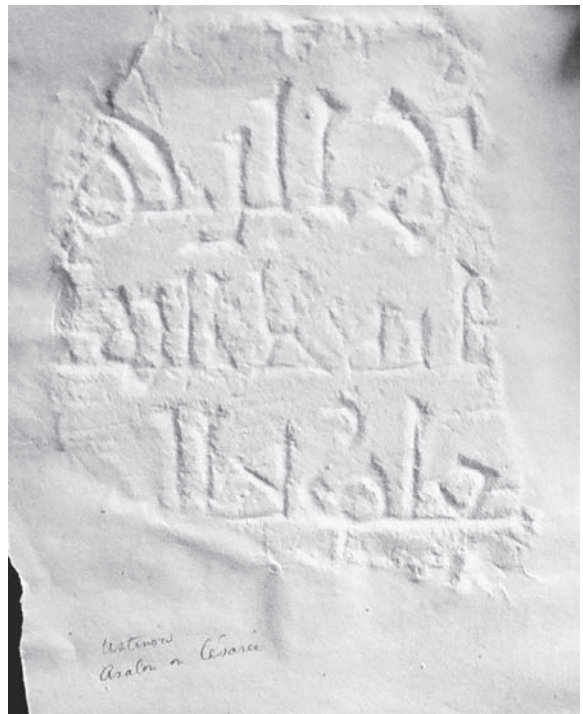
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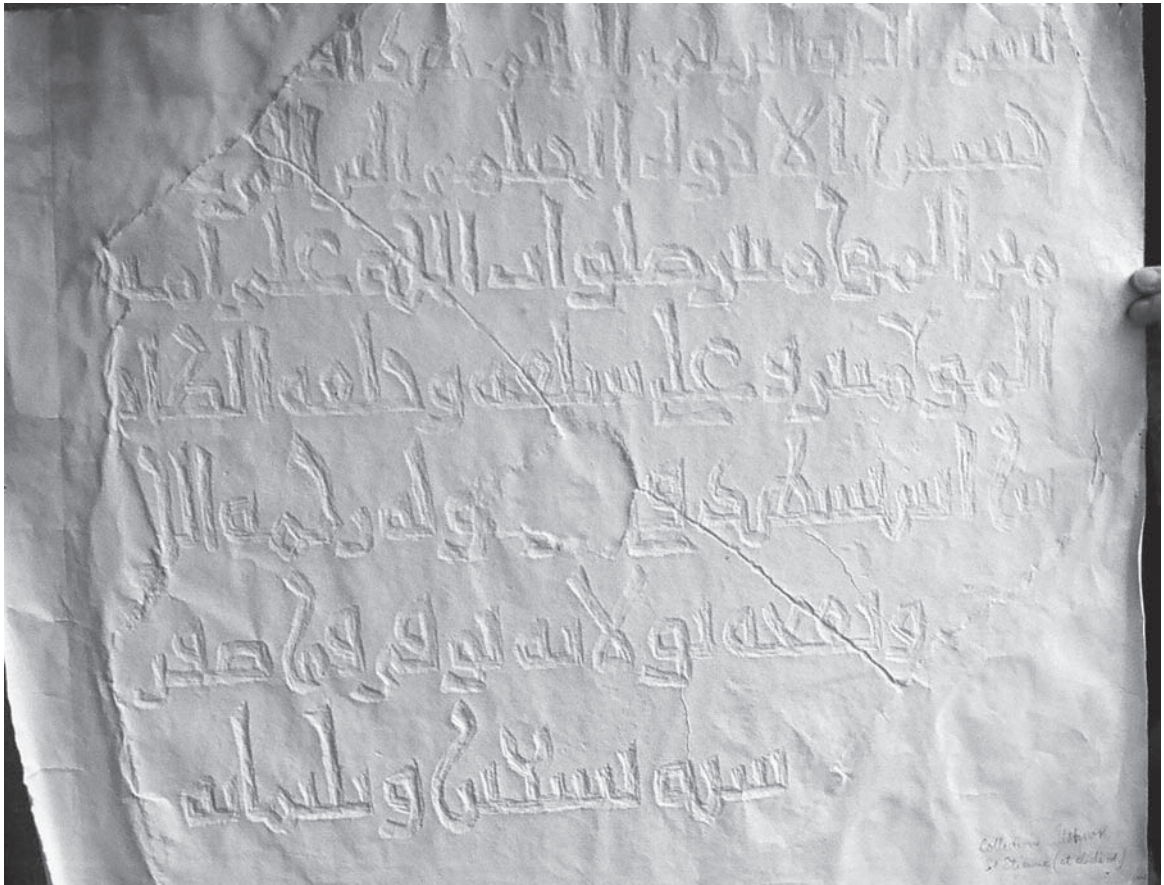
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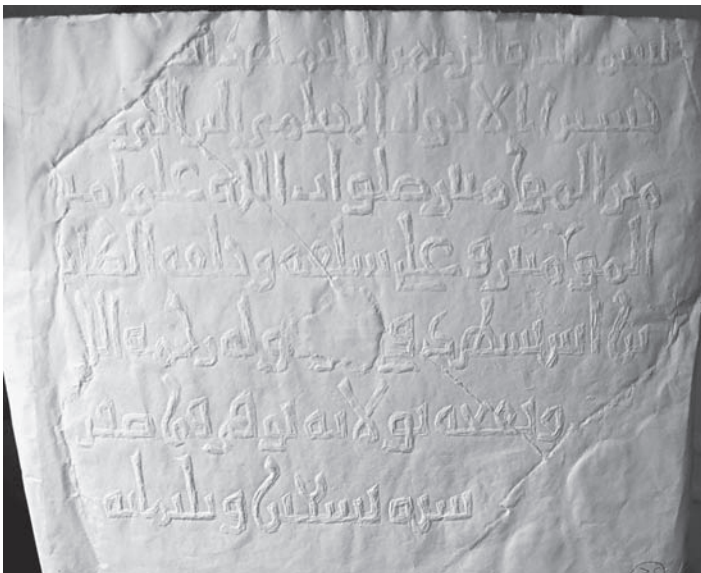
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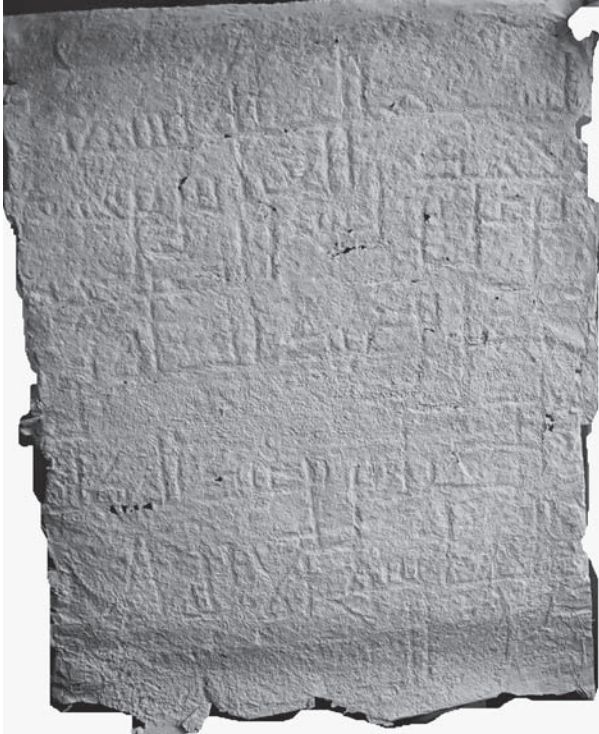
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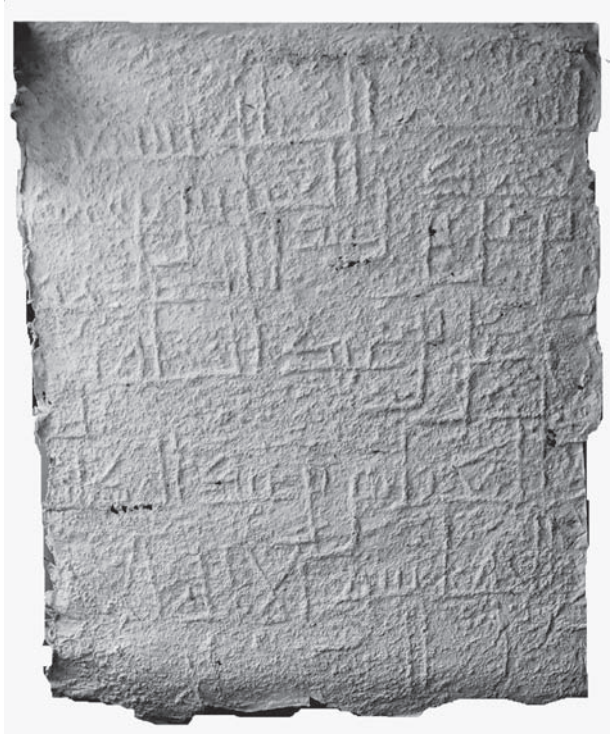
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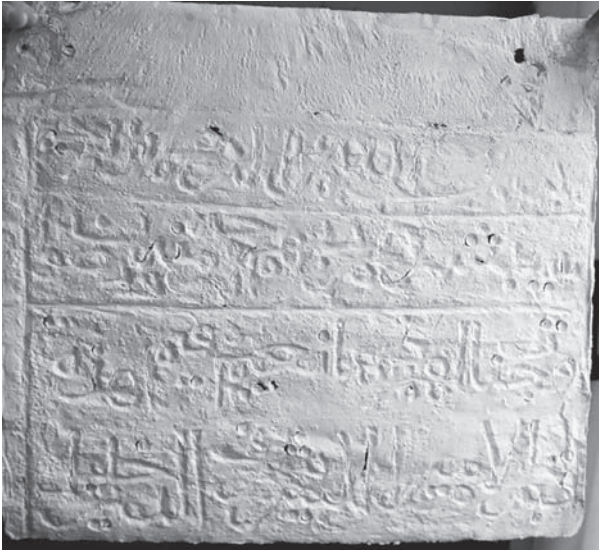
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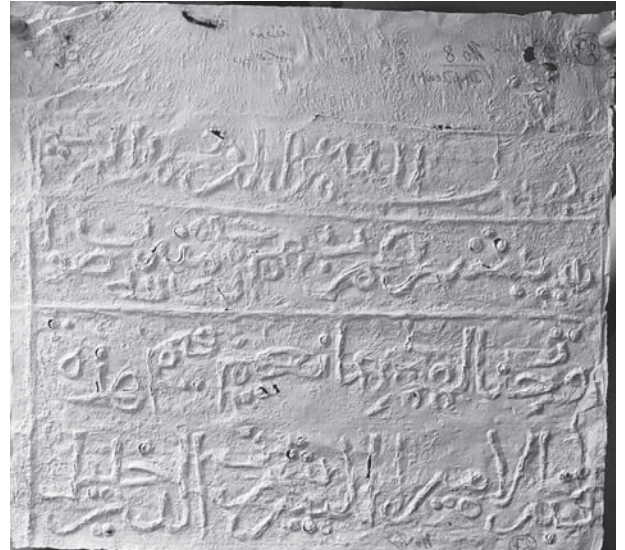
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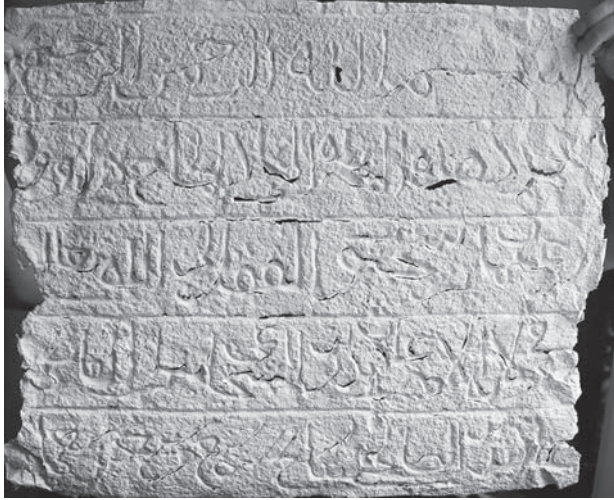
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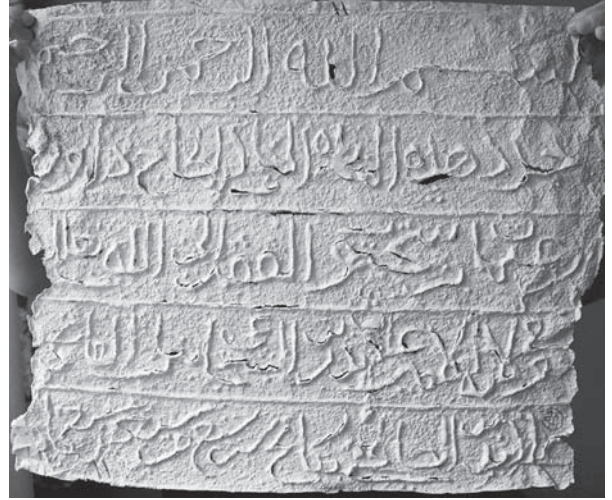
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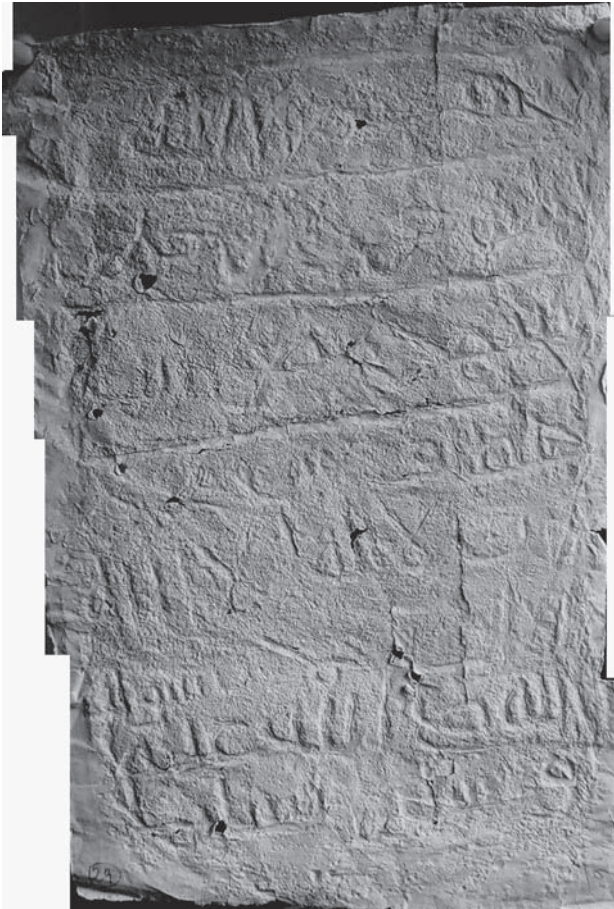
MvB27a



