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The Shi‘a origins of the 12th century ‘Uyunid Madrasah Abu Zaidan (Suq al-Khamis Mosque) on Bahrain

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Abstract: This study examines the history of what has traditionally been regarded as the oldest mosque on Bahrain. In addition to reviewing the available scholarship on the architectural history of the building, particular attention is paid to the epigraphic evidence, published a quarter of a century ago by Ludvik Kalus, which demonstrates conclusively the Shi‘a nature of the mosque. These texts, in turn, clearly indicate the Shi‘a character of the ‘Uyunid dynasty which reigned in what is today eastern Saudi Arabia.

Keywords: Bahrain, Persian Gulf, Mosque, Madrasah, Shi‘ism.

Introduction

The Madrasah Abu Zaidan or Suq al-Khamis mosque (Fig. 2) is traditionally regarded as the oldest standing monument of the Islamic era on the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf (cf. Maloney and Kay 1970: 22). Along its southern and southeastern sides, the mosque adjoins the settlement known as Al-Bilad al-Qadim which, prior to the Portuguese period, is thought to have been the island’s capital. Thus the ‘mosque of the Thursday market’, a name which dates only to the 19th century when a weekly market was held next to the ruined mosque (Japan Consortium 2012: 50), was once integrated into the urban fabric of Bahrain’s principal city (Insoll 2010). A Bahrain National Museum guidebook (Vine 1993: 77) reconstructed the mosque’s history as follows:

1. foundation during the reign of ‘Umar (717-720 C.E.)
2. restoration c. 1058 C.E. late in the Karmathian period; at the request of two Bahrainis, Abdullah b. Bahlul and Abdulwalid Muslim;
3. construction of the first minaret and enlargement in the 12th century by the ‘Uyunid emir Abu Sinan Muhammad b. Al-Fadl b. ‘Abd Allah;
4. establishment of several waqfs for maintenance of the mosque; construction of a second minaret, between the 14th and 16th century

More recent excavation, (Kervran 1990; Whitehouse 2003) identified three main architectural phases in the mosque’s history. Yet how confident can we be in this reconstruction, and what is the basis for the chronology? In the autopsy of the Suq al-Khamis mosque which follows we shall review the history of scholarship on this topic as well as evaluating the evidence adduced in support of each of the building phases suggested above.

Early Observations

Early Western references to the Suq al-Khamis mosque can be summarized quickly. While he was involved with the initial British survey of the Persian Gulf between 1826 and 1829, Lt. G.B. Brucks learned of “several fine reservoirs and aqueducts built by the Portuguese” on Bahrain, as well as the Portuguese fort on the island. Apart from these, he wrote, “The only other ruins of any interest are those of a mosque built by the Alassar people” (quoted in Tuson 1984: 27). For reasons which will become clear below, ‘Alassar’ can only be a corruption of al-Hasa (Brucks 1856: 564). In his 1862 ‘Memoir on Bahreyn’, Lt. R.W. Whish of the Indian Navy referred twice to ‘the Minarets’, obviously meaning the twin minarets of the Suq al-Khamis mosque. Leaving Manama for Jabal Dhukan, Whish crossed ‘rich date plantations and gardens, in the direction of the Minarets’ (Whish 1862: 45). In his 1862 ‘Memoir on Bahreyn’, Lt. R.W. Whish of the Indian Navy referred twice to ‘the Minarets’, obviously meaning the twin minarets of the Suq al-Khamis mosque. Leaving Manama for Jabal Dhukan, Whish crossed ‘rich date plantations and gardens, in the direction of the Minarets’ (Whish 1862: 42), and recorded a local folktale explaining the origins of Bahrain’s famous underground springs which began, ‘Once upon a time there was only one spring on the Island, which was situated not far from the present site of the Minarets’ (Whish 1862: 45).

The first brief description of the Suq al-Khamis mosque seems to be that of Captain E.L. Durand, dating to 1879.

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Durand noted that “the ruined mosque of the Meshed-i-
Abú-Zeidán, near the Bilád-i-Kadím, said to have been
built with the material of a still older structure…a ring
of stones round one, if not two, of its room walls are
scored with large Kufic letters, perhaps from some earlier
building. These I did not copy” (Durand 1880: 5). A decade
later, in 1889, Theodore and Mabel Bent noted that the “old
mosque (Madresseh-i-abu-Zeidan), with its two slender
and elegant minarets, so different from the horrible Wahabi
constructions of to-day, forms a conspicuous landmark for
ships approaching the low-lying coasts of these islands.
Around the body of the mosque runs a fine inscription
in Kufic letters, and from the fact that the name of Ali is
joined with that of the Prophet in the profession of faith, we
may argue that this mosque was built during some Persian
occupation, and was a Shi’a mosque. The architecture, too,
is distinctly Persian, recalling to us in its details the ruins
of Rhey…and of Sultanieh, which we saw in the north of
Persia, and has nothing Arabian about it” (Bent 1900: 17).

