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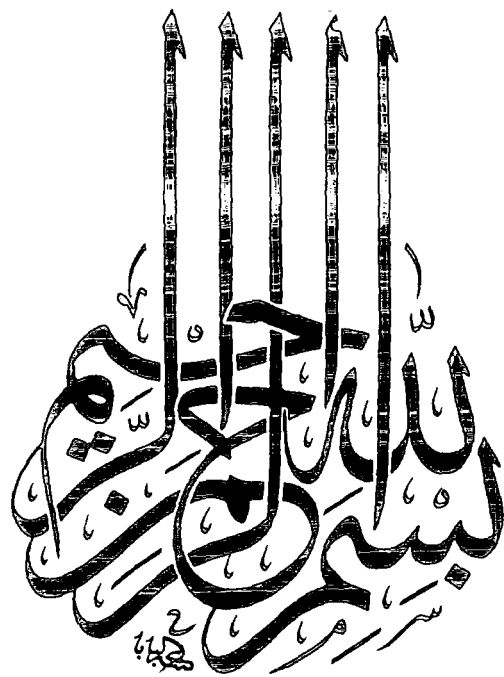
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A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE  
ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE JAWF REGION  
OF SAUDI ARABIA WITH ADDITIONAL  
MATERIAL ON ITS HISTORY AND  
EARLY ARABIC EPIGRAPHY

by

KHALEEL IBRAHIM AL-MUAIKEL

Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of Arts in the University  
of Durham  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Society

November, 1988



- 6 JUL 1989

TO

MY PARENTS AND MY WIFE



## ABSTRACT

This thesis concentrates on the study of the archaeology of the Jawf region, including excavations in various sites, and also a comprehensive survey of the sites and monuments throughout the region. The thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter I deals with the history of the Jawf during the pre-Islamic periods. In the first part of this chapter, the Assyrian campaigns against Dūmat al-Jandal are studied. The rest of the chapter is devoted to the history of the region during the Babylonian, Nabataean and the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Chapter II focuses on the history of the area during the early Islamic period and the conquest of Dūmat al-Jandal by Khālīd b. al-Walīd during the caliphate of Abū Bakr.

Chapter III is dedicated to the study of the various accounts of Dūmat al-Jandal by the early Arab geographers.

Chapter IV deals with the trade routes which passed through the Jawf and the implication of the caravan trade on the history of the region.

Chapter V investigates the pre-history of the Jawf region and examines the unique site of al-Rajājīl to the south of Sakākā.

Chapter VI is devoted to the study of the excavations results in the sites of al-Ṭuwayr, Dūmat al-Jandal and the Muwaysin castle. The archaeological materials which have been discovered were compared with similar materials from various sites in Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Eastern Arabia.

Chapter VII concentrates on the architecture within the Jawf region and gives a full description of the various monuments and the different building techniques and materials used.

Chapter VIII focuses on the study of the early Arabic inscriptions

which are found in the region. We discuss their palaeography, historical importance and their parallel with some of the published materials from various parts of the Islamic world.

Chapter IX is a study of the pottery from various sites in the Jawf. The first part of this chapter discusses the ware types and vessel types of the pottery from the Ṭuwayr and Dūmat al-Jandal sites, while the second part is a pottery catalogue.

In addition, this thesis also contains three appendices: the first is an examination of the well of Saysarā at Sakākā; the second investigates the walled enclosure of Dūmat al-Jandal; and the third is a glossary of Arabic terms associated with the architecture.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Jawf region is situated in the northern part of Saudi Arabia at 29° 30' - 30° 30' latitude and 38° 30' - 40° 30' longitude. The name al-Jawf means 'belly', 'depression' or 'low ground'. This name is not encountered in the classical and early sources, which refer to the region as Dūmah or Dūmat al-Jandal.

The name al-Jawf was restricted to Dūmat al-Jandal, especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when some of the European travellers, who visited the area, wrote about it, but since 1351/1933, when the administrative centre moved from Dūmat al-Jandal to Sakākā,<sup>1</sup> the name al-Jawf has been associated with the administrative region which comprises the towns of Sakākā, Dūmat al-Jandal and Ṭabarjal, in addition to a number of villages. The Jawf region occupies an area of about 58,425 square kilometres, and has a population of about 75,000 people who live in the various towns and villages.<sup>2</sup>

The region is surrounded in the S and SE by the great Nafūd desert which separates the Jawf from Najd. The Ḥammād basin is situated to the N of the region, which extends N-NE to Syria and Iraq.

The principal oases are Sakākā and Dūmat al-Jandal, both located in depressions: however, Sakākā lies in a hollow area which is wider than that of Dūmat al-Jandal.

The region is very famous for its abundant water and palm trees, and it is one of the most fertile oases of the NW of Saudi Arabia.

The history of the Jawf goes back to the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

1. Al-Sudayrī, al-Jawf, 72

2. Al-Sudayrī, al-Jawf. 7

when the Assyrian annals mention the Arab tribes, Dūmat al-Jandal and the various expeditions which had been undertaken by the Assyrian kings against the Arab tribes in North Arabia, and Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>3</sup> From that time Dūmat al-Jandal played a significant role as a centre for the North Arabian tribes and also as a trading centre controlling the trade routes which connected South Arabia with Mesopotamia and Syria.<sup>4</sup> It is to these trade routes that Dūmat al-Jandal owed a great deal of its prosperity, mainly during the periods from the 2nd century B.C. until the 7th century A.D., when the capital of the Islamic world was transferred from Medina to Damascus and later to Baghdad, and as a consequence Dūmat al-Jandal lost its importance, specifically because of the shift in the trade and Hajj routes.

The Jawf is very rich in history and antiquities which date from various periods. It is this richness in antiquities, and the fact that this area has been neglected, which drew my attention to its archaeology. My interest in the region goes back to 1980-82 during my undergraduate studies at the Department of Archaeology of King Saud University, when I wrote a short dissertation about the Islamic archaeology of the Jawf region. This dissertation was under the supervision of Dr. Sa'ad al-Rāshid, who from the beginning encouraged me, and after my graduation supported my intention of resuming my higher study in the same subject in the framework of a Ph.D. thesis.

This present study of the archaeology of the Jawf region is based on fieldwork undertaken by the present writer during the period from January to May 1986, which comprised an extensive survey of the various

3. See Chapter I below

4. See Chapter IV below

archaeological and epigraphic sites in the Jawf in addition to a few excavations in the site of al-Ṭuwayr, Dūmat al-Jandal and Muwaysin. This fieldwork was followed in 1987 by visits to Syria and Jordan for the purpose of gathering comparative material. The outcome of the fieldwork and the visits resulted in the present study which focuses on the archaeology of the region as well as its history and early Arabic epigraphy. Although, an epigraphic survey of the pre-Islamic inscriptions was carried out during the fieldwork, which resulted in a large number of Thamudic and Nabataean inscriptions being recorded. I have decided at this stage to concentrate on the archaeological material and omit the pre-Islamic epigraphy for the present.

The history of the Jawf region in the early periods has not been adequately documented: however, the best endeavour was made by Musil in his book Arabia Deserta, and I therefore included the pre-Islamic and early Islamic history of the Jawf in this study.

This study of the archaeology of the Jawf is far from complete, but nevertheless I hope that it will contribute to the study of the archaeology of Saudi Arabia in general and of al-Jawf in particular and that it will generate and encourage future research in the archaeology and history of the region.

CHAPTER I

THE PRE-ISLAMIC HISTORY  
OF THE JAWA REGION



i The Assyrian campaigns against North Arabia and the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal (Adumu):

The campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.):

It is believed that Tiglath-Pileser III was the first Assyrian king who succeeded in gaining control over the tribes of North Arabia. Tiglath-Pileser records in his annals that Zabibe, queen of Arabia, sent him a tribute.<sup>1</sup> Musil suggests that Zabibe ruled the oasis of Adumu (Dūmat al-Jandal) and that she was high priestess of the Qedār tribe to which this oasis paid tribute.<sup>2</sup> As well as Zabibe, Samsi (probably Shams), another queen of Arabia had suffered defeat at the hands of the Assyrians. Tiglath-Pileser records in his annals that "... Samsi, queen of Arabia, who had violated the oath by Shamsh ... to the city of Ezasi ... Arabia, in [Saba'] ... [her people] in her camp ... she was afraid ... I imposed upon her ... submitted at my feet ... [Sabeans]. [Haiappeans] ... [Hatteans]. [Idiba'ilians] ... of the border of the lands of the setting sun ... [the glory] of my majesty ... gold, silver, [camels] ... all kinds of [herbs], as their tribute [they brought before me, as one] ... [they kissed my feet ... a palace, befitting royalty. I built ... Idibi'lu I appointed as overseer over ..."<sup>3</sup> Eph'al suggests that Samsi had fled to Wadi al-Sirhān after she had been defeated by Tiglath-Pileser.<sup>4</sup> The strategic position of North Arabia and its tribes was very important

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1. Luckenbill, Ancient Records, I, no. 772
  2. Musil, Arabia, 477
  3. Lukenbill, Ancient records, I, no. 778
  4. Eph'al, Arabs, 85

to the Assyrian Kingdom. Tiglath-Pileser therefore undertook two expeditions against the North Arabian tribes in order to gain control over them and to ensure the safety of the trade routes which run from Southern Arabia through North Arabia to Syria and Mesopotamia. Dougherty's suggestion<sup>5</sup> that Tiglath-Pileser imposed his sway over a large part of the Arabian people of the Peninsula, so he forced Queen Zabibe and later Queen Samsi to pay him tribute, is correct, but Tiglath-Pileser was not fully in control of the Arabian people and their land throughout his reign. He undertook several expeditions in order to take this important part of the Arabian Peninsula and it was clear that the North Arabian tribes were very difficult to keep in control and he realised that probably the only way to keep them in control was force. Irvine suggests<sup>6</sup> that the Arabs probably also played an important social and political role in the area, supporting this opinion by citing the fact that Samsi was placed on the same level as the Pharaoh of Egypt by the Assyrians to whom they both paid tribute.

The campaigns of Sargon II (724-705 B.C.):

After the end of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, the North Arabian tribes refused to pay tribute to the new Assyrian king. So Sargon undertook an expedition against them. In his annals he records that "The tribes of Tamud [Ibdid], Marsimanu and Haiapa, distant Arabs, who inhabit the desert, who know neither high nor low officials (governors, nor superintendents), and who had not brought their

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5. Dougherty, Sealand, 44

6. Irvine, "The Arabs" in Wiseman, Old Testament, 292

tribute to any king, with the weapon of Assur, my lord, I struck them down, the remnant of them I deported and settled them in Samaria".<sup>7</sup>

We find that Sargon has recorded that these tribes had not brought their tribute to any king. But, as mentioned before, Tiglath-Pileser III undertook two expeditions against North Arabian tribes, and forced them to pay him tribute. In the same year the annals of King Sargon II also mention that "From Pir'u,<sup>8</sup> King of Egypt, Samsi queen of Arabia, It'amra, the Sabean, the King of Seacoast and the desert I received gold, products of the mountain, precious stones, ivory, seed of the maple, all kinds of herbs, horses, and camels as their tribute".<sup>9</sup> One of these who paid tribute to Sargon was Samsi, queen of Arabia. In the year 732 B.C., Tiglath-Pileser III made war on her, because she had broken a great oath sworn to the god Šamaš. He conquered two of her cities and laid siege to her camp, so that she humbled herself before him and sent a tribute of camels, both male and female.<sup>10</sup> Samsi, queen of Arabia, from whom Sargon II received tribute, perhaps said to have controlled 'the desert region immediately south of the Euphrates'.<sup>11</sup> She probably ruled Adumu and the nearby oasis in the north of the Arabian Peninsula. The importance of North Arabia for the Assyrian

7. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 17

8. Pir'u = Pharaoh

9. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 18

10. Musil, Arabia, 477

11. Dougherty, Sealand, 54



Kingdom made Sargon II subdue the region. Smith<sup>12</sup> suggests that most probably the real object of the Sargon expedition was to restore order along the great trade routes which must have led to the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt. He adds that his expedition led to his exacting tribute not only from Samsi the queen of Arabia, but also from It'amar of Saba', in the far distant south, and most strangely, also from the Pharaoh of Egypt. We do not know how Sargon II forced It'amar King of Saba', in South Arabia, to pay him tribute; probably, It'amar was a Sabaeen commercial representative in Northern Arabia and not as Musil seems to suggest that he was a governor of a Sabaeen colony in Dedan.<sup>13</sup> Sabaeans probably paid Sargon tribute in order to secure the freedom of trade inside Arabia and to the north of the Arabian frontier. There is no evidence to confirm that the Sabaeans had a colony in Dedan.

The campaigns of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.):

Sennacherib was the third Assyrian king who paid attention to North Arabia and tried to exercise some control over it. When Sennacherib defeated the Babylonian king in battle, he captured Baškānu, brother of Yati'e queen of the Arab, along with his troops, who had been fighting on the side of the Babylonian king against him. He records in his annals that, "Adinu, the son of Marduk-apal-iddin's wife, and Baškānu, the brother of Yati'e, the Queen of the Aribi, together with their troops I took prisoners alive".<sup>14</sup> It is clear from this inscription that the North Arabian tribes supported

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12. Smith, "The Supremacy of Assyria", 58

13. Musil, Arabia, 479

14. Smith, Campaign, 62

and assisted the Babylonians against the Assyrians. Eph'al suggests that the Arabs cooperated with other political groupings in Babylonia against Assyria during Sennacherib's first campaign, as they did later in the same region at the time of strife between Šamaš-šum-ukin and his brother Assurbanipal.<sup>15</sup> About the year 688 B.C. Sennacherib undertook an expedition against Telḥunu, the queen of the Arabs. He records in his annals that "[...Telḥunu], the queen of the Arabs in the midst of the desert ... X thousand camels I took from her hand. She with Hazael, ... the terror of my battle overcame them, they left their tents ... to the ... at the city of Adumuatu they fled for their lives ... and [Adumuatu], which are situated in the desert ... of thirst where in there are no feeding nor drinking places ...".<sup>16</sup> It appears that at the outset of the campaign, Telḥunu, queen of the Arabs camped in tents in the desert, probably at an oasis in the western border region of Babylonia and from there she and Hazael fled deeper into the desert of Adumuatu.<sup>17</sup> According to inscriptions of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), Queen Telḥunu went over to Assyria, and because of her defection Sennacherib possessed himself of Adumu, the northern fort of Arabia. He took to Nineveh all the local gods and the queen herself as a captive, who was the priestess of the goddess Dilbat, together with Princess Tabūa.<sup>18</sup> It is believed that Princess Tabūa was the daughter of Queen Telḥunu, who had been captured by Sennacherib

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15. Eph'al, Arabs, 119

16. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 358

17. Eph'al, Arabs, 119

18. Musil, Arabia, 480

and taken to Nineveh and raised in his palace. She became queen of the Arabs at the time of Esarhaddon. The Assyrian annals do not mention the route which Sennacherib took to Adumu, but Musil<sup>19</sup> suggests that Sennacherib marched from Babylonia, which lies to the east of Adumu. Adumu or the biblical Dumah is the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal in the Jawf region of Northern Saudi Arabia. The oasis of Adumu was probably the central base for the tribes in North Arabia, so that means the dominion of Queen Telḥunu extended up to the Babylonian frontier. As a result of her close relation especially with Babylonians and in order to get out of paying tribute to the Assyrian kings, she had allied herself with the rebellious Babylonians against the Assyrians. Hazael, who was probably the chief commander of the Telḥunu troops was unable to protect Queen Telḥunu and her oasis from invasion by the Assyrian army, fleeing into the inner desert Hazael saved himself and his troops, and remained there until the death of Sennacherib. Musil<sup>20</sup> mentions that Sennacherib defeated Queen Telḥunu and Hazael and captured Queen Telḥunu; he then entered Adumu and must have destroyed the gardens of the settler, and have carried all the local gods to Nineveh. However he could not capture Hazael who fled so far into the inner desert that Sennacherib could not reach him.

The Arabian fortress of Adumu had suffered terribly at the hands of Sennacherib who captured it and destroyed it. It is the first time that the Assyrian annals mention the fortress of Adumu and the great expedition against it by Sennacherib. It seems probable

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19. Musil, Arabia, 480

20. Musil, Arabia, 480-481

that Sennacherib was the first Assyrian king who commanded an expedition aimed directly at the oasis of Adumu. The main reasons for this expedition, as Eph'al<sup>21</sup> suggests, are because of Adumu's situation halfway between Syria and Babylonia, on the main trade routes to al-Ḥīrah, Damascus and Medina, and because of its status with its abundant water and orchards, as probably the most important oasis in all North Arabia, and as a religious centre.

The campaigns of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.):

Esarhaddon the eldest son of Sennacherib became King of Assyria after the death of his father. Like his father, he undertook an expedition against the Arab tribes in order to gain control of their land. He records in his annals that his father had captured and destroyed Adumu the fortress of Arabia, carrying off the gods of the King of Arabia and bringing them to Assyria.<sup>22</sup> After Esarhaddon had become King of Assyria, Hazael, the King of Arabia, who had fled far into the desert when Sennacherib entered Adumu, came to Nineveh with substantial gifts to make supplication for the return of these divine images, and therefore his request was granted.<sup>23</sup> Before returning the gods to Hazael Esarhaddon repaired the damage which had been caused during their capture and inscribed the name of Assur on these gods, mentioning that they had been defeated by Assur.<sup>24</sup> Tabūa, who had resided in Esarhaddon's palace for many years, had

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21. Eph'al, Arabs, 120-121

22. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 518a

23. Dougherty, Sealand, 86, 87

24. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 518a.

been appointed queen of Arabia as well as priestess. He sent her back to her land with the gods, having doubled the former tribute. Though she remained loyal to Assyria, her loyalty cost her the favour of her new subjects in Arabia.<sup>25</sup> After Hazael died in about 675 B.C., his son Iata' (or Uaite') was placed by Esarhaddon upon his father's throne, but he had to pay annually a thousand minas of gold, a thousand precious stones, fifty camels, and a thousand measures of spices, more than the amount his father had had to pay. Therefore rebellion broke out against Iata', but Uapu, who was leading the rebellion, was captured by the Assyrian army together with his men and were taken as prisoners to Nineveh.<sup>26</sup> Dougherty suggests that Esarhaddon was not content with the area which his father had captured.<sup>27</sup> Several sections of his records provide a basis for the belief that he penetrated much farther into the Arabian Peninsula. Esarhaddon ensured the control of the oasis of Dūmal al-Jandal for himself by appointing as mistress there Princess Tabūa, who had been tutored at his court.<sup>28</sup> From the chronicles it is not certain that Esarhaddon himself came to Arabia and it would appear that the Assyrian army did not enter Adumu, because Tabūa, its mistress, remained loyal.<sup>29</sup>

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25. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 518a, and Musil, Arabia, 481, 482

26. Musil, Arabia, 481, 482, and Dougherty, Sealand, 86, 87

27. Dougherty, Sealand, 86, 87

28. Musil, Arabia, 483, 484

29. Musil, Arabia, 482

The campaigns of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.):

After Esarhaddon's death in 668 B.C., Uaite', the son of Hazael, King of Arabia, appointed by Esarhaddon, sought to effect a reconciliation with Assurbanipal. As a result, Assurbanipal undertook an expedition against Uaite', King of Arabia. In his annals Assurbanipal records that in the ninth campaign he mustered his armies against Uaite', who made a great mistake when he tried to rebel against the Assyrians with the help of Akkad. He also did not come to Assyria to bring his tribute. What is more Uaite' sent his troops to help Shamash-shum-ukin against Assurbanipal. These troops were under the leadership of Abiate and Aimu, the sons of Tēri.<sup>30</sup> After the Assyrian army defeated Abiate, Aimu and Shamash-shum-ukin, Uaite' came to Assurbanipal in his holy city to appeal for mercy. Assurbanipal pardoned him, but on condition that he should pay a tribute in gold, precious stones, eyebrow dyes, camels and donkeys.<sup>31</sup> But in another part of his annals Assurbanipal records a victory over Uaite'. He captured his gods, his mother, his sister, his wife and all his family, but not Uaite' himself, because he had fled before the Assyrian could take him.<sup>32</sup> Assurbanipal mentioned an expedition undertaken by his father against Uaite', because he became unfriendly with the Assyrians so Esarhaddon defeated him in open battle and carried off his gods. Uaite' to save his life, fled his camp alone.<sup>33</sup> In Esarhaddon's annals we find that he undertook this

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30. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 817

31. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 819, and Musil, Arabia, 486

32. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, nos. 824, 828

33. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 946

expedition against Arabia to aid Uaite' against Uabu (probably Whab) and the people of Arabia, who had rebelled against Uaite' and the heavy tribute that Esarhaddon demanded.<sup>34</sup> Eph'al mentions that some time later, after the Assyrian captured Uabu and his people, Uaite' himself rebelled against Esarhaddon, but he was suppressed by the Assyrian army. He was defeated and fled.<sup>35</sup> Esarhaddon mentions another Arabian queen called Adia', against whom he undertook an expedition. He mentions a great victory over her and his armies made great slaughter among her people and that he captured her alive. He did not state where this queen had her kingdom and over which people she ruled. She probably dwelled in one of the North Arabian oases somewhere in or around Dūmat al-Jandal.

From the Assurbanipal annals it seems that he had faced some difficulty in controlling the Arabian tribes. Musil suggests that as long as Assurbanipal lived in peace with the King of Babylon the tribes of Northern Arabia were likewise tranquil. As soon as Shamash-shum-ukin revolted against him, however, hostilities recommenced in this region.<sup>36</sup> The tribes were far more friendly to Babylon than to Assyria.

The Assyrian kings paid great attention to Arabia and its people. From the Assyrian annals we read of more than nine different campaigns undertaken by Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal against North Arabian tribes, who were harrassing the Assyrian provinces adjacent to their lands as well

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34. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, nos 518a, 1083, 1084

35. Eph'al, Arabs, 129

36. Musil, Arabia, 485

as the great trade routes which led to the Yemen and to Assyria and Damascus. The North Arabian tribes proved to be a thorn in the side of the Assyrian empire. Tiglath-Pileser III was the first Assyrian king to undertake an expedition against these tribes, forced Queen Zabibe, whose kingdom was probably centred around the oasis of Adumu (Dūmat al-Jandal), to pay him tribute. Sargon II followed Tiglath-Pileser in undertaking an expedition against North Arabia in order to control this strategic area, and to restore order along the great trade routes. Sennacherib was the first Assyrian king to reduce and capture Adumu, the fortress of Arabia and the base of the North Arabian tribes. Nevertheless he took Queen Telḥunu prisoner with her gods, but even that did not restore full order over Northern Arabia. Esarhaddon was the first Assyrian king to gain full control over Northern Arabia by appointing ruler of Arabia Queen Tabūa who had resided in his palace for many years. Assurbanipal, who became king of Assyria after his father's death, tried to keep his father's control over Arabia, but he could not ever regain full control over Northern Arabia. It seems that the North Arabian tribes were more friendly to the Babylonians than to the Assyrians. So the Babylonians were the main supporters of the Arabian tribes in their conflicts against the Assyrians. From the annals we see that the main reasons for the Assyrian expeditions against the Arabian tribes were that the latter aided the Babylonians in their battles against the Assyrians, and furthermore they attacked the Assyrian provinces in Syria and along the North Arabian boundary. The North Arabian tribes took advantage of their position in the middle of the desert to attack the Assyrian frontier and when the Assyrian army tried to retaliate they could flee into the inner desert where the Assyrians could not follow them.



ii The Babylonians and North Arabia:

The Babylonians, who were engaged with the Assyrians in a lengthy struggle, were in need of the support of the North Arabian tribes. However, the Arabs did not have good relations with the Assyrians, because of the Assyrian expeditions against them. So the Arabs felt that they had something in common with the Babylonians in their fight against the Assyrians. We read in the Assyrian annals that the queens or the kings of the Arabs assisted the Babylonians against the Assyrians. In Sennacherib's annals we read that Yati'e, queen of the Arabs, sent her brother Bašḫānu with Adinu, son of the wife of Meradachbaladan, together with their armies to assist the Babylonians in their fight.<sup>37</sup> The Babylonians had the advantage of having a good relationship with the Arabs, because the Arabs could harm the Assyrians by attacking their borders and also by stopping their commercial caravans which ran through their lands. Musil suggests that "as long as *Asurbanibal* lived at peace with the king of Babylon, the tribes of Northern Arabia were likewise tranquil. As soon as *Šamašsumukin* revolted against him, however, hostilities recommenced in this region"<sup>38</sup>. The good relationship between the Arabs and the Babylonians can be seen in the expedition which was undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar II against the Egyptians. His victory was followed by the news that his father Nabopolassar had died, and so he hastened back to Babylon across the desert. Dougherty suggests that it is not impossible that he returned from the borders of Egypt by the way

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37. Luckenbill, Ancient records, II, no. 259, and Smith, Campaigns, 62

38. Musil, Arabia, 485

of the oasis of Taymā', although a more direct route ran through Dūmat al-Jandal, to the south of the Tigris-Euphrates valley.<sup>39</sup> The reason that Nebuchadnezzar II returned from Egypt to Babylon across the desert, was that it was the shorter way to Babylon, therefore if he had not had a good relationship with the Arabs he would not have returned through that way. The last king of Babylon, Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.), undertook a distant campaign against Taymā' and North Arabia. Jawād 'Alī mentions that in the third year of Nabonidus's reign, he undertook an expedition against Adumu, marching there from Syria and east of the Jordan through Wadi al-Sirhān. After defeating Adumu, he marched to Taymā' and settled there with his Babylonian guards after he had defeated its prince and his people.<sup>40</sup> Musil mentions that "according to the text published by Smith, the city of Tema' lay in Amurru and Nabonidus marched towards it by way of Adumu." He also suggests that Adumu may be the biblical Edom.<sup>41</sup> But as Albright suggests, since the two places are only about four days journey apart, according to al-Idrīsī, the former being on the road to the latter, the conquest of Adumu was a necessary prerequisite to a campaign against Taymā'.<sup>42</sup> Therefore it is more likely that Adumu is identical with the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal and not with Edom as Musil suggests. It has been suggested also that the expedition of Nabonidus against Arabia was to conquer Taymā' in order to control the trade routes from

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39. Dougherty, Sealand, 115

40. 'Alī, Al-Mufaṣṣal, 610, 611

41. Musil, Northern Neḡd, 225

42. Albright, 'Conquest of Nabonidus', 294

Southern Arabia to the north. Dougherty<sup>43</sup> suggests that if the purpose of this conquest was to control the Arabian trade routes, it should be noted that a Babylonian garrison at Taymā' under the command of a capable general could have accomplished all that was necessary for the welfare of Babylonian commercial interests in Arabia. The presence of the king was not necessary to the achievement of this purpose. It is not clear why Nabonidus undertook an expedition against Arabia, and why he left Babylon to establish himself a new capital at Taymā'. It is probably because of the strategic location of the town along the important trade routes. But more probable is that the main reason was that the Persian danger from the east had been very great, and by establishing his capital at Taymā' Nabonidus was able to feel more secure against any attack by the Persians, because of the extra distance from their territory.

iii Al-Jawf during the Nabataean period (1st century B.C. - 2nd century A.D.)

The Nabataean presence in North Arabia goes back to the first century B.C. during the reign of King Obadas II (30-9 B.C.). At that time Egra (al-Ḥijr, present day Madā'in Šāliḥ) was an important Nabataean commercial centre.<sup>44</sup> In 24 B.C. the expedition of Aelius Gallus into Arabia took place with the help of the Nabataeans. At that time al-Ḥijr was an important Nabataean centre, a long distance to the south of Petra, the Nabataean capital city. The

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43. Dougherty, Nabonidus and Belshazzar, 160

44. Negev, 'Nabataeans', 558, 582

Nabataeans had probably already established themselves before that date in North Arabia. The importance of the trade routes, which connected South Arabia with the North, brought about Nabataean domination over the North Arabian oases. Due to the importance of these oases for the caravan trade, the Nabataeans must have held firm control over them. In 1968 a group of archaeologists from London University undertook an archaeological survey in NW Saudi Arabia, in which they visited many Nabataean sites, the most important of which was Qurriyah, 70 km NW of Tabūk.<sup>45</sup> In upper Wadi al-Sirḥān Nabataean pottery was collected by Winnett and Reed when they visited the area during their expedition to North Arabia in 1962.<sup>46</sup> The presence of Nabataean sites in North Arabia indicates that the Nabataeans made good use of North Arabian oases as stations and caravan centres for their traders who travelled along these routes. Wadi al-Sirḥān, which runs in a NW/SE direction from Azraq in SE Jordan down to the Jawf, is over 200 km. long, very wide, 20 km. or more in some places, and is a shallow depression with wells.<sup>47</sup> The importance of Wadi al-Sirḥān in the caravan trade encouraged the Nabataeans to control this trade route and establish their military posts along it. Therefore the caravan traffic converged on Wadi al-Sirḥān, which provided an effective route for conveying goods from South Arabia, as well as from the ports on the eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>48</sup> Wadi al-Sirḥān led directly

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45. Parr, 'Survey', 193-242

46. Winnett, Ancient records, 180, 181, 182

47. Kennedy, 'Roman Frontier', 139, 140

48. Bowersock, Roman Arabia, 156

to al-Jawf situated at its southern end, which was a magnificent oasis, a great caravan and trade centre in North-central Arabia and a Nabataean stronghold.<sup>49</sup> Glueck suggests that the Nabataeans were able to penetrate into Southern Syria and to obtain a strong foothold there, and that was mainly through the Wadi al-Sirhān.<sup>50</sup> Wadi al-Sirhān is the natural way connecting Northern Arabia with Jordan and Southern Syria. Consequently it is clear that the Nabataeans used it and it came under their control from as early as the first century B.C.

In 1957 R. Savignac and J. Starcky published a Nabataean inscription from the Jawf area.<sup>51</sup> " From the 5th year of the reign of King Malichus II (40-70 A.D.) it is a dedication of a sanctuary at al-Jawf, the north-eastern extremity of the north Arabian Nabataean district, made by 'Animu, commander of some unidentified fort.'<sup>52</sup> It is obvious that the fort mentioned in this inscription is identified with the Mārid castle at Dūmat al-Jandal. The discovery of this inscription gives strong support to the theory that al-Jawf and Wadi al-Sirhān were part of the Nabataean kingdom. Therefore this inscription provides a very good basis to the proposal that al-Jawf and Wadi al-Sirhān were of importance in the Nabataean economy.<sup>53</sup>

During 1976 a team from the Department of Antiquities of Saudi

49. Glueck, 'Wādī Sirhān', 11

50. Glueck, 'Wādī Sirhān', 11

51. Savignac, 'Inscription Nabatéenne', 196-217

52. Negev, 'Nabataeans', 636

53. Glueck, 'Exploration', 44

Arabia undertook an archaeological survey of the Jawf area in which they recorded many archaeological sites. A trench dug by the team near Mārid castle produced in its lowest stratum a group of Nabataean-Roman pottery of the 1st-2nd century A.D., and similar sherds were found at Sakākā.<sup>54</sup>

At the beginning of 1986 the writer undertook fieldwork in the Jawf area. This fieldwork consisted of three parts, the first comprising an excavation, the second and the third being archaeological and epigraphic surveys. From our excavation at Dūmat al-Jandal, notably the trench which we dug inside Mārid castle and the trench outside 'Umar mosque, we discovered in the lowest strata a large amount of Nabataean pottery, but no painted sherds. As a result of the excavations, which furnished strong evidence of Nabataean occupation of the Mārid castle, we can be certain that it was well established at that time. We found also some painted Nabataean sherds around the castle.<sup>55</sup> On the epigraphic side, mainly located around Sakākā, we recorded more than 45 Nabataean graffiti, two of these from Dūmat al-Jandal. This large quantity of Nabataean material which can be found over all the Jawf area signifies a Nabataean presence in al-Jawf, in particular during their late period. In other words al-Jawf played a vital part in the trade life of the Nabataeans during whose period it was considered as a centre connecting the southern part of the Nabataean Kingdom with the main Nabataean city of Petra. We shall discuss the importance of al-Jawf in the caravan trade routes in Chapter IV below.

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54. Adams, 'Reconnaissance', 38

55. For the excavation see Chapter VI below

We can conclude from all the Nabataean data which we have concerning the Jawf region that the most flourishing period of its history was the Nabataean period, when the area was a key centre on the caravan routes. We will examine in more detail the history of al-Jawf during the Nabataean era when we discuss our fieldwork (Chapters VI, VII below).

iv Al-Jawf during the Roman-Byzantine periods  
(2nd - 6th centuries A.D.):

From as early as the first century B.C. the Romans had been trying to conquer Arabia. The first attempt was at the beginning of the reign of the Nabataean King Obadas II (30-9 B.C.) when the expedition of Aelius Gallus to Arabia took place.<sup>56</sup> According to Strabo this expedition of the Romans against the Arabs was undertaken in his time, under the command of Aelius Gallus who was sent by the emperor Augustus Caesar to explore not only Arabia, but also Ethiopia.<sup>57</sup> This is not the place to discuss the circumstances of this expedition, but we shall examine its objectives. The main aim of this expedition was to explore the countries close to Roman Egypt, which were very well known for their trade importance and their valuable products. Negev suggests that the main objective of the expedition was to gain the friendship of the Arabs and to win them over in order to change the negative balance of international trade which was in favour of the Arabs.<sup>58</sup> It is strange to intimate that the aim of

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56. Negev, 'Nabataeans', 558-559.

57. Strabo, Geography, 209-212

58. Negev, 'Nabataeans', 560

this expedition was to gain the friendship of the Arabs by attacking them. It is more likely that the Romans were trying to gain control over the Arabs and the trade routes which run from Southern Arabia to the North. At the beginning of the second century A.D. (106 A.D.) the Nabataean Kingdom had been defeated by the Romans, who took over their territory and established Provincia Arabia. Petra did not become the capital of the Arabian province, but rather Boşra was chosen.<sup>59</sup> The Roman presence in North Arabia and in the Jawf region can be demonstrated by three Latin inscriptions from Madā'in Şāliḥ, Dūmat al-Jandal and Azraq, as well as by the archaeological evidence of Roman influence in North Arabia in general and in the Jawf region in particular. The Madā'in Şāliḥ inscription was found in "an ancient well, showing that soldiers of the legions were also active in the southern corner of the province"<sup>60</sup> The Dūmat al-Jandal inscription (still unpublished), was found at Dūmat al-Jandal far to the south of Boşra. This inscription<sup>61</sup> records a dedication pro salute domnō (inorum) nn (ostrorum) Augg (ustorum), who would appear to be either the emperor Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The dedication is made to the gods Juppiter optimus Hammon and sanctus Sulmus by a centurion of the third Cyrenaica, Flavius Dionysius.<sup>61</sup> Bowersock points out that "since both deities are Arab, with known associations at Bosra and Umm al-Jimāl in the region of Bosra, we may be certain that this centurion had been sent out from the garrison legion of the province for duty in al-Jawf."<sup>61</sup>

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59. Negev, 'Nabataeans', 642

60. Speidel, 'Roman', 694

61. Bowersock, Roman Arabia, 98, 99



“ He is probably an Arab with a Roman name, and accordingly the kind of soldier who might be expected to know how to live in a place like al-Jawf.<sup>62</sup> This inscription<sup>63</sup> shows that soldiers of the legion patrolled the desert this far east, almost half way from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf.<sup>63</sup> The Azraq inscription was found in the Azraq castle. This inscription mentions a high-place or (sanctuary) of Dūmat al-Jandal. The inscription is dated to the Aurelian period, the 4th century A.D.<sup>64</sup>

These inscriptions offer a good basis for the view that the southern boundary of the Provincia extended as far south as Madā'in Šāliḥ and the Jawf.

Wadi al-Sirḥān<sup>has</sup> played a major role in the trade traffic during the Nabataean era. The evidence of Roman-Byzantine presence in al-Jawf and the Wadi al-Sirḥān would indicate that the Romans and the Byzantines made good use of the Wadi as an important crossroad which connected the Provincia Arabia with Southern Arabia. Therefore they must have had some sort of control over Wadi al-Sirḥān, and they would have used it as an important trade channel, as the Nabataeans did. In the upper part of Wadi al-Sirḥān, as well as at its southern end mainly at al-Jawf, evidence of Roman and Byzantine interest exists. This<sup>65</sup> would imply that this region like al-Ḥijāz was considered a part of the Provincia Arabia.<sup>65</sup> The Romans had probably established some sort of presence in al-Jawf and Madā'in Šāliḥ. In other words the

62. Bowersock, Roman Arabia, 98, 99

63. Speidel, 'Roman', 694

64. Kennedy, 'Latin inscriptions', 101, 102, 103

65. Bowersock, Roman Arabia, 99

Romans and the Byzantines had possibly used al-Jawf and Madā'in Šāliḥ as a watch post and a centre at which the trade routes converged, as well as a military post against attacks by the nomadic tribes. The presence of Roman soldiers in both places would signify the importance of both cities in the commercial activity of the Romans in Arabia.

New archaeological evidence, mainly pottery, of a Roman-Byzantine character was found during our fieldwork at al-Jawf. From the site of al-Ṭuwayr, which is situated to the south of Sakākā, pottery was collected from the surface. In Dūmat al-Jandal pottery of Roman-Byzantine character was uncovered from the lowest strata of our third trench. We are able to conclude from the epigraphic and archaeological evidence which comes from al-Jawf, and which marked the periods of Roman-Byzantine influence over this part of Arabia, that the Jawf area probably played a vital role in controlling the trade movement along Wadi al-Sirḥān and acting as the southern boundary of the Roman watch posts.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORY OF  
THE AL-JAWF REGION

i The first Muslim expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal:

The oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal, with its important position in Northern Arabia controlling the trade routes from the south to Syria and Iraq, was the objective of an expedition by the Muslims as early as the year 5/627. Al-Wāqidī mentions that the Prophet Muḥammad personally undertook an expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal, starting his march on 25 Rabī' I/24 August and withdrawing on 20 Rabī' II/18 September.<sup>1</sup> The Prophet wanted to capture the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal because it was the gateway to Syria and its conquest by the Muslims would alarm the Byzantine emperor. The Prophet had been informed that great crowds had gathered at Dūmat al-Jandal and that they had robbed merchants passing through their territory. There was a large market there, in which various Arabs gathered and they planned a raid against Medina. The Prophet set out with a thousand men; they marched at night and rested during the day, in order to keep their movement secret. His guide was Madhkūr of the 'Udhrah tribe.<sup>2</sup> When the Prophet and his troops arrived within one day's march of Dūmat al-Jandal, his guide Madhkūr ascertained where the camels and sheep of the enemy were grazing and then the Prophet and his men attacked the herds. The news of the Prophet Muḥammad's attack spread and the people of Dūmat al-Jandal fled their town. The Prophet Muḥammad entered and found nobody there. He stayed there for a few days, having despatched some of his men to look for the enemy in the

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1. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, I, 402

2. 'Udhrah is a large clan of the Kalb tribe. During the lifetime of Prophet Muḥammad they were dwelling in the Yemen. Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, 688, and Kaḥālah, Mu'jam, 768

surrounding areas. But they could find only animals, apart from Muḥammad b. Maslamah, who alone was brought in, a single prisoner. He was induced to become a Muslim. The Prophet and his men then returned to Medina.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Hishām also mentions the Prophet's expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal and that it was launched in Rabī' I. However, he does not specify the duration or timing of this expedition and does not go into detail.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Sa'd gives exactly the same account as al-Wāqidī.<sup>5</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī mentions the first Muslim expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal, stating that this was the very first against the Byzantines. He mentions that Ukaydir b. 'Abdal-Malik, of the Kindah tribe, was the lord of the oasis. He was a Christian who had recognised the supremacy of the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius. Since Ukaydir was harassing the trade caravans bound for Medina, the Prophet set out with his men to punish him, but Ukaydir came to hear of the Prophet's raid and fled with all the inhabitants of Dūmat al-Jandal. When the Prophet entered the oasis, he found nobody, so he returned to Medina.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī, like Ibn Hishām, recorded the Prophet's expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal, but he does not give details, and he repeats Ibn Hishām's information verbatim.<sup>7</sup>

Musil stated that, "according to al-Wāqidī, the Prophet Muḥammad started upon his raid on the fifteenth of the first month of Rabī' (August 14) and returned on the tenth of the second month

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3. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, I, 402-404
4. Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, III, 228, 229
5. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, II, 62, 63
6. Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, 248
7. Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, 1702, 1703

of Rabi' (September 8)<sup>8</sup>. As mentioned above, according to al-Wāqidī the Prophet set off on 25 Rabi' I/24 August and returned on 20 Rabi' II/18 September. It seems that Musil misunderstands al-Wāqidī's account. This leads him to make the suggestion that the Prophet had selected the least suitable season to cross the dark, undulating plains which lie between the oasis of Taymā' and Dūmat al-Jandal. Musil states that the shortest distance between Medina and Dūmat al-Jandal is almost 700 km. and that it would have been impossible for a raiding party to have covered a return journey of 1400 km. in arid country in 25 days in summer. He adds that watering a thousand camels requires one or two days.<sup>9</sup> If we look back to al-Wāqidī's statement, however, we will find that the Prophet and his men marched during the night and rested during the day. During the day they were able to water and graze their camels and we must not forget that camels can at times march for fifteen days without requiring water. During the night the camel would have covered a longer distance than it does during the day, especially in summer.

Musil states that<sup>10</sup> neither al-Wāqidī nor Ibn Hishām asserts that Muhammad actually *came to* the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal itself.<sup>10</sup> On the contrary, as we mention above, al-Wāqidī did state that the Prophet entered the oasis and stayed there for a few days.

8. Musil, Arabia, 535-537

9. Musil, Arabia, 535-537

10. Musil, Arabia, 535-537

ii The expedition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf to Dūmat al-Jandal:

In the year after the first Muslim expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal by the Prophet Muḥammad in 5/627, they undertook another expedition against the same town. According to al-Wāqidī, the Prophet ordered 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf to make the preparations for the expedition. The Prophet put on 'Abd al-Raḥmān a black turban, leaving the end loose behind him, saying, "Put your turban on, Ibn 'Awf".<sup>11</sup> The Prophet instructed Ibn 'Awf, saying, "Take the expedition, Ibn 'Awf; in the name and in the way of God; fight those who do not believe in God. Do not be deceitful with the spoil; do not be treacherous, nor kill children".<sup>12</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān took command of his men and marched to Dūmat al-Jandal. After his arrival, he instructed the people of the oasis in the tenets of Islam. Three days later al-Aṣḥab b. 'Amr of Kalb,<sup>13</sup> the Christian chief of the oasis, became a Muslim. 'Abd al-Raḥmān wrote to the Prophet about his progress, and sent Rāfi' b. Mukīth of the Juhaynah tribe<sup>14</sup> to him with a letter. Ibn 'Awf in his letter expressed his desire to marry a woman of the Kalb tribe. The Prophet Muḥammad in his reply advised Ibn 'Awf to marry Tumādir, the daughter of al-Aṣḥab. This

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11. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, II, 560

12. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, II, 561

13. Al-Aṣḥab is a descendant of the Kalb. Wabra clan of the tribe of Kalb. Preceding Islam they were dwelling at Dūmat al-Jandal and the southern part of Syria. Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, 388, and Kaḥālah, Mu'jam, 991, 992

14. Juhaynah is one of the great tribes of the north western Hijāz. Cf. Kaḥālah, Mu'jam, 214

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf did, and she bore him a son named Abū Salamah.<sup>15</sup>

Al-Wāqidī gives an alternative account of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. He says that the Prophet Muḥammad ordered Ibn 'Awf to go to the Kalb tribe, and propose marriage to the daughter of their king or chief, if they agreed to become Muslims. He stayed in Dūmat al-Jandal for a time, until they consented to pay jizyah (poll tax). So Ibn 'Awf married Tumāḍir, the daughter of King Aṣḥbagh, taking her with him to Medina.<sup>16</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī mentions the second account of al-Wāqidī, and that this expedition was undertaken in the year 6/628.<sup>17</sup>

Ibn Sa'd mentions the two accounts of al-Wāqidī stating that this expedition was undertaken in the month of Sha'bān, 6. After 'Abd al-Raḥmān had been there for three days al-Aṣḥbagh was converted to Islam. As a result a huge number of his people became Muslims as well, and the remainder, who refused Islam, agreed to pay jizyah. He then married Tumāḍir and returned with her to Medina.<sup>18</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī who gives only the second account of al-Wāqidī mentions that, when 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf married Tumāḍir, he reduced the amount of jizyah by a quarter.<sup>19</sup>

Musil suggests that<sup>c</sup> this expedition was not aimed against the oasis of Dūma, but against the tribes, which roamed in its vicinity,<sup>20</sup> in particular, Kalb. If we look back to al-Ya'qūbī's

15. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, II, 561

16. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, II, 562

17. al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, II, 642

18. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, II, 62, 63

19. Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 59



account, we will realise that he does not mention the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal, and he states clearly that this expedition was against Kalb.

We may conclude from the previous accounts that the aim of the expedition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was not war, but the conversion of the people to Islam. Ibn 'Awf stayed there three days instructing the people before the chief, al-Aṣḥagh, became a Muslim. If the former had gone there to wage war, then the people of the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal would not have let him enter the oasis and remain there for three days.

iii The first expedition of Khālīd b. al-Walīd against Dūmat al-Jandal:

This expedition was the third against the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad. According to al-Wāqidi, in Rajab, 7/November 629, the Prophet sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd from Tabūk with 420 cavalry against the Christian king of the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal, Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik of Kindah. When Khālīd asked the Prophet how he could capture him in the dangerous territory of Kalb with so small a troop, the Prophet told him that he would find the king hunting oryx (al-baqar al-waḥshī). Khālīd set out with his horse to Dūmat al-Jandal. When they approached the oasis in bright moonlight, Ukaydir with his wife, al-Rabāb, daughter of Unayf b. 'Amr of Kindah, was on the roof of his castle, listening to his singing-girls and drinking. Two oryx suddenly appeared and rubbed their horns against the gate of the castle. His wife, al-Rabāb, peered down and saw the two oryx. She asked, "Have you ever

seen such a thing as this?". He replied, "Never". Ukaydir ordered his horse to be brought and rode out with his brother, Ḥassān, and two slaves. After leaving the castle they passed near Khālīd's cavalry, whose horses were held motionless in order that Ukaydir and his horses should not hear them and escape. Khālīd's cavalry attacked Ukaydir and his companions. They captured him, but his brother, Ḥassān resisted and was killed, and the slaves fled. Khālīd told Ukaydir that his life would be spared and he would be brought before the Prophet, if he would open the oasis to the Muslims. Ukaydir agreed and was taken in front of the gate, where he asked his family to open it. But when his brother Muḍād saw him bound, he refused to open the castle. Ukaydir told Khālīd that they would not open the gate unless he was freed. Khālīd made an agreement with Ukaydir that the latter would present himself and his brother before the Prophet and deliver two thousand camels, eight hundred slaves, four hundred suits of armour and four hundred lances. When Ukaydir was freed, he opened the fort. Khālīd entered it and captured Ukaydir and his brother, Muḍād, took the camels, the slaves and weapons and returned to Medina. The Prophet spared his life and made peace with him, on condition that he paid jizyah.<sup>21</sup> The Prophet confirmed the conditions in a statement addressed to Ukaydir and the people of Dūmat al-Jandal. Al-Wāqidi mentions that an old man from Dūmat al-Jandal told him about the statement that was written by the Prophet.<sup>22</sup> Al-Balādhuri also mentions the Prophet's statement addressed to Ukaydir and the people of Dūmat al-Jandal as follows : This is

21. Wāqidi, Maghāzī, III, 1025-1028

22. Wāqidi, Maghāzī, III, 1025-1028

a statement (kitāb) from Muḥammad, Messenger of God [addressed] to Ukaydir, as he has accepted Islam and forsaken objects of worship and idols, and to the people of Dūmah; to us shall belong the watering-places outside the town, the untilled lands, the deserts and waste lands, as well as defensive and offensive weapons, the horses, and the fortress; to you shall belong the palm trees within the town and the running water. Your cattle which are pasturing shall not, for the purpose of paying Ṣadaqah, be calculated altogether, but shall be reckoned on the pasture land. What is above the fixed number of animals, from which Ṣadaqah is required, shall not be taken into consideration. Your herds shall graze wherever you wish, and you shall observe prayer at its [prescribed] time, and pay Zakāh, as it is due. To this effect I give you the covenant of God and His promise and you can rely upon us to keep your word as regards the fulfilment of the terms. Witnessed by God and those of the Muslims who are present.<sup>23</sup>

Ibn Hishām in his statement of Khālid's expedition does not mention in which month the expedition was undertaken and whether the Prophet sent Khālid from Tabūk or from Medina.<sup>24</sup>

Al-Balādhurī mentions in his statement that Ukaydir became a Muslim,<sup>25</sup> but we have seen in the other accounts that Ukaydir paid jizyah which was usually paid only by non-Muslims. If Ukaydir had become a Muslim, as al-Balādhurī stated, he would not have paid jizyah, but Zakāh. We may understand from the previous accounts

23. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 68-70

24. Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, IV, 181, 182

25. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 68-70

that Khālid's expedition was against Ukaydir, who was lord of the oasis, and also against the people of Dūmat al-Jandal. Musil suggests that the chief purpose of this expedition was the capture of Ukaydir. The conquest of the town is not mentioned, although it is indeed implied by the capture of its king.<sup>26</sup>

iv The conquest of Dūmat al-Jandal by Khālid b. al-Walīd during the caliphate of Abū Bakr:

After the Prophet Muḥammad's death, Ukaydir, chief of the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal, violated the peace agreement and refused to pay the Zakāh. According to al-Balādhurī, Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. Walīd, when the latter was at 'Ayn al-Tamr in Iraq, ordering him to march against Ukaydir. Once there he killed Ukaydir and captured the oasis.<sup>27</sup>

According to al-Wāqidī, al-Balādhurī states that during Khālid's march from Iraq to Syria, he passed through Dūmat al-Jandal and conquered it.<sup>28</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī gives more detail. He states that Khālid marched with his troops from 'Ayn al-Tamr, leaving 'Uwaym b. al-Kahil al-Aslamī as chief there, and on towards Dūmat al-Jandal. The people of Dūmat al-Jandal knew of his march, so they sent messengers to all their confederates of the Bahrā', Kalb, Ghassān, Tanūkh and al-Ḍajāghim, asking them for help. Wadī'ah came at the head of Kalb and Bahrā' with the assistance of Ibn Wabrah b. Rūmāns. Ibn al-Ḥadrajān led

26. Musil, Arabia, 541, 542

27. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 68-70

28. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 63

al-Ḍajāghim and Ibn al-Ayham came with some troops of Ghassan and Tanūkh. When they learnt of Khālīd's march, they were under the command of two men, Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Jūdī b. Rabī'ah. Ukaydir, who knew Khālīd very well, expressed the opinion that he would certainly win any battle against them. His advice was to surrender to Khālīd, but this was rejected by his confederates. Ukaydir told them that he would not fight Khālīd and he tried to flee, but Khālīd sent 'Āṣim b. 'Amr after him, and later he was executed on Khālīd's orders. Khālīd surrounded the town of Dūmat al-Jandal with his men on one side and 'Iyāḍ's men on the other. The Arabs, who came to assist the people of Dūmat al-Jandal, camped outside the fort, because the inside space was too limited to shelter all. After Khālīd had begun his siege, he was attacked by al-Jūdī and Wadī'ah and their troops. On the other side Ibn al-Ḥadrajān and Ibn al-Ayham with their troops attacked 'Iyāḍ. Al-Jūdī and Wadī'ah were defeated by Khālīd, who captured the former alive. At the same time 'Iyāḍ overcame Ibn al-Ḥadrajān and Ibn al-Ayham. After this defeat the soldiers went back to their fort, but because of the limited space some of them stayed outside after it had been closed. Having succeeded in breaking down the gate of the fort Khālīd massacred all those within. The women and the children were sold into slavery and Khālīd himself bought the pretty daughter of al-Jūdī.<sup>29</sup>

Jawād 'Alī mentions this expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal and adds that the main reason that the Muslims undertook it was that Ukaydir refused to pay the tax, imposed on him, after the Prophet's

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29. al-Ṭabarī. Tar'ikh, IV, 2065

death, and that he had abandoned Islam for Christianity.<sup>30</sup> This account shows that Ukaydir had become a Muslim when he was captured by Khālīd.

According to al-Wāqidī and al-Ṭabarī and others, however, it is certain that Ukaydir had not accepted Islam which is why he paid tax to the Prophet.

Al-Balādhurī states that Khālīd had taken Laylā, the daughter of al-Jūdī al-Ghassānī, prisoner after he had defeated her father at Dūmat al-Jandal. In another account he mentions that Laylā was taken by Khālīd's cavalry from a Ghassān village.<sup>31</sup> But as mentioned above, al-Ṭabarī's account states that Khālīd bought her after defeating her father at Dūmat al-Jandal.

Neither al-Ṭabarī nor al-Balādhurī mentions the road that Khālīd took on his march from Iraq to Dūmat al-Jandal. Hitti states that Khālīd probably started from al-Ḥīrah and headed westwards through the desert to the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal, situated midway between Iraq and Syria on the easiest route. From Dūmat al-Jandal Khālīd took the road to Syria through Wadi al-Sirḥān to Bosra, the gateway of Syria. Khālīd probably took the northwestern route from Dūmat al-Jandal to Qarāqir on the eastern boundary of Wadi al-Sirḥān, thence pushed due north to Suwā,<sup>32</sup> another strategic town on the way to Syria.<sup>33</sup>

30. 'Alī, Mufaṣṣal, IV, 233

31. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 63-70

32. Suwā situated near modern Sab' Biyār (seven wells), north-east of Damascus

33. Hitti, Arabs, 149

Musil suggests that the purpose of Khālid's expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal was to reduce the oasis, because the tribes of North Arabia could have cut all means of connections between Iraq and Syria and could then have delivered a crushing attack from the rear on the Muslims fighting in both regions. It would have been possible to interrupt commerce between Syria and Medina, and between al-Ḥīrah and Medina.<sup>34</sup>

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34. Musil, Arabia, 549

CHAPTER III

DŪMAT AL-JANDAL (AL-JAWF) IN THE  
WRITING OF THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS



Dūmat al-Jandal was an important town during the early period of Islam. Some of the early Arab geographers refer to it as Dūma', Dūmah or Dūmat al-Jandal from as early as the Prophet's time. Al-Bakrī states that Dūmat al-Jandal is situated between Birk al-Ghimād<sup>1</sup> and Makkah. In another account by al-Bakrī he states that it lies between al-Ḥijāz and al-Shām. He adds that it is ten stages (marāḥil) from Medina, ten stages from Kufa, eight stages from Damascus and twelve from Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakrī mentions that the name of Dūmat al-Jandal comes from Dūmān b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm, who used to stay there. He mentions 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf's expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal, mentioned above. Ibn Khurdādhbah states that Dūmat al-Jandal is situated in the district of Medina and is thirteen stages from Medina, ten from Kufa and ten from Damascus. Its fort is called Mārid. He mentions that al-Zabā' (Zenobia), queen of Tadmur (Palmyra), said, when she tried to conquer Dūmat al-Jandal and Taymā' and failed, that Mārid revolted (tamarrada) and al-Ablaq withstood ('azza).<sup>3</sup> We believe that the revolt of Mārid, the fortress of the oasis, perhaps was the reason for al-Zabā''s attack. She took neither Dūmat al-Jandal, nor Taymā'.

Ibn Sa'd placed Dūmat al-Jandal at the entrance to Syria, five stages from Damascus and fifteen or sixteen nights' journey to Medina.

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1. Birk al-Ghimād is known today as al-Birk, it lies to the south of Makkah approximately 450 km. distant. According to al-Hamdānī, al-Bakrī states that it is situated in the Yemen. Yāqūt states its situation is five nights' march beyond Makkah towards the sea. Cf. al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, II, 564; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, I, 399, and al-Zayla'i, 'Southern Makkah', 470
  2. Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, II, 564
  3. Ibn Khurdādhbah, Masālik, 128, 129

He also mentions the Prophet's expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal, mentioned above.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Wāqidī states that the Prophet Muḥammad is expedition against Dūmat al-Jandal, which formed the entrance to Syria, was an attempt to frighten the Byzantine emperor. He mentions that there was a great fair at Dūmat al-Jandal and it was the centre of the caravan trade.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that one of the main objectives of the Prophet's expedition was to assess the response of the Byzantines, where Dūmat al-Jandal is considered the southern boundary of the Byzantine Empire and its king, Ukaydir, was loyal to the emperor.

Al-Ya'qūbī states that there were ten markets in Arabia, each one of which was held annually at a different time from the others. Visitors could attend without fear for their lives or their wealth. Dūmat al-Jandal was among these ten markets and was held in Rabī' I under the supervision of Ghassān or Kalb, whoever was the stronger at the time. Al-Ya'qūbī also states that the deity Wadd was erected at Dūmat al-Jandal for Kalb b. Wabrah and Quḍā'ah clans.<sup>6</sup>

Yāqūt states that the deity Wadd was entrusted in Dūmat al-Jandal for the Wabrah clan of Kalb. It's custodian was the family of the Qarāfiṣah b. al-Aḥwaṣ.<sup>7</sup> On the authority of Hishām b. al-Kalbī, Yāqūt states that the statue of Wadd was greater in size than a large man. Its outer garments and underclothes were clearly carved out, and a sword hanging from a girdle, whilst bow and arrows

4. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, II, 62, 63

5. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, I, 402

6. Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, I, 312

7. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, V, 366

were slung over its shoulders and the hand was grasping a lance with a pennant.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī mentions Dūmat al-Jandal, and the Prophet's expedition against it. He records that this was the first expedition by the Prophet Muḥammad against the Byzantines. He mentions the geographical location of Dūmat al-Jandal. He states that the distance between Dūmat al-Jandal and Damascus is five nights' march and between it and Medina is thirteen to fifteen nights.<sup>9</sup>

Ibn al-Faqīh states that Dūmat al-Jandal is situated on the boundary between Iraq and Syria. It is seven stages from Damascus.<sup>10</sup>

Yāqūt records that Dūmat al-Jandal is seven stages distance from Damascus and lies between it and Medina. He states that Dūmā' is one of Ismā'il's sons. After he had left Tihāmah he marched until he settled in a place where he built a fort to which he gave his name. It became known as the fort of Dūmā'.<sup>11</sup> On the authority of Abū Sa'd, Yāqūt states that Dūmat al-Jandal is in a basin five parasangs<sup>12</sup> long. On its western slope a strong spring flows, irrigating the palm groves and the fields. The fort there is called Mārid. On the authority of Abū 'Ubayd al-Sakūnī, Yāqūt states that Dūmat al-Jandal is a fort and several settlements, situated between al-Shām and Medina, near the two mountains of Ṭayy, where the Kinānah clan of Kalb used to dwell. He adds that Dūmah is one of three oases in

8. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, V, 367

9. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, 248

10. Ibn al-Faqīh, Buldān, 115

11. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, II, 487

12. The parasang is equal to about six km. Cf. Hinz, Masse,

the vicinity. The settlements are Dūmah, Sakākah and Dhū 'l-Qārah. Dūmah is enclosed by walls, protected by the strong castle of Mārid, which once belonged to King Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Kindī.<sup>13</sup> Yāqūt mentions the oasis of Sakākā and states that sakāk and sakākah is the air between the earth and the heavens. Sakākā is one of the three settlements. It is also enclosed by walls, but Dūmat al-Jandal is stronger than it.<sup>14</sup>

According to al-Balādhurī, who had heard it from someone from al-Ḥīrah, Ukaydir and his brothers used to go to Dūmat al-Ḥīrah and visit their uncles of the Kalb tribe and spend some time with them. One day as they were together on a hunting trip, they came upon a town in ruins with only a few walls standing. The town was built of stones. They rebuilt it, planted it with olives and other trees and called it Dūmat al-Jandal to distinguish it from Dūmat al-Ḥīrah.<sup>15</sup>

Ibn Khaldūn places Dūmat al-Jandal at the boundary of the territory of the Ḥijāz. But the location of Dūmat al-Jandal is too far north in Arabia to be considered as part of the Ḥijāz area. He adds that Dūmat al-Jandal and Tabūk belong to Kalb and its people were Christians.<sup>16</sup> During the Prophet Muḥammad's time the king of Dūmat al-Jandal was Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>17</sup>

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13. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, II, 487

14. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 229

15. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, I, 97

16. Ibn Khaldūn, Ta'riḥ, I, 106, 107

17. Ibn Khaldūn, Ta'riḥ, II, 210, 211

CHAPTER IV

THE TRADE AND CARAVAN ROUTES  
THROUGH DŪMAT AL-JANDAL

i The impact of the caravan trade on Dūmat al-Jandal:

It is believed that caravan routes played a major role in the development and continuation of Near Eastern civilization through its different periods. These trade routes ran mainly from South Arabia to Syria and Mesopotamia in the north. It is not certain when the caravan trade commenced and we have no firm evidence which enables us to set a date for the birth of the caravan trade in the Near East in general and in South Arabia in particular. The establishment of the Minean Kingdom, which took place in the Jawf area of the Yemen, goes back to around the middle of the first millennium B.C. Therefore the Mineans played a significant part in the development of commerce in the ancient world. In the seventh and eighth centuries B.C., the Assyrian kings undertook various campaigns against North Arabia and its tribes, which were in the position of controlling the trade caravan routes which ran from the south to the north.<sup>1</sup> The intention of these campaigns was to master and control these caravan routes in order to benefit from them commercially on the one hand, and to dominate the Sabaeen state on the other. During the seventh century B.C. the Babylonians probably had had commercial connections with the North Arabian tribes, especially with the Qedarites, around the oases of Taymā' and Dūmat al-Jandal. In the sixth century B.C. Nabonidus conducted a campaign against Taymā', a central station on the caravan route. Nabonidus conquered it and resided there for ten years.

