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The History Of Al-Tabari
An Annotated Translation

Volume XXIII

The Zenith of the Marwanid House
The Last Yearsof `AbdAl-Malik and the Caliphate of Al-Walid
A.D. 700-715 / A.H. 81-96

The History of al-Tabari
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The History of al-Tabari

(Ta`rikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk)

VolumeXXIII

The Zenith of the Marwanid House

translated and annotated
by
Martin Hinds

University of Cambridge

State University of New York Press

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PREFACE

The History of Prophets and Kings (*Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'lmuluk*) by Abu Ja`far Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari (839-923), here rendered as the *History of al-Tabari*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Tabari's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muhammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Tabari and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Tabari very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnad*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash () between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "according to Ibn HumaydSalamahIbn Ishaq" means that al-Tabari received the report from Ibn Humayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Ishaq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Tabari's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually translated according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imam, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

EHSAN YAR-SHATER

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TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

The early years of the eighth century constitute what in retrospect can be seen as the high point of Marwanid Umayyad power. When, in 693, the prolonged war against the Zubayrids had finally come to an end, the Caliph `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan had been free to set about Umayyad consolidation; this took longest in Iraq, in a sequence of events culminating in the revolt led in 700-702 by the Iraqi *sharif* `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath al-Kindi (with which this volume begins), which seriously imperiled Marwanid control of Iraq and was countered with considerable difficulty. Thereafter, however, `Abd al-Malik presided over a strong and dynamic Arab kingdom, with al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi as his powerful governor of Iraq and the East. When `Abd al-Malik died in 705, the kingdom passed to his son al-Walid, during whose ten-year caliphate al-Hajjaj remained at his post and further Arab expansion took place: in Central Asia, in Sind, and in the Iberian Peninsula. To many of their contemporaries, the Arabs of that time must have looked like potential world conquerors. The volume ends in 715, shortly after the deaths of al-Hajjaj and al-Walid, and just two years before the dispatch of the ill-fated Arab expedition to Constantinople.¹

1. For general literature relating to this period, see J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, Calcutta 1927, pp. 232-57, 427-44; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132): A New Interpretation*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 110-26; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, London and New York, 1986, pp. 100-4; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate, A.D. 661-750*, London and Sydney, 1986, pp. 58-71.

In this volume, as is often the case in his chronicle, al-Tabari's focus is on events in Iraq and the East, and he pays only fleeting attention to what was going on in Syria, Egypt, and the West; and it so happens that the central figure in the Arab history of this period was al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf. Both of the subjects receiving the most attention in this volume involved him: (1) the revolt of Ibn al-Ash`ath and how al-Hajjaj managed to deal with it;² and (2) events in Khurasan and Transoxania, notably the conquests effected by al-Hajjaj's protégé and governor of Khurasan, Qutaybah b. Muslim.³ In the case of the first of these subjects, much of what is relayed by al-Tabari is also relayed by al-Baladhuri; in the case of the second, al-Tabari is unquestionably the major source.

Ibn al-Ash`ath's revolt began in Sijistan and moved to Iraq; many grievances were involved, but the main reason why the revolt so nearly succeeded was that it brought together, on an unprecedented scale, highly disparate elements of Iraqi opposition to Syrian domination. The earlier Sufyanid Umayyad administration of Iraq had involved controlling the Iraqi Arab tribesmen through the local tribal *ashraf*, and the Zubayrids tried similarly to involve them in the power structure (albeit with less success than the Sufyanids); on occasions when the established order in Iraq was exposed to any local threat or opposition, the *ashraf* formally aligned themselves (or were required to align themselves) with the representatives of Umayyad/Zubayrid government there. It is therefore a telling comment on the state of affairs in Iraq under al-Hajjaj that the *sharif* Ibn al-Ash`ath, supported by other *ashraf*, led a revolt against the representative of Marwanid rule; it was a revolt that constituted a major departure from the earlier pattern of sharifian behavior and provided a leadership capable of uniting the various disgruntled Iraqi interest groups.

2. On this, see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, pp. 232-50; C. E. Bosworth, *Sistan under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome, 1968, pp. 55-63; *EI2*, s.v. Ibn al-Ash`ath (L. Veccia Vaglieri); `A. `A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate (65-86/684-705): A Political Study*, London, 1971, pp. 153-68; and, most recently, R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-As`at und die Koranleser: Ein Beitrag zur Religions- und Sozialgeschichte der frühen Umayyadenzeit*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1977.

3. See Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, pp. 427-44; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, London, 1923, pp. 29-58; also *EI2*, s.v. Kutayba b. Muslim (C. E. Bosworth).

Al-Hajjaj was able to counter it only by bringing in massive Syrian reinforcements for the Syrian troops already with him. Following the suppression of the revolt, the role of the Iraqi Arab tribesmen and their leaders was obviously to be diminished even more than it had been already, and al-Tabari gives us detailed accounts of the stern measures then taken by al-Hajjaj in Iraq. In addition, he established Wasit (rather than making any more use of al-Basrah and/or al-Kufah) as the base for his Syrian troops in Iraq. The Iraqi Arabs were for the time being well and truly subjugated to Syrian domination.

As for events in Khurasan and beyond, the period opens with Muhallabid governors of Khurasan, first al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufrah himself, then successively his sons Yazid and al-Mufaddal. Following the failure of Ibn al-Ash`ath's insurrection, the Muhallabids were the last Iraqi family of major importance, and al-Hajjaj soon succeeded in ousting them from Khurasan. Al-Tabari goes on to regale us with the remarkable story of Musa b. `Abdallah b. Khazim, the Sulami who for fifteen years operated independently from his base at al-Tirmidh, before proceeding to the most important part of his account: the conquests effected in Central Asia by Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bahili, al-Hajjaj's governor of Khurasan from 86 (705). Between that date and 96 (715), Qutaybah brought the whole of Lower Tukharistan and Transoxania under Arab sway and made important inroads beyond the Jaxartes. Despite the fact that the account of the expedition to Kashghar in 96 (715) seems to be an exaggeration (as Gibb has shown), it is nonetheless clear that Qutaybah achieved more in Central Asia than any other Arab conqueror of the Umayyad period; "with Hajjaj at his back, [he] held his conquests together, and when he disappeared there was neither leader nor organization to take his place."⁴ Al-Tabari tells us a great deal about these important conquests, but he says almost nothing about the less important conquests in Sind effected at the same time by Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-Thaqafi,⁵ who was a relative of al-Hajjaj's and was directly responsible to him; one might have thought that the Hajjaj

4. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 54.

5. See F. Gabrieli, "Muhammad ibn Qasim and the Arab Conquest of Sind," *East and West*, N.S. 15 (1965), pp. 281-95.

connection would have led al-Tabari to say more about these operations, but it is necessary in fact to turn to al-Baladhuri's *Futuh. al-buldan* for details about them. More predictably, al-Tabari also pays very little attention to the third instance of Arab expansion at this time, namely, the conquest of much of the Iberian Peninsula by Musa b. Nusayr and Tariq b. Ziyad.⁶

Of the other matters touched on in this volume, something may be said, first, about Arab operations against the Byzantines. Here, as is apparent from the digest made by Brooks,⁷ al-Tabari tells us more than any other single Arabic source; and it is clear that in general there was more activity on that front in the caliphate of al-Walid than in that of `Abd al-Malik, which is scarcely surprising in view of `Abd al-Malik's more pressing concerns. Even so, the sum of information available is depressingly meager, and numerous contradictions and problematic place names remain to be resolved.⁸

Secondly, there were two attempts during this period to divert succession to the caliphate. The first of these, when `Abd al-Malik wished to divert it from his brother `Abd al-`Aziz to his son al-Walid, was blocked by `Abd al-`Aziz; the matter was resolved for `Abd al-Malik when his brother predeceased him. The second, when al-Walid wished to divert the succession from his brother Sulayman to his son `Abd al-`Aziz, was blocked by Sulayman, who outlived al-Walid and succeeded to the caliphate. As Hawting has remarked, "In view of the potentiality for conflict inherent in the lack of a fixed order of succession to the caliphate in the Umayyad period, it is remarkable how seldom real trouble developed from it."⁹

Thirdly, it can be noted, too, that during this period there emerged into prominence two figures who would subsequently play roles of major importance. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwan, a son of `Abd al-Malik's brother mentioned in the preceding para-

6. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, new ed., Leiden and Paris, 1950-53, vol. I; also *EI2*, s. v. al-Andalus (E. Lévi-Provençal).

7. E. W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750) from Arabic Sources," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898), pp. 190-94.

8. See, most recently, R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 22), Munich, 1976, pp. 113-22.

9. *First Dynasty of Islam*, p. 59.

graph, and later the Caliph `Umar II, served as governor of Medina for six years under al-Walid, until the latter was persuaded by al-Hajjaj to dismiss him; and Khalid al-Qasri, who was to become the governor of Iraq for most of the caliphate of Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik, served as governor of Mecca for perhaps as long as the last seven years of al-Walid's caliphate.¹⁰

This was above all what Shaban had styled "the age of Hajjaj,"¹¹ and particularly so in the caliphate of al-Walid, who, as Wellhausen has pointed out, "gave him a free hand, and even in his own sphere of government gave in to him and consulted his wishes."¹² This most unforgettable of Arab governors did more than any other individual to turn the period covered by the present volume into the pinnacle of the Marwanid achievement. Yet even he did not get his way in one important regard: in 90 (708-9), Yazid b. al-Muhallab and other Muhallabids escaped from his custody in Iraq and gained the protection of the Caliph's brother, Sulayman, in Palestine. Al-Hajjaj's attempts to put pressure on al-Walid to remedy the matter came to nothing. Six years later, Sulayman was caliph and the Muhallabids were in the ascendant.

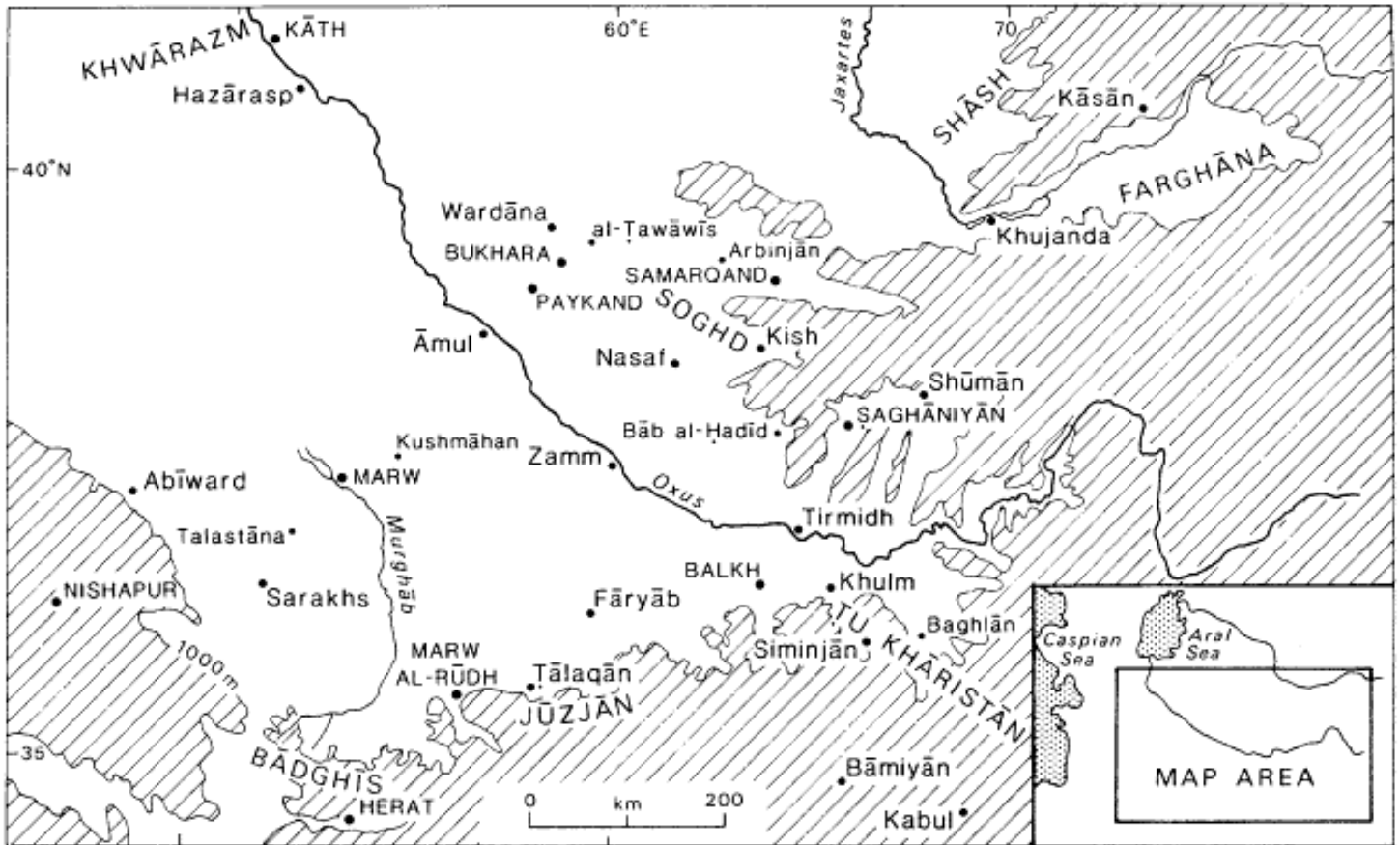
There remains only the agreeable task of thanking those who have been kind enough to put their expertise at my disposal in the course of making and annotating this translation. Professor Ihsan `Abbas not only gave freely of his time to provide me with *fatwas* on all manner of queries that came up in the course of making the translation, but he also went through the penultimate draft and made further valuable suggestions. Professor Edmund Bosworth and Dr. Patricia Crone also went through the draft and made helpful comments and criticisms, for which I am grateful. All three scholars are of course to be absolved from any blame for such infelicities as may appear in the translation in its final form.

MARTIN HINDS

10. See *EI2*, s.v. Khalid b. `Abd Allah al-Kasri (G. R. Hawting), where the chronological difficulties relating to Khalid's governorship of Mecca are discussed.

11. *Islamic History*, ch. 6; see also *EI2*, s.v. al-Hadjdjadj b. Yusuf (A. Dietrich).

12. *Kingdom*, p. 251.



Khurasan and Transoxania in the Early Eighth Century

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THE LAST YEARS OF `ABD AL-MALIK

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The Events of the Year 81 (Cont'd)
(February 26, 700-February 14, 701)

[1052]

Abra Ja`far said: In this year `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath and those of the Iraqi army who were with him disobeyed al-Hajjaj and advanced upon him to fight him. This is what Abu Mikhnaf said on the authority of Abu al-Mukhariq al-Rasibi; as for al-Waqidi, he claimed that this took place in the year 82.

What Led `Abd Al-Rahman B. Muhammad b. al-Ash`Ath to Do What He Did, with an Account of His Actions after Disobeying al-Hajjaj

We have already mentioned under the year 80 the presence of `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad in the territory of the Zunbil¹ and his letter to al-Hajjaj concerning what he had done there and what he proposed to do in the future. We shall now mention what happened to him in the year 81, this being the account of Abu Mikhnaf on the authority of Abu al-Mukhariq.

1. The literature relating to the question of whether this title was Rutbil (and variants) or Zunbil (and variants) is listed by Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-As`at und die Koranleser*, p. 148. The form Zunbil has been preferred here and below (the text consistently gives the form Rutbil).

According to Hisham Abu Mikhnaf Abu al-Mukhariq al-Rasibi: Al-Hajjaj wrote to `Abd al-Rahman, in reply to his letter, "To continue: Your letter has reached me and I have understood what you have mentioned in it. Your letter is the letter of a man who wants a truce and is pleased with reconciliation, having blandished a lowly and slight foe. They have struck down Muslim troops whose performance was good and whose capacity in the cause of Islam was mighty. By your life, O son of the mother of `Abd al-Rahman, if you hold back from the enemy with my troops and arms you will be heedless of those Muslims who were struck down. I do not consider the decision you claim to have reached to be based on a strategem; I think that all that impels you to do that is your weakness and your confused judgment. So do what I ordered you to do, penetrating far into their territory, destroying their fortresses, killing their fighting men, and taking their children captive." [1053]

Then he sent after [that letter] another in which he said, "To continue: Order the Muslims who are with you to till the soil and settle. That is your abode until God grants [you] victory over them."

Then he sent after [that letter] a further one in which he said, "To continue: Do what I ordered you to do, and penetrate far into their territory. Otherwise your brother Ishaq b. Muhammad² is to be the amir of the people, and you are to let him have that to which I have appointed him."

When [`Abd al-Rahman] read [this] letter, he said, "Shall I bear responsibility for Ishaq?" and he showed [the letter] to him.³ [Ishaq] said, "Don't do it." [`Abd al-Rahman] said, "By the Lord of this," meaning the copy of the Qur'an, "if you mention [this] to anyone, I'll kill you." [Ishaq] thought that he meant the sword and put his hand on the pommel of his sword.

Then [`Abd al-Rahman] summoned the people, praised God, and said, "O people, I am one who gives you sincere advice, one who has your well-being at heart, and one who is watchful of all benefit that encompasses you. My view in the matter of your dealings

2. According to al-Baladhuri (*Anonyme arabische Chronik*, Band XI [henceforward AAC], p. 324), Ishaq had been sent out by al-Hajjaj at the head of a separate army.

3. The drift of what immediately follows is not entirely clear, and it is likely that some text is missing.

with the enemy was a view about which I consulted [both] the discerning among you and those of you who are experienced in war. They were satisfied with it in respect of you, considering it to be conducive to your well-being, and in both the short term and the long. I wrote to your amir al-Hajjaj [telling him this], and he responded with a letter in which he charged me with incompetence and weakness and ordered me to hasten the business of taking you far into the territory of the enemy, that being the territory in which your brethren perished but yesterday. I am one of you: I go on when you go on, and I balk when you do." [At this,] the people were stirred up in support of him and said, "No, we balk against the enemy of God: We shall not heed him, nor shall we obey." [1054]

Abu Mikhnaf said: Mutarrif b. `Amir b. Wathilah al-Kinani told me that his father,⁴ who was a poet and *khatib*,⁵ was the first to speak on that day. After praising God, he said, "To continue: Al-Hajjaj wants for you none other than what the sayer of yore⁶ wanted when he said to his brother, 'Mount your servant on the mare: If he perishes he perishes, and if he escapes [then so much the better] for you.' By God, al-Hajjaj does not care that he is taking chances with you by forcing you into a territory of sheer cliffs and narrow passes. If you win and take booty, he will devour the territory and appropriate [its] wealth, thereby extending his dominion; while if your enemy wins, you will become hated enemies, whose distress will be of no concern to him and whom he will not pity. So disavow al-Hajjaj, the enemy of God, and give the oath of allegiance to `Abd al-Rahman. I [hereby] cause you to witness that I am the first to disavow [him]." [At this,] the people called out from every side, "We do so, we do so, we disavow the enemy of God."

`Abd al-Mu'min b. Shabath b. Rib`i al-Tamimi,⁷ who was in charge of [`Abd al-Rahman's] police force when he arrived [in Si-jistan], stood up next and said, "O servants of God, if you obey al-Hajjaj he will make this land your land for as long as you live. He

4. Abu al-Tufayl `Amir b. Wathilah: see Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (henceforward *GAS*), vol. II, p. 412.

5. A term signifying a tribal spokesman in pre-Islamic times and subsequently the deliverer of the Friday sermon (see *EI2*, s.v.).

6. So rendering *al-qa'il al-awwal*; al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 325, gives simply *al-qa'il*. I have not encountered elsewhere the piece of wisdom that follows.

7. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 118.

will keep you out in the field in the manner of Pharaoh, who, I have been informed, was the first to keep armies out in the field; I think that most of you will be dead before seeing your loved ones. So give the oath of allegiance to your amir, set off against your enemy, and expel him from your land (that is, Iraq)." [At this] the people rose up to `Abd al-Rahman and gave him the oath of allegiance. He said, "Give me the oath of allegiance to disavow al-Hajjaj, the enemy of God, and to help me, and to fight against him along with me until God expels him from the land of Iraq"; and they rendered the oath of allegiance to him. No mention was made at that time of any disavowal of `Abd al-Malik. [1055]

Abu Mikhnaf said: `Umar b. Dharr,⁸ the *qass*,⁹ related to me that his father was there with him and that `Abd al-Rahman had flogged him and imprisoned him because of his attachment to his brother al-Qasim b. Muhammad.¹⁰ But when he came out in revolt, he summoned Dharr, and gave him a mount, raiment, and gifts; [Dharr] was among those who set off with him, functioning as a *qass* and *khatib*.¹¹

According to Abu Mikhnaf Sayf b. Bishr al-`Ijlial-Munakhkhal b. Habis al-`Abdi: When Ibn Muhammad set off from Sijistan, he appointed over Bust `Iyad b. Himyan¹² al-Bakri, from the Banu Sadus b. Shayban b. Dhuhl b. Tha`labah, and over Zaranj `Abdallah b. `Amir al-Tamimi al-Darimi. Then he sent to the Zunbil and made peace with him on the understanding that, if Ibn al-Ash`ath were to win, the Zunbil would not be liable to tax (*kharaj*) as long as he lived, and, if Ibn al-Ash`ath were to be defeated and so desired it, the Zunbil would give him refuge with him.

According to Abu Mikhnaf Khushaynah b. al-Walid: When `Abd al-Rahman left Sijistan heading for Iraq, al-A`sha went before him on a mare, saying (*rajaz*):¹³

8. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

9. Teller of popular stories (see *EI2*, s.v. Kass).

10. A slightly fuller account of this is given in al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 326.

11. Cf. the account given by Khalifah b. Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, p. 279.

12. Thus too in Ibn al-Athir, but `Iyad b. `Amr according to al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 327.

13. This is A`sha Hamdan (see *EI2*, s.v., and Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 345-46). Regarding the following verses, cf. von Goutta, *Der Aganiartikel über 'A`shà von Hamdan*, pp. 38, 54; Geyer, *The Dîwân of al-A`shà*, pp. 341-42 (Arabic text); al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, pp. 328-29; *Aghani*,² vol. VI, p. 59; and al-Mas`udi, *Muru'j*, vol. V, P. 356 = par. 2109.

Distant is he whose residence is at the Iwan,¹⁴ [1056]
 the Iwan of Chosroes, the possessor of villages
 and sweet-smelling plants,
 For a lover who has emerged in Zabulistan.
 There have been two liars from Thaqif,
 Their past liar¹⁵ and a second one.
 May my Lord give power to Hamdan over Thaqif,
 For a day until nighttime, so consoling us for what took place
 [before].
 We betook ourselves to the devilish infidel,
 When, in unbelief after belief, he exceeded the bounds
 with the noble lord `Abd al-Rahman.
 He set forth with a throng of Qahtan, like locusts,
 while from Ma`add b. `Adnan he brought
 A tumultuous and mighty multitude.
 So tell Hajjaj, Satan's friend, [if he can]
 Stand steady against Madhhij and Hamdan,
 that they will give him to drink from the
 goblet of poison,
 And will send him off to the villages of Ibn Marwan. [1057]

He (sc. Abu Mikhnaf) said: `Abd al-Rahman sent `Atiyyah b. `Amr al-`Anbari over his vanguard. A1-Hajjaj sent the cavalry against him, but he defeated it at each engagement. A1-Hajjaj asked who it was and was told that it was `Atiyyah. This is why al-A`sha said (*kamil*):

When you put the mountain roads of Fars,
 one by one, behind them,
 Then send `Atiyyah with the cavalry
 to cast them down upon him.¹⁶

Then `Abd al-Rahman advanced with the people. He asked about Abu Ishaq al-Sabi`i,¹⁷ whom he had inscribed among his companions, saying, "You are my maternal uncle"; [Abu Ishaq] was told,

14. The Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon is meant here (see *EI2*, s.v.).

15. Presumably, al-Mukhtar b. Abi `Ubayd is meant.

16. Reading `alayhi (von Goutta, *Aganiartikel*, p. 55; Geyer, *The Dīwān of al-A`shā*, p. 312 [Arabic text]; al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 320; and al-Mas`udi, loc. cit.) in place of `alayka. Cf. Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 129.

17. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. `Amr b. `Abd Allah.

"Don't go to him, for he has asked about you," and he did not like to go. `Abd al-Rahman then went on until he passed through Kirman and placed over them (sc. the people of Kirman) Kharashah b. `Amr al-Tamimi. Abu Ishaq stayed there and did not take part in the civil war (*fitnah*) until [the battle of Dayr] al-Jamajim. When [`Abd al-Rahman] entered Fats, the people gathered together and said, "If we have disavowed al-Hajjaj, the governor of `Abd al-Malik, then we have [as a consequence] disavowed `Abd al-Malik"; and they gathered around `Abd al-Rahman.¹⁸

Abu Mikhnaf said: Among what Abu al-Salt related to me [was this]: [The first person who]¹⁹ disavowed `Abd al-Malik was Tayhan b. Abjar of the Banu Taym Allah b. Tha`labah. He stood up and said, "O people, I have disavowed Abu Dhibban²⁰ just as I divest myself of my shirt." All but a few of the people then disavowed him, rose up to Ibn Muhammad, and rendered the oath of allegiance to him. His oath of allegiance was: "Do you swear allegiance on [the basis of] the Book of God, the Sunnah of his Prophet,²¹ disavowal of the imams of error, and struggle against those who violate that which is sacred?" If they said "Yes," he accepted the oath. [1058]

When it reached al-Hajjaj that he had been disavowed, he wrote to `Abd al-Malik informing him about `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath and asking him to hasten the sending of troops to him. He sent his letter to `Abd al-Malik, citing at the end of it these verses by al-Harith b. Wa`lah (*basit*):²²

Ask the one who is the neighbor (or: under the protection, *mujawir*) of Jarm, "Have I brought upon them a war that will divide neighbors of

18. Omitting the following *fa-kana awwal al-nas*.

19. Inserting *kana awwal man*, as given by manuscripts O and B.

20. Literally, "father of the flies," i.e., one who has stinking breath, an epithet applied in particular to `Abd al-Malik (see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 952b); see also al-Tha`alibi, *Lata'if al-ma`arif*, p. 36 [English trans. pp. 56-57]).

21. On the significance of this wording, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, pp. 59ff.

22. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 147. Regarding the following verses (and their attribution), cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 333; *Aghani*,² vol. XXII, p. 219; Khalifah, *Ta'rikh*, p. 279; al-Mubarrad, *Kamil*, p. 155; Ibn Hamdun, *Tadhkirah*, vol. II, p. 454; Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 877. Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, pp. 123-24) has Ibn al-Ash`ath proclaiming these verses while in Fars.

sincere and friendly conduct?
Have I risen up with a clamorous army full of
neighing horses between the plain and the mountain?²³
Have I left the women of the tribe exposed to the sun,
out in the open, trying to make fires out of
hawdaj saddles?"

And he went along until he stopped at al-Basrah.

[News of] the rebellion of `Abd al-Rahman while he was in Sijistan reached al-Muhallab,²⁴ who wrote to him, "To continue: O Ibn Muhammad, you have put your foot in a stirrup that is very wrong for the community of Muhammad. By God, look to yourself and do not destroy it; do not spill Muslim blood; do not sunder unity; do not violate the oath of allegiance. By God, if you say, 'I fear the people for myself (*nafs*),' [know that] God is more properly to be feared for it than the people. Do not expose it to God[*'s* anger] by shedding blood or by deeming licit that which is not. Peace be upon you." [1059]

Al-Muhallab [also] wrote to al-Hajjaj, "To continue: The people of Iraq have advanced toward you, like a flood coming down from above, unstoppable until it reaches its resting place. The people of Iraq are fierce at the start of their exodus, desiring their sons and womenfolk; nothing will stop them getting to their families and embracing (lit. sniffing)²⁵ their children. So encounter them there. God willing, He will give you victory over them." When al-Hajjaj read this letter, he said, "God damn him; he is not looking to my interests but to those of his cousin."²⁶

When al-Hajjaj's letter came to `Abd al-Malik, it appalled him. He descended from his throne, sent for Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah,²⁷ called him [in], and had him read the letter. When

23. Reading *bayna 'l-sahli wa'l-furuti*, as given in other versions, rather than *bayna 'l-jammi wa'l-furuti* (which appears to have arisen by dittography).

24. Al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufrah, the governor of Khurasan at this time (see *EI2*, s.v. [forthcoming]).

25. *Yashummu*: al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 336, gives *yatakassamu*, which makes no obvious sense and is presumably a corruption of *yashummu*; cf. Khalifah, *Ta'rikh*, p. 280 (*shammu nisa'ahum wa-awladahum*) and Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 37, line 10 (*shammu awladahum*).

26. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 336.

27. *EI2*, s.v.

[Khalid] saw his concern, he said,²⁸ "O Commander of the Faithful, if this incident [arises from] the direction of Sijistan, do not fear it; [but] if it is from the direction of Khurasan, then I [myself] fear it." Then [ʿAbd al-Malik] went to the people, stood up among them, praised God, and said, "The people of Iraq have found my life too long and wish to hasten my demise. O God, empower the swords of the people of Syria over them, so that they may achieve Thy pleasure; if they do so, they will fall short of Thy displeasure." Then he descended. [1060]

A1-Hajjaj stayed in al-Basrah, prepared himself for the encounter with Ibn Muhammad, and ignored the advice of al-Muhallab. At the same time Syrian horsemen were reaching him daily from ʿAbd al-Malik, borne on post-mules in groups of one hundred, fifty, ten, and less, while he daily sent to ʿAbd al-Malik letters and messages with information about Ibn Muhammad what district he had stopped in, what district he had set off from, which people had hastened to him [and so on].

Abu Mikhnaf said: Fudayl b. Khadij²⁹ related to me that the place where he was registered [as a soldier] (*maktab*) was in Kitman, where there were four thousand Kufan and Basran horsemen, and that, when Ibn Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath passed by them, [these forces] quickly went off with him. A1-Hajjaj [in the meantime] resolved to engage Ibn al-Ash`ath and went with the Syrians to Tustar; and [from there] he sent out advance parties led by Mutahhar b. Hurr al-`Akkior al-Judhami and ʿAbdallah b. Rumaythah al-Ta'i, with Mutahhar in overall command. These reached [the river] Dujayl, which had already been crossed by a troop sent by ʿAbd al-Rahman three hundred horsemen commanded by ʿAbdallah b. Aban³⁰ al-Harithi who formed a strong-point for ʿAbd al-Rahman and his army. When Mutahhar b. `Amr got to them, he ordered ʿAbdallah b. Rumaythah to advance on them; the cavalry of ʿAbdallah [b. Aban] was defeated and pushed back to [the river], and his companions were wounded. [1061]

According to Abu Mikhnaf Abu al-Zubayr al-Hamdani: I was among the companions of Ibn Muhammad when he summoned

28. Preferring al-Baladhuri's *fa-lamma ra'a . . . qal* to al-Tabari's *wa-ra'a . . . fa-qal*.

29. A1-Kindi (see the index to al-Tabari's text).

30. Muhammad b. Aban b. ʿAbdallah, according to al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 339.

and gathered the people. Then he said, "Cross to [the enemy]³¹ from this place." So the people impelled their horses into the Dujayl from that place which he had designated, and, by God, no sooner had most, though not all, of our horses crossed than we attacked Mutahhar b. Hurr and al-Ta'i and defeated them, that being on the Day of Sacrifice, 81 (January 25, 701). We killed on a large scale and took their camp.³²

[News of] the defeat reached al-Hajjaj while he was delivering the sermon. Abu Ka`b b.³³ `Ubayd b. Sarjis ascended [the pulpit] to him and informed him of the people's defeat, at which he said, "O people, go to al-Basrah for a camp and a place for fighting, for grain and supplies: This place in which we are cannot support us." Then he set off, returning, and the cavalry of the Iraqis³⁴ followed him; whenever they came upon a straggler, they killed him and [in this way] acquired [much] baggage, which they gathered together. Al-Hajjaj went on, without deviating, until he stopped at al-Zawiyah.³⁵ He sent for the grain of the merchants at al-Kalla',³⁶ took it and [had it] transported to him, and left al-Basrah to the Iraqis [that is, the Iraqi army], his governor over it being al-Hakam b. Ayyub b. Abi `Aqil al-Thaqafi;³⁷ and the Iraqis came on until they entered al-Basrah. When he had suffered this setback and retreated, al-Hajjaj called for al-Muhallab's letter and [re]read it. Then he said, "What a man! What a general! He advised us correctly, and we did not accept [what he said]."

According to authorities other than Abu Mikhnaf, al-Hakam b. Ayyub was the civilian governor of al-Basrah, while `Abdallah b. `Anir b. Misma`³⁸ was in command of the police. [1062]

31. Al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 339, gives *ashab al-Hajjaj*.

32. The account of this engagement given by al-Baladhuri, AAC, pp. 339-40, is rather fuller and clearer: *Inter alia*, it includes the information that Mutahhar's force consisted of 7,000 Syrians; Ibn A`tham, on the other hand, opts for a force of 8,000 horsemen (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 130).

33. Al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 340, omits "Abu Ka`b b."

34. Ibn al-Athir reads *ashab `Abd al-Rahman*.

35. Yaqt (*Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 911) knew this as no more than a place near al-Basrah.

36. The river port of al-Basrah and one of its markets (see Pellat, *Le milieu basrien*, pp. 20, 235).

37. A relative and son-in-law of al-Hajjaj (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 131).

38. A member of the important Basran Shaybani family known as the Masami`ah (ibid, p. 117, and *EI2*, s.v. Masami`ah).

Then al-Hajjaj went with his army until he stopped at Rusta-qubadh,³⁹ which was part of Dastawa, one of the districts of al-Ahwaz, and pitched camp there. Ibn al-Ash`ath advanced and stopped at Tustar, [with the result that] there was a river between them. Al-Hajjaj sent Mutahhar b. Hurr al-`Akki with two thousand men,⁴⁰ and they rushed a strongpoint of Ibn al-Ash`ath's. Ibn al-Ash`ath proceeded swiftly and attacked them, this being in the evening of `Arafah in the year 81 (January 24, 701). It is said that they killed fifteen hundred of the Syrians, the rest of whom returned to [al-Hajjaj] in defeat. He had with him one hundred fifty million [dirhams], which he distributed among his commanders, making them responsible for them, and went in defeat to al-Basrah. [Meanwhile,] Ibn al-Ash`ath addressed his companions, saying, "As for al-Hajjaj, he is nothing. We want to carry the war to `Abd al-Malik." [At the same time, news of] the defeat of al-Hajjaj reached the people of al-Basrah, and `Abdallah b. `Amir b. Misma` wanted to cut the bridge to prevent his passage; but al-Hakam b. Ayyub bribed him with one hundred thousand [dirhams], and he desisted from this [action]. [Then] al-Hajjaj entered al-Basrah: He sent to Ibn `Amir and wrested the one hundred thousand [dirhams] from him.

The account reverts to that of Abu Mikhnaf on the authority of Abu al-Zubayr al-Hamdani: When `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad entered al-Basrah, all of its *qurra*⁴¹ and middle-aged men rendered the oath of allegiance to him to fight al-Hajjaj and disavow `Abd al-Malik; and a Jahdami of al-Azd called `Uqbah b. `Abd al-Ghafir,⁴² who was a Companion, jumped up and gave the oath of allegiance to `Abd al-Rahman, being strong in his conviction of the rightness of fighting al-Hajjaj. Al-Hajjaj entrenched himself against [`Abd al-Rahman],⁴³ and `Abd al-Rahman entrenched himself against al-Basrah. `Abd al-Rahman's entry into al-Basrah took place at the end of Dhu al-Hijjah 81 (mid-February 701). [1063]

39. On the Dujayl river between al-Ahwaz and Tustar (see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 237, and *EI2*, s.v. `Askar Mukram).

40. Cf. n. 32 above.

41. Generally held to have been Qur'an reciters (see *EI2*, s.v. Kurra'). For a detailed discussion of these particular Basran *qurra*', see Sayed, *Revolte*, chap. v.

42. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 350.

43. Where al-Tabari has `alayhi, Ibn al-Athir has `ala nafsihi.

Sulayman b. `Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in this year: This is what Ahmad b. Thabit related to me on the authority of he who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar; and so too said al-Waqidi. He (sc. al-Waqidi) [also] said: Ibn Abi Dhi'b⁴⁴ was born in this year; the governor of Medina in this year was Aban b. `Uthman;⁴⁵ over Iraq and the East was al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf; over the military affairs (*harb*) of Khurasan was al-Muhallab, and over its taxation (*kharaj*) was al-Mughirah b. al-Muhallab,⁴⁶ [both of these being appointees acting] on behalf of al-Hajjaj; in charge of the judiciary of al-Kufah was Abu Burdah b. Abi Musa,⁴⁷ and in charge of the judiciary of al-Basrah was `Abd al-Rahman b. Udhaynah.⁴⁸

44. A traditionist who died in 158 (774) or 159 (775) (Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, vol. IX, p. 306).

45. A son of the Caliph `Uthman b. `Affan (see *EI2*, s.v.).

46. *EI2*, s.v. (Banu) `l-Muhallab (forthcoming).

47. *EI2*, s.v. al-Ash`ari.

48. `Abd al-Rahan b. Udhaynah b. al-Harith al-`Abdi (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register; Waki`, *Akhbar al-qudah*, vol. I, pp. 304-7).

The Events of The Year 82
(February 15, 701February 3, 702)

[Operations At Al-Basrah And Al-Kufah]

Among the events of this year were the battles that took place between al-Hajjaj and `Abd al-Rahmam b. Muhammad at al-Zawiyah.

According to Hisham b. MuhammadAbu MikhnafAbu al-Zubayr al-Hamdani: `Abd al-Rahman's entry into al-Basrah took place at the end of Dhu al-Hijjah, and they fought in Muharram of the year 82 (February-March 702). They came together one day, and their fighting intensified. Then the Iraqis defeated [the Syrians], forcing them back to al-Hajjaj and fighting them in their trenches. The defeat of the whole of Quraysh and Thaqif was such that `Ubayd b. Mawhab, the mawla and secretary of al-Hajjaj, said (*tawil*):

[1064]

Al-Bara' and his cousin Mus`ab fled,
and Quraysh fled, but for Al Sa`id.⁴⁹

49. Cf. al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 347, where it is clear that al-Hajjaj's relatives al-Bara' b. Qabisah b. Abi Aqil and Mus`ab b. `Abdallah b. Abi `Aqil are meant; the Banu Sa`id in question were probably the descendants of Sa`id b. al-`As al-Umawi (see the reference to `Anbasah b. Sa`id on p. 348).

Then they came together at the end of al-Muharram, on the day when the Iraqis defeated the Syrians: The [Syrian] right and left wings turned back, their spears were in disarray, and their [front] line was routed, to the extent that [the Iraqis] drew near to us. When al-Hajjaj saw that, he fell to his knees, drew his sword a span, and said, "How admirable Mus`ab was! How noble he was when there overtook him what overtook him, and I know, by God, that he did not wish to flee."

He (sc. Abu al-Zubayr) said: I signaled to my father with my eye to give me permission to smite [al-Hajjaj] with my sword, and he signaled back firmly [that I should not], and I kept still. Then I happened to turn, and, lo and behold, Sufyan b. al-Abrad al-Kalbi⁵⁰ had attacked them and defeated them on the right wing. So I said, "Rejoice, O amir, for God has defeated the enemy." He said to me, "Stand up and look," so I stood up and looked and said, "God has defeated them." He said, "Stand up, Ziyad, and look"; so Ziyad stood up and looked and said, "It's true, God has certainly caused you to prosper; they have been defeated." And al-Hajjaj cast himself down in prostration. When I returned, my father reviled me and said, "Did you want to kill me and my family?" [1065]

The following were killed in the battle: `Abd al-Rahman b. `Awsajah Abu Sufyan al-Nihmi⁵¹ and `Uqbah b. `Abd al-Ghafir al-Azdi al-Jahdami,⁵² among those *qurra'* who were all killed in the same place; `Abdallah b. Rizam al-Harithi;⁵³ al-Mundhir b. al-Jarud;⁵⁴ and `Abdallah b. `Amir b. Misma`.⁵⁵ The head of this last-named was brought to al-Hajjaj, who said, "I do not think that this [fellow] left me in order to have his head brought to me."

Sa`id b. Yahya b. Sa`id b. al-`As.⁵⁶ fought a duel on that day with a

50. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

51. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 357 (wrongly an-Nuhmi).

52. See above, n. 42.

53. This cannot be right, for we find him alive and well below (p. 25). It can be noted that Mss. O and B (as well as al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 346) omit the words *b. Rizam . . . al-Mundhir b. al-Jarud . . . `Abd Allah b.*

54. This cannot be al-Mundhir b. al-Jarud, who had already been dead for twenty years (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register, and cf. preceding note); possibly one of his sons is meant (cf. below, p. 69, where his son Bishr is killed at Maskin).

55. Cf. above, p. 11 and n. 38.

56. Al-Umawi (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

man who killed him; they claimed that he was a mawla of al-Fadl⁵⁷ b. `Abbas b. Rabi`ah b. al-Harith b. `Abd al-Muttalib,⁵⁸ a brave man called Nusayr. [Al-Hajjaj] had earlier criticized his gait, and, when he saw him going about between the [battle] lines, he said, "Never again shall I criticize him for this gait."

Al-Tufayl b. `Amir b. Wathilah was killed.⁵⁹ It was he who had said in Fars, while advancing on al-Hajjaj with `Abd al-Rahman from Kirman (*tawil*):⁶⁰

[The phantom of] Janub⁶¹ paid us a night visit at
 al Ghariyyan,⁶² after we,
 the distance being long, had become fatigued.
 They (that is, our troops) have come to you leading the fates;
 our vanguard⁶³ has been guided to you by [your] sins.
 There is no good on earth for anyone who does not have [1066]
 a share from God in the world to come.
 Inform al-Hajjaj that there has drawn near to him
 chastisement that will strike [him] through
 the hands of the believers.
 When we come to the two *misrs* (that is, al-Basrah and
 al-Kufah), Muhammad⁶⁴ will flee,
 but flight will not save the son of the accursed one.

[Al-Hajjaj] said [when he learned of al-Tufayl's death], "The fate [which you wanted for us] is a matter which God knew you to be more deserving of. He hastened it for you in this world and will chastise you in the next."

[The Iraqis] were defeated, and `Abd al-Rahman set off toward al-Kufah, followed by those Kufans who were with him and the

57. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

58. A Hashimi who had been killed in 63 (683) (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

59. For his father, see above, n. 4.

60. The fourth of the following verses is given also by al-Baladhuri (*AAC*, p. 346).

61. I am grateful to Professor Ihsan `Abbas for pointing out to me that this is to be read as a woman's name; her identity, however, remains unclear.

62. "Two well-known buildings in El-Koofeh, at El-Thaweeyeh, where is the tomb of 'Alee, the Prince of the Faithful, asserted to have been built by one of the Kings of El-Heereh" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2254b). See the discussion by Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, p. 91-94.

63. Preferring *ulana* to *awlana*.

64. The son of al-Hajjaj (cf. below, p. 48).

strongest of the Basran horsemen. When he had gone, the Basrans flocked to `Abd al-Rahman b. `Abbas b. Rabi`ah b. al-Harith b. `Abd al-Muttalib⁶⁵ and swore allegiance to him. For five nights he fought al-Hajjaj with them; it was the fiercest fighting the people had seen. Then he went off and joined Ibn al-Ash`ath, and was followed and joined by a group of Basrans. There also went out [of al-Basrah] al-Harish b. Hilal al-Sa`di,⁶⁶ from the Banu Anf al-Naqah,⁶⁷ who was wounded; he went to Safawan⁶⁸ and died of his wound. [Also] killed was Ziyad b. Muqatil b. Misma`⁶⁹ from the Banu Qays b. Tha`labah, who was in command of the *khums*⁷⁰ of Bakr b. Wa`il with Ibn al-Ash`ath and was over the infantry. His daughter⁷¹ Hamidah stood up and lamented him, saying [1067] (*mutaqarib*):

Ziyad defended his two banners,
and the protector of the Banu al-`Anbar fled.⁷²

Al-Balta`⁷³ al-Sa`di came and heard her lamenting her father and stigmatizing the Tamimi. He had been selling clarified butter at al-Mirbad;⁷⁴ he left his clarified butter with his friends, came until he stood beneath her, and said (*mutaqarib*):

Why do you blame one who did not commit blameworthy actions?
May the night be long for a marriageable young lady such as you!

65. Al-Hashimi (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

66. Who had earlier been a Tamimi leader of importance in Khurasan (Caskel, loc. cit.).

67. I.e., the Banu Ja`far b. Quray` b. `Awf of Sa`d/Tamim (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, vol. I, chart 77).

68. A place one day's journey from al-Basrah on the road to the Hijaz (Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. III, pp. 98-99).

69. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 117.

70. One of the "fifths" into which the Basrah fighting men were divided (Pellat, *Le milieu basrien*, p. 23).

71. According to al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 351, she was Hamidah (or Humaydah) bt. Muqatil, i.e., the *sister* of Ziyad.

72. *Rayatayhi*, "banners": al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 351, reads *qawmihi*. Reading *muhami* "protector," with AAC (rather than *judayy*, "small kid," with al-Tabari), since al-Harish was not himself a member of the Banu al-`Anbar.

73. The pointing is lacking or impressionistic; the name could also be al-Baligh or al-Nabigh or al-Tabi`.

74. The Basran halting place for caravans (*EI2*, s.v. [forthcoming]).

If the spear point destroyed your father,
 the horses may reach he who was in flight
 (that is, the father)
 And they may butt under the dust
 one who was not innocent⁷⁵ and had no excuse.
 We defended the standard of al-Harish,
 while the standard of the Banu Jahdar⁷⁶ went astray.

ʿAmir b. Wathilah said, elegizing his son Tufayl (*basit*):

Tufayl left care weighing upon me and departed this life, [1068]
 and that has crushed my strength signally.
 I shall never forget the two sons of Sumayyah,⁷⁷
 whatever else I may forget, [the loss of] each of
 whom was for me a source of fatigue.
 The fates [earlier] missed me, not trying to come
 forward to me
 until my old age, when they left me with nothing.
 After Tufayl I have become as one from whom the waters
 have dried up and the water has disappeared into
 the earth,⁷⁸
 One who has no camel to ride in the land and who,
 if he strives in the track of him who has escaped
 him, becomes weary.
 There arose from the land of Khaqan,⁷⁹ which the sons
 of Fars had subjugated like lions⁸⁰ in their squadrons,⁸¹ [1069]
 And from Sijistan a web of circumstances rendered attractive
 to you by fate, perdition brought for you
 Until you reached the basins of death and the squadrons
 went away from you, leaving no one behind [alive].

75. *Al-bari: Al-shahid*, "martyred," is given as a variant.

76. The Masami`ah were descendants of Jahdar b. Dubay`ah (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 116).

77. Presumably, the poet's wife.

78. The text has *al-miyah*, "waters," while Ibn al-Athir gives *al-suyul*, "the floods." Reading *aw nadaba*, "disappeared into the earth," as given by manuscripts O and B.

79. A title used by the Turks to signify "[supreme] ruler" (*EI2*, s.v. Khakan).

80. Reading *ghuluba* in place of the *ghalaba* given by the editor.

81. *Fi arba'iha*: see Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al-`arab*, vol. XIX, p. 20, who gives the definition *jama`at min al-nas*.

They left you felled, a hostage to the battlefield,
where you see the vultures in groups over the dead.
They made a compact and then did not fulfill what
they had undertaken,
[instead] handing the captives and the plunder
over to the enemy.
What a disgrace it is for a people when their women
are taken captive,
when they are numerous and they experience
disgrace and destitution!

According to Abu Mikhnaf Hisham b. Ayyub b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi `Aqil: Al-Hajjaj stayed put for the rest of al-Muharram and the beginning of Safar. Then he appointed over al-Basrah Ayyub b. al-Hakam b. Abi `Aqil.⁸² Ibn al-Ash`ath went to al-Kufah, where al-Hajjaj had left in charge `Abd al-Rahman b. `Abdallah b. `Amir al-Hadrami, a confederate (*halif*) of Harb b. Umayyah.⁸³

Abu Mikhnaf said: As Yunus b. Abi Ishaq related it to me, he was in command of four thousand Syrians.

Abu Mikhnaf said: Sahm b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Juhani related to me that there were two thousand of them. Hanzalah b. al-Warrad al-Tamimi,⁸⁴ from the Banu Riyah. b. Yarbu`, and Ibn `Attab b. Warqa`⁸⁵ were over al-Mada'in, while Matar b. Najiyah,⁸⁶ from the Banu Yarbu`, was in charge of the ma`unah.⁸⁷ When [news of] [1070] the Ibn al-Ash`ath affair reached [Matar b. Najiyah], he advanced until he came near to al-Kufah. Ibn al-Hadrami fortified himself in the citadel, and the Kufans rose up with Matar b. Najiyah

82. Here, and below (pp. 46, 130), "Ayyub b. al-Hakam" should be taken to signify "al-Hakam b. Ayyub" (see above, n. 37, and cf. Khalifah, *Ta'rikh*, pp. 295, 314).

83. The text gives 'Abd al-Rahman b. `Abd al-Rahman b. `Abdallah b. `Amir, but the second "'Abd al-Rahman" appears to have arisen by dittography (cf. Ms O; al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 353; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 132).

84. About whom al-Tabari has nothing else to say.

85. Presumably Khalid b. `Attab (see the index to the Tabari text and Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

86. Caskel, loc. cit.

87. The exact responsibilities of such an appointment at this time remain unclear; they may have included fiscal duties, in addition to general administration and/or the maintenance of law and order (see *EI2*, s.v. [forthcoming]).

against Ibn al-Hadrami and the Syrians who were with him. [Matar] besieged him, and they offered peace with him in return for getting out and leaving him the citadel; so he made peace with them.

Abu Mikhnaf said: Yunus b. Abi Ishaq related to me that he saw them coming down from the citadel in haste. The door of the citadel was opened for Matar b. Najjyah, the people crowded up to it, and Matar was crushed against it.⁸⁸ He drew his sword and with it smote the lip of one of the mules of the Syrians; then he cast its lip aside and entered the citadel. The people gathered to him, and he gave them two hundred dirhams [each].

Yunus said: I saw [the dirhams] being divided among them; Abu al-Saqr⁸⁹ was among those who were given them. [Then] Ibn al-Ash`ath came in defeat to al-Kufah, followed thither by the people.

Abu Ja`far said: In this year, according to one [of the authorities], there took place between al-Hajjaj and Ibn al-Ash`ath the battle of Dayr al-Jamajim. Al-Waqidi said: The battle of Dayr al-Jamajim was in Sha`ban of this year (September-October 701). Others have said that it took place in the year 83.

The reason for Ibn al-Ash`Ath's Progress to Dayr al-Jamajim and [the Battle] between Him and al-Hajjaj

According to Hisham Abu Mikhnaf Abu al-Zubayr al-Hamdani al-Arhabi: I had sustained a wound. The Kufans went out to receive Ibn al-Ash`ath when he came, and received him after he had crossed the Zabara⁹⁰ bridge. As he was drawing near to it, he said to me, "I'd be grateful if you would turn off the road, so that the people will not see your wound. I don't want the wounded to receive them." I did so,⁹¹ and the people entered al-Kufah. [1071]

88. According to al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 353, he was crushed against the door by a mule.

89. If this is how the name is to be read.

90. Yaqut (*Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 912) knew this as a place ("I think it was one of the *nawahi* of al-Kufah") mentioned in connection with the Qaramitah in the time of al-Muqtadir (see de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*, 2 p. 971).

91. Reading *fa`altu*, as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

When he entered al-Kufah, all the Kufans inclined to him. Hamdan got to him first⁹² and surrounded him at the residence of `Amr b. Hurayth, except for a group from Tamim which was not great in number; these last had gone to Matar b. Najiyah and had wanted to fight for him, but were unable to take on the people. `Abd al-Rahman called for ladders of various kinds,⁹³ and these were placed in position so that the people might climb up the citadel; they did this and took [Matar], who was brought to `Abd al-Rahmim and said to him, "Spare me, for I am the worthiest of your horsemen and the most able of them to replace you." [`Abd al-Rahman] ordered that he be imprisoned. Then he called for him subsequently and pardoned him, and Matar rendered the oath of allegiance to him. The people entered into [`Abd al-Rahman's] presence and rendered the oath of allegiance to him. The Basrans came to him, and the strongpoints and frontier ways of access fell to him; among those Basrans who came to him was `Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas b. Rabi`ah b. al-Harith b. `Abd al-Muttalib so he was known who had fought al-Hajjaj for three [nights]⁹⁴ at al-Basrah after the exodus of Ibn al-Ash`ath. [News of] that reached `Abd al-Malik, who said, "May God fight `Udayy al-Rahman!⁹⁵ He has fled, and some of the young men of Quraysh have fought for three [nights] after him." [1072]

Al-Hajjaj set off from al-Basrah and went through the land until he passed between al-Qadisiyyah and al-`Udhayb.⁹⁶ [The Iraqis] prevented him from stopping at al-Qadisiyyah: `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath sent against him `Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas with a large force made up of cavalry from the two *misrs* (that is, al-Basrah and al-Kufah), and they prevented him from stopping at al-Qadisiyyah. Then they kept pace with him until they came out at the top of Wadi al-Siba`;⁹⁷ they kept pace with

92. Al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 356, notes that they were his maternal uncles (see also above, p. 7, and below, note 237).

93. So rendering *al-salalim wa-al-`ajal*.

94. Cf. above (p. 17), where we are told that he had fought him for five nights.

95. Literally, "the small enemy of the Merciful," this being a play on the name `Abd al-Rahman, "the servant of the Merciful."

96. To the south-southwest of al-Kufah. For discussion of their exact location, see EI2, s.v. al-Kadisiyya (p. 384b).

97. Which receives passing attention from Yaqut (*Mu`jam*, vol. IV, p. 876) as one of the *nawahi* of al-Kufah.

each other until al-Hajjaj stopped at Dayr Qurrah⁹⁸ and `Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas stopped at Dayr al-Jamajim.⁹⁹ Then Ibn al-Ash`ath came and stopped at Dayr al-Jamajim, while al-Hajjaj was [still] at Dayr Qurrah. Al-Hajjaj used to say subsequently, "Couldn't `Abd al-Rahman augur from the birds when he saw that I had stopped at Dayr Qurrah and he had stopped at Dayr al-Jamajim?"¹⁰⁰

There gathered together at Dayr al-Jamajim the Kufans, the Basrans, the people of the frontier ways of access and the strong-points, and the *qurra'* of the two *misrs*. They were unanimous in making war on al-Hajjaj, being united in that by their hatred and loathing of him. They were at that time one hundred thousand stipendiary fighting men, accompanied by a like number of their mawlas.

Al-Hajjaj's reinforcements from `Abd al-Malik had come to him before he stopped at Dayr Qurrah; before stopping there, he had wanted to go up to Hit¹⁰¹ and the area of the Jazirah, out of a desire to be near[er] to Syria and the Jazirah and so that he could be close to the *rafaghah*¹⁰² of the price [of the foodstuffs] of the Jazirah. But when he passed by Dayr Qurrah, he said, "This place isn't far from the Commander of the Faithful, and al-Falalij¹⁰³ and `Ayn al-Tamr¹⁰⁴ are nearby"; and he stopped there and entrenched himself in his camp, [just as] Ibn Muhammad had in his.

The people would make sorties every day and fight, while at the same time advancing their trenches toward each other; and the fighting intensified. When [news of] that reached the heads of Quraysh and the Syrians with `Abd al-Malik and his mawlas, they said, "If the only thing that will please the people of Iraq is the [1073]

98. Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 685, where its location is described simply as "opposite Dayr al-Jamajim"; also *EI2*, s.v. Dayr Kurta.

99. Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 652, where it is said to have been seven parasangs from al-Kufah. For further details, see *EI2*, s.v. Dayr al-Djamadjim; and Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 211.

100. Dayr Qurrah means literally "the monastery of satisfaction," while Dayr al-Jamajim means literally "the monastery of the skulls" (for all that other explanations are volunteered).

101. An Iraqi town situated on the right bank of the Euphrates and generally regarded as the border town between Iraq and the Jazirah (*EI2*, s.v. al-Djazira).

102. "Ampleness, or abundance, of the means of subsistence" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1124c); presumably, "cheapness" is meant here (cf. below, n. 109).

103. According to Yaqut (*Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 908), the *falalij* of the Sawad were its villages.

104. A settlement some eighty miles to the west of al-Kufah (see *EI2*, s.v.).

removal of al-Hajjaj from them, that is easier than fighting them; so remove him from them, and that will secure obedience and spare our blood and theirs." [At this, `Abd al-Malik] sent his son `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik to his brother, Muhammad b. Marwan, [who was] in the territory of al-Mawsil, ordering him to come to him. Both joined him, with their armies, and he ordered them to put it to the people of Iraq that al-Hajjaj would be removed from them, that they would be assigned the same stipends as those assigned to the Syrians, and that Ibn Muhammad could stop in any part of Iraq he wished and could be governor of it for as long as he wished and as long as `Abd al-Malik was ruler.¹⁰⁵ If they accepted this, al-Hajjaj would be dismissed and Muhammad b. Marwan would be amir of Iraq; and if they refused to accept it, al-Hajjaj would [remain] amir of the Syrian army and war commander, with Muhammad b. Marwan and `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik responsible to him.¹⁰⁶

No order ever came to al-Hajjaj that was harder or more vexatious and hurtful to him than this, on account of [his] fear that they would accept and he would be dismissed. He wrote to `Abd al-Malik, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you present the Iraqis with my removal, it will not be long before they disobey you and go against you. That will simply make them bolder against you. Did you not see and hear of the uprising of the Iraqis with al-Ashtar against Ibn `Affan? When he asked them what they wanted, they said, 'The removal of Sa`id b. al-`As'; and, when he had removed him, the year was not out before they went to him and killed him.¹⁰⁷ It takes iron to cleave iron.¹⁰⁸ May God be propitious to you in your deliberations. Peace be upon you." `Abd al-Malik[, however,] insisted on proposing these conditions to the Iraqis, desiring freedom from war.