In fact, whatever else the Bents may have gotten wrong
in their historical deductions on the mosque’s history, they
were quite right about it serving as a landmark for mariners.

In Lorimer’s 1905 gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, the entry
‘Bilad-al-Qadim’ contains the following information:

“About 1/2 a mile west of the existing habitations are the
ruins of the Madrasah Abu Zaidan mosque, with two slender
and not inelegant minarets 70 feet high, still standing: in
combination with Jabal-ad-Dukhan these minarets form
the leading marker for vessels entering Manamah harbour”
(Lorimer 1905: 299). The 1944 edition of sailing directions
in the Persian Gulf issued by the Secretary of the United
States Navy confirms that the minarets of the mosque were
used as navigational markers by ships entering Manamah
“as the Inner Harbor is approached” (Anonymous 1944:
218). Travelling through Bahrain in 1906, however, the
German visitor Alfred Stürken observed the old ruins of
the mosque at Suq al-Khamis with its engraved inscriptions
but the local inhabitants could only tell him that it was
“very old” (“sehr alt”) (Stürken 1907: 84).

**Ernst Diez’s visit of 1914**

This situation of uninformed observation changed in
February 1914, when the German Islamicist Ernst Diez
visited Bahrain on his way from Bushehr to Bombay. In an
article not published until 1925, Diez gave what remains
to this day the most detailed account of the Suq al-Khamis
mosque. In view of subsequent attempts to restore the
mosque, Diez’s description, as well as his plan (Fig. 3), are
all the more important. The mosque, as described by Diez,
is of the courtyard type (for parallels at Siraf, Samarra
and several sites in Oman, see Whitehouse 2003), originally
bounded by a nearly square enclosure wall measuring 25
x 28 m (east and west sides 28 m long, north and south
25 m). In 1914 only the western side, i.e. the qibla
wall,
and small portions of the northern and southern walls of
the enclosure were still standing, while the remainder of
the perimeter wall had by then collapsed. The interior of
the enclosure consisted of a central, rectangular courtyard
flanked on either side by three naves of approximately eight
bays each separated by columns joined by plastered arches
(Fig. 4). The columns were constructed of stone drums
c. 30 cm. thick and 60 cm. in diameter. The roof of the
haram was supported by a pair of 4 m. high teak columns
measuring 15 x 24 cm in diameter, the upper parts of which
were decorated with carved designs. Although nothing
remained of the mihrab in 1914, two qibla stones with
Kufic inscriptions had been built into the stone columns
of the qibla wall. Two tall minarets were still standing, the
eastern of which was perhaps original, for it was built into
the eastern perimeter wall, while the western one, directly
opposite it, was built abutting the associated wall (Diez
1925: 102-103).

Basing himself on an inscribed stone tablet built into the
qibla wall of the mosque which called the mosque mashhad
ash-sharif dhû-l-minâratain, ‘the holy martyrium with the
two minarets’, Diez supposed the structure in its extant
form anno 1914 to date to 740 AH/1339/40 C.E. (Diez
1925: 103). Two stone blocks with Kufic inscriptions, on
the other hand, were clearly in a state of secondary re-use. These were observed above the text just mentioned, built into the fabric of the qibla wall on its interior and exterior face, one of them even upside down. A further block with Kufic inscription was also observed in the lowest courses of the western minaret. The two qibla tablets, mentioned above, each with a Kufic inscription, were also considered secondary. The use of inscribed qibla stones, rather than a qibla niche or a mihrāb, to direct worshippers towards Mecca, Diez observed, was also known in the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo and the mosque of Muhammad in Medina (Diez 1925: 103). In Diez’s opinion, three construction phases could be discerned in the life of the mosque. The first was represented by the wooden carved and inscribed teak columns which recalled for him the account of the Friday mosque at Nishapur where the wooden elements
Figure 3. Plan of the Suq al-Khamis mosque made in 1914 by Ernst Diez (Diez 1925: 102).

were built during the time of the Abbasid propagandist Abu Muslim, ca. 750 C.E. (Kühnel 1944: 257), which speaks of “a ruin of a mosque with wooden columns and corbel pieces in Abbasid carving style’ (“eine Moscheeruine mit Holzpfeilern und Sattelhölzern in abbasidischem Schnitzstil”). The second was represented by the period of the inscribed qibla stones which, on palaeographic grounds, he placed in the 12th century C.E. The third and final phase, to which the two minarets must be assigned, was represented by the stone work and the inscription of 740 AH/1339-40 C.E. (Diez 1925: 105; cf. Fuccaro who dated the last major rebuilding of the mosque to the 14th century, noting that it “was not used for worship under the Al Khalifahs”; Fuccaro 2009: 40).

Diez’s interpretation of the Suq al-Khamis mosque was greatly influenced by the inscription on one of the qibla stones (Fig. 5) which names Muhammad, ‘Ali, Hasan and Husayn. On this basis he did not therefore hesitate in considering Suq al-Khamis a Shi’a mosque (Diez 1925: 104; cf. Dridi 2009: 58). On the other hand, Diez also published a photograph and partial reading of the inscription from the second qibla stone in which he could just make out a word beginning ad-d’w… (Diez 1925: 103). This inscription was to be interpreted in a new light forty years later by James Belgrave.

