ISLAMKUNDLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN · BAND 114

Muhsin D. Yusuf

ECONOMIC SURVEY OF SYRIA DURING THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

KS

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To my late father who I always

missed and to my mother

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PREFACE

It is important to mention that the original manuscript of this book was my dissertation which was presented to the Faculty of Princeton University (Near Eastern Studies) in candidacy for the degree of doctor in philosophy in 1982. Since that time I made some changes on the old manuscript: Some of these changes are minor while the others are major.

My grateful thanks are due to my professors especially Charles Issawi, Roy P. Mottahedeh, and Abraham L. Udovitch for their careful reading of the manuscript and for many helpful suggestions. Special thanks to Birzeit University, where I am teaching now, for the help which was given to me, in many ways during the last two years, to revise the dissertation draft and finish the book. I also thank the Research Center in Birzeit University for financing the typing of the final draft of the manuscript. I also would like to thank Miss Emily Makhlouf, the Academic Secretary of Birzeit University, for her nice, clean and precise typing of the final draft.

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INTRODUCTION

Economy, in general, has a great impact on almost every aspect of our life and history. It influences the diplomatic and economic relations of countries, the welfare of people, their diet and health, their relations with each other, their attitude towards politics and even their attitude towards religion. Our knowledge, therefore, of the economic situation of any country in any given period is important for the understanding of the people, the politics and the history of a country during a specific period.

At present, our knowledge about the economic history of the Middle East during the Middle Ages is inadequate. This subject has been more researched for Egypt and Iraq than for Syria, but even for the former countries our knowledge is still shallow. For Syria, very few studies have been carried out in this field, and they are far from being sufficient to form a basis for a general, but accurate, survey of the economic history of Syria or any of the Middle Eastern countries during the Middle Ages. For the same reason we cannot discuss adequately the social history of any of these countries.

It is due to the importance of the economic aspect and the scarcity of studies in this field that I chose to write this study in economic history. Syria was chosen for three reasons; 1) to enrich our knowledge about the economic, social and political order of this country, 2) because Syria is strategically located between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, and between the two most important political centers in the Muslim world, Egypt and Iraq. It lies close to Arabia and the Muslim holy places. It had a border with Byzantium, the most powerful Christian country. Because of this strategic location, our knowledge about the economy of this country helps us to understand the history of the whole area. This knowledge will shed some light on relations between the Muslim countries or dynasties, and on those between the Muslim and the Christian countries. It will also shed some light on the economy and the trade which existed in the Middle East and the Mediterranean area. 3) The study of the economy of Syria during this period is an interesting case

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study especially because its political importance was declining while its economy, apparently, was improving.

The period of the 10 - 11th centuries was chosen mainly for three reasons: 1) The availability of contemporary and very good information; the sources for this period are the geography books from the second half of the 9th and from the 10th centuries, especially the ones by Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāmah, Al-Ya'qubī, Ibn al-Faqīh, Al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Al-Maqdisī. From the 11th century there are very valuable descriptions of some parts of the country by the Persian traveler, Nāṣir Khusraw and the Arab physician, Ibn Buṭlān. From this century we also have the Cairo Geniza documents which I myself did not use but drew on other sources based almost totally on these documents. The Crusaders' description of the first Crusade provides us with very valuable information concerning the state affairs in the country toward the end of the 11th century. The Arabic chronicles also have very important information relating to the economy of this country. This last group of sources covers all the period under discussion. 2) This period can be viewed as a fairly representative period for the whole first five centuries of Muslim history in this country. The fact that it represents five centuries makes it very important especially because these centuries form the first period in a new era in the history of the country and in the history of the Middle East. 3) A factor actually related to the previous one, the Crusader occupation of the western part of Syria towards the end of the 11th century should be viewed as a new period in the history of this country. The coming of the Cursaders to Syria initiated great changes in the political, demographic, social and economic situation. The eastern, or Muslim, part of the country suddenly found itself over-populated because of the influx of the refugees from the western part. For the same reason, the Crusader area became depopulated and continued to be so for a long time. Christians from Europe came and settled in the Crusader kingdoms. They brought with them a new way of life which was alien to the Arabs of Syria. They also brought with them a new form of Christianity - Catholicism. And from the economic point of view, which interests us most, they

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introduced a new form of feudalism, initiated a great change in land ownership and greatly strengthened commercial relations between western Europe and the Middle Eastern countries.

It was mentioned above that only a small number of studies have been carried out on the economic history of the Middle East. Furthermore, the authors of some of these works frequently reached inaccurate conclusions mainly because of the scarcity of surveys of the basic elements of the economy and the economic potential of these countries. These surveys are essential for the writing of the economic and social history of any country. Because of the importance of such surveys and because of their scarcity in the case of the history of the Middle Eastern countries, including Syria, this study will be a combination of historical geography and economic history. My aim in this study is therefore to reveal the economic potential of the country, to examine its economic development during this period and to discuss the impact of this economy on the standard of living of the Syrians during this period.

During the Middle Ages, Syria was called al-Shām. The borders of this area were as follows: The Mediterranean Sea and a straight line between Rafaḥ (southwest of Gaza) and Aylah (modern 'Aqabah in Jordan) formed its western border, and the Syrian desert and the Euphrates River the southern and the eastern; the border in the desert area, as expected, was not clearly defined. The northern border was the political frontier between Byzantium and the Muslim authorities controlling Syria. This border was also not clearly defined because it changed from time to time according to the military power of the two states.[1] During the first half of the 10th century, this border was westward of a line which stretched between Malaṭyah in the north and Ṭarasūs in the southwest (see Appendix 3, map 14). During the second half of the same century the border was pushed southward and even the Amanus Mountains and the area of Antioch became part of Byzantium. The area covered by this study is the one called al-Shām, but its northern border is a straight line between Bayyās in the west (the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea) and the Euphrates River, north of Manbij, in the east - in other words, the modern

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border between Turkey and modern Syria, including the Iskandarūnah area within the latter.

The rule, in the usage of names of cities, in this study will be as follows: for the famous cities, the widely used English names will be used, e.g., Damascus, Tripoli, and Hebron. For the other cities, the Arabic names are used, e.g., Ramlah, Ḥimṣ and Lādhiqiyah. The Arabic names follow the spelling of Yāqūt in his geographic dictionary, and not the modern spelling. For example, the main city in Samaria is spelled Nābulus and not Nāblis the way it is spelled today. For names of places not mentioned by Yāqūt other forms are used, including the modern spelling. The same rule is followed in relation to other geographical locations, e.g., Galilee, Judea and Mount Lebanon and al-Jazīrah, Ḥawrān and Jabal al-Summāq.

The name Syria is used to denote geographical Syria, according to the definition mentioned above. The term modern Syria means the area of the Syrian Arab Republic. The term Palestine denotes the area of mandatory Palestine or the areas which are called today Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The name Filasṭīn means the area which was called Jund Filasṭīn by the medieval authors. The name Jordan means the area called the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan or Trans-Jordan, while al-Urdun means, Jund al-Urdun, as it was defined by the medieval sources. Damascus means the city of Damascus while the name Dimashq means Jund Dimashq. The name Ḥimṣ means the city of Ḥimṣ and not Jund Ḥimṣ (see map on page 7).

In order to know the borders of each of these junds (literally it means a troop of soldiers, but it was used to mean a district), I will discuss, briefly, the division of the country into districts. After its conquest by the Arabs, Syria was divided into four junds - Filasṭīn, al-Urdun, Dimashq and Ḥimṣ. The latter was divided, at the beginning of the Umayyad period, into two junds; Jund Ḥimṣ in the south and Jund Qinnasrīn in the north. During the first century of Abbasid rule, Jund Qinnasrīn was divided into three parts; Jund Qinnasrīn in the southeast, al-'Awāṣim (the strongholds) in the west and al-Thughūr in the north.

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Jund Filasṭīn: Its capital was Ramlah. This district included all of Palestine except Galilee.

Jund al-Urdun: Its capital was Tiberias. This district was very small. It included only Galilee and South Lebanon.

Jund Dimashq: Its capital was Damascus. This district was the largest one. It included all Jordan, Lebanon and southern modern Syria.

Jund Ḥimṣ: Its capital was Ḥimṣ. It included all of the costal area of modern Syria and the desert area which lies to the east of Qārah, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāh.

Jund Qinnasrīn: Its capital was Aleppo.

al-'Awāṣim: Its capital was Antioch. These last two districts made up the northern part of modern Syria. al-'Awāṣim made up the western part of this area, especially the Iskandarūnah district and a strip of land which lay to the north of Jund Qinnasrīn.[2]

We should remember that there is no agreement between the medieval authors on the exact borders of each of these districts. Therefore, the borders which appear in the following map are approximate.

The system of transliteration of the Arabic characters used in this study is the one most commonly used today in English writings.

'	ء	sh	ش	n	ن
b	ب	ṣ	ص	h	ه
t	ت	ḍ	ض	t	ة
th	ث	ṭ	ط	a	ـَ
j	ج	ẓ	ظ	ā	ا
ḥ	ح	'	ع	u	ـُ
kh	خ	gh	غ	ū	و
d	د	f	ف	aw	اَو
dh	ذ	q	ق	i	ـِ
r	ر	k	ك	ī	ي
z	ز	l	ل	ay	اَي
s	س	m	م	yah	يه

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The Dīnār: Because this word is extensively used in this study it is important here to make some remarks about it. It is a gold coin which was in circulation in Syria and the Muslim countries west of it. It is difficult to know its value during the Middle Ages, but perhaps it had a purchasing power of $100.

The Dirham: It is a silver coin (see Chapter 6).

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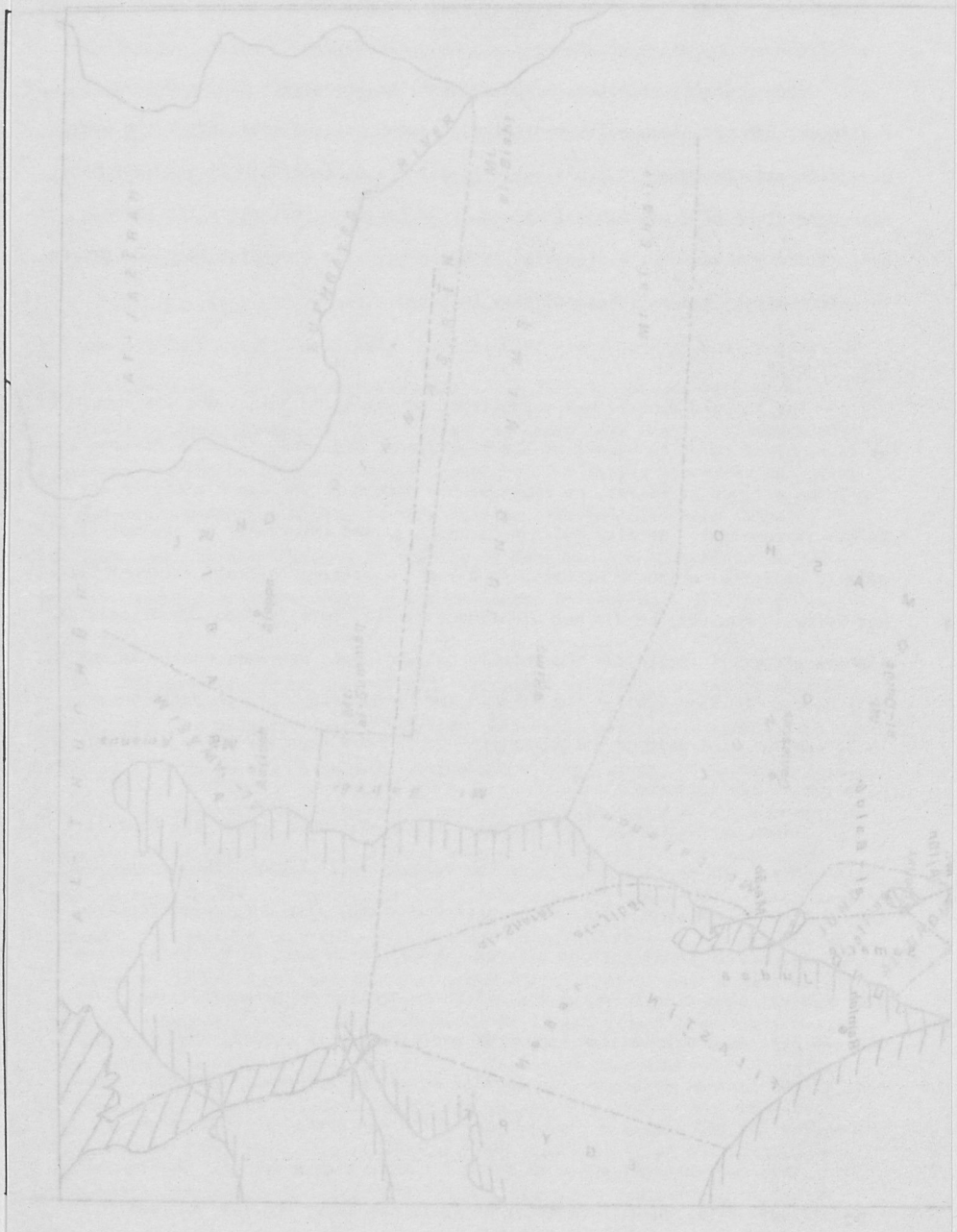

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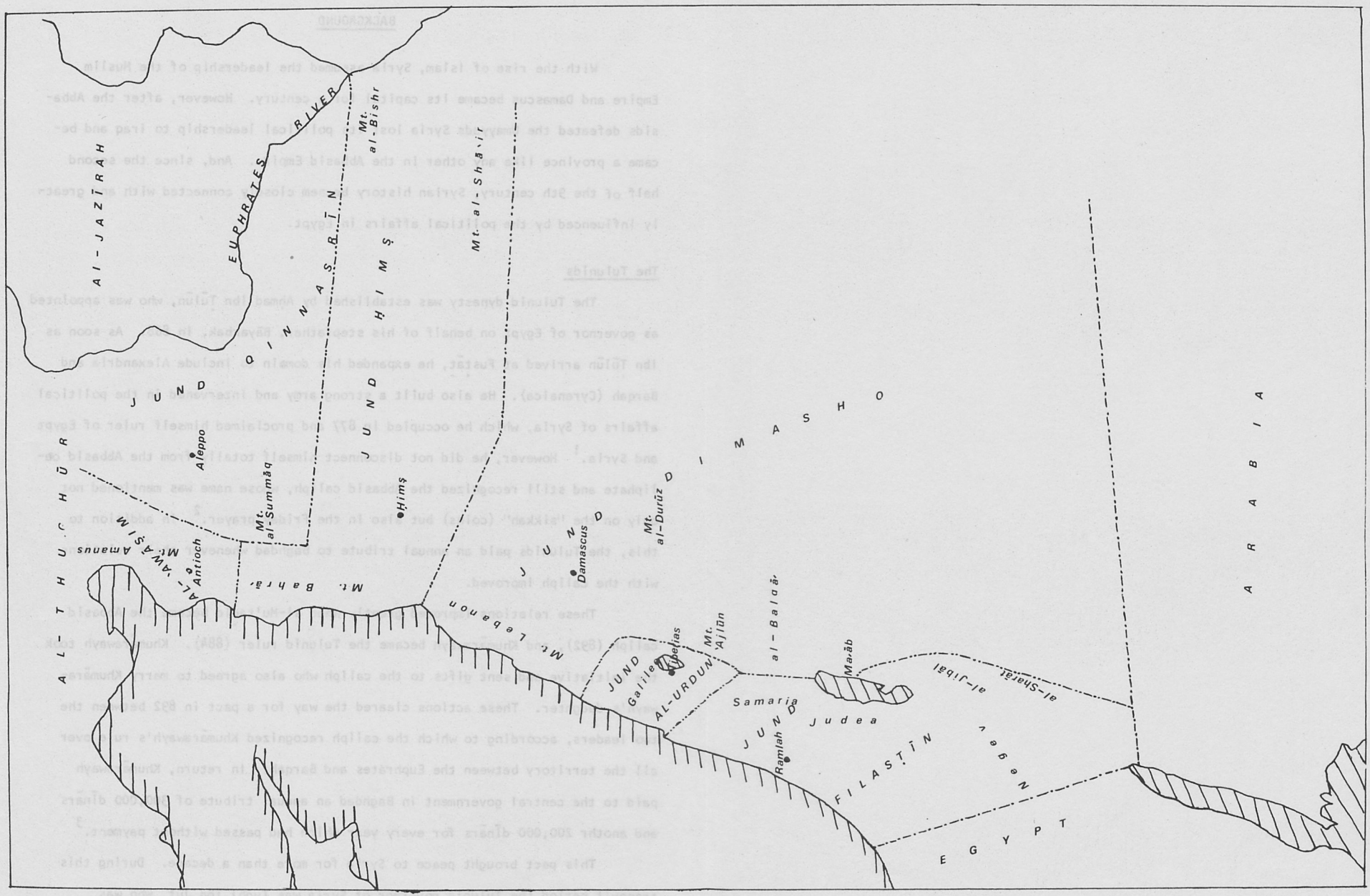

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

With the rise of Islam, Syria assumed the leadership of the Muslim Empire and Damascus became its capital for a century. However, after the Abbasids defeated the Umayyads Syria lost its political leadership to Iraq and became a province like any other in the Abbasid Empire. And, since the second half of the 9th century, Syrian history becaem closely connected with and greatly influenced by the political affairs in Egypt.

The Tulunids

The Tulunid dynasty was established by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, who was appointed as governor of Egypt on behalf of his stepfather, Bāyakbak, in 868. As soon as Ibn Ṭūlūn arrived at Fusṭāṭ, he expanded his domain to include Alexandria and Barqah (Cyrenaica). He also built a strong army and intervened in the political affairs of Syria, which he occupied in 877 and proclaimed himself ruler of Egypt and Syria.[1] However, he did not disconnect himself totally from the Abbasid caliphate and still recognized the Abbasid caliph, whose name was mentioned not only on the "sikkah" (coins) but also in the Friday prayer.[2] In addition to this, the Tulunids paid an annual tribute to Baghdad whenever their relations with the caliph improved.

These relations improved greatly when al-Mu'tadid became the Abbasid caliph (892), and Khumārawayh became the Tulunid ruler (884). Khumārawayh took the initiative and sent gifts to the caliph who also agreed to marry Khumārawayh's daughter. These actions cleared the way for a pact in 892 between the two leaders, according to which the caliph recognized Khumārawayh's rule over all the territory between the Euphrates and Barqah. In return, Khumārawayh paid to the central government in Baghdad an annual tribute of 300,000 dīnārs and anothr 200,000 dīnārs for every year which had passed without payment.[3]

This pact brought peace to Syria for more than a decade. During this tranquil period the Tulunid governor of Syria was Tughj ibn Juf, who was

appointed by the new Tulunid leader, Jaysh ibn Khumārawayh. Meanwhile, the Tulunid power in Egypt was declining rapidly as a result of internal problems. The new leader, Jaysh, alienated most of his father's generals and counsellors, deposing and murdering many of them. His reign barely lasted nine months. The central government in Baghdad took advantage of the instability in the Tulunid state and increasingly intervened in its affairs. Baghdad imposed a new pact (in 899) on Hārūn (896 - 904), which reduced the size of the Tulunid territory and increased the annual tribute to 450,000 dīnārs.[4]

The peaceful situation in Syria was interrupted violently by the Qarmatis who had just established their "communistic" state on the western coast of the Persian Gulf. The Qarmatis attacked Syria in 901, defeated the army of Tughj and besieged Damascus. They raised the siege only when the Damascenes agreed to pay them a tribute. After two years of fighting and after defeating the Tulunid and Abbasid armies in many battles, the Qarmatis were defeated not far from Ḥamāh by the imperial troops led by Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān. In 906 they renewed their attack on Syria and succeeded in sacking Buṣrā, Adhri'āt and Tiberias.[5]

The Qarmatis posed a serious military and religious threat to the Abbasid regime. The Abbasid caliphs realized this fact, especially because the Qarmatis claimed to be Shī'īs-Ismā'īlis; therefore, the caliph, al-Muktafī, gave priority to the issue of the Qarmatis and was ready to spend a large amount of money to defeat them. He sent against them a large army like the one which defeated them in 904. This time the caliph ordered the commander of this army, Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān, not only to crush the Qarmati forces in Syria but also to occupy Syria and Egypt and put them under direct control of the central government in Baghdad.[6] The Tulunid power in Syria was almost completely destroyed by the Qarmatis during their first invasion of this country. Therefore, when the Qarmatis were defeated in 904, Syria was restored to the Abbasid Empire. Soon after that a joint land and sea attack on Egypt was mounted by the Abbasid army which destroyed the Tulunid state and restored Egypt to the Abbasid Empire.[7]

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Following the destruction of the Tulunid dynasty, Syria was again put under the direct control of the Abbasid caliphs, and the management of its affairs was sometimes assigned to special governors appointed to Aleppo and Damascus from Baghdad and sometimes was left in the hands of the governors appointed to Egypt. During the three decades when Syria was controlled directly by Baghdad, a peaceful situation prevailed in the country.[8] Meanwhile the Abbasid caliphs faced many internal and external problems. The internal problems were caused mainly by a power struggle among the high ranking officials in Baghdad, while the external problems were the Qarmatis and the newly established Fatimid caliphate in North Africa. For these reasons there was a need for a strong governor and a strong state in Egypt, to halt the Fatimids from spreading eastward.

The Ikhshidids

Muḥammad ibn Tughj ibn Juf was chosen to fulfill this task. He was appointed by the Abbasid caliph al-Rāḍī, as governor of Egypt and Syria in 935 and was granted the title of "al-Ikhshīd" (The King of Kings). Al-Ikhshīd, like his father, had held important positions in the Egyptian and Syrian administration under the Abbasid caliphs and the Tulunid rulers, including the governorship of these two provinces.[9]

Like Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd established a semi-independent dynasty in Egypt and Syria but, unlike the Tulunids, the Ikhshidids did not succeed in maintaining the unity of Syria. Already in 939 a dispossessed Abbasid, Amīr al-Umarā' (commander in chief) called Ibn Rā'iq, who had been given the governorship of the upper Euphrates, had the idea of seizing Syria and Egypt. Ibn Rā'iq occupied all of Syria and was approaching Egypt itself when the Ikhshīd defeated him; yet,the Ikhshīd came to terms with him. Accordingly, all Syria, except the southern part including Ramlah, became the territory of Ibn Rā'iq, while al-Ikhshīd held the southern part in exchange for an annual tribute of 140,000 dīnārs.[10]

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Ibn Rā'iq's control over most of Syria was very short. He was more interested in the political affairs of Baghdad than of Syria, but he was defeated and killed by the Hamdanids near Mawṣil. Al-Ikhshīd wasted no time after the death of Ibn Rā'iq, he marched to Syria in 942 and reoccupied it. This action brought the Ikhshidids face to face with the newly established Hamdanid principality in Aleppo. The struggle between the two regimes resulted in the division of the country between them; the northern part, which included Jund Qinnasrīn, al-'Awāṣim and Jund Ḥimṣ, became part of the Hamdanid principality. The rest of the country continued to be held by the Ikhshidids.[11]

After the death of al-Ikhshīd the real leadership was not in the hands of the legal rulers of the Ikhshidid state, Unujūr (946 - 960) and 'Alī (960 - 966), but in the hands of Kāfūr, a Nubian black eunuch. Kāfūr was bought by the founder of the Ikhshidid dynasty and became an important figure during his master's lifetime. Following the death of the official leader, 'Alī, Kāfūr declared himself publicly as the sole master of Egypt (966 - 968) and his name and title (al-Ustādh) replaced the Ikhshidid names in the Friday prayer, but not on the sikkah, nor on the ṭirāz (textile manufactured in the imperial factories). Syria enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous period under the leadership of Kāfūr. However, the political situation deteriorated rapidly after his death, and the Fatimids easily occupied Egypt and Syria in 970.[12]

The Ikhshidids concluded a peace and gave up part of Syria to Ibn Rā'iq and later to the Hamdanids, even though they had the upper hand. The reason for this was that the Ikhshidids wanted to remove themselves from the war with the reviving Byzantine power, and to create a buffer state between them and the Byzantines. It also served as a buffer state between them and the central government in Baghdad, which was now run by the newly established Buwayhid dynasty. This policy proved to be successful. While the political situation in their part of Syria was peaceful, the Hamdanids in the north were engaged in constant wars with Byzantium.[13]

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The Hamdanids

The Hamdanids had already started to be prominent in the Jazīrah by the middle of the 9th century. From that time onwards they played an important role in the affairs of Baghdad and the caliphate itself. Some of them fought with the caliph's troops against the Tulunids and Qarmatis, and some of them were appointed by the caliph as governors of provinces.[14] One of these important Hamdanid figures was Abu al-Hayjā', whose two sons were to become the most famous members of the family. Al-Ḥasan (929 - 969), the future Nāṣir al-Dawlah, established himself in Mawṣil after his father's death. 'Alī, the future Sayf al-Dawlah, established his principality with the help of his brother Nāṣir al-Dawlah, in Aleppo. The Hamdanid principality of Aleppo was theoretically subordinate to that in Mawṣil, but in practice it was more important and in fact Sayf al-Dawlah was completely independent from his brother and from the caliph.[15]

The territories which were included in the Hamdanid principalities were upper Mesopotamia, northern Syria and Cilicia. In other words, they formed the border between Byzantine and Muslim territories -- the area which was called in Arabic the Thughūr of Shām (Syria) and Jazīrah.[16] This location imposed on the Hamdanid principality of Aleppo the task of defending itself and the Muslim territory in the south from the Byzantines, who had started expanding in all directions. The Byzantine drive against the Muslims started long before Sayf al-Dawlah established himself in Aleppo. Even during the first years of Sayf al-Dawlah's reign the Byzantines took the initiative and attacked his territory.[17]

Sayf al-Dawlah was determined to establish a state in the area. He accepted the Byzantines' challenge and met them on the battlefield almost annually. Not only did his troops defeat them, but he also took the initiative and started to invade their own territories. On one occasion in 950 he was only seven days distance from Constantinople. But, because the Hamdanid state in Aleppo was small in size and had a limited economic potential, it

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soon became exhausted militarily and economically. Therefore, the Byzantines took the initiative again and raided the Hamdanid territory. Already in 962 a Byzantine army under two distinguished generals, Nicephorus Phocas and his nephew John Tzimisces, penetrated and plundered the Hamdanid territory, including Aleppo itself.[18]

During the middle of the 10th century a serious turning point in the relations between Byzantines and Muslims took place. Under the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty (867 - 1057) Byzantium took the initiative in their wars against the Muslims. In 961 the Byzantines occupied the island of Crete, which had been in Muslim hands since 825, and in 966 Cyprus, too, was occupied after having been subject to Muslim rulers since 647.[19] In Syria one year after the death of Sayf al-Dawlah (967), the Byzantines plundered Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Ma'arrat Miṣrīn, Kafar ṭāb, Shayzar, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Tripoli, Jabalah, Lādhiqiyah, Antioch, Aleppo and countless villages in the area. The occupation of Antioch and its surroundings was different from the plundering of the other cities because Antioch and the western part of the Hamdanid state was incorporated into the Byzantine empire. This area was ruled directly by Byzantium for more than a century (969 - 1084). When the Byzantine troops entered Aleppo they imposed an agreement on Qurghawayh (a Hamdanid rebel) which practically made Aleppo and all the Hamdanid state a Byzantine protectorate.[20]

The involvement of Byzantium in the political affairs of northern Syria and the heavy tribute imposed by Byzantium on the Hamdanids made the population of the area welcome any Fatimid involvement in the region. The Fatimids themselves were anxious to bring northern Syria under their control by direct occupation or by influencing its political affairs. Byzantium, however, struggled just as hard to keep the Fatimids outside the area. Therefore, the Byzantine troops rescued the Hamdanids from the hands of the Fatimids many times.[21]

Sayf al-Dawlah's successor was his sone Sa'd al-Dawlah (967 - 991) who was at that time fifteen years old. The new leader faced many internal

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and external problems, especially in his first years on the throne. Sa'd al-Dawlah and his successor Sa'īd al-Dawlah (991 - 1001) succeeded in preserving their state for so long only by making good use of its location. Because it was located between three big powers -- the Byzantines, Fatimids, and Buwayhids, it was easy for the Hamdanid rulers to convince one of these powers to come to their rescue if they were attacked by another country. These big powers were generally ready to do so because they too were interested in its existence, in order to form a buffer state between them.[22] The destruction of the Hamdanid dynasty came from within. During the reign of Sa'īd al-Dawlah, actual power was in the hands of his guardian, Lu'lu', who coveted the throne for himself. Lu'lu', hoping to clear the way for himself and his son assassinated Sa'īd and sent his two sons with the rest of the Hamdanid ruling family to exile in Egypt in 1003.[23]

The Fatimids

Unlike the Tulunids and Ikhshidids who were semi-independent dynasties, the Fatimids who succeeded them in Egypt were not only fully independent, but also established a caliphate. The Fatimid intention in establishing their Isma'ili caliphate was not to be equal to the Abbasids, but to be supreme, and to replace the Abbasid caliphate. Therefore, it was natural that the Fatimids would try to occupy Syria on their way from Egypt to Iraq and the eastern part of the Muslim world.[24]

While Egypt was easily occupied by the Fatimids, it took them more than a decade to firmly establish themselves in Syria. The first Fatimid attempt to occupy Syria was carried out only a few months after Jawhar occupied Egypt in 970. In order to carry out this task Jawhar sent his lieutenant, Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ, who easily defeated the Ikhshidids and the Qarmati garrison in Ramlah, and seized Ramlah, Tiberias and Damascus, but he was defeated by the Byzantines at Antioch. In 971, Ja'far was defeated and killed by the Qarmatis, who came to defend their interests in Syria, because they were afraid that the Fatimids would not pay the tribute that the Qarmatis had

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imposed on the Ikhshidids two years earlier. The Qarmatis drove the Fatimids out of Syria and even invaded Egypt itself twice. Following the second defeat of the Qarmatis in Egypt, the Fatimid army reoccupied Damascus, but could not maintain peace and order in the city because their soldiers were not disciplined enough, and the citizens resisted Shī'ī rule. For these reasons the Damascenes welcomed Haftakīn in 973, who ruled over them in the name of the Abbasid caliph.[25]

In 978, the Fatimid caliph al-'Aziz (975 - 996), himself, led a large army to Syria. He succeeded in ending the Buwayhid-Abbasid rule there and the Qarmati involvement in Syrian political affairs, but Fatimid rule continued to be unstable. In Damascus the leader of the aḥdath bands (organizations of young, poor and unemployed people) of Damascus, Qassām, assumed leadership in the city. In Palestine the Arab tribe of Tay' was also semi-independent. In the meantime, a Hamdanid from Mawṣil called Abū Taghlib tried to seize Damascus in the name of the Fatimid caliph. A strong Fatimid army, led by Yiltigīn, was sent in 981 to Syria against the Tay'is in Palestine and Qassām in Damascus. Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, the leader of the Tay' tribe, was defeated and escaped to the north where he found refuge in Antioch. Qassām also gave up and handed the city over to Yiltigīn in 982.[26] As a result of this campaign Fatimid rule in the middle and south of Syria became relatively firm.

An indication of the relative firmness of the Fatimid presence in Syria can be seen in the fact that the Fatimid armies made many attempts to extend their border to the north and to absorb the Hamdanid state in their territory in Syria, especially during the last quarter of the 10th century. Such attempts took place in 992, 994, 995 and in 998.[27]

A new wave of troubles for the Fatimids in Syria occurred after the death of the caliph al-'Azīz and the succession of his young son al-Ḥakīm (996 - 1021). The aḥdāth in Damascus revolted against their Berber governor, Sulaymān Ibn Falāḥ, plundered his possessions, and drove him out of the city. During the same year (997) the inhabitants of Tyre revolted against the Fatimids who were in charge of the city and killed their officials and proclaimed

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a common seaman called 'Allāqah as their amir. The Tay'is in Palestine plundered Ramlah and its surrounding area, and the Byzantines occupied Afāmiyah. However, the Fatimids succeeded in defeating the Byzantines, subduing the revolts and restoring peace.[28]

After this peace prevailed in Syria for almost two decades. The only serious incident which challenged the Fatimid regime during this period was another revolt in Palestine by the Tay' tribe (1010 - 1012) during which the Tay'is even brought to Ramlah one of the 'Alids called al-Ḥasan Ibn Ja'far, from Makkah and appointed him as caliph to replace the Fatimid caliphate. They gave him the title of al-Rāshid li-Dīn Allāh, and struck his name on the sikkah. The Tay'is abandoned their idea only after they received a large amount of money and other concessions from the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥakīm, who was disturbed by the Tay'is' act.[29]

The relatively peaceful situation in the Fatimid territories encouraged al-Ḥakīm to intervene in the political affairs of northern Syria, which had been suffering from instability for a long time. This situation was caused by the problems of succession in the Hamdanid dynasty, the activities and revolts of the Bedouin (especially the Kilābīs), and the intervention of the Byzantines in the affairs of Aleppo. Finally, Aleppo fell into the hands of the Fatimids and a Fatimid governor to the city was appointed directly from Cairo.[30]

The peaceful situation was interrupted once again during the first years of al-Ẓāhir's reign (1021 - 1035). The caliph faced tribal rebellions which spread all over Syria. The three main Arab tribes in this country were Kilāb in the north, Kalb in the middle and Tay' in the south. These tribes divided the country among themselves. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Mirdās, the chief of the Kilāb tribe seized Aleppo from the Fatimid governor and established the Mirdasid principality in northern Syria.[31] Ḥassān, the chief of Tay', revolted in Palestine and seized and plundered Ramlah and 'Asqalān. The undertakings of Sinān Ibn 'Ulayyān, the chief of Kalb, were less successful. He plundered the area of Damascus, but could not seize the city itself.[32] A strong Fati-

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mid army, led by Anushtakīn al-Duzbarī, was sent against them in 1029. Anushtakīn succeeded in defeating them in the Uqḥuwānah battle (near Tiberias). Ṣālih was killed in this battle and Ḥassān fled to the desert and later on found refuge with almost 20,000 persons of his tribe in and beside the Byzantine territory of Antioch.[33]

Anushtakīn was possibly the most qualified man to deal with the tribal rebellions in Syria. He was the leading Fatimid expert on Syrian affairs. Already in 1015 he had led an army from Egypt to Damascus. Later on he was appointed governor of Ba'labak, Cesarea and Ramlah, during which time he proved to be a strong and effective governor.[34] Finally, he was appointed governor of Damascus (1028 - 1041) and once again he proved his abilities by defeating the two main Arab tribed in Syria in the Uqḥuwānah battle, and in keeping peace and stability in the Fatimid territory in Syria. Thanks to him, this area continued to be peaceful and stable, even when weak and quickly changing governors were appointed to Damascus, for more than two decades after him.

This period was the highwater mark of the Fatimid power. Syria was stable for a long period: Northern Syria, when it was not governed directly by the Fatimids, at least recognized the Fatimid suzerainty. Meanwhile, the Buwayhids and the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad were declining rapidly. In addition to this, a Turkish officer of the last Buwayhid prince, called al-Baṣāṣīrī, driven out of Baghdad by the Saljuqs in 1055, appealed to Cairo for support. After receiving a substantial gift of money and arms he reentered Baghdad (in December 1058) and forced the Abbasid caliph to recognize his Fatimid rival. The recognition of the Fatimid caliphate in Baghdad lasted only for a short period because the Fatimids themselves could not help al-Baṣāṣīrī militarily against the Saljuqs, who defeated him shortly after he occupied Baghdad.[35]

This recognition of the Fatimid caliphate in Baghdad was not the first in the area east of Syria. Fatimid suzerainty had been recognized in the cities of Ḥarrān and Raqqah for a long time. The 'Uqaylid, Qarwāsh Ibn

al-Muqallid, recognized the Fatimid caliph in 1011 in all of his territory, which included Mawṣil, al-Anbār, al-Madā'in and Kūfah. Fatimid propaganda was widespread in the Muslim world, including Iraq, Persia and as far as India.[36] But the recognition which was made by the Abbasid caliph was the most impressive, even though it revealed the weakness of the Fatimid power.

Fatimid power started declining rapidly in the middle of the 11th century. While their cause was being defeated in Iraq, they could not maintain themselves in northern Syria against the Mirdasids.[37] Even in the rest of Syria and in Egypt itself they faced serious problems. The disturbances in Egypt, which were the most devastating for the Fatimid state, were basically a power struggle between the different ethnic groups in the Fatimid army, which was composed of Berbers, Mamluk-Turks, Armenians, Arab tribes and Sudanese. In 1062 and in 1067 open warfare broke out between the "Turkish" and "Sudanese" soldiers, ending in a victory for the Turks and their Berber and Arab allies. Their leader, the Hamdanid amīr, Nāṣir al-Dawlah, and his Berber friends, managed to maintain power in Egypt until 1073, when Nāṣir al-Dawlah was murdered by his mamluks. In the same year the desperate Fatimid caliph sent a secret message to Badr al-Jamālī, the governor of Acre, to come to his rescue. Badr took advantage of the instability in Egypt, entered Cairo and massacred the leading generals and officials, who were taken by surprise. After three years of fighting against the uprising of Berbers, Arabs and Sudanese, Badr established himself at the "head" of the Fatimid state.[38]

Thanks to Badr, Fatimid rule lasted for another century in Egypt, while in Syria it was the beginning of the collapse of Fatimid power. Already in 1064 the Damascenes had revolted against the Fatimids and driven their governor, Badr al-Jamālī himself, out of the city. He was driven out of the city another time in 1068 by the Damascene garrison and the aḥdāth.[39] After the second incident a local officer called Mu'allā Ibn Ḥaydrah installed himself as governor of the city. During the revolt which brought Mu'allā to power, part of Damascus, including the famous Umayyad mosque, was burned.

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Damuscus and its surroundings suffered heavily during his governorship (1069 - 1075) because he was cruel to his subjects and because a Turkoman chief called Atsiz, imposed a siege on it and raided the surrounding area for several years until he occupied it in 1076.[40] During this period the Fatimids lost control over all of Syria except for a few enclaves in the coastal area which were occupied by the Crusaders in a later period.

The Mirdasids

Under al-Ḥākim and al-Mustanṣir most of Syria enjoyed a long period of stability. Northern Syria, on the other hand, suffered greatly during the same period, during which the Kilāb Arab tribe was the local dominant power. This tribe migrated during the 10th century from Arabia and Jazīrah to northern Syria. Their leaders, the Mirdasids, soon assumed the leadership of the area and established the Mirdasid principality after they seized power in Aleppo in 1015 from Manṣūr Ibn Lu'lu'. During the Mirdasid rule in Aleppo (1024 - 1079), Fatimid influence in the area became greater than before. The Fatimids played an important role already in 1015 when they helped Ṣāliḥ Ibn Mirdās, the chief of the Kilābis, in occupying the city.[41]

The Byzantines also influenced the political affairs of the Mirdasid principality, just as they did during the Hamdanid period. They raided the Mirdasid territories and in some places along the Orontes and Jabal Bahrā' they occupied a number of outposts. Shibl al-Dawlah (1029 - 1038) was forced to pay them a tribute of half a million dirhams. This tribute was also paid by the strong Fatimid governor in Syria, Anushtakīn, when he occupied the Mirdasid capital. The new Mirdasid leader, Thimāl (1038 - 1062), not only paid this tribute to Byzantium but also paid a new one to the Fatimids. However, Byzantine power in the area started diminishing by the middle of the 11th century, and even the Mirdasids attacked its territory and succeeded in occupying some outposts, while their own rule in their own territory was weak and unstable.[42]

While the Fatimid and Byzantine influence over the Mirdasid regime in the middle of the 11th century was decreasing, the internal power struggle among the Mirdasid leaders was increasing. During this period the Kilābī Arabs created so many problems for their Mirdasid leader, Thimāl, that he preferred to hand Aleppo over to the Fatimids, but the latter were not more successful than Thimāl in stabilizing the political affairs in the area. In addition to this the coming of the Turkomans and the Saljuqs from central Asia to the Middle East aggravated the situation. Not only Turkoman tribes, but also many Arab tribes, especially from the Jazīrah, migrated to northern Syria. These new-comers soon found themselves involved in a very complicated power struggle which put an end to the Mirdasid principality.[43]

The Saljuqs, too, were interested in Syria. Therefore, the sultan sent his brother Tutush and ordered his vassal, Muslim ibn Quraysh, the amīr of Mawṣil and the chief of the Arab tribe of 'Uqayl, along with other vassals, to assist Tutush in his campaign in Syria. Muslim had no choice but to obey these orders. He took advantage of being in northern Syria and attempted to unite the Arab tribes there against the Turkoman dangers. He succeeded in his task, especially because Tutush attempted to occupy northern Syria from his new base in Damascus. Therefore, the chiefs of the Arab tribes in this area sent a message later on to Muslim urging him to advance and defend Aleppo before it fell to the Turks, which he did in 1080.[44]

There was another Saljuq besides Tutush who was interested in seizing northern Syria. This Saljuq was Sulaymān Ibn Qutlamish of Konya. He captured Antioch from the Byzantines in 1084, and defeated and killed Muslim in the following year, in an attempt to take over Aleppo. The defenders of the city sent a message to Tutush of Damascus to take over, which he did after defeating and killing Sulaymān on the battlefield.[45] By so doing, the Saljuqs finally put an end to the rule of the Mirdasids, 'Uqaylids and Byzantines in northern Syria.

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The Saljuqs

Most of the ruling dynasties in the Muslim world during the 10 - 11th centuries were Shi'i dynasties; the Saljuqs, on the other hand, were Sunnite. One of the Saljuq aims was to defeat Shi'ism militarily and culturally. They carried out their task successfully in the eastern part of the Muslim world, while in the western part their success was limited to Syria.[46]

The Turkomans did not move westward from their original home in central Asia in the form of an organized army but as a mass migration over which the Saljuq Ruling Family had little control. A large number of these Turkomans settled in northwest Persia, northern Iraq and Anatolia, and some of them penetrated Syria and settled particularly in the northern part. At first the Turkomans who crossed the Euphrates into Syria were invited by the local leaders to take sides in their quarrels with each other. The first to enter Syria were a group of Turkomans led by Hārūn Ibn Khān, summoned by the Mirdasid leader in 1064. In 1070 we heard about other Turkomans led by Qurlu, who was summoned by the independent Qādī of Tyre, Ibn Abū 'Aqīl, to help him defend the city against Badr al-Jamālī.[47] Another chief of Turkomans in Anatolia was Atsiz, who was summoned (in 1071) by Badr al-Jamālī to help him crush tribal revolts.

Those Turkoman bands which penetrated Syria were not sent by the Saljuq sultan nor by the Abbasid caliph. They also did not consider themselves part of the Saljuq army. Therefore, when Atsiz occupied Damascus in 1076,[48] he ruled over southern and middle Syria independently, yet he recognized the sultan and the Abbasid caliph.

The first Saljuq army to cross the Euphrates into Syria was led by the Saljuq sultan, Alp Arslān. However, this sultan could not advance beyond Aleppo, which he occupied in 1071, because he was forced to cross the Euphrates, back to fight the Byzantines. He succeeded in defeating them in the famous battle of Manzikert. The second Saljuq army to enter Syria was led by Tutush, the brother of the sultan Malikshāh (1072 - 1092). Tutush could

not occupy Aleppo, but he was asked by Atsiz to come to his rescue before the Fatimids occuped Damascus. Then Tutush advanced southward, captured Damascus in 1078, and put Atsiz to death.[49]

In 1092 the sultan Malikshāh died, leaving only small children to succeed him. Tutush was on his way to visit the sultan when he received the news of Malikshāh's death. Then Tutush decided to seize power and to replace his brother as sultan of the Saljuqs, but he was defeated and killed, especially because most of his allies abandoned him and supported the new sultan, Birqyāruq (1095 - 1104). Tutush left two sons in Syria, Fakhr al-Dawlah Ridwān (1095 - 1113), who established himself in Aleppo and Shams al-Dawlah Duqāq (1095 - 1104), who managed to seize power in Damascus.[50]

The Fatimids, who were driven out of almost all of Syria by the Saljuqs and who faced serious internal crises in Egypt during the 1070's, reestablished themselves under Badr al-Jamālī and made new attempts to recover Syria or parts of it. In 1078, the Fatimids occupied Palestine but failed to enter Damascus because Tutush intervened.[51] One decade later the Fatimids sent a new army to the Syrian coast to fight against a Fatimid rebel in Acre, Banū Abū 'Aqīl in Tyre, Banū 'Ammār in Tripoli, and the Saljuqs. The result of this campaign was a Fatimid recovery of many coastal cities and southern Palestine. Another military, but limited, campaign was carried out by the Fatimids in 1098 when they seized Jerusalem from the Saljuqs, but they lost it one year later to the Crusaders.[52]

Towards the end of the 11th century Syria constituted the outer limit of the Turkoman and Saljuq power, which extended over a large area, from central Asia in the east to Anatolia in the west. It also constituted the outer limit of the shrinking Fatimid power. Therefore, none of these dynasties could unite the country under one rule. This power vacuum in Syria on the eve of the Crusader invasion resulted in the establishment of many independent principalities in the country. Damascus was under Duqāq, Aleppo under Ridwān, Antioch under Yāghī Siyān, almost half of the Syrian coast and south-

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ern Palestine under the Fatimids, Tripoli under the Banū 'Ammār, Shayzar under the Banū Munqidh and so on.[53]

This survey of political events in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries, shows that the political importance of Syria kept diminishing from the beginning of the Islamic era until it reached a very low point at the end of the 11th century. At the beginning of Islam, Syria was the center of all the Muslim Empire. Under the Abbasids it became a province, governed by a governor residing in Damascus. Toward the end of the period under discussion it was divided into many small divisions. Some of these divisions were ruled by independent rulers, others by governors appointed by the Saljuqs or the Fatimids.

The geographical location of Syria between Egypt and Iraq made it difficult for Syria to be a leading political power in the area. The physical geography of Iraq and Egypt and their richness helped in establishing not only united countries but also strong regimes, which tried to extend their rule to neighboring countries. Syrian rule over Iraq and Egypt during the Umayyad period was unusual because historically these two countries were the ones that had ruled over Syria and not the opposite. In ancient periods, Syria had been ruled from Iraq or Persia, but mostly it was ruled by or had closer relations with Egypt and, later, other Mediterranean countries, such as Greece and Rome. During the Abbasid period and until the establishment of the Tulunid dynasty, Syria was ruled from Iraq. From this period on, Syrian destiny was closely connected with the political situation in Egypt, especially after the Fatimids assumed power in both Egypt and Syria.

The political divisions which took place during the period under discussion are important and perhaps had some influence on the division of Syria in the modern period. The first division took place when the Ikhshidids lost northern Syria to the Hamdanids, who controlled the area of Ḥimṣ and Aleppo. This division existed with minor changes in the border from time to time, between the Hamdanids and the Fatimids, between the Fatimids and the Mirda-

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sids and finally between the Saljuq rulers, Ridwān in the north and Duqāq in the south. The northern part itself was divided when the Byzantines occupied and ruled directly Antioch and its area. Under the Saljuqs, too, Antioch was governed by independent rulers. Up to the end of the 11th century the basic political division of Syria was north versus south. Now, however, the Fatimids introduced a new division, west versus east. This division became much stronger when the Crusaders occupied the western area of Syria, while the eastern area contined to be held by Muslims.

In the modern period, we find Syria divided also east/west. In the east there is Jordan and Syria, while in the west we find Palestine, Lebanon, and the area of Iskandarūnah. Today the area of Iskandarūnah is part of Turkey and in the 10 - 11th centuries it was part of Byzantium. The north-south division is less pronounced in the modern geo-political division, but we can still see some traces of old borders in the new ones, especially in the northern Lebanese border with Syria.

This survey (see also Appendix 1) shows that a great number of military engagements took place in Syria during the period under discussion. In the Ikhshidid or the Fatimid territory in Syria, a great concentration of military actions occurred during 968 - 982 and 1070 - 1078. The instability during these two decades was caused mainly by the establishment of new regimes in the area, the Fatimid and Saljuq regimes. In the Hamdanid or Mirdasid territory, on the other hand, the military endeavors are farily well distributed over the years. Military engagements in northern Syria outnumber, by far, those in the south. In other words, the south enjoyed much more peace and stability than the north did, and yet the north enjoyed more economic prosperity than the south -- this issue will be discussed in the following chapters.

As is stated in Appendix 1, our list includes only the important military engagements mentioned by the sources, but we do not know how many less important wars took place and were not reported by the sources. The appendix,

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however, reveals that most of the wars occurred in or around the inland cities and not in the coastal cities. The table in Appendix 1 shows that among the fifteen cities which witnessed five wars or more during the period under discussion, only one, Tyre, was a coastal city. This fact indicates that the coastal area enjoyed peace and security for almost all the period.

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CHAPTER 2

AGRICULTURE

In the pre-modern period, agriculture was the main sector in the economy of almost all countries; this was also true of Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries. The livelihood of most people depended on agriculture, not only because it supplied almost all of their food, but also because most people were engaged in agriculturally-related work. Therefore, the prosperity of the country depended heavily on this sector.

In this chapter I will try to examine the effect of agriculture on the general economy of the country and on the welfare of the population, by discussing the following subjects: physical geography and annual rainfall, land ownership and land tenure, irrigation, crops and yields, and the involvement of the authorities in agriculture.

Physical Geography and Rainfall

Syria is divided into five strips which stretch north-south. They include: 1) The coastal plain on the western side of the country. The width of this plain varies: in Palestine it reaches more than twenty km., but in other places it disappears totally. 2) A strip, stretching from north to south, and consisting of the following mountain areas: Amanus, Bahrā', Lebanon, Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and the Negev. 3) The depression of the Orontes Valley (al-'Āṣī River), the Biqā', and the Jordan Valley. 4) The mountains of al-Summāq, Sanīr and al-Qalamūn (or the anti-Lebanon), Hermon, 'Ajlūn, al-Sharāt and al-Jibāl. 5) The desert which stretches from the last named mountains in the west to Iraq in the east. In this desert there are some scattered mountains such as Jabal al-'Arab (or al-Durūz), Jabal al-Shā'ir and Jabal al-Bishr (see map on page 7).

The lowest place in the country (and also in the world) is the Dead Sea, in the area of the depressions. It is almost 400 meters below sea level.

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The highest summits in the different mountainous regions are as follows: Mount Amanus, 2263 meters; Jabal Bahrā' 1385; Mount Lebanon 3086; Galilee 1208; Jabal Sanīr 2660; Hermon 2814; al-Sharāt and al-Jibāl 1727; and Jabal al-'Arab 1800.

Annual rainfall varies greatly from one area to another. The coastal plain north of Acre gets 800 millimeters, and south of Acre 600 mm. The mountains of Bahrā', Lebanon, Galilee, Samaria and Judea, Sanīr and Hermon, and 'Ajlūn get more than 800 mm. and the summits of most of these mountains get more than 1000 mm. The depressions and a thin strip on the eastern slopes of the Sanīr, Hermon and 'Ajlūn get 600 mm. The area of Sharāt and Jibāl gets almost 500 mm. A relatively wide area in the north and in the area of Jabal al-'Arab, and a very thin area stretching east the mountains of Sanīr, Sharāt and al-Jibāl, get almost 450 mm. All the area east of this; in other words, the desert, gets less than 300 mm. (see Appendix 2, map 1).

The cultivated and the inhabited areas are basically those which get an annual precipitation of over 350 mm. The areas most densely populated are those with 600 to 800 mm. The length of the inhabited area (north-south) is almost 800 km. while its width is only 160 km. Most of this area is hilly and has many ridges. In some of the plains there are swamps; especially east of Antioch, the Ghāb area east of the Bahrā' mountains which was caused by the Orontes River, Jabbūl swamp south of Aleppo, 'Akkār swamp located to the north of 'Irqah and west of Ḥimṣ, the swamp to the east of the Ghūṭah, Ḥūlah swamp which was located southwest of Bānyās, and a swamp in the Esdraelon plain southwest of Nazareth. Smaller swamps also existed in other plains, especially in the coastal areas. The ridged nature of these mountains and the existence of the swamps made communication between settlements and the different areas very difficult. In this respect, Jabal Bahrā' is the best example. The many ridges of this mountain and the existence of the Ghāb swamp made it almost impossible to invade from the eastern side. For these reasons, this mountain was almost out of the reach of the governments' power. Historians and geographers also found it difficult to obtain information

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about this mountain during the period under discussion (see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).

Land Ownership

The Arab conquest of Syria did not change radically the land ownership that had existed during the Byzantine period. Before the conquest there were two kinds of ownership: 1) "Private land" or land owned by individuals and 2) "State land" or land owned by the government. These two kinds of ownership also existed after the Arab conquest. However, an important change took place immediately after the conquest, caused by the emigration of the Greeks and some Syrian Christians from the country. Many of these Greeks used to own large estates of land throughout the country. This vacant land, which was private land, became the property of the Muslim state (it was called ṣawāfī). The ownership of the rest of the land did not change immediately; private land was left in the hands of its owners, the state land continued to be so, but now the Muslim authorities became the owners.[1]

Mu'āwiyah was one of the first caliphs (661 - 680) to allocate ṣawāfī land to Muslim Arabs and especially to the rich Arabs who migrated from Arabia and settled in Syria after the conquest of the country. Also, in the early Muslim rule in Syria, many people, especially Arabs, were made to settle in the almost vacant coastal cities. These settlers were granted estates mainly from the ṣawāfī land in the area. Almost all of the ṣawāfī land had been already allocated to people before the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (685 - 705), but pressure from wealthy Arabs for more land did not cease. Therefore, this caliph granted them the land of cultivators who died heirless. After this land was granted, wealthy Muslims asked the permission of 'Abd al-Malik and his two successors to buy land from the dhimis, and permission was granted. More lands were also bought by Muslims in later periods, but not on the same scale.[2]

Besides the ṣawāfī, the state also owned all the land which was not cultivated by the farmers, such as the "mawāt" (dead) and "baṭīḥah" (swamp).

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Some of this land was also granted to tribes and individuals, who put it under cultivation or what was then called "iḥyā'" (revival). This shows that during the Umayyad period, a great proportion of the cultivated land changed ownership, and came under Muslim ownership. This period also witnessed a decrease in the state land and an increase in the private land. Another important phenomenon was the formation of the large estates, because many of those who bought land were the same rich Arabs who were granted estates by the caliphs.[3]

The change in land ownership had important implications for the revenue of the state. According to Muslim law, Muslim farmers should pay the state "'ushr" or ten percent of the yield; on the other hand, dhimmi farmers should pay "kharāj" -- a tax which did not have a fixed amount, but was higher than ten percent and perhaps reached half of the yield. Therefore, when Muslims bought land from non-Muslims, the same land was taxed less. The effect of this was so great that the Umayyad caliphs tried to stop the sale of Kharāj land to Muslims. The solution which finally prevailed was that when Muslims bought kharāj land they should pay kharāj and not 'ushr. It seems that during the 10 - 11th centuries, most of the Muslim, as well as Christian, farmers were paying kharāj. The amount of the kharāj tax during this period was fixed on the village community as a whole, and not on individual farmers. The same amount was imposed year after year, without taking into consideration fluctuations in yield. However, a new assessment of the yield and the tax was made every few decades.[4] (See Chapter 6).

During the 10th century a great part of the Syrian cultivated land was still private land and its owners were paying the kharāj tax. On the other hand, cultivated land in Egypt was state land which was leased to the peasants who paid the state "kirā'" (rent).[5] The system of kirā' was also used in other places, including Syria, but it was not the only or even dominant system. This system, however, was used extensively by the Hamdanids (in northern Syria and in the Jazīrah) who owned a great part of the land in their territories. They achieved ownership over these vast estates by

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forcing peasants to sell their land at cheap prices, and by confiscating the lands of those who preferred to migrate and not to live under Hamdanid rule.[6]

During the Hamdanid period state land in the northern part of Syria and in the Jazīrah increased enormously. In the Fatimid territory of Syria it is not clear what percentage of the cultivated land was state land; it seems, however, that it was not great. This kind of land, however, increased greatly after the coming of the Saljuqs. For example, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī tells us that the olive yield from the state land in the area of Ramlah alone was worth 300,000 dinars in 1072. He also tells us that the Saljuqs "decided to divide the land in half" between them and the peasants of this area. In other words, the Saljuqs rented the state land (excluding the land which was planted with olive trees) to the peasants, each party getting half of the yield,[7] a situation similar to that which was widely used in Egypt and the Hamdanid territory. We do not know whether this land was also state land during the Fatimid period, but it is likely that it was converted from private land into state land by the Saljuqs. Perhaps the Saljuqs confiscated this land because many of its owners died and others migrated. This explanation is likely because Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī tells us that Ramlah (and its area) was in ruins, and that the Saljuqs brought peasant from other places in order to cultivate its land.[8]

During the Saljuq period the state land in Syria, in the north as well as in the south, made up a great percentage of the cultivated land. In the north it seems that most of the land, if not all of it, was state-owned. For example, Ibn al-'Adīm reports that the Saljuqs sold 60 villages to their inhabitants in one day in the year 1111. More villages were sold on other days. Four years later many more villages were sold.[9] It seems that the Saljuq authorities sold so many villages during the 12th century, that at the beginning of the 13th century, there were more than 820 villages in the area of Aleppo completely owned by their inhabitants, and only 200 villages owned partly by the state.[10]

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We have seen that at the beginning of the Islamic era part of the state land was granted to individuals and in later periods it was sold to the people who were cultivating it. Another part of the state land was granted as "iqtā'" to military commanders in lieu of a salary. There were many kinds of iqtā's during this period (10 - 11th centuries). The iqtā' holder enjoyed different privileges depending on the kind of iqtā' he held. Some iqtā' holders had full ownership over the land of their iqtā'. Others were granted iqtā' for their life or part of their life time, but they could not sell, nor could their sons inherit it. the iqtā' holders paid the treasury the usual tax -- the 'ushr, but if the iqtā' was iqtā' 'īghār they paid reduced taxes, and if the iqtā' was iqtā' taswīgh they paid no taxes.[11]

Iqtā' was not always granted from the state lands, because in later periods the right to collect taxes was increasingly granted as iqtā'. This kind of iqtā' reached its final stage of development during the Ottoman Empire, but it was initiated by the Buwayhids. The Buwayhids were also the ones to use the military iqtā' (iqtā' for the military officers in place of pay) in a systematic way. Although the military iqtā' was known in Syria and other places during the period under discussion, it was not systematically or widely used in this country until the coming of the Saljuqs and Ayyubids. The Saljuqs developed the military iqtā' further and introduced the idea of granting iqtā' to officers in exchange for providing the army with a number of soldiers. This system was well developed in the Ottoman period and was called "timar". The number of soldiers or knights which the iqtā' holder was supposed to provide the army with depended on the revenue of his iqtā' (or timar). This kind of iqtā' was rarely used in Syria during the period under discussion.[12]

The iqtā' holders had the obligation to maintain security, to repair bridges and dams, and to be responsible for all public affairs in the area of their iqtā'. In other words, their rights and duties were similar to those of the government which granted them the iqtā'. The size of the iqtā' differed

greatly; sometimes it was so large that it included many towns and villages or a total region. In this case the iqtā' holder was almost a semi-independent ruler.[13]

It seems that there were always big landlords in the Middle East. They acquired their land through several means: 1) The authorities granted them large iqtā's with full ownership; 2) The authorities granted them iqtā's without granting them ownership but in practice they became the owners; 3) The rich people bought large estates. These big landlords also increased the size of their estates through "iljā'" (protection). The villagers and small landowners put their land under the protection (taljī') of big landlords in order to avoid extortion by the tax collectors and to get a reduction in taxes. In exchange for this protection the big landlords got some benefits. The privileges and duties of the big landlords over this kind of land were in the end similar to those of the iqtā' holder over his iqtā' area. In the end and in practice, this land also became the property of the big landlords.[14]

Some of the cultivated land was "waqf" (religious endowment). We do not know what proportion of the Syrian cultivated land during the period under discussion was waqf land, but it appears that it was very small. This kind of land increased greatly under the Saljuqs, Ayyubids and Mamluks. During the Ottoman period a great part of the land in Syria was waqf land.[15]

Irrigation

Many of the crops which grew in Syria during the Middle Ages did not need irrigation, especially in areas which receive an annual rainfall of 400 mm. or more. Therefore, irrigation in Syria was not as important as in Egypt and Iraq; however, it was used even in areas which receive more than 800 mm. of rain, since it rains in Syria only during the winter season. Irrigation also increases the productivity of the land, since irrigated land was cultivated twice a year, while unirrigated areas were cultivated only once every two years. Another important point is that some crops could not grow in Syria without irrigation, such as cotton, sugar-cane and others.[16]

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The sources of the Middle Ages emphasize the fact that crops grew in Syria without irrigation. However, they mention some irrigated areas, such as the Ghūṭah of Damascus, Nābulus, Jericho, Tyre, Tripoli, Ḥimṣ, Salamiyah, Ḥamāh, Shayzar, Antioch, Aleppo and Jisr Manbij.[17] These were the only irrigated areas mentioned by the sources of the time, but we should assume that there were others. The sources indicate the existence of "Bustāns" (orchards) outside of most Syrian cities and towns (see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3). The Arabic dictionaries define this Persian word as land surrounded by a wall and planted with fruit trees of many kinds. The space in between the trees was used for the growing of other crops.[18] This definition is similar to the description of the bustāns by the historians. It seems that each of the 120,000 bustāns of the Ghūṭah[19] was walled and densely planted with trees.[20] These facts make us believe that almost all bustāns were irrigated. It may also be expected that farmers who lived along the streams of the rivers irrigated at least part of their land.

Bringing the water from the rivers to the cultivated land was carried out by digging canals between the two places. These canals were usually on the surface of the ground and uncovered; some of them were lifted on aqueducts. Aqueducts existed mainly in the coastal area. William of Tyre, speaking about an aqueduct in the area of Tyre says: "These waters have their origins in the lowest part of the plain . . . Yet they have been artificially raised into the upper air by the care and skill of man, so that they water abundantly all the surrounding region . . . By means of an admirable structure of stone-work rivalling iron in its strength, the water has been raised and conducted aloft to the height of ten feet . . . As one draws near to examine this remarkable work, the outer tower looms up prominently but no water is visible. On reaching the top, however, one sees that a great reservoir of water has been brought together here which is distributed thence to the adjacent fields by means of aqueducts of equal height and massive structure . . . All the country round about derives immense benefits from these waters."[21]

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In most cases there is no need to lift the water from the stream of the river to higher canals because most of the Syrian rivers do not run on flat land; on the contrary, they start in high places and reach their destination over very short distances. However, the biggest two rivers in this country -- the Euphrates and the Orontes -- run long distances over flat land and have deep streams. Therefore, there was a need to lift the water from the stream to higher canals. In Syria two ways were used -- the "sāqiayh", operated by animals and the "nā'ūrah", operated by the stream of the river (see Chapter 3). The nā'ūrah was used especially on the Orontes, mainly in the area of Ḥamāh and Shayzar. The stream of the Euphrates in northeastern Syria is so deep that even the nā'ūrah could not lift the water high enough.[22]

Crops

Syria was famous for the diversity of its agricultural crops, and especially for its fruit trees. It had more agricultural products than any of the neighboring countries because its physical geography and its weather are more diversified. It has very cold and hot places; areas which get over 1000 mm. of rain annually and others which get less than 100 mm; areas with very rich soil and others with very poor soil. All of these contrasting features exist even in small areas such as Filasṭīn.

