The History of al-Ṭabarî

VOLUME XXI

The Victory of the Marwānids

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL FISHBEIN
Volume XXI of the History of al-Tabari (from the second part of 66/685 to 73/693) covers the resolution of "the Second Civil War." This conflict, which had broken out in 64/683 after the death of the Umayyad caliph Yazid I, involved the rival claims of the Umayyads (centered in Syria) and the Zubayrids (centered in the Hijaz), each of whom claimed the caliphal title, Commander of the Faithful. Both parties contended for control of Iraq, which was also the setting for al-Mukhtar's Shi'ite uprising in al-Kufah during 66/685 and 67/686. Kharijite groups were active in southwestern Iran and central Arabia, even threatening the heavily settled lands of Iraq. By the end of 73/692, the Umayyad regime in Damascus, led by `Abd-al-Malik, had extinguished the rival caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr and had reestablished a single, more or less universally acknowledged political authority for the Islamic community.

Al-Tabari's account of these years is drawn from such earlier historians as Abü Mikhnaf, al-Mada'ini, and al-Waqidi and includes eyewitness accounts, quotations from poems, and texts of sermons. Notable episodes include al-Mukhtar's slaying of those who had been involved in the death of al-Hasayn at Karbala, the death of al-Mukhtar at the hands of Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr, the revolt of Amr b. Sa'id in Damascus, the death of Mus'ab at the Battle of Dayr al-Jathaliq, and al-Hajjaj's siege and conquest of Mecca on behalf of `Abd-al-Malik. There are excursuses on the chair that al-Mukhtar venerated as a relic of Ali, the biography of the colorful brigand `Ubaydallah b. al-Hurr, and the development of the secretarial office in Islam.

The translation has been fully annotated. Parallels in the works of Ibn Sa'd, al-Baladhuri, and the Kitab al-Aghani have been indicated in the notes where these accounts supplement or diverge from that of al-Tabari.
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Bibliotheca Persica
Edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater

The History of al-Ṭabarī
(Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

Volume XXI

The Victory of the Marwānids
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Preface

The History of Prophets and Kings (Ta’rikh al-rusul wa’l-mulūk) by Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the History of al-Ṭabarī, 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.

Ṭabarī’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 Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī 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 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (isnād) 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 Ḫumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq” means that al-Ṭabari received the report from Ibn Ḫumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Ishāq, 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-Ṭabari’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 imām, 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

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies
ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
Volume XXI of the History of al-Ṭabari spans a period extending from the year 66 (685/686) to the year 73 (692/693), corresponding to series II, pages 642–854 of the Leiden edition. The events chronicled in the volume cover the resolution of what historians have come to call the Second Civil War and the reestablishment of Umayyad hegemony over the Islamic world. In the course of the period, the major anti-Umayyad forces—the Shiʿites of Iraq and the rival caliphate of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca—collapsed, leaving ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, in the year 73, as ruler over a dynastic kingdom similar in extent to the one Muʿāwiyyah had governed from Damascus before the dissolution of Umayyad authority following the death of Yazid.

To understand the complex events of the years A.H. 66–73, one must go back to the crisis of the Umayyad caliphate after the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyyah in 64/683. Having earned the implacable hatred of the Shiʿah by causing the death of al-Ḥusayn and the hatred of influential elements in the Ḥijāz by his use of force to compel Mecca and Medina to acknowledge his rule, Yazīd bequeathed his caliphate to a thirteen-year-old boy, Muʿāwiyyah, who survived his father by only forty days. Yazīd’s two other surviving sons, even younger, obviously could not rule; the people of al-Kūfah and al-BAṣrah expelled their Umayyad governor, ending Umayyad authority in Iraq; the Ḥijāz was under the control of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr; and Syria itself was rent by tribal factionalism. The situation seemed so bad that the senior
member of the Umayyad family, Marwân b. al-Ḥakam, was ready to acknowledge the authority of ‘Abdallah b. al-Zubayr. Only the vigorous intervention of ‘Ubaydallâh b. Ziyâd, the Umayyad governor of Iraq, seems to have instilled new confidence into the Umayyad family. Under the leadership of Marwân, who was succeeded as head of the family the following year by his son, ‘Abd al-Malik, the Umayyads began the process that would end in 73/692 with the reestablishment of a single central authority, which, if not universally acknowledged, was accepted by the consensus of the Islamic community, and which had no obvious rival in the conduct of the affairs of the Islamic state.

Roughly, the process involved three steps. The hostility of pro-Zubayrid Arab groups in Syria had to be overcome; Iraq, itself a battleground between Zubayrid and Shi‘i loyalties, had to be brought within the Umayyad orbit; and finally ‘Abdallah b. al-Zubayr himself had to be overcome in the Ḥijâz. By 66/685, Syrian opposition to Umayyad rule, while by no means eliminated, was well on its way to elimination. The surviving text of al-Ṭabarî gives little detail about the final collapse of pro-Zubayrid forces in Syria and al-Jazîrah; more can be gleaned from al-Baladhuri, or from the much later Ibn al-Athîr. In Iraq, the Umayyads were aided by a situation in which their opponents weakened each other. In Rabî‘ I 66 (October 685), al-Mukhtâr b. Abî ‘Ubayd, formerly a supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr, but now leading the Kūfan Shi‘ah, led an uprising that forced Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor to leave al-Kūfah and retreat to al-BAṣrah. In keeping with the Shi‘i nature of the revolt, the ashrâf (tribal dignitaries) of al-Kūfah pledged allegiance to al-Mukhtâr, not as “Commander of the Faithful,” but as the “helper” (wazîr) of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafîyyah, a surviving son of ‘Ali. Later in the year, the same ashrâf turned against al-Mukhtâr and tried to expel him, but were defeated; many of them left for al-BAṣrah. Al-Mukhtâr, who had come to power promising to avenge the death of al-Ḥusayn, lost no time in killing anyone he could capture who had been in any way connected with the death of al-Ḥusayn. Then he tried to expand his power. To the north, he was successful in two campaigns (both in 66), during the second of which the Umayyad commander ‘Ubaydallâh b. Ziyâd, the architect of the death of al-Ḥusayn, died in combat against Ibrâhîm b. al-Ashtar. To the south, al-Mukhtâr’s efforts to attract
support failed. Realizing how much was at stake, Ibn al-Zubayr sent his own brother, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, to govern al-Baṣrah and to deal with al-Mukhtār. Muṣ'ab defeated the forces of al-Mukhtār at the Battle of al-Madhār; al-Mukhtār retreated to al-Kūfah, was besieged, and died in combat in Ramaḍān 67 (April 687).

ʿAbd al-Malik now faced Ibn al-Zubayr. On each side, the years 68, 69, 70, and 71 presented certain internal threats to be overcome before there could be a final confrontation. Al-Ṭabarī’s account of events in Syria is very brief for these years. The Damascus revolt of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaq in 69 or 70 is covered in some detail. The difficulties of the Zubayrids are presented rather fully. The Zubayrid governors of al-Baṣrah were continuously threatened by the Azāriqah, a Khārijite sect, who in 68/687 carried their depredations into the heartland of Iraq, and who drained off military resources that otherwise might have been used against the Umayyads. Also, there seems to have been widespread rural brigandage led by such figures as ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr, whose picaresque biography appears under the year 68.

The decisive events that reestablished Umayyad primacy came in 71 (or 72) and 73. In each case, much was due to the Umayyad sense of politics—the ability to persuade potential opponents that more was to be gained by going over to the Umayyad side than by opposition, and that the stability and security of Iraq could best be served by an Umayyad victory. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr's support melted under the sun of Umayyad promises to his erstwhile supporters; the treachery of many of Muṣ'ab’s supporters at Dayr al-Jāthaliq in 71 (or 72) sealed his fate. ʿAbd al-Malik was then free to deal, through his commander, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, with ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

Al-Ṭabarī’s brief account of al-Ḥajjāj’s siege of Mecca and the defeat and death of Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692 (more external details of the battles are to be found in al-Baladhuri) centers on a portrait of the heroic death of Ibn al-Zubayr, whose brave, but hopeless, fight earned the admiration of even al-Ḥajjāj’s second-in-command, who pronounced the following judgment: “Women have borne none manlier [than ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr].” ʿAbd al-Malik, we are told, seconded the judgment.

Thus, ʿAbd al-Malik was left in virtually uncontested posses-
sion of the title "Commander of the Faithful." [The Khārijites formed a significant exception to recognition of his claim.] More than settling the possession of a title, the end of the Second Civil War settled important questions about the nature of authority over the Muslim state. The Umayyads, in the person of 'Abd al-Malik, reestablished a caliphate based on a family dynasty and a strong military base in the Syrian Arab army. The principle of a single strong authority was reasserted over the various centrifugal forces at work among the Arabs. Had Ibn al-Zubayr prevailed, a much weaker caliphate would have been the result. However, the Umayyad triumph by no means put an end to alternative ideas about authority in Islam. Indeed, for the Shiʿah, the years of the Second Civil War witnessed the development of many tendencies that would bear fruit only much later. In particular, the revolt of al-Mukhtār, with its idea of an Imām living in retirement, his cause energetically furthered in political action by a "wazīr" or "helper," foreshadowed a constellation of ideas important for the genesis of the 'Abbāsid revolution. Furthermore, Khārijite ideas about the free election of a leader by the community certainly did not die out with the triumph of 'Abd al-Malik.

A Note on the Text

The translation follows the text of the Leiden edition, which appeared in installments between 1879 and 1898 under the overall editorship of M. J. De Goeje. The task of editing Part II, pages 580–1340 (A.H. 65–99), was assigned to the Italian scholar Ignazio Guidi. For establishing the text of the section here translated (II, 642–854), Guidi had five manuscripts at his disposal:

1. Constantinople, Köprülü 1047 (Siglum Co). This was a composite manuscript. The older portion, which Guidi singled out for special praise, was copied in A.D. the eleventh or perhaps the tenth century. It ended at

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II, 706, and was followed by a section in a later hand, perhaps of the thirteenth century, much less carefully executed, and apparently from an original of a different family. This manuscript formed the based text for the edition.

2. Oxford, Bodleian, Uri 650 (Siglum O).²
3. Berlin, Petermann II, 635 (Siglum Pet). Beginning with II, 674, a fourth manuscript could be used:
4. Constantinople, Köprüülü 1044 (Siglum C). Finally, from II, 789, a fifth manuscript was available:
5. Berlin, Ms. Or. Fol. 69 (Siglum B).³

Guidi divided these manuscripts into two families: an "older and much superior" family including Co (older hand), Pet, and C; and a more recent family including B, Co (younger hand), and O. (Ibn al-Athîr used a manuscript of this family.) Thus, throughout the section here translated, textual witnesses from two families were available.

To the five manuscripts used by Guidi, the 1960 Egyptian edition of Muhammad Abû al-Faḍl Ibrâhim adds only one additional authority for establishing the text of the section here translated: Ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2929. Its readings, occasionally preferable to any that were available to Guidi, are given in the notes of the Cairo edition; otherwise, the Cairo text is the same as the Leiden text, apart from differences of punctuation and vocalization.

For the events of these years, there are important parallel accounts in al-Balâdhurî's Ansâb al-Ashrâf, Ibn Sa'd's Kitâb al-Ṭabaqât al-Kabîr, al-Dînawarî's Kitâb al-Akhbâr al-Ţiwâl, al-Iṣbahânî's Kitâb al-Aghâni, and Ibn A'tham al-Kûfî's Kitâb al-Futûh. The notes to the translation indicate some of these parallels, particularly when they involve interesting differences or further information, but the notes are not intended to provide an exhaustive listing of parallels.

The translator wishes to thank Professors Moshe Perlmann,

². Described by M. J. De Goeje, ZDMG XVI, 759.
³. See Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, IX, 36, n. 9419.
Translator’s Foreword

Seeger A. Bonebakker, and Michael G. Morony, all of the University of California, Los Angeles, for their continued support and encouragement.

Michael Fishbein
The Events of the Year

66 (cont’d)

(AUGUST 8, 685–JULY 27, 686)

[Al-Mukhtar Acts against the Slayers of al-Husayn]

According to Abu Ja’far [sc. al-Tabari]: In this year, al-Mukhtar\(^1\) seized the slayers of al-Husayn\(^2\) who were in al-Kufah\(^3\) and those who were accomplices in his murder. He killed those of them over whom he gained power; some, however, fled from al-Kufah and eluded his grasp.

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2. Al-Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet, was the son of ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib by Muḥammad’s daughter, Fātimah. The Shi’ah, supporters of the right of ‘Ali and his family to political and spiritual leadership, considered his death at the hands of the Umayyad forces at Karbalā’ on 10 Muḥarram 61 (October 10, 680) a martyrdom and demanded vengeance against the Umayyads. See EI\(^2\), s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali.

3. The Muslim garrison city (miṣr) and provincial capital of al-Kufah was founded ca. 17/638 in the caliphate of Umar on the Euphrates near the older city of al-Ḥirah. It grew rapidly and in 36/657 became ‘Ali’s capital. ‘Ali was assassinated outside the city’s great mosque in 40/661, and al-Kufah became a focus of pro-‘Alid Shi’i activity. See EI\(^2\), s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, 74ff.
According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—‘Awānāh b. al-Ḥakam: The reason for this was as follows. When Syria had become completely obedient to him, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam sent out two armies. One of them was sent to the Hijāz under Ḥubaysh b. Dūljah al-Qaynī, and we have previously mentioned him and how he perished. The other was sent to Iraq under ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, and we have mentioned what took place between him and the Tawwābūn of the Shiʿah at ʿAyn al-Wardah. When Marwān sent ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād to Iraq, he granted him...
The Events of the Year 66 (cont’d)

governance of] whatever he conquered and commanded him to sack al-Kūfah, if he overcame its people, for three days.

'Awānah said: ‘Ubaydallāh passed through the land of al-Jazīrah10 and was delayed there. Qays ‘Aylān [tribesmen]11 were there, obedient to Ibn al-Zubayr.12 Marwān had inflicted heavy losses on the Qays at the battle of Marj Rāḥīt,13 when they were on the side of al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays,14 opposing Marwān and his son ‘Abd al-Malik, [who ruled] after him. ‘Ubaydallāh remained preoccupied with them and unable to turn his attention to Iraq for about a year. Then he proceeded to al-Mawṣil.15 Al-Mukhtār’s governor of al-Mawṣil, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays, wrote to al-Mukhtār:

To proceed: I hereby inform you, O commander (amīr), that ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād has entered the territory of al-Mawṣil and has turned his horsemen and foot soldiers toward me. I have withdrawn to Takrit16 until your opinion and command reach me. Peace be upon you.17

10. Al-Jazīrah ("the island" or "peninsula") was the Arabic name for upper Mesopotamia. It included as its principal towns al-Mawṣil, al-Raqqah, and Amid. See Le Strange, Lands, 86–114; EI², s.v. al-Djazīra.

11. Qays ‘Aylān, or Qays [sometimes called "Muḍar"], were a group of northern Arab clans from the Ḥijāz and western Arabia. They formed the bulk of the men involved in the first conquests in Syria under Abū Bakr and were rewarded with lands in al-Jazīrah. Because Muʿawiyah relied on the support of rival Kalb [Yemeni] tribes, and also because Yazid, Muʿawiyah’s heir, had a Kalbī mother, many of the Qays supported Ibn al-Zubayr. Muʿawiyah’s opening of al-Jazīrah to immigration from unrelated Arab clans may also have been a factor. See EI², s.v. Kays ‘Aylān; Shahan, Islamic History, I, 82–84, 92.

12. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr ruled the Hijāz at this time as a rival caliph and was recognized by opponents of the Umayyads in Syria, Egypt, southern Arabia, and al-Kūfah. See EI², s.v.

13. A plain near Damascus where Marwān defeated forces loyal to Ibn al-Zubayr at the end of 64 [July 684]. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v.; Tabarī, II, 474ff.; EI², s.v.

14. Al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri, leader of the Qays and at first a loyal supporter of the Umayyads against ‘Ali, went over to Ibn al-Zubayr after the death of Muʿawiyah II in 64/684. He was defeated and killed by Marwān at Marj Rāḥīt. See EI², s.v.

15. Al-Mawṣil, on the upper Tigris River, was a principal town of al-Jazīrah. See Le Strange, Lands, 87–89.

16. Takrit lay south of al-Mawṣil on the Tigris, on the Iraq side of the border between al-Jazīrah and Iraq. See Le Strange, Lands, 25, 57; EI¹, s.v.

17. Cf. the longer version in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 230: "‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays wrote informing al-Mukhtār that the horsemen of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād were approaching al-Mawṣil, and that he, having neither horses nor men, feared he would be too weak to deal with him."
Al-Mukhtar wrote to him:

To proceed: Your letter has reached me, and I have understood all you said in it. You did well to withdraw to Takrit. Remain where you are until my command reaches you, God willing. Peace be upon you.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnafl—Mūsā b. 'Āmir: When 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa'id's letter reached al-Mukhtar, he summoned Yazid b. Anas and said to him, "Yazid b. Anas, one who knows is not like one who is ignorant; truth is not like falsehood. I tell you the report of one who has not lied and has not been called a liar, who has not disobeyed or wavered. We are the believers, the fortunate ones; the victorious, the sound ones. You are the master of horses whose quivers you draw and whose tails you plait, until you bring them to water in olive groves, their eyes sunken, their bellies lank. Go out to al-Mawsil and encamp in its vicinity. I will provide you with men followed by even more men." Yazid b. Anas said to him, "Send with me three thousand horsemen whom I shall choose, and leave me to take care of the region to which you send us. If I need men, I will write to you." Al-Mukhtar said to him, "Go out and choose, in the name of God, whomever you like.'

Yazid b. Anas went out and chose three thousand horsemen.

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18. Abū Mikhnafl Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'id b. Mikhnafl al-Azdi (b. ca. 70/689, d. 157/775) was a late Umayyad composer of historical monographs, about forty of which can be identified from Ibn al-Nadim's Fihrist and other works. His books, mediated through Ibn al-Kalbi, were one of Tabari's major sources of information about events of the Umayyad period, particularly those centered around al-Kūfah. See El², s.v.; F. Sezgin, GAS, I, 308–9; and U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 40–47.
21. The speech is in rhymed prose (saj'f, on which see El¹, s.v. Sadj'.
22. The meaning of tajurrū ji'ābahā is problematic. Ed. Leiden, Glossarium, p. clxv: "probably metaphorical for the sheath of the penis of a horse. Horses' ji'āb are drawn (or slit?) and tails plaited when they are to make a very long journey." No source for this meaning of ji'āb or further explanation is given.
23. I.e., from long and strenuous traveling.
He put al-Nu'man b. 'Awf b. Abi Jābir al-Azdi in charge of the fourth\(^{14}\) of Medina, 'Āsim b. Qays b. Ḥabīb al-Hamdānī in charge of the fourth of Tamīm and Ḥamdān, Warqā' b. 'Āzib al-Asadi in charge of Madhhij and Asad, and Si'r b. Abi Si'r al-Ḥanafī in charge of the fourth of Rabī'ah and Kindah. Then he set out from al-Kūfah, and al-Mukhtār and the people went out with him to escort him. When he reached Dayr Abī Mūsā,\(^{25}\) al-Mukhtār said goodbye to him and turned back, saying, "When you encounter your enemy, grant them no respite. When opportunity presents itself, do not delay. Let me have a report from you every day. If you need assistance, write to me, although I will assist you even if you do not ask for it; for it will give your arm more strength, make your army more powerful, and put more fear into your enemy." Yazīd b. Añās said to him, "Assist me only with your prayer; that will be enough assistance." The people said to him, "May God accompany you! May He convey you and aid you!" Then they said goodbye to him. Yazīd said to them, "Pray to God on my behalf for martyrdom! I swear by God, if I meet them and victory escapes me, martyrdom shall not escape me, God willing."

