

official) responsible for organizing the siting of the town and its water distribution (inscription 1). A second official was put in charge of construction (text 2). The lacuna in text 3 prevents us from knowing the profession of its two authors, but the five people in inscription 4 were weavers, and graffito 2a is the signature of a carpenter.

All these texts are in the same inscriptional style and, set side by side in the wall of the fortified town they commemorate the foundation.

If the word "detestable", scratched under the line recalling the selection and expatriation of the men of Shabwa (text 3), is not a proper name, it might be supposed that this exile, probably more or less enforced, was not a cause of universal happiness, as inscription 5 also bears witness.

Thus the memory of a large-scale political and commercial venture is brought to life again by some inscriptions: the creation of a port and a centre of incense production from nothing, by men at a distance of 530 miles as the crow flies from their capital. Text Ja 892,²⁸ of which I will offer a reinterpretation later, shows that the dangers and arduousness of the road which separated them from their homes caused these men heavy hearts; they dreamed of returning to the temple of their god at Shabwa.²⁹

¹ Cf. Wendell Phillips, "Unknown Oman", Beirut, 1971, pp. 187, 191, 192 and 195.

² A. Jammé, "Une inscription ḥaḍramoutique en bronze", in "Orientalia" vol. 22 NS, 1953, pp. 158-165. With "Remarks on the Ḥaḍrami Inscription Jammé 402", *ibid.* pp. 416-417.

³ A. Jammé, "Two new Ḥaḍrami Inscriptions from Zôfar", in *Bi. Or.* XXIV, 1967, pp. 145-148 (the second inscription is from Hanun).

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 188.

⁵ "Une inscription ḥaḍramoutique en bronze", p. 161.

⁶ "An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions" Toronto, 1971, p. 330.

⁷ Cf. Beeston, "A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian", London 1962, p. 45, para. 37:6

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 47, para. 39:1.

⁹ Mahmud Ali Ghul, "New Qatabani Inscriptions—II" in *BSOAS*, XXII, 1959.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 427, note 1.

¹¹ de Landberg, "Glossaire Daïnois", I, p. 275: *jarab* = scab.

^{12a} The word has been translated "red stones" in *CIH* 541, 9, and by Sidney Smith as "Workmen's shops" in "Events in Arabia", *BSOAS*, XVI, 3, 1954, p. 439.

^{12b} See the description on p. 95 from Wendell Phillips.

¹³ Cf. J. Pirenne, "La maîtrise de l'eau en Arabie du Sud antique", going to press.

¹⁴ Lankester Harding, *op. cit.* p. 34.

¹⁵ Cf. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, "Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest", Leiden 1965, p. 101.

¹⁶ "Explorations in Dhofar, Oman", in *Antiquity* XXIX, 1955, p. 38.

¹⁷ "Unknown Oman", p. 188.

¹⁸ Cf. J. Pirenne, "Le royaume sud-arabe de Qatabân et sa datation d'après l'archéologie et les sources classiques jusqu'au 'Périple de la Mer Erythrée'", (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 48), Louvain 1961. Also, by the same author, "Un problème-clé pour la chronologie de l'Orient: la date du 'Périple de la Mer Erythrée'", in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1961, p. 441-459.

¹⁹ Cf. J. Pirenne, "De la chronologie des inscriptions sud-arabes après la fouille du temple de Mârib (1951-2)", in *Bi. Or.* XXVI, 1969, pp. 303-311 and illustrations.

²⁰ Gus. W. Van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh", in the *Biblical Archaeologist* vol. XXIII p. 72, and map, fig. 5, p. 90; Also by the same author, "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia", in *JAOS*, 78, 1958, p. 142.

²¹ "Western Arabia and the Red Sea", (*Geographical Handbook series*, B.R. 527) Naval Intelligence Division, June 1946, pp. 147 and 224.

²² His reasoning runs as follows: "While Dhofar is more than an eight days' journey from Shabwa, and Wadi Ḥaḍramaut is somewhat less, the figure is perhaps as correct as can be expected". *JAOS* p. 142.

^{22a} "The Southern Gates of Arabia", London 1936, p. 307. Pliny's description runs: "the incense-bearing region . . . inaccessible because of rocks on every side, while it is bounded on the right by the sea, from which it is shut out by tremendously high cliffs". We should remember that the mountain range of Ḥaḍramaut, behind Mukalla, attains a height of 8100 feet and the type of terrain—"incised meanders"—is the same as that on the heights of Dhofar (cf. the map, plate 5).

²³ *Biblical Archaeologist*, pp. 72-73, and *JAOS* p. 142.

²⁴ (Taken from the French translation of A. Maricq, in Jacqueline Pirenne "Le royaume sub-arabe de Qatabân", pp. 170-171.

²⁵ In the "Classical Quarterly", XLV; 1951, p. 156.

²⁶ "Unknown Oman", pp. 190 and 187.

²⁷ A. Jammé "Two new Ḥaḍrami inscriptions from Zôfar", in *Bi. Or.* XXIV? 1967, pp. 146-148.

²⁸ Shabwa is the site of French excavations. See Jacqueline Pirenne, "Première campagne archéologique française au Ḥaḍramout", in *CR of l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, meeting of May 30th 1974.

The Julanda of Oman

J. C. Wilkinson

TWO FAMILIES of south-east Arabia came to bear the title Julandā (var. *Julundā*), the Julandā b. Karkar who feature in the history of the Gulf from pre-Islamic until Būyid times, and the Ma'wali Julandā who more or less controlled the Oman (correctly 'Umān) region until the full establishment of the Ibāḍi Imamate at the end of the eighth century. It is with the latter that this study is concerned.

The Shanu'a Migration

The origin of the Ma'wali *Julandā* fortunes lies in the obscure history of the second major wave of Arab migration into Oman.¹ Why so many members of the 'Uthmān b. Naṣr b. Zahrān branch of the so-called Shanu'a Azd left their original homeland in the Sarāt and Ḥijāz uplands is not clear, and we know virtually nothing of the political organisation which divided the emigrants into two major confederations, the Yaḥmad and the Awlād Shams (var. Shums). Nor do we know anything about the history of the start of their passage through central Arabia, except that it was probably during this period that they developed good relations with certain Kinda clans. On the other hand a few scraps of information about their history in al-Yamāma have come to us and these indicate that there they gained some ascendancy over the Ḥanifa tribes but made enemies of the local 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa' groups.