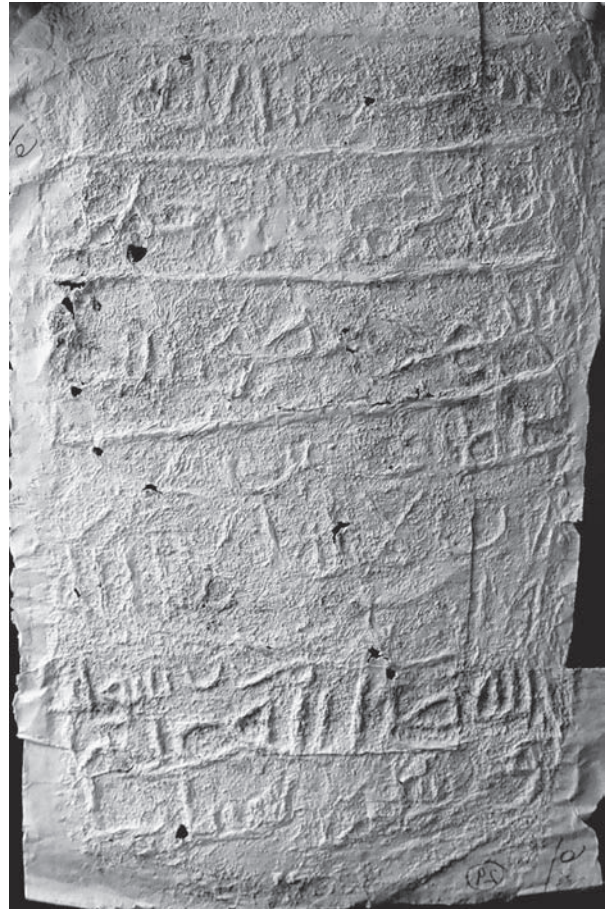
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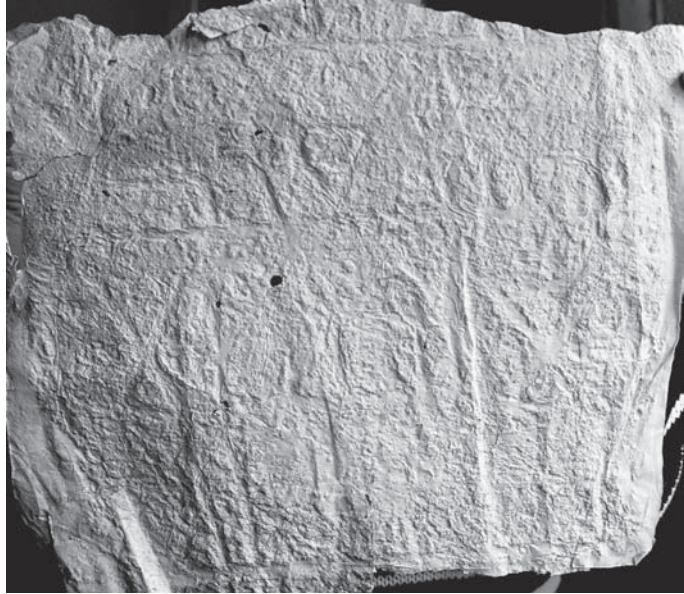
MvB28a



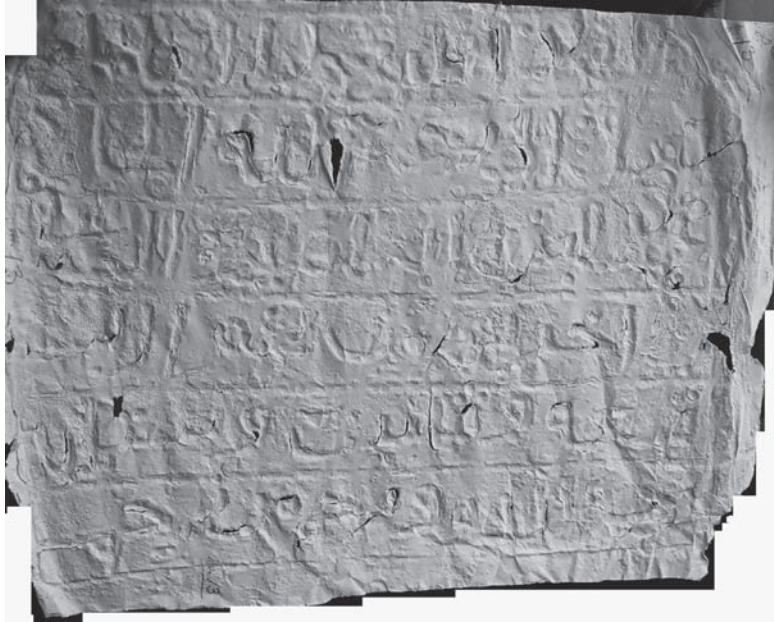
MvB29



MvB29a



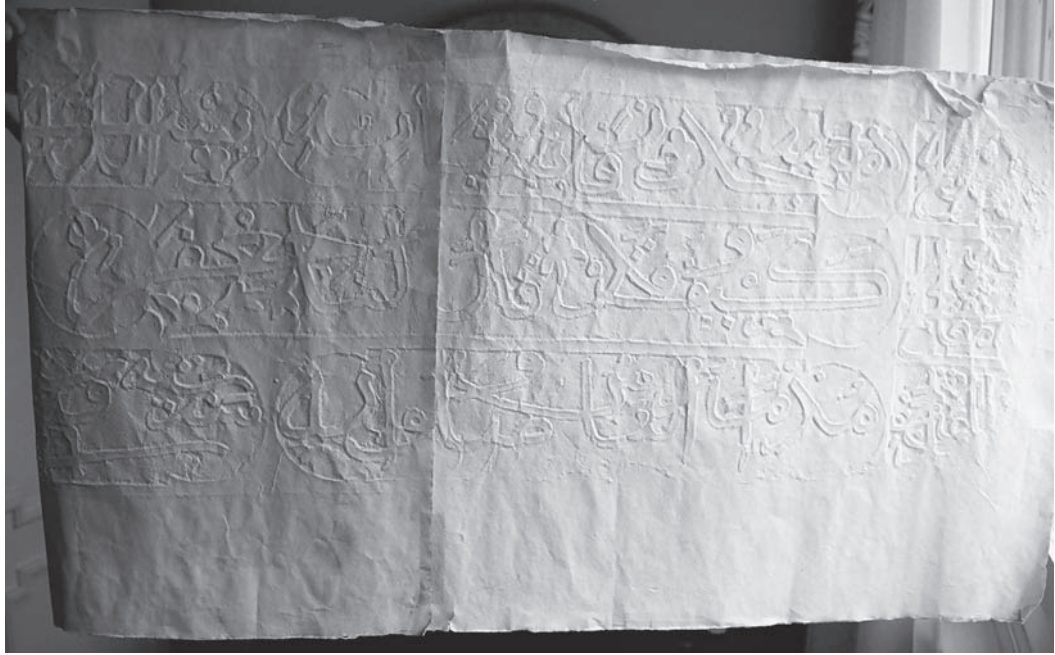
MvB30



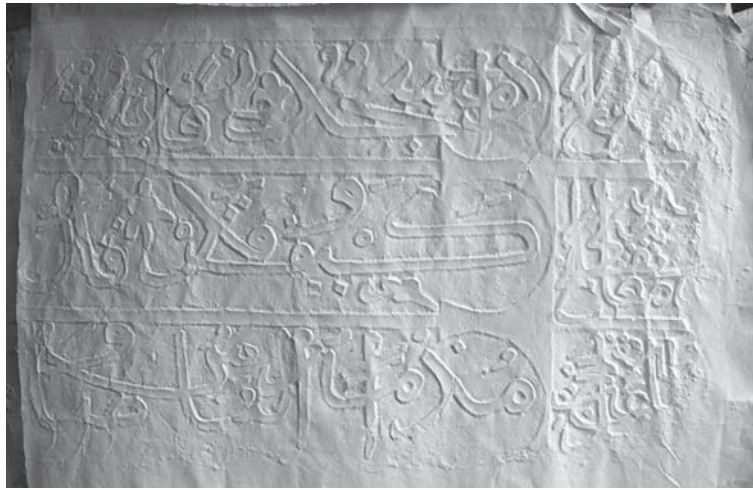
MvB31



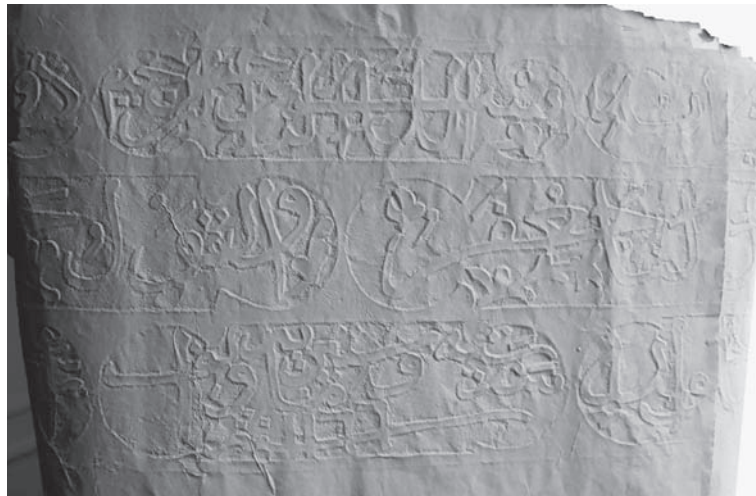
MvB31a



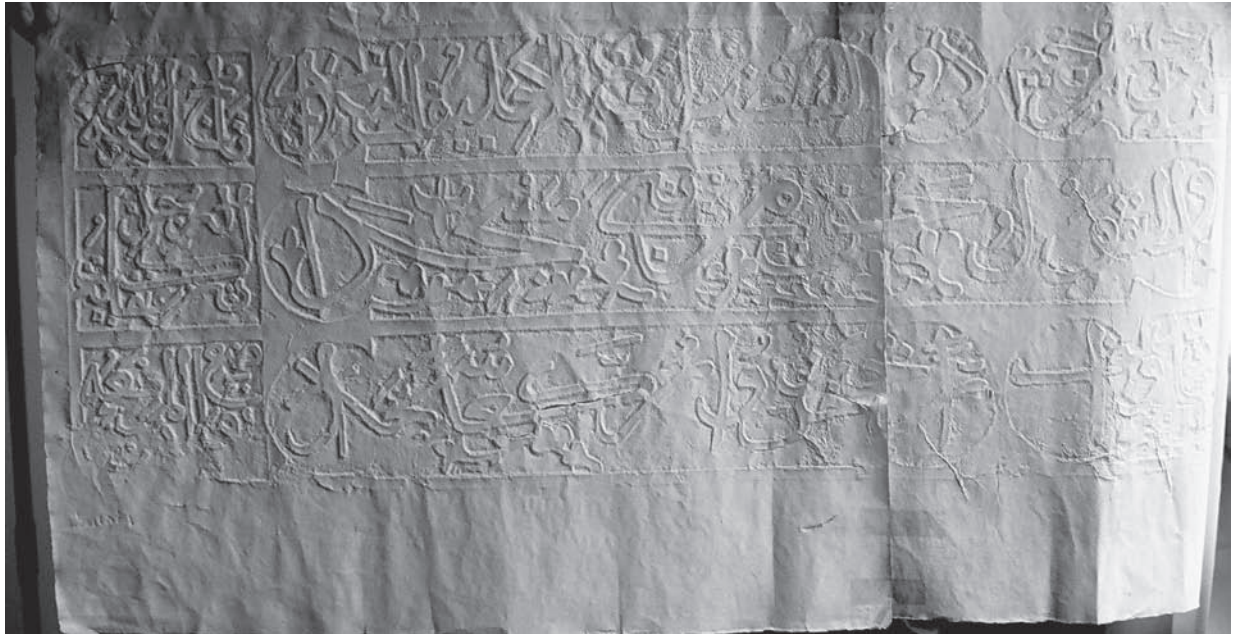
MvB32a(a)



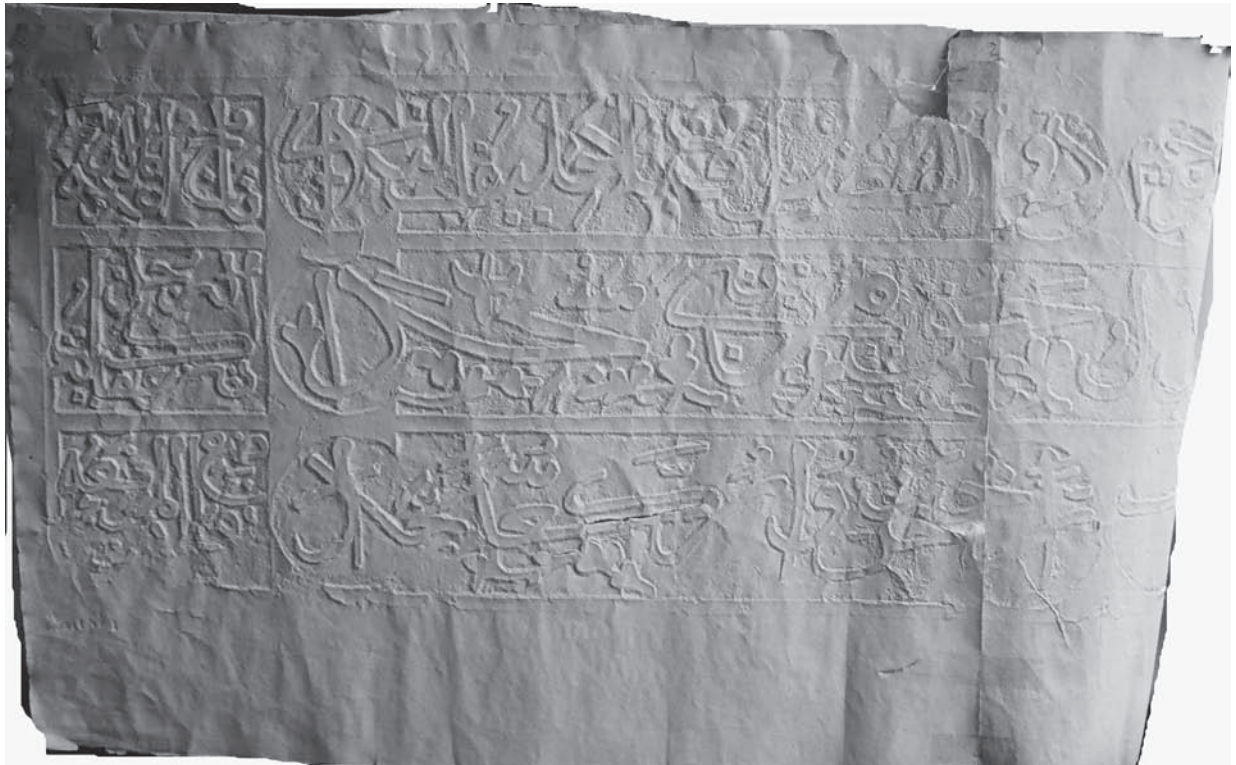
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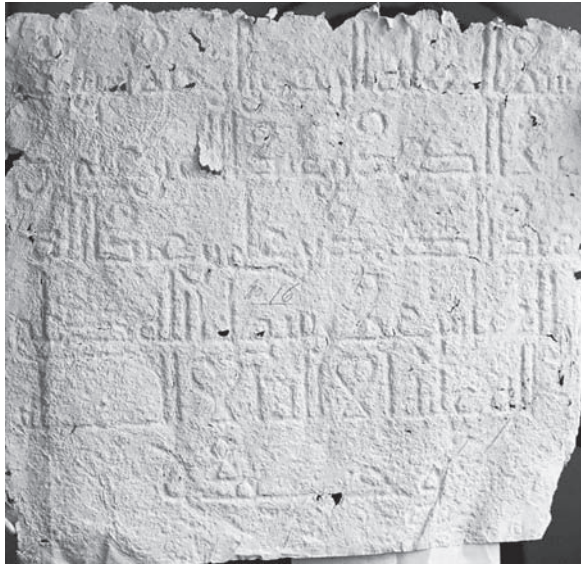
MvB32b