The Nabataeans established their kingdom some time between the fourth and the second century B.C. in the southern part of Transjordan.

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1. See Chapter I above, for more details about the Assyrian campaigns

From that time up to the beginning of the second century A.D. the Nabataeans dominated the major trade routes in the Near East, and consequently Petra, their capital, became the most important trade centre of that time. The Nabataeans' trade routes went as far north as Damascus, across the Mediterranean Sea to Rome, as far west and south-west as Egypt and to the south as far as Leuke Kome on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and as far east as Gerrha on the western coast of the Arabian Gulf.<sup>2</sup> The prosperous periods of Petra came slowly to an end after its conquest by the Romans in A.D. 106.<sup>3</sup> Therefore the Romans took over the trade routes. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, the trade network from South-western Arabia became less important as the Romans developed direct contact with India.<sup>4</sup>

These caravan routes were greatly affected by the discovery of the secret of the monsoon during the first century A.D. by Hippalus a Roman navigator, who discovered the use of the monsoon winds. This wind blows over the Indian Ocean. It blows southerly in the summer and northerly in the winter, by which the run between Arabia and India is immensely facilitated. This knowledge enabled merchants to sail the whole journey direct from Egypt to India returning on the seasonal monsoon.<sup>5</sup> In spite of the discovery of the monsoon, South Arabia remained very important in the commercial world. The products

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2. Lawlor, The Nabataeans, 68
  3. Murray, Petra, 125
  4. Ghamedi, "Southwestern Arabia", 144
  5. Montgomery, Arabia, 71; Warmington, The Commerce, 48-49; Doe, Monuments, 16-17; Hansen, Arabia, 302; Schoff, The Periplus, 5-6

of South Arabia as well as India and East Africa, mainly frankincense, myrrh, spices, silk, amber, gold, and especially pepper, were in considerable demand by the Romans, Egyptians, Syrians; and the Mesopotamians. They were used by these nations for embalming funeral pyres, as medicines, at weddings and more for religious purposes.<sup>6</sup>

In the fourth century A.D. South Arabian trade experienced major economic disruption when the Emperor Constantine converted the Roman Empire from paganism to Christianity. This was because Christian ritual did not require frankincense and myrrh in huge quantities, as paganism had done.<sup>7</sup>

Until the rise of Islam, Mecca was important as a central station on the caravan routes as well as a commercial centre. Quraysh, the most powerful among the Arab tribes during this period, thus governed the caravan trade from Syria and the Yemen.

The trade routes were very important in the life of the people of the ancient Near East. They benefitted not only commercial exchange, but also communication and cultural interchange between the different civilizations.

The most important of the ancient trade routes was the north-south route which ran from southwestern Arabia to Petra in the north (Map nos. I,2). The function of this route was to carry the goods of South Arabia, India, and Eastern Africa to the important trade centre of Petra. This route will be discussed later.

A second route ran from southwestern Arabia to the *West* coast of the Arabian Gulf. This route started from Mārib and it ran

6. Abdo, "Transport in Saudi Arabia", 17, 18

7. Ghamedi, "Southwestern Arabia", 144-145



through a narrow plain between al-Rub' al-Khālī in the east and Jabal Ṭuwayq in the west. At the southern end of Wadi Ḥanīfah the route turned to the east, crossing the al-Rimah escarpment through a natural gap, then crossed the al-Dahnā' sand dunes before striking the coastal plain to Gerrha.<sup>8</sup> Gerrha was an important trading port on the west coast of the Arabian Gulf and was a centre for Indian and Far Eastern trade.

A third route connected Petra with Gerrha on the west coast of the Arabian Gulf. This route ran from Gerrha to central Najd and through Dūmat al-Jandal and Wadi al-Sirḥān to Petra. We shall examine this route in some detail later.

Petra was the most important and powerful trading centre from the second century B.C. to the beginning of the second century A.D., its importance due in large measure to its geographical position. It lay roughly halfway between the port of 'Aqabah, on the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean port of Gaza.<sup>9</sup> For caravans Petra was the major trade centre on which all the significant caravan routes converged. All goods of South Arabia, India, and East Africa were transmitted to Petra, and from Petra these goods were exported to the Mediterranean and Egypt through Gaza on the Mediterranean coast.

Several different caravan routes link Petra with the other trade centres. The Petra-Gaza route was the principal trade route which connected the Nabataean Kingdom with the Roman Empire and Egypt. Another route ran from Petra up north to Damascus and Aleppo in the north.

8. Abdo, "Transport in Saudi Arabia", 22, 23

9. Murray, Petra, 112

In the beginning of the second century A.D., however, Petra lost its prosperity as a trade and caravan centre. After Trajan conquered Petra, in A.D. 106, the centre of trade then gradually moved to Bosra which also became the centre of political life.<sup>10</sup>

The caravan routes played a significant role in the development of the desert oases along these routes. In fact the trade routes followed the lines of these oases connecting them with the commercial centres. The caravan trade was in need of these oases with their water, palms, and food supplies to keep such transit possible, while on the other hand the caravans kept these inland oases in touch with the world at large.<sup>11</sup>

Through these trade routes the Arabian oases communicated with the civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria in the north, and with South Arabia. Consequently these oases owed a great deal of their prosperity to the fact that they were stations on vital west and Mesopotamian trade routes.<sup>12</sup> The oases, therefore, were dependent on the continuous progress of the caravan routes. Because of that they attempted to secure these routes and provided them with guards, and a supply of water and food. At the same time the caravans had to pay taxes to the people of the oases who had made this caravan trade possible. Furthermore, these people participated and were involved in the caravan trade. In other words the people of the oases not only acted as caravan guards, but also as traders and caravaners. Mecca was a very good example of a caravan centre in the middle of

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10. Rostovtzeff, Caravan cities, 51

11. Montgomery, Arabia, 160-161

12. Shahîd, "Pre-Islamic Arabia", 19-20

the Arabian Peninsula.

The Jawf oasis, like Mecca, played a vital part in the history of the caravan routes. It is situated at the southern end of the Wadi al-Sirḥān in the far north of the Arabian Peninsula. It formed a key point on the caravan routes which ran to the north or down to South Arabia. Different trade routes met there especially the north-south route, and the Petra-Gerrha route. The position of the Jawf is midway between Mesopotamia and Syria on the one hand, and its water, palm trees and food on the other hand made it a very important station on the trade roads to Syria, Mesopotamia, and South Arabia.

The importance of the Jawf oasis goes back to the seventh century B.C. when the Assyrian army attacked Dūmat al-Jandal in order to gain control over it (see Chapter I). We believe that the significance of its position as a central station on the caravan routes drew the Assyrian attention to it.

During the Nabataean time the Jawf was one of the most important trading posts of southern Nabataean territory, being situated at the southern end of Wadi al-Sirḥān, which connects the Jawf with Trans-jordan and Syria. Caravans passed through it on the way to South Arabia and to Nabataean territory. Nabataean traders used the Wadi al-Sirḥān to receive goods coming up from South Arabia or those coming across the desert from the Arabian Gulf.<sup>13</sup>

Wadi al-Sirḥān forms a natural channel of communication between North Arabia and Syria. This is due to the presence of wells along the Wadi which made it the favourite route for trade caravans between

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13. Peters, "Bedouin in southern Syria", 321

Syria, Petra, and North Arabia.<sup>14</sup> Bowersock suggests that during the Nabataean period<sup>15</sup> inland traffic became concentrated on the Wadi al-Sirḥān, which provided an efficient route for conveying goods from the ports on the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula as well as from the south.<sup>15</sup> In spite of that the Nabataeans made good use of Wadi al-Sirḥān as an inner passage for commerce with the north. The Wadi communicated directly with the environs of Bosra from which links with Damascus were well established.<sup>16</sup> Therefore the importance of the Jawf oasis lies in the fact that it is the largest oasis in the bottleneck of Wadi al-Sirḥān.<sup>17</sup>

During fieldwork carried out by the writer in the period from January to May 1986 in the area, a great deal of data was collected mainly from our excavations at the ancient part of Dūmat al-Jandal on the one hand, and from our epigraphic survey on the other. These materials provide strong evidence of a Nabataean and Roman occupation in the area. The presence of large numbers of Nabataean inscriptions in the Jawf area indicates that the Nabataeans made good use of it as a caravan station on the trade route, as well as an observation post.

ii Caravan and trade routes through the Jawf oasis:

The Jawf oasis forms a central station for the caravan routes which run through Central Arabia to Syria and Mesopotamia. Therefore

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14. Winnett, Ancient records, 56, 59

15. Bowersock, Roman Arabia, 156

16. Bowersock, Roman Arabia, 154

17. Eph'al, Arabs, 16

the Jawf became a very important caravan city, in particular during the Nabataean period. In this part of this chapter we will discuss the caravan routes which ran through the oasis of al-Jawf and examine each of these routes in turn.

Route one : the north-south route (Map nos. 1,2)

This route which ran from southwestern Arabia, through Central Arabia to Petra and Damascus in the north, was the most significant of the trade roads in the Near East. The South Arabian civilization and that of the North Arabian desert depended on this route and the profit which could be gained from it. The principal overland route started from Shabwah, the capital city of Ḥaḍramawt and continued northwards to Timna', the capital city of Qataban. Thereafter it ran to Mārib, the Sabaean capital.<sup>18</sup> From Mārib the route passed through Najrān, an important trade centre, being the focus of a number of trade routes within the Peninsula.<sup>19</sup> From Najrān a branch of this route proceeded to the Arabian Gulf through Qaryat al-Fāw. From Najrān the principal route continued north to Mecca, one of the most important trade centres in Central Arabia. From Mecca the route ran to Yathrib (later Medina). After that the route passed through Dedan (modern al-'Ulā), a Minean trading centre, as well as through Madā'in Ṣāliḥ, and continued to Taymā', which was a station situated on the fork in the Arabian trade route with branches to both Babylonia and the western part of the Fertile Crescent.<sup>20</sup> At Taymā' the route

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18. Van Beek, "Frankincense", 70-95, and, Ghamedi, "Southwestern Arabia", 123

19. Shahīd, Byzantium and the Arabs, 15

20. Eph'al, Ancient Arabs, 15

divided into two branches, the first traversing the north-western part of Arabia to Petra, whereas the second branch proceeded from Taymā' to the oasis of al-Jawf, at the southern end of the important Wadi al-Sirḥān. From the Jawf there were four possible routes: the first one ran through Wadi al-Sirḥān to Petra; the second route also ran through Wadi al-Sirḥān towards Bosra and Damascus. The third route proceeded from Dūmat al-Jandal to Babylonia and lower Mesopotamia. The fourth route ran from Gerrha, on the Arabian Gulf, to Petra through the oasis of al-Jawf and Wadi al-Sirḥān.

In the next pages we will consider each of these routes in detail.

Route two : Dūmat al-Jandal-Petra-Gaza route, through the Wadi al-Sirḥān (Map no. 3)

The presence of Nabataean archaeological and epigraphic evidence in the Jawf area and along Wadi al-Sirḥān indicate the existence of Nabataean rule over this region. Wadi al-Sirḥān formed a natural way for caravan routes to and from Petra and Syria. Winnett has discovered a Nabataean inscription in the village of Ithrah near the head of Wadi al-Sirḥān this gives very strong support to the view which suggests that Wadi al-Sirḥān served as an important desert route for the Nabataeans as they passed northward from Arabia to Syria.<sup>21</sup>

Bowersock<sup>22</sup> suggests that the Romans made the same sort of use of the Wadi al-Sirḥān as the Nabataeans. This route connected the Jawf oasis with Petra. From the Jawf the route proceeded northwest through

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21. Bowersock, "Arabia provincia", 221. For the inscription, cf. Winnett, Ancient records, 160

22. Bowersock, "Arabia provincia", 221

Wadi al-Sirḥān to the oasis of Azraq at its head. From Azraq the route continued to Petra, the centre of the ancient trade, and along to Gaza. From Gaza the goods were transported to the Mediterranean and west to Egypt. Another track went from al-Jawf to Biyīr, a Nabataean trade post then to Ma'ān and straight to Petra. Grant<sup>23</sup> supports the view that the Nabataean traders often used the route of Wadi al-Sirḥān, therefore Nabataean caravans followed the roads from Petra to Azraq to join the principal Arabian routes to the south. This route lost its value when trade was diverted by the Romans and Palmyrenes to a new route.<sup>24</sup>

Route three : Dūmat al-Jandal-Bosra-Damascus route (Map no. 4)

At Dūmat al-Jandal at the southern end of Wadi al-Sirḥān this route set off through the depression of the wadi and struck north to the Azraq oasis. From Azraq the route passed through Transjordan to the important city of Bosra. It was an important trade station for the Nabataean caravans to Damascus. At the beginning of the second century A.D., Bosra became the capital city of the Roman province as well as the centre for the caravan routes and trade. From Bosra the route continued north to Damascus. From Damascus there were two possible routes: either northeast to Palmyra, an important caravan city in the middle of the Syrian desert, or north to Aleppo. Wadi al-Sirḥān then was the natural trade and migration passageway which

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23. Grant, Syrian desert, 37

24. Negev, "Petra-Gaza route", 317

connected Syria with North and Central Arabia.<sup>25</sup> This route played a vital role in the trading activity during the Nabataean and Roman periods, and most likely also before this time. But during the Roman occupation of Syria, from the second century A.D., this road became very significant due to the change of the centre of trade from Petra to Bosra after the latter became the capital city of the Roman province.

Route four : Gerrha-Dūmat al-Jandal-Petra route through Wadi al-Sirḥān (Map no. 5)

This route was considered as important as the Mārib-Petra route. The Gerrha-Petra route was used to transport the international goods which came by sea to Gerrha from Persia, India and the Far East to Petra, whence they could be sent to Egypt and the Mediterranean region.<sup>26</sup> The Nabataeans had dominated the trade route along and across Arabia. It was during the second or the first century B.C. that Petra came into direct contact with Parthia by way of the port of Gerrha.<sup>27</sup> Dūmat al-Jandal, being situated halfway between Gerrha on the Arabian Gulf and Petra, became a very important midway station on the caravan route from Gerrha to Petra.

The Jawf oasis played a very significant role in the stability of the caravan routes which proceeded through central Arabia. From Gerrha on the Arabian Gulf coast, which was a centre for the trade coming from Persia, India and South East Asia, this route struck to the west to

25. Peters, "Roman and Bedouin", 317

26. Abdo, "Transport in Saudi Arabia", 25-26

27. Rostovtzeff, Caravan cities, 27



the al-Yamāmah oasis, modern Kharj, in central Najd. From al-Yamāmah the route continued NW through Sudayr and Qaṣīm to the oasis of Ḥā'il, on the southern edge of the huge sand desert of the Nafūd. From Ḥā'il the route went round the Nafūd desert to Taymā'. From Taymā' the route either took the north-western route direct to Petra, or went round the Nafūd to the oasis of al-Jawf and the latter seems to have been more important than the direct route.<sup>28</sup>

We suggest that there was possibly a direct route from Ḥā'il to the Jawf through the Nafūd desert, in particular during the rainy season when this desert became green and rain water abundant. From Ḥā'il this route proceeded through Jūbah and then to the watering place of al-Shaqaiq and from al-Shaqaiq through Sakākā to Dūmat al-Jandal.

The poet al-Farazdaq knew a road leading from al-Giwā' in Bahrain through Dūmat al-Jandal to the place where al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik lived after he had gone with his friends from the residence of the Caliph, Hishām, *al-* Farazdaq himself travelled this road.<sup>29</sup> This road has been identified by Musil as the caravan route which connected Gerrha, through Dūmat al-Jandal, with Petra. He added that only a day's march north-west of Dūmat al-Jandal a branch separated from Gerrha-Petra route and led to Syria through the Wadi al-Sirḥān.<sup>30</sup>

28. Abdo, "Transport in Saudi Arabia", 25-26

29. Musil, *Arabia*, 515. For the Farazdaq poem see al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, 77

30. Musil, *Arabia*, 515

Route five : Dūmat al-Jandal-lower Mesopotamia (Map no. 6)

Dūmat al-Jandal played a very crucial role in the trade between Mesopotamia and South Arabia on the one hand and Syria on the other. The Assyrian campaigns (see Chapter I above) against North Arabia in general and against the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal in particular, indicate the importance of Dūmat al-Jandal in the political and commercial activity of those times. The major route, which connected Syria with Mesopotamia, ran through Wadi al-Sirḥān to Dūmat al-Jandal, and from Dūmat al-Jandal the route went north-east directly to Babylon.<sup>31</sup> It is likely that Nabonidus, the Babylonian king, during the 6th century B.C. took this road in his expedition against Taymā'.

Musil<sup>32</sup> mentions a route from Mesopotamia via 'Ayn al-Tamar to the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal, thence to Petra and Syria. Khālid b. al-Walīd took this road when he travelled from al-Ḥīrah to Syria.<sup>33</sup>

After the Battle of the Camel in Basra in 36/656, some men travelled to Damascus by the road which went through Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>34</sup> In the last years of the Umayyad caliphs, the Abbasids and their supporters travelled from Kufa in Iraq through the desert of al-Samāwah and via Dūmat al-Jandal to the settlement of al-Ḥumaymah, situated on the north-east of the north end of the Gulf of 'Aqabah.<sup>35</sup>

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31. Eph'al, Ancient Arabs, 14; O'Leary, Arabia before Muhammad, 106 /
32. Musil, Arabia, 543
33. Musil, Arabia, 520
34. Al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, 3219; Musil. Arabia, 520
35. Musil, Arabia, 523

Grant<sup>36</sup> acknowledges a route from the Jawf to Najef and Karbalā' towards Baghdah, and a second principal route going directly eastwards to Basra.

iii The fair of Dūmat al-Jandal

Before Islam there were ten Arab fairs. These fairs played a very significant role in the life of the Arabs. At these fairs various people from different tribes gathered in order to exchange their goods. The ten Arab fairs were, Dūmat al-Jandal held in Rabī' I, al-Mushaggar held at Hajar (modern al-Aḥsā'), during Jumādā I. The third fair was Soḥar, held on the first day of the month Rajab. From Soḥar the people went to the fair of al-Shiḥr. The fair of Aden was held on the first day of the month of Ramaḍān, whereas the fair of Ṣan'ā' was held on the fifteenth of the same month. In Ḥaḍramawt the fair of Rubayah used to be held. The last of these fairs were the 'Ukāḏ fair which was held at al-Ṭā'if during the month of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, and the fair of Dhī 'l-Majāz in the Ḥijāz. From this fair the people went to Mecca to perform the ḥajj.<sup>37</sup>

Dūmat al-Jandal was one of the most important of the Arab fairs. It was held annually in the month of Rabī' I. In the years preceding the rise of Islam, the fair was under the supervision of Ukaydir, the governor of Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>38</sup>

This fair was distinguished from the other fairs by the pebble sale. This sort of sale occurred with the sale of goods, land, and

36. Grant, Syrian desert, 37

37. Al-Ya'qūbī, Tar'ikh, 226, 227

38. 'Alī, Mufaṣṣal, 7, 371

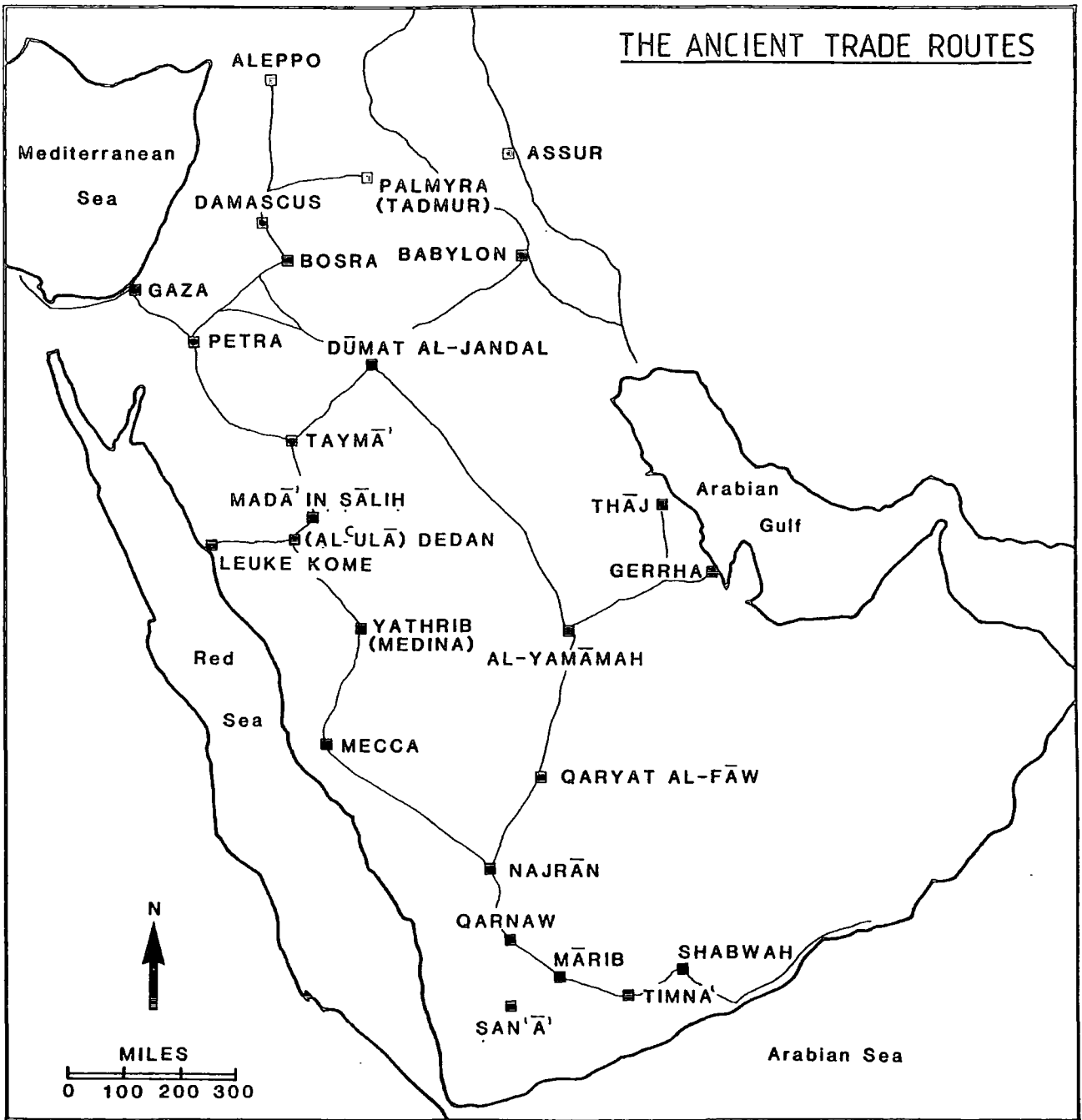
flocks. For example, at the time of the sale of goods, the seller asked the buyer to throw a pebble on various items. The buyer would have to buy the item on which the pebble landed for a pre-arranged amount of money. In the case of land purchase a pre-arranged amount for the land was also agreed, and the exact boundaries of the buyer's land determined by the length of his stone throw. In the case of flocks a prearranged amount per sheep was agreed, and the sheep which was hit by the buyer's pebble was taken by the buyer.<sup>39</sup> This kind of sale was forbidden by Islam and all these fairs lost their importance and were abandoned.

These fairs were not only places where people bought and sold their goods, but were also assembly places where people exchanged ideas and poetry meetings were held. From different parts of Arabia as well as from Syria and Iraq, the Araḳ tribes came to Dūmat al-Jandal to attend the fair. These tribes came not only for the fair, but also regularly they passed through Dūmat al-Jandal on their way to the north or to the south.<sup>40</sup>

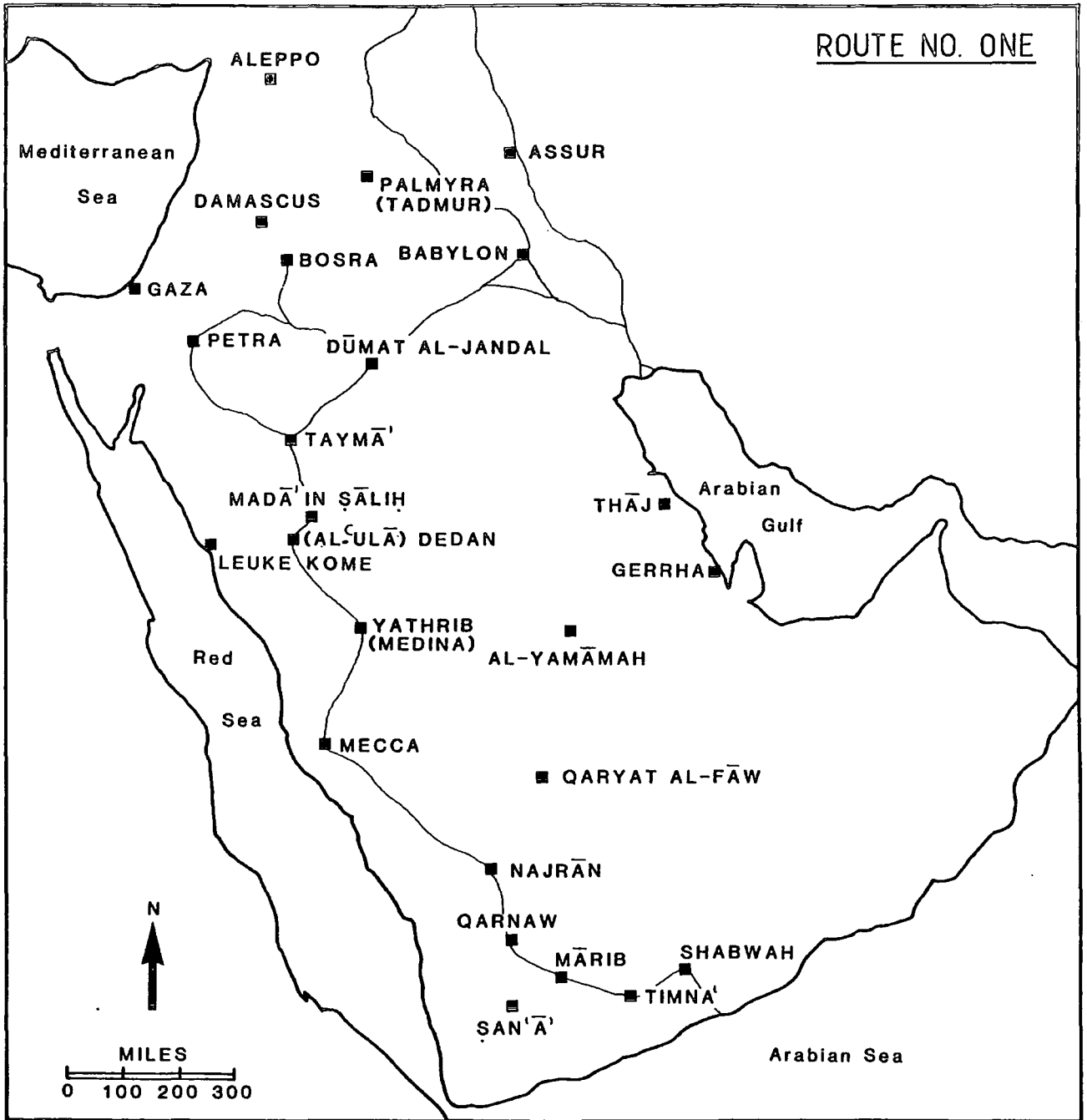
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39. 'Alī, Mufaṣṣal, 387, 388

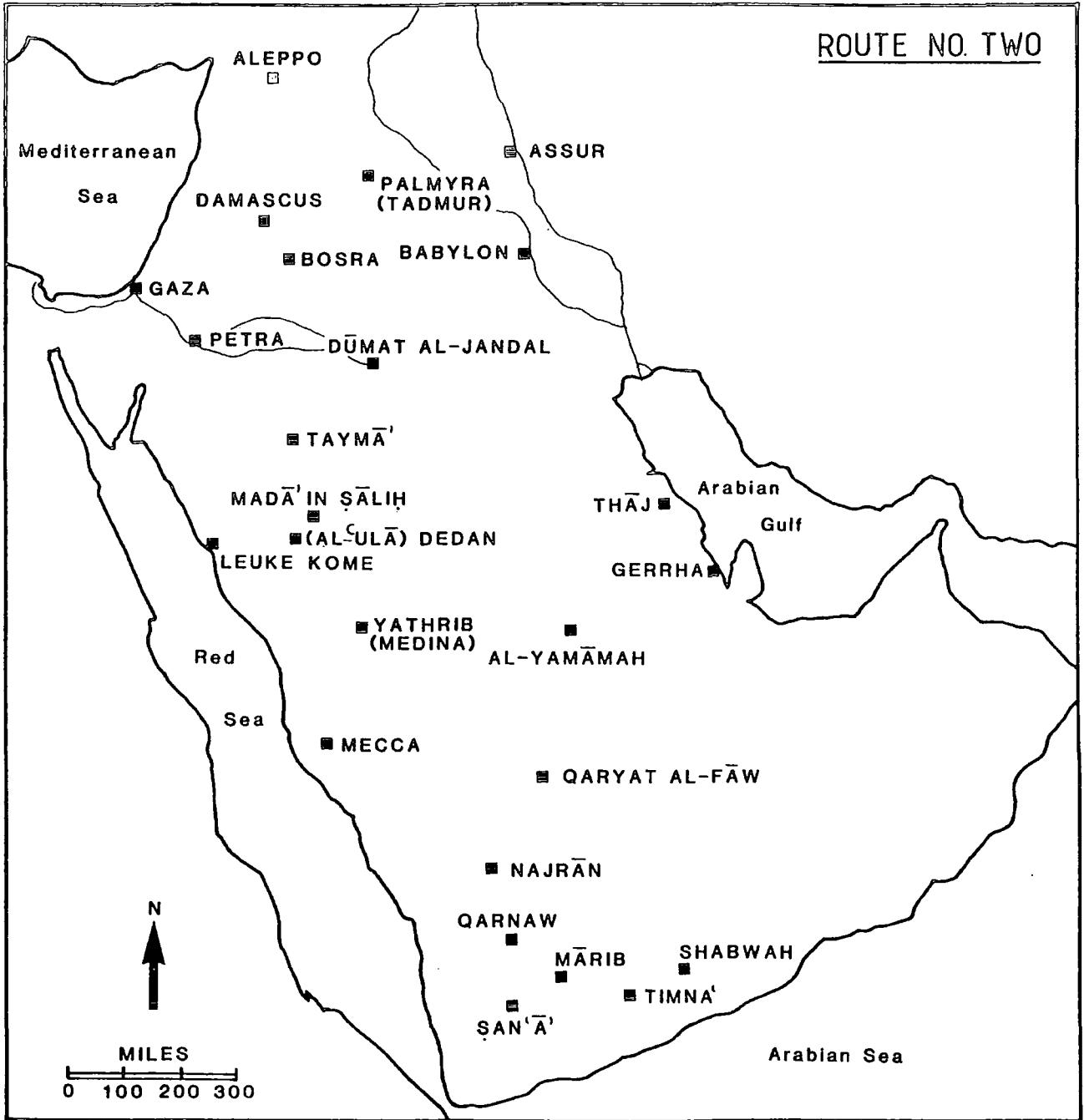
40. 'Alī, Mufaṣṣal, 273, and Al-Jāsir, Fi Shamāl, 153



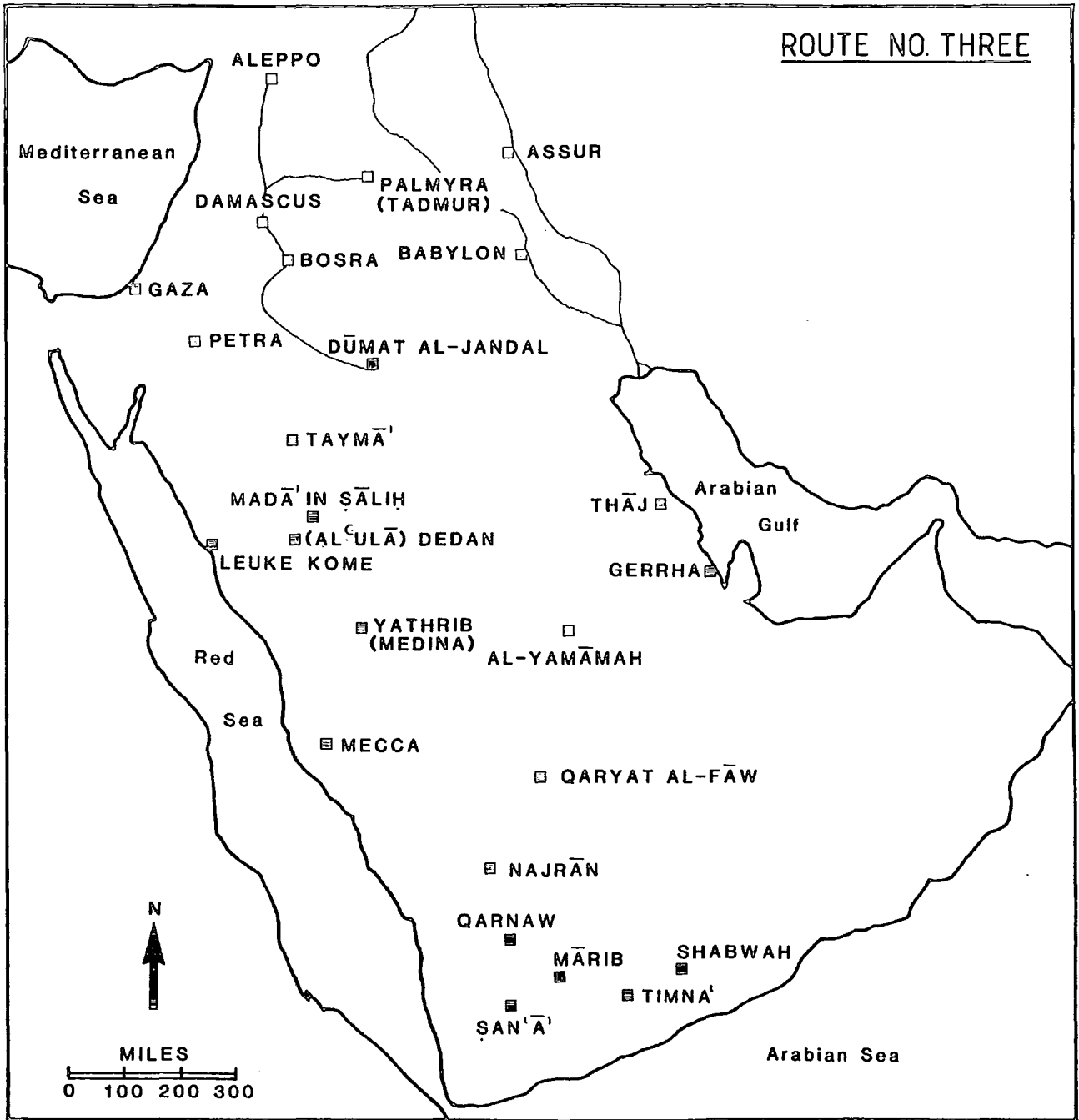
MAP NO. 1



MAP NO. 2

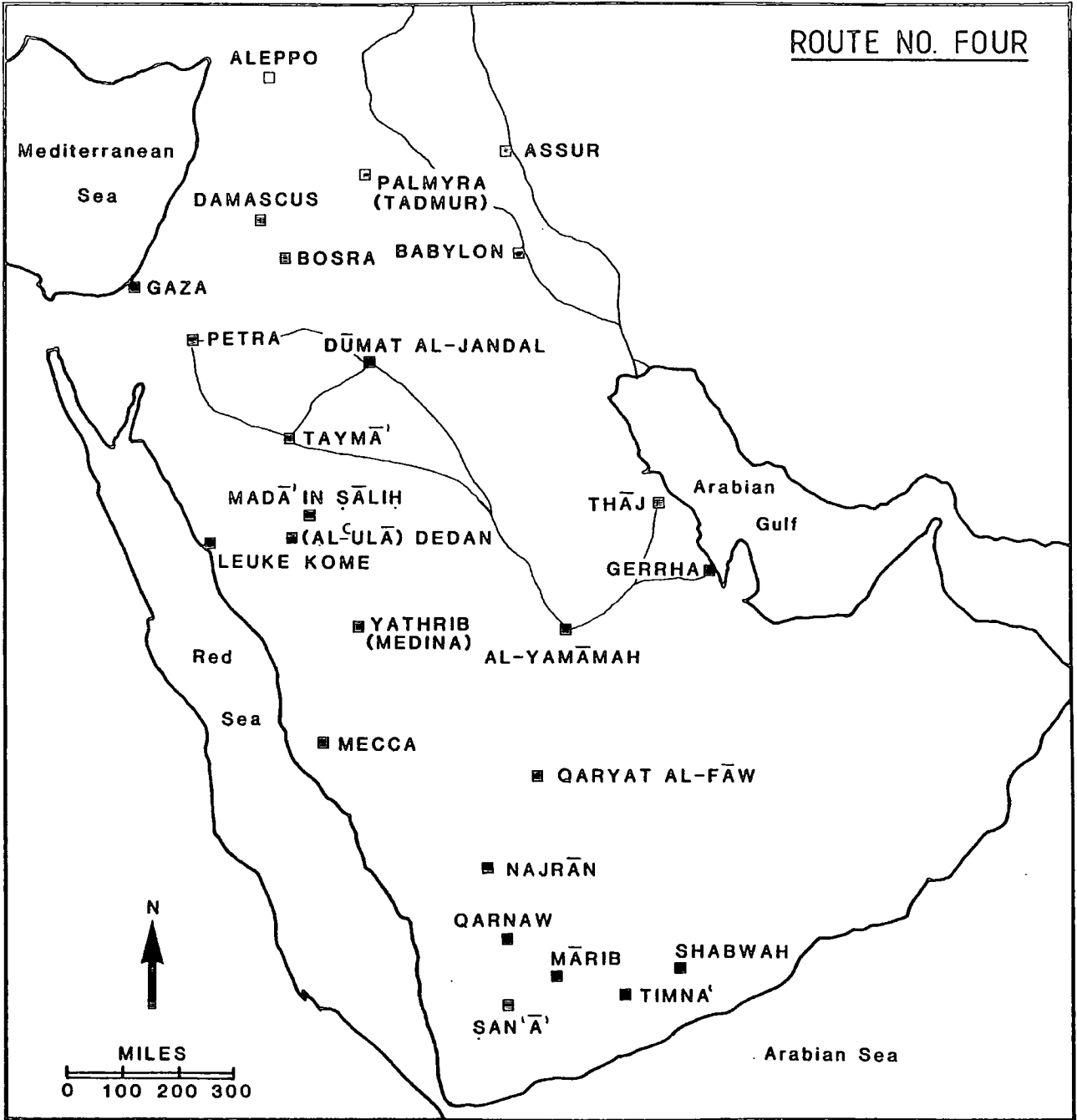


MAP NO. 3

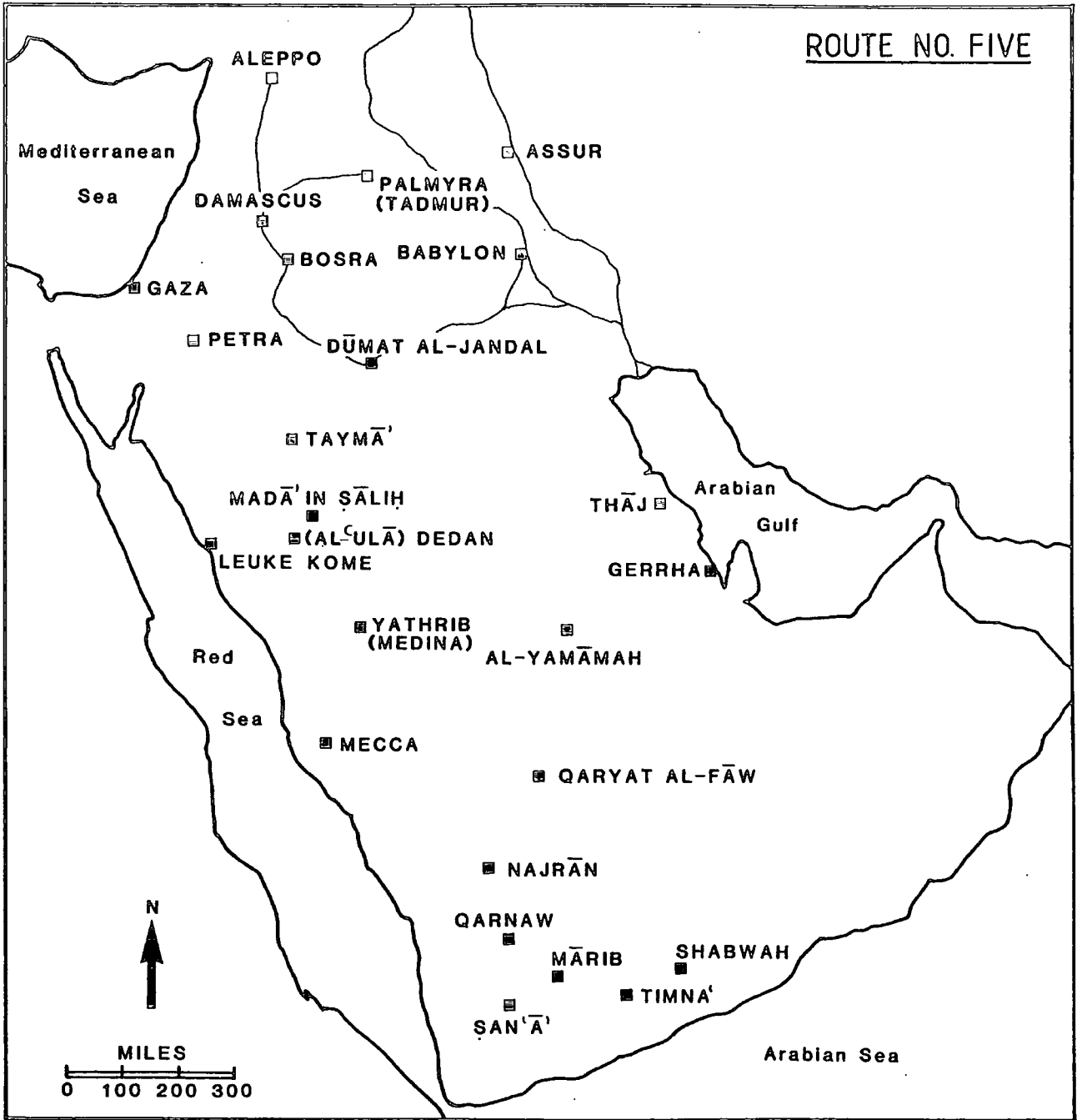


MAP NO. 4





MAP NO. 5



MAP NO. 6

CHAPTER V

THE PRE-HISTORY OF THE JAWF REGION

## THE PRE-HISTORY OF THE JAWF REGION:

The Arabian Peninsula was inhabited throughout the early Stone Age, as well as during later periods, a fact which has been confirmed by the prevalence of Stone Age sites throughout the Peninsula. What is surprising is that the largest concentration of Stone Age settlements to have been discovered lies along the margins of the great deserts, for instance the Nafūd in the north and the Empty Quarter in the south.<sup>1</sup> This would suggest that the Peninsula was more suitable for habitation than it appears to be nowadays.

In the last ten years or so the Department of Antiquities has carried out a number of archaeological surveys in the Jawf area, in the course of which tens of pre-historic sites in and around the region were recorded.<sup>2</sup>

Although their work was of a limited and purely descriptive nature, it nevertheless brought to light some basic knowledge of the Jawf population throughout the pre-historic periods. Despite the fact that the study of the pre-historic periods is not within the scope of this thesis, nevertheless we shall try to give a brief account of their sites and their chronology in the Jawf region.

### The Palaeolithic Period:

Sites from the Palaeolithic period are very well represented in the Jawf region. In 1977 the Department of Antiquities carried

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1. Masry, 'Historical legacy', Atlal, 9
  2. Adams, 'Survey', Atlal, 29

out its second phase of survey work in the northern region, during which they recorded a number of Palaeolithic sites in the Jawf region.<sup>3</sup>

The most impressive finding of all was the discovery of a very old lower Palaeolithic site, near the village of al-Shuwayḥṭiyyah, about 35 km. to the north of Sakākā. Masry considers this site to be the oldest so far discovered in Saudi Arabia and dates the site to around 750,000 B.C.<sup>4</sup> A lower Palaeolithic site was discovered in the northern corner of the Sakākā basin. On the southern corner of the Sakākā basin another site was found. At these sites a number of large pebble tools, hand axes and flakes were found.<sup>5</sup>

The middle Palaeolithic sites are more widespread than the lower Palaeolithic, not only in the Jawf but also through the northern region. The middle Palaeolithic sites discovered in the Jawf region were concentrated to the south of Sakākā on the edge of the Nafūd desert.<sup>6</sup> The state of affairs during upper Palaeolithic period in the Jawf region is obscure. So far no upper Palaeolithic site has been reported in the Jawf; it appears that the upper Palaeolithic is absent in the Jawf, which could be the result of environmental change during this period.

#### The Neolithic period:

A very few Neolithic sites have been found in the northern region,

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3. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 34-35
  4. A lecture was delivered by Dr. A. Masry at Dār al-Jawf li-'l 'Ulūm at Sakākā on the 2nd March 1986
  5. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 34-35
  6. For the location of Palaeolithic sites, see Atlal, II, pl. 21

but no site was discovered in the Jawf. 150 km. to the north-east of Sakākā in Wadi 'Ar'ar, a site was discovered in 1977 which has been securely attributed to the Neolithic period.<sup>7</sup>

The absence of Neolithic sites in the Jawf region is probably due to environmental change in the area which perhaps induced the population to migrate to another area.

#### The Stone Circles:

The stone circle structure is very widely spread in all parts of the ancient world. In the Arabian Peninsula large numbers of stone circles have been recorded and they have also been found throughout Central and Northern Arabia. It has been suggested that the stone circles may be considered the earliest architectural form designed by ancient people in any part of the ancient world.<sup>8</sup>

In the Jawf region a very large number of stone circles have been found during the 1976 and 1977 surveys by the Department of Antiquities.<sup>9</sup>

The stone circles vary in the construction. Some are built of very well prepared stone, whereas others are simply made of a mass of unprepared stone. The stone circle sites vary in size and in number of circles in some cases are small in diameter, whereas others can be tens of metres in diameter. The circles occur usually in groups and are sometimes associated with cairns; the material from which

7. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 36

8. Stone, Stonehenge, 34

9. Adams, 'Surveys', Atlal, 21; Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 37; Zarins, 'Rajājīl', Atlal, 75

they are constructed is the local sandstone.<sup>10</sup>

To the west of Dūmat al-Jandal two large stone circle sites were found in 1977. These sites form a veritable village of stone enclosures. The first site comprises more than fifty structures arranged in a disorderly pattern over an area of about 150 x 100m. The second site is larger and consists of stone circles and cairns situated on three low limestone ridges, together about a kilometre long and 100m. wide.<sup>11</sup>

Four sites consisting of stone circles and tumuli have been located 3km. to the north-east of the site of al-Rajājīl.<sup>12</sup>

The dating of the stone circles is based on dating of the stone implements which have been found in each of the circles. On the whole, the industry represented seems homogeneous in typology and technique and belongs mainly to the Chalcolithic tradition of Palestine and Sinai. A fourth millennium B.C. date is thus indicated, with the possibility of continuation into the third.<sup>13</sup>

#### Cairns and tumuli:

Cairn structures have been found throughout the Arabian Peninsula. The typical structure of the cairn appears to consist of disorderly piles of stone put together either in a simple mound shape or in a circular structure. In the 1977 survey season a number of cairns

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10. Adams, 'Survey', Atlal, 21

11. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 37-38

12. Zarins, 'Rajājīl', Atlal, 75

13. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 38

were found around the Jawf region, to the west of Sakākā and Dūmat al-Jandal. Some of these cairns were found to be associated with a stone circle.<sup>14</sup>

The lithic material which has been discovered on the surface of the sites is closely parallel with that of the stone tools from the stone circles, and equally attributable to a Chalcolithic industry.<sup>15</sup>

A group of tumuli has been located to the south, south-east and north-east of the Rajājīl site. These tumuli were constructed in an irregular way, out of semi-prepared sandstone blocks which were either laid in rugged rows or simply placed at random. The tumuli were not more than three metres in diameter in most cases and none was complex in arrangement.<sup>16</sup> The tumuli probably represent the burial places of the people of Rajājīl, a fact suggested by the concentration of these tumuli around the site. Therefore these tumuli probably date from the same period as the Rajājīl site itself.

#### The site of al-Rajājīl:

The site is situated about 10km. to the south of Sakākā and 5km. to the south of the village of Qārā. The site had been known to the local people for a very long time. The name of al-Rajājīl means, in the local dialect, 'the Men'. None of the many European travellers who visited the area throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century mentions such a site. The site was first noticed

14. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 38; for the location of the site see Atlal, II, Pl. 21

15. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlal, 40

16. Zarins, 'Rajājīl', Atlal, 73-77



in 1962 by Winnett and Reed during their expedition to North Arabia.<sup>17</sup>

The most prominent feature of the site is the standing pillars (Plate I, A,B), which stand on a low sandstone hill, about 500 x 300m. in size, to the south of a wide depression, most of which has now become farmland. The site consists of about fifty discrete clusters of pillars. The number of pillars in these groups vary, ranging from two to nineteen. The pillars are in a dilapidated state, and most of them either fallen or are tilting over. Zarins examined the pillars and found that some of the pillars were up to 3.5m. in height and approximately 75cm. wide. He mentions that the pillars were not randomly scattered over the terrace, as suggested by Winnett and Reed, but were instead part of a discrete group of structures, placed on this low terrace in parallel lines. Thus the pillars faced the east, or in the general direction of the rising sun.<sup>18</sup> The surface of some of the pillars is engraved with tribal marks (wusūm) and graffiti which could be Thamudic inscriptions and animal drawings. Winnett suggests that these signs were inscribed after the pillars had tilted over, because of the horizontal position of the inscription on the sloping pillars.<sup>19</sup> The standing pillars were not the only noticeable features of the separate structures. There are also small oval D-shapes, or rectangular structures, behind the pillars visible on the majority of the separate groups. The vertical pillars, however, represent the most observable feature of the entire structure.<sup>20</sup>

17. Winnett and Reed, Ancient Records, 12

18. Zarins, 'Rajājīl', Atlal, 73-77

19. Winnett and Reed, Ancient Records, 12

20. Zarins, 'Rajājīl', Atlal, 73-77

In 1977 a team from the Department of Antiquities visited the site and during the course of their investigation they excavated one of the smaller group of pillars. After the removal of the sand and the adjacent fallen stones, they uncovered an undisturbed structure comprising four large standstone slabs. The plan of the structure almost forms a horse-shoe shape. The stones rested on the surface of a layer of firm, clean, reddish sand, clearly the original land surface before the placing of the monument.<sup>21</sup> The excavation produced no evidence of grave goods, human or animal bone, nor any material which could indicate that the structure had served as living quarters.<sup>22</sup>

Although the excavation produced no evidence, the surface yielded a large amount of lithic material, pottery and shell. The flint tools provided the strongest evidence for dating these cultural assemblages. Pottery with buff to yellow or light brown slip had been noticed on the surface of the site, parallel to the flint and pottery material of al-Rajājīl found in sites in Sinai, Negev, coastal Palestine and eastern Jordan. Therefore Zarins suggests that the cultural material of al-Rajājīl belongs to the general Chalcolithic tradition of the Near East and is datable to the fourth millennium B.C.<sup>23</sup>

The question which probably arises is what is the meaning of these standing pillars? The one thing about which the site of al-Rajājīl that every archaeologist who has visited the site agrees is that the site has some religious significance. We suggest that the site was used not only for religious purposes, but also as a meeting

21. Parr, 'Second phase', Atlatl, 40-42

22. Zarins, 'Rajājīl', Atlatl, 73-77

23. Zarins, 'Rajājīl', Atlatl, 73-77

place for a number of people to gather from the surrounding areas. It was also probably a political centre at that period.

We must point out here that there are parallels between the Rajājīl and the site of Stonehenge, which is situated eight miles north of Salisbury in England.<sup>24</sup> The builder of Stonehenge directed its axis to the point on the horizon at which the sun rises in mid-summer.<sup>25</sup> In the case of the site of al-Rajājīl, the pillars were built in a more or less straight line facing the east or the sunrise. Therefore the orientation of the axis in both Stonehenge and the Rajājīl could have some religious significance.

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24. Atkinson, Stonehenge, 17

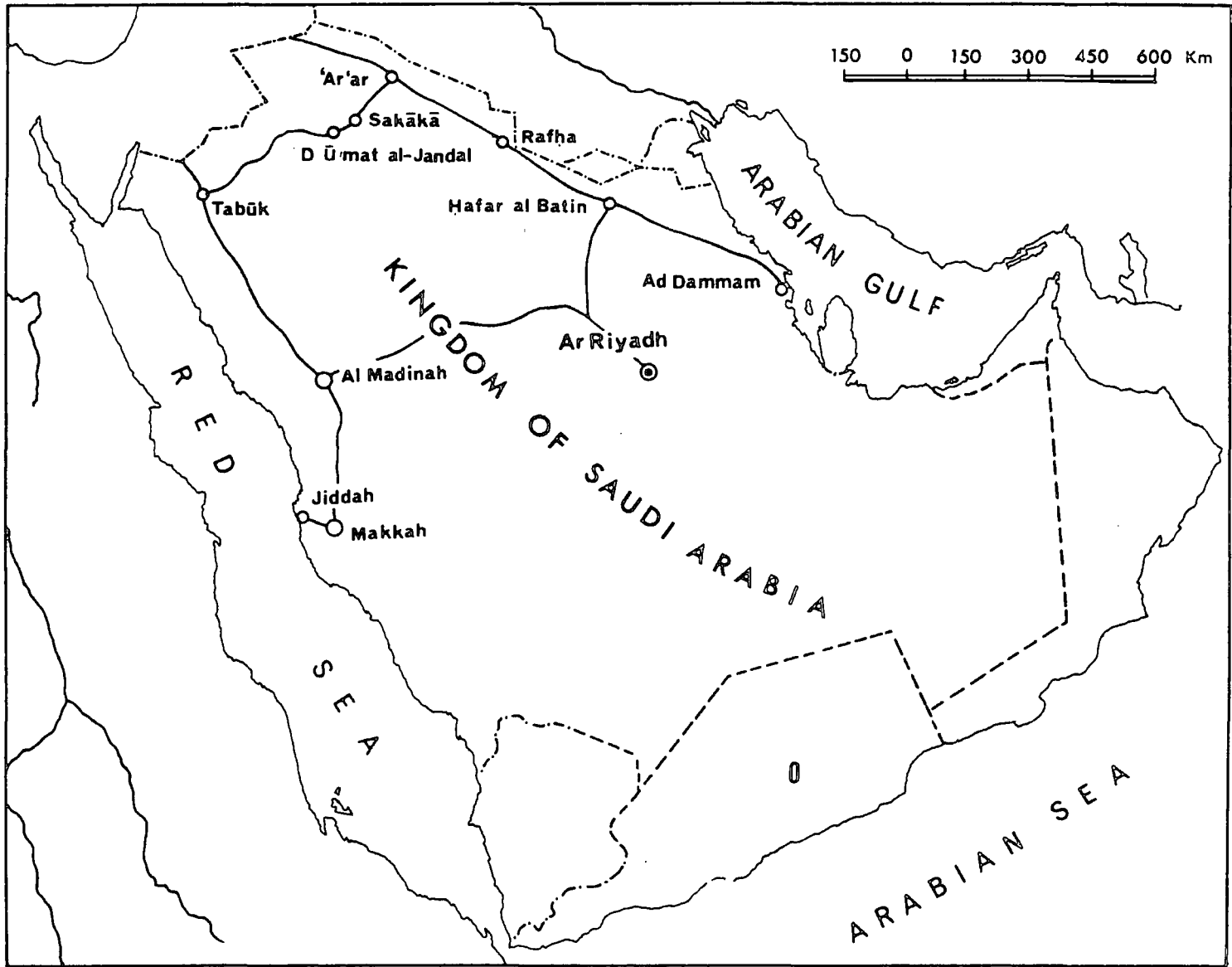
25. Stone, The Stones of Stonehenge, 21

CHAPTER VI

THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE JAWF REGION

The fieldwork was undertaken by the writer during early 1986. The work was fully financed by King Saud University at Riyadh. The University also offered every facility to make this fieldwork successful. The total number of the team, working with me during the course of the fieldwork, was eight people: Three Yemeni labourers, one cook, two drivers, a surveyor and a photographer, in addition to one representative of the Department of Antiquities of Saudi Arabia. The Department of Antiquities kindly granted me permission to carry out my fieldwork. Having completed all the preparations for the expedition, we travelled on the 13 February 1986 from Riyadh to al-Jawf by land. We used two cars for our journey which were provided by the University. Arriving at al-Jawf we established our camp at the village of Qārā, 5km. to the south of Sakākā.