It is almost impossible to know all the crops which were grown in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries because there were so many of them. The most important were: wheat, barley, lentils ('adas), broad beans (fūl), beans (lubiyā'), beans (fāsūliyā'), chick-peas (ḥummuṣ), lupin (turmus), sorghum (dhurah), rice, peas (Bazillā'), vetch (kirsannah), bittervetch (julbān), sesame, safflower (qurṭum), cucumber (qiththā'), colcosia (qulqās), jew's mallow (mulukhiyā'), eggplant, turnip (lift), carrots, asparagus (hilyawn), cauliflower (qarnabīṭ), cabbage, onions, garlic, oats (shūfān), pearl millet (dukhn), black caraway (ḥabbah sawdā'), hemp (qinnab), celery (karafs), lettuce, leek (kurrāth), watercress (jirjīr), mushrooms (fuṭr), squash, gourd or zucchini (qar'), watermelon, cantaloupe (shammam), radish, pistachios (fustuq),

sugar-cane, saffron, cotton, indigo, flax, mint, ginger, cumin, anise, mustard, coriander,[23] grapes, olives, apricots, sycamore, apples, dates, figs, sumac, bananas, oranges, citron, almonds, pomegranates, plums black plums, peaches, mulberry (tūt), mulbery (firṣad), pears, quince, walnuts, hazel nuts, jujube ('unnāb), medlar (za'rūr), cherries, carob, dates, and a great variety of flowers (for more information and references see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).[24]

Maps 2 and 3, in Appendix 2, show a great variety of fruit trees, especially in the southern part of Syria (namely in Palestine). These two maps, however, do not give a clear picture of the location of all the crops which were growing in Syria, because of the lack of information. These maps give the impression that the northern part of Syria was not as well cultivated as the southern part; however, this was not the case because Al-Maqdisī says: "The upper province (north), which is near the dominions of the Greeks, is richer in streams and fruits, and the climate of it is colder; but the lower province is more favoured and is pleasanter in climate, and its fruits more luscious."[25]

The following quotation from Al-Maqdisī, although it refers to Filastīn, also reveals the variety of agricultural crops in all the cultivated area of Syria. He says: "And further, know that within the province of Palestine (Filastin) may be found gathered together six-and-thirty products that are not found thus united in any other land. Of these the first seven are found in Palestine alone; the following seven are very rare in other countries; and the remaining two-and-twenty, though only found thus gathered together in this province, are, for the most part, found one and another, singly, in other lands. Now the first seven are the pine-nuts, called "Kuraish-bite", the quince or Cydonian-apple, the 'ainuni and the Duri raisins, the Kafuri plum, the fig called As Saba'i, and the fig of Damascus. The next seven are the Colocasia or water lily, the sycamore, the carob or St. John's bread (locust-tree), the lotus-fruit or jujube, the artichoke, the sugar-cane, and the Syrian apple. And the twenty-two are the fresh dates and olives the

shaddock, the indigo and juniper, the orange, the mandrake, the Nabk fruit, the nut, the almond, the asparagus, the banana, the sumach, the cabbage, the truffle, the lupin, and the early prune, called At Tari; also snow, buffalo-milk, the honey-comb, the 'Asimi grape, and the Tamri -- or date-fig. Further, there is the preserve called Kubbait; you find, in truth, the like of it in name elsewhere, but of a different flavor. The lettuce also, which everywhere else, except only at Ahwaz (in Persia), is counted as a common vegetable, is here in Palestine a choice dish."[26]

Not all crops mentioned above were grown in great quantities, since some of them were less important than others. The leading crop in Syria was wheat, which constituted the main item in the food of the Syrians. The second important crop among the cereals was barely, which was used mainly to feed animals. These two crops grew in almost all the cultivated lands, especially in Ḥawrān, al-Bathaniyyah, Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, the area between Aleppo and Antioch, the coastal area, al-jibāl, al-Sharāt, al-Balqā', Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh, Shayzar, Qinnasrīn, Manbij, Hebron, Ba'labak and Jerusalem (see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).[27]

These two crops continued to be the main two cereal crops in Syria in later periods. In the late 16th century almost all villages in southern Syria were growing these crops and many of these villages were growing primarily wheat and barley. Even during the first half of the 20th century (A.D.), three-quarters of the cultivated land of modern Syria and Lebanon was under cereals and two-thirds of this was under wheat.[28]

Lentils and bittervetch were also among the most important cereal foodstuffs. Although the sources do not tell us where these crops were growing, we might expect to find them in almost all the cultivated areas. Ibn al-'Adīm reports that the price of lentils and bittervetch was not much higher than the price of wheat.[29] This indicates that the yield from these crops was great. Lentils were, and continue to be (even in modern times), an important item in the cooking of the Syrians. The sources indicate that it was

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a main item in the "public guest-house" in Hebron, and was served free to all people who visited the mosque of this city. About this public guest-house Al-Maqdisī writes: "In Hebron there is a public guest-house, with a cook, a baker, and servants appointed thereto. These present a dish of lentils and olive oil to every poor person who arrives, and it is even set before the rich if perchance they desire to partake of it."[30]

This guest-house existed for many centuries and lentils continued to be served, along with other things, to the visitors.[31]

Although most of its cultivated land was used for the growing of cereal crops, Syria was famous for its fruit trees. Unlike the neighboring countries, Egypt, Arabia and iraq, Syria had a great variety of fruit trees which grew in great numbers. Olives were the most important and the most widespread in the country, especially in the Palestinian mountains. Olives also grew in large quantities in Tripoli, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, the area between Antioch and Aleppo, Jabal al-Summāq, Ma'āb, al-Jibāl and al-Sharāt[32] (see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).

The amount of olive trees in Filastīn was enormous. The number of olive trees in the area of Ramlah was so great that the retreating Fatimid army found refuge in them in the year 976. One century later the Saljuqs rented the state owned olive trees in this area to the farmers for 30,000 dinars (for information about prices and the value of the dinar see Chapter 6).

Nāsir Khusraw, who visited this area in 1047, reports that there were rich families in Jerusalem who owned 50,000 "mann" (the mann is equal to almost 0.75 kg.) of olive oil. They exported most of it to many countries.[33]

Ibn al-Faqīh mentions that the Filastīnian olives were planted by the Greeks.[34] Olive trees live for many centuries; therefore, Ibn al-Faqīh's statement that most of the olive trees in his time (903) were planted in periods prior to the Islamic era is not surprising. Actually, the Muslim authorities, even during the Ottoman Empire, imposed higher taxes on the olive

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trees which were planted during the Byzantine period (Zaytūn Rūmānī), than on olive trees planted during the Muslim period (Zaytūn Islāmī).[35] Even today, old people in Galilee differentiate between Zaytūn Islāmī and Zaytūn Kufrī (the olive trees of the infidels).

Olives were always a major crop in Syria; a larger proportion of the cultivated land was under olive trees than under any crop except wheat and barley. This situation existed in some regions of this country throughout Muslim history and prevails to this day.[36]

Olives were not only important in Syria because of their local consumption, but also because of their export value. It seems that olives, olive oil and soap (made of olive oil) were the most important agricultural items that Syria exported during the 10 - 11th centuries and during the Middle Ages in general.[37]

Besides its olives, Syria was famous for its vineyards. Some authors considered grapes to be the representative fruit of Syria, just as dates were representative of Iraq. This crop grew almost all over the country, especially in Palestine, Ma'āb, Buṣrā, Ghūṭah, the coastal area of Lebanon, Ba'labak, and Jabal al-Summāq (see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3). Syrian production of grapes was always great. At the beginning of the Islamic era, Syrian farmers paid part of their taxes in kind, especially in raisins and olive oil. The district of Ḥimṣ alone used to pay 1000 camel loads of raisins annually.[38]

As with olives, grapes were also very important in the Syrian diet and were exported. Syrians not only ate grapes and raisins, or used them in their cooking, but also made a treacle "dibs" which was used as a sweetener, like honey and sugar. Grapes continued to be a very important crop in Syria up to the modern period.[39]

The other fruit trees which grew in great quantities in Syria were: figs, especially in Filasṭīn, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Antioch, Ba'labak, Ghūṭah, Lebanese coast, and al-Sharāt.[40] Sycamore trees, especially in Filasṭīn.[41] Apple trees, mainly in Hebron, Ma'āb, Mount Lebanon, Ghūṭah and Jabal al-

Summāq.[42] Sumac in Hebron and Jabal al-Summāq. Carob in Filasṭīn and Beirut. Almonds in Filasṭīn, Ma'āb, al-Sharāt, Mount Lebanon, Tripoli and Jabal al-Summāq. Dates in warm places such as the Jordan and Orontes river valleys, and the coastal area. Apricots in Ghūṭah, Ḥamāh, Jabal al-Summāq, Ma'āb and al-Jibāl. (For more information see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).[43]

The growing of many kinds of flowers was also very important in some places, especially in the Ghūṭah, Bānyās, Jericho and al-Bāb (northeast of Aleppo). The importance of flowers was their use for medicinal purposes and especially for the preparation of a drink called "mā' al-ward" (rose-water). Mā' al-ward was usually mixed with very cold water or with ice. It was an expensive drink, and usually the sources mention it as a drink of the rich. It is used even today as a beverage and as a medicine. In the Middle Ages this drink was exported to many countries, including Arabia, Sind, India and China. It appears that the growing of flowers was very profitable, because Al-Dimashqī tells us that the yield of almost two acres of land in 1266 in the Ghūṭah was 20 "qinṭārs" (almost 800 kg.) of flowers. The value of this amount of flowers was as much as 22,000 dirhams.[44]

Less important, but yielding export surpluses, were the crops which were used for dyes. The most important and famous of these crops was indigo, a great part of which was exported. Indigo was always one of the leading agricultural crops in the Jordan Valley. The other important dyeting crops were brazilwood, sumac, gallnuts and saffron.[45]

New Crops

During the first centuries of the Muslim era many crops were introduced into the Muslim countries. Some of these new crops were also introduced into Syria. About the variety of these crops Watson says: "To mention only those plants whose progress we have been able to study in detail -- sixteen food crops and one fibre crop -- the Arab conquests were followed by the diffusion of rice, sorghum, hard wheat, sugar cane, cotton, watermelons, eggplants, spinach, artichokes, colocasia, sour oranges, lemons, limes, bananas,

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plantains, mangos and coconut palms. With the exception of mangos and coconut palms . . . the diffusion was very wide: the new crops came to be grown in nearly the whole of the early-Islamic world and not a few became, for smaller or larger regions, of great economic importance. This list of new crops is already long and impressive, but it is far from complete."[46]

The introduction of these crops had an important impact on Syrian agriculture, economy and population. Most of these crops are tropical crops, and unlike the old Syrian crops, were summer crops and could not, therefore, grow in Syria or the other Middle Eastern countries without irrigation. The yield of some of these crops was also used as raw material for industry and required much labor. This means that the land became more productive, and the demand for labor increased greatly. As a result of this situation agricultural productivity and the economy of the country as a whole improved, and the Syrian population increased. The increase in the population was greater in the coastal area where many new crops were introduced (see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).[47] These crops were already being grown on a large scale during the period under discussion and their diffusion throughout Syria continued in later centuries.

It seems that oranges, citrons and lemons, although they were already known in Hijāz during the time of the caliph 'Uthmān,[48] were introduced into Syria in the 9th century. Up until the end of the 11th century we find these crops growing, especially in the coastal area.[49] In later periods we find them growing not only in the coastal area, but also in the depressions and in the valleys throughout the country.[50]

The growing of sugar-cane was quite important and widespread because of its industrial value. Up until the end of the 11th century the main centers where this crop was grown were: Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Tiberias and Filastīn.[51] The growing of sugar-cane in the coastal area was so great that large quantities of sugar, which was refined from sugar-cane, was exported to many countries.[52] In later periods the Jordan Valley, in addition to the coastal plain, was a very important area for the growing of this crop.[53]

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Another important industrial crop was cotton. The main centers were Filasṭīn, the Jordan Valley north of Tiberias, and Aleppo. We might also expect to find that large areas in northern Syria and in the Jazīrah were used for the growing of cotton. The reason for this is that the Hamdanids made special efforts here to uproot the fruit trees and to plant in their place cotton, rice, sesame, and cereal crops. Since the Hamdanid period cotton became a major crop in northern Syria. It seems that this crop was one of the five main crops in this area during the 12th century, since when Ibn al-'Adīm reports that the prices of goods were high or low, the price of cotton was included. The other four crops were wheat, barley, lentils, and bittervetch.[54]

The sources do not mention watermelon and cantaloupe as Syrian crops during the period under discussion; however, these crops became widespread in the country in later periods. The major places for the growing of watermelon and cantaloupe were Aleppo, Nābulus, Gaza and other places. There were many kinds of watermelon and cantaloupe in Syria. Al-Nuwayrī mentions three kinds which he calls the Indian, the Chinese and the Khurāsānian. We might expect that these names indicate the origin of each kind.[55] The introduction of watermelon and cantaloupe into Syria was successful because today they are (in addition to cotton, oranges and others) very important crops in this area.

Another successful new crop was sesame, but its growth in Syria was not widespread during the Middle Ages. It was planted on a large scale only in the Jazīrah and northern Syria, especially during the Hamdanid period. It is also mentioned as growing in Filasṭīn.[56]

Less successful crops, but whose introduction into Syria was still important, were rice and bananas. The main centers of rice were Baysān, the Jordan Valley, Bānyās, and Tripoli.[57] The banana growing areas were Filasṭīn, the Jordan Valley and Tripoli[58] (for more information see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).

The location of the different crops was mainly determined by two factors: the availability of water (rain or irrigation) and the richness of

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the soil. Some of the new crops, such as sugar-cane and rice, and some vegetables, required rich soil and very well irrigated areas. Crops which grow in less irrigated areas, but still in rich soil, were other vegetables and fruit trees, including oranges and cotton. Crops which grew in less rich soil, especially on the mountains and without irrigation, were fruit trees such as almonds, figs, olives and grapes. The unirrigated plains were mainly used for cereal crops, watermelon and sesame. The areas adjacent to the desert, which had a small amount of annual rainfall and which did not have rich soil, were mainly planted with wheat and barley.[59]

Filasṭīn, especially the Judean and Samarian hills, was famous for its olive trees and great variety of fruit trees. Galilee and Jabal al-Summāq were also very famous for their fruit and olive trees. Many fruit trees also grew in Mount Lebanon, but on a smaller scale than in the aforementioned areas. The most famous place in Syria for fruit trees was the Ghūṭah. In this area vegetables and flowers also grew in great quantities. Almost all the new crops were to be found in the coastal plain and along the Jordan River, where the weather is warm or hot, there is plenty of water available for irrigation and the soil is rich. The areas adjacent to the desert were mainly used for cereal crops, especially wheat and barley (see Appendix 2, map 2).

The Limits of the Cultivated Area

The available sources do not allow us to draw a precise line between the cultivated and uncultivated areas; however, the sources supply us with enough information to make an approximate division. Maps 2 and 3 in Appendix 2 show that all the territories which get an annual rainfall of 600 mm. or more were very well cultivated, except Jabal Bahrā' and to a certain degree Mount Lebanon, Hermon and Sanīr. The fact that these maps do not show any crops in the area of Jabal Bahrā' does not mean that this area was not under cultivation. There is no reason why this area would not be under cultivation, because its soil, and annual rainfall were suitable for cultivation and we know that this area was populated. The fact that these two maps do not show

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any cultivation in this area is explained by the lack of information about it.

Cultivation in the areas of Mount Lebanon, Hermon, and Sanīr was less intensive than on the Palestinian mountains. The reason for this is that the former mountains are higher than the latter and their summits are covered with snow almost all year long. The large number of ridges on the former mountains also reduces the ability of the farmers to exploit these areas for cultivation. All these reasons also explain why these mountains were not densely populated. The sources tell us that some fruits were growing there by themselves or without having been planted. They also tell us that many Sufis made retreats there for worship and to be far away from the inhabited areas.[60]

The limits of the cultivated area in the south was the area between 'Asqalān or Gaza to Zughar and al-Sharāt. During the 10th century although the sources give the impression that the areas of 'Asqalān and Gaza were very well cultivated, Al-Maqdisī reports that the cultivated area here retreated, especially in Bayt Jibrīn.[61] Toward the end of the 11th century it appears that the area of 'Asqalān was not very well cultivated; however, it had a lot of sycamore trees.[62] This region became more cultivated in the beginning of the 14th century, and continued to be so toward the end of the 16th century.[63]

The limit of the cultivated land south of Hebron was the southern limit of the Judean hills, or down to Beer Sheba. Al-Maqdisī reprts that: "All the country round Hebron, for the distance of half a stage, is filled with villages, and vineyards, and grounds bearing grapes and apples, and it is even as though it were all but a single orchard of vines and fruit-trees, the district goes by the name of Jabal Nuṣrah (naḍrah -- bloom or splendor)."

This situation did not change during almost all of the period under discussion, but it seems that the cultivated area south of these hills retreated during the 11 - 16th centuries.[64] There is no literary information about the existence of cultivated areas in the Negev region, not only from the period under discussion, but also from earlier Muslim periods.

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There were three areas southeast of the Dead Sea which were cultivated: The first area was al-Sharāt, in the south, and its city (capital) was Adhruḥ and Wādī Mūsā, Petra and Ma'ān, also located in this area; the second was al-Jibāl, to the north of al-Sharāt, and its capital, Ruwāt. Other important towns in this region are al-Shawbak and al-Tafīlah. The third area is Ma'āb which lies to the east of the Dead Sea. Its main towns were Ma'āb (or Karak) and Zughar. These three areas are described by the sources as rich in fruits and possessing large cultivated lands. This is not surprising because they receive an annual rainfall of almost 500 mm. However, the population was mainly semi-nomadic; therefore, we may expect that cultivation here was not intensive.[65]

In these areas cultivation intensified during the 12th century and later, especially when some of them came under Crusader rule. This area became very important for the Muslims as well as for the Crusaders. For the latter, it was their first line of defence, and from there they could attack Muslim pilgrims and caravans. For the Muslims, it became more important than before because the main trade route between Damascus and Cairo passed just to the east of it. The main pilgrimage route was also in this area. As a result of the new situation which prevailed here security was provided, the Bedouin influence was reduced to a minimum and the authorities made some efforts to encourage cultivation in this area. Therefore, more crops started growing here and the size of the cultivated land increased (see Appendix 2, maps 2 and 3).[66] Cultivation retreated here greatly in the 14 - 16th centuries.[67]

Al-Balqā' was used mainly for the growing of cereals, especially wheat. The eastern limit of the cultivated area here lies just to the east of Amman. "Amman lying on the border of the Desert, has round it many villages and cornfields (mazāri' = cultivated areas). The Balqā' district, of which it is the capital, is rich in grain and flocks . . . Living here is cheap, and fruit is plentiful."[68]

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We have no information from the period under discussion about the mountains which lie to the east of the Jordan River, but it is likely that they were well cultivated. Abū al-Fidā', writing in 1321, reports that they were cultivated and fruit trees were growing here abundantly (see Appendix 2, map 3).[69] Cultivation in the Balqā' and the western mountains retreated before the 16th century.[70]

The areas of al-Bathaniyah and Ḥawrān have always been famous for growing cereals and grain, which supplied Damascus. This was also true during the period under discussion. They are described by the geographers of the 10th century as "great ('aẓīm) districts", "their cultivation is without irrigation", and they are the "center (ma'dan) of wheat and grain".[71] According to Al-Maqdisī, the limit of the cultivated land in this area is not far from Adhir'āt; but he still says that the mountain of Buṣrā (Jabal al-'Arab -- east of Adhir'āt) was famous for its vineyards[72] and was still famous at the beginning of the 14th century.[73] These two districts and Jabal al-'Arab continued to be very well cultivated in later periods. Al-Ẓāhirī, for example, tells us that in his time (15th century) there were 300 villages in this mountain and 1000 villages in the two districts.[74]

North of Ḥawrān is the Ghūṭah, the most intensively cultivated area in all of Syria. Its size was almost one day's walk in length by one day's walk in width. This means that the limit of the cultivated area here was almost one day's walk to the east and north of Damascus. The border of the cultivated areas here changed little during the Middle Ages.[75]

To the north of the Ghūṭah, the towns of al-Quṭayyifah, al-Nabk, Qārah and Shamsīn, were located almost on the edge of the cultivated area. We can conclude this from the fact that the highway between Ḥimṣ and Damascus, which passed through these towns, was called the desert highway (see Appendix 3, maps 1, 2, 3, 7, and 13).

In the area of Ḥimṣ the edge of the cultivated area was less than one day's walk to the east of this city. Al-Ya'qūbī reports that Salamiyah was

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located in the desert,[76] while Ibn Ḥawqal and Al-Iṣṭakhrī say that it was located very close to the desert.[77] The border of the cultivated land here also did not change very much in later periods.[78]

The limit of the cultivated area southeast of Aleppo was east of Kafar Ṭāb, Khunaysirah, and Bālis. The area of Kafar Ṭāb itself was very well cultivated. The farmers here used to grow cotton in addition to many cereals.[79] On the other hand, the desert was very close to the city of Khunaysirah.[80]

The limits of the cultivated areas which are shown in the two maps (map 2 and map 3 in Appendix 2) are almost identical. These maps fail to show an advance or retreat of the cultivated area because: 1) each covers a long period -- at least two centuries and 2) the information available to us does not allow us to determine accurately the border of the cultivated land during every few decades.

There are two reports from the 10th century which leave no doubt about the retreat of the cultivated land in the area of Ḥimṣ and Bayt Jibrīn (south of Ramlah).[81] From the 11th century we do not have any similar reports, but judging from the general historical information available to us, we may safely assume that the cultivated land retreated during this century in many areas. The reason for this is the lack of political stability and the lack of peace, especially in the areas adjacent to the desert. The lack of a strong political regime in Syria during this century encouraged the Bedouins to move westward and to put some cultivated land out of cultivation, and make it pasture land. However, we may expect that the cultivated land advanced during the 12th century. The main reason for this is the coming of the Crusaders to Syria. This new situation brought about a very important change -- the movement of great numbers of Muslims from the Crusader-occupied territories, eastward. Undoubtedly, many of these refugees worked in agriculture. It may be presumed that a large amount of new land was put under cultivation during this century.

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While the cultivated area adjacent to the desert retreated in some places during the period under discussion, there were many others on the western side of the country which became intensively cultivated. Other areas, which in earlier periods had been pasture land, became well cultivated during the period under discussion. This kind of land existed in many places, including the Jordan Valley, the coastal plain and the area of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. Al-Ya'qūbī reports that the area of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and Afāmiyah were in ruins in his time (he wrote his book in 891).[82] We have reports from the middle of the 10th century which indicate that these cities were built up and their areas were well cultivated.[83] Two centuries later we find this area extremely well cultivated, Ibn Jubayr reports: "On the Friday we had seen, to the right of the road and two parasangs away, the lands of al-Ma'arrah. They are all dark with olive, fig, and pistachio trees, and all kinds of fruits; and their luxuriant gardens and well-ordered villages stretch for a distance of two days' journeying. It is one of the most fertile and productive regions in Islamic lands."[84]

It is impossible to know the annual value of the Syrian agricultural products during the Middle Ages. However, we have three different reports about the value of some agricultural products in certain areas, which shed some light on this subject. We have already seen that the value of the Olive yield in the year 1071, in the area of Ramlah, was 300,000 dinars.[85] We also have seen that the value of flowers produced on only two acres of land in the Ghūtah was 22,000 dirhams in 1266.[86] The third report is by Ibn al-'Adīm, who tells us that the value of the agricultural products of the Wādī area (the Valley of al-Bāb, Buzā'ah, and Jabbūl -- northeast of Aleppo) was more than 100,000 dinars annually.[87] These numbers, although exaggerated, still indicate that the value of the Syrian agricultural yield was great.

Animal Husbandry

The subject of animal husbandry should be discussed in a separate chapter since it played a very important role in the Syrian economy. However,

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the information is scanty, and it is convenient to discuss it here. animals were important in the Syrian economy not only because they were the basic means of transport, but also because of their food value, and because they were widely used in the cultivation process.

The main animals raised were: camels, for their meat and transport value, horses, mules, and donkeys for transport and cows, as well as sheep and goats, for their meat and dairy products. Many kinds of birds, such as pigeons and chickens, were also raised for their meat and eggs. Buffalos (jāmūs) were also raised, but on a small scale. The nomads used to raise primarily camels, sheep, and goats; while the sedentary people raised all of these kinds of animals, including camels.

We know that Bedouin life was based on raising animals; therefore, we may expect that hundreds of thousands of camels, sheep, and goats were raised by the Bedouins. A large proportion of these animals and their dairy and leather products were sold to the sedentary people or were exchanged for other products, such as cloth and food. It is likely that the number of animals raised by the Syrian Bedouins increased during the second half of the 10th and during the 11th century because new Bedouins migrated to this country and pasture areas increased, especially at the expense of the rich, cultivated lands.

The sedentary people in Syria perhaps raised more animals than did the nomads. The raising of animals by the peasants in Syria was and is a common thing. Almost every household raised a few animals and birds. There were also a few households in each village that owned tens and hundreds of animals. It is likely that a similar situation existed in Syria during the period under discussion, as well as during other periods. Actually, most of the information available to us refers to raising animals in the areas which were inhabited by sedentary people, and not by nomads.

Ibn al-'Adīm reports that in the 1067 bands of Turkomans raided the area of Antioch, which was still in the hands of the Byzantines. These Tur-

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komans seized almost 40,000 buffalos and a great number of cows, sheep, goats and donkeys.[88] In 1091 the Crusaders seized a great number of animals from the area of Shayzar. We do not know how many and what kind of animals the Crusaders seized, but we do know that they sold some of the captured animals which included 1000 "Arabian horses".[89] If this report is accurate we should assume that the number of animals involved in this incident was a few thousand. Another Crusader army seized more than 10,000 horses and sheep from the Muslims in 1123.[90] More animals were seized by the Crusaders in the area of Acre.[91] Almost one decade later the Muslim army of Aleppo seized from the territory of the Crusaders, according to Ibn al-'Adīm, 100,000 animals, including cows, sheep, horses and donkeys. All these animals came from only 100 villages around Lādhiqiyah.[92]

These rounded numbers, although exaggerated, still show that animals were commonly raised in great numbers. It is important to note here that this information refers to one area only (northwest Syria) and to a short period. In the light of this information, we may presume that rich people used to own hundreds of sheep or other animals. This conclusion is supported by another report by Ibn al-'Adīm. He tells us that a rich man in northern Syria killed 1000 sheep during one big celebration.[93]

We should not conclude that raising animals was the specialty of only the people in northern Syria. In the 10th century Al-Maqdisī reports that the area of raising sheep in Syria was Balqā',[94] and he did not mention anything, in this respect, about north Syria. Syrians continued to raise animals in great numbers in later periods.[95]

Animals were also essential in military campaigns. The most important fighters were the knights who used horses. Other animals, like camels and donkeys, were used mainly for transport. A third group of animals, sheep, goats, and others, were also used during military campaigns for their meat and milk; they were often driven behind the army, far enough away to allow for retreat, but close enough to be reached easily. By so doing, the army eliminated part of the food supply problem.

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The Influence of the Political Authorities on Agriculture

We have seen that a high percentage of the land was state-owned. Some of this land was farmed by farmers for the benefit of the caliph (or the sultan or ruler) in exchange for a daily (or monthly or yearly) salary. Another part was rented to the farmers in exchange for a certain percentage of the yield (muzāra'ah). A third part was given by the authorities as iqtā' to the high officials or military officers as a salary or as compensation for previous work done by the iqtā' holder for the government. The authorities exercised some influence over this vast land.

We do not know for sure, but it may be presumed that the authorities carried out certain irrigation programs. It may also be presumed that the authorities played an important role in the introduction and the diffusion of new crops in Syria. In this respect, the Hamdanids were leaders in Syria, they forced the farmers in their territories to grow, on a large scale, the newly introduced crops of cotton, rice and sesame. This was an agricultural revolution which affected the life of most farmers in northern Syria and the Jazīrah because the new crops required intensive labor and because the value of the yield of the new crops was much greater than the value of the yield of the old crops.[96]

The strong and direct involvement of the Hamdanids in agriculture was unusual in Syria during the period under discussion. There is some information which shows that other authorities also carried out some programs which had a direct influence on agriculture, but none of them were on as large a scale as those carried out by the Hamdanids. For example, the sources report that some governors forced part of the population to move from their place of residence and to settle in the areas of Tiberias and Ramlah. The reason was that these areas were depopulated and farmers were greatly needed there. The authorities provided the new settlers with very good conditions for working in agriculture.[97] A similar situation occurred after Atsiz occupied Damascus. He provided the farmers of the area with seeds, but he forced them to cultivate as much as possible of the land.[98]

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We have seen that the Saljuq authorities in Aleppo, sold, for very low prices, many villages to farmers in the years 1109 and 1113. The reason was not only that the authorities needed the money, but also wanted the farmers to stay and cultivate this land instead of migrating.[99]

The involvement of the authorities in agricultural affairs was not always constructive. Sometimes, especially during war times, armies destroyed the crops of their enemies. Aleppo, according to the sources, used to possess a vast area which was planted with trees. These sources report that each time the Ikhshidids, Hamdanids, and Byzantines besieged the city they cut down the trees in this area.[100] The cutting down of trees around the besieged cities was a practice which was used during all periods, up until the 20th century, and it was carried out in all areas of Syria.[101] The reason for this action is to weaken their besieged enemy economically and psychologically, for when farmers see that their trees, their main source of revenue, are being cut down, their resistance is weakened. They become more willing to hand the city over to the besieging army, in order to save their fruit trees.

The cutting down of trees is not an easy task; therefore, it may be expected that the number of trees which were cut down each time, was not great. If this action, however, was repeated many times, as was the case in Aleppo, it could become a serious problem. A less devastating and easier action to perform, was the destruction of the cereal crops. This was performed by the attacking army who allowed their animals to graze in the cultivated land. By so doing, the attacking army did not completely destroy the crops of their enemy, and the yield which was affected was the yield of that year only. The destruction of crops by the grazing of the enemy's animals was used more often than the cutting down of fruit trees.[102] On one occasion, the attackers wanted to completely destroy the cereal crops of their enemy; they, therefore, not only allowed their animals to graze in the cultivated land, but also systematically ploughed under the crops growing on the land.[103] We should remember, however, that this action required great time and effort and, therefore, was very rare.

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Conclusion

Agriculture in Syria depended on rainfall rather than on irrigation and river floods, as was the case in Egypt and Iraq; therefore, Syrian agricultural yield fiuctuated more from one year to another, than it did in the latter two countries. For the same reason, however, Syrian yield was less affected by disruptions and wars than these two countries. For example, if the water of the Nile in Egypt did not rise to 16 dhirā' or more, the agricultural yield in this country was greatly affected, and if the water did not rise to 14 dhirā', most of the farmers in Egypt could not cultivate their land. In Syria, on the other hand, a great part of the farmers could still cultivate their land even when the amount of rain was less than half of its annual average. In Iraq there were many irrigation systems and any damage to these systems could affect the agricultural yield. We know from the historical sources that these systems were subject to destruction during war, which broke out frequently. The Syrian irrigation systems were few in number, and were usually small in size. Therefore, any damage to some of these systems could not affect greatly the agricultural yield of the country.

It is evident that the limit of the cultivated area retreated in some places, especially in the areas of Gaza and Ḥims. We also know that new land in the cultivated region was put under cultivation; for example, in the area of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. In other areas, especially on the coast and in the depressions, some land became intensively cultivated. We may surmise that although the limit of the cultivated land retreated, the annual agricultural yield increased greatly during the period under discussion. The retreat took place in the areas adjacent to the desert, which were not very productive, while the new land which was put under cultivation, was highly productive. The introduction of the new crops into Syria played an important role in the increase of the agricultural yield of the country. The areas which were planted with the new crops became highly productive, since most of them needed capital and were labor intensive. The value of the yield of the new crops was also higher than that of the traditional crops.

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It is important to note here that the coastal area was cultivated extensively during the period under discussion. This is important because this area had been depopulated at the beginning of the Muslim era. Many of the new crops which needed intensive labor were also growing here. These facts lead us to believe that the population in this area increased continuously from the beginning of the Islamic era until the end of the 11th century. This trend also continued during the Crusader period. The density of the population here, toward the end of the 11th century, was as high as in the rest of the inhabited area in Syria. The fact that a big part of the land here was used for the growing of the new crops leads us to believe that there was a greater concentration of big landlords and more wage laborers working in agriculture in the coastal area, than in other areas.

Most of the Syrian farmers owned the land which they cultivated, and were free men, not serfs. The farmers were not owned by anyone and generally speaking, they were not bound to the land. They could choose to grow any crop they wished. This freedom, however, was limited because if a farmer chose not to cultivate his land, he was still bound to pay the land tax which, in most cases, was imposed on the land, rather than the yield. The freedom of leaving the land or migrating was also indirectly restricted since the land tax was usually imposed on the whole village and not on individuals. Therefore, when one of the farmers migrated, the rest of the farmers were forced to pay his share of the tax. The freedom of the farmers in northern Syria was more limited, and many of them did not own the land they cultivated. It is also likely that they paid higher taxes than the farmers in the rest of the country.

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CHAPTER 3

CRAFTS AND INDUSTRY

Crafts and industry, though less important in the economy during the Middle Ages than now; played a significant role. After agriculture, crafts and industry was the leading sector of the economy of Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries. The people who were engaged in these occupations were mainly city dwellers, while the people who were engaged in agriculture were village dwellers. However, there were some villagers who also worked in crafts and industry, and some city dwellers in agriculture. Agriculture, and crafts and industry complemented each other. An improvement of the production of one of them could initiate improvement of the other, and the decline of one generally led to the decline of the other.

During the period under discussion a great improvement in agriculture took place. A similar improvement also occurred in the crafts and industry sector of the economy. New industries were introduced into Syria as well as into other Middle Eastern countries. It is also likely that an improvement in and expansion of the old crafts took place during this period. However, it is difficult to prove this, since there is a lack of information on the subject.

Raw Materials and Mining

The only metallic raw material that Syria had during the 10 - 11th centuries, or at least the only one mentioned by the sources, was iron. The iron mines were in Aleppo, Amman and especially in the mountains around Beirut. The latter two mines are ancient and were put under production tens of centuries before the Islamic period.[1] Al-Idrīsī writes about the mine in Beirut: "And close to it (Beirut) there is a mountain which has a high quality iron mine. A large amount of iron is extracted from it and is exported to all of Syria."[2]

In Al-Idrīsī's time Beirut and the mine were in the hands of the Crusaders. This mine was also under production during the period under discussion and in later periods. Its output continued to be great, and part of it was even exported to Egypt.[3] It is not clear from the sources whether the mines of Amman and Aleppo were under production. Concerning the mine in the area of Aleppo it is more likely that it was under production during the later periods. Even if these two mines were under production it is likely that their output was very small.[4]

This iron was smelted locally, especially in Damascus, where an iron foundry (masbak ḥadīd) is mentioned by Ibn 'Asākir.[5] Aleppo also had iron foundries. Concerning this subject Ibn Shadād reports that Aleppo used to pay, at the beginning of the 13th century, 5,000 dirhams in taxes on foundries (masābik), and 50,000 dirhams on iron. This iron was either mined in the area of Aleppo itself or was imported from the Jazīrah, which was an iron exporting area. The assumption that there were iron foundries in Aleppo is supported by another report by Yāqūt. He says that there was a special clay (ṭīn) in Jabal al-Bishr (see the map in the introduction) which was used mainly in the making of melting pots which were used in the process of casting iron (al-bawātīq allatī yusbaku fīhā al ḥadīd).[6] It is likely that this kind of clay was sent to Aleppo and perhaps also to Damascus. We do not know whether there were other foundries in Syria. Although it is very likely, we do not know if the foundries of Damascus and Aleppo were under production during the 10 - 11th centuries, since our information comes from the 13th century.

Copper, as well as iron, was used in the crafts of Syria during the period under discussion but we do not know whether this copper was imported or mined in Syria itself. In ancient times there were copper mines in Lebanon and southern Palestine.[7] If there was copper production in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries, it was on a very small scale.

The nonmetallic natural resources were the basic raw materials which were used in the Syrian crafts and industry. The basic materials for cons-

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truction in Syria were dirt and stones. The former was widely used, while the latter was used in the cities for the construction of public and important buildings and houses for the wealthy. In the houses of the very rich and in important public buildings marble was also used. Some marble quarries existed in Syria during the period under discussion. Al-Ya'qūbī mentions that when the caliph, Al-Mu'taṣim wanted to build the city Sāmarrā' he commanded the governors of the provinces in his empire to send craftsmen to help him. He also ordered the establishment of marble quarries in Lādhiqiyah and other places. This quarry was still under production in the 14th century.[8] In ancient times there was a marble quarry in Antioch[9] which may have still been under production during this period.

Another and more important marble quarry was in Bayt Jibrīn[10] (south of Ramlah and east of Gaza). Nāṣir Khusraw, who visited the area in 1047 says about the marble in Ramlah and the marble quarry in Bayt Jibrīn: "In the city of Ramlah there is marble plenty, and most of the buildings and private houses are of this material; and, further, the surface thereof they do most beautifully sculpture and ornament. They cut the marble here with a toothless saw, which is worked with 'Makkah sand'. They saw the marble not in the cross, but in the length -- as is the case with wood -- to form the columns; they cut it into slabs. The marbles that I saw here were of all colours, some variegated, some green, red, black and white."[11]

It could be that there were other marble quarries,[12] but the ones in Lādhiqiyah and Bayt Jibrīn were the most important.

Syria had a special sand which was used in the manufacturing of glass. This was located in the coastal area, in Tyre and Acre, and also in Jabal al-Bishr. The sand in the coastal area had been used since ancient times. The sand in Jabal al-Bishr was sent to Aleppo, where it was used in manufacturing glass.[13]

A less precious, but widely used, raw material was a type of dirt or soft rock which was used in the coloring of houses. The most famous of this

type of soft rock was what Al-Maqdisī called "ḥawwārah" -- white soft rock. Another kind, used less frequently, was a reddish kind of soft rock. The usage of the first kind was widespread, and it is still prevalent in many places.[14]

The area of the Dead Sea had important raw materials which were used locally or exported. The most important was asphalt or bitumen, which has been used since ancient times. Bishop Willibald, who visited the holy land in 724, calls it rock oil. Ibn Khurdādhbih says it is pitch (qīr) which is called asphalt (ḥummar or qafr al-Yahūd). The other Arabic geographic sources also call it ḥummar or qafr al-Yahūd, and they say that it was used, especially in Filasṭīn, to prevent diseases which struck certain agricultural crops.[15]

Al-Maqdisī does not mention the asphalt (ḥummar), but he says, "And in the depressions (aghwār) there are mines (ma'ādin) of sulfur (kibrīt) and other like minerals, including salt (milḥ manthūr)".[16] Ibn Khurdādhbih was probably referring to the same mineral when he said, "And salt was recovered from the Dead Sea . . . which was used by the jewelers (Ṣāghah)".[17] It is likely that these two medieval geographers meant, when they used the word milḥ (salt), many minerals and not only salt because we know today that the waters of the Dead Sea and its surrounding area contains, in addition to salt, sodium chloride, calcium sulphate, potassium chloride and magnesium bromide.[18]

Salt was also recovered in great quantities in Jabbūl, in the area of Aleppo. About the recovery of salt here, Ibn al-Shiḥnah says: "And about the river of gold, it flows from the side of Buzā'ah gate (east of Aleppo) . . . until it pours its waters in Jabbūl swamps. Here the water is collected by the inhabitants of Jabbūl and other neighboring villages in salt-flats (masākib). Then it (the water) congeals . . . and the salt becomes white like snow . . . Its quality is extremely high . . . Every year, it is sold for large amounts of money . . . Some people told me that this river was called the river of gold because . . . people grow cereal and fruit crops along its

streams . . . and at the end of the stream the salt is recovered."[19] Even today this place is still productive.[20]

Ibn Shaddād (13th century) found that the tax which was collected in Aleppo on salt was 350,000 dirhams.[21] It is likely that this is the same salt mentioned by Ibn al-Shiḥnah, because in Yāqūt's time (1225) a large amount of salt was recovered here. He remarks that: "Jabbūl . . . is a big village. Close to it lies the mallāḥah (the salt-flats) of Aleppo. In Jabbūl the river Buṭnān, which is also called the river of gold, ends and there the salt is recovered. It supplies salt to most of Syria and part of the Jazīrah. It is rented (the right to collect taxes on this salt) for 120,000 dirhams annually."[22]

In Syria there are many mineral springs which were used not only for therapeutic reasons but also for industry. Their water was used to remove the hair from the skin of animals,[23] a vital stage in the process of making leather. The most famous mineral springs were those in Tiberias, and al-Ḥammah (south of Tiberias) and in the district of Qinnasrīn there were at least five springs.[24]

Agricultural products also constituted a very important raw material for crafts and industries. They constituted the basic raw material for the new industries of sugar and paper. The old industries and crafts including textiles also depended heavily on agricultural crops.

Crafts

The Arabic word, ṣinā'ah, was usually used by the Arab authors of the Middle Ages to indicate crafts. The current meaning of this word is industry. Today the word ḥirfah is used more often to indicate crafts. The usage of this latter term to indicate crafts is not totally modern, since it was sometimes used during the Middle Ages.[25] According to the medieval authors, the cities which used to have ṣinā'ah were: Aleppo, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Ba'labak, Tyre, Tiberias, Ramlah and Jerusalem.[26] However, there were many other cities and even villages not mentioned by the sources, which had

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ṣinā'ah. The sources only mentioned the most important centers of crafts.

Syria, in general, was famous because of its crafts and craftsmen. We know about many incidents in history in which Syrian craftsmen were taken to other countries, such as Iraq, Arabia, Central Asia (by Timur Lenk) and Istanbul (by the Ottomans) to help in building new cities or specific buildings. Syrians were very skillful, especially in matters related to construction. Al-Maqdisī, who came from Jerusalem, was almost never impressed by the construction of buildings he saw in the many places that he visited. In Shīrāz he made fun of the way people cut the stones which were used for building houses. It becomes clear to us from Al-Maqdisī's discussion with the builders of Shīrāz that the latter admitted that the Syrians were very skillful.[27]

Although the quantity of metal needed in the crafts was very small, it was very important. As we have seen, Syria produced more iron than it needed for local use. It may be presumed that Syria imported all of its copper, lead, tin, gold, silver, and other metals.[28] Gold and silver were basically used in the making of jewelry and coins and the less expensive metals in making a wide range of tools.

There are few sources which mention silversmiths and jewelers. We know, however, that the silversmiths used to have their own area (sūq) in what we may call the commercial center of the city.[29] Jewelry was made only in the major cities, and not in the villages. The minting of coins also existed only in important cities.

During Bezantine rule, Antioch was the only place in the country which minted gold coins, while during the first centuries of the Muslim era there were more than 25 towns minting copper coins (fulūs -- the least valuable coin). Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads, minted almost all of the gold coins (dīnārs -- the most valuable coin) of the Muslim Empire. It also minted silver coins (dirhams). Most of the important towns continued to mint copper coins and some of them began minting silver and gold coins during the first half of the 10th century, namely: Ramlah, Tiberias, Acre, Damascus, Tyre, Tripoli,

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Ḥims, Aleppo, Ṭarsūs, Antioch, Raqqah, Ḥarrān and Naṣībīn.[30]

Iron was used in the making of many things, among them swords. In ancient times swords were produced in Damascus, Buṣrā and Ma'āb. During the period under discussion and in later periods, a fine quality of steel was produced in Damascus; its steel was mainly used for the famous and excellent Damascene swords (the word Damascene, for sword, is found in English), which were in demand in Syria and in many countries.[31]

Damascus also produced great quantities of brass vessels and many other metal works which was famous even in Europe. Most of this production was sold locally, and part exported.[32] In addition to Damascus, Jerusalem is the only city which is mentioned by the geographers of the 10th century as having had some kind of metal crafts. Al-Maqdisī says that it produced needles and lamp-jars.[33] Aleppo, without a doubt, was one of the most important cities which produced many metal items. It is likely that all important towns in Syria produced many kinds of items either totally or partially made of metal.

Our information about the basic items which were made of clay, wood and leather is even less than that about products made of metal. For example, the only reference which I found about the making of pottery is by Abū al-Fidā'. He says that Kafar Ṭāb was (in 1321) an important center of pottery production.[34] It is very likely that this craft was widespread in Syria during the Middle Ages, as it still is today. We may make this assumption because the making of pottery is the oldest craft in Syria.[35] It is based on a cheap raw material, clay, which was, and still is, available everywhere. Its production was very simple and there was always a great demand for it. The pottery products were mainly kitchen utensils, water containers, and other large containers for storing things.

Wood was also used in the making of a great variety of items, including tools used in agriculture and for other functions in daily life, houses, ships, factories, and mechanical devices, kitchen utensils, fine artistic

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articles, and decoration. Here again we do not have information about the making of these items, but we know that wood used to be sold in special markets (areas) in Damascus and Aleppo.[36]

Leather was less important than the aforementioned raw materials. It was used especially in shoe making, book binding, saddles and a great variety of things related to clothes and furniture. It is likely that this craft was widespread in all the cities and among the Bedouins. Damascus and Aleppo are the only cities which are mentioned by the sources as having this kind of craft.[37]

The sources, especially the geographical sources, were not interested in the most common and widespread crafts. They were more interested in the unusual crafts and the important industries. This was also true of agricultural crops. Seldom did they mention the dominant crops such as wheat, barley and lentils; but they did mention the new crops which were relatively unusual, and important crops, part of its yield was exported. However, the names of the markets in the cities, the descriptions of the different cities from later periods, and the archaeological remains indicate that the above mentioned crafts were the basic crafts which existed in most towns and cities.[38]

The sources show that the members of each craft were usually located in one area of the town. In many cases that area was given a name which was related to the occupation of the members of each craft, such as ṣāghah (goldsmiths), dabbāghīn (tanners), zajjājīn (glaziers), ḥaddādīn (blacksmiths), najjārīn (carpenters), and many others. This does not necessarily mean that all members of each craft in the same city were located in the same area. It also does not mean that there were no members of other crafts located in areas which were not named after their craft.[39] Goitein, using the Geniza documents, says: "Members of one craft normally were concentrated in one locality. As far as the Geniza is concerned, this may be concluded from the many names of bazaars, streets, lanes, squares, and compounds . . . named after one or

another group, such as clothiers, tailors, perfumers, coopersmiths, turners, chestmakes, woolworkers, manufacturers of leather bottles, makers of almond sweet-meats, oil-makers, and so on, or bearing the names of products such as silk, cotton, or milk, or of occupations such as spinning. Many of these names of localities in Fustat are known to us also from the excellent works of Muslim geographers and antiquarians, others are not. For other Islamic cities, such as Damascus, we possess similar data. It is, however, doubtful, whether at the time of our records most of these localities were actually occupied exclusively by the crafts after which they were called. Clearly, there was no coercion in this respect."[40]

Some Important Crafts and New Industries

Glass: In the ancient period Tyre and Sidon were the main centers in Syria for manufacturing glass. Tyre continued to produce glass in later periods and during the period under discussion it was still the leading city in the country for this craft. Its products were of a high quality and were in demand in many countries. The main manufacturers of glass were the Jews who continued, even during the Crusader period, to control the craft in this city.[41] A report by William of Tyre attests to the importance of this town in the glass industry in Syria and to the high quality of its glass. He says: "A very fine quality of glass, also, is marvellously manufactured out of sand which is found in this same plain. This is carried to far distant places and easily surpasses all products of the kind. It offers a material suitable for making most beautiful vases which are famous for their transparency. In this way, also, the fame of the city is spread abroad among foreign peoples and the profit of the merchants is increased manifold."[42]

The other cities which were the main manufacturers of glass during the 10 - 11th centuries were Beirut, Jerusalem and Aleppo. According to Al-Maqdisī, Jerusalem also produced mirrors. Perhaps we should add Hebron to this list of towns, because it was a major producer of glass in later periods, and a great part of its production was exported to Egypt. Hebron is

still a major glass producing town in the area. During the period under discussion Syria, in addition to Egypt and Iraq, was a very important center of glass manufacturing in the Muslim world. The quality of its glass was very high. To quote Lombard: "These extremely high-quality glasses from Egypt, Syria or Iraq, coloured, gilded, enamelled, turned, and engraved, were exported to China, from which was imported porcelain in return. During the Crusades the warriors from the West pilfered Syrian coloured glasses in the belief that they were cut from precious stones, while the Venetians imported from Tyre all the pieces of broken glass, all the misshapen bits, so as to melt them down. This was the origin of the glass industry in Venice -- Murano glassware."[43]

Textiles: Textiles were the most important and widespread industry in the Middle East during the Middle Ages. Textiles were viewed by the people of the Middle Ages differently from today. For them, textiles were very valuable and to own a fine piece of cloth was considered a good investment which could be passed from one generation to another. The ruling dynasties always owned a great quantity of textiles which were transferred from one ruler to another. Ibn Taghrībirdī tells us that the Fatimid rulers of Egypt sold more than 80,000 items of clothing during the famine of the late 1060's, because they needed the money. Part of this used to be owned by the Abbasid caliphs, but had been sold by the Buwahids in 990, and in later periods.[44]

Textiles were viewed and used as money. The rulers and the governors used to send each other clothes in addition to other precious items, as gifts. Clothes were also given as gifts to the high officials, especially when appointed to high ranking positions. They were often included in agreements between rulers, and victorious rulers imposed on their enemies fines which included, among other things, the payment of clothes.[45] This is not surprising because the clothes which were made at that time were very strong and could survive for many decades and were very expensive. Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that the value of one piece of clothing could reach as much as 200 dīnārs if it was embroidered

with gold and even if it was not, its price could still be 100 dīnārs,[46] which was a large sum of money (see Chapter 6).

The literary sources are not the only ones that reveal the importance of textiles. Using the Geniza records, Goitein says: "Textiles in those times were more durable and more expensive than they are nowadays and they seem to have been more variegated in fabric, color and provenience than ours. Fantastic prices were paid for single selected pieces . . . Clothing formed part -- sometimes a considerable part -- of a family's investment, being transmitted from parents to children, to be converted into cash in case of an emergency. The furniture of a house consisted mostly of various types of carpets, couches, cushions, canopies and draperies -- objects produced mainly by the textile industry. All this explains why the latter was of such paramount importance."[47] It goes without saying that not every piece of clothing was as expensive as those mentioned above. The average person wore much cheaper clothing, the price of which did not reach one dinar. However, even the cheap clothing was relatively expensive if we compare its price with the annual income of the average person (see Chapter 6). The most expensive clothing was made of silk, embroidered with gold, while the cheapest was made of flax and wool.

During the period under discussion, Egypt was the center of the textile industry. All Muslim geographers of the 10 - 12th centuries praise the Egyptian textile industry. Many cities in this country were famous as textile producers but the most celebrated of these were Tinnīs, Dimyāṭ, Dabīq and Alexandria. Not only was Egypt's production enormous in volume; many types of its textiles were considered to be the highest quality in the world during that time.[48]

Syrian production was not on the same scale as Egyptian. Syria was especially famous for its silk products. This was not a traditional industry in Syria; it began after silkworms were smuggled from China and introduced into Byzantium and northern and coastal Syria during the 6th century A.D.[49]

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The raising of silkworms and the production of silk in Syria improved greatly during the first four centuries of the Muslim era and became widespread. During the 10 - 11th centuries Syria produced a very high quality silk which was in demand in many countries. Damascus was the leading center during the 10th century, and continued to be so for many centuries to come. Al-Idrīsī describes its silk products as follows: "The manufacture of the Damascus brocade is a wonderful art. It somewhat resembles the best of the brocades of the Greeks, and is like to the cloths of Dastawā (in Persia), and rivals the work of Ispahan, being preferred for workmanship to the broideries of Nishāpūr for the beauty of the unvariegated raw-silk woof. Further, the Damascus work is better than the best of the (Egyptian) cloths from Tinnīs, and the embroideries of Damascus take the prize of the most precious of stuffs, and of all beautiful things. You cannot equal them in any sort, nor set to them their like."[50] The silk of Damascus was very well known and highly valued in Europe during the Crusader period. The word "damask" in Europe came to mean a fine silk from the Levant.[51]

The other cities mentioned by the sources as silk producing centers are Manbij and 'Asqalān. The silk of 'Asqalān, according to Al-Maqdisī, was of a very high quality (fā'iq).[52] It may be presumed that there were other cities which produced silk, because the sources give the impression that Syria was producing great quantities of it. These were probably Palestinian and Lebanese cities, in addition to Aleppo.[53]

We have seen that cotton was introduced into Syria and became widespread in the 9 - 11th centuries. The sources do not tell us which cities were producing this kind of textile, but without a doubt, many Syrian cities, in the north as well as in Palestine, were producing cloth made of cotton. We also know that cotton was exported as a raw material.[54]

It is likely that the making of textiles made of wool was also widespread in Syria. As we have seen in the previous chapter, sheep raising was the occupation of many Syrians, whether nomads or sedentary. In other words,

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wool was more available to the Syrians than any other raw material used in the textile industry. However, the sources say little about this industry.

Textiles made of flax were the specialty of Egypt, where flax grew on a large scale. Perhaps some flax also grew in Syria, especially in the depression area. We know that flax, as a raw material, was imported to Syria from Egypt. 'Asqalān was the center of the imported flax, and it was also the main center of this industry in Syria. It may be presumed that other cities also produced cloth made of flax.[55]

Sometimes the sources mention places which were textile producing centers, without specifying the raw material which was used in that industry. For example, Tiberias produced "bazz" which was perhaps made of cotton and other raw materials. Qadas produced clothes (thiyāb) called al-Munayyirah and al-Bal'īsiyah. This town also produced ropes, which perhaps were made of flax. Aleppo made clothes (thiyāb). Ramlah produced, according to Al-Maqdisī, the best veils in the Muslim world.[56] Jerusalem and Tyre made yarn and clothes.[57] Ba'labak produced clothes in later periods.[58]

We do not know if Ḥims was an important center in the textile industry during the period under discussion, but we know that in a later period it was the leading city in Syria in this industry. Ibn al-Shiḥnah writes that it produced a large amount of cloth (qumāsh) of different kinds. The quality and price of its products were fantastic. It was second only to Alexandria, in all the Middle East and in front of San'ā' in Yemen.[59] In a later period Aleppo also became a very important center in textile production; its specialty was silk. The sources tell us that already by the beginning of the 13th century it paid 80,000 dirhams in taxes on silk and an equal amount on dyeing the silk products.[60]

In the Middle Ages people favored clothes with many colors. Goitein describes the importance of the dyeing industry of this period: "The high degree of specialization and division of labor . . . was particularly conspicuous in the dyeing industry. This was due to the enormous variety of colors,

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favored in those times . . . While men today are normally satisfied with various shades of gray, brown, blue, black and white, the medieval man . . . liked, in addition to these colors, green, red, and intense yellow, and above all, intricate nuances with all kinds of 'glitter,' 'gloss,' iridescence, stripes, waves and patterns. Needless to say, the fair sex did not lag behind in this respect, although the colorful fabrics were displayed within the four walls of a house or the 'Turkish' bath, rather than in public. The carpets, couches, and drapery decorating the rooms showed the same variety in coloring and treatment as clothing."[61]

Goitein also found that more than a quarter of the total cost of the manufacturing of cloth was spent on dyeing and "the price of the coloring matter was more than four times as much as the wages for the dyers".[62] Many of these colors were made from agricultural crops, such as saffron, sumac and especially indigo, which grew in Syria. In addition to these crops, Syria had other natural resources which were used for the preparation of colors for dyeing purposes.[63]

The amount of textiles which were produced in Syria must have been great because Syria had most of the raw materials needed for this industry. The sources also reveal that many Syrian cities produced textiles and exported part of their products. Ibn Ḥawqal reports that the Ḥamdanids confiscated, in less than three months, two big caravans which had Syrian products which were being sent to the east. The two main products which were carried by these two caravans were textiles (bazz) and olive oil. The value of the confiscated merchandise, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, was one million dinars, a figure which leads us to believe that the value of the Syrian exported textiles was enormous.[64]

Most of the Syrian textiles exported were silk and cotton textiles, in other words, the most expensive textiles. The quality of Syrian textiles must have been good, because they successfully competed with the fine products of Spain, Tunisia, Egypt, Cyprus, Byzantium, Yemen, Iraq and Persia. Syria was also an importer of textiles, especially cheaper cloth made of flax, from Egypt.[65]

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Before leaving this subject it is important to mention that the authorities used to own textile factories. The products of these factories were known as ṭirāz. They were given as robes of honor (khil'ah) by the rulers to the people whom they wished to honor. The robes of honor generally bore an inscription, which was usually woven in silk, giving the name of the ruler, the place, and the year of production. The ṭirāz (the state-owned textile factories or their products) was considered by the rulers to be very important because of its important political ramifications. Therefore, the authorities usually appointed a trusted official of high rank, called "ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz", to supervise this industry.[66] We do not know whether production in the ṭirāz factories was on a large scale, and we also do not know what proportion of the Syrian textile industry was run by the state. We do know, however, that there were state-owned factories in Damascus. It seems that the most skilled laborers were employed in these factories, and sometimes they were forced to do so by the authorities.[67]

Sugar: The sugar industry was introduced into the Middle Eastern countries, including Syria, in the 9 - 10th centuries. We have seen (in the previous chapter) that sugar cane, the main raw material in the sugar industry, grew in many places in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries. However, the coastal area and the Jordan Valley were the main centers for the growing of this crop.[68] The Sugar factories, or refineries (maṭbakhs), were also located in these two areas. The most important refineries during the period under discussion were in Kābūl (east of Acre) where an excellent quality of sugar was refined,[69] in Tripoli,[70] and in the town of Maraqiyah (between Tripoli and Lādhiqiyah). Al-Idrīsī comments: "The town of Maraqiyah is uninhabited. Its inhabitants left it and went to the mountain because they were afraid of the Crusaders (Faranj). Today it is empty and its houses and buildings are still standing. Also, the sugar factory (mi'ṣarat al-Sukkar), which is located outside of the town on the eastern side, is still standing."[71]

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The sugar industry differed greatly from the other industires and crafts of the Middle Ages. The former, was a labor and money intensive industry. Each refinery was worth well over 1000 dinars and each must have employed a great number of laborers. On the other hand, the other industries and crafts were carried out in modest workshops, in what we may call the commercial area of the towns, or in the houses of the craftsmen. The size of each workshop, the number of the employed laborers, and the capital invested in each workshop was modest.[72]

Because each sugar factory needed a large investment, only rich people and the ruling class owned such factories. This was the case during the period under discussion and in later periods. However, during the second half of the Mamluk period, the ruling class, especially the sultans themselves, became more and more interested in this industry and owned a greater part of the sugar refineries. Wealthy people continued to play an important role in this industry, even during the second half of the Mamluk period. There were some Egyptian families who owned as many as four factories. Rich families were also interested in the growing of the sugar cane. For example, the family, Banū Fudayl used to plant as much as 1,500 faddāns (one faddān equals about one acre) each year.[73]

Writing on the nature of the sugar industry, Ashtor says: "Certainly the methods of refining the sugar juice were the result of long and patient experiments in the sugar plants, which were run by rich industrialists. The sugar industry in Egypt and Syria under the Fatimids had indeed a capitalist character. The complicated methods of refining the juice of the sugar cane could only be employed in big factories."[74]

Al-Nuwayrī's description of sugar refining reveals that not all sugar factories used the same methods. The most important and interesting difference between Egyptian and Syrian factories was that the pressing process of sugar cane in Egypt was achieved by turning the threshing wheels by means of cows (and possibly other animals), while in Syria "Some of it (the sugar cane) was

pressed by water mills and some of it was pressed by wheels turned by cows and some of it was pressed by 'sihām'" (the meaning of this word is not clear).[75]

The growing of sugar cane and the sugar industry continued to spread and improve until, during the 13 - 14th centuries, it reached its peak in Syria and Egypt. Ashtor estimates the value of the refined sugar exported from Syria and Egypt to Europe, at the end of the 14th century, at 30,000 - 50,000 dinars annually.[76] The value of the sugar exported from these countries to other countries should have been equal to this figure. Perhaps the Syrian share of this export was only worth 20,000 dinars annually and it was less than this during the period under discussion. This shows that sugar was not a very important item in the Syrian export of the 10 - 11th centuries. However, this industry was important because it was a new industry, employed many people, and supplied the Syrian demand for sugar.

Paper: Another industry which was introduced and expanded in the Middle East during the first centuries of the Muslim era was paper. This industry, which expanded westward from China, was already present in the Middle Eastern countries at the end of the 8th century. Since the 9 - 10th centuries, paper became the most important, if not the only, writing material in the Muslim world.[77]

Paper, as well as sugar, was manufactured in impressive factories and was mass produced. Soon after its introduction into the Muslim world, different kinds of paper, of different qualities and colors, were manufactured. It appears that paper was initially produced in the Muslim world by the government and in later periods big industrialists became the main manufacturers.[78]

Syria was one of the paper manufacturing countries in the Middle East. Large quantities of paper were manufactured in Damascus,[79] Tiberias,[80] Tripoli[81] and in later periods in Ḥamāh.[82] The quality of Syrian paper was one of the best in all of the Muslim world. Nāṣir Khusraw describes the paper of Tripoli as being "as beautiful as the paper of Samarqand, even better".[83] This description is very interesting because paper in the Muslim world was first manufactured in, and expanded from, Samarqand, which continued to produce paper of

a fine quality.[84] The paper of Tripoli must have been excellent in order to have been described as being better than the paper manufactured in Samarqand. This is further supported by the fact that the commentator, Nāṣir Khusraw, had visited many countries, including Iraq, where the best paper was manufactured.[85] Paper from Damascus was also valuable and in demand. This is what Goitein has to say about this product: ". . . very great quantities were imported to Egypt from Damascus, the latter brand being the one most in demand, particularly during the eleventh century. One letter speaks of 28 camel loads (almost 14,000 pounds) of paper bearing the 'alama, or trademark, of one Ibn al-Imam of Damascus, for which the very high sum of 250 dinars was deposited as earnest money (The mere transport of which cost 157.5 dinars). At the same time, this trader sent to the very same Cairene firm twenty bales, . . . of Damascene paper, by sea via Tyre and shortly afterward or before, another ten."[86]

The previous quotation shows, among other things, that a considerable amount of Syrian paper was exported. We may presume that Syria exported to other firms or institutions in Egypt and also to other countries. Syria continued to export paper to Egypt and to other countries, in later periods, and the quality of its paper continued to be excellent. Al-Qalqashandī (d. 1417) grades it second after Iraqi paper, but better than the Egyptian, North African, and European paper.[87]

Shipbuilding: In Syria, unlike in Egypt, Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries, wood, the main raw material in building ships, was available. During the 11th century Haifa, which was a small town, was an important center for shipbuilding. Nāṣir Khusraw says about this industry in Haifa, "There are in this town shipbuilders, who build very large craft. The sea-going ships of this place are known under the name of Jūdī".[88]

At the beginning of the Umayyad period, Mu'āwiyah established dockyards in Acre. A few decades later the Umayyad caliph, Hisham, moved the arsenal from Acre to Tyre and built magazines and docks in the latter city. This industry was still flourishing in Tyre in the time of the geographer

Al-Ya'qūbī (891), but we do not know if it also continued to flourish during the period under discussion.[89] It seems that these were the only military dockyards which were sponsored by the political authorities. Although Egypt lacked the main raw material, wood, the political authorities sponsored the establishment of a few important dockyards in this country. Therefore, it was the main shipbuilder among the Muslim countries in the Mediterranean area.[90]

It may be presumed that individual industrialists in Syria and Egypt were also engaged in shipbuilding. These ships or boats must have been small in size and perhaps were used in commerce rather than in military campaigns. The existence of this private industry in Syria is likely for the following reasons. The raw material was available. There was a great demand for ships and small boats in Syria, as well as in Egypt, especially during the Fatimid period. The needed manpower was available in the many flourishing, populous Syrian coastal cities.