They also show that it was probably then that the family from the Ma'awil clan of the Awlād Shams which was later to be called *Julandā* gained its leadership over the Shanu'a, for the first named member of the line is given as 'Abd 'Izz, the man responsible for subjecting al-Yamāma (c.f. genealogical diagram p. 106). There too, it is recorded, he installed members of the Yaḥmad (possibly from the Khalili family of the Bani Kharūṣ) as governors over the region (c.f. 'Awtabi Johnstone ms 212 v *et seq* with Ibn Durayd *Ishtiqāq* Cairo 1958 edn. 508 and Ibn Qutayba *Okacha* edn. 108). And it was 'Abd 'Izz who started raiding the peoples of the sea-lands (*ahl al-'abāb*) by which term may probably be understood the settled communities of the Gulf under Persian rule.

The onward progression of the Shanu'a into Persian controlled Mazūn (Oman) however, was probably not initiated by the Ma'awil themselves but by their "brother" tribe the Ḥuddān, for it seems it was they who pioneered settlement in the hill region of the Sirr around Yanqul (the Jabal Ḥuddān). But however that may be, the main Shanu'a groupings were almost certainly established in the mountains of Oman before the end of Kawādh's weak rule (i.e. early sixth century AD), with their individual tribes occupying the valleys of the Ghadaf, that is the eastern side of the Jabal al-Akhḍar central mountain core (the Jabal Yaḥmad): and it was probably in association with this migration into Oman that elements of the Kinda (notably from the Sakūn, the Bani a-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar and Bani Thābit b. Rafḍ. b. al-Ḥārith al-Akbar) also came to the country to settle in the Jabal Kinda, that is in the hills behind Tu'ām (Buraimi).²

Such a massive influx of new tribes into Oman obviously required some regulation of relationships with the older Arab settlers on the one hand³ and with the Persians on the other.

The Azd Union in Oman

Now for the most part the earlier Arab migrations to Oman had tended to settle in the desert borderlands on the western side of the mountains, and had not penetrated the mountain zone, except at the ends of the range where the build-up of tribes entering along the northern and southern migration routes into the region had pushed some groups into the neighbouring upland valleys. Basically therefore little territorial conflict arose between these older settlers and the newcomers who occupied the mountain pastures, and this in turn meant that nothing fundamentally impeded a general merging of their political organisation; on the contrary there was much to be said for tribal unification once Kisra Anūshiravān started to re-establish Persian control over Eastern Arabia.

The framework of the new Arab political structure was the union of all the Azd elements living in the country⁴ under the leadership of the Ma'wali shaikhs, an assimilation that was largely made possible as the result of the long-established Bani Hinā (correctly Hunā'a) shaikhs (Bani Muḥārība section?) ceding paramount leadership to the heads of the Shanu'a confederation. These Azd formed four major groupings: the Bani Salīma of south-eastern Oman and coastal Kirmān, who themselves retained close relationships with their "half-brothers" the Bani Hinā, despite their quarrel with certain other important Mālik b. Fahm tribes (it was from this group that originated the Julandā b. Karkar): the rest of the Mālik b. Fahm confederation, many of whom directly followed the Bani Hinā and whose area of settlement extended all the way round from the region of Raysūt on the south Arabian coast to the fringes of al-Baḥrayn where their allies the 'Abd al-Qays predominated: the 'Imrān Azd of northern Oman led by the 'Atik who themselves had come to an accommodation with their chief political rivals in the region, the Bani Nājiya (Sāma b. Lu'ay) and were strong supporters of the Bani Hinā: and finally the newly arrived Shanu'a Azd who controlled the mountain area of Oman.

With such a widespread distribution and with one or other of these groups controlling all the major regions of south-east Arabia it is little wonder that Balādhuri (*Futūḥ*, 76) states that the people of Oman were the Azd and the importance of the union between the Bani Hinā and Ma'awil shaikhs speaks for itself (this fusing of political interests was rationalized in clan terms by the genealogical linking of their forebears at respectively the seventh and sixth forebears: c.f. *Nubdha fi Ansāb al-Ma'awil*⁶).

Arab-Persian relationships

Faced with this massive new tribal union, Kawādh's successor had little alternative but to accord the Arabs a degree of autonomy and recognise their territorial rights in certain regions though still determined on bringing Oman, along with the rest of the Arabian coast, under the full control of central Persian Government. The result was a formal understanding which was honoured by both sides until the time of Islam.

Since the nature of the Arab-Persian relationships in late Sasānid times has already been discussed by the writer at some length (Wilkinson 1973 and 1974) it will be sufficient here simply to summarise the relevant points.

The Arabs enjoyed full autonomy in the desert borderlands and in much of northern Oman where their inland capital was at Tu'ām and their main trading port at Dibā (Dabā). However, in the main part of Mazūn (that is the principal settled area of interior Oman and the commercially important coastal areas) the Persians ruled directly and such of the Arabs who had settled in the villages were simply treated in the same way as the rest of the subject peasantry (*ahl al-bilād*) as too were the detribalized Arabs employed in the Persian marine. The tribal organisation of the Arabs in their grazing-lands on the other hand was respected in so far as this did not give rise to conflict with the settled people.

In order to maintain overall control of interior Mazūn Kisra Anūshiravān modified the old feudal organization and established a military landed class (the *Asāwira* and *Marāziba*) who were directly answerable to the governor installed at Rustāq. This site was chosen as a major fortified centre for three main reasons: first it had relatively easy access both to the major trading port of Omana (Ṣuḥār) where the main Persian garrison was quartered at Damstajird and to the fort of Damā (near modern al-Sib) which controlled the southern end of the Bāṭina coast; second it lay in a region of major new land-development; and third it was situated in the heart of the main Shanu'a settlement area.

At the same time the status of the Ma'wali shaikh was officially recognized and he was appointed as Julandā⁸ over the Arabs, a position analogous to the Arab *Isbādih* in al-Baḥrayn and the *Abnā'* in south-west Arabia. This meant that his authority was reinforced by the Persian government and he was accorded the right to collect taxes in Arab territory; in return he was expected to maintain discipline amongst the tribesmen and consult with the Persian governor at Rustāq.

Thus during the seventy or so years prior to the coming of Islam the tribal role of the Ma'wali shaikhly clan was transformed into something nearer that of the princely dynasty of south-east Arabia and from then onwards they began to adopt the title as a family name (with the *nisba Julandāni*). Conversely the Arab tribes of Oman began to be welded together into something approaching a regional grouping and this sense of territorial identity was subsequently to play an important role in moulding their relationships with other Arab tribes during the period of the early Islamic conquests.

The Coming of Islam?

The great appeal Islam made to the Arabs of Oman was that it offered them the opportunity to throw off the hated Persian yoke, to take full possession of the land with its rich villages, and to reap the profits from the maritime trade of the Arḍ al-Hind (the Sasānid maritime empire).

