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The History of Al-Tabari
An Annotated Translation

Volume XXVI

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate

Prelude to Revolution
A.D. 738-745 / A.H. 121-127

The History of al-Tabari

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The History of al-Tabari
(*Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk*)

Volume XXVI

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate

translated and annotated
by
Carole Hillenbrand

University of Edinburgh

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 Jacfar 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.

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 here into thirty-eight 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 transcribed 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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ABBREVIATIONS

*Archiv Orientalní**Arch.*
*Or.:**BEO:* *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas**EI1:* *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition.*EI2:* *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition.*JA:* *Journal Asiatique**JESHO:* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient**JHS:* *Journal of Hellenic Studies**JSS:* *Journal of Semitic Studies**RSO:* *Rivista degli studi orientali**SI:* *Studia Islamica*

TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

The years 121-26 (738-44), which are covered in this volume, saw the outbreak of savage internecine struggles between members of the ruling Umayyad family in Syria. Once the towering figures of the Umayyad caliph Hisham, presented in the sources as a most able if somewhat unattractive and parsimonious figure, and his redoubtable governor in Iraq, Khalid al-Qasri, had died, the process of decay at the center of Umayyad power, the ruling family itself, was swift and devastating. Al-Walid II, his cousin Yazid b. al-Walid and Yazid's brother Ibrahim all ruled as caliph within the space of little more than a year, and when finally their distant cousin, the shrewd and seasoned politician Marwan b. Muhammad, made his move from Armenia to seize power in Syria, he was not able to arrest the impetus of the forces of opposition that were gathering momentum against the Umayyads and that were shortly to culminate in the `Abbasid revolution.

In its account of these momentous years, al-Tabari's history concentrates on three major areas of the Islamic world: Syria, the center of Umayyad power; the garrison town of al-Kufah in Iraq; and the eastern provinces of Khurasan and Transoxiana. It is worthy of note that Spain, North Africa, Egypt, and the Hijaz are barely mentioned at all.

Al-Tabari records the end of Hisham's reign in exhaustive detail, and with a rich store of biographical anecdotes, before turning his attention to the notorious life-style of al-Walid II, both before and after his accession to the caliphate. In spite of al-Tabari's protestations that he has omitted many of the scabrous

stories about al-Walid (of. p. 1775), he gives a detailed account of this talented, if slightly deranged, member of the Umayyad family on whom subsequent `Abbasid anti-Umayyad propaganda fell with particular weight.

Al-Tabari chronicles at great length the events surrounding the last years of the Prophet Muhammad's great-great-grandson, Zayd b. `Ali, his various litigation proceedings, his unsuccessful rebellion and his death in al-Kufah, and finally, the hounding and eventual murder in Khurasan of Zayd's son, Yahya. Turning further to the east, al-Tabari records in detail the activities of the last Umayyad governor of Khurasan, Nasr b. Sayyar.

To what extent al-Tabari's selection of his material for these five crucial years is dictated by the availability of historiographical, oral, and archival sources, or by a deliberate emphasis on these three geographical areas, it is impossible to say. The reader cannot, however, dispute the undeniable importance of the events chronicled by al-Tabari for an understanding of the manifold elements of disaffection against the Umayyads which shortly afterward erupted into revolution.

What of the sources on which al-Tabari draws for his account of the events in these three main geographical areas? For his coverage of the Umayyad caliphs Hisham, al-Walid II, and Yazid III in Syria, al-Tabari relies heavily on reports from al-Mada'ini (died probably in 228/843), through the latter's pupil Ahmad b. Zuhayr (died 279/892), a Hanbali from Baghdad whose work *al-Ta'rikh al-kabir* (extant only in fragmentary form) was a direct source for al-Tabari.

For his narrative of events in Iraq, for the torture and death of Khalid al-Qasri at the hands of Yusuf b. `Umar and especially for the lengthy accounts of the litigation and rebellion of Zayd b. `Ali, al-Tabari's major source is Abu Mikhnaf (died 157/774), usually through reports transmitted by Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi (died 204 or 206/819 or 821). The importance accorded by Abu Mikhnaf to the rebellion of Zayd b. `Ali probably sprang more from geographical factors than religious conviction. The Kufan historian naturally gave thorough coverage of local events without necessarily revealing a Shi`ite bias. Indeed, Abu Mikhnaf's account of Zayd's marriage in al-Kufah (pp. 1685-86) could be

construed as slightly derogatory to him. Nor, moreover, does al-Tabari opt to omit this episode, as does al-Baladhuri.

Al-Tabari uses reports of Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi, quoting either Abu Mikhnaf or other unspecified sources. Hisham al-Kalbi was also a Kufan and had access to material both from Abu Mikhnaf and from his own father, Muhammad al-Kalbi. Hisham's son, al-`Abbas, who is known to have been an informant for al-Baladhuri, may well have been the missing transmitter through whom al-Tabari derived the information, if it was passed on orally.

For his material on Khurasan and Transoxiana, all of al-Tabari's attributed reports come from al-Mada'ini, a historian who was highly praised by `Abbasid and later Muslim scholars as an authority on events in the eastern Islamic world. Much of the information provided by al-Mada'ini in al-Tabari's coverage of these years is not extant in any other sources. The material is therefore difficult to assess: Sometimes it is very lacunary and on other occasions the anecdotes are full and have the flavor of composite accounts or folk tales.

This section of al-Tabari's history contains a number of interesting chancery or *insha'* documents which, if authentic (and they probably are), have considerable value. These include the correspondence between the caliph Hisham and his heir-apparent, al-Walid, which records the deterioration in their relationship (pp. 1746-49). For this correspondence there are parallel versions in the *Ansab* and the *Aghani*. By far the most challenging of these documents (and of daunting difficulty to the translator) is the elaborate and lengthy epistle of al-Walid, designating his two young sons as his successors (pp. 1756-64). It is clear that the text is corrupt in a number of places and there is no other extant version with which to compare it. Nevertheless, in spite of its verbal conceits, contorted style, and tedious length, it is at times a *tour de force*, an arousing and persuasive piece of early Arabic rhetorical prose.

The poetry in this volume is of varying quality, most of it poor. The arrangement of the lines of verse is often unsatisfactory and probably on occasion out of sequence. Rising above the mediocre, however, is the fine poetry that is attributed to al-Walid II himself

and that was edited by Gabrieli from the texts of al-Tabari, al-Isfahani, and Ibn `Abd Rabbihi.

My remarks on the manuscripts of al-Tabari's history, which form the basis of this section of the Leiden edition, must inevitably be limited, since I have not had the opportunity to view the manuscripts personally. M. J. de Goeje, who took over from D. H. Müller the task of editing these pages, used three manuscriptsthose in Oxford (O), the British Museum (BM), and Berlin (B)for most of this section of the text (pp. 1667-1811). Thereafter he was limited to only two (BM and B), since the Oxford manuscript had come to an end (pp. 181125). For the final pages he had only one manuscript (O), as the British Museum manuscript had also finished (p. 1825).

Considerable help is provided by other parallel sources at certain points in this section of al-Tabari's text. The *Kitab al-`uyun wa-al-hada'iq fi akhbar al-haqa'iq*, edited by M. J. de Goeje and P. de Jong under the title *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum* (and abbreviated in this volume as *Fragmenta*) covers much of the material on the Umayyad caliphs. Many of the details of the relationship between Hisham and al-Walid and of the brief caliphate of al-Walid, provided by al-Tabari, are also to be found in al-Isfahani's *Kitab al-Aghani* and al-Baladhuri's *Ansab al-Ashraf*. The wording of the *Ansab* is almost always identical with that found in the later *Fragmenta*.

For the events concerning Zayd b. `Ali and his son Yahya, there are parallel, often identical, accounts to be found in the *Ansab* and in al-Isfahani's *Maqatil al-Talibiyyin*. For Khurasan and Transoxiana there is, however, a paucity of early extant sources which would help to clarify a number of obscurities in the relevant part of al-Tabari's text. There are only Narshakhi's *History of Bukhara* which gives an account of the murder of the Bukhar Khudah very like that of al-Tabari (pp. 1693-94), and al-Dinawari's version of the exploits of al-Kirmani (pp. 1858-66), which at times diverges considerably from al-Tabari's account.

The basis of the translation provided here has been the Leiden text. Although there are a number of unsolved textual difficulties, de Goeje's editing achievement with its full critical apparatus still excites admiration even after the lapse of a century. The Cairo edition of al-Tabari has also been consulted throughout. At

times it has helped in the clarification of textual problems. On other occasions it has been found to make changes in the text without satisfactory explanation.

There is a considerable corpus of secondary scholarly literature which helps to throw light on this crucial section of Umayyad history. The general reader is directed to G. R. Hawting's recent book, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate. A.D. 661-750*, for a clear and balanced account of the Umayyads. Further detailed accounts can be found in the pioneer works of Wellhausen, Gibb, and Gabrieli and in the more recent studies of Shaban. For the topography of al-Kufah, the work of Massignon is still useful, if taken in conjunction with the more recent researches of Djaït.

Several small miscellaneous points require brief mention. All quotations from the Qur'an have been made from *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, translated by M. Pickthall (London, 1957). Often in the translation names or nouns have been provided instead of pronouns to clarify the narrative, and I have freely used synonyms for the ubiquitous 'said' and 'came.' Bolder changes of word order or other points of translation have been explained in the footnotes. It was not possible to identify all the personalities and place names mentioned in this section of al-Tabari's text, but the notes cover the great majority of these.

Finally, I should like to thank those who have helped with the task of producing this volume. I am most grateful to Mrs. Mona Bennett for her meticulous and patient typing of the translation and footnotes. Warm thanks also go to Dr. `Abd al-Mu`nim al-Zubaydi, who gave unstintingly of his vast expertise and knowledge to help with the clarification of the substantial quantity of poetry in this volume. Without his help certain of the verses would have remained obscure. My colleague, Dr. M. F. El-Shayyal, read through the whole of the translation and made many valuable suggestions. I would also like to acknowledge the help given to me by Dr. James Allan; by my brother-in-law Dr. Peter Hillenbrand, who advised me on Hisham's alleged angina; by Dr. Ian Howard, who advised me on a number of points of detail; and by Dr. Martin Hinds and Dr. Patricia Crone, who gave me access, just before I completed this book, to the relevant sections of their new book, *God's Caliph*. Martin Hinds also gave me

other helpful information on certain detailed points in the text. Above all, I should like to thank Professor Edmund Bosworth for his constant willingness to help with advice and moral support; and my husband, Dr. Robert Hillenbrand, for his most valuable criticisms and comments.

CAROLE HILLENBRAND

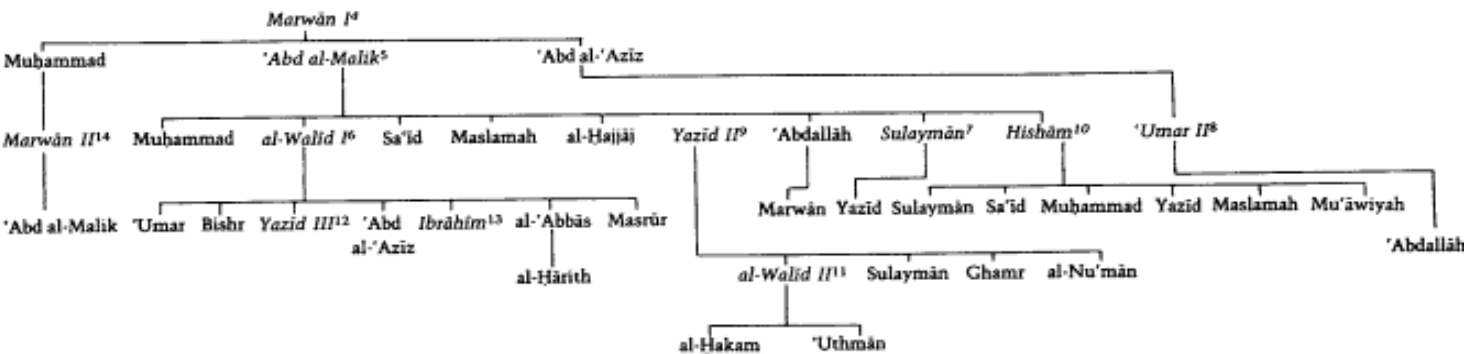


Table I.
Genealogy of the Later Umayyads
Notes:

Italics denote an Umayyad caliph.

The numbers by the names of the caliphs denote the chronological order of their rule.

This table is not comprehensive. It includes the names of those Umayyads mentioned in this volume of al-Tabari's history.

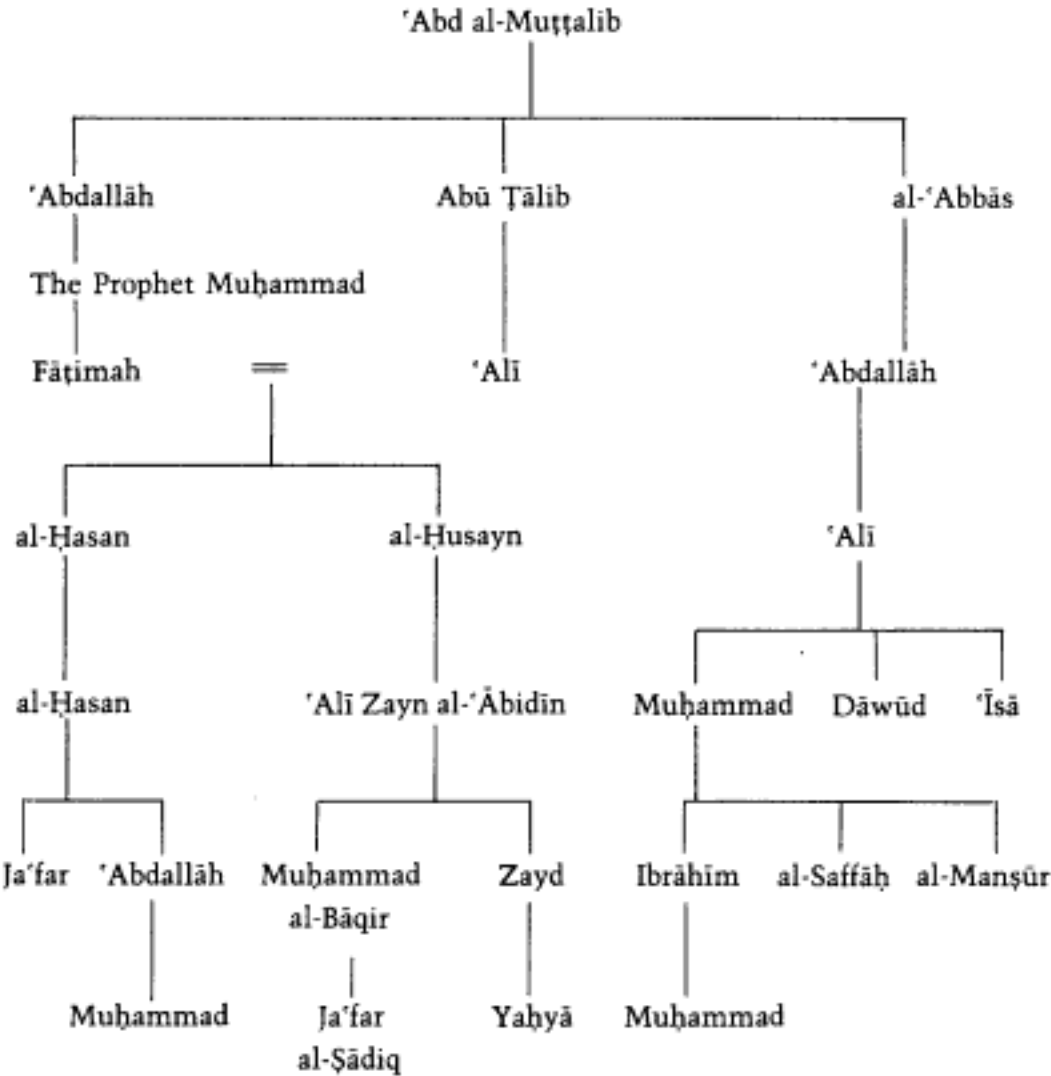
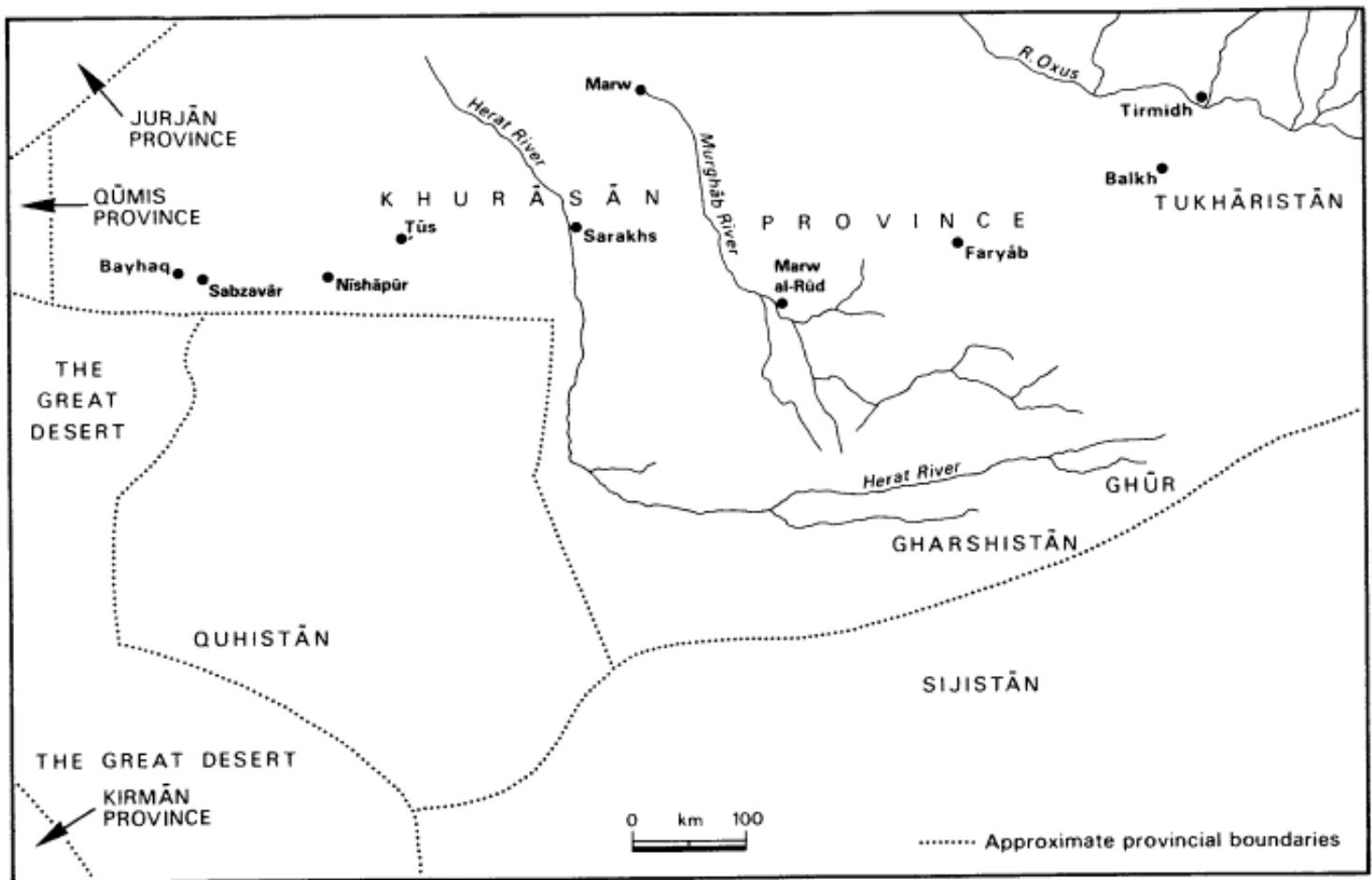
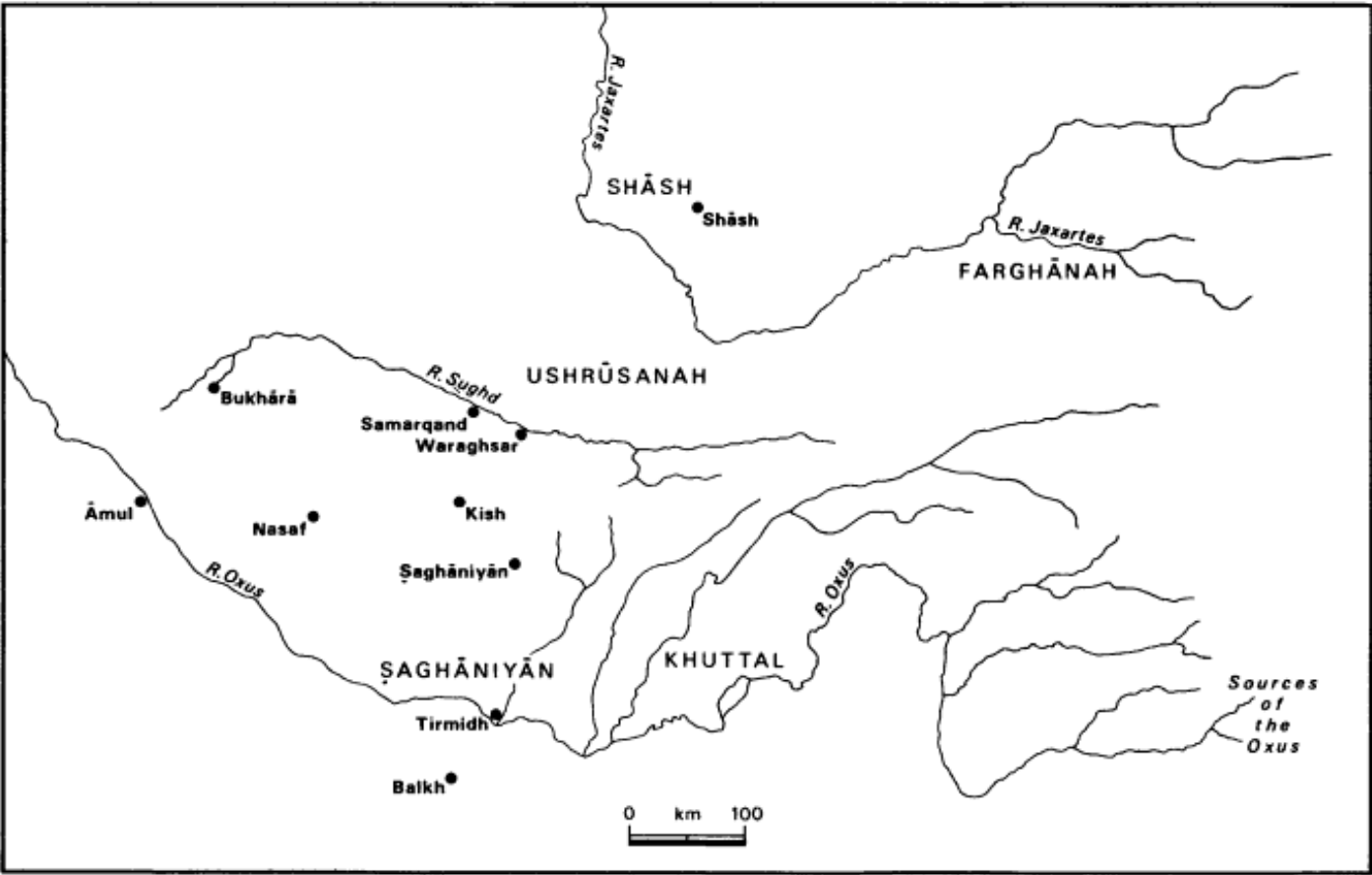


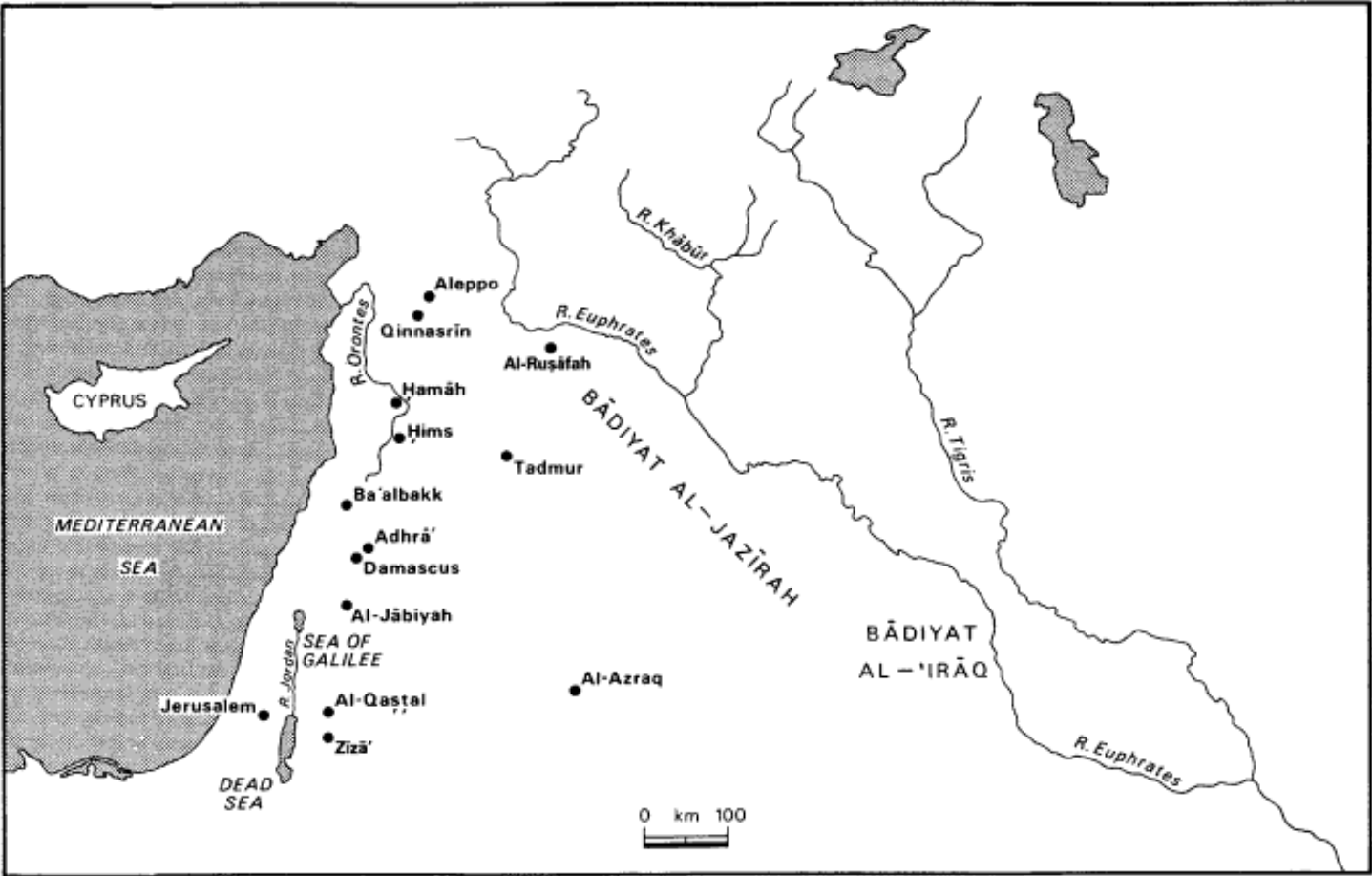
Table II.
Genealogy of the Prophet's Family (The Shi`ah and the `Abbasids)
The names shown here are only those of importance to this volume of al-Tabari's history.



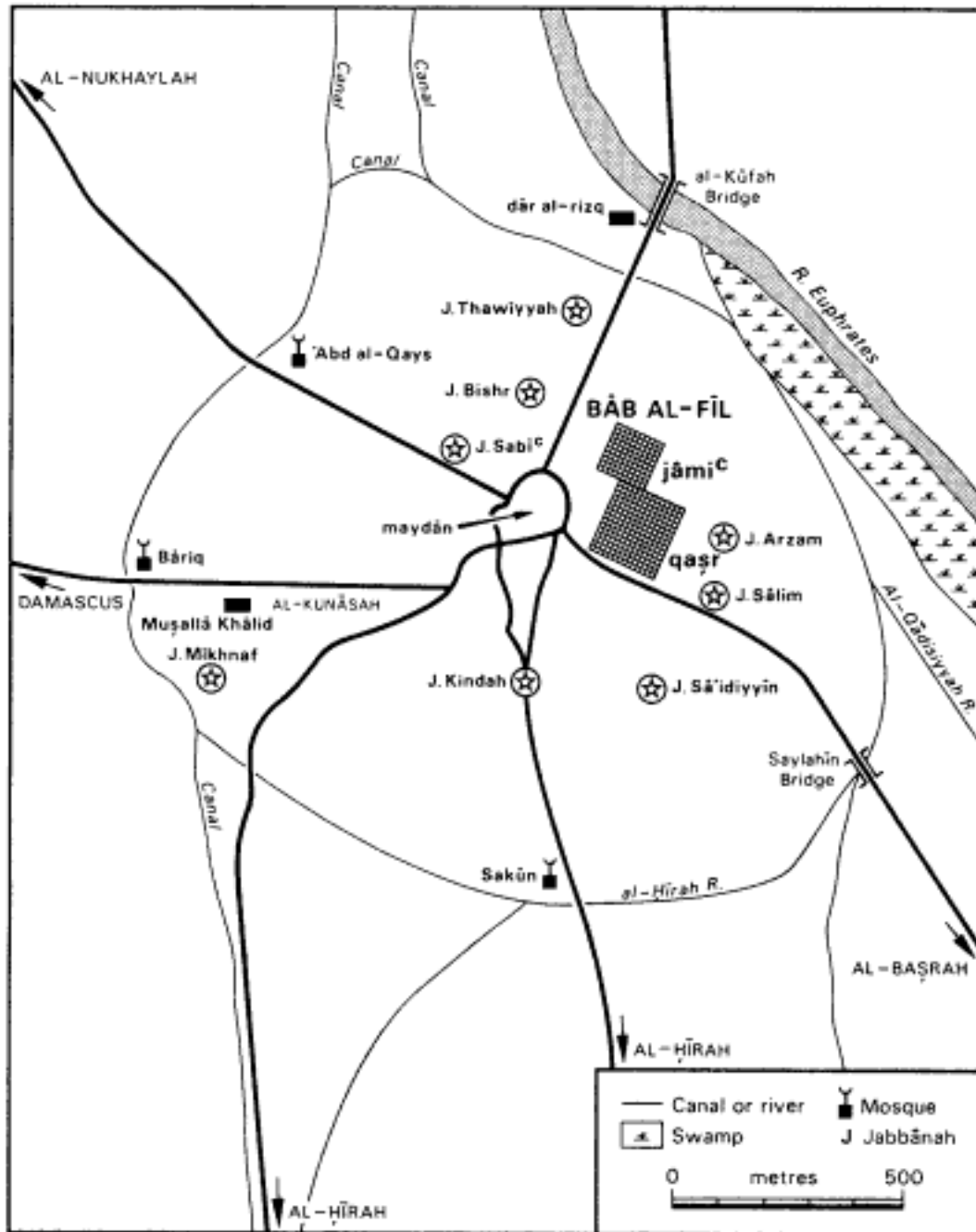
Map I.
Khurasan



Map II
Transoxiana



Map III.
Syria in the Umayyad Period



Map IV.
Al-Kufah and Its Environs

THE CALIPHATE OF HISHAM

The Events of the Year 121 [1667]
(December 18, 738December 6, 739)

Among the events taking place during this year were the raid into Byzantium of Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik,¹ during which he conquered Matamir,² and the raid into the country of the Lord of the Golden Throne³ by Marwan b. Muhammad.⁴ Marwan captured

1. There is some confusion in the sources as to which Maslamah conducted this raid. It is more likely that the Umayyad commander concerned here was the experienced Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik who had conducted a number of campaigns into Asia Minor and Armenia and had been governor of the Jazirah, Armenia, and Azarbayjan. This is the view of Ibn Khayyat (II, 367) and al-Ya`qubi (*Historiae*, II, 395). For the career of Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 136ff; Wellhausen, 316-19; Crone, 125.

2. The word *matamir* means underground caves or cellars, often used for storing corn (cf. Freytag, 381). Here, however, Matamir appears to be a specific place, probably identifiable with the famous caves in Cappadocia. This is the name given to them by E. Honigmann (*Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 45-46). Brooks definitely thinks Matamir is a place name ("The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750) from Arabic sources," *JHS* XVIII (1898): 201).

3. *Sahib sarir al-dhahab*. The area of the Sarir whom Wiet identifies as the Avars was visited by Ibn Rustah some time before 290 (902) and is to be identified as Daghestan. According to Ibn Rustah, "the king possesses a golden throne (*sarir*) and a silver throne." The people were thus named because of the throne story. Cf. Ibn Rustah, *Les Atours*, trans. by G. Wiet, 165; *Hudud*, 447-50; V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband*, 167-68.

4. Since 115 (733-34) Marwan b. Muhammad b. Marwan had been governor of

(footnote continued on next page)

his fortresses and laid waste his land. He submitted to Marwan, having agreed to give him as *jizyah*⁵ one thousand slaves.⁶ Marwan took a pledge from him on that basis and reinstated him in control of his territory.

In this year al-`Abbas b. Muhammad was born.⁷

In this year Zayd b. `Ali b. al-Husayn b. `Ali b. Abi Talib was killed.⁸ Al-Waqidi⁹ said this was in Safar 121 (January 17-February 14, 739), whilst Hisham b. Muhammad (al-Kalbi)¹⁰ claimed that he was killed in Safar 122 (January 6-February 4, 740).

The Reason for [Zayd b. `Ali's] Death, an Account of His Circumstances, and the Cause of His Rebellion¹¹

According to al-Haytham b. `Adi¹² `Abdallah b. `Ayyash:¹³
Zayd b. `Ali, Muhammad b. `Umar b. `Ali b. Abi Talib¹⁴ and [1668]
Dawud b. `Ali b. `Abdallah b. al-`Abbas¹⁵ went to see Khalid b. `Abdallah,¹⁶ when he was governor of Iraq. Khalid gave them

(footnote continued from previous page)

Armenia, whence he conducted raids into the Caucasus. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, II, 367; al-Tabari, II, 1431-32. For an account of his career, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 144-45, 160-64; Wellhausen, 370-96.

5. Poll-tax payable to the Muslims by the "People of the Book." For a fuller definition, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (C. Cahen). Cf. also n. 105 and n. 107.

6. Literally, "one thousand heads."

7. Al-`Abbas b. Muhammad b. `Ali b. `Abdallah, the brother of the `Abbasid caliphs al-Saffah and al-Mansur. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (K. Zettersteen).

8. Cf. the genealogical table of the `Alids.

9. Muhammad b. `Umar al-Waqidi (130-207/748-823), the famous historian and author of the *Kitab al-Maghazi*. Cf. Duri, 37; *EI1*, s.v. (J. Horowitz).

10. Abu al-Mundhir Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi, an important and prolific scholar of history and genealogy. Cf. Ibn al-Nadim, I, 205-13; Sezgin, I, 268, 271; Duri, 146-48.

11. For other accounts in primary sources of the rebellion of Zayd b. `Ali, the great-great-grandson of the Prophet, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 229-59; al-Isfahani, *Maqatil* 127-51; Ibn A`tham, V, 108-25; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 390-91; *Fragments*, 92-100; al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, V, 467-71.

12. The famous historian and genealogist, d. 206 (821) or 207 (822). Cf. Ibn al-Nadim, I, 216-19; Duri, 53-54; Sezgin, I, 272.

13. `Abdallah b. `Ayyash b. al-Rabi`ah, a *muhaddith*. Cf. Ibn al-Nadim, I, 68.

14. Cf. the genealogical table of the `Alids.

15. Cf. the genealogical table of the `Abbasids.

16. Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri had been appointed governor of Iraq in 105 (723-24) or 106 (724-25). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1471. He fell from power in 120 (738), so this incident must have occurred before that date.

(footnote continued on next page)

money and they returned to Medina. When Yusuf b. `Umar¹⁷ became governor, he wrote to Hisham listing their names and telling Hisham what Khalid had given them.¹⁸ Yusuf also mentioned that Khalid had bought land in Medina from Zayd b. `Ali for ten thousand dinars and that he had then handed the land back to Zayd. Hisham¹⁹ wrote to the governor of Medina²⁰ asking him to send the men to him. This he did. Hisham questioned them and they admitted that they had been given money, but they denied everything else. Then Hisham asked Zayd about the land (in Medina) and he denied the allegation. The men then took an oath before Hisham and he believed them.

According to Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi Abu Mikh-naf:²¹ The affair of Zayd b. `Ali began as follows. Yazid b. Khalid al-Qasri²² claimed that he was owed money from Zayd b. `Ali, Muhammad b. `Umar b. `Ali b. Abi Talib, Dawud b. `Ali b. `Abdallah b. al-`Abbas b. `Abd al-Muttalib, Ibrahim b. Sa`d b. `Abd al-Rahman b. `Awf al-Zuhri and Ayyub b. Salmah b. `Abdallah b. al-Walid b. al-Mughirah al-Makhzumi. Yusuf b. `Umar wrote about them to Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik. Zayd b. `Ali was at that time in al-Rusafah²³ in litigation with the sons of al-Hasan b. `Ali b. Abi Talib about the *sadaqah* of the Prophet of God²⁴ and Muhammad b. `Umar b. `Ali was with Zayd. When the letters of Yusuf b. `Umar reached Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik, he wrote to the men concerned

(footnote continued from previous page)

For Khalid's career, cf. Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 5-34; *EI2*, s.v. (G. R. Hawting); al-Isfahani, *Aghani* VI, 53-63; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 275 ff.

17. Yusuf became governor on the dismissal of Khalid al-Qasri. Cf. Dinawari, 339; *Fragmenta*, 92. For the career of Yusuf b. `Umar, cf. *EI1*, s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Hawting, 82-83, 96-97.

18. *Bi-ma ajazahum bihi*. Cf. line 2, *fa-ajazahum*.

19. Umayyad caliph, ruled 105-25 (726-43). Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (F. Gabrieli).

20. Ibrahim b. Hisham al-Makhzumi, the maternal uncle of the caliph Hisham.

21. The famous genealogist and historian (d. 157/774). Cf. U. Sezgin, *Abu Mihnaf*; Duri, 43-44.

22. There is confusion in the sources as to whether it was Khalid, his son Yazid, or both who made the allegations. Whichever of the two made the claims about the money did so under torture. Cf. Ibn A`tham, VIII, 108; al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 133; *Fragmenta*, 93.

23. Hisham's preferred place of residence. Cf. the fuller discussion in n. 426.

24. *Fi sadaqat rasul Allah*. This phrase is used in other sources. Cf. Shaykh al-Mufid, 402; *Fragmenta*, 92. Zayd was appointed by his brother Muhammad to represent the Husaynids in litigation against the Hasanids. Later on, al-Tabari uses the term *wuquf* `Ali when probably referring to the same litigation. Cf. n. 35. Cf. *EI2*, "Fadak" (L. Vecchia Vaglieri); Hrbek, "Muhammads Nachlass und die Aliden," 145, 148; *EI1* "Sadaka" (T. H. Weir).

stating that Yusuf b. `Umar had written to him about a sum of money which Yazid b. Khalid claimed they owed him. They denied it, so Hisham said to them: "We will send you to Yusuf so that he may bring you and your accusers together." Zayd b. `Ali said to Hisham: "I implore you by God and kinship not to send me to Yusuf b. `Umar." Hisham said: "What is it that you fear from Yusuf b. `Umar?" Zayd said: "I am afraid that he will act aggressively toward me."

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Hisham replied, "Yusuf cannot do that," called his scribe, and wrote to Yusuf b. `Umar as follows:²⁵ "Now when these persons come to you, bring them and Yazid b. Khalid al-Qasri together; if they admit the allegations made against them, send them to me. If they deny them, ask Yazid for proof. If he does not produce the proof, then following the afternoon prayer make them swear in the name of the One God that Yazid b. Khalid al-Qasri did not entrust them with any deposit and that he is entitled to nothing from them. Then let them go." They said to Hisham: "We are afraid that Yusuf will go against your letter and will act aggressively toward us." Hisham said: "Not at all! I will send one of the guards with you to make sure that Yusuf carries out this order and expedites the matter." They said: "May God reward you for honoring the ties of kinship! You have judged fairly." Then Hisham sent them to Yusuf but he kept back Ayyub b. Salmah, because Hisham's mother was the daughter of Hisham b. Isma`il b. Hisham b. al-Walid b. al-Mughirah al-Makhzumi, and Ayyub was one of Hisham's maternal uncles. So the caliph did not want him involved at all in that suspicious matter.²⁶

When they came to Yusuf, they were ushered into his presence. Yusuf sat Zayd b. `Ali near him and questioned him in a kindly manner. Then he asked the men about the money and they all denied it, saying: "Yazid did not leave any money with us nor is he owed anything from us." Then Yusuf brought Yazid b. Khalid out (of prison) to them and he put him and them together. Yusuf said to Yazid: "This is Zayd b. `Ali and this is Muhammad b. `Umar b. `Ali and this is so-and-so and this is so-and-so against

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25. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 135; Ibn A`tham, VIII, 109.

26. *Qarf*. The variant reading from MSS. BM and O, *qadhaf* ("calumny"), also makes good sense.

whom you have made the allegations that you have made." Yazid said: "I am not owed any sum, either small or great, from them." Yusuf said: "Are you ridiculing me or the Commander of the Faithful?" Then Yusuf tortured Yazid so much that day that he thought he had killed him. He took the other men to the mosque when the afternoon prayer was over and made them take an oath. When they had sworn an oath to him, he ordered these men to be flogged, with the exception of Zayd b. `Ali, from whom he withheld his hand. He did not dare to do anything (more) with them and he wrote to Hisham informing him of the situation.²⁷ Hisham replied that he should make them swear an oath and release them. So Yusuf set them free. They left and went to Medina but Zayd b. `Ali stayed in al-Kufah.

According to `Ubayd b. Jannad `Ata' b. Muslim al-Khaffaf: Zayd b. `Ali dreamt that he lit a fire in Iraq which he extinguished, and that thereafter he died. This frightened him and he said to his son Yahya: "My son, I have had a dream that frightened me." So he told him about it. Then came the letter from Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik requesting his presence. Zayd went and Hisham said to him: "Go to your *amir*,²⁸ Yusuf." Then Zayd said to him: "I implore you, for God's sake, O Commander of the Faithful! By God, if you send me to him, I am not sure that you and I will ever again meet alive on the face of the earth." Then Hisham said: "Go to Yusuf as you have been commanded to do." So Zayd went to him.²⁹

Some reports said that Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik summoned Zayd from Medina only because of the letter from Yusuf b. `Umar.

According to Abu `Ubaydah:³⁰ The reason for Hisham's summoning Zayd was that when Yusuf b. `Umar tortured Khalid b. `Abd Allah, Khalid claimed that he had deposited a great deal of money with Zayd b. `Ali, Dawud b. `Ali b. `Abdallah b. al-`Abbas and two men of the Quraysh, one of whom was a Makhzumi and

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27. Ibn al-Athir's account is clearer (V, 172).

28. For the use of the term *amir*, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (A. A. Duri).

29. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 231.

30. Abu `Ubaydah Ma`mar b. al-Muthanna (110-210/728-825) was a scholar of wide-ranging activities, highly praised by al-Isfahani Ibn al-Nadim, and al-Jahiz. Cf. Duri, 55-56; Sezgin, I, 265.

the other a Jumahi. Yusuf wrote to Hisham about this and Hisham thereupon wrote to his maternal uncle Ibrahim b. Hisham, who was his governor in Medina, ordering him to bring the men to him. Ibrahim b. Hisham summoned Zayd and Dawud and asked them about what Khalid had said. They swore that Khalid had not deposited anything with them. Ibrahim said: "In my view, you are telling the truth, but the letter from the Commander of the Faithful has come with these instructions and I am obliged to carry out his orders." He took them to Syria and they swore an inviolable oath that Khalid had never deposited anything with them. Dawud said: "I came to Khalid in Iraq and he ordered 100,000 dirhams³¹ for me." Hisham said: "In my view the two of you are more truthful than Ibn al-Nasraniyyah.³² Go to Yusuf so that he may bring you and Khalid together; then expose him as a liar before Yusuf."

It was said that Zayd only went to Hisham to litigate against his paternal cousin `Abdallah b. Hasan b. Hasan b. `Ali. This account came from Juwayriyah b. Asma'³³ who said: "I saw Zayd b. `Ali and Ja`far b. Hasan b. Hasan disputing³⁴ over the guardianship of the endowments (*wuquf*) of `Ali.³⁵ Zayd was arguing on behalf of the Husaynids and Ja`far was arguing on behalf of the Hasanids. Ja`far and Zayd used all the arguments at their disposal³⁶ in the presence of the governor, and then they stood up and never spoke another word about the disagreement between them. When Ja`far died, `Abdallah said: "Who will take on Zayd for us?" and Hasan b. Hasan b. Hasan said: "I will take him on for you." Then `Abdallah said: "Not at all! We fear your tongue and your hand. I will do it." Hasan said: "In that case you will not achieve your aim or

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31. Cf. *EI2*, "Dirham" (G. C. Miles).

32. Khalid was often called Ibn al-Nasraniyyah and was accused *inter alia* of pro-Christian sympathies. He was said to have built a church for his Christian mother behind the mosque in al-Kufah. Cf. Hawting, 81-82, and Hell, 33, quoting Farazdaq, *Diwan*, 451: *bana bi`atan fiha al-salibu li-ummihi* ("he built a church in which is the cross, for his mother").

33. Juwayriyah b. Asma' b. `Ubayd al-Basri, d. 173 (789), who transmitted reports from his father. Cf. Sezgin, II, 94.

34. Ja`far argued the Hasanid case. After he died, his place was taken by `Abdallah b. Hasan b. Hasan. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 231.

35. Cf. n. 24.

36. *Yatabalaghani . . . ila kulli ghayah*. An alternative translation might be: "They were extremely skillful in argument."

win your argument." `Abdallah said: "As far as my argument is concerned, I will win it." Then Zayd and `Abdallah went off to contest the dispute before the governor, who at that time, according to some reports, was Ibrahim b. Hisham.³⁷

`Abdallah said to Zayd: "Do you want to obtain this³⁸ when you are only the son of an Indian slave-girl?" Zayd retorted: "Isma`il was the son of a slave-girl and he obtained more than that," and `Abdallah fell silent. They both went to extremes in their arguments that day. On the morrow the governor summoned them together with the Quraysh and the Ansar³⁹ and they contested their dispute afresh. One of the men of the Ansar objected and intervened between them. Zayd said to him: "What are you doing intervening between us? You are a man from the Qahtan."⁴⁰ He said: "By God, I am better than you not only as a person but also so far as my father and mother are concerned." Zayd fell silent but a man of the Quraysh intervened on his behalf and said: "In the name of God, you have lied! He is better than you as a person and also in respect to his father and mother, from beginning to end, above the earth and beneath it." The governor said: "What has this to do with you?" The Qurashi⁴¹ took a handful of stones, threw them on the ground and said: "By God, I do not have any patience with this." At this point, `Abdallah and Zayd realized that the governor harbored malicious intentions toward them. `Abdallah made as if to speak but Zayd asked him not to do so and he was silent. Then Zayd said to the governor: "By God, you have brought us together on a matter for which neither Abu Bakr nor `Umar would have brought us together. I [1673]

37. The editor notes (1672, n. g) that Ibrahim b. Hisham was dismissed in 114 (732) and replaced by Khalid b. `Abd al-Malik, who governed until 118 (736).

38. *Attma`u an tanalaha*. This is either a reference to the *wilayat wuquf `Ali* (the guardianship of `Ali's endowments), which has already been mentioned, or to the caliphate. One of the accounts from al-Baladhuri refers specifically to the caliphate: *attma`u fi al-khilafah* (*Ansab*, 230).

39. "The Helpers." The term was originally used to designate the men of Medina who supported the Prophet. In Umayyad times, the Ansar formed a "pious opposition" to the regime. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

40. Qahtan was the legendary forefather of the "Southern" tribes just as Quda`ah was the ancestor of the "Northerners." Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (A. Fischer-A. K. Irvine).

41. `Abdallah b. Waqid b. `Abdallah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab. Cf. p. 11.

call God to witness that I will not litigate before you again on this matter, either rightly or wrongly, as long as I live." Then Zayd said to `Abdallah: "Get up, cousin." So they stood up and the people dispersed.

Some sources said that Zayd continued litigating against Ja`far b. Hasan and then against `Abdallah after him until Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik made Khalid b. `Abd al-Malik b. al-Harith b. al-Hakam governor of Medina. Zayd and `Abdallah were in litigation and `Abdallah spoke rudely to Zayd saying: "You son of a Hindu woman!"⁴² Zayd laughed it off and said: "You've done it now, Abu Muhammad." Then he retaliated by mentioning `Abdallah's mother in some (disparaging) connection.⁴³

According to al-Mada'ini:⁴⁴ When `Abdallah said that to Zayd, Zayd said: "Yes, indeed. By God, she was patient after the death of her master. She never crossed her threshold, whilst other women⁴⁵ were not as patient." Zayd repented and was ashamed of what he had said about his aunt⁴⁶ and he did not go in to see her for a time. She sent a message to him saying: "I know, nephew, that you feel about your mother just as `Abdallah feels about his mother."

Some sources said that Fatimah sent a message to Zayd: "If `Abdallah has insulted your mother, then you insult his mother." She said to `Abdallah: "Did you say such-and-such about Zayd's mother?" He said: "Yes." She said: "O wretched man to have done that! By God, she was the best woman of our kinsfolk."

It is reported that Khalid b. `Abd al-Malik said to Zayd and `Abdallah: "Give us a break until tomorrow morning, for I am not the son of `Abd al-Malik if I cannot decide between you." During the night the city (Medina) seethed like a cauldron.⁴⁷ Some said

42. "You son of the Sindi woman": MS. B and Ibn al-Athir, V, 172. In one report from al-Baladhuri, `Abdallah calls Zayd's mother "a witch" (*sahirah*) (*Ansab*, 230). Zayd's mother was a slave given by al-Mukhtar to `Ali Zayn al-`Abidin. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 127.

43. Al-Baladhuri quotes in the mouth of Zayd a scabrous story about `Abdallah's mother. Cf. *Ansab*, 230.

44. Al-Mada'ini, the famous historian, d. 225 (839). Cf. Duri, 48; *EI*1, s.v. (C. Brockelmann); *EI*2, s.v. (U. Sezgin).

45. According to Ibn al-Athir, Zayd is referring here to his aunt who married again after the death of her husband (V, 172).

46. Fatimah bint al-Husayn b. `Ali.

47. For an almost identical account, cf. *Fragmenta*, 92-93.

one thing and others another. Some said Zayd had said such-and-such and others said `Abdallah had said such-and-such. The next morning Khalid held an audience in the mosque and the people assembled, some gloating, some grieving, and Khalid called the two of them, wanting them to insult one another. `Abdallah made as if to speak, so Zayd said: "Don't hurry, Abu Muhammad! Zayd will free all his slaves before he ever litigates with you in front of Khalid." Then Zayd went up to Khalid and said to him: "Khalid, you have assembled the descendants of the Prophet of God in a way in which Abu Bakr and `Umar would never have done." Khalid said: "Is there no one here to answer this fool?" Then one of the Ansar from the family of `Amr b. Hazm spoke and said: "You descendant of the 'dustman' (`Ali)⁴⁸ and of that fool Husayn! Can't you see that you have a duty to the governor and that you owe him obedience?" Zayd retorted: "Shut up, Qahtani, we don't reply to the likes of you." The man said: "Why are you shunning me? By God, I am better than you and my father is better than your father and my mother is better than your mother." Zayd laughed it off and said: "O tribe of Quraysh! This religion has gone, but has honorable lineage gone too? By God, the religion of the people may disappear, but their honorable lineage does not." Then `Abdallah b. Waqid b. `Abdallah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab said: "You are a liar, you Qahtani! By God, he is better than you as a person and in respect of his father and mother and in every way." He spoke about Zayd for a long time and the Qahtani said: "Leave us alone, Ibn Waqid." Then Ibn Waqid took a handful of stones and threw them on the ground and said: "By God, I have no patience with this," and he stood up (and left).

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Then Zayd went to Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik. Hisham began by not allowing Zayd into his presence, so Zayd complained in writing to Hisham, and whenever he did so Hisham wrote at the bottom of it: "Go back to your *amir*." Zayd said: "By God, I won't go back to Khalid ever again. I am not asking for money. I am only a litigant." Then one day, after a long delay, Hisham allowed Zayd in to see him.

48. Literally, "O descendant of Abu Turab" ("father of dust," "dustman"). This was a name given contemptuously to `Ali by his enemies, but it was later interpreted as an honorific and legends developed on this theme. Cf. *EI*2, "`Ali b. Abi Talib" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

According to `Umar b. Shabbah⁴⁹ Ayyub b. `Umar b. Abi `Amr⁵⁰ Muhammad b. `Abd al-`Aziz al-Zuhri: When Zayd b. `Ali went to Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik, his chamberlain (*hajib*)⁵¹ informed the caliph that Zayd was there. Hisham went up to a long upper chamber of his, and then allowed Zayd in. He ordered a servant to walk behind Zayd and told this man not to let Zayd see him and to listen to what Zayd said. (The servant said): "I followed Zayd up the stairs. He was stout and he stopped on some of the stairs and said: 'By God, anyone who loves this world will be humiliated.'" When Zayd came to Hisham, the latter met Zayd's demands and Zayd departed for al-Kufah.⁵² Hisham forgot to ask the servant what had happened until a few days had elapsed. Then Hisham inquired and the servant told him. Hisham turned to al-Abrash,⁵³ who said: "By God, may the first news that reaches you be that of his removal!" That was the first news to reach Hisham, and it happened as al-Abrash had said it would.

It was reported that Zayd took an oath on some matter before Hisham, who said to him: "I don't believe you." Zayd replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, God does not make it a prerequisite that He should be pleased with someone in order to elevate him nor does He make His displeasure a reason for bringing him low,"⁵⁴ Hisham said to him: "I have heard that you are thinking of the caliphate and wanting it; but you will not obtain it, since you are the son of a slave girl." Zayd replied: "I have an answer for you, O Commander of the Faithful." Hisham said: "Speak." Zayd went on: "Nobody is closer to God nor more exalted in rank with Him than a prophet whom He has sent. Isma`il was amongst

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49. Abu Zayd `Umar b. Shabbah al-Numayri (d. 264/877), historian and *muhad-dith*. Cf. Sezgin, I, 345; Rosenthal, 386.

50. `Umar in the text. The editor later corrects it in *Introductio*, p. DCCX.

51. On the office of *hajib*, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (D. Sourdel).

52. An important garrison town (*misr*) in early Islamic times. For a further discussion of al-Kufah, cf. n. 221 and n. 233.

53. Al-Abrash Sa`id b. al-Walid al-Kalbi. For stories about his dealings with Hisham, cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, I, 74, 148; II, 124; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, II, 121; X, 62; al-Jahshiyari, 37.

54. Zayd is presumably implying that just because Hisham is caliph, God is not necessarily pleased with him. Cf. Shaykh al-Mufid, 404; Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 67. Al-Mas`udi has "No one is too high or too humble to dispense with fearing God" (*Munuj*, V, 468).

the best of the prophets and was the ancestor of the best of them, Muhammad. Isma`il was the son of a slave girl and his brother was born of a pure woman, just as you were; but God chose Isma`il in preference to his brother and caused the best of mankind to come forth from him and no one disputes that. A man whose ancestor was the Prophet of God should not therefore be ignored, whoever his mother was." Then Hisham said to him: "Get out." Zayd said: "I am leaving and you will not see me (again) except where you do not want to see me." Salim⁵⁵ said to him: "O Abu Husayn, this is certainly not what is expected of you."

The account now goes back to the narrative of Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi. Abu Mikhnaf: The Shi`is⁵⁶ began to rally behind Zayd and to put pressure on him to rebel, saying: "We hope that you will be *al-Mansur*⁵⁷ and that this will be the time when the Banff Umayyah will perish." Zayd stayed in al-Kufah and Yusuf b. `Umar began asking questions about him and was told that Zayd was there. Yusuf sent a message to Zayd asking him to leave. Zayd said that he would do so, but he made the excuse that he was ill and he delayed a good while. Then Yusuf asked about Zayd again, and he was told that he was still living in al-Kufah and that he had not gone away. Yusuf sent a message to Zayd, urging him to come in person. Zayd fobbed him off with the excuse that he had things to buy and he told Yusuf that he was preparing himself (for the journey). Zayd now realized how persistent was Yusuf's interest in him, so he got ready and went as far as al-Qadisiyyah.⁵⁸

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Some sources say that Yusuf sent a messenger with Zayd who took him as far as `Uthayb.⁵⁹ The Shi`is joined him there and said

55. This is probably a reference to Salim b. `Abd al-Rahman, Hisham's *katib*, who was in charge of the *diwan al-rasa`il*. The Leiden index differentiates between Salim the *katib* and another Salim, the mawla of the `Anbasah. For a clear discussion of the names and identity of Salim, cf. Grignaschi, 12-13.

56. Cf. a similar account in Ibn A`tham, VIII, 110-11.

57. "The one to whom victory is given." Cf. n. 206.

58. Two towns bear this name. This is a reference to the large hamlet five leagues west of al-Kufah, the first stage on the road to Mecca. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 76, 83.

59. `Uthayb was 6 *mils* (12 kin) from al-Qadisiyyah and was a fortified place in the desert. Cf. Ibn Rustah, 202.

to him: "Why are you leaving us, when you have 100,000 men of al-Kufah fighting on your side tomorrow with their swords and there is only a small number of Syrians against you? Even if one of our tribes like Madhhij or Hamdan or Tamim or Bakr joined them, there would still be enough men for you to deal with them if God Almighty wills it so. We implore you by God to come back." They kept on urging Zayd until they brought him back to al-Kufah.⁶⁰

Accounts other than that of Abu Mikhnaf come from `Ubayd b. Jannad`Ata' b. Muslim: When Zayd b. `Ali went to see Yusuf, Yusuf said to him: "Khalid has claimed that he has entrusted money to you." Zayd said: "How would anyone who cursed my ancestors from his pulpit entrust money to me?" Then Yusuf sent a messenger to Khalid and the latter came to him wearing a cloak (*abah*). Yusuf said: "This is Zayd. You have alleged that you deposited money with him and he has denied it." Khalid looked at both of them, and then he said (to Yusuf): "Do you want to add to your crime against me a crime against this man? How would I entrust money to him when I curse him and his ancestors from the pulpit?" Yusuf cursed him and sent him away.

Abu `Ubaydah's account is as follows: Hisham believed Zayd and the other men against whom Yusuf had made accusations and he sent them to Yusuf. Hisham said: "They have sworn oaths to me and I have accepted their oaths and have pronounced them innocent in regard to the money. I have sent them to you only so that you may bring them and Khalid together so that they may prove him a liar." Then Hisham gave them presents.

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When they came to see Yusuf, he received them hospitably and treated them well. He sent for Khalid, who was duly brought in. Yusuf said to Khalid: "These people have sworn oaths and this is the letter from the Commander of the Faithful exonerating them. Do you have any proof about what you have alleged?" Khalid had no proof, and the men said to him: "What made you do what you did? Khalid said: "Yusuf tortured me severely and I made the allegation that I made, hoping that God would give me relief before you arrived."⁶¹ Then Yusuf released them. The two men of

60. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 135.

61. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 94-95.

Quraysh, the Jumahi and the Makhzumi, went to Medina and the two Hashimis, Dawud b. `Ali and Zayd b. `Ali, stayed behind in al-Kufah.

It was reported that Zayd stayed in al-Kufah for a period of four or five months. Yusuf then ordered him to leave and wrote to his agent (*`amil*)⁶² in al-Kufah Yusuf being at that time in al-Hirah⁶³ ordering him to harass Zayd. Zayd said that he was in litigation with some of the family of Talhah b. `Ubaydallah⁶⁴ about money in Medina. Yusuf's agent wrote to him about this and Yusuf let Zayd stay on a few days. Then the news reached Yusuf that the Shi`is were rallying to Zayd. So Yusuf wrote to his agent saying: "Send Zayd away and don't allow him to stay any longer. If he asserts that he is in litigation, then let him appoint an agent and choose a trustee to take his place in the legal proceedings." A group of people, amongst whom were Salamah b. Kuhayl, Nasr b. Khuzaymah al-`Absi, Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq b. Zayd b. Harithah al-Ansari, Hujayyah b. al-Akhlah⁶⁵ and other Kufan leaders, had given Zayd the oath of allegiance.

[1679]

When Dawud b. `Ali discovered this, he said to Zayd: "Cousin, don't let these men make you delude yourself, for you should learn a lesson from the members of your family and the way in which these people (the Kufans) let them down." Zayd said: "Dawud, the Umayyads have been inordinately proud and pitiless." Dawud continued speaking (to Zayd) in this way until Zayd decided to leave (al-Kufah) and they both went as far as al-Qadisiyyah.

According to Abu `Ubaydah: The Kufans followed Zayd to al-Tha`labiyyah⁶⁶ and they said to him: "We are forty thousand. If

62. For this term, which was used for a variety of government officials, including the governor of a province and the director of finances in a provincial centre, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (A. A. Duri).

63. Al-Hirah, situated close to the Euphrates and to the southeast of present-day Najaf, was the center. of Lakhmid power in the late Sasanian period. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 75; *EI2*, s.v. (I. Shahid).

64. One of the Companions of the Prophet. Cf. *EI1*, s.v. (G. Levi della Vida).

65. The text has al-Akhlah. This is emended by the editor to al-Ajlah (*Introduction*, p. DCCX).

66. A town on the road from Iraq to Mecca, between Bitaniyyah and Khuzaymiyyah. In `Abbasid times it was one-third of the route from Baghdad to Mecca. Cf. Ibn Rustah, 204.

you return to al-Kufah everyone will join you." They made covenants with him and swore inviolable oaths. Then Zayd began to remonstrate: "I am afraid that you will desert me and hand me over, as you did with my father and grandfather." So they swore further oaths to him (that they would not desert him). Then Dawud b. `Ali said: "Cousin! These men will let you down! Did they not desert someone who was dearer to them than you, your great-grandfather `Ali b. Abi Talib, so that he was killed? Then they gave the oath of allegiance to al-Hasan⁶⁷; after that they attacked him, snatched his cloak from round his neck, plundered his tent, and wounded him. Moreover, did they not force your grandfather al-Husayn to rebel? They made binding oaths to him, then they deserted and abandoned him and were not satisfied until they had killed him. So don't do it and don't go back (to al-Kufah) with them." Then the Kufans said: "This man doesn't want you to be victorious. He is claiming that he and the members of his family are more entitled to this authority than you." Zayd b. `Ali said to Dawud: "'`Ali had Mu`awiyah,⁶⁸ with his sagacity and cunning,⁶⁹ and the Syrians fighting against him and al-Husayn had Yazid b. Mu`awiyah⁷⁰ fighting against him, and the situation went in their favor." Dawud said: "I am afraid that if you go back with them nobody will be more violent toward you than they will be, but you know best." Then Dawud went to Medina and Zayd returned to al-Kufah.

[1680]

According to `Ubayd b. Jannad `Ata' b. Muslim al-Khaffaf: Hisham wrote to Yusuf telling him to send Zayd to his own town, since whenever he lived in any other town and summoned his followers they responded to his call. So Yusuf sent him away and when he had got as far as al-Tha`labiyyah or al-Qadisiyyah, the wretches, that is, the Kufans, caught up with him, brought him back (to al-Kufah), and gave the oath of allegiance to him. Salamah b. Kuhayl⁷¹ came to him and asked permission to see him.

67. The Prophet's grandson. Cf. the genealogical table of the `Alids.

68. The first Umayyad caliph, who ruled from 41 to 60 (661-80).

69. *Bi-daha'ihī wa-nakhra'ihī*. The two words are synonyms. Cf. Ibn Manzur, *Lisan*, III, 715.

70. The second Umayyad caliph, who ruled from 60 to 64 (680-83). During his reign (in 61/680) the Prophet's grandson, al-Husayn, was martyred at Karbala'.

71. For the conversation between Salamah and Zayd, cf. also *Fragmenta*, 95-96.

This he was allowed to do. He mentioned Zayd's kinship with the Prophet of God and his rightful claim and he spoke well. Zayd replied and he too spoke well. Then Salamah said to him: "Give me permission to speak frankly." Zayd said: "God forbid that the likes of you should ask the likes of me for permission to speak." Salamah only wanted his companions to hear that. Then Zayd said: "You can go ahead." Salamah said: "I beseech you, by God! How many people have given the oath of allegiance to you?" Zayd replied: "Forty thousand." Salamah went on: "How many gave the oath of allegiance to your grandfather?" and Zayd replied "Eighty thousand." Then Salamah inquired: "How many remained with him?" and Zayd said "Three hundred." Then Salamah said: "I adjure you by God, is it you or your grandfather who is the better man?" and Zayd answered: "My grandfather." Then Salamah asked: "Who are the better men, the companions with whom you have rebelled or the companions with whom your grandfather rebelled?" Zayd replied: "The companions with whom my grandfather rebelled." Salamah said: "Do you expect that these men will keep faith with you when those men acted treacherously with your grandfather?" [1681]

Zayd said: "They have given the oath of allegiance to me and the oath of allegiance is binding on me and them." Thereupon Salamah said: "Will you allow me to leave the town?" Zayd asked "Why?" Salamah responded: "I cannot guarantee that if anything happens to you I could control myself."⁷² Zayd said: "I grant you permission (to leave)". Salamah then went to al-Yamamah⁷³ and Zayd rebelled, was killed, and was put on a cross. Hisham wrote to Yusuf blaming him for allowing Salamah b. Kuhayl to leave al-Kufah, saying, "Salamah's staying (in al-Kufah) would have been better for you than your having such-and-such a number of cavalry with you."

According to `Umar Abu Ishaqa *shaykh* of the people of Isfahan: `Abdallah b. Hasan wrote to Zayd b. `Ali as follows:

Cousin! The Kufans are puffed up with wind on the outside and weak inside. They are loud when circumstances are easy

⁷². *La amliku nafsi. Fragmenta*, 96, has *la ahliku nafsi* ("I would not destroy myself").

⁷³. District of Central Arabia. Cf. *EI*1, s.v. (A. Grohmann).

and impatient when you meet them. Their tongues go ahead of them but their hearts do not accompany them. They do not spend their nights preparing for possible misfortunes nor will they bring about a hoped-for change of government. They have sent me a succession of letters inviting me, but I have remained deaf to their summons and in sheer despair and rejection of them have draped my heart with a cloth so as not to remember them. There is no way to describe them except in the words of `Ali b. Abi Talib: "If you are left to your own devices you rush in (recklessly). If you are attacked, you collapse. When people gather round an imam you join in (but) once you have answered the call to rebel, you (then) beat a retreat."⁷⁴

[1682]

It was related that Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik wrote to Yusuf b. `Umar about Zayd b. `Ali as follows:⁷⁵

Now to our topic. You know what love the Kufans feel for the members of this family. You know that the Kufans have placed them in positions where they should not be, because they have made obedience to them an obligation on themselves. They have put them in charge of the statutes of their religion and they have falsely attributed to them a knowledge of what is to come, until, thanks to the fragmented state of the community, they have brought them to a situation in which they have incited them to rebel. Zayd b. `Ali came to the Commander of the Faithful on the matter of the lawsuit of `Umar b. al-Walid, and the Commander of the Faithful settled the matter between them. The Commander of the Faithful found Zayd argumentative, eloquent, able to embellish and mold speech, and to attract men by the sweetness of his tongue. (Zayd achieved this) by virtue of the many solu-

74. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 241. Parts of this are susceptible to more than one interpretation. The meaning of *ta`antum* is especially difficult. However, in view of the fact that the other parts of `Ali's statements are in the form of sharp contrasts, *ta`ana* has been translated as "to join in" (Cf. Lane, I, 1855). Other possible translations would include "you defame (him)" or even "you go away." (Cf. Lane, loc. cit.).

75. Al-Baladhuri has a shorter version of this letter from Hisham to Yusuf. Al-Baladhuri attributes the letter to Salim (*Ansab*, 238).

tions in arguments and the sharp, forceful (verbal) attacks he produces against his opponent to obtain victory. Send him quickly to the Hijaz⁷⁶ and do not let him stay with you. For if the people lend him their ears, so that he fills them, because of the softness of his speech and the sweetness of his diction as well as the appeal of his kinship with the Prophet of God, he will find the Kufans inclined toward him, their hearts not slow, their minds⁷⁷ far from tranquil, and their religious oaths no longer honored. [1683]

I would rather take repressive measures against Zayd which will harm him, and send him away and cast him off, thereby ensuring communal safety, the prevention of bloodshed, and security against division, than see a situation in which their (the people's) blood is shed, discord is spread amongst them, and their offspring cut down.⁷⁸ Communal unity is God's firm covenant, true obedience to Him and His most secure support.⁷⁹ So I am leaving the leaders of the Kufans to you. Threaten them with flogging and confiscation of their wealth, and those of them who have any contract or covenant (with me) will be slow to join up with Zayd. The only people who will be swift to rally to him, delighting in strife, will be the rabble, the masses, people impelled by dire need and those who are in league with Satan and who have been enslaved by him. So threaten them publicly, lash them with your whip and unsheath your sword amongst them. Terrorize the leaders before those of middle rank and those of middle rank before the common people. Know that you stand at the door that leads to union, that you are summoning the people to obedience, that you are promoting unity and doing your utmost to maintain God's covenant. So do not flinch from their large numbers but make as your stronghold in which you take refuge, and as your hiding place from which you emerge, your trust in your Lord, your zeal for your religion, your desire to preserve communal unity, and your [1684]

76. The northwestern part of the Arabian peninsula. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (G. Rentz).

77. *Ablamuhum*. Cf. Qur'an 52, v. 32.

78. *Qat`u naslihim*. It is possible that the phrase has to do with *qat`u rahmihi* ("the severing of the ties of kinship"). Cf. Freytag, 509.

79. Cf. Qur'an 2, v. 255.

hostility and animosity toward anyone who wants to break down this door through which God has commanded us to enter.

Indeed, the Commander of the Faithful has exonerated Zayd and has pronounced judgment, decreeing indemnity for him. Zayd's only chance of claiming a right that is his and of saying that he has been deprived of his own portion, either as permanent booty (*fay'*)⁸⁰ or as a gratuity for those related to him is, as the Commander of the Faithful fears, by causing the rabble to undertake something that would probably make them more wretched and misguided (i.e., rebellion). (The exonerating of Zayd) makes them more secure, (makes) the Commander of the Faithful stronger, and makes it easier for him to protect and preserve true religion.⁸¹ For he does not want to see in his community a disruptive situation which could become the reason for their punishment and perdition. Therefore, he will consider long and carefully and will prepare himself to make the right decision; he will steer them away from the abodes of fear, draw them toward right paths, and turn them away from places of perdition, just as a tender father does with his child or a kind shepherd with his flock.

Know that a means to gain the upper hand over them and to render yourself worthy of assistance from God, if they do disobey, is to meet their demands in full, to give money to their children, and to forbid your army to attack their women and their houses. So seize the chance to please God on the path on which He has placed you. There is no sin more quickly punished than injustice; the devil has ensnared these people and led them astray toward it and has guided them to it. He who sets his face against injustice approaches most closely to infallibility. The Commander of the Faithful calls on God for help against these people and against his other subjects of like mind, and he calls on his God and his Lord and his Friend to set to rights that which is corrupt in them and to bring them speedily to salvation and deliverance. Verily He is the Listener, the One near at hand.

[1685]

80. In pre-Islamic times a term used for chattels taken as booty. For its usage in the early Islamic period, cf. *EI*2, s.v. (F. Løkkegaard).

81. This passage is discussed at length in Appendix I.

The narrative returns to the account of Hisham (b. Muhammad al-Kalbi):⁸² Zayd returned to al-Kufah and went into hiding. When he wanted to go back to al-Kufah, Muhammad b. `Umar b. `Ali b. Abi Talib said to him: "May God grant you wisdom, O Zayd, when you rejoin your people. Do not accept the word of any of those who are inviting you to do as they suggest, for they will not keep faith with you." However, Zayd did not accept that advice from him and returned to al-Kufah.

According to Hisham (b. Muhammad al-Kalbi) Abu Mikhnaf: When Zayd returned to al-Kufah, the Shi`is came rallying round him and gave the oath of allegiance to him, until his register numbered fifteen thousand men. Zayd stayed in al-Kufah some ten months, although he was in al-Basrah for about two months of that period and then he came to al-Kufah where he stayed.⁸³ He sent men to the people of the Sawad⁸⁴ and of al-Mawsil inviting them to join him.

When Zayd came to al-Kufah, he married the daughter of Ya`qub b. `Abdallah al-Sulami, one of the Banff Farqad, and he also married the daughter of `Abdallah b. Abi al-`Anbas al-Azdi. The reason for his marrying her was as follows:⁸⁵ her mother, Umm `Amr, daughter of al-Salt, was of the Shi`i persuasion. She heard where Zayd was and she went to greet him. She was a corpulent, good-looking, fleshy woman who was already getting on in years, although she did not look her age. When she went in to see Zayd b. `Ali and greeted him, he thought that she was a young woman. She chatted to him and she was the most eloquent of people and most beautiful in appearance. Zayd asked her about her lineage and she told him about it and she informed him who her family were. Zayd then said to her: "May God's mercy be upon you, how would you like to marry me?" She said to him: "By God, may He have mercy on you, you are the one I would like to marry, if I were in a position to do so." Zayd rejoined: "What prevents you from doing so?" She said: "What prevents me from doing so is that I am too old." Zayd said to her: "Not at all! I am satisfied.

[1686]

82. Cf. p. 13.

83. Al-Baladhuri's account is clearer: "He stayed in al-Kufah about ten months and went to al-Basrah and stayed there for two months" (*Aasab*, 237). Cf. also al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 135.

84. The alluvial plain of southern Iraq. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 24.

85. This anecdote is also given by Ibn A`tham, VIII, 112.

You are far from being too old."86 She said: "May God have mercy on you! I know myself better than you do and I know better what time has done for me. If I were to marry one day, I would not prefer anyone else to you. But I do have a daughter, whose father was my paternal cousin and who is more beautiful than I am. I will give her to you in marriage, if you like." He said to her: "I will be satisfied if she is like you." She said: "Her Creator and Maker was not content to make her like me, so He made her whiter, more good-looking, more corpulent, and finer than me in coquettishness and form." Zayd laughed and said to her: "You have been blessed with your full share of eloquence and fine speaking. How does her eloquence compare with yours?" She said: "I am not sure about that, because I grew up in the .Hijaz and my daughter grew up in al-Kufah, so I don't know. Perhaps my daughter speaks as the Kufans do." Zayd said: "I don't object to that." Then he arranged a meeting with her, came to her, and contracted a marriage with her. Then he went in to her. She bore him a daughter, after which she died. As for Zayd, he was madly in love with her.

[1687]

Zayd b. `Ali lived in various houses in al-Kufah:87 in his wife's house with the Azd on one occasion, with his Sulami sons-in-law on another occasion, once with Nasr b. Khuzaymah from the Banff `Abs, and once with the Banff Ghubar. Then he moved from the Banff Ghubar to the house of Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq b. Harithah al-Ansari at the far end of the Jabbanah of Salim al-Saluli.88 He also lived with the Banff Nahd89 and the Banff Taghlib near the mosque of the Banff Hilal b. `Amir. He remained there, receiving the oath of allegiance from his followers. The oath of allegiance

86. An alternative translation might be: "I would be satisfied, as long as (*ma*) I could keep you (*ub`iduki*) from growing old."

