# Salaries Of Internal Security Forces In The Umayyad Period (41-132 Ah / 662-750 Ad)

Dr. Ali Deche University Mohamed Boudiaf of Msila (Algeria). ali.deche@univ-msila.dz

**Bilal Kouchida** University Mohamed Boudiaf of Msila (Algeria).bilal.kouchida@univ-msila.dz

Received: 04/2024 Published: 10/2024

#### Abstract:

There is no doubt that the Umayyad period was characterised by financial economic systems, where expenditure was a fundamental aspect of the general budget of the state. The ruling system during the Umayyad era established offices to organise and supervise these expenditures, known as the "Diwan of Expenditures". This office was responsible for meeting the needs of state officials and the court, including securing salaries, building and repairing palaces and their outbuildings, purchasing food and horses, and providing clothing, tools, furniture, and expenses for parties and entertainment requested by palace dwellers.

The internal security sector is one of the most important functions in the Islamic state and is a prominent feature of human life, ensuring the public's sense of security. The functions of the internal security sector include police forces, guards and doormen. These security units are tasked with maintaining public order and protecting individual property, ensuring the safety of people, their property and their honour, and protecting the caliph from any external aggression. The Islamic State has had a robust security system since the beginning of Muhammad's call.

**Keywords**: Salaries, internal security forces, Umayyad era.

#### Introduction:

The history of the Islamic world has witnessed several origins and a significant number of foundations and rules that represented the Islamic economic systems derived from the Quran and Sunnah. The Umayyad period, which lasted nearly a century, is considered one of the most important periods in the history of Islamic economics, marked by numerous events and developments that fostered various Islamic economic systems. During this period, the Islamic state reached the height of its glory and greatness, and diverse economic thought emerged alongside administrative organisations.

During the Umayyad period, there were significant developments in the security apparatus, which expanded and became more effective. The beginnings of this expansion can be traced back to the reign of Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, who established the guard, the

police and the gatekeepers, and ordered the creation of 'maqasirs' to ensure the caliph's security against possible assassination and aggression. The police would stand at his head during prostration, escort him in his movements, guard his council and palace, and carry out his will. Following the Caliph's example, princes and governors established their own guards, carefully selecting trustworthy individuals to serve as chief of police, gatekeepers and guards. They provided them with weapons, all the necessities of life, a living and a stipend.

In addition, the scope of their work expanded to include monitoring rivals and opposition, gathering intelligence on their plans, tracking their movements and thwarting their actions. They also faced uprisings and revolts, contributing to combat operations against opponents such as the Khawarij and the Shia Alawites. They also prosecuted criminals, investigated crimes, assisted judges in the execution of sentences and enforced legal penalties to ensure justice and uphold rights. They also assisted the Market Inspector in upholding the public interest and promoting the good, prohibiting what is right and forbidding what is wrong.

Internal security is one of the most important pillars of the state, providing the essential foundation for the establishment and continuity of any society or state. It is one of the most important foundations on which civilisations are built. Islam has emphasised the importance of security and the need to provide it to society at both the individual and the societal levels. The Umayyad state took upon itself the responsibility of establishing and reforming the salaries of this vital security sector.

#### Salaries of the Internal Security Forces in the Umayyad Era

#### **Salaries of the police:**

The police are a security institution charged with maintaining public order and security. The police force was established in the Islamic state from an early date, with its first foundations dating back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Qais ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah served as chief of police<sup>1</sup>, and al-Bukhari in his Sahih noted that Qais had a status with the Prophet similar to that of a chief of police under a ruler<sup>2</sup>, although it was not yet organised in the systematic way that would later emerge.

The first caliph, Abu Bakr al-Siddiq (11-13 AH), continued to manage the affairs of the state as established by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). The management of security during his time reflected the conditions that existed during the Prophet's time. During the caliphate of Umar ibn al-Khattab (13-23 AH), a night watch, known as al-'Asas, was established, which became the nucleus of what is known as the police force<sup>3</sup>.

During the caliphate of Uthman ibn Affan (23-35 AD), a chief of police was appointed, Abdullah ibn Qunfudh al-Tamimi al-Qurashi, and his assistant was Harman ibn Aban. Abdullah ibn al-Arqam was in charge of the treasury, and when he resigned, Marwan ibn al-Hakam was appointed<sup>4</sup>. The first chief of police during Uthman's reign received considerable sums of money and gifts, including a grant of 4,000 dirhams<sup>5</sup>. Under the

caliphate of Ali ibn Abi Talib (35-40 AH), the administration of prisons was placed under the supervision of the chief of police<sup>6</sup>.

It can be said that the police force, as mentioned earlier, is essentially made up of groups tasked with maintaining security. This is rooted in the early life of the community during the formative period of the state, which began as simple and unstructured from the time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and continued through the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs. Over time, the concept of the police force evolved and solidified into a distinct entity.

During the Umayyad period, the police force underwent a qualitative change. Its scope of work and responsibilities expanded and its specialisations were redefined on a larger scale. It became a formally structured institution with full responsibility for ensuring security and maintaining public order in all Islamic region. The police were responsible for those who violated religious norms and regulations<sup>7</sup>. The Umayyad era also saw the establishment of surveillance systems and the registration of suspects<sup>8</sup>. In each of the Islamic regions, there was a permanent police presence in or near the governor's residence<sup>9</sup>.

The primary role of the police was to maintain internal security; they were not responsible for repelling external aggression against the state<sup>10</sup>. The importance of the police and the considerable attention paid to the position of the chief of police is reflected in the gifts and salaries granted to them by the caliphs. This was particularly relevant in light of the political and social circumstances that arose following the rise to power<sup>11</sup> of Caliph Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan (41-60 AD). Muawiya used the police extensively to maintain internal stability, and in return he granted land to police chiefs. This was a common practice among the Umayyad caliphs, who granted land to those who held positions in the police<sup>12</sup>.

When Ziyad ibn Abihi (45-53 AD) took control of the province of Iraq, it is noted that upon his arrival in Basra as governor, he encountered chaos, insecurity and attempts by certain groups to destabilise the region. In response, he significantly increased the number of police officers to four thousand, and appointed Abdullah ibn Husayn ibn Thalabah and al-Ja'd ibn Qais al-Namari<sup>13</sup> to oversee this force. It was said that al-Ja'd followed the orders of the dissipated individuals<sup>14</sup>. It is noteworthy that the four thousand policemen were distributed in different areas of Iraq, which consisted of several cities such as Kufa, Basra and Baghdad. It is well known that Iraq was home to factions that opposed the Umayyad authority.

Through these efforts, Ziyad was able to restore order to Iraq, reduce violence and provide security to the point where people could leave their belongings without fear of theft until the rightful owner returned. The doors remained open<sup>15</sup>, indicating a return to security and stability after the turmoil experienced by the Iraqi people. This reinforces our belief that the increase to four thousand police was a direct response to the deteriorating security situation.

It is reported that Ziyad ibn Abihi believed that the head of the police should be formidable and vigilant, while the head of the guard should be honourable, trustworthy<sup>16</sup> and above reproach. During the Alawite period (41-61 AD), the police institution underwent rapid development, became more efficient, and was vested with legitimate authority due to its high level of organisation<sup>17</sup>.