MvB32b(b)



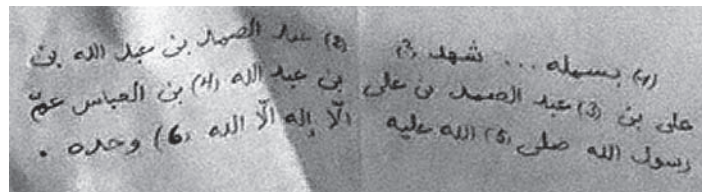
MvB32c



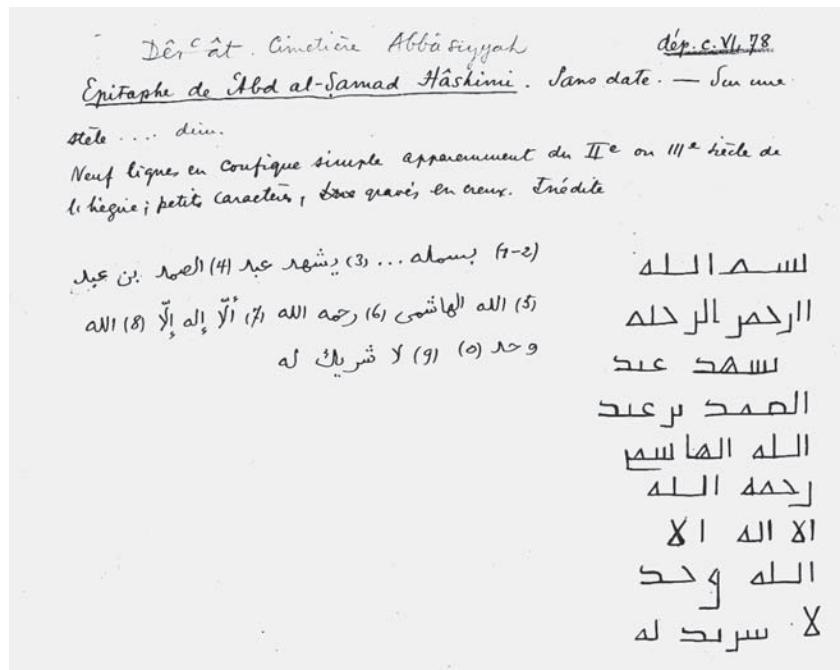
MvB33



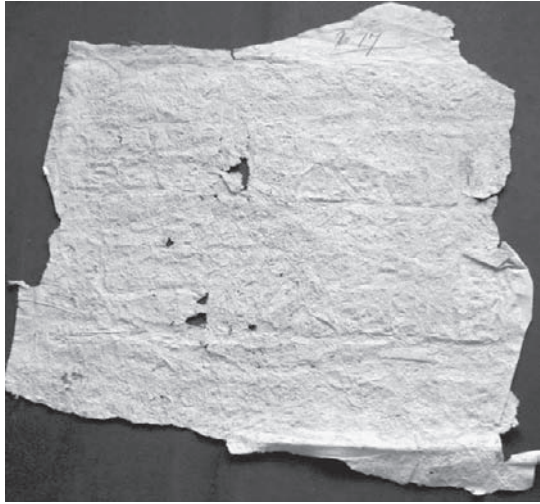
MvB33a



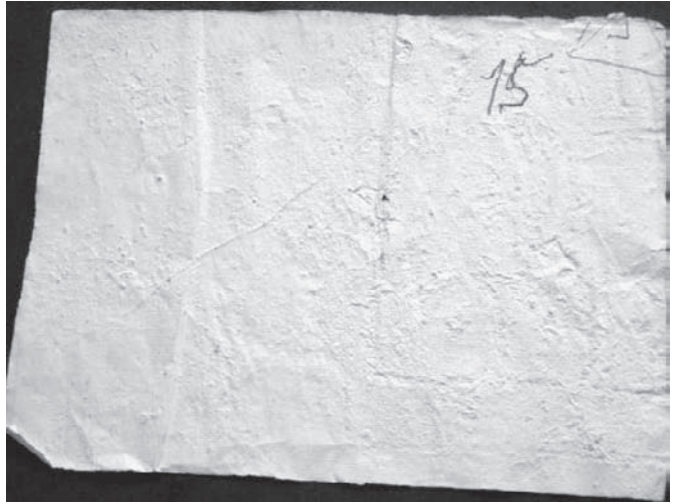
MvB33b



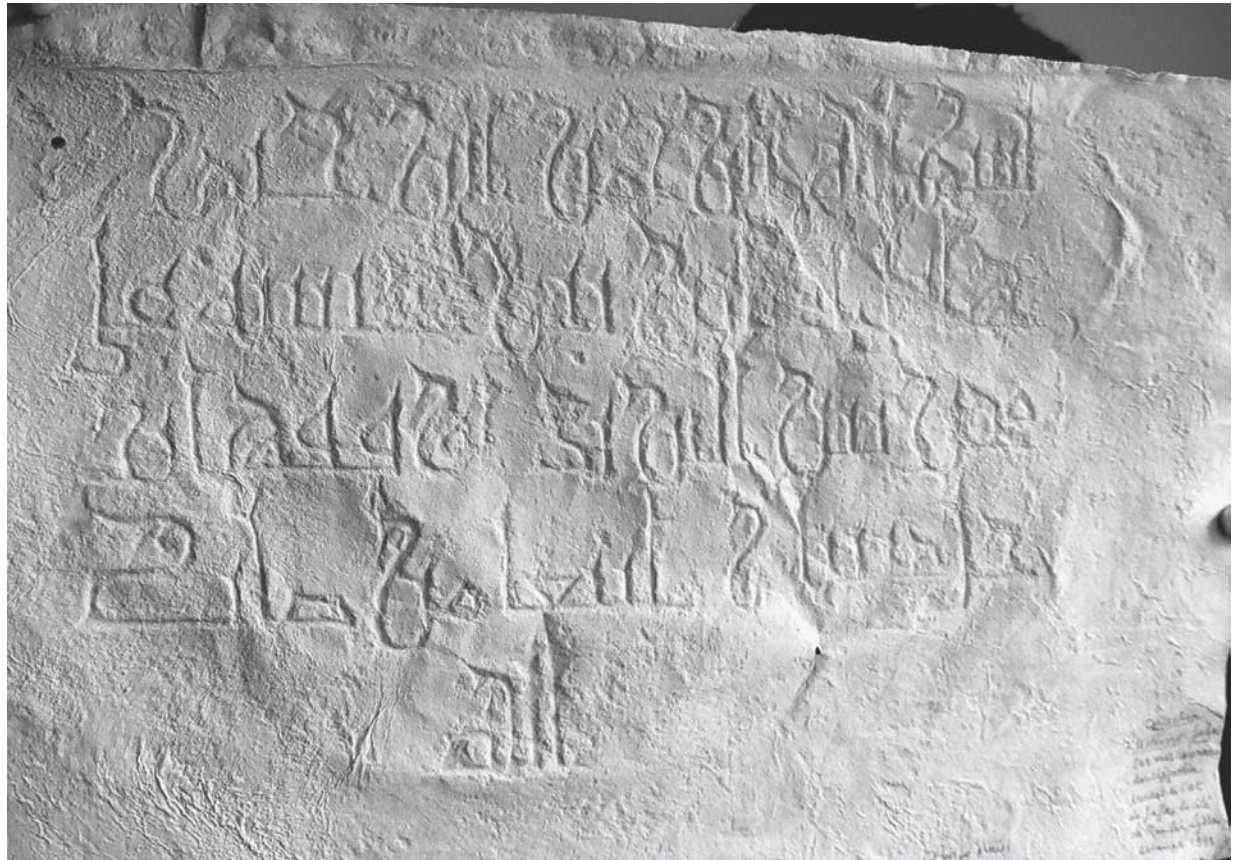
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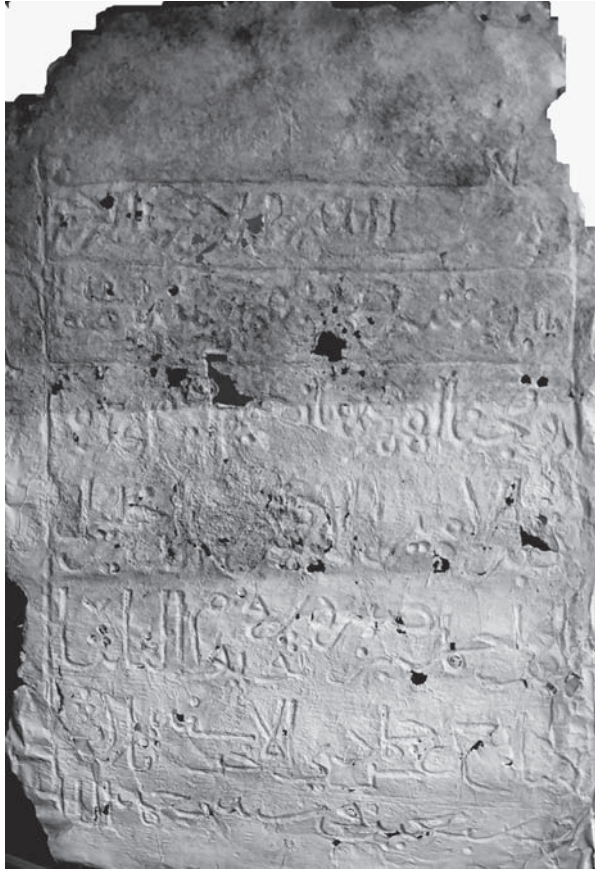
MvB34



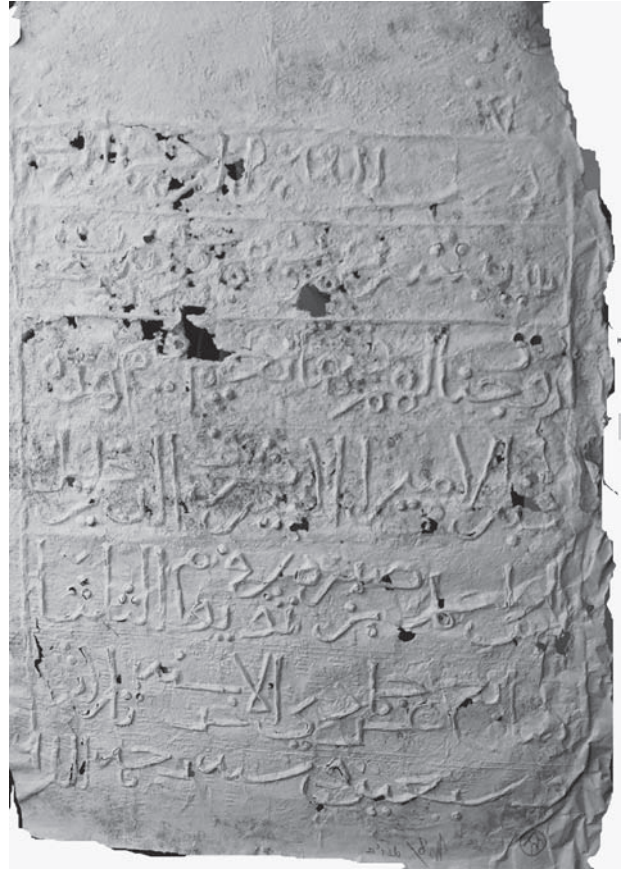
MvB35



MvB36



MvB37



MvB37a

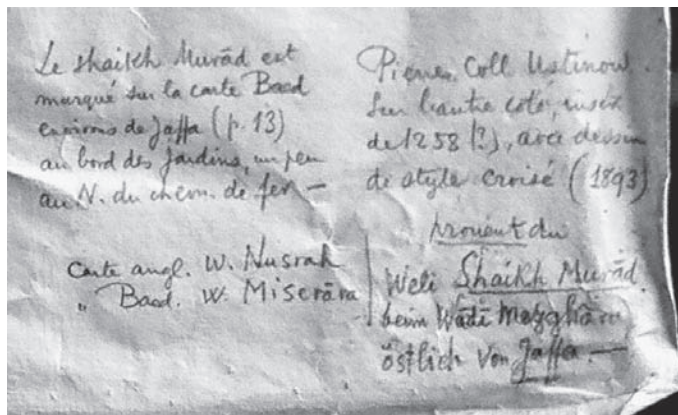


MvB38

Collection Universit. (Paris)



