Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands

# Christianity throughout the ages in a Muslim world: Researching the continuity of Christianity in Jordan

Boin, Bodine

**Citation**
Boin, B. (2023). *Christianity throughout the ages in a Muslim world: Researching the continuity of Christianity in Jordan*.

| | |
|---|---|
| Version: | Not Applicable (or Unknown) |
| License: | License to inclusion and publication of a Bachelor or Master Thesis, 2023 |
| Downloaded from: | https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3639981 |

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Master Graduation Project Applied Archaeology

# Christianity throughout the ages in a Muslim world

## Researching the Continuity of Christianity in Jordan

Master Graduation Project Applied Archaeology

# Christianity in a Muslim world

## Researching the Continuity of Christianity in Jordan


Name: Bodine Boin
Supervisor: Dr.ir. M.J. Driessen


Date: June 2023
Course: Master Graduation Project Applied Archaeology
School: University of Leiden, Faculty of Archaeology
Version: Final version


Front page figure: An excavated church located in Hayyan al-Mashrif. Source: Kennedy and Bewley (2004)

# Acknowledgement

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Mark Driessen for providing me with this project, helping me with important literature and for his constructive criticism. Furthermore, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Michael McCabe III for taking the time to read my thesis and give grammatical suggestions and corrections. I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to the rest of my friends, my family and partner for their unwavering support and their profound belief in my abilities.

"*The idea of religion as a matter for scientific attention dates back to the end of the nineteenth century, where it was conceptually, theoretically and empirically elaborated as a cultural phenomenon in its own right*" (Schilderman, 2015 p. 2)

# Table of contents

**Introduction** ..... **7**
*Background of the subject* ..... *7*
*Location* ..... *7*
*Road map* ..... *8*

**Chapter 1. Research goal and research questions** ..... **9**

**Chapter 2. Methodology and theoretical frame** ..... **10**
*2.1 Methodology* ..... *10*
2.1.1 Research questions ..... 10
2.1.3 Spreading maps ..... 11
2.1.4 Database ..... 12
2.1.5 Tables ..... 12
*2.2 Theoretical frame* ..... *12*

**Chapter 3. Results** ..... **15**
*3.1 Rise of Christianity* ..... *15*
*3.2 The Islamic rule* ..... *15*
*3.3 Churches* ..... *15*
3.3.1 Churches still in Christian use after 630/640 AD ..... 15
Abila: 2 basilicas with triple apse ..... 15
Ayn Al-Kanisah: Church of the Virgin ..... 16
Gadara (Umm Qays): Octagonal church ..... 17
Gerasa (Jerash): Isaiah church ..... 18
Hayyan Al-Mushrif: Church N (basilica) ..... 19
Humayma (Hauarra): C119 ..... 20
Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al-Rasas): 9 churches ..... 22
Khirbat Al-Mukhayyat (Nebo village): Al-Kanisah and Saint George ..... 23
Khirbat Al-Samra : Church 29 and Saint John-Baptiste (church 95) ..... 24
Khildah: Saint Varus ..... 25
Ma'in: Church on the Acropolis ..... 26
Madaba: Saint George church ..... 27
Jabal Hārūn: Mountain Aaron church ..... 28
Nakhl: Nakhl church ..... 29
Pella (Tabaqa Fathl): Church East, church West and Civic complex church ..... 30
Philadelphie (Amman): Saint George ..... 32
Qam: Chapel 17.2 ..... 33
Tall Al-Umayrī: St. Sergius church ..... 34
Yajuz: Church ..... 35
Yasilah: Basilica with 3 naves (Church A/1) ..... 36
3.3.2 Churches converted into mosque ..... 38
Udhruh: Udhruh church ..... 38
Humayma: B100 & F102 ..... 43
Khirbat Al-Burz – Sama Al-Rusan: Church ..... 44
Khirbat Dariya: Saint Cosme and Damien church ..... 45
Sama: St. George ..... 46
Umm Al-Surab: St. Sergius and Bacchus ..... 47
*3.4 Research questions* ..... *49*
*3.5 Main question* ..... *55*

**Chapter 4. Conclusion** ..... **57**

**Chapter 5. Discussion** ..... **59**

**Chapter 6. recommendations** ..... **61**

**Chapter 7. Summary** ..... **62**

**Bibliography** ..... **64**

**Apppendix 1 Database** ..... **66**

**Appendix 2 Spreading maps** ..... **68**

*Appendix 2.1 All churches* ..... *68*

*Appendix 2.2 Churches that stayed in use after 630/640 AD* ..... *69*

*Appendix 2.3 Churches converted into mosques* ..... *70*

*Appendix 2.4 Churches that stayed in use after 630/640 and churches converted into mosques* ... *71*

# Introduction

"*Jordan is part of the holy land, that small but remarkable corner of the Mediterranean lands, from which of the three great monotheistic religions of the world sprang…*" (Kennedy & Bewley, 2004).

Christianity has a long and rather complex history in Jordan that dates back to the early days of the religion. According to the research of Frankopan (2015), the modern eye's look toward Christianity is in opposition to the Islam; however, this is not accurate for the relation of the co-existence of these religions in their early years. Nowadays, it is assumed that Christianity and Islam are diametrically opposed; nevertheless, as Frankopan (2015) stated, "*… their co-existence relations were not so much pacific as warmly encouraging".*
Interestingly, Cotterell (2017) argued that Christianity started as a Jewish sect that "*…only distinguished itself by the belief that the messiah already appeared in the person of Jesus*". Frankopan points out that for Islam to spread in the Middle East, it was important for the Muslims to have the support of the Jewish population. Indirectly this could be seen as the Muslims in need of the help of Jewish people against something that is similar to their own faith in almost every fact. When diving even deeper, some Christian scholars thought that the teachings of Islam were not so much that of a new religion but rather a divergent interpretation of Christianity itself (Frankopan, 2015). This altogether adds to the statement of the long and rather complex history of religions.

## Background of the subject

In the past years, multiple excavations took place in Jordan; during these excavations, many churches were discovered (Michel, 2001).
The subject of Continuity of Christianity in the Muslim world originated during an excavation of a Byzantine church in the city of Udhruh, Jordan. The excavated church showed signs of a much longer Christian use during a Muslim reign which was concluded based on comparisons to other Byzantine churches in Jordan (al-Salameen et al., 2011).
Some of the churches in Jordan were converted into mosques throughout the years, even though Jordan had many bishops. For example, from 1991 to 1995, an extensive excavation was carried out in the region of Humayma (Oleson and Schick 2013, 93), also known as Hawara, an old Nabataean trade post in the south of Jordan. During this excavation, the discovery was made that two churches possibly have been converted into mosques. This idea was based on different examples of churches that have been turned into mosques, "*as for example, the churches of St. Sergius and Bacchus at Umm Al-Sarab and of St. George at Sama*" (Oleson and Schick 2013, 159).
Some churches stayed in Christian use during the conversion to Islam; this led to the question of how Jordan's religious transformation moved throughout the years—focusing on the continuity of Christianity under the 'Islam reign'. The process of answering this question will bring previous and future excavations more information about the use of the churches that might not be known from solely studying the archaeological remains. Furthermore, the research will contribute to a better understanding of the religious transformation from Christianity to Islam in Jordan.

## Location

The research subject is based on the country Jordan, and therefore the focus will only lie there. The country lies between Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israël as shown in Figure 1. The

country of Jordan is relatively small in size; it is approximately 92000 square km. According to Kennedy and Bewley (2004), Jordan has a very small population and is overwhelmingly 92% Sunni Muslim and predominantly 98% Arab. In 2003, the population was estimated at only 5.46 million.

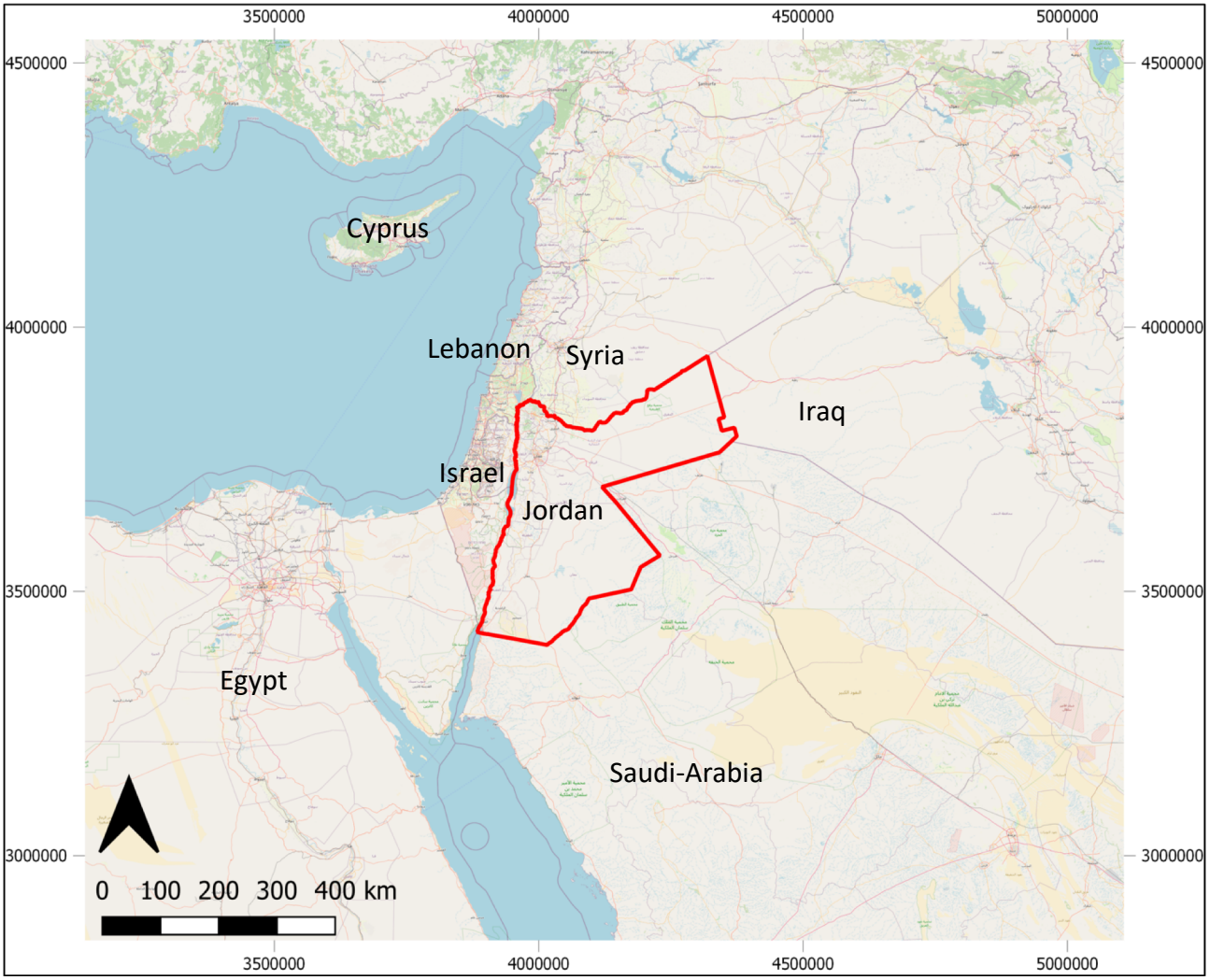



*Figure 1 The location of Jordan in the world shown with a red outline. Source: Qgis*

## Road map

In Chapter one, the research questions will be described following Chapter two with the methods that have been used to answer these questions. Chapter three will contain the results of this research, and the conclusion will follow that in Chapter four. Chapter five will consist of a discussion of the research results and the overall conducting of the study. In Chapter six, a recommendation to proceed in this field of work will be given. The last Chapter, seven, will provide a summary of the research and the results that followed from it.

# Chapter 1. Research goal and research questions

At the end of the master Applied Archaeology it is required to write a master thesis. The research goal for this thesis is to be able to give a clear view on the continuity of Christianity in Jordan before, during and after the converting most of the country into Islam. This thesis can be seen as a practical cataloguing of published research on the chosen subject.
The main research question contains the research goal and is formulated as follows: *What is the continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of Islam?* This question includes a broad subject; therefore, smaller research questions will be formulated to help answer it. The research questions will be listed below in Table 1.

| Research questions |
|---|
| Main question |
| What is the continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of the Islam? |
| Sub-research questions |
| How many churches were present in Jordan before the Islamic reign? |
| How many churches were present in Jordan during the Islamic reign? |
| How did the organisational structure of Christianity develop during the emergence of the Islam? |
| How is it noticeable that a church is converted into a mosque? |
| Which churches in Jordan show signs of being converted into mosques? |
| Which churches in Jordan have been partly used as monasteries? |
| What kind of archaeological remains prove the conversion of churches into mosques? |

*Table 1 Research questions*

In order to reach this goal, a database that withholds all the churches in Jordan and three spreading maps have been made. In the database the churches are listed separately with relevant information that helped answering the research questions. The four spreading maps all contain different information. One of the spreading maps shows the locations of all the churches in the country of Jordan. The second map will only show the churches that were used after the Islamic rise in 630/640 AD. The third map shows the location of the churches that were converted into mosques in Jordan. The last and final map shows the churches that stayed in use after 630/640 AD and the churches that were converted into mosques combined. The maps provide clear information for the answering of the sub-research questions. In addition, a table was made that withholds information about monasteries in Jordan, a table that contains the two main concepts, a table that includes words with definitions and different tables that portray the sub-research questions and the main question. The tables have been made to provide additional information about the overall practise of Christianity in the past in the country of Jordan next to being a clear and transparent tool in providing the reader with information. The main goal of making the database, the spreading maps and the tables, besides functioning as a as a transparent organisational tool, is to make the information assessable for future use by researchers and

other archaeologists. In the upcoming chapter the database, the spreading maps and the tables will be elaborated into more extent.

# Chapter 2. Methodology and theoretical frame

## 2.1 Methodology

The information was gathered by literature research, cartographic research, researching the results of previous archaeological research, and archive research. Furthermore, with the information that was collected, a database, several spreading maps and several tables have been made that portray different aspects of Christianity in the country of Jordan. The use of various tables was chosen to provide the reader with a clear overview of the given information; this will also help navigate quicker towards information if needed when reading along the document.

At the start of this research, various literature sources were collected. All the information from these publications have been gathered and summarised in a separate document to give a clear overview of all the relevant information that includes the research subject. With this overview, the similarities and appropriate connections between the literature was easily spotted.

### 2.1.1 Research questions

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, multiple questions were formulated for this research. The methods used to answer the questions will be shown in Table 2 below. By answering the seven sub-research questions, it will be possible to provide an answer to the main research question.

| Research questions | Methods |
|---|---|
| Main question | |
| What is the continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of the Islam? | This question will be answered by drawing a conclusion from all the answers of the more minor research questions and the additional information that was gathered by literature research |
| Sub-research questions | |
| How many churches were present in Jordan before the Islamic reign? | This question will be answered by doing cartographic research of maps and literature research from before the Islamic reign. |
| How many churches were present in Jordan during the Islamic reign? | This question will be answered by doing cartographic research of maps and literature research from during the Islamic reign. |
| How did the organisational structure of Christianity develop during the emergence of Islam? | This question will be answered by doing literature research about the organisational structure |

| | |
|---|---|
| How is it noticeable that a church is converted into a mosque? | This question will be answered by reading archaeological reports of different church excavations that show signs of that church being converted into a mosque |
| Which churches in Jordan show signs of being converted into mosques? | This question will be answered by reading archaeological reports of excavations of different churches in Jordan and contemporary maps. |
| Which churches in Jordan have been partly used as monasteries? | This question will be answered by reading archaeological reports of churches and different relevant literature |
| What kind of archaeological remains prove the conversion of churches into mosques? | This question will be answered by reading different archaeological reports of churches in Jordan that are known to have been converted into mosques |

*Table 2 Methods used for answering the research questions*

### 2.1.3 Spreading maps

During the research information was gathered about all the researched and excavated churches in Jordan. Four different spreading maps have been made to (as previously mentioned) functioning as a as a transparent organisational tool and to make the information assessable for future use by researchers and other archaeologists. On the first spreading map the location of all the churches will be portrayed. Next the churches that stayed in use after the Islamic rise in 630/640 AD will be shown. On the third map the churches that got converted into mosques are shown and on the fourth final map the information of map two and three is combined.

The spreading maps have been made in Qgis. This is a program that can be used to digitalise research results or to portray, for example, a research location in the form of a map. Qgis is free to download and has online functions. The program is easy to use, and the guide can be found online. The program also provides the function to load a map of a different country, for example, Jordan; this can be used as a base for making the spreading maps. The map that has been used as an under base for the spreading maps is the openstreetmap. The choice for openstreetmap as a base was related to the fact that the map an open source map is that already is part of Qgis, this means that the map is easy to upload in Qgis. On this map, the location of Jordan has been visualised by tracing the whole country with a red line. This created a clear framework for the location of the churches. The churches are shown with dots on the map. A north arrow, scale bar and coordinates have also been added to the maps for a better understanding of the location and size of the churches. The maps are added at the end of the document in the appendix. The choice was made to not include names to the location of the churches to prevent the map from being cluttered and unreadable. However, the locations are present in the original files; when requested the datafiles can be easily send.

### 2.1.4 Database

In Chapter 1, a short introduction was made about making a database. The database contains information about the churches in Jordan and the columns contain: the location of the churches, the construction date of the churches, the date the churches got out of use, extra information and the references. In the database, with the use of colour, the churches that were converted into mosques and the churches that stayed in use after 630/640 AD have been highlighted. The yellow highlighted churches are the ones that have been converted into mosques and the light orange churches are the ones that stayed in use after 630/640 AD. The chosen program that was used for making the database is Excel. The intentionality behind the selecting of Excel is that it is comfortable, easy and quick to manage. Furthermore, this program is commonly used in this digital era, and therefore, many people know how to use it. This makes the database handy to distribute to different people (if needed/wanted). Excel also has the option to convert the database to an accessible figure. This will be done, and this figure will be included into the document. On first-hand the data will seem unreadable because of the size of the letters however, the resolution of the figure is high and therefore when zooming in the figure will be easily readable. The figure will give easy access to the information of the database without opening a different program than this document itself. The database is added at the end of the document in the appendix.

### 2.1.5 Tables

For this research, it is chosen to portray the information as precise and accessible as possible therefore; the choice is made to make different tables that will include essential information about the research, which will be made in Microsoft Word. The upcoming tables will contain concepts with belonging definitions, words with the belonging definitions and monasteries with the belonging information.

## 2.2 Theoretical frame

The research focuses on Christianity in Jordan during the rise of Islam, and the main question is, therefore (almost exactly translated): what is the continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of Islam? The two key concepts that align with this question are Christianity and Islam (table 3).

| Concepts | Definition |
|---|---|
| Christianity | *"A religion based on belief in God and the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, and on the Bible"* (Cambrigde Dictionary, 2022) |
| Islam | *"A religion based on a belief in one God and the teaching of Muhammad"* (Cambrigde Dictionary, 2022) |

*Table 3 The main concepts*

In 2015 Peter Frankopan made this statement:, "*…in the modern eye, Christianity and Islam seem to be diametrically opposed…."* (Frankopan, 2015 p. 79). This statement has provided as a starting point for this research. From the beginning of the research it became clear that this statement can be seen as a projection of the modern day issues society faces than being also

relevant for Christianity and the Islam in history. Especially focusing on the beginning of co-existence of the two religions.

Over the years a lot of research and excavations were conducted in Jordan that provided a lot of information about churches and archaeological remains relevant for Christianity. However, the research that was done was all separate from each other and did not make an informational connection. In the book of Anne Michel (2001) an attempt was made to list all the churches in Jordan that were at that time excavated. However, the research of Anne Michel (2001) is quite dated and with writing this thesis literature that provides information about excavations that took place later have also been consulted. Moreover, it can be argued that it is important for all potentially interesting archaeological sites to be inventoried in order to protect the archaeological record in a relatively unstable region. This will attribute to the heritage preservation of Jordan. In addition to this, this thesis/research will provide combined information about already existing research and this will provide future researchers with a clear overview of the subject. Therefore, it can function as a possible starting point for future research. It can also be argued that with further investigating the metamorphosis from church to mosque, this research contributes to our understanding of communities' religious identity and how it shapes the environment.

In order to provide a clear picture of the subject, several words and definitions that will be used during the research are explained in the table below (table 4).

| Words | Definitions |
|---|---|
| Continuity | "*The fact of something continuing for a long period of time without being changed or stopped"* (Cambrigde Dictionary, 2022) |
| Converted | "*Having changed in form or character, or been made suitable for a different use and or having changed to a new religon, belief, or opinion"* (Cambrigde Dictionary, 2022) |
| Spreading map | A map that shows the spreading and quantity of a subject in a certain area. |
| Database | "*A large amount of information stored in a computer system in such a way that it can be easily looked at or changed"* (Cambrigde Dictionary, 2022) |
| Monasteries | "*A building in which monks live and worship"* (Cambrigde Dictionary, 2022) |
| Umayyad caliphate | *"… the first great Muslim dynasty to rule the empire of the caliphate (661 – 750 CE)"* (Asma Afsaruddin, 2018) |
| Abasid caliphate | *"… second of the two great dynasties of the Muslim empire. It overthrew the Umayyad caliphate in 750 CE and reigned until 1258*" (The editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ottoman Empire | *"… empire created by Turkish tribes in Anatolia that grew to be one of the most powerful states in the world…",* the duration of the empire is from 1300 – 1922.<br>(Malcolm Edward Yapp & Stanford Jay Shaw, 2018) |
| Deir | Means monastery in Arabic (Fiema et al. 2016) |
| Maqam | Means holy place in Arabic (Fiema et al. 2016) |

*Table 4 Concepts and words explained*

# Chapter 3. Results

This chapter will start with some additional information about the subject in the paragraphs 3.1 (Rise of Christianity) and 3.2 (Islamic rule). Paragraph 3.3 will start off with a small introduction about churches and will be followed in 3.3.1 with all the churches that stayed into use after 630/640 AD. Following in paragraph 3.3.2 the churches that were converted into mosques will be shortly described.. The upcoming paragraph, 3.4, will include the answering of the sub-research questions and the final paragraph of the chapter, 3.5, will include the answering of the main question.

## 3.1 Rise of Christianity

Christianity is the world's largest religion; in 2006 alone, the religion counted somewhere between 1250 and 1750 million adherents (McGrath, 2006). Early Christian communities existed in the region of Jordan as early as the first century AD. The legalisation of Christianity in the area happened through the edict of toleration that was constructed in AD 311 and started by the Byzantines in AD 324 (al-Salameen et al., 2011). However, according to Kennedy and Bewley (2004), a fundamental change happened during the adoption of Christianity by the Roman emperor Constantine in the early 4$^{th}$ century. Christians did not need to have secretive meetings anymore and could finally openly adhere to their faith.

## 3.2 The Islamic rule

At the beginning of the 7$^{th}$ century (630/640 AD), the first Muslim dynasty, known as the Umayyad Empire, arose in the middle east. The area of modern-day Jordan quickly became integrated into this empire. This might spark the idea of the complete disappearance of Christianity; however, according to Fiema et al. (2001), there is no concrete evidence for the destruction of Christian churches in central and southern Jordan during the Muslim invasion. On the contrary, recent archaeological evidence suggests that ecclesiastical structures were maintained and even new ones built "*…due to the religious tolerance of the early Umayyad rulers…*" (Fiema et al., 2001).