[1074]

When [Muhammad b. Marwan and `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik] had joined up with al-Hajjaj, `Abdallah went forth and said, "O people of Iraq, I am `Abdallah, son of the Commander of the Faithful. He will give you such-and-such," and he mentioned the

105. *Waliyan*: Ibn al-Athir reads *khalifatan*, "caliph."

106. Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 137, gives a different version: According to him, `Abd al-Malik's offer to the Iraqis consisted of (i) the dismissal of al-Hajjaj, (ii) the evacuation of the Syrians, and (iii) the appointment over them of whomever they might want.

107. Cf. Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," pp. 360-61.

108. Cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. I, pp. 9-10.

conditions which we have mentioned. [Then] Muhammad b. Marwan said, "I am the messenger of the Commander of the Faithful to you, and he proposes to you such-and-such," and he mentioned these conditions.

They said, "We shall come back this evening," and went back and joined Ibn al-Ash`ath. Every single commander, chief, and horseman came to him. Ibn al-Ash`ath praised God and then said, "To continue: You have been presented with something which, if you take it today, [appears to be] an opportunity, and I am not sure that it will tomorrow [prove to] be a [matter for] regret for one possessed of insight. You are today all square [with them]. If they take al-Zawiyah into account [against you], you may take the battle day of Tustar into account against them. Accept what they have offered you while you are mighty and strong, while the [Syrians] are fearful of you and you are still able to look down on them; and, by God, you will remain bold against them and mighty in their eyes if you accept, forever, as long as you live."

The people rose up on every side and said, "God has destroyed them. They are in a state of anguish, distress, famine, dearth, and abasement, while we have large numbers, [foodstuffs at] a cheap¹⁰⁹ price, and supplies nearby. No, by God, we shall not accept." And they repeated their disavowal of [`Abd al-Malik]. The first to do so at al-Jamajim were `Abdallah b. Dhu'ab and `Umayr b. Tayhan. Their disavowal of him at al-Jamajim was more united than it had been in Fats. [At this], Muhammad b. Marwan and `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik returned to al-Hajjaj and said, "Your camp and your army are your affair, so do as you think best. We have been ordered to heed and obey you." He said, "I told you that none other than the two of you are wanted for this command." Then he said, "I shall fight for you, and my authority is yours," and, whenever they met him, they greeted him as the amir; [however,] it has been claimed by Abu Yazid al-Saksaki that he also greeted them as amirs when he met them. They let him get on with the war, which he took charge of. [1075]

According to Abu Mikhnafal-Kalbi, Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib: When the people gathered at al-Jamajim, I heard `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad say, "The Banu Marwan are reviled on account of

109. *Al-rafiḡh* (cf. above, n. 102): Ibn al-Athir reads *al-rakhis*.

[their] blue-eyed (that is, non-Arab) [mother].¹¹⁰ By God, they have a lineage no better than that; and the Banu Abi al-`As¹¹¹ [are worse still, being] *a`laj*¹¹² from the people of Saffuriyyah!¹¹³ If this matter (that is, the caliphate) is among Quraysh, then I can adduce an origin from Quraysh,¹¹⁴ and, if it is among the Arabs, I am the son of al-Ash`ath b. Qays!"¹¹⁵ He said this at the top of his voice, to make the people hear.

They went forth to fight. Al-Hajjaj placed over his right wing `Abd al-Rahman b. Sulaym al-Kalbi,¹¹⁶ over his left wing `Umarah b. Tamim al-Lakhmi,¹¹⁷ over his cavalry Sufyan b. al-Abrad al-Kalbi,¹¹⁸ and over his infantry `Abd al-Rahman¹¹⁹ b. Habib¹²⁰ al-Hakami. Ibn al-Ash`ath placed over his right wing al-Hajjaj b. Jariyah al-Khath`ami,¹²¹ over his left wing al-Abrad b. Qurrah al-Tamimi,¹²² over his cavalry `Abd al-Rahman b. `Abbas b. Rabi`ah b. al-Harith al-Hashimi,¹²³ over his infantry Muhammad b. Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas,¹²⁴ and over his cataphracts `Abdallah b. Rizam al-Harithi.¹²⁵ He placed Jabalah b. Zahr b. Qays al-Ju`fi who was accompanied by fifteen men from Quraysh over the *qurra'*, among whom were `Amir al-Sha`bi, Sa`id b. Jubayr, Abu al-Bakhtari, and `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Layla.¹²⁶ [1076]

110. *Al-zarqa'*: see Glossarium, p. CCLXXVII.

111. On this Qurashi group, see *EI2*, suppl., s.v. A`yas.

112. Singular *`ilj*, a term signifying a man who is strong, sturdy, non-Arab, and an unbeliever.

113. A district in al-Urdunn, near al-Tabariyyah (Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 402). For some of the background to this piece of abuse, see Crone, *Meccan Trade*, p. 102, n. 70.

114. *Fa-`anni fuqi'at* (or *taqawwabat*) *baydat Quraysh*. His grandmother, the wife of al-Ash`ath, was a sister of Abu Bakr's (*EI2*, s.v. al-Ash`ath).

115. Cf. Ibn A`tham's (somewhat similar) version of this outburst (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 140).

116. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 130-31.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

118. See above, n. 50.

119. "Abdallah" according to Mss. O and B, as well as Ibn al-Athir.

120. "Khubayb" according to Ibn al-Athir.

121. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

122. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 112-13.

123. See above, n. 65.

124. Who, oddly, does not figure in Ibn al-Kalbi's *Jamharah*; see the index to al-Tabari's text.

125. For all that we have been told above (p. 15 and n. 53) that he had been killed at the battle of al-Zawiyah; he also reappears below (pp. 39, 43).

126. See the list of *qurra'* provided by Sayed (*Revolte*, pp. 350ff., nos. 44, 15, 14, 23, and 17, respectively).

Then they began to engage each other every day and to fight. The supplies of the Iraqis came to them from al-Kufah and its Sawad, and they were abundantly provided for as they wanted, [both the Kufans] and their brethren the Basrans. The Syrians[, on the other hand,] were in dire straits: Prices went up to their disadvantage, food supplies became scarce for them, and they lacked meat; it was as if they were under siege. But, for all that, they took on the Iraqis throughout the day, fighting very fiercely. First al-Hajjaj would advance his trench, and then [the Iraqis] would [advance theirs, and so it went on] until the day on which Jabalah b. Zahr was struck down; then [ʿAbd al-Rahman] sent [word] to Kumayl b. Ziyad al-Nakhaʿi,¹²⁷ who was a grave man, steadfast in war, possessed of courage, and a voice among the people. His (that is, Jabalah's) squadron was called "The Squadron of the Qurra'." [1077] When attacked, they would scarcely move, and, when attacking, they would not retreat; they were known for that. One day, they made a sortie as usual, and the people made a sortie with them. Al-Hajjaj deployed his companions and then marched among his battle ranks. Ibn Muhammad made a sortie with seven battle ranks, one after another. Al-Hajjaj deployed against Jabalah b. Zahr's squadron of *qurra'* three squadrons, over which he placed al-Jarrah b. ʿAbdallah al-Hakami;¹²⁸ they advanced against them.

Abu Mikhnaf said: Abu Yazid al-Saksaki related to me: I, by God, was among the cavalry deployed against Jabalah b. Zahr. We attacked him and his companions three times, one attack per squadron, and, by God, we found them in no way wanting.

[The Death of al-Mughirah b. al-Muhallab]

In this year al-Mughirah b. al-Muhallab¹²⁹ died in Khurasan.

According to ʿAli b. Muhammad al-Mufaddal b. Muhammad: Al-Mughirah b. al-Muhallab was his father's deputy at Marw over the whole of his province; then he died in Rajab 82 (August-September 701). The news reached Yazid [b. al-Muhallab], and the army learned of it, but they did not inform al-Muhallab. Yazid

127. See Sayed's list, p. 357, no. 27.

128. *EI2*, s.v. al-Djarrah b. ʿAbd Allah; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 132-33.

129. See above, n. 46.

wanted to let [al-Muhallab] know, so he instructed the women to cry out. Al-Muhallab said, "What is this?" and he was told, "al-Mughirah has died." At this, he exclaimed, "Verily to God we belong, and verily unto Him we return!" and he grieved until his grief became apparent upon him and one of his intimates took him to task. He summoned Yazid and sent him to Marw, having advised him as to what he should do, while his tears poured down onto his beard. A1-Hajjaj wrote to al-Muhallab, offering his condolences in respect of al-Mughirah, who had been a *sayyid*. On the day when al-Mughirah died, al-Muhallab was stationed at Kish130 in Transoxania, for the purpose of making war on its people.

[1078]

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: Yazid went off with sixtyalso put at seventyhorsemen, including Mujja`ah b. `Abd al-Rahman al-`Ataki, `Abdallah b. Mu`ammar b. Shumayr131 al-Yashkuri, Dinar al-Sijistani, al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal al-Jurmuzi, Ghazwan al-Iskaf the lord of Zamm132who had converted to Islam at al-Muhallab's handAbu Muhammad al-Zammi, and `Atiyyah, [who was] a mawla of `Atik. They were encountered in the desert of Nasaf by 150 Turks, who said to them, "Who are you?" and they replied, "Merchants." "Where are [your] loads?" asked [the Turks], and they replied, "We have sent them on ahead." "Well, give us something," said [the Turks]. Yazid refused, but Mujja`ah gave them a garment, some pieces of cloth, and a bow, and they departed. Then they acted treacherously and returned to them, and Yazid said, "[There,] I knew best about themfight them." The fighting between them intensified. Yazid was on a horse near to the ground,133 and with him was a Khariji man whom he had taken [prisoner]. [This man] said [to him], "Allow me to live," and [Yazid] acceded to that. Then he said to [the man], "What are you capable of?" and [the man] charged upon [the Turks] until he mingled with them; then he was behind them, having killed a man, then he rushed again and mingled with them until he came out in front of them, having killed [another] man; then he returned to Yazid, who had [in the meantime] killed one of their lords and

130. *EI2*, s.v.

131. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

132. See below, n. 346.

133. Presumably, he was on a small horse or pony; Ibn al-Athir omits the phrase.

been shot in the leg. [The Turks now] put on more pressure, and Abu Muhammad al-Zammi fled; but Yazid doggedly faced up to them, until they ultimately abstained from fighting [Yazid and his companions]. They said, "We acted treacherously, but we shall not depart until either we all die, or you die, or you give us something." Yazid swore that he would not give them anything, but Mujja`ah said, "For heaven's sake! A1-Mughirah has perished, and you saw what an effect his death had on al-Muhallab. I beseech you by God not to be struck down today." [Yazid] said [to him], "A1-Mughirah did not exceed his allotted span, and I shall not exceed mine." Then Mujja`ah threw them a yellow turban, and they took it and departed, [after which] Abu Muhammad al-Zammi came with horsemen and food. Yazid said to him, "You deserted us, O Abu Muhammad," to which he replied, "I simply went off to bring reinforcements and food." The *rajaz* poet said:

[1079]

Yazid, you sword of Abu Sa`id,¹³⁴
peoples and armies, together with
The throng on the gathering day which is witnessed, know
that you, on the battle day with the Turks,
are made of stern stuff.

And al-Ashqari¹³⁵ said (*basit*):

The Turks know, when [Yazid] encounters their throngs,
that they have met one who is [like] a meteor that
dispels darkness,
[One accompanied] by young men like lions of the thicket,
who know no refuge save patience and endurance.
We see streaks of blood covering the people,
but I do not see any sign of them shrinking back
or fearing to advance.
Beneath them are full-grown horses that endure the adversity
that they (the riders) endure, until they (the horses)
are shod¹³⁶ with blood.
In the turmoil of death, until nighttime envelops them, [1080]
neither side either flees or suffers defeat.

134. I.e., al-Muhallab.

135. Ka`b b. Ma`dan al-Ashqari (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 377-78).

136. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

In this year al-Muhallab made peace with the people of Kish in return for tribute¹³⁷ and left it, heading for Marw.

The Reason for al-Muhallab's Departure from Kish

According to `Ali b. Muhammadal-Mufaddal b. Muhammad: Al-Muhallab was suspicious of some people from Mudar. He accordingly imprisoned them and departed from Kish, leaving them [there]; he also left Hurayth b. Qutbah, the mawla of Khuza`ah, saying to him, "When you have exacted the whole of the tribute, return the[ir] hostages to them." He crossed the river [Oxus] and, when he got to Balkh, he stopped there. He wrote to Hurayth, "I cannot be sure that, if you return the hostages to them, they will not attack you; accordingly, when you take possession of the tribute, do not set the hostages free until you reach Balkh territory." Hurayth said to the king of Kish, "Al-Muhallab has written to me [telling me] to detain the hostages until I reach Balkh territory." If you hasten [to let me have] what you owe, I shall hand your hostages over to you and go and tell him that his letter arrived after I had exacted the whole of what was owing and had handed the hostages over to you." [At this, the king] hastened [to pay] to [Hurayth and those with him the sum stipulated in] their peace agreement, and [Hurayth] returned to them those of them whom he held. [Hurayth] then set off and [was en route when he] was confronted by the Turks, who said, "Ransom yourself and those who are with you; we encountered Yazid b. al-Muhallab, and he ransomed himself." Hurayth said, "Do you imagine that Yazid's mother gave birth to me?" and he fought them and killed [some of] them and took prisoners, whom [the Turks] then ransomed; he treated them with favor, released them, and returned the ransom to them. His words, "Do you imagine that Yazid's mother gave birth to me?" reached al-Muhallab, who said, "That slave is disdainful of [the idea] that he might have been born of his kinsmen,"¹³⁸ and he became angry.

[1081]

137. So rendering *fidyah* (see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, p. 434).

138. So rendering *an talidahu rahimuhu* (Ibn al-Athir says *an talidahu ummu Yazid*); it is difficult to understand what al-Tabari's version is driving at here, since Hurayth was a mawla of Khuza`ah and not of al-Azd.

When [Hurayth] came to [al-Muhallab] at Balkh, the latter said to him "Where are the hostages?" [Hurayth] replied, "I took possession of what was owing and let them go." [A1-Muhallab] said, "Didn't I write to you [telling you] not to let them go?" "Your letter reached me after I had let them go," [Hurayth] replied, "and after I had been spared what you feared." "You are lying," said [al-Muhallab], "you approached them and their king, and you apprised him of my letter to you," and he ordered that [Hurayth] be stripped. The latter exhibited much distress at being stripped, to such an extent that al-Muhallab thought that he must have leprosy; then he stripped him and gave him thirty lashes. Hurayth said, "I should have preferred you to have given me three hundred lashes without having stripped me," out of modesty and shame at being stripped; and he swore that he would kill al-Muhallab.

A1-Muhallab rode forth one day, and Hurayth also rode. While he was going along behind al-Muhallab, he ordered two *ghulams*¹³⁹ of his to smite him; one of them refused and left him and departed, while the other did not dare to advance on [al-Muhallab] on his own. When he returned, [Hurayth] said to his *ghulam*, "What prevented you from [attacking] him?" [The *ghulam*] replied, "Fear for you, by God. I did not fear for myself, by God. I knew that, if we killed him, both you and we would be killed. My consideration was for you: Had I known that you would be safe from being killed, I should have killed him." [Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Hurayth left off coming to al-Muhallab and made a show of being in pain. It reached al-Muhallab that he was feigning illness and that he wished to murder him, and he said to Thabit b. Qutbah, "Bring me your brother, for he is to me as one of my sons. I did what I did to him only out of consideration for him and as a matter of discipline, just as I might give one of my sons a hiding in order to discipline him." Thabit accordingly came to his brother and besought him and asked him to ride to al-Muhallab. But he refused, being fearful of [al-Muhallab], and said, "I shall not go to him after he has done to me what he has done. I do not trust him, and he does not trust me." When his brother Thabit saw that, he said to him, "If that is

[1082]

139. This term has been translated as "young man" or "youth" when it clearly means no more than that, but has sometimes been left untranslated when some sort of servile or subservient status is implied (see *EI2*, s.v.).

your view, set forth with us to Musa b. `Abdallah b. Khazim," for Thabit feared that Hurayth would murder al-Muhallab and that they would then all be killed. They accordingly set forth with three hundred of their *shakiriyyah*¹⁴⁰ and Arab adherents.

Abu Ja`far said: In this year al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufrah died.

The Cause and Place of the Death [of al-Muhallab]

`Ali b. Muhammad said: A1-Mufaddal related to me: When he departed from Kish, al-Muhallab went off heading for Marw, and, when he was at Zaghul¹⁴¹ [in the territory of] Marw al-Rudh, he was struck by pleurisysome people say by plague.¹⁴² He summoned Habib and those of his [other] sons who were present, called for some arrows that were tied in a bundle, and said, "Do you think that you could break these while they are gathered together?" They said, "No." He said, "Do you think that you could break them when they are separated?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Thus is the collective body (*jama`ah*). My testamentary command to you is pious fear of God and [respect for] the bond of kinship. The bond of kinship prolongs the allotted span, multiplies wealth, and increases numbers. I forbid you the forsaking of relations, for that occasions [hell]fire and brings about abasement and destitution. Love one another, relate to one another in a friendly fashion, be united and not at variance, and do good for one another; in this way your affairs will be as one. When the sons of a single mother fall out with one another, what hope is there for the sons of co-wives?! Incumbent upon you are obedience and [respect for] the collective body. Let your good-doing be nobler than your words. I like it in a man that his action be superior to [what] his tongue [says]. When answering, be on your guard against slips of the tongue: A man's foot may slip, and he

[1083]

140. "Personal guard" (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 180); from Persian *chakar*, "servant."

141. Yaqut (*Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 907) knows it simply as one of the villages of Marw al-Rudh, its only claim to fame being the presence there of al-Muhallab's tomb.

142. Following Lane in the rendering of *shawkah*; Dozy, however, defines it as "a painful ulcer, usually in the thumb" (*Supplément*, s.v.), which fits well with al-Ya`qubi's *akilah waqa`at fi rijlihi*, "an ulcer which manifested itself in his foot" (*Buldan*, p. 299).

can recover himself; but his tongue may slip, and he can be destroyed. Acknowledge the entitlement of everyone who comes to you. A man's coming to you, whether in the morning or the evening, suffices to commend him to you. Prefer generosity to miserliness. Love the Arabs and do good [to them]. An Arab is a man to whom you can make [no more than] a promise and he will die in defense of you; how then [do you think] he will behave [if you have done him good]? In war, exercise patience together with trickery, which is more beneficial in war than courage. When the battle encounter takes place, [God's] decree comes down: If a man is resolute and then triumphs over his enemy, people say, 'He went about things head-on and then triumphed,' and he is praised; but if, after exercising patience, he does not triumph, people say, 'He was not remiss, nor did he throw away his chances, but [God's] decree prevailed.' Recite the Qur'an and learn the established practices and the discipline of the virtuous. Beware of levity and of too much talking in your gatherings. I have deputed Yazid over you and have put Habib in command of the army until he takes it to Yazid. Do not oppose Yazid."¹⁴³ A1-Mufaddal said to him, "[Even] if you had not preferred him, we should have."

A1-Muhallab died, having made his testament to Habib. Habib prayed over him and then went to Marw. Yazid wrote to 'Abd al-Malik with [news of] the death of al-Muhallab and his deputing of him; and al-Hajjaj confirmed him [in his position]. It is said that [al-Muhallab] said on the occasion of his death and testament, "If it were up to me, I should appoint Habib as the chief of my sons."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: He died in Dhu al-Hijjah 82 (January 702); and Nahar b. Tawsi`ah al-Taymi¹⁴⁴ said (*tawil*):

The campaigning that brought riches nigh has ended, [1084]
and generosity and munificence have died
after al-Muhallab.

143. For another version of this *wasiyyah*, see Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, pp. 119ff.

144. The text wrongly says "al-Tamimi" (a common error on the part of copyists). On this poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 379. The first two of the following verses are much cited: Cf., for example, al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, set. ii, p. 1251 (below, p. 199); al-Zubayr b. Bakkar, *al-Akhbar al-muwaffaqiyyat*, p. 386; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, vol. III, p. 298; Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. IV, p. 506; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-a`yan*, vol. V, p. 354; Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, par. 54.

They have stayed at Marw al-Rudh as two pledges
at his sepulcher
and have been rendered totally absent from
east and west.

If anyone says, "Who of all people most deserves
a blessing?"

we name him, without fear [of contradiction].

He made both flat and rugged territory available to us,
with cavalry like flocks of swift sandgrouse,

Exposing them to the thrusting of spears until
it was as if

he were honoring them with dyed purple.

He is surrounded by Qahtan, who have bound
themselves to him,

and by their allies from the tribe[s] of

Bakr and Taghlib.

The two tribes of Ma`add take refuge with his
standard,

offering themselves and their mothers and
fathers as ransoms for him.

In this year al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf appointed Yazid b. al-Muhallab [1085]
over Khurasan after the death of al-Muhallab.

In it, too, `Abd al-Malik dismissed Aban b. `Uthman¹⁴⁵ from
Medina. Al-Waqidi said: He dismissed him from it on 13 Jumada
II (25 July 701).

He (sc. al-Waqidi) said: In it, too, `Abd al-Malik appointed Hi-
sham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi¹⁴⁶ over Medina. When he was ap-
pointed there, Hisham b. Isma`il dismissed from the judiciary of
Medina Nawfal b. Musahiq al-`Amiri,¹⁴⁷ who had been appointed
to that position by Yahya b. al-Hakam; when Aban b. `Uthman
took over there after the dismissal of Yahya, he confirmed
[Nawfal in his position] in charge of the judiciary. Aban's tenure
of office lasted seven years, three months, and thirteen nights.
When Hisham b. Isma`il dismissed Nawfal b. Musahiq from the

145. See above, n. 45.

146. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register; *ET2*, s.v. Makhzum.

147. From `Amir b. Lu'ayy of Quraysh (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

judiciary, he appointed in his place `Amr b. Khalid al-Zuraqi.148

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Aban b. `Uthman: Thus it has been related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar. Over al-Kufah and al-Basrah and the East was al-Hajjaj, while over Khurasan was Yazid b. al-Muhallab, acting on behalf of al-Hajjaj.

148. `Amr b. Khaldah al-Zuraqi according to Khalifah (*Ta'rikh*, p. 299 [and `Umar b. Khuldah al-Z., according to the 1968 Damascus edition by Zakkar, p. 390]); the clan in question is presumably Zurayq b. `Amir of Khazraj of the Ansar (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, chart 192, where a certain Khaldah b. `Amir is to be found, albeit without a son named `Amr/^Umar).

The Events of the Year 83
(February 4, 702/January 23, 703)

In it there took place the defeat of `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath at Dayr al-Jamajim. [1086]

The Cause of [Ibn al-Ash`ath's] Defeat

According to Hisham b. Muhammad/Abu Mikhnaf/Abu al-Zubayr al-Hamdani: I was among the cavalry of Jabalah b. Zahr. When the Syrians attacked him time after time, `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Layla, the specialist in religious law (*faqih*), called to us, saying,¹⁴⁹ "O body of *qurra*", for no one is flight more unseemly than for you. I heard `Alimay God raise his station among the virtuous and grant him the best reward of martyrs and those who are veracious say on the day when we encountered the Syrians [at Siffin]: 'O Believers, he who sees aggression being committed and something disliked being enjoined and denies it in his heart, he is safe and secure; he who denies [it] with his tongue is rewarded, he being worthier than his companion [who simply de-

149. According to Ibn al-Athir (and al-Maqrizisee the *Addenda et Emendanda*), it was Jabalah who said this, to `Abd al-Rahman and the *qurra*'.

nied it in his heart]; and he who denies it with the sword, so that the Word of God may be uppermost and the word of the oppressors the lowest,¹⁵⁰ he is the one who achieves the path of right guidance, the one whose heart is illuminated with certainty.' So fight these innovators, who deem licit that which is illicit, who neither know nor acknowledge that which is right, and who have committed an aggression which they do not deny."

Abu al-Bakhtari said, "Fight for your religion and for [this] world of yours. By God, if they triumph over you, they will corrupt your religion for you and take over your worldly interests."

Al-Sha`bi said, "O people of Islam, fight them. No harm will overtake you in fighting them. By God, I know of no people on the face of the earth more oppressive or tyrannical in rule than they. So hasten against them."

Sa`id b. Jubayr said, "Fight them. You will not sin by fighting against them and their sins with [firm] intention and certitude. Fight against their tyranny in rule, their insolent behavior in [matters pertaining to] religion, their abasing of the weak, and their 'causing the death of' ritual prayer."¹⁵¹ [1087]

According to Abu Mikhnaf/Abu al-Zubayr: We prepared to charge them, and Jabalah said to us, "When you charge them, make the charge a true one: Do not turn your faces away from them before you fall upon their line." [Abu al-Zubayr] continued: We charged them single-mindedly and strongly. We smote the three squadrons until they split up; then we went on until we fell on their line and smote them until we removed them from [their position]; then we withdrew and passed by Jabalah, fallen, and we did not know how he had been killed.

[Abu al-Zubayr] said: That shook us. We became faint-hearted and stopped where we were. Our *qurra'* were numerous,¹⁵² and

150. Cf. Qur'an 9:40.

151. *Imatatihim al-salat*. Cf. Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam*, p. 70, to which it may be added that it was known in Basran and Omani Ibadi circles of the late second/early third century A.H. that al-Hajjaj had sometimes delayed the Friday prayer until sunset, when the noon, afternoon, and sunset prayers were performed together (*al-Siyar wa-al-jawabat li-'ulama' wa-a'immat ahl 'Uman*, vol. I, pp. 291, 309-10 [the source being Abu Sufyan Mahbub b. al-Rahil]); and the seventeenth-century chronicler Ibn al-'Imad (*Shadharat al-dhahab*, vol. I, p. 92) was aware that al-Hajjaj *kana yumitu al-salat hatta yakhruja waqtuha*, literally, "he used to cause the death of ritual prayer until the [proper] time for its performance passed."

152. According to Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 139), there were over 8,000 *min al-qurra' wa-al-zuhhad wa-al-'ubbad mimman yara qatl al-Hajjaj jihan*.

we passed the news of the death of Jabalah b. Zahr from one to another. For each of us, it was as if he had lost his father or his brother; indeed, on that battlefield it was an even more grievous loss. Then Abu al-Bakhtari al-Ta'i said to us, "Do not let the killing of Jabalah b. Zahr show its effect upon you. He was simply a man among you whose fate came to him on its [appointed] day; there was no way his [death] day could have been put either forward or back. Each of you will taste what he has tasted: [Each will be] called and will answer." [Abu al-Zubayr] continued: I looked at the faces of the *qurra'*, and despondency was clearly written on them. Their tongues were tied. [A sense of] failure was manifest among them. The Syrians, glad and joyful, called out, "O enemies of God, you are destroyed. God has killed your wayward leader."¹⁵³

[1088]

According to Abu Mikhnaf Abu Yazid al-Saksaki: When Jabalah and his companions charged, we were put to flight, and they followed us. A group split off from us and was to one side, and we looked, and, lo and behold, his companions were following our companions, and he had stopped on top of an elevated piece of ground, [waiting] for his companions to return to him. One of us said, "That, by God, is Jabalah b. Zahr. Charge him while his companions are distracted from him by the fighting; perhaps you will strike him down." [Abu Yazid] continued: So we charged him. I testify that he did not flee: Rather, he charged us with his sword. When he came down from the elevation, we transfixed him with spears and dislodged him from his horse; he fell down dead. His companions returned, and, when we saw them coming, we turned aside from them. When they saw him dead, we saw from their exclamations¹⁵⁴ and grief what gladdened our eyes. He continued: We distinguished that plainly [too] in their [manner of] fighting us and their coming out against us.

According to Abu Mikhnaf Sahm b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Juhani: When Jabalah was struck down, his death shook the people. Then Bistam b. Masqalah b. Hubayrah al-Shaybani came, and his arrival encouraged the people. They said, "This man can take the place of Jabalah." Abu al-Bakhtari heard such talk from one of

153. So rendering *taghut* (which seems preferable to the variant *taghiyah*).

154. *Istirja`ihim*, i.e., their exclamation of the words *inna li-Allah wa-inna ilayhi raji`un*, "To God we belong and to Him we return!"

them and said, "How foul that you have been made [by God]! If one man among you is killed, you think that you are surrounded; if Ibn Masqalah is now killed, will you surrender yourselves to destruction, and will you say that there is no one left to fight alongside? How fit you are for our hope of you to be altered!" Bistam had come from al-Rayy, and on the way he and Qutaybah [b. Muslim] had encountered each other. Qutaybah had invited him to [side with] al-Hajjaj and the Syrians, while Bistam had invited [Qutaybah] to [side with] `Abd al-Rahman and the Iraqis. Each had declined the other's proposal, and Bistam had said, "I would rather die with the Iraqis than live with the Syrians"; he had stopped at Masabadhan.¹⁵⁵ [1089]

When [Bistam] arrived, he said to Ibn Muhammad, "Give me the command of the cavalry of Rabi`ah"; and he did so. Then [Bistam] said to them, "O band of Rabi`ah, I have a bad disposition in war; please tolerate it for me." He was a brave man. One day, the people went out to fight and he attacked with the cavalry of Rabi`ah until he entered the [Syrian] camp. They took, among others, about thirty womenslave girls and concubines and he brought them back with him until he drew near to his [own] camp, when he let them go, and they went off and entered al-Hajjaj's camp. "Woe to them!" said [al-Hajjaj], "Let [the Iraqis] protect their women! Had they not returned [our women], I would be taking their women captive¹⁵⁶ tomorrow when I triumph." Then they fought on a subsequent day, and `Abdallah b. Mulayl al-Hamdani made an attack with his cavalry, entered [the Syrian] camp, and took eighteen women captive. With him was Tariq b. `Abdallah al-Asadi, who was an archer. An old Syrian man came out of his tent, and the Asadi began to say to one of his companions, "Conceal this old man from me, lest I shoot him or attack him and transfix him." The old man said, raising his voice, "O God, gather us and them together with well-being"; the Asadi said, "I do not want to kill someone like this," and he left him. [At this] Ibn Mulayl brought the women [to a place] not far [from the Syrian camp] and let them go too. Al-Hajjaj said [by way of [1090]

155. A district of Jibal bordering Iraq (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 202).

156. Preferring Ibn al-Athir's *la-sabaytu nisa'ahum* to al-Tabari's *la-subiyat nisa'uhum*.

reaction] something similar to what he had said on the first occasion [when women were taken].

According to Hisham [b. Muhammad al-Kalbi]his father: A1-Walid b. Nab. it¹⁵⁷ al-Kalbi, from the Banu `Amir, advanced in a squadron upon Jabalah b. Zahr. Al-Walid, who was a huge man, got down from his riding animal,¹⁵⁸ and he and Jabalah, who was a man of middling size, engaged each other. [Al-Walid] smote [Jabalah] on the head, and he fell. His companions were defeated, and his head was brought.

According to Hisham Abu Mikhnaf and `Awanah al-Kalbi: When the head of Jabalah b. Zahr was brought to al-Hajjaj, he carried it on two spears and then said, "O people of Syria, rejoice. This is the beginning of victory. No sedition has ever been put down without a leading Yemeni being killed in it, and this is one of their leading men."

Then they made a sortie one day, and a Syrian came forth calling for a duel. A1-Hajjaj b. Jariyah went out to him, attacked him, transixed him, and brought him off his mount. His companions charged and saved him, he being a man from Khath`am called Abu al-Darda'. A1-Hajjaj b. Jariyah said, "I didn't recognize him until he fell. Had I done so, I should not have fought him; I do not want someone like him from my people to be struck down."

`Abd al-Rahman b. `Awf al-Ru'asi, Abu Humayd, went forth and called for a duel. A cousin (*ibn `amm*) of his among the Syrians went out to him, and they exchanged blows with their swords. Each of them said, "I am the champion (lit. 'young man') of Kilab," and then each said to the other, "Who are you?" When they had questioned each other, they abstained from fighting. [1091]

`Abdallah b. Rizam al-Harithi went out to the squadron of al-Hajjaj and said, "Come out to me one by one." A man was sent out to him, and he killed him. He did this for three days, killing a man each day. Then he arrived on the fourth day and they said, "He has come, would that God had not brought him!" He called for a duel. A1-Hajjaj said to al-Jarrah. [sc. b. `Abdallah al-Hakami], "Go out to him," so he went out to him. `Abdallah b. Rizam, who

157. The text gives "Nukhayt," and it can be seen from the variants that the form of this name is uncertain.

158. Preferring the variant *dabbatihi* to *rayatihi*.

was a friend of his, said to him, "Woe to you, O Jarrah, whatever made you come out to me?" He said, "I have been put to the test with you." [ʿAbdallah] said to him, "Are you in favor of something good?" [Al-Jarrah] said, "What is that?" [ʿAbdallah] said, "I shall lose for you, and you [will be able to] go back to al-Hajjaj having done well in his eyes, and he will praise you. As for me, I shall [be able to] put up with people's talk about you concerning my defeat, out of love for your safety. I do not want someone like you from my people to be killed." [Al-Jarrah] said, "Do [that]," and attacked him; [ʿAbdallah] began to simulate flight, running in front of him. The Harithi's uvula had been cut,¹⁵⁹ and he was very thirsty; with him was a lad who had a skin of water and gave him to drink whenever he was thirsty. Al-Harithi ran in front of him and al-Jarrah [caught up and] attacked him in earnest, wanting nothing more than to kill him. The lad shouted to him, "The man is serious about killing you." But the Harithi felt compassion for him, smote him on the head with an iron bar, felled him, and said to the lad, "Sprinkle some of the water in the skin on his face and give him to drink"; the lad did so. Then [the Harithi] said, "O Jarrah, you rewarded me badly. I wanted well-being for you, and you wanted to make me visit destiny." [Al-Jarrah] said, "I did not want that." He said, "Go; I have left you on account of our kinship and [for the sake of] the clan."

According to Muhammad b. ʿUmar al-Waqidi Ibn Abi Sabrah Salih b. Kaysan Saʿid al-Harashi:¹⁶⁰ I was in the battle line on that day when an Iraqi called Qudamah b. al-Harish al-Tamimi came out and stood between the two lines and said, "O band of the Jaramiqah¹⁶¹ of the Syrians, we call you to the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Messenger;¹⁶² if you refuse [to accept this], let a man come out to me." A Syrian man went out to him, and he killed him, [and more went out] until he had killed four. When al-Hajjaj saw that, he ordered a crier to call out, "Let no one

[1092]

159. Not in the fighting, of course, but previously; presumably, because it had become swollen. Professor Ihsan ʿAbbas informs me that this practice still persists in Middle Eastern village life.

160. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

161. A term signifying natives (i.e., non-Arabs) of al-Jazirah (see *EI2*, s.v. Djara-djima [vol. II, p. 457b]), and hence clearly intended here as an insult.

162. See above, n. 21.

go out to this dog"; and the people held back.

Sa`id al-Harashi continued: I drew near to al-Hajjaj and said, "May God cause the amir to prosper! You have decided that no one should go out to this dog, at a time when these people have perished according to their allotted spans. This man too has his allotted span, and I hope that it has now run its course. Give permission to my companions who have come with me that one of them may go against him." Al-Hajjaj said, "This dog has turned the thing into a habit and has frightened [our] people. [But] I [nonetheless] give permission to your companions; he who wishes to stand up may do so." Al-Harashi accordingly returned to his companions and informed them [of this], and, when Qudamah called out for a duel, one of al-Harashi's companions went out against him, only to be killed by him. That distressed Sa`id and weighed heavily upon him, on account of what he had said to al-Hajjaj. Then Qudamah called out [yet again] for a duel, and Sa`id drew near to al-Hajjaj and said, "May God cause the amir to prosper! Give me permission to go against this dog." He said, "Are you up to it?" Sa`id said, "Yes, I am just as you want." Al-Hajjaj said, "Show me your sword," and he gave it to him. Al-Hajjaj said, "I have with me a sword that is heavier than this one," and he ordered that the sword be his and gave it to him. Then he looked at Sa`id and said, "You have fine armor and a strong horse, [but even so] I do not know how the matter will turn out with this dog." Sa`id said, "I hope that God will give me victory over him." Al-Hajjaj said, "Go forth with God's blessing."

[1093]

Sa`id said: So I went out to him and, when I drew near to him, he said, "Stop, O enemy of God!" and I stopped, pleased. He said, "Choose: Either you let me strike you three times [first], or I let you strike me three times and then you let me." I said, "Let me [go first]," and he placed his chest on his saddle bow and said, "Strike." I grasped my sword with both hands and struck [him] on the helmet as hard as I could; he did nothing, and I was displeased with both my sword and my blow. Then I decided to strike him at the base of his neck,¹⁶³ hoping thereby either to cut right through or [at the very least] to disable his hand. I struck it and did noth-

163. So rendering *asl al-`atiq*.

ing, so displeasing both myself and those who were remote from me in the area of the camp, when what I had done reached them. The third [attempt was] similarly [unsuccessful]. Then he unsheathed a sword and said, "[Now] let me [have a go]." I let him and he struck me a blow with which he felled me. Then he dismounted from his horse, sat on my chest, pulled a dagger or knife out of his boot and placed it on my throat, intending to slay me. I said to him, "I beseech you by God, you will not acquire the nobility and renown by killing me that you will acquire by sparing me." He said, "Who are you?" I said, "Sa`id al-Harashi." He said, "Woe, enemy of God! Depart, and inform your master of what you have encounterid." Sa`id said: I accordingly departed, hastening, until I got to al-Hajjaj. He said, "What do you think?" I said, "The amir knew better." [1094]

The account returns to that of Abu Mikhnaf on the authority of Abu Yazid [al-Saksaki]: Abu al-Bakhtari al-Ta'i and Sa`id b. Jubayr used to say, "It is not given to any soul to die, save by the leave of God, at an appointed time," to the end of the verse,¹⁶⁴ and then they charged until they fell upon the battle line.

Abu al-Mukhariq said: We fought them for a full hundred days, which I counted. He went on: We stopped at Dayr al-Jamajim with Ibn Muhammad on the morning of Tuesday, 1 Rabi` I,⁸³ (April 4, 702), and we were defeated on Wednesday, 14 Jumada II (July 15, 702),¹⁶⁵ when the sun was at the highest point of the day. We were never bolder against them, nor they weaker against us, than on that day.

He continued: We went out to them, and they to us, on Wednesday, 14 Jumada II, and we fought them for most of the day the best we had ever fought them. We felt safe from defeat, gaining the upper hand, when Sufyan b. al-Abrad al-Kalbi sallied forth with the cavalry from the [Syrian] right wing until he drew near to al-Abrad b. Qurrah al-Tamimi, who was in command of `Abd al-

164. Qur'an 3: 145 = 139.

165. Ibn al-Athir gives the same dates and correctly arrives at a total of 103 days. Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 138) knows the hundred-day report and another report to the effect that the fighting lasted for four months` cf. Khalifah (*Ta'rikh*, pp. 284-85), who states that the defeat took place on 14 Jumada (sic) 82 (sic). For further discussion, see Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj ibn Yousof*, p. 186n.; Sayed, *Revolte*, pp. 220-21.

Rahman b. Muhammad's left wing. Then, by God, after not much fighting, [al-Abrad b. Qurrah] was defeated. This was something on his part that the people disapproved of, since he was a brave man and flight was not a habit of his; they suspected that he had been granted an assurance of safety and that an agreement had been reached with him [by the Syrians] that he would be defeated with the people. When he did that, the battle lines near him were routed, and the people rode off in all directions. `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad ascended the pulpit and began to call to the people, "To me, O servants of God! I am Ibn Muhammad!" [1095] `Abdallah b. Rizam al-Harithi came to him and stopped under his pulpit; and `Abdallah b. Dhu'ab al-Sulami came with his cavalry. [`Abd al-Rahman] stood near him and stayed put until the Syrians were close to him and their arrows began to get the better of him. At this, [`Abd al-Rahman] said, "O Ibn Rizam, attack these men and cavalry," and he did so until they ran off. Then more Syrian cavalry came, together with infantry, and he said, "Attack them, O Ibn Dhu'ab," and he did so until they ran off. [`Abd al-Rahman himself] stayed where he was, not leaving his pulpit, and the Syrians entered [his] camp and cried out, "God is great!" `Abdallah b. Yazid b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdi whose brother's daughter Mulaykah was the wife of `Abd al-Rahman¹⁶⁶ climbed up to him and said, "Come down. I am afraid you will be taken captive if you do not come down. Maybe, if you leave [now], you will [be able to] gather together a force with which God will destroy them on another day." `Abd al-Rahman then came down, and the Iraqis left the camp in defeat and disorder. `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad went off with Ibn Ja`dah b. Hubayrah,¹⁶⁷ accompanied by members of his family, and, when they were opposite the village of the sons of Ja`dah at al-Fallujah,¹⁶⁸ they summoned a ferryboat and crossed in it. Bistam b. Masqalah joined them and said, "Is `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad in the boat?" but they did not

166. Mulaykah would thus be the granddaughter of Yazid b. al-Mughaffal, rather than his daughter, as Ibn al-Kalbi thought (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, vol. I, chart 218, and vol. II, p. 427); in Ibn al-Athir "al-Mughaffal" is wrongly rendered as "al-Mufaddal."

167. Presumably, either Ja`far b. Ja`dah or `Abdallah b. Ja`dah (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

168. A locality on the Euphrates downstream from al-Anbar (*EI2*, s.v.).

speak to him. [Bistam] suspected that [ʿAbd al-Rahman] was among them and said (*tawil*):

May a soul for which you are cautious not find refuge.

[and (*mutaqarib*):169

Qays set the country on fire against me, [1096]
until, when it blazed, he desisted.

Then he went off until he reached his house, wearing arms and riding his horse, from which he had not dismounted. His daughter came out to him, and he clasped her; and his family came out to him, weeping. He made his testament to them and said, "Do not weep. Don't you know, if I do not leave you, how long I am likely to remain with you before I die? If I do die, then He who grants you sustenance now is alive and will not die. He will sustain you after my death, just as He sustains you in my lifetime." Then he bade his family farewell and left al-Kufah.

According to Abu Mikhnafal-Kalbi, Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib: When they were defeated, the sun was at its highest point in the day. He went on: I set off, straining, with my spear, sword, and shield, until I reached my family on the same day without having discarded any of my arms. Al-Hajjaj had said, "Leave them. Let them scatter and do not follow them," and a crier called out, "Whoever returns will be given safe-conduct."

After the battle, Muhammad b. Marwan returned to al-Mawsil and ʿAbdallah b. ʿAbd al-Malik to Syria, leaving Iraq to al-Hajjaj. He went on until he entered al-Kufah, seated beside him Masqalah b. Karib b. Raqabah al-ʿAbdi, who was a *khatib*,¹⁷⁰ and said, "Revile in all possible ways every man to whom we have done good; revile [each one] for ingratitude and disloyalty. Stigmatize in all possible ways everyone you know to have a defect and make him slight in his own eyes." No one rendered [al-Hajjaj] the oath of allegiance but that he [first] said to him, "Do you testify that you have been in a state of unbelief?" If he acknowledged this, [al-Hajjaj] accepted the oath of allegiance; if not, he killed him. There [1097]

169. This verse is ascribed to al-Rabi` b. Ziyad (see, for example, Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al-ʿArab*, vol. XIV, p. 356).

170. See above, n. 5.

came to him a man from Khath`am, who had kept himself apart from all [the Iraqis], on the other side of the Euphrates, and [al-Hajjaj] asked him what he had been up to. [The man] said, "I stayed apart, on the other side of this river, waiting to see what would happen to [the Iraqi army], until you were victorious. Then I came to you in order to render you the oath of allegiance along with the people." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Were you waiting [to see the result]? Do you testify that you are an unbeliever?" [The man] said, "What a bad man I would be, who have worshiped God for eighty years if I were now to testify against myself to unbelief." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "In that case, I shall kill you." He said, "If you kill me, well, by God, there is very little life left in me anyway. I wait for death morning, noon, and night." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Behead him!" and he was beheaded. [People] have claimed that no Qurashi or Syrian or anyone of the two sides remained around [that man] but that he felt compassion for him and deplored the killing of him.¹⁷¹

[Al-Hajjaj] summoned Kumayl b. Ziyad al-Nakha`i¹⁷² and said to him, "You are the one who retaliated by killing `Uthman, the Commander of the Faithful. I have [long] wanted to find a way of getting at you." [Kumayl] said, "I do not know which of us you are getting angry with: With him, when he laid himself open to retaliation, or with me, when I turned away from punishing him." Then he said, "O you man of Thaqif, do not gnash your fangs at me, do not come down on me like a sand dune, do not bare your wolfish teeth at me! By God, there is very little life left in me anyway.¹⁷³ Carry out what you have decided; the appointment [will be with] God; the killing will be followed by [divine] judgment." Al-Hajjaj said, "The decisive proof [will be] against you." He said, "That [will be the case only] if you are sitting in judgment." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "O yes, you were among those who killed `Uthman and disavowed the Commander of the Faithful. Kill him!" and he was killed, his killer being Abu al-Jahm b. [1098]

171. Dixon (*Umayyad Caliphate*, pp. 167-68, n. 109) correctly observes that this sentence was misunderstood by Veccia Vaglieri (*EI2*, s.v. Ibn al-Ash`ath [vol. III, p. 719a]).

172. See above, n. 127.

173. Literally, "all that has remained of my life is the period between the two drinkings of the ass: He drinks in the morning and dies in the evening, and he drinks in the evening and dies in the morning."

Kinanah al-Kalbi, of the Banu `Amir b. `Awf, the cousin (*ibn `amm*) of Mansur b. Jumhur.¹⁷⁴ After him, somebody else was brought, and al-Hajjaj said, "I see a man who will not, I think, testify against himself to unbelief." [The man] said, "Do you [think you can] trick me as if I did not know myself? I am the most unbelieving person on earth. I am even more of an unbeliever than Pharaoh, the master of the stakes!"¹⁷⁵ Al-Hajjaj laughed and let him go. He stayed in al-Kufah for a month and kept the Syrians away from the houses of the Kufans.¹⁷⁶

In this year there took place the battle at Maskin between al-Hajjaj and Ibn al-Ash`ath, after [the latter] had been put to flight from Dayr al-Jamajim.

The Cause of the Battle [of Maskin],
with a Description of It

According to Hisham [b. Muhammad al-Kalbi] Abu Mikhnaf Abu Yazid al-Saksaki: Muhammad b. Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas went off after the battle of [Dayr] al-Jamajim until he stopped at al-Mada'in; there he was joined by a great many people. [At about the same time] `Ubaydallah b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Samurah b. Habib b. `Abd Shams al-Qurashi went off to al-Basrah, in which was Ayyub b. al-Hakam b. Abi `Aqil,¹⁷⁷ the cousin of al-Hajjaj, and took it. `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad [thereupon] went to al-Basrah, while [`Ubaydallah] was there; the people rallied to him, and he stopped there. At this, `Ubaydallah went to Ibn Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath and said to him, "It was not my intention to be separate from you; I took [the city] for you." Al-Hajjaj [now] set forth and started with al-Mada'in. He stopped opposite it for five [nights], during which time he readied [his] men in ferryboats. When it reached Muhammad b. Sa`d that they had crossed to them, [he

[1099]

174. Who rose to prominence as a general at the very end of the Umayyad period (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 158).

175. This being a form of reference to Pharaoh occurring in the Qur'an (89: 10 = 9 and 38: 12 = 11); for some discussion of it, see *EI2*, s.v. Fir`awn.

176. *`Azala ahl al-Sha'm `an buyut ahl al-Kufa*. Ibn al-Athir, on the other hand, tells us just the opposite: *anzala ahl al-Sha'm buyut ahl al-Kufah*, and he goes on to say: *anzalahum al-Hajjaj fiha ma`a ahliha, wa-huwa awwal man anzala al-jund fi buyut ghayrihim*. . . .

177. For `Ubaydallah see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register. On Ayyub see above, n. 82.

and] all [who were with him] set off and joined Ibn al-Ash`ath. Al-Hajjaj advanced toward him, and the people [at al-Basrah] went out with [ʿAbd al-Rahman] to Maskin¹⁷⁸ on [the] Dujayl [river]. [There] the Kufans and the fugitive elements from the peripheral areas came to him. The people reproved each other for having taken to flight, and most of them rendered an oath of allegiance to Bistam b. Masqalah to fight to the death. ʿAbd al-Rahman dug in around his companions and protected one flank by flooding, so making fighting [possible] in [only] one direction; he was also joined by Khalid b. Jarir b. ʿAbdallah al-Qasri,¹⁷⁹ who came from Khurasan with people from the Kufan contingent [there]. They fought most furiously for fifteen nights in Sha`ban (September), until Ziyad b. Ghunaym al-Qayni, who was in charge of al-Hajjaj's strong-points, was killed; that shook [al-Hajjaj] and his companions very considerably.

According to Abu Mikhnaf/Abu Jahdam al-Azdi: Al-Hajjaj stayed awake all night, going about among us and saying to us, "You are people of obedience, and they are people of disobedience; you are striving after God's pleasure, while they are striving after His displeasure. God's wont with you concerning them is good. You will never fight them gallantly on any battlefield or show endurance against them but that God will requite you with victory against them and triumph over them. So go against them in the morning aggressively, earnestly. I do not doubt victory, God willing."

[Abu Jahdam] continued: we went against them in the morning, [1100] having made our dispositions shortly before daybreak. We were afoot earlier than they were, and we fought them the hardest we had ever fought them. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab came to us on an armored horse¹⁸⁰ at a time when the cavalry of Sufyan b. al-

178. This is not the better-known Maskin (watered by the Dujayl canal) to the north of what would later be the city of Baghdad (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, map II and p. 51), but a more obscure Maskin somewhere on or near the Dujayl (Karün) river (see Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 225, for further details; Yaqt, *Mu`jam*, vol. IV, p. 531, seems himself to be mistaken when he says, "al-Hazimi mentioned that Maskin is also [a place] at the Dujayl of al-Ahwaz where al-Hajjaj's battle with Ibn al-Ash`ath took place, and that is a mistake on his part").

179. This appears to be the one and only reference to a person of this name (cf. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 114); Wellhausen's reference to this name (*Kingdom*, p. 251) should be changed to Khalid b. ʿAbd Allah al-Qasri.

180. Reading *mujaffif*>*an* where the text has *muhaffifan*.

Abrad was without armor. Al-Hajjaj said to him, "Join these oddments to you[r men], O `Abd al-Malik; I may be making an attack." He did so, and the Iraqis were attacked from every side and put to flight. Abu al-Bakhtari al-Ta'i and `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Layla were killed. Before being killed, they said, "Flight is always odious to us"; then they were struck down.

[Abu Jahdam] continued: Bistam b. Masqalah al-Shaybani went with four thousand of the most steadfast [people] from the two *misrs* (that is, al-Basrah and al-Kufah); they broke the sheaths of their swords. Ibn Masqalah said to them, "If, in fleeing from death, we might escape it, we would flee; but we know that it will come upon us soon, and where can one take oneself away from what is inevitable? O you people, you are manifesting what is right, so fight for what is right. By God, [even] if you were not in the right, death with honor would [still] be better than life in a state of abasement." He and his companions then fought fiercely and put the Syrians to flight several times. Eventually al-Hajjaj said, "Bring in the archers: No one else can fight them." When the archers came and the [Syrians] surrounded them on every side, all but a few of them were killed. Bukayr b. Rabi`ah b.181 Tharwan al-Dabbi was taken captive and was brought to al-Hajjaj, who killed him.

According to Abu Mikhnaf Abu al-Jahdam: I brought a captive known to al-Hajjaj for his bravery. Al-Hajjaj said, "O Syrians, it is part of God's favor to you that this young man has brought the horseman of the Iraqis as a captive. Behead him!" And he killed him.

[1101]

[Abu al-Jahdam] continued: Ibn al-Ash`ath and those who had been put to flight with him went in the direction of Sijistan. Al-Hajjaj sent after him `Umarah b. Tamim al-Lakhmi, together with his son Muhammad b. al-Hajjaj, with `Umarah as the amir over the people. `Umarah b. Tamim went to `Abd al-Rahman and caught up with him at al-Sus.182 [`Umarah] fought him for one hour in the daytime; then he and his companions were defeated and went off until they reached Sabur.183 `Abd al-Rahman b.

181. Omitting "Abi," as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

182. Ancient Susa, in Khuzistan (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 240).

183. I.e., Shapur in Fars (*ibid.*, p. 262).

Muhammad was [in the meantime] joined by the Kurds, together with the routed troops who were with him. `Umarah b. Tamim next fought them fiercely in the narrow pass, until he and many of his companions were wounded; then they were defeated and left the mountain road to `Abd al-Rahman, who went on until he passed through Kirman.

Al-Waqidi said: The battle of al-Zawiyah at al-Basrah was in Muharram 83 (February 702).

[The Breakup of Ibn al-Ash`ath's Defeated Army]

According to Abu Mikhnaf Sayf b. Bishr al-`Ijlial-Munakhkhal b. Habis al-`Abdi: When `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad entered Kirman, he was met by `Amr b. Laqit al-`Abdi, who was his governor over it; [this `Amr] prepared hospitality for him, and he stopped. A shaykh of `Abd al-Qays called Ma`qil then said to him, "By God, it has reached us concerning you, O Ibn al-Ash`ath, that you were a coward." `Abd al-Rahman said, "By God, I was not a coward. By God, I have advanced with infantry upon infantry, and I have wrapped up cavalry with cavalry; I have fought both horseman and infantryman, and I have not been defeated. I have not left the battlefield to the enemy at any time until I found no place in which to fight and saw no one to fight along with me; rather, [far from being a coward,] I sought a premature sovereignty."¹⁸⁴ Then he went with those who were with him until he entered the desert of Kirman. [1102]

According to Abu Mikhnaf Hisham b. Ayyub b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi `Aqil: When Ibn Muhammad went into the desert of Kirman, followed by the Syrians, one of the Syrians entered a residence in the desert, and there he found, inscribed by one of the Kufans, some of the poetry of Abu Jildah al-Yashkuri, [from] a long ode [of his] (*wafir*).¹⁸⁵

O woe and all [-embracing] sorrow,
what anguish [there is] at what we have encountered!

184. So rendering *zawaltu mulkan mu'ajjalan*.

185. On this poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 375-76 (also Bosworth, *Sistan*, p. 59 and n. 6). Regarding the following verses, cf. *Aghani*², vol. XI, pp. 312-13; verses 3 and 4 also occur in Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 143.

We have left both the religion and this world,
 and we have abandoned [our] wives and children.
 We were not religious people,
 that we might endure tribulation when tested,
 Nor were we people of this world,
 able to protect it, even though we did not
 aspire to religion.
 We have left our homes to the rabble of `Akk
 and [to] the indigenous villagers and the Ash`aris.186

Then Ibn Muhammad went on until he reached Zaranj, the [chief] city of Sijistan, in which was a man from the Banu Tamim whom he had put in charge of it, namely, `Abdallah b. `Amir al-Na`ar,187 from the Banu Mujashi` b. Darim. When `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad came to him in defeat, he shut the gate of the city in his face and prevented him from entering it. `Abd al-Rahman stayed put for some days in the hope of gaining access to it, but, when he saw that he would not achieve this, he went off to Bust, in charge of which he had appointed a man from Bakr b. Wa'il called `Iyad b. Himyan Abu Hisham b. `Iyad al-Sadusi.188 [This `Iyad] received him and invited him to stop [at Bust], which he accordingly did; [Iyad] thereupon waited until `Abd al-Rahman's companions were off guard and had strayed away from him, and then pounced upon him and put him in bonds, desiring thereby to be secure vis-à-vis al-Hajjaj and to achieve [good] standing in his eyes.

[1103]

News of `Abd al-Rahman's arrival had in the meantime reached the Zunbil, who went to meet him. When `Iyad took [`Abd al-Rahman], the Zunbil moved on Bust189 and invested it, sending [word] to the Bakri [as follows]: "By God, if you harm as much as a hair of his head,190 I shall not leave the battlefield until I bring you

186. As Wellhausen points out (*Kingdom*, p. 2491, "`Akk and Ash`ar as *pars pro toto* . . . seems to be an insulting phrase to dub [the Syrian troops] barbarians."

187. Reading "al-Na`ar" here and below, with the *Naqa'id* (p. 751, line 2) and Sayed (*Revolte*, pp. 228, 241: an-Na`ar [sic]); *na`ar* means "clamorous," while the form *ba`ar* appears to be unattested.

188. Ibn al-Athir names him as `Iyad. b. Himyan b. Hisham, while al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 333) knows him as `Iyad. b. `Amr (cf. above, n. 12).

189. Al-Tabari's text is confused at this point; I have drawn inspiration from Ibn al-Athir.

190. Literally, "If you hurt him with what casts a mote in his eye, or harm him in any way, or deprive him of a single hair."

down and kill you and all who are with you; I shall take your offspring captive and divide all you own among the troops." The Bakri sent [word] to him [as follows]: "Give us a safe-conduct for ourselves and for what we own, and we shall hand him over to you safe and sound, together with what he owns in its entirety." [The Zunbil] made peace with them on [that basis] and gave them a safe-conduct, and they in turn opened the gate for Ibn al-Ash`ath and set him free. He came to the Zunbil and said to him, "This [man] was my governor over this city, and I trusted him and was satisfied with him when I appointed him; he, however, acted treacherously toward me and perpetrated against me what you have seen, so let me kill him." [The Zunbil] said, "I have given him a safe-conduct and dislike [the idea of] acting treacherously toward him." [ʿAbd al-Rahman] said, "In that case, let me push him and punch him in the chest and neck and demean him." [The Zunbil] agreed to this, and ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Muhammad did so.¹⁹¹ [1104]

[ʿAbd al-Rahman] then went off with the Zunbil until they entered the latter's territory, [where] the Zunbil lodged him and did him honor. With [ʿAbd al-Rahman] were numerous routed troops. There were [in addition] large numbers of [other] routed troops, together with companions of ʿAbd al-Rahman and those chiefs and leaders who had stood with Ibn al-Ash`ath against al-Hajjaj in every battlefield, did not hope for a safe-conduct, did not accept al-Hajjaj's safe-conduct¹⁹² when it was first offered,¹⁹³ and strove wholeheartedly against him. [These people] set off after Ibn al-Ash`ath, in search of him, until they fetched up in¹⁹⁴ Sijistan; they, together with those of the [Arabs] of Sijistan and of the indigenous inhabitants¹⁹⁵ who followed them, numbered about sixty thousand. They went against ʿAbdallah b. ʿAmir al-Na`ar and besieged him; they also wrote to ʿAbd al-Rahman, who was [still] with the Zunbil, informing him of their advance, their

191. In Ibn A`tham's account (*Futuh.*, vol. VII, p. 152), ʿAbd al-Rahman kills the Bakri.

192. Where al-Tabari has *wa-lam yaqbalu aman al-Hajjaj*, Dhahabi (*Ta'rikh al-Islam*, vol. III, p. 229) reads *mimman lam yathiq bi-aman al-Hajjaj*, "of those who did not trust al-Hajjaj's safe-conduct."