Al-Mukhtār wrote to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa'id b. Qays:

To proceed: Let Yazīd [b. Anas] deal with the territory—God willing! Peace be upon you.

Having marched forth with the men, Yazīd b. Añās spent the night at Sūrā.\(^{26}\) The next day he marched with them and spent the night at al-Madā'in.\(^{27}\) The men complained to him that they were suffering from the speed of the march, so he stayed there a day and a night. Then he took them along the territory of Jūkhā,\(^{28}\)

\(^{14}\) The fourths (rub', pl. arbā') were divisions of the Kūfān army, in accordance with a system created by Ziyād b. Abīhi.

\(^{25}\) Apparently the same as Dayr Mūsā, a place near al-Kūfah on the way to Sūrā. See El², s.v. Dayr Mūsā.

\(^{26}\) At Sūrā, a town on the upper Nahr Sūrā (modern Shaṭṭ Hindiyah branch of the Euphrates), the main road from al-Kūfah to al-Madā'in crossed the Euphrates by bridge. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, 26, 70–72.

\(^{27}\) Al-Madā'in ("the cities," so named because it consisted of a number of separate towns linked by a floating bridge across the Tigris) was the former Sasanian winter capital about 20 miles south of Baghdad. See El², s.v.

\(^{28}\) Jūkhā was a district east of al-Madā'in, extending along the Diyālā River. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v. Jūkhā; Le Strange, Lands, 42; Morony, Iraq, 137–141.
brought them out in the Rādhān [districts], and crossed with them into the territory of al-Mawṣīl, encamping at Banāt Talā. His location and the place at which he had encamped were reported to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, who asked about their number. His spies told him that three thousand horsemen had left al-Kūfah with him. 'Ubaydallāh said, “I will dispatch two thousand for every thousand.” He summoned Rabī‘ah b. al-Mukhārīq al-Ghanawī and 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamlah al-Khath‘āmi and dispatched them, each with three thousand men. He sent Rabī‘ah b. al-Mukhārīq first, waited a day, and then sent 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamlah after him. Then he wrote to them, saying, “Whichever of you arrives first is to be the commander over his fellow. If you both arrive together, the older of you is to be commander over his fellow and the entire force.” [Continuing,] he said: Rabī‘ah b. al-Mukhārīq arrived first and encamped by Yazīd b. Anas while he was at Banāt Talā. Yazīd b. Anas came out to [fight] him sick and exhausted.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Salt—Abū Sa‘īd al-Ṣayql, who said: Yazīd b. Anas came out to us sick and mounted on a donkey. Men walked with him, holding him on his right and

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29. Upper and Lower Rādhān were subdistricts of Jūkhā. The town of Rādhān lay on the east side of the old bed of the Tigris between the ‘Adhaym and Diyālā Rivers. See Le Strange, Lands, 35, 80; Yaqūt, Mu’jam, s.v.; Morony, Iraq, 138–39.
30. Vocalization and location uncertain. The mss. show much uncertainty about the dotting of the consonants of the name. Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 229 reads “Batili,” with variants such as “Mayili” and “Mātili.”
31. One is tempted to omit in translation this peculiar feature of the reports collected in Tabari’s history—namely, the frequent interruption of narratives by qāla, “he said.” Normally, “he” refers to the earliest source in the previous isnad. One might thus translate: “[Mūsā b. ‘Amir continued,] saying...” However, in some cases it is not easy to determine whether the text after qāla resumes the words of the earliest informant or begins a passage of summary by Abū Mikhnaf or even Hishām b. al-Kalbī. I have therefore thought it best to preserve the ambiguity of the Arabic. On the other hand, these repeated qālas should not be omitted. An argument can be made that they mark places where an account has been shortened through the omission of material. See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 91–92, for a discussion of the problem.
33. Abū Sa‘īd al-Ṣayql, an eyewitness, was a mawlā who had fought on al-Mukhtar’s side at the seizure of al-Kūfah. See Tabari, II, 623. For mawlā, see n. 49.
on his left by his legs, arms, and sides. He stopped at each fourth and said, "O choice army (shurṭah) of God, be steadfast, and you shall be rewarded; vie with your enemy in steadfastness, and you shall be victorious!"34 'Fight you against the friends of Satan; surely the guile of Satan is ever feeble.'35 If I perish, your commander is Warqāʾ b. ʿĀzib al-Asadi. If he perishes, your commander is ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmrah al-ʿUdhri. If he perishes, your commander is Siʿr b. Abi Siʿr al-Ḥanafi.” [Continuing,] he said: I, by God, was among those who walked with him and held his arm and hand, and I saw by his face that death had descended upon him.

[Continuing,] he said: Yazīd b. Anas put ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmrah al-ʿUdhri in charge of his right wing, and Siʿr b. Abi Siʿr in charge of his left wing. He put Warqāʾ b. ʿĀzib al-Asadi in charge of the horsemen. He himself dismounted and was placed on a litter among the men. He said to them, “Go forth to encounter them in the open field. Put me in front among the men. Then, if you will, fight for your commander; or, if you will, flee and leave him.” [Continuing,] he said: We brought him out in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, on the Day of ʿArafah of the year 66.36 Sometimes we held him by his back, and he would say, “Do this, do this, and do this,” giving his order. Before long the pain would overcome him and he would be set down for a while. The men were fighting. It was the morning twilight, before sunrise. [Continuing,] he said: Their left wing attacked our right wing, and their fighting became fierce. Our left wing attacked their right wing and put it to flight. Warqāʾ b. ʿĀzib al-Asadi attacked with the horsemen and put them to flight. By midmorning we had put them to flight and taken their camp.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿAmīr al-ʿAdawi, who said: We reached Rabīʿah b. al-Mukhāriq, their commander. His forces had been put to flight, leaving him, and he had dismounted.

34. Cf. Qurʾān 3:200, “O believers, be patient, and vie you in patience.” An alternate translation would be, “Show endurance (or steadfastness)... vie with your enemy in endurance (or steadfastness).”
35. Qurʾān 4:76.
36. July 7, 686: The ninth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is called “the day of ʿArafah” (or ʿArafāt) because it is the day when pilgrims gather on the plain of ʿArafāt, about 15 miles east of Mecca, for the wuṭūf (“standing,” or “station”) that climaxes the Ḥajj (pilgrimage). See El², s.vv. ʿArafa and Ḥadīj.
and was calling out, "O supporters of the truth, O people who hear and obey, come to me! I am Ibn al-Mukhāriq." [Continuing,] Muskā [b. 'Amir al-'Adawi] said: As for me, I was a young lad, so I was frightened and halted. 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' al-Asadi and Abdallah b. Ḍamrah al-'Udhrī attacked him and killed him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Amr b. Mālik Abū Kabshah al-Qaynī, who said: I was a lad who had just reached adolescence and was with one of my paternal uncles in that army. When we encamped by the army of the Kūfians, Rabī'ah b. al-Mukhāriq set us in order, and he did so with care. He put his brother's son in charge of his right wing and 'Abd Rabbih al-Sulami in charge of his left wing. He himself went forth with the horsemen and foot soldiers and said, "People of Syria, you are fighting only runaway slaves and men who have abandoned Islam and departed from it. They have no remnant [of strength] and do not speak Arabic!' [Continuing,] he said: By God, I supposed it to be so until we fought with them.

[Continuing,] he said: By God, as soon as the men began to fight, one of the Iraqis stood in the way of the men with his sword, saying:

I have disavowed the religion of the Muḥakkimūn, in respect to religion, that is the worst religion among us.

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37. He was an eyewitness on the Umayyad side. See U. Sezgin, Abū Miḥnaf, 198.
38. Following MS Pet, as suggested by ed. Leiden, Addenda, p. DCLXX, and reading baqīyyah. For the idiomatic meanings of baqīyyah—"remnant of strength, firmness of spirit, excellence" or "mercy, indulgence"—see ed. Leiden, Glossarium, p. CXXXIX. The original Leiden text has taqiyyah, which, if correct, can be understood as a synonym for taqwā, "piety, fear of God."
39. Although Tabari's account of al-Mukhtar (mostly from Abū Mikhnaf) does not pass over the role of non-Arabs, it does not emphasize it as much as some other accounts. Cf. Dinawari, Akhbār, 296: "Most of those who responded to al-Mukhtar were [Arabs] from the tribe of Hamdān and Persians who were in al-Kūfah and whom Mu'āwiya had enrolled in the military. They were called al-Hamrā' ('fair-skinned')."
40. The Muḥakkimūn [from hakkama, "to pronounce a formula containing the word hukm"] were the Khārijītes, who abandoned 'Ali when he agreed to arbitration with Mu'āwiya. Their slogan was la hukma illā li-llāh, "Judgment [belongs] to God alone!" See Lane, Lexicon, II, 618.
There was fierce fighting between them and us for an hour of the day. By midmorning they had put us to flight. They killed our leader and took our camp. We went away in flight, until Abdallāh b. Ḥamlah met us an hour's journey from the village called Banāt Talā and turned us back. We went with him until he encamped by Yazid b. Anas. We spent the night keeping watch by turns. The next day, we prayed the daybreak prayer and went forth in good order. He put al-Zubayr b. Khuzaymah from [the tribe of] Khath'am in charge of his right wing, Ibn Uqayṣir al-Quḥāfi from Khath'am in charge of his left wing, and advanced with the horsemen and foot soldiers. It was the Day of Sacrifice. We fought fiercely with them. They badly defeated us, slew many of us, and took our camp. We made our way to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and told him what we had encountered.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. Āmir [al-Adawi], who said: 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamlah al-Khath'ami advanced toward us. He met the defeated troops of Rabi'ah b. al-Mukhariq al-Ghanawi, turned them back, and then came and encamped at Banāt Talā. The next day, both they and we went forth early. The two troops of horsemen attacked each other from the beginning of daylight. Both they and we then withdrew until after we had prayed the noon prayer, at which time we went forth and fought, defeating them. [Continuing,] he said: 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamlah dismounted and called out to his forces, saying, "After wheeling round, return to the fight, O people who hear and obey!" He was attacked and killed by 'Abdallāh b. Qurād al-Khath'ami, and we took their camp and what was in it. Three hundred prisoners were brought to Yazid b. Anas, who was dying. He gestured with his hand that they should be beheaded, so they were killed to the last man.

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41. Following the reading of Ms. Ahmet III, adopted in ed. Cairo. The various manuscripts show so much uncertainty about the dotting of the consonants on this name, that ed. Leiden omits all dots.
42. The tenth of Dhū al-Hijjah, when pilgrims sacrifice an animal at Minā in memory of Abraham's sacrifice. See El2, s.v. Hadjdj.
43. Cf. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 231 (from Hishām b. al-Kalbi): "Prisoners were brought to Yazid b. Anas al-Asadi, who was on the verge of death. He kept saying, 'Kill! Kill!' until his tongue became heavy. Then he began to signal with his hand, until his hand became heavy. Then he began to signal with his eyebrows, until he died in that condition."
Yazīd b. Anas said, "If I perish, your commander is Warqā’ b. ‘Āzib al-Asadī." Yazīd died by evening, and Warqā’ b. ‘Āzib prayed [the funeral prayer] over him and buried him. When his companions saw that, they were bewildered, and their spirits were broken by his death. After they buried Yazīd, Warqā’ said to them, "Men, what do you think best? I have been told that ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād is coming at us with eighty thousand Syrians." They therefore began to slip away and go back. Warqā’ then summoned the heads of the fourths and the most skillful horsemen among his forces and said to them, "Men, what do you think about what I have told you? I am only one of you, and not the best among you in regard to counsel. Advise me. Ibn Ziyād has come at you with the great army of the Syrians— their greatest men, horsemen, and ashraf." I do not think we and you have power to deal with them under these circumstances. Yazīd b. Anas, our commander, has died. Part of our forces have dispersed. If we turn back today of our own accord before we encounter them and before we reach them, so that they know that only the death of our commander turned us back, they will continue to fear us because we have killed their commander and because we can plead the death of our commander as an excuse for our withdrawal. But, if we meet them today, we run a risk. If we are defeated today, our having defeated them previously will be of no use to us.” They said, "Your idea is excellent; turn back, and may God have mercy on you!" So he turned back. Their having turned back was reported to al-Mukhtār and the people of al-Kūfah. Not knowing how things had turned out, people spread alarming rumors that Yazīd b. Anas had been killed and the men defeated.

Then al-Mukhtār's governor of al-Madā'in sent al-Mukhtār one of his spies, a Nabataean from the Sawād,' who gave him a report. Al-Mukhtār summoned Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and put

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44. The ashraf (plural of sharif), literally, "eminent or distinguished men," were the tribal dignitaries.
45. "Nabataean" refers to any of the Aramaic-speaking peasantry of the agricultural lands (sawād, meaning "the black," i.e., alluvial soil) of Iraq.
46. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, son of the famous Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī, had become one of al-Mukhtār’s most important military aides earlier in this year and played a leading role in driving Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor, Ibn Muṭī', out of al-Kūfah. See Ṭabari, II, 609–30; and EI², s.v.
him in command of seven thousand men, saying to him, “Go, and, when you meet the army of Ibn Anas, turn them around with you, and go meet your enemy and fight it out with them.” Ibrāhīm went out and encamped at Ḥammām A‘yan.47

[The Kūfan Ashrāf Rise against al-Mukhtār]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-Nadr b. Ṣāliḥ,48 who said: When Yazid b. Anas died, the ashrāf in al-Kūfah met and told disturbing stories about al-Mukhtār. They said that Yazid b. Anas had been killed, and did not believe he had died [a natural death]. They began to say, “By God, this man has made himself commander over us without our consent. He has drawn our mawālī49 near to himself, mounted them on horses, given them stipends,50 and assigned our fay′51 to them. Our slaves have disobeyed us, and our orphans and widows have thus been despoiled.” They settled on the house of Shabath b. Rib′ī52 and said, “We will meet in the house of our shaykh.” [Shabath was a man who

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47. “A’yan’s Hot Spring,” near al-Kūfah, named for A’yan, the mawlā of Sa’d b. Abī Waqqās. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v.
48. Abū Zuhayr al-Nadr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb b. Zuhayr al-‘Absī, an eyewitness of events from 61 to 77, also transmits information about earlier events through informants. He introduces one of his reports for 77/696 by saying that he was a young man in the prime of youth at the time. See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 70, 80–81, 214.
49. Mawlā, pl. mawālī, “client[s], or freedmen,” referred to non-Arabs, frequently of Persian origin, who, upon conversion to Islam, were put under the protection of an Arab tribe or a tribal leader as a way of incorporating them into the Arab social system. For a discussion of the social status of mawālī at this time, see Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 48–49; and EI2, s.v.
50. Literally, “given them ‘atā′,” the stipend paid from the treasury on a regular basis to Arab soldiers registered in the dīwān [military roll]. See EI2, s.v. ‘Aṭā′.
51. Fay′, “permanent booty,” was the tribute or tax income from which the stipends of Muslim soldiers were paid. See EI2, s.v.
52. Shabath b. Rib′ī al-Tamimi headed the Banū Ḥanzalah [a powerful clan of the Tamim] in al-Kūfah. During al-Mukhtār’s uprising in 66/685, he supported Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor, Ibn Muṭi′, but advised Ibn Muṭi′ to withdraw gracefully when al-Mukhtār’s victory appeared inevitable. On his role in the events of 66, see Ṭabarī, II, 614–30, esp. 623 (an incident illustrating his prejudice against mawālī) and 630. See also Dinawari, Akhbār, 223, 243; and Ṭabarī, I, 1919, 3270, 3349, 3380, 3388.
had lived both in the Time of Ignorance\textsuperscript{53} and in the time of Islam.) They gathered and came to his house. After he had led his companions in prayer, they began to discuss the subject among themselves. [Continuing,] he said: Among al-Mukhtar’s innovations concerning them, none was more grievous than his having appointed a share of the \textit{fay’} for the \textit{mawālī}.

Shabath said to them, “Leave me until I meet with him.” He went and met with him and left unmentioned none of the things his companions found objectionable. Whenevever he mentioned a practice, al-Mukhtar said to him, “I will satisfy them regarding this practice and do everything they like.” [Continuing,] he said: Shabath mentioned the slaves \textit{(mamālīk)}. Al-Mukhtar said, “I will return their slaves \textit{‘abid} to them.” Shabath mentioned the \textit{mawālī} to him, saying, “You have had recourse to our \textit{mawālī}, who are a \textit{fay’} that God has made permanent booty, together with these lands, for us all. We have freed them, and for that we hope for remuneration, reward, and thanks. But you, not satisfied with this for them, have made them our partners in our \textit{fay’}.” Al-Mukhtar said to them, “If I leave you your \textit{mawālī} and give your \textit{fay’} to you, will you fight on my side against the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubayr and give me a promise and covenant by God to fulfill this, together with oaths that I can trust?” Shabath replied, “I do not know, until I go to my companions and talk to them about it.” He left and did not return to al-Mukhtar. [Continuing,] he said: The \textit{ashrāf} of al-Kūfah decided to fight al-Mukhtar.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Qudāmah b. Ḥawshab, who said: Shabath b. Rib‘î, Shamir b. Dḥî al-Jawshan, Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘īd b. Qays came before Ka‘b b. Abī Ka‘b al-Khath‘āmi.\textsuperscript{54} Shabath spoke. Having praised and extolled God, he told Ka‘b that they had decided to fight al-Mukhtar, and he asked him to concur with them in the matter. Berating al-Mukhtar, Shabath said, “He has made himself commander over us without our consent. He has alleged that Ibn

\textsuperscript{53} Jāhili, someone who has lived in the Jāhiliyyah, the “Time of Ignorance,” before the coming of Islam. See EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.v. Djāhiliyya.

\textsuperscript{54} These men had supported Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor, Ibn Muṭi‘, against al-Mukhtar. See Ṭabārī, II, 614, 629, 631.
al-Ḥanafīyyah\(^{55}\) sent him to us, but we have found out that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah did not do so. He has assigned our \textit{fay'\textsuperscript{56}} to our \textit{mawālī\textsuperscript{57}} and taken our slaves, despoiling our orphans and widows by means of them. He and his Saba'iyyah\(^{56}\) have openly disavowed our righteous predecessors."\(^{57}\) [Continuing,\textsuperscript{58}] he said: Ka'b b. Abī Ka'b welcomed them and responded favorably to their call.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—my\(^{58}\) father, Yahyā b. Sa'id: The \textit{ashrāf\textsuperscript{59}} of al-Kūfah came before 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf [al-Azdī] and called upon him to concur with them in fighting al-Mukhtār. He said to them, "Men, if you insist on rebelling, I will not fail you; but, if you listen to me, you will not rebel." "Why?" they asked. He said, "Because I fear you will become divided, disagree among yourselves, and abandon each other. By God, your own valiant men and skilled horsemen are on the man's side. Are not so-and-so and so-and-so with him? Your slaves and \textit{mawālī\textsuperscript{57}} are also on his side, and they are of one mind. Your slaves and \textit{mawālī\textsuperscript{57}} are more angry with you than your enemy. So he will fight you with the courage of the Arabs and the hostility of the Persians. But, if you leave him alone for a while, the arrival of the Syrians or the coming of the Başrans will spare you the trouble of dealing with him; you will have been spared dealing with him by others and will not have set your strength among yourselves." They said, "We implore you by God not to differ with us or spoil our plan and the consensus our group has reached." "I am one of you," he replied; "if you will, rebel." They went among them-

\(^{55}\) Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafīyyah was 'Ali's son by a woman of the Banū Hanifah who had been brought to Medina as a prisoner. Despite his reluctance to involve himself in politics and the fact that he was not directly descended from the Prophet, he became a focus of Shī'ī attention after al-Ḥasan's abdication and al-Ḥusayn's death at Karbalā'. See \textit{El\textsuperscript{1}}, s.v.; Dixon, \textit{Umayyad Caliphate}, 40; and Jafri, \textit{Origins}, 228–29, 235–37, 239–42.