## 3.3 Churches

According to McGrath (2006), the buildings of Christian churches can be seen as critical gateways to the Christian faith. The research on churches is relevant for gathering specific information that can lead to answering some of the research questions.

### 3.3.1 Churches still in Christian use after 630/640 AD

In this paragraph the churches that stayed in use during the Islamic rise, 630/640 AD, will be shortly described. The churches are also easily looked up in the database by searching for the orange highlighted columns in addition to that at the end of every paragraph the number of the church in the database will be given.

#### *Abila: 2 basilicas with triple apse*

The ancient Decapolis city of Abila (figure 2), nowadays known as modern Qweilbeh, lies twenty kilometers east of the famous Decapolis city of Gadara (modern Umm Qeis). Abila was also the subject of an excavation that discovered structures of three Late Roman churches and a sizeable 7th-century basilica (Kennedy & Bewley, 2004). Nevertheless, the research of Kennedy & Bewley (2004) leaves room for improvement, this said taking in mind that the

research of Michel (2001) provides a list of six churches, instead of four, located in Abila. Two of these churches stayed in use during Islamic rise, both churches are described as basilicas with triple apses. One of the churches was constructed in the 5th/6th century and got out of use during the 7th/8th century. The second church was constructed during the 7th/8th century and got out of use during the year 746 AD due to an earthquake (Michel, 2001 p. 114-116). The churches are listed in the database as number 5 and 6.

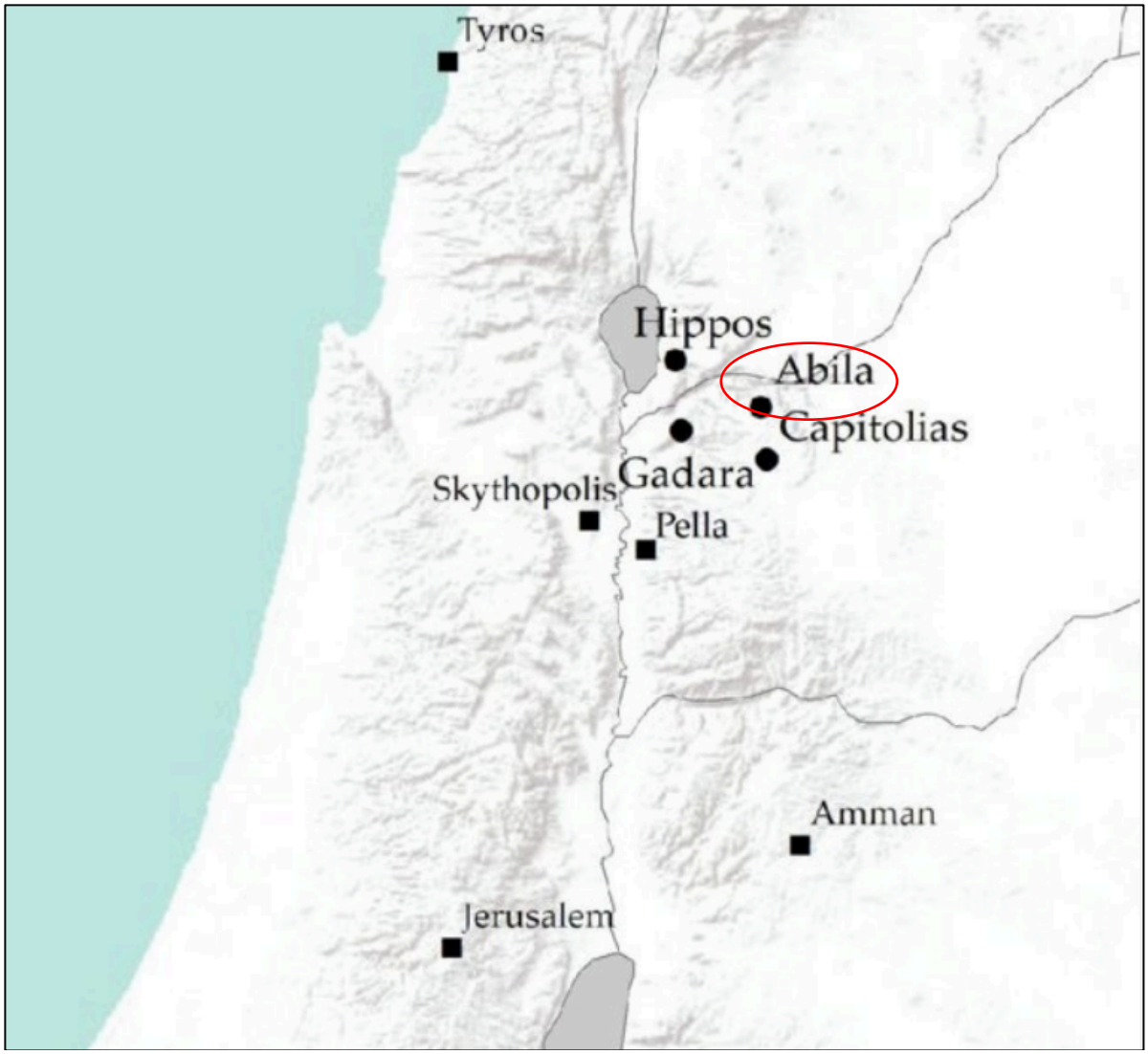


*Figure 2 Location Abila in Jordan. Source: ResearchGate.net*

### *Ayn Al-Kanisah: Church of the Virgin*

The site of Ayn Al-Kanisah lies in a wadi (valley) very close to Madaba. The church was located on a rocky outcrop to the east of the wadi Al-Kanisah and to the south of the highest mountain top of Mount Nebo called Siyagha (figure 3). When reading the research of Michel (2001) it becomes clear that the exact date of construction of the church is unknown however, according to Michel (2001) the church was already built and probably functional during the sixth century. Therefore, the construction date in the database was set on the sixth century. During the year 762 AD the mosaic of the church was party redone, under the episcopate of Job. This can suggest that the church was still in Christian use during that time. At an unknown date part of the building got abandoned and some rooms were reused for domestic purposes.

The typology of the archaeological findings, to be exact vases, that were found during the excavations indicate that the total abandonment of the complex occurred somewhere in the 9th to 10th centuries (Michel, 2001 p. 360-363). The church can be found in the database as number 12.

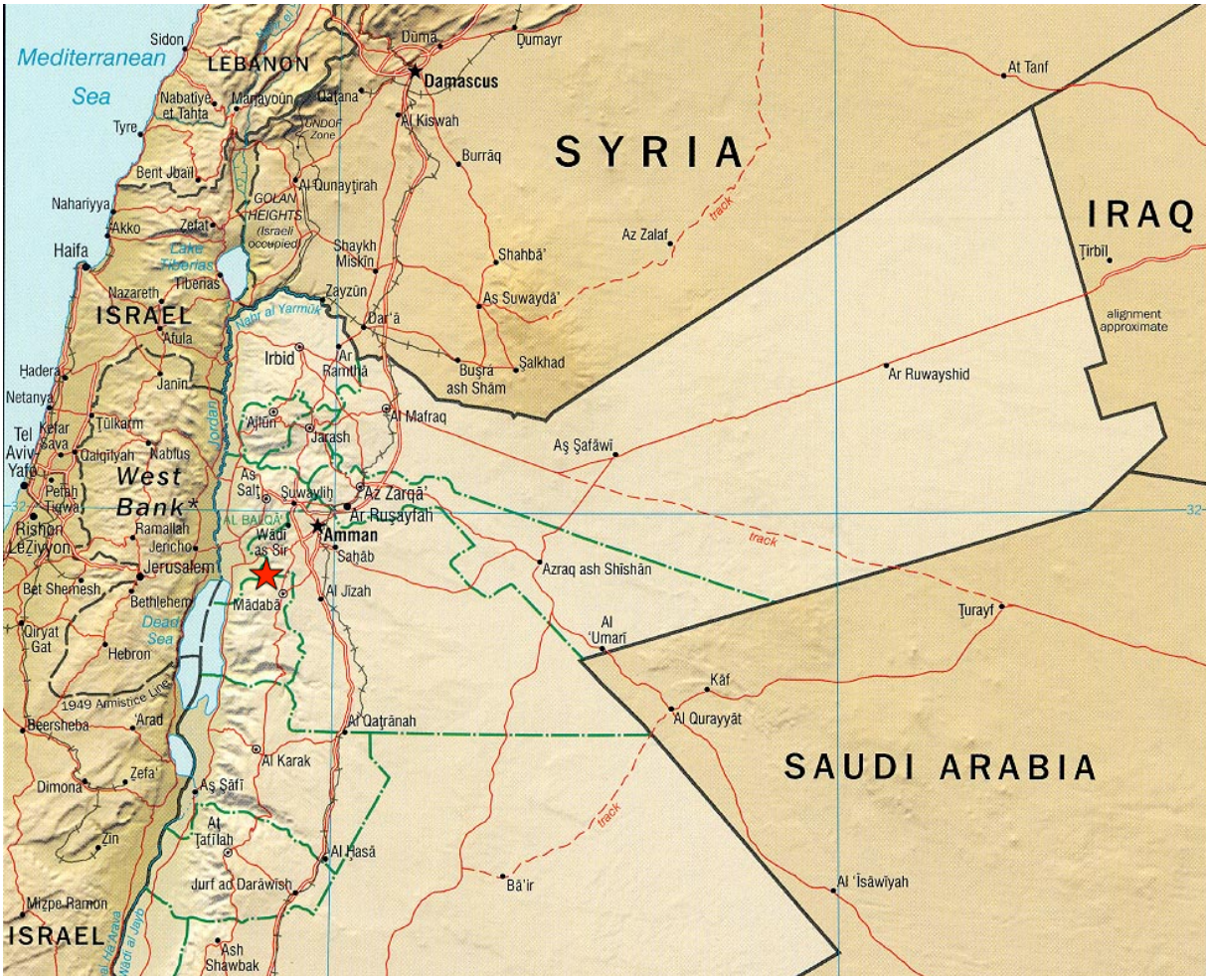


*Figure 3 Location Ayn Al-Kanisah shown with a red star. Source: http://egyptologicalbibliophile.blogspot.com/2015/11/*

## *Gadara (Umm Qays): Octagonal church*

Previously mentioned, at the paragraph of Abila, Gadara (figure 4) is one of the famous Decapolis cities and is nowadays known as Umm Qays. The site of Umm Qays lies about 10 kilometres southeast of the Lake of Tiberias in the valley named Yarmouk. Gadara used to be part of the Roman province of Syria and in the 4th century the city used to be famous for its thermal establishments. Christianity used to continue in the city of Gadara until somewhere in the eight century. Only one church is known on the site of Gadara: the octagonal church. The church was located on an old terrace of the city and was built mostly with reused materials. The construction date of the church remains unknown but is suspected to be somewhere in the first half of the sixth century and destroyed during the earthquake that took place in the year of 749 AD (Michel, 2001 p. 128-132). The church is listed in the database as number 20.

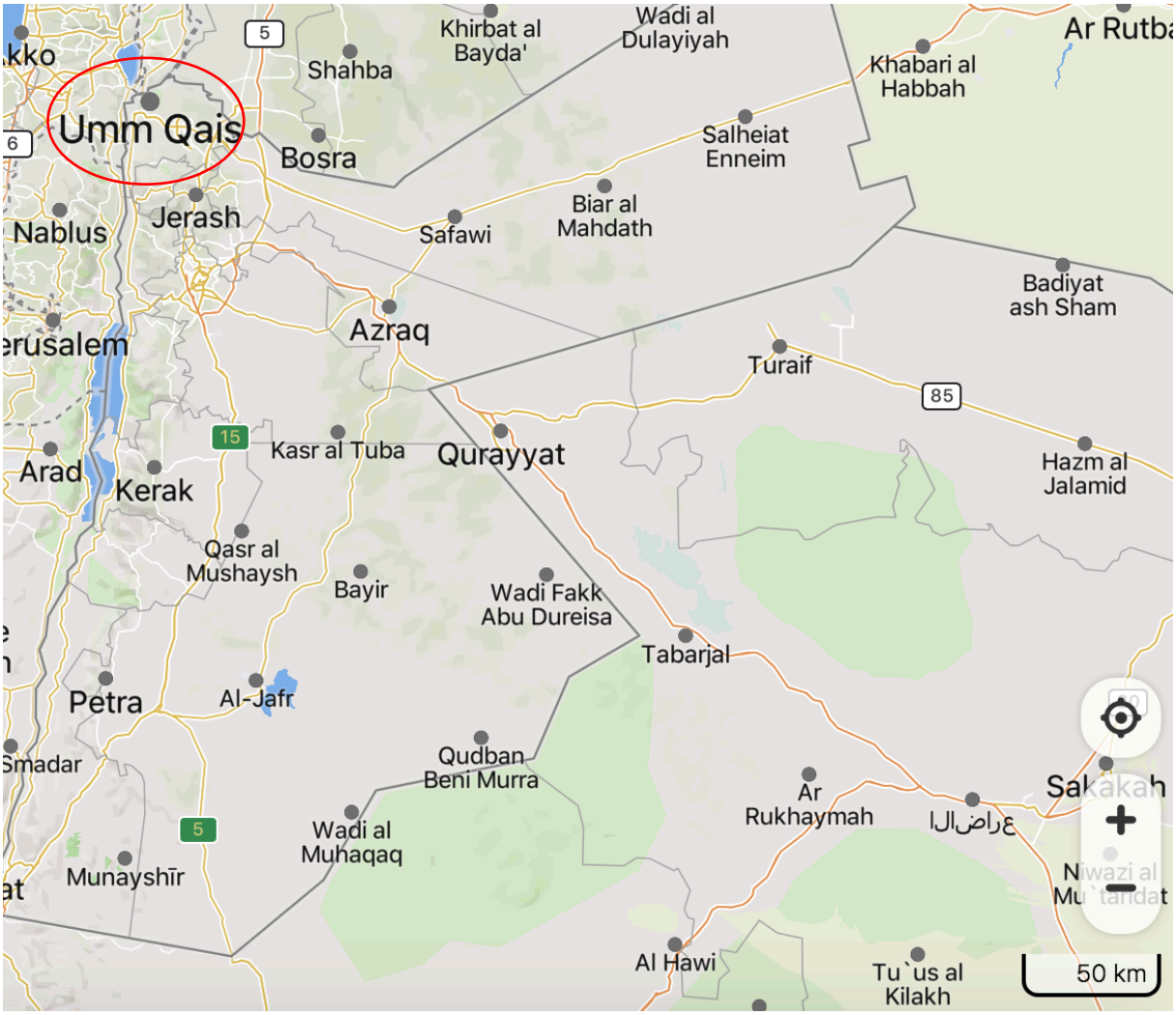



*Figure 4 Location Gadara (Umm Qays) shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/Umm_Qais*

### *Gerasa (Jerash): Isaiah church*

The city of Gerasa (figure 5), not to be confused with the city of Gadara, is located approximately forty kilometres north-west of the city of Amman on the east side of the Ajlun plateau. The ancient city of Gerasa was divided into two sites because of the splitting of the city by the wadi Chrysoroas, translated as the “golden river”. The western bank of the river is the home for most of the archaeological monuments and the opposite eastern bank is the location of the modern city of Jerash. According to Michel (2001) the city of Gerasa counted nineteen churches, only one of those churches can be added to the list of churches that stayed in use after 630/640 AD: the Isaiah church. The church was located on a terrace on the western bank of the “golden river”. The church was a basilica with three naves. The date of the construction of the church is unknown however, the date that the church went out of use is pinpointed to the middle of the eight century and can be designated by an earthquake (Michel, 2001 p. 261-265). The church is listed in the database as number 31.

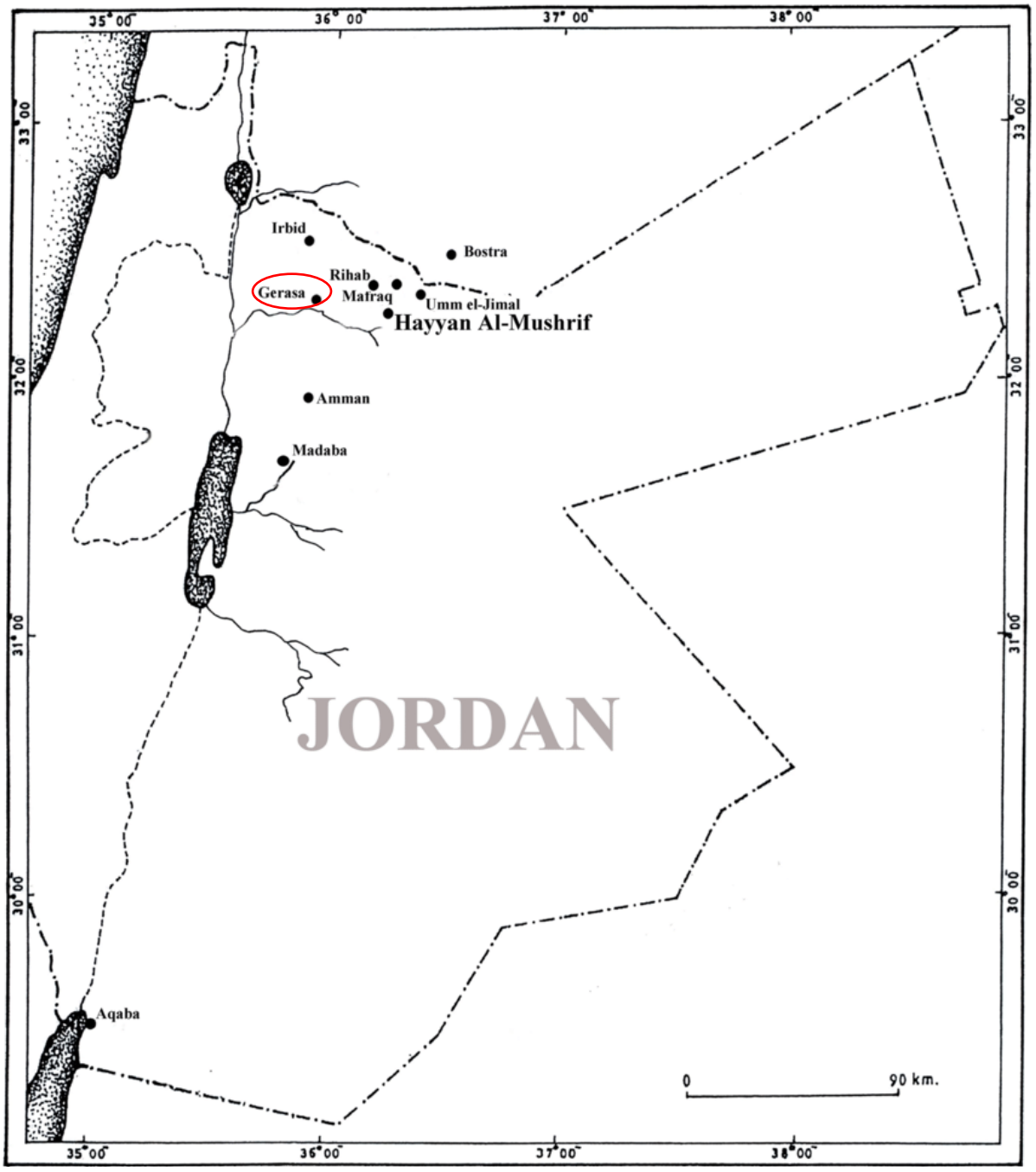



*Figure 5 Location Gerasa (Jerash) shown with a red circle. Source: ResearchGate.net*

### *Hayyan Al-Mushrif: Church N (basilica)*

The small town of Hayyan al-Mashrif (figure 6) lies in the steppe lands, which results in the ruins being less buried. Nevertheless, of the town's size and the natural good quality of preservation of the ruins, the town was barely known until the excavation in 1995. According to Kennedy and Bewley (2004) the town's ruins comprise a basilica, a monastery, two churches, an official building and a mosque. Furthermore, Kennedy and Bewley argue that the main church in the town appears to have been in use from the 6$^{th}$ century AD until the Abbasid Period that started in AD 750 – 969. When comparing the information presented by Kennedy and Bewley (2004) to the research of Michel (2001) it can be argued that the main church of the village must have been: Church N (basilica) because of it being the only church on the list

that correspondents with the date description and date described by Kennedy and Bewley; see Kennedy and Bewley, 2004 page 203 and Michel, 2001 page 210. The church is listed in the database as number 41.

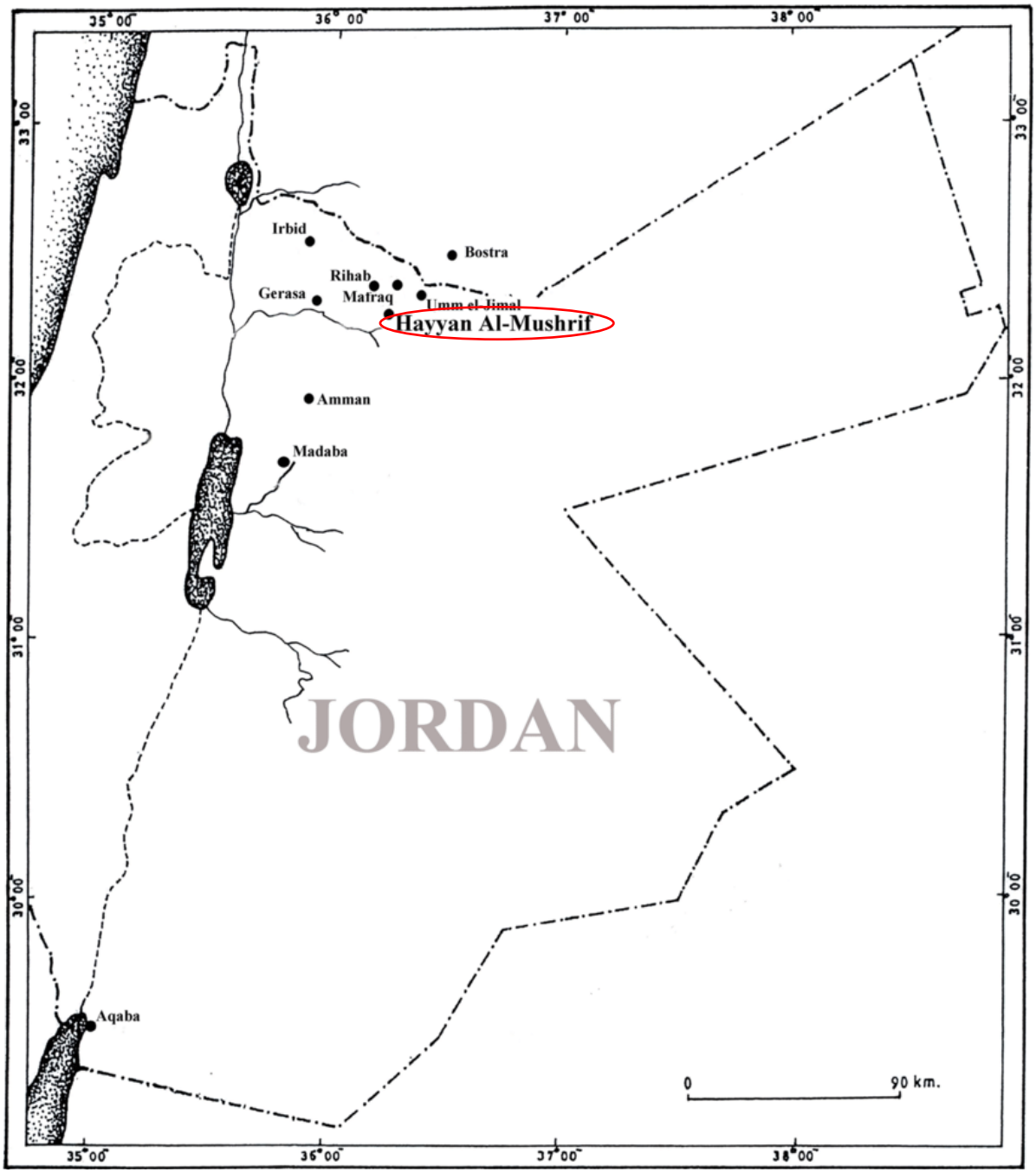



*Figure 6 Location Hayyan Al-Mushrif shown with a red circle. Source: ResearchGate.net*

### *Humayma (Hauarra): C119*

From 1991 to 1995, an extensive excavation was carried out known as the Humayma excavation project 2. This project was located southwest of Petra, as shown in Figure 7. It researched the remnants of a Nabataean campground, necropolis, Byzantine churches and early Islamic domestics structures. Humayma was previously known as the Nabataean

tradepost Hauarra; therefore, in this paragraph, Humayma will be frequently referred to as Hauarra.