87. For the subsequent accounts of Zayd's revolt in al-Kufah, the researches of Massignon and Djaït are invaluable in clarifying the topography and tribal organization of the town.

88. There were a number of *jabbanat* at al-Kufah. Massignon translates *jabbanah* as "tribal cemetery," but states that such open spaces were used for public ceremonies and for mobilizing troops ("Explication," 347-48). Djaït plausibly suggests that the *jabbanah* was not a cemetery but a space used for public prayer on special occasions and also for mobilizing the tribesmen (*Yamanites*, 176-77). The Jabbanah Salim al-Saluli mentioned here belonged to the Banff `Amir of Qays (cf. Massignon, loc. cit.).

89. Ibn al-Athir has the *Banff Hind* (*Kamil*, V, 177).

which he made with the people was as follows:⁹⁰ "We summon you to the Book of God and the *sunnah*⁹¹ of His Prophet, and to wage war against those who act tyrannically, to defend those who have been oppressed,⁹² to give pensions to those who have been deprived of them, to distribute this booty (*fay'*) equally amongst those who are entitled to it, to make restitution to those who have been wronged, to bring home those who have been detained on the frontiers, and to help the *ahl al-bayt*⁹³ against those who have opposed us and disregard our just cause. Do you swear allegiance on that basis?" If they said "Yes," Zayd would place his hand on theirs⁹⁴ and he would say: "The pledge, treaty, and covenant of God and the covenant of His Prophet are upon you so that you keep your allegiance to me, fight my enemy, and act in good faith toward me both secretly and publicly." If they said "Yes," Zayd would rub his hand on their hands⁹⁵ and would say: "May God be our witness." The situation remained like this for some ten months. When the time for his uprising drew near, he ordered his followers to make their preparations. Those who wanted to keep faith and rebel with him began to get ready and his activities became widely known amongst the people.

[1688]

In this year Nasr b. Sayyar⁹⁶ raided Transoxiana twice, then he raided it a third time⁹⁷ and killed Kursul.⁹⁸

90. Versions of this oath are given by Ibn A`tham (VIII, 113) and al-Baladhuri (*Ansab*, 237-38).

91. Muhammad's *sunnah* comprises his deeds, sayings, and unspoken approval. Cf. *EI*1, s.v. (A. J. Wensinck).

92. Cf. Qur'an 28, vv. 4-5.

93. The family of the Prophet.

94. Literally, "on his hand."

95. Again the plural has been used here for consistency.

96. The last Umayyad governor of Khurasan, appointed by Hisham in 120 (738).

97. It is likely that these three campaigns were spread out over a number of years (121-23/739-41); cf. Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 66.

98. For the career of Kursul, a Türgesh leader, cf. Gibb, 85, 91. Gibb believes that al-Tabari's narrative here, which attributes the capture of Kursul to Nasr b. Sayyar, is later Muslim glorification of Arab achievements. He adds that if Kursul is to be identified with Bagha Tarkhan, he was executed by the Chinese in 126 (744). Gabrieli accepts al-Tabari's account (*Califfato*, 66 ff.).

The Raids of Nasr b. Sayyar⁹⁹

According to `Ali (b. Muhammad al-Mada'ini) his *shaykhs*: Nasr raided Transoxiana from Balkh¹⁰⁰ in the region of the Gate of Iron,¹⁰¹ then he returned to Marw¹⁰² and delivered the following sermon (*khutbah*):

Verily, Bahramsis¹⁰³ was the protector of the Magians (*majus*); he favored them, protected them and put their burdens¹⁰⁴ on the Muslims. Verily, Ashbdad son of Gregory was the protector of the Christians, just as Aqiva the Jew protected the Jews. But I am the protector of the Muslims. I will defend them and shield them and make the polytheists carry their burdens. Nothing less than the full amount of the *kharaj*¹⁰⁵ as written and recorded will be accepted by me. I have placed Mansur b. `Umar b. Abi al-Kharqa as agent (*`amil*) over you and I have ordered him to act justly toward you. If there is a man amongst you who is a Muslim and from whom *jizyah* has been levied, or who has been charged an excessive amount of *kharaj*, thus lightening the burden for the polytheists, then let him raise that with Mansur b. `Umar so that he may take the burden away from the Muslim and impose it on the polytheist. [1689]

By the following Friday, Mansur had dealt with thirty thousand Muslims who had been paying the *jizyah* and eighty thousand

99. For the activities of Nasr b. Sayyar in Central Asia, cf. Gibb, 88-99; van Vloten, 71-72; Wellhausen, 473-86; Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 27-70.

100. A city now in Afghanistan. According to al-Ya`qubi, Balkh was the greatest city of Khurasan (*Buldan*, trans. by G. Wiet, 100). Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 420-22.

101. *Bab al-Hadid*, the famous "Iron Gate," two marches to the north of Hashimjird. This defile in the mountains was the thoroughfare between Samarkand and India. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 441-42.

102. Marw al-Shahijan, the important city of medieval Khurasan. The epithet al-Shahijan was used to distinguish it from Marw al-Rud. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 397-403; *EI2*, s.v. (A. Yakubovskii-C. E. Bosworth).

103. Bahramsis had been appointed Marzuban of Marw by Muslim b. Sa'id al-Kilabi in 105 (723-24). It was Muslim's policy to appoint officials acceptable to the Persians. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1462.

104. I.e. taxation.

105. It is difficult to define exactly the use of such terms as *kharaj* and *jizyah* in this period and area. Cf. Van Vloten, 72; *EI2*, "Kharadj" (Cl. Cahen).

polytheists¹⁰⁶ who had been exempted from the *jizyah*. He imposed the *jizyah* on the polytheists and removed it from the Muslims. Then he readjusted the *kharaj*, allocating it properly, and reassessed the amount (of tribute) payable in accordance with the peace treaty (*sulh*). In the time of the Umayyads, the revenues of Marw amounted to one hundred thousand dirhams, not including the *kharaj*.¹⁰⁷

Nasr b. Sayyar made a second raid to Waraghsar¹⁰⁸ and Samarqand¹⁰⁹ and returned to Marw. He then went out on a raid from Marw a third time, to al-Shash,¹¹⁰ but Kursul, accompanied by fifteen thousand men, prevented him from fording the river, which was the river at al-Shash. Kursul was paying each of his men per month one piece of silk, which at that time was worth twenty-five dirhams. The two armies remained a bowshot apart and Kursul prevented Nasr from crossing to al-Shash. Al-Harith b. Surayj was at that time in Turkish territory and he had come with the Turks¹¹¹ and was positioned opposite Nasr. He shot a short arrow at Nasr who was sitting on his litter (*sarir*)¹¹² on the river bank. The arrow hit a servant of Nasr's in the side of the mouth while he was performing Nasr's ablutions. Nasr got down from his litter and shot an arrow at a horse belonging to one of the Syrians and it fell dead.

106. Literally, "Thirty thousand Muslims who had been paying the *jizyah* and eighty thousand polytheists who had been exempted from the *jizyah* came to him."

107. For a clear summary of the preceding fiscal situation in Khurasan and of this celebrated tax reform introduced by Nasr b. Sayyar, cf. Hawting, 106. Cf. also Wellhausen, 477-82; Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 68. Here Nasr established that all cultivators of taxable land, whatever their religious affiliation, would be liable to pay land tax (*kharaj*) and that non-Muslims only would pay poll tax (*jizyah*).

108. A large village between Banjikath and Samarqand. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 465, 467.

109. For this important Central Asian city, cf. *EI1*, s.v. (H. H. Schaeder).

110. Nowadays Tashkent. The medieval city of al-Shash lay to the west of Farghanah, on the right bank of the Jaxartes. It was the greatest of the Arab towns beyond the Jaxartes. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 480-82.

111. In 116 (734) al-Harith b. Surayj from the Banff Tamim had led a revolt of Arabs and Soghdian mawlas against the Umayyads and in support of the rights of the mawlas (non-Arab Muslims). Al-Harith was willing to collaborate with the Türgesh with whom he eventually took refuge. Cf. Gibb, 76-85; Hawting, 86-88, 107-09; Shaban, *Abbasid revolution*, 118-22; *EI2*, s.v. (M. J. Kister).

112. For the meanings of *sarir*, cf. Sadan, 32-41.

Then Kursul crossed with forty men and made a night raid on Nasr's camp, driving away some sheep which belonged to the people of Bukhara. (This was possible because) the Bukharans were at the rear and it was a dark night when Kursul went round the camp. Nasr had with him men from Bukhara, Samarqand, Kish,¹¹³ and Ushrusanah¹¹⁴ and they numbered twenty thousand. Nasr made the following proclamation to his tribal units:¹¹⁵ "Let nobody leave his tent; hold firm to your positions."

Asim b. Umayr, who was in charge of the *jund*¹¹⁶ of the people of Samarqand, was outside (the camp) when the army of Kursul passed. The Turks had shouted (as they went) and the people in the camp thought that the Turks had all crossed (the river).¹¹⁷ Then still more of Kursul's troops passed by, and Asim attacked the last of these. He captured a man who was one of their kings and the lord of four thousand tents (*qubbah*), and they took him to Nasr. He was an old man who had a lifetime of fighting¹¹⁸ behind him. He was wearing brocade gaiters with rings of metal in them and a silk *qaba'* hemmed with brocade. Nasr asked him who he was and he told Nasr that he was Kursul. Nasr said to him: "Praise be to God who has enabled us to get hold of you, you enemy of God!" Kursul said: "What do you hope for by killing an old man? I will give you one thousand Turkish camels¹¹⁹ and one thousand draft horses¹²⁰ with which to strengthen your army. So let me go." Nasr asked the Syrians and the Khurasanis around him for their opinion and they said that he should let Kursul go. Then Nasr asked Kursul: "How old are you?" He said: "I do not know." Nasr said: "How many raids have you made?" and Kursul answered, "Seventy-two." Nasr said: "Were you present at the

[1690]

113. *Kiss* in the text. This should be identified as Kish (or Kishsh), which was later called Shahr-i Sabz and lies to the south of Samarqand. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 469.

114. The province of Ushrusanah lay to the east of Samarqand. There was a city of the same name. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 474-76.

115. *Akhmas*, plural of *khums* ("fifths"). From 50 (670), Arab tribal settlements were divided into quarters or fifths. Cf. Crone, 31.

116. A regular regiment of soldiers under a *qa'id*. Cf. Crone, 38.

117. The sequence of events in this passage is rather obscure.

118. Literally, "who had trailed his coat of mail for a (life-) span."

119. Ibn al-Athir (V, 177) has four thousand camels.

120. *Birdhawn*: the heavy Persian warhorse.

Day of Thirst (*Yawm al-`Atash*)?"¹²¹ and Kursul said: "Yes." [1691]
Nasr said: "Even if you were to give me everything on which the sun rises, you would not escape me now that -you have said that you were present at that battle." Nasr said to `Asim b. `Umayr al-Sughdi: "Get up, disarm and seize him." When Kursul realized that he was going to be killed, he said: "Who was it who took me prisoner?" Nasr said laughing: "Yazid b. Qurran al-Hanzali"¹²² and he pointed to him. Kursul said: "He can't wash his backside properly" or, according to another report, he said: "He cannot stop his urine,"¹²³ so how could he have taken me prisoner? Tell me who it really was who captured me, for I am worth killing seven times." He was then told that it was `Asim b. `Umayr. Kursul said: "I will not feel the pain of death if the person who took me prisoner is a (true) Bedouin horseman." Then Nasr killed him and crucified him upon the river bank. (The narrator said): `Asim b. Umayr, who had the sobriquet al-Hazarmard,¹²⁴ was killed at Nihawand¹²⁵ in the lifetime of Qahtabah.¹²⁶

When Kursul was killed, the Turks were in disarray.¹²⁷ They went to his quarters and burnt them. They cut their ears and tore the skin on their faces¹²⁸ and began weeping over him. When evening came and Nasr wanted to leave he sent someone to Kilt-sul with a bottle of naphtha (*naft*), which he poured over him. He then set fire to the body lest people should take away his bones.

121. The defeat of Muslim b. Sa'id al-Kilabi and the Arab troops in 106 (724) by the Türgesh and rebel Soghdians was called "The Day of Thirst." It was a major military disaster for the Arabs. Cf. Gibb, 64-67; Shaban, *Abbasid Revolution*, 106-07; al-Tabari, II, 1480.

122. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1569.

123. These expressions denote contempt at a man's lack of manly qualities in war. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CXLIV.

124. The word denotes either "having one thousand men under him" or "as strong as one thousand men." A number of other warriors were given this epithet. Cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 128.

125. Nihawand was a city some forty miles south of Hamadan. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 196-97.

126. Qahtabah b. Shabib al-Ta'i was appointed by the imam Ibrahim as military commander of the Hashimiyyah. Qahtabah and his son defeated the Umayyad forces at Nihawand in Dhu al-Qa'dah 131 (June 22-July 22, 749). Cf. Wellhausen, 540; al-Tabari, III, 7-8.

127. *Takhaddaru*: cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXIV.

128. *Wa-jarradu wujuhahum*. Nöldeke prefers a variant in the apparatus: *wakhadadu wujuhahum*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXIV.

(The narrator commented): This action upset the people more than Kursul's killing. Then Nasr went up to Farghanah¹²⁹ and took from there thirty thousand captives.

According to `Anbar b. Bur`umah al-Azdi: Yusuf b. `Umar wrote to Nasr as follows: "Go to the man who has fixed himself in al-Shash,"¹³⁰ meaning al-Harith b. Surayj. "If God gives you victory over him and the people of al-Shash, lay waste their country and take their children captive, but take care not to get into a situation from which the Muslims cannot extricate themselves."¹³¹ Nasr called the people, read the letter to them and asked them their opinion. Yahya b. Hudayn said: "Fulfill the decree of the Commander of the Faithful and the order of the *amir* (i.e., Yusuf)." Nasr said: "Yahya, in the time of `Asim you said something¹³² which reached the caliph and you obtained favor by that. He increased your salary, he gave stipends to the members of your family, and you achieved high rank. So you said to yourself: 'Why don't I say the same thing now?' Off you go, Yahya. I have appointed you as my advance party." The people went up to Yahya and reproached him. Nasr then said: "What disaster¹³³ could be worse than that we should have to travel while they (the enemy) can stay where they are?" Then he went to al-Shash and al-Harith b. Surayj came to him and set up two *`arradahs*¹³⁴ against the Banff Tamim. When he was told that they were the Banu Tamim,¹³⁵ he moved the *`arradahs* and set them up against the Azd. Another report said that it was against Bakr b. Wa'il.

129. The city of Farghanah, otherwise known as Akhsikath, lay on the north bank of the Jaxartes. There was a province of the same name. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 477, and map opposite p. 433.

130. *Sir ila hadha al-ghariz dhanabahu bi-al Shash* (lit., "go to that one who sticks his tail in al-Shash"). Cf. the example *aqama bi-ardina wa-gharaza dhanabahu* ("he stayed in our land and remained fixed"). Cf. Lane, I, 980.

131. *Wartat al-Muslimin*. *Wartah* means literally slime or thin mud into which sheep or goats fall and from which they cannot extricate themselves. Cf. Lane, I, 2938.

132. In 106 (724) Yahya b. Hudayn al-Bakri had advised `Asim to stand firm against al-Harith b. Surayj. Wellhausen describes him as "the most esteemed leader of the Bakr." Cf. Wellhausen, 467, 487.

133. Again the word used is *wartah*. Nasr is being sarcastic about the warning Yusuf b. `Umar has given him in his letter.

134. For a definition of *`arradah* and *manjaniq*, both medieval artillery machines, cf. *El2*, "*`Arradah*" (C. Cahen).

135. I.e., al-Harith's own people.

Al-Akhram, who was a Turkish horseman, 136 made a raid on them and the Muslims killed him, taking prisoner seven of his companions. Nasr b. Sayyar ordered that al-Akhram's head should be shot amongst the enemy troops with a *manjaniq*. When they saw the head, they made a great din and fled in disarray. Nasr went back and wanted to cross the river but he was prevented from doing so. Abu Numaylah Salih b. `Abbar said:

When Nasr returned after his absence, we felt [1693]
like someone who watches a storm until the rain sheets
down on him.

When it stopped, there abated with it a cold drenching
climax¹³⁷
which threatened the destiny of the people.

Nasr went and attacked Samarqand in the year in which he fought al-Harith b. Surayj. Then the Bukhar Khudah¹³⁸ fled to his protection. The Muslims had the garrison¹³⁹ in their possession, and with them were two of the *dihqans*¹⁴⁰ of Bukhara, who had accepted Islam from the hand of Nasr.¹⁴¹ These men had resolved to kill both Wasil b. `Amr al-Qaysi,¹⁴² who was the agent (*`amil*) of Bukhara, and the Bukhar Khudah. They accused the Bukhar Khudah, whose name was Tughshadah,¹⁴³ of injustice.¹⁴⁴ The

136. For a discussion of al-Akhram, cf. Gibb, p. 91.

137. *Awda bi-akhira minhu `aridun baridun*. Nöldeke prefers the reading *bi-Akhrama*; cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX. The Cairo edition of al-Tabari (VII, 176) follows Nöldeke.

138. This episode, with similar details, is given by Narshakhi, 60-62. The Bukhar Khudah was the local ruler of Bukhara (*ibid.*).

139. *Wa-kanat al-maslahah `alayhim wa-ma`ahum dihqanan*. The translation is only tentative. The meaning of *maslahah* is obscure in this context. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCV. As well as an arms depot, the word can denote the task of protecting the roads. Another possibility is the translation "they were armed." If the word is translated as "garrison," it is still not clear whether the use of the third person masculine plural suffix refers to the Muslims or to the Bukhar Khudah and his followers.

140. *Dihqan*: a local Persian landlord. Cf. Morony, 529.

141. *Wa-kana aslama `ala yaday Nasr*, rendered by Frye in his translation of the similar passage in Narshakhi as "Both had accepted Islam from Nasr." Cf. Narshakhi, 61.

142. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1528.

143. The text has *Tuq Siyadah*. This is corrected by the editor on the basis of his reading of Narshakhi to *Tuq Shadah*. Cf. *Add.*, DCCX A more likely reading is *Tughshadah*, as given by Gibb, 91.

144. He had seized their villages. Cf. Narshakhi, 61.

Bukhar Khudah said to Nasr: "May God bless the *amir*. I have heard that the two of them have become Muslims in your presence, so why do they have daggers hanging on them?" So Nasr said to the two *dihqans*: "Why do you have daggers on you when you have become Muslims?" They said: "There is enmity between us and the Bukhar Khudah, and we do not trust his intentions toward us." Nasr gave orders to Harun b. al-Siyawush, the mawla¹⁴⁵ of the Banff Sulaym, who was in charge of the garrison,¹⁴⁶ and he seized the two men forcibly and removed their daggers.¹⁴⁷ The Bukhar Khudah went up to Nasr and spoke secretly to him about the two men. Then the two of them said: "We will die nobly." One of them attacked Wasil b. `Amr and stabbed him in the belly with a knife. Wasil struck him on the head with his sword, cleaving his skull, and killed him. The other (*dihqan*) went in search of the Bukhar Khudah. Prayer commenced¹⁴⁸ and the Bukhar Khudah remained seated on a chair.¹⁴⁹ Nasr stood up, went into the tent, and summoned the Bukhar Khudah. He tripped at the door of the tent and the *dihqan* stabbed him. Al-Juzjan b. al-Juzjan¹⁵⁰ attacked the *dihqan*, striking him with an iron rod he had with him, and killed him. The Bukhar Khudah was picked up and taken into Nasr's tent. Nasr ordered a cushion for him and he leaned back against it. Qar`ah,¹⁵¹ the physician, came to him and began treating him. The Bukhar Khudah made his will before Nasr and then died soon afterward. Wasil was buried in the tent and Nasr prayed over him. As for Tughshadah,

[1694]

145. Mawla: a client or protégé. Cf. Morony, 532.

146. *Al-rabitah* is given as a synonym for *al-maslahah*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCLVI.

147. *Qata`ahuma*: "he disarmed them." The words *their daggers* have been added, since in the following lines it is clear that the two *dihqans* had other weapons on them.

148. Literally, "the *iqamah* was performed." For the *iqamah*, cf. I. K. A. Howard, "The Development of the *Adhan* and *Iqama* of the *Salat* in Early Islam," 219-28.

149. Narshakhi adds, "He did not pray, for he was still an unbeliever in secret." Cf. Narshakhi, 61. For *kursi*, cf. Sadan, 123-37. Probably it was a stool, being more portable.

150. A *dihqan* who is mentioned in 116 (734) in the company of al-Harith b. Surayj. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1569.

151. The vocalization of this name is uncertain. This same doctor in 118 (736) cut out the tongue of Khidash and put out his eye. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1589.

they removed the flesh from him and took his bones to Bukhara.¹⁵²

Nasr made for al-Shash and when he came to Ushrusanah, its *dihqan*, Abarakharrah,¹⁵³ gave him money. Then Nasr went on to al-Shash. He made Muhammad b. Khalid al-Azdi agent¹⁵⁴ (*amil*) of Farghanah and despatched him there with ten people. Muhammad sent back from Farghanah Jaysh's¹⁵⁵ brother and those *dihqans* who were with him, both from al-Khuttal¹⁵⁶ and from other areas. He took away many idols from there and put them in Ushrusanah.

Some sources said that when Nasr came to al-Shash, the ruler, Qadīr,¹⁵⁷ received him, offering peace terms, a gift, and a pledge. Nasr imposed on him the condition that he should expel al-Harith b. Surayj from his town. He therefore sent him away to Farab.¹⁵⁸ Then Nasr appointed as the agent (*amil*) of al-Shash Nizak b. Salih, the mawla of `Amr b. al-`As. Nasr moved on and came down to Quba,¹⁵⁹ which is in the region of Farghanah. The people there had heard that Nasr was coming, so they burned the grass and stored away the provisions. [1695]

In the remaining part of the year 121, Nasr sent people to the *wali`ahd* of the ruler of Farghanah¹⁶⁰ and they besieged him in one of its citadels. The Muslims were caught unprepared by the people in the citadel, who seized and drove away their horses and

152. For a bibliography on Zoroastrian burial customs, cf. Frye's n. 223 in his translation of Narshakhi, 141.

153. *Abarakharahh* in the text is corrected by the editor to Abarakharrah. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX.

154. Al-Tabari mentions this name here only.

155. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1593, 1618, where the form given is al-Jaysh.

156. The mountainous tract on the upper course of the Oxus, between the rivers Panj and Wakhshab. The term was also vaguely applied to all lands of the infidel to the east and north of Khurasan. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (C. E. Bosworth); Marquart, *Eran-ahr*, 299-303; Le Strange, *Lands*, 437-39.

157. Q.d.r.: the form of this name is unclear. In the apparatus it is suggested that the person may be B.d.r Turkhan (cf. al-Tabari, II, 1629). The editor later suggests another form, Tudun. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX.

158. Farab: the city on the east bank of the Jaxartes, later known as Utrar. This city should not be confused with Faryab in Khurasan. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 484-85.

159. A city in the province of Farghanah. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 24-25; Ibn Hawqal, 490.

160. *Wali`ahd*: the appointed heir and successor. Ibn al-Athir has *wali sahib Farghanah* (V, 179).

took a number of them captive. Then Nasr sent them reinforcements from the Banff Tamim¹⁶¹ accompanied by Muhammad b. al-Muthanna,¹⁶² who was a cavalryman. The Muslims laid a trap for the people in the citadel by abandoning their horses and lying in wait for them. The people in the citadel duly came out and took some of the horses. Then the Muslims emerged against them, put them to flight, killed the *dihqan*, and took some of the enemy prisoner.¹⁶³ The son of the slain *dihqan*, who was a beardless youth, attacked Ibn al-Muthanna. Muhammad b. al-Muthanna tricked him and took him prisoner. He brought him to Nasr, who beheaded him.

Nasr sent Sulayman b. Sul¹⁶⁴ to the lord of Farghanah with the peace treaty between them (the Muslims and the people of Farghanah). Sulayman gave the following account: I went in to the lord of Farghanah and he asked me who I was. I said: "I am a hired servant (*shakir*) and the *amir*'s deputy scribe." He said (to his servants): "Take him into the storehouse, so that he can see what preparations we have made and tell him to stand up." I said: "I cannot walk (there)." He replied: "Give him a beast to ride." So I went into his storehouses and I said to myself: "Sulayman, may Isra'il and Bishr b. `Ubaydah rejoice at your misfortune! All this can only mean that he does not want peace and I will go away empty-handed."¹⁶⁵ I went back to the lord of Farghanah and he said: "How did you find the road between us and you?" I said: "Easy, with plentiful water and pasturage." He was not pleased with what I told him, so he said: "How do you know?" I said: "I have gone on raids into Gharshistan,¹⁶⁶ Ghur,¹⁶⁷ al-Khuttal, and

[1696]

161. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, I, tables 59-84; and II, 7-10.

162. Muhammad b. al-Muthanna al-Azdi. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1761-62.

163. The narrative only sometimes mentions explicitly who is performing what action here. To clarify the passage the phrase "the people in the citadel" has been adopted for one group of the protagonists.

164. This may be the son of a Turkish leader, Sul, who was active against Yazid b. Muhallab in 98 (716-17). Cf. Wellhausen, 446-47.

165. *Bi-khuffay Hunayn*. Cf. Freytag, *Proverba*, I, 539.

166. Gharshistan (or Gharistan) or more usually Gharjistan is the mountainous region to the east of Badghis, at the headwaters of the Murghab river. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 415.

167. The mountainous area to the east and south of Gharjistan was called Ghur (or Ghuristan); it stretched from Herat to Bamiyan and the borders of Kabul and Ghaznah. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 416; *El2*, s.v. (A. D. H. Bivar); *Hudud*, 342-44.

Tabaristan,¹⁶⁸ so how can I not know?" He said: "What did you think of the preparations we have made?" I said: "I saw good supplies, but did you not know that even the lord of a citadel¹⁶⁹ is not proof against all perils?"¹⁷⁰ He said: "What are they?" I said: "He is not free from the fear that those closest to him, most liked by him and most trusted by him might attack him, coveting his position, and advance themselves thereby. Then (there is the fear) that what he has hoarded will melt away and that he will be utterly ruined. Or an illness could afflict him and he might die." He scowled and did not like what I had said to him. He told me to go to my house, so I went off and stayed for two days, not doubting that he would reject the idea of peace. Then he summoned me. I gave the peace treaty to my slave and I said to him: "If a messenger comes from me to you asking for the treaty, go to the house and do not show the treaty, and say¹⁷¹ that I have left the treaty in the house."¹⁷² I went in to see the lord of Farghanah and he asked me about the letter, so I said: "I have left it behind in the house." He said: "Send someone to bring it to you." Then he accepted the (offer of) peace and gave me a fine reward. He sent his mother with me and she was in charge of his affairs. When I went in to see Nasr, he looked at me and said: "The saying of an ancient is most appropriate for you:

Send a wise man and you will not need to give him any orders."

I told Nasr what had happened and he said: "You did well." Then he gave permission for the mother of the ruler of Farghanah to come in. She came in to him and he began talking to her, with the interpreter explaining what she was saying. Then Tamim b.

168. The well-known province to the south of the Caspian Sea. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 368-76.

169. Ibn al-Athir has al-Mahsur "the one under siege" (V, 179).

170. *Khisal*: literally, "good or bad qualities." Cf. Lane, I, 751.

171. The variant *qul* in the apparatus has been preferred here since it makes better sense than *qul li* in the text.

172. This seems a rather obscure narrative. Presumably, if the text is not faulty, which it may well be, Sulayman's elaborate *démarche* was aimed at giving an impression of surprise if the *amir* of Farghanah should decide after all to sign the treaty.

Nasr¹⁷³ came in and said¹⁷⁴ to the interpreter: "Ask her: `Do you know who this is?'" She said: "No." He said: "This is Tamim b. Nasr." She said: "By God, I see in him neither the sweetness of youth nor the nobility of age." [1697]

According to Abu Ishaq b. Rabi`ah:¹⁷⁵ She said to Nasr: "Every king is not a king unless he possesses six things: a vizier to whom he may divulge his secret intentions and from whom he may seek advice and receive trustworthy counsel in every contentious issue within his bosom that he wishes to discuss; a cook who, whenever the king does not fancy food, will bring him what he does like; a wife who, whenever he goes in with troubled mind to see her and he looks at her face, causes his trouble to disappear;¹⁷⁶ a fortress to which he betakes himself when he is afraid or in trouble and it rescues him [she meant his horse]; a sword which will not fail him when he fights the enemy; and a storehouse sufficient to live off no matter where in the world he takes it."

Then Tamim b. Nasr came in with a large group of people.¹⁷⁷ She said: "Who is this?" They said: "This is the hero of Khurasan. This is Tamim b. Nasr." She said: "He has neither the nobility of old men nor the sweetness of young ones." Then al-Hajjaj b. Qutaybah came in and she said: "Who is this?" They said: "Al-Hajjaj b. Qutaybah." She greeted him and asked about him. Then she said: "You Arabs, you don't keep faith nor do you behave properly with one another. It was Qutaybah¹⁷⁸ who laid the foun-

173. Tamim b. Nasr was killed in 130 (748) fighting the Hashimiyyah near Tus. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 2016.

174. It is not clear whether Tamim or Nasr asks the woman this question.

175. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1456.

176. Literally, "his trouble disappears."

177. The text has *fi mirfalatin wa jama`atin*. For *mirfalah*, a long flowing garment, cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCLXVII. Lane (I, 1128) suggests that the term denotes a conceited gait. If this reading is accepted, a possible translation would be: "with conceited gait and a group of people." The Cairo edition (VII, 187) interprets the variant in the apparatus as *azfalah* ("a group or collection of people"), which makes good sense here.

178. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bahili became governor of Khurasan in 85 (704). He was killed when he tried to rebel at the time of Sulayman's succession in 96 (714-15). During his governorship he undertook many campaigns beyond Khurasan. Cf. Wellhausen, 429-44; Gibb, 31-57. Qutaybah laid the foundations on which Islamic rule in Central Asia was built. Although many of his family held high office later, al-Hajjaj apparently did not. Cf. Crone, 137-38.

dations of your power,¹⁷⁹ as I myself saw. This is his son and yet you make him sit down below you. It is your duty to raise him to this position (*majlis*) and you should sit where he is."

In this year Muhammad b. Hisham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi¹⁸⁰ [1698] led the pilgrimage. This report came from Abu Ma'shar¹⁸¹ Ahmad b. Thabit¹⁸² his informants Ishaq b. `Isa his father. Al-Waqidi and others also gave the same report.

The governor (*`amil*) of Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik in charge of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ta'if in this year was Muhammad b. Hisham. Hisham's *`amil* over the whole of Iraq was Yusuf b. `Umar, his *`amil* in Azarbayjan and Armenia was Marwan b. Muhammad, and his *`amil* in Khurasan was Nasr b. Sayyar. In the post of *qadi* in al-Basrah was `Amir b. `Ubaydah¹⁸³ and the *qadi* of al-Kufah was Ibn Shubrumah.¹⁸⁴

179. *Wattana lakum.*

180. Hisham's *`amil* in Medina.

181. Abu Ma'shar Najih b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Sindi al-Madani (d. 170/786-87) was a younger contemporary of Ibn Ishaq. Cf. Sezgin, I, 291-91; *EI2*, s.v. (J. Horowitz-F. Rosenthal); Brockelmann, I, 207; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 419-22.

182. Ahmad b. Thabit b. `Attab al-Razi. Cf. Sezgin, I, 292, 796.

183. `Amir b. `Ubaydah al-Bahili. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 378.

184. `Abdallah b. Shubrumah al-Dabbi. Cf. *ibid.*

The Events of the Year 122
(December 7, 739-November 25, 740)

The Killing of Zayd b. `Ali

According to Hisham (b. Muhammad al-Kalbi) Abu Mikhnaf:
When Zayd b. `Ali commanded his followers to get ready to rebel
and to make preparations, those who wanted to adhere to their
pledge of allegiance to him began what he had ordered them to do
in that eventuality. Sulayman b. Suraqah al-Bariqi¹⁸⁵ went to
Yusuf b. `Umar and gave him the information¹⁸⁶ that Zayd was
making repeated visits to a man from amongst their number
called `Amir and to a man from the Banff Tamim called Tu'mah,
the nephew of Bariq,¹⁸⁷ and that Zayd was living with them. [1699]
Yusuf sent people to their house in search of Zayd b. `Ali, but he
was not to be found there. Then the two men were seized and
brought to Yusuf. When he had spoken to the two of them, the
situation with Zayd and his followers became clear to him.

185. This man is also mentioned in a similar context by Ibn A'tham (VIII, 114)
and al-Isfahani (*Maqatil*, 135).

186. Literally, "gave him news about him and informed him that. . . ."

187. Literally, "the son of a sister of Bariq."

Zayd¹⁸⁸ became afraid that he would be arrested, so he put forward the date that he had fixed between himself and the people of al-Kufah (for the insurrection to begin).

In charge of the people of al-Kufah at that time was al-Hakam b. al-Salt.¹⁸⁹ In charge of his police force was `Amr b. `Abd al-Rahman, a man from the Qarah;¹⁹⁰ he was with the Thaqif, who were his maternal uncles. He also had with him `Ubaydallah b. al-`Abbas al-Kindi¹⁹¹ with some groups of Syrians. Yusuf b. `Umar was in al-Hirah.

When those supporters of Zayd b. `Ali who had given him the oath of allegiance found out that Yusuf b. `Umar had heard about Zayd's activities, was scheming against Zayd, and was making inquiries about him, a group of their leaders assembled in his presence and said:¹⁹² "May God have mercy on you! What do you have to say on the matter of Abu Bakr and `Umar?"¹⁹³ Zayd said: "May God have mercy on both of them and forgive them both! I have not heard anyone in my family renouncing them both nor saying anything but good about them."¹⁹⁴ They said: "In that case, why are you seeking the blood of the members of this family? Is it not perhaps because they have disputed your power and seized it from your hands?" Zayd replied: "My strongest argument against you is that we were more entitled than anyone else to assume the authority of the Prophet of God and that they appropriated our power for themselves and deprived us of it. In our opinion, that did not amount to unbelief (*kufr*) on their part,

[1700]

188. Literally, "Zayd b. `Ali."

189. Al-Hakam b. al-Salt al-Thaqafi. He was related to Yusuf b. `Umar. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 536.

190. A tribal group that included some branches of al-Hawn b. Khuzaymah. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 465.

191. For a discussion of this man's career, cf. Crone, 152-53. He later became governor of al-Kufah. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1855.

192. This incident is also recorded in *Fragmenta*, 96-97, and al-Baladhuri, *An-sab*, 240.

193. Ibn A'tham (VIII, 116) writes, "those two tyrannical men, Abu Bakr and `Umar."

194. This acceptance by Zayd of Abu Bakr and `Umar is an instance of the *imamat al-mafdul*, the "imamate of the inferior." If this passage is an accurate reflection of Zayd's view, he was trying here to mobilize a wide spectrum of support to overthrow the Umayyads. For a general discussion of the *imamat al-fadil* and the *imamat al-mafdul*, cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 226-27.

(for) when they were entrusted with government they behaved justly with the people and acted according to the Qur'an and the *sunnah*." They said: "Then these men have not acted tyrannically toward you if (in your view) those did not do so. So why are you summoning people to fight those who are not tyrannical to you?" Zayd said: "These men are not like those others. These are tyrannical to me, to you, and to themselves. We are only summoning you to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His prophet so that God's ordinances (*sunan*) may be revived and innovations (*bida`*) may be wiped out. If you answer our call, you will prosper; but if you refuse, I will not be responsible for you."

Then the group left him and broke their allegiance to him, saying: "The real imam has precedence." They were claiming that it was Abu Ja`far Muhammad b. `Ali, the brother of Zayd b. `Ali, who was the imam. Muhammad had died by that time¹⁹⁵ but his son, Ja`far b. Muhammad, was still alive. They said: "Today Ja`far is our imam in succession to his father. He is the person most entitled to rule after his father. We will not follow Zayd b. `Ali. He is not an imam."

This is the group that Zayd called Rafidis.¹⁹⁶ Today this group claims that the person who called them Rafidis when they broke with Zayd was al-Mughirah.¹⁹⁷ Before Zayd's revolt, a group of them had gone to Ja`far b. Muhammad b. `Ali and said to him: "Zayd b. `Ali is among us, asking us to give him the oath of allegiance. Do you think it right that we should do so?" Ja`far said to them: "Yes, give your oath of allegiance to him, for, by God, he is the most excellent of us. He is our master and the best of us." But they came back and kept secret what it was that Ja`far had instructed them to do.¹⁹⁸

[1701]

Arrangements were made for the revolt of Zayd b. `Ali, and he fixed the time with his followers as the night of Wednesday, the first night of Safar, 122 (Wednesday, January 6, 740). When Yusuf b. `Umar heard that Zayd had resolved on rebellion, he sent word

195. Muhammad b. `Ali b. al-Husayn. Cf. the `Alids' genealogical table.

196. For this group, cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, who writes: "They are called al-Rafidah only because they deserted (the claims of) Abu Bakr and `Umar." (*Iqd*, I, 217).

197. Al-Mughirah b. Sa`id al-`Ijli. Cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 51.

198. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 240.

to al-Hakam b. al-Salt, ordering him to assemble the people of al-Kufah in the Great Mosque¹⁹⁹ and to detain them there. Al-Hakam sent for the *`urafa'*,²⁰⁰ the police, the *manakib*,²⁰¹ and the soldiers, and stationed them in the mosque. Then he issued the following proclamation: "Verily, the *amir* says: 'We will not be responsible for the consequences for those whom we find in their houses, so go to the Great Mosque.'" So the people went to the mosque on the Tuesday, one day before Zayd's rebellion.²⁰²

They searched for Zayd b. `Ali in the house of Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq b. Zayd b. Harithah al-Ansari²⁰³ but he left there during the night before the Wednesday.²⁰⁴ It was a night of extreme cold.²⁰⁵ Then the rebels raised burning torches and shouted: "O Mansur, kill! Kill, O Mansur!"²⁰⁶ Whenever fire had consumed one torch they raised up another, and they continued like this until sunrise. In the morning, Zayd b. `Ali sent al-Qasim al-Tin`i,²⁰⁷ who was later called al-Hadrami, and another of his followers to proclaim their war-cry (*shi`ar*). When they were in the Jabbanah of `Abd al-Qays, Ja`far b. al-`Abbas al-Kindi²⁰⁸ met them. They attacked him and his companions.²⁰⁹ The man who was with al-Qasim al-Tin`i

199. For the background history of the Great Mosque of al-Kufah, cf. Massignon, 353.

200. *`Arif*, plural *`urafa'*: an official in charge of a military division in the garrison towns. Cf. *EI2*, "*`Arif*" (S. el-Ali and C. Cahen).

201. *Mankib*, plural *manakib*: an official below the *`arif*. Cf. Lane, I, 2846.

202. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 243; al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 136.

203. Cf. p. 22.

204. One report from al-Isfahani adds that this was seven nights before the end of al-Muharram. Cf. *Maqatil*, 136.

205. The translation has simplified the repetitiveness of the original. A literal translation would read: "They searched for Zayd in the house of Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq b. Zayd b. Harithah al-Ansari. He (Zayd) left the house of Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq in the night, which was the night of Wednesday, on an extremely cold night."

206. *Ya Mansur, amit, amit ya Mansur* ("Kill, kill, you who are given victory"). This was the Prophet's war-cry on the Day of the Banff al-Mustaliq. Cf. Ibn Hisham, 2, 218.

207. Other sources give al-T. b. `i. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 182; al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 136; *Fragmenta*, 97.

208. Later he was to become governor of Armenia. In 127 (745) he fell in battle against the Kharijite al-Dahhak b. Qays b. al-Husayn. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 253.

209. Al-Tabari's account is ambiguous: *shaddu `alayhi wa ashabihi*. *Fragmenta*, 97 has *shadda `alayhima* ("he attacked the two of them"). This latter version seems to suggest that it was Ja`far who began the fight against the two supporters of Zayd. Al-Isfahani's account is clear: "Ja`far met them; they attacked him and his companions" (*Maqatil*, 136).

was killed and al-Qasim himself was wounded and taken to al-Hakam. The latter questioned him, but al-Qasim gave him no reply. Then al-Hakam gave orders as to his fate and he was executed at the gate of the citadel. Al-Qasim and his companion were the first of the followers of Zayd b. `Ali to be killed.

Al-Hakam b. al-Salt gave orders concerning the entrances to the market and they were shut and the doors of the mosque were locked on the Kufans. [1702]

The following people were in charge of the quarters²¹⁰ of al-Kufah at that time: Ibrahim b. `Abdallah b. Jarir al-Bajali²¹¹ was in charge of the Medinans; `Amr b. Abi Badhl al-`Abdi was in charge of Madhhij²¹² and Asad;²¹³ al-Mundhir b. Muhammad b. al-Ash`ath b. Qays al-Kindi²¹⁴ was in charge of Kindah²¹⁵ and Rabi`ah;²¹⁶ and Muhammad b. Malik al-Hamdani,²¹⁷ who was later called al-Khaywani, was in charge of Tamim²¹⁸ and Hamdan.²¹⁹

Al-Hakam b. al-Salt sent word to Yusuf b. `Umar informing him of what was going on. Then Yusuf gave orders to his herald, who proclaimed to the Syrians: "Who will go to al-Kufah, approach the rebels, and bring me back news of them?" Ja`far b. al-`Abbas al-Kindi²²⁰ responded: "I will," and he rode off with fifty horsemen. When he reached the Jabbanah of Salim al-Saluli,²²¹ he asked for information about the rebels. He then returned to Yusuf b. `Umar and told him the news. The next morning Yusuf went out to a hill near al-Hirah and camped there. He was accompanied by some Quraysh and by leaders (*ashraf*) of the people. In charge of his

210. For the tribal organization of al-Kufah, cf. Djaït, 154-55; Massignon, 345; Crone, 31.

211. Cf. *ibid.*, 115.

212. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, I, 176; II, 381-82.

213. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 194.

214. For his family history, cf. Crone, III.

215. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 371-72.

216. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 481.

217. For his family tree, cf. *ibid.*, I, 228.

218. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 544.

219. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 277.

220. One report from al-Isfahani has *`Abdallah b. al-`Abbas al-Hamdani*. Cf. *Maqatil*, 137.

221. For the function of the *jabbanahs* of al-Kufah, cf. Djaït, 176-77.

shurtah that day was al-`Abbas b. Sa`id al-Murri.²²² Then Yusuf despatched al-Rayyan b. Salamah al-Arashi²²³ with two thousand men.²²⁴ He had with him three hundred Qiqaniyyah²²⁵ foot soldiers armed with arrows.

In the morning, Zayd b. `Ali found that the total of those who had come to him that night numbered only 218 men. He said: "Good God! Where are the people?" and he was told: "They are shut in the Great Mosque." Zayd said: "For God's sake, what sort of excuse is that for people who gave us their oath of allegiance?"²²⁶ [1703]

Nasr b. Khuzaymah heard the shouting and went toward it. Then he encountered `Amr b. `Abd al-Rahman, the police chief of al-Hakam b. al-Salt, accompanied by his cavalry from the Juhaynah,²²⁷ near the house of al-Zubayr b. Abi Hakimah on the road that led to the mosque of the Banff `Adi. Nasr b. Khuzaymah said: "O Mansur, kill!" but `Amr b. `Abd al-Rahman vouchsafed him no reply, so Nasr and his companions attacked him. `Amr b. `Abd al-Rahman was killed and those with him fled.

Zayd b. `Ali came from the Jabbanah of Salim to the Jabbanah of al-Sa'idiyyin,²²⁸ where five hundred Syrians were stationed. Zayd b. `Ali and the men he had with him attacked the Syrians and he put them to flight. That day Zayd b. `Ali was riding a jet-black horse which a man from the Banff Nahd b. Kahmas b. Marwan al-Najjari had sold him for 25 dinars. Later, when Zayd was killed, al-Hakam b. al-Salt took it.

Zayd b. `Ali went to the door of the house belonging to a man from Azd who was called Anas b. `Amr. He was one of the people who had given the oath of allegiance to Zayd. They shouted out-

222. The text has ab-Muzani, as elsewhere in al-Tabari's history. Cf. II, 1707, 1711. The name should be read as al-Murri. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 99; Ibn Khayyat, 556; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 103.

223. This person is called al-Arrani by Ibn al-Athir, V, 182.

224. These are specified as cavalry in *Fragmenta*, 98.

225. A well-known regiment of archers from Qiqan.

226. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 137.

227. For this tribal group, cf. *ET2*, "Kuda`a" (M. J. Kister).

228. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 614; Massignon, 347. This *jabbanah* was for the Banu Asad.

side his house, and although he was there he remained silent.²²⁹ Then Zayd called to him: "Anas, come out and join me! May God have mercy on you! Truth has come and falsehood has vanished away. Lo! falsehood is ever bound to vanish."²³⁰ But still Anas did not go out to him. Then Zayd said: "What made you break your promise? You have indeed acted (iniquitously)²³¹ and God will take account of this behavior of yours."²³² [1704]

Zayd went to al-Kunasah,²³³ attacked a group of Syrians who were there, and put them to flight. He then went into the *jabbanah* where Yusuf b. `Umar was on the hill looking down at him and his followers.²³⁴ In front of Zayd was Hizam b. Murrah al-Muzani²³⁵ and Zamzam b. Sulaym al-Tha`labi, who were in charge of a group of men wearing armor (*al-mujaffafah*). Zayd had about two hundred men with him and by God, if he had approached Yusuf then, he could have killed him²³⁶ while al-Rayyan b. Salamah was away with the Syrian troops looking for Zayd in al-Kufah. Then Zayd bore right by the oratory (*musalla*) of Khalid b. `Abdallah and he went into al-Kufah.²³⁷

When Zayd had gone to al-Kunasah, one group of his followers split off and went toward the Jabbanah of Mikhnaf b. Sulaym.²³⁸ Then one of them suggested to the others that they should go to the Jabbanah of Kindah.²³⁹ The man had no time to say more than that before the Syrians appeared. When Zayd's men saw them,

229. Literally, "he was shouted to while he was in the house and he began by not answering."

230. Qur'an, 17, v. 81. These words were recited by the Prophet when he witnessed the destruction of the Ka`bah after the conquest of Mecca. Cf. Pickthall, 290, n. 1.

231. *Fa `altumuha. Fragmenta*, 98, has *fa `altumuha Husayniyyatan* ("You have behaved in the same way as [other Kufans did] with al-Husayn").

232. Literally, "God is your Reckoner."

233. "The Place of Sweepings," one of the chief quarters of al-Kufah which lay to the western side of the town. It was in al-Kunasah that the town's gibbet was situated. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 75; Massignon, 354-55; Yaqut, IV, 481.

234. *Wa-Yusuf b. `Umar `ala al-talli yanzuru ilayhi huwa wa-ashabihi*. An alternative translation might be: "Yusuf b. `Umar and his followers were looking down at Zayd," reading *ashabuhu*.

235. This *nisbah* may also be al-Murri. Cf. n. 222 above.

236. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 138.

237. For this route, cf. Massignon's map.

238. Cf. Massignon, 347.

239. Cf. Massignon, loc. cit.

they went into a lane and walked down it. One of Zayd's men hung back and went into the mosque, where he prayed two *rak'ahs*.²⁴⁰ He then went out to the Syrians, whom he fought for some time. They got him on the ground and began striking him with their swords. One of them, who was a horseman wearing an iron helmet, shouted out: "Take off the helmet and then hit him on the head with iron bars." They did that and he was killed. The man's companions attacked the Syrians and pulled them away from him but he was already dead. Then the Syrians went away. They had taken one of Zayd's men but the rest of them got away. The man (they captured) had gone into the house of `Abdallah b. `Awf and the Syrians went in after him and took him prisoner. [1705] They brought him to Yusuf b. `Umar, who killed him.²⁴¹

When Zayd b. `Ali came and saw how the Kufans had forsaken him, he said: "Nasr b. Khuzaymah, are you afraid²⁴² that they will behave as they did with al-Husayn?" Nasr said: "May God make me a ransom for you! By God, I shall certainly fight by your side with this sword of mine until the death!" (His fight in fact took place that very day in al-Kufah). Then Nasr b. Khuzaymah said to Zayd b. `Ali: "May God make me a ransom for you! The Kufans are detained in the Great Mosque. So come with us to them."

Zayd went with them toward the mosque and he passed the house of Khalid b. `Urfutah.²⁴³ `Ubaydallah b. al-`Abbas al-Kindi heard that Zayd was coming, so he sallied forth with the Syrian troops. Zayd approached and the two sides met at the door of (the house of) `Umar b. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas.²⁴⁴ The standard-bearer²⁴⁵ of `Ubaydallah, who was Salman, his mawla, recoiled in fear.

240. I.e., he performed two bowings of the head and body in prayer. Cf. Lane, I, 1147.

241. For a similar account, cf. al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 138.

242. Ibn al-Athir has: "I am afraid that . . ." (V, 183).

243. Khalid b. `Urfutah fought at the battle of al-Qadisiyyah against the Persians and at al-Nukhaylah near al-Kufah against the Kharijites. He was put in charge of the Banu Tamim and the Banu Hamdan in 51 (671). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 131; Shaykh al-Mufid, 249; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 343. His house was a well-known landmark in al-Kufah for a long time. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 615.

244. He led the Umayyad army against al-Husayn in 61 (680). Cf. Shaykh al-Mufid, 341-45.

245. *Sahib liwa'i `Ubaydallah*. The *liwa'* was the banner of a particular commander. Cf. Lane, I, 3015.

When `Ubaydallah wanted to attack and saw that Salman was holding back in fear, he said: "Attack, you son of a trollop." Then Salman launched an attack on Zayd's men and he did not withdraw until his banner was stained with blood.

Then `Ubaydallah himself came forth to fight²⁴⁶ and Wasil al-Hannat²⁴⁷ went out against him and they struck each other with their swords. Wasil said to `Ubaydallah, who had a squint:²⁴⁸ "Take this from me: I am the boy who sells wheat." The other said: "May God cut off my hand if you ever manage to measure a *qafiz*²⁴⁹ again," and Wasil struck `Ubaydallah but `Ubaydallah did not retaliate,²⁵⁰ and he and his men fled until they came to the house of `Amr b. Hurayth.²⁵¹ [1706]

Zayd and his followers proceeded as far as the Bab al-Fil.²⁵² His men began placing their flags above the doors and saying: "You people in the mosque, come out!" Nasr b. Khuzaymah began shouting to them saying: "Kufans, forsake ignominy for glory! Come forth for your own good in both this world and the next.²⁵³ (In your present position) you have the blessings neither of this world nor of the next." The Syrian troops looked down on them and they began throwing stones at them from the top of the mosque.

There was that day a large gathering of people in the environs of al-Kufah some reports say it was in the Jabbanah of Salim. Al-

246. I.e., in individual combat.

247. "The wheat-seller."

248. *Fa-qala li'l-ahwali* ("he said to the squint-eyed man"). The apparatus indicates that there are words missing here, but the editor believes the protagonist is al-Ahwal, the mawla of al-Ash'ariyyin. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1711. It seems unlikely, however, that there is a third person involved here. Al-Baladhuri, whose account has been followed here, makes it clear that `Ubaydallah was the man with a squint: *daraba Wasil al-Hannat al-Ahwala `Ubaydallah b. `Abbas al-Kindi*. Cf. *Ansab*, 247.

249. *Qafiz*: a measure of capacity. Cf. Hinz, 48-49.

250. *Thumma darabahu fa-lam yasna` shay'an*. This translation is only tentative. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 247.

251. The text has *`Amr min Hurayth*. Citing this reference, the index gives `Amr b. Hurayth al-Makhzumi, 415-16. `Amr b. Hurayth (d. 98/716-17) was a leader of the Kufans and an opponent of the Shi`is. Cf. Shaykh al-Mufid, 244; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 176.

252. The Bib al-Fil was situated near the Friday mosque and the citadel. Cf. Massignon's map.

253. On *din*, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (L. Gardet). On *dunya* cf. *EI2*, s.v. (A. S. Tritton).

Rayyan b. Salamah left for al-Hirah in the evening and Zayd b. `Ali went away with his men. Some of the Kufans went out to Zayd and he settled in the *dar al-rizq*.²⁵⁴ (Before he left for al-Hirah)²⁵⁵ al-Rayyan b. Salamah came to Zayd and fought fiercely with him at the *dar al-rizq*. A large number of the Syrian troops were wounded and killed and Zayd's men pursued them from the *dar al-rizq* as far as the mosque. The Syrian troops returned home on the Wednesday evening with the worst possible forebodings. The following day, the Thursday morning, Yusuf b. `Umar summoned al-Rayyan b. Salamah but he was not to be found at that time.

Some reports say: Al-Rayyan did go to Yusuf. Al-Rayyan was not wearing his weapons and Yusuf reproached him, saying: "Fie on you! Who is supposed to be the head of the cavalry round here? Sit down."²⁵⁶ Then Yusuf called al-`Abbas b. Sa`id al-Murri,²⁵⁷ his chief of police, and sent him off with the Syrian troops. Al-`Abbas made for Zayd b. `Ali in the *dar al-rizq*. There was a lot of wood piled up for the carpenter and this made the road difficult to pass through. Zayd came out with his men. On his right and left wings he had Nasr b. Khuzaymah al-`Absi and Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq al-Ansari. When al-`Abbas saw them and he himself did not have foot soldiers with him he shouted, "You Syrian troops, get down on the ground, the ground." Many of his men did dismount and they fought fiercely in the battle. [1707]

One of the Syrians from the Banff `Abs²⁵⁸ who was called Na'il²⁵⁹ b. Farwah had said to Yusuf b. `Umar: "By God, if I set eyes on Nasr b. Khuzaymah I will surely kill him or he will surely kill me." Yusuf said to him: "Take this sword," and he gave him a sword that would cut through anything it touched. When the soldiers of al-`Abbas b. Sa`id and those of Zayd met and fought each other, Na'il b. Farwah caught sight of Nasr b. Khuzaymah.

254. The army storehouse which was near the bridge over the Euphrates. Cf. Massignon, 349.

255. The sequence of events is clearer in *Fragmenta*, 99.

256. Al-Isfahani gives a similar conversation between Yusuf and al-Rayyan. Cf. *Maqatil*, 139.

257. Cf. n. 222 above.

258. For the Banff `Abs, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 135-36.

259. Ibn al-Athir calls him Nabil (V, 184).

He went toward him, struck him, and cut his thigh. Then Nasr dealt him a blow which killed him. Nasr also died soon afterward. The battle raged on fiercely and Zayd b. `Ali put the Syrians to flight, killing about seventy of them. The Syrians departed in a sorry state after al-`Abbas b. Sa`id had called out to them: "Get back on your horses. In a narrow place cavalry can't do anything against foot soldiers." So they got back on their horses.

In the evening Yusuf b. `Umar prepared them for battle again and sent them off. They came and met up with Zayd's men. Zayd launched an attack on them and routed them. Then he pursued them, driving them into the swamp (*sabkhah*).²⁶⁰ He attacked them in the swamp, pushing them toward the Banff Sulaym.²⁶¹ Then he followed them with his horsemen and foot soldiers until he and his men had taken possession of the dam. [1708]

Zayd then sallied forth²⁶² against the Syrians in the area between the Bariq²⁶³ and the Ru'as,²⁶⁴ and there he engaged in a fierce battle with them. His standard-bearer that day was a man called `Abd al-Samad b. Abi Malik b. Masruh from the Banff Sa`d b. Zayd, the ally (*halif*)²⁶⁵ of al-`Abbas b. `Abd al-Muttalib.²⁶⁶ Masruh al-Sa`di had married Safiyyah, the daughter of al-`Abbas b. `Abd al-Muttalib. The Syrian cavalry began by breaking in the face of Zayd's cavalry and his foot soldiers. Then al-`Abbas b. Sa`id al-Murri²⁶⁷ sent to Yusub b. `Umar informing him of this and asking him to send him archers. So Yusuf sent them Sulayman (b. Sulaym) b. Kaysan al-Kalbi²⁶⁸ with the Qiqaniyyah and the Bukhariyyah²⁶⁹ who were archers. They began shooting at Zayd

260. The word is vocalized in the text as *sabkhah* but is later corrected to *sabakhah*; the lexica give both forms as correct. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX. For the location of the swamp, cf. Massignon's map.

261. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 517.

262. The text has *azhara lahum*. The Cairo edition (VII, 185) has *zahara lahum*, which is followed here. This reading is supported by al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 140.

263. Many of the Banu Bariq had settled in al-Kufah. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 489.

264. For the Banu Ru'as, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 489.

265. *Halif*: one who unites in a confederacy or covenant. Cf. Lane, I, 627.

266. The uncle of the Prophet. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (W. M. Watt).

267. Cf. n. 222 above.

268. Properly Sulayman b. Sulaym b. Kaysan al-Kalbi. Cf. *Index*, 249; Crone, 139.

269. This group had been formed by `Ubaydallah b. Ziyad when he had taken four thousand Bukharans prisoner in 53-54 (673-74). Cf. Narshakhi, 37; Crone, 230, n. 271.

and his men. (In fact), Zayd had wanted to send his men away when they reached the swamp but they had refused. Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq al-Ansari fought fiercely in front of Zayd b. `Ali and was killed.²⁷⁰ Zayd b. `Ali and his men held firm until, when night was at hand, someone shot an arrow which struck him on the left side of his forehead and lodged in his head. Zayd then withdrew with his men. The Syrians, however, thought they had withdrawn only because night was falling.²⁷¹

[1709]

Salamah b. Thabit al-Laythi, who was with Zayd b. `Ali and who, together with a slave belonging to Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq, was the last person to leave that day, said: I went with my companion, following in close behind Zayd b. `Ali, and we found that he had been lifted down from his horse and taken into the apartment (*bayt*) of Harran b. Karimah,²⁷² a mawla of one of the Arabs in the *sikkah al-barid*,²⁷³ into the living area (*dur*) of Arhab²⁷⁴ and Shakir.²⁷⁵ [Salamah b. Thabit went on:] I came into the presence of Zayd and I said to him: "May God make me your ransom, Abu al-Husayn!" His companions went off and fetched a physician called Shuqayr,²⁷⁶ a mawla of the Banu Ru'as. This man took the arrow out of his forehead while I was watching him and, by God, hardly had he taken it out before Zayd began screaming and it was not long before he died. The people around said: "Where shall we bury him and where can we conceal him?" One of his companions said: "Let's dress him in his coat of mail and throw him in the water." Another of them said: "No, let's cut off his head and put it amongst those slain in battle." Zayd's son, Yahya, said: "No, by God, the dogs shall not eat the flesh of my father." Another of them said: "Let's take him to al-`Abbasiyyah and bury him."²⁷⁷

270. Literally, "He was killed in front of him."

271. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 250; al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 141.

272. Al-Isfahani has Harran b. Abi Karimah. Cf. *ibid*.

273. "The street of the post."

274. The Banff Arhab were the clan of Yazid b. Qays, the police chief of `Ali. Cf. *Djaït*, 159.

275. The Banff Shakir were a big clan from whom Ibn Kamil, one of Mukhtar's associates, recruited men. Cf. *Djaït*, loc. cit.

276. The doctor's name in some sources was Sufyan. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 251; al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 142.

277. Ibn A`tham, VIII, 121, relates that Zayd was buried in the swamp.

[Salamah continued]: I suggested to them that we should take him to the clay pit and bury him there. They accepted my advice and we went and dug a grave for him between two ditches, where there was at that time a lot of water. When we had prepared the grave properly for him, we buried him and allowed the water to flow over him. There was a Sindi slave of his with us.

[1710]

Then we went with Zayd's son as far as the Jabbanah of al-Sabi`, where we remained, and at that point the people left us. I stayed with Yahya in a group of less than ten men. I said to Yahya: "Where do you intend to go now that daybreak is upon you?" He had with him Abu al-Sabbar al-`Abdi. Yahya replied: "The two rivers (*al-nahrayn*). " I said to him: "So you only want to go to the two rivers ? "I thought that he wanted to go alongside the Euphrates and fight them. Then I said to him: "Don't leave your position. Fight them until you are killed or until God decrees what He will." Yahya said to me: "I want to go to the two rivers of Karbala."278 So I replied: "Well, then, flee before daybreak." Accordingly he left al-Kufah, accompanied by me, Abu al-Sabbar, and a small group of men. As we left al-Kufah we heard the call to prayer of the muezzins and we performed the dawn prayer at al-Nukhaylah.279 Then we made off quickly in the direction of Nineveh.280 Yahya said to me: "I want to see Sabiq, the mawla of Bishr b. `Abd al-Malik b. Bishr, so hurry up." Whenever I met people I would ask them for food and I would be given loaves. These I gave to Yahya and he ate them and we ate with him. We reached Nineveh when darkness had already fallen. We arrived at Sabiq's house, I called through the door, and he came out to us. I said to him: "I'm going to al-Fayyum281 and I'll be staying there, so if you want to communicate with me, you know where to find me." Then I went away, leaving Yahya with Sabiq, and that was the last time I ever saw him.

278. Karbala' lies to the northwest of al-Kufah and marks the place where al-Husayn was martyred in 61 (680). Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 78. For al-Nahrayn, cf. Massignou's map.

279. A place near al-Kufah. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 771; Wellhausen, 76-77.

280. Ninawa: the village where the prophet Job lived. According to Yaqut (IV, 870-71), it was in the Sawad of al-Kufah. Cf. *EI*1, s.v. (M. Streck).

281. Besides the well-known town of this name in Egypt, there was a place called al-Fayyum near Hit in Iraq, which is probably meant here. Cf. Yaqut, III, 933.

Then Yusuf b. `Umar sent the Syrian troops to carry out a search for the wounded in the houses of the Kufans. The troops brought the women out into the courtyard of the house while they went around the inner apartments looking for the wounded. Then on the Friday the Sindi slave of Zayd b. `Ali revealed where Zayd was to be found. Al-Hakam b. al-Salt dispatched al-`Abbas b. Sa`id al-Murri²⁸² and Ibn al-Hakam b. al-Salt, and they went off and took Zayd away. Al-`Abbas did not want Ibn al-Hakam to get in first,²⁸³ so he parted company with him. Early on the Friday al-`Abbas sent a messenger, accompanied by al-Hajjaj b. al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. al-Hakam b. Abi `Aqil, to take the head of Zayd b. `Ali to Yusuf b. `Umar. [1711]

Abu al-Juwayriyah, the mawla of the Juhaynah,²⁸⁴ composed the following lines:

Say to those who have dishonored women
and who have set up candles in the desert of Salim:

How did you find the fight against noble men,
O Yusuf b. al-Hakam b. al-Qasim?

When the messenger came to Yusuf b. `Umar, the latter gave orders concerning Zayd. His body was crucified at al-Kunasah, together with Nasr b. Khuzaymah, Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq b. Zayd b. Harithah al-Ansari, and Ziyad al-Nahdi. Yusuf had proclaimed that anyone who brought a head would receive five hundred dirhams. Muhammad b. `Abbad brought the head of Nasr b. Khuzaymah and Yusuf b. `Umar ordered that he should have one thousand dirhams. When al-Ahwal, the mawla of al-Ash`ariyyin, brought the head of Mu`awiyah b. Ishaq, Yusuf said to him: "Did you kill him?" Al-Ahwal replied: "May God make the *amir* prosper! It was not I who killed him but I saw him and recognized him." Yusuf said: "Give him seven hundred dirhams." The only thing that prevented al-Ahwal from having the full one thousand

282. Cf. n. 222 above.

283. That is, to receive the reward.

284. This poet is probably the same Abu al-Juwayriyah `Isa b. `Ismah whose verses are quoted under the year 116 by al-Tabari, II, 1565; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 130, 137; Sezgin, II, 342.

dirhams was the fact that he asserted that he had not killed Mu`awiyah.

Other reports say that it was only when Yusuf b. `Umar was so informed by Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik that he heard about Zayd's activities and how, having left al-Kufah and gone some distance, Zayd had gone back there.²⁸⁵ That came about because a man from the Banff Umayyah wrote according to the report to Hisham, mentioning Zayd's activities to him. Then Hisham wrote to Yusuf, reproaching him, calling him ignorant and saying: "You are being negligent while Zayd has fixed himself at al-Kufah and the oath of allegiance is being given to him. Keep on searching for him. Give him a guarantee of safe conduct and, if he does not accept, fight him." Yusuf wrote to al-Hakam b. al-Salt, who was of the family of Abu `Aqil and was Yusuf's deputy in al-Kufah, asking him to look for Zayd. Al-Hakam looked for Zayd but he could not find where he was hiding. Then Yusuf secretly summoned a Khurasani *mamluk* of his who was a stutterer. He gave him five thousand dirhams and ordered him to ingratiate himself with some of the Shi`ah. Yusuf told him to tell them that he had come from Khurasan out of love for the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) and that he had money that he wished to use to support their cause. After the *mamluk* had met the Shi`ah on a number of occasions and told them about the money that he had with him, they took him in to see Zayd. Then the *mamluk* went away and told Yusuf where Zayd was to be found. Yusuf sent out cavalry to Zayd. Zayd's men raised their war cry but only three hundred or less of them gathered to him. Zayd said: "Dawud b. `Ali knew you (Kufans) better. He warned me that you would desert me but I took no heed."²⁸⁷

Other reports say that the person who revealed the place where Zayd was buried and he was buried, according to these reports, in the river of Ya`qub, where his followers had blocked the river,

285. The text is very obscure here. The translation has attempted to clarify it. The literal translation would be: "Yusuf b. `Umar knew about the affair of Zayd and his going back from the road to al-Kufah after he had set out only by being informed about it by Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik."

286. The text has *fa-iljaj fi talabihi*. This is emended later to *fa-alhih.*; cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX. There is no great difference in meaning between the two.

287. Cf. also al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 244.

dug a grave for him in the riverbed, buried him in his clothes, and allowed the water to flow over him²⁸⁸ was the slave of a fuller who happened to be there. The slave, having first agreed on a price to show Yusuf's men where Zayd was laid, showed them the place. They took Zayd away, cut off his head, and crucified his body. They ordered that a guard should be posted over him in case anyone should try to take down the body, and a guard was indeed posted over him for some time.

[1713]

Some reports say that Abu Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Mu`-awiyah²⁸⁹ was amongst the people guarding Zayd. Zayd's head was sent to Hisham, who gave orders that it should be put up on the gate of the city of Damascus. Then it was sent to Medina. The body remained on the gibbet until Hisham died.²⁹⁰ Then al-Walid ordered that it should be taken down and burned.²⁹¹

Other reports say that it was Hakim b. Sharik who informed on Zayd to Yusuf.

Abu `Ubaydah Ma`mar b. al-Muthanna gave the following report about Yahya b. Zayd: When Zayd was killed, one of the Banu Asad went to Yahya b. Zayd and said to him: "Your father has been killed. The people of Khurasan will give you their support. I think you should go to them." Yahya said: "How can I do that?" The man said: "Hide yourself until the search for you has been called off, then leave." So the man hid Yahya in his house for one night. Then he lost his nerve and went to `Abd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwan,²⁹² saying to him: "Zayd was a close kinsman of yours. It is your duty to uphold his rights." `Abd al-Malik said! "Yes, but it would have been a more pious act to pardon him." The man said: "Zayd has been killed and this is his son, a young boy who has committed no crime. If Yusuf b. `Umar finds out where he is he will kill him, so you must protect him and hide him with

288. *`Abdu qassar*. The text itself has *`inda qassar*, which makes little sense. Nöldeke emends the reading to *`abdu*, which is a variant in the apparatus. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX This reading has been followed in the translation. According to *Fragmenta*, 100, it was the fuller himself who revealed where Zayd's body was.

289. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, I, 269.

290. According to al-Mas`udi, Zayd's body remained attached to the gibbet in al-Kufah for five years. Cf. *Muruj*, V, 472-73.

291. Zayd was forty-two when he died. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 130; Ibn Sa`d, V, 240.

292. He was an Umayyad. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, I, 10.

you." `Abd al-Malik said: "Yes, with great pleasure." So the man brought Yahya to him and he hid him in his house. This came to the ears of Yusuf and he sent the following message to `Abd al-Malik: "I have heard that this boy is with you. I swear to God, if you do not bring him to me I will certainly inform the Commander of the Faithful about you." `Abd al-Malik said to him: "This is a tissue of falsehood and lies. Would I hide somebody who would challenge my authority and have a better claim to it than I have myself? I would never have thought that you could believe such a thing of me nor that you would listen to the author of such lies." Yusuf said: "He's telling the truth. By God, Ibn Bishr is not the sort of person to hide away the likes of Yahya." So Yusuf called off the search for Yahya and when the hue and cry had died down, Yahya escaped with a number of Zayd's supporters to Khurasan. [1714]

After the killing of Zayd, Yusuf delivered the following exhortation in al-Kufah: "O people of al-Kufah! Verily Yahya b. Zayd has entered the bridal chambers of your women just as his father did. By God, if he were to show his face to me, I would rip off his testicles just as I ripped off the testicles of his father!"

The following report came from one of the Ansar: When the head of Zayd was brought and displayed²⁹³ in Medina in the year 123 [November, 26, 740-November 14, 741], one of the Ansar poets came and stood before Zayd and said:

O violator of the covenant,
rejoice in what has brought you disaster!

You have violated the trust and the covenant.
You are steeped in wrongdoing.

Satan has broken faith
over what he promised you.²⁹⁴

People said to the poet: "Woe on you! How dare you say this about the likes of Zayd?" He replied: "The *amir* is angry and I wanted to please him." Then one of their poets gave him the following response: [1715]

293. The text has *suliba*. The apparatus suggests an alternative, *nusiba*, which makes better sense.

294. The meter is *hazaj*.

You poet of evil,
you have become a liar!

Are you reviling²⁹⁵ the son of the messenger of God,
just to gratify those who govern over you?

May God confound you,
morning and evening!

And on the Day of Gathering, make no mistake,²⁹⁶
the fire will be your abode!

Some reports say that Khirash b. Hawshab b. Yazid al-Shaybani was head of police for Yusuf b. `Umar and that it was he who dug up Zayd and crucified him. Al-Sayyid²⁹⁷ recited the following:

I spent the night sleepless
and wakeful, composing poetry.

After reciting,
I remained for a long time in a state of perplexity.

(I said) "May God shower on Hawshab
and Khirash and Mazyad

And Yazid, for he
was still more insolent and rebellious

A million million
curses for ever and ever,

For it was they who waged war on
God and wrought harm on Muhammad.

Rebelliously they have shared in shedding the blood
of the pure one,²⁹⁸ Zayd,

Then they raised him high on a rood,²⁹⁹
stark naked and stripped to the skin.

O Khirash b. Hawshab,
tomorrow it is you who will be the most wretched of
men!"³⁰⁰

295. The text has *atashtimu ibna al-rasul*, which breaks the meter (*hazaj*). The editor emends this later to read: *ashatmu ibna rasuli Allahi*; cf. *Add.*, DCCXI. The Cairo edition (190) follows this emendation.

296. Literally, "there is no doubt that."

297. Isma`il b. Muhammad al-Himyari, whose *laqab* was al-Sayyid. Cf. Ibn A`tham, VIII, 205; Ibn al-Athir, V, 185; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VII, 229.

298. *Al-Mutahhar*. Ibn al-Athir has al-Husayn (V, 1815).

299. Literally, "a tree stump."

300. The meter is *muqtadab*.

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According to Abu Mikhnaf: When Yusuf had killed Zayd b. `Ali, [1716]
he went into al-Kufah, mounted the *minbar*, and said:

O you citizens of an abominable city! By God, even a refractory camel can achieve nothing against me;³⁰¹ I am neither daunted by the clattering of worn-out water-skins³⁰² nor am I frightened by the wolf. Far from it! I was endowed with the mightiest of forearms. Lament, O men of al-Kufah, your disgrace and degradation. Expect neither stipend nor allowance for yourselves from us. Indeed, I am resolved to destroy your city and your homes and to despoil your possessions. I have mounted³⁰³ my *minbar* only to make you understand what repressive measures will be taken against you.³⁰⁴ You are a people of violence and contumacy. All of you, except Hakim b. Sharik al-Muharibi, wage war against God and His Prophet. I have asked the Commander of the Faithful to give me permission to take action against you. If he gives me a free hand, I shall kill your fighting men and enslave your children.³⁰⁵

In this year Kulthum b. `Iyad al-Qushayri³⁰⁶ was killed. He was the man whom Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik had sent with the Syrian cavalry to Ifriqiyah³⁰⁷ when strife broke out amongst the Berbers.

301. *Ma tuqarranu bi al-sa`batu*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXXI; Freytag, *Prov.*, II, 589.

302. *La yuqa`qa`u li bi-al-shinani* ("a confused and clattering noise will not be made for me with the old and worn-out water skins"). Cf. Lane, I, 1602. Yusuf is suggesting that he is frightened by nothing.

303. An alternative translation could be: "I will never mount my *minbar* again until I have made you understand what repressive measures will be taken against you."

304. *Ma tukrahuna `alayhi* (lit., "what you will be forced to do"). Cf. Ullmann, 152.

305. Other versions of this *khutbah* can be found in *Fragmenta*, 100, and al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 258-59.

306. According to Ibn Khayyat, Kulthum was sent as governor of Ifriqiyah at the beginning of Sha`ban 123 (June 21-July 19, 741) and he died in 124 (741-42) (*Ta'rikh*, 369-70). For an analysis of Kulthum's career, cf. Crone, 128; Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 98-101. It was in 124 (741-42) that the great Berber revolt occurred in Spain.

307. For definitions of the boundaries of the province of Ifriqiyah, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (M. Talbi).

Also in this year `Abdallah al-Battal was killed with a group of Muslims in Byzantine territory.³⁰⁸

In this year were born al-Fadl b. Salih.³⁰⁹ and Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. `Ali.³¹⁰

Also in this year Yusuf b. `Umar sent Ibn Shubrumah to govern Sijistan³¹¹ and he appointed Ibn Abi Layla as *qadi* (of al-Kufah). [1717]

According to Ahmad b. Thabit this narrators Ishaq b. `Isa Abu Ma'shar: In this year Muhammad b. Hisham al-Makhzumi led the people on the pilgrimage. Al-Waqidi and others also gave the same account.

The agents (*ummal*) of the garrison cities in this year were the same as in the previous year, and their names have already been mentioned, except that the *qadi* of al-Kufah in this year is reported to have been Muhammad b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Layla.

308. `Abdallah al-Battal b. al-Husayn, the semilegendary hero to whom are attributed many raids into Byzantine territory. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 100; Ibn Khayyat, 367. Ibn Khayyat puts al-Battal's death in 121 (738-39). Cf. also Brooks, "Arabs in Asia Minor," 198-200.

309. Al-Fadl b. Salih b. `Ali b. `Abdallah b. `Abbas, governor of Cairo in 169 (785-86). Cf. Zambaur, 26, and genealogical table 9, n. 206.

310. A member of the `Abbasid family who was twice governor of Mecca, the first time from 149 to 158 (766-67 to 774-75) and the second from 178 to 184 (794-95 to 800). Cf. Zambaur, 20.