193. The text reads *fi awwali marrah*, which seems otiose; it is omitted by Ibn al-Athir.

194. Hatta *saqatu bi-* in al-Tabari; Ibn al-Athir has *fa-balaghu*.

195. So rendering *ahl Sijistan wa-ahl al-balad*, following Bosworth (*Sistan*, p. 61); *wa-ahl al-balad* is omitted by Ibn al-Athir.

number, and their being together. The person who led them in ritual prayer was `Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas b. Rabi`ah b. al-Harith b. `Abd al-Muttalib. They [then] wrote [again] to [Ibn al-Ash`ath]: "Come to us. Perhaps we shall go to Khurasan. Many [Iraqi]196 troops are there, and they may swear allegiance to us in fighting the Syrians. It is a broad and spacious land, containing men and fortresses." At this, `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad and those who were with him went forth to them, and they besieged `Abdallah b. `Amir al-Na`ar until they dislodged him; on `Abd al-Rahman's orders, he was beaten, tortured, and imprisoned.

[Next,] `Umarah b. Tamim advanced toward them with [an army of] Syrians, and the companions of `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad said to `Abd al-Rahman, "Take us out of Sijistan; let us leave it to [^Umarah] and betake ourselves to Khurasan." `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad said, "Over Khurasan is Yazid b. al-Muhallab, who is a resolute and bold young man who is not going to let his authority pass to you. If you were to enter [Khurasan], you would find him hastening toward you. Nor will the Syrians leave off pursuing you. I dislike [the idea of] the Khurasanis and the Syrians combining against you, and I fear that you will not achieve what you seek." They said, "The people of Khurasan are from US,197 and we hope that, if we were to enter it, those of them who would follow us would outnumber' those who would fight us. It is a very extensive land, in which we may direct ourselves wherever we wish and remain until God destroys al-Hajjaj and198 `Abd al-Malik, or [until] we decide otherwise."199 `Abd al-Rahman said to them, "Go [relying] on [the mention of] the name of God," and they went off until they reached Herat. [Next, those who remained with `Abd al-Rahman were taken unawares when]200 `Ubaydallah b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Samutah al-Qurashi departed from [^Abd al-Rahman's] camp with two thousand [men] and left him, taking a road different from the road [taken by those who had left for Herat]. On the following morning, Ibn Muhammad

[1105]

196. So understanding *minna*; cf. Ibn al-Athir's reference to *man biha min `asha'irihim*.

197. I.e., Iraqis; see the preceding note.

198. Reading the variant *wa-*, rather than *aw*.

199. So understanding *nara min ra'yina* (or *ma ra'yuna*).

200. So rendering *fa-lam yash'uru bi-shay'in hatta*.

stood up among [those who remained with him], praised God, and said, "To continue: I have witnessed you in these battlefields, and among them there has been no place of witnessing but that in it I have steeled myself for you[r sakes] until no one of you has remained in it. When I saw that you would neither fight nor show fortitude in adversity, I came to a refuge and place of safety. Once I was there, there came to me your letters to the effect that I should come to you and that we were as one and would perhaps fight our enemy. So I came to you. Then you were of the opinion that I should go to Khurasan, and you claimed that you were united with me and that you would not separate from me. Now this [man] `Ubaydallah b. `Abd al-Rahman has done what you have seen, and today I have had enough of you. Do as you see fit. As for me, I am going off to the friend from whom I came to you. Those of you who want to follow me may do so, and those who do not wish to do that may go wherever they want, seeking protection from God."

[1106]

One group detached itself from them, and another group went off with [`Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad], but the bulk of the army stayed put. When `Abd al-Rahman [b. Muhammad] had departed, they rallied to `Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas and gave the oath of allegiance to him. Ibn Muhammad went to the Zunbil, and they went to Khurasan, ending up in Herat, where they encountered al-Ruqad al-Azdifrom [the clan of] al-`Atikand killed him; [at this,] Yazid b. al-Muhallab moved against them.

As for `Ali b. Muhammad al-Mada'ini, he mentioned on the authority of al-Mufaddal b. Muhammad that Ibn al-Ash`ath, when he had been defeated at Maskin, went to Kabul and that `Ubaydallah b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Samurah came to Herat and blamed and stigmatized Ibn al-Ash`ath for his flight. `Abd al-Rahman b. `Abbas [then] came to Sijistan, was joined by Ibn al-Ash`ath's routed forces, proceeded to Khurasan with a body [of men] put at twenty thousand, and stopped at Herat; [there] they encountered al-Ruqad b. `Ubayd²⁰¹ al-`Ataki and killed him. With `Abd al-Rahman [b. `Abbas] from [the tribe of] `Abd al-Qays was `Abd al-Rahman b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jarud,²⁰² to whom Yazid b. al-

201. Or "Ziyad" (cf. al-Tabari's text, ser. ii, p. 1004).

202. On his father, see above, n. 5 4.

Muhallab sent [the following message]: "You could have a lot of leeway in the territory, and [could be dealing with] someone a lot less sharp and strong than I. Move to a territory in which I have no authority, for I do not like [the idea of] fighting you. If you want me to support you with the wherewithal for your journeying, I shall help you." [ʿAbd al-Rahman b. al-Mundhir] responded to him: "We have not stopped in this territory in order to wage war, nor in order to settle; all we want to do is rest up and then move on, God willing. We have no need of what you have proposed." Yazid's messenger went off [bearing this message] to [Yazid]. [1107]

Then [ʿAbd al-Rahman b. ʿAbbas] al-Hashimi started levying taxes. [This] reached Yazid, who said, "He who wants to rest and then pass on does not collect tax (*kharaj*)." He sent out al-Mufaddal [b. al-Muhallab] over an advance party of four thousand also put at six thousand and then sent four thousand [men] after him. Yazid weighed himself in his armor, which came to four hundred *ritls*,²⁰³ and said, "I think that I am too heavy to fight. What horse could carry me?" Then he called for his horse al-Kamil,²⁰⁴ deputed over Marw his maternal uncle, Judayʿ b. Yazid,²⁰⁵ and set forth for Marw al-Rudh, where he visited the tomb of his father, stayed there for three days, and gave one hundred dirhams to each of those who were with him. Then he went to Herat and sent [word] to the Hashimi [as follows]: "You have rested, fattened yourself, and collected taxes. You may keep the taxes you have collected. If you want more, we shall give you more. But leave, by God. I do not want to fight you."

[Al-Mada'ini] said: [ʿAbd al-Rahman b. ʿAbbas al-Hashimi, now] accompanied by ʿUbayd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Samutah, insisted on fighting. Al-Hashimi clandestinely subverted the army of Yazid, making them promises and calling them to himself. One of them informed Yazid, who said, "This is no longer a matter of mere reproof: I'll have him for lunch before he has me for dinner," and he went against him. In due course, the two armies drew near to each other and prepared for battle. A chair

203. Assuming an Umayyad *ritl* (or *ratl*) of 400 g. (see *EI2*, s.v. Makayil and Mawazin), it weighed approximately 80 lbs.

204. "The Perfect."

205. Possibly Judayʿ b. Saʿid is meant (see al-Tabari's text, ser. ii, p. 856, and Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

was set up for Yazid, and he sat upon it; he put his brother al-Mufaddal in command of the fighting. There advanced one of the companions of al-Hashimi, called Khulayd `Aynayn²⁰⁶ from [the tribe of] `Abd al-Qays, mounted on his horse, and he raised his voice and said (*tawil*): [1108]

She²⁰⁷ made a call, O Yazid b. al-Muhallab,
a grief-stricken call; then her eyes filled
with tears.
If the caller were to make the call heard, [Yazid]
would respond to it
with compact spears and with swords, the
scabbards of which would be cast aside.
The *ashraf* of Iraq have fled and have left
hornless cattle there to meet their fate.

He wanted [thereby] to incite Yazid. Yazid remained silent for a long time, until the people thought that the poetry had moved him. Then he said to a man, "Call out and let them hear. . . ." ²⁰⁸ They imposed that upon them, despite its difficulty, and Khulayd said (*tawil*):

Bad is the one whose name is called and extolled;
the virgins and non-virgins of Iraq call to him.
When Yazid is called to a grievous battle day involving
the defense of those whom he is honor-bound to defend,
sexual organs are protected only by their real
protectors.
I think that he will soon be
committed, just as he used to commit others.
No free-born women will weep for him, only hired
wailing women,
the spotted and the black (that is, the slaves)
among them will be weeping over him.

Yazid said to al-Mufaddal, "Take your cavalry forward," and he did so and they rushed upon one another. After not much fighting [1109]

206. Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 755, explains that the `Aynayn in question was a well or watering place in al-Bahrayn; cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kamil*, p. 498 and n. i).

207. Judging by the verses that follow these, "she" would appear to be the Arab women of Iraq.

208. It looks as if some of the text has been lost here.

between them, the people separated from `Abd al-Rahman, and he held out, together with a group of those who were most steadfast and the `Abdis. Sa`d b. Najd al-Qurdusi²⁰⁹ charged Hulays al-Shaybani, who was [positioned] in front of `Abd al-Rahman, and Hulays speared him and unseated him from his horse; his companions protected him, and then [Yazid's] people outnumbered [`Abd al-Rahman's, who] were put to flight. Yazid ordered [his men] to desist from following them; they took what was in their camp, and they took [some] of them captive. Yazid put `Ata' b. Abi al-Sa'ib in charge of the camp and instructed him to collect together what was in it. They came across thirteen women, whom they brought to Yazid; he made them over to Murrah b. `Ata' b. Abi al-Sa'ib, who transported them [first] to al-Tabasayn²¹⁰ and then[ce] to Iraq. Yazid said to Said b. Najd, "Who speared you?" and [Sa`d] replied, "Hulays al-Shaybani, and I, by God, as a foot soldier am stronger than he is as a cavalryman." [This] reached Hulays, who said, "He lies, by God! I am stronger than he is, both as a cavalryman and as a foot soldier."

`Abd al-Rahman b. Mundhir b. Bishr b. Harithah²¹¹ fled and went to Musa b. `Abdallah b. Khazim.

[Al-Mada'ini] continued: Among the prisoners were Muhammad b. Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas; `Umar b. Musa b. `Ubaydallah b. Ma`mar; `Ayyash b. al-Aswad b. `Awf al-Zuhri; al-Hilqam b. Nu`aym b. al-Qa`qa` b. Ma`bad b. Zurarah; Fayruz Husayn; Abu al-`Ilj, [who was] the mawla of `Ubaydallah b. Ma`mar; a man from the Al Abi `Aqil;²¹² Sawwar b. Marwan; `Abd al-Rahman b. Talhah b. `Abdallah b. Khalaf; and `Abdallah b. Fudalah al-Azhrani.²¹³ [`Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas] al-Hashimi made it to Sind, while Ibn Samurah reached Marw. Then Yazid departed to Marw and sent the prisoners to al-Hajjaj with Sabrah b. Nakhf b. Abi Sufrah,²¹⁴ having [first] let Ibn Talhah and Abdallah b. Fudalah go; [in addition, some] people calumniated `Ubaydallah b. `Abd al-

[1110]

209. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

210. Two towns, each called Tabas, in Quhistan (see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 359ff.).

211. Possibly `Abd al-Rahman b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jarud (Bishr) is meant.

212. This identification is striking, since the Al Abi `Aqil was the family of al-Hajjaj; it is omitted by Ibn al-Athir.

213. On these prisoners, see Sayed, *Revolte*, pp. 239-41.

214. I.e., a first cousin of Yazid b. al-Muhallab's.

Rahman b. Samurah, and Yazid took him and imprisoned him.

According to Hisham [b. Muhammad al-Kalbi]al-Qasim b. Muhammad al-HadramiHafs b. `Umar b. Qabisaha man from the Banu Hanifah called Jabir b. `Umarah: Yazid b. al-Muhallab detained `Abd al-Rahman b. Talhah with him and kept him safe; [this] Talhi had sworn an oath that he would never see Yazid b. al-Muhallab on any occasion without going to him to kiss his hand by way of thanks for what he had done.

[Hisham also] said: Muhammad b. Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas said to Yazid, "I ask you [to free me] in return for my father's invocation for your father," and he let him go;²¹⁵ there is rather a long story behind Muhammad b. Sa`d's words to Yazid.²¹⁶

According to HishamAbu MikhnafHisham b. Ayyub b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi `Aqil al-Thaqafi: Yazid b. al-Muhallab sent the rest of the prisoners to al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf. [First,] `Umar b. Musa b. `Ubaydallah b. Ma`mar (was brought forward)²¹⁷ and [al-Hajjaj] said, "You are the police chief of `Udayy al-Rahman."²¹⁸ He said, "May God cause the amir to prosper! It was a sedition that engulfed both the righteous and the unrighteous, and we entered into it. God has [now] given you power over us. If you forgive, then that will be by virtue of your moderation²¹⁹ and graciousness; if you punish, you will punish sinning wrong-doers." Al-Hajjaj said, "As for your words 'that engulfed both the righteous and the unrighteous,' you have lied; it engulfed the unrighteous, while the righteous were preserved from it. As for your acknowledgment of your sin, perhaps it will benefit you," and he was removed; people entertained hopes for his well-being until al-Hilqam b. Nu`aym was brought forward and [al-Hajjaj] said to him, "Tell me what you hoped for in following `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad. Did you hope that he would become caliph?" He said, "Yes, I did hope that, and it was my aspiration that he would cause me to occupy a position the like of yours vis-à-vis `Abd al-Malik." [1111]

215. But cf. below, p. 65.

216. Sa`d made the invocation after al-Muhallab had distinguished himself on al-Hakam b. `Amr al-Ghifari's expedition to Khurasan in the late 40s (660s) (see Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, pars. 24-25).

217. Inserting something like *fa-quddima* before *bi-`Umar*; the *Addenda et Emendanda* suggest *fa-lamma qadimu `alayhi da`a*.

218. See above, n. 95.

219. So rendering *hilm* here and in what follows; see *EI2*, s.v.

[Hisham] continued: Al-Hajjaj became angry and said, "Behead him!" and he was killed.

[Hisham] continued: He looked at `Umar b. Musa²²⁰ b. `Ubaydallah b. Ma`mar, who had been set away from him to one side, and said, "Behead him!"; and the rest of them were [all] killed. He had [earlier] given a safe-conduct to `Amr b. Abi Qurrah al-Kindi of the clan of Hujr,²²¹ who was a *sharif* from an old family. He said to him, "O `Amr, you used to tell me of and relate to me your dislike of Ibn al-Ash`ath and of al-Ash`ath before him. Then you followed `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath. By God, there [was] not in you [any] dislike of following them; I don't believe a word you say."²²²

[Hisham] continued: When al-Hajjaj had defeated the people at [Dayr] al-Jamajim, his crier had called out, "Whoever reaches Qutaybah b. Muslim at al-Rayy will be given a safe-conduct."²²³ Many people reached Qutaybah, among them `Amir al-Sha`bi. Al-Hajjaj remembered al-Sha`bi one day and said, "Where is he, and what has he been doing?" Yazid b. Abi Muslim²²⁴ said to him, "It has come to my attention, O amir, that he has reached Qutaybah b. Muslim at al-Rayy." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "I shall send [word] to [Qutaybah]; let [al-Sha`bi] be brought to us," and he wrote to Qutaybah: "To continue: Send al-Sha`bi to me when you read this letter of mine. Peace be upon you." [Al-Sha`bi] was sent to him. [1112]

According to Abu Mikhnafal-Sari b. Isma`il al-Sha`bi: I was a friend of Ibn Abi Muslim's. When I was brought to al-Hajjaj, I met Ibn Abi Muslim and said to him, "Advise me." He said, "I don't know how to advise you except [to say] that you should excuse yourself as much as you can"; and I was similarly advised by [other] counselors and brethren. When I entered into his presence, [however,] I adopted a view different from theirs. I saluted him as amir and then said, "O amir, people have told me to excuse myself to you, adducing other than what God knows to be the truth. By God, in this situation I shall not say other than what

220. The text wrongly gives Musa b. `Umar."

221. See Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. `Amr b. Salama.

222. Ibn al-Athir makes it clear that al-Hajjaj killed him.

223. So rendering *fa-huwa amanuhu* (lit. "he (sc. Qutaybah) will be his safe-conduct").

224. A mawla and foster brother of al-Hajjaj (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 243, n. 420).

is true. By God, we have set up a chief against you,²²⁵ have urged [people to oppose you], and have struggled against you as hard as we could, without falling short. We were neither strong and sinful, nor pious and innocent. God gave you victory over us. If you act violently, then that is by reason of our sins and the measures we took; if you forgive us, that will be by reason of your moderation and after clear proof you possess against us." Al-Hajjaj said to him, "By God, you are dearer to me in respect of what you say than one who enters into our presence with his sword dripping with our blood and then says, 'I did nothing and witnessed nothing.' You are safe with us, O Sha`bi. Depart."

[1113]

[Al-Sha`bi] said: So I departed. When I had walked a little way, he said, "Come here, O Sha`bi."

[Al-Sha`bi] said: At that my heart sank. Then I remembered his words "You are safe, O Sha`bi," and I felt tranquil. He said, "How did you find the people, O Sha`bi, after me?"

[Al-Sha`bi] said: He had [earlier] treated me with honor,²²⁶ and I said, "May God cause the amir to prosper. After you, by God, I had no kohl but sleeplessness;²²⁷ I found my place of habitation difficult, and I was in a state of unending fear; I lost upright brethren, and I found no [adequate] substitute for the amir." He said, "Depart, O Sha`bi," and I departed.

According to Abu Mikhnaf Khalid b. Qatan al-Harithi: Al-Hajjaj was brought al-A`sha [that is,] A`sha Hamdan²²⁸ and said to him, "Well now, O enemy of God, recite to me your words '*bayna al-ashajj <wa-> bayna Qays*':²²⁹ Deliver your verse." He said, "I would rather recite what I said regarding you." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Very well, recite that to me," and he recited to him (*tawil*):²³⁰

God insisted on bringing His light to fulfillment
and on extinguishing the light of evildoers,
Making the people of truth victorious in every

225. So rendering *qad sawwadna `alayka*.

226. Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 49) adds *qabla 'l-khuruuj `alayhi*.

227. So rendering *qad iktahaltu ba`daka'l-sahar*.

228. See above, n. 13.

229. See below, p. 62 and n. 237.

230. For the following verses, cf. Geyer, *The Diwan of al-A`shà*, pp. 320-21 (Arabic texts); *Agham*², vol. VI, pp. 60-61 (which differs considerably); von Goutta, *Aganiartikel*, pp. 39-41, 56-58.

battlefield;
the sword blow will straighten the inclining
neck of the one who was a proud king,
And bring down abasement on Iraq and its people, [1114]
because of their breaking of the certain and
firm compact,
[Because of] their innovation and their big words,
which do not ascend to God,
And [because of] their breaking of an oath of allegiance:
They make [such an oath] today and break it tomorrow.
Their Lord has filled their hearts with cowardice,
and they only approach people as if threatened.
They are bereft of veracity and of fortitude in adversity;
they are full of boasting and bravado.
How do you think God disunited them
and scattered them far and wide?
Their dead are the dead of waywardness and sedition,
while their living have become abased and pursued.
When we advanced on Ibn Yusuf in the early morning
and the two armies flashed and thundered,
We crossed toward him, over the two trenches; [1115]
we just crossed and reached the death that was waiting.
Al-Hajjaj confronted our lines,
without having given warning,
With a line which was as if it had lightning in its ranks,
when its helmets shone and gleamed.
We moved toward it in lines which were like
the mountains of Sharawra,²³¹ if they could
be brought to move.
Al-Hajjaj forthwith drew his sword
against us, and our army fled and broke up.
Al-Hajjaj never fights but that you see him
well supported (i.e., by God) and provided for,
accustomed to victories.
Ibn `Abbas²³² is in a state of indecision,
which we liken to a black portion of the night:
They neither pointed a spear at him nor unsheathed;

231. To the east of Tabuk (Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 282).

232. I.e., `Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas al-Hashimi, as Ibn al-Athir points out.

surely the coward often encountered [a foe] [1116]
and unsheathed?

The cavalry of Sufyan²³³ wheeled round against us
with its horsemen, their lances broken (i.e.,
from much use).

Sufyan led them, and it was as if his standard,
from [much] piercing, was a red cloth stiff
with dye.

Around him were mature men and beardless youths
from Quda`ah,
furious heroes in situations where the coward
would turn aside.

When he said, "Attack!" they charged as one,
and the spear points were brought to their
drinking places

By the troops and cavalry of the Commander of the
Faithful,
and his authority became mighty and supported.

May the Commander of the Faithful be given joy by
his victory
over a community [of people] who were
oppressors and enviers!

They leapt up complaining of oppression from
their amirs,
while it was they who were the most oppressive
and obdurate of the oppressors.

We have found the Banu Marwan to be the best imams,
and the worthiest of these people in moderation
and the exercise of authority,

And the best of Quraysh by way of origin, [1117]
and the noblest of them, except for the Prophet
Muhammad.

When we reflect on the consequences of his rule,
we find the Commander of the Faithful to have
been directed aright.

People who have openly contended with God will be
overcome,²³⁴

233. I.e., Sufyan b. al-Abrad al-Kalbi.

234. Al-Tabari has *sa-yughlabu qawmun*, while Ibn al-Athir gives *sa-yaghlib. qawman*.

if they try to deceive Him, He [proves to be]
stronger and more crafty.
Thus does God mislead him whose heart is
sick and him who espouses hypocrisy and blasphemes.
They have left families and property behind them,
and fair virgins clad in gowns,
Who call to them, shedding tears on their account,
and allowing those tears, together with
antimony, to fall on their cheeks.
If you do not offer them compassion,
they will become captives and the[it] menfolk slaves.
Will you perpetrate the braking of compacts,
disobedience, perfidy, and abasement?
May God despise and make distant those who are
despicable!
Muhammad's chick²³⁵ has brought ill luck upon the
two *misrs* [of al-Basrah and al-Kufah]
justly so and he did not encounter anything
more propitious from the bird of omen,
Just as God brought ill luck upon al-Nujayr²³⁶ [1118]
and its people,
by reason of a grandfather of his who was
[even] more wretched and troublesome.

The Syrians said, "He has done well, may God cause the amir to prosper!" Al-Hajjaj said, "He has not done well. You do not know what he meant by it." Then he said, "O enemy of God, we do not praise you for these words. You only said [what you did] out of sorrow that he was not victorious and by way of incitement of your companions against us. It is not about this that we have asked you. Deliver to us your words (*kamil*):

'Between the man with the scarred face and Qays is a proud and lofty [glory].'"²³⁷

235. I.e., `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad.

236. The castle in Hadramawt where `Abd al-Rahman's grandfather al-Ash`ath finally surrendered after staging a revolt following the death of the Prophet (see *EI2*, s.v. al-Ash`ath).

237. Cf. *Aghani*², vol. VI, pp. 46, 61; al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, vol. V, p. 358 = par. 2110; and Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 147. "The man with the scarred face" (*al-*

(Footnote continued on next page)

He did so, and, when he said (that is, reached the words) "Say, 'bravo' for his father and for the son," al-Hajjaj said, "No, by God, you won't say 'bravo' after this for anyone ever again"; and he sent him forward, and he was beheaded.

Regarding the matter of the prisoners taken by Yazid b. al-Muhallab and sent by him to al-Hajjaj, and regarding, too, the matter of Ibn al-Ash`ath's troops routed on the battle day of Maskin, there is information other than that mentioned by Abu Mikhnaf on the authority of his sources. It is mentioned on their authority in that connection that, when Ibn al-Ash`ath was defeated, these [troops] went with the rest of the routed troops to al-Rayy, which had been taken by `Umar b. Abi al-Salt b. Kanara,²³⁸ a mawla of the Bane Nasr b. Mu`awiyah, who was one of the finest of horsemen, and they joined him. Then Qutaybah b. Muslim arrived in al-Rayy on behalf of al-Hajjaj, who had appointed him over it. The people whom I have mentioned as being sent by Yazid b. al-Muhallab to al-Hajjaj in bonds, and the rest of the routed troops of Ibn al-Ash`ath who had gone to al-Rayy, said to `Umar b. Abi al-Salt, "We put you in command of us; with us you will wage war on Qutaybah." `Umar consulted his father, Abu al-Salt, and his father said to him, "By God, my son, if these people will go under your standard, I do not care if you are killed tomorrow," and he tied his standard. Then [`Umar] went forth and was defeated together with his companions. They fled to Sijistan, where the routed troops gathered, and wrote to `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, who was with the Zunbil. Then there happened to them with Yazid b. al-Muhallab what I have mentioned.

[1119]

Abu `Ubaydah [Ma`mar b. al-Muthanna]²³⁹ mentioned: When Yazid wanted to send the captives to al-Hajjaj, his brother Habib said to him, "How do you regard the Yamaniyyah, given that you

(Footnote continued from previous page)

ashajj) was `Abd al-Rahman's paternal grandfather, al-Ash`ath, while "Qays" refers to the father of his maternal grandfather, Sa`id b. Qays al-Hamdani (see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, p. 247; *EI2*, s.v. Ibn al-Ash`ath); Ibn al-Athir mistakenly thought that *al-ashajj* referred to `Abd al-Rahman's father, Muhammad, and that `Abd al-Rahman's maternal grandfather was Ma`qil b. Qays al-Riyahi.

238. This being the form proposed (to replace "Kannaz") in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (in which connection see the references given by Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 155, s.v. Kanarang 4); it is also given by Khalifah (*Ta'rikh*, pp. 284, 288, where "'Amr" is read in place of "'Umar").

239. Died in 209 (824-25), or thereabouts (*EI2*, s.v.).

have sent Ibn Talhah?" Yazid said, "He is al-Hajjaj and he should not be thwarted." [Habib] said, "Habituate yourself to [the idea of] being dismissed, and do not send him; we do owe him a favor." [Yazid] said, "How so?" [Habib] said, "Al-Muhallab was dunned for two hundred thousand [dirhams]²⁴⁰ in the congregational mosque, and Talhah²⁴¹ paid them for him." So [Yazid] set Ibn Talhah free and sent the remaining [prisoners to al-Hajjaj]; al-Farazdaq said (*kamil*):

Ibn Talhah found the best grouping on the day when
his people
encountered Qahtan on the battle day of Herat.²⁴²

It has been said that al-Hajjaj, when he was brought the prisoners from Yazid b. al-Muhallab, said to his chamberlain, "If I call upon you to bring their leader, bring me Fayruz." Then he put his throne in a prominent position he was at that time at Wasit al-Qasab, [this being] before the city of Wasit had been built and said to his chamberlain, "Bring me their leader." [The chamberlain] said to Fayruz, "Stand up," and al-Hajjaj said to him, "Abu `Uthman, what made you rebel with these people? By God, you are not from the same flesh and blood." He said, "[It was] a sedition in which everyone was caught up, including us." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Write down for me [a list of] your assets." He said, "Then what?" [Al-Hajjaj] said, "[Just] write them down first." He said, "Will my life then be safe?" [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Write them down; then I'll see." He said, "O *ghulam*,²⁴³ write down one million [dirhams] and²⁴⁴ two million [dirhams]," and he mentioned much money. Al-Hajjaj said to him, "Where are these assets?" He said, "With me." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "So hand them over." He said, "Will my life then be safe?" [Al-Hajjaj] said, "By God, you will hand them over, and I shall then kill you." He said, "By God, you're not going to have both my money and my life." Al-Hajjaj then said to the chamberlain, "Put him to one side,"

[1120]

240. 100,000 dirhams, according to Ibn al-Athir.

241. He being the distinguished Khuza`i general Talhah b. `Abdallah (Talhat al-Talahat), "der freigebigste Araber seiner Zeit" (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

242. This verse does not appear in al-Farazdaq's *Diwan*.

243. See above, n. 139.

244. This "and" is given by Ms B and Ibn al-Athir.

and he did so.

Then [al-Hajjaj] said, "Bring me Muhammad b. Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas." [The chamberlain] called him and al-Hajjaj said to him, "You shadow of Satan,²⁴⁵ you most wayward and arrogant of people, you decline to take the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. Mu`awiyah, you liken yourself²⁴⁶ to Husayn and Ibn `Umar, and then you become muezzin for Ibn Kanana,²⁴⁷ the slave of the Banu Nasr" meaning `Umar b. Abi al-Salt and he struck him on the head with a stick [which he held] in his hand until he caused it to bleed. Muhammad said to him, "[Easy,] man! You have [already] won; so be forgiving,"²⁴⁸ and [al-Hajjaj] stayed his hand. Then [Muhammad] said, "If you see fit, you can write to the Commander of the Faithful; if a pardon [for me] comes to you, you will have been party to that and [will be duly] praised; and if there comes to you other than that, you will [at least] have gone to great lengths." [Al-Hajjaj] remained silent for a long time with downcast eyes; then he said, "Behead him!" and he was beheaded.

Then he called for `Umar b. Musa and said to him: "You philanderer,²⁴⁹ will you stand with an iron bar protecting the head of the son of the weaver,²⁵⁰ drink [intoxicating] drink with him in the bathhouse of Fars, and say what you said?²⁵¹ Where is al-Farazdaq? Stand and recite to him what you said about him?" And [al-Farazdaq] recited to him (*kamil*):²⁵² [1121]

You dyed your penis for fornication and you were
not about
to dye the heroes (i.e., with blood) on the
day of battle.

245. Zill *al-shaytan*, a sobriquet explained by al-Tha`alibi with reference to Ibn Sa`d's height, swarthy, and stout build (*Lata'if al-ma'arif*, p. 40 [English trans., p. 591]).

246. Reading *tatashabbahu*, with Ibn al-Athir (cf. Ibn A`tham, *Futuh.*, vol. VII, p. 155: *yatashabbahu*); the Tabari text has *t.sh.b.h.*

247. See above, n. 238.

248. Cf. Freytag, *Araburn Proverbia*, vol. II, p. 630.

249. If this is how *`abd al-mar'ah* is to be understood.

250. I.e., Ibn al-Ash`ath, this being an insult because weaving was a despised occupation (see Brunschvig, "Métiers vils en Islam," pp. 50ff.) and one which Yemenis were stereotypically mocked for engaging in (al-Tha`alibi, *Lata'if al-ma'arif*, p. 40 [English trans., p. 59]).

251. This allusion remains in need of clarification.

252. This verse does not appear in al-Farazdaq's *Diwan*.

[ʿUmar] said, "By God, I have kept it away from your secluded women." Then [al-Hajjaj] ordered that he be beheaded.

Then he called for Ibn ʿUbaydallah b. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Samurah, [who proved to be just] a young man. He said, "May God cause the amir to prosper! I am guiltless. I was a young lad with my father and mother, with no say whatever, being with them wherever they happened to be." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Was your mother with your father in all of these seditions?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "May God's curse be upon your father!"

Then he called for al-Hilqam b. Nuʿaym and said [to him], "Supposing that²⁵³ Ibn al-Ashʿath sought what he sought, what did you hope for with him?" He said, "I hoped that he would gain mastery and appoint me over Iraq, just as ʿAbd al-Malik has appointed you." [Al-Hajjaj] said (addressing one of his staff), "Stand up, O Hawshab, and behead him." [Hawshab] moved toward him, and al-Hilqam said to him, "You son of a bitch";²⁵⁴ [Hawshab] beheaded him.

Then ʿAbdallah b. ʿAmir²⁵⁵ was brought. When he stood before [al-Hajjaj], he said, "May your eyes never see Paradise, O Hajjaj, if you forgive²⁵⁶ Ibn al-Muhallab for what he has done." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "What has he done?" and ʿAbdallah replied (*basit*):²⁵⁷

Because he cleverly set his family free
and drove Mudar to you in fetters.
With your people he protected his family from death's onset,
and your people were of less consequence to him.

Al-Hajjaj remained silent for a long time with downcast eyes, and [these words] rested in his heart. [Then] he said, "What does that have to do with you? Behead him!" and he was beheaded. [But the

253. Ibn al-Athir reads *ahbabta anna* where the Tabari text gives *ijʿal*.

254. Reading *ya ibna latifati iskatay al-farj*, "you son of a woman with (?)tight *labia majora*," and translating freely; I cannot take the credit for this inspired reconstruction of the text (which rests on what survives in Ms B).

255. Presumably, the ʿAbdallah b. ʿAmir al-Naʿar who had earlier been at Zaranj (see above, p. 00).

256. *Aqalta*, while Ibn al-Athir has *aflatta*; cf. Khalifah (*Taʿrikh*, p. 284) and the Omani version of this story (see Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, par. 61 and n. 135).

257. In Khalifah's version and in the Omani version of this, al-Hajjaj's interlocutor is al-Hilqam; the following verses are given in both of these versions.

words] remained in al-Hajjaj's soul until he dismissed Yazid from Khurasan and imprisoned him. [1122]

Then he gave the order and Fayruz was tortured. As part of his torture, split Persian cane was tied to him, and he was dragged on it until it pierced his body in many places; then [a mixture of] vinegar and salt was sprinkled onto him. When he felt [the onset of] death, he said to [his] torturer, "The people will not doubt that I have been killed; owing to me are deposits of wealth with the people that will never be handed over to you. Show me to the people, that they may know that I am alive and hand over the money." Al-Hajjaj was informed [of this] and said, "Put him on view." So he was taken out to the city gate, and he called to the people, "Those who know me know me; [as for] those who do not know me, I am Fayruz Husayn. [Some] people have money owing to me. Anyone who has anything owing to me may keep it, perfectly legally. Let not anyone hand over a [single] dirham of it. Let those who have witnessed this inform those who are not present." Al-Hajjaj gave the order and [Fayruz] was killed. This is part of what al-Walid b. Hisham b. Qahdham related on the authority of Abu Bakr al-Hudhali.

Damrah b. Rabi`ah related on the authority of Ibn Shawdhab that al-Hajjaj's governors²⁵⁸ wrote to him, "The land tax has become depleted. The *ahl al-dhimmah* have become Muslims and have gone off to the garrison cities." [Al-Hajjaj] wrote to al-Basrah and elsewhere, "Whoever originates from a village must go out [and return] to it." The people went out and camped and began to weep and call out, "O Muhammad! O Muhammad!" and they had no idea of where to go. Then the *qurra'* of the Basrans began to go out to them, masked,²⁵⁹ and to weep at what they heard from them and what they saw. [Damrah] continued: Then Ibn al-Ash`ath came in the wake of that, and the *qurra'* of the Basrans committed themselves to fighting al-Hajjaj with `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath. [1123]

According to Damrah b. Rabi`ah al-Shaybani: On the battle day of al-Zawiyah, al-Hajjaj killed eleven thousand [people] and spared only one, whose son was one of al-Hajjaj's secretaries. [Al-

258. *`Ummal*: This may be an early example of the term in the sense of "fiscal intendants" (cf. *EI2*, s.v. *`Amil*).

259. So rendering *mutaqanni`in*.

Hajjaj] said to [the secretary], "Do you want us to forgive your father for you?" He said, "Yes," and [al-Hajjaj] left [the father] to his son. [Al-Hajjaj] deceived them by means of the safe-conduct: He gave orders to a crier, who called out at the defeat, "There is no safe-conduct for so-and-so, nor for so-and-so," and he named men from those *ashraf*, without saying, "The people will be safe." The rank and file then said, "He has given safe-conduct to all the people except those individuals," and they advanced to his compound. When they had gathered together, he ordered them to lay down their arms. Then he said, "Today I shall order to deal with you a man to whom you are not related." He ordered `Umarah b. Tamim al-Lakhmi to deal with them; [Umarah] brought them near and then killed them.

It has been related on the authority of al-Nadr b. Shumayl that Hisham b. Hassan said: The number of people killed in bonds by al-Hajjaj reached 120,000 or 130,000.

[A Second Account of the Battle of Maskin]

Concerning the defeat of Ibn al-As`ath at Maskin, an account other than that of Abu Mikhnaf has been mentioned: Ibn al-Ash`ath and al-Hajjaj met at Maskin, in the territory of Abaz-qubadh.²⁶⁰ The camp of Ibn al-Ash`ath was next to a river called Kh.dash²⁶¹ at the back part of al-Nahr[that is,] Nahr Tira.²⁶² Al-Hajjaj stopped at the river Afr.y.dh,²⁶³ and the two camps were in their entirety between the Tigris, al-Sib,²⁶⁴ and al-Karkh.²⁶⁵ They fought for a month also said to be less than that and al-Hajjaj did not know of any way to them other than the way on which they were engaging each other. Then he was brought an old man who was a herdsman called Zawraq, and he showed him a

[1124]

260. A place lying between al-Basrah and Wasit and not far from Maysan and Dast-i Maysan, associated in the chronicles of the early conquests with al-Madhar (Yaqt, *Mu`jam*, vol. I, pp. 90-91).

261. Which remains to be identified.

262. A right-bank affluent of the lower Karkhah river in Khuzistan (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 241).

263. Which remains to be identified.

264. Yaqt (*Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 209) knew this as "the Basran river" (*nahr al-Basrah*), which had a large settlement in it (*fih qaryah kabirah*).

265. Yaqt (*Mu`jam*, vol. IV, p. 253) knew Karkh al-Basrah as a place in Maftah (which was itself a place between al-Basrah and Wasit [vol. IV, p. 586]).

way round behind al-Karkh, six parasangs long,²⁶⁶ through a thicket and some shallow water. [Al-Hajjaj] selected four thousand of the most eminent of the Syrians and said to their leader, "Let this unbeliever (*ʿilj*) be in front of you. Here are four thousand dirhams for you to take with you. If he gets you to their camp, pay the money to him; if he [proves to have] lied to us,²⁶⁷ behead him. If you see them, attack them with those who are with you. Let your battle cry be 'O Hajjaj! O Hajjaj!'" The leader set off at the time of the afternoon prayer, and al-Hajjaj's army and that of Ibn al-Ash`ath met when the leader moved off with those who were with him at the time of the afternoon prayer. They fought until nighttime, and al-Hajjaj withdrew until he crossed [the] al-Sib [river], which he had bridged;²⁶⁸ Ibn al-Ash`ath entered his camp and plundered what was in it. He was asked, "Why not follow him?" He said, "We are worn out," and he returned to his camp; his companions cast down their weapons and passed the night sure that they had won. The people [making up the force of four thousand] attacked them halfway through the night, shouting their battle cry, and the companions of Ibn al-Ash`ath did not know where to direct themselves: Dujayl to the left [or] the Tigris, with its awful eroded bank, straight ahead? Those who drowned were more numerous than those who were killed. Al-Hajjaj heard the noise and crossed [the] al-Sib to his camp. Then he sent his cavalry to the [other force], and the two armies met at the camp of Ibn al-Ash`ath. [The latter] fled with three hundred [men] and went along the bank of the Tigris until he reached [the] Dujayl [river], which he crossed in boats. They hocked their riding animals and went downstream in the boats to al-Basrah. Al-Hajjaj entered [Ibn al-Ash`ath's] camp and plundered what was in it. He killed anyone he found, until he had killed four thousand [people]. It is said that among those he killed was `Abdallah b. Shaddad b. al-Had;²⁶⁹ also killed were Bistam b. Masqalah b. Hubayrah; `Umar²⁷⁰ b. Dubay`ah al-Raqashi; Bishr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jarud²⁷¹ and al-Hakam b. Makhramah, who were

[1125]

266. About 36 kilometers.

267. Reading *kadhabana*, as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

268. So rendering *`aqada*.

269. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 355, no. 16.

270. `Amr, according to Ibn al-Athir.

271. See above, n. 54.

both `Abdis; and Bukayr b. Rabi`ah b. Tharwan al-Dabbi. Al-Hajjaj was brought their heads on a shield. He began to look at the head of Bistam and recited (*basit*):²⁷²

If you pass along the valley of a male serpent,
go and leave me to deal with²⁷³ the serpent
of the valley.

Then he looked at the head of Bukayr and said, "How did this wretch get to be with these? Take hold of his ear, boy, and cast it away from them." Then he said, "Place this shield in front of Misma` b. Malik b. Misma`."²⁷⁴ It was placed before him, and he wept. Al-Hajjaj said, "What has made you weep? Is it out of sorrow for them?" He said, "No, rather out of fear of hell fire for them."

[The Reason Why al-Hajjaj Built Wasit]

In this year al-Hajjaj built Wasit. The reason for his building it, in among what has been mentioned, was that al-Hajjaj raised Kufan levies [to go] to Khurasan, and they camped at Hammam `Umar.²⁷⁵ A young Kufan man from the Banu Asad, who had recently married his paternal uncle's daughter, departed from the camp to his cousin at night. Somebody knocked hard on the door, and, lo and behold, it was a drunken Syrian. The cousin said to the [Asadi] man, "We've had a lot of trouble from this Syrian. He does this sort of thing every night, wanting something not very nice. I have complained about him to the shaykhs among his companions, and they know about it." [The Asadi] said, "Let him in," and they did so. Then he locked the door, the woman having [first] seen to the house and made it pleasant. The Syrian said, "Your time has come," and the Asadi killed him and struck off his head. When the dawn call to prayer was made, the [Asadi]

[1126]

²⁷². The poet is Harithah b. Badr al-Ghudani (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 326) and another version of the following verse can be found (with others) in *Aghani*¹, vol. XXI, p. 44 (= P. 425 of the supplement to vol. VIII of *Aghani*²).

²⁷³. The *Aghani* here gives *umaris*, which is preferred in the *Addenda et Emendanda* to the *uqasi* given in the text.

²⁷⁴. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 117.

²⁷⁵. A place between Jami`an (later al-Hillah) and Niffar (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 73).

went out to the camp, saying to his wife, "When the dawn prayer has been prayed, send [word] to the Syrians that they should remove their man. They will take you to al-Hajjaj; tell him the truth, just as it was." She did so, and the dead man was borne off to al-Hajjaj. The woman was brought into his presence; with him on his throne was `Anbasah b. Sa`id.²⁷⁶ [A1-Hajjaj] said to her, "What happened?" She told him, and he said, "You have told the truth." Then he said to the blood claimants²⁷⁷ of the Syrian, "Bury your relative. He has been killed by God [and is headed] for hell fire; there will be no retaliation and no blood money." Then his crier called out, "No one [of the Syrians] may stop off with any one [of the Iraqis]. Move out and make camp." [A1-Hajjaj] sent out scouts to reconnoiter [and find] for him a place to settle. He worked assiduously until he stopped at the fringes of Kaskar, and, while he was at the site of Wasit, lo and behold, a monk advanced on a donkey of his and crossed the Tigris. When he was at the site of Wasit, the she-ass parted her legs and urinated; the monk dismounted and dug up the urine and then carried it and threw it into the Tigris, during all of which time al-Hajjaj was watching. A1-Hajjaj said, "Bring him to me," and he was brought. [A1-Hajjaj] said, "What possessed you to do what you did?" [The monk] said, "We find [it written] in our books that there will be built in this place a mosque in which God will be worshiped as long as there remains on earth anyone who proclaims His oneness." A1-Hajjaj marked out the city of Wasit and built the mosque at that place.

In this year, according to what al-Waqidi said, `Abd al-Malik dismissed Aban b. `Uthman from Medina and appointed over it Hisham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi. [1127]

Hisham b. Isma`il led the pilgrimage in this year: Thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of he who related it to him on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar.

The governors of the *amsar* in this year, apart from Medina were [the same as] the governors of the preceding year. As for Medina, we have mentioned those who were over it in [this year].

²⁷⁶. I.e., `Anbasah b. Sa`id b. al-`As al-Umawi (cf. above, n. 49).

²⁷⁷. So rendering *wulat* in this context.

The Events of the Year 84
(January 24, 703-January 13, 704)

In [this year] there took place the campaign of `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan against the Byzantines, in [the course of] which he conquered al-Massisah.²⁷⁸ Thus it was mentioned by al-Waqidi.

In [this year, too,] al-Hajjaj killed Ayyub b. al-Qirriyyah,²⁷⁹ who was one of those who had been with Ibn al-Ash`ath. The reason why he killed himin among what has been mentionedwas that, after his departure from Dayr al-Jamajim, he used to enter into the presence of Hawshab b. Yazid, who was al-Hajjaj's governor of al-Kufah, and Hawshab would say, "Look at this fellow standing with me. Tomorrow or the day after there will arrive from the amir a letter [containing orders] that I shall have to implement." [Then] one day, while he was standing, there came to him a letter from al-Hajjaj [which said]: "To continue: You have become a haven and a refuge for the hypocrites of Iraq. When you read this letter of mine, send Ibn al-Qirriyyah to me with his hand tied to his neck in the company of one of your confidants." When Hawshab

[1128]

²⁷⁸. Ibn al-Athir here gives additional information on these Arab operations at al-Massisah.

²⁷⁹. See *EI2*, s.v. Ibn al-Kirriyya.

had read the letter, he threw it to [Ibn al-Qirriyyah], who read it and said, "To hear is to obey"; [Hawshab] sent him in bonds to al-Hajjaj. When [Ibn al-Qirriyyah] entered into al-Hajjaj's presence, [the latter] said to him, "O Ibn al-Qirriyyah, what have you prepared for this situation?" He said, "May God cause the amir to prosper, three words, like riders at a standstill:280 this world, the next world, and doing good." [A1-Hajjaj] said, "Explain yourself; otherwise you will be in trouble."281 He said, "I shall do so. As for this world, it [consists of] available wealth, to be consumed by both the righteous and the unrighteous; as for the next world, it is a just scale and a place of assembly in which there is nothing false; as for doing good, if I am asked to do it I shall accept, and, if others are asked to do it to me, I shall take it with both hands." [A1-Hajjaj] said, "In that case, accept the sword when it falls upon you." He said, "May God cause the amir to prosper, forgive me my slip and grant me some delay.282 Every fleet steed takes a fall, and every brave man [at some time] underachieves."283 A1-Hajjaj said, "Certainly not. By God, I shall make you visit284 hell." He said, "Then let me be at rest, for I [almost] feel its heat." [A1-Hajjaj] said, "Take him forward, guard, and behead him!" When al-Hajjaj looked at him floundering in his own blood, he said, "If only we had left off Ibn al-Qirriyyah, so that we might hear [more] of his words." Then he gave the order and [the cadaver of Ibn al-Qirriyyah] was removed and discarded.

According to Hisham`Awanah: When al-Hajjaj prohibited Ibn al-Qirriyyah from speaking, Ibn al-Qirriyyah said to him, "By God, if you and I had been on an equal footing, we should both have fallen285 or you would have found me unassailable." [1129]

280. Cf. the account given by al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, vol. V, pp. 323-24 = par. 208 1. If, here and in what follows, Ibn al-Qirriyyah's remarks seem stilted, it is because they are in rhyming prose in the original.

281. So rendering *ukhruj mimma qulta*.

282. So rendering *wa-asighni* (which is rightly preferred in the *Addenda et Emendanda* to *wa-asqini*) *riqi*.

283. *Laysa jawad illa lahu kabwah wa-la shuja` illa lahu habwah*; Ibn al-Athir adds *wa-la sarim illa lahu nabwah*. Cf. al-Dinawari, *Kitab al-akhbar al-tiwal*, pp. 326-27 (*li-kulli jawadin kabwah wa-li-kulli halimin hafwah wa-li-kulli shuja`in nabwah*), and Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. II, p. 430 (*li-kulli sarimin nabwah wa-li-kulli jawadi, kabwah*).

284. Reading *la-uzirannaka*, with the *Addenda et Emendanda* (and Ibn al-Athir), in preference to *la-urriyannaka*.

285. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda* (*la-shikna*).

In this year Yazid b. al-Muhallab conquered the fortress of Nizak²⁸⁶ at Badghis.

The Reason Why [Yazid b. al-Muhallab] Conquered [the Fortress of Nizak]

According to `Ali b. Muhammad al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab: Nizak was staying in a fortress at Badghis, and Yazid watched for a good time to campaign against him and set spies on him. [News] reached him that [Nizak] had sallied forth, and Yazid went to [the fortress] in his absence. [News of this] reached Nizak, who returned, and [Yazid] made peace with him on condition that he would hand over to him the treasures that were in the fortress and would leave it with his dependents. [In this connection,] Ka`b b. Ma`dan al-Ashqari said (*basit*):²⁸⁷

Badghis which [is such that] he who occupies its upper part overcomes kings and, if he wishes, may act tyrannically and oppressively
Is well fortified: No king before [Yazid] has taken it by guile;
[it can be taken] only when it is faced by a vast army of his.
Its fires, viewed from a distance, could be imagined to be stars, in the first third of the night.
When [Yazid] circled round it, their hearts sank until they left it to him to judge, and he decided.
He humbled its inhabitant (that is, Nizak) after his [previous] greatness
[by making him] pay poll tax,²⁸⁸ [he thereby] acknowledging abasement and oppression.
A few days thereafter, [1130]
before which you had revealed grief and

²⁸⁶. See Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, p. 26; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p. 102; *EI2*, s.v. Badghis.

²⁸⁷. On the poet, see above, n. 135. Some of the following verses appear also in Ibn A`tham, *Futuh* vol. VII, p. 225.

²⁸⁸. So rendering *al-jiza*.

oppression,

The Provider gave you that, dividing it
among [God's] creatures; and the deprived one
is he who is deprived.

With one of your hands you give the enemy poison
to drink, while the generosity of the other
is ceaseless.

Can the gift and grace of Yazid be compared with
anything other than the Euphrates and the
Nile in spate?

When they are at their high points, they are no
more generous than he,
[even] when they rise above elevated ground
and hillocks.

And he said (*tawil*):

My praise for the clan of al-`Atik is that they
are generous in hospitality and noble of origin.

When they make an agreement with one they protect,
he occupies an elevated place of safety,
securely high and well defended.

He expelled Nizak from Badghis, and Nizak
was in a position which was too difficult for
kings to snatch from him,

[A position] soaring beneath the sky, like
a white summer cloud from which the rain clouds
have passed away.

Not even the mountain goats reach its uppermost parts, [1131]
nor birds, save its eagle and osprey.

The children of its people have not been frightened
by the wolf,
nor have its dogs barked at anything save the
stars.

I have desired to encounter al-`Atik, the possessors
of wisdom,
made to have mastery, with their riding camels
protected,

Just as the son of the soil whose lands are parched
desires rain from abundant clouds,

Then, after despair, he is given to drink, to the point where [his land's] conduits cannot cope and the billows [of water] gurgle.
God has gathered together those who were remote from one another, and there have come together groups from many and varied distant places.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: Nizak used to glorify the fortress; when he saw it, he prostrated himself to it. Yazid b. al-Muhallab wrote to al-Hajjaj concerning the conquest; Yazid's letters to al-Hajjaj were written by Yahya b. Ya`mar al-`Adwani,²⁸⁹ who was a confederate (*halif*) of Hudhayl. He wrote: "We encountered the enemy, and God gave us the upper hand.²⁹⁰ We killed some and took some captive, while others took themselves to the tops of the mountains, the bottoms²⁹¹ of the valleys, the low-lying fields, and the bends of the rivers." Al-Hajjaj asked who it was who acted as Yazid's secretary and was told that it was Yahya b. Ya`mar. He wrote to Yazid [telling him to send Yahya to him], and [Yazid] sent him via the messenger service. Then [this] most eloquent of people came to him, and [al-Hajjaj] said, "Where were you born?" He said, "In al-Ahwaz." "And this eloquence?" "I memorized the speech of my father, who was an eloquent man." "Now tell me, does `Anbasah b. Sa`id make grammatical mistakes?" "Yes, often." "And so-and-so?" "Yes." "Tell me about myself; do I make grammatical mistakes?" "Yes, you make a barely perceptible mistake. You add a letter and you drop a letter: You [also] say 'inna' instead of 'anna' and 'anna' instead of 'inna.'" [Al-Hajjaj] said, "I'll give you three days. If, after three days, I find you in Iraqi territory, I'll kill you." [Yahya] returned to Khurasan.²⁹² [1132]

The pilgrimage in this year was led by Hisham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi: Thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it to him on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar.

The governors of the *amsar* in this year were the same as those I have named above under the year 83.

289. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

290. Lit. "God gave us their shoulders."

291. `Ara`ir: See the *Addenda et Emendanda* and the learned note in the *Glossarium*.

292. A briefer version of this story is given by al-Mubarrad (*Kamil*, p. 158).

The Events of the Year 85
(January 14, 704-January 1, 705)

In [this year] the death of `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath took place.

What [Ibn al-Ash`ath] Died of
and How It Came About

According to Hisham b. Muhammad Abu Mikhnaf: When Ibn al-Ash`ath departed from Herat, returning to the Zunbil, there was with him a man from [the tribe of] Awd called `Alqamah b. `Amr. [This man] said to him, "I do not want to enter [the territory of the Zunbil] with you." `Abd al-Rahman said to him, "Why?" [1133] He said, "Because I fear for you and for those who are with you. By God, in my mind's eye it is as if the letter of al-Hajjaj has already arrived, coming to the Zunbil and filling him with fear, and he has either sent you (sing.) off in submission or he has killed you (pl.). Here [we] are five hundred [men]; you could make an oath with us to the effect that we shall enter the city, entrench ourselves in it, and fight until we are either given a safe-conduct or die nobly." `Abd al-Rahman said to him, "If you were to enter with me, I should be munificent to you and honor you." But `Alqamah refused, and `Abd al-Rahman entered into the presence

of the Zunbil. These five hundred [men] went off, placed over themselves²⁹³ Mawdud al-Nadri²⁹⁴ and then stayed put until `Umarah b. Tamim al-Lakhmi advanced upon them; [`Umarah] besieged them and they fought him and resisted him until he gave them a safe-conduct and they went forth to him. He kept his word to them.

[Hisham] continued: One letter of al-Hajjaj's after another came to the Zunbil concerning `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, saying, "Send him to me; otherwise, by the One other than Whom there is no god, I shall cause a million²⁹⁵ fighting men to trample your land." With the Zunbil there was a man from the Banu Tamim, from [the clan of] the Banu Yarbu`, called `Ubayd b. Abi Subaye`,²⁹⁶ and he said to the Zunbil, "I shall obtain for you from al-Hajjaj a compact [to the effect that] he will refrain from taxing your land for seven years on condition that you hand `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad over to him." The Zunbil said to `Ubayd, "If you do that, you will have of me what you ask." [`Ubayd] then wrote to al-Hajjaj, [telling him] that the Zunbil would not disobey him and that he would keep on at the Zunbil until he sent `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad to him. At that, al-Hajjaj gave him money, and he took money from the Zunbil in that regard. The Zunbil sent `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad's head to al-Hajjaj, [who] for seven years let him keep [the taxation stipulated in] the peace agreement that he [normally] took from him. Al-Hajjaj used to say, "The Zunbil sent the enemy of God to me after he [had] cast himself off a roof and died." [1134]

According to Abu Mikhnaf Sulayman b. Abi Rashid Mulaykah the daughter of Yazid:²⁹⁷ When `Abd al-Rahman died

293. Reading *ja`alu `alayhim*, with Ibn al-Athir; the Tabari text gives *ba`athu `alayhim*.

294. Ibn al-Athir reads "al-Basri," which seems unlikely. We are told below (p. 79) that he was from the Banu al-`Anbar, but that clan does not appear to have had any subclan by the name of Nadri; it is just possible that "al-Nadri" is a scribal distortion of "al-`Anbari."

295. 100,000, according to al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 333).

296. The "Abi" is missing in Ibn al-Athir; according to the *Naqa'id* (p. 413, 11. 1-2 [in an account that differs somewhat]), he was `Abd Allah or `Ubayd Allah b. Abi Subay` of the Banu Rabi`ah b. Hanzalah b. Malik b. Zayd[manat] Tamim.

297. Wife of `Abd al-Rahman; see above, p. 43, where she is identified as the daughter of the brother of `Abd Allah b. Yazid b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdi; Ibn A`tham, on the other hand, identifies her as the daughter of a certain Yazid *al-`Amiri* (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 157). Cf. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 236.

and his head was [at the time resting] on my thigh he was suffering from tuberculosis. When he died and they wanted to bury him, the Zunbil sent for him, cut off his head, and sent it to al-Hajjaj.²⁹⁸ He [also] took eighteen male descendants of al-Ash`ath and detained them with him, while leaving all [the rest of] his companions who had been with [ʿAbd al-Rahman]. He wrote to al-Hajjaj about his taking of the eighteen men from ʿAbd al-Rahman's family, and al-Hajjaj wrote to him instructing him to execute them and send their heads to him. He disliked [the idea of] their being brought to him alive, [lest] a petition be made to ʿAbd al-Malik about them and [any] one of them be set free.

On the matter of Ibn Abi Subay` and Ibn al-Ash`ath, there has been said other than what I have mentioned on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf. This is what has been mentioned on the authority of Abu `Ubaydah Ma`mar b. al-Muthanna, who used to say: It has been claimed that `Umarah b. Tamim set forth from Kirman and came to Sijistan, over which was a man from the Banu al-`Anbar called Mawdud. He [first] besieged him and then gave him a safe-conduct. Then he gained mastery of Sijistan and sent [word] to the Zunbil, to whom al-Hajjaj wrote:²⁹⁹ "To continue: I have sent to you `Umarah b. Tamim with [a force of] thirty thousand Syrians who have neither forsaken obedience, nor disavowed a Caliph, nor followed an imam of waywardness. He pays each of them one hundred dirhams a month. War is very much to their taste. They seek Ibn al-Ash`ath." But the Zunbil refused to hand him over.