This suggests that the role of police chief was not open to everyone, but that candidates were selected on the basis of criteria such as intelligence, strength and decisiveness.

The number of police officers varied from province to province, depending on the population density of the various Islamic regions. During the caliphate of Muawiya (41-60 AD), Marwan ibn al-Hakam served as governor of Medina and appointed Mus'ab ibn Abdul Rahman as his chief of police, commanding a force of two hundred officers<sup>18</sup>. During the governorship of Umar ibn Abdul Aziz (86-94 AH) in Damascus, the number of police officers reached three hundred<sup>19</sup>.

It can be said that the Umayyad Caliphate recognised the importance of the position of chief of police and set criteria for candidates to fulfil in order to hold this position. The Caliphate paid considerable attention to the police forces, aiming to strengthen the state through the power of law enforcement, especially in light of the political and social unrest of the time. The number of policemen required in any region depends primarily on the level of stability prevailing in that area. The high number of policemen in the province of Iraq can be attributed to the ongoing unrest caused by rival groups such as the Khawarij and the Shiites.

The Umayyad Caliphate also appointed officials to assist the police, known at the time as "Sahib al-Adhab"<sup>20</sup>, who were responsible for torturing or interrogating individuals. In addition, they established functions related to police work, such as the "Sahib al-Istikhraj", whose function was to torture high-ranking officials who had been involved in corruption, especially regarding embezzled funds<sup>21</sup>. There was also the "Sahib al-Sijn", who was responsible for managing prisons and supervising the inmates of this particular group<sup>22</sup>.

This is in line with Ibn Khaldun's statement: "The ruler must recruit servants from all branches of government and kingship, relying on soldiers, policemen and scribes, while providing for their livelihood from the treasury"<sup>23</sup>.

It is noted that Ubaidullah ibn Ziyad gathered the police to confront Hussein ibn Ali and gave them stipends, although the sources do not specify the exact amounts paid to them<sup>24</sup>. He also assigned policemen to the markets and gave them salaries<sup>25</sup> which he collected from the market traders. In our view, the presence of police officers patrolling the markets alongside the market inspector was essential to maintain security and to combat chaos and fraud caused by either vendors or buyers.

In addition, because of their proximity to the caliphate or the governorship, the police officers were fed at the palace while carrying out their duties<sup>26</sup>. Ziyad ibn Abihi (45-53 AH) would provide dinner for the police<sup>27</sup>, demonstrating the state's commitment to their welfare.

During the caliphate of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, it is reported that Bashar ibn Marwan, the governor of Iraq (72-73 AH), appointed Ikramah ibn Rab'i ibn Umayr as his chief of police and allocated him 100,000 dirhams<sup>28</sup>. This sum probably covered the salaries of all the police officers and their needs for a whole year; otherwise it would indeed be an excessive sum.

In addition to their salaries, the police chief received gifts and rewards. For example, it is mentioned that Bashar ibn Marwan gave a gift of 10,000 dirhams to one of his close associates, and the chief of police received a similar amount from the governor<sup>29</sup>. While we cannot definitively say that the Chief of Police's stipend reached 10,000 dirhams, it is clear that this amount represented a gift or could be seen as the annual budget for the Chief of Police and his staff.

As for the ordinary police officers, historical sources indicate that their salaries were set at 10 dinars per month. This is evident from a statement made by Umar ibn Abdul Aziz (99-101 AD) to his 300-strong police force: "Whoever brings in booty will receive ten dinars; whoever wishes may return to his family" 30. This suggests that the salaries of ordinary police officers remained stable throughout the Umayyad period and did not change significantly.

Sources also mention that during the governorship of Yusuf ibn Umar al-Thaqafi (120-126 AH) in Iraq, a policeman assigned to guard the body of Zayd ibn Ali after his crucifixion in 122 AH was paid 3 dirhams a day for his work<sup>31</sup>, which amounted to 90 dirhams a month.

It can be said that the Umayyad caliphate recognised the importance of the position of chief of police and set criteria for candidates to meet. They paid considerable attention to the police force in an effort to strengthen state control through law enforcement, especially in light of the political and social unrest of the time. The police institution functioned as an independent entity whose primary role was to maintain security.

To ensure its continued existence, the Umayyad caliphs had to allocate funds from the state treasury to pay officers for their services. As civil servants, they received salaries in return for their dedication to serving the state and ensuring public safety. In our view, the salary of the chief of police was one of the highest due to the demanding nature of his duties compared to ordinary police officers.

#### Salaries of the Guard

The concept of a guard dates back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), when there were individuals assigned to protect the city, especially during the treachery of Al-Aswad ibn Quraidah and the conflict with the Prophet during the Battle of the Confederates<sup>32</sup>. The Prophet had his own guards, including Sa'd ibn Zayd al-Ansari and Al-Zubair ibn al-Awwam<sup>33</sup>. In the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, the guards were responsible for guarding certain places<sup>34</sup>.

In the Umayyad period, the institution of the guard was organised administratively. The guards were a body responsible for protecting the caliphs and governors. Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, officially established a personal guard<sup>35</sup> to protect himself against possible attacks, especially from the Khawarij. It is recorded that he was attacked by one of the Khawarij on the very night that Ali ibn Abi Talib<sup>36</sup> was killed.

It is also said that Muawiya was the first to create the position of Sahib al-Haras (Chief of the Guard), whose name was Abu Mukhtar<sup>37</sup>. He ordered the construction of closed areas (maqasirs) in mosques, accessible only to trusted members of the guard. The creation of these enclosed areas was part of an effort to increase his personal security against possible attacks<sup>38</sup>. Sources indicate that the guards would stand beside Muawiya when he sat in the mosque<sup>39</sup>, marking the emergence of a policy of personal security during his caliphate.

This context suggests that political opposition was prevalent during the Umayyad era, particularly against Caliph Muawiya, which likely contributed to his emphasis on personal security measures.

Ziyad ibn Abihi (45-53 AD) was one of the governors who established a personal guard of five hundred men. He ordered them to guard both himself and the governor's residence. Most of this force was made up of freedmen (mawali) who were loyal to the caliphs and governors. He appointed a man from the Banu Sa'd tribe, Shibah ibn Abdullah al-Sa'di<sup>40</sup>, to lead them. The presence of this guard continued throughout the Umayyad period, with Ziyad ensuring that they remained stationed at the mosque<sup>41</sup>.

The guard's duties included protecting the caliphate and the governor's residence, protecting the caliphs and governors, and guarding the major mosques<sup>42</sup>.

It is clear from the above that the Umayyad state established a policy and culture of personal security, primarily to protect against assassinations, which were particularly common during this period. Members of the guard, like other workers and officials, were entitled to salaries from the Muslim treasury.

Al-Tabari mentions that Ziyad ibn Abihi wrote to five hundred of his associates from Basra, allocating them salaries ranging from 300 to 500<sup>43</sup>. The source does not specify the type of currency used for these payments, but it is likely that they were silver dirhams, since Ziyad was the governor of Iraq, where transactions were conducted in silver coins.