MvB39



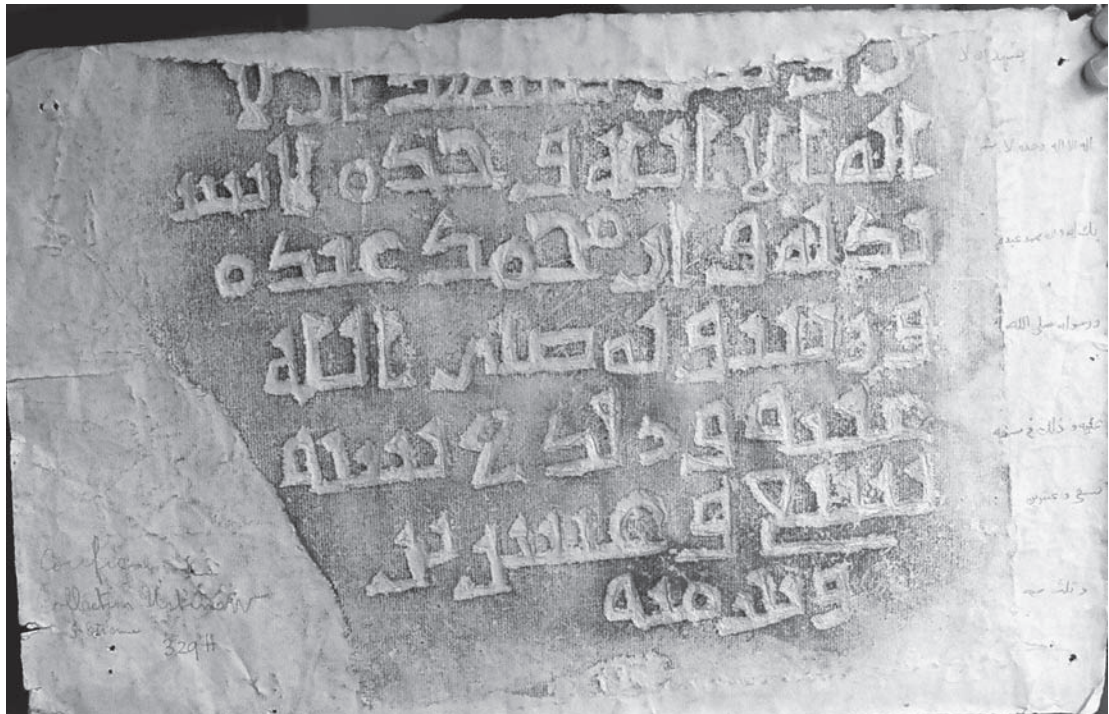
MvB39a



MvB39b



MvB40



MvB41



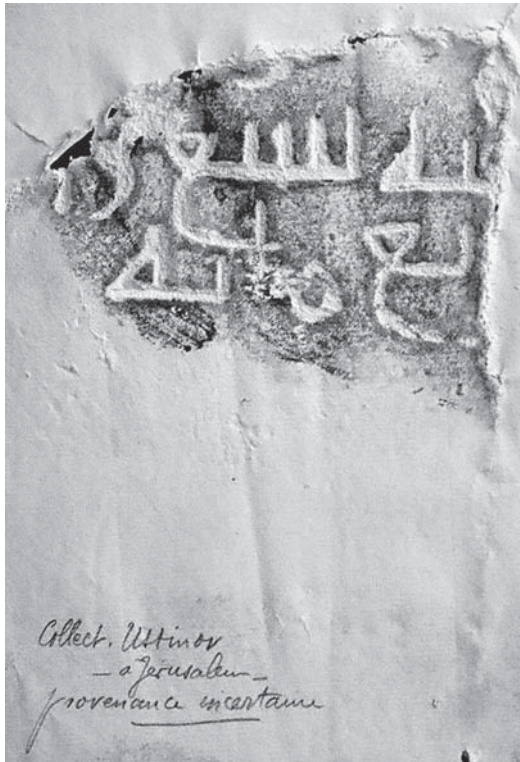
Collection
Ustinow

MvB42



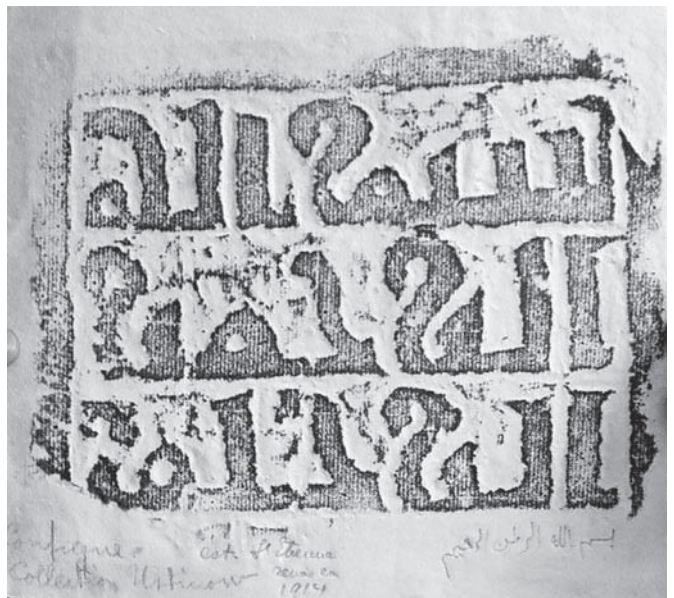
Collection
Ustinow

MvB43



Collect. Ustinov
- a Jerusalem -
provenance incertaine

MvB44



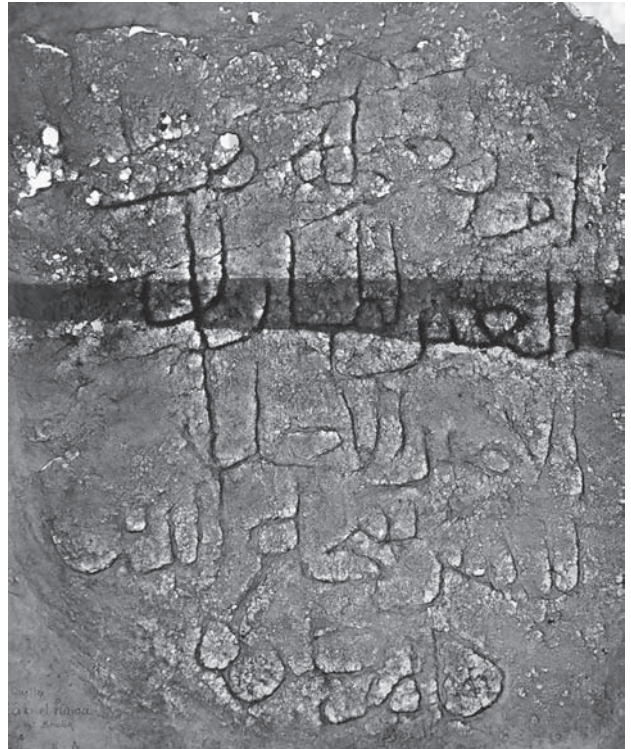
Collection Ustinow
Cat. Ustinow
recens. ca
1914