311. The province of Sijistan (or Sistan) lay to the south of Khurasan. Its capital in medieval times was Zaranj. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 334-51. `Abdallah b. Shubrumah al-Dabbi is not mentioned amongst the governors of Sijistan by Ibn Khayyat. (*Ta'rikh*, 375).

312. The leader of the Turks. Cf. Wellhausen, 433.

The Events of the Year 123
(November 26, 740-November 14, 741)

Amongst the events taking place during this year was the drawing up of a peace treaty between Nasr b. Sayyar and the Soghdians.

The [Treaty with the Soghdians] and the
Reason for It

According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) his *shaykhs*:
When the *khaqan*³¹² was killed during the governorship of
Asad,³¹³ the Turks scattered in disarray, making forays against
each other. The Soghdians wanted to return home and a group of
them withdrew to al-Shash.³¹⁴ When Nasr b. Sayyar became gov-

312. The leader of the Turks. Cf. Wellhausen, 433.

313. Asad b. `Abdallah al-Qasri, Khalid's brother, was appointed governor of Khurasan for the second time in 117 (735). He defeated the Türgesh in 119 (737) at the battle of Kharistan. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (H. A. R. Gibb); Gibb, 81-85; Wellhausen, 467-74.

314. Juday` al-Kirmani had routed most of the Khaqan's forces; just one band of Soghdians managed to retreat. Cf. Hawting, 88.

error, he sent messages to the Soghdians inviting them to return home and he complied with all their requests. They had asked for conditions that (previous) *amirs* of Khurasan had rejected:³¹⁵ namely, that those who had been Muslims and then apostasized from Islam should not be punished; that no excessive demands for repayment of debts should be inflicted on any of the people; that they should not be required to pay any tax arrears (*qabalah*) which they owed to the treasury;³¹⁶ and that they should have to return Muslim prisoners only at the decree of a *qadi* and on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses. People reproached Nasr for having made this agreement and they taxed him about it. He replied: "Verily, by God, if you had seen with your own eyes as I have done the military prowess that the Soghdians displayed toward the Muslims and the havoc that they wrought amongst them, you would not have disapproved of this agreement." Then Nasr sent a messenger to inform Hisham about that matter. When the messenger arrived, the caliph refused to support Nasr in that affair.³¹⁷ So the messenger said: "O Commander of the Faithful, you have had experience of us in war and in peace alike, so decide for yourself." Hisham became angry. Then al-Abrash al-Kalbi said: "O Commander of the Faithful, win the people over with kindness and use forbearance toward them, for you know the havoc they have wrought amongst the Muslims." Thereupon Hisham endorsed the action that Nasr had taken.³¹⁸ [1718]

In this year Yusuf b. `Umar sent al-Hakam b. al-Salt to Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik, asking him to put Khurasan under his jurisdiction and to dismiss Nasr b. Sayyar.

315. Cf. the discussion in Barthold, *Turkestan*, 192.

316. For the term *qabalah*, cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXII; *EI2*, "Kabala" (Cahen). As Cahen says, it is difficult to define this term precisely. It would appear that the term generally refers to a practice whereby, when individuals had difficulty in paying the full amount of land tax, a local notable would advance the sum needed and would have to ensure future reimbursement. In this passage, however, the word may well mean simply "arrears."

317. *Fa-lamma qadima al-rasul aba an yunfidha dhalika* ("When the messenger arrived, he refused to endorse that"). This sentence is ambiguous. The subject of the main clause could be the messenger or Hisham.

318. *Fa-anfadha Hisham ma sa'ala* (lit., "Hisham ratified what he (Nasr) asked").

The Reason for Yusuf's Request and the Outcome of It

According to `Ali (al-Mada'ini)his *shaykhs*: After Nasr b. Sayyar had been governor for a long time and Khurasan was well under his control, Yusuf b. `Umar, who was envious of Nasr, wrote to Hisham saying: "Khurasan is indeed a running sore!³¹⁹ If the Commander of the Faithful deems it appropriate to annex Khurasan to Iraq, I will send al-Hakam b. al-Salt there, for he was with al-Junayd,³²⁰ he governed the bulk of the (eastern) provinces, and he made the lands of the Commander of the Faithful prosper with good government. I am sending al-Hakam b. al-Salt to the Commander of the Faithful, for he is cultured and wise. Al-Hakam's counsel to the Commander of the Faithful will be like our own counsel, just as his love for the *ahl al-bayt* is like our own."

[1719]

When Yusuf's letter reached Hisham, he sent people to the public guesthouse (*dar al-diyafah*) where Muqatil b. `Ali al-Sughdi³²¹ was lodging. They brought him to Hisham, who said: "Are you from Khurasan?" Muqatil said: "Yes, and I am a friend of the Turks." (He had come to Hisham with one hundred and fifty Turks.)³²² Hisham said: "Do you know al-Hakam b. al-Salt?" Muqatil said "Yes." Hisham said: "What were his responsibilities in Khurasan?" Muqatil said: "He was in charge of a borough (*qaryah*) called al-Faryab;³²³ its *kharaj*³²⁴ amounts to seventy thousand [dirhams]. Then al-Harith b. Surayj took him

319. The text has *dabiraturun dabiraturun*. This is emended to *dabaratu dabiratin* ("the sore of an ulcerated camel"). Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI. The Cairo edition (193) has *dabaratun dabiraturun* and its editor explains in a footnote that the phrase means a disturbed area.

320. Al-Junayd b. `Abdallah al-Murri was governor of Khurasan from III (730) to 115 (733). He died in 116 (734). Cf. *EI2*, "Al-Djunayd b. `Abdallah" (Veccia Vaglieri); Gibb, 72-76; Wellhausen, 459-62; Ibn Khayyat, 375.

321. The text has al-Sa`di, as does Ibn al-Athir, V, 189. The name is later emended to al-Sughdi. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI.

322. This is a comment by the narrator.

323. For al-Faryab, cf. *EI2*, Faryab (R. Frye). Of the various possible locations, the most likely is that it is a village in Sughd.

324. *Kharaj*: usually, land tax. For more precise definitions of the term, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (Cahen); Morony, 99-106.

prisoner." Hisham said: "Oh dear! How did he escape from al-Harith?" Muqatil said: "Al-Harith twisted his ear, slapped him on the back of his head, and let him go."³²⁵

Later on, al-Hakam brought the *kharaj* revenues of Iraq to Hisham. Hisham found that al-Hakam was handsome and eloquent, so he wrote to Yusuf saying: "Al-Hakam has arrived. He is as you described. In the area you govern there is ample scope for him. Dismiss al-Kinani³²⁶ (i.e., Nasr) and make al-Hakam agent (*amil*) (in his place)."

In this year Nasr made a second raid on Farghanah and he sent Maghra' b. Ahmar to Iraq. The latter, however, denounced him to Hisham.

An Account of [the Denunciation of Nasr] and of the Part Played in It by Hisham and Yusuf b. `Umar

It is reported that Nasr sent Maghra' b. Ahmar as his envoy to Iraq after Nasr had returned from his second raid on Farghanah. Yusuf b. `Umar said to Maghra': "Ibn Ahmar! Is Ibn al-Aqta'³²⁷ [meaning Nasr] getting a hold over you, you men of Qays?"³²⁸ Ibn Ahmar replied: "That has been so, may God make the *amir* prosper!" Then Yusuf said: "When you go to see the Commander of the Faithful, destroy Nasr." So the delegation went to Hisham, who questioned them about the situation in Khurasan. Maghra' began to speak, giving praise and thanks to God and then referring to Yusuf b. `Umar in the most fulsome terms. Hisham said: "Enough of that! Tell me about Khurasan". Then Maghra' said: "O Commander of the Faithful, there is no army (*jund*) of yours that can march faster³²⁹ than they can and there are no falcons in the sky

[1720]

325. Ibn al-Athir (loc. cit.) adds that al-Harith told al-Hakam that he was too contemptible for him to kill him.

326. The *nisbah* of Nasr b. Sayyar. For the Banff Kinanah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 371. They were a "small and almost neutral tribe" (Gibb, 89).

327. This term of abuse, probably meaning "son of a man with an amputated hand," would suggest thieving, for which the fixed penalty is well known.

328. Ibn al-Athir (V, 189) has *Quraysh*.

329. *Aghaththu* ("more speedy"). There is some doubt about this reading. The apparatus cites two variants, *a`addu* and *aghazzu*.

more courageous³³⁰ than they are; their cavalry³³¹ are like elephants; they have adequate supplies of men and equipment but they have no leader." Then Hisham said: "Shame on you! What has al-Kinani (Nasr) been doing?" Maghra' said: "Nasr is so old that he does not even recognize his own son." But Hisham did not accept Maghra's statement. He sent someone to the public guesthouse and Shubayl b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Mazini³³² was brought to him. Hisham said to him: "Tell me about Nasr." Shubayl said: "There is no need to fear that he is so old as to be in his dotage nor that he is too young to possess sound judgment. He is experienced and tried. He was in charge of all the borders and wars in Khurasan even before he became governor."

Yusuf was told by letter about what had happened and he posted spies. When Nasr's delegation reached al-Mawsil, they left the road taken by the postal service³³³ and instead used byways until they reached Bayhaq.³³⁴ Nasr had also been informed by letter about what Shubayl had said. Now Ibrahim b. Bassam was in the delegation. Yusuf practiced a deception on him, telling him that Nasr was dead and that accordingly he had himself appointed al-Hakam b. al-Salt b. Abi `Aqil as governor of Khurasan. So Ibrahim suggested to him the people to whom he should allocate all the provinces of Khurasan.³³⁵ Then Ibrahim b. Ziyad, the envoy of Nasr, came to Ibrahim b. Bassam and told him that Yusuf had tricked him. Ibrahim b. Bassam replied: "Yusuf has destroyed me."

[1721]

It is said that Nasr sent Maghra' together with Hamlah b. Nu`aym al-Kalbi (to Hisham). When they came to Yusuf, Yusuf aroused ambition in Maghra', promising that if Maghra' impugned Nasr's reputation in front of Hisham, he (Yusuf) would make Maghra' governor of Sind. When Maghra' and Hamlah came to

330. *Anjadu* ("more courageous"). The apparatus has a variant, *ahaddu* ("more sharp"), which is followed by the Cairo edition (194).

331. *Firasiyyah*. It is suggested tentatively in the glossary that this is a collective term for men skilled in horsemanship. This meaning is followed here.

332. Presumably this man was a visitor from Khurasan.

333. For the route taken by the postal service, cf. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reise-routen des Orients*.

334. The district of Bayhaq lay four days' march west from Nishapur. The town of Sabzavar was also known in medieval times as Bayhaq. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 391.

Hisham, Maghra' mentioned Nasr's courage, valor, and skill in affairs, and he was profuse in his praise. Then he continued: "Would that God would allow us to enjoy (for a while longer) what is left of him!" Hisham sat up straight and said: "What do you mean by 'what is left of him'?" Maghra' said: "Nasr can recognize a man only by his voice, he only understands what is said to him if people get up close to him, and his own voice is so faint that it is scarcely intelligible because he is so old." Then Hamlah al-Kalbi stood up and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, Maghra' is lying. By God, Nasr is not as he said he is. He is as he is."³³⁶ Hisham said: "Nasr is not as Maghra' has described him. This is the doing of Yusuf b. `Umar, who is motivated by envy of Nasr."

Yusuf had written to Hisham mentioning that Nasr was old and infirm, recommending Salm b. Qutaybah to him.³³⁷ Hisham wrote back to him: "Stop talking about al-Kinani." Then on his return to Yusuf, Maghra' said: "You are aware of what Nasr has suffered at my hand and you know how (badly) I have behaved toward him. So there is no future³³⁸ for me in being with him and there is no point in my staying on in Khurasan. Therefore give orders for me to stay here." Yusuf accordingly wrote to Nasr saying: "I have transferred Maghra's name (from the Khurasan register to that of Iraq).³³⁹ So send me those of his family who are with you."

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It is said that when Yusuf ordered Maghra' to give false witness against Nasr, Maghra' said: "How can I run him down after the difficult times he has been through and his kind actions toward me and my family?" But Yusuf continued to press him, so

335. *Qassama lahu Ibrahim Khurasana kullahu*. This seems to mean that Ibrahim made suggestions as to who should assume rule over the individual parts of Khurasan now that he believed Nasr was dead. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXXIII.

336. *Ma huwa kama qala huwa wa huwa*. The Cairo edition (194) punctuates this phrase to make better sense and omits the *wa*: *ma huwa kama qala; huwa huwa*. This reading has been followed in the translation.

337. Salm b. Qutaybah was not the only member of his family who was a contender for the governorship of Khurasan. His brother Qatan and his cousin Muslim b. `Abd al-Rahman were also in the running. For Salm's career, cf. Crone, 137.

338. *Khayr* (lit., "benefit").

339. *Qad hawwaltu ismahu*.

Maghra' said: "With what can I reproach him? Should I find fault with his experience, his obedience, his good fortune in affairs, or his skillful government?" Yusuf said: "Reproach him for being old." When Maghra' went in to see Hisham, he spoke about Nasr in the most glowing terms, and then, at the end of his speech, he said: "If only. . ." Then Hisham sat up straight and said: "What do you mean by 'If only'?" Maghra' said: "If only old age had not overtaken him." Hisham said: "Come on now! Old age has not yet overtaken him." Maghra' said: "Nasr only recognizes a man close up and then only by his voice. He has become too weak to raid and ride." This distressed Hisham but then Hamlah b. Nu`aym spoke up.

When Nasr heard about what Maghra' had said he sent Harun b. al-Siyawush to al-Hakam b. Numaylah, who was in the saddlers' quarter (*al-sarrajin*) reviewing the troops (*jund*). Harun grabbed him by the foot, dragged him from a carpet on which he was sitting, and broke his flag on his head. Then he hit him in the face with his carpet and said: "This is how God deals with traitors."

According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) al-Harith b. Aflah b. Malik b. Asma' b. Kharijah: When Nasr became governor of Khurasan he made particular favorites of Maghra' b. Ahmar b. Malik b. Sariyah al-Numayri,³⁴⁰ al-Hakam b. Numaylah b. Malik, and al-Hajjaj b. Harun b. Malik. Maghra' b. Ahmar al-Numayri was the leader of the people of Qinnasrin.³⁴¹ Nasr gave preference to Maghra', appointed him to a privileged position,³⁴² and accepted his intercessions in respect of what he needed.³⁴³ Nasr appointed Maghra's nephew, al-Hakam b. Numaylah, as agent (*amil*) of al-Juzajan (Juzjan).³⁴⁴ Then he put him in charge of the *ahl al-`aliyah*.³⁴⁵ This was a responsibility that his father in al-

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340. Some of the Banu Numayr had settled in Northern Syria in the early Islamic period. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 450.

341. A town in northern Syria. The medieval geographers speak of its former greatness and comment on its insignificance in their own time. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 184-87; Ibn Hawqal, 118; *EI2*, "Kinnasrin" (N. Elisséeff); Le Strange, *Palestine*, 486.

342. *Sanna manzilatahu*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCIX.

343. *Wa-shaffa`ahu fi hawa'ijihi*.

344. A district in Afghan Turkestan between the Murghab and the Oxus. Cf. *EI2*, "Djuzdjan" (R. Hartmann); Le Strange, *Lands*, 423; *Hudud*, 328-32.

345. The *ahl al-`aliyah* were a group consisting predominantly of Qays who are mentioned as one of the divisions (*akhmas*, "fifths") in al-Basrah. Cf. Djaït, 163.

Basrah had had before him; and `Ukabah b. Numaylah took it on after him. Later on, Nasr dispatched a delegation of Syrians and Khurasanis, and he appointed Maghra' to be in charge of them. Hamlah b. Nu`aym al-Kalbi was also in the delegation. `Uthman b. Sadaqah b. Waththab said to Muslim b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim,³⁴⁶ the agent (*`amil*) of Tukharistan:³⁴⁷

Muslim gave me a choice of his riding animals
and I said: "It is enough for me to have Muslim as my
judge;

This is the hero and lord of the Banu `Amir.
It is honor enough for anyone to rule over the Banu `Amir."

The poet was referring to al-Hakam b. Numaylah. Nasr's attitude toward the Qays altered for the worse and he was troubled by what Maghra' had done.

Abu Numaylah Salih al-Abbar, the mawla of the Banu `Abs, had left (al-Kufah) with Yahya b. Zayd b. `Ali b. Husayn and he stayed with Yahya until the latter was killed in Juzjan. Nasr had been angry with Abu Numaylah because of this, so the latter approached `Ubaydallah b. Bassam, Nasr's friend, and recited as follows:

I was in distress, perplexed and troubled
until `Ubaydallah removed my anxiety from me. [1724]

I cried out to him and he rose joyfully to the honor
just as the whiteness of the full moon illuminates the
darkness.³⁴⁸

So rise up with the judgment and the springing leap of a lion!
If on the day of battle you act like a high-minded man,

You will win to your side one whose courage (*muruwah*) has
reached its zenith
and whose Lord has singled him out for His favor.

Steadfast in resolution, striking blows like a lion,
he advances against death on the day of fear.

346. Muslim b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim al-Bahili had been governor of Balkh for Junayd. He was the nephew of Qutaybah b. Muslim. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1529-32, 1663-64.

347. The area to the east of Balkh which stretched along the south side of the Oxus as far as the frontiers of Badakhshan. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 426-27.

348. The text has *azlami*. The Cairo edition (196) has *izlami*, which seems better.

He is not one to prattle in the assembly, nor to blab his secrets
in his speech. Nor is he one who argues his opponents into
silence.

The garment and seat of forbearance are his,
at a time when men of understanding are dishonored by
public assemblies.

So `Ubaydallah took Abu Numaylah in to see Nasr. Then Abu
Numaylah said: "May God order your affairs aright! Indeed, I am
weak. If you think it appropriate, give me permission to recite."
Nasr gave him permission and Abu Numaylah recited the
following:

The gaming arrow of al-Kalbi has won the day, but as for
Maghra', his efforts were impeded by his ignoble descent.

O sons of Numayr, make it clear and then make it clear again,
was Maghra' born a slave or was he of pure parentage?

If he is to you as treason
and faithlessness are to the character of an honorable man,

And if he is a descendant of slaves, [1725]
then no blame will attach to you because of his treason.

The sons of Layth gave him their patronage and what great
patronage it was!
granting him unsolicited favors and an important position.

They fattened him up and when he had attained an enviable
state of well-being
through the kindness³⁴⁹ they had accorded him,

He betrayed his patrons as easily as
the wild striped ass brays in the wilderness.

So, as a warning to others and in censure of him, we likened
him
to a dog³⁵⁰ for blame should go to him who is worthy of
it

And we praised the sons of Layth, for excellence

349. The text has *min sabiha al-maqsumi*. This is corrected in the Cairo edition (196) to *min saybiha al-maqsumi*, which makes better sense.

350. Cf. Qur'an 7, 176: *fa-mathaluhu ka-mathali al-kalbi*. Cf. also the saying: "Fatten up your dog and he will eat you," quoted in G. R. Smith and M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, *The Book of the Superiority of Dogs over many of Those who wear Clothes*, Warminster, 1978, p. xxx.

is the exclusive mark of men of liberality, generosity, and good judgement.

Learn, then, you sons of mighty, victorious lions,
and you people of al-Safah and of al-Hatim,351

That the gratitude of pious men is enough to outweigh
the words of one who is suspected of evil conduct and
whose honor is impugned.352

God has seen what you have done and
the barking of dogs353 will never stop the stars shining.354

When Abu Numaylah had finished, Nasr said: "You have spoken truly." The Qays then spoke and asked for pardon.

Nasr scorned the Qays and sent them away because of what Maghra' had done. In this context, a poet recited the following:

God has made the noble ones hateful to you
just as the Merciful One made the Qays hateful to Nasr.

I saw Abu Layth scorning their leaders
and bringing close to him all those who have only tenuous
links with him.355

In this year Yazid b. Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik led the people on the pilgrimage.356 I was told this by Ahmad b. Thabit from his informants on the authority of Ishaq b. `Isa from Abu Ma`shar. The same report was also given by al-Waqidi.

The agents (*ummal*) of the garrison cities in this year were the same as in the preceding one, and I have already mentioned them.

351. Evocative place names from the Hijaz.

352. *Mawsum* ("one whose honor is subjected to envious detracting"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DLVIII.

353. There may well be an astronomical allusion here. Cf. Sirius, Procyon, and the *kilab al-shita'* (stars that set aurorally in winter).

354. The text wrongly has *lan yanqusu*. This is corrected to *lan yanqusa* in *Add.*, p. DCCXI.

355. *Wa-yudna ilayhi kulla dhi walithin ghumri*. This seems to be analogous to the phrase *dhu `ahdin walithin* ("he who has a weak covenant"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DLXV.

356. Cf. al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 394. Yazid b. Hisham was given the nickname of al-Afqam. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 370.

The Events of the Year 124 [1726]
(November 15, 741-November 3, 742)

Amongst the events taking place during this year was the arrival in al-Kufah of a group of `Abbasid supporters who were making for Mecca.³⁵⁷ According to some historians, Bukayr b. Mahan bought Abu Muslim, the leader of the `Abbasid *da`wah*, from `Isa b. Ma`qil al-`Ijli.

The Reason Why Bukayr b. Mahan Bought Abu Muslim

The sources differ on this matter. According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) Hamzah b. Talhah al-Sulamihis father: Bukayr b. Mahan³⁵⁸ was scribe to one of the agents (*ummal*) of Sind. He went to al-Kufah and the `Abbasid supporters assembled in a house there. Then mischievous rumors circulated about

357. These men were the leaders (*nuqaba'*) of the `Abbasids in Khurasan.

358. Bukayr b. Mahan came originally from Sijistan and had served the governor of Sind, al-Junayd b. `Abd al-Rahman. He was won over to the Hashimiyyah in 102 (720-21). He had visited Khurasan twice on behalf of the imam Muhammad. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (D. Sourdel); al-Tabari, II, 1639.

them and they were arrested. Bukayr was imprisoned and the others were released. Also in the prison were Abu `Asim Yunus and `Isa b. Ma`qil al-`Ijli, who had Abu Muslim³⁵⁹ with him as his servant. Then Bukayr invited them to support the `Abbasid cause and they were won over to his views. Then Bukayr said to `Isa b. Ma`qil: "Who is this young man?" `Isa replied: "He is a slave." Bukayr inquired: "Will you sell him?" `Isa responded: "He is yours." Bukayr said: "I would like you to take a proper price for him." `Isa replied: "He is yours for whatever price you want," so Bukayr gave `Isa four hundred dirhams. Then they were released from prison and Bukayr sent Abu Muslim to Ibrahim,³⁶⁰ who gave him to Musa al-Sarraj.³⁶¹ Abu Muslim learned (much) from Musa and memorized what the latter told him. Then he began making repeated journeys to Khurasan.

Other reports said: In the year 124 [November 15, 741-November 3, 742] Sulayman b. Kathir,³⁶² Malik b. al-Haytham, Lahiz b. Qurayz,³⁶³ and Qahtabah b. Shabib³⁶⁴ left Khurasan, making for Mecca. When they entered al-Kufah, they went to `Asim b. Yunus al-`Ijli, who was in prison under suspicion of spreading propaganda on behalf of the `Abbasids. With `Asim were `Isa and Idris, the sons of Ma`qil, whom Yusuf b. `Umar had imprisoned, and those agents (*ummāl*) of Khalid b. `Abdallah whom he had also put in prison. `Isa and Idris were accompanied by Abu Muslim, who was their servant. The Khurasanis recognized unusual qualities (*alamat*) in Abu Muslim, and they said: "Who is this?" The people in the prison replied: "A young man from al-Sarraj³⁶⁵ who is with us." Abu Muslim had listened to `Isa and

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359. The future leader of the revolutionary `Abbasid movement in Khurasan. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (S. Moscati); Wellhausen, 518 ff; Shaban, *`Abbasid revolution*, 153-57.

360. Ibrahim succeeded his father as `Abbasid imam in 125 (743).

361. Ibn al-Athir has *Abu* Musa al-Sarraj (V, 191).

362. After the death of Khidash in 118 (736), Sulayman b. Kathir was appointed by the `Abbasid imam, Muhammad, to take charge of the `Abbasid organization in Khurasan. He is named as one of the six `Abbasid chiefs in Marw. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1586; Shaban, *`Abbasid Revolution*, 151-54.

363. Malik b. al-Haytham and Lahiz b. Qurayz were amongst a group of `Abbasid supporters who had been imprisoned by Asad al-Qasri in 117 (735). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1586.

364. Cf. *EI2*, Kahtaba (M. Sharon).

365. Abu Muslim learned the trade of saddler from Abu Musa al-Sarraj and would take saddles to Isfahan, Mosul, and other places to sell them. Cf. Ibn al-

(footnote continued on next page)

Idris talking about the `Abbasid cause³⁶⁶ and when he heard them he wept. When they saw him reacting in this way, they invited him to join their movement and he agreed.³⁶⁷

In this year Sulayman b. Hisham³⁶⁸ went on a summer raiding expedition. In battle he met Leo, the king of Byzantium, and he returned safely, having taken plunder.³⁶⁹

According to al-Waqidi: In this year Muhammad b. `Ali b. `Abdallah b. `Abbas died.³⁷⁰ According to Ahmad b. Thabit his informants Ishaq b. `Isa Abu Ma`shar: Muhammad b. Hisham b. Isma`il led the people on the pilgrimage in this year.³⁷¹ Al-Waqidi gave the same report.

Also in this year `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik³⁷² went on the pilgrimage, accompanied by his wife, Umm Salamah, the daughter of Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik.

According to Muhammad b. `Umar (al-Waqidi) Yazid, the mawla of Abu al-Zinad: I saw Muhammad b. Hisham at Umm Salamah's door.³⁷³ He was sending in his greetings and there were many gifts from him at her door. He begged her to accept [1728]

(footnote continued from previous page)

Athir, V, 191-92. Al-Sarrajin (the saddle makers' [quarter]) was apparently in Marw.

366. Literally, "this viewpoint."

367. For other reports on Abu Muslim in Yusuf's prison, cf. al-Dinawari, 339-41; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 392-93.

368. This son of the caliph Hisham was later to play an important role at the time of the coup of Marwan b. Muhammad in 127 (744). Cf. Hawting, 96-99. He had considerable military experience on the Byzantine frontier and was at the head of an armed force known as the Dhakwaniyyah, which numbered several thousand men. Cf. Crone, 53.

369. There is a similar report in al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 395. According to Christian sources, however, it was Leo's son whom Sulayman met in battle, since Leo III had died on June 18, 741 (i.e., in the preceding Muslim year, 123 A.H.). Cf. Brooks, "Arabs in Asia Minor," 202.

370. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 372; Ibn al-Athir, V, 195. Muhammad b. `Ali b. `Abdallah b. `Abbas had come to prominence on the death of Abu Hashim in 98 (716), when one group known as the Hashimiyyah held him to be their imam. Muhammad sent out missionaries to Khurasan from around 100 (718). Cf. *EI*2, "'Abbasids" (B. Lewis); and n. 395.

371. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 372.

372. The caliph Hisham's nephew. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

373. The inclusion of this anecdote probably suggests that Muhammad b. Hisham was acting in an improper way toward Umm Salamah. Presumably the Muhammad b. Hisham mentioned here is the man mentioned as being in charge of the pilgrimage.

them and she refused. Finally, when he had given up hope of her accepting his presents, she gave orders that they should be taken in.³⁷⁴

The agents (*ummal*) of the garrison cities in this year were the same as in the years 122 [December 7, 739-November 25, 740] and 123 [November 26, 740-November 14, 741], and they have already been mentioned.

374. Literally, "When he had given up hope of her accepting his present, she gave orders that it should be taken in."

The Events of the Year 125
(November 4, 742-October 24, 743)

Amongst the events taking place during this year was a summer raid made by al-Nu`man b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik.³⁷⁵

Also in this year occurred the death of Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan. According to Abu Ma`shar: Hisham died after six nights had elapsed of the month of Rabi` II [February 6, 743]. The same report was given by Ahmad b. Thabit his informants Ishaq b. `Isa. Al-Waqidi, al-Mada'ini, and others gave the same report, but they said that Hisham's death occurred on a Wednesday, after six nights had elapsed of the month of Rabi` II [Wednesday, February 6, 743].

The length of Hisham's caliphate, according to all reports, was nineteen years. According to al-Mada'ini and Ibn al-Kalbi: Hisham ruled for nineteen years, seven months and twenty-one days. According to Abu Ma`shar: (nineteen years) and eight and one-half months. According to al-Waqidi: (nineteen years,) seven months and ten nights.

375. For this expedition, cf. al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 395. For al-Nu`man, cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

There was some divergence of opinion over Hisham's age. According to Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi: Hisham died when he was fifty-five years old. Some reports said: Hisham died when he was fifty-two years old. According to Muhammad b. `Umar (al-Waqidi): On the day Hisham died he was fifty-four years old. His death occurred at al-Rusafah, where his grave is to be found. His *kunyah* was Abu al-Walid.³⁷⁶ [1729]

The Malady That Caused Hisham's Death

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr³⁷⁷ Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) Shaybah b. `Uthman` Amr b. Kali`³⁷⁸ Salim Abu al-`Ala':³⁷⁹ One day, Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik came out to us.³⁸⁰ His appearance betrayed the fact that he was in melancholy mood. His clothes were hanging loosely on him and he had slackened the reins of his steed. He rode for an hour [in this state] and then he roused himself from his listlessness, arranged his clothes, took the reins of his horse, and said to al-Rabi`: "Call al-Abrash." Al-Abrash was summoned and Hisham walked between me and al-Abrash. Al-Abrash said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, I saw you doing something that troubled me." Hisham said: "What is that?" Al-Abrash said: "I saw you go out in a state of mind that troubled me." Hisham replied: "Come on now, Abrash! How can I not be troubled when men of wisdom (*ahl al-`ilm*) have claimed that I will be dead in thirty-three days' time?"

376. For the length of Hisham's rule, the date of his death and his age, cf. also Ibn Khayyat, 372; Ibn Qutaybah, 185; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 394; *Fragmenta*, 107; al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, 456-57; al-Mas`udi, *Tanbih*, 295; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 286; Hamzah, 129.

377. Ahmad b. Zuhayr, also known as Ahmad b. Abi Haythamah, d. 279 (892-93), was a Hanbali jurist. He was one of al-Tabari's authorities for the Basran and Medinan historical traditions, which he reported from his father. Cf. Pedersen, *Ali and Mu`awiya*, 110; Ibn Hajar, *Mizan*, I, 174; Ibn al-Nadim, I, 174.

378. The reading Kali` is uncertain. Other variants, Waki` and Dulay`, are cited in the apparatus.

379. According to the Leiden index, this Salim is not Hisham's famous *katib*, who was in charge of the *diwan al-rasa'il*. The index is probably wrong. Grignasci, who presents a clear discussion of the identity of Salim, the *katib*, calls him Salim Abu al-`Ala; cf. *Rasa'il*, 12-13.

Salim continued: I went back to my house and I wrote on a scroll: "The Commander of the Faithful said on such-and-such a day that he would die³⁸¹ in thirty-three days." On the night when the thirty-three days were up, a slave came knocking at my door saying: "Come to the Commander of the Faithful and bring with you the medicine for diphtheria (*dhubahah*)."³⁸² Hisham had taken the medicine once before, had treated himself with it,³⁸³ and had regained his strength. So I left, taking the medicine with me. Hisham gargled with it. The pain increased in intensity and then subsided. Hisham said to me: "Salim, some of the pain I was feeling has eased, so go to your family and leave the medicine with me." Then I went away and hardly had an hour passed before I heard loud voices lamenting: "The Commander of the Faithful is dead."

[1730]

As soon as Hisham had died, the treasurers shut the doors. People looked for a copper pan in which to heat some water to wash Hisham's body, but they could not find one until they asked a neighbor to lend them one. One of the people present on that occasion said: "There is a warning in this for anyone who heeds it."³⁸⁴ Hisham died of diphtheria. When he died, his son, Maslamah b. Hisham, prayed over him.

Some Biographical Details about Hisham

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini)Wasnan al-`Araji³⁸⁵Ibn Abi Nuhaylah`Aqqal b. Shab-

380. A similar story is also given in *Fragmenta*, 106.

381. *Yusafiru*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCI.

382. Although *dhubahah* is used in modern Arabic to denote angina pectoris, it may well not be the illness that is meant here. Gabrieli states that Hisham died of angina, cf. *Califfato*, 140. *Dhubahah* most probably denotes a throat obstruction caused by diphtheria or quinsy, hence Hisham's gargling with the medicine.

383. *Fa-ta`alaja*.

384. Hisham's avarice was legendary. Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, I, 233; al-Jahiz, *Bukhala'*, 28, 214. Alternatively, this may be a sententious comment to the effect that death is no respecter of persons.

385. The reading Wasnan is uncertain. The apparatus has two variants, Rasnan and Rasyan. This appears to be the only place where this person is mentioned by al-Tabari.

bah:386 I went in to see Hisham, who was wearing a tunic (*qaba'*) made of green fur. Hisham was sending me to Khurasan and he began to give me my instructions. I kept looking at the cloak and he became aware of this and inquired: "What is the matter with you?" I said: "Before you become caliph, I saw you wearing a tunic made of green fur. I was wondering if this is the same one or a different one." Hisham said: "By the One God, this is the same one. I do not possess any other tunic. But this money that you see me collecting and hoarding is for you all." `Aqqal was in the service of Hisham. As for Shabbah, `Aqqal's father, he worked for `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan.387 `Aqqal used to say: "When I went in to see Hisham, I found him a man chock-full388 of intelligence."

[1731]

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali (al-Mada'ini)Marwan b. Shuja`, a mawla of Marwan b. al-Hakam:389 I was in the service of Muhammad b. Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik. He sent for me one day and I went in to see him. He was angry and sorrowful, so I said: "What is the matter with you?" Muhammad said: "A Christian hit my servant on the head," and he began railing against the Christian. I said to him: "Take it easy." He said: "What can I do?" I replied: "Arraign him before the judge." He said: "Is there nothing else I can do?" I replied: "No." Then a eunuch of his said to him: "I will settle this for you." So the eunuch went and gave the Christian a beating. When Hisham heard about this, he sought out the eunuch, who called on Muhammad for protection. Muhammad b. Hisham said: "I gave you no orders." The eunuch retorted: "Yes, by God, you certainly did give me orders!" Then Hisham gave the eunuch a beating and rebuked his son.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr)`Ali (al-Mada'ini): In the time of Hisham nobody went around with a retinue except Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik. One day Hisham saw Salim with a retinue, so he forbade him to do so and warned him: "I shall certainly find out if you go around with a retinue!" Thereafter, whenever a stranger came up and walked along with him, Salim would stop and say, "What do you want?" and he would prevent the man from walk-

386. `Aqqal b. Shabbah al-Tamimi al-Khatib. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1755-56, 1820.

387. Umayyad caliph who ruled 65-86 (685-705).

388. Literally, "stuffed."

389. Umayyad caliph who ruled 64-65 (684-85).

ing along with him. Yet it seems that it was Salim who dominated Hisham.³⁹⁰

None of the Marwanids³⁹¹ used to draw an army stipend³⁹² unless they had to go on raids. Some of them raided in person and some of them sent out a substitute. Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik had a mawla called Ya`qub, who used to take Hisham's stipend, i.e. two hundred and one dinars, for he was treated to an extra dinar. Ya`qub would take the money and go out on raids. The Marwanids used to make themselves *diwan* guards³⁹³ and gave themselves other posts which allowed them to stay put and which exempted them from the obligation of going out on raids. Dawud and `Isa,³⁹⁴ the two sons of `Ali b. `Abdallah b. `Abbas³⁹⁵ by the same mother, served as guards to Khalid b. `Abdallah³⁹⁶ in the east, in Iraq.³⁹⁷ They stayed with Khalid and he gave them money. If that had not been the case, he would not have been able to detain them.³⁹⁸ Khalid made them guards and they spent their nights talking to Khalid and engaging him in their conversations.

Hisham entrusted an estate of his to one of his mawlas. The mawla made it flourish and the estate yielded a large income. He continued to make the estate prosper and its income was doubled. The mawla sent his son to take the income; the latter presented it to Hisham and told him how the estate was faring. Hisham re-

390. *Wa-kana Salimun ka-annahu huwa ammara Hishaman*. Literally: "it was as if Salim had made Hisham *amir*." This translation is only tentative.

391. The Banu Marwan, the descendants of Marwan I (cf. n. 389 above), from whose number the Umayyad caliphs were drawn from 65 (685) until the fall of the dynasty in 132 (750).

392. `Ata'. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (C. Cahen).

393. *Fi a`wani al-diwani*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCCLXXXIII.

394. Prominent members of the `Abbasid family who were subsequently involved in the overthrow of the Umayyads. Cf. Wellhausen, 543-44.

395. The grandson of al-`Abbas, the Prophet's uncle. `Ali was the father of the imam Muhammad. Cf. n. 370.

396. Khalid al-Qasri.

397. *Fi a`wani al-sharqi bi-al-`Iraqi*. This translation is only tentative. The apparatus has a variant reading, *fi al-suqi* ("in the market"), which is preferred in the Cairo edition, 202. Neither version is very satisfactory when followed by "in Iraq."

398. *Fa-aqama `indahu fa-wasalahuma wa-lawla dhalika lam yastati` an yahbisahuma*. This is rather obscure. *Wasalahuma* has been translated as "he gave them money," and the verb *habasa* as "to detain," rather than "to imprison." Presumably, Khalid made guards of the two `Abbasids as a device to keep them close to him.

warded him well and the boy saw that Hisham was pleased, so he said: "O Commander of the Faithful, I have a request." Hisham said: "What is it?" The boy said: "Ten more dinars in my stipend." Hisham said: "You all seem sure that ten dinars in the stipend are a mere trifle.³⁹⁹ No, by my life, I will not do it!"

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) Ja`far b. Sulayman⁴⁰⁰ `Abdallah b. `Ali:⁴⁰¹ I scrutinized the registers (*dawawin*) of the Marwanids and I have never seen a more sound register than that of Hisham nor one which was more beneficial both to the common people and to the government. According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) Ghassan b. `Abd al-Hamid:⁴⁰² Nobody amongst the Marwanids was more avaricious in dealing with his associates and registers than Hisham nor did any of the Marwanids investigate (the activities of) his officials with such extreme thoroughness as did Hisham.⁴⁰³ [1733]

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) Hammad al-Abahh: Hisham said to Ghaylan:⁴⁰⁴ "Fie on you, Ghaylan! People have been spreading gossip about you, so let's hear your side of the argument. If it is the truth, we shall support you; and if it is false you will be made to stop thinking that way." Ghaylan agreed, so Hisham called Maymun b. Mihran⁴⁰⁵ to question

399. Literally, "the value of an almond."

400. Ja`far b. Sulayman b. `Ali al-Hashimi was governor of Medina under al-Mansur (r. 136-58/745-75). Cf. Ibn al-Nadim, I, 106, 277, 494; al-Tabari, III, 247, 249.

401. This may well be a reference to `Abdallah b. `Ali b. `Abdallah, the uncle of the `Abbasid caliph, al-Mansur. Cf. Ibn al-Nadim, I, 259, 330; al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, VI, 73-77, 176-77, 214-18.

402. Perhaps this is the son of Salim's successor, the *katib* `Abd al-Hamid. Cf. *EI2*, "'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya" (H. A. R. Gibb), and Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, III, 89. Ghassan b. `Abd al-Hamid was the secretary of Ja`far b. Sulayman. Cf. Ibn al-Nadim, I, 274, 277.

403. Hisham was apparently interested in the administrative methods of the ancient empires. Cf. Gibb, *Studies*, 63. According to al-Mas`udi, al-Mansur followed the fine precedents established by Hisham, whom he admired as one of the three great Umayyad leaders; the other two were Mu`awiyah and `Abd al-Malik.

404. Abu Marwan Ghaylan b. Muslim (or b. Marwan) al-Qibt al-Dimashqi was one of the Qadariyyah who advocated free will in Islam. For Ghaylan's career and writings, cf. Ibn al-Nadim, I, 257, 274, 388; Ibn Qutaybah, 244; Cook, 81, 141, 232; Van Ess, *Anfänge*, 45; Watt, *Formative Period*, 85-86.

405. Maymun b. Mihran was in charge of justice in the Jazirah under the caliph `Umar II (r. 99-101/717-20). For an analysis of this discussion in front of Hisham, cf. Watt, 86.

Ghaylan. Maymun said to Ghaylan: "You ask first, since the case is strongest if you ask first." So Ghaylan said to Maymun: "Has God willed that he should be disobeyed?" Then Maymun replied to Ghaylan: "Was God disobeyed if He did not will it so?" Ghaylan was silent and Hisham said: "Give him an answer." But Ghaylan still did not answer him. Then Hisham said to Maymun: "God will not forgive me for my errors if I forgive Ghaylan his." So Hisham gave orders that Ghaylan's hands and feet should be cut off.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) a man of Banu Ghani⁴⁰⁶ Bishr, the mawla of Hisham: A man who had singing girls, wine, and a guitar in his home was brought to Hisham. Hisham said: "Break the lute over his head." The instrument struck the *shaykh*, who wept. Bishr (the narrator) said: "I said to him, by way of consolation: 'Be patient.' He retorted: 'Do you think I am crying because I was struck? I am only crying because of the contempt which Hisham showed toward the guitar when he called it a lute!'"

A man spoke rudely to Hisham, and Hisham said to him: "You should not speak rudely to your imam."

Hisham went in search of one of his sons who had not attended the Friday prayer. Hisham said to him: "What prevented you from performing the prayer?" His son said: "My horse has died." Hisham said: "Why didn't you walk instead of missing the Friday prayer?" Then he deprived his son of a horse for a year.

Sulayman b. Hisham wrote to his father as follows:⁴⁰⁷ "My mule is too weak to carry me. If the Commander of the Faithful thinks it appropriate to issue orders for me to be given a horse, then let him do so." Hisham wrote back to Sulayman as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful has understood your letter and what you have said about the weak condition of your riding animal. The Commander of the Faithful thinks that this situation has arisen from your negligence in feeding the animal, and that its fodder is being wasted. So see to the maintenance of your animal personally and the Commander of the Faithful will further consider the matter of your transport."⁴⁰⁸

[1734]

406. On the Banu Ghani, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 272.

407. Al-Mas`udi relates the same story. Cf. *Muruj*, V, 478.

408. *Fi humlanika*: Literally, "your riding beast." Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCX.

One of Hisham's finance officials wrote to him as follows: "I have sent the Commander of the Faithful a basket of peaches.⁴⁰⁹ Let the Commander of the Faithful write and tell me that it has arrived safely." Hisham wrote back to him: "The peaches which you sent have reached the Commander of the Faithful and he liked them. So send him some more and close the receptacle tightly."

Hisham wrote to one of his finance officials as follows: "The truffles which you sent the Commander of the Faithful have arrived. There are forty of them and some of them have gone bad. The only reason they got like that was because of the way they were packed. If you send any more of them to the Commander of the Faithful, fill with sand the jar in which you put them so that they will not move about and knock against each other."

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) al-Harith b. Yazida mawla belonging to Hisham: A mawla belonging to Hisham who was on one of his estates sent me with two fine birds. I then went in to see Hisham, who was sitting on a sofa⁴¹⁰ in the courtyard of the house. Hisham said: "Put them in the house." So I did so and he looked at them. Then I said: "O Commander of the Faithful, what about my reward?" Hisham said: "Shame on you! What is a suitable reward for two birds?" I said: "Whatever you think." Hisham said: "Take one of the birds," so I ran into the house to look at the birds. Hisham said: "What are you doing?" I replied: "I am choosing the better of the two birds." Hisham said: "Are you choosing the better of the two and leaving me with the worse one? Leave them both and we will give you forty or fifty dirhams."⁴¹¹

[1735]

(Before becoming caliph) Hisham was assigned a piece of land called Dawrin. He sent people to take possession of it and they found it in a state of ruin. Hisham said to Dhuwayd, a scribe who was (working) in Syria: "Now then, what strategem can we use here?" Dhuwayd said: "What will you do for me in return?" Hisham said: "Four hundred dinars." So Dhuwayd set down the words "Dawrin and its villages" in the registers. Hisham drew a lot of income (from this estate). Later, when Hisham became

409. *Durraqin*: "Syrian peaches." Cf. *Lisan*, I, 971.

410. For a discussion of *sarir*, cf. n. 112.

411. This story is also told by al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, V, 477.

caliph, Dhuwayd went in to see him. Hisham said: "Dawrin and its villages. No, by God, you will never govern a province for me," and he banished Dhuwayd from Syria.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Umayr b. Yazid Abu Khalid al-Walid b. Khulayd: Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik saw me riding a Tukhari horse, and he said to me: "O Walid b. Khulayd, what is this horse?" I said: "Al-Junayd gave it to me." Hisham was envious of me and he said: "By God, there are too many of these Tukhari horses around." Yet when `Abd al-Malik had died, we found amongst his riding-animals only one single Tukhari horse. His sons vied with one other as to which of them should take it, and each of them thought that if he did not possess it himself he had not inherited anything worth having from `Abd al-Malik.⁴¹²

One of the family⁴¹³ of Marwan⁴¹⁴ said to Hisham: "How can you, who are miserly and cowardly, want the caliphate?" Hisham replied: "Why should I not want it, seeing that I am forbearing and decent?"⁴¹⁵ [1736]

One day Hisham said to al-Abrash: "Have your she-goats given birth yet?" Al-Abrash said: "By God, yes." Hisham said: "But my she-goats are late in giving birth. Take me out to see your she-goats and let me have some of their milk." Al-Abrash said: "Yes. Shall I send people on in advance (to make preparations)?" Hisham said "No." Al-Abrash said: "Shall we send a tent ahead so that it can be put up for us?" Hisham said "Yes." Accordingly, al-Abrash sent out two men with a tent and it was put up. Early the next morning, Hisham, al-Abrash and the people went out, Hisham and al-Abrash each seated themselves on a stool, and an ewe was brought to each of them. Hisham milked the ewe with his own hand and said: "Take note, Abrash, that I had no difficulty in

412. It is possible that this was the type of horse that had been much in demand for the Sasanian armored cavalry and had also been exported for centuries to China the celebrated "blood-sweating" horse of the Oxus. Cf. Watson, *Genius*, 110, 119-20. A similar story is told by al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, V, 478-79.

413. The text has *ali*. This is corrected later to *ali*. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI. The Cairo edition (VII, 205) has the corrected form.

414. According to al-Mas'udi, it was Maslamah, the brother of Hisham, who teased Hisham in this way. Cf. *Muruj*, V, 479.

415. *Ana halimun `afifun*. Al-Mas'udi has *ana hakimun wa-`alimun* ("I am wise and knowledgeable"). Cf. *Muruj*, loc. cit.

getting the milk to flow."416 Then Hisham ordered that the bread dough should be brought and it was kneaded.417 Then Hisham lit the fire himself, made a hollow in it for the bread, and threw in the bread. He began turning it over with the poker and said: "Well Abrash, what do you think of my expertise?" When the bread was cooked thoroughly Hisham removed it. He began hitting it with the poker, saying: "This is just for you!" And al-Abrash would reply "Here I am"418 (this is what young boys say when bread is being baked for them). Then Hisham and the people ate lunch and he returned home.

ʿIlba' b. Manzur al-Laythi came to Hisham and recited the following to him:

ʿUlayyah said, when I decided to undertake a journey
on a bewildered she-camel flapping her ears:

"How can you contemplate a journey when all the people of
your family,
old and young alike, are dependent on you?

The young ones are like little sand-grouse,
wealthy neither in property nor in kinsfolk."

(I replied): "I am traveling to the king of Syria, the one to whom every care-burdened man419 makes his way.

I will certainly leave you rich, provided I stay alive, [1737]
through the gifts of the caliph, that dispenser of glittering largesse.

We are indeed a people whose court is dead;420

416. *Lam abuss al-halaba*. Cf. *Lisan*, I, 212. Hisham is clearly proud of his prowess in milking.

417. *Amara bi-mallatin fa-`ujinat*. The *mallah* can mean the hollow made in the fire for baking bread, or the hot dust and ashes in which the bread is cooked. *Khubzu mallatin* is bread baked in hot ashes. Cf. Lane, I, *Supplement*, 3023. In view of the following verb, *`ujinat* ("it was kneaded"), the word *mallah* has been translated as "bread dough." Cf. *EI2*, "*Khubz*" (C. Pellat).

418. *Yaqulu jabinaka, jabinaka wa-al-Abrash yaqulu labbayka, labbayka*. This translation is only tentative. *Jabinaka* may be analogous to the phrase *min jabini*, "I alone."

419. The text has *muwaqqari*. Nöldeke prefers the reading *muqari*. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI. This emendation is followed by the Cairo edition, VII, 206.

420. *Mayyitun diwanuna* An alternative translation is provided in the *Gloss.*, p. CCXLVII: "We accept no stipends."

but once it is touched by the generosity of the caliph it will be raised to life again."

Hisham said to `Ilba': "You have tried hard and petitioned well." So he gave orders that `Ilba' should receive five hundred dirhams and gave him an increase in his stipend.

Muhammad b. Zayd b. `Abdallah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab⁴²¹ came to Hisham, who said: "I have nothing for you." Then he added, "Take care lest anyone deceive you and say that the Commander of the Faithful has failed to recognize you. I have indeed recognized you. You are Muhammad b. Zayd b. `Abdallah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab. Do not stay and spend what money you already have, for you will get no gift from me. So go back to your family!"

One day, Hisham stopped near a walled garden of his in which there was an olive tree. With him was `Uthman b. Hayyan al-Murri.⁴²² `Uthman was standing with his head almost at a level with the head of the Commander of the Faithful, who was talking to him. Then Hisham heard the olive tree shaking and he said to someone: "Go to them and tell them to pick the olives properly and not to shake the tree; otherwise its fruit will burst open and its branches will break."

Hisham went on the pilgrimage. Al-Abrash took along some *mukhannaths*⁴²³ who had guitars with them. Hisham said: "Imprison them and sell their possessions" Hisham was not aware of what their goods were" and put the proceeds in the treasury. If they mend their ways, return the money to them."

Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik lived at the Rusafah which is reported to have been in the area of Qinnasrin.⁴²⁴ According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr b. Harb' Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): The reason [1738] why Hisham lived at al-Rusafah was that the caliphs and their sons used to seclude themselves⁴²⁵ to escape the plague. So they

421. The great-grandson of the caliph `Umar (r. 13-23 / 634-44).

422. `Uthman b. Hayyan al-Murri was made governor of Medina in 93 or 94 (711-712 or 712-713) and dismissed in 96 (715). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1282; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, I, 93; II, 51; III, 43.

423. The term *mukhannath* is difficult to define precisely. It denotes an effeminate man or someone who is neither entirely male or female. Cf. *Lisan*, I, 908.

424. For a discussion of al-Rusafah, cf. n. 426.

425. *Yantabidhuna*: "They would retire apart." The apparatus has a variant reading, *yatabadduna*, "they would go into the desert," which is adopted by the Cairo edition (VII, 207).

lived in the desert far away from people. When Hisham wanted to move to al-Rusafah, he was told: "Do not leave! Caliphs are not touched by plague. It is unheard of for a caliph to catch the plague." Hisham said: "Do you want to experiment with me?" So he moved to al-Rusafah, which is a desert place, and he built two castles there. Al-Rusafah is a Byzantine city built by the Byzantines.⁴²⁶

Hisham had a squint (*ahwal*). According to Ahmad (b. Zubayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini): Khalid b. `Abdallah⁴²⁷ sent a camel-driver (*hadi*) to Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik, and he recited⁴²⁸ before Hisham a poem of Abu al-Najm (al-`Ijli)⁴²⁹ in the *rajaz* meter:

The sun on the horizon is descending like the eye of a man
with a squint.
It intends to set but has not yet done so.

At this Hisham became angry and dismissed him.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) Abu `Asim al-Dabbi: I noticed Mu`awiyah b. Hisham pass me when I was in the clearing (*rahbah*) of Abu Sharik. Abu Sharik was a Persian after whom the clearing which was a field under cultivation was named. I had been baking bread. Mu`awiyah stopped near me and I said: "Have some lunch." He dismounted and I took out the bread, put it on some bricks,⁴³⁰ and he ate. Then other people came along and I asked, "Who is this?" They replied: "Mu`awiyah b. Hisham." Mu`awiyah ordered that I

426. There has been a long controversy about the interpretation of this passage. The reference to "two castles" (*qasrayn*) was interpreted by Sauvaget ("Remarques", 2-13) and by Creswell (*Architecture*, 513, 537-38) as denoting Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi in the Palmyrene steppe, which has two adjoining enclosures of Umayyad date. One of these, however, is a city and the other apparently a *khan*; for neither of them does the term *qasr* seem appropriate. Moreover, subsequent excavations on the site have revealed no traces of a Roman or Byzantine city (Grabar, *City*, 13). It seems preferable, therefore, to assume with Grabar that the Rusafah mentioned by al-Tabari is Rusafat al-Sham/Sergiopolis, the major Byzantine city of northeastern Syria, situated in the desert some twenty-five miles south of the Euphrates. Cf. *EI*1, "Al-Rusafa" (E. Honigmann).

427. Khalid al-Qasri.

428. *Hada*: to urge on a camel by reciting verses to it in the *rajaz* meter. Cf. Lane, I, 532-33.

429. Abu al-Najm al-Fadl (or al-Mufaddal) b. Qudamah al-`Ijli was a well-known *rajaz* poet. He enjoyed particular success under Hisham. Cf. Sezgin, II, 371-72.

430. The text has *fi labinin*, "on bricks." An alternative reading could be *fi labanin*, "in milk."

should be given a present and then he rode off. Suddenly a fox appeared in front of him and he chased after it. He had not followed it for more than a bow-shot's distance when his horse unseated him and he fell. They took him away dead. Hisham said: "By God, I had resolved to choose him for the caliphate but here he is, chasing after a fox!" Mu`awiyah b. Hisham had with him the daughter of Isma`il b. Jarir and another woman. Hisham settled on each of them one-half of the eighth (i.e., their legal inheritance), namely, forty thousand (dinars).

[1739]

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali (al-Mada'ini)Qahdam, Yusuf's secretary: Yusuf b. `Umar sent me to Hisham to take him a red ruby,⁴³¹ the sides of which were bigger than my palm, and a pearl as large as could be.⁴³² I went in to see Hisham and approached him, but I could not see his face because the couch was so long and there were so many cushions.⁴³³ He reached out for the stone and the pearl and asked: "Did you bring papers indicating what weight they are?" I replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, they are too heavy for anyone to write down their weight. Where can the likes of them be found?" Hisham said: "You are right." The ruby had belonged to al-Ra'iqah, the slave girl of Khalid b. `Abdallah. She had bought it for seventy-three thousand dinars.

According to Ahmad b. ZuhayrIbrahim b. al-Mundhir al-Hizami⁴³⁴Husayn b. YazidShihab b. `Abd Rabbihi`Amr b. `Ali: I was walking along with Muhammad b. `Ali⁴³⁵ to his house, which was near the bathhouse, and I said to him: "Hisham's rule and authority have lasted a long time. It is nearly twenty years.

431. According to another source, the ruby was one and one-half *qabdahs* in length. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 101. The *qabdah* was usually measured as one-sixth of a cubit. Cf. Hinz, 63.

432. The pearl weighed three and one-half *mithqals*. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 101. For the weight of the *mithqal* in various parts of the Islamic world, cf. Hinz, 1-7.

433. *Fursh*. This usually means "carpets." Given the common Sasanian royal custom of piling cushions one upon another beside the monarch as he reclined (Grabar, *Sasanian Silver*, plates 13-14) and Hisham's readiness to favor Persian culture and customs, it seems probable that he had adopted this aspect of Sasanian court ceremonial. Even if *fursh* were to be translated as "carpets," the context (and the Sasanian silver dishes published by Grabar) establishes that such carpets were being used as cushions in this instance.

434. Ibrahim b. al-Mundhir al-Hizami (d. 236/850-51), was a traditionist. Cf. al-Tabari, I, 967; Ibn al-Nadim, I, 244, 246; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, III, 190, 210.

People say that Solomon asked his Lord to bestow on him sovereignty such as should not belong to any after him. They do claim that that period was twenty years."⁴³⁶ Muhammad b. `Ali said: "I don't know what tales are current with the people, but my father told me on the authority of his father on the authority of `Ali on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "God will not prolong the life of a king in a community (*umma*) in the event that he has been preceded by a prophet for a period longer than the life of that prophet."

[1740]

In this year al-Walid b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan⁴³⁷ became caliph after the death of Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik. According to Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi: Al-Walid became caliph on a Saturday in Rabi` II, 125⁴³⁸ [February 1-March 2, 743]. According to Muhammad b. `Umar (al-Waqidi): Al-Walid b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik acceded to the caliphate on Wednesday, the sixth of Rabi` II, 125 [Wednesday, February 6, 743]. `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) concurred with Muhammad b. `Umar in this dating.

435. Cf. n. 370.

436. An allusion to Qur'an 38, v. 5.

437. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

438. The possible Saturdays were February 2, 9, 16, or 23, 743.

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THE CALIPHATE OF AL-WALID B. YAZID B. 'ABD
AL-MALIK B. MARWAN

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The Events of the Year 125 (cont'd)
(November 4, 742-October 24, 743)

Some of the Reasons Why al-Walid Acceded
to the Caliphate

I have already mentioned why al-Walid's father, Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, nominated al-Walid to succeed to the caliphate after his (Yazid's) brother, Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik. On the day when al-Walid's father, Yazid, appointed him (to succeed after Hisham), al-Walid was eleven years old and Yazid did not die until his son al-Walid reached the age of fifteen. Later on, Yazid regretted having nominated his brother Hisham as caliph. When he looked at his son al-Walid, Yazid would say: "It is God who stands between me and the one who put Hisham between me and you."⁴³⁹ When Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik died, his son al-Walid was [1741]

439. For the early life of al-Walid II, cf. Gabrieli, "Al-Walid"; Derenk, *Leben*, 27-38. Al-Walid's father, Yazid, had been persuaded in 101 (719) by Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik to nominate Hisham as caliph and that Yazid's own son, al-Walid, should be second successor. Yazid may well have regretted this decision, but, as his exclamation here suggests, he regarded the arrangement as a solemn obligation before God which he could not change. Therefore Hisham had duly succeeded to the caliphate in 105 (724) and al-Walid had to wait another nineteen years for his turn.

fifteen years old and Hisham became caliph. Hisham was generous, respectful, and kind toward al-Walid and their relationship continued in that style until al-Walid b. Yazid began to show signs of wanton behavior and to drink wine.⁴⁴⁰

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) Juwayriyah b. Asma', Ishaq b. Ayyub, `Amir b. al-Aswad,⁴⁴¹ and others: It was `Abd al-Samad b. `Abd al-`Ala al-Shabbani,⁴⁴² the brother of `Abdallah b. `Abd al-`Ala,⁴⁴³ who incited al-Walid to act in this way. `Abd al-Samad was the tutor of al-Walid. Al-Walid also acquired drinking companions. Hisham wanted to keep them away from al-Walid, so he put him in charge of the pilgrimage in 116 [January 8-13, 735].⁴⁴⁴ Al-Walid took with him some dogs⁴⁴⁵ in boxes, one of which, according to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) his *shaykhs* whose names I have given fell from the camel. In the box was a dog. People trained whips on the man who had hired out the camel and they beat him hard. Al-Walid also took with him a domed canopy,⁴⁴⁶ which had been made to the exact size of the Ka`bah so that he could place it over the Ka`bah. He also took wine with him. He wanted to erect the domed canopy over the Ka`bah and to sit in it.⁴⁴⁷ His compan-

440. For al-Walid's relationship with Hisham, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 102-03, 107-08; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 117, 282, 285; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 6-9.

441. `Amir b. Hafis, also known as Suhaym b. Hafis (d. 190/806), was a prolific writer. Many fragments of his work are preserved in Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma`arif*. According to Ibn Durayd, he was the mawla of the Banu al-`Ujayf. Cf. *Ishtiqaq*, 235. Cf. also Sezgin, II, 266-67; Rosenthal, 381.

442. Scabrous stories were rife about this man. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, II, 78; VI, 102, 104-05. His *nisbah*, which appears in the text as al-Shaybani, is corrected by the editor to al-Shabbani (*Add.*, p. DCCXI). The Cairo edition (209) has al-Shabbani. Al-Baladhuri calls him `Abd al-Samad b. `Abd al-`Ala, al-Sha`ir ("the poet"). Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 6.

443. `Abdallah b. `Abd al-`Ala al-Shabbani, the poet. Cf. al-Tabari, I, 2064; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, XII, 111; XVI, 157.

444. The pilgrimage proper begins on the eighth of Dhu al-Hijjah and ends on the thirteenth of Dhu al-Hijjah. In 116 A.H. these days correspond to January 8-13, 735. For corroboration of the year 116 (735), cf. Ibn Khayyat, 377; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, II, 78; *Fragmenta*, 113; Ibn al-Athir, V, 198; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 7.

445. Presumably for the hunt. The dog was ritually unclean. Cf. Smith, *Dogs*, p. xxix-xxx.

446. *Qubbah*. Cf. Ibn A`tham, VIII, 137; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 400.

447. Ibn al-Athir (loc. cit.) and *Fragmenta* (loc. cit.) have "to drink wine in it."

ions frightened him off the idea and said: "We don't feel safe, either on your behalf or our own,⁴⁴⁸ from what the people might do." So al-Walid did not move the canopy [on to the Ka`bah]. Even so, the people saw him behaving in a contemptuous and flippant way toward religion, and Hisham came to hear about it. Hisham wanted to depose him (as his heir) and to have the oath of allegiance given to his son Maslamah b. Hisham. Hisham tried to persuade al-Walid to annul the oath of allegiance sworn to him and to give it instead to Maslamah, but al-Walid refused. Hisham then said to al-Walid: "Give Maslamah the oath of allegiance (to succeed) after yourself," but this too al-Walid refused to do. Thereafter Hisham changed his attitude toward al-Walid and did him mischief. He took steps in secret to have the oath of allegiance given to his son, and a number of people complied with Hisham's request. Amongst those who did so were his maternal uncles, Muhammad and Ibrahim, the sons of Hisham b. Isma`il al-Makhzumi, and the sons of al-Qa`qa` b. Khulayd al-`Absi,⁴⁴⁹ as well as others among Hisham's close followers.

[1742]

Al-Walid persisted in his wine-drinking and his pursuit of pleasure and he exceeded all due bounds. Hisham said to him: "Fie on you, Walid! By God, I do not know whether you are for Islam or not. You commit every reprehensible action without feeling any shame or bothering to conceal it." So al-Walid wrote Hisham the following poem:

O you who ask about our religion,
we follow the religion of Abu Shakir.

We drink it (the wine) both pure and mixed,
sometimes warmed and sometimes cooled.⁴⁵⁰

Hisham was furious with his son Maslamah, whose *kunyah* was Abu Shakir,⁴⁵¹ and he said to him: "Al-Walid is making use of

448. Literally, "We do not feel safe for you or for us who are with you from the people."

449. For the history of this family, who were involved in several Umayyad succession disputes, cf. Crone, 105-06.

450. The meter is *sari`*. For these verses, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 102; *Fragments*, 114; Ibn al-Athir, V, 198; Gabrieli, "al-Walid," 46; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 7.

451. Maslamah had become friendly with al-Walid and had joined in some of al-Walid's hedonistic activities. Cf. al-Baladhuri, loc. cit. Al-Walid's response involv-

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you to mock me. To think I was rearing you for the caliphate! Behave in a civilized way and attend the collective prayer." Hisham put Maslamah in charge of the pilgrimage in 119 [December, 737].⁴⁵² Maslamah devoted himself to acts of religious devotion and behaved in a steady and gentle manner. He distributed money in Mecca and Medina, and a mawla belonging to the Medinans recited the following lines:

O you who ask about our religion,
we follow the religion of Abu Shakir.

The one who generously donates hairless horses⁴⁵³ with their
halters
and who is neither a free-thinker⁴⁵⁴ nor an unbeliever.

The poet was referring obliquely to al-Walid.

The mother of Maslamah b. Hisham was Umm Hakim,⁴⁵⁵ the daughter of Yahya b. al-Hakam b. Abi al-`As.⁴⁵⁶ Al-Kumayt⁴⁵⁷ recited as follows:

Verily the stakes (of the tent) of the caliphate will be
transferred
after al-Walid to the son of Umm Hakim.

Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri said: "I want nothing to do with a caliph whose *kunyah* is Abu Shakir." Maslamah b. Hisham was [1743]

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ing Maslamah is therefore particularly offensive to Hisham. For al-Walid's affection and kind treatment toward his friend Maslamah, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 103-04; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 286.

452. For Maslamah's leading the pilgrimage, cf. Ibn Khayyat, 377.

453. *Al-jurda* ("horses endowed with fine hairs"). Cf. Freytag, *Lexicon*, 77. *Jurd* is the reading followed by *Fragmenta*, 114; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 7; and Ibn al-Athir, V, 198. Al-Isfahani has *al-buzla* (camels that have attained their full strength). Cf. *Aghani* VI, 102; Lane, I, 200.

454. *Zindiq* is a difficult term to translate accurately since it is often used as a general term of abuse, as well as to denote Manichaeans and those of other "heretical" beliefs.

455. Umm Hakim was famous for her beauty as her mother Zaynab bint `Abd al-Rahman had been before her. Umm Hakim was very fond of wine, a characteristic of hers that is recorded in verse by al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, XV, 48.

456. The uncle of the Umayyad caliph `Abd al-Malik and governor of Palestine. Cf. Crone, 125.

457. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadi (d. 126/743 or 127/744). Other verses of his are quoted in al-Tabari, II, 1574-75. Cf. *EI2*, "Kumayt b. Zayd" (J. Horowitz/ C. Pellat); Sezgin, II, 347-49; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, XVII, 40; XV, 113. The meter is *kamil*.

furious with Khalid, and so when Asad b. `Abdallah,⁴⁵⁸ the brother of Khalid b. `Abdallah, died, Abu Shakir (Maslamah) wrote to Khalid b. `Abdallah, sending a poem in which Nawfal⁴⁵⁹ lampooned Khalid and his brother Asad:⁴⁶⁰

May a Lord who has given the people respite from Asad
liberate them from Khalid by destroying him too!

As for his father, he was of impure lineage,
a low-born slave who was himself begotten of slaves with
stunted limbs.⁴⁶¹

Maslamah sent a scroll by postal courier to Khalid. Khalid thought that it contained a message of condolence on the death of his brother. He broke the seal but found in the scroll nothing but the lampooning verses. Then he said: "Never have I seen condolences like those I have received today."⁴⁶²

Hisham used to criticize and denigrate al-Walid. He frequently scoffed at al-Walid and his friends and often pointed out his faults. When al-Walid realized what Hisham's attitude was he went away, accompanied by some of his retinue and his mawlas, and lived in al-Azraq between the territory of the Balqayn⁴⁶³ and the Fazarah⁴⁶⁴ at a watering-place called al-Aghdaf.⁴⁶⁵ Al-Walid

458. Cf. n. 1116.

459. The text has Nawfal. This is later emended to Yahya b. Nawfal; cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI. The poet's *nisbah* was al-Himyari. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani* II, 149; III, 138; XIV, 57.

460. The repetition of the phrase "when he (Asad) died" has been omitted in the translation.

461. *Li-a`budin qufudi*. *Qufud* is used here instead of *qufd*, the plural of *aqfad*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXXX. *`Abdun aqfadu*: "a slave having rigid and contracted arms and legs, with short fingers and toes." Cf. *Lisan*, III, 135. The meter of these lines is *munsarih*.

462. For a discussion of this incident, cf. Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 22-23, n. 3. These verses in a longer form are given in Ibn al-Athir, V, 162. Cf. also al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 8.

463. Balqayn is a contraction of the name Banu al-Qayn. The Balqayn were a subgroup of the Quda`ah. Cf. al-Ya`qubi, *Les Pays*, 175; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 455; *EI2*, "Al-Kayn" (W. M. Watt).

464. The Fazarah were a subgroup of the Dhubyan. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 246.

465. On the topographical problems presented by this passage, cf. Gabrieli, "al-Walid," 6, n. 4. Gabrieli translates the Arabic *fa-nazala bi-al-Azraq bayna ardi Balqayn wa-Fazarah `ala ma'in yuqalu lahu al-Aghdaf* as "e ando a stabilirsi . . . ad al-Azraq, tra la terra dei Balqayn e dei Fazarah, sul fiumicello al-Aghdaf." The problem which Gabrieli sets out clearly is that elsewhere al-Azraq and al-Aghdaf

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left behind at al-Rusafah his scribe `Iyad b. Muslim, the mawla of `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, and he said to `Iyad: "Write to me about whatever is going on where you are." Al-Walid took with him `Abd al-Samad b. `Abd al-`Ala. They were drinking one day, and when the wine began to have an effect on them al-Walid said to `Abd al-Samad: "Abu Wahb, recite some verses". So `Abd al-Samad recited the following:⁴⁶⁶ [1744]

Did you not see how the star, the moment that it ceased to
shine,⁴⁶⁷
went hurrying back to its mansion?

In confusion it strayed from its proper path,
and having arrived at its place of setting,⁴⁶⁸ it sought its
place of rising.

I said, having marvelled at its activity
and with burgeoning hope as it appeared,

"Perhaps the reign of al-Walid has drawn near,
now that the time has become auspicious.

We have been hoping that he would rule,
just as the owner of barren land hopes that it will become
verdant.

We have made the firmest plans⁴⁶⁹ for him
with all our hearts, since he is a worthy repository for
them."⁴⁷⁰

The poem was recited (in other places) and Hisham came to hear

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are shown to be in two distinctly separate localities. Al-Azraq is a citadel in the Wadi Sirhan, 27 km from Qusayr `Amrah. Cf. Dussaud, 21, 81, 136, 175; Creswell, I, 405-06. Al-Aghdaf has been identified as Qasr al-Tubah, 61 km south of al-Azraq. Cf. Derenk, 121; Gabrieli, loc. cit. The account of al-Baladhuri is clear: "He (al-Walid) settled in al-Azraq." *Ansab* (Derenk}, 10.

466. This episode and the verses that follow are recounted by al-Isfahani, *Aghani* VI, 104-05. Cf. also *Fragments*, 116; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 11.

467. *Shuyyi`a*. Al-Isfahani, *Aghani* VI, 105 has *sab`a*.

468. *Al-Ghawr*. This term also denotes the low-lying area of Jordan where al-Walid liked to spend his time.

469. *Muhkamati al-umuri*. The variant reading in the apparatus and in *Fragments*, 116 also makes good sense: *muhkamati al-'uhudi* "the firmest oaths."

470. The meter is *mutaqarib*. The tenor of these lines indicates that they probably date from the time when al-Walid still enjoyed Hisham's favor to the full, a theory corroborated by their immediate sequel. This was probably the time, too, that al-Farazdaq wrote his panegyric to al-Walid as crown prince. Cf. Hell, 37-65.

of it. He stopped the regular allowance he paid to al-Walid and he wrote to him as follows: "I have heard that you have taken `Abd al-Samad as friend, confidant, and drinking companion. As far as I am concerned, that just confirms what I have already heard about you. Moreover, I do not find you blameless in any wickedness (that has been done). Send `Abd al-Samad away in disgrace."⁴⁷¹ Al-Walid therefore sent `Abd al-Samad away, and he recited the following verses about him:

They have accused Abu Wahb of a great sin
no indeed, of one far greater than great!

I testify that they have lied against him,
with the testimony of one knowledgeable and with long
experience of them.⁴⁷²

Al-Walid wrote to Hisham telling him that he had sent `Abd al-Samad away, and he apologized for what Hisham had heard about his drinking companion.⁴⁷³ He then asked Hisham if he would permit Ibn Suhayl to join him. Ibn Suhayl was a Yamani who had governed Damascus on more than one occasion,⁴⁷⁴ and he was among al-Walid's close circle of friends. Hisham, however, flogged Ibn Suhayl and sent him away. Hisham then seized `Iyad b. Muslim, al-Walid's scribe, as he had heard that `Iyad was sending information to al-Walid. He gave him a severe flogging and made him wear coarse cloth. When al-Walid heard about this he exploded: "Who can trust anybody? What's the point of doing good to others? My father preferred this accursed cross-eyed man to the members of his own family and he made him his heir. Now you see how he treats me. As soon as he finds out that I have become attached to someone, he trifles with him. He wrote to me asking me to send `Abd al-Samad away, so I sent him away. Then I

[1745]

471. Al-Baladhuri is more explicit: "Bring `Abd al-Samad to me with my messenger." Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 11.

472. The meter is *wafir*. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 105; *Fragmenta*, 116; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 11.

473. *Munadamatihi* ("the person(s) with whom he drank"). The subsequent fate of `Abd al-Samad is recorded in al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 11 and *Fragmenta*, 116-17. Hisham sent him and his brother to Yusuf b. 'Umar, who walled them up in a room where they died of thirst.

474. Al-Baladhuri adds that he may have been head of the *shurtah* in Damascus. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 12.

wrote to him asking him to allow Ibn Suhayl to come and join me. So he beat Ibn Suhayl and sent him away, although he knew how highly I thought of him.⁴⁷⁵ He found out how attached `Iyad b. Muslim is to me and that he is under my protection. He knew that I have a high regard for him and that he is my scribe. So he beat him and imprisoned him, just to harm me. O God, protect me from him!"⁴⁷⁶ Then al-Walid recited as follows:

It is I who⁴⁷⁷ warn the man who would constantly bestow favor on people of dubious character,⁴⁷⁸ not having experienced their faithlessness.

If you treat them with honor, you will find them insolently ungrateful;⁴⁷⁹ if you treat them with contempt, you will find them tractable.

How can you exalt yourself above us when we are the very source of your prosperity? Just you wait until⁴⁸⁰ fortune veers in our favor.

Look around, and if the only likeness you can find for him is that of a dog,⁴⁸¹ then try that!⁴⁸²

His master fattens him up for the hunt [1746] until he has grown strong,⁴⁸³ after his formerly emaciated state,

And thereupon the dog attacks him and although that assault fails to harm him, if he were able to devour him, he would do so.⁴⁸⁴

475. *Ra'yi fihi* ("my (good) opinion about him"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCLV.

476. For Hisham's treatment of `Iyad b. Muslim, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 105; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 12.

477. Literally, 'I am the warner who.'

478. *Al-maqarif*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXX.

479. *Butur*: plural of *batur*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CXXXVI.

480. Literally, "You will find out when."

481. Cf. n. 350.

482. The text has *fa-udrubhu*. This is emended to *fa-adribhu* by Gabrieli, "Al-Walid," 54.

483. *Nawa*. Al-Isfahani has *istawa*; cf. *Aghani*, V, 105.