On Fridays, Umar ibn Abdul Aziz (99-101 AH) would send guards to stand at the entrances to the mosque<sup>44</sup>. They would cut the hair of any man who had long hair<sup>45</sup>. These guards were probably his personal bodyguards stationed in the courtyard of the mosque. Historical sources indicate that Umar ibn Abdul Aziz paid the guard a salary of 10 dinars and that he had three hundred guards<sup>46</sup>, presumably referring to all his personnel, including the ordinary guards.

The guards had several important duties, including overseeing the prison and preventing prisoners from escaping. They were also responsible for guarding the treasury (Bayt al-Mal). It is reported that when Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (72-73 AD) took control of the treasury, he ordered Amr ibn Sa'id al-Ashdaq to "give the guards their provisions<sup>47</sup>", referring to their salaries.

Because of their proximity to the caliphs, the guards were often responsible for bringing food to the caliph or governor, making them some of the closest people to the rulers<sup>48</sup>. This illustrates the close relationship and bond that existed between the Umayyad caliphs and their guards.

In addition to their salaries, the guards received gifts on special occasions. For example, at his wedding, Al-Walid ibn Abdul Malik gave each guard 10 dinars<sup>49</sup> as a reward and to celebrate with them. This practice was probably a form of appreciation and support for the guards, as their official salaries were recorded and paid at regular intervals.

We believe that the monthly salaries of the guards during the Umayyad period ranged from 100 to 500 dirhams, reflecting the importance of their role and the need for adequate compensation throughout the Caliphate.

#### Salaries of the chamberlains

The state's administrative systems, along with their associated honours and laws, are key features of a well-established government. One of the most important and sensitive administrative and security roles is that of the Chamberlain (Hajib). This position is important because of the responsibility it carries; the chamberlain is the one who brings messages from the people to the ruler and secures permissions for them<sup>50</sup>. This role has ancient origins; for example, the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) had chamberlains, including Anas ibn Malik, Rabaḥ al-Aswad<sup>51</sup>, Abu Anas<sup>52</sup>, and Abdullah ibn Zughb al-Iyadi<sup>53</sup>. The rightly guided caliphs also appointed chamberlains, with Umar ibn al-Khattab having a chamberlain called Marfa<sup>54</sup> and Ali ibn Abi Talib<sup>55</sup> having his own.

In my opinion, the role of the chamberlain was more about organisation than keeping people away from the rulers. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) forbade leaders to isolate themselves from the people, and the rightly guided caliphs did not deny anyone access to their presence<sup>56</sup>.

During the Umayyad period, the system of government shifted from the Rightly Guided Caliphate to a hereditary monarchy, leading to the establishment of the chamberlain's office as a formal state institution. This role became associated with specific officials as times changed. The influx of various governors, military leaders and ordinary citizens seeking access to the Caliphate increased significantly<sup>57</sup> and the Chamberlain's role became a means of controlling and limiting access to the ruler, often favouring loyalists and allies<sup>58</sup>.

In the Umayyad dynasty, the role of the chamberlain was limited primarily to controlling access to the caliph and allowing the public to approach him at certain times<sup>59</sup>. Initially,

the Umayyad caliphs showed concern for the needs of the people. For example, after hearing the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) say that those who are entrusted with the affairs of Muslims and isolate themselves from them will be isolated by God on the Day of Judgement<sup>60</sup>, Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan appointed a person to manage the public's needs<sup>61</sup> and ensure that he was informed of their requirements.

In our view, the role of the chamberlain evolved during Muawiya's caliphate from merely facilitating public access to increasingly restricting access to the caliph, allowing only those with urgent needs to see him.

The function of the chamberlain in the Umayyad household became a necessity due to the deteriorating political climate, which heightened fears of political assassination by opponents of the state. To mitigate this and manage the influx of people, the chamberlain's staff was drawn from those considered most loyal to the caliphs. Ibn Khaldun notes the fear of assassination by the Khawarij, as had happened to figures such as Umar ibn al-As and Muawiya. The presence of a crowded entrance to the caliph also distracted him from critical tasks<sup>62</sup>.

Of course, the chamberlains were paid for their services. It is recorded that the chamberlain received a salary of 300 dirhams per month<sup>63</sup>, a standard amount<sup>64</sup> that also applied to the chamberlain of Sulayman ibn Abdul Malik. In addition, Abdul Rahman ibn Yazid ibn Jabir (d. 154 AH) served at the entrance of the Khadra, the residence of Muawiya in Damascus<sup>65</sup> and received his salary from the treasury<sup>66</sup>.

Given the limited information available on the salaries of Chamberlain staff, we have examined what we could find. However, we believe that since the role of the chamberlains is part of the administrative security system, their salaries were probably in the same range as those of the internal security personnel, which varied between 300 and 500 dirhams at most.

The importance of the chamberlain's role, which seemed modest at the time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and the righteous caliphs, grew considerably during the Umayyad period. After the establishment of the Umayyad state, the position of the chamberlain was transformed into a high-ranking position, with the caliphate granting him generous salaries.

The institution of internal security plays a crucial role in maintaining the stability of the Islamic state and ensuring the safety of the caliphs, who are ultimately responsible for governance. Since the beginning of Muhammad's message, the concept of internal state security has included police, personal guards, and chamberlains charged with protecting the caliphs. The provision of personal security is a fundamental duty of the state.

The Umayyad caliphs allocated salaries and offered gifts to security personnel because of the demanding nature of their responsibilities and to encourage loyalty and prevent betrayal. Based on the available information, it can be concluded that salaries within the internal security institution ranged from a minimum of ten dinars for regular police and guards to a maximum of five hundred dirhams per month for personal guards, police chiefs and chamberlains.

The Umayyads followed the principles and standards established by the righteous caliphs in providing for the salaries of military personnel, which were financed by taxes, tributes and booty. Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan inherited these traditions of military pay, but introduced changes in the methods of distribution. The previous criteria based on Islamic precedence and kinship to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) were no longer the sole basis for distributing pay. Instead, Muawiya established new standards centred on loyalty and obedience to the caliph and defence of the Umayyad banner<sup>67</sup>.

Military expenditure during the Umayyad period increased significantly compared to previous periods as a result of the Islamic conquests. The substantial military budget required by the Umayyad state had to be available at the beginning of each Hijri year<sup>68</sup>, reflecting an early version of annual budgeting - a principle that is consistent with modern public finance.

During Muawiya's caliphate, he allocated a salary of 300 dirhams to Abu Ishaq al-Sabii<sup>69</sup>, also known as Amr ibn Abdullah ibn Ali al-Sabii al-Hamdani<sup>70</sup>. When asked about his father's salary, he replied that it was also 300 dirhams, suggesting that this was an annual figure, or about 25 dirhams per month. Muawiya provided an annual salary<sup>71</sup> of 1,000 dirhams for military personnel, which would be about 80 dirhams per month.

Under the governorship of Ubaidullah ibn Ziyad, soldiers in Iraq received 700 dirhams a year<sup>72</sup>. Historical sources indicate that during Muawiya's reign the salary of an individual soldier was estimated at 1,100 dirhams per year<sup>73</sup>. During the reign of Ubaidullah ibn Ziyad, the salary of military personnel was set at 300 dirhams per year<sup>74</sup>. Thus, the salaries of soldiers during Muawiya's caliphate ranged from 300 to 1,100 dirhams per year.