Now in the period when the first feelers were being sent out from Madīna to Oman, the Ma'wali Julandā was still officially al-Julandā (sic) b. Mustakbir b. Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥarār (Jarār?) b. 'Abd 'Izz.⁸ But he was an old man for already he seems to have delegated power to his two sons Jayfar and 'Abd (sic): and by the time serious negotiations started after al-'Alā al-Ḥaḍrami's mission to the Gulf he was either dead or dying and it is to be doubted if in fact he ever became a Muslim. The final decision to accept Islam resulted from 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's mission (probably in A.H. 10, not 8). 'Amr appears to have had little difficulty in convincing the amenable 'Abd of his cause, but the latter refused to take action without the agreement of his senior brother (in age and position) who was then away in the interior. After his support had been gained 'Amr then remained in Oman to help with the subsequent negotiations with the tribesmen and reputedly only left, along with a delegation of Omanis, when news of the Prophet's death came through.

Following their conversion the Arabs then sent a formal letter to the Persians calling on them to become Muslims; and when their no-doubt-expected refusal was received, a tribal army was assembled by the Julandā brothers. This seems to have had little difficulty in defeating the Persian governor of Rustāq's forces (the *āmīl* himself was killed in the battle) whereupon the triumphant Arabs marched on the main Persian centre at Ṣuḥār and laid siege to the fortified garrison quarters of Damstajird. Eventually the Persians sued for peace and accepted safe conduct to their ships on the condition that they and their families never attempted to return to Oman.

So a millennium of Persian rule came to an end and the tribesmen took possession of the settled lands that had been so laboriously developed by the *falaj* irrigation system (Wilkinson in press).

The Diba affair⁹

All, however, was not quite the luxurious living that doubtless the majority of tribesmen had expected. In the first place the Arabs found that they were not free to exploit the great Persian land-heritage at will and what is more there was a governor appointed from Madīna to ensure that they did not do so. Then they also discovered that they were still expected to pay taxes and that these were regularly collected by assessors appointed by this governor. Unfortunately for them he was actively supported by the Julandā brothers.

It is not surprising therefore that a group of malcontents in the Dibā area seized the excuse of a minor misunderstanding over the *zakāt* due from a woman of the Bani al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Fahm to rebel. Now in the classical sources the resulting fracas is represented as a major uprising that is in turn fitted into the general picture of the apostasy wars in Arabia. In fact a close study of these sources and of the local Omani versions of the affair show that it was nothing of the sort and that the rebellion was quickly stamped out by the Madinese governor supported by the Julandā brothers without any outside assistance. The instigators of the affair were the Laqīṭ section of the Bani al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Fahm but it is just possible that they were supported by discontented members of the Julandā family living in Dibā. Nevertheless the situation was potentially dangerous because some of the other Mālik b. Fahm groups in the region came to their help and there was a considerable risk of the rebellion spreading to the rest of this confederation. This was why Ḥudhayfa b. Miḥsan al-Ghālfāni al-Bāriqi acted rapidly to place restrictions on the Mālik b. Fahm and to send hostages to Madīna.

So any risk of a serious spread of apostasy was averted and all the indications are that the Julandā brothers came out of the affair with clean hands.

The Julanda during the first century of Islam

After the first half dozen or so years of Islamic rule in Oman, the picture of what was happening in the country becomes increasingly obscure. The emphasis swings to the involvement of the Omani tribes in the mainstream of Islamic history, notably in the conquests of the Sasānid lands, in 'Irāqi politics and, most important, in their relationships with central government through their great military leader al-Muhallab b. Abi Ṣufra and his family.¹⁰ Only the most casual of references in the classical sources provides any clue to what might have been going on in the country itself while the local records lack any historical continuity.

Local governors may have been appointed from time to time¹¹ down to 'Alī's¹² caliphate but the impression gained is that in so far as this did happen the men concerned seem to have been minor officials whose limited power was largely confined to the main coastal centre, Ṣuḥār: in the interior affairs were more or less left to 'Abbād who, having succeeded his father 'Abd and his uncle Jayfar¹³ during 'Uthmān's caliphate, ruled through to that of the Umayyads (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i. 67).

An account in Balādhuri (*Ansāb* XI, 125-47) of the Khārīji state that came into existence under Najda b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī in 65 A.H. and finally collapsed in 73 A.H. throws some incidental light on conditions in Oman at the end of his rule. In this it is stated that after defeating the army sent against him from Basra by Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in 69 A.H., Najda embarked on a campaign to bring the whole of the Arabian Peninsula under his control. Little resistance occurred in Oman because of the disordered conditions; specifically that the shaikh, 'Ubād ('Abbād) b. 'Abdullāh ('Abd) had recently been killed in an uprising while at the time of the invasion both his sons were away at sea collecting taxes in the coastal districts. Subsequently they returned and killed the Najdi governor and that seems to have been the end of the Ḥanafī occupation.

Now the impression gained from this account and from odd snippets of information in the Omani sources is that Julandā power was by no means absolute in the country and that clan disputes were undermining their authority. Furthermore there is some indication that their rule was becoming "despotic" for the fact that Balādhuri uses the term *jabā* without his usual addition of *ṣadaqa* for collecting taxes may imply that these were not lawful impositions.¹⁴ Whether or not such an interpretation is accepted, the fact remains that this slim evidence certainly indicates that Oman was already abandoning the early principles of Islamic government and that exploitation of the land by squabbling tribes was already dividing the country in a way that was subsequently to help the Ibādīs introduce a new form of government.

During Sa'īd and Sulaymān's period of joint rule which followed these events¹⁵ Oman became an increasingly important sanctuary for all sorts of groups opposed to Caliphate government and a particularly active centre of Ṣufriya Khārījism.¹⁶ It was in order to clean up this wasps' nest that al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf decided that the country must be brought back under central government rule.¹⁷ After the first expedition had failed he recruited a major force from the tribal enemies of the Azd, restrained the latter's leaders in Basra from sending any assistance, and by means of a two-pronged attack by land and sea his general was eventually successful in defeating the Julandā brothers who fled to East Africa (Zanj), where they resided until their death.

Al-Ḥajjāj's invasion of Oman probably took place about A.H. 86 and the governor he appointed, al-Khayyār b. Sabra b. Dhuwayb al-Mujāshī'i, remained there until the death of the Caliph Walid in 96/715. As might be expected of one who was prepared to betray the Muhallabite family that had fostered his career, his rule was harsh, and al-Ḥajjāj seems to have been sufficiently confident of his hold over Oman to use it as a place of exile: amongst those whom he sent there were a number of leaders of the nascent Ibādī movement (Shammākhi 76 and 81) who doubtless used the opportunity of their enforced stay to propagate their doctrine in the region.