Restoration in 1950: The implications of the new discoveries

Although some renovations had been carried out in 1927 by ‘Abd al-Nabi Bushehri, a wealthy building contractor on Bahrain of Persian extraction (Fuccaro 2009: 102), the Suq al-Khamis mosque continued to decay until 1950 when the Government of Bahrain undertook restoration work. As described by James Belgrave (1973: 87); “the blocks and columns which for many years had lain in the sand were restored to their original position, the floor was cleared of the scrub growing there” and the taq columns were “removed from the mosque”. In 1973 these were “in the possession of the Bahrain Government” (Belgrave 1973: 88). Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these precious artifacts, on display in the old Bahrain Museum until 1965 (Clarke 1981: 191), are currently unknown. In general, Belgrave’s account, originally written in 1953, does little more than give an English summary of Diez’s main points except in two important respects. Firstly, it appears that in the course of their cleaning and restoration of the mosque in 1950 the Bahrain Government’s workmen came across two important texts mentioning Abu Sinan Muhammad b. Fadl ‘Abd Allah, an ‘Uyunid ruler of Bahrain (see below). Secondly, Belgrave picked up on Diez’s reading of the second qibla stone, suggesting that the word in question might be al-Da’awa, the Doctrine, forming part of the phrase al-Da’awa al-Hadia or ‘the Correct Doctrine, the title used by the Ismailis…for their own beliefs’, in this case, a clear allusion to the Ismaili Karmathians, whose control over Bahrain came to an end in 1067 (Belgrave 1973: 89).

The Antiquities of Bahrain

In 1970 the Bahrain Historical & Archaeological Society published the first edition of its handbook entitled Antiquities of Bahrain. There the notion that the Suq al-Khamis mosque was built by Abu Sinan was further developed. After dismissing local oral tradition according to which the Umayyad caliph ‘Umar built the mosque in 692 C.E. (Vine 1993: 77), the authors of Antiquities of Bahrain attributed the foundation of the building to Abu Sinan on the basis of one of the inscriptions described by Belgrave which, at the time of writing, had “recently been built into the doorway of the western minaret” (Maloney and Kay 1970: 22). As they wrote, “To explain who Abu Sinan Mohammed probably was it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the 11th century” (Maloney and Kay 1970: 22).

To briefly summarise the main points of this history, let us recall Belgrave’s suggestion that one of the qibla stones contained a reference to the Ismaili ‘doctrine’. The significance of this resides in the fact that one of the most important branches of the Isma’iliyya were the Karmati or
Karmathians who had been established in al-Hasa on the east Arabian mainland since 886-7 C.E. when Abu Sa‘īd al-Djannabi was sent there by an Isma‘ili leader from Kufa named Hamdan Karmat (Madelung 1978: 661). Bahrain island, or Uwal as it was known then, was important for the Karmati for it was there that customs revenues were received from passing shippes. In 459 AH/1067 C.E. (for the date see Madelung 1978: 664) the Karmati were expelled from Uwal in an uprising led by one Abdullah b. Bahlul. An attempt to re-conquer the island by Bashar b. Muflih Al ‘Uyuni proved unsuccessful, but the ruler of al-Qatif on the east Arabian mainland, one Ibn Al Ayyash, pressured by a Seljuq force, fled to Uwal. Emboldened by Abdullah b. Ali Al ‘Uyuni’s defeat of the Karmati, Ibn Al Ayyash recovered al-Qatif but shortly thereafter was defeated by the ‘Uyunid leader, Zacharia b. Ali b. Yahya b. Ayyash, the son of Ibn Al Ayyash, then fled himself to Uwal at which point Abdullah b. Ali sent a force under the command of his son Al Fadl b. ‘Abd Allah to subdue Zacharia. While he did this his father defeated Ibn Al Ayyash himself in a battle fought at al-Qatif (Al-Khalifa 1983: 19).

After consolidating his power and making al-Hasa his capital, Abdullah b. Ali installed his son Al Fadl as paramount ruler in al-Qatif and a second son, Ali b. Abdullah Al ‘Uyuni, as ruler on Uwal (Al-Khalifa 1983: 20). In about 483 AH/1090 C.E. Al Fadl was murdered by his servants on Tarut island, whereupon Abdullah b. Ali appointed Al Fadl’s son, Abu Sinan Mohammad b. Al Fadl, as governor of al-Qatif and Uwal, and it is here that we meet the author of the two earliest inscriptions from the

Figure 4. View of the Suq al-Khamis mosque in the early 1980’s (Al-Khalifa n.d.: 110).
Suq al-Khamis mosque for the first time. As noted earlier, James Belgrave had already signalled the existence of two texts containing the name Fadl in Welcome to Bahrain (Belgrave 1973: 89). He was not, however, able to offer transliterations and translations. In 1990, however, the Czech scholar Ludvik Kalus published complete text editions of these and nine other building inscriptions (not counting inscribed tombstones) from the mosque and it is these which form the basis for any discussion of the subject here.