After the death of Mus'ab ibn al-Zubair in 72 AH, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan allocated an annual salary of 700 dirhams to the soldiers of Iraq. According to al-Baladhuri, Abd al-Malik recited poetry in front of two soldiers, one of whom received 700 dirhams a year and the other 300 dirhams. The soldier with the higher salary was unable to identify the poet, but the soldier with the 300 dirham salary was able to. Abd al-Malik then decided to give the 700 dirhams to the soldier who recognised the poet<sup>75</sup>, indicating a motivation to encourage soldiers to pursue knowledge and education.L

During the caliphate of Abd al-Malik, soldiers' salaries were estimated to be around 400 dirhams a year<sup>76</sup>. Al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf provided 300 dirhams for the soldiers in Iraq, which led to discontent among them as this salary did not meet their needs for military equipment and provisions. A poet expressed this sentiment by saying:

- > "Three hundred dirhams do not equip a warrior,
- > Nor do they suffice for a poor man<sup>77</sup>".

It is clear that during the caliphate of Abd al-Malik, soldiers' salaries ranged from 300 to 700 dirhams per year, or about 25 to 60 dirhams per month.

Under the caliphate of Al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik, soldiers' salaries increased significantly, ranging from 1,600 to 1,800 dirhams per year<sup>78</sup>. This increase in pay suggests that Al-Walid was probably involved in military campaigns, as historical sources do not record higher salaries during his reign.

Al-Hajjaj sent an army of 30,000 men against the Turkish king<sup>79</sup> for harbouring Ibn al-Ash'ath, an opponent of the Umayyad state. Al-Hajjaj established a salary of 100 dirhams per month for each soldier<sup>80</sup> in the Syrian army stationed in Iraq, which amounted to an annual salary of 1,200 dirhams. During the turmoil caused by Ibn al-Ash'ath in 82 AH, Al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik granted the soldiers of Iraq the same salary as that of the Syrian troops, on condition that they renounce rebellion<sup>81</sup>. This suggests that the pay of the Syrian soldiers was higher than that of the Iraqi soldiers, especially considering the increase in military salaries, probably in response to deteriorating security conditions.

During the caliphate of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz, a salary of 300 dirhams was allocated for new recruits<sup>82</sup>, and an Arab tribesman received 300 dirhams annually for joining the ranks of the fighters<sup>83</sup>. This amount was given to each new soldier who enlisted, and served as an incentive to enlist.

Under Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz, soldiers' salaries reached up to 1,000 dirhams a year<sup>84</sup>, with some soldiers receiving 600 dirhams a yea<sup>85</sup>, as salaries were determined on the basis of individual merit and contributions. It is noteworthy that during the caliphate of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz, the salaries of soldiers ranged from 300 to 1,000 dirhams per year.

As for the soldiers in Khurasan during the caliphate of Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik in 110 AH, their salaries were estimated at 600 dirhams per year<sup>86</sup>, indicating that there was no significant change in military pay during Hisham's reign.

During the caliphate of Al-Walid ibn Yazid, he instructed his son Al-Hakam and Al-Mu'ammal ibn Abbas to allocate 60 dinars, equivalent to 600 dirhams a year, for the soldiers. When Sulaiman ibn Muhammad ibn Abdullah approached Al-Walid's camp, Al-Mu'ammal ibn Abbas<sup>87</sup> approached him and said "I will introduce you to the Commander of the Faithful and talk to him so that he will give you 100 dinars<sup>88</sup>". This suggests that soldiers were paid between 600 and 1,000 dirhams a year.

During the caliphate of Yazid ibn Al-Walid, Al-Tabari reported that the salaries of military personnel varied between 600 and 700 dirhams per year. Al-Ghadban ibn Al-Qi'athari gave his troops salaries of 60 to 70 dinars<sup>89</sup> throughout the year, which is about 600 to 700 dirhams per year.

Under the caliphate of Marwan ibn Muhammad, soldiers' salaries in Egypt were set at 1,000 dirhams. Al-Huthara ibn Suhail al-Bahili was in charge of paying the salaries of Marwan's followers and allocated 1,000 dirhams annually to the Umayyads<sup>90</sup>. In

Marwan's caliphate, the governor of Egypt, Al-Huthara ibn Suhail al-Bahili, granted soldiers an annual salary of 300 dirhams, including 300 dirhams for Zayd al-Mu'afari.

The primary sources cited indicate that the minimum salary for soldiers during the Umayyad period was set at 300 dirhams per year<sup>91</sup> upon their registration in the military records<sup>92</sup>. However, soldiers did not continue to receive only 300 dirhams per year; they were promoted on the basis of their loyalty and service to the state. The Umayyads usually allocated 300 dirhams per year<sup>93</sup> for soldiers, with the highest salaries reaching up to 1,800 dirhams per year. Military expenditure during the Umayyad period constituted a significant proportion of the budget, as military expenditure was considered a primary expense due to the expansion of Islamic territories<sup>94</sup>.

#### Conclusion

The Umayyad era is characterised by greater discipline in its financial and economic policies in terms of expenditure, with connections and subsidies almost non-existent compared to other periods.

Delving into the important issue of determining the amount of wages and their impact on people's conditions and standard of living is challenging. We have attempted to address this issue by collecting and analysing the available texts and data relevant to our study. The results of this research are based on the information available to us. Overall, it can be concluded that during the early Umayyad period, minimum wages were stabilised in terms of purchasing power and adapted to the needs of society.

However, this analysis and the numerical comparisons do not provide a complete picture of the internal security situation of the Umayyad state. The period of circulation of the Islamic currency, from the minting of the dinar in 78 AH to the fall of the Umayyad state in 132 AH, lasted only 54 years.

Through this study, I recommend the development of a series of research studies on the history of Islamic economics, highlighting the principles of economic legislation as an alternative system to contemporary legal frameworks, particularly regarding expenditures and wages in external security during the Umayyad era.

#### **References:**

- 1. Ibn al-Azraq, Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Asbahi al-Andalusi Abu Abdullah Shams al-Din al-Gharnati (d. 896 AH): The Wonders of the Royal Nature, ed. Ali Sami al-Nashar, Ministry of Information, 1st ed., Iraq, n.d.
- 2. Al-Asfahani, Abu al-Faraj Ali ibn al-Husayn (d. 356 AH): The Songs, ed. Abbas Ihsan et al., 3rd ed., vol. 12, Beirut, Lebanon, 2008.
- 3. Al-Bukhari, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Mughira ibn Bardizbah al-Ja'fi (d. 310 AH): Sahih al-Bukhari, ed. a group of scholars, Al-Matba'a al-Kubra al-Amiriyya, 2nd ed., Bulaq, Egypt, 1377 AH.