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

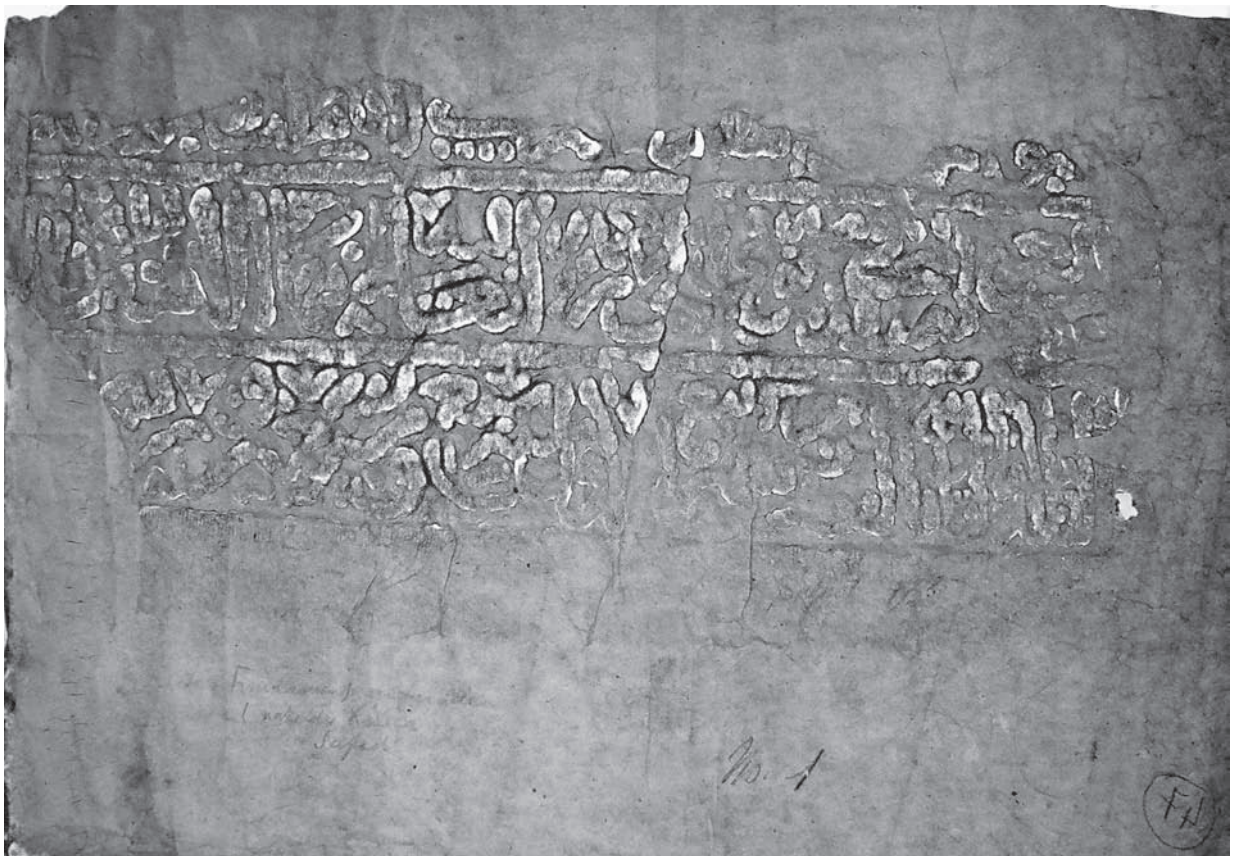
MvB45



MvB46



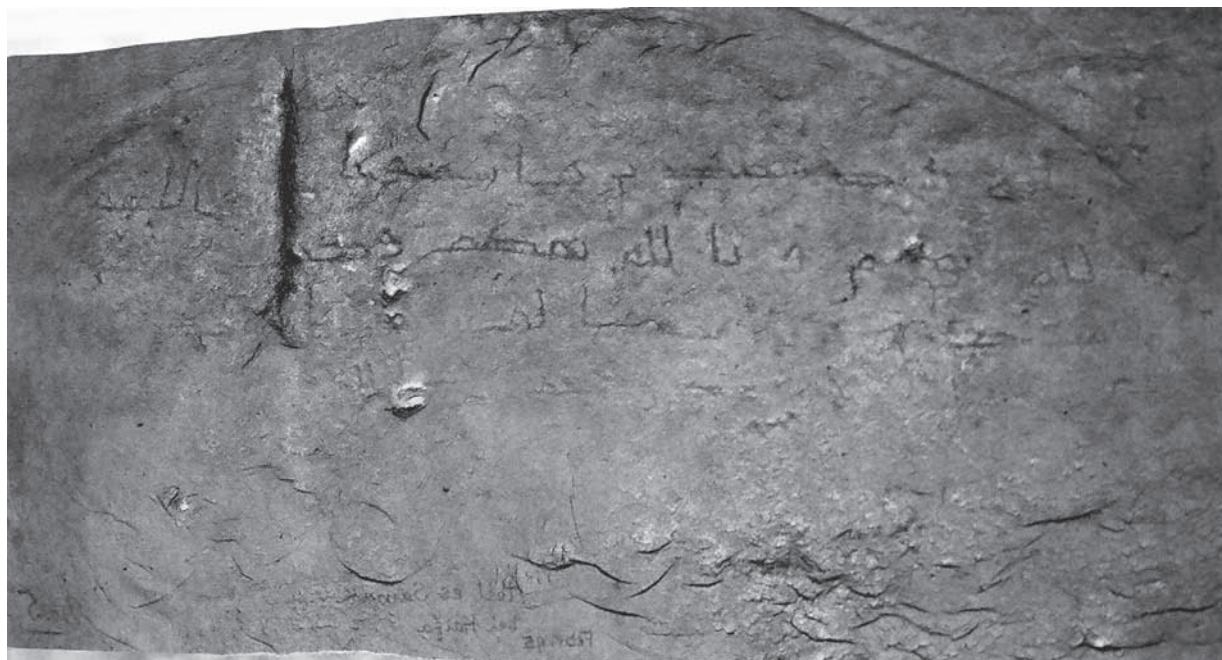
MvB48



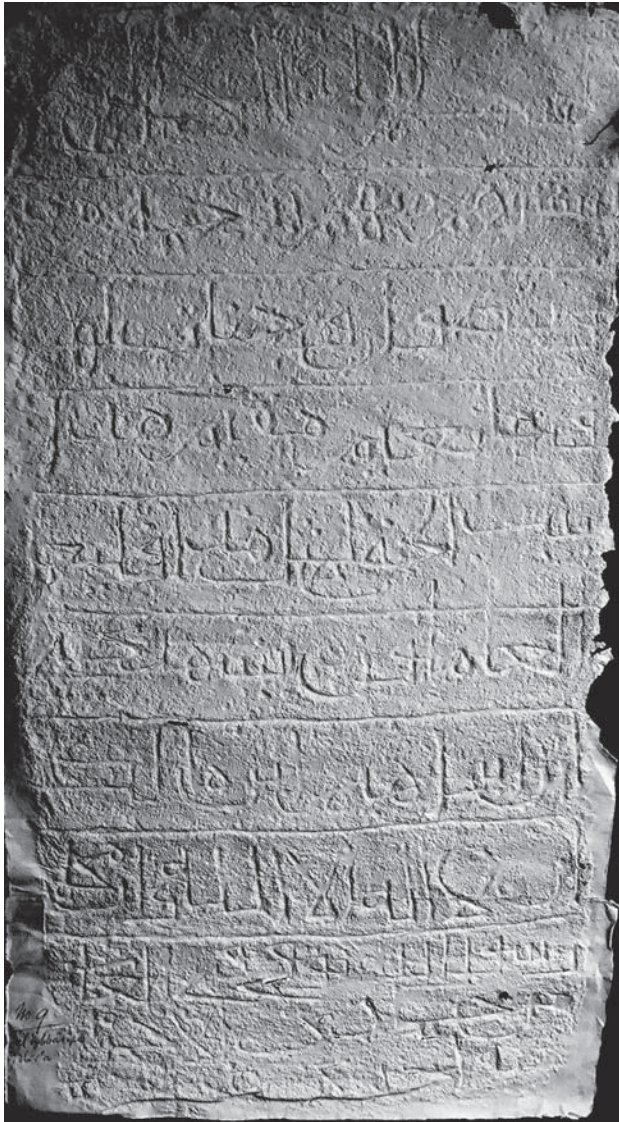
MvB47



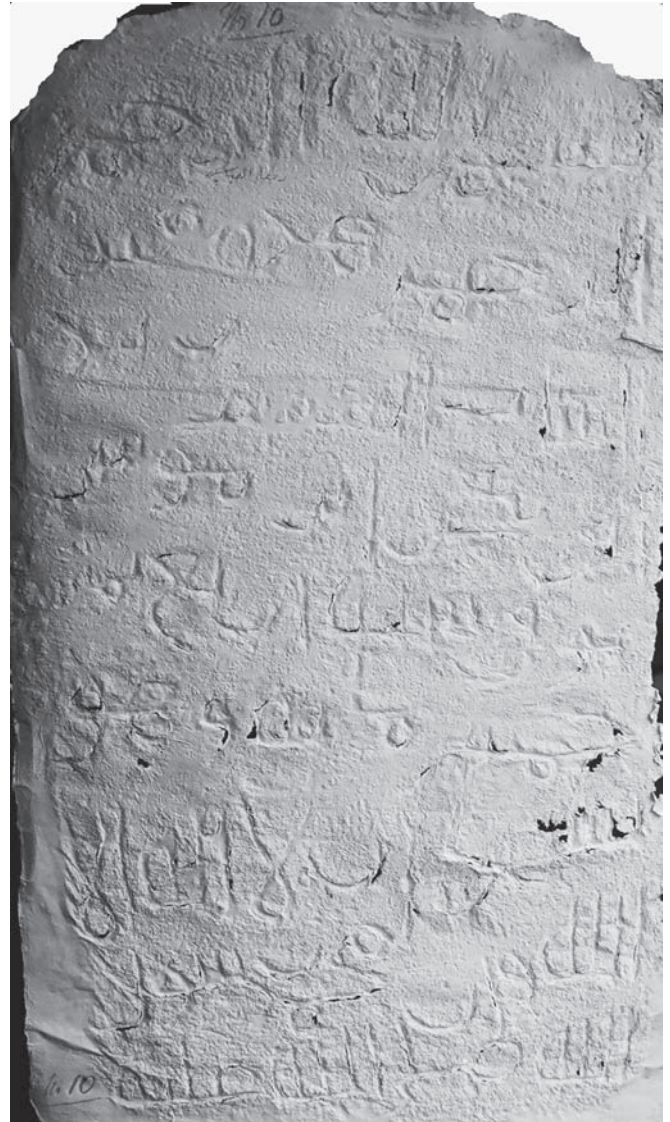
MvB49



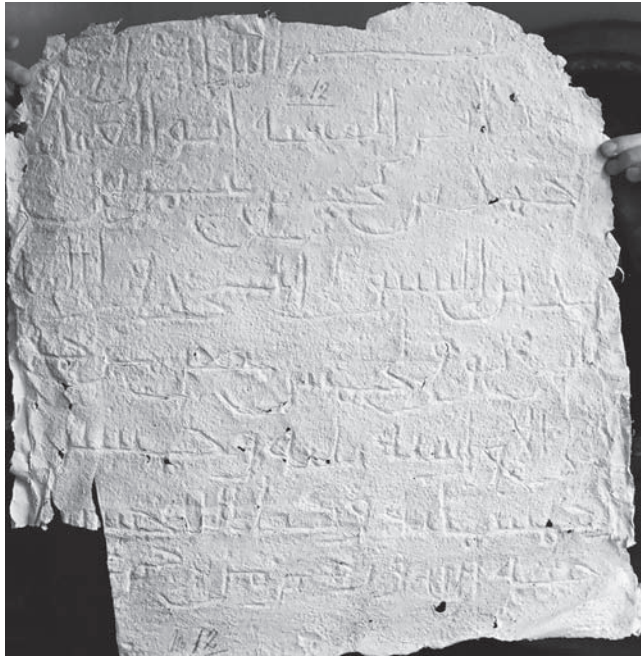
MvB50



MvB51



MvB52



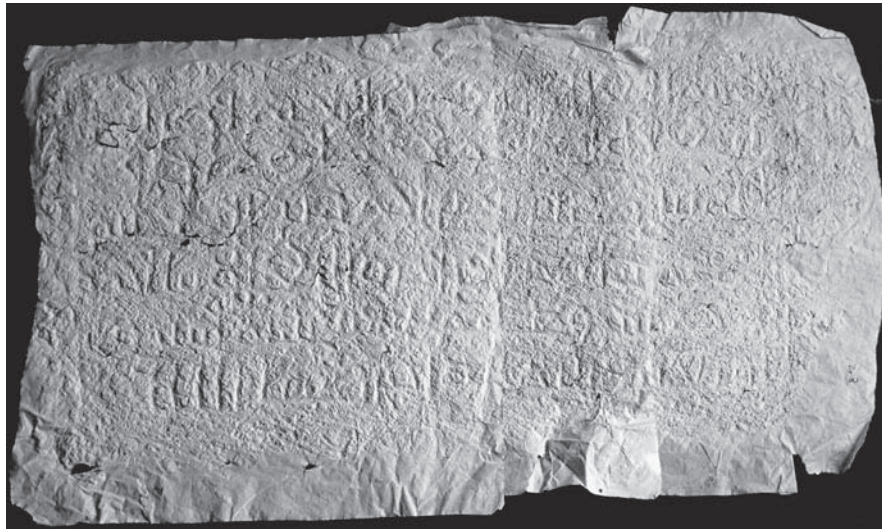
MvB53



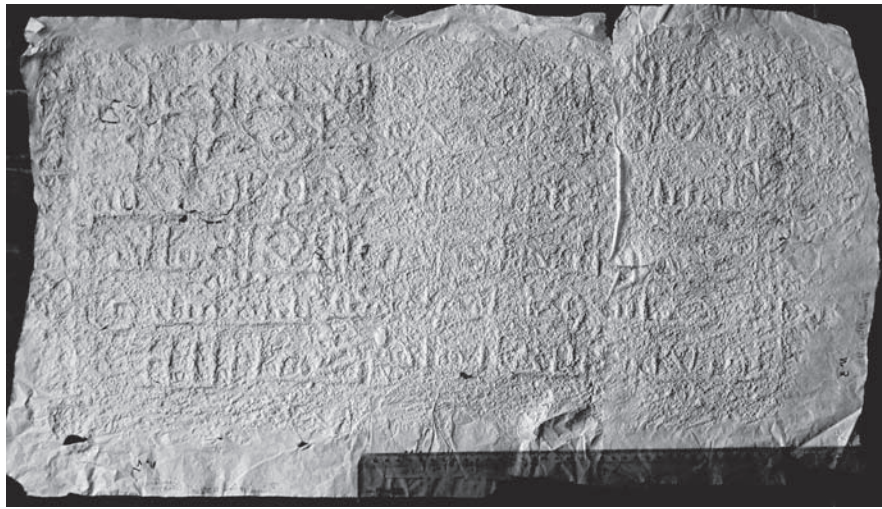
MvB54



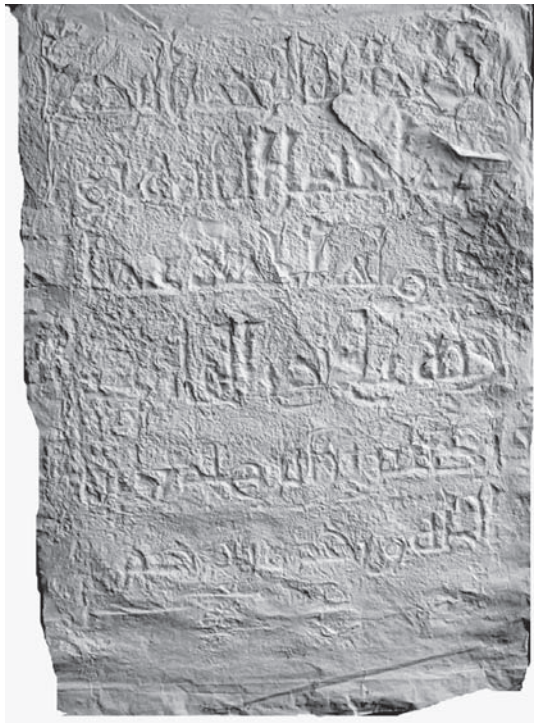
MvB55



MvB56



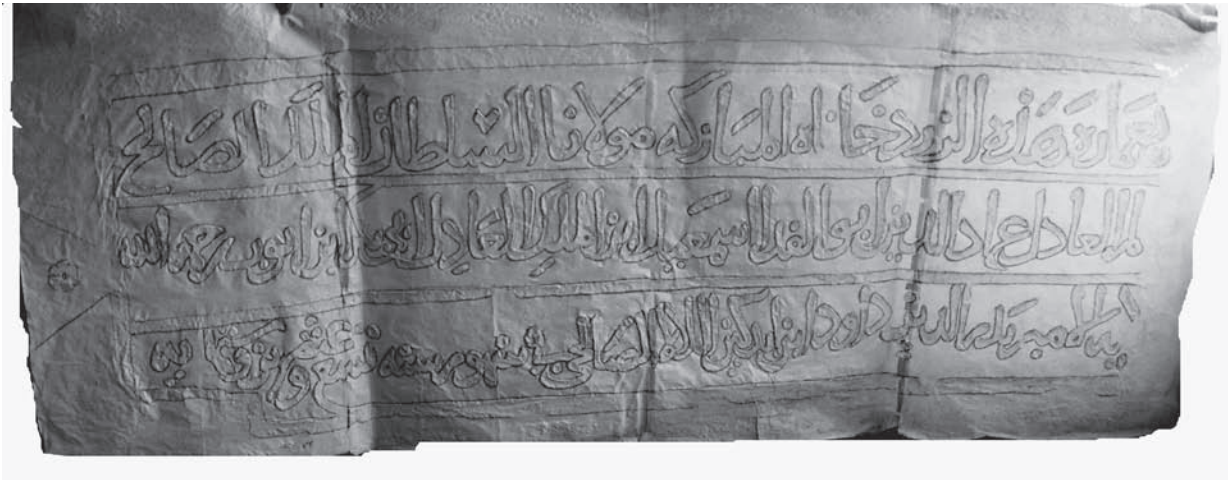
MvB56a



MvB57



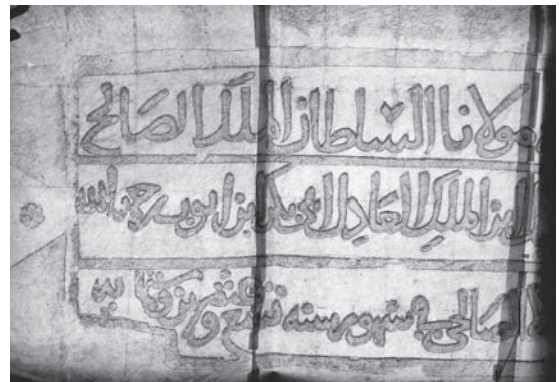
MvB57a



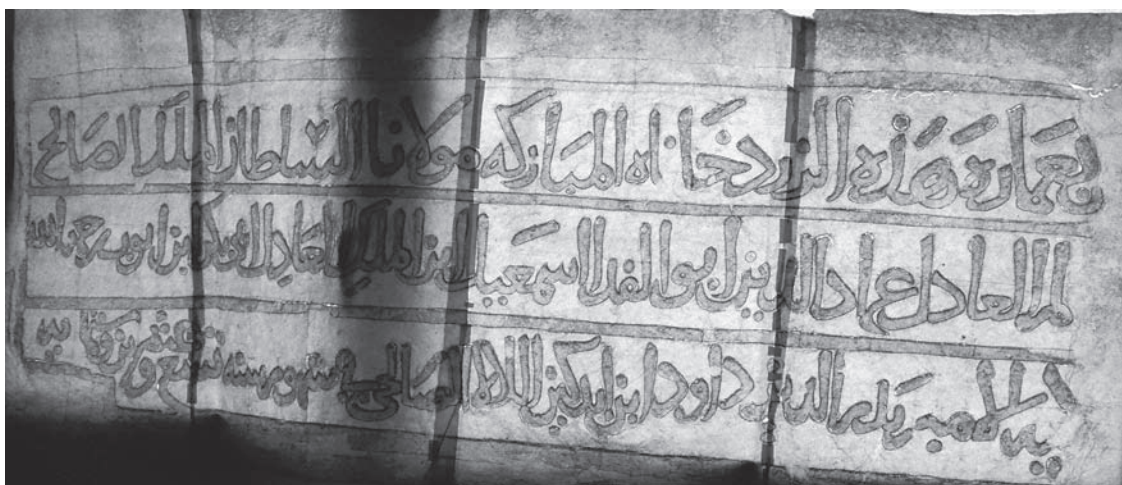
MvB58a



MvB58b(1)



MvB58b(2)