\(^{56}\) Saba'iyyah ("followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'") is used here as an abusive epithet for Shī'ī extremists (\textit{ghulāt}). 'Abdallāh b. Saba' is said to have founded "heterodox" Shī'īsm by attributing supernatural character to 'Ali, refusing to recognize his death, and condemning the first two caliphs in addition to 'Uthmān. See \textit{El\textsuperscript{2}}, s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'; Jafri, \textit{Origins}, 300f.; cf. Ṭabarī, \textit{II}, 623.

\(^{57}\) \textit{Aslāfinā al-ṣāliḥīn}: specifically including Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. See Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, IV, 1408.

\(^{58}\) i.e., Abū Mikhnaf's father.
selves and said, “Wait until Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar goes away from him.”


According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī, who said: Jubayr al-Ḥaḍramī went out to the two and said to them, “Get out of our cemetery; we do not want to be involved in trouble.” Ishāq b. Muḥammad asked him, “And is it your cemetery?” “Yes,” he said. So they left him.62

Kaʿb b. Abī Kaʿb al-Khathʿamī went out to Jabbānāt Bishr,63 and Bishr64 b. Jarīr b. Ābdallāh went out to them with [men of the tribe of] Bajīlah. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf went out to Jabbānāt Mikhnaf. Ishāq b. Muḥammad and Zahr b. Qays went to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays at Jabbānāt al-Sabī’. [The tribes of] Bajīlah and Khathʿam went to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, who was with the [tribe of] Azd. Word reached the men in Jabbānāt al-Sabī that al-Mukhtar had mustered horsemen to advance on them. They sent messengers, one after the other, to Azd, Bajīlah, and Khathʿam, asking them for the sake of God and kinship to hasten to them. So they went to them, and all gathered in Jabbānāt al-Sabī. When word reached al-Mukhtar, he was glad they had gathered in one place.

59. Sābāṭ, on the west bank of the Tigris at the confluence of the Nahr al-Malik, was one of the seven cities that formed al-Madāʾin. See El2, s.v. al-Madāʾin.

60. The jabbānāt, or tribal cemeteries of al-Kūfah, also served as places of assembly, mobilization, and taking up arms. See El2, s.v. al-Kūfah. The most recent attempt to map the topography of Umayyad al-Kūfah is Hichem Djait, Al-Kūfah, naissance de la ville islamique. See especially pp. 227–41, on the battles connected with al-Mukhtar, and the map, p. 302.


63. Jabbānāt Bishr, named after Bishr b. Rabīʿah, a hero of the battle of Qādisiyah, belonged to the tribe of Khathʿam. See Djait, Al-Kūfah, 238.


[Continuing,] he said: That very day, al-Mukhtar sent a messenger named ‘Amr b. Tawbah to ride at a gallop to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar at Sābāt and say, “Do not put this letter down until you are on your way to me with every man you have.” [Continuing,] he said: That day, al-Mukhtar sent to them, saying, “Tell me what you want, and I will do everything you like.” They said, “We want you to depart from us. You alleged that Ibn al-Hanafiyyah had sent you, but he did not send you.” Al-Mukhtar sent word to them, saying, “Send a delegation to him on your behalf, and I will send him one on my behalf, and then wait until you have clarified the matter.” With this proposal, he wanted to delay them so that Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar could reach him. He commanded his forces, and they restrained their hands. Meanwhile, the people of al-Kūfah

65. I.e., men from the tribes of Tamīm (Shabath’s tribe), ‘Abs (Ḥassān’s tribe), and Ḍabbagh (Rabī‘ah’s tribe), each of which belonged to a larger grouping called “Muḍar.” In pre-Islamic times, Muḍar and Rabī‘ah were large, powerful combinations of North Arabian tribes. Prominent Muḍar tribes included Qays ‘Aylān, Hudhayl, Khuzaymah, Asad, Kinānah, Quraysh, Dabbagh, and Tamīm. Prominent Rabī‘ah tribes included ‘Anazah, ‘Abd al-Qays, and the two Wā‘il tribes (Bakr and Taghlīb). By Umayyad times, the terms had shifted meaning, as new political conditions caused new alliances among tribes. Muḍar meant especially the tribes of Tamīm and Qays; Rabī‘ah meant especially Bakr, Taghlīb, and the allied Yemeni tribes of Azd and Qudā‘ah (Kalb). See EL1 Suppl., s.v. Rabī‘ah and Muḍar.

66. “The Place of the Sweepings,” originally a dumping ground west of al-Kūfah, later became an unloading place for caravans from Arabia, a livestock market, a place of execution, and a poets’ fair similar to al- Başrah’s Mirbad. See Le Strange, Lands, 74–5; EL2, s.v. al-Kūfah; and Djaït, Al-Kūfa, 230.

67. The Street or Market of Date Sellers [See Djaït, Al-Kūfa, 236].

68. Sabakhah means a salt marsh or salty ground with sparse vegetation [Lane, Lexicon, IV, 1292]. The term was applied to the open space between the built-up area of al-Kūfah and the Euphrates River to the east. See Djaït, Al-Kūfa, 231.
blocked the mouths of the streets against them, so that no water was reaching al-Mukhtar and his forces, except for a paltry amount that escaped the people's notice.

[Continuing,] he said: 'Abdallāh b. Sabī' went out into the square. The [men of the tribe of] Shākir fought violently with him. 'Uqbah b. Ṭāriq al-Jushami came and fought on his side for a time until he had turned the attackers away from him. Then both of them betook themselves to their defense lines. 'Uqbah b. Ṭāriq encamped with Qays in Jabbānat Banī Salūl, and 'Abdallāh b. Sabī' encamped with the Yemenis in Jabbānat al-Sabī'.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq: Shamir b. Dhi al-Jawshan went to the Yemenis and said to them, "If you gather in a place where we can form two wings and fight in one direction, I am your companion; otherwise, I am not. By God, I will not fight in a place like this, in narrow streets, where we shall be attacked from all sides." So he went off to the main body of his people in Jabbānat Banī Salūl.

[Continuing,] he said: When al-Mukhtar's messenger left to go to Ibn al-Ashtar, he reached him the same day in the evening. Ibn al-Ashtar announced to the men, "Return to al-Kūfah." He marched the rest of that evening and encamped when night fell. His forces ate their evening meal and rested their mounts very briefly. Then Ibn al-Ashtar called them. He marched all that night, prayed the morning prayer at Sūrā, marched that day, and prayed the afternoon prayer of the following day by Bāb al-Jisr. Then he went and spent the night at the mosque, accompanied by his strongest and bravest forces. The morning of the third day after his enemies had taken the field against him, al-Mukhtar went out [to the mosque] and ascended the pulpit.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: Shabath b.

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69. On the loyalty of the clan of Shākir (part of the tribe of Hamdān) to al-Mukhtar, see Tabari, II, 619–20. Al-Mukhtar's chief of police, 'Abdallāh b. Kāmil, was from this tribe.

70. Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī'ī (d. 159/775 in al-Kūfah) is known as a muhaddith who transmitted hadith from his father. See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 225–26.

71. The Gate of the (Pontoon) Bridge.

72. Abū Janāb Yahyā b. Abī Ḥayyāh al-Kalbī al-Kūfī (d. 147/764 or 765) was a
Rib'i sent his son 'Abd al-Mu'min to al-Mukhtar. 'Abd al-Mu'min said to him, "We are your kinfolk and the palm of your right hand. No, by God, we will not fight you. Trust this from us." His plan was to fight al-Mukhtar, but he deceived him.

When the Yemenis assembled in Jabbānāt al-Sabi', the time for prayer came, and each chief of the Yemenis disliked having his fellow take precedence over him. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaḍ said to them, "This is the beginning of disagreement. Set in front [of you] the man who is well regarded, for among your kinfolk is the master of this city's Qur'ān reciters (qurrā'); let Rifā'ah b. Shaddād al-Fītyānī from Bajilah lead you in prayer." They did so, and he continued to be their leader in prayer until the battle took place.

According to Abū Mikhnaḍ—Wāzi' b. al-Sarī: Anas b. 'Amr al-Azdi went forth and entered among the Yemenis. He heard them saying, "If al-Mukhtar goes to [fight] our brothers from Muḍar, we will go to [help] them; and if he goes to [fight] us, they will go to [help] us." Having heard them say this, a certain man went swiftly, climbed up to al-Mukhtar on the pulpit, and told him what they had said. Al-Mukhtar said, "As for the Yemenis, if I go to [fight] Muḍar, they are indeed likely to go to [help] them. But I bear witness that if I go to [fight] the Yemenis, Muḍar will not go to [help] them." (Later, al-Mukhtar used to invite that man and honor him.) Al-Mukhtar came down from the pulpit, mustered his forces in the market (in those days the building that is now in the market did not exist), and said to Ibrāḥīm b. al-Ashtar, "Against which of the two groups do you prefer to march?" He replied, "Against whichever of the two groups you like." Being a man of discernment, al-Mukhtar considered. He disliked the idea of
having Ibn al-Ashtar go to fight his own kin⁷⁷ and not do his utmost in fighting them. So he said, "Go to fight Muḍar in al-Kunāsah. Shabath b. Rib‘ī and Muḥammad b. 'Umayr b. 'Uṭārid are their leaders. I will go to the Yemenis." [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār is still known for his rigor and lack of mercy toward the Yemenis and others when he was victorious.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar went to al-Kunāsah; al-Mukhtār went to Jābbānāt al-Sabī. Al-Mukhtār halted at the house of 'Umar b. Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ⁷⁸ and sent Aḥmar b. Shumayt al-Bajalī al-‘Ḩāmasī and ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil al-Shākirī ahead. He said to Ibn Shumayt, "Stay on this street until you come out upon the people in Jābbānāt al-Sabī from among the houses of your kinfolk." He said to ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil, "Stay on this street until you come out at Jābbānāt al-Sabī from the house of the family of al-Akhnās b. Shariq." He summoned the two of them and confided in them, saying, "[The tribe of] Shibām has sent word to me that they have come at the people from behind." The two men went forward along the two streets that al-Mukhtār had commanded them to take.

When the Yemenis learned that these two men were advancing on them, they divided the two streets among themselves: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘id b. Qays al-Hamdānī, Ishāq b. al-Asgh‘ath, and Zahr b. Qays stood in the street behind the Mosque of Aḥmas; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, Bishr b. Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh, and Ka‘b b. Abi Ka‘b stood in the street beside the Euphrates. Then the two sides fought as fiercely as men have ever fought. The forces of Aḥmar b. Shumayt as well as those of ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil were routed. Al-Mukhtār was surprised when the defeated men came back to him. He asked, "What has happened to you?" They said, "We have been defeated." He asked, "What has happened to Aḥmar b. Shumayt?" They said, "When we left him, he had dis-

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⁷⁷. Ibn al-Ashtar’s clan, Nakha‘, a division of the tribe of Madhhij, belonged to the Yemeni group [Liṣān, s.v.; Wüstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen, 8].
⁷⁸. 'Umar b. Sa‘d b. Abi Waqqāṣ, the son of the military leader who had founded al-Kūfah, was particularly hated by the Shi‘ah because he had commanded the Umayyad army that the Umayyad governor of al-Kūfah, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, had sent to prevent al-Ḥusayn from reaching al-Kūfah.
mounted [to fight] by the Mosque of al-Qusṣās." 79 (They meant the Mosque of Abū Dāwūd in [the tribal district of] Wādi‘ah. The people of that time frequented this mosque to tell stories.) "Some of his companions had dismounted with him." The companions of `Abdallāh [b. Kāmil] said, "We do not know what happened to Ibn Kāmil." Al-Mukhtar shouted to them, "Turn back!" He went with them until he reached the house of Abū `Abdallāh al-Jadali. He sent out `Abdallāh b. Qurād al-Khath`āmī, who was at the head of four hundred men, companions of his, saying, "Take your forces to Ibn Kāmil. If he has perished, you are in his place; fight the enemy with your forces and his. If you find him alive and well, take a hundred of your companions, all of them skilled horsemen, and give him the rest of your forces. Order them to exert themselves on his behalf and serve him loyally, for they will thereby be serving me loyally, and whoever serves me loyally, let him rejoice! Then advance with the hundred men until you come upon the people in Jabbanat al-Sabī from the direction of the Bath of Qāṭan b. `Abdallāh."

`Abdallāh b. Qurād al-Khath`āmī went forth. He found Ibn Kāmil standing by the Bath of `Amr b. Ḥurayth. With him were some of his forces who had held firm; he was fighting the enemy. `Abdallāh b. Qurād gave him three hundred of his companions and continued on toward Jabbanat al-Sabī. Then he turned into those streets, until he reached the Mosque of `Abd al-Qays, where he halted. He asked his companions, "What do you think?" They replied, "We will follow what you say." [All who were gathered with him were from his kinfolk; they were a hundred.] He said to them, "By God, I want al-Mukhtar to be victorious. Yet, by God, I do not want the ashrāf of my people to perish today. By God, I would rather die than that death descend on them by my hands. But stop for a moment; I have heard people say that Shibām will come at them from behind. Perhaps Shibām will do it, and we shall be spared having to do it." His companions said, "As you think best." So he stayed by the Mosque of `Abd al-Qays.

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79. As the parenthetical remark explains, the word quṣṣās (pl. of qāṣṣ) means "storytellers."
The Victory of the Marwānids

Al-Mukhtar sent out Mālik b. ‘Amr al-Nahdī with two hundred men (he was a man of the greatest prowess) and sent out ‘Abdallāh b. Sharīk al-Nahdī with two hundred skilled horsemen to Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ. The latter had remained in the same place. When they reached him, the enemy had gained the upper hand and were overwhelming him, so they fought as hard as they could. Ibn al-Ashtar went and encountered Shabath b. Rib‘i, who had many men from Muḍar with him, among them Ḥassān b. Fā‘id al-‘Absi. ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] said to them, “Woe unto you! Go back, for I do not want anyone from Muḍar to be killed by my hands. Do not bring ruin upon yourselves.” However, they refused and fought with him. Ibn al-Ashtar defeated them. Ḥassān b. Fā‘id was carried away to his family and died when he was brought into their presence. On his deathbed, he regained consciousness briefly and said, “By God, I do not want to recover from this wound of mine. I do not want my death to be from anything but the thrust of a javelin or the blow of a sword.” He spoke not a word afterward until he died.

The good news reached al-Mukhtar from ibrāhīm concerning the defeat of Muḍar. Al-Mukhtar sent the news on to Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ and Ibn Kāmil. The men were in the same state in which they had been, with the people of each street defending what was beside it.

[Continuing,] he said: The men of Shibām assembled. They had made Abū al-Qalūṣ their leader and had agreed and decided to come at the Yemenis from behind. But then they said to each other, “By God, it would be better if you directed your efforts against opponents who are not from your own tribal group. March upon Muḍar or Rabī‘ah, and fight them.” Their shaykh, Abū al-Qalūṣ, fell silent and did not speak. They said, “Abū al-Qalūṣ, what do you think best?” He said, “God, may His praise be exalted, has said, ‘O believers, fight the unbelievers who are near to you, and let them find in you a harshness.’ Arise!” They rose up; he led them two or three spear lengths, and then said to them, “Sit down.” They sat down. He led them a little farther and

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80. Shibām was a subdivision (ḥayy) of Hamdān, a Yemeni tribe.
82. A spear length (rumḥ) was about five cubits (Lane, Lexicon, III, 1153).
made them sit down. Then he said to them, “Get up!” The third time, he led them a little farther and then made them sit down. “Abū al-Qalūs,” they said to him, “by God, we consider you the bravest of the Arabs. What is causing you to do what you are doing?” He replied, “An experienced man is not like one who is untried. I wanted your hearts to return to you, and that you should prepare your minds for fighting; I did not want to rush you into battle while you were in a state of bewilderment.” They said, “You are most clear sighted in what you have done.”

As the men of Shibām came out toward Jabbānāt al-Sabī, Ḥasār al-Shākīrī met them at the mouth of the street. Al-Jundu’ī and Abū al-Zubayr b. Kurayb attacked him, threw him down, and entered the Jabbānah. The men entered the Jabbānah after them, shouting, “Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!” Ibn Shumayt’s forces answered them with “Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!” When Yazīd b. ‘Umayr b. Dhi Murrān from Hamdān heard this, he said, “Vengeance for al-‘Uthmān!” R3 Rifa’ah b. Shaddād said to them, “What have we to do with ‘Uthmān? I will not fight alongside men who seek vengeance for the blood of ‘Uthmān.” Some of his kinsfolk said to him, “You brought us, and we obeyed you. And now that we have seen our people being slain by the sword, you tell us, ‘Go back and leave them!’” So he attacked [the enemy], saying:

I am Ibn Shaddād; I follow the religion of ‘Ali. No friend am I to ‘Uthmān, the son of Arwā. 84

Today, I will take the heat amidst those who are tested in war’s hottest flame, without flagging.

He fought until he was killed.

Yazīd b. ‘Umayr b. Dhi Murrān was also killed, as were al-

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83. “Vengeance for ‘Uthmān!” was the rallying cry of the Umayyads, who demanded that ‘Ali punish the murderers of their kinsman, the third caliph, and who withheld their allegiance when he did not do so. Both Yazīd b. ‘Umayr and Rifa’ah b. Shaddād are inside Jabbānāt al-Sabī; the episode illustrates the disunity of the defenders.

84. Arwā, the mother of ‘Uthmān, is mentioned because through her ‘Uthmān was distantly related through the female line to the Prophet. Arwā’s mother was Umm Hakim, daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muhammad’s grandfather. The line contrasts ‘Ali, whose relation to the Prophet (first cousin and son-in-law) was very close, and ‘Uthmān, whose relation was remote. See Tabari, I, 3055.
Nu'man b. Suhaban al-Jarmi al-Rasibi, who was an ascetic, and Rifaa'ah b. Shaddad b. 'Awsajah al-Fityani at the Bath of al-Mahbadhan at al-Sabakhah. He, too, was an ascetic. Al-Furat b. Zahr b. Qays al-Ju'fi was killed, and Zahr b. Qays was carried away wounded. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Sa'id b. Qays was killed, as was 'Umar b. Mikhnaf. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Mikhnaf fought until he was carried away wounded; the men carried him away unconscious, while men of Azd were fighting around him. Humayd b. Muslim said:

In defense of Abu Hakim, I will strike the heads of slaves and nobles.

[660] And Suraqah b. Mirdas al-Barigi said:

O my soul, if you are not steadfast, you will commit a blameworthy action;
do not turn away from Abu Hakim.

Five hundred prisoners were taken from the houses of the [tribe of] Wadi'ah. They were brought to al-Mukhtar with their hands bound behind their backs. A man from the Banu Nahd, one of al-Mukhtar's chief companions, 'Abdallah b. Sharik by name, whenever he encountered an Arab, would set him free. This was reported to al-Mukhtar by Dirham, a mawla of the Banu Nahd. Al-Mukhtar said to him, "Bring the prisoners before me; watch for any of them who was present at the murder of al-Husayn, and let me know about him." So whenever a man who had been present at the murder of al-Husayn was led before him, he was

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85. Al-Nu'man b. Suhaban was "a Shi'i ascetic (nâsik) who had come from al-Baṣrah to fight on the side of the Shi'ah and avenge the death of al-Husayn. When he heard al-Mukhtar say things he found objectionable, he fought against him with the people in Jabbânat al-Sabi' and was killed" (Baladhuri, Ansâb, V, 233).

86. Humayd b. Muslim was a major source for Abu Mikhnaf's account of the fight against al-Husayn, in which he was a participant, to his later regret. He was a friend of Ibrâhim b. al-Ashtar (Tabari, II, 613), and later composed an elegy for Abu al-Rahman b. Mikhnaf (Tabari, II, 878). See U. Sezgin, Abu Mihnaf, 218.