[1135]

With Ibn al-Ash`ath was `Ubayd b. Abi Subay` al-Tamimi, whom he had singled out for his special favor. He was a messenger to the Zunbil, for whose special favor he was also singled out and to whom he gave cheer. Al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath said to his brother `Abd al-Rahman, "I can't be sure that this Tamimi will not betray you; do kill him," and [ʿAbd al-Rahman] intended to do so. [News of this] reached Ibn Abi Subay`, who feared him and misrepresented him to the Zunbil; he put [the latter] in fear of al-Hajjaj and called upon him to betray Ibn al-Ash`ath. [The Zunbil] responded positively to him, and [Ibn Abi

298. Al-Dhahabi's personal view of this report is dismissive (*hadha qawl shadhdh wa-Abu Mikhnaf kadhdhab: Ta'rikh al-Islam*, vol. HI, p. 235).

299. Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 156) gives a slightly fuller version of this letter.

Subay`] went out clandestinely to `Umarah b. Tamim³⁰⁰ and stipulated a reward³⁰¹ in respect of Ibn al-Ash`ath. He specified one million [dirhams] and stayed with [`Umarah]. `Umarah wrote of this to al-Hajjaj, who replied: "Give `Ubayd and the Zunbil what they ask for: Come to terms [with them]." The Zunbil stipulated that his territory should not be campaigned against for ten years and that he should thereafter pay [annual tribute in the amount of] nine hundred thousand [dirhams].³⁰² [The Zunbil] and `Ubayd were given what they asked for, and the Zunbil sent [word] to Ibn al-Ash`ath. He had him brought into his presence together with thirty of his relatives, having prepared neck collars³⁰³ and fetters for them. He put a neck collar on each of [`Abd al-Rahman] and al-Qasim and sent them all to the nearest to him of `Umarah's strong points; to the body of people who had been with Ibn al-Ash`ath he said, "Split up to wherever you wish." When Ibn al-Ash`ath came near to `Umarah, he cast himself from the top of a residence³⁰⁴ and died. His head was cut off, and it and the prisoners were brought to `Umarah. He executed them and sent the head of Ibn al-Ash`ath and the heads of his relatives, together with his wife, to al-Hajjaj. Concerning that, one of the poets said (*kamil*):³⁰⁵

How far away the place of the cadaver is from its head: [1136]
a head in Egypt and a cadaver at al-Rukhkhaj.³⁰⁶

Al-Hajjaj [had] sent [the head] to `Abd al-Malik, and he [had] sent it to [his brother] `Abd al-`Aziz, who was at that time over Egypt.³⁰⁷

300. Who was at Bust at this time, according to al-Ya`qubi.

301. This being the definition given in the *Glossarium*.

302. Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 53) says 100,000.

303. *Al-jawami`*, i.e., neck collars fitted with hand manacles (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *jami` ah*).

304. So rendering *qasr*; he is also said to have cast himself from a mountain (al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 400).

305. Ibn Khurradadhbih (*al-Masalik wa'l-mamalik*, p. 40) cites this verse and puts it into the mouth of `Abd al-Malik. Al-Mas`udi (*al-Tanbih wa'l-ishraf*, p. 316) gives this and a second verse, but not the name of the poet.

306. The area in Sijistan watered by the Qandahar river (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 339).

307. Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 54) says that `Abd al-Rahman's head was buried in Egypt; according to Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 158), the heads of `Abd al-Rahman and others were taken from Egypt to Hadramawt and dropped into a well there.

According to `Umar b. Shabbah Ibn `A'ishah Sa`d b. `Ubaydallah: When `Abd al-Malik was brought the head of Ibn al-Ash`ath, he sent it with a eunuch to a woman from [the family of al-Ash`ath] who was married to a man from Quraysh. When it was put in front of her, she said, "Welcome to a visitor who does not speak. He is one of the kings, who sought something of which he was worthy, but the fates decreed otherwise." The eunuch made to go off with the head, but she drew it out of his hand, saying, "No, by God, [not] until I have done what is necessary." Then she called for [some] althea³⁰⁸ [with which] she washed it and smeared it[s beard]; then she said, "Now you may have it," and he took it. He informed `Abd al-Malik [of this], and, when her husband entered into his presence, he said, "If you are able to produce a daughter³⁰⁹ by her[, that will be a very good thing]."

It has been mentioned that Ibn al-Ash`ath looked at one of his companions while he was fleeing to the territory of the Zunbil and recited (*mutaqarib*):³¹⁰

Fear pursues him, and he has lost his course:
Thus is one who dislikes the heat of battle.
His boots are full of holes, [and] he complains of chafing;
the edges of sharp pumice stones³¹¹ hurt his feet.
There would have been rest for him in death,
and death is inevitable for [God's] servants.

[The man] turned to him and said, "O you insignificant blamer [of others],³¹² why were you not steadfast in one of the battlefields, so that we might die in front of you? That would have been better for you than what you have come to."

According to Hisham Abu Mikhnaf: Al-Hajjaj set forth in [1137]

308. *Khitmi*: see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 768a.

309. *Sakhlah*, literally "a kid."

310. Lines 2 and 3 of the following verses are given by Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 151), where another verse is also given. Cf. also al-Ya`qubi, *Ta`rikh*, vol. II, p. 391, and al-Tabari, *Ta`rikh*, ser. iii, p. 167 (in the contexts of Zayd b. `Ali and Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah respectively).

311. See Dozy (*Supplément*, s.v.) for this definition of the term *marw*.

312. Reading *luhayyah* (rather than *lihyah*), i.e., the diminutive of (the feminine) *lahiyah*.

those days of his, going about accompanied by Humayd al-Ar-qat,³¹³ who said (*raiaz*):

He still constructs a trench and destroys it,
in protection of an army that he leads and betrays,
Until his plunder is in your hands;
how far from his place of mustering is his
place of defeat!
He who is fitted for vehement striving for mastery
is he who does not turn away from it in disgust.³¹⁴

Al-Hajjaj said, "This is truer than what the wicked A`sha Hamdan said (*kamil*):

I have been informed [that] al-Hajjaj b.³¹⁵ Yu-suf slipped, fell, and perished.

Now it is clear to him who it was who slipped and perished,³¹⁶ feared and failed, and doubted and suspected." He raised his voice, and there was no one who did not fear his anger. Al-Urayqit³¹⁷ was silent, and al-Hajjaj said to him, "Go back to what you were saying. What is the matter with you, O Arqat?" He said, "May I be made your ransom, O amir; and the authority of God is mighty. You became angry, and my muscles became aquiver, my joints tight, my sight dim, and I felt giddy." Al-Hajjaj said to him, "Yes indeed, the authority of God is mighty. Go back to what you were doing." And he did so.

One day, when al-Hajjaj was going along accompanied by Ziyad b. Jarir b. `Abdallah al-Bajali,³¹⁸ who was one-eyed, he said, "What was it you said to Ibn Samurah?" He said, "I said (*rajaz*):

O one-eyed man, may I be the ransom of the one-eyed;
you thought that the dug trench

313. See *EI2*, s.v. Humayd al-Arkat; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 333.

314. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. I, p. 85; Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2615a.

315. Reading *Hajjaja`bna* in place of *anna bunayya* (see Geyer, *The Diwán of al-A`shà*, p. 312, line 6 [Arabic text], and p. 310 of his apparatus; *Aghani2*, vol. VI, p. 59); Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 129) reads *anna`bna* at this point.

316. The arabic is wordier: *zalaqa wa-tabba wa-dahada wa-ankabba*.

317. Sic, being the diminutive form of al-Arkat.

318. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 114.

Would repel from you what fate had in store
and [stop] calamities befalling."

It has been said that the death of `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad [1138]
took place in the year 84.

In this year al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf dismissed Yazid b. al-Muhallab
from Khurasan and appointed over it al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab,
the brother of Yazid.

The Reason Why al-Hajjaj Dismissed
[Yazid b. al-Muhallab] from Khurasan
and Appointed al-Mufaddal

`Ali b. Muhammad mentioned on the authority of al-Mufaddal b.
Muhammad that al-Hajjaj went on a delegation to `Abd al-Malik
and on his way back stopped at a monastery. He was told that in
the monastery there was a learned old man of the People of the
Books;³¹⁹ so he summoned him and said, "O shaykh, do you find
in your books [any reference to] our current situation?" He said,
"Yes, we find [references to] your past, your present, and your
future." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Are names given or [just] general de-
scriptions?" He said, "Both: [You can find] a description without
a name and a name without a description." [Al-Hajjaj] said,
"Don't you find a description of the Commander of the Faithful?"
He said, "We find it in [respect of] the time in which we are
living: A bald kingwhoever gets in his way is felled." [Al-Hajjaj]
said, "Then who?" He said, "A man called al-Walid." [Al-Hajjaj]
said, "Then what?" He said, "A man whose name is the name of a
prophet,³²⁰ through whom the people will be possessed of good
fortune." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Do you know me?" He said, "I have
been told about you." [Al-Hajjaj said], "Do you know what I
govern?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "Who will govern it
after me?" He said, "A man called Yazid." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "In my
life[time] or after my death?" He said, "I don't know." [Al-Hajjaj]
said, "Do you know his description?" He said, "He will commit
an act of perfidy. I don't know anything other than that." [1139]

319. *Min ahl al-kutub*; Ibn al-Athir omits the phrase, while Ibn Kathir
(*Bidayah*, vol. IX, pp. 55) has *ahl al-kitab* here and below.

320. I.e., Sulayman (b. `Abd al-Malik).

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: Yazid b. al-Muhallab came to his mind and he set off. He traveled for seven [nights], fearful of what the old man had said, and arrived [at Wasit]. Then he wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik, asking to be relieved of Iraq. [ʿAbd al-Malik] wrote to him, "O son of the mother of al-Hajjaj, I know what you are getting at and that you want to know my opinion of you. By my life, I see the influence of Nafiʿ b. ʿAlqamah.³²¹ Divert yourself from this until God brings you what is coming."

Al-Farazdaq said, mentioning his journey (*tawil*):³²²

If birds had been charged with making the like of
his journey
from Jerusalem to Wasit, they would have
become weary!

He went by night on fleet camels from Palestine, after
nighttime had drawn near to the sun of the
day and [the sun] had set.

That day was not out³²³ before he made [the camels] kneel
in Mays fin, weary and weak from their night journey.

It was as if a hungry falcon were in the saddle,
when the deep gloom revealed him.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: One day, when al-Hajjaj was unoccupied, he summoned ʿUbayd b. Mawhab,³²⁴ who entered striking the ground [with a stick]. [Al-Hajjaj] raised his head and said, "Woe, O ʿUbayd, the people of the Books mention that what I govern will be governed by a man called Yazid. I have thought of Yazid b. Abi Kabshah and Yazid b. Husayn b. Numayr and Yazid b. Dinar,³²⁵ and it can't be any of those, since they are not up to it. It must be Yazid b. al-Muhallab." ʿUbayd said to him, "You have ennobled [the Muhallabids] and have made their dominion mighty. They are possessed of numbers, endurance, obedience, [1140]

321. Presumably, this was the name of the learned old man.

322. Cf. al-Farazdaq, *Diwan*, vol. I, p. 116 (where an extra verse is given and we are told that the journey took seven days), and Yaqut, *Muʿjam*, vol. I, p. 424 (where the verses are ascribed to *baʿd al-aʿrab*).

323. Preferring Yaqut's *ghaba* to al-Tabari's (and the *Diwan's*) *ʿada*.

324. See above, p. 14.

325. For the first two of these, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 96 and 97, respectively; the third is mentioned only at this point by al-Tabari.

and good fortune. How worthy [Yazid] is." [But] al-Hajjaj decided to dismiss Yazid; he did not, however, find any way of proceeding against him until the arrival of al-Khiyar b. Sabrah b. Dhu'ayb b. `Arfajah b. Muhammad b. Sufyan b. Mujashi` ,326 who had been one of al-Muhallab's horsemen and was with Yazid. Al-Hajjaj said to him, "Tell me about Yazid." He said, "He is good in obedience and easygoing in his way of proceeding." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "You are lying! Tell me the truth." He said, "God is most sublime and great, [Yazid] has saddled up without a bridle." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "You speak truly," and he thereafter appointed al-Khiyar over `Uman.³²⁷

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Then [al-Hajjaj] wrote to `Abd al-Malik, blaming Yazid and the family of al-Muhallab for [their] adherence to the Zubayrids, and `Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "I do not consider the obedience of the Muhallabids to the Zubayrids to be a shortcoming; rather, I see it as loyalty on their part to them, and that loyalty will induce them to be loyal to me." Al-Hajjaj wrote to him making him fearful of their perfidy, on account of what the old man had told him, and `Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "You have said a lot about Yazid and the Muhallabids. Give me the name of a man who would be suitable for Khurasan," and he gave him the name of Mujja`ah b. Si`r al-Sa`di.³²⁸ `Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "The opinion that induced you to regard the Muhallabids as corrupt is the same as that which induced you [to name] Mujja`ah. Look out for me a tough man who will carry out your orders," and he named Qutaybah b. Muslim. [`Abd al-Malik] wrote to him: "Appoint him."

[1141]

It reached Yazid that al-Hajjaj had dismissed him, and he said to his family, "Whom do you think al-Hajjaj will appoint over Khurasan?" They said, "A man from Thaqif." He said, "By no means. He will write to one of you with his appointment. [Then,] when I reach him, he will dismiss [that man], and he will appoint a man from Qays: How worthy Qutaybah would be."

326. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 133 (wrongly Khiyar b. *Abi* Sabrah).

327. For a rather fuller (if somewhat confused) account of this episode, see Hinds (*Early Islamic Family*, pars. 62-67), where "[Yazid] has saddled up without a bridle" (i.e., acted without adequate preparation) comes out as "a people who have saddled up without bridles" (par. 66).

328. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 136.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: When ʿAbd al-Malik gave permission to al-Hajjaj to dismiss Yazid, [al-Hajjaj] did not like to write to [Yazid] about his dismissal; so he wrote to him [saying], "Appoint al-Mufaddal as your deputy and come." Yazid sought the advice of Hudayn b. al-Mundhir,³²⁹ who said, "Stay, and make an excuse, for the Commander of the Faithful has a good opinion of you. The order has only come from al-Hajjaj.³³⁰ If you stay [here] and do not hurry off, I hope that [the Commander of the Faithful] will write to [al-Hajjaj instructing him] to confirm [you in your position]." Yazid said, "We are a family that has been blessed in [respect of] obedience; I do not like disobedience and conflict," and he began to get ready. But he did so too slowly for the liking of al-Hajjaj, who wrote to al-Mufaddal, "I have put you over Khurasan." [At this,] al-Mufaddal began to nag Yazid, and Yazid said to him, "Al-Hajjaj will not confirm you in your position after I [have gone]. It was only fear that I might resist him that induced him to act as he has." [Al-Mufaddal] said, "No, you are envious of me." [Yazid] said, "O son of Bahlah!³³¹ Would I envy you? You'll see." Yazid went off in Rabiʿ II 85 (April-May 704), and al-Hajjaj then dismissed al-Mufaddal. The poet said to al-Mufaddal and to his full brother ʿAbd al-Malik (*kamil*):

O two sons of Bahallah, my Lord disgraced you [1142]
on the morning when the shining hero went off.
You forsook your brother and fell
to the bottom of a dark place, the denizen of
which is exposed to harm.
Repent much and sincerely; it is only
the greatest loser who refuses and disdains to repent.

Hudayn said to Yazid (*tawil*):

I gave you a prudent instruction and you defied me,
only to become stripped of office and regretful.

329. The poet (al-)Hudayn b. al-Mundhir al-Raqashi: See *EI2*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 376.

330. So understanding *innama utita min al-Hajjaj*.

331. Bahlah (or Bahallah), as becomes apparent in the first of the following verses, was the mother of al-Mufaddal. It is specified below, p. 157, that she was an Indian woman.

I am not going to weep over you out of longing,
and I am not going to pray for you to return safely.³³²

When Qutaybah arrived in Khurasan, he said to al-Hudayn,
"What was it you said to Yazid?" He said, "I said:

I gave you a prudent instruction and you defied me:
if you blame, you yourself are more deserving of blame.
If it reaches al-Hajjaj that you have defied him,
you will find yourself in deep trouble with him."³³³

[Qutaybah] said, "What was it you instructed him to do that he disobeyed?" [Al-Hudayn] said, "I instructed him to take to the amir all the gold and silver he could find." A man said to `Iyad b. Hudayn, "As for your father, when Qutaybah tested him, he found him wise when he said, 'I instructed him to take to the amir all the gold and silver he could find.' "

`Ali [b. Muhammad] said, and Kulayb b. Khalaf [also] related to us: Al-Hajjaj wrote to Yazid, "Campaign in Khwarazm." [Yazid] wrote to him, "O amir, it has little plunder and fierce dogs."³³⁴ Al-Hajjaj wrote to him, "Appoint a deputy and come [to me]." [Yazid] wrote to him, "I want to campaign in Khwarazm." [Al-Hajjaj] wrote to him, "Do not campaign in it. It is as you have described it." [Yazid] then campaigned [there] and did not obey [al-Hajjaj]. The people of Khwarazm made a peace agreement with him; he took captives according to the peace terms and made his return journey in the winter. The cold became intense for [Yazid and his men], and they took the clothes of the prisoners and put them on. Those captives died of cold.

[1143]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Yazid stopped at Talastanah,³³⁵ and a plague afflicted the people of Marw al-Rudh that year. Al-Hajjaj wrote to him, "Come," and he set off: He did not pass through any place but that [its people] spread out aromatic plants for him.

332. Cf. Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, par. 68.

333. Ibid., par. 71.

334. A piece of rhyming prose difficult to replicate in English.

335. "A halting place six parasangs before Dandanaqan on the road from Sarakhs to Marw" (Cornu, *Atlas: Répertoires*, p. 155).

Yazid was given his appointment in the year 82 and was dismissed in the year 85. He set out [to Iraq] from Khurasan in Rabi` II 85 (April-May 704), and Qutaybah was appointed.

As for Hisham b. Muhammad, he mentioned on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf, concerning al-Hajjaj's dismissal of Yazid from Khurasan, a cause other than the one mentioned by `Ali b. Muhammad. He mentioned in that connection on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf Abu al-Mukhariq al-Rasibi and others: Al-Hajjaj, when he had finished with `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, had no concern save Yazid b. al-Muhallab and his family. Al-Hajjaj had humbled all the Iraqis except for Yazid and his family and those of the people of the two *misrs* who were with them in Khurasan; after `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, he feared in Iraq only Yazid b. al-Muhallab. Al-Hajjaj [accordingly] began to try to deceive Yazid, in an attempt to extract him from Khurasan. He would send to [Yazid] to come to him, and [Yazid] would adduce to him the excuse of the enemy and the war in Khurasan. He kept on in this wise until the last part of the rule of `Abd al-Malik. Then al-Hajjaj wrote to `Abd al-Malik, advising him to dismiss Yazid b. al-Muhallab and informing him of the obedience of the Muhallabids to Ibn al-Zubayr, [as a result of which] they would not be loyal to him. `Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "I do not consider the obedience and loyalty of the sons of al-Muhallab to the Zubayrids to be a shortcoming; their obedience and loyalty to them is what has induced them to be obedient and loyal to me." Then [Hisham b. Muhammad] mentioned the rest of the report along the lines mentioned by `Ali b. Muhammad. In this year al-Mufaddal campaigned against Badghis and conquered it.

[1144]

[Al-Mufaddal's Conquest of Badghis]

`Ali b. Muhammad mentioned on the authority of al-Mufaddal b. Muharemad: Al-Hajjaj dismissed Yazid and wrote in the year 85 to al-Mufaddal concerning his appointment over Khurasan, which lasted for nine months. He campaigned against Badghis and conquered it. He took plunder, which he divided among the people: Every man received eight hundred dirhams. Then he cam-

paigned against Akharun and Shuman,³³⁶ where he was victorious, took plunder, and divided what he had taken among the people. Al-Mufaddal had no treasury; he [simply] gave out to the people when anything came [his way], and, if he took anything as plunder, he divided it among them. Ka`b al-Ashqari said, in praise of al-Mufaddal (*tawil*).³³⁷

You see rich and poor from every [tribal] grouping,
bands of all sorts heading for al-Mufaddal.
One visitor [comes] hoping for the benefits of
his generosity,
while another goes off having had his needs attended to.
If we head for a land other than yours, we shall not find
in it a better place to head for nor [shall
we find] a place of contentment.
If we enumerate the noblest ones, those who are
sagacious,
those who have provided good for themselves
[with God], you are the first!
By my life, al-Mufaddal has made an overpowering assault, [1145]
which has made available the watering places
and herbage in Shuman.
On the battle day of Ibn `Abbas,³³⁸ you received
the like of that,
and it was for us [as] a sharp sword between
the two sides.
All of al-Muhallab's moral qualities have become
clear in you,³³⁹
you have been clad with the same means of
attaining honor as that with which he clad
himself
[He,] your father, who strove as no one else did
and passed on a glory that was not falsely claimed.

336. To the southeast of Samarqand (see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 74, for details); Shaban, (*The `Abbasid Revolution*, p. 62) judges these operations to have been "minor raids."

337. The following verses appear not to occur elsewhere.

338. Presumably, `Abd al-Rahman b. `Abbas al-Hashimi is meant.

339. Taking *laka* to signify *fika*.

In this year Musa b. `Abdallah b. Khazim al-Sulami was killed at al-Tirmidh.³⁴⁰

[Musa b. `Abdallah's] Going to al-Tirmidh [and His Activities] until He was Killed There

It has been mentioned that the reason for his going to al-Tirmidh was that, when his father, `Abdallah b. Khazim, killed those of the Banu Tamim whom he killed at Fartana³⁴¹ an account of his killing of them has been mentioned above³⁴² the bulk of those who had remained with him separated from him. He went out to Nishapur and feared [what] the Banu Tamim [might do] to his baggage³⁴³ in Marw. He therefore said to his son Musa, "Move my baggage from Marw and cross the Balkh river (that is, the Oxus), so that you may take refuge with one of the kings or in a fortress where you may stay." Musa accordingly set off from Marw with two hundred and twenty horsemen. By the time he reached Amul,³⁴⁴ some down-and-out robbers³⁴⁵ had taken refuge with him, and his party numbered four hundred; [at Amul] he was joined by [some] men from the Banu Sulaym, including Zur`ah b. `Alqamah. He then reached Zamm,³⁴⁶ [whose people] fought him, and he defeated them, acquired money, and crossed the river. He then reached Bukhara and asked its lord for refuge. [The latter] refused, fearing him, and said, "[He is] a murderer, and his companions are like him, people given to war and evil; I do not feel secure from him," and he sent him a present of gold coins and riding animals, and a set of clothes. [Musa next] de-

[1146]

340. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 27-28; Shaban, *The `Abbasid Revolution*, pp. 59ff.; al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, pp. 417-19.

341. Described by Yaqut (*Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 868) as a *qasr* at Marw al-Rudh.

342. See al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, set. II, pp. 593ff. and 695ff.

343. The concern about *thaqal* or *athqal* exhibited here and in subsequent instances makes it plain that the "baggage" in question contained items of value (cf. the observation made by Shaban, *The `Abbasid Revolution*, p. 127, n. 2).

344. A town three miles from the left bank of the Oxus, near the crossing on the way from Marw to Bukhara (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 80; *EI*², s.v.).

345. So rendering *qawm min al-sa`alik*.

346. A town on the left bank of the Oxus, 125 miles upstream of Amul (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 80; *EI*², s.v. Amul).

scended on one of the lords of the people of Bukhara in Nuqan,³⁴⁷ and [this man] said to him, "No good will come to you from staying in this place; the people are afraid of you and do not feel secure from you." He stayed with the dihqan of Nuqan for a few months and then went off looking for [either] a king with whom he might take refuge or a fortress; but he did not come to any place but that [its people] did not want him to stay among them and asked him to move away from them.

ʿAli b. Muhammad said: Then he reached Samarqand and stayed there. Tarkhun,³⁴⁸ its king, honored him and allowed him to stay, and he stayed for a long time. Now the people of Soghd have a table on which are put greasy meat,³⁴⁹ bread, and a ewer of something to drink. On a [particular] day every year that is set out for the Horseman of Soghd,³⁵⁰ and no one but he may go near it; it is his food on that day. If anyone else eats from it, he fights a duel with him, and the table goes to whichever one kills the other. One of Musa's companions said, "What is this table?" and he was told about it and fell silent. Then Musa's companion said, "I shall eat what is on this table, and I shall fight a duel with the Horseman of Soghd; if I kill him, I shall be their Horseman"; and he sat and ate what was on it. [The Horseman of Soghd] was told [of this] and came, much angered, and said, "O Arab, fight a duel with me." The Arab said, "Yes. I don't want anything other than a duel"; [the Horseman] fought him, and Musa's companion killed him. [At this,] the king of Soghd said [to Musa and his companions], "I accommodated you and honored you, and you have killed the Horseman of Soghd. Had I not given you and your companions a safe-conduct, I would kill you. Get out of my territory," and he gave [Musa] a gift. [1147]

[Musa next] reached Kish, and the lord of Kish wrote to Tarkhun asking him for help. [Tarkhun] came to him, and Musa went out to [Tarkhun] with a force of seven hundred and fought

347. This is what the text says, but Nuqan (Mashhad), to the east of Nishapur, does not fit the context.

348. The Ikhshid of Soghd and the "leader of the native princes" (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 184).

349. *Lahm wadik*; on the other hand, Ms. B and Ibn al-Athir read *lahm wakhall*, "meat and vinegar."

350. Noted by Barthold, *Turkestan*³, pp. 181-82.

them until evening. Then they abstained from fighting, Musa's companions having sustained many wounds. In the morning, Musa gave them the order, and they shaved their heads, just as the Kharijis do,³⁵¹ and cut their tent poles,³⁵² just as the [Iranian] foreigners do when they [decide to] fight to the death. Musa said to Zur`ah b. `Alqamah, "Set off to Tarkhun and try a ruse on him." He came to him, and Tarkhun said to him, "Why have your companions done what they have done?" He said, "They have chosen to defy death, and what need do you have, O king, of killing Musa and [yourself] being killed? You will not get to him before there is killed among you[r] people the like of their number. If you were to kill him and all of them, you would not [thereby] gain good fortune, because he has high standing among the Arabs and no one will govern Khurasan without seeking to avenge his blood. If you get away safely from one [governor], you will not get away safely from another." [Tarkhun] said, "There is no way that I am going to leave Kish in his hand[s]." [Zur`ah] said, "Well, desist from him, so that he may depart." He desisted, and Musa came to al-Tirmidh, in which was a fortress next to the river, looking out over it. Musa happened upon one of the dihqans of al-Tirmidh coming from the fortress, [this] dihqan being someone who was avoiding the Tirmidh Shah. He said to Musa, "The lord of al-Tirmidh is reticent and extremely shy. If you treat him kindly and give him presents, he will let you into his fortress; for he is weak." [Musa] said, "Certainly not. I shall ask him to let me into his fortress." He then asked him, and [the Tirmidh Shah] refused. [At this,] Musa used guile on him,³⁵³ giving him presents and treating him kindly, until relations between them became good and [the Tirmidh Shah] came out [of his fortress]. They went out hunting together, with Musa going to great lengths in treating him kindly. The lord of al-Tirmidh prepared some food and sent to Musa, "I want to honor you. So take lunch with me and bring one hundred of your companions." Musa chose one hundred of his companions, and they entered [the city] on their horses. When

[1148]

351. For two examples, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqaq*, p. 217, and Ibn al-Jawzi, *Sirat `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz*, p. 78.

352. So understanding *s.f.n.a.t. akhibiyatihim*; see the comments in the *Glossarium*.

353. Reading *makarahu* (not *ma k.r.h.*), with Ibrahim.

[the horses] were in the city, they neighed to one another, and the people of al-Tirmidh augured evil and said to them, "Dismount! Dismount!" Then they were brought into a house fifty by fifty and given lunch. When they had finished the lunch, Musa reclined, and they³⁵⁴ said to him, "Get out!" He said, "I shall not [in the future be able to] take a house like this one; I shall not leave it until it is either my house or my grave," and they fought them in the city. A number of the people of al-Tirmidh were killed, the others fled, and [Musa and his companions] entered their dwellings. Musa took control of the city and said to the Tirmidh Shah, "Go forth! I shall confront neither you nor any of your companions." So the king and the people of the city set forth and went to the Turks, seeking their help. [The Turks] said to them, "A hundred men came in to you and expelled you from your land. We fought them at Kish. We shall not fight these [people again]." Musa stayed in al-Tirmidh, and his companions, who numbered seven hundred, came in to him. When his father was killed, he was joined by his father's companions, [they being] four hundred horsemen. He became strong and took to going out and making raids on those who were around him.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: The Turks sent some people to the companions of Musa to find out what he was up to. When they arrived, Musa said to his companions, "There has to be a stratagem for [dealing with] these [people]."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: That was [at a time of] the most intense heat. Musa then gave an order for fire, and it was kindled; he gave an order to his companions, and they put on winter clothes, and saddlecloths on top of those, and stretched out their hands to the fire as if warming themselves at it. Musa [now] gave permission to the Turks [to come in], and they entered and were fearful at what they saw. They said, "Why have you done this?" They said, "We find it cold at this time [of the year], and we find it hot in winter." [The Turks] returned and said, "[They are] jinn; we shall not fight them."

[1149]

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: The chief of the Turks wanted to campaign against Musa. He sent messengers to him, and he

354. In Ibn al-Athir's version, they are in the fortress, and it is the Tirmidh Shah who says what follows.

sent poison together with arrows in musk. He meant by the poison that fighting them was hard; the arrows [represented] war and the musk peace, [and his message was,] "Choose war or peace." [Musa] burned the poison, broke the arrows, and scattered the musk. The [Turks] said, "They don't want peace. [Musa] is letting [us] know that fighting them is like fire and that he will break us," and they did not campaign against them.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: Bukayr b. Wishah, as governor of Khurasan, neither confronted him nor sent anyone against him. Then Umayyah [b. ʿAbdallah b. Khalid b. Asid] came [as governor] and went in person seeking [Musa]; but Bukayr rebelled against him and renounced allegiance and he returned to Marw.355 When Umayyah made peace with Bukayr, he stayed put for that year. In the following year, he sent to Musa a man from Khuzaʿah with a large force. The people of al-Tirmidh went back to the Turks and asked for their help, but [the Turks] refused. [The people of al-Tirmidh] then said to them, "Some of their own people have campaigned against them and have besieged them; if you help us against them, we shall overcome them." [At this,] the Turks went with the people of al-Tirmidh in a large force, and Masa [found himself] surrounded by the Turks and the Khuzaʿi. He would fight the Khuzaʿi in the first part of the day and the Turks in the latter part; and [in this way] he fought them for two or three months. Musa then said to ʿAmr b. Khalid b. Husayn, who was a horseman, "This has gone on long [enough]. I have decided to make a night attack on the camp of the Khuzaʿi, for they think that they are safe at night. What do you think?" [ʿAmr] said, "A night action would be good, but let it be against the foreigners, for the Arabs are more wary, faster at repelling, and braver at night than the foreigners. So attack them by night, and I hope that God will help us against them. Then we shall be free to fight the Khuzaʿi, we being in the fortress and they being in the open; they are no abler in fortitude or more knowledgeable in war than we are."

[1150]

[ʿAli b. Muharemad] continued: Musa decided to make a night attack on the Turks. When a third of the night had passed, he set out with four hundred [men] and said to ʿAmr b. Khalid, "Set out

355. For the background on Bukayr and Umayyah (a Tamimi and a Qurashi, respectively), see Shaban, *The ʿAbbasid Revolution*, pp. 44-47.

after us and keep near us. When you hear our *takbir* (that is, our call "God is great"), make one yourselves." He went along the riverbank until he was upstream of the camp. Then he went by way of the district of Guftan,³⁵⁶ and, when he came near to their camp, he made his companions into "fourths" (*arba`*). Then he said, "Circle their camp, and, when you hear our *takbir*, make one yourselves," and he went on, with `Amr in front of him and [the others] going behind him. When the lookouts saw them, they said, "Who are you?" They replied, "People passing through."

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: When they had passed the lookout post, they split up, circled the camp, and made a *takbir*; the next thing the Turks knew was swords falling [upon] them, and they were stirred up, [began] killing one another, and fled. There were sixteen Muslim casualties. [The Muslims] then took possession of their camp and acquired arms and money. In the morning, the Khuza`i and his companions were shaken by that, feared a similar night attack, and were on their guard. `Amr b. Khalid said to Musa, "You'll only win with a stratagem. They have supplies, and they are numerous. Let me go to them. Maybe I shall gain the opportunity to be alone with their leader and kill him. [First] give me a beating." [Musa] said, "You [want to] rush into being beaten and to expose yourself to being killed?" [`Amr] said, "As for exposing myself to being killed, I do that every day. As for being beaten, how easy that is in comparison with what I intend." So [Musa] gave him a beating, fifty lashes, and [`Amr] left Musa's camp and went to the camp of the Khuza`i, seeking safety. He said, "I am one of the people of the Yemen, and I was with `Abdallah b. Khazim. When he was killed, I went to his son and stayed with him. I was the first to go to him. When I reached him, he suspected me, acted in a partisan fashion against me,³⁵⁷ and disliked me, saying to me, 'Your partisanship is with the enemy, and you are a spy of his.' He beat me, and I was not sure that I would not be killed; so I fled." The Khuza`i gave him a safe-conduct, and he stayed with him.

[1151]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: One day [`Amr] entered [into

356. If this is how *k.ftan* is to be rendered; Barthold (*Turkestan*³, p. 74) says that it "was probably in the southern part of the Surkhan valley, or somewhere west of it, in the present district of Shirabad." Shaban (*Abbasid Revolution*, p. 64) opts for "Kiftan (Kifyain)" (?).

357. So rendering *ta`assaba `alayya*.

the Khuza`i's presence] when he was unoccupied, and he saw no weapon with him. He said, as though offering him good advice, "May God cause you to prosper, someone like you, in a situation like yours, should at no time be without a weapon." [The Khuza`i] said, "I have a weapon with me," and he lifted the top part of his bedding, and there was an unsheathed sword. `Amr took it, struck him, and killed him; [then] he set off, riding his horse. [The Khuza`i's companions only] realized what [`Amr] had been up to when he was far away. They sought him, but he gave them the slip and reached Musa. That army [of the Khuza`i] then broke up: Some of them crossed the river, while others came to Musa seeking safe-conduct, which he granted.

Umayyah [b. `Abdallah] did not send anyone against [Ibn Khazim]. [`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Umayyah was dismissed, and al-Muhallab came as amir. He did not confront Ibn Khazim and said to his sons, "Beware of Musa. You will remain governors of this march as long as this heavy-bellied³⁵⁸ [fellow] stays in his place. If he is killed, the first person to come against you as amir of Khurasan will be a man from Qays." Al-Muhallab died without having sent anyone against [Musa]. Then Yazid b. al-Muhallab took over, and he did not confront him. Al-Muhallab had beaten Hurayth b. Qutbah al-Khuza`i, and [Hurayth] and his brother Thabit had gone off to Musa. When Yazid b. al-Muhallab became governor, he took their property and their womenfolk and killed their uterine brother al-Harith b. Munqidh, together with an affine of theirs who was the husband of Umm Hafs, the daughter of Thabit. What Yazid had done reached [Hurayth and Thabit].

[1152]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Thabit went to Tarkhun and complained to him of what [Yazid] had done to him. [Now] Thabit was much loved among the non-Arabs, enjoying wide renown; they honored him and guarded themselves [from anything untoward] by [invoking his name]. If one of them made a compact which he wished to fulfill, he would swear by the life of Thabit and would not break his word. Tarkhun became angry on his account and gathered Nizak, al-Sabal,³⁵⁹ and the people of Bukhara and al-

358. So rendering *thatt*, which can also mean "thin-bearded"; Ibn al-Athir gives *thabit*, "stupid."

359. The title of the ruler of al-Khuttal (Marquart, *Eranahr*, pp. 69-70, 302).

Saghaniyan;³⁶⁰ they went, together with Thabit, to Musa b. `Abdallah. [In the meantime,] there had fetched up with Musa the routed troops of `Abd al-Rahman b. al-`Abbas from Herat, the routed troops of Ibn al-Ash`ath from Iraq and the vicinity of Kabul, and Khurasani Tamimis who had been among those fighting Ibn Khazim in the civil war. Gathered with Musa were eight thousand [men] from Tamim, Qays, Rabi`ah, and Yemen. Thabit and Hurayth said to him, "Go until you cross the river and expel Yazid b. al-Muhallab from Khurasan; then we shall make you governor. Tarkhun, Nizak, al-Sabal, and the people of Bukhara are with you." He intended to do so, but his companions said to him, [1153] "Thabit and his brother acted unfaithfully to³⁶¹ Yazid. If you expel Yazid from Khurasan and they become safe, they will take charge and overcome you. So stay where you are." He accepted their opinion and stayed at al-Tirmidh. He said to Thabit, "If we expel Yazid, a[nother] governor of `Abd al-Malik's will come; we shall [instead] expel Yazid's governors in Transoxania, in the areas adjacent to us, and the region will be ours to devour." Thabit was satisfied with that and expelled those of Yazid's governors who were in Transoxania. The revenues³⁶² were transported to them, and they and Musa became strong. Tarkhun, Nizak, the people of Bukhara, and al-Sabal departed to their territories; Hurayth and Thabit ran affairs, while Musa was no more than nominal amir. Musa's companions said to him, "We don't see that you are any more than nominal amir, while Hurayth and Thabit are running affairs. Kill them and take charge." But he refused, saying, "I am not going to betray them after they have strengthened my rule." They, however, envied [Hurayth and Thabit] and pressed Musa in respect of them until they turned his heart [against them], making him fearful of their treachery. He [then] intended to help them in rising against Thabit and Hurayth, and matters became confused. While this was going on, there came against them the Hephthalites,³⁶³ the Tibetans,³⁶⁴ and the Turks, advancing in [an army numbering] seventy thousand, not counting those without

360. See *EI2*, s.v. Caghaniyan.

361. Preferring the variant *kha`inani li-* to the reading *kha'ifani li-*.

362. So rendering *al-amwal*.

363. Al-Hayatilah (see *EI2*, s.v.).

364. Al-Tubbat: See Dunlop, "Arab Relations with Tibet in the 8th and Early 9th Centuries A.D.," *Islam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 5 (1973), p. 304.

helmets and coats of mail and those with plain helmets, but counting only those with tapering helmets.³⁶⁵

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: Ibn Khazim went out to the suburb of the city with three hundred cataphracts. A chair was set up for him, and he sat upon it.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: Tarkhun ordered that the wall of the suburb be breached. Musa said, "Let them be," and they demolished [part of] it, and the first of them entered. Musa said, "Let them become [more] numerous," and he started to rotate an ax in his hand. When they had become numerous, he said, "Now resist them," and he rode and attacked them and fought them until he expelled them through the breach. Then he returned and sat on the chair. The king urged his companions to return, but they refused. He said, "This is Satan! He who wishes to look at Rustam should look at the man on the chair . . .;³⁶⁶ and he who refuses should advance upon him." Then the non-Arabs moved to the district of Guftan. [1154]

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: [The Turks and their allies] made a raid on Musa's cattle; he grieved, did not eat, and began to play with his beard. Then he went by night with seven hundred [men] by way of a river[bed] which led to their trench; [this riverbed] had plants on both sides³⁶⁷ and contained no water. In the morning, they were at the camp [of the enemy]. [Musa's] cattle came out, and [Musa himself] pounced on them and led them off; some of the [enemy] followed him and Sawwar, a mawla of Musa's, turned on them and speared one of them and felled him. [The others] turned back from them, and Musa was safe with the cattle.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: The non-Arabs renewed the fighting in the morning. Their king stood on a hill with ten thousand perfectly equipped [men]. Musa said [to his followers], "If you remove these [enemies], the rest will be [as] nothing." Hurayth b. Qutbah headed for them, fought them in the first part of the day, and pressed them hard until he removed them from the hill; [he] was on that day shot in the forehead by an arrow. They abstained from fighting [for a time], and Musa then staged a

365. So rendering *baydah dhat qunus* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1440a, s.v. *sunbuk*); the exaggeration is obvious.

366. The text seems to be corrupt here.

367. Reading *hafatayhi* (rather than *haf.y.t.h*), as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

night attack. His brother, Khazim b. `Abdallah b. Khazim, charged until he reached their king's candle bearers³⁶⁸ and stabbed one of them with the pommel of his sword; his horse was speared, ran off with him, and threw him into the Balkh river, where he drowned, wearing two coats of mail. The non-Arabs³⁶⁹ were killed quickly, and those who escaped were in a bad way. Hurayth b. Qutbah died after two days and was buried in his yurt.³⁷⁰

[1155]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Musa set off, and they carried the heads to al-Tirmidh, where they made them face each other in two pyramids.³⁷¹ News of the battle reached al-Hajjaj, who said, "Praise be to God, who has helped the hypocrites against the unbelievers." Musa's companions said, "We had had enough of Hurayth being in charge; [now] relieve us of Thabit." [Musa] refused. [Meanwhile,] some of what they were getting up to reached Thabit, who infiltrated into Musa's service Muhammad b. `Abdallah b. Marthad al-Khuza`i, the paternal uncle of Nasr b. `Abd al-Hamid, [who was later] Abu Muslim's governor of al-Rayy.³⁷² [Thabit] said to him, "Beware of speaking Arabic. If they ask you where you are from, say, 'From the captives of al-Bamiyan.'"³⁷³ [This Muhammad, then,] used to serve Musa and carry news about them to Thabit. [Thabit] said to him, "Remember what they say." Thabit was on his guard and used not to sleep until the young man returned. He ordered some of his *shakiriyyah* to guard him and spend the night with him in his house, they being accompanied by some Arabs.

The people put pressure on Musa and vexed him. One night he said to them, "You are going on at me too much. In what you desire [lies] your [own] destruction. You have wearied me. On what pretext will you murder him? I shall not act treacherously toward him." Nuh b. `Abdallah, the brother of Musa, said, "Leave him to us. When he comes to you in the morning, we shall take

368. Taking *shama`ah* to be the plural of *shami`*, as proposed in the *Glossarium* and the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

369. Ibn al-Athir reads *al-turk* where Tabari has *al-`ajam*.

370. So rendering *qubbah* here and in what follows in the contexts of Khurasan and Transoxania (i.e., the round tent-like structure used by Turkomans and others).

371. Literally, "two pavilions" (*jawsaqayni*).

372. This would have been in the early 130s (747ff.); al-Tabari makes no other reference to him.

373. *EI2*, s.v.

him off to one of the houses and behead him in it before he can reach you." [Musa] said, "By God, it will be the end of you, and you know best." The young man heard [all this], and he went to Thabit and told him. [Thabit] set off on that same night with twenty horsemen and went on his way. In the morning, [Musa's men] found that he had gone and did not know how they had been outmaneuvered. [Then] they missed the young man and knew that he had spied on them for [Thabit].

Thabit reached H.shwra³⁷⁴ and stopped at the city. There came out to him many people, both Arab and non-Arab. [When] Musa [learned of this, he] said to his companions, "You have opened a door against yourselves; close it," and [he] went against [Thabit]. Thabit came out to him in a large group and fought them. Musa ordered that the stockade be set on fire, and he fought them until [his men] forced Thabit and his companions to take refuge in the city and to fight [to repel] them from the city. Raqabah b. al-Hurt al-`Anbari³⁷⁵ advanced, plunged through the fire, and reached the door of the city. One of Thabit's companions was standing there guarding his companions, and [Raqabah] killed him. Then he returned, passing through the blazing fire, which caught the edges of a piece of dyed clothing he was wearing; he cast it from him and stopped. Thabit fortified himself in the city, and Musa stayed in the suburb.

[1156]

When he was traveling to H.shwra, Thabit had sent [word] to Tarkhun, and Tarkhun [now] came to help him. [News of the advent of Tarkhun reached Musa, who returned to al-Tirmidh. <Thabit and Tarkhun went after him, accompanied by>³⁷⁶ the people of Kish, Nasaf, and Bukhara, with [an army of] eighty thousand [men]. They besieged Musa and cut off his supplies, until [he and his followers] were severely affected. In going against Musa, the companions of Thabit used to cross a river in

374. Thus, too, in al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 418; Kh.shwra in Ms. P. This place remains to be identified; Shaban (*The `Abbasid Revolution*, p. 60) has it from Wellhausen that this was Khushwaragh (Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, p. 425, in fact says Khushwarâgh), but in neither case are we told where that may have been.

375. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

376. This rendering is inspired by Ibn al-Athir, where "Musa returned to al-Tirmidh" is followed by *wa-aqbala Thabit wa-Tarkhun wa-ma`ahuma*; in al-Tabari, however (and similarly in al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 418.17), it is followed simply by *a`anahu*, which suggests (wrongly, judging by the context) that the people of Kish, etc., were supporting Musa.

the daytime and go back to their camp at night. One day, Raqabah, who was a friend of Thabit's and had advised the companions of Musa against doing what they had done, came out, wearing a tunic of silk (*khazz*), and called Thabit to a duel. [Thabit] said to him, "How are you, O Raqabah?" [Raqabah] said, "Do not ask about a man wearing a garment made of silk in the most intense of the summer heat," and he complained to him of their condition. [Thabit] said, "You brought this upon yourselves." [Raqabah] said, "I did not [willingly] take part in what they did. I did not like what they wanted." Thabit said, "Where will you be until there comes to you what has been foreordained for you?" [Raqabah] said, "I shall be with al-Muhill al-Tufawi, a man from [the] Ya`sur³⁷⁷ [branch] of Qays"; al-Muhill was a drinker, and Raqabah stopped with him. [1157]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Thabit sent five hundred dirhams to Raqabah via `Ali b. al-Muhajir al-Khuza`i, [together with the message], "We have [some] merchants coming from Balkh. When it reaches you that they have arrived, send [word] to me and what you need will come to you." `Ali came to al-Muhill's door, and there were Raqabah and al-Muhill sitting with a large bowl of drink between them, together with a table on which were chickens and loaves of bread. Raqabah was touse-headed and wearing a red waist wrapper around his middle. [`Ali] handed him the bag [of dirhams] and delivered the message. [Raqabah] did not speak to him. He took the bag, gestured to him with his hand to get out, and did not speak to him.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Raqabah was a heavily built [man], sunken-eyed, prominent-cheeked, and gap-toothed, with a face [round? flat?] like a shield.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: When Musa's companions were in dire straits and the siege had intensified, Yazid b. Huzayl said, "These people will stay on [besieging us] with Thabit [as long as he is alive], and it is better to be killed than to die of hunger. By God, I shall murder Thabit or die [in the attempt]," and he went out to Thabit and asked him for a safe-conduct. Zuhayr said to [Thabit], "I know more about this [man] than you do. He has not come to you because he likes you or because he

377. Synonymous with A`sur (on this, see al-Zabidi, *Taj al-`arus*, vol. III, p.406, line 38), the father of the Banu al-Tufawah, Bahilah, and Ghani (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, vol. I, chart 92).

fears you. He has come to you in order to act treacherously. Beware of him and leave him to me." [Thabit] said, "I am not going to take measures against a man who has come to me without my knowing whether he is like that or not." [Zuhayr] said, "Let me take hostages from him," and Thabit sent [word] to Yazid, saying, "As for myself, I am not given to suspecting a man of treachery after he has asked for a safe-conduct, [but] your cousin knows more about you than I. So see to what he requires in order to deal with you." Yazid said to Zuhayr, "O Abu Sa`id, you are raising objections out of envy. Don't you think I have been humbled enough already? I had to leave Iraq and my family and came to Khurasan as you see. Doesn't [our] kinship make you sympathetic?" Zuhayr said to him, "By God, if I had had my own way, this would not have happened; but[, as it is,] give us your sons Qudamah and al-Dahhak as hostages." [Yazid] handed them over to them, and they were held by Zuhayr. [1158]

[Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Yazid kept looking out for inadvertency on the part of Thabit, and he was not able to do to him what he desired until one of the sons of Ziyad al-Qasir al-Khuza`i died. News of his death reached [Ziyad] from Marw, and Thabit courteously went out to console [him], accompanied by Zuhayr and a group of his companions, including Yazid b. Huzayl. The sun had set. When [Thabit] reached the river of al-Saghaniyan, Yazid b. Huzayl and two men who were with him tarried, Zuhayr and his companions having gone ahead. Yazid then drew near to Thabit and smote him: The sword bit into his head and reached the brain.

[Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Yazid and his two companions cast themselves into the river of al-Saghaniyan. [Zuhayr and his companions] shot at them: Yazid escaped by swimming, while his two companions were killed. Thabit was carried to his house. In the morning, Tarkhun sent [word] to Zuhayr, "Bring me the two sons of Yazid," and he brought them. Zuhayr [first] presented al-Dahhak b. Yazid, and [Tarkhun] killed him and threw [his cadaver] and his head into the river. [Zuhayr then] presented Qudamah so that [Tarkhun] might kill him. [Qudamah] turned and the sword hit his chest instead of cutting [his head off]; [Tarkhun] threw him into the river alive, and he drowned. Tarkhun said, "Their father and his treachery killed them." Yazid b. Huzayl said, "[In vengeance] for my sons, I shall kill every Khuza`i

in the city." `Abdallah b. Budayl b. `Abdallah b. Budayl b. Warqa', who was one of the routed troops of Ibn al-Ash`ath who had come to Musa, said to him, "If you want to do that to Khuza`ah, it will be difficult for you." Thabit lived for seven days and then died. Yazid b. Huzayl was a brave and generous [man], a poet, who governed the island of Ibn Kawan³⁷⁸ in the days of Ibn Ziyad. He said (*tawil*):

[1159]

I used to call upon God secretly and sincerely
to grant me taxes and legal income³⁷⁹
So that I might thereby leave Talhah³⁸⁰ forgotten
and my gifts and actions might thereby be praised.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: After the death of Thabit, Tarkhun took charge of the non-Arabs, and Zuhary took charge of the companions of Thabit. However, they were weak, and this became well known. Musa decided to attack them by night, and a man came and informed Tarkhun [of this]. Tarkhun laughed and said, "Musa is too weak to enter his [own] privy [unaided]! How can he stage a night attack against us? You have lost courage. No one will guard the camp tonight." When a third of the night had elapsed, Musa set out with eight hundred [men] whom he had mobilized in the daytime and had made into "fourths."

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: He placed in charge of one fourth Raqabah b. al-Hurr, over another his brother Nuh b. `Abdallah b. Khazim, over [the third] Yazid b. Huzayl, while he himself was over the fourth. He said to them, "When you enter their camp, spread out. Let no one of you pass anything without striking it." They entered their camp from four directions and did not pass any riding animal or man or tent or sack without striking it. Nizak heard the commotion, donned his arms, stood in the dark night, and said to `Ali b. al-Muhajir al-Khuza`i, "To to Tarkhun, let him know where I am, and ask him what he thinks I should do with [Musa]." [`Ali] came to Tarkhun and lo, he was in a tent, sitting on a chair, and his *shakiriyyah*³⁸¹ had lit fires before

378. I.e., Abarkawan or Barkawan or Kawan or Bani Kawan; also called Laft and now Qishm, being a large island near the mouth of the Persian Gulf (see Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 79, and vol. III, p. 837; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 261); *EI2*, s.v. Kishm.

379. Reading *wa-halali* (instead of *wa-rijali*), with Ms. P.

380. See n. 241 above.

381. See above, n. 140.

him. [ʿAli] delivered Nizak's message to him, and [Tarkhun] said, "Sit." He was raising his eyes in the direction of their camp and the noise when Mahmiyah al-Sulami came saying, "*Ha', mim*,³⁸² they will not be given victory."³⁸³ The *shakiriyyah* scattered, and Mahmiyah entered the tent. Tarkhun rose to [resist] him, and [Mahmiyah] came to him quickly. [Tarkhun] smote him and put him out of action. [1160]

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said; Tarkhun wounded him in the chest with the sharp edge of [his] sword, felled him, returned to his chair, and sat on it; Mahmiyah went out at a run.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: The *shakiriyyah* returned, and Tarkhun said to them, "You fled from a [single] man. Do you think, if it had been a fire, it would have burned more than one of you?" No sooner had he finished speaking than his slave girls entered the tent and the *shakiriyyah* fled out. He said to the slave girls, "Sit," and to ʿAli b. al-Muhajir, "Stand."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: The two of them went out and lo, there was Nuh b. ʿAbdallah b. Khazim in the ancillary tent. They wheeled about for a time and exchanged a couple of blows, but did nothing, and Nuh fled. Tarkhun followed [Nuh] and wounded his horse in its flank. [The horse] reared up, and both it and Nuh fell into the river of al-Saghaniyan. Tarkhun returned with his sword dripping with blood. He and ʿAli b. al-Muhajir went into the ancillary tent and then into the main tent. Tarkhun said to the slave girls, "Go back," and they went back into the ancillary tent. Tarkhun sent [word] to Musa, "Restrain your companions. We are moving out in the morning." Musa returned to his camp, and in the morning Tarkhun and all the non-Arabs moved out. Each person returned to its country.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: The people of Khurasan used to say, "We have never seen or heard of the like of Musa b. ʿAbdallah b. Khazim. He fought along with his father for two years. Then he went roaming about in the land of Khurasan until he came to a king and relieved him of his city and expelled him from it. Then

382. Seven surahs of the Qur'an begin with this pair of "mysterious letters" (see *EI2*, s.v. al-Kur'an [vol. V, pp. 412ff.]), but the words that follow it here are not matched by the words that follow it there.

383. Qur'an 3:111=107, 28:41, 41:16=15, 59:12. Al-Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p. 414) identifies *ha' mim la yunsaruna* as the battle cry of ʿAbdallah b. Khazim.

Arab and Turkish troops went to [fight] him, and he fought the Arabs in the first part of the day and the non-Arabs in the latter part of the day. He stayed in his fortress for fifteen years. Transoxania was his and no one strove with him to gain mastery over it."

[1161]

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: In Qumis there was a man called ʿAbdallah at whose place young men (*fityan*) would gather to keep one another company at his trouble and expense. [This man] incurred a debt, and he came to Musa b. ʿAbdallah, who gave him four thousand [dirhams]; he took them to his companions. The poet said, reproving a man called Musa (*tawil*):

You are not Moses, when he confided in his God,
nor [are you] the giver [to] young men,³⁸⁴ Musa b.
Khazim.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: When Yazid [b. al-Muhallab] was dismissed and al-Mufaddal took over, [al-Mufaddal] wanted to enjoy al-Hajjaj's favor by fighting Musa b. ʿAbdallah. He sent out ʿUthman b. Masʿud,³⁸⁵ whom Yazid had imprisoned, saying to him, "I want to send you against Musa b. ʿAbdallah." [ʿUthman said, "By God, he has killed people related to me without my having obtained revenge. I seek revenge for Thabit the son of my paternal aunt and for the Khuzaʿi. The treatment meted out to me and my family by your father and your brother has not been good. You (pl.) have imprisoned me and scared away my cousins and appropriated their property." Al-Mufaddal said to me, "Put [all] this aside. Go and exact your revenge," and he sent him off with three thousand [men] saying to him, "Order a crier to cry out, 'Whoever joins us will have a regular place in the army.'"³⁸⁶ He had that called out in the market, and people hastened to him. Al-Mufaddal wrote to [his brother] Mudrik, who was at Balkh, instructing him to go with [ʿUthman]. [ʿUthman] set forth and, when he was at Balkh, he went out one night touring the camp and heard a man say, "I have killed him, by God." [At this,] he returned to his companions and said, "Surely I shall kill Musa, by

[1162]

384. The text reads *al-qaynat*, "singing girls," while the *Addenda et Emendanda* propose *al-qinyan*, which is presumably to be regarded as a misprint for *al-fityan* ("young men") in view of the preceding story.

385. On him, cf. Ibn Aʿtham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, pp. 215-17, 229-30.

386. So rendering *fa-lahu diwan*.

the Lord of the Ka`bah."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: In the morning he set off from Balkh Mudrik went out sluggishly with him crossed the river and stopped with fifteen thousand [men] at an island at al-Tirmidh which is today called the Island of ʿUthman,³⁸⁷ on account of [his] stopping there. He wrote to al-Sabal and to Tarkhun, and they came to him. They besieged Musa and rendered him and his companions in straitened circumstances. Musa went out at night to Guftan, supplied himself with provisions from it, and then returned and remained for two months in a straitened condition. ʿUthman had dug a trench and was watching out for a night attack, so that Musa was not able to catch him off guard. [Musa] said to his companions, "How much longer? Let us make a sortie and make our battle day one of either victory or death"; and he said, "Head for Soghd and the Turks." Then he made a sortie, having left al-Nadr b. Sulayman b. ʿAbdallah b. Khazim in the city; he had said to him, "If I am killed, do not hand the city over to ʿUthman; hand it over to Mudrik b. al-Muhallab." He sortied and placed a third of his companions opposite ʿUthman, saying [to them], "Do not engage him unless he fights you." He [himself] headed for Tarkhun and his companions, and fought them gallantly. Tarkhun and the Turks were defeated, and [Musa and his men] took their camp and began to carry it off.

Mu`awiyah b. Khalid b. Abi Barzah looked at ʿUthman, who was on a non-Arabian horse belonging to Khalid b. Abi Barzah al-Aslami, and said, "Dismount, O amir." But Khalid said, "Do not dismount, Mu`awiyah brings ill luck.