*Figure 7 The location of Humayma in Jordan shown with a red circle. Source: Sherwood et al., 2009.*

During this excavation, archaeological remains of five churches were discovered. According to Oleson and Schick (2013), the number of churches in Hauarra was extraordinaire compared to other sites in southern Jordan or Neger; no other site had more churches than Hauarra. The size of the settlement was an extra argument for the peculiarity of the site. Hauarra was not nearly as large of a settlement as Petra; therefore, speculation occurs on the reason for the quantity of churches. They speculate *"…that maybe they had 5 churches because there lived Bedouin nearby and those people including the people from the settlement belonged to a number of clans who preferred to have their own separate churches"* (Oleson and Schick, 2013 p. 553). The five churches that were discovered all got a different name during the excavation: the C101 church, the C119 church, the B100 church, the F102 church and the B126 church.

The dates of construction of the five churches lie sometime generally in the sixth century, although this could possibly be pushed back to the fifth century. The absolute date remains unclear because it is challenging to determine the earliest Christian presence in Hauarra (Oleson and Schick, 2013 p. 552). The five churches of Hauarra all had their own figurative way of life and different endings. Out of the five churches only one church is described with a date that shows that the church went out of use after 630/6340 AD: the C119 church (figure 8). The excavating of the C119 church did not provide much information about the occupational history; however, the church was well preserved. The construction date of the church lies somewhere within the sixth or seventh century and is predicted to go out of use within the seventh or eighth century.
The church can be found in the database listed as number 48.

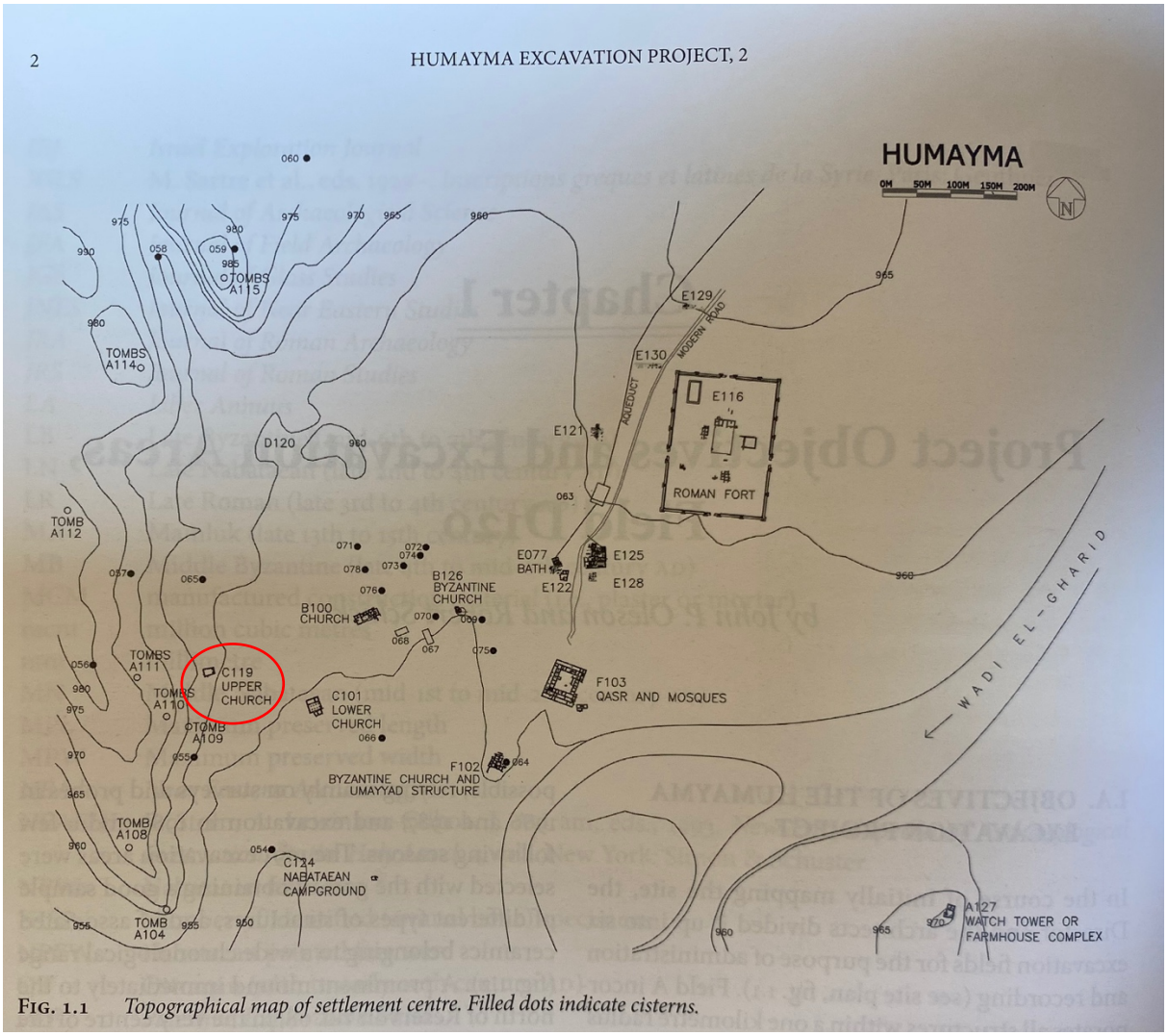


*Figure 8 The location of the C119 church in comparison to the other churches. Source: John Peter Oleson and Schick (2013).*

### *Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al-Rasas): 9 churches*

The ruins of Umm Al-Rasas (described as Kastron Mefaa on figure 9) are located about 30 kilometers to the southeast of the city of Madaba. The site was identified by researchers as the ancient toponym of Kastron Mefaa (Michel, 2001 p. 379). The ruins cover an astonishing area of about five hectares. Umm Al-Rasas has a rich history and was even mentioned by the

church historian Eusebius in 293 AD as a site where a garrison of Roman soldiers was situated. The site's ruins consist of two settlements, one of rectangular walled shape and one even more significant in size with an extra-mural. It is suspected that the walled area was originally a Roman fort. According to Kennedy and Bewley (2004) the site also consists of 10 churches, four of the churches were located inside the Roman fort walls and were interconnected with courtyards in-between them. The other six churches were located in the extra-mural settlement. One of the four interconnected churches, named the Church of St. Stephen, included mosaics that portrayed schematized vignettes of cities in the wider region (Kennedy & Bewley, 2004). Nevertheless, when taking the research of Michel (2001 p. 379-417) into consideration the exact amount of churches located at Umm Al-Rasas can be counted to 13. Out of the 13 churches 9 churches went out of use later than 630/640 AD. The churches that went out of use are: Church of bishop Serge (database number 51), Column Chapel (database number 54), Court church (database number 55) Geminees church: North church (database number 56), Geminees church: South church (database number 57) Niche church (database number 58), Saint Entienne (database number 59), Saint Paul (database number 60) and Wa'il church (database number 62).

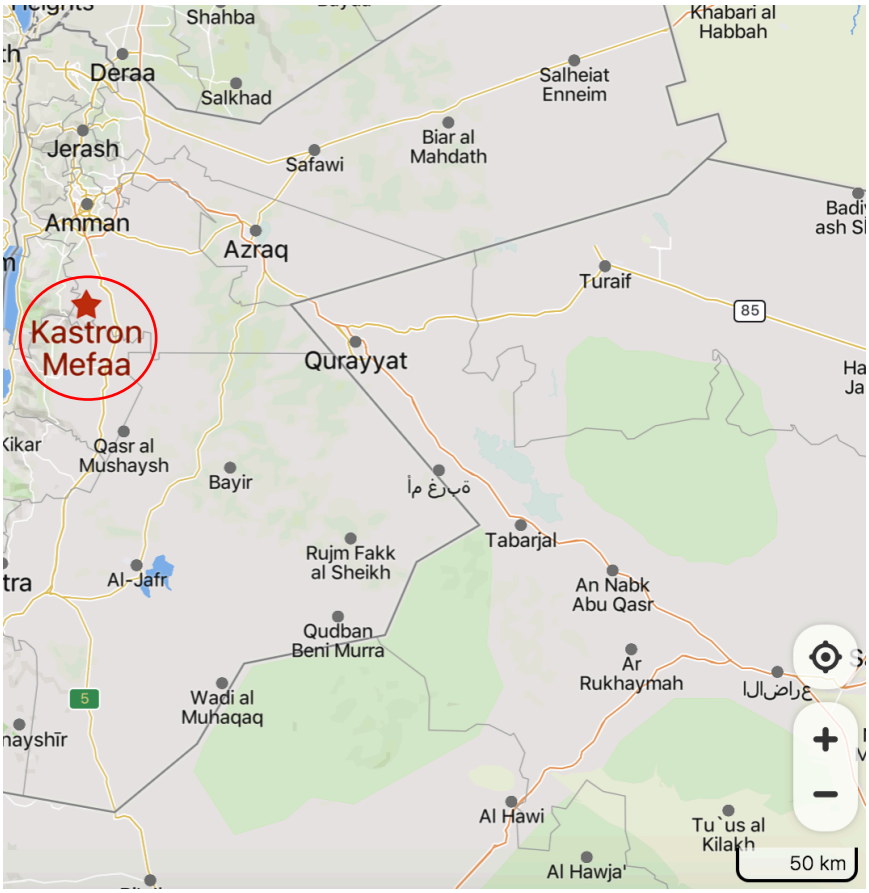



*Figure 9 The location of Kastron Meffa in Jordan shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/W695623499*

### *Khirbat Al-Mukhayyat (Nebo village): Al-Kanisah and Saint George*

The site of Khirbat Al-Mukhayyat (figure 10) is located south of the neighboring peak of Siyagha and 5 kilometers to the west of the city Madaba. The ruins of Khirbat Al-Mukhayyat were spread over two hills that were separated by different wadi's to the east, south and west. On the site five churches were found, two of them will be highlighted here as they were still

in use after 630/640 AD. The Al-Kanisah church and the Saint George church. The building of Al-Kanisah consisted of a single nave small chapel with three adjoining rooms and it was indicated that the complex was in use between the 6th and the 8th century (Michel, 2001 p. 351). The Saint George church was located on the highest peak of the khirbat on the southern side. The church itself was constructed on the remains of an building originated out of the Hellenistic period. Some of the walls of the old structure were reused during the construction of the Saint George. The church was completed somewhere in 535-536 AD and suspected to have been abandoned in the middle of the seventh century (Michel, 2001 p. 340-345). The churches are listed on the database as number 68 (Al-Kanisah) and number 71 (Saint George).

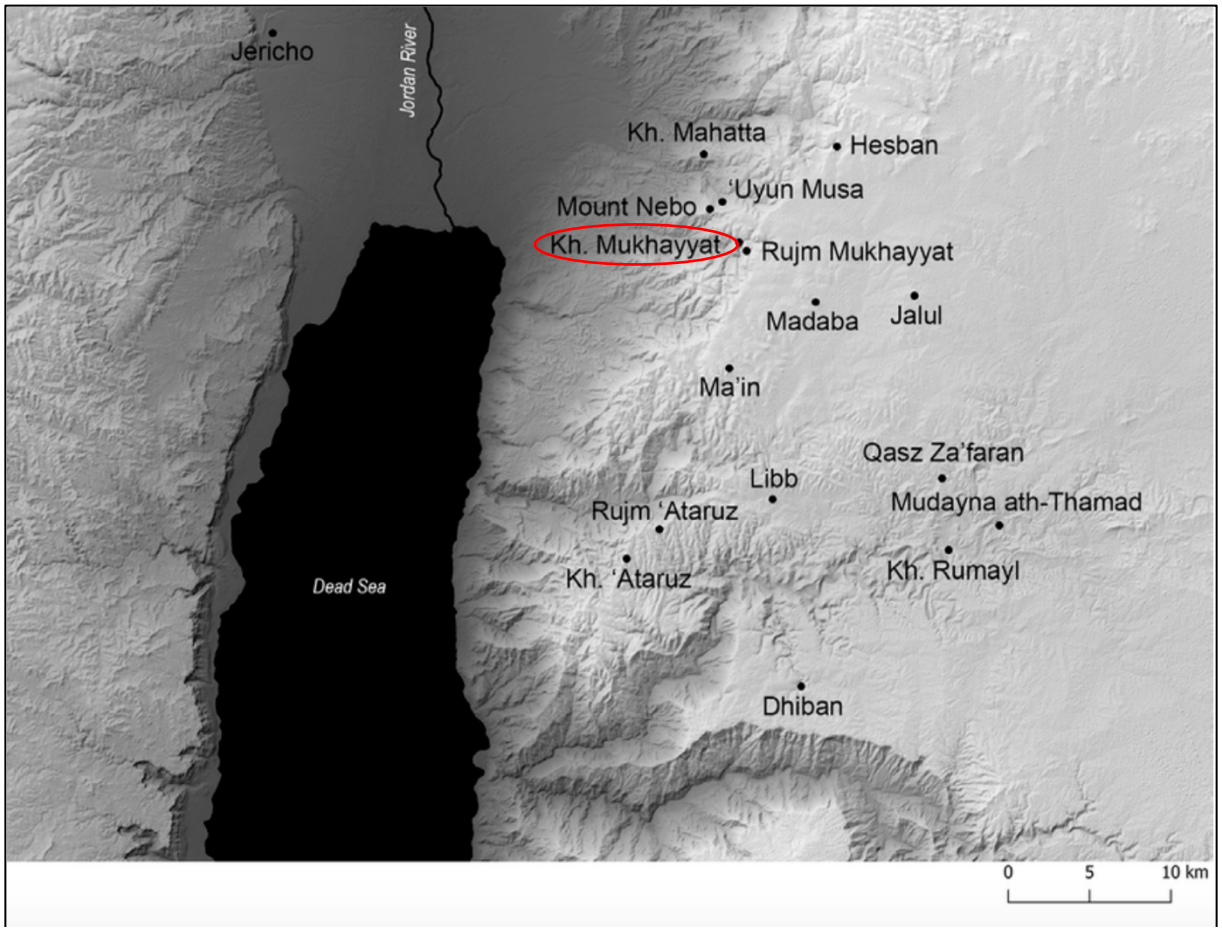



*Figure 10 The location of Khirbat Al-Mukhayyat shown with a red circle. Source: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-showing-the-locations-of-sites-mentioned-in-the-text_fig1_339717526*

### *Khirbat Al-Samra : Church 29 and Saint John-Baptiste (church 95)*

The village of Khirtbat Al-Samra (Figure 11) is located at the distance of 17 kilometers northeast of the city of Dr Zarqa. In the Nabatean period the village was originally a station located on the route known as Via Traiana and was integrated into the Limes Arabicus. During the reign of Justinian Christianity rose and developed in the village. The village used to house eight churches from which two stayed in use after 630/640 AD: church 29 and the Saint John-Baptise church (church 95). The construction date of church 29 is unknown. The Saint John-Baptise church was considered to be the oldest church on the site. The construction date of the Saint John-Baptiste church lies in the Justinian period (527-565 AD). Nevertheless, both churches got out of use during the same period in the eight century (Michel, 2001 p. 194-199).

In the database the churches are listed as number 75 (church 29) and number 80 (Saint John-Baptiste, church 95).

*Figure 11 Location of Khirbet al Samra shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/N802916831*

### *Khildah: Saint Varus*

Khildah is located in the western suburbs of the city Amman (figure 12). During the excavation of the Saint Varus church it became clear that the church was built over the remains of an earlier church. A few elements of the first church were reused in the Saint Varus church: a marble alter column, a chancel post and a fragment of a plaque. The construction date of the Saint Varus church and the earlier church lying underneath is unknown however, the date that the Saint Varus church went out of use can be pinpointed to the year of 749 AD. The cause of the destruction of the church can be referred to an earthquake that took place during that time (Michel, 2001 p. 283-286). The church is listed in the database as number 84.

*Figure 12 Location Khildah shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/12842844*

### *Ma'in: Church on the Acropolis*

The village of Ma'in (figure 13) is located 12 kilometers to the south-west of the city of Madaba. In the beginning of the fourth century the village was known under a different name: Beelmaus or Belemounta. After a long period of abandonment the ruins of the village got reoccupied by Bedouin tribes in the late 19th century beginning 20th century and this led to the discovery of the site by explorers/travelers. During the research of the site three churches were discovered. Only one of the churches stayed in use after 630/640 AD: the Church on the Acropolis. The church was located on the top of a hill and was later built over by a house. However, during the research the out of use date could be interpreted by dating the original floor of the building, the church is suspected to went out of use during the years 719-720 AD. The construction date of the church remains unknown (Michel, 2001 p. 370-371). The church is listed in the database as number 86.

*Figure 13 Location Ma'in shown with a red circle. Source: https://geology.com/world/jordan-satellite-image.shtml*

### *Madaba: Saint George church*

Madaba (figure 14) is an ancient place that was mentioned in the bible on more than one occasion. The town of Madaba is world famous because of the Madaba Mosaic map of the Holy Land that is located in the early Byzantine church of Saint George. Furthermore, according to Kennedy and Bewley (2004), sections of the remains of the late 6th-century church of the Virgin Mary lies underneath a new building. The remains of three other churches can still be seen in the modern-day sky view: the church of the Sunna family, the church of the prophet Elias and the church of al-Khadir**.** According to Kennedy and Bewley (2004), a monastery was also present in Madaba. Only one of the churches in Madaba stayed in use after 630/640 AD: the previously mentioned church of Saint George. The church is listed in the database as number 97.

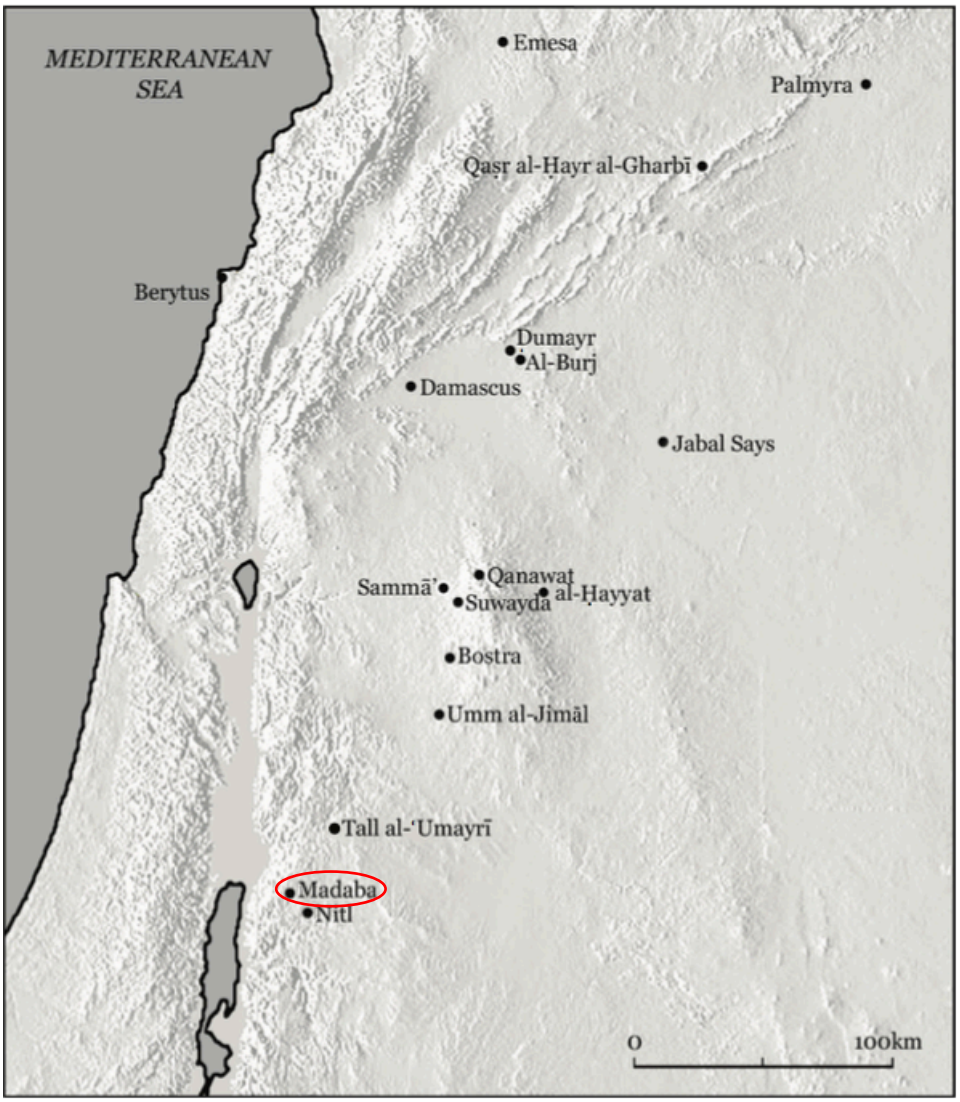



*Figure 14 Location of Madaba shown with a red circle. Source: Bevan et al., 2015.*

### *Jabal Hārūn: Mountain Aaron church*

The name of the mountain refers to the prophet Aaron; according to Jewish, Muslim and Christian traditions, the sarcophagus of the prophet Aaron is present on the mountain, and the location of the mountain lies only approximately 5 kilometers southeast of the ancient city Petra. The archaeological site was called the Finnish Jabal Hārūn (FJHP) (figure 15) site and was extensively researched. According to Fiema et al. (2016), the FJHP investigations came to the conclusion that the Jabal Hārūn site was a very important factor in the overall context of the history of Petra and the country Jordan itself. The occupation of the site lies between the 1st century BC/AD and the 10th-11th century and used to consist of a Nabataean sanctuary, a Byzantine monastery, a church with a chapel and a Muslim shrine. According to Fiema et al. (2016), the change of occupation can be seen as very drastic, starting with the Nabataean sanctuary that existed for at least 300 years into the Byzantine monastery. The 'converting' of the Nabataean sanctuary to the Byzantine monastery resulted in the monastery having a much more varied structure than conventional monasteries. *"Even after the church and monastery were no longer in use, pilgrimages to the mountain of St. Aaron would have continued*" (Fiema et al., 2016). It is suggested that the monastery and church got out of use sometime between 1217 and 1276; at that time, two monks were still living there.