88. The poet Suraqah b. Mirdas al-Barigi, later a supporter of al-Farazdaq in his rivalry with Jarir, appears here fighting beside the Azd leader Abu al-Rahman b. Mikhnaf. The poet's family, the Banu Bariq, were a clan of the Azd. See F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 327–8; Hahn, Surâqa b. Mirdas.

89. Wadi'ah was a group associated with Hamdân. See Lisân, s.v.
told, "This is one of those who were present at his murder," and he had him brought forward and beheaded. Before he left the place, he killed two hundred and forty-eight men.

Whenever al-Mukhtar's companions saw a man who had annoyed them, quarreled with them, or harmed them, they took him aside and killed him. Many of these men were killed without al-Mukhtar's knowledge. When al-Mukhtar was informed of this afterward, he summoned the remaining prisoners and freed them, making them swear not to aid any enemy against him or seek to do him or his companions mischief. Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī was an exception; [al-Mukhtar] ordered him to be led with him to the mosque. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtar's crier proclaimed, "Anyone who closes his door will be safe, except for any man who participated in shedding the blood of the family of Muḥammad."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd—ʿĀmir al-Sha'ībī. Yazid b. al-Ḥārith b. Yazid b. Ruʿaym and Ḥajjār b. Abjar sent out messengers, saying to them, "Be close to the Yemenis. If you see that they have gained the upper hand, let the first of you who reaches us say 'ṣarafān.' If they have been defeated, let him say 'jumzān.'" When the Yemenis were defeated, their messengers came to them, and the first who reached them said "jumzān." So the two men arose and said to their people, "Go back to your houses." So they went back.

ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydi, who was one of those who had been present at the murder of al-Ḥusayn, left [his house], mounted his camel, and rode away, taking the road to Sharāf and Wāqīṣah.

90. Mujālid b. Sa'īd b. 'Umayr al-Hamdānī Abū 'Amr Abū Sa'īd al-Kūfī (d. 144/762) transmitted hadith from al-Sha'ībī, was a ṭawīlah (prolific transmitter) of akhbār (historical reports), and was credited with the composition of a biography of the Prophet. See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 210–11.

91. Abū 'Amr 'Amir b. Sharaḥīl al-Sha'ībī (b. 19/640, d. 103/721) was a Kūfān-born jurist, collector of poetry, and transmitter of hadith, in addition to his interest in history. He served as a special ambassador to the Byzantines for 'Abd al-Malik, and as qāḍī under 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Later historians considered him very trustworthy and often used him as a source. See EI1, s.v. al-Sha'ībī; F. Sezgin, GAS, I, 277; and U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 136–37.

92. See above, Tabari, II, 652. They were encamped with members of the Rabī'ah tribes "between al-Tammārīn and al-Sabakhah."

93. Sharāf and Wāqīṣah are two watering places about 110 miles south of al-Kūfah on the road to Najd. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v. Sharāf.
He was never seen again, and no one knows whether the earth swallowed him up or the sky rained stones on him.\textsuperscript{94}

When Furat b. Zahr b. Qays was killed, ‘A’ishah bint Khalifah b. ‘Abdallâh al-Ju’fiyyah, who had been the wife of al-Husayn b. ‘Ali, sent and asked al-Mukhtar to allow her to bury his body. He did so, and she buried it.

Al-Mukhtar sent a lad (ghulâm)\textsuperscript{95} of his named Zirbi to pursue Shamir b. Dhi al-Jawshan.

According to Abû Mikhna—Yûnus b. Abi Ishâq—Muslim b. ‘Abdallâh al-Ḍabâbî, who said: Al-Mukhtar’s lad Zirbi followed us and overtook us. We had left al-Kufah on lean\textsuperscript{96} horses of ours. He approached us, riding at a fast gait. When he came near us, Shamir said to us, “Run, and get away from me. Perhaps the slave wants [to take] me.” [Continuing,] he said: We ran and distanced ourselves. The slave wanted to take Shamir, but Shamir wheeled round to draw him away. When the slave had been separated from his companions, Shamir attacked him and broke his back. When word of this was brought to al-Mukhtar, he said, “Alas for Zirbi! Had he asked my advice, I would not have commanded him to go out after Abû al-Sabighah.”

According to Abû Mikhna—Abû Muḥammad\textsuperscript{97} al-Hamdâni—Muslim b. ‘Abdallâh al-Ḍabâbî, who said: When Shamir b. Dhi al-Jawshan kept [al-Kufah], I was with him. [This was at the time when al-Mukhtar defeated us, killed the Yemenis at Jabbânat al-Sabî, and sent his lad Zirbi to seek Shamir, with the result

\textsuperscript{94} Cf. Dinawari, Akhbâr, 310: “Amr b. al-Hajjah [printed text reads Hajjah], one of the chief murderers of al-Ḥusayn, fled for al-Brâh. However, he was afraid the people would gloat over his misfortune; so he turned toward Saraf. The people of the watering place told him to leave, since they did not feel safe from al-Mukhtar. After he rode away, they chided each other, saying, ‘We have behaved badly.’ A group of them rode in search of him, to bring him back; but when he saw them from afar, he thought they were al-Mukhtar’s men and turned onto the sand at a place called al-Brâyah, between the villages of Kalb and those of Tayyi’. It was the heat of summer. He fell asleep there at midday, and he and his companions died of thirst.” Cf. also Baladhuri, Ansâb, V, 240.

\textsuperscript{95} Ghulâm means “a young lad”; that Zirbi was in fact a slave is shown by the use of the word ‘abd (“slave”) to refer to him in the next paragraph.

\textsuperscript{96} Dâmir, “lean and lank in the belly,” was applied to a horse that was fattened and then put on short rations so that it lost weight and became faster for purposes of racing. See Lane, Lexicon, V, 1804.

\textsuperscript{97} Perhaps the kunyah of Yûnus b. Abi Ishâq. See U. Sezgin, Abû Mîhnaf, 109, 189.
that Shamir killed the lad.) Shamir went on until he reached Sātīdamā. Then he went and encamped next to a village called "al-Kalbāniyyah," on a riverbank beside a hill. He sent to the village, took a native peasant, beat him, and said, "Hurry with this letter of mine to al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr." He wrote the address of the letter, "To the Commander, al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, from Shamir b. Dhi al-Jawshan." [Continuing,] he said: The native went until he entered a village in which there were some houses. Abū 'Amrah was there, having been sent to that village in those days by al-Mukhtār to be an armed guard [over the road] between him and the people of al-Baṣrah. That native met a native of that village and started complaining to him of what he had suffered at the hands of Shamir. While they were talking, one of Abū 'Amrah’s men passed and saw the letter in the possession of the native, with its address, "To Muṣ'ab, from Shamir." They asked the native where he was, and he told them. It turned out that only three farsaks lay between them and him. [Continuing,] he said: So they set out toward him.

98. The location is unknown. Ms. O omits the phrase; Mss. Pet and Co leave the word undotted. Ed. Leiden reads "Sātīdamā" on the basis of Yāqūt, Mu'jam, which mentions that the word occurs in poetry and lists several possible identifications, none likely in this context. Le Strange, Lands, 111, places the Sātīdamā River near Mayyāfāriqin. The context indicates that Shamir is apprehended somewhere between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. Dinawari, Akhbar, 308, reads, "He encamped near al-Baṣrah, in a place called Sādāmāh."

99. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, gives al-Káltāniyyah, a village between al-Sūs (in Khūzistān) and al-Ṣaymarah (near al-Baṣrah), as the place where Shamir was killed. The mss. of Tabari read "al-Kalbāniyyah," which ed. Leiden originally emended to agree with Yāqūt. However, ed. Leiden, Addenda, p. DCLXX, restores "al-Kalbāniyyah." De Goeje's reasons can be found in his edition of Ibn Rustah, Kitāb al-a'laq al-nafiṣah, 188d. Morony, Iraq, 198, refers to a place of this name in western Khūzistān.

100. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr was governor of al-Baṣrah for his brother, the anti-Umayyad caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. See EI, s.v.; Tabari, II, 602, 665.

101. Kaysān Abū 'Amrah, a mawla of 'Uraynah, was in charge of al-Mukhtār's personal guard (haras). See EI2, s.v. Kaysān; Tabari, II, 634. On the use of Kaysāniyyah ("followers of Kaysān") to designate the followers of al-Mukhtār, see EI2, s.v. Kaysāniyya.

102. Al-Baṣrah was a Muslim Arab garrison city (miṣr) and provincial capital near the Tigris-Euphrates estuary in lower Iraq, just south of the modern city. See Le Strange, Lands, 44–46; EI2, s.v.

103. A farsakh, from Persian farsang, was originally the distance that could be covered on foot in an hour's march. In Islamic times, it was standardized at three Arab miles, each of 1000 bā' (fathoms), each of four canonical ells of 49.875 cm.; or 5.985 km/3.717 miles. See EI2, s.v.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh, who said: By God, I was with Shamir that night. We said to him, “If only you would take us away from this place, for we are apprehensive in it.” He replied, “And all this from fear of the great liar? By God, I will not move from here for three days. God has filled your hearts with panic.” [Continuing,] he said: There were many locusts in the place where we were. By God, I was between waking and sleeping when I heard the sound of horses’ hooves. I said to myself that it was the sound of the locusts. Then I heard it louder, so I roused myself and rubbed my eyes. “No, by God,” I said, “it is not locusts.” [Continuing,] he said: I went to get up, and suddenly I saw them looking down at us from the hill. With a shout of “Allāhu akbar [God is most great]!” they surrounded our tents. We went out, running on foot, and left our horses. [Continuing,] he said: I passed Shamir. He had wrapped the lower part of his body in a cloak with a colored pattern. He was suffering from leprosy, and I can still see the white of his flanks above the cloak. He was thrusting at them with a lance, for they had rushed him before he could put on his sword and his clothes. We went on and left him. [Continuing,] he said: I had been running only a short time when I heard, “Allāhu akbar! God has slain the villain.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mishraqi\textsuperscript{104}—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbayd Abū al-Kanūd,\textsuperscript{105} who said: By God, I was the man who got the letter. I saw it with the native and took it to Abū ʿAmrah, and I killed Shamir. [Al-Mishraqi] said: I asked [Abū al-Kanūd], “Did you hear him say anything that night?” “Yes,” he replied, “he came out toward us and tried to thrust at us with his lance for a time. Then he threw down his lance, went into his tent, got his sword, and came out at us, saying:

You have aroused a bold lion from his covert,

a grim-faced one who breaks the back [of his prey].

Never has he been seen to shrink from a foe,

but rather fighting or killing,

Striking them with force and quenching the spear’s thirst.”

\textsuperscript{104} Al-Ḍahhāk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mishraqi, see U. Sezgin, Abū Miḥnaf, 200–1.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Ishaq: When al-Mukhtar left Jabbānat al-Sabī’ and went to the palace, Surāqah b. Mirdās began to call to him at the top of his voice: 106

Be gracious to me today, O best of Ma’add; 107
O best of those who dwell at Shihr and al-Janad; 108
O best of those who greet with the Muslim greeting, perform the pilgrimage, and bow in worship. 109

Al-Mukhtar had him sent to prison and held for a night. The next morning, he sent and had him taken out. He summoned Surāqah. As the latter approached al-Mukhtar, he recited:

Tell Abū Ishaq 110 that we
leapt a leap 111 that was to our harm.
We revolted, thinking the poor 112 were nothing;
but our revolt was insolence and death.
We thought them 113 few in their ranks;
but when we met they were like locusts.
We took the field when we saw them; and when
we saw that the people had come out toward us,
We suffered at their hands strong blows
and well-aimed thrusts, so that we turned back.
You were aided against your enemy every day
by squadrons each of which was mourning al-Ḥusayn;
Even as Muḥammad was aided on the day of Badr

106. The Diwān of Surāqah preserves a fuller version of the poet’s encounter with al-Mukhtar. See Hahn, Surāqa b. Mirdās, 19–29, 31–33; and Jumahi, Tabaqat al-shu‘ārā’, r.o.3–33.
107. Ma’add, the son of ‘Adnān, and father of Nizār, was an ancestor of the northern Arabian tribes, to which al-Mukhtar’s tribe of Thaqīf belonged.
108. Shihr, on the south coast of the Arabian peninsula, and al-Janad, in the highlands, are two places in Yemen. Al-Mukhtar is being praised as the best of the northern and southern Arabs.
109. I.e., best of all Muslims. Use of the greeting al-salāmu ’alaykum [cf. Qur’ān 6:54, and 7:46] was a mark of the Muslim and was believed to mirror the greeting of those in Paradise. “Perform the pilgrimage”: the Arabic means, literally, “say the formula beginning labbayka,” which is used by pilgrims to Mecca.
110. I.e., al-Mukhtar, whose kunyah was Abū Ishaq.
111. I.e., made an attack, revolted. The verb nazā also suggests rashness, succumbing to base instincts, or greed.
113. Diwān: You would think them.
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and on the day of the gorge when he reached Ḥunayn.\(^{114}\)

Having obtained your object, grant pardon; had we obtained our object,

We would have acted unjustly in governing and transgressed.

Accept my repentance; as for me,

I will be thankful if you make the cash a debt.\(^{115}\)

When he reached al-Mukhtar, he said to him, "May God preserve you, commander! Surāqah b. Mirdās swears by God, other than Whom there is no god,\(^{116}\) that he saw the angels fighting on piebald horses between heaven and earth."\(^{117}\) Al-Mukhtar said to him, "Go up into the pulpit and let the Muslims know about it." So he went up and told them of it; then he came down. Al-Mukhtar took him aside and said, "I know indeed that you did not see the angels. But I know what you wanted: that I should not kill you. Go away from me, wherever you wish, and don't corrupt my companions for me."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAli al-Bāriqi\(^{118}\)—Surāqah b. Mirdās, who said: "In no oath I ever swore did I lie more vigorously or outrageously than in this oath of mine, when I swore to them that I had seen the angels fighting on their side."

They set Surāqah b. Mirdās free, and he fled and joined ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf in the entourage of al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in al-Baṣrah. The ashrāf of al-Kūfah and leading men left and joined Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in al-Baṣrah. As Surāqah b. Mirdās was leaving al-Kūfah, he recited:

\(^{114}\) The Qurʾān says that God gave the Prophet supernatural assistance at the Battle of Badr, in A.H. 2, at which the infant Muslim community defeated a much larger Meccan force, and the Battle of Hunayn, in A.H. 8, at which a coalition of tribes was turned back near al-Ṭāʿif. See Qurʾān 8:9, 17 (Badr) and 9:25–27 (Ḥunayn). The Sirah literature elaborates upon these incidents. See Il\(^2\), s.vv. Badr and Ḥunayn.

\(^{115}\) The sense is, "I will be thankful if you make my obligation, which ought to be paid immediately in cash, payable as a debt in the future." The Diwān adds another line: "Thus you will find Surāqah; so be kind to him, for he will make your foes ever more contemptible."

\(^{116}\) Qurʾān 59:22.

\(^{117}\) In Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet, enemy spies before the Battle of Ḥunayn come back terrified at having seen "white men on piebald horses." See Ibn Hishām, Sirah, IV, 891.

\(^{118}\) See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnañf, 204.
Tell Abū Ishāq that I
saw that the piebald horses were black and of one color!
I deny your revelation, and I have bound myself by vow
to fight you to the death.
I make my eyes see what they did not perceive;
both of us are experts in lies!
When they speak, I say to them, "You have lied."
And when they come out, I gird on my weapon for them. 119

According to Abū al-Sā‘ib Salm b. Junādah—Muḥammad b. Barrād (one of the descendants of Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī)—a shaykh, who said: When Surāqah al-Bāriqī was taken prisoner, he said, "Was it you who took me prisoner? No, I was taken prisoner by men wearing white garments and riding piebald horses." [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtar said, "Those were the angels!" And he released him. Then Surāqah recited:

Tell Abū Ishāq that I
saw that the piebald horses were black and of one color!
I make my eyes see what they did not see;
both of us are experts in lies!

According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Umayr b. Ziyād: ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa‘īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī said on the day of the Battle of Jabbānat al-Sabī‘, "Alas for you! Who are these who have come at us from behind?" When he was told that they were men from Shibām, he said, "O the wonder of it! One who has no kindred fights me by means of my kindred!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Rawq:120 Shurahbil b. Dhi Buqlān, a member of the Nā‘īt,121 was killed that day. He was one of the nobility122 of [the tribe of] Hamdān. That day, before he was killed, he said, "What a way of killing! How misguided

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119. The Diwān adds: "When al-Mukhtar learned of his having gone to al-Baṣrah and of these verses of his, he tore down Surāqah's house. Muṣ‘ab rebuilt it after al-Mukhtar was killed."

120. Full name: ‘Atiyyah b. al-Ḥarith Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī. He is known as a traditionist and Qur’ānic commentator, in addition to his activity as a historian. See U. Sezgin, Abū Miḥnaf, 199.

121. Nā‘īt was a clan [baṭṭ] of the tribe of Hamdān.

122. Arabic, buyūṭāt, "the [noble] houses."
those who were slain! A fight without a leader! A fight without a purpose! A hastening of the separation from loved ones! Even if we kill them, we shall not be safe from them. ‘Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.’ By God, I went out only to share the lot of my people, fearing that they would be oppressed. I swear by God that I have not escaped from that, neither have they been saved. I have been of no avail to them, neither have they availed anything.’ [Continuing,] he said: A man named Aḥmar b. Hadij, from the Fāʾish [clan] of Hamdān, shot him with an arrow and killed him.

[Continuing,] he said: Three men fought with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī: Siʿr b. Abī Siʿr al-Ḥanāfī, Abū al-Zubayr al-Shibāmī, and another man. Siʿr said, ‘I hit him with a thrust [of the lance].’ Abū al-Zubayr said, ‘But I struck him ten blows [with the sword], or more, and his son said to me, ‘Abū al-Zubayr, will you kill ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd, the lord [sayyid] of your people?’ I said to him, ‘Thou shalt not find any people who believe in God and the Last Day who are loving to anyone who opposes God and His Messenger, not though they were their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their clan.’’ [124] Al-Mukhtar said, “You all did well.” The battle left seven hundred and eighty of his people slain.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Nadr b. ʿAdlīh: At that time, there was great slaughter among the Yemenis. Of the people of Muḍar in al-Kunāsah a dozen or so were struck down. They then went and passed by the men of Rabiʾah, whereupon Ḥajjār b. Abjar, Yazid b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruʿaym, Shaddād b. al-Mundhir (the brother of Ḥudayn) and ʿIkrimah b. Ribʿī retreated, all of them returning to their homes. ʿIkrimah attacked the enemy and fought violently with them, but retreated from them wounded. He came to his house and entered it. Then he was told that horsemen had passed by the quarter of the tribe. He went out of the house and tried to jump from the wall of his house to another house beside it, but was unable to do so until a [slave] lad of his lifted him up.

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123. Qurʾān 2:156.
124. Qurʾān 58:22.
The battle of Jabbānat al-Sabi' took place on Wednesday, six days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 66.126

[Al-Mukhtar Acts against the Murderers of al-Ḥusayn]

[Continuing,] he said: The ashraf left and reached al-Baṣraḥ.127 Al-Mukhtar turned his attention to the murderers of al-Ḥusayn. He said, “It is no part of our religion to leave people who murdered al-Ḥusayn walking alive in this world and safe. What a bad avenger128 of the family of Muḥammad I should then be in this world! I should then be the liar they have called me. I take God as my helper against them. Praise be to God, Who has made me a sword whereby He has smitten them, a lance whereby He has thrust at them, the avenger of the family of Muhammad, and the upholder of their right! Verily, God’s right it is to slay those who slew them and humble those who ignored their right. Name them to me, and follow them until you annihilate them.”