The poet ‘Ali b. Al Muqarrib, whose Diwan is the main source available for the history of the ‘Uyunids (Caskel 1949: 70, n. 23; Khulusi 1976: 91), noted Abu Sinan’s great generosity, and according to one story all of the wealth in pearls, gold and silver brought to al-Hasa from Uwal was turned over to the poet Tha’labi by Abu Sinan (Al-Khalifa 1983: 24). Be that as it may, the inscriptions now built into the fabric of the Suq al-Khamis mosque confirm that some of his wealth was used to build a mosque and a minaret on Bahrain. The full texts of these inscriptions as given by Kalus (Kalus 1990a: 18-20) are reproduced in the Appendix. The important points, however, are as follows. Text 1 (Fig. 6) tells us (my translation after Kalus’ French version), “This is the construction which was ordered by Ma’āli b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ḥammād (or Ḥumād?)…Praise be to G[od], Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, ‘Alī, Muḥammad, Ġa’far, Mū[sā], ‘Alī, Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Ḥasan…in the time of al-Malik al-Fāḍil Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl…year 518 [?]1124/5 [?]”. Text 2 (Fig. 7), on the other hand, although undated, is likely to be later, dating to the period c. 526-543 AH/1131/2-1148/9 C.E., for its author is called al-Malik al-‘Adil Zayn al-dunya wa l-din (Lord of the Worlds, Seigneur des Mondes) Abu Sinan Muhammad b. al-Fadl b. ‘Abd Allah, and the title al-dunya wa l-din was, as Kalus stressed, conferred by the Caliph himself. Text 2, moreover, concerns a minaret, in the reign of Abu Sinan, although the operative verb — whether ‘was built’, or ‘was prepared’, or ‘was fitted out’ — suggested by Kalus is nearly illegible, despite the fact that traces of ‘ammara seem to be visible (Kalus 1990a: 20). This text thus disproves the suggestion, found in Welcome to Bahrain, that the twin minarets of the Suq al-Khamis mosque date to the period 1339/40 (Maloney and Kay 1970: 22). Likewise, it disproves the statement in Clarke’s Islands of Bahrain that the two minarets were not constructed until the 15th century C.E. (Clarke 1981: 191). King also repeated the same view when he wrote, ‘The mosque of Suq al-Khamis has been ascribed a tenth to twelfth century C.E. date, although the minarets are considerably later’ (King 1980: 261).

As Kalus noted, Abu Sinan is the only ‘Uyunid who bore the name Muhammad b. al-Fadl. Thus it seems certain that Abu Sinan’s kunya changed at some point in his life from Abu ‘Abd Allah to the better known Abu Sinan. The presence of the Caliphal title in the second text and its absence in the first one would also suggest that the first was written before Abu Sinan had risen to the position of ruler, i.e. that it was composed during his grandfather’s lifetime.

These considerations are of more than biographical interest, however, for the formula bi-bina’i-hi found in Text 1 is significant in two respects. On the one hand, it implies a ‘new’ construction, something consistent with the original erection of the mosque itself. On the other hand, the use of a masculine personal pronoun here excludes the possibility that the text could refer to the construction of a minaret. Thus, the two texts clearly imply the building of a mosque with a single minaret. This raises the question, which minaret in the Suq al-Khamis is the older, original

Figure 5. Qibla stone as it appeared in 1914 (Diez 1925: Abb. 4; after Belgrave 1973: 81) with Text 4.
Figure 6. Text 1, a Kufic building inscription in limestone (90 x 42-43 cm) situated above the doorway of the eastern minaret (Kalus 1990a: Pl. IIa).

Figure 7. Text 2, a Kufic building inscription in limestone (65 x 56 cm) situated above the doorway of the western minaret (Belgrave 1973: 80, Fig. 1).
one? This is difficult to determine without excavation but it seems *prima facie* more likely that the minaret built into the east wall and columned aisle is the older of the two, rather than the western minaret which is offset from the western enclosure wall. We should, however, also consider the less likely but not altogether impossible likelihood that the two texts have nothing to do at all with the Suq al-Khamis mosque, but were brought at some later date from another, now ruined structure. Although this cannot be excluded, it seems, in light of the available evidence, unlikely.