Furthermore, it is assumed that the definitive end of the Christian monastic presence happened at the time of the construction of the Muslim shrine, also called a weli, in the 14th century. "*… after all, this site, so significant for Judaism, Christianity and Islam, as well as for Nabataean history and religion, existed, probably without major interruption, for almost 1000 years, and it produced wealth of archaeological data while generating significant historical interpretations*" (Fiema et al., 2016 p. 566). The church is listed in the database as number 103.

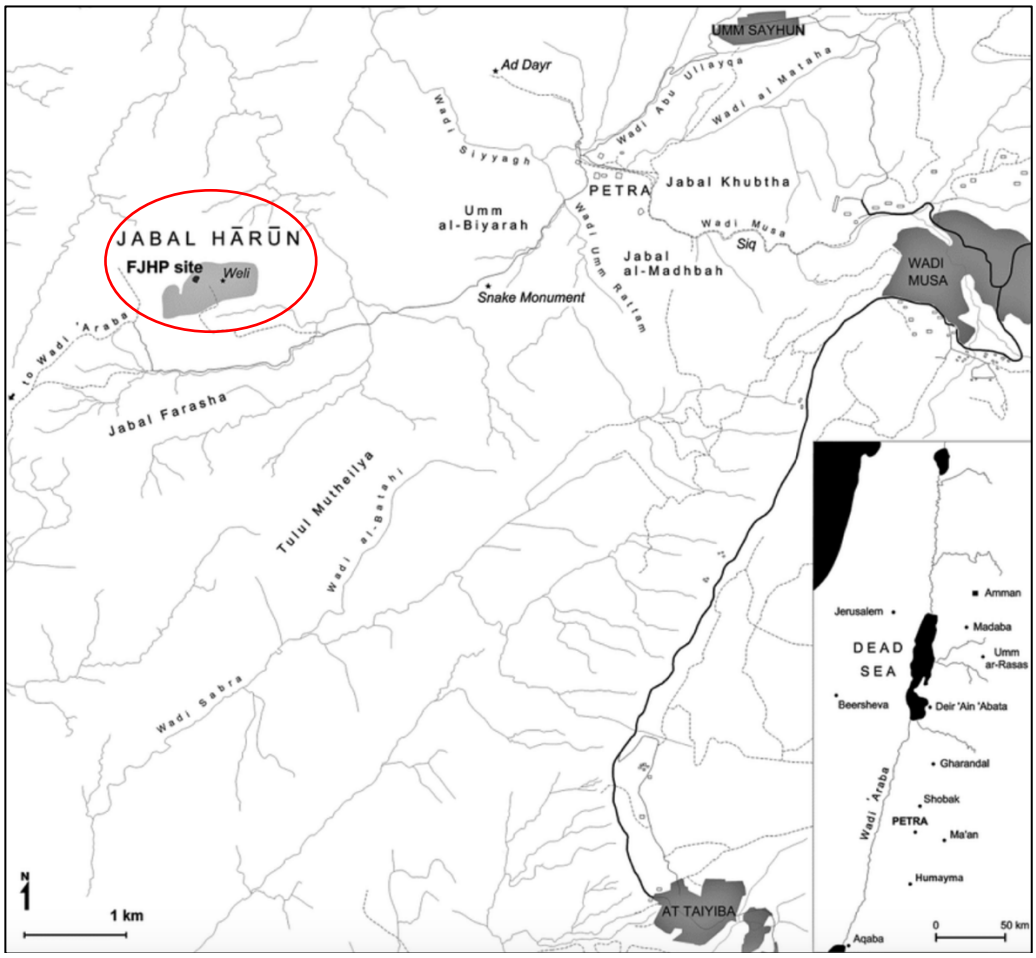


*Figure 15 Location Jabal Hārūn shown with a red circle. Source: Fiema et al., 2016.*

### *Nakhl: Nakhl church*

According to Kennedy and Bewley (2004, p. 213), the site of Nakhl "*… has long been regarded as one of the larger and more striking ruined villages on the Moabite plateau…"*. In first instant the site was not findable on maps of Jordan and/or maps showing the ancient Moabite plateau. However, when researching the name into more extent the name Wadi Nakhl was discovered (figure 16). The site has been researched through several methods; examination of written records, excavations and surface examination. This resulted in the belief that there has been a settlement of some sort with origin in the Early Bronze Age. The settlement stayed active through all the years up to the Ottoman period. According to Kennedy and Bewley (2004), the site consists of multiple ruins and among those, the ruins of a church were identified. The construction date of the church remains unknown however, the date that the church went out of use can be expected somewhere in the Ottoman period. Therefore, the

church is expected to stay in use after 630/640 AD. The church is listed in the database as number 104.

*Figure 16 Location Nakhl shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/N802899490*

### *Pella (Tabaqa Fathl): Church East, church West and Civic complex church*

The site of Pella (figure 17) consists of a central hill and is located north-east in the country of Jordan and to the west of the mountain Jabal Abu Al-Khas (Figure 18). The site Pella has been continuously occupied from the year 6000 BC until the Mamluk period 1263-1516 AD. The site counts three churches and all of them have been in use after the 630/640 AD. The churches are named: Church East, church West and the Civic complex church. The eastern church was constructed on older remains of ancient structures. Some of the elements were reused in building the eastern church. The church was located on a height of the mountain Jabal Abu Al-Khas and was constructed in somewhere between the end of the 5$^{th}$ century and the

beginning of the 6th century. The western church was located on the west side of the main archaeological mount in a necropolis that was used from the Bronze Age. The church was basilica in style and had three projecting apses. The construction of the western church can also be dated somewhere at the end of the 5th century and/or the beginning of the sixth century. The civic complex church was the only church that was not constructed on older archaeological traces and was located between the two main archaeological mounts of the site. The construction date of the church is older than the other two churches, the date is suspected to be somewhere in the 4th century. The researchers of the site pinpointed the out of use and abandonment of the churches in the year of 747/748, this is due to an earthquake that took place during that time (Michel, 2001 p. 120-125). The churches are listed in the database as number 105 (Church East), number 106 (Church West) and number 107 (Civic complex church).

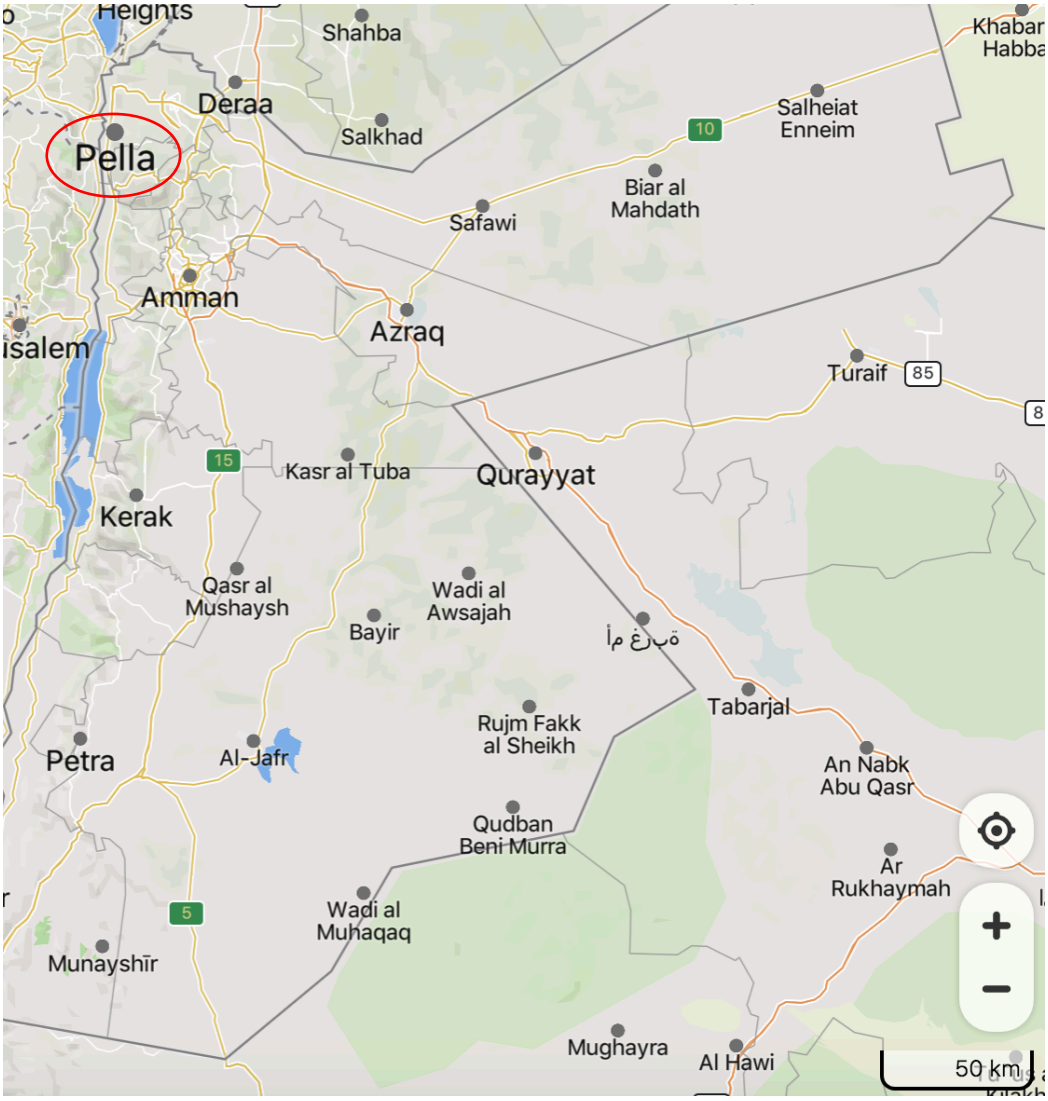



*Figure 17 Location Pella shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/Pella_%28Jordan%29*

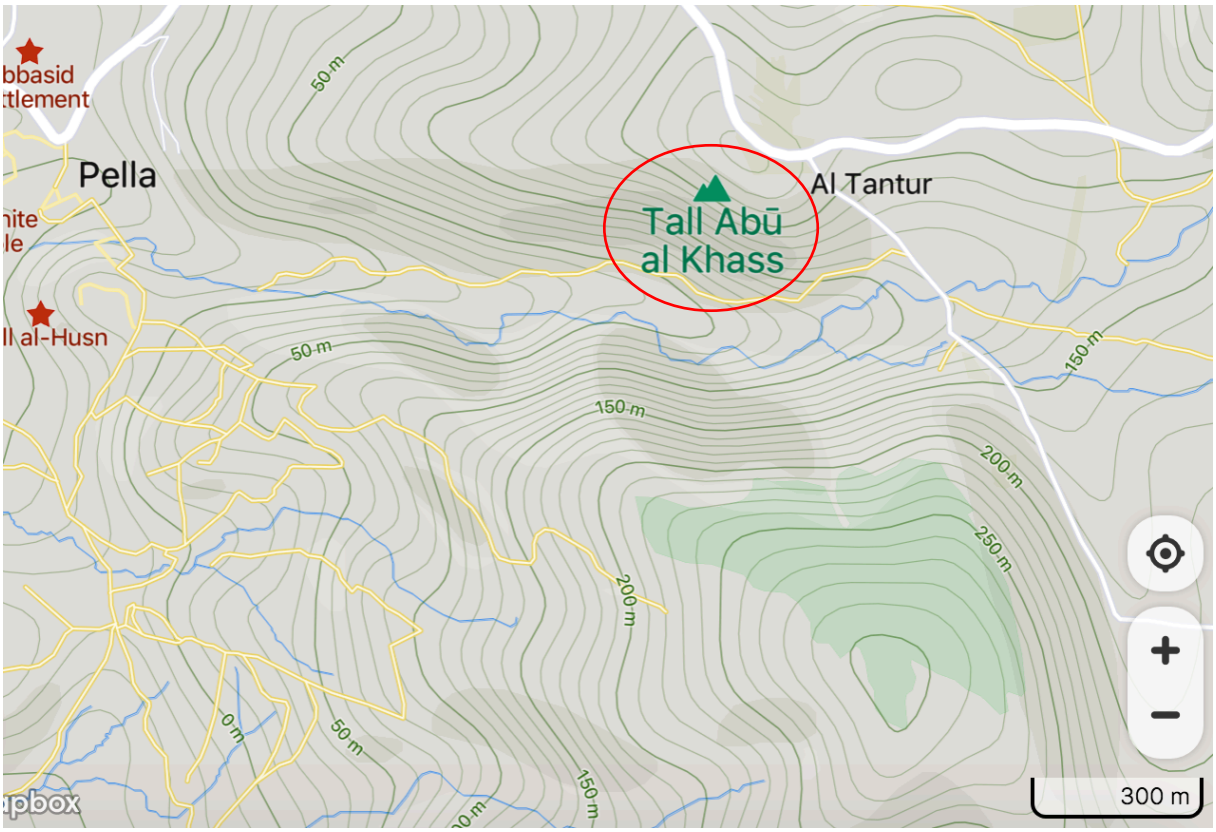



*Figure 18 Location Jabal Abu Al-Khas shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/12847794*

### *Philadelphie (Amman): Saint George*

In 250 AD the ancient biblical city of Amman (figure 19) was refounded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and was renamed Philadelphie. The domination of the city shifted throughout the centuries it was only In the seventh century that Amman resumed with its old Ammonite name. Christianity appeared in the city somewhere in the 4$^{th}$ century and when taking into account the out of use date of the Saint George church in the 9$^{th}$ century, Christianity did not truly disappear until then. The city was home for six churches however, only the previously mentioned Saint George church stayed into use after 630/640 AD. The church was constructed in the 6$^{th}$ century before the city was renamed and stayed in use 2 centuries after the renaming (Michel, 2001 p. 251-252). The church is listed on the database as number 117.

*Figure 19 Location Amman shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/Amman*

### *Qam: Chapel 17.2*

Qam is a small village located in the north-west of Jordan (figure 20). Two excavations, one in 1989 and one in 1995, brought two churches to light. One of the churches stayed in use after 630/640 AD and was called Chapel 17.2, this was the church that was excavated in 1995 and it was located in the southern part of the Qam. The chapel was a small limestone building and with comparison of different excavations the researchers dated the lifespan of the church from the sixth century to the eight century (Michel, 2001 p. 132). The church is listed in the database as number 119.

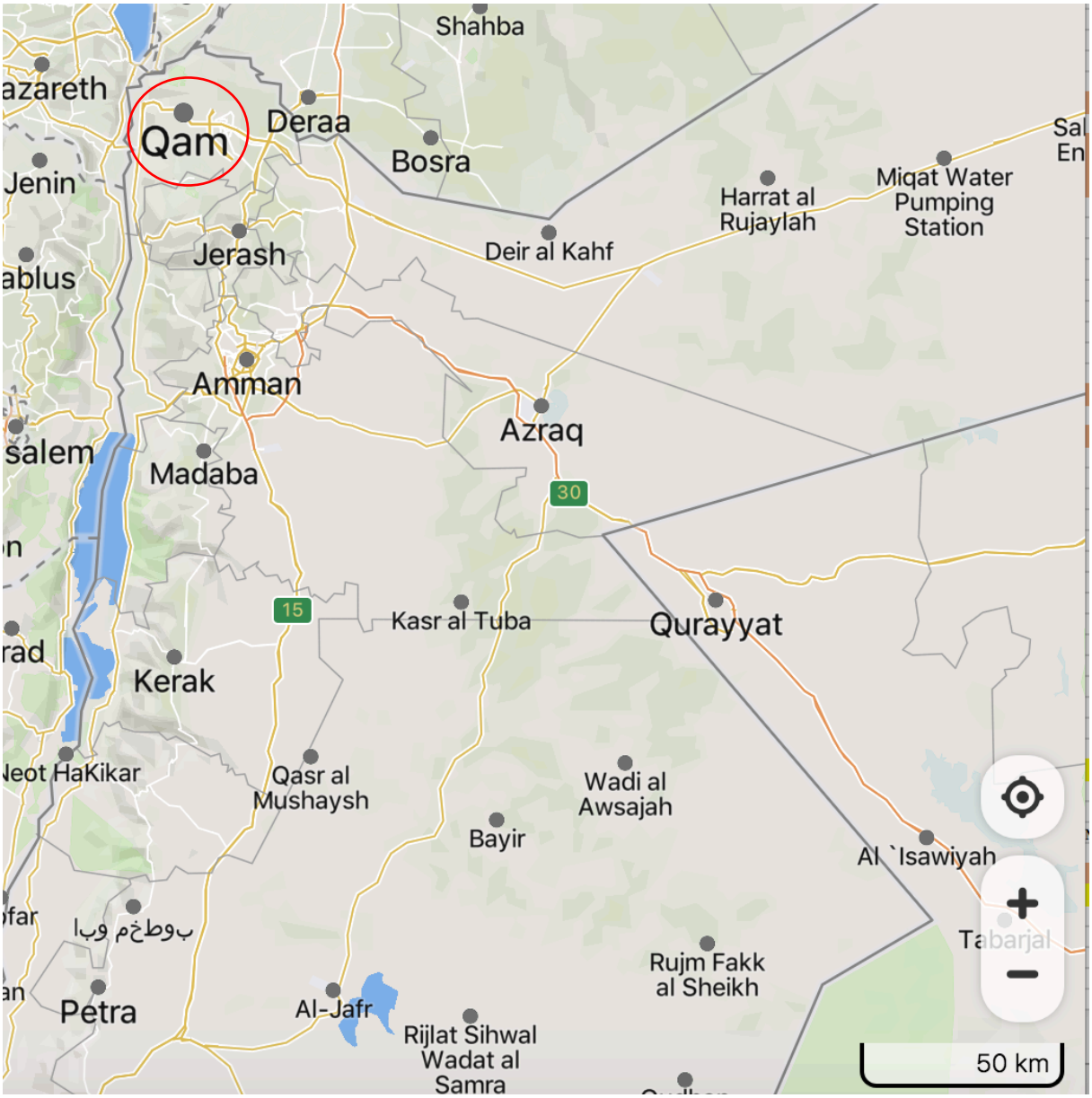



*Figure 20 Location Qam shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/12840966*

### *Tall Al-Umayrī: St. Sergius church*

According to Bevan et al. (2015), an excavation took place at Tall al-Umayrī (figure 21) in early 2009 that recovered a substantial basilica-style church with a constructed date somewhere in the sixth century. This church was also dedicated to the martyr St. Sergius and appears to have been occupied until the eighth century. The church is listed in the database as number 140.

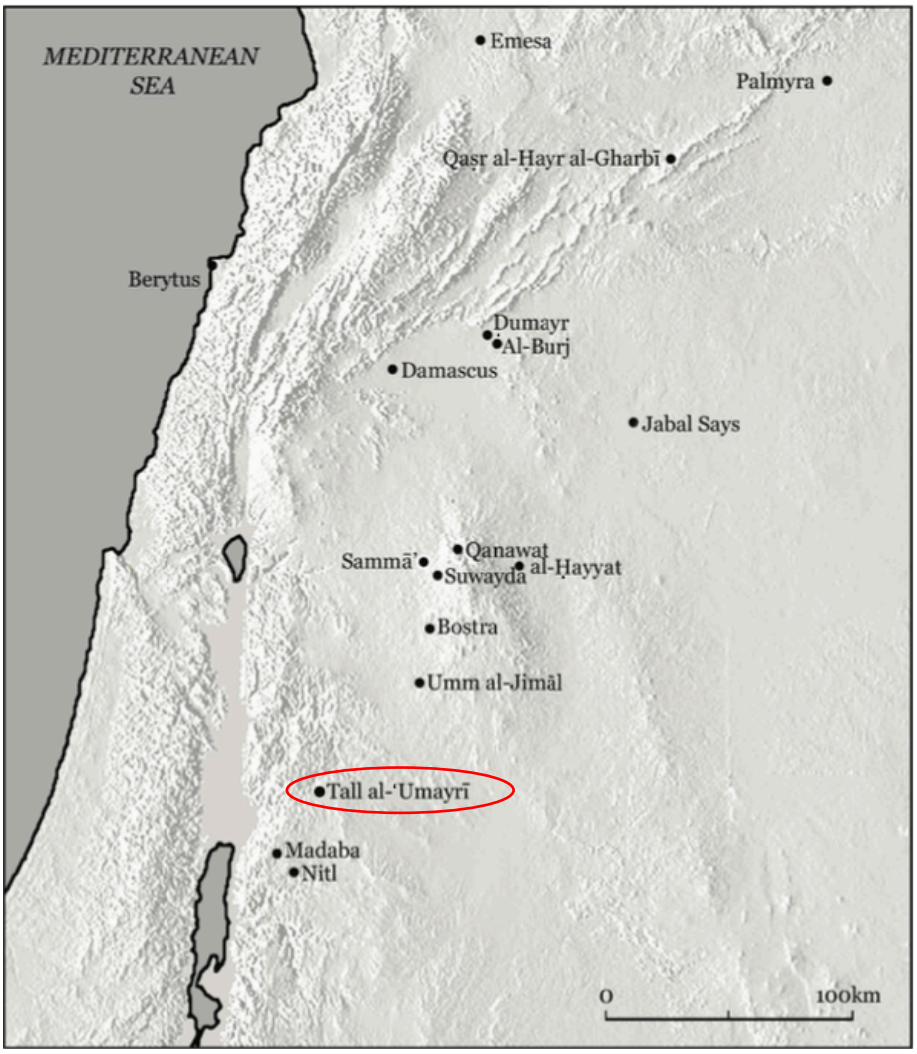



*Figure 21 Location of Tall Al-Umayrī shown with a red circle. Source: Bevan et al., 2015.*

### *Yajuz: Church*

Yajuz (figure 22) lies in a small east-to-west valley only 4 kilometers north of the suburbs of the city of Amman. Excavations in this area have discovered tombs, late Roman churches, wine presses and an industrial area. The ruins and remains discovered suggest that the site used to be a settlement that continued well into the Abbasid period (Kennedy & Bewley, 2004). According to Michel (2001) only 2 churches were discovered on the site of Yajuz and only one of them stayed in use after 630/640 AD. The church is listed in the database as number 170.