With the succession of Sulaymān to the Caliphate, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was restored to favour and one of his first acts on being appointed to the governorship of 'Irāq was to delegate responsibility in Oman to his brother Ziyād with orders that al-Khayyār be executed. After the short interlude of 'Umar II's government when Oman was again brought back under direct Caliphate rule, the last of his governors 'Umar b. 'Abdullāh al-Anṣārī (who had carried out a serious reform of the taxation system) simply handed the country back to Ziyād with the remark that this was the country of his people and his affair. And that seems to have been the end of Umayyad appointments. Ziyād reputedly stayed on in Oman until 'Abbāsīd times but after the death of his brother his influence was doubtless much reduced and it was the Julandā who once again feature as leaders, at least in the tribal interior.

But these conditions were beginning to change.

The Imam al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd

Having for well over half a century enjoyed considerable prestige and wealth the fortunes of the extra-territorial Omanis were brusquely reversed with the overthrow of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab so that from 720 A.D. onwards they began to adopt one of the new forms of Khārīji ideology propagated in Basra as a basis for opposing Caliphate government. So with this adherence of many of the Oman Azd (notably of certain Mālik b. Fahm clans and some of the Yamani tribes from Ḥaḍramawt) the Ibādī movement entered into a new phase of political militancy (c.f. Wilkinson 1975).

Nevertheless the political approach of the so-called Basran 'Imāms' remained essentially cautious so that for some time their activities continued to be confined to doctrinal teaching and secret missionary

work aimed at preparing the way for the establishing of Ibāḍī states in areas where there was strong opposition to the Caliphate when the moment for action was deemed propitious. Since this involved directing reforming propaganda at the tribesmen of Oman as well as the more cosmopolitan merchant community (many of whose members were already secretly financing the movement), it inevitably met opposition from the Julandā whose power was rooted in the traditional tribal system of shaikhly authority.

Perhaps because of this the Ibāḍīs persisted in trying to win them over, for it was obviously in an attempt to gain their support that they offered one of them the Imamate itself. At least this is the interpretation the writer puts on the fact that the first Imām in Oman was a Julandā, even though no member of this family had hitherto featured in the history of the movement.

Now this Imām, al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd, belongs to the period when the Ibāḍīs first attempted to establish states in the Peninsula and North Africa at the end of Ummayyad times. The highlight of these efforts was the sensational, but short lived success¹⁸ of a joint Omani-Ḥaḍrami force in taking Yaman and the Holy Cities (during the *hajj* 129 A.H.) and installing as Imām there, 'Abdullāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, known as Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq. For a few years the rump of this state survived in the Ḥaḍramawt but collapsed as much due to internal divisions as to outside pressures. Any notional adherence of the Omanis to it disappeared when 'Abdullāh b. Sa'id, Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq's successor, was deposed (c.f. in particular al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 112; Shammākhi 105-6; Lewicki 1957).

Thereupon an effort was made to organise an Ibāḍī state in Oman itself. Its eventual success was considerably helped by the fact that the first governors Abu Ja'far Maṣū' appointed on behalf of his brother (the Caliph al-Saffāḥ) were two members of the Bani Hinā (now heads of the Azd clans in Basra and Khurāsān), Jannāh b. 'Abbāda and his son Muḥammed who were secretly Ibāḍī sympathisers ('Awtabi Johnstone ms. 204-6: c.f. al-Mas'ūdi *Murūj* vi, 45-6 and Ṭabari iii 146, 152, 367-8 for the role of the Bani Hinā in this period). So the Ibāḍī movement flourished at the official seat of 'Abbāsīd government in Oman and many adherents from outside the area, notably from South Arabia and Khurāsān, began to collect in Ṣuḥār. Eventually al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd was selected as Imām of the community, but in such a way, to judge by subsequent events, as not to defy openly the 'Irāqī government.¹⁹

The subsequent attempt to bring the interior of the country under Ibāḍī rule met stiff opposition both from the tribesmen, by now accustomed to live much as they pleased, and from members of the Imām's own family. Probably part of this Julandā opposition stemmed from internal clan rivalry for while the Imām al-Julandā descended from Jayfar b. al-Julandā,²⁰ his chief opponent was Ja'far b. Sa'id (presumably b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd), head of the cadet branch of the family into whose hands, as we have already seen, power passed early in Islamic times (c.f. genealogical tree). However that may be, the fact remains that the Imām had no hesitation in executing Ja'far and his two sons along with various other relations, even though the necessity for doing so reputedly brought tears to his eyes. With a blood feud added to the other causes for opposition, the Julandā family now became the implacable enemies of the Ibāḍī movement.

The end of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd's brief Imāmte however, came not from this internal opposition, which seems eventually to have been effectively subjugated by the Ibāḍī *shurāt* organisation (c.f. the near contemporary Munīr b. Nayr al-Riyāmi's *sira* quoted in Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 89-92), but from what was really a piece of bad luck.

Sometime about the year A.H. 133 (750-1 A.D.) al-Saffāḥ had despatched an expedition under Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Khurāsāni largely made up of Khurāsānis and Tamīm from Basra to deal with the remnants of the Ṣufriya who had finally entrenched themselves in the island of Barkavān (Laft

Island). On hearing of the expedition's approach the majority of the Ṣufriya fled with their Imām to nearby Oman: and it is a measure of Ibāḍī-Ṣufriya feeling that the former immediately marched out against the refugees, defeating them and killing their leader. Khāzim, still in pursuit crossed over to Oman only to find on landing at Julfār (Ras al-Khayma area) his work done for him. Before leaving, however, he decided to ensure that the Omanis were still loyal to the Caliph (in other words what had been going on in the country seems to have been effectively hushed up)²¹ and demanded their oath of allegiance along with the surrender of the Ṣufri leader's sword. After some argument the more belligerent of the Ibāḍīs persuaded the Imām to refuse and a battle was fought in which the Imām and his staunchest supporter, Hilāl b. 'Aṭiya al-Khurāsāni, were killed (in 134 A.H.? c.f. Ṭabari iii, 78-9).

The Final Period of Julandā rule

With the death of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd, whose active Imamate seems to have lasted not more than a couple of years, the Ibāḍī state collapsed, albeit for a while Shabīb b. 'Aṭiya al-Khurāsāni (probably a brother of the Hilāl killed alongside al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd at Julfār) ineffectively attempted to keep a vestigial community in existence.²² On the other hand the 'Abbāsīds appear to have made no attempt to appoint governors, doubtless contenting themselves with the nominal allegiance of the two orphaned grandsons of the executed Ja'far b. Sa'id, Rāshid b. al-Nazr and Muḥammed b. Zā'ida, who now took over power in the joint fashion that seems to have characterised so much Julandā rule. And, as also seems to have been usual, one of the brothers begins to drop out of the picture so that when the Julandā were finally overthrown some 44 years later it is Rāshid alone who figures in the histories.