Soap: The raw material for the manufacturing of soap was olive oil. We have seen in the previous chapter that Syria was the main area in the Middle East for the growing of olive trees. Olive trees grew in all Syrian districts, especially in Filasṭīn, Galilee, and Jabal al-Summāq. Therefore, Syria produced a great amount of olives and olive oil. The manufacturing of soap did not lag behind the production of olive oil.[91]

During the 10th century Filasṭīn was the main producer of soap, but it is not clear which city in Filasṭīn was making this product.[92] The sources from later periods indicate that Nābulus was always the center of this industry, and even today it is famous for its soap made of olive oil. Al-Dimashqī (1300) says about this industry in Nābulus: "From the oil they make also soap of a fine quality, which is exported to all lands and to the Islands of the Mediterranian."[93]

The sources mention other cities which used to manufacture soap of a fine quality; for example, Bālis, Aleppo, and Sarmīn. The soap which was produced in Aleppo is described by Ibn al-Shiḥnah (d. 1485) as the best soap.

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He also says that this product was exported to Byzantium (actually to the Balkans-mamālik al-Rūm), the Jazīrah, and to Iraq.[94] We do not know whether Sarmīn (north of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān) was an important center of soap production during the period under discussion, but we know that it produced a colored and fine quality soap in a later period. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who visited this town in 1355, says about this industry: "It is a fine small town, where soap-making is much practiced. The Brick Soap (al-Ṣābūn al-Ājurrī) is exported from hence to Damascus, and even to Cairo; also their perfumed soap for washing the hands: this they make coloured, red and yellow."[95]

Wine: Like olive trees, grapes grew in Syria on a large scale and in all districts of the country. Wine, which was made from grapes, was a Syrian product since ancient times.[96] The old Arab poets, especially those of the pre-Islamic period, praise Syrian wine, especially that produced in Filasṭīn, Baysān, Bayt Ra's (in north modern Jordan) and in Beirut.[97]

The geographical sources do not mention the production of wine in Syria, as well as in other Muslim countries. The reason for this is that wine, or "Khamrah" in Arabic, is a forbidden drink in Islam. We know, however, that the non-Muslims in the country, who constituted a large minority in Syria, not only drank wine but also produced it. The Christian monasteries were the main, but not the only, centers for its production. The historical sources reveal that Muslim rulers used to go to drink wine in these monasteries. Among the Muslims, in addition to the rulers, there were many others, especially soldiers, who used to drink wine. This industry, however, declined gradually after the Muslim conquest.[98]

Rose Water: This product was less important than the previous ones and its production and value was limited. It is likely that rose water was manufactured in a few places in Syria, but the most important of them was the Ghūṭah, in general, and al-Mazzah (a village in the Ghūṭah), in particular. The rose water of al-Mazzah was exported to many countries, including India and China.[99]

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This product was very important because, it was used not only as a simple drink, but also as a medicine. Therefore, there was a great demand for it during plagues and other epidemics.[100]

Mechanical Devices

We will discuss here the mechanical devices which were widely used -- namely the mill, waterwheel and press.

Mills (Arḥā' or Tawāḥīn): Some of these mills were watermills or mills which were operated by river streams. The best medieval description of such watermills is by Ibn Ḥawqal, who says: "Al-Mawṣil has maṭāḥin (mills) called al-'Arūb, which are fixed in the middle of the Tigris River. There are hardly any mills similar to them in the whole world, because they are fixed in the middle of the water with iron chains. In every 'arbah (mills) there are two stones. Each one of them grinds 50 camel loads (wiqr) per day. These 'arbahs are built with wood and iron and without stones and gypsum. In al-Ḥadīthah there are some mills also fixed in the middle of the Tigris River . . . Their revenue is almost 50,000 dinars (annually)."[101]

Watermills were widespread in the Middle East, including Syria, and were not, as Ashtor believes, "very rare in that period (the 10th century)".[102] The following list of watermills in Syria indicates that this technique was not rarely used in the area: In Antioch there were a few watermills.[103] One mill was in a village called 'Imm (between Aleppo and Antioch).[104] Another one was located south of Aleppo.[105] On the streams of the Quwayq river there were many north and south of Aleppo.[106] When the Muslims occupied Syria there were a few in Ba'labak, which continued to exist in later periods.[107] Another two are mentioned in the area of Shayzar,[108] and some were in the area of 'Irqah.[109] In Wādī Mūsā it is possible that there was more than one.[110] In Amman there were some[111] and there were others in Jarash (north of Amman).[112] It could be that many watermills were located north of Ramlah, where a famous battle, called the battle of ṭawāḥīn (mills) took place between the Tulunid

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and the Abbasid armies in 884.[113] In Damascus there were many, Ibn 'Asākir lists three inside the walls of the city and another eight in its suburbs (arbād).[114]

In some cases special canals were dug to bring water to operate such mills. For example, a special canal, which was two cubits in width and one in depth, was dug to bring water to operate a watermill which was located south of Aleppo.[115] The buildings which housed the watermills were always large. The stones which were used in these mills were usually expensive black volcanic stones. The price of one of these stones could be as high as 50 dinars,[116] and the revenue from the watermills could be very impressive. We have seen that the revenue from the watermills in Mawsil was 50,000 dinars. That from the mills in Baghdad, according to Al-Ya'qūbī, was as much as 100,000,000 dirhams, annually.[117] In Syria, the sources tell us that a man in the area of Antioch became very rich by renting the right to collect taxes on mills from the Hamdanid authorities. This man, Al-Ahwāzī, spent a large amount of money, which he earned from the taxes on the mills, on supporting an uprising against Sayf al-Dawlah in 965.[118]

There were also mills which were operated by means other than river streams. In Hebron, where a large amount of grain was ground for daily public consumption, oxe and mules were used.[119] We should also assume that smaller and manual mills were also used, especially for family use and in the countryside.

In the late 16th century, Syrians paid a special tax called "rasm tāhūn" (tax on mills) to the Ottoman authorities. Abdulfattah and Hütteroth say about this tax: 'The 'rasm tahun' is paid according to the number of millstones and the possibility of working all the year round or only seasonally . . . Hand-driven mills were not taxed."[120] During that time 80 villages, south of Tyre, Bānyās, and Damascus, paid this tax -- 20 villages in Galilee, 38 in the Hawrān area and 22 in Jordan.[121] It is not clear how many of these were watermills. In a survey of Palestine which was carried

out in the late 19th century, it was found that 137 places had names starting with the word ṭāḥūnah or ṭawāḥīn (mill(s)).[122] It is likely that there was once a mill (or mills) in each of these places.

We should assume that during the 10 - 11th centuries, both the northern and southern parts of Syria had many mills. Large watermills existed along the river streams, especially in areas of high population density. In mountainous areas, such as Hebron, where streams were not available, animals and other means were used to operate these mills.

The sources did not mention any windmills in Syria, therefore, it is likely that there were no such mills in this country although they were known in other Muslim countries such as Iran.[123]

Waterwheels (Nā'ūrah, Dūlāb and Sāqiyah): Waterwheels were used to raise water from lower streams or canals to higher canals for irrigation or for other purposes.[124] The "nā'ūrah" was operated by the water current, whereas the "dūlāb" or "sāqiyah" were operated by animals. The nā'ūrahs were not a new phenomenon in the Middle East, as they had been in use since ancient times.[125] They were not used in the southern part of Syria but they were used extensively in the north. The streams of the Orontes and Euphrates Rivers are deep and therefore this device was appropriate. In the southern part, however, simpler and less expensive instruments could function efficiently.[126]

It is not clear how widespread nā'ūrahs were outside of the area of the Orontes River. The medieval writers mention only a few of them in other areas of Syria. For example, one nā'ūrah was used in Damascus.[127] There are a few villages in Syria called nā'ūrah, not only in the northern part of the country, but also in other parts, including Palestine.[128] It is likely that these villages were given this name because nā'ūrahs existed there; they are located outside of the area of the Orontes River.

At the beginning of the 20th century there were 7,349 nā'ūrahs or other similar devices in Syrian Arab Republic. Most of them were located in

the northern part of the country. Others were located in the south, ten of which were in Damascus.[129]

In Syria, as in other places in the Middle East, there were other devices to raise water from rivers or canals. The dūlāb (wheel) or sāqiyah, or what was called maḥālah in Egypt, was another type of waterwheel. "They had pots of wood or clay and were thrown into gear by means of a horizontal wheel turned by camels or other animals,"[130] and sometimes even by human beings.[131]

Press (mi'ṣarah): It may be presumed that olive oil presses (mi'ṣarat zayt) were the most common type of presses in Syria during the Middle Ages. It is surprising how little information we find in the Arabic sources of the Middle Ages concerning this kind of oil press. The only reference I found about such presses came from Ibn 'Asākir, who mentions one press in Damascus.[132] It is difficult to believe that oil presses were rare in Syria, since this country was producing and even exporting a large amount of olives and olive oil.

Evidence from the late 16th century proves the existence of many oil presses in this country. Abdulfattah and Hutteroth say about the tax paid on oil presses: "This term (ma'sara=press, oil press) only appears under villages which cultivate the olive. There are, however, many villages which cultivate olives but have no rasm ma'sara (the tax on oil presses). The rasm ma'sara was fixed according to the number of mill stones. In several cases, the number of stones, mentioned as bab -- 'piece' (literally 'door'), is given together with a sum of money which gives a relation of 12 aqja to one bab. In cases where the number of bab is not mentioned, the amount is always a multiple of 12. This may consequently be taken as the rate of taxation."[133]

It is clear from the previous quotation that each village paying the "oil press tax," had a press. A total of 228 villages in Palestine and Jordan paid this tax -- 95 villages in the area of Nābulus (Samaria), 88 in the area of Ṣafad (Galilee), 18 in Jordan, 10 in the area of Ḥawrān, 2 in the area of

Jerusalem and another 15 villages in the coastal area between Haifa and Gaza.[134] We should also assume that another large number of villages and towns in the northern part of Syria had oil presses. There is no reason not to believe that a similar number of oil presses existed in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries.

Ibn 'Asākir mentions another press in Damascus, which he calls mi'sarat al-shayraj.[135] This press extracted oil from sesame. I did not find any other references to similar presses, but it is possible that there were others.

We have also seen that there were presses in Syria that were used in the crushing of the sugar cane. Many of these presses were operated by river streams.[136] Unlike other presses, these were part of the sugar factory and not housed in a separate building.

Conclusion

Although there is a paucity of information about the traditional crafts in Syria, we may presume that this sector witnessed improvement and expansion during the period under discussion. This expansion took place because the demand for the traditional crafts increased during this period, especially since the population of the country grew. An indication of this expansion can be seen in the increase in the urban population, who were the main craftsmen. If we take into consideration the period from the beginning of the Islamic era until the end of the 11th century we find that the rate of increase in the urban population was higher than that in the total population.[137] We also have to keep in mind that the number of people (city dwellers) who were employed in administrative jobs in Syria during the Fatimid period was probably less than during the Umayyad period when Syria was the center of a vast empire. In other words, the percentage of the city dwellers who were engaged in crafts probably rose. Because the absolute number of people who were involved in traditional crafts and industry grew greatly, it may be presumed that the production also increased on the same scale.

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New industries and crafts, namely paper, sugar, silk and others, were introduced into Syria during this period. The value of these new industries was not negligible; on the contrary, they played an important role in the Syrian economy. Syrian production of these items not only satisfied local consumption, but part of it was exported. The products of the new industries which were exported, may possibly have made up one-third of the value of the Syrian industrial and craft export. In other words, the export of the new items was very important for the balance of foreign trade. These industries also provided hundreds of jobs for wage laborers.

Here again we find that the coastal area was the main site for the new industries, as it was the main area for the growing of the new crops. In addition to the traditional crafts, the coastal towns were the centers of the paper, sugar, textile, glass and iron mining industries, shipbuilding and marble quarries. A quick look at these industries reveals that all of them required great capital and were labor intensive, and each one of these factories or businesses employed a relatively large number of wage laborers. It is evident that the concentration of the wage laborers in the coastal towns, whether they were working in agriculture, industry, or loading and unloading ships, was higher than any other place in the country. We have seen in the previous chapter that big landlords played an important role in agriculture in this area, and now it is clear that wealthy men or big industrialists played a very important role in its industry.

The value of the total Syrian craft or industrial production was undoubtedly much less than the total value of the agricultural production. The number of people who were employed in this sector was also much less than that of those engaged in agriculture. However, the annual production of this sector was more stable than the agricultural production.

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CHAPTER 4

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

In Chapters two and three I discussed the goods-producing sectors of the economy -- namely agriculture, and crafts and industry. In this chapter and the following one I will discuss two subjects -- transportation and trade, which constitute an important part of the service sector of the economy. Although the number of Syrians who worked in the service sector of the Syrian economy during the 10 - 11th centuries was small in relation to the total labor force, the service sector played a very important role in the economy of this country. Transportation and trade greatly influenced the goods-producing sectors. Usually, the development of trade and transportation initiates, or at least encourages, a similar development in agriculture and industry and vice-versa -- their decline could leade to a decline in agriculture and industry. The development of trade depended, in its turn, on transportation.

The Muslim medieval geographers realized the importance of transportation for trade, politics and religion. Therefore, they discussed the road system in the Muslim world of their time. Some of the geographers, such as Al-Maqdisī, wrote, at the end of every description of each district, an account of the road system of that district. Others, such as Al-Idrīsī, included the description of roads in the description of the district. For a few of them, like Ibn Khurdādhbih, the description of the road system is one of the most important subjects of their book.

In spite of the fact that most of these geographers tell us that they are describing distances (masāfāt) between cities, we should understand that they are describing the road system (ṭuruq) connecting the cities. Some geographers clearly specify that they are describing roads, and their description agrees with that of other geographers who specify that they are describing distances. The latter geographers sometimes mention the word road (ṭarīq) under the title "distances" (masāfāt). Therefore, the word "distance" meant, for the medieval Muslim geographers, the length of the road.[1]

The Main Highways in Syria

The physical structure of Syria plays an important role in determining the location of the routes in this area. As we have seen, Syria is divided into four strips running parallel to each other: 1) the coastal plains, which extend from Iskandarūnah in the north to Gaza in the south, 2) the mountains of Amanus, Bahrā', Lebanon, Galilee, and the mountains of Samaria and Judea, and the Negev, 3) the plains and depression of the Orontes, Līṭānī and the Jordan Rivers, 4) the hills and mountains of Jabal al-Summāq, the anti-Lebanon, Hermon, 'Ajlūn and Ma'āb mountains. To the east of these strips there is the Samāwah (Syrian) Desert which extends to Iraq. There are a few plains areas which connect the coastal plains with the interior plains and depressions, such as the one in the area of Antioch, the plains between Ḥimṣ and 'Irqah, the Līṭānī valley, and the Yisrael plain between Acre and Baysān.

During the 10 - 11th centuries the most important highways in Syria were those which ran parallel to the geographical structures of the country, from north to south, rather than from east to west.

The main highway in Syria connected the capitals of the districts (junds). It started in Aleppo in the north and passed through Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Tiberias and reached Ramlah in the south. This highway was located on the western border of the Samāwah Desert until it reached Damascus, then passed through the mountains and plains to reach the coastal plains, where it continued to Egypt. This main highway split in two in Ḥimṣ and reunited in Damascus. The western branch, which started in Ḥimṣ, ran along the Orontes River, reaching Ba'labak and after that ran parallel to the Baradā River until it arrived in Damascus. The eastern, or desert road, started in Ḥimṣ and passed through Qārah, al-Nabq al-Quṭayyifah and reached Damascus.[2]

Another important highway parallel to but less important than the first one, was the coastal highway. It started in Antioch in the north and passed through the following cities: Lādhiqiyah, Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, Acre, Cesarea, Jaffa, 'Asqalān and reached Gaza in the south.[3]

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A short highway connected Ḥims with Tiberias without passing through Damascus. This was located in the depression and the plains of the Orontes, Līṭānī and Jordan Rivers. It passed through the towns of Ba'labak, 'Ayn al-Jarr, al-Qar'ūn, al-'Uyūn and Jub Yūsuf and from there reached Tiberias.[4]

Another short highway, which extended from north to south and connected Raqqah on the Euphrates with Ḥims, was the desert highway. It was very important because it was a short way from Iraq and al-Jazīrah to Damascus. It passed through al-Rusāfah, al-Zarrā'ah, al-Qastal, Salamiyah and ended in Ḥims.[5]

A shorter, but less important, highway existed between Raqqah and Damascus. It started in Raqqah and passed through the settlements of al-Rusāfah, Baṭlāmiyah, al-'Udhayb, Nihyā, al-Qaryatayn, al-Jarūd and terminated in Damascus.[6]

A major highway connected Damascus with the agricultural districts of al-Bathaniyyah, Ḥawrān, and al-Balqā'. It was also the pilgrimage highway from Syria. It started in Damascus and passed through al-Kuswah, al-Ṣanamayn, Adhri'āt, al-Zarqā', Amman and Ma'ān.[7] (See Appendix 3).

These were the main highways in Syria which ran from north to south. There were other highways, from east to west, connecting the main inland cities with the coastal cities. In the north there was a highway connecting Ḥarrān and al-Jazīrah with northern Syria and with the frontier (thughūr) area. It started in Ḥarrān and passed through Jisr Manbij, Manbij, Qurus, Bayyās, al-Miṣṣīṣah, Adhanah and reached Tarsūs.[8]

South of this highway was another, connecting Iraq and al-Jazīrah with northern Syria and the sea. It started in Raqqah in the east and passed through Bālis, Aleppo, al-Athārib, Antioch, and from there split, with one road to Iskandarūnah in the north and one to Lādhiqiyah in the south.[9]

Ḥims was connected with Anṭarṭūs on the coast by a major highway.[10]

Damascus, the most important city in Syria, was connected with all of the major cities on the coast. The major highway between Damascus and the sea connected it with Beirut.[11] The one which connected it with Tripoli, passing

through Zabadānī and Ba'labak, was also very important.[12] A third highway existed between Damascus and Sidon and passed through 'Ayn al-Jarr and Mashghara.[13] A fourth one connected it with Tyre through Bānyās.[14]

Tiberias was connected with the sea by two major highways, one reaching Acre[15] and the other reaching Tyre.[16]

Ramlah, the main city in southern Syria, was connected to the sea by many roads which reached Cesarea, Arsūf, Jaffa and 'Asqalān. However, the main highways emanating from it reached Azdūd and Rafaḥ.[17] From Ramlah there was another important highway to the desert in the east. It passed through Jerusalem, Jericho and terminated in Amman.[18] A less important road was between Ramlah in the west and Zughar in the southeast, passing through Hebron and Qāmūs.[19]

These were the main land highways and roads in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries. There were many other roads (see for example the area of Ramlah in map 7, Appendix 3) which were not mentioned by the medieval sources because they were not important, and which connected the Syrian towns and villages with each other and with the major cities in the country.

The Main Highways Which Connected Syria with its Neighboring Countries

During the period under discussion, Syria constituted a vital transit area between the eastern and western provinces and states of the Muslim world. The pilgrimage highway of many of the Muslim peoples also passed through it.

There were many highways which connected Iraq with Syria, but the most important one started in Baghdad and ran parallel to the Euphrates River, passing through Hīt, Raḥbah and ending in Raqqah.[20] From Raqqah, as we have seen, there were three highways leading to Syria; one to Aleppo, the second to Ḥims, and the third and least important to Damascus.

The main highway from the Jazīrah area to Syria started in al-Mawṣil and passed through Naṣībīn, Ra's al-'Ayn, Ḥarrān, Manbij and from there reached Aleppo.[21]

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The important highway leading to northern Syria from the frontier area of al-Jazīrah (al-Thughūr al-Jazriyah) started in Shimshāṭ in the north and passed through the cities of Sumaysāṭ, and Manbij and terminated in Aleppo.[22] From the Syrian frontiers (al-Thughūr al-Shāmiyah) there were two main highways leading to Antioch. The first started in Malaṭyah and passed through Mar'ash.[23] The second started in Tarsūs in the northwest and passed through Adhanah, al-Miṣṣiṣah, Bayyās, Iskandarūnah and reached Antioch.[24]

There were many routes which connected Syria with Byzantium, but the two most frequently used were: the highway which connected Antioch with Constantinople and which passed through Tarsūs and Konya; and the highway which connected Malaṭyah with Constantinople and which passed through Ankara (see Appendix 3, map 14).[25]

There were other roads which crossed the Samāwah Desert in an east-west direction, connecting western Syria, the populated area, with Iraq by a series of shorter roads. One road connected Kūfah with Amman and Adhri'āt. A second road originated in Hīt in the east and terminated in Damascus or Adhri'āt in the west. A third began in Raḥbah in the east and ended in Damascus in the west. A fourth started in Baṣrah in the east and passed through Qurh, in Wādī al-Qurā, reaching Egypt through Aylah.[26] As mentioned above, other roads existed between Raqqah and Damascus and Raqqah and Ḥimṣ (see Appendix 3, map 14).

There was one major highway connecting Syria with Egypt. It started in Gaza and split in two branches in Al-'Arīsh: The coastal road and another parallel to it, a few miles into the Sinai penninsula. Both roads met in al-Faramā and from there extended to the main cities of Egypt (see Appendix 3, map 14).[27]

There were many pilgrimage highways from Syria to Ḥijāz, but the main one was the Tabūk highway which started in Damascus and ran through Adhri'āt, Amman, Ma'ān, Tabūk, al-Madīnah (or from Tabūk to Taymā' and then to al-Madīnah) and from al-Madīnah to Makkah.[28] A second Syrian pilgrimage highway, the Taymā' highway, started in Amman and passed through Taymā' and reached al-Madīnah.[29] The third one, the al-Nabk highway, also began in Amman and reached al-Nabk, in

the southeast, and from there went south until Taymā' where it joined the Taymā' highway to al-Madīnah.[30] The fourth one, the Raqqah pilgrimage highway, originated in Raqqah in northern Syria and crossed the Samāwah Desert and ran southward until al-Madīnah and Makkah. It is possible that this highway passed through al-Azraq, al-Nabk and Taymā'.[31] The latter two highways were used almost exclusively by the Bedouins of the Samāwah Desert.[32]

A major pilgrimage highway passed through the southern corner of the Syrian territory. This was the Egyptian and North African pilgrimage highway. It started in al-Qulzum and traversed the Sinai Desert to Aylah (al-'Aqabah), then it turned southward and passed along the coast until it arrived at Yanbu'. From Yanbu' it extended to the holy cities of al-Madīnah and Makkah. It was connected with the Tabūk pilgrimage highway by a road which passed through Shaghb.[33] Another pilgrimage highway was the Filasṭīnian one which existed between Ramlah and Aylah. In Aylah the Filasṭīnian pilgrims used the Egyptian pilgrimage highway to the south.[34] A less important pilgrimage road existed from Zughar and joined the Egyptian and Filasṭīnian highway in Aylah.[35] The pilgrimage highways were not used only for pilgrimage purposes; they were also used for other purposes, especially for commerce.

The sources do not mention anything related to the nature of the roads, whether they were paved or only tracks. It may be presumed that they were only tracks because there is no reason for us to think otherwise especially because carriages, which were widely used during the Roman period, were out of use during the period under discussion (this subject will be discussed later in this chapter). However, Sharon believes that the highways were paved during the Umayyad period and he claims that some caliphs made special efforts to repair them. He says: "Even before the building of the Dome, but particularly after it, Abd al-Malik bent his efforts to repairing and rebuilding the main highways traversing Palestine. . . . The highway between Jerusalem and Damascus was repaired and new roads were built. Four milestones dating from the reign of Abd al-Malik, which were discovered near Jerusalem, testify to the policy of the Caliph concerning

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the building of roads in the country. A fifth stone, found in the Sea of Galilee in 1962, bears an inscription that tells of the cutting and paving of the road that led from Damascus to Palestine and passed to the south of the Sea of Galilee, near the village of Sinnabra."[36]

It is hard to believe that the highways in Syria were paved during this period as Sharon suggests, but if some of them were so, then it is likely that this was the case only during the Umayyad period.

Sea Routes

Syria made good use of its location on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean throughout its history. In certain periods it even had the leading commercial and military navy in this sea. During the period under discussion, Syria was not the leading sea power in the Mediterranean, but it played an important role in its commercial and military activities.

Tripoli, Tyre, Acre, 'Asqalān and Lādhiqiyah were the leading Mediterranean ports in Syria. Other ports, such as Suwaydā' (west of Antioch), Jabalah, Jubayl, Beirut, Sidon, Hiafa, Cesarea, Jaffa and Gaza were also important.[37]

The main sea route was between the Syrian ports (particularly Tripoli and Tyre) and Egypt. The main Egyptian ports which were visited by ships coming from Syria were al-Faramā, Tinnīs, Alexandria and Cairo.[38] Cairo, connected with the Mediterranean Sea by the Nile, was described as the largest city in the Muslim world and the most commercially active. Al-Maqdisī says about its port: "I was one day walking along the bank of the river, and wondering at the great number of ships at anchor or under way when a man accosted me, saying, 'Of what country art thou?' I replied, 'I am from the Holy City.' He then said, 'It is a large city, but I tell thee, my friend (may God preserve thy honour), that of vessels along this shore and the ones which already sailed . . . if they sail to your native town they would carry all of its inhabitants, its . . . stones, and the wood thereof, so that one should say, there was once a city here'."[39] It is likely that a large proportion of this enormous number of boats were Syrian or were used frequently to sail to Syria.

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Syria was connected directly with the western Muslim countries of North Africa, Spain and Sicily by sea routes. Tripoli, in particular, played a major role in the shipping business between Syria and these countries. Nāṣir Khusraw reports: "The city (Tripoli), too, is a place of customs, where all ships that come from the coasts of the Greeks, and the Franks, and from Andalusia, and the Western lands (called Maghrib), have to pay a tithe to the Sultan, which sums are employed for providing the rations of the garrison. The Sultan also has ships of his own here, which sail to Byzantium, and Sicily, and the West, to carry merchandise." However, most of the ships which sailed to or from Syria to the west docked in Egypt.[40]

There were direct routes between the Syrian ports, especially Tyre and Cyprus. According to Al-Maqdisī, Cyprus exported large quantities of merchandise to Syria. He estimated the distance between Syria and this island as one day and night sailing.[41] This relation between Syria and Cyprus probably continued even after the Byzantine occupation of the island in 966.

Sea routes also existed between Syria, especially between Tripoli, Lādhiqiyah and Antioch and Byzantium. Antioch was directly connected with the Byzantine ports, especially during the Byzantine occupation of the city.[42]

Western Europe was also connected with the Syrian ports by sea routes. The Italian city states of Venice, Amalfi and to a certain degree Genoa were the most active among the Europeans in seafaring to the Muslim countries. The Venetian export of European timber, iron and arms to the Muslim countries was already very extensive during the second half of the 10th century. Amalfi was engaged in trade with Byzantium and the Fatimids of Egypt and Syria. Genoa started trading with the Levant since the middle of the 11th century. Their trade with Antioch was particularly active, and they had special rights in the Fatimid territories. This connection between Western Europe and Syria increased during the 11th century and reached its peak during the Crusader occupation. Although there is information which shows that Muslim ships sailed to the Byzantine and European ports, Europeans were generally the ones to come to the Muslim and Byzantine

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territories. In some cases, the Europeans traded between Byzantium and the Muslim countries and even between one Muslim port and another.[43]

The southern border of Syria reached the northern corner of the Red Sea. Aylah, which was located on the Red Sea, was considered a Syrian town. From this port ships sailed to all Red Sea ports and the Indian Ocean.[44] Sailing to or from Aylah, however, was not an easy task in the period under discussion. A unique problem faced the sailors in the Tārān (sharm al-Shaykh) Strait, and in Jubylāt (in the same area). In the Tārān Strait a whirlpool was easily created when wind blew from certain directions, especially from the south. In Jubaylāt great waves were formed as a result of even a weak wind. Almost all boats caught in this whirlpool were destroyed and their crews drowned. For this reason the Aylah ('Aqabah) Gulf (between Tārān and Aylah) was not used for sailing from Aylah in the morning or going towards it in the evening.[45] This explains why a remote port like Qulzum was used for exporting Syrian products to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean countries, and importing from them goods to Syria.[46]

Sailing in the Red Sea, in general, was not an easy task. It needed very skillful and experienced sailors, because according to Ibn Ḥawqal: "In spite of the fact that it is a sea, it has many valleys and mountains which are covered by the water (of the sea). The ships' routes in it are fixed and cannot be found except by a sailor who directs the ship during the daytime between these mountains. During the nighttime (this sea) is not navigable. Its waters are extremely clear, and you can see the mountains through it."[47]

In spite of the fact that sailing in this sea was difficult, it was used extensively. Aden in the south was one of the greatest ports and trading centers in the Muslim world. There were many other important commercial ports on its coasts, such as Juddah and Yanbu'.[48]

The Euphrates River, which forms the eastern border of Syria, is suitable for navigation and was used for transportation. Ibn Khurdādhbih says that ships can sail in it from Sumaysāt in the north down to the Persian Gulf. Modern sources attest to this fact. They indicate that under favorable conditions, navigation in this river is possible from Erzincan (north of Sumaysāt) in the

north, down to the Persian Gulf.[49] Ships and boats sailing down from Syria could reach Baghdad, although this city was built on the Tigris River. This was possible because Baghdad was connected with the Euphrates River by a canal called Nahr 'Īsā. This canal, according to al-Ya'qūbī, was so wide and deep that "great ships which were coming from Raqqah and which were loaded with flour and goods from Syria and Egypt were sailing on it . . . during all seasons".[50] The convenience of transportation from Syria to Iraq by using the Euphrates stream for navigation was one of the reasons why the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr chose the area to be the site of his city, Baghdad.[51]

Because navigation in the Euphrates River was possible, this route was used extensively during some periods, in the transportation between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Ships used to sail in the Mediterranean from Egypt, North Africa, Western Europe, and Byzantium until Antioch. From there the merchandise was carried by caravans of animals to one of the ports on the Euphrates, especially to Jisr Manbij and Bālis; then it was transported by boat to Iraq or the Indian Ocean. This was also one of the routes that the Jewish merchants, called Rādhāniyah, used. Part of the Egyptian and Syrian export to Iraq and farther east was transported over this route.[52]

This route which connected the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean through the Euphrates was always competing with the other route which connected these two seas through al-Faramā-al-Qulzum land highway and the Red Sea route. Sometimes the latter was extremely important. Al-Mas'ūdī (during the first half of the 10th century) says: "The distance between al-Faramā, which is located on the Mediterranean, and al-Qulzum, which is located on the Chinese Sea (the Indian Ocean, which also includes the Red Sea), is one night's walk. People bring to al-Faramā merchandise from all the countries which surround these two seas. This merchandise includes all kinds of goods, uncommon commodities, works of art, perfume, spices, drugs, jewels, slaves, and many other kinds of commodities which are related to food, drink, and cloth. All countries carry merchandise to it."[53]

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These two routes, connecting the Far East with the Mediterranean countries were always used and during the same time. For one reason or the other, however, one route was used more than the other. During the period which preceded the coming of Islam the Red Sea route prevailed over the Euphrates route. During the Umayyad and especially during the Abbasid period, the Euphrates route became much more important. The Red Sea route resumed its importance once again when independent rulers ruled Egypt, especially during the Fatimid period. Although this latter route was more important during the period under discussion, the Euphrates route was also significant, especially since a great part of the Byzantine trade with the east shifted from Trabzon in the north to Antioch and Aleppo in the south. The importance of this route increased even more during the Crusader period.[54]

The local rivers in Syria are not suitable for navigation, but it is likely that portions of certain rivers, such as the Orontes, were used for transportation. The few lakes which existed in this country, such as Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, were used in local transportation, as were the Syrian Mediterranean ports.[55]

Land Highways or Sea Routes

In Syria itself transportation by sea played a small role. In international trade transportation by sea played a more important role. In this respect Goitein says: "People preferred to travel by water rather than overland. 'If, God forbid, I shall miss the boat, I shall travel (from Alexandria) to Tripoli (Libya) overland'. 'Cowrie shells,' writes a merchant from al-Mahdiyya, 'have no market here in the winter. They are traded only with people coming by sea during the summer. There is no one here who would travel by land'. The implication of these and similar statements is that normally, if one failed to get a passage by ship, one would rather wait for the next seafaring season than join a caravan. Wherever such an alternative existed, people traveled by sea, even for such short distances as Acre-Ramle (via Jaffa), Palestine, or Tyre-Tripoli, Lebanon, distances of less than a hundred miles."[56] Runciman, on the other

hand, implies that traveling overland was preferred by certain groups, and according to him it was cheaper. He says, "Most (European Christian) pilgrims . . . preferred to sail in an Italian ship to Constantinople . . . and then go on by land to Palestine. Land travel was always cheaper than sea travel".[57]

During the Middle Ages the Muslims introduced new inventions, such as the compass, kamal (predecessor of the sextant), and the lateen sail, to the Mediterranean area, which helped to improve sailing on the high seas. However, navigation continued to be dangerous and difficult. The sources reveal that ships and boats were frequently wrecked and were either partially or completely destroyed. They also reveal that passengers usually went through great distress and in many cases were obliged to work very hard to help save the ship and their lives. For example, Ibn Jubayr says about his own experience during his trip from Acre to Sicily: "and we were overlooking the city of Messina, the sudden cries of the sailors gave us the grievous knowledge that the ship had been driven by the force of the wind towards one of the shore lines and had struck it. At once the captain ordered that the sails be lowered, but the sail on the mast called the 'ardimun' (artimone) would not come down. All their efforts they exerted on it, but they could do naught with it, because of the strain of the wind. When they had laboured in vain, the captain cut it with a knife piece by piece, hoping to arrest the ship. During this attempt the ship stuck by its keel to the ground, touching it with its two rudders, the two shafts by which it steers. Dreadful cries were raised on the ship, and the Last Judgement had come; . . . the wind and the waves buffeted the ship until one of its rudders broke. The captain then threw out one of the anchors, hoping to take hold with it, but to no purpose. He cut its rope and left it in the sea. . . We, meanwhile, were gazing at the nearby shore in hesitance between throwing ourselves in to swim and awaiting, it might be, relief with the dawn from God."[58]

About the hard work which the passengers were forced to carry out during such times, a passenger from Alexandria to Tripoli says: "This is to inform you that I arrived safely (in Tripoli on the Lebanese coast) after a journey of eight

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days . . . Water seeped into the ship and I worked the pumps from the very day we left Alexandria. Each man had to bail fifty buckets of water in a shift, each bucket being the size of half a Byzantine barrel. Our turn came two or three times during a day and a night. Abu 'l-Faraj b. Joseph, the Spaniard, also took his turn. Thank God, we arrived safely. . ."[59]

Sailing in the Mediterranean Sea was not possible all year long because this sea was "closed" for sailing during the winter season. The weather conditions during the winter season made sailing very risky, for the small ships which were used in those days. The sailing season between North Africa and Italy from one side and Egypt and Syria from the other was as follows: Syrian and Egyptian ships sailed westward between April and May, and returned during August and September. The North African and Italian ships used to arrive in the east during June and July and sail back to the west during September and October.[60]

These two facts, namely the risk involved in sailing in general, and the restriction of sailing to the summer period, must have made sailing less attractive. Land transportation was possible almost all year long and there was almost no risk, similar to that of sailing on the high seas, involved in land transportation. In addition to this the departure of the ships was difficult to predict because ships, especially Muslim ships which were powered only by sail (European and Byzantine ships were usually powered by both oars and sails), depended greatly on the direction the wind was blowing. Ships used to wait for many days for a favorable wind, and often returned to their place of departure because shortly after their departure the wind began to blow from an unfavorable direction.[61]

Ibn Jubayr, for example, who left Acre by ship during the month of October in 1184, was forced to wait twelve days in Acre for an easterly wind. About this wind he says: "The blowing of the winds in these parts has a singular secret. It is that the east wind does not blow except in spring and autumn, and, save at those seasons, no voyages can be made and merchants will not bring their goods to Acre. The spring voyages begin in the middle of April when the east wind blows until the end of May . . . The autumn voyages are from the middle of

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October, when the east wind (again) sets in motion. It lasts a shorter time than in the spring . . . for it blows (only) fifteen days." After waiting for such a long time, Ibn Jubayr, along with others, awakened one morning and found that the ship had sailed, with their goods on board. At once, as Ibn Jubayr reports, they hired a large boat with four oars and put off to follow the ship, which they overtook in the evening.[62] What happened to Ibn Jubayr here indicates that the passenger not only may have had to wait for a long time, but there was still a possibility that he would miss the ship and even lose his goods.

Sometimes there was a lack of security on the high seas. The sources report from time to time that pirates attacked and robbed civilian ships. Some of these pirates were encouraged and supported by the Muslim or Christian political authorities and they were used as part of the Holy War against each other. Judging from the Geniza records, Goitein says: "For this reason we read so much about captives from Rum brought to Alexandria or Ramle . . . or, contrariwise, about Muslim merchantmen attacked by Italian or other European free-booters or Jewish captives from Egypt ransomed in Constantinople."[63] There were other pirates who were independent of any political entity and who attacked any ship, Christian or Muslim, they could find. The official fleets of the Christian and Muslim countries also waged an economic war against each other and they attacked each other's ships.[64] All of this information indicates that there was a great financial risk for the merchants, in transporting their merchandise by sea. In order to minimize this risk ships sailed in convoys and sometimes were escorted by some kind of military ships. The merchants also tried not to transport all their merchandise in one ship, but to divide it among many ships.[65]

If transportation by sea was so risky we may ask why many people and merchants still preferred to travel or transport their goods by sea, rather than overland. The answer lies in the difference in the expense and duration between sea and overland transportation.

The Cairo Geniza documents indicate that traveling or transporting goods overland was much more expensive than by sea. They reveal that one passenger

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who took the land route between Tripoli, Libya and Qābis, Tunisia was charged three dīnārs. A camel ride from Egypt to Damascus, including the cost of food, cost two dīnārs. The freight of transporting a camel load of paper, carried in a caravan (overland) from Damascus to Cairo was between five and six dīnārs. The freight of transporting one camel load of dried plums from Acre to Jaffa by sea and from Jaffa to Ramlah overland, was two dīnārs, and from Ramlah to Cairo overland was three dīnārs. On the other hand, the freight of transporting one bale (almost equal to a camel load) of textiles by sea from Cairo to Alexandria was approximately one dīnār. The freight of transporting the same bale by sea from Alexandria to Tunisia was a little over four dīnārs. Another bale of textiles which was sent from Tunisia to Egypt by sea cost even less than two dīnārs.[66]

It seems that the average freight of transporting one camel load of any merchandise, overland, between Damascus and Cairo was almost five and a half dīnārs. And the average cost of transporting the same weight of the same merchandise, but by sea, from Tunisia to Alexandria was almost four dīnārs. We should keep in mind that the distance between Tunisia and Alexandria is almost three and a half times the distance between Damascus and Cairo. Also we should mention here that by traveling by sea, the merchants could avoid passing through many customs stations which were scattered all along the land highways. By so doing the merchants saved a relatively large amount of money when they transported their goods by sea.

Time always played (and of course still plays) a very important role in life. This was especially true in the case of commerce. Concerning this subject, Udovitch says: "Medieval international commercial practice derived from one basic principle which can be simply summarized. Every merchant strove to acquire goods at a place where supply was abundant and prices low and to transport them to and sell them at a place where supply was low, demand strong and prices high. To implement this strategy successfully, it was important to move goods safely and quickly to their intended markets and, if at all possible, to offer them for sale ahead of other merchants, thus taking advantage of the demand at its height!"[67]

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The time needed for traveling from one place to another was more predictable in the case of traveling overland. The reason is that land travel depended mainly on the distance, while sailing depended on distance and the blowing of the wind. For example, Al-Maqdisī tells us that it took 25 to 60 days to sail the distance between Qulzum and Juddah. He says that the duration of the trip depended on the blowing of the wind.[68] Udovitch found that the duration of any single voyage could vary by as much as four or five times.[69] On the other hand, the duration of overland travel varied little.

The duration of some important land trips were as follows: From Jisr Manbij in the north to Rafaḥ in the south was 21 days.[70] From Aleppo to Mawṣil 16 days.[71] From Mawṣil to Baghdad eight days,[72] and from Rafaḥ to Cairo or Alexandria eight days.[73] Thus, from Baghdad to Damascus or to Cairo, via Mawṣil and Aleppo, was 34 and 51 days, respectively. From Alexandria to Barqah 21 days. From Barqah to Tripoli, Libya 17 days. From Tripoli, Libya to Qayrawān 9 days. Thus, from Alexandria to Qayrawān 47 days.[74] From Qayrawān to Fās, Morocco 80 days.[75] From Aylah, Syria to Madīnah, Arabia, 20 days and from Madīnah to Makkah 11 days. Thus, from Aylah to Makkah one month.[76] According to Al-Maqdisī, the time needed to travel the total length of the Muslim world, from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to Kashghar in the east, is ten months.[77]

When we compare these numbers with the time needed to travel similar distances by sea, we find that traveling by sea could be much faster. For example, the sources indicate that the duration of a voyage between Sicily or Tunisia and Egypt could be as little as 13 - 17 days, but the average time according to Goitein and Udovitch, who base their argument on the Geniza documents, was almost 25 days.[78] However, Ibn Jubayr reports that the ship he traveled in between Acre and Sicily, sailed this distance, which is almost equal to the distance between Alexandria and Sicily, in almost two months.[79] As we have seen, people were traveling this distance by land from Alexandria or from Damascus to Qayrawān in one and a half, and two months, respectively. In other words, the traveling speed overland was equal and even faster than the speed of the ship which carried Ibn Jubayr from Acre to Sicily.

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The equality in the speed of traveling by land or by sea is not unique to this voyage. We have seen that the duration of traveling overland between Aylah and Makkah is almost one month. The duration of the voyage between Qulzum and Juddah (almost the same distance), according to Al-Maqdisī, could be as little as 25 days and as much as 60 days.[80] This shows that traveling overland could be much faster than by sea,[81] but in general and in normal conditions, traveling by sea was at least twice as fast as by land.

Although traveling overland was also not always safe, and although the duration of the trip and the cost was more than by sea, many people still preferred to travel and to transport their goods overland, rather than by sea. The main reasons for this were that there was a greater risk involved in traveling by sea than overland and the departure time and duration of the trip were much more predictable in the case of traveling overland.

The writings of Al-Maqdisī support the assumption that Syrians preferred, during the 10th century, to travel by land and not by sea. He says: "They (the Byzantines) are the dread masters of it (the Mediterranean Sea) and possess, in common with the inhabitants of Isqilliyyah and al-Andalus, the most accurate knowledge of its description, limits and gulfs; since they are constantly journeying with the object of ravaging the countries on the opposite side; moreover their routes of travel to Egypt and Syria lie mainly across this sea. I passed a long time on ship-board in company of these men and used to question them closely with respect to it, and its peculiarities, and repeat to them what I had learned about it from hearsay. They very rarely differed in their descriptions of it. It is a difficult and tempestuous sea . . ."[82] This quotation shows that Byzantium, the enemy of the Muslim countries, was the master of the eastern side of the Mediterranean. It also reveals that the Syrians were not the leading experts on this sea, a fact which reveals that they did not take an important part in the transportation activities in it. This was the case during the 10th century but things changed during the 11th century when the Fatimids occupied Egypt and Syria. The Fatimid navy was strong enough to fight and defeat the Byzantine navy. Therefore, Muslim transportation by sea especially along the

costs of the Muslim countries flourished more than ever before.

In conclusion, we may say that it is very likely that transportation by sea was more important, during the 11th century, than transportation overland. Also it is likely that this was true during the previous century in the case of Egypt but it was not true in the case of Syria.

Communication and Mail Service

The political authorities and the merchants were the two main groups interested in mail service. The rest of the population used the mail service, but it was not vital to their way of life or to their occupations. The merchants and the political authorities each developed a system of mail service. As may be expected, the system which was developed by the political authorities, namely the "barīd," was much more organized than the system which was developed by the civilians.

Basically, the civilians sent their messages or letters with one of the merchants who was traveling to the city or the area to which the letter was addressed. There, the merchant himself delivered the letter to the addressee, or he gave it to a trusted person who made sure that the letter was delivered as soon as possible. Therefore, the routes which were used for the mail service were the same land and sea routes which were used for transportation.

In many cases the letter was given to a special courier, called "kutibī" in Syria (in North Africa called "fayj" and in Arabia called "ṣāḥib al-kutub"), who himself delivered it to the person to whom the letter was addressed, even if the distance between the sender and the addressee was great. These couriers did not always deliver only one letter on each trip; on the contrary, it may be presumed that they delivered many letters on each trip, and that they had a regular mail service from one place to another. The courier usually joined one of the caravans. It seems that they also developed a similar system to that of the barīd. In other words, they maintained horses, mules or camels in different stations along the route, but unlike in the barīd system, the same courier continued the trip all the way from the initial city to the city or cities to which the letters that he was carrying with him were addressed.[83]

The barīd system, which was well known in the Middle East before Islam, was the official service of both the mail service and intelligence. It was organized in such a way as to transmit letters or information as quickly as possible. Therefore, barīd stations were founded along the roads which were used especially for this purpose. In these stations men with horses, mules or camels were positioned to immediately carry messages or letters to the next station, and so on until these messages reached their destination. The agents of the government used the barīd routes and facilities when they traveled from one place to another. Political prisoners were also sent from one place to another by the barīd system.[84]

The routes of the barīd changed from time to time, but in general they were between the important cities. In Syria, in the beginning of the 10th century, the barīd routes were as follows: Two routes connected Syria with Iraq. The first was parallel to the Euphrates and the second reached al-Mawṣil in al-Jazīrah and passed through Nasībīn and met the first one in Raqqah. From Raqqah it continued to al-Naqīrah, Manbij, Aleppo, Qinnasrīn, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Jūsiyah, Ba'labak, Damascus, Dayr Ayyūb, Tiberias, Lajjūn, Ramlah, and from Ramlah to Egypt along the coastal area. Another barīd route in Syria connected this province with the frontier. It connected Aleppo with Tarsūs and passed through Antioch, Iskandarūnah, al-Maṣṣīṣah, and Adhanah. The coastal area of Syria was also connected with the barīd system, especially by the route between Tiberias and Tyre, (see Appendix 3, maps 1,2,7).[85]

We do not have information about the barīd routes in Syria during the Fatimid and Saljuq periods, but thanks to Al-Qalqashandī, we have a description of these routes during the Mamluk period. The striking difference between the barīd system in Syria during the Abbasid period and the Mamluk period is that during the latter it covered a much larger territory. Under the Mamluks the traditional barīd route between Aleppo, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Tiberias and Ramlah was still functioning, with some modifications in the route, especially in the southern part (see Appendix 3, map 13). The coastal area, and especially the

coastal and mountainous area between Tripoli and Ḥims on one side and Lādhiqiyah and Ṣihyawn on the other, was well covered by the Mamluk barīd system. Another new route ran between Karak in the south and Damascus in the north, through Husbān and Ṭafas; it continued to Ḥims through al-Qutayyifah and Qārah. Other important routes were between Damascus and Raḥbah, through Tadmur, and between Ḥims and Raqqah, through Salamiyah (see Appendix 3, map 13).[86]

The Muslims also used pigeons to carry messages or letters. This system was used during the Abbasid as well as the Fatimid and Mamluk periods.[87] Fulcher writes about the use of pigeons in Syria: "It is a custom of the Saracens (Muslims) who live in Palestine to transport from one city to another pigeons trained to carry letters back to the city which was recently home to them. These letters, written on paper tied to the feet of the pigeons, instruct the finder and reader about what is to be done after that."[88]

The Mamluks used pigeons extensively. In their sultanate the pigeon routes in Syria covered almost all of the country. These routes were the same barīd routes which the Mamluks used.[89]

During the 10th century, and most likely during other periods, there was another interesting way of sending signals between one place and another, especially when one place was being raided by the enemy. Al-Maqdisī describes this system which was functioning in Filasṭīn: "Along the sea-coast of the capital (Ar-Ramlah) are Watch-stations (Ribat), from which the summons to arms is given . . . At the stations whenever a Greek vessel appears, they give the alarm by lighting a beacon on the tower of the station if it be night, or, if it be day, by making a great smoke. From every Watch-station on the coast up to the capital (Ar-Ramlah) are built, at intervals, high towers, in each of which is stationed a company of men. As soon as they perceive the beacon on the tower of the coast Station, the men of the next tower above it kindle their own, and then on, one after another; so that hardly is an hour elapsed before the trumpets are sounding in the capital, and drums are beating from the city tower, calling the people down to that Watch-station by the sea; and they hurry out

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in force, with their arms, and the young men of the villages gather together.[90] It is likely that this system was used in other places, especially in the frontier and coastal areas.

Means of Transportation

The main, and almost the only means of transportation overland was by animals, especially camels and mules. Other animals, such as donkeys, horses and buffalos were also used, especially in local transportation. Mules were used in transporting goods in all areas, except over long distances in the desert; they were also preferred in the mountainous areas. Camels, on the other hand, were used especially over long distances and in the desert, but they were not suitable for transportation in mountainous areas.[91]

Transportation overland, like transportation by sea, was, for security reasons, occasionally organized in the form of caravans. There is also information which indicates that the great caravans were escorted by soldiers, who were provided by the political authorities. Individuals or groups of merchants or travelers also hired "armed" young men to escort and guide them in their traveling, especially when the caravan was small. The largest caravans were the seasonal (mawsim) caravans.[92] In other words, the caravans which used to depart one city and reach the other on almost the same dates each year.

The number of animals used in each of the seasonal caravans must have been in the hundreds. The Medieval sources mention almost no numbers related to this subject, but we may presume that the situation during the period under discussion did not differ greatly from that of the 19th century. Concerning the latter period Issawī writes: "Caravans varied greatly in size: in 1800 the annual Darfur caravan from the Sudan to Egypt averaged some 5,000 camels; around 1820 the Suez caravan had 500 camels and the Sennar caravan 500 to 600; in 1847 the Baghdad - Damascus caravan averaged 1,500 to 2,000 and the Damascus - Baghdad caravan 800 to 1,200, and there were 12 - 15 departures in either direction; in the 1870's on the Tabriz - Trabzon route, 15,000 pack animals made three round trips a year and carried 25,000 tons of merchandise. Since

"reasonable sized sailing ships of that period" carried 500 - 600 tons, the Tabriz - Trabzon caravan represented the equivalent of 7 or 8 ships each way. The volume of goods thus carried was relatively large, but the cost of transport was high . . . Moreover, camels and other pack animals were liable to be requisitioned by the government for military or other purposes."[93]

The Medieval sources indicate that wagons were not used during this period in the Middle East. Wagons, which were in use in this area in ancient times, ceased being used before the Islamic era.[94] Bishop Arculf, who visited Palestine in the year 700, reports: "Passing from Hebron towards the north, a hill of no great size is seen to the left, covered with fir-trees, about three miles from Hebron. Fir-wood for fuel is carried hence to Jerusalem on camels, for, as Arculf observed, carriage or wagons are very seldom met with throughout the whole of Judaea."[95] Almost four centuries later William of Tyre says, "The trees (in the area of Jerusalem) were cut down and transported by camels and wagons to the city."[96] It seems that these wagons were built for the special function and their use did not become widespread in the Crusader period. Actually, the sources indicate that there were wagons in many places, in Iraq, Jazīrah, Arabia, Egypt, Syria and others, but it is clear that they were rare and they played a small role in transportation.[97]

Transportation by sea was carried out by many kinds of ships and boats. It seems that the large commercial ships were always dependent on the wind as a source of locomotion. The small boats, and even the large military ships, had oars, but were also powered by the wind. Therefore, the latter were faster and the former riskier. Military vessels were also used as commercial ships, and commercial ones were also used as military ones. All ships were relatively small in size and each could transport only a few tons of goods.[98]

The Political Authorities and Transportation

The authorities were usually interested in keeping the routes and highways functional. Individual people, for economic or religious reasons, also tried to improve travel conditions. The public works which were carried out

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to facilitate transportation were: building bridges,[99] arranging for boats to help caravans cross rivers when bridges were not available[100] and building "khāns" (caravansaries), "funduqs" (hostels), or "ribāts" (military stations) along the highways for reasons such as helping the merchants and travelers to rest, sleep, trade and buy supplies for the next part of their trip. These khāns and ribāts provided security for the travelers, especially during the Ayyubid period.[101]

To help the travelers in their trips the authorities erected special signs in some areas along the overland routes. These special signs were erected in areas where it snows a lot each year[102] and in the desert,[103] because the snow or the sand in these places might cover the road and travelers could lose their way. The authorities also tried to supply the travelers in the desert with water, especially by digging and maintaining wells along the routes.[104]

Security on the highways was always the responsibility of the authorities. Security was generally provided by troops stationed in the major cities, in barīd stations, or in other locations. In the deserts certain tribes were paid to keep order and to provide security on the routes.[105] The Arabic historical sources of the Middle Ages praised in particular two Syrian governors from the period under discussion, who imposed strict order and security on the highways. The first was Bakjūr; first appointed by the Hamdanids as governor of Ḥims and later by the Fatimids as governor of Damascus. He provided security, especially in the area between Ḥims, Damascus, and Tripoli. Among the actions that he took in order to insure security was to build towers in the most vulnerable areas and to station troops in them.[106] The other governor was Qasīm al-Dawlah - Aq Sunqur - the Saljuq governor of Aleppo. Ibn al-'Adīm describes his policy as follows: "(He) managed the affairs of Aleppo well; his policy was fair, and (his government) commanded respect. He exterminated the highway robbers, pursuing bandits wherever they were found until they were eradicated. Consequently, Aleppo prospered in his days, as merchants and caravans began to arrive in the city from every direction. I was told by my father

that the troublesome elements (at the time) were so effectively rooted out that (Aqsunqur) had it proclaimed in the villages around Aleppo that no one was to lock his door, and that ploughing tools were to be left in the fields night and day."[107] These two governors were not the only ones who tried to provide security on the highways during the period under discussion, but they made greater efforts than others.

In the meanwhile, some authorities were interested in and tried to disrupt regular transportation and security in the regions of their enemies. In 1075 Ibn Qutalmish attacked and seized a caravan near Aleppo as revenge against the citizens of Aleppo who had fought against him earlier.[108] A few years later (in 1079) Tutush, the ruler of Damascus, attacked his rivals in Rafaniyah, where he found a great number of merchants and some caravans leaving for Tripoli. He attacked them, killed some of them and seized their property.[109]

Sometimes there were rivalries between dynasties, not only between local governors, which led to the disruption of regular transportation. Probably as a result of Fatimid political agitation against the Saljuqs, Khalaf Ibn Mulā'ib of Ḥims began to disrupt regular transportation between the coastal area and the inland cities. As a result of this action the Saljuq governors of Syria attacked Ḥims and occupied it. However, Ibn Mulā'ib succeeded in reaching Egypt and a few years later (1096) he returned to Afāmiyah. Then, "He took possession of it and resumed his outrageous behavior and his blocking of roads".[110]

The activities of rivals generally created, directly or indirectly, a lack of security which led to a disruption in transportation. Ibn Ḥawqal says that the highway between Aleppo and southern Syria moved eastward and passed through the desert " . . . because transportation on the main highway was disrupted as a result of the Byzantine (attacks on the area) and because of political instability".[111]

Hostile regimes did not always attack caravans and disrupt regular transportation in each other's territory. In most cases, the export - import

business was not affected by unfriendly political relations between dynasties. Transportation and trade took place in Syria between the Muslims and the Crusaders, even when their armies were fighting each other.[112] Transportation between Muslims in Syria and the Byzantines also took place throughout the period under discussion, even during times of war.[113]

Political hostilities between local regimes and between rival dynasties was not the only cause of disruption in the regular transportation. Bedouins also attacked and seized caravans.[114] Therefore, the authorities in Syria and the neighboring countries tried to keep order by supressing the Bedouins militarily or by paying the strong tribes money in exchange for keeping security in their territories. Paying money to the tribes was more successful and desirable than supressing them militarily. However, when payments did not reach the tribes in time, or were less than what the tribes had asked for, they not only rebelled against the regime, but also attacked and seized caravans and disrupted communications.

Pilgrims going to or coming from the holy places in Arabia were not given preferential treatment. On the contrary, the sources report frequent attacks on them.[115] Governors of areas located on the pilgrimage routes also attacked the pilgrims' caravans, sometimes for the same reasons. In the year 1093 the governor of Makkah himself attacked and seized the property of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrims (for security reasons Muslims from other places did not fulfill the pilgrimage duty during this year) because their payment to him was not satisfactory.[116]

Important Bedouin movements and activities took place during the second half of the 9th century and during the 10th century. The major tribes in this country rebelled frequently against the political authorities. The Qarmati forces which were made up of Bedouins also devastated the country and disrupted transportation throughout the desert. Bedouins in general, including the Qarmatis, used to retreat to the desert whenever they were defeated on the battlefield. In most cases the defeated Bedouins destroyed (sunk - aghāra) the water

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installations as they went to prevent the victorious army from following them.[117] The destruction of water sources in the desert, the most vital element for travel, obviously disrupted transportation in the area. Yet, Ibn Ḥawqal, writing in the middle of the 10th century says that all of the pilgrimage routes which passed through the desert and Bedouin territories were functioning, except the Raqqah route which was used only by Bedouins (see Appendix 3, maps 6 and 14).[118]

We have seen that the Fatimid occupation of Syria was not easy to achieve. It took the Fatimids one decade to stabilize their rule there. The Qarmatis and Arab tribes living in the Samāwah Desert and in southern Syria were a major force in the wars against the Fatimids during that decade. We may presume that as a result of the wars in that period (see Appendix 1) communications in the Samāwah Desert and in southern Syria, the scene of most of the battles, would have been destroyed. However, Al-Maqdisī, who wrote his book shortly after the Fatimid occupation of Syria, gives a different impression. Al-Maqdisī, who traveled in this desert and asked about it extensively, found that there were twelve highways passing through it. Nine of these highways were pilgrimage routes. One was from Egypt, five from Syria and three from Iraq. The other three highways crossed this desert from Iraq to Syria. In addition to the latter three highways, there was another one which started in Baṣrah and passed through the desert to the north of Madīnah and finally reached Egypt. These highways were not only used during Al-Maqdisī's time, but were also usually safe.[119]

Traveling on these desert highways was not always done in great caravans which were guarded by soldiers. Individuals traveled on them and fulfilled the pilgrimage duty, alone. Traveling alone was not necessarily less safe than traveling in groups, Al-Maqdisī himself traveled in this desert alone. He was able to find all of the necessary supplies, such as food and water, along the way.[120]

We should not exaggerate the safety of traveling in the Samāwah Desert or on the pilgrimage highways. Al-Maqdisī says that this area was inhabited

by many Arab tribes. Its highways were dangerous and its roads were not well known. In another place he says that this desert is great in size. Many Arab tribes inhabit it. They engage in highway robbery, but they shelter strangers, guide the lost people and guard the caravans. In general, it was impossible to travel on these highways without guards or troops (force=quwwah). He also says that although the pilgrims were escorted by a large number of soldiers they were ravaged and their camels and property were seized by the Bedouins.[121]

Al-Maqdisī does not tell us which pilgrims were attacked by the Bedouins -- those who came from the direction of Egypt and Syria, or those who came from the direction of Iraq. A quick look in the Arabic chronicles of the Middle Ages reveals that the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrims were attacked less than the Iraqi pilgrims. The Iraqi pilgrims were also prevented from fulfilling their duty of visiting the holy places more frequently than the Syrians and Egyptians.[122]

Conclusion

The geographical structure of Syria determined the direction of the major highways in the country. The highways which ran from north to south were far more important than the ones which ran from east to west. Another factor in determining the location of highways was the concentration of population and the commercial activities. During the 10 - 11th centuries commercial activities and high population concentration in Syria were located inland and in the capital cities such as Aleppo, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Tiberias and Ramlah. Therefore, it is not surprising that the main highway in Syria was the one which connected these cities with each other. For the same reasons, we find that the coastal highway was second in importance. This highway connected the developing cities along the coast with each other.

Transportation by sea in Syria and Egypt continued to gain momentum from the beginning of Islam until the 12th century. A set back in this transportation, especially in Syria, took place during the 10th century, when the Byzantine fleet and army had the upper hand in the area. However, it gained

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a new momentum during the 11th century and flourished as never before in Muslim history. This prosperity left a heavy imprint on the development of the coastal cities and area. The population of this area benefited more than the rest of the population from this transportation, because they were the ones who built the ships and boats, and they were the ones to sail and to provide many services which were related to transportation and trade.

In the case of transportation by sea, ships sailed for relatively long distances without stopping. The caravans, on the other hand, used to stop at lease once a day, and every few days they stopped for a long period which could last as long as a few days. They stopped not only in order to rest, but also to conduct trade with the local merchants. Many of the merchants who traveled with the caravans were not interested in selling their merchandise at the point of destination, but were interested in pursuing the trade activities which would take place while traveling over long distances. For example, in the course of one journey between Cairo and Aleppo, a merchant could sell all of his merchandise and buy new items many times over. For this reason, it is not surprising that most merchants preferred to travel overland, rather than by sea.