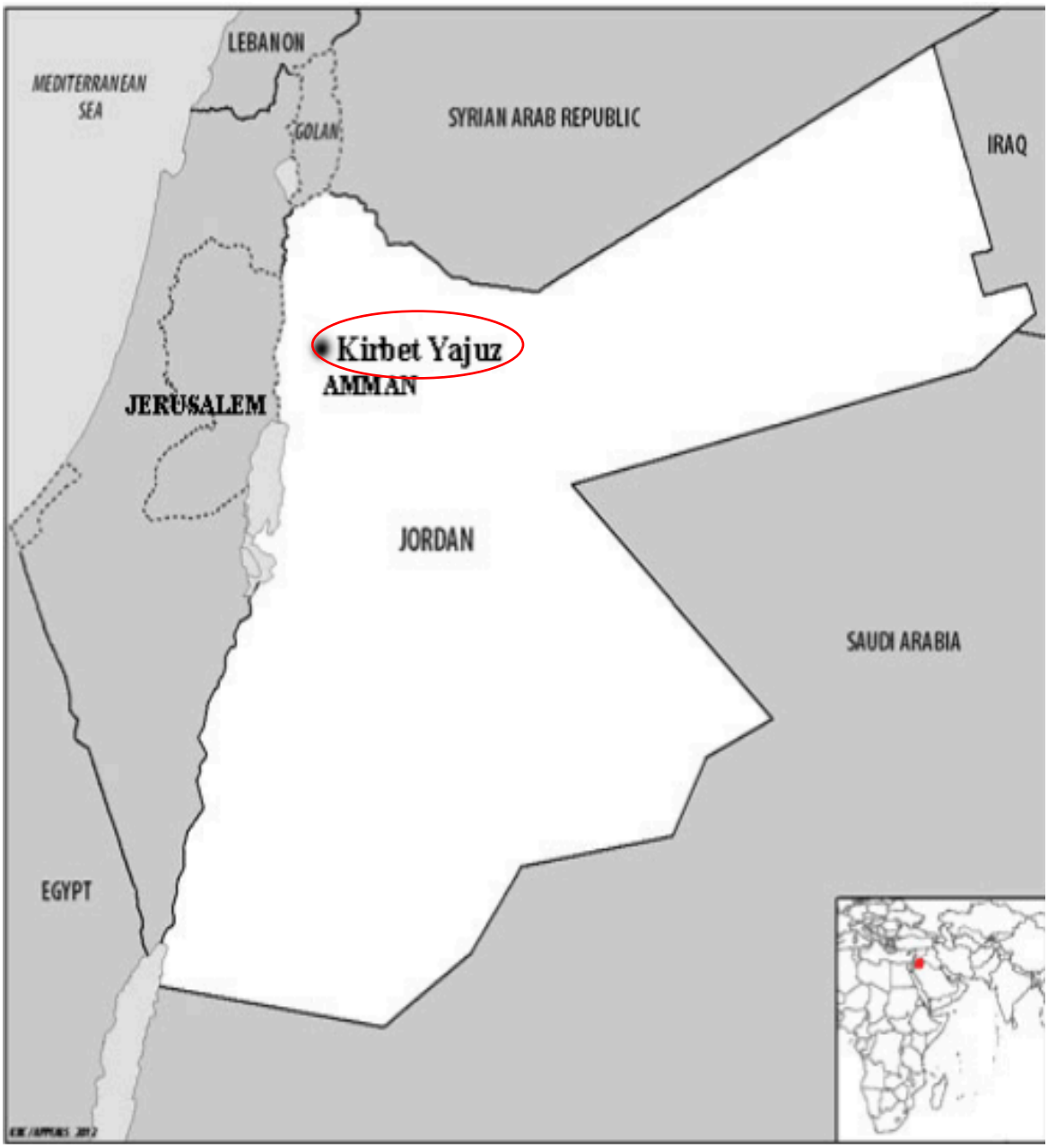



*Figure 22 Location Yajuz (Kirbet Yajuz Amman) in Jordan. Source: Arinat (2014).*

### *Yasilah: Basilica with 3 naves (Church A/1)*

The site of Yasilah, or known as Wadi Al Yasilah (figure 23), is located in the north-west of Jordan 8 kilometers to the east of the city Irbid (figure 24). During the excavation of the site two churches were discovered that were named church A and church B. Only church A stayed in use after 630/640 AD the church got out of use during the second quarter of the eight century. The construction date of the church is unknown (Michel, 2001 p. 164). The church is listed on the database as number 172.

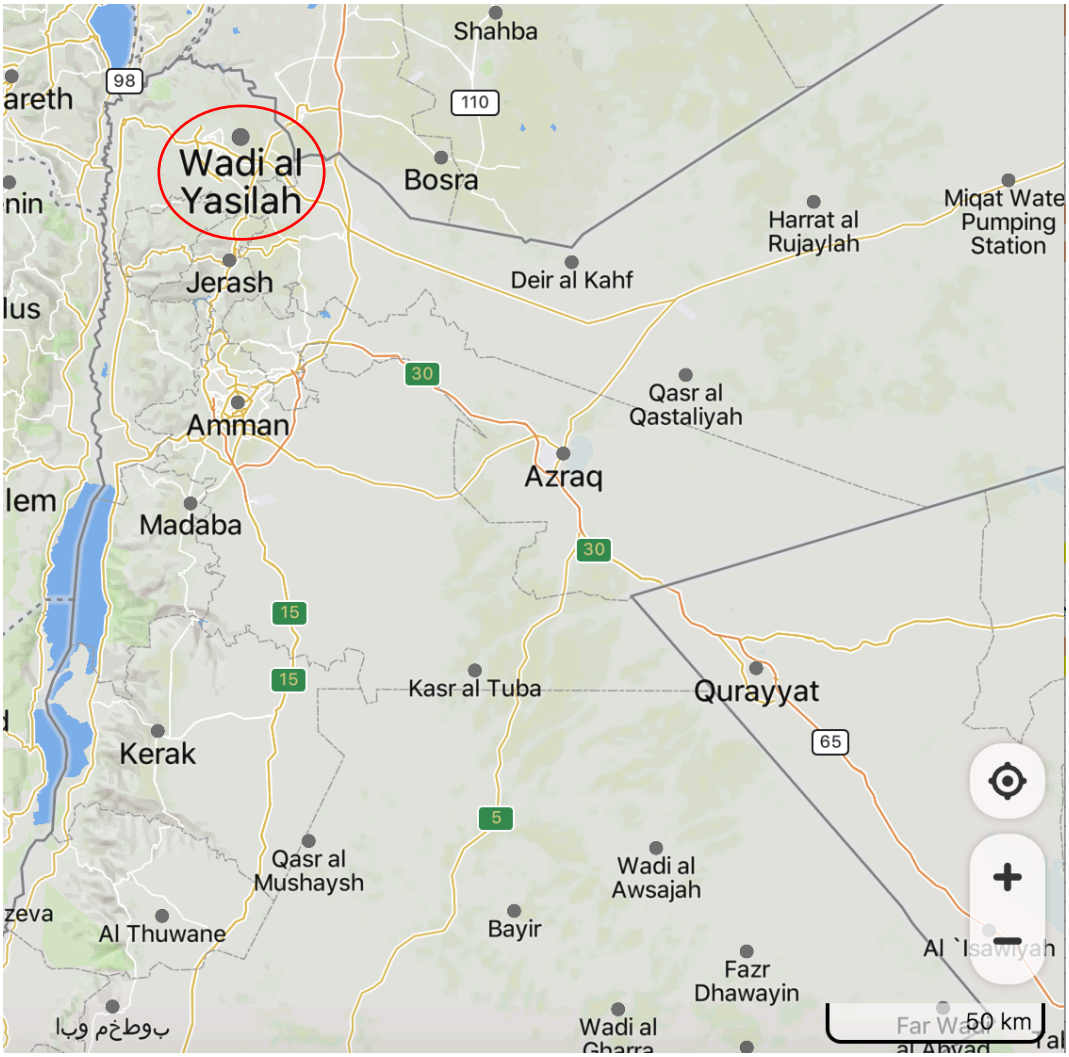



*Figure 23 Location Yasilah shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/N798856838*

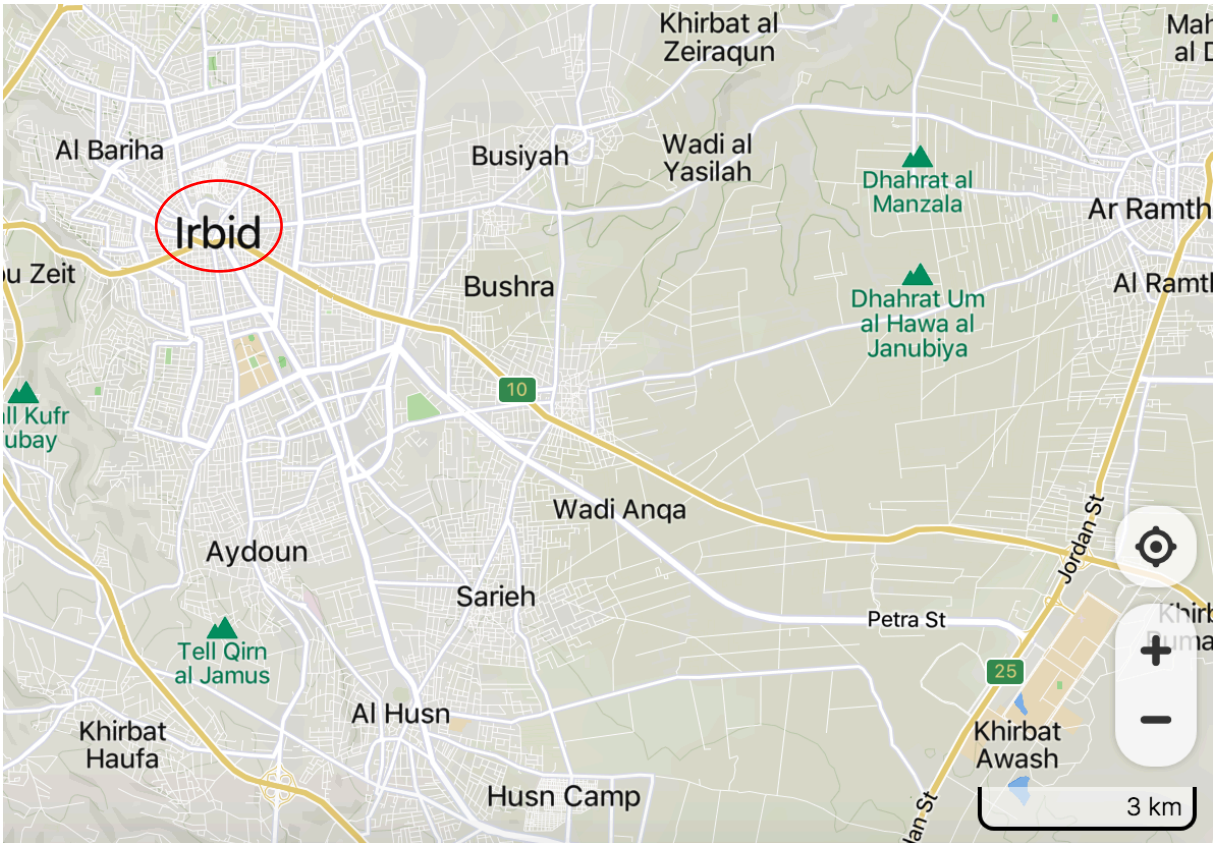



*Figure 24 Location Irbid shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/Irbid*

### 3.3.2 Churches converted into mosque

In this paragraph the churches that were converted into mosques will be shortly described.

#### *Udhruh: Udhruh church*

The Udhruh church is located in Udhruh, Jordan, approximately 15 km east of the site of Petra (figure 25). According to Al-Salameen et al. (2011), the proximity of the site Udhruh to Petra "*…made it an ideal settlement for commercial exchange and trade during the Nabataean period*".

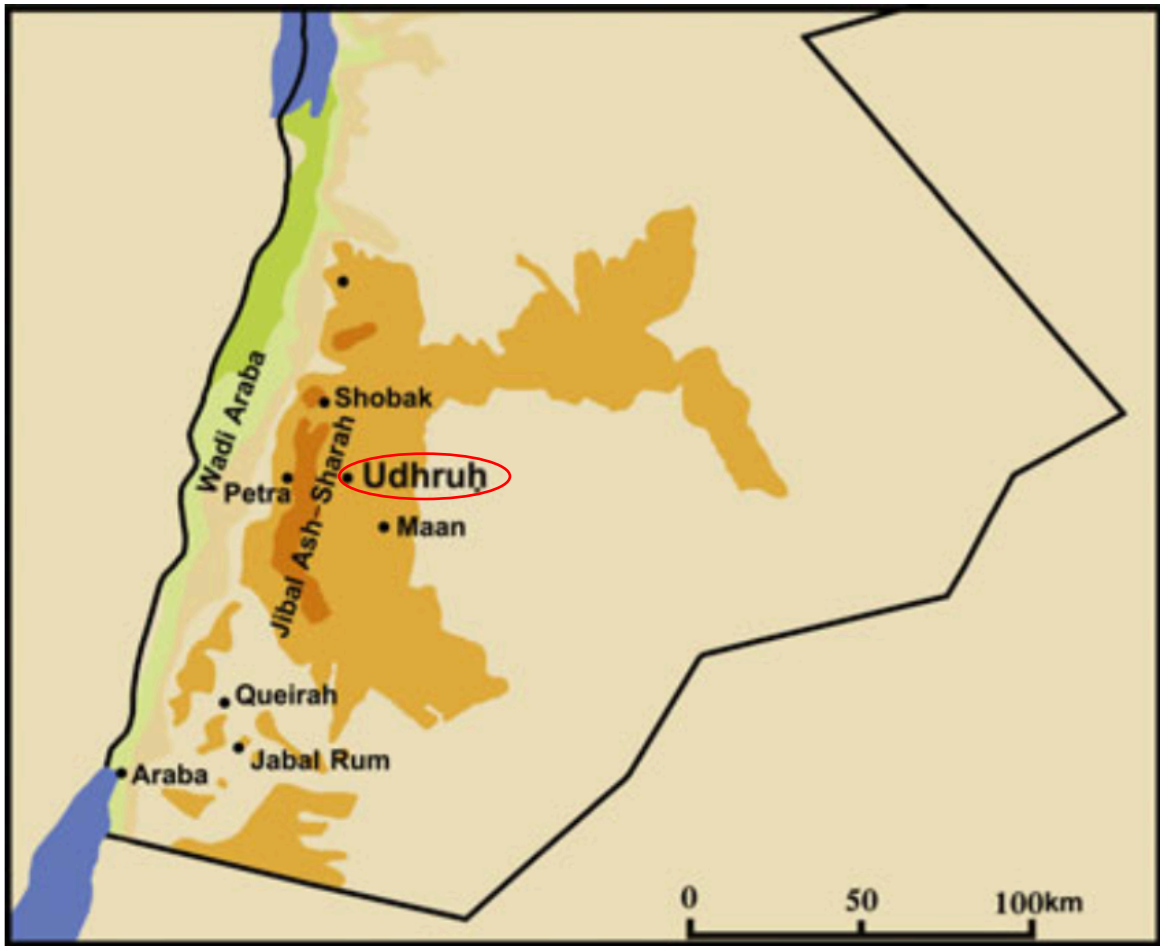


*Figure 25 Location of Udhruh. Source: Al-Salameen et al., 2011.*

Udhruh stayed an important site during the Islamic period. The Udhruh church is a unique/rare example because the church was built so close to Arabia, where the Islamic faith first appeared. However, the construction date of the church was assumed to be uncertain by Al-Salameen et al (2011) nevertheless, the construction date can be set on the year 430 AD (Driessen, 2023 personal comment). This church shows written indications on the interior of the walls of the church, that it was still in Christian use during the Islamic period. During the research the amount of four inscriptions were found, the researcher Z. Al-Salameen documented the inscriptions by making separate drawings of them (figure 26, figure 27, figure 28 and figure 29).

*Figure 26 Inscription 1 by Z. al-Salameen. Source: Al-Salameen et al., 2011.*

The inscription of figure 26 translates to:
"*Oh God have mercy upon your sinful*
*Miserable (and) guilty servant Tarīf*
*Bin Abī al-Karam bin Laīth*
*And send (your) mercy upon his parents and (upon) all the sons of*
*Baptism, father to son and he wrote*
*Salih in the year seven hundred and five*" (Al-Salameen et al., 2011).

In the Christianity the adherents of the faith pray towards 'father' (indicating that god was the father of all mankind) and call themselves son, this indicates that the text of inscription 1 (figure 26) was Christian of origin instead of Muslim. The text of inscription 1 can be dated to the year of 705 however according to Al-Salameen et al. (2011) this date should be interpreted differently; it is uncertain how the author of this text understood this date. During the research of Al-Salameen et al. (2011) the writing style of the text was compared to a number of dated Arabic inscriptions and this suggested that the writer used the official Islamic calendar to date his inscription. Accodring to Al-Salameen et al. (2011) the text should therefore be dated AD 1306. The year of 1306 lies well into the Islamic period and therefore, this Christian inscription can be seen as proof that the church was still in use during the Islamic period.

*Figure 27 Inscription 2 by Z. al-Salameen. Source: Al-Salameen et al., 2011.*

The inscription of figure 27 translates to:
"*have mercy upon your sinful servant*
*Ishāq son of George and show your mercy (upon)*
*All (those who followed) Christian Religion*" (Al-Salameen et al., 2011)

The inscription (figure 27) gives clear proof of the origin being Christian by the text: Christian Religion. According to Al-Salameen et al. (2011) the writing style and the form of the letters of inscription 2 are similar to those of inscription 1. This indicates that the date of inscription 2 can be put in the same period as that of inscription 1 leading it to the same conclusion of being written in the Islamic period.

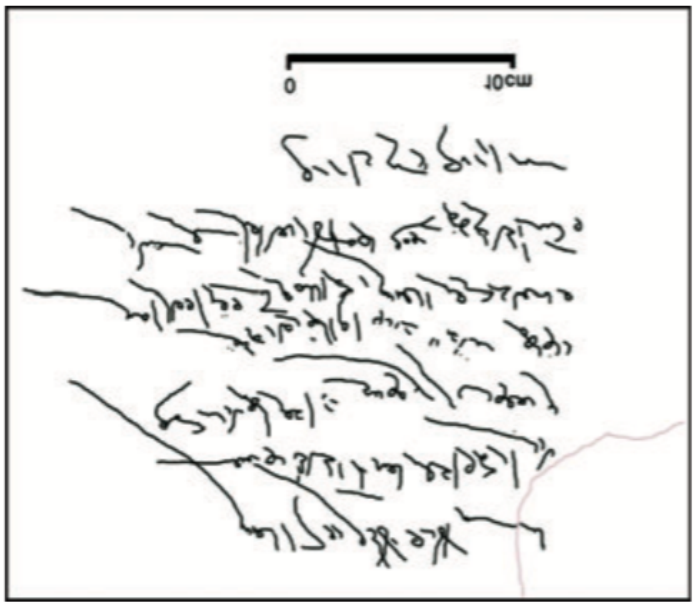


*Figure 28 Inscription 3 by Z. al-Salameen. Source: Al-Salameen et al., 2011.*

The inscription of figure 28 translates to:
"*Son of Ya'qoub son of son of Mousa O Lord forgive them all their*
*Sins at intercession of the mother of Light Mariyam in accordance*
*With intercession of George the Holy, may God have his*
*Mercy upon him who writes, reads and says Amen*
*And the sinner wrote on their behalf on Wednesday of the month of Sha'bān*
*In the year of sixty four and four*" (Al-Salameen et al., 2011).

The third inscription (figure 28) also refers to god and uses the phrase Amen (used in Christian prayer) this again is a clear indication that the text is written by an adherent of the Christian faith. However, the date of the text does not correspondent with the dates we use nowadays, according to Al-Salameen et al. (2011) the texts refers to the Islamic month of Sha bān and this undoubtedly refers to the Islamic Hijri calendar; the date of 644 in this calendar corresponds to AD 1246. The same conclusion can be made that this date is in the Islamic period and therefore, once again this Christian text indicates that the church was still in Christian use during that period.

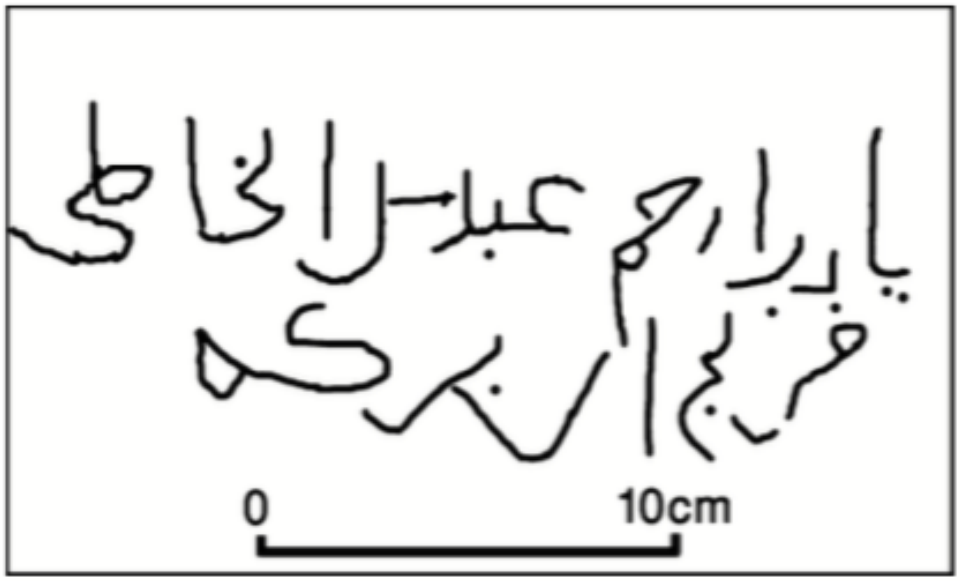



*Figure 29 Inscription 4 by Z. al-Salameen. Source: Al-Salameen et al., 2011.*

The inscription of figure 29 translates to:
"*Oh Lord have mercy on your sinful servant*
*Farīg son of Barakah*" (Al-Salameen et al., 2011).

The fourth inscription (figure 29) refers to the lord which can be interpreted as the Christian god and asks for forgiveness (common in Christian prayer). Nevertheless, the text does not include a reference to the date of the inscription; according to Al-Salameen et al. (2011) the origin of the forms of the letters can be dated around the middle of the sixth century.

During the excavation of the Udhruh church multiple inscriptions were found nevertheless, only the previously mentioned four inscriptions are deciphered to this day. The inscriptions are truly unique to the fact that they are of Arabic-Christian origin and those have never been found before in the region. The church is listed in the database as number 141.

The church of Udhruh was converted into a mosque that included the constructing of a Mihrab (figure 30), a nice in the wall of the mosques that points towards (Jerusalem and later Mecca) showing which way to face for prayer, can be seen as a sign for the converting of the church. Al-Salameen (2011) argues for the conversion happening probably during the late Ottoman period however, recent research suggests otherwise. Driessen argues for the converting of the church during the Mammluk period in 1263-1516 AD (Driessen, 2023 personal comment).

*Figure 30 An example of a historical Mihrab located in Qasr al-Hallabat . Source: Haupt & Binder (https://universes.art/en/art-destinations/jordan/desert-castles/qasr-al-hallabat/mosque-3).*

### *Humayma: B100 & F102*

On the contrary to the other churches on the site of Humayma the B100 (Figure 31) church was not well-preserved. This possibly could have been due to a fire. The church was probably constructed somewhere in the fifth or sixth century and went out of use a century later.
The F102 (figure 31) church was the second church of this project that was not well-preserved. The church was also expected to be constructed in the sixth or seventh century. Unfortunately, because of the preservation state of this church, not much information about it could be gathered during the excavation.
When reading the publication Oleson and Schick (2013), the assumption can be made that converting a church into a mosque would involve closing the apse of the church with a wall. When researching the remains of the he F102 and B100 churches it is noticeable that the apse of the churches was closed off by a wall (Oleson and Schick, 2013 p. 159). The churches are listed in the database as number 45 (B100) and number 49 (F102).