The Soghdians and the Turks returned the charge and interposed themselves between Musa and the fortress. He fought them, and [his horse] was hamstrung and he fell. He said to a mawla of his, "Carry me." [The Mawla] said, "Death is disagreeable. Ride mounted behind me. If we escape, we shall both escape; if we perish, we shall both perish."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: [Musa] mounted behind him. ʿUthman looked at him when he jumped up and said, "A jump [by] Musa, by the Lord of the Ka`bah." [Musa was] wearing a helmet of his which was adorned with red silk (*khazz*) and had a blue sapphire at its top. [1163]

387. According to Barthold (*Turkestan*3, p. 75), this is "undoubtedly Aral-Payghambar."

ʿUthman came out of the trench and [he and his men] put Musa's companions to flight. Then [ʿUthman] headed for Musa. Musa's riding animal stumbled, and he and his mawla fell. [ʿUthman and his men] ran up to him, gathered around him, and killed him. ʿUthman's crier called out, "Do not kill anyone you encounter; take him prisoner."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: The companions of Musa scattered. Some of them were taken prisoner and were paraded before ʿUthman. When he was brought an Arab prisoner, he said, "Our blood is licit for you and your blood illicit for us," and he ordered that he be killed. When he was brought a mawla prisoner, he abused him and said, "These Arabs fight me. Why did you not become angry on my account?" and he ordered that he be beaten.³⁸⁸ He was rough and coarse. No prisoner greeted him on that day apart from ʿAbdallah b. Budayl b. ʿAbdallah b. Budayl b. Warqa' whose mawla he was; when [ʿUthman] saw him, he turned away from him and gestured with his hand that he should be released and Raqabah b. al-Hurr;³⁸⁹ when he was brought [the latter], he looked at him and said, "There was no great sin against us from this [fellow]; he was a friend of Thabit's and was with people to whom he acted loyally. The wonder is that you took him prisoner." They said, "His horse was wounded, and he fell off it into a deep hole and was taken prisoner." [ʿUthman] set him free and gave him a mount, saying to Khalid b. Abi Barzah, "Let him stay with you."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: The person who despatched Musa b. ʿAbdallah was Wasil b. Taysalah al-Anbari. One day ʿUthman looked at Zurʿah b. ʿAlqamah al-Sulami, al-Hajjaj b. Marwan, and Sinan al-Aʿrabi, [who were standing] to one side, and said to them, "You have a safe-conduct." The people suspected that he did not give them a safe-conduct until they wrote to him [and made an arrangement with him].

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: The city remained in the hands of al-Nadr b. Sulayman b. ʿAbdallah b. Khazim. He said, "I shall not hand it over to ʿUthman b. Muhammad, but I shall hand it over to Mudrik." He did so, and [Mudrik] gave him a safe-conduct and

[1164]

388. Ibn al-Athir makes it clear that the mawlas were set free after being beaten.

389. Al-Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p. 419) renders this name "Raqyah b. Al-H. rfanah."

handed [the city] over to `Uthman. Al-Mufaddal wrote of the conquest to al-Hajjaj. Al-Hajjaj said, "What an astonishing fellow Ibn Bahlah is! I order him to kill Ibn Samurah, and he writes to me that he is at death's door,³⁹⁰ and he [then] writes to me that he has killed Musa b. `Abdallah b. Khazim."³⁹¹

[`Ali b. Muhammad] said: Musa was killed in the year 85. Al-Bakhtari³⁹² mentioned that Maghra b. al-Mughirah b. Abi Sufrah killed Musa. He said (*tawil*):

The cavalry crushed Khazim, Nuh, and Musa at al-Tirmidh, as if crushed under the[ir] chests.

One of the army struck Musa's leg. When Qutaybah became governor, he was told about him and said, "What induced you to [do] what you did to the young man of the Arabs after his death?" [The man] said, "He had killed my brother." [Qutaybah] gave the order, and [the man] was killed in front of him.

In this year `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan wanted to remove his brother `Abd al-`Aziz [from the succession].³⁹³

[`Abd Al-Malik's Desire to Remove His Brother from the Succession]

Al-Waqidi mentioned that `Abd al-Malik intended that [removal] and Qabisah b. Dhu'ayb³⁹⁴ advised him against it, saying, "Do not do this; you will raise a rebellious voice against yourself. Maybe death will come to him and you will be relieved of him." `Abd al-Malik desisted from that, while yet yearning in his heart to remove [`Abd al-`Aziz]. [Then] there entered into his presence Rawh b. Zinba` al-Judhami,³⁹⁵ who was the person most respected by `Abd al-Malik. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you remove him, there will be no discord." [`Abd al-

390. Reading *li-ma bi-hi* in place of *li-ma'abihi*.

391. Ibn al-Athir adds at this point, "the killing of Musa did not please him because he was from Qays."

392. Correctly proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda* in preference to the form given in the text.

393. See al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, pp. 334-35) for a different account.

394. `Abd al-Malik's secretary and brother-in-law (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 128).

395. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100 (where the form "Zanba" is wrongly preferred).

Malik] said, "Do you think so, O Abu Zur`ah?" He said, "Yes, by God. I shall be the first to acquiesce in that." [`Abd al-Malik] said, "You advise me well, God willing." [1165]

[Al-Waqidi] said: While this was going on and `Abd al-Malik and Rawh b. Zinba` had fallen asleep Qabisah b. Dhu'ayb entered into their presence at night. `Abd al-Malik had previously instructed his chamberlains, "Qabisah is not to be kept from me, whatever time he may come, by night or by day, whether I am unoccupied or have a man with me. Even if I am with the women, he is to be brought into the session and I am to be informed of his position," and he would come in. He was in charge of the seal and the coinage; reports came to him before [they came to] `Abd al-Malik, and he would read letters before him; he would bring a letter to `Abd al-Malik unrolled and [`Abd al-Malik] would read it [all of this] being in honor of Qabisah. [Qabisah] entered into [`Abd al-Malik's] presence, greeted him, and said, "May God reward you,³⁹⁶ O Commander of the Faithful in respect of your brother!" He said, "Has he died?" [Qabisah] said, "Yes." `Abd al-Malik said, "We belong to God and to Him we return!" Then he advanced upon Rawh and said to him, "God has sufficed us, O Abu Zur`ah, with what we wanted and what we had decided on. That was contrary to [what] you [advised], O Abu Ishaq." Qabisah said, "What was that?" and [`Abd al-Malik] informed him of what had taken place. Qabisah said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the right opinion always lies in patience; in haste there is what there is."³⁹⁷ `Abd al-Malik said, "Many a time there can be much good in haste. You saw the affair of `Amr b. Sa`id al-Ashdaq. Wasn't haste in that better than patience?"

In this year `Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwan died in Egypt in Jumada I (May-June 704). `Abd al-Malik assigned his governorship to his son `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik and put him in charge of Egypt.

As for al-Mada'ini, he said in among what was related to us by Abu Zayd on his authority: Al-Hajjaj wrote to `Abd al-Malik commending to him the oath of allegiance to al-Walid [as heir to the caliphate], and he sent in that regard a delegation led by `Imran b. [1166]

396. *Ajaraka Allah (fi-)*, a standard form of condolence.

397. A polite expression of objection or contradiction (see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2466c).

`Imran b. `Isam al-`Anazi.³⁹⁸ `Imran stood up and gave an address, and the delegation spoke, and they urged `Abd al-Malik and asked him to do that. `Imran b. `Ism said (*wafir*):³⁹⁹

O Commander of the Faithful, to you we bring
from a distance a greeting and a salutation!
Acquiesce in what I want concerning your sons. Let
your response to me
be a noble action⁴⁰⁰ for them and a support
for us.

If I am to be obeyed in respect of al-Walid,
I make the caliphate and rule⁴⁰¹ over to him.
He resembles you. Quraysh surround his *qubbah*;⁴⁰²
through him the people seek rain from the clouds,
And he is like you in piety. He has not acted
childishly since the day
when he took off his necklaces and amulets.

If you prefer your brother for [the caliphate], we,
by your grandfather, are not able to level any
accusation against that;

But we are on our guard lest, through his sons,
the sons by different mothers, we be given
poison to drink.⁴⁰³

And we fear, if you place dominion among them,
clouds coming back to them without water.

Let not what you have milked [belong] tomorrow to
people [who are such that]
after tomorrow, your [own] sons will thirst.

398. Sayed, *Revolte*, pp. 351-52, no. 7.

399. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 241; *Aghani*², vol. XVII, p. 275; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 59.

400. The Baladhuri and *Aghani* variant *ukrumatan* seems preferable to *`adiyyatan* or *`ariyyatan*.

401. The Baladhuri and *Aghani* variant *wa'l-zimama* seems preferable to *wa'l-dhimama*.

402. Presumably, some sort of audience tent is meant.

403. The *Addenda et Emendanda* point out that the word *ma'tharatan*, which is given in the text at this point, "corrupta videtur," and propose instead *ma'i-datan*, i.e., "we are on our guard against . . . poisoned fare"; al-Baladhuri's *anusqa* seems preferable.

I swear, if `Isam⁴⁰⁴ were to go beyond me⁴⁰⁵
in that regard, I should not forgive him that.
If I gave my brother [something] for the sake of merit,
desiring thereby good repute and standing,
[That brother] would cause it to return to my sons, [1167]
to the exclusion of his [own] sons;
such [would be the case], or I would find some
[other] way of dealing with him.
He who has cleavages among his relatives,
the cleavage of dominion is the slowest to mend.

`Abd al-Malik said, "O `Imran, it is `Abd al-`Aziz [whom you are talking about]." He said, "Use artifice on him, O Commander of the Faithful!"

`Ali [b. Muhammad] said: `Abd al-Malik wanted to have the oath of allegiance to al-Walid [as heir] taken before the Ibn al-Ash`ath affair, because al-Hajjaj had sent `Imran b. `Isam [to him] in that [connection]. When `Abd al-`Aziz refused, `Abd al-Malik turned away from what he wanted until `Abd al-`Aziz died. When he wanted to remove `Abd al-`Aziz and have the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Walid, he wrote to his brother, "If you think it right to make this matter over to your nephew. . . ." [`Abd al-`Aziz] refused, and [`Abd al-Malik] wrote to him, "Well, let [the caliphate] be his after you, for he is the dearest of creation to the Commander of the Faithful." `Abd al-`Aziz wrote to him, "I see in Abu Bakr b. `Abd al-`Aziz what you see in al-Walid." `Abd al-Malik said, "O God, `Abd al-`Aziz has severed his relationship with me, and I shall sever mine with him," and he wrote to him, "Transport the revenue⁴⁰⁶ of Egypt [to me]." `Abd al-`Aziz wrote to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, you and I have both reached an age that no one in your family has reached without having only a little time left. Neither of us knows which of us will be reached by death first. If you are minded to make the rest of my life unpleasant for me, [by all means] do [so, but I would prefer otherwise]." [At this,] `Abd al-Malik became gentle and said, "By my

404. The poet's father.

405. Reading *takhattani* instead of *takhatta'ani*.

406. Thus rendering *kharai* here; Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 59) notes that `Abd al-`Aziz used to remit nothing.

life, I shall not make the rest of his life unpleasant for him," and he said to his two sons, "If God wants to give you [the caliphate], no one of his servants will be able to avert that"; and he said to his two sons, al-Walid and Sulayman, "Have you ever committed anything forbidden?" They said, "No, by God." He said, "God is great! You will gain it, by the Lord of the Ka`bah." [1168]

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: When ʿAbd al-ʿAziz refused to acquiesce in what ʿAbd al-Malik wanted, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "O God, ʿAbd al-ʿAziz has cut his relationship with me, and I shall cut mine with him," and, when ʿAbd al-ʿAziz died, the Syrians said, "[ʿAbd al-ʿAziz] has returned the Commander of the Faithful's affair to him; he made an invocation against him, and his call was answered."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: Al-Hajjaj wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik advising him to use Muhammad b. Yazid al-Ansari as a secretary. He wrote to him, "If you want a discreet, submissive, easy-tempered, intelligent, worthy, and trusty man, whom you may take for yourself and with whom you may lodge your secret[s] and that which you do not wish to be manifest, then take Muhammad b. Yazid." ʿAbd al-Malik [accordingly] wrote to [al-Hajjaj], "Convey him to me," and he did so, and ʿAbd al-Malik took him as a secretary.

Muhammad said: No letter reached [ʿAbd al-Malik] but that he passed it to me, and he concealed nothing but that he informed me of it, while keeping it from the people; nor did he write to any one of his governors but that he told me of it. I was sitting one day, in the middle of the daytime, when an official courier came from Egypt. He said, "[I request] permission to [meet] the Commander of the Faithful." I said, "This is not a time [when] permission [can be given]. Tell me what you have come for." He said, "No." I said, "If you have a letter, give it to me." He said, "No."

[Muhammad] continued: One of those who were present with me informed the Commander of the Faithful, and he came out and said, "What is this?" I said, "A messenger who has come from Egypt." He said, "Well, take the letter." I said, "He has claimed that he has no letter." He said, "Then ask him what he has come for." I said, "I have asked him, and he did not tell me." He said, "Bring him in," so I took him in and the messenger said, "May God reward you, O Commander of the Faithful, in respect

of `Abd al-`Aziz!" [`Abd al-Malik] said, "We belong to God and to Him we return!" and wept, and [then] remained silent with down-cast eyes for a time. Then he said, "May God have mercy on `Abd al-`Aziz! By God, `Abd al-`Aziz has passed on and left us and this life of ours," and the women and the people of the house wept. Then he summoned me on the next day and said, "`Abd al-`Aziz, may God have mercy on him, has gone on his way, and the people must have a waymark and someone to be in charge after me. Who do you think?" I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the lord of the people and the most pleasing and most worthy of them, al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik." He said, "You are right, may God grant you success! Who do you think should be after him?" I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, who other than Sulayman,⁴⁰⁷ the young man of the Arabs?" He said, "May you be granted success! If we were to leave [the caliphate] to Al-Walid, he would make it over to his sons. Write a covenant for al-Walid and [for] Sulayman after him!" So I wrote an oath of allegiance to al-Walid and then Sulayman after him. [At this,] al-Walid became angry with me. He did not put me in charge of anything after I had advised Sulayman's succession to him. [1169]

`Ali [b. Muhammad] said on the authority of Ibn Ju`dubah: `Abd al-Malik wrote to Hisham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi to summon the people [of Medina] to the oath of allegiance to al-Walid and Sulayman. They took the oath of allegiance, apart from Sa`id b. al-Musayyab,⁴⁰⁸ who refused and said, "I shall not take the oath of allegiance while `Abd al-Malik is alive." Hisham beat him violently, clad him in haircloth, and sent him to Dhubab,⁴⁰⁹ a mountain pass at Medina where they used to kill and crucify⁴¹⁰ [people]. He thought that they intended to kill him; but, when they got to that place with him, they brought him back, and he said, "Had I thought that they would not crucify me, I should not have worn haircloth drawers; but I said [to myself], 'They will crucify me, [1170]

407. Literally, "Where will you turn it away from Sulayman?"

408. For a view of Sa`id's role in the nascent religious law of the time, see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 15-17 and index.

409. Or Dhibab, which Yaqt knows simply as a mountain at Medina (*Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 716).

410. As Nöldeke pointed out (*ZDMG* 56 [1902], p. 433), Arab crucifixion appears usually to have involved headless cadavers; for an apparent exception, see Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 232.

and [the drawers] will cover up [my private parts]." News [of that] reached `Abd al-Malik, who said, "May God remove Hisham from all that is good! He should have summoned [Sa`id] to the oath of allegiance, and, on his refusing [to take it], he should [either] have beheaded him or have desisted from him."

In this year `Abd al-Malik had the oath of allegiance taken to al-Walid and then, after him, to Sulayman; and he made them the two heirs of the covenant of the Muslims. He sent his oath for them out in writing to [all Muslim] territories, and the people took the oath. Sa`id b. al-Musayyab[, however,] refrained from that, and Hisham b. Isma`il, who was `Abd al-Malik's governor of Medina, beat him, paraded him around, and imprisoned him. `Abd al-Malik wrote to Hisham, blaming him for what he had done in that regard. The beating consisted of sixty lashes, and he paraded him as far as the top of the mountain pass [clad] in breeches made of hair.

According to al-Harith Ibn Sa`d Muhammad b. `Umar al-Waqidi `Abdallah b. Ja`far and other companions of ours: `Abdallah b. al-Zubayr appointed over Medina Jabir b. al-Aswad b. `Awf al-Zuhri, who summoned people to the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr. Sa`id b. al-Musayyab said, "No. Not until the people are united," and Jabir gave him sixty lashes. That reached Ibn al-Zubayr, who wrote to Jabir blaming him and saying, "Why should we bother with Sa`id? Leave him."

According to al-Harith Ibn Sa`d Muhammad b. `Umar `Abdallah b. Ja`far and other companions of ours: `Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwan died in Egypt in Jumada (*sic*) 84 (*sic*: May-June or June-July 703). `Abd al-Malik then made the covenant to his two sons al-Walid and Sulayman, and sent the written oath to them to the territories. His governor [of Medina] at the time was Hisham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi, who summoned the people to the oath. They took it, and he summoned Sa`id b. al-Musayyab to take the oath. He refused, saying, "No. I'll see." Hisham b. Isma`il gave him sixty lashes and paraded him in breeches made of hair as far as the top of the mountain pass. When they brought him back, he said, "Where are you bringing me back to?" They said, "To prison." He said, "By God, had I not thought it was going to be crucifixion, I should never have worn these breeches." [Hisham] returned him to the prison and detained him, and he wrote to

[1171]

ʿAbd al-Malik informing him of [Saʿid's] disobedience and what had happened. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to him blaming him for what he had done and saying, "There is more need to draw Saʿid close [to you] by kind treatment of his kindred than to beat him. We know that he has no dissension or disobedience in him."⁴¹¹

The pilgrimage was led in this year by Hisham b. Ismaʿil al-Makhzumi: Thus it was related to us by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. ʿIsa on the authority of Abu Maʿshar; and al-Waqidi said the same. The governor of the East, together with Iraq, in this year was al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf.

411. Cf. the accounts of this episode given by Khalifah (*Ta'rikh*, pp. 290-91).

The Events of the Year 86
(January 2December 22, 705)

[The Death of `Abd Al-Malik]

One of [the events that took place] in [this year] was the death of [1172]
`Abd al-Malik b. Marwan in the middle of Shawwal (early-mid
October).

According to Ahmad b. Thabithim who mentioned it on the
authority of Ishaq b. `IsaAbu Ma`shar: `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan
died on Thursday in the middle of Shawwal in the year 86. His
caliphate [lasted] ten years and five months.

As for al-Harith, he related to me on the authority of Ibn Sa`d on
the authority of Muhammad b. `Umar, who said: Shurahbil b. Abi
`Awn related to me on the authority of his father: The people
became unanimous about `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan in the year 73
(692-93).

According to Ibn `UmarAbu Ma`shar Najih: `Abd al-Malik died
in Damascus on Thursday in the middle of Shawwal in the year 86.
His rule, from the day when the oath of allegiance was taken to
him until the day he died, was twenty-one years and one and a half
months. For nine of these years, he was fighting Ibn al-Zubayr and
was recognized as caliph in Syria; then [he was recognized as
caliph] in Iraq, after Mus`ab had been killed, and remained [so

recognized] after `Abdallah b. al-Zubayr had been killed. The people were unanimous about him for thirteen years and four months, less seven nights.

As for `Ali b. Muhammad al-Mada'ini, he, according to what Abu Zayd related to us on his authority, said: `Abd al-Malik died in Damascus in the year 86. His rule [lasted] thirteen years, three months and fifteen days. [1173]

Report on His Age When He Died

The biographers (*ahl al-siyar*) differ in that [regard]. According to al-Harith Ibn Sa`d Muhammad b. `Umar Abu Ma`shar Najih: `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan died aged sixty.

Al-Waqidi said: It has been related to us that he died when he was fifty-eight.⁴¹²

[Abu Ja`far] said: The first [of these reports] is more secure, [since] it conforms with his birth date. He was born in the year 26, in the caliphate of `Uthman b. `Affan, may God be pleased with him, and he witnessed the Yawm al-Dar⁴¹³ with his father when he was ten.

Al-Mada'ini, `Ali b. Muhammad, said, in among what Abu Zayd mentioned on his authority: `Abd al-Malik died at the age of sixty-three.

His Descent and His Teknonym (Kunyah)⁴¹⁴

As for his descent, [he was] `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan b. al-Hakam b. Abi al-`As b. Umayyah b. `Abd Shams b. `Abd Manaf. As for his *kunyah*, [it was] Abu al-Walid. His mother [was] `A'ishah bt. Mu`awiyah b. al-Mughirah b. Abi al-`As. b. Umayyah. To [`Abd al-Malik] Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyat says (*kamil*):⁴¹⁵

412. Cf. al-Baladhuri (*AAC*, p. 152), who cites al-Waqidi to the effect that `Abd al-Malik was fifty-three when he died.

413. I.e., the occasion of the murder of the Caliph `Uthman in Dhu '1-Hijjah 35 (June. 656).

414. See *EI2*, s.v.

415. On the poet, see *EI2*, s.v. Ibn Kays al-Rukayyat, and Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 418-19; regarding the following verses, cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, pp. 152-53; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 399; and *Der Dîwâ des `Ubayd-Allâh Ibn Kais ar-Rukajjât*, pp. 215-16 (where further parallels are given).

You are the son of `A'ishah, who
excelled her fellow women in descent.
She paid no attention to her coevals
and went off on her own sweet way.

His Children and Wives [1174]

Among them were al-Walid, Sulayman, Marwan al-Akbar (who was without issue), and `A'ishah: Their mother was Walladah bt. al-`Abbas b. Jaz` b. al-Harith b. Zuhayr b. Jadhimah b. Rawahah b. Rabi`ah b. Mazin b. al-Harith b. Qutay`ah b. `Abs b. Baghid.

Yazid, Marwan, Mu`awiyah (who was without issue), and Umm Kulthum: Their mother was `Atikah bt. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah b. Abi Sufyan.

Hisham, whose mother was Umm Hisham bt. Hisham b. Isma`il b. Hisham b. al-Walid b. al-Mughirah al-Makhzumi. Al-Mada'ini said: Her name was `A'ishah bt. Hisham.

Abu Bakr, whose name [was] Bakkar. His mother was `A'ishah bt. Musa b. Talhah b. `Ubaydallah.

Al-Hakam, who died without issue. His mother was Umm Ayyub bt. `Amr b. `Uthman b. `Affan.

Fatimah bt. `Abd al-Malik, whose mother was Umm al-Mughirah bt. al-Mughirah b. Khalid b. al-`As b. Hisham b. al-Mughirah.

`Abdallah, Maslamah, al-Mundhir, `Anbasah, Muhammad, Sa`id al-Khayr, and al-Hajjaj, who [were born] to *ummahat awlad*.⁴¹⁶

Al-Mada'ini said: His wives, other than those we have mentioned, were (a) Shaqra' bt. Salamah b. Halbas al-Ta'i, (b) a daughter of `Ali b. Abi Talib's,⁴¹⁷ peace be upon him, and (c) Umm Abiha bt. `Abdallah b. Ja`far.

Al-Mada'ini mentioned on the authority of `Awanah and others than him that Salamah b. Zayd b. Wahb b. Nubatah al-Fahmi entered into `Abd al-Malik's presence and [`Abd al-Malik] said to [1175]

416. Plural of *umm walad*, a "female slave who has borne a child to her owner" (Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic law*, index).

417. Thus, too, in al-Baladhuri, AAC, p. 160, but according to Ibn al-Athir this is untrue.

him, "Which time you have experienced is the noblest and which of the kings the most endowed with perfection?" [Salamah] said, "As for kings, I have only seen those who can be both blamed and praised; as for time, it raises some people and lays others low. Everyone blames his own time, because it wears out the new and renders the young decrepit; all that is in it becomes cut short, except for hope." [ʿAbd al-Malik] said, "Tell me about Fahm." [Salamah] said, "They are just as the one who said [the following verses] said (*khafif*):418

Night and day crept over Fahm
b. ʿAmr and they became like old bones.
Their abode became desolate,
after glory, wealth and ease.
Thus does time put an end to
people; their abodes remain like traces."

[ʿAbd al-Malik] said, "And which of you says (*wafir*):

I have seen people since time began,
liking him who is rich among men,
Even if the rich man does little good
and is niggardly, giving out small amounts.
I do not know why this should be so,
and what people can hope for from misers.
Is it for material gain? There is no material gain,
nor can he be hoped [to help] when the nights
bring disaster."

[Salamah] said, "I."

ʿAli [b. Muhammad] said: Abu Qatifah ʿAmr b. al-Walid b.
ʿUqbah b. Abi Muʿayt said to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan (*tawil*):419

I have been informed that Ibn al-Qalammas⁴²⁰ has
stigmatized me,

418. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, pp. 198-99.

419. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 424-25; regarding the following verses, cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, pp. 212-13; *Aghani*², vol. I, p. 34.

420. Or al-ʿAmallas; according to Ibn Manzur (*Lisan al-ʿArab*, s.vv.), *qalammas* means "great lord" or "bountiful," while *ʿamallas* means "vicious wolf" or "vicious dog." It is not clear who is meant here.

and who among people is wholly free of fault?
 The chief of his people sees the paths of what is right, [1176]
 and the beturbaned leader may see what is right.
 [But] who are you? Tell me, who are you,
 when things are now visible, now concealed?

`Abd al-Malik said, "I did not think that the likes of us would have 'Who are you?' said to him. By God, but for what I know, I should have said something which would have caused you to join your base ancestors and should have had you beaten to death."

`Abdallah b. al-Hajjaj al-Tha`labi said to `Abd al-Malik (*rajaz*):421

O Ibn Abi al-`As, O best of young men,
 you are the preserver of the religion if the
 religion becomes frail.
 You are the one who does not let rule be of no avail;
 Quraysh are rent from you, just as the mill
 stone is rent [from its pivot].422
 Abu al-`As.and in this he excelled
 gave his sons advice which they heeded,
 That they should kindle war and reject what he rejected,
 [sons] who thrust fiercely at necks and kidneys,
 And advance boldly with swords
 to the fighting, and gather together [the like
 of] what he gathered.

A`sha Bani Shayban said (*kamil*):423

All of Quraysh acknowledge [1177]
 that rule belongs to the sons of Abu al-`As,
 To the most pious and deserving of them,
 as determined by consultation.
 They defend what they govern,

421. On this poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 353-54; regarding the following verses, cf. *Aghani*2, vol. XIII, p. 169.

422. Reading *jiba* and *jawba* in place of *hiba* and *hawba*, as is suggested in the *Addenda et Emendanda*, the signification being that "you" are the center and "Quraysh" are around "you"; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 479b.

423. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 330; regarding the following verses, cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 213; Geyer, *The Díwán of al-A`shà*, p. 280.

and benefit those who are in distress.
Of Quraysh they are the most deserving of it
(i.e., the Caliphate),
in good times and in bad.

ʿAbd al-Malik said, "I do not know that anyone had a stronger hold on this rule than I. Ibn al-Zubayr prayed long and fasted much, but, because of his avarice, he was not fitted to be a leader."

THE CALIPHATE OF
AL-WAHD B. `ABD AL-MALIK

The Events of the Year 86 (cont'd)
(January 2December 22, 705)

In this year the oath of allegiance was taken to al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik as caliph. It has been mentioned that, when he had buried his father, he departed from his grave, entered the mosque, and ascended the pulpit. The people gathered to him, and he made an address. He said, "To God we belong and to Him shall we return. God is the One Whose aid is sought against our loss at the death of the Commander of the Faithful. Praise be to God for having bountifully bestowed the caliphate on us. Stand and take the oath of allegiance." The first to stand for the oath was `Abdallah b. Hammam al-Saluli. He stood, saying (*rajaz*):⁴²⁴

God has given you that which cannot be excelled;
heretics have wished to divert it
From you, but God insisted on leading it
to you, until he invested you with its neck ring.

And he took the oath of allegiance to him. Then the people followed one another in taking the oath. [1178]

As for al-Waqidi, he mentioned that al-Walid, when he came back from the burial of his father he was buried outside Bab al-

424. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *AAC*, p. 27; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 411; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 70.

Jabiyah⁴²⁵ did not go into his house but [instead] ascended the pulpit of Damascus, praised God and extolled Him as He deserves, and then said,⁴²⁶ "O people, there can be no hastening of that which God has delayed, nor any delaying of that which God has hastened. Death is part of God's decree, of His prior knowledge, and of what He has written for His prophets and the bearers of His throne. The one charged with this community has taken to the dwelling places of the pious that which justifies for God [whatever He may dispense] by way of severity toward him who occasions doubt and gentleness toward the people of right and merit, [the people who] establish such of the beacon of Islam and its waymarks as God has established, by making the pilgrimage to this House, campaigning against these frontier ways of access, and waging these wars on the enemy of God. He (i.e., `Abd al-Malik) was neither incapable nor remiss. O people, incumbent upon you are obedience and cleaving to the collective body, for Satan is with the individual. O people, he who reveals to us his inner thoughts (that is, of opposition), we shall smite that in which his eyes are; and he who remains silent will die of his malady (that is, of his rancor)."⁴²⁷ Then he descended, looked at what there was of the . . .⁴²⁸ of the caliphate, and took it for himself. He was a froward tyrant.⁴²⁹

In this year Qutaybah b. Muslim arrived in Khurasan as governor on behalf of al-Hajjaj.

According to `Ali b. Muhammad Kulayb b. Khalaf Tufayl b. Mirdas al-`Ammi and al-Hasan b. Rushayd Sulayman b. Kathir al-`Ammi his paternal uncle: I saw Qutaybah b. Muslim when he arrived in Khurasan in the year 86. He arrived while al-Mufaddal, who intended to campaign in Akharun and Shuman,⁴³⁰ was reviewing the army. Qutaybah addressed the people and urged them

[1179]

425. The west gate of Damascus (*EI2*, s.v. Dimashk [vol. II, p. 279]), al-Jabiyah itself being situated about 80 km to the south of Damascus (*EI2*, s.v. al-Djabiya).

426. Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 91, for what follows.

427. Also in al-Ya`qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 338, and *Kitab al-`uyun wa'l-hada'iq*, p. 2.

428. The text gives here *al-dawabb*, "the riding animals" (as does Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 70), which can hardly be right.

429. To use Arberry's rendering of the expression *jabbar `anid*, which occurs in the Qur'an 11:59=62 14:15=18); cf. al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, vol. V, p. 360 = par. 2114.

430. See above, n. 336 (first part).

to wage holy war. He said, "God has caused you to alight in this place so that He may make His religion strong, protect sacred things by means of you, and through you increase the abundance of wealth and the meting out of harsh treatment to the enemy. He promised His Prophet, may God bless him, in true speech and an articulate book and said, 'It is He who has sent His Messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make it victorious over all religion, though the unbelievers be averse';⁴³¹ and He promised those who strive on His path the best reward and the greatest resource with Him. He said, 'That is because they are smitten neither by thirst, nor fatigue, nor emptiness on the path of God' up to where He says, 'the best of what they were doing.'⁴³² Then He gave the information concerning him who is killed on His path, that he is alive and provided for. He said, 'Count not those who were slain on God's path as dead, but rather living with their Lord, by Him provided.'⁴³³ So fulfill the promise of your Lord and habituate yourselves to the greatest of distances and the sharpest⁴³⁴ of pains; and beware of looking for easy ways out."⁴³⁵

What Happened to Qutaybah in Khurasan
in this Year⁴³⁶

Qutaybah then reviewed the army, complete with weapons and animals, and went off, having deputed at Marw over its military affairs (*harb*) Iyas b. `Abd Allah b. `Amr and over its taxation (*kharaj*) `Uthman b. al-Sa`di. When he was at al-Talaqan, he was met by the dihqans of Balkh and some of their dignitaries, who went with him. When he crossed the river, he was met with gifts and a gold key⁴³⁷ by Tish⁴³⁸ al-A`war, the king of al-Saghaniyan, who invited him to his country. Then there came to him⁴³⁹ with

[1180]

431. Qur'an, 9:33, 61:9.

432. Qur'an, 9:120f. = 121-22.

433. Qur'an, 3:169 = 163.

434. Reading *amadd* in place of *amda*.

435. This address is given in abbreviated form by Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 217).

436. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 31-32.

437. Thus too in al-Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p. 419); "keys," according to Ibn al-Athir.

438. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see Marquart, *Eransahr*, pp. 70. 226-27); see also the remarks of Bosworth, "The Rulers of Chaghaniyan in Early Islamic Times," *Iran* 19 (1981), p. 17, n. 10.

gifts and wealth the king of Guftan,⁴⁴⁰ who [also] invited him to his country. He went with Tish to al-Saghaniyan and handed his country [back] to him. [Now] the king of Akharun and Shuman had been a bad neighbor to Tish, having campaigned against him and hemmed him in; Qutaybah went to Akharun and Shaman, which [formed part] of Tukharistan,⁴⁴¹ and Ghushtasban⁴⁴² came to him and made peace with him in return for tribute which he made over to him. Qutaybah accepted it and was satisfied.

Then he departed for Marw and deputed over the army his brother, Salih b. Muslim; he went ahead of his troops and reached Marw before them. After Qutaybah's return [to Marw], Salih conquered . . . ;⁴⁴³ he was accompanied by Nasr b. Sayyar, who showed valor on that day, and he gave him a village called Tinjanah.⁴⁴⁴ Then Salih went to Qutaybah, who appointed him over al-Tirmidh.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: As for the Bahilis, they say [that] Qutaybah arrived in Khurasan in the year 85. He reviewed the army and the total of the coats of mail they counted was 350. He campaigned against Akharun and Shuman, and then came back; he embarked in boats, went downstream to Amul, and left the army, which took the Balkh road to Marw. [News of that] reached al-Hajjaj, who wrote to him blaming him and impugning his decision to leave his army. He wrote to him, "If you are on campaign, be at the head of the people; if you come back, be among the last of them and [in] the rear guard." [1181]

439. Ignoring the second component of *fa-ata-hu wa-ata*.

440. See above, n. 356.

441. In this connection, Wellhausen noted (*Arab Kingdom*, p. 430) that, while Tukharistan was "properly speaking, the mountainous country on both sides of the middle Oxus as far as Badakhshân . . . usually only the country south of the Oxus is understood under this name." Barthold states simply that "the term 'Turkharistan' was also used in a much broader sense to embrace all the provinces on both shores of the Amu-Darya which were economically dependent on Balkh" (*Turkestan*³, p. 68).

442. Following Marquart's reading (*Eransahr*, p. 226), rather than the form given in the text (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 372).

443. Two unclear components. According to the *Addenda et Emendanda*, the first of these is to be read as Basara or Basaran, on which see Marquart, *Eransahr*, p. 227 (for further discussion, see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 70, n. 1); note, however, that the parallel passage in al-Baladhuri's *Futuh* (p. 420) reads "Kasan and Urasht (leg. Urast) in Farghanah."

444. Not even Marquart knows more about this place.

It has been said that, before he crossed the river, Qutaybah in this year stayed [to take action] against Balkh, because some of it was in revolt against him and had waged open war against the Muslims. He accordingly fought its people, and one of the captives was the wife of Barmak, the father of Khalid b. Barmak; Barmak was in charge of al-Nawbahar.⁴⁴⁵ [This woman] fell to the lot of `Abdallah b. Muslim, called al-Faqir ("the poor one"),⁴⁴⁶ the brother of Qutaybah b. Muslim, and he had sexual relations with her; he suffered from elephantiasis. Then the people of Balkh made peace on the day after Qutaybah had made war on them, and Qutaybah ordered that the captives be returned. Barmak's wife said to `Abdallah b. Muslim, "O Arab, I have conceived by you," and `Abdallah, who was at death's door, made a testamentary disposition that what was in her womb should be brought to him. She was returned to Barmak.

It has been mentioned that, in the days of al-Mahdi, when [the latter] arrived at al-Rayy, the descendants of `Abdallah b. Muslim went to Khalid [b. Barmak] and asserted his relationship to them. Muslim b. Qutaybah said to them, "If you claim him as a relative and that is formalized, you will have to provide him with a wife [from your family]," so they left him and turned away from their claim.

Barmak was a physician: He subsequently cured Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik] of a malady he was suffering from.

In this year Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik made a campaign in Byzantine territory.

In it, too, al-Hajjaj imprisoned Yazid b. al-Muhallab; he also dismissed Habib b. al-Muhallab from Kirman and `Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab from [the command of] his police. [1182]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Hisham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi: Thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar; and al-Waqidi said the

445. See *EI2*, s.v. al-Baramika, and R. W. Bulliet, "Naw Barar and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism," *Iran* 14 (1976), pp. 140-45.

446. According to al-Tha`alibi, he acquired this sobriquet because of his persistent pleading of poverty when importuning Qutaybah for extra shares of booty (*Lata'if al-ma`arif*, p. 40 [English trans., p. 59]).

same. The amir over the whole of Iraq and the whole of the East was al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf; over civilian affairs (*salat*) at al-Kufah was al-Mughirah b. `Abdallah b. Abi `Aqil, and over military affairs (*harb*) there, on behalf of al-Hajjaj, was Ziyad b. Jarir b. `Abdallah; over al-Basrah was Ayyub b. al-Hakam;⁴⁴⁷ and over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim.

447. See above, n. 82.

The Events of the Year 87
(December 23, 705December 11, 706)

In this year al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik dismissed Hisham b. Isma`il from Medina. [Notice of] his dismissal arrived [there], according to what has been mentioned, on the night of Sunday, 7 Rabi` 1 (February 26) in the year 87. His governorship there lasted four years, less a month or so.

[The Appointment of `Umar B. `Abd Al-`Aziz
As Governor of Medina]

In this year, too, al-Walid put `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz in charge of Medina.

Al-Waqidi said: He arrived there as governor in the month of Rabi` I, aged twenty-five, having been born in the year 62 (681-82). [Al-Waqidi also] said: He arrived [with his baggage] on thirty camels and stopped at Dar Marwan.⁴⁴⁸

According to [al-Waqidi] `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi al-Zinad

448. Which apparently served as the governor's residence. The Marwan in question was Marwan b. al-Hakam, who had himself served two terms as governor of Medina (de Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 24); for an earlier reference to his *dar*, see al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. ii, p. 164, 1.6.

his father: When `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz arrived at Medina and stopped at Dar Marwan, the people came into his presence and greeted [him]. When he had prayed the noontime prayer, he summoned ten of the jurists of Medina, [namely,] `Urwah b. al-Zubayr, `Ubaydallah b. `Abdallah b. `Utbah, Abu Bakr b. `Abd al-Rahman, Abu Bakr b. Sulayman b. Abi Hathmah,⁴⁴⁹ Sulayman b. Yasar, al-Qasim b. Muhammad, Salim b. `Abdallah b. `Umar, `Abdallah b. `Abdallah b. `Umar, `Abdallah b. `Amir b. Rabi`ah, and Kharijah b. Zayd. They entered into his presence and sat down. He then praised God and extolled Him as He deserves, and said, "I have summoned you for a matter for which you will be rewarded and in which you will be helpers [in achieving] what is right. I do not wish to make any decision without [knowing] your opinion or [at least] the opinion of those of you who are present. If you see anyone transgressing, or [information about] injustice on the part of [any] [sub]governor of mine reaches you, I entreat you, in such circumstances, to inform me." Then they went out, saying, "May God reward you with good," and dispersed.

[1183]

[Abu Ja`far?] said: Al-Walid wrote to `Umar, instructing him to make Hisham b. Isma`il stand before the people; [al-Walid] had a poor opinion of [Hisham].

Al-Waqidi said: Dawud b. Jubayr said: The *umm walad*⁴⁵⁰ of Sa`id b. al-Musayyab informed me that Sa`id summoned his son and his mawlas and said, "This man will be made to stand before the people, or has been, and let no one confront him or harm him with a [single] word; we shall leave that to God and [his] kindred, even if what I know is no good for him. As for speaking to him, I shall never speak to him."

[Al-Waqidi] said: Muhammad b. `Abdallah b. Muhammad b. `Umar related to me on the authority of his father: Hisham b. Isma`il used to be a bad neighbor and harm us; `Ali b. al-Husayn⁴⁵¹ met with serious harm from him. When [Hisham] was dismissed, al-Walid ordered that he be made to stand before the people, and he said, "I fear only `Ali b. al-Husayn." `Ali b. al-Husayn went past him when he had been made to stand at Dar Marwan, having previously told his intimates that no one of them should confront

[1184]

449. Hathmah is proposed by the *Addenda et Emendanda* in preference to Khaythamah. For Kharijah cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 41-42.

450. Cf. above, n. 416.

451. I.e., `Ali b. al-Husayn Zayn al-`Abidin, grandson of `Ali b. Abi Talib.

Hisham with a [single] word. When [ʿAli] passed, Hisham b. Ismaʿil called out to him, "God knows very well where to place His messages."⁴⁵²

In this year Nizak went to Qutaybah, and Qutaybah made peace with the people of Badghis on the basis that he would not enter it.

[Qutaybah's Peace Agreement with the People of Badghis]⁴⁵³

ʿAli b. Muhammad mentioned that Abu al-Hasan al-Jushami informed him on the authority of Khurasani shaykhs and Jabalah b. Farrukh on the authority of Muhammad b. al-Muthanna that there were Muslim prisoners in the hands of Nizak Tarkhan. When Qutaybah made peace with the king of Shuman, he wrote to [Nizak] concerning those Muslim prisoners whom he had, [telling him] to release them and threatening him in his letter. Nizak feared him, set the prisoners free, and sent them to Qutaybah. Qutaybah then sent to him Sulaym al-Nasih, mawla of ʿUbaydallah b. Abi Bakrah, calling him to peace and a safe-conduct. [Qutaybah] also sent him a letter in which he swore by God that, if [Nizak] did not go to him, he would campaign against him and pursue him wherever he might be, not turning back from him until he either defeated him or died before so doing. Sulaym brought Qutaybah's letter to Nizak, and [Nizak] took to seeking [Sulaym's] advice. He said to him, "O Sulaym, I do not think that your friend has any good [in mind]. He has written to me a letter [of the sort] that should not be written to someone like me." Sulaym said to him, "O Abu al-Hayyaj, this man is severe in his government, easygoing when he is treated gently, and difficult when he is treated badly. Do not let the coarseness of his letter prevent you from [going to] him. You will be very well treated by him and by all of Mudar." Nizak accordingly went with Sulaym to Qutaybah and, the people of Badghis made peace with [Qutaybah] in the year 87 on the basis that he would not enter Badghis.

[1185]

In this year Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik campaigned in Byzan-

452. Thus, too, in al-Yaʿqubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 339; cf. Qur'an, 6:124 (which has *risalatahu*, in the singular). The remark was presumably intended as a compliment to ʿAli b. al-Husayn in his capacity as a member of the Ahl al-Bayt.

453. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 32.

tine territory accompanied by Yazid b. Jubayr.⁴⁵⁴ He encountered a large force of Byzantines at Susanah⁴⁵⁵ in the region of al-Massisah.

Al-Waqidi said: In [this year] Maslamah encountered Maymun al-Jurjumani⁴⁵⁶ with Maslamah there were about one thousand fighting men from the people of Antakiyah⁴⁵⁷ at Tuwanah.⁴⁵⁸ He killed many of [the enemy], and at his hands God conquered fortresses.

It has been said that the person who campaigned against the Byzantines in this year was Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik, at whose hands God conquered the fortress of Bulaq, the fortress of al-Akhram, and the fortress of Bulus and Qumqum.⁴⁵⁹ He killed about one thousand *musta`ribah*⁴⁶⁰ fighting men and took their offspring and women captive.

In this year Qutaybah campaigned against Paykand.⁴⁶¹

Report of [Qutaybah's] Campaign [against Paykand]

According to `Ali b. Muhammad Abu 'l-Dhayyalal-Muhallab b. Iyashis father Husayn b. Mujahid al-Razi and Harun b. `Isa Yunus b. Abi Ishaq and others: When Qutaybah made peace with Nizak, he stayed [put] until the time for campaigning,⁴⁶² and then in that year the year 87 he campaigned against [1186]

454. Who seems to be otherwise unknown.

455. I.e., Sision: See Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 191, and Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 115, from which it emerges (i) that this action must have taken place earlier than A.H. 87, and (ii) that the Arabs suffered a serious defeat.

456. Thus in the *Addenda et Emendanda*, in preference to the "al-Jurijani" given in the text. This is Maymun the Mardaite, who, contrary to what is implied here, was fighting on the Arab side against the Byzantines: See Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," pp. 191, 203; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 116; *EI2*, s.v. Djaradjima (vol. II, p. 457a).

457. I.e., Antioch (see *EI2*, s.v. Antakiya).

458. I.e., Tyana: See Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 191; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 116.

459. The rendering of these place names is tentative, and they appear to be unidentified (Khalifah gives *twl.q*, and Ibn Kathir gives *q.myq.m*).

460. Defined by Lammens (in a somewhat earlier context) as "tribus arabes raliées à Byzance at au christianisme" ("Le califat de Yazîd I er," pp. 606-7).

461. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 33-34; Narshakhi, *The History of Bukhara*, (trans. Frye), pp. 43ff.

462. Which, as becomes apparent below, was at the very beginning of spring.

Paykand. He went from Marw to Marw Rudh to Amul to Zamm,⁴⁶³ crossed the river, and went to Paykand, which is the nearest of the cities of Bukhara to the river and is called the City of the Merchants; it is at the end of the desert [adjacent to?] Bukhara. When he stopped in the surrounding area, [the people of Paykand] asked the Soghdians for help and sought reinforcements from around them, and large numbers came to them, taking the road. No messenger of Qutaybah's could be sent off, nor could [any] messenger get to him; for two months no news reached him. A1-Hajjaj found news of him slow [in coming] and feared for the army. He ordered the people to make invocations for them in the mosques and wrote to this effect to the *amsar*. [Qutaybah and his men] were fighting every day.

[All b. Muhammad] continued: Qutaybah had a non-Arab spy called Tidhar,⁴⁶⁴ to whom the people of Upper Bukhara gave money on [the understanding] that he would remove Qutaybah from them. [Tidhar] came to [Qutaybah] and said, "Let me be alone with you," and the people [present] stood up [and left, although] Qutaybah kept Dirar b. Husayn al-Dabbi back. Tidhar said, "[There is] a [new] governor coming to you, for al-Hajjaj has been dismissed; you ought to go off with the people to Marw." Qutaybah called for Siyah, his mawla, and said, "Behead Tidhar!" and he killed him. Then he said to Dirar, "There remains no one who knows this report but you and me, and I give God a covenant that, if this story comes out before this war of ours is finished, I shall make you join [Tidhar]. Control your tongue, for the spreading of this story will weaken the forearms of the people."⁴⁶⁵ [1187]

[Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Then [those who had earlier been present] came in and were alarmed by the killing of Tidhar. They stayed silent, with downcast eyes, and Qutaybah said, "Do not be alarmed by the killing of a slave who has been destroyed by God." They said, "We thought that he was a sincere adviser to the Muslims." He said, "On the contrary, he was advising insincerely. God has destroyed him for his crime, and he has gone on his way. Go and fight your enemies, and encounter them with

463. See above, nn. 344 and 346.

464. This seems to be the likeliest rendering (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 324), the other forms given being T.ndh.r, Y.tdh.r, T.nd.r, and B.nd.r.

465. Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 219, gives a longer account of this.

[something] other than that with which you have been encountering them."⁴⁶⁶

The people then went off, readying themselves, and formed their lines. Qutaybah went and spurred on the flag bearers, and there was some fighting with spears. [The fighters] then came together, and swords were used to good effect; God sent fortitude down to the Muslims, and they fought them until the sun had set. Then God gave the Muslims the upper hand, and [their opponents] were routed, heading for the city. The Muslims followed them and distracted them from entering [the city]. They scattered, and the Muslims came upon them, killing and taking prisoners at will.

The few who had entered the city preserved themselves in it, and Qutaybah set workmen onto the foundation [of its wall] in order to demolish it. They asked him for a peace, and he made peace with them, appointing over them one of his sons.⁴⁶⁷ [Then] he went away from them, intending to return [to Khurasan], but, when he had gone a stage or two and was five parasangs distant from them, they broke faith, killed the governor and his companions, and cut off their noses and ears. [This] reached Qutaybah, who returned to them, they having fortified themselves, and fought them for a month. Then he set the workmen onto the foundation of [the wall of] the city, and they [excavated it and] propped it up with wood; [Qutaybah] intended, when the [work of excavating and] propping was finished, to set fire to the wood so that [the wall] might be demolished. But the wall fell down while they were still propping it up, and forty of the workmen were killed. [The people in the city now] sought peace, but he refused, fought them, took [the city] by force of arms, and killed those fighting men who were in it. Among those taken in the city was a one-eyed man who had been responsible for mobilizing the Turks against the Muslims, and he said to Qutaybah, "I shall ransom myself." Sulaym al-Nasih said, "What will you give?" He said, "Five thousand pieces of Chinese silk worth one million [dirhams]." Qutaybah said [to his men], "What do you think?" [1188]

466. That is, fight them more strongly.

467. So rendering *rajulan min bani Qutaybah*; thus too *apud* Khalifah (*Ta'rikh*, p. 303); however, Narshakhi (*The History of Bukhara*, p. 44) names the man appointed as Warqa' b. Nasr al-Bahili, a name known also to al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 342), albeit not specifically in the context of Paykand.

They said, "We think that his ransom will augment the booty of the Muslims. What mischief can this [fellow] possibly do?" Qutaybah said [to the man], "No, by God, no Muslim woman will ever be frightened by you," and he gave the order, and he was killed.⁴⁶⁸

According to `Ali [b. Muhammad]Abu al-Dhayyalal-Muhallab b. Iyashis father and al-Hasan b. RushaydTufayl b. Mirdas: When Qutaybah conquered Paykand, they there came upon innumerable gold and silver vessels. He put in charge of the booty and the division `Abdallah b. Wa'lan al-`Adawi, [who was] one of the Banu al-Malakan and was called by Qutaybah "the trustworthy one, the son of the trustworthy one," and Iyas b. Bayhas al-Bahili. They melted down the vessels and the idols and presented [the resultant bullion] to Qutaybah. They also presented to him the dross of what they had melted down, and he gave it to them. They were then given forty thousand [dirhams] for it, and they told [Qutaybah]. [At this, Qutaybah] changed his mind and ordered them to melt down [the dross]. They did so, and there emerged from it one hundred fifty thousand *mithqals*, or fifty thousand *mithqals*.⁴⁶⁹

They acquired much at Paykand. From Paykand there came into the hands of the Muslims [booty] the like of which they had never acquired in Khurasan. Qutaybah returned to Marw, and the Muslims became strong. They bought weapons and horses, and riding animals were procured for them. They competed with one another in fine attire and equipment, and they bought weapons at high prices, until the [price of a] spear reached seventy [dirhams].⁴⁷⁰ Al-Kumayt said (*basit*):⁴⁷¹

[1189]

And the battle day of Paykand, the wonders of which
cannot be enumerated,
and Bukhara did not fall short of that.

468. A similar account of this one-eyed prisoner is given by Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 224).

469. A *mithqal* being approximately 4.4 g (see *EI2*, s.v. Makayil and Mawazin). The figure of 150,000 *mithqals* is reflected in Narshakhi's report (p. 45) of the total amount of treasure taken (rather than what issued from the dross, which he does not mention).

470. Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 221) adds here that the price of a coat of mail reached 700 dirhams (cf. Narshakhi's remark that "a spear was worth fifty *dirhams*, a shield fifty or sixty, and a coat of mail seven hundred *dirhams*" [p. 46]).

471. *EI2*, s.v. al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadi; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 347ff. The following verse is also given in *Shirr al-Kumayt*, no. 147.

In the treasuries were many weapons and much war materiel. Qutaybah wrote to al-Hajjaj seeking his permission to hand out these weapons to the troops, and he gave him permission. They brought out such war materiel and traveling equipment as was in the treasuries; he divided it out, and they equipped themselves. When springtime came, he summoned the people and said, "I am going to take you on campaign [now], before you need to carry provisions, and I shall bring you back before you need warm clothes"; and he set off finely equipped with riding animals and weapons. He went to Amul and crossed from Zamm to Bukhara; he went to Tumushkath,⁴⁷² in Bukhara [territory], and [its people] made peace with him.

According to `Ali [b. Muhammad]Abu al-Dhayyalshaykhs from the Banu `Adi: [Qutaybah's father,] Muslim al-Bahili, [had earlier] said to Wa'lan, "I have [some] money I should like to deposit with you." [Wa'lan] said, "Do you want it to be kept secret, or do you not mind the people knowing?" [Muslim] said, "I should like to keep it secret." [Wa'lan] said, "Send it with a man you trust to such-and-such a place and tell him that, when he sees a man in that place, he is to put down what he has with him and depart." "Yes," said Muslim, and he put the money in a saddlebag, loaded it on a mule, and said to a mawla of his, "Set off with this mule to such-and-such a place and, when you see a man sitting, leave the mule and depart." The man set off with the mule. [Meanwhile] Wa'lan had reached the place at the appointed time, while Muslim's messenger was slow in getting to him. The time appointed by Wa'lan was past, and he thought that [Muslim must have] changed his mind; so he departed. There [now] came to that place a man from the Banu Taghlib and, [when] Muslim's mawla came, he saw [the Taghlibi] sitting, left the mule, and returned [home]. The Taghlibi went up to the mule and, when he saw the money and did not see anyone with the mule, he led it to his house and took possession of both the mule and the money. Muslim thought that the money had gone to Wa'lan, and he did not ask him about it until he needed it. Then he met him and said, "My money." [Wa'lan] said, "I did not receive anything. I don't have any money of yours." [1190]

472. So reading *numushakath*, following Wellhausen (*Kingdom*, p. 434) and Gibb (*Arab Conquests*, p. 34); Barthold (*Turkestan*³, p. 132, citing Yaqut) identifies it as a "neighbourhood of Bukhara."

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: Muslim used to complain of [Waʿlan] and speak ill of him.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: He came one day to a gathering (*majlis*) of the Banu Dubayʿah and complained of him. The Taghlibi was sitting [there], went up to him, spoke to him in private and asked him about the money, and then told him [that he had it]. He took [Muslim] to his house, brought out the saddlebag, and said, "Do you recognize it?" "Yes," said Muslim. "And the seal?" "Yes," said Muslim. "Take your money," said [the Taghlibi], and he told him the story [of how he had come by it]. Muslim went to the people and the tribes to whom he had complained of Waʿlan, exonerating him and telling them the story. Concerning Waʿlan, the poet says (*tawil*):

I am not like Waʿlan, who was a leader in piety, [1991]
and I am not like ʿImran or like al-Muhallab.

[This] ʿImran [was ʿImran] b. al-Fadil al-Burjumi.⁴⁷³

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year, according to what Ahmad b. Thabit related to me on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. ʿIsa on the authority of Abu Maʿshar, was ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, who was the amir over Medina. Over the judiciary of Medina in this year was Abu Bakr b. ʿAmr b. Hazm, on behalf of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz. Over Iraq and the whole of the East was al-Hajjaj; his deputy over al-Basrah in this year was, according to what has been said, al-Jarrah b. ʿAbdallah al-Hakami, while ʿAbdallah b. Udhaynah was in charge of the judiciary [there]; his governor over military affairs (*harb*) at al-Kufah was Ziyad b. Jarir b. ʿAbdallah, while Abu Bakr b. Abi Musa al-Ashʿari was over the judiciary [there]; over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim.

473. An early Arab campaigner in the East (al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. i, pp. 2830-31).

The Events of the Year 88
(December 12, 706November 30, 707)

Among them was God's conquest for the Muslims of one of the fortresses of the Byzantines, called Tuwanah, in Jumada II (May-June); they spent the winter there. In command of the army were Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik and al-`Abbas b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik.

Muhammad b. `Umar al-Waqidi mentioned that Thawr b. Yazid related to him on the authority of his companions: The conquest of Tuwanah was [effected] at the hands of Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik and al-`Abbas b. al-Walid. The Muslims inflicted an [initial] defeat on the enemy on that day. [The enemy] went to their church and then returned, and [the Muslims] suffered a defeat from which they thought they would never recover. Al-`Abbas remained with a party [of men], including Ibn Muhayriz al-Jumahi. He said to Ibn Muhayriz, "Where are the people of the Qur'an who desire Paradise?" Ibn Muhayriz said, "If you call them, they will come to you." Al-`Abbas called, "O people of the Qur'an!" and they all came forward. Then God defeated the enemy until they went into Tuwanah.⁴⁷⁴ Al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik [1192]

474. cf. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 192; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 116ff.

had required the people of Medina to provide levies in this year.

According to Muhammad b. `Umarhis father: Makhramah b. Sulayman ab-Walibi said: He required them to produce two thousand [levies]. They stipulated among themselves to give pay to such of them as would serve as substitutes,⁴⁷⁵ and fifteen hundred set out and 500 stayed behind. They made the summer campaign with Maslamah and al-`Abbas, who were in command of the army; and they wintered at Tuwanah and conquered it.

In [this year] al-Walid b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik was born.

[Reconstruction of the Mosque of Medina]

In [this year] al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik ordered the pulling down of the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, and the pulling down of the rooms of the wives of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, and the incorporation of them into the mosque.

Muhammad b. `Umar mentioned that Muhammad b. Ja`far b. Wardan al-Banna' (i.e., "the builder") said: I saw the messenger sent by al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik. He arrived in the month of Rabi` I in the year 88 (February-March 707), with a turban wound round his head. He entered into the presence of `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz bearing al-Walid's letter ordering him to incorporate the rooms of the wives of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, into the mosque, and to buy [the land, etc.] behind it and beside it so that it might [measure] two hundred cubits by two hundred cubits. He also said to him [in the letter]: "Move the *qiblah* [wall] forward, if you are able, and you *are* able, because of the standing of your maternal uncles;⁴⁷⁶ they will not go against you. If any of them objects, order the people of the *misr* to estimate a fair value for him. Then demolish and pay them the prices. You have good precedents [for this in the actions of] `Umar and `Uthman." [`Umar] had [the uncles] read the letter, they being with him; the people agreed to the price, and he gave them it and began to pull down the rooms of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless and preserve him, and to build the mosque. Soon afterward there arrived the workmen sent by al-Walid. [1193]

475. All of this being the sense of *taja'alu*; (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

476. `Umar's mother being a descendant of `Umar b. al-Khattab.