484. The meter is *basit*. There is a strong possibility that some of the last few lines (1746, 11.1-4) are out of order here. The version of al-Baladhuri is more coherent, incorporating parts of al-Tabari's version: *bayna yusamminuha li-al-*

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Al-Walid wrote the following letter to Hisham:485

I have heard what cuts the Commander of the Faithful has made in my income and how he has ruined my friends, my women, and my family. I had never thought that God would thus test the Commander of the Faithful nor that he (Hisham) would thus defame me. Even if Ibn Suhayl did behave in that way,486 it would be like the ass presuming to think it is as good as the wolf.487 My kind actions toward Ibn Suhayl, my favorable treatment of him, and my letter to the Commander of the Faithful about him do not deserve the extreme measures taken by the Commander of the Faithful in breaking off relations with me. But if this has come about because of something specific in the mind of the Commander of the Faithful against me, (let him remember that) the succession which God decreed for me, the span of life which He ordained for me, and the substance which He allotted to me are matters which nobody apart from God can ever diminish by one jot from their appointed term; nor can anyone change their allotted times in any way. For the irreversible decree of God (*qadar*) runs according to His predetermined decisions, irrespective of the wishes of men.488 There is no way to delay Him when He hastens and there is no hastening of His allotted span.489 In such a situation, the sins that men under God commit are against themselves and because of them they deserve punishment. The Commander of the Faithful is the person in his community best fitted to perceive this and

[1747]

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saydi sahibuhu `ada `alayhi falaw yastati uhu akla ("while his master is fattening him up for the hunt, he attacks him and, if he could, he would eat [him]"). Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 13.

485. For other versions of this letter, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 106-07; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 13-14. For a detailed analysis of the various textual and translation problems connected with this letter and Hisham's reply, cf. Appendix 1.

486. "Even if Ibn Suhayl were as the Commander of the Faithful made him out to be"; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, loc. cit.

487. "It would be enough for the ass (i.e., Ibn Suhayl) merely to approach the wolf (Hisham)" (in order to be devoured); al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, loc. cit.

488. Literally, "whether people like it or dislike it."

489. Literally, "there is no delaying of His hastening and no hastening of His allotted span."

should be the one most mindful of it. May God be the One who directs the Commander of the Faithful to good judgments in his conduct of affairs!

Hisham inquired of Abu Zubayr: "Nastas,⁴⁹⁰ do you think that the people will be satisfied with al-Walid if anything happens to me?" Nastas said: "Rather, may God prolong your life, O Commander of the Faithful!" Hisham retorted: "Fie on you! Death is an inevitable fact. So do you think that the people will be satisfied with al-Walid?" Nastas said: "O Commander of the Faithful, an oath of allegiance to al-Walid is already obligatory for the people." Thereupon Hisham replied: "If the people are satisfied with al-Walid, I can only think that the popular dictum 'anyone who is caliph for three days will not enter the fire' is false."

Hisham then wrote to al-Walid as follows:⁴⁹¹

The Commander of the Faithful has understood what you have written about the cuts he has imposed on you and about other matters. The Commander of the Faithful asks pardon from God for the allowance he used to give you. The Commander of the Faithful is more afraid for his own soul because of the wrong he has done against himself in giving you the allowance he gave you than because he has made the cuts he has made and mined those of your companions whom he has ruined. This is for two reasons. The first is that the Commander of the Faithful gave you preferential treatment in the allowance he bestowed on you, even though he knew what your attitude toward it was and that you spent it in an inappropriate way.⁴⁹² The second reason is that he made much of your friends and gave them lavish allowances (too). They do not have to put up with the kind of setbacks that the Muslims undergo every year when the campaigns are curtailed. [1748]
Your friends remain in your company and you drag them off

490. Nastas was the freedman of Safwan b. Umayyah; the name is obviously an arabicized form of the Greek name Anastasios. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 103.

491. For other versions of Hisham's letter, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 107-08; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 14-15. For a discussion of textual and translation problems in this letter, cf. Appendix 1.

492. Al-Baladhuri has: "even though he knew the places where you put it and that you were spending it on the path of disobedience." Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 14.

with you in your folly. The Commander of the Faithful feels that it is more fitting for him to impose cuts on you and to give you only a bare minimum rather than to exceed the proper limits with you in this matter. But God has supported the Commander of the Faithful in the cuts that he has imposed on you, which he has made in the hope of His forgiveness for what he dreads may result from his previous actions in this matter.⁴⁹³

As for Ibn Suhayl, by my life, if he enjoyed the special position he had with you, and he was worthy of your affection,⁴⁹⁴ God would not have made him as he is. Is Ibn Suhayl for goodness' sake!⁴⁹⁵ anything more than a singer and dancer, whose foolishness knows no bounds? Moreover, Ibn Suhayl is no worse than any other of the characters whom you choose as your companions in those activities which, out of nobility, the Commander of the Faithful refrains from mentioning but for which you, by God's life! would be worthy of censure. If you think that the Commander of the Faithful is eager to make trouble for you, then that would release you from any family obligation⁴⁹⁶ because of the evil inclinations of the Commander of the Faithful in that matter. As for that which you said God has ordained for you, it was God who gave the Commander of the Faithful precedence in that respect and He chose him for it, and verily God attains His purpose.⁴⁹⁷ The Commander of the Faithful has come to the firm conviction⁴⁹⁸ that it is not for his own profit that he possesses what God in His goodness has given

493. I.e., Hisham fears God's anger for his former generosity toward al-Walid and his friends.

494. Literally, "and he was worthy that you should be pleased about him or displeased."

495. It is difficult to find an appropriate translation for *lillahi abuka*, an expression that denotes wonder and praise. Cf. Lane, I, 11.

496. The text has *bi-ghayri illin* ("without a compact"). The Cairo edition (VII, 214) has *bi-ghayri alin* ("without family [obligation]"). This latter reading has been used in the translation.

497. Qur'an 65, v. 3.

498. The text has *wa-huwa `ala al-yaqini rain rabbihi . . .* ("he is sure from his Lord . . ."), as does al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 15. Al-Isfahani's version (loc. cit.) makes better sense: *wa-huwa `ala al-yaqini min ra'yihi* ("he is firm in his opinion").

him for the attainment of either evil or good but that it is only a trust to him from God and that it is inevitable that he must (eventually) relinquish it. God is too merciful and compassionate to His servants to entrust command over them to one of them no matter who that is not pleasing to Him. Indeed, the Commander of the Faithful, because of his high regard for his Lord, is extremely hopeful that He will give him the task of delivering that office to one who is acceptable to Him and to them. Indeed, God's goodness to the Commander of the Faithful far exceeds his ability to describe it or to render Him sufficient thanks, except by God's own help. If He has decreed an imminent death for the Commander of the Faithful, there is in that place to which he is ultimately traveling, if God wills and by the goodness of God, a replacement for this earthly life. By my life, the content of your letter to the Commander of the Faithful is fully in accord with your foolishness and stupidity. So restrain yourself from committing excesses and be moderate in your actions. To God belong chastisements and mighty power. He strikes therewith those of His servants whom He wishes,⁴⁹⁹ and He inclines his ear to those of His servants whom He wishes. The Commander of the Faithful implores God for protection and for right direction toward those things that are dearest and most pleasing to Him.

[1749]

Al-Walid wrote the following reply to Hisham:

I have seen you sparing no effort to erect a barrier between you and me;
(whereas) if you possessed a grain of intelligence,⁵⁰⁰ you would demolish what you have built.

You sow a crop of hatred against those still alive;
woe to them, when you die, from the evil harvest you have garnered!

I can imagine them saying at best, "If only we were"
but by then "if only we were" will be of no avail.

499. There is an echo here of Qur'an 7, v. 156: *`adhabi usibu bihi man asha'u* ("I smite with My punishment whom I will").

You have spurned the hand of one who offers kindness. If you
had taken it,
the Compassionate One, the possessor of grace and
beneficence, would have rewarded you for it.⁵⁰¹ [1750]

Al-Walid continued to live in that desert until Hisham died. On the morning of the day that al-Walid became caliph⁵⁰² he sent for Abu al-Zubayr al-Mundhir b. Abi `Amr. The latter came to al-Walid, who said to him: "Abu Zubayr! As far back as I can remember I have never spent a longer night than last night. During the night I was assailed with anxieties and I kept thinking about things connected with the rule of that man (meaning Hisham). He has evil designs on me.⁵⁰³ Come riding with us and let's get some air." So they went riding. After going two *mils*,⁵⁰⁴ al-Walid stopped at a sandy hill and began complaining about Hisham. Then suddenly he saw a cloud of dust and he exclaimed: "These are messengers from Hisham. Let us pray to God that they bring good news." Then two men on post-horses hove into sight; one of them was a mawla of Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani and the other was Jardabah. When they came nearer they went toward al-Walid, dismounted, ran up to him, and greeted him as caliph. Al-Walid was struck dumb with amazement. Jardabah began to repeat his salutation to him as caliph, so al-Walid said: "Steady on! Are you telling me that Hisham is dead?" Jardabah said: "Yes." So al-Walid asked: "Who sent your letter?" Jardabah replied: "Your mawla, Salim b. `Abd al-Rahman, the master of the chancellery." Al-Walid read the letter and the two men turned to leave. Then

500. *Fa-law kunta dha irbin*. Al-Isfahani (loc. cit.) has *fa-law kunta dha hazmin* ("if you had any determination/judgment"). *Fragmenta*, 117, has . . . *dha `aqlin* ("if you had any intelligence").

501. For these verses, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 104; *Fragmenta*, 117-18; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 15 (only part of the verses); Ibn al-Athir, V, 199; Gabrieli, "al-Walid," 60-61. The meter is *tawil*. In the *Aghani* the verses occur in a different context, namely, when Hisham is attempting to depose al-Walid and make his own son his heir.

502. For similar accounts of the way in which al-Walid heard of Hisham's death, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, (Derenk), 20-21; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 108; Ibn A`tham, VIII, 139.

503. *Qad awla`a bi*: i.e., Hisham wishes al-Walid dead.

504. Two *mils*: approximately 4 km. Cf. Hinz, 63.

al-Walid called back the mawla of Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani and asked him about his secretary, `Iyad b. Muslim. The mawla said: "O Commander of the Faithful, he stayed in prison until God's decree struck Hisham. When Hisham reached a point where he was no longer expected to recover, `Iyad sent a message to the storekeepers asking them to keep hold of what they had in their possession and saying that on no account should anyone remove anything.⁵⁰⁵ Hisham recovered consciousness and asked for something, but they refused to let him have it. Then Hisham said: 'So it seems that we have been storekeepers for al-Walid!' and he died shortly afterwards. `Iyad came out of prison, sealed the doors of the storehouses, and gave orders concerning Hisham. Hisham was taken from his bed, but people could not find a container in which to warm the water to wash him and they actually had to ask to borrow one. Nor could they procure a shroud from the storehouses. So Ghalib, the mawla of Hisham, found him a shroud."

[1751]

Al-Walid wrote to al-`Abbas b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan,⁵⁰⁶ telling him to go to al-Rusafah to estimate what possessions and how many sons Hisham had there and to arrest his agents and dependents, except for Maslamah b. Hisham. In the case of Maslamah, al-Walid wrote to al-`Abbas saying that he should not interfere with him nor should anyone enter his house, for Maslamah had often begged his father to show leniency in regard to al-Walid and had made Hisham refrain from taking steps against him. So al-`Abbas went to al-Rusafah and carried out the written instructions that al-Walid had given him. Then he wrote to al-Walid informing him that he had arrested Hisham's sons and dependents and that he had counted Hisham's possessions. Al-Walid responded as follows:⁵⁰⁷

Would that Hisham were alive to see
his capacious milking pail topped up!

505. In an earlier version of this story (cf. p. 72) the closing of the treasury occurred after the death of Hisham, not before.

506. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

507. For some of these lines, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 22. The meter is *sari`*.

Al-Walid recited:508

Would that Hisham had lived to see [1752]
his capacious corn-measure sealed up.

We have meted out to him the same measure that he meted
out (to us before),
and we have not deprived him of a single ounce of it.509

It was not out of innovation that we did so,
but the Distinguishing Book510 fully permitted it to us.

Al-Walid appointed agents, and (letters giving him) the oath of
allegiance reached him from far-flung areas. The agents wrote to
him and delegations came to him. Marwan b. Muhammad wrote
to him as follows:511

May God's blessing512 be on the Commander of the
Faithful in the command of His servants and the inheritance
of His lands which He has bestowed on him! It was because
Hisham was overwhelmed by the submerging flood513
brought on by the intoxication of power that he was induced
to attempt to diminish those rights of the Commander of the
Faithful which God had magnified. He sought to achieve
something that was too difficult for him. People of unsound
opinions and beliefs responded to him in that, but they also
found514 what he desired too difficult. It was then that he
buckled under the full weight of the decrees of God.

508. For these verses (with minor variants), cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 109;
Fragmenta, 121, Ibn al-Athir, V, 200; Gabrieli, "al-Walid," 49-50. The meter is
sari`.

509. Cf. Qur'an 4, v. 44; 11, vv. 85-86.

510. *Al-furqan*: "the Criterion of right and wrong." Cf. Qur'an 2, v. 53. Al-
Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 22, and *Fragmenta*, 121, have "*al-Qur'an*."

511. Marwan b. Muhammad was the cousin of al-Walid's father and later was to
become the last Umayyad caliph. He had served on the frontier in Armenia. For a
good summary of his career, cf. Schönig, 7. Cf. also n. 4.

512. For other versions of this letter, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 35-36;
Fragmenta, 124-25.

513. Cf. Qur'an 23, v. 56: *fa-dharhum fi ghamratihim* ("therefore leave them in
[the submerging flood of] their ignorance"). Cf. also Qur'an 23, v. 65; 51, v. 11.

514. *Fa-wajadu* ("they found"). The apparatus has a variant, *fa-wajada* ("he
found"), which is adopted also by the Cairo edition (VII, 216). This makes better
sense.

The Commander of the Faithful (i.e., al-Walid) was in a place of God's protection until the time when He girded him with the noblest belt of the caliphate. He has assumed responsibility for matters which God has judged him competent to decide, and he stands confirmed in absolute control of the charge which has been laid upon him. Previous revelations⁵¹⁵ have foretold the appointed span of his rule. God has singled him out from His creatures to rule, for He sees their circumstances. God has invested him with the caliphal ornament hanging around his neck and has bestowed on him the reins of the caliphate and the torque⁵¹⁶ of authority. Praise be to God Who has chosen the Commander of the Faithful for His caliphate and to maintain the firm foundations of His religion!⁵¹⁷ He has preserved him from the evil designs of the wicked;⁵¹⁸ and He has elevated him and has brought them low. Anyone who persists in such base actions⁵¹⁹ destroys his soul and angers his Lord, but anyone whom repentance directs to the true course, abstaining from what is wrong and turning to what is right, will find God ever disposed to forgive and be merciful. [1753]

I should like to inform the Commander of the Faithful, may God's beneficence be upon him, that when I heard about his accession to God's caliphate I mounted my pulpit, holding two swords in readiness against any mischief-makers. I announced to the people in front of me the favor that God had conferred on them in appointing the Commander of the Faithful. At this they rejoiced and said: "No other caliphal accession has filled us with greater hope or made us more joyful than the accession of the Commander of the Faithful." I had already stretched out my hand to give the oath of allegiance to you. Now I renewed it and confirmed it with weighty covenants, repeated pledges, and strong oaths.

515. *Al-zubur*.

516. *`Isam* is the plural of *`usmah* ("collar").

517. *Watha'iqi `ura dinihi*.

518. Cf. Qur'an 12, v. 76; 21, v. 58; 86, v. 16.

519. *Al-khasisah min al-umuri*. Al-Baladhuri has *al-khati'ah* ("crime, sin"): *Ansab* (Derenk), 35.

Thereafter, all of them gave excellent and obedient responses.

O Commander of the Faithful, reward them for their obedience from the wealth of God which He has given you, for you are the most generous and open-handed of men! They have been waiting for you, hoping that you would reveal your bounty toward them because of the close ties of kinship that they claim with you. Show more generosity toward them than your predecessors did, so that your preference for them over your other subjects may thus be made manifest.⁵²⁰ Were it not for the efforts I am making to guard the frontier where I now am, I fear that my strong yearning for the Commander of the Faithful would lead me to appoint a deputy against his orders and to come in person to see the Commander of the Faithful face to face, for there is no pleasure, however great it might be, which would equal that for me. If the Commander of the Faithful thinks it appropriate to allow me to travel to him so that I may speak of matters which I do not want to put in writing, then let him do so.

[1754]

When al-Walid came to power he made provision for the cripples and blind amongst the people of Syria. He gave them clothing and ordered that each of them should have a servant. He made available perfume and clothing among those with large families to support⁵²¹ and he increased what Hisham had given them. He augmented the stipend for everyone by ten dirhams and then, after that increase of ten, he made a further increase of ten for the Syrians in particular.⁵²² He doubled the allowances of those of his family who came asking for his help. When al-Walid had been heir-apparent, he used to give food to those who came to him on their way back from the summer campaign. At a staging-post called Ziza'⁵²³ he would also feed for a period of three days people

520. *Wa-zidhum ziyadatan yufdalu biha man kana qablaka hatta yazhara fadluka `alayhim `aid ra`iyyatika*. Here the Cairo edition (217) adds a *wa: hatta yazhara fadluka `alayhim wa-`ala ra`iyyatika* ("so that your favor to them and your subjects may be manifest").

521. Cf. Ibn A`tham, VIII, 139.

522. Cf. Wellhausen, 353.

523. Ziza' was a large village, one of the stages on the *hajj* route. It was in the Balqa' province. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 554.

returning from the pilgrimage. He would give fodder to their riding animals and would refuse nothing that was asked of him. People used to say to him: "If you (just) say 'Let me see,' it is a promise with which the suppliant will be satisfied."⁵²⁴ Al-Walid replied: "I do not train my tongue to say anything that I am not accustomed to doing."

Al-Walid recited the following:⁵²⁵

I guarantee to you, if no obstacles hinder me,
that the cloud of affliction will be lifted from you.

Soon both augmentation and increase,
as well as gifts, will be bestowed on you by me.

Sacred (to me) is your register in which [1755]
each month scribes write down and seal your grants.

In this year al-Walid b. Yazid had the oath of allegiance given to his two sons, al-Hakam and `Uthman, so that they should succeed him, and he made them both his heirs, one after the other, putting al-Hakam before `Uthman. Al-Walid wrote letters on this matter to the garrison cities, and one of the people to whom he wrote about this was Yusuf b. `Umar, who was at that time al-Walid's agent in Iraq. Yusuf b. `Umar wrote to Nasr b. Sayyar about this and the text of the letter to him was as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
From Yusuf b. `Umar to Nasr b. Sayyar. And now to our subject. I have sent `Aqqal b. Shabbah al-Tamimi and `Abd al-Malik al-Qayni to bring you a copy of the letter from the Commander of the Faithful in which he wrote informing those under my authority that he has appointed his sons, al-Hakam and `Uthman, as his heirs after him.⁵²⁶ I have given orders to `Aqqal and `Abd al-Malik to expatiate on this matter with you. When they reach you, gather the people together to hear the reading of the letter from the Commander of the Faithful. Give orders that people should be brought together

⁵²⁴. *Irma fi qawlika anzuru `idatan ma yuqimu `alayha al-talibu*. The translation is only tentative.

⁵²⁵. The meter is *tawil*. For these verses, cf. also al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 26; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 111; Ibn al-Athir, V, 201.

⁵²⁶. The word order in the Arabic is very unwieldy and has been changed around in the translation.

for it and perform with them what the Commander of the Faithful has written. When you have finished, have the letter read out and allow those who want to speak to do so. Then have the people give the oath of allegiance to the two sons of al-Walid in God's name and blessing. Exact oaths from them according to what I have copied for you at the end of this letter of mine, (which is taken) from what the Commander of the Faithful wrote to us in his letter. Explain it and have the oath of allegiance given on that basis. We ask God to bless the Commander of the Faithful and his subjects in what He has decreed for them through the words of the Commander of the Faithful. We ask God to set al-Hakam and `Uthman on the right path and to bless them and us through them. Greetings to you.

[1756]

Al-Nadr527 wrote on a Thursday, in the middle of Sha`ban [Thursday, June 13, 742]:

125

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, give the oath of allegiance to the servant of God, al-Walid, the Commander of the Faithful, and to al-Hakam, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, if he outlives him, and to `Uthman, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, if he outlives al-Hakam, to heed and to obey. And if anything should happen to either of them, the Commander of the Faithful will appoint as his successor someone from amongst his sons or subjects, giving precedence to whom he wishes and holding back whom he wishes. In this matter the oath and covenant of God are binding upon you.

A poet recited the following lines about this matter:528

We have high expectations of `Uthman, after al-Walid,
or of al-Hakam, and then we hope for Sa`id,

Just as when Yazid was in power
he used to have hopes for al-Walid.529

527. The identity of this person is not clear. He may be al-Nadr b. Shumayl, who is mentioned in the company of Hisham. Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, III, 17, 19.

528. For these verses, cf. *Fragmenta*, 131. The meter is *mutaqarib*.

529. *Nu'ammilu `Uthmana ba`da al-Walidi li'l-`ahdi fina wa-narju Yazidan* ("We are hoping for `Uthman after al-Walid to rule among us and we hope for

(footnote continued on next page)

But the caliphate became too remote (from us),
so we hope that it will return to what it was before,

And if it does return, then satisfy the
near relative with it,⁵³⁰ so that the distant one will despair
of it.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) his
shaykhs whom I have already mentioned: `Aqqal b. Shabbah and
`Abd al-Malik b. Nu`aym came to see Nasr and they brought the
letter, which read as follows:⁵³¹

Now to our subject. Verily God, may His names be blessed,
His praise be made glorious and all reference to Him be exalt-
ed, made Islam the religion of His choice and He created [1757]
Islam as the best thing for the chosen of His creatures.⁵³²
Then He chose messengers from amongst angels and men.⁵³³
He sent them forth with His message (Islam) and gave them
orders concerning it. And between them and the nations
which succeeded each other and throughout the centuries
which elapsed in turn (there was conflict), but they would
(still) summon men to what is better⁵³⁴ and call them to a
straight path. This continued until the grace of God culmi-
nated in His calling of Muhammad, may the blessings of God

(footnote continued from previous page)

Yazid"). For the second hemistich, the version in *Fragmenta*, 131, makes better
sense in the context: *aw Hakaman thumma narju Sa'idan* ("or Hakam, then we
hope for Sa'id"). Al-Walid had fifteen sons, one of whom was Sa'id. Cf. the discus-
sion of al-Walid's family, listing primary sources, in H. `Atwan, *Al-Walid b. Yazid:*
`ardun wa-naqdun (Beirut, 1981), 90-91. The Cairo edition (VII, 219) has *nuba'î*
for *nu'ammilu*.

530. *Fa-awsi al-qariba `anha* ("bequeath it to the near relative[?]"). The Cairo
edition (VII, 219) has *fa-ardi al-qariba `anha*. With *awsa*, the normal preposition
would be *bi*. The version in the Cairo edition based on one manuscript reading is
better grammatically and has been preferred here.

531. For a full discussion of the background and significance of this letter, cf.
Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 116-18. They provide an annotated translation of
the letter, 118-26. A longer discussion of this letter is to be found in Appendix 2.

532. *Wa-ja`alahu khayra khiyaratihi*. The apparatus (BM and O) has *din* for
khayr, as does the Cairo edition, 219. Crone and Hinds, 118, prefer this reading:
"he has made it the religion of the chosen ones of His creation."

533. Cf. Qur'an 35, v. 1.

534. The syntax of this passage is faulty and it is clear that some words have
been omitted. The missing words must refer to the succession of prophets whose
message was ignored by their own people and on whom God inflicted His punish-
ments. The words in brackets in the translation are purely hypothetical.

be upon him, to prophethood, at a time when knowledge had passed beyond recall,⁵³⁵ when blindness afflicted the people, when disunity was rife with men following their own personal inclinations,⁵³⁶ when faction had made people take divergent paths and when the signs of the truth had become obliterated. (It was at such a time that) God made the right way clear by means of Muhammad; by him He dispelled the darkness⁵³⁷ and by him He brought deliverance from error and destruction. By him He made religion flourish⁵³⁸ and He caused him to be a blessing for His creatures.⁵³⁹ By him He set the seal on His revelation. In Muhammad, God accumulated the bounties which He had bestowed on the prophets who had preceded him. He made him follow in their footsteps, reaffirming and embracing all that He had revealed through them, summoning to it and commanding by it.

In due course there emerged those of His community who responded to Muhammad's call and adopted the religion which God had graciously bestowed on them. They were able to confirm the truth of the message preached by earlier prophets of God which their own people had rejected as false⁵⁴⁰ and to accept the good counsels of those prophets which (once) they used to spurn. So they defended their sacred things which once they had violated and exalted that which they used to belittle. There was no member of the community of Muhammad who, having been made to listen to anyone denying any of God's prophets through the message which God had entrusted to him, speaking disparagingly about him or harming him by treating him contemptuously or giving him the lie, denying what God had revealed through him, did not consider it to be licit to shed his blood and to

[1758]

535. Literally, "had become effaced."

536. *Tashtitin min al-hawa*: Literally, "a state of disunion from (following) divergent inclinations."

537. Literally, "blindness."

538. *Wa-abhaja bihi al-dina*. Crone and Hinds read *anhaja* ("He elucidated the religion through him"). Cf. *God's Caliph*, 119. Their reading follows Safwat, *Rasa'il*, II, 448.

539. *Rahmatan li'l-'alamin*. Cf. Qur'an 21, v. 107. Cf. also Qur'an 3, v. 8; 11, v. 28; 44, v. 5.

540. Literally, "in that in which their people used to call them liars."

break the bonds that existed between them, even if he were his father, son or fellow tribesman.

Then God appointed His caliphs to follow in the path of Muhammad's prophetic ministry, after He had taken His prophet unto Himself, and (after) He had sealed His revelation by Muhammad, in order that His rule should be accomplished, His *sunnah* and His penalties established, and His precepts and laws adopted. This was done so that, by His caliphs, God might confirm Islam, by them He might consolidate its sway,⁵⁴¹ by them He might strengthen its ties,⁵⁴² by them He might safeguard its sanctities,⁵⁴³ (and) by them He might administer justice amongst His servants and might maintain the common weal in His lands. For God, most blessed and glorious, says: "And if God had not repelled some men by others the earth would have been corrupted. But God is a Lord of Kindness to (His) creatures."⁵⁴⁴

The caliphs of God succeeded each other as sovereigns over that which God had made them inherit from His prophets and that which He had entrusted to them. No one contests the right of the caliphs without God striking him down; no one abandons their commonality⁵⁴⁵ without God destroying him; no one treats their authority lightly and challenges the decree of God vested in them without God granting them mastery and power over such a person and making an example of him and a warning to others. Thus does God deal with those who forsake the obedience to which God has called them and which He has commanded to be adopted and observed and by which the heavens and the earth are sustained. God, may He be blessed and glorified, said: "Then turned He to the heaven when it was smoke, and said unto it and unto the earth: Come both of you, willingly or loth." They said: "We come, obedient."⁵⁴⁶ God, may the utterance of His

[1759]

541. The text has *tashyidan*. The apparatus has *tashdidan*, which is better.

542. Literally, "the strengthening of His rope."

543. *Daf'an bi-him`an harimihi*: literally, "fending (people) off from its (Islam's) or His (God's) forbidden things."

544. Cf. Qur'an 2, v. 251.

545. *Jama`ah*.

546. Cf. Qur'an 41, v. 11.

name be glorified, also said: "And when thy Lord said unto the angels: 'Lo! I am about to place a viceroy in the earth,' they said: 'Wilt Thou place therein one who will do harm therein and will shed blood, while we, we hymn Thy praise and sanctify Thee?' He said: 'Surely I know that which ye know not.'"547

So it is by the caliphate that God preserves those of His servants on earth whom it is His will to preserve548 and those whom He has appointed to inhabit the earth. It is in showing obedience to those whom God has appointed to rule on earth that there lies happiness for those whom God inspires thereto and who are made to understand it.549 For God, may He be praised and glorified, knows that there is no stability or well-being for anything save through that same obedience, by which God preserves His due, by which He carries out His command, by which He repulses those who rebel against Him, safeguarding those things that are sacred to Him and protecting His inviolable precepts. He who accepts his portion of that obedience becomes the friend of God; he is obedient to His command, he obtains right guidance from Him, and he is singled out for God's blessing both in this life and in the life to come. But he who abandons that obedience, turns his face against it and opposes God thereby, squanders his allotted portion, disobeys his Lord, and loses for himself the things of this life and the next. His lot is cast with those overcome by wretchedness, possessed by sinful actions550 which drag those in their thrall to drink in the foulest of waterholes and which betray them to the most dreadful of ends,551 so that God afflicts them (even) in this world with humiliation and retribution and reduces them to a state of

547. cf. Qur'an 2, v. 30.

548. Literally, "God has preserved those of His servants on earth whom He has preserved."

549. The text has *su`ida man ulhimaha wa-nusiraha* ("those who are inspired thereto and who are assisted therein attain a state of felicity"). Dr. M. F. Al-Shayyal suggested the reading *wa-bussiraha*, which has been followed here. Both *ulhimaha* and *bussiraha* are passive since the action comes from God.

550. *Al-umuru al-ghawiyatu*: Literally, "deviating matters."

551. *Ila sharri al-masari`i* ("the most dreadful places of slaughter").

dreadful punishment and intense sorrow (in the next world).⁵⁵²

Next to the proclamation of God's oneness, by which He distinguishes between His servants, obedience is the very pinnacle of this matter; obedience is its uppermost peak, its most prominent aspect, its guide, its foundation, its protection and its mainstay. It is by obedience that the successful receive their stations from God and are entitled to their reward from Him; whereas it is disobedience⁵⁵³ that causes others (the unfortunate) to be assailed and struck down by His retribution and that necessitates His (just) displeasure and chastisement, because they have abandoned obedience, lost it, turned their back on it and given it away. God destroys those who go astray, who are inordinately proud, who are blind, who exceed proper limits and depart from the paths of piety and fear of God. So hold fast to obedience in God in those matters which may befall you, come to you, or happen to you. Be the faithful advocate of obedience, hold firmly to it, hasten toward it, take honest action to attain it, and seek diligently to approach nearer God by it. For you have seen the workings of God's judgment on behalf of those who practice obedience, by His exalting them and making their argument prevail and by His rejecting as false those who oppose them, who attack them, who compete with them, or who want to extinguish God's light which shines upon them. You have been warned, moreover, what those who are disobedient can expect in the way of reproof and straitening until their situation is reduced to sheer destruction, abasement, humiliation, and perdition. For anyone who possesses judgment and accepts sound advice, there is in that a clear warning⁵⁵⁴ from

[1760]

552. *Fima`indahum*. Crone and Hinds, op. cit., 121, have the reading *fima a`adda lahum* "(grief) which He has prepared for them," following Safwat, *Rasa'il*, II, 450 n.

553. *Wa-al-tabaddulu bi-ha* ("giving it away in exchange for it [i.e., disobedience]"). Variants mentioned in the apparatus add *li-al-ma`siyati* or *bi-al-ma`siyati*. Crone and Hinds (loc. cit.) read *tabadhdhul* ("carelessness").

554. *Wa-fi dhalika li-man kana ra'yun wa-maw`izatun`ibratun*. Crone and Hinds translate this as "In that there is a warning and a lesson for the perceptive person" (op. cit., 122). The problem here is the *wa* between *ra'yun* and *maw`izatun* (or *aw* in the variant reading). The text as it stands should take *ra'yun wa-maw`izatun* together.

which he may derive benefit⁵⁵⁵ and from which he may attain a state of felicity, and by which he may know the blessing of God's decree to those who are deserving of it.⁵⁵⁶

Moreover, God to whom belongs praise and who dispenses favor and beneficence has rightly guided the community to the best of outcomes,⁵⁵⁷ making its condition healthy, by preventing the shedding of its blood, by consolidating the bonds of its fellowship, by making all its tongues agree, by establishing its pillars in good order, and by promoting the weal of its common people. The special repository of blessing bestowed on the community in this world, next to His caliphate which He established for them as a foundation and as a support for ruling them, is the covenant which God directed His caliphs to confirm and oversee for the Muslims in matters of moment; so that, whenever something befalls their caliphs, it might be an assurance of refuge, a shelter in times of calamity, a means of repairing disorder and of reconciling mutually hostile men, a way of consolidating the boundaries of Islam and of frustrating that which the Devil's followers desire from his enticements and to which he incites them, which is the destruction of this religion, the division of the unity of its people, and the sowing of dissension where He has united them through His religion. God's sole judgement for the evildoers in this matter is to afflict them⁵⁵⁸ and to frustrate their desires. They will find that God's ordinance for His followers is to safeguard the conduct of their affairs⁵⁵⁹ and that He has driven away from them anyone who wishes to make mischief or practice dishonesty in those affairs, or who wishes to weaken what God has made fast or who wishes to rely on what God has shunned.

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555. Literally, "from whose clarity he may derive benefit."

556. *Bi-ha* It is not clear to which of the feminine antecedents this may refer. It is probably the blessing.

557. The text has *`afiyatan*. The Cairo edition (VII, 221), which prefers the variant reading *`aqibatan*, has been followed here. Cf. also Crone and Hinds, loc. cit.

558. Literally, "God will show the evildoers in this matter only that which will harm them. . . ."

559. Literally, "they will find God has made firm, by that which He has decreed for His followers thereby, the knots (*`uqad*) of their affairs."

It is by these (blessings)⁵⁶⁰ that God has consummated both for His caliphs and for His party which fears Him and whom He has entrusted with obedience to Him the best of those things to which He has accustomed them; and He has enabled them to attain their purpose by what He has afforded them of His might, ennobling power, and ability to exalt and strengthen.⁵⁶¹ The authority embodied in this covenant⁵⁶² is integral to the completeness of Islam; it is a fraction⁵⁶³ of the perfect bounties by which God has made the Muslims indebted to Him; it is an earnest of what God has in store, through this covenant, for those whom He has willed to execute it and those whom He has decreed should pronounce it.⁵⁶⁴ He has made this covenant efficacious for those whom He has appointed to this office so as to be for Him the most excellent of treasures and the best reminder for Muslims of the benefits which He bestows on them and the protection which He affords them and of His strength on which they rely and His refuge to which they resort, a refuge which God himself has made for them, as a means of protection. For by it He defends them from every danger, by it He unites them against every faction, by it He lays low the hypocrites, and by it He preserves them from every division or schism.

So praise God, your Lord, who has been merciful to you, [1762]
and who has applied in your affairs what He has shown you of this covenant a covenant that He has made for you as an abode, a place of shelter⁵⁶⁵ in which you may find rest, (a tree) in whose branches you may find shade, an instrument by which He has directed you to the right path wherever you

560. *Bi-ha*. It is not clear to what the *ha* refers. Rather than referring to obedience or the caliphate, it probably refers to God's benevolent actions toward those who follow Him.

561. Literally, "God has perfected . . . the best of that to which He has accustomed them and enabled them to attain from His reinforcing, honoring, exalting, and empowering."

562. *Fa-amru hadha al-`ahdi*. *Amr* can also mean "matter." Cf. Crone and Hinds, op. cit., 123.

563. The words *it is a fraction* have been added for stylistic reasons.

564. Literally, "and is part of that which God has made therein (in the covenant? Islam?) for the one by whose hands He has accomplished it and on whose tongue He has decreed it."

565. *Mu`awwalan*: literally, "a place in which one may place confidence."

may turn your heads,⁵⁶⁶ point your faces or convene⁵⁶⁷ in your activities in this world and the next. In this there is a rich store of blessing; in this there is a great favor⁵⁶⁸ from God who lavishly bestows (His) well-being. This is recognized by men of understanding and goodwill who think carefully about the consequences of their actions and who know the light that illumines the paths of right guidance. For it is proper that you should thank God for the way in which He has preserved your religion and your state of unity, (since) you are able to realize how greatly He deserves such thanks and praise for what He has determined for you by His religion. So let the position that religion has in your heart and its excellent status within your souls match God's great favor toward you in this matter, if God wills. There is no power but in God.

Moreover, ever since God appointed the Commander of the Faithful as His caliph, he (the Commander of the Faithful) has been more concerned and preoccupied with this covenant than with anything else, because he knows its crucial role in the affairs of the Muslims and because he knows those things which God has revealed to them in it for which they should be thankful. The caliph is gracious to them in his decrees. Of his own volition, he expends all his energies in this matter, both for his own good and for that of the people. He entreats his Lord and Master, in whose hand is authority and who possesses knowledge of what is hidden, to pass judgment therein on behalf of himself and his people, for He is all-powerful. In this matter the caliph asks God to help him to do what is most just, for himself in particular and for the Muslims in general. [1763]

So the Commander of the Faithful has thought it appropriate to bequeath to you a double covenant (of succession) that thereby you, like your predecessors before you, might be freed from care and blessed with abundant hope and peace of

566. Literally, "necks."

567. Literally, "the meeting of your forelocks (*nawasi'kum*) in the matter of your religion and this world."

568. Cf. Qur'an 8, v. 17.

mind, and with mutual hostilities allayed. Thus you will realize to the full the importance of this matter which God has ordained for His people as a means of protection, salvation, well-being and life, while for every hypocrite and transgressor who wishes to destroy this religion and corrupt its people it is a means of abasement, destruction, and straitening. Therefore the Commander of the Faithful has appointed as his successor in that office his son al-Hakam and thereafter `Uthman, another son of the Commander of the Faithful. It is the hope of the Commander of the Faithful that the two of them are of those whom God created and fashioned for that office and in whom He perfected the ideal qualities of those whom He would wish to appoint to it, namely good judgment, sound religion, abundant manliness, and a knowledge of the proper management of affairs. In this the Commander of the Faithful has spared no effort both in his own interest and in yours.

Therefore give the oath of allegiance to al-Hakam, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, in the name of God and with His blessing, and after al-Hakam give the oath to his brother to heed and to obey. Expect as a reward for that the best of what God has already showered on you, repeatedly given you, accustomed you to, and taught you about through similar instances in the past when He bestowed widespread prosperity, general good, and great bounty, the hope,⁵⁶⁹ security, well-being, safety, and protection of which you have achieved. This is the matter that you thought to be slow in coming and that you sought to hasten. You praised God for having achieved it and for ordaining it for you. You gave hearty thanks for it and you saw it as your good fortune. You will compete with each other and do your utmost to fulfill God's due which is incumbent on you, for you have already received from God's blessings, goodness, and generous portion all that you could (legitimately) want, and your enthusi-

[1764]

569. Crone and Hinds read *rakha'ih* ("ease") for *raja'ih* (op. cit., 125). This makes better sense than the version in the Leiden text, which has been translated here.

asm for it matches what He has conferred on you and what He has done for you therein.

Moreover, if anything should happen to one of his two heirs, the Commander of the Faithful is entirely within his rights to fill his position and to put in his place whomsoever he wishes to put there, whether from his community or from his sons, and to give such a person precedence over the survivor of the two sons, if he so wishes, or to put him after that son. Be sure you understand that. We ask God there is no God but He Knower of the Invisible and the Visible,⁵⁷⁰ the Merciful, the Compassionate, to bless the Commander of the Faithful and you in what He has determined and decreed through the words of the caliph. We ask Him to ensure that the outcome of His covenant is soundness, happiness, and joy, for the entire matter is in His hand; He alone has power over it. No one makes requests outside its remit. May the peace and the mercy of God be upon you.

Samal⁵⁷¹ wrote this letter on Tuesday, eight days before the end of Rajab 125 [Tuesday, May 21, 743(?)].⁵⁷²

In this year al-Walid appointed Nasr b. Sayyar as governor of the whole of Khurasan and put him in sole charge of it.

In this year Yusuf b. 'Umar came to al-Walid and he bought off Nasr and his agents from al-Walid, who gave him back the governorship of Khurasan.

In this year Yusuf b. 'Umar wrote to Nasr b. Sayyar ordering him to come to him and to bring with him what he could in the way of tribute and money.⁵⁷³ [1765]

570. Cf. Qur'an 6, v. 74.

571. This name is odd and the person has not been identified.

572. The last day of Rajab in that year [i.e., Wednesday, the thirtieth of Rajab 125] corresponds to May 29, 743; eight days before corresponds to the twenty-second of Rajab (Tuesday, May 21, 743).

573. This is a rather obscure passage and the sequence of events is not clear. The following anecdotes have to do with Nasr being first confirmed in his office by al-Walid and then, after Yusuf's machinations, dismissed. Cf. Wellhausen, 482-83.

What Transpired between Yusuf and Nasr in the Matter [of Tribute]

According to `Ali (al-Mada'ini) his *shaykhs*: Yusuf b. `Umar wrote to Nasr on that matter and ordered him to come to him with all his dependents. When Yusuf's letter reached Nasr, he raised tribute from the people of Khurasan and his agents.⁵⁷⁴ He made ready every slave, female and male, and every spirited horse in Khurasan, and he bought a thousand slaves, equipped them with weapons, and mounted them on horses.⁵⁷⁵

Some reports said: Nasr made ready five hundred maidservants, and he gave orders that gold and silver ewers and statues of gazelles, lions' heads, ibexes, and other things should be made. When Nasr had finished all these preparations, al-Walid wrote to him urging him to hurry, so Nasr sent the presents and the first of them reached Bayhaq.⁵⁷⁶ Then al-Walid wrote to him ordering him to send him guitars and lutes, and one of their poets recited the following lines:

Rejoice, you who are God's entrusted one,
rejoice in the good news,

In camels laden with wealth
like granaries

And mules carrying wine,
their bags bulging like mandolins,

And the coquetry of Berber women
as they play the bass⁵⁷⁷ and high⁵⁷⁸ strings (of the lute)

With now the beating of a tambourine
and now the piping of flutes

Such is your portion in this world
and in Paradise delight itself will be yours.⁵⁷⁹

574. *Qasama `ala ahli Khurasan al-hadaya*. The context that follows, where Nasr is busy collecting valuable items to take to Yusuf, makes it clear that this sentence does not mean that Nasr distributed presents to the people of Khurasan and his officials, as Muir suggests (*Caliphate*, 415-16). For the use of the term *hadaya* as tribute, cf. Løkkegaard, 144.

575. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 202.

576. Cf. n. 334.

577. *Al-bamm*.

578. *Al-zir*.

579. Cf. Qur'an 43, v. 70.

In Hisham's time, al-Azraq b. Qurra al-Misma`i came from al-Tirmidh⁵⁸⁰ to Nasr and he said to Nasr: "I dreamed I saw al-Walid b. Yazid when he was heir-apparent, fleeing, as it were, from Hisham. I saw him on a couch, drinking honey, and he gave me some of it to drink." Then Nasr gave al-Azraq four thousand dinars and a set of clothes and he dispatched him to al-Walid with a letter.⁵⁸¹ Al-Azraq came to al-Walid and gave him the money and the set of clothes. Al-Walid, pleased with this, gave al-Azraq presents and also rewarded Nasr well. Then al-Azraq departed; he heard about Hisham's death on his way back to Nasr before Nasr had any idea of what he had been doing. When al-Azraq reached Nasr, he told him what had happened. On becoming caliph, Walid wrote to al-Azraq and to Nasr and gave orders to his messenger that he should go first to al-Azraq and give him his letter. The messenger reached al-Azraq at night and gave him his letter as well as Nasr's letter, but al-Azraq did not read his own letter. (Instead) he brought the two letters to Nasr. Walid's letter to Nasr instructed him to acquire guitars, mandolins, and gold and silver ewers for him, to collect from Khurasan as many female cymbal players, falcons, and spirited horses as he possibly could, and to dispatch all this personally with prominent people from Khurasan.

[1766]

A man from the Banff Bahilah said: A number of astrologers kept warning Nasr that a time of trial (*fitnah*) was imminent, so Nasr sent for Sadaqah b. Waththab, who was in Balkh and was an astrologer in his service. Yusuf kept asking Nasr to come and see him and Nasr continually hesitated to do so. Then Yusuf sent a messenger with instructions that he should keep on pressing Nasr to come, and that if he did not do so Yusuf would proclaim publicly⁵⁸² that Nasr had been dismissed from his office. When the messenger reached Nasr, Nasr gave him presents and bought him off.⁵⁸³ Then Nasr made for his citadel, which nowadays is the *dar al-imarah*, and he was on his way there when trouble

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580. The most important town of the Saghaniyan district at the place where the Zamil and Oxus rivers join. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 440-41; Bosworth, "Chaghaniyan," 1-2.

581. Literally, "he sent him to al-Walid and Nasr wrote to him."

582. Literally, "or he would proclaim publicly."

583. Literally, "satisfied him."

broke out. So Nasr went to his citadel in Majan.⁵⁸⁴ He appointed `Ismah b. `Abdallah al-Asadi as his deputy to govern Khurasan. He put al-Muhallab b. Iyas al-`Adawi in charge of the *kharaj* and he made Musa b. Warqa' al-Naji governor of al-Shash. He made Hassan al-Asadi, who was from Saghaniyan,⁵⁸⁵ governor of Samarqand, and he put Muqatil b. `Ali al-Sughdi in charge of Amul.⁵⁸⁶ Nasr gave orders to these men that if they heard that he had left Marw, they were to gather⁵⁸⁷ the Turks together and to raid⁵⁸⁸ the land across the Oxus. In that way, he could join them after leaving Marw, using that fighting as an excuse. Then one day, as Nasr was on his way to Iraq, a mawla from the Banff Layth came to him by night (with the news of al-Walid's death).⁵⁸⁹ In the morning the people were called to prayer, and Nasr sent for al-Walid's messengers. After praising and glorifying God, Nasr said: "You know where I was going and you have seen what tribute I have sent. Now somebody comes to me at night and tells me that al-Walid has been killed, unrest has broken out in Syria, Mansur b. Jumhur has gone to Iraq, and Yusuf b. `Umar has fled.⁵⁹⁰ You know the state of the country we live in and how numerous our enemies are!" Then Nasr called for the leader (of the messengers) and made him swear that the news he had brought was the truth. The man swore that it was so. Then Salm⁵⁹¹ b. Ahwaz said: "May God keep the *amir* on the right path! If I had taken an oath I would have told the truth. This is a trick of the Quraysh who

[1768]

584. Majan was a village in the Marw area. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 378. Majan became a flourishing suburb of Marw under Abu Muslim. Cf. Ibn Hawqal, 420-21; Le Strange, *Lands*, 398-99.

585. Saghaniyan is probably to be identified as the modern town of Sar-i Asya on the upper course of the Saghaniyan River. Saghaniyan was also the name of a district that lay to the west of the Wakhsh River and that was bounded on the south by the Oxus. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 439-40.

586. Amul lay on the left bank of the Oxus, about 120 miles to the northeast of Marw. To distinguish it from Amul in Tabaristan, it was later called Amu or Amuyah. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 403-04; Yaqut, I, 365; *ET2*, s.v. (M. Streck).

587. *Amarahum . . . an yastahlibu*. Ibn al-Athir, V, 202, has *yastajlibu*. For *yastahlibu* ("urge to assemble"), cf. *Gloss.*, p. CC. For *yastajlibu* ("to summon"), cf. *Gloss.*, p. CZXIV. Both verbs make good sense in the context.

588. For *yughiru*, Ibn al-Athir (V, 201) has *ya`buru* ("that they should cross").

589. The addition in parentheses is from Ibn al-Athir, V, 202.

590. This isolated snippet about al-Walid's murder and the events that ensued is placed too early in al-Tabari's narrative. These events are discussed in detail later, under the year 126 (744). Cf. Wellhausen, 482-83.

591. He is called Salim by Ibn al-Athir (V, 202).

want to cast aspersions on your obedience. So clear off and don't speak calumny against us." He (the messenger)⁵⁹² said: "Salm, you are a man who is knowledgeable about military matters. You are, moreover, obedient to the Umayyads. But as for this kind of matter, your opinion on it is (as valueless as) the opinion of a slave girl with her front teeth broken!" Then Nasr said: "Since (the time of) Ibn Khazim,⁵⁹³ I have encountered no difficult situation where my judgment was not superior (to that of others)."⁵⁹⁴ The people said: "We know that and we think your opinion is correct."

In this year al-Walid b. Yazid sent his maternal uncle Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi to be governor of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ta'if, having handed over to his custody Ibrahim and Muhammad, the two sons of Hisham b. Isma'il al-Makhzumi, who were tied up tightly in their cloaks.⁵⁹⁵ Yusuf arrived in Medina with them on Saturday, twelve days before the end of Sha`ban 125 [Saturday, June 14, 743] and paraded them before the people of Medina. Then al-Walid wrote to him ordering him to send them to Yusuf b. `Umar, who was at that time his agent in Iraq. When Ibrahim and Muhammad came to Yusuf, he tortured them to death. They had been accused before al-Walid of having embezzled large sums of money.

In this year Yusuf b. Muhammad dismissed Sa`d b. Ibrahim from the post of *qadi* of Medina and appointed to it Yahya b. Sa`id al-Ansari.

In this year al-Walid b. Yazid sent his brother al-Ghamr b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik to carry out raids. Al-Walid put al-Aswad b. Bilal al-Muharibi⁵⁹⁶ in charge of his naval forces and ordered him to go to Cyprus and to give the population the choice of going [1769]

592. The speaker is probably the messenger.

593. The allusion here is unclear (Ibn al-Athir omits this saying of Nasr's) but according to the index (321), the Ibn Khazim in question is `Abdallah b. Khazim al-Sulami (d. 73/692-93), a governor of Khurasan around whom legends developed. Cf. Wellhausen, 416-21; *EI2*, s.v. (H. A. R. Gibb).

594. *Lam ashhad . . . amran mufzi`an ila kuntu al-mufri`a fi-al-ra'yi*. The Cairo edition (VII, 226) has *al-mufzi`a* for *al-mufri`a*. The Leiden text has been preferred in the translation. For a definition of *mufti*, cf. *Lisan*, II, 1082.

595. They had now to pay the penalty for having sided with the caliph Hisham when he tried to have allegiance sworn to Maslamah instead of al-Walid. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1742; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 397.

596. Al-Muhadhi in Ibn al-Athir, V, 206.

either to Syria or to Byzantium. One group of them opted for asylum in Muslim territory, so al-Aswad took them to Syria. Others of them chose to go to Byzantium and they went in that direction.⁵⁹⁷

In this year Sulayman b. Kathir, Malik b. al-Haytham, Lahiz b. Qurayz, and Qahtabah b. Shabib arrived in Mecca.⁵⁹⁸

According to some biographers, they met Muhammad b. `Ali⁵⁹⁹ and they told him about Abu Muslim and what they had seen of him. Muhammad asked them: "Is Abu Muslim a free-born man or a slave?" They replied: "'Isa⁶⁰⁰ alleges that he is a slave but Abu Muslim himself says that he is free-born." Muhammad said: "Buy him and manumit him." Then they gave Muhammad b. `Ali two hundred thousand dirhams and clothes worth thirty thousand dirhams. Muhammad said to them: "I do not think that you will ever meet me again after this year. Should anything happen to me, your master is Ibrahim b. Muhammad. I trust him and I enjoin you to treat him well just as I have enjoined him to treat you well."⁶⁰¹ Then they left Muhammad b. `Ali and he died on the first night of Dhu al-Qa`dah [Monday, July 25, 743] at the age of 63.⁶⁰² Between his death and the death of his father, `Ali, was seven years.

According to Ahmad b. Thabit this informant Ishaq b. `Isa Abu Ma`shar: In this year Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi led the pilgrimage.

In this year Yahya b. Zayd b. `Ali was killed in Khurasan. [1770]

The Killing of Yahya b. Zayd b. `Ali

We have already mentioned how Yahya b. Zayd b. `Ali came to be in Khurasan and the reason for his being there.⁶⁰³ We will now

597. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 206. For the early history of the Muslims in Cyprus, cf. *EI2*, "Kubrus" (A. H. de Groot).

598. Cf. the preceding account given by al-Tabari (II, 1726-27). The `Abbasid *nuqaba'* were on the pilgrimage. Cf. also al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 397.

599. Cf. n. 370.

600. I.e., `Isa b. Ma`qil al-`Ijli.

601. Cf. al-Dinawari, 340.

602. The death of Muhammad b. `Ali is reported in the sources as having occurred in either 124 or 125 A.H. Ibn al-Athir says that Muhammad was seventy-three when he died (V, 206).

603. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1714.

give an account of why he was killed, since that occurred in this year.⁶⁰⁴

According to Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi^{Abu Mikhnaf}: Yahya b. Zayd b. `Ali stayed with al-Harish⁶⁰⁵ b. `Amr b. Dawud in Balkh until Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik died and al-Walid b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik became caliph. Yusuf b. `Umar wrote to Nasr b. Sayyar telling him that Yahya b. Zayd had left Iraq and letting him know where he was staying. Finally, Yusuf told Nasr that Yahya was at the house of al-Harish and he instructed Nasr to send his men for Yahya and to take him by force. So Nasr b. Sayyar sent word to `Aqil b. Ma`qil al-`Ijli ordering him to seize al-Harish and not to let him go until al-Harish gave up the ghost or until he brought Yahya b. Zayd to him. Accordingly, `Aqil sent for al-Harish and questioned him about Yahya. Al-Harish said: "I know nothing about him." Then `Aqil gave him six hundred lashes. Al-Harish said to him: "By God, if he were under my very feet I would not lift them from him so that you could take him." When Quraysh b. al-Harish heard of this he went to `Aqil and said: "Don't kill my father. I will show you where Yahya is." `Aqil sent someone with Quraysh, who showed him where Yahya was. He found Yahya in a (concealed) room inside a house and seized him, together with Yazid b. `Umar,⁶⁰⁶ and al-Fadl, the mawla of `Abd al-Qays who had come with Yahya from al-Kufah. `Aqil brought Yahya to Nasr b. Sayyar, who put him in prison and wrote to Yusuf b. `Umar informing him of what he had done. Yusuf wrote on this matter to al-Walid b. Yazid, who then wrote to Nasr b. Sayyar ordering him to grant Yahya safe-conduct and to set him and his associates free. Nasr b. Sayyar summoned Yahya and he ordered him to fear God, warned him against making discord, and commanded him to go to al-Walid b. Yazid. Nasr ordered that Yahya should have two thousand dirhams and two

[1771]

604. For other accounts of the death of Yahya b. Zayd, cf. Ibn A`tham, VIII, 126-36; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 397-98; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (ed. Mahmudi), 260-65; al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, VI, 2-4.

605. This name is uncertain. The apparatus also has al-Jarish, while Ibn al-Athir gives al-Huraysh (V, 203). According to al-Baladhuri, al-Harish was from the Rabi`ah (*Ansab*, 261).

606. Yazid b. `Umar had looked after Yahya for six months in Sarakhs. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 260.

mules,⁶⁰⁷ and Yahya and his associates departed. Yahya got as far as Sarakhs⁶⁰⁸ and then he stayed there. In charge of Sarakhs was `Abdallah b. Qays b. `Ubbad. Nasr b. Sayyar wrote to him requesting that he should send Yahya away from Sarakhs. Nasr also wrote to al-Hasan b. Zayd al-Tamimi, who was the leader of the Banu Tamim and who was in charge of Tus,⁶⁰⁹ saying: "Keep your eyes open for Yahya b. Zayd, and if he passes your way don't let him stay in Tus but send him away from there." Nasr further ordered both `Abdallah and al-Hasan that if Yahya passed them they should make sure that they handed him over⁶¹⁰ to `Amr b. Zurarah in Abrashahr.⁶¹¹ Accordingly, `Abdallah b. Qays sent Yahya out of Sarakhs. Yahya then passed al-Hasan b. Zayd, who ordered him to be on his way and put him in the care of Sirhan b. Farrukh b. Mujahid b. Bal`a' al-`Anbari Abu al-Fadl, who had charge of a group of armed guards.

[1772]

Sirhan said: When I went in to see Yahya, he spoke disparagingly about Nasr b. Sayyar and about what Nasr had given him.⁶¹² Then he mentioned the Commander of the Faithful, al-Walid b. Yazid, and spoke ill of him.⁶¹³ He said that he went around with his associates and that he only did so because he was afraid that he would be poisoned or suffocated. He made a veiled reference to Yusuf (b. `Umar) and said that he was frightened of him. He confessed that he had also wanted to criticize Yusuf, but had refrained from doing so. I said to Yahya: "Say what you like, may God have mercy on you, for you need fear no spying on my part. Indeed, Yusuf has behaved toward you in a way that should

607. Al-Baladhuri has: "Two thousand dirhams and a pair of sandals." Cf. *An-sab*, 261.

608. Sarakhs in Khurasan lay on the road from Tus to Marw. It was on the great postal route. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 395-96; *Hudud*, 104; al-Ya`qubi, *Les Pays*, 85-86; Ibn Rustah, 200-01.

609. Tus: a city in Khurasan, due east of Nishapur. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 388-89; Ibn Hawqal, 419; al-Ya`qubi, *Les Pays*, 83-84.

610. Literally, "they should not leave him until they had given him to `Amr."

611. The text has "Abarshahr." This is corrected later to "Abrashahr." Cf. *Introd.*, p. DCCXI Abrashahr was one of the names of Nishapur in the early Islamic period. This is the name given on Umayyad and `Abbasid dirhams. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 383; al-Ya`qubi, *Les Pays*, 417.

612. Literally, "he mentioned Nasr b. Sayyar and what he gave him and there he was as if belittling him."

613. The text has *fa-athna `alayhi*. This phrase is ambiguous since *athna* can mean both to speak well or ill of someone, although the former is more common.

invite comment from you." Then Yahya replied: "What a surprising remark from someone who appoints guards or commands guards!"⁶¹⁴ In saying that, he was trying to elicit information(?).⁶¹⁵ By God, if I had wanted to send men after him, he would have been brought (to me) in fetters. Then I said to him: "No, by God, those guards are not meant for you. This is a practice which is always followed in this area because the treasury is here."⁶¹⁶ I then apologized to him for accompanying him and I went with him for over a *farsakh* until we chanced upon `Amr b. Zurarah.⁶¹⁷ `Amr ordered one thousand dirhams for him and gave him an escort as far as Bayhaq. Yahya was afraid that Yusuf might act treacherously toward him and having left Bayhaq, which is on the border of Khurasan and Qumis,⁶¹⁸ he then returned to `Amr b. Zurarah with seventy men.⁶¹⁹ Some merchants passed Yahya (on the road) and he took their riding beasts, saying: "We must pay for them."⁶²⁰ Then `Amr b. Zurarah wrote to Nasr b. Sayyar, who in turn wrote to `Abdallah b. Qays and al-Hasan b. Zayd requesting them forthwith to go to join `Amr b. Zurarah, who was in authority over them, and instructing them to provoke a fight with

[1773]

614. *Alladhi yuqimu al-ahrasa aw amara al-ahrasa*. The speaker obviously cannot remember the exact wording he used and therefore gives two versions.

615. The text has *yatafassaha* ("to speak eloquently"). The Cairo edition (229) also has this reading. Later, the editor emends this to *yatafahhasa* ("to seek information"). Cf. *Introd.*, p. DCCXI.

616. Literally, "No, by God, this has not been done because of you, but this is a thing that is always done in this area because of the position of the treasury."

617. Literally, "I went with him . . . and we came with him until we chanced upon `Amr . . ." A *farsakh* consists of three *mils*, i.e., about six kin. Cf. Hinz, 62.

618. The province of Qumis lay between the two provinces of the Jibal to the west and Khurasan to the east. Its major city was Damghan. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 364-68.

619. The sequence of events is very confused here and the text corrupt: "He advanced (*aqbala*) from Bayhaq, which is the furthest point of the territory of Khurasan and the nearest of Qumis, and he advanced (*aqbala*) with seventy men toward `Amr b. Zurarah." The account of al-Baladhuri is much clearer: "When he left Bayhaq he was afraid that he would fall into the hands of Yusuf and that he would cause him mischief, and Bayhaq is the border of the province of Khurasan . . . so he (Yahya) returned to `Amr b. Zurarah." Cf. *Ansab*, 261-62. It would appear that Yahya felt panic and *returned* to Abrashahr (Nishapur) where `Amr was and asked permission to stay there a little while before going to Balkh. Cf. *Ansab*, 262. This is also the version given by Ibn al-Athir, V, 203.

620. *Qala `alayna athmanuha* This action in acquiring more riding animals was clearly viewed as irregular by `Amr and was used as the pretext to attack Yahya.

Yahya b. Zayd. So they went and joined `Amr b. Zurarah, and those assembled numbered ten thousand men. Yahya b. Zayd took the field against them, having with him only seventy men. (Yet) Yahya routed them, killing `Amr b. Zurarah and striking down numerous horses. Then Yahya advanced as far as Herat. In charge of Herat was Mughallis b. Ziyad al-`Amiri. Neither Yahya nor Mughallis made a hostile move toward the other. Then Yahya b. Zayd passed through Herat. Nasr b. Sayyar sent Salm b. Ahwaz in search of Yahya b. Zayd, but when Salm reached Herat, Yahya b. Zayd had already left the city. Salm then went in pursuit of Yahya and caught up with him at a village in the area of al-Juzajan,⁶²¹ which was under the charge of Hammad b. `Amr al-Sughdi.

Yahya b. Zayd was joined by a man of the Banu Hanifah called Abu al-`Ajlan. This man was killed that day with Yahya. Yahya was also joined by al-Hashas al-Azdi. Later on, Nasr cut off his hand and his foot. Salm b. Ahwaz put Sawrah b. Muhammad b. `Aziz al-Kindi on his right side and Hammad b. `Amr al-Sughdi on his left. Then he launched into a fierce battle against Yahya. Some accounts said that a man from the Banu `Anazah⁶²² whose name was `Isa, the mawla of `Isa b. Sulayman al-`Anazi, shot an arrow at Yahya and hit him in the forehead.⁶²³ Muhammad was present on that day.⁶²⁴ Salm had ordered him to prepare his men for battle, but Muhammad pretended to be ill, so it was Sawrah b. Muhammad b. `Aziz al-Kindi who made them ready. They fought and were killed to the last man. Sawrah passed Yahya b. Zayd and took away his head. Al-`Anazi had seized his spoils and his shirt, but then Sawrah took Yahya's head away from him by force.

[1774]

According to Hisham (b. Muhammad al-Kalbi)Musa b. Habib: When Yahya b. Zayd was killed and al-Walid b. Yazid received news of it, al-Walid wrote to Yusuf b. `Umar as follows: "When this letter of mine reaches you, look for the calf⁶²⁵ of Iraq,

621. The village was called Arghunah. Cf. Ibn A`tham, VIII, 134. Al-Mas`udi has Ar`awanah. Cf. *Muruj*, VI, 2.

622. For the Banu `Anazah, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (*E. Gräff*).

623. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 262.

624. Presumably the Muhammad in question is Muhammad b. `Aziz al-Kindi, the father of Sawrah. This, at any rate, is the tentative opinion of the editor. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1774, note b.

625. `Ijl. Cf. Qur'an 20, v. 88; 7, v. 148. These details about burning the "calf of

(footnote continued on next page)

burn him, then scatter him as dust in the river."626 Yusuf gave orders to Khirash b. Hawshab and he brought Yahya down from the gibbet,627 burned his body, then crushed it, put it in a date basket, placed it in a boat, and then scattered Yahya's remains in the Euphrates.

In this year the agents of the garrison cities were the same as in the preceding year and we have already mentioned them.

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Iraq" are also mentioned in some sources in connection with Zayd. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, 257; al-Isfahani, *Maqatil*, 143-44.

626. *Fi al-yammi*. Cf. Qur'an 20, v. 39.

627. Literally, "from his tree."

The Events of the Year 126 [1775]
(October 25, 743-October 12, 744)

One of the important events taking place during this year was the killing of al-Walid b. Yazid by Yazid b. al-Walid,⁶²⁸ who was known as the Inadequate (*al-Naqis*).⁶²⁹

The Reason for Yazid's Killing of al-Walid and the Manner of His Killing

We have already given some account of al-Walid b. Yazid, mentioning his immorality, his wantonness, and his flippant and frivolous attitude toward religion before he became caliph. When his accession came and the caliphate passed to him, he only persisted

628. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

629. Although, as will be discussed later, Yazid b. al-Walid was given the pejorative title *al-Naqis* because he cut back (*naqasa*) on the people's pensions, there is also a suggestion here of incompleteness and of physical inadequacy as well. The term *al-Naqis* has therefore been translated as "inadequate" rather than as "curtailer" in an attempt to render the double entendre. On the reasons for Yazid's receiving this nickname, cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, I, 17; al-Mas`udi, *Muruj*, VI, 19-20.

all the more in his pursuit of idle sport and pleasures, hunting, drinking wine, and keeping company with libertines. I have left to one side the accounts which deal with all this as I would hate to make my book any longer by mentioning them. These aspects of al-Walid's behavior troubled his subjects and his soldiery deeply and they hated what he was doing. One of the worst offences he committed against himself, and which finally led to his death, was the way in which he aroused disaffection against himself amongst the sons of his two uncles, Hisham and al-Walid, who were the sons of `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan⁶³⁰ as well as amongst the Yamaniyyah who formed the major part of the Syrian *jund*.

Part of the Account of al-Walid's Causing [1776]
Disaffection among the Sons of His Two Uncles,
Hisham and al-Walid

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali (al-Mada'ini)al-Minhal b. `Abd al-Malik: Al-Walid loved idle sport, hunting, and pleasures. When he became caliph he began to dislike places where there were people. This continued to be the case until he was killed.⁶³¹ He kept on moving about and going out hunting, and he distressed the people and his soldiers. He (particularly) upset the sons of Hisham, for he sentenced Sulayman b. Hisham⁶³² to one hundred lashes, shaving his head and beard and banishing him to `Amman, where he put him in prison; there Sulayman remained until al-Walid was killed.

Al-Walid took a slave-girl belonging to the family of al-Walid (b. `Abd al-Malik). `Umar b. al-Walid spoke to al-Walid about this matter but al-Walid said: "I will not give her back." So `Umar

630. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

631. After he became caliph, al-Walid never once entered a Syrian city until his death. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 130-31.

632. According to *Fragmenta*, 130, al-Walid could not forget that Sulayman b. Hisham had been against him when Hisham was caliph. Sulayman had advised his father to depose al-Walid as his heir. Cf. also al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 45. The text has *wa-ishtadda `ala Bani Hishami daraba Sulaymana*. The Cairo edition, 231, punctuates this passage differently and adds *fa: wa-ishtadda `ala Bani Hishami; fa-daraba Sulayman*. This alternative has been followed in the translation. Al-Baladhuri has a clearer version: *wa-ishtadda `ala Bani Hishami hatta daraba Sulaymana*. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 46.

said: "In that case, there will be much neighing of horses around your troops."⁶³³

He (al-Walid) imprisoned Yazid b. Hisham al-Afqam⁶³⁴ and wanted the oath of allegiance to be given to his two sons, al-Hakam and `Uthman.⁶³⁵ Al-Walid consulted Sa`id b. Bayhas b. Suhayb on this, who said: "Don't do it; for they are young boys who have not yet reached puberty. Have the oath of allegiance given to `Atiq b. `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik." Al-Walid was furious and put Sa`id in prison, where he died. Al-Walid wanted Khalid b. `Abdallah⁶³⁶ to give the oath of allegiance to his two sons but Khalid refused. Some of Khalid's family said to him: "The Commander of the Faithful wanted you to give the oath of allegiance to his two sons yet you refused to do so!" Khalid retorted: "Fie on you! How can I give the oath of allegiance to those behind whom I cannot say my prayers or whose testimony (*shahadah*) I cannot accept?"⁶³⁷ They replied: "What about al-Walid? You know all about his wantonness and depravity, yet you still accept his testimony!" Khalid replied: "Al-Walid's activities are hearsay. I cannot be sure about them. It is only vulgar tittle-tattle." But al-Walid was furious with Khalid. [1777]

`Amr b. Sa`id al-Thaqafi said: "Yusuf b. `Umar sent me to al-Walid. When I went in to see him, al-Walid greeted me: 'Well, how do you find the libertine?' meaning by that himself. Then he went on: 'Beware lest anyone should hear you saying such a thing.' I rejoined: 'I would divorce Habibah, the daughter of `Abd al-Rahman b. Jubayr, rather than allow my ear to hear such things as long as you live.'" Then al-Walid laughed.

Al-Walid deeply distressed the people (by his behavior), and the sons of Hisham and of al-Walid (b. `Abd al-Malik) charged him with being an unbeliever and with having debauched the mothers of his father's sons. They also alleged that al-Walid had taken one hundred collars(?) and had written on each of them the name of one of the Umayyads whom he intended to kill thereby.⁶³⁸ His

633. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 131.

634. Al-Afqam was the *laqab* of Yazid b. Hisham. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani* VI, 140; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 291; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 46.

635. Cf. the genealogical table of the Umayyads.

636. Al-Qasri.

637. They were minors. For a similar account, cf. *Fragmenta*, 131; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 46.

638. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 45; *Fragmenta*, 130. The text has *wa-*

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detractors also accused him of being a free-thinker.⁶³⁹ The most vociferous of the critics of al-Walid was Yazid b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik. The people were well-disposed to listen to him because he performed public acts of asceticism and would adopt a humble stance, merely saying: "We cannot afford to be satisfied with al-Walid." (This continued) until he induced the people to assassinate al-Walid.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali (al-Mada'ini)Yazid b. Masad al-Kalbi`Amr b. Sharahil: Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik sent us to Dahlak⁶⁴⁰ where we remained until Hisham's death and the accession of al-Walid. Then our case was brought up, but al-Walid refused to do anything and said: "By God, Hisham never did anything that is more deserving of forgiveness by me than his killing and banishment of the Qadariyyah".⁶⁴¹ Al-Hajjaj b. Bishr b. Fayruz al-Daylami was in charge of us and he used to say: "Al-Walid will survive for only eighteen months before he is killed and his killing will bring about the destruction of the rest of his family."

[1778]

A group of the Quda`ah, and especially of al-Yamaniyyah from Damascus, resolved to kill al-Walid. Then Hurayth, Shabib b. Abi Malik al-Ghassani, Mansur b. Jumhur, Ya`qub b. `Abd al-Rahman, Hibal b. `Amr, who was Mansur's cousin, Humayd b. Nasr al-Lakhmi, al-Asbagh b. Dhu`alah, Tufayl b. Harithah, and al-Sari b. Ziyad b. `Ilaqah came to Khalid b. `Abdallah, and asked him to join in their enterprise.⁶⁴² Khalid did not agree to it.⁶⁴³ Then they

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kataba `ala kulli jami`atin isma rajulin. The meaning of *jami`ah* as a collar or manacles joining the hands to the neck is well attested. Cf. *Lisan*, II, 501 and Kazimirski, I, 328. Presumably, if such collars were made of metal (or even leather) they could be both written on and tightened so as to strangle the wearer. However, this is only a tentative translation. It may be that *jami`ah* could be translated more blandly as "document," but the lengthy entries in the standard dictionaries give no support for this interpretation. Moreover, there might then be a problem with the phrase "*li-yaqtula biha*" Al-Baladhuri, however, omits *biha* (*Ansab*, 45).

639. *Al-zandaqah*.

640. The term *Dahlak* refers to a group of islands off the west coast of the Red Sea opposite Eritrea. Dahlak al-Kabir was used as a place to which the Umayyad caliphs sent opponents, such as the Qadariyyah. Cf. *ET2*, s.v. (S. H. Longrigg).

641. Cf. Hisham's treatment of Ghaylan.

642. For a recent discussion of the elements that comprised the opposition to al-Walid II, cf. Hawting, 93. Al-Walid's father, Yazid, had espoused anti-"southern" (Kalbi and Yemeni) policies, and al-Walid had already in his short rule confirmed Yusuf b. `Umar (a Qaysi) in the key post of governor of Iraq.

643. Literally, "he did not answer them."

asked him to keep quiet about their plans and Khalid said: "I will not mention any of your names." But when al-Walid wanted to go on the pilgrimage, Khalid was afraid that the conspirators would assassinate him en route. Khalid therefore went to al-Walid and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, put off going on the pilgrimage this year." When al-Walid asked him why, Khalid would not tell him. So al-Walid ordered that Khalid should be cast into prison and that whatever Iraqi revenues Khalid had should be taken from him.⁶⁴⁴

According to `Ali (al-Mada'ini) al-Hakam b. al-Nu`man: Al-Walid resolved to dismiss Yusuf (b. `Umar) and to appoint as governor `Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. al-Hajjaj. So he wrote to Yusuf as follows:

You have written to the Commander of the Faithful explaining how Ibn al-Nasraniyyah (i.e., Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri) has allowed the country to go to rack and ruin, and you go on to say that it was for that reason that you delivered such small revenues to Hisham.⁶⁴⁵ It was only to be expected that you would have made the land prosper to such an extent that you restored it to its former state. So come to the Commander of the Faithful and confirm his high expectations of you by what you bring him to show how you have made the land prosper. (Do this so that) the Commander of the Faithful may be assured of your superiority over other men, because of the close kinship that God has made between you and the Commander of the Faithful for you are his maternal uncle and the person most entitled to give generously to him and because you know that the Commander of the Faithful has given instructions that the stipends of the Syrians and of others should be increased. (You know, too,) what he has given the members of his family to the detriment of the treasuries because of the churlish treatment which they endured for so long at the hands of Hisham.⁶⁴⁶

[1779]

644. Al-Baladhuri adds after the same account: "He (al-Walid) gave him (Khalid) to Yusuf b. `Umar, who tortured him to death." Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 47. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 132.

645. Literally, "you brought to Hisham what you brought."

646. Cf. Wellhausen, 357. This letter is a transparently desperate ploy on the part of al-Walid to raise money and was to culminate in al-Walid's selling Khalid al-Qasri to Yusuf b. `Umar.

Yusuf accordingly set out, having appointed as his deputy his cousin Yusuf b. Muhammad and taking with him unprecedented quantities of money, goods, and drinking vessels from Iraq. When he arrived, Khalid b. `Abdallah was in prison. Hassan al-Nabati met Yusuf at night and told him that al-Walid was determined to appoint `Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. al-Hajjaj as governor and that Yusuf would have to ingratiate himself with al-Walid's ministers.⁶⁴⁷ Yusuf said: "I don't have any spare cash." Hassan replied: "I have five hundred thousand dirhams. If you want them, you can have them, and you can return them if you like, should things go well for you." Yusuf said: "You know more than I do about these men and their standing with the caliph, so distribute the money amongst them to the best of your knowledge." Hassan acted accordingly and when Yusuf arrived,⁶⁴⁸ the people treated them respectfully. Then Hassan said to Yusuf: "Don't go in to see al-Walid in the morning but go to him in the evening. Write a letter to yourself from your deputy saying, 'I have written to tell you that your only hope lies in the palace.' Go in to see al-Walid, having the letter hidden on you and wearing a sad expression. Read the letter to him and order Aban b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Numayri to buy Khalid from al-Walid for forty million dirhams." Yusuf acted accordingly and al-Walid said to him: "Return to your post." Then Aban said to al-Walid: "If you give me Khalid, I will give you forty million dirhams." Al-Walid replied: "Who will act as your guarantor?" Aban said: "Yusuf." So al-Walid asked Yusuf: "Will you act as his guarantor?" Yusuf replied: "No! On the contrary, give him to me and I will extract fifty million dirhams from him."⁶⁴⁹ So al-Walid gave Khalid to Yusuf, who took him away on a litter without a seat below to sit on.⁶⁵⁰

[1780]

Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Qasim said: I took pity on Khalid and I put some tasty things we had with us, including some dried dates and other things, in a napkin. I was riding a

647. Literally, "it was inevitable that he would have to settle the matter of his ministers." Ibn al-Athir has: "he advised him to take bribes to his ministers" (V, 212).

648. At the court.

649. Ibn al-Athir's account is much more straightforward. Yusuf bought Khalid from al-Walid for fifty million dirhams and al-Walid gave him to Yusuf (V, 212). Cf. also al-Dinawari, 347-48.