Transportation by sea did not compete with transportation overland; on the contrary, they complemented each other. Transportation by sea was non-stop, cheap and fast, while transportation overland was the opposite; it stopped often and was expensive and slow. This means that it was very difficult and unprofitable to transport cheap merchandise overland over a long distance. Cheap merchandise such as wheat, olive oil and dried fruits, were perhaps unprofitable to send from Syria, overland, to distances beyond Cairo, Makkah and Baghdad. It may have been profitable to send these same products, by sea, to distances beyond Tunisia, Yemen and Oman. Therefore, transportation by sea specialized in transporting heavy, large and cheap commodities over long distances. Transportation overland specialized in transporting cheap commodities over short distances (not beyond Cairo, Makkah and Baghdad) and the expensive commodities over all distances. Merchants preferred to transport their expensive commodi-

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ties, such as textiles, overland because they were interested in maximizing their opportunity to expose their commodities for sale. Transportation by land gave them this chance, especially because the main highways crossed through the most important and greatest number of cities, and in each of them the caravans stopped for at least a few hours.

Transportation overland benefited a wider range of people, but the ones who benefited the most were the Bedouins. Since most of the long distance routes in the Middle East and North Africa passed through the desert, the Bedouins played an essential role in this transportation. We know that camels were the main animals which were used in this kind of transportation. The Bedouins were the main group in this area to be engaged in the breeding of camels and in hiring them out to the merchants and travelers. In most cases the merchants hired not only the camels, but also their owners, because they needed help in managing the animals and in moving, loading, and unloading the merchandise. The Bedouins who knew the desert better than anybody else, were also hired as guides and guards. The tribes which were located on the main highways benefited from this location by hiring some of their people and animals out to the travelers, and also by charging the caravans fees or by getting annual payments from the authorities in exchange for maintaining security on the routes. The role of the Bedouins in transportation was extremely important and necessary, especially in the deserts.

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CHAPTER 5

TRADE

The number of Syrians who were engaged in trade during the 10 - 11th centuries was relatively small, almost certainly less than ten percent of the total population. The impact of trade on the economy, however, is not measured only by the number of people who were engaged in this sector but also by those engaged in the production of the commodities exported and those in the many kinds of services related to commerce.

Some Important Factors Related to Trade

Strategic Location and Holiness: The geographical location of Syria has almost always favoured trade. It became even more important during Muslim history because Syria was the center of the Muslim world, while in earlier periods it constituted the eastern border of the Byzantine and the Roman Empires and therefore, played a much smaller role in international trade than in Muslim times. Because Syria constituted the only territorial bridge between Asia and Africa, or between the eastern and western parts of the Muslim world, all overland trade routes between these two parts passed through this country. Also, much of the sea trade between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean countries passed through Syria via the Euphrates bend. Syria also benefited from the Red Sea route between these two seas.

We have seen that important pilgrimage routes to Ḥijāz also passed through Syria. The three most important were: the route through Aleppo, Damascus, Amman, and al-Madīnah; the coastal route which also passed through Ramlah and Aylah; and the Egyptian and African land route through Aylah. These routes stimulated a great deal of trade activity in Syria. Although the Egyptian route hardly passed through Syria, the Syrians benefited from it greatly, because the number of pilgrims who used this route was large and because the Syrian merchants and Bedouins offered the pilgrims many commodities

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and services which the latter needed, especially after having traveled in the desert for many days.

The pilgrimage routes and the related commercial activities, were active mainly during one season each year. There were some people who visited the holy places and who used these routes all year long, but their number was very small. Therefore, the economic importance of these routes outside of the pilgrimage season was very limited. However, Syria benefited greatly from the pilgrims who visited the holy places in Syria itself. As we know, Syria in general, and Palestine in particular, has many sites considered holy by Muslims, Christians and Jews. A constant flow of people or pilgrims visited these places. Many were merchants or people who engaged in trade on their way to or from the holy places. Commercial centers were also created along the pilgrimage routes and in the holy cities to meet the needs of the pilgrims. Some cities such as Jerusalem and Hebron would perhaps not have been important commercial centers had they not been holy.

Jerusalem was the holiest city in the country for the three religions, and attracted more pilgrims than any other city. Hebron held the second rank, at least for the Muslims (since Abraham, Issac and Jacob with their wives are buried there). The sources do not reveal that Hebron was visited by many Christian or Jewish pilgrims; but after the Crusaders' occupation of the city in 1099 Christians showed interest in it.[1] For Christians, Bethlehem held second place in importance after Jerusalem because it is the birthplace of Jesus, and Nazareth was also very important because Jesus grew up there.

These four towns were the holiest places in Syria, but they were not the only ones. There are many other towns which were important religious centers and some of them were considered holy, such as Antioch, Ḥims, Nābulus, and Damascus. There were many tombs, located outside the cities, which were considered by the local population to be sacred. Most of these sanctuaries were located around Jerusalem, Gaza, Nābulus, Tiberias and in Galilee, Damascus, Ḥims, Antioch and Aleppo.[2] They were visited by Syrians as well as by foreigners.

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Some of them were visited on a special day each year, others all year long. During most of these "festivals" (mawsim) temporary markets were set up, for selling food, and many other goods.[3]

Jerusalem, which is the holiest city in Islam after Makkah and al-Madīnah, attracted large numbers of Muslims each year, especially during the period of the Muslim pilgrimage to Makkah. Concerning this matter Nāṣir Khusraw says: ". . . and the people of these provinces, if they are unable to make the pilgrimage (to Makkah), will go up at the appointed season to Jerusalem, and there perform their rites, and upon the feast-day slay the sacrifice, as is customary to do (at Makkah) on the same day. There are years when as many as twenty thousand people will be present at Jerusalem during the first days of the (pilgrimage) month of Dhu-l Hijjah, for they bring their children also with them, in order to celebrate their circumcision."[4] Many of the pilgrims who visited Makkah also visited Jerusalem and the other holy places in Syria on their way to or from Makkah. Al-Maqdisī tells us that most North African and Andalusian pilgrims visited Jerusalem on their way to or from Makkah.[5] We also know of many individuals from Syria, or other places, such as Nāṣir Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem at times other than the pilgrimage season.[6] Many Muslims, especially those who visited Jerusalem, also visited Hebron.[7]

Jerusalem was also visited in great numbers by Christians and Jews from all countries. They came to the Church of the Resurrection and the great synagogue there.[8] The number of Christian pilgrims and the celebrations connected with the pilgrimage season was very impressive in some Middle Eastern countries. For example, Ibn al-Qalānisī reports that the celebrations of the Copts in Egypt, before leaving for Jerusalem on Easter, were so impressive that they resembled the Muslim celebration before leaving Egypt to Makkah. These celebrations provoked the Muslim population, who pressured the authorities to persecute the non-Muslims. The Muslims also believed that Byzantine emperors and important patriarchs used to visit the holy places in disguise. For these and for other reasons, the Fatimid caliph, Al-Ḥākim, persecuted the non-Muslims at the beginning of the 11th century.[9]

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Christian pilgrims from all countries also visited Bethlehem, which lies one "farsakh" to the south of Jerusalem.[10] All Christian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem probably also visited Bethlehem, because of their close proximity and Bethlehem's holiness. Like the Muslims, Christians visited many other cities and tombs in Syria in addition to those in these two cities.

West European Christians, too, visited the holy places in increasing numbers. The sources indicate that they did so, although their number had been very small since the first few centuries of Muslim domination in the area. For example, during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786 - 809), the Emperor Charlemagne set up a hostel in Jerusalem for the pilgrims from Western Europe, especially those from his empire.[11] During the 10th century Muslim power declined greatly in the Mediterranean Sea and in Syria, while that of the Christian countries in Western Europe and Byzantium increased greatly in this area. As a result of this situation, and for other reasons, the number of pilgrims from Western Europe increased during this century and continued during the following one. Since the end of the 10th century even poor people could visit the holy places thanks to the establishment of many hostels along the route to Jerusalem.[12]

Merchant Representatives and Banking: The functions of the representatives of the merchants and "banking" activities became relatively highly developed during the period under discussion. These two "institutions" especially helped and facilitated long distance trade. This issue will be clearer after discussing the nature of each of these institutions.

The Representative of the Merchants - or the Broker (Wakīl al-Tujjār): The broker, according to Goitein, had three different tasks: 1) he was primarily the legal representative of the foreign merchants, 2) he stored and sometimes took care of the marketing of the merchandise of foreign merchants and 3) "he served as a depository for the merchants and a neutral arbiter between them. When a participant in a partnership went abroad, he would not send the goods purchased there (during his traveling) to the store of his partner, but to a

wakīl, who would either store or sell them as advises."[13]

Brokers were found in important trading centers. In Syria the sources mention them in Aleppo, Ramlah, Tyre and Tripoli.[14] Although I did not find information about their existence in other cities, we may assume that they were also in Damascus, Ḥims, Antioch, Lādhiqiyah, Beirut, Acre, Tiberias, and Jerusalem. In general, the brokers were wealthy and many held important jobs. The ratio of Muslim qādīs among those who held this job was very high. Non-Muslims could also become brokers; for example the famous Iraqi Jew who became a Fatimid vizier during the reign of al-'Azīz, Ibn Killis had been a broker in Ramlah.[15]

The scope and activities of such brokers were sometimes very great. For example, Ibn Buṭlān who visited Aleppo in 1051 reports: "Of the wonders of Aleppo we may mention that in the kaisariyyah (or bazaar) of the cloth-merchants are twenty shops for the Wakīls (or brokers). These men every day sell goods to the amount of 20,000 dīnārs, and this they have done for the last twenty years."[16]

Banking: During the period under discussion coins were not the only means of payment known to the people of the Middle East. People did not always pay cash, but conducted their business on credit, even when the amount of payment was small. For example, the buyer used to give the seller written orders until the amount totaled a certain amount, e.g. 5, 10, 15 or 20 dīnārs. The buyer then paid the amount and the seller returned the written orders to the buyer. The written orders were similar to modern checks. Goitein describes the form of these orders in the following way: "On the left upper corner the sum to be paid was written in numerals. Then the order followed: 'May so-and-so (the issuing banker) pay to bearer (not mentioned by name) such and such an amount (in words)'. On the left lower corner the date was indicated and on the lower edge of the note the name of the issuer . . . The size of such a note was small, approximately half the dimensions of a modern check. The one for 100 dīnārs . . . is slightly larger than the average."[17]

Different transactions were carried out differently by the bankers. The "ḥawālah" was a form of transfer of debt or payment by a third party. The

"suftajah" was a bill of exchange. The suftajahs were also payments by a third party, but these were always issued by and drawn up by well-known bankers or representatives of merchants. A fee was charged for their issuance, and after presentation a daily penalty had to be paid for any delay in payment. The "ruq'ah" had two meanings: 1) An order of payment or delivery or 2) A promissory note, which was regarded by the bankers, according to Goitein, as cash.[18]

The bankers were always rich and many of them were representatives of merchants; others were people who had made their fortune while working for the government. When these bankers wanted to conduct inter-city or inter-country transactions they needed agents in the city or country where the withdrawal would take place. Many of these bankers were involved in bank transactions in only one city. The profit that these bankers made was mainly from the fees they charged on most of their transactions and from investing the money which was deposited by merchants or others and which was at their disposal. They also charged fees for other services which they performed, in addition to banking transactions. They were involved in weighing and examining the fineness of coins and exchanging coins made of one metal for others made of another metal.[19]

The governments too used the "banking system" and services of these private bankers. Sometimes the governments established official "banks". For example, the Abbasid vizier, 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā appointed official bankers during the period 912 - 916. Any person or merchant could, but was not obliged to, conduct business with the official bankers.[20]

Brokers and bankers were very helpful to the merchants. Brokers handled most of the business for the big merchants. They could buy, store and sell the merchandise for them. The merchants could also pay large sums of money without the risk of carrying coins with them by the banking system. By so doing, they avoided losing their money if they were attacked by robbers.[21] Actually, the big merchants could theoretically carry out a great trade business in Ramlah or Damascus or any big city in Syria from, for example, their base in Cairo.

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The number of merchants who benefited from the existence of the brokers was perhaps great, but it may be expected that fewer benefited from the banking system, especially in long distance trade. The reason for this is that the banking business was mainly a family or one person business. It was also not based on a solid ground, but primarily on personal relations between the banker and the merchant and not on legal regulations. For these reasons, the banking business must have been limited.

Politics and Trade

The political authorities were always interested in making commerce prosperous in their territories, especially because they themselves benefited from it. Some of the rulers themselves engaged in trade and transportation. For example, the Fatimid caliph used to own, according to Nāṣir Khusraw, a commercial fleet stationed in Tripoli (Syria). This fleet transported goods between Syria on the one side and Byzantium, Western Europe, North Africa, and Egypt on the other.[22] The qāḍīs of Tripoli and Tyre, Ibn 'Ammār and Abū 'Aqīl, who became independent rulers in these cities, owned many ships and engaged in trade and transportation.[23]

The authorities took some measures in their territories to insure and facilitate trade and transportation. They tried to impose strict security along the highways. They built bridges or arranged for some kind of transportation for crossing rivers. They erected special signs along the highways in areas where sand or snow might cover the road. They dug wells and maintained an adequate supply of water along the highways in the desert. They built khāns (caravansaries) along the highways and in the cities.[24]

The activities of the political authorities, although they mostly encouraged commerce, sometimes hampered it. It is obvious that hostile activities between rival states could impede transportation and trade. Surprinsingly, the sources report only a few incidents when the political authorities seized or attacked caravans.[25] They give the impression that the governments respected

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the security and the safety of the merchants and caravans, even if they were in enemy's territory. This was also true even between the Muslim and the Crusader authorities in Syria. This subject is best summarized by Ibn Jubayr. He says: "One of the astonishing things that is talked of is that though the fires of discord burn between the two parties, Muslim and Christian, two armies of them may meet and dispose themselves in battle array, and yet Muslim and Christian travellers will come and go between them without interference. In this connection we saw at this time . . . the departure of Saladin with all the Muslims troops to lay siege to the fortress of Kerak . . . This Sultan invested it, and put it to sore straits, and long the siege lasted, but still the caravans passed successively from Egypt to Damascus, going through the lands of the Franks without impediment from them. In the same way the Muslims continuously journeyed from Damascus to Acre (through Frankish territory), and likewise not one of the Christian merchants was stopped or hindered (in Muslim territories). The soldiers engage themselves in their war, while the people are at peace and the world goes to him who conquers. Such is the usage in war of the people of these lands; and in the dispute existing between the Muslim Emirs and their kings it is the same, the subjects and the merchants interfering not. Security never leaves them in any circumstance, neither in peace nor in war. The state of these countries in this regard is truly more astonishing than our story can fully convey."[26]

Generally speaking, Muslim merchants were treated well in Christian territories, and Christian merchants were treated equally well in Muslim territories. Non-Muslim foreign merchants were compelled to pay the Jizyah tax (poll tax) which was also imposed on non-Muslim citizens of Muslim countries. This tax granted these foreign merchants protection in all Muslim countries and a status equal to that of the non-Muslims. The amount of this tax was almost 2.5 dīnārs, which was, according to Goitein, a "substantial, but still reasonable amount". It seems that Muslim merchants too paid a similar tax when they entered Christian countries.[27]

It appears that the Syrian merchants were the ones who took the initia-

tive and conducted trade with Byzantium, while the Byzantine merchants seldom came to Syria or Egypt.[28] It is surprising that the merchants who traded between Muslim Aleppo and Byzantine Antioch were Muslims and West Europeans, but not Byzantines. We know about this from a report by Ibn al-Athīr, who writes that, as a reaction to the war (in 1040) between the Muslims and the Byzantines, the authorities in Aleppo drove the West European (Faranj and not Rūm) merchants out of the city and asked the authorities in Antioch to drive the Muslim merchants out of that city.[29] On the other hand, most of the trade between Syria and Egypt on one side and West Europe on the other, was mainly conducted by Europeans, especially Italians.[30]

Unlike the situation today, in the Middle Ages countries seldom mixed politics with trade. Countries rarely imposed embargoes on each other. I could not find any reference to any embargoes imposed on the export of goods to Byzantium or West Europe by the Muslims, except the incident mentioned earlier, when the Muslim authorities in Aleppo drove the West European merchants out of the city. The effect of this embargo, if we can call it so, was very limited because geographically speaking it was confined to north Syria and probably lasted a very short time. Byzantium, on the other hand, sometimes imposed a total embargo on export to or import from the Muslim countries. It tried to force the Byzantine and West European merchants not to export to the Muslim countries materials which could be used in the production of arms. There is no indication that the West European countries actullay imposed any trade embargoes on the Muslim countries. We should remember here that the embargoes which were imposed by Byzantium were very few in number, and lasted only for short periods.[31]

There are no indications that the Muslim authorities imposed trade embargoes against each other, during the period under discussion. Also, Muslims in general, including the merchants, were treated as citizens in all Muslim countries, and were therefore, not compelled to pay any special taxes. Although the Muslim world during this period was divided into many political entities it could be described as one economic unit. The basic laws relating to trade were

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similar in all Muslim countries, and moreover the borders between the different Muslim states were always open for trade. There were no signs in the border area which would indicate to the travelers that they were approaching or had already crossed a border between one Muslim country and another.[32]

The border between the Muslim and Christian states, the Crusader states and Byzantium, was much more obvious than that between Muslim states. Christian as well as Muslim armies sometimes attacked and seized caravans in each other's territories. The army of one side found it fit to seize a caravan which was very close to and even approaching, the border but still on the other side. If this same caravan had already crossed the border, not only did they not attack it, but it was their duty to protect it. This is best illustrated by Ibn Jubayr. He speaks about his own experience when he tried to cross the border between the Ayyubid and Crusader states. He says: "Halfway on the road, we came upon an oak-tree of great proportions and with widespreading branches. We learnt that it is called 'The Tree of Measure,' and when we enquired concerning it, we were told that it was the boundary on this road between security and danger, by reason of some Frankish brigands who prowl and rob thereon. He whom they seize on the Muslim side, be it by the length of the arms or a span, they capture; but he whom they seize on the Frankish side at a like distance, they release. This is a pact they faithfully observe . . ."[33] A similar situation also existed sometimes between Muslim states, especially during wartime.[34]

Customs: High customs pose a serious problem for the development of international trade. Therefore, I will try here to estimate the amount of money paid by the merchant as dues. Muslim jurists, including Abū Yūsuf in his book Kitāb al-Kharāj, used the term 'ushr to mean the tax which merchants pay on their merchandise (customs). They also used the term "mukūs" to mean customs. According to Muslim jurists the customs' rate for Muslim merchants is 2.5 percent of the total value of the merchandise, while it is 5 percent for non-Muslims living in Muslim lands, and 10 percent ('ushr) for foreigners.[35]

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According to Islamic law, customs are not collected on goods worth less than 20 dīnārs nor on vegetables worth less than 200 dirhams. Some jurists rules that customs should be levied on non-Muslims without fixing a minimum, others ruled that customs should not be imposed on fruits and other perishable goods. This tax is to be collected only once a year even if the merchant passes by the collector several times during the year. However, some jurists ruled that non-Muslim merchants should pay this tax every time they pass by the customs stations.[36]

The sources tell us the following about this tax in Syria. A merchant writing from Ramlah during the second half of the 11th century says, "When I arrived in Ramle I had to pay customs to a degree I am unable to describe".[37] We do not know how much this merchant paid, but the existence of high customs in Ramlah and in Syria in general during this period is not surprising. The country was in a state of chaos as a result of the Saljuq invasion. Nāṣir Khusraw reports that all ships which came to Tripoli from Byzantium, West Europe, Spain and North Africa paid 'ushr.[38] We do not know exactly how much the merchants paid because the term 'ushr, as we have seen above, does not mean only 10 percent but customs in general. Ibn al-'Adīm calls the person who collects the dues 'ashshār.[39]

In later periods, especially during the Mamluk period, customs' rates increased and the term used to indicate customs was also changed from 'ushr to "khums" (one-fifth). The rate became 20 percent or more for foreign non-Muslims. The rate which the Muslim merchants paid also increased, but remained below the one paid by non-Muslims.[40] It is difficult to know which rate of customs each merchant paid when the sources tell us that the merchant paid 'ushr or khums. It could mean that all merchants, without distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims or foreigners and citizens, paid the same rate which was 10 percent, or in later periods 20 percent. It also could mean that they paid the legal rate, which meant that Muslims paid less than non-Muslims and that foreigners paid more than non-Muslims. Since the sources do not specify the rate

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the merchants paid, we may assume that the 'ushr was the legal rate and not 10 percent. However, Goitein, using the Cairo Geniza documents reached a different conclusion. He says: "Thus one gets the impression that with the exception of cases such as those just noted . . . no distinction was made between local and foreign traders . . . It seems to be certain that the Muslim canonical law, which imposes a double customs duty on non-Muslim merchants, was not enforced during the Fatimid period, for if it were otherwise it is unthikable that in the many hundreds of business letters written by Jews during that period allusion should never be made to its existence. Only at the time of the orthodox reaction under Saladin (1171-1193) was it enforced for a short period."[41]

This statement is exaggerated, and the assumption that the Geniza documents would reveal whether the Muslim merchants paid a lower rate of customs than non-Muslims, is not necessarily valid. These documents also do not explicitly show that Muslim merchants paid an equal rate to that paid by the non-Muslims. If Goitein's assumption is correct for most of the Fatimid period we might expect to find an explicit statement about it in the Geniza documents or in Arabic geographical and historical sources. It is likely that different regimes imposed different rates of customs in different periods. It seems, however, that during the 10 - 11th centuries the legal rate was in effect most of the time.

There were many customs stations in Syria during the period under discussion. In addition to those mentioned above, in Ramlah and Tripoli, there was one in Aleppo. According to Nāṣir Khusraw, the authorities in Aleppo levied customs on merchandise passing through or brought to the city from Syria, Byzantium, Jazīrah, Egypt and Iraq.[42] In other words, customs duties were collected on all merchandise entering the city, regardless of origin. We may assume that in the important coastal cities there were other stations. The sources tell us that Acre, Tyre and Beirut had strong chains stretching from one side of the harbour to the other. These chains were used as gates to the harbour. When the authorities wished to let a ship come into the harbour, they slackened the chains

until they sank far enough into the water to allow the ships to pass over them. They then tightened up the chains again. These chains were used not only for security reasons, but also probably for levying customs effectively.[43]

The geographical location of the customs stations is very important. Not all were located on political borders of the country as we might expect.[44] Aleppo and Ramlah were the capitals of their regions and were not located on borders. I did not find any information about the existence of such stations in other inland cities in Syria which were also far from the border. In Egypt, on the other hand, there were stations in many places far from the borders. This may indicate that merchants have paid dues on the same merchandise each time they passed through a customs station, even if this took place in the same country.[45]

The report by Nāṣir Khusraw about levying customs in Aleppo is very interesting. He says that the authorities levied customs on merchandise passing between Syria, Byzantium, Jazīrah, Egypt and Iraq.[46] This report implies that dues were imposed here not only on imported goods to Syria, but also on those exported. In other words, it was imposed on all goods entering the city, regardless of origin.

Although there were many customs stations along the main highways, the amount of money paid by the merchants as dues was not high enough to halt, or even to pose a serious problem for, international trade. Actually, it is believed that this amount was very low,[47] especially for the Muslim merchants. Therefore, international trade could and did prosper during this period.

We may conclude that customs stations were located in the most strategic places so that customs could be levied effectively. These strategic locations could be found on the political or geographical borders of the country or in any other place. Today customs are imposed on imported goods in order to make the local products more competitive with foreign ones, and on exported merchandise in order to reduce, if not prevent, their export. These export-import duties also provide the governments with money which is usually

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welcomed. During the Middle Ages the aim of imposing customs was mainly, if not only, to provide the authorities with money, rather than to protect the competitiveness of the local products or to reduce the export of certain local products.

The Exported and Imported Commodities

The terms "ṣādirāt" and "wāridāt" in Arabic, which are equivalent to the English terms "exports" and "imports" are modern terms and were not used in the Middle Ages. The Medieval Arab geographers used the term "yartafi" to mean "export", but the exact meaning of this term is "to rise" or "originate". This term was used by the geographers to mean that the region or the city in question was famous for selling certain commodities in large quantities. This could mean the selling of these commodities to a nearby region or city, or to a foreign country. Today export means the selling of goods to a foreign country, or to be precise, to a political entity. In the Middle Ages, as we have seen, political borders between the different Muslim countries, and even between the Muslim and non-Muslim countries, had little importance in commerce. Therefore, I will deal here with the commodities which were brought into or sent out of geographical Syria as it is defined in the introduction.

The Exported Commodities: Most of the cultivated land in Syria during the period under discussion was used for growing cereals. A closer examination of the location of cereal growing areas reveals that these crops were concentrated in areas adjacent to the desert (see Appendix 2). Annual rainfall in these areas fluctuates greatly and the yield of cereals in this region varied accordingly. As a result, Syria, which was usually considered an exporter of cereals, in certain years imported many cereal crops, including wheat. Syrian exports of grain went to Arabia and to Iraq; the latter was mainly in the form of sacks of flour and was loaded on boats which sailed down the Euphrates to Baghdad and other cities.[48]

The most commonly exported agricultural commodity from Syria was olives

or olive oil. We have seen that large areas of the cultivated land were used for the growing of olives; this crop was so great that a large quantity of it was exported. Syria was not the biggest producer of this commodity in the Mediterranean area or in the Muslim world. This position was held by Tunisia, which exported its products mainly to Egypt, Sicily, Byzantium, West Europe, and other African countries. Syria, which held the second position in the production and export of olive oil, exported to Egypt, Arabia, and especially to Iraq and other eastern countries.[49] Olive oil from Syria constituted a great part of the merchandise which was seized by Sayf al-Dawlah in Bālis in 944. The value of the seized merchandise which was sent to Iraq and farther east was, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, one million dīnārs. Even during the Mamluk period, after Egyptian political domination over Syria for many centuries, Syria still exported great quantities of olive oil to Iraq. The Syrian export of this commodity was usually carried out by sea to Egypt and by boats sailing down the Euphrates to Iraq.[50]

Syria was also famous for its export of dried fruits. The main fruits grown in Syria and exported were grapes, figs, apricots, peaches, cherries, plums, pears, quinces, apples, sycamore, pomegranates, almonds, walnuts and hazelnuts. These fruits grew in most of the fertile areas in Syria, particularly in Palestine and around such cities as Manbij, Antioch, Aleppo, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Shayzar, Ḥamāh, Ḥims, and Ba'labak. The coastal area between Tripoli in the north and Cesarea in the south was also a fruit growing area. The Ghūṭah of Damascus was the most productive area in all of Syria. Here were to be found almost all of the kinds of fruits grown in Syria.[51]

Al-Maqdisī, writing in the second part of the 10th century, indicates that Filasṭīn (he meant the capital of Filasṭīn--Ramlah) exported dried figs, raisins and carobs. Jerusalem exported different kinds of raisins, apples and pinenuts. Baysān exported dates, Ma'āb almonds, and Damascus dried figs, raisins and nuts. Other regions exported other fruits. Documents from the 11th century and later show that great quantities of dried fruits continued to be

exported from Syria to Egypt.[52] The demand for Syrian dried fruits was possibly as great as the demand for its olives and olive-oil. The reason for this great demand is the fact that only few kinds of fruit were grown in the neighboring countries of Egypt, Arabia and Iraq, and also that their production of these fruits was limited. There were other provinces, such as the Jazīrah, which produced a great variety of fruits and in large quantities, but the Syrian products were of a higher quality.[53]

The northern part of the country was famous for the growing of pistachios, especially in the areas of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and Aleppo. Ibn Baṭūṭah reports that pistachios from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān were sold in Syria and in Egypt. Aleppo's pistachios were of very good quality, and according to Ibn al-Shiḥnah, were very expensive and outside of Aleppo only rich people bought them. He also says that they used to be transported on camels to Egypt and to all the Mamluk "kingdom". Europeans transported them by sea to their countries, where they were sold at very high prices.[54] Aleppo probably also exported pistachios to many countries in great quantities during the period under discussion.

Some industrial crops were exported from Syria to Egypt, Iraq and other countries. Information concerning this is quite rare, perhaps because the volume of trade in these commodities was small. A large portion of the indigo, the most famous agricultural product of the Jordan Valley, was exported. Al-Maqdisī reports that the Jordan Valley produced a great quantity of high quality indigo, especially in the area of Jericho.[55] Ibn Ḥawqal says about the inhabitants of Zughar and the Jordan Valley that they exported this product to many countries.[56] There were other dying materials made from agricultural products which were also exported. For example, part of the saffron which grew mainly in Salamiyah, and another product called 'Amtānī, (from 'Amtā in Palestine), were exported and perhaps reached as far as Tunisia, or even farther.[57]

In spite of the fact that cotton was introduced, or at least became significant, in Syria only during the beginning of the Abbasid period, this country was already producing large quantities of it in the 10th century.

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Cotton was grown in the northern part of the Jordan Valley, and in other places; but the largest plantations were in northern Syria, in Aleppo and in the Jazīrah (especially during the Hamdanid period).[58] Most of the cotton produced was probably used locally. However, some of it, especially that which was produced in the northern part of the country, was exported. Egypt was the largest importer of Syrian cotton since it was not yet a great cotton-producing country. Iraq was perhaps another importer of Syrian cotton, especially of the cotton which came from the north.[59]

Most modern scholars rightly emphasize the lack of wood in the Muslim Middle Eastern countries. These countries are mainly desert or semi-desert and almost none of them had large forests. Nonetheless, wood was extremely important, not only for building ships and navies, but for use in construction, furniture, tool-making, and as fuel. Large forests existed in Syria during ancient periods. They were exploited by the ancient civilizations which controlled the country, in particular the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Greeks and Romans. When the Muslims came to power the large forests in the country had disappeared, or were greatly reduced.[60] Al-Maqdisī, however, gives the impression that most of the mountains in Syria were covered by trees, but he does not tell us whether they were natural forests, or whether the inhabitants planted them in order to produce fruit.[61]

Lombard believes that Mount Bahrā' (Anṣāriyyah) still had large forests. He writes: "However, in the eighth to the eleventh centuries the woodland cover was less damaged than it is today. An example of this relatively good growth is the Jabal Ansariyya, 'Mountain of the Alaouites', which, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, produced a large amount of wood for export."[62]

Although I have been unable to find medieval sources which support this claim, except for the general remarks made by Al-Maqdisī, it is likely that it is accurate.

The medieval sources refer to the area between Bayyās and al-Missīsah (the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea) as being the great area for

export of wood in Syria. The wood, especially pine-wood, was shipped from the port (actually the castle) of Tīnāt to many Syrian ports and to Egypt.[63] This region supplied Syria and Egypt with wood before it was occupied by the Byzantines during the second half of the 10th century. Yāqūt reports, in the 13th century, that it was providing Syria and Egypt with wood, but it is not clear if Yāqūt is referring to his time or to a previous period.[64] Immediately after this area was occupied by the Byzantines its wood stopped being exported to Egypt or Syria,[65] but we do not know how long this embargo lasted.

Rose water was exported to many countries in the world. Because it was highly concentrated, a small amount was worth a lot of money. Therefore, it was worth trnasporting it not only to Egypt, Arabia and Iraq, but also to Sind, India and even China. Damascus and the Ghūṭah were always the most important producers of this commodity.[66]

Some Syrian plants, or their fruits or roots, were exported to other countries because of their medicinal value. The tragacanth gum, which was obtained from a number of trees of the Astragalus variety, and the scammony drug which is made from roots of certain plants, were also exported from Syria.[67] The amount of medicinal material from plants which were exported was probably small and perhaps insignificant.

Al-Maqdisī tells us that Zughar and Baysān (in other words the Jordan Valley) exported dates in addition to indigo. He also reports that Baysān exported rice.[68] While the production of dates in Syria could allow for some export to other countries, Syria's rice production was small and it is unlikely that it exported any amount of this commodity. On the contrary, it is likely that it was an importer of rice from the neighboring countries, especially from Iraq. What al-Maqdisī meant was that Baysān and Zughar sold rice and dates to markets outside their areas, probably to Damascus, Tiberias, Ramlah, Jerusalem, etc.

We have seen in Chapter 2 that the sources of the 10 - 11th centuries do not mention the crops that were common in Syria during that time: lentils,

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chick-peas, beans, lupins, maize, Jew's mallow, carrots, onions, garlic, vetch, squash, zucchini, radishes, watermelon and muskmelon.[69] It is likely that Syria exported part of the yield of many of these crops, but not in great quantities.

Syria also exported many kinds of industrial products; among them textiles was the leading commodity. This country was not the only or the most important textile producing one in the Middle East. Its neighbors, especially Egypt, produced great quantities of high quality textiles. The specialty of Syria in this field was silk products which were considered the most valuable material in the textile industry.[70] Damascus, Tiberias, Tyre, Ramlah, 'Asqalān, Gaza, Ḥims and Aleppo were the most important centers of the silk industry.[71] Their production, and that of the rest of the country, was impressive. As we have seen, textiles, especially silk and olive oil constituted most of the merchandise which Sayf al-Dawlah confiscated in Bālis in 944.[72] This great amount of silk was being exported by only two caravans heading eastward. We may presume that there were many others which left Syria headed for the east, Arabia, and especially for Egypt.

Egypt did not produce, or produced only a limited amount of silk and was, therefore, a large importer. Silk was also an expensive product which only the rich could afford. During the period under discussion there were great concentrations of wealthy people in Cairo who could buy luxury items such as silk (especially during the Fatimid caliphate). For these reasons, it is likely that Egypt was the biggest importer of Syrian silk. The Geniza documents from the 11th century and from later periods attest to that. Part of the imported silk from Syria was used in the textile industry in Egypt. It was interwoven with cheaper flax material.[73]

Before the coming of Islam, Byzantium already produced silk, especially in northern and coastal cities of Syria which became part of the Muslim Empire. Four centuries after the rise of Islam Byzantium was still a silk importer, in the form of semi-finished silk products or raw material for further processing.[74] Keeping in mind the geographical location, the political situation, and the

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availability of silk or raw materials we can safely conclude that a large proportion of the Byzantines' imported silk came from Syria.

Cotton cloth was new in the Middle Eastern countries. The sources reveal that part of the Syrian cotton production was exported as raw material, and part used locally in the making of cloth.[75] Egypt was perhaps the major importer of this commodity. It may be presumed that countries east of Syria, especially the Jazīrah and Iraq, did not import this product from Syria because they themselves were exporters. It is possible that some of Syria's export of cotton products was sent to Byzantium and Arabia.

The sources do not tell us if Syria produced clothes made of wool, or of the hair of animals other than sheep, such as goats and camels. The Bedouin and sedentary people in the country raised sheep, goats and camels in great numbers. It is likely that a variety of clothes were made of wool. It appears that this material was cheap and widespread but was not an important exported commodity. Therefore, the sources do not mention it. We may also assume that leather or leather products and a variety of cheap furs were produced in Syria and perhaps some were exported. Very expensive furs were exported from the northern part of the country, especially from the area of al-Miṣīṣah.[76]

The second most important industrial exported item was paper. During the 10th century Damascus and Tiberias were the major manufacturing and exporting cities of this product.[77] Tripoli also became important, especially during the 11th century. The quality of paper manufactured in Syria was excellent, and therefore was in demand in many countries.[78] It was mentioned above (Chapter 3) that during the first half of the 11th century a single Egyptian firm imported as much as 28 camel loads of Syrian paper in a single transaction. The cost of transportation alone for this amount of paper was 157.5 dīnārs.[79] Certainly a large quantity of paper and a large sum of money were involved in this deal. We should assume that this trnasaction was not the only one that this firm made with Syria, nor was this the only firm in Egypt or elsewhere that imported Syrian paper.

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Egypt was the biggest importer of Syrian paper because the quality of Egyptian paper was inferior to that of Syria. Egypt also consumed great quantities of paper, especially for official purposes and because it was a leading intellectual center in the Muslim world, particularly after the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate. On the other hand Iraq, which was another important political and intellectual center, produced fine paper in large quantities; therefore it is unlikely that Iraq was a big importer of Syrian paper. Part of Syria's export of paper went to Byzantium.[80]

Unlike the paper industry, the glass industry has flourished in Syria since ancient times and continued to do so during the period under discussion, and during later periods. The quality of Syrian glass was very high and it was therefore in demand even in remote places. Although Egypt and Iraq were glass-producing countries it would not be surprising if they imported some products from Syria. Glass was a valuable product and was therefore exported to remote countries, as far away as China. The Geniza documents show that Yemen, too, was one of the importing countries of Syrian glass. We also may presume that the Muslim West (North Africa and Spain) and Byzantium were importers of this commodity. We do not know whether Western Europe imported glass from Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries, but we do know that they did so during the Crusader period.[81]

Sugar was refined in Syria, particularly in the coastal area. Being a new product in the Middle East its production in Syria during the 10th century was limited, but increased greatly during later centuries. Syria was already exporting part of its production, mainly to Egypt, during the 10th century.[82]

These were the major industrial exported commodities from Syria. The other industrial and non-industrial commodities which were exported, but in much smaller quantities, were: Soap, mainly from Filasṭīn, Nābulus, Bālis, Aleppo, and in a later period from Sarmīn.[83] Salt from Jabbūl and the Dead Sea.[84] Asphalt or bitumen from the Dead Sea area.[85] Marble from Lādhiqiyah and especially from Bayt Jibrīn. This commodity was exported to both Iraq and

Egypt.[86] Probably a small quantity of different kinds of goods which were made of metal, wood, and clay were also exported to the neighboring countries. Animals were exported or sold to the merchants who passed through Syria.[87] Cheese and other milk products were exported, particularly from Filastīn.[88] Honey and wax were exported from this country since ancient times, and during the period under discussion they were still exported, especially from Amman.[89] Sweetmeats, confections and pastries were also exported, particularly from Damascus.[90]

An interesting item of Syrian export was ice or snow. During the Middle Ages artificial ice was unknown. All ice consumed in Egypt, for example, was imported, especially from Syria. It was kept in subterranean receptacles for the hot summer days when it was sold at extravagant prices.[91] The export of ice depended primarily on the art of transporting and maintaining it without melting, and not on its availability.

During the Mamluk period the Egyptian authorities made great efforts to bring ice from Syria to their country. They brought this ice overseas via Tripoli and overland from Damascus to Cairo along the barīd, or main highway which connected the two cities. Special ships were placed along the sea routes and camels were stationed along the highways in order to facilitate the transport of this commodity. The number of ships which were used for this purpose varied from three to eight, and the number of camels in every station was six; five of them were for transporting ice. It was transported only between June and November of each year.[92]

Arabia was also an importer of Syrian ice. The pilgrimage season was a great opportunity for selling this commodity, especially since a large portion of the pilgrims were wealthy. Without a doubt, the price of ice was extremely high during the hot summer days. The story of Jamīlah, the daughter of Nāṣir al-Dawlah the Hamdanid, attests to that. In the year 976, while fulfilling the pilgrimage duty, Jamīlah distributed drinks made of snow and sugar to all pilgrims. As a result, this pilgrimage became famous throughout the Muslim world.[93]

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In Syria itself ice was not valued as highly as it was in Egypt and Arabia because it was available in many locations in the country. People used to load it on animals and sell it in the streets, just like any other product.[94]

The Imported Commodities: The medieval Muslim geographers were more interested in production and export than they were in import. Syria is not an exception to this phenomenon; however, there is some information about its imports.

Although textiles were one of the most important items in Syrian export, they were also one of the main imported commodities. The reason for this is that Syria lacked one important cheap raw material -- flax. This was imported from Egypt where it was available in great quantities. The main importing city was 'Asqalān, which used a large portion of the imported material in its textile industry. Textiles made of flax were also imported from Egypt.[95] Expensive textiles were also imported into Syria. Even silk, which was a specialty of this country, was imported from Cyprus and Byzantium. Textiles made of cotton were also imported, especially from neighboring Jazīrah, which became a major cotton-producing area under the Hamdanids.[96]

The Jazīrah, being a very productive area and adjacent to Syria, was the main supplier of goods to Syria. The political situation in the area also encouraged trade between the two regions and agricultural products moved easily across the Euphrates. The Jazīrah produced a great variety of agricultural products, and exported textiles, wool, milk products, horses, asphalt, iron and many varieties of metal products.[97]

Armenia was another exporter to Syria. The main items that Syria imported from this area were fish, salt, arsenic and a high quality of mules.[98]

Another leading supplier of Syrian imports was Cyprus. Al-Maqdisī says that this island exported great quantities of merchandise to the Muslims, without specifying which kinds or countries. Other sources specify that Cyprus exported textiles, storax and mastic to Syria. Most of the Syrian imports from Cyprus were carried out via Tyre.[99] We should remember here that al-Maqdisī wrote his book in 985, almost two decades after Cyprus had fallen into the hands of the

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Byzantines. This shows that the fall of the island into enemy hands did not sever trade relations between the two areas.

The sources also speak about Syrian imports from another island further west -- Crete; the main Syrian imports were honey and cheese.[100] We do not know whether this trade continued after the Byzantine occupation of the island in 961.

Northern Syria, in particular, imported a great variety of goods from Byzantium. A treaty which was signed by the Byzantines and the Hamdanids in 969 mentions many of the goods imported from Byzantium. They included: gold, silver, precious stones, jewels, pearls, raw silk (qazz ghayr ma'mūl), woven Byzantine silk (dībāj Rūmī), silk brocades (sundus), clothes (thiyāb), flax or linen (kittān), livestock and many other commodities.[101]

Western Europe exported to Syria and the rest of the Muslim Mediterranean countries many commodities including timber, iron, arms, wooden and iron objects, leather products, expensive furs, silk and slaves. Syria imported slaves and mamluks not only from Europe, but from many other countries. White slaves were imported from this area, some via Byzantium and others via Muslim Spain.[102] Black slaves from Africa were imported via Egypt and Arabia. Turkish speaking mamluks or servants from central Asia were imported to Syria via Iraq and Persia. These were the most important commodities imported to Syria, but they were not the only ones.

As may be expected, Syria exported or imported cheap and heavy commodities to or from the neighboring countries. Expensive commodities were sent to or brought from far distant countries such as Spain, West Europe, Yemen, East Africa, Persia, India, China, and also perhaps North Europe, including Scandinavian countries. We should mention here that because of the strategic location of Syria it was an important transit country. Expensive merchandise was transported over Syria between Western Europe, India and China. The commodities which were exported from Europe included eunuchs, slaves, brocades, furs and swords; while the main commodities which were exported from the east were musk, aloe wood, camphor, and cinnamon.[103]

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Trade Centers

The fact that a major highway in the Muslim world passed through Syria had a great impact on the commercial activities of this country. This highway, which passed through Mawṣil, Aleppo, Damascus, Ramlah, and Cairo, connected North Africa in the west with Iraq, Persia and India in the east. It was practically the only important one in the whole area between Mawṣil in the east and the Atlantic Ocean in the west. Great commercial activities took place along the highway and therefore all the areas around it benefited. This was also true even in the desert. Here is what Ibn Jubayr saw in two small places during his journey in the desert between al-Madīnah and al-Kūfah: "At Samīrah . . . the Bedouin barter their products, which are meat, butter, and milk; and the pilgrims, greedy for meat and thirsty for milk, rush to buy it, giving pieces of coarse calico that they bring with them for dealing with the Bedouin, who will not barter save for this. Fayd is a large fortress . . . It is inhabited by Bedouin who support themselves by trading and bartering, and doing other useful things with the pilgrims . . . From their longing for meat, the hands of the pilgrims were soon filled with sheep they had bartered from the Bedouin, and there was no pavilion, nor tent, nor place of shade but had beside it a ram or two, according to means and wealth. The whole encampment was filled with the sheep of the Bedouin, and the day became a festival. In the same way the Bedouin brought in their camels for those camel-masters and others who wished to buy them for use upon the road. As for butter, honey, and milk, there was none who did not load some, or take some for their use according to their needs."[104]

The most important commercial centers in Syria were the large cities located on the main highway. Second in rank were the coastal cities which benefited from the coastal highway, the sea routes, and commercial relations with the important inland cities. The cities which were located on the main pilgrimage routes did not become very important trading centers because visiting holy places stimulated commerce only during the pilgrimage season and not all year long. In addition to these great commercial centers which were located along

the main highways, and which participated in "international" commerce, there were less important trading centers which traded mainly in local products and served the local community.

The markets in the important cities were specialized and dealt with only one or related products. For example, clothes were sold in one market while metallic utensils were sold in another, etc.[105] In small trading centers all goods were probably sold in the same market and in most cases a great variety of merchandise was sold in one shop.

According to Sauvaget, Damascus, during the period under discussion, was not more than a provincial city which had been declining since the end of the Umayyad period.[106] The sources, however, give a different picture of it. It seems that commerce was flourishing here during this period. It had more specialized markets than any other city in the country. Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1176) mentioned some of them such as: the market of hoods (qalānis), saddlers (sarrājīn), silk (al-bazz), money changers (al-ṣarf), box-makers (they could be made of wood or metal) ('ulabiyyīn), pearls (lu'lu'), birds (ṭayr), watermelons (battīkh), herbs (baql), yarn (ghazl), lamps (qanādīl), brass founders (ṣaffārīn), wheat (qamḥ), pack animals (dawābb), sheep (ghanam), seed or spice sellers (buzūriyyīn), the Sunday market, the market of Umm Ḥakīm, and many others. However, the most important one was the big market (al-sūq al-kabīr) which extended from the Jābiyah gate in the west to the eastern gate of the city. This market or street divided the city into almost two equal parts, one in the north and the other in the south.[107] We should not assume that there were many shops in each of these markets. It is also doubtful that these markets were actually occupied exclusively by the craft after which they were named.

Al-Maqdisī, writing a few centuries before Ibn 'Asākir, describes the markets of this city as follows: "Most of the markets are roofed in, but there is one among them, a fine one, which is open, running the whole length of the town . . . here prices are moderate, fruits and snow abound, and the products of both hot and cold climes are found."[108]

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The geographers and travelers of the 12 - 13th centuries still indicate that this city was a leading commercial center. Al-Idrīsī, for example, writing in 1154, says: "The City of Damascus contains all manner of good things and streets of various craftsmen, with (merchants selling) all sorts of silk and brocade of exquisite variety and wonderful workmanship . . . That which they make here is carried into all cities and borne in ships to all quarters, and all capital towns both far and near . . . The inhabitants of Damascus have most plentiful means of livelihood, and all they require. The craftsmen of the city are in high renown, and its merchandise is sought in all the markets of the earth . . ."[109]

Concerning Aleppo, Sauvaget beiieves that the economic situation of this city improved for a short period, mainly during the reign of Sayf al-Dawlah, but that it declined rapidly after his death. The process of decline according to Sauvaget continued throughout the 11th and the 12th centuries.[110] We believe that Aleppo gained great political and commercial importance and its population increased rapidly during this period. A great deal of information concerning this subject was discussed in previous chapters, therefore, there is no need to discuss them again. However, it is important to deal here with some of the information which is related to commerce. The geographers of the 10th century indicate that this city was prosperous and flourishing, its people were rich, it had five markets and it was an important center in international trade.[111]

The writings of Ibn Butlān and Nāṣir Khusraw indicate that this city became even more important commercial center during the 11th century. Concerning this subject Nāṣir Khusraw says: "This city is the place where they levy the customs (on merchandise passing) between the lands of Syria and Asia Minor, and Diyar-Bakr, and Egypt, and Irak, and there come merchants and traders from out all these lands to Aleppo."[112]

During the Saljuq period and afterwards, the importance of this city increased and became equal to, if not greater than, that of Damascus. Its markets were fine and wide. Rows of shops were located along the shady streets

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leading to the great mosque.[113]

Hims was one of the leading cities during the first centuries of the Muslim era. In the beginning of the 10th century it was still perhaps the most important city in Syria after Damascus. As a matter of fact, Al-Ya'qūbī, writing in 891 and al-Maqdisī, writing in 985, describe it as the largest in all of Syria.[114] Although Hims lost some of its political and commercial importance during the period under discussion, to other cities in the area, especially to Aleppo and Tripoli, it continued to be an important commercial center. In the year 1154 Al-Idrīsī reports that "It is populous, and much frequented by travellers who come there for its products and rarities of all kinds. Its markets are always open".[115] In the year 1185 Ibn Jubayr visited it and did not like it. He also did not like its markets, which he describes as sluggish (kāsidah).[116]

Ramlah, the capital of Filastīn, was the leading city south of Damascus. It was one of the very few towns which were established by the Muslim rulers in Syria, being founded by the Umayyads as the capital of Filastīn. Soon after, it became the leading political and commercial city in southern Syria. Being the last important Syrian town on the highway to Egypt, or the first on the route back, it became a very important commercial center. Al-Maqdisī describes its activities as follows: "Commerce here is prosperous, and the markets excellent. It is the emporium for Egypt, and an excellent commercial station for the two seas".[117] Ramlah, like other major cities, had specialized markets. Ibn al-Qalānisī mentions that toward the end of the 10th century it had a textile market (sūq al-bazz).[118] The Geniza documents from the second half of the 11th century also indicate that it was an important trading center for textiles in general, and silk in particular.[119]

Our information about the commercial importance of Antioch is scanty. It seems that the great geographers of the area, Ibn Hawqal and al-Maqdisī, did not describe it in detail because it was in Byzantine hands when they wrote their books. Ibn Butlān, who visited it in 1051, described it in detail but he mentioned almost nothing related to its commercial importance. However, we

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should remember that this city was politically a leading city before it was occupied by the Byzantines. Its political and military importance even increased after the Byzantine occupation and it became the most important Byzantine city in eastern Anatolia. This position must have helped to enhance its commercial activities, especially during the Byzantine occupation. It became the commercial gate of the Byzantine export and import to or from Syria and other Muslim countries. We also know that the Italian merchants of Amalfi and Venice conducted active trade with it, and that in an earlier period the Jewish Rādhāniyah merchants traveled to it on their way between Europe and the far east. Its strategic location on the main highway between Aleppo and the sea, or between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean via the Euphrates, helped boost its commercial activities. All this leads us to believe that this city was one of the most important commercial centers in Syria. It possibly held the fourth, if not the third, most important position, in this respect, after Damascus, Aleppo and Ramlah.[120]

During the 10 - 11th centuries, Tripoli emerged as the most important coastal town. Al-Ya'qūbī describes its port as big and capable of containing a thousand ships. Ibn Ḥawqal, writing in the middle of the 10th century, says that ships loaded with merchandise coming from Byzantium and North Africa docked in its harbour day and night.[121] This city was described by Nāṣir Khusraw who visited it in 1047, as follows: "Its hostelries are four and five stories high, and there are even some that are of six. The private houses and bazaars are well built, and . . . clean . . . Every kind of meat, and fruit, and eatable that ever I saw in all the land of Persia is to be had here, . . . In the bazaar, too, they have made a watering-place . . . The Sultan of Egypt has remitted his right to the land-tax (kharaj) in the city . . . The city, too, is a place of customs, where all ships that come from the coasts of the Greeks and the Franks, and from Andalusia, and the Western lands (called Maghrib), have to pay a tithe to the sultan . . . The Sultan also has ships of his own here, which sail to Byzantium, and Sicily, and the West, to carry merchandise."[122]

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The political and commercial importance of Tripoli continued to increase and reached its zenith at the end of the period under discussion. During this period Tripoli became independent under the rule of Ibn 'Ammār and his descendents who preserved their independence against the Fatimids, Saljuqs, and for many years against the Crusaders. During its independence Tripoli became one of the leading commercial centers in the country.[123]

During the Fatimid rule in Syria there were other coastal cities which became important military, political and commercial centers, such as Beirut. Merchandise from all the Mediterranean world was brought to it by sea, and from Syria and the Eastern part of the Muslim world by land. Prices in this city were described by Ibn Ḥawqal as being low.[124]

Tyre was the leading military port in all Syria during the first centuries of Muslim rule. In the 10th century this city also became an important commercial center. In 1047 Nāṣir Khusraw visited it and described its commercial situation in the following way: "Its caravanseries are built of five or six stories, set one above the other . . . The bazaars are very clean, also great is the quantity of wealth exposed. This city of Tyre is, in fact, renowned for wealth and power among all the maritime cities of Syria."[125]

During the second half of the 11th century Tyre also became an independent city but, unlike Tripoli, it did not maintain its independence for long. However, it maintained its commercial prosperity. It also restored its leading military and commercial position in all the Syrian coast under the Crusaders.[126]

In the northern part of the Syrian coast Lādhiqiyah was the leading commercial port. During the 10th century this city became a prosperous trading center, especially under the Fuṣayṣ shaykhs. It was called a "city of merchants".[127] Lādiqiyah retained its importance in later periods. In the middle of the 11th century Ibn Buṭlān visited the city and reported that many foreigners visited it and stayed in its caravanseries.[128]

The other important coastal towns, which took part in the trade between Syria and the rest of the world and were commercial centers in their regions

were: 'Asqalān, Jaffa, Cesarea, Aylah (on the Red Sea), and Sidon.[129] Almost all geographers and travelers described the markets of Sidon as clean and beautiful. Nāṣir Khusraw says about them: "The bazaars are so splendidly adorned that when I first saw them I imagined the city to be decorated for the arrival of the Sultan, or in honour of some good news. When I inquired, however, they said it was customary for their city to be thus always beautifully adorned."[130]

There were many other inland cities located on the main highways, which also served as local trading centers and participated in "international" trade; they were: Manbij, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Ḥamah, Ba'labak, and Tiberias. The market-place of the last named extended from one city gate to the other.[131]

In Fiiasṭīn there were important commercial cities which were not located on the main highways. Jerusalem, because of its holiness, was an important center. Great numbers of Muslim, Christian and Jewish visitors or pilgrims came there, which initiated trade activities on a large scale. The commercial activities of Jerusalem could be described as "international" because a great variety of foreign products were brought here and many foreign merchants conducted commercial activities.[132]

Nābulus was another important trading center, but unlike the aforementioned cities, it was not located on a main trading highway, nor was it visited by great numbers of visitors or pilgrims. The situation of this city, in this respect, is unique. It did not participate in international trade and yet its commerce was as prosperous as in cities located on the main highways. Al-Maqdisī says about its markets: "The market extends from one gate of the city to the other, but there is another one which runs to the center of the town".[133]

The small towns in Syria which served as commercial centers for their regions were many; the most important were (from north to south): Bālis, Buzā'ah, Qinnasrīn, Ma'arrat Miṣrīn, Shayzar, Kafar Ṭāb, Jabalah, Bulunyās, Antarsūs, 'Irqah, Jubayl, Qārah, Zabadānī, al-Kuswah, Adhri'āt, Bānyās,, Buṣrā, Amman, Jericho, Zughar, Bayt Jibrīn, Gaza and Rafah.[134]

An Estimate of the Value of the Exported and Imported Goods

This estimate is highly speculative but it is indicative of Syrian trade and balance of trade.

Toward the end of the 10th century, the authorities levied in the small town of Aylah, 3000 dīnārs in taxes, annually.[135] We may expect that all of this amount was levied as customs and not other taxes, because we know that this port was used for export-import activities, and because there were almost no agricultural activities here. If the average rate of customs here was 5 percent (legally, Muslim merchants paid only 2.5 percent) then the value of the merchandise which passed through this port was 60,000 dīnārs. It is likely that half of this amount was the value of the exported goods. We should remember, however, that Syrian merchants used the port of Qulzum more than that of Aylah in their trade with Arabia, the Red Sea countries, East Africa and the Indian Ocean countries. We should also remember that most of the Syrian commercial relations with these areas, and especially with Arabia, were conducted over the land highways and not by sea. Therefore, the Syrian annual export to Arabia and farther south may have exceeded 300,000 dīnārs.

Nāṣir Khusraw reports that part of the customs which were levied in Tripoli on imported merchandise from Byzantium, West Europe, Spain and North Africa covered all of the expenses of the garrison in the city.[136] We do not know the number of soldiers who were stationed here when Nāṣir Khusraw visited it in 1047, but we do know that 6000 soldiers were stationed here immediately after its occupation by the Fatimids.[137] Although this city became larger and more important, economically and politically, the number of soldiers who were garrisoned in it during Nāṣir Khusraw's visit was perhaps much smaller than previously. The reason for this assumption is that Byzantine naval and land power posed a real threat to Syria during the second half of the 10th century, but this power decreased greatly after that, and the navy did not pose any serious threat to the coastal area. Also the Fatimid power was stronger and more stable in Syria and the Mediterranean during the first half of the 11th

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century than earlier. Therefore, the number of soldiers who were stationed here perhaps was less than 300.

Yāqūt reports that in the beginning of the 13th century the annual cost of maintaining a knight in the area of Aleppo was between 10,000 and 15,000 dirhams.[138] During this period the exchange rate was 20 to 28 dirhams per dīnār.[139] Thus, the cost of maintaining a knight was between 600 and 800 dīnārs. The cost of maintaining a regular soldier was much smaller than maintaining a knight, and it was between 70 and 100 dīnārs. This last figure is in accordance with the salaries of soldiers in other countries and periods.[140] Therefore, the annual cost of maintaining the garrison in Tripoli was probably 25,000 dīnārs.

Nāṣir Khusraw states explicitly that only part of the customs were employed to maintain the soldiers in the city. But even if we assume that 25,000 dīnārs was the total revenue of the customs, and that the average rate of customs here was 10 percent, we still come to the conclusion that the total value of all imported goods to Tripoli was 250,000 dīnārs. When we compare this amount with the amount of customs collected in other areas, it appears reasonable. For example, Al-Maqdisī reports that he himself saw a collector of customs in Tinnīs, Egypt who used to collect 1000 dīnārs daily. If we accept the accuracy of Al-Maqdisī's report we can conclude that the value of the imported and exported goods from this city was 3.5 million dīnārs annually. He also tells us that there were many similar customs collectors stationed along the Nile and the Mediterranean coast of Egypt.[141]

Tripoli was the main, but not the only, Syrian port on the Mediterranean coast. There were many other important ports and some of them, such as Tyre, were almost as important as Tripoli itself. An estimate of 800,000 dīnārs as the total value of the exported or imported goods through all the Syrian Mediterranean ports, during the 11th century, is a reasonable one.

In 944 Sayf al-Dawlah confiscated two caravans which were leaving Syria for Iraq. The value of the confiscated merchandise, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, was one million dīnārs.[142] This amount is greatly exaggerated, and perhaps

the real value of the merchandise was less than 200,000 dīnārs. Judging from this and other information, we may expect that the annual value of the exported goods to Jazīrah, Iraq, and farther east, was 700,000 dīnārs. The value of the exported goods, overland, to Egypt was probably 600,000 dīnārs, and that which was exported to Byzantium was perhaps 200,000 dīnārs. Thus, the total value of the merchandise which was sent out of or brought to Syria was 2.6 million annually.

The information available to us, about this period, attests to and strengthens this conclusion. Ibn al-'Adīm, for example, reports that in the year 1121 a merchant called 'Īsā al-Khujundī came to Aleppo to help fight the Crusaders and the Ismā'īlis. This merchant brought with him 500 camel loads of merchandise to help finance this war.[143] We do not know the value of this merchandise, but this example shows that there were very wealthy merchants who could buy and transport huge quantities of goods.

An example more closely related to the subject can be found in a report by Ibn Buṭlān. This physician, who visited Aleppo in 1051, reports that there were 20 cloth shops in this city which belonged to the representatives of the merchants. These men used to sell each day goods worth 20,000 dīnārs.[144] It is hard to believe that the annual revenue of these 20 shops amounted to more than 7 million dīnārs. But even if this report is extremely exaggerated it still indicates that commerce in general, and commerce in textiles in particular, was carried out on a large scale, and that it was flourishing during this period.

The value of the olive yield in the area of Ramlah, according to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, was 300,000 dīnārs in 1071.[145] Keeping in mind that this number is exaggerated, and assuming that the total Syrian yield of olives was 8 times that of Ramlah, we come to the conclusion that the value of the total Syrian yield of olives was 1.2 million dīnārs. Perhaps less than half of the yield was exported. The value of the exported dried fruits and other agricultural products was probably 300,000 dīnārs. The total value of the exported indust-

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rial products was perhaps 700,000 dīnārs. Two-thirds of this export, if not more, was textiles. The value of the exported raw materials, salt, and animals, perhaps amounted to 300,000 dīnārs. Thus, the total value of Syrian products which were exported annually was almost 1.8 million dīnārs. We have seen above that the value of the merchandise which was exported, or to be precise the merchandise which was sent out of Syria, was 2.6 million dīnārs. This means that 800,000 dīnārs worth of goods were not Syrian products, but were brought to this country from one side and were sent out from another.

These numbers also mean that more than 30 percent of the total products which were sent out of Syria were transit products. It seems that almost 40 percent of the products exported were transported by sea via the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Euphrates. The value of the industrial Syrian products, which were exported, was almost equal to the export of agricultural products. More than 60 percent of the total Syrian export was sent to the Mediterranean countries, and almost two-thirds of this went to Egypt. The rest (about 40 percent) was sent to Iraq, Jazīrah, the east, Arabia and the Red Sea area.

In this chapter I assumed that the value of the imported goods was equal to that of the exported ones. I also assumed that the quantity of the exported goods from one place was equal to the imported ones from the same place. These assumptions are obviously inaccurate, but they were used in order to help us estimate the total value of the exported or imported goods, especially because of the lack of sufficient information. A closer look, however, at the general information that we have and the kind of imported commodities, indicates that a great part of the imported goods can be described as luxury items, and that Syrian exports exceeded imports.

The only agricultural product that Syria imported in great quantities was flax, which was a cheap product. The import of minerals, other raw materials, animals and foodstuff, must have been small because Syria was almost self-sufficient or needed only a small quantity of these products. The import of industrial products also must have been small because the country needed

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hardly any product in great quantities which was not produced locally, with the exception of textiles. Great quantities of textiles (made of many kinds of raw materials) were imported, but it is also true that a great part of this import was re-exported. Most of the spices which were imported were also re-exported. All this indicates that Syrian import of the aforementioned items made up only a fraction of the total Syrian export, which was estimated above to be 1.8 million dīnārs. Large sums of money, therefore, were spent on the import of luxury goods such as slaves, gold, silver, precious stones, perfume and others. But it may still be expected that exports exceeded imports. This also indicates that Syrian import from the countries which exported slaves, gold, silver, precious stones, spices and perfume, exceeded its export to them. These countries were: Western Europe, North Africa, India and to a certain degree Byzantium. The Syrian foreign trade balance with the countries which imported olive oil and dried fruits was positive. These countries were: Iraq, Arabia, and Egypt. Syria's export to the Jazīrah perhaps equalled its import from it.

The prosperity of trade left a heavy mark on the development of many Syrian cities. This trade was one of the key factors in the development and enhancement of the economic position of many cities, especially the coastal cities and Aleppo. The latter benefited from the international trade more than any other city in the country. Because of its strategic location, more goods passed through this city than through any other city in the country. Most of the imported goods from the Jazīrah, Iraq and Byzantium to Syria and most of the exported goods to these countries passed through it. The coastal towns, although strategically located, did not enjoy a location similar to that of Aleppo. These cities were small and their economic importance before the 10th century was limited. Therefore, any economic improvement was easily felt. Commerce improved greatly here, a fact which made these cities more dependent on trade and transportation than on anything else. The description of these cities by Nāṣir Khusraw, who visited some of them in the middle of the 11th century, attests to this.