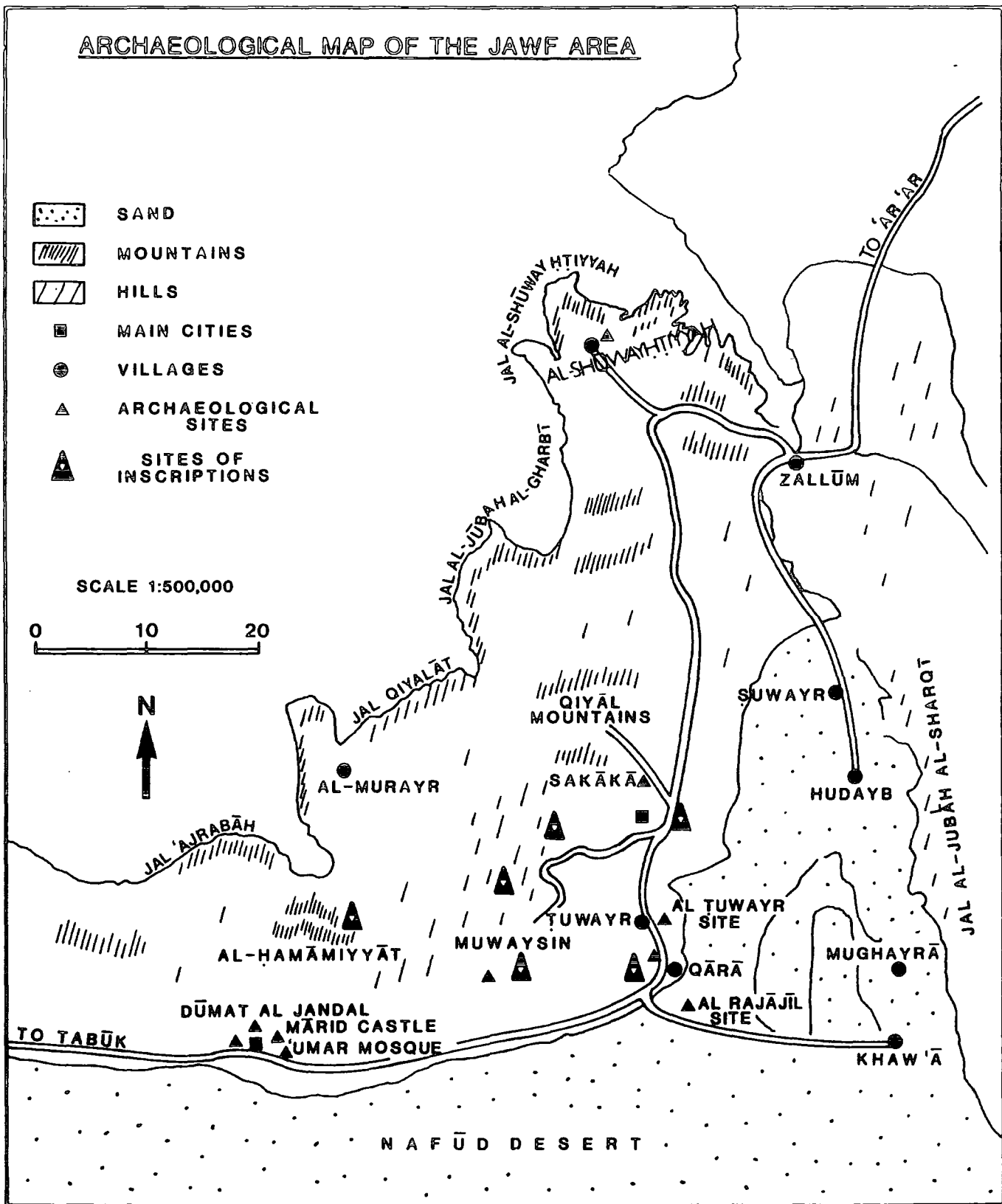
Our routine was to start work in the field at 7.30 am and at 1 pm we stopped for a lunch break which lasted for one hour; at 2 pm we went back to work until 5 pm when we left the site for the camp. We worked six days a week, Friday having a rest day for all the team. The actual time we spent on the field was 60 days. Our strategy in the field was to divide the work into three parts. The first part was the excavation on which we spent half of our time, during which time we dug six trenches, two at the site of al-Ṭuwayr near Sakākā, three trenches in the ancient part of Dūmat al-Jandal, one inside Mārid castle, one inside the ancient quarter, and the third was opened outside the 'Umar mosque in an open area which used to be the ancient market of the town, unfortunately demolished in the early 1970s. The third site where our sixth trench was situated inside Muwaysin castle, 12km. to the NE of Dūmat al-Jandal (Map no. 8). The second part of our fieldwork was an archaeological survey of the Jawf area, which



Map No. 7

Geographical location of the Jawf region

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF THE JAWF AREA



concentrated on recording every single site and which focused mainly on the study of the architectural remains of the area.

The third part of our fieldwork was an epigraphic survey which included the rock drawings, Nabataean, Thamudic and early Arabic inscriptions, of which we recorded hundreds of graffiti and rock drawings. This study of the antiquities will focus on the results of the fieldwork and we will examine each element individually. In this particular part we shall discuss our excavations in al-Jawf area and examine every site and trench in great detail.

i The site of Al-Ṭuwayr:

Location and general description

The site is situated to the south of the city of Sakākā and immediately to the east of the village of al-Ṭuwayr, which now forms the southern part of the city. The site takes its name from the village of al-Ṭuwayr. The site is also situated on the NW edge of the Nafūd desert. The modern road which connects Sakākā with the airport and Dūmat al-Jandal bisects the site in an E-W direction. Al-Ṭuwayr consists of several mounds which rise above the plain and are covered by sand dunes (Fig. 1), this being a result of its situation on the edge of the Nafūd desert, where the combination of wind and sand play a major role in covering a large part of the site which, we believe, was once larger than it is at present. As mentioned above the road which connects Sakākā with the airport and Dūmat al-Jandal divides the site into two parts. The W part is an area which rises above the level of the surrounding plain. Some surface pottery is noticeable on this part of the site. There are no traces of walling and it seems that this part of the site is not very important



compared with the E part. The latter is larger than the W part, which measures approximately 150 x 200m., whereas the E part measures about 150 x 300m. A large quantity of pre-Islamic pottery sherds are spread over all this part of the site. Several mudbrick walls are to be noticed, which run across the site and which clearly form part of architectural units.

Previous accounts of the site:

There is no mention of this site in the historical and the geographical accounts of North Arabia in general and al-Jawf region in particular. It was in 1976 when the site was first discovered by a team from the Department of Antiquities of Saudi Arabia when they were visiting the area on their first season of the Northern Province survey.<sup>1</sup> The authors make only a few remarks about the site, including a general description. This study makes only brief comments on the characteristics of the Ṭuwayr pottery and compares it with some unpublished specimens from the excavations at Petra. The study also makes comparisons with the pottery from Thāj which was published by Bibby,<sup>2</sup> where similar sherds to those at al-Ṭuwayr were found. Therefore the team suggests that the pottery of the al-Ṭuwayr site goes back to a slightly later date than that of Thāj 300-100 B.C., and suggests a date of the first century B.C. with the probability of both earlier and later sherds being present. We will discuss below in great detail the pottery of the Jawf area and will try to establish a chronological corpus of the pottery (see Chapter IX).

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1. Adams, "Survey", Atlat, 1, 32-40

2. Bibby, Survey, 24

A second attempt was made by the team of the Department of Antiquities in 1977, when they visited the region for the second phase of the Northern Province survey.<sup>3</sup> During this phase of the survey the archaeologist of the Department of Antiquities dug two 2m. square trenches on the site. The first trench was dug adjacent to a wall at approximately the highest point of the site. This trench disclosed that the sand concealing the structure was at least 2m. deep. The huge amount of loose sand forced the team to abandon the trench, because it was impossible for them to work in such a small area.

A second trench the same size was consequently dug at a lower part of the site between two walls. In this part the sand was found to be less than 50cm. thick. Underneath, six archaeological strata were uncovered and virgin soil was reached 2.70m. from the surface. The pottery sherds yielded up by this trench seem homogeneous, as was suggested by the Department of Antiquities team, and correspond to the surface material found in 1976 and published in 1977. A date of 1st century B.C. was established for the materials, with the exception of a few hand-made sherds found at the lower level of the trench. These were of simple bowls, one of a type which has a red painted decoration. These sherds are similar to some found in the upper levels of a trench at Mārid castle which were dug during the 1976 season. These sherds, as the Department of Antiquities team suggests, can only be of a medieval or more recent date. But the question is how it is that they are to be found beneath several layers of earlier materials. There are two possible explanations. Either these sherds had fallen from the top during the course of the excavations or this part of

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3. Parr, "Second phase", Atlal, II, 29

the site must have been corrupted. The site is one of the most important of the Jawf sites. But the mystery is why there is no mention of any ancient settlements around the Sakākā area to be found in any of the historical and geographical references which mentioned the Jawf area.

It is only extensive archaeological excavations which will solve the mystery of this site and which will give us the possibility of establishing its chronology. For these reasons we dug two trenches on the site in order to study it and try to uncover some of its secrets. We could thereby perhaps establish some kind of chronology of the site and learn more about its history and the people who lived there and the importance of the site.

In the next pages we will discuss the two trenches dug on the site.

#### The excavations:

Trench no. 1 : As mentioned above the site is situated on the edge of the Nafūd desert. The majority of it is therefore hidden under several sand dunes and it was very difficult for us to decide where we were going to open our first trench. Having examined the site we located the first trench in the NE part of the site (Fig. 1). We chose this location because the main centre of the site was impossible to work in due to the sand dunes which covered it. In the NE of the site we noticed a high level area and traces of mudbrick walls and we therefore decided to excavate there. Our first trench measured 4m. square. The surface of the trench is covered up by drifting sand and very small bushes (Plate III,B). Mudbrick walls emerged after we had dug to the depth of 20cm. from the surface and they form a corner of a building or enclosure which extends underneath the sand.

These three walls (Fig. 2, Pl. IV,A), built of mudbrick, divided the square into two parts, and that enabled us to excavate this trench without the danger of the sides collapsing because of the loose sand. We started digging in the N section of the trench, where the first stratum of loose sand and brick debris extended to a depth of 100cm. The first stratum yielded no evidence of occupation. The second stratum emerged following the first. Reaching this solid layer we stopped digging in the N section of the trench, and we began digging in the S part (Pl. IV,A). The work in this part was very difficult because the S part was enclosed by only two walls on the W and the N sides, whereas the S and E baulk of the trench is loose sand and it was impossible to excavate properly. However, we dug in the area adjacent to the two walls. As in the N part, the first stratum of loose sand and brick debris is 85cm. deep. A slab of stone 113cm. long, and 45cm. wide was discovered 62cm. from the surface. This slab of stone is on the same level as the foundation of the walls (Fig. 6, Pl. IV,B). In addition the stone is placed in the end of wall no. 2, where it seems that there was a door opening which was closed up at a later date. This led us to conclude that the slab of stone formed a doorstep and therefore the previous floor level of this building which disappeared beneath the fallen walls is the same as the level of the present slab of stone. This first stratum yielded no evidence of occupation.

The second stratum is solid grey soil consisting of brick debris, mud and charcoal. This layer is about 60cm. thick and it covers the whole of the trench. This stratum yielded a few sherds, the only occupational evidence which we collected from this trench. These sherds seem homogeneous and consist of broken plates of plain pinkish colour with traces of fire on the surface (Pl. VI,A). The others

are body sherds of pots, displaying an incised "saw-tooth" or "shark-tooth" decoration similar to some surface sherds. It is very difficult to establish a chronological date for the site relying on a few sherds. Parr,<sup>4</sup> in his study of the Pottery of al-Ṭuwayr, compared it with some unpublished pottery from Petra, as well as from some of the eastern Arabian sites, especially those of 'Ayn Jāwān and Thāj. He therefore suggests the date of the 1st century B.C. for the Ṭuwayr pottery (for full study of al-Ṭuwayr pottery, see Chapter IX).

The third stratum on the trench was discovered beneath stratum two and consists of very clean sand. This layer was found 140cm. from the surface. We excavated the trench to the extent of 2m. This stratum produced no occupational evidence, consequently we stopped excavating because this layer of loose sand extended to an unknown depth. Therefore we considered this layer of sand as virgin soil.

The excavation at this trench revealed that this part of the site consisted of one occupation period, indicated by architectural remains. The building remains consist of three walls, (Fig. 2, Pl. V,A), which are part of a large building. Wall no. 1 (locus no. 2) is a mudbrick wall discovered on the far N section of the trench. The wall runs E; it is 3.90m. long, .70m. wide and .6m. high. At the W end of wall no. 1 it is joined by another wall (locus no. 3) which runs S. Wall no. 2 is situated on the west section of the trench; it is 3.24m. long, .70m. wide and .70m. high. Walls no. 1 and 2 probably outline the corner of a building (Pl. IV,A). Wall no. 3 (locus no. 2) is situated in the middle of the trench,

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4. Parr, "Second phase", *Atlal*, II, 29-50

(Figs. 2, 4, 6). It is also built of mudbrick. It is 3m. long, .70m. wide and .80m. high. This wall runs E under the sand. At the W end of the wall it connects with a door opening, or an entrance (locus no. 4). This opening is 85cm. long and 36cm. wide (Fig. 2, 4, 6). This entrance, which was sealed at a later date, probably formed the main entrance to the passageway which is situated between walls no. 2 and 3 (Fig. 2). At the S. section of wall no. 3 is a stone slab associated with the entrance (Figs. 2 6). This slab of stone is 113cm. long and 45cm. wide. It might be suggested that the stone functioned as a step for the entrance and therefore it was probably part of the earliest floor of the building. These three walls are built of two rows of mudbrick, using two sizes of mudbrick, 45 x 25cm. and 40 x 25cm., no stone had been used in these walls, even in the foundation. Furthermore, the walls were built with the same technique except that wall no. 2 has no mud coating on its face.

Our excavation in trench no. 1 was disappointing, since it did not yield a great deal of material which could help us to establish the stratigraphic sequence of the site. To sum up our work in this trench, it was hard to establish any relationship between the walls and the few sherds which we collected from stratum 2. Consequently these three walls belong to a later date. In spite of that we shall not be able to establish the chronology of the site until we discuss our second trench.

Trench no. 2 : Having finished excavation on trench no. 1, we started looking for an appropriate place to open our second trench. Our experience of the first trench induced us to look very carefully and not to repeat our first experience. As a result we tried to avoid the sand dunes and we succeeded in finding a high level area situated

on the W side of the site (Fig. 1, Pl. VI,B). This area rises about 2m. above the surrounding area and this mound probably formed a small building or a tower. The trench measured 2 x 3m. The surface layer is a mixture of loose sand with ashes and pebble, 10cm. deep with a mudbrick wall appearing in the middle of the trench, which divided it into two sections (Fig. 7, Pl. VIII,A).

The first stratum extends from 15-30cm. deep. The second stratum was found beneath the first and consists of ashes and charcoal (Fig. 9). This layer centres on the middle and the W part of the trench and is 10-15cm. thick. The layer of ashes is associated with the wall which divides the trench and will be called wall no. 1. At a depth of about 30cm. from the surface a few sherds were found especially on the S part of the trench. These sherds are fragments of cooking pot rims, and they bear an incised saw-tooth, or shark-tooth pattern in addition to a small round palm leaf stamp. In the S part of the trench a small semi-circular shape is dug and its edge is covered with a thin layer of yellowish mud (Fig. 8). This semi-circular shape is probably associated with wall no. 1 and it was probably used for storing grain.

The third stratum was discovered underneath the second and consists of soft grey soil with charcoal and pebble (Figs. 8, 9, 10). This layer spreads all over the trench and its thickness varies from 30-60cm. In the S section of the trench at a depth of 55cm. and beneath wall no. 1 a second wall was uncovered belonging to an earlier building phase than wall no. 1. A number of sherds, similar to those collected from the first two strata, was found at the S part of the trench. Most of these sherds which had been collected from the three strata appeared later to belong to one single cooking pot.

At the NE part of the trench a third wall was discovered on the same level as wall no. 2. Therefore the second and the third walls are to be associated one with the other and date to the same occupation phase.

The fourth stratum comprises a mixture of ashes, charcoal and sand. This layer is located at the S section of the trench and is 15-40cm. thick (Figs. 8, 9, 10). A few sherds, which have an incised straight lines decoration, were produced by this stratum.

The fifth and earliest stratum was revealed following the fourth. It consists of solid grey soil and extends throughout the trench. The thickness of the layer varies from 70-95cm. At a depth of 100cm. a small broken bowl was discovered. This bowl had lost a large part of its rim and has no decoration except a very small incised line. It is made of a soft yellowish clay (Pl. IX,B). In the S section and at a depth of 120cm. a few rims, bases and body sherds were found which actually happened to be associated with similar sherds collected from the previous strata. It became clear later that these sherds, which were collected from different strata and which have an incised and stamp decoration mainly the saw-tooth or shark-tooth pattern along with the circular palm leaf stamp, fit together as the fragments of a single cooking pot, which were later restored (Fig. iv,1). On the same level of 120cm. a fragment of a small incense burner (Pl. X,B) was discovered, it is made of clay, bearing on the surface an incised decoration beneath a white slip. This incense burner is made of the same type of clay as the restored cooking pot which also has a white slip. Therefore the cooking pot and the incense burner date from the same period, probably the 1st-2nd century A.D. At 170cm. from the surface and on the N section of the trench we dug up a half bowl showing the part of the rim and the base (Pls IX,A, X,A). This



bowl has no decoration and is made of buff clay. At a depth of 180cm. we stopped digging in the trench where we reached solid soil, considering this to be virgin soil. We shall now consider each separate locus in this trench and its relationship with the two building phases.

The first and the latest occupation phases could be indicated by wall no. 1. This wall is 50cm. wide and 50cm. high, and is built of two rows of mudbricks which measure 30 x 24 x 12cm. It divided the trench into two parts, as mentioned earlier, and is associated with a small wall found on the NE corner of the trench. These two walls, in addition to the semi-circular shape found on the S section of the trench, relate to the latest building phase on the site.

The second and the earlier building phase indicated in the trench, situated beneath the first building phase, can be distinguished by wall no. 2 along with wall no. 3 and the mud floor. Wall no. 2 is of mudbrick located underneath wall no. 1, and there is a distance of 20cm. between the two. This indicates that the first wall belongs to an occupation phase later than the second building to which wall no. 2 belongs. Wall no. 3 is similar to no. 2, as they are both built of the same material and by the same technique. Also the wall is the same height and level as wall no. 2. Therefore those three loci are to be associated together and date to the second and earliest occupation phase of the site.

Two building phases could be distinguished in this trench, which both relate to one single occupation period. In the S section of the trench a group of uniform potsherds, which were discovered on three different strata, appeared later to belong to a single cooking pot. Consequently this indicates that the S section of the trench must be corrupted and it had probably been dug up and reburied with the same soil. This could thus explain the semi-circular shape which was

dug out of the S baulk (Fig. 8). We shall therefore associate these potsherds with the fifth stratum. This restored cooking pot has an incised and stamped decoration, the latter being a saw-tooth or shark-tooth pattern which is very common in al-Ṭuwayr surface sherds. Similar sherds to these have been found on the site of 'Ayn Jāwān<sup>5</sup> and Thāj<sup>6</sup> in the E province of Saudi Arabia. On the site of al-Fāw in the S of Saudi Arabia a similar saw-tooth incised decoration had been found on a jar.<sup>7</sup> In addition to the incised decoration, a stamp decoration presented in a form of a round stamp, shows a palm leaf. A similar stamp decoration was discovered on a cooking pot from the site of Nippur in Iraq which McCown dated to the Neo-Babylonian-Achaemenian periods.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless the Ṭuwayr ware date to a very much later period. A small fragment of an incense burner was found in trench no. 2, made of clay and with an incised decoration beneath a white slip. Two fragments of an incense burner very like al-Ṭuwayr fragments come from a trench excavated by Bibby at the Thāj site.<sup>9</sup>

The sherds which we collected from our two trenches are very similar to most of the surface sherds, though a few blue glazed sherds are found on the surface. They were absent from the two trenches, which indicates that the site was abandoned long before the Islamic

5. Bowen, "'Ain Jawan", BASOR, 40
6. Bibby, Survey, 24
7. As yet unpublished. Personal communication with Prof. A.R. Ansary, Department of Archaeology, King Saud University
8. McCown, Nippur I, 77, Pl. 146, 6
9. Bibby, Survey, 24

period. It is very difficult to establish a chronological date for the site on the basis of the small material gathered from the two trenches. Parr suggests the first century B.C. as a date for the pottery of the site.<sup>10</sup> Therefore by looking at our material from al-Ṭuwayr including the surface material, we conclude that some material relates to a later date than that suggested by Parr. We therefore suggest that the Ṭuwayr site flourished between the 1st century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D.<sup>11</sup>

## ii Dūmat al-Jandal

Dūmat al-Jandal is one of the most important sites of N Saudi Arabia. From as early as the seventh century B.C. Dūmat al-Jandal played a significant role in the history of the area, as well as in the movement of the trade caravans. However no archaeological evidence yet corroborates the history of the region during the Assyrian and the Babylonian periods. Our archaeological knowledge of the area is very limited and that is due to the fact that the archaeological studies in Saudi Arabia began very late compared with those in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, Jordan and the Yemen. It was during 1976 that the Department of Antiquities of Saudi Arabia started a comprehensive archaeological survey programme. The first phase of archaeological reconnaissance was undertaken during that year, covering the E and N provinces. Al-Jawf was the N province site which was visited by the team of the Department of Antiquities.<sup>12</sup> Before

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10. Parr, "Second phase", 29-50

11. A full discussion of the pottery of al-Ṭuwayr can be found in Chapter IX below

12. Adams, "Archaeological reconnaissance", 32

that in 1962 Winnett and Reed visited some of the N Saudi Arabian oases, one of which was al-Jawf. During this visit they studied the ancient monuments and recorded hundreds of inscriptions. In addition they studied samples of the pottery which they collected from various sites, their results were published in book form in 1970.<sup>13</sup> In the 1976 visit to the Jawf by the team of the Department of Antiquities, a sounding dug near Mārid castle produced in its lowest stratum, a homogeneous group of Roman-Nabataean pottery of the 1st-2nd century A.D.<sup>14</sup> In the last three years, 1983-86, a team from the Department of Antiquities has been engaged in two season excavations at Dūmat al-Jandal. There is as yet nothing published on these two season excavations. During my fieldwork at al-Jawf I met the team and found that they were excavating in two different parts of Dūmat al-Jandal. The first site is a burial site on the W part of the town; the second site was part of the city wall which is situated to the W of the town. Therefore these two sites will not be included in our study.

Our excavation focused on the ancient part of Dūmat al-Jandal, in and around Mārid castle. Throughout our work there we dug three trenches. The first one is situated within the castle, the second trench was inside the ancient quarter of Dūmat al-Jandal, and the third is situated in an open area to the SW of the 'Umar mosque minaret. In the next pages we will discuss each of these three trenches in detail.

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13. Winnett, Ancient Records,

14. Adams, "Archaeological reconnaissance", 38

Trench no. 1 : Trench no. 1 is situated inside Mārid castle (Fig. 14, Pl. IX,A). The castle is the most important of the monuments of Dūmat al-Jandal, but there have been no comprehensive studies of it and there is no certainty of its date and history. In an attempt to solve the chronology of Mārid castle, we proposed to dig a trench inside the castle which might enable us to establish that chronology and consequently to find out the date and the flourishing periods of the history of the castle. Siting the trench was very difficult due to the fact that the interior is not very large and that the northern part of the interior is bedrock. This left us with only the S part of the interior to site our trench. Inside one of the two rooms situated on the SE section of the castle, we opened the trench (Fig. 14, Pl. XI,A). The trench measured 3 x 2m. Having started excavating the trench, the first stratum we revealed was soft destruction materials mixed with stones and palm leaves. This indicated that this stratum was formed by the fallen roof, and this means that the first stratum, 40cm. deep, was caused by this happening and not by human action. At a depth of 40cm. from the surface a mud floor was discovered. This floor marks the latest use of the castle and can be dated to recent times. 20cm. underneath the first floor a second mud floor emerged, very similar to the first. The second floor dates from an earlier period than the first floor. Both floors show no evidence of occupation, nonetheless they both date from the latest occupation or use of the castle, probably to the beginning of the 20th century when it was still being used. A floor of flattened stones was located 20cm. beneath the second mud floor. This floor is associated with a water channel running across the trench from the NW to the SE corner of the trench (Fig. 15, Pl. XI,B). The water channel is 220 cm. long and 40cm. wide and is built of unshaped stones with mud and plaster. It runs in a SE direction where it is connected

with a water basin, probably used for collecting rain water from the roof. There is no single occupation evidence to link the stone floor with the water channel. Therefore this made the dating of this stratum impossible. Due also to continuous human use of the castle no occupation evidence was left behind. The floor of flattened stones and the water channel covered the whole trench, so we kept the water channel and the basin intact (Fig. 15), whereas we broke in the flattened stone floor in order to excavate the lower strata. At the E part of the trench and underneath the flattened stone floor we uncovered part of a mosaic floor measuring 60 x 90cm. built of almost cube-shaped pieces of burned clay. This mosaic was built in a square tile formation using red and white colours, alternately arranged. Each large square was made up of small squares of the same colour. The size of these square tiles is 20cm. square (Fig. 15, Pl. XIII,A). Plaster was used to build the mosaic. In the NE section of the trench and on the same level as the first mosaic floor, 100cm. from the surface, a second mosaic floor was discovered. This floor is very similar to the first and made of the same materials and with the same techniques, with the exception that the size of the square tile formation is smaller than the first floor, being 15cm. square. The floor also stretches N under the baulks (Fig. 15, Pl. XIII, B). Mosaic was an invention of the Mediterranean peoples during the classical era. It was in the time of the Roman Empire, 1st century B.C. - 5th century A.D., that mosaic of different varieties spread over the whole empire, from Syria in the E to Spain in the W.<sup>15</sup>

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15. L'Orange, Mosaic, 7

During the Byzantine era the art of mosaic spread very rapidly in Jordan, Palestine and Syria. North Arabia has been influenced in some degree by Byzantine art and architecture. In the beginning of Islam King Ukaydir of Dūmat al-Jandal was a Christian and a very close ally of the Byzantine Empire (see Chapter II above). During that period Mārid castle was the residence of King Ukaydir, who was probably influenced by his ally <sup>and</sup> it may have been he who introduced the mosaic into the castle. The mosaic is very simple and it was perhaps built by a local man who tried to copy the Byzantine technique. Therefore we suggest the seventh century A.D. date of the mosaic floors with the probability of an earlier date.

On the W section of the trench a small area, situated between the water channel and the mosaic floor, was the only place where we could excavate more deeply. At the depth of 130cm. a red burned tile floor was revealed. This floor is made of tiles, 28cm. square and 5cm. thick, and it was built on the top of a 30cm. layer of stones and plaster. It would seem, therefore, that the layer of the stones and plaster was built underneath the burned tiles in order to create a good solid base on which to place the tiles. At a depth of 170cm. from the surface and in a very limited space (Pl. XII,A) a group of homogeneous sherds started to emerge. This stratum, which contained the pottery, is 40cm. thick, and was the only stratum in the trench to produce a good number of sherds. Moreover we have no single sherd which could be useful for dating. The characteristic of these sherds is that they are reddish and finely buffed, of very good quality. A few sherds are very thin and they are part of some very small, fine vessels, sherds similar to those found at Petra. No painted sherds have been discovered, though a few were collected from the surrounding area of Mārid castle.

A full study of the pottery will be found in Chapter IX, nevertheless the 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D. can be suggested as the date of Mārid castle pottery.

At a depth of 280cm. from the surface a mud floor was noticed, this associated with a part of a wall built of stone discovered on the same level. This wall disappears under the E baulk. This occupation phase was probably prior to the stratum which contains the Nabataean pottery, nonetheless it produced no occupation evidence which can prove that. We carried on excavating to a depth of 320cm. where we came across a second mud floor, beneath the floor a stratum consisting of a mixture of destruction materials, ashes and animal bones. There were no pottery sherds found which can be associated with this stratum. At 350cm. deep we were forced to stop our excavation in this trench because the area we were digging became very small and extremely difficult. Furthermore there was the danger of the collapse of the baulk inside this small area (Pl. XII,A). As a result we could not reach virgin soil or bedrock. To sum up our report on this trench, it is clear that we can distinguish seven occupation phases, which date back in time, the earliest of which, it can be confirmed by the evidence, being the Nabataean period.

Trench no. 2 : This trench is situated inside the ancient quarter of Dūmat al-Jandal. This part of the city is to the N of Mārid castle. The ancient quarter used to be the main residential area of the city, and it was only abandoned some 30 years ago. It is very difficult to excavate inside an area like the ancient quarter, because of the danger of walls collapsing. With that in mind, we chose an area situated in the S section of the quarter, to the NW of the 'Umar mosque, inside an open room, as the site of our second trench at



Dūmat al-Jandal. This trench measured 230 x 300cm. (Fig. 19, Pl. XIV,B). As the trench was situated inside an open room we expected the top stratum to be destruction materials belonging to the latest occupation of the site. At the E part of the trench we noticed traces of a wall built of stones running alongside the trench (Fig.19, Pl. XVI, B). As we dug to the depth of 23cm. a second wall built of stone and mud filling was uncovered. This wall was located on the W section and it ran from E to W disappearing beneath the W baulk. The second wall is 110cm. long, 50cm. wide, and 46cm. high. It is associated with wall no. 1 and a floor was discovered 50cm. from the surface. This floor is built of stone slabs and covers the N part of the trench only (Fig. 20, 21). Walls nos. 1 and 2, in addition to the floor, belong to one occupation, presumably to the period which precedes the standing architectural remains.

The first stratum which extends to a depth of 50cm. produced no occupation evidence, therefore it is hard to determine the period to which this stratum relates. The second stratum was located underneath the first. At a depth of 53cm. a structure, consisting of two walls joined together, was found beneath the second wall, which had been built on the top of it (Figs. 19, 23, Pl. XV,B). This structure was associated with part of another wall, uncovered 70cm. from the surface, situated on the southwest corner of the trench, and built underneath wall no. 1 (Figs. 19, 22, Pl. XVI,A). The open space which separates the wall and the structure, 90cm. wide, forms an entrance to a building unit. The structure wall runs W beneath the W baulk, and to the N where it stops in the middle of the trench (Fig. 19, Pl. XV,B). These walls are built of unworked stones and mud filling, and this technique continues to the present time. In the E section of the trench a layer of ashes and charcoal was dis-

covered at the depth of 140cm., thus probably to be associated with the second occupation phase. The second stratum produced all of our evidence from this trench. The majority of the find was homogeneous potsherds of very thick, plain vessels, probably locally made and also a few fine sherds, rim sherds as well as body sherds. These sherds are mostly wheel-made, and some of them have incised lines similar to some surface material found on al-Tuwayr site. A painted sherd with a checker decoration was discovered at the lowest stratum of the trench. This sherd is associated with a female figurine. It is parallel with sherds found by Nelson Glueck at the Edomite site of Tawilan near Petra. He dated his sherds to the late Iron Age.<sup>16</sup> Parr suggested that the Dūmat al-Jandal sherd is probably dated to the Iron Age.<sup>17</sup> A nude female figurine was discovered at the depth of 150cm. (Pl. XVII,A). The present height of the figurine is 7.8cm., and the width is 4.5cm. The head and the upper part of the left hand, and the lower part of the body is broken. It is a nude female figurine covering her breasts with her hands. This type of terracotta was very common during the Assyrian and the Babylonian periods. These figurines had been found in great numbers in the Assyrian and the Babylonian sites of Mesopotamia. Buren<sup>18</sup> suggests that clay figurines made as they were in an inexpensive and easily obtainable material were within the means of all, and served a useful purpose as votive offerings for the less exalted members of society. Similar nude

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16. Glueck, 'Edomite pottery', BASOR, 8-38

17. Personal communication with P.J. Parr, Institute of Archaeology, University of London

18. Buren, Clay figurines, XXXII

female figurines were discovered at the site of Thāj by Bibby.<sup>19</sup> Those found at Thāj are identical to what we discovered at Dūmat al-Jandal. Bibby suggests that these figurines represent a goddess widely worshipped in Thāj, and that probably each house had a shrine group consisting of figurines of the goddess, one or more camels, and an incense burner.<sup>20</sup> Bibby suggests the 3rd-1st century B.C. as a date for the Thāj site. There was no Nabataean material found in this trench, and considering the sample of the material which we collected, this probably indicates that this part of ancient Dūmat al-Jandal was occupied by ordinary people who lived a simple life.

At a depth of 50cm. a stratum of destruction material was located beneath the levels of the walls, consisting of stones, charcoal, and pottery. This stratum extends to the depth of 180cm. where we reached the bedrock, comprising of green marl.

To sum up, the trench consists of two occupation periods, the first and the latest is the walls nos. 1 and 2, plus the floor of the stone slabs associated with them. The second occupation period and the earliest comprises the building structure, which is found underneath wall no. 2, in addition to part of a wall which is situated in the SE corner of the trench. The first stratum produced no occupation evidence, consequently we are unable to establish the chronology period to which this stratum belongs, but on the other hand strata 2 and 3 provide us with evidence of occupation. These comprise a group of homogeneous sherds, very thick and plain body sherds which belong to very large vessels, probably locally made. In addition

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19. Bibby, Survey, 18

20. Bibby, Survey, 18

there are a few sherds which have a decoration of incised straight lines below the rim, similar to the incised sherds found at the site of al-Ṭuwayr and Thāj in E Saudi Arabia. It is very difficult to establish the chronological sequence of this part of ancient Dūmat al-Jandal from the result of a very limited excavation which provided us with little material. Nevertheless, from the comparison of the material with that of al-Ṭuwayr site and also Thāj we suggest that this part of Dūmat al-Jandal was occupied during the 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D. as well as during the late Iron Age, 6th - 5th century B.C.

Trench No. 3 : Trench no. 3 is situated in an open area to the SW of the 'Umar mosque. This area used to be the market place of ancient Dūmat al-Jandal, but it was demolished some 15 years ago by the city authorities. They were planning to build a development project on this site, but this was stopped and cancelled by the Department of Antiquities. This part of Dūmat al-Jandal is a very suitable and promising site for extensive excavation. We sited our trench about 2m. to the SW of the 'Umar mosque minaret, the aim of this trench being to find out if there is any relationship between the minaret and any architectural remains we might discover. In addition we shall try to link the archaeological evidence from this trench with the results of the previous two. As the trench is situated in an area which used to be part of the city, but which was demolished, we suspected that the top stratum would be destruction material from the building which was bulldozed (Pl. XVII, B). The trench measured 3m. square, as we suspected the first or surface stratum to be loose sand and destruction material which consisted of stones and mudbrick debris, along with wood and animal waste. At the NW corner of the trench

a wall, built of stone, was uncovered at the depth of 40cm. This wall runs to the NE in the direction of the corner of the minaret of the 'Umar mosque. The wall is 180cm. in length and 65cm. wide. It is built of unworked stones and mud mortar (Figs. 24, 28, Pl. XIX,A,B). At the depth of 40cm. on the S section of the trench a mud floor was found. On the top of this floor was a layer of animal waste, which perhaps indicates recent use of this area to keep animals. In the SW corner of the trench the face of a stone wall was noticed, which runs underneath the W and S baulk, and it is probably associated with the mud floor. A second floor built of stone and which covered the whole trench was discovered 60cm. deep; both the first and the second floors were combined with the wall discovered earlier. A small bottle of pottery was discovered 60cm. from the surface on the SE corner of the trench (Pl. XXIV,A). This bottle is complete except that part of the rim is broken. It is 15.2cm. in height, and its diameter is 4.5cm. It has dark green glaze on the upper part of the body, with ribbing on the lower part and the rim is out-turned. This bottle probably dates to the medieval Islamic period. A third floor of mud was discovered 80cm. deep, which spread over the whole of the trench (Figs. 25, 26). The fourth floor was uncovered at a depth of 90cm. It is very similar to the second floor, is built of stones and overlies the whole trench. A fifth floor made of mud was discovered beneath the fourth floor. All these five floors are associated with the wall which is situated on the NE corner of the trench and which extends deeper than this level.

The second stratum is located underneath the first stratum, at a depth of about 100cm. A stratum of soft light brown soil spread over the whole trench which extended deeper for about 50cm. (Figs. 25, 26, 27, Pl. XXII,A). At the E section of the trench and under-

neath the fifth floor a layer of ashes and fire traces was noticed to be associated with the second stratum (Fig. 26, Pl. XXII,A). The third stratum was uncovered underneath the second stratum at the depth of 150cm. This stratum comprises green marl, and it extends to a depth of 190cm. Some stones and potsherds were discovered throughout this stratum, and a thin layer of soft light brown soil extended right through the middle of the stratum (Figs. 25, 26). Underneath the third stratum a thin layer of drifting sand spread over most of the trench. This probably indicates that the site was abandoned for a short period. The wall which we discovered earlier stopped at the depth of 205cm. Its present height is 160cm. and it has plaster coating on the northern part of its face.

The fourth stratum was located underneath the third stratum. It is solid dark brown soil, and it covers all the trench, 20-35cm. thick (Figs. 25, 26, 27).

The fifth and oldest stratum was discovered at a depth of about 200cm., underneath the fourth stratum. This stratum extended about 70cm. deep, where we reached virgin soil at the depth of 268cm. from the surface. The fifth stratum consists of soft destruction material, stones, pottery sherds, and animal bones. This last stratum produced very large amounts of pottery from which most of our evidence is obtained. The fifth stratum is associated with a small oval shaped basin discovered 202cm. from the surface, in the S section of the trench (Figs. 24, 25, Pl. XXI,A,B). It is built of stones and mud filling, and part of this basin is hidden beneath the S baulk. It rises about 50cm. above the virgin soil, and a small water channel connects this basin from under the S baulk (Pl. XXI,B). The opening of the water channel could be seen from the inside of the basin. As the basin was built on top of virgin soil, it therefore marks the

first use of the site. It also dated to the earliest occupation period of this part of ancient Dūmat al-Jandal. The bedrock was reached at a depth of 268cm.

After we had finished the excavation at the trench we considered that the wall which we had discovered earlier was probably associated with the 'Umar mosque minaret, due to the fact that the wall stands on the same level as the minaret. Also the wall runs in the direction of the minaret. In the beginning we presumed that the wall was perhaps linked with the minaret and this would support the suggestion that the minaret belongs to a pre-Islamic building. Consequently we excavated the upper part of the wall (Fig. 24, Pl. XXIII,A,B). It appeared later that the wall does not link with the minaret and after reaching the corner of the minaret it veers off to the west.

To discuss the chronological sequence of this trench we must admit here that the first three strata produced very little material, whereas most of our evidence comes from the fourth and the fifth strata. Stratum 4 produced mainly fine grey sherds, and light brown sherds which are mostly ring bases of small cups and bowls with part of the body intact. In addition there are sherds which have a dark red slip and a band of grooved, wavy lines beneath the slip. These very fine vessels were very well known during the Byzantine period, therefore this probably indicates that the Byzantine pottery industry influenced the Dūmat al-Jandal pottery during the 5th-7th century A.D. This type of vessel is found in various sites in Palestine and Jordan and probably dates to the 5th-7th century A.D.

The fifth stratum produced a group of homogeneous sherds which are identical with their incised lines as well as the incised saw-tooth or shark-tooth decoration which is very common at al-Ṭuwayr

site. A few sherds similar to these were collected from the surface in the west of the city near the ancient city wall. A full study of the pottery will be found in Chapter IX.

Our excavation at Dūmat al-Jandal provided us with a very great deal of archaeological evidence which indicates that Dūmat al-Jandal area was occupied by the Nabataeans and later. Nevertheless we did not succeed in obtaining strong evidence which could indicate the history of the area during the Assyrian and the Babylonian periods.

We believe that the history of Dūmat al-Jandal extended further back than that, but this can be proved only if extensive excavation takes place. It is to be hoped that this will happen in the near future.

### iii Muwaysin castle trench:

Muwaysin castle is situated about 12km. NE of Dūmat al-Jandal in a deserted area. To the E of the castle there are a few modern farms. There is no mention of the castle in the historic or the geographic references to the Jawf area, furthermore there has been no previous attempt to study the castle. Therefore our information about this castle before excavation was nil.<sup>21</sup> Therefore we chose to dig a small trench inside the castle in order to reveal its history and to try to establish its probable date.

The trench is situated inside the castle in the courtyard opposite the entrance (Pl. XXIV,B). This trench measures 2m. square. The top soil extends to 10cm. deep. The first stratum was uncovered beneath the top soil and extended to about 20cm. deep. This stratum

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21. For a full study of the castle see Chapter VII below



consists of soft, light brown soil, animal waste, and in some parts a solid grey soil spread throughout. At a depth of about 25cm. a mud floor was located, which covered the whole trench. The floor probably marks the last use of the castle which was not long ago. Having broken into the floor the second stratum emerged at a depth of about 30cm. The stratum is soft grey soil. At the E section of the trench a huge semi-circular structure of stones was discovered, most of which was hidden underneath the E baulk. In order to reveal the rest of it we determined to expand the trench 1m. to the E (Pl. XXV,A,B). Following the excavation of the extended section of the trench we discovered a circular structure built of stones, which appeared later to be a well dug on the bedrock of the hill on which the castle stood (Pl. XXVI,A, Fig. 29). The opening of the well was covered with a very large slab of stone. It is 1m. in diameter and 3.5m. deep, and its top part is built of stones about 1m. deep (Pl. XXVI,B). The well is dry at present, and we believe that it is deeper than it looks now.

A supply of water was vital for the ancient Arabs, therefore they dug wells inside their houses and castles. This is very common in the Jawf region, and can be seen in the traditional houses of the region. We suggest that this well is probably associated with the original building. The second stratum extends to a depth of about 80-125cm. In the NW part of the trench and at a depth of about 75cm. a layer of ashes and fire traces was noticed, which spread to the middle of the second stratum, (Fig. 30), and was concentrated in the N part of the trench. In the N section of the trench opposite to the well a small wall was uncovered 110cm. from the surface. This wall runs to the N towards the N wall of the castle and it is probably linked with it.



The third stratum was discovered beneath the second stratum. It consists of stones, and filling material, and is about 20cm. thick (Fig. 31). The fourth stratum is different from the previous strata because it is of wind-blown sedimentary soft soil. This stratum was revealed about 80cm. from the surface and it is about 30cm. thick. The stratum was caused mainly by the wind, which indicates that the castle had been abandoned for a short period.

The fifth and final stratum was located under the fourth stratum and it extends up to the bedrock at about 140-150cm. deep. This stratum is very similar to the third and consists of stones and filling material.

Unfortunately this trench produced very limited evidence apart from a few sherds which came from the second and the third strata. Some of these sherds are very similar to sherds discovered in trench no. 2 at Dūmat al-Jandal. The characteristics of these sherds indicate a pre-Islamic date, but because the number of the sherds is very limited, the absence of distinctive specimens makes the establishment of a chronology impossible. Nevertheless from the few sherds we collected from the trench as well as a few sherds from outside the castle, we suggest that the castle was built probably between the third and the sixth century A.D.

#### CONCLUSION

North Saudi Arabia has played a vital role in the history of the Arabian Peninsula. From as early as the first millennium B.C. these northern oases controlled the caravan roads from South Arabia to the north. Up to date no extensive excavations have taken place in this part of Arabia and that is due to the fact that archaeology started very late in Saudi Arabia.

Our excavation in al-Jawf region included sites of al-Ṭuwayr, Dūmat al-Jandal, and Muwaysin castle. The two trenches which we dug in the Ṭuwayr site provided us with a great deal of information about the site. These materials indicate that it was a very important settlement in the Jawf region during the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. The site is indeed one of the most important of the Jawf sites, however most of it is covered by sand dunes. The site is very promising, and a comprehensive excavation would provide us with enormous knowledge, which will bring to light the history of the region during the last centuries of the first millennium B.C. and the early centuries of the Christian era. Moreover Dūmat al-Jandal was the most important oasis and caravan stop since a time as early as the seventh century B.C. Our first trench at Dūmat al-Jandal was dug inside Mārid castle, and revealed that the castle was built as early as the Nabataean period, and probably earlier than this date, and that was confirmed by fine Nabataean sherds discovered on the lower stratum of the trench. However the discovery of an Iron Age sherd in the lowest stratum of the second trench was very significant and therefore it gives us a strong evidence of human occupation of Dūmat al-Jandal during the late Iron Age period.

The second and the third trenches provide very important information which indicates that Dūmat al-Jandal flourished not only during the Nabataean period, but also during the later periods. Also it was not isolated from the centre of civilization in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and Syria, and was influenced by these civilizations since it lay on the trade routes.

Our contribution to the archaeology of the Jawf region is still very limited and this is due to the fact that our excavations are on a very small scale considering the huge area. We hope that in the

near future a more extensive excavation will take place in the different Jawf sites, which we believe will uncover the history of the region and the North Arabian oases during various historic periods.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARCHITECTURE WITHIN  
THE JAWF REGION

i Mārid Castle:

The castle is situated in Dūmat al-Jandal on a high limestone hill immediately to the south of the 'Umar mosque and the ancient quarter. From this position the castle commands an excellent view in all directions (Fig. 32).

The castle has been mentioned by some of the early Arab geographers. Yāqūt recorded that Dūmā', one of Ismā'il's sons, having settled in the place where Dūmat al-Jandal stands nowadays, built a fort which became known as the fort of Dūmā'.<sup>1</sup> However, we have no firm evidence associating Mārid castle with that fort mentioned above. Ibn Khurdāhabah also mentioned that al-Zabā' (Zenobia) queen of Tadmur (Palmyra) attempted to conquer Mārid castle during the third century A.D. (267-272 A.D.), but failed to do so.<sup>2</sup> It is believed that the reason for al-Zabā''s attack was a local uprising in Mārid.

During the early Islamic period Mārid castle was over-run by Khālid b. al-Walīd in the time of the first caliph, Abū Bakr.

None of the early Arab geographers who mention Mārid castle have provided a description of the castle or a good account of its history.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries A.D. European travellers visited the Jawf region. Some of these travellers mention Mārid castle and describe its architecture.

Wallin was the first European traveller to give a description of the castle, in which he mentions that the style of Mārid architecture resembled the old castles in Damascus, but he did not state which castle.

1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, II, 487

2. Ibn Khurdāhabah, Masālik, 128-129

He recorded that Caliph 'Alī was among those who conquered Mārid and he "clove" the door of the castle with a single stroke of his sword.<sup>3</sup> According to the early Arab geographers, it was Khālid b. al-Walīd who over-ran the castle and not Caliph 'Alī.

Palgrave gives a useful description of the castle, particularly of the exterior, where he describes its massive circular construction. However, in his very brief account of the interior of the building, he mentions a square tower standing at the centre of the castle.<sup>4</sup> Up to the present time we have found neither central tower, nor traces of an old one, built at the centre of the castle. It is however possible that Palgrave describes the main tower, which is situated to the left of the main entrance of the castle. We can therefore presume that Palgrave did not enter the castle. Nevertheless he gives the best account of Mārid castle and its appearance during the middle of the nineteenth century A.D.

Guarmani provides us with a very brief description of Mārid castle and its towers. He mentions that the upper part of the castle is built of mudbrick; whereas the lower two-thirds are built of stone. The big tower was in ruins at the time of Guarmani's visit.<sup>5</sup> It is believed that the destruction of the tower was a consequence of the attack by Ṭalāl b. Rashīd of Ḥā'il in 1853, when he destroyed part of the castle walls and towers.<sup>6</sup>

In 1878 Lady Ann Blunt visited Dūmat al-Jandal, where she saw the

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3. Wallin, Travels in Arabia, 28

4. Palgrave, Central Arabia, 76, 77

5. Guarmani, Najd, 101, 102

6. Winnett, Ancient records, 17

castle, but gives only a very brief account in which she dates the castle tentatively to mediaeval times and emphatically not to the classical period.<sup>7</sup> We believe that Lady Blunt was unable to visit the castle because of the restriction of her movements throughout her stay in the town.

In the early twentieth century a number of European travellers visited the Jawf and most of them recorded very brief descriptions of Mārid castle.<sup>8</sup>

Captain Shakespear visit al-Jawf in 1914, but he gives no account of Mārid castle, although he publishes two photos of the castle and the houses surrounding the 'Umar mosque.<sup>9</sup>

The contribution of Winnett and Reed is limited, they give a brief account of Mārid castle and its importance in the history of the Jawf and they do not therefore add very much to our knowledge.<sup>10</sup>

In 1986, during fieldwork undertaken by the writer, a trench was excavated inside the courtyard of the castle (Fig. 14), in an attempt to establish the chronology of the castle and to try to determine the date of its construction and history. At the lowest stratum of the trench a group of homogeneous sherds were found, which has been dated to the Nabataean period, 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.<sup>11</sup>

Our findings inside the castle provide solid evidence of Nabataean

7. Blunt, Pilgrimage, 125

8. Musil, Deserta, 167; Butler, 'Baghdad to Damascus', G.J., 530; Forder, 'To the Jof and back', G.J., 622; Philby, 'Jauf and North Arabian desert', G.J. 252-253

9. Carruthers, 'Shakespear's last journey', G.J., 401

10. Winnett, Ancient records, 17

11. For more details, see Chapter VI *above*, trench no. 1 at Dūmat al-Jandal



occupation of the Mārid castle throughout the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., and perhaps in earlier periods. In the meantime we must acknowledge that our excavation inside the castle does not provide the precise date of the construction of the building, because the area excavated was very small and therefore we could not reach the bedrock. It is believed that the construction of the castle was prior to the Nabataean occupation although it appears that the Nabataean era was its most prosperous period.

During the centuries preceding Islam, Mārid played a major part in guarding the caravan trade which passed through Dūmat al-Jandal. In the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Mārid was a stronghold of the Kindah tribe, and during the early Islamic periods the castle was the residence of King Ukaydir of Dūmat al-Jandal. The occupation of the castle, after the Muslim conquest of Dūmat al-Jandal during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, continued until the beginning of the 20th century.

The five phases of construction:

The extensive use of Mārid castle, from the time it was built until recent times, was the main reason for its extensions and rebuilding throughout its history. As a result of these the castle lost its original shape and plan. The use of the building as a first line of defence against any attack on the town, caused great damage to the castle. For example in 1853 Ṭalāl b. Rashīd of Ḥā'īl bombarded the castle during his attempt to bring Dūmat al-Jandal under his domination.<sup>12</sup>

Mārid castle experienced various stages of extension and rebuilding which can be identified in the present structure. These different

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12. Winnett, Ancient records, 17

periods of construction are visible and can be distinguished by the different structure techniques and the use of well cut stones in some parts and rough cut stones in others. Consequently the construction period can be divided into five stages.

The first stage of building is represented by the lower parts of the southern enclosure, (Pl. XXXII,B), and the main entrance, (Pls. XXXIII,A, XXXV,B). This part of the building is built of large blocks of regular stones and using sand/lime mortar. The technique in which this part is built indicates the skill of the craftsmen and master builders who constructed the castle. These are therefore considered to be the best preserved walls in the whole of the building. As the Nabataean occupation of the fortress has been confirmed by our excavation inside the castle, it is suggested that this stage of the building might be dated to between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D., during the Nabataean occupation of the area.

The second stage of construction is represented by the western wall of the castle and part of the eastern wall of the two-storey structure in the southwestern corner (Pls. XXXIV,B, XXXV;A). These parts are built of well cut stones in a developed technique which differs from the adjoining walls. This part of Mārid castle can be associated with the discovery of mosaic and tiled floors in the course of our excavation in the castle.<sup>13</sup> Therefore the western wall was probably built during the period of the 5th to the 6th century A.D.

The third stage of building is exemplified by the lower part of the towers, the two-storey structure in the southwestern corner, the addition of the wide wall which forms the upper passage which links the three

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13. For more details of the excavation, see Chapter VI above

towers, (Fig. 14), and the lower parts of the other walls. This stage of the building is of various sizes of well and rough cut stones, (Pls. XXXI,B, XXXII,A, XXXIII,B XXXVI). It is believed that this phase of construction was built in different periods, probably during medieval Islamic period and perhaps an even later date.

The fourth stage of construction can be attested on the upper parts of the southern and eastern walls (Pls. XXXII,A, XXXIII,A), and the upper part of the stone towers. They are built of small rough stones and mud mortar. The technique of construction is quite rough and some of the older stones are reused. It is therefore to be assumed that it was probably built during the 19th century.

The fifth stage is represented by the upper parts of the towers and the rooms, situated in the northern and eastern parts, which were built of mud bricks, (Pl. XXXVII,A,B). These mud rooms were built after Captain Shakespear's visit to the Jawf in 1914.<sup>14</sup> A photograph of the interior of the castle published by Shakespear shows no sign of these rooms. Thus this phase of building must have occurred between 1914 and the 1920s, prior to the visit by Philby in 1923, where he mentioned that the mud towers of Mārid had recently been constructed.<sup>15</sup>

#### General description of the exterior:

Mārid castle is built on top of a rocky hill at a height of more than 20m. from the level of the ancient quarter and the minaret. The hill is higher in its northern part and slopes to the eastern and southern perimeters. Since the castle was built on a hilltop it

14. Carruthers, 'Shakespear's last journey', G.J., 401

15. Philby, 'Jauf and the north', G.J., 252, 253

followed the contour of the hill itself. The external structure of the fortress is quite complex; however it resembles an oval shape. The northern section of the castle is built right on top of the northern portion of the rocky hill, (Pl. XXXI,B), thus the northern tower was built right on the peak. The north-western perimeter wall is built on the highest section of the hill, rises over 17m. above the courtyard level and it is .80m wide. This is the highest wall in the entire structure (Pl. XXXIV,A,B). The northern and eastern parts of the complex are high, curve-shaped walls, (Fig. 14, Pl. XXXI,A). The wall is separated from the actual structure by a passage 1.2-5.4m. wide which runs from the northern tower to the southern side where it joins the north-western wall and the western tower (Fig. 14). This outer wall is built on the foot of the rocky hill. The main function of the wall is to protect the northern and eastern sides of the castle and the towers from any invasion from this vulnerable position, where it is easy to attack the fortress, whereas it is impossible from the western and southern sides. At the eastern part of the passage a well is situated. It is 34m. deep and its opening diameter is about 50cm. The south-western exterior of the structure is the most protected part, therefore it is well fortified, since the main entrance is situated there (Pls. XXXII,B, XXXIII,A). From the courtyard of the annexe a staircase running along the foot of the hill leads up to the main entrance of the castle (Fig. 14).

The general plan of the interior of the castle is nearly an oval shape and is less complex than it appears from the outside. The internal plan comprises a courtyard surrounded by four towers at the corners and a number of rooms in the western, southern and northern parts. The castle is approximately 42m. long and about 28m. wide. From the south-western section a single entrance leads to an open courtyard which

occupies much of the ground floor. The courtyard is not on the same level, the northern section is about 1.5m. higher than the middle of the courtyard and the bedrock can be seen. In the southwestern part of the courtyard stone paving is visible, built of slabs of hewn stone and mud filling. The southwestern, the south and the eastern walls are strengthened by an inner passage which is about 1.6-5.4m. wide, built entirely of stones and forming a foundation for the western, southern and eastern towers. The southern and eastern towers are built on top of this passage, whereas the western tower is built on top of a large round solid foundation which forms part of the passage (Fig. 14, Pls. XXXIII, B, XXXVI). On the western side and adjacent to the western tower there is a two storey building consisting of two small rooms on the ground floor and one large room on the first floor, where it can be reached through the main stair in the southern part and along the inner passage and through another stair to the left of the western tower. These rooms open into the southwestern side of the courtyard. It is built of different sized stones in a rough way except for the northern part of the wall (Pl. XXXIV, B). On the southern side two rooms are situated to the right of the southern tower, (Pl. XXXVII, A). These rooms are built of mudbricks and date from the last stage of extension as mentioned above. The first room, which is next to the main staircase, is rectangular and measures 5m. long and 4m. wide, and the thickness of its walls is about 60-70cm. The second room is also rectangular, measuring 6.8m. in length and 3.4m. in width, and the walls are 60cm. thick. The last room is situated in the northern part of the castle adjacent to the northern tower. It is rectangular and it measures 7.4 x 4m. The room is similar to the mudbrick rooms and thus seems to date from the same period (Pl. XXXVII, B).

The present general plan of the castle indicates that the building

was built entirely for defensive purposes and not for a refuge function, therefore it is clear how the builders reinforced the castle by the huge wall and the towers whereas the interior is very simple and comprises a few rooms. We believe that the inner plan of the castle has changed over the years; this is suggested by the discovery of mosaic and tiled floors in the course of our excavation inside the castle, which would indicate that the castle had been used for residential purposes, probably by the governor of the town during that period. Therefore the inner plan of the building must have been different from what we can see today.

#### The entrance :

The only entrance to the castle is situated on the southern side. As mentioned above the entrance goes back to the first stage of building and probably dates from the Nabataean period. It is built of large blocks of well cut stone and sand/lime mortar. The entrance is about 1.5m. high and 1m. wide. The depth of the entrance is about 4m. and it is formed by the southern wall and the addition of the inner passage. The ceiling of the entrance is covered by 8 large stone beams carried on corbells, (Pls. XXXIII, B XXXV, B). At the interior side of the entrance two separate square buttresses, built of large stones, stand about 1.5m. high on both sides of the entrance, (Fig. 14). At the present time the entrance is inaccessible since the outside staircase which leads to it is badly damaged. The castle can only be reached through part of the collapsed southeastern wall and then through the outer passage.

#### The towers :

The courtyard of the castle is surrounded by four circular towers. The towers and the curtain wall are the main feature of the castle and therefore the huge walls link the towers, (Fig. 14). The lower parts

of the towers are built of stones of distinctive size, whereas the upper part are built of mud bricks. The principal tower in the castle is the western tower which is situated adjacent to the entrance. It is built on top of a solid circular foundation of stone, about 6.5m. in diameter, which forms the western part of the inner passage, (Fig. 14, Pl. XXXIII,B). The diameter of the tower is about 5.6m. and its walls are .90m. thick. The original structure of the tower was two storey, but the upper storey has disappeared.

The second or the southern tower is the best preserved of all. It is built on top of the inner passage (Pl. XXXVI). The tower is circular in plan, its diameter is 4.4m. and the walls are .80m. thick. Two thirds of the present height of the towers is built of stones, whereas the upper section is built of mud bricks. It comprises two storeys and is entered through a small opening in the northern side of the tower, (Pl. XXXVI).

The third tower is situated on the eastern side of the castle. It resembles the last two towers, built on top of the eastern end of the inner passage. The tower is also circular in shape, 4m. in diameter, and the walls are .80m. thick. It is similar to the second tower, but not as well preserved.

The fourth tower is quite different from the rest. It is situated in the northern part of the castle and it defines its northern corner. Unlike the others the tower is built right on the summit of the hill. The tower is reached by a small opening on the middle of the southern wall where the remains of a staircase, which leads to it, are visible. The northern side of the tower is badly damaged, (P. XXXIV,A,B).

The construction materials :

Limestones are the main construction material of Mārid castle.

The lower part of the walls and the foundations are built of large blocks of regular stone, namely the southern section of the castle and the main entrance. The upper part of the walls is built of various sizes and shapes of stones. Mud bricks are used on the upper parts of the towers and in some of the internal walls. In the lower foundation of the southern wall and the entrance plaster mortar was used in the building. However a mud rendering was used in some part of the walls and towers.

The roofs of the rooms and towers are built of wooden beams of tamarisk (athal) and palm fronds and then covered by a layer of mud. The doors and opening are covered with corbelled stone lintels.

The stones are hewn from the adjoining stone quarries. Dūmat al-Jandal is very well known for its abundance of good quality stone. This is the source of the town's second name, al-Jandal, which means the stone. One of the stone quarries is situated just to the south of the castle, whereas most quarries are situated to the west of the town.

The architectural elements :

The construction of the castle varies in its technique and materials from one part to another. The best preserved section of the building is the lower part of the southern wall and the main entrance, which are both built in fine style using very well cut stone and plaster. The technique used in building this wall resembles a typical Syrian masonry style.

One of the architectural elements used in the castle is the corbelling, which can be observed in the entrance ceiling, the doors and lintels, (Pl. XXXV,A,B). Corbelling is widely used in the ancient quarter of Dūmat al-Jandal. This structural system is very well represented at Umm al-Jimāl, Azraq castle and in most parts of the Ḥawran area.



On the upper part of the western wall small vertical openings can be observed. These openings measure about 10cm. wide and 50cm. high, (Pls. XXXIV,B, XXXV,A). I suggest that the main purpose of these openings is to ease the wind pressure on the wall and also to provide ventilation. On the other hand a group of projecting stones in a vertical line are visible on the inner side of the W wall. These stones form steps which go up to the top of the wall. We believe that they were used during the course of building and later used to climb the wall for restoration purposes.

The annexe of Mārid castle :

This is situated adjacent to the SW side of Mārid castle, on the slope of the hill and the low area beneath. The annexe walls and its NE tower are attached to the outer wall of the castle, and therefore its main entrance is situated inside the annexe.