650. *Wita`*: "what is placed or spread beneath one, to sit or lie upon." Cf. Lane, I, 2949.

lively she-camel and I hurried up to Khalid without Yusuf noticing,⁶⁵¹ and threw the napkin into his litter. Then Khalid said to me: "These are goods from `Uman," referring to the fact that my brother al-Fayd⁶⁵² was in charge of `Uman and that he had sent me a large sum of money. So I said to myself: "Here is this man in this (miserable) state and he still won't drop this matter." Then Yusuf noticed me and said to me: "What did you say to Ibn al-Nasraniyyah?" (i.e., Khalid). I replied: "I asked him if he needed anything." Yusuf said: "You did well. He is a prisoner." [Muhammad continued:] If Yusuf had been aware of what I had thrown to Khalid, some harm would have befallen me at his hands. Yusuf arrived in al-Kufah and killed Khalid under torture.

According to al-Haytham b. `Adi: Al-Walid b. Yazid recited a poem in which he reproached the Yamaniyyah for failing to come to the help of Khalid b. `Abdallah. According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) Muhammad b. Sa`id al-`Amiri, from the Banu `Amir of Kalb:⁶⁵³ This poem was recited [1781] by one of the Yamani poets who put it into the mouth of al-Walid in order to rouse the Yamaniyyah against him:⁶⁵⁴

Have your emotions not been stirred to recall your union (with
your beloved),
and a knot which once was tied and then was loosed?

Yes, indeed! So let your tears flow freely,
like water gushing continuously from clouds.⁶⁵⁵

Remember no more the people of Su`da,⁶⁵⁶
for we are the greatest in numbers and wealth.⁶⁵⁷

651. *Fa-taghaftu Yusufu*. Literally, "I watched for Yusuf to be unmindful."

652. Al-Fayd b. Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-Thaqafi. He was from Yusuf's family. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 553. Presumably the money was tainted in some way.

653. The text has `Amir Kalb. This should probably read `Amir b. Kilab" or "'Amir b. Ka`b." Cf. *EI2*, "'Amir b. Sa`sa`a" (W. Caskel); Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 160.

654. The order of the lines or half-lines of this poetry, as presented by al-Tabari, is rather unsatisfactory. A number of them seem to be in the wrong place. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 212-13; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 48; *Fragmenta*, 132-33; al-Dinawari, 347. The meter is *wafir*. Only the most important textual differences have been noted here. Al-Dinawari's version is the most at variance with the others.

655. *Ka-ma`i al-muzni yansajilu insijala*. Al-Dinawari, 347, has *ka-ma`i al-gharbi yanhamilu inhimala*.

656. For the Banu Su`da, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 515.

657. This hemistich seems to be in the wrong place.

We are kings who rule men by force,
inflicting on them humiliation and punishment.658

We have trampled on the Ash`aris with the might of Qays,659
and what a trampling for you! Its like will not recur.

Behold Khalid a prisoner in our midst!660
Had they been true men they would have protected him,

Their lord and master in days of yore.
We have made shame dog him like a shadow.

Had they been tribes who wielded any power,
We would not have showered benefits (on them) in vain.

Nor would they have left him dispossessed and in captivity,
with only our heavy chains to talk to.661

Al-Mada'ini reported: "struggling with our chains."

As for the tribes of Kindah and Sakun,662 they have never risen
up again,663
nor have their horses been relieved of their saddles.

Through them we have inflicted every sort of ignominy on
mankind,
and devastated both the plains and the mountains.

But battles have brought them low,
and torn them up and driven them away,

So they remain forever subservient to us; [1782]
We inflict humiliation and degradation upon them.664

And so the next morning I was ruling the people,
with a crown on my head which will not be removed.

`Imran b. Halba' al-Kalbi gave the poet the following reply:665

658. Al-Dinawari has an extra line here.

659. *Bi-`izzi Qaysin*. Al-Dinawari has *bi-kulli ardin*. For the Ash`aris (al-Ash-`ariyyun), cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 200.

660. *Fina. Fragmenta*, 132 and *Ansab*, 48 have *amsa asiran* (a *hal* clause). Ibn al-Athir has *asirun*, which is also possible grammatically as the *khavar*.

661. *Yu`aliju min salasilina*. This is the version preferred by Ibn al-Athir (V, 212); al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 48; *Fragmenta*, 133. Al-Dinawari, 348, has *nuhammiluhu salasilana*.

662. The Sakun were a branch of the Kindah. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 503.

663. The text has *fa-ma istiqalu*. Ibn al-Athir, V, 212, has *fa-ma istaqamu*, which makes better sense. Al-Dinawari, 348, has *qad ista`adhu*.

664. The second hemistich is almost a repetition of 1781, line 6.

665. This reply is not in the other sources.

Rein in your riding she-camel, O Halal,
and cut the cord of the one who has already severed union.

Has it not grieved you that he who has opposed
the chieftains of Yaman should be held in high esteem?

We have given long days
to the tribes of Nizar⁶⁶⁶ on the Day of al-Marj⁶⁶⁷

And through us the crowned one of the Quraysh became
king,⁶⁶⁸
and the good fortune of those who had perished perished
with them.

When[ever] you confront the Sakun and the Kalb
and the `Abs,⁶⁶⁹ you may be sure that your sovereignty is
at an end.

For unless a man is found to be just,
his own words will compass his downfall.

Prepare, O people of Himyar,⁶⁷⁰ whenever the call to arms is
raised,
Indian swords and blood-spilling⁶⁷¹ spears,

And every⁶⁷² youthful horse with high short ribs
and endowed with two flanks, lean in belly and tall as
mountains⁶⁷³

Will leave behind on every battlefield a dead warrior,
a man who had grown tired of the call⁶⁷⁴ (to battle),
surrounded by birds.

If you reviled us for the deeds we have done,
you would be saying a dreadful thing.

666. I.e., Mudar and Rabi`ah.

667. This is probably a reference to the battle of Marj Rahit near Damascus in 64 (684), at which the Quda`ah led by the Kalb tribe defeated a confederation of Qays tribes and ensured that the caliphate would remain in the Marwanid line. For a discussion of the tribal implications of this battle, cf. Crone, 35; Wellhausen, 171-83; Rotter, 126-51; Dixon, 83-120.

668. I.e., the Umayyad caliph, Marwan I.

669. For the Banu `Abs, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 135; cf. *EI*2, "Ghatafan" (J. Fück).

670. For the Banu Himyar, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 324.

671. *Al-nihala*: literally, "(blood) drinking."

672. The text has *wukulla*. This is emended to *wakullu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXI.

673. The text has *al-hibala*. The Cairo edition (236) has *al-jibala*, which has been preferred in the translation.

674. *Qad madhila al-su'ala*. This is instead of *min al-su'ali* (lit., "who has become weary of asking"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DCLXXXIII.

As for the brothers of al-Ash`ath,⁶⁷⁵ they were killed,
but they were neither trampled on nor humiliated.

As for the sons of al-Muhallab,⁶⁷⁶ we have joined battle
against them, but you have fought none of them.

And the men of Judham,⁶⁷⁷ together with those of Lakhm,⁶⁷⁸ [1783]
have set themselves against their brothers,
killing and scattering them.

We fled, refusing to help you against them,
but those who have assisted you have committed a grave
error.

So if you do return, you should know that we have swords
which are sharp and which we polish continually.

We will mourn⁶⁷⁹ Khalid by using your Indian swords,
nor will his great deeds be lost [from memory].

Has not Khalid been the rain sought by orphans
when they came to you and you gave them nothing?⁶⁸⁰

Khalid used to provide shrouds for the dead of Nizar,
and enrich the quick (of Nizar) with land and wealth.

If those who had done him wrong had been
in the courts of his own people, they would have been
severely punished.

You will encounter, if you remain alive, clearly marked horses,
stern of expression, which are never without⁶⁸¹ their
trappings.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali b. Muhammad (al-Ma-
da'ini): The people's rage against al-Walid only increased when

675. This is probably a reference to the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash`ath in 80-82 (699-702). Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (Veccia Vaglieri); Hawting, 67-71; Dixon, 151-68; Crone, 110-11; Wellhausen, 232-48.

676. For the rebellion of Yazid b. al-Muhallab in 102 (720), cf. Wellhausen, 312-18; Shaban, *Abbasid Revolution*, 93-95; Hawting, 73-76; al-Tabari, II, 1402-05.

677. For the Banu Judham, cf. *EI2*, "Djudham *" (C. E. Bosworth). In the Umayyad period, they were close supporters of the Banu Marwan. The text has *Judhamun*. This is corrected to *Judhamu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII.

678. For the Banu Lakhm, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (H. Lammens-I. Shahid). They were closely linked in Umayyad times with the Judham.

679. The Leiden text has *satabki*. The Cairo edition (VII, 236) has *sanabki* ("we will mourn"), as does the emended version. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII.

680. Literally, "while you were leanness for them."

681. The text has *la yuzayalna*. This is later emended to *la yuzayilna*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII.

this poem was recited. Then Ibn Bid682 declaimed the following lines:683

You have loaded the cloud of affliction with further affliction,
after
you asserted that the cloud of affliction would be lifted
from us.

Would that Hisham were still alive ruling over us,
and that we still had our hopes and aspirations intact!

Hisham had appointed al-Walid b. al-Qa`qa`684 as agent of Qinnasrin685 and `Abd al-Malik b. al-Qa`qa` in charge of Hims. Al-Walid b. al-Qa`qa` had given Ibn Hubayrah one hundred lashes.686 When al-Walid became caliph, the Banu al-Qa`qa`687 fled from him and sought refuge at the grave of Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik.688 Al-Walid sent people to seize them. He then handed them over to Yazid b. `Umar b. Hubayrah,689 who was in charge of Qinnasrin. Ibn Hubayrah tortured them, and al-Walid b. al-Qa`qa`, `Abd al-Malik b. al-Qa`qa` and two other men from the Qa`qa` family died under torture.

The sons of al-Walid (b. `Abd al-Malik) and of Hisham, as well [1784]
as the family of al-Qa`qa` and the Yamaniyyah, conceived a deep

682. Ibn al-Athir has Hamzah b. Bid (V, 213). *Fragmenta*, 133, and al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 48, give the poet the *nisbah* al-Hanafī. Cf. also Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, I, 289; al-Isfahani, *Aghani* XII, 42-43.

683. The meter is *tawil*. Ibn al-Athir has more lines of poetry, also by Ibn Bid, at this point (loc. cit.). These are also in *Fragmenta*, 133.

684. Al-Walid b. al-Qa`qa` had served in Armenia under Maslamah and in Khurasan under Junayd. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, 206; al-Tabari, II, 1529, 1550. He was appointed *`amil* of Qinnasrin by Hisham in 119 (737). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1593. For the history of this family, cf. Crone, 105.

685. For this well-known city of northern Syria, cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 353-57; *EI2*, s.v. (N. Elisséeff).

686. `Umar b. Hubayrah al-Fazari had been made governor of al-Jazirah under `Umar II in 100 (718-19). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1349; Wellhausen, 319-22, 326-28, 453-55. For the one hundred lashes, cf. also *Fragmenta*, 122.

687. The Banu al-Qa`qa` had supported Hisham in his unsuccessful attempts to have al-Walid ousted as his heir apparent. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1742.

688. The Umayyad caliph, Yazid II, who ruled 101-05 (720-24). Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table. *Fragmenta*, 122 has the Banu al-Qa`qa` fleeing to the grave of Marwan.

689. Yazid b. `Umar b. Hubayrah later joined up with Marwan II. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 564. He was killed by the `Abbasids in 132 (749-50). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1913; III, 61; Crone, 107.

hatred for the caliph al-Walid because of his treatment of Khalid b. `Abdallah. Accordingly, the Yamaniyyah went to Yazid b. al-Walid and tried to persuade him to have the oath of allegiance given to him. Yazid consulted `Amr⁶⁹⁰ b. Yazid al-Hakami who said: "The people will not give the oath of allegiance to you over this matter. Consult your brother al-`Abbas b. al-Walid, for he is the head of the Banu Marwan.⁶⁹¹ If al-`Abbas gives you the oath of allegiance, no one else will oppose you. If al-`Abbas refuses, then the people will be more likely to obey him. If you insist on sticking to your opinion, then proclaim publicly that al-`Abbas has given the oath of allegiance to you." At that time Syria was plague-ridden and the conspirators went out into the desert country. Yazid b. al-Walid was encamped in the desert and al-`Abbas was at al-Qastal.⁶⁹² There was a distance of a few *mils* between the two of them.⁶⁹³

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Ali (al-Mada'ini): Yazid came to his brother al-`Abbas and told him what had been happening.⁶⁹⁴ Yazid asked his advice and spoke abusively of al-Walid. Then al-`Abbas said to him: "Go easy, Yazid. By breaking God's oath you corrupt both true religion and this life on earth." Yazid returned home and worked secretly among the people, who clandestinely gave him the oath of allegiance. Yazid also issued secret instructions to al-Ahnaf al-Kalbi, Yazid b. `Anbasah al-Saksaki, and a group of notables and chiefs who were in his confidence, and they privately canvassed people to join the cause. Then Yazid paid another visit to his brother al-`Abbas, accompanied by their mawla, Qatan.⁶⁹⁵ Yazid sought his brother's advice on this whole matter and told him that people were coming to him and trying to persuade him to accept their oath of allegiance. Al-`Abbas chided

690. The text has `Amr. Ibn al-Athir has `Umar. For his biography, cf. Crone, 156.

691. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

692. Al-Qastal was a place near al-Balqa' in the area of Damascus, on the road to Medina. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 95; Derenk, 121; Dussaud, 80, 85; Gaube, 67-73, 76-78, 85-86.

693. For these events, cf. *Fragmenta*, 133-34; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 48-49; Ibn al-Athir, V, 213.

694. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 381.

695. According to al-Jahshiyari, Qatan was in charge of *al-khatam al-kabir* (*Wuzara'*, 44).

him and said: "If you resort to this kind of behavior again, I will certainly tie you up tightly and take you to the Commander of the Faithful," so Yazid and Qatan went away. Then al-`Abbas sent word to Qatan, saying: "Look here, Qatan! Do you think that Yazid is in earnest?" Qatan said: "To tell the truth, I don't think he is. But he can no longer endure⁶⁹⁶ what he has heard of al-Walid's treatment of the sons of Hisham and the sons of al-Walid (b. `Abd al-Malik) and of the caliph's flippant and contemptuous attitude toward religion." Al-`Abbas replied: "By God, I myself think that he is the ill-starred one⁶⁹⁷ of the Banu Marwan. Were it not for the fact that I am afraid that al-Walid would act hastily and unfairly toward us, I would truss up Yazid hand and foot⁶⁹⁸ and take him to al-Walid. So dissuade him from what he plans to do. He listens to you." Then Yazid said to Qatan: "What did al-`Abbas say to you when he saw you?" So Qatan told Yazid what al-`Abbas had said and Yazid said: "No, by God, I won't hold back!"⁶⁹⁹ When Mu`awiyah b. `Amr b. `Utba heard about the people's activities, he went to al-Walid and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, you coax forth my tongue when we have a friendly conversation, but I hold it back out of reverence for you. I hear what you do not hear and I fear things which do not worry you.⁷⁰⁰ Shall I speak honestly or remain silent out of obedience?" Al-Walid said: "Everything is acceptable from you. God has hidden knowledge about us; it is our destiny to reach him. If the Banu Marwan knew that they are kindling a fire on red-hot stones which they are casting into their own bellies, they would not act in this way. Let us go back⁷⁰¹ (to what we were talking about) and we will hear what you have to say." Marwan b. Muhammad heard

696. *Ma qad daqa bihi dhar`an.*

697. *Asha'ma sakhlatin* ("the most inauspicious lamb"). It is tempting to use the English idiom "black sheep" here, but such an idiom does not take account of the nuance of ill luck in Arabic. Men who are *sukhkhāl* are weak and commit foul deeds (*ardhal*): cf. *Lisan*, II, 114. *Fragmenta*, 134 has *ashamma* ("disdainful"). Ibn al-Athir, V, 213 has *asha'ma mawludin* ("the most inauspicious offspring").

698. Literally, "I would tie Yazid up tightly."

699. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 49; *Fragmenta*, 134.

700. Literally, "I fear that against which I see you feeling secure."

701. The text has *na`udhu* as does *Fragmenta*, 134. The apparatus has one suitable variant, *na`udu*, which is adopted by the Cairo edition (238), and which makes better sense. Al-Baladhuri also has *na`udu*. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 50.

in Armenia that Yazid was fomenting discord amongst the people and inciting them to depose al-Walid. So Marwan wrote to Sa`id b. `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan,⁷⁰² who was a God-fearing man,⁷⁰³ ordering him to forbid the people to take such action and to restrain them, and saying:⁷⁰⁴

Verily God has created for the benefit of all the members of a family pillars on which they may lean and by which they may guard themselves against dangers. By the grace of your Lord, you are one of the pillars of [the members of] your family. I have heard that a group of fools in your household have set in motion a certain matter.⁷⁰⁵ If they achieve their aim in this matter, having agreed to abrogate their oath of allegiance, they will open a door which God will not shut for them until much blood of theirs has been shed. I myself am fully occupied on the most perilous of the Muslim frontiers. If I could get hold of these people, I would put their wrongdoing to rights with my own hand and with my own words. I would, moreover, fear God⁷⁰⁶ if I did not act in this way⁷⁰⁷ because I know what mischief is caused to religion and to this earthly life as a consequence of schism. (I know too) that the strength of a group will only ever be destroyed if they fall into disagreement amongst themselves and that if their words become confused their enemy will seek to overcome them. You are closer to these people than I am. Use deceit to find out what they are plotting and pretend to be on their side. When you find out anything about their conspiracy,

[1786]

702. Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 192, 292, 298; al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, 332. He was made governor of Palestine. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1831.

703. The text has *wa-kana Sa`idu yatallahu*. The editor says that he has put this only as a tentative reading but that it was known that Sa`id had a pious reputation. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1174. The editor's reading is supported by al-Baladhuri, who has *wa-kana Sa`idu muta'allihan*. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 50. The Leiden text does not have the *hamzah*: it should read *yata'allahu*, as the Cairo edition (238) has it.

704. For another version of Marwan's letter, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 50.

705. *Qad istannu amran*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCVIII. Al-Baladhuri has *qad assasu amran*. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 50.

706. I.e., God's wrath.

707. Literally, "in neglecting that."

threaten that you will reveal their secrets. Grip them by your words and make them afraid of the consequences (of their acts). Perhaps God will restore to them what they have lost of their religion and their senses, for in the course of their striving, the general good is blighted⁷⁰⁸ and the state is destroyed. So act quickly in this matter, whilst the cord of friendship is still tied fast, whilst the people are quiet and the frontiers are still protected. For (in the course of time) communal unity turns to disunity, prosperity is ousted by poverty,⁷⁰⁹ and the numbers (of men) diminish. For the people of this world, these are (only) vicissitudes which come and go in the fluctuation between waxing and waning.⁷¹⁰ We, the people of this family, have received a prolonged series of blessings and this has caused distress⁷¹¹ to all nations, to those who are hostile to such blessings and who envy those that possess them. It was because of the envy of Iblis that Adam was driven out of Paradise. This group (of conspirators) have pinned their hopes on strife, but perhaps it is their souls which will perish without their achieving what they anticipated. Every family has ill-fated individuals because of whom God removes His favor. May God protect you from being one such person. Keep me informed of what they are up to. May God preserve your religion for you, may He deliver you from what He has made you enter into, and may He cause your reason to overcome your natural inclinations!

[1787]

Sa`id took this matter seriously and he sent Marwan's letter to al-`Abbas. Al-`Abbas summoned Yazid and he reproached and threatened him. Yazid warned al-`Abbas, saying: "I am afraid, brother, that one of those enemies of ours who envy us this prosperity wants to stir up trouble between us." Then Yazid swore an

708. Literally, "there is a changing of favors (from God)." Cf. Qur'an 8, v. 55.

709. Here al-Baladhuri's version of the letter ends.

710. *Wa-duwalu al-layali mukhalifatun `ala ahli al-dunya wa-al-taqallubu ma`a al-ziyadati wa-al-nuqsani*: literally, "The turnings of the nights are varied on the people of this world and (there is) fluctuation between increasing and decreasing." Cf. Qur'an 3, v. 140.

711. The text has *qad yu`na biha*. The Cairo edition (238) has *qad ya`ibuha* ("have castigated them").

oath to al-`Abbas that he had not done anything wrong, and his brother believed him.

According to Ahmad` All (al-Mada'ini) Ibn Bishr b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik: My father Bishr b. al-Walid⁷¹² went in to see my uncle al-`Abbas and spoke to him on the matter of deposing al-Walid and giving the oath of allegiance to Yazid. Al-`Abbas was against the idea and my father argued the opposing point of view with him. I rejoiced and told myself: "Here is my father daring to speak to my uncle and to dispute what he says with him." I could see where my father was correct in what he said, but the truth (really) lay with what my uncle said.⁷¹³ Al-`Abbas sighed: "O Banu Marwan! I do believe that God has permitted your destruction." He then recited the following verses:⁷¹⁴ [1788]

I beseech God to protect you from temptations
that loom as high as mountains, and then violently erupt.

Verily God's creatures have grown tired of your policies,
so hold fast to the pillar of religion, and keep a tight rein
on yourselves.

Do not offer yourselves as prey to men who are wolves,
for wolves devour meat whenever they are offered it.

And do not rip open your bellies with your own hands,
for by then neither sorrow nor alarm will bring you relief.

After Yazid had made his arrangements and while he was still living in the desert, he went toward Damascus until he reached a distance of four nights from Damascus; he was in disguise, accompanied by seven people, riding asses. They then stopped at Jarud,⁷¹⁵ which was a day's journey from Damascus. Yazid threw himself down and went to sleep. The people with him said to a mawla of `Abbad b. Ziyad: "If you have any food, we will buy it." The mawla replied: "I won't sell you anything, but you may have

712. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table. Bishr and al-`Abbas were brothers.

713. This is presumably what is meant here. The text has *wa-kuntu ara anna al-sawaba fima yaqulu abi wa-kana al-sawabu fima yaqulu `ammi*. Alternatively, Ibn Bishr could mean that he saw the right in both viewpoints.

714. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 51; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 137; Ibn al-Athir, V, 214. The meter is *basit*.

715. A village of Ma'lula. Cf. Yaqut, II, 65; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 463.

hospitality and food enough from me." So he brought them hens, young chickens, honey, clarified butter, and curds, which they ate. Then Yazid set off again and entered Damascus at night. Most of the people of Damascus had already given the oath of allegiance secretly to Yazid, as had the people of al-Mizzah,⁷¹⁶ apart from Mu`awiyah b. Masad al-Kalbi, who was their leader. Accordingly, Yazid marched off immediately to the house of Mu`awiyah b. Masad, accompanied by a small group of his followers. Al-Mizzah was a *mil* or more away from Damascus. (On their way) they met with heavy rain. When they arrived at the house of Mu`awiyah b. Masad, they knocked on his door and somebody opened it for them. Yazid went in and Mu`awiyah said to him: "Mind the carpet, for God's sake." Yazid replied: "Indeed, I do have mud on my feet and I don't want to ruin your carpet." Mu`awiyah said: "What you want us to do is worse" (than ruining the carpet). Then Yazid talked to him and Mu`awiyah gave him the oath of allegiance. Some reports said that his name was His-ham b. Masad.

[1789]

Thereafter, Yazid returned to Damascus, taking the canal road and riding on a black ass.⁷¹⁷ He then lodged in the house of Thabit b. Sulayman b. Sa`d al-Khushani.⁷¹⁸ Al-Walid b. Rawh. departed, having sworn that he would enter Damascus only if he were armed. So he girded himself with his weapons and covered them with his clothes. He took the Nayrab⁷¹⁹ road, riding a piebald horse, and rode until he had caught up with Yazid. In charge of Damascus (at this time) was `Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf.⁷²⁰ Since he was afraid of the plague, he left Damascus and took up residence in Qatana,⁷²¹ having appointed his son as his deputy in Damascus while Abu al-`Aj Ka-

716. Al-Mizzah was a large village in the upper part of the Ghutah of Damascus. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 522; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 508. The area was well-known for its Qadari sympathies. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 135; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 51.

717. Perhaps this is a hint at a messianic status. Cf. Hawting, 93.

718. The text has al-Khushani. *Fragmenta*, 135, has al-Khushayni. Al-Isfahani has al-Hasani; cf. *Aghani*, VI, 137.

719. Al-Nayrab was a village near Damascus, famous for its gardens. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 855; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 515.

720. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1778-79.

721. Qatana was one of the villages in the area. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 137; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 483.

thir b. `Abdallah al-Sulami⁷²² was in charge of his *shurtah*. Then Yazid decided to come out into the open. The governor was told that Yazid was raising a rebellion, but he did not believe it. Yazid sent for his followers between the dusk prayer and the late night prayer on a Thursday night in 126 [October 25, 743-October 12, 744].⁷²³ They hid themselves at the Faradis Gate⁷²⁴ until the muezzins had made the dusk call to prayer. Then the rebels went into the mosque and performed the prayer. Now there were at the mosque guards who had the task of dispersing the people from the mosque at night. So after the people had prayed, the guards shouted to them to leave. Yazid's followers lingered behind and began leaving by the *maqsurah* door⁷²⁵ and going back in again by another door. This continued until there was no one left in the mosque but the guards and Yazid's followers, who then seized the guards. Yazid b. `Anbasah went to Yazid b. al-Walid, told him what had happened, took his hand, and said: "Rise, O Commander of the Faithful and rejoice in God's help and succour!" Yazid arose and said: "O God, if it is pleasing to you, then assist me to perform this task and reveal to me the right way in it. If it is not pleasing to you, then relieve me of the task by my death."⁷²⁶

[1790]

Yazid went forth with twelve men. On reaching the donkey market, they met forty of their companions. When they came to the grain market, they were joined by some two hundred of their supporters.⁷²⁷ Then they proceeded to the mosque. They went inside, made for the *maqsurah* door and knocked on it, saying: "We are messengers from al-Walid." A servant opened the door to them. They seized him, went inside, and captured Abu al-`Aj, who

722. He had been governor of al-Basrah from 120 to 122 (737-40). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1667.

723. This rather unsatisfactory date is repeated in the other sources. Only al-Isfahani is more precise. He gives a Friday in the following year, Jumada II, 127 [March 10-April 7, 745]. Cf. *Aghani*, VI, 138.

724. There was a quarter of the city of Damascus called Faradis, after which the city gate was named. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 439; Yaqut, III, 862.

725. For the probable location of the *maqsurah* door of the mosque, cf. Creswell, I, 172, fig. 89.

726. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 135-36; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 51-52; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 137-38; Ibn al-Athir, V, 214.

727. Al-Baladhuri writes that they were about two hundred and sixty men. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 52. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 136.

was drunk. They also seized the treasurers of the *bayt al-mal*⁷²⁸ and the postmaster. Then Yazid sent men to all the people whom he feared and they were arrested. Yazid immediately sent people to Muhammad b. `Ubaydah, the mawla of Sa`id b. al-`As, who was in charge of Ba`labakk,⁷²⁹ and he was arrested. Yazid also dispatched men at once to `Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. al-Hajjaj, and he too was seized. Then Yazid sent to al-Thaniyyah⁷³⁰ to his followers requesting them to join him. Yazid ordered the gatekeepers⁷³¹ (of the city): "In the morning, open the gate only to those who give you our password," and they left the gates chained up. There were many weapons inside the mosque which Sulayman b. Hisham had brought from the Jazirah. The treasurers had not managed to appropriate them, so Yazid's followers took them, and acquired a large number of them. In the morning Ibn `Isam and the people of al-Mizzah came, and by the middle of the day the people had given the oath of allegiance to Yazid, who recited the following lines:⁷³²

When they are made to dismount from their horses to stab
each other, they stride
toward death in the manner of refractory camels.

Yazid's followers were amazed and said: "Look at this man! Before dawn he was glorifying God and now he is reciting poetry!"

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi Razin b. Majid: In the morning we went with `Abd al-Rahman b. Masadwe numbered around fifteen hundred

728. The *bayt al-mal* was situated inside the Great Mosque of Damascus, on the northwest side of the courtyard. Cf. the description given by al-Muqaddasi and quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, 227.

729. Ba`labakk (Heliopolis) was part of the *jund* of Damascus in Umayyad times. Cf. Ya`qubi, *Les Pays*, 172-73; Yaqut, I, 672, 675; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 295-98; *EI2*, s.v. (J. Sourdél-Thomine).

730. This is a reference to Thaniyyat al-`Uqab (the Eagle's Gorge), which was a pass situated to the north of Damascus. Cf. Yaqut, I, 936; III, 691; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 383, 545.

731. It is not quite clear whether this is a reference to the doors of the mosque or the gates of the city. *Fragmenta*, 137, specifies that it was the gates of the city; this seems more probable.

732. The meter is *tawil*. For these verses, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 53; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 128; *Fragmenta*, 137. The Cairo edition of al-Tabari, 241, notes that this is from the *diwan* of al-Nabighah.

menas far as the Jabiyah Gate.⁷³³ We found it to be locked, and there was a messenger of al-Walid. He said: "Why these (warlike) preparations and equipment? Indeed, by God, I shall certainly inform the Commander of the Faithful," so a man from al-Mizzah killed him. Then we entered Damascus by the Jabiyah Gate. We went first into the Kalbiyyin alley, but it was too narrow for us (because of our large numbers). So some of us took the route through the grain market. Then we assembled at the door of the mosque and we went in to see Yazid. Before the last of our number had finished greeting Yazid, the Sakasik⁷³⁴ arrived, numbering around three hundred men. They had entered the city from the Sharqi Gate and when they reached the mosque they came in by the Daraj door.⁷³⁵ Thereafter Ya`qub b. `Umayr b. Hani al-`Absi⁷³⁶ arrived with the people of Darayya.⁷³⁷ They entered Damascus through the Bab al-Saghir.⁷³⁸ Then `Isa b. Shabib al-Taghlibi⁷³⁹ came with the people of Duma and Harasta,⁷⁴⁰ and they came in through the Tuma Gate.⁷⁴¹ Humayd b. Habib al-Lakhmi brought the people of Dayr al-Murran,⁷⁴² al-Arzah, and Satra,⁷⁴³ entering Damascus by the Faradis Gate. Al-Nadr b.

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733. The Bab al-Jabiyah was at the western end of the "Street called Straight." Jabiyah was a suburb of the city. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 231.

734. The Sakasik were a branch of the Kindah. They had fought for the Umayyads at Marj Rahit in 64 (683). Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 503.

735. The Daraj door is not identifiable but in this same context al-Baladhuri calls it Bab Jayrun. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 53. This was the eastern door of the mosque. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 260.

736. There is some doubt about this man's *nisbah*. In the text it is al-`Absi but in the apparatus the variant al-`Ansi is given. Ya`qub's father, `Umayr, was used by al-Hajjaj to control the Kurds and was later made deputy governor of al-Kufah. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 385; Crone, 140. Al-Baladhuri gives him no *nisbah* (loc. cit.). Ibn al-Athir, V, 215, has al-`Absi.

737. Darayya was a village in the Damascus area. Cf. Yaqut, II, 536; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 436.

738. The Bab al-Saghir was situated at the southwestern angle of the Damascus city wall. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 231.

739. Cf. Crone, 160-61.

740. Harasta was a farmstead in the Damascus area. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 237; Yaqut, II, 241.

741. The Bab Tuma was a city gate of Damascus facing northeast. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 254.

742. Dayr al-Murran was a monastery near Damascus. Cf. Yaqut, I, 696; IV, 480.

743. Satra was a village of the Damascus area. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 532; Yaqut, III, 90.

`Umar al-Jarashi came with the people of Jarash,⁷⁴⁴ al-Hadithah,⁷⁴⁵ and Dayr Zakka,⁷⁴⁶ entering by the Sharqi Gate. Rib`i b. Hashim al-Harithi arrived with a group of the Banu `Uthrah⁷⁴⁷ and Salaman,⁷⁴⁸ and they came in by the Tuma Gate. The Banu Juhaynah⁷⁴⁹ and those affiliated to them came with Talhah b. Sa`id,⁷⁵⁰ and one of their poets recited the following verses:⁷⁵¹

Their supporters flocked to them at daybreak,
among them the Sakasik, the courageous tent-dwellers.

The Kalb brought them horses, and furnished them⁷⁵²
with bright white swords and with their torsos and
forearms.

Honor them as the bulwarks of a tradition (*sunnah*),⁷⁵³ [1793]
for it was they who protected their honor against every
unbeliever.

And Sha`ban⁷⁵⁴ and al-Azd joined them with spears extended,
and `Abs and Lakhm acted as protectors and defenders,

As did Ghassan⁷⁵⁵ and the two tribes of Qays and Taghlib,⁷⁵⁶
whilst every weak-kneed laggard declined the challenge.

So as soon as morning broke upon them, they were kings of
powerful authority,

744. Jarash (the ancient Gerasa) was a town in Transjordan to the southeast of the Jabal `Ajlun. Cf. Yaqut, II, 61; *EI2*, s.v. (D. Sourdel).

745. Al-Hadithah was a village in the Ghutah of Damascus. It was also called Hadithat Jarash. Cf. Yaqut, II, 225; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 445.

746. Dayr Zakka was also a village in the Ghutah. Cf. Yaqut, II, 665; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 435.

747. For the Banu `Uthrah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 565-66. The tribe were within the sphere of the Ghassanids, and well before the coming of Islam had gone to Syria and become Christians.

748. The Banu Salaman were a subgroup of the Banu `Uthrah who settled in Syria. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 414.

749. For the Banu Juhaynah, cf. n. 227.

750. This may be the same person who had earlier been deputy governor of al-Basrah. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 414, and the discussion in Crone, 139.

751. The meter is *tawil*. For these verses, cf. also al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 54. The textual differences are only minor.

752. Literally, "brought them horses and supplies."

753. Literally, "honor them as the firm supporters of a tradition."

754. For the Banu Sha`ban, a branch of the Himyar, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 521.

755. For the Banu Ghassan, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (I. Shahid).

756. For the Banu Taghlib, an important tribe of the Rabi`ah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 541-42. The Taghlib were allowed to remain Christians during the Umayyad period without having the status of the *ahl al-dhimmah*.

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and firm was their hold over every disobedient, insolent rebel.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini)`Amr b. Marwan al-KalbiQusaym b. Ya`qub and Razin b. Majid and others: Yazid b. al-Walid sent `Abd al-Rahman b. Masad with two hundred or so horsemen to Qatana⁷⁵⁷ to seize `Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, who had entrenched himself in his castle. `Abd al-Rahman gave him safe-conduct and `Abd al-Malik came out to him. We then entered the castle and there we discovered two saddlebags, each containing thirty thousand dinars. When we reached al-Mizzah, I said to `Abd al-Rahman b. Masad: "Take one or both of these saddlebags home with you. You will never get anything like them from Yazid!" `Abd al-Rahman replied: "(If I did that) I would be the first to commit treachery. No, the Arabs shall not say that I was the first person to act treacherously in this affair." Then he took the money to Yazid b. al-Walid.

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Yazid b. al-Walid sent word to `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik and gave him orders that he should station himself at the Jabiyah Gate.⁷⁵⁸ Then Yazid said: "Let anyone who has a stipend come and get it. Anyone who has no stipend may have a subsidy of one thousand dirhams." Next, Yazid instructed the sons of al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malikhe had thirteen of them with him: "Disperse yourselves among the people so that they can see you, and whip up enthusiasm in them." He then said to al-Walid b. Rawh. b. al-Walid: "Bring al-Rahib down,"⁷⁵⁹ and al-Walid did so.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr)`Ali (al-Mada'ini)`Amr b. Marwan al-KalbiDukayn b. al-Shammakh al-Kalbi and Abu `Ilaqah b. Salih al-Salamani: Yazid b. al-Walid issued the following proclamation: "Anyone who joins up to fight against the libertine (al-Walid) will have one thousand dirhams." Even so, fewer than one thousand men gathered to Yazid. Then he caused the

757. The text has Qatan. Earlier, al-Tabari reported that `Abd al-Malik had fled the plague and taken up residence in Qatana. Cf. II, 1789.

758. Literally, "he ordered him and he stood at the Jabiyah Gate."

759. *Anzil al-rahiba fa-fa`ala* ("bring the monk down, so he did (?)"). This isolated snippet is not explained nor is there information in any of the other sources.

760. For a long biography of Mansur b. Jumhur al-Kalbi, cf. Crone, 158-59.

following proclamation to be made: "Anyone who joins up to fight the libertine will have fifteen hundred dirhams", and on that day fifteen hundred joined up. Yazid put Mansur b. Jumhur⁷⁶⁰ in charge of one contingent, Ya`qub b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Sulaym al-Kalbi in charge of another, Harim b. `Abdallah b. Dahyah⁷⁶¹ over another, and Humayd b. Habib al-Lakhmi over another. In overall charge of these men, Yazid appointed `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik, who set out and made camp at al-Hirah.

[1795]

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali (al-Mada'ini)`Amr b. Marwan al-KalbiYa`qub b. Ibrahim b. al-Walid: When Yazid b. al-Walid rose up in rebellion, a mawla of al-Walid got on his horse and went off at once to al-Walid. His horse died when he reached his destination. The mawla told al-Walid what had happened, whereupon al-Walid gave him one hundred lashes and threw him into prison. Then al-Walid summoned Abu Muhammad b. `Abdallah b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah, gave him money, and sent him to Damascus. Abu Muhammad departed and on reaching Dhanabah,⁷⁶² he made a halt. Yazid b. al-Walid sent `Abd al-Rahman b. Masad to him. Then Abu Muhammad made his peace with him and gave the oath of allegiance to him. News of this reached al-Walid when he was at al-Aghdaf,⁷⁶³ which is in the `Amman area. Bayhas b. Zumayl al-Kilabi saidor, according to another report, the speaker was Yazid b. Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah"O Commander of the Faithful, go and establish yourself in Hims, as it is well-fortified. Send troops against Yazid so that he may be killed or imprisoned." However, `Abdallah b. `Anbasah b. Sa`id b. al-`As said: "It is not fitting for a caliph to leave his camp⁷⁶⁴ and his women before he has fought and (thus) shown himself to be without blame. It is God who strengthens and succors the Commander of the Faithful." Yazid b. Khalid said: "What should the caliph have to fear for his women when it

761. The editor gives two vocalizations: Dahyah and Dihyah. The latter has been preferred because of the known form of the name Dihyah b. Khalifah, who was one of the Prophet's Companions. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 232; Crone, 156-57.

762. Dhanabah was one of the districts of Damascus. Cf. Yaqut, II, 724; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 437.

763. For al-Aghdaf, cf. n. 465. Al-Baladhuri has al-Azraq; cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 55.

764. It would be more appropriate in this context to translate `askar as "camp" rather than "troops." Al-Baladhuri has "his camp, his treasures, and his women." Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 56. Cf. also a similar version in *Fragmenta*, 139.

is only `Abd al-`Aziz b. al- Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik⁷⁶⁵ who would head the opposing forces? (After all,) he is their paternal cousin." Al-Walid, (however,) took the advice of Ibn `Anbasah. Then al-Abrash Sa`id b. al-Walid al-Kalbi said to al-Walid: "O Commander of the Faithful, Tadmur⁷⁶⁶ is well fortified and my people there will defend you." Al-Walid replied: "I don't think it is wise for us to go to Tadmur,⁷⁶⁷ since the people there are the Banu `Amir who are the ones who have rebelled against me. But suggest another fortified place to me." Al-Abrash said: "I think you should stay in al-Qaryah."⁷⁶⁸ Al-Walid replied: "I don't like it." Al-Abrash said: "Then there is al-Hazim."⁷⁶⁹ Al-Walid said: "I hate its name." So al-Abrash said: "Then there is al-Bakhra',⁷⁷⁰ the citadel of al-Nu`man b. Bashir." Whereupon al-Walid exclaimed: "Fie on you. How ugly are the names of your watering places!" Then al-Walid set out with two hundred men on the Samawah⁷⁷¹ road and he left the cultivated land behind him. Al-Walid recited the following verses:⁷⁷²

If you do not mingle good with evil, you will not find
a faithful adviser nor anyone to help you when need
overtakes you.

Whenever they intend to commit one of their sinful actions,
I will bare my head and uncover my face.

765. Literally, "it is only `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik coming to them."

766. Viz., Palmyra. Cf. *E11*, "Palmyra" (F. Buhl); Yaqut, I, 828.

767. Al-Baladhuri and *Fragmenta* add: "and its name is its name" (loc. cit.). *Tadmuru* means "you perish."

768. Al-Qaryah. This is vocalized by Guidi in the indices to the *Aghani*, 761, as al-Qurayyah. Probably this is a place-name too. Perhaps it is a reference to the village at Palmyra or to the well-known place al-Qaryatayn.

769. Hazim was due south of Palmyra. Cf. Dussaud, 79. *Hazim* can mean "a voice like thunder." Cf. *Lisan*, III, 805.

770. Al-Bakhra': the feminine of *abkhar* ("to have a stinking mouth"). Al-Bakhra' has been sited variously in eastern Syria (Huart, I, 276); near al-Qaryatayn between Damascus and Palmyra (von Kremer, I, 152); and 25 km south of Palmyra (Derenk, 46). Derenk's location is probably the correct one. Al-Nu`man b. Bashir was a Companion of the Prophet, after whom the town of Ma`arrat al-Nu`man was named. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 495-97.

771. Al-Samawah was the name of the desert between al-Kufah and Syria. Cf. Yaqut, III, 131; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 530.

772. These verses are also to be found in al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, loc. cit.; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, III. The meter is *tawil*.

Al-Walid passed by the well country⁷⁷³ of al-Dahhak⁷⁷⁴ b. Qays al-Fihri, where he came across some of his⁷⁷⁵ sons and grandsons, who numbered forty men, and they went with him. They said to al-Walid: "We are unarmed. What about ordering some arms for us?" but he did not give them a single sword or spear. Then Bayhas b. Zumayl said to al-Walid: "Since you have refused to go to Hims or Tadmur, what about this fortress, al-Bakhra'? It is well fortified and was built by the Persians. Stay here." Al-Walid replied: "I am afraid of the plague." Whereupon Bayhas replied: "What is in store for you is worse than the plague." Then al-Walid settled at the fortress of al-Bakhra'.

[1797]

Yazid b. al-Walid summoned the people to fight with `Abd al-`Aziz against al-Walid, and he issued a proclamation that anyone who went with `Abd al-`Aziz would receive two thousand dirhams. Then two thousand men joined up and Yazid gave them two thousand dirhams each, saying to them: "Your destination is Dhanabah".⁷⁷⁶ But (only) twelve hundred men reached Dhanabah. Then Yazid said to them: "You must now go to the stronghold of the sons of `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Walid⁷⁷⁷ in the desert." But only eight hundred men reached it. `Abd al-`Aziz⁷⁷⁸ moved on and met up with al-Walid's baggage train, which they seized. They then camped near al-Walid.

An envoy from al-`Abbas b. al-Walid reached al-Walid with a message from al-`Abbas to the effect that he was coming to join him. Then al-Walid said: "Bring out a couch." A couch was brought out and he sat down on it, saying: "So men dare to attack me, when I attack the lion and strangle the serpent?"⁷⁷⁹ and al-Walid and his followers awaited the arrival of al-`Abbas.

773. Fa-marra bi-shabakati Dahhak.

*774. Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri was a very influential leader of the Qays in Mu`awiyah's time, first as his *sahib al-shurtah* and then as governor of Damascus. He was killed at Marj Rahit in 64 (684). For an account of his career, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (A. Dietrich).*

775. Ibn al-Athir makes it clear that "his" sons and grandsons is a reference to al-Dahhak (V, 216).

*776. Al-Isfahani has Dnyah for this place name. Cf. *Aghani* VI, 138.*

777. The sons of `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

778. It is not clear from the text who is meant here. Presumably it is the leader, `Abd al-`Aziz, who had been sent out against al-Walid by Yazid.

*779. The text has *a-`alayya tawaththaba al-rijalu wa-ana athibu `ala al-asadi?**

(footnote continued on next page)

Then `Abd al-`Aziz launched the attack against al-Walid and his followers.⁷⁸⁰ In charge of his right flank was `Amr b. Huwayy al-Saksaki⁷⁸¹ whilst Mansur b. Jumhur headed the vanguard.⁷⁸² In charge of the infantry was `Umarah b. Abi Kulthum al-Azdi.⁷⁸³ `Abd al-`Aziz called for a black mule of his to be brought and he mounted it. `Abd al-`Aziz sent Ziyad b. Husayn al-Kalbi to speak to al-Walid and his followers and to summon them to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet, but Qatari,⁷⁸⁴ the mawla of al-Walid, killed Ziyad. Then Yazid's men withdrew, `Abd al-`Aziz dismounted, and his followers fled. A number of soldiers of `Abd al-`Aziz had been killed and their heads had been taken to al-Walid, who was at the gate of the citadel of al-Bakhra', having displayed the flag of Marwan b. al-Hakam which Marwan had raised at al-Jabiyah.⁷⁸⁵ `Uthman al-Khashabi⁷⁸⁶ was amongst the followers of al-Walid b. Yazid who were killed; he had been slain by Junah b. Nu`aym al-Kalbi. `Uthman was one of the sons of the Khashabiyyah⁷⁸⁷ who had been with al-Mukhtar.

[1798]

When `Abd al-`Aziz heard that al-`Abbas b. al-Walid was com-

(footnote continued from previous page)

The version in al-Baladhuri is more satisfactory, replacing *tawathhaba* with *yatawathhabu*. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 57. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 140.

780. Literally, "'Abd al-`Aziz fought them."

781. `Amr b. Huwayy al-Saksaki was a descendant of a *sharif* of Damascus who fought for Mu`awiyah at siffin.

782. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 222. Oddly enough, `Amr b. Huwayy himself is listed as being amongst those men on whom Yazid showered honors, having suppressed their rebellion. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1831; Crone, 155.

783. This is the form of the name given by al-Tabari. Al-Baladhuri and *Fragmenta* have `Umarah b. Kulthum al-Azdi (loc. cit.). He was a close associate of Khalid al-Qasri and was executed by Marwan II. Cf. Crone, 163.

784. Al-Baladhuri also has Qatari (loc. cit.). A variant in the apparatus (from MS. B) has Qatan. Qatan was certainly a mawla, too, but he was the mawla of Yazid and his brother, al-`Abbas. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 145.

785. Before the battle of Marj Rahit in 64 (684), the aged Marwan b. al-Hakam (Marwan II) had pitched camp at al-Jabiyah. Cf. *EI1*, s.v. (H. Lammens). Al-Baladhuri and *Fragmenta* have: "which he had raised at al-Jabiyah to fight al-Dahhak b. Qays." (loc. cit.).

786. Al-Isfahani has Yazid b. `Uthman al-Khashabi (loc. cit.).

787. *Khashabiyyah* ("men armed with clubs") was originally an abusive name for the mawlas who were armed with clubs and formed the main body of al-Mukhtar's supporters. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 684; *EI2*, "Khashabiyya" (C. van Aren-donk). For a recent account of the revolt of al-Mukhtar, which centered on al-Kufah between 65 and 68 (685-687), cf. Hawting, 51-53.

ing, he despatched Mansur b. Jumhur with some cavalry and said: "You will meet al-`Abbas and his sons at al-Shi`b.⁷⁸⁸ Seize them." So Mansur left with some cavalry, and when they came to al-Shi`b they saw al-`Abbas with thirty of his sons. Mansur's men said to al-`Abbas: "Join `Abd al-`Aziz," whereupon al-`Abbas hurled insults at them. Then Mansur said to al-`Abbas: "By God, if you advance any further, I will surely penetrate your stronghold, by which I mean your breastplate."⁷⁸⁹ According to Nuh b. `Amr b. Huwayy al-Saksaki: It was Ya`qub b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Sulaym al-Kalbi who met al-`Abbas b. al-Walid. Ya`qub asked al-`Abbas to join forces with `Abd al-`Aziz but al-`Abbas refused to do so.

Then Ya`qub said: "O son of Qustanin,⁷⁹⁰ if you refuse, I shall strike you on the head."⁷⁹¹ Al-`Abbas looked at Harim b. `Abdallah b. Dihyah and said: "Who is this?" Harim replied: "It is Ya`qub b. `Abd al-Rahman b. Sulaym." Then al-`Abbas said: "Indeed, by God, how horrified his father would be to see his son in this position." Then Ya`qub brought al-`Abbas to the camp of `Abd al-`Aziz.⁷⁹² Al-`Abbas did not have his followers with him, as he had gone ahead of them with his sons, so he said: "We belong to God!" Al-`Abbas was brought before `Abd al-`Aziz, who adjured him: "Give the oath of allegiance to your brother Yazid b. al-Walid." This al-`Abbas did. Then he stood up and the rebels raised a flag, saying: "This is the flag of al-`Abbas b. al-Walid, who has given the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, Yazid b. al-Walid." Thereupon al-`Abbas said: "We belong to God! This is one of the wiles of the Devil. The house of Marwan is destroyed!" [1799]

Thereafter, people defected from al-Walid's army⁷⁹³ and came to join al-`Abbas and `Abd al-`Aziz. Al-Walid came forth, wearing two coats of mail, and his two horses, al-Sindi and al-Za'id,⁷⁹⁴

788. Al-Shi`b ("the Pass").

789. Literally, "your stronghold, meaning your breastplate."

790. He was called son of Constantine because his mother was a Christian. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DCCXII. *Fragmenta*, 141, has Qustanin.

791. Literally, "I will strike that in which your (two) eyes are."

792. Al-Baladhuri adds: "He (al-`Abbas) was like a prisoner amongst them." Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 58. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 141.

793. Literally, "defected from al-Walid."

794. For these two horses, cf. Mas`udi, VI, 13, 16. The horse called al-Za'id had belonged to Hisham. *Fragmenta* has al-Sandari for al-Sindi (loc. cit.).

were brought to him. Then he launched himself fiercely into the fray.⁷⁹⁵ Somebody shouted to the rebels: "Kill the enemy of God in the way Lot's family were killed. Throw stones at him." When al-Walid heard that, he went into the citadel and locked the door and `Abd al-`Aziz and his followers surrounded the citadel. Then al-Walid went up to the door and said: "Is there anyone amongst you who is an honorable man of noble descent and who has a proper sense of shame, to whom I can speak?" Yazid b. `Anbasah al-Saksaki said to him: "Speak with me." Al-Walid asked him who he was and he replied: "I am Yazid b. `Anbasah." Then al-Walid exclaimed: "O brother of the Sakasik! Did I not increase your stipends? Did I not remove onerous taxes from you? Did I not make gifts to your poor and give servants to your cripples?" Yazid b. `Anbasah replied: "We don't have any personal grudge against you. We are against you because you have violated the sacred ordinances of God, because you have drunk wine, because you have debauched the mothers of your father's sons, and because you have held God's command in contempt."⁷⁹⁶ Al-Walid replied: "That's enough from you, brother of the Sakasik! By my life, you have said too much and gone too far. God's dispensation to me leaves scope for what you have mentioned."⁷⁹⁷ With that he went into the room, sat down, took a copy of the Qur'an, and said: "This is a day like the day `Uthman was killed,"⁷⁹⁸ and he began to recite. Then the rebels began to scale the wall. The first person over the top was Yazid b. `Anbasah al-Saksaki. He climbed down and went up to al-Walid, whose sword was at his side. Then Yazid said to him: "Take off your sword." Al-Walid replied: "If I had wanted my sword, the situation between you and me would have been different from this." Then Yazid took al-Walid's hand, wanting to take him into custody and to have consultations about

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795. Literally, "then he fought them a fierce fight."

796. Al-Baladhuri adds to this catalog of sins the allegation that al-Walid was a homosexual (loc. cit.).

797. *Wa-inna fima uhillah li la-sa`atan `amma dhakarta* ("In what has been allowed to me there is scope for what you have mentioned"). Cf. the same wording in al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 139. Al-Baladhuri (loc. cit.) has *wa-inna fima ahalla Allahu la-manduhaturun `amma dhakarta* ("verily in what God has decreed as permissible there is ample scope for what you have mentioned").

798. The third caliph of Islam, `Uthman, had been killed while reading the Qur'an.

what should be done with him.⁷⁹⁹ At that point ten men came down from the wall;⁸⁰⁰ amongst them were Mansur b. Jumhur, Hibal b. `Amr al-Kalbi, `Abd al-Rahman b. `Ajlān, who was the mawla of Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik, Humayd b. Nasr al-Lakhmi, al-Sari b. Ziyad b. Abi Kabshah, and `Abd al-Salam al-Lakhmi. `Abd al-Salam struck al-Walid on the head and al-Sari hit him in the face; then five of them seized him to take him outside. A woman who was with al-Walid in the room screamed, so they let go of al-Walid and did not take him out. Then Abu `Ilaqah al-Quda'i cut off al-Walid's head. He took some gut and sewed up the wound on al-Walid's face. Thereupon Rawh b. Muqbil took al-Walid's head to Yazid (b. al-Walid) and said: "Rejoice, O Commander of the Faithful. The libertine, al-Walid, has been slain and those who were with him and with al-`Abbas have been taken prisoner!" Yazid was eating his lunch and both he and his companions prostrated themselves (in thanks to God).⁸⁰¹ Then Yazid b. `Anbasah al-Saksaki stood up, took the hand of Yazid (b. al-Walid)⁸⁰² and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, arise and rejoice in God's victory." Yazid removed his hand from the hand of Ibn `Anbasah and said: "O God, if this is pleasing to you, then direct me to the right way." Yazid asked Yazid b. `Anbasah: "Did al-Walid speak to you?" Ibn `Anbasah said: "Yes, al-Walid spoke to me from behind the door. He said: 'Is there anyone of noble descent among you to whom I may speak?' So it was I who spoke to him and I upbraided him. Then al-Walid replied: 'That's enough from you. By my life, you have gone too far and said too much. The disunity amongst you will never be healed,⁸⁰³ and dissension amongst you will never be put right and your tongues will never agree.'"

[1801]

799. Al-Baladhuri has: "to have consultations with Yazid b. al-Walid about him" (loc. cit.).

800. The account in the *Aghani* is clearer and has been followed here: *fa-nazala min al-ha'iti 'asharatun fihim* (loc. cit.). The text in al-Tabari states that there were ten men and then enumerates only six of them.

801. Ibn A'tham has: "he (Yazid) and those with him prostrated themselves out of joy before Almighty God, just as Abu al-`Abbas al-Saffah prostrated himself when Marwan b. Muhammad died" (VIII, 140-41).

802. In view of the fact that the narrative involves two people called Yazid, the aim here has been to clarify which Yazid is performing which action.

803. Cf. al-Baladhuri, loc. cit. This might be an optative, which may use the present tense: "may the disunity amongst you never be healed . . ."

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi Nuh b. `Amr b. Huwayy al-Saksaki: We went out to fight against al-Walid on nights when there was no moon; (it was so dark that) I could not see the stones at all, let alone distinguish between black stones and white.⁸⁰⁴ Al-Walid b. Khalid, the nephew of al-Abrash al-Kalbi, was on the left flank of al-Walid's forces with the Banu `Amir. There were also men of the Banu `Amir on the right flank (of the forces) of `Abd al-`Aziz, so the men on al-Walid's left flank would not fight those on the right flank of `Abd al-`Aziz, and they defected en masse to `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj. Nuh. b. `Amr said: "I saw the servants and dependents of al-Walid b. Yazid, on the day he was killed, seizing hold of the rebels' hands and showing them where al-Walid was."⁸⁰⁵

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi al-Muthanna b. Mu`awiyah: Al-Walid came and camped at al-Lu'lu'ah.⁸⁰⁶ He ordered his son, al-Hakam, and al-Mu'ammal b. al-`Abbas to apportion a stipend of sixty dinars to anyone who would join them. So I went with my paternal cousin, Sulayman b. Muhammad b. `Abdallah, to al-Walid's camp. Al-Mu'ammal allowed me to approach him⁸⁰⁷ and he said: "I will take you in to see the Commander of the Faithful and I will speak to him about his assigning you one hundred dinars." (The narrative of al-Muthanna continues). Then al-Walid left al-Lu'lu'ah and camped at al-Mulaykah,⁸⁰⁸ where a messenger from `Amr b. Qays⁸⁰⁹ came to him from Hims to tell him that `Amr had sent

[1802]

804. This is only a tentative translation.

805. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 59; *Fragmenta*, 142.

806. Lu'lu'ah is a quarter of Damascus outside the Bab al-Jabiyah. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 494; Yaqut, IV, 371.

807. Literally, "let me come near and brought me close."

808. This form is uncertain and the place itself has not been identified. The name could also be al-Malikah.

809. Qays b. Thawr al-Sakuni was a *sharif* from Hims in the entourage of Mu`awiyah. His son, `Amr b. Qays, had fought with Maslamah in 98 (716-17). Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1317; Crone, 99.

810. Al-Walid was well known to have been a lover of fine clothes. He preferred colored garments, especially of yellow. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani* II, 65. For a detailed discussion of this topic, cf. R. Hillenbrand, "*La Dolce Vita* in early Islamic Syria," 12, 27. The Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers used clothing of luxury fabrics. Sulayman and his retinue wore exclusively garments of *washi* (variegated silk). Cf. *EI2*, "Libas" (Y. K. Stillman).

him five hundred horsemen under the leadership of `Abd al-Rahman b. Abi al-Janub al-Bahrani. Then al-Walid summoned al-Dahhak b. Ayman from the Banu `Awf b. Kalb and ordered him to go to Ibn Abi al-Janub, who (by this time) had reached al-Ghuwayr, and to tell him to come in all haste to al-Walid at al-Mulaykah. The following morning al-Walid ordered the company to break camp. He himself left (as well), riding on a chestnut horse. He was wearing a silk gown and silk turban. Around his waist he wore a thin roll of cloth and over his shoulders he had draped a yellow shawl over his sword.⁸¹⁰ En route the sons of Sulaym b. Kaysan joined him with sixteen horsemen. When al-Walid had gone a little further, the Banu al-Nu`man b. Bashir met him with more horsemen. Then al-Walid (b. Yazid) was joined by al-Walid, the nephew of al-Abrash, with the Banu `Amir of Kalb. Al-Walid took the nephew of al-Abrash along with him and gave him clothes. Al-Walid continued along the road and then he turned off at a hill⁸¹¹ called al-Mushbihah,⁸¹² where Ibn Abi al-Janub met up with him, accompanied by the men from Hims. Then al-Walid arrived at al-Bakhra'. It was then that the troops clamored and said: "We have no fodder for our riding animals." So al-Walid gave orders that it should be announced publicly that the Commander of the Faithful had bought the standing corn from the village. The soldiers said: "What can we do with green corn? It will make our animals ill." The soldiers only wanted dirhams. [1803]

Al-Muthanna said: I came to al-Walid and I went in to see him, entering at the back of the tent. He asked for a meal, and when the food had been put in front of him, a messenger who was called `Amr b. Murrah came to him from Umm Kulthum, the daughter of `Abdallah b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik. The messenger told al-Walid that `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj had camped at al-Lu'lu'ah, but al-Walid paid no attention to him. Then Khalid b. `Uthman al-Mikhrash,⁸¹³ who was his chief of police, brought al-Walid a man

811. *Tal`ah* ("high land"). The word can also mean "stream".

812. This is tentative vocalization. The text has *al-M. sh.b.hah*. There is a variant reading, *al-M.s.b.h.h*.

813. For a history of this man's family, cf. Crone, 93-94. According to Ibn al-Kalbi, he had been head of police for Hisham as well (II, 343).

from the Banu Harithah b. Janab,⁸¹⁴ who said to al-Walid: "I was in Damascus with `Abd al-`Aziz and I have come to tell you what I know. Here are fifteen hundred dirhams which I have brought with me." At this point he untied a purse from his waist and showed it (to al-Walid). (He went on:) "`Abd al-`Aziz has encamped at al-Lu'lu'ah and he will be coming to you from there tomorrow morning." Al-Walid vouchsafed him no reply. Instead, he turned to a man who was beside him and began a conversation with him which I could not hear. I asked one of the people who were standing between al-Walid and me what al-Walid was saying. That person informed me: "Al-Walid was asking the man about the canal which he had dug in Jordan and inquired how much more there was to do."⁸¹⁵ Then `Abd al-`Aziz approached from al-Lu'lu'ah. Having arrived in al-Mulaykah he took possession of it. He dispatched Mansur b. Jumhur, who took Sharqi al-Qura, a high hill in a desert area⁸¹⁶ on the road from Nihya⁸¹⁷ to al-Bakhra'.

Al-`Abbas b. al-Walid was making preparations with about one hundred and fifty of his mawlas and sons. He then sent a man from the Banu Najiyah,⁸¹⁸ who was called Hubaysh,⁸¹⁹ to al-Walid to ask him to decide whether al-`Abbas should come and join him or march against Yazid b. al-Walid. Al-Walid had his suspicions about al-`Abbas, so he sent word ordering him to come and join him. Mansur b. Jumhur intercepted al-Walid's messenger and asked him what his mission was, and the messenger told him. Then Mansur said to the messenger: "Tell al-`Abbas: By God, if you leave your present position⁸²⁰ before sunrise, I will certainly kill you and your men! In the morning let him go wher-

[1804]

814. The Banu Harithah b. Janab were a branch of the Banu `Abdallah b. Kinanah from the Banu Kalb. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 316.

815. Cf. Braslavski, "Hat Welid II den Jordan ablenken wollen?", 97-100.

816. *Fi ardin malsa'a*. *Malsa'u*: a desert in which there are no herbage, trees, or wild animals. Cf. Lane, I, 2736.

817. For a tentative siting of Nihya (southwest of Palmyra) cf. Dussaud's map (op. cit., 79).

818. For the Banu Najiyah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 442.

819. The vocalization comes from the Cairo edition, 248.

820. The text has *zahalta* ("if you withdraw"), which is a conjecture on the part of the editor. The Cairo edition (249) has *rahalta* ("if you march"), which also makes good sense.

ever he wants." Al-`Abbas continued to make his preparations.⁸²¹ In the morning we heard the soldiers of `Abd al-`Aziz, who had reached al-Bakhra', uttering the *takbir*.⁸²² Then Khalid b. `Uthman al-Mikhrash came out and deployed al-Walid's men in battle order; but there was no fighting between them until after sunrise. The soldiers of Yazid b. al-Walid carried a notice board⁸²³ attached to a spear on which was written: "We summon you to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His prophet, and (we request) that the matter should be determined by consultation" (*shura*).⁸²⁴ Then they began to fight and `Uthman al-Khashabi was killed. About sixty of al-Walid's men were also killed. Mansur b. Jumhur advanced on the Nihya road and approached al-Walid's troops from behind. Mansur went toward al-Walid, who was in his tent at a time when there was nobody to stop Mansur attacking al-Walid.⁸²⁵ When I saw Mansur, `Asim b. Hubayrah al-Mu`afiri, the deputy of al-Mikhrash, and I came out. The soldiers of `Abd al-`Aziz withdrew as did those of Mansur. Sumayy b. al-Mughirah was struck down and killed. Then Mansur turned to join `Abd al-`Aziz.

Al-Abrash was on a horse of his called al-Adim, and was wearing a hat with two straps which he had tied securely under his beard.⁸²⁶ He began shouting to his nephew: "You son of a stinking woman!"⁸²⁷ Hoist your flag!" His nephew replied: "I can't find

[1805]

821. I.e., he did not move until after sunrise.

822. The *takbir* is the pronouncement of the statement *Allahu akbaru*.

823. *Kitab* has been translated here as "notice-board," since the object involved must have been large enough to have been seen aloft on a spear.

824. The appeal to a *shura* ("consultation") had often been made by opponents of the Umayyads, such as Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Harith b. Surayj. For an analysis of the call for a *shura* by Yazid b. al-Walid, cf. Hawting, 94-95. Yazid justified the use of force against al-Walid II because the latter had used force to resist the call (*ibid.*).

825. Literally, "he was in his tent, there being nobody between him and Mansur."

826. *`Alayhi qalansuwatun dhatu `uthnayni qad shaddaha tahta lihyatihi*. The *qalansuwah* could designate a close-fitting cap or hood. It was under the `Abbasids that the use of the tall, conical, Persian hat, the *qalansuwah tawilah*, became widespread. Cf. *El2*, "Libas" (Y. K. Stillman).

827. *Lakhna'*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDLXVII. According to the definition given by Ibn Qutaybah, *lakhna'* is used to designate someone with stinking breath. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *Kitab al-`Arab* in M. Kurd 'Ali, *Rasa'il al-Bulagha'* (Cairo, 1953), 352. This is the prime meaning given in *Lisan*, III, 356. It does, however, indicate that *lakhna'* may also mean a woman who has not been circumcised.

a way forward. These men are from the Banu `Amir."⁸²⁸ Then al-`Abbas b. al-Walid arrived, but the men of `Abd al-`Aziz blocked his path. A mawla of Sulayman b. `Abdallah b. Dihyah who was called al-Turki launched an attack on al-Harith b. al-`Abbas b al-Walid and thrust at him with a blow which knocked him from his horse.⁸²⁹ Al-`Abbas struck out in the direction of `Abd al-`Aziz. Al-Walid's men were confused⁸³⁰ and retreated in disarray.

Then al-Walid b. Yazid sent al-Walid b. Khalid to `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj to tell him that al-Walid would give him fifty thousand dinars, that he would appoint him to the governorship of Hims for his lifetime, and that he would protect him in every difficult situation (that might arise), provided he went away and stopped fighting. `Abd al-`Aziz rejected this offer⁸³¹ and would not agree to any of these terms.⁸³² Al-Walid (b. Yazid) prevailed upon al-Walid b. Khalid to go back to `Abd al-`Aziz and make him the same offer again. Al-Walid b. Khalid did so, but `Abd al-`Aziz remained obdurate. Then al-Walid (b. Khalid) moved a short distance off, turned his horse around, approached `Abd al-`Aziz once more, and addressed him as follows: "Will you put five thousand dinars at my disposal and do likewise for al-Abrash, seeing that I have an exclusive status with my people? Then I will come in with you and join your enterprise." `Abd al-`Aziz replied: "On condition that you attack al-Walid's soldiers at once." Accordingly, al-Walid b. Khalid did so. Now in charge of the right flank of the caliph al-Walid's army was Mu`awiyah b. Abi Sufyan b. Yazid b. Khalid.⁸³³ He said to `Abd al-`Aziz:⁸³⁴ "Will you give me twenty thousand dinars, the governorship of Jordan, and a share of the command if I join up with you?" `Abd al-`Aziz answered: "On condition that you attack al-Walid's army immediately." This

[1806]

828. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 143; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 60.

829. The text has *ardahu*. The Cairo edition, 249, has *adhrahu*, as does a variant MS. reading.

830. *Fa-usqita fi aydi ashabi al-Walidi*. Cf. *Fragmenta* and *Ansab*, which have *suqita* (loc. cit.). According to Lane, *suqita* is better. The phrase denotes repentance or perplexity or error. Cf. Qur'an 7, v. 148; Lane, I, 1380. Thus the translation could also be: "al-Walid's men repented (of what they had done)" or "al-Walid's men realized they had committed an error." With the close relationship between the men on both sides, any of these translations make sense.

831. Literally, "he did not agree to it/answer him."

832. Literally, "he did not agree with him in anything."

833. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 547; Crone, 154.

834. Literally, "it was said to him."

Mu`awiyah did and al-Walid's army fled; al-Walid himself arose and went into al-Bakhra'.

`Abd al-`Aziz came forward and stood by the gate which was barred by a chain. Then one man after another began entering (the citadel) under the chain. Thereupon `Abd al-Salam b. Bukayr b. Shammakh al-Lakhmi came up to `Abd al-`Aziz and said to him: "Al-Walid is saying that he will come out on your authority." So `Abd al-`Aziz said: "Let him come out." But no sooner had he turned around than people upbraided him: "What are you doing, letting him come out? Leave him there and let the people deal with him for you." So `Abd al-`Aziz called back `Abd al-Salam and said: "There is no need for me to do what has been suggested to me." [Al-Muthanna's narrative continues]: At this juncture I saw a tall young man on a horse approaching the wall of the citadel. Then he climbed over it and went inside the citadel. I myself entered the citadel and I saw al-Walid standing there. He was wearing a shirt shot through with silver⁸³⁵ and trousers of variegated cloth,⁸³⁶ and his sword was in a scabbard; the people were shouting abuse at him. Then Bishr b. Shayban, the mawla of Kinanah b. `Umayr, who was the man who had climbed over the wall to get inside, went toward al-Walid. Al-Walid moved toward the door I think he wanted to go to `Abd al-`Aziz and `Abd al-Salam was on his right and the messenger from `Amr b. Qays was on his left. Then Bishr hit al-Walid on the head; the other men struck him repeatedly with their swords and he fell dead. `Abd al-Salam threw himself on to al-Walid and cut off his head. Yazid b. al-Walid had put a price of one hundred thousand dirhams on al-Walid's head. Then Abu al-Asad, the mawla of Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri, came up and ripped off a handful of al-Walid's skin and he took it to Yazid b. Khalid b. `Abdallah, who was being held prisoner in al-Walid's camp. The people plundered al-Walid's camp and stores. Then Yazid al-`Ulaymi Abu al-Batriq b. Yazid, whose daughter was married to al-Hakam b. al-Walid, came to me and said: "Protect my daughter's belongings for me," for every-

[1807]

835. As well as the basic meaning of "reeds," *qasab* is "anything made of silver and of other material, resembling (in form) the kind of round and hollow bone thus called" and "fine, thin, delicate or soft garments." Cf. Lane, I, 2529-30.

836. *Washi*. For al-Walid's taste for fine clothes, cf. n. 810.

body was appropriating whatever they could lay their hands on.⁸³⁷

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi: After al-Walid was killed,⁸³⁸ his left hand was cut off. It was bundled off to Yazid b. al-Walid and it arrived before al-Walid's head. The hand arrived on the Thursday night and the head was brought the next day. After the prayer, Yazid displayed the head prominently to the people. The people of Damascus had been in a state of agitation about `Abd al-`Aziz, but when al-Walid's head was brought to them they quietened down and their behavior was restrained.

When Yazid ordered that al-Walid's head should be displayed, Yazid b. Farwah, the mawla of the Banu Marwan,⁸³⁹ remonstrated with him: "Only the heads of rebels are displayed publicly. This is your paternal cousin and a caliph. I am afraid that if you exhibit his head, the people's hearts will soften toward him and the members of his family will be angry about what has happened to him." Yazid replied: "By God, I certainly will exhibit it!" and he stuck al-Walid's head on a spear. Then he said to Ibn Farwah: "Off you go with it. Take it around the city of Damascus and go into his father's house⁸⁴⁰ with it." Ibn Farwah did as he was told and was greeted with an uproar from the citizens and al-Walid's family. Then he brought the head back to Yazid who said: "Take it to your house."⁸⁴¹ The head remained with Ibn Farwah for nearly a month until Yazid told him to hand it over to al-Walid's brother Sulayman. Now Sulayman, al-Walid's brother, [1808] was one of the people who had acted against his brother. Ibn Farwah washed the head, put it in a basket, and took it to Sulayman. When Sulayman saw it he said: "A curse on him! I testify that he was a wine-bibber, wanton and licentious, and that he tried to corrupt me."⁸⁴² So Ibn Farwah left the house. Directly

837. *Fa-ma wasala ahadun ila shay'in za`ama annahu lahu*. This sentence seems a little odd. It has been translated tentatively as if it read *fa-ma wasala . . . illa za'ama* ("nobody came to anything except that he claimed that it was his").

838. Cf. al-Baladhur, *Ansab* (Derenk), 60-61; *Fragmenta*, 143-44.

839. Ibn al-Athir has the Banu Murrah (V, 217).

840. *Fragmenta*, 144, has *dara ibnihi* ("the house of his son").

841. Literally, "the people of the house."

842. *La-qad aradani`ala nafsi al-fasiqa*. Even seduction may be suggested here.

afterwards he met a slave girl of al-Walid⁸⁴³ to whom he said: "Alas! How violently Sulayman abused al-Walid! He alleged that al-Walid had tried to corrupt him." The woman retorted: "By God, that wicked blackguard was lying! Al-Walid did not do that. If he had wanted to corrupt Sulayman, he would have done so and Sulayman would not have been able to prevent him from doing so."

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi Yazid b. Masad: Yazid b. al-Walid sent me to Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani.⁸⁴⁴ Al-Walid had sent him off as governor of Damascus when he had heard the news of Yazid's rebellion. When Abu Muhammad reached Dhanabah, Yazid received the news about him and he sent me to Abu Muhammad. When I reached Abu Muhammad, he made his peace (with our party) and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid. We did not even have time to move on before someone appeared in the distance, coming from the direction of the desert. I sent people to him and he was brought to me. The man turned out to be Abu Kamil al-Ghuzayyil⁸⁴⁵ the singer, riding on a she-mule called Maryam⁸⁴⁶ which belonged to al-Walid. He told us that al-Walid had been killed. Then I sped off to Yazid, but he had heard the news before I reached him.⁸⁴⁷

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi Dukayn b. Shammakh al-Kalbi al-`Amiri: I saw Bishr b. Halba' al-`Amiri on the day al-Walid was killed. He struck the gate of al-Bakhra' with his sword and said:⁸⁴⁸

[1809]

We shall weep for Khalid with Indian swords,
and may his good deeds not go for nought.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) Abu

843. Literally, "a female mawla of al-Walid met him."

844. Abu Muhammad (b. Yazid) al-Sufyani is to be identified as Ziyad b. `Abdallah b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah, who was related to al-Walid through al-Walid's grandmother. Cf. Wellhausen, 362.

845. Abu Kamil (or Kumayl) Ghuzayyil al-Dirnashqi Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, III, 207.

846. Even al-Walid's choice of name for his she-mule, Maryam, is shown to be irreverent. Al-Baladhuri omits this name. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 63.

847. Literally, "I found the news had reached him before I reached him."

848. For these lines, cf. al-Tabari, II, 1783. The meter is *wafir*.

`Asim al-Ziyadi: Ten men claimed that they had killed al-Walid. (Abu `Asim continued): "I saw Wajh al-Fals holding a piece of skin from al-Walid's head in his hand and he said: "I killed al-Walid and I took this piece of his skin. Then somebody came and cut off al-Walid's head and this piece of skin remained in my hand." The real name (*ism*) of Wajh al-Fals ("Farthing-face") was `Abd al-Rahman.

Al-Hakam b. al-Nu`man, the mawla of al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik, said: Mansur b. Jumhur, accompanied by ten men, amongst whom was Rawh b. Muqbil, brought al-Walid's head to Yazid. Then Rawh said: "Rejoice, O Commander of the Faithful, that the libertine has been killed and al-`Abbas has been taken prisoner." Amongst those who brought the head were `Abd al-Rahman Wajh al-Fals and Bishr, the mawla of the Kinanah⁸⁴⁹ of Kalb. Yazid gave each of them ten thousand dirhams. On the day al-Walid was killed, he said, while he was fighting the rebels: "Anyone who brings a head will have five hundred dirhams." When a number of people brought heads, al-Walid said: "Write their names down."⁸⁵⁰ Then a mawla of his who was one of the people who had brought a head, said: "O Commander of the Faithful, today is not a day on which to use credit!"⁸⁵¹

The singers Malik b. Abi al-Samh.⁸⁵² and `Umar al-Wadi⁸⁵³ were with al-Walid. When his men forsook him and he was surrounded, Malik said to `Umar: "Let's leave."⁸⁵⁴ `Umar replied: "That would be disloyal; besides, we won't be touched, since we are not fighting men." Malik said: "Come off it! By God, if the rebels are victorious against us, you and I will be the first to be

[1810]

849. The Kinanah (b. `Awf) were a branch of the Kalb. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 371.

850. In exactly the same context, al-Baladhuri (loc. cit.) tells this story about Yazid, not al-Walid. In view of al-Walid's well-known attitude toward money and his lack of ready cash earlier to pay his troops (cf. al-Tabari, II, 1803), the anecdote is more likely to refer to al-Walid. Al-Isfahani also attributes this story to al-Walid. Cf. *Aghani* VI, 139.