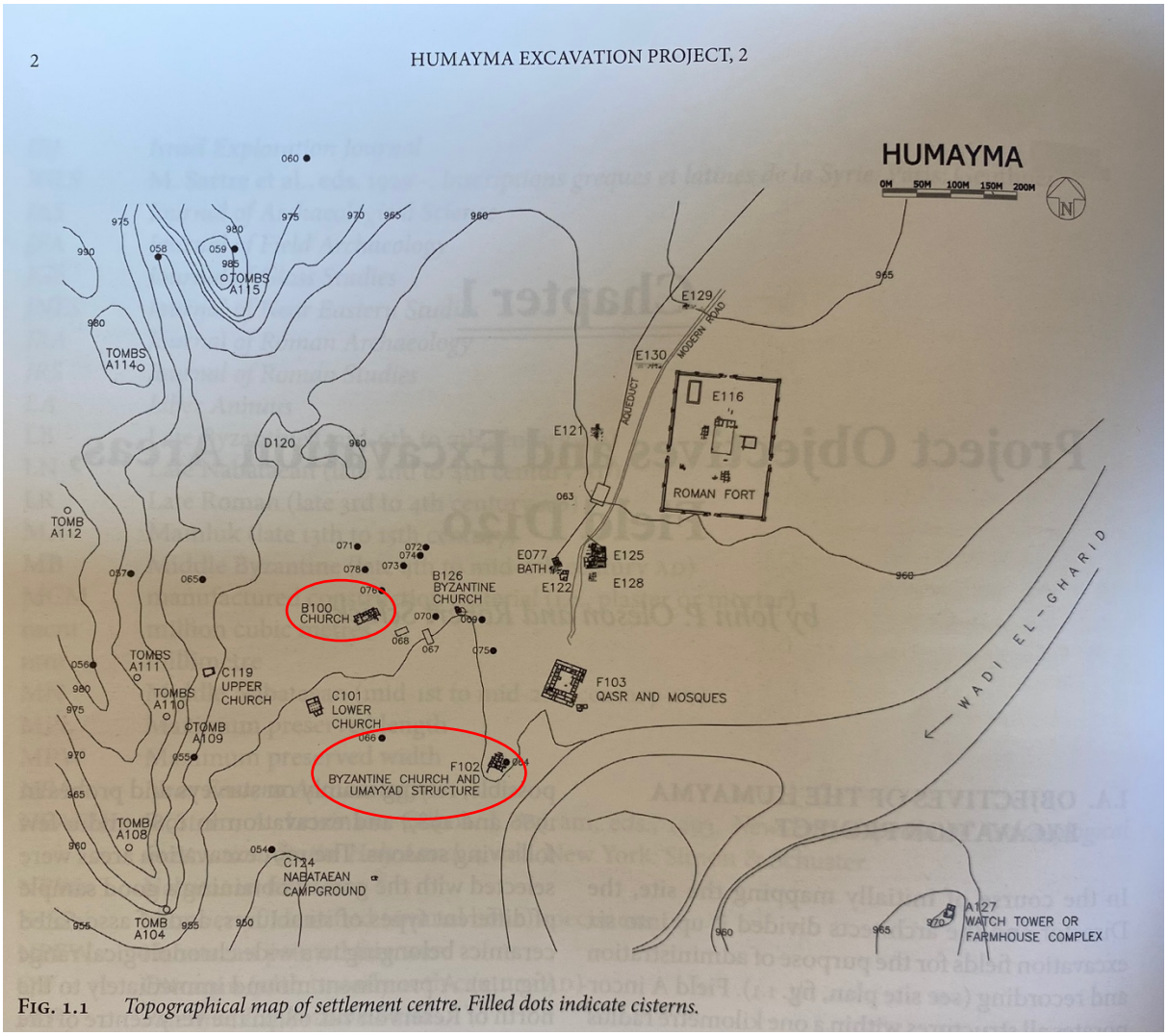



*Figure 31 Location of the B100 church and the F102 church shown with a red circle. Source: John Peter Oleson and Schick (2013).*

### *Khirbat Al-Burz – Sama Al-Rusan: Church*

The site of Khirtbat Al-Burz is located 2 kilometers to the southwest of the village of Sama Al-Rusan and 10 kilometers northwest of the city Irbid (figure 32). The site only consisted of one church (basilica with three naves). Like the previously mentioned church (Udhruh), the church was converted into a mosque by adding/constructing a mihrab. The construction date of the church is pinpointed by the excavators in the sixth century and the out of use can be dated to the Umayyad period when the church was converted (Michel, 2001 p. 137). The church is listed in the database as number 65.

*Figure 32 Location Khirbat al Burz shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/12845368*

### *Khirbat Dariya: Saint Cosme and Damien church*

The location of the site Khirbat Dariya is approximately 17 kilometers to the south of the city Irbid. During the excavation of the site only one church was discovered: the Saint Cosme and Damien church. The excavators concluded that the church was construction during the 6th century and that the church was converted into a mosque during the Umayyad period (Michel, 2001 p. 135). The exact location of Khirbat Dariya is not known however, when searching for the same on a modern map the name pops. On this map a house is named Khirbat Daraya (Figure 33). The house is located south of Irbid and it appears on the map that it is located approximately 17 kilometers away. Therefore, this map will be used to portray the location of the site. The church is listed in the database as number 82.

*Figure 33 Location Khirbat Dariya shown with a red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/N802834252*

### *Sama: St. George*

The last church mentioned in the publication of John Peter Oleson and Schick (2013) is the St. George church in Sama, Jordan. The location of Sama is not tracible on any map of Jordan; however, according to Oleson and Schick (2013), the St. George church was converted into a mosque. With this information, an educated guess of the location was made by searching for Sama in combination with the word mosque. In the figure below (figure 34), the speculated location is shown for the St. George church in former Sama Jordan. It can be expected that the name Sama actually is short for Sama Al-Rousan. The church is listed in the database as number 135.

*Figure 34 Location Sama shown with red dot. Source: Google Maps.*

### *Umm Al-Surab: St. Sergius and Bacchus*

The St. Sergius and Bacchus church is located at Umm Al-Surab (figure 35) in Jordan. According to Bevan et al. (2015), Sergius and Bacchus were two Roman army officials executed after refusing to give up the Christian faith, making them two martyrs that resulted in a religious cult. This again resulted in multiple churches in Jordan and surrounding that went by the same name; St. Sergius church. According to John Peter Oleson and Schick (2013), the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus was converted into a mosque in either the eighth or the twelfth to the fifteenth century. However, according to Michel (2001, 187-189) the conversion of the church can be narrowed down to the Ayyubid or Mammluk period. The church is listed in the database as number 165.

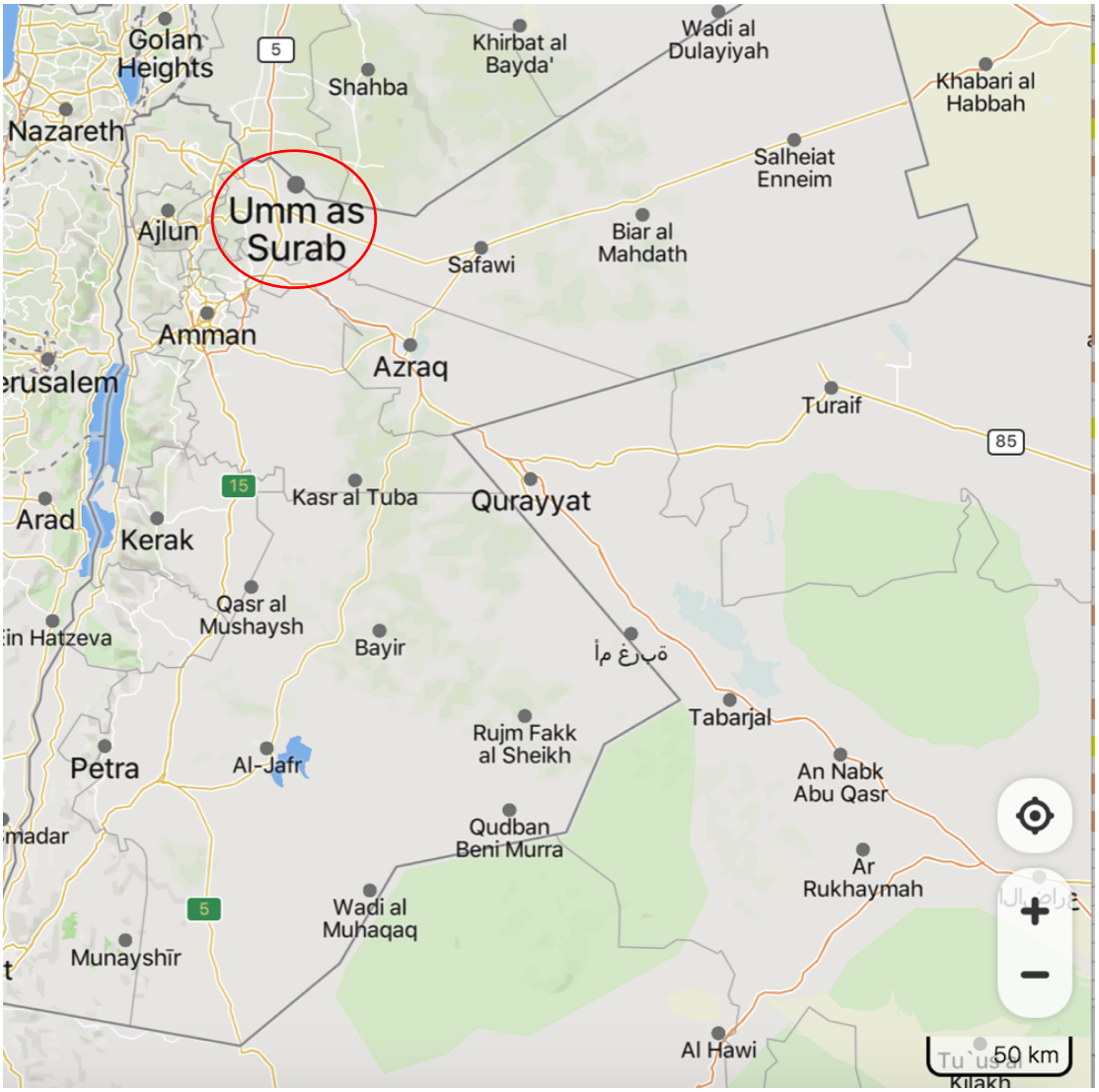



*Figure 35 Location Umm Al-Surab shown with red circle. Source: https://mapcarta.com/12838302*

## 3.4 Research questions

In this paragraph, the research questions will be answered by the extra information that is gathered throughout extensive literature research focusing on the subject of the question in combination with the information gathered about the churches; that already was described in the previous paragraphs in this Chapter. To keep this Chapter organised and clear to read, the research questions will be answered in the order they have been portrayed in chapters 1 and 2, and the questions will be repeated once more for clarity, after which answers will be given.

***How many churches were present in Jordan before the Islamic reign?***

The Islamic reign started in the 7th century in Jordan, to be exact 630/640 AD; this gives a clear timeframe for listing the churches that were present before this, any time before the 7th century and or before the exact date of 630/640 AD. The churches collected during this research that were constructed before the Islamic reign can be added up together. When doing this, the great number of 100 churches can be counted in Jordan. The churches that were constructed in the 7th century with an unknown exact date are not added up to the counted amount.

This number is without considering the churches from which the construction date is unknown. The number of churches with an unknown date for construction is 65.

When adding these churches up to the list, the number of the churches rises up to 165.

The location and names of the churches (for clarity of the reader) will not be listed here, for this information the database should be consulted.

***How many churches were present in Jordan during the Islamic reign?***

The start of the Islamic reign is previously mentioned as being in the 7th century (630/640 AD); this can conclude that the churches that were present in Jordan during the Islamic reign are churches that went out of use later than the 7th century. The amount of 33 churches have been counted that went out of use later than the Islamic rise.

The churches that went out of use later than the start of the Islamic reign, also referred to as the Islamic rise are listed by location and name in chapter 3.3.1.

***How did the organisational structure of Christianity develop during the emergence of Islam?***

With the rise of Christianity, the practice of bishops started. The bishops found during the literature research were put into a table (table 7) to make the information clearer to read.

The amount of ten bishops, Arius, Asterius, Germanus, Jason, Theodore, Mare, Holy Isodore, Athenogenes, Johannes of Augustopolis and Yūhanã bin Ru'bah, were found in the literature, most of them were bishops of Petra and after the city of Petra fell as the capital of Jordan the city of Udhruh arose as the seat of the bishop. In the table, it is noticeable that the first bishops were located in Petra and that the last bishops were located in Udhruh; this can attribute to the previous statement that Udhruh replaced Petra as the seat of the bishop. Two other bishops are also listed in the table: the bishop Mare of Amida and the bishop Holy Isodore of Kenneshrin. During the literature research, the previously mentioned bishops were not looked into to more extent; this did not seem relevant for answering the main question in the end.

| Bishops | Information |
|---|---|
| Arius | Bishop of Petra in AD 343 (Fiema et al. 2001, 1) |
| Asterius | Successor of Arius in AD 362 in Petra (Fiema et al. 2001, 1) |
| Germanus | Presumably bishop in Petra after Asterius was sent into exile (Fiema et al. 2001, 1) |
| Jason | Bishop who converted the Urn tomb in Petra into a church in July AD 446 (Fiema et al. 2001, 1) |
| Theodore | Bishop of Petra AD 536, participated in the synod of Jerusalem (Fiema et al. 2001, 2) |
| Mare | Bishop of Amida (Fiema et al. 2001, 2) |
| Holy Isodore | Bishop of Kenneshrin (Fiema et al. 2001, 2) |
| Athenogenes | Bishop of Petra end 6$^{th}$ to beginning 7$^{th}$ century (Fiema et al. 2001, 2) |
| Johannes of Augustopolis | Bishop Udhruh (al-Salameen et al. 2011, 233) |
| Yūhanã bin Ru'bah | Bishop (al-Salameen et al. 2011, 233) |

*Table 5 Bishops and information gathered out Fiema et al. (2001).*

With the information gathered here it can be suggested that bishopric ended with the rise of Islam. This can be suggested because the bishopric in Petra ended and shifted towards Udhruh, The church of Udhruh was converted into a mosque during the Islamic reign and therefore, it can be suspected that when the bishopric ended in Udhruh (it being the seat of the bishop), it ended in Jordan in totality. This can be seen as a suggested sign indicating that Christianity's organizational structure changed and/or stopped because the bishop had a leadership position in Christianity; the bishop watched over all the priests and had leadership over them. Unfortunately, more information about the organizational structure of Christianity was not found in the literature used for this research.
However, according to Politis (2012), pilgrimage continued to Jordan during the emergence of Islam in the 7$^{th}$ century AD. This, regrettably, does not give information about the organizational structure rather than the behavioral structure of the Christians. Furthermore, according to Fiema et al. (2001), archaeological data generally confirmed the impression of a peaceful transformation from Christianity to Islam in Jordan. This can suggest that, at least, in the early years of the Islamic reign, the organizational structure did not necessarily change.

***How is it noticeable that a church is converted into a mosque?***
When reading the publication by John Peter Oleson and Schick (2013), the assumption can be made that converting a church into a mosque would involve closing the apse of the church with a wall. In some cases, after closing the apse, more rooms were built in a rectangular shape around the existing church structure. This would have made the building much larger in size and more recognizable as a mosque (referring to how mosques are portrayed nowadays, figure 36). According to Al-Salameen et al. (2011), the Udhruh church was converted into a mosque, and this was done by constructing a mihrab along the southern wall

of the church. According to Michel (2001) in the church located in Khirbat Al-Burz a mihrab was also constructed.

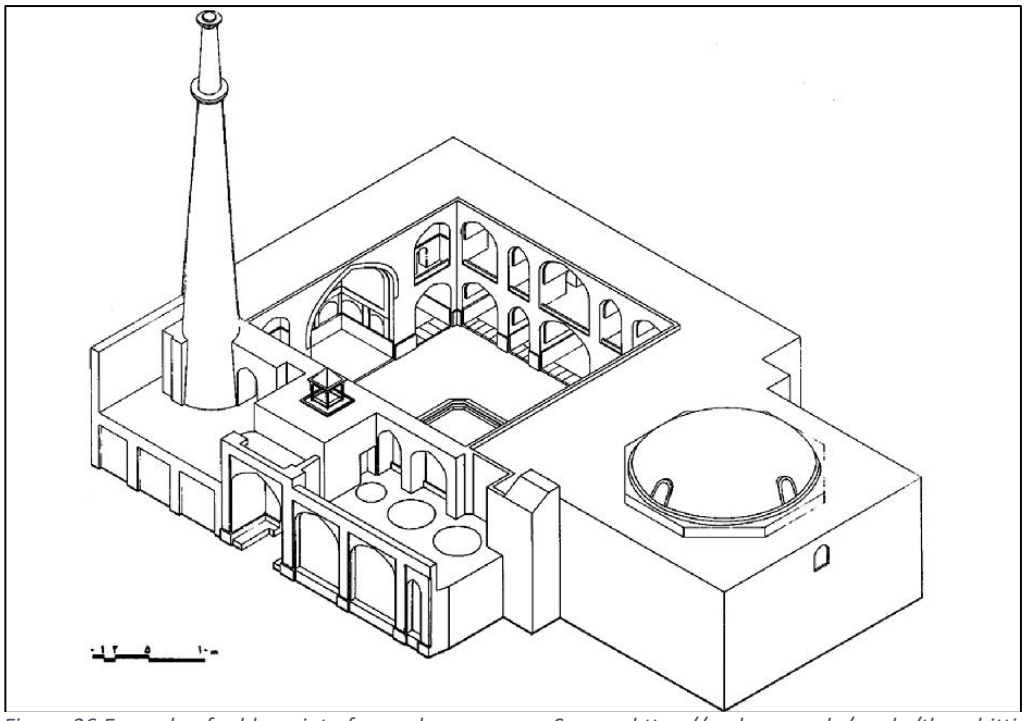


*Figure 36 Example of a blueprint of a modern mosque. Source: https://scalar.usc.edu/works/the-whittier-mosque/whittier-mosque-blueprint---aa*

***Which churches in Jordan show signs of being converted into mosques?***

According to Oleson and Schick (2013), four churches were converted into mosques: St. Sergius and Bacchus (Umm Al-Surab), St. George (Sama), F102 (Humayma), and the B100 (Humayma) church. This correspondents with the literature of Michel (2001) whom also described these churches as converted into mosques. However, three other churches can also be added to this list: the church in Khirbat Al-Burz, the Udhruh church and the Saint Cosme and Damien church.

When researching the remains of the F102 and B100 churches, as described by Oleson and Shick (2013), it is noticeable that the apse of the churches was closed off by a wall. When taking the answer into account of the previous research question, it can be concluded that this is a sign that shows that the F102 and the B100 church were converted into mosques. The same can be said when taking the answer to the previous question into account for the church of Udhruh and Khirbat Al-Burz. The construction of a mihrab in the Udhruh church and the Khirbat Al-Burz church can be seen as a sign of it being converted into a mosque. Considering the exact formulation of this question, only four out of the seven churches explicitly show signs of being converted into a mosque.

***Which churches in Jordan have been partly used as monasteries?***

During the start of this research the focus also lied by answering this question into extent. However, after the handing in of the concept of this thesis it became clear that one crucial book was not used in this research. When reworking this thesis with the information about this book the focused lied with the answering of the main question. Therefore, the answering of this question is only done with the information that was found during the earlier stages of the research. This resulted in a small table (table 8) that only mentioned a few monasteries.

The monasteries that are portrayed on the table are: the monastery of Jabal Haraun, the monastic complex of Deir 'Ain' Abata, the monastery of Mount Nebo, the monastery of Madaba and the monastery of Hayyan al-Mashrif.

| Monastery | Information |
|---|---|
| Monastic complex with an early Byzantine monastery (paragraph 3.3.8) | **Location:** Deir 'Ain' Abata site<br>**Construction date**: 4th century AD<br>**Destruction date/out of use**: continued for over four hundred years<br>• The monastery was coenobitic (communal rule of life)<br>• The monastery was a major pilgrim destination during the fifth to seventh centuries AD<br>(Politis 2012) |
| Byzantine monastery (paragraph 3.3.9) | **Location:** Jabal Hārūn, mountain Aaron<br>**Construction date**: unknown<br>**Destruction date/out of use**: between 1217-1276<br>• Varied structure because it was constructed by converting a Nabataean sanctuary<br>(Fiema et al. 2016) |
| Deir el Qattar el Byzanti | **Location:** Lisan Peninsula<br>**Construction date**: UNKNOWN<br>**Destruction date/out of use**: UNKNOWN<br>(Politis, 2012) |
| Monastery (paragraph 3.3.10) | **Location:** Madaba<br>**Construction date**: UNKNOWN<br>**Destruction date/out of use**: UNKNOWN<br>(Kennedy & Bewley, 2004) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Byzantine monastery (paragraph 3.3.11) | **Location:** Mount Nebo<br>**Construction date**: AD 491<br>**Destruction date/out of use**: AD 640<br><br>• The monastery was an important pilgrimage site located at the centre of a network of monasteries in the Byzantine period<br><br>(Judd et al., 2019) |
| Monastery (paragraph 3.3.14) | **Location:** Hayyan al-Mashrif<br>**Construction date**: UNKNOWN<br>**Destruction date/out of use**: UNKNOWN<br><br>• A 'Syro-Palestinian' inscription was found inside the monastery; according to Kennedy and Bewley (2004), the inscription can be seen as a reminder that communities may still have been Semitic speaking<br><br>(Kennedy & Bewley, 2004) |

*Table 6 Monasteries in Jordan.*

Some of the monasteries were part of a more extensive Christian site and also included a church or had a church nearby; it is unclear if some of the monasteries used to be churches that have been partly used as a monastery, it appears that the monasteries that were researched were structures standing on their own with a church inside of it or rather nearby. The site of Deir 'Ain' Abata used to be a monastic complex consisting of an early Byzantine monastery with a church. In the publication of Politis (2012), the church is referred to as their own building; this indicates that the monastery and church were separated from each other rather than part of one building.

The monastery of Jabal Haraun (mountain Aaron) used to be a Nabataean sanctuary before it was converted into a Byzantine monastery. This resulted in the monastery being very varied of structure and not qualifying as a conventional monastery. This again refers to the monastery being the 'main building' of the Christian site. However, the site also included a church with a chapel; it is only unclear if the church was part of the monastery building or was a building on its own.

The literature that provided the information about the monastery of Madaba (Kennedy and Bewley, 2004) only addressed the fact that there used to be a monastery present in Madaba. No other information was given, including a church in/besides the monastery. Therefore, the monastery of Madaba will be left out of consideration in answering this question.

Two different publications provide opposite information about Mount Nebo. According to Kennedy and Bewley, a church was located on Mount Nebo; nevertheless, in contradiction, Judd et al. (2019) mentioned that there used to be a Byzantine monastery present on Mount Nebo and that the site was located at the centre of a network of monasteries. This, again, will make it hard to draw a conclusion about the usefulness of Mount Nebo in answering this

question. Therefore, the choice will be made to leave the monastery/church on Mount Nebo out of consideration in answering this question.
The monastery that used to be located in Hayyan al-Mashrif appears to have been a separate building from the churches. Kennedy and Bewley (2004) refer to the buildings on the site as separate, for example: a monastery and two churches. This suggests that, once again, no church was partly used as a monastery; the monastery was a building standing on its own.

In conclusion to answering this question, the churches that were collected during the early stages of this research have not been used partly as monasteries. The monasteries that were collected during the early stages of this research are all considered to have been buildings on their own. However, it is expected that there are more churches and/or monasteries in Jordan that could have been used in answering this question and this might have resulted in different answering of this question.

***What kind of archaeological remains are proof of the conversion of churches into mosques?***
During the answering of the previous questions about the conversion of a church into a mosque, it can be concluded that the archaeological remains that can provide proof of the conversion are the finding of remains of the floor plan of the church that includes of an extra wall that closes off the apse. Furthermore, the construction of a mihrab in a church, as previously explained, a nice in the wall for Islamic prayer, can be suggested as proof of the conversion into a mosque. In addition to the two previously mentioned changes in the floor plan; the clear change in the overall floorplan (the construction of square sized rooms besides the outer wall of a church) can, when it is accompanied by the closing of the apse or the constructing of a mihrad, also be suggested as proof of the conversion into mosques.