According to Abū Mihnaf—Mūsā b. ‘Āmir: Al-Mukhtar said to them, “Seek me out the murderers of al-Ḥusayn; food and drink will have no savor for me until I purify the earth and cleanse the city of them.”

According to Abū Mihnaf—Mālik b. A’yan al-Juhani:129 ‘Abdallāh b. Dabbās (he was the man who killed Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, of whom the poet said:

Slain by Ibn Dabbās, he hit the back of his head)

was the man who guided al-Mukhtar to some of the men who had murdered al-Ḥusayn, among them ‘Abdallāh b. Usayd b. al-Nazzāl al-Juhani from [the clan] of Ḥuraqah, Mālik b. al-Nusayr al-Baddi,

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126. Literally, “six nights remaining,” i.e., 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 66 A.H. (July 21, 686), which, however, fell on Saturday, not Wednesday.
127. Cf. Balādhūrī, Ansāb, V, 237: “After the men had been defeated at the Battle of Jabbānat al-Sabi’, the Kūfān ashraf left and joined Muṣ’ab b. al-Zubayr, who had come to al-Baṣraḥ as governor of the two provinces of Iraq.”
128. Naṣir, literally, “helper,” but for this meaning see Lane, Lexicon, VIII, 2080, s.v. naṣara.
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and Ḥamal b. Mālik al-Muḥāribī. Al-Mukhtār sent one of his chief companions, Abū Nimrān130 Mālik b. ‘Amr al-Nahdi, after them. He came upon them while they were in al-Qādisiyyah,131 took them, and brought them back to al-Mukhtār in the evening.

Al-Mukhtār said to them, “Enemies of God, enemies of His Book, enemies of His Messenger and the family of His Messenger! Where is al-Ḥusayn, the son of ‘Ali? Deliver al-Ḥusayn to me. You killed him whom you were commanded to bless during prayer.” They replied, “May God have mercy on you. We were sent unwillingly. Be gracious to us and spare us.” Al-Mukhtār said, “Why were you not gracious to al-Ḥusayn, the son of your prophet’s daughter? Why did you not spare him and give him drink?” Then al-Mukhtār said to al-Baddī, “You took his hood?”132 ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil said to him, “Yes, he is the very man.” Al-Mukhtār said, “Cut off his hands and feet, and leave him. Let him thrash about until he dies.” This was done to him. He was left and continued bleeding until he died.133 [Al-Mukhtār] gave orders for the other two. They were brought forward. ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil killed ‘Abdallāh al-Juhānī, and Si’r b. Abī Si’r killed Ḥamal b. Mālik al-Muḥāribī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī—Abū Saʿīd al-Ṣayqal: Al-Mukhtār was guided to some of the murderers of al-Ḥusayn by Si’r al-Ḥanafī. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār sent ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil. We went out with him. He passed through the Banū Dubay’ah134 and took from them a man named Ziyād b. Malik. [Continuing,] he said: Then he went to [the clan of] ‘Anazah135 and took from them a man named ‘Imrān b. Khālid. [Continuing,] he said: Then he sent me, together with some of his...
men who were called "the investigators,"\textsuperscript{136} to a house in the Persian section.\textsuperscript{137} 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Khushkārah al-Bajalī and 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Khawlānī were in it. We brought them back to [al-Mukhtār]. He said to them, "Murderers of the righteous! Murderers of the lord of the youth of Paradise! Do you not see that God has retaliated against you today? The \textit{wars}\textsuperscript{138} came to you on an unlucky day." (They had taken some \textit{wars} that had been in al-Ḥusayn's possession.) "Take them out to the market and behead them." This was done to them. They were four men.

According to Abū Mihna[f—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid\textsuperscript{139}—Ḥumayd b. Muslim, who said: Al-Sā'īb b. Mālik al-Ash'ari\textsuperscript{140} came with al-Mukhtār's horsemen to take us. I went our toward [the tribe of] 'Abd al-Qays, and 'Abdallāh and 'Abd al-Rahmān, the two sons of Šalkhab,\textsuperscript{141} went out following me. The arrest of the two diverted al-Mukhtār's men from me, so I escaped. Taking the two men, they passed by the house of a man named 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. 'Amr, a cousin of A'shā Hamdān,\textsuperscript{142} from the Banū

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\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Dabbābah}, from the verb "to creep," could mean either (as collective pl. of \textit{dabbāb}) "those much given to creeping about," or (as a \textit{nomen instrumenti}) "a machine for creeping." In the latter sense, it was applied to a siege engine (Latin \textit{testudo}) used to protect men advancing to breach the walls of a city. Either sense could be extended to give the meaning suggested by the Leiden edition glossary.

\textsuperscript{137} Literally, "in [the section of] al-Ḥamrā'. The Ḥamrā' ("fair or light-complexioned people") were originally a group of Persian soldiers who went over to the Arab side at the Battle of Qādisiyah. Later, some of them were settled at al-Kūfah with the Muslim army. They included some 4,000 Daylamis, who became allies of the Banū Tamīm and had their own chief (\textit{naqīb}) and mosque. See Morony, \textit{Iraq}, 197–98.

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Wars} is a bright yellow dye derived from a plant grown in Yemen. Mixed with oil, it makes an ointment still used in parts of the Arabian peninsula to protect against sunburn. The Arabic rhymes and has a proverbial ring to it: \textit{jā'akumu-l-wars bi-yawmi nāhs.}

\textsuperscript{139} He mediated reports on the deaths of 'Ali and al-Ḥusayn and on the campaign of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. See U. Sezgin, \textit{Abū Mihna[f}, 217.

\textsuperscript{140} One of al-Mukhtār's early supporters and chief companions, al-Sā'īb b. Mālik had spoken out in opposition to Ibn al-Zubayr's governor of al-Kūfah before al-Mukhtār's seizure of the city and had been present when al-Mukhtār approached Ibrāhim b. al-Ashtar seeking his support. See Ṭabarī, II, 601, 603, 612.

\textsuperscript{141} Variant in P, "Ṣalḥāb", Ibn Athīr has "Ṣalḥat."

\textsuperscript{142} A'shā Hamdān (Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh Abū al-Muṣabbih), of the Jusham clan of the South Arabian tribe of Hamdān, was a major poet. He was consistently hostile to the Umayyads and was to meet his death in 83/702 for his part in Ibn al-Asḥ'ath's rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj. See \textit{EI}², s.v.; F. Sezgin, \textit{GAS}, II, 345–46.
'Abd, and took him. They brought these men to al-Mukhtār; he gave orders concerning them, and they were killed in the market. They were three men.

When he escaped from al-Mukhtār’s men, Ḥumayd b. Muslim said:

Have you not seen me in dismay?
I escaped, but almost did not escape.
The hope for God saved me;
I hope for nothing but Him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ‘Āmir al-‘Adawi from [the tribe of] Juhaynah (Shahm b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Juhani also knew this report), who said: Al-Mukhtār sent ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil to [take] ‘Uthmān b. Khālid b. Usayr al-Duhmānī from Juhaynah and Abū Asmā’ Bishr b. Sawṭ al-Qābīdi. Both men were among those who had been present at the murder of al-Ḥusayn and had participated in shedding the blood of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib143 and in taking his spoils. About the time of the mid-afternoon prayer, ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil surrounded the mosque of the Banū Duhmān and said [to us], “If ‘Uthmān b. Khālid b. Usayr is not brought to me, upon me be sins like those of the Banū Duhmān from the day they were created until the day on which they shall be resurrected, if I do not behead you to your last man.” “Give us time,” we said to him, “and we will seek him.” So the men went out with horses to seek him. They found the two men sitting in the cemetery (jabbānah), about to leave for al-Jazirah. They were brought to ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil, who said, “Praise be to God, Who ‘spared the believers a fight!’144 Had they not found this man together with that one, it would have put us to the bother of going to his house to seek him. Praise be to God, Who has brought the time of calamity upon you, so that it has overwhelmed you.” He took them away to the site of Bi‘r al-Ja‘d and beheaded them. Then he returned and gave al-Mukhtār a report about them. The latter ordered him to go back to them and burn them with fire, saying, “They shall not be buried until they are burned.” These were two men.

143. Al-Ḥusayn’s cousin, killed at Karbalā’. See Ṭabarî, II, 357, 387.
144. Qur‘ān 33:25.
A'shā Hamdān recited the following verses as an elegy for 'Uthmān al-Juhānī:

Weep, my eye, for the most valiant of young men, 'Uthmān;
O young man of the family of Duḥmān, do not go afar.
Recall a glorious young man of beautiful character;
there is no horseman like him among the people of Hamdān.¹⁴⁵

[Continuing,] Mūsā b. 'Āmir said: Al-Mukhtar sent out Mu'ādh b. Hāni' b. 'Adī al-Kindī, the son of Ḥujr's brother,¹⁴⁶ and Abū 'Amrah, the head of his bodyguard. They went and surrounded the house of Khawālī b. Yāzīd al-Asbāḥī, the man who had taken al-Ḥusayn's head and brought it [to al-Kūfah]. Khawālī concealed himself in the latrine.¹⁴⁷ When Mu'ādh ordered Abū 'Amrah to seek him in the house, Khawālī's wife came out to them. They asked her. "Where is your husband?" She said, "I do not know where he is." But she pointed with her hand to the latrine. They went in and found him—he had put a basket over his head. They brought him out. Al-Mukhtar was walking in al-Kūfah and going to see his companions. Abū 'Amrah sent him a messenger, and al-Mukhtar received the messenger at the house of Abū Bilāl.¹⁴⁸ Ibn Kāmil was with him. The messenger told him the news. Al-Mukhtar went to meet them and took charge of Khawālī. He brought him back and killed him in the presence of his family. Then he called for fire and burned him, not leaving until the body had turned to ashes; then he departed. Khawālī's wife (she was from Ḥadramawt and was named al-'Ayūf bint Ṭālib b. Nahār b. 'Aqrab) had become hostile to Khawālī when he had brought al-Ḥusayn's head [to al-Kūfah].

¹⁴⁶. In 51/671, the Kūfani Shi'i leader Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī and his associates revolted against Mu'āwiyyah and the governor of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi. Ziyād arrested Ḥujr and sent him to Syria, where he was beheaded. See Tabari, II, 111–55; EI², s.v. Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī; and Jafri, Origins, 159–66.
¹⁴⁷. Makhraj ("exit") also means "a place in the open air where one satisfies the needs of nature" (Dozy, Supplément, I, 360). The context suggests an enclosed outhouse.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā 'Amīr Abū al-Ash'ar: One day while al-Mukhtar was talking to his companions, he said, "Tomorrow I will kill a man with big feet, sunken eyes, and prominent eyebrows. His death will gladden believers and the angels stationed near [God]." [Continuing,] he said: Al-Haytham b. al-Aswad al-Nakha‘ī was close to al-Mukhtar when he heard this statement. It occurred to him that the man whom al-Mukhtar meant was ‘Umar b. Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ; so when he returned to his house, he called his son al-‘Uryan and said, "Meet Ibn Sa‘d tonight and tell him about such-and-such a matter. Tell him, 'Take care, for he means no one else but you.'" [Continuing,] he said: The son went to ‘Umar b. Sa‘d, took him aside, and told him what had been said. ‘Umar b. Sa‘d said to him, "God reward your father for his brotherly behavior! How could he intend to do such a thing to me after the promises and covenants he has given me?" Now when al-Mukhtar had first achieved victory, he had behaved in the best and friendliest possible manner toward people. ‘Umar b. Sa‘d had spoken to ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘dah b. Hubayrah (one of the men most honored by al-Mukhtar because of his closeness to ‘Ali) and had said to him, "I do not feel safe from this man"—meaning al-Mukhtar. "Get me a guarantee of safety (amān) from him." ‘Abdallah had done so.¹⁴⁹

[Continuing,] he said: I saw his guarantee of safety and read it:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate:
This is a guarantee of safety from al-Mukhtar b. Abī ‘Ubayd for ‘Umar b. Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ. You are safe, with God’s protection for yourself, your property, your family, and the people of your house and your children. You will not be taken to task for any offense committed by you in the past, so long as you heed and obey and keep close to your domicile,¹⁵⁰ your family, and your city. Whosoever encounters ‘Umar b. Sa‘d, whether one of the police (shurṭāt Allāh), the supporters (Shī‘ah) of the

¹⁴⁹. Cf. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 237, according to which ‘Umar b. Sa‘d had gone into hiding after al-Mukhtar’s victory and had come out only after obtaining an amān.

¹⁵⁰. Rahl, “a man’s dwelling, or habitation” (Lane, Lexicon, III, 1054): ‘Umar was not to leave al-Kūfah for any of his other properties.
family of Muḥammad, or anyone else, let him do him only good.

Witnessed by: al-Sā‘ib b. Mālik, Ahmar b. Shumayt, ‘Abdallāh b. Shaddād, and ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil. And al-Mukhtar has taken upon himself an oath and covenant by God to uphold for ‘Umar b. Sa‘d the guarantee of safety he has given him, unless he cause some offense. He has made God his witness—“and God suffices for a witness.”

[Continuing,] he said: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Ali used to say, “As for al-Mukhtar’s guarantee of safety for ‘Umar b. Sa‘d, ‘unless he cause some offense,’ he meant by it: ‘if he enters the privy and causes offense!’”

[Continuing,] he said: When al-‘Uryān had brought him this message, ‘Umar b. Sa‘d left under cover of that night. Having come to Ḥammām [‘Umar], he said to himself, “I will go and stay in my house.” So he returned to it, passing al-Rawḥā‘, and reaching his house in the morning. He told a mawla of his what had happened concerning his guarantee of safety and what had been planned for him. His mawla said, “What offense is greater than what you have done? You have left your residence and your family and come here. Go back to your residence [in al-Kūfah]. Do not give the man a way against you.” So he returned to his home. His departure was reported to al-Mukhtar, who said, “No, indeed. On his neck there is a chain that will bring him back even if he does his utmost to depart.” [Continuing,] he said: The next morning, al-Mukhtar sent Abū ‘Amrah to him and ordered him to bring ‘Umar to him. Abū ‘Amrah went before ‘Umar and said,

151. Qur‘ān 4:79.
152. I.e., Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Ali b. al-Husayn, called Muḥammad al-Bāqir [d. 113/731], the fifth Imām according to both the Twelvers and the Ismā‘īlis.
153. Al-Mukhtar tricked ‘Umar by an equivocation. Arabic ‘ābdāthah ḥadāthan, “he caused an incident,” was a euphemism for “he voided excrement.”
154. Ḥammām ‘Umar [the text reads ‘his hammām,” but the context requires a place name, not “his bath”] was a village on the Nars Canal, some 40 miles northeast of al-Kūfah. See Le Strange, Lands, 73; Djait, Al-Kūfa, 282. Morony, Iraq, 269–70, places it at the village of Bitri, across the Euphrates from al-Kūfah. Ṭabari, II, 910, locates it between Qaṣr Hubayrah and Qubbīn.
155. A village of al-Rawḥā‘ near al-Sindiyyah on the Nahr ʿIsā close to Baghdad is mentioned by Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, s.v.
"Obey the commander!" 'Umar got up, but tripped over his coat (jubbah), and Abū 'Amrah struck him with his sword and killed him. He brought the head, wrapped in the lower part of his tunic (qabā'), and set it before al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār said to the man's son, Ḥafṣ b. Ṭumar b. Sa'd, who was sitting in his presence, "Do you recognize this head?" [Ḥafṣ] exclaimed, "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!"\(^{156}\) and said, "Yes, and there is no good in life after his death." "You are right," al-Mukhtār said to him, "for you shall not live after him." He gave orders concerning him; he was killed, and his head was with his father's. Al-Mukhtār said, "This one is for Husayn, and that one for 'Āli b. Ḥusayn! But there is no equivalence; by God, if I killed three-fourths of Quraysh\(^{157}\) in requital for Ḥusayn, they would not measure up to one of his fingernails!"

Ḥumaydah, the daughter of Ṭumar b. Sa'd, recited the following, lamenting her father:

Had someone other than a brother of Qasiyy\(^{158}\) deceived him, or other than one of Yemen, or other than a Persian, That would have consoled me somewhat. Know this concerning him (and a patrician is not like a most base man):

In the scroll, he gave Ibn Sa'd and his son a promise that even a speckled snake would treat him gently.

When al-Mukhtār killed Ṭumar b. Sa'd and his son, he sent their heads with Musāfīr b. Sa'id b. Nimrān al-Nā'iṭī and Zabyān b. 'Umārah al-Tamīmī, who brought the heads to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. Al-Mukhtār wrote Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah a letter concerning the matter.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿĀmir, who said: What aroused al-Mukhtār to kill Ṭumar b. Sa'd was the fact that Yazīd b. Sharāḥīl al-Anṣārī had come to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah; after greetings, the conversation had turned to the subject of al-

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\(^{156}\) Qur'ān 2:156, traditionally said in times of misfortune.

\(^{157}\) Quraysh, as the Prophet's tribe, was the most prestigious and "valuable" tribe.

\(^{158}\) Qasiyy b. Munabbih was the brother of Thaqif, the ancestor of al-Mukhtār's tribe, and Qasiyy became a nickname for the entire tribe. There is an allusion here to the derivation of the name from qasā "he was cruel." See Līsān, s.v.
Mukhtār, his rebellion, and his call for avenging the blood of the people of the Prophet’s family.\(^{159}\) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah said, “To his least important messengers he alleges that he is a partisan (ṣhi‘aḥ) of ours, yet the murderers of al-Ḥusayn are his table companions, seated on chairs, and conversing with him.” [Continuing,] he said: The other man noted what he had said. When he came to al-Kūfah, he went to al-Mukhtār and greeted him. Al-Mukhtār asked him, “Did you meet the Mahdi?”\(^{160}\) He replied, “Yes.” Al-Mukhtār asked, “What did he say to you and what did he discuss with you?” [Continuing,] he said: So he gave him a report.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār therefore lost no time in killing ‘Umar b. Sa‘d and his son and then sent their heads to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah with the two messengers named above. He sent the following letter with them to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To the Mahdi, Muḥammad b. ‘Ali, from al-Mukhtār b. Abi ‘Ubayd. Peace be upon you, O Mahdi! I praise God to you, the God save Whom there is no god. To proceed: God has sent me as a vengeance upon your enemies. They have either been killed or imprisoned, or are outcasts and fugitives. Praise be to God, who has slain those who slew you and assisted those who helped you. I have sent you the head of ‘Umar b. Sa‘d and his son. We have killed whoever participated in [shedding] the blood of al-Ḥusayn and his household—God’s mercy upon them!—all those over whom we have gained power. Those who remain will not escape from God. I will not cease from them, until no vestige of them on the face of the earth is reported to me. Write to me, O Mahdi, giving your opinion, and I will follow it and conform to it. Peace be upon you, O Mahdi, and God’s mercy and blessings!