That the ‘Uyunids were Shi’a is proven here by the Shi’a *shahada* and the naming of the twelve Imams in Text 1. In her study of ‘Ali b. Al Muqarrib, Khulusi was thus mistaken when she stated that ‘the “Uyunids were Sunnites”’ (Khulusi 1976: 92). That the mosque continued to be used by a Shi’a community is further confirmed by the inscriptions on the two *qibla* stones described by Diez (Texts 3-4; Figs. 8-9). The Shi’a origins of the Suq al-Khamis mosque (but see already Diez 1925: 104; cf. Dridi 2009: 58) challenge the generally prevailing views on the origins of Shi’ism on Bahrain. For example, the Danish
anthropologist Henny Harald Hansen, who studied the Shi’a village of Sar in the 1960’s, suggested, “Presumably the villagers of Bahrain adopted their form of Islam – the Shi’a confession of the Twelvers – from Persia (Iran). In 1502 this confession became the official Persian religion when the dynasty of the Safawides, who trace their descent to the imams, took over the rule of a realm which besides Persia (Iran) also included Mesopotamia” (Hansen 1968: 26). This view contrasts with that of Belgrave who felt that Shi’ism first came to Bahrain, Belgrave did suggest that “both Shia and Kharajite schismatics sought refuge on the Bahrain islands” (Belgrave 1973: 118) in the early centuries of

**Figure 9. Part of Text 3, now in the house of the mosque’s guard (Kalas 1990a: Pl. IIIib).**
Figure 10. Line 2 (58 x 35 x 11-16 cm) of Text 5, an epigraphic frieze in limestone written in Kufic script from the outer qibla wall, observed by Diez in 1914 and since lost (Kalus 1990a: Pl. IVa).

Figure 11. Text 5, line 3 (65 x 34.5 x 17 cm), currently in the house of the mosque’s guard (Kalus 1990a: Pl. IVb).
Islam without, however, acknowledging the Shi’ism of the ‘Uyunid rulers. Hansen, on the other hand, clearly overstated the degree to which Bahraini Shi’ism must have been indebted to Persian Twelver (Ithna ‘ashariya) Shi’ism in so far as she was ignorant of the fact that ‘Uyunid Shi’ism was also Shi’ism of the Twelver variety, as demonstrated by the inscriptions discussed above.

**The qibla inscriptions**

Let us return now to the two qibla stones on which Diez originally based much of his interpretation of the early history of the Suq al-Khamis mosque. As Belgrave noted (Belgrave 1973: 89): “Were we to depend upon the present state of the Qibla stones it would be impossible to decipher them, but Diez has left us photographs showing the Qibla stones in their original form”. Indeed, according to Kalus, one of the qibla stones photographed by Diez has today disappeared altogether, while of the second one only the lower half (Fig. 8) is still in situ within the mosque. When Kalus studied this material another fragment of the same (Fig. 9) was kept in the house of the mosque’s guard (Kalus 1990a: 21).

The lost qibla stone is the most important for, like Text 1 discussed above, it refers to ‘Ali, Hasan and Husayn, and thus clearly reflects a Shi’a character (Kalus 1990a: 22-23). Kalus agreed with Diez in dating the inscription palaeographically to the 12th century and thus considered it approximately contemporary with the major Texts 1 and 2 which, in his opinion, concern the original construction of the mosque. An epigraphic frieze (Kalus 1990a: 23-24, no. 5) originally containing the names of the twelve imams (Text 5, Figs. 10-14), only one small portion of which (Fig. 15) is still in situ in the mosque, was also considered palaeographically close to the aforementioned texts. Further fragments (Text 6, Figs. 16-17) of the Shi’a shahada, also kept in the house of the mosque’s guard, were thought to have been situated originally in front of the epigraphic frieze described above (Kalus 1990a: 25, no. 6). A further, carved wooden member (Text 7) mentioning ‘Ali, photographed by Diez but subsequently lost, confirms the Shi’a affinities of the mosque, even if there is disagreement over its date (Kalus 1990a: 26, no. 7).

A building inscription (Fig. 18) in the house of the guard (Text 8) records the fitting out or construction of a minaret by a patron, whose name is unfortunately missing, in the year 724/1323-24 (Kalus 1990a: 27, no. 8). While this might relate to the refurbishment of the original minaret mentioned in Text 1, it is equally possible that it records the construction of the second minaret of the mosque.

A combination building inscription and waqf from 776 C.E. /1374 (Text 9, Fig. 19) ordered by the minister (sahib) Jamal al-din ‘Ali b. Mansur b. Mahmud Kurd (?), refers to the refurbishment of the mosque and the palm garden of Fuliyan in Bilad al-Qadim (Kalus 1990a: 28, no. 9). Although this inscription was found at the village of
Musallam to the west of the mosque itself, Kalus presumed it was the same one seen by Diez in the qibla wall of the Suq al-Khamis mosque which he described but did not illustrate. While it may seem strange that Diez would have neglected to illustrate such an important text, it is explicable given the fact that, between his visit of 1914 and his eventual publication of his paper on Suq al-Khamis in 1925, World War I had intervened and he referred on at least one occasion to the loss of a crucial negative and his consequent inability to illustrate a text of significance. A second waqf inscription (Text 10, Fig. 20), probably later than that of 1374 and relating to the same palm garden at Fuliyan mentioned in the preceding text, was also found at Musallam (Kalus 1990a: 31, no. 10).

Jamal al-din ‘Ali b. Mansur b. Mahmud Kurd’s titles included both al-sahib (minister) and hawaga, suggesting
to Kalus that he may have been originally Iranian (Kalus 1990a: 61). How does this fit with the political history of the time? Very probably, the minister was in the service of Turanshah, king of Humrūz from 747 to 772 or 779 AH (Lowick 1976: 94), whose control extended to Qays, Qatif and Bahrain.