None of the early European travellers, who visited the area during the 19th and early 20th centuries, have mentioned this part of Mārid castle. Lady Blunt spoke of a new castle just outside the town where Ibn Rashīd's lieutenant lived. She did not mention any addition or annexe adjacent to Mārid castle. It is believed that the building of a new castle by Ibn Rashīd came after his defeat of Ibn Sha'ālān, in 1853, during which he bombarded the castle. As a result the castle suffered considerable destruction and Ibn Rashīd built his headquarters outside the town. It is obvious that Ibn Rashīd neither restored the castle nor built an annexe to the southwest of it, because he constructed his new castle far from the ruins of Mārid; moreover, the people of Dūmat al-Jandal were very hostile to Ibn Rashīd.

The construction technique and materials are parallel to those of the upper part of Mārid castle. Consequently we reckon that the annexe

was built following the conquest of Dūmat al-Jandal by Ibn Sha'lan in 1327/1909.

The annexe is built on low ground confined between the hill where Mārid stands and a high area to the SW of the castle. The building is nearly rectangular in shape reinforced by four circular towers on the corners. The plan and the construction technique resemble those of the traditional Najdi buildings. The annexe is about five times larger than Mārid castle, although most of the building is an open courtyard. It is certain that the building was built to house the governor of the town and his men.

The plan of the annexe :

The general plan of the building is nearly rectangular in shape; however the S side of the building is larger than the N side. The building is attached to Mārid castle on the NE side where the smallest tower is built against the western wall of the castle, (Pl. XXXIV,B). The main entrance to the annexe is situated in the NW corner of the building. It is rectangular in plan and it projects from the building. The entrance hall is roofed with wooden beams, palm leaves and a layer of mud. At the other end of the entrance hall two doors were located, the first opening to the N and leading to a small square room next to the entrance and to an open space. The NW tower is situated on the N part of the open space. This tower is circular and entered through a small door on its S side where it leads to a second door on the S side; this door is open to a narrow passage projecting from the NW tower. A large circular well built of hewn stones is located at the end of the covered passage, where another tower is built around it in order to protect the well from attack. The second door at the end of the entrance hall opens into the main courtyard of the annexe. The

courtyard is rectangular and it forms a third of the actual size of the building. At the N end of the courtyard a large rectangular room is still intact. The roof of the room is supported by two columns in the middle of the room. This room was the main reception hall (majlis) and is entered through a small door in its SW corner; in addition there are two small windows in the S side, (Pl. XXXIX,A).

At the SW side of the courtyard there is a small mosque. The mosque consists of a small sanctuary divided into two aisles, parallel to the qiblah wall, by one arcade of small, round columns. At the qiblah wall there is a small mihrāb and minbar similar to those of the 'Umar mosque. A small courtyard (ṣaḥn) is the same size as the sanctuary. The mosque is parallel with the 'Umar mosque plan and it is probable that the builder is just trying to copy the 'Umar mosque. The mosque has collapsed but its foundations are still visible, (Pl. XL,A).

The E side of the annexe is divided into three separate units. The first unit is on the NE corner of the building and adjacent to Mārid castle. It consists of three rooms opening into a small courtyard, (Pl. XXXII,B). The second and third units are located on the SE part of the annexe and they form about a third of the total size of the building. This part comprises a few separate rooms enclosed by walls and the S tower is situated on its S corner. The annexe, as mentioned above, is reinforced by four towers at its corners and a fifth tower built on top of the well. These towers are round in structure and they slope inwards as they rise. They are built of hewn stones in the lower parts, whereas the upper section is built of mud bricks, with the exception of the SW tower which is built mostly of mud brick, (Pls. XXXVIII,A,B, XL,A).

The greater part of the annexe is intact and it was built of a combination of stones and mud bricks in a technique which is undoubtedly

local. The roofs are covered by wooden beams, palm leaves and then covered with a layer of mud.

ii The 'Umar mosque :

The mosque of 'Umar is situated in Dūmat al-Jandal in al-Jawf in northern Saudi Arabia. The mosque stands in the centre of the ancient quarter and to the north of Mārid castle.

The local people attribute the mosque to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph. If this mosque was constructed during 'Umar's caliphate, it must be considered one of the earliest intact mosques in the whole of the kingdom. Nevertheless none of the early Arabic sources have mentioned either a mosque having been built at Dūmat al-Jandal during the caliphate of 'Umar, or indeed an order having been given by the caliph for the construction of a mosque there. In the year 17/638 the caliph 'Umar travelled from Medina to Jerusalem. The journey is cited by most of the early Arabic sources, but no detailed account has been given of the exact route which the caliph took on his way to Jerusalem and back. It is likely that he passed through Wadi al-Sirḥān on his return and probably stopped at Dūmat al-Jandal. The town was conquered by Khālīd b. al-Walīd in the caliphate of Abū Bakr, but it underwent several attacks by Muslim forces prior to that. It is obvious that the people who were converted to Islam after the conquest probably built their own mosque, to serve as a place for prayer as well as for social and religious gatherings. This theory suggests that a mosque was probably built in Dūmat al-Jandal in the early Islamic period and perhaps during the caliphate of 'Umar or in later times. Al-Jāsīr suggests that the mosque should perhaps be attributed to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the Umayyad caliph (99-101/717-720), because the mosque

has a minaret and miḥrāb which were introduced after 'Umar b. 'al-Khaṭṭāb's caliphate.<sup>16</sup> The attribution of the mosque to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz has no historical foundation, although the Jawf region is very close to Damascus, where the Umayyad caliphs resided, but we have no account of any Umayyad involvement in the Jawf area.

The first written account of the mosque comes from the writing of the early European travellers who visited the Jawf during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although some of those travellers do not refer to the mosque. Wallin gives the best account of the mosque where he mentions that an old building, probably a Christian church, was converted by the caliph, 'Umar, into a mosque. He suggests that the minaret was a portal which served as a gate to a town or quarter and after the introduction of Islam a small tower was built on top of the gate in order to form a minaret.<sup>17</sup> The size of the passage which runs through the minaret would seem to indicate this was not the main gate of the town or the quarter. However the main entrance arch is intact and situated to the S of the minaret (Pl. XLVIII,B). In 1879 Lady Blunt visited Dūmat al-Jandal, but she did not refer to the 'Umar mosque, although she states "... the midday prayer was called from the roof of the mosque close by for there is no minaret in Jof...".<sup>18</sup> It appears that Lady Blunt did not have the opportunity to see the whole of the Jawf; this is demonstrated by the lack of accurate description of the town and its plan in addition to her remark concerning the absence of a minaret in Dūmat al-Jandal.

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16. Al-Jāsir, Fī shamāl, 150

17. Wallin, Travels in Arabia, 27, 28

18. Blunt, Pilgrimage, 125

The later European travellers do not mention the mosque, except for Winnett and Reed who refer to it in a very short account.<sup>19</sup>

The most valuable study of the mosque was undertaken by Geoffrey King, whose work must be considered the first academic study; however the question of dating is still unresolved.<sup>20</sup>

The mosque of 'Umar is without doubt an old mosque. The plan of the mosque is similar to early mosques such as the Medina and Kufa mosques. The exact date of the mosque is the most difficult issue concerning it. Since we were unable to excavate inside the mosque during our fieldwork in the Jawf, and in order to try to resolve this problem, we excavated a 3 square metre trench outside the mosque and exactly to the SW of the minaret. The main objective of this trench was to try to establish any evidence which could be connected with the minaret and might cast some light on the date of the minaret, which is considered the oldest part of the mosque. Having completed our excavation we observed a wall in the northern part of the trench. This wall runs in the direction of the minaret. The foundations of the wall stop at a depth of 2.05m. from the surface and they are on the same level as the ground floor of the courtyard of the mosque. Its present height is 1.60m. and its material and building technique resemble those of the minaret. No pre-Islamic evidence has been associated with this wall. Our pre-Islamic evidence has been discovered in the lower strata and underneath the level of the wall.

At the N end of the entrance passage we noticed a pillar or part of a wall. This pillar, different from the rest of the others, is

19. Winnett, Ancient records, 19

20. King, 'Mosque of 'Umar', JRAS, 109

built of very well cut stones and is similar to the lower section of the S wall of Mārid castle (Pl. XLVIII,A). This pillar or wall probably belongs to an old building and was perhaps part of a Nabataean temple or building erected at Dūmat al-Jandal in the pre-Islamic period.

Wallin has suggested that the mosque of 'Umar was an old building which was converted by Caliph 'Umar.<sup>21</sup> This suggestion has some truth in it, *and* it does seem that the mosque was built on the site of an old building; this is perhaps indicated by the presence of the pillar, which is part of an old building, at the north end of the entrance passage.

Wallin and King date the minaret to the pre-Islamic period and they suggested that the minaret could belong to a church.<sup>22</sup> Moreover King argues "... that the minaret's orientation has no relationship to the qiblah of the mosque...", and he adds that this fact could imply that the minaret dated to a period, not only prior to the present sanctuary, but also to the earliest mosque found on the site.<sup>23</sup> We believe that the minaret was built much later than it has been suggested above. It is obvious that the minaret was built after the caliphate of 'Umar as the minaret had not at that time been introduced into the Medina mosque. Therefore we suggest that the minaret was a later addition to the old mosque and it is associated with the first and the second arcades which run parallel to the qiblah wall. The orientation of the minaret was created by the small street which passes alongside the outer face of the qiblah wall and leads to the living quarter, thus making the task of the builders difficult. If the minaret were aligned with the

21. Wallin, Travels in Arabia, 27, 28

22. Wallin, Travels in Arabia, 27, 28, and King, 'Umar mosque', JRAS, 122

23. King, 'Umar mosque', JRAS, 122

qiblah wall, the path would be blocked by the body of the minaret. The builder was therefore forced to align the minaret on the same orientation as the path and consequently the minaret was bridged so that the path could pass through it (Fig. 36, Pls. XLI,B, XLIV,B). The reason that the minaret was built there and not at the N end of the courtyard was that the courtyard is adjacent to the houses and the siting of the minaret there would interfere with the privacy of the houses. The minaret type is unique and its square plan is influenced by Syrian minarets, as has been suggested by King.<sup>24</sup>

The use of a corbelling system in the minaret does not indicate a pre-Islamic date, as the same technique is widely used in the ancient quarter as well as in the sanctuary of the mosque. The minaret and the first two pillar arcades, parallel with the qiblah wall, are associated and they probably date to the Umayyad period during which Dūmat al-Jandal still had some significance as a midway station between Damascus and Medina on the one hand and Damascus and Kufa and Basra on the other; that could be evidenced by the extensive presence of early Arabic inscriptions in the Jawf area, most of them date to the 2nd/8th century.<sup>25</sup>

The mosque of 'Umar is rectangular in plan and it measures 32.5m. from W to E and 18m. from S to N. The whole structure comprises the sanctuary (Bayt al-Ṣalāh), which forms two thirds of the size of the mosque, the courtyard (ṣaḥn) and a small sanctuary at the N end. The mosque is oriented S-SW to the direction of Mecca. As mentioned above, the plan of the mosque is comparable to the typical, early mosques, such as the Prophet's mosque in Medina and the mosque of Kufa.

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24. King, 'Umar mosque', JRAS, 121

25. For more details of the Arabic inscriptions, see Chapter VIII



The sanctuary (Bayt al-Ṣalāh) :

The sanctuary occupies about two thirds of the size of the mosque. It is rectangular in plan and it measures 32.5m. in length and 10.2m. in width. It is divided into three identical corridors separated by three arcades of stone pillars. All three arcades are orientated S-SW and run parallel to the qiblah wall. The first arcade, which is the nearest to the qiblah wall, has ten pillars and the second or the middle arcade consists of nine pillars, since the third pillar from the E is joined to the fourth. The first and the second corridors are larger than the third; they are 32.5m. long, whereas the third is 29.1m. long (Fig. 3). The third arcade has nine pillars (Pl. XLVI,A,B).

The pillars are built of stones and mud filling. The horizontal section of the pillars is nearly rectangular and its height is 3-3.15m. Higher up, the pillar expands, forming a corbelling system which carries stone or wooden beams, (Pl. XLVII,A). The third, northern arcade differs from the others. The use of stone beams in the lintels is absent from the third arcade and instead wooden beams have been used (Fig. 35). Therefore this could indicate that the third arcade was added at a later period and we suggest that this part of the sanctuary, in addition to the small sanctuary at the N end of the courtyard, date from the Saudi restoration of the mosque in 1208/1794, (Pl. XLIII,B).

In the middle of the qiblah wall two niches are located. These niches outline the miḥrāb and the minbar of the mosque, (Fig. 34). The miḥrāb and the minbar are similar in shape, but the miḥrāb is larger and both have a pointed arch formed by laying two slabs of stone against each other. The width of the miḥrāb is 80cm. and it is 1.15m. deep, whereas the minbar is 65cm. wide and 100cm. deep. The minbar has two steps and is joined to the miḥrāb by a small square opening on the wall

which separates them. The miḥrāb and the minbar project from the outer qiblah wall and are unlike the round curved miḥrāb of the small sanctuary at the end of the courtyard, a block of stone projects from the outer qiblah wall. The date of the miḥrāb is associated with the first two arcades and the minaret and not with the Saudi restoration, as King has suggested, because the Wahhābī miḥrāb are generally round and their curved projection is very distinctive, of the kind which appears in the small sanctuary (Fig. 33, Pl. XLIII, B).<sup>26</sup>

The sanctuary is covered by a flat roof made of wooden beams of tamarisk (athal), which is very abundant in the Jawf region, palm sticks and then covered by a layer of mud plaster (Pl. XLVI, A). This roofing technique is very common in the Jawf and throughout Central Arabia. The floor of the sanctuary is unpaved and nowadays it is mostly covered with rugs, (Pl. XLVI, B). In the middle of the qiblah wall there are small square niches in the lower part of the wall. These niches are used for keeping the holy Qur'āns and other religious books.

Most of the interior of the sanctuary is covered with mud plaster. The lower part of the interior walls are covered with whitewash. The mud plaster and the whitewash has concealed the surface of the internal walls and pillars. However some parts of the pillars are not plastered and therefore show the building technique and the materials used in the sanctuary.

As mentioned above, the first two arcades, parallel with the qiblah wall, outline the original size of the sanctuary and therefore the third and N arcade is a later addition; this could be denoted by the use of wooden beams in the lintels as an alternative to the stone beams and also

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26. King, 'Umar mosque', JRAS, 120

by the materials and building technique. The third arcade can therefore be associated with the small sanctuary and perhaps be dated to the Saudi restoration in 1208/1794.

The courtyard (ṣaḥn) :

The courtyard is situated to the N of the sanctuary. The courtyard is rectangular and it measures 8.4m. at its widest from N to S and 30.9m. from E to W. The size of the ṣaḥn is small compared with the size of the sanctuary. The floor is unpaved; however, it is harder than the floor of the sanctuary. Most of the N part of the ṣaḥn is occupied by the small sanctuary built against the N wall of the mosque. The size of this sanctuary is 18.5m. from E to W and its width is 2.5m. The sanctuary is 1.5m. high and it has a curved miḥrāb in the middle of its S wall which is parallel to the qiblah wall. It is clear that the miḥrāb is a later addition to the sanctuary. To the W of the small sanctuary, a staircase leads up to the roof which was doubtless to have been used as a place of prayer. We believe that the main purpose of this small sanctuary was to serve as a place of prayer during the winter as well as for women throughout the month of Ramaḍān.

The Minaret :

The minaret is situated at the W corner of the mosque. The ground plan of the minaret is three square metres. Its walls incline inwards as it rises upward. The present height is 12.7m. and it is built entirely of hewn stones. The minaret has five storey heights (Pl. XLI,B). The first is the ground level where the passage of the street runs through the body of the minaret. The entrance to the upper levels is 1.5m. high and 58cm. wide and it is situated at the E side. The entrance rises 3.5m. from the floor of the mosque. It is accessed through a staircase leading to the roof and to the minaret. The first level is square in

plan and the interior of the minaret is 1.7 square metres. At the E and W side of this floor there are small window openings measuring 50cm. high and 38cm. wide. To the right of the entrance a spiral staircase, adjacent to the N and W wall, leads to the second level. The second level is square in plan and it can be reached through the spiral staircase. The floor of this level is made of large slabs of stone. The floor and the staircase are carried on corbels. The second level has four small windows 1.20m. high and 45cm. wide. The spiral staircase stops at the second level and the third and fourth levels can be reached via stones projecting from the wall and forming a kind of staircase; not all of the four levels have a stone floor, as is suggested by King and all are connected to each other by a stone staircase.<sup>27</sup> The staircase stops at the second level and the upper levels have neither floors nor staircase; this is suggested by the presence of the projecting stones, which formed a stairway and by the fact that the size of the upper levels is very limited and therefore would not accommodate a staircase and a floor. The third and fourth levels are similar to the second and they have four openings, one in each side (Pl. XLII). The main purpose of these openings is to light the interior of the minaret and to ease the wind pressure on the body of the minaret.

The use of the corbelling technique, above the passage, which runs through the body of the minaret and in the interior of the minaret on the staircase and the roofing, indicates that the minaret was erected by a local builder. The same corbelling technique is employed at Mārid castle and more widely in the ancient quarter (Pl. XLIV,B).

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27. King, 'Umar mosque', JRAS, 121

The minaret is incomparable and represents a unique type in Saudi Arabia, (Pls. XLI,B, XLII). We believe that the square shape of the minaret was influenced by the square minarets of Syria and therefore a local technique was employed.

The entrance and staircases :

The main entrance of the mosque is situated exactly to the NW of the minaret. The entrance opens into an uncovered passage leading into the sanctuary and the Şahn. To the SE of the minaret a small entrance leads from underneath the staircase into the passage and then to the sanctuary and the Şahn. This entrance was the main entrance and probably the only one in previous periods, but the state of dereliction of part of the staircase creates the need for another entrance.

The main staircase is located adjacent to the exterior of the W wall of the sanctuary. It leads up to the roof of the sanctuary and consists of 18 steps. It was built of large blocks of stone. In the middle of the staircase an extension led to the entrance of the minaret.

The materials :

The whole mosque is built of hewn stones, although their quality is not as good as those of Mārid castle; however, some large and well cut stones were used in the lower part of the minaret, the staircase and the inner roof of the minaret as well as in the lintels, the windows and above the pillars. We believe that the materials of the mosque were hewn from the surrounding hills and not looted from Mārid castle, as King suggests, because the quality of Mārid stone is far better than the stones used in the mosque and in addition to the fact that Dūmat

al-Jandal is famous for its stone.<sup>28</sup>

No mudbricks are used in the mosque, although a mud plaster is applied on the interior of the sanctuary. Wooden beams of tamarisk (athl) and palm sticks are used in the roofing.

iii The ancient quarter of Dūmat al-Jandal:

The ancient quarter is situated just to the N of Mārid castle and adjacent to the 'Umar mosque. This quarter was the main ancient residential area of Dūmat al-Jandal and is surrounded by palm gardens to the W, N. and E. To the SW of the quarter was the market place of the town, which unfortunately was demolished by the authorities of the town in the early 1970s, together with part of the S and W parts of the quarter. The old quarter was larger in size than it appears today, though the remaining buildings occupy most of the old town. Dūmat al-Jandal was an important town in North Arabia. From as early as the 8th century B.C. the town was a well-known centre for the North Arabian tribes. The town was undoubtedly well populated during the late Assyrian period; this is indicated by the Assyrian campaigns against the town during the 7th century B.C.<sup>29</sup>

The present old quarter appears to belong to a later period than the Assyrian. Nevertheless it is obvious that the buildings stand on top of very old foundations. Our excavation inside the ancient quarter revealed stone foundations underneath the present buildings in addition to evidence of an early occupation of the site which has been dated to

28. King, 'Umar mosque', JRAS, 122

29. See Chapter I above

the 6th-5th century B.C.<sup>30</sup> Prior to our excavation the Department of Antiquities had excavated a few trenches inside the ancient quarter and as a result they discovered Nabataean sherds and on top Islamic sherds.<sup>31</sup> We believe that this part of the old town was continually inhabited from as early as the 6th century B.C. until a few decades ago. The size of the ancient quarter is about 150 x 200m., though the original size was probably much larger than the present remains. The buildings are quite dilapidated and most of the roofs and walls have fallen or are in a state of disintegration. The whole area is uninhabited nowadays and it is in a very neglected condition. The main features of the old quarter are narrow winding streets with houses clustered along both sides and a central square where all the streets meet.

Our present study of the ancient quarter will focus on the general plan of the buildings and the most important elements of its composition. A very comprehensive and detailed study of the whole area is not possible at this stage, as this would require more time and a very detailed plan of the entire area. Nevertheless we shall discuss in the following pages the general planning of the town and the distribution of the buildings alongside the narrow streets. In addition we shall focus our study on the architectural elements and the building techniques employed throughout the quarter.

The gates of the quarter :

As this part of the town is considered the main residential area it

30. See Chapter VI above, for more details of the excavations.

31. Department of Antiquities, 'Dūmat al-Jandal', Al-Madīnah al-'Arabyyah, 211.

must have several entrances in different directions which probably gave access to the palm gardens in the N and the E. At the present time there are three entrances, one on the S side, the other two at the N and E sides. To the S of the ancient quarter and next to the minaret is situated the main gate of the quarter (Pl. XLVIII,B, Fig. 37). This entrance comprises a round arch built with dry stones. The gate used to connect the market place with the main residential area of the town. The gate is 3.12m. wide and 3.20m. high. The second entrance is located on the E side of the town at the end of a narrow street which runs from the central square to the eastern part of the quarter, whereas the third entrance is located at the northern end of the narrow street which connects the NW part of the quarter with the central square. Both entrances are conventional doorways with no distinctive details.

The narrow street:

The narrow streets are one of the main features of the town. The narrow, irregular streets are one of the characteristics of Arabian cities. All the streets in the ancient quarter are narrow and tortuous and their average width is between 1.5m. and 2m., (Pl. L). The main streets lead into the central square; however all the side streets are cul-de-sacs. It appears that parts of the narrow streets were covered and this is suggested by the presence of stone corbelling at the S end of the town which was probably covered with stone beams, (Pl. XLIX,B). The narrow, winding streets are typical of Arabian Islamic cities. The construction of this type of street rather than the straight street has environmental, social and security aspects. First the Arabs experience very hot weather during the summer season and to avoid this they design narrow streets with high walls or buildings on both sides, so that most of the street is shaded all the time. We believe that



these streets were probably designed also for defence purposes and it is easy to overcome any enemy attack through these streets. All the houses are located alongside the narrow street, where their entrances do not face each other, and that highlights the social and religious aspects of the planning, which maintains the privacy of the houses and the people living in them.

#### The main square :

The main square is situated at the heart of the ancient quarter. It is considered the main centre of the town and therefore all the major narrow streets meet at this point, (Fig. 36). The square is not large, about 6m. wide and about 12m. long. The centre part is roofed with three parallel arches supporting the flat roof which is made of palm trunks, wooden beams and palm sticks, (Pl. LĪ ,A,B). The roofed square is open on two sides and it has stone benches on both the inner sides. From the existence of the stone benches, as well as the central location of the square, it is apparent that it was a place where local people met daily, especially old people. The main square connects all the narrow streets together and to move from part of the quarter to another one must pass through the square. The building technique and the type of stones used in building the arches and benches suggest that the main square could be considered the oldest part of the ancient quarter.

#### The houses :

The houses of the Muslim city are distinct from the houses of a pre-Islamic city. The typical house within the Muslim city of the Near East is characterised by an inward-oriented central courtyard and has

one or two floors.<sup>32</sup>

The ancient quarter was the main dwelling area of the old town. It consists of houses of various sizes. These generally consist of a courtyard surrounded by several rooms and in most cases the courtyard is situated in front of the rooms. The majority of the houses have two floors, however one- and three-storey houses are represented. The ground floor is divided into two parts, the reception room (majlis), with its own open space, is entered through the main entrance of the house which opens into the main street (Fig. 41 ). The second part consists mainly of one or two rooms and a kitchen. This part is detached from the main reception room by a wall and it has a postern. The first floor comprises one or two rooms which are reached through an inner stone staircase. The upper floor was used particularly as a summer sleeping area and this is indicated by the presence of many small window openings and small openings in the walls of the rooms. All the doors and windows open onto the courtyard of the house and all the houses are enclosed by a high wall to secure the privacy of the householder as well as the neighbours.

The ancient quarter consists of a large number of houses. As mentioned above, the present study does not deal with every individual house, but rather provides a general view as well as a comprehensive study of an example of the typical house.

A typical house :

This house is situated in the W part of the ancient quarter and to the NW of the main square. The house has been chosen because it is

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32. Fadan, 'Houses of Makka', 296

well preserved and it represents the typical plan of the majority of the houses. It is small in size and irregular in shape. It measures about 12m. from SE to NW and about 14m. SW to NE. The house has two floors, the ground floor consists of two rooms. The main entrance is located in the E part and it opens into the main streets. The ground floor is divided into two parts, the first is the reception room which is opposite the main entrance. The reception room is 2.8m. wide and 4m. long, and it opens into a small courtyard facing it, (Fig. 41). The second part of the ground floor contains a small courtyard, a large living room and an open space to the N. The living room measures 5m. in length and 3.8m. in width, it opens to the east into the small courtyard in the N part of which the staircase is situated. To the west the living room opens into an open space 5.8m. long and 2.5m. wide, (Fig. 41).

The first floor consists of a large room and an open space in front of it which forms the roof of the living room, (Fig. 42). The large room is 5m. long and 3m. wide and its N wall has three openings or doors in addition to two small windows opening into the reception courtyard. The first floor is accessed from a stone staircase, (Figs. 41, 45), which is built against the northern wall of the courtyard.

The house is built of stone except for the upper level which is built of mud bricks. It is roofed by wooden beams and palm sticks with a topping of earth.

The architectural features of the quarter :

The most obvious feature of the ancient quarter is the wide-spread use of stones. Dūmat al-Jandal is very famous for its abundant and good quality stones which enable the local builders to use them as the

main building material. The use of stones results in the widespread use of arches and corbelling in the buildings where the local architects were apparently influenced by Syrian architecture notably of the Ḥawrān area.

Arches are widely used throughout the whole ancient quarter and they are the main feature of its architecture. Two types of arch occur in the buildings, the round arch and the pointed arch. The round arch was well-known before Islam and it continued to be used throughout the Islamic periods. The pointed arch was not known in pre-Islamic architecture. As the pointed arch is unknown in Sassanian architecture and, since it exists at Quṣayr 'Amrah and Ḥammām al-Ṣarakh, Creswell suggests that the pointed arch is of Syrian origin.<sup>33</sup> The pointed arches of Dūmat al-Jandal are similar to the pointed arch of Baghdād gate at Raqqah and also to the Bāb al-'Āmmah of the Jawsaq al-Khaqānī at Sāmarrā,<sup>34</sup> (Figs. 39, 40). Round arches are more widely used than pointed arches, though both arches were used together in the main square, (Pl. LI,A,B), and this indicates that the round arch here is an Islamic, rather than pre-Islamic, arch. As suggested above, the main square is the oldest part of the ancient quarter, therefore arches in the main square are the earliest arches in the whole area. I suggest that the arches are later in date than those of the Baghdād gate and Bāb al-'Āmmah, on the grounds of technique and quality.

The materials :

Stone was the main building material. It was used for building

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33. Creswell, Muslim Architecture, 102, 103

34. Creswell, Muslim Architecture, 184, 260

the walls, arches and staircase. The door and window lintels are also well cut stone slabs. Stone was used in roofings, as we see at the S end of the main narrow street where a corbelling was used. Mud bricks were used mainly in the upper part of the first floor walls. Most of the interior surface of the walls was coated with a layer of mud plaster and in some cases with whitewash.

The flat roofs of the houses are made from palm trunks or wooden beams of tamarisk and palm leaves with a topping of mud.

The ancient quarter of Dūmat al-Jandal is an important site which illustrates Arabian town development in the Islamic era. The site therefore is a fine example of an intact Arabian town which has survived to give us an impression of the Arabian town and the distribution of houses and streets within the town. The importance of the town stems from the fact that it is the only surviving town in North Arabia which presents us with a typical model of an ancient town. The town is ideal for future study of the architecture and planning of the ancient towns of Arabia. The continuing habitation of the town throughout the various periods prevents us from establishing the exact date of the town, but excavation indicates that the present town rests on top of an old settlement which could date from as early as the 6th century B.C. The present buildings are undoubtedly of a much later date than that. From the architectural technique and style we suggest that the main square of the quarter, the oldest part, probably dates from between the 10th to 12th century A.D., on the grounds of comparison of the arches.

iv Za'bal castle:

Za'bal castle is situated at the N edge of Sakākā where it stands on top of a steep sandstone hill. This hill is detached from the range which surrounds Sakākā to the N and the W. The hill rises over 20m.

from the surrounding area, (Fig. 46), and therefore the location of the castle on top of the hill is very significant, enabling the castle to guard the town and its environs. Za'bal castle is not as well fortified as Mārid castle. It is built of stones and mud bricks in a simple technique. The date of the castle is doubtful. The earliest reference to Za'bal in the classical Arabic sources is made by al-Hamdānī: Za'bal is in al-Ḥijāz in the direction of Taymā'.<sup>35</sup> There is no site in or around Taymā' by the name of Za'bal, and as the Jawf area is situated to the NE of Taymā', we believe that the reference must be to the Za'bal castle in the Jawf. Yāqūt mentions that Za'bal is a place near Medina.<sup>36</sup> This place is probably Za'bal castle, but Yāqūt mentions Dūmat al-Jandal and Sakākā and it is not clear why he should associate Za'bal with Medina rather than Dūmat al-Jandal or Sakākā.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the Jawf region was visited by several European travellers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However most of them are concerned with Dūmat al-Jandal and therefore less attention was paid to Sakākā and Za'bal castle.

In 1845 Wallin visited the Jawf region and, although he did not visit Sakākā, he mentions that the town contains an old castle named Za'bal.<sup>37</sup>

In 1879 Lady Blunt passed through Sakākā on her way to Ḥā'il. She states that Sakākā has an old castle built on top of a cliff about a hundred feet high overlooking the town.<sup>38</sup> Captain Butler, who visited

35. Hamdānī, Geographie, 165, 170

36. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 141

37. Wallin, Travels in Arabia, 37

38. Blung, Pilgrimage, 128

the area in 1908, refers to Za'bal castle and he records that the castle is probably of ancient Arabian origin, adding that the inhabitants told him that the castle is sometimes used as a prison.<sup>39</sup> The best short account of the castle is provided by Winnett and Reed. They give us a brief description of the castle and its location on the top of a high sandstone hill.<sup>40</sup>

The history of Za'bal castle and its exact date is still unresolved. The Department of Antiquities suggests that the castle was built less than 150 years ago.<sup>41</sup> From the acknowledgement of Sakākā and Za'bal in the early Arabic references it is obvious that the date of the castle is much earlier than suggested.

In early 1986 and during fieldwork undertaken by the writer a significant number of pre-Islamic sherds were collected from the foot of the hill where the castle stands, though none were found inside the castle. Consequently the presence of pre-Islamic and Islamic sherds would indicate that the foundation of the castle is probably pre-Islamic and therefore we believe that there must be an ancient settlement near the castle which could have vanished under the present town.

#### General description of the castle:

The castle was built on top of a high sandstone hill overlooking the town of Sakākā on the N side. It rose over 20m. above the surrounding hills. Za'bal castle is very well protected, not by strong fortifications, but by its position on top of a very steep hill which

39. Butler, 'Baghdad to Damascus', GJ, 525, 526

40. Winnett, Ancient records, 7, 8

41. Department of Antiquities, Introduction, 97

can only be climbed on the W and S sides of the hill. As the castle was built on top of the hill, its plan follows the contour of the hill. The general plan is irregular with four circular towers at each corner (Fig. 47). The building is 50m. long and 17-20m. wide. The path which leads to the only entrance of the castle on the southern side of the hill starts at the W foot of the hill, where it runs along the W and S sides. Part of this path has been dug into the steep face of the hill (Fig. 47). The main and only entrance of the castle is adjacent to the main tower, at the S side of the building. The entrance is closed by a wooden door (Pl. LVIII,B).

The interior plan of the castle comprises an open courtyard enclosed by a wall and four corner towers. In the northern part of the courtyard a small circular room is built on top of a slightly higher outcrop. This room, being higher than the towers, was probably used as a watch tower, (Pl. LXI,A). At the S part of the courtyard, to the left of the entrance and adjacent to the S wall, a rectangular room is located. This room has no roof, but the room is entered through a door 2m. high and 1.05m. wide in the middle of the N wall with two small windows, one at each side of the door, (Pl. LIX,A). There are also two small windows, one in the W, the other in the eastern wall. This room and that in the centre are the only rooms in the castle and this would suggest the defensive function for which the building was originally built. Za'bal castle, unlike Mārid castle, has no well inside it and in order to solve this problem, they excavated a water tank in the bedrock of the courtyard. This open water tank would normally be filled with water from the surrounding wells and kept for times of emergency, (Pl. LIX,A).

As mentioned above, the castle is contained within a wall which connects the four towers. This wall is built of hewn stone in the



lower courses and mud brick in the upper part. The thickness of the wall averages between 60-70cm. and its height is 2m. in the SW part and 2.85m. in the NW section. The four towers are round in shape and they are nearly the same size except that the S tower, which is adjacent to the entrance, is larger than the rest, measuring about 4m. in diameter. The other three towers are similar in size and measure 2m. in diameter and are about 4.8m. high. All the towers are entered through a small entrance, about 1m. high and 70cm. wide. The inside of the tower is about 2.6m. high and it is roofed with tamarisk beams, palm leaves and mud plaster. The roofs of the towers are accessed by a ladder made of small pieces of wood fixed in the inner wall of the tower and then through a small opening in the roof. The upper part of the towers are built of mud brick unlike the lower courses which are made of stone. The towers are equipped with machicolations in the upper part which were used for defensive purposes.

Za'bal castle is built entirely of stone and mud brick. The quality of materials and the building technique contrast with Mārid castle, where the materials and technique are far superior. Sandstone is the only material available in the Sakākā area unlike Dūmat al-Jandal where limestone is plentiful. The lower courses of Za'bal castle are built of stone whereas the upper part is built of mud brick and covered with a mud coating. However the towers are largely built of stone except for the uppermost courses which are built of mud bricks. There is no decorative element in Za'bal castle and the most striking thing about the castle is not the quality of its building, but the nature of its fortified location overlooking the city.

The present building is thought to have been constructed during the middle of the nineteenth century where, the locals mention, the castle was rebuilt after the conflict between the Rashīd and Ibn Sha'lān

in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless we believe that the foundation of the castle is much earlier in date and this can be demonstrated by the presence of pre-Islamic and Islamic sherds in the vicinity of Za'bal castle.

v Muwaysin castle:

The castle is situated in the Muwaysin area, about 12km. to the NE of Dūmat al-Jandal and about 30km. SW of Sakākā. The castle is located in the middle of the desert and stands alone, though a few new farms to the east of the building have been established recently. The location of the building in the middle of the desert has given rise to many questions about it and its function. We suggest that the building was used as a hunting lodge and was probably owned by a high ranking person. Consequently the building functioned in the same manner as the palaces of the Syrian desert, e.g. Quṣayr 'Amarah and Qaṣr al-Mashattā. The classical Arabic sources which refer to Dūmat al-Jandal and the Jawf region make no mention of Muwaysin castle. The earliest references to the castle were recorded by a few of the European travellers who visited the Jawf area. Captain Butler states that there is an old disused castle situated in a place called Muaysel, by which he means Muwaysin, two hours from Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>42</sup> Musil also mentions that Muwaysin castle is a forsaken fortress built on top of a solitary rock.<sup>43</sup>

During our fieldwork early in 1986, we surveyed the castle and the surrounding area. Inside the castle we excavated a trench in

42. Butler, 'Baghdad to Damascus', GJ, 526

43. Musil, Arabia Deserta, 304

order to bring to light some evidence which might outline the history of the building. Outside the castle a few sherds have been collected, most of which can be dated to the pre-Islamic period. The most surprising thing is the discovery of a sherd, in the lowest stratum of the trench, parallel with the Iron Age sherd found in trench no. 2 at Dūmat al-Jandal. The presence of this sherd indicates an Iron Age date, but most of the evidence suggests a much later date, mainly 3rd-6th century A.D. However, it is possible that there was some kind of occupation of the site during the late Iron Age.

To the W of Muwaysin castle is situated Qārat al-Nayaṣah, (the Mountain of the Porcupines). On the face of the mountain a large number of early Arabic inscriptions were found, most of which are dated to the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. The presence of the inscriptions in the Muwaysin area, which is located on a pilgrimage route from lower Mesopotamia to the holy cities, would seem to indicate that the castle was in use during the early Islamic period.

#### General description :

Muwaysin castle is built at the summit of a low hill about 8m. above the surrounding countryside, (Pl. LXII,B). The castle is rectangular in shape and it measures 27m. in length and 10m. in width. The entrance is situated in the middle of the S wall where it has been protected by an external wall built in front of the entrance and part of the southern wall, (Fig. 48). The building has no towers, nor any kind of fortification. We therefore suggest that the building was not intended for defensive purposes, but rather for living.

The entrance of the castle, (Fig. 49), is 1.30m. wide and about 2.20m. high. The entrance leads to a passageway, 1.20m. wide and 3.8m. long, which ends at the centre of the castle. The inner plan

of the castle comprises two sections, the W and the E sections. The W section is situated to the left of the passageway. On the W side of this section two rooms are situated, the NW room is 4m. long and 2m. wide, whereas the SW room is 3.5m. long and 1.8m. wide. Both rooms are intact and roofed with tamarisk beams and palm leaves and covered with mud. The rooms open into an open courtyard on the E side of which collapsed walls form a rising area. Through the collapsed wall a semi-circular arch is visible. This arch probably forms the opening of an oven; one of the local people who live in the area suggested that. To the right of these collapsed walls there is a small unit which could be used as a storeroom. We excavated our trench in the open courtyard to the N of the collapsed wall, (Fig. 48). A well has been discovered in the trench. This well is 1m. in diameter and 3.5m. deep and its top part is built of stone about 1m. deep. The well is dry at present and we believe it was deeper than it appears, because of the sand which filled the lower part of it.<sup>44</sup>

The E section of the building is situated to the right of the passageway. The size of this part is about 10 x 12m. and it comprises three rooms and a courtyard. The largest room in this section and in the whole of the building is located in the S side. This room is 6.9m. long and 2.6m. wide. The entrance to this room is in the middle of the northern wall and it is 1.20m. wide. The room has no roof and most of its walls have collapsed. The second room is opposite the largest room. It measures 3.20m. long and 2.10m. wide. The entrance is situated in the middle of the W wall. The third and smallest room is located at the NE corner. It is 2m. in length and 1.8m. in width

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44. See Chapter VI above

and it is open to the S. It seems that the E section of the building was the main reception area, whereas the W section was probably for women; this is suggested by the presence of an oven and a well inside that section.

To the E of the castle there is an old well in addition to traces of walling stretching to the N. This probably indicates an irrigation channel. Consequently the area to the E and to the S of the castle was probably cultivated; however these areas are cultivated at present, a fact which prevents any chance of detecting evidence of ancient cultivation.

The main materials used in the building of the castle were stones and mud bricks. The exterior walls are built mainly of slabs of stone for the lower part, which is about 2m. high, whereas the upper part of the walls are built of mud bricks, (Pl. LXI,B). The lower courses of the walls are certainly of ancient date, while the upper sections, mainly the mud bricks, are a later addition. The interior walls of the castle were built of mud brick and stone in the foundation in a rough way. Thus the building went through several periods of renovation and the interior and the upper walls were the latest stage.

The foundation of the building is carefully built, but there are no decorative elements in the whole building. The building technique is widely known in Dūmat al-Jandal. Therefore we believe that the castle was built by local people. It is obvious that the castle is ancient in date and this can be confirmed by the few sherds which we collected from the trench and from the surface outside the castle. From these pieces of evidence I suggest that Muwaysin castle was probably built between the third and the sixth century A.D.

vi Al-Qudayr castle near Sakākā:

The castle is situated to the S of Sakākā and due W of Qārā. It is built on the edge of a range of sandstone hills. The building is very small and therefore there is no reference to the castle in the Arabic sources which refer to the Jawf area. Al-Kuray' associates al-Qudayr castle with the Kingdom of Qedār of the Assyrian period.<sup>45</sup> The correlation here is established on linguistic grounds. However the present building is of a very much later date than the Assyrian period. An Arabic inscription due N of the building, engraved on the sandstone hill, states that a person called Ḥammād b. Ka'b built this house in the year 518/1124. It is certain that this inscription is related to the castle because on the one hand it is located very close to the building and on the other there is no other ancient building visible in the vicinity.<sup>46</sup>

The castle is very important since it is the first monument in the Jawf region dated by an inscription. 200m. to the N of the castle an old well was noticed and just to the N of the well, foundations of rooms or buildings are visible. A few sherds have been collected from this area which probably date from the 6th-8th century A.D. The well and the foundations are obviously earlier than the castle and probably its occupation continued to a later period.

The castle is built on the foot of a sandstone hill overlooking low ground to the E. The whole building was built of random rubble with mud filling in some parts of the castle. The castle is very small in size and irregular in shape. It measures about 7m. in length and

45. Al-Kuray', Hadiyyat al-aṣḥāb, 74

46. See Chapter VIII, inscription no. 46.

about 6.5m. in width, (Fig. 50, Pl. LXIII,A,B). The castle consists of a main tower situated at the NW side, a small tower on the SE side and an open space divided by a wall in the centre. The wall of the castle, which is built on the edge of the rocky hill on its E and W side, is about 30-40cm. thick and its average height is between 0.80cm. and 2.00m.

The main entrance to the building is located at the SE side. This entrance can be reached through a staircase built parallel to the N and E side of the wall. The staircase starts on the low ground to the N of the castle and climbs up to the entrance. The staircase was built of stone treads and some of these steps are still visible. To the left of the entrance there is a small tower, square in shape, probably built to protect the entrance. The main tower in the castle is built in the NW part of the building. The level of the tower is higher than the rest of the building and it is reached through a staircase inside the northern part of the courtyard, (Fig. 50). The main tower is nearly rectangular in shape and it measures 4.5m. in length and 2m. in width. The courtyard forms the main part of the building and it occupies most of its area. It is divided into two parts by a wall in the middle. We believe that part of this courtyard must have been roofed, forming a room or a hall. However we did not find any evidence of roofing, mainly because most of the castle materials had been looted. The whole castle is built of unshaped stones collected from the surrounding hills. The building technique is very rough and simple which indicates local craftsmen.

Al-Qudayr castle is very small in size and roughly built. We believe that the building was used as a dwelling rather than for defensive purposes since the castle is built at the foot of the hill and not on top where it would be more secure.

The inscription which dates the castle to 518/1124 gives us strong evidence of the occupation of this part of the Jawf region during the 6th/12th century, and this would indicate that the whole area continued to prosper throughout the various Islamic periods, though it is neglected by the early Arabic sources.



CHAPTER VIII

THE EARLY ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

## Introduction

Most of the classical Arabic sources which mention the development of Arabic script point to al-Ḥīrah as its birthplace.<sup>1</sup> Dūmat al-Jandal during the time preceding Islam was a key trading post in Northern Arabia where the trade routes fork to Syria and to Mesopotamia (see chapter IV above). This position enabled Dūmat al-Jandal to maintain good contact with the North on the one hand and with Mecca and Ḥijāz on the other. Therefore Dūmat al-Jandal played a significant role in spreading the Arabic script in Mecca and Eastern Arabia as the classical Arabic sources suggest. Balādhurī states that Bishr b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the brother of Ukaydir, king of Dūmat al-Jandal, often visited al-Ḥīrah where he learned the craft of Arabic writing. Visiting Mecca in later times Bishr taught writing to Sufyān b. Umayyah b. Shams and to Abū Qays b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Zahrah b. Kalb. The three went to Ṭā’if where they taught Arabic to Ghaylān b. Salamah al-Thaqafī. Furthermore Bishr went to Diyār Muḍar in Eastern Arabia, and then to Syria where he taught Arabic to the local people.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Durayd states that Bishr b. ‘Abd al-Malik taught Arabic to the people of Anbār. He adds that Bishr learned writing from Murāmir b. Murrah and Aslam b. Jadrah. Bishr married al-Ṣahbā’ bint Ḥarb, the sister of Abū Sufyān, and taught Abū Sufyān and some Meccan Arabic writing.<sup>3</sup> The Arabic sources indicate that Bishr was the main factor in spreading Arabic not only in Mecca and Ḥijāz, but also in Eastern Arabia and Syria. It is difficult to be

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1. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 476-477; Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 6-7; Abbott, Rise, 6-7
  2. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 476, 477; Abbott, Rise, 7
  3. Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqāq, 223

convinced that the spread of Arabic writing in three different places was associated with one man; however we believe that Dūmat al-Jandal and Bishr in particular contributed to the spread of Arabic especially in Mecca. Nevertheless we have no epigraphical evidence which can confirm this very early link of Dūmat al-Jandal with the spread of the Arabic script.

In this brief introduction we shall not be concerned with the various theories which deal with the origin of the Arabic script, which have been discussed by many scholars.<sup>4</sup> It is largely accepted among scholars that the Arabic script is a direct development of the late Nabataean. Beeston states that the Arabic script is developed from one of the Nabataean-Nemara types.<sup>5</sup> Abbott suggests that: "the northern population, long under the influence at work in these localities, that gave us the North Arabic script, borrowed in form mainly from the Nabataean characters and influenced later, as to diacritical and vowel signs, by Syriac".<sup>6</sup> Moritz proposes that the transformation of the Nabataean cursive writing into Arabic script must have taken place in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.<sup>7</sup>

After this short introduction to the spread and origin of the Arabic script we shall now discuss our Arabic inscriptions which were recorded in the Jawf region. During a fieldwork in the area, in early 1986, one hundred and eighteen Arabic inscriptions were recorded, most

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4. Abbott, Rise, 1-5; Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 17; Al-Fi'r, Taṭawwur, 115-138

5. Beeston, 'Evolution of Arabic', 3

6. Abbott, Rise, 2

7. Moritz, 'Arabic writing', 382

of which came from Muwaysin and Sakākā.

All the inscriptions which we found in the Jawf area are graffiti and not one tombstone has been discovered. These rock inscriptions are written in a simple unadorned Kufic, apart from No. 47 which has been written in a script which is closer to the Naskhī script.<sup>8</sup> The quality of the inscriptions is varied: some of them are poorly written and the letters are clumsy (e.g. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 31, 32 and 44), whereas some are beautifully inscribed and the letters are greatly extended (e.g. Nos. 4, 15, 26, 34 and 40). The instruments used to inscribe these inscriptions was probably a sharp stone for thick lines, and the edge of a knife for the fine ones. Most of the inscriptions are found on sandstone rocks, which makes the task of inscribing smooth and not very difficult. However, some of these inscriptions are executed in a way which indicates either that the scribe was not particularly skilful in his work, or that they had been inscribed in a hurry.

The types of the inscriptions are three: the first has a religious content, such as prayers for mercy or forgiveness, confessions, professions, and in a few cases inscriptions of curses (as in Nos. 26, 27, 39, 40 and 44). The second is typified by the commemorative inscription of the traveller who passed that place (e.g. No. 47). The third is the building inscription (as in No. 46).

The most fascinating inscription in this collection is No. 4; it is unique as it is associated with a lion illustration: this type of inscription is the first of its kind, as far as I am aware, and

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8. Cf. No. 47 below

dates from 144/761-62.

From the 118 inscriptions which have been recorded in the Jawf area only 47 inscriptions are included in this study. These inscriptions were selected for various reasons :

1. Dated inscriptions which are very significant, presenting us as they do with exact dates, enabling us to contribute to the study of Arabic palaeography.
2. Inscriptions with early letter forms which represent the 1st/7th or 2nd/8th century.
3. A group of inscriptions which refer to one family, as on Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22, as well as in Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30.
4. Inscriptions associated with buildings, as in No. 46.
5. Inscriptions which refer to an important or known person, as in Nos. 8 and 11.

Six inscriptions out of the 47 included here are dated inscriptions, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 46 and 47. The earliest, No. 1, is dated to 121/738-39 and the latest, No. 47, is dated to 644/1246. The vast majority of the inscriptions are undated, therefore dating these inscriptions was the most difficult task of all. However we have attempted to date them on the basis of their parallel with dated material from various parts of the Islamic world, at the same time ever aware of the rather haphazard nature of this method of dating, as Grohmann emphasises.<sup>9</sup> The second approach to dating is that of looking for

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9. Grohmann, Arabic inscriptions, XXI

similar names in different inscriptions where one inscription is dated and the other not: thus in this case it is safe to date both inscriptions to the same century and most probably to one half of a century, though not to the exact date, as in Nos. 1, 2 and 3, where the same name is repeated in the three inscriptions.<sup>10</sup>

None of the inscriptions recorded in the Jawf area and those included here have been published as far as I am aware.

The arrangement of the material is chronological: first the dated inscriptions of the second century A.H., then the undated inscriptions according to their palaeographical characteristics, and ending with Nos. 46 and 47, the 6th/12 and 7th/13th century inscriptions.

In the Arabic texts we use two types of brackets, the first is the square [ ] to distinguish any word added to the text and the round bracket ( ) for a doubtful reading.

Before we move to the inscriptions we must admit that no measurements have been taken of any of the inscriptions included here. This was not possible because of the shortage of time available for this work.

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10. Cf. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 below

INSCRIPTIONSNo. 1

Provenance : Muwaysin

Engraved on the Western face of al-Niyaṣah mountain

Dated : 121/738-9

9 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXV, No. 1

Text

- ١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 ٢- اللهم اغفر للاحارث [sic]  
 ٣- بن صاغر ما تقدم من ذ  
 ٤- نبه وما تاخر امين ثم ا  
 ٥- امين رب محمد و ا  
 ٦- برهيم [sic] رب العلمين [sic] و  
 ٧- كتب في وحدة [sic]  
 ٨- عشرين وماية س [sic]  
 ٩- ان الحكم لله

Translation

1. In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. O God forgive al-Ḥārith
3. b. Ṣāghir, his earlier
4. and his later sin(s),<sup>11</sup> Amen upon

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11. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-Faṭḥ, 2

5. Amen, Lord of Muḥammad and I
6. brāhīm, Lord of all created beings; it
7. was written in the twenty-
8. first and hundred year
9. Authority belongs to God.<sup>12</sup>

### Commentary

This inscription is the oldest Arabic text discovered in the Jawf region so far. The inscription is very important as it is dated to the early first half of the 2nd/8th century from which few dated inscriptions have been found in the whole of the Islamic world.

This inscription is written in early Kufic, which lacks any diacritical points or ornament. The end of L.1 and the whole of L.2 are weathered and unclear. The name of the person, which we interpreted as Al-Ḥārith ibn Ṣāghir, is not significant and therefore is not mentioned in any of the early Arabic sources. However the name of al-Ḥārith was very well known in the early times and is even used nowadays. The second name, Ṣāghir (L.2), can be read as Ṣā'ir, however both names have not been attested in early Arabic sources at our disposal. In L.2 the name written ll'ḥārith with a superfluous medial alif should be written as lil-Ḥārith. At the end of L.4 there is a superfluous alif. The name Ibrahim (L.6) is written without the medial long alif. This medial ā was not indicated by alif in Nabataean inscriptions and its omission lengthening the vowel is frequently found in the Qur'ān as in al-Raḥmān.<sup>13</sup> The word whdh (L.7) is a grammatical mistake for iḥdā.

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12. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-An'ām, 57

13. Littman, Arabic Inscriptions, 7



This inscription is very important from the palaeographical point of view. The forms of most of the letters resemble those of the 1st/7th and early 2nd/8th century inscriptions. The alifs (Ls 1,2, 4, 5, 6, 9) are slightly curved to the right and resemble the alifs in Mu'āwiyah inscription, which is dated to 58/677-78,<sup>14</sup> as well as in the inscription of 'Abbāsah, dated to 71/691.<sup>15</sup> The form of the medial hā (L.2) is similar to that of the 'Abbāsah inscription.<sup>16</sup> The letter lam alif (L.2) is written in a criss-cross form which has not been attested in the earlier inscriptions, as far as I am aware.<sup>17</sup> The letter dāl in the words taqaddama (L.3), Muḥammad (L.5) and whdh (L.7) are very much like the form of the dāl in al-Hajrī's,<sup>18</sup> and the Mu'āwiyah inscriptions.<sup>19</sup> The open medial 'ayn in al-'ālamīn (L.6) resembles the open 'ayn occurring in most early Arabic inscriptions, as mentioned above. The returning yā' is observed in the Nemara inscription,<sup>20</sup> which is a later development of the Nabataean yā'. This form of yā' continued to be used in the early Arabic inscriptions. In the word fī (L.7) the returning yā' resembles the yā's in the words fī (L.6) and ihdā in the Ḥajrī inscription.<sup>21</sup> However in the 'Abbāsah inscription the returning ya' is absent.<sup>22</sup>

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14. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

15. Hawary, 'Second oldest', 289, Pl. I

16. Hawary, 'Second oldest', Pl. I

17. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2; Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240; Hawary, 'Second oldest', Pl. I

18. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2

19. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

20. Dussaud, 'Die arabische', 277

21. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl.2

22. Hawary, 'Second oldest', Pl.I

No. 2

Muwaysin

Undated, probably dated to the first half of the 2nd/8th century

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXV, No. 2

Text

- ١- اللهم اغفر للاحارث [sic]  
 ٢- ابن صاغر ولزوجته  
 ٣- وكتب وهو يسئل [sic] الله الغفرة [sic]

Translation

1. O God forgive al-Ḥārith
2. ibn Ṣāghir and his wife
3. and he has written [this] asking God for forgiveness.

Commentary

This inscription bears the same name as in No. 1. It also resembles No. 1 palaeographically.

The forms of the letters are similar to No. 1 although this inscription is well executed and the letters are extended. The letters alif, lam-alif, hā' and kāf are exactly the same as in the former inscription. In L.2 the word ibn at the beginning of the line is written with alif, whereas in the former inscription the alif is omitted.

This inscription is quite short and the basmalah is missing. The first name al-Ḥārith (L.1) is written with the same spelling mistake as in No. 1.<sup>23</sup> The letter mim in the word al-maghfirah (L.3) is

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23. Cf. No. 1 above

is omitted. The medial alif in the word yasa'1 (L.3) is omitted.

The palaeographical resemblance of this inscription to the previous one and the presence of the same person's name in both inscriptions suggest that both were inscribed by the same scribe. Therefore it is possible to date this inscription to the first half of the 2nd/8th century.

No. 3

Muwaysin

Undated, probably the first half of the 2nd/8th century

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXVI, No. 3

Text

١- اللهم (لا) غفر لى  
٢- حارث ابن صاغر  
٣- وارضى عنه

Translation

1. O God, forgive al-
2. Ḥārith ibn Ṣāghir,
3. and be pleased with him.

Commentary

This inscription bears the same name as in Nos. 1 and 2. It resembles palaeographically inscriptions Nos 1 and 2. The forms of the letters are much the same as those of No. 1, e.g. the hā' (L.1), lam-alif (L.1)

ḥā' (L.2), nūn (L.2) and wāw (L.3) are exactly as in inscription No. 1. The technique in which this inscription is executed is very much like No. 1. The lam-alif (L.1) which precedes the word ghfr seems to be a later addition and that is clear from the way it has been written. We therefore believe that the second word (L.1) originally read Ighfir and not lā ghfr, as is evident from the context of the inscription.

This inscription resembles No. 1 and No. 2 palaeographically, and it is undoubtedly inscribed by the same scribe; thus it is dated to the first half of the 2nd/8th century.

#### No. 4

Muwaysin

To the north of al-Niyaṣah mountain

Dated, 144/761-62

2 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXVI, No. 4

#### Text

١- صنع يعلى بن يزيد هذا الا  
٢- سد سنة اربع واربعين ومائة

#### Translation

1. Ya'li b. Yazīd made this
2. Lion in the year one hundred and forty-four.

#### Commentary

This inscription is the second oldest Arabic text discovered so far in the Jawf region. It is very significant as it is associated with

a lion illustration. Illustrations of human and animal forms were very widespread throughout Arabia in pre-Islamic time. But Islam came and forbade the drawing of human and living creatures. This inscription is unique as it is probably the first inscription which is associated with an illustration as early as 144/761-62.

The name of the scribe Ya'li ibn Yazid has not been attested in any of the early Arabic sources: however, the names Ya'li and Yazid were very well known names in early times and in particular Yazid.<sup>24</sup>

This inscription is very important palaeographically. It is beautifully inscribed and the letters are very well executed. This inscription shows a more developed inscription than No. 1 above. In this inscription there are represented two forms of the 'ayn. The first is the open 'ayn and the second is the triangular 'ayn. In L.1 the final 'ayn in Sana'a and the medial 'ayn in Ya'li are both open form. Whereas in L.2 the final 'ayn in arba' and the medial 'ayn in arba'in are both triangular in form. The open 'ayn occurs in inscription No. 1 and as well in the Hajri inscription.<sup>25</sup> The presence of the two 'ayn forms in the same inscription is a phenomenon also not attested in the early inscription as far as I am aware. However it occurs in a later inscription from Egypt dated to 174/790.<sup>26</sup> The initial hā' (L.1) resembles the initial hā' (Ls.1,4) in the Hajri<sup>27</sup>

24. Dhahabī, Mushtabih, 667, 670; Ṭabarī, Annales, 1253 II, 1826, 2397; Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, II, 122, VI, 26, VII, 17

25. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions, Pl. 2

26. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl.I, no. 4521

27. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2

inscription and as well with Mu'awiyah's inscription.<sup>28</sup> The final returning yā' (L.1) is similar to the yā' form in the word fī in No. 1.<sup>29</sup>

No. 5

Al-Qar'ā

4km. to the northwest of Sakākā

Dated, Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah, 184/December, 800 - January, 801

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXVII, No. 5

Text

- ١- (ثقة) اللهم اغفر لمدرک ا  
 ٢- بن العلاء نبيه قديمه واخيره  
 ٣- وكتب في ذي الحجه سنة  
 ٤- اربع وثمانين و مية

Translation

1. (Trust of) O God forgive Mudrak i
2. bn al-'Alā' his earlier and later sin(s);
3. and it was written in [the month of] Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah, in the year
4. one hundred and eighty four.

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28. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

29. Cf. No. 1 above

Commentary

This inscription is the third oldest in this collection. The name Mudrak b. al-'Alā' has not been attested in any of the early Arabic sources. The name Mudrak is an infrequent name and it had been mentioned few times in the early Arabic references.<sup>30</sup> Whereas al-'Alā' is a common name, widely used in early times as well as nowadays.

The first word (L.1) which could read thiqah does not fit into the context of the inscription. It appears that the scribe began the inscription with this word and having done so he decided to start the inscription again with another word, so he left a gap between the word thiqah and Allāhumma.

The script of this inscription is not very well executed in comparison to the previous inscription. Some of the letter forms resemble those on 2nd/8th century tombstones from Egypt published by Hawary.<sup>31</sup> The medial hā' in the word Allāhumma (L.1) is similar to the hā' in the word Liyuḏhirah (L.3) in Hawary's inscription no. 3360, dated to 182/798,<sup>32</sup> and the medial mīm (Ls.1,2) is the medial mīm in the word al-mushrikūn in the above mentioned inscription. The returning yā' in the words fī and Dhī (L.3) resembles the final yā' in the word al-Hadramī (L.2) in Hawary's inscription no. 4521, dated 174/790,<sup>33</sup> as well as with our inscription No. 4 above. The letters hā' and jīm in the word Dhī 'l-Ḥijjah is very much the same as in the word Hijatah in Hawary's inscription no. 7155, dated to 179/795.<sup>34</sup>

30. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, I, 81; Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 3420, II, 1026, 1161, 1411, III, 2418

31. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, nos. 4521, 7155, Pl. II, no. 1506/142, Pl. III, no. 3360

32. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. III, no. 3360

33. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521

34. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 7155

No. 6

Al-Qar'ā

Dated, Şafar 186/Feb.-Dec., 802

7 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXVII, No. 6

Text

- ١- يشهد الحكم  
 ٢- بن الاشعك الا اله  
 ٣- الا الله وحد [ه]  
 ٤- لا شـ [ري] ك  
 ٥- له وكتب في  
 ٦- صفر سنة ست  
 ٧- وثمان [ي] من ومية

Translation

1. Testifies Al-Ḥakam
2. b. al-Ash'ak that there is no God
3. but Allah, the one;
4. there is no partner
5. with Him; and it was written in
6. Şafar in the year one
7. hundred and eighty-six.