851. *Laysa hadha bi-yawmin yu`malu fihi bi-nasi'atin*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DXI. Al-Isfahani has *laysa hadha . . . yawman yu`amilu fihi bi-al-nasi'ati* (loc. cit.).

852. For Malik b. Abi al-Samh al-Ta'i, cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, III, 198, 207.

853. The text has `Amr al-Wadi. The name is given in other sources as `Umar al-Wadi b. Dawud b. Zadhan. Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, III, 207; al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, VI, 64-65, 109-10, 139-44. The form `Umar has been used in the translation.

854. Literally, "go with us."

killed. Al-Walid's head will be put between our heads and the people will be told: 'Look who was with him even in this (abject) state.' There will be no worse criticism of him than that."⁸⁵⁵ So the two of them fled.

According to Abu Ma'shar Ahmad b. Thabithis informant(s) Ishaq b. 'Isa: Al-Walid b. Yazid was killed on a Thursday, two nights before the end of Jumada II, 126 [Thursday, April 15, 744]. Hisham b. Muhammad, Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Waqidi, and 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Mada'ini give the same date. Historians disagree, however, as to the length of al-Walid's caliphate.⁸⁵⁶ According to Abu Ma'shar Ahmad b. Thabithis informants Ishaq b. 'Isa:⁸⁵⁷ Al-Walid's caliphate lasted one year and three months. Hisham b. Muhammad (al-Kalbi) said: Al-Walid's caliphate lasted one year, two months and twenty-two days.

Historians also disagree about al-Walid's age on the day he was killed. Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi said that al-Walid was killed when he was thirty-eight years old. Muhammad b. 'Umar (al-Waqidi) said he was killed when he was thirty-six. Some other historians said he was killed when he was forty-two; others said it was when he was forty-one, others said forty-five, and yet others forty-six.⁸⁵⁸

Al-Walid's patronymic was Abu al-'Abbas. His mother was Umm al-Hajjaj,⁸⁵⁹ the daughter of Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi. Al-Walid was a man of great strength and he had prehensile toes.⁸⁶⁰ He used to take an iron ploughshare with a rope in it, have the rope tied to his foot, and then jump on his horse and pull the ploughshare along. He could ride without holding onto his horse, and he was a poet, much addicted to wine-drinking. [1811]

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) 'Ali (al-Mada'ini) Ibn Abi al-Zinad⁸⁶¹ his father: (Abu al-Zinad's narrative begins): Once I

855. Literally, "they will not censure him for anything worse than this."

856. Literally, "they disagreed on the amount of time in which he was caliph."

857. This chain of transmitters has been arranged in the usual way, although it is somewhat different from usual in the text.

858. For other sources on the date of al-Walid's death and the length of his life and his caliphate, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (Derenk), 66-67; *Fragmenta*, 145; al-Ya'qubi, *Historiae*, II, 400; Ibn Khayyat, II, 380; Hamzah, 129; Ibn Qutaybah, 186; Ibn A'tham, VIII, 140.

859. Al-Walid's mother's name was Zaynab. Cf. 'Atwan, 61.

860. Literally, "long toes." Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 137.

861. Literally, "Ibn Abi al-Zinad, who said, 'My father said.'" For Abu al-Zinad,

(footnote continued on next page)

was with Hisham when al-Zuhri⁸⁶² was present. They referred to al-Walid, criticizing him and finding serious fault with him. However, I myself took no part in what they were saying. Then al-Walid asked permission to enter; this was granted to him. I saw anger on his face. He sat for a little while and then he got up. Later, when Hisham died, somebody wrote a letter against me and I was taken to al-Walid. He greeted me, saying "How are you, Ibn Dhakwan?" and asked kindly about me. Then he said: "Do you remember the day when that squint-eyed man (Hisham) had that libertine⁸⁶³ al-Zuhri with him and they were pulling me to pieces?" I said: "I remember that, but I took no part in what they were saying." Al-Walid replied: "That's true. Did you see the slave who was standing behind Hisham?" I said: "Yes." Al-Walid said: "It was he who passed on to me what they said. By God, I swear if that libertine meaning al-Zuhri had lived, I would have killed him." I replied: "I saw from your face that you were angry when you came in." Then al-Walid said: "Ibn Dhakwan, that squint-eyed man has made me waste the best years of my life."⁸⁶⁴ I said: "No, rather may God prolong your life for you, O Commander of the Faithful, and may He allow the community to enjoy your continuing presence!" Then al-Walid called for supper and we ate it. When it was time for the evening prayer, we performed it and we conversed until the hour for the late night prayer. After we had prayed, al-Walid sat down and asked for something to drink and they brought in a covered vessel. Three slave girls came and they lined up between him and me.⁸⁶⁵ Then

(footnote continued from previous page)

the important jurist and traditionist, cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani* VI, 106; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, III, 287. His names were Abu al-Zinad `Ali b. Dhakwan al-Qurashi. He had been secretary to `Umar II; cf. Wellhausen, 270, 347. He died in 131 (748); cf. Sezgin, I, 405.

862. For Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri (d. 124/742) the famous traditionist and historian, cf. Sezgin, I, 28; Duri, 95-121. He was on very good terms with Hisham, who made him his son's tutor. Cf. Duri, 118.

863. *Al-fasiq*.

864. Literally, "that squint-eyed man has taken away my life."

865. The text has *saffaqna bayna yadayhi bayni wa-baynahu*. *Saffaqa* can mean to transfer wine from one vessel to another in order for it to become clear, i.e., to decant the wine (Cf. Lane, I, 1700). Thus a literal translation would be "they decanted (the wine) in front of him between me and him." The wording *bayni wa-baynahu* is rather odd; it is unlikely that the girls divided the wine between al-Walid and Abu al-Zinad. *Fragmenta*, 129, has *fa-suffifna bayni wa-baynahu* ("they were positioned between me and him"). The version of al-Isfahani

(footnote continued on next page)

al-Walid began to drink, they went away⁸⁶⁶ and we chatted. [1812]
When al-Walid asked for another drink, the slave girls did as they had done before.⁸⁶⁷ Al-Walid went on talking and asking for more to drink, and the slave girls continued bringing him wine until dawn. I counted that he had drunk seventy cups.

In this year Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri was killed.

The Killing of Khalid al-Qasri and the Reason for It

We have already given an account of how Hisham dismissed Khalid from his post as governor of `Iraq and Khurasan⁸⁶⁸ and of how Hisham had appointed Yusuf b. `Umar as governor of `Iraq. As already mentioned, Khalid had worked in that post for Hisham for fifteen years, apart from a few months, since as already said he became governor of `Iraq for Hisham in 105 [June 10, 723-May 28, 724] and was dismissed from the post on Jumada I, 120 [April 26, 738-May 25, 738]. When Hisham dismissed Khalid, Yusuf came to Wasit⁸⁶⁹ to get Khalid, seized him, and imprisoned him there. Then Yusuf b. `Umar went to al-Hirah and Khalid remained imprisoned in al-Hirah for a full eighteen months, with his brother Isma`il b. `Abdallah, his son Yazid b. Khalid, and his nephew al-Mundhir b. Asad b. `Abdallah. Yusuf begged Hisham for permis-

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(Aghani, VI, 106) is the most straightforward: *fa-qumna bayni wa-baynahu* ("they stood between me and him"). Later the editor emends the reading to *safafna* (his vocalization). Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXII. The Cairo edition (253) has *sufifna*, which is more satisfactory. It is always conceivable that *saffaqna*, the original reading of the editor, was correct, especially in view of the sentence that follows: "He asked for drink and they did as they had done at first." The tentative translation provided here omits the phrase *bayna yadayhi* and thus follows the *Fragmenta* and the *Aghani*.

866. The text has *dhahabna*. The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *dhahabna* ("we went away").

867. Literally, "continued doing like that."

868. Literally, "from his post and his governorship." For a parallel account, cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 207-10.

869. Wasit, in Iraq, had been founded by al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf in 83 (702) or 84 (703). He had built a large prison there, which is presumably where Khalid al-Qasri was put by Yusuf b. `Umar. For a long discussion of the exact site of medieval Wasit, cf. *EI*1, s.v. (M. Streck). Cf. also Yaqut, IV, 881-88; Le Strange, *Lands*, 39-40. The city was called Wasit because it lay equidistant from al-Kufah, al-Basrah, and Ahwaz.

sion to be allowed a free hand with Khalid and to torture him, but (at first) Hisham would not allow Yusuf to do that. Then, after Yusuf had asked repeatedly and had made excuses to him for a shortfall in the *kharaj* and for loss of revenue, Hisham did on one occasion give Yusuf permission.⁸⁷⁰ But he sent a guard to witness the torture and he swore that if Khalid met his end while he was in Yusuf's hands, then he (Hisham) would certainly kill Yusuf. So Yusuf summoned Khalid and he sat on a bench (*dukkan*) in al-Hirah,⁸⁷¹ with the people all assembled. Yusuf was free with his tongue⁸⁷² against Khalid, but Khalid did not utter a single word until Yusuf abused him by calling him Ibn Kahin, meaning Shiqq b. Sa`b al-Kahin.⁸⁷³ Thereupon Khalid retorted: "You fool! You revile me by questioning my noble birth, but your father, O Ibn al-Sabba', was only a wine-merchant," meaning that he sold wine. At this, Yusuf sent Khalid back to his prison. Then in Shawwal 121 [September 10, 739-October 8, 739] Hisham wrote to Yusuf ordering him to release Khalid, and Khalid settled in the citadel of Isma`il b. `Abdallah in Duran behind the Kufah bridge. Yazid b. Khalid set out by himself, going through the territory of the Banu Tayy⁸⁷⁴ as far as Damascus. Then Khalid set out, accompanied by Isma`il and al-Walid, after `Abd al-Rahman b. `Anbasah b. Sa`id b. al-`As had equipped them (for the journey). Khalid sent the heavy baggage to the citadel of the Banu Muqatil,⁸⁷⁵ but Yusuf had sent

[1813]

870. cf. al-Jahshiyari, 41.

871. *Fa-jalasa `ala dukkanin fi-al-Hirah. Dukkan*: "a kind of wide bench, of stone or brick, etc., generally built against a wall, upon which one sits." Cf. Lane, I, 900. A shop (also *dukkan*) in the market was a booth with a raised platform (*mastabah*). Cf. J. M. Rogers, *The Spread of Islam*, 66. For a detailed discussion of *mastabah* and *dukkan*, cf. Sadan, 123-24.

872. *Wa-basata `alayhi*. As well as verbal attacks, this phrase could also mean that Yusuf stretched out his hand against Khalid.

873. For an account of the attempts made by Abu `Ubaydah and others to denigrate the genealogy of Khalid b. `Abdallah, cf. Goldziher, I, 188-89. Khalid traced his origins back to the South Arabian tribe of the Bajilah and he counted amongst his ancestors the famous soothsayer Shiqq. Cf. al-Isfahani, *Aghani*, XIX, 57-58. Shiqq was allegedly only half a man (one arm and one leg, hence *shiqq*). Cf. the biography of Khalid given by Ibn Khallikan, II, 313; al-Dinawari, 344. According to al-Dinawari, Khalid's response to Yusuf was: "Your father and grandfather were only shopkeepers in al-Ta'if" (ibid.).

874. For this important North Arabian tribe, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 555.

875. This citadel was at `Ayn al-Tamr on the route from al-Hirah to Syria and was named after Muqatil b. Hassan. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 121, 137; Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 431.

cavalry (after them) and they seized Khalid's provisions, heavy baggage and camels as well as his mawlas who were looking after Khalid's possessions. Yusuf confiscated and sold⁸⁷⁶ what he took from them and sent some of the mawlas back into slavery. So when Khalid arrived at the citadel of the Banu Muqatil, all the (movable) possessions which he and his sons owned had been taken. After moving on to Hit,⁸⁷⁷ they made for al-Qaryah,⁸⁷⁸ which is situated opposite the gate of al-Rusafah, where Khalid remained for the remainder of Shawwal and during the months of Dhu al-Qa`dah, Dhu al-Hijjah, al-Muharram, and Safar [October 9, 739-February 3, 740]. (During this time) Hisham would not allow them to come in and see him. Al-Abrash was in correspondence with Khalid (during this period, which was the time that) Zayd b. `Ali rose in rebellion and was killed.

According to al-Haytham b. `Adi his relaters: Yusuf wrote to Hisham as follows: "The members of this family, the Hashimites, had been dying of hunger, to the point that every one of them was preoccupied solely with finding food for their dependents. Then, when Khalid became governor of Iraq, he gave them money, by means of which they so recovered their strength that they began to cherish aspirations to the caliphate. Zayd rose in rebellion only on Khalid's advice. That is proved by the fact that Khalid stayed at al-Qaryah, which is on the route to Iraq, so that he could get news from there." Hisham remained silent until he had finished reading the letter. Then Hisham said to al-Hakam b. Hazn al-Qayni, who was in charge of the delegation (from Yusuf), and whom Yusuf had ordered to confirm what was written in it he had in fact done so "You are lying and so is the person who sent you. Whatever suspicions we may have had about Khalid, we have never doubted his obedience." Then Hisham ordered that the messenger's throat should be cut.⁸⁷⁹ When Khalid heard

[1814]

876. *Fa-daraba wa ba`a*. Presumably this is the meaning of *daraba* in this context. Certainly if the mawlas were beaten, the text would have to read *darabahum*.

877. Hit, a town in Iraq, lay on the right bank of the Euphrates, at the spot where caravans trading between Iraq and Syria crossed the river. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (M. Streck); Le Strange, *Lands*, 64-65.

878. The phrasing of the Arabic here seems to indicate that al-Qaryah is a place name rather than "the village": *thumma tahammalu ila al-qaryati wa-hiya*. Ibn al-Athir has *al-qaryati allati* ("the village which . . .") (V, 207).

879. Literally, "he gave orders concerning him and his throat was cut."

about that, he went to Damascus where he stayed until the (time for) the summer expedition arrived. Then he left with the expedition, accompanied by Yazid and Hisham, his two sons.⁸⁸⁰

The person in charge of Damascus at that time was Kulthum b. `Iyad al-Qasri,⁸⁸¹ who was ill-disposed⁸⁸² toward Khalid. When the expedition was well on the way to Byzantine territory,⁸⁸³ fires began to break out every night in the houses of Damascus. A man from Iraq called Abu al-`Umarras and some companions of his started the fire, and while it raged they would plunder and steal.⁸⁸⁴ Isma`il b. `Abdallah and al-Mundhir b. Asad b. `Abdallah and the two sons of Khalid, Sa`id and Muhammad, were on the coast because there had been bad news from Byzantium.⁸⁸⁵ At this juncture, Kulthum wrote to Hisham mentioning the fire and saying that there had never been such a fire before and that it was the work of the mawlas of Khalid, who wanted to attack the treasury (*bayt al-mgl*). Hisham wrote back ordering Kulthum to imprison Khalid's family, both young and old, as well as their mawlas and womenfolk. So Kulthum seized Isma`il, al-Mundhir, Muhammad, and Sa`id from where they were stationed on the coast, and they were brought back in manacles, together with those mawlas whom they had with them. Kulthum imprisoned Umm Jarir, Khalid's daughter, al-Ra'iqah,⁸⁸⁶ and all the women and young boys. [1815]

Then Abu al-`Umarras was overpowered and he and his associates were seized. Al-Walid b. `Abd al-Rahman, the superintendent

880. Literally, "the two sons of Khalid b. `Abdallah." According to al-Dinawari (345), Khalid asked Hisham's permission to raid in the direction of Tarsus.

881. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1716. Kulthum was sent as governor of Ifriqiyah in 123 (740-41) and died in 124 (741-42). Cf. n. 306.

882. *Wa-kana mutahamilan*. Cf. *Gloss.*, pp. CCIII-CCIV.

883. *Fa-lamma adrabu*. Cf. Lane, I, 866.

884. Cf. al-Dinawari, 345; Ibn al-Athir, V, 208.

885. *Li-hadathin kana min al-Rumi* ("because of bad news which was from Byzantium[?]"). If, as al-Dinawari says, Khalid was at Tarsus, he was at the most important of the frontier fortresses, since it guarded the Cilician Gates. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 132. Tarsus is on the coast, as al-Tabari says. Alternatively, *hadath* might be a reference to the Darb al-Hadath, the northeastern pass through the Taurus guarded by the fortress of Hadath. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 121-22. This is improbable, given the statement that Khalid was on the coast. According to al-Baladhuri, as cited by Le Strange, the Darb al-Hadath ("the road of bad news") was given the name Darb al-Salamah ("the road of safety") after the fortress was captured by the Muslims (loc. cit.).

886. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1739.

of the *kharaj* in Damascus, wrote to Hisham telling him that Abu al-`Umarras and his associates had been taken, giving their names one by one and detailing their tribes and garrison towns. Al-Walid b. `Abd al-Rahman did not, however, include amongst them a single one of Khalid's mawlas. Then Hisham wrote to Kulthum upbraiding and reproaching him, and ordering him to release all the people he had imprisoned. Kulthum let them all go, but he appropriated the mawlas for himself in the hope that Khalid would speak to him about them when the latter returned from the summer campaign. When the soldiers returned from the frontier,⁸⁸⁷ Khalid received word that his family had been imprisoned; but he did not hear that they had been set free again. Yazid b. Khalid secreted himself in a crowd of men until he reached Hims, whilst Khalid came and stayed in his house in Damascus. When people came to Khalid the following morning, he sent for his two daughters, Zaynab and `Atikah, and said: "I am growing old and I would like you to look after me." His daughters were very happy to do that. Then his brother Isma`il and his sons, Yazid and Sa`id, came in to see him. Khalid gave permission (to other people to come in), and his daughters stood up intending to withdraw.⁸⁸⁸ So Khalid said: "Why should they withdraw when Hisham drives them to prison day after day?" Then the people came in and Isma`il and Khalid's two sons stood in front of his two daughters concealing them.

[1816]

Khalid said: "I went out raiding in God's cause, hearing and obeying. Then people machinated behind my back and my women and the women of my family were seized and put in prison with criminals as is the practice with unbelievers. What was to stop a group of you standing up and saying: 'Why have the women of this man who hears and obeys been imprisoned?' Were you afraid that you would all be killed? May God inspire fear in you!" Then Khalid added: "As for the position between me and Hisham, (it is this): If he does not lay off me, I will certainly summon (people to follow) the one who is `Iraqi in passion, Syrian in family, and Hijazi in origin (meaning Muhammad b. `Ali b.

887. Literally, "when the people came and they went away from the frontier."

888. *Fa-qamat ibnatahu li-yatanahhaya*. Ibn al-Athir (V, 208) has *fa-qama banatuhu yahtajibna* ("his daughters stood up to veil themselves").

`Abdallah b. `Abbas).⁸⁸⁹ You have my permission to go and tell Hisham that." When Hisham heard what Khalid had said he declared: "Abu al-Haytham⁸⁹⁰ has lost his reason."⁸⁹¹

According to Abu Zayd Ahmad b. Mu`awiyah Abu al-Khattab: Khalid said: "By God, if the lord of al-Rusafah meaning Hisham does wrong,⁸⁹² we will certainly raise in support of us the Syrian, the Hijazi, the `Iraqi (i.e. Muhammad b. `Ali) and if he makes the slightest noise,⁸⁹³ it (i.e., al-Rusafah) will collapse on all sides." When Hisham heard what Khalid had said he wrote to him as follows: "You talk raving nonsense.⁸⁹⁴ Are you threatening me with the insignificant, vile tribe of Bajilah?"

(The narrative of Abu al-Khattab continues.) By God, no one, apart from a man of the Banu `Abs, supported him either in deed or word. The man from the Banu `Abs recited the following:⁸⁹⁵

Verily, the sea of generosity has become calm, [1817]
a captive of the Banu Thaqif,⁸⁹⁶ bound in chains,

But even though you have imprisoned al-Qasri, you will not
have imprisoned his reputation,
nor will you have imprisoned his beneficence amongst the
tribes.

Khalid and Yazid and other members of Khalid's family remained in Damascus, while Yusuf (b. `Umar) kept plying Hisham with requests for Hisham to send him Yazid. Then Hisham wrote to Kulthum b. `Iyad ordering him to seize Yazid and to send him to Yusuf. Accordingly, Kulthum sent cavalry to take Yazid, who was in his house. Yazid attacked the cavalry, who fell back from him, and then Yazid himself escaped on horseback. Then the

889. The imam of the Shi`is. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1769. Al-Dinawari, 345, has Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. `Ali b. `Abdallah b. `Abbas.

890. The *kunyah* of Khalid al-Qasri. Cf. Ibn Khallikan, II, 308.

891. Cf. Ibn al-Athir (loc. cit.); al-Dinawari (loc. cit.).

892. *la'in sa'a*. A variant reading has *la'in sha'a* ("if he wishes"). It might have been more usual to expect *la'in asa'a*.

893. Literally, "if he snorts a snort."

894. *Innaka hadhdha'atun hudharatun*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DXL.

895. The meter is *tawil*. The poet is named by Ibn Khallikan as Abu al-Shaghb al-`Absi. Ibn Khallikan also quotes the verses (loc. cit.). Al-Dinawari, 347, has similar, although not always identical, lines, which he attributes to al-Ash`ath b. al-Qini.

896. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 553.

cavalry returned to Kulthum and told him what had happened. The day after Yazid had left, Kulthum sent cavalry to take Khalid. Khalid called for his clothes and he put them on. His women⁸⁹⁷ all began to wail, so one of the cavalymen said (to Khalid): "Why don't you tell these women to shut up?" Khalid replied: "Why should I? Were it not for my obedience (to the caliph), the slave of the Banu Qasr would learn that he can't treat me in this way. So tell him what I said and if he is a true Arab, as he claims to be, just let him come and seek his fortune from me."⁸⁹⁸ Then Khalid left with the cavalry and he was incarcerated in the prison at Damascus. Isma`il immediately left for al-Rusafah to see Hisham. Isma`il went in to see Abu al-Zubayr,⁸⁹⁹ his chamberlain (*hajib*), and told him that Khalid had been imprisoned. Then Abu al-Zubayr went in to Hisham and informed him. Hisham wrote to Kulthum⁹⁰⁰ reproaching him, saying: "You have released those whom I ordered you to imprison, and you have imprisoned those whom I did not order you to imprison," and ordering Kulthum to release Khalid. This Kulthum did.

Whenever Hisham wanted anything done, he would order al-Abrash (to deal with it). Accordingly, Hisham wrote through al-Abrash to Khalid. Al-Abrash wrote as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful has heard that `Abd al-Rahman b. Thuwayb al-Dinni, of the Banu Dinnah of Sa`d, the brothers of `Uthrah b. Sa`d,⁹⁰¹ stood up before you and said: 'O Khalid, I love you because you have ten special qualities. Truly, God is noble and so

[1818]

897. Literally, "the women."

898. *La-yatlub jaddahu minni*: there are a number of problems with the word *jaddahu* (thus vocalized by the editor). Firstly, it is not clear whether Khalid is speaking about Yusuf, Hisham, or Kulthum. Secondly, *jadd* may mean "fortune" or "grandfather." Thirdly, there is a variant reading, *hadd* ("prescribed punishment, extremity"). A possible solution is as follows. Although most evidence points to Kulthum's not being a relation of Khalid's (he would appear to have been a Qaysi; cf. Crone, 128, and *EI2*, s.v. [R. Basset]), there was obviously at least one strand of tradition that said he was (cf. al-Dinawari, 345, who claims that Kulthum was a paternal cousin of Khalid's). Thus, it may be that here too Khalid is making a furiously ironic allusion to the fact that his relative is the one who is arresting him.

899. Abu al-Zubayr Nastas. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1749.

900. Cf. n. 306.

901. Al-Dinawari (346) has al-Kalbi. For this rather complicated genealogy, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 242.

are you. God is generous and so are you. God is merciful and so are you. God is forbearing and so are you.' And so `Abd al-Rahman continued in this way) until he had enumerated ten qualities.⁹⁰² Now the Commander of the Faithful swears by God that if that incident is authenticated to his own satisfaction, the shedding of your blood will be licit. So write and tell me about the matter properly, so that I may inform the Commander of the Faithful about it." Then Khalid wrote the following reply: "That assembly had too many people present for it to be possible that unjust or wicked persons could falsify the truth of what was said. `Abd al-Rahman b. Thuwayb stood before⁹⁰³ me and said: 'O Khalid, I love you because you have ten special qualities. Truly, God is noble; He loves every noble person and He (therefore) loves you and I love you because God loves you. . .' and `Abd al-Rahman continued in this way until he had enumerated ten qualities. But worse than that was (your condoning) the way in which Ibn Shaqqi al-Himyari stood up before the Commander of the Faithful and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, which do you prize more highly: your deputy (*khalifah*) among your people, or your messenger?' So the Commander of the Faithful replied: 'My deputy among my people.'⁹⁰⁴ Then Ibn Shaqqi⁹⁰⁵ said: 'You are the deputy of God and Muhammad is His messenger. By my life, if a man of the Banu Bajilah⁹⁰⁶ goes astray, it is certainly a more paltry matter both to the common people and to the court that if the Commander of the Faithful (himself) goes astray.'" Al-Abrash read out Khalid's letter to Hisham, who said: "Abu al-Haytham has become senile."⁹⁰⁷

[1819]

Khalid remained in Damascus during the (remainder of the time) that Hisham was caliph, until Hisham died. After Hisham's

902. Al-Dinawari lists all ten qualities (loc. cit.).

903. *Fa-amma* ("he turned"). The Cairo edition (257) has *fa-qama*, which is the emended version of the Leiden edition. Cf. *Emend.*, p. .DCCXII.

904. According to al-Dinawari, Hisham was angry because `Abd al-Rahman had attributed to Khalid merits that no single caliph had possessed (loc. cit.).

905. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 209. Al-Dinawari calls him `Abdallah b. Sayfi (loc. cit.).

906. Khalid's own tribe. He means himself here.

907. Al-Dinawari's account is less elliptical. In it Khalid upbraids Hisham for his harsh treatment of `Abd al-Rahman, whilst in the face of the blasphemous remarks of `Abdallah b. Sayfi (called Ibn Shaqqi by al-Tabari), Hisham did nothing at all to refute them (loc. cit.).

death, al-Walid became caliph and the leaders of the *junds*, including Khalid, came to see him, but al-Walid would not allow a single one of them in to see him. Khalid complained (that he was unwell)⁹⁰⁸ and sought permission (to go home). This was granted to him, and accordingly he went back to Damascus where he remained for some months. Then al-Walid wrote to Khalid as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful is apprised of the matter of the fifty million (dirhams). Didn't you know?⁹⁰⁹ So come to the Commander of the Faithful with his envoy. He has ordered him to give you enough time to make your preparations." Then Khalid sent for a number of his close advisers, amongst whom was `Umarah b. Abi Kulthum al-Azdi, and Khalid read out the letter to them and said: "Advise me on what I should do." They replied: "Al-Walid is not to be trusted in regard to you. We think that you should go into Damascus, seize the treasuries, and summon people to follow whomsoever you wish. The majority of the people are for you, and nobody will raise a dissenting voice against you." Khalid said: "What action other than that (could I take)?" They replied: "Seize the treasuries and stay put until your position has become secure." Khalid then asked: "What else could I do?" His advisers replied: "You could hide."

Then Khalid declared: "As regards your suggestion that I should summon people to follow whomsoever I wish, I would hate to have discord and disagreement on my hands. As for your suggestion that I should make my position secure, you do not feel that I am safe against al-Walid when I have done nothing wrong, so how can you hope that he will keep faith with me when I have seized the treasuries? As for hiding, by God, I have never covered my head in fear of anyone, and now that I have reached the age I am now, I won't do so either. On the contrary, I will go (to al-Walid) and I will ask God for help." Then Khalid departed and came to al-Walid, but al-Walid did not summon him or speak to him and Khalid remained in his own house with his mawlas and his servants until the time that the head of Yahya b. Zayd was [1820]

908. *Wa-ishtaka*. Later on in this narrative Khalid says that he is unable to walk and that he has to be carried. It may be that this was the result of the earlier torture he had undergone at the hands of Yusuf b. `Umar.

909. *A-lam ta`lam?* Ibn al-Athir has *allati ta`lamu* ("which you know about") (V, 209).

brought from Khurasan. Then the people were assembled in a portico (*riwaq*) and al-Walid sat down (with them). The chamberlain came and stood (by Khalid) and Khalid said to him: "You can see the state I am in. I can't walk. I can only be carried in my chair." The chamberlain replied: "Nobody who is being carried can go in to see al-Walid," and he gave permission for three other people to go in. Then he said: "Stand up, Khalid!" to which Khalid replied: "I have already told you what a state I am in." So the chamberlain allowed another one or two people to enter. Then he repeated "Stand up, Khalid!" to which Khalid again replied: "I have already told you what a state I am in." This continued until the chamberlain had allowed ten people in. Then, after saying once more: "Stand up, Khalid," he gave permission for everyone to go in⁹¹⁰ and gave instructions that Khalid should be admitted in his chair. So Khalid was taken in to see al-Walid, who was sitting on his couch. The tables were set; the people were in front of him in two rows. Shabbah b. `Aqqal or `Aqqal b. Shabbah was speaking and the head of Yahya b. Zayd had been raised aloft. Khalid was taken to one of the two rows and when the speaker had finished his speech al-Walid stood up. The people were sent away and Khalid was taken back to his family. When he had taken off his clothes, al-Walid's messenger came to him and took him back again. When Khalid reached the door of the tent he stopped. Then the messenger of al-Walid came out to him and said: "The Commander of the Faithful asks you: 'Where is Yazid b. Khalid?'" Khalid replied: "Yazid became the object of Hisham's anger.⁹¹¹ Hisham sent people to look for him and Yazid fled from him. We used to see Yazid in the company of the Commander of the Faithful until God made him caliph. Then when Yazid did not appear we thought that he was in his home territory of al-Sharah⁹¹² or thereabouts." The messenger came back to him again and said: "No: you have left Yazid behind to stir up trouble." Then Khalid said to the messenger: "The Commander of the Faithful knows that we are a family of obedience I, my father,

910. Literally, "Then he said, 'Stand up, Khalid!' and allowed all the people to go in."

911. Literally, "a claw struck him from Hisham." Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCCXLVI.

912. In the Damascus province. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 32-33.

and my grandfather before me." Then Khalid interpolated (to the narrator): "I could tell by the speed of the messenger's return that al-Walid was near enough to hear what I was saying." Then the messenger came back and said: "The Commander of the Faithful says to you: 'Either you bring Yazid or I will surely kill you.'"913 At that Khalid raised his voice and said: "Say to him: 'So that's what you have been wanting all along, is it? By God, even if Yazid were under my very feet I would not lift them up for you, so do whatever you want.'" Then al-Walid ordered Ghaylan,914 the chief of his guards, to beat Khalid, saying: "Let me hear his voice." So Ghaylan took Khalid to his house and tortured him with chains but Khalid did not open his mouth. Then Ghaylan went back to al-Walid and said: "By God, I won't torture anyone who never speaks or cries out!" Al-Walid said: "Lay off him and imprison him at your place." So he kept Khalid in prison until Yusuf b. `Umar brought money from Iraq.915 Then al-Walid and his associates deliberated the matter amongst themselves and al-Walid held an assembly with the people at which Yusuf was present. He916 spoke to Aban b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Numayri about Khalid and said: "I will buy him for fifty million (dirhams)." Then al-Walid sent word to Khalid saying: "Yusuf will buy you for fifty million. If you can guarantee (to give me) that amount, (well and good). Otherwise I will hand you over to Yusuf." Khalid replied: "(True) Arabs cannot be sold. By God, if you asked me to guarantee this"and he picked up some wood from the ground"I would not do it. So think again." Accordingly, al-Walid handed Khalid over to Yusuf, who stripped him of his clothes, threw a woollen cloak over him, bundled him into another, and took him away in a litter without a seat. Khalid's companion on the road was Abu Quhafah al-Murri, the nephew of al-Walid b. Talid, who had been Hisham's governor in al-Mawsil.917

Yusuf took Khalid away and he camped at al-Muhdathah, about

913. The text has *la-urhiqanna*. The Cairo edition (259) has *la-uzhiqanna* ("I will surely kill"). The latter version has been followed.

914. Al-Dinawari (347) calls him Sa`id b. Ghaylan.

915. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1779-80.

916. It is not clear whether this refers to Yusuf or al-Walid.

917. According to al-Dinawari (348) Yusuf took Khalid to Wasit.

a day's journey from al-Walid's camp. Then Yusuf called Khalid and referred to his mother (in a scandalous context). Khalid replied: "Why are you talking about mothers? May God curse you! By God, I will never speak a word to you again." Then Yusuf lashed Khalid and tortured him severely but Khalid did not utter a single word. Then Yusuf proceeded on his journey with Khalid. After some distance, Zayd b. Tamim al-Qayni sent a mawla of his called Salim al-Naffat⁹¹⁸ to give Khalid a drink of *sawiq*⁹¹⁹ made from pomegranate seeds. When Yusuf heard about this, he sentenced Zayd to five hundred lashes and Salim to one thousand lashes. Then Yusuf reached al-Hirah and he summoned Khalid, together with Ibrahim and Muhammad, the sons of Hisham (b. Isma'il al-Makhzumi). Yusuf had Khalid flogged but Khalid did not tell him anything. Ibrahim b. Hisham bore up under torture but Muhammad b. Hisham was broken. After Khalid had remained under torture for one day, Yusuf placed the spiked rack⁹²⁰ on his chest and killed him that night. Khalid was buried in the cloak which he had been wearing in the area of al-Hirah in al-Muharram 126 (October 25-November 24, 743) according to the report given by al-Haytham b. `Adi. Then `Amir b. Sahlah al-Ash`ari came and killed⁹²¹ his horse at Khalid's grave and Yusuf gave him seven hundred lashes.

[1822]

According to Abu Zayd Abu Nu`ayman (unnamed) man: I was present when Yusuf brought Khalid. Yusuf called for some wood, which was placed on Khalid's feet, and then people stood on him until his feet were broken. But by God, he did not cry out or allow any expression⁹²² to cross his face. Then they stood on his legs until they were broken, then on his thighs, on his loins, and on his chest until he died. But by God, he did not (once) cry out or allow any expression to cross his face.

918. The naphtha thrower.

919. *Sawiq*: a soup or paste made from flour and water to which honey, oil or pomegranate syrup is added. Cf. *Lisan*, II, 243; *EI* s.v. (J. Ruska).

920. *Al-mudarrasah*. Cf. al-Dinawari, 348; Ibn al-Athir, V, 210. Here Ibn al-Athir quotes from al-Farazdaq's verses against Khalid al-Qasri.

921. *Fa-`aqara farsahu*: "he hamstrung/killed his horse." A pre-Islamic practice. Cf. the tradition quoted by Lane: *la `aqra fi al-Islami* ("there will be no slaughtering (at the grave) in Islam"). Cf. Lane, I, 2108.

922. Literally, "frown."

When al-Walid b. Yazid was killed, Khalaf b. Khalifah⁹²³ re-cited the following:⁹²⁴

The Kalb and the forefathers of Madhhij⁹²⁵ have silenced
a soul tormented with thirst⁹²⁶ which clamored sleeplessly [1823]
the whole night long.

In avenging Khalid, they have left⁹²⁷ the Commander of the
Faithful
prostrate upon his nose, though not in the act of worship.

So if you have snapped the cord of a necklace of ours,
we have in retaliation rent the cords of many necklaces of
yours.

And if you have diverted our attention from dispensing
largesse,
we have in turn diverted al-Walid's attention from the
singing of maidens.

And if al-Qasri has embarked on a journey of no return,
(Remember that) Abu al-`Abbas also is no longer to be seen.

Hassan b. Ja`dah al-Ja`fari⁹²⁸ gave the lie to Khalaf b. Khalifah in
these verses of his:⁹²⁹

Surely a man who claims that he himself killed al-Walid and
not
the caliph's uncles, has a soul brimful of lies.

He is naught but a man whose hour of death is nigh,

923. Khalaf b. Khalifah, the mawla of Qays b. Tha`labah. Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 301.

924. Cf. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, loc. cit. The meter is *tawil*.

925. For the Banu Madhhij, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 381.

926. *Sadan*. Cf. Lane, I, 1671. The translation here is based on the basic meaning of *sadiya* ("to thirst vehemently"). Others will argue that what is meant here is the bird (often an owl) that cries in the head of the slain when his blood has not been avenged by retaliation. Cf. *ibid*. The translation here, "tormented with thirst," is based on an oral explanation of the term *sadan* given in 1970 by Professor A. F. L. Beeston, who convincingly related the term to the Ugaritic practice of placing water in the grave so that the soul of the deceased should not thirst in eternity.

927. *Tarakna* ("they have left"). Ibn `Abd Rabbihi (loc. cit.) has *tarakna* ("we have left").

928. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1378.

929. The meter is *basit*.

one against whom the Banu Marwan have marched
alongside the Arabs.

Abu Mihjan, Khalid's mawla, recited the following:930

Ask al-Walid, ask his troops,
when in the morning our hailstorm rained down on him,

Did a single soul from the Mudar come to shield him,
when the horses were charging under the dust cloud of death? [1824]

The man who in his folly lampoons us in verse we will cut to
pieces
with shining white swords; indeed, we use them to
lampoon and smite (our foes).

Nasr b. Sa'id al-Ansari recited the following:931

Convey to Yazid932 of the Banu Kurz a stark message,933
that from afar my thirst for vengeance has been slaked and
that I am no longer after revenge.934

You have cut down the limbs of a slave (*qinnawr*)935 in rage
with a sharp, well-worn Indian sword.

In the evening, the wives of a slave have suffered mutilation
because of the downfall of the slave, the son of a slave,

And the dogs of Damascus continued to grip him with their
teeth,
as if his limbs were the limbs of a pig.

They left only fragments of him at the place where he died,
the debris of a decaying corpse dragged over the tent ropes.

You made your sword the judge when you were not satisfied
with their judgment,

930. This meter is also *basit*.

931. Again, the meter is *basit*.

932. Yazid, Khalid's son. Kurz was an ancestor of Khalid al-Qasri. Cf. Ibn Khallikan, II, 309; Goldziher, I, 188-89.

933. *Mughalghalatan*.

934. The text has *qinnawr*. This is later changed tentatively to *qinnur*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII. The original version seems to accord better with the form in *Lisan*, III, 179, where the vocalization is *qinnawr* and the word is defined as *al-`abd* ("slave"). This is also the view expressed by the editor. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDX-CDXXIII. The Cairo edition (262) has *qannur*.

935. The double force of *al-`abdi qinnawrin* has not been rendered in English.

for only the sword passes judgment without seeking justification.

So do not accept from Khalid, if you are far-sighted,
anything except every great and famous deed.

You have set fire to the kingdom of the Nizar and then terrified them [1825]
with galloping horses which bear haughty warriors.

There were none among the family of a slave, nor
among their offspring,⁹³⁶ equal to the moon in the sky,
suffused with light.

In this year the oath of allegiance was given to Yazid b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik, who was called Yazid the "Inadequate"⁹³⁷ (*al-Naqis*). Yazid was given the title of the "Inadequate" only because he cut back the increase of ten dirhams in the people's stipends which al-Walid b. Yazid had decreed for them. After al-Walid was killed, Yazid revoked their increase and restored their stipends to what they had been in the time of Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik. It was said that the first person to call Yazid by this name was Marwan b. Muhammad.⁹³⁸

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): Marwan b. Muhammad reproached Yazid b. al-Walid and called him al-Naqis b. al-Walid. So he dubbed him the "Inadequate" and that is why the people called him that.

936. Literally, "nor did they beget."

937. Cf. n. 629.

938. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 220.

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THE CALIPHATE OF YAZID B. AL-WALID

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The Events of the Year 126 (cont'd)
(October 25, 743-October 12, 744)

In this year the unity of the Banff Marwan was disturbed and discord prevailed.

The Discords That Occurred

One such source of discord was the uprising of Sulayman b. Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik in `Amman after the killing of al-Walid b. Yazid. According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): When al-Walid was killed, Sulayman b. Hisham came out of prison he had been imprisoned in `Amman⁹³⁹ took what revenues there were in `Amman, and made for Damascus, where he began cursing al-Walid and upbraiding him for being an unbeliever.

In this year the people of Hims attacked the dependents of al-`Abbas b. al-Walid. They destroyed his house and declared publicly that they were seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Walid b. Yazid. [1826]

939. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1776. For Sulayman's activities after his release from prison, cf. also Ibn al-Athir, V, 220; *Fragmenta*, 146.

The Uprising in Hims

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini): Marwan b. `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik was al-Walid's governor in Hims. He was one of the most prominent members of the Banff Marwan as far as nobility, generosity, intellect, and good looks were concerned. When al-Walid was killed and the news of his murder reached the people of Hims, they closed the town gates and they long continued to lament and mourn for al-Walid. The people asked how al-Walid had come to be killed and one of the people who had come to them (to tell them the news) said: We continued to maintain law and order among the people, and to keep them under control, until al-`Abbas b. al-Walid arrived and defected to the side of `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj. Then the people of Hims rose up and wrecked and looted the house of al-`Abbas; they carried off his women and took away his sons, whom they cast into prison. They began searching for al-`Abbas, but he escaped to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then the people wrote to the *junds*, summoning them to seek vengeance for al-Walid's blood, and the *junds* responded. The people of Hims who were in the *junds* wrote to the effect that they would not give the oath of obedience to Yazid, that if al-Walid's two heirs⁹⁴⁰ were still alive they would give the oath of allegiance to them and that otherwise they would give it to the best person they knew, on the condition that he give them stipends each Muharram and that he make provision that their children should inherit them.⁹⁴¹ They chose Mu`awiyah b. Yazid b. Husayn⁹⁴² as their leader. He wrote a letter to Marwan b. `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik, who was in the *amir's* residence in Hims. When Marwan had read the letter he said: "This is a letter that was written with God's approval,"⁹⁴³ and he agreed to do what they wanted. When Yazid b. al-Walid heard about the people of Hims he sent envoys to them, amongst whom was Ya`qub b. Hani', and he wrote a letter to them saying that he was not calling them to accept himself but that he was summoning them to the

940. The two sons mentioned in al-Walid's succession letter, i.e., al-Hakam and `Uthman.

941. Literally, "he would give (stipends) to them for the children."

942. Mu`awiyah b. Yazid b. Husayn b. Numayr al-Sakuni. Cf. Crone, 97.

943. This translation is only tentative.

shura. `Amr b. Qays al-Sakuni⁹⁴⁴ replied: "We are content with our heir-apparent" (*wali`ahd*), meaning the son of al-Walid b. Yazid. At that Ya`qub b. `Umayr⁹⁴⁵ took hold of `Amr's beard and berated him: "You decrepit old man! Your judgment is unsound and you have lost your reason. Even if the person you mean⁹⁴⁶ were an orphan in your care, it would not be lawful for you to give him his money, so how could it be otherwise in the case (not just of money, but) of the *ummah* itself?"⁹⁴⁷ Then the people of Hims attacked the envoys of Yazid b. al-Walid and drove them out. In charge of Hims was Mu`awiyah b. Yazid b. Husayn. Marwan b. `Abdallah had no authority over them. Al-Simt b. Thabit⁹⁴⁸ was with the people of Hims, too, but relations between him and Mu`awiyah b. Yazid were strained. Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani,⁹⁴⁹ who was also with the rebels, declared to them: "If I went to Damascus and showed only myself to the people there, they would not oppose me."

[1827]

Then Yazid b. al-Walid dispatched Masrur b. al-Walid and al-Walid b. Rawh with a large number of troops, most of whom were from the Banff `Amir of Kalb, and they camped at Huwwarayn.⁹⁵⁰ Thereafter, Sulayman b. Hisham came to Yazid. Sulayman was well received by Yazid, and Yazid married Sulayman's sister, Umm Hisham, the daughter of Hisham b. `Abd al-Malik. Yazid also returned to Sulayman those of his family's possessions that al-Walid had seized. Then Yazid sent Sulayman b. Hisham to Masrur b. al-Walid and al-Walid b. Rawh, ordering them to heed and obey him. Then the people of Hims arrived and camped at a village belonging to Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr)`Ali (al-Mada'ini)`Amr b.

944. For his biography, cf. Crone, 99.

945. The name is written thus in the text. On the preceding page, however, Ya`qub b. Hani was mentioned in the delegation sent to Hims by Yazid. There is probably a scribal error here and the name should be Ya`qub b. Hani'.

946. One of the two sons of al-Walid, who were still minors.

947. Literally, "how is the case of the *ummah*?"

948. Al-Simt b. Thabit b. Yazid b. Shurahbil b. al-Simt. For his later career, cf. al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 404, 495. For the history of his family, cf. Crone, 101-02.

949. Abu Muhammad Muhammad b. `Abdallah b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah al-Sufyani, an Umayyad. For a discussion of this name, cf. *Fragmenta*, 138, and the editor's note C. Cf. also Wellhausen, 362, 365-66.

950. Of the places that bear this name in Syria, the most likely here is a fortress near Hims. Cf. Yaqut, II, 355; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 465; Dussaud, 79.

Marwan al-Kalbi`Amr b. Muhammad and Yahya b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Bahrani: Marwan b. `Abdallah stood up and addressed them: "You who are gathered here! You have risen up in rebellion to wage war against your enemy and to avenge the blood of your caliph and you have taken a path of rebellion for which I hope that God will reward you and give you a good recompense. People have shown their readiness to fight you and have revealed aggressive intentions toward you. If you foil their attempts, the rest will follow of itself and you will be nearer to your objectives and (your enemies) will be easier for you (to deal with). I do not think it is advisable for you to go to Damascus with this army at your back."⁹⁵¹ Then al-Simt said: "By God, this is an enemy who is right on your doorstep and who wants to disrupt your unity. And he has Qadari inclinations." Thereupon the soldiers attacked and killed Marwan b. `Abdallah and his son, and exhibited their heads⁹⁵² to the people. By making these remarks, however, al-Simt had only wanted to disagree with Mu`awiyah b. Yazid.

[1828]

When Marwan b. `Abdallah was killed, the people of Hims appointed as their governor Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani. They further sent word to Sulayman b. Hisham, saying: "We are coming to you, so remain where you are," so he stayed put. Then the people of Hims bypassed Sulayman's troops on their left and advanced toward Damascus. Sulayman got wind of where they were going, so he departed in haste and met up with them at al-Sulaymaniyyah, which was an estate belonging to Sulayman b. `Abd al-Malik (and was located) behind `Adhra',⁹⁵³ fourteen miles from Damascus.

According to `Ali (al-Mada'ini)`Amr b. Marwan b. Bashshar and al-Walid b. `Ali: When Yazid heard about what the people of Hims had been up to, he summoned `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj and sent him off with three thousand men, ordering him to make himself master of the `Uqab pass.⁹⁵⁴ Yazid also sent for Hisham b.

951. Literally, "and to leave this army behind you." Ibn al-Athir has: "if you are victorious over them what follows them will be easier for you" (V, 221).

952. There is no dual in the Leiden text here, but the Cairo edition (VII, 264) corrects it without comment.

953. `Adhra' was a well-known village of the Ghutah district around Damascus. Cf. Yaqut, III, 625; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 383.

954. This is presumably a reference to the Eagle's Gorge which lay near `Adhra'. Cf. Le Strange, loc. cit.

Masad and dispatched him with fifteen hundred men, ordering him to seize the mountain road at al-Salamah⁹⁵⁵ and instructing the forces to provide each other with mutual support.

According to `Amr b. Marwan Yazid b. Masad: I was with Sulayman's troops. When we came upon the people of Hims, they had camped at al-Sulaymaniyyah. They had positioned themselves with the olive grove on their right, the mountain to the north of them, and the wells behind them. So there was only one way of approaching them. They had camped there at the beginning of the night and had rested their riding animals, whereas we had spent the whole night traveling until we had come upon them. When the sun was high and the heat had become intense and our animals were exhausted and our armor weighed heavily on us, I went up to Masrur b. al-Walid and said to him, within earshot of Sulayman: "O Abu Sa`id, I swear to you by God that the *amir* (of Hims) is sending his *jand* forward to fight (us) at this very moment." Then Sulayman rode up and said: "Young man, be steadfast. By God, I will not dismount until God has decreed His will for me and them (the people of Hims)."⁹⁵⁶ Then Sulayman moved forward (into the fray); in charge of his right flank was al-Tufayl b. Harithah al-Kalbi and in command of his left was al-Tufayl b. Zurarah al-Habashi.⁹⁵⁷ The people of Hims launched an attack on us and our right and left flanks withdrew a distance of more than two bowshots, whilst Sulayman maintained his position in the center. Then Sulayman's men attacked the army of Hims, pushing them back to their original position. Thereafter there were repeated attacks from both sides. Around two hundred of the men of Hims were killed, including Harb b. `Abdallah b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah, and about fifty of Sulayman's followers lost their lives. Abu al-Halba' al-Bahrani, who was a prominent horseman from Hims, sallied forth and issued a challenge to single combat, so Hayyah b. Salamah al-Kalbi came out against him. Abu al-Halba' struck Hayyah a blow which unseated him from his horse. Then Abu Ja`dah, a mawla of Quraysh from Damascus,

[1829]

955. The text has al-Salamah. Ibn al-Athir has al-Salamiyyah (V, 221). Certainly al-Salamiyyah (unlike al-Salamah) can be located in the area between Hamah and Hims. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 528; Dussaud, 79.

956. Literally, "until God has decreed what He decrees between me and them."

957. For these two men called Tufayl, cf. Crone, 162.

attacked Abu al-Halba' and killed him. Next, Thubayt b. Yazid al-Bahrani sallied forth and issued a challenge to single combat, whereupon Irak al-Sughdi, who was a descendant of the kings of Sughd and was attached to Sulayman b. Hisham, came out against him. Now Thubayt was short and Irak was massive. When Thubayt saw Irak advancing toward him he retreated, so Irak stood and shot an arrow at him which pinned his leg muscle to his saddle cloth. While they were thus engaged, `Abd al-`Aziz approached from the `Uqab pass and he attacked the men of Hims with such vigor that he broke through their lines killing (some of them) and then reached us.

[1830]

According to `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan Sulayman b. Ziyad al-Ghassani: 958 I was with `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj. When he caught sight of the troops of Hims, he said to his followers: "Your destination is that hill which is in the center of their troops. By God, any of you who falls behind will be beheaded by me personally." Then, ordering his personal standard-bearer to advance, he launched into the fray and we went with him. We killed everyone in our way until we reached the hill. `Abd al-`Aziz had split up the troops of Hims. who were in disarray. Then Yazid b. Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri shouted: "Fear God, fear God when dealing with your own people!" 959 and thus he restrained them, for his heart misgave him at what Sulayman and `Abd al-`Aziz had done. Hostilities almost broke out between Sulayman, supported by the Dhakwaniyyah, 960 and the Banff `Amir from Kalb. The Dhakwaniyyah were stopped from attacking the Banff `Amir on being assured that the latter would give the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then Sulayman b. Hisham sent men to Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani and Yazid b. Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah, and they were seized. As they were being taken past al-Tufayl b. Harithah, they shouted out to him: "We beseech you, uncle, 961 by God and kinship, (help us)." So al-Tufayl went with them to

958. The Cairo edition (265) puts in Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) at the beginning of this chain of transmitters.

959. *Allaha Allaha fi qawrnika*.

960. The Dhakwaniyyah were the armed retinue of Sulayman b. Hisham, numbering several thousand men. Cf. Crone, 53, 241, n. 393.

961. Their maternal uncle.

Sulayman, but he imprisoned them both. The Banff `Amir were afraid that he would kill the two of them, so a group of the Banff `Amir came and remained with the two captives in the tent. Then Sulayman sent them on to Yazid b. al-Walid, who imprisoned them in the Green Palace⁹⁶² with al-Walid's two sons. Yazid also imprisoned with them Yazid b. `Uthman b. Muhammad b. Abi Sufyan, the maternal uncle of `Uthman b. al-Walid. Then Sulayman and `Abd al-`Aziz went toward Damascus and lodged at `Adhra'. The people of Damascus reached agreement and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then the people went (back) to Damascus and Hims. Yazid allotted them stipends and gave presents to their leaders, amongst whom were Mu`awiyah b. Yazid b. al-Husayn, al-Simt b. Thabit, `Amr b. Qays, Ibn Huwayy, and al-Saqr b. Safwan. Yazid appointed Mu`awiyah b. Yazid b. Husayn, [1831] who was from Hims, as governor. The remainder (of the rebels) stayed in Damascus and then left to join the people of Jordan and Palestine. Three hundred of the inhabitants of Hims had been killed that day.⁹⁶³

In this year the inhabitants of Palestine and Jordan rose up and killed their governor.⁹⁶⁴

The Rebellion of the People of Palestine and Jordan and the Treatment They Received from Yazid b. al-Walid

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi Raja' b. Rawh b. Salamah b. Rawh b. Zinba`:⁹⁶⁵ Sa`id b. `Abd al-Malik, a man of good character, was al-Walid's governor in Palestine. Yazid b. Sulayman (b. `Abd al-Malik) was the chief of his father's sons.⁹⁶⁶ They had been

962. *Al-Khadra'*: the palace built at Damascus by Mu`awiyah, the first Umayyad caliph. It is perhaps significant that the audience hall at al-Rusafah and the palace at Wasit also had green domes. Cf. the discussion in Grabar, *Al-Mushatta*, 106.

963. For an analysis of the revolt of the men of Hims, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 157; Wellhausen, 365-66.

964. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 222-23.

965. For the history of this family, cf. Crone, 99-101.

966. Literally, "the sons of Sulayman b. `Abd al-Malik." For Yazid b. Sulayman, cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

living in Palestine, and the people there liked them because of the protection that they extended to them. When al-Walid was killed, the leader of the people in Palestine at that time, Sa`id b. Rawh b. Zinba', wrote to Yazid b. Sulayman, saying: "The caliph has been killed. Come to us and we will appoint you to rule over us." Then Sa`id (b. Rawh) gathered his people to him and wrote to Sa`id b. `Abd al-Malik, who was at that time camped at al-Saba`,⁹⁶⁷ saying: "Leave us. The situation here has become very troubled and we have chosen as our ruler a man under whose government we can be content." Accordingly, Sa`id b. `Abd al-Malik went away to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then Yazid b. Sulayman summoned the people of Palestine to fight against Yazid b. al-Walid. The people of Jordan heard about their activities and so they appointed Muhammad b. `Abd al-Malik to rule over them, whilst it was Sa`id b. Rawh and Dib`an b. Rawh⁹⁶⁸ who were in command of the people of Palestine. When Yazid (b. al-Walid) heard about the doings of the people of Jordan and Palestine, he sent Sulayman b. Hisham against them, accompanied by the men of Damascus and the men of Hims who had been with al-Sufyani. According to `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan Muhammad b. Rashid al-Khuza'i: [1832] The men of Damascus numbered eighty-four thousand even before Sulayman b. Hisham went out to join them.⁹⁶⁹

According to Muhammad b. Rashid: Sulayman b. Hisham⁹⁷⁰ kept on sending me to Dib`an and Sa`id, the two sons of Rawh, and to al-Hakam and Rashid, the two sons of Jir' of the Balqayn, and I would make them promises and raise their hopes (of what they would receive) if they gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid. Accordingly, they agreed to do so. According to `Uthman b. Dawud al-Khawlani: Yazid b. al-Walid sent me, together with Hudhayfah b. Sa`id, to Muhammad b. `Abd al-Malik and Yazid b. Sulayman to call on them to submit to him and to make them promises and raise their hopes. So we began with the men of

967. Two places called al-Saba` (Le Strange has al-Sab`) were located in the province of Filastin. The more likely one here is the district that lies between Jerusalem and al-Karak. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 523.

968. Dib`an is the vocalization given by the editor. *Fragmenta*, 152, has Dab`an.

969. Literally, "the men of Damascus were eighty-four thousand, and Sulayman b. Hisham went to them."

970. Cf. n. 368.

Jordan and Muhammad b. `Abd al-Malik. A group of them had gathered to him and I addressed him. Then one of them said:

"May God show the *amir* the right way! Accept what this young man says."971 Then the prayer began,972 and I spoke privately with him and said: "I have been sent by Yazid with a message for you.973 By God, all the flags I have left behind me are hoisted over the heads of your own people. Every dirham that has left the treasury is in their hands and they (all) have some kind of grievance against you."974 Muhammad said: "Are you sure about that?" I said: "Yes." Then I went away, came to Dib`an b. Rawh, and said the same things to him. I also said to him: "Yazid will make you governor of Palestine for as long as he remains in power." So Dib`an agreed to what I had proposed and I left. Before the following day the people of Palestine had decamped.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr)`Ali (al-Mada'ini)`Amr b. Marwan al-KalbiMuhammad b. Sa`id b. Hassan al-Urdunni: I was a scout for Yazid b. al-Walid in Jordan. When the situation had settled down in his favor, he made me superintendent of the *kharaj* in Jordan. When the people rebelled against Yazid b. al-Walid, I went to Sulayman b. Hisham and I asked him to detail some cavalry to accompany me in making a raid on Tabariy-

[1833]

971. The text has *aqbil hadha al-fata uqimat al-salatu*. This would appear to be faulty. At minimum the insertion of *wa* or *fa* before *uqimat* is necessary. Thus a literal translation would be: "'Accept this young man' and then the prayer began." The Cairo edition (VII, 267) has a longer, quite different reading here: *uqtul hadha al-Qadariyya al-khabitha fa-kaffahum `anni al-Hakam b. Jir' al-Qini*, which the editor says is a variant reading, although the Leiden edition gives no variants at all. Ibn al-Athir glosses over this problem by omitting it (V, 222). In this very unsatisfactory situation, the former solution with the addition of *wa* has been adopted. It accords better with the following details of a private conversation between the messenger and Muhammad b. `Abd al-Malik.

972. Cf. n. 148.

973. Literally, "I am Yazid's messenger to you."

974. The meaning of this is rather obscure. A literal translation of the text would be: "By God, I have not left behind me any flag except that it is raised over the head of a man of your family and there is no *dirham* which leaves the treasury except in the hand of a man from amongst them." The Arabic then continues: *wa-huwa yahmilu laka kadha wa-kadha*. Presumably what the messenger is suggesting here is that there are troops mobilized and paid from the family of Muhammad b. `Abd al-Malik already on the side of Yazid b. al-Walid and that Muhammad would do well to submit at once. The precise meaning of *yahmilu* is not clear, but *hamala* may mean "to be angry, to have a grievance" (cf. Lane, I, 647) and has tentatively been translated thus in this sentence.

yah.⁹⁷⁵ But Sulayman refused to send anyone with me. Then I went to Yazid b. al-Walid and told him what had happened. Yazid wrote a letter over his own signature to Sulayman, ordering him to let me take with me whatever I wanted. Then I took the letter to Sulayman, and he sent Muslim b. Dhakwan⁹⁷⁶ and five thousand men with me. I left with them at night and made them camp at al-Batihah. Then they dispersed into the villages. I went with a group of them to Tabariyyah and they wrote letters contacting their own groups. The people of Tabariyyah said: "Why should we stand by when troops are searching our houses and oppressing our people?" Then they went to the residence of Yazid b. Sulayman and Muhammad b. `Abd al-Malik, plundered their belongings, seized their riding-animals and weapons, and returned to their own villages and houses.

When the people of Palestine and Jordan had dispersed, Sulayman went to al-Sannabrah,⁹⁷⁷ where the people of Jordan gathered to him and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then on the Friday Sulayman sent people toward Tabariyyah; he himself crossed the lake by boat and traveled alongside his men⁹⁷⁸ (who were on the road) until he reached Tabariyyah. Then he led the people in the Friday prayer, made the oath of allegiance (to Yazid b. al-Walid) with the people who were there, and returned to his camp. According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi `Uthman b. Dawud: When Sulayman camped at al-Sannabrah, he sent me to Yazid b. al-Walid, instructing me to transmit the following message to Yazid: "You know how churlish the people of Palestine are, but God has (so far) taken it upon Himself to defend you from them. I have resolved to appoint Ibn Suraqah as governor of Palestine and al-Aswad b. Bilal al-Muharibi as governor of Jordan." So I went to

⁹⁷⁵. Tabariyyah (Tiberias), the capital of the province of Jordan. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 334-51.

⁹⁷⁶. The commander of the Dhakwaniyyah, a freedman of Yazid b. al-Walid. Cf. Crone, 241, n. 394.

⁹⁷⁷. This place is vocalized in the text as al-Sinnabrah. According to Le Strange, basing his reading on Yaqut, III, 419, it should be al-Sannabrah. This was a place in the province of Jordan, three miles from Tabariyyah (*Palestine*, 531).

⁹⁷⁸. The text has *wajjaha Sulaymanu ila . . . fa-ja`ala yusayiruhum*. There would appear to be an implied object ("them," "the people") with *wajjaha*. Otherwise, *tawajjaha* would be more usual.

Yazid and I told him what Sulayman had instructed me to tell him. Yazid said: "Tell me what you said to Dib`an b. Rawh," so I told him. Then he said: "And what did Dib`an do?" I replied: "Before morning, he decamped with the people of Palestine and Ibn Jirw and the people of Jordan did likewise." Then Yazid said: "No one keeps his promises better than we do. Go back and tell Sulayman not to leave until he has gone to al-Ramlah and make the people there give the oath of allegiance (to me). I have already appointed Ibrahim b. al-Walid as governor of Jordan, Dib`an b. Rawh. as governor of Palestine, Masrur b. al-Walid over Qinnasrin, and Ibn al-Husayn over Hims." [1834]

After the murder of al-Walid, Yazid b. al-Walid delivered a sermon. After giving praise and thanks to God and praying for His prophet Muhammad he went on:979

O people! By God, I did not rise up in rebellion out of overweening insolence and pride980 nor out of a craving (to possess the things of) this world nor out of a desire for kingship. Nor do I have an inflated opinion of myself. Indeed, without the mercy of my Lord, I would be lost. On the contrary, I have rebelled out of righteous anger for God's cause, His prophet, and His religion, and I came to summon people to God, His book, and the *sunnah* of His prophet. (And this was at a time) when the signposts indicating the right path had been destroyed,981 the light of pious folk had been extinguished, and there had appeared that stiff-necked tyrant who declared licit every forbidden thing and who was responsible for one innovation (*bid`ah*) after another. Nor, moreover, by God, did he confirm the truth of the Book or believe in the Day of Reckoning, although in the matter of noble descent he was my (paternal) cousin and was my equal as regards lineage. When I saw (all) this, I sought God's favor in my dealings with him

979. For other versions of this famous *khutbah*, cf. *Fragmenta*, 150-51; Ibn al-Tiqtaqah, 130-31; Ibn Khayyat, 382-83; Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, II, 144; al-Jahiz., *al-Bayan*, II, 141-42. Only significant differences are noted below. For a recent discussion of this *khutbah*, cf. Hawting, 95.

980. *Bataran*. Cf. Qur'an 28, v. 58.

981. *Hudimat*. Ibn `Abd Rabbihi (loc. cit.) and Ibn Khayyat (loc. cit.) have *durisat* ("had been effaced").

(al-Walid) and I implored Him not to let me yield to self-interest in this matter. I summoned to that cause those under my command who answered my call and I strove therein until God, by His own power and might and not through mine, granted His servants and lands surcease from him (al-Walid).

O people, I give you my pledge that I will not place stone upon stone nor brick upon brick,⁹⁸² I will not dig any river, I will not accumulate wealth or give it to any wife or child. (I swear too) that I will not transfer wealth from one town to another until I have made good the loss to that town and repaired adequately the fortune of its people.⁹⁸³ If there is any surplus, I will take it⁹⁸⁴ to the next town and to those who are in greatest need of it.⁹⁸⁵ I will not detain you for long periods at the frontiers, thereby sorely testing you and your families. I will not close my door against you so that the strong amongst you will devour the weak, nor will I place on those of you who pay the poll-tax (burdens) which will drive you from your lands and decimate your progeny.⁹⁸⁶ With me in charge you will receive your stipends every year and your rations every month, so much so that there will be an abundance of sustenance for (all) Muslims, be they far distant or near at hand. If I keep my word to you, then it is your duty to heed, to obey, and to provide help generously. But if I do not keep faith with you, it is up to you to depose me, with the proviso that you should (first) ask me to repent and if I do so you should accept such repentance from me. If you know of anyone of proven probity who of his own accord will give you

[1835]

982. These are attacks on the building activities of his predecessor, al-Walid.

983. *Hatta asudda . . . khasasata ahlihi bi-ma yu`nihum*. This is later amended to *yughnihum* ("until I have restored the fortune of its people by that which satisfies them"). Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. The Cairo edition (269) has *bi-ma yu`inuhum* ("by that which keeps them").

984. *Fa-in fadala fadlatun naqaltuhu*. The Cairo edition (269) corrects *fadlatun*. to *fadlun*.

985. *Naqaltuhu ila al-baladi yalihi mimman huwa ahwaju ilayhi*. The version of Ibn `Abd Rabbihi (loc. cit.) makes better sense: *ila al-baladi alladhi yalihi wa-man huwa ahwaju ilayhi*. This is the version adopted in the translation.

986. Literally: "will drive *them* from *their* lands and decimate *their* progeny."

what I would give you, and you want to give the oath of allegiance to him, then I would be the first to give him my allegiance and submit to him.

O people! Obedience to a (created) human being should not involve disobedience to the Creator nor should you keep faith (with a human ruler) by breaking a covenant (with God). Obedience consists solely in obedience to God. So obey him (the caliph), in (your) obedience to God, as long as he (the caliph) obeys (God). But if he (the caliph) disobeys God and summons (you) to disobey God too, then he deserves to be disobeyed and killed. This is what I have to say and may God forgive me and you.

Then Yazid b. al-Walid called on the people to renew their oath of allegiance to him. The first person to do so was Yazid b. Hisham, whose *laqab* was al-Afqam. Then Qays b. Hani' al-`Absi gave him the oath of allegiance and declared: "O Commander of the Faithful, fear God and continue to conduct yourself as you are doing now, for no member of your family has behaved as (well as) you have. If people affirm that `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz⁹⁸⁷ (did so), (the difference is that) you obtained the caliphate by upright means,⁹⁸⁸ whereas `Umar took it in a wicked way." When Marwan b. Muhammad heard what Qays had said, he exclaimed: "What's wrong with him? May God strike dead him who defamed us all and `Umar as well." (Later) when Marwan became caliph he sent somebody and said: "When you go into the mosque at Damascus, look for Qays b. Hani' he has been praying there for a long time and kill him." So the man went away, entered the Damascus mosque, caught sight of Qays saying his prayers, and killed him.

[1836]

In this year Yazid b. al-Walid dismissed Yusuf b. `Umar from the governorship of Iraq and appointed Mansur b. Jumhur to it.

987. *Fragmenta*, 151, gives an alternative *laqab*, al-Ashdaq ("having a wide mouth") for Yazid b. Hisham. The Umayyad `Umar II, 99-101 (717-20) is traditionally characterized as the only pious caliph of the dynasty and the only legitimate caliph in a line of "kings." Cf. Hawting, 15.

988. The text has *bi-hablin salihin*. *Fragmenta* has *bi-sababin salihin* (loc. cit.).

The Dismissal of Yusuf b. `Umar and the
Appointment of Mansur b. Jumhur
(as Governor of Iraq)

When Yazid b. al-Walid had secured for himself the obedience of the Syrians, it was reported that he invited `Abd al-`Aziz b. Harun b. `Abdallah b. Dahyah b. Khalifah al-Kalbi to be governor of Iraq. `Abd al-`Aziz said to Yazid: "If I had a jund, I would accept." So Yazid dropped the idea of choosing him⁹⁸⁹ and appointed Mansur b. Jumhur to the post.

According to Abu Mikhnaḥ Hisham b. Muhammad (al-Kalbi): Al-Walid b. Yazid b. `Abd al-Malik was killed on a Wednesday, two nights before the end of Jumada II, 126 [Wednesday, April 15, 744], and the people gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik in Damascus. On the day that al-Walid b. Yazid was killed, Mansur b. Jumhur, who was the seventh (son) of seven,⁹⁹⁰ left al-Bakḥra' for Iraq. When Yusuf b. `Umar heard that Mansur was coming, he fled.⁹⁹¹ Mansur b. Jumhur arrived in al-Hirah early in Rajab [mid-April, 744].⁹⁹² He seized the treasures and distributed the stipends to those entitled to them and (did likewise with) the rations. Mansur appointed Hurayth b. Abi al-Jahm⁹⁹³ as governor of Wasit, having gone by night to the previous governor, Muhammad b. Nubatah,⁹⁹⁴ imprisoning him and putting him in fetters. Mansur also appointed Jarir b. Yazid (b. Yazid) b. Jarir⁹⁹⁵ as governor of al-Basrah. After that, Mansur remained there, appointing governors and receiving the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid from the people in the various regions of Iraq. He stayed there for the remainder of Rajab and

[1837]

989. Literally, "left him."

990. *Wa-huwa sabi`u sabi`atin*. On the significance of the number seven in the Islamic world, cf. F. C. Endres and A. M. Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl*, 162-66.

991. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 151; Ibn Khayyat, 348; Ibn al-Athir, V, 223.

992. Rajab 126 began on Sunday, April 19, 744.

993. Hurayth b. Abi al-Jahm al-Kalbi was from the subtribe of `Amir. Cf. Crone, 157.

994. Muhammad b. Nubatah al-Kilabi For a biography of his family, cf. Crone, 152.

995. The name appears in the text as Jarir b. Yazid b. Yazid b. Jarir. This must be a mistake. One Yazid has therefore been omitted.

during Sha`ban and Ramadan [April-mid-July, 744] and left a few days before the end of Ramadan.

According to reports other than that of Abu Mikhnaf: Mansur b. Jumhur was a rough Bedouin. He was a supporter of Ghaylan and was not a man of religion. He joined Yazid's cause only because of his Ghaylani beliefs and out of zeal to avenge the killing of Khalid. That was also why he was present at the murder of al-Walid. When Yazid appointed Mansur as governor of Iraq, he said to him: "I have appointed you as governor of Iraq. Go there and fear God! (You should) know that I killed al-Walid only because of his depravity and tyranny.⁹⁹⁶ It is not fitting that you should behave in the manner that caused us to kill al-Walid."

Then Yazid b. Hajar al-Ghassani came in to see Yazid b. al-Walid. Yazid b. Hajar al-Ghassani was a pious and virtuous man who was influential amongst the Syrians and who had fought against al-Walid for religious reasons. He said (to Yazid b. al-Walid): "O Commander of the Faithful, have you appointed Mansur as governor of Iraq?" The caliph answered: "Yes, I have done so, because of his achievements and the valuable assistance (he gave me)." Yazid b. Hajar al-Ghassani said: "O Commander of the Faithful, there is no one there like Mansur in his rough Bedouin ways and his coarseness in matters of religion." The caliph replied: "If I do not appoint Mansur, who has given such valuable assistance (to me), whom should I appoint?" Yazid b. Hajar al-Ghassani said: "You should appoint someone who is God-fearing and upright, who hesitates before (judging) doubtful legal matters,⁹⁹⁷ and who is well acquainted with the precepts and punishments (of Islam). Why is it that I don't see any of the Qays, either in attendance on you or standing at your door?" Yazid b. al-Walid replied: "If it were not for the fact that I want nothing to do with bloodshed I would have dealt quickly with the Qays. By God, they are strong only when Islam is weak."

When Yusuf b. `Umar received the news that al-Walid had been killed, he began to seek out those of the Yamaniyyah who were in his entourage and to throw them into prison. Then he began to

996. Literally, "because of what he manifested in the way of tyranny."

997. *Wa-al-wuqufi `inda al-shubhati*. This translation is only tentative.

speaking privately to a succession of men from the Mudariyyah and to say to them: "What would you do if a covenant were broken or a compact were dissolved?" Each man would say in reply: "I am a Syrian. I give the oath of allegiance to the person to whom the Syrians give allegiance and I do as they do." Yusuf did not care for their attitude, so he released those of the Yamaniyyah who were in prison. He sent word to al-Hajjaj b. `Abdallah al-Basri and Mansur b. Nasir, who were aware of the situation between Yusuf and the Syrians, and he ordered them to keep him informed by letter of what was going on. Yusuf also posted lookouts on the road to Syria and remained in al-Hirah, a prey to fear. Mansur approached (al-Hirah) and when he was at al-Jum`998 he wrote the following letter to Sulayman b. Sulaym b. Kaysan:999

[1838]

Now for the substance of my letter. Verily, God does not change the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their hearts; and if God wills a misfortune for a folk there is none than can repel it. Truly, al-Walid b. Yazid exchanged the blessing of God for unbelief. He shed blood, so God shed his blood and hastened his progress toward the Fire (of hell). God (then) appointed to His caliphate one who was better than al-Walid, one who follows the right path more closely. Yazid b. al-Walid and the people have already given him the oath of allegiance. Yazid has appointed al-Harith b. al-`Abbas b. al-Walid as governor of Iraq. Al-`Abbas has sent me to seize Yusuf and his agents and he is camped at al-Abyad, 1000 which is a two days' journey behind me. So seize Yusuf and his agents. Do not let a single one of them escape you and I will imprison them on your behalf. But beware if you oppose (this), for that would bring down upon you and your family a fate that you would be powerless to resist. So make up your mind or leave.

Other reports said that when Mansur was at `Ayn al-Tamr 1001

998. Al-Jum` was a castle in the Petra area, in the Jabal al-Sharah. Cf. Yaqut, II, 118; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 466.

999. The leader of the Syrian troops at al-Hirah. Cf. Wellhausen, 368.

1000. For Qasr al-Abyad, cf. Dussaud, 79.

1001. `Ayn al-Tamr is a small town between Anbar and al-Kufah eighty miles west of Karbala'. Cf. *EI*2, s.v. (S. A. El-Ali).

he wrote to those Syrian commanders who were in al-Hirah informing them that al-Walid had been killed and ordering them to seize Yusuf and his agents. Mansur sent all the letters to Sulayman b. Sulaym b. Kaysan and ordered him to distribute them to the commanders. Sulayman took them and went in to see Yusuf. When Sulayman had read out to Yusuf the letter from Mansur, Yusuf was at his wit's end (as to what he should do next).¹⁰⁰²

According to Hurayth b. Abi al-Jahm: I was staying in Wasit when the letter from Mansur b. Jumhur came to me out of the blue telling me to seize Yusuf's agents, for it was I who carried out his orders in Wasit. So I assembled my mawlas and my men and we rode, forming a group of around thirty armed men, as far as the city (of Wasit).¹⁰⁰³ (At once) the gatekeepers said: "Who are you?" I answered: "I am Hurayth b. Abi al-Jahm." Then they replied: "We swear by God that it must be an important matter if it brings Hurayth here." When they had opened the gate, we went inside and seized the governor, who submitted to us. The following morning we received the oath of allegiance from the people in the name of Yazid b. al-Walid. [1839]

According to `Umar b. Shajarah: When `Amr b. Muhammad b. al-Qasim¹⁰⁰⁴ was governor of Sind, he seized Muhammad b. Ghazzanor `Izzanal-Kalbi, and beat him. He then sent him to Yusuf, who (also) beat him and demanded a large sum of money from him which he was to pay in installments every Friday. (Yusuf ordered that) if Muhammad did not do so, he would be given twenty-five lashes. (Eventually) Muhammad's hand and some of his fingers became shriveled.¹⁰⁰⁵ When Mansur b. Jumhur became governor of Iraq, he appointed Muhammad b. Ghazzan as governor of Sind and Sijistan. When Muhammad arrived in Sijistan he took the oath of allegiance on behalf of Yazid (from the people there). Then he advanced to Sind, where he seized `Amr b. Muhammad, trussed him up in fetters, and ap-

1002. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 223.