Finally, a decree (Text 11, Figs. 21-23) dated to 990 AH/1582 c.e. (Kalus 1990a: 33, no. 11), thus dating to the late Portuguese period, calls the Suq al-Khamis mosque ‘the noble martyrium with two minarets in the land of Uval’, recalling the epithet used in the text of 740/1339-40 seen by Diez. The decree of 1582 was issued by one Mahmud, the identity of whom is uncertain. Kalus considered the possibility that this was Jalal al-dīn Murad Mahmūd Shah, governor (re‘īs) of Bahrain from 1530 to 1577 who bore, from 1554 onwards, the title Sanjak beg as a result of his submission to the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman (Kervran 1988: 23-24). The assassination of Murad Shah...
in 1577 (Mandaville 1970: 495), however, would seem to eliminate the possibility that he was the ‘Mahmud’ of our text, although Kalus noted that Murad, according to an Ottoman letter, was succeeded by an unnamed son, at least raising the possibility that he may have been a second Mahmud. Yet another Mahmud of the time was appointed Lahsa Kapudanı, i.e. ‘captain of the vessels stationed on the shores of Lahsa (al-Hasa)’, on 4 October 1577 (Özbaran 1972: 69). It may be wondered, however, whether he was still active in 1582 and, if so, whether he would have been involved in the restoration of a mosque. This seems a remote likelihood.

Conclusions

In contrast to earlier treatments of the Suq al-Khamis mosque, this review of the epigraphic and historical evidence strongly suggests the following construction sequence:

1. original construction of the main mosque under the Shi’a ‘Uyunid governor of al-Qatif and Uwal, al-Malik al-Fadil Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. al-Fadl, probably in 518?/1124-5 (although the date is damaged), according to Text 1.

2. Construction of the first minaret by Abu Sinan after his accession to the ‘Uyunid leadership ca. 526 AH/1131-2 C.E. (which lasted until 543 AH/1148-9 C.E.) following the death of his grandfather Ali b. ‘Abd Allah Al ‘Uyuni, according to Text 2. (Abu Sinan succeeded his grandfather in this case because his own father, who would have been in line to the succession, had pre-deceased his grandfather in 483 AH/1090 C.E.).

3. Construction of the second minaret (?) or restoration of the original one in 724 AH?/1323-4 C.E. by an unnamed patron, according to Text 3.

4. Existence of the two minarets by 990/1582 according to Text 4, a decree issued by one Mahmud who called the mosque ‘the noble martyrium with two minarets in the land of Uwal’.

In setting out this chronology I have made no attempt to comment upon, let alone integrate, the remarks of Diez and others on the stylistic affinities of the mosque’s plan,
Figure 16. Text 6, line 1 (43 x 37.5 x 14-16 cm), currently in the house of the mosque’s guard (Kalus 1990a: Pl. VIIa).

Figure 17. Text 6, line 2 (40 x 33.5 x 17 cm), currently in the house of the mosque’s guard (Kalus 1990a: Pl. VIIb).
Figure 18. Text 8, cursive inscription in stone (61 x 20 x 11 cm), currently in the house of the mosque’s guard (Kalus 1990a: Pl. VIIIa).

Figure 19. Text 9, cursive inscription in stone (73 x 52 x 8 cm), currently in the Bahrain National Museum (Kalus 1990a: Pl. VIIIb).
its arches, its wooden members, or its inscriptions. Clearly there are points which might be of some interest, but the example of the carved wooden elements, now lost, suffices to reveal why it seems pointless to dwell too much on stylistic attributes. Diez, for example, commented at some length on the ornamentation of the carved wooden column supports, particularly on the five-leafed palmette and three-petalled lotus blossom, suggesting that they belonged to the ‘First Style’ of Samarra, and arguing for a date in the 9th or 10th century (Diez 1925: 104). Monique Kervran, on the other hand, in a personal communication to Kalus, compared them to 14th century carved wood from Zafar in Oman (Kalus 1990a: 26, n. 1). Clearly, with such divergent views on the affinities of material like this, it is impossible to arrive at a close dating which is free of bias and of any real utility. For this reason it seems wisest to utilize the
available epigraphic data and put aside preconceptions about the dates implied by the architectural or decorative characteristics of the mosque.

It remains to consider the two traditions of pre-‘Uyunid construction alluded to at the beginning our discussion. Two of the principal guidebooks to Bahrain state that, according to ‘local tradition’, the Suq al-Khamis mosque ‘was first built by the Umayyid Caliph Umar bin Abdul Aziz in 692 c.e.’ (Maloney and Kay 1970: 22; Clarke 1981: 190). Even if a local oral tradition exists to this effect, it is obviously wrong so far as the date is concerned, since ‘Umar’s caliphate dated from 717 to 720 c.e. and a construction date in 692 c.e. would put the foundation of the mosque in the period of Abd al-Malik (685-705 c.e.). The guidebook to the Bahrain National Museum states, “All that remains from this phase is the Qibla wall, too venerable to be demolished” (Maloney and Kay 1970: 77) but this is not supported by the detailed examination of the building carried out by Ernst Diez in 1914. A UNESCO conservation report written in 1974 (cited in Vine 1993: 3) alleged that “the corners of the surrounding wall had imitation circular bastions of a type which is known only
from very early mosques of the 7th to 9th centuries” (Clarke 1981: 191), but beyond this nothing seriously supports the idea of an early Islamic origin for the mosque.