## 3.5 Main question

In this paragraph, the main question will be answered through the answers that were given on the research questions in combination with information that was required during the extensive literature research, the making of the database, the making of the spreading maps and the making of the tables.

For clarity, the main question will be repeated once more:

***What is the continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of Islam?***

Before the rise of Islam, the quantity of the churches was significantly higher, 100-165 churches, than after the rise of the faith, 33 churches. Some of these churches were even converted into mosques: the B100 church, the F102 church, the church in Khirbat Al-Burz, the Saint Cosme and Damien church, the St. George church, the Udhruh church and the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus.

The bishopric also seems to have ended during the rise of Islam. The decline of the churches, the conversion of churches into mosques, and the ending of the bishopric can be seen as a decline or even the beginning of the overall end of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of Islam.

However, as Politis (2012) stated, pilgrimages continued to Jordan during the emergence of Islam. Another contradiction to the statement that Christianity ended is the fact that in the church of Udhruh, inscriptions were found that suggest otherwise. According to al-Salameen et al. (2011), "*… during the Islamic period, Christianity continued to be practiced in Uhrduh as indicated by various text written on the interior walls of the medieval town church*". The church itself is also a rare example of an Arab Christian monument that was built approximately so close to where the Islamic faith originated (Arabia). Taking this into account, together with the statement by al-Salameen et al. (2011) that Udhruh can be seen as an important site during the Islamic period, suggests that the evidence points towards the fact that Christianity (at least) at Udhruh was still practiced during the emergence of Islam. The continuity of 33 churches also suggests/provides proof that there were several small villages or cities were Christianity did continue: Abila, Ayn Al-Kanisah, Gadara (Umm Qays), Gerasa, Hayyan Al-Mushrif, Humayma (Hauarra), Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al-Rasas), Khirbat Al-Mukhayyat (Nebo village), Khirbat Al-Samra, Khildah, Ma'in, Madaba, Mountain Aaron (Jabal Harūn), Nakhl, Pella (Tabaqa Fathl), Philadelphie (Amman), Qam, Tall al-Umayrī, Yajuz and Yasilah.

Several sources give the impression that the change from Christianity to Islam was very peaceful, this might seem opposite to the view we have today of this transmission of faith; according to Frankopan (2015, p. 79), "*…in the modern eye, Christianity and Islam seem to be diametrically opposed…."*

However, according to the research of Fiema et al. (2001), there is no evidence of the destruction of churches in central and southern Jordan during the Muslim invasion. The opposite seems more true; "*… regions of Jordan… that have been better archaeologically explored provide evidence that ecclesiastical structures were maintained and new ones built, due to the religious tolerance of the early Umayyad rulers*". The research of Frankopan (2015) can invigorate this; according to Frankopan, the converting of Christians in the late 7$^{th}$ century was not the main or even most important goal of the Muslim invader; at that time, the key battleground lay between the rivalling Muslim factions and therefore, not with the converting of the faith.

Kennedy and Bewley argue that Roman Jordan had not collapsed with the arrival of Islam; again, even new buildings were constructed, and even in churches, new mosaic inscriptions and mosaic floors were installed. Some of the churches in the database confirm this theory. For example one of the Basilica's in Abila (database number 6) was constructed in the 7th/8th century and several other churches in Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al-Rasas) were also constructed during or after the rise of the Islam; the Column chapel (database 54), the Courth curch in (database 55) and the Geminees church: South church (database 57).
In addition Kennedy and Bewley state that Christianity did shrank and decline; however, it is believed that it did not happen in the 7th century and that it was not a rapid movement; Kennedy and Bewley go even as far as stating that Christianity throve during the rise of the Islam. The publication of Politis (2012) also confirms this by the evidence of an inscription in a church that marks a renovation in AD 692, by which time the Muslim rule already started. Therefore, it appears that the Christians and Muslims lived peacefully amongst each other.
With taking the information that is gathered during this thesis/research into account it can be agreed upon that during the rise of the Islam in 630/640 in Jordan the amount of churches did decline however, this does not ultimately mean that Christianity as a faith disappeared and/or got oppressed to an extent where the practice of it was impossible. The information gathered sketches the image of an rather peaceful co-existence in the beginning of the Islamic rise until at least somewhere in the 7th/8th century.

# Chapter 4. Conclusion

This research aimed to find a clear and elaborating answer on the Continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of the Islam. The results of this research are beneficial for further examination of the subject.

The central questions for this research were as follows:

1. ***How many churches were present in Jordan before the Islamic reign?***
2. ***How many churches were present in Jordan during the Islamic reign?***
3. ***How did the organisational structure of Christianity develop during the emergence of the Islam?***
4. ***How is it noticeable that a church is converted into a mosque?***
5. ***Which churches in Jordan show signs of being converted into mosques?***
6. ***How many bishops were seated in Jordan?***
7. ***Which churches in Jordan have been partly used as monasteries?***

To give an overall conclusion of the research the answers of the research questions will be shortly mentioned.
**Question 1**: The amount of churches that clearly has a construction date can be counted at 100 in total.
During the research also several churches from which the instruction date is unknown were found, 65 to be exact. When combining these numbers the amount of churches rises up to the total amount of 165.
**Question 2**: The amount of churches that were in use during the Islamic reign without question can be counted at 33 in total.
**Question 3**: During the answering of this question the end of the bishopric is described as a sign that the organizational structure of Christianity changed and/or even stopped because of the leadership position the bishop had. However, pilgrimages continued and archaeological data confirmed the general impression of the converting of the country from Christian to Muslim was peaceful, with taking this into account it can be suggested that in the early stages of the Islamic reign the organizational structure of Christianity not necessarily changed.
**Question 4**: The converting of a church into a mosque can be noticeable when there are signs of closing off the apse of the church with a wall. Another clear noticeable change to a church that can be seen as part of converting it to being functional as a mosque is the constructing of a Mihrab inside the church alongside one of the walls.
**Question 5**: Only 4 churches show signs of being converted into a mosque, 3 other churches are known converted churches. The changes in or on the churches that proof the converting of them into mosques are described in the section by question 4.
**Question 6**:The exact amount of bishops that was gathered during the literature research is ten: Arius, Asterius, Germanus, Jason, Theodore, Mare, Holy Isodore, Athenogenes, Johannes of Augustopolis and Yūhanã bin Ru'bah.
**Question 7**: The earlier elaborated answer to this question concluded during the early stages of the research no evidence for churches in Jordan that were partly used as monasteries were found. The monasteries that were found during the research are considered to have been separate buildings from the churches.

These questions altogether with additional information collected by literature research resulted in the ability to answer the main question: ***What is the continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of the Islam?***

**Main question**: During the rise of the Islam the quantity of the churches declined from 100-165 to only 33 in numbers. Proof of the converting of seven churches into mosques surfaced during this research. The bishopric also is suspected to end during the rise of the Islam. These three occurrences can be appointed as a reason and/or result for the decline in Christianity during the rise of the Islam. Nevertheless, the pilgrimages continued and there is evidence for the Continuity of Christianity through several inscriptions that were found in the church of Udhruh. During the research the information was also gathered that some churches even got constructed during the Islamic rise. Opposite to the view the modern day person can have on the converting of Christianity into the Islam in Jordan the actual transmission or change was rather peaceful. Churches stayed intact and were maintained, new ones were built and mosaic inscriptions and mosaic floors were installed in already existing churches. Researchers even go as far as stating that Christianity throve during the rise of the Islam. In overall conclusion to this question it can be stated that in the early days of the rise of the Islam Christians and Muslims lived peacefully side by side of each other. However, it is mentioned by several researchers that Christianity did decline in the Islamic reign nevertheless, the exact date is not known and nothing portrays that this took place during the rise and/or early beginnings of the Islam.

During the course of this research it became more and more clear that the information is already at hand however, not yet any link was made between it. This research will, as previously mentioned attribute to understanding the religious transformation from Christianity to the Islam in the country of Jordan better. This can also attribute to the conscious understanding of this transition of people in the modern day.

In the spirit of the fact that in the starting days of religion people were capable of living peacefully amongst each other, we can only hope that this is something that we learn from today rather than fighting wars because people believe in different higher powers and adhere different faiths.
Discard our differences as a flaw and see them as our strength in the ability to leaving no stone unturned because of all the different information we can employ together.

# Chapter 5. Discussion

Based on extensive literature research it was concluded that Christianity as a faith had a different life course in Jordan than mostly expected in the eye of modern people. During the rise of the Islam in Jordan, Christianity and Islam lived peacefully besides each other.
This research clearly illustrates the effect of the Islamic rise in Jordan on the Christian subjects and their practice of their religion nevertheless, it can be questioned if the literature research that was done was sufficient for the summarizing and researching Christianity in their totality for an entire country. Christianity is a rather big religion that can be researched in very little or very much detail. Christianity itself has more aspects than only their religious buildings, for example the bishopric could be more researched into extent. Furthermore, the religion itself could also have been practiced in the private of people's homes. This is something that has not been taking into consideration during this research. I also believe that for the answering of the main question the definition what makes a person a Christian and what are the core beliefs of Christianity and their practices could have been researched. However, with taking in mind that this research should fit into a timeframe, the whole aspect of researching the definition of the religions was not taking into account.
It can also be discussed to what extent is a static object such as a church or mosque characteristic of the immediate environment and what does this form of archeology say about the local population. This would have been an interesting trail to follow, unfortunately I was not able to research this into more extent due to again the time that was preserved for this project.
Furthermore, during this research the literature that was consulted was, with exception of one book (Michel, 2001) was English. Nevertheless, the main language that is spoken in Jordan is Arabic and French and that results in most of the publications and or reports about archaeological excavations and of such being written in those languages. Unfortunately during the time span of this research it was not possible to translate more than one book. However, it can be argued that those kind of publications and literature are of great importance for finding even more relevant information about the subject.

In one of the final stages of the research the spreading maps got constructed, during the process of constructing even more information was found that could have been relevant for the research. The map that was used as a base for the spreading maps (openstreetmap) showed figurines that suggested that there were archaeological remains located on certain sites. Nevertheless, it would have been too time consuming to zoom into this map and check every inch of the country for these figurines. The figurines only became visible when zoomed in to the scale of 20 meters being 5 centimeters on screen. In addition to the critical notes about the spreading maps it can also be up for discussion that the churches are not shown by name. The choice was made to only name them by their location, this was chosen because the exact location of the churches in the villages/cities/wadi's/and more was impossible to find therefore, the churches on the map are just pinpointed to the overall location. Furthermore, it could have been argued that it would have been better to use a different map that already had names of the locations in place however, the map that was used also contained names already in place. These names only were written in Arabic and when zooming out, for a better overview of the spreading of the churches and the monasteries, the names became invisible.

The answers that were given during this research cannot be seen as definitive. This is because the answers are all suggestive when taking the results into account. The results can be seen as opposites to each other in the first place. The fact that several information points towards a decline and even the stop of Christianity (suggestive end of the bishopric, decline of churches and the converting of churches into mosques) must also be taking into account when trying to answers the question about the Continuity of Christianity. The research point towards the answer that Christianity did continue and even thrive during the rise of the Islam and that is the statement on which note this research ended however, when rethinking this and being really critical towards it; also taking in account that some research clearly points the other way, the answer is not that clear as it seems.

In addition to the previous statement the conclusion can be made that it was not possible to research every single threat of information about the subject. However, when the research could have been extended it might have resulted into more information about the subject that could provide the conclusion with more hard and definitive proof.
Nevertheless, as previously mentioned it was not possible to do more research because the research had a timeframe with a clear deadline for when it needed to be finished. It is important to make sure that for a master thesis the research that is done is possible to be completed in the time period of the assigned months.

This discussion leaves the question: Can the conclusion of this research be seen as a definitive answer to the subject of the Continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of the Islam? And/or is it just the top of the iceberg?

# Chapter 6. recommendations

For an even better understanding of the subject it can be recommended to research more publications and archaeological writing/reports that are in other languages than English. Especially when researching Jordan in Arabic or French, It might be a suggestion to find a native speaking of both of the languages that can be of assistance in translating the research and maybe even combining it with the information already gathered here.

It can also be recommended that, for further research and a better understanding of all the archaeological remains, it can be of great value to examine the already existing map (openstreetmap) that was used as an under base for the spreading maps. This might result in the finding of even more churches and monasteries.

The religions are broad subjects with multiple aspects and therefore, it would be recommended to research more aspects of the religions than only the 'touchable' remains and or archaeological reports/literature.

In addition to the already mentioned recommendations it would be recommended to perceive the information that is given during this research as a start in answering this complex and big subject not as a definitive answer. This is recommended because the extend of the subject being the entire country is too large to be done in a few months, especially when there is so much more information to be gathered by researching the previously mentioned Arabic and French documents.

# Chapter 7. Summary

The research subject of this thesis is the Continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of the Islam. Christianity itself has a long and complex history in Jordan that can be dated back to the early days of the religion. The subject of this thesis is based on an excavation of a church in Udhruh (Jordan) that was converted into a mosque; the church showed signs of being in longer Christian use during the Muslim reign. This inspirited the will to research Christianity and its continuity in Jordan because of the assumption that Christianity disappeared or stopped when the Islamic reign begun.

The purpose of this research was to provide future researchers with a clear story about this transition and providing certain products than can be used for further research. The products that resulted from this research are: a database that consists of information about the churches, multiple spreading maps consisting of all the collected churches, a spreading map consisting of the churches that stayed in use after 630/640 AD, a spreading map that consists of the churches converted into mosques, a spreading map that shows the 'stayed in use' churches and the converted churches combined, a table that consists of the collected bishops and a table that consists of the collected monasteries. The results and information about the research goal were retrieved during an extensive literature research.

Before starting this research the amount of 7 research questions were formulated:

1. ***How many churches were present in Jordan before the Islamic reign?***
2. ***How many churches were present in Jordan during the Islamic reign?***
3. ***How did the organizational structure of Christianity develop during the emergence of the Islam?***
4. ***How is it noticeable that a church is converted into a mosque?***
5. ***Which churches in Jordan show signs of being converted into mosques?***
6. ***Which churches in Jordan have been partly used as monasteries?***
7. ***What kind of archaeological remains are proof of the conversion of churches into mosques?***

The 7 research questions were used as handles in answering the main question: ***What is the continuity of Christianity in Jordan during the rise of the Islam?***

During this research 173 churches were collected and researched. The number of 100-165 churches were present before the start of the Islamic reign and the amount of 33 churches were present in Jordan during the Islamic reign. This can indicate that the amount and therefore use of churches did decline during the rise of the Islam. In addition to that seven churches were discovered that showed signs of being converted into a mosque by closing of the apse and/or installing a mihrab (a nice in the wall that shows which way to face during prayer).

In the early stages of the research several bishops were collected during the literature study, the amount of 10 bishops were counted in Jordan. When researching the location that the bishops were seated, the information could be used as additional proof for an interesting statement that Udhruh became the new capital of Jordan and Petra became a place of exile. The time of the end of bishopric can also be suggested of being during the time of the rise of the Islam, this is because the seat of the bishop moved to Udhruh and when the church of Udhruh became converted into a mosque it can be suggested that the bishopric also ended there.

Furthermore, none of the churches that were collected during the early stage of the research were partly used as monasteries, the monasteries that were found during the research all showed signs of being a separate building from the churches.

Some information that was gathered during the research does suggest that Christianity did end or declined very rapidly when the Islam started to rise; the decline in churches, the end of bishopric and the converting of churches into mosques can be seen as 'proof'. However, the opposite can also be suggested when taking into account the signs that Christianity was still practised during the rise of the Islam; several Christian texts were found at the church in Udhruh that indicate this, new churches were built and 33 churches stayed in use. Together with the statements of several researchers that Christianity continued and even throve during the Islamic rise and the suggestion by for example an inscription that marks a renovation of a church during the Muslim rule, according to researchers it appeared that Christians and Muslims lived peacefully, side by side during the rise of the Islam in the country of Jordan.

The results could spark a discussion, this is because the results are based on several English literature sources and only one French source however the native tongue of Jordanians is Arabic and French. More of these publications have not been taking into consideration because of the fact that it was hard to find because the titles of these publications would have been in those two languages and therefore, not that easy to find when these are not languages that are mastered. Furthermore, when these publications would have been found there also would have been a need to find a translator that could help with decipher of the contests of these publications.

In addition to the previous statement it could also be discussed if the result that was given during this research can be seen as a final result for the overall subject. This can be argued because the subject is broad and consists of researching a whole country, this takes time.

The recommendation is to research this subject in further extent and to perceive the result that was given in this document as a start in answering this big and complex subject.

# Bibliography


Al-Salameen, Z., Falahat, H., Naimat, S., & Abudanh, F. (2011). New Arabic-Christian inscriptions from Udhruḥ, southern Jordan. *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*, *22*(2), 232–242. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1600-0471.2011.00336.x

Arinat, M. (2014). In Situ Mosaic Conservation: A Case Study from Khirbet Yajuz, Jordan. *Zenodo*, *14*(2). https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14743

Asma Afsaruddin. (2018). Umayyad dynasty | Achievements, Capital, & Facts. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Umayyad-dynasty-Islamic-history

Bevan, G., Fisher, G., & Genequand, D. (2015). The Late Antique Church at Tall al-'Umayrī East: New Evidence for the Jafnid Family and the Cult of St. Sergius in Northern Jordan. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 49–68.

Bickerton, I. J., & Abu Jaber, K. S. (2019). Jordan | History, Population, Flag, Map, & Facts. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/place/Jordan

Cambridge Dictionary. (2022). *Cambridge English Dictionary: Meanings & Definitions*. Cambridge.org. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/

Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. (2023). *The Role of Bishops*. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. https://www.cccb.ca/the-catholic-church-in-canada/directory-of-bishops-and-eparchs/the-role-of-bishops/#:~:text=A%20Bishop%20is%20an%20advisor

Cotterell, A. (2017). *The Near East : a cultural history*. Hurst & Company.

Fiema, Z. T., FrösénJ., & Holappa, M. (2016). *Petra - The mountain of Aaron; The Nabataean sanctuary and the Byzantine monastery*. Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Fiema, Z. T., Kanellopoulos, C., Schick, R., & Waliszewski, T. (2001). *The Petra Church*. The American Center of Oriental Research.

Frankopan, P. (2015). *The silk roads : a new history of the world*. Vintage Books.

Judd, M., Gregoricka, L., & Foran, D. (2019). The monastic mosaic at Mount Nebo, Jordan: biogeochemical and epigraphical evidence for diverse origins. *Antiquity*, *93*(368), 450–467. https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2018.185

Kennedy, D. L., & Bewley, R. (2004). *Ancient Jordan from the air*. Council For British Research In The Levant.

Levy, T. E., Daviau, P. M. Michele., Younker, R. W., & Shaer, M. (2007). *Crossing Jordan; North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan*. Routledge.

Malcolm Edward Yapp, & Stanford Jay Shaw. (2018). Ottoman Empire | Facts, History, & Map. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/place/Ottoman-Empire

McGrath, A. E. (2006). Christianity: An Introduction. In *Google Books*. John Wiley & Sons. https://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=v26doW8jIyYC&oi=fnd&pg=PR15&dq=modern+day+christianity&ots=OLC16e3gPj&sig=O9t93x8Ou4W8bXUlMFASlAO8e8c#v=onepage&q=modern%20day%20christianity&f=false

Michel, A. (2001). *Les églises d'époque byzantine et umayyade de Jordanie (provinces d'Arabie et de Palestine) Ve-VIIIe siècle*. Brepols Pub.

Oleson, J. P., & Schick, R. (2013). *Humayma excavation project. 2, Nabatean campground and necropolis, Byzantine churches, and early Islamic domestic structures*. American Schools Of Oriental Research.

Parker, S. T. (1988). Preliminary Report on the 1985 Season of the Limes Arabicus Project. *Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research*, 131–174.

Parker, S. T. (1998). An Early Church, Perhaps the Oldest in the World, Found at Aqaba. *Near Eastern Archaeology*, *61*(4), 254–254. https://doi.org/10.2307/3210658

Politis, K. D. (2012). *Sanctuary of Lot at Deir 'Ain 'Abata in Jordan Excavations 1988 - 2003*. Jordan Distribution Agency.

Robins, P. (2019). A History of Jordan. In *Cambridge University Press* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/history-of-jordan/E1875F722AA415017BE4031893A34E57

Schilderman, H. (2015). *The concept of religion : defining and measuring contemporary beliefs and practices*. Koninklijke Brill.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2019). Abbasid caliphate | Achievements, Capital, & Facts. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Abbasid-caliphate

Whately, C. (2013). El-Lejjūn: Logistics and Localisation on Rome's Eastern Frontier in the 6th C.A.D. *Late Antique Archaeology*, *8*(2), 893–924. https://doi.org/10.1163/22134522-90000028a

# Apppendix 1 Database

The database is exported to a pdf file. The resolution of the file is high enough to zoom in and read the text.