Two principal factors were responsible for the overthrow of the last of the Julandā rulers. First Rāshid's conduct of government which, even allowing for prejudiced Ibāḍī reporting, was obviously unjust and alienated a number of the tribes of central Oman: second Ibāḍī opposition. The tribal situation will be explained first.

Towards the end of the Julandā period, the dynasty's power seems increasingly to have centred on the support of tribesmen living in the northern Jawf and Sirr, notably their ancient allies the Bani Hinā who in turn remained closely allied with the 'Atik shaikhs of the 'Imrān Azd, and the Bani Nājiya (var. Nājū). By contrast the old Azd confederation itself was beginning to break up for while the Ḥuddān (also a northern tribe) probably remained loyal to the Julandā the important Yaḥmad confederation in the Ghadaf seems to have become disillusioned with Ma'wali leadership: similarly the Bani Hinā hold over the Mālik b. Fahm tribe seems to have weakened, notably amongst the groups living in the southern part of the country.²³

It was against this background of declining control in central Oman that the Muḥārībi shaikh of the Bani Hinā attacked Nizwā in 145/762 and by so doing set off a major tribal war.²⁴ The outcome favoured the Julandā allies who fortified Nizwā in order to try and maintain a control over the region.²⁵ But much bitter feeling was engendered by this bloody episode and it was this that the Ibāḍīs exploited to bring off their final victory some thirty years later.

Now despite the collapse of their Imamate the Ibāḍī movement remained very much alive in Oman and as has already been mentioned, a self-styled Imām even managed to keep a vestigial community organisation going for some time in one part of the country (possibly the Izki area for this seems to have been the main centre of Ibāḍism during the interregnum). Without any formal leadership however, the zealots started to act on their own initiative and the more extremist elements became a particular embarrassment to the Ibāḍī leadership in Basra. Thus when one group of them murdered a member of the Julandā family called 'Abd al-'Aziz while staying as guests in his house the Julandā directly accused

the Basran Ibādīs of instigating the act and threatened to carry their complaint to the Caliphate authorities.²⁶ Whether the denial of the "Imām" was accepted or not is not recounted but the fact remains that the act was condemned and a man was sent to Oman with clear instructions that those who supported the movement were to behave in the way ordained for true Muslims (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa*; 102-3).

But once Julandā rule began to divide the tribesmen themselves however, Basran-organised propaganda really was stepped-up and a number of prominent Ibādīs were able to come back to central Oman to live in a degree of safety. So, for example, Abu 'Amr Rabi' b. Ḥabīb al-Farāhīdī (Mālik b. Fahm clan), the author of the *Musnad* called *al-Jāmi' al-Saḥīḥ* and successor of Abu 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abi Karīma as "Imām" in Basra, finally returned to his home country and was politically active there until his death at Nizwā in 170/786, that is seven years before Julandā rule was finally overthrown.

The principal objective of this propaganda was to convert the non-Azd tribes so that they would eventually support what inevitably would be an Azd dominated Imamate: thus, the three main missionaries were non-Azdi Basran trained 'ulamā', two from the Bani Sāma (that is the main non-"Yamani" tribe) and one from the Kinda: at a later stage they were joined by a Riyāmi who worked in his tribal territory in the Ja'lān (south-east Oman). ('Awtabi Johnstone ms 207 *et passim*; *Kashf* Damascus ms 527 c.f. also Sachau 1898, 14; *Qāmūs al-Sharī'a* viii 304; Shammākhi 102 *et seq*).

Inciting the various elements opposed to Julandā rule into organized revolt however, was a difficult matter and at least one attempt involving the Basran missionaries failed (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa*, 108). In the end it was only on the common ground of swearing vengeance against Rāshid b. al-Naẓr that a tribal army was assembled at a propitious moment when the Julandā shaikh was away in Mahra territory recruiting a force to help him weather the gathering storm. And it is significant that neither of the Sāmi Ibādi leaders was prepared to join this motley rabble and that the only really important Ibādi figure who actually supported it was the Kindi missionary.

Battle was joined at a place called Majāza in the Dhahira (al-Zāhira) which was probably in the territory of the Bani Nājīya, numerically Rāshid b. al-Naẓr's most important tribal supporters in northern Oman. Overwhelmingly defeated Rāshid fled, as did his son from Nizwā, and the victorious tribesmen, settling old scores as they went, gathered at Manḥ where they were met by the main Ibādi leaders before continuing on their way to deal with south-east Oman (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 109-113).

How eventually the wily Mūsā b. Abi Jābir al-Sāmi managed to turn this essentially anti-Julandā tribal victory into Ibādi account and install al-Wārith b. al-Ka'b al-Kharūṣi of the Yaḥmad as the first of the main line of Imams which governed Oman during most of the ninth century A.D. is a subject which lies outside the scope of this paper.

The End of the Julanda

Although it is not recounted what eventually happened to Rāshid b. al-Naẓr and his son it is clear that Julandā power was not finally crushed by their military defeat at Majāza in Ramaḍān 177/December 793. The attempts to justify the depredations of the victorious tribesmen by the Ibādi leaders (c.f. al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 109-10; 112-113) precluded any reconciliation of the Julandā supporters with the new regime and the Bani Muḥārība Shaikh of the Bani Hinā continued to give serious trouble to the Yaḥmad Imāms until the very end of Ghassān b. 'Abdullah al-Yaḥmadi's Imamate (192/808-207/823) ('Awtabi Johnstone ms 206).

The fact too that the rise to power of the Kharūṣ as Imāms tribally represented a Yaḥmad rejection of the Awlād Shams leadership finally split the old Shanū'a organisation and it is possible that the adherence of the Ḥuddān to the rival confederation in the civil war which brought to a close the First "Ima-

mate" at the end of the ninth century may have its roots in this earlier tribal history. Certainly the rivalry of the northern tribes to those of central Oman manifest in that war had deep roots.

So the Julandā still had plenty of tribal support and in 822 A.D. Ṣaqr b. Muḥammad b. Zā'ida (the son of the younger brother who had jointly ruled with Rāshid b. al-Naẓr) was able to lead quite a serious revolt against the Imām (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 123-5). This however, seems to have been their final important challenge, and with the deaths of al-Ṣaqr and his brother in these events the princely line must more or less have come to an end.