Commentary

This inscription is found adjacent to the previous one and with seven other inscriptions on a small rocky hill inside one of the farms in al-Qar'ā.



This inscription displays the name al-Ḥakam ibn al-Ash'ak, a name not attested in the classical Arabic sources. The second name, al-Ash'ak, could be interpreted as al-As'ak or al-As'ad, these names have not been attested in the Arabic sources at our disposal. In the word waḥdahū (L.3), the final hā' is omitted. The word sharīk (L.4) is written with the medial rā' and yā' omitted. The medial yā' in the word thamānīn (L.7) is also missing. The omission of the medial superfluous alif in the word mi'ah (L.7) is a well known phenomenon in early Arabic writing.<sup>35</sup>

This inscription is very significant paleaographically. The bodies of certain letters are greatly extended, dāl, kāf, bā', yā' and ṣād. The character of extending letters is very well represented in the writing of Qur'ān MSS, in the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries. A similar example is a page from a Qur'ān in the mosque of Sayyidnā Ḥusayn in Cairo.<sup>36</sup> The form of the letter dāl in the word waḥdahū (L.3) resembles that in the word waḥdahū (L.3) in the Qur'ān of the Sayyidnā Ḥusayn mosque, and the form of the letter kāf in the words sharīk (L.4) and kataba/kutiba (L.5) are similar to the kāf form in the Qur'ān of Sayyidnā Ḥusayn mosque.<sup>37</sup> The form of the final yā' in the word fī (L.5) with a long retreating tail, which is carried back beneath the whole line, is the most remarkable feature of this inscription, which has not been attested in any of the earlier inscriptions as far as I know.

35. Cf. No. 5

36. Moritz, Palaeography, Pl. 13

37. Moritz, Palaeography, Pl. 13

No. 7

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries

5 lines, incised, a mixture of Naskhī and Kufic

Plate LXVIII, No. 7

Text

- ١ - دة زان به [sic] ما تقدم  
 ٢ - اللهم اغفر لسو  
 ٣ - منه وما تاخر  
 ٤ - وكتب سودة  
 ٥ - ابن هزيمة

Translation

1. (2) dah his earlier
2. (1) God forgive Sū
3. and later sin(s)<sup>38</sup>
4. and Sūdah b. Hudhaymah
5. has written [this].

Commentary

This inscription is very significant, with its very interesting features. First palaeographically this inscription may be considered as very early. Second the most interesting thing about it is the arrangement of its lines. In fact the inscription does not begin in

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38. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-Faṭḥ, 2

line one, but it starts with the word Allāhumma in L.2 and continues in L.1 and then back to Ls. 3, 4 and 5.

This inscription bears the name of Sūdah ibn Hudhaymah, which is repeated twice, a name which has not been attested in the classical Arabic sources. The name Sūdah is feminine and occurs few times in early sources.<sup>39</sup> The masculine form of this name must be written with a medial alif lengthening the vowel as Suādah.<sup>40</sup> Therefore the name here must be masculine to agree with the masculine form kataba (L.4). The omission of the medial alif in Sūdah is a very common characteristic of early Arabic inscription.

The word Dhanbahu (L.1) is written with a superfluous medial alif and the medial nūn is disconnected from the rest of the word.

The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription are very important. Most of the letters are written in a cursive way, while others, such as kāf, dāl and khā', show an early Kufic character. The way in which the word Allāhumma (L.2) is written resembles the same word (L.4) in Mu'āwiyah's inscription, dated to 58/677-78.<sup>41</sup> The initial hā' in Hudhaymah is similar to the initial hā' in the word hadhā (L.1) in No. 4 above. The form of the final tā'marbuṭah in Sūdah is like the final hā' in the word waḥdah (L.7) in No. 1 and in the word akhīrah (L.2) in No. 5.<sup>42</sup> The initial kāf in the word kataba resembles the form of the letter in the same word (L.3) in

39. Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 82; Ibn Hishām, Sīrat, I, 352, 391; Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 1108, 1263; Dhahabī, Mushtabih, 376

40. Ṭabarī, Annales, II, 1279, 1925, III, 1409

41. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII, A

42. Cf. Nos. 1, 5 above

No. 5 above.

The similarity of letters to some of the 1st/7th century inscriptions, as well as with some of the 2nd/8th century ones, leads us to believe that this inscription is probably to be dated to the 1st/7th century. However, it is difficult at this stage to set an exact date and therefore we believe it could date from the 1st/7th or 2nd/8th century.

No. 8

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries

4 lines, deep incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXVIII, No. 8

Text

١- اللهم اغفر [ر]  
 ٢- [ل] بشر بن الوليد اله  
 ٣- العلمين فانه الى ذلك محتا  
 ٤- ج

Translation

1. O God forgive
2. Bishr b. al-Walīd, God
3. of [all] created beings, for he is in need
4. of that

Commentary

The name Bishr b. al-Walīd which appears in this inscription has

been attested in the classical Arabic sources where it refers to two persons. The first is Bishr b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and the second is Bishr b. al-Walīd al-Kindī, who was the qādī in Baghdād during the caliphate of Ma'mwān from 208-218/823-833.<sup>43</sup>

The palaeography of this inscription suggests that it probably belongs to Bishr b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. However it is also possible that the inscription refers to an unknown Bishr b. al-Walīd.

The palaeographic peculiarities of this inscription are very significant, as it resembles the Mu'āwiyah inscription in the forms of the letters, alif (Ls. 1,2,3), hā' (L.3), the final dāl (L.2) and the medial hā' (L.1). At the same time it is parallel with a first-century inscription found in al-Khashnā, one of the Darb Zubaydah road stations, dated 56/675-6, in the forms of the letters alif (Ls. 1,2,3), bā' (L.2) and medial hā' (L.1).<sup>44</sup>

This inscription has some parallels with the previous one, where the word Allāhumma (L.1) is written in the same manner. In addition the forms of the letters, alif (Ls. 1,2,3), bā' (L.2), dāl (L.2) and kāf (L.3) are similar to those of the former inscription. The medial 'ayn (L.2) is written in the triangular form which occurs in No. 4 above.

From the above comparison it appears that this inscription is presumably dated from the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries.

43. Ṭabarī, Annales, II, 349-350, 401, 403, 1269-1270; Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, 571-572

44. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A; Sharafaddin, 'Islamic inscriptions', 69, Pl. 50,A,B

No. 9

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries

4 lines, incised, early Kufic

Plate LXIX, No. 9

Text

١ - اللهم اغفر  
 ٢ - لريان امين رب  
 ٣ - العلمين ولمن  
 ٤ - قال امين

Translation

1. O God, forgive
2. Rayyān [his sins], amen, Lord
3. of all created beings, and [may God forgive] him who
4. says amen.

Commentary

This inscription resembles palaeographically Nos. 7 and 8 above in the form of the letters, alif (Ls. 1,3), ghayn (L.1), fā' (L.1), mīm (Ls. 1,2,3), lām (Ls. 1,3,) and nūn (Ls. 2,3,4).<sup>45</sup>

The name Rayyān is a well known name and it occurs several times in early Arabic sources.<sup>46</sup>

45. Cf. Nos. 7 and 8 above

46. Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 378, 3383, II, 390, 837, 1702

The palaeographical character of certain letters in this inscription is similar to those in the Khashnā inscription, dated 56/675-6 and also to the Mu'āwiyah inscription dated 58/677-8, e.g. the letters alif (Ls.1,3), rā' (L.2) and hā' (L.1).<sup>47</sup> This inscription is different from the former in the form of the medial 'ayn where it occurs in the open form and it is similar to Nos. 1,4,5 and 6 above. The most striking peculiarity of this inscription is the presence of a dot below the letter bā' in the word rb (L.2), a characteristic which appears only here and in Nos. 24 and 47 below. Dotted letters have been attested in the Mu'āwiyah inscription.<sup>48</sup>

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription and its parallel with most of the first century inscriptions indicate that it is also probably dated from the same century, however the 2nd century cannot be ruled out.

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47. Sharafaddin, 'Islamic inscriptions', 69, Pl. 50,A,B;  
Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

48. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

No. 10

Al-Qar'ā

Undated, probably 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries

6 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXIX, No. 10

Text

- ١ - بِسْمِ الرَّحْمَنِ  
 ٢ - الرَّحِيمِ  
 ٣ - اللَّهُ  
 ٤ - اللَّهُمَّ  
 ٥ - اغْفِرْ  
 ٦ - لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ عَصَمٍ [sic]

Translation

1. In the name of God,
2. The Compassionate,
3. The Merciful,
4. O God
5. forgive
6. 'Alī b. 'Āṣim

Commentary

The name 'Alī ibn 'Āṣim which appears in this inscription has not been mentioned in any of the classical Arabic sources at our disposal. However the names 'Alī and 'Āṣim are well known names during the early period and they are still in use nowadays.

This inscription is important from the palaeographical point of



view and it has some parallel with Nos. 7,8 and 9 above in the forms of the letters, alif (Ls. 4,5,), ḥā' (L.2), mīm (Ls. 2,4) and hā' (L.3), and at the same time it is dissimilar in the letters rā' (L.5) and 'ayn (L.6). In addition the text is surrounded by a simple border, a peculiarity found only here and in three other inscriptions not included in this collection, from the same site. This type of border is more or less the same as the type which occurs in three tombstones, two from 'Ashm and al-Sirrayn in southern Ḥijāz, which are dated to about the 2nd half of the 3rd/9th century,<sup>49</sup> and the third from Egypt, dated to 182/798.<sup>50</sup>

The open medial 'ayn and the final yā' (L.6) are parallel with the Ḥajrī inscription,<sup>51</sup> but different from the forms of the letter in Nos. 7,8 and 9 above. The medial alif, in the word 'Āṣim (L.6), lengthening the vowel, has been omitted.

The forms of the letters and their resemblance to mainly first century inscriptions, thus would indicate that this inscription presumably dates to the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries.

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49. Al-Zayla'i, 'Southern Makkah, 337-338, 349-350, Pl. 25, no. 24, Pl. 27, no. 30

50. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. III, no. 3360

51. Ḥamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2

No. 11

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXX, No. 11

Text

- ١- اللهم [ ا ] غفر  
 ٢- لعبدك معا  
 ٣- ويه بن يزيد امين ثم امين  
 ٤- رب العالمين [sic]

Translation

1. O God, forgive
2. Mu'āwiyah b.
3. Yazīd, your servant, amen upon amen,
4. Lord of [all] created beings.

Commentary

This inscription bears the name Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd. The nisbah of this man has not been mentioned and this makes the task of identifying this name very difficult, as the early Arabic sources refer to three different men with the same name. The first man is Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. He was proclaimed caliph in 64/683-4, after the death of his father, and he died in the same year, after ruling for only three months (another account says forty days at the age of

nineteen).<sup>52</sup>

The second man is Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who in 98/716-17 was left in charge of Samarquand and Bukhārā by his father.<sup>53</sup>

The third man is Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, who was the governor of Homs in the year 126/743-44.<sup>54</sup>

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription suggest that it does not belong to the 1st century. This is indicated by the forms of the letters, hā' (L.1) and the triangular medial 'ayns (Ls. 2,4). Therefore we believe that the inscription does not refer to Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. Consequently it probably belongs to one of the other two men and perhaps refers to an unknown man with the same name. It is difficult at this stage to determine the identity of the man mentioned in this inscription.

The word ighfir (L.1) has been written with the initial alif omitted. The omission of the medial alif in the word al-'ālamīn (L.4) is a peculiarity seen in most of the 1st-2nd century inscriptions.<sup>55</sup>

The palaeographical peculiarities of this inscription resemble No. 25 below in the forms of the letters 'ayns (Ls. 2,4), the ghayn (L.1) (parallel with the initial 'ayn in No. 25), hā' (L.1) and the final nūn (Ls.3,4). The triangular form of 'ayn occurs in No. 4 above. The initial kāf with long shaft (L.2) has been attested in a tombstone from Egypt (L.4), dated to 180/796.<sup>56</sup> The initial and medial mīms (Ls.1,3,4) resemble those in the 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān inscriptions.<sup>57</sup>

52. Balādhurī, Ansāb, IV, 356

53. Ṭabarī, Annales, II, 1324

54. Ṭabarī, Annales, II, 1826-1831, 1834, 1892

55. Cf. Nos. 1, 5, 6 above

56. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. II, no. 1506/42

57. Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 128, Fig. 11,A,B

No. 12

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd/8th century

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXX, No. 12

Text

- ١- يؤمن بالله كعبر بن عيسى  
 ٢- و بكل رسول ارسله ا  
 ٣- و كتاب ا / ن / زله و يسئل [sic]  
 ٤- ربه المغفرة

Translation

1. Ka'bar b. 'Īsā believes in God
2. and in every Messenger [God] has sent o
3. r every book [God] has revealed, and (he) asks
4. his Lord forgiveness

Commentary

This inscription is beautifully inscribed and there is resemblance in the forms of the letters bā', tā', rā', kāf and 'ayn, to the former inscriptions Nos. 1,2, 4 and 5.<sup>58</sup>

The name Ka'bar (L.1) is possibly read as Ku'ayb, but these names have not been attested in any of the Arabic sources at our disposal.

The medial nūn in the word anzalahu (L.3) is omitted. In L.3

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58. Cf. Nos. 1,2,4 and 5 above

the word yas'al is written with the medial alif omitted. The initial and medial sin here resembles the same letter forms in two tombstones from Egypt dated to 174/790 and 180/796 respectively.<sup>59</sup>

The palaeographical similarity of this inscription with the previous second century inscription suggests that we are here dealing with a second century inscription, but it is difficult to determine whether it belongs to the first or second half of the century.

### No. 13

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd - 3rd/8th - 9th centuries

2 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXI, No. 13

#### Text

١- اللهم ان علاثة تسلك [sic] رضاك والجنة  
٢- وتعوذ بك من سخطك و النار

#### Translation

1. O God 'Alāthah, asks for your acceptance and the paradise
2. and seeks refuge in You from Your wrath and the fire

#### Commentary

The name which appears in this inscription is interpreted as 'Alāthah, a name which occurs once in al-Ṭabarī.<sup>60</sup>

59. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521, Pl. II, no. 1506/14

60. Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 2064

This inscription resembles the previous ones in the forms of some of the letters, e.g. the alifs, jīm, 'ayn and hā', but it differs in the form of the kāf, where its shaft is extended vertically. A character has been noticed in the word sharīk (L.4) in a tombstone from Egypt, dated to 174/790.<sup>61</sup> It has also been seen in a tombstone from Mas'ūdah in southern Ḥijaz, which al-Zayla'ī dated to the 1st-2nd/7th-8th century.<sup>62</sup> The form of the letter dhāl in the word ya'ūdhu (L.2) is similar to the letter dhāl (L.4) in the Ḥajrī inscription.<sup>63</sup> The open 'ayn occurs, as we mentioned earlier, in most *of* the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th century inscriptions. The word inna (L.1) resembles the same word (L.6) in the Egyptian tombstone mentioned above. The form of the letter khā' in the word ṣakhaṭika (L.2) is like the hā' in the word Muḥammad (L.4) in the tombstone from Egypt.<sup>64</sup>

The resemblance of this inscription to other 2nd/8th century inscriptions suggests that it presumably dates from the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

61. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521

62. Al-Zayla'ī, 'Southern Makkah', 293, Pl. 20, no. 3

63. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2

64. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521

No. 14

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXI, No. 14

Text

١- اللهم احفظ عاليه  
 ٢- بن طوق في سر امره  
 ٣- وعلانيته امين ثم امين

Translation

1. O God, protect 'Āliyah
2. b. Ṭawq in his private
3. and public affairs amen upon amen.<sup>65</sup>

Commentary

This inscription bears the name of 'Āliyah b. Ṭawq, a name which does not appear in the classical Arabic sources. The name 'Āliyah can also possibly be interpreted as Ghāliyah; both names were mentioned by Dhahabī.<sup>66</sup>

This inscription is quite interesting from the palaeographical point of view. It is inscribed in a beautiful way and the bodies of

65. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-A'rāf, 122

66. Dhahabī, Mushtabih, 429

certain letters such as zā', ṣā' and yā' are extended. The form of some of the letters, e.g., the final mīm, ḥā', final yā' are similar to inscription No. 1. The final mīm in the word Allāhumma (L.1) is similar to the mīm in the word al-ḥukm (L.9) in No. 1 above, and the initial ḥā' in the word ibfaz (L.1) is like the letter ḥā' in the word whdh (L.7) in the same inscription. The word fī (L.2) with the retreating yā' has exactly the same form as in No. 1 and in two tombstones from Egypt dated to 179/795 and 180/796 respectively.<sup>67</sup> The final qāf in the word Ṭawq (L.2) resembles the letter in the word al-ḥaqq (L.8) in a tombstone from Egypt, dated to 185/801.<sup>68</sup>

No. 15

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXII, No. 15

Text

- ١- ان عاليه يسئل [sic] الله مغفرته ور  
 ٢- حمته ورضوانه ويعو  
 ٣- ن به من سخطه و مقته  
 ٤- ويعوذ به من النار

Translation

1. 'Āliyah ask God's forgiveness, and
2. his Mercy and approval, and seeks
3. refuge [in Him] from His wrath and hate
4. and seeks refuge [in Him] from the fire.

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67. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl.I, no. 7155, Pl.II, no. 1506/734

68. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. IV, no. 1506/687



Commentary

This inscription resembles the previous one, but it has been very well and carefully executed. It bears the same name as the previous inscription. Although the second name is not mentioned here, we believe that both inscriptions belong to the same person.

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription are fascinating: the letters are deep and widely inscribed and the whole elegant in character. The bodies of some of the letters are extended, e.g. ṣād, tā' and nūn. The alifs are written straight with a slight curve to the right. The letter khā' in the word sakhaṭihi (L.3) is similar to the medial letter ḥā' in the word Muḥammad (L.3) in a tombstone from Egypt, dated 185/801.<sup>69</sup> The medial 'ayn in the word ta'ūdhū is triangular in form and resembles the 'ayn (L.2) in inscription No. 4, and the 'ayn in the word tab'athn (L.7) in the tombstone from Egypt mentioned above. The medial ghayn in the word maghfirah (L.1) is similar to the medial 'ayn form, and like the ghayn (L.4) in No. 12 above. The initial ḏād in the word riḏwānahu (L.2) is similar to the initial ṣād in the word ṣafar (L.6) in No. 6 above, dated to 186/802. The word yas'al (L.1) is written with the medial alif omitted.

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69. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. III, no. 103

No. 16

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXII, no. 16

Text

١- اللهم ان عالية يسلك [Sic]  
 ٢- ان تغفر له ذنبه كله  
 ٣- انك انت الغفور  
 ٤- الرحيم

Translation

1. O God, 'Ālyah asks you
2. to forgive him all his sin[s]
3. You are indeed the oft-forgiving
4. the Merciful.<sup>70</sup>

Commentary

This inscription bears the same name as nos. 10 and 11. The name 'Ālyah as we read it may possibly be interpreted as Ghālyah or Ghālibah. It is interesting to point out here that the name has feminine form, although clearly from the text it is masculine. This particular person is not attested in early Arabic sources.

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70. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-Baqarah, 173, 182; Sūrat Āl 'Imrān, 31, 89, 129

The palaeography of this inscription resembles nos. 14 and 15 above with the letter forms, e.g., mīm, hā' and dhāl. the initial dhāl in the word dhanbihi (L.2) resembles the dhāl in the word bi-'adhn (L.3) in Mu'āwiyah inscription dated 58/677-78.<sup>71</sup> The form of the letter kāf in the words kullahu (L.2) and innaka (L.3) is similar to the letter kaf in the word al-Makkī (L.5) in a tombstone from N. la-Ḥasabah, dated to the 1st-2nd/7th-8th century.<sup>72</sup> The medial ghayn in Ls. 2,3 is similar to the ghayn (L.1) in No. 15 and to the medial 'ayn (L.2) in No. 4.<sup>73</sup> The body of the word al-Raḥīm is greatly extended, occupying the whole line. This peculiarity has been noticed in a tombstone from Egypt, dated 182/798.<sup>74</sup>

No. 17

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

5 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIII, No. 17

Text

١- رب عالية

٢- كن به رونا [sic]

٣- رحيا

٤- يوم حساب

٥- العلمين [sic]

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71. Miles, 'Early Islamic Inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

72. Al-Zayla'ī, 'Southern Makkah', 289, Pl. 20, no. 1

73. Cf. Nos. 4, 15 above

74. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. III, no. 3360

Translation

1. Lord of 'Ālyah
2. mayest Thou be with him pitiful,
3. Merciful,
4. on the day of the reckoning
5. of [all] created beings.

Commentary

This inscription bears the name 'Ālyah as in the last three inscriptions and therefore belongs to the same person. However it has been written less perfectly than Nos. 14 and 15 above. It resembles palaeographically the previous inscription and thus we believe that it has been inscribed by the same scribe. The body of the word al-'ālamīn (L.5) is extended and the word written with the medial alif lengthening the vowel omitted. The spelling of the third word (L.2) is incorrectly written with the medial second wāw omitted

The parallels of this inscription with the previous ones suggest that it is presumably dated from the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

No.18

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

5 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIII, Nos. 18 and 20

Text

- ١- امن داود بن
- ٢- عالية بالله و بكل
- ٣- كتاب انزله
- ٤- و بكل رسول
- ٥- ارسله الله

Translation

1. Dā'ūd b. 'Ālyah
2. believed in God, and in every
3. book He has revealed,
4. and in every messenger
5. God has sent.

Commentary

The name of the person appearing in this inscription is apparently the son of 'Ālyah b. Tawq, a name occurring in Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 17 above.

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription resemble No. 15 above, and the form of the letters thus suggests that both inscriptions were probably inscribed by the same scribe. However some letters here (e.g. dāl, kāf, bā' and sīn) are greatly extended.

This inscription and inscription No. 15 above are beautifully inscribed and they show the best examples of early Arabic writing in this collection.

The resemblance of this inscription to No. 15 above suggests, we believe, the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries as a date.

No. 19

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIV, No. 19

Text

- ١ - رب داود كن  
 ٢ - به روف [sic] رحيم  
 ٣ - يوم حـ [ساب العالمين]

Translation

1. Lord of Dā'ūd be
2. pitiful, Merciful, with him
3. on the day of the [reckoning of all created beings]

Commentary

The name in this inscription, Dā'ūd refers to Dā'ūd b. 'Ālyah attested in the previous inscription. The two are connected and this is evident from the similarity of the letters, e.g. alif, dāl, kāf and wāw to those in the previous inscription.

This inscription is very significant palaeographically. L.1 has been written with great care and is similar to No. 18 above, whereas L.2 is less carefully executed and L.3 is incomplete. This suggests that this inscription was inscribed by someone who was passing through this area and, while resting, the scribe tried to complete the inscription, but could not finish it.

The omission of the medial second wāw and the final alif in the word ra'ūf (L.2) is another factor indicating the hurry in which the inscription was done.

The parallels of this inscription are with No. 18 above, in particular L. 1. This suggests that it belongs to the 'Ālyah group of inscriptions, e.g. 14, 15, 16 and 18, which we believe to date from the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

No. 20

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

2 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIII, Nos. 18 and 20

Text

١ - يومن محمد بن عالية  
٢ - بره

Translation

1. Muḥammad b. 'Ālyah believes
2. in his Lord

Commentary

This inscription is found above No. 18. The name Muḥammad b. 'Ālyah is a second son of the 'Ālyah b. Ṭawq mentioned in Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 17, and the brother of Dā'ūd, who occurs in Nos. 18 and 19 above. Consequently this inscriptions belongs to the same period as Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 and may probably be dated to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

This inscription is less embellished from the palaeographical point of view compared with Nos. 15 and 18 above. The inscription is weathered, notably the word 'Ālyah at the end of L.1 where it is not very clear.

No. 21

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

2 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIV, No. 21

Text

١- امن محمد بن عالية  
٢- بالله وحده

Translation

1. Muḥammad b. 'Ālyah believed
2. in God alone

Commentary

This inscription is located above No. 19. It is the second inscription which bears the name Muḥammad b. 'Ālyah, and therefore both this and the preceding inscription belong to the same person. The form of this inscription resembles Nos. 17 and 20 above. However, it contrasts with No. 16 in the form of the letters hā' and 'ayn (L.1), which resembles the initial hā' and ayn (Ls. 1,2,3) in No. 17. above. The final dāl (L.2) is very much like the dāl (L.1) in No. 19 above. The detached form of the letter ha' in the word waḥdahu (L.2) is similar *to* the hā' at the end of L. 2 in No. 14 above.



No. 22

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIV, Nos. 22 and 23

Text

١- ثقة صالح بن  
 ٢- عاليه  
 ٣- بالله

Translation

1. The trust of Ṣāliḥ b.
2. 'Ālyah
3. in God.

Commentary

This inscription bears the name of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Ālyah, who, we believe, is the third son of 'Ālyah ibn Ṭawq.

The formula of this inscription is unlike the previous inscriptions: it begins with the word Thiqat (the trust of) which has occurred in few inscriptions in this collection.

The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription are very significant as it forms something of a transition between the Kufic and later Naskhī scripts. The letters ḥā' (L.1), 'ayn and medial yā' (L.2) exemplify a more cursive form of letters than Kufic.

This inscription is beautifully inscribed probably by using a sharp metallic implement or edge of a knife. The bodies of certain letters,

e.g. ṣād, nūn and ‘ayn are greatly extended. The character of the inscription suggests a later date than the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries which we established for the ‘Ālyah's group of inscriptions, but the presence of the name which associates it with the group suggests the same date for this inscription.

No. 23

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate, LXXIV, Nos. 22 and 23

Text

١- اللهم تو[ف] صالح  
٢- مؤمنا و الحقه  
٣- بالصالحين

Translation

1. O God, take away Ṣāliḥ,
2. faithful [to God], and bring him together
3. with the pious

Commentary

This inscription is found above the former inscription and is placed upside down, because the rock has fallen down from the upper mountain and came to rest upside down at the foot. The inscription refers to the name Ṣāliḥ, whom we believe to be the same person occurring in the former inscription. It has a palaeographical resemblance to

the preceding inscription. The first line of the inscription has been weathered and is therefore not very clear. The letters ṣād, nūn and yā' (L.3) are similar to the letters in L.1 in No. 22 above. The first two lines of this inscription are not of the same standard as the previous inscription, but the third line resembles the quality of No. 18 in particular the form of the extended ṣād. The medial ḥā' in the word wa-'lḥaḥu (L.2) is like the ḥā' in the word Dhū '1-Ḥijjah (L.3) in No. 5, and the initial wāw (L.2) is similar to the wāw form (L.3) in No. 5 above.<sup>75</sup> The medial ḥā' (L.2) resembles the ḥā' (L.2) in an inscription from Jabal Bint Ḥāmīr in the Ḥijāz.<sup>76</sup>

No. 24

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXV, No. 24

Text

١- اللهم تقبل حسنات  
٢- صالح و كفر سياته [sic] وارفع  
٣- درجاته

Translation

1. O God accept the good deeds of
2. Ṣāliḥ, grant pardon for his evil deeds, and raise up
3. him up to high stations

75. Cf. No. 5 above

76. Grohmann, Arabic inscriptions, 134, 2225, Pl. XXIV

Commentary

The name of Ṣāliḥ in this inscription occurs in No. 22 and 23 above, and we believe that he is the same person as in No. 22, the third son of 'Ālyah b. Ṭawq.<sup>77</sup> The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription are parallel with No. 22 above in respect of the letter forms, e.g. alifs, ṣād and the final hā'. The inscription, like No. 22 above, is beautifully inscribed and certain letters are more extended such as, qāf (L.1), hā' (L.1), ṣād (L.2) and jīm (L.3). The medial alifs (Ls. 1,2,3) are quite the same as in No. 22 above. The kāf in the word kaffr (L.2) is similar to the kāf in the word al-ḥukm (L.9) in No. 1 above, dated to 121/738-9. The form of the letters hā' (L.1) and jīm (L.3) resembles the hā' in the word raḥīman (L.2) in No. 19 above. The final 'ayn in the word wa-'rfa' (L.3) is like the form of the 'ayn (L.2) in No. 4 above, and in a tombstone from Egypt, dated to 179/795, (L.16).<sup>78</sup> The word darajātaḥu (L.3) is largely extended and occupies the whole line, a peculiarity which occurs in some inscriptions, e.g. Nos. 16, 17, 22 and 23 above, and also in a tombstone from Egypt, dated to 182/798,<sup>79</sup> in addition a dot is noticeable below the jīm. The word sīy'ataḥu (L.2) is written without the medial hamzah, and the letter yā' has dots.

The palaeographic parallel of this inscription with the 2nd/8th century inscriptions, thus suggests that it is probably to be dated to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

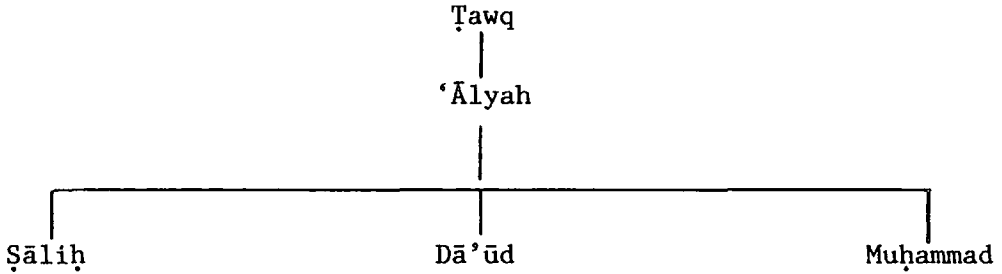
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77. Cf. no. 22 above

78. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 7155

79. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. III, no. 3360

This inscription is the last of those which belong to the 'Ālyah group and therefore we can reconstruct the family tree, as it appears in inscriptions Nos. 14-20, as follows.



No. 25

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXV, No. 25

Text

- ١- اللهم تقبل من عبدك ابرهيم [sic] ابن حزيمة امين  
 ٢- رب العالمين رب موسى وعيسى اللهم اشرح  
 ٣- صدره واحلل عنه وزره وارزقه فاحسن رزقه امين

Translation

1. O God, accept from Your servant, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍramah his prayer Amen,
2. Lord of [all] created beings, Lord of Mūsā and 'Īsā, O God, lay open
3. (... for him) his heart, and release him from his burden, and provide him with good sustenance, Amen.

Commentary

This inscription displays the name Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍramah. This name is not found in any of the Arabic sources at our disposal.

This inscription is very important from the palaeographical point of view. The inscription has been beautifully inscribed and it shows the skill of the scribe.

The form of the initial ḥā' (ls. 1, 2 and 3) occurs in a tombstone from Egypt, dated 180/796.<sup>80</sup> The final dāl in the word 'abdika (L.1) is similar to the form of the dāl attested in 1st century inscriptions.<sup>81</sup> The initial ṣād (L.1) is similar to the ṣād which occurs in No. 4 above. The initial 'ayns in the words 'abdika (L.1) and 'Īsā (L.2) are very much like the initial 'ayns noticed in the 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān inscriptions (Ls. 2,3), dated to 68/687-88.<sup>82</sup> The medial 'ayn (L.2) appears in No. 4 above and in a tombstone from Egypt.<sup>83</sup> The form of the final kāf (L.1) is similar to the kāf (L.7) in No. 1 above. The retreating form of the alif maqṣūrah in L.2 is parallel with the final retreating yā' in Nos. 1, 4 and 5 above.<sup>84</sup>

The palaeographic resemblance of this inscription to the above mentioned indicates that it obviously dates to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

80. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. II, no. 1506/734

81. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2; Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

82. Jum'ah, Dirāṣah, 128, Fig. 11,B

83. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521

84. Cf. No. 1 above

No. 26

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, deeply incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXVI, No. 26

Text

- ١- اللهم منزل الكتاب  
 ٢- مفرغ السحاب  
 ٣- لا تغفر لابراهيم [sic] ابن حزيمة

Translation

1. O God, Revealer of the Book [the Qur'ān]
2. [he who] discharged the clouds
3. do not forgive Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍramah.

Commentary

This inscription refers to the same person as in the previous inscription. This name has not been attested in the classical Arabic sources.

The most striking feature of this inscription is that it is an inscription calling down a curse, unlike the previous ones which generally contain prayers or confessions of faith. A few such inscriptions have been found showing the same feature, e.g. one graffito from Syria<sup>85</sup> and another one from the Ḥijāz.<sup>86</sup>

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85. Littmann, Arabic inscriptions, 15

86. Grohmann, Arabic inscriptions, 48, 250

The word Ibrāhīm (L.3) is written without the medial alif lengthening the vowel, a phenomenon which occurs in Nos. 1, 5, 6, and 17.<sup>87</sup>

This inscription is elegantly engraved, and resembles No. 15 above in the form of the letters and the technique of the carving, but it differs from it in the form of the initial 'ayn, which is similar to the previous inscription.

the most interesting feature of this text is its language where a rhymed prose is demonstrated in the words munazzil al-kitāb (L.1) and mufarrigh al-sahāb (L.2).

The parallel of this inscription with No. 15 above and the way that both inscriptions are engraved suggest that they were both written by the same person. Therefore we believe that this inscription is dated to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

No. 27

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXVI, No. 27

Text

- ١- اللهم / منزل / ل الكتاب
- ٢- ففرغ السحاب
- ٣- لا تغفر / لا / برهيم [sic] بن حزيمة

---

87. Cf. Nos. 1, 5, 6 and 17 above



Translation

1. O God, Revealer of the Book
2. [he who] discharged the clouds,
3. do not forgive Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍramah

Commentary

This is the third inscription which bears the name Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍramah, and it is the second inscription containing a curse in this collection.

The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription are different from the two previous inscriptions, which refer to the same person. However, the formula is exactly the same as the previous one apart from the missing word munazzil (L.1).

This inscription is more roughly engraved compared with the previous one, and the letters are clumsily inscribed. The first line is incomplete and the presence of the letter lām after the word Allāhumma indicates that the missing word is munazzil as it appears from the previous inscription. The initial and medial alifs in the word Ibrāhīm (L.3) are omitted as well as in ibn (L.3). The form of the letter hā' in the word Ibrāhīm (L.3) is more like a mīm. The form of the word mufarrigh (L.2) and the same word (L.2) in the previous inscription are identical, in particular the letter ghayn.

The resemblance of the letters to those in some of the previous inscriptions, Nos. 15, 18 and 26, indicate that it is also probably dated to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

No. 28

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXVII, No. 28

Text

١- اللهم اسلك [sic] برحمتك اله  
 ٢- الحق ان (لا) تغفر لعبدك موسى  
 ٣- ابن حضرمة امين رب العا  
 ٤- لم/ي/ن رب محمد و ابراهيم [sic]

Translation

1. O God, I ask you in Your mercy, God
2. of truth to forgive Your servant Mūsā
3. b. Ḥaḍramah amen Lord of all
4. Created beings, Lord of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.

Commentary

This inscription belongs to Mūsā b. Ḥaḍramah, who, we believe, is a brother of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḍramah, a name which occurs in Nos. 25, 26 and 27 above. However this inscription is different from these three inscriptions from the palaeographical point of view. Nevertheless it resembles them in the form of certain letters, e.g. ḥā' (L.2), 'ayn (Ls.2,3), ghayn (L.2), hā' (L.1) and alif maqṣūrah (L.2). The word asalk (L.1) is written without the medial alif. The word 'l'ālm[i]n (Ls. 3,4) is

written with the medial 'alif in the same manner as in No. 25 above, but here the medial yā' has been omitted. The word Ibrāhīm (L.4) is written with the medial alif omitted.

This inscription is very significant in its palaeography. Certain letters here resemble a first century inscription, e.g. the form of the initial mīm (Ls. 2,3,4) is parallel with the Mu'āwiyah inscription, dated to 58/677-78. Also with the 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān inscriptions, dated 68/687-88.<sup>88</sup> The form of the final letter kāf resembles the 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān inscriptions and a tombstone from N la-Ḥasabah in southern Ḥijāz. which is dated to the 1st-2nd centuries A.H. In addition it occurs in No. 16 above.<sup>89</sup> The triangle medial 'ayns and ghayn forms (Ls. 2,3) are similar to the letter forms which appear in Nos. 4, 15, 16, 25 and 26 above.<sup>90</sup> The retreating alif maqṣūrah (L.2) is like Nos. 1,4,5,6 and 25 above.<sup>91</sup>

The most striking feature of this inscription is the lām-alif (L.2) which is recognizable, in spite of its having been obliterated. The presence of lām-alif here suggests two possibilities: firstly, that it had been written by mistake by the scribe and therefore he deleted it. Secondly, that it was part of the original text, a phenomenon which occurs in Nos. 26 and 27 above, and was deleted by another person in a later period.

88. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A; Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 128, Fig. 11,A,B

89. Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 128, Fig. 11,A,B; Al-Zayla'i, 'Southern Makkah', 289, Pl. 20, no. 1; and cf. No. 12 above

90. Cf. Nos. 4, 15, 16, 25 and 26 above

91. Cf. No. 1 above

No. 29

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXVII, No. 29

Text

- ١- اللهم (لا) تغفر لاسماعيل [sic] ابن  
 ٢- حضرمة و[ا]رض عنه رضى  
 ٣- ولا سخط بعده امين ثم امين  
 ٤- رب العلمين [sic]

Translation

1. O God forgive Ismā'īl ibn
2. Ḥaḍramah [his sins], and be well pleased with him,
3. with no annoyance afterwards, Amen upon Amen
4. Lord of [all] created beings.

Commentary

This inscription bears the name Ismā'īl b. Ḥaḍramah, who appears to be a brother of Ibrāhīm and Mūsā, sons of Ḥaḍramah mentioned in Nos. 25, 26, 27 and 28 above.

This inscription resembles the previous one in the forms of the letters alif (1.3), ḥā' (L.2), rā' (L.4), medial tringle 'ayn (L.4) and mīm (Ls. 1,2,3,4), and it is distinct from the previous one by the letters, the medial open 'ayn (L.3) and the final alif maqṣūrah (L.2).

The orthographical and palaeographical characteristics of this inscription are very striking. The presence of lām-alif (L.1), which seems to have been written and then obliterated, is a peculiarity seen in the previous inscription. If we assume that the lām-alif (L.1) is a mistake made by the scribe, then the word taghfir (L.1) should be written ighfir, however the whole context indicates that the lām-alif is a mistake. The letter alif in the word arḍ (L.2) is obliterated. The wāw at the beginning of L. 3 is superfluous and the lām-alif which follows it is written in a peculiar way. The word riḍā (L.2) is written with final alif maqṣūrah instead of alif al-tanwīn. The word al-'ālamīn (L.4) is, unlike in the previous inscription, written with the medial alif omitted. The alif maqṣūrah in the word riḍā (L.2) is written in the same manner as in the inscription of the mosque of al-Bay'ah in Minā, dated to 144/761-62,<sup>92</sup> and in tombstones from Egypt, dated to 174/790, and 183/799 respectively.<sup>93</sup>

The parallel of this inscription with the second century inscriptions would indicate that it presumably belongs to the same century: however we suggest that it dates from the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

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92. Al-Fi'r, Taṭawwur, 385, Pl. 28 and 418, Fig. 3

93. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521, Pl. III, no. 1289

No. 30

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

2 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXVII, No. 30

Text

١ - اللهم اغفر لي علي  
٢ - بن حضرة امين

Translation

1. O God forgive Ya'li
2. b. Ḥaḍramah, Amen.

Commentary

This inscription shows the name Ya'li b. Ḥaḍramah, who, we believe, is the fourth brother of Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and Ismā'il, who appear in Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 above. The name Ya'li occurs in No. 4 above. The name was known in early times and it has been mentioned by some of the early Arabic sources.<sup>94</sup>

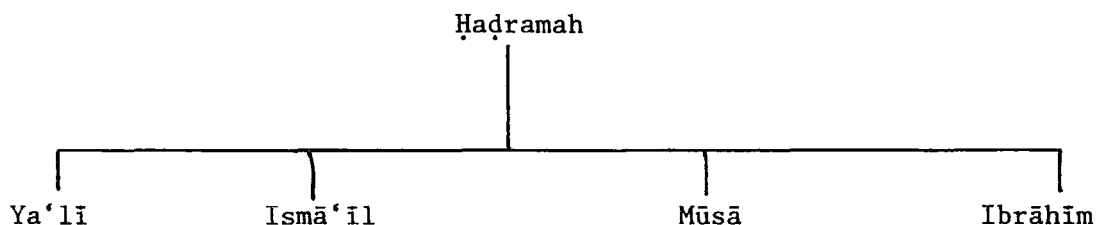
This inscription resembles palaeographically No. 28 above in the forms of the letters, alifs (L.1), hā' (L.2), ḍad (L.2), mīm (Ls. 1,2), hā' (L.1) and nūn (L.2). It is idfferent in the forms of the letters,

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94. Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 1253, III, 2397, 2541; Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, II, 122, VI, 26, VII, 17

the medial open 'ayn (L.1) and the final retreating yā' (L.1). The bodies of the letters ghayn, 'ayn and yā' (L.1) and dād (L.2) are extended, a characteristic which has appeared in Nos. 6, 15, 16, 22 and 24 above. The initial ghayn (L.1) is similar to the initial 'ayn in the 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān inscription mentioned in No. 21 above.<sup>95</sup> The final yā' (L.1) with long retreating tail is the most extraordinary peculiarity where it is carried back beneath the whole line. This characteristic occurs in No. 6 above.

The inscriptions Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 apparently refer to persons who belong to the same family, and they are four brothers as shown below:



No. 31

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXVIII, No. 31

Text

١- ولي كعب [١] اللهم اغفر لعر  
 ٢- وة بن موسى امين ثم [١] مين  
 ٣- رب العلمين [sic] رب  
 ٤- موسى و هرون [sic]

95. Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 128, Fig. 11,B; cf. No. 25 above

Translation

1. [God is the] friend of Ka‘b, O God forgive  
‘Ur
2. Wah b. Mūsā amen upon [a]men
3. Lord of all Created beings, Lord [of]
4. Mūsā and H[ā]rūn.<sup>96</sup>

Commentary

The name which appears in this inscription has not been attested in any of the classical Arabic sources. However the names ‘Urwah and Mūsā were both very well known names in early times as well as nowadays.

The orthography of this inscription has the peculiarity of early Arabic inscriptions. The words allāhumma (L.1) and amen (L.2) are both written with the initial alif omitted. The words al-‘ālamīn (L.3) and Hārūn (L.4) are written without the medial alif lengthening the vowel, a characteristic which occurs in most of the early inscriptions.<sup>97</sup>

The palaeographical peculiarities of this inscription have parallels with the previous inscriptions, e.g. the initial kāf (L.1) is similar to the letter form in No. 6 above. The occurrence of the open and triangle forms of ‘ayn is a characteristic attested in No. 4 above. The forms of retreating yā’ and alif maqṣūrah (Ls. 1,2) are similar to the form of the letters in Nos. 1, 4 and 5 above. The word al-‘ālamīn (L.3) is written exactly the same as in No. 1 above. The word thuma (L.2) is written at right angles to the line.

96. Sūrat Al-A‘rāf, 122

97. Cf. No. 1 above



L.4 of this inscription is unlike the rest of the text in the way it has been written and the form of the letters. We believe that this line was either added later to the inscription by another person or that it may have been written at the same time as the other three lines, but by another hand.

The palaeography of this inscription and its parallel with Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6 above indicate that this inscription is presumably dated to 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

No. 32

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXVIII, No. 32

Text

- ١- اللهم اغفر لعروة  
٢- بن موسى امين ثم امين  
٣- رب العالمين  
٤- كلا

Translation

1. O God, forgive 'Urwah
2. b. Mūsā, Amen upon Amen
3. Lord of (all) Created Beings.
4. Not at all ...

Commentary

This inscription bears the same name as the previous inscription and therefore both inscriptions belong to the same person.

The palaeographical and orthographical peculiarities of this inscription resemble the previous one and it appears that both inscriptions were inscribed by the same man. The word thumma (L.2) is written in the same style as in the former inscription. the initial alif in the word amen at the end of L.2 is a recent addition. The word kalā (L.4) probably indicates that this line has not been completed.

As this inscription has the same characteristics as the previous inscription it is also perhaps dated to the same period.

No. 33

Al-Qar'ā

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

8 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIX, No. 33

Text

- ١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- ٢- اللهم اغفر لجميل ابن
- ٣- ابان ، انك على كل شى
- ٤- قديره ما تقدم من ذنبه
- ٥- جميل شهد الا اله
- ٦- الا الله وحده لا
- ٧- شريك له وان محمد [ا]
- ٨- [عبده] ورسوله

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,
2. O God, forgive Jamīl b.
3. Abān. Verily You are omnipotent over
4. all,<sup>98</sup> his earlier sin(s)<sup>99</sup>
5. Jamīl has testified that there is no God,
6. but Allāh alone, he has no
7. partner with him, and that Muḥammad is
8. his servant and his messenger.

Commentary

The name Jamīl b. Abān which appears in this inscription is not mentioned in the classical Arabic sources. The name Abān is a rare name, although it is mentioned by al-Balādhurī and al-Dhahabī.<sup>100</sup>

This inscription is unique as it contains two formulae: the first (Ls. 2,3,4) is a prayer for forgiveness which occurs in most of the previous inscriptions. The second formula (Ls. 5,6,7,8) is similar to No. 6 above, and it is widely used in the tombstones from Egypt which date to the second half of the 2nd century A.H.<sup>101</sup> The text of this inscription is surrounded by a simple dotted border in the same manner as in No. 10 above, but here is roughly done. The alif al-tanwīn in the word Muḥammad (L.7) and the word 'Abdahu (L.8) are omitted.

98. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat Al-'Imrān, 26

99. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat Al-Fataḥ, 2

100. Balādhurī, Ansāb, 370, 429, 432, 516, 569; Dhahabī, Mushtabih, 4

101. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, nos. 4521, 7155, PL. IX, no. 1506/897

The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription are significant. The long straight alifs have been written without a curve to the right and they are similar to the alifs in al-Hijrī's inscription.<sup>102</sup>

This inscription has some resemblance to a tombstone from Egypt, dated to 204/819-20, in the forms of the letters, alif, ḥā', dāl, hā', and the retreating yā'.<sup>103</sup> The retreating alif maqṣūrah (L.3) is parallel with No. 4 above. The initial jīm and ḥā' (Ls. 1,2,4,5 and 6) are similar to those of No. 5 above.

No. 34

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, deep incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXIX, No. 34

Text

- ١- اللهم بك يومن
- ٢- ابراهيم ابن القاسم
- ٣- و عليك يتوكل
- ٤- و بك يعتصم

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102. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2

103. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. XIV, no. 1506/143

Translation

1. O God, Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim
2. believes in You
3. and has confidence in You,
4. and seeks shelter with You.

Commentary

This inscription belongs to Ibrāhīm b. al-Qasīm, a name which has not been attested in the classical Arabic sources. This name appears in two other inscriptions, Nos. 35 and 36 below.

The palaeography of this inscription is very significant. It is beautifully inscribed and the character of the letters shows a high writing skill. This inscription resembles No. 6 above in the forms of the letters kāf (Ls. 1,3,4) and wāw (Ls. 1,3,4), and it differs from it in the form of the medial 'ayn (L.4). The bodies of certain letters are largely extended, e.g. sīn, ṣād, kāf, hā and yā', and are parallel with Nos. 15 and 18 above.<sup>104</sup> The medial triangle of 'ayn (L.4) is like the 'ayn in the word arba'in (L.2) in No. 4 above, and also in a tombstone from Egypt dated to 174/790.<sup>105</sup>

The close resemblance of this inscription to Nos. 15 and 18 above suggests that the inscription is to be dated to 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

104. Cf. Nos. 15 and 18 above

105. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521

No. 35

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

2 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXX, No. 35

Text

١- اللهم رب موسى وهرون [sic]  
 ٢- ارحم عبدك ابراهيم بن القاسم

Translation

1. O God, Lord of Mūsā and Hārūn,<sup>106</sup>
2. have mercy upon Your slave, Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim.

Commentary

This is the second inscription which bears the name Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim, which appears in the previous inscription.

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription resemble the previous one and the peculiarity of the letters in both inscriptions indicates that they were both inscribed by the same scribe; however this inscription is finely inscribed and not thick as the previous one. The initial alif preceding ibn (L.2) has been omitted here, whereas it has been written in the former inscription (L.2). The name

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106. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-A'rāf

Hārūn (L.1) is written with the medial alif lengthening the vowel omitted, a phenomenon which is attested in early Arabic inscriptions.<sup>107</sup>

No. 36

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXX, No. 36

Text

- ١- يرحم نا [sic] الرحمة ا  
٢- على ابرهيم [sic] بن ا  
٣- لقاسم امين ثم امين

Translation

1. May God grant mercy
2. upon Ibrāhīm b. a
3. l-Qāsim, Amen upon Amen.

Commentary

This inscription bears the same name as Nos. 34 and 35 above.

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107. Ḥamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2; Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A; Sharafaddin, 'Some Islamic inscriptions', 69, Pl. 49. Cf. Nos. 1, 25, 26, 27 and 31 above

Nevertheless it is unlike the above two inscriptions in its formulae and palaeographical characteristics. However, there is some parallel between this inscription and Nos. 34 and 35 above in the forms of the letters, mīm (Ls. 1,3), the final retreating alif maqṣūrah (L.2). There is a dictation fault in the second word (L.1) and it has been written dhā instead of the correct form of dhū. At the end of L.1 the letter alif is superfluous. The word 'alā' (L.2) is unnecessary as the context is correct without it. The name Ibrāhīm (L.2) is written without the medial alif in the same manner as in the former inscriptions.<sup>108</sup>

The palaeographical peculiarities of certain letters in this inscription are parallel to the first century inscription, e.g. the letter mīms (Ls. 1,3) resembles the al-Ḥijrī, Mu'āwiyah and 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān inscriptions.<sup>109</sup> The letter hā' (L.2) is like the letter in the al-Khashna and Mu'āwiyah inscriptions, dated 56/775-6 and 58/777-8 respectively.<sup>110</sup>

The palaeography of this inscription and the resemblance of certain letters to the first century A.H. inscriptions suggest that the inscription could be dated to 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, but the presence of the name which associates it with Nos. 34 and 35 above indicates the same date as the two previous inscriptions.

108. Cf. Nos. 34 and 35 above

109. Hamidullah, 'Some Arabic inscriptions', Pl. 2; Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 128, 130, Pl. 6; Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A

110. Sharaffaddin, 'Some Islamic inscriptions', 69, Pl. 50; Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, Pl. XVIII,A



No. 37

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

6 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXI, No. 37

Text

- ١- اللهم ان عبدالله  
 ٢- بن سعد يسلك [sic]  
 ٣- ان تغفر له ذنبه  
 ٤- كله انك  
 ٥- انت الغفور الرحيم  
 ٦- حيم

Translation

1. O God, verily 'Abdallāh
2. b. Sa'd asks you
3. to forgive him his all
4. sins, you are
5. indeed the Forgiving,
6. the Merciful.

Commentary

This inscription refers to 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd, a name which has been attested a few times in early Arabic sources. The first man is 'Abd

Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ who died in 36 A.H.<sup>111</sup> The second man is 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Khaythamah who died during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, 65-86/685-705.<sup>112</sup> The third man is 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Nufayl, who is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī during the events of 65/684-5.<sup>113</sup> All of the three men mentioned above lived in the first century A.H., but the palaeographical characteristics of this inscription suggest that it belongs to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries. Thus we believe that the inscription belongs to someone other than those who are mentioned above.

The palaeographical peculiarities of this inscription are parallel to some of the previous inscriptions. The forms of the letters 'ayn (L.2) and final nūn (Ls. 1,2,3) are similar to No. 4 above. The letter dāl (Ls. 1,2) and the form of the letter kaf (Ls. 2,4) are very much like No. 6 above.

This inscription as a whole is parallel to No. 15 above and this can be seen in the characteristics of the letters, alif, ḥā, dhāl, rā', 'ayn, ghayn, hā' and nūn. But the bodies of the letters here are not greatly extended as in No. 15 above.<sup>114</sup>

111. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, VIIiii, 190, 191; Nawawī, Tahdhīb, 269, 270

112. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, IVii, 93; Nawawī, Tahdhīb, 269

113. Ṭabarī, Annales, II, 497, 499, 506, 561-562

114. Cf. No. 15 above

No. 38

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

6 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXX, No. 38

Text

- ١- اللهم  
 ٢- اغفر للصبي الله [sic]  
 ٣- بن سعد ذنبه  
 ٤- ما تقدم  
 ٥- منه وما تاخر  
 ٦- وكتب

Translation

1. O God,
2. forgive 'Abd Allāh
3. b. Sa'd, his
4. earlier
5. and later sins,<sup>115</sup>
6. and has written

Commentary

The name which appears here is the same name as in the former inscription, and therefore both inscriptions belong to the same man.

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115. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-Faḥ, 2

The palaeographical characteristics and the technique resemble those of the previous inscription and thus suggest that both were inscribed by the same scribe, but the letters of this inscription are finely inscribed and not as thick. The first lām, which is attached to the word li-'abd Allāh (L.2) is superfluous. We should note here that the last three lines were inscribed less perfectly than the first three lines, and in addition, that the last line is not complete.

The parallel of this inscription to the former suggests that both inscriptions are dated to the same period.

No. 39

Al-Qar'ā

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXI, No. 39

Text

١- اللهم لا غفر [sic] لحكم بن فضالة  
 ٢- ذنبه كله قديمه و اخير  
 ٣- ه وادخله الجنة امين

Translation

1. O God, do not forgive Ḥakam b. Faḍālah
2. all his earlier and his later sins,<sup>116</sup>
3. and make him enter the paradise, amen.

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116. After Qur'ān, cf. Sūrat al-Faḥ, 2

Commentary

The name Ḥakam b. Faḍālah which appears in this inscription has not been attested in any of the classical Arabic sources. However, both names were very well known in the early period.<sup>117</sup>

The lām-alif (L.1) and the way it has been written has led us to believe that the lām was added to the original alif and that is indicated by the context of the text which suggests that this inscription is a prayer for forgiveness rather than a curse. The word Li-Ḥakam (L.1) is written with one lām instead of the correct form with two lāms.

This inscription is a very fine one and it has been inscribed with great care. This inscription has some parallels with a tombstone from Egypt, dated to 179/795, in the forms of the letters alif (Ls.1,3), hā (L.1), dāl (Ls.2,3), and kāf (Ls.1,2).<sup>118</sup> The forms of the letters dāl and dhāl (Ls.2,3) are similar to the 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān inscription.<sup>119</sup> The words qadīmah and akhīrah (L.2) are written in the same manner as in No. 5 above. The writing technique of this inscription, in particular the letters dāl, dhāl and kāf, resembles that of No. 26 above.

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117. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, I, 29, 180; III, 49, 78; IV, 51; V, 222; Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 311, 1780, 2070; II, 873, 1981

118. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 7155

119. Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 128, Fig. 11,A

No. 40

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

5 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate No. LXXXII, No. 40

Text

- ١- اللهم اله  
 ٢- العلمين [sic] و ولى  
 ٣- الحسين  
 ٤- لا تغفر لبكار  
 ٥- (رحـ) (ده)

Translation

1. O God, God of
2. [all] Created beings, and friend of
3. (all), the beneficent,
4. do not forgive Bakkār
5. ... ..

Commentary

This inscription is one of the most elegant and beautiful in this collection. The most interesting palaeographically of the characteristics of this inscription are the long 'alifs and the extended bodies of certain letters, e.g. ḥā' (L.3), kāf (L.4), 'ayn (L.2) and hā' (L.1). The character of extended body has been seen in No. 26 above with regard

to the forms of the letters hā' (L.2) and kāf (L.1).<sup>120</sup>

This inscription has some resemblance to a tombstone from Egypt, dated to 204/819-20, in the forms of the letters, medial 'ayn, hā' and the final yā' (L.6).<sup>121</sup> We should note here that the omission of the medial alif in the word al-'ālamīn (L.2) is a peculiarity seen in the previous inscriptions.<sup>122</sup>

The four discrete letters in L.5 were probably added later as they are different from the rest of the inscription on the grounds of technique, however we could not suggest any reading.

No. 41

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

6 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXII, No. 41

Text

- ١- اللهم اغفر
- ٢- لمحمد بن موسى اله
- ٣- العلمين [sic] فانه
- ٤- الى ذلك محتاج
- ٥- امين ثم امين رب العالمين
- ٦- رب موسى و هارون

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120. Cf. No. 26 above

121. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. XIV, no. 1506/143

122. Cf. Nos. 1, 5, 6, 17 and 26 above

Translation

1. O God, forgive
2. Muḥammad b. Mūsā, God
3. of [all] Created beings, because he is
4. in need of that.
5. Amen upon Amen, Lord of [all] created beings,
6. Lord of Mūsā and Hārūn.<sup>123</sup>

Commentary

This inscription is found beneath No. 8, and its formula (Ls. 2,3 and 4) is similar to that of No. 8 above. The name Muḥammad b. Mūsā, which appears in this inscription, has been attested several times in early Arabic sources.<sup>124</sup> However it is difficult at this stage to associate the inscription with any of those who are mentioned.

The palaeography and the orthography of this inscription is very significant. The alif maqṣūrah in L.2 is written in the form of the final present yā' whereas in L.6 it has been written in the retreating form which occurs in the previous inscription.<sup>125</sup> The word Hārūn (L.6) is written with the medial alif lengthening the vowel, but in the word al-'alamin (Ls.3,5), it has been omitted. The medial hā' (Ls.2,4) is similar to that in No. 26 above. The form of the letter kāf with long vertical shaft occurs in a tombstone from N la-Ḥasabah, dated to 1st-2nd/8th-9th centuries,<sup>126</sup> and in No. 16 above. The medial triangular

123. Sūrat al-A'rāf, 122

124. Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 1191, 1555; II, 87, 852, 920, 926-928; III, 365, 551, 937, 1551-58, 1284-1286, 1956-1988

125. Cf. No. 1, 4, 5 and 6 above

126. Zayla'i, 'Southern Makkah', 289, Pl. 20, no. 1



'ayns (Ls.3,5) resemble those in some of the previous inscriptions.<sup>127</sup>

No. 42

Al-Qar'ā

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

3 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXIII, No. 42

Text

١- ثقة المنهال ابن  
٢- ربعة بالله الذي  
٣- لا اله الا هو عليه . . . .

Translation

1. The trust of al-Minhāl b.
2. Rabī'ah, on God, <sup>والمع</sup> than whom
3. there is no God but Him, upon Him ...

Commentary

The name which appears in this inscription has not been found in any of the classical Arabic sources. The first name, al-Minhāl, is mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.<sup>128</sup> The second name is a very well known name.<sup>129</sup>

127. Cf. Nos. 4, 28, 34, 36, 37 and 40 above

128. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, IV, 35; VI, 213

129. Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt I, 75, 76; IV, 77; V, 11, 31, 125; Ṭabarī, Annales, I, 834, 845; II, 173, 582

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription, and the shape of its letters and their right angles, are unique, as it illustrates a fine example of the dry Kufic script (al-khaṭṭ al-yābis).<sup>130</sup>

This inscription resembles a tombstone from Egypt in the form of the open 'ayn (L.2) and lām-alif (L.3).<sup>131</sup> The forms of the letters dhāl (L.2) and the final retreating yā' (L.2) are similar to those in No. 5 above.

The palaeography of this inscription and its parallel with the above mentioned inscription suggests that it is presumably dated to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

No. 43

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXIII, No. 43

Text

- ١- يرحم الله على
- ٢- الفتا الكلبي علاثة
- ٣- وزده في صالح ما اتيته
- ٤- (ام... لا...)