- 4. Ibn Badran, Abdul Qadir ibn Ahmad ibn Mustafa ibn Abdul Rahim ibn Muhammad al-Dumi al-Damashqi al-Hanbali (d. 1346 AH): The Edited History of Damascus by Ibn Asakir, Al-Maktabah al-Arabiyyah, 1st ed., Damascus, 1927.
- 5. Ibn Bakar, Al-Zubair Abdullah al-Musa'ab ibn Abdullah (d. 256 AH): The Collection of the Genealogy of Quraysh and Their News, ed. Mahmoud Muhammad Shakir, Al-Madani Press, n.d., n.p., 1381 AH.
- 6. Ibn Bakar, Al-Zubair Abdullah al-Musa'ab ibn Abdullah (d. 256 AH): The News of the Mufaqiyyat, ed. Sami Maki al-Aani, Al-Aani Press, n.d., Baghdad, 1392 AH.
- 7. Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jaber (d. 279 AH): The Conquests of the Countries, Dar Maktabat al-Hilal, n.d., Beirut, 1988.
- 8. Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jaber (d. 279 AH): The Lineage of the Nobles, ed. Suhail Zakkar, Riyad al-Zarwali, Dar al-Fikr, 1st ed., Beirut, 1996.
- 9. Al-Atabki, Yusuf ibn Taghri Bardi Jamal al-Din Abu al-Mahasin (d. 874 AH): The Glorious Stars in the Kings of Egypt and Cairo, Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, n.d., Cairo, 1963.
- 10. Ibn al-Jawzi, al-Hafiz Jamal al-Din Abu al-Faraj Abdul Rahman ibn al-Jawzi al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi (d. 597 AH): The Biography and Virtues of Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, ed. Naim Zarzur, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., Beirut, 1984.
- 11. Al-Hafiz Jamal al-Din Abu al-Faraj Abdul Rahman ibn al-Jawzi al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi (d. 597 AH): The Attributes of the Chosen Ones, ed. Ahmad ibn Ali, Dar al-Hadith, n.d., Cairo, Egypt, 2000.
- 12. Ibn Hajar, Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Kinani al-Asqalani Abu al-Fadl Shihab al-Din (d. 852 AH): The Opening of Al-Bari with Commentary on Sahih al-Bukhari, ed. and commented by Mahbub al-Din al-Khatib, Dar al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, 1379 AH.
- 13. Ibn Hajar, Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Kinani al-Asqalani Abu al-Fadl Shihab al-Din (d. 852 AH): Al-Isabah in Identifying the Companions, ed. Adel Ahmad Abdul Mawjud, Ali Muhammad Mu'awwad, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 1995.
- 14. Ibn Khaldun, Abdul Rahman (d. 808 AH): \*The Lessons and the Book of Beginnings and News in the History of the Arabs and Berbers and Their Notable Contemporaries\*, ed. Suhail Zakkar, Dar al-Fikr, 1st ed., Beirut, 1981.
- 15. Ibn Khayyat, Abu Amr Khalifah ibn Khalifah al-Shaybani al-Asfari al-Basri (d. 240 AH):History, ed. Akram Diyaa al-Umari, Dar al-Qalam, Al-Maktabah al-Risalah, 2nd ed., Damascus, Beirut, 1396 AH.
- 16. Ibn Abi Dunya, Abu Bakr Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Ubaid ibn Sufyan ibn Qays al-Baghdadi al-Umari al-Qurashi (d. 281 AH): The Superiority of the Nobles, ed. Najm Abdul Rahman Khalaf, Maktabah al-Rushd, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 1990.

- 17. Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Othman ibn Qaimaz (d. 748 AH):Biographies of Notable Figures\*, ed. Sha'ib al-Arnou't, Maktabah al-Risalah, 3rd ed., Beirut, 1985.
- 18. Ibn Abd Rabbih, Abu Umar, Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Rabbih ibn Habib ibn Hadir ibn Salim (d. 328 AH): The Unique Necklace\*, ed. Ahmad Amin et al., Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 3rd ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 1953.
- 19. Ibn Sa'd, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Mani' al-Hashimi al-Basri al-Baghdadi (d. 230 AH): The Major Classes, ed. Ihsan Abbas, Dar Sader, 1st ed., Beirut, 1968.
- 20. Al-Sakhtawari, Alaa al-Din Ali Dada al-Basnawi (d. 1007 AH): Lectures of the Ancients and Conversations of the Latter Ones, Al-Amirah al-Sharifiyah Press, 1st ed., n.p., 1311 AH.
- 21. Ibn Abi Shaybah, Abdullah ibn Muhammad Ibrahim ibn Othman al-Kufi al-Absi (d. 225 AH): The Compiler of Hadiths and Narrations, ed. Kamal Yusuf al-Hout, Dar al-Taj, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 1989.
- 22. Al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 310 AH): History of the Prophets and Kings, ed. Muhammad Abu al-Fadl Ibrahim, Dar al-Ma'arif, 2nd ed., Egypt, 1968.
- 23. Al-San'ani, Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Salah Muhammad al-Hassani al-Kahlani (d. 1125 AH): The Paths of Peace, Dar al-Hadith, n.d., n.p., n.d.
- 24. Ibn Adi, Abu Ahmad ibn al-Jarjani (d. 365 AH): The Complete Book on the Weaknesses of Men, ed. Adel Ahmad Abdul Mawjud, Ali Muhammad Mu'awwad, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 1997.
- 25. Al-Askari, Abu Hilal al-Hasan ibn Abdullah ibn Sahl (d. 395 AH): The Firsts, ed. Muhammad al-Sayed al-Wakil, As'ad Tarabzoni al-Hassani, n.d., Medina, 1966.
- 26. Fasawi al-Fasawi, Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Sufyan (d. 277 AH): Knowledge and History, ed. Akram Diyaa al-Umari, Al-Irshad Press, n.d., vol. 1, Baghdad, 1984.
- 27. Ibn Qutaybah, Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Muslim al-Dinuri (d. 276 AH): Imamate and Politics, ed. Ali Shiri, Dar al-Adhwa, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 1990.
- 28. Ibn Qutaybah, Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Muslim al-Dinuri (d. 276 AH): The Eyewitness Accounts, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, n.d., Beirut, Lebanon, 1418 AH.
- 29. Al-Qal'i, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ali al-Qal'i al-Shafi'i (d. 630 AH): Refinement of Governance and Organization of Politics, ed. Ibrahim Yusuf and Mustafa Aju, Maktabah al-Manar, 1st ed., Zarqa, Jordan, n.d.
- 30. Al-Qalqashandi, Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Ali al-Qalqashandi (d. 821 AH): The Dawn of the Night in the Art of Composition, ed. Muhammad Hussein Shams al-Din, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., Beirut, 1987.