Names of members of the family do crop up twice more. Once in the Imamate of Muḥannā b. Jayfar (226/841-237/851) when the head of the clan, one al-Mughīrā b. Rawshan (sp.?) al-Julandāni, caused trouble in northern Oman and was ruthlessly dealt with (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 154-5) and then in the events which led up to the civil war which marked the end of the First Imamate, when Abu Julandā b. Mī'rān, known by the unflattering sobriquet of al-Ṭals, led a raiding party against that clan which had "usurped" the leadership of Oman, i.e. the Yaḥmad of the Rustāq area (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 222).

Today the descendants of this family which dominated Omani history for something like 300 years are said to live as simple *shawāwi* herdsmen in the mountains, notably in the Sharqīya. One of its members, Sa'īd b. 'Abbād is celebrated as the reputed eponymous ancestor of the Bani Sa'īd of the Wadi al-Ḥawāsina (some of whom also live in the Sharqīya) while the highly respected Bani Ma'āwil perpetuate the name of the tribal group from which the Julandā originally sprung and continue to use "Ya Awlād Shams" as their war-cry. (*Nubdha fi Ansāb al-Ma'āwil*; Siyābi, pp. 108-9; Rössler 1898; *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Qaḥṭāniya* ff. 262-274). But the rival branch, their cousins the Yaḥmad, who gained power by adopting the principles of Ibādism continued to dominate the history of the Imamate right down to the death in 1954 of the Imām Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Khalīlī al-Kharūṣi al-Yaḥmadi.

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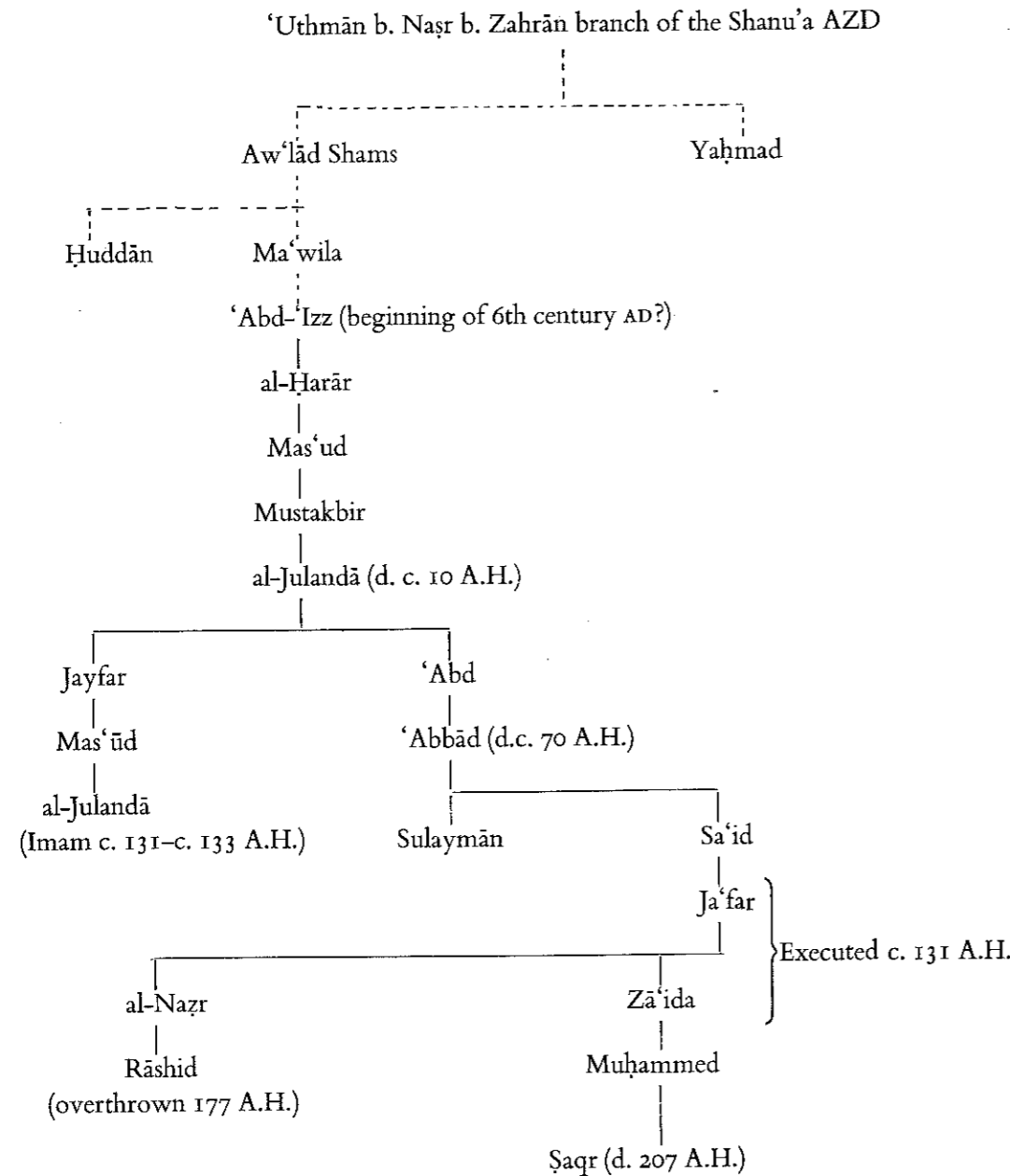
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The Julandā Dynasty



— = direct descent
 - - - = tribal affiliations.

¹ The principal source for the tribal background of this study is the *Kitāb Ansāb al-'Arab* by the 5th/11th century Saīma b. Musīim Musallim?) al-'Awtabi al-Ṣuhārī ('Awtabi). It is only by a detailed study of this work that the fragmentary evidence in the other Omani works can be pieced together: these, along with certain classical sources with Omani knowledge (notably Ibn Durayd) on the other hand, contribute to an understanding of the importance of the different clans as well as helping establishing their geographic distribution. The standard classical sources are essential for piecing together the relationships of the Omani tribes in Basra and Khurāsān but are largely incomprehensible without a grasp of the tribal situation in Oman itself.

It is particularly unfortunate that the extant portion of 'Awtabi's work becomes increasingly defective in the section on the Azd and ends with a mass of lacunae in the section of greatest interest for this study, that dealing with the Shanu'a Azd.

² There is an extremely detailed account of the Kinda settlement pattern in Oman in 'Awtabi (Paris ms 173v-179r which is far better than the Johnstone ms 118v-123r).

³ A rough map of this tribal distribution is given in Wilkinson 1972.