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130. Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 127, 128

131. Hawary, Catalogue, Pl. I, no. 4521; Jum'ah, Dirāsah, 147-148, Pl. 8

Translation

1. May God have mercy upon
2. 'Alāthah al-Kalbī, the young man,
3. and increase him in what is good of what You granted him,
4. ...

Commentary

The name 'Alāthah, which appears here, occurs in No. 13 above. This name could be read as 'Alāyah. The nisbah al-Kalbī refers to the clan of Kalb, a well-known name in the early Islamic period.<sup>132</sup> This inscription resembles No. 13 above in the forms of the letters, e.g. alifs (Ls.1,2,3), rā' (L.1), the initial 'ayns (Ls.1,2), but it is different in the forms of the letters, e.g. kāf (L.2), lām-alif (L.2) and the final retreating yā'.

The most remarkable feature of this inscription is the presence of certain pointed letters in Ls. 2 and 3. The letters fā' and tā' in the word al-fatā (L.2) are pointed, but they are not very distinct. In L.3 the letters tā' and yā' in the word ātaytahu are clearly dotted. The vertical disposition of the double-dotted letters are parallel with the Mu'āwiyah inscription. Miles suggests that they are remarkable and a peculiarity of the early use of consonantal points.<sup>133</sup>

This inscription is the only one in this collection which distinctly demonstrates the use of points in early Arabic writing in the Jawf area.

The palaeographic characteristic of this inscription and its

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132. Raḥālah, Mu'jam, 991, 992

133. Miles, 'Early Islamic inscriptions', 240, 241

resemblance to No. 13 above would indicate that it may be dated to the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

No. 44

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries

2 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXIV, No. 44

Text

١- اللهم لا تغفر لعلاثة ابن  
٢- الفضل امين رب العلمين [sic]

Translation

1. O God, do not forgive 'Alāthah b.
2. al-Faḍl amen. Lord of all created beings.

Commentary

This inscription, unlike Nos. 13 and 43 above, contains a curse. The name which appears here, 'Alāthah b. al-Faḍl, probably refers to the same man as in Nos. 13 and 43.

The palaeography of this inscription is unlike the previous inscription. It has been inscribed in a less polished way than the former, but nevertheless it resembles it in the form of the letters fā' (L.2) and the final hā' (L.1). It is also parallel with No. 13 above in the forms of the letters, open 'ayn (Ls. 1,2), initial mīm (L.2) and lām-alif (L.1). We must point out here that this inscription lacks

the dotted letter, and the systematic arrangement of letters, compared with the previous inscription.

No. 45

Muwaysin

Undated, probably 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXIV, No. 45

Text

١ - اللهم / ا/ رحم برحمتك  
 ٢ - على عبدك عبدالمجيد  
 ٣ - وعلى ازو/ ا/ جه و على وراثته  
 ٤ - امين ربي

Translation

1. O God, include within Your mercy
2. Your servant 'Abd al Majīd
3. and upon his wives, and his heirs
4. amen; My Lord

Commentary

This inscription refers to a person and his wives and heirs. It is the first in this collection which associates a man with his wives and heirs.

The orthography and palaeography of this inscription are unlike most of the former inscriptions. The preposition 'alā (L.2) is

superfluous and has been repeated in L.3. The initial alif and the letter rā' in the word irḥam (L.1) are linked together. The medial alif in the word azwājahu (L.3) has been omitted.

This inscription resembles No. 16 above in the forms of the letters, kāf (Ls.1,2), the initial 'ayn (L.2) and mīm (L.1), and it is different in the shape of most of the letters where they are clumsy and coarse. It is hard at this stage to set a date for this inscription. However we believe it is dateable to later than the 3rd/9th century.

No. 46

Qārā

Adjacent to al-Qudayr castle

Dated, 1 Muḥarram 518/19 February 1124

4 lines, incised, simple Kufic

Plate LXXXV, No. 46

Text

- ١- قام حماد بن كعب في عمارة هذا البيت
- ٢- سنة ثمانية [sic] عشروخمس [م] اية
- ٣- وكتب بريك بن جبر غفرالله له ذ[ن]وبه
- ٤- اول يوم من المحرم

Translation

1. [He who] built this house [was] Ḥammād b. Ka'b
2. in the year five hundred and eighteen.
3. Burayk/Barīk b. Jabr has written, may God forgive him his sins
4. the first day of Muḥarram.

Commentary

This inscription is the first and only building inscription in our collection. This inscription has been found adjacent to al-Qudayr castle to the NW of the village of Qārā, and therefore it is very significant as it provides us with the precise date of al-Qudayr castle. The name Ḥammād b. Ka‘b, to which this inscription refers, has not been mentioned in any of the sources at our disposal. The second name in L.3 is possibly interpreted as Khayr. The second mīm in the word khamsi‘ah has been omitted.

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription are parallel to an inscription from Bosra, dated 515/1122, in particular in the forms of the letters, e.g. kāfs (L.3), medial mīms (Ls.1,2,4), and the initial hā‘ (L.1).<sup>134</sup> The form of the letter kāf (L.3) occurs in two other inscriptions from Bosra dated to 593/1197 and 599/1202 respectively.<sup>135</sup>

An inscription from Bosra, dated to 535/1140-41, resembles our inscription in the forms of the letters, straight alif, hā‘, khā‘, sīn, triangular medial ‘ayn, medial mīm and the initial hā‘.<sup>136</sup>

This inscription lacks dots which are widely used in the second half of the sixth century A.H. and are attested in a number of inscriptions from Syria.<sup>137</sup>

134. Littmann, Arabic inscriptions, 53, no. 58

135. Littmann, Arabic inscriptions, nos. 45 and 56

136. Littmann, Arabic inscriptions, 31, no. 37

137. Littmann Arabic inscriptions, Cf. Nos. 44,45,54,56,60 and 61

No. 47

Qārā

Near to al-Qudayr castle

Dated, Jumādā II 644/November-December 1246

10 lines, incised, Naskhī

Plate LXXXV, No. 47

Text

- ١- حضر في هذا المكان
- ٢- عبد السلام ابن احمد
- ٣- ابن يوسف ابن الشيخ
- ٤- ابو [sic] القاسم
- ٥- سنة اربع و اربعين
- ٦- و ستمائه
- ٧- من شهر جمادى
- ٨- الاخر [sic] رحم الله من
- ٩- قراه و دعا لكاتبه
- ١٠- بالتوبه و لجميع المسلمين

Translation

1. There was present at this place
2. 'Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad
3. b. Yūsuf b. al-Shaykh
4. Abū al-Qāsīm
5. in the year forty-four
6. and six hundred
7. of the month of Jumādā
8. 'l-Ākhir[ah], may God have mercy upon



9. those who read it and pray for the writer of it
10. for repentance and for all Muslims.

### Commentary

This inscription has a different formula from the rest of the collection. It records a visit by Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim. This name has not been found in any of the sources at our disposal.

The palaeographical characteristics of this inscription are very significant. The text is written in a script which is close to Naskhī rather than to the Kufic. The most striking feature of this inscription is the use of dots on most of the letters, e.g. ḍād in ḥaḍara (L.1), fā' in Yūsuf (L.2), qāf in al-Qāsim (L.4), nūn and tā' marbūṭah in sanat (L.5), bā' and yā' in arba'in (L.5), qāf in qara'ahu (L.9), tā' and bā' in kātibahu (L.9) and bā' and tā' in bi-'l-tawbah (L.10). The points are very distinctly written. The use of dots is well known in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, and it has been widely attested in inscriptions from Syria which are dated to the second half of the 6th and the 7th centuries A.H.<sup>138</sup>

The letters here are written with a fine implement, probably an edge of a knife, and the inscription lacks a systematic arrangement of letters and lines. We should point out here that the letter sīn (Ls.2, 4) is written without teeth, a phenomenon seen in an inscription from I'nāt, dated to 636/1238-39.<sup>139</sup>

138. Littmann, Arabic inscriptions, Nos. 33, 39, 44, 45, 51, 54, 56, 60 and 61

139. Littmann, Arabic inscriptions, 20, no. 25

TABLE I

Arabic Letters	Inscription no.1 date 121/738-9			Inscription no.4 date 144/761-2			Inscription no.5 date 184/800-1			Inscription no.6 date 186/802		
	Initial	Medial	Final	Initial	Medial	Final	Initial	Medial	Final	Initial	Medial	Final
ا	ا	ا		ا			ا			ا	ا	
ب	ب	ب	ب	ب			ب	ب	ب	ب		ب
ت	ت	ت						ت			ت	ت
ث	ث		ث				ث			ث		
ج								ج				
ح	ح	ح						ح			ح	ح
خ	خ						خ					
د			د			د			د			د
ذ	ذ					ذ	ذ					
ر	ر		ر	ر			ر		ر			ر
ز						ز						
س	س			س			س					
ش		ش								ش	ش	
ص	ص			ص						ص		
ع		ع			ع	ع		ع	ع		ع	
غ	غ						غ					
ف	ف	ف					ف	ف		ف		
ق		ق					ق					
ك	ك	ك					ك		ك	ك	ك	ك
ل	ل	ل			ل		ل	ل		ل	ل	
م	م	م		م			م	م	م	م	م	م
ن	ن		ن		ن	ن	ن		ن	ن	ن	ن
هـ	هـ		هـ	هـ				هـ	هـ		هـ	هـ
و	و			و			و			و		
ي	ي	ي	ي	ي		ي	ي	ي	ي	ي		ي
لا			لا	لا					لا	لا		

Letter forms of the dated inscriptions

CHAPTER IX

STUDY OF THE POTTERY  
FROM THE JAWF SITES

I The pottery from Tuwayr site:

During our fieldwork at al-Jawf in 1986 a great number of sherds were collected at the Tuwayr site. The amount of sherds which are visible on the surface indicate the importance of the site and the role which it played in the trans-desert trade during the last century B.C. and the first century A.D.

Two small trenches were excavated in the site by the writer during 1986. A small amount of pottery was collected from these trenches, but the majority of the sherds which are included in this study are surface find in addition to all the sherds found in the trenches. Most of the sherds are wheel-made, very well fired, hard or metallic, well levigated and sometimes burnished. The most common types are reddish, brown and pinkish ware, although gray and pale brown wares exist. The most distinctive of the Tuwayr pottery is the reddish ware with white slip and incised 'saw-tooth' and palm-leaf stamped decorations. A very close parallel to the Tuwayr incised white slipped material, found on the surface at Dūmat al-Jandal, and the Thāj pottery which had been published by Bibby<sup>1</sup> and Parr,<sup>2</sup> as well as the 'Ayn Jāwān pottery.<sup>3</sup> The group I of the Thāj pottery published by Parr has some parallels with our types iii and iv, in particular with the incised decoration. At the Fāw site in southern Saudi Arabia similar incised 'saw-tooth' decoration had been noticed on a glazed jar.<sup>4</sup> The stamp decorations

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1. Bibby, Survey, 24

2. Parr, 'Object from Thaj', BASOR, 20-28

3. Bowen, 'Ayn Jawan', BASOR, 40

4. Personal communication with Prof. A.R. Ansary, Department of Archaeology, King Saud University, Riyadh

are very common on the Tuwayr site and the most widespread form is the circular palm-leaf which has been found on different types of ware. A similar stamp decoration was discovered on a cooking pot from the site of Nippur in Iraq, which McCown dated to the Neo-Babylonian-Achaemenian periods.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless the Tuwayr material dated to a very much later period than that of Nippur. Some of the pottery from the site of Zubaydah in central Saudi Arabia is similar to the Tuwayr material, especially the incised reddish sandy ware, which Parr<sup>6</sup> dated to the late Hellenistic period.

The pottery of Tuwayr in fact has some similarity with the Eastern and Central Arabian sites on the one hand and a different character on the other. Therefore the role which the Jawf played as a central trading post on the trans-desert trade routes which connected South Arabia with the Levant on one hand and with Eastern Arabia and Mesopotamia on the other, induced foreign influence which resulted in a mixture of cultural influence which can be attested on the Tuwayr site and the other site in the Jawf region. Therefore the Tuwayr pottery is not to be likened to either the Nabataean or the Hellenistic from Eastern Arabia, as Parr suggested.<sup>7</sup>

From the large quantity of pottery on the surface of the site, we assume that most of the pottery of the Tuwayr was made on the site, with the exception of the vessel type vi which appears to be imported. This is indicated by its fabric which is unlike most of the other material.

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5. McCown, Nippur I, 77, Pl. 148, 6

6. Parr, et al., 'Second phase', Atlatl, 46. Also Parr, et al., 'Zubaida', Atlatl, 107-117

7. Parr, et al., 'Second phase', Atlatl, 29-50

The precise dating of the Ṭuwayr pottery is not possible, but taking it as a parallel of the material of Eastern and Central Arabia, we can establish the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. as the most prosperous period of the site. However it is possible that the decline of the Ṭuwayr site continued to a later date than we have suggested above.

Ware types:

i The brown ware:

The brown ware is well fired, made of a medium coarse fabric which contains white and black grits. Some brown ware is coated with or has a light gray slip on the outside surface and in many cases it is well levigated. The brown ware occurs in three sub-types:

1. Hard metallic brownish ware, very well fired, with surface colour varying from reddish brown to pale brown.
2. Hard brownish ware, well fired and sometimes well levigated, the surface colour varying from reddish brown to pale brown.
3. Hard light brownish ware, well fired, the surface colour varying from light gray to light reddish brown.

ii The pinkish ware :

This type is very well represented in the Ṭuwayr pottery. It is made of a pinkish clay, not very well fired and contains small white and dark grit, larger grit in the case of the coarse ware. This type is usually well levigated and the outside surface coated with white, weak red or reddish brown slip. The pinkish ware occurs in three sub-types:

1. Coarse ware, usually of large and thick ware, containing large white and dark grit, sometimes coated with dark red slip on the outside surface.
2. Hard metallic ware, very well fired.
3. Pinkish ware with white slip 'saw-tooth' incised decoration, burnished on both surfaces.

iii Reddish ware:

This type is made of smooth fabric, which contains brown and grayish grit, very well fired and in most cases well levigated or burnished. The outside surface is usually coated with a light or pale yellow slip. The reddish ware occurs in two sub-types:

1. Hard metallic red ware, well levigated, the surface colour varying from gray to pale brown on the outside, and brown to reddish yellow inside.
2. Hard thin reddish ware, burnished on the outside, the surface colour varying from light red outside to red inside.

iv Gray ware:

This type is well fired, smooth to medium coarse fabric with small black, brown and white grit. Some dark gray ware coated with a light reddish brown slip. The hard metallic ware is well represented in this group and the dark surfaces are a consequence of high temperature firing.

## v Pale brown ware:

This type is made of a very pale brown to yellowish clay which contains small brown and black grit, not very well fired. Some sherds are coated with very pale brownish slip on the outside surface, whereas others are well levigated on the outside. The pale brown ware occurs in two sub types:

1. Hard pale brownish ware well fired and containing small brown grit, reddish yellow outside, very pale brown inside.
2. Soft pale brownish ware, well levigated, the fabric contains brown and black grit. The surfaces are very pale brown.

## vi Glazed ware:

A few examples of the green-yellowish thin glazed ware and a thick blue glazed ware were found on the surface of the Tuwayr site, but none emerged from the excavations. The green-yellowish ware is made of a pale yellow smooth clay. The blue glazed ware is made of a coarser clay and the ware is thicker.

## vii Painted ware:

The site of the Tuwayr produced no example of painted ware and none of the typical painted ware has been found.

Vessel types:

A few complete and restored vessels had been found on the site but the majority of the material is sherds and broken vessels. Therefore this will make the task of classifying the vessel types arduous; nevertheless we shall try below to establish the common types on the site:



i Small bowls:

Small bowl with straight or slightly curved sides, out-turned rim, ring base with knob in centre, well levigated.

ii Shallow bowls (Plate X,A):

Shallow bowl, out-turned, round rim and sometimes with flange and flat base, well levigated.

iii Deep bowls:

Deep bowl with slightly curved sides, slightly in-turned or out-turned rim, shallow concave or flat base, well burnished.

iv Cooking pots (Plate XXVII,A,B):

Deep rounded body, heavy out-turned, rolled or out-turned rim, flat bottom, white and brown slip on the outside body, incised wolf-teeth, straight lines and palm-leaf stamp decoration, rim diameter varying from 15 to 28cm, height 19.8 cm.

v Shallow plates:

Shallow plate with flat disk or ring base; shallow ribbing on body and base or well levigated on body.

vi Small cups:

Small cup with straight sides, flat or shallow ring base, very well fired and levigated.

vii Jars:

No complete jar has been found on the site, but a good number of sherds and broken jars have been collected. Therefore we are unable to establish the jar types.

Decorations:

## i Incisions:

The incised decoration is the most distinctive feature of the Tuwayr pottery, where it is noticeable in almost the majority of the ware. The incision pattern can be divided into three sub types:

1. Incised straight and wavy lines. This type is either shallowly or deeply incised below the rim and on the upper part of the body of the ware.
2. 'Saw-tooth' incisions. The most common and characteristic of the Tuwayr pottery, the 'saw-tooth' pattern is frequently associated with the stamp and incised line patterns.
3. Combing decoration. A few examples of sherds with shallow wavy and straight combing patterns occur on the Tuwayr site.

## ii Impressions:

Stamped decoration is used frequently on the Tuwayr pottery and the most widespread type is the small circular palm-leaf stamp which had been noted on a great number of pots and sherds (Fig. iii, Pl. XXVII,A). Impressed dot decoration exists on the Tuwayr pottery (Fig. xxii, nos. 154, 159).

## iii Grooving:

Grooving decoration occurs on a small scale. It is made up of shallow, wide or narrow horizontal or vertical lines below the rim or a broad groove below the rim.

iv Relief decoration:

The thumb-indented decoration is the only type of relief decoration which had been observed on the Tuwayr site. It is as one or two bands of thumb-indented decoration applied on the surface of the vessel.

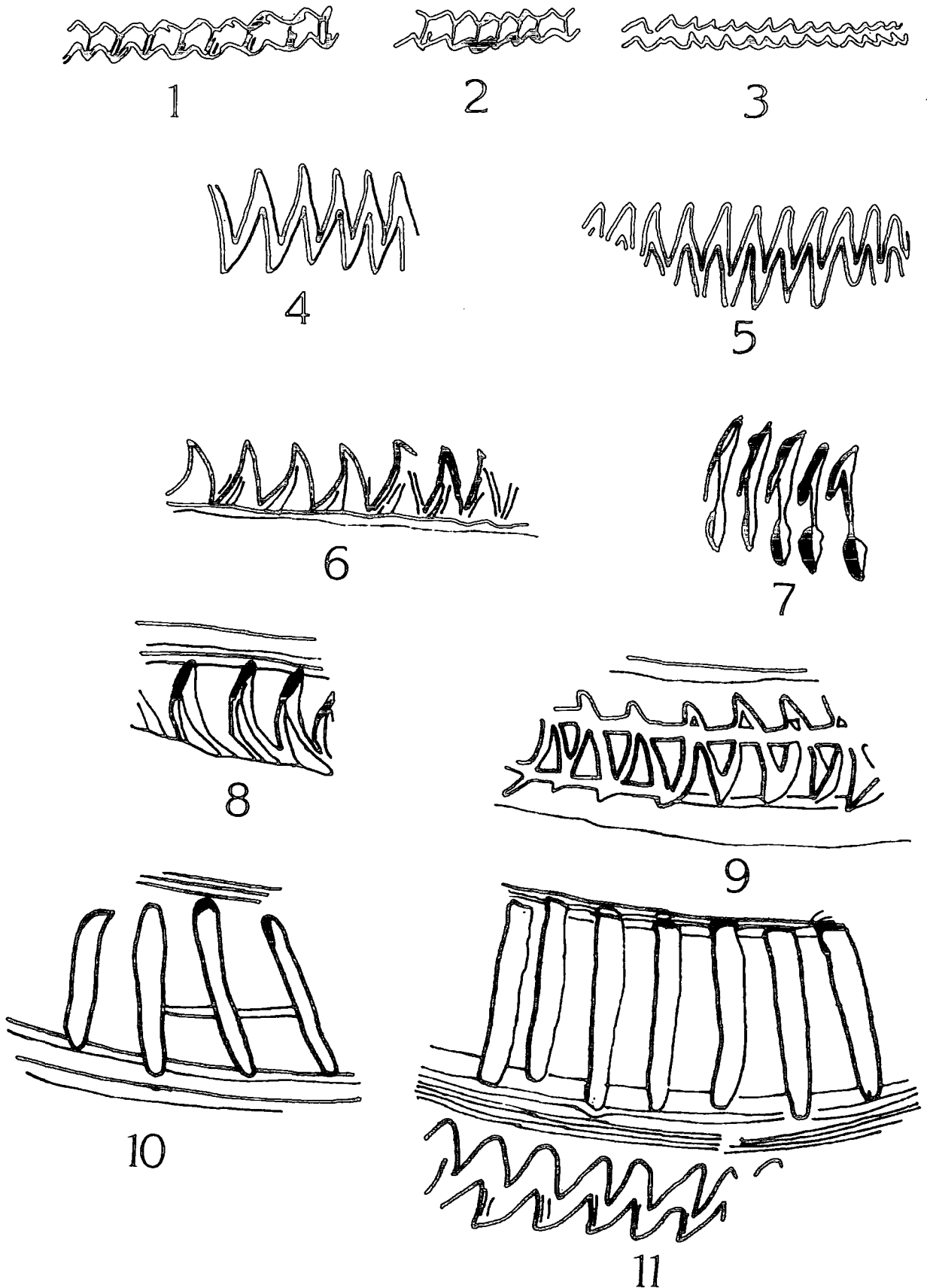
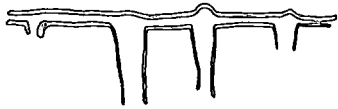
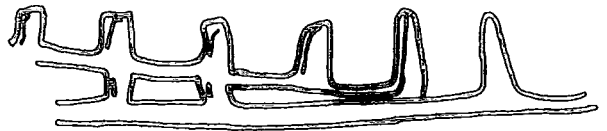


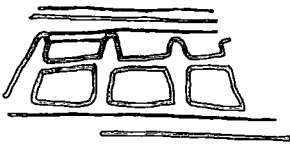
Fig. 1 Incised and grooved decoration pattern of the Tıwayr pottery



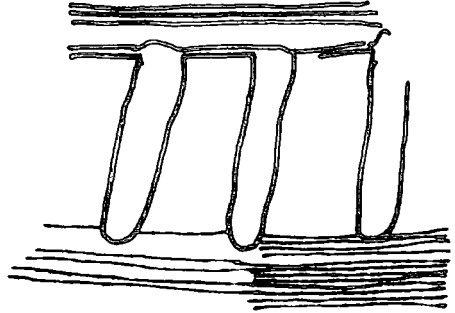
12



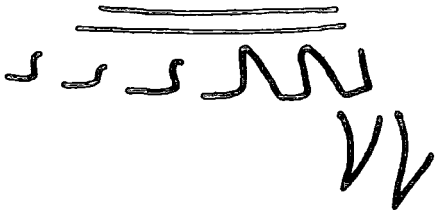
13



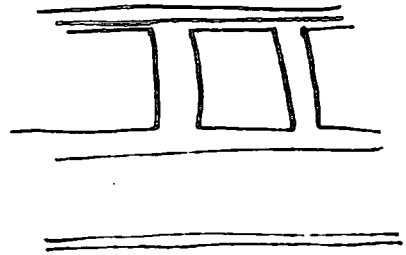
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17

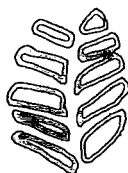


16

Fig. ii, Incised and grooved decoration pattern on the ̇Tuwayr pottery



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

Fig. iii, Stamp decoration found on the Ṭuwayr pottery

## II The pottery from Dūmat al-Jandal:

During our fieldwork in the area in 1986, three trenches were excavated in various parts of the ancient town. A great amount of sherds were collected from these excavations, almost all the sherds included in this study are from the excavations, in addition to a few very distinctive surface sherds.

The Dūmat al-Jandal pottery group is heterogeneous and this is due to the fact that the occupation of Dūmat al-Jandal continued through different periods, not as in the Tuwayr site, which, we believe, flourished for only a short period.

The most common types of ware are the fine red or pink ware, types i and ii, hard, very well fired and made of smooth clay containing very small brown and dark grit, well levigated or burnished. These wares are either found in the form of very small cups with a ring base or very shallow plates, coming mostly from our first and third trenches. A parallel to these fine wares is found in unpublished Nabataean material from an excavation at Petra.<sup>8</sup> Consequently our fine Nabataean wares could be dated to the 1st-2nd century A.D., although none of the typical painted 1st-2nd century A.D. Nabataean ware has been discovered in the excavation, but a few sherds were noticed on the surface around the ancient town (Pl. XXX,B).

The most striking of all is the discovery of a painted sherd with a checker decoration at the lowest layer of trench no. 2. This sherd is associated with a female figurine. Similar checker decoration was found by Nelson Clueck<sup>9</sup> at the Edomite site of Tawilan near Petra.

8. Personal communication with Mr. P.J. Parr, Institute of Archaeology, University of London

9. Glueck, 'Edomite Pottery', BASOR, (8-38)

He mentions that this painted checker decoration ware is closely related to late Iron II Edomite jugs of Tell el-Khaleifeh and Mene'iyeh.<sup>10</sup> Parr<sup>11</sup> suggested that this sherd probably dated to the Iron Age. Two more examples of these sherds were discovered in the lowest layer of Muwaysin trench and the other a surface find from the hill around Za'bal Castle (Pl. XXX,A). The discovery of these sherds, which we can date to the late Iron Age, probably 6th-5th century B.C., gives us firm evidence of occupation of the Jawf region during the Assyrian and Babylonian periods. In addition, mention of Dūmat al-Jandal in the Assyrian annals indicates the strong and influential role that the Jawf played at that time.

A few examples of the reddish ware with white slip and incised and stamped decoration were collected from the surface of the site. These can be compared with the Ṭuwayr material which indicates that, while Ṭuwayr was flourishing, Dūmat al-Jandal was having some kind of prosperity; nevertheless Ṭuwayr was probably the main trading centre in the region.

It was disappointing for us that very few Islamic sherds were discovered during the course of excavation which might enable us to establish the chronology of the Islamic period in the area. It is obvious that the importance of the Jawf suffered as a result of the transfer of the capital of the Islamic world from Medina to Damascus and later to Baghdad; this resulted in the shifting of the trade and pilgrimage route upon which the prosperity of the Jawf depended.

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10. Glueck, 'Edomite Pottery', BASOR, (8-38)

11. Personal communication with Mr. P.J. Parr, Institute of Archaeology, University of London



During the Nabataean period the Jawf played a very important role in trade, as it had been a Nabataean stronghold. This can be seen from the amount of Nabataean pottery and inscriptions discovered on the Jawf. We therefore believe that the most prosperous period of the Jawf was during the Nabataean period.

Ware types:

i. Fine red ware:

This type of ware is very well fired and made of smooth clay which includes very small brown and dark grit. The surfaces are very well burnished or well levigated. The colour of the surface is light red. This type of vessel is in the form of either shallow plates or small cups.

ii Fine pink ware:

Very well fired and made of smooth clay which contains very small brown and black grit. The surface is coated with red or white slip, and very well burnished or well levigated. It is similar to Type i and the vessels are either shallow plates or small cups.

iii Reddish ware:

The reddish ware is made of medium coarse to smooth clay and contains white, brown and black grit. The surface is either coated with white, reddish brown or light gray slip or without slip, and in most cases very well burnished or well levigated. The reddish ware exists in three sub-types:

1. Hard reddish ware, very well fired and well levigated or burnished.

2. Soft reddish ware, poorly fired and smooth surface.
3. Reddish ware with white slip and incised wolf-tooth and palm leaf stamp decoration, well burnished.

iv Pinkish ware:

Very well fired, made of smooth clay containing small brown and black grit. The surface is in most cases coated with white slip and occasionally with brownish or light gray slip. The outside surface is well levigated or burnished, but not in the case of the hard thick ware.

v Gray ware:

The gray ware is made of medium coarse to smooth clay and contains small white, brown and black grit. The surface colours vary from dark gray to light gray outside, and from reddish brown to brownish gray inside. White or gray slip exists occasionally. The gray ware occurs in two sub-types:

1. Hard grayish ware. Very well fired, light red surfaces, frequently coated with white slip.
2. Thin grayish ware. Medium fired, dark gray or reddish brown surfaces.

vi Brown ware:

A well fired ware, made of light brown clay containing small white and brown grit. The surface is frequently coated with white slip and sometimes with reddish brown or red slip, and well levigated or rarely burnished. The brown ware exists in two sub-types:

1. White faced brown. This type is coated with white slip on both surfaces, burnished on the outside with incised and stamped decorations.
2. Pale brownish ware. A well levigated or burnished ware, very pale brownish surfaces occasionally coated with white slip.

vii White ware:

The white ware is not very well fired and the whitish clay contains small white, brown and black grit. The surface is usually white, well levigated or burnished.

viii Painted ware

A pinkish or reddish clay with small brown and black grit, lightly fired, and well levigated, the surface colours vary from reddish to reddish brown outside and pink inside. The painting occurs either on the outside surface or on the inside, and their colours vary from dark and light reddish brown to dark reddish gray (Pl. XXX,A,B).

ix Glazed ware:

The only example of the glazed ware which came from our excavation at Dūmat al-Jandal is a small bottle coated on the upper part of the body with green glaze (Pl. XXIV,A). A few sherds with blue and black glaze were collected from the surface.

Vessel types:

Very few complete and restored wares have been collected from the Dūmat al-Jandal sites, and therefore this makes the task of establishing the vessel types very difficult. However we rely on the sherds and

broken ware to classify the common types on the site.

i Shallow bowls

The shallow bowl has an in-turned rim and ring base, the surface coated with red slip inside, and very well levigated or burnished.

ii Deep bowls:

The deep bowl has an in-turned or out-turned rim, flat, disk or ring base. The surface is frequently coated with white or reddish brown slip, and in the case of the thin bowls very well levigated or burnished.

iii Cooking pots:

Cooking pots have out-turned rims, the surface coated with white or light gray slip and well levigated. Incised and stamp decoration appears on the body. There are similarities with the cooking pot type from the Tūwayr site.

iv Jars:

Jars have out-turned rims or flange collars, and loop handles with wide or shallow grooves down the middle and oval sections. The surface is frequently coated with white slip, and occasionally well levigated. The vessels are either thin jar or large storage jars.

v Shallow plates:

A well fired thin ware, shallow ring or shallow concave base, the surface is very well levigated or burnished. Most of the plates are small in size, although large sizes do occur.

## vi Small cups:

A medium fired ware, made of pinkish or grayish smooth clay. The surface is frequently coated with white slip and well burnished or levigated. All examples of this type were discovered in trench no. 3.

Decorations:

## i Incisions:

Incised decorations are the most common type to occur on the Jawf pottery. The process of forming the decoration involves cutting into the surface of the ware with a finger-nail or sharp implement prior to firing. The incised decoration exists in four sub-types:

1. Incised straight or wavy lines, these either shallow or deep incisions, usually applied under the rim of the ware.
2. Incised 'wolf-teeth' or 'saw-teeth' and horizontal line decoration, frequently occurring on the upper part of a cooking pot or bowl.
3. Combing decorations, a band of shallow straight or wavy lines incised on the body of fine ware.
4. Notched decorations, found on top of a rim formed by a finger-nail or a knife.

## ii Impressions:

Stamped decoration is confined to vessels of type iii. It is a small circular palm-leaf stamp usually occurring side by side with the 'wolf-teeth' decoration. Apart from this a band of finger-nail impression notice around a neck of a ware.

**iii Painting:**

One example of a sherd, painted with a dark reddish brown paint in the form of a checker, was discovered in the third trench (Pl. XXX,A). A few painted sherds were collected from the surface, these sherds being painted with reddish brown paint on the outside surface, forming broad straight and circular lines (Pl. XXX,B).

### III The Pottery Catalogue:

The names of the sites from which the pottery were collected and which are included in this study are abbreviated as below:

T1 : Al-Tuwayr site, trench no. 1.

T2 : Al-Tuwayr site, trench no. 2.

TS : Al-Tuwayr site, surface

D1 : Dūmat al-Jandal, trench no. 1

D2 : Dūmat al-Jandal, trench no. 2

D3 : Dūmat al-Jandal, trench no. 3

DS : Dūmat al-Jandal, surface

MCT : Muwaysin Castle trench

ZC : Surface find around Za'bal Castle

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
1	T2	A restored cooking pot, light red ware, white slip on the outside surface, the surface is burnished. Out-turned rim, incised and stamped decorations below the rim underneath the white slip. It has a flat base. The cooking pot is 25.7cm. in diameter and 19.6cm. in height (Pl. XXVII,A).
2	TS	A restored cooking pot, light red ware, light brown surface outside, dark brown inside, out-turned rim, incised lines below the rim, and flat base. Traces of burns above the base are very clear. The pot is 15cm. in diameter and 19.8 cm. in height (Pl. XXVII,B)
3	TS	A rim and part of the body of a cooking pot, dark reddish gray surface outside, red surface inside, out-turned rim, incised vertical lines below the rim, small white and dark grit. The diameter of the rim is 18.7cm.
4	TS	Out-turned rim and part of the body of a cooking pot. A light brown surface outside, light red inside, small white and brown grit.
5	TS	A fragment of a body of a cooking pot. Reddish ware, dark red surface outside, light red inside, traces of white slip on the outside surface. Small white and dark grit.
6	D3	A small bottle, complete except part of the rim is broken, pale brown surfaces with a dark green glaze on the upper body. Out-turned rim, and incised lines below the shoulder and it has a ridged body. The bottle is a cylindrical with a flat base and is 4.5cm. in diameter and 15.2 cm. in height (Pl. XXIV,A).



NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
7	T <sub>1</sub> S	Jar rim and parts of two handles, pinkish ware, light brown slip outside, light red inside. Out-turned rim with deep groove under rim. The handles are attached to the neck and it has an oval section. The diameter of the jar is 13.5cm.
8	T <sub>2</sub>	A fragment of a bowl, pinkish ware, pink surface outside, light gray inside, slightly out-turned round rim and flat base.
9	T <sub>1</sub> S	A restored bowl, the rim is missing, a reddish ware, dark red surface outside, light red inside, very fine burnished surface, slightly hollowed base.
10	T <sub>2</sub>	A restored bowl, the rim missing, creamy ware, pale brown surface outside, light cream inside, a straight line incised decoration, small white grit, flat base.
11	T <sub>1</sub>	A restored bowl, part of the rim is broken, pinkish ware, red surface outside, light red surface inside, incised straight line decoration on the surface, small white and dark grit, traces of burns on the outer surface, flat base.
12	T <sub>1</sub> S	A lid of a large vessel, not complete, pinkish ware, a very dark red slip covers the outside surface, pinkish surface inside, a rounded hole on the middle of the lid.
13	T <sub>1</sub>	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim, pinkish ware, light gray surface outside, pink surface inside, shallow groove under the rim.
14	T <sub>1</sub>	Jar fragment, out-turned rim, with out-turned flange under the rim, pinkish ware, pink surfaces, white and brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
15	T1	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned rim, two bands of incised lines on the shoulder, brownish ware, light gray slip on the outside surface, reddish-brown surface inside.
16	T1	Grooved and flanged rim of bowl, with ridge at shoulder, hard pinkish ware, reddish brown surface outside, light brownish gray inside, coarse ware with white and dark grit.
17	T1	Flange rim of a large bowl, hard pinkish ware, groove under rim, incised lines on the shoulder, reddish brown surface outside, pink surface inside, white and brown grit.
18	T1	A slightly out-turned rim of a small bowl, pinkish ware, incised shallow grooves below the rim, light reddish brown surfaces.
19	T2	Cooking pot fragment, incised out-turned rim, hard grayish ware, incised horizontal lines, traces of pale brown slip on the outside surface, yellowish brown surface inside, coarse ware with brown grit.
20	T2	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim, hard brownish ware, grooved horizontal lines under rim, brownish gray surface outside, reddish yellow surface inside, black and brown grit.
21	T2	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned rolled rim, hard reddish ware, incised and stamped decoration in a form of wolf-teeth and incised lines, light gray slip on surfaces, small white and brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
22	T2	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rolled rim, hard reddish ware, incised and stamped decoration in forms of wolf-teeth, palm-leaf and incised lines, white slip on surfaces, small white and brown grit.
23	T2	Bowl fragment, concave sides, hard pinkish ware with a white slip on the outside surface, brown grit.
24	T2	A rim of shallow bowl, hard pale brown ware, out-turned flange rim, grooved under rim, light brownish gray on surfaces, brown grit.
25	T2	Bowl fragment, dark gray ware, out-turned rolled rim, light reddish brown slip on the surfaces, a trace of burns on the outside surface, small white grit.
26	T2	Cooking pot fragment, slightly out-turned rim, light brown ware, light brownish gray surface outside, pinkish gray surface inside, black and brown grit
27	T2	Jar rim, slightly out-turned, hard dark gray ware, ridges on neck, gray surface outside, light brownish gray inside, small white and black grit.
28	T2	A fragment of small cooking pot, out-turned rim, pale yellow ware with a very fine incised line on the outside surface, small white grit.
29	T2	A fragment of bowl, in-turned grooved rim with addition of ridge at lip, pale brown ware, white slip on the outside surface, very pale brown inside, very small white and black grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
30	T2	A fragment of bowl, out-turned rim, hard brownish coarse ware, reddish brown surfaces, slightly incised lines on the outside surface, black and white grit.
31	T2	A fragment of a small cooking pot, out-turned rim, pale yellow ware with a shallow incised line on the outside surface, small white and black grit.
32	T2	Jar rim, out-turned finger impressed rim, hard reddish ware, reddish gray surface outside, reddish brown inside, white and black grit.
33	T2	Jar rim, out-turned rim, brownish ware with white slip on outside surface, shallow incised lines on the outer surface, small white grit.
34	TS	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned rim, hard pinkish ware with incised and stamped decorations in a form of 'saw-tooth' incised lines and palm-leaf stamp, dark reddish gray surface outside, pink inside, large brown grit.
35	TS	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim, hard yellowish ware, with incised and stamped decoration, dark gray surface outside, yellow surface inside, white, brown and black grit.
36	TS	Cooking pot fragment, slightly out-turned rim, hard gray ware, with an incised decoration, dark reddish gray surface outside, yellow surface inside, brown and black grit.
37	TS	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned grooved rim, hard metallic brownish ware with an incised decoration, reddish brown surfaces, white and black grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
38	TS	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned rim, hard metallic pinkish ware, incised and grooved decoration, reddish brown surface outside, pink surface inside, white and brown grit.
39	TS	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rolled rim, hard metallic brownish ware, incised lines on the outside surface, grooves on the inside surface, pale brown surfaces, white and black grit.
40	TS	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim, hard pinkish ware, reddish brown slip on the outside surface with slightly brown painted broad lines over the slip, pink surface inside, brown and black grit.
41	TS	Cooking pot fragment, thick out-turned rim, hard grayish ware, broad groove under rim, a ridge on the shoulder, grayish brown surface outside, light gray surface inside, white and black grit.
42	TS	A fragment of small cooking pot, heavy out-turned rim, hard metallic pinkish ware, broad groove under rim with incised horizontal lines below, light reddish brown surface outside, pink surface inside, small brown and black grit.
43	TS	Jar rim and handle, rim with out-turned flange, the handle attached below the rim, light gray surface outside, pink surface inside, white and brown grit.
44	TS	A fragment of deep plate, in and out-turned rim, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, very pale brown to reddish surface inside, white and brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
45	TS	Bowl fragment, in-turned rim, brownish ware, the rim and the upper part of the outside surface is gray and very pale brown on the lower surface, very pale brown surface inside, shallow grooves below the rim, black and brown grit.
46	TS	Bowl fragment, the rim is out-turned flange, hard metallic brownish ware, shallow grooves under the rim, pale brown surface outside, grayish brown inside, black grit.
47	TS	Deep bowl fragment, slightly in-turned rim, with grooves under the rim, hard reddish ware, reddish brown surfaces, white and black grit.
48	TS	Bowl fragment, slightly out-turned rim, with incised lines under rim and a ridge on the lower body, hard brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, small brown grit.
49	TS	Jar fragment, rim with inside grooved and out-turned, with grooves and ridge below the rim, hard metallic reddish ware, well levigated, dark reddish gray surface outside, reddish brown surface inside, small white and black grit.
50	TS	Jar fragment, rim with inside deep grooved and out-turned flange, hard metallic brownish ware, well levigated, reddish brown surface outside, reddish yellow surface inside, small white and black grit.
51	TS	A fragment of small cooking pot, slightly out-turned rim, grooved decoration under the rim, hard grayish ware, dark gray surfaces.
52	TS	Bowl rim, out-turned with a sharp impression on the flange, hard metallic reddish ware, reddish brown surfaces.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
53	TS	Bowl fragment, slightly in-turned rim, shallow grooves below the rim, light reddish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, reddish yellow inside, large brown and black grit.
54	TS	Bowl fragment, straight-sided bowl with out-turned rim, incised lines under the rim, hard reddish ware, weak red surfaces, small white and brown grit.
55	TS	Bowl fragment, slightly in-turned rim, pale brown ware, the outside surface is very pale brown, the inside surface is yellow, shallow incised lines on the outside surface, small brown grit.
56	TS	Bowl fragment, slightly in-turned rim, hard reddish ware; deep curve round shoulder and very shallow incised lines, weak red surface outside, light red surface inside, black and brown grit.
57	D1	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim, hard grayish ware, light gray surfaces, incised horizontal lines under the rim, small black and brown grit.
58	D1	Bowl fragment, slightly out-turned rim, shallow curve under the rim, hard brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, small black grit.
59	D1	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim with inside deep groove, hard grayish ware, light red surfaces, incised lines under rim, small white, dark and brown grit.
60	D1	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim, hard grayish ware, dark gray surface outside, reddish brown surface inside, small white and dark grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
61	D1	Jar rim fragment, the rim is slightly out-turned with shallow groove, hard reddish ware, gray surface outside, light red surface inside, small brown and dark grit.
62	D1	Jar fragment, flanged collar with inside groove, brownish ware, light gray surface outside, very pale brown surface inside, small brown and dark grit.
63	D1	A fragment of shallow bowl, in-turned rim, very fine reddish ware, well levigated, light red surfaces, very small brown and dark grit.
64	D1	A fragment of shallow bowl, slightly in-turned rim, reddish ware, very pale brown surface outside, light reddish brown surface inside, white and black grit.
65	D1	A fragment of small shallow bowl, slightly out-turned rim, pinkish ware, well levigated, pink surfaces, small white and dark grit.
66	D1	A fragment of small shallow bowl, slightly out-turned rim, brownish ware, well levigated, light yellowish brown surfaces, small white and dark grit.
67	D2	Jar rim fragment, out-turned rim, with band of deep finger-nail impressions around neck, pinkish ware, pink surfaces, thick wall below the neck, small brown and dark grit.
68	D2	A fragment of large bowl, out-turned thickened rim with groove on the outside of rim, deep curve under rim, impressed dots below the deep curve, pinkish ware, pinkish white surfaces, small brown and dark grit.



NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
69	D2	A fragment of bowl, out-turned rim, with groove on the outside of rim, pinkish ware, white slip on outside surface, pink surface inside, well levigated, small white and dark grit.
70	D2	A fragment of bowl, the rim is in-turned flange, deep groove under rim, brownish ware, burnished surfaces, light reddish brown surface outside, reddish brown surface inside, very small white and brown grit.
71	D2	A fragment of bowl, slightly in-turned rim, pinkish ware, deep grooves below rim, pink surfaces, small dark grit.
72	D2	A fragment of small bowl, out- and in-turned thickened rim, white ware, well levigated, very shallow incised lines, small brown and dark grit.
73	D2	Cooking pot fragment, out-turned rim, nub handle on shoulder, grayish ware, dark grayish surfaces, small white and brown grit.
74	D3	Jar rim and neck, the rim has a heavy out-turned flange, with incised line on the inside rim, reddish ware, well levigated, shallow grooves under rim, light red surfaces, small white and black grit.
75	D3	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned rim, hard grayish ware, light gray slip on outside surface, reddish brown colour inside, stamped and grooved decorations, small white and black grit.
76	D3	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned rim, reddish ware, well levigated inside, horizontal grooved lines under rim, white slip on outside surface, light reddish brown colour inside, small white and dark grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
77	D3	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned flange, pale brownish ware, very well levigated, incised decoration, very pale brown surfaces, small brown and black grit.
78	D3	Cooking pot fragment, heavy out-turned rolled rim, pale brownish ware, grooves round body under rim, very pale brown surfaces, small white and brown grit.
79	D3	Jar rim and neck, rim with inside groove and out-turned flange, hard grayish ware, grayish brown surfaces, very well fired, small white and dark grit.
80	D3	Jar fragment, rim with inside groove and out-turned flange, hard dark grayish ware, well fired, incised line above shoulder, dark gray surface outside, grayish brown inside, small white and dark grit.
81	D3	Jar fragment, rim with shallow inside groove and out-turned flange, pale yellowish ware, shallow incised lines, pale yellow surfaces, small brown and grayish grit.
82	D3	Jar fragment, rim with inside groove and out-turned flange, reddish ware, deep curve inside under rim, ridge outside below rim, white slip on outside surface, light red colour inside, small white and brown grit.
83	D3	Jar fragment, rim with inside groove out-turned, hard grayish ware, dark reddish gray surface outside, reddish brown inside, small white and dark grit.
84	D3	Jar fragment, collar rim, reddish ware, grooves on inside surface, white slip surfaces, small brown and dark grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
85	D3	Jar fragment, collar rim with inside groove, brownish ware, very shallow incised lines, light reddish brown surfaces, brown and black grit.
86	D3	Bowl fragment, rim with inside groove and slightly out-turned with notched decoration, reddish ware, reddish brown slip on surfaces, deep curve under rim, few black grit.
87	D3	Bowl fragment, rim with inside groove and out-turned with sharp tool impression on top of rim, hard reddish ware, well levigated, deep groove under rim, incised horizontal lines on the body, red slip on surfaces, small dark grit.
88	D3	Bowl fragment, out-turned rim, reddish ware, thin bowl with reddish brown slip, small brown and black grit.
89	D3	Bowl fragment, out-turned rim, reddish ware, very thin bowl, well levigated, red surfaces, incised lines on body, few small dark grit.
90	D3	Bowl fragment, rim with shallow inside groove, out-turned flange, reddish ware, shallow ribbing on body, light gray slip on outside surface, reddish yellow colour inside, small white and dark grit.
91	D3	Jar fragment, collar rim with inside groove, hard brownish thin ware, reddish brown surfaces, traces of white slip on outside surface, small white grit.
92	D3	Jar fragment, out-turned rim, thin white ware, well levigated, white surfaces, shallow grooves under rim.
93	D3	Jar fragment, straight sided, reddish ware, grooves below rim, reddish brown slip on outside surface, red colour inside, small brown and dark grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
94	D3	Jar fragment, straight collar rim, pale brownish ware, fine small jar, white surface outside, very pale brown surface inside, shoulder carination, small black and brown grit.
95	D3	Cup fragment, in-turned rim, grayish ware, fine small cup, light reddish brown surfaces, few small white grit.
96	D3	Plate fragment, reddish ware, well levigated, shallow plate, reddish yellow surface outside, pink surface inside, few small brown grit.
97	D3	Plate fragment, out-turned thickened rim, reddish ware, well levigated, shallow plate, light reddish brown surfaces, incised lines decoration, small dark grit.
98	DS	Bowl fragment, thick rim of large bowl, out-turned flange, hard thick pinkish ware, incised wavy lines under rim, pink surfaces, very small white and brown grit.
99	DS	Bowl fragment, slightly out-turned rim, thin pinkish ware, well levigated, slight carination, very pale brown surface outside, red slip on the inside rim over a reddish yellow surface, small brown and black grit.
100	DS	Large bowl fragment, rim with inside groove, notched decoration and out-turned, hard reddish ware, reddish brown slip on surfaces, small white and dark grit.
101	MCT	Cooking pot fragment, brownish ware, well levigated inside, light reddish brown surfaces, deep incised horizontal lines on the body, small brown and dark grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
102	MCT	Bowl rim fragment, pale brownish ware, well levigated, light reddish brown slip on outside and inside surfaces, reddish brown paint on inside surface, small white and brown grit.
103	TS	Jar fragment, rim with inside groove, loop handle with wide groove down middle, hard grayish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, reddish yellow surface inside, incised and grooved decoration, few black grit.
104	D3	Jar rim and handle, out-turned flange, loop handle with oval section, reddish ware, well levigated, white slip on outside surface, very pale brown colour inside, small brown grit.
105	D3	Jar rim and handle, rim with inside shallow groove and out-turned flange, loop handle with wide groove down middle, and oval section, grayish ware, light brownish gray surfaces, small white and dark grit.
106	TS	Jar rim and handle, rim with inside shallow groove and out-turned flange, loop handle with shallow grooves down middle, and oval section, hard metallic grayish ware, dark gray surfaces, few white grit.
107	TS	Jar rim and handle, slightly out- and in-turned rim, hoop handle with shallow grooves on outside surface, hard reddish ware, red surfaces, small white and brown grit.
108	TS	Jar rim and handle, slightly in-turned rim, handle with wide groove down middle, and oval section, hard grayish ware, dark gray surfaces, small black and white grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
109	TS	Jar rim and handle, slightly out-turned rim, loop handle with shallow grooves on outside surface, brownish ware, light brown surfaces, small brown and dark grit.
110	D3	Jar rim and handle, out-turned rim with inside shallow groove, loop handle with shallow grooves on outside surface, hard grayish ware, dark gray surfaces, small white and dark grit.
111	D1	Jar rim and handle, slightly out-turned rim, loop handle with wide groove down middle and oval section, pinkish ware, well levigated, white slip on outside surface, small brown and grayish grit.
112	D2	Jar rim and handle, out-turned rim with shallow inside groove, loop handle with shallow grooves on middle and oval section, reddish soft ware, light gray surfaces, small brown grit.
113	D3	Jar rim and handle, out-turned rim, loop handle with shallow grooves on middle, reddish ware, white surfaces, small brown and white grit.
114	D3	Jar rim and handle, rim with inside grooves and out-turned flange, loop handle with wide groove on middle, and round section, reddish ware, white slip on outside and inside surfaces, small white and dark grit.
115	D3	Jar rim and handle, out-turned rim with inside shallow grooves, loop handle with oval section, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surfaces, few white and black grit.
116	D3	Jar rim and handle, out-turned rim with deep inside groove, handle with shallow grooves on middle and oval section, reddish ware, white slip on outside surface, traces of fire on handle, small brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
117	D3	Jar rim and handle, slightly out-turned rim with inside groove, handle with wide groove in the middle and oval section, reddish ware, light gray slip on outside surface, small brownish grit.
118	D3	Handle, loop handle with shallow wide groove on middle, hard grayish ware, dark gray surfaces, small white and dark grit.
119	T2	Handle, probably of jar, loop handle with wide groove on middle and round section, reddish ware, well levigated, very small white grit.
120	D3	Handle fragment, loop handle with wide grooves on middle and on side, pinkish ware, white slip on surfaces, small white and brownish grit.
121	D3	Handle, probably of jar, loop handle with wide groove on middle and white slip on surface, brownish ware, small brown and black grit.
122	D1	Handle, probably from small jar, loop handle with shallow wide groove on middle and white slip on surfaces, light brownish ware, small brown and black grit.
123	TS	Handle fragment, handle with wide grooves on middle and oval section, hard dark grayish ware, few black grit.
124	D3	Handle and body fragment, twist handle with wide grooves on middle and round section, grayish ware, light gray surface outside, pink surface inside, small black and brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
125	D3	Handle and body fragment, probably from small jug or jar, handle with shallow groove on middle and oval section, pinkish ware, white slip on outside surface with traces of fire, pinkish colour inside, small brown and few black grit.
126	T̄S	Handle fragment, wide thin handle with shallow wide grooves on middle, hard reddish brown ware, well levigated, very small white, brown and few black grit.
127	T̄S	Handle fragment, very fine small ware, handle with wide groove in the middle and small deep groove on the side, thin wide section, hard metallic reddish ware, well levigated, dark gray colour on lower part and reddish on the rest, few white grit.
128	T̄S	Handle fragment, similar to no. 127, reddish brown ware, small white and brown grit.
129	T̄S	Handle, small handmade horizontal hollow handle, soft pinkish ware, light reddish brown surface, very small brown grit.
130	D3	Handle, small handmade horizontal hollow handle, pinkish ware, white slip on surfaces, small brown and black grit.
131	D3	Handle and body fragment, probably from a large jar, handle attached to body, wide grooves on lower parts of handle, the body has an incised wavy and straight horizontal lines decoration, pinkish ware, reddish brown slip on outside surface, reddish slip on inside, small brown and black grit.



NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
132	D2	Handle, probably from a cup or small bowl, knob handle, light reddish brown ware, very pale brown slip on outside surface, few small dark grit.
133	T1	Body fragment, probably from large storage jar, hard thick pinkish ware, deep incised 'saw-tooth' and horizontal and vertical grooves decorations, pale brownish slip on outside surface, pinkish colour inside, very small white grit.
134	T1	Body fragment, hard grayish ware, reddish gray surface outside, pinkish inside, incised horizontal lines, small white and few black grit.
135	T1	Body fragment, reddish ware, light reddish gray surface outside, light brownish gray inside, shallow incised lines on surface, small white and black grit.
136	T1	Body fragment, hard pale brownish ware, reddish yellow surface outside, very pale brown inside, incised lines decoration on surface, brown grit.
137	T2	Body fragment, probably from cooking pot, pinkish ware, light gray slip on outside surface, pinkish white surface inside, burnished on both surfaces, incised decoration on top, small brown and black grit.
138	T2	Body fragment, probably from jar, pale yellow ware, traces of incised decoration on outside decoration, small grayish grit.
139	T2	Body fragment, probably from cooking pot because of fire traces on outside surface, hard brownish ware, dark reddish gray surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised lines decoration on outside and grooves on inside surface, black and white grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
140	T2	Body fragment, probably from cooking pot because of fire traces on outside surface, pinkish-buff ware, very dark gray surface outside, reddish yellow slip inside, shallow ribbing on body with incised lines decoration, brown and dark grit.
141	T2	Body fragment, probably from jug, hard light brownish ware, light gray surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised decoration, small brown grit.
142	T2	Body fragment, probably from cooking pot, hard grayish ware, dark gray surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised decoration, few white and black grit.
143	T2	Body fragment, probably from cooking pot, hard grayish ware, dark gray surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised decoration, small white and brown grit.
144	T2	Body fragment, soft whitish ware, pinkish slip on outside surface, reddish yellow slip inside, shallow incised decoration, well levigated, very small brownish grit.
145	T2	Body fragment, pinkish ware, well levigated on both surfaces, white slip on the upper outside surface, pink surface inside, incised decoration, small brown grit.
146	TS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, well levigated, pale brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, thumb-indented band on body, few black and brown grit.
147	TS	Body fragment, similar to no. 146, shallow ribbing on the lower body.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
148	TS	Body fragment, hard metallic reddish ware, well levigated on outside, pale brown surface outside, reddish yellow inside, two bands of thumb-indented on body, incised decoration, small brown and black grit.
149	TS	Body fragment, probably from a jar, hard reddish ware, pale yellow slip on outside surface, red slip inside, traces of handle attached to body, vertical grooves, incised decoration.
150	TS	Body fragment, probably from a jar, hard grayish ware, grayish brown surface outside, light red inside, shallow incised horizontal lines and vertical grooves, small brown and black grit.
151	TS	Body fragment, hard metallic dark gray ware, very dark gray surfaces, incised horizontal and vertical decoration, few black grit.
152	TS	Body fragment, hard pinkish ware, very pale brown surfaces with traces of reddish brown slip on outside surface, incised 'saw-tooth', horizontal and vertical decorations, small brown and black grit.
153	TS	Body fragment, probably from a jar, hard pinkish ware, reddish brown surface outside, reddish yellow inside, incised 'wolf-teeth' and horizontal decoration, small black and large brown grit.
154	TS	Body fragment, hard pale yellowish ware, yellowish brown surface outside, pale yellowish inside, incised 'saw-teeth' and impressed dots decoration, small brown and black grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
155	TS	Body fragment, hard pinkish ware, light gray slip outside, reddish yellow slip inside, incised wavy lines decoration, few brown grit.
156	TS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, incised 'saw-teeth', horizontal lines and stamped decoration, small brown grit.
157	TS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, very pale brown inside, incised wavy lines decoration, few white and black grit.
158	TS	Body fragment, hard pinkish ware, dark brown surface outside, dark reddish brown inside, incised 'saw-teeth' and horizontal line decoration, small brown grit.
159	TS	Body fragment, hard pink grayish ware, dark gray slip on outside surface, very pale brown colour inside, four bands of impressed dots on body, small black and brown grit.
160	TS	Body fragment, probably from cooking pot, hard brownish ware, pale brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised decoration, small brown and black grit.
161	TS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, pale brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, two bands of incised decoration on body, very small brown grit.
162	TS	Body fragment, hard pinkish ware, light reddish brown slip on outside surface, pink surface inside, incised and stamped decoration, white and brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
163	TS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, brown surface outside, reddish brown inside, incised decoration, small white and black grit.
164	TS	Body fragment, hard metallic brownish ware, pale brown surface outside, reddish inside, incised and stamped decoration, small white and brownish grit.
165	TS	Body fragment, hard grayish ware, reddish surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised decoration on body, small white and black grit.
166	TS	Body fragment, hard reddish ware, reddish surfaces, palm-leaf stamped decoration, small black and brown grit.
167	TS	Body fragment, hard reddish yellow ware, light red surface outside, reddish yellow inside, incised decoration on body, white and brown grit.
168	TS	Body fragment, hard reddish ware, white slip on outside surface, red surface inside, incised and palm-leaf stamped decoration, brown and few black grit.
169	TS	Body fragment, probably from a cooking pot, pinkish ware, grayish brown surface outside, pink inside, incised broad wavy lines and palm-leaf stamped decoration on body, white and brown grit.
170	TS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, light brown inside, traces of brownish slip on outside surface, incised broad wavy and horizontal lines, small brown and black grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
171	TS	Body fragment, pale brownish ware, very pale brownish slip on outside surface, light brown surface inside, combing and horizontal lines decoration, small brownish grit.
172	TS	Body fragment, hard grayish ware, dark gray surface outside, dark reddish gray inside, two bands of incised horizontal lines decoration, few brown grit.
173	TS	Body fragment, probably from a jar, hard grayish ware, reddish brown surface outside, yellowish inside, incised deep horizontal lines, black and brown grit.
174	TS	Body fragment, probably from a cooking pot, hard grayish ware, gray surface outside, pale brown inside, incised horizontal lines on outside surface and thumb impressions on inside surface, large black grit.
175	TS	Body fragment, hard metallic grayish ware, gray surfaces, deep incised horizontal lines on outside surface, and shallow ribbing on inside surface, small brownish grit.
176	TS	Body fragment, hard grayish ware, dark gray surfaces, two bands of incised horizontal lines, shallow ribbing on inside surface, small white and few black grit.
177	TS	Body fragment, probably from a jar, thin reddish brown ware, dark reddish brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, ribbing on body, small brown and black grit.
178	TS	Body fragment, reddish ware, reddish gray slip on outside surface, light red surface inside, band of incised horizontal lines on body, few brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
179	TS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, dark reddish brown inside, band of incised horizontal lines on body, few black and brown grit.
180	TS	Body fragment, hard pale brownish ware, reddish yellow surface outside, very pale brown inside, incised horizontal lines, small and few large brown grit.
181	TS	Body fragment, hard pinkish ware, reddish brown slip on outside surface, pinkish surface inside, brownish painting on outside surface, small brown grit.
182	TS	Body fragment, soft yellowish ware, pale yellow surfaces, incised decoration, very small brown and black grit.
183	TS	Body fragment, probably from a filter, pinkish ware, reddish brown surface outside, pink inside, small holes on middle, few black grit.
184	D1	Body fragment, probably from a storage jar, hard reddish ware, well levigated, light red surfaces, incised horizontal lines on top, traces of fire on the lower part, very small white grit.
185	D1	Body fragment, soft whitish ware, white surfaces, incised horizontal lines on body, small white, brown and few black grit.
186	D1	Body fragment, probably from a cooking pot, pinkish ware, well levigated outside, very pale brown surface outside, pink inside, shallow ribbing on both surfaces, small brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
187	D1	Body fragment, hard reddish ware, burnished on outside surface, light gray slip on outside surface, red surface inside, shallow incised lines, small brown and black grit.
188	D1	Body fragment, probably from a cooking pot, grayish ware, light gray surfaces, deep incised horizontal line on middle, small brownish grit.
189	D1	Body fragment, thick brownish ware, white slip on outside surface, light reddish brown surface inside, deep incised horizontal line on middle, small brownish grit.
190	D1	Body fragment, probably from a jar, hard reddish ware, very pale brown slip on outside surface, light reddish brown surface inside, ribbing on inside surface, shallow incised horizontal lines on outside, small white and brown grit.
191	D1	Body fragment, reddish ware, white slip on outside surface, reddish yellow surface inside, shallow ribbing on outside surface, small brownish grit.
192	D2	Body fragment, fine reddish gray ware, red surface outside, light brown inside, outside surface is very well burnished, shallow incised decoration, small white, brown and black grit.
193	D1	Body fragment, fine grayish ware, reddish yellow surface outside, dark red inside, small white and black grit.
194	D1	Body fragment, brownish ware, very pale brown surface, band of incised horizontal lines, shallow groove inside, small brownish grit.



NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
195	D1	Body fragment, reddish ware, weak red surfaces, deep incised horizontal lines, small brown grit.
196	D1	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, light reddish brown surfaces, incised horizontal lines, white and brown grit.
197	D2	Body fragment, hard grayish ware, gray slip on outside surface, light brownish gray surface inside, incised decoration on outside surface, part of handle attached to the upper part of the fragment, white and grayish grit.
198	D2	Body fragment, pinkish ware, light gray slip on outside surface, very pale brown surface inside, deep incised horizontal lines, small brown and black grit.
199	D2	Body fragment, brownish ware, white slip on outside surface, light reddish brown surface inside, deep incised horizontal line, traces of burnishing inside, small brown grit.
200	D2	Body fragment, reddish ware, light gray slip on outside surface, light reddish brown surface inside, band of incised lines decoration, small brownish grit.
201	D2	Body fragment, reddish ware, very pale brown slip on outside surface, pink surface inside, shallow ribbing on body, small white grit.
202	D2	Body fragment, probably from shallow bowl, pale brownish ware, reddish yellow surface outside, very pale brown inside, dark reddish brown painted decoration on inside surface, burnishing on outside surface, few black and brownish grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
203	D3	Body fragment, pinkish ware, white slip on outside surface, pink surface inside, incised and stamped decoration on outside surface, deep thumb impressions on inside surface, small white and brownish grit.
204	D3	Body fragment, brownish ware, reddish brown slip on outside surface, red slip on inside, incised horizontal and wavy lines decoration, slight ribbing on inside surface, small brown and black grit.
205	D3	Body fragment, brownish ware, brown surface outside, light yellowish brown inside, incised horizontal lines under neck, small brown, black and white grit.
206	D3	Body fragment, probably from a cooking pot, brownish ware, reddish brown slip outside, very pale brown inside, incised horizontal lines, small brownish and black grit.
207	D3	Body fragment, grayish ware, pale brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised horizontal lines and 'saw-teeth' decoration, traces of white slip outside, small brownish and few white grit.
208	D3	Lamp fragment, brownish ware, reddish brown slip on outside surface, light reddish brown inside, incised decoration, traces of fire on part of the fragment, few small brownish grit.
209	D3	Body fragment, brownish ware, light gray slip on outside surface, very pale brown inside, incised decoration, small brown and white grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
210	D3	Body fragment, probably from a cooking pot, reddish ware, light gray slip on outside surface, light red inside, two bands of incised decoration on body, small brown and black grit.
211	D3	Body fragment, brownish ware, light gray surfaces, incised wavy line decoration, small brown and black grit.
212	D3	Body fragment, soft whitish ware, white surfaces, incised horizontal and wavy lines decoration, small brownish grit.
213	D3	Body fragment, probably from a jar, hard grayish ware, light gray surface outside, grayish brown inside, shallow ribbing on body, small brown and white grit.
214	D3	Body fragment, reddish ware, white slip on outside surface, reddish yellow inside, well levigated, incised horizontal lines decoration, very small brown grit.
215	D3	Body fragment, reddish thin ware, white slip on outside surface, reddish yellow inside, well levigated, incised horizontal lines decoration, small brown grit.
216	D3	Body fragment, brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, dark gray inside, ribbing on outside surface, white and brown grit.
217	D3	Body fragment, hard reddish ware, light brown surface outside, light red inside, ribbing on outside surface, small white and brown grit.
218	D3	Body fragment, hard grayish ware, dark gray surface outside, reddish brown inside, ribbing on outside surface, very small brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
219	D3	Body fragment, soft reddish ware, white slip on part of outside surface and the rest is reddish, reddish yellow inside, shallow incised horizontal lines, brown and black grit.
220	D3	Body fragment, reddish ware, reddish brown surface outside, reddish yellow inside, shallow incised horizontal line, small brown grit.
221	D3	Body fragment, from very fine and thin ware, pinkish ware, dark red paint on part of outside surface, and the rest is reddish yellow, dark red slip on inside, very small brown and black grit.
222	D3	Body fragment, reddish ware, red slip on outside surface, reddish yellow inside, incised lines decoration, small white grit.
223	MCS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, grayish brown inside, shallow groove on outside, small brownish grit.
224	MCS	Body fragment, brownish ware, dark gray surface outside, pale brown inside, ribbing on outside, white and brown grit.
225	DS	Body fragment of a large storage jar, hard thick reddish ware, red surface outside, light red inside, deep grooves around neck covered with a black glaze, shallow incised wavy lines, well levigated on both sides, small black and brown grit.
226	DS	Body fragment, hard reddish ware, black slip on both surfaces, black glaze on the upper part of outside surface, incised decoration, small brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
227	DS	Body fragment of a painted ware, thin reddish ware, light red surface outside, pink inside, dark reddish brown painting on outside surface, well levigated, white and brown grit.
228	DS	Body fragment of a painted ware, hard pinkish ware, light red surface outside, pink inside, reddish brown painting on outside surface, well levigated, small brownish grit.
229	DS	Body fragment of a painted ware, hard pinkish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, pink inside, dark reddish gray painting on outside surface, small brown and black grit.
230	DS	Body fragment of a painted ware, pinkish ware, reddish gray surface outside, pink inside, dark reddish gray painting on outside surface, small to medium brown grit.
231	DS	Body fragment of a painted ware, pinkish ware, reddish yellow surface outside, pink inside, reddish brown painting on outside surface, well levigated, small brownish grit.
232	DS	Body fragment, hard brownish ware, white slip on both surfaces, burnished on both surfaces, incised and palm-leaf stamped decoration, small brownish grit.
233	DS	Body fragment, reddish ware, white slip on outside surface, reddish brown inside, incised and palm-leaf stamped decoration, small brownish grit.
234	ZC	Body fragment, probably from a shallow bowl, hard grayish ware, very dark gray surface outside, dark reddish gray inside, dark gray painting on inside surface, medium black grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
235	ZC	Body fragment, whitish ware, white surface outside, blue glazing inside, white and brown grit.
236	TS	Rim and base fragment of a plate, flat base, pinkish ware, reddish brown surface outside, pink inside, shallow incised lines on outside surface, few large white and brown grit.
237	TS	Base and body fragment of a bowl, flat base, hard grayish ware, dark reddish gray surface outside, red inside, incised lines on outside surface, grooves inside, black and white grit.
238	TS	Base and body fragment of a bowl, shallow concave base, hard grayish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, red inside, large brown grit.
239	TS	Base and body fragment of a deep bowl, shallow concave base, hard reddish ware, red surfaces, handmade bowl, very small brown and white grit.
240	TS	Base and body fragment of a bowl, flat base, hard grayish ware, dark gray surface outside, reddish brown inside, incised line on body, well levigated inside, few small white grit.
241	TS	Base and body fragment of a bowl, shallow concave base, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, incised lines on body, few black grit.
242	T1	Base and body fragment of a bowl, flat base, pale brownish ware, very pale brown surface outside, reddish gray inside, well levigated outside, large and medium brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
243	T̄S	Base and body fragment of a bowl, shallow concave base, hard metallic reddish ware, reddish yellow surfaces, incised lines on base, small black and brown grit.
244	T̄S	Base and body fragment of a bowl, flat base, hard grayish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, very pale brown inside, slightly burnished outside, brown and small black grit.
245	T̄S	Base and body fragment of a bowl, flat base, hard brownish ware, reddish brown surfaces, ribbing on body, large and medium black grit.
246	T̄S	Base and body fragment of a plate, flat base, brownish ware, reddish brown surfaces, incised decoration on body, small brownish grit.
247	T̄S	Base and body fragment of a small cup, flat base, hard metallic brownish ware, very pale brown surface outside, pink inside, well levigated outside, few very small black grit.
248	T̄S	Base and body fragment of a small cup, flat base, hard reddish ware, red surface outside, light red inside, few very small brownish grit.
249	T̄S	Base and body fragment, disk base, hard grayish ware, reddish brown surface outside, light red inside, incised horizontal lines on body, few black and brown grit.
250	T̄2	Base and body fragment of a shallow plate, shallow ring base, hard grayish ware, reddish brown surface outside, very dark gray inside, well levigated inside, few small brown grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
251	T2	Base and body fragment of a large plate, disk base, pale brownish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, very pale brown inside.
252	TS	Base and body fragment, ring base, hard pinkish ware, reddish brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, small brown and black grit.
253	TS	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base, hard thin reddish ware, light red surface outside, red inside, burnished on outside, brown and small grayish grit.
254	TS	Base and body fragment of a jar, ring base, pinkish ware, weak red slip on outside surface and black slip on base, pink inside, well levigated outside, few brown grit.
255	TS	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base, hard grayish ware, weak red surface outside, dark reddish gray inside, small black and brown grit.
256	TS	Base and body fragment of a small bowl, ring base with knob in centre, soft pale brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, well levigated outside, few small brown and black grit.
257	TS	Base and body fragment of a small bowl, ring base, pinkish ware, pink surfaces, well levigated outside, small brownish grit.
258	TS	Base and body fragment of a small cup, shallow ring base, hard yellowish brown ware, very well levigated on both surfaces, light yellowish brown surfaces, few black grit.



NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
259	T1	Base fragment of a shallow plate, brownish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, light brownish gray inside, shallow ribbing on base, black and white grit.
260	T2	Base fragment of a shallow plate, hard brownish ware, flat base with a knob in centre, reddish brown surface outside, dark reddish gray inside, shallow grooves on base, traces of fire on inside, brown grit.
261	TS	Base and body fragment of a shallow plate, flat base with a knob in centre, pale brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, shallow ribbing on body and base, small black grit.
262	D1	Base and body fragment, probably of a small bowl, disk base with a combing and knob in centre, brownish ware, light reddish brown surfaces, small brown and few large white grit.
263	D1	Base and body fragment of a bowl, shallow concave base, coarse brownish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, reddish brown inside, small brown and white grit.
264	D1	Base and body fragment of a jar, disk base with a combing and knob in centre, pinkish ware, slight ribbing on both surfaces, small brownish grit.
265	D1	Base and body fragment of shallow and fine plate, shallow ring base with grooving, thin grayish ware, dark gray surfaces, few small brownish grit.
266	D1	Base and body fragment of shallow and fine plate, ring base, thin reddish ware, light red surface outside, red inside, very well burnished on both surfaces, very small brownish grit.

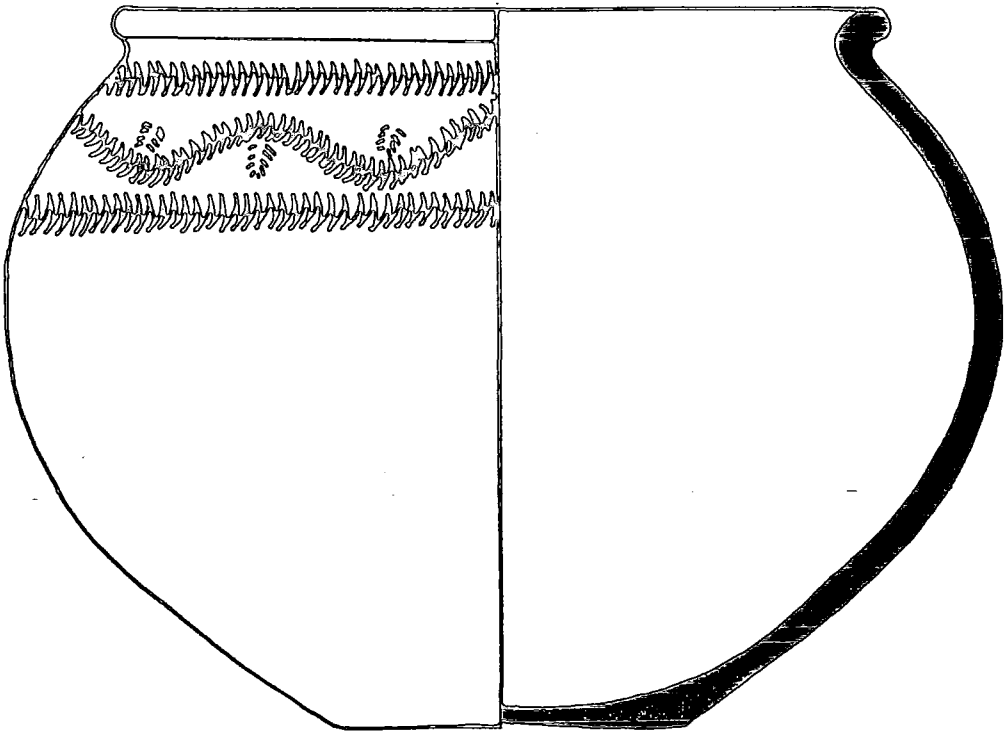
NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
267	D2	Base and body fragment of a bowl, flat base, brownish ware, light gray surface outside, reddish brown inside, traces of white slip on outside, well levigated outside, small white and grayish grit.
268	D2	Base and body fragment of a bowl, flat base, brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, well levigated outside, small brown and white grit.
269	D2	Base and body fragment of a bowl, shallow ring base, hard grayish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, very dark gray inside, shallow finger impressions around the ring base, small brown and black grit.
270	D2	Base and body fragment of a bowl, shallow ring base with a knob in centre, pale brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, small brownish grit.
271	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, ring base, soft pinkish ware, white slip on outside surface, pink inside, very well burnished on outside surface, small brown and black grit.
272	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, ring base, pale brownish ware, white slip on outside surface, pale brown inside, well burnished on outside surface, small brown and black grit.
273	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, ring base, pale brownish ware, white slip on outside surface, pale brown inside, well burnished on outside surface, small brown and black grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
274	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, ring base, soft whitish ware, white surfaces, burnished on outside surface, small grayish grit.
275	D3	Base and body fragment, probably from a small jar, disk base, grayish ware, light reddish brown surface outside, light gray inside, small black and brown grit.
276	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, disk base with combing and hollow in centre, reddish ware, well levigated on both surfaces, light red surface outside, white inside, small brown and black grit.
277	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, shallow ring base with combing and knob in centre, reddish ware, red surface outside, pink inside, well levigated inside, small brown and black grit.
278	D3	Base and body fragment of small bowl, flat base, soft whitish ware, white surfaces, levigated outside, small ribbing inside, handmade ware, small white and brown grit.
279	D3	Base and body fragment of a bowl, shallow concave base with combing, pinkish ware, light red surface outside, pink inside, small brown and black grit.
280	D3	Base and body fragment of a small bowl, flat base with combing, thin reddish ware, light red surface outside, very pale brown inside, small brown, black and few medium white grit.

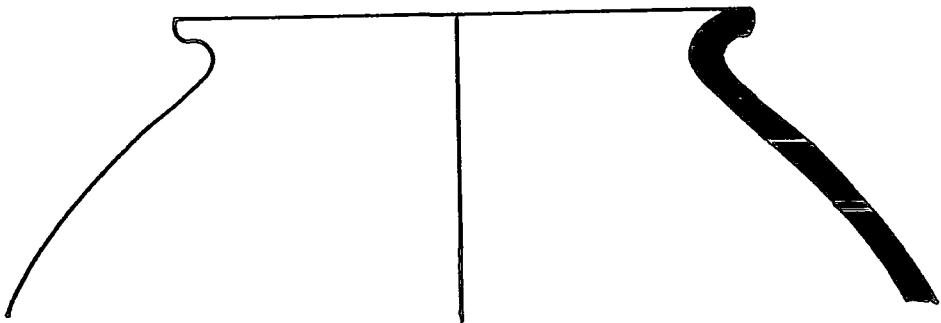
NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
281	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, flat base, pinkish ware, light red surface outside, pink inside, shallow vertical grooves on body, well levigated on both surfaces, small brown grit.
282	D3	Base and body fragment of a shallow bowl, ring base, pinkish ware, pink surface outside, red slip inside, very well levigated on both surfaces, small brown and black grit.
283	D3	Base and body fragment of a shallow bowl, ring base, reddish ware, reddish yellow surface outside, red slip inside, well burnished outside, smoothed inside, white, brown and black grit.
284	D3	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base, brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, light reddish brown inside, very well levigated on both surfaces, small white and brown grit.
285	D3	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base, pinkish ware, very pale brown slip outside, red inside, very well levigated on both surfaces, small brown, black and few medium white grit.
286	D3	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base with round knob in centre, grayish ware, reddish yellow surface outside, red slip inside, very well levigated, brown paint on outside surface, small white, brown and black grit.
287	D3	Base and body fragment of a deep bowl, ring base, reddish ware, very pale brown surface outside, pink inside, well levigated outside, small brown and black grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
288	D3	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base, brownish ware, light brownish gray surface outside, reddish brown inside, burnished outside, smoothed inside, brownish paint on outside surface, brown and black grit.
289	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, ring base, pale brownish ware, very pale brown surfaces, levigated on both surfaces, small brown and black grit.
290	D3	Base and body fragment of a cup, shallow ring base, brownish ware, pale yellow surface outside, very pale brown inside, levigated outside, small brown and black grit.
291	D3	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base, brownish ware, pale brown surface outside, light gray inside, burnished on outside, small brown and black grit.
292	D3	Base and body fragment, probably from a bowl, ring base, reddish ware, reddish yellow surfaces, very well levigated on both surfaces, small brown, black and few medium white grit.
293	D3	Base and body fragment, probably from a bowl, ring base, brownish ware, reddish brown surface outside, dark reddish gray inside, very well levigated on both surfaces, white and brown grit.
294	D3	Base and body fragment of a bowl, ring base, grayish ware, light brownish gray surface outside, red inside, incised lines above the base, small black and white grit.

NO.	SITE	DESCRIPTION OF WARE
295	D3	Base and body fragment of a shallow plate, ring base, thin reddish ware, light red surface outside, red inside, very well levigated on both surfaces, small brown and black grit.
296	D3	Base and body fragment of a shallow plate, shallow concave base, reddish ware, light red surface outside, reddish yellow inside, small brown and white grit.
297	D3	Base and body fragment of a small shallow plate, very shallow concave base, thin pinkish ware, light red surface outside, pink inside, very well levigated on both surfaces, very small brownish grit.
298	D3	Base and body fragment of a plate, slightly pointed base, pale yellowish ware, well levigated on both surfaces, shallow ribbing on base, small brown and black grit.



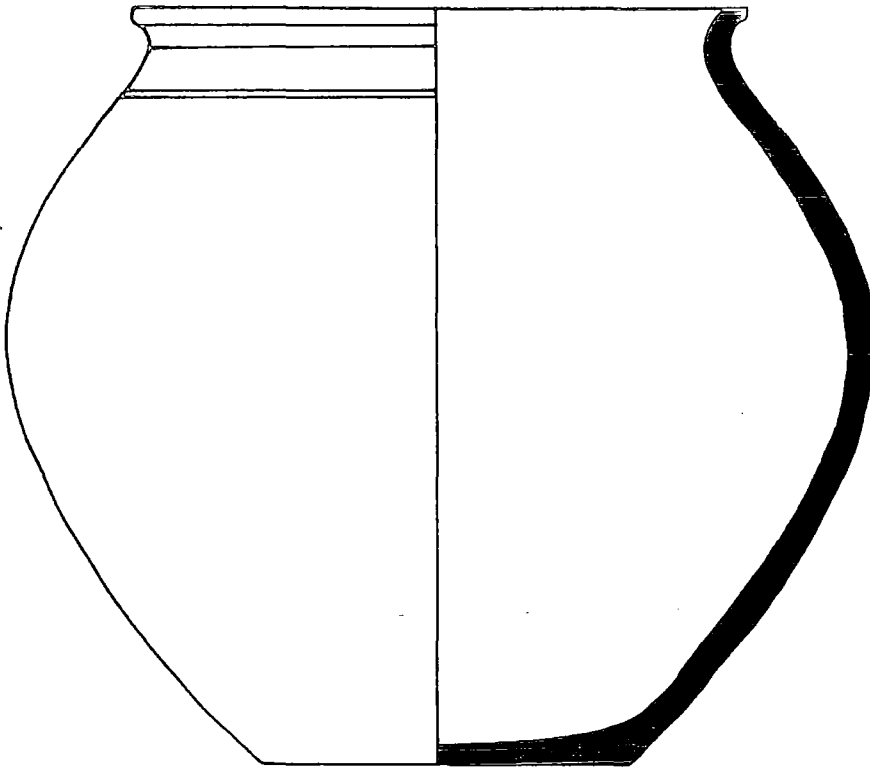
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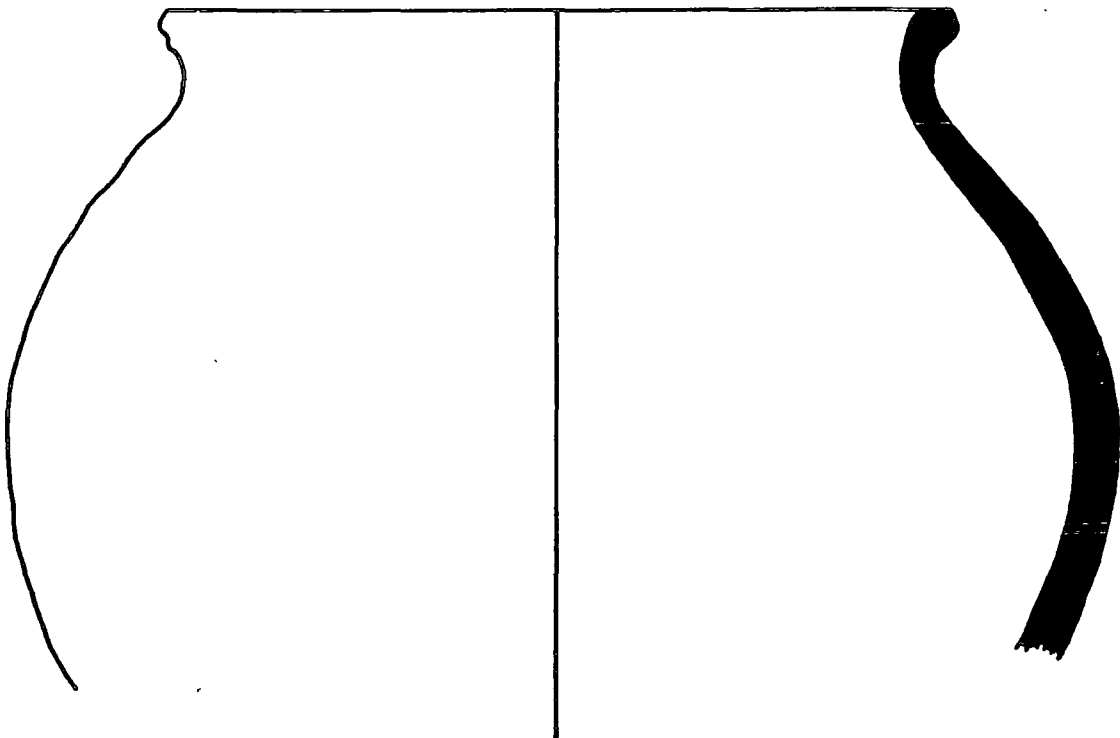
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SCALE 1:2

Fig. iv



2

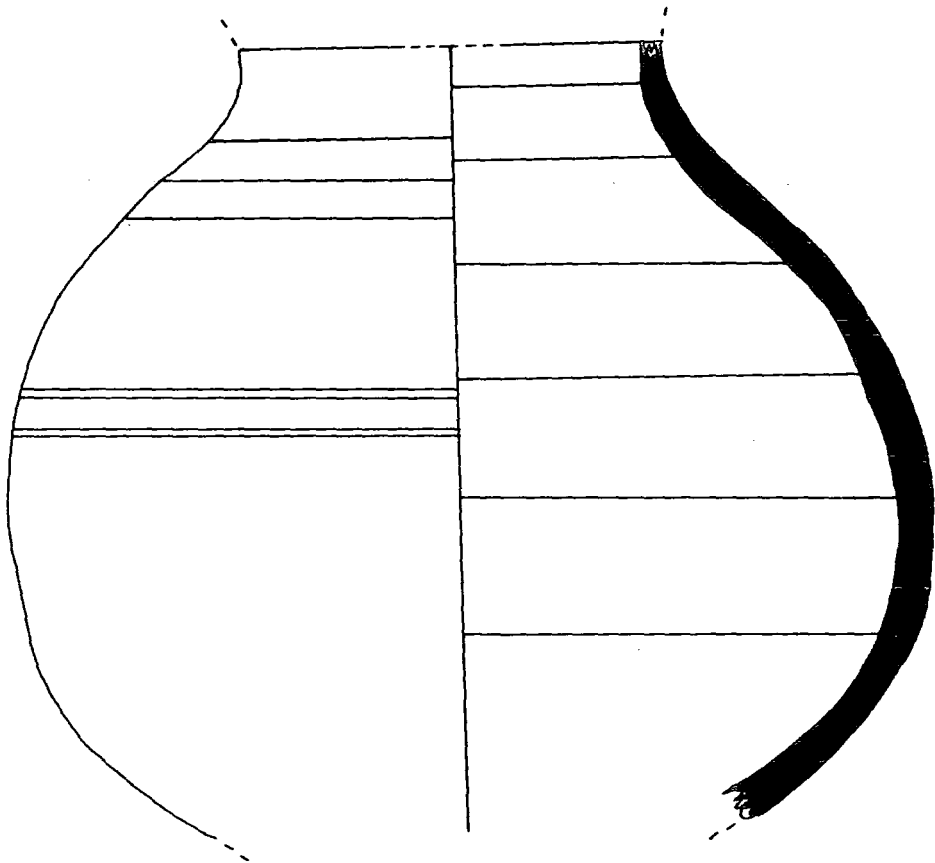


3

SCALE 1:2

Fig. v

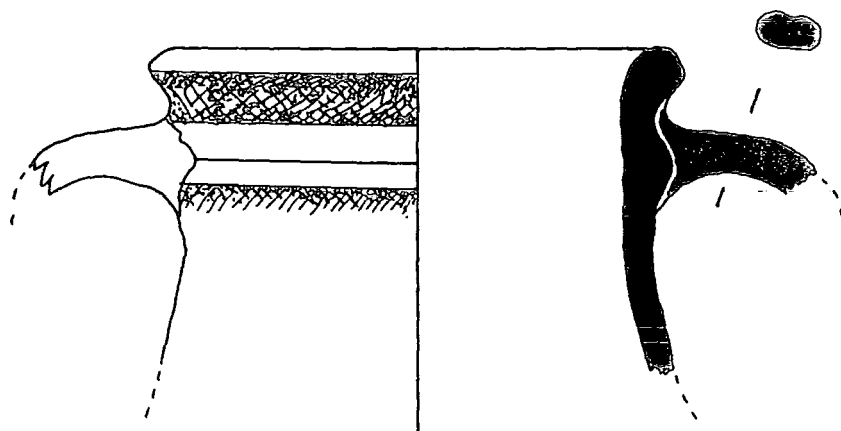




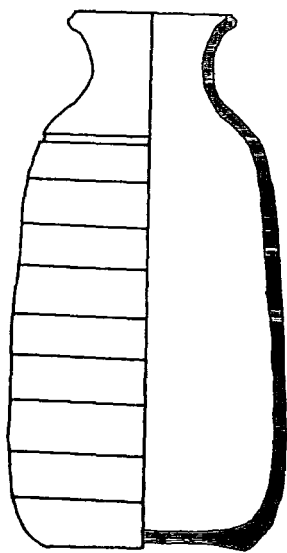
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SCALE 1:2

Fig. vi



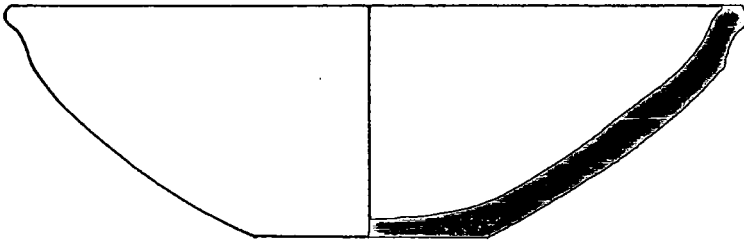
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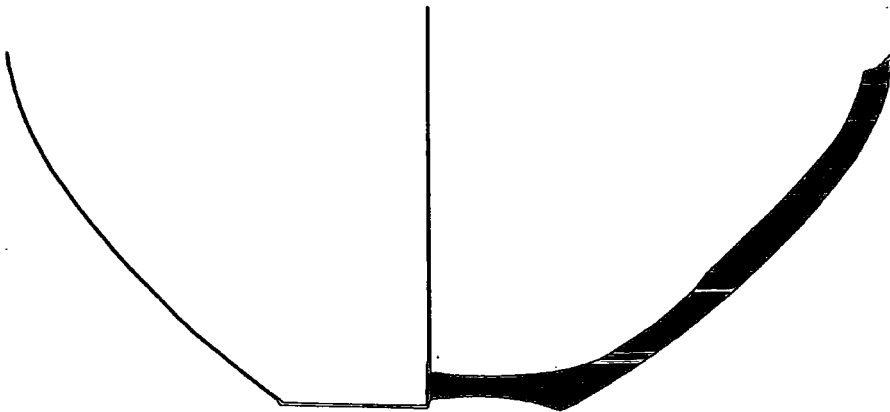
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SCALE 1:2

Fig. vii



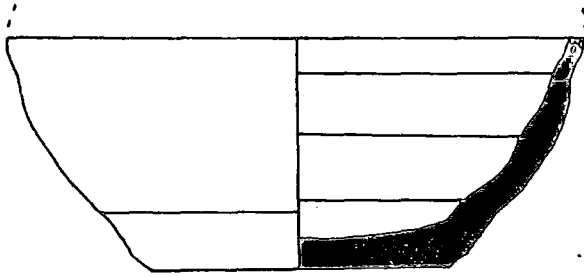
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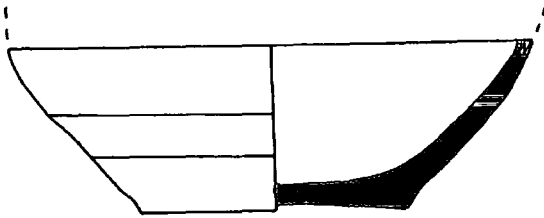
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SCALE 1:2

Fig. viii



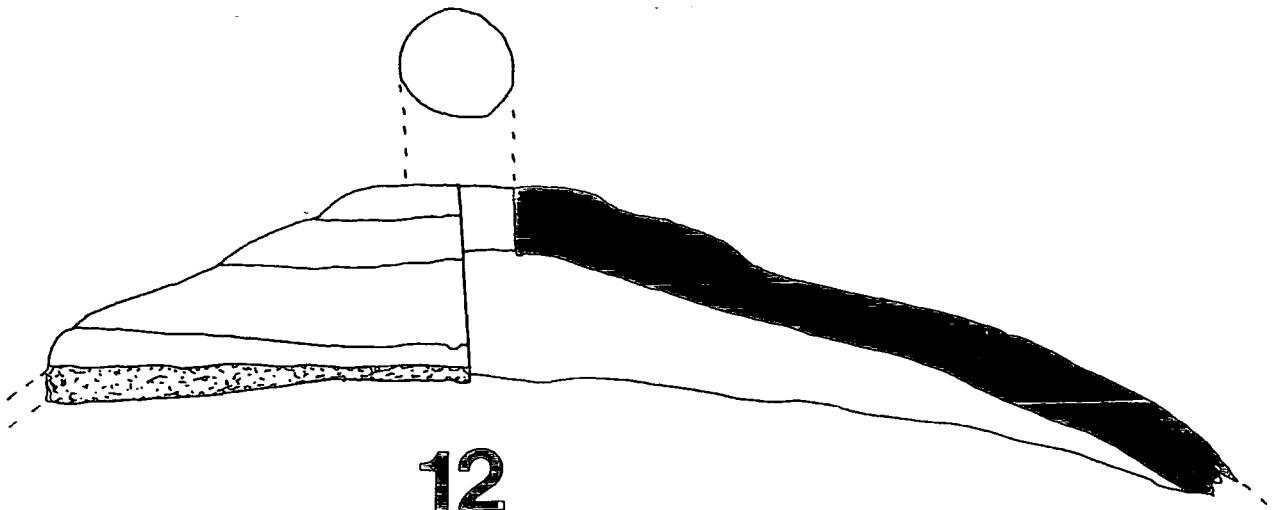
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11

SCALE 1:2

Fig. ix



12

SCALE 1:2

Fig. x

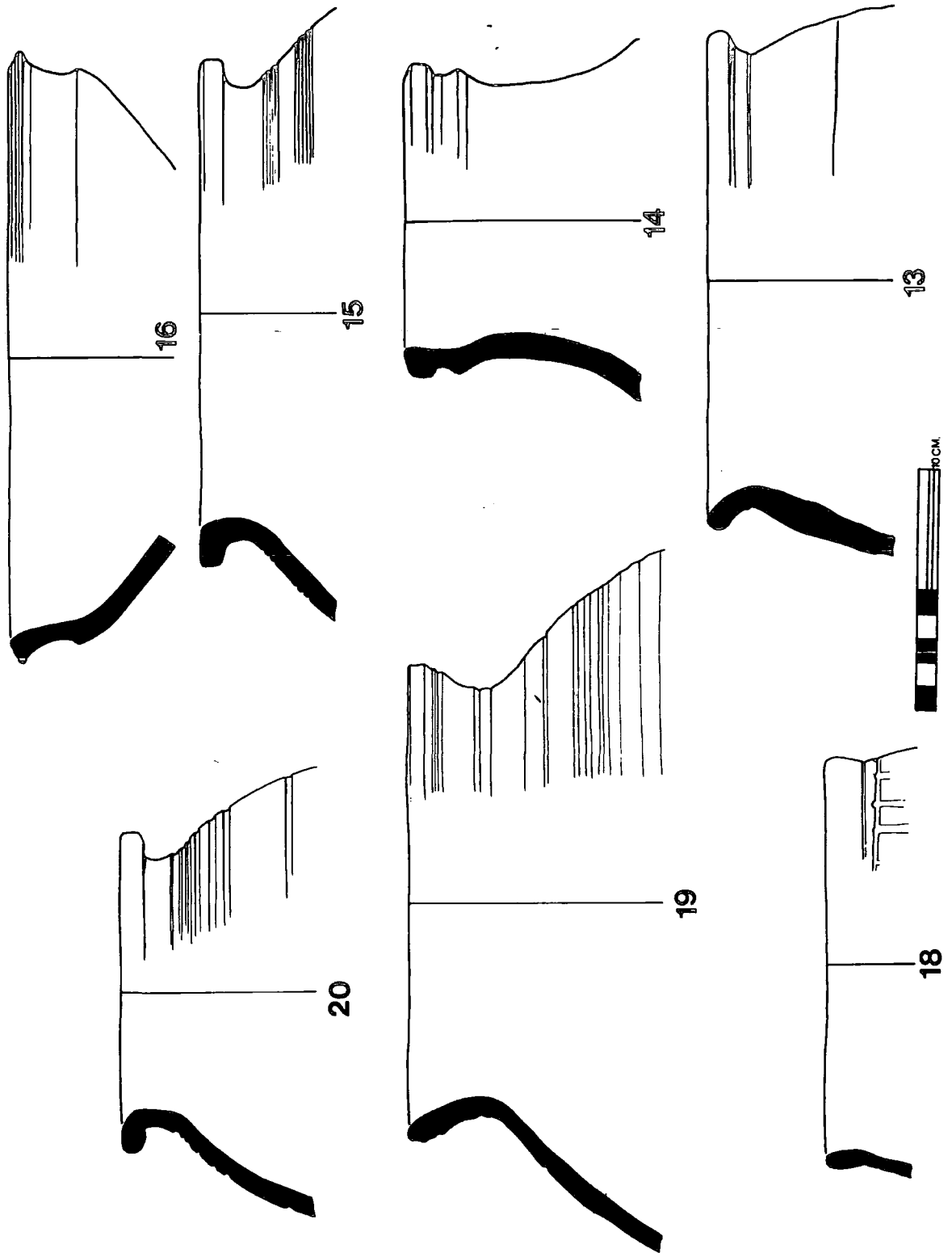


Fig. xi

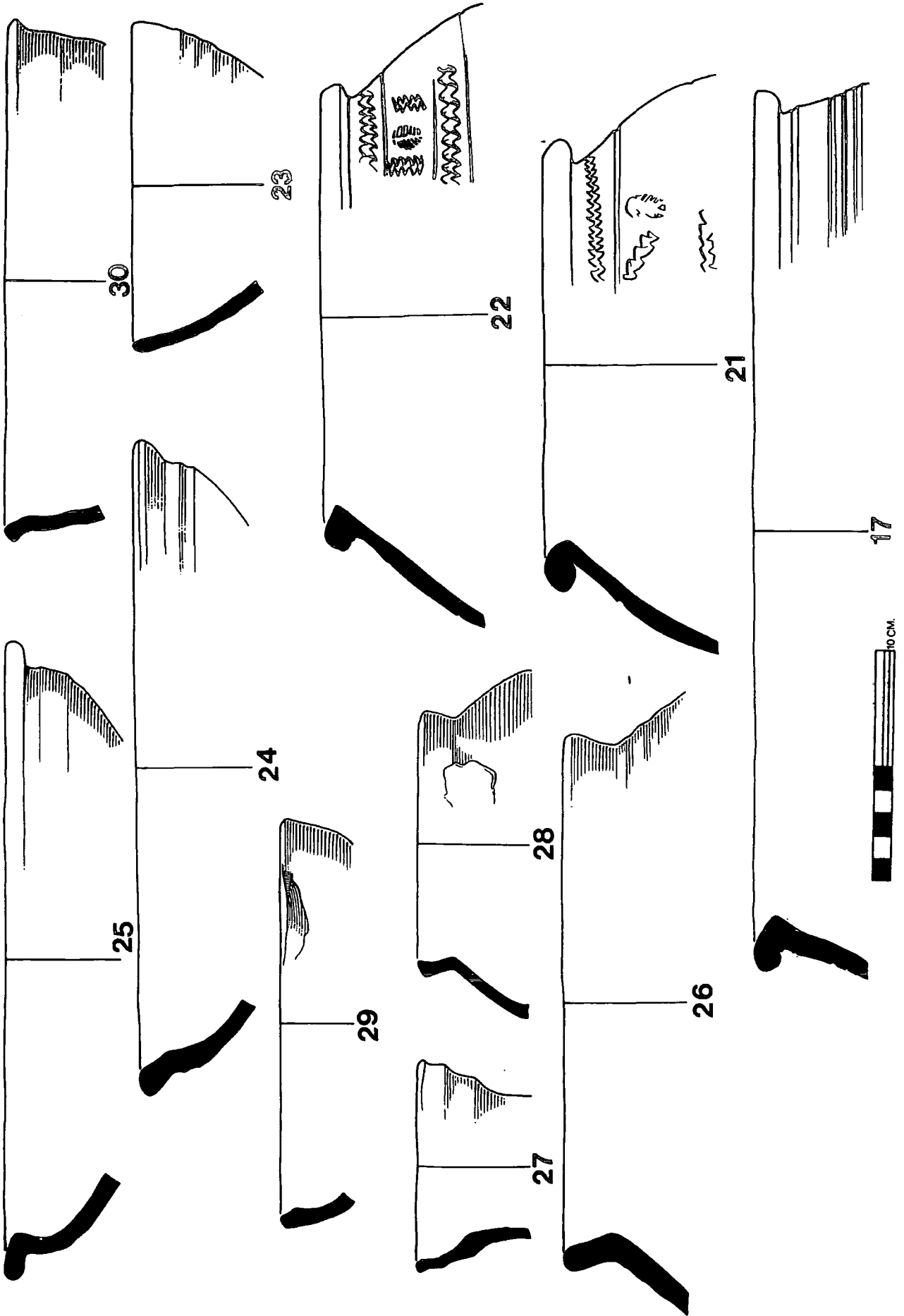


Fig. xii

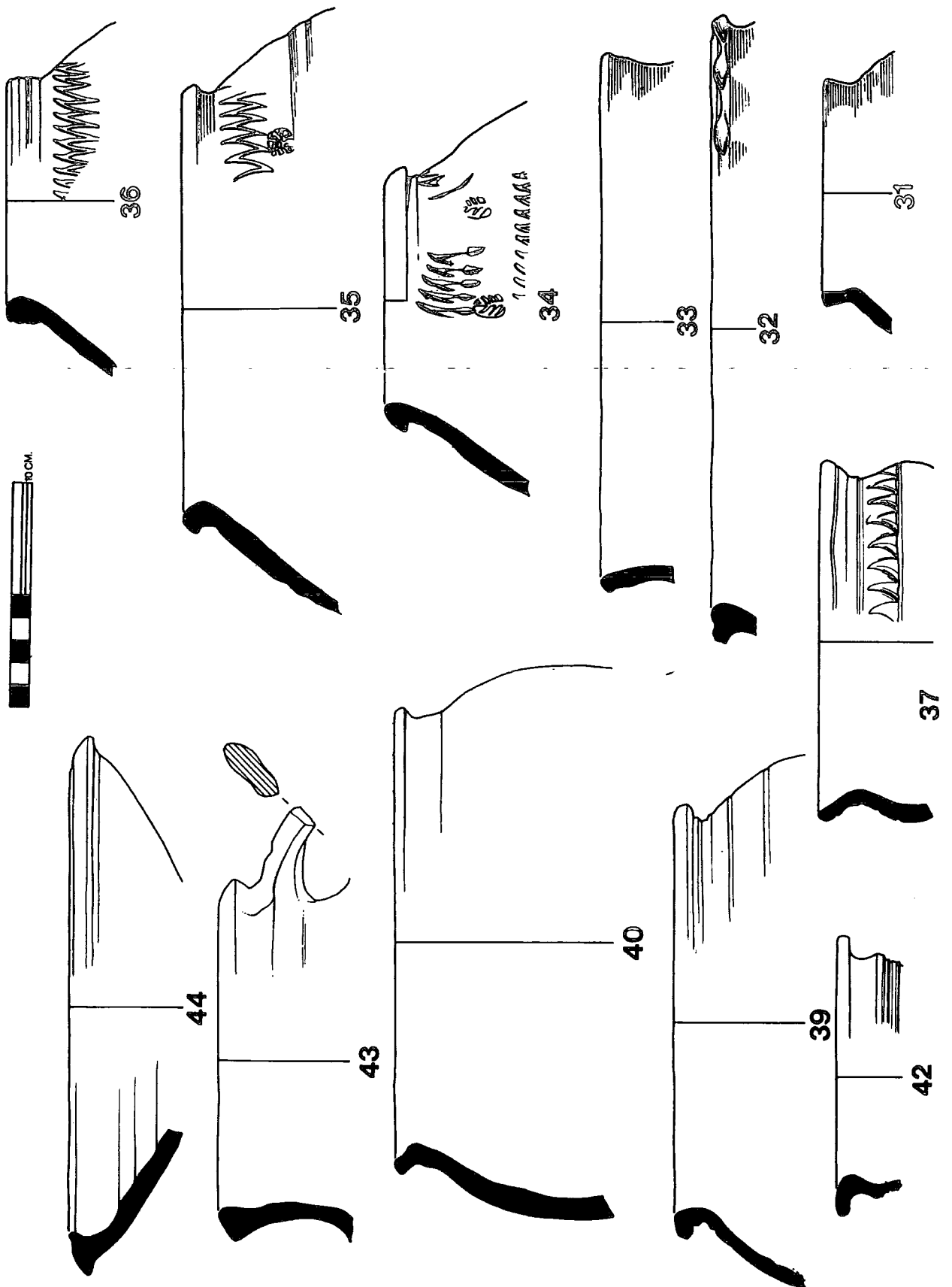


Fig. xiii



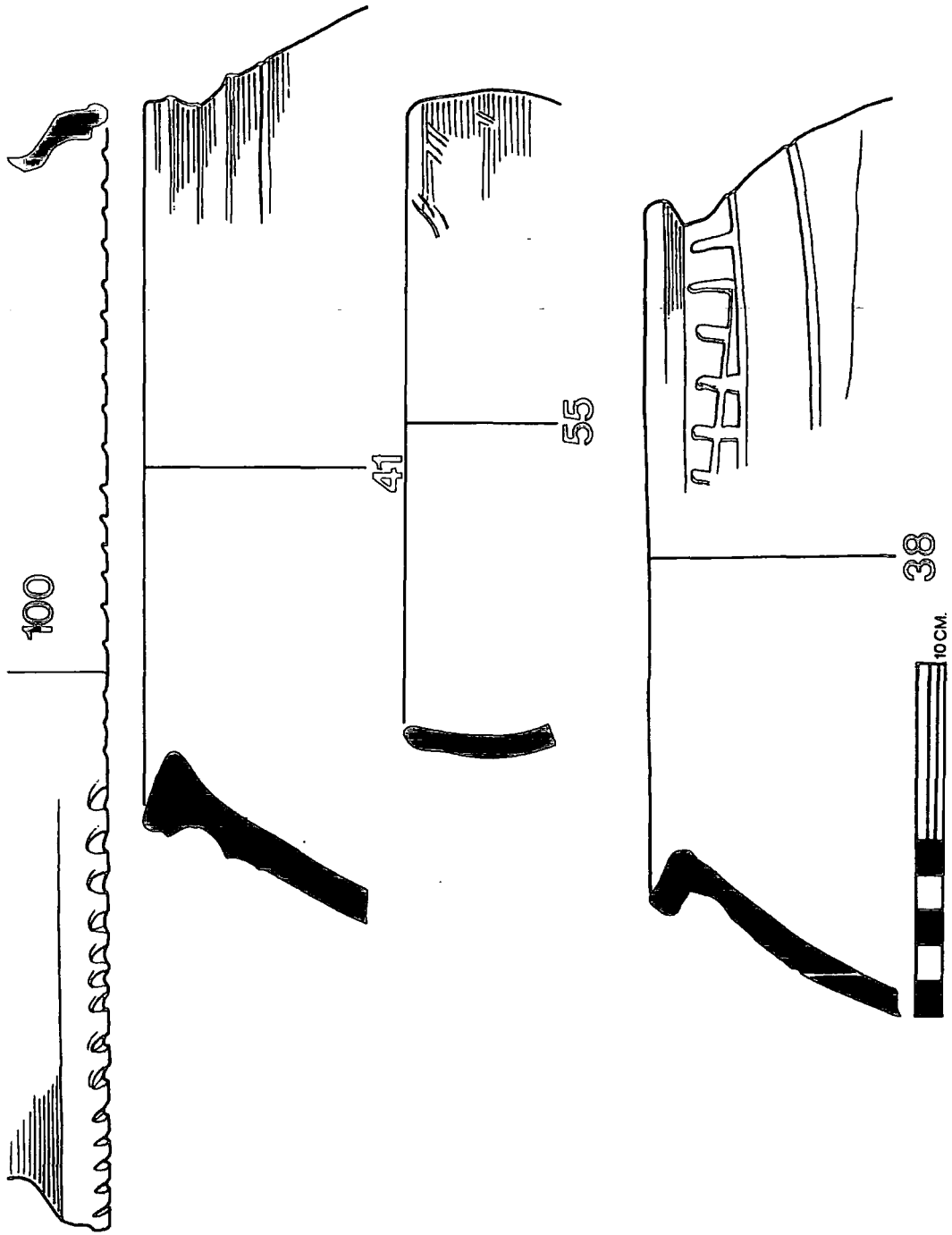


Fig. xiv

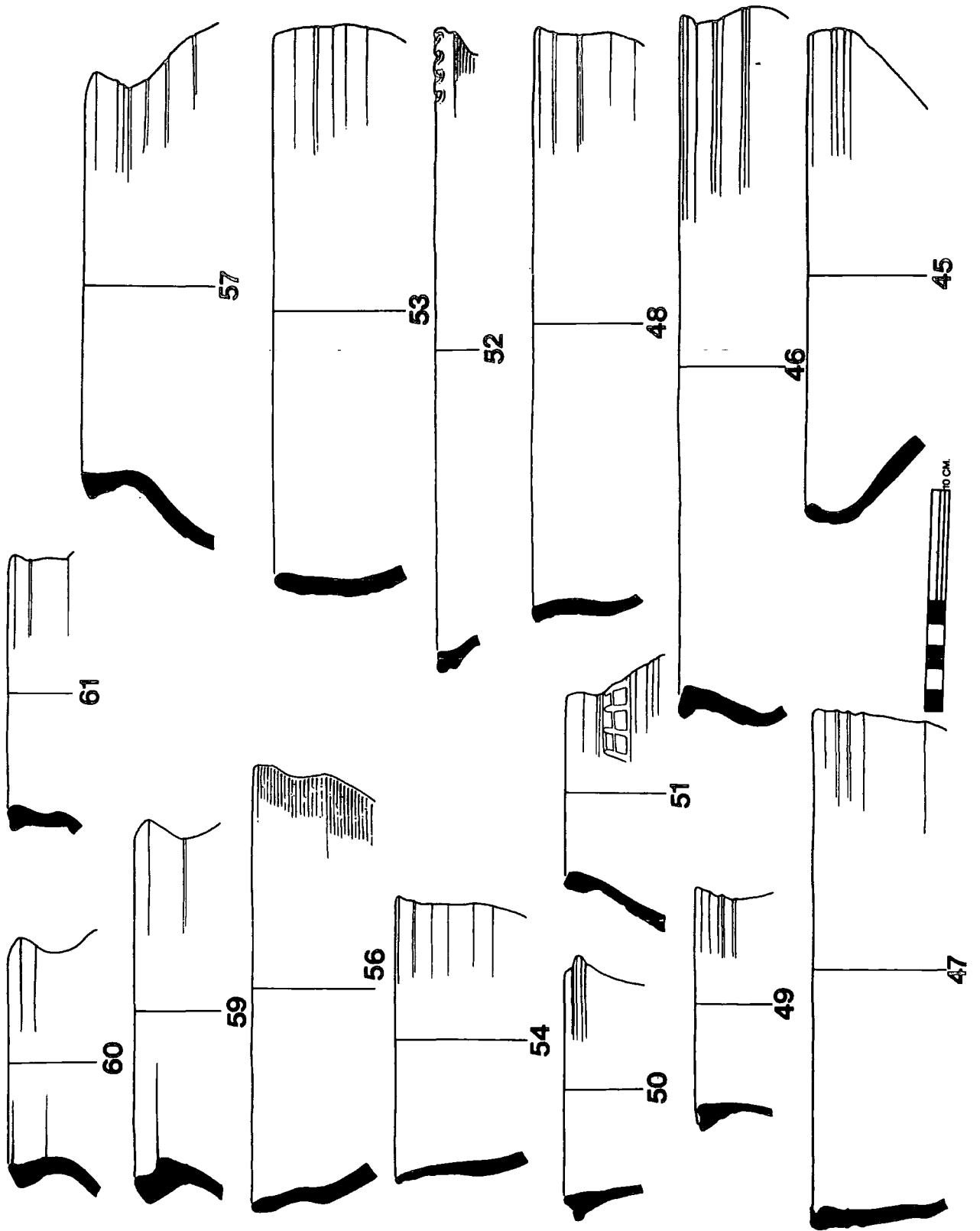


Fig. xv

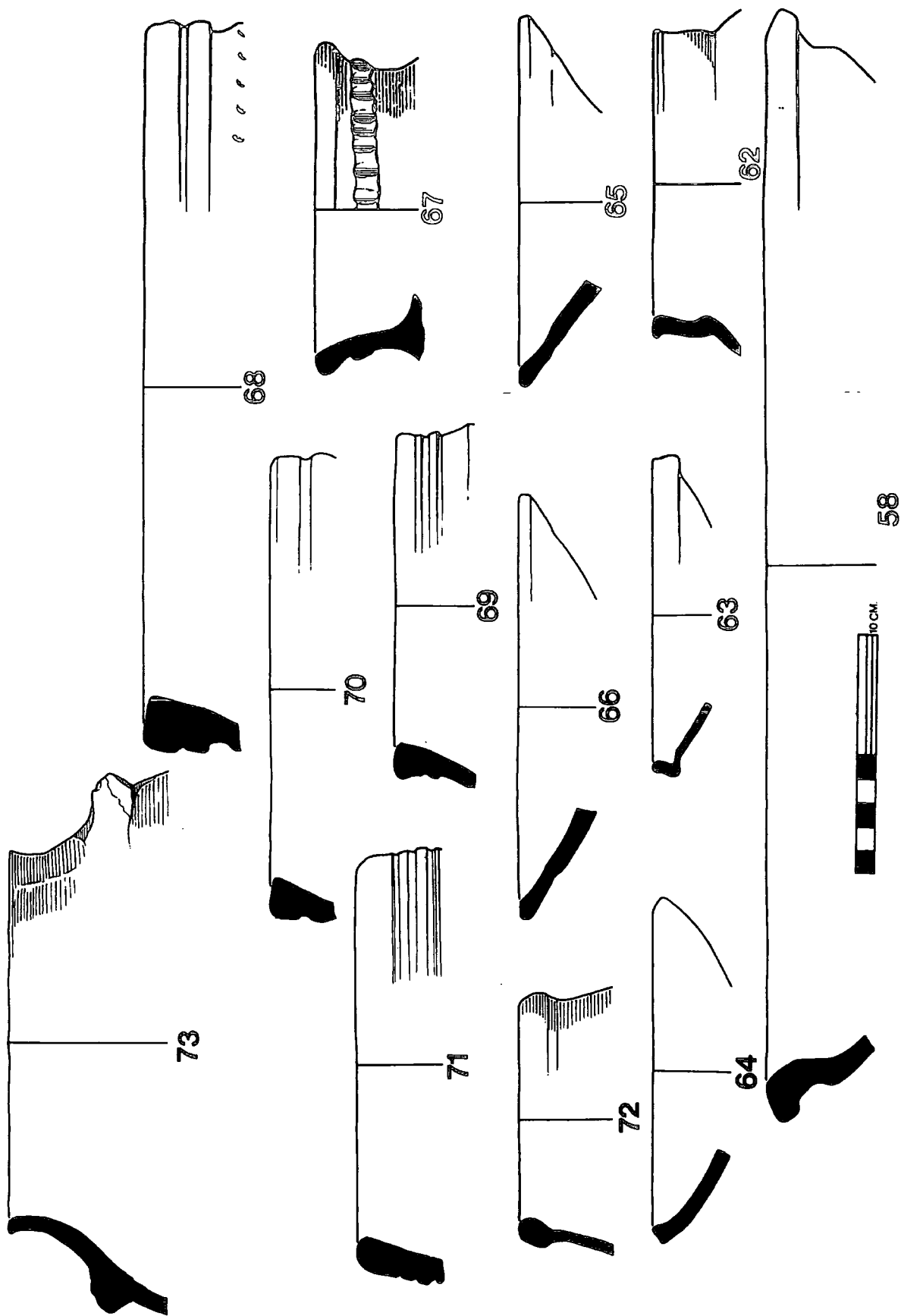


Fig. xvi

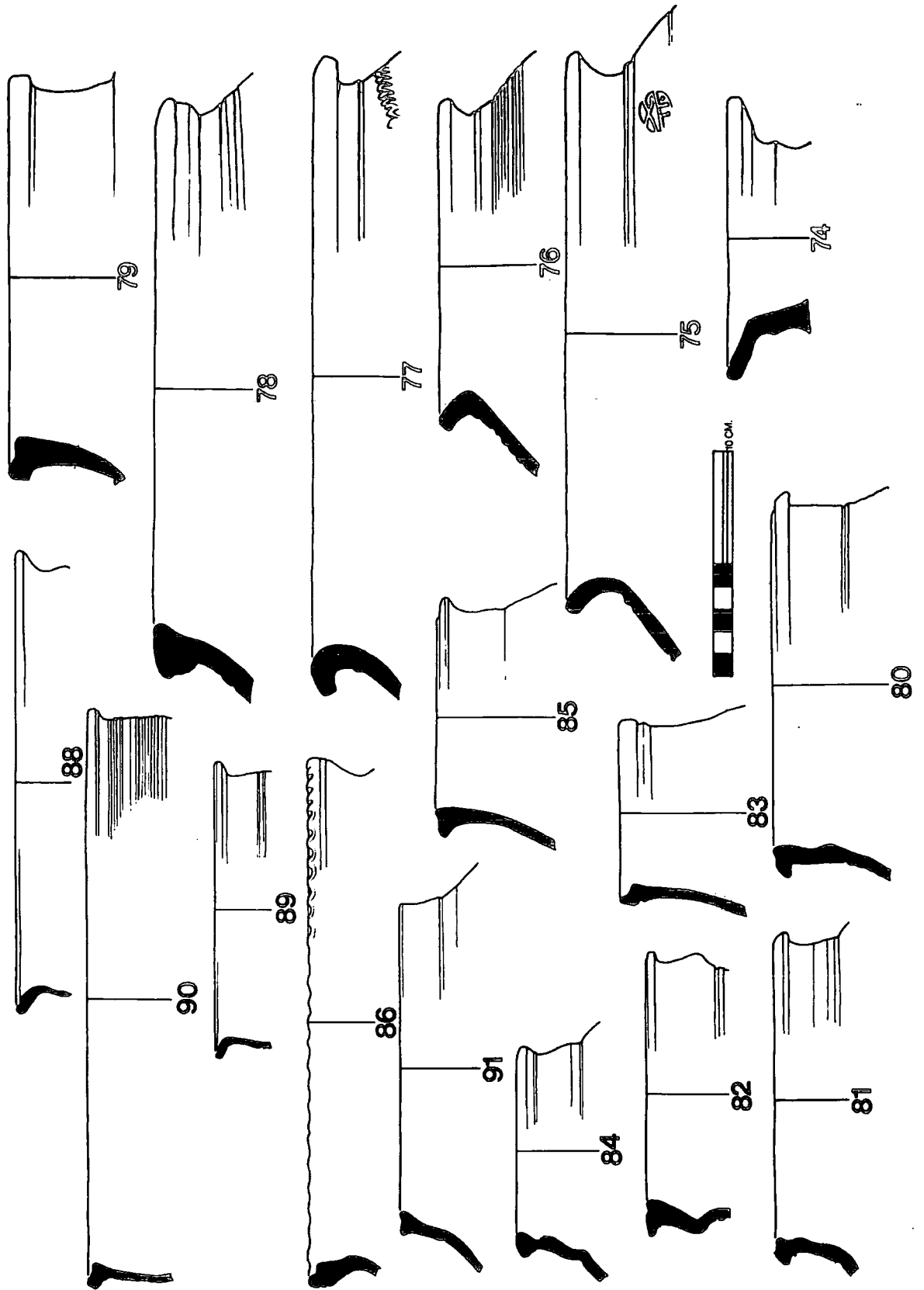


Fig. xvii

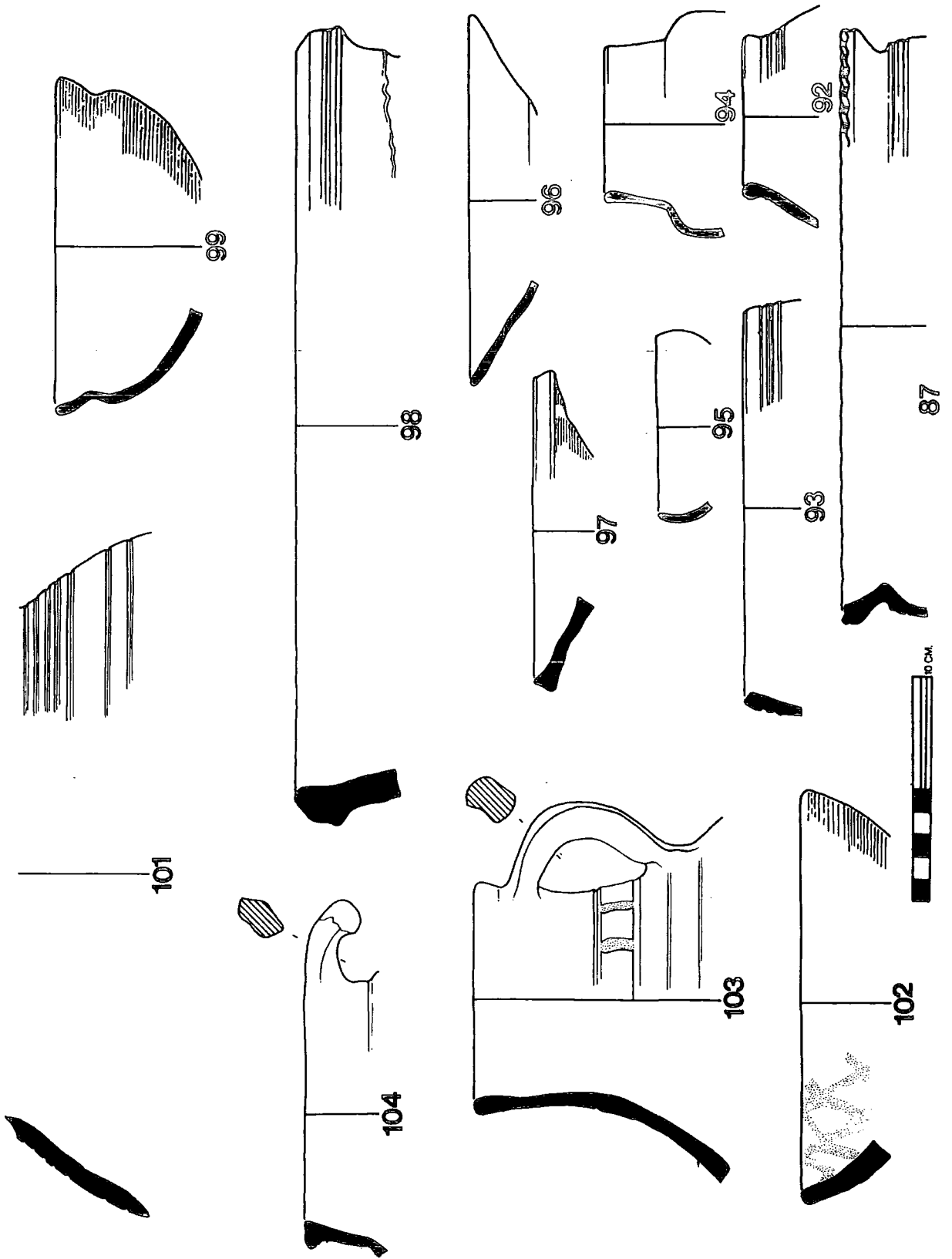
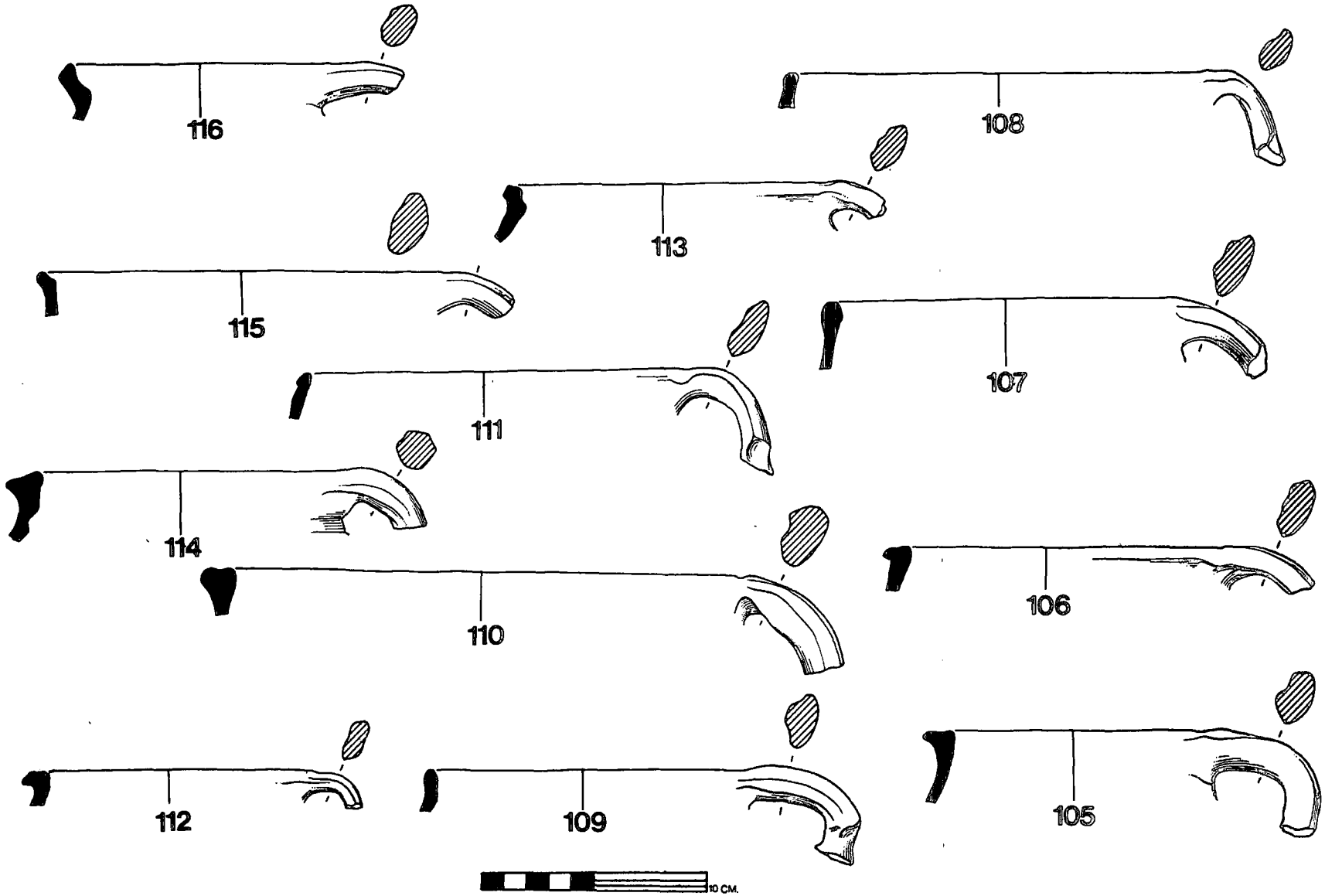