1003. Presumably this story only makes sense if Hurayth was outside the city of Wasit when he received Mansur's letter.

1004. `Amr b. Muhammad b. al-Qasim had been appointed governor of Sind by Yusuf b. `Umar in 122 (739-40). Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 369.

1005. The clear inference is that Muhammad did not keep up with the payments.

pointed guards to keep watch over him. After that, as Muhammad was rising to perform the prayer, `Amr seized a sword from the guards and fell on it when it was drawn so that it went right into his belly. People began shouting and Ibn Ghazzan came out and said: "What made you do what you have done?" `Amr replied: "I was afraid of being tortured." Ibn Ghazzan said: "I was not going to go to the extremes to which you have gone yourself." `Amr survived for three days and then he died. Ibn Ghazzan received the oath of allegiance on behalf of Yazid (from the people there).

When Sulayman b. Sulaym b. Kaysan al-Kalbi had read the letter of Mansur b. Jumhur to Yusuf b. `Umar, Yusuf said to him: "What do you think I should do?" Sulayman replied: "You do not have an *imam* on whose side you can fight. The Syrians will not fight beside you against al-Harith b. al-`Abbas and I do not think you are safe from Mansur b. Jumhur if he takes the field against you. Your only sensible course of action is to return to your own country, Syria." Yusuf said: "That is my view too, but how can I manage it?" Sulayman said: "Make a public profession of obedience to Yazid and pray for him in your sermon. Then when Mansur comes, I will send you off with people I can trust." When Mansur had camped in a place from which his men could reach the town the following morning, Yusuf made his way to the house of Sulayman b. Sulaym, where he remained for three days. Then Sulayman sent men with Yusuf to accompany him on the road to al-Samawah until he reached al-Balqa'.¹⁰⁰⁶

[1840]

It is said that Sulayman advised (Yusuf): "You should hide and leave Mansur to take over the job."¹⁰⁰⁷ Yusuf replied: "With whom (can I hide)?" Sulayman said: "With me. I will put you in a safe place." Then Sulayman went to `Amr b. Muhammad b. Sa`id b. al-`As, told him what the situation was, and asked him to grant asylum to Yusuf. Sulayman said to `Amr: "You are a man of the Quraysh and your maternal uncles are from the Bakr b. Wa'il." So `Amr gave Yusuf a place to hide.

`Amr said: "I have never seen a man so overweeningly proud

1006. Al-Balqa' is one of the districts of the province of Damascus. Its major town was `Amman. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 34-35. For more details of its limits, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (J. Sourdél-Thomine).

1007. Literally, "leave Mansur and the governorship/job."

and yet so thoroughly scared as he was. I brought him a valuable slave girl and I said (to myself:) "She will warm him up and calm him down." But, by God, he did not go near her nor did he even look at her. Then one day he sent for me and I went in to see him. He said to me: "You have done very well and you have behaved admirably. But I still need one thing." I said to him: "Tell me what it is." Yusuf said: "Get me out of al-Kufah and back to Syria." I said I would do so. Mansur b. Jumhur reached us the next morning. He referred to al-Walid and fulminated against him; he mentioned Yazid b. al-Walid and praised him; 1008 he touched on Yusuf and his tyranny. Then the preachers stood up and poured censure on al-Walid and Yusuf. I went to Yusuf and I told him what these people had been saying. Whenever I mentioned one of the people who had spoken disparagingly of him he would interrupt: "It is my duty to God to give him one hundred lashes or two or three hundred." I was amazed that he still wanted to be governor and that he was still threatening people. Sulayman b. Sulaym left Yusuf (for a while) and then he sent him to Syria, where he hid, before moving to al-Balqa'. 1009

According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): Yusuf b. `Umar sent a man from the Banff Kilab with five hundred men and he said to them: "If Yazid b. al-Walid comes your way, do not on any account allow him to pass." Then Mansur b. Jumhur approached them with thirty men and they did not engage him in battle. He relieved them of their weapons and made them accompany him to al-Kufah. The only people who left al-Kufah with Yusuf b. `Umar were Sufyan b. Salamah b. Sulaym b. Kaysan, Ghassan b. Qi`as al-`Udhri, and some sixty of Yusuf's own children, both male and female. Mansur entered al-Kufah early in Rajab, 1010 took possession of the treasuries, distributed the stipends and rations, and released those agents and tax officials who were in Yusuf's prisons. It was when Yusuf reached al-Balqa' that Yazid b. al-Walid received word of his activities.

[1841]

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Abd al-Wahhab b. Ibrahim b.

1008. The text has *fa-qarradahu*. This is emended by the Cairo edition (273) to *fa-qarrazah* ("he eulogized him"). Both versions are acceptable.

1009. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 224.

1010. Rajab 126 began on April 19, 744.

Yazid b. Huraym Abu Hashim Mukhallad b. Muhammad b. Sa'lih, the mawla of `Uthman b. `Affan Muhammad b. Sa'id al-Kalbi, who was one of the commanders of Yazid b. al-Walid: When Yazid received word that Yusuf was with his family at al-Balqa', he sent Muhammad b. Sa'id to search for Yusuf b. `Umar. [Muhammad's narrative continues:] So I set off with fifty or more horsemen and surrounded Yusuf's house at al-Balqa'. We carried out a thorough search (of the house) but we could not find anything, (for) Yusuf had put on women's clothes and was sitting with his wives and daughters. Then Muhammad searched among the women and found him in their midst. He brought Yusuf out in fetters and threw him into prison with the two young sons of al-Walid. Yusuf remained in prison for the whole period of Yazid's caliphate and for two months and ten days of Ibrahim's rule. Then, when Marwan came to Syria and approached Damascus, he gave Yazid¹⁰¹¹ b. Khalid the task of killing them. So Yazid dispatched a mawla of Khalid's, whose patronymic was Abu al-Asad, with a number of other henchmen of his.¹⁰¹² Abu al-Asad went into the prison and battered in the heads of the two young boys with clubs and then he brought out Yusuf b. `Umar and executed him.

[1842]

Other reports said that when Yazid b. al-Walid heard that Yusuf had reached al-Balqa', he sent out fifty horsemen. Thereupon a man from the Banff Numayr¹⁰¹³ came to Yusuf and said: "By God, cousin, you are a dead man. So do as I say and put up a fight. Leave it to me and I will snatch you out of the clutches of these men." Yusuf said: "No." So the Numayri said: "Let me kill you then, and don't let these Yamaniyyah kill you and thus arouse our intense wrath at your murder." Yusuf replied: "I don't have the option of either of the suggestions you have made to me." The man said: "You know best." Then they brought Yusuf to Yazid, who said: "What has brought you here?" Yusuf said: "Mansur b. Jumhur came to take over as governor, so I left him and the job." Yazid replied: "No! It was you that hated (the idea of) governing

1011. Yazid was the most suitable person to avenge the death of his father by killing Yusuf.

1012. Ibn al-Athir suppresses the details of the way in which the two sons of al-Walid and Yusuf met their end (V, 224).

1013. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 450.

for me," and he then ordered that Yusuf should be thrown into prison.

Other reports said that Yazid summoned Muslim b. Dhakwan and Muhammad b. Sa'id b. Mutarrif al-Kalbi, and he said to them: "Word has come to me that the libertine Yusuf b. `Umar has reached al-Balqa'. Go and bring him to me." So they searched for him but they could not find him. Then they frightened a son of Yusuf's into saying: "I will show you where he is," and he told them that Yusuf had gone to an estate of his, thirty *mils* away. The two men took with them fifty men from the *jund* at al-Balqa' and they found Yusuf sitting there. When he realized that they had found him, he ran away, leaving his sandals behind. The two men searched for him and they found him with some women who had thrown a silk drape over him and were sitting on the hem of it, with their heads bared. The men dragged him away by his foot while Yusuf started imploring Muhammad b. Sa'id to use his good offices with the Kalb and (in return) he would pay (him) ten thousand dinars and the blood-money of both Kulthum b. `Umayr and Hani' b. Bishr. When Muslim and Muhammad came to see Yazid (with Yusuf), an agent of Sulayman's, who was taking his turn at guard duty, came up to Yusuf. He grabbed Yusuf's beard, tugged at it, and pulled some of it out; Yusuf's stature was of the shortest, just as his beard was of the longest.¹⁰¹⁴ Then Muslim and Muhammad took Yusuf in to see Yazid, whereupon Yusuf grabbed hold of his own beard, which at that time reached below his navel, and said: "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, he has pulled out my beard and he has not left me a single hair of it." Then Yazid gave orders concerning Yusuf and he was imprisoned in the Green Palace. (Later) Muhammad b. Rashid went in to see Yusuf and he asked him: "Are you not afraid that one of the people whom you have wronged will bear down on you and throw stones at you?" Yusuf replied: "No, by God, I hadn't thought of that. I beseech you, by God, to speak to the Commander of the Faithful about moving me to a different place from this, even if it

[1843]

1014. Literally, "he was one of the largest of men as regards beard and one of the shortest as regards stature." Cf. the marked hostility shown toward Yusuf by Wellhausen, who calls him in the same paragraph both a goblin and a toad (op. cit., 368).

is more cramped than this one." Muhammad b. Rashid said: "I told Yazid (what Yusuf had said) and Yazid replied: "This is just one sign of Yusuf's foolishness. I imprisoned Yusuf only in order to send him to Iraq, so that he should be presented to the people and so that the injustices that he has perpetrated should be put right by his own money and by his own blood."

When Yazid b. al-Walid had killed al-Walid b. Yazid and sent Mansur b. Jumhur to Iraq, Yazid b. al-Walid wrote a letter to the people of Iraq in which he outlined the evil deeds of al-Walid. According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): Some of the contents of the letter were as follows:1015

God has chosen Islam as a religion; He has looked with favor upon it and has purified it. He has prescribed laws in it whereby He has laid down (what good men should do) and prohibited (men) from committing those acts that He has forbidden, so as to test the obedience or disobedience of His servants. In Islam, God has perfected every embodiment of good and the greatest of His bountiful gifts. Moreover, He took on the responsibility for it, preserving it and keeping charge of those of its people who observe its ordinances, protecting them and making known to them the excellence of Islam. Whenever God gives the blessing of the caliphate to anyone who submits to the divine command and acts according to it, and then somebody else competes with God's caliph through the medium of a covenant, or tries to give away what God has bestowed on him (the caliph) or breaks a compact, that person's perfidy is always brought to naught and his machinations are foiled1016 until such time as God has

1015. This letter has recently been translated by Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 126-28. They draw attention to the version of the letter found in al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* (MS.), fols. 170a-b, where the date of the letter is given as 28 Rajab 126/May 15, 744 and the scribe is named as Thabit b. Sulayman b. Sa'id (i.e., Sa'd). Crone and Hinds follow the text of al-Tabari and point out only the significant variants found in al-Baladhuri's version.

1016. Literally, "God does not give the blessing of the caliphate to anyone who accepts the command of God and comes to Him, then someone (else) competes with him (the caliph) with a covenant or tries to give away what God has bestowed on him (the caliph) or a violator violates (a compact) except that that person's perfidy is most feeble and his deceit is most worthless." In 1.17, the reading *aw bi-hululi sarfi* has been changed to *aw yuhawilu sarfa ma*, following the Cairo edition (VII, 275). This is based on a variant in the apparatus.

finished giving His gifts to the caliph, and bestowed on him His reward and the recompense which He has kept in store for him, whilst He makes his enemy lose his way totally and frustrates all his efforts.

The caliphs of God succeeded each other as guardians of His religion, passing judgement therein by His ordinance and following therein His book. Because of that they had an abundance of blessings (heaped) upon them as a result of God's friendship and His assistance;¹⁰¹⁷ and God was pleased with His caliphs in that office¹⁰¹⁸ until the time when Hisham died. Then the command passed to the enemy of God, al-Walid, the violator of sacred things such as no Muslim would ever approach and toward which (even) an infidel would not venture, but rather avoid going near their like.¹⁰¹⁹ When (the news of) that behavior of his spread abroad and became publicly known, when the affliction he caused worsened, blood was shed because of him, possessions were unlawfully seized, and acts of profligacy were committed which God will condone only for a little while in those who commit them, I went to al-Walid, expecting that he would return (to the right path), whilst excusing myself in the sight of God and the Muslims,¹⁰²⁰ repudiating al-Walid's activities and the flagrant way in which he had disobeyed God, and seeking from God the fulfillment of what I purposed; namely,¹⁰²¹ to restore the pillars of religion and to adopt for His people that which is pleasing to Him. [1844]

1017. Literally, "because of that, they had from His friendship and help that which completed the blessings upon them."

1018. *Al-amru*. Crone and Hinds have "office" (loc. cit.).

1019. *Tukarruman `an*. This presumably applies to both the Muslim and non-Muslim.

1020. *Sirtu ilayhi ma`a intizari muraja `atihi wa i`dharin ila Allahi wa-ila al-Muslimina munkiran li-`amalihi*. . . Crone and Hinds have: "I went to him with the expectation that he would mend his ways and apologize to God and to the Muslims, disavowing his behavior. . . " (loc. cit.). An alternative translation could read: "I went to him with the expectation that he would return (to the right path) and *excusing myself* to God and the Muslims, rejecting his activities." The interpretation here is based on the premise that Yazid, not al-Walid, is apologizing to God and the Muslims and that he (Yazid) is dissociating himself with al-Walid's profligate activities.

1021. Literally, "the fulfillment of that which I purposed consisting of the restoring. . . ."

Then I came across a *jund* whose breasts seethed with wrath at the enemy of God because of the way they had seen him behaving for truly, whenever the enemy of God encountered one of the ordinances of Islam he wanted to change it and to act in respect of it in a manner that was contrary to God's revelation. (All) that (conduct) on his part was known to all and comprehensive in scope;¹⁰²² it was in full view (of everyone), for God had drawn no veil over it, nor was anybody in any doubt about it. Then I mentioned to the *jund* what I abominated and feared, which was the corruption of both religion and worldly affairs. So I roused them to restore and defend their religion. They vacillated in this, fearing that they would only be saving themselves by the action they would be taking. Then I summoned them to put the matter right and they hastened to answer my call. God sent a group of them, men who were pious and pleasing (to Him), to inform the rest¹⁰²³ and I sent `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik to be in charge of them. He met the enemy of God near a village called al-Bakhra'. They called upon al-Walid to agree that the matter should be referred to a *shura* in which the Muslims should decide for themselves whom they would agree to appoint to rule (over them). The enemy of God would not agree to that and opted only to sink deeper into error. He was the first to launch an attack on them in ignorance of God, but he found God a mighty judge and His grip agonizingly painful. God killed al-Walid because of his evil-doing and He killed a group of his followers they did not number as many as ten who were companions of his and

[1845]

1022. *Shamilan*. Crone and Hinds have "generally" (loc. cit.).

1023. The text has *fa-ibta`atha Allahu minhum ba`than yukhbiruhum man/min awla al-dini wa-al-rida*. This is very unsatisfactory. It is possible to render it as "God sent a group of them to inform them (the others), those (*man*) possessed of religion and what is pleasing to God," with *man awla al-dini wa-al-rida* in apposition to *ba`than*. This is certainly the inference of the punctuation of the Cairo edition (VII, 276). Alternatively, if *min* is read instead of *man*, a possible translation would be: "God sent a group of them to inform them (the others), (a group) consisting of those possessed of religion and what is pleasing." Crone and Hinds emend *yukhbiruhum* to *bi-khayrihim*, which makes good sense (loc. cit.). Their translation thus reads: "God sent a deputation made up of the best of those possessed of religion and what is pleasing."

came from the depraved inner circle of his intimates. The remainder of al-Walid's associates agreed to follow the right path to which they had been summoned. Thus God extinguished his fire and granted His servants relief from him. A curse on him and those who follow in his way!

I wanted to tell you (all) this and to notify you quickly about it so that you might give praise and thanks to God, for you have today reached the best possible situation for yourself (in view of the fact that) your governors are the best people from amongst you and justice has opened wide its arms to you and you will not be ruled in any other way than this. On that account, therefore, praise your Lord all the more and follow Mansur b. Jumhur, for I have selected him for you on the basis that God's covenant and compact and the culmination of what has been promised and laid down for any of His creatures are binding upon you. So heed and obey me and those whom I shall appoint to succeed me and on whom the community has agreed. I have a similar duty toward you. I shall certainly deal with you according to the ordinance of God and the *sunnah* of His prophet, and I shall follow in the path of the best of your predecessors. We ask God, our Lord and our Guardian, to favor us most generously with His assistance and the best of His decree.

In this year Nasr b. Sayyar refused to give up his post to the agent of Mansur b. Jumhur after Yazid b. al-Walid had appointed Mansur to govern Khurasan together with Iraq. According to Abu Ja`far al-Tabari himself: I have already given some account of Nasr. (I mentioned) what happened about the letter of Yusuf b. `Umar to Nasr in which he instructed Nasr to bring him the tribute for al-Walid b. Yazid and to go in person from Khurasan to Iraq; and (I mentioned) how Nasr traveled slowly and how he then received the news of al-Walid's murder.

According to `All b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) al-Bahili: Bishr b. Nafi`, the mawla of Salim al-Laythi who was in charge of coinage in Iraq, came to Nasr. Bishr said: "When Mansur b. Jumhur [1846]

1024. The text has *tabi`u*. Crone and Hinds follow al-Baladhuri, who has *bayi`u* (loc. cit.).

came as *amir* of Iraq, Yusuf b. `Umar fled. Mansur sent his brother Manzur b. Jumhur¹⁰²⁵ as governor of al-Rayy¹⁰²⁶ and I accompanied him there. Then I said (to myself): "I will go to Nasr and tell him (what is going on)." When I reached Nishapur,¹⁰²⁷ Humayd, Nasr's mawla, threw me into prison and said: "You will not get out of here until you tell me (why you are here)." So I told him and I made him swear by God's oath and covenant that he would not tell anyone until I had reached Nasr and informed him, so Humayd did that. Then we all went to Nasr, who was in his citadel in Majan. We asked permission to go in and see him, but a eunuch of his said that Nasr was asleep. We pressed him further and he went off and told Nasr. Nasr came out and grabbed my hand and took me inside. He did not say anything to me until we were inside the room. Then he asked me (why I had come) and I told him. Nasr said to Humayd, his mawla: "Take him away and give him a present." Then Yunus b. `Abd Rabbihi¹⁰²⁸ and `Ubaydallah b. Bassam came to me and I told them (the news). Salm b. Ahwaz (also) came to me and I told him.

(Bishr's narrative continues.) Al-Walid b. Yusuf was with Nasr. When Nasr heard the news, Nasr kept al-Walid with him. Al-Walid sent people to me and when I had told them the news¹⁰²⁹ they called me a liar. So I said (to Nasr): "You should get these men to confirm (what they say)." After three days had passed

1025. Manzur b. Jumhur was later murdered in India by Rifa`ah b. Thabit al-Judhami. Rifa`ah was seized by Mansur b. Jumhur and walled up alive in a pillar. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1895; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 407; Crone, 159.

1026. Al-Rayy was an important city of the province of Jibal, which stood near the site of modern Tehran. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 214-17; al-Ya`qubi, *Les Pays*, 79-80; Schwarz, 446-48, 740-83.

1027. Nishapur was one of the four great cities of Khurasan. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 382-88; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 95-102.

1028. For a discussion of Nasr's relationship with Yunus b. `Abd Rabbihi, another of his mawlas, cf. Crone, 53.

1029. This is rather an obscure narrative, which seems to be in no other source. A literal translation would be: "he made him stay (*aqarrahu*) when the news reached him; then he sent (people) to me, and when I told them, they called me a liar, so I said: 'Seek confirmation (*istawthiq*) from these people.'" A possible sequence of events here is that Nasr kept Yusuf's son with him. Al-Walid b. Yusuf sent some of his associates to Bishr. They tried to refute the news that Bishr told them namely that al-Walid was dead and Yusuf b. `Umar had fled. Bishr then told Nasr to make the others confirm the truth of what they had said. The emended version of this passage in the Cairo edition (VII, 277) is of no use.

Nasr posted eighty men to guard me. The news was slower to arrive than I had expected. Then on the ninth night, which was the night of Nawruz, 1030 the news reached them, confirming what I had already told them. Nasr publicly sent me most of the tribute (intended for al-Walid) 1031 and he ordered that I should be given a horse with its saddle and bridle. He (also) gave me a Chinese saddle and he said to me: "Stay on so that I can give you a full hundred thousand (dirhams)."

When Nasr was sure that al-Walid had been killed, he gave back that tribute (intended for al-Walid), freed the slaves, divided up the pick of the slave girls amongst his sons and his close associates, distributed those vases amongst the common people, 1032 and sent out governors, ordering them to act honorably. (Bishr's narrative continues.) The Banff Azd in Khurasan caused turmoil by spreading false rumors 1033 that Manzur b. Jumhur was coming there. Then Nasr preached a sermon in which he said: "If a suspect *amir* comes to us, we will cut off his hands and his feet." After that, Nasr revealed the man's name, calling him `Abdallah, the deserted one, the mutilated one 1034 [1847]

Nasr appointed (governors) over the Banff Rabi`ah and the Yamaniyyah. Nasr made Ya`qub b. Yahya b. Hudayn governor of upper Tukharistan and appointed Mas`adah b. `Abdallah al-Yashkiri to rule over Khwarazm. 1035 Khalaf recited the following verses about Mas`adah: 1036

When I am close to Kardar I say to my companions,

1030. Nawruz is the first day of the Persian solar year, which now occurs at the vernal equinox. It was also in earlier times deemed to be at the midsummer solstice. For a discussion of the history of the dating of Nawruz, cf. *EI*1, s.v. (R. Levy).

1031. *Al-hadaya* Cf. n. 574.

1032. *Ibid.*

1033. *Wa-arjafat al-Azdu. Arjafa*, "to cause agitation in others by spreading false rumors." Cf. Lane, I, 1042.

1034. *Thumma baha bihi ba`du fa-kana yaqulu `Abda Aliahi al-makhdhula a mabtura* ("then he revealed it after that and he would say `Abdallah, the deserted one, the mutilated one"). These imprecations were no doubt intended as a warning to anyone who wanted to take Khurasan from Nasr. The Cairo edition (VII, 278) has *al-mathbur* ("overcome") for *al-mabtur*.

1035. Khwarazm was the province lying along the lower course of the Oxus. Cf. *EI*2, s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

1036. The meter is *tawil*.

"Truly Mas`adah al-Bakri is the reviving rain supplicated by widows."

Then Nasr appointed Aban b. al-Hakam al-Zahrani (in place of Mas`adah) and he appointed al-Mughirah b. Shu`bah al-Jahdami as governor of Quhistan.¹⁰³⁷ Nasr ordered his governors to behave uprightly. He summoned the people to give the oath of allegiance, which they did. In this connection a poet recited (the following lines):¹⁰³⁸

I declare to Nasr, having pledged allegiance to him
against most of the (Banu) Bakr and their allies,

My hand is surety for you against the Bakr of Iraq,
against their leader and the son of the most distinguished
one amongst them.

I (You)¹⁰³⁹ have given assurance to the Muslims,
to the people of the (Muslim) lands near and far

(That) whenever we exceed¹⁰⁴⁰ your desire,
Swift, light-footed camels will make their way to you.

You have called upon the troops to give allegiance (to you),
and you were absolutely in the right to do so.¹⁰⁴¹

You have safeguarded Khurasan for the Muslims
when the earth was about to convulse.

And when the Muslims were restored to mutual harmony,
you lavished money on those who composed their
differences.

You have granted¹⁰⁴² protection and security to the people of
the towns
and to those settled on their borders;

¹⁰³⁷. A number of areas were called Quhistan ("the mountain country"). The district meant here is Quhistan-i Khurasan, the mountainous region that stretches south from Nishapur to Sistan. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 352-63; *EI2*, s.v. (J. H. Kramers).

¹⁰³⁸. The meter is *mutaqarib*.

¹⁰³⁹. The text has *akhadhtu*. It would make better sense if it is read as *akhadhta*.

¹⁰⁴⁰. The text has *idha la tujibu ila ma turidu*. This is later emended to *idha ma nuzidu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

¹⁰⁴¹. This hemistich seems to be in the wrong place. An alternative translation might be "and you treated all of them with absolute justice."

¹⁰⁴². This line seems also to be in the wrong place and it is difficult to determine the subject of *ajara*.

And to the soldiers in both east and west you have become
a milch-camel, its udders overflowing with milk for them.

We will remain in that situation¹⁰⁴³ [1848]
until the paths to be followed become clear to the
pathfinders,

And until the Quraysh have revealed that which
is hidden in the depths of their hearts.

I have sworn that it is better for the
grazing-camels who make journeys to be stripped of their
wool,¹⁰⁴⁴

And added to what is paid by those of the Quraysh who live in
the valleys,¹⁰⁴⁵
first those of noble birth and then the base-born.¹⁰⁴⁶

If he who becomes powerful robs the weak,
we will beat their horses on their manes.

We have found fodder, no matter what its source,
which the horses feed on once it has been heated up for
them.

As long as they have a share in it, their
flanks will become heavy (with fat), when formerly they
were lean.

We continue as before to maintain our support for
the Quraysh, and we are content with their allies;

We shall be satisfied to have your power as a place of refuge for
them,
for your power is their bulwark.

Perhaps the Quraysh, when they vie amongst themselves,
will hit some¹⁰⁴⁷ of their targets,

And they will overwhelm the plotters in Iraq
who have up-ended the bucket from the east by its hooks.

1043. This line also does not fit here. The meaning seems to be "we will remain loyal to you."

1044. The text has *li'l-ghazwi*. This is emended by the editor to *lal`urwu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. The Cairo edition (VII, 279) follows this correction.

1045. Literally, "the Quraysh of the valleys."

1046. Literally, "their low-ranking men after their high-born ones."

1047. The text has a lacuna here: *tuqartisu . . . fi ahdafihā*. The Cairo edition (VII, 279) has *tuqartisu fi ba`di ahdafihā*.

Indeed, we are like lions,1048 and lions are endowed with
manes above their shoulders.

If they scatter in fright, fearing destruction,
(they will find that) the vicissitudes of time are yet closer
to them (in destruction).

For your sake we have remained steadfast (in battle)1049
when their ranks crumbled and collapsed.1050

We have found you to be benevolent and kind to us,
showing us the tender loving kindness of a mother.

Our allegiance to you was not a passing whim
to be rescinded at the earliest opportunity,

Like a young girl who rushed to meet her (intended) husband,
before her fingers had been dyed

And who was unveiled by the bridegroom before the marriage
contract had been drawn up,
and who therefore encountered him with aversion.

Nasr had appointed `Abd al-Malik b. `Abdallah al-Sulami as [1849]
governor of Khwarazm. `Abd al-Malik used to preach to the people
there and in his sermon he would say: "I am neither a rough
Bedouin nor a Fazari1051 who follows the ways of the Naba-
teans.1052 Circumstances have favored me and I have taken full
advantage of them. Verily, by God, I shall certainly use the sword
where appropriate and the whip where appropriate, and I shall
throw open the prison (to be used). You will assuredly find me
extremely harsh in crushing any dissension. Either you will go
undeviatingly along the same road as me, galloping like a young
camel on the widest of paths, or I shall certainly strike you in the
way a lynx-eyed man strikes water birds,1053 striking them first
on one side and then on the other."

1048. The translation is only tentative. The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *wa-bi-
al-usdi minna* ("and with lions of ours").

1049. Literally, "by you our feet have remained firm."

1050. Literally, "when their banks collapse."

1051. For the Banu Fazarah, a North Arabian tribe, cf. *EI2*, s.v. (W. M. Watt).

1052. For the pre-Islamic Aramaic-speaking Arab people, the Nabataeans (*al-
Anbat*), cf. *EI1*, s.v. (E. Honigmann). During the Islamic period the term
Nabataean in the mouth of Arabs was one of abuse. Cf. the long discussion in
Goldziher, I, 145.

1053. *Al-qariba* "water birds." Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXIX.

(One day) a man of the Balqayn turned up in Khurasan at the behest of Mansur b. Jumhur. A mawla of Nasr's called Humayd, who was in charge of coinage¹⁰⁵⁴ in Nishapur, seized him, beat him, and broke his nose. The man complained to Nasr, who ordered twenty thousand (dirhams) to be given to him and presented him with a set of clothes. Nasr said: "The person who broke your nose is a mawla of mine. He is not a social equal, so that I may take retaliation from him on your behalf. So don't complain any more."¹⁰⁵⁵ Then `Ismah b. `Abdallah al-Asadi said: "Brother from the Balqayn, broadcast what manner of man it is that you have come to see. We have lined up the Qays for the Rabi`ah, and the Tamim for the Azd. Only the Kinanah do not have anyone to equal them!" Nasr retorted: "Whenever I have put a matter right you ruin it."

According to Abu Zayd `Umar b. Shabbah Ahmad b. Mu-`awiyah Abu al-Khattab: Qudamah b. Mus`ab al-`Abdi and a man from the Banu Kindah came to Nasr b. Sayyar on behalf of Mansur b. Jumhur. Nasr said: "Is the Commander of the Faithful (really) dead?" They said: "Yes." Then Nasr asked: "And Mansur b. Jumhur has been made governor of Iraq and Yusuf b. `Umar has relinquished control of Iraq?"¹⁰⁵⁶ The two men confirmed that this was so. Then Nasr said: "We have no faith in what you lot have said."¹⁰⁵⁷ Thereupon Nasr imprisoned both the men but he allowed them ample living space. Nasr (then) dispatched a man who, when he got to al-Kufah, saw Mansur preaching. Then Nasr released the two men and said to Qudamah: "Has a man from the Banu Kalb been appointed as governor over you?" Qudamah replied: "Yes. We are only from the Qays and the Yamaniyyah." So Nasr said: "Why isn't one of you appointed as governor (of Iraq)?" Qudamah said: "Because it is with us as the poet said:

[1850]

If ever we fear any tyranny from a ruler,
we call on Abu Ghassan and he comes to the rescue with
his troops.

1054. *Sikak*. This is rather ambiguous, since it can mean either the engraved pieces of metal used for stamping coins or streets.

1055. Literally, "so do not say anything but good."

1056. Literally, "has fled from the throne of Iraq."

1057. *Innana bi-jumhurikum min al-kafirina*.

Nasr laughed and attached Qudamah to his retinue.

When Mansur b. Jumhur reached Iraq, he either appointed `Ubaydallah b. al-`Abbas as governor of al-Kufah, or he found him already ensconced as governor there and confirmed him in the post.1058 Mansur put Thumamah b. Hawshab in charge of his *shurtah*. Later on he dismissed him and appointed al-Hajjaj b. Artah al-Nakha`i.1059

In this year Marwan b. Muhammad wrote to al-Ghamr b. Yazid, the brother of al-Walid b. Yazid, ordering him to avenge the blood of his brother al-Walid.

The Text of Marwan's Letter to al-Ghamr

According to Abmad (b. Zuhayr)`Ali (b. Muhammad al-Mada'ini): Marwan wrote to al-Ghamr b. Yazid as follows:

Now to the point. Truly this caliphate is from God and follows the paths laid down by the prophethood1060 of His messengers and the establishment of the precepts of His religion. God has blessed the caliphs by that with which He has invested them, honoring them (thereby) and honoring those who honor them. May destruction fall on anyone who vies with His caliphs and who seeks to follow a path different from theirs! The caliphs have continued to be trustees of what God has set apart for them in the caliphate, with one after another of them appearing1061 to conduct its affairs justly, with the help of those Muslims who support it.

Of (all) God's creatures, the Syrians were the most obedient to Him, the most zealous to defend His sacred ordinances, the most faithful in keeping His covenant,1062 and the most severe in destroying anyone who deviated from, opposed, obliterated, and strayed from the truth. God's bounty flowed copiously upon them, Islam flourished through them, and

1058. On `Ubaydallah cf. Crone, 152.

1059. Cf. his biography in Crone, 157. He later became the *katib* to the `Abbasid caliph, al-Mansur. Cf. al-Tabari, III, 276, 322.

1060. Literally, "on the basis of the paths of prophethood."

1061. Literally, "one riser after (another) riser performs."

1062. The text has "a covenant."

polytheism and its followers were brought low by them. But (recently) they have violated God's command and tried to violate His covenants. For that reason there came forward someone to fan the flames (of *fitnah*),¹⁰⁶³ even though men's hearts had turned away from him.¹⁰⁶⁴ Those who (now) seek (vengeance for) the blood of the caliph¹⁰⁶⁵ are the (true) leaders of the Banu Umayyah, for his (al-Walid's) blood will not have been shed in vain, even though discord has been stilled by them (the rebels) and public affairs have been restored to good order.¹⁰⁶⁶ For there is no opposing what God has willed. [1851]

You have written (telling me) about your situation and your opinion on what they have done. I will remain silent until I think the moment is right for a rebellion,¹⁰⁶⁷ and then I will attack in vengeance, and I will avenge God's religion which has been persecuted and His precepts which have been abandoned as if they were of no value.¹⁰⁶⁸ I have a group of men whose hearts God has made obedient to me; they are people who are daring enough for what I have in mind for them to do. There are (also) other people like them, whose hearts are full to overflowing and look only to find an opportunity (for revenge). Retribution has its auspicious moment and appointed time from God.¹⁰⁶⁹ I would not be worthy of

1063. *Man ash`ala diramaha*. The reference is presumably to *fithah* ("discord"), which, however, has not been explicitly mentioned, and to Yazid's rebellion.

1064. *Wa-in kanat al-qulubu `anhu nafiratun* ("although hearts had turned away from him"). This is rather obscure. It is more probable that the people would have turned away from al-Walid, whose behavior had alienated them, than from Yazid, who stepped forward to oppose him. However, it may simply mean that Yazid was not in the public eye until he rebelled. Alternatively, *`anhu* could refer to God.

1065. I.e., al-Walid.

1066. Another possible translation of this might be: "Those demanding the blood of the caliph (i.e., al-Walid's murderers) are the leaders of the Banu Umayyah. But [instead of 'for' (*fa-inna*)] his blood will not have been shed in vain, even though discord has been stilled by them and public affairs have been restored to good order."

1067. Ghiyaran. Cf. Gloss., p. CCCXCIV.

1068. The text has *antaqimu li-dini Allahi al-matbuli wa-fara'idihi al-matrukati majjanatan*. The Cairo edition (VII, 281) has "I am exacting vengeance for God's religion, whose precepts have been cast aside (*al-manbuthati*), and which has been abandoned as valueless (*majjanatan*)."
Majjan is not usually feminine.

1069. Literally, "vengeance has its turning which comes from God and an appointed time."

the name¹⁰⁷⁰ of Muhammad or Marwan if, when I saw a rebellion, I did not exert myself to the utmost against the Qadariyyah and if I did not strike them with my sword, wounding and stabbing them, with God's decree ordaining what He wills therein and visiting His punishment on those whom He chooses to punish.¹⁰⁷¹ I am remaining silent only because of what I am expecting to come from you, so do not be too feeble to exact blood vengeance for your brother, for truly God is your protection and your sufficiency and God's will and help are sufficient.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) `Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbi Muslim b. Dhakwan: Yazid b. al-Walid spoke to al-`Abbas b. al-Walid about Tufayl b. Harithah al-Kalbi, saying that Tufayl had incurred a bloodwit and had asked al-`Abbas if he would write to Marwan b. Muhammad interceding for Tufayl with him, so that Marwan would allow Tufayl to ask his kinsfolk for it. (It so happened that) Marwan b. Muhammad used to prevent people from drawing from the stipend fund for that purpose.¹⁰⁷² Now al-`Abbas agreed to do as Yazid asked and he deposited the letter with the postal service. The letter of al-`Abbas with its full contents reached the most far-flung areas (of the empire). Then Yazid (also) wrote to Marwan, saying that he had made a transaction to buy¹⁰⁷³ an estate for eighteen thousand dinars from Abu `Ubaydah b. al-Walid and that he needed (an extra) four thousand dinars.

According to Muslim b. Dhakwan: Yazid called me and said: [1852]
"Go with Tufayl taking these letters with you and discuss this matter with him." So we went off, without al-`Abbas knowing that I had gone, and when we reached Khilat¹⁰⁷⁴ we met `Amr b.

1070. Literally, "I would not resemble Muhammad or Marwan." Muhammad was his father and Marwan his grandfather.

1071. Here, the Cairo edition (VII, 282) adds *bi* after *qada'u Allahi* and *bihim* after *yarmi*: "whatever God's decree ordains therein for me or whatever punishment He inflicts on those whom He chooses to punish."

1072. Literally, "prevent people from asking for any of that with the stipend."

1073. *Ishtara*. Presumably the transaction had not yet been completed, as Yazid needed four thousand more dinars.

1074. Khilat (Akhlat) is a town at the northwestern corner of Lake Van (in modern Turkey). Cf. *EI2*, "Akhlat." (V. Minorsky).

Harithah al-Kalbi. He asked us how we were and we told him, whereupon he said: "You are lying! There is something going on between you two and Marwan." We said: "What could that be?" Then when I wanted to leave, `Amr took me aside and said to me: "Do the people of al-Mizzah number one thousand?" I said: "More (than that)." Then `Amr said: "How far is it between al-Mizzah and Damascus?" I replied: "Within hailing distance." He then inquired: "At what do you estimate the numbers of the Banu `Amir to be" (meaning the Banu `Amir of Kalb)? I said: "Twenty thousand men." Then `Amr moved his finger (to indicate that I should leave) and turned his face away.

(Muslim's narrative continues:) When I heard that, I wanted (to see) Marwan, and I wrote him the following letter purporting to come from Yazid: "Now to the point of my letter. I have sent Ibn Dhakwan, my mawla, to you, on a matter that he will mention to you and put before you. So say what you like to him, for he is one of the best of my associates and the most trustworthy of my mawlas. He will be a trusty person and a reliable confidant, if God wills." Then we came to Marwan and Tufayl gave the letter from al-`Abbas to the chamberlain. Tufayl told the chamberlain that he had with him the letter from Yazid b. al-Walid and he read it (out). The chamberlain came out and said: "Do you have any letter other than this one with you? Did he entrust you with any message?" Tufayl replied: 1075 "No, but I do have Muslim b. Dhakwan with me." Then the chamberlain went in and told Marwan. He emerged (again) and said: "Order the mawla of al-`Abbas to go away."

(Muslim's narrative continued:) So I went away, and when the time came for the dusk prayer I made my way to the *maqsurah*. When Marwan (had) performed the prayer, I left to say the prayer a second time, for I did not put any value on Marwan's prayer. When I straightened up in the prayer a eunuch came up to me, and after he had scrutinized me he made off. I shortened my prayer and caught up with him. He took me in to see Marwan, who was in one of the women's rooms. I greeted him and sat down. Then Marwan inquired: "Who are you?" I replied: "Muslim b. Dhakwan, the mawla of Yazid." Marwan said: "Are you a

[1853]

1075. Reading *qala* for *qultu*.

manumitted mawla or a voluntarily commended (*tiba`ah*) mawla?"¹⁰⁷⁶ I replied: "A manumitted one". Marwan said: "That is better. There is merit in both kinds. Now tell me whatever you want." Then I said: "It is up to the *amir* to guarantee my personal safety no matter what I say, whether I agree with him or disagree," and he granted my request. Then I praised God and prayed for His prophet. I described how God had graciously bestowed the caliphate on the Banu Marwan and how the common people had been satisfied with them. (I then mentioned) how al-Walid had broken covenants and corrupted the people's hearts and how the common folk poured censure upon him. I told Marwan everything about al-Walid and when I had finished, Marwan began to speak. By God, he did not give praise to God nor did he recite the *shahadah*. He merely said: "I have heard what you have said. You have done well and your words have struck home. The judgment of Yazid is best. I call God to witness that I have given the oath of allegiance to Yazid (al-Walid), freely expending my efforts and my money in this matter and only desiring thereby my due from God. By God, I could not have asked for more from al-Walid. Indeed, he honored kinship and delegated authority to us and let us share in his rule,¹⁰⁷⁷ but I testify that he did not believe in the Day of Reckoning." Then Marwan asked me how Yazid was and I magnified and exaggerated the situation. Marwan said: "Hide your business here. I have satisfied your friend's need, have discharged for him the matter of his bloodwit, and have ordered that he be given one thousand dirhams." I stayed on for a few days, and then one day Marwan summoned me at noon and instructed me: "Go to your friend and say to him: 'May God direct you on the right path! Go ahead as God has commanded, for you are in God's sight.'" Then Marwan wrote an answer to my letter and he said to me: "If you can travel without stopping or fly, then fly, for there will be a rebellion in the Jazirah within six or seven days, and I am afraid that it will be a protracted affair¹⁰⁷⁸ and you will

¹⁰⁷⁶. Clientage was known as *wala'*. It arose either on *`itaqah* (manumission) or *tiba`ah* (voluntary commendation). Cf. Crone, 49, 236-37.

¹⁰⁷⁷. *Laqad wasala wa-fawwada wa-ashraka fi mulkihi*. The translation is tentative, taking *wasala* to mean "to keep close family ties," *fawwada* as "to delegate," and *ashraka* as "to give a share."

¹⁰⁷⁸. Literally, "a rebel will rebel in the Jazirah within six or seven days and I am afraid that their affair will become protracted."

not be able to get through." I asked Marwan: "What does the *amir* know about this?" Marwan laughed and said: "I satisfy all those with deviant views so that they will tell me their secret intentions." 1079 I said to myself: "I am one of those people"; then I remarked (to Marwan): "If you have done that, God will set you aright. Indeed, the following story was told about Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu`awiyah, who said: 'I obtained this information (in the following way). I went along with the people in their erroneous ideas and shared their sentiments with them until they divulged to me what they were thinking and passed on to me their innermost thoughts.'"

[1854]

(Muslim's narrative continues:) Then I took my leave of Marwan and departed. When I got as far as Amid, 1080 I met a succession of postal couriers (who reported) al-Walid's murder and that `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan had attacked al-Walid's agent in the Jazirah and driven him out of the area, and that he had placed scouts on the road. Then I left the postal couriers, hired a riding-animal and a guide, and came back to Yazid b. al-Walid.

In this year Yazid b. al-Walid dismissed Mansur b. Jumhur from (his post as governor of) Iraq, appointing in his place `Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwan.

The Dismissal of Mansur b. Jumhur from the Post of Governor of Iraq

It is reported that Yazid b. al-Walid said to `Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz: 1081 "The people of Iraq have shown themselves to be well disposed to your father. So go there. I have appointed you governor of Iraq."

According to Abu `Ubaydah: `Abdallah b. `Umar was a pious man who was in bad health. 1082 When he came to Iraq he personally sent out messengers and letters to the Syrian commanders

1079. Literally, "there are no people of erroneous opinions (*ahli hawa*) except that I give them satisfaction until they have told me their secret intentions."

1080. The well-known city of the province of Diyar Bakr, now known in modern Turkey as Diyarbakir. It stands on the left bank of the Tigris. Cf. *EI2*, "Diyar Bakr" (M. Canard and C. Cahen).

1081. The son of the Umayyad caliph `Umar II. For the dismissal of Mansur b. Jumhur and the appointment of `Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz, cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 228-29; *Fragmenta*, 152-53.

1082. *Muta'allimun. Ta'allama*: "to be in pain."

who were in Iraq, for he was afraid that Mansur b. Jumhur would not surrender the post to him. All the commanders submitted to his authority and Mansur b. Jumhur handed over (the post) to him and left for Syria. Then `Abdallah b. `Umar appointed his own agents to office and issued the people with their rations and their stipends. Then the Syrian commanders began to dispute with him and said: "You are distributing our *fay'* to these people, yet they are our enemy." `Abdallah said to the people of Iraq: "I wanted to return your *fay'* to you, for I knew that you were more entitled to it. (Now) these men have disputed with me and found fault with me." Then the people of al-Kufah went out to the *jabbannah* and mobilized (there). The Syrian commanders sent messengers to them, making excuses and denying (their own words) outright and swearing that they had not said any of the things that the Kufans had heard. Then a mixed rabble of men rose up from both sides and began stabbing each other with spears, and a small group of them were killed. These were not identified. `Abdallah b. `Umar was in al-Hirah and `Ubaydallah b. al-`Abbas al-Kindi was in al-Kufah. Mansur b. Jumhur had appointed him as his deputy in the city and the people of al-Kufah wanted to drive him out of the citadel. So `Ubaydallah sent word to `Umar b. al-Ghadban b. al-Qaba`thari, 1083 who came to him, kept the people away from him, calmed them down, and rebuked them until they had dispersed peaceably with one another. 1084 When `Abdallah b. `Umar heard about this he sent for Ibn al-Ghadban, gave him a set of clothes and a beast to ride, 1085 rewarded him generously, and put him in charge of his *shurtah* and the *kharaj* of the Sawad. He also entrusted him with the auditing 1086 and ordered him to assign a portion (in the *diwan*) to his family, so he assigned (them) sixty or seventy (dirhams).

[1855]

In this year discord broke out in Khurasan between the Yamaniyyah and the Nizariyyah, and al-Kirmani 1087 rose up in opposition to Nasr b. Sayyar. A group of supporters rallied to each of them.

1083. `Umar b. al-Ghadban al-Shaybani. For a discussion of the activities of his father, al-Ghadban, and himself, cf. Crone, 162.

1084. Literally, "some of them felt safe from others."

1085. *Wa-hamalahu*. Cf. Lane, I, 647. Cf. also Qur'an 9, v. 92.

1086. *Al-muhasabat*.

1087. Juday` al-Kirmani of the Banu Azd had been the general of Asad al-Qasri, governor of Khurasan, who, after al-Harith b. Surayj had been driven back across

(footnote continued on next page)

The Discord between Nasr and al-Kirmani and What Had Caused It

According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) his *shaykhs*:
When `Abdallah b. `Umar came to Iraq as its governor on behalf of Yazid b. al-Walid, he wrote to Nasr appointing him as governor of Khurasan.

According to another report: `Abdallah's letter reached Nasr after al-Kirmani had escaped from Nasr's prison.¹⁰⁸⁸ The astrologers said to Nasr: "There will be discord in Khurasan." So Nasr gave orders that the remaining funds should be taken from the treasury and he gave the people some of their stipends in silver coins and some in gold which originated from the vases¹⁰⁸⁹ that he had collected to send to al-Walid b. Yazid.¹⁰⁹⁰ The first person to speak up (about all this)¹⁰⁹¹ was a man from the Banu Kindah who was eloquent and loquacious. He said: "What about the stipends?" The following Friday Nasr gave orders to some of the guards; they put on their weapons and he dispersed them through the mosque, fearing that someone would speak up. The man from the Banu Kindah stood up and said: "What about the stipends?" Then a man who was a mawla of the Banu Azd, whose *laqab* was Abu al-Shayatin, stood up and spoke his piece. Hammad al-Sa'igh and Abu al-Salil al-Bakri also rose to their feet and said: "What about the stipends?" So Nasr replied: "Preserve me from disobedience!¹⁰⁹² It is your duty to obey and to remain united. Fear God and heed what is preached to you." Then Salm b. Ahwaz went up to Nasr, who was on the *minbar*, and spoke to him, saying: "Your talking to us in this way does not satisfy us one bit." Thereupon the people of the bazaar ran off to their market stalls. Nasr was

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(footnote continued from previous page)

the Oxus, and had taken refuge with the Türgesh, was sent by Asad in 118 (736) against some of al-Harith's followers in Badakhshan. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1589-91; Gibb, 81; Wellhausen, 467-69; Shaban, *Abbasid Revolution*, 124; Hawting, 86-88.

1088. This is looking forward to events discussed later in detail by al-Tabari (II, 1861-62).

1089. Literally, "gold from the vases." This is ambiguous. It is not clear whether the gold came from the melting down of the vases or whether the vases had been used to store gold coins. The former possibility is more likely.

1090. Cf. n. 574.

1091. As it appears to have been a Friday, the discussion must have taken place in the mosque.

1092. *Iyyaya wa-al-ma'siyata*: "preserve me from disobedience (on your part)." Cf. the examples quoted in Wright, II, 82.

furious and declared: "You will not receive any stipends from me after this behavior of yours today." Then he went on: "My position with you is as if one of you¹⁰⁹³ rose up against his brother or his cousin and slapped his face when he was being given a camel or a garment to wear (as presents) and who (then) said: "My lord and my foster-father!" Or I feel as if¹⁰⁹⁴ some intolerable evil has materialized from under your very feet¹⁰⁹⁵ and it is as if you are being flung down in the bazaars like slaughtered camels.¹⁰⁹⁶ Truly people become disenchanted with the rule of anyone who rules for a long time. You, people of Khurasan, are a garrison in the very heart of the enemy. Beware lest there should be any dissension amongst you."

According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini)` Abdallah b. al-Mubarak: Nasr said in his oration:

Verily, I am one who pronounces (people) unbelievers¹⁰⁹⁷ and, further, who tells (them) when they are doing wrong. That is probably better for me. Indeed, you are striving to attain your ends but deliberately arousing discord in so doing.¹⁰⁹⁸ May God (therefore) not preserve you. By God, I know you through and through¹⁰⁹⁹ and I do not have (even) ten of you left on my side. The situation with me and you is as one of your predecessors said:¹¹⁰⁰ [1857]

Hold fast, comrades,¹¹⁰¹ and we shall urge on¹¹⁰² your

1093. Literally, "it seems to me that a man amongst you . . ." (*ka-annani bi-rajulin minkum*). Cf. Wright, II, 170.

1094. The text has *ka-annani bihim*. Ibn al-Athir changes *bihim* to *bikum* (V, 229). This makes better sense in the context and has been followed in the translation.

1095. Similarly here, Ibn al-Athir (loc. cit.) has *tahta arjulikum* for al-Tabari's *arjulihi*.

1096. *Wa-ka-annani bikum mutarraahina fi al-aswaqi*. Probably some prophetic allusion to the forthcoming revolution is being attributed here to Nasr.

1097. *Mukaffir*. Cf. Ullman, 263.

1098. Literally, "you are striving to attain a matter in which you want discord."

1099. Literally, "I have stretched you out and rolled you up and rolled you up and stretched you out."

1100. The meter is *rajaz*. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 229.

1101. Literally, "our comrade."

1102. The text has *nahdu*. This is later emended to *nahdu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. *Hada*: "to urge on camels by singing to them"; cf. Lane, I, 532-33.

camels by singing to them,
for we have experienced both your good side and your
bad.

Fear God! By God, if there should be any disagreement
amongst you, it would be preferable for each of you to be
deprived of your money and children than to see what would
ensue.¹¹⁰³ O people of Khurasan, you have held communal
concord in contempt and you have veered toward di-
visiveness. Is it authority of an unpredictable kind¹¹⁰⁴ that
you want and expect? Verily, therein lies your destruction, O
assembly of Arabs.

Then he quoted the words of al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani:¹¹⁰⁵

If your evil nature triumphs over you,
I have nevertheless striven for your good.

Al-Harith b. `Abdallah b. al-Hashraj b. al-Mughirah b. al-Ward
al-Ja`di said:

I pass the night leaning on my elbow, contemplating the stars;
whenever the last of them depart, the first of them
reappear.¹¹⁰⁶

Because discord has become widespread,
encompassing all the people of prayer,

Those in Khurasan and Iraq, and those
in Syria, are all grieved and troubled about it.

For this reason, the people are in pitch darkness;
their cries of confusion are enmeshed in the darkness.¹¹⁰⁷

In the dark the fool who is rebuked for
his folly is equal to the wise man.

People are in such distress that pregnant women
have almost disowned their children.

¹¹⁰³. Literally, "then each man amongst you would certainly want to be de-
prived of his money and children and not to have seen it."

¹¹⁰⁴. *A-sultana al-majhuli turiduna. . . ?*

¹¹⁰⁵. The meter is *wafir*. Al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani was born in the second half
of the sixth century. He enjoyed a high reputation, and the caliph `Umar was said
to have called him the best poet of the Arabs. Cf. Sezgin, II, 110-13.

¹¹⁰⁶. Literally, "whenever they depart, their first ones reappear."

¹¹⁰⁷. Literally, "entangled are its woods."

For this reason, they stray blindly in total confusion;
its dangers slay them unawares.1108

The people see in this situation only
all kinds of unknown hazards1109

Like the whickering of a young she-camel or the cry
of a woman in labor whose child has become stuck fast,
around whom stand her midwives.1110

He has come1111 into our midst, despised in manner,
with calamitous affairs whose afflictions are red in
color.1112

When Nasr's letter of appointment to govern on behalf of [1858]
`Abdallah b. `Umar reached him, al-Kirmani announced to his
followers: "There is discord among the people, so look for some-
one to run your affairs." (Now he was only called al-Kirmani
because he was born in Kirman. His name was Juday` b. `Ali b.
Shabib b. Barari b. Sunaym al-Ma`ni) His followers said: "You are
the man for us." Then the Mudariyyah said to Nasr: "Al-Kirmani
is fomenting discord against you. Send people against him and
kill him." Nasr replied: "No, but I have children, both male and
female. I will marry my sons to his daughters and his sons to my
daughters." The Mudariyyah said: "No." Then Nasr said: "I will
send him one hundred thousand dirhams, for he is miserly and
gives nothing to his followers. They will get to hear of this and
will desert him." The Mudariyyah rejected that idea, too, saying:
"That would only strengthen him." Thereupon Nasr rejoined:
"Leave him as he is, with him on his guard against us and us on

1108. Literally, "because of it they are in every blind confusion, tested by its
tangled complexities[?]." The text has *fi-kulli mubhamatin*. The Cairo edition
(VII, 276) has *fi zilli mubhamatin* ("in the shadow of blind confusion"). The text
has *tumna lahum*. The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *taghtaluhum*, which makes
much better sense.

1109. Literally, "the people do not see in its consequences except that which its
speaker does not explain." The text has *yabinu*. This is later emended to *yubinu*.
Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

1110. *Kasayhati hubla tarraqat, hawlaha qawabiluha*. The text has *taraqat*,
but a reading of *tarraqat* makes better sense. Cf. *Lisan*, II, 589.

1111. The text has *fa-ja'in*. This is later emended to *fa-ja'a*. Cf. *Emend.*, p.
DCCXIII.

1112. Possibly a reference to the newborn child as well as the bloodshed of
fitnah.

our guard against him." So the Mudariyyah said: "Send your men to him and imprison him."1113

Nasr received word that al-Kirmani was saying: "My ultimate aim in obeying the Banu Marwan was that I would be made a commander1114 and then I would seek vengeance for the Banu Muhallab1115 as well as for the treatment that we have received at the hands of Nasr, what with his coarseness and the prolonged restrictions he has imposed on us and his retaliation against us for what Asad did to him."1116 Then `Ismah b. `Abdallah al-Asadi said to Nasr: "This is the beginning of discord. Accuse al-Kirmani of some foul deed, announce publicly that he is a dissident, and execute him. Execute Siba` b. al-Nu`man al-Azdi and also al-Farafisah1117 b. Zuhayr al-Bakri, who continues to be angry at (Asad b. `Abd) Allah because he thought himself to be superior to the Mudar and the Rabi`ah when he was in Khurasan"(?).1118 Jamil b. al-Nu`man said (to Nasr): "You have treated al-Kirmani

1113. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 230. The Cairo edition interprets this passage differently. The Leiden text is vocalized to read: "They said, 'Send (people) to him and imprison him.'" The Cairo edition (VII, 287) has *qalu [la qala]* [brackets are those of the Cairo editor] *fa-arsala ilayhi fa-habasahu*: "They said 'no.' So he sent (people) to him and he imprisoned him."

1114. *An tuqallidani al-suyufu*. The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *an yuqallada wuldi al-suyufa* ("that my sons would be invested with swords (i.e., given command)").

1115. Cf. n. 676.

1116. Probably a reference to Asad's having ordered that Nasr should be lashed. Cf. Wellhausen, 455.

1117. The form of this name is uncertain. The editor earlier had al-Furafisah (II, 1604) but has al-Farafisah here.

1118. This part of the text is clearly faulty and neither the Leiden nor Cairo editions have satisfactory versions. Ibn al-Athir omits it altogether and al-Dinawari's account sheds no light on the matter (op. cit., 350-51). The Leiden text has *fa-innahu lam yazil muta`assaban `ala Allahi bi-tafaddulihi `ala Mudari [wa -bi-tafaddulihi `ala Rabi`ata kana bi-Khurasan.]* By the editor's own admission he guessed at what is between the brackets. The Cairo edition (VII, 287) has *fa-innahu lam yazil mutaghaddaban `ala Allahi bi-tafdilihi Mudara `ala Rabi`ah* (and then, in a new paragraph:) *wa kana bi-Khurasan*. It is possible that words may have been omitted here, e.g., part of a name before Allah (e.g., Asad b. `Abdallah, the preceding governor of Khurasan, who supported a pro-Yemeni and anti-Rabi`ah and Mudar policy). A possible reconstruction of the sentence might therefore lead to the following translation: "for he continues to be angry (*mutaghaddaban*) against Asad b. `Abdallah (?) because of his thinking himself superior (*bi-tafaddulihi*) to Mudar and to Rabi`ah when (?) he was in Khurasan." Various textual problems remain unsolved, however.

honorably. If you can't face killing him (yourself), hand him over to me and I will kill him."

It was said that Nasr became angry with al-Kirmani only because the latter wrote to Bakr b. Firas al-Bahrani, the governor of Jurjan, telling him about Mansur b. Jumhur, and because he (Bakr?) sent a letter with Abu al-Za`faran, the mawla of Asad b. `Abdallah, appointing al-Kirmani. So Nasr instituted a search for al-Kirmani but he could not find him. The man who wrote to al-Kirmani informing him of the killing of al-Walid and the coming of Mansur b. Jumhur to Iraq was Salih al-Athram al-Hirar. [1859]

It is said that a group of people came to Nasr and reported: "Al-Kirmani is encouraging faction." Asram b. Qabisah said to Nasr: "If Juday` could achieve power and authority only by means of Christianity or Judaism, he would become a Christian or a Jew."1119 Nasr and al-Kirmani had been on friendly terms and al-Kirmani had behaved well toward Nasr during the governorship of Asad b. `Abdallah. Then when Nasr became governor of Khurasan he dismissed al-Kirmani from (his) command1120 and appointed to it Harb b. `Amir b. Aytham al-Washiji. His leadership was not successful1121 and Nasr reinstated al-Kirmani in office; but only a short time later he dismissed al-Kirmani, appointing in his stead Jamil b. al-Nu`man. Relations between Nasr and al-Kirmani became strained and then Nasr imprisoned al-Kirmani in the citadel. The man in charge of the citadel was Muqatil b. `Ali al-Mara'ior according to some sources, al-Murri.1122

When Nasr had made up his mind to imprison al-Kirmani, he gave orders to `Ubaydallah b. Bassam, the commander of his guards, who brought al-Kirmani to Nasr. Nasr said to him: "Kirmain, did I not receive a letter from Yusuf b. `Umar ordering me to kill you, and write back to him saying: 'Al-Kirmani is a shaykh and a knight of Khurasan,' and prevent the shedding of your blood?" Al-Kirmani said: "Yes." Nasr went on: "Did I not pay the debts you had incurred and did I not take it equally out of the

1119. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 230.

1120. *Al-ri'ayasah*. Cf. Crone, 31.

1121. *Fa-ma zujirat*. The Cairo edition (VII, 287) has *fa-mata Harb* ("then Harb died").

1122. This last being the form preferred by Nöldeke. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

people's stipends?" Al-Kirmani said: "Yes." Nasr said: "Did I not appoint¹¹²³ your son `Ali to a position of authority, even though your people were against it?" Al-Kirmani replied: "Yes." Then Nasr went on: "And yet you repaid that (kindness) by arousing discord." Then al-Kirmani said: "There was more to it than what the *amir* has said.¹¹²⁴ And I give thanks for that. Just as the *amir* prevented the shedding of my blood, so too I behaved during the time of Asad b. `Abdallah in the way that he knows. So let the *amir* act without haste and make sure (of the truth), for I am no friend to faction." Then `Ismah b. `Abdallah al-Asadi said: "You are lying. Your aim is sedition and that you will not achieve." Salm b. Ahwaz urged: "Behead him, O *amir*." Al-Miqdam and Qudamah, the two sons of `Abd al-Rahman b. Nu`aym al-Ghamidi, said: "Truly the companions of Pharaoh were better than you when they said 'Put him off (for a while), both him and his brother.'¹¹²⁵ By God, do not let al-Kirmani be killed, as Ibn Ahwaz recommends." So Nasr gave orders to Salm, who put al-Kirmani in prison, three days before the end of Ramadan, 126 [July 14, 744]. Then the Banu Azd spoke up (about al-Kirmani) and Nasr said: "I have sworn that I would imprison him and that no evil will befall him at my hands. If you fear for his safety, then choose a man to keep him company." So the Banu Azd chose Yazid al-Nahawi and he remained with al-Kirmani in the citadel.¹¹²⁶ Nasr appointed the Banu Najiyah, who were the associates of `Uthman and Jahm, the two sons of Mas`ud, to guard al-Kirmani. The Banu Azd sent al-Mughirah b. Shu`bah al-Jahdami and Khalid b. Shu`ayb b. Abi Salih al-Huddani to Nasr and they spoke to Nasr about al-Kirmani. Al-Kirmani remained in prison for twenty-nine days.

According to `Ali b. Wa'il, one of the Banu Rabi`ah b. Hanzalah: I went in to see Nasr and al-Kirmani was sitting apart and complaining: "What have I done wrong? If Abu al-Za`faran had come,

¹¹²³. The text has *a-lam artash*. This is later emended to *a-lam ura'is*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

¹¹²⁴. Literally, "the *amir* did not say anything except there was more than it." In other words, in everything Nasr said there was more to be added.

¹¹²⁵. Cf. Qur'an 7, v. 111.

¹¹²⁶. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 231.

by God, I would never have hidden him; and I do not know where he is."

On the day that al-Kirmani was imprisoned, the Banu Azd had wanted to snatch him away from his escorts, but al-Kirmani implored them in God's name not to do that and he went away laughing under escort from the guards of Salm b. Ahwaz. Then when al-Kirmani was put in prison, `Abd al-Malik b. Harmalah al-Yahmadi, al-Mughirah b. Shu`bah, `Abd al-Jabbar b. Shu`ayb b. `Abbad, and a group of the Banu Azd talked (over the matter). They went down to Nawsh¹¹²⁷ and said: "We do not accept that al-Kirmani should be imprisoned when he has committed no crime or offense." Some *shaykhs* from the Banu al-Yahmad¹¹²⁸ said: "Do not take any action. See what your *amir* does." The Banu Azd replied: "We are not satisfied. Just let Nasr keep his hands off us or we will certainly start on you." Then `Abd al-`Aziz b. `Abbad b. Jabir b. Hama(m)¹¹²⁹ b. Hanzalah al-Yahmadi joined them with one hundred men, and also Muhammad b. al-Muthanna and Dawud b. Shu`ayb. They spent the night in Nawsh with `Abd al-Malik b. Harmalah and those men who were with him. The following morning they marched to Hawzan and set fire to the house of "Azzah, Nasr's concubine. They remained (there) for three days, proclaiming: "We are not satisfied." Thereupon they (Nasr's-men?) appointed trustworthy men to watch over al-Kirmani and they put Yazid al-Nahawi and others with al-Kirmani. Then one of the people of Nasaf¹¹³⁰ came and said to Ja`far, the servant of al-Kirmani: "What would you give me if I got al-Kirmani out (of prison)?" They replied: "You could have whatever you requested." Then the man went to the water conduit (leading) from the citadel and widened it. Then he made his way to al-Kirmani's sons and said to them: "Write a letter to your father telling him to be ready to escape tonight." So they wrote to him and they put the letter in the food. Al-Kirmani called Yazid al-Nahawi and Husayn¹¹³¹ b. Hukaym and they ate supper with him

[1861]

¹¹²⁷. A number of villages in the Marw district bore this name. Cf. Yaqut, IV, 823-24.

¹¹²⁸. For the Banu al-Yahmad, a subgroup of the Azd, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 589.

¹¹²⁹. The text has Hama.

¹¹³⁰. For the city of Nasaf in Sughd, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 469-71.

¹¹³¹. Ibn al-Athir has: Khidr b. Hukaym. (V, 231).

and then they went out. Al-Kirmani went in to the (subterranean) conduit and his rescuers pulled him by his arm. Then a serpent wound itself around al-Kirmani's stomach, but it did not harm him. One of the Banu Azd said: "The snake was Azdi and so it did not harm him." He came finally to a narrow place where they dragged him out; his shoulder and side were grazed. When al-Kirmani emerged (from the conduit) he mounted his she-mule, Dawwamah (according to some sources, he mounted his horse, al-Bashir), with the fetters still on his foot. The men then brought him to a village called Ghalatan, where `Abd al-Malik b. Harmalah was waiting, and al-Kirmani was cut loose from the fetters.

[1862]

According to `Ali (b. Muhammad al-Mada'ini) and Abu al-Walid¹¹³² Zuhayr b. Hunayd al-`Adawi: Al-Kirmani had his servant Bassam with him (in prison). Bassam noticed a hole in the citadel and he kept on making it wider until he made it possible to escape through it.¹¹³³ Al-Kirmani sent a message to Muhammad b. al-Muthanna and `Abd al-Malik b. Harmalah, saying: "I am escaping tonight." So al-Kirmani's supporters assembled. Then when al-Kirmani had escaped, his mawla Farqad¹¹³⁴ came to them and told them the news and they met up with him at the village of Harb b. `Amir. Al-Kirmani was wearing a sheet with a sword around his waist. With him were `Abd al-Jabbar b. Shu`ayb and the two sons of al-Kirmani, `Ali and `Uthman, together with his servant Ja`far. Al-Kirmani gave orders to `Amr b. Bakr to go to Ghalatan, Andagh, and Ushturj¹¹³⁵ together(?). Al-Kirmani ordered the people to meet him at the gate of al-Rayyan b. Sinan al-Yahmadi in Nawsh, in the meadow, which was the place where they prayed during the `id. So `Amr went to the people and told them (what al-Kirmani had said). Then the people left their vil-

¹¹³². The name Abu al-Walid in the text is later emended to Abu al-Dhiyal. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. This is not accepted by the Cairo edition (VII, 289).

¹¹³³. Al-Dinawari gives a detailed account of al-Kirmani's escape from prison, giving a longer version of the story involving Bassam (op. cit., 351-52). Cf. also Ibn A`tham, VIII, 146-53.

¹¹³⁴. The text has Farqadu, later emended to Farqadun. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

¹¹³⁵. Ushturj is a town in the district of Andkhoy in *Khurasan*. Cf. *Hudud*, 336, n. 61; al-Istakhri, I, 270-71. The text has Ushturj Ma`nan. The Cairo edition (VII, 290) has *ma`an* ("together"). Ma`an is the name of a tribe, but it makes little sense here.

lages, armed with weapons, and al-Kirmani led them in the morning prayer. They numbered around one thousand. Before sunset, however, their number had increased to three thousand. Then the people of al-Saqadim joined them. Al-Kirmani marched to Marj Niran, getting as far as Hawzan. Khalaf b. Khalifah recited the following lines:1136

Go forth to the meadow which most effectually removes
blindness,
for the people of the conduit have already departed.1137

Truly the meadow of the Azd is extensive,
and in it the feet stand equal to the knees.

It is said that the Banu Azd gave the oath of allegiance to `Abd al-Malik b. Harmalah on the basis of God's Book on the night that al-Kirmani escaped. Once they had assembled in the meadow at Nawsh, prayer began1138 and `Abd al-Malik and al-Kirmani were in dispute for a while. Then `Abd al-Malik conceded al-Kirmani precedence, handing the command over to him, and al-Kirmani led the prayer. [1863]

When al-Kirmani had escaped, Nasr went and camped hard by the gate of Marw al-Rudh1139 on the Ibrdanah(?)1140 side where he remained for a day or two. It is said that when al-Kirmani escaped, Nasr appointed as his own deputy `Ismah b. `Abdallah al-Asadi, while he himself made for the five bridges at the gate of Marw al-Rudh, where he addressed the people and carped at al-Kirmani, saying: "He was born in Kirman and was a Kirmani. Then he came to Harah (Herat) and was a Harawi. He who falls between two stools1141 has no firm base nor does he flourish."1142 Then Nasr said, referring to the Banu Azd: "If they gather together,

1136. The meter is *ramal*.

1137. Surely a reference to the escape of al-Kirmani from the conduit (*al-sarab*) and to al-Kirmani's meeting at the *marj*. In a more general way, the lines could be interpreted as praise of desert instead of city life.

1138. *Uqimat al-salat*.

1139. Marw al-Rudh or Little Marw was thus named to differentiate it from Marw al-Shahijan. Marw al-Rudh was situated about 160 miles further up the Murghab river than Marw al-Shahijan. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 404-05; Yaqut, IV, 506; *EI2*, s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

1140. This place has not been identified and the editor is not sure of the vocalization.

1141. Literally, "two beds."

1142. Literally, "nor is he a growing branch."

they are the most contemptible of people; and if they refuse to do so, they are as al-Akhtal¹¹⁴³ said:

(They are) frogs answering one another in the darkness of night;
their voices guide the water-snake toward them."

Then Nasr regretted his hasty words and added: "Pronounce the name of God, for to pronounce God's name is a sovereign remedy. To pronounce God's name is a blessing, with no tincture of evil, that drives away sin.¹¹⁴⁴ To pronounce God's name is to be absolved from hypocrisy." Thereafter many people gathered to Nasr, and he sent Salm b. Ahwaz in heavy armor with many men to al-Kirmani. People mediated between Nasr and al-Kirmani and they asked Nasr to grant al-Kirmani safe-conduct and not to imprison him, while al-Kirmani's family would guarantee that he would not oppose Nasr. Al-Kirmani placed his hand in Nasr's hand and Nasr ordered him to stay in his house. Then al-Kirmani heard something about Nasr, so he left (his house) to go to a village that belonged to him. Then Nasr sallied forth and camped at the bridges (at the gate of Marw), where al-Qasim b. Najib came to him. He spoke to Nasr about al-Kirmani and Nasr guaranteed his safety (no matter what he said). Al-Qasim said to Nasr: "If you want, al-Kirmani will go away from Khurasan for you or, if you so desire, he will stay in his house." Nasr thought it wise to banish al-Kirmani, but Salm said to him: "If you banish him, you will make his name and reputation famous and people will say: 'Nasr banished him because he was afraid of him.'"¹¹⁴⁵ Nasr replied: "What I fear from him if he is banished is less than what I fear from him if he is living (here); for a man who is exiled from his country becomes less powerful." They urged him not to do it, so Nasr stayed his hand from al-Kirmani and gave his followers ten (dinars) each. Then al-Kirmani came to Nasr and entered his tent and Nasr promised him safe-conduct.

[1864]

¹¹⁴³. The famous Christian Arab poet (d. probably before 92/710). Cf. *ET*2, s.v. (R. Blachère).

¹¹⁴⁴. Literally, "the mentioning of God is a cure, the mentioning of God is a blessing in which there is no evil."

¹¹⁴⁵. *Qala al-nasu akhrajahu annahu habahu*. Ibn al-Athir (V, 232) has *li-annahu*, which has been followed here. The Cairo edition (VII, 291) also has *li-annahu*

`Abd al-`Aziz b. `Abd Rabbihi joined al-Harith b. Surayj.¹¹⁴⁶ Then, in Shawwal 126 [July 17-August 14, 744], Nasr received word that Mansur b. Jumhur had been dismissed and that `Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz had been made governor (of Iraq). Then Nasr addressed the people, mentioning Ibn Jumhur and saying: "I have found out that he is not a governor of Iraq. God has dismissed him from office and has appointed (in his stead) the Virtuous One (al-Tayyib, i.e., `Abdallah), the son of the Virtuous One (al-Tayyib, i.e., `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz)." Al-Kirmani was angry about Ibn Jumhur and began collecting men and taking up arms again. He would attend the Friday prayer, accompanied by about fifteen hundred men, and would perform the prayer outside the *maqsurah*, before going in to see Nasr. He would greet Nasr but would not sit down. Then al-Kirmani stopped going in to see Nasr and began to oppose him publicly.

So Nasr sent the following message to him by Salm b. Ahwaz: "By God, I did not want to do you any harm by imprisoning you, but I was afraid that you would cause mischief amongst the people. So come to me." Al-Kirmani gave Salm the following reply: "Were it not for the fact that you are in my house I would kill you. Were it not for what I know of your foolishness I would teach you how to behave. Go back to Ibn al-Aqta'¹¹⁴⁷ and tell him whatever you like, be it good or bad." So Salm returned to Nasr and gave him the message.¹¹⁴⁸ Then Nasr said to him: "Go back to him." Salm replied: "No, by God! I am not afraid of him but I would hate him to make me listen to things about you that I do not like (to hear)." So Nasr dispatched `Ismah b. `Abdallah al-Asadi, who said (to al-Kirmani): "Abu `Ali, I fear for your fate in this world and the next as a result of what you have begun. We are going to make certain proposals to you. So go to your *amir*, who will give you the details."¹¹⁴⁹ Our aim in this is only to warn you."

[1865]

¹¹⁴⁶. The text has no obvious break between the events occurring with Nasr and al-Kirmani and then the reference to al-Harith b. Surayj. This is probably an early allusion to the men who rallied to al-Harith (under the year 127) amongst whom `Abd al-`Aziz b. `Abd Rabbihi was one. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1890; Wellhausen, 485-86.

¹¹⁴⁷. Cf. n. 327. Cf. also al-Dinawari, 352.

¹¹⁴⁸. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 232. Hereafter, Ibn al-Athir's account omits the details of the various attempts to persuade al-Kirmani to go to see Nasr.

¹¹⁴⁹. Literally, "we are proposing certain proposals to you. So go to your *amir*, who will suggest them to you."

Al-Kirmani replied: "I know that Nasr did not charge you with this message, but that you wanted (what you said) to reach his ears and thereby to gain favor (with him). By God, I will not say another word (to you) after I have finished what I am saying now until you have gone back to your house. So let him send anyone he likes so long as it is not you." Then `Ismah went back and said (to Nasr): "I have not seen a more undisciplined lout than al-Kirmani. I do not wonder at him, but I do wonder at Yahya b. Hudayn (and his people) may God curse them! 1150 indeed, they respect him more than his (own) associates do."