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CHAPTER 6

THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION AND STANDARD OF LIVING

The previous five chapters give us a general view of the economic situation in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries. However, there are still other topics closely related to the subject of this book. There is a need to address directly the general economic situation, and the standard of living -- the main themes in this study. Money, prices, taxes, revenue, public construction, economic decline and improvement in different areas, and the standard of living will be discussed in this chapter.

Money

Syria and Egypt used coins made of gold, which were called dīnārs, since the beginning of the Islamic era. Actually all Muslim countries west of Syria used dīnārs while all Muslim countries east of Syria used coins made of silver which were called dirhams. This does not mean that dirhams were not found in the Syrian markets; on the contrary, not only were they in circulation, but they were also minted there. The main minting centers of dirhams in Syria were: Ramlah, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Aleppo, Antioch, Tiberias and Bālis. Dīnārs were also struck in these cities, especially in Ramlah and Damascus.[1]

The main supplier of gold to the Muslim countries was Sūdān or the area south of the Sahara. During the 10th century all North Africa came under the rule of the Fatimids who also controlled the routes leading to the gold area. Therefore, great amounts of gold were brought to the Fatimid capitals of Mahdiyyah (in Tunisia) and Cairo. During the first part of the Fatimid rule in Egypt only gold coins were struck in this country. However, silver

coins were found in the Egyptian markets, but these were brought from Syria or from North Africa.[2]

During the 11th century the Fatimids lost control over North Africa. This loss meant also that the supply of gold was diminished, if not halted. Therefore, Egyptian mints started striking also silver coins. Towards the end of the Ayyubid period gold coins almost disappeared in Egypt and only dirhams and other cheaper coins were in circulation. During the Mamluk period even the silver supply decreased greatly. This was also the case in Syria, but what interests us here is that during the 10 - 11th centuries, mainly gold dīnārs were in circulation.[3]

The rate of exchange between dīnārs and dirhams changed from time to time. This rate depended mostly on: the amount of coins in circulation of each metal; the fineness of the coins; and their weight. During the period under discussion Syria was mainly under Egyptian rule; therefore, we may assume that the fineness of coins used in Syria was the same as that used in Egypt.

Table 1 shows that the quality of the Iraqi dīnārs was not as high as the Egyptian and the Syrian ones. Iraqi dīnārs actually reached a very low point (50 percent) at the end of the 10th century.[4] On the other hand, the quality of the Iraqi as well as the Fatimid dirhams fluctuated greatly during the period under discussion. In the year 998 the fineness of the Iraqi dirhams was so low that the exchange rate from dirhams to dīnārs was 150:1. Around this period (1008) the value of the dirham in Egypt also became very low: 34 dirhams for each dīnār. The reason was the low quality of the dirhams. As a result of this situation the Fatimid authorities prohibited the use of these dirhams, and at the same time new ones, of a high quality, were introduced; therefore, the rate of exchange became 18 dirhams for each dīnār.[5]

Table 1

Fineness of Egyptian and Syrian Dinars

Rate of Fineness in Percent

Number of Coins Examined

Year	60-80	88	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
Egypt													
868-884		1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1
884-896		–	–	–	–	–	4	1	2	4	2	1	–
896		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–
896-904		–	–	–	–	–	–	5	1	3	2	2	–
902-908		1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–
908-932		1	1	2	1	5	6	2	4	1	–	–	–
932-934		10	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
953-975		–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	17	4
975-996		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	2
966-1020		–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	17	4	–
1020-1035		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	9	–
1035-1093		–	3	–	–	–	–	–	5	10	34	20	3
1094-1101		–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	4
1101-1130	10	–	1	2	–	1	3	–	8	3	9	8	40
1130-1149		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	22
1149-1154		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8
1154-1160		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
1160-1171	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Syria													
891-969		2	1	1	2	4	1	2	2	1	–	–	–
969-1094		–	1	–	–	–	3	4	7	8	15	5	–

Sources: Ashtor, Social, pp. 128 - 9, 194. Ehrenkreutz, vol. 2, pp. 149 - 53, 159 - 61. vol. 6, pp. 259 - 61.

The abundance of one metal could also greatly change the rate of exchange. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī tells us that Atsiz and his Turkoman troops robbed Jerusalem in 1076 because its inhabitants rebelled against him and against the Saljuq rule. The amount of silver which was robbed from the city was so great that the rate of exchange in Damascus became 50 dirhams for one dīnār. The previous rate, as Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī reports, was only 13 dirhams to one dīnār.[6]

The legal weight of the dīnār was equal to 4.25 grams, while the weight of the dirham was 2.97 grams. However, for technical and economic reasons, this rate was not enforced and the authorities struck coins with weights lower

and sometimes higher than was legal. When, for example, we examine the weights of some Tulunid and Ikhshidid dīnārs from Palestine we find: 5.01, 4.95, 4.86, 4.75, 4.68, 4.58, 4.45, 4.30, 4.2, 3.94, 3.87, 3.78, 3.58, 3.4, 3.18, 3.03, 2.82, 2.61, 2.55, 2.38, 2.23, and 1.3 grams, and the weights of dirhams: 4.45, 4.0, 3.85, 3.71, 3.45, 3.14, 2.94, 2.64, 2.48, 2.38 and 1.66 grams.[7]

The above list of weights shows great discrepencies in weights of dīnārs and dirhams. We should remember, however, that fractions of dīnārs and dirhams were also used. Al-Maqdisī tells us that the Fatimids had a quarter of a dīnār. The fractions of the dirham, according to Al-Maqdisī, were: half (called Qīrāt), quarter, one-eighth, and one sixteenth (called Kharnūbah).[8] Doubles of weights of dīnārs and dirhams also existed. it is not always indicated on the coin if it is a fraction or a multiple of the full coin. In the early periods the fact that the coin was a fraction was indicated on the coin itself. During the period under discussion it was not indicated. On the contrary, it is still called a dīnār or a dirham, even when its weight shows that it is a fraction of that coin.[9] These facts help to explain the confusion in weight mentioned above; but it does not solve the problem totally. The solution lies in the fact that the authorities deliberately struck low weight coins because of special economic problems. We also should remember that at that time the authorities did not have the technology to strike coins of a very precise weight.

This situation resulted in forcing the people to use these coins by weight (waznan) and not by count ('adadan). Only when the weight of the coin was very close to the legal weight did they use it by count. But because the people knew that the weight of the coins in ciruculation was not necessarily the legal weight, it was reasonable to weigh the coins, especially if the transaction was on a large scale. There is much historical evidence to prove that people used these coins by weight.[10] There is also historical evidence which shows that money was used by count.

Speaking about the Fatimid money in his time, Al-Maqdisī tells us that

it was used by count. Even the fractions, including the Kharnūbah (1/16th of a dirham) were used by count.[11] A few years after the time of Al-Maqdisī, and during a famine which struck the country, people were already using dīnārs by weight ('aynan).[12] During the reign of Al-Ḥākim, a woman used to buy one sheep daily for two dīnārs -- by count.[13] This last example also indicates that using coins by count during this period was unusual. The man who was selling the sheep agreed to this arrangement because the woman who bought the sheep was a good customer and she was paying a high price anyhow.

When the sources speak about the rate of exchange of dīnārs and dirhams they mainly mean the dīnārs and dirhams which were of the legal weight and not any dīnār or dirham in circulation. Table 2 shows that the exchange rate fluctuated greatly during the 10 - 11th centuries. But this table does not tell us which of the two metals, if either, was stable. The sources show that the authorities respected and were more interested in the most valuable metal -- gold. In most cases, the authorities were stricter in striking fine dīnārs with a correct weight. Therefore, we assume that the value of the dīnārs was stabler than that of dirhams.

The exchange rates which appear in Table 2 do not agree with another table made by Goitein. Basing his table on information found in the Geniza documents, Goitein found that the rate of exchange during the 11th century was between 33 and 50 dirhams per dīnār, and sometimes even more. His explanation for these varying rates is that poor quality dirhams and fractions of dirhams were widespread in Egypt during this century. Good quality and full dirhams were also in circulation, and each dirham of the full weight used to be exchanged for three of the low quality ones.[14] This explanation is likely, especially since it was not engraved on the fraction of the coin that it was a fraction of a dīnār or dirham. For this reason, all coins made of silver were considered to be dirhams, and coins made of gold were considered to be dīnārs, irrespective of their weight and fineness. The value of the coins during this period is not implied by the name; the name implied only the kind

of metal. The value of each coin was determined by weighing it and by examining its fineness.

Table 2

The Exchange Rate of Gold and Silver Coins

Number of Dirhams in One Dīnār

Year	Iraq	Syria-Egypt	Year	Iraq	Syria-Egypt
630	12	–	981	–	20
717	15	–	998	150	–
795	22	–	999	20	20
912	15	–	1001	25	–
919	14.5	–	1002	40	–
924	12	–	1006	–	26
927	16	–	1006	–	18
933	14	–	1008	–	34
941	10-13	–	1009	–	18
944	15	–	1044	–	18
956	14	–	1044	–	16
969	15	16	1049	–	35
975	14	15.5	1076	–	15

Sources: Al-Dūrī, al'Irāq, pp. 205, 208, 212. Balog, pp. 114 - 5. Al-kirmilī, pp. 58 - 9. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 183. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 179. Al-Dāwadārī, p. 275. Al-Anṭākī, p. 15.

Striking coins and fixing their weight and fineness was the total responsibility of the political authorities. However, during the 10th and especially the 11th century, the authorities entrusted certain individuals with minting coins; they were still, however, under the supervision of the authorities. We should remember here that not all the gold and silver which was supplied to the mints came from the governments. A large percentage of it was brought to the mints, to be refined and struck as coins, by the jewelers and individuals. These individuals brought to the mint jewelry made of gold and silver, fractions and old coins to melt and mint them as coins.[15]

Those who used the mint to melt their jewelry and coins and mint them anew paid a special fee (or tax); yet they were seeking profit from doing this. These individuals were using different means to convince responsible people in

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the mint to make their coins not very fine and lighter in weight than the legal weight. The reason was that they would save part of the precious metal, and yet their coins would be used as if they were fine in quality and good in weight.

This shows that governments were not always directly responsible for the existence of below standard coins in the market. There are many examples which show that governments were interested in keeping a high standard of coins, and also of making sure that there were enough coins in circulation. The reason behind this interest was to keep the prices of goods as stable as possible. For example, the sources tell us that the authorities executed mint holders because they did not keep a high standard of coins.[16] On other occasions the authorities resumed direct control over the mints.[17] And sometimes, for economic reasons, they abolished what they called "mint fees" (mukūs dār al-ḍarb) to encourage people to melt their jewelry and mint it as coins.[18]

During the period under discussion coins were not the only means of payment known to the people of the Middle East. A system similar to the modern banking system was relatively highly developed in this area. This subject was discussed in Chapter 5, and therefore there is no need to discuss it here.

Prices

Prices of goods fluctuated greatly during the 10 - 11th centuries. The sources mention that on many occasions prices rose greatly as a result of diseases (wabā' or ṭā'ūn) or other natural disasters. On a few occasions the prices went up sharply because the big merchants tried to store goods, especially grain, in the hope that prices would rise. When prices became very high because of hoarding, the authorities interfered and forced the merchants not only to sell their goods, but to sell them for reasonable prices.[19] On other occasions the authorities imported great quantities of goods, especially when prices were high as a result of famine.[20] I could not find examples of governors or rulers who, in this period, monopolized certain trades

and fixed high prices. This phenomenon became widespread in later periods, especially under the Mamluks. It seems that, in this period, prices were fixed entirely by the law of supply and demand.[21]

Knowing the prices of things in Syria in the Middle Ages could help us greatly to understand the economic situation at that time. However, it is very difficult to determine the prices of things for many reasons. On this subject Goitein says: "The study of prices in the Geniza, let alone in Arabic literary sources, is like attempting to solve an equation with four unknowns: the exact nature, type, and quality of the commodity traded; the identity of the weights, measures, or other indications of quantity referred to; the value of the money paid; and finally, the time, place, and specific circumstances of the transaction concerned. In many cases, when prices are indicated, one, or more, or all, of these elements are not expressly mentioned and may be established only with the aid of other sources."[22] In addition to this, the Arabic sources mainly mention the prices of goods when they are much higher or lower than normal prices.

We should also keep in mind that prices could differ greatly from one place to another and from one period to another. The main reasons for these differences are: the high cost of transportation, the great fluctuation in the annual yield and the lack of storage. The cost of transporting cereal from Egypt to Syria or from Iraq to Syria, and vice versa, could double the price. For the same reason the price could differ greatly even between different areas in Syria itself, such as between Aleppo and Ramlah. The lack of facilities for storing great quantities of cereal could result in a doubling or even tripling the prices if the yield was inadequate for two or three consecutive years (see Table 3). Even when the yield was normal the prices of the main agricultural products were much higher before the harvest than after it.[23]

Table 3 shows a great lack of information about prices in Syria; however, prices in this country were not greatly different from prices in the

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neighboring countries of Egypt and Iraq, with whom it had open and busy trade. These prices do not actually tell us the normal price; on the contrary, they mainly show the prices when they were lower or higher than normal. Normal prices were: For a kurr (see Appendix 4) of wheat, less than 40 dīnārs (the lowest price of the high prices) and more than 25 dīnārs (the highest price of the low prices). Perhaps the normal price of a kurr of wheat in the two countries during the period under discussion was 30 - 35 dīnārs.

Table 3

The Price of Bread, Rice and Wheat

Year	Bread 100 ratl	Rice one Kurr	Weat one Kurr	The prices in dīnārs[1] Iraq	Egypt	Syria
703-732			*	—	1.17	—
775			*	1.95	—	—
800-834			*	—	5.16	—
874			*	—	21.28	—
874			*	—	164.4+	—
877			*	—	2.74	—
891			*	—	4.29	—
893-932	*			165.0	50.0	—
912		*		7-	—	—
912			*	60	—	—
920	*			0.83+	—	—
920			*	50	—	—
934	*			25+	—	—
934			*	120+	—	—
939	*			—	7+	—
940			*	25-	—	—
940			*	130+	—	—
941		*		30+	—	—
944	*			0.04-	—	—
946	*			1.3	—	—
946	*			8.3+	—	—
946			*	400+	—	—
949	*			0.33-	—	—
960			*	80+	—	—
969			*	32	—	32
969			*	40-90+	—	—
969			*	—	282+	—
969	*			—	12+	—
973	*			—	—	20
983			*	255+	—	—
992	*			200+	—	—
993	*			200+	—	—
993			*	300+	—	—

Year	Bread 100 ratl	Rice one Kurr	Weat one Kurr	The prices in dīnārs Iraq	Egypt	Syria
1003			*	120+	–	–
1008			*	12-	–	–
1036			*	–	3130+	–
1055	*			–	10+	–
1067			*	–	814+	–
1068			*	–	31+	–
1076			*	–	–	268+
1080	*			–	–	17+
1084			*	10-	–	–
1100			*	77+	77+	–
1100			*	70+	–	–
1108	*			–	0.5	–

The Sources: Al-Dūrī, al-'Irāq, pp. 230 - 5, 245 - 6. Ashtor, Prix, pp. 243 - 5. Ashtor, Social, pp. 93 - 4, 127, 154. Goitein, Society, vol. 2, p. 127. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 8, pp. 416, 533, 590. vol. 9, pp. 94, 101. vol. 10, pp. 132, 301. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, pp. 31, 164. vol. 4, p. 164. vol. 5, pp. 15, 17, 79. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 12. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 179. Ibn 'Asākir (1911-32), vol. 2, p. 331. Ibn al-Qalānisī. p. 17.

[1]The minus sign (-) which appears at the right of the price means that that price is lower than the normal price. The plus sign (+) which appears to the right of the price means that that price is higher than the normal price.

This conclusion is strengthened by Ibn Hawqal's information. In one place he says that the Hamdanid authorities estimated the price of one kurr of wheat at 500 dirhams (almost 32 dīnārs). In another place he mentions that the Hamdanids estimated the price of a kurr of wheat and barley at 500 dirhams (wheat is more expensive and therefore it should be 36 dīnārs for one kurr). And in another place he says that they estimated the price of a kurr of wheat, barley, rice and cereals (ḥubūb) at 500 dirhams.[24] Therefore, the real price was 30 - 35 dīnārs.

The normal price of bread in Iraq changed from time to time. In the year 920 the price of 100 raṭl was only 0.83 dīnārs, and yet it was considered expensive, while the same amount of bread cost 1.3 dīnārs in the year 945,

and still it was not considered expensive. The normal price of bread in Egypt and Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries was similar to that of Iraq.[25]

The price of rice was low in Iraq in the 10th century. It seems that its normal price was only 30 dīnārs per kurr -- which means that it was cheaper than wheat. Even in the Jazīrah and northern Syria, where this crop was newly introduced, it was cheaper than wheat.[26]

Table 3 includes the prices of only three items, but two of them were staples in the diets of most of the population. Bread made from wheat was not only the main item in each meal, but it made up most of the food of poor people. Another item which was considered essential in the Middle Eastern menu was meat. Chinese travelers from the 12th and 14th centuries were surprised to learn that people in the Middle East were eating mainly bread and meat, rather than rice and fish.[27]

It seems that the price of a sheep in Ḥijāz was half a dīnār at the beginning of Islam. According to a tradition, the blood-money during the Prophet's time was 800 dīnārs or 8000 dirhams. The second caliph, 'Umar I, made it 1000 dīnārs, or 12000 dirhams, or 100 camels, or 200 cows, or 2000 sheep, or 200 dresses (ḥulal).[28] This also means that the price of a cow was five dīnārs, while the price of a camel was ten dīnārs. It is likely that these prices were lower than the prices in Syria, because in 'Umar's time a great number of the Ḥijāzī people, especially the males, joined the Muslim armies in Iraq and Syria. Therefore, the demand for sheep and camels in the Ḥijāzī markets decreased. Also, there are fewer people in Ḥijāz to take care of these animals; therefore, people wanted to sell their animals for even lower prices. We might also expect that the price of a sheep in Syria during the beginning of Islam was higher than the normal price in Arabia because the relative number of animals to the population was probably much higher in Arabia than in Syria, since animal husbandry was the main economic activity in Arabia. From the period under discussion we have few references to prices of sheep or other animals. For example, Al-Dāwadārī mentions that in the year 1016 a

woman used to pay two dīnārs for a sheep, but he implies that this price was much higher than the normal price.[29] It is likely that the normal price was one dīnār or a little higher.

In the year 1067 many buffaloes (jāmūs) were sold very cheaply. The price of each ranged from one to three dīnārs.[30] Perhaps the normal price of the buffalo was four to six dīnārs. This price is similar to the price of cows in Arabia during the beginning of Islam.

The average sheep used to amount to 15 - 20 kilograms (33.3 - 44.4 pounds) of meat. Therefore, we can conclude that the price of one kilogram of meat was almost 0.055 dīnārs. Cow, buffalo, or camel meat was cheaper than this. When the prices were very high, four chickens were sold in Iraq for one dīnār, or one kilogram of chicken meat was worth 0.2 dīnārs. The usual price of chicken meat was probably much lower than this because in that same year (1055) the prices were so high that one quince or one pomegranate or one cucumber was sold for one dīnār.[31]

After discussing the prices of the main items in the diet of the Middle Easterners, we should turn our attention to the price of textiles, because they are also essential to the life of all peoples. It is more difficult to determine the prices of textiles than that of food items, especially since the sources do not tell us the quality of the textiles or their raw materials. However, there is some information on this subject, especially in the Geniza documents, and it is worth mentioning them here. Most of the following prices are the prices of cloths or raw materials in Egypt or North Africa, but it is likely that prices in Syria were similar.

The price of Egyptian flax around the year 1040 was between 4.2 dīnārs and 11.25 dīnārs per 100 pounds (the pound is almost equal to the raṭl). This wide gap in prices was caused by the different qualities of the flax. Another list of prices from the same period shows that the price of 100 pounds of flax in Tunisia was 4.2 - 4.7 dīnārs. Towards the end of the 11th century the price ranged between 5 and 19 dīnārs per 100 pounds.[32]

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Towards the end of the 11th century the price of one pound of textiles, dyed purple and perhaps made of flax, was 0.14 dīnārs. Another document shows that the price of one piece of a similar kind of textile was 0.12 dīnārs.[33] The price of cotton cloth was 0.17 - 0.2 dīnārs per pound and the average price of the more expensive and prestigious cloths, made of silk, was two dīnārs for one pound.[34] We should mention here that a pound of cloth made of flax was enough to make a full dress for a man or a woman.

Shelter is another essential item in the life of people. The sources mention the prices of some houses. For example, some houses in Damascus used to cost 3,000 dīnārs; others cost between 300 and 400 dīnārs. The price of a shop was 1,000 dīnārs according to some sources.[35] A house was bought in Cairo for 900 dīnārs.[36] The cost of establishing a large sugar refinery, employing a great number of laborers, was a few thousand dīnārs.[37] The sources do not tell us anything about the size, location or materials of which the above mentioned houses were built. These houses were undoubtedly big and their prices do not represent those of the homes of average persons. The price of a small house or the house of an average person was much lower than this. The sources report that a house in a big town in Palestine was worth 150 dīnārs during the first half of the 11th century. A small house in Aleppo was sold for 30 dīnārs in the beginning of the 12th century, but the sources indicate that the normal price of this house was more than this. The price of two small houses in a village in the Ghūtah was only 4.5 dīnārs in 922. An average house in Damascus was sold in 932 for 140 dīnārs.[38] Therefore, the average price of an average house in a city ranged between 50 and 150 dīnārs, while the average house in a village was worth only 15 to 30 dīnārs.

In addition to the prices mentioned above, the sources give a few other examples worthy of note. The price of lentils, an important element in the diet of the poor, was lower than the price of wheat and higher than that of barley. The price of one makkūk (almost 81 kg.) of lentils in Aleppo in 1146 was 0.25 dīnārs and in the year 1173 was less than 0.66 dīnārs. The price of

one makkūk of bittervetch (julbān) in Aleppo was 0.2 and 0.66 dīnārs, respectively.[39] According to Al-Maqdisī, 1000 large and high quality apples in Hebron were worth, in his time, only one dirham. In other words, for one dīnār a person could buy 5 tons of high quality apples.[40] Al-Maqdisī also reports that in Jerusalem 4 raṭls of raisins were worth only one dirham. This also means that the price of 200 kg. of raisins was one dīnār.[41] In the date-producing districts of North Africa or Persia one could buy, in a good year during the 10th century, a camel load of dates for only 0.12 dīnārs.[42] Al-Maqdisī tells us that in Jerusalem a raṭl of cheese was worth only one dānaq, e.g. a person could buy 360 kg. of cheese for one dīnār.[43] During the same period the price of 1.5 raṭls of olive oil was one dirham (75 kg. for one dīnār).[44] The price of a raṭl of sugar in Jerusalem, during the second half of the 10th century was one dirham, or 0.03 dīnārs for one kg. According to Ashtor the price of sugar increased greatly during the later periods and reached almost 0.1 dīnārs per kg. during the second half of the 11th century.[45] During the second half of the 12th century the price of a donkey was 10 dīnārs, and a horse was 20 dīnārs, but a good horse could be worth 100 dīnārs.[46] A large meal in Egypt in the 11th century cost between 0.5 and 1.0 dirham (0.013 - 0.027 dīnārs).[47] Goitein estimates that a capital of less than 10 dīnārs was sufficient to operate "an ordinary workshop".[48]

During Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reign (d. 1191) goods were cheap: a kurr of wheat cost 10 dīnārs, a kurr of barley 3.7 dīnārs, a kurr of beans (fūl) 2.2 dīnārs and one kg. of sugar was 0.066 dīnārs.[49]

Governments did not fix prices except on certain occasions, especially when prices became very high. Sometimes they issued lists of prices, especially for imported goods, but these lists were only directives and not official tariffs.[50] However, governments tried to keep prices low and stable. The main instruments which they used were: supervising the markets through the "ḥisbah institution"; importing goods which were in great demand; abolishing the customs taxes (mukūs);[51] and keeping a sufficient and high standard of coins in circulation.

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Taxes

During the Middle Ages, Syrians paid almost the same kind of taxes as the Iraqis or Egyptians. All of these countries were under Muslim domination; therefore, Muslim law influenced the tax system in these countries in a similar way. These countries also went through similar types of administration since the beginning of Islam. Some differences were created, especially between Syria and Iraq during the period under discussion, mainly because they were under different kinds of regimes. The main taxes which were paid to the authorities were:

Kharāj: A land tax paid originally by non-Muslim farmers, but in later periods some Muslim farmers also paid this tax. The amount of this tax was not fixed, so the authorities changed its rate frequently.

Jizya: Poll tax, paid by dhimmis. Legally, it is imposed on able men only. Its amount was not fixed, but most of the time it was one dīnār for poor people, two dīnārs for the middle class and four dīnārs for the rich.

'Ushr: Tithe. Land tax paid by Muslim farmers. Its amount is ten percent of the agricultural yield.

Mukūs: Customs. The foreign merchants paid ten percent of the value of the merchandise. Dhimmi merchants, who were citizens of the Muslim countries, paid five percent, while Muslim merchants paid only two and a half percent.[52] (this kind of tax was discussed in Chapter 5).

Taxes on markets and shops: These were imposed on almost anything bought or sold in large amounts (wholesale). Also, all shops, mills, khāns and public baths paid taxes. These taxes were not fixed.[53]

These were the main taxes collected by Muslim governments. The last two groups of taxes (noncanonical taxes) included a great number of different taxes. The number of noncanonical taxes, called "mukūs," "rusūm," or "ḍarā'ib,"

and which were imposed by the Fatimids during the 12th century, was more than eighty-eight.[54] A merchant made forty-five payments, at the end of the 11th century, for a great variety of services and taxes for the shipping of 474 pounds of textiles from Cairo to Alexandria. All the taxes and services in this case amounted to five dīnārs, while the value of the merchandise itself was 66.25 dīnārs.[55] Even when the amount of the tax was fixed, the authorities sometimes charged more than the fixed amount.[56]

The historical sources frequently tell us that the authorities abolished the mukūs. This fact also tells us that the mukūs were imposed frequently. It seems that the Hamdanids imposed mukūs, like or even in excess of the other dynasties. For example, when Sa'īd al-Dawlah was appointed as a ruler of the Hamdanids in the year 990, he and his powerful lieutenant, Lu'lu', abolished the "unjust and illegal taxes". They collected only the old rate of Kharāj. Moreover, they returned the property and land to the people who owned it before Sa'd al-Dawlah and Sayf al-Dawlah expropriated it.[57]

Another noncanonical institution, which we may call a tax, was the "musādarah" (confiscation). The authorities mainly confiscated the property of the very rich, mostly the people who made their fortune during their employment with the government. This institution was not as widely used in Syria as in Egypt and Iraq.[58]

The land tax was not always imposed on individual farmers, but was a fixed amount levied on each village. In this case, if the population of that village decreased, the existing population had to pay the "takmilah," or the making up of the deficit. This practice was used especially in Egypt and the Hamdanid territory.[59] We do not have sufficient information to enable us to determine which system was used in collecting taxes but, it seems that the tax-farming system was the one mostly in use.[60]

It is important to note here that nonagricultural taxes made up a great part of the government revenue. For example, the poll tax was a very important one, especially in a country like Syria where the number of dhimmis was great.

The rate of the poll tax during this period was 1.5, 2.5 or 4.5 dīnārs, according to the wealth of the dhimmi. The Geniza documents, according to Goitein, indicate that no dhimmi could escape paying this tax.[61] If this is true, and if we assume that the dhimmis living in Syria made up 30 percent of the total population, then more than 250,000 dīnārs must have been collected as poll tax annually from Syria.

Customs and other noncanonical taxes also made up a high percentage of the total revenue. We might expect that merchants paid between five and ten percent of the value of their imported or exported merchandise; especially if we take into consideration that they perhaps paid customs on the same merchandise every time they passed through a customs station. In Chapter 5 we reached the conclusion that the value of the merchandise which was sent out and that which was brought into Syria was more than five million dīnārs. Therefore, if collecting taxes at that time was efficient then the share of customs in the total government revenue should be almost 400,000 dīnārs annually. This number is not necessarily exaggerated, especially if we compare it with other numbers. For example, Al-Maqdisī reports that the revenue from the Mukūs in Cairo alone, amounted to 100,000 dīnārs annually.[62]

The other taxes, which we called market taxes, were also very important, even during the period under discussion. Ibn Ḥawqal says that the revenue of Naṣībīn in 968 included 5000 dīnārs as poll-tax, 5000 dīnārs as wine-tax, 5000 dīnārs on domestic animals, and 17,000 dīnārs on mills, baths, shops and crown lands; although he was speaking about the situation in al-Jazīrah we might expect that this was also the case in Syria.[63] In a later period, during the reign of the Ayyubid sultan, Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (1236 - 1261) the revenue of Aleppo was 7,475,000 dirhams. Ibn Shaddad reports that 1,960,000 of this was land-taxes, while the market taxes amounted to more than 3,195,000. The remaining 2,320,000 was levied as customs, poll-tax and other taxes.[64]

We should also remember that during this period the amount of money levied from the land, kharāj or 'ushr taxes decreased greatly because of the

change in land ownership[65] (see Chapter 2). Therefore, we can conclude that the non-agricultural taxes constituted a high percentage of the revenue of Syria. However, the latter taxes still made up almost half of the revenue.

Revenue

We do not have enough information about the exact revenue of Syria during the period under discussion; however, the sources mention some revenues from an earlier period.

Although the figures in Appendix 5, Table 1, are not completely accurate, they still represent, to a certain degree, the revenue of Syria during the 8 - 9th centuries. The most accurate are the ones by Al-Jahshiyārī (No.2), Ibn Khurdādhbih (No.6), and Ibn Ḥawqal (No.9).

800 1,646,000 dinars

864 1,990,000 dinars

918 2,600,000 dinars

These three revenues indicate a definite and steady increase in the amount which was collected by the authorities.

High or low revenues do not always reflect the economic state of affairs, because revenues depend heavily on the efficiency of the authorities in collecting taxes. For Syria during the 8 - 9th centuries, we have no reason to believe that the authorities became more efficient in 918 than in 864 or in 800. We can conclude here that Syria, at the beginning of the 10th century, although it had been devastated by the Qarmatis, was still at its highest level since the beginning of Islam.

The sources do not provide us with similar information about the later period; however, the writings of Al-Maqdisī do not indicate any important changes in the revenue of the country. Although we suspect that Al-Maqdisī copied the figures of the revenue of Syria from earlier sources, these figures are still important for us because they represent his estimate of the revenue of each province. He tells us that the ḍarā'ib in Syria were light (hayyinah),

except those levied on the caravansaries (funduq).[66]

Al-Maqdisī wrote his book just after the Fatimid occupation of Syria, and after the country had suffered from a great deal of unrest and instability. As new and ambitious rulers, the Fatimids wanted to win the support of the Syrians by reducing or lightening taxes. These circumstances are similar to the ones which existed in 908, 918, when the revenue of Syria was 2.6 million dīnārs. Syria which was occupied by the Tulunids was reoccupied by the Abbasids shortly before the beginning of the 10th century. This was also only a few years after the Qarmati devastation of the eastern section of the country (see Appendix 1). Therefore, we might expect that the Abbasids, before the Fatimids, also imposed light taxes. if the rate of the taxes was not high, and yet the revenue of the country was still 2.6 million dīnārs (or close to that figure) then we should assume that Syria was flourishing during the 10th century.

In the northern part of the country important changes did take place, especially during the Hamdanid period. The main factors which initiated this change were: The new agricultural policy resulted in an increase in the value of the agricultural yield. Commerce flourished here during this period, more than it had previously. It may be presumed that new taxes were imposed and their collection became more efficient, especially because there was a great need for money to finance the wars with Byzantium. All these factors still indicate that the revenue here increased, even though part of the land which was paying kharāj started paying tithe or did not pay anything, because of the change in land ownership. If the new owner was from the ruling family or one of the high ranking officers, it is likely that these officials paid reduced taxes or did not pay at all (see Chapter 2).

During the first half of the 11th century the country enjoyed a more peaceful situation under the Fatimids and Mirdasids. The historical sources available to us also do not indicate any major changes in the taxation system or the land ownership in the area under Fatimid rule. Al-Anṭākī tells us that the Fatimid vizier, 'Īsā Ibn Nasṭūrūs (at the end of the 10th century) imposed

new and high taxes (rusūm and mukūs), but his successor, Ibn 'Ammār, abolished them.[67]

The northern part, on the other hand, witnessed some changes. The Mirdasid ruling family and their tribe, Banū Kilāb, became great landlords in the area. Because the Kilābis were semi-nomadic, and part of them were still nomadic, part of the cultivated land became pasture land. This process started much earlier, but it increased during this period. The change in land usage reduced the value of its yield; therefore, the government revenue from it was reduced. It is likely that the area which was affected greatly by this process was only the area of Ḥimṣ and the land adjacent to the desert, since the writings of Nāṣir Khusraw and ibn Buṭlān indicate that the rest of northern Syria was not only flourishing, but also very well cultivated. Also because of the lack of efficiency in collecting taxes in the Fatimid and Mirdasid areas, it is likely that the total revenue decreased during the first half of the 11th century.[68] However, there are many indications that the general economic situation was still good and perhaps even better than before. The opposite happened during the second half of the 11th century, when the general economic situation declined while the total revenue increased. The reasons behind the increase in revenue were: new and high taxes were imposed and the collection of taxes became more efficient.

It is true that the sources do not give us details about the new taxes and the efficiency of collecting them, but the general political situation in the country indicates that. Usually new governments are more efficient than the old ones. During this period there were three new Saljuq administrations, in Damascus, Aleppo and Antioch. In Tripoli and Tyre there were other new administrations. Also, the smaller the region ruled by one administration, the more efficient that administration is in collecting taxes. During this period Syria was divided into many small regions and each region was ruled by independent rulers. To the five aforementioned administrations we should add: the Fatimid administration in the south and on the Palestinian coast and Banū Munqidh in Shayzar.

This explains why collecting taxes was more efficient than before, but it does not explain why we should assume that new and higher taxes were imposed on the population. The explanation lies in the fact that many administrations existed in the country at the same time. This situation creates unnecessary duplication of offices and armies, which means more expenditure. The fact that there were so many different independent rulers creates a power struggle among them, which also requires great sums of money. This was the case in Syria; the different rulers were fighting each other and at the same time they were fighting other enemies from outside the country.

Table 2 in Appendix 5 gives us some information about the financial status of many places in Syria during the period under discussion. These reports, however, do not form a good basis for an estimate of the revenue of the country during any given period. The main reason for that is that some of these tributes or fines were imposed on these places as a stiff punishment. Therefore, in most cases we cannot estimate their regular payments. However, judging from the general information that we have from this period it is likely that the annual revenue of Syria during the second half of the 11th century was almost 2 million dīnārs. This revenue perhaps was only 1.5 million dīnārs during the first half of the same century. In conclusion, we could say that Syrian revenue reached its peak during the 10th century.

Public Construction

The sources mention very few large scale public works which were carried out in Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries. These works were mainly in Damascus and Aleppo. For example, the Fatimid troops which were led by Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ and which occupied Syria in 970 built many houses and markets in al-Dakkah, outside of the walls of Damascus. They also built there a great, high palace. The amount of construction here was so great that the area resembled a city (madīnah).[69]

The Saljuqs, especially Tutush, made great efforts to rebuild Damascus, which suffered greatly during the last decade of Fatimid rule and during Atsiz's rule. Tutush was the ruler who started the rebuilding of the city and of the Umayyad Mosque which had been burnt earlier. The historians do not mention this important project, but it is clear from the inscription on the walls of the mosque that he was the one to rebuild it. He also built a castle on the northwest side of the wall of the city.[70]

In Aleppo a great amount of construction took place under the Hamdanid rulers. The sources tell us that Sayf al-Dawlah built a palace for himself in the Ḥalabah area, on the western side of the city.[71] A special canal was dug to bring water from the Quwayq River to the palace. The palace, built in 947, was great in size and highly decorated. The Great Hall, alone, was covered with five domes built on 142 marble columns and there were hundreds of glass windows.[72] This palace became the headquarters of the Hamdanid officials and most of their wealth and a large part of their army or weaponry was kept there. In 962 the Byzantines invaded the area and destroyed a great deal of Aleppo itself, including the Ḥalabah Palace. They seized all the property which was stored there, including 50 loads of silk and other expensive textiles, 800 horses, 1000 camels, 100 loads of weapons, and a great amount of gold and silver, including dishes made of both precious metals.[73]

After the destruction of the city, Sayf al-Dawlah started to rebuild the great mosque and the walls; however, he died before finishing the work. His son Sa'd al-Dawlah, who succeeded him, finished the job. We should mention here that the famous castle in Aleppo was not well fortified until the Hamdanid period. In 962 some of the inhabitants of Aleppo and the surrounding area, took refuge in it and it protected them in spite of the fact that it was not well fortified. This fact drew the attention of the leaders to its importance. Once again, Sayf al-Dawlah began to fortify the castle and his son, who lived in it, completed the work. From this period on the castle became the home of the rulers.[74]

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The fact that the sources report only a few public works does not mean that major works were not carried out. For example, the sources report that many wars and a great deal of destruction took place in Antioch and its area during the second half of the 11th century. The last of these wars was between its ruler Yāghī Siyān and Ridwān of Aleppo, which took place only two years before the invasion of the Crusaders. The sources also report that the city was struck by an earthquake in 1091 and many of its houses and a great part of its wall were destroyed.[75] Because the sources do not report any large scale public works here, we might expect to find the city destroyed and unable to resist a serious and long siege. Surprinsingly, it resisted the Crusaders' attacks and their siege for a long time. Actually the city was very well fortified and well prepared for any attack. Fulcher, who joined the First Crusade, writes: "Antioch is certainly a very large city, well fortified and strongly situated. It could never be taken by enemies . . . The inhabitants were supplied with food and were determined to defend it . . . Ships filled with goods from distant lands are brought up its channel as far as Antioch. Thus supplied with goods by sea and land, the city abounds with wealth of all kinds."[76]

Although we might expect that there were many more public works than the sources reveal, these works still do not reflect the economic prosperity of the country. We do not have from this period similar works to those which were carried out by the Umayyads, such as building the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the city of Ramlah, and the many palaces which were scattered all over the country. There are many reasons why large scale construction did not take place during the 10 - 11th centuries. One was that great sums of money were spent on many smaller works which were constantly being carried out. The following long list of walled cities and castles gives us an idea of the amount of money needed to build, repair and maintain these walls. In the area of Aleppo there were: Aleppo, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Kafr Ṭāb, A'zāz, Barazuwayh, Shayzar, Afāmiyah, Ma'artāḥ, Ḥisn Abī Qubays, Ḥisn Misyāth, al-Ḥisn al-Mujaddad and many castles in Jabal al-Summāq. In the

coastal area there were: Lādhiqiyah, Jabalah, Antartūs and many other small castles in the coastal area of Ḥimṣ, 'Irqah, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Sarafandah, Acre, Haifa, Cesarea, Arsūf, Jaffa, 'Asqalān, Gaza and Mīmās. In the inland area there were: Antioch, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh, Tadmur, Damascus, Ba'labak, Ḥisn al-Akrād, Bānyās, Tibnīn, Tiberias, Nābulus, Ramlah, Jerusalem and others.[77]

Another reason was, that part of the revenue of the country was not invested or spent in Syria, but went to other countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Byzantium and to the Qarmatis in Baḥrayn as a tribute paid to the occupying powers who had their centers in these countries. We do not know how much money was transferred annually from Syria to the occupying countries, but it may be presumed that this amount varied from one year to another. It may also be presumed that this amount was generally small, and that in some years the occupying power even spent more money in Syria in order to keep peace and security, than it received from it. However, these tributes still reduced, to a certain degree, the amount of money which was at the disposal of the rulers in Syria. Therefore, there was a shortage of money for the funding of large scale public works.

The northern part of Syria, which was independent, did not pay, or paid small amounts to the foreign rulers; on the contrary, money from the Jazīrah was brought to and spent in Aleppo. This fact may explain why large scale public works were carried out in Aleppo more than in other areas (see Appendix 5, Table 2). After the Saljuq occupation of the country almost no money was transferred from Syria to any country, because the Saljuq rulers in Syria were independent.

The fact that Syria was controlled by more than one regime also reduced the ability of the country to carry out large scale public works. During the period under discussion, the revenue of Syria was divided among the different rulers; therefore, none of them had a great amount of money which he could spare and spend on public works.

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Decline in Ramlah, Hims and in the Area Adjacent to the Desert

The Medieval sources provide us with a great deal of information about the destruction caused by the many wars and by earthquakes in Syria; however, we should keep in mind that many of these reports are greatly exaggerated. The great number of wars and rebellions which took place in this country undoubtedly caused a great deal of destruction. Appendix 1 shows most of these wars and the amount of destruction which was caused by them. Chapter 1 also deals briefly with this subject and there is therefore no need to discuss this issue again.

It is important, however, to examine here the economic development in the areas of Ramlah and Hims, because their development was different from the rest of the country. Appendix 1 reveals that Banū Tay' were mostly responsible for the destruction which occurred in Ramlah during the 10th and the first half of the 11th century. For example, in 979 this tribe revolted against the Fatimids and caused a considerable amount of destruction in the area. Ibn al-Qalānisī reports that the Tay'is "destroyed the country" (akhrabū al-bilād).[78] Al-Dāwadārī reports something similar. He says, "People could not find anything to eat in Ramlah. Even the farmers were begging in its markets".[79] This destruction is not revealed in the writings of Al-Maqdisī; on the contrary, he describes Ramlah as a very populous and flourishing city. He says: "It is a fine city, and well built . . . situated as it is in the midst of fertile districts and flourishing towns . . . Commerce here is thriving and means of livelihood easy . . . It stands among fruitful fields . . . It possesses beautiful hostelries and pleasant baths . . . The city is more than one mile long and one mile broad; its houses are built of finely-quarried stones and baked bricks."[80] But the writings of this geographer reveal a serious decline in the rural area south of Ramlah, especially in Bayt Jibrīn.[81]

The next large scale destruction committed by the Tay'is in Filastīn and Ramlah was during the revolt of 1023. Mann, basing his book on the Geniza documents, says: "Conditions in Palestine and Syria were in a chronic state of unrest owing to the constant rebellions and insurrections. Both Ramlah and

Jerusalem suffered terribly in particular during the revolt of 1024 - 9 . . . (Hassan the Tay'i leader) plundered Ramlah and extorted everywhere, including Jerusalem, great sums . . . Hassan burned Ramlah after he had plundered from it 400 loads of goods and men . . . Men and women died, some from torture, others from fright . . . The whole of Palestine is in the throes of civil war. Since the Arab conquest no such upheavals occurred there."[82]

If this report by Mann is accurate then it seems that this city was rebuilt in a later period because it was populous and prosperous when Nāṣir Khusraw visited it in 1047.[83] It seems that the long lasting negative effect of the Tay'is in the area was much stronger on the countryside south of Ramlah than on the city itself. This destruction, however, had a strong impact on the city during the second half of the 11th century. In 1068 an earthquake struck and destroyed most of it. The sources report that 15000-25000 of its population were killed as a result of this earthquake.[84] A few years later the area was stormed by the Turkomans who completed its destruction. Although the leader of the Turkomans, Atsiz, made special efforts to rebuild Ramlah, it continued to be half destroyed for a long time, and it never regained its political position in the area after this period. During the First Crusade, Ramlah, in contrast to other major cities, did not resist the Crusaders at all, and a great part of its population migrated to 'Asqalān. During this period Ramlah "had neither outer defenses nor a moat".[85]

The decline in the area south of Cesarea, Ramlah, Hebron and Zughar, started at an early date. This destruction was also completed by Atsiz and his Turkomans. He entirely ruined Gaza and Jaffa, which were not rebuilt until the coming of the Crusaders. When the Crusaders occupied this area, 'Asqalān was the only fortified and populous city here. Gaza, Beersheba, and the other towns were entirely uninhabited.[86]

The economic development of the area of Ḥimṣ was similar to that of Ramlah. The destruction in the former area started earlier than in the latter. The Qarmatis were the ones who started the process of decline in the area of

Hims. The sources report that the Qarmatis destroyed all the eastern area of northern Syria during their first invasion of this country. The hardest hit by this invasion were al-Rusāfah, Ḥamāh, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and Salamiyah. In the latter city the Qarmatis destroyed all the town and killed, according to the sources, all the people and they even killed the animals.[87]

The Byzantines invaded the area three times in the middle of the 10th century. The sources give the impression that Hims suffered from their first invasion (969) more than any other city. They say that this city was completely destroyed and burned. The effect of this destruction was still strong even when the Byzantines invaded it for the third time in 983. The Byzantines sent to it, on this last date, a messenger to collect tribute from it, but the inhabitants told him "This area (balad) is in a state of destruction and there is no wealth (māl = money) in it". This answer was not satisfactory. Therefore, Byzantine troops were sent there again and more destruction was caused.[88]

Al-Istakhrī, who wrote his book in 951, does no mention any of this destruction. Even in the case of Salamiyah he gives the impression that it was a prosperous city (madīnah).[89] The writings of Ibn Ḥawqal, however, who wrote his book in 978, reflect the general situation in this area. We learn from him that the Byzantines and the Bedouins were the major forces which caused this devastation in the area. He says: "The Greeks have invaded this country during our days and ruined many of its lands and villages. The desolation is gaining everywhere, since these incursions of the infidels began, and though the people are seeking to return to their old homes, the Badawin (Bedouin) Arabs eat up their crops, and plunder their land, time after time."[90]

A similar situation also existed when Al-Maqdisī wrote his book in 985. This author says: "This town has suffered great misfortunes, and is indeed threatened with ruin, . . . The other towns of these parts are also falling to decay."[91]

After this period the sources do not report any major destruction or construction in the city or in its area. Unlike Ramlah, during the second half

of the 11th century, Hims continued to play an important role in the politics of Syria. However, when we compare its economic and political position from the 9th century with its position during the 11th century we find that it declined during the latter period. This decline contined during the Ayyubid, and especially during the Mamluk period, when Hamāh and not Hims became the capital of the area.

The main reasons for the decline of Hims during the period under discussion were: The destructive activities of the Bedouins, especially the Kilābis. The number of Bedouins in this area was always great, especially because the city was located very close to the desert. The Bedouin pressure on the city and its countryside increased greatly after the Qarmati invasion, when many tribes joined the invaders and migrated to Syria. This pressure was particularly successful in the area of Hims, because there was a power vacuum. During the period under discussion, Hims was located in the border area, between the Hamdanids and the Mirdasids of Aleppo, on one side, and the Ikhshidids and the Fatimids of Damascus, on the other. In a later period it became the border area between the Saljuqs of Aleppo and the Saljuqs of Damascus. Another important reason for this decline was the rise in the political and commercial position of Aleppo and the coastal towns, especially Tripoli. These cities were much more strategically located than Hims; therefore, their political and economic gain was to a certain degree at the expense of Hims.

During the 10 - 11th centuries Syria lacked a strong central government. Therefore, there was a power vacuum in the country. This situation encouraged the Bedouins to step in and exploit the situation for their own benefit. The power of the Arab tribes reached its peak during the first half of the 11th century. This also meant that the economic decline was not only in the areas of Ramlah and Hims, but in all the area adjacent to the desert. This decline, however, was mild in comparison to the declines during later periods. Ziadeh, for example, compared the situation of the Syrian towns from the 10th century with their situation during the 13 - 15th centuries. He found that 13 towns,

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including Tyre, Acre, Cesarea, 'Asqalān, Bālis and Tiberias, were completely destroyed during the later period. He also found that 39 of the towns, such as Ramlah, Bānyās, Baysān, Jabalah, Antarsūs and Adhri'āt, declined during the same period. Ziadeh also found that some towns became very important during the Mamluk period, but were not important during earlier periods, e.g. Ṣafad in Galilee, Ṣihyawn east of Lādhiqiyah, Jinīn and Hebron in Palestine, and 'Ajlūn northwest of Jordan.[92]

Economic Improvement in Many Areas

This subject was discussed in all the previous chapters and therefore, there is no need to discuss it here. However, there is a need to discuss the economic situation of a few places which were not discussed before. We learn from Al-Maqdisī, for example, that in addition to the large cities, towns such as Bālis, Bānyās, Qadas, Jerusalem, 'Asqalān, and Zughar, were flourishing and growing. About Zughar he says: "Its commercial prosperity makes of it a little Baṣrah, and its trade is very lucrative".[93] And about 'Asqalān, the only city in the area which maintained its importance during the 11th century, he says: "--'Asqalan (Ascalon), is on the sea. A fine city, and strongly garrisoned. Fruit here in plenty, especially that of the Sycamore-tree. The great mosque stands in the market of the cloth-merchants, and is paved throughout with marble. The city is beautiful, hallowed in its associations, healthy, and well-fortified. The silk of this place is renowned, its supplies are plentiful, and life there is pleasant. It also possesses good markets, and excellent garrison posts. Only its harbour is unsafe, its waters brackish . . ."[94]

We do not have any geographical sources from the second half of the 11th century to help us assess the economic situation of the Syrian cities. Our best sources from this period in this respect are the Crusader sources, because they include descriptions of cities during the last two decades of the 11th century. These sources indicate that all cities in the coastal area were flourishing and prosperous. The largest, strongest and richest cities

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in this area during this period were Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and 'Asqalān. Cesarea, on the other hand, belonged to a second rank of towns in relation to these coastal cities. Al-Maqdisī's description of this city indicates that it was prosperous.[95] However, the Arabic historical sources hardly mention anything about it and when they do they give the impression that it was small and poor.[96] The Crusader historians give a different picture of it. They tell us that it was rich, large and fortified. Fulcher, for example, says about it: "Because the wall was very strong the city could not be taken quickly. Very few of the male sex (of its Muslim inhabitants) were left alive. But a great many of the women were spared because they could always be used to turn the hand mills . . . How much property of various kinds was found there, it is impossible to say, but many of our men who had been poor became rich. I saw a great many of the Saracens who were killed there put in a pile and burnt . . . These wretches were burned for the sake of finding the bezants which some had swallowed and others had hidden in their mouths next to the gums."[97]

'Irqah, north of Tripoli, was representative of the small towns or castles in the coastal area. This town used to belong to the independent principality of Ibn 'Ammār of Tripoli. It seems that this town was very well fortified during the First Crusade, because Raymond D'Aguilers reports: ". . . 'Arqah, a strongly defended place, one inconquorable by human force . . . We invested 'Arqah and thereby caused courageous men to suffer unknown troubles. Sad to say, we bore heavy losses, including many illustrious knights."[98]

Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was one of the inland cities which resisted the Crusaders. The information available to us from the Arabic sources indicates that this city was almost in ruins during the second half of the 9th century,[99] but it developed rapidly during the period under discussion. Toward the end of this period this town became flourishing, populous and one of the most important cities, politically and economically, in northern Syria. William of Tyre describes it as, "A very strongly fortified city . . . The citizens of

this place were extremely haughty and arrogant because of their great riches".[100] And it was described by Raymond D'Aguilers as "wealthy and a heavily populated city".[101] This city suffered some decline during the 12th century, especially because it was located on the border between the Crusader and the Muslim states. Therefore, its territory was a battlefield for a long time. However, it regained its importance and became a flourishing and populous city during the Mamluk period.

Standard of Living

In order to be able to have an idea about the standard of living and the economic situation of the people, we still need to know their salaries. Some information is available about the salaries of the members of the high and middle income class. About the salaries of the low income class, who were by far the majority of the population, we have very little information. However, some scholars have made efforts to estimate their monthly salaries.

These scholars found that the monthly salary of the lower income class; unskilled laborers, skilled craftsmen, private clerks, and guardsmen, ranged from 1.5 - 5 dīnārs. The salary of a member of the middle income class was from 5 - 50 dīnārs; the salary of a member of the high income class was more than 50 dīnārs a month, and could reach more than 20,000 dīnārs.[102]

A family composed of four people, whose income was less than 1.5 dīnārs a month, perhaps lived close to the poverty level. The members of such a family perhaps suffered from malnutrition. The situation of families whose income was between 1.5 - 3 dīnārs was much better, but they were still poor.[103] A dhimmi, although he was a schoolmaster in a small Egyptian town, complains to a relative about his financial situation. He says: "This place does not provide me with the poll tax or clothing, and, as to food the fees suffice only for me alone. For they amount only to 5 dirhems a week and I need three-quarters of a dirhem a day at least. Thus my income is not enough even for having a robe laundered."[104]

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Most farmers, who constituted the majority of the population of Syria, should be classified with the low income class. Farmers generally suffered from two things: 1) high taxes imposed on them by the authorities, and 2) instability which was caused not only by the frequent wars, but especially by the Bedouins. Ibn Ḥawqal tells us that the Hamdanid authorities imposed very high taxes on the farmers, amounting to more than half of their yield. He also says that the farmers were left with only enough seed to be used for the next season of cultivation; and they had hardly enough grain to live on.[105] The same Hamdanid territory also suffered from lack of stability as a result of the Bedouin presence and the many wars which struck the area. It is likely that the situation of the farmers of northern Syria remained this way during the 11th century. We should remember here that Ibn Ḥawqal's information about the Hamdanids is exaggerated, especially since he hated this dynasty. Therefore, we should assume that the economic situation of the Hamdanid farmers was above the poverty (or survival) level that Ibn Ḥawqal speaks of.

The economic situation of the farmers in the rest of Syria (the territories under Fatimid rule) was also not bad. Here, farmers remained owners of their land, unlike those in northern Syria or in Iraq, who lost the ownership of their land. Also, the taxes here were low and not as high as in Egypt.[106] Even the political situation was stable in most of the period under discussion, except in southern Palestine where the inhabitants, including farmers, suffered from the Bedouin presence there.

The prices of the basic commodities during normal times changed little over many centuries. Most of the changes took place in the prices of the newly introduced commodities, such as sugar. It also seems that the salaries of the majority of the people changed very little over the same period. The salaries of the soldiers and the high class changed more than the salaries and the revenues of the low income class.[107] In conclusion, we could say that the vast majority of the Syrians, including most, if not all farmers, should be classified as belonging to the low income class. Most of them, however, did not belong to the "poverty level" group.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The political situation in Syria during this period reached a very low point, perhaps one of the lowest in its history. To a certain degree it became a battlefield and a buffer state between the Abbasids in Iraq, the Fatimids in Egypt and the Byzantines in Asia Minor. These three important states were interested in keeping the status quo in Syria, especially because they were relatively weak and none of them had the power to occupy and unite the country and defeat the other two. The local forces; the governors of the different cities and the Arab tribes, exploited the vacuum power for their own benefit. They too, were weak and none of them, except the Hamdanid Sayf al-Dawlah, was ambitious or tried to occupy and unite the country and place it under one rule. Unfortunately for the Hamdanids and especially for Sayf ai-Dawlah, the time was not suitable for establishing a new and strong dynasty in Syria because, during the same period when this ruler attempted to occupy Syria, the newly established regimes in Baghdad, Cairo and Constantinople were strong enough to prevent him from doing so.

The lack of a strong central government encouraged the local forces to rebel against the central government in Cairo or even against the government in Aleppo. These local forces also frequently fought each other; therefore, the number of wars which took place in Syria during this period was very high. This may suggest that this country did not enjoy long peaceful periods; however, the sources indicate that the vast majority of these wars were very small in size, and generally speaking the regular armies did not attack or destroy the property of the civilian population. We will not be exaggerating if we assume that generally normal life was not interrupted by these many wars and that people enjoyed more peace and security than the political instability indicates.

The most important aim of the political authorities during the Middle Ages in the Middle East was to preserve their own rule. In order to do so they were forced to be involved in, at least, some of the economic affairs of their

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countries. The sources reveal that the Muslim authorities during the period under discussion were not anxious to be involved in these matters although they had a great potential to do so. On the contrary, they tried to keep their involvement as low as possible. Contrary to this were the Mamluks who ruled over Egypt and Syria during the 13 - 15th centuries. The Mamluk sultans assumed a great influence over landownership and agriculture. They monopolized certain industries and trades, they even fixed the prices of some items to suit their personal benefit. This, in additon to the imposition and collection of taxes. During the period under discussion there were some rulers and governors who invested some of their money in trading firms, others had interests in transportation, especially by sea; however, they did not monopolize any industry or trade and they did not fix prices. Actually, these authorities rented certain "jobs" such as managing the state lands, collecting taxes, and even minting coins, to individuals. The Hamdanids were an exception to this rule: they exercised a great influence on agriculture in general and landownership in particular, but even they did not monopolize any trade or industry nor did they fix prices the way the Mamluk sultans did. The Mamluk involvement in economic issues had a negative impact on the economy and the population; on the other hand, the involvement of the authorities in the economy during the period under discussion had many positive effects, such as the introduction of new crops and industries.

The political authorities, mainly the local forces, tried to collect wealth and money as quickly as possible because they knew that their rule would not last for long. The governors of the different cities tried to do so more by taking over part of, or all, the money that belonged to the central government than by imposing very heavy taxes. The gain of the Arab tribes or the Bedouins, on the other hand, was basically at the expense of the sedentary people more than at that of the central government. This situation resulted in a retreat of the cultivated land in the area adjacent to the desert. The land in this area was used for the growing of cereal crops, mainly wheat and

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barley; therefore, Syrian output of these crops decreased during the period under discussion. Also, because the population of this country increased during the same period, it is unlikely that Syria continued to be an exporter of these commodities.

The retreat of the cultivated land in the area adjacent to the desert did not result in a decline in the total agricultural output. In the western part of the country there was more land which had not been exploited. Even in the land which was under cultivation, there was room for greater productivity by increasing the irrigated areas, or by planting crops which required intensive labor. During the 10 - 11th centuries the population density in the western part of the country increased greatly, because the total population increased and also because the inhabitants of the areas adjacent to the desert migrated to the western side of the country. This situation resulted in increasing the demand for cultivated land; thus new land was put under cultivation and cultivated land was made more productive than before by irrigating it or by planting it with new crops. The areas which became more productive than before were the coastal plain, the Jordan Valley from Bānyās in the north down to Jericho in the south, and the area of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. It seems that the total agricultural output increased substantially during this period.

The land adjacent to the desert became less productive but not totally wasteland. It became pasture land and was used for the raising of animals. Land here has rich soil and gets an annual amount of rain sufficient for the growing of grass; therefore, a small area here could supply more food for animals than large areas in the desert. The increase of the pasture land, especially in the relatively rich cultivated area, probably resulted in increasing the number of animals raised in this country substantially. This increase resulted, in its turn, in providing more food and supplying more animals to be used in transportation and other works, especially in agriculture.

During this period not only animal husbandry and agricultural output increased or improved but other economic sectors improved as well. New indus-

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tries were introduced and the output of the old crafts and industries also prospered. Transportation, especially transportation by sea, improved and became safer and more accessible than before. Trade flourished and perhaps reached a peak never achieved before. This is not surprising because the general situation was suitable for such prosperity; the authorities did not interfere or hamper commerce, customs were not high, new commodities were added to the old commercial items, and the general economic situation in the whole region was flourishing. During the 9th century Baghdad or Sāmarrā' were the most important commercial centers in the region. During the 10th and especially the 11th centuries more important centers were added such as Cairo. Syria benefited greatly from the existence of these very wealthy commercial centers. Its location in between and very close proximity to both of them facilitated its commercial relation with them. In addition to this, its trade with Byzantium reached a new dimension and the trade with Europe was also revived during this period.

In this study special attention was given to the coastal area for two reasons: 1) It is known that the Syrian coastal cities flourished whenever the country was under European rule; however, their importance declined when the country was ruled by easterners. After the Arab conquest of Syria these cities and the coastal areas in general was depopulated and economically ruined. Immediately after the conquest and for military reasons some attempts were made in order to repopulate and improve the economic situation of this area. The Muslim authorities, however, continued to consider this area as a border (thughūr) area until the 10th century. This situation changed drastically during the period under discussion, and the only reminder of the old policy during the 11th century was the great number of fortified and walled cities. The other features of the border areas, such as the lack of commercial and economic activities and depopulation disappeared during this period. Toward the end of the 11th century this area was densely populated and its economy was highly active and developed. Although the biggest and the most important four or five political centers in the country continued to be inland cities,

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the coastal ones made up almost half of the cities in the country, the population of which was 5,000 or more and they also became important political centers. The process of their improvement economically and politically continued during the Crusader period. This process was reversed during the Ayyubid and the Mamluk periods when the authorities considered it, once again, a border area. Therefore, and for military reasons, these authorities destroyed the walls of the cities and the castles and the area became depopulated.

2) The economic situation of this area was different from that of the inland districts; it had more capitalistic features than the rest of the country. The kind of industry which flourished here was capital and labor intensive industry, such as sugar, paper, marble quarries, iron mining, and shipbuilding. There are also indications that there were here more big landlords than in other places. For these reasons it is likely that a high percentage of the labor force here were wage laborers. This phenomenon is important because it is believed that the economy of the Middle Eastern countries was based on small workshops and on family labor rather than on wage laborers. These laborers worked in the large estates, factories, transportation especially on ships, and in commerce and other related services.

It was suggested (in Chapter 5) that the value of the Syrian exported goods exceeded the value of the imported ones, however, the balance of payment perhaps was not positive. The reason for this is that Syria was ruled by foreign dynasties and some amounts of money were transferred from this country to others such as Egypt, Byzantium, and Iraq as fines or annual tributes imposed on the governors of Syria. The transfer of this money to other countries was not high enough to drain the resources of the country, nonetheless, it is presumed that it had some negative impact on the economy.

It became clear that Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries was a "flourishing" and "prosperous" country, however, this prosperity did not greatly improve the standard of living of the average people. There are two reasons for this: 1) The wealth was not well distributed and ended in making a small

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number especially the rulers rich. 2) This prosperity improved to a certain degree the general health of the population, and as a result the total population of the country increased. This increase, however, absorbed the increase in production which was achieved during this period. If we may generalize, we may conclude that the general prosperity of the country resulted in increasing the total population but improved very little the standard of living, therefore the vast majority of the population still could be classified as poor.

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APPENDIX 1

Wars, Killing and Destruction

The following table shows most of the wars which were recorded by the major historical sources that dealt with the history of Syria during the 10 - 11th centuries. The few small wars mentioned by the sources are not included in this list. We should also keep in mind that there were other small military actions or Bedouin raids on villages or towns or battles between different groups of Bedouins, which were not recorded and are therefore not included in this table.

The first column shows the date of every listed war. The dates here are not always exact, especially since the sources give different dates for the same wars or battles. Therefore, the chronological arrangement of the table may not be accurate.

The second column shows the battlefield area; it shows only the names of the important towns, because they are the only ones mentioned in the sources. However, we should assume that the actual fighting, in many cases, occurred in the open countryside. In this column, the word "Asia" means the Byzantine territory.

The third column shows the amount of destruction that each specific war caused, as estimated by the sources. Therefore, this table does not reveal any destruction when the sources do not mention it. The more "X's" shown, the greater was the destruction.

The fourth column shows the amount of killing reported by the sources. Here, too, the more "X's", the greater the number of people killed in that battle.