MvB58c



MvB59



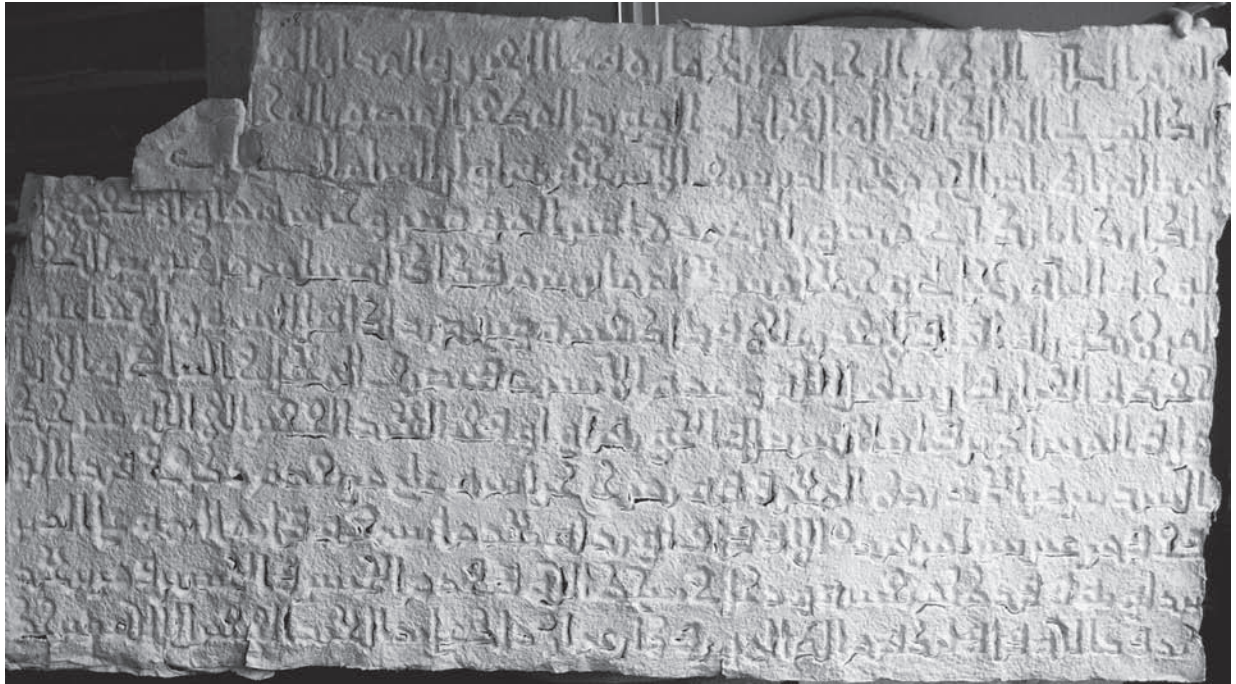
MvB60



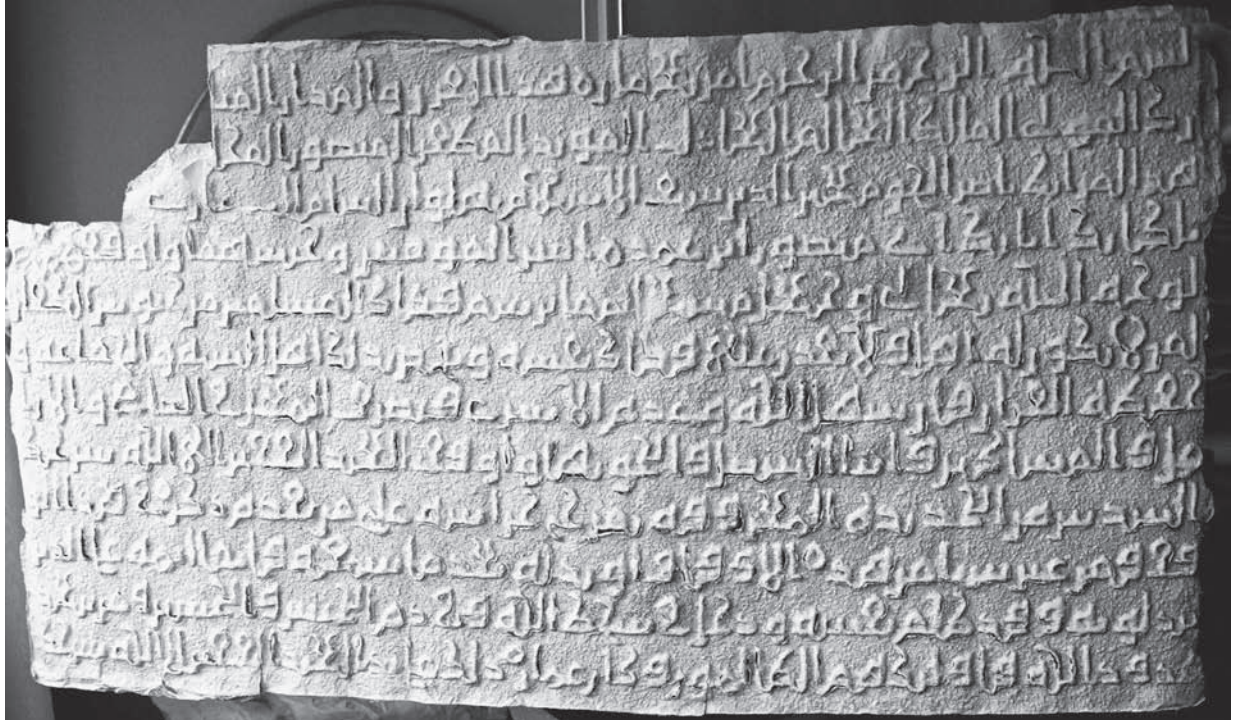
MvB60a



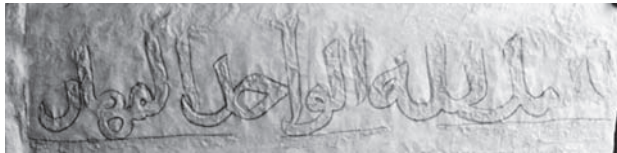
MvB60b



MvB61



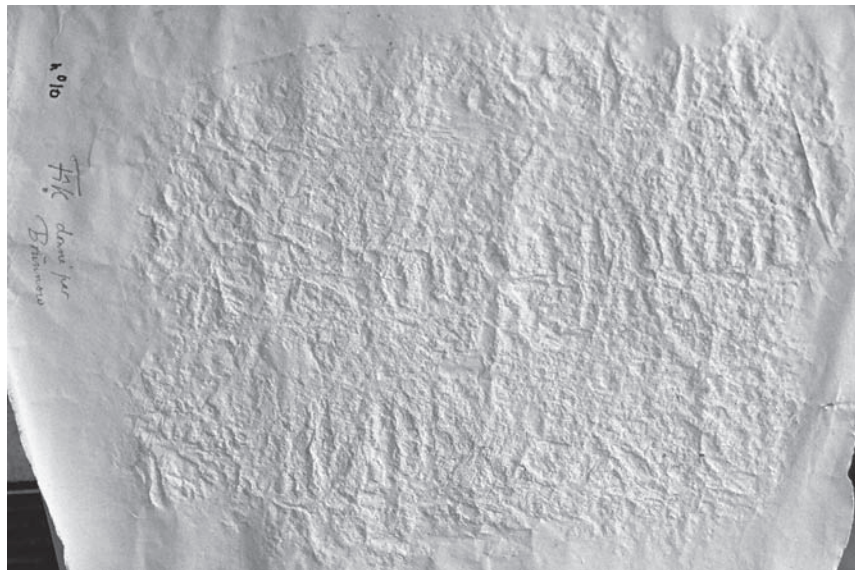
MvB61a



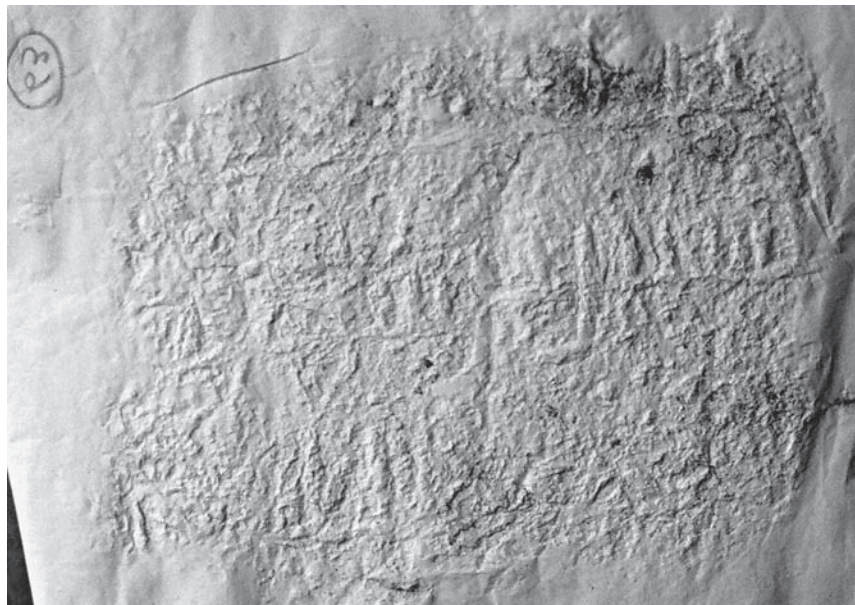
MvB62



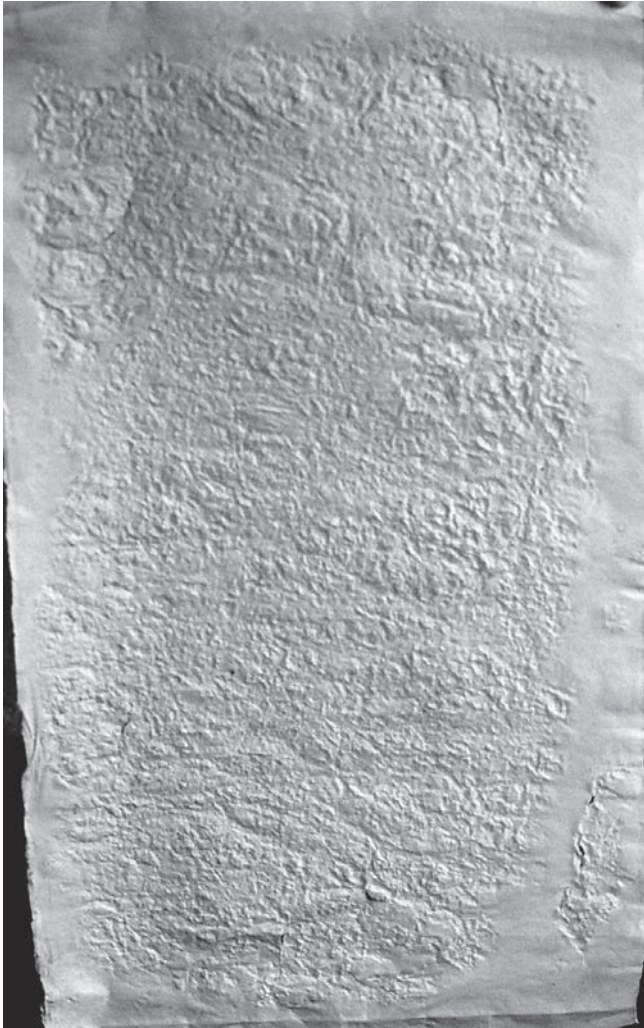
MvB62a



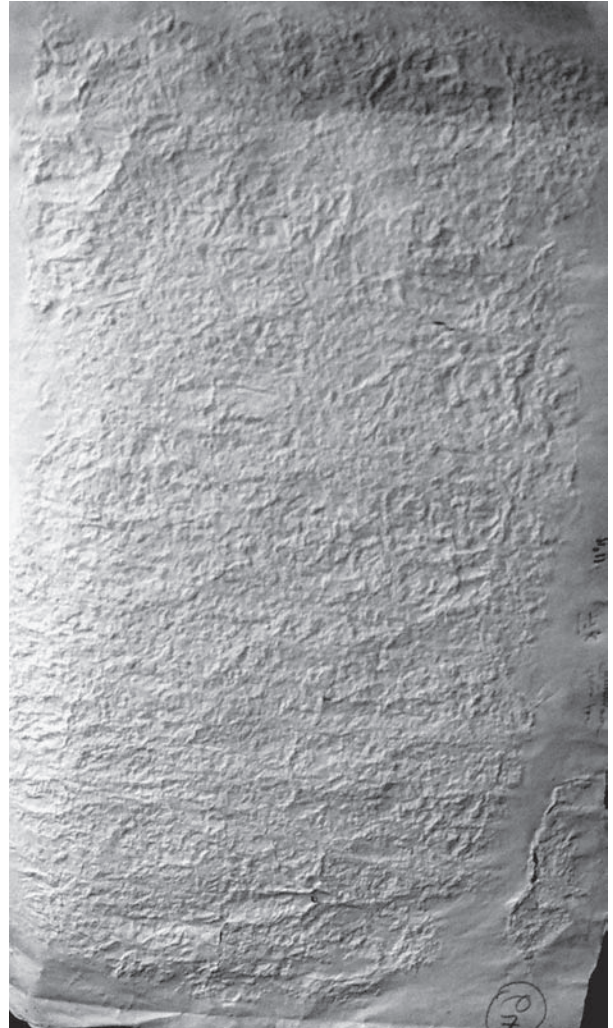
MvB63



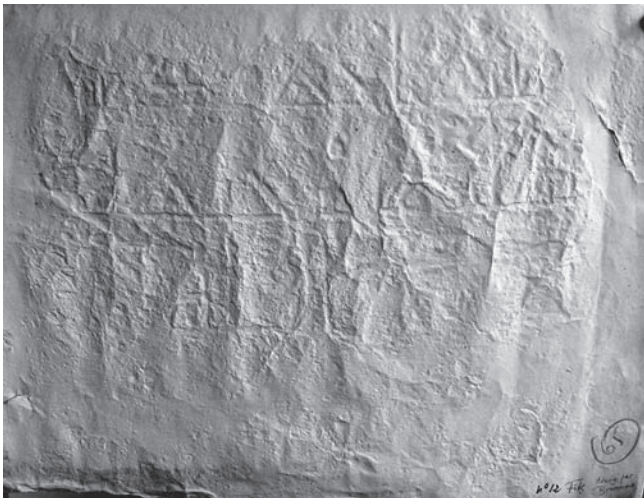
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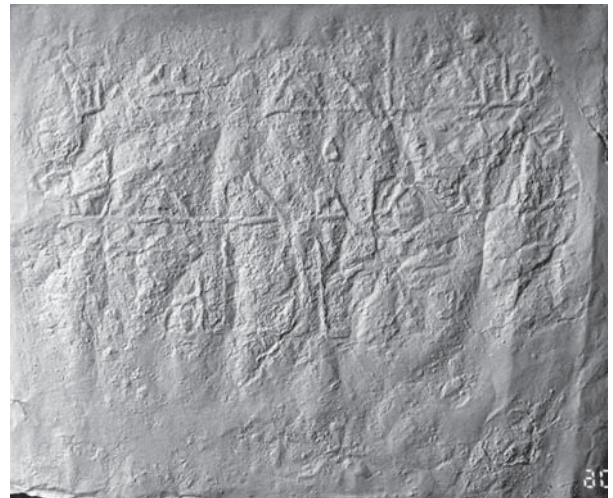
MvB64