- 31. Ibn Kathir, Abu al-Fida Ismail ibn Umar al-Qurashi al-Basri (d. 774 AH): The Beginning and the End, Al-Saadah Press, n.d., Cairo, Egypt, n.d.
- 32. Al-Kindi al-Kindi, Abu Umar Muhammad ibn Yusuf (d. 353 AH): The Governors and the Secretaries of Judges, ed. Rifan Kust, Al-Aba Press, Jesuits, n.d., Beirut, Lebanon, 1908.
- 33. Al-Masoaudi, Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Ali (d. 346 AH)\*\*: \*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems\*, ed. by Muhammad Muhyi al-Din Abdul Hamid, Al-Saadah Press, 4th ed., Cairo, 1964.
- 34. Al-Maqdisi, Al-Mutahhar ibn Tahir (d. 355 AH): The Beginning and the History, Al-Muthanna Library, n.d., Baghdad.
- 35. Ibn Manzur, Muhammad ibn Makram ibn Ali Abu al-Fadl Jamal al-Din al-Ansari al-Ruwaifi'i al-Afriki (d. 711 AH): Abridged History of Damascus by Ibn Asakir, ed. by Rouhia al-Nahas et al., Dar al-Fikr, 1st ed., Damascus, Syria, 1984.
- 36. Anonymous Author from the 3rd Century AH (d. 3 AH): News of the Abbasid State Including News of Abbas and His Sons, ed. by Abdul Aziz al-Duri and Abdul Jabbar al-Matlab, Dar al-Tali'a and Publishing, n.d., Beirut, 1971.
- 37. Al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu Ya'qub ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wadhih (d. 292 AH): History of Al-Ya'qubi, ed. by Abdul Amir Mahna, Al-I'lami Press, n.d., Beirut, Lebanon, 2010.
- 38. Al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu Ya'qub ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wadhih (d. 292 AH): The Countries, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., Beirut, 1422 AH

#### **Additional References**

- 1. Muhammad Abdul Latif (Abdul Shafi): The Prophetic Biography and Islamic History, Dar al-Salam, 1st ed., Cairo, 1428 AH.
- 2. Muhammad Abdul Latif (Abdul Shafi): The Islamic World in the Umayyad Period, Dar al-Salam for Printing and Publishing, 1st ed., Cairo, 1428 AH.
- 3. Al-Nawawi, Abu Zakariya Muhyi al-Din Yahya ibn Sharaf (d. 676 AH): Clarification of Names and Languages\*, ed. by a group of scholars, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, n.d., Beirut, Lebanon.
- 4. Sheikh Abdul Sattar: Ali ibn Abi Talib: The Commander of the Faithful and the Fourth Rightly Guided Caliph, and the Misconceptions about Him, Dar al-Qalam, 1st ed., Damascus, 2015.
- 5. Firdaws Hanani: "The Police System in Islam," Journal of Scientific Research and Islamic Studies, Vol. 14, No. 3, University of Oran 1, Algeria, 2022.
- 6. Musa Rashid Arsen:The Police in the Umayyad Era, trans. by Ahmad Mubarak al-Baghdadi, Maktabah al-Sundus, 1st ed., Kuwait, 1990.

- 7. Inas Muhammad Al-Bahji: History of the Umayyad State, Academic Book Center, n.d., n.p., 2017.
- 8. Jamal Muhammad Dawood Muhammad (Joudah): The Arabs and the Land in Iraq, Arab Company for Printing and Publishing, Amman, 1979.
- 9. Abdul Jabbar Khulani: History of Darya, trans. by Said al-Afghani, Arab Scientific Academy, Al-Tarqi Press, 2nd ed., Damascus, 1950.
- 10. Wafa Adnan Habib: "Military Institution Expenditures in the Umayyad Period (41 AH 132 AH / 660 AD 749 AD)," Al-Astaz Journal, Vol. 1, No. 223, University of Baghdad, Iraq, 2017.
- 11. Mayasa Hatem Naif: "The Role of the Chamberlain in the Early Islamic Era," Journal of Arts, Literature, Humanities, and Social Sciences, Vol. 65, No. 65, University of Baghdad, College of Education for Women, Iraq, 2021

#### **Footnotes:**

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>- Abdul Shafi Muhammad Abdul Latif: The Islamic World in the Umayyad Period, Dar al-Salam for Printing and Publishing, 1st ed., Cairo, 1428 AH, p. 146

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>- Al-Bukhari, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Mughira ibn Bardizbah al-Ja'fi (d. 310 AH): Sahih al-Bukhari, ed. by a group of scholars, Al-Matba'a al-Kubra al-Amiriyya, 2nd ed., vol. 9, Bulaq, Egypt, 1377 AH, p. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>- Al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir (d. 310 AH): History of the Prophets and Kings, ed. by Muhammad Abu al-Fadl Ibrahim, Dar al-Ma'arif, 2nd ed., vol. 4, Egypt, 1968, p. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>- Ibn Khayyat, Abu Amr Khalifah ibn Khalifah al-Shaybani al-Asfari al-Basri (d. 240 AH): History. ed. by Akram Diyaa al-Umari, Dar al-Qalam, Al-Maktabah al-Risalah, 2nd ed., Damascus, Beirut, 1396 AH, p. 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>- Al-Nawawi, Abu Zakariya Muhyi al-Din Yahya ibn Sharaf (d. 676 AH): Clarification of Names and Languages, ed. by a group of scholars, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, n.d., vol. 2, Beirut, Lebanon, n.d., p. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>- Abdul Sattar, Sheikh: Ali ibn Abi Talib: The Commander of the Faithful and the Fourth Rightly Guided Caliph, and the Misconceptions about Him, Dar al-Qalam, 1st ed., Damascus, 2015, p. 494.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>- Michael Ebstein: "Shurta Chiefs in Basra during the Umayyad Period: A Prosopographical Study," Al-Qantara, Vol. 1, 2010, p. 104.

<sup>8-</sup> Firdaws Hanani: "The Police System in Islam," Journal of Scientific Research and Islamic Studies, Vol. 14, No. 3, University of Oran 1, Algeria, 2022, p. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>- Arsen, Musa Rashid: The Police in the Umayyad Era, trans. by Ahmad Mubarak al-Baghdadi, Maktabah al-Sundus, 1st ed., Kuwait, 1990, p. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>- Al-Bahji, Inas Muhammad: History of the Umayyad State, Academic Book Center, n.d., n.p., 2017, p. 222.8. Firdaws Hanani: "The Police System in Islam", Journal of Scientific Research and Islamic Studies\*, Vol. 14, No. 3, University of Oran 1, Algeria, 2022, p. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>- Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Othman ibn Qaimaz (d. 748 AH): Biographies of Notable Figure's, ed. by Sha'ib al-Arnou't, Al-Maktabah al-Risalah, 3rd ed., vol. 3, Beirut, 1985, p. 130

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>- Ibn Hajar, Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Kinani al-Asqalani Abu al-Fadl Shihab al-Din (d. 852 AH):

Al-Isabah in Identifying the Companions, ed. by Adel Ahmad Abdul Mawjud, Ali Muhammad Mu'awwad, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., vol. 5, Beirut, Lebanon, 1995, p. 80.