⁴ To what extent, if any, the earlier alliance that may have existed in the original homelands of the different Azd clans played a role in Oman it is impossible to say. It should be noted that the Bani Hinā seem willingly to have surrendered their leading position to the newcomers and as will be shown later on, remained the staunchest supporters of the Julandā through to the end of the dynasty.

⁵ This genealogical union doubtless explains why some poor scholars like Ibn Ruzayq think the Julandā are from the Bani Hinā (c.f. in *al-Sahifa al-Qahṭāniya* 394v where the *nisba* Hinā'i is added to al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd's name). But as al-Sālimi (*Tuhfa* i 88) says anyone who gives the Julandā *nasab* as other than Ma'wila b. Shams is mistaken.

⁶ Unfortunately we have no etymology for this title as we have for the *Isbādih* < *Ispabādih* (Siddiqi 1919, 78-9): but that it was one is clear both from the context of the Arab-Persian treaty ('Awtabi Paris ms 271) and from positive classical sources (see in particular Bal'ami iii 307 *et seq.*, Ya'qūbi i 313-4). Nor do we know who was the first man to bear this title although it is fairly certain that Mustakbir (var. Mustakbir) did (does the etymology of his name indicate he was the first?).

⁷ The details upon which this summarised account are based are given in Appendix B of the writer's thesis (Wilkinson 1969). The major material that does not feature in the classical sources (which are largely based on al-Wāqidi c.f. Ibn Sa'd I ii 18; Ṭabari i, 156r, 1600-1, 1686, 1894; Balādhūri *Futūḥ* 76) occurs in 'Awtabi (Paris ms 271-273 *et passim*) which should be read in conjunction with al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 47 and 59 and *Kashf* edn Klein 8-9.

⁸ In the view of the writer this genealogy as given in 'Awtabi (whence al-Sālimi) is not compressed: on the other hand the tribal genealogy of the family i.e. 'Abd 'Izz b. Ma'wila b. Shams etc. is.

⁹ The details are worked out in Appendix C of the writer's thesis. Here there are three major accounts involved, that of Sayf b. 'Umar, the toned down Wāqidi version, and the local Omani account. Reconciling them is a major undertaking and the writer hopes in due course to publish an account of the apostasy war in Oman.

¹⁰ Julandā power seems to have been more or less confined to Oman itself, notably to the tribal interior. They appear not to have been at all concerned in the affairs of the Omani tribes in their overseas campaigns or in Basra where the shaikhly leadership in the Azd *khums* during the period under consideration was in the hands of the Ḥuddān, a brother tribe of the Ma'awil and the 'Atik (the shaikhly clan of the 'Imrān Azd). After the collapse of the Muhallabites (who were military and not shaikhly leaders) it passed into the hands of the Bani Hinā.

¹¹ Although Ṭabari (i, 2212, 2389, 2426, 2481, 2570, 2578-9, 2595) and Ibn al-Athīr (ii, 346, 380, 396, 410) give the impression that Hudhayfa b. Miḥsan remained governor in Oman until A.H. 17 or even A.H. 20, his engagement in Iraqi affairs and the Persian campaign raises doubt that he was there at all in 'Umar's time (c.f. Ibn al-Athīr ii 343, 359, 410-411, and Caetani iii 273 *et seq.* for the Iraqi traditions). In fact what seems to have happened is that about A.H. 15 the local governorships in the Gulf were consolidated under 'Uthmān b. Abi al-'Āṣi who, it seems, had resided in Oman for a short while before this. 'Uthmān however, became increasingly involved in the campaigns based on Taswāj (as too were the tribes of Oman) and left local affairs to the Julandā (who may even have held an official appointment as governor c.f. Ya'qūbi ii 136; al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 67), contenting himself with the occasional visit of inspection by a member of his family. And once the major campaign of A.H. 29 was launched against the Persians and the Basran and Gulf commands were united local affairs became even less pre-occupying. (Balādhuri *Futūḥ* 81-2, 386; Ṭabari i 2830-2; Ibn al-Athīr iii 15-16; Ya'qūbi ii, 186; al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i 67-9; 'Awtabi Paris ms 223 *et passim*; Caetani vii 246 *et passim*).

¹² According to Ya'qūbi ii 227-8 'Ali appointed an Azdi as his official governor in Oman: he was killed by Khirrit b. Rāshid al-Nāji and his band of Khawārij (mostly Bani Nājiya of the Sāma b. Lu'ay) in A.H. 38 (Ṭabari i 3430-9 deriving mostly from Abu Mikhnaf; Ya'qūbi *loc cit.*; Mas'ūdi *Murūj* ii, 418-9). The early Ummayyads made no attempt to appoint a governor in Oman (al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i 67).

¹³ Jayfar drops out of the picture early on, possibly because he died, but possibly because he was a less devoted Muslim than his younger brother (c.f. the Wāqidi version of the Islamic conquest of Oman (sources quoted in fn 9): note too that 'Abd reputedly took part in one of the very early Islamic expeditions, that against the Jafna (the Ghassānids) of Shām (*Kashf* edn Klein 10; al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 63). The last time Jayfar's name occurs is shortly after the battle of Jalūlā (A.H. 16) when the brothers were requested by 'Uthmān b. Abi al-'Āṣi to recruit an army for campaigning in Persia ('Awtabi Paris ms 223 and Johnstone ms 160).

¹⁴ In this connection of taxing the coastal districts it is worth noting that those who gained a living from fishing were classed as *masākin* and exempted from taxes under Ibādī rulings introduced in the Imam al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd's time (Sālimi *Tuhfa* i 89).

¹⁵ There is some confirmation that they controlled Oman in A.H. 72 in Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-Buldān* art. Maskin) where Sulaymān b. Sa'id b. al-Ṣaqr b. al-Julandā (*sic*) is reported as being the leading figure in the country.

¹⁶ 'Imrān b. Ḥittān al-Shaybāni (who was considered by the Ṣufriya to be the true successor of Abu Bilāl, Mirdās (b. Ḥudayr) b. 'Udayya, "martyred" 61/680-1), finally took refuge in Oman with a group of Azd after the collapse of the Bani Shaybān revolt in northern Iraq and stayed there until his death in A.H. 89 (Baghdādī 92-3; al-Mubarrad *Kāmil* 532-3; 'Awtabi Johnstone ms 125v-127r, *Kashf* Damascus ms 385-7 and 525; Shammākhī 62).