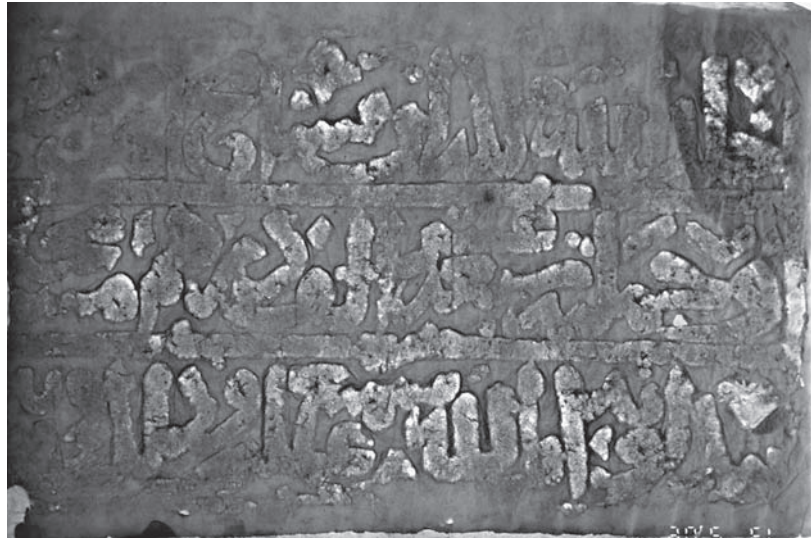
MvB64a



MvB65



MvB65a



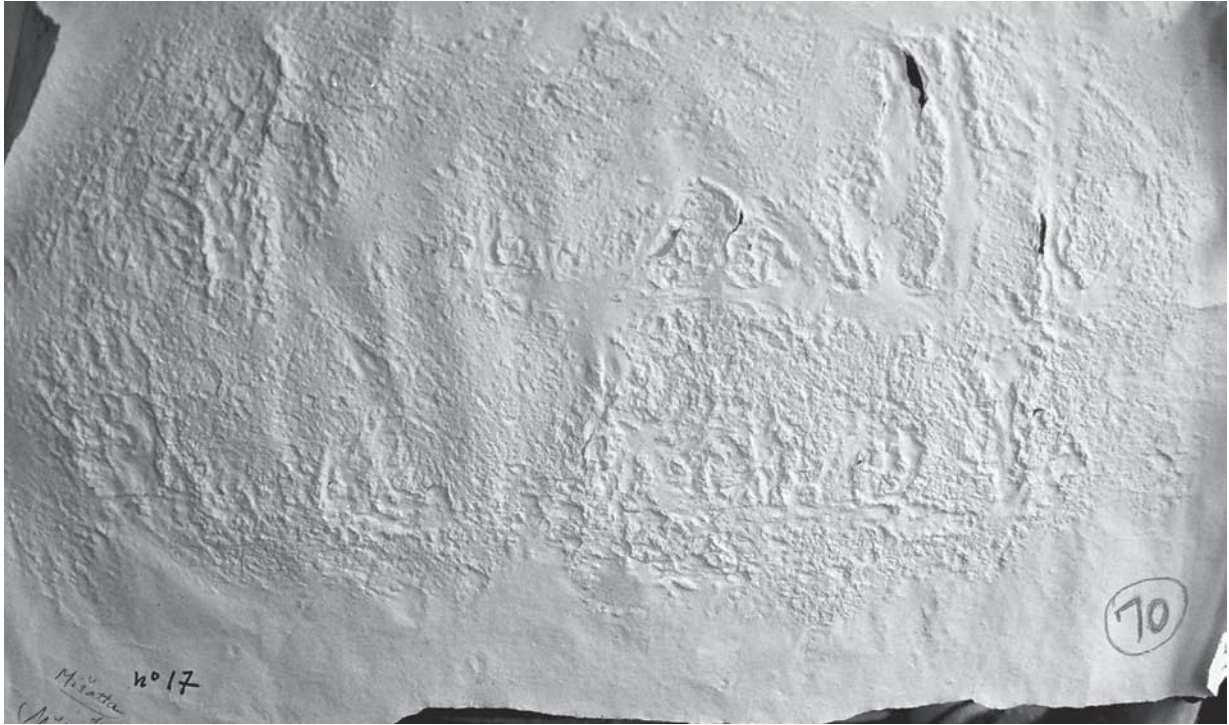
MvB67



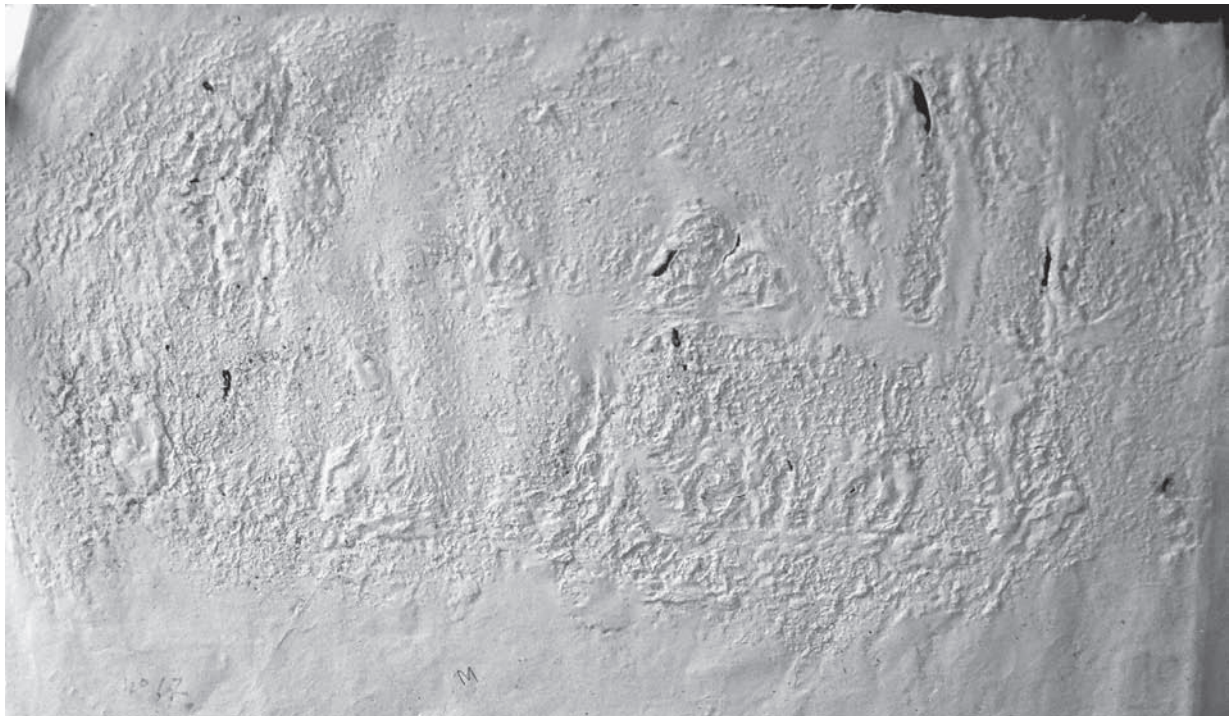
MvB68



MvB69



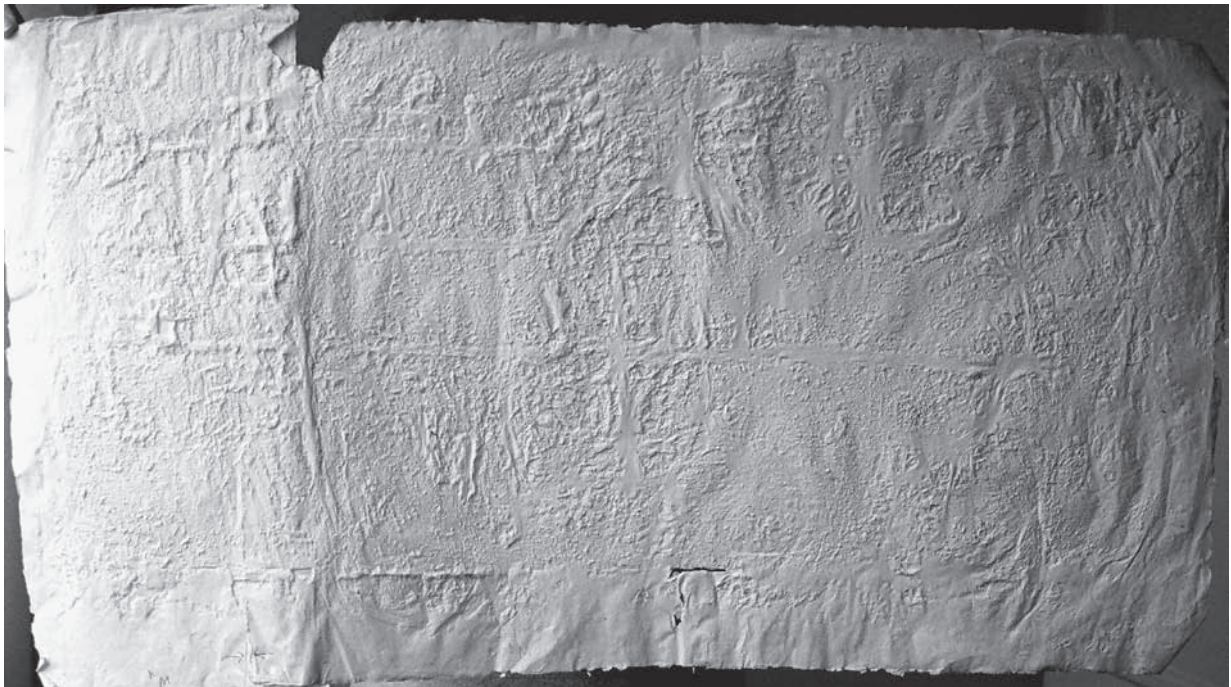
MvB70



MvB70a



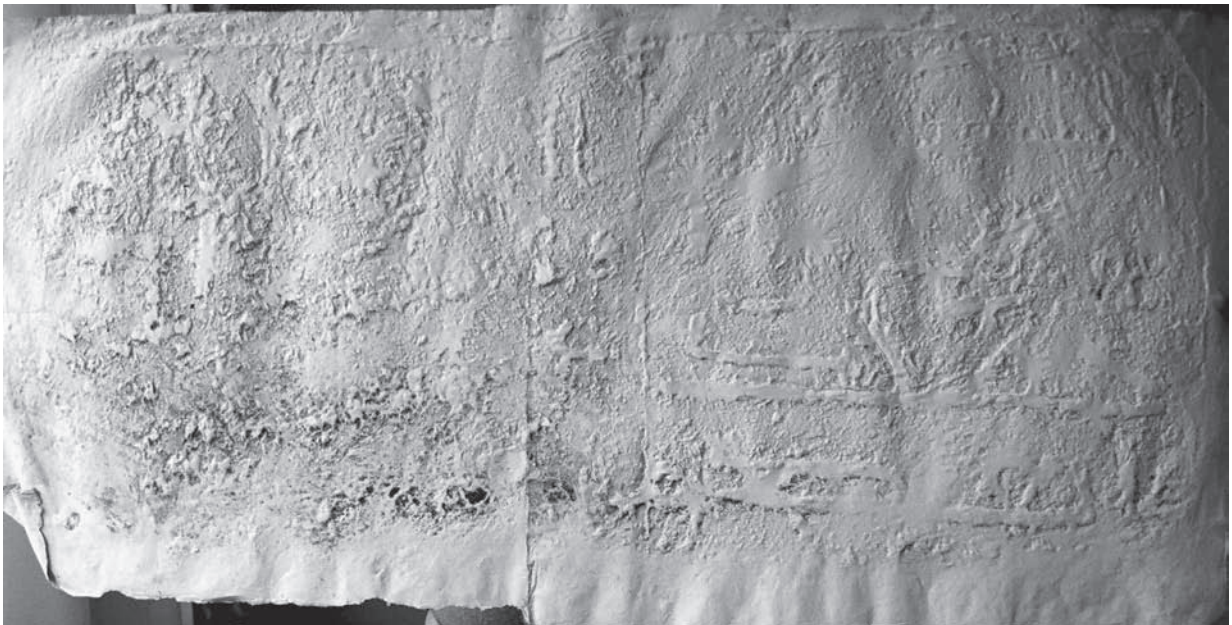
MvB71



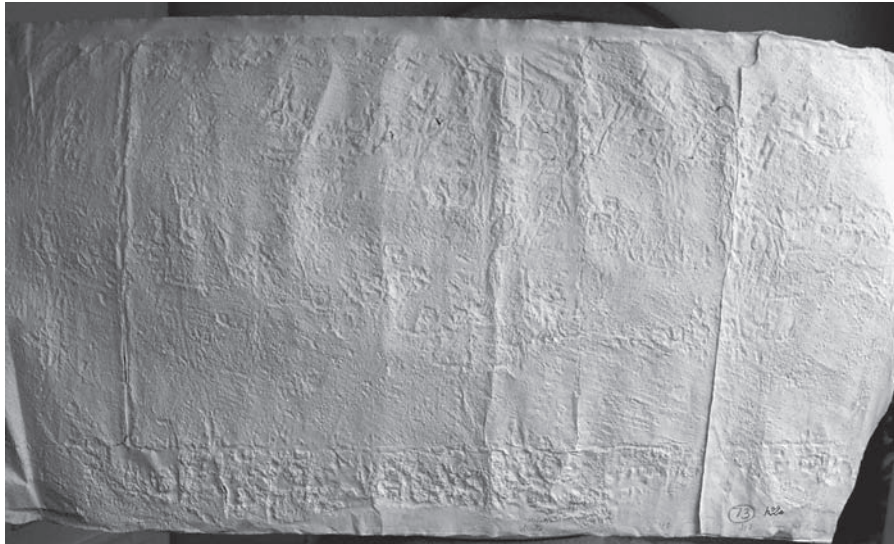
MvB71a



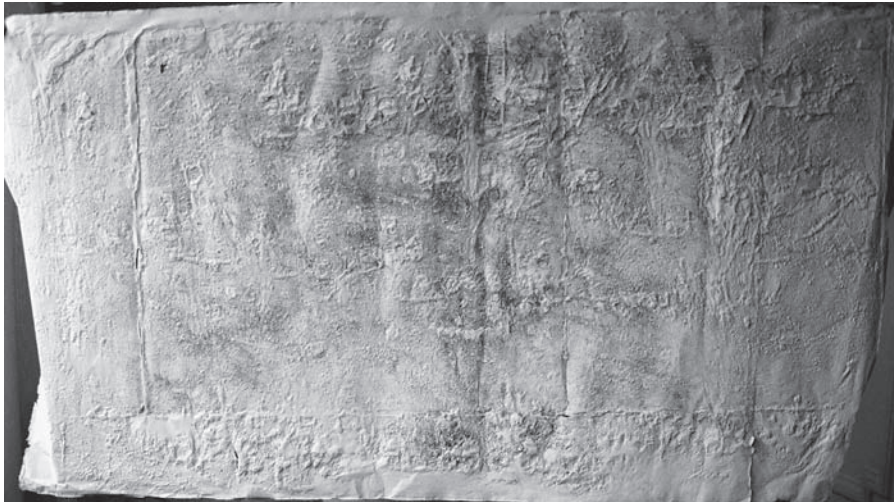
MvB72



MvB72a



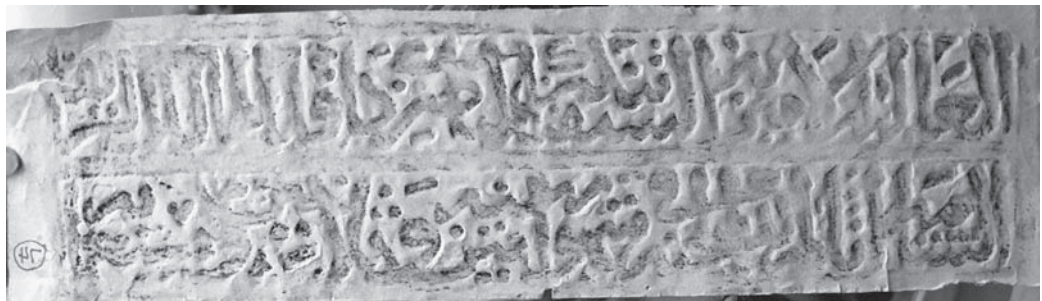
MvB73



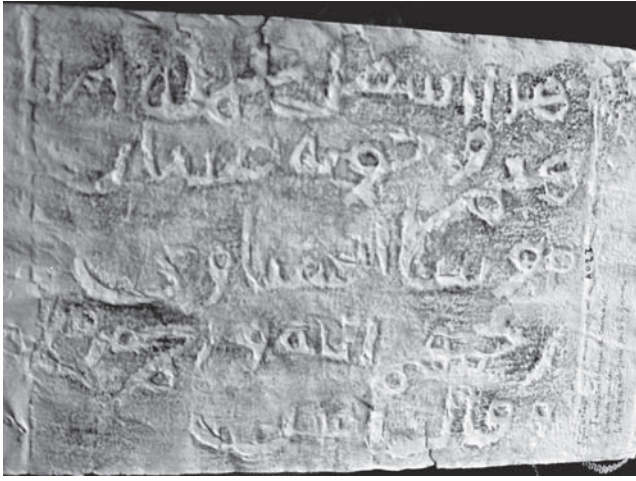
MvB73a



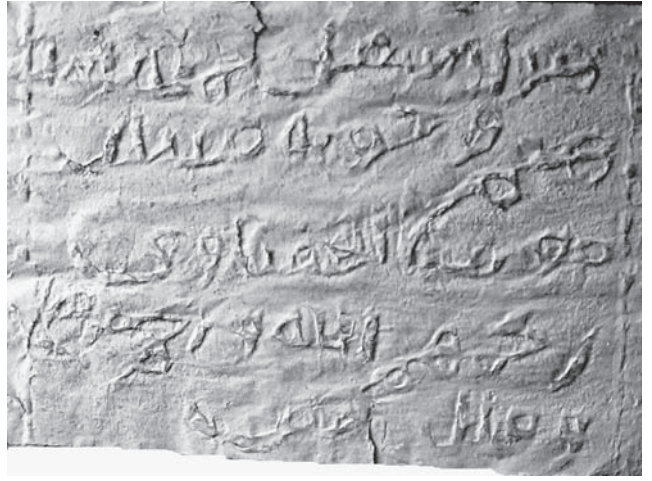
MvB74



MvB74a



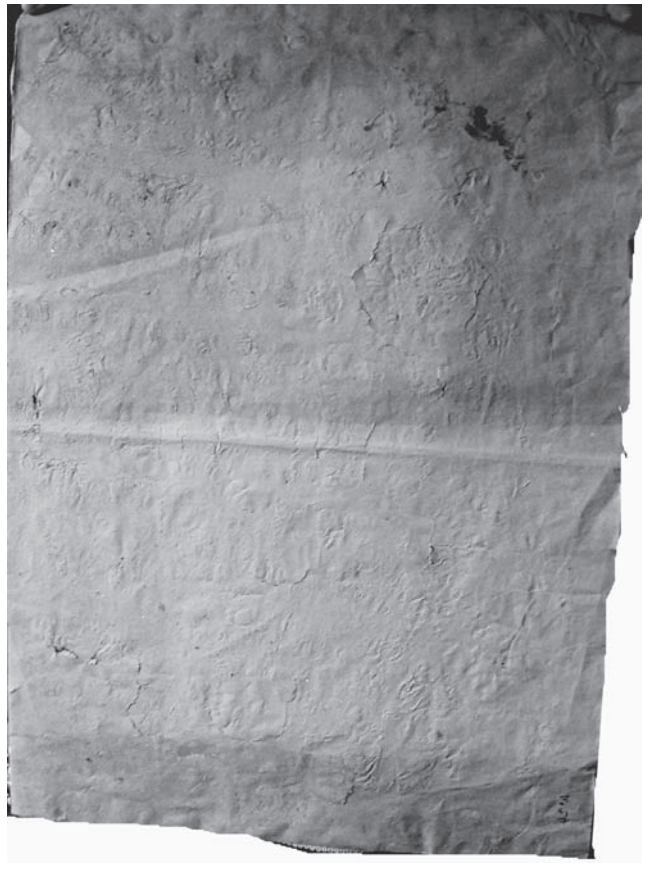
MvB77



MvB77a



MvB78



MvB78a



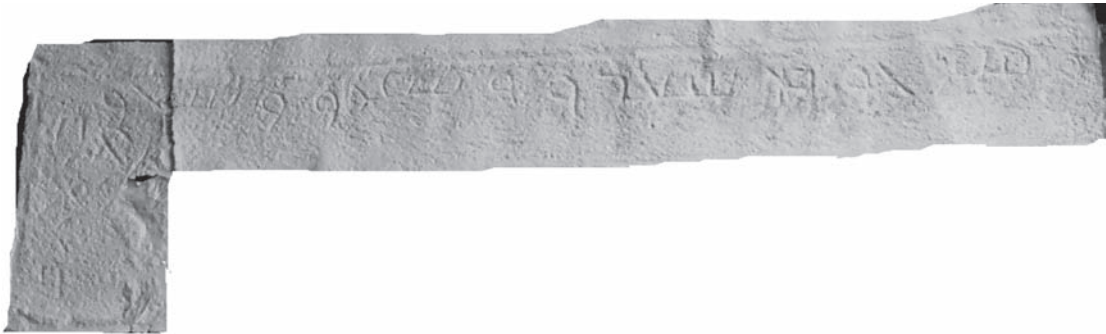
MvB79

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر نسو هذا الجامع مولانا الطار الملل الباصر صلاح
الدينا والدرى وسور محمد بولانه فجر الدر انا الطير ونظر العبد منصور بن
٧ رصالسه احله وحسبر وسنه