- <sup>13</sup>- Al-Tabari, vol. 5: History of the Prophets and Kings, previous source, p. 222.
- <sup>14</sup>- Previous Source: p. 223
- <sup>15</sup>- Ibn Bakkar, Al-Zubair Abdullah al-Mus'ab ibn Abdullah (d. 256 AH): The Muwafiq News, ed. Dr Sami Maki al-Ani, Al-Ani Press, n.d., Baghdad, 1392 AH, pp. 307-308.
- <sup>16</sup>- Musa Rashid Arsen: The Police in the Umayyad Era, previous source, p. 37.
- <sup>17</sup>- Hilmi M. Zawati: "Was the Umayyad Shurtah Repressive? The Role and Duties of the Shurtah Institution in the Umayyad Period," ILAF Studies~Études ILAF, Vol. 1, 2001, p. 4.
- <sup>18</sup>- Ibn Bakkar, Al-Zubair Abdullah al-Mus'ab ibn Abdullah (d. 256 AH): The Genealogy of Quraysh and Their Historical Accounts, ed. by Mahmoud Muhammad Shakir, Al-Madani Press, n.d., vol. 1, n.p., 1381 AH, p. 517.
- <sup>19</sup>- Previous source: pp. 517-518.
- <sup>20</sup>- Al-Atabaki, Yusuf ibn Taghri Bardi, Jamal al-Din Abu al-Mahasin (d. 874 AH): The Shining Stars in the Kings of Egypt and Cairo, Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, n.d., vol. 1, Cairo, 1963, p. 208.
- <sup>21</sup>- Al-Askari, Abu Hilal al-Hasan ibn Abdullah ibn Sahl (d. 395 AH): The Firsts, ed. by Muhammad al-Sayed al-Wakil, As'ad Tarabzoni al-Hassani, n.d., Medina, 1966, p. 227.
- <sup>22</sup>- Musa Rashid Arsen: The Police in the Umayyad Era, previous source, pp. 106-107.
- <sup>23</sup>- Ibn Khaldun, Abdul Rahman (d. 808 AH): The Prolegomena and the Book of Initial Events and Reports on the History of the Arabs, Berbers, and Their Notable Contemporaries, ed. by Suhail Zakar, Dar al-Fikr, 1st ed., vol. 1, Beirut, 1981, p. 480.
- <sup>24</sup>- Ibn Saad, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Mani' al-Hashimi al-Basri al-Baghdadi (d. 230 AH): The Major Classes, ed. by Ihsan Abbas, Dar Sader, 1st ed., vol. 2, Beirut, 1968, p. 163.
- <sup>25</sup>- Al-Saktoori, Alaa al-Din Ali Dada al-Basuni (d. 1007 AH): The Early Lectures and Late Conversations, Al-Amira Al-Sharifia Press, 1st ed., n.p., 1311 AH, p. 89.
- <sup>26</sup>- Musa Rashid Arsen: The Police in the Umayyad Era, previous source, p. 119.
- <sup>27</sup>- Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir (d. 279 AH): Ancestry of the Nobles, ed. by Suhail Zakar and Riyad al-Zarkali, Dar al-Fikr, 1st ed., vol. 5, Beirut, 1996, p. 242.
- <sup>28</sup>- Previous source: vol. 6, p. 324.
- <sup>29</sup>- Previous source: vol. 6, p. 319.
- <sup>30</sup>- Ibn al-Jawzi, Al-Hafiz Jamal al-Din Abu al-Faraj Abdul Rahman ibn al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi (d. 597 AH): The Life and Virtues of Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, ed. by Naeem Zarzour, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., Beirut, 1984, p. 119.
- <sup>31</sup>- Al-Maqdisi, Al-Mutahhar ibn Tahir (d. 355 AH): The Beginning and the History, Al-Muthanna Library, n.d., vol. 4, Baghdad, n.d., pp. 51-52.
- <sup>32</sup>- Ibn Sa'd, vol. 2: previous source, p. 67.
- 33- Abdul Shafi: The Islamic World in the Umayyad Period, previous source, p. 147.
- <sup>34</sup>- Musa Rashid Arsen: The Police in the Umayyad Era, previous source, p. 128.
- <sup>35</sup>- Al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu Ya'qub ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wadhih (d. 292 AH): History of Al-Ya'qubi, ed. by Abdul Amir Mahna, Al-I'lami Press, n.d., vol. 2, Beirut, Lebanon, 2010, p. 142.
- <sup>36</sup>- Ibn Qutaybah, Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Muslim al-Dinori (d. 276 AH): Imamate and Politics, ed. by Ali Shiri, Dar al-Adhwaa, 1st ed., vol. 1, Beirut, Lebanon, 1990, p. 144.
- <sup>37</sup>- Ibn Khayyat: Previous source, p. 121.
- <sup>38</sup>- Inas Muhammad Al-Bahji: History of the Umayyad State, previous source, p. 222.
- <sup>39</sup>- Al-Mas'udi, Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Ali (d. 346 AH): Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems, ed. by Muhammad Muhyi al-Din Abdul Hamid, Al-Saadah Press, 4th ed., vol. 3, Cairo, 1964, p. 45.

<sup>40</sup>-Al-Tabari vol. 2: Previous source p. 224 709 | Dr. Ali Deche Salaries Of Internal Security Forces In The Umayyad Period (41-132 AH / 662-750 AD)