The fifth column shows the parties involved in that particular war. The pronouns "it" and "them" in this column mean the town or towns mentioned in the second column. The different letters shown in this column after some names, specify to which dynasty that person belonged. (A) indicates Abbasid, (F) Fatimid, (H) Hamdanid, (I) Ikhshidid, (M) Mirdasid, (S) Saljuqid, (T) Tulunid and (U) 'Uqaylid.

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The references cited for the wars listed in this appendix are not all-inclusive due to the large number of possible references.

KEY

A	Antioch	Ka	Kafartūthā
Ac	Acre	Kf	Kafarbayyā
Ad	Adhanah	L	Lādhiqiyah
Adh	Adhri'āt	La	Lajjūn
Af	Afāmiyah	M	Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān
Am	Āmud	Ma	Malatyah
An	Anṭarṭūs	Mn	Manbij
Ar	Artāh	Mr	Mar'ash
As	'Asqalān	Ms	Maṣṣiṣah
Asia	Asia Minor	My	Mayyāfāriqīn
Az	'Azāz	N	Naṣībīn
B	Beirut	Q	Qinnasrīn
Ba	Ba'labak	R	Ramlah
Bl	Bālis	Ra	Ra's al-'Ayn
Bu	Buṣrā	Rf	Rafaniyyah
D	Damascus	Rh	Raḥbah
G	Gaza	Rq	Raqqah
H	Aleppo	S	Sidon
Ha	Ḥamāh	Sh	Shayzar
Hi	Ḥimṣ	Sha	Jabal al-Sharāt
Hr	Ḥarrān	Su	Sumaysāṭ
I	Iskandarūnah	T	Tripoli
Ir	'Irqah	Th	Thughūr
J	Jerusalem	Ti	Tiberias
Ja	Jabalah	Tr	Ṭarsūs
Ju	Jubayl	Ty	Tyre
K	Kafar ṭāb	Y	Jaffa

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
1)	878	Syria	-	-	Occupied by Ibn Ṭūlūn
2)	881	North Syria	-	-	Uprising led by Bakkār (a Hashemite)
3)	882	H, Hi	-	-	Uprising against Ibn Ṭūlūn led by Lu'lu'
4)	883	Th	-	-	Uprising against Ibn Ṭūlūn led by Yāzmān
5)	884	Syria, R	-	-	The Tulunid army defeated the caliphal army
6)	885-6	Syria	-	-	Khumārawayh (T) defeated Sa'd al-Aysar (T)
7)	887-8	D	XX	-	Khumārawayh defeated Ibn Abī al-Sāj
8)	890	Syria	-	-	Uprising against Khumārawayh
9)	896	D	-	-	Tughj (T) revolted against the Tulunids
10)	901-3	D, Ba, Hi, H, M, Rq, Ha	XXXX	XXXX	The Qarmaṭīs invaded this area
11)	903	Syria	-	-	The Abbasids seized it from the Tulunids
12)	906	D, Ti, Adh, Bu	XXX	XXX	The Qarmaṭīs invaded this area
13)	906	H	-	-	The governor of H defeated the Qarmaṭīs
14)	906	H	XX	-	The governor of H defeated the Bedouins
15)	907	H	X	-	Bedouin uprising was supressed
16)	910	L	-	-	The Byzantines attacked it
17)	912	D	-	-	An ʿAlid uprising was subdued
18)	919	Sha	-	-	Bedouin revolt
19)	926	Th, Ma	-	-	The Byzantines attacked them

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
20)	931	Ma	-	-	The Byzantines occupied it
21)	935	Am, Su	-	-	The Byzantines attacked them
22)	936	M	X	XX	Banū Kilāb imigrated from Najd (Arabia)
23)	939	Th	-	-	Sayf al-Dawlah defeated the Byzantines
24)	939	Syria, La	-	-	Ibn Rā'iq defeated al-Ikhshīd
25)	940	Jifār (Egypt)	-	-	Al-Ikhshīd defeated Ibn Rā'iq
26)	940	Ka, Th	-	-	The Byzantines attacked them
27)	941	D, Syria	-	-	Al-Ikhshīd occupied it
28)	941	H, Th	-	-	The Byzantines attacked them
29)	942	N, My, Ra	-	-	The Byzantines attacked them
30)	944	H, Hi, M, Rq	-	-	The Hamdanids occupied them
31)	944	H	-	-	Al-Ikhshīd occupied it from Al-Husayn ibn Ḥamdān
32)	945	H, D	-	-	Sayf (H) seized them from Kāfūr (I)
33)	945	Mr, Baghrās	-	-	The Byzantines invaded them but were defeated by Sayf
34)	945	Q, H	XX	-	Al-Ikhshīd defeated Sayf
35)	947	D, Syria	-	-	Sayf seized it from Al-Ikhshīd
36)	947	Iksāl, D, H	-	-	Kāfūr defeated Sayf and occupied Syria
37)	947	Th	-	-	The Byzantines attacked it
38)	948	Mr, Tr, Th	-	-	The Byzantines invaded the area

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
39)	949	A	-	XX	The Byzantines defeated Sayf
40)	950	Asia	-	XX	Sayf invaded it but was defeated
41)	950	Asia	-	X	Sayf's invasion was deep inside it
42)	951	Asia	-	-	Sayf invaded it
43)	952	Asia, Mr	-	-	Sayf defeated the Byzantines
44)	953	Asia	-	-	Sayf invaded it
45)	954	Asia, Th	-	-	Sayf defeated the Byzantines
46)	955	Ti	-	-	Uprising led by Al-'Uqaylī against the Ikhshidids
47)	956	Asia	-	-	Sayf defeated the Byzantines
48)	958	Th. Su	X	XX	The Byzantines defeated Sayf
49)	959	Th	X	X	The Byzantines invaded it
50)	960	Asia	-	XX	Sayf was defeated
51)	961	Th	X	XXX	The Byzantines defeated Rashīq al-Nasīmī
52)	962	Th, H, Mn	XXX	XXX	The Byzantines defeated Sayf
53)	963	Tr, Ad, Ms	-	-	The Byzantines invaded them
54)	964	Ti	XX	-	The Qarmatis against the Ikhshidids
55)	965	Kf, Tr, Ms, Mr	-	-	The Byzantines occupied them
56)	965	H, Hi	-	-	Marwān al-'Uqaylī (H) revolted against Sayf
57)	965-6	A, H	XX	-	Al-Ahwāzī (H) and Al-Nasīmī (H) revolted against Sayf

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
58)	966	A, H	-	XX	Duzbar (H) revolted and was defeated by Sayf
59)	968	Hi	-	-	Sa'd al-Dawlah (H) defeated Abū Firās (H)
60)	968	D, R	XX	-	The Qarmatis against the Ikhshidids
61)	969	R	-	-	The Qarmatis defeated the Ikhshidids
62)	969	M, Hi, Ha, H, A, T, L, Ir, Sh, K, Ja	XXX	XXXX	The Byzantines invaded them
63)	969	H, M, Mn	-	-	Sa'd al-Dawlah against Qurghawayh (H)
64)	970	R, Ti, D	XXX	XXX	The Fatimids occupied the area
65)	970	A, I	-	-	The Byzantines defeated the Fatimids
66)	971	D, R	X	X	The Qarmatis defeated the Fatimids
67)	971	Jazirah	-	-	The Hamdanids of Mawṣil occupied it
68)	971	Egypt	-	-	The Fatimids defeated the Qarmatis
69)	972	R	-	-	The Qarmatis defeated the Fatimids
70)	972	N, Am	XX	XX	The Byzantines attacked them
71)	973	Egypt	-	-	The Fatimids defeated the Qarmatis
72)	973	D, Filasṭīn	XXX	XX	The Fatimids occupied them
73)	975	H, Ba, B, Ju, T, A, D, Hi, S	XX	X	The Byzantines invaded this area
74)	975	H, M	-	-	Sa'd al-Dawlah defeated Bakjūr (H) and Zuhayr (H)
75)	975	J, S, Ac	-	-	Haftakīn (A) attacked them

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
76)	975	R, Y	-	-	The Qarmatis defeated a Fatimid army
77)	976	D, Ti, R, As	-	-	Haftakīn and the Qarmatis defeated Jawhar (F)
78)	977-8	R, D	-	-	The Fatimid caliph defeated Haftakīn
79)	979	D	X	X	Abū Taghlib al-Ḥamdānī besieged it
80)	979	As, R, Ti, D	-	-	Banū Ṭay' and the Fatimids defeated Abū Taghlib
81)	980	Filasṭīn	-	-	Banū Ṭay' revolted
82)	980	D	-	-	The Fatimids besieged Qassām
83)	981	H	-	-	The Byzantines attacked Sa'd al-Dawlah
84)	982	R, D, Karak	XX	XXX	The Fatimids defeated Banū Ṭay'
85)	982	D	XX	X	The Fatimids against Qassām
86)	983	H, Dayr Sim'ān	XX	XX	Sa'd al-Dawlah defeated the Byzantines
87)	983	H, Hi	XX	X	The Byzantines helped Sa'd against the Fatimids
88)	985	K, Af	-	-	The Byzantines against Sa'd al-Dawlah
89)	988	D	-	-	The Fatimids defeated Bakjūr (F) (he revolted)
90)	991	H, Rq, Bl	-	-	Sa'd al-Dawlah defeated Bakjūr
91)	992	D	-	-	Manjutkīn (F) defeated Munīr (F) (he revolted)
92)	992	H, Hi, Ha, A	XX	XX	Manjutkīn against Sa'īd al-Dawlah (H) and the Byzantines
93)	993	Sh, Af, A	X	-	Manjutkīn against Sa'īd and the Byzantines
94)	994	H, Sh, Hi, T, Af	-	X	Manjutkīn against Sa'īd and Basīl 2

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
95)	995	H, Af, Sh	-	-	Manjutkīn against Basīl 2
96)	996	M	-	-	Rabbāh al-Sayfī (H) revolted against the Ḥamdanids
97)	996	R, As, D	XX	XX	The Fatimids defeated Manjutkīn (he revolted)
98)	997	D	XX	X	Revolt against the governor Sulaymān
99)	997	Ty	XX	X	The Fatimids subdued the revolt of 'Allāqah (F)
100)	997	R	XX	X	Banū Ṭay' revolted
101)	997	Af	-	-	The Byzantines occupied it
102)	998	Af, A	XX	XX	The Fatimids defeated the Byzantines
103)	999	Af, Sh, B, Ir	-	-	The Byzantines invaded the Fatimid territory
104)	999	G, As, R	XX	XX	Banū Ṭay' revolted and defeated a Fatimid army
105)	999	R, Sha	-	-	Jaysh (F) subdued Ṭay'i revolt
106)	1009	H	-	-	Lu'lu' (H) subdued the revolt of Abū al-Hayjā' (H)
107)	1010-2	R	-	-	Banū Ṭay' revolted and appointed a new caliph
108)	1011	M	-	-	The Fatimids attacked the Ḥamdanid territory
109)	1011	H	XXX	XXX	Manṣūr (H) killed more than 2000 Kilābis
110)	1012	K	-	-	Banū Kilāb attacked it
111)	1012	H	-	-	Ṣāliḥ ibn Mirdās (M) revolted against Manṣūr
112)	1014	H	-	-	Ṣāliḥ defeated Manṣūr
113)	1015	H	-	-	Ṣāliḥ and the Fatimids occupied it from Manṣūr

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
114)	1020	H	-	-	'Azīz al-Dawlah (F) revolted against the Fatimids
115)	1023	R, As	XX	X	Banū Ṭay' revolted and defeated Anushtakīn (F)
116)	1024	H	-	-	Ṣāliḥ seized it from the Fatimids
117)	1024-5	R, D, H	XXX	XX	Anushtakīn against Banū Ṭay' and Kilāb
118)	1025	Hi, Ba, Ty	-	-	Ṣāliḥ occupied this area
119)	1029	Uqḥuwānah (Ti)	-	-	Anushtakīn defeated Banū Ṭay' and Kilāb
120)	1029	H	-	-	The Byzantines failed to occupy it
121)	1030	H, Az	-	-	The Byzantines were defeated by the Mirdasids
122)	1031	Af	-	X	The Byzantines and the Ṭay'is occupied it
123)	1032	Jabal al-Summāq	X	-	The Druze revolted but were subdued
124)	1037	Ha, H, Bl, Mn	-	-	Anushtakīn seized them from the Mirdasids
125)	1040	Af	XX	X	The Byzantines defeated Banū Kilāb
126)	1041	D, H	-	-	Anushtakīn revolted in D. and occupied H.
127)	1041	H	-	-	Thimāl al-Mirdāsī (M) reoccupied it
128)	1048	H, Ha, M	-	XX	The Fatimids failed to occupy them
129)	1048	Hi, Ha	X	X	The Mirdasids subdued an uprising
130)	1050	H	X	XX	The Fatimids attacked it without success
131)	1055	Baghdad	-	-	Toghrul Beg occupied it
132)	1056	H	-	-	Thimāl handed it over to the Fatimids
133)	1060	Rh	-	-	'Atiyyah (M) occupied it

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
134)	1060	H	XXX	X	Maḥmūd (M) seized it from the Fatimids
135)	1060	H	XX	-	The Fatimids failed to reoccupy it
136)	1061	H	-	-	Thimāl occupied it for the Fatimids
137)	1061	Rh	-	-	'Atiyyah seized it from Waththāb al-Numayrī
138)	1062	Ir	-	-	Thimāl defeated the Byzantines
139)	1062	Asia	-	X	Thimāl invaded the Byzantines territory
140)	1063	H	-	-	Maḥmūd besieged 'Atiyyah in it
141)	1064	D	-	-	Badr al-Jamālī (F) was driven out of it by revolt
142)	1064	Ha, K, M, Sh	-	-	Banū Kilāb and Maḥmūd seized them from 'Atiyyah
143)	1064	H	-	-	Ibn Khān (S) helped 'Atiyyah against Maḥmūd
144)	1065	H	-	-	Ibn Khān helped Maḥmūd in occupying it
145)	1067	Rh	-	-	Muslim (U) occupied it from 'Atiyyah
146)	1067	Ha	-	-	Maḥmūd defeated a Bedouin alliance
147)	1067	A	XXX	X	The Turkomans stormed the area
148)	1068	D	XXX	-	Badr was driven out of it by an uprising
149)	1068	An	-	XX	Ibn Khān seized it from the Byzantines
150)	1070	Mn	X	-	The Byzantines occupied it
151)	1070	Asfūnā	-	-	War between the Mirdasids and the Byzantines
152)	1070	H, Hl, Ha, Rf, K, M	XXX	-	Turkomans stormed the area and returned

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
153)	1070	Ty	-	-	Badr failed to seize it from the qādī
154)	1071	R, J, D	XXX	-	Atsiz (S) occupied Filasṭīn and besieged Damascus
155)	1071	H	XX	-	The Sultan, Alp Arslān (S) occupied it
156)	1071	Rq	-	-	Muslim seized it from 'Atiyyah
157)	1072	A, Az	-	-	The Byzantines were defeated by Maḥmūd
158)	1073	R, J	-	-	Badr seized them from Atsiz
159)	1074	Egypt	-	XXX	Badr al-Jamālī subdued uprisings there
160)	1075	Ti, Ac	XX	-	Atsiz defeated 'Ali ibn Quṭalmish (S)
161)	1075	D	XX	-	Atsiz besieged it
162)	1076	D	XXX	-	Atsiz occupied it
163)	1076	Rf, Ha	XX	X	Atsiz invaded the Mirdasid territory
164)	1076	Mn	-	-	Naṣr (M) seized it from the Byzantines
165)	1076	Q	X	X	Sābiq (M) defeated Banū Kilāb
166)	1077	R, G, Egypt	-	-	Atsiz failed to occupy Egypt
167)	1077	D	-	-	The Fatimids failed to occupy it
168)	1077	H	-	-	Tutush (S) besieged it
169)	1078	R, D	-	-	The Fatimids occupied Filasṭīn but not Damascus
170)	1078	D, R, S, B	-	-	Tutush occupied them
171)	1078	H	XX	-	Tutush and Mirdasid rebels besieged it

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
172)	1079	Ba, Rf	XX	X	Tutush's army invaded this area
173)	1079	S	-	-	The Fatimids occupied it and Tutush reoccupied it
174)	1079	H, Jazīrah	-	-	Tutush invaded the area
175)	1080	H	-	-	Muslim occupied it
176)	1081	Sh	-	-	'Ali ibn Munqidh seized it from the Byzantines
177)	1082	Sh	-	-	Muslim defeated Ibn Munqidh and the Mirdasids
178)	1083	D	-	-	Muslim failed to occupy it
179)	1083	Hr	-	-	Muslim seized it from Banū Numayr
180)	1084	A	-	-	Sulaymān (S) seized it from the Byzantines
181)	1085	An	-	-	Tutush occupied it for Ibn 'Ammār
182)	1085	Sh, M, K	XX	-	Sulaymān attacked these cities
183)	1085	H	XX	X	Sulaymān defeated Muslim and occupied it
184)	1086	H, 'Ayn Saylam	-	-	Tutush defeated Sulaymān and occupied it
185)	1086	H, A	-	-	The sulṭān Malikshāh (S) seized them from Tutush
186)	1088	Sh	-	-	Āq Sunqur (S) attacked Banū Munqidh
187)	1089	Ac, Ty, S, Ju, R	-	-	The Fatimids seized it from the Saljuqs
188)	1090	Hi, Af, Ir	-	-	The Saljuq governors seized them from Ibn Mulā'ib
189)	1092	T	-	-	Tutush besieged it
190)	1093	Rh, Mawṣil	-	-	Tutush tried to be the Saljuq sulṭān

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	Year	Location	Destruction	Killing	The Participants
191)	1093	Ty	XXX	XX	The Fatimids subdued an uprising there
192)	1094	H	-	-	Tutush occupied it
193)	1095	M	-	-	Ridwān ibn Tutush (S) occupied it
194)	1095	Af	-	-	An uprising against the Saljuqs
195)	1096	A	-	-	Ridwān against Yāghi Siyān (S)
196)	1096	D, Ḥawrān	XX	-	Ridwān besieged it
197)	1096	Ty	XX	XX	The Fatimids subdued an uprising in it
198)	1097	Q, Ha, K, M	XX	-	Duqāq (S) invaded them from Damascus
199)	1097	Sh, Hi	-	-	Ridwān attacked them
200)	1098	A	XX	XX	The Crusaders occupied it
201)	1098	J	-	-	The Fatimids seized it from the Saljuqs
202)	1099	J	XX	XXXX	The Crusaders occupied it

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184) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 97 - 9. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, p. 124.

185) Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 239. Salibi, p. 146.

186) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 105.

187) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 120. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 223. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, p. 128. Salibi, p. 149. Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh, p. 183.

188) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 120. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 106. Salibi, pp. 149 - 50.

189) Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 203. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, p. 132.

190) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 107 - 9. Salibi, p. 152.

191) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 124. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 223.

192) Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 126 - 30. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 110 - 9. Salibi, pp. 152 - 3.

193) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 123.

194) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 122 - 3. Salibi, p. 150.

195) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 124 - 5.

196) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 132. Salibi, p. 158.

197) Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 133 - 4.

198) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 125 - 7. Salibi, p. 158.

199) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 133. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 129. Salibi, p. 159.

200) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 135.

201) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 135. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, pp. 282 - 3.

202) Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, pp. 283 - 4. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, p. 164. Hitti, p. 589.

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This appendix reveals that more than 200 military encounters took place during the 221 years under discussion. Most of these wars took place in Syria proper, five of them in Egypt and Iraq, and the rest in the Jazīrah and the Thughūr.

These military actions are fairly well distributed over the years and yet there is a greater concentration during the following years - 965 - 983, 991 - 999, and 1060 - 1099. The southern part of Syria, which was controlled by the Ikhshidids and later by the Fatimids, was a relatively peaceful area, except during the periods 968 - 982 and 1070 - 1078, when a change in dynasties took place. The northern part of Syria, on the other hand did not enjoy long peaceful periods. As a matter of fact, "Appendix 1" shows that the number of wars in the north was double that in the south.

The following table shows the number of wars in or nearby the important cities of Syria which occurred during the period under discussion. The cities not shown in this table are those which were involved in wars less that five times:

North		South	
Aleppo	58	Damascus	37
Antioch	15	Ramlah	26
Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān	14	Tiberias	8
Ḥims	13	Tyre	6
Ḥamāh	12	'Asqalān	5
Thughūr	12	Jerusalem	5
Afāmiyah	11		
Shayzar	11		
Asia Minor	9		
Kafar Ṭāb	7		
Manbij	5		

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We should remember that this table shows the number of wars that took place close to these cities, but does not reflect the number of times that these cities participated in wars. In other words, this table shows how many times these cities were the victims, but not the agressors.

APPENDIX 2

Crops in Medieval Syria

Map 1 shows the annual rainfall (in millimeters).

Map 2 shows the crops which were grown in Syria up to the end of the 11th century. This map shows only the crops for which the sources give an approximate location.

Map 3 shows the crops which were grown in Syria between the 12 - 15th centuries. This map too shows only the crops for which the sources give an approximate location.

Key

A. Fruits (Fawākih)
B. Orchard (Bustān and Ashjār)
C. Carob
D. Dates
E. Apple
F. Figs
G. Indigo
H. Colcosia
J. Apricot
K. Peach
L. Almond
M. Pomegranate
N. Banana
O. Olive
P. Pistachio (Fustuq)
Q. Melon, Cantaloupe
R. Flowers
S. Sumac
T. Lotus Fruit (Nabq)
U. Lupine
V. Vineyard
W. Walnuts
Y. Sycamore
Z. Saffron

1. Cereal (Zar', Ghilāl, Ḥubūb)
2. Wheat
3. Barley
4. Citron and Orange (Atranj, Nāranj)
5. Lemon
6. Sugar-Cane
7. Rice
8. Sesame
9. Cotton

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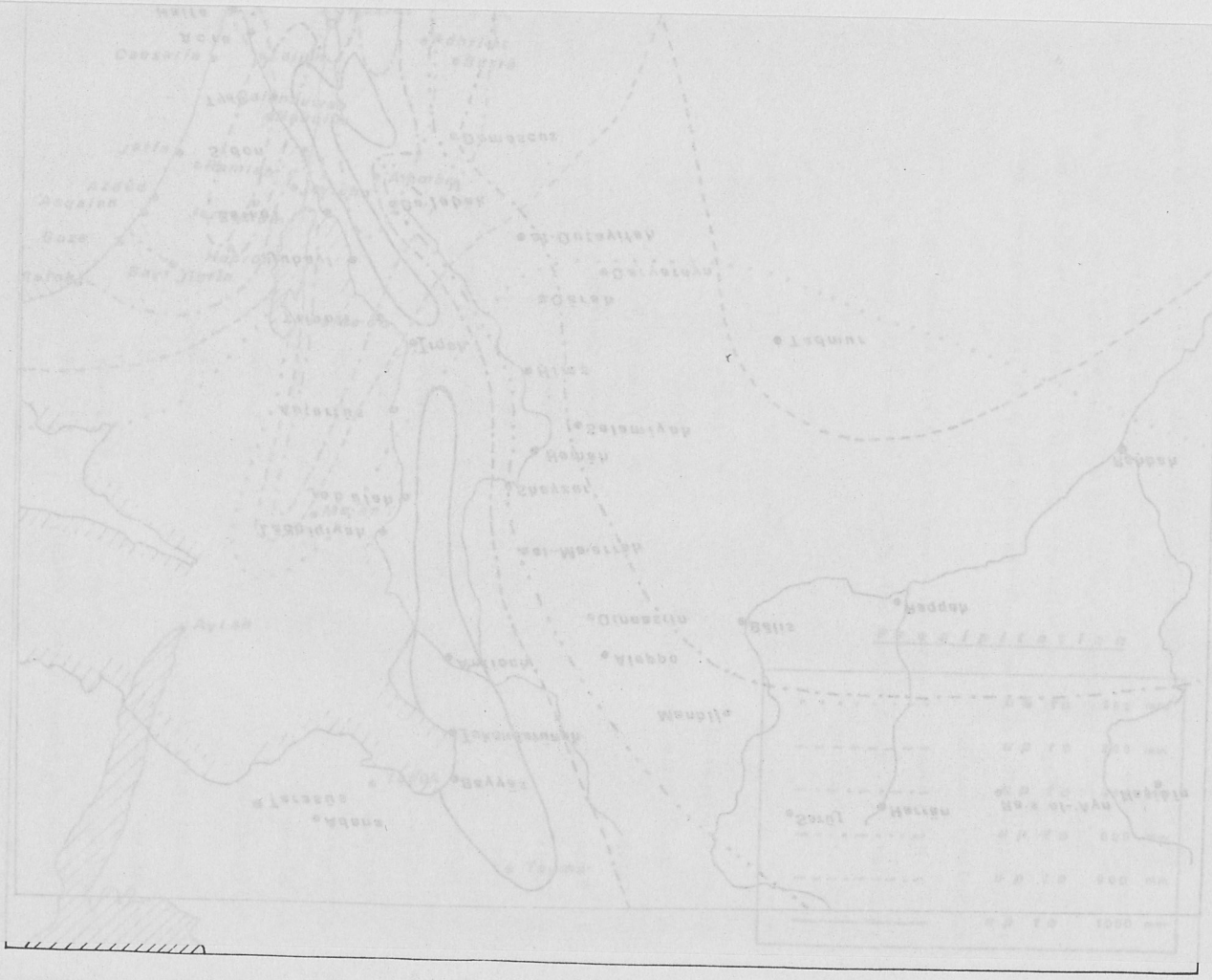

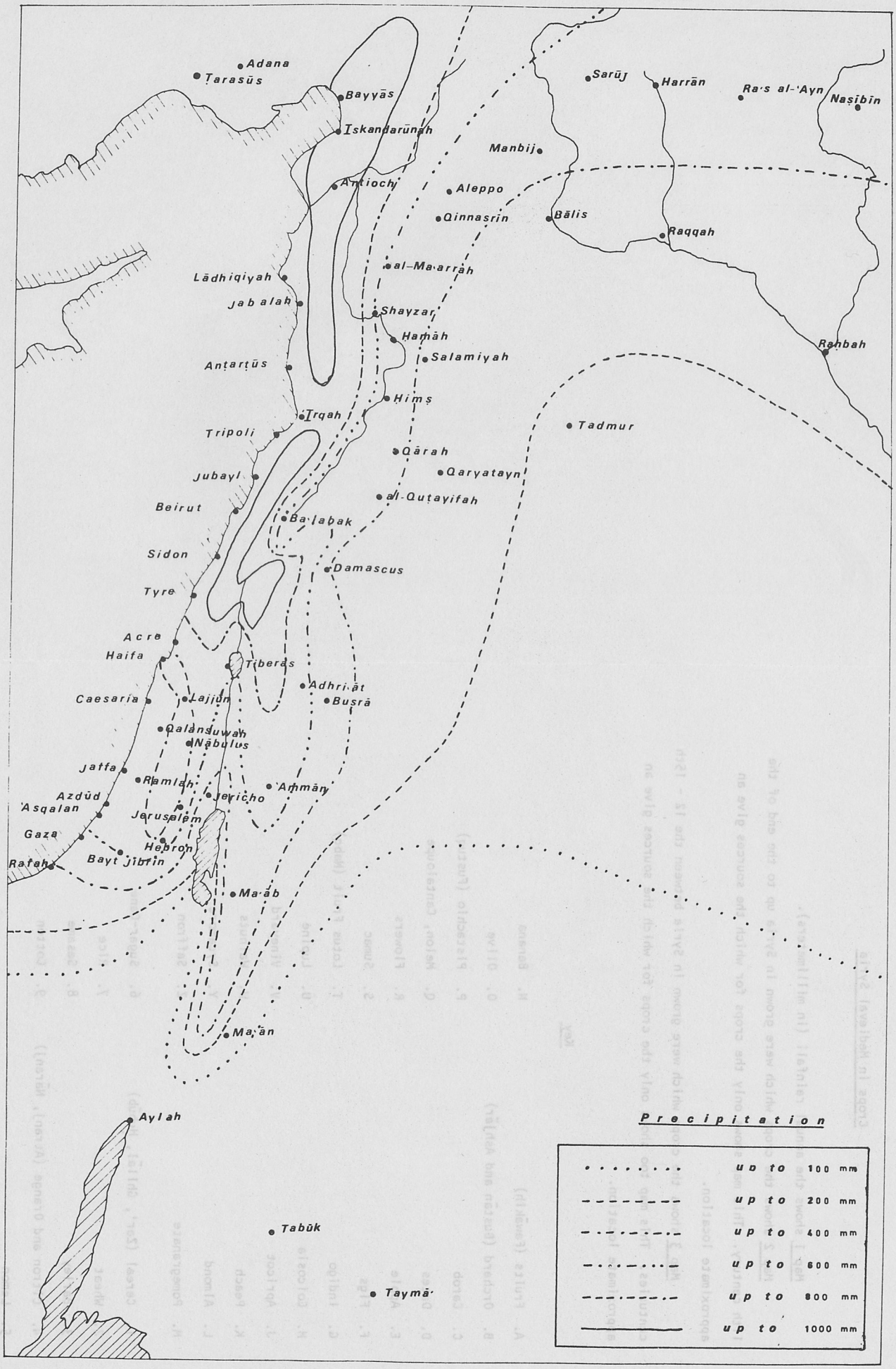

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MAP 2

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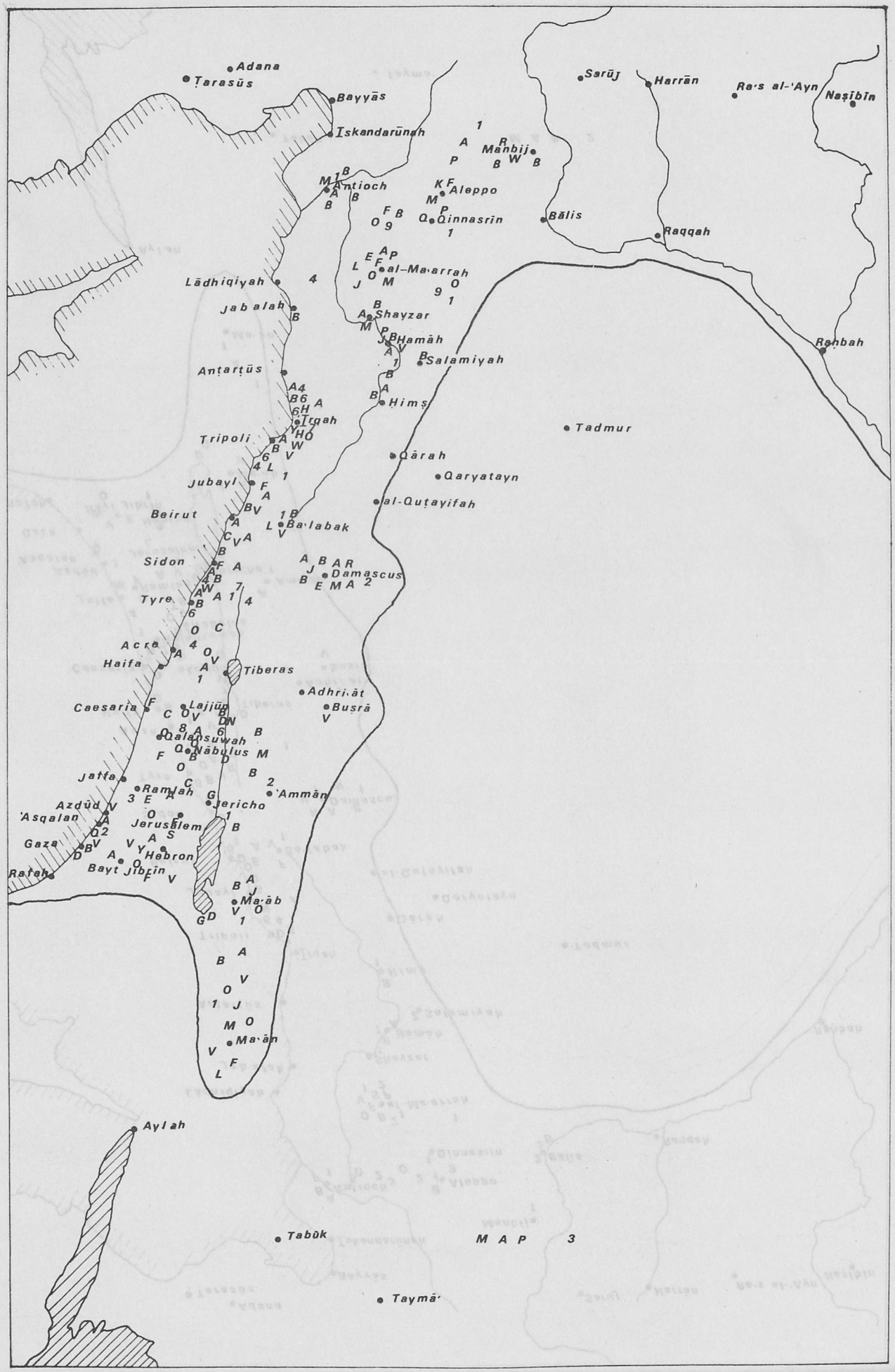

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Sources

Map 2

Al-Ya'qubī, pp. 324 - 5. Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 103, 112, 114 - 5, 117, 122 - 3. Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 20. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 56 - 8, 61 - 3, 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 111, 113 - 4, 116 - 8, 120 - 1, 124. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 7, 44, 151, 160 - 6, 172 - 81, 186, 188 - 9, 204, 358 - 9. Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, p. 149. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 45, 47 - 9, 53 - 6, 70, 73. Yāqūt, vol. 1, pp. 382 - 3. vol. 2, pp. 308 - 9. Al-Munajjid, Dimashq, p. 86. Al-Hamadānī, p. 271. Ibn Munqidh, Al-Diyār, p. 68. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 14. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 115, 291. vol. 2, p. 80. Al-Dawadārī, pp. 177, 179. Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 153, 180. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 286. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, pp. 25, 149, 184. Bishop Arculf, p. 5. Bernard the Wise, p. 26. Saewulf, p. 45. Raymond D'Aguilers, p. 59. Daniel, pp. 66 - 7. Fulcher, pp. 128, 130, 133, 142, 146 - 7. Goitein, Trade, pp. 54 - 5. Ashtor, Diet, pp. 2 - 5. Ashtor, Social, pp. 41 - 5.

Map 3

Al-Idrīsī, pp. 2 - 14. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 223 - 4, 228 - 31, 234 - 5, 260, 283. Al-'Umarī, p. 171. Al-Dimashqī, pp. 194 - 200, 205 - 9, 211 - 3. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 228 - 71. Ibn Baṭūṭah, pp. 50 - 5, 60, 63, 66 - 7, 82. Ibn Munqidh, Al-I'tibār, pp. 61, 151, Ibn 'Asākir. (1951 - 4) vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 172, 179, 182 - 3. Al-Iṣfahānī, pp. 59 - 60, 103, 222. Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh, pp. 67, 92, 104, 136. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, pp. 48, 251 - 3, 263. Mujīr al-Dīn, vol. 2, pp. 75, 81. William of Tyre, vol. 1, pp. 200 - 1, 209, 427, 453, 456. vol. 2, pp. 6, 145, 187 - 8, 219 - 20. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 81.

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APPENDIX 3

The Main Overland Routes in Syria

Each map in this appendix is based on information available in one source, with the exception of map 14 which is based on information available in many sources.

Key

1) B = Barīd (almost 24 km)
2) F = Farsakh (almost 6 km)
3) L = Mīl (almost 2 km)
4) M = Marḥalah (one day's walk)
5) S = Sikkah (almost 24 km)
6) Y = Yawm (one day's walk)
7) ----The exact location of this route is unsure.

Map 8: The book of Al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī (d. 990) which was called Al-Masālik wa-al-Mawālik or Al-'Azīzī, did not reach us. This map, therefore, based on scattered quotations in the sources especially in Abū al-Fidā''s book.

For sources see Chapter 4.

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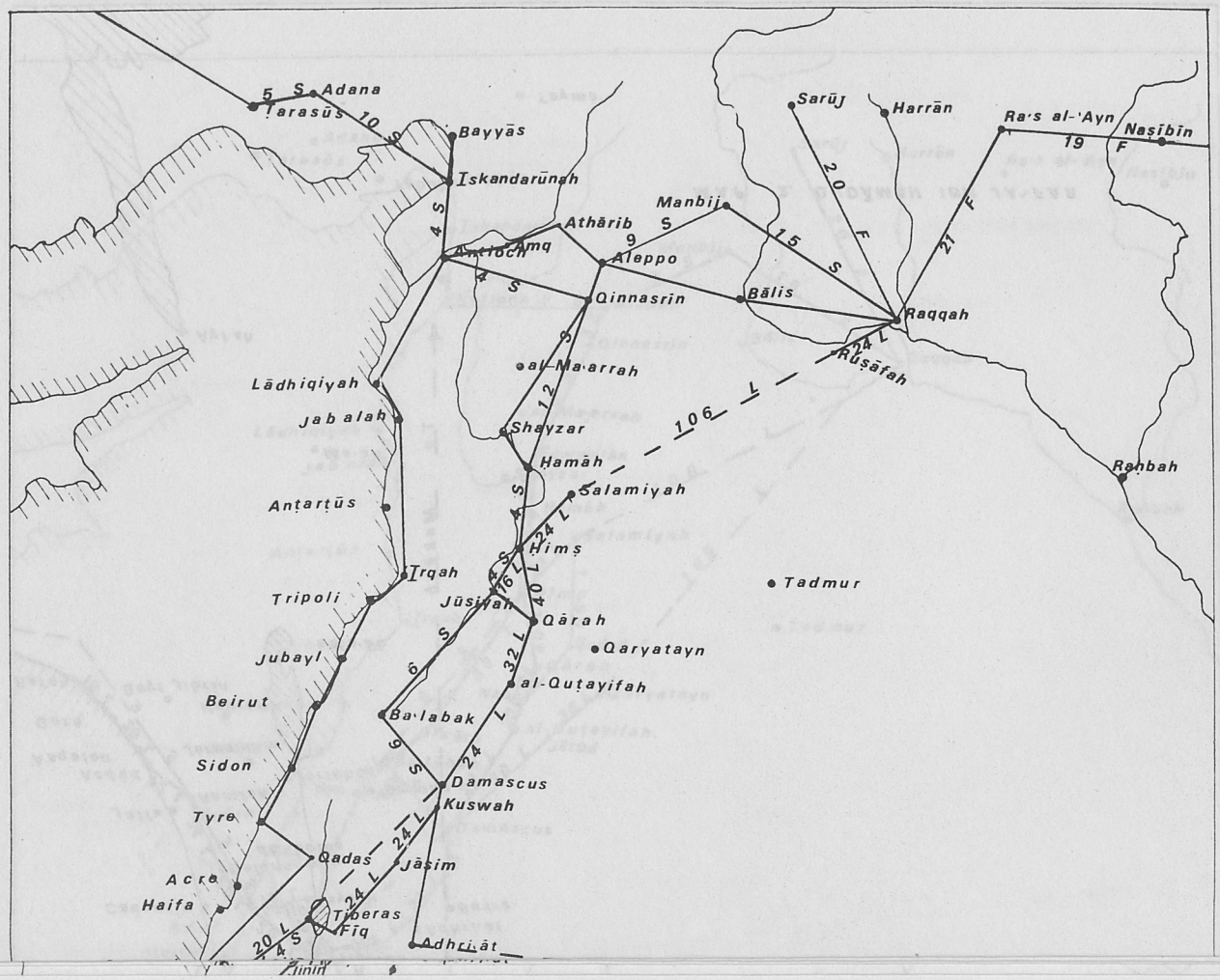

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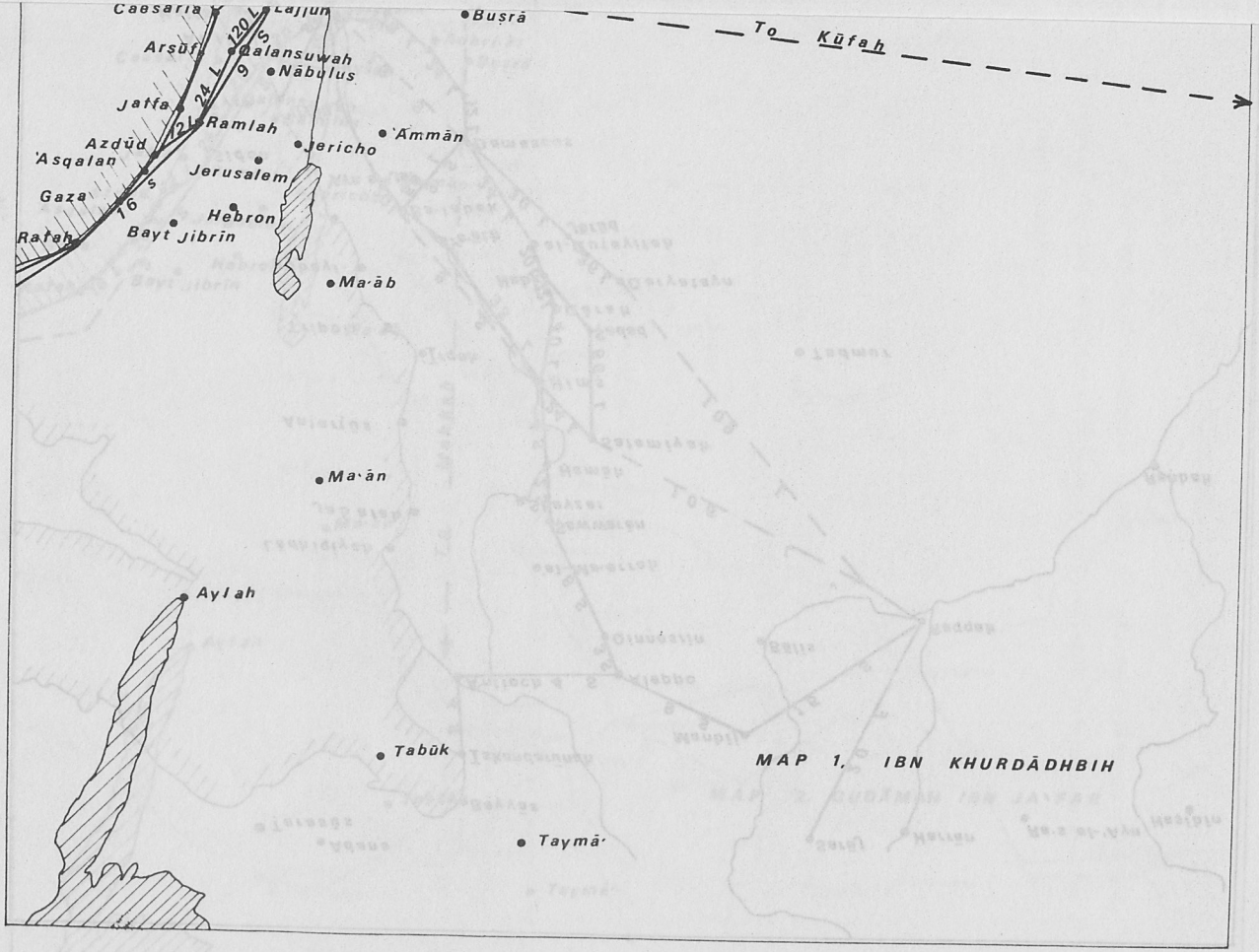

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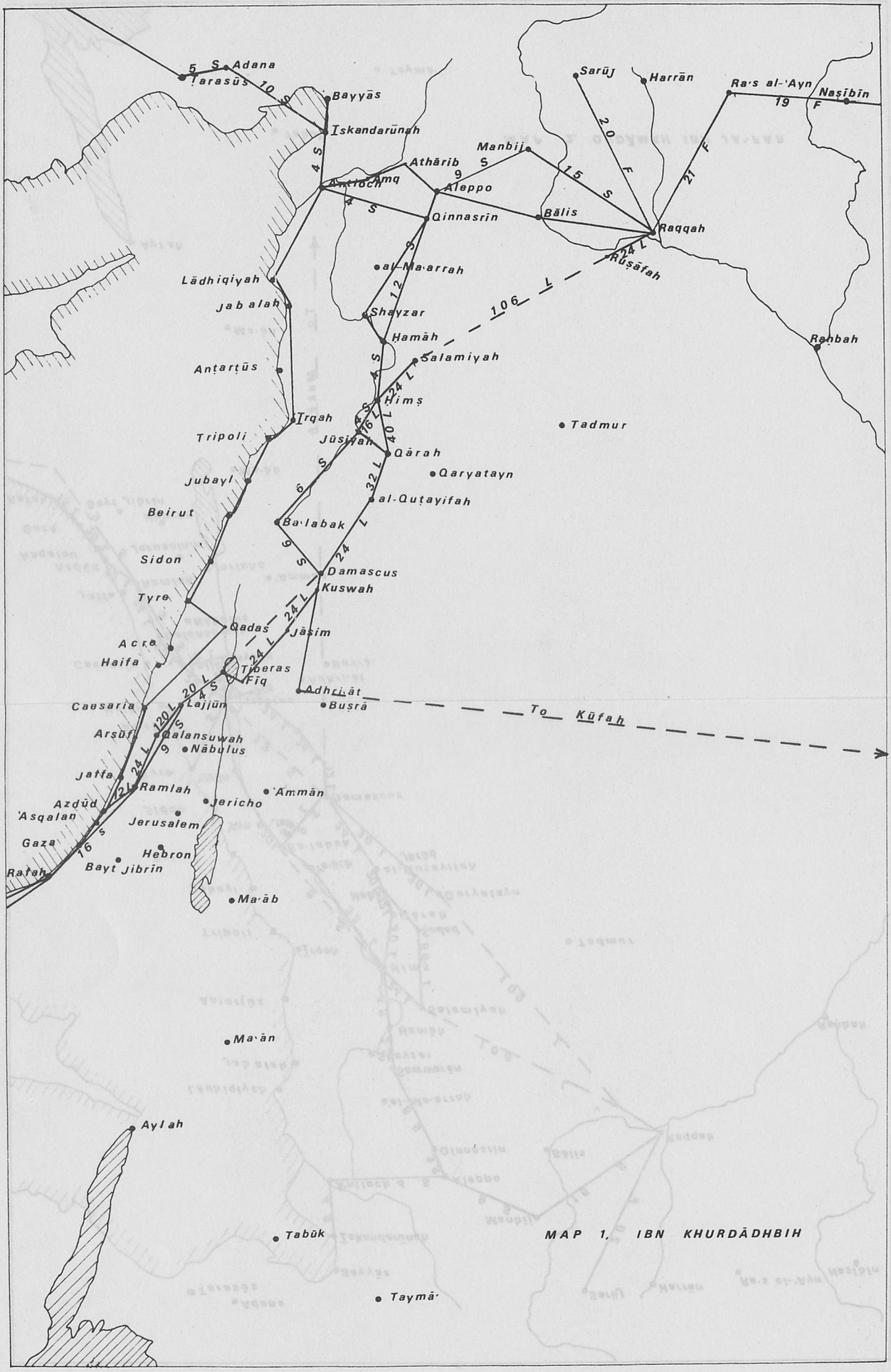

MAP 1. IBN KHURDĀDHBIH

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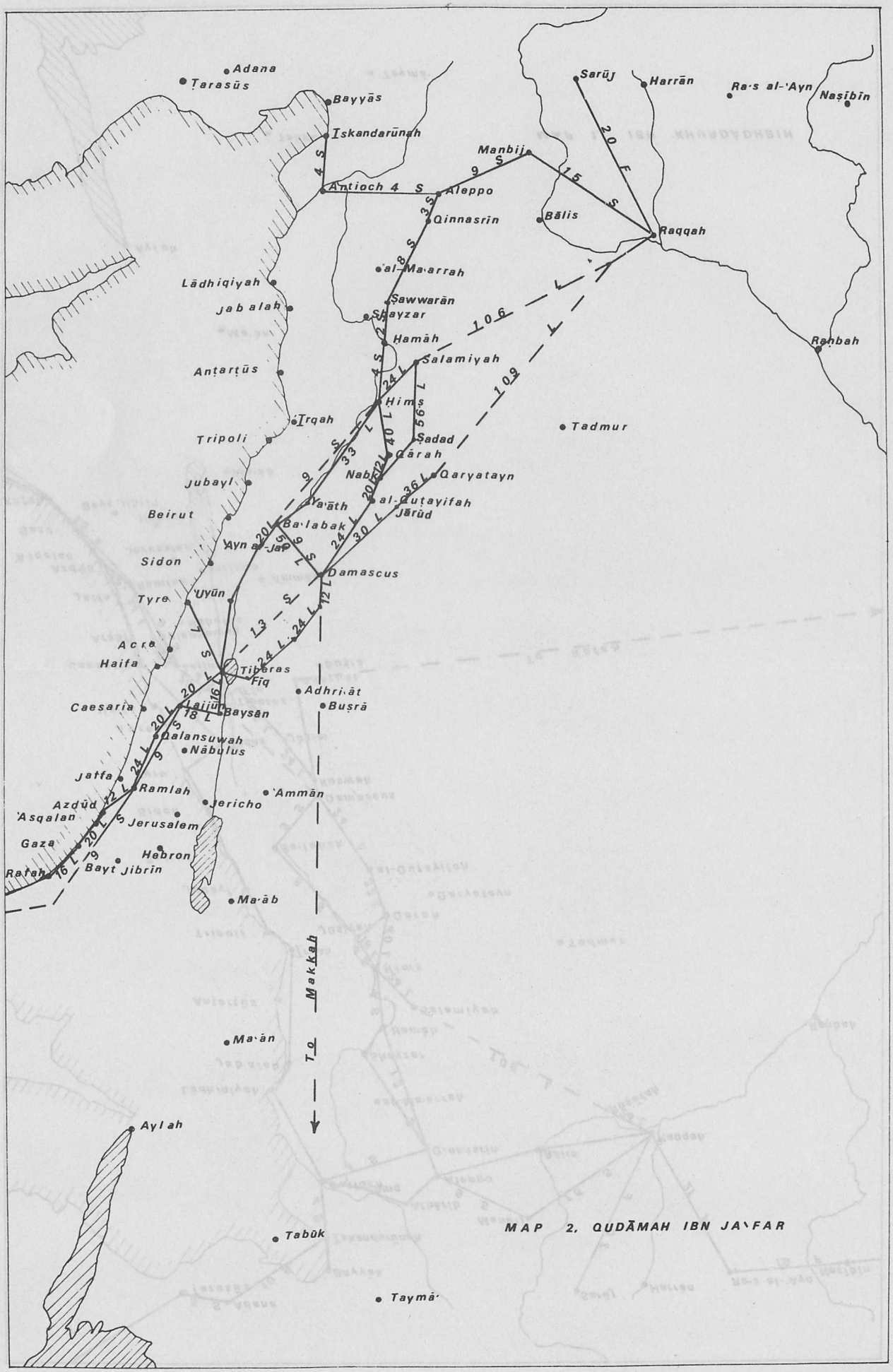

MAP 2. QUDĀMAH IBN JA·FAR

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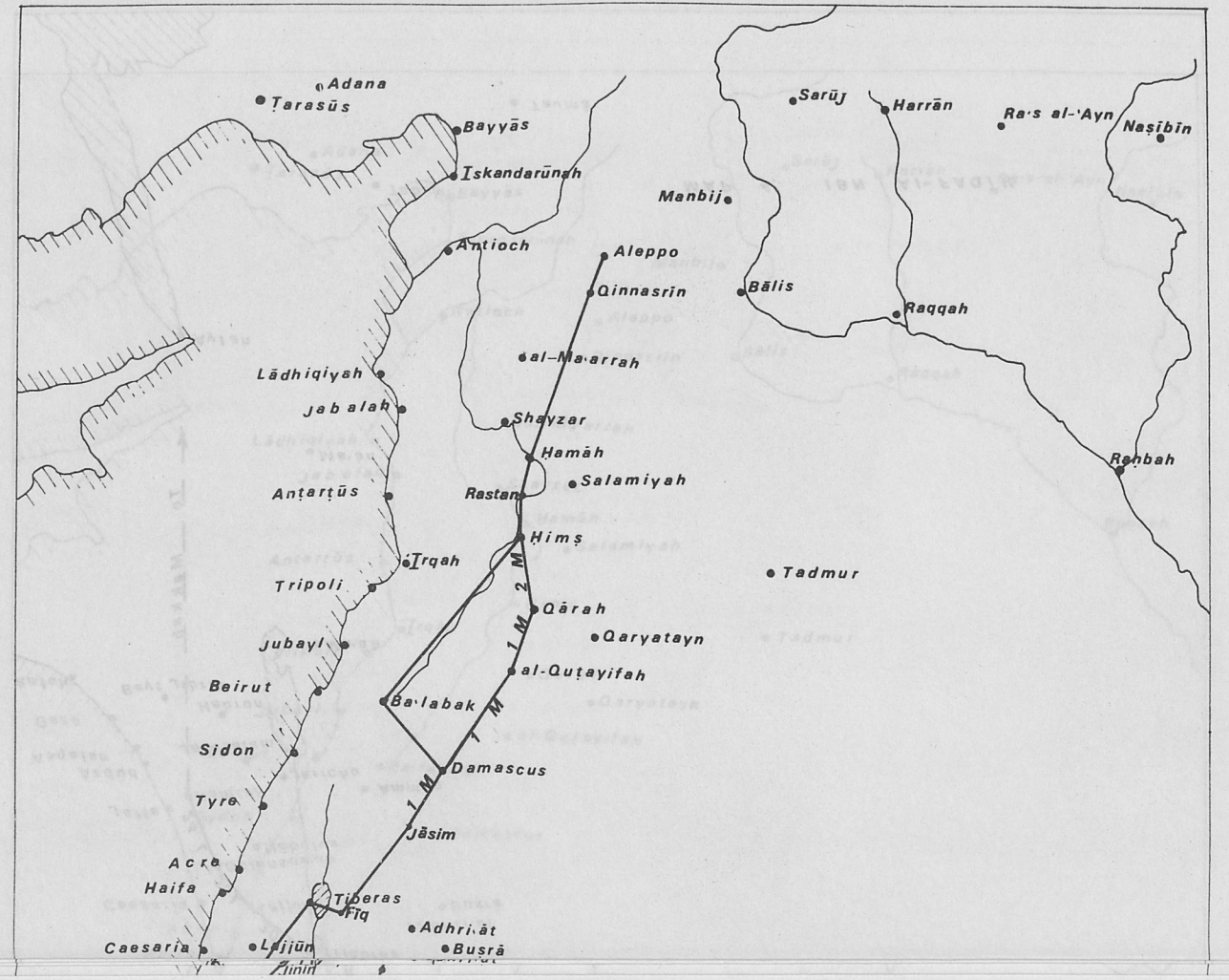

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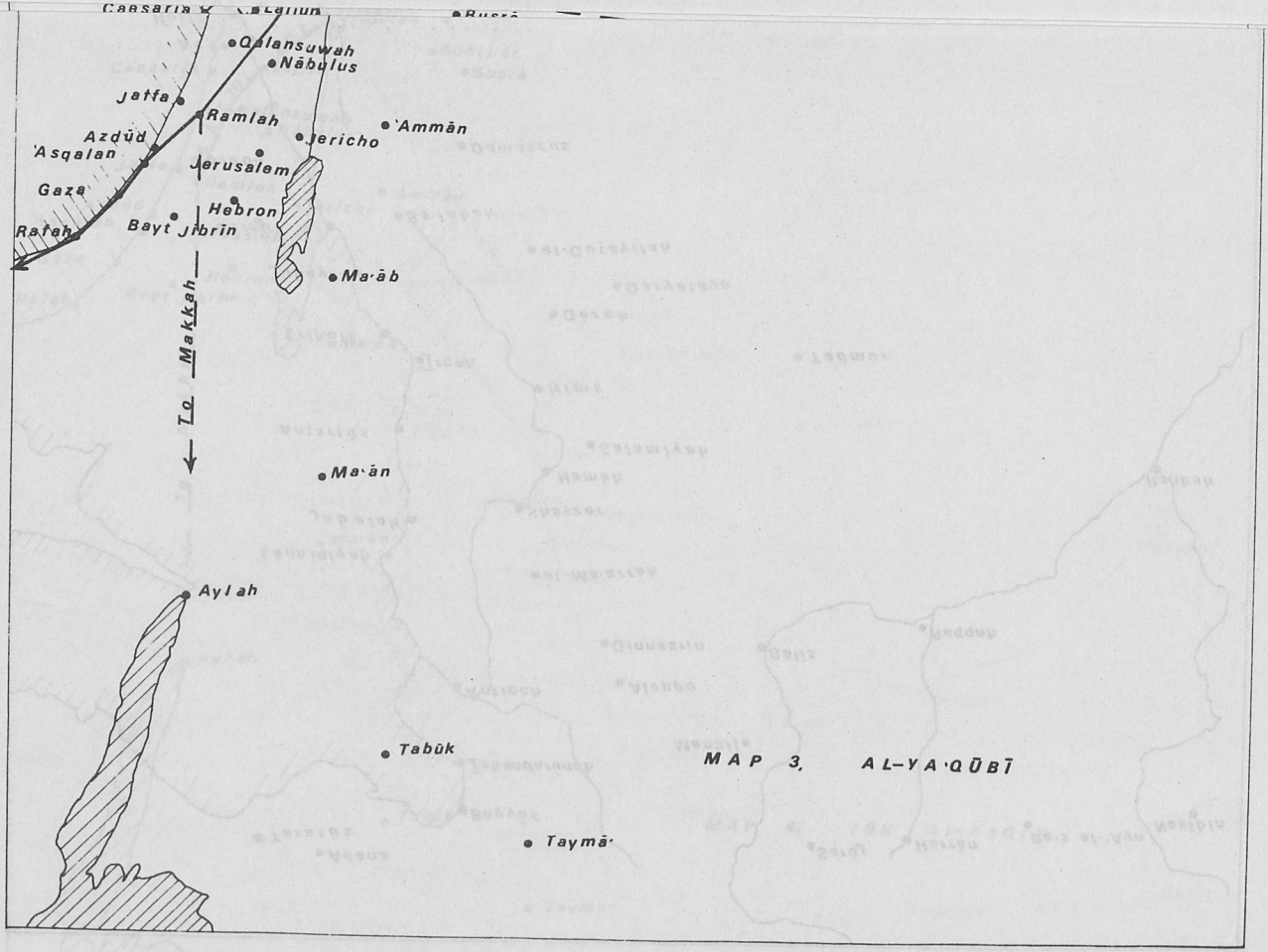

MAP 3, AL-YA'QŪBĪ

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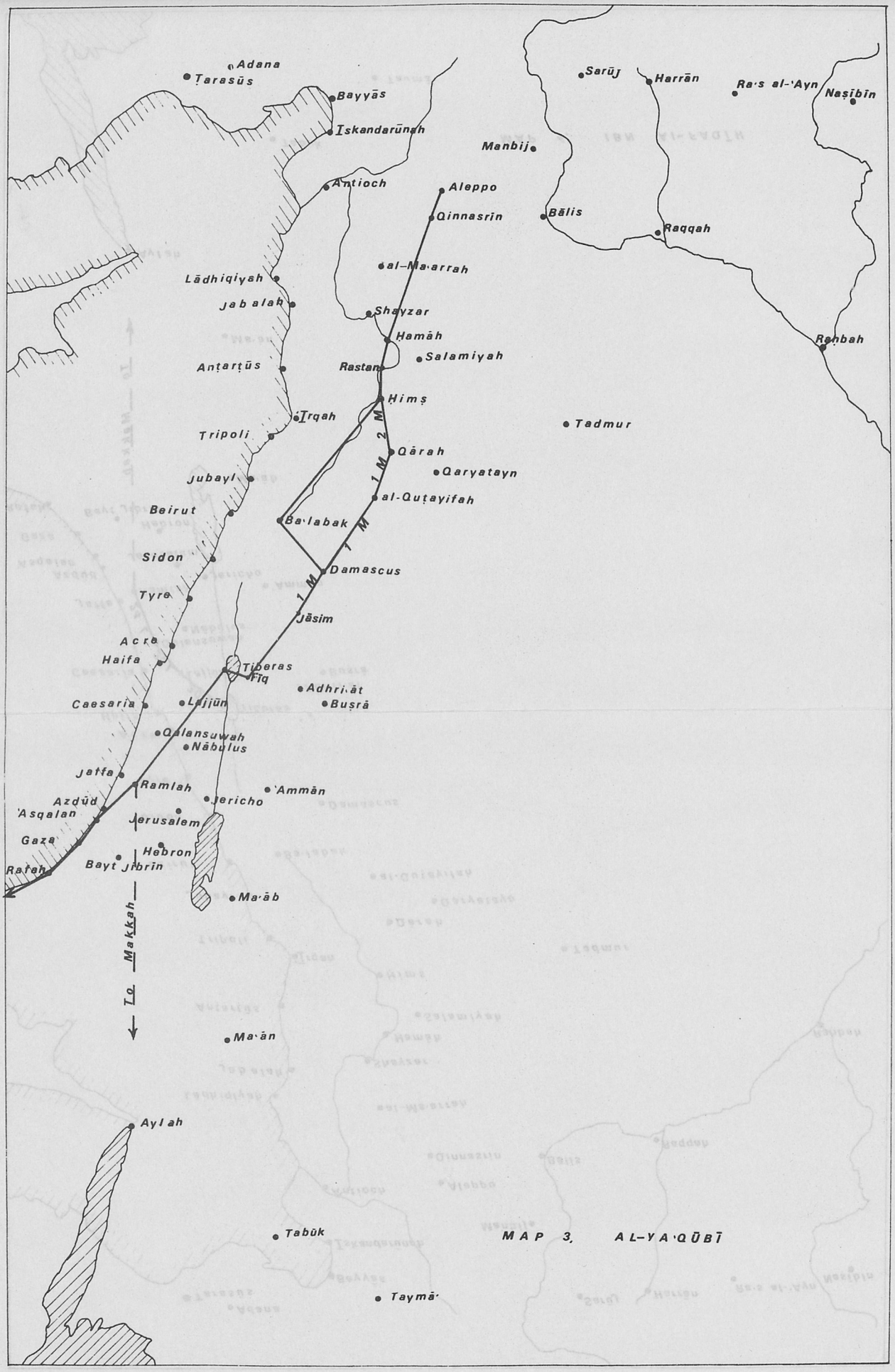