Salm b. Ahwaz said: "I am afraid that this frontier and the people will become corrupted. So send Qudayd to al-Kirmani." Then Nasr told Qudayd b. Mani` to go to him. Qudayd did so and said to al-Kirmani: "Abu `Ali, you have been stubbornly persistent (in this matter) and I am afraid that the situation will become too difficult, that we will all perish, and that these foreigners 1151 will gloat over us." Al-Kirmani replied: "Qudayd, I am not suspicious of you; but what has happened has made me mistrustful of Nasr. The Prophet of God said: 'The Bakri is your brother, but do not trust him.'" Qudayd said: "If that is what you think, give him some surety." Al-Kirmani asked: "Who?" Qudayd answered: "Give me `Ali and `Uthman." Al-Kirmani rejoined: "Who is he giving me? He has nothing good to offer." Qudayd replied: "Abu `Ali, I swear to you, by God, do not let the ruin of this city be on your hands." Then Qudayd went back to Nasr and he said to `Aqil b. Ma`qil al-Laythi: "What I most fear is that disaster will befall this frontier. So speak to your (paternal) cousin." So `Aqil said to Nasr, "O *amir*, I beseech you, by God, not to cause evil fortune to befall your tribe. Rebels (*khawarij*) are fighting Marwan in Syria. Both the people and the Banu Azd are in a state of dissension. 1152 They are light-headed and foolish; but

1150. The text is perhaps faulty here. The editor notes that after Hudayn there may have been the words *wa-qawmihi*, i.e., Bakr b. Wa'il. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1571. This makes good sense with the plural suffix of *la`anahum*.

1151. *Al- a`ajim*: the non-Arab population of Khurasan.

1152. There are various ways in which this passage could be punctuated. It could be translated as: "Indeed, Marwan is in Syria (and) the rebels are fighting him, and the people and the Azd are in discord . . ." Alternatively, it could read: "Indeed, Marwan is in Syria (and) the rebels and the people are fighting him, and the Azd are in discord . . ." The punctuation of the Cairo edition (VII, 292) places a comma after "rebels."

they are your neighbors." Nasr replied: "What am I to do? If you know a way of restoring the people to good order, then go ahead, for al-Kirmani has made up his mind not to trust me."

Then `Aqil went to al-Kirmani and said: "Abu `Ali, you have [1866]
instituted a custom which will be followed by other *amirs* after you. Indeed, I foresee a situation in which I fear that people will act quite unreasonably." Al-Kirmani said: "Nasr wants me to go to him, but I do not feel safe from him. We want him to withdraw. (Then) we ourselves will withdraw and we will choose a man from Bakr b. Wa'il who is satisfactory to all of us to be our governor until a decree comes from the caliph. (But) Nasr refuses (to do) this." `Aqil replied: "Abu `Ali, I am afraid that the people of this frontier will perish, so go to your *amir* and say that whatever he (Nasr) wants will be agreed to by you. But do not incite the fools amongst your people to action in this affair that they have undertaken." Al-Kirmani said: "I am not suspicious of you so far as your advice or your reasoning are concerned, but I do not trust Nasr. Let him take what he wants from the wealth of Khurasan and go away." `Aqil said: "Are you willing to do something that would lead to agreement between you? You can make marriage alliances with his family and he can make marriage alliances with yours." Al-Kirmani replied: "I don't feel safe from him in any situation." `Aqil said: "No good will come of this. I am afraid that tomorrow you will be wiped out and all to no purpose." Al-Kirmani replied: "There is no power and no strength except in God." `Aqil asked him: "Shall I come back to you?" Al-Kirmani replied: "No, but take him a message from me and tell him: "I fear that people will incite you to do what you do not want (to do) and that you will behave toward us in a way that has irrevocable consequences. But, if you insist, I will go away from you, not out of fear of you but (because) I would hate to be the cause of any disaster to the inhabitants of the province or to cause bloodshed in it." So al-Kirmani prepared himself to leave for Jurjan.

In this year Yazid b. al-Walid granted al-Harith b. Surayj safe-conduct and he wrote to al-Harith accordingly. He also wrote to [1867]
`Abdallah b. `Umar ordering him to return to al-Harith such of his money and sons as had been seized from him.

The Reason for Granting Safe-Conduct to al-Harith b. Surayj¹¹⁵³

It is reported that when the disagreement between Nasr and al-Kirmani occurred in Khurasan, Nasr was afraid that al-Harith b. Surayj would muster his followers and the Turks against him, and that the situation would be worse for him than it had been with al-Kirmani and others. Nasr therefore was keen¹¹⁵⁴ to consult al-Harith. So he sent Muqatil b. Hayyan al-Nabati, Tha`labah b. Safwan al-Banani, Anas b. Bajalah al-`Araji, Hudbah al-Sha`rawi, and Rabi`ah al-Qurashi to al-Harith to bring him back from the country of the Turks.

According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini) his *shaykhs*: Khalid b. Ziyad al-Baddi, who was one of the inhabitants of Tirmidh, and Khalid b. `Amr, a mawla of the Banu `Amir, went to Yazid b. al-Walid to ask for safe-conduct for al-Harith b. Surayj. When they reached al-Kufah, they met Sa`id Khudaynah,¹¹⁵⁵ who said to Khalid b. Ziyad: "Do you know why people called me Khudaynah?" Khalid said: "No." So Sa`id said: "They wanted to make me kill the Yamaniyyah and I refused to do so." Then the two men asked Abu Hanifah¹¹⁵⁶ to write on their behalf to al-Ajlah, who was one of the close associates of Yazid b. al-Walid. So he wrote to al-Ajlah on their behalf and al-Ajlah took them in to

¹¹⁵³. For an analysis of the amnesty granted to al-Harith through the mediation of Nasr, who hoped that al-Harith would support him against al-Kirmani, cf. Shaban, *`Abbasid Revolution*, 136; Hawting, 107-08.

¹¹⁵⁴. Literally, "desired."

¹¹⁵⁵. Sa`id b. `Abd al-`Aziz, who was an Umayyad and the son-in-law of Maslamah b. `Abd al-Malik, had been governor of Khurasan in 102 (720). He preferred a policy of conciliation in Khurasan but was forced to go out against the Turks and, after initial success, was severely defeated by them. He was recalled in 103 (721) because of his weakness and complaints of tyranny. The father of one of the men in this delegation to Yazid, Hayyan al-Nabati, had vigorously opposed Sa`id's policies and had intrigued against him. The nickname Khudhaynah ("little lady") was given to him by his enemies in Khurasan, although some Arab elements called him "a sword held over our heads." The term *khudhaynah* is explained as *dihqanah* ("lady of the house"). Cf. Gibb, 61-62; Shaban, *`Abbasid Revolution*, 95, 99-101; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 188-89; al-Tabari, II, 1418.

¹¹⁵⁶. Abu Hanifah al-Nu`man b. Thabit, born ca. 80 (699) and died 150 (767), the eponymous founder of the Hanafi *madhhab*. He lived in al-Kufah and became the foremost authority on religious law there. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (J. Schacht).

see Yazid. Khalid b. Ziyad said to Yazid: "O Commander of the Faithful, you killed your cousin in order to establish the Book of God. Yet now your agents are acting unjustly and tyrannically." Yazid replied: "I can find no helpers other than them, and yet I hate them." Khalid said: "O Commander of the Faithful, appoint as governors people from noble families¹¹⁵⁷ and attach to every governor men who are of known piety and knowledgeable in *fiqh* to make them adhere to the terms of your covenant." Yazid replied: "I will do so." Then the two men asked Yazid to grant safe-conduct to al-Harith b. Surayj and Yazid wrote to him as follows:

Now to our subject matter. We have been angry on God's behalf that His ordinances have been neglected and that His servants have sunk into every kind of excess. Blood has been shed unlawfully and money has been seized illegally. We wanted our actions in this community to be according to the Book of God, may He be praised and glorified, and the *sunnah* of His prophet. There is no power except in God. We have explained this to you ourselves. So come in safety, you and those who are with you, for you are our brothers and our helpers. I have written to `Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz asking him to return such of your wealth and children as were confiscated.

[1868]

Then the two men (i.e. Khalid b. Ziyad and Khalid b. `Amr) came to al-Kufah and went in to see Ibn `Umar. Khalid b. Ziyad said: "May God preserve and prosper the *amir*! Do you not order your agents to conduct themselves as your father did?" `Abdallah replied: "But isn't `Umar's (irreproachable) conduct clear and known to all?" Khalid said: "People don't benefit from it and it has not been put into practice." Then the two men arrived in Marw and they gave Yazid's letter to Nasr, who returned as much as he could of what had been taken from al-Harith and his followers.¹¹⁵⁸ They then called on al-Harith, where they met Muqatil b. Hayyan and his associates, whom Nasr had sent to al-Harith. Ibn `Umar had written to Nasr saying: "You have granted safe-conduct to al-Harith without y permission and without the permission of the caliph." So Nasr regretted¹¹⁵⁹ what he had

1157. *Ahla al-buyutati*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CXLV.

1158. Literally, "them."

1159. *Fa-usqita fi yadayhi*. Cf. Lane, I, 1380.

done. He dispatched Yazid b. al-Ahmar with orders to kill al-Harith when he had got him onto the boat. When Khalid b. Ziyad and Khalid b. `Amr met Muqatil in Amul, Muqatil himself crossed over to al-Harith and prevented Yazid from attacking him.

Al-Harith traveled to Marw, after living in the country of the infidels for twelve years, accompanied by al-Qasim al-Shaybani and Mudarris b. `Imran, his judge, and `Abdallah b. Sinan. When al-Harith arrived in Samarqand, the governor in charge of the city was Mansur b. `Umar.¹¹⁶⁰ The latter did not receive al-Harith and he said: ("Should I see him) because of his good deeds?"¹¹⁶¹ Then Mansur wrote to Nasr asking his permission to attack al-Harith, and whichever of them killed the other would go to Paradise or the Fire. Mansur wrote as follows:¹¹⁶² "If al-Harith comes to the *amir*, having already impaired the authority of the Banu Umayyah, lapping up more and more blood, and having severed all ties with this world, whereas while he was under their rule he had been the most hospitable of them to a guest, the fiercest of them in courage and the most zealous of them against the Turks, then he will cause division among the Banu Tamim and do you a mischief." ¹¹⁶³ [1869]

The Sardarkhudah was imprisoned with Mansur b. `Umar because he had killed Baysan. His son Jundah sought vengeance from Mansur and Mansur imprisoned him.¹¹⁶⁴ Al-Harith spoke to Mansur about him, so Mansur released him. Thereupon al-Harith took over his debt and he paid it for him in full.

According to some sources: In this year the imam Ibrahim b. Muhammad¹¹⁶⁵ sent Abu Hashim Bukayr b. Mahan¹¹⁶⁶ to Khurasan, furnished with a mandate¹¹⁶⁷ and injunctions

¹¹⁶⁰. Mansur b. `Umar al-Sulami. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1677, 1679; Wellhausen, 477.

¹¹⁶¹. *A-li-husni bala'ih*? Presumably a sarcastic comment.

¹¹⁶². It is not clear from the text whether this is Mansur's letter to Nasr or Nasr's reply to Mansur. The former possibility has been adopted in the translation.

¹¹⁶³. Literally, "to your disadvantage."

¹¹⁶⁴. *Fa-ista`ada ibnuhu J.nd.h Mansuran fa-habasahu*. The vocalization of the name is uncertain, but it appears in the indices, 109, as J.nd.h b. Baysan.

¹¹⁶⁵. Cf. *EI2*, Ibrahim b. Muhammad (F. Omar).

¹¹⁶⁶. Cf. n. 358.

¹¹⁶⁷. *Bi-al-sirati*. I.e., having been given instructions as to how he should proceed.

(*wasiyyah*). He arrived in Marw and assembled the *naqibs* and those *da'is* who were present there. He announced the death of the imam Muhammad b. `Ali, called on them to support Ibrahim, and gave them Ibrahim's letter. They accepted what it said and handed over to him such subscriptions to the Shi'i cause as had come in to them. Bukayr then took these monies to Ibrahim b. Muhammad.

In this year Yazid b. al-Walid had the people give the oath of allegiance to his brother Ibrahim and he made him his heir.¹¹⁶⁸ [1870] He also had the oath of allegiance given to `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik as the heir of Ibrahim b. al-Walid. According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): The reason for that was that Yazid b. al-Walid fell sick in Dhu al-Hijjah 126 [September 14-October 12, 744]. People said to him: "Have the oath of allegiance given to your brother Ibrahim and to `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj after him." The Qadariyyah kept on pressing him to have the oath of allegiance sworn, and urging him: "It is not lawful for you to neglect the leadership of the community. So have the oath of allegiance taken to your brother." (They did this) until Yazid had the oath of allegiance taken for Ibrahim and `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj after him.

In this year Yazid b. al-Walid dismissed Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf¹¹⁶⁹ from the governorship of Medina, appointing in his place `Abd al-`Aziz b. `Abdallah b. `Amr b. `Uthman. According to Muhammad b. `Umar (al-Waqidi): It is alleged that Yazid b. al-Walid did not appoint Yusuf b. Muhammad as governor but that the latter forged a letter of appointment as governor of Medina. Later, Yazid dismissed him and appointed `Abd al-`Aziz to the post and he went there (to Medina) two nights before the end of Dhu al-Qa`dah (126) [August 15-September 13, 744].

In this year Marwan b. Muhammad rebelled against Yazid b. al-Walid. He left Armenia for the Jazirah, on the pretext that he was

¹¹⁶⁸. For Yazid's nomination of his brother Ibrahim as his heir, cf. *Fragmenta*, 153; Ibn Khayyat, 387.

¹¹⁶⁹. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi, the brother of al-Walid II's mother, Umm Hajjaj, had been sent as governor to Medina by al-Walid on his accession. Cf. Wellhausen, 354; al-Tabari, II, 1768.

seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Walid b. Yazid. But when he reached Harran, 1170 he gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid.

The Account of [Marwan's Rebellion] and of the Reason That Prompted Marwan to Oppose (Yazid) and Then to Give Allegiance to Yazid

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr` Abd al-Wahhab b. Ibrahim b. Khalid b. Yazid b. Huraym Abu Hashim Mukhallad b. Muhammad b. Salih, the mawla of `Uthman b. `Affan: I asked Abu Hashim how closely he had witnessed the events he related to us and he said: "I was staying in the camp of Marwan b. Muhammad." (Abu Hashim's account continues:) When `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan b. Muhammad b. Marwan returned from his summer raiding campaign, he was with al-Ghamr b. Yazid in Harran. While `Abd al-Malik was there he received the news of al-Walid's murder. Al-Walid's agent in the Jazirah was `Abdah b. Rabah al-Ghassani. When he heard that al-Walid had been killed, `Abdah left the Jazirah and made for Syria. Then `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan b. Muhammad attacked Harran and the (other) cities of the Jazirah; he held on to them and appointed Sulayman b. `Abdallah b. `Ulathah to govern them. `Abd al-Malik then wrote to his father in Armenia informing him of what he had done and advising him to hasten to join him. Marwan made his preparations for the journey and announced publicly that he was seeking (vengeance for) the blood of al-Walid. Marwan did not like to leave the frontier unguarded before he had put his affairs in order. He dispatched to the people of al-Bab 1171 Ishaq b. Muslim al-`Uqayli, 1172 who was the [1871]

1170. Harran is the well-known city in Northern Mesopotamia (now in Turkey). Marwan was to make it his residence when he became caliph. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (G. Fehérvári).

1171. I.e., Bab al-Abwab, Darband on the Caspian. This was a pass and a frontier town at the eastern end of the Caucasus. Yaqut describes the great wall which lay to the west of it and which had been built in the sixth century A.D. to keep out the barbarians. After the Muslim conquest the Bab became the base for future Arab operations against the Khazars. In Hisham's reign, Maslamah is said to have established twenty-four thousand Syrians there. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, 207; Le Strange, *Lands*, 180; Minorsky, *Sharvan and Darband*, 18-19; *EI2*, s.v. (D. M. Dunlop).

1172. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1635; al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*., 206; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 403; Crone, 106.

head of the Banu Qays, and Thabit b. Nu`aym al-Judhami, 1173 a man from Palestine who was the head of the Yamaniyyah. The reason why Thabit was in Marwan's company was that Marwan had released him from Hisham's prison at al-Rusafah. Marwan used to visit Hisham once every two years to discuss the affairs of the frontier, its condition, what would be good for his troops, and what he thought should be done against the enemy. The reason that Hisham had imprisoned Thabit was, as we have mentioned above, because of what had happened between him and Hanzalah b. Safwan. Hisham had sent Hanzalah with a *jund* to fight the Berbers 1174 and the people of Ifriqiyah after they had killed Hisham's agent over them, Kulthum b. `Iyad al-Qushayri. Thabit had turned this *jund* against Hanzalah. Hanzalah then wrote a letter to Hisham complaining about his situation, whereupon Hisham ordered Hanzalah to send Thabit to him in irons. Hanzalah accordingly sent Thabit to Hisham, who put him in prison, where he remained until Marwan b. Muhammad came to Hisham on one of his visits. We have already said something about Kulthum b. `Iyad and his activities in Ifriqiyah in the relevant section of this book of ours.

While Marwan was visiting Hisham, those leaders of the Yamaniyyah who were with Hisham came to him and sought his help over the matter of Thabit. Amongst the people who spoke to Marwan about Thabit were Ka`b b. Hamid ab-`Ansi, 1175 Hisham's chief of police; `Abd al-Rahman b. al-Dakhm; and Sulayman b. Habib, his judge. 1176 Then Marwan asked Hisham to hand Thabit over to him, so Hisham did so. Thabit went (with Marwan) to

1173. For his biography, cf. Crone, 161.

1174. Literally, "The reason for Hisham's imprisoning Thabit was what we have already mentioned of his affair with Hanzalah b. Safwan and his (Thabit's) turning against him (Hanzalah) of the *jund*, which Hisham had sent with him (Hanzalah) to fight the Berbers . . ." Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1716.

1175. The text has al-`Absi. Crone proves convincingly that Ka`b b. Hamid, who had been the head of the *shurtah* of `Abd al-Malik, al-Walid, Sulayman, Yazid, and Hisham, is often called al-`Absi. Ibn Habib, on the other hand, has him as al-`Ansi, and therefore of Yamani descent, as the passage here suggests. Cf. Crone, 163-64; Ibn Habib, *Muhabbar*, 374.

1176. There were two men of this name. One was a judge and was a Qaysi. Cf. Ibn Khayyat, 557; al-Tabari, II, 1226, 1338. The other was a well-known Yamani leader and is most probably the one mentioned here. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1946, 1977. Crone argues that the phrase "his judge" is an incorrect gloss (op. cit., 164).

Armenia and Marwan placed him in authority and behaved generously to him. When Marwan sent Thabit with Ishaq to the people of al-Bab, he wrote a letter to them which the two men were to take with them. In it he informed them about the state of their frontier, and what remuneration they would receive if they followed their orders and remained in their posts; by standing firm they would ward off the evil of the enemy from the sons of the Muslims. Marwan also sent the people's stipends with the two men and he appointed as commander over the people of al-Bab a man from Palestine called Humayd b. `Abdallah al-Lakhmi, who was acceptable to them, who had been their governor before, and whose rule they had praised. The two envoys carried out Marwan's orders amongst the people; they transmitted his message and read out his letter to them. The people agreed to stand firm on their frontier and to remain in their posts.

[1872]

Then news reached Marwan that Thabit had been plotting with the local commanders¹¹⁷⁷ to leave their frontier post and to join their *junds*. When the two men got back to Marwan, he made

preparations to leave and inspected his troops. Thabit b. Nu`aym plotted with those Syrians whom he had with him to break away from Marwan and to join up with himself so that he could take them to their *junds* and be in command of them. Then they broke away from their camp together with (other) people who fled at night¹¹⁷⁸ and they pitched camp separately.

Marwan got wind of their activities, so he and his men kept watch, fully armed, throughout the night. The following morning he and his men sallied forth against them. Thabit's followers were twice as many as those of Marwan. They lined the men up in battle order. Then Marwan gave orders to heralds, who shouted between the two lines on the right, on the left, and in the middle. They proclaimed the following announcement to them: "People of Syria, what has prompted you to defect and for what conduct on my part have you conceived a dislike for me? Did I not rule you in a way that won your approval and behave correctly toward you and govern you well? What is it that has prompted you into shedding your own blood?" The rebels gave Marwan the follow-

¹¹⁷⁷. Literally, "their commanders."

¹¹⁷⁸. *Ma`a man farra laylan*. This is somewhat obscure.

ing reply: "We were obedient to you because of our obedience to our caliph. Then our caliph was killed and the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid. We are content to be governed by Thabit and we have made him our leader to march with us under our banners until we return to our *junds*." Then Marwan gave orders to his herald to proclaim:¹¹⁷⁹ "Truly you have lied! You do not want what you have said you want. Your sole desire has been to act rashly and to seize wrongfully the possessions, food, and fodder of any *dhimmis* whom you pass. The only thing between you and me will be the sword until such time as you submit to me. I will go with you as far as the Euphrates and then I will take my leave of every commander and his *jund*. Then rejoin your *junds*."

[1873]

When the rebels had seen how serious Marwan's intentions were, they submitted to him and cast in their lot with him. They then handed over Thabit b. Nu`aym and his sons to Marwan. Thabit had four sons: Rifa`ah, Nu`aym, Bakr, and `Imran. Marwan gave orders concerning them and they were hauled off their horses and stripped of their weapons. He put chains on their feet and appointed some of his guards to keep watch over them. He took a group of the *jund* from Syria and the Jazirah and attached them to his troops. He kept a tight rein on them during the journey, so that none of them were able to attack or act tyrannically against any of the villagers or to obtain anything without paying. (This state of affairs prevailed) until he reached Harran. Then Marwan ordered the Syrians to rejoin their *junds*, but he kept Thabit under his own eye in prison. He then invited the people of the Jazirah to mobilize and he paid stipends to more than twenty thousand stalwarts. Then Marwan made preparations to march on Yazid. Yazid wrote to him saying that if Marwan gave him the oath of allegiance, he would appoint Marwan as governor of the lands over which `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan had appointed his father, Muhammad b. Marwan, in the Jazirah, Armenia, al-Mawsil, and Azarbayjan. Marwan duly gave the oath of allegiance to him and he sent Muhammad b. `Ulathah and a number of other notables of the Jazirah to Yazid.¹¹⁸⁰

¹¹⁷⁹. Literally, "who proclaimed."

¹¹⁸⁰. For this episode, cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 234-35; al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 403.

In this year Yazid b. al-Walid died. His death was at the end of Dhu al-Hijjah 126 [October 12, 744]. According to Abu Ma'shar Ahmad b. Thabit this informant Ishaq b. 'Isa: Yazid b. al-Walid died after the Feast of the Sacrifice in Dhu al-Hijjah 126 [after September 23, 744]. [1874]

According to all of our informants, his caliphate lasted six months. It is (also) said¹¹⁸¹ that his caliphate lasted five months and two nights. According to Hisham b. Muhammad (al-Kalbi): Yazid ruled for six months and several days. According to 'Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): He ruled for five months and twelve days.¹¹⁸² Yazid b. al-Walid died ten days before the end of Dhu al-Hijjah 126 [October 3 or 4, 744]¹¹⁸³ at the age of forty-six.

According to some sources: Yazid ruled for six months and two nights.

He died in Damascus but there is disagreement as to how old he was when he died. According to Hisham (b. Muhammad al-Kalbi): Yazid died when he was thirty-seven. According to some sources: He died when he was thirty-seven. Yazid's patronymic was Abu Khalid.¹¹⁸⁴ His mother was a concubine. Her name was Shah-i Afrid.¹¹⁸⁵ She was the daughter of Firuz¹¹⁸⁶ b. Yazdigird b. Shahriyar b. Kisra. Yazid used to say:¹¹⁸⁷

I am the son of Kisra; my father is Marwan.
One grandfather is a *qaysar*; the other a *khaqan*.¹¹⁸⁸

It is said that he was a Qadari.

¹¹⁸¹. There is an apparent contradiction here with the preceding sentence.

¹¹⁸². "'Ali b. Muhammad said" is repeated here.

¹¹⁸³. The exact date is somewhat uncertain since it is not clear whether this statement includes or excludes the last day of Dhu-al Hijjah itself. Al-Mas'udi gives the date of Yazid's death as *hilal* (new moon) in Dhu al-Hijjah, 126. Cf. *Muruj*, VI, 18. Ibn A'tham (VIII, 141) has a date in Muharram, 127. Ibn Khayyat (387) has ten days remaining of Dhu al-Hijjah 126.

¹¹⁸⁴. Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, VI, 32.

¹¹⁸⁵. She was the daughter of Firuz, the son of Yazdigird III. She was taken prisoner in Sughd by Qutaybah and placed in the harem of al-Walid I. For a discussion of this and other forms of the name, cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 272.

¹¹⁸⁶. The editor vocalizes the name as Fayruz.

¹¹⁸⁷. For this line, cf. Ibn al-Athir, loc. cit., and Muir, 417.

¹¹⁸⁸. Literally, "my grandfather is a *qaysar* and my (other) grandfather a *khaqan*."

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): In appearance he was brown-skinned, tall, with a small head, and a mole on his face. He was a handsome man. He had quite a wide mouth but not excessively so. According to al-Waqidi: He was nicknamed Yazid the Inadequate because he cut back the people's stipends which al-Walid had increased. According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini): Marwan b. Muhammad railed against Yazid and called him: "The Inadequate (*al-Naqis*) Son of al-Walid," so the people called him the "Inadequate."

According to al-Waqidi: In this year `Abd al-`Aziz b. `Umar b. [1875]
`Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwan led the pilgrimage.1189 According to some sources: In this year `Umar b. `Abdallah b. `Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage. He was appointed by Yazid b. al-Walid. `Abd al-`Aziz, who was in charge of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ta'if, went with him.

Yazid's governor of Iraq in this year was `Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz. The judge of al-Kufah was Ibn Abi Layla. In charge of the *ahdath*1190 of al-Basrah was al-Miswar b. `Umar b. `Abbad.1191 The judge of al-Basrah was `Amir b. `Abidah. The governor of Khurasan was Nasr b. Sayyar al-Kinani.

1189. Cf. al-Ya`qubi, *Historiae*, II, 402.

1190. From the fourth/tenth century to the sixth/twelfth century the term *ahdath* referred to a kind of urban militia, often representing a "municipal opposition" to political authority. It is, however, more difficult to define the term in earlier periods of Islamic history. Cf. *EI2*, s.v. (C. Cahen). Probably the term referred either to some kind of auxiliary police force or auxiliary troops.

1191. Cf. Crone, 109.

THE CALIPHATE OF ABU ISHAQ IBRAHIM
B. AL-WALID AND THE RISE OF MARWAN II

The Events of the Year 126 (cont'd)
(October 25, 743-October 12, 744)

Then came Ibrahim b. al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, but his rule was not recognized.¹¹⁹²

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr`Ali b. Muhammad (al-Ma-da'ini): The rule of Ibrahim was not universally recognized. One week he would be recognized as caliph, another week as *amir*, and another as neither caliph nor *amir*.¹¹⁹³ This situation continued until Marwan b. Muhammad arrived to depose him and kill `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik. According to Hisham b. Muhammad (al-Kalbi): Yazid b. al-Walid nominated as his successor Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. al-Walid. He remained in office for four months and was then deposed in Rabi` II 126 [January 22-February 19, 744].¹¹⁹⁴ Thereafter he remained alive until he

1192. *Lam yatimm amrun*. Literally, "a command/an affair was not accomplished." Ibn al-Athir, loc. cit., has *al-amru*; *Fragmenta*, 154, has *amruhu*.

1193. Cf. the verse of a poet quoted by al-Mas`udi: "We give the oath of allegiance to Ibrahim every Friday" (*Muruj*, VI, 19).

1194. The dating is somewhat uncertain here. According to al-Ya`qubi (loc. cit.), Ibrahim was deposed by Marwan, who then had the oath of allegiance given to himself on a Monday halfway through Safar 127. For the reign of Ibrahim, cf. also Ibn A`tham, VIII, 141-42; *Fragmenta*, 154.

was killed in 132 [August 20, 749-August 8, 750]. His mother was a concubine.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr` Abd al-Wahhab b. Ibrahim Abu Hashim Mukhallad b. Muhammad: The rule of Ibrahim b. al-Walid lasted seventy nights.

The Events of the Year 127 [1876]
(October 13, 744 - October 2, 745)

Among the events taking place during this year were the journey of Marwan b. Muhammad to Syria and the battle that took place between him and Sulayman b. Hisham at `Ayn al-Jarr.¹¹⁹⁵

The Account of Marwan's Journey and What Caused
The Battle [at `Ayn al-Jarr]¹¹⁹⁶

According to Abu Ja`far (al-Tabari): The cause (of the battle) sprang from what I have already mentioned in part:¹¹⁹⁷ namely Marwan's going from Armenia to the Jazirah after the murder of al-Walid b. Yazid, his conquering of it (the Jazirah), professing that he was incensed on account of al-Walid, out of disapproval of his murder; then his taking of the *ba`yah* for Yazid b. al-Walid after Yazid had appointed him as governor of the province of his father, Muhammad b. Marwan; and his subsequent behavior and

¹¹⁹⁵. `Ayn al-Jarr was an important site in the Bika` and contained a vast enclosure with towers. It is generally held to have been founded by al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik around 95-96/714-15. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (J. Sourdel-Thomine); M. Chehab, "The Umayyad palace at `Anjar" in *Ars Orientalis*, V (1963): 17-27.

¹¹⁹⁶. For parallel accounts, cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 243-45; *Fragmenta*, 154-56.

¹¹⁹⁷. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1870-73.

his sending Muhammad b. `Abdallah b. `Ulathah and a group of notables from the people of the Jazirah (to Yazid) while he (Marwan) was in Harran.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) `Abd al-Wahhab b. Ibrahim Abu Hashim Mukhallad b. Muhammad: When Marwan heard about the death of Yazid he sent a message to Ibn `Ulathah and his associates, recalling them from Manbij,¹¹⁹⁸ whilst he (himself) set out for Ibrahim b. al-Walid. Marwan departed with the *jund* of the Jazirah, having appointed his son `Abd al-Malik as his deputy with forty thousand men from the garrison in al-Raqqah.¹¹⁹⁹ When he reached¹²⁰⁰ Qinnasrin, where there was a brother of Yazid b. al-Walid called Bishr, whom Yazid had appointed as governor of Qinnasrin, Bishr sallied forth toward him, drew up his forces (in preparation to fight) against Marwan, and made a proclamation to the people. Marwan called upon them to give the oath of allegiance to him.¹²⁰¹ Yazid b. `Umar b. Hubayrah, along with the Qaysiyyah, favored Marwan, and they handed over Bishr and a brother of his called Masrur b. al-Walid who was Bishr's brother on his mother's and father's side. Marwan took him and his brother Masrur b. al-Walid and imprisoned them. He (then) departed with those people from the Jazirah and from Qinnasrin whom he had with him, making in the direction of the people of Hims. When Yazid b. al-Walid died, the people of Hims. had refused to give the oath of allegiance to Ibrahim and `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj. So Ibrahim dispatched `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj and the *jund* of the people of Damascus, and he laid siege to them in their city. Marwan hastened his pace, and when he came near to the city of Hims `Abd al-`Aziz departed from them (the people of Hims).¹²⁰² They all came out to Marwan, gave the oath

[1877]

1198. For Manbij, cf. *EI*1, s.v. (E. Honigmann).

1199. For al-Raqqah, the principal city of Diyar Mudtar, cf. *EI*1, s.v. (E. Honigmann).

1200. The text has *itnaha*. It is later corrected to *intaha* (cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV). The Cairo edition has the correct form (VII, 300).

1201. *Fa-kharaja ilayhi fa-saffahu fa-nada al-nas wa-da`ahum Marwan ila mubaya`atihi*. This is rather ambiguous, but presumably Bishr is performing all the actions here until Marwan is specifically mentioned. Certainly this is the interpretation to be inferred from the punctuation of the Cairo edition (loc. cit.).

1202. Ibn al-Athir has "departed from it" (i.e., the city; V, 244).

of allegiance to him, and left with him. Ibrahim b. al-Walid sent out contingents with Sulayman b. Hisham, who went with them and encamped at `Ayn al-Jarr where Marwan came to him. Sulayman had one hundred and twenty thousand horsemen and Marwan had eighty thousand with him. They (the two sides) met each other and Marwan called on them to refrain from fighting him and to release the two sons of al-Walid, al-Hakam and `Uthman, who were imprisoned in the jail in Damascus. He guaranteed on their behalf (i.e., al-Hakam and `Uthman) that they would not take reprisals against them (al-Walid's murderers) because the latter had killed their father (i.e., al-Walid) and that the two of them would not seek out any of those who had been responsible for his murder. They (Sulayman's men) refused to accept it (the guarantee) and persisted in fighting Marwan. They fought from the time that the sun was high¹²⁰³ until late afternoon, and the slaughter on both sides mounted and was general amongst them. Marwan was experienced and wily, so he called three of his commanders, one of whom was a brother of Ishaq b. Muslim¹²⁰⁴ called `Isa, and he ordered them to go behind his line with his cavalry, which numbered three thousand, sending with them laborers with axes. The two lines of Marwan's men and those of Sulayman b. Hisham filled the area between the two mountains that enclosed the meadow, whilst between the two armies there flowed a slowly moving river.¹²⁰⁵ Marwan ordered them to cut down the trees when they reached the mountain, to tie the logs together, to cross over to Sulayman's army, and to make a surprise attack on it.

Sulayman's cavalry, who were¹²⁰⁷ busy fighting, were aware only of the horses and swords and of the *takbir* (being said) by their own men behind them. So when they saw that (i.e., Mar-

[1878]

1203. *Irtifa` al-nahar*. Cf. Lane, I, 1123.

1204. Ishaq b. Muslim al-`Uqayli had served in Armenia and Azarbayjan. For his biography, cf. Crone, 106. Little is known of his brother `Isa.

1205. *Jarrar*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CLXI. Rida suggests that the term means "slowly moving on account of its abundance" (I, 507).

1206. *Jusur*: that on which one crosses over a river or the like (Lane, I, 424).

1207. *Huwa mashghulun* is corrected by the editor to *hum mashghulun*. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV.

wan's men crossing the river) they fled in disarray and were routed. The people of Hims thrust their weapons into them because of their anger toward them, and they killed about seventeen thousand of them. The people of the Jazirah and Qinnasrin (on the other hand) recoiled from slaughtering them, and they did not kill a single one of them. They brought to Marwan prisoners from amongst them who were as many as those killed or even more, and Marwan's men were permitted to plunder Sulayman's army.¹²⁰⁸ Marwan took the *ba`yah* from them in favor of the two boys, al-Hakam and `Uthman; he released them (the prisoners) after he had provided them¹²⁰⁹ with a *dinar* each, and he allowed them to rejoin their families. He killed only two men from their number, one of whom was called Yazid b. al-`Aqqar and the other al-Walid b. Masad, both of them Kalbis. They were among those who had gone after al-Walid and compassed his murder. Yazid b. Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri was with them, and he took flight with those who escaped with Sulayman b. Hisham to Damascus. One of the two, i.e, the two Kalbis, had been in command of the guards of Yazid (b. al-Walid), and the other had been in charge of his police.¹²¹⁰ Marwan beat them with whips then and there.¹²¹¹ He subsequently gave orders concerning them, and they were thrown into prison, where they perished.¹²¹²

Sulayman and those men who were with him kept going until they reached Damascus, where the leaders of the people¹²¹³ Yazid b. Khalid al-Qasri, Abu `Ilaqah al-Saksaki,¹²¹⁴ al-Asbagh b. Dhu'alah al-Kalbi,¹²¹⁵ and the likes of them gathered to him, Ibrahim, and `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj. They said to one another: "If the two boys, the sons of al-Walid, survive until Marwan

1208. Lit. "their *`askar* was made lawful."

1209. *Fragmenta*, 156, has "after he had given them stipends."

1210. I.e., *sahib al-haras* and *sahib al-shurtah*.

1211. Lit. "in that stopping place of his."

1212. Lit. "they were imprisoned, and they perished in his prison."

1213. *Ru`us rain ma`ahum. Fragmenta*, 156, is less ambiguous: *ru`us al-nas*.

1214. The text has Abu `Ilaqah. Crone vocalizes this name as `Ulaqah (op. cit., 96 and 294). This person is Sari b. Ziyad, one of the conspirators against al-Walid II (cf. al-Tabari, II, 1778, 1800).

1215. Cf. his biography in Crone, 156.

arrives and gets them out of prison and authority devolves onto them, they will not spare any of their father's murderers. The best thing for us is to kill them both." So they appointed Yazid b. Khalid to do that. In prison with the two of them were Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani and Yusuf b. `Umar. Yazid sent a mawla affiliated to Khalid (al-Qasri) called Abu al-Asad with a number of his associates. Abu al-Asad went into the prison and broke the skulls of the two young boys with clubs.¹²¹⁶ He brought out Yusuf b. `Umar in order that they should kill him, and he was (accordingly) beheaded. They (also) wanted to kill Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani.¹²¹⁷ He went into one of the rooms of the prison, locked the door,¹²¹⁸ threw carpets and cushions behind it,¹²¹⁹ and leant against it, so that nobody could open it.¹²²⁰ They called for fire to burn him out,¹²²¹ but it was not brought before news came that Marwan's cavalry had entered the city.¹²²² Ibrahim b. al-Walid fled and hid himself. Sulayman plundered¹²²³ what was in the treasury, distributed it amongst those contingents he had with him, and left the city. [1879]

In this year¹²²⁴ `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah b. `Abdallah b. Ja`far b. Abi Talib¹²²⁵ summoned people in al-Kufah to his cause and fought `Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz b. Marwan¹²²⁶ there. `Abdallah b. `Umar defeated `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah, who made for al-Jibal¹²²⁷ and took possession of it.

1216. For a previous account of this murder, cf. al-Tabari, II, 1841-42.

1217. For this person, cf. al-Tabari, II, 1828, 1830-31.

1218. *Fa-aghlaqahu*.

1219. *Khalfahu*. Presumably the door is meant here, although it could be translated as "behind him."

1220. *Fa-lam yaqdir `ala fathihi*. Both the Cairo edition (VII, 302) and Ibn al-Athir (V, 245) have *yaqdiru*.

1221. *Li-yuhriquhu*. It is possible that the prison is meant here, rather than al-Sufyani.

1222. Here Ibn al-Athir adds: "and they (Yazid's associates) fled" (loc. cit.).

1223. *Wa-anhaba*. Ibn al-Athir has the more appropriate usage of *intahaba* (loc. cit.). *Fragmenta* (156) has *nahaba*.

1224. The apparatus has the variant "Abu Ja`far said" before the account begins.

1225. This man was a Shi`ite, the great-grandson of `Ali's brother Ja`far. Cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, 161; Wellhausen, 384.

1226. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1854-55, 1858, 1864, 1867-68, and subsequent accounts.

1227. For the province of Jibal, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 185-231; *El2*, s.v. (L. Lockhart).

The Account of the Cause of the Uprising of
`Abdallah (b. Mu`awiyah) and of His Summoning the
People to Himself

According to Hisham (b. Muhammad al-Kalbi) Abu Mikhnaf:
`Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah rebelled against `Abdallah b. `Umar and
declared war on him in Muharram 127 (October 13, 744-
November 11, 744).¹²²⁸

According to Ahmad` Ali b. Muhammad` Asim b. Hafs al-
Tamimi and other knowledgeable people: The reason for the up-
rising of `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah b. `Abdallah b. Ja`far against
`Abdallah b. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz was that the former came to al-
Kufah on a visit to the latter seeking remuneration from him¹²²⁹
and not intending to rebel, and he married the daughter of Hatim
b. al-Sharqi b. `Abd al-Mu'min b. Shabath b. Rib`i.¹³³⁰ When tribal
discord surfaced, the Kufans said to him: "Call on people to join
you, for the Banff Hashim are more entitled to rule than the Banu
Marwan." Then `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah summoned people se-
cretly in al-Kufah whilst Ibn `Umar was in al-Hirah, and Ibn
Damrah al-Khuza`i gave him the oath of allegiance. Then Ibn
`Umar got in touch with Ibn Damrah secretly and gave him a
bribe.¹³³¹ Then Ibn Damrah¹²³² sent a message to Ibn `Umar say-
ing, "When we meet the people I will retreat with them." This
message reached Ibn Mu`awiyah and when the people assembled
he said: "Ibn Damrah has acted treacherously, and he has prom-
ised Ibn `Umar that he will retreat with the people. So do not be
alarmed when he retreats,¹²³³ for he will be doing so out of
treachery." When they assembled, Ibn Damrah retreated, and the
people retreated (too), and nobody remained with Ibn Mu`awiyah.
He recited:

1228. For other accounts of the revolt of `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah, cf. al-Isfahani,
Aghani, XII, 228-32; Ibn al-Athir, V, 246-48; Ibn Khayyat, II, 394-95.

1229. *Yaltamisu silatahu*. The *Aghani* (XII, 228) has *mustamihan* "asking for a
stipend."

1230. For the family of this man, cf. Crone, 118. He must have been a local
notable.

1231. *Fa-ardahu*: lit: "gave him what satisfied him."

1232. The *Aghani* calls him Ibn Hamzah (XII, 229).

1233. Lit: "do not let his running away alarm you." And yet, as the sequel
shows, the people did do exactly as Ibn Damrah wanted, leaving Ibn Mu`awiyah in
the lurch.

The gazelles have departed from Khidash,¹²³⁴
so Khidash does not know what to hunt.

Ibn Mu`awiyah returned to al-Kufah they had met at a place between al-Hirah and al-Kufah and then he went to Ctesiphon (al-Mada'in), and the people gave the oath of allegiance to him. A group of Kufans joined him, and he departed and took possession of Hulwan¹²³⁵ and al-Jibal.

It is said: `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah came to al-Kufah and collected a group of people, and `Abdallah b. `Umar did not know (about it) until `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah went out to the *jabbannah*, assembling (his men) for battle. When they met, Khalid b. Qatan al-Harithi¹²³⁶ was in charge of the Yemenis. Al-Asbagh b. Dhu'alah al-Kalbi with the Syrians pressed Khalid, and he and the Kufans fled. (One group of) Nizar held back from (attacking another group of) Nizar, and they returned (to al-Kufah). Fifty men of the Zaydiyyah came to the house of Ibn Muhriz al-Qurashi intending to fight, and they were killed. None of the Kufans apart from them were killed.

Ibn Mu`awiyah left al-Kufah for Ctesiphon in the company of `Abdallah b. `Abbas al-Tamimi. Then he left there and took possession of al-Mahan,¹²³⁷ Hamadhan, Qumis, Isfahan, and al-Rayy.¹²³⁸ The slaves of the Kufans joined him and he recited (the following):¹²³⁹ [1881]

Do not embark on an action¹²⁴⁰
for the like of which you blame your brother.

Of no pleasure to you will be the saying of a man
who contradicts what he says in what: he does.

1234. For Khidash, cf. al-Tabari, II, 1503, 1588, 1593; Wellhausen, 504, 509-11, 514-17; *EI2*, s.v. (M. Sharon).

1235. For the city of Hulwan in the province of Jibal, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 191; *EI2*, s.v. (L. Lockhart).

1236. For this man's family, cf. Crone, 111-12.

1237. For the city of Mahan in the province of Kirman, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 307.

1238. Ibn al-Athir has a slightly different list of places in his account Hulwan, al-Jibal, Hamadhan, Isfahan, and al-Rayy (V, 248).

1239. Those lines are found, along with others not included here, in the *Aghani* (XII, 232).

1240. *Al-sani*. Cf. Lane, I, 1734.

As for Abu `Ubaydah Ma`mar b. al-Muthanna, he asserted that the reason for that (i.e., the rebellion of Ibn Mu`awiyah) was that `Abdallah, al-Hasan, and Yazid b.1241 Mu`awiyah b. `Abdallah b. Ja`far came to `Abdallah b. `Umar, and they lodged amongst the (Banu) Nakh`1242 in the house of a mawla of theirs called al-Walid b. Sa`id. Ibn `Umar treated them kindly, gave them presents, and spent three hundred dirhams on them every1243 day. Their situation remained like this until Yazid b. al-Walid died and the people gave the oath of allegiance to his brother Ibrahim b. al-Walid and after him to `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj b. `Abd al-Malik. (News of) the *ba`yah* in their names came to `Abdallah b. `Umar in al-Kufah. So the people gave the oath of allegiance to the two of them, and he increased the people's stipends by a hundred (dirhams) each. He wrote to the outlying districts (announcing) that the oath of allegiance had been given to them, and (news of) the oath (being taken there) reached him. While he was thus engaged, he heard that Marwan b. Muhammad had gone with the people of al-Jazirah to Ibrahim b. al-Walid and that Marwan had held back from giving Ibrahim the oath of allegiance. `Abdallah b. `Umar kept `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah close by him; he increased what he was spending on him and prepared him to face up to Marwan b. Muhammad, so that, if Marwan was victorious over Ibrahim, `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah would give him (`Abdallah b. `Umar) the oath of allegiance and would fight Marwan with him. The people were in an uproar about what was going on. As Marwan came near to Syria, Ibrahim sallied forth to him and fought him. When Marwan had defeated and routed him, Ibrahim fled.1244 `Abd al-`Aziz b. al-Hajjaj stood firm in the battle until he was killed. Isma`il b. `Abdallah, the brother of Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri, fled until he reached al-Kufah. He had been in Ibrahim's army. He [1882]

1241. The editor rightly notes that it would be more accurate to say "Banu" (Notes, 1881).

1242. The Banff Nakh` were brought from Yemen to al-Kufah at the time of the wars of conquest (cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 444).

1243. Ibn al-Athir has "on him and his brothers" (V, 246).

1244. *Wa-kharaja ilayhi Ibrahim fa-qatalahu fa-hazamahu Marwan wa-zafara bihi wa-kharaja hariban*. The Cairo edition has a version of the text that is different in some places, although its apparatus makes no reference to this: *wa-kharaja ilayhi Ibrahim fa-qatalahu Marwan fa-hazamahu wa-zafara bi-`askarihi wa-kharaja hariban* (VII, 304).

fabricated a letter allegedly from Ibrahim about the governorship of al-Kufah. Then he sent a message to the Yamaniyyah and secretly informed them that Ibrahim b. al-Walid had appointed him governor of Iraq, and the Yamaniyyah accepted that from him. When `Abdallah b. `Umar heard about this, he came for Isma`il at the daybreak prayer, accompanied by `Umar b. al-Ghadban,¹²⁴⁵ and attacked him straightaway. When Isma`il saw that having no letter of contract with him and (knowing that) his master, in whose name he had counterfeited the appointment, was fleeing in disarray he became afraid that his doings might be made public and that he would be disgraced and killed. So he said to his companions: "I dislike the shedding of blood, and I did not realize that the matter would end like this. So hold back your hands (from fighting)." Then the group left him, and he said to the people of his family: "Ibrahim has fled, and Marwan has entered Damascus." This was related by the people of Isma`il's family, and the news spread. Strife became general, and tribal discord broke out amongst the people. The cause of that was as follows: `Abdallah b. `Umar had given Mudar and Rabi`ah very large stipends and had not given anything to Ja`far b. Nafi` b. al-Qa`qa` b. Shawr al-Dhuhli and `Uthman b. al-Khaybari, the brother of¹²⁴⁶ Banff Taym al-Lat,¹²⁴⁷ and had not treated them equally with their peers. So the two of them went to see `Abdallah b. `Umar and spoke rudely to him. `Abdallah b. `Umar became angry and gave orders concerning them. `Abd al-Malik al-Ta'i, who was in charge of his police force (and) who was standing at his head, went up to them. He pushed them away, and they pushed him and went out angrily. Thumamah b. Hawshab b. Ruwaym al-Shaybani¹²⁴⁸ was present, and he left in angry protest because of his two friends. Then they all departed for al-Kufah. This occurred while Ibn `Umar was in al-Hirah. When they came to al-Kufah, they shouted: "O family of Rabi`ah!" Then the Rabi`ah rose up on their behalf; they assembled and were in an angry mood. When Ibn `Umar heard the news, he sent his brother `Asim against them. When he reached

1245. For this head of the *shurtah* for `Abdallah b. `Umar, cf. Crone, 162.

1246. Ibn al-Athir has "from," rather than "the brother of" (V, 246).

1247. For this branch of the Bakr, cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 543.

1248. Thumamah had been head of police for Mansur b. Jumhur, apparently in Wasit (cf. Crone, 119).

them they were in Dayr Hind,¹²⁴⁹ where they had gathered together.¹²⁵⁰ He precipitated himself among them and said, "This is my hand (as a pledge) for you, so make your decision." They felt ashamed and honored and thanked `Asim. `Asim went up to their two leaders, but they remained silent and held back. In the evening, under cover of night, Ibn `Umar sent to `Umar b. al-Ghadban with one hundred thousand (dirhams), and he distributed them amongst his tribe, the Banff Hammam b. Murrah b. Dhuhl b. Shayban.¹²⁵¹ He sent to Thumamah b. Hawshab b. Ruwaym with one hundred thousand (dirhams), and the latter distributed them amongst his tribe. He sent to Ja`far b. Nafi` b. al-Qa`qa` with ten thousand (dirhams)¹²⁵² and to `Uthman b. al-Khaybari with ten thousand.

[1883]

According to Abu Ja`far (al-Tabari): When the Shi`ites saw his¹²⁵³ weakness, they censured him, became emboldened against him, sought to overcome him, and called for `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah b. Ja`far the person who was in charge of that was Hilal b. Abi al-Ward, the mawla of the Banu `Ijl. The Shi`ites rose up with the rabble from the people and reached the mosque where they assembled. Hilal was the one in charge of matters. The Shi`ites joined him in giving the oath of allegiance to `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah. Then they went immediately to `Abdallah (b. Mu`awiyah), removed him from the house of al-Walid b. Sa`id, brought him into the citadel, and prevented `Asim b. `Umar from entering the citadel. So `Asim joined his brother `Abdallah in al-Hirah. The Kufans came to Ibn Mu`awiyah and gave the oath of allegiance to him; amongst them were `Umar b. al-Ghadban b. al-Qaba`thari, Mansur b. Jumhur, Isma`il b. `Abdallah al-Qasri, and those Syrians who had family connections¹²⁵⁴ in al-Kufah. He remained in al-Kufah for a few days, and the people gave the oath of allegiance to him. The oath of allegiance was (also) given to him in Ctesiphon (al-Mada`in) and Faro al-Nil,¹²⁵⁵ and the people

1249. There were two sites known as Dayr Hind in al-Hirah (Yaqut, II, 707 and 709).

1250. Lit: "they had assembled and collected."

1251. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi, II, 278.

1252. Ibn al-Athir has simply "money" (V, 247).

1253. Presumably Ibrahim is meant here, although it could equally apply to Ibn `Umar.

1254. Lit: "who had family and stock."

1255. Cf. Wellhausen, 541.

flocked to him. Then he left, making for `Abdallah b. `Umar in al-Hirah. `Abdallah b. `Umar came out to (meet) him with those Syrians who were with him. One of the Syrians sallied forth demanding single combat. So al-Qasim b. `Abd al-Ghaffar al-`Ijli came out against him. The Syrian said to him: "I issued my challenge when I did, but I did not think that a man from the Bakr b. Wa`il would come out to me. By God, I do not want to fight against you but I would like to tell you what (information) has reached us. I should tell you that there is no Yemeni with you, neither Mansur nor Isma`il nor any other, who has not written to `Abdallah b. `Umar, and letters have (also) come to him from the Mudar. (Yet) I have seen, O tribe of Rabi`ah, no letter or messenger on your behalf. They are not fighting you today, but in the morning they will do so.¹²⁵⁶ Therefore, if you can see to it that no blow is struck amongst you,¹²⁵⁷ then do so, for I am a man of Qays, and we shall be ranged opposite you tomorrow. If you want to write a letter to our master, then I will deliver it (to him); and if you want to keep faith with those in whose company you have rebelled, I have told you how matters stand with the people." Then al-Qasim called men from his tribe, and he told them what the man had said to him and that the right wing of Ibn `Umar, Rabi`ah and Mudar, would be drawn up opposite his (Ibn Mu`awiyah's) left wing, in which Rabi`ah¹²⁵⁸ would (also) be. `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah said: "This is a matter that will become clear to us if we wait until the morning.¹²⁵⁹ If `Umar b. al-Ghadban wishes, then let him meet me tonight; and, if some activity in which he is involved prevents him, it is (only) an excuse.¹²⁶⁰ Tell him that I think that the Qaysi has been lying." The messenger brought `Umar that (news), and he sent him back to Ibn Mu`awiyah with a letter informing him that its bearer had some standing with him [1884]

1256. Lit: "they are not fighting you today until you get up in the morning and they will fight you." Ibn al-Athir has: "Tomorrow we will be opposite you, for today they are not fighting you" (loc. cit.).

1257. *In istata`um an la takuna bikum al-hazzata*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CLXCI.

1258. The Cairo edition has *rain Rabi`ah*, and its punctuation yields the translation: "that the left wing of Ibn `Umar is from Rabi`ah, and Mudar will be standing opposite his (Ibn Mu`awiyah's) right wing, in which is Rabi`ah" (VII, 306). This is less satisfactory.

1259. Lit: "This is a sign that will appear to us if we get up in the morning."

1260. *Fa-huwa ghadara*. The Cairo edition prefers the reading *fa-huwa `udhrun*: "it is an excuse" (loc. cit.). This latter reading has been followed in the translation.

(`Umar) and ordering him to obtain assurances from Mansur and Isma`il. `Umar wanted no more than to let the two of them know what was happening. 1261 Ibn Mu`awiyah refused to comply. The following morning the people began to fight. Ibn Mu`awiyah had put the Yamaniyyah on the right wing and Mudar and Rabi`ah on the left. A herald announced: "Anyone who brings a head will have such and such or (anyone who brings) a prisoner will have such and such, and the money is with `Umar b. al-Ghadban." The people met (in battle) and began fighting. `Umar b. al-Ghadban attacked the right flank of Ibn `Umar, and they withdrew in disorder. (Thereupon) Isma`il and Mansur departed straightaway to al-Hirah. The rabble from among the people attacked the Yamaniyyah with the Kufans, and they killed more than thirty of them. The Hashimite al-`Abbas b. `Abdallah, the husband of the daughter of al-Malat, was killed.

[1885]

According to `Umar Muhammad b. Yahyah's father `Atikah, daughter of al-Malat: "I married a number of husbands amongst whom was al-`Abbas b. `Abdallah b. `Abdallah b. al-Harith b. Nawfal, who was killed with `Abdallah b. `Umar b. al-`Aziz in the tribal discord in Iraq." Mubakkir b. al-Hawari b. Ziyad and others of them (the Kufans) were killed. Then they (the rest), including `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah, withdrew, and he entered the citadel of al-Kufah. The left wing, consisting of the Mudar and Rabi`ah, remained (on the battlefield), with the Syrians opposite them. Those Syrians who were stationed amongst the people in the center launched an attack on the Zaydiyyah, and they fled and entered al-Kufah. The left wing, numbering some five hundred men, remained (firm). `Amir b. Dubarah, Nubatah b. Hanzalah b. Qabisah, `Utbah b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Tha`labi, and al-Nadr b. Sa`id b. `Amr al-Harashi came along and stopped at the Rabi`ah. They said to `Umar b. al-Ghadban: "As for us, O tribe of Rabi`ah, we do not feel that you are safe against what the people did with the Yamaniyyah, and we are afraid that you will receive similar treatment, so go away." `Umar said: "I will not leave until I

1261. *Wa-innama arada an yu`allamahuma bi-dhalika*. This is a little obscure. Presumably `Umar wanted by the ploy of seeking guarantees from Mansur and Isma`il to inform them of the forthcoming conflict, which would involve fellow-tribesmen fighting each other. This sentence is omitted from Ibn al-Athir's account (V, 248).

die."1262 They retorted: "This will avail you and your companions nothing." So they took the reins of his horse and brought him into al-Kufah.

According to `Umar`Ali b. MuhammadSulayman b. `Abdallah al-Nawfalihis fatherKhirash b. al-Mughirah b. `Atiyah, a mawla of the Banu Laythhis father: "I was the scribe of `Abdallah b. `Umar. By God, I was with him one day, when he was in al-Hirah, and somebody came to see him and said: "That man1263 [1886] `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah has arrived with the people." `Abdallah b. `Umar remained silent for a while, and his head baker came to him and stood in front of him as if notifying him that his food was ready, so `Abdallah made a sign to him that he should bring it in and he brought in the food. We were anxious,1264 fearful that Ibn Mu`awiyah would attack us while we were with Ibn `Umar. I began to scrutinize Ibn `Umar to see whether he had changed in any aspect of his eating or drinking or appearance or the instructions1265 (he was giving). But no, by God! I failed to see any change either great or small in his mien. When his food was brought in, a bowl was placed in front of each pair of us. A bowl was put between me and so and so and another bowl between so and so and so and so until (all) those who were at his table were included. When he had finished his breakfast and his ablutions, he ordered (that) money (should be brought), and it was (duly) brought, together with vessels of gold and silver and clothes. He distributed most of that amongst his commanders. Then he summoned a mawla of his, or (perhaps it was) a *mamluk*, who used to bring him luck and good fortune because of his name; he was called either Maymun or Fath or one of the names of good augury.1266 Ibn `Umar said to him: "Take your standard, go to such and such a hill, stick it in the ground, call your companions, and

1262. *Hatta amartu*: "until I give the command." The Cairo edition has *amuta* (VII, 307). This has been followed in the translation, especially in view of the version of Ibn al-Athir: *hatta uqtala*, "until I am killed" (V, 248).

1263. Presumably the word *hadha* forms part of the sentence that forms part of the sentence that contains "`Abdallah." This is certainly the interpretation of the Cairo editor (VII, 307).

1264. Lit: "our hearts became swelled" (disquieted).

1265. Lit: "in any thing of his affair consisting of his place of eating or drinking or outward appearance or ordering or forbidding."

1266. Lit: "from whom he used to look for a blessing (*yatabarraku bihi*) and

(footnote continued on next page)

remain until I come to you." So he did that. `Abdallah (b. `Umar) set out, accompanied by us, and he reached the hill, where the ground was white with the companions of Ibn Mu`awiyah. Then `Abdallah (b. `Umar) gave orders to a herald, and he announced that anyone who brought a head would have five hundred (dirhams). By God, it was not long before a head was brought and placed in front of him. He ordered five hundred (dirhams) for it, and they were given to the person who had brought it. When his companions saw the way he had kept faith With the person who had brought the head,1267 they spread (the news) amongst the people,1268 and by God it was only a short while before I saw around five hundred heads that had been thrown in front of him. Ibn Mu`awiyah and those with him withdrew in disarray. The first of his followers who entered al-Kufah in flight was Abra al-Bilad, the mawla of the Banu `Abs, accompanied by his son Sulayman. Abra al-Bilad was a Shi`ite supporter. Every day the Kufans began (afresh) to yell at them as if rebuking them for the defeat of Ibn Mu`awiyah. Abu al-Bilad began shouting to his son Sulayman: "Go and let the camels die."1269 `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah passed by. He hurried through al-Kufah and did not remain there but went as far as the mountain.1270

[1887]

According to Abu `Ubaydah: `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah and his brothers entered the citadel. When evening came, they said to `Umar b. al-Ghadban and his associates: "O company of Rabi`ah, you have seen what the people have done to us. We have made you responsible for our lives with your own1271 (lives as surety). If you fight together with us, we will fight together with you, and, if you see the people forsaking both us and you, then take a pledge

(footnote continued from previous page)

from whose name he would seek a good augury (*yatafa'alu bi-ismihi*), being called Maymun or Fath or one of the names through which blessing is sought by uttering the name of God (*al-mutabarrak biha*). Ibn al-Athir adds "Riyah . . . or another auspicious name" (V, 247). Cf. *EI2*, "fa`l" (T. Fahd).

1267. Lit: "the owner of the head," a phrase that might be misinterpreted as it stands!

1268. The Cairo edition has *tharu bi-al-qawm*: "they rose up with the people" (VII, 308).

1269. *Al-nawadih*., plural of *nadih*: "a camel or ass or bull upon which water is drawn"; cf. Lane, I, 2807.

1270. This is possibly a reference to al-Jibal, since preceding accounts in al-Tabari mention that area as the destination of Ibn Mu`awiyah.

1271. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCCLXXIII.

of safe-conduct both on our behalf and on your own, for whatever you take in respect to yourselves we will (also) be satisfied with for ourselves." `Umar b. al-Ghadban assured them: "We will not leave you without fulfilling one of two conditions:1272 either that we will fight together with you or that we will take a pledge of safe-conduct for you as we take for ourselves. So calm yourselves." So they stayed in the citadel, whilst the Zaydiyyah were at the entrances of the streets with the Syrians hastening1273 out to them (the Zaydiyyah) and embarking on fighting them (and beginning a conflict that lasted) for several days. Then the Rabi`ah took a pledge of safe-conduct for themselves, the Zaydiyyah, and `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah; (this specified) that they would not pursue1274 them and that they (Ibn Mu`awiyah's men) might go wherever they wanted. `Abdallah b. `Umar sent a message to `Umar b. al-Ghadban ordering him to attack the citadel and to bring out `Abdallah b. Mu`awiyah. So Ibn al-Ghadban sent a message to him and removed Ibn Mu`awiyah and those of his party and his followers from amongst the people of Ctesiphon, the Sawad, and al-Kufah who were with him. The envoys of `Umar accompanied them until they had driven them from the bridge, and then `Umar came down from the citadel.

In this year al-Harith b. Surayj came to Marw,1275 making his way there from the land of the Turks with the safe-conduct that Yazid b. al-Walid had written for him. He came to Nasr b. Sayyar; then he opposed Nasr and displayed hostility toward him, and a large group of people gave the oath of allegiance to him on that basis.

[1888]

The Account of the Affair of al-Harith and Nasr
after al-Harith Came to See Him

According to `Ali b. Muhammad (al-Mada'ini)his *shaykhs*: Al-Harith went to Marw on his departure from the land of the

1272. *Min ihda khallatayn*: lit: "from one of two qualities."

1273. The text has *yaghduna*. This is later corrected to *yaghdu*. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXXV. The Cairo edition has the corrected form (VII, 308).

1274. The text has *la yamna`unahum*. Nöldeke suggests *alla yatba`uhum*. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV. The Cairo edition follows Nöldeke (loc. cit.).

1275. Cf. al-Tabari, II, 1866-69.

Turks.1276 He reached Marw on the last Sunday of Jumada II 127 (Sunday, April 4, 745), when the month had three days left to run. Salm b. Ahwaz and the people met al-Harith at Kushmahan.1277 Muhammad b. al-Fadl1278 b. `Atiyah al-`Absi proclaimed: "Praise be to God who has caused us to rejoice at your coming and who has handed you back to the ordinance to Islam and the community." Al-Harith announced: "O my people, did you not know that the many, when they are in disobedience to God, are few and that the few, when they are in obedience to God, are many? I have not been happy from the time I rebelled until today, and there is no happiness for me unless God is obeyed." When he entered Marw, he said: "O God, I have had no purpose in anything (that has transpired) between them and me other than to keep faith. If they want to act treacherously, then help me against them." Nasr met him and lodged him in the citadel of the Bukhar Khudah. Nasr set aside fifty dirhams for his daily expenses, and he used to restrict himself to one dish. Nasr released those of al-Harith's family who were in his custody. He set free Muhammad b. al-Harith and al-Aluf, the daughter of al-Harith and Umm Bakr. When his son Muhammad came to him, he (al-Harith) said: "O God, make him pious and God-fearing."

Al-Waddah b. Habib b. Budayl came to Nasr b. Sayyar on behalf of `Abdallah b. `Umar. A sharp cold had afflicted him, so Nasr wrapped him in garments and ordered hospitality and two slave girls for him. Then al-Waddah went in to see al-Harith, who had a group of his companions standing at his head. Al-Waddah. said: "We in Iraq have heard a lot about the size and weight of your mace, and I would like to see it." Al-Harith replied: "It is like one of those (maces) that you see wielded by those (men)" and pointed to his followers. "But whenever I strike with it, my blow becomes well known."1279 His mace weighed eighteen Syrian *ratls*.

[1889]

Al-Harith b. Surayj came in to see Nasr wearing the coat of mail

1276. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, V, 249.

1277. For Kushmayhan, one march from Marw on the road to Bukhara, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 400. According to al-Ya`qubi, it was called Kushmahan (ibid.).

1278. The text has al-Fudayl. This is later corrected to al-Fadl. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV.

1279. The text seems unsatisfactory here: *walakinnani idha darabtu bihi darbati*. The Cairo edition has: *walakinnani idha darabtu bihi shuhirat darbati* (V, 309). The translation given is very tentative and is based on the reading *idha darabtu bihi shuhirat darbati*.

that he had obtained from a *khaqan*. The *khaqan* had made al-Harith choose between one hundred thousand Danbakaniyyah *dinars* and the coat of mail, and he had chosen the coat of mail. Al-Marzubanah, the daughter of Qudayd and the wife of Nasr b. Sayyar, caught sight of it. She sent al-Harith a sable garment of hers with a slave girl who (also) belonged to her with the message: "Greet my cousin and say to him that it is cold today, so warm yourself up with this sable garment, and praise be to God who has brought you safely (here)." Al-Harith said to the slave girl: "Greet my cousin and say to her: 'Is this a loan or a gift?'" She said: "It's a gift." Then al-Harith sold it for four thousand *dinars* and distributed them amongst his companions. Nasr sent al-Harith many carpets and a horse. Al-Harith sold all that and distributed the proceeds equally amongst his companions. Al-Harith used to sit on a saddle with a rough cushion folded for him. Nasr suggested to al-Harith that he (Nasr) should entrust him with authority and give him one hundred thousand dinars. Al-Harith refused to accept and sent a message to Nasr saying: "I have no liking at all for this world nor for its (lit: 'those') pleasures nor for marriage with the most excellent of the Arabs. I ask only for the Book of God, may He be praised and glorified, and for conduct in accordance with the *sunnah* and for fair treatment of the people who are good and have merit. If you act accordingly, I will help you against your enemy." Then al-Harith sent to al-Kirmani saying: "If Nasr deals with me by the Book of God and fair treatment of the people who are good and have merit, as I have asked him, I will support him and will fulfill God's command. If he does not do so, I will call on God's help against him, and I will help you if you guarantee to me what I want in the way of conduct in accordance with justice and the *sunnah*." Whenever the Banff Tamim came in to see him, he would summon them to himself and Muhammad b. Humran, Muhammad b. Harb b. Jirfas al-Minqariyyan, al-Khalil b. Ghazwan al-`Adawi, `Abdallah b. Mujja`ah, Hubayrah b. Sharahil al-Sa`diyyan, `Abd al-Aziz b. `Abd Rabbihi al-Laythi, Bishr b. Jurmuz al-Dabbi, Nahar b. `Abdallah b. al-Hutat al-Mujashi`i, and `Abdallah al-Nubati took the oath of allegiance to al-Harith. Al-Harith said to Nasr: "I left this city thirteen years ago in disgust at tyranny, and (now) you want to incite me to that." Then three thousand men joined al-Harith.

[1890]

APPENDIX I PROBLEMS OF TRANSLATION

i. Al-Walid's letter to Hisham (al-Tabari, II, 1746-47)

(a) 1746, 1.6: *min . . . mahwi ma maha min ashabi wa-hurami wa-ahli*. Al-Isfahani (*Aghani*, VI, 107) has *min . . . mahwi ma maha min ashabi wa-annahu harramani wa ahli* ("how he has mined my friends and has ostracized me and my dependents").

(b) 1746, 11.7-8: *wa-lam akun akhafu an yabtaliya Allahu amira al-mu`minina bi-dhalika wa-la ubali bi-hi minhu*. For both the literal and more elegant Latin translations of this passage and a detailed discussion, cf. *Gloss.*, CXLI. Al-Isfahani has *wa-lam akun akhafu an yabtaliya Allahu amira al-mu`minina bi-dhalika fiyya wa-la yunaluni mithlahu minhu* (lit., "I would never have thought that God would thus test the Commander of the Faithful through me and that he (Hisham) would defame me like that"). Cf. *Aghani*, loc. cit. This version, as suggested in the Tabari apparatus, is much better and has been adopted here.

Cf. also al-Baladhuri's version: "I did not fear that God would thus test the Commander of the Faithful nor that He would test me thereby" (*Ansab* (Derenk), 13).

(c) 1746, 1.10: The text has *istislahihi*. The apparatus has the variant *istishabi*, which makes good sense, especially with the suggested amendment *lahu* (II, 1746, n. 1.) The transla-

tion given is based on the variant. Cf. al-Isfahani's version: *istishabi li-Ibni Suhayl*. Cf. Aghani, loc. cit.

(d) 1746, l. 16-1747, l. 1: *fa-al-nasu bayna dhalika yaqtarifuna al-athama `ala nufusihim rain Allahi aw yastawjibuna al-ujur `alayhi* ("in such a situation men commit sin against themselves before God or deserve punishments on that basis"). The Cairo edition (VII, 213) has a very significant change in the text, a change for which no textual justification is given: *wa-la yastawjibuna al-`uqubata `alayhi* ("they do not deserve punishment on that basis").

A more satisfactory reading is that in the Aghani 107: *wa-yaqtarifuna al-athama `ala anfusihim rain Allahi bi-ma yastawjibuna al-`uqubata `alayhi* ("They commit sins against themselves before God for which they deserve punishment"). This version has been used in the translation.

For al-Walid's views on the *Qadariyyah*, cf. n. 641.

ii. Hisham's letter to al-Walid (al-Tabari, II, 1747-49)

(a) 1747, ll. 11-13

The text is rather problematical. It reads: *wa-amir al-mu'minin akhwafu `ala nafsih min iqtirafi al-ma'thami `alayha fi alladhi kana yujri `alayka minhu fi alladhi ahdatha min qat`i ma qata`a wa-mahwi ma maha rain sa-habatika li-amrayni*.

Al-Isfahani's version of the same part of the letter is as follows: *wa-la yatakhawwafu `ala nafsih iqtirafa al-ma'thami fi alladhi ahdatha min qat`i ma qata`a wa-mahwi maha min sahabatika li-amrayni* ("but he (the caliph) does not fear that he has committed wrong in the matter of the cuts he has made and the way in which he has mined those of your friends whom he has mined. (This absence of fear is) for two reasons"). Cf. Aghani, VI, 107.

The version in the Aghani is adopted without comment by the Cairo al-Tabari edition (VII, 213).

The version given by al-Baladhuri is of some help in clarifying the Leiden al-Tabari text: *wa-amiru al-mu'minin yastaghfiru Allaha min ijra'ih ma kana yujri `alayka fa-inna al-ma'thama fi dhalika akhwafu minhu `ala nafsih fi qat`ih ma qata`a li-amrayni*. Cf. *Ansab* (Derenk), 14. A possible

translation would be: "The Commander of the Faithful asks God's forgiveness for his having given you the allowance that he gave you, for the wrong in (doing) that is more frightening (to him) than the wrong (lit., what) he has (done) against his soul by making the cuts he has made. (This is) for two reasons".

APPENDIX II

AL-WALID'S LETTER APPOINTING HIS TWO SONS, AL-HAKAM AND UTHMAN AS HIS SUCCESSORS

The notes in the commentary itself deal with small points of clarification raised by the text of al-Walid's letter. The purpose of this appendix is to consider at greater length the manifold problems of translating the letter. Its style is tortuous and full of rhetorical devices. On a number of occasions the text is clearly corrupt. Throughout, it presents the translator with the problem of striking the right balance between a literal English version which adheres as closely as possible to the Arabic (however convoluted that may be) and a more elegant rendering which might invite the charge of straying too far from the original and thus becoming more of a paraphrase than a proper translation.

The translation offered here took many weeks because of the inherent difficulty of the text. Fortunately, Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds have also been working on this letter (cf. their recent book, *God's Caliph*, 116-26). As well as a literal translation, they provide a detailed discussion of the background and significance of the letter, concluding that it is authentic.

The translation presented here was made before I saw that of Drs. Crone and Hinds. However, the notes have been adjusted slightly in the light of their comments, and I have made one major emendation in my translation (specified later in this appendix) on the basis of their version. I am very grateful to them for

most generously allowing me access to their work just before I completed this volume.

(a) 1757, l.14-1758, l.2.

The decision to omit the extremely problematic phrase *falam yabqa kafirun*, supported by the apparatus (BM and O), was made after reading the version of Crone and Hinds (cf. *God's Caliph*, 119), which makes much better sense. The Leiden text as it stands would require the translation: "there remained no infidel whose blood was not licit thereby and the cutting of ties which were between them [lit., him (the member of the *ummah*) and him (the infidel)] even if he [lit., they] were his father, son, or tribesman [lit., their fathers, sons, or kinsmen]". For this change from singular to plural, cf. Crone and Hinds, op. cit., 119, n.16.

(b) 1759, l.17-1760, l.1.

The text here is extremely corrupt. The text as it stands reads *wa-fi-al ma`siyati mimma yuhillu bi-ghayrihim min naqmatihi wa-tusibuhum `alayhi wa-yuhiqqu min sukhtihi wa-`adhabihi*. Crone and Hinds (loc. cit.) make drastic but convincing emendations to the text and give better balance to the different elements of the sentence.

In this translation, the following more modest changes and additions are suggested: *wa-fi-al ma`siyati nala ghayruhum ma yuhillu bi-him min naqmatihi wa-yusibuhum `alayhi wa-yuhiqqu min sukhtihi wa-`adhabihi* ("by disobedience others obtain those punishments with which He assails (them) and by which He strikes them and that which befalls them of His displeasure and chastisement").

(c) 1760, ll. 1-3

The text has *wa-yunzalu bi-al-ta`ati*. The reading of the Cairo edition (221), *wa-bi-tarki al-ta`ati* (which is partly based on the apparatus), has been preferred in the translation. Even so, it is difficult to decide whether the whole phrase *wa-bi-tarki al-ta`ati . . . wa-al-tabadduli bi-ha* should belong to the preceding sentence or to the following one. Crone and Hinds consider it to belong to the following sentence, thus: "In abandonment and neglect of obedience, in departure from it, lack of attention to it and carelessness of it, God destroys [all] those who stray and disobey. . ." (loc. cit.). There is here,

however, a slight non sequitur in the shift of subject from the miscreants to God. If, on the other hand, the phrase *bi-tarki al-ta`ati . . . al-tabadduli bi-ha* is taken with the preceding sentence, the result is perhaps more coherent (if a period is placed after *bi-ha*.) This alternative has been followed in the translation but with the full awareness that the result is still slightly unsatisfactory. The text would read better with a *wa* or *fa* before *ahlaka*.

(d) 1760, ll. 13-14

Once again there is a problem of punctuation. The Cairo edition (VII, 222) makes a break in the sentence after *dahma`iha*, whereas Crone and Hinds make the next phrase *dhukhru al-ni`mati* part of the preceding sentence. Neither solution is entirely satisfactory. In this translation, the former alternative has been followed and the text is read as *wa-dhukhru al-ni`mati `alayha . . . huwa al-`ahdu. . .* Here *`alayha* refers to the community and the *wa* before *huwa* has been omitted.

(e) 1761, ll. 1-4

Literally, "a cutting of the enticements of the Devil in that for which his followers long and to which he (the Devil) incites them, concerning the destruction of this religion, the splitting of the unity of its people, and their disagreeing about that in which God united them through it (His religion)".

(f) 1762, l.3

Tastazilluna fi afnanihi. There is a variant reading, *afna'ih*. Crone and Hinds read *afya'ih* (op. cit., 123), rejecting *afnanihi* because of the following preposition *fi*. *Afya'ih* ("shades") is certainly very plausible. Reading the text as it stands with *afnanihi* still makes quite good sense. Perhaps there is here an indirect allusion to Qur'an 55, v.48. This surah enumerates the favors of God toward men.

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