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\(^{159}\) *Ahl al-bayt*, means literally, “people of the house.” I have translated it as “people of the Prophet’s family.” The phrase occurs in Qur’ān 33:33 in a passage referring to Fātimah, ‘Ali, and their sons. Jafri, *Origins*, 9ff., argues that even before Islam the phrase was used to honor the Banū Ḥāshim as hereditary keepers of the Ka‘bah, and that the Shi‘i use of the phrase reflects the idea that the pre-Islamic eminence of this family climaxed in the appearance of the prophetic office in it. See *EI²*, s.v.
Then al-Mukhtar sent ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil to [take] Ḥakīm b. Ṭufayl al-Ṭā‘ī al-Sinbisi, who had taken the spoils of al-‘Abbās b. ‘Ali\(^{161}\) and shot Ḥusayn with an arrow. (He used to say, “My arrow caught in his coat of mail\(^{162}\) and did not harm him.”) ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil came, seized him, and led him away. Ḥakīm’s family went and sought help from ‘Adi b. Ḥātim.\(^{163}\) The latter overtook the men in the street and spoke to ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil about Ḥakīm. ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil said, “I have nothing to do with his affair. It is a matter for the commander, al-Mukhtar.” ‘Adi b. Ḥātim said, “I will go to him.” ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil said, “Then go to him—and may you take the right way!”\(^{164}\) So ‘Adi went to al-Mukhtar. Now al-Mukhtar had already accepted ‘Adi’s intercession for a group of his tribesmen taken prisoner on the day of Jabbān at al-Sabī’ who had said nothing concerning al-Ḥusayn or the members of his family. The Shi‘ah therefore said to Ibn Kāmil, “We are afraid that the commander will accept the intercession of ‘Adi b. Ḥātim for his villain, whose guilt you know. Let us kill him.” He said, “Do what you want with him.” They took him with his hands bound to the place where the tribe of ‘Anazah lived and set him up as a target. Then they said to him, “You despoiled ‘Ali’s son of his clothing; by God, we will despoil you of your clothes while you are alive and watching.” So they stripped off his clothes. Then they said to him, “You shot Ḥusayn and used him as a

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\(^{160}\) *Mahdi,* “the rightly guided one,” was in the early days of Islam used as an honorific epithet in poems praising the Prophet, ‘Ali, and various Umayyad rulers. Sometime during the Second Civil War, the term developed the sense of a restorer of religion and justice after a period of injustice such as saw the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn. Al-Mukhtar was not the first to apply the term to ‘Ali and his descendants. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, the leader of the Tawwābūn, had used it in reference to al-Ḥusayn (Tabari, II, 546), calling him “the Mahdi, son of the Mahdi.” The novelty, if one can call it that, in al-Mukhtar’s use of the term lay in the application of it to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. See EI\(^2\), s.v. al-Mahdi; and Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 36.

\(^{161}\) Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Ali, the half-brother of al-Ḥusayn, was killed at Karbalā’. See Tabari, II, 386.

\(^{162}\) *Sirbāl*, which can mean either “shirt” or “coat of mail.” See Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1343; and ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. ccxc.

\(^{163}\) ‘Adi b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā‘ī was the leader of the powerful tribe of Ṭayyī’ and an old supporter of ‘Ali. See EI\(^2\), s.v.

\(^{164}\) Literally, “Go to him, taking the right way, or being well guided [rāshidān].” The phrase is based on an idiom: “One says to the traveller, rashidta, ‘Mayest thou take, or follow, the right way.’” (Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1089).
target for your arrows, and you said, 'My arrow caught in his coat of mail and did not harm him.' We swear to God that we will shoot you the way you shot him with arrows, and let what sticks in you be sufficient for you!' [Continuing,] he said: They shot him with one volley of arrows, many of which hit him, and he fell dead.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Jārūd—someone who saw him dead: He had so many arrows in him that he looked like a hedgehog.

When ‘Adī b. Ḥātim came before al-Mukhtār, the latter gave him a seat with him in the place he was sitting. ‘Adī told al-Mukhtār why he had come, and al-Mukhtār said to him, “Abū Ṭarīf, do you think it permissible to petition for the murderers of al-Husayn?” ‘Adī replied, “He has been falsely accused, God preserve you!” Al-Mukhtār said, “Then we leave him to you.” [Continuing,] he said: Before long Ibn Kāmil entered. Al-Mukhtār said to him, “What has happened to the man?” He replied, “The Shi‘ah have killed him.” Al-Mukhtār, who would not have been pleased had he not killed him, said, “What made you hurry to kill him before bringing him to me? ‘Adī, here, has come for him, and he is a man whose intercession deserves to be accepted and whose wish should be carried out.” Ibn Kāmil said, “By God, the Shi‘ah overcame me.” ‘Adī said to him, “You are lying, enemy of God! You thought someone better than you was going to accept my intercession for him, so you forestalled me and killed him, and you had no nobility to restrain you from what you did.” [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Kāmil cursed him roundly, but al-Mukhtār put his finger on his mouth, commanding Ibn Kāmil to be still and leave ‘Adī alone. So ‘Adī arose satisfied with al-Mukhtār and angry with Ibn Kāmil, about whom he complained to any of his tribesmen he encountered.

165. Abū al-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir (d. between 150/767 and 160/776), a famous student of Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir and, after the latter’s death, a follower of al-Bāqir’s brother Zayd. The Jārūdiyyah (a Zaydi Shiite group) took their name from him. See Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, III, 386–387; Shahrastānī, Milal, 161; El², s.v. al-Djārūdiyya; and U. Sezgin, Abū Miḥnaf, 227.

166. ‘Adī’s kunyah.

167. On khatar as “eminence, nobility, dignity” see Lane, Lexicon, II, 764; and ed. Leiden, Glossarium, p. ccxxvi.
Al-Mukhtar sent ‘Abdallāh b. Kāmil to [take] the slayer of ‘Āli b. al-Ḥusayn. This was a man from ‘Abd al-Qays named Murrah b. Munqidh b. al-Nu‘mān al-‘Abdi. He was a brave man; when Ibn Kāmil came for him and surrounded his house, he came out to meet them, lance in hand, and mounted on a swift horse. He thrust at ‘Ubaydallāh b. Najīyah al-Shibāmī and threw him down, but did not injure him. [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Kāmil would strike him with his sword, and he would ward it off with his left hand. Soon the sword had cut into it, but the horse spirited him away. He escaped and joined Muṣ'ab, but his arm was paralyzed after that.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtar also sent out ‘Abdallāh al-Shākīrī to [take] a man from Jānb called Zayd b. Ruqād, who used to say, “I shot one of their young men with an arrow: he was holding his hand on his forehead, warding off the arrows, and I pinned his hand to his forehead, so that he could not remove his hand from his forehead.”

According to Abū Mikhna—with Abū ‘Abd al-A‘lā al-Zubaydī: The young man was ‘Abdallāh b. Muslim b. ‘Aqīl. When his hand was pinned to his forehead, he said, “O God, they have despised and humiliated us; slay them, O God, as they have slain us, and humiliate them, as they have humiliated us.” Then Zayd b. Ruqād hit the young man with another arrow and killed him. Zayd said, “I came to him when he was dead and pulled out of his body my arrow with which I had killed him. I kept working the arrow in his forehead back and forth until I pulled it out, but the arrowhead remain fixed in his forehead; I could not pull it out.”

[Continuing,] he said: When Ibn Kāmil came to Zayd b. Ruqād’s house, he surrounded it, and the men rushed in to seize him. Zayd, who was a brave man, came out to meet them with his sword drawn. Ibn Kāmil said, “Do not strike him with the sword or thrust at him with the lance; shoot him with arrows and pelt him with stones.” They did this, and he fell. Ibn Kāmil said, “If there is still a last gasp of life in him, bring him out.” They brought him

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168. Jānb was a Yemeni tribal group of uncertain affiliation. See Lisān, s.v.
169. In the account of the death of ‘Abdallāh b. Muslim b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Talīb in Ṭabari, II, 357, the man who shot him is identified as ‘Amr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣūdā‘ī.
out; there was still life in him. Ibn Kāmil called for fire, and they burned him alive, before he had given up the ghost. 170

Al-Mukhtār sought out Sinān b. Anas, who claimed to have killed al-Ḥusayn. Finding that he had fled to al-Baṣrah, he tore down his house.

Al-Mukhtār sought out 'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī. Finding that he had fled and reached al-Jazīrah, he tore down his house. This al-Ghanawī had killed one of the young men [of the family of al-Ḥusayn], and another man, of the Banū Asad [his name was Ḥarmalāh b. Kāhil], had also killed a man from al-Ḥusayn's family. Ibn Abī 'Aqīb al-Laythī recited the following about these two men:

Amongst [the tribe of] Ghanī there is a drop of our blood;
and amongst [the tribe of] Asad there is another [drop] to be counted and remembered.

Al-Mukhtār sought out a man from Khath'am called 'Abdallāh b. 'Urwah al-Khath'ami, who said that he had shot twelve arrows at them unsuccessfully. When 'Abdallāh eluded him and joined Muṣ'ab, al-Mukhtār tore down his house.

Al-Mukhtār sought out a man from [the tribe of] Ṣudā'171 named 'Amr b. Ṣubayḥ, who said, "I thrust at some of them and wounded them, but killed none of them."172 They came to get him at night, after people were at rest. He was on his roof, unaware, though with his sword under his head. When they grabbed him and took his sword, he said, "God damn you, sword; so close, yet so far!" He was brought to al-Mukhtār, who imprisoned him with him in the palace. The next morning, he gave audience to his companions, and it was announced, "Let anyone who wants to enter enter." The people came in, and 'Amr was brought in, bound. He said, "You band of infidels and liars, if my sword were in my hand, you would know that I do not tremble or quake at the blade of a sword. Since it is my fate to be killed, I want no one but you

170. Cf. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 239, for a version in which he is flayed alive.
171. Ṣudā' was a Yemeni tribe [Līsān, s.v.].
172. "But some said that he was the man who had shot 'Abdallāh b. Muslim in the forehead, while Zayd b. Ruqād had pierced his heart" [Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 239].
to kill me. I know you are the worst of God's creatures. But I wish there were a sword in my hand so that I could strike you with it for a time." Then he lifted his hand and slapped Ibn Kāmil, who was beside him, in the eye. Ibn Kāmil laughed, grabbed his hand, and held it. Then he said, "He claims to have wounded and thrust at some of the family of Muḥammad. Give us your command concerning him." Al-Mukhtār said, "Bring me lances!" They were brought. "Thrust at him," he said, "until he dies." So he was thrust with lances until he died.


Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays175 was at the village of al-Ash'ath next to al-Qādisiyyah. To take him, al-Mukhtār sent out Ḥawshāb, the Keeper of the Chair,176 with a hundred men, saying, "Set out after him. You will find him diverting himself hunting, or standing cringing with fear, or afraid and turning this way and that in confusion, or lurking hidden. If you overpower him, bring me his head." Ḥawshāb went out, reached Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath's palace, and surrounded it. The latter left and joined Muṣ'ab. The men stayed by the palace, thinking that he was in it. When they entered and learned that he had eluded them, they returned to al-Mukhtār, who sent and had the house town down.

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173. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafi; see U. Sezgin, Abū Miḥnaf, 204.
175. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi, a descendant of the kings of Kindah, was the father of the 'Abd al-Raḥmān (often called simply "Ibn al-Ash'ath"), who in 81/700 led a major revolt against al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq.
176. On the Chair that al-Mukhtār exhibited as a relic of Ἅli, see below, Tabari, II, 702–06.
With the adobe bricks and clay he [re]built the house of Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindi, which Ziyād b. Sumayyah had torn down.

[The Swearing of Allegiance to al-Mukhtar in al-Baṣrah]

According to Abū Ja`far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, al-Muthanna b. Mukharribah al-‘Abdi summoned the people of al-Baṣrah to swear allegiance to al-Mukhtar.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—‘Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā‘īnī]—‘Abdallāh b. ‘Atiyyah al-Laythi and ‘Āmir b. al-Aswad: Al-Muthanna b. Mukharribah al-‘Abdi was among those who had witnessed [the Battle of] ‘Ayn al-Wardah with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. Afterwards, he returned with the surviving Tawwābūn who returned to al-Kūfah. Al-Mukhtar was then being detained. Al-Muthanna waited until al-Mukhtar came out of prison and then swore allegiance to him secretly. Al-Mukhtar said to him, “Make your way back to your territory in al-Baṣrah and summon the people, keeping your activity secret.” Al-Muthanna went to al-Baṣrah and received a favorable response from some of his tribesmen and others.


177. The governor Ziyād b. Abihi, whose paternity was notoriously unclear, is in this form of his name given a nisbah to his mother Sumayyah, a notorious prostitute of al-Ṭa‘if. Ms. O adds, “May God curse him!”


179. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abi Sayf al-Madā‘īnī (b. 135/752, d. ca. 228/843), a historian of the generation following Abū Mikhnaf, was active al-Baṣrah [his birthplace], al-Madā‘īnī, and Baghdad, and was credited with over 200 works on history and literature, most of which survive only as quoted in the works of later authors. See E2, s.v., Rotter, “Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madā‘inis”; and Schoeler, “Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung.”
him, and he propagandized for al-Mukhtār. Then he went to the provision depot and encamped by it. [Food was stored and camels were slaughtered in “the city.”] Against them, al-Qubā dispatched ‘Abbād b. Ḥuṣayn, the head of his police, and Qays b. al-Haytham with police and soldiers. Turning into the street of the mawālī, they came out into al-Sabakhah and halted. People remained in their houses; no one came out. ‘Abbād kept waiting to see someone he might question. Seeing no one, he said, “Isn’t there any man here from the Banū Tamīm?” Khalifah al-A‘war, a mawlā of the Banū ‘Ādi (‘Adi al-Ribāb), replied, “This is the house of Warrād, a mawlā of the Banū ‘Ābd Shams.” “Knock on the door,” he said. So Khalifah knocked on the door, and Warrād came out to him. ‘Abbād cursed him, saying, “Woe unto you! Here I am standing, and you did not come out to me.” Warrād replied, “I did not know what would please you.” “Put on your sword,” he said, “and get your mount.” He did so. They waited. Al-Muthannā’s forces came and stood opposite them. ‘Abbād said to Warrād, “Stay where you are with Qays.” Qays b. al-Haytham and Warrād stayed where they were. While the men waited in al-Sabakhah, ‘Abbād went back and turned into al-Dhabbahin Street until he reached al-Kalla’. Now the supply depot had four gates: one adjoining al-Basrah, one toward al-Khallalin, one toward the mosque, and one toward the quarter from which the north wind blows. ‘Abbād came to the gate facing the river,

180. Ms. O: “some of his tribesmen gathered around him in it.” Al-Muthannā’s tribe was ‘Ābd al-Qays (nīṣbah, “al-‘Abdi”).

181. Madinat al-rizq “the city of provisions.” After the Arab conquest, a supply depot was set up at Zābūqah, one of the abandoned Sasanian fortresses at the site of al-Basrah. It had a courtyard and was called a “village of provisions” (qaryat al-arzāq). It was rebuilt and enlarged by Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son ‘Ubaydallāh, so that it resembled a city and had four iron gates. See Morony, Iraq, 62–63; Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v. Rizq.

182. Al-Hārith b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī‘ah al-Qurashi al-Makhzūmī al-Qubā, one of the first men to have sworn allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr as caliph in 64/683, was Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor for al-Basrah. See Madelung, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdi,” 295; Tabari, II, 601.

183. Since several tribes or clans had the name ‘Adi, his tribe is further defined as the ‘Adi of the al-Ribāb confederation, which included the tribes of Ṭabbah, Thawr, ‘Ukl, Ṭaym, and ‘Adi. See Lisān, s.vv. ‘Adī and Ribāb.

184. Butchers’ Street.

185. Al-Kallā’ (‘the place where boats are drawn up”) was a riverside market.

186. The street or section of vinegar makers or sellers.
The Events of the Year 66 (cont’d)  

next to the people who deal with rubbish.\(^{187}\) It was a small gate. There he halted and called for a ladder, which he placed against the wall of the depot. Thirty men climbed up. He told them, “Stay on top. When you hear the shout of ‘\(\text{Allāhū akbar},\)’ shout ‘\(\text{Allāhū akbar},\)’ on the roof.” ‘\(\text{Abbād},\)’ then went back to Qays b. al-Haytham and said to Warrād, “Incite the men to attack.” Warrād attacked al-Muthannā’s forces. The fighting became confused. Forty of al-Muthannā’s men and one of ‘\(\text{Abbād’s},\)’ men were killed. Hearing the tumult and the shouts of “\(\text{Allāhū akbar},\)” the men on the roof of the supply depot\(^{188}\) shouted “\(\text{Allāhū akbar},\)” Those who were in the depot fled. Hearing shouts of “\(\text{Allāhū akbar},\)” behind them, al-Muthannā and his forces took to flight. ‘\(\text{Abbād},\)’ and Qays b. al-Haytham ordered the men to stop pursuing them. They took the supply depot and its contents, while al-Muthannā and his forces went to [the tribal district of] ‘\(\text{Abd al-Qays},\)’ When ‘\(\text{Abbād},\)’ and Qays and their forces returned to al-Qubā’, he sent them to the ‘\(\text{Abd al-Qays},\)’ district. Qays b. al-Haytham approached from the direction of the bridge; ‘\(\text{Abbād},\)’ came at them from the Mirbad\(^{189}\) road, and they met.

While al-Qubā’ was in the mosque, sitting on the pulpit, Ziyād b. ‘\(\text{Amr},\)’ Atakī\(^{190}\) came to him. Ziyād entered the mosque on his horse and said, “Turn your horsemen away from our brothers,\(^{191}\)” man, or we will fight them.” Al-Qubā’ sent al-\(\text{Ahnaf},\) b. Qays\(^{192}\)

\(^{187}\) \(\text{Saqat},\) which can mean rubbish, household goods of small value, or the offal of slaughtered animals [Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, IV, 1381].

\(^{188}\) Here the term is \(\text{Dar al-rizq},\) rather than \(\text{Madīn al-rizq}.\)

\(^{189}\) Al-Mirbad (“the Kneeling Place for Camels”), near the western gate of al-Baṣrāh, was the place where desert caravans halted and one of the busiest parts of the city. See Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, 45; and \textit{EI²}, s.v.

\(^{190}\) Ziyād, a member of the ‘\(\text{Atik},\)’ a division of the powerful Yemeni tribe of Azd, had become the leader of the Azd in al-Baṣrāh after the assassination of the Azd leader Mas’ūd b. ‘\(\text{Amr},\)’ in 64/663. This assassination had provoked severe tribal conflict in al-Baṣrāh between the Azd, allied with Bakr b. Wā’il (or Rabī‘ah; Mālik b. Misma was its leader) and ‘\(\text{Abd al-Qays},\)’ on the one hand, and ‘\(\text{Tamim (Muṣrār), al-Ahnaf},\)’ B. Qays was its leader, on the other. This tribal animosity now threatens to blaze up again. See \textit{Ṭabari, II}, 461.

\(^{191}\) I.e., the ‘\(\text{Abd al-Qays},\)’ with whom the Azd were allied.

\(^{192}\) Abū Baḥr Sakhr b. Qays al-Tamimi al-Sa‘dī, surnamed al-Ahnaf [“having a misshapen foot”], headed the tribe of Tamim in al-Baṣrāh. In the tribal fighting that had raked al-Baṣrāh in 64/663, he had worked for a moderate settlement and appears here again as a force for moderation. Compare the very different account of al-Ahnaf’s behavior [Baladhuri, \textit{Ansāb}, V, 244–45], where the mediators are
and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makahzūmī to bring about a settlement. The two went to the tribal district of 'Abd al-Qays. Al-Aḥnaf said to Bakr and Azd and to the general population ('āmmah), "Are you not in a state of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr?" "Yes," they said, "but we will not hand over our brothers." "Then," he said, "order them to leave for any territories they like and not disturb this city for its people who are dwelling in safety. Let them depart wherever they will." So Mālik b. Misma', Ziyād b. 'Amr, and their most prominent companions went to al-Muthannā and said to him and his companions, "By God, we do not hold your opinion, but we do not want you to be harmed. Go join your leader, for those who have responded favorably to your opinion are few; then you will be safe." Al-Muthannā accepted their proposal and advice and went away. Al-Aḥnaf returned and said, "Never have I been deficient in my judgement, except today. I went to these people and left Bakr and Azd behind me." 'Abbād and Qays returned to al-Qubā', while al-Muthannā went to al-Mukhtār in al-Kufah with a small band of his companions.

Suwayd b. Ri'āb al-Shannī and 'Uqbah b. 'Ashīrah al-Shannī fell in that fighting. The latter was killed by a man from the Banū Tamīm, who was in turn killed. The brother of 'Uqbah b. 'Ashīrah lapped up the blood of the Tamīmī and said, "My revenge!"