As for the idea that the mosque was re-founded or restored ca. 1058 by Abdullah b. Bahlul and Abdulwalid Muslim, this inference derives from the fact that, according to ‘Ali ibn Al Muqarrib’s diwan, the two brothers, both pious Sunnis (!), wrote to the Karmathian governor Ibn ‘Arham, requesting permission to build a mosque on Bahrain-‘Uwal because, in their view, the place was being avoided by merchants since there was nowhere to properly celebrate the Friday prayers (de Goeje 1895: 6). The brothers are said to have have offered no less than 3000 dinars for the mosque’s construction, permission for which was granted by Ibn ‘Arham, although, as it turned out, Abdulwalid Muslim is said to have climbed into the pulpit and recited the khutbah in the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Ka’im Bi-Amr Allah (422-467AH/1031-1075 C.E.). This provoked a storm of criticism, whereupon Abdullah b. Bahlul admitted that he had not indeed built the mosque to attract merchants, but rather to fulfill his religious, i.e., Sunni, needs.

This story clearly suggests that there was no significant mosque on Bahrain prior to the middle of the 11th century, even if the population had long since embraced Islam. In this regard it is interesting to recall a verse of the poet ‘Ali ibn Al Muqarrib which runs: “They (i.e. the Karmathians) did not build a mosque for God that we know of!” On the
contrary, they demolished all that was already extant”, a view corroborated by the contemporary Persian traveller Nasr-i-Khusrau (Khulusi 1976: 94). It does not follow, however, that the mosque constructed by Abdullah b. Bahlul and his brother is the Suq al-Khamis mosque. Rather, given that it was built by a pair of Sunni Moslems, it cannot have been. The catalogue of the Bahrain National Museum suggests that “the simple rectangular stone building which they built is still visible below the present mosque” (Vine 1993: 77) but there seems to be no evidence to corroborate this statement.

In concluding, in this examination of the Suq al-Khamis mosque it is worth returning to the 19th century observations of Brucks, Whish, Durand and the Bents. The tradition related by Brucks, that the mosque was “built by the Allassar people”, has in fact been confirmed, for it is surely the case that this reflects a dim knowledge of its having been built by the ‘Uyunid Abu Sinan whose family controlled al-Hasa. Whish’s reference to the mosque as “the Minaret(s)” is intriguing given that the fact of the decrees of 1582 gives the mosque no name but remarks on the minarets, mashad as-sarif dû-l-minâratain. It is also probable that the single minaret shown in a Portuguese manuscript painting of 1635 depicting Bahrain is meant to represent ‘the Minarets’ (Fig. 24). Durand’s account of 1879 identified the mosque by the same word as the decree of 1582, calling it mashad, martyrium, rather than madrasah, and it is here that we encounter, seemingly for the first time, the epithet Abu Zaydan. Who was this Abu Zaydan? I can find no reference to such an individual, and am inclined rather to interpret this as a corruption of Abu Sinan, the name of the founder of our mosque. Finally, the Bents, followed later by scholars such as Hansen, attributed the Shi’a nature of the mosque — which they deduced from the mention of ‘Ali — to a period of Persian occupation. Neither they nor Hansen, writing eighty years later, were aware that the ‘Uyunids were Shi’a as well. Indeed, the mosque of Suq al-Khamis predates by many centuries the Safavid period when Shi’ism became the official state religion in Iran. To explain the Shi’ism of the ‘Uyunids, however, I must defer to scholars of early Islamic eastern Arabia. No doubt there is much more to be said on this topic as well.

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چکیده: رومیان برای نشان دادن دریای مدیترانه به عنوان تاریخ دریافت
یک توالی در بنادر ایرانی: باستان شناسی دوره اسلامی در خلیج فارس
وصول ویتکامب
دانشگاه شیکاگو
1392/10/20:
تاریخ دریافت
1396/11/5:
تاریخ پذیرش
م. در بایگانی های تُرِّ دُ.تُمبو ملّی اهمیت این اسناد در تاریخ خلیج فارس در قرون
میلادی 17 و 16: اسناد فارسی قرون
نادر نصیری مقدم
دانشگاه استراسبورگ
1392/11/15:
تاریخ پذیرش