MAP 3. AL-YA'QŪBĪ

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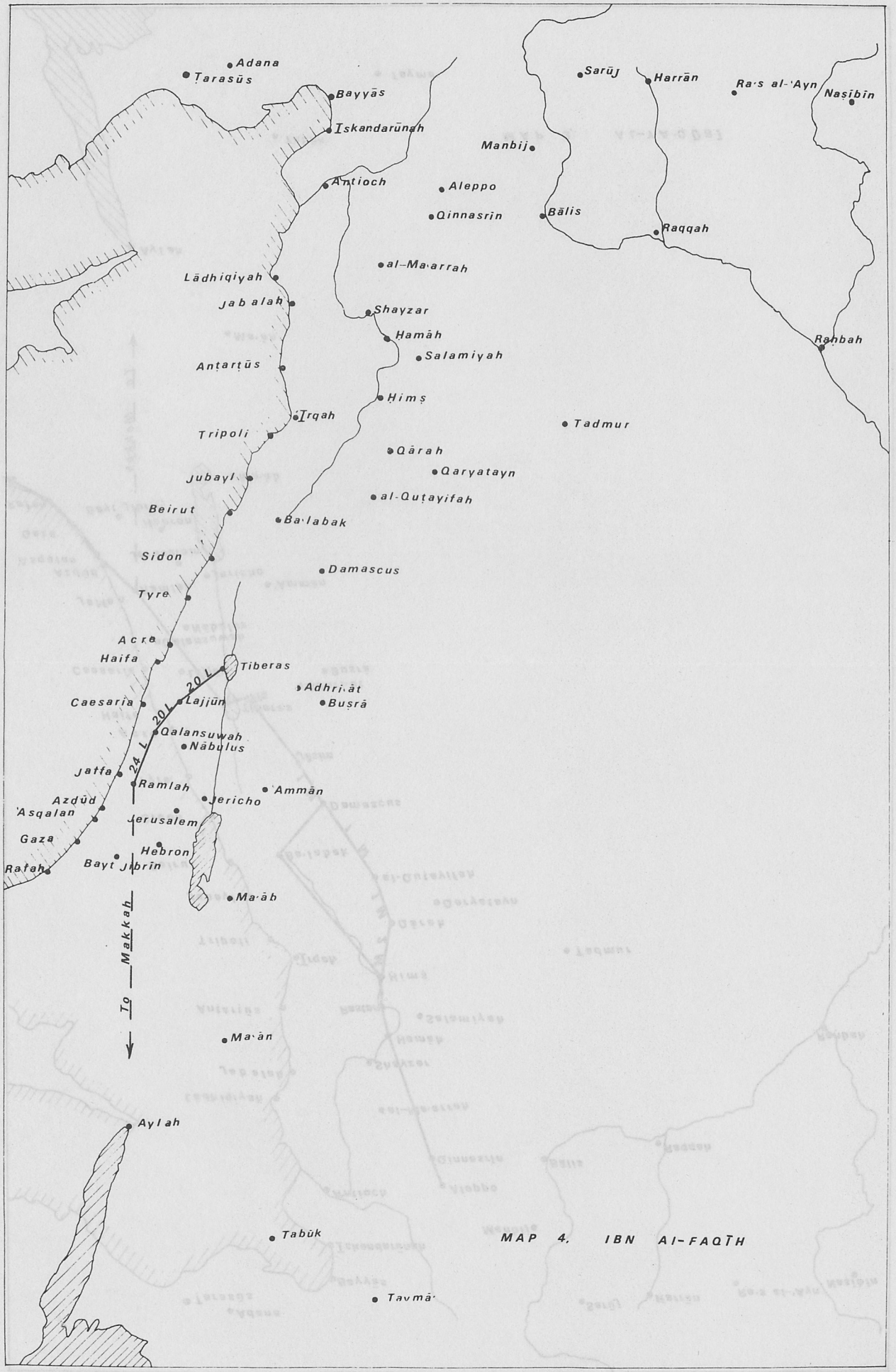

MAP 4. IBN AL-FAQĪH

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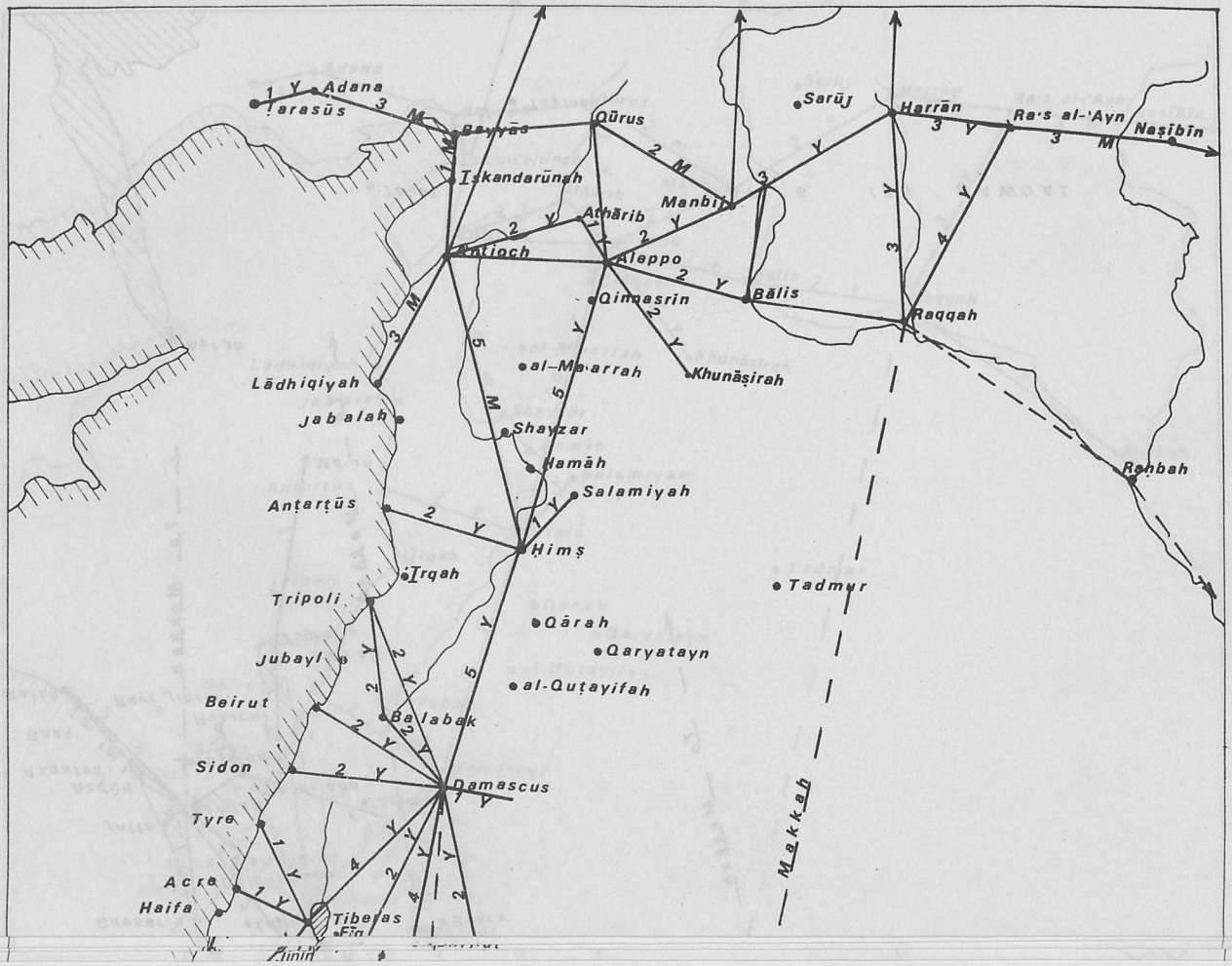

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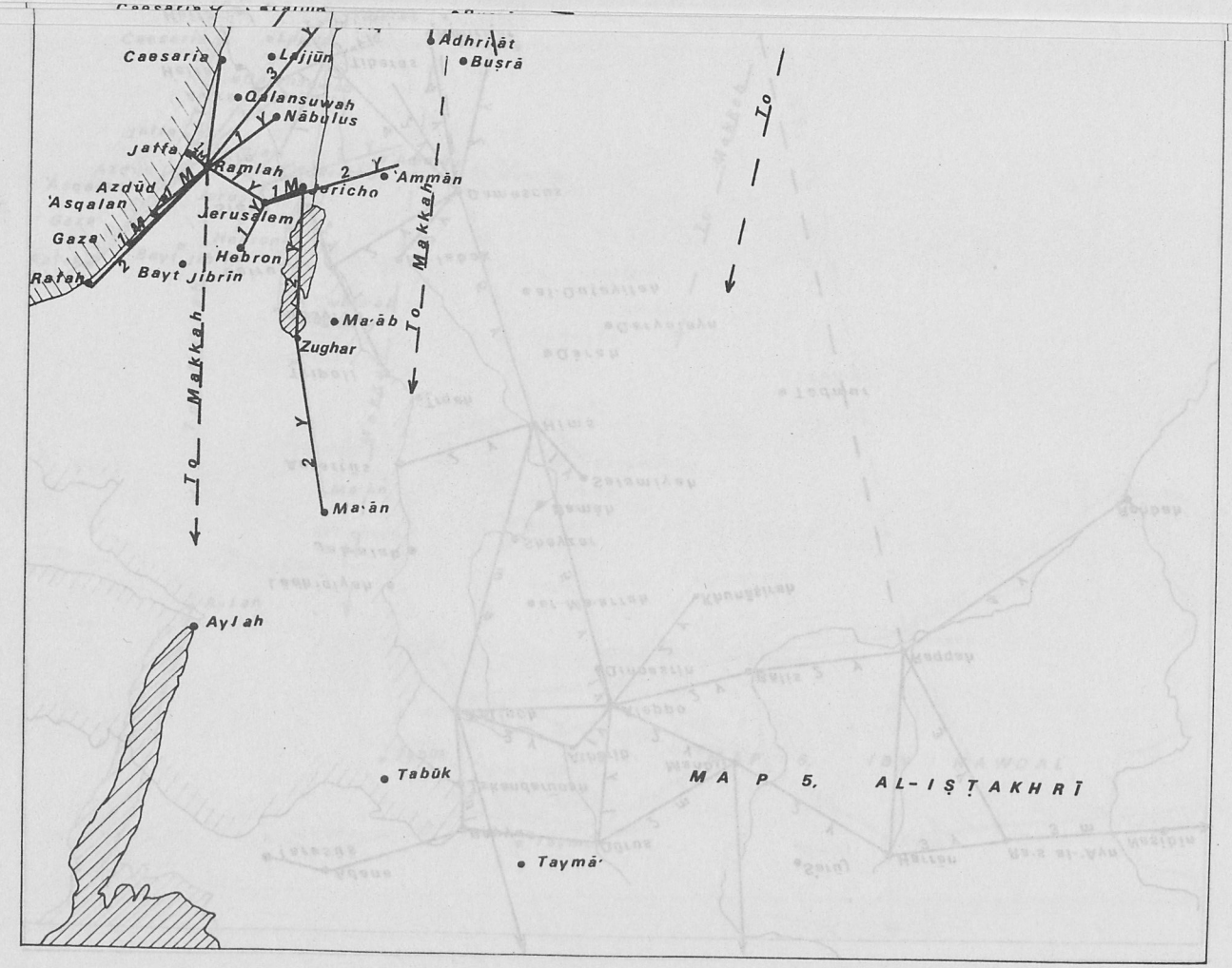

MAP 5. AL-IṢṬAKHRĪ

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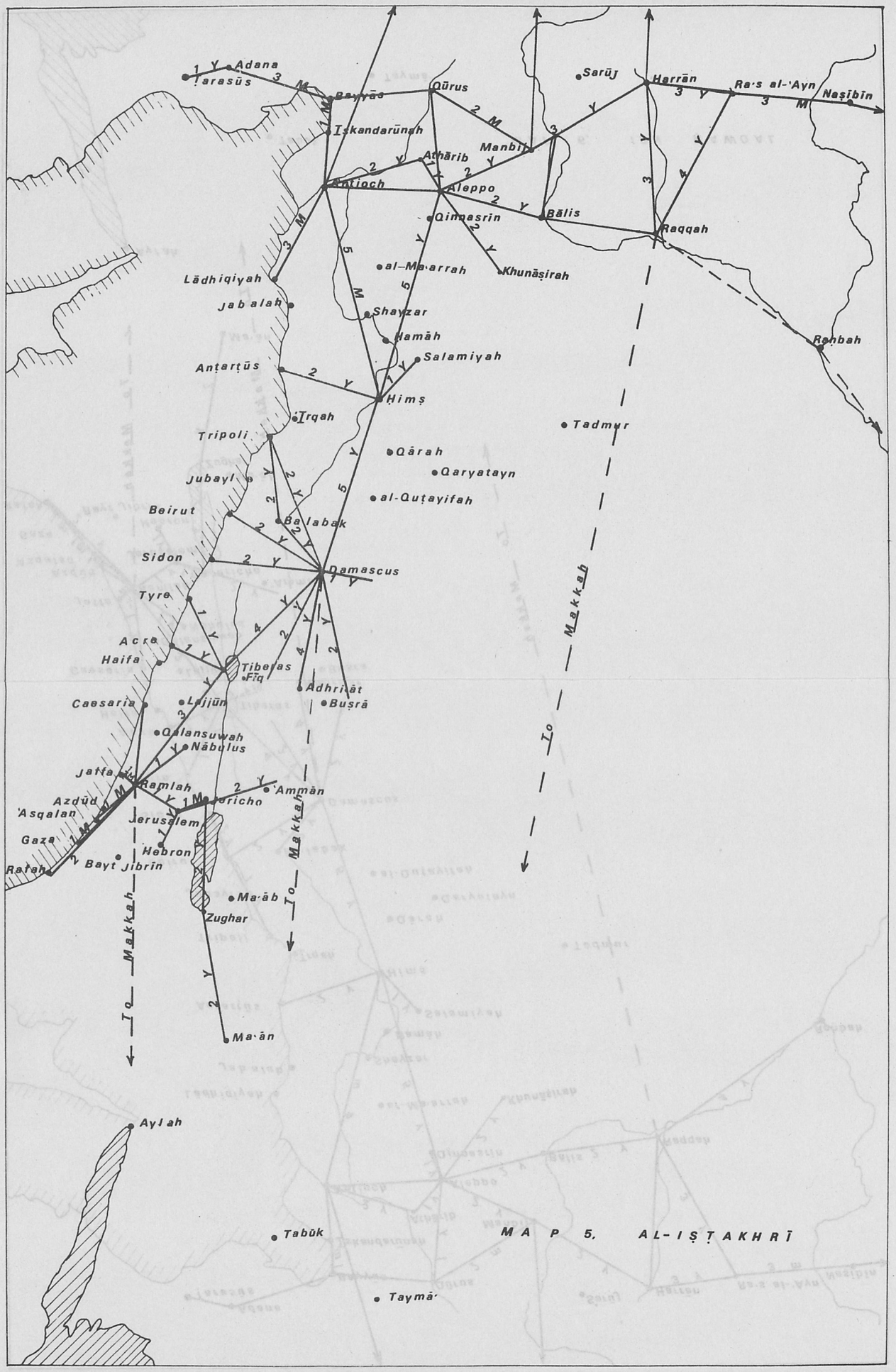

MAP 5, AL-IṢṬAKHRĪ

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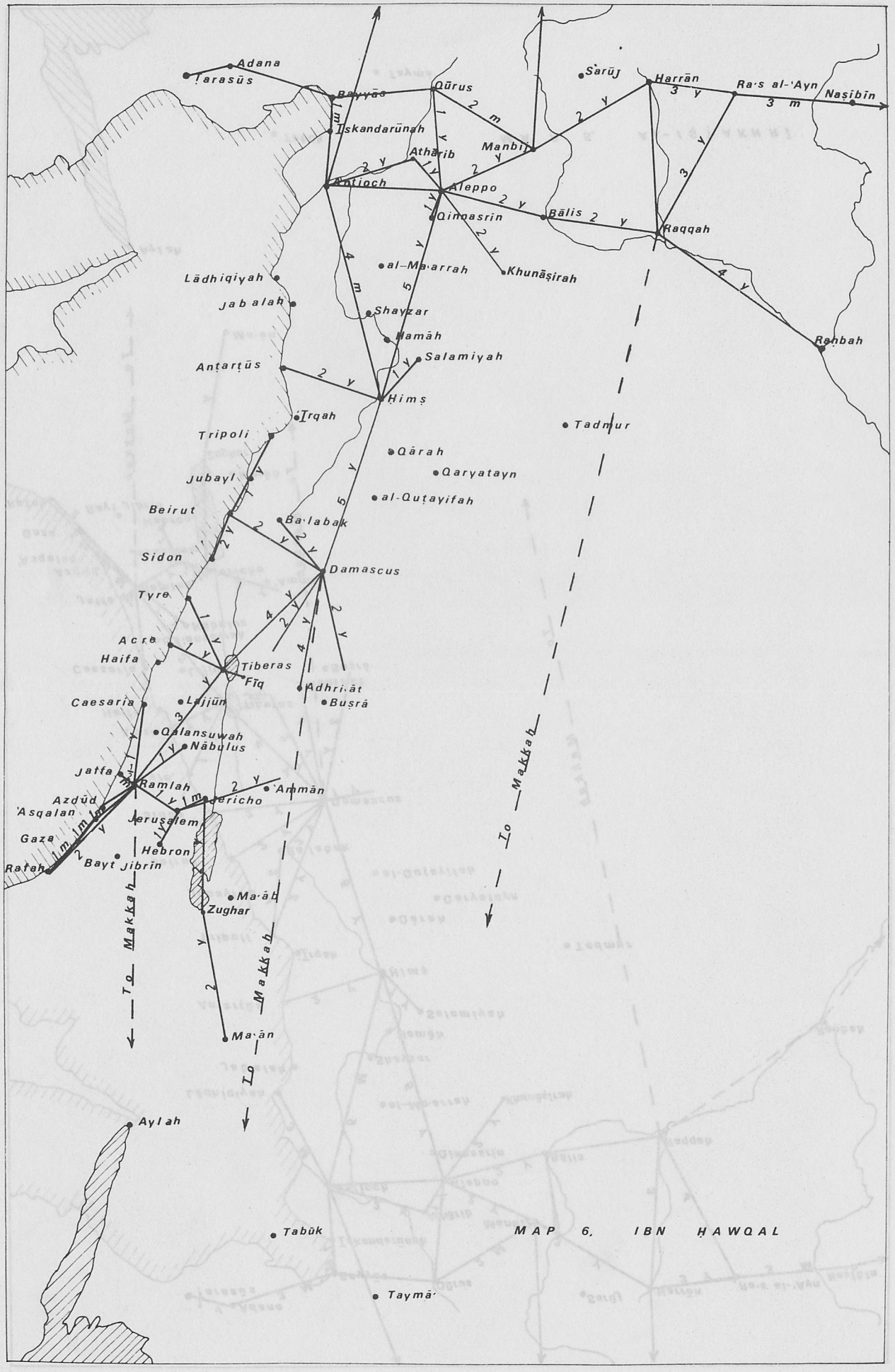

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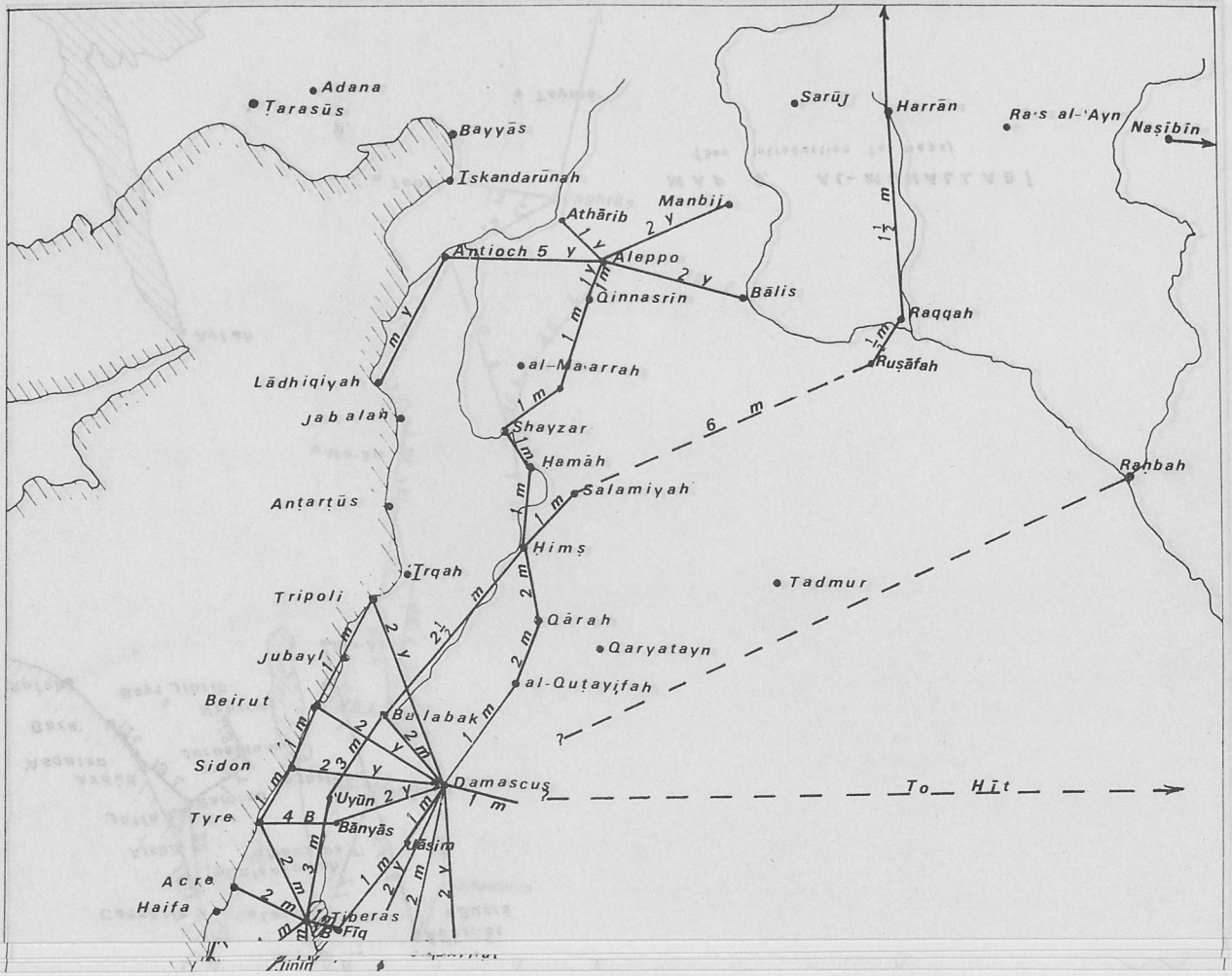

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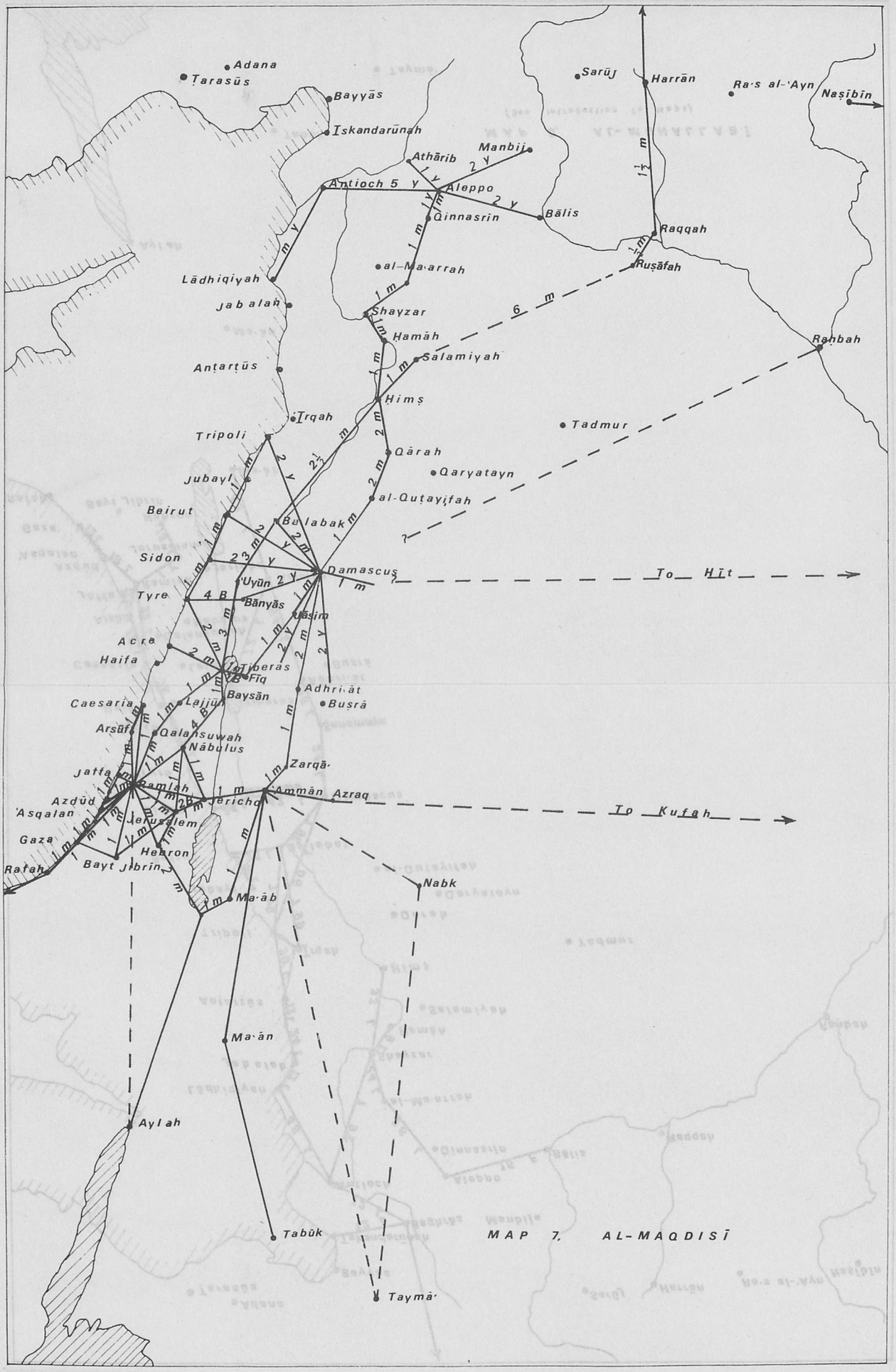
MAP 7. AL-MAQDISĪ



MAP 7. AL-MAQDISĪ

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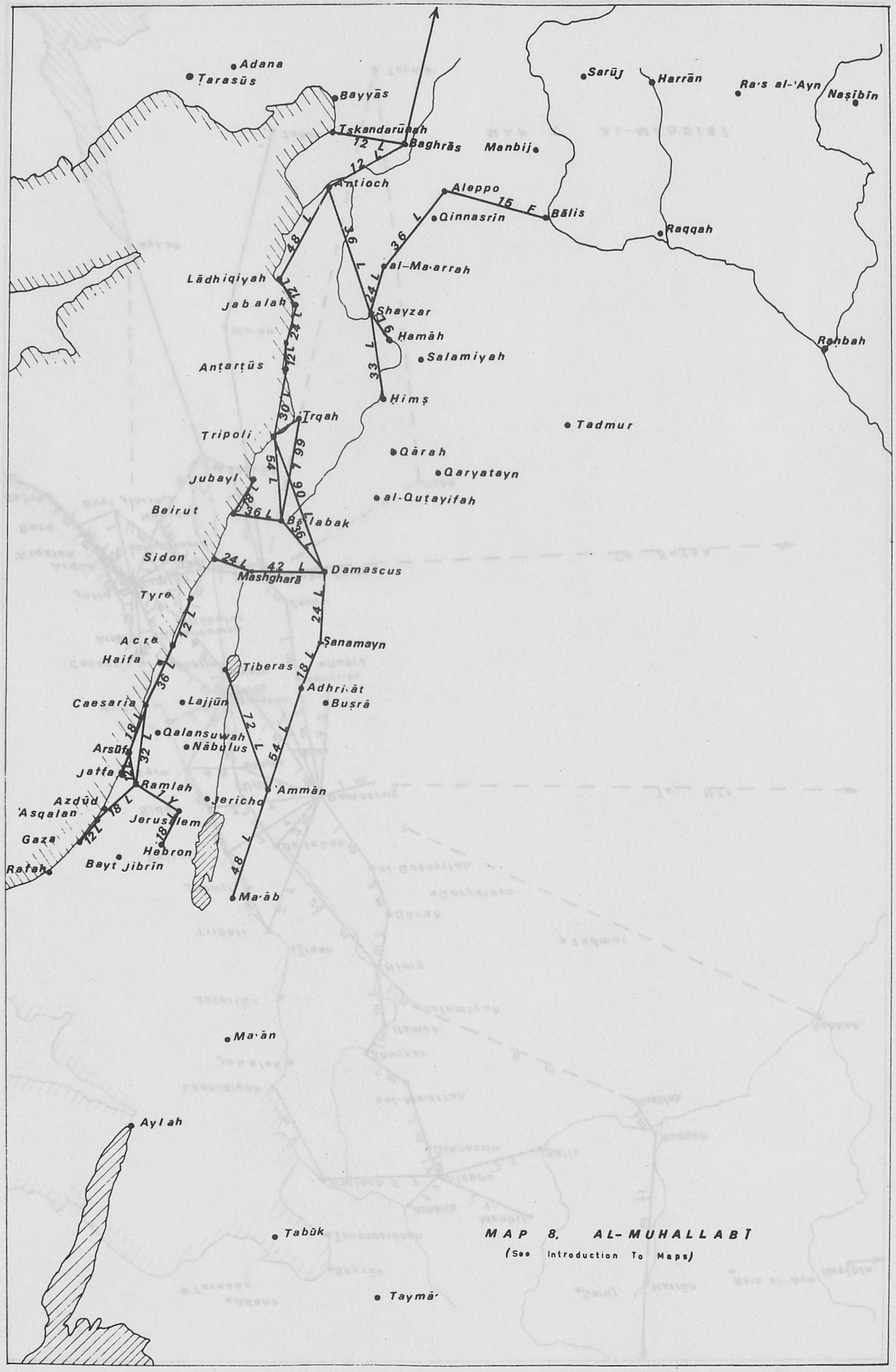

MAP 8, AL-MUHALLABĪ

(See Introduction To Maps)

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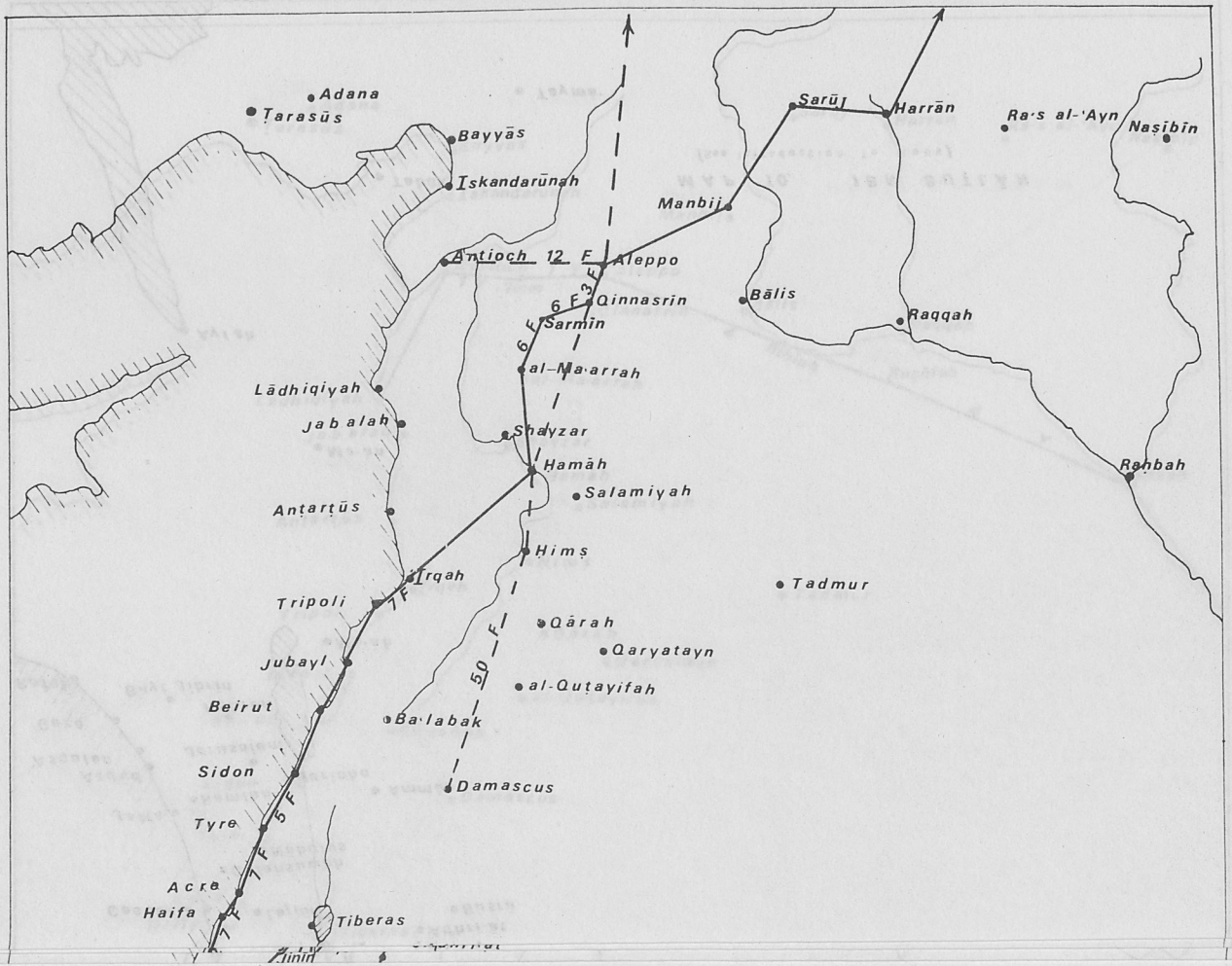

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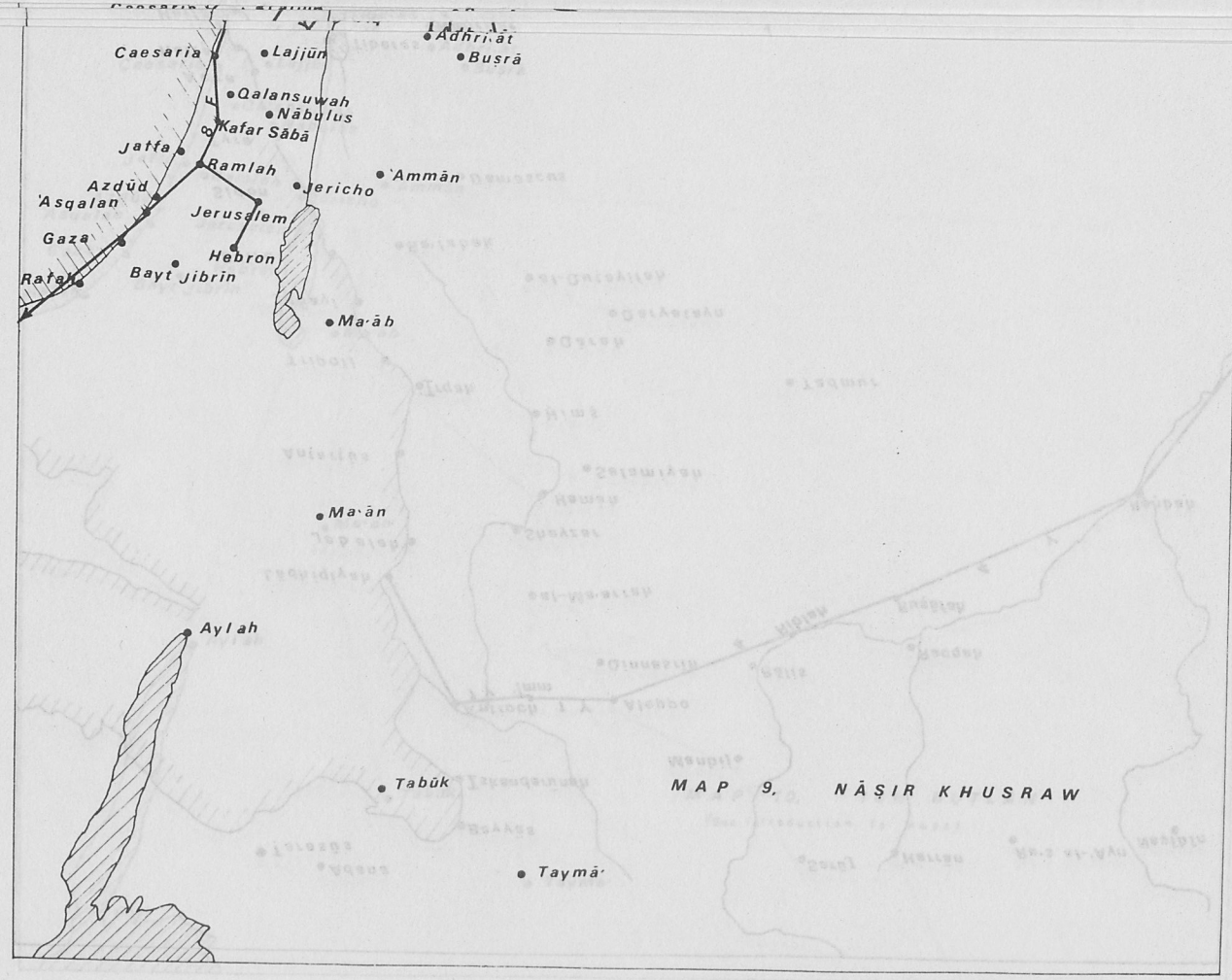

MAP 9, NĀṢIR KHUSRAW

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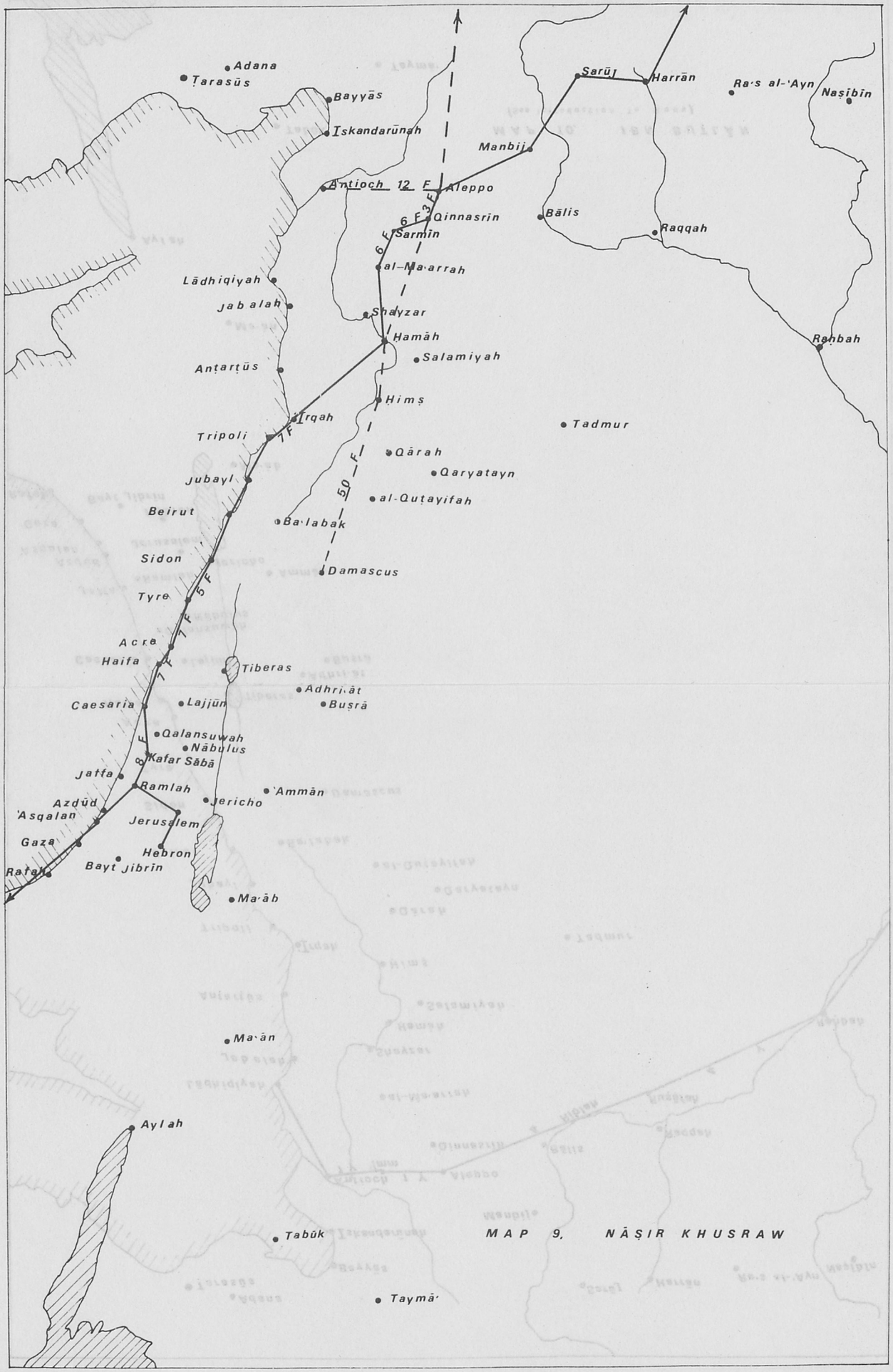

MAP 9. NĀṢIR KHUSRAW

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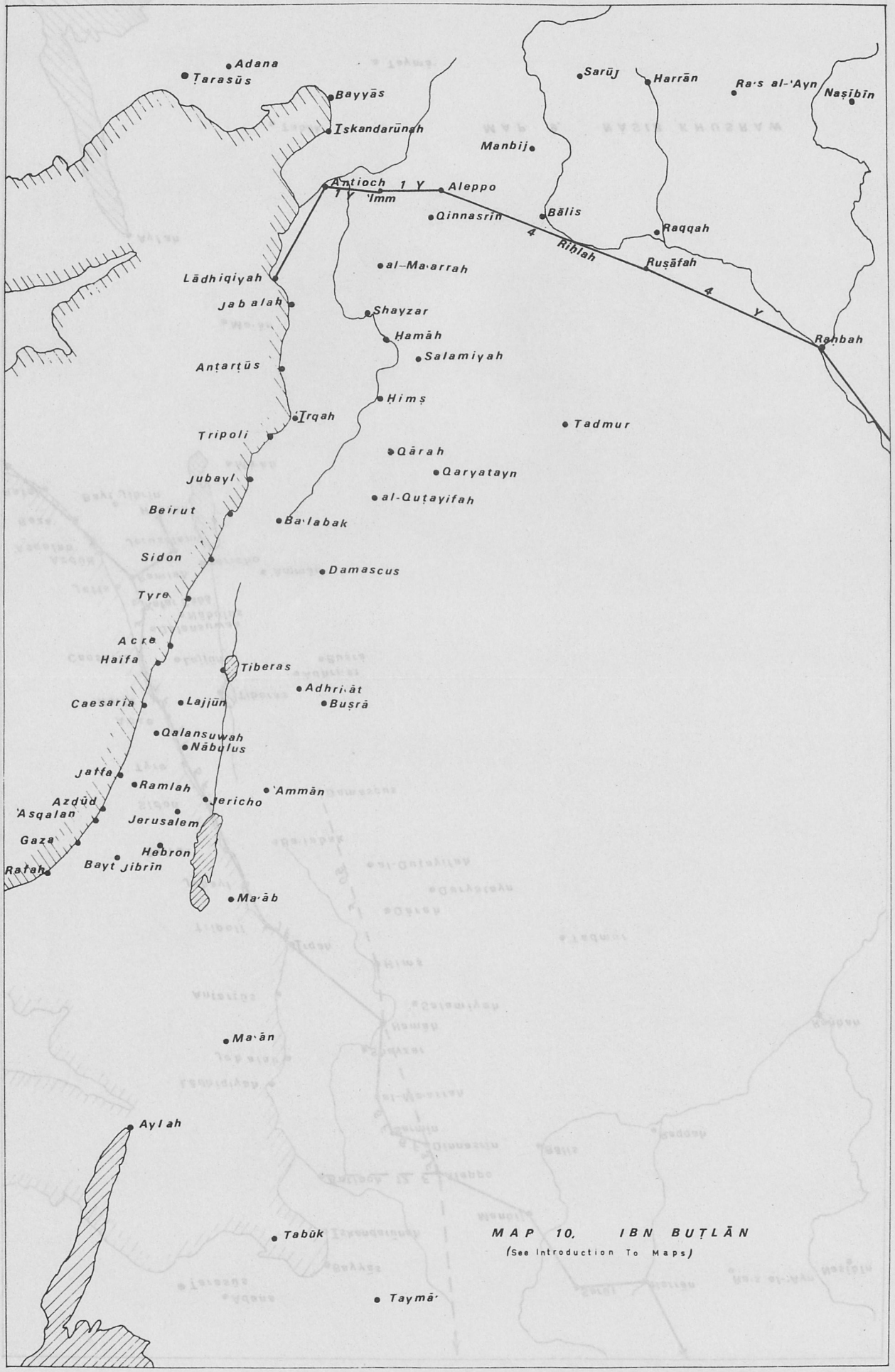

MAP 10. IBN BUṬLĀN

(See Introduction To Maps)

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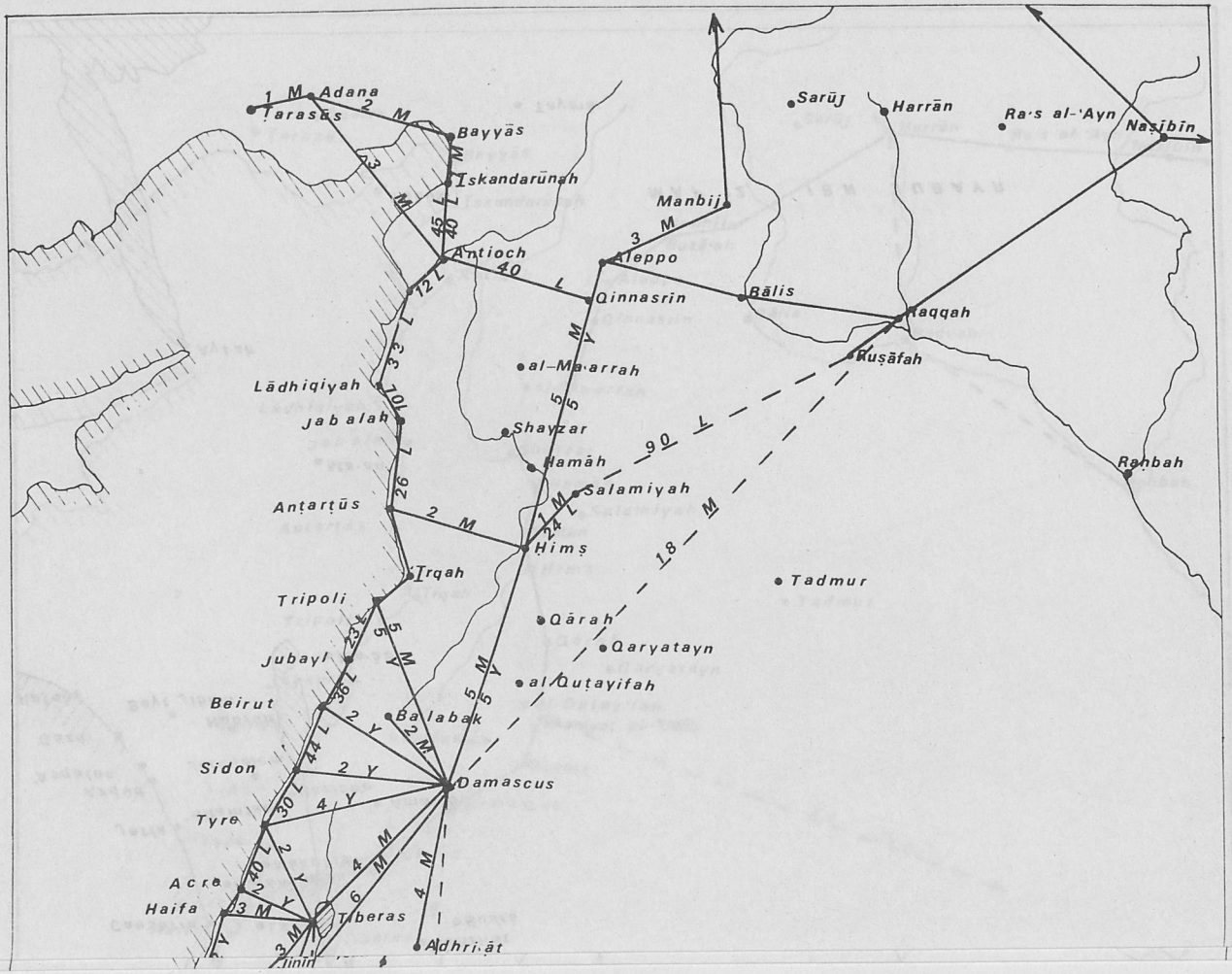
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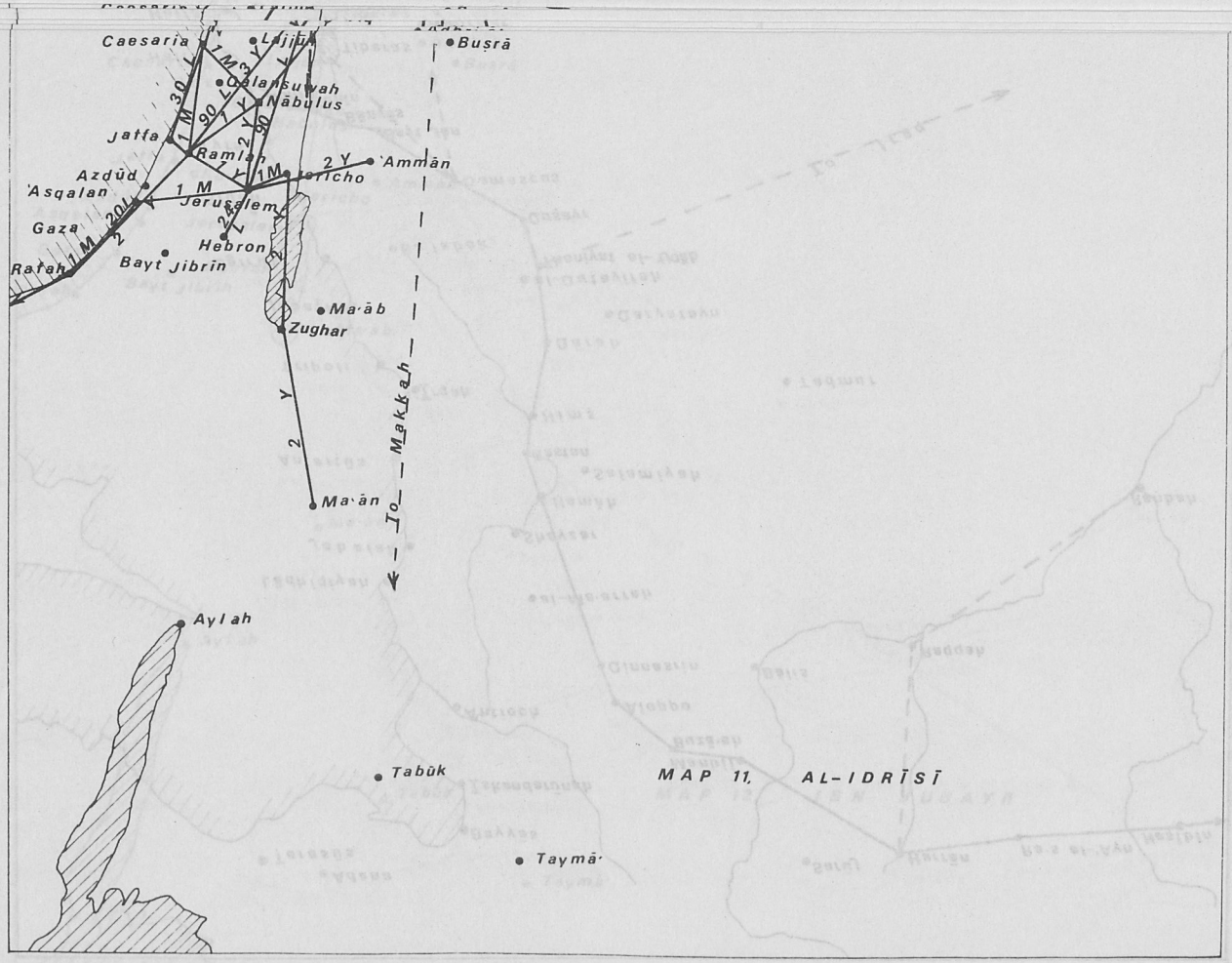
Tarasūs
Bayyās
Iskandarūnah
Antioch
Aleppo
Manbij
Sarūj
Harrān
Ra's al-'Ayn
Nasībīn
Qinnasrīn
Bālis
Raqqah
Ruṣāfah
al-Ma'arrah
Lādhiqiyah
Jabalah
Shayzar
Ḥamāh
Salamiyah
Rahbah
Anṭarṭūs
Ḥimṣ
Irqah
Tripoli
Tadmur
Qārah
Qaryatayn
Jubayl
al-Quṭayifah
Beirut
Ba'labak
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Acre
Haifa
Tiberas
Adhri'āt



MAP 11. AL-IDRĪSĪ

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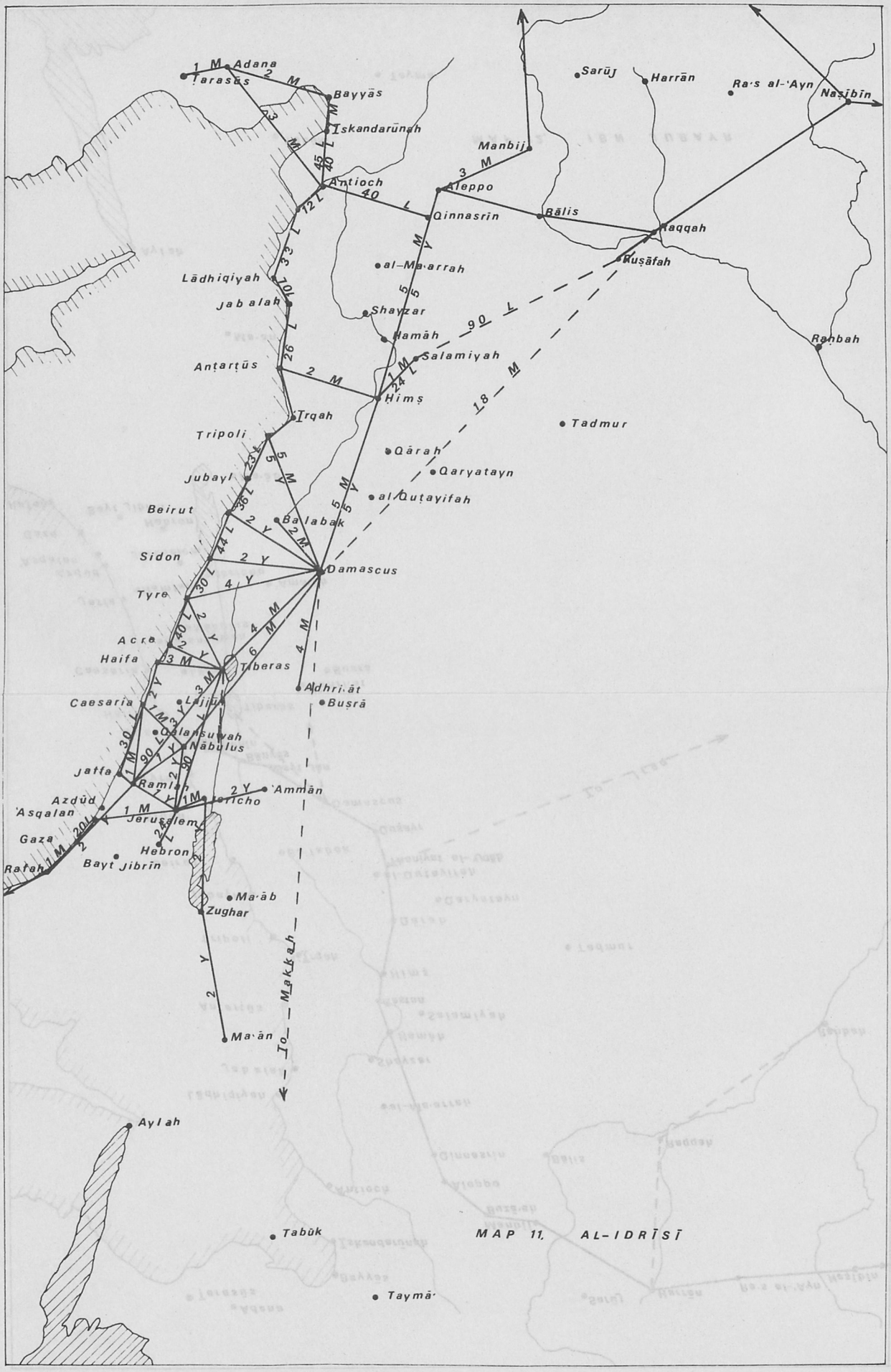

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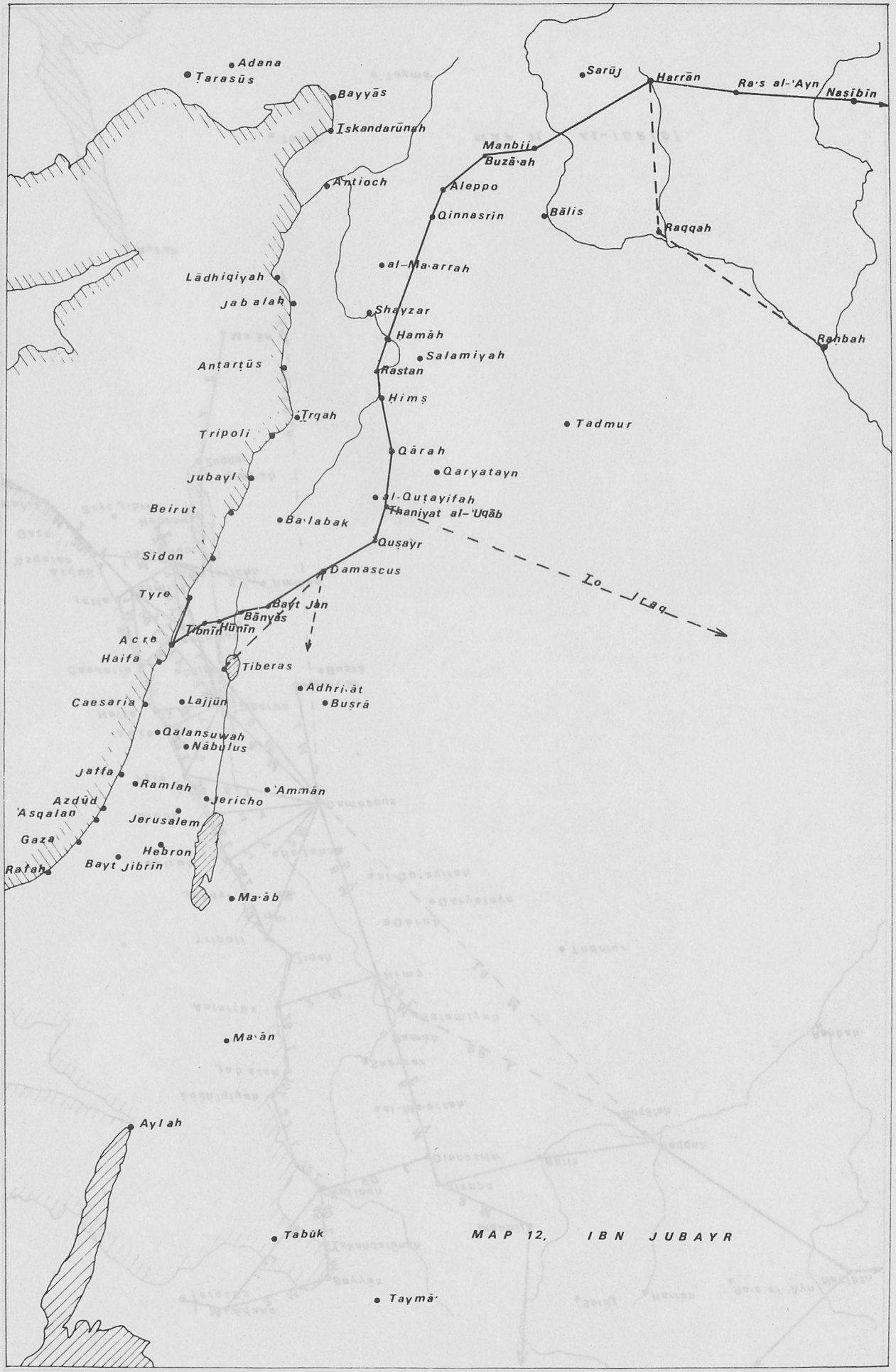