¹⁷ Mention of this invasion only occurs in the Omani sources c.f. *Kashf* edn Klein 11-15 and Sālimi *Tuhfa* i 74-8. Although it is not reported by 'Awtabi his very important biography of Yazid b. al-Muhallab (Johnstone ms 166v-171r) does help fit this Omani history in perspective viz-a-viz the Caliphate and also clarifies the name the various governors appointed after the time of this invasion down to the end of 'Umar II's caliphate.

¹⁸ For its history see Ṭabari ii, 1942-3, 1981-3, 2006-15 (c.f. also Mas'ūdi *Muriij* vi, 66-7, Ibn al-Ath'ir v 297-301); Ibn Miskawayh *Fragmenta* i, 167-179; *Kashf al-Ghumma* Damascus ms 389-399; Shammākhi 98-9.

¹⁹ For the events of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd's Imamate see in particular al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 88-101.

²⁰ If his genealogy has not been compressed and he was indeed the grandson of Jayfar then he must have been pretty old for Jayfar was active at the very beginning of Islamic time.

²¹ One should remember that the Ibādī organisation in Basra must have kept a pretty close eye on the movement of Omanis; with so many secret sympathisers it may well have been difficult for a complainant from Oman to reach the Caliphate authorities safely. Besides, none of the Omani groups involved was particularly anxious to call in outsiders to intervene in their internal affairs.

²² The main information on Shabīb b. 'Aḥīya is to be found in al-Sālimi *Tuhfa* 104-6 but there are some slightly different variations in the *Qāmūs al-Sharī'a* viii, 104; the *Kashf* Damascus ms 527 indicates that he was a Khurāsāni.

²³ The Bani Hinā leadership over the rest of the Mālik b. Fahm tribes had never gone entirely unchallenged and a particularly important standing squabble seems to have existed with the Ma'n, a dispute incidentally which also played a role in the temporary change of Azd leadership in Basra following the influx of new Mālik b. Fahm tribes that led up to the events of A.H. 64.

²⁴ The Bani Hinā attack on Nizwā was directed at its two main tribes, the Bani Humaym section of the Ma'n (c.f. fn.23) and the Bani Nāfi' clan of the Sāma b. Lu'ay. The Bani Nāfi' were the leading "Nizāri" tribe in the Lower Jawf and had more or less broken away from the main mass of the Bani Nājiya, the Julandā supporters: it was to this clan that Bashīr b. al-Mundhir, one of the main Ibādī missionaries, belonged. This Bani Hinā attack brought to the support of the Nizwā groups the leading Mālik b. Fahm elements in the Sharqiya (the Bani Ḥārith of Ibrā and probably the Jahādīm of Samad) thus escalating the whole affair into a major tribal war. The importance of this war is brought out by the fact that it is mentioned in all Omani sources, even the shortened "standard *sīras*", but its significance has been lost in the passage of time and can only be reconstituted by piecing together the general tribal picture. For a full account of it see 'Awtabi, Paris ms 276 whence, more or less, at Sālimi *Tuhfa* i, 107-8, and *Kashf* edn Klein 17. It should be noted that Ross' translation of the *Kashf* version is highly misleading: it was the people of Ibrā who were defeated and not the other way round and the "slave" of the Bakra was not a slave but a member of the Bakra clan of the 'Abd al-Qays (*nisba* 'Abdi).

²⁵ It is fairly clear from al-Sālimi (*Tuhfa* i, 115-6, 125 and passing references dealing with the establishment of the Imamate) that Nizwā was developed as a kind of fortified capital by the last of the Julandās. All the evidence points to the fact that this development postdates the plundering of Nizwā incident of Sha'bān 145/Oct 762.

²⁶ This event must have occurred fairly soon after the death of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd for the two leaders whom the Julandā visited in Basra were the "Imām" Abu 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abi Karīma and Abu Mawdūd Ḥājīb, both of whom died in Abu Ja'far Manṣūr's reign, the latter first (Shammākhi 83, 85, 90-2, 106; *Qāmūs al-Sharī'a* viii 800; *Kashf* Damascus ms. 526).

Survey and Excavations in Central Oman, 1974-75

B. de Cardi

IN NOVEMBER, 1974, a small British Expedition visited Oman to carry out archaeological survey and excavation, a project made possible by a Fellowship from the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust and grants from the British Academy and the Society of Antiquaries of London. In Oman generous support was given by the Ministry of Information and Culture whose representatives, Mr. Ahmed Saif and Mr. Hamed Rashid, accompanied us in the field, and much assistance was afforded by the Sultan's Armed Forces and Petroleum Development (Oman), Ltd.

Initially, known sites were inspected in an area extending from Izki to Ibri to familiarise the team with field monuments recorded by previous missions, notably the Danish Archaeological Expedition of 1972/73 and the Harvard Survey, 1973. After this introductory briefing the Expedition visited parts of the Sharqiya where a number of 'beehive' tombs of possibly early third millennium date were found with other burials on ridges in the vicinity of al-Mudaibi and Aflaj al-Bedu. These tall, free-standing structures, built of two skins of flat stone masonry with a triangular entrance to the south, were similar to those recorded in a cemetery at Bat some 185 km. to the west. Later, probably first millennium B.C., burials consisting of flat stone structures laid out in long rows were noted in the Wadi Ghurayb and could be traced eastwards as far as Ja'alan. An apparently undisturbed necropolis near Qabil in the Wadi Bu Taymah comprising low profile cairns was chosen for investigation but extensive flooding as work was about to start made it necessary to postpone excavation for a future season. The area was of interest also by reason of a low gravel mound devoid of pottery but scattered with chert chippings and some artifacts including scrapers.

Reconnaissance extending westwards from Izki yielded three other sites where worked chert was plentiful. Two of them were located on ridges overlooking the Wadi Muqniyat and the Wadi al-Kabir, and the third lay on a gravel terrace at the foot of Jabal Kawr near Amlah in the Wadi al-'Ayn. A study of the surface collections from these sites is proceeding.

Oman is particularly rich in burial monuments and the survey yielded a large number of different types of cairns and tombs including examples of the distinctive ashlar-faced structures known in Abu Dhabi on the island of Umm an-Nar and at Hili in Buraimi. Similar tombs have recently been excavated by the Danish team at Bat to the east of Ibri and it was possible as a result of our survey to extend their distribution to al-Banah and Amlah where several were examined (see below).

Other monuments of particular interest were massive circular stone-walled enclosures of a type first noted by the Harvard Survey near Bisyah in the Wadi Bahla. At least ten of these structures were recorded during our survey: four near Bat, two at Firq and Rawdah, one just west of Bahla, and others at al-Banah and Khutm in the Wadi al-Hijr and at Amlah. These circular or oval structures appear to fall into three main categories: (1) circular boulder enclosures on level ground or built around rock outcrop;