Fig. xviii

Fig. xix



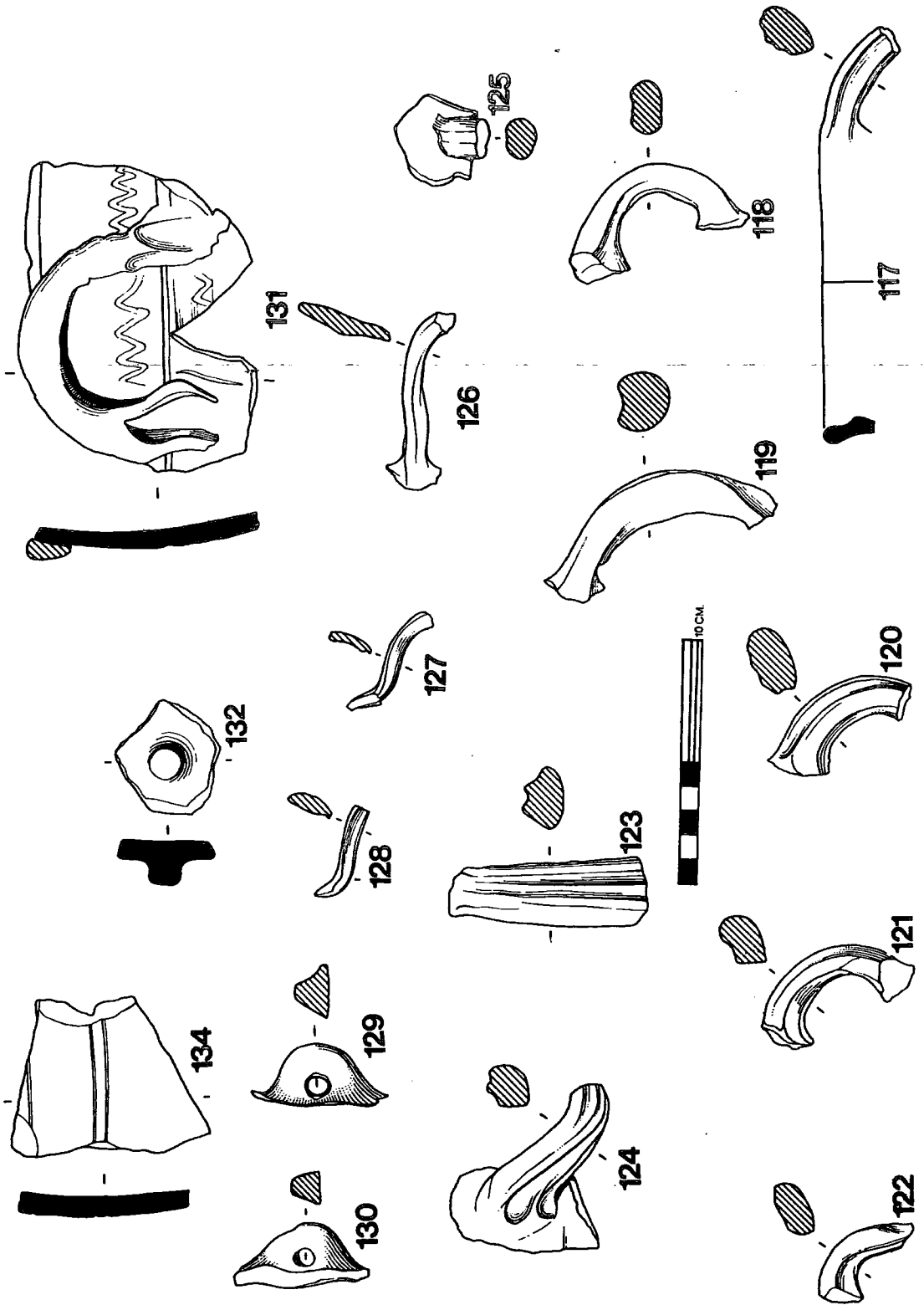


Fig. xx

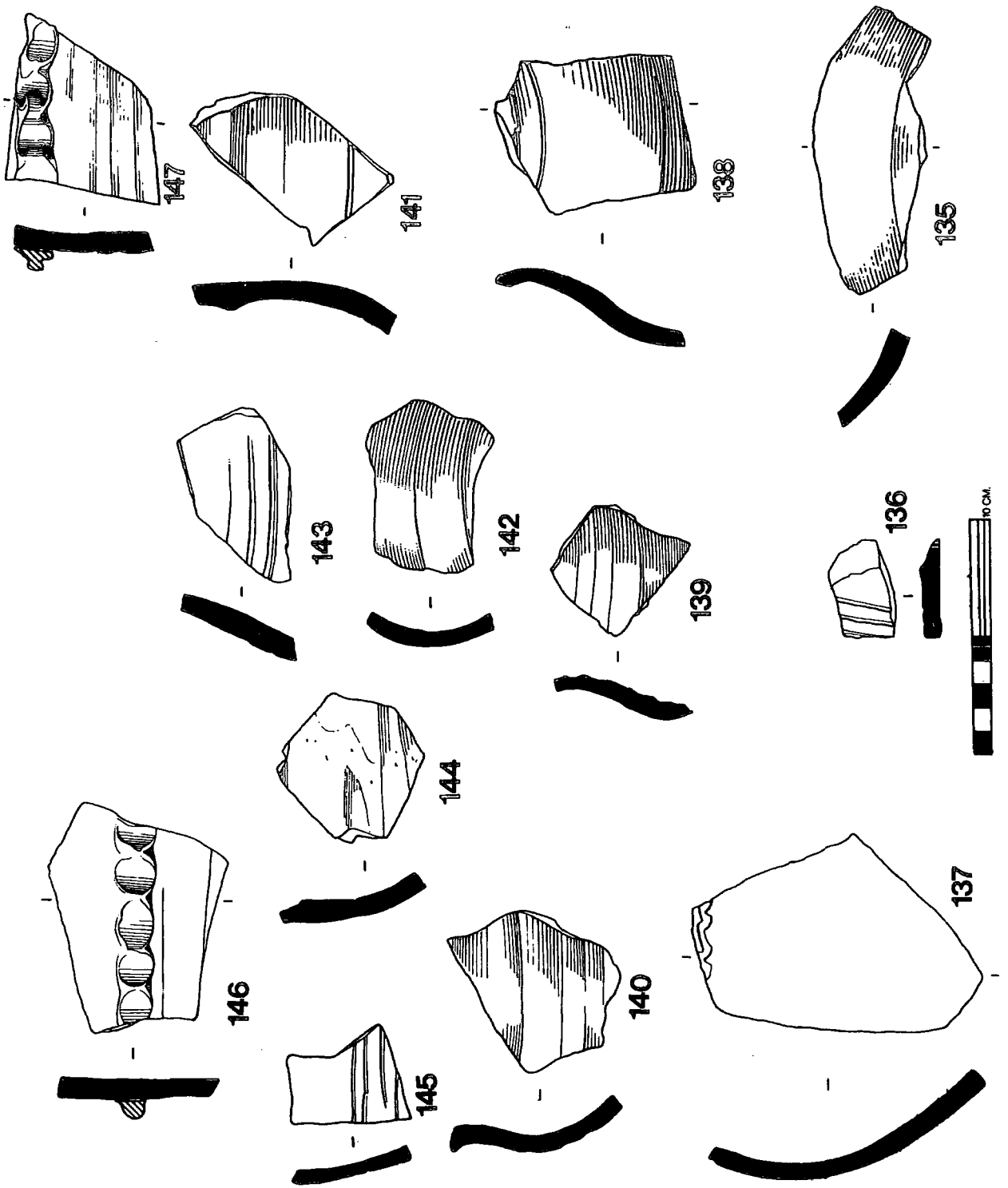


Fig. xxi



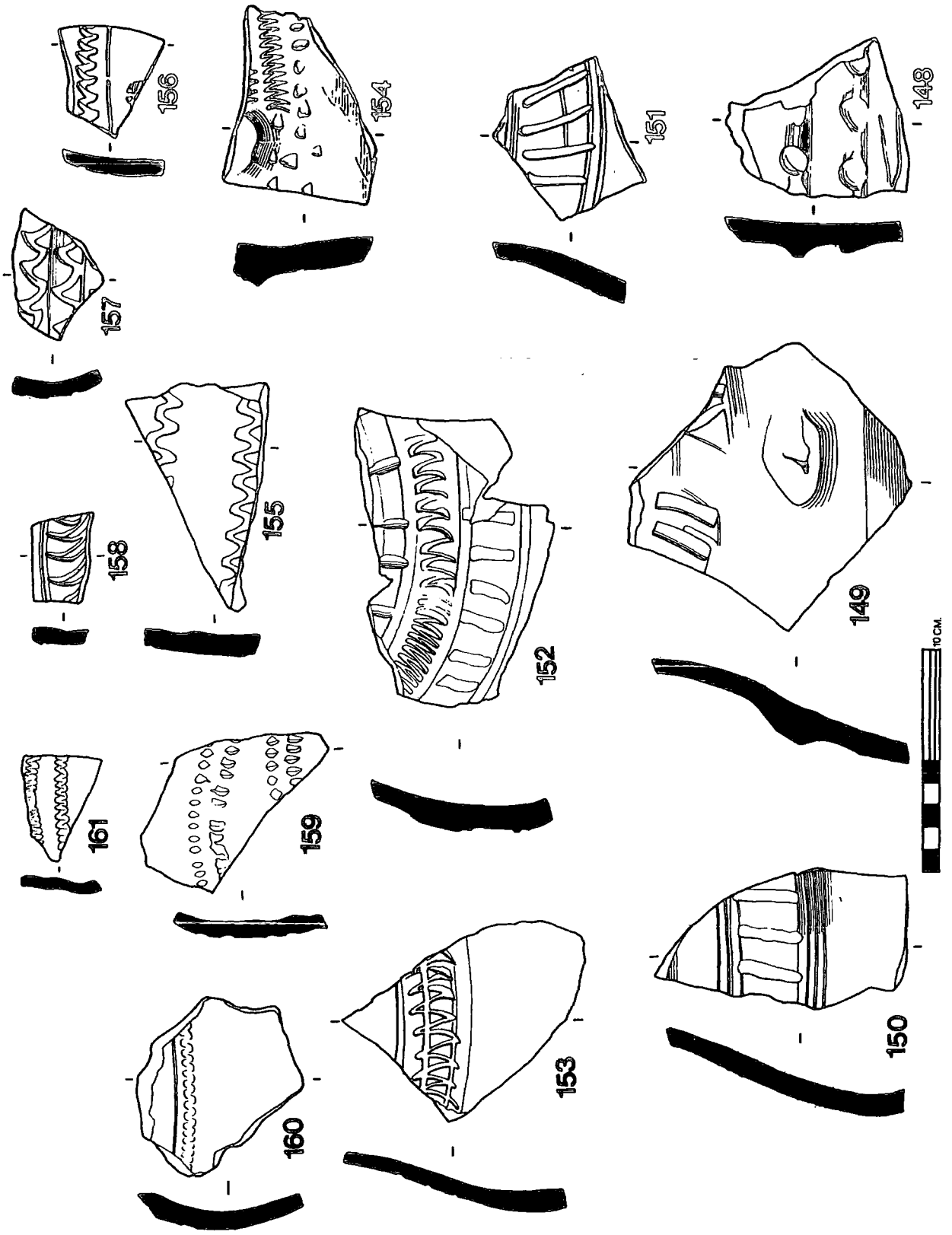


Fig. xxii

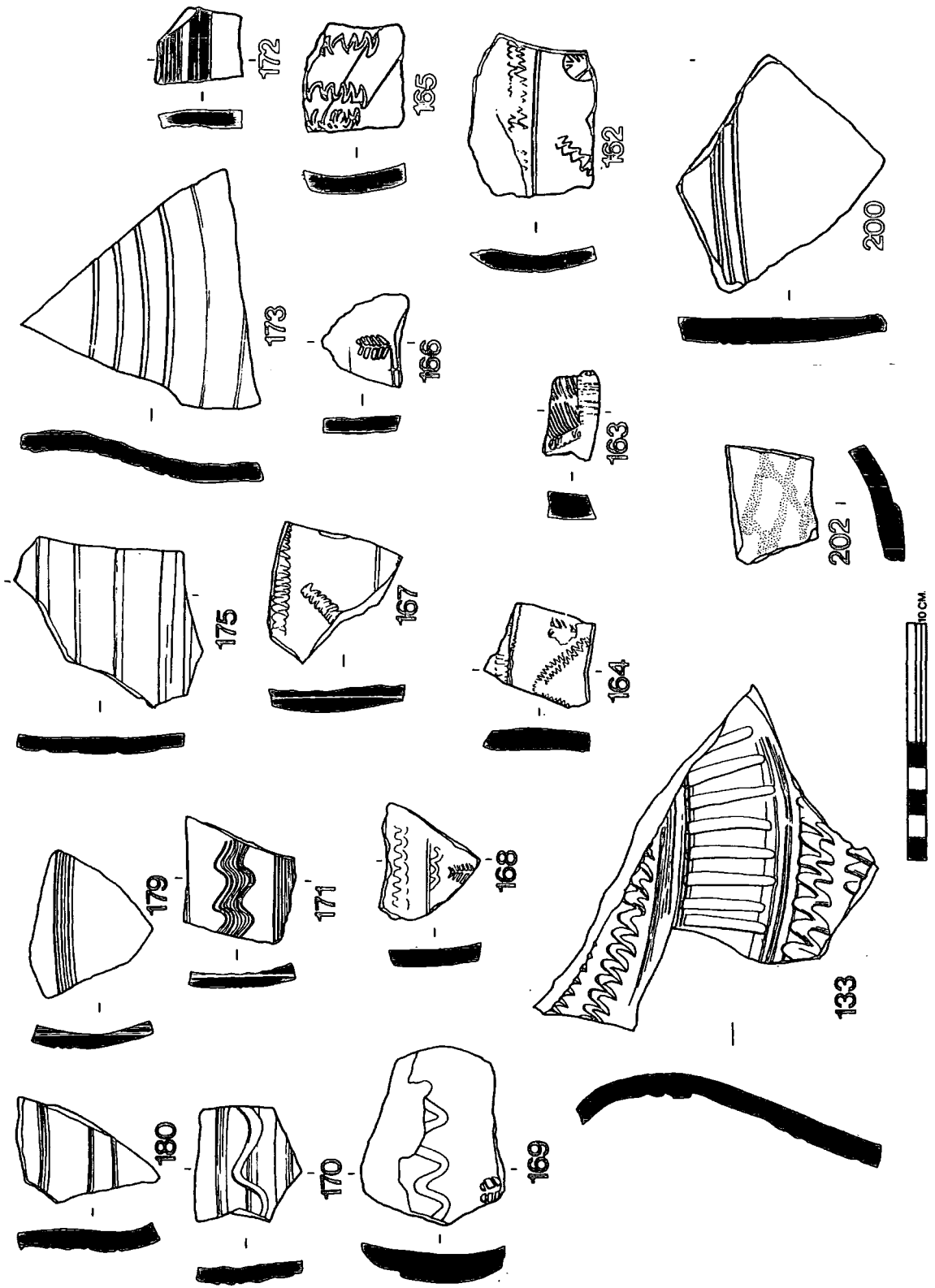


Fig. xxiii

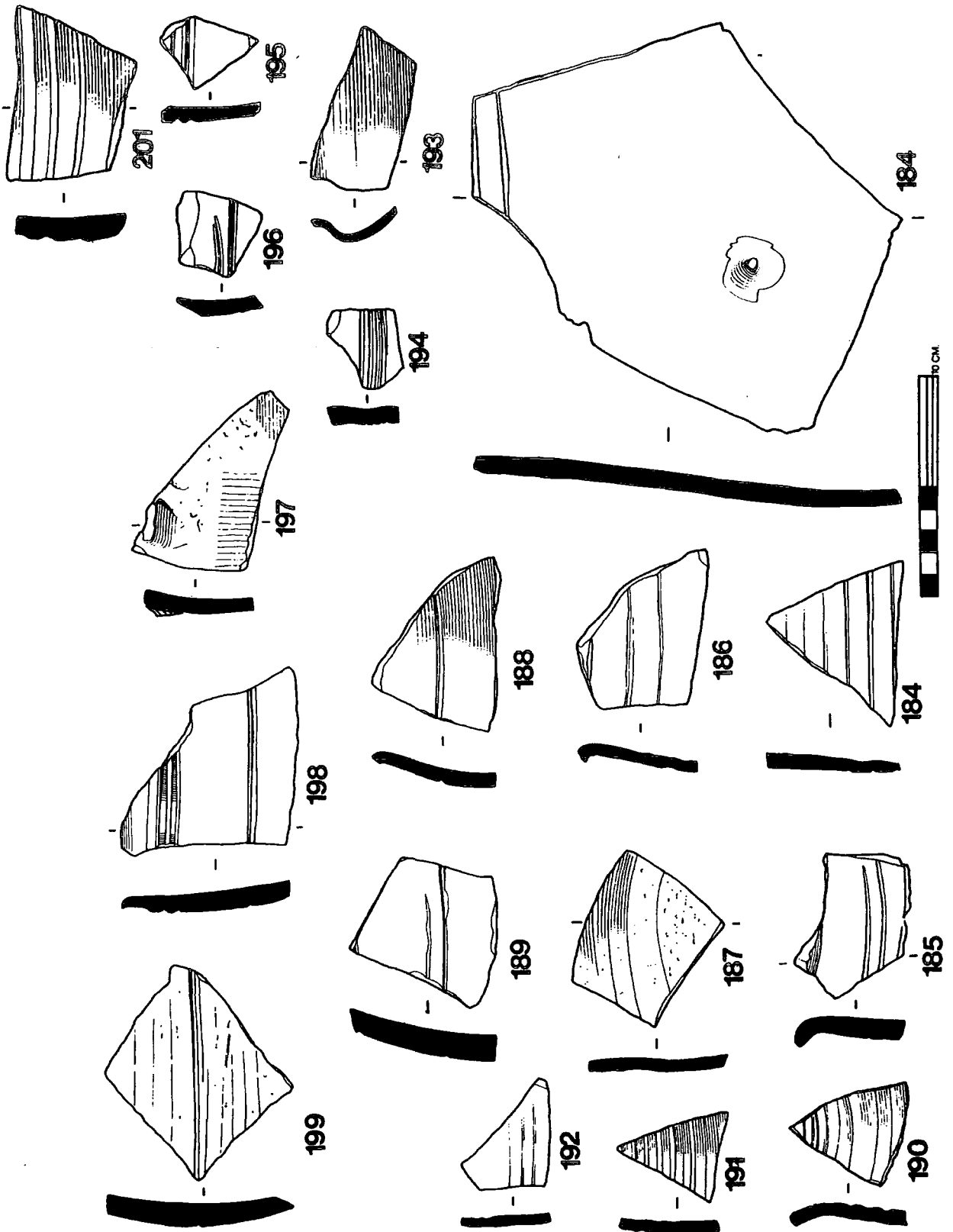


Fig. xxiv

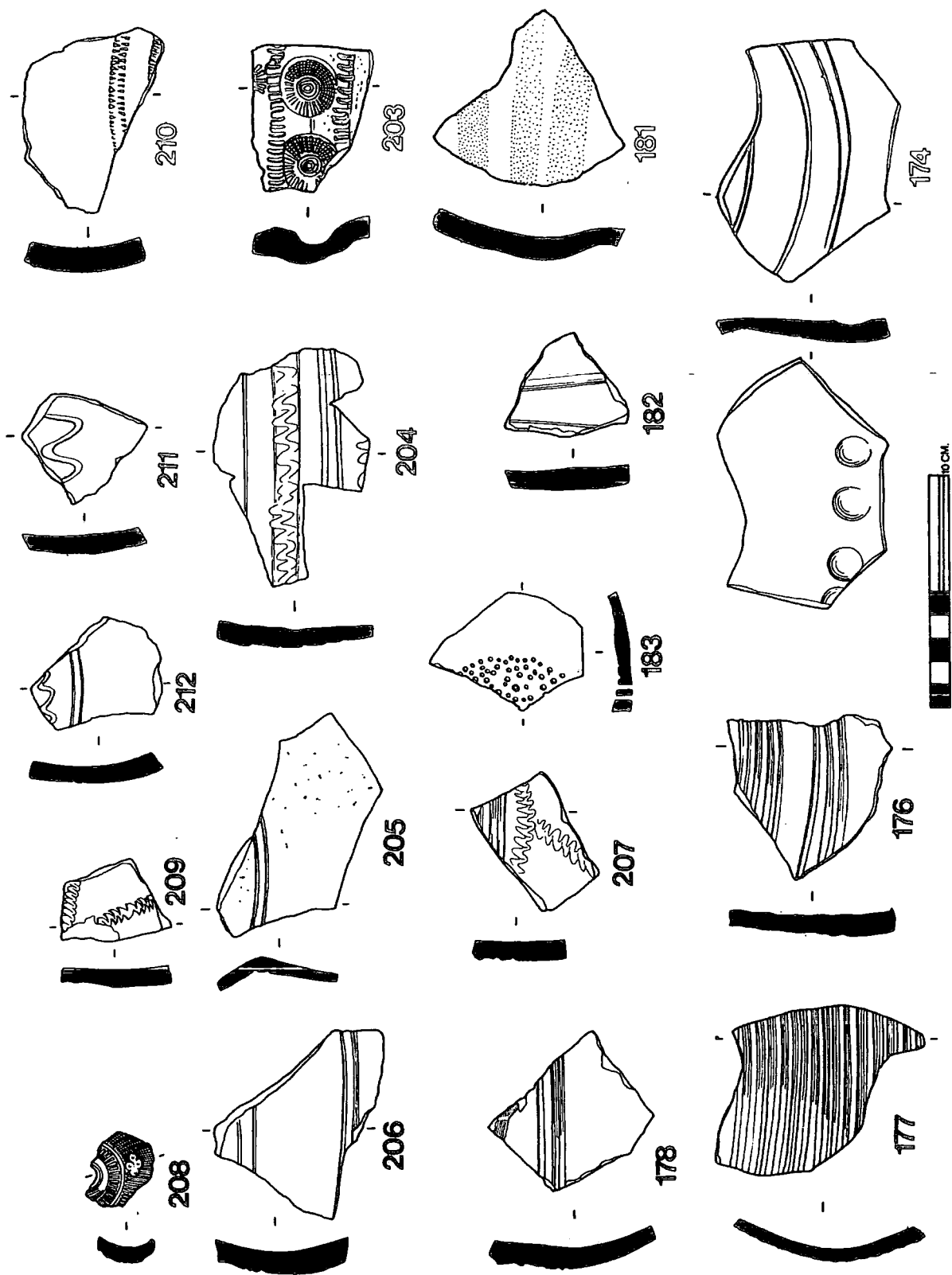


Fig. xxv

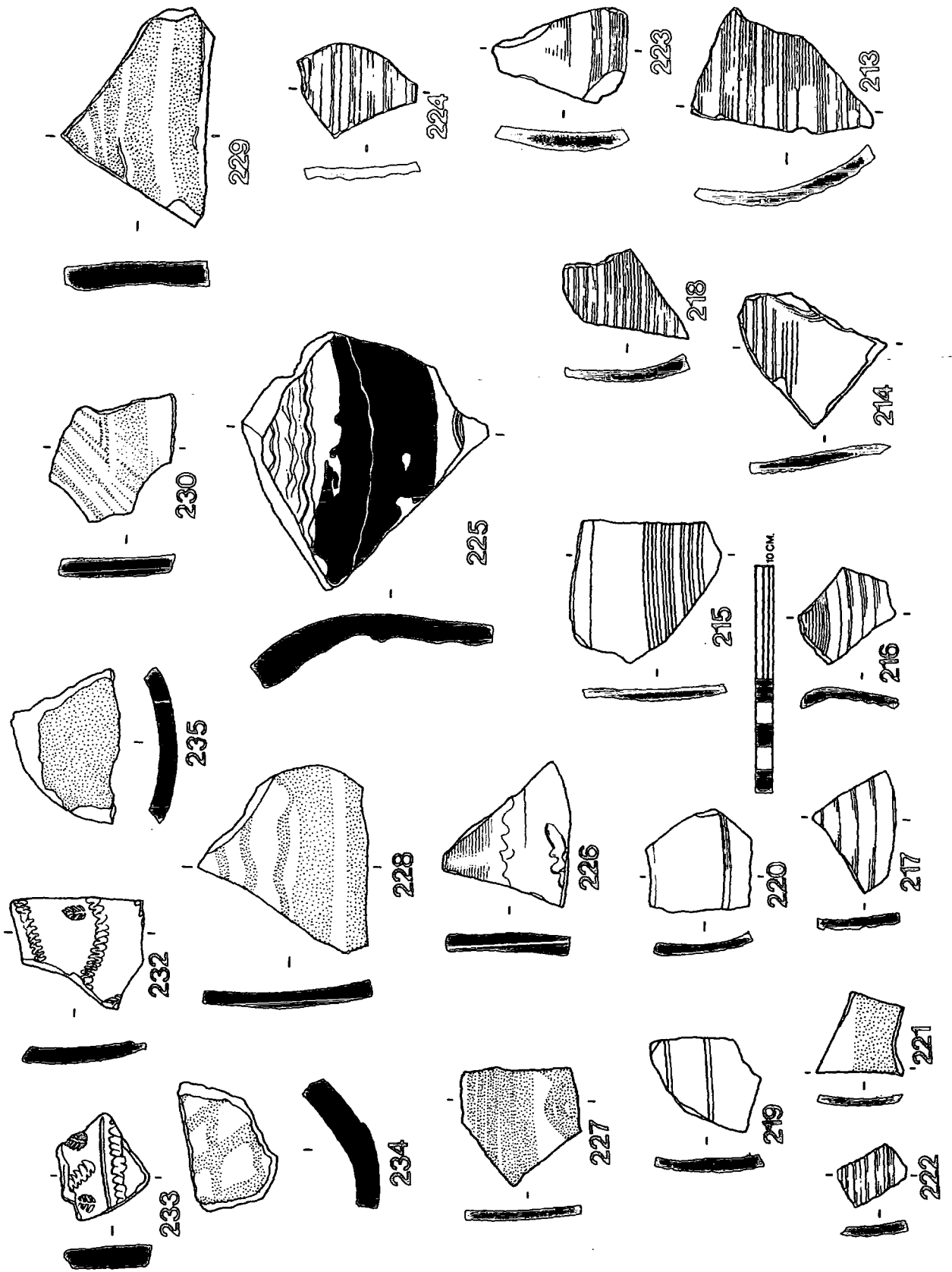


Fig. xxvi

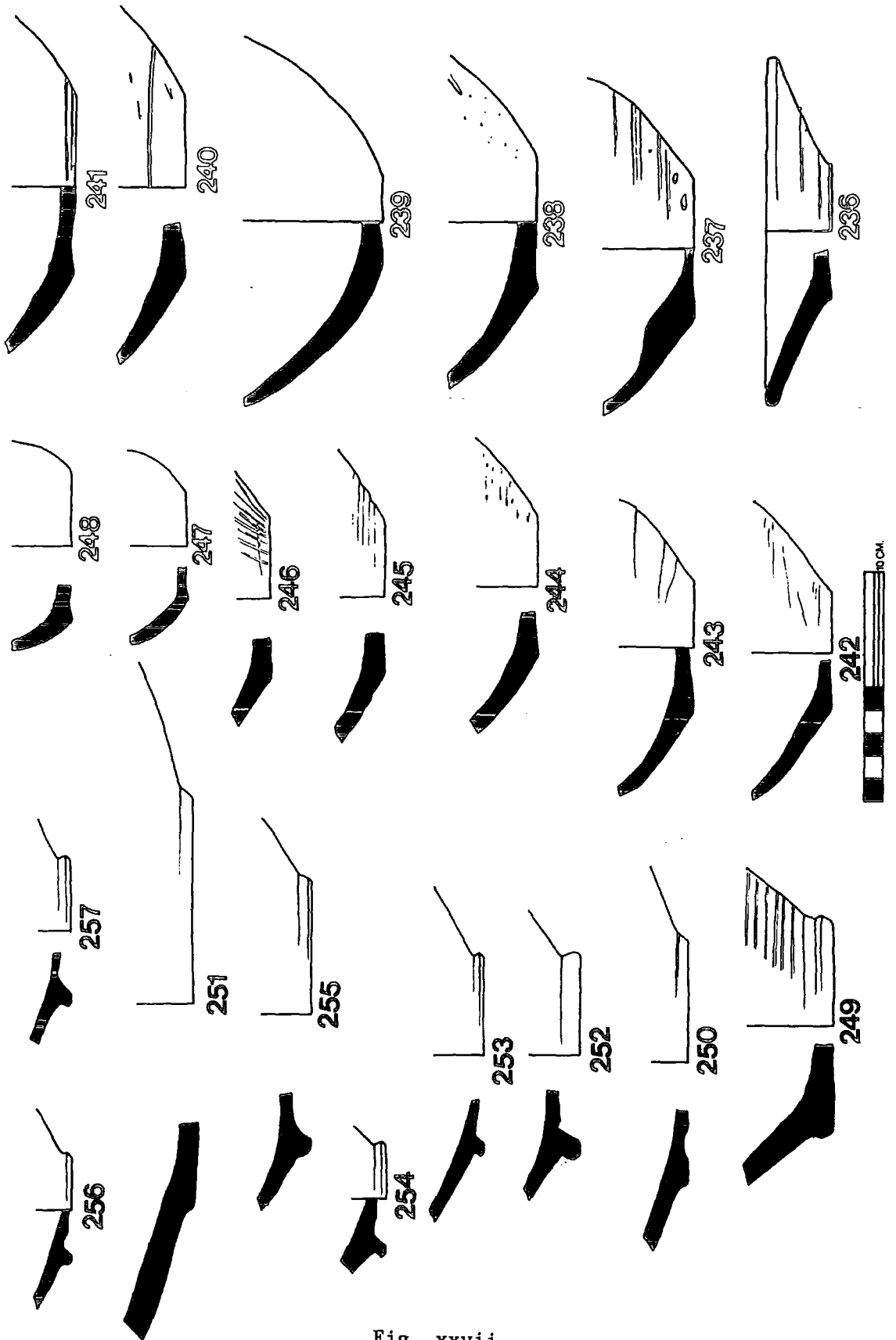


Fig. xxvii

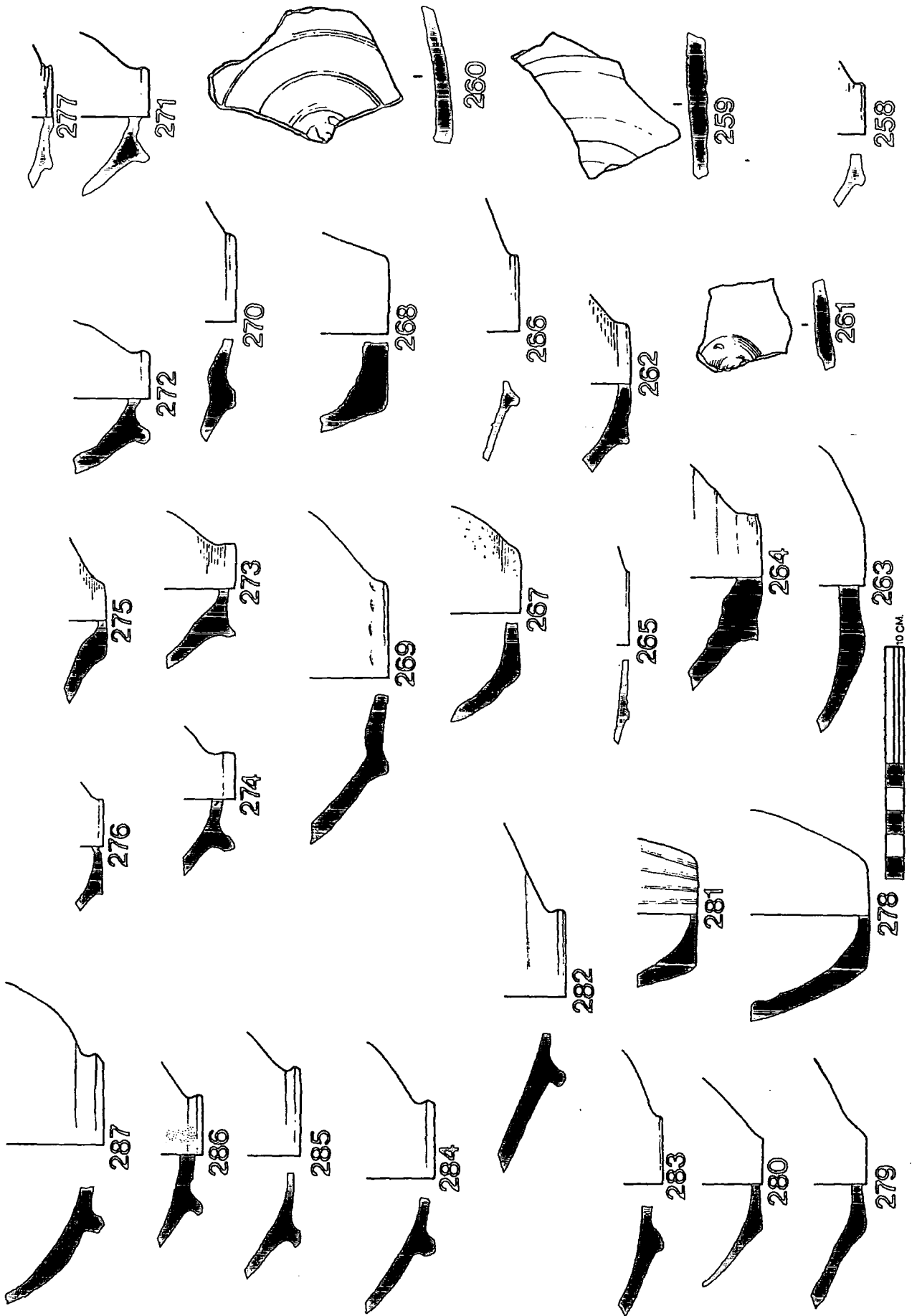


Fig. xxviii

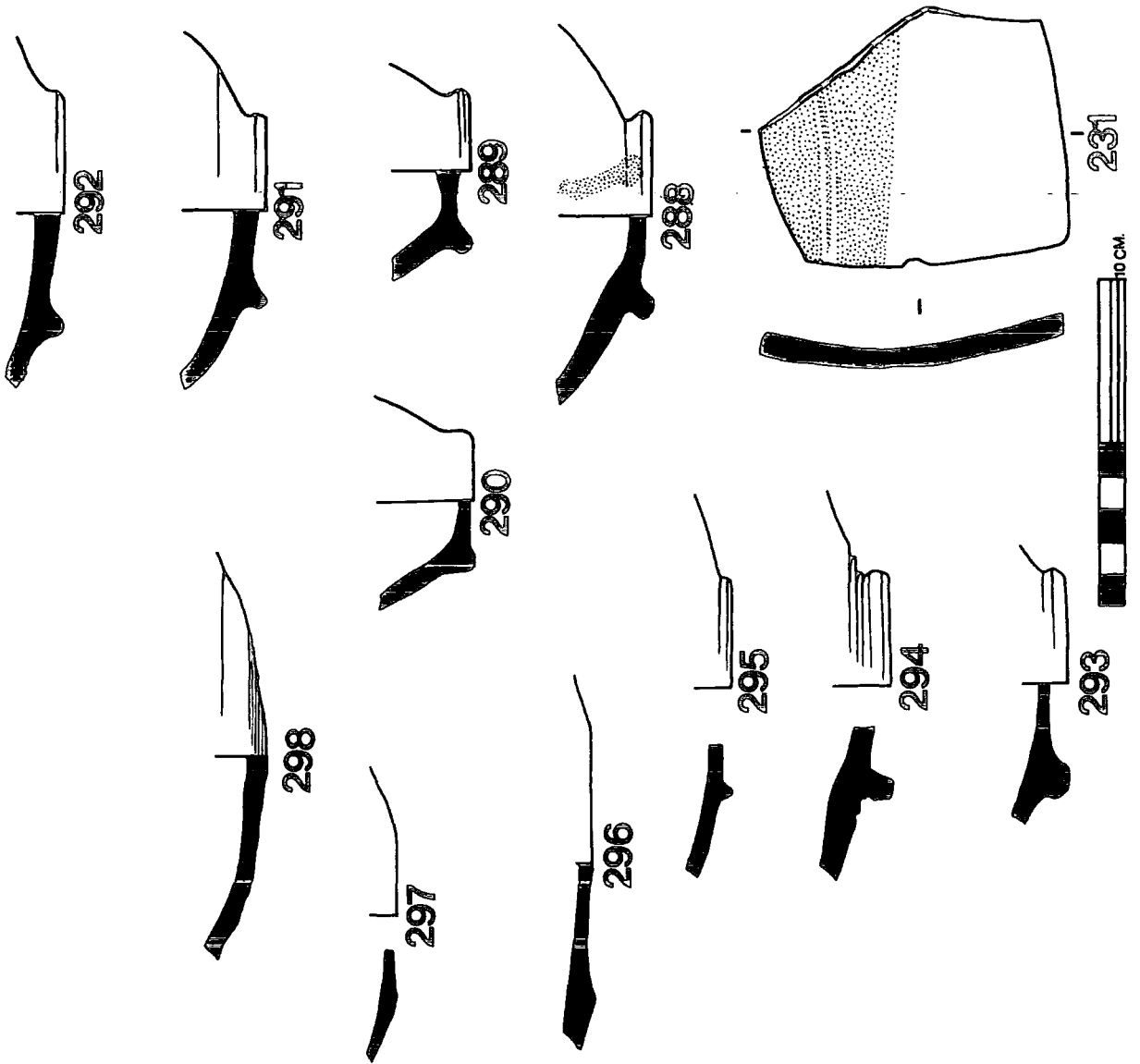


Fig. xxix



## CONCLUSIONS

The history of the Jawf goes back to the Assyrian period, when Dūmat al-Jandal was the centre of the North Arabian tribes. The Assyrian annals from as early as the 8th century B.C. provide us with the earliest account of Dūmat al-Jandal and its association with the North Arabian tribes. The great attention which the Assyrian kings paid to North Arabia in general and to Dūmat al-Jandal in particular, against which they undertook nine different campaigns, indicates the strong political position of Dūmat al-Jandal during that period which forced King Sennacherib himself (705-681 B.C.) to command an expedition aimed directly at the oasis of Adumu (Dūmat al-Jandal). Sennacherib entered Dūmat al-Jandal in the year 688 B.C. and carried out with him the local Gods to Nineveh. The annals of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal mention Dūmat al-Jandal as the fortress of North Arabia. It is obvious that Dūmat al-Jandal during that time had some kind of settlement where it had its own gods and most probably a temple. Until recently there has not been any archaeological evidence discovered in the Jawf which goes back to this period. During the fieldwork in the Jawf a few Iron Age sherds were found in Dūmat al-Jandal and Sakākā, particularly one sherd discovered at the lowest stratum of trench no. 2 at Dūmat al-Jandal. These sherds, however, which date from the late Iron Age, signify the presence of archaeological material which dates from the Assyrian-Babylonian period. It is believed that the remains of the old settlement which dates to the above period probably lies beneath the ancient quarter of Dūmat al-Jandal.

The history of the Jawf in the period between the 5th and 2nd centuries B.C. is obscure as there is no historical or archaeological material which casts any light on the history of the Jawf during this

period.

The Ṭuwayr site, situated to the south of Sakākā, is one of the most important sites in the Jawf area. The archaeological material, mainly pottery, indicates that the site is very distinctive and belongs to a local culture which was influenced not by Syria and Palestine, as its geographical correlation would suggest, but by Mesopotamia and East Arabia where parallel materials have been found in the site of Thāj and 'Ayn Jāwān. Our excavation in the site and the material collected from the trenches and the surface, and its correspondence with the above mentioned suggest that Ṭuwayr flourished during the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. It is believed that the downfall of Ṭuwayr coincided with the presence of the Nabataeans in Dūmat al-Jandal.

The trade routes which ran through NW Arabia, and their importance to the Nabataean Kingdom, brought about their domination of the area probably as early as the 1st century B.C. The Nabataean presence in the Jawf was perhaps encouraged by the significance of Wadi al-Sirḥān and the trade routes which ran from al-Jawf through it to the north and the south. A Nabataean inscription, published by Savignac and Starcky and dated to the 5th year of the reign of King Malichus II (40-70 A.D.), is a dedication of a sanctuary at Dūmat al-Jandal made by 'Animu, commander of some unidentified fort.<sup>1</sup> This inscription provided the first historical evidence of the Nabataean involvement in the Jawf region. The Nabataean presence is very obvious. During the fieldwork in the area a large amount of Nabataean material was discovered. The first trench inside Mārid castle produced in its lowest strata fine Nabataean sherds

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1. Savignac, 'Inscription Nabatéenne', 196-217

which provide strong evidence of Nabataean occupation of the castle during the 1st century A.D. A greater quantity of similar material was found in trench no. 3, outside the 'Umar mosque, as well as painted sherds collected from the area around Mārid castle. The amount of the Nabataean archaeological material which has been discovered in addition to the epigraphic data, where a large number of Nabataean inscriptions are recorded, mainly around Sakākā, indicates that the Nabataean domination of the Jawf was very well established especially during the 1st century A.D. It is believed that the period of greatest flowering in the Jawf was that of the Nabataeans when Dūmat al-Jandal was a key centre on the caravan routes enjoying considerable wealth.

The conquest of Petra, in 106 A.D., by the Romans and the establishment of the Provincia Arabia gave the Romans control over the Nabataean territory. The Roman presence in NW Arabia and the Jawf region is demonstrated by three Latin inscriptions from Madā'in Šāliḥ, Dūmat al-Jandal and Azraq (see Chapter I above). The first two inscriptions mention that a group of soldiers of the third legion of the Roman army were present in both Madā'in Šāliḥ and Dūmat al-Jandal. The Azraq inscription, dated from the 4th century A.D., mentions a high place or sanctuary of Dūmat al-Jandal. Archaeological evidence, mainly pottery of a Roman-Byzantine character, was found in the Jawf during the fieldwork. Pottery of a Byzantine nature was discovered in trench no. 3 in Dūmat al-Jandal and on the surface around the western part of the wall of Dūmat al-Jandal. These materials indicate that the area was influenced by Byzantine culture; however, there is no evidence of a direct Byzantine involvement in the Jawf area.

At the beginning of Islam the Jawf was under the leadership of King Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was a close ally of the Byzantines. The Prophet Muḥammad himself undertook an expedition against Dūmat al-

Jandal in 5/627 but it was during the caliphate of Abū Bakr that Khālīd b. al-Walīd conquered the Jawf, after which it became part of the Islamic world. After its conquest the Arabic sources neglected the area except for a brief mention which associated Dūmat al-Jandal with the arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. The large number of early Arabic inscriptions, which have been recorded in the Jawf, indicates that the area continued to flourish during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.H.: however, our excavations did not produce any material which might be associated with the Islamic periods. The absence of Islamic evidence from our trenches was unfortunate as we were expecting to discover some Islamic material from the upper strata of our trenches. However, sherds have been found on the surface at Dūmat al-Jandal, Ṭuwayr site and around Za'bal castle at Sakākā. Most of these sherds have blue glaze on both surfaces, this type of pottery was widely spread during the Abbasid period.

The excavations which we carried out were very limited and therefore it is too early to establish the chronology of the Islamic period in the Jawf. We hope that future excavation in the area will substantiate the history of the region during the various Islamic periods and corroborate our theory that the area sustained its prosperity.

APPENDIX I

THE WELL (BI°R) OF SAYSARĀ

The well of Saysarā

The Saysarā well is situated at the northern end of Sakākā. It is located about 300m. west of Za'bal castle on low ground separating the hill of Za'bal castle from a range of sandstone hills to the west. The well is considered one of the main archaeological attractions of Sakākā. Unlike the other wells in the area, it was dug out of sandstone in a semi-rectangular shape. The opening of the well measures 8m. from N to S and 7m. from E to W, and its present depth is about 15m. The most spectacular feature of this well is the 29 steps which are cut out of the rock and which run down the N and E side of the well (Pl. LXIV,A). The first 17 steps from the top are badly eroded, but the lower steps are very well preserved, suggesting that the level of the water in the well was quite high, probably covering the lower 12 steps. Thus the upper steps, being carved out of sandstone, would easily have been eroded by extensive use, while the lower steps were protected by the water.

We have no account of the well among the early sources which mention Sakākā in particular and al-Jawf in general. Some of the European travellers who visited the Jawf during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, referred to Sakākā and Za'bal castle, but none of them mention the well, although it is just 300m. to the west of the castle.

The first account of this well was given by Winnett and Reed, who visited the Jawf in 1962. They give a short description of the well and compared it with the famous pool at al-Jīb (ancient Gibeon) in Palestine, as both are carved out of rock and have staircases cut into the side of the well.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Winnett, Ancient records, 11

Al-Kuray' in his book about the Jawf mentions the well of Saysarā as being one of several wells in the area: he adds that later these wells were connected through tunnels.<sup>2</sup> During the fieldwork in the area I inspected the Saysarā well and the immediate surroundings, but found no other wells, similar or dissimilar, nor any traces of ancient tunnels. It is possible that he is referring to the wells in the nearby palm farms, but nevertheless there are no traces of any tunnels which connect them with the Saysarā well. Al-Kuray' states that Sakākā had two water canals (qanāt) linking several wells crossing the town from E to W. The first qanāt extends from Saysarā to the E of Sakākā where the industrial district stands nowadays. The second qanāt extends between the hill of Sā'ī 'l-Nabī, W of Saysarā, and the hills of al-Ṭuwayr, where it passes the village of al-Ṭuwayr from the E, irrigating the area to the E of it.<sup>3</sup> Al-Sudayrī, in his recent book about al-Jawf, provides a more or less similar account to that of al-Kuray'. He states that the low areas to the E and S of the well were irrigated by the Saysarā well through water tunnels and canals dug in rock. He states that parts of these canals were discovered where they were covered by sand, but he does not give any indication of their location and when they were discovered.<sup>4</sup>

The last two accounts of water tunnels and qanāts are based entirely on the narratives of the old people of Sakākā and not on genuine evidence, and this is clear from the account of al-Kuray' of a qanāt which connected Saysarā with the area E of al-Ṭuwayr which is over 5km. to the

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2. Kuray', Hadiyyat al-Aṣḥāb, 11, 12

3. Kuray', Hadiyyat al Aṣḥāb, 12

4. Sudayrī, al-Jawf, 92

south of Sakākā and would be very easy to trace if it exists at all.

The best account of the well made so far, is a recent article about the well published by Nasif.<sup>5</sup> He quotes al-Kuray's account of the well and ganāts, which is discussed above, without commenting on its accuracy.<sup>6</sup> Nasif compares the Saysarā well with the well with steps in al-Jīb and suggests that the well at Sakākā probably dates to the same period as that of al-Jīb, i.e. the early 6th/7th century B.C., or possibly later.<sup>7</sup>

The Saysarā well has a close parallel with the ancient pool at al-Jīb,<sup>8</sup> in the sense that both were dug in rock and have stairways which are cut around the side of the well. The Jīb pool is larger in diameter, but the well of Saysarā is deeper. It is believed that both the Jīb pool and the Saysarā well were dug up for the purpose of obtaining underground water and not as a cistern for containing surface water. This is evident from the absence of any signs of plaster upon the sides of both the pool and the well. Pritchard suggests that, "without this lining it is doubtful that the natural limestone of the wall would have held the water for a long period".<sup>9</sup>

The present base of the Saysarā well lies three metres below the level where the stairway stops, indicating that the original base is the platform where the steps end, suggesting further that the well was deepened in a later period when the water level dropped. The presence

5. Nasif, 'Ancient water system', 127

6. Nasif, 'Ancient water system', 129, 130

7. Nasif, 'Ancient water system', 132

8. Pritchard, Water system of Gibeon, 8

9. Pritchard, Water system of Gibeon, 9, 10



of the rectangular cut beneath the stairway and the hollow cut at the bottom of the well (Pl. LXIV,B) has led some people to suggest that the well connected with a tunnel through these cuts. During the field-work there I could not descend the well to examine its lower parts and the possibility of the well being connected with a tunnel, because the first 17 steps are worn, and therefore it was hazardous to do so, it could not be examined.

The resemblance of this well with the pool in al-Jib could shed some light on the question of dating it: although the exact date of the Jib pool has not been determined, the date of the abandonment of the well was established from the evidence found among the filling of the pool. Pritchard has concluded "that the pool was filled in not later than the 6th century B.C., with the strong probability of a late 7th or early 6th century date".<sup>10</sup>

The present writer has discovered pre-Islamic sherds around the hill on which the Za'bal castle stands, notably an Iron Age sherd parallel to the sherd which we discovered in trench no. 2 at Dūmat al-Jandal (see Chapter VI above), in addition to the large number of pre-Islamic inscriptions recorded in and around Sakākā. This evidence conflicts with the suggestion made by Winnett that Sakākā was probably not occupied by a settled people in pre-Islamic times.

From the parallel of this well with that of al-Jib and the presence of Iron Age evidence in Sakākā, it is possible to date the Saysarā well probably to the 7th or the 6th century with the possibility of an earlier date.

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10. Pritchard, Water system of Gibeon, 22

The most crucial question which might be asked here is where is the ancient settlement which this well served? It is conceivable that constant inhabitation of the area during the various periods until the present time is the main factor responsible for the disappearance of the ancient settlement of Sakākā.

APPENDIX II

THE WALLED ENCLOSURE OF  
DŪMAT AL-JANDAL

The walled enclosure of Dūmat al-Jandal

Dūmat al-Jandal was one of the most important towns in North Arabia. It played a major role in trading activity from as early as the Nabataean period and perhaps prior to the Nabataean period. The town of Dūmat al-Jandal at that time probably enjoyed considerable wealth which is possibly reflected on the standard of living of the people. Therefore it was essential for the people to maintain this prosperity and protect their town by building a wall around it, thus enabling them to protect the trade caravans which passed through their territory. According to Yāqūt, Dūmat al-Jandal was enclosed by a wall and inside the wall Mārid castle is situated.<sup>1</sup> This account is the first historical evidence of the wall of Dūmat al-Jandal; although early classical Arabic sources do refer to the Muslim campaigns against the town, there is no account of the town itself.

The enclosure wall of Dūmat al-Jandal is visible to the W and N of the town and the palm groves, (Pl. LV,A,B), which were first observed in 1976 by a team from the Department of Antiquities.<sup>2</sup> It enclosed a large empty area to the W of the town which, Adams suggests, was an area of fields and houses.<sup>3</sup> The wall is quite visible to the N of the town and it runs W-E, parallel with the palm groves. There is no trace of the wall to the S and E of the town where the modern town has largely expanded to the S. The wall appears to have been built of dry stone masonry. A surprisingly large area was enclosed by the wall, not only

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1. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, II, 487

2. Adams et al., 'Archaeological reconnaissance', Atlal, 38

3. Adams et al., 'Archaeological reconnaissance' Atlal, 38

the town itself, but also all the gardens encircling it. It is likely that Dūmat al-Jandal was surrounded not by one wall, but rather by two walls and this is suggested by two factors. Firstly, the large size of the main wall which covers a vast area and makes the task of guarding every part quite difficult. It is therefore more secure to build a second wall around the town itself.

To the NW of the ancient quarter three portions of an old wall were brought to our attention by one of the local people. This wall is part of the enclosure of the wall which surrounds al-Suḥaym farm (Pls. LVI, B, LVII). The wall is built of stones, very well cut and excellent finishing. All three portions of the wall measure 17m. in length and 1.8-5m. in height. It is obvious that this massive wall was not built for the enclosure of a small farm. It is probably part of a second wall which enclosed the town itself. The technique in which the wall was built is similar to the W wall of Mārid castle which we dated to the 5th-6th century A.D. We, therefore, suggest that the wall dates from the same period when the town was under the influence of the Byzantines in Syria.

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY OF ARABIC TECHNICAL TERMS  
ASSOCIATED WITH ARCHITECTURE

- Athal : tamarisk, widely known in Arabia for its beams, which are used for roofing
- Bayt al-Şalāh : sanctuary or main prayer hall in a mosque, usually roofed
- Bi'r : a well of great depth , usually lined with stone
- Jandal : slabs of stones, usually small in size and well shaped; abundant at Dūmat al-Jandal, thus the source of the town's name
- Majlis : the main reception hall in a house or a palace
- Miḥrāb : niche in the qiblah (q.v.) wall of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca
- Qal'ah : castle or fortress
- Qaşr : palace or fort
- Qiblah : direction of Mecca, the direction of prayer
- Qiblah wall : front wall in a mosque which is orientated towards Mecca; the Miḥrāb (q.v.) is placed in the middle
- Şahn : a courtyard of a mosque
- Sūr : enclosure or wall which usually encloses a building or a town

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