چکیده: پژوهش های باستان شناسی در شناخت ما از جغرافیای تاریخی و الگوی استقراری بنادر کرانه های خلیج فارس نقش مهمی ایفا کرده‌اند. این مطالعات علاوه بر دوران اسلام و پیش از اسلام، استقرارهای این کرانه را گواهی می دهد. شواهد باستان شناسی راقویت می کنند. مقاله به برخی از اسناد باستانی‌های می‌پردازد که درباره هرم‌کنش از نگاه تاریخی خلیج فارس می‌پردازد. این اسناد از این اشکال ویژه در مورد خلیج فارس در قرن‌های 16 و 17 میلادی واقعیت صنعتی و اقتصادی عرب به کشورهای شرق آفریقا و ایلاتی از جمله سلطنت عثمانی اهمیت داشتند. این اسناد به عنوان یک منبع تحقیقی برای ارزیابی موقعیت اقتصادی و سیاسی بنادر در این دوره به‌کار رفته‌اند.
چکیده
مقاله‌ای در مورد سفاله‌های کفتری و وابستگی آن به جنوب غرب ایران و سواحل خلیج فارس می‌باشد. تاریخ‌گذاری نسبت به هزاره سوم پ.م. که براساس بررسی‌ها در حوزه رود کر و کاوش‌های باستانی به‌طور پایدار در تل ملیان انجام شده‌است. کاوش‌های بسیاری نشان داده‌اند که ظروف سفالی، از ابتدای هزاره سوم تا پایان هزاره دوم پ.م. در مناطق مختلف فارس، شبه‌جزیره بوشهر و سواحل خلیج فارس پراکنده بوده‌اند. این مقاله به بازنگری شواهد مربوط به مواد فرهنگی کفتری و در ارتباط با کفتری در جنوب غرب ایران و مناطق حوزه خلیج فارس می‌پردازد. نتیجه‌گیری مطرح می‌شود که اهمیت گذشته و پراکندگی این یافته‌ها برای درک ما از برهم‌کنش جنوب غرب ایران و مناطق غربی دارد.

واژگان کلیدی:
سفاله‌های کفتری، خلیج فارس، تجارت فلز، اَنشان، ماسون‌های نساجی

کپیده‌های مقالات به زبان فارسی

واوَر زهرا سوم پ.م. شناخته شده است. اگرچه نگاهی به مدارک مکتوب، شامل دانشگاه باستان‌شناسی و باستان‌شناسی فلزشناسی، از جمله تحقیق‌های جوزه خلیج فارس، سامانه به‌دست‌یافت که در پیچیده‌تری از تاریخ‌ها می‌دهد که نه تنها از منابع داخلی و به‌صورت خلاصه‌برداری، بلکه از تحقیقات جدید و جامعه‌های اسلامی، نشان دهنده قبیل‌هایی از نگاه‌های مختلف، از جمله درون‌مغزی و بارون‌هایی، نشان می‌دهند که این تاریخ‌گذاری، بر اساس نتایج بررسی‌ها در حوزه رود کر و کاوش‌های باستانی به‌طور پایدار در تل ملیان انجام شده‌است. نتایج نشان داده‌اند که ظروف سفالی کفتری، از ابتدای هزاره سوم تا پایان هزاره دوم پ.م. در مناطق مختلف فارس، شبه‌جزیره بوشهر و سواحل خلیج فارس پراکنده بوده‌اند. این مقاله به بازنگری شواهد مربوط به مواد فرهنگی کفتری و در ارتباط با کفتری در جنوب غرب ایران و مناطق حوزه خلیج فارس می‌پردازد. نتیجه‌گیری مطرح می‌شود که اهمیت گذشته و پراکندگی این یافته‌ها برای درک ما از برهم‌کنش جنوب غرب ایران و مناطق غربی دارد. سامانه‌ای که در اواخر هزاره سوم و اوایل هزاره دوم پ.م. فعال بود.

واژگان کلیدی:
سفاله‌های کفتری، وابستگی، خلیج فارس، تجارت فلز.

ایران و تجارت فلز در عصر آهن در سواحل خلیج فارس

چکیده
پژوهش‌های مشابهی در حوزه خلیج فارس نشان داده‌اند که جوامع محلی عصر مفرغ تولید مس را در ابعاد بسیار زیادی داشتند، که منابع محیط‌زیستی محل و بین‌المللی را به‌طور کامل دربر گیرنده‌اند. این تحقیقات نشان داده‌اند که شکل‌دادن نه تنها از منابع خود این منطقه بلکه هم از منابع پراکنده آن منطقه به‌طور کامل است. درک در مابین نه تنها از تاریخ‌ها و عوامل محلی اصلی سرزمین از این منطقه، بلکه از نگاه‌های بین‌المللی نیز است. این تحقیقات نشان داده‌اند که شکل‌دادن نه تنها از منابع خود این منطقه بلکه هم از منابع پراکنده آن منطقه به‌طور کامل است. درک در مابین نه تنها از تاریخ‌ها و عوامل محلی اصلی سرزمین از این منطقه، بلکه از نگاه‌های بین‌المللی نیز است.

واژگان کلیدی:
سفاله‌های کفتری، تجارت، خلیج فارس، تجارت فلز.

کپیده‌های مقالات به زبان انگلیسی

دریایی، دانشگاه کالیفرنیا

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