- <sup>41</sup>- Al-Baladhuri, Ancestry of the Nobles, vol. 5: Previous source, p. 221.
- <sup>42</sup>- Al-Baladhuri, ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir (d. 279 AH): Conquests of the Lands, Dar Maktabat al-Hilal, n.d., Beirut, 1988, p. 273.
- <sup>43</sup>- Al-Tabari, vol. 5: Previous source, p. 222.
- <sup>44</sup>- Al-Tabari, vol. 5: Previous source, p. 224.
- <sup>45</sup>- Ibn Abi Shaybah, Abdullah ibn Muhammad Ibrahim ibn Othman al-Kufi al-Absi (d. 225 AH): Al-Muṣannaf in Hadith and Narrations, ed. by Kamal Yusuf al-Hout, Dar al-Taj, vol. 5, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 1989, p. 190.
- <sup>46</sup>- Ibn al-Jawzi: The Life and Virtues of Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, previous source, p. 119.
- <sup>47</sup>- Ibn Abd Rabbih, Abu Umar, Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Rabbih ibn Habib ibn Hadir ibn Salim (d. 328 AH): The Unique Necklace, ed. by Ahmad Amin et al., Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 3rd ed., vol. 4, Beirut, Lebanon, 1953, p. 408.
- <sup>48</sup>- Al-Baladhuri, Ancestry of the Nobles, vol. 5: Previous source, p. 242.
- <sup>49</sup>- Al-Isfahani, Abu al-Faraj Ali ibn al-Husayn (d. 356 AH): The Songs, ed. by Abbas Ihsan et al., 3rd ed., vol. 8, Beirut, Lebanon, 2008, p. 27.
- <sup>50</sup>- Al-Qalqashandi, Ahmad ibn Ali (d. 821 AH): Subh al-A'sha in the Art of Composition, ed. by Muhammad Hussein Shams al-Din, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., vol. 5, Beirut, 1987, pp. 449-450.
- <sup>51</sup>- Ibn Khayyat: Previous source, p. 99.
- <sup>52</sup>- Ibn Hajar: Al-Isabah in Identifying the Companions, vol. 1, previous source, p. 25.
- <sup>53</sup>- Abdul Shafi Muhammad Abdul Latif: The Prophetic Biography and Islamic History, Dar al-Salam, 1st ed., Cairo, 1428 AH, p. 147.
- <sup>54</sup>- Al-Fasawi, Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Sufyan (d. 277 AH): Knowledge and History, ed. by Akram Diyaa al-Omari, Al-Irshad Press, n.d., vol. 1, Baghdad, 1984, p. 459.
- <sup>55</sup>- Ibn Khayyat: Previous source, p. 231.
- <sup>56</sup>- Ibn Hajar, Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Kinani al-Asqalani Abu al-Fadl Shihab al-Din (d. 852 AH): Fath al-Bari with Commentary on Sahih al-Bukhari, ed. by Muhibb al-Din al-Khatib, Dar al-Ma'rifah, vol. 13, Beirut, 1379 AH, p. 133.
- <sup>57</sup>- Abdul Shafi: The Islamic World in the Umayyad Period, previous source, p. 493.
- <sup>58</sup>- Mayasa Hatem Naif: "The Role of the Chamberlain in the Early Islamic Era," Journal of Arts, Literature, Humanities, and Social Sciences, vol. 65, no. 65, University of Baghdad, College of Education for Women, Iraq, 2021, p. 67.
- <sup>59</sup>- Ibn al-Azraq, Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Subhi al-Andalusi Abu Abdullah Shams al-Din al-Gharnati (d. 896 AH): The Wonders of the Realm of Kings, ed. by Ali Sami al-Nashar, Ministry of Information, 1st ed., Iraq, n.d., pp. 268, 270.
- <sup>60</sup>- Al-San'ani, Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Salah Muhammad al-Hasani al-Kahlani al-San'ani (d. 1125 AH): The Paths of Peace, Dar al-Hadith, n.d., vol. 2, n.p., n.d., p. 576.
- <sup>61</sup>- Al-Qalqashandi, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ali al-Qalqashi al-Shafi'i (d. 630 AH): refinement of Leadership and Organization of Politics, ed. by Ibrahim Yusuf and Mustafa Aju, Maktabat al-Manar, 1st ed., Zarqa, Jordan, pp. 248-250.
- 62- Ibn Khaldun: Previous source, vol. 1, p. 296.
- 63- Ibn Abi al-Dunya, Abu Bakr Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Ubaid ibn Sufyan ibn Qays al-Baghdadi al-Umari al-Qurashi (d. 281 AH) :Al-Ishraf on the Dwellings of the Nobles, ed. by Najm Abdul Rahman Khalaf, Maktabat al-Rushd, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 1990, p. 260.
- <sup>64</sup>- Previous Source: p. 260.
- 65- Al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu Ya'qub ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wadhih (d. 292 AH):The Countries, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st ed., Beirut, 1422 AH, p. 164.
- <sup>66</sup>- Abdul Jabbar al-Khulani: History of Darya, trans. by Said al-Afghani, Arab Scientific Academy, Al-Tarqi Press, 2nd ed., Damascus, 1950, p. 75.
- <sup>67</sup>- Al-Tabari, vol. 4: Previous source, p. 355.

- <sup>68</sup>- Adnan Habib Wafa: "Military Institution Expenditures in the Umayyad Period (41 AH 132 AH / 660 AD 749 AD)," Al-Astaz Journal, vol. 1, no. 223, University of Baghdad, Iraq, 2017, p. 356.
- <sup>69</sup>- Abu Ishaq Amr ibn Abdullah al-Sabi'i: Born in the Ottoman Province, Abu Ishaq died in the year 128 AH or 129 AH at the age of 98 or 99. Ibn al-Jawzi, Al-Hafiz Jamal al-Din Abu al-Faraj Abdul Rahman ibn al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi (d. 597 AH): Sifat al-Safwa, ed. by Ahmad ibn Ali, Dar al-Hadith, n.d., vol. 2, Cairo, Egypt, 2000, p. 60.
- <sup>70</sup>- Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din: Biographies of Distinguished Figures, vol. 5, previous source, p. 395
- <sup>71</sup>- Al-Askari: previous source, p. 197.
- <sup>72</sup>- Ibn Qutaybah: Imamate and Politics, vol. 2, previous source, p. 44.
- <sup>73</sup>- Ibn Abd Rabbih: Previous source, vol. 1, p. 317.
- <sup>74</sup>- Ibn Qutaybah, Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Muslim al-Dinori (d. 276 AH): The Eyes of News, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, n.d., vol. 2, Beirut, Lebanon, 1418 AH, p. 44.
- <sup>75</sup>- Al-Baladhuri, Ancestry of the Nobles, vol. 5: previous source, p. 353.
- <sup>76</sup>- Jamal Muhammad Dawood Joudah: The Arabs and the Land in Iraq in the Early Islamic Period, Arab Printing and Publishing Company, Amman, 1979, p. 216.
- <sup>77</sup>- Al-Baladhuri, Ancestry of the Nobles, Vol. 8: Previous Source, p. 40.
- <sup>78</sup>- Ibn Badran, Abdul Qadir ibn Ahmad ibn Mustafa ibn Abdul Rahim ibn Muhammad al-Dumi al-Damashqi al-Hanbali (d. 1346 AH): Tahrir of the History of Damascus by Ibn Asakir, Al-Maktabah al-Arabiyyah, 1st edition, vol. 3, Damascus, 1927, p. 434.
- <sup>79</sup>- Ibn Kathir, Abu al-Fida Ismail ibn Umar al-Qurashi al-Basri (d. 774 AH): Al-Bidaya wa al-Nihaya, Al-Saadah Press, n.d., vol. 9, Cairo, Egypt, n.d., p. 35.
- 80- Al-Tabari, vol. 6: previous source, p. 390.
- 81- Same source, p. 347.
- 82- Son of Josi, biography and prospectors..., former source, p. 70.
- <sup>83</sup>- Son of Manzoor, Muhammad bin Makram bin Ali Abu Fazal Jamal al-Din al-Ansari al-Rufai 'i al-Africa (T711E): abbreviation of Damascus history of Asakar's son, Yahh Rouhiya al-Nacr et al, Dar al-Thakr, 1, J29, Damasr, Syria r, 1984, p. 226.
- 84- Ibn Saad, J5, former source, p.351.
- 85- Same source, p. 349.
- 86- Tabari, J7, previous source, p. 61.
- <sup>87</sup>- Amal bin Abd al-Rahman bin al-Abbas bin Abdullah bin Osman bin Abu al-Asr al-Thuqfi, Yinna Aba al-Abbas is said to be visual. See: Ibn Adi, Abu Ahmed bin al-Jarjani (P 365 E).
- 88- Tabari, J7, previous source, p. 247.
- 89- Same source, p. 285.
- <sup>90</sup>- The Canadian, Abu Omar Mohammed bin Yusuf (T353 AH): Wali and the Magistrates' Clerk, Yah Raven Kast, Abba Press, Jesuits, Dr. I, Beirut, Lebanon, 1908, p. 74.
- <sup>91</sup>- Same source, p. 68.
- 92- Quality of Jamal Mohammed Dawood, op. cit., p. 215.
- <sup>93</sup>- Anonymous author from the third century of Al-Hajri (Q03H): Al-Tali 'ah Al-Abbasiyah, Al-Abbasiyah Al-Abbas and his son.
- <sup>94</sup>- Son of many, J9, former source, 93.