When al-Muthannā arrived in al-Kufah, he told al-Mukhtār what Mālik b. Misma' and Ziyād b. 'Amr had done, how they had come to him and had defended him until he left al- Başrah. hoping to win them to his side, al-Mukhtār wrote to them:

To proceed: Heed and obey, and I will give you whatever you want of this world and guarantee Paradise to you.


193. I.e., al-Mukhtār.
195. Cf. the longer version, in rhymed prose [ṣaj'], in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 245.
Mālik said to Ziyād, "O Abū al-Mughirah, Abū Ishāq has given us a great deal: this world and the next!" Ziyād replied jestingly to Mālik, "O Abū Ghassān, as for me, I do not fight on credit; if someone gives me cash, I fight for him."

Al-Mukhtār wrote to al-Āḥnaf b. Qays:

From al-Mukhtār to al-Āḥnaf and those who are with him. May you be at peace! To proceed: Woe to the mother of Rabī‘ah from Muḍār! Al-Āḥnaf is taking his tribesmen to drink of Saqār, whence he cannot bring them forth. I have no power over what has been written in the divine dispensation. I have been told that you call me a liar. The prophets were called liars before me, and I am no better than many of them.

He also wrote to al-Āḥnaf:

If you buy a horse with your money
and take a shield in your left hand,
Make sharp sword fighting your concern.

According to Abū al-Sā‘ib Salm b. Junādah—al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād—Ḥabbān b. ‘Ali—al-Mujālid—al-Sha‘bī, who said: I entered al-Baṣrah and sat down by a circle of men among whom was al-Āḥnaf b. Qays. One of the men said to me, "Who are

196. The kunyah of Ziyād b. ‘Amr.
197. The kunyah of Mālik b. Misma’.
198. Cf. the variant below, Tabari, II, 685: "Woe to the mother of Rabī‘ah and Muḍār!" This makes better sense, since al-Mukhtār has reason to condemn both Muḍār (al-Āḥnaf’s tribe) for opposing al-Muthanna and Rabī‘ah for sending al-Muthanna back to al-Kūfah. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 245, reads "Rabī‘ah and Muḍār."
199. A Qur’ānic name for hell.
200. Cf. Qur’ān 3:184. "But if they cry lies to thee, lies were cried to messengers before thee." Al-Mukhtār’s language is ambiguous about whether he lays claim to being among the prophets. Cf. Baladhuri’s version (loc. cit.): "By my life, if you fight me and call me a liar, those who were before me were called liars; and I am not the best of them."
201. The text is difficult and the manuscripts show many variants. My translation assumes the following text: Idhā shṭaraṭya faṣasan min mālikā/thumma akhadhta l-jawba fi shimālikā/fa-j‘al misā an ḫadhiman min bālikā.
203. The context makes it clear that the conversation took place after the defeat and death of al-Mukhtār. Cf. al-Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 245.
you?" "A Kūfan," I said. He said, "You are mawāli of ours."
"How so?" I asked. "We saved you," he said, "from the hands of
your slaves, the forces of al-Mukhtār." "Do you know," I said,
"what the shaykh of Hamdān204 said about us and about you?"
Al-Aḥnāf b. Qays asked, "And what did he say?" I said, "He said:

Will you boast, if you killed slaves
and once defeated unarmed people?
If you view with us for glory, remember
what we did to you on the Day of the Camel.205
Both old man with dyed beard
and young man, white, bright-faced, in long garments.
He came to us tottering206 in a long coat of mail,
and we slaughtered him in the morning as one slaughters a
lamb.
We gave, but you forgot our giving;
you were ungrateful for the bounty of God the Most High.
You killed members of the Khashabiyyah207 instead of them—
the worst of substitutions on the part of your people!"

[685] Al-Aḥnāf became angry and said, "Boy, bring that scroll here!" A
scroll was brought. It contained:

In the name of God, the Merciful the Compassionate.
From al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd to al-Aḥnāf b. Qays. To
proceed: Woe to the mother of Rabī'ah and Muḍār! Al-
Aḥnāf is taking his tribesmen to drink of Saqar, whence

204. I.e., the poet Aʾshā Hamdān. Another version of the incident is found in
Aghānī, V, 157–58.
205. Cf. the explanation in Balādhuri, Ansāb, V, 245: "We spared (or pardoned)
you, but you gave no thanks." At the Battle of the Camel (36/656), reinforcements
from al-Kūfah helped ʿAlī dislodge the rebels Ṭalḥah and Zubayr from al-Baṣrah.
See El2, s.v. al-Djamal.
207. An alternative translation would be, "You killed members of the Khashabiyyah
instead—from your own kinsmen—the worst of substitutions." The term
Khashabiyyah (from khashabah, a piece of wood, club) was applied disparagingly
to al-Mukhtār's followers because some of the mawāli were armed with clubs,
rather than swords. Other explanations connect the name with the rescue of Ibn
al-Ḥanafiyyah narrated below (Ṭabarī, II, 693), either because al-Mukhtār's men
used clubs in order not to violate the prohibition on drawing swords in the Meccan
sanctuary or because they took the wood Ibn al-Zubayr had prepared for burning
Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. See Balādhuri, Ansāb, V, 231; also El2, s.v. Khashabiyya.
they cannot come forth. I have been informed that you call me a liar. If I am called a liar, messengers were called liars before me, and I am not better than they.

"Is this [man] one of us or one of you?" al-Aḥnaf asked.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaf—Mani’ b. al-ʿAlā’ al-Saʿdi: Miskin\textsuperscript{208} b. ʿAmr b. Unayf b. Shurayh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUdas was among those who fought al-Mukhtār. When the men were defeated, he joined Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr b. ʿUṭārid in Ādharbayjān\textsuperscript{209} and said:

Dukhtanūs\textsuperscript{210} marveled when she saw that a veil of gray hair had come over me. She raised her voice and cried out. [I said to her:] Do not be frightened that my beard has turned gray.

If you see that the vigor of my youth has departed and that ages have passed since my birth, [I am] a man of fifty-two years; what lifetime is there that does not have turns of fortune? Would that she had had my sword and I her dress the day she said, 'Is there no generous man who is indignant?'

Would that we had died before that day, or had done what free men do. But, like men from whom the good flees, we did not fight, but the brave man fought. I turned away from them, and they were stricken; disgrace and shame have exiled me from them. O the sadness of my spirit for "the meteor of Quraysh,"\textsuperscript{211} the day his head was brought to al-Mukhtār!

\textsuperscript{208} Known as Miskin al-Dārimi (from the Dārim clan of the tribe of Tamīm), he wrote poems in praise of Muʿāwiyah and Yazīd and an elegy upon the death of Ziyād b. Abīhi. He is said to have died in 89/708. See F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 323.

\textsuperscript{209} Ādharbayjān was the province in northwestern Iran with its capital at Ardabil. See El\textsuperscript{2}, s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, 158 ff.

\textsuperscript{210} Dukhtanūs was a pre-Islamic poetess of the Dārimi clan of Tamīm (Diwān Miskin al-Dārimi, 42).

\textsuperscript{211} The "Meteor of Quraysh" refers to ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī al-Waqqās (Diwān Miskin al-Dārimi, 43).
Al-Mutawakkil\textsuperscript{212} said:

They killed Ḥusayn; then they lament his death.

Verily, time brings changes to people!

Do not be far away at al-Ṭaff,\textsuperscript{213} O slain ones who have been left untended,
whose heads' resting places have been soaked by rains.

The picked troops of al-Dajjal\textsuperscript{214} under his banner are not more astray than those whom al-Mukhtār has deceived.

O Banū Qasiyy,\textsuperscript{215} bind fast your Dajjal,
and the [obscuring] dust will clear away; you will be free.

If your fellow tribesman had had knowledge of the unseen, the learned\textsuperscript{216} would have agreed with you about him,
And it would have been a clear matter, related in the past by prophecies and reports.

I hope that thrusts that break your lances and a siege will prove that your inspiration is a lie,
And that to you will come men whose swords in their hands under the dust of battle are like fire.
They will not retreat when they meet you, until the heads of your armored men are broken in pieces.

\textsuperscript{212} Al-Mutawakkil b. ʿAbdallāh b. Nahshal Abū Juhmah al-Laythi was a poet from the tribe of Layth b. Bakr (Kinānah) who lived in al-Kūfah and visited Damascus, where he wrote poems in praise of Muʿāwiyyah and Yazid. See F. Sezgin, \textit{GAS}, II, 322.

\textsuperscript{213} Al-Ṭaff is the desert region west of al-Kūfah along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. It is higher than the low-lying ground by the river and forms the transition to the central Arabian plateau. The area contains a number of springs and was the site of a number of Sasanian border forts. Karbalaʾ, where al-Ḥusayn was killed, was located within it. See \textit{EI}¹, s.v.; Yāqūt, \textit{Muʿjam}, III, 359. The translation given here amends the vocalization of the Leiden text from là tabʿadan (energetic second person singular) to là tabʿadun (energetic second person plural). "Do not be far away" was a ritualized expression of mourning. Cf. the poem quoted in the \textit{Lisān}, s.v. baʿuda: "As they bury me, they shall say, 'Do not be far away!' But where is there a place of [greater] remoteness than my place?"

\textsuperscript{214} Al-Dajjal ("the Liar") is an apocalyptic figure similar to the Antichrist; see \textit{EI}², s.v. al-Dadidjāl.

\textsuperscript{215} I.e., al-Mukhtār's tribe of Thaqīf.

\textsuperscript{216} Ahbār, pl. of ḥabr or hibr: a Jewish scholar, or one who has become a Muslim (Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, II, 498). Such scholars were often credited with an ability to predict the future. See below, Ṭabari, II, 786, and note 572 on Kaʾb al-Aḥbār.
[Al-Mukhtar Sends an Army to Trick Ibn al-Zubayr]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, al-Mukhtar dispatched an army to Medina to trick Ibn al-Zubayr. He pretended to Ibn al-Zubayr that he had sent the army to help him fight the army that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān\(^{217}\) had sent to fight him and that had encamped in Wādi al-Qurā.\(^{218}\)

**Al-Mukhtar’s Motive in Sending This Army; What Befell Them**

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ‘Āmir, who said: Having been expelled by al-Mukhtar from al-Kūfah, Ibn Muṭi‘ went to al-Baṣrah. Not wishing to proceed to Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca in a state of defeat and flight, he stayed in al-Baṣrah until ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥarīth b. Hishām came to him. Thus, both of them were in al-Baṣrah.

The reason for ‘Umar’s coming to al-Baṣrah: When al-Mukhtar came into the open in al-Kūfah and met with success in his enterprise (the Shi`ah thought he was merely propagandizing for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah and seeking to avenge the blood of the members of the Prophet’s family), he set out to deceive Ibn al-Zubayr and wrote to him as follows:

> To proceed: You know my sincere advice to you and my effort against the people hostile to you and what you for your part gave to me, on condition that I do this. But when I satisfied you and carried out my obligation to you, you stood me up and did not fulfill what you had promised me, although you saw on my part that which you saw. If you wish to return to me, I will return to you; if you want my sincere advice, I will advise you.

By this means, al-Mukhtar wanted to keep Ibn al-Zubayr at arm’s length until the success of his own enterprise. He told the Shi`ah

\(^{217}\) ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān [b. 23/643 or 26/646, d. 86/705] succeeded his father Marwān b. al-Ḥakam as Umayyad caliph upon the latter’s death in 65/684. See *EI*\(^2\), s.v.

\(^{218}\) Wādi al-Qurā (“the Valley of the Villages”) was a fertile valley stretching north from Medina on the road to Syria. See *EI*\(^1\), s.v. Wādi ’l-Ḳurā; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam*, s.vv. Qurā and Wādi al-Qurā.
nothing about the matter; if anything about it reached them, he pretended to them that he was of all men the most remote from such a thing.

[Continuing,] he said: Desiring to know whether it was war or peace, Ibn al-Zubayr summoned 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī and said to him, "Make ready to go to al-Kūfah, for we have appointed you its governor (wālī)." "How can that be," he asked, "when al-Mukhtār is there?" Ibn al-Zubayr said, "He claims that he heeds and obeys." [Continuing,] he said: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān outfitted himself at a cost of between thirty and forty thousand dirhams and set out for al-Kūfah. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār's spy came from Mecca and reported the news. Al-Mukhtār asked, "At that cost did he outfit himself?" The spy answered, "Between thirty and forty thousand [dirhams]."

[688] [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār summoned Zā'īdah b. Qudāmah and said to him, "Take seventy thousand dirhams with you—twice what he spent on his journey to us—and meet him in the desert. Take Musāfir b. Sa'id b. Nimrān al-Nā'īti with you, with five hundred skilled horsemen armed with chain mail, lances, and helmets, and say to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Take this sum, which is twice your expense, for we have learned how much you spent to outfit yourself and do not want you to lose money. Take it and go back.' If he does, [good]; if not, show him the horsemen, and say to him, 'Behind them are a hundred squadrons like them!'" [Continuing,] he said: Zā'īdah took the money and went out with the horsemen. He met 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān in the desert, offered him the money, and commanded him to go back. 'Umar said to him, "The Commander of the Faithful appointed me governor of al-Kūfah, and his order must be carried out." Zā'īdah summoned the horsemen, whom he had kept hidden out of sight. When 'Umar saw them coming, he said, "This furnishes me more of an excuse and makes me look better. Hand over the money!" Zā'īdah said to him, "He has sent it to you only on account of [the relation] between you and him." Then he paid him the money. 'Umar took it and retreated toward al- Başrah. There he met with Ibn Muṭi'. It was during the time when al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah was in command, before the
uprising of al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-‘Abdī in al-Baṣrah.\textsuperscript{219}

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismā‘īl b. Nu‘aym:\textsuperscript{220} Having been informed that the Syrians were approaching Iraq, al-Mukhtar knew he would be the first [to be attacked]. Therefore, fearing that the Syrians would come at him from the west and Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr would come at him from al-Baṣrah, he sought a reconciliation with Ibn al-Zubayr, beguiling him and deceiving him. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had sent ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Hārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣ to Wādī al-Qurā. Deceiving and beguiling Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Mukhtar wrote to him:

To proceed: I have been informed that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān has sent an army against you. If you want me to provide you with help, I will help you.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr wrote to him:

To proceed: If you are in a state of obedience to me, I am not averse to your sending the army to my territories and having the men swear allegiance to me before you. When news of your having sworn allegiance reaches me, I will believe what you say and withdraw my soldiers from your territories. Hurry and dispatch to me the army you are sending. Command them to march against the soldiers of Ibn Marwān who are in Wādī al-Qurā and fight them. Peace!

Al-Mukhtar summoned Shuraḥbil b. Wars, from Hamdān, and sent him with three thousand men, mostly mawālī, with only seven hundred Arabs among them. He said to him, “Go and enter Medina. When you have entered it, write to me, so that I can give you my command.” His intention was that, when they had entered Medina, he would send a commander to be over them in his name\textsuperscript{221} and would order Ibn Wars to advance on Mecca, besiege

\textsuperscript{219} Cf. Baladhuri, \textit{Ansāb}, V, 244: “It was during the governorship of al-Qubā’ [al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī‘ah], and before the coming of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr to al-Baṣrah.”


\textsuperscript{221} I.e., he would replace Ibn Zubayr’s governor of Medina with his own man.
Ibn al-Zubayr, and fight him there. Shurahbil left for Medina. Ibn al-Zubayr, however, afraid that al-Mukhtār was merely deceiving him, sent 'Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa'd from Mecca to Medina with two thousand men and ordered him to seek aid from the Bedouin Arabs. Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "If you see that the men are obedient to me, welcome them. If not, use deceit against them until you have destroyed them."

This, then, is what they did. 'Abbās b. Sahl went and met Ibn Wars at al-Raqīm. Ibn Wars had deployed his forces: In charge of his right wing he had placed Salămān b. Himyar al-Thawrī from Hamdān; in charge of his left wing he had placed 'Ayyāsh b. Ja'dah al-Jadalī. His entire cavalry was in his right and left wings. ['Abbās] approached and greeted him. [Ibn Wars] had dismounted to walk with the foot soldiers. 'Abbās and his forces came separated from each other and not drawn up in order. He found Ibn Wars encamped by the watering place, with his forces drawn up for battle. He approached and greeted them. Then he said, "Come apart with me here." Ibn Wars went apart with him. 'Abbās said to him, "God have mercy on you! Aren't you under obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr?" Ibn Wars replied, "Yes." "Then," he said, "march with us against this enemy of his in Wādir al-Qurā; Ibn al-Zubayr has told me that your master has made you journey here only to attack them." Ibn Wars said, "I was not commanded to obey you. I was only commanded to go to Medina and, having reached it, to follow my own judgment." 'Abbās b. Sahl said to him, "If you are under obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr, he has ordered me to march with you and your forces against our enemy in Wādir al-Qurā." Ibn Wars said to him, "I was not ordered to obey you, nor will I follow you, until I enter Medina and write to my master for his orders." When 'Abbās b. Sahl saw his obstinacy, he realized his disobedience. Not wishing to let him know that he saw through him, he said, "Your opinion is better; do what seems best to you. As for me, I will march to Wādir al-Qurā."

'Abbās b. Sahl then came and encamped by the water. He sent

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222. Ms. Pet. and Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 246, read "al-Raqīm," which Yāqūt, Mu'jam, gives as a place near Medina. The reading "al-Raqīm" may reflect the Qur'ānic "al-Raqīm," the place associated with the Men of the Cave (Sūrah 18).
223. I.e., al-Mukhtār.
Ibn Wars some camels fattened for slaughter that he had brought and gave them to him as a gift. He also sent him flour and sheep that had been skinned. Ibn Wars and his men had been perishing of hunger. 'Abbās b. Sahl sent a sheep for each ten of them. So they slaughtered the sheep and busied themselves with them. They mixed with each other at the watering place; the men left their battle array and felt safe with each other. When 'Abbās b. Sahl saw how they had busied themselves, he gathered about a thousand of his bravest and most courageous men and went to the tent of Shurahbil b. Wars. When Ibn Wars saw them coming toward him, he called for his men. Before a hundred men had come to him, 'Abbās b. Sahl reached him. Shurahbil was saying, "O picked troops (shurtah) of God, come to me! Come to me! Fight those who hold it permissible to shed innocent blood and are friends of Satan, the accursed. You are followers of truth and right guidance; they have betrayed and acted wickedly."

According to Abū Mikhna—Abū Yusuf: 'Abbās b. Sahl reached them while he was reciting:

I am the son of Sahl, a skilled horseman, no weakling who commits matters to others!
Exciting admiration, bold to advance when the leader turns aside!
I smite the head of the celebrated hero,
with sword on the day of battle, so that it is severed.

[Continuing,) he said: We had hardly fought for any time at all before Ibn Wars was skilled, together with seventy of the guards. 'Abbās b. Sahl raised a banner of safety for Ibn Wars’s companions; they went over to it, except for about three hundred men who retreated with Salmān b. Himyar al-Hamdānī and 'Ayyāsh b. Ja'dah al-Jadali. When they fell into the hands of 'Abbās b. Sahl, he gave orders and they were killed. However, about two hundred men were released because some of the men into whose custody

224. Al-muhillīn: literally, "those who make [the illicit] licit," i.e., shedders of innocent blood. Here, the word designates those who had shed, or had allowed to be shed, the blood of al-Ḥusayn. For al-Mukhtar's use of the word, see Ṭabarî, II, 599.
they had been placed were unwilling to kill them. They went back, but most of them died along the way.

When al-Mukhtar learned what had happened to them, and those who came back returned, he stood up to preach and said: "Verily, the wicked libertines have killed the excellent pious ones. Verily, it was a thing fulfilled and a decree decreed."