MvB79a



MvB80



MvB80a

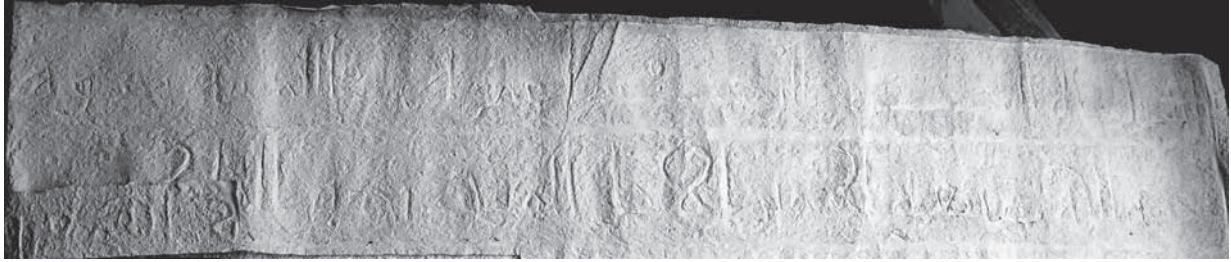


MvB80b

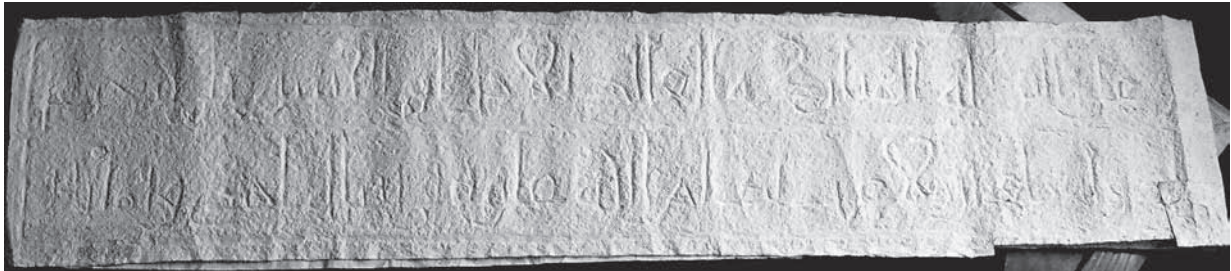


Arabic inscription from Zabad, a.d. 512. After Eduard Sachau in *MPAW*, 1881, pl. facing p. 190. Scale, about 1:15

MvB80c



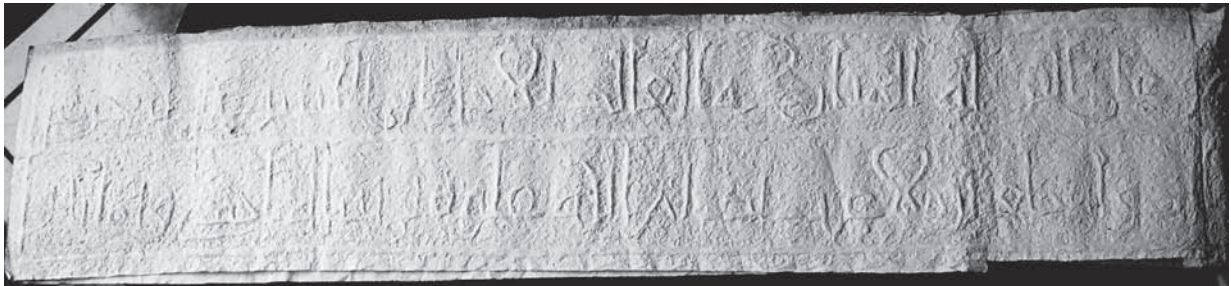
MvB81



MvB81a



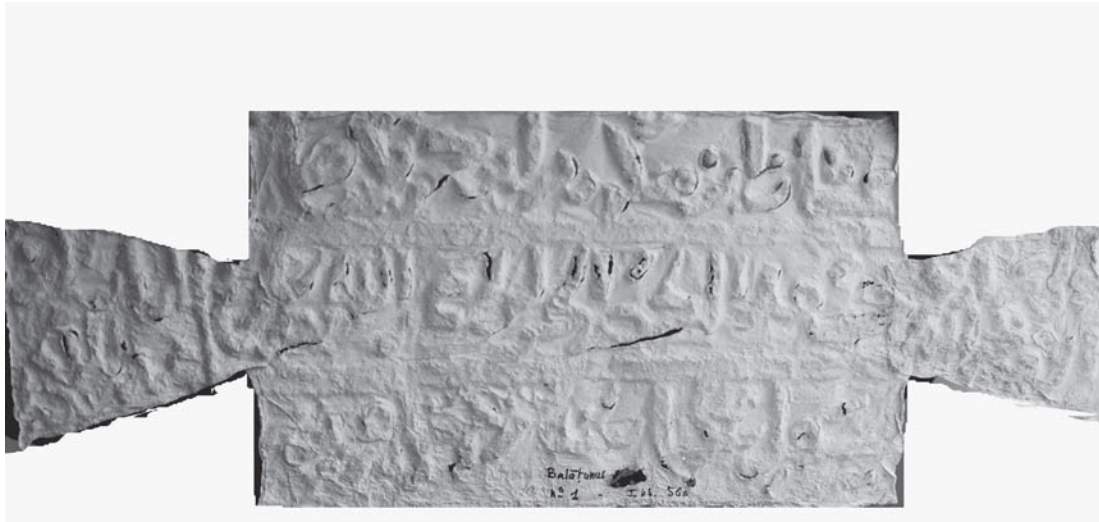
MvB81b



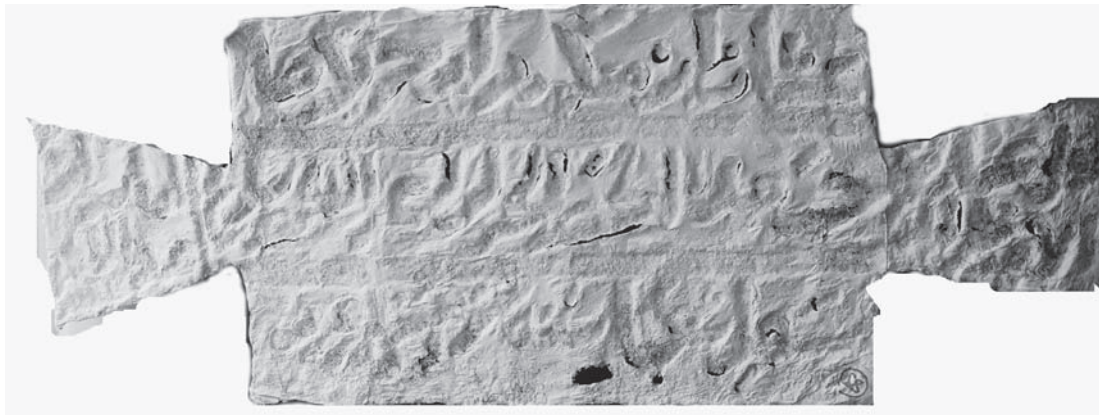
MvB81c

اسم الاله الذي من الرجب ما عرفه المسعد وهو على السر له الماركة والعاذ الاكل من الشمس على رجوع
رجعه الاله منعه الامن الاكل السيد رجب الماركة من الدولة والاعمال امام الاله علوه في سلة ابي ولما انزل
وانعماله

MvB81d



MvB82



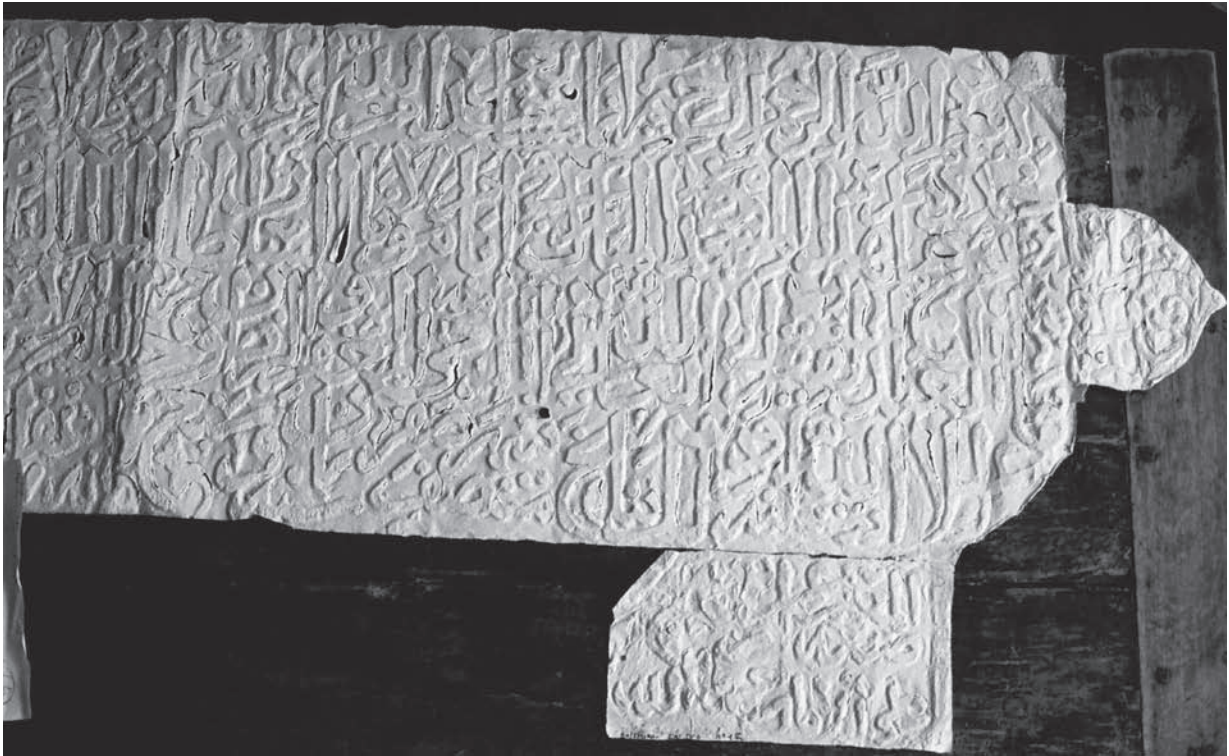
MvB82a



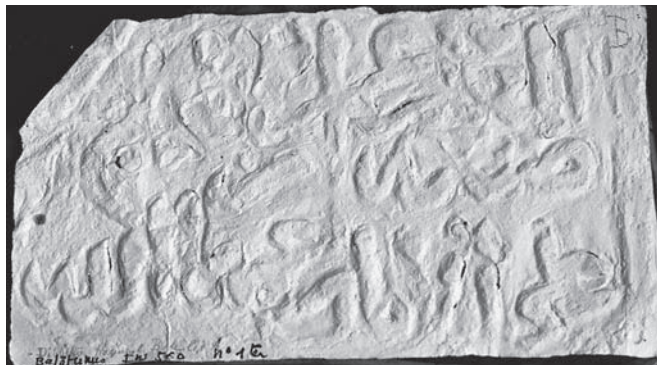
Mvb82b



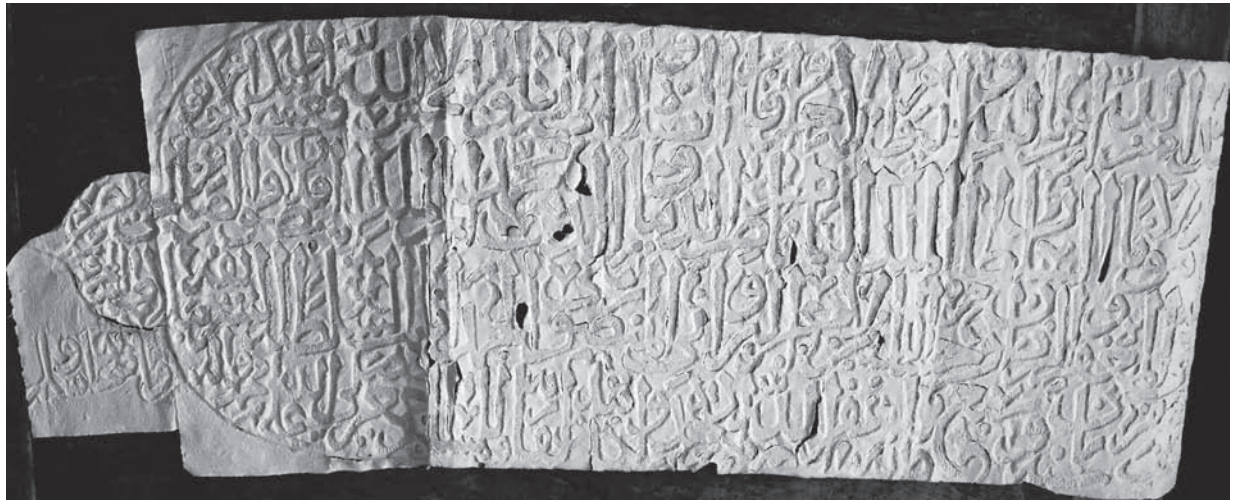
MvB83



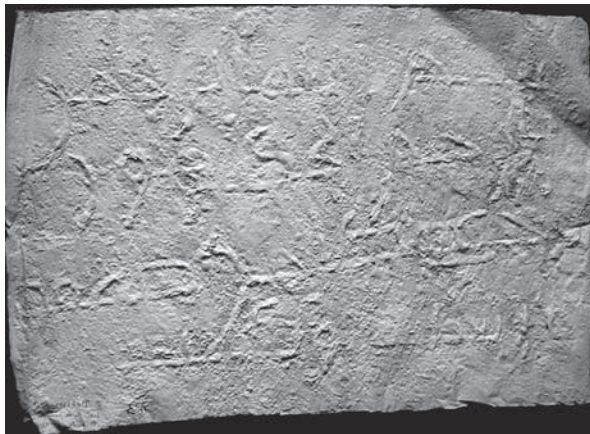
MvB83 and 83d



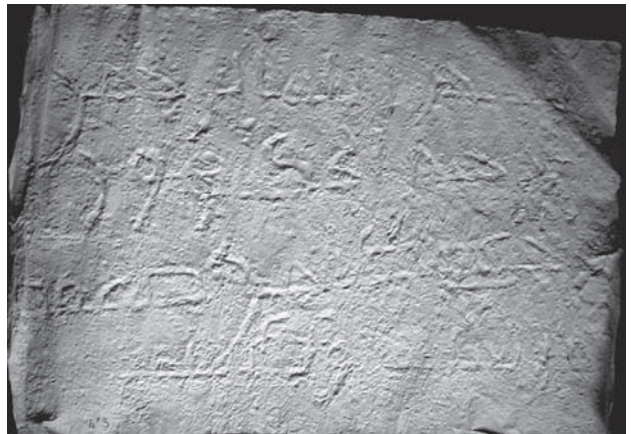
MvB83d



MvB83a



MvB84



MvB84a