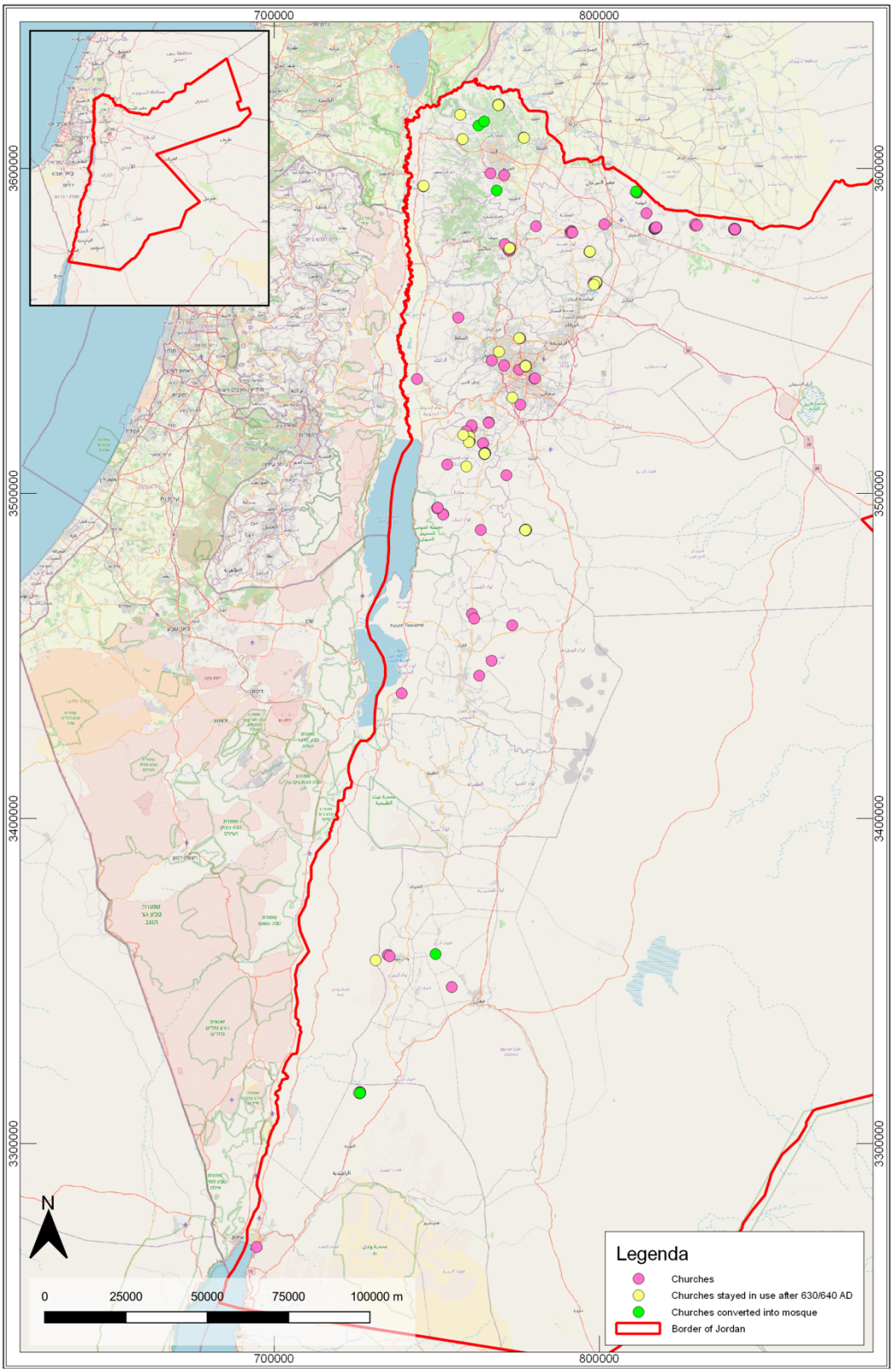


| Name Churches | Location | Construction date | Out of use | Later information | References |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Basilica with perforated apse | Abila (Quwelbe) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 116 (zone 0) |
| Basilica with narthex and two side halls | Abila (Quwelbe) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown - from the late Roman period to the Umayyad period | Michel, 2001 page 116 (zone 0) |
| Basilica with crypts | Abila (Quwelbe) | end Byzantine period - start umayyad period | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 116 (zone 0) |
| Basilica with triple apse | Abila (Quwelbe) | 7th/8th century (Umayyad period) | 749 earthquake | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 114-116 (zone 0) |
| Basilica with triple apse and narthex | Abila (Quwelbe) | Unknown | 749 earthquake | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 114-116 (zone 0) |
| Basilica with narthex | Abila (Quwelbe) | Unknown | Unknown - beginning 6th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 116 and Perkins, 1998 page 254 |
| Fortress church | Al Lajjun | Around 3rd/4th century | 551 | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 332 |
| Church | Al Lajjun | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 347 |
| Church | Amaseh (Al Adasah) | Unknown | Unknown | An inscription suggests a date of the early clashing of the church 597/98 | Michel, 2001 page 185 |
| Church of the "monastery" | Ayr Al Gantara | end 6th century | 8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 373 |
| Church of the "monastery" | Ayr Al Gantara | end 6th century | 8th century | Genetics indicate that the site was still in use in the 8th century | Michel, 2001 page 373 |
| North church | Dhiban (Thiban) | 4/5/6th century | 4th/5th century destroyed period 7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 377-379 |
| Church | Dhiban (Thiban) | 4/5/6th century | 4th/5th century destroyed period 7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 377-379 |
| Hondos church | El Hijjin | late 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Peters, 1983 page 146-148 and Michelle, 2013 page 301-306 |
| Church | Ghuweir (Thiban) | 6th century | end of the 7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 295-297 |
| Acropolis church | Ghuweir (Thiban) | 6th century | end of the 7th century | During Mamluk period was the center used as cemetery | Michel, 2001 page 295-297 |
| Church | Gidda (Ain Qida) | 5th century | Destroyed in the 7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 132 |
| Octagonal church | Gidda (Ain Qida) | Destroyed in the late 6th century | 749 earthquake | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 132-133 |
| Church | Gidda (Ain Qida) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 132 |
| Chapel of Elijah, Moses and Elisha | Gimsey (Jerash) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 272-274 |
| Church of Prophets | Gimsey (Jerash) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 267 |
| Church of the Ascension of the Prophet of Kosmos | Gimsey (Jerash) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 267 |
| Church of Nicanor | Gimsey (Jerash) | 527/40 | 7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 267-268 |
| Church of Procopius - Apostles and Martyrs | Gimsey (Jerash) | 527/40 | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 261-265 |
| Funeral church | Gimsey (Jerash) | 527/40 | Unknown | Toward in ruin after the iconoclastic period banner of the 8th century (Michel 2001, 240) | Michel, 2001 page 259-261 |
| Church of Theodore | Gimsey (Jerash) | 527/40 | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 252-253 |
| Synagogue church | Gimsey (Jerash) | 527/40 | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 233-240 |
| Church | Hisn Al Ghurab | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 157 |
| Church | Hisn Al Ghurab | reused at end of the 5th century/ beginning 6th century | Unknown | This church was built on top of the remains of a mihrabe | Michel, 2001 page 154 |
| Church V1 (Ist church) | Hisnayn (Thiban) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 335 |
| Church V3 (Lorenz Church) | Hisnayn (Thiban) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 337 |
| Church V4 (Ist church) | Hisnayn (Thiban) | 5th/6th century | 6th/7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 335 |
| Church V5 (Ist church) | Hisnayn (Thiban) | First half 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 337 |
| B100 | Humeyma (Thiban) | 5th/6th century | 6th/7th century | Turned into a mosque by closing of the apse | Oleson and Schick, 2013 page 155 and page 152 |
| C101 | Humeyma (Thiban) | Unknown | 7th century (beginning Umayyad period) | Unknown | Oleson and Schick, 2013 page 151 |
| Church of Bishop Sergius | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | 587 AD - 5th century | 8th/9th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 464-468 |
| Church of the "Apostles" | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | 6th/7th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 464-468 |
| Church of "Stephanos" | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | second half 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 453 |
| Church of the "Male Anakte" | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 453 |
| Church chapel | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | middle of the 8th century | 8th/10th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 466-467 |
| Cathedral | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | 6th century | 8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 453-457 |
| Governors church, North church (of the rivers) | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | first half 6th century/ middle 6th century | end of the 8th century/beginning 9th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 611-615 |
| Church of the Deacon, South church (palmtree) | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | middle of the 6th century | 8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 611-615 |
| Niche church | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | 6th century | 7th/8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 466-468 |
| Church | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | second half 6th century | 8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 457-459 |
| Church | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | second half 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 457-459 |
| Mosaic church | Kastron Mefaa (Umm Al Rasas) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 457-459 |
| Church of John and Elijah | Khanabiyah (Kafer Ibn Sirhan) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 383 |
| Church of the Holy Martyrs | Khirbet Al Ba'ij (wadi Siyna Al Rabah) | 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 137 |
| Church | Khirbet Al Ba'ij (wadi Siyna Al Rabah) | 6th century | expected beginning Umayyad period | Turned into a mosque by construction of mihrabe during Umayyad period | Michel, 2001 page 137 |
| Church | Khirbet Al Kursi - Al Habis | Beginning of the 7th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 288-289 |
| Chapel | Khirbet Al Kursi - Al Habis | Beginning of the 7th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 288 |
| Chapel priest john | Khirbet Al Mukhayyat (Nebo village) | First half 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 550-551 |
| Church of Moses and Cosmos | Khirbet Al Mukhayyat (Nebo village) | 530/534 AD | Middle of the 7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 548-550 |
| Saint Lot and Procopius | Khirbet Al Mukhayyat (Nebo village) | 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 542-547 |
| Church | Khirbet Al Mukhayyat (Nebo village) | 6th century | 7th century | "...the building was abandoned prior to the iconoclastic crisis..." (Michel 2001, 547) | Michel, 2001 page 542-547 |
| Church 22 | Khirbet Al Samra | 6th century | Unknown | "The mosaic of this chapel was not damaged, aside from of course a hole(s) in the figures, by reduction or abandonment prior to the iconoclastic crisis." (Michel 2001, 176) | Michel, 2001 page 194 |
| Church 81 | Khirbet Al Samra | Unknown | Unknown | Church was part of a Domus | Michel, 2001 page 251-253 |
| Church of the Hippomene (church 82) | Khirbet Al Samra | Unknown | Unknown | "...indicate that the occupation of the church continued after the iconoclastic crisis potentially attributed to the 7th century." (Michel 2001, 304) | Michel, 2001 page 299-301 |
| Saint George (church 79) | Khirbet Al Samra | Unknown | Unknown | "...indicate that the occupation of the church continued after the iconoclastic crisis." (Michel 2001, 314) | Michel, 2001 page 307-308 |
| Saint Peter (church 76) | Khirbet Al Samra | Unknown | Unknown | "The couple reports of iconoclastic damage to the central nave mosaic indicate that Christian use of the church continued beyond the iconoclastic crisis." (Michel 2001, 328) | Michel, 2001 page 319-323 |
| Saint Thomas and Michael church | Khirbet Al Samra | 579/597 AD | Unknown | "...near the church was still used after the iconoclastic crisis, generally attributed to the 8th century..." (Michel 2001, 333) | Michel, 2001 page 331-333 |
| Church | Khirbet Sa'ad | First half 6th century/ Second half 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 453 |
| Acropol | Khirbet Sa'ad | 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 453 |
| Ad Dair | Mafa | quarter or middle of 6th century | end of 6th century | "...indicates an abandonment of the building prior to the iconoclastic crisis..." (Michel 2001, 370) | Michel, 2001 page 367-370 |
| Church - Acropolis | Mafa | end 6th/ beginning 7th century | Unknown | "...indicates an abandonment of the building prior to the iconoclastic crisis..." (Michel 2001, 370) | Michel, 2001 page 367-370 |
| West church | Mafa | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 371-373 |
| North church | Mafa | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 377 |
| Martyrium church | Mafa | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 377 |
| West church (Al Azmeh) | Mafa | end 6th/ beginning 7th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 374-377 |
| Martyrium (Nebawi) | Mafa | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 377 |
| Martyrium (Nebawi) | Mafa | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 377 |
| Cathedral | Mafa | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 377 |
| Church of the Holy Martyrs (Dr Khuderi) | Mafa | Unknown | Second half 6th century/ beginning 7th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 311-314 |
| Church | Mafa | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 311-314 |
| Elias church | Mafa | 579/597 AD | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 319-323 |
| Saint George church | Mafa | First half 6th century/ Second half 6th century | 8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 311-314 |
| Virgin church | Mafa | late 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 314 |
| Church | Mafraq Al Fidiyn | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 348 |
| Mosaic church | Mafraq Al Fidiyn | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 348 |
| Mountain baron (stater stone) | Mountain baron (stater stone) | 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 381 |
| Church | Nahl | 5th century | 7th century | "The building was still used by Christians after the iconoclastic destruction..." (Michel, 2001, 305) | Michel, 2001 page 371-373 |
| Church (East basilica with 3 bema) | Pella (Tabaqat Fahl) | 6th/7th century beginning 6th century | 747/749 earthquake | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 174-177 |
| Church (West basilica with 3 bema) | Pella (Tabaqat Fahl) | 6th/7th century beginning 6th century | 747/749 earthquake | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 174-177 |
| Church | Pella (Tabaqat Fahl) | mid to late 5th century | 747/749 earthquake | This site was briefly re-occupied in the 12th century | Michel, 2001 page 135 |
| Bar Chapel | Petra | mid to late 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 447-448 |
| Blue Chapel | Petra | mid to late 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Lavy et al., 2007 page 417-428 |
| Ridge church | Petra | 5th/6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Lavy et al., 2007 page 417-428 |
| Cathedral | Philadelphia (Amman) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 376 |
| Cathedral | Philadelphia (Amman) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 376 |
| Citadel church - tower transf of the citadel | Philadelphia (Amman) | 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 376 |
| Saint George chapel | Philadelphia (Amman) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 381 |
| Church of Mary | Philadelphia (Amman) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 381 |
| Saint George | Philadelphia (Amman) | 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 381 |
| Church 123 | Qeis | 6th century | 8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 331 |
| Church 124 | Qeis | 6th century | 8th century | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 331 |
| Lower church | Qeis | 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 329-330 |
| Upper church | Qeis | 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 329 |
| Saint Stephen (Lower church) | Rihab | 5th century | end of the 6th century | Archaeological findings suggest that "... the building was probably still used after the iconoclastic crisis" (Michel, 2001, 244) | Michel, 2001 page 212-214 |
| Saint Sergius | Rihab | 5th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 214 |
| Saint Cosmos | Rihab | 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 222 |
| Saint Elias | Rihab | 6th century | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 222 |
| Saint Nicolas | Rihab | 6th AD | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 217 |
| Saint Peter | Rihab | 6th AD | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 217 |
| Saint Paul | Rihab | 6th AD | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 217 |
| North church | Rihab | 623 AD | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 223 |
| South church | Rihab | 623 AD | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 223 |
| Church | Sahab | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Michel, 2001 page 186

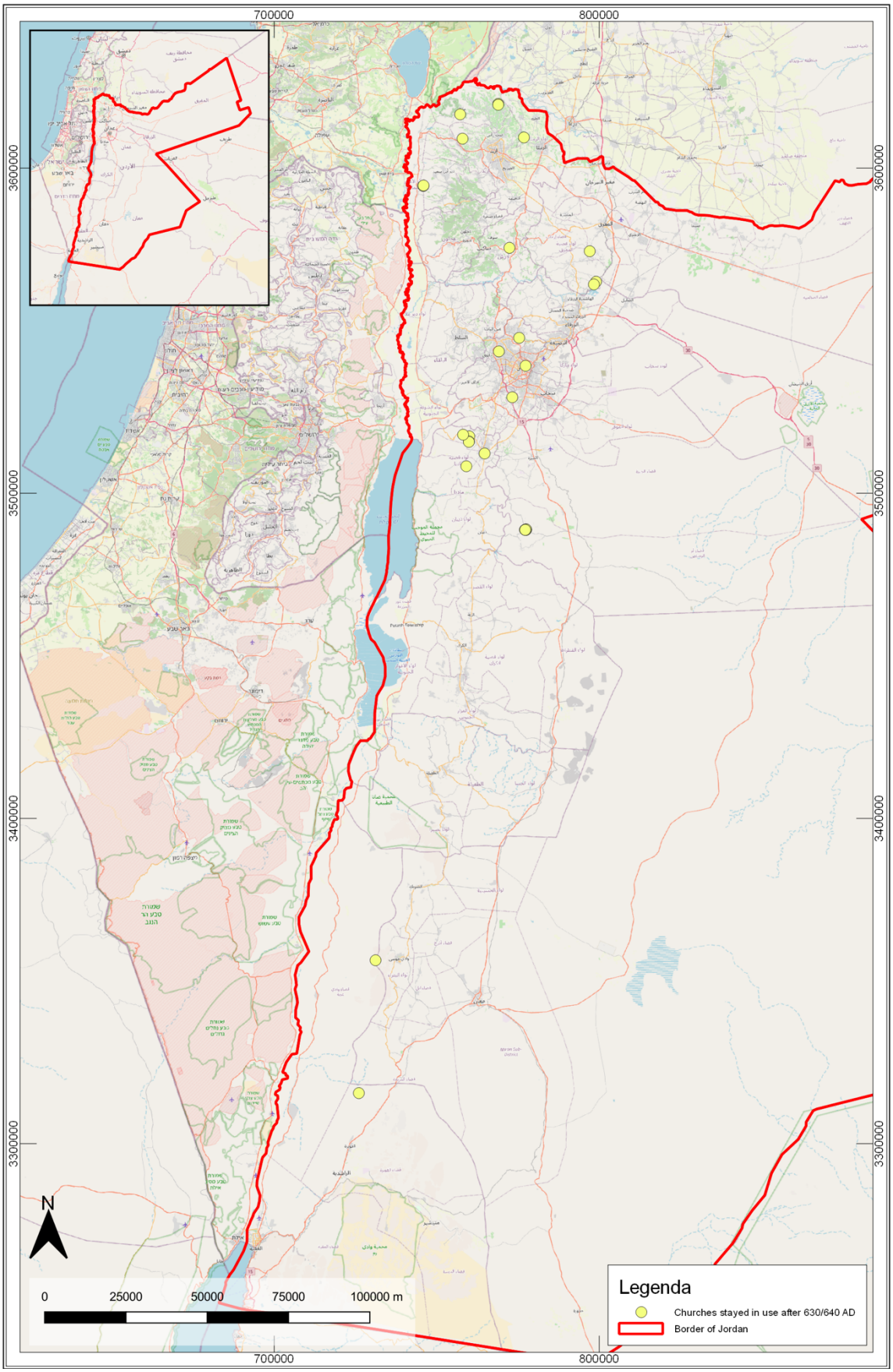
| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Church of Masechos | Umm Al-Jimal | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 169 |
| Church of Numerianos | Umm Al-Jimal | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 181 |
| Double church: North basilica | Umm Al-Jimal | 6th/7th century | Middle of the 7th century | | Michel, 2001 page 171-173 |
| Double church: South basilica | Umm Al-Jimal | 6th/7th century | Middle of the 7th century | | Michel, 2001 page 173 |
| East church | Umm Al-Jimal | suspected 4th century | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 171 |
| Extra mural church | Umm Al-Jimal | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 171 |
| North church | Umm Al-Jimal | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 176 |
| North-east church | Umm Al-Jimal | 4th century (byzantine period) | 7th century (beginning Umayyad period) | | Michel, 2001 page 176 |
| South east church | Umm Al-Jimal | Unknown | Unknown | The construction of the church is expected to be later than the church of Masechos | Michel, 2001 page 171 |
| South-west church | Umm Al-Jimal | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 173-176 |
| West church | Umm Al-Jimal | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 176-179 |
| Church N1 (South chuch) | Umm Al-Qutayn | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 189 |
| Church N2 (East church) | Umm Al-Qutayn | Suspected 6th century | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 190 |
| Church N3 (centre church) | Umm Al-Qutayn | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 190 |
| Convent church | Umm Al-Qutayn | Unknown | Unknown | Building identified as monastic group | Michel, 2001 page 190 |
| East church (in front of Al-Umdā's house) | Umm Al-Qutayn | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 192 |
| North-east church | Umm Al-Qutayn | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 192 |
| South church | Umm Al-Qutayn | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 190-192 |
| North church | Umm Al-Surab | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 189 |
| St. Sergius and Ruschus church | Umm Al-Surab | 498 AD | Unknown | Turned into a mosque probably later than the beginning of the Islamic period | Michel, 2001 page 187-189 |
| West church | Umm Al-Surab | Unknown | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 189 |
| Church of Kayanos | Uyun Musa | First half 6th century | First half 7th century | | Michel, 2001 page 354 |
| Deacon Thomas church | Uyun Musa | First half 6th century | Second half 7th century | | Michel, 2001 page 357-360 |
| Church | Yududah | 502/503 AD | Unknown | | Michel, 2001 page 294 |
| Church | Yajuz | somewhere in between 3th century and 5th century (late Roman period) | somewhere between AD 750 - AD 969 (begin Abassid period) | | Kennedy & Bowley, 2004 page 205 and Michel, 2001 page 286-288 |
| Church | Yajuz | somewhere in between 3th century and 5th century (late Roman period) | 7th century Umayyad period | | Kennedy & Bowley, 2004 page 205 and Michel, 2001 page 288 |
| Basilica with 3 naves (Church A/1) | Yasilah | Unknown | Second quarter of the 8th century | | Michel, 2001 page 164 |
| Basilica with 3 naves (Church B/2) | Yasilah | 6th century | Middle of the 7th century | | Michel, 2001 page 164 |
| Zia church | Zay Al-Gharbi | Suspected second half 6th century | Unknown | ceramics indicate an occupation during the bytantine and umayyad period | Michel, 2001 page 109 |

# Appendix 2 Spreading maps

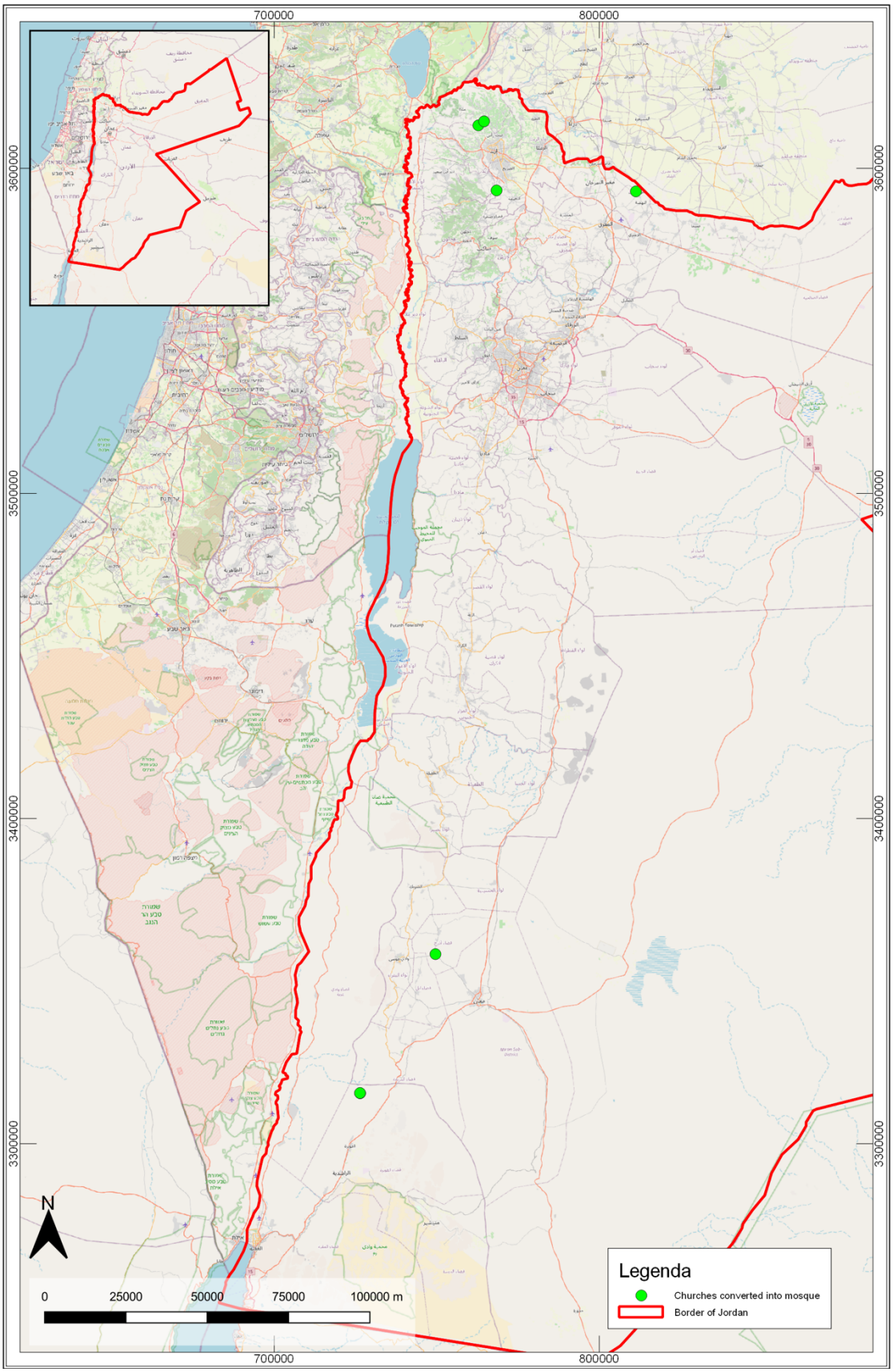
## Appendix 2.1 All churches



## Appendix 2.2 Churches that stayed in use after 630/640 AD



## Appendix 2.3 Churches converted into mosques



## Appendix 2.4 Churches that stayed in use after 630/640 and churches converted into mosques