Al-Mukhtar sent Śāliḥ b. Masʿūd al-Khathʿami with the following letter to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah:

[692] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
To proceed: I sent you an army to humble your enemies for you and take possession of the country for you. They marched toward you, until, having approached Taybah,\(^{226}\) they were met by the army of the blasphemer. The latter deceived them by appeal to God and beguiled them by a promise in the name of God. When they felt at ease with them and trusted them because of this, they rose up against them and killed them. If you deem that I should send to the people of Medina a densely mustered army from me, while you send them messengers\(^{227}\) from you, so that the people of Medina may know that I am under obedience to you and only sent the army at your order, do so. Then you shall find most of them readier to acknowledge your right and show pity toward you, the members of the Prophet's family, than they are toward the family of al-Zubayr, the wrongdoers and blasphemers. Peace be upon you!

Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah wrote to him:

To proceed: When your letter reached me, I read it and took cognizance of the veneration in which you hold me and of how you intend to render me joyful. Verily, the most pleasing of all things to me is that wherein obedience is showed to God. So obey God as much as you can in what you do openly and what you do secretly. Know that

\(^{226}\) Taybah, meaning "the fragrant," is an epithet for Medina. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam, s.v. Taybah.

\(^{227}\) Ms. O: a man.
if I wanted fighting, I would find men hastening to me and my helpers to be many. But I am keeping apart from them and waiting patiently until God judges in my favor; and He is the best of judges.  

Šāliḥ b. Masʿūd came to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, who said farewell to him, wished him peace, and gave him the letter, saying, "Tell al-Mukhtār to fear God and turn away from blood." [Continuing,] he said: I229 said to him, "May God preserve you! Have you not written to him saying so?" Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah said, "I have ordered him to obey God. Obedience to God gathers together all that is good and prohibits all that is evil." When Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah's letter reached al-Mukhtār, the latter proclaimed to the people: "I have been commanded with an order that gathers together piety and ease and casts away unbelief (kufr) and betrayal."

[The Khashabiyyah Perform the Pilgrimage]

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarî]: In this year the Khashabiyyah230 came to Mecca and performed the pilgrimage. Their leader (amīr) was Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jadali.

Why the Khashabiyyah Came to Mecca

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaf and 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾini]—Maslamah b. Muḥārib, the reason was as follows: 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr imprisoned Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and those members of his family who were with him, together with seventeen notables from al-Kūfah, at Zamzam.231 Unwilling to swear allegiance to someone upon whom the community (ummah) had not united in agreement,

229. Leiden note suggests that one should read "He said...."
230. For the origin of the name, see note 207.
231. Zamzam was the sacred well within the Meccan sanctuary (haram). See EI', s.v. Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 250, explains Ibn al-Zubayr's motive as follows: "After al-Mukhtār gained control of al-Kūfah and the Shiʿah began propagandizing for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, Ibn al-Zubayr feared that people would unite in approval of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. So he pressured the latter and his companions to swear allegiance to him."
they had fled to the sacred precinct (ḥaram). [Ibn al-Zubayr] threatened to kill them and burn them. He swore an oath to God that, if they did not swear allegiance, he would carry out his threat to them; and he set them a deadline.

Some of those with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah counseled him to send al-Mukhtār and the Kufans a messenger to inform them of their condition, the condition of those with them, and of Ibn al-Zubayr’s threat. And so, while the guards at the door of Zamzam slept, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah sent three Kufans with a letter to al-Mukhtār and the people of al-Kūfah, informing them of his condition, the condition of those with him, and of Ibn al-Zubayr’s threat to kill them and burn them with fire; he asked them not to fail him, as they had failed al-Ḥusayn and the members of his family. The messengers came to al-Mukhtār and gave him the letter. He summoned the people and read them the letter, saying, “This is the letter of your Mahdi, the pure descendant of the family of your Prophet. They have been left penned up like sheep, waiting all night and all day to be killed and burned in the fire. I am not Abū Isḥāq if I do not aid them effectively and send them troop after troop of horsemen, as one torrent follows another, until woe descends on the son of the woman from the tribe of Kāhil.”

Al-Mukhtār sent Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jadali with seventy riders, men of strength. He sent Zābyān b. 'Uthmān,233 a member of the Banū Tamīm, with four hundred men, Abū al-Mu'tamir with one hundred, Hāni’ b. Qays with one hundred, 'Umayr b. Tāriq with forty, and Yūnus b. 'Imrān with forty.

Al-Mukhtār wrote to Muḥammad b. 'Alī234 by way of al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir and Muḥammad b. Qays about the sending of the armies to him. The men set out, one group on the heels of the other. Abū 'Abdallāh [al-Jadali] came to Dhat 'Irq235 and encamped with seventy riders. Then 'Umayr b. Tāriq overtook him with forty

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232. This refers to Ibn al-Zubayr, whose great-grandfather, Khuwaylid, was the son of a woman (Zuhrah bint 'Amr) from the Banū Kāhil b. Asad b. Khuzaymah. See Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 250.
233. Cf. Tabāri, II, 674, above (Zābyān b. 'Umārah), which is probably the correct reading (ed. Leiden, Addenda, p. DCLXXI).
234. I.e., Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.
235. Dhat 'Irq lay two days' march northeast of Mecca, at the intersection of the two pilgrim roads from Mesopotamia to the Hijāz—one from al-Kūfah, the other from al-ṣaḥra. See Le Strange, Lands, 83.
riders, and Yūnus b. ʿImrān with forty riders, so that they numbered one hundred and fifty in all. Abū ʿAbdallāh led them until they entered the sacred mosque, carrying clubs and proclaiming, “Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!” Finally they reached Zamzam. With two days remaining until the deadline, Ibn al-Zubayr had already prepared the wood to burn the prisoners. Al-Mukhtār’s men chased away the guards, broke the wooden bolts (aʿwād) of Zamzam, went inside to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, and said to him, “Leave us free to deal with God’s enemy, Ibn al-Zubayr.” Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah said to them, “I do not deem it lawful to fight in God’s sacred precinct.” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “Do you think I will release them without the pledge of allegiance from him and them?” Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadali replied, “By the Lord of the Corner and the Station, the Lord of what is permitted and what is forbidden, you shall set him free, or we will contest it with you by our swords in fighting that will make the followers of falsehood doubt.” Ibn al-Zubayr replied, “By God, they are paltry in number. If I gave my forces permission, their heads would be plucked before an hour had passed.” Qays b. Mālīk said to him, “By God, if you try it, I expect you will be reached before you see done to us what you want to do.” Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah restrained his companions and cautioned them against discord (fitnah).

Then Abū al-Muʿtamir arrived with one hundred men, Hāniʿ b. Qays with one hundred, and Ẓabyān b. ʿUmarah with two hundred men and the money. Having entered the mosque, they shouted,
"Vengeance for al-Ḩusayn!" When Ibn al-Zubayr saw them, he was frightened of them. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and those with him departed for Shi'b 'Ali. They were reviling Ibn al-Zubayr and asking Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah for permission to go to fight him, but he continued to refuse. Four thousand men gathered with Muḥammad b. 'Ali at Shi'b ['Ali], and he divided the money among them.243

[The Siege of the Banū Tamīm in Khurāsān]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabārī]: In this year ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzīm244 besieged the men of Banū Tamīm in Khurāsān in order to kill those of them who had killed his son Muḥammad.

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾīnī]—al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd al-Jūzjānī245—al-Ṭufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī,246 who said: When the Banū Tamīm dispersed in Khurāsān during the days of Ibn Khāzīm, a number of their skilled horsemen—between seventy and eighty—went to the fortress of Fartanā.247 They made 'Uthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafīz al-Muzānī248 their leader, and with him were Shu'bāh b. Ṭahir al-Nahshali, Ward b. al-Falāq al-Anbari, Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb al-'Adawi, Jayhān b. Mashja'ah al-Dabbī, al-Ḥajjāj b. Nāshib al-'Adawi, and Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr, with the skilled horsemen of the Banū Tamīm. [Continuing,) he said: Ibn Khāzīm came against them. He besieged them and dug a fortified trench. [Continuing,) he said: The Banū Tamīm would come out to fight him and then return to the fortress. [Continuing,) he said: One day Ibn Khāzīm came out of his

243. Except for mentioning his presence at the pilgrimage in 68 (see Ṭabārī, II, 782, below), Ṭabārī does not record the subsequent fate of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. See Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 251–54; Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, V, 66–86.
244. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzīm al-Sulāmī was the governor of Khurāsān province. For the events leading up to the siege, see Ṭabārī, II, 488–96, 593–97; also EI2, s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzīm.
245. See Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madāʾīnīs," 127; Dhahabī, Mizān, I, 228.
246. The Banū 'Amm were a subtribe of the Tamīm. See Rotter, op. cit., 119–20.
247. The fortress of Fartanā was located at Marw al-Rūdḥ. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam, s.v.
248. His nisbah is given as al-Māzīnī below (Ṭabārī, II, 700). The latter may be correct, since the Banū Māzin were a subtribe of Tamīm, while the Muzaynah [nisbah, al-Muzānī] were a separate Muḥār tribe (Lisān, s.v.).
trench with six thousand men in battle order, and the men from
the fortress came out to meet him. 'Uthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafīz
said to the Banū Tamīm, “Avoid Ibn Khāzīm today, for I do not
think you have strength to prevail against him.” But Zuhayr b.
Dhu‘ayb al-‘Adawī swore that he would divorce his wife if he
retreated before he had broken their battle lines.249 Beside them
there was a riverbed into which water came during the winter,
but there was no water in it at that time. Zuhayr descended into it
and advanced. None of Ibn Khāzīm’s men noticed him until he
attacked them and pressed back those in the forefront against
those in the rear. They250 circled around. He hurried back, and
they followed him on both sides of the riverbed, shouting at him,
but with no one going down251 to fight him, until he had reached
the spot where he had climbed down. Coming out [of the river-
bed], he attacked them, so that they got out of his way until he
made his way back.

[Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzīm said to his men. When you
fight with Zuhayr, put hooks on your spears, and grapple them
into his gear, if you gain the upper hand over him. One day,
Zuhayr came out against them—they had attached hooks to their
spears in readiness for him. They fought him and caught four
spears in his armor, but he turned to attack them, and their hands
became unsteady. They let go of their spears, and he went back to
the fortress dragging four spears. [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzīm
sent Ghazwān b. Jaz’ al-‘Adawī to Zuhayr, saying to him, “Say
to Zuhayr, ‘If I guaranteed your safety, gave you a hundred thou-
sand [dirhams], and granted you Bāsār252 as a means of support
(ṭu‘māḥ), would you be loyal to me?’” Zuhayr replied to Ghazwān,
“Woe unto you! How can I be loyal to people who killed al-Ash‘ath
b. Dhu‘ayb?” Ghazwān let word of this slip out in the presence of
Mūsā, the son of ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzīm.

249. An oath to divorce one’s wife was one of the most serious oaths that could
be made.
250. Ms. O: he.
251. Ms. O: no one daring to go down.
to “Bāsār” on the basis of Bāṣārā, a city in Khurāsān mentioned by Ibn Khurra-
dādbīb (al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik, 37, l. 8), and Bāsārān, mentioned by al-
Ya‘qūbī (Kitāb-al-buldān, 289, l. 18).
[Continuing,] he said: When the siege became too long for the Banū Tamīm, they sent a message to Ibn Khāzīm, saying, "Let us leave, and we will disperse." He replied, "Not unless you submit to my judgment." They said, "We will submit to your judgment." Zuhayr said to them, "May your mothers be bereft of you! By God, he will kill you to the last man. If you are content to die, die as honorable men. Let us all go out: Either you will all die, or some of you will escape and some will die. I swear to God that if you attack them with true bravery, they will make a way for you as broad as the road to al-Mirbad. If you wish, I will be in front of you; and, if you wish, I will be behind you." [Continuing,] he said: They refused. So he said, "Then I will show you." He and Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr went out (Raqabah had a young Turkish lad [ghulām] of his with him), along with Shu’bah b. Zahir.

[Continuing,] he said: They attacked with unusual vigor, so that the men made way for them and they advanced. Zuhayr, however, returned to his companions. Entering the fortress, he said to his companions, "You see! So obey me." [Raqabah and his lad and Shu’bah continued to press forward.] But Zuhayr’s companions said, "Among us there are men who are too weak for this and who desire to live." Zuhayr said, "May God bring evil upon you! Will you abandon your companions? By God, I will not be the most timorous among you at the time of death!"

[Continuing,] he said: So they opened the fortress and came down. Ibn Khāzīm sent someone to them and had them bound. They were brought to him one by one. He wanted to spare them, but his son Mūsā refused, saying, "By God, if you pardon them, I will fall on my sword so that it comes out of my back!" ’Abdallāh [b. Khāzīm] said to him, "By God, I know what you are ordering me to do is wrong." Then he killed all but three of them. [Continuing,] he said: One of those three was al-Ḥajjāj b. Nāshib al-’Adawī. He had shot Ibn Khāzīm while the latter was besieging them and had broken his tooth. Ibn Khāzīm had sworn that if he captured him, he would kill him or cut off his hand. Now al-Ḥajjāj was a youth, and some of the Banū Tamīm who had kept

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253. This imprecation is not as strong as the literal translation suggests, but more like "You fools!"
254. Ms. O: They said, "We are too weak for this and desire to live."
aloof from 'Amr b. Ḥanẓalāh spoke to Ibn Khāzīm concerning
him. One of them said, "He is my cousin and a young, ignorant
lad. Give him to me." [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzīm gave him
to him, saying, "Get away, and let me not see you." [Continuing,
he said: There was also Jayhān b. Mashjā'ah al-Ḍabbi, who had
thrown himself on Ibn Khāzīm's son Muḥammad the day the
latter was killed. Ibn Khāzīm said, "Let this mule that walks
[on two feet] go." And there was a man from the Banū Sa'd who
had said on the day they met Ibn Khāzīm, "Turn back from the
skilled horseman of Muḍar."

[Continuing,] he said: They brought Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb. They
wanted to carry him bound, but he refused and walked with his
legs shackled, until he sat down before Ibn Khāzīm. The latter
said to him, "What thanks will you give if I release you and give
you Bāsār as a possession?" Zuhayr said, "If you did nothing but
forbear to shed my blood, I would thank you." But Ibn Khāzīm's
son Mūsā stood up and said, "Will you kill the female hyena and
leave the male? kill the lioness and leave the lion?" Ibn Khāzīm
said, "Woe unto you! Shall we kill a man like Zuhayr? Who will
there be to fight the Muslims' enemies? who to protect the women
of the Arabs?" Mūsā replied, "By God, had you—even you!—participated in shedding the blood of my brother, I would kill
you." Then a man from the Banū Sulaym approached Ibn Khāzīm
and said, "I beseech you to be mindful of God concerning Zuhayr." But Mūsā said to him, "Use him as a stud for your daughters!" Ibn
Khāzīm became angry and ordered Zuhayr to be killed. Zuhayr
said to him, "I have a request." "What is it?" he asked. "That you
kill me separately," he said, "and not mix my blood with that of
these base men; for I told them not to do what they did. I com-
mmanded them to die as honorable men and come out against you
with drawn swords. By God, had they done so, they would have
given this little son of yours a fright and would have made him
too worried about his own life to seek vengeance for his brother.
But they refused. Had they done it, not a man of them would have
been killed before he had killed several men." Ibn Khāzīm gave
orders concerning him, and he was taken aside and killed.

255. He had tried to prevent the murder. See Ṭabari, II, 594.
According to Maslamah b. Muḥārib: Whenever al-Aḥnaf b. Qays mentioned them, he said, "God curse Ibn Khāzim! As the price for his son, a foolish and stupid boy not worth anything of value,²⁵⁶ he killed many men from the Banū Tamim. Had he killed but one of them for him, he would have done enough. [Continuing,] he said: The Banū 'Adī asserted that, when they tried to carry Zuhayr b. Dhu’ayb, he refused. Leaning on his spear and gathering his legs together, he jumped the trench.

When news of their death reached al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl,²⁵⁷ he said:

You who find fault with me, I did nothing blameworthy in the fight with them;
my sword struck their chief and penetrated to the bone.
You who find fault with me, I did not turn away until men dispersed
and I found no place to advance.
You who find fault with me, the sword has destroyed me:
Whoever fights long with heroes returns wounded.
My eyes, if you shed tears, pour out
the blood that adheres closely to me, before pouring out any [other] blood.

After Zuhayr and the son of Bishr followed each other [in death],
and after Ward, shall I hope for any gain in Khurāsān?
You who find fault with me, how many days of war have I witnessed,
wheeling to charge again when the bad horseman drew back!

By "after Zuhayr," he meant Zuhayr b. Dhu’ayb. "The son of Bishr" is 'Uthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥṭafiz al-Māzini. Together with Ward b. al-Falaq al-‘Anbari, they were killed on that day, and Sulaymān b. al-Muḥṭafiz, Bishr’s brother, was also killed.

[Those in Office during the Year]

According to Abū Ja’far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. Muṣ’ab b. al-Zubayr was in charge of

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²⁵⁶. With no change of consonants, Arabic ‘īlq, "something of value," can be read as ‘alq, "a blood clot."
²⁵⁷. Al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl b. Qudāmah is mentioned as a skilled horseman of the tribe of Tamim, famous for his exploits in Khurāsān [Ibn Durayd, Ishtīqāq, 257].

[Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar Goes to Fight 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād]

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar went out, heading toward 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, to fight him. this took place eight nights before the end of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. 258

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Nāḍr b. Ṣāliḥ (who was alive at that time), Fuḍayl b. Khadijī 259 (who witnessed the event), and one or more others, who said: 260 After al-Mukhtār finished dealing with the people of [Jabbānāt] al-Sabī' and the people of al-Kunāsah, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar remained [in the city] only two days before al-Mukhtār sent him forth in the same direction as before to fight the Syrians. He left on Saturday, eight nights before the end of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 66. With him, al-Mukhtār sent his most eminent companions, skilled horsemen and valiant men who had seen and experienced war. Qays b. Ṭahfah al-Nahdī went out with him in charge of the fourth of the people of Medina. 261 He appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ḥayyāh al-Asādi commander of the fourth of Madhāḥij and Asad, sent al-Aswād b. Jarād al-Kindī in charge of the fourth of Kindah and Rabī'ah, and sent Ḥabīb b. Munqīdīh

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258. I.e., 21 (or 22, if the month had 30 days) Dhū al-Ḥijjah 66, corresponding to 19 or 20 July, 686. Balādhūrī, Ansāb, V, 248, reads: "six (some say eight) nights into Dhū al-Ḥijjah." Neither date is consistent with the date given above (Ṭabarī, II, 668) for the battle of Jabbānāt al-Sabī'. There is a discussion in Wellhausen, Oppositionsparteien, 84n.


260. The verb qālū is in the plural, implying a composite account, not the words of one observer. See the discussion of Abū Mikhnaf's methods in U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 68.

261. Cf. Tabarī, II, 1382 (anno 101): "The people of the Highland (al-ʿĀliyah) included the tribes of Quraysh, Kinānah, Azd, Bajilah, Khath'am, all of Qays ʿAylan, and Muzaynah. In al-Kūfah, the people of al-ʿĀliyah are called 'the fourth of the people of Medina.' In al-Baṣrah, they are called 'the fifth of the Highland (al-ʿĀliyah). '"
al-Thawri from Hamdân in charge of the fourth of Tamim and Hamdân.

Al-Mukhtar went out with Ibn al-Ashtar to escort him. When Ibn al-Ashtar reached Dayr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, al-Mukhtar's companions met him with the Chair (al-Kursi), borne upon a gray mule on which they used to carry it. They halted for him on the bridge. The man in charge of the Chair, Ḥawshab al-Bursūmi, was saying, “O Lord, preserve us alive in Thy obedience, and help us against enemies; be mindful of us, forget us not, and protect us.” His companions answered, “Amen, amen.” Fuḍayl continued: I heard