According to Muhammad b. `UmarMusa b. Ya`qubhis paternal uncle: I saw `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz pulling down the mosque; with him were [such] leading people [as] al-Qasim, Salim, Abu Bakr b. `Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith, `Ubaydallah b. `Abdallah b. `Utbah, Kharijah b. Zayd, and `Abdallah b. `Abdallah b. `Umar, showing him key features (*al-a`lam*) in the mosque and taking measurements. They laid its foundation.

According to Muhammad b. `UmarYahya b. al-Nu`man al-GhifariSalih b. Kaysan: When al-Walid's letter came from Damascusit took fifteen [nights]⁴⁷⁷with the order to pull down the mosque, `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz applied himself to the task with vigor.

Salih. said: He put me in charge of pulling it down and [re-]building it. We pulled it down using the workers of Medina, and we began to pull down the rooms of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless and preserve him. [This went on] until there came to us the workmen sent by al-Walid.

[1194]

According to MuhammadMusa b. Abi BakrSalih. b. Kaysan: We started pulling down the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, in Safar in the year 88 (January-February 707). Al-Walid sent [word] to the Byzantine Emperor informing him that he had ordered the pulling down of the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, and [asking him] to help him in [that regard]. [The Byzantine Emperor] sent to him one hundred thousand *mithqals* of gold, one hundred workers, and forty loads of mosaic; he ordered that mosaic be sought in cities that had been ruined and sent it to al-Walid. Al-Walid sent [all] that on to `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz.⁴⁷⁸

In this year `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz began building the mosque.⁴⁷⁹

In it, too, Maslamah campaigned against the Byzantines. Three fortresses were conquered at his hands: the fortress of Qustantin, [the fortress of] Ghazalah, and the fortress of al-Akhram; and he killed about a thousand of the *musta`ribah*⁴⁸⁰ along with taking

477. Following the suggestions made in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

478. On this *locus classicus*, see Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," pp. 52ff.

479. A1-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 340 [where the same figures are given for *mithqals*, etc.]) notes that the work was finished in A.H. 90.

480. See above, n. 460.

the offspring captive and appropriating wealth.⁴⁸¹

In this year Qutaybah campaigned against Tumushkath and Ramithanah.⁴⁸²

[Qutaybah's] Campaign [Against Tumushkath and Ramithanah]

According to `Ali b. Muhammadal-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab his father and Mus`ab b. Hayyana mawla of theirs: Qutaybah campaigned against Tumushkath in the year 88, having deputed over Marw Bashshar b. Muslim. Its people met him, and he made peace with them. Then he went to Ramithanah and its people made peace with him, and he departed from them. [At this point], the Turks, accompanied by the Soghdians and the people of Farghanah, marched on him and tried to intercept the Muslims while they were on their way. They caught up with `Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim al-Bahili, who was in command of the rear guard, there being a [distance of an Arab] mile⁴⁸³ between him [on the one hand] and Qutaybah and the troops at the front [on the other]. When they drew near to him, `Abd al-Rahman sent a messenger with his report to Qutaybah. The Turks came toward him and fought him. The messenger reached Qutaybah, who came back with [reinforcements] and joined `Abd al-Rahman, who was [still] fighting them. The Turks had almost gained mastery over them, but when [the Muslims fighting them] saw Qutaybah, they took heart, showed fortitude, and fought them until noontime. Nizak, who was with Qutaybah, showed valor on that day, and God defeated the Turks and dispersed them. Qutaybah went back, heading for Marw: He crossed the river by way of al-Tirmidh, heading for Balkh, and reached Marw. [1195]

The Bahilis said: In command of the Turks [when] they engaged the Muslims was Kurbaghanun⁴⁸⁴ al-Turki, the son of the sister

481. Cf. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 192, where Ghazalah is identified as Gazelon. There are problems of chronology here (see Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 118n.).

482. On Tumushkath, see above, n. 472. Ramithanah was one of the districts of Bukhara and contained a fortified village of the same name (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 116); cf. Khalifah, *Ta'rikh*, pp. 304-5.

483. Ca. two kilometers.

484. See Marquart, "Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften," p.

(Footnote continued on next page)

of the king of China. [His force numbered] two hundred thousand [men], over whom God gave the Muslims victory.⁴⁸⁵

In this year al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik wrote to `Umar b. `Abd al-Aziz concerning making the mountain passes easier and digging wells in the [Hijazi] territories.

According to Muhammad b. `Umar Ibn Abi Sabrah Salih. b. Kaysan: Al-Walid wrote to `Umar concerning making the mountain passes easier and digging wells at Medina, and his letters to that [effect] went out to [all the] Muslim territories; al-Walid also wrote to Khalid b. `Abdallan [al-Qasri] to that [effect]. [Ibn Kaysan?] said: He stopped those with elephantiasis from going out among the people and arranged for allowances to be allocated to them. [1196]

Ibn Abi Sabrah said on the authority of Salih. b. Kaysan: Al-Walid wrote to `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz [telling him] to construct the drinking fountain which is today at the house of Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik. `Umar constructed it and caused its water to flow. When al-Walid made the pilgrimage, he stopped at it, looked at the building and the drinking fountain [itself], and was pleased by them. He ordered that it should have superintendents to look after it and that the people of the mosque should be given to drink from it. That was done.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz in the account of Muhammad b. `Umar. He mentioned that Muhammad b. `Abdallah b. Jubayr, mawla of the Banu al-`Abbas, related to him on the authority of Salih b. Kaysan: `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz took out in that year meaning the year 88a number of Quraysh to whom he had sent gifts and baggage camels. They entered into a state of *ihram* with him at Dhu al-Hulayfah,⁴⁸⁶ and he led with him animals for sacrifice. When they were at al-Tan`im,⁴⁸⁷ they were met by some Qurashis, in-

(Footnote continued from previous page)

182 (where [*pace the Addenda et Emendanda*] the readings Kurbaghanun and Kurmaghanun are proposed), and, more recently, Frye's remarks (Narshakhi, *The History of Bukhara*, pp. 133-34, n. 178).

485. Gibb (*Arab Conquests*, p. 35) casts doubt on the historicity of this report.

486. A settlement six or seven rail (ca. twelve or fourteen km) from Medina (Yaqt, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 324).

487. A place two parasangs (ca. twelve km) from Mecca (Yaqt, *Mu`jam*, vol. I, p. 879).

cluding Ibn Abi Mulaykah and others, who informed him that Mecca was short of water and that they feared for the pilgrims in respect of thirst; [the reason for] that [was] that the rain had been scanty. `Umar said, "What is wanted here is clear. Come! We shall call [upon] God." [Salih b. Kaysan] said: I saw them doing so, and he with them, and they were insistent in the[ir] prayer. Salih said: And, by God, no sooner had we reached the House on that day than it was raining, which it did into the nighttime; the heavens opened, the flash flood came down the valley, and there came about a situation that the people of Mecca feared. `Arafah, Mina, and Jam`488 were washed out, and could only [be reached] by bridging. [Salih] said: Mecca produced plants that year, because of the fertility. [1197]

As for Abu Ma`shar, he said: The leader of the pilgrimage in the year 88 was `Umar b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik. That was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of he who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on his (i.e., Abu Ma`shar's) authority.

The governors over the *amsar* in this year were the same as those we have mentioned as governors in the year 87.

488. Jam` is synonymous with al-Muzdalifah (see Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 118); Ibn al-Athir reads "Arafah and Mecca," while Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 75) gives "Arafah, Muzdalifah and Mina."

The Events of the Year 89
(December 1, 707/November 19, 708)

Among them was the conquest by the Muslims in this year of the fortress of Suriyah; in command of the army was Maslamah b. `Abd al-malik.

Al-Waqidi claimed that Maslamah campaigned in this year in Byzantine territory, accompanied by al-`Abbas b. al-Walid, [that] they entered it together and then separated, and [that] Maslamah conquered the fortress of Suriyah, while al-`Abbas conquered Adhruliyah and encountered a body of Byzantines and defeated them.

[An authority] other than al-Waqidi has said that Maslamah headed for `Ammuriyyah, where he encountered a large body of Byzantines. God defeated them, and he conquered Hiraqlah and Qamudiyyah. Al-`Abbas made the summer campaign from the direction of al-Budandun.⁴⁸⁹ [1198]

In this year Qutaybah campaigned in Bukhara and conquered Ramithanah.

`Ali b. Muhammad mentioned on the authority of the Bahilis

489. The identifications are Isauria, Dorylaion, Amorion, Herakleia, Kamouliana, and Podendon, respectively (see Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," pp. 192-93; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 118, 134 [map]).

that they said that and [that they said] that he returned, after he had conquered it, by way of Balkh. When he was at al-Faryab, there came to him al-Hajjaj's letter telling him to go to Wardan Khudhah;⁴⁹⁰ Qutaybah accordingly went back in the year 89. He went to Zamm, crossed the river, and was encountered on the desert road by the Soghdians and the people of Kish and Nasaf. They fought him, and he defeated them, went to Bukhara, and stopped at Lower Kharqanah,⁴⁹¹ on Wardan's right. They engaged him with a large force, and he fought them for two days and nights; then God granted victory over them. Nahar b. Tawsi`ah said (*tawil*):⁴⁹²

They had a [long] night from us at Kharqan,
and our night at Kharqan was [even] longer.

`Ali [b. Muhammad] said: According to (i) Abu al-Dhayyalal-Muhallab b. Iyas, and (ii) Abu al-`Ala'Idris b. Hanzalah: [1199]
Qutaybah campaigned against Wardan Khudhah, the king of Bukhara, in the year 89, made no headway against him, and did not conquer any of his territory. He returned to Marw and wrote to al-Hajjaj about that. Al-Hajjaj wrote to him, "Portray [the terrain] to me," and [Qutaybah] sent him a representation of it. Al-Hajjaj wrote to him, "Return to your wallowing place, repent to God for what you have done, and make your approach from such-and-such a place"; and it has been said [that] al-Hajjaj wrote to him, "Outwit Kish, smash Nasaf, and reach Wardan;⁴⁹³ beware of beating about the bush and spare me the byways."⁴⁹⁴

In this year Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri became governor of Mecca, according to what al-Waqidi claimed. He mentioned that `Umar b. Salih. related to him on the authority of Nafi`, mawla of the Banu Makhzum, who said: I heard Khalid b. `Abdallah say on the pulpit of Mecca, while he was delivering a sermon, "O people, who is greater? A man's deputy (*khalifah*) over his people or his

490. "The rulers of Wardana, who bore the title of Wardan-Khudats, were until the beginning of the eighth century the rivals of the Bukhar-Khudats" (Barthold, *Turkestan3*, p. 113).

491. One of the districts of Bukhara (Barthold, *Turkestan3*, p. 114).

492. Also cited by Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 76.

493. There is a play on words here; in addition, the text gives the vocalization *wa-rid Wardan*, which Gibb (*Arab Conquests*, p. 35) understood as "and drive Wardan back" (i.e., he read *wa-rudda Wardan*).

494. *Wa-da`ni min bunayyat al-tariq*; cf. Freytag, *Araburn Proverbia*, vol. I, p. 483.

messenger (*rasul*) to them?⁴⁹⁵ If you were not to know the superiority of the caliphate, [I would tell you] that Abraham, the friend of the Merciful, prayed for water, and He gave him bitter salt to drink, and the Caliph prayed to Him for water, and He gave him sweet water," (meaning by "salt" Zamzam and by "sweet water")⁴⁹⁶ a well dug by al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik between⁴⁹⁷ the two mountain passes of Tawa and al-Hajun.⁴⁹⁸ The water [of this well] used to be transported and placed in a tank made of leather beside Zamzam, so that its superiority over [the water of] Zamzam might be known. [Al-Waqidi] said: Then the well caved in and disappeared; today it is not known where it is. [1200]

In [this year] Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik campaigned against the Turks until he reached al-Bab⁴⁹⁹ in the region of `Adharbayjan; he conquered fortresses and cities there.

The pilgrimage was led in this year by `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz: thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma'shar. The governors of the *amsar* in this year were [the same as] the governors in the preceding year; we have mentioned them already.

495. For discussion of the significance of this, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, p. 29.

496. The words in brackets have been added from Ibn al-Athir.

497. The text reads *bi-*, "at." The parallel passage in *Aghani*², vol. XXII, p. 18, reads *bayna*.

498. Al-Hajun is identified as a mountain one and a half *mil* (3 *kin*) from the Ka'bah (Yaqt, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 215). Tawa (Dhu Tuwa in the *Aghani*) is more problematic: Yaqt knows it as the "most famous wadi at Mecca" (vol. III, p. 554), while Dhu Tuwa is simply "a place at Mecca" (vol. III, p. 553).

499. I.e., Bab al-Abwab (see *EI*², s.v.), modern Derbent, which could have been more accurately described as being in the region of Arran.

The Events of the Year 90
(November 20, 708–November 8, 709)

In this year, according to what Muhammad b. `Umar mentioned, Maslamah campaigned in Byzantine territory in the region of Suriyah and conquered the five fortresses there.

In it, too, al-`Abbas b. al-Walid campaigned, as far as al-Arzan according to some, and as far as Suriyah according to others. Muhammad b. `Umar said: It is sounder to say that he went as far as Suriyah.⁵⁰⁰

In [this year] Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-Thaqafi, who was in command of an army on behalf of al-Hajjaj, killed Dahir b. Sassah,⁵⁰¹ the king of Sind.

In it, too, al-Walid appointed Qurrah b. Sharik⁵⁰² over Egypt in place of `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik. [1201]

In [this year] the Byzantines took prisoner Khalid b. Kaysan, the sea commander, and took him to their king; the king of the By-

500. Cf. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 193; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 118. "A1-Arzan" seems to constitute a problem: Brooks says that it "should be Arzanene or its chief town, but this is clearly out of place here."

501. I.e., Dahir the son of Chach (for detailed discussion of this expedition, see F. Gabrieli, "Muhammad ibn Qasim ath-Thaqafi and the Arab Conquest of Sind," *East and West*, n.s. 15 (1965), pp. 281-95).

502. See *EI2*, s.v. Kurra b. Sharik.

zantines gave him to al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik.⁵⁰³

In it, too, Qutaybah conquered Bukhara and defeated the armies of the enemy there.⁵⁰⁴

[Qutaybah's Conquest of Bukhara]

`Ali b. Muhammad said: According to (i) Abu al-Dhayyalal-Muhallab b. Iyas, and (ii) Abu al-`Ala'Idris b. Hanzalah: When there reached Qutaybah al-Hajjaj's letter [the letter in which] he ordered him to repent of having departed from Wardan Khudhah, the king of Bukhara, before defeating him, [and ordered him] to go against [Wardan], informing him of the place from which he should proceed to [Wardan's] territory Qutaybah went out to Bukhara on campaign in the year 90. Wardan Khudhah sent [word] to the Soghdians and the Turks and those who were around them, requesting their help, and they came. Qutaybah, however, reached [Bukhara] first and besieged [it], and, when the reinforcements arrived, [the Muslims] went out to fight them. The Azd said, "Keep us on our own and let us fight them." Qutaybah said, "Go forward," and they went forward, fighting them, while Qutaybah sat wearing a yellow *rida*⁵⁰⁵ over his weapons. They all showed fortitude for a long time; then the Muslims wheeled round, and the polytheists came at them, broke them, entered Qutaybah's camp, and crossed it until the women struck the faces of [the polytheists'] horses and wept. Then they returned to the charge, and the two wings of the Muslims closed in on the Turks and fought them until they repelled them to their positions.

The Turks stood on an elevation, and Qutaybah said, "Who will dislodge them from this place for us?" No one came forward; all the clans stood [stock-still]. Qutaybah went to the Banu Tamim and said, "O Banu Tamim, you are in the position of the *hutamiyyah*.⁵⁰⁶ [All I need is one] battle day like the battle days [in your glorious past], may my father be your ransom." [`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Waki` [b. Abi Sud]⁵⁰⁷ took the standard

[1202]

503. Cf. Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 119.

504. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 35-36.

505. See below, n. 596 (first part).

506. "Coat of mail on which swords break" (see the *Glossarium*).

507. A leading Tamimi in Khurasan (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. Waki` b. Hassan).

in his hand and said, "O Banu Tamim, will you abandon me today?" They said, "No, O Abu Mutarrif." Huraym b. Abi Tahmah al-Mujashi⁵⁰⁸ was in command of the cavalry of the Banu Tamim, and Waki` was their chief. The people were standing, and all of them held back. Waki` said, "Forward, O Huraym," and he gave him the banner, "take your cavalry forward," and Huraym went forward, while Waki` walked slowly behind with the infantry. Huraym got as far as a river that was between him and the enemy and then stopped. Waki` said to him, "Press on, O Huraym."

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Huraym gave Waki` the look of a fierce camel and said, "Am I to impel my cavalry across this river? If they are defeated, that will be the end of them. By God, you are stupid!" [Waki`] said, "You son of a stinking woman!⁵⁰⁹ I'm not going to see you disobey my order," and he struck him with an iron bar he had with him. [At this,] Huraym whipped his horse and impelled it [across the river], saying, "There can't be anything harder to take than this," and he crossed with the cavalry. Waki` came to the river, called for wood, and bridged it. He said to his companions, "Whoever of you has accustomed himself to [the idea of] death, let him cross; he who has not, let him stay in his place." Only eight infantrymen crossed with him. He walked slowly with them until, when they were tired, he sat them down and they rested, while he went near the enemy. He made the cavalry into two wings and said to Huraym, "I am going to thrust at the [enemy]. Distract them from me with the cavalry." He said to the [infantrymen], "Attack!" and they charged straight at [the enemy] until they were mixed with them. Huraym attacked them with his cavalry, and they thrust at them with spears. By the time [the Muslims] desisted from [the Turks], they had dislodged them from their position. Qutaybah called out, "Do you not see the enemy defeated. No sooner did someone cross that river than the enemy fled in defeat." The [Muslims] followed them, and Qutaybah called out, "Whoever brings a[n enemy] head shall have one hundred [dirhams]."

[1203]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] said: Musa b. al-Mutawakkil al-Quray'i claimed: On that day eleven men from the Banu Quray' came,

508. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. Huraym b. `Adi.

509. I.e., a slave girl; note Ibn Qutaybah's observation that *al-lakhna' `inda al-`arab al-amah* ("Kitab al-`arab," p. 352).

each of them bringing a head; each was asked, "Who are you?" and said, "A Quray`i." Then a man from al-Azd brought a head and they said to him, "Who are you?" He said, "A Quray`i." Jahm b. Zahr.⁵¹⁰ was sitting [nearby] and said, "He is lying, by God! May God cause you to prosper, he is my cousin." Qutaybah said to [the Azdi], "Woe to you! What induced you to [say] this?" He said, "I saw that everyone who came said, 'A Quray`i,' and thought that everyone who brought a head had to say, 'A Quray`i.'" Qutaybah laughed.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] said: On that day Khaqan⁵¹¹ and his son were wounded.

Qutaybah returned to Marw and wrote to al-Hajjaj, "I sent `Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim and God conquered at his hands." [`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: A mawla of al-Hajjaj's had witnessed the conquest, and he came and told [al-Hajjaj] what had [really] happened. Al-Hajjaj was angry with Qutaybah, and [Qutaybah] grieved at that. The people said to [Qutaybah], "Send a delegation of the Banu Tamim to [al-Hajjaj]; give [generously] to them and please them, and they will tell the amir that the matter was as you [described it when you] wrote." [Qutaybah] accordingly sent [some] men, including `Uram b. Shutayr al-Dabbi, and, when they reached al-Hajjaj, he shouted at them and stigmatized them. He called for the cupper, [who had his] scissors in his hand, and said, "I'll cut off your tongues if you don't tell me the truth." They said, "The amir is Qutaybah, and he sent `Abd al-Rahman in command of them; the conquest belongs to the amir and the one who is head of the people." It was `Uram b. Shutayr who spoke these words to him. Al-Hajjaj quietened down.

[1204]

In this year Qutaybah renewed the peace between himself and Tarkhun, the king of Soghd.

[Renewed Peace Between Qutaybah and the Soghdians]

According to `Ali [b. Muhammad] Abu al-Sari al-Marwazial-Jahm al-Bahili: When Qutaybah fell upon the people of Bukhara and broke them up, the people of Soghd feared him. Tarkhun, the

510. Al-Ju`fi, brother of Jabalah (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).

511. See above, n. 79.

king of Soghd, went back accompanied by two horsemen until he stood near Qutaybah's camp, with the Bukhara river between the two of them. He asked [Qutaybah] to send to him a man to whom he might talk. Qutaybah ordered a man [to go], and [this man] drew near to [Tarkhun].

As for the Bahilis, they say that Tarkhun called to Hayyan al-Nabati,⁵¹² who went to them. [Tarkhun] asked for a peace in return for tribute that he would pay to them, and Qutaybah agreed to his request, made peace with him, and took from him hostages [to remain with him] until [such time as] Tarkhun might send to him [the tribute] on the basis of which he had made peace with him. Tarkhun departed to his country, and Qutaybah returned [sc. to Marw], accompanied by Nizak.

In this year Nizak broke the peace between himself and the Muslims, held out in his fortress, and reverted to war. Qutaybah campaigned against him.⁵¹³

[Nizak's] Perfidy and Why He Was Vanquished

`Ali [b. Muhammad] said: According to (i) Abu al-Dhayyalal-Muhallab b. Iyas, (ii) al-Mufaddal al-Dabbihis father, (iii) `Ali b. Mujahid, and (iv) Kulayb b. Khalaf al-`Ammieach mentioned something and I have put [what they said] together [in a single account]; and the Bahilis mentioned something, and I have annexed [that] to the report of these [others] and have put it in [with the rest]: Qutaybah left Bukhara accompanied by Nizak, who had been alarmed by the conquests he had seen and who feared Qutaybah. [Nizak] said to his companions and his intimates among them,⁵¹⁴ "I am with this [fellow], and I don't feel safe with him, for the Arab is like a dog: If you beat him, he barks, and if you feed him, he wags his tail. If you campaign against him and then give him something, he is pleased and forgets what you have done to him. Tarkhun fought him several times, and when he gave him tribute, he accepted it and was pleased. He is a dissolute brute. The best thing will be for me to take my leave and return." They said, "Take your leave of him," and, when Qutaybah was at Amul, [Nizak] sought leave of him to return to Tukharistan. [1205]

512. On him, see Shaban, *The `Abbasid Revolution*, pp. 65.

513. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 36ff.

514. Reading the variant *minhum* in preference to *muttaham*.

[Qutaybah] gave him leave, and, when he left his camp heading for Balkh, [Nizak] said to his companions, "Hasten," and they went at great speed until they reached al-Nawbahar. He stopped to pray in it and regarded it as a blessing, and said to his companions, "I do not doubt that Qutaybah regretted it when we left his camp with his permission to me and [that] his messenger will at any moment reach al-Mughirah b. `Abdallah, ordering him to detain me. So set up a lookout, and if you see [that] the messenger has passed through the city and has gone out of the gate, he will not reach al-Baruqan before we reach Tukharistan. Al-Mughirah will send a man, but he will not catch up with us before we enter the Khulm pass." They did so.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: A messenger set off from Qutaybah to al-Mughirah with orders to him to detain Nizak. When the messenger passed [on his way] to al-Mughirah, who was at al-Baruqan⁵¹⁵ the city of Balkh being in ruins at that time Nizak and his companions rode off and went on their way. The messenger reached al-Mughirah, and [al-Mughirah] himself went in search of [Nizak]. [But] he found that he had entered the Khulm pass, and departed. [1206]

Nizak [now] openly disavowed [Qutaybah]. He wrote to the Isbahbadh of Balkh, to Badham, the king of Marw Rudh, to Suhrak,⁵¹⁶ the king of al-Talaqan, to Tusik,⁵¹⁷ the king of al-Faryab, and to al-Juzjani, the king of al-Juzjan, calling upon them to disavow Qutaybah. They responded positively to him, and he appointed the spring as the time for them to join forces and campaign against Qutaybah. He also wrote to the Kabul Shah, seeking his help, sent to him his baggage and money, and asked him to give him permission if he was driven to it to go to him and receive a safe-conduct in his country; [the Kabul Shah] agreed to that and held his baggage.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] said: Jabghuyah, the king of Tukharistan,

515. Following the destruction of Balkh, "the Arabs built a new town in the locality of Baruqan, two farsakhs from Balkh" (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 3 p. 77).

516. The *Addenda et Emendanda* point to the form S.hr.b (sc. Suhrab) below (pp. 1566, 1569 of the Arabic text), but Justi is ready to settle for Suhrak (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 292, sub *Ἐατράκης*).

517. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda* and G. Schlegel, *La stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh*, p. 23.

whose name was al-Shadh,⁵¹⁸ was weak. Nizak took him and put him in a gold fetter, for fear that he might stir up discord against him, Jabghuyah being the king of Tukharistan, and Nizak [one] of his slaves. When he was sure [that Jabghuyah could not cause him trouble], he set watchmen over him and expelled Qutaybah's governor, Muhammad b. Sulaym al-Nasih, from Jabghuyah's territories. [News of] his disavowal reached Qutaybah [just] before the winter, [at a time when] the troops had gone their separate ways; only the people of Marw remained with Qutaybah. He sent his brother `Abd al-Rahman to [the district of] Balkh, to al-Baruqan, with [an army of] twelve thousand [men], saying to him, "Stay there and do not initiate anything. When the winter is over, gather the army and go to Tukharistan (sic); know that I [shall be] near you." `Abd al-Rahman went off and stopped at al-Baruqan, and Qutaybah took his time until, late in the winter, he wrote to Abrashahr,⁵¹⁹ Biward,⁵²⁰ Sarakhs, and the people of Herat [instructing them] to come to him. They did so, this being at an earlier time than usual.

[1207]

In this year Qutaybah fell upon the people of al-Talaqan, according to one of the collectors of historical reports [*ahl al-akhbar*], and killed them on a massive scale; he crucified them in two straight parallel rows four parasangs long.⁵²¹

[Qutaybah's Retribution Against the People of Al-Talaqan]

The reason for that, according to what has been mentioned, was that, when Nizak Tarkhan acted treacherously, disavowed Qutaybah, and resolved to make war on him, the king of al-Talaqan concurred with [Nizak] in making war on [Qutaybah],

518. As Gibb points out (*Arab Conquests*, p. 9), this identification of the Shadh with the Jabghuyah "is obviously impossible." Gibb takes the Shadh in question here (see below, pp. 1224-25 of the Arabic text) to be "the chief prince in Lower Tukharistan," a description which "best suits the king of Chaghanian." For more recent discussion of these titles, see Bosworth and Clauson, "Al-Xwarazmi on the Peoples of Central Asia," pp. 6, 9; Bombaci, "On the Ancient Turkish Title 'aḡ'"; Bosworth, "The Rulers of Chaghaniyan in Early Islamic Times," p. 1.

519. I.e., Nishapur (see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 383).

520. I.e., Abiward (ibid., p. 394).

521. Concerning al-Talaqan at this point, Gibb (*Arab Conquests*, p. 37) remarks that "the traditions are hopelessly confused."

and he appointed a time for going to him along with those of the [other] kings who had agreed to rise with him to make war on Qutaybah. When, however, Nizak fled from Qutaybah and entered the Khulm pass, which leads to Tukharistan, he knew that he was impotent against Qutaybah, and fled. Qutaybah went to al-Talaqan, fell upon its people, and did what I have mentioned earlier.

The person who said [all] this has been contradicted in what he has said; I shall come back to this in [dealing with] the events of the year 91.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz: Thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar; and so too said Muhammad b. `Umar. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz was in this year al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik's governor of Mecca, Medina, and al-Ta'if. Over Iraq and the East was al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf; al-Hajjaj's governor of al-Basrah was al-Jarrah. b. `Abdallah, and in charge of its judiciary was `Abd al-Rahman b. Udhaynah; over al-Kufah was Ziyad b. Jarir b. `Abdallah, and in charge of its judiciary was Abu Bakr b. Abi Musa. Over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim, and over Egypt was Qurrah b. Sharik. [1208]

In this year Yazid b. al-Muhallab and his brothers who were in prison with him fled with others and joined Sulayman b. `Abd al-Malik, seeking protection through him from al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf and al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik.⁵²²

The Reason for [the Muhallabids'] Escape From Al-Hajjaj's Prison and Their Going to Sulayman

According to Hisham [b. Muhammad]Abu MikhnafAbu al-Mukhariq al-Rasibi: Al-Hajjaj went out to Rustaqubadh to send out troops, for the Kurds had gained control over the whole of the territory of Fars. He took with him Yazid and his brothers al-Mufaddal and `Abd al-Malik, brought them to Rustaqubadh, placed them in his camp, put around them something like a trench, housed them in a tent near his own quarters, placed them [1209]

522. Similar accounts of this appear in Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-a`yan*, vol. VI, pp. 291ff.; Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, pp. 209ff; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, vol. IX, pp. 78-79.

under Syrian guard, fined them six million [dirhams], and began to torture them. Yazid showed great fortitude, which vexed al-Hajjaj. Then [al-Hajjaj] was told that [Yazid] had been shot by an arrow, the head of which had lodged in his leg; if anything touched it he would scream, and if it was moved, however slightly, you would hear him exclaim. He ordered that [Yazid] be tortured and that his leg be subjected to severe pressure;⁵²³ when that was done to him, he screamed. His sister, Hind bt. al-Muhallab, was married to al-Hajjaj; when she heard Yazid's screaming, she screamed and wailed, and al-Hajjaj divorced her. Then he desisted from them and started to try to get them to pay up. They started to pay, while at the same time working at escaping from their situation.

They sent [word] to Marwan b. al-Muhallab, who was at al-Basrah, instructing him to prepare horses for them by reducing them to scanty food; he was to make people think that he wanted to sell them, to exhibit them for sale, and overprice them so that they would not be bought, "so that they will be ready for us if we are able to escape from what is here." Marwan did that. Habib was in al-Basrah [too], also being tortured.

Yazid ordered that much food be made for the guards, and they ate. He ordered drink, and they were provided with it and diverted one another's attention with it. Yazid [then] put on the clothes of his cook, put a white beard over his [own] beard, and went out. One of the guards said, "[It is] as if this is the gait of Yazid," and he went until he stood in front of him [to see] his face in the night, saw the whiteness of the beard, and departed from him; he said, "This is an old man." Al-Mufaddal went out in [Yazid's] footsteps undetected, and they reached their boats, which had been prepared for them in the Bata'ih.⁵²⁴ They were eighteen parasangs from al-Basrah. When they got to the boats, `Abd al-Malik was slow in reaching them and was diverted from them. Yazid said to al-Mufaddal, who had the same mother as `Abd al-Malik, she being Bahlah, an Indian woman, "No, by God. I shall not leave until he comes, even if it were to mean going back to the prison." Yazid stayed put until he came to them, and at that they embarked on the boats and traveled that night until morning. In the morning, the guards knew that they had gone, and that was re-

[1210]

523. *Yudhaq*: See the *Glossarium*.

524. The swamps of southern Iraq between the Tigris and the Euphrates (see *EI2*, s.v. al-Batiha).

ferred to al-Hajjaj. A1-Farazdaq said concerning their exodus
(*tawil*):525

I have not seen [anything] like the group who followed
one another
on the palm trunk,526 while the guards were not
sleeping.
They went off convinced that their allotted spans
[were headed] for [immediate] destiny and death.
Not one of them did not quieten his fear
with a sharp, cutting, burnished sword,527
And when they met, they did not meet a faint-hearted
old man, nor a soft-boned youth;
They were like their father when they grew up, [1211]
fifty [of them,], one after the other, [each
of them replete with] courage and perfection.

Al-Hajjaj became fearful at [the escape] and imagined that they
had gone in the direction of Khurasan. He sent the official courier
to Qutaybah b. Muslim, warning him of their arrival and instruct-
ing him to be ready for them. He sent [word] to the amirs of the
frontier ways of access and the districts to be on the look out for
them and to be ready for them, and he wrote to al-Walid b. `Abd
al-Malik informing him of their flight and [of the fact] that he did
not think that they were heading [for anywhere] but Khurasan.
A1-Hajjaj continued to suspect Yazid for what he had done; he
used to say, "I suspect that he is telling himself [to do] the like of
what Ibn al-Ash`ath did."

When Yazid drew near to Mawqu`528 in the Bata'ih, he was met
by the horses that had been prepared for him and his brothers.
They went off on them, accompanied by a guide of theirs from
Kalb called `Abd al-Jabbar b. Yazid b. al-Rab`ah;529 he took them
by way of al-Samawah.530 A1-Hajjaj was brought [information]

525. *Diwan*, vol. II, p. 265.

526. `Ala 'l-jidh`i, which must refer to the boats.

527. The *Diwan* reads *bi-qalbin* in place of *bi-`adbin*.

528. Yaqut (*Mu`jam*, vol. IV, p. 688) knew this as a watering place or well (*ma'*)
in the region of al-Basrah.

529. See Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register and chart 283, where the name of
his grandfather is given as Rabi` ah.

530. The name of the desert (and of a watering place or well) between al-Kufah
and Syria (Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 131).

two days later and was told, "The man has taken the Syria road, and these horses [have become] tired on the way; someone has come who has seen them going along in the desert." [Al-Hajjaj] sent [word] to al-Walid, informing him of that.

Yazid went on until he reached Palestine and stopped with Wuhayb b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Azdi, who was held in high estimation by Sulayman; he lodged some of his baggage and family with Sufyan b. Sulayman al-Azdi. Wuhayb b. `Abd al-Rahman went and entered into the presence of Sulayman and said, "This [man] Yazid b. al-Muhallab and his brothers are in my house. They have come to you as fugitives from al-Hajjaj, taking refuge with you." [1212] [Sulayman] said, "Bring them to me, for they are safe. They will never be got at as long as I am alive." [Wuhayb] brought them and conducted them into his presence; they were in a secure position. Their guide, the Kalbi, said concerning their journey (*tawil*):

Surely God has made all good friends
 a ransom for Ibn al-Muhallab, irrespective of what has
 happened!
 What a fine young man [he is], O grouping of al-Azd!
 Your riding camels
 drew near to al-Wahb,531 to the east of a
 mountain pass,
 They [then] turned to the right, [?alongside] the
 sand of `Alij,532
 while on the right of the people were the
 heights of Ghurrab.533
 If our riding camels do not reach Sulayman in the
 morning after five [nights]
 from the people of al-Liwa,534 they will
 return by night.535

531. Not known to Yaqut.

532. Yaqut (*Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 591) knew `Alij as "sands between Fayd and al-Qurayyat . . . adjoining al-Tha`labiyyah on the Mecca road."

533. According to Yaqut (*Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 783), Ghurrab is "a mountain this side of Syria in the *diyar* of the Banu Kalb."

534. In addition to meaning "a place where the sand stops," al-Liwa is a place name signifying "one of the valleys of the Banu Sulaym" (Yaqut, *Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 366).

535. The sense of this is not clear to me.

We flee like⁵³⁶ the sun from what is behind us
and go, in the darkness of blackest night,
With people who were kings. I guided them
in the gloom in which no light of a star could be seen,
Nor a moon, save faintly, as if it were
a gilded bracelet, fashioned by a bracelet smith.

According to Hishamal-Hasan b. Aban al-`Ulaymi: While
`Abd al-Jabbar b. Yazid b. al-Rab`ah was journeying with them,
Yazid's turban fell off, and he missed it. He said, "O `Abd al-
Jabbar, go back and seek it for us." [`Abd al-Jabbar] said "Someone
like me should not be ordered [to do] this." [Yazid] repeated [the
order], and [`Abd al-Jabbar] refused. [Yazid] caught him with [his]
whip, and `Abd al-Jabbar proclaimed his genealogy to him; [Yazid]
felt ashamed, and that [is the context in which `Abd al-Jabbar]
said: [1213]

Surely God has made all good friends
a ransom for Ibn al-Muhallab, irrespective of what has
happened!

Al-Hajjaj wrote, "The family of al-Muhallab have embezzled
God's money and have fled from me and joined Sulayman." The
family of al-Muhallab reached Sulayman after the order had been
given for people to be gathered to be sent to Khurasan, [since the
authorities were sure] that Yazid had gone in the direction of
Khurasan in order to rouse those who were there to rebellion.
When it reached al-Walid that he was with Sulayman, that made
some of what he felt easier for him, [but he remained] angry about
the money which [Yazid] had taken.

Sulayman wrote to al-Walid, "Yazid b. al-Muhallab is with me,
and I have given him a safe-conduct. He owes three million
[dirhams], al-Hajjaj having fined them six million and they having
paid three million; I shall pay the remaining three million." [Al-
Walid] wrote to him, "No, by God, I shall not give him a safe-
conduct until you send him to me." [Sulayman] wrote to him, "If
I send him to you, I shall come with him [myself]. I beseech you
by God not to disgrace me and not to violate my [protection]."
[Al-Walid] wrote to him, "If you come to me, I shall not give him

536. Reading, with Ms B, *nafirru furara*, rather than *taqarru qarara*.

a safe-conduct." Yazid said [to Sulayman], "Send me to him, by God. I do not want to occasion enmity and war between you and him, nor [do I want] the people to see a bad omen for the two of you in me. Send me to him, and send your son with me, and write to [al-Walid] in the kindest terms you can manage"; [Sulayman] accordingly sent his son Ayyub with him.

Al-Walid had ordered [Sulayman] to send [Yazid] to him in bonds, and he sent him to him saying to his son, "When you are about to enter [al-Walid's] presence, you and Yazid are to bind yourselves with a chain and go in to al-Walid's presence together." [Ayyub] did that with [Yazid] when they got to al-Walid, and they went into his presence [together]. When al-Walid saw his nephew in a chain, he said, "By God, we have gone rather far with Sulayman." Then the young man handed his father's letter over to his uncle and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, may I be your ransom, do not violate my father's protection, you being the most worthy of those who have defended it, and do not cut short the hope of one who has hoped for safety in taking refuge with us because of our [good] standing with you; do not abase one who has hoped for high rank in resorting to us because of our high rank with you."

[1214]

[Al-Walid] read the letter: "To `Abd Allah al-Walid, the Commander of the Faithful, from Sulayman b. `Abd al-Malik. To continue: I used to think that, even if an enemy who had thwarted you and striven against you sought my protection and I lodged him and gave him protection, you would neither abase my protégé nor violate my protection. As it is, I have only protected an obedient and compliant [man]he and his father and his family have contributed much to Islamand I have sent him to you. If you intend cutting off relations with me, violating my protection, and going to excess in doing me harm, you are [of course] able to do that if you want; but I would wish you to seek preservation by God from [any] intention of cutting off relations with me, violating my honor, and ignoring my solicitous regard [for you] and my connection [with you]. By God, O Commander of the Faithful, you know neither how much longer either of us has to live nor when death will part us. If the Commander of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his joy, is able [to bring it about] that the appointed time of death does not come to us but that he is [still] respect-

ing our blood tie, giving me my due, and refraining from harming me, let him do so. By God, O Commander of the Faithful, nothing on earth after piety to God pleases me more than pleasing you. Your pleasure is part of that through which I seek God's pleasure. If for once, O Commander of the Faithful, you desire my joy, my friendly connection, my honor, and the exaltation of my due, pass over Yazid for me without punishing him; everything you seek of him will be my responsibility." [1215]

When [al-Walid] had read the letter, he said, "We have been burdensome to Sulayman; and he summoned his nephew and brought him near to him. [Then] Yazid spoke. He praised God and extolled Him, blessed His Prophet, may God bless him, and then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, our benefit through you is the best. Whoever may forget that, we shall not forget it; and whoever may deny that, we shall not deny it. There has issued from our benefit as a family, in [our] obedience to you, [in our] thrusting at the eyes of your enemies in great battlefields east and west, that in which there is for us a mighty grace." [Al-Walid] said to him, "Sit," and he sat, and [al-Walid] gave him safe-conduct and desisted from him.

[Yazid] returned to Sulayman, and his brothers strove to acquire the money he owed. [Al-Walid] wrote to al-Hajjaj, "I could not make any headway with Yazid. His family is with Sulayman. Desist from them, and stop writing to me about them." When al-Hajjaj saw that, he desisted from them. Abu `Uyaynah b. al-Muhallab owed al-Hajjaj one hundred thousand [dirhams, which al-Hajjaj] left to him; and he desisted from Habib b. al-Muhallab.

Yazid returned to Sulayman b. `Abd al-Malik and stayed with him, teaching him how to dress well,⁵³⁷ making delicious dishes for him, and giving him large presents. He was one of those held in [Sulayman's] highest regard. No gift reached Yazid b. al-Muhallab but that he sent it to Sulayman; and no gift or benefit reached Sulayman but that he sent half of it to Yazid b. al-Muhallab. No slave girl pleased him but that he sent her to Yazid, except for the slave girl Khati'ah.⁵³⁸ [1216]

That reached al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik, who summoned al-

537. If this is how we are to understand *yu`allimuhu al-hay'ah*. Ibn al-Athir omits it, while Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 79) reads *hasan al-hay'ah*.

538. About whom no more information seems to be available.

Harith b. Malik b. Rabi`ah al-Ash`ari and said [to him], "Go off to Sulayman and say to him, 'O you who are inimical to your family. It has reached the Commander of the Faithful that no gift or benefit comes to you but that you send half of it to Yazid, and that one of your slave girls comes to you, and no sooner does her state of purity come to an end than you send her to Yazid.' Show him the foulness of that and revile him for it. Do you think you can convey what I have instructed you to do?" [A1-Harith] said, "Obedience [consists of] obeying you. I am simply a messenger." [Al-Walid] said, "Go to him, say that to him, and stay with him. I shall send him a present. Hand it over to him and take from him a receipt for what you hand over to him."

[A1-Harith] went until he reached [Sulayman], who had a copy of the Qur'an in front of him and was reciting. He entered into his presence and greeted him; [Sulayman] did not return his greeting until he had finished his recitation. Then [al-Harith] raised his head to him and said everything that al-Walid had instructed him to say. [Sulayman's] face became distorted [with] anger. Then he said, "By God, if I am able to get hold of you one of these days, I shall cut part of you off!" [A1-Harith] said to him, "Obedience was incumbent upon me," and he went out of his presence.

When that [present] sent by al-Walid to Sulayman arrived, al-Harith b. Rabi`ah al-Ash`ari entered into [Sulayman's] presence and said to him, "Give me the receipt for what I have handed over to you." [Sulayman] said, "What did you say to me?" He said, "I shall never repeat it to you.⁵³⁹ Obedience was incumbent upon me in respect of it." [Sulayman] was quiet and knew that the man had told him the truth. Then he went out and [those present] went out with him, and he said, "Take half of these bundles and baskets and send them to Yazid."

[1217]

[Hisham] continued: The man knew that [Sulayman] would not obey anyone in respect of Yazid. Yazid stayed with Sulayman for nine months; and al-Hajjaj died in the year 95, on Friday, 20 Shawwal (July 8, 714)⁵⁴⁰

539. Following Ibrahim's *ilayka abadan* in preference to the text's seemingly unintelligible *`al.ma abadan*.

540. The suspicion that something is wrong here is fortified by Ibn Kathir's version (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 79): "Yazid b. al-Muhallab stayed with Sulayman b. `Abd al-Malik until al-Hajjaj died in the year 95."

The Events of the Year 91
(November 9, 709–October 28, 710)

In it, according to what Muhammad b. `Umar and others have mentioned, `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Walid made the summer campaign. In command of the army was Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik.

In it, too, Maslamah campaigned against the Turks until he reached al-Bab⁵⁴¹ in the region of Adharbayjan. Cities and fortresses were conquered at his hands.

In it, Musa b. Nusayr campaigned against al-Andalus. Cities and fortresses were conquered at his hands.⁵⁴²

[Qutaybah's Capture and Killing of Nizak]

In this year Qutaybah b. Muslim killed Nizak Tarkhan.⁵⁴³

The narrative returns to that of `Ali b. Muhammad and the story of Nizak and Qutaybah's victory over him until he killed him. When there reached Qutaybah those of the people of Abrahshahr, Biward, Sarakhs, and Herat to whom he had written instructing them to join him, he went with [his entire force] to [1218]

541. See above, n. 499.

542. See *EI2*, s.v. al-Andalus.

543. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 36ff.

Marw Rudh, having deputed [at Marw] over military affairs (*harb*) Hammad b. Muslim and over taxation (*kharaj*) `Abdallah b. al-Ahtam. [When news of] the advance of [Qutaybah] into his territory reached the marzban of Marw Rudh, he fled to the land of the Furs.⁵⁴⁴ Qutaybah arrived in Marw Rudh, took two sons of his, killed them, and crucified them. Then he went to al-Talaqan, the lord of which stayed put, not fighting him and desisting from him. [In al-Talaqan] were brigands, whom Qutaybah killed and crucified. He appointed over al-Talaqan `Amr b. Muslim⁵⁴⁵ and went on to al-Faryab. The king of al-Faryab went out to him, submissively, and professing his obedience, and [Qutaybah] was satisfied with that and did not kill anyone there; he appointed over it a man from Bahilah.

News of them reached the lord of al-Juzjan, and he left his territory and went out into the mountains in flight. Qutaybah went to al-Juzjan, and its people met him, compliant and obedient, and he accepted [that] from them and did not kill anyone there; he appointed over it `Amir b. Malik al-Himmani. Then he reached Balkh; the Isbahbadh and the people of Balkh met him, and he entered it. He stayed in it only one day and then went on, following `Abd al-Rahman [b. Muslim], until he reached the Khulm pass. Nizak had gone off and camped at Baghlan,⁵⁴⁶ leaving fighting men at the mouth and the defiles of the pass in order to defend it, and placing fighting men in a strong fortress behind the pass. Qutaybah stayed for [some] days fighting them at the defile of the pass without being able to make any progress against them. He was unable to enter it, it being a defile through which the valley passed, and he did not know of any way by which he could get to Nizak other than the pass or a desert which would not support the troops. He remained, turning his face to right and left in perplexity, looking for strategems.

[1219]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: He was in this [dilemma] when there came to him the Ru'b Khan, the king of al-Ru'b⁵⁴⁷ and

544. Which does not make sense in this context; in the *Addenda et Emendanda*, Marquart proposes that we should understand this as *bilad al-Gharsh*, i.e., Gharshistan, a territory in the mountains to the east of Herat (see *ET2*, s.v. Ghardjistan).

545. This appointment (together with that of `Amir b. Malik see the next paragraph) is also mentioned in the account of Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 232).

546. Two days' journey from Siminjan (Barthold, *Turkestan3*, p. 67).

547. A town near Siminjan (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 427).

Siminjan,⁵⁴⁸ seeking a safe-conduct from him on the basis that he would show him a way of getting into the fortress that was behind this pass. Qutaybah gave him a safe-conduct, gave him what he asked for, and sent with him at night men with whom he got to the fortress which was behind the Khulm pass. They fell upon [the men of the fortress] at night, they feeling perfectly secure [from attack], and killed them; those who survived and those who were in the pass fled, and Qutaybah and [his army] entered the pass and reached the fortress. Then he went on to Siminjan, Nizak being at Baghlan, at a spring called Fanj Jah;⁵⁴⁹ between Siminjan and Baghlan is a desert that is not particularly difficult.

[ʿAli b. Muhammad] continued: Qutaybah stayed in Siminjan for [some] days and then went off to Nizak; he sent his brother ʿAbd al-Rahman on ahead, and he reached Nizak. [At this,] Nizak set off from his house, crossed the Farghanah valley,⁵⁵⁰ sent his baggage and wealth to the Kabul Shah, and went on until he stopped at al-Kurz,⁵⁵¹ being followed [all the while] by ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Muslim. ʿAbd al-Rahman stopped and took control of the defiles of al-Kurz, and Qutaybah stopped at Iskimisht,⁵⁵² two parasangs away. Nizak took refuge in al-Kurz, having no way out save in one direction, which was difficult, since it could not be negotiated by riding animals.

[1220]

Qutaybah besieged Nizak for two months, until Nizak's stock of grain became scanty and they were afflicted by smallpox, which Jabghuyah caught. Qutaybah feared the winter, and he summoned Sulaym al-Nasih.⁵⁵³ and said, "Go off to Nizak and use artifice to get him to come to me without a safe-conduct. If he gives you trouble and refuses, give him a safe-conduct. Know that, if I see you and you don't have him with you, I shall crucify you. So work for your own sake." [Sulaym] said, "Write for me to

548. Two days' journey from Khulm (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 67).

549. Rendered *Pang-cah*, "Schneebrunnen" (rather than "Five Wells"), by Marquart (*Eranahr*, p. 219).

550. As Marquart points out (*Eranahr*, p. 220), this Farghanah must have been to the south of Baghlan.

551. Not even Marquart knows an-y more about this place.

552. Rendered thus by Marquart (*Ergnahr*, pp. 219-20); if Wellhausen's identification (*Kingdom*, p. 435, n. 1) is correct, it was not far southeast of Baghlan.

553. In a roughly similar account, Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 226) identifies Sulaym al-Nasih as Sulaym b. ʿAbdallah.

`Abd al-Rahman, [telling him] not to disobey me." [Qutaybah] said, "Yes," and he wrote for him to `Abd al-Rahman. [Sulaym] then went to [`Abd al-Rahman] and said to him, "Send men to be [stationed] at the mouth of the pass and, when Nizak and I come out, let them slip round behind us, interposing themselves between us and the pass."

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: `Abd al-Rahman sent cavalry, and they were [stationed] where Sulaym instructed them [to be]. Sulaym [now] went off, carrying with him foodstuffs to last for days and loads of *khabis*,⁵⁵⁴ until he reached Nizak. Nizak said to him, "You have abandoned me, O Sulaym." Sulaym said, "I haven't abandoned you, but you disobeyed me and did harm to yourself. You disavowed [Qutaybah] and acted perfidiously." [Nizak] said, "What is the right thing to do?" [Sulaym] said, "The right thing to do now is to go to him. You have angered him with your contention, and he is not going to leave this place of his. He is resolved to winter *in situ*, whether he perishes or survives." [Nizak] said, "Am I to go to him without a safe-conduct?" [Sulaym] said, "I don't think that he will give you one, on account of what [he holds] against you in his heart, for you have filled him with wrath. I think that you should place your hand in his before he is aware of you, and I hope that, if you do that, he will be ashamed and will forgive you." [Nizak] said, "You think that?" He said, "Yes." [Nizak] said, "I can't bring myself to accept that. If Qutaybah sees me, he will kill me." Sulaym said to him, "I have only come to advise you to do this. If you do it, I hope that you will be safe and that your position with him will revert to what it was. If you refuse, I shall be off." [Nizak] said, "Then let us give you lunch." [Sulaym] said, "I suspect that you (pl.) are too busy to prepare food; we have plenty of food with us." [1221]

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: Sulaym called for lunch [to be served], and [his servants] brought abundant food, the like of which [Nizak's men] had been unfamiliar with since they had been besieged. The Turks devoured it, and that grieved Nizak. Sulaym said, "O Abu al-Hayyaj, I am one of your [most] sincere advisers. I see that your companions have been worn out. If the siege goes on for a long time and you stay as you are, I can't be

⁵⁵⁴. Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 697c) defines this as "a kind of food, sweet, well known, made of dates and clarified butter, mixed together."

sure that they won't make use of you in order to gain safe-conduct. Set off and go to Qutaybah." [Nizak] said, "I have never felt safe with him, and I shall not go to him without a safe-conduct. My feeling about him is that he is going to kill me even if he does give me a safe-conduct, but the safe-conduct gives me more excuse from blame and more hope." [Sulaym] said, "He has given you a safe-conduct: do you have any doubts about me?" Nizak said, "No." [Sulaym] said, "So set off with me." His companions said to him, "Accept what Sulaym has said; he would not have said but what is true." So he called for his riding animals and went with Sulaym.

When he reached the steps by which he might descend to the plain, he said, "O Sulaym, whoever may not know when he will die, I [for one] know when I shall die. I shall die when I see Qutaybah." [Sulaym] said, "By no means. Will he kill when you have a safe-conduct?" Then [Nizak] rode, accompanied by Jab-ghuyah, who had recovered from smallpox, and Sill and `Uthman, the sons of Nizak's brother, and Sul Tarkhan, [who was] Jab-ghuyah's deputy, and Kh.n.s.555 Tarkhan, [who] was the police chief.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] said: When he emerged from the pass, the cavalry left by Sulaym at the mouth of the pass slipped around and interposed themselves between the Turks and the exit. Nizak said to Sulaym, "This is the first bad [sign]." [Sulaym] said, "Don't think that.⁵⁵⁶ The [fact that] these people are staying behind⁵⁵⁷ you is better for you." Sulaym went on, together with Nizak and those who had had gone out with him, until they entered into the presence of `Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim, who sent a messenger to Qutaybah informing him [of this]. Qutaybah sent `Amr b. Abi Mih-zam to `Abd al-Rahman [with the message], "Bring them to me," and `Abd al-Rahman brought them to him. Qutaybah imprisoned the companions of Nizak and handed Nizak [himself] over to Ibn Bassam al-Laythi. He wrote to al-

[1222]

555. Or "H.b.s.," as in Ms P and Ibn al-Athir.

556. So understanding *Ia taf`al* in the text; Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 227) reads *Ia `alayka*, "don't worry," at this point.

557. Reading *takhallufu* in place of *tukhallifu* (*pace* the *Addenda et Emendanda*).

Hajjaj asking his permission to kill Nizak.

Ibn Bassam placed Nizak in his yurt, dug a trench around the yurt, and set guards over him. Qutaybah sent off Mu`awiyah b. `Amir b. `Alqamah al-`Ulaymi, who removed what goods and people there were in al-Kurz and brought them to Qutaybah. [Qutaybah] imprisoned [these people], pending [the arrival of] al-Hajjaj's letter concerning what he had written to him about. Al-Hajjaj's letter instructing him to kill Nizak reached him after forty days.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] said: [Qutaybah] called for [Nizak] and said, "Do you have any commitment from me or from `Abd al-Rahman or from Sulaym?" He said, "I have one from Sulaym." [Qutaybah] said, "You are lying," and he stood up and went into [an inner chamber]. He returned Nizak to his prison and remained [indoors] for three days without appearing to the people.

According to [`Ali b. Muhammad] Al-Muhallab b. Iyas al-`Adawi: The people talked about the matter of Nizak. Some of them said, "It is not lawful for [Qutaybah] to kill him," while others said, "It is not lawful for him to let him be." Much was said about this.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: On the fourth day Qutaybah came out, sat, and gave permission to the people [to come into his presence]. He said, "What do you think about killing Nizak?" They held differing opinions: There were those who said, "Kill him," those who said, "You have given him a commitment; do not kill him," and those who said, "We are not sure [that he will not do harm] to the Muslims," Dirar b. Husayn entered, and [Qutaybah] said to him, "What do you say, O Dirar?" He said, "I say that I heard you say that you had given God a covenant that if He delivered [Nizak] into your hands, you would kill him, and that if you did not do so, [you wished that] God would never help you." Qutaybah sat silently and with downcast eyes for a long time and then said, "By God, if there were to remain of my allotted span no more than three words, I would say, 'Kill him, kill him, kill him.'" He sent for Nizak and ordered that he and his companions be killed; he was killed along with seven hundred [others].

[1223]

As for the Bahilis, they say that neither [Qutaybah] nor Sulaym gave him a safe-conduct. When [Qutaybah] intended to kill him,

he called for him and for a Hanafi sword.⁵⁵⁸ He unsheathed it, lengthened⁵⁵⁹ his sleeves, and executed him with his [own] hand. He ordered `Abd al-Rahman to behead Sul, and he ordered Salih to kill `Uthman, called Shaqran, the son of Nizak's brother. He said to Bakr b. Habib al-Sahmi, from Bahilah, "Have you [enough] strength [to deal with the rest]?" He said, "Yes, more than enough";⁵⁶⁰ there was roughness in Bakr. [Qutaybah] said [to him], "Take these dihqans."

[`Ali b. Muhammad] continued: When he was brought a man, he would behead him and say, "Begin and keep at it."⁵⁶¹ Those who were killed on that day [numbered] twelve thousand, according to what the Bahilis say. [Qutaybah] crucified Nizak and the two sons of his brother at the source of a spring called Wakhsh Khashan⁵⁶² in Iskimisht. A1-Mughirah b. Habna' said, mentioning that in a long piece (*tawil*):⁵⁶³

By my life, what a good campaign by the army that was;
it put an end to Nizak and became lofty [in merit].

According to `AliMus`ab b. Hayyanhis father: Qutaybah sent the head of Nizak with Mihfan b. Jaz' al-Kilabi and Sawwar b. Zahdam al-Jarmi. A1-Hajjaj said, "Qutaybah should have sent Nizak's head with one of the sons of Muslim."⁵⁶⁴ Sawwar said (*wafir*): [1224]

I say to Mihfan, when an auspicious [bird]
has flown [from on my left]
and another [bird], an inauspicious one,
from my right,
And disasters have begun to
rise up all around him, and stop short of me,

558. According to Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 658), Hanafi swords were "*certain swords, so called in relation to El-Ahnafe Ibn-Kays*; because he was the first who ordered to make them."

559. Sic: unrolled? One might rather have expected him to roll his sleeves up.

560. Following the preference of the *Glossarium* and of the *Addenda et Emendanda* for *wa-azidu* (rather than *wa-uridu*).

561. *Awridu wa-asdiru*: cf. al-Zamakhshari, *Asas*, s.v. *s.d.r.*

562. Not even Marquart has anything to say about this place.

563. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 374-75. The following verse is given (in mangled form) by Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 229); Ibn al-Athir ascribes it to Nahar b. Tawsi`ah.

564. I.e., one of his brothers.

"I beseech you, does it please you that my saddle and yours are on Badhibin⁵⁶⁵ mules?"

Mihfan said, "Yes, [both here] and in China."