MAP 12, IBN JUBAYR

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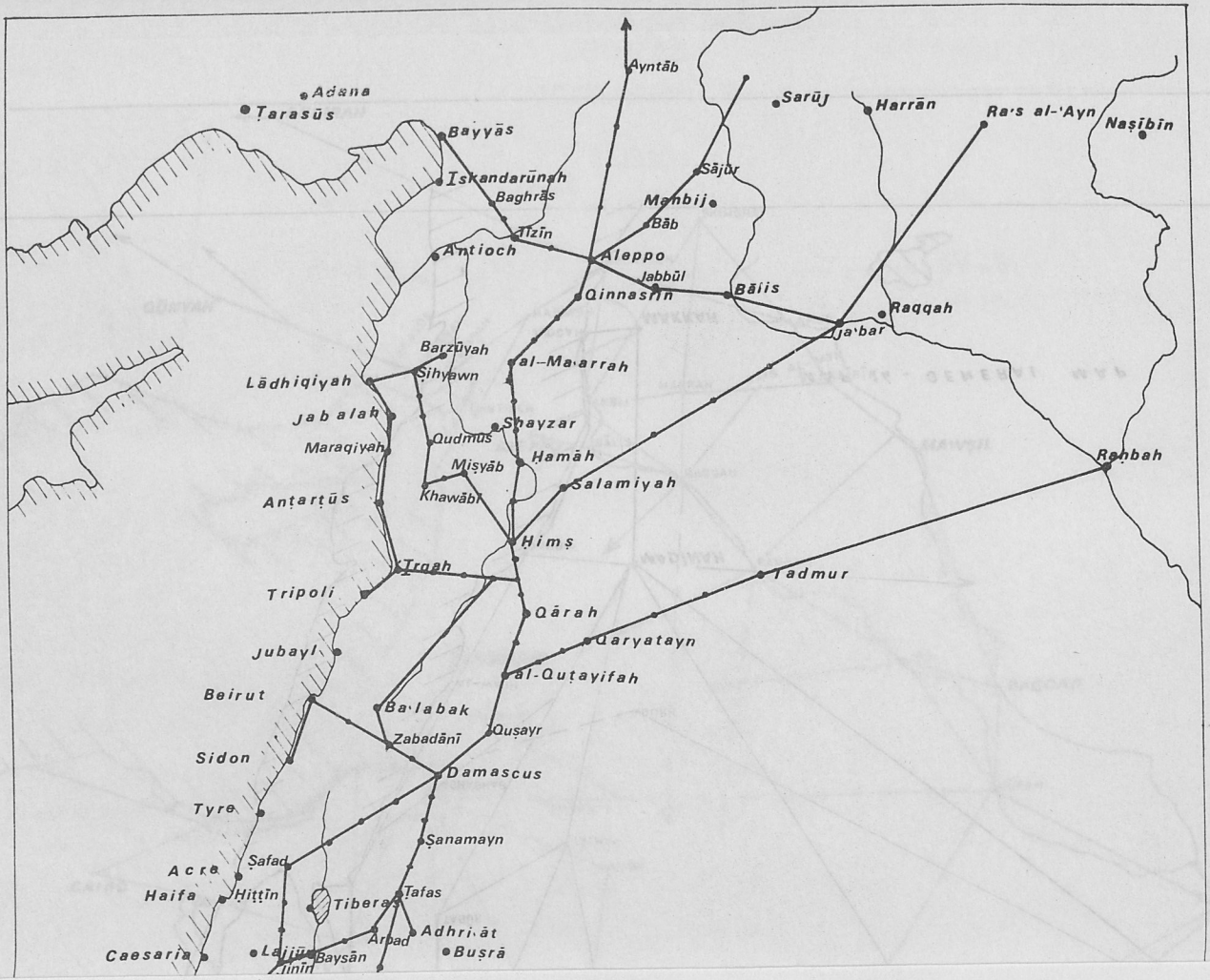
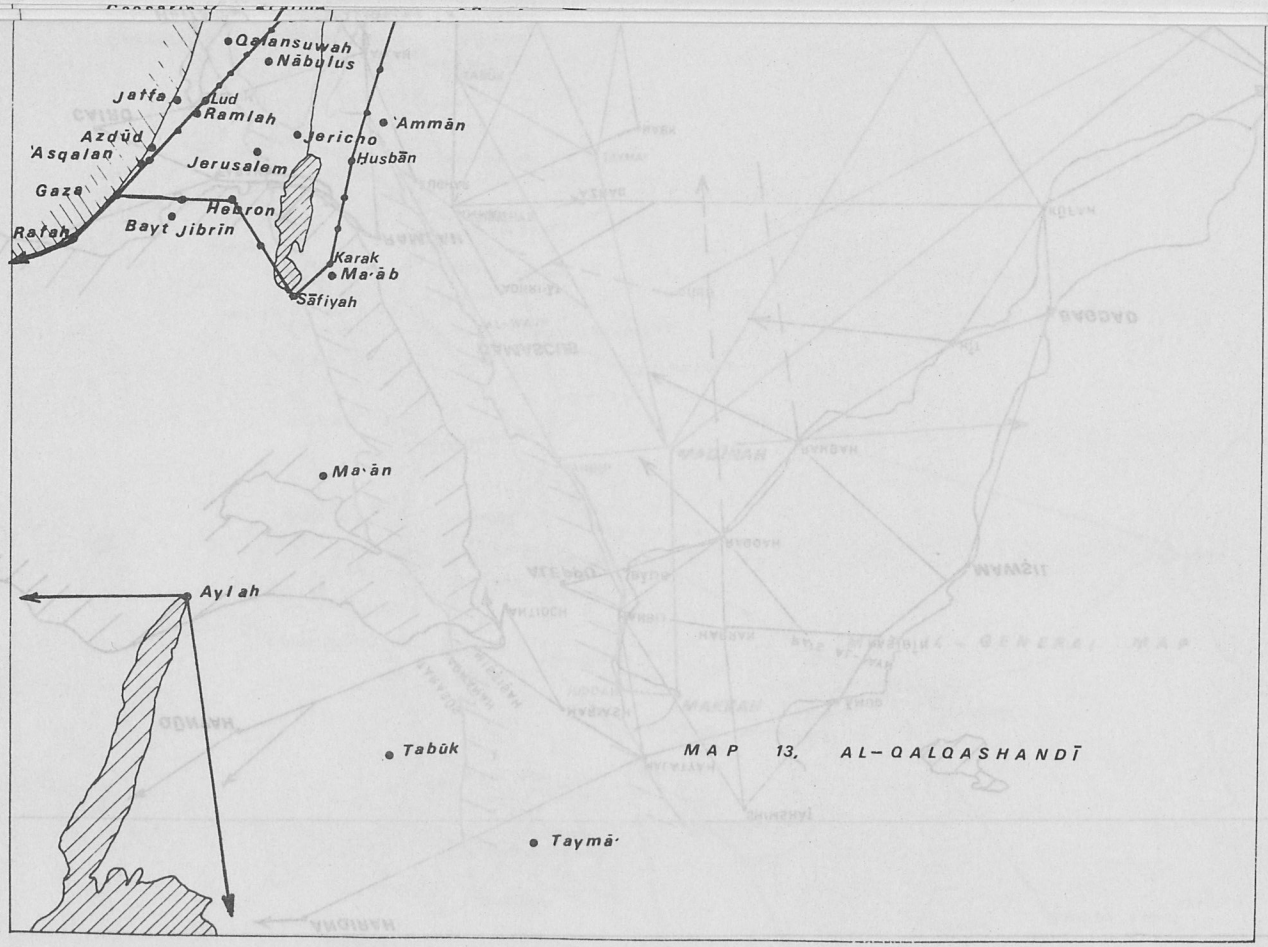

Adana
Ṭarasūs
Bayyās
Iskandarūnah
Baghrās
Ayntāb
Sarūj
Harrān
Ra's al-'Ayn
Naṣībīn
Sājūr
Manbij
Bāb
Tīzīn
Antioch
Aleppo
Jabbūl
Qinnasrīn
Bāiis
Raqqah
Jabbar
Barzūyah
Ṣihyawn
al-Ma'arrah
Lādhiqiyah
Jabalah
Shayzar
Qudmūs
Maraqiyah
Miṣyāb
Ḥamāh
Rahbah
Salamiyah
Anṭarṭūs
Khawābī
Ḥimṣ
Tadmur
Tripoli
Trqah
Qārah
Qaryatayn
Jubayl
al-Quṭayifah
Beirut
Ba'labak
Zabadānī
Quṣayr
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Ṣanamayn
Acre
Ṣafad
Haifa
Ḥiṭṭīn
Tiberas
Ṭafas
Adhri'āt
Caesaria
Lajjūn
Jinīn
Bayṣān
Arbad
Buṣrā



MAP 13, AL-QALQASHANDĪ

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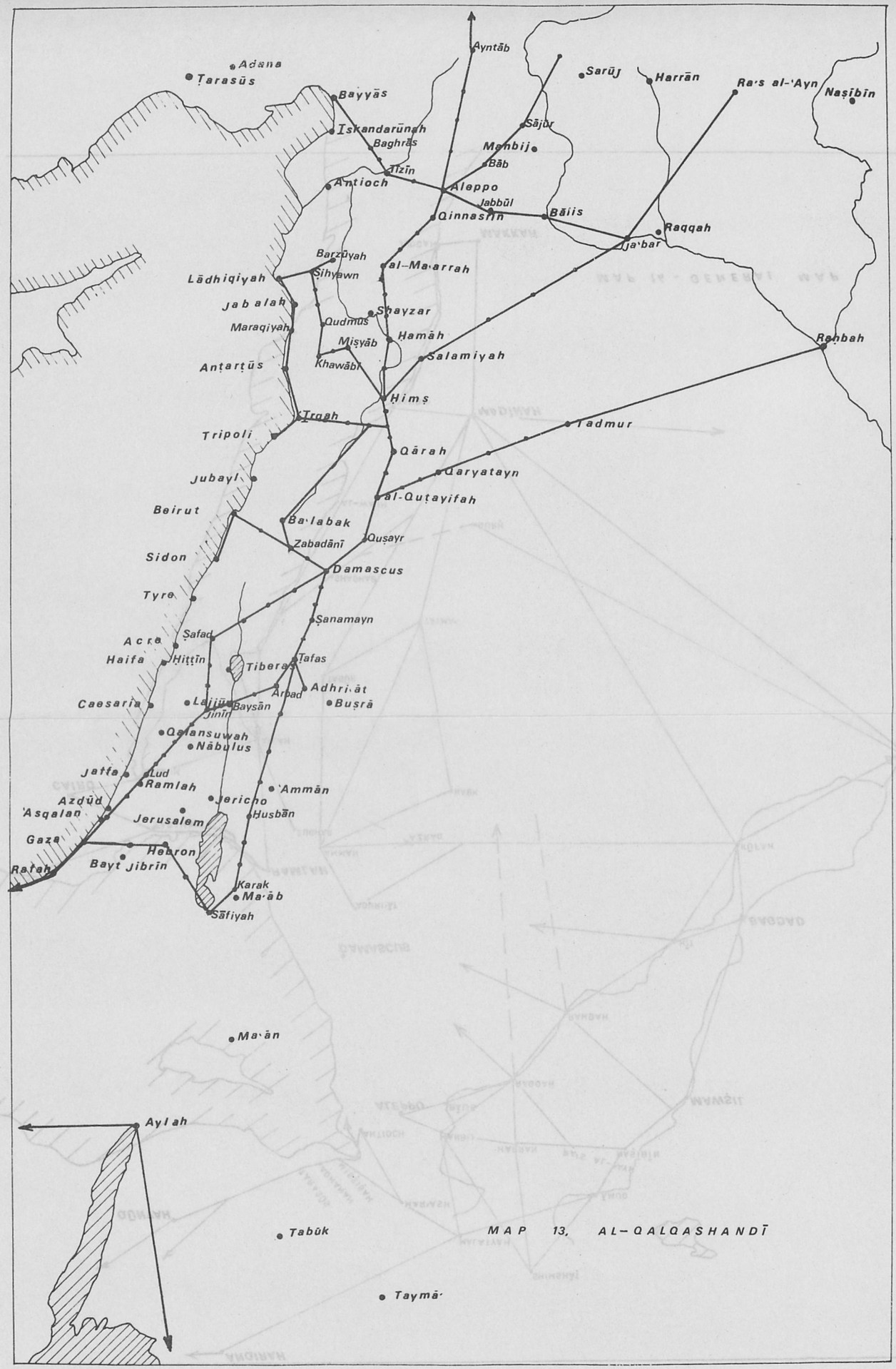

MAP 13, AL-QALQASHANDĪ

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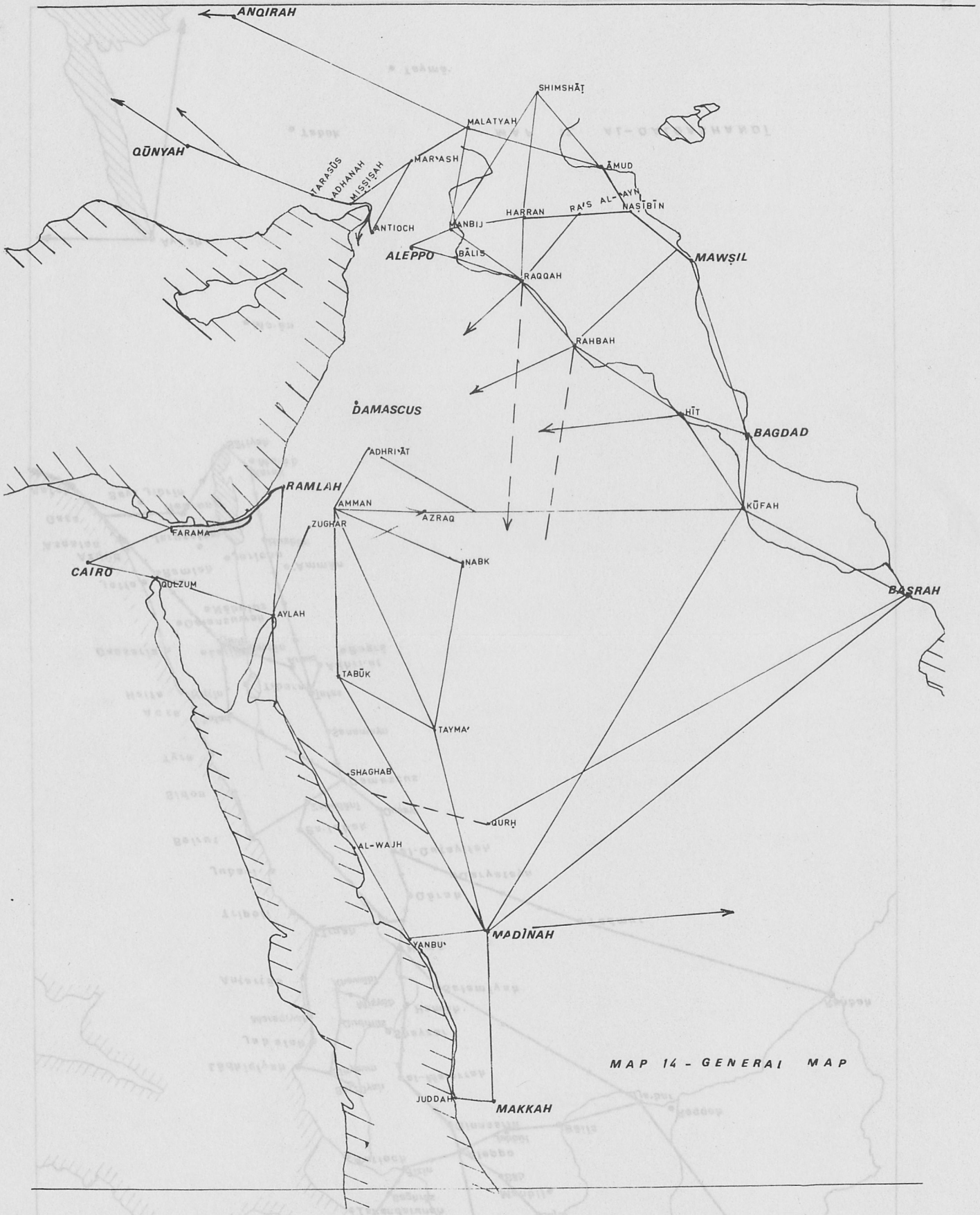

MAP 14 - GENERAL MAP

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APPENDIX 4

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The Name	In Metric				
	general	Syria		Egypt	Iraq
		city			
al-Iṣba'	2.078 cm.	-	-	2.032 cm.	-
	2.252 cm.	-	-	3.125 cm.	-
Dhirā'	60.1 cm.	-	-	-	-
	66.5 cm.	-	-	-	-
Dhirā' al-Mursalah	46.2 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-Barīd	49.87 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-Shar'iyah	49.88 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-Sawdā'	50.69 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-'Ammah	54.04 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-Baladiyah	58.26 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-Miṣāḥah	66.5 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-Mi'māriyah	75 cm.	-	-	-	-
	79.8 cm.	-	-	-	-
" al-Baz	-	Damascus	63.03 cm.	58.19 cm.	82.9 cm.
	-	Jerusalem	64.77 cm.	-	80.3 cm.
	-	Tripoli	64 cm.	-	-
	-	Aleppo	67.9 cm.	-	-

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The Name	In Metric				
	general	Syria		Egypt	Iraq
		city			
al-Bā'	2 m.	-	-	3 m.	-
al-Qaṣabah	3.55 m.	-	-	-	-
	3.7 m.	-	-	-	-
	3.85 m.	-	-	-	-
	3.99 m.	-	-	-	-
al-Ghulwah	148.8 m.	-	-	-	-
al-Mīl	2 km.	-	-	-	-
	1.85 km.	-	-	-	-
al-Farsakh	6 km.	-	-	-	-
	5.54 km.	-	-	-	-
al-Barīd	12 km.	-	-	-	-
	24 km.	-	-	-	-
al-Sikkah	12 km.	-	-	-	-
	24 km.	-	-	-	-
al-Darajah al-Ardiyah	39.92 km.	-	-	-	-
Sahm	6.3 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
Qiffīz	136.6 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
	159.2 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
Qirāt	175 sq.m.	-	-	-	-

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The Name	In Metric				
		Syria		Egypt	Iraq
	general	city			
Jarīb	1366 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
	1592 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
	5837 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
al-Faddān	4200 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
	5306 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
	6368 sq.m.	-	-	-	-
Habbah	0.046 g.	-	-	-	-
	0.048 g.	-	-	-	-
	0.05 g.	-	-	-	-
	0.06 g.	-	-	-	-
Ṭusūj	0.123 g.	-	-	-	-
Kharrūbah	0.195 g.	-	-	-	-
Qirāt	0.177 g.	-	-	-	-
	0.193 g.	-	0.173 g.	-	-
	0.212 g.	-	0.212 g.	-	-
Dāniq	0.495 g.	-	0.495 g.	-	-
Dirham	2.82 g.	Damascus	3.08 g.	-	3.12 g.
	2.97 g.	Aleppo	3.17 g.	-	-

The Name	In Metric			
	general	Syria	Egypt	Iraq
		city		
Mithqāl (Dīnār)	4.23 g.	Damascus 4.62 g.	4.68 g.	4.46 g.
	4.72 g.	- -	-	-
Mann	-	- 819 g.	812.5 g.	816.5 g.
Raṭl	-	Aleppo 1,500 g.	437.5 g.	406.2 g.
	-	- 2,280 g.	-	-
	-	Damascus 1,850 g.	450 g.	-
	-	Tripoli 1,968 g.	500 g.	-
	-	Ramlah 2,320 g.	-	-
	-	Jerusalem 2,500 g.	-	-
	-	Ḥimṣ 2,700 g.	-	-
Qinṭār	35.7 kg.	Damascus 185 kg.	45 kg.	327 kg.
	42.3 kg.	- 192.4 kg.	-	-
	(gold)	Aleppo 228 kg.	-	-
	-	Ḥamāh 228 kg.	-	-
Ḥiml (load)	243 kg.	- -	-	-
	250 kg.	- -	-	-

Egypt, Iraq and Others

The Name	Syria			Egypt, Iraq and Others		
	city	litre	kg.	place	litre	kg.
Kaylajah	Tyre	2.8	2.2	Iraq	2.5	1.87
	Ramlah	4.1	3.3	-	-	-
	Filasṭīn	6.3	-	-	-	-
Mudd	Damascus	3.67	2.84	Other	0.69	0.53
	Amman	37.8	-	Egypt	2.5	-
	Jerusalem	100	-	Mawṣil	2.5	-
Sā'	-	-	-	Other	4.2	3.24
Makkūk	Ramlah	12.4	9.8	Other	4.1	3.2
	-	19	-	-	8.2	6.5
	Aleppo	-	61	Iraq	-	6
	-	105	81	-	7.5	6.07
	-	-	-	Mawṣil	18.8	13.7
	-	-	-	-	-	14.6
Kayl	Aleppo	6.6	-	Egypt	16.5	12.8
	Damascus	22	17	Other	8.3	6.5
Waybah	Ramlah	24.7	19.6	-	15	11.6
	-	36.8	-	-	-	21.4
Qiffīz	Amman	2.1	1.63	Other	33	26.1
	-	3.2	-	-	66	52.2
	Ḥims	58.2	44.8	Iraq	30	24.4
	Ḥamah	58.2	44.8	-	60	48.7

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The Name	Syria			Egypt, Iraq and Others		
	city	litre	kg.	place	litre	kg.
	Shayzar	-	51.2	-	-	-
	Tyre	65.9	52.2	-	-	-
	-	-	77.9	-	-	-
	Jerusalem	-	77.9	-	-	-
	Ramlah	99	78	-	-	-
	-	151	-	-	-	-
Irdab	-	-	-	Egypt	66	52.1
	-	-	-	Other	90	69.6
Talīs	-	-	-	Other	87.7	67.5
	-	-	-	-	127	95.5
	-	-	-	-	-	225
Jarīb	-	-	-	Other	132	104
	-	-	-	-	264	209
Gharārah	Damascus	148.3	117.4	Other	265	204.5
	Gaza	398	306	-	-	-
	Jerusalem	795	613.5	-	-	-
Wasq	-	-	-	Other	165	130
	-	-	-	-	252	194
	-	-	-	-	631	486
Kurr	-	-	-	Other	1980	1565
	-	-	-	-	-	2437
	-	-	-	-	-	2925
	-	-	-	-	-	3656

Sources: Hinz, entire book. Al-Rayyis, pp. 294 - 390. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 65 - 6, 181 - 2. Al-'Umarī, vol. 1, p. 23. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 14 - 5. Al-Tahānawī, pp. 513, 833, 1346. Yāqūt, vol. 1, pp. 37 - 41. Ibn Rustah, p. 22. Al-Dūrī, Al-'Irāq, p. 218. Ziadeh, p. 142. E.I.2, vol. 1, p. 1045. vol. 2, p. 813.

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APPENDIX 5

SYRIAN REVENUES

TABLE 1

The Revenues According to the Geographers
(in 000's Dinars)

Date		Qinnasrīn	Hims	Dimashq	Urdun	Filastīn	Total
1)	780[1]	400	?	420	97	310	1,227-
2)	800[2]	490	320	420	96	320	1,646-
3)	819[3]	360	118	110	109	195	892-
4)	819[3]	360	218	110	109	259	1,056
5)	???[4]	?	180	140	175	175	670-
6)	864[5]	400	340	400	350	500	1,990
7)	892[6]	?	220	300	100	300	920-
8)	902[7]	4	340	400+	350	500	1,594-
9)	908[8]	?	?	?	?	?	2,600-
	918						
10)	986[9]	360	?	400	170	259	1,189-

1) Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 318 - 21.

2) Al-Jahshiyārī, pp. 227 - 35.

3) Qudāmah, pp. 246 - 7, 251.

4) Le Strange, pp. 46 - 7.

5) Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 75 - 9.

6) al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 325 - 9.

7) Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 103 - 5, 110 - 11, 116.

8) Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 128.

9) Al-Maqdīsī, p. 189.

More information related to this table can be found in Le Strange, pp. 44 - 8. Al-Rayyis, pp. 509 - 39. Ashtor, Social, p. 174.

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Some explanation is needed in order to be able to understand this table.

Revenue No. 1, does not include one thousand loads of olive oil from Qinnasrīn, and 300,000 raṭl of olive oil from Filasṭīn.

Revenue No. 2, does not include one thousand camel loads of raisins from Ḥimṣ and 300,000 raṭl of raisins (should be olive oil) from the whole country.

Revenue No. 3 and 4. No. 3 does not include what Qinnasrīn and Filasṭīn paid in cash. No. 4 actually is the same as No. 3, but some mistakes were made in the copying of the manuscript. Ashtor thinks that the figures should be 360, 108, 110, 109, 159, respectively. Al-Rayyis thinks they are 360, 218, 110, 109, 295.

Revenue No. 5. Its date should be the early 9th century. The real amount from each province is less than the figures mentioned in the table.

Revenue No. 7. The revenue of the ḍiyā' (tithe land -- see E.I. 2, vol. 2, p. 187) in Ḥimṣ, Dimashq, and Urdun is not included in these figures.

Revenue No. 8. It seems that Ibn al-Faqīh, copied his figures from Ibn Khurdādhbih (revenue No. 6). Therefore, the revenue of Qinnasrīn should be 400 and not 4.

Revenue No. 9. This revenue is the same in the two dates mentioned in this table. Ibn Ḥawqal gives only the total, but he says that this total includes all the money which was collected by the government, except the salaries of the officers. The figure which is mentioned here is 39 million dirhams, which is equal to 2.6 million dīnārs.

Revenue No. 10. It seems that al-Maqdisī copied these figures from earlier works.

The minus sign (-) indicates that the real revenue was more than the figure mentioned in the table.

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TABLE 2

Some Tributes and Fines Imposed on Syrians

(the amount in thousands of d=dinars or di=dirhams)

Location	Year	Amount	Information
1) Filastīn	939	140 d	The Ikhshidids paid this amount to Ibn Rā'iq in exchange for their control over southern Filastīn.
2) Antioch	965	600 di	The annual payment which Rashīq proposed to the Byzantines if they would help him, which they did.
3) Syria	969	300 d	The Qarmatis imposed on the Ikhshidids.
4) Aleppo	970	700 di+ (43.7d)	According to Ibn al-'Adīm, the Byzantines imposed on the Hamdanids, one dīnār on each inhabitant and an annual tribute of 700,000 dirhams. According to Al-Antākī, the poll-tax was imposed only on the adult males, and the tribute was three qintars of gold (30,000 dīnārs).
5) Aleppo	981	400 di (20 d)	The aforementioned treaty between the Byzantines and the Hamdanids was renewed.
6) Damascus	975	30 d	The amount imposed on it by the Byzantines.
7) Ramlah	1005	200 d	The Fatimids imposed as a fine on one of their corrupt employees.
8) Antioch	1068	100 d	Ibn Khān imposed this amount on it.
9) Antioch	1075	20 d	Ibn Qutalmish imposed this amount on it for the protection of the countryside.

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Location	Year	Amount	Information
10) Damascus	1072	50 d	Atsiz imposed on it.
11) Tal Mannas	1078	5 d	Tutush imposed on this small fort (ḥiṣn)
12) Tripoli	1092	60 d	Ibn 'Ammār gave this amount as a bribe to one of the leaders who was besieging the city.
13) Tripoli	1099	15 d+	Ibn 'Ammār offered the Crusaders this amount if they would not attack his area.
14) Tyre	1093	60 d	The Fatimids imposed this amount on this city after subduing a revolt there.
15) 'Asqalān	1099	20 d	The Crusaders imposed this amount on this city.

Sources:

1) Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 8, p. 364.
2) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 148. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 118.
3) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 1.
4) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 162 - 5. See also note No. 5, p. 163. E.I. 1, vol. 2, p. 1022.
5) Al-Antākī, pp. 15, 17 - 8.
6) Al-Dāwadārī, p. 170.
7) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 60.
8) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 11 - 2.
9) Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 175 - 6.
10) Ibid., p. 157.
11) Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 66.
12) Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 203.
13) William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 329.
14) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 124. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 223.
15) Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 137.

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FOOTNOTES

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INTRODUCTION

1. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 92. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 55. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 108. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 152-5. Le Strange, pp. 24-7.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 324-9. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 56-64. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 111-21. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 154-5. Le Strange, pp. 25-40.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

1. Al-Balawī, pp. 42, 46-7, 51, 56, 59, 62, 89-91. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, pp. 6-7. Hitti, pp. 557-8.

2. Shamma, Tulunids, pp. 43, 46-7.

3. Al-Ṭabarī, Ser. 3, pp. 2133-4, 2143-4. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, p. 53.

4. Ibn 'Asākir, (1911-32), vol. 7, p. 58. Lewis, Egypt, pp. 180-81. Ṭabarī, Ser. 3, pp. 2153, 2185-8. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, p. 118.

5. Ibn Sinān, pp. 17-27. Al-Dāwadārī, pp. 69-73. Ṭabarī, Ser. 3, pp. 2217-26, 2137-9, 2255-8. E.I.2, vol. 4, pp. 660-1.

6. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, p. 105, Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 90.

7. Ṭabarī, Ser. 3, pp. 2251-2. Shamma, Tulunids, pp. 43-4. Lewis, Egypt, p. 181.

8. Ibn 'Asākir, (1911-32), vol. 1, p. 440. Al-Ṣafadī, see Appendix, pp. 207-8. Salibi, pp. 55-6.

9. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, pp. 236-7, 251. E.I.1, vol. 1, p. 675. Shamma, Ikhshidid, p. 27. Ibn 'Asākir, (1911-32), vol. 7, p. 58. Salibi, p. 56.

10. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 99-102. Shamma, Ikhshidid, p. 28. Lewis, Egypt, p. 193.

11. Bacharach, p. 365. Ibn al-'Ibrī, p. 166. Al-Kindī, p. 312. Yāqūt, vol. 1, p. 342. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 113-7.

12. Ibn 'Asākir, (1911-32), vol. 3, p. 151. Al-Dāwadārī, pp. 120-3. E.I.2, vol. 4, pp. 418, 663. Hitti, pp. 562-4.

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13. Salibi, pp. 61, 66. Ibn al-'Ibrī, pp. 167-9. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, pp. 278, 282-3, 295-7, 301-5, 331-2.

14. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 126. Hitti, p. 564.

15. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 104-5, 111-2. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 129. Salibi, p. 63.

16. Salibi, p. 61. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 129.

17. Ibn al-Shihnah, p. 197. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, pp. 258, 270-83, 295-7. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 120-1.

18. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, pp. 301-5. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 121-40. Ibn al-'Ibrī, p. 169. Hitti, p. 565.

19. Levy, pp. 25-6. Runciman, Civilization, pp. 46-8.

20. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 161-5. Hitti, p. 565. Lewis, Egypt, p. 194. Salibi, pp. 71, 81. Sālim, Tarāblus, pp.54-6.

21. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 130. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 41. Sālim, Tarāblus, pp. 56-7. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 173-7. Salibi, p.97.

22. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 147-51, 160-72. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 27, 29, 34-5, 41-4. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, pp. 84-90. E.I.2, vol. 2, p. 344, vol. 3, pp. 129-30.

23. Zakkār, pp. 43-4. Hitti, pp. 560, 566. Salibi, pp. 98-9. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 130.

24. Lewis, Egypt, pp. 184-5. Gibb, pp. 85, 87.

25. Ibn Sinān, pp. 87-94. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 1-11. Gibb, p. 88. Al-Dāwadārī, pp. 134-5. E.I.2, vol. 2, p. 854, vol. 4, p. 663.

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26. Al-Dawadārī, pp. 186-8, 205-6. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 21-3. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, pp. 6-7. Hitti, p. 579. E.I.2, vol. 2, p. 854.

27. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 29, 41-4, 51. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, pp. 84-90, 121. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 174-92. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 130. Salibi, p. 98.

28. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 47-54. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, pp. 120-23. Salibi, pp. 93-6.

29. Al-Ḥiyārī, pp. 48-9. Gibb, p. 90. Salibi, pp. 96-7.

30. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 198-200, 209-14. Al-'Abbādī, p. 103.

31. Sālim, Saydā, pp. 78-9. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, pp. 230-1. Lewis, Egypt, p. 194.

32. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 223. Al-Ḥiyārī, p. 51. Mann, vol. 1, pp. 158-9.

33. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 73-5. E.I.2, vol. 2, p. 484. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, p. 231. Sālim, Saydā, pp. 79-80. Zakkar, Emirate, pp. 100-101.

34. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 71-3.

35. Gibb, pp. 91-2. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 88-9. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, pp. 4-12.

36. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, p. 465. Ibn al-'Ibrī, pp. 178-83. Gibb, p. 91.

37. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, p. 233, vol. 10, p. 11. Sālim, Saydā, pp. 80-1.

38. Salibi, pp. 123, 132. Sālim, Saydā, pp. 82-3.

39. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 92-3.

40. Al-Munajjid, Wulāt Dimashq, p. 4. Ibn 'Asākir (1911-32), vol. 2, p. 331, vol. 3, p. 134. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 95-6.

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42. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 239-47, 263, 268. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 100. Salibi, pp. 109, 112, 116. Runciman, Civilization, pp. 49-51.

43. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 250-1, 273, 281-8, 293-7, vol. 2, p. 10. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, p. 234, vol. 10, pp. 232-3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 92-3. Salibi, pp. 111-5, 117, 134, 136. Ṣibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 175.

44. Al-Munajjid, Wulāt Dimashq, p. 5. Ṣibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 202-3. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 56-65. Salibi, p. 139.

45. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 117-9. Ṣibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 234. Lewis, Egypt, p. 195.

46. Salibi, p. 114. Al-Munajjid, Wulāt Dimashq, p.6.

47. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 98. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 295. Gibb, p. 94.

48. Salibi, p. 129. Ibn 'Asākir, (1911-32), vol. 3, p. 134. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 108.

49. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 19-28. Ṣibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 145. Hitti, p. 574. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 112. Zakkar, Emirate, pp. 176-80. Runciman, Civilization, p. 52.

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CHAPTER 2

AGRICULTURE

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2. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 1, pp. 595-7. Al-Dūrī, Origins, pp. 6-8. Abū Yūsuf, p. 69.

3. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), pp. 595-7. Al-Dūrī, Origins, p. 7. Al-Dūrī, Nash'at, p. 54. Mez, p. 110.

4. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 1, pp. 595-7. Al-Dūrī, Origins, p. 8. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 212-3. Abū Yūsuf, p. 69. E.I.2, vol. 2, p. 187. Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 8, pp. 253-5, 258-61.

5. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 212-3. See also the footnote on pp. 64-5. Al-Dūrī, Muqaddimah, pp. 102-3. Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 8, pp. 253-5.

6. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 142. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 185. Mez, pp. 110, 127. Udovitch, Introduction, p. 20.

7. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 153.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 157, 173. See also p. 66.

10. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 309.

11. Al-Dūrī, Origins, pp. 12-4. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 292-3, vol. 2, p. 66. Al-Anṭākī, pp. 48-9. Mez, p. 110. E.I.2, vol. 3, pp. 1088-9. Ziadeh, p. 39.

12. Al-Dūrī, Origins, pp. 12-8. Al-Dūrī, Muqaddimah, pp. 102-3. E.I.2, vol. 3, pp. 1088-9. Ziadeh, p. 39. Shaw, vol. 1, pp. 121, 125-7.

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15. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 73. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 242-3, 294, 314. Abdulfattah, pp. 100, 105, and map 4. Ibn 'Asākir, (1951-1954), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 154-61.

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17. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 324. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 61-2, 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 111, 117-24. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 162, 173, 175. Al-Mas'ūdī, Al-Tanbīh, p. 20. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 45-6, 55. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 234-5. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 201, vol. 2, pp. 6, 187-8. Al-Munajjid, Dimashq, pp. 82-6.

18. See for example, Al-Shartūnī, p. 42. Abdulfattah, p. 70.

19. Al-Dimashqī, p. 194.

20. William of Tyre, vol. 2, pp. 187-8.

21. William of Tyre, vol. 2, p. 6.

22. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 46. Ibn Jubayr, p. 230. Al-Dimashqī, p. 206. Abū al-Fidā', p. 263. Ḥusayn, p. 82. Ibn Baṭūṭah, vol. 1, p. 54. Ashtor, Social, p. 47.

23. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 4, pp. 86-7. For more and rare crops see, Al-'Askarī, vol. 2, pp. 457-86. Ḥusayn, pp. 106-9. Goitein, Trade, pp. 52-4. Hitti, pp. 16-7, 26, 48, 50, 85-6, 274-5, 293-5. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 180-1, 204. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 73. Yāqūt, vol. 2, pp. 308-9. Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 8, pp. 257-8, 260. G.B.N.I.D. Syria, pp. 256-9. Kurd 'Alī, pp. 108-12. Bowen, vol. 1, p. 271.

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25. Al-Maqdisī, p. 179. See Translation by Ranking, pp. 294-5.

26. Al-Maqdisī, p. 181. See Translation by Le Strange, p. 16.

27. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 12, 56, 61-2, 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 111, 113, 117-21, 124. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 160-1, 164, 180. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 45, 55, 70, 73. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 3, 10, 13. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 228, 231. Al-Dawadārī, p. 177. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 284, 341. Ashtor, Social, pp. 41-3. Ashtor, Diet, pp. 2-3. Ḥusayn, p. 107. Bishop Arculf, p. 5.

28. Abdulfattah, pp. 68-9. See also map 5. G.B.N.I.D., Syria, p. 255.

29. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 284, 341. Yāqūt, vol. 1, p. 728.

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31. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 73. Al-'Umarī, vol. 1, pp. 170-1.

32. Willibald, p. 21. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 58. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 113. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 162, 174, 181. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 45, 54-5, 70, 73. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 4, 7, 13. Ibn Jubayr, p. 229. Yāqūt, vol. 1, pp. 382-3. Bishop Arculf, pp. 5-6. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 81.

33. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 56. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 153. Al-Dawadārī, p. 179.

34. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 103.

35. Abdulfattah, pp. 69-70.

36. G.B.N.I.D., Syria, p. 259. Abdulfattah, pp. 69-70. See also map 5.

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38. Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 120, 123. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 20. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 58. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 118. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 151, 160, 162, 166, 172, 178. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 45, 70. Ibn Munqidh, Al-Manāzil, p. 68. Abdulfattah, p. 70 and map 5. Al-Hamdānī, p. 271. Le Strange, p. 45. G.B.N.I.D., Syria, p. 259.

39. Abdulfattah, p. 70 and map 5. G.B.N.I.D., Syria, p. 259. Ḥusayn, pp. 110-11. Ashtor, Diet, p. 5.

40. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 58. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 113, 118. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 164, 166, 176. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 45, 54-5, 70. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 4, 7. Ibn Jubayr p. 229. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 14. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 308.

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46. Watson, Arab, p. 9. See also Watson, Medieval, p. 30. Mez, p. 432. Lombard, p. 162.

47. Watson, Medieval, pp. 38, 40, 43-4, 47. Watson, Arab, pp. 11, 13, 15-7, 26. Mez, p. 432. Lombard, p. 162.

48. Ibn Anas, vol. 2, p. 832.

49. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 166, 181. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 47, 54. Ḥusayn, p. 106.

50. Al-Iṣfahānī, p. 103. Al-Dimashqī, p. 211. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 249, 255, 257. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 4, p. 87.

51. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 61. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 116. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 161-2, 180-1. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 47, 49. Fulcher, p. 130. Mez, p. 435. Lombard, p. 167. Ashtor, Diet, p. 5.

52. William of Tyre, vol. 2, p. 61.

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54. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 142. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 160, 180-81. Ibn Munqidh, al-I'tibār, p. 151. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 285, 341. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 308. Ḥusayn, pp. 106-7. Goitein, Trade, p. 54. Lombard, p. 183. Ashtor, Social, p. 45. Watson, Arab, p. 26.

55. Al-Dimashqī, p. 200. Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 50. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 308. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 4, p. 87. Al-Nuwayrī, pp. 30-1. Ibn Shiḥnah, p. 253.

56. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 142. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 308. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 4, p. 86.

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58. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 166, 179, 181, 204. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 47. Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh, p. 136. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 4, p. 87.

59. This was also the case in the Ghūṭah. See E.I.2, vol. 2, p. 1105. G.B.N.I.D., Syria, p. 263. Ḥusayn, pp. 82-5. Al-Munajjid, Dimashq, p. 81. William of Tyre, vol. 2, pp. 187-8.

60. Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 112, 117. Al-Maqdisī. pp. 188, 358. Ibn Jubayr, p. 260. Al-Dimashqī, p. 199.

61. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 164, 174. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 123. Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, p. 149.

62. William of Tyre, vol. 2, pp. 219-20. Al-Idrīsī, p. 2. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 286. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 76.

63. Abū al-Fidā',pp. 239, 241. Abdulfattah, map 5.

64. Al-Maqdisī, p. 172. See Translation in Ranking, p. 282. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 113. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 427. Abdulfattah, map 5.

65. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 58, 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 113. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 3-4. Fulcher, pp. 146-7. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 178-9.

66. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 506, vol. 2, p. 145. Al-Iṣfahānī, pp. 59-60. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 228, 247. Al-Dimashqī, p. 212. Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh, p. 67. Al-Ẓāhirī, p. 43.

67. Abdulfattah, map 5.

68. Al-Maqdisī, p. 175. Translation in Ranking, p. 287. See also Yāqūt, vol. 1, p. 728, vol. 3, pp. 719-20.

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69. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 228, 245. See also Al-Maqdisī, p. 162.

70. See Abdulfattah, map 5.

71. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 124. Al-Maqdisī, p. 160. See also Al-Dāwadārī, p. 177.

72. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 151, 162.

73. Abū al-Fidā', p. 259.

74. Al-Ẓāhirī, pp. 46-7. Ziadeh, p. 71. See also Abdulfattah, map 5.

75. Al-iṣṭakhrī, p. 59. Al-Maqdisī, p. 160. E.I.2, vol. 2, p. 1105. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 234-5. Al-Munajjid, Dimashq, p. 82. Al-Dimashqī, pp. 194-8. Ḥusayn, p. 115. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 67.

76. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 324.

77. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 61.

78. Al-Dimashqī, p. 207.

79. Ibn Munqidh, Al-I'tibār, p. 151.

80. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 119. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 61. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 473.

81. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 117. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 156, 174.

82. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 324.

83. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 118. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 61.

84. Ibn Jubayr, p. 229. Translation in Broadhurst, p. 264.

85. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 153.

86. Al-Dimashqī, p. 198.

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87. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 223.

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91. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 453.

92. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 260-1.

93. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 271.

94. Al-Maqdisī, p. 180. See also Ḥusayn, pp. 177-9. Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 8, p. 262.

95. Ziadeh, p. 131.

96. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 142. Mez, p. 127.

97. Al-Dāwadārī, p. 203. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 153. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, p. 17. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 274-5, vol. 2, p. 75.

98. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 108-9. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 180.

99. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 157, 173.

100. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, pp. 25, 183, 186. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 115.

101. See for example, Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 80. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 453. Al-Iṣfahānī, p. 59.

102. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 291, vol. 2, pp. 80, 143. Al-Iṣfahānī, p. 59. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 117.

103. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, p. 80.

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CHAPTER 3

CRAFTS AND INDUSTRY

1. Al-Maqdisī, p. 184. Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh, p. 101. Hitti, pp. 182-5, 277. Yāqūt, vol. 1, p. 631.

2. Al-Idrīsī, p. 12.

3. Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 52. Al-Maqdisī, p. 184. Bowen, p. 298.

4. Yāqūt, vol. 1, p. 631. Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, p. 153.

5. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, p. 58.

6. Yāqūt, vol. 1, p. 631. Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 152-3. Al-Maqdisī, p. 145.

7. Hitti, pp. 87, 277, 296.

8. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 258. Al-Dimashqī, p. 209.

9. Hitti, p. 296.

10. Al-Maqdisī, p. 174.

11. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 54-5. Translation in Le Strange, p. 307.

12. See for example, Al-Maqdisī, pp. 152, 184.

13. Hitti, pp. 91, 276. Al-Maqdisī, p. 180. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 53. Yāqūt, vol. 1, p. 631.

14. Al-Maqdisī, p. 184.

15. Hitti, p. 296. Willibald, p. 21. Abū al-Fidā', p. 228. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 339. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 79. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 65. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 64. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 124.

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17. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 79. See also Abū al-Fidā', p. 236.

18. G.B.N.I.D., Palestine, pp. 256-9.

19. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, pp. 47-8.

20. G.B.N.I.D., Syria, p. 276.

21. Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, p. 152.

22. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 29.

23. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 58.

24. Ibid., Ibn al-Shiḥnah, p. 131. G.B.N.I.D., Palestine, pp. 259-60.

25. Ibn Manẓūr, vol. 8, p. 209, vol. 9, p. 44.

26. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 164, 166, 180-1. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 53, 56. Al-Idrīsī, p. 10. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 226, 231, 242. Mujīr al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 281, vol. 2, p. 68.

27. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 73, 152, 440.

28. Ashtor, Social, p. 196. Bahnasī, pp. 493, 503.

29. Al-Balawī, p. 54. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 53. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, p. 58.

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31. Al-Hasan, pp. 11-14. Al-Sāmir, pp. 248-9. Bahnasī, pp. 496, 504-7.

32. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 60. Al-Maqdisī, p. 181. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, p. 62.

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34. Abū al-Fidā', p. 263.

35. Hitti, pp. 20-22, 87, 276.

36. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, pp. 60, 62. Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, p. 151.

37. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, p. 59. Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 151-3.

38. For example, the dictionary Qāmūs al-Ṣinā'āt al-Shāmiyah (by Muḥammad al-Qāsimī and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī and Khalīl Al-'Aẓim, ed. by Ẓāfir Al-Qāsimī, Paris 1960) which was compiled towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, included almost all the traditional crafts of Damascus. These traditional crafts undoubtedly existed in Damascus and other cities during the period under discussion.

39. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 56. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, pp. 57-64. Al-Balawī, pp. 53-4. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 226, 242. Mujīr al-Dīn, vol. 2, p. 68.

40. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 83.

41. Hitti, pp. 91, 276. Al-Maqdisī, p. 180. Ibn Jubayr, p. 246. Benjamin of Tudela, p. 80. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 100-1. Goitein, Industries, pp. 186-7.

42. William of Tyre, vol. 2, p. 6.

43. Lombard, pp. 188-9. See also, Al-Maqdisī, p. 80. Ibn Jubayr, p. 246. Mujīr al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 281. Goitein, Industries, pp. 187-8. Al-Sāmir, pp. 249-50. Bowen, p. 299.

44. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, pp. 16-7.

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45. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 84-5. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 206. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, p. 229. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 82.

46. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 101. See also Ashtor, Social, p. 95.

47. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 101. See also p. 223.

48. For example, see, Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 101-2. Ashtor, Social, pp. 95-6. Lombard, p. 186.

49. Lombard, pp. 183-4. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 219. Haussig, p. 58.

50. Al-Idrīsī, p. 10. Translation in Le Strange, pp. 239-40. See also, Al-Maqdisī, p. 181. Al-Sāmir, p. 248.

51. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 102-3. Goitein, Industries, p. 174. Al-Sāmir, p. 248.

52. Al-Maqdisī, p. 174. Abū al-Fidā', p. 271.

53. Goitein, Letters, pp. 45-7. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 102-3, 154. Goitein, Industries, pp. 174-5. Al-Sāmir, p. 244.

54. Lombard, p. 183. Watson, Arab, p. 26. Watson, Medieval, p. 47. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 105. Ashtor, Social, p. 45. Al-Sāmir, p. 250.

55. Goitein, Letters, pp. 45, 109, 228. See also note No. 7 on p. 288. Al-Maqdisī, p. 174.

56. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 180-1.

57. Goitein, Letters, pp. 107-8.

58. Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 67.

59. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, p. 274.

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60. Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 151-3.

61. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 106.

62. Ibid., p. 107.

63. Ibid., Goitein, Trade, p. 52. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 180-81, 184.

64. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 119-20.

65. Goitein, Letters, pp. 45-7, 107-9. Haussig, p. 58.

66. E.I.2, vol. 3, p. 219. E.I.1, vol. 4, p. 785.

67. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 82.

68. Al-Mas'ūdī, vol. 3, p. 365. Ashtor, Levantine,(1977) pp. 227-9. Al-Ḥamārinah, pp. 520-2. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 61. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 116. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 161-2, 181. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 47, 49. Al-Idrīsī, p. 13.

69. Al-Maqdisī, p. 162.

70. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 47.

71. Al-Idrīsī, p. 14.

72. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 81. Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 8, pp. 267-72. Al-Ḥamārinah, p. 528-33. Watson, Medieval, p. 47.

73. Ashtor, Levantine (1981), pp. 99-103.

74. Ashtor, Social, p. 199.

75. Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 8, p. 271. See also al-Ḥamārinah, p. 532.

76. Ashtor, Levantine (1981), pp. 94-8. Ashtor, Levantine (1977), pp. 227-37. Ashtor, Social, pp. 199-200. Hitti, p. 619. Al-Ḥamārinah, pp. 515-20. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, p. 263.

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77. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 217. E.I.2, vol. 4, p. 419. Ashtor, Social, pp. 99-100. 'Awwad, K. pp. 417-33. Mez, pp. 467-8. Lombard, p. 192.

78. Ashtor, Levantine (1977), p. 267. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 81. E.I.2, vol. 4, p. 419. Ashtor, Social, p. 100.

79. Al-Maqdisī, p. 181.

80. Al-Maqdisī, p. 180. Al-Sāmir, p. 250.

81. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 48. Al-Sāmir, vol. 2, p. 250.

82. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 2, p. 487. Vol. 6, pp. 189-94. 'Awwād, K., p. 431.

83. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 48.

84. 'Awwād, K., pp. 417-21. Mez, p. 469.

85. 'Awwād, K., pp. 226-9. Ashtor, Levantine (1977), p. 266-7.

86. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 81. See also, Goitein, Letters, p. 89. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 180-1.

87. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 2, pp. 487-8, vol. 6, pp. 189-94. See also, 'Awwad, K., pp. 430-1. Ashtor, Levantine (1977), p. 267.

88. Nāṣir, Khusraw, p. 53.

89. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 327. E.I.2, vol. 1, p. 341. E.I.1, vol. 4, p. 557. Al-Balādhurī, pp. 117-8.

90. Abbādī, pp. 49-50, 86-94.

91. Lombard, p. 165.

92. Al-Maqdisī, p. 180.

93. Al-Dimashqī, p. 200. Le Strange, p. 513.

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94. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, p. 254. See also Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, p. 152. Al-Sāmir, pp. 244-5.

95. Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 55. Translation in Le Strange, p. 532.

96. Hitti, pp. 275, 487.

97. Al-Hamadānī, p. 271. Ibn Munqidh, al-Diyār, p. 68. Hitti, p. 487.

98. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, p. 64. E.I.2, vol. 2, pp. 194-5. Khams Rasā'il, p. 18.

99. Al-Dimashqī, pp. 194-8.

100. See for example, Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, p. 59.

101. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 147. Mez, p. 466.

102. Ashtor, Social, p. 47.

103. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 62. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 148-9.

104. Khams Rasā'il, p. 18.

105. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 36-7. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 179.

106. Ibn Shaddād, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 138-9. Ibn Jubayr, p. 228.

107. Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh, p. 43. Al-Idrīsī, p. 10.

108. Ibn Munqidh, Al-I'tibār, pp. 62, 105.

109. Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh, p. 92.

110. Fulcher, p. 147.

111. Al-Maqdisī, p. 175.

112. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 61.

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113. Ṭabarī, Ser. 3, pp. 2106-7. Yāqūt, vol. 3, p. 554. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 3, p. 50.

114. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, pp. 81-5, 91, 164, 255, 298. Al-Idrīsī, p. 10. Ibn Jubayr, p. 257.

115. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 36.

116. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 150-1. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 36-7.

117. Mez, pp. 466-7. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 243.

118. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 148-9.

119. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 73. See also Mujīr al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 63.

120. Abdulfattah, p. 72.

121. Ibid., pp. 162-220.

122. Conder and Kitchener, passim.

123. Al-Dimashqī, pp. 180-1.

124. Ibn Manẓūr, vol. 5, p. 222. Ḥusayn, pp. 82, 86. Ashtor, Social, p. 47. G.B.N.I.D., Syria, p. 252. Al-Ḥassan, p. 20.

125. Hitti, p. 619. Ashtor, Social, p. 47.

126. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 46. Ibn Jubayr, p. 230. Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 331. Al-Ḥassan, pp. 20-23. Ḥusayn, pp. 82-6. Ashtor, Social, p. 47.

127. Ḥusayn, p. 86.

128. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 74. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 11. Yāqūt, vol. 4, p. 732. Ashtor, Social, p. 47. Conder, p. 166.

129. Ḥusayn, p. 86. Al-Ḥassan, p. 20.

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130. Ashtor, Social, p. 47. See also al-Maqdisī, p. 208. Ibn Jubayr, p. 230. Al-Ḥassan, pp. 15-9. Ḥusayn, pp. 82, 86. Rabie, p. 71.

131. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 164-5.

132. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, pp. 66, 255.

133. Abdulfattah, pp. 72-3.

134. Abdulfattah, pp. 112-220.

135. Ibn 'Asākir (1951-1954), vol. 2, part 1, pp. 63, 255.

136. Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 8, p. 271. See also, Al-Ḥamārinah, p. 532.

137. This issue will be discussed extensively in a book that I am preparing now. It will be titled: Population Survey of Syria During the 10-11th Centuries. It will be published in Arabic.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

1. See for example: Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 95-103. Qudāmah, pp. 185, 215-25. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 325. Ibn Rustah, p. 183. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 27, 61-7. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 119, 125-6. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 248-53.

2. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 75-8, 98, 117. Qudāmah, pp. 218-9, 228. Al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 323, 325, 327. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 125. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 190-1. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 8, 14-6. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 263, 267. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 44-6. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 228-34, 282.

3. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 98. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 190-1. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 8, 12. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 239, 241, 247, 253, 255, 257. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 46-54.

4. Qudāmah, p. 219. Al-Maqdisī, p. 191.

5. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 98. Qudāmah, p. 218. Al-Maqdisī, p. 190.

6. Qudāmah, p. 218.

7. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 67. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Maqdisī, p. 190. Al-Idrīsī, p. 11. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 247, 253.

8. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 125.

9. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 98. Qudāmah, p. 229. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 125. Al-Maqdisī, p. 190. Abū al-Fidā', p. 267.

10. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 66. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Idrīsī, p. 14.

11. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 67. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Maqdisī, p. 190. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 11, 16.

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12. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 66. Al-Maqdisī, p. 190. Abū al-Fidā', pp. 253-5. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 10-11, 15-6.

13. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 67. Al-Maqdisī, p. 190. Abū al-Fidā', p. 249.

14. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 190-1. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 272-3, 282.

15. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 66-7. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Maqdisī, p. 191. Al-Idrīsī, p. 8.

16. Qudāmah, p. 229. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 66. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Idrīsī, p. 8.

17. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 66. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 126. Al-Maqdisī, p. 192. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 2-3. Abū al-Fidā', p. 239. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 54.

18. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 66. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 125-6. Al-Maqdisī, p. 191-2. Al-Idrīsī, pp. 2, 8. Abū al-Fidā', p. 241.

19. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 66. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 125-6. Al-Maqdisī, p. 192.

20. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 72-3. Qudāmah, pp. 216-7.

21. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 95, 116-7. Qudāmah, pp. 214-5. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 139. Al-Maqdisī, p. 149. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 213-25.

22. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 127.

23. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 127. Abū al-Fidā', p. 263.

24. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 99. Qudāmah, p. 229. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 67-8. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 127.

25. Lombard, p. 227. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 100-3. Runciman, Pilgrimages, p. 72. Runciman, Civilization, p. 166.

26. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 99. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 251-2. Al-'Umarī, p. 230.

27. Qudāmah, pp. 219-20. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 80. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 330. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 94-5. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 174, 213-4. Al-Idrīsī, p. 3. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 76. Bernard the Wise, p. 26. Mann, vol. 1, p. 168.

28. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 150. Qudāmah, p. 191. Ibn Rustah, p. 183. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 27. Al-Maqdisī, p. 250. Al-Idrīsī, p. 15.

29. Al-Maqdisī, p. 250.

30. Ibid.

31. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 27. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 34.

32. Al-Maqdisī, p. 250.

33. Qudāmah, pp. 190-1. Ibn Rustah, p. 183. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 149-50. Al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 340-1. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 27. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 34. Al-Maqdisī, p. 249.

34. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 116. Al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 329-30. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 27. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 34. Al-Maqdisī, p. 249.

35. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 185, 249.

36. Sharon, p. 28. G.B.N.I.D., Palestine, pp. 341, 344-5.

37. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 48. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 116. Lewis, A., pp. 168, 170. Udovitch, Time, p. 522. Goitein, Letters, pp. 46, 158, 90 (note 10, p. 90). Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 212-3.

38. Al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 337-8. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 195, 197-8. Mann, vol. 1, p. 168. Salibi, pp. 148, 150. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 213-4, 296.

39. Al-Maqdisī, p. 198. Translation in Ranking, pp. 324-5. See also Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 81, 296.

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40. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 48. Translation in Le Strange, pp. 349-50. See also Goitein, Trade, p. 57. Lewis, A., p. 208. Sālim, Trābulus, pp. 368-9.

41. Al-Maqdisī, p. 184.

42. For example see Goitein, Trade, pp. 52-3. Al-Maqdisī, p. 15. Salibi, p. 148. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 48. Lewis, A., pp. 168, 208, 212. Haussig, p. 172. Runciman, Civilization, p. 167.

43. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 153-4. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 48. Runciman, Pilgrimages, pp. 72-8. Al-Sāmir, pp. 246-7. Salibi, p. 148. Lewis, A., pp. 208, 215, 218-9. Goitein, Trade, pp. 52-3. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 211. Haussig, p. 307. Sauvaget, Alep, p. 94. Lopez, pp. 275-8, 305.

44. Al-Maqdisī, p. 11.

45. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 30-1. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 37.

46. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 33. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 38-9.

47. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 36-7. See also Bradford, p. 307.

48. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 340. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 19. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 19, 25. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 27. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 79-85. Yāqūt, vol. 3, pp. 621-2.

49. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 174. G.B.N.I.D., Turkey, vol. 1, pp. 177-8.

50. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 250.

51. Al-Maqdisī, p. 120. Hourani, p. 64.

52. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 153-4. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 62. Ashtor, Social, p. 105. Al-Sāmir, pp. 246-7.

53. Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, p. 19. See also Hourani, p. 78.

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54. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 153-4. Lombard, p. 221. Lewis, A., pp. 167, 213, 246. Hourani, p. 79. Runciman, Civilization, pp. 167, 169.

55. Goitein, Trade, p. 57. See also Goitein, Letters, p. 95. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 212. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 161, 179. Al-Idrīsī, p. 2.

56. Goitein, Trade, p. 57.

57. Runciman Pilgrimages, p. 73.

58. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 293-4. See also p. 10. Translation in Broadhurst pp. 336-7. Bradford, pp. 316-9. Hourani, pp. 76, 82, 104, 108-9, 113, 118-20.

59. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 321. See also pp. 320-23. Udovitch, Time, pp. 535-7.

60. Udovitch, Time, pp. 531-2. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 277.

61. Udovitch, Time, p. 538. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 320-3. Goitein, Letters, p. 46.

62. Ibn Jubayr, p. 284. Translation in Broadhurst, p. 326. Udovitch, Time, p. 524.

63. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 327.

64. Al-Maqdisī, p. 15. Udovitch, Time, pp. 539-41. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 327.

65. Udovitch, Time, pp. 539-40.

66. Goitein, Letters, pp. 86, 92-5. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 278-9, 340-4. Issawi, Turkey, pp. 177-9.

67. Udovitch, Time, p. 526.

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68. Al-Maqdisī, p. 215.

69. Udovitch, Time, p. 513.

70. Al-Iṣtakhrī, p. 65. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 125. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 190-3.

71. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 139. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 213-28.

72. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 206-10.

73. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 213-4.

74. Ibid., pp. 244-6.

75. Ibid., p. 246.

76. Ibid., pp. 106-12.

77. Ibid., p. 64.

78. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 325-6. Udovitch, Time, pp. 510-13.

79. Ibn Jubayr, pp. 283-94.

80. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 106-12, 215. Hourani, p. 111.

81. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 322, 326.

82. Al-Maqdisī, p. 15. Translation in Ranking, p. 23. See also Runciman, Civilization, p. 167.

83. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 282-94.

84. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 153. Qudāmah, p. 225. Al-Maqdisī, p. 195. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 14, pp. 366-72. E.I.2, vol. 1, p. 1045. Gaudefroy, p. 134.

85. Ibn Khurdādhbih, pp. 98-9, 116-7. Qudāmah, pp. 228-9.

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86. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 14, pp. 378-85.

87. Ibid., pp. 389-91. Al-Anṭākī, p. 48.

88. Fulcher, p. 284.

89. Al-Qalqashandī, vol. 14, pp. 392-4. Gaudefroy, p. 134.

90. Al-Maqdisī, p. 177. Translation in Ranking, p. 291.

91. See for example, Ibn Jubayr, p. 282. Ṭabarī, Ser. 3, p. 2217. Bernard the Wise, p. 26. Bowen, p. 274. Issawī, Turkey, p. 177.

92. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 275-7.

93. Issawī, Middle East, p. 52.

94. Bulliet, pp. 4, 9-21. E.I.2, vol. 1, p. 205. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 275.

95. Bishop Arculf, p. 7.

96. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 351.

97. E.I.2, vol. 1, p. 205.

98. Udovitch, Time, pp. 518-24. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 305-8.

99. See for example, Al-Maqdisī, p. 161.

100. See for example, Ibn Jubayr, p. 223.

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105. See for example, Ṭabarī, Ser. 3, p. 2217. Zakkār, Mukhtārāt, p. 93.

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117. See for example, Ibn Sinān, pp. 27-8.

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CHAPTER 5

TRADE

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2. Ibn al-Shiḥnah, p. 255. Le Strange, pp. 240, 298-301, 330, 336-7.

3. See for example, Ibn al-Shiḥnah, p. 255.

4. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 55. Translation in Le Strange, p. 88. See also, Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, p. 151.

5. Al-Maqdisī, p. 243.

6. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 70. See also Le Strange, p. 317.

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CHAPTER 6

THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION AND STANDARD OF LIVING

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63. Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 142-3, 147. Mez, pp. 127-8.

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75. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 2, pp. 86-8, 124-5. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 120-1. Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 229, 239. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, pp. 138-9.

76. Fulcher, pp. 92-3. See also William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 203.

77. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 156, 162-3, 174. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 47, 50. Al-Anṭākī, pp. 17, 30-1, 38. Hudūd al-'Ālam, p. 150. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 8, p. 683. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 292, vol. 2, p. 66. Fulcher, pp. 92, 113-4, 153, 174, 196, 200, 289. Raymond D'Aguilers, p. 88. William of Tyre, vol. 1, pp. 310, 319, 323, 357, vol. 2, pp. 94, 442. Shamma, Tulunids, p. 43.

78. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 22-5.

79. Al-Dāwadārī, p. 199. See also Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 9, pp. 6-7.

80. Al-Maqdisī, pp. 164-5. See also pp. 34-5, 47. Translation in Le Strange, pp. 304-5.

81. Al-Maqdisī, p. 174.

82. Mann, vol. 1, pp. 158-61. See also Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 72. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, p. 231.

83. Nāṣir Khusraw, pp. 54-5. Le Strange, pp. 306-7. Goitein, Letters, p. 107.

84. Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 94. Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. 5, p. 80. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, p. 57. Mujīr al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 304.

85. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 438. See also Raymond D'Aguilers, p. 114. Fulcher, p. 115.

86. Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 185. William of Tyre, vol. 2, pp. 81, 202.

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87. Ibn Sinān, pp. 20-23. Al-Dāwadārī, pp. 69-71.

88. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 8, pp. 596-7. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 27-9. Al-Dāwadārī, p. 200. Ibn al-'Adīm, vol. 1, pp. 143-4, 157-68.

89. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 61.

90. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 117. Translation in Le Strange, p. 353.

91. Al-Maqdisī, p. 156. Translation in Le Strange, p. 354.

92. Ziadeh, pp. 52-4.

93. Al-Maqdisī, p. 178.

94. Ibid., p. 174. Translation in Ranking, p. 285.

95. Al-Maqdisī, p. 174.

96. Ibn al-Qalānisī, pp. 71-2.

97. Fulcher, pp. 153-5. See also William of Tyre, vol. 1, pp. 436-7.

98. Raymond D'Aguilers, p. 87. See also Fulcher, p. 113. William of Tyre, vol. 1, pp. 323, 328. Runciman, First Crusade, p. 328.

99. Al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 324, 328.

100. William of Tyre, vol. 1, p. 310. See Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 45.

101. Raymond D'Aguilers, p. 75.

102. Ashtor, Social, pp. 154, 201. Ashtor, Diet, p. 9. Ashtor, Prix, pp. 223-9, 261-5. Al-Dūrī, al-'Irāq, pp. 239-48. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, pp. 94-6, vol. 2, p. 381.

103. Ashtor, Prix, pp. 216-9, 259-61.

104. Goitein, Society, vol. 2, p. 381. See also p. 134.

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105. Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 142. Ashtor, Social, p. 158.

106. Al-Maqdisī, p. 189.

107. Goitein, Society, vol. 1, p. 95.

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