`Ali said: According to (i) Hamzah b. Ibrahim, (ii) `Ali b. Mujahid Hanbal b. Abi Huraydah the marzban of Quhistan, and (iii) [an authority/authorities] other than those two: Qutaybah called for Nizak one day, while he was imprisoned, and said, "What is your opinion about al-Sabal and al-Shadh? Do you think that they will come if I send to them [to come]?" [Nizak] said, "No."

[`Ali] continued: Qutaybah sent to them, and they came to him. He summoned Nizak and Jabghuyah, and they entered, and there were al-Sabal and al-Shadh sitting in front of him. [Nizak and Jabghuyah] sat down opposite them, and al-Shadh said to Qutaybah, "Jabghuyah, even though he is an enemy of mine, is older than I; and he is the king, while I am as his slave. Give me permission to draw near to him." [Qutaybah] gave him permission, and he drew near to him, kissed his hand, and prostrated himself before him.

[`Ali] continued: Then al-Sabal⁵⁶⁶ asked [Qutaybah's] permission [in respect of Jabghuyah]; [Qutaybah gave him permission, and he drew near to him and kissed his hand. Nizak said to Qutaybah, "Give me permission to draw near to al-Shadh, for I am his slave." He gave him permission, and he drew near to him and kissed his hand. Then Qutaybah gave leave to al-Sabal and al-Shadh, and they departed to their lands; he joined to al-Shadh's party] al-Hajjaj al-Qayni, who was a leading Khurasani. [1225]

Qutaybah killed Nizak, and al-Zubayr, the magla of `Abis⁵⁶⁷ al-Bahili, took a boot of Nizak's in which there was a jewel. Owing to that jewel, which he had acquired in [Nizak's] boot, he became the richest and most landed person in his territory. Qutaybah allowed him it, and he remained rich until he died at Kabul in the governorship of Abu Dawud.⁵⁶⁸

565. A place in Iraq to the east of Wasit (see Cornu).

566. Following Ms B. (*Thumma ista'dhanahu al-sabal*) in preference to the version that inserts *fi* before *al-sabal*; the latter version would involve al-Shadh's paying homage to al-Sabal, which seems less likely.

567. Ibn al-Athir reads "'`Abbas."

568. Abu Dawud Khalid b. Ibrahim al-Dhuhli, who was governor of Khurasan from 137/754-55 to 140/757-58 (see Omar, *The `Abbasid Caliphate*, 132/750-170/786, pp. 203-4).

[ʿAli] continued: Qutaybah set Jabghuyah free, gave generously to him, and sent him to al-Walid; he stayed in Syria until al-Walid died. Qutaybah returned to Marw, and appointed his brother ʿAbd al-Rahman over Balkh. The people used to say that Qutaybah behaved perfidiously toward Nizak. Thabit Qutnah⁵⁶⁹ said (*tawil*):

Do not consider perfidy [to be the equal of] resolution;
with it feet may ascend one day and then slip.

[ʿAli] said: A1-Hajjaj used to say, "I sent Qutaybah as an inexperienced young man: Whenever I gave him an extra *dhira`*, he gave me an extra *ba`*."⁵⁷⁰

ʿAli said: According to (i) Hamzah b. Ibrahim Khurasani shaykhs, (ii) ʿAli b. Mujahid Hanbal b. Abi Huraydah the marzban of Quhistan, and (iii) [an authority/authorities] other than those two: When Qutaybah b. Muslim had returned to Marw and killed Nizak, he sought the king of al-Juzjan, who had fled from his country. [The king] sent [word to Qutaybah], requesting a safe-conduct, and [Qutaybah] gave him one on condition that he come to him and make peace with him. [The king] requested hostages, to be held by him, while he [in turn] would give hostages. Qutaybah gave [him] Habib b. ʿAbdallah b. ʿAmr b. Husayn al-Bahili, and the king of al-Juzjan gave [him] hostages from his family. The king of al-Juzjan left Habib in al-Juzjan, in one of his fortresses, and came to Qutaybah and made peace with him. Then he returned and died in al-Talaqan. The people of al-Juzjan said, "They have poisoned him," and they killed Habib; [at this,] Qutaybah killed the hostages who were with him. Nahar b. Tawsi`ah said to Qutaybah (*wafir*):⁵⁷¹

[1226]

May God show you a judgment concerning the Turks
like [His] judgment concerning Qurayzah and al-Nadir!⁵⁷²
A decree from Qutaybah, not tyrannical,
through which thirsting bosoms are cured.

⁵⁶⁹. Thabit (b. ʿAbd al-Rahman) b. Ka`b al-ʿAtaki (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 376-77).

⁵⁷⁰. I.e., he repaid, him amply or fourfold. *Dhira`* signifies "forearm, cubit," and the *dhira` shar`iyyah* is the canonical ell of 49.875 cm; *ba`* signifies the "span of two outstretched arms" and is the equivalent of four canonical ells.

⁵⁷¹. The first two of 'the following verses are given also by Ibn A`tham (*Futuh.*, vol. VII, p. 233 }.

⁵⁷². Two of the Jewish groupings at Yathrib against whom the Prophet took harsh measures (*EI2*, s.v. Kurayza).

If Nizak sees disgrace and abasement,
then how many amirs have been rendered stupid
in the war?

A1-Mughirah b. Habna' said, eulogizing Qutaybah and mentioning the killing of Nizak, Sill, and Nizak's nephew [called] `Uthman or Shaqran (*kamil*):573

For whom have the abodes effaced at the foot of
a piece [of land]
[everything] except for what remains of dry
herbage and panic grass?
The winds have violently blown about the dust and
rubbish there and have obliterated them,
sweeping right across their open spaces.
An abode of a slave girl, whose saliva is
as if it were musk, the mixture of which is
mingled with wine.
Inform Abu Hafs. Qutaybah of my eulogy,
and recite to him my greeting and salutation.
O sword, convey it, for its praise is
good, and you are witness to my deed.
He is elevated, and, when he is elevated, men are humbled
to Qutaybah, the protector of the preserve of Islam.
The finest one, the one who is chosen for a matter
of moment,
the experienced one, through whom the numerous
enemy is taken.
He goes forth when the coward fears and the war has
become hot, its fire kindled with blazing
kindling grass.
The spear, with the standard before it, is given to drink
blood, under flashing [weapons] and [gushing]
throats;
Heads are cut off by swords as if they were [1227]
broken ostrich eggs, when you see them in
the hole.
You see slender steeds readied

573. The first of the following verses appears also (in mangled form) in Ibn A`tham (*Futun*, vol. VII, p. 224).

in his courtyard for whatever may befall;
 With them he brought Nizak down from a high place
 and al-Kurz, where [Nizak] was doing what he
 wanted.
 You gave to his brother, Shaqran, to drink from
 his cup,
 and you gave their two cups to Badham to
 drink from.
 You left Sill, when he attacked, knocked down,
 with the horses treading on him with the
 backs and edges of their hooves.

In this year I mean the year 91 Qutaybah made his second
 campaign in Shuman, Kish, and Nasaf, and he made peace with
 Tarkhan.⁵⁷⁴

[Qutaybah's Campaign in Transoxania]

`Ali said: According to (i) Bishr b. `Isa Abu Safwan, (ii) Abu al-
 Sari and Jabalah b. Farrukh Sulayman b. Mujalid, (iii) al-Hasan
 b. Rushayd Tufayl b. Mirdas al-`Ammi, (iv) Abu al-Sari al-Mar-
 wazihi's paternal uncle, (v) Bishr b. `Isa and `Ali b. Mujahid
 Hanbal b. Abi Huraydah the marzban of Quhistan, (vi) `Ayyash
 b. `Abdallah al-Ghanawi Khurasani shaykhs, and (vii) my foster
 father "each has mentioned something, and I have put it [all]
 together and have inserted some parts into other parts":
 Qaybishtasban⁵⁷⁵ one of them said Ghushtasban⁵⁷⁶ the king
 of Shuman, threw out Qutaybah's governor and withheld the trib-
 ute on the basis of which he had made peace with Qutaybah.
 Qutaybah sent to him `Ayyash al-Ghanawi, accompanied by one
 of the Khurasani ascetics, to induce the king of Shuman to pay
 the tribute on the basis of which he had made peace with
 Qutaybah. They reached the country, and [the people] came out
 to them and shot at them. [The ascetic] turned back, while
 `Ayyash al-Ghanawi stayed [where he was]. He said, "Is there no

[1228]

574. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 38ff.

575. Following the proposal of Marquart in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see
 also *Eranahr*, p. 226 [= Kai-Bitaspan; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 372]).

576. Following the proposal of Marquart in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see
 also *Eranahr*, loc. cit. = Ghutaspan, and cf. above, p. 128 and n. 442).

Muslim here?" and a man came out of the city to him and said, "I am a Muslim; what do you want?" [ʿAyyash] said, "[I want] you to help me make holy war (*jihad*) against them." [The man] said, "Yes." ʿAyyash said to him, "Be behind me to protect my back," and he stood behind him; the man's name was al-Muhallab. ʿAyyash fought them; he charged them, and they scattered away from him. [Then] al-Muhallab attacked ʿAyyash from behind and killed him. They found sixty wounds on him, and his death grieved them; they said, "We have killed a brave man."

[News of this] reached Qutaybah, who went to them in person, taking the Balkh road. When he reached [Balkh], he sent his brother ʿAbd al-Rahman on ahead and placed ʿAmr b. Muslim over Balkh. The king of Shuman was a friend of Salih b. Muslim's, and Salih sent to him a man to order him to [render] obedience and guarantee him Qutaybah's pleasure if he reverted to the [terms of the] peace. [The king] refused and said to Salih's messenger, "With what will you make me frightened of Qutaybah? I, among the kings, have the strongest fortress. When I shoot at the top of it, the strongest of people with the bow and the strongest of them in shooting my arrow does not [even] get halfway up my fortress. I do not fear Qutaybah."

Qutaybah went on from Balkh, crossed the river, and reached Shuman, where the king had fortified himself. Qutaybah set up mangonels against it and pounded it. When [the king] feared that he would be vanquished and saw what had befallen him, he gathered all the money and jewels he had and dropped them in a spring in the middle of the fortress, the bottom of which was not known.

[ʿAli] said: Then [Qutaybah] conquered the fortress. [The king] went out to them, fought them, and was killed. Qutaybah took the fortress by force of arms, killed the fighting men, and took the offspring captive. Then he returned to Bab al-Hadid,⁵⁷⁷ and passed from there to Kish and Nasaf. Al-Hajjaj had written to him, "Outwit Kish, and smash Nasaf; and beware of beating about the bush."⁵⁷⁸ He conquered Kish and Nasf, [but] F.ryab⁵⁷⁹ held out [1229]

577. The famous Iron Gate, i.e., the Buzgala pass, On the road from al-Tirmidh to Kish and Nasaf (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 186; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 441-42).

578. Cf. above, p. 147.

579. Thus, too, in Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 83), but this cannot be the

(Footnote continued on next page)

against him; so he burned it, and it was called "The Burnt."⁵⁸⁰ From Kish and Nasaf, Qutaybah sent his brother `Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim to Tarkhun in Soghd. [`Abd al-Rahman] went along until he stopped at a meadow near [Tarkhun and his followers], that being at the time of the afternoon prayer. [His army] broke up into groups and drank until they became silly and made mischief. `Abd al-Rahman ordered Abu Mardiyyah, a mawla of theirs (sc. the Bahilis), to prevent the people from drinking the [fermented] juice;⁵⁸¹ he beat them, broke their vessels, and poured out their wine, which flowed into the valley. It was called "Wine Meadow." One of their poets said (*kamil*):

As for wine, I do not drink it;
I fear the dog Abu Mardiyyah,
Going vigorously and violently with his ax handle,⁵⁸²
jumping over walls, [looking] for drink.

`Abd al-Rahman took from Tarkhun something on the basis of which Qutaybah had made peace with him, handed over to him [some] hostages that were with him, and departed [heading] for Qutaybah, who was at Bukhara. They then returned to Marw.

The Soghdians said to Tarkhun, "You have been satisfied with humiliation, and you have deemed the [paying of] tax agreeable; you are an old man, and we have no need of you."

[`Ali] said: They put Ghurak⁵⁸³ in charge and imprisoned Tarkhun. Tarkhun said, "There is nothing after being stripped of kingship other than being killed; I prefer that that should be by my [own] hand rather than that someone other than myself should take charge of it in respect of me"; and he leaned on his sword until it came out of his back.⁵⁸⁴ [`Ali] said: They did this to

(Footnote continued from previous page)

well-known Faryab, since the context is Transoxanian; see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 138 (also Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, pp. 435 [n. 3], 466).

580. As Barthold (*Turkestan*³, p. 138, citing al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, set. ii, p. 1041) notes, a village in this area had become known as "The Burnt" as a result of the earlier activities of Habib b. al-Muhallab.

[1230]

581. So rendering *al-`asir*, which was clearly alcoholic in this case (Dr. D. F. Waines has informed me that this sense of *`asir* is not uncommon).

582. Preferring *bi-shikkatibi*, as proposed by the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

583. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*, rather than the text (see also Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 42 and n. 15 thereto); Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 84) gives this form and says that Ghurak was Tarkhun's brother.

584. According to al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 344), Ghurak killed Tarkhun.

Tarkhun when Qutaybah went out to Sijistan; and they put Ghurak in charge.

As for the Bahilis, they say: Qutaybah besieged the king of Shuman and set mangonels against his fortress. He set up a mangonel that they used to call "The Pigeon-Toed," shot the first stone, and hit the [city] wall; he shot another, and it landed in the city. Then the stones followed one another, landing in the city. One of them landed in the king's court, hitting a man and killing him. [Qutaybah] conquered the fortress by force of arms. Then he returned to Kish and Nasaf, and thence to Bukhara. He stopped at a village in which there were a fire temple and a house of gods; in [this village] there were peacocks, and they called it "The Dwelling Place of the Peacocks."⁵⁸⁵ Then he went to Tarkhun in Soghd, in order to collect from him that on the basis of which he had made peace with him. When he looked out on the valley of Soghd and saw how good it was, he recited (*basit*):

A green and fertile valley that has been protected
from people, out of caution against death and battle.⁵⁸⁶
I have come to it with fine horses, that are urged along,
bringing at a run tousel-headed [fighters]
thirsty for blood.

[ʿAli] said: [Qutaybah] took from Tarkhun his [tribute as stipulated in the] peace. Then he returned to Bukhara. He made a young man Bukhara Khudhah, and killed those he feared would oppose him. Then he went by way of Amul to Marw.

According to [ʿAli] the Bahilis Bashshar b. ʿAmra man from Bahilah: [Qutaybah's men] kept on bombarding their buildings until the fortress was conquered.

[Khalid al-Qasri's Strict Governorship of Mecca]

In this year al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Malik appointed over Mecca Khalid b. ʿAbdallah al-Qasri, who remained governor there until al-Walid died.

[1231]

⁵⁸⁵. *Manzil al-tawawis*. See Barthold, *Turkestan*³, pp. 98-99.

⁵⁸⁶. Reading *hadharu 'l-mawti wa-'l-rahaji*, with Ms B.

According to Muhammad b. `Umar al-Waqidi Isma`il b. Ibrahim b. `Uqbah Nafi`, mawla of the Banu Makhzum: I heard Khalid b. `Abdallah say, "O people, you are in the most sacrosanct of God's lands. God chose it from [all] the lands and put His House in it. Then He prescribed for His servants the making of pilgrimage to it, 'he who is able to make his way there.'⁵⁸⁷ O people, incumbent upon you are obedience and cleaving to the collective body. Beware of uncertainties. By God, no one who impugns his imam (that is, the Caliph) will be brought to me but that I shall crucify him in the Hatara. God has placed the caliphate in relation to Him in the position in which He has placed it. Assent, obey, and do not say, 'Thus and thus.' The only [right] view concerning what the Caliph writes about or opines is to put it into effect. Know that it has reached me that some of those [given to] disobedience are coming to you and staying in your land. Beware not to accommodate anyone you know to be deviating from the collective body. I shall not find any one of them in the house of any one of you but that I shall demolish his house. Look [carefully] at those you accommodate in your houses. Incumbent upon you are the collective body and obedience. Disunity is the great affliction."

According to Muhammad b. `Umar Isma`il b. Ibrahim Musa b. `Uqbah Abu Habibah: I performed the lesser pilgrimage and stopped at the residences of the Banu Asad, in the houses of al-Zabir. Suddenly, there was [Khalid], calling me. I went into his presence, and he said to me, "Who are you from?" I said, "From the people of Medina." He said, "What made you stop in the houses of the one who went against obedience?" I said, "It is where I stay, if I stay for a day or so. Then I go back to my [own] house. There is no disobedience in me. I am one of those who exalt the matter of the caliphate. I claim that he who disowns it will be destroyed." He said, "Where you stayed will not be held against you. But it is disliked that there stays [here] anyone who is scornful of the Caliph." I said, "God forbid!" [In addition,] I heard him one day saying, "By God, if I were to know that this wild animal that is safe in the Hatara had spoken without acknowledging obedience, I would expel it from the Haram. No one who goes

[1232]

587. Qur'an, 3:97 = 91.

against the collective body, who scoffs at [the caliphs], may dwell in the Haram of God." I said, "May God grant the amir success."

[Al-Walid's Visit to Medina]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik. Ahmad b. Thabit related to me on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar, who said: Al-Walid made the pilgrimage in the year 91.

Similarly, Muhammad b. `Umar said: Musa b. Abi Bakr related to me: Salih. b. Kaysan related to us: When the arrival of al-Walid took place, `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz ordered twenty men from Quraysh to go out with him to meet al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik; they included Abu Bakr b. `Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith b. His-ham, his brother Muhammad b. `Abd al-Rahman, and `Abdallah b. `Amr b. `Uthman b. `Affan. They went out until they reached al-Suwayda',⁵⁸⁸ they being with `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz; with them on that day were riding animals and horses. They met al-Walid, who was mounted. The chamberlain said, "Dismount for the Commander of the Faithful," and they dismounted. Then [al-Walid] gave them an order, and they rode. [Al-Walid] summoned `Umar and went with him until he stopped at Dhu Khushub.⁵⁸⁹ Then they were presented: [Al-Walid] summoned them one by one, and they greeted him. [After this, al-Walid] called for lunch, and they lunched with him; he left Dhu Khushub in the evening.

When he entered Medina, he went in the morning to the mosque, to look at its building. The people were cleared out of it, and no one was left in it except⁵⁹⁰ Sa`id b. al-Musayyab, whom none of the guards dared to send out. [Sa`id] was in his place of prayer wearing only two thin garments, worth no more than five dirhams. Someone said to him, "If only you would stand," and he said, "I shall not stand until there comes the time when I usually stand." Someone said to him, "If only you would greet the Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "No, by God. I shall not

[1233]

588. Two stages from Medina on the way to Syria (see Cornu).

589. One stage from Medina on the way to Syria (see Cornu).

590. Literally, ". . . no one was left in it. Sa`id b. al-Musayyab remained. . . "

stand up for him." `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz said, "I began to steer al-Walid to the side of the mosque, hoping that he would not see Sa`id until he stood up." But al-Walid happened to glance toward the *qiblah* and said, "Who is that [person] sitting? Is he the shaykh Sa`id b. al-Musayyab?" `Umar said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, he's unpredictable.⁵⁹¹ If he knew that you were here, he would stand up and greet you, [but] his sight is weak." Al-Walid said, "I know about him. We shall go to him and greet him." He took a turn in the mosque until he stopped at the grave [of the Prophet], and then advanced until he stood before Sa`id. He said, "How are you, O shaykh?" Sa`id neither moved nor stood, and [then] said, "Well, praise be to God. And how is the Commander of the Faithful?" Al-Walid said, "Well, praise be to God," and he departed, saying to `Umar, "This is the last of the old school."⁵⁹² I said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful."

[Muhammad b. `Umar] said: Al-Walid distributed in Medina many foreign slaves,⁵⁹³ vessels of gold and silver, and wealth. He gave the sermon in Medina on the Friday and led the prayer.

According to Muhammad b. `Umar Ishaq b. Yahya: I saw al-Walid delivering the sermon on the pulpit of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, on Friday in the year when he made the pilgrimage. His troops were lined up in two rows from the pulpit to the back wall of the mosque; in their hands were iron rods, and on their shoulders were iron bars. I saw him ascend it wearing a *durra`ah*⁵⁹⁴ and a *qalansuwwah*,⁵⁹⁵ without a *rida*.⁵⁹⁶ He went up the pulpit, and, when he reached the top, he [1234]

591. *Wa-min halihi wa-min halihi*: Ibn al-Athir has *wa-min halihi kadha wa-kadha*, while Ibn Kathir's version (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 82) is somewhat different at this point.

592. So rendering *baqiyyat al-nas* (thus, too, in al-Ya`qubi [*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 341] and Ibn al-Athir); Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 82) more prosaically reads *faqih al-nas*.

593. *Raqiqan kathiran ujman*. Ibn al-Athir has *daqiqan kathiran*, but al-Tabari's *ujman* is the clincher as far as the *raqiqan* reading is concerned.

594. A "[garment of the kind called] *jubba*, slit in the fore part" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 872b, s.v. *midra`a*), lined, according to *EI2*, s.v. *Libas* (vol. V, p. 737a); see also Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, pp. 177-81.

595. Originally a close-fitting cap, this could also designate a hood or cowl (*EI2*, s.v. *Libas* (vol. V, pp. 734b-735a); see also Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, pp. 365-71.

596. "Garment covering the upper half of the body" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.); al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 341) provides an abbreviated version of this report.

proclaimed a greeting. Then he sat, and the muezzins made the call to prayer. Then they were quiet, and he delivered the first sermon sitting; then he stood, and delivered the second standing. Ishaq said: I met Raja' b. Haywah,⁵⁹⁷ who was accompanying [al-Walid], and said, "Do they [always] do it this way?" He said, "Yes. Mu`awiyah did it in this way, and so on." I said, "Aren't you going to speak to him [about it]?" He said, "Qabisah b. Dhu'ayb informed me that he spoke to `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan [about it], and he refused to do [anything different], saying, `Uthman delivered sermons in this way.'" I said, "By God, he did not deliver sermons in this way; `Uthman only delivered sermons standing up." Raja' said, "They were told this and took to it." Ishaq said: We did not see any [Umayyad caliph] more proud than [al-Walid].

Muhammad b. `Umar said: [al-Walid] brought the incense of the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, its thurible, and the covering of the Ka`bah. [The covering] was spread out on ropes in the mosque, [it being made] of good brocade. The like of it had never been seen. He spread it out one day, and then folded [it] and moved [it].

The governors of the *amsar* in this year were [the same as] those who were their governors in the year 90, except for Mecca, the governor of which in this year was Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri, according to al-Waqidi. [An authority/authorities] other than al-Waqidi said: The governorship of Mecca was `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz's in this year too.

597. On him, see Bosworth, "Raja' b. Haywa al-Kindi and the Umayyad Caliphs," *The Islamic Quarterly* 16 (1962), pp. 36-80.

The Events of the Year 92
(October 29, 710October 18, 711)

Among them was the campaign of Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik and `Umar b. al-Walid in Byzantine territory. Three fortresses were conquered at the hands of Maslamah; the people of Susanah migrated to the inner part of Byzantine territory. [1235]

In this year Tariq b. Ziyad, the mawla of Musa b. Nusayr, campaigned in al-Andalus with twelve thousand [men]. He encountered the king of al-Andalusal-Waqidi claimed that he was called Adrinuq⁵⁹⁸who was one of the people of Isbahan. He (? al-Waqidi) said: They are the kings of the foreigners of al-Andalus.⁵⁹⁹ Tariq marched on him with all his forces, and al-Adrinuq went forward on the king's throne, wearing his crown, his gloves, and all the adornments kings used to wear. They fought a hard battle until God killed al-Adrinuq. Al-Andalus was conquered in the year 92.

598. I.e., Roderic; "al-Adriq" in al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 341) and both "Adhriqun" and "Adruniq" in Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 83).

599. Al-Ya`qubi's version of what is clearly the same report (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 341) is to be taken to mean at this point "they are the Goths, the kings of al-Andalus."

In [this year], according to what one of the biographers (*ahl al-siyar*) claimed, Qutaybah campaigned in Sijistan, heading for the great Zunbil and al-Zabul.⁶⁰⁰ When he stopped in Sijistan, the messengers of the Zunbil met him with [a proposal for] a peace agreement.⁶⁰¹ [Qutaybah] accepted that, departed, and appointed over them `Abd Rabbihi b. `Abdallah b. `Umayr al-Laythi.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz, who was over Medina: Thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of he who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar; and al-Waqidi and [an authority/authorities] other than him said the same. The governors of the *amsar* in this year were [the same as] their governors in the preceding year. [1236]

600. I.e., Zabulistan (see Marquart, *Eranahr*, p. 247).

601. Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 234) provides some details.

The Events of the Year 93
(October 19, 711October 6, 712,)

Among [the events] in [this year] was the campaign of al-`Abbas b. al-Walid in Byzantine territory. God conquered Samastiyyah⁶⁰² at his hands.

In it, too, was the campaign of Marwan b. al-Walid against the Byzantines. He reached Khanjarah.⁶⁰³

In it was the campaign of Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik in Byzantine territory. He conquered Masah,⁶⁰⁴ and Hisn al-Hadid, Ghazalah, and Tarhamah⁶⁰⁵ in the region of Malatyah.

In it Qutaybah killed the king of Kham Jird and made a renewed peace with the king of Khwarazm.⁶⁰⁶

602. Sabastiyya, according to Ibn al-Athir. Brooks ("The Arabs in Asia Minor," P. 193n.) and Lilie (*Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 120n.) take it to signify Mistheia.

603. I.e., Gangra.

604. I.e., Amaseia.

605. Following the Mss. and Brooks ("The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 194n); Khalifah's version (*Ta'rikh*, p. 309) is even more mangled.

606. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 42ff.; Ibn A`tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, pp. 235-37. It looks as if it remains for Kham Jird to be identified, but Gibb rightly points out that its king is to be identified with Khurrazadh (who figures in the account that follows here), "or at least with his party" (p. 43).

[The Killing of the King of Kham Jird and Renewed Peace with Khwarazm]

ʿAli b. Muhammad said: According to (i) Abu al-Dhayyalal-Muhallab b. Iyas, (ii) al-Hasan b. RushaydTufayl b. Mirdas al-ʿAmmi, (iii) ʿAli b. MujahidHanbal b. Abi Huraydahthe marzban of Quhistan, (iv) Kulayb b. Khalaf, (v) the Bahilis, and (vi) [1237] [an authority/authorities] other than [the foregoing]some of them mentioned what others did not mention, and I have put it all together: The king of Khwarazm was weak, and his younger brother Khurrazadh seized power. If it reached him that anyone who concerned himself with the king had a slave girl or a riding animal or fine goods, he sent and took it [from him]; or [if] it reached him that any one of them had a daughter or a sister or a beautiful wife, he sent to him and constrained him by force, taking what he wanted and withholding what he wanted. No one could hold out against him, nor could the king protect [anyone]. When [the king] was spoken to [about this], he said, "I am not strong [enough to deal] with him." [Khurraz]madh had nonetheless filled him with anger, and, when that had gone on for a long time on the part of [Khurrazadh], to the detriment of [the king], he wrote to Qutaybah, calling him to his land [and] desiring to hand it over to him. He sent to him the keys of the cities of Khwarazmthree keys of goldand he stipulated that [Qutaybah] should hand over to him his brother and all who had opposed him, so that he might judge concerning [them] as he saw fit. He sent messengers concerning [all] that, and he did not apprise any of his marzbans or dihqans of what he had written about to Qutaybah. His messengers reached Qutaybah in the last part of the winter, at the time [when] campaigning [started]; Qutaybah had [already] prepared himself for campaigning, and he made it look as if he were heading for Soghd. The Khwarazm Shah's messengers returned to him with welcome news from Qutaybah, who went and deputed over Marw Thabit al-A`war, Muslim's mawla.

[ʿAli] said: [The Khwarazm Shah] gathered together his kings, his religious leaders (*ahbar*), and his dihqans, and said, "Qutaybah is heading for Soghd and won't be campaigning against you; come, let us take our ease in this spring of ours," and they began drinking and taking their ease, thinking themselves safe from campaigning.

[ʿAli] said: The next thing they knew was that Qutaybah had [1238]

stopped at Hazarasp,⁶⁰⁷ on the other side of the river. The Khwarazm Shah said to his companions, "What do you think?" They said, "We think that we should fight him." He said, "But I do not think that. People stronger and more powerful than we are have been helpless before him. I think that we should turn him away by giving him something. We'll turn him away for this year and [then] see what we think." They said, "We agree with your view." The Khwarazm Shah accordingly set off and stopped at the city of al-Fil on the other side of the river.⁶⁰⁸ [ʿAli] said: The cities of the Khwarazm Shah [were] three [in number], surrounded by a single moat;⁶⁰⁹ the city of al-Fil is the most strongly fortified of them.

The Khwarazm Shah stopped at [al-Fil] while Qutaybah was at Hazarasp, on the other side of the river; he had not crossed it, and [indeed] only the Balkh river (that is, the Oxus) lay between him and the Khwarazm Shah. [The latter] made peace with Qutaybah for ten thousand slaves.⁶¹⁰ for gold and goods, and on the conditions that [Qutaybah] would help him against the king of Kham Jird and would fulfill what he had written for him. Qutaybah accepted that from him and fulfilled [what he had said he would do] for him. [He] sent to the king of Kham Jird who had been hostile to the Khwarazm Shah his brother ʿAbd al-Rahman, who fought him, killed him, and gained mastery over his land. He then came to Qutaybah from [there] with four thousand prisoners; [Qutaybah] killed them. When his brother ʿAbd al-Rahman brought them, Qutaybah ordered that his throne be brought out, and he appeared before the people [sitting on it].

[ʿAli] said: He ordered that the prisoners be killed: One thousand were killed in front of him, one thousand to his right, one thousand to his left, and one thousand behind him.

According to [ʿAli] al-Muhallab b. Iyas: The swords of the

607. *EI2*, s.v.

608. I.e., at Kath, the ancient capital of Khwarazm; "at the time of the Arab invasion the town consisted of three parts, of which the most strongly fortified, i.e., the citadel, bore the name of Fil or Fir" (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 144).

609. *Farqin*, which is defined in the *Glossarium* as "fossa quae cingit murum urbis"; according to the *Glossarium* (p. 82) accompanying al-Baladhuri's *Futuh*, this is the arabized form of Persian *bargin* or *pargin*.

610. Translated thus here and below; literally, "heads."

nobles were taken on that day, and heads were cut off with them. Among them were [swords] that could neither cut nor wound. They took my sword, with which nothing had been struck without being cut clean through. One of Qutaybah's family envied me [it], and he indicated to the one who was performing the executions that he should cut to one side with it; he cut a little to one side and it hit the molar of the dead man and was notched. Abu al-Dhayyal said: I have the sword. [1239]

[ʿAli] said: Qutaybah handed over to the Khwarazm Shah his brother and those who had gone against him, and he killed them, appropriated their wealth, and sent it to Qutaybah. Qutaybah entered the city of Fil⁶¹¹ and accepted from the Khwarazm Shah that on the basis of which he had made peace with him. Then he returned to Hazarasp. Kaʿb al-Ashqari said (*basit*):⁶¹²

Fil has cast to you what is in it and has not transgressed;
 before you, the boastful babbler⁶¹³ wanted it.
 He who is weak with the spear will not suffice
 for the frontier, nor
 will the one who is soft when put to the test,
 [the one with] a palpitating heart.
 Do you remember the nights when you were killing
 Turks
 on the other side of Kazah,⁶¹⁴ while the
 babbler was wrapped in his sheet?
 They only rode horses once they were grown men,
 heavy [men], hard on their backs.
 You (pl.) are Sh.bas and Mardadhan, [who is] despicable,
 and Baskhara', tombs filled with foreskins.⁶¹⁵ [1240]

611. Which has now lost its definite article.

612. Verses 1, 4, 5, and 7 occur in *Aghani*², vol. XIV, p. 299; verse 6 occurs in Ibn Aʿtham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 237; verses 4 and 5 occur in Yaqut, *Muʿjam*, vol. II, p. 387, and verse 1 in vol. III, p. 933.

613. Presumably, Yazid b. al-Muhallab is meant.

614. Yaqut, *Muʿjam*, vol. IV, p. 226 ult., knows this as one of the villages of Marw.

615. This verse calls for several comments: (i) As will become clear and as Was noted by Hell ("al-Farazdak's Lieder auf die Muhallabiten," p. 591 n.), the purpose of the verse is to point to the non-Arab origins of the Muhallabids. The Persian names come in various forms: (a) Sh.bas (Tab.), Shunas (*Agh.*), and B.shash (Yaqut),

(Footnote continued on next page)

I have seen that the battle days of Abu Hafṣ. (that is, Qutaybah) prefer him, while the efforts of the people differ. [He is] the pure Qaysite,⁶¹⁶ while some of the people⁶¹⁷ are allotted to villages and countryside, those with real genealogies and those with fake ones. If you had obeyed the people of weakness, they would not have shared seventy thousand [slaves], with the glory of Soghd commencing anew. In Samarqand there is more [booty]: you are the one to divide it up, if death hangs back from your soul. You have been ahead with whatever good people have preferred, and no nobility of what they have left misses you.

[ʿAli] said: ʿAli b. Mujahid recited to me [as the wording of the beginning of the first line], "Fil has cast to you what is beyond Kazah"; [ʿAli] said: And so too said al-Hasan b. Rushayd al-Juzjani. As for [someone] other than those two, he said, "Fil has cast

(Footnote continued from previous page)

while Ibn Hajar (*Isabah*, vol. II, p. 241) opts for Sanas; (b) M.rdadhan (Tab.), Mardadha' (*Agh.*), B.hbwadhan (Yaqt; and Ibn Rustah [*al-A'laq al-nafisah*, p. 206]); (c) B.skhara' (Tab.), Faskhara' (*Agh.*), Baskharah (Yaqt and Ibn Rustah), and Y.sf.rwh or B.sf.rwh (*Kitab al-'uyun wa'l-hada'iq*, p. 49). The compiler of the *Aghani* (vol. XIV, p. 300) cites the view that Shunas was the Persian name of al-Muhallab's father, Abu Sufrah Zalim b. Sarraq, while Mardadha' was the name of Abu Sufrah's father, and Faskhara' was the name of Abu Sufrah's grandfather. On the other hand, Ibn Rustah and Yaqt identify Abu ʿUbaydah [Ma`mar b. al-Muthanna] as their source for the information that Abu Sufrah's original name was Baskharah b. Bahbudhan (and that he was a Zoroastrian weaver from Kharg Island who went to Oman, attached himself to the Azd, became a groom for ʿUthman b. Abi al-ʿAs al-Thaqafi, etc.); and it is pretty clear that the information in the *Kitab al-'uyun wa'l-hada'iq* comes from the same source.

(ii) The reference to "foreskins" is of course an unambiguous suggestion that Muhallabid origins were non-Arab. (It can be noted that Ibn Hajar [*Isabah*, vol. I, p. 345] knew that Abu Sufrah was not circumcised until he was a *shaykh*, in the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khattab; and it can be added that, according to the *Aghani*² [vol. XXIII, p. 230], even right at the end of the Umayyad period, "Quraysh did not think that any one of the Azd from Oman was an Arab.")

(iii) Where in al-Tabari's version the word following M.rdadhan is *muhtaqarun*, in the *Aghani* it is *na`rifuhu*, and in Yaqt it is *mukhtabarun*.

616. Preferring the *Aghani's sarihu Qaysin* to al-Tabari's *Qaysun sarihun*.

617. I.e., Yemen.

to you what is in it." They [all] said: Fil is the [principal] city of [the region of] Samarqand.⁶¹⁸ [ʿAli] said: In my opinion, what ʿAli b. Mujahid said is sounder.

According to [ʿAli]the Bahilis: Qutaybah acquired one hundred thousand slaves from Khwarazm.⁶¹⁹

[ʿAli] said: Qutaybah's intimates spoke to him in the year 93 saying, "The people are becoming weary," they had come from Sijistan, "let them rest this year." He refused. [1241]

[ʿAli] said: When [Qutaybah] had made peace with the people of Khwarazm, he went to Soghd. A1-Ashqari said:

If you had obeyed the people of weakness, they would not have shared seventy thousand [slaves], with the glory of Soghd commencing anew.

Abu Jaʿfar said: In this year Qutaybah, on his departure from Khwarazm, campaigned against Samarqand and conquered it.⁶²⁰

[Qutaybah's Conquest of Samarqand]

We have already referred to the chain of authorities (*isnad*) of the people from whom ʿAli b. Muhammad mentioned that he took [material concerning events] when Qutaybah made peace with the lord of Khwarazm. Then he mentioned, by way of insertion into that [account], that, when he took the peace [tribute] of the lord of Khwarazm, al-Mujashshar⁶²¹ b. al-Muzahim al-Sulami said, "I need [to say something to you]; let me be alone with you." [Qutaybah] did so, and [al-Mujashshar] said, "If you want [to conquer] the Soghdians one of these days, do so now, for they feel secure from your moving against them this year. They are only ten days away." [Qutaybah] said, "Has anyone advised you [to suggest] this?" He said, "No." [Qutaybah] said, "Have you informed anyone of it?" He said, "No." [Qutaybah] said, "If anyone speaks of it, I shall execute you."

618. Where al-Tabari has *qalu: Fil madinat Samarqand*, al-Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p. 421) has *qala ʿAli b. Mujahid: innama madinat Fil Samarqand*.

619. Khalifah (*Ta'rikh*, p. 309) says ten million, which is amended in the margin to ten thousand.

620. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 44-45; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, pp. 238ff.

621. Following the emendation proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

[Qutaybah] stayed put that day. On the morning of the next day he summoned `Abd al-Rahman [b. Muslim] and said, "Go with the horsemen and archers and take the baggage⁶²² to Marw." The baggage was sent off in the direction of Marw, and `Abd al-Rahman spent all that day following it, heading for Marw. In the evening, [Qutaybah] wrote to him, "In the morning, send the baggage to Marw and go with the horsemen and archers to Soghd. Keep [this] information secret. I shall be following [you]." [ʿAli] said: When [this instruction] reached `Abd al-Rahman, he ordered the people in charge of the baggage to go on to Marw, and he went where he [himself] had been ordered to go.

[1242]

Qutaybah addressed [his army] and said, "God has conquered this place for you at a time when campaigning in it is possible. Now this [region of] Soghd has no one to defend it. They have broken the covenant that was between us. They have withheld that on the basis of which we made peace with Tarkhun, and have done to him that which has reached you. God has said, 'Whosoever breaks his oath breaks it but to his own hurt.'⁶²³ Go with God's blessing. I hope that Khwarazm and Soghd will be like al-Nadir and Qurayzah,⁶²⁴ for God has said, 'And other [spoils] you were not able to take; God has encompassed them already.'⁶²⁵

[ʿAli] said: Qutaybah reached Soghd`Abd al-Rahan had reached it before him with twenty thousand [men].⁶²⁶ Qutaybah reached it, accompanied by Khwarazmians and Bukharans, three or four nights after `Abd al-Rahman had stopped there, and said, "When we light on a people's courtyard, how evil will be the morning of them that are warned."⁶²⁷ He besieged them for a month; in the course of being besieged, [the Soghdians] fought [Qutaybah's men] several times from a single direction. Fearful throughout the siege, the Soghdians wrote to the king of al-Shash and the Ikhshad⁶²⁸ of Farghanah, "If the Arabs vanquish us, they will visit upon you the like of what they brought us."

622. See above, n. 343.

623. Qur'an 48:10.

624. See above, n. 572.

625. Qur'an 48:21.

626. Alternatively, the 20,000 men were with `Abd al-Rahman.

627. Cf. Qur'an 37:177.

628. Rather than the more usual "Ikhshid" (see *EI2*, s.f.); for further discussion of this form, see Bombaci, "On the Ancient Turkish Title 'aḡ,'" pp. 182-83.8

[The king of al-Shash and the Ikhshad and their followers] agreed to go to [the Soghdians] and sent [word] to them: "Send [against the Arabs] those who may distract them, so that we may make a night attack on their camp."

[ʿAli] said: They chose horsemen from [among] the sons of the marzbans, the Asawirah,⁶²⁹ and heroic men of strength, and sent them off, having ordered them to stage a night attack on the [Arab] camp. The spies of the Muslims came bearing information [of this], and Qutaybah chose three hundred or six hundred men of courage, put Salih b. Muslim in charge of them, and sent them along the road from which he feared that he might be approached. Salih sent out spies to bring him information [about the enemy], while he [himself] stopped two parasangs away from their camp. The spies returned and informed him that [the enemy] would be coming to him that night. Salih split his cavalry into three groups, kept two of them hidden, and [himself] stayed on the main road. The polytheists came by night, unaware of the position of Salih and confident that no one would engage them before [they reached Qutaybah's] camp. They did not know about Salih until they ran into him. [1943]

[ʿAli] said: [Salih and his men] charged them and, when spear thrusts were being exchanged, the two hidden groups came out and fought.

According to [ʿAli] one of the Barajim:⁶³⁰ I was present [on that occasion], and I have never seen people fighting more strongly or with more fortitude in adversity than the sons of those kings; only a few of them fled. We gathered together their weapons, cut off their heads, and took prisoners. We asked them about those whom we had killed, and they said, "You have killed none other than [here] a son of a king, or [here] one of the nobles, or [here] one of the heroes. You have killed men [among whom were those who were each] the equal of a hundred men; [in those cases,] we have written [their names] on their ears."⁶³¹ Then we entered the camp in the morning, and there was not a single man

629. Persian knights, "who under Persian rule were exempt of taxes together with the other higher classes" (LØkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, p. 171).

630. A name applied to two separate clan groupings, one in Tamim and one in ʿAbd al-Qays (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, vol. II, p. 224).

631. The syntax is complicated here; Ibn al-Athir simplifies and changes it.

among us who did not hang up⁶³² a head known by name. We took as plunder excellent weapons, fine goods, and brisk riding animals, and Qutaybah let us have all that as *nafal*.⁶³³

That broke the Soghdians. Qutaybah set up mangonels against [the Soghdians], and shot at them, fighting them without desisting. He was well advised by those of the Bukharans and Khwarazmians who were with him; they fought hard and gave of themselves unstintingly. Ghurak⁶³⁴ sent [word] to [Qutaybah]: "You are fighting me with my brothers and family from [among] the non-Arabs. Send Arabs out to me." Qutaybah became angry, summoned al-Jadali, and said, "Review the [army] and pick out the bravest people," and [al-Jadali] gathered the [army] together. Then Qutaybah set, reviewing them himself. He summoned the platoon commanders (*urafa'*) and began to call for one man after another, saying, "What do you have?" The platoon commander would say, "[This is] a brave [man]." "And what is this?" "[This is] one of limited ability." "And what is this?" "[This is] a coward." Qutaybah called the cowards "the Stinkers," took their good weapons, and gave them to the brave men and those of limited ability, and left them the most worn-out weapons. Then Qutaybah took them forward and fought [the enemy] with them, [using both] horsemen and infantrymen. He bombarded the city with the mangonels and made a breach [in the wall] which [the enemy] blocked with sacks of millet. There emerged a man who stood on top of the breach and shouted abuse at Qutaybah. Qutaybah said to the archers who were with him, "Choose two of your number," and they did so. Qutaybah said, "Which of the two of you will shoot at this man [on the understanding that,] if he hits him, he will receive ten thousand [dirhams] and, if he misses him, his hand will be cut off?" One of them held back, while the other came forward and shot him, right in the eye. [Qutaybah] ordered that he be given ten thousand [dirhams].

[1244]

According to [ʿAli]the BahilisYahya b. Khalidhis father, Khalid b. Bab, the mawla of Muslim b. ʿAmr: I was among the

632. Preferring Ibrahim's *mu`alliqun* to Guidi's *mu`allaqun*.

633. "That part of the booty which was left to the free disposal of the leader, when distributing the portions of booty that were due to the soldiers" (LØk-kegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, p. 19).

634. See above, n. 583.

archers of Qutaybah. When we conquered the city, I climbed up the wall and reached the place in which that man was. I found him dead on the wall; the arrow had gone right through his eye and come out the nape of his neck.

On the morning of the next day, they bombarded the city and breached it [again]. Qutaybah said, "Press on to [the breach], so that you may cross on it." They fought [the enemy] until they were on the breach, and the Soghdians shot them with arrows. [The Arabs] put up their shields a man would put his shield up over his eye and then charge until they were on the breach. [The Soghdians] said to [Qutaybah], "Depart from us today, so that we may make peace with you tomorrow." [1245]

As for Bahilah, they say: Qutaybah said, "We shall not make peace with you without our men being on the breach and our mangonels moving up and down [bombarding] your heads and your city."

As for [authorities] other than [Bahilah], they say: Qutaybah said, "The slaves have become frightened. Depart victorious," and they departed. He made peace with them the next day, on [the following terms]: [1] 2,200,000 [dirhams] *per annum*; [2] in that year, 30,000 slaves free of defect and including neither young boys nor old men;⁶³⁵ [3] that they would empty the city for Qutaybah, and would not have in it any fighting men; [4] that there would be built for Qutaybah in it a mosque, so that he might enter [it] and pray, and [that] a pulpit would be set up in it, so that he might preach a sermon, eat lunch, and go forth.

[ʿAli] said: When the peace had been concluded, Qutaybah sent ten men two from each fifth and they took receipt of that on the basis of which [the Soghdians] had made peace with him. Qutaybah said, "Now they have been humbled now that their brethren and children have fallen into our hands." Then they emptied the city, built a mosque, and set up a pulpit. Qutaybah went into the city with four thousand [men] he had chosen. When

635. The first of the two preceding figures is also given by al-Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p. 421), and both of them are given by Khalifah (*Ta'rikh*, p. 309); but Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 243) mentions [1a] an immediate payment of 2,000,000 dirhams; [1b] an annual payment of 200,000 dirhams; and [2] 3,000 (sic) slaves including neither young boys nor old men (see also what purports to be the *`ahd* document formalizing the peace arrangements (pp. 244-46).

he had entered it, he went to the mosque and prayed and preached a sermon. Then he ate lunch and sent [word] to the Soghdians: "Whoever of you wants to take his goods may do so, for I am not going out of [the city]. I have done this for you, and I shall not take from you more than that on the basis of which I made peace with you; but the troops will stay in [the city]."

[1246]

[ʿAli] said: As for the Bahilis, they say: Qutaybah made peace with them in return for one hundred thousand slaves, the fire temples, and the adornments of the idols. He took receipt of that on the basis of which he had made peace with them, and he was brought the idols, which were despoiled and then placed before him; gathered together, they were like an enormous edifice. He ordered that they be burned, and the non-Arabs said to him, "Among them are idols the burner of which will be destroyed." Qutaybah said, "I shall burn them with my [own] hand." Ghurak came, knelt before him, and said, "Devotion to you is a duty incumbent upon me. Do not expose yourself to these idols." Qutaybah called for fire, took a brand in his hand, went out, proclaimed "God is great," and set fire to them; [others then also] set fire [to them], and they burned fiercely. In the remains of the gold and silver nails that had been in them, they found fifty thousand *mithqals*.⁶³⁶

According to [ʿAli]Makhlad b. Hamzah b. Bidhis father someone who witnessed the conquest of Samarqand, or one of the districts of Khurasan: They brought out of it [some] huge copper cooking pots, and Qutaybah said to Hudayn, "O Abu Sasan, do you think that Raqash⁶³⁷ ever had cooking pots like these?" He said, "No, but ʿAylan⁶³⁸ had a pot like these." Qutaybah laughed and said, "You have gained your revenge."

[ʿAli] said: Muhammad b. Abi ʿUyaynah⁶³⁹ said to Salm b. Qutaybah in the presence of Sulayman b. ʿAli,⁶⁴⁰ "The non-Arabs revile Qutaybah for perfidy; he acted perfidiously at Khwarazm

636. See above, n. 469, and cf. the story given at that point.

637. I.e., Hudayn's own clan.

638. ʿAylan being the grouping to which Bahilah belonged; the wordplay seems to be that ʿaylan can signify "hungry, going about looking for sustenance."

639. I.e., Muhammad b. Abi ʿUyaynah b. al-Muhallab (Ibn Hazm, *Jamharah*, p. 369).

640. I.e., Sulayman b. ʿAli b. ʿAbdallah al-ʿAbbasi, governor of al-Basrah from 133 (750-51) to 137 (754-55)(de Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 40).

and Samarqand."

According to [ʿAli]a shaykh from the Banu SadusHamzah b. Bid:641 Qutaybah acquired in Khurasanin Soghda slave girl who was one of the descendants of Yazdajird. He said, "Do you think that the son of this [girl] will be *hajin*?"⁶⁴² They said, "Yes, he will be *hajin* through his father." He sent her to al-Hajjaj, who sent her to al-Walid; she bore him Yazid b. al-Walid. [1247]

According to [ʿAli]one of the BahilisNahshal b. Yazidhis paternal uncle, who was contemporary with all that: When Ghurak saw Qutaybah's pressure against them, he wrote to the king of al-Shash, the Ikhshad of Farghanah, and Khaqan, "We are between you and the Arabs. If we are reached [by them], you will be weaker.⁶⁴³ Exert whatever strength you have." They took stock and said, "We shall be outmaneuvered [if we use] our common people, for they do not have our ability. We, the grouping of the kings, are the ones to be concerned with this matter. Choose the sons of the kings and the people of valor from [among] the young men of their kings, and let them go forth until they reach Qutaybah's camp, which should be subjected to a night attack while he is distracted with besieging the Soghdians."

They did [this], put in command a son of Khaqan's, and went off, having agreed to make a night attack on the camp. [News of this] reached Qutaybah, who chose people of valor and courage and leading figuresamong them Shu`bah b. Zuhayr⁶⁴⁴ and Zuhayr b. Hayyan; there were four hundred of them. He said to them, "Your enemies have seen God's favor with you and His support of you in your fighting and your contending. [In view of] all that, God will give you mastery over them. They have decided to use your heedlessness as an expedient and to attack you by night, and have chosen their dihqans and kings. You are the dihqans and horsemen of the Arabs, and God has favored you with His religion, so do Him a good deed,⁶⁴⁵ and you will thereby merit reward, together with defense of your honor." [1248]

[ʿAli] said: Qutaybah set spies on the enemy [and was informed

641. *EI2*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 333-34.

642. Baseborn, having an Arab father and a non-Arab slave mother.

643. So rendering *ad`af wa-adhall*.

644. Guidi renders this "Zahir."

645. So transposing the Qur'anic expression *ablahu Allahu bala'an hasanan*.

by them] until, when [the enemy] were near [enough] to him to be able to reach his camp in the course of the night, he brought in those whom he had chosen, spoke to them, exhorted them, and placed Salih b. Muslim in charge of them. They went out of the camp at sunset, proceeded [on their way], and stopped two parasangs from the camp on the road of the [enemy] described to them by [the spies]. Salih split his cavalry into groups, placing one in hiding on his right and one in hiding on his left; halfway or two-thirds of the way through the night, the enemy came, together, quickly, and silently. Salih stood with his cavalry, and when they saw him they attacked him. When spear thrusts were exchanged, the two hidden groups attacked from right and left, and we heard only battle cries. We have never seen people tougher than they.

According to [ʿAli] one of the Barajim Zuhayr or Shu`bah:

We were repeatedly thrusting at them and smiting them when I discerned Qutaybah under the [cover of] night. I had struck a blow that had pleased me, and I looked toward Qutaybah and said, "What do you think, may you [be ransomed] by my father and mother?" He said, "Shut up, may God smash your mouth!" He continued: We killed them and only the [odd] stray escaped. We stayed, gathering plunder and cutting off heads, until morning; then we went to the camp, and I have never seen a group bring the like of what we brought. There was not a [single] man among us who did not hang up⁶⁴⁶ a head known by name and [did not have] a prisoner in his bonds. He continued: We took the heads to Qutaybah, and he said, "May God reward you with good for [what you have done for] the religion and personal honor!" Qutaybah showed me regard, without articulating anything to me [by way of special compliment]; in the presenting of gifts and the showing of regard, he joined with me Hayyan al-ʿAdawi and Hulays al-Shaybani, and I thought that he [must have] seen from the like of what he had seen from me. That [battle] broke the people of Soghd. They sought peace and offered tribute. [But Qutaybah] refused, saying, "I am going to avenge the blood of Tarkhun, who was my mawla and one of the people under my protection."

[1249]

[The main authorities all] said: ʿAmr b. Muslim related on the authority of his father, who said: Qutaybah prolonged his stay,

646. See n. 632 above.

and the breach was made at Samarqand. [Muslim?] said: A crier who was eloquent in Arabic called out, abusing Qutaybah.

[ʿAmr b. Muslim?] said: ʿAmr b. Abi Zahdam said: We were around Qutaybah. When we heard the abuse, we went out in haste and waited for a long time while he persisted in [his] abuse. I went to Qutaybah's tent and looked, and, there was Qutaybah, sitting with his knees bound to his chest (*muhtabin*) by a wrapper, saying, as one talking to himself, "For how much longer, O Samarqand, will Satan nest in you? By God, in the morning I shall do my damndest with your people." I departed to my companions and said, "How many intransigent souls from among us and them will die tomorrow!" and I told them [what he had said].

[ʿAli] said: As for Bahilah, they say: Qutaybah journeyed, keeping the river on his right, until he arrived in Bukhara. He rallied [the people of Bukhara] with him and journeyed until, when he was at the city of Arbinjan⁶⁴⁷the one from which Arbinjan saddlecloths comeGhurak, the lord of Soghd, engaged him with a large force of Turks and people from al-Shash and Farghanah. There took place skirmishes between them, without [any large-scale] fighting; the Muslims won all of these, and [the two sides then] desisted from fighting until they drew near to the city of Samarqand. At that point they joined in fighting: The Soghdians made an all-out charge on the Muslims, broke [their ranks, and] passed through their camp; then the Muslims wheeled round on them [and] pushed them back to their camp. God killed a large number of the polytheists; and [the Muslims] entered the city of Samarqand, [the population of which] made peace with them.

[1250]

According to [ʿAli]the BahilisHatim b. Abi Saghira: I saw the cavalry on that day exchanging spear thrusts with the Muslims. Qutaybah had given the order on that day for his throne to be brought out, and he sat on it. [The enemy] exchanged spear thrusts with [the Muslims] until they got as far as Qutaybah, who was sitting with his knees up to his chest, [propping himself] with his sword; he stayed just like that, and the two wings of the Muslims swept in on those who had defeated the center, defeated them, and pushed them back to their camp. Many polytheists

647. Also called Rabinjan, to the west of Samarqand (Barthold, *Turkestan*3, p. 97).

were killed. [The Muslims] entered the city of Samarqand, [the population of which] made peace with them. Ghurak prepared food and invited Qutaybah [to partake of it with him]; [Qutaybah] went to him with a number of his companions and, when he had finished lunch, [Qutaybah] asked [Ghurak] to give him Samarqand. He said to the king, "Depart from it," and he did so; Qutaybah recited, "And that He destroyed 'Ad, the ancient, and Thamud, and He did not spare [them]."648

According to [ʿAli]Abu al-Dhayyal`Umar b. `Abdallah al-Tamimi: The person sent by Qutaybah to al-Hajjaj with [news of] the conquest of Samarqand related to me: I reached al-Hajjaj, and he sent me to Syria. I reached Syria, entered the mosque [of Damascus], and sat, [it being] before sunrise. Next to me was a blind man, and I asked him something about Syria. He said to me, "You are a stranger." I said, "Yes." He said, "Where are you from?" I said, "From Khurasan." He said, "What brought you?" and I told him. He said, "By Him Who sent Muhammad with the truth, you have only649 conquered it by perfidy. You, O people of Khurasan, are those who will strip the Banu Umayyah of their dominion, and pull Damascus down stone by stone."

[1251]

[ʿAli] said: Al-`Ala' b. Jarir informed us: It has reached me that, when Qutaybah conquered Samarqand, he stood on its hill, looked at the people scattering in the meadows of Soghd, and recited the words of Tarafah (*tawil*):650

And peoples pastured; had we not alighted
at Makhshiyyah, they would have taken their
camels off and their tents down.

[ʿAli] said: Khalid b. al-Asfah. informed us: Al-Kumayt said (*basit*):651

Samarqand was Yamani for [many] years;
now Mudar are giving it a Qaysi lineage.

648. Qur'an, 53:50-51 = 51-52.

649. Reading *illa* in place of the misprint in the text (which is noted in the *Addenda et Emendanda*).

650. This line is not to be found in Tarafah's *Diwan* (ed. D. al-Khatib and L. al-Saqqal, Damascus, 1975).

651. Judging by *Shi`r al-Kumayt*, no. 188, the following verse survives only here and in Ibn al-Athir.

[ʿAli] said: Abu al-Hasan al-Jushami said: When Qutaybah made peace with the people of Soghd, he summoned Nahar b. Tawsi`ah and said, "[Well now,] O Nahar, what about your words (*tawil*):652

The campaigning that brought riches nigh has ended,
and generosity and munificence have died
after al-Muhallab.
They have stayed at Marw al-Rudh as two pledges
at his sepulcher,
and have been rendered totally absent from
both east and west.

Is this campaigning, O Nahar?" [Nahar] said, "No, this is the congregation,653 and I am he who says (*tawil*):

Neither in our own lifetimes, nor before us,
nor after us, is the like of Ibn Muslim.
He killed Turks hither and yon with his sword,
and made abundant divisions of spoil among us,
one division after another."

[ʿAli] said: Then Qutaybah set off, returning to Marw. He deputed `Abdallah b. Muslim654 over Samarqand, and left with him massive [numbers of] troops and much war matériel, saying to him, "Do not let [any] polytheist enter any of Samarqand's gates without having a seal on his hand. If the clay has dried before he goes out, kill him. If you find on him a piece of iron, [or] a knife, [or] anything else, kill him. If you close the gate at night and find any one of them in [the city], kill him." Ka`b al-Ashqari, it has been said: a man from Ju`fisaid (*Khafif*):655

[1252]

652. Cf. above, p. 392 and n. 144; Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, pp. 241-42) wrongly takes the poet in question to have been Ka`b b. Ma`dan al-Ashqari.

653. I.e., on the day of resurrection (reading *al-hashr*, as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*); cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Shi`r wa'l-shu`ara'*, p. 538; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-a`yan*, vol. IV, p. 87.

654. According to al-Ya`qubi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 344) and Ibn A`tham (*Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 246), Qutaybah appointed his brother `Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim. It can be added that al-Ya`qubi's account of this episode is rather muddled and that he thought that the peace was concluded in A.H. 94.

655. Thus, too, in Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 86). The *Kitab al-`uyun wa'l-hada'iq* (pp. 2-3) also says that the poet was Ka`b al-Ashqari and cites all the following verses; but al-Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p. 421) says that the poet was al-Mukhtar b. Ka`b al-Ju`fi and cites only verse 3.

Every day Qutaybah gathers plunder
and increases wealth even more
A Bahili who has been given a crown to wear until
partings of the hair that were black have
become gray.
He subdued Soghd with the squadrons until
he left it stripped and prone.
The infant weeps at the loss of his father,
and a pained father cries for his infant.
Whenever [Qutaybah] stops in, or reaches, a place,
his cavalry leaves [its] mark there.

[ʿAli] said: Qutaybah said, "This is [real] succession, not [just] successive killing of a couple of asses [*la`ida`ayrayn*]," because he conquered Khwarazm and Samarqand in a single year. [The explanation of] that [expression is] that, when a horseman fells two asses in a single heat, people say, "He made a succession, one to the other, between the two asses."⁶⁵⁶ Then [Qutaybah] departed from Samarqand and stayed at Marw. His governor over Khwarazm was Iyas b. `Abdallah b. `Amr, over its military affairs [1253] (*harb*) he was weak and over its taxation (*kharaj*) was `Ubaydallah b. Abi `Ubaydallah, the mawla of the Banu Muslim.⁶⁵⁷

[ʿAli] said: The people of Khwarazm thought Iyas to be weak and gathered together against him. `Ubaydallah wrote to Qutaybah, and Qutaybah sent `Abdallah b. Muslim in the winter as governor, saying [to him], "Flog Iyas b. `Abdallah and Hayyan al-Nabati, and shave [their heads]. Draw `Ubaydallah b. `Ubaydallah, the mawla of the Banu Muslim, close to you, and listen to him, for he is loyal." [ʿAbdallah] went on until, when he was one stage from Khwarazm, Iyas was clandestinely informed and warned, and withdrew. `Abdallah then arrived, took Hayyan, gave him a hundred lashes, and shaved [his head].

[ʿAli] said: Then Qutaybah sent al-Mughirah b. `Abdallah with troops to Khwarazm, after `Abdallah. [News of] that reached them, and, when, al-Mughirah arrived, the sons of those whom

656. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1978b, where my source of translational inspiration will be obvious.

657. According to al-Baladhuri (*Futuh*, p. 421), Qutaybah appointed over Khwarazm "his brother `Ubaydallah b. Muslim."

[the] Khwarazm Shah had killed said, "We shall not help you," and he fled to the land of the Turks. Al-Mughirah arrived, and took captives and killed. Those who survived made peace with him; he took the tax and went to Qutaybah, who appointed him over Nishapur.

In this year Musa b. Nusayr dismissed Tariq b. Ziyad from al-Andalus and sent him to Toledo.

[Musa b. Nusayr's Dismissal of Tariq b. Ziyad]

Muhammad b. `Umar mentioned that Musa b. Nusayr became angry with Tariq in the year 93 and went to him in Rajab of that year (April-May 712), accompanied by Habib b. `Uqbah b. Nafi` al-Fihri. When he went off, he deputed over Ifriqiyah his son, `Abdallah b. Musa b. Nusayr. Musa crossed [the sea] to Tariq with [a force of] ten thousand [men] and met him. [Tariq] sought to please him, and he was pleased with him and accepted his excuse from him. [Musa] sent [Tariq] from [where he was] to the city of Toledo, which was one of the great cities of al-Andalus, twenty days' [journey] from Cordova. There he acquired the table of Solomon the son of David, containing God knows how much [by way of] gold and jewels.⁶⁵⁸

[1254]

[Muhammad b. `Umar] said: In [this year] the people of Ifriqiyah suffered a terrible drought. Musa b. Nusayr went out and prayed for rain,⁶⁵⁹ making invocations until the middle of that day, and preaching a sermon to the people. When he wanted to step down, he was asked whether he was going to make an invocation to the Commander of the Faithful. He said, "This is not a day for that." They were given to drink that which sufficed them for a time.

In this year `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz was dismissed from Medina.

Why al-Walid Dismissed [`Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz]

The reason for that, according to what has been mentioned, is that `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz wrote to al-Walid informing him of the harshness of al-Hajjaj toward the people of his governorship in Iraq, of his aggression toward them and his oppression of them,

658. Cf. al-Ya`qubi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 341.

659. See *EI2*, s.v. *Istiska'*.

without any right [on his part] or offense [on theirs], and that reached al-Hajjaj, who held it against `Umar and wrote to al-Walid, "I have with me the deviant elements of the Iraqis and the people of schism. They have emigrated from Iraq and have taken refuge in Medina and Mecca. That [constitutes a point of] weakness." Al-Walid wrote to al-Hajjaj, "Suggest to me [the names of] two men," and [al-Hajjaj] wrote to him suggesting `Uthman b. Hayyan⁶⁶⁰ and Khalid b. `Abdallah. Al-Walid appointed Khalid over Mecca, and `Uthman over Medina, and dismissed `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz.

Muhammad b. `Umar said: `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz went out of Medina and stayed at al-Suwayda', saying to [his mawla] Muzahim, "Does it make you fearful that you are one of those whom Taybah has expelled?"⁶⁶¹

In this year `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz flogged Khubayb b. `Abdallah b. al-Zubayr on al-Walid's order to him and poured on his head a skin of cold water.⁶⁶² [1255]

Muhammad b. `Umar mentioned that Abu al-Mulayh related to him on the authority of someone who was present when `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz gave Khubayb b. `Abdallah b. al-Zubayr fifty lashes, poured a skin of water on his head on a wintry day, and made him stand at the door of the mosque; he stayed [there] all that day and then died.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik: Thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar. The governors of the *amsar* in this year were [the same as] the governors in the preceding years, except for the case of Medina, where the governor was `Uthman b. Hayyan al-Murri, who took over, so it has been said, in Sha`ban of the year 93 (May-June 712). As for al-

660. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

661. The reference being to the [Prophetic] *hadith*, "*innaha Taybah wa-innaha tanfi al-khabath*," "It is Taybah (i.e., Medina) and it expels/will expel dross" (Wensinck, *Concordance*, vol. IV, p. 69). Ibn al-Athir spells it out: "When `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz went out [of Medina], he said, 'I fear that I shall be one of those whom Medina has expelled,' meaning by that the saying of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, 'It will expel its dross.'"

662. Al-Ya`qubi explains (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, pp. 339-40) that Khubayb had objected to the pulling down of the rooms of the wives of the Prophet (cf. above pp. 141-42).

Waqidi, he said that `Uthman reached Medina on Shawwal 27 in the year 94 (July 26, 713). One of [the authorities] said: `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz departed from Medina, dismissed, in Sha`ban of the year 93, and campaigned in [the same year]. When he went off, he deputed over it Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. `Amr b. Hazm al-Ansari. `Uthman b. Hayyan reached Medina on Shawwal 27 (August 6, 712).

The Events of the Year 94
(October 7, 712-September 25, 713)

Among them was the campaign of al-`Abbas b. al-Walid in Byzantine territory. It has been said that he conquered Antakyah⁶⁶³ in [this year].

In [this year], according to what has been said, `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Walid campaigned in Byzantine territory until he reached Ghazalah; al-Walid b. Hisham al-Mu`ayti reached the land of Burj al-Hamam,⁶⁶⁴ and Yazid b. Abi Kabshah [reached] the land of Suriyah. [1256]

In it there was an earthquake in Syria.

In it, too, al-Qasim b. Muhammad al-Thaqafi conquered the land of al-Hind.⁶⁶⁵

In [this year] Qutaybah campaigned in al-Shash and Farghanah

663. I.e., Antiocheia in Pisidia (Wellhausen, "Die Kämpfe der Araber," p. 437; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 121, 134 [map]).

664. Not identified. As Wellhausen has pointed out ("Die Kämpfe der Araber," p. 437n.), it may be interchangeable with al-Ya`qubi's "*marj al-shahm*" (s.p.; *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 337), which was between Malatyah and al-Massisah.

665. I.e., parts of Sind. Clearly Muhammad b. al-Qasim should be understood in place of al-Qasim b. Muhammad (see above, p. 141).

until he reached Khujandah and Kasan,666 the two [principal] cities of Farghanah.667

Qutaybah's Campaign [in al-Shash and Farghanah]

`Ali b. Muhammad said that Abu al-Fawaris al-Tamimi informed him on the authority of Mahan and Yunus b. Abi Ishaq that Qutaybah campaigned in the year 94. When he crossed the river, he imposed a levy of twenty thousand fighting men on the people of Bukhara, Kish, Nasaf, and Khwarazm. [`Ali] said: They went with him to Soghd; they were then sent to al-Shash, while [Qutaybah] himself went to Farghanah. He went as far as Khujandah, the people of which gathered against him and engaged him. They fought several times, with the Muslims being victorious on each occasion. One day [the Muslims] were unoccupied and rode their horses [about, here and there]; one man went to the top of an elevated place and said, "By God, I haven't seen [anything] like today [for us to be caught] off guard. If there were any commotion today, with us as spread about as I see, we would be shamefully [defeated]." A man beside him said, "By no means; we are as `Awf b. al-Khari`668 said (*mutaqarib*):

We betake ourselves to the land because of love [1257]
of engaging [in fighting],
and we do not guard against a bird of omen
when it flies;
Whether it be auspicious or inauspicious,
either way we meet with prosperity."

Sahban Wa'il669 said, mentioning their fighting at Khujandah (*kamil*):

Ask the horsemen in Khujandah,
[who are] beneath sharp/slim spears,
"Wasn't I the one who used to gather them together

666. Reading this, as in Ms B, rather than Kashan, as in the text; Kashan is in Juzjan, not Farghanah (see Cornu).

667. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 48-49.

668. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 206-7.

669. The following verses are also given by Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, pp. 95-96), who says that Ibn al-Jawzi says in his *Munazzam* that Sahban died in the caliphate of Mu`awiyah some time after A.H. 50. Al-Tabari makes no other reference to Sahban.

[again] when
 they were defeated, and came forward to fight?
 Wasn't I the one who smote the head of
 the insolent and endured the spears?"
 This, and you are the hero of all
 Qays, giving out on a large scale.
 You have excelled Qays in generosity,
 [just as] your father did in past years.
 The justice of your judgment among
 them in all money [matters] has become clear.
 Your (pl.) manliness is complete and your (pl.)
 glory has risen up to the loftiest of mountains.

[ʿAli] said: Then Qutaybah went to Kasan,⁶⁷⁰ the [principal] city of Farghanah, [where] he was joined by the troops he had sent to al-Shash, which they had conquered and most of which they had burnt; [from Kasan,] Qutaybah departed to Marw. Al-Hajjaj wrote to Muhammad b. al-Qasim, "Send such Iraqis as you have with you to Qutaybah, and send to (i.e., with) them Jahm b. Zahr b. Qays, for he is better with Iraqis than with Syrians." Muhammad was fond of Jahm b. Zahr; when Jahm bade him farewell, he wept and said, "O Jahm, [this is] the [moment of] parting." [Jahm] said, "It cannot be avoided." [ʿAli] said: [Jahm] reached Qutaybah in the year 95 (713-14).

In this year ʿUthman b. Hayyan al-Murri arrived in Medina as governor for al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

[1258]

[ʿUthman b. Hayyan al-Murri's] Governorship

We have already mentioned the reason for al-Walid's dismissal of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz from Medina and Mecca and his appointment of ʿUthman b. Hayyan as amir of Medina.

Muhammad b. ʿUmar claimed that ʿUthman reached Medina as amir on 27 Shawwal in the year 94 (July 26, 713) and stopped there at Dar Marwan,⁶⁷¹ saying, "By God, [this is] a repellent place;⁶⁷² he who is [really] deceived is he who is deceived by you"; and he placed Abu Bakr b. Hazm in charge of the judiciary.

670. See n. 666 above.

671. See above, n. 447.

672. So rendering *mizʿan*: See the *Glossarium*.

According to Muhammad b. `Umar Muhammad b. `Abdallah b. Abi Hurrahis paternal uncle: I saw `Uthman b. Hayyan take Riyah. b. `Ubaydallah and Munqidh al-`Iraqi; he imprisoned them, punished them, and then sent them in neck collars⁶⁷³ to al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf. He let no Iraqi, whether a merchant or anyone else, [stay] in Medina. He ordered [all of] them out, from every place [in the area under his control], and I saw them in neck collars. He hounded the nonconformists and arrested Haysam, on whom he inflicted amputation,⁶⁷⁴ and Manhur; the two of them were from Khawarij.

[The same authority] said: I heard [`Uthman] deliver a sermon on the pulpit, saying, "O people, we have found you, both long since and more recently, to be insincere to the Commander of the Faithful. [Now] there have taken refuge with you those who will increase your unsoundness. The people in Iraq are people of schism and hypocrisy. By God, they are the nest of hypocrisy and the egg that split apart and produced it! By God, I have never put an Iraqi to the test but that I have found him who thinks most of himself to be him who says about the family of Abu Talib what he says.⁶⁷⁵ They are not [in reality] partisans of [the family of Abu Talib]; [rather,] they are enemies of them and of [persons] other than them. Because of what God desires by way of spilling their blood, I shall not, by God, be brought anyone who has given refuge to any one of them, or has rented him a house, or has accommodated him, but that I shall demolish his house and shall cause to befall him what he deserves. When `Umar b. al-Khattab garrisoned⁶⁷⁶ the territories, striving after what was good for his subjects, those who wanted to make holy war would stop by him and seek his advice, [asking,] 'Is Syria dearer to you or Iraq?' and he would say, 'Syria is dearer to me. I think that Iraq is an incurable disease; in it Satan has hatched [his brood] and they have made things difficult for me.⁶⁷⁷ I can see myself scattering them

[1259]

673. See n. 303 above.

674. The text reads simply *fa-qata'ahu*. According to the *Kitab al-`uyun wa'l-hada'iq* (p. 16), `Uthman was ordered by al-Walid to cut off his hand and his foot and then kill him.

675. Apparently a roundabout way of suggesting that the most arrogant and hypocritical of the Iraqis professed themselves to be extreme philo-Talibids.

676. So rendering *massara*.

677. *La-qad a`dalu bi*: Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2074, renders this "[the people of El-Koofeh have caused that] the means of effecting my object in their affair . . . have

(Footnote continued on next page)

in the [various] territories. [But] then I say, "If I were to scatter them, they would corrupt those into whose presence they enter by [using] argument and contention, [saying,] 'How?' and 'Why?' and by [their] swiftness of entering into sedition." If they are put to the test with swords, no superiority on their part emerges. They did no good for `Uthman, who met with death and disaster from them. They were the first of the people to occasion this enormous breach, undoing the loops of Islam one by one and spoiling [its] territories. By God, I shall draw nearer to God with everything I do to them, because of what I know of their view[s] and their tenets. Then the Commander of the Faithful Mu`awiyah took charge of them; he cajoled them and they did him no good. [Next,] a real man⁶⁷⁸ took charge of them, flogging them and extending [his] sword over them; he made them fearful, and they became orderly for him, whether willingly or otherwise, that being because he tested them and knew them. O people, by God, we have never considered [any] rallying cry to be the like of security; nor have we considered [any] basis [for life] to be worse than fear. So cleave to obedience. O people of Medina, I have experience of disobedience. By God, you are not people given to fighting; keep to your houses and grit your teeth. For I have sent to your gathering (*majalis*) those who will hear [what you say] and will inform me about you. [Something] other than unnecessary talk is more requisite for you. Leave off the stigmatizing of governors; for [such stigmatizing causes] the situation gradually to deteriorate, until sedition comes about. Sedition is an affliction; seditions destroy the religion, property, and children."

[1260]

According to Muhammad b. `Umar Khalid b. al-Qasim Sa`id b. `Amr al-Ansari: I saw `Uthman b. Hayyan's crier call out among us, "O Banu Umayyah b. Zayd,⁶⁷⁹ God's protection will be removed from anyone who gives refuge to an Iraqi." There was with us a Basran of some merit, one of the pious people, called Abu Sawadah, and he said, "By God, I do not want to occasion something unpleasant for you. Convey me to somewhere where I may

(Footnote continued from previous page)

become strait to me . . . and the treating them with gentleness has become difficult to me."

678. *Rajul min al-nas*: Presumably, al-Hajjaj is meant.

679. Presumably, the Aws and Ansar clan of Umayyah b. Zayd b. Malik is meant.

be safe." I said, "There is no good for you in going out. God will protect both you and us." [Sa`id b. `Amr] continued: I took him into my house, and [news of that] reached `Uthman b. Hayyan, who sent guards. I removed him to my brother's house, and [the guards] came across nothing; [the person] who had got me into trouble was an enemy. I said to the amir, "May God cause the amir to prosper! He is bringing [to your attention] a falsehood. Do not punish on the basis of it." He continued: [`Uthman] gave the person who had got me into trouble twenty lashes. We got the Iraqi out. He used to perform the ritual prayer with us, not missing a single day. The people of our house showed kindness to him and said to him, "We shall die in defense of you." He did not leave until `Uthman was dismissed.

According to Muhammad b. `Umar`Abd al-Hakim680 b. `Abdallah b. Abi Farwah: Al-Walid sent `Uthman b. Hayyan to Medina to expel those Iraqis who were there and to scatter the nonconformists and those who controlled them and those who espoused their cause. He did not send him as governor; he neither ascended the pulpit nor gave a sermon on it. When [`Uthman] had done what he did to the Iraqis and to Manhur and others, [al-Walid] established him over Medina [as governor], and he [thenceforward] used to ascend the pulpit. In this year al-Hajjaj killed Sa`id b. Jubayr.681 [1261]

The Report of [Sa`Id b. Jubayr's] Death

The reason why al-Hajjaj killed him was that he had gone against [al-Hajjaj], together with `Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath. Al-Hajjaj had put [Sa`id] in charge of the troops' stipends when he sent `Abd al-Rahman to fight the Zunbil. When `Abd al-Rahman disavowed al-Hajjaj, Sa`id was among those who disavowed him with him; and, when `Abd al-Rahman was defeated and fled to the Zunbil's country, Sa`id [also] fled.

According to Abu KuraybAbu Bakr b. `Ayyash: Al-Hajjaj wrote to so-and-so, who was in charge of Isbahanand Sa`id was [there]: Abu Ja`far said: I think that, when he fled from al-Hajjaj,

680. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

681. For other versions, see Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 353 and n. 546 thereto.

he went to Isbahan. [Al-Hajjaj] wrote to [this governor], "Sa`id is with you. Arrest him." The order came to a man who held himself aloof from doing wrong, and he sent [word] to Sa`id, "Move yourself away from me." Sa`id did so and went to Adharbayjan, where he remained [for some time]. Then he felt that he had been there long enough, and he made the lesser pilgrimage; he went out to Mecca and stayed there. [In Mecca] there were people of his sort, lying low and not revealing their names.

[Abu Kurayb?] continued: Abu Husayn said, relating this to us: [1262] It reached us that so-and-so had been made amir of Mecca, and I said to [Sa`id], "O Sa`id, this man cannot be trusted; he is a man of evil nature, and I am on my guard against him for you. Go off! Depart!" [Sa`id] said, "O Abu Husayn, by God, I have been a fugitive until I have become ashamed before God. Let there come to me what God has prescribed for me." I said, "By God, I think that you are happy (*sa`id*), just as your mother named you." [Abu Husayn] continued: That man came to Mecca and sent [for Sa`id], who was arrested. Then he treated [Sa`id] gently and spoke to him and tried him this way and that.⁶⁸²

According to Abu `Asim` Amr b. Qays: Al-Hajjaj wrote to al-Walid, "The people of hypocrisy and schism have taken refuge in Mecca. If the Commander of the Faithful sees fit to allow me [to get] at them[, that will be a good thing]." Al-Walid wrote to Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri, who arrested `Ata', Sa`id b. Jubayr, Mujahid, Talq b. Habib, and `Amr b. Dinar.⁶⁸³ As for `Amr b. Dinar and `Ata', they were released, since they were Meccans. As for the others, they were sent by [Khalid] to al-Hajjaj; Talq died on the way, Mujahid was held in prison until al-Hajjaj died, and Sa`id b. Jubayr was killed.

According to Abu Kurayb Abu Bakr al-Ashja`i: When the two guards brought Sa`id b. Jubayr, he was accommodated in a house near to al-Rabadhah.⁶⁸⁴ One of the guards went off to answer a call of nature, while the other remained. The one who was with [Sa`id] woke up, having had a dream, and said, "O Sa`id, by

682. Reading *yudiruhu*, as proposed by the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

683. `Ata' b. Abi Rabah (d. 114/732), Mujahid b. Jabr (d. ± 102/721), `Amr b. Dinar (d. 125/742) see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 40; on Talq, cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, vol. V, pp. 31-32.

684. Near Dhat al-`Irq on the road from Fayd to Mecca (Yaqt, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 749); see S. A. A. al-Rashid, *Al-Rabadhah. A Portrait of Early Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia*, Riyadh, 1985.

God, I'll have nothing to do with killing you. In my dream I was told, 'Woe to you, have nothing to do with killing Sa`id b. Jubayr.' Go where you want. I shall never pursue you." Sa`id said, "I hope for well-being and [keep on] hoping," and he refused. Then [the other guard] came, and on the next day he had a similar dream and was told, "Have nothing to do with killing Sa`id." He said, "O Sa`id, go where you wish. I'll have nothing to do with killing you," [and he kept on saying this?] until he brought him to his house; the house in which Sa`id was is this house of theirs.⁶⁸⁵

[1263]

According to Abu KuraybAbu BakrYazid b. Abi Ziyad, the mawla of the Banu Hashim: I entered into [Sa`id's] presence in this house of Sa`id's, and he was brought in fettered. Then the Kufan *qurra*' entered into his presence. I said, "O Abu `Abdallah, did he speak to you?"⁶⁸⁶ He said, "Yes, by God," laughing and talking to us, with a little daughter of his on his lap. She glanced and saw the fetter, and wept. I heard him say, "My daughter, be careful not to take [it] as a bad omen," and, by God, that was hard on him. We followed him, saying goodbye to him, until we got to the bridge with him. The two guards said, "We shall never take him across until he gives us a surety. We are afraid that he may drown himself." [Yazid] continued: We said, "Sa`id drown himself?" but they did not cross until we made ourselves responsible for him.

According to Wahb b. Jarirhis fatheral-Fadl b. Suwayd: Al-Hajjaj sent me off for something. Sa`id b. Jubayr was brought [in my absence], and I then returned and said [to myself], "I'll see what [al-Hajjaj] does," and I stood by al-Hajjaj's head. Al-Hajjaj said to him, "O Sa`id, did I not cause you to partake of my trust? Did I not appoint you? Did I not do [such-and-such]?" until I thought that he was going to let him go. [Sa`id] said, "Yes." "Then what induced you to go against me?" [Sa`id] said, "It was enjoined upon me [to do so]." [The narrator] continued: [At this, al-Hajjaj] flew into a rage and said, "Hah! You thought that the enjoining of the Enemy of the Merciful⁶⁸⁷ [constituted] a duty incumbent upon you, and you did not think that you had any duty to God, to the Commander of the Faithful, and to me. Behead him!" and he

[1264]

685. Presumably, the narrator was in, or in sight of, the relevant house at this juncture in his narrative. The text is rather tangled here.

686. The identity of the subject here is unclear.

687. *`Aduww al-rahman*: Cf. above, n. 95.

was beheaded; his head fell, attired in a small white item of headgear.

According to Abu Ghassan Malik b. Isma`ilKhalaf b. Khalifaha man who said: When Sa`id b. Jubayr was killed and his head fell, he called out "There is no god but God" three times; the first time he articulated it clearly, and the next two times he said something like that, without clear articulation.

According to Abu Bakr⁶⁸⁸ al-BahiliAnas b. Abi Shaykh: When al-Hajjaj was brought Sa`id b. Jubayr, he said, "May God curse the son of the Christian woman"[Anas] said: Meaning Khalid al-Qasri, who had sent [Sa`id] from Mecca"didn't I know the place where he was? Yes, by God, and the [very] house in Mecca where he was." The he advanced upon Sa`id and said, "What induced you to go out against me?" He said, "May God cause the amir to prosper, I am simply a Muslim man who makes a mistake on one occasion and gets it right on another." [Anas] continued: Al-Hajjaj cheered up, and his face brightened, and he hoped that he might find a way out of [this] situation. [Anas] continued: Then he came back at [Sa`id] about something, and Sa`id said, "But I was bound by an oath of allegiance to [Abd al-Rahman]." [Anas] continued: Then [al-Hajjaj] became filled with rage, to the extent that one of the ends of his *rida*⁶⁸⁹ fell from his shoulder, and he said, "O Sa`id, did I not go to Mecca and kill Ibn al-Zubayr, and then take its people's oath of allegiance and your oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, `Abd al-Malik?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "And did I not then arrive in al-Kufah as governor of Iraq and renew the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and take your oath of allegiance to him for a second time?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "And you then forswear two oaths of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and fulfill one to the weaver, the son of the weaver? Behead him!" [Anas?] said: It was [Sa`id] that Jarir meant with his words (*kamil*):⁶⁹⁰

[1265]

How many a breaker of two oaths of allegiance have you left,
with his beard dyed with the blood of [his]
jugular veins.

688. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

689. See above, n. 596.

690. *Diwan*, p. 90.

According to `Attab b. BishrSalim al-Aftas: Al-Hajjaj was brought Sa`id b. Jubayr when he was about to go riding and had put one of his feet in the stirrup.⁶⁹¹ He said, "By God, I shall not ride until you occupy your sitting place in hellfire. Behead him!" and he was beheaded. Then al-Hajjaj's mind became confused on the spot, and he started saying, "Our fetters, our fetters."⁶⁹² [The people present] thought that he was referring to the fetters on Sa`id b. Jubayr; they cut his legs at the knees and removed the fetters.

Muhammad b. Hatim said: `Abd al-Malik b. `Abdallah related to us on the authority of Hilal b. Khabbab:⁶⁹³ Sa`id b. Jubayr was brought to al-Hajjaj, who said [to him], "Did you write to Mus`ab b. al-Zubayr?" He said, "No, Mus`ab wrote to me." [Al-Hajjaj] said, "By God, I shall kill you." [Sa`id] said, "In that case I shall be happy (*sa`id*), just as my mother named me."

[The narrator] said: [Al-Hajjaj] killed him and then [himself] lasted only about forty days after him. When he slept, he would see [Sa`id] in his sleep, taking hold of the front part of his clothing and saying, "O enemy of God, what did you kill me for?" and he would say, "What concern is Sa`id b. Jubayr of mine? What concern is Sa`id b. Jubayr of mine?" [1266]

Abu Ja`far said: This year was called the year of the specialists in religious law (*fuqaha'*), [for] in it most of the Medinan *fuqaha'* died, [starting with] `Ali b. al-Husayn, peace be upon him, at the beginning of it, then `Urwah b. al-Zubayr, and then Sa`id b. al-Musayyab and Abu Bakr b. `Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham.⁶⁹⁴

In this year al-Walid placed Sulayman b. Habib⁶⁹⁵ in charge of the judiciary in Syria.

There is disagreement about who led the pilgrimage in this year. Abu Ma`shar said, according to what Ahmad b. Thabit related to me on the authority of him who mentioned it on the author-

691. Thus rendering simply *al-gharz aw al-rikab*.

692. *Quyuduna quyuduna*, and thus, too, in the *Kitab al-`uyun wa'l-hada'iq* (p. 10) and Ibn Kathir (*Bidayah*, vol. IX, p. 97); the variants suggest an alternative possible reading *qayyiduna qayyiduna*, "fetter us, fetter us!"

693. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

694. Cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 41-42.

695. Al-Muharibi. Cf. Waki`, *Akhbar al-qudah*, vol. III, pp. 210-12, where we are told that he was `Abd al-Malik's judge over Hims and that he was a judge for `Umar II and Hisham, but where no mention is made of al-Walid.

ity of Ishaq b. `Isa on his (Abu Ma`shar's) authority: Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in the year 94. [However,] al-Waqidi said: In the year 94 `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage. [Al-Waqidi] added: It is said [that] Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik [did so].

The governor of Mecca in [this year] was Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri; over Medina was `Uthman b. Hayyan al-Murri; over al-Kufah was Ziyad b. Jarir, with Abu Bakr b. Abi Musa in charge of the judiciary; over al-Basrah was al-Jarrah b. `Abdallah, with `Abd al-Rahman b. Udhaynah over the judiciary; over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim; and over Egypt was Qurrah b. Sharik. Over Iraq and the East in its entirety was al-Hajjaj.

The Events of the Year 95
(September 26, 713-September 15, 714)

In it there took place the campaign of al-`Abbas b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik in Byzantine territory. At his hands God conquered three fortresses, according to what has been said, they being Tulus, al-Marzbanayn,⁶⁹⁶ and Hiraqlah. [1267]

In it the rest of al-Hind was conquered, except for al-Kayraj and al-Mandal.⁶⁹⁷

In it Wasit al-Qasab was built, in the month of Ramadan (May-June 714).

In it Musa b. Nusayr left al-Andalus for Ifriqiyah. He performed the rites of the Feast of the Sacrifice (10 Dhu al-Hijjah/August 26, 714) at Qasr al-Ma', one [Arab] mile from al-Qayrawan.

In it Qutaybah b. Muslim campaigned against al-Shash.

⁶⁹⁶. It remains for these two places to be identified with any certainty (Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 194; Lillie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 121).

⁶⁹⁷. Yaqut knows Mandal (sic) as a place in al-Hind from which fine aloes come (*Mu`jam*, vol. IV, p. 660); he does not mention al-Kayraj. Both places figure in al-Baladhuri's account of Arab operations in Sind (*Futuh*, pp. 440, 442).

The Report of [Qutaybah's] Campaign [in al-Shash]

The narrative returns to that of `Ali b. Muhammad, who said: Al-Hajjaj sent from Iraq an army that joined Qutaybah in the year 95; and [Qutaybah] went on campaign. When he was at al-Shash or at Kushmahan,⁶⁹⁸ [news of] the death of al-Hajjaj in Shawwal reached him. That grieved him; he turned back to Marw and recited (*tawil*):⁶⁹⁹

By my life, how good is the man from the Al Ja`far,
who was caught by snares in Hawran.
If you live, I shall not tire of my [own] life, and if you die,
there will be no avail in life after your death.

[`Ali b. Muhammad] said: He returned with [his army] and dispersed them; he left some people in Bukhara and sent some people to Kish and Nasal. Then he reached Marw and stayed there. There came to him al-Walid's letter: "The Commander of the Faithful knows your testing and your striving in the waging of holy war against the enemies of the Muslims, and the Commander of the Faithful raises you[r station] and does to you what ought to be done. [Now] consolidate your campaigns and await the reward of your Lord; let not your letters to the Commander of the Faithful fall short, so that it may be as if I can see your territory and the frontier on which you are."

[1268]

In [this year] al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf died in Shawwal (mid-June-mid-July 713), aged fifty-four years, also put at fifty-three years; it has [also] been said that his death took place in this year on 25 Ramadan (June 13, 713).

In it, when death was imminent, al-Hajjaj deputed over the ritual prayer his son `Abdallah b. al-Hajjaj. According to al-Waqidi, al-Hajjaj's rule over Iraq lasted for twenty years.

In this year al-`Abbas b. al-Walid conquered Qinnasrin.⁷⁰⁰

698. One stage from Marw on the Bukhara road (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 400).

699. The poet is al-Hutay'ah. Cf. *Aghani*², vol. XVI, p. 295 (where an extra verse is given); Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, vol. II, p. 358 (where two extra verses are given).

700. This cannot be right (and is ignored by Brooks, Wellhausen, and Lilie); there is no evidence that Qinnasrin (see *EI*², s.v. Kinnasrin) had fallen out of Arab control. Possibly this is a mangled version of the report that al-`Abbas raised levies from Qinnasrin (see al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 189).

In it, al-Waddahi⁷⁰¹ and about one thousand men with him were killed in Byzantine territory.

In it, according to what has been mentioned, al-Mansur, `Abdallah b. Muhammad b. `Ali was born.

In it al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik put Yazid b. Abi Kabshah in charge of military affairs (*harb*) and civilian affairs (*salat*) in the two *misrs* of al-Kufah and al-Basrah; and he put Yazid b. Abi Muslim in charge of their taxation (*kharaj*). And it has been said that, when his death was imminent, al-Hajjaj deputed Yazid b. Abi Kabshah over the military affairs of the two places and [over] the civilian affairs of their people and Yazid b. Abi Muslim over their taxation and [that], after the death of al-Hajjaj, al-Walid confirmed them [in their positions] over what al-Hajjaj had deputed them over. He did the same with all of al-Hajjaj's governors; after [his death], he confirmed them [in their positions] over the governorships they occupied during his lifetime. [1269]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Bishr b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik: Thus it was related to me by Ahmad b. Thabit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa on the authority of Abu Ma`shar; and al-Waqidi said the same. The governors of the *amsar* in this year were the same as those who were [governors] in the preceding year, except for al-Kufah and al-Basrah, which were joined to those whom I have mentioned, after the death of al-Hajjaj.

701. This (together with the parallel reference in Ibn al-Athir) appears to be the sole reference to him; presumably, he was one of the lieutenants of al-Waddah, the Berber freedman of `Abd al-Malik who commanded the force known as the Waddahiyyah (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 38).

The Events of the Year 96
(September 16, 714-September 4, 715)

In it there took place, according to what al-Waqidi said, the winter campaign of Bishr b. al-Walid; he returned after al-Walid had died.

[The Death of al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik]

In it there took the place the death of al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik on Saturday in the middle of Jumada II in the year 96 (late February 715), according to what all the biographers (*ahl al-siyar*) say. There has been disagreement about the length of his caliphate. According to Ibn Wahb Yunus al-Zuhri: Al-Walid ruled for ten years less one month. According to Ahmad b. Thabit Ishaq b. `Isa Abu Ma`shar: The caliphate of al-Walid lasted for nine years and seven months. Hisham b. Muhammad said: The rule of al-Walid lasted for eight years and six months. Al-Waqidi said: His caliphate lasted for nine years, eight months, and two nights. There has also been disagreement about the length of his life. [1270]

Muhammad b. `Umar said: He died at Damascus aged forty-six years and six months. Hisham b. Muhammad said: He died aged forty-five. `Ali b. Muhammad said: He died aged forty-two and a

few months. `Ali said: The death of al-Walid took place at Dayr Murrān;⁷⁰² he was buried outside Bab al-Saghir,⁷⁰³ and it has been said: in the al-Faradis graveyards.⁷⁰⁴ And it has [also] been said that he died aged forty-seven.

According to what `Ali said, he had nineteen sons: `Abd al-`Aziz, Muhammad, al-`Abbas, Ibrahim, Tammam, Khalid, `Abd al-Rahman, Mubashshir, Masrur, Abu `Ubaydah, Sadaqah, Mansur, Marwan, `Anbasah, `Umar, Rawh, Bishr, Yazid, and Yahya. The mother of `Abd al-`Aziz and Muhammad was Umm al-Banin bt. `Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwan, and the mother of Abu `Ubaydah was a Fazariyyah; the rest of [the sons] were by various mothers.⁷⁰⁵

Report of Some of What He Did [1271]

According to `Umar [b. Shabbah] `Ali: In the opinion of the Syrians, al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik was the worthiest of their caliphs. He built mosque the mosque of Damascus and the mosque of Medina set up pulpits,⁷⁰⁶ gave out to the people, and gave to those afflicted with elephantiasis, telling them not to beg from the people; he gave every cripple a servant and every blind person a guide. During his rule massive conquests were effected: Musa b. Nusayr conquered al-Andalus, Qutaybah conquered Kashghar, and Muhammad b. al-Qasim conquered al-Hind. [The narrator] continued: Al-Walid would stop by at the greengrocer's, take a bunch of greens, and say, "How much is this?" [The greengrocer] would say, "[One] *fals*,"⁷⁰⁷ and [al-Walid] would say, "Put more [greens] in it."

[The narrator] continued: A man from the Banu Makhzum came to him asking him [for help] in respect of a debt of his. [Al-Walid] said, "Yes, if you are deserving of that." [The Makhzumi] said, "O Commander of the Faithful, how can I not be deserving

702. A monastery near Damascus (see *EI2*, s.v.).

703. A gate on the south side of Damascus (*EI2*, s.v. Dimashk, vol. II, p. 279a; for the graveyard in question, p. 281a).

704. Yaqut (*Mu`jam*, vol. III, p. 862) says that al-Faradis is "a place near Damascus"; presumably, what is meant here is the graveyard near the Bab al-Faradis, on the north side of Damascus (*EI2*, s.v. Dimashk, vol. II, pp. 279a, 281a).

705. Cf. *Kitab al-`uyun wa'l-hada'iq*, p. 12; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 422; al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, vol. V, p. 361 = par. 2114.

706. Reading *al-manabir* with the *Iqd* (vol. IV, p. 424); the text has *al-manar*.

707. A copper or bronze coin (*EI2*, s.v.).

of that, given my relationship [to you]?"⁷⁰⁸ [Al-Walid] said, "Have you recited the Qur'an?" He said, "No." [Al-Walid] said, "Draw near to me." He drew near, and al-Walid knocked off his turban with a rod he had in his hand and struck him several times with it; he said to a man [in attendance], "Keep this [fellow] with you, and do not let him part from you until he has recited the Qur'an."

ʿUthman b. Yazid b. Khalid b. ʿAbdallah b. Khalid b. Asid⁷⁰⁹ betook himself to [al-Walid] and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have a debt." [Al-Walid] said, "Have you recited the Qur'an?" He said, "Yes," and [al-Walid] asked him to recite ten verses from [the Surah of] the Spoils and ten from Repentance. He did so, and [al-Walid] said, "Yes, we'll pay up for you, and we shall make close our ties of relationship thereby."

[The narrator] continued: Al-Walid became ill and fell unconscious. He remained most of that day thought by [those who were in attendance] to be dead. He was wept over, and the official couriers went off with [news of] his death. When a messenger reached al-Hajjaj, [the latter] said, "We belong to God and to Him shall we return!" and called for a rope, which was tied to his hand and then secured to a pillar; he said, "O God, do not empower over me one who has no mercy; how often have I asked you to make my death [take place] before his!" and he began to make invocations. He was thus engaged when an official courier reached him with [the news of al-Walid's] regaining of consciousness. [1272]

ʿAli said: When al-Walid regained consciousness, he said, "No one will be happier at the well-being of the Commander of the Faithful than al-Hajjaj." ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz said, "How great is God's bounty to us through your well-being! In my mind's eye I envisage a letter coming to you from al-Hajjaj, in which he mentions that, when [news of] your recovery reached him, he sank to the ground prostrating himself to God, freed every mamluk of his, and sent out [as gifts] bottles of Indian preserved fruit." A few days later there arrived a letter saying just that.

[ʿAli] said: Al-Hajjaj did not die before becoming burdensome to

708. Presumably, because the mother of Hisham, al-Walid's brother, was a Makhzumiyyah.

709. Of the Banu Abi'l-ʿIs of ʿAbd Shams of Quraysh (see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, chart 8).

al-Walid. A servant of al-Walid's said: One day I was washing al-Walid for lunch. He stretched out his hand, and I began pouring the water on him; he was inattentive, the water was flowing, and I couldn't speak. Then he splashed the water in my face and said, "Are you dozing?" and he raised his head up to me and said, "You don't know what happened last night?" I said, "No." He said, "Woe to you! Al-Hajjaj died." I said, "We belong to Him and to Him shall we return!" He said, "Be quiet. It wouldn't please your master [any more] if he had an apple in his hand to smell."

'Ali said: Al-Walid was an enthusiast for building and making constructions and estates. When people met in his time, they would ask one another about building and constructions. Then there took charge Sulayman, who was an enthusiast for sexual intercourse and food, and people took to asking one another about coupling and slave girls; and, when 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz took charge, they would meet, and one man would say to another "What is your *wird*⁷¹⁰ tonight? How much of the Qur'an have you memorized? When will you complete memorizing [it]? When did you complete memorizing [it]? For how much of the month will you fast?" Jarir said, elegizing al-Walid (*basit*):⁷¹¹

[1273]

O eye, weep copious tears aroused by remembrance;
 after today there is no point in your tears' being stored.
 The Caliph's noble qualities have been concealed by
 earth in which a burial niche has been dug,
 a niche the side of which inclines.
 When the catastrophe had become clear, his sons were
 like stars whose central moon has fallen.
 They were all [together]; neither 'Abd al-'Aziz,
 nor Rawh, nor 'Umar, repelled his fate.

According to 'Umar'Ali: Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik made the pilgrimage, and Muhammad b. Yusuf⁷¹² did likewise from the Yemen, carrying presents for al-Walid. Umm al-Banin said to [her husband] al-Walid, "O Commander of the Faithful, make Muhammad b. Yusuf's present over to me!" and he ordered that it should be delivered to her. The messengers of Umm al-Banin

710. A section of the Qur'an recited privately.

711. *Diwan*, pp. 296-97 (where two additional verses are given).

712. The brother of al-Hajjaj (see *EI2*, s.v. al-Hadjdjaj b. Yusuf [p. 42a]).

reached Muhammad concerning [this matter], and Muhammad refused [to hand the presents over], saying, "Not until the Commander of the Faithful takes a look at them and decides," for there were many presents. [Umm al-Banin] said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you ordered that Muhammad's presents were to be delivered to me; I have no need of them." [Al-Walid] said, "Why?" She said, "It has reached me that he took them from people by force, required them to make them, and oppressed them." Muhammad transported the goods to al-Walid, who said, "It has reached me that you acquired [these] by force." [Muhammad] said, "God forbid." [Al-Walid] gave the order, and [Muhammad] was required to swear fifty oaths by God, between the Corner [in which the Black Stone is accommodated] and the Standing Place [of Abraham],⁷¹³ that he had not taken any of [the gifts] by force, had not oppressed anyone, and had only acquired them lawfully. He swore; al-Walid accepted [his oaths] and handed [the presents] over to Umm al-Banin. Then Muhammad b. Yusuf died in the Yemen, afflicted by a disease from which he became decomposed.⁷¹⁴

[1274]

[Al-Walid's Desire to Remove Sulayman from the Succession]

In this year al-Walid had wanted to go to his brother Sulayman to remove him from the succession, desiring [that] the oath of allegiance [be taken] to his son as his successor; that was before the illness from which he died.

According to 'Umar'Ali: Al-Walid and Sulayman were the two designated successors of 'Abd al-Malik. When power passed to al-Walid, he wanted to have the oath of allegiance taken to his son 'Abd al-'Aziz [as his successor] and to remove Sulayman from the succession. [Sulayman] refused, and [al-Walid then] endeavored to induce him [to agree] on the basis that he would make the succession his after ['Abd al-'Aziz]. [Sulayman] refused, and [al-Walid] offered him large amounts of money. [Sulayman still] refused. [Al-Walid] wrote to his governors, [instructing them] to take the oath of allegiance to 'Abd al-'Aziz. No one responded to

713. See *EI2*, s.v. Makam Ibrahim.

714. Which is presumably intended to suggest that he had sworn a false oath.

that except for al-Hajjaj and Qutaybah and some of the notables of the people. 'Abbad b. Ziyad⁷¹⁵ said [to al-Walid], "The people are not responding to you positively in this matter; and, even if they were to do so, I would not be sure that they would not act perfidiously toward your son. Write to Sulayman to come to you, for he does owe you obedience, and endeavor to induce him [to agree] to the oath of allegiance being taken to 'Abd al-'Aziz as his successor. He won't be able to hold out while he is with you; and, if he does refuse, the people will be against him." Al-Walid accordingly wrote to Sulayman, ordering him to come [to him]. [Sulayman] delayed, and al-Walid resolved to go to him and remove him from the succession. He ordered [his retinue] to get ready, and he gave the order for his mare,⁷¹⁶ which was brought out. Then he became ill, and died before he could go, still desiring that.

According to 'Umar'AliAbu 'Asim al-Ziyadial-Hilwath [1275] al-Kalbi: We were in al-Hind with Muhammad b. al-Qasim. God killed Dahir, and a letter came to us from al-Hajjaj [instructing us] to disavow Sulayman. When Sulayman had taken charge, a letter came to us from him: "Sow and till; no Syria for you." We stayed in that land until 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz came to power. Then we returned.

According to 'Umar'Ali: Al-Walid wanted to build the mosque of Damascus, in which there was a church.⁷¹⁷ He said to his companions, "I beg of you nothing but that each of you bring me one brick," and each man began to do so. An Iraqi brought him two bricks, and he said to him, "Whom are you from?" He said, "From the people of Iraq." [Al-Walid] said, "O people of Iraq, you go to excess in everything, even in obedience." They demolished the church and built it into a mosque. When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz took charge, [some of the Christians] complained to him of that. It was said [to him], "Everything outside the city was conquered by force of arms," and he said to [the people who had complained], "We'll return your church to you and demolish the church of Thomas, which was conquered by force of arms, and

715. 'Abbad b. Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan (see *EI2*, s.v.).

716. Reading *hajr* or *hijr*, where Guidi has understood *bujar*; Ibn al-Athir gives *khiyam*.

717. This is what the text says. In fact, al-Walid wanted to enlarge the existing mosque onto adjoining land occupied by the church of St. John the Baptist (see *EI2*, s.v. Dimashk, at vol. II, pp. 280-81).

build it into a mosque." When he said that to them, they said, "Never mind. We'll leave you to what al-Walid demolished and you leave the church of Thomas to us." 'Umar did that.

In that year Qutaybah conquered Kashghar and campaigned in China.⁷¹⁸

[Qutaybah in Kashghar and China]

The narrative returns to that of 'Ali b. Muhammad with the list of authorities I mentioned earlier. He said: Then Qutaybah campaigned in the year 96, taking with [his troops] their dependents and desiring to afford his dependents a safe refuge in Samarqand, out of fear of Sulayman. When he had crossed the river, he put one of his mawlas, a man called al-Khwarazmi, in charge of the river crossing and said, "No one may cross except with a pass." He went to Farghanah and sent [ahead] to the 'Isam pass⁷¹⁹ [troops] to facilitate for him the road to Kashghar, the nearest of the cities of China; [news of] the death of al-Walid reached him while he was at Farghanah. [1276]

According to ['Ali]Abu al-Dhayyalal-Muhallab b. Iyas Iyas b. Zuhayr: When Qutaybah crossed the river, I went to him and said to him, "I didn't know your view about the dependents, so that we might make preparations in that regard. My older sons are with me, but there are dependents I have left behind, and an old mother, and they do not have with them anyone to take care of them. If you see fit, [I hope] that you will write a letter for me [to go] with one of my sons, whom I shall send to bring me my family." He wrote the letter and gave it to me. I then reached the river, the man in charge of the [crossing] being on the other side. I beckoned with my hand, and some people came [across] in a boat. They said, "Who are you, and where is your pass?" I informed them, and some of them sat with me while others took the boat back to the man in charge and informed him. [Iyas] went on: Then they returned to me and transported me, and I reached [the people

718. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 52-53, and "The Arab Invasion of Kashgar in A.D. 715," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 2 (1923), pp. 467-74, who disputes the historicity of this report; also Ibn A'tham, *Futuh*, vol. VII, p. 251.

719. Named after 'Isam b. 'Abd Allah al-Bahili, who is reported to have been appointed in this area by Qutaybah (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 186, and Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 49, both citing al-Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, ser. ii, p. 1440).

on the other side]; they were eating, and I was hungry, so I hurled myself [at the food]. [The man in charge] asked me things while I was eating and not answering him. He said, "This bedouin is [half-] dead from hunger." Then I rode, reached Marw, transported my mother, and returned, heading for the camp. [News of] the death of al-Walid came, and I departed for Marw.

According to ['Ali]Alu Mikhnafhis father: Qutaybah sent Kathir⁷²⁰ b. fulan to Kashghar; he took captives from it and sealed their necks [with the words] "Part of what God has granted to Qutaybah." Then Qutaybah returned, and [news of] the death of al-Walid reached them.

['Ali] said: According to (i) Yahya b. Zakariyya' al-Hamdani Khurasani shaykhs, and (ii) al-Hakam b. 'Uthmana Khurasani shaykh: Qutaybah penetrated far, until he drew near to China. ['Ali] continued: The king of China wrote to [Qutaybah], "Send to us one of the nobles who are with you, [that] he may tell us about you and we may ask him about your religion." Qutaybah chose twelve of them said: ten men from his army, from as-sorted tribes,⁷²¹ good-looking, beefy men, eloquent, hirsute, and brave, [this being] after he had asked about them and found them to be the best of those from among whom they came. Qutaybah spoke to them and contended with them in sagacity; he perceived intellects and good looks, and he ordered that they be well equipped with weapons, fine silks, embroidered garments, soft delicate white clothing, sandals, and perfume. He mounted them on fine horses, to be led with them, and riding animals for them to ride. [1277]

['Ali] said: Hubayrah b. al-Mushamraj al-Kilabi was eloquent, unconstrained with his tongue. [Qutaybah] said to him, "O Hubayrah, how are you going to conduct [this]?" [Hubayrah] said, "May God cause the amir to prosper! I have a sufficiency of self-discipline. Say what you wish, and I shall say [that] and hold to it." [Qutaybah] said, "Go with God's blessing; through God comes success. Do not remove your turbans until you reach [the king's] country. When you enter into his presence, inform him that I have sworn that I shall not depart until I tread on their land, seal [the necks of] their kings, and collect their tax."

['Ali] said: They went off, led by Hubayrah b. al-Mushamraj.

⁷²⁰. Ibn al-Athir has "Kabir."

⁷²¹. Taking this to be the sense of *min afna' al-qaba'il* here.

When they arrived, the king of China sent to them, summoning them. They entered the bathhouse, and then emerged and donned white clothes with tunics underneath; they applied *ghaliyah*⁷²² perfume to themselves, censured themselves, put on sandals and *rida's*,⁷²³ and entered into [the king's] presence; with him were the grandees of his kingdom. They sat down, and neither the king nor any of those sitting with him spoke to them; then they stood up [and went out]. The king said to those who were present with him, "What do you think of these [people]?" They said, "We think they are people who are nothing but women; there was not one of us who, on seeing them and smelling their perfume, did not have an erection."

[1278]

[Ali] said: On the next day the king sent for them, and they donned embroidered garments, silken turbans, and *matarif*⁷²⁴ and went to him in the morning. When they entered into his presence, they were told, "Return." [The king said to his companions, "What do you think of this attire?" They said, "This attire is more like the attire of men than that first one was. They are [indeed men]."

On the third day the king sent for them, and they strapped on their weapons, donned their head mail and helmets, girded themselves with their swords, took up their spears, shouldered their bows, mounted their horses, and went [to him] in the morning. The king of China looked at them, and he saw what resembled mountains advancing. When they drew near [to him], they fixed their spears into the ground. Then they advanced toward [the king and his companions], tucking up their garments. Before they could enter, they were told, "Return," on account of the fear of the [Arabs] that had entered the hearts of [the king and his companions].

722. Which is variously defined as "a sort of perfume, well known"; "a certain compound of perfumes"; "musk mixed or boiled [with other perfumes]"; and "a perfume composed of musk and ambergris and camphor and oil of ben" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

723. See above, n. 596.

724. The *mitraf* is defined by Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v.) as "a garment, . . . or [such as is termed] *rida'*, . . . of [the kind of cloth called] *khazz*, . . . square, . . . or four-sided . . . having ornamental or coloured or figured, borders (*a'lam*): . . . or a garment having, in its two ends, or sides, (*fi tarafayhi*) two such borders (*'alaman*): . . . or a square, or four-sided, garment of *khazz*."

[Ali] said: They departed; they mounted their horses, pulled up their spears, and urged on their horses, as if pursuing one another with them. The king said to his companions, "What do you think of them?" They said, "We have never seen the like of these." In the evening the king sent [word] to them: "Send me your leader, the worthiest of you as a man." They sent Hubayrah to him.

When [Hubayrah] had entered into his presence, [the king] said to him, "You have seen the might of my dominion and that no one can protect you from me while you are in my country. You are in the position of an egg in the palm of my hand. I am going to ask you about something, and, if you do not tell me the truth, I shall kill you." [Hubayrah] said, "Ask!" He said, "Why did you do what you did with [your] dress on the first, second, and third days?"

[Hubayrah] said, "As for our dress on the first day, that is what we wear among our families, and the perfume we use when with them. As for the second day, [that is what we wear] when we go to our amirs. As for the third day, [that is] our dress for our enemies.

When we are aroused and provoked, we [dress] thus." [The king] said, "How well you organize your customs. Depart to your master and tell him to depart, for I know his cupidity and the small number of his companions; otherwise I shall send against you someone who will destroy both you and him." Hubayrah said,

[1279]

"How can one whose front cavalry are in your country, while the last of them are in the places where the olive trees grow, be said to have a small number of companions? How can one who has left the world behind him, under his control, and has campaigned against you, be charged with cupidity? As for your [attempt] to frighten us with being killed, we have allotted spans; when [their ends] come about, the noblest of them [involves] being killed. We do not dislike [that], nor do we fear it." [The king] said, "What then will satisfy your master?" [Hubayrah] said, "He has sworn an oath that he will not depart until he treads your land, seals your kings, and is given tax." [The king] said, "We shall extricate him from his oath. We shall send some soil from the soil of our land, so that he may tread on it; we shall send him some of our sons so that he may seal [their necks]; and we shall send him some tax, so that he may be pleased with it." [The narrator] said: He called for some dishes of gold with soil in them, and he sent silk and gold and four young men from [among] the sons of their

kings; he gave them leave [to depart] and presented them with fine gifts, and they went off and reached [Qutaybah] with what [the king] had sent. Qutaybah accepted the tax, sealed the young men and returned them, and trod on the soil. Sawadah b. 'Abdallah al-Saluli said (*kamil*):⁷²⁵

There is no disgrace in the delegation you sent
to China, if they followed the right way.
They broke their eyelids against the motes, out
of fear of death,
except for the noble Hubayrah b. Mushamraj.
He wanted nothing but to seal their necks
and [to take] hostages, handed over [as a pledge]
for the remission of tax.
He transmitted the message you asked him to be [1280]
mindful of,
and brought a way out of violating the oath.

['Ali] said: Qutaybah sent Hubayrah to al-Walid, and he died at Qaryah⁷²⁶ in Fars. Sawadah elegized him, saying (*kamil*):

To God be attributed [the excellence of] the
grave of Hubayrah b. Mushamraj;
what generosity and beauty it contains!
And eloquence that the eloquent fall short of,
when people gather to witness what men say.
He was [like] spring, when the droughts had
followed one another,
and [like] a lion, when heroes quailed.
May clouds raining torrents give water
to Qaryah, where his grave is.
The pawing⁷²⁷ steeds wept at the loss of him,
as did every straight and waving spear,

⁷²⁵. Both the poet and the verses that follow are apparently known only here (and in the parallel passage in Ibn al-Athir).

⁷²⁶. In her entries on Fars, Cornu (*Atlas: Répertoires*, p. 55) lists twelve place names in which the first component is Qaryah.

⁷²⁷. *Safīnat*. More exactly, Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v.) defines *safīn* as [a horse] "standing upon three legs and the extremity of the hoof of the fourth leg: . . . or standing upon three legs, and turning back the extremity of the fore part of the fourth hoof, that of his foreleg: . . . or standing upon three legs. . . ."

And there wept for him tousle-headed women, who did
not find anyone to console them
in the year that was affected by drought and
barrenness.

According to ['Ali]The Bahilis: When Qutaybah returned from campaigning each year, he would buy twelve fine mares and twelve dromedaries, paying no more than four thousand [dirhams] per mare, and have them looked after until the time for campaigning [came round again]. When he was ready for the campaign and was encamped, he had [the mares] tethered and made lean; he would not cross a river with horses until their flesh was lean. He used to mount his advance parties on them; he used to send on his advance parties horsemen from [among] the *ashraf*, together with non-Arabs he thought to be faithful, [these latter being mounted] on the dromedaries. When he sent out an advance scout, he would order that a tablet be inscribed; then he would break it into two pieces and give him one piece and keep the other, which he would not be able to simulate, and would order him to bury [his piece] in a place that he would describe to him, such as a well-known ford or tree, or a ruin. Then he would send someone to search it out, so that he might know whether his advance scout was telling the truth or not. Thabit Qutnah al-'Ataki said, concerning those of the kings of the Turks whom [Qutaybah] killed (*wafir*):728

[1281]

The killing of Kaz.r.nk and K.shbyz gladdened
the eye, as did what B.yar encountered.729

Al-Kumayt said, concerning the campaign in Soghd and Khwarazm (*basit*):730

Afterwards, in a campaign that was blessed,
[a campaign that] destroys peoples' agriculture
and reaps,

728. Cf. above, n. 569; the following verse appears not to occur elsewhere.

729. The forms and significations (if any) of these names/titles remain to be elucidated ("B.yar" is given in the *Addenda et Emendanda* in preference to the "Y.bad" given in the text).

730. If we are to judge by *Shi'r al-Kumayt*, no. 146, the following verses are found only here.

The cloud [of this campaign] brought Fil its heavy rain,
and Soghd, when its cold shower poured on them.

[Fil] still has plunder to give as booty
at the divisions of spoil[land] nothing
mean or paltry.

Those [are the] conquests by which the Caliph is afforded
the proof that we are people who exert our
fullest efforts.

You did not avert your face from [any] people in
[any] campaign against them,
until they were told, "May you die!" and they
were killed.

You were not pleased with any fortress of theirs
if it was holding out,
until the One, the Everlasting, could be proclaimed
in it with the words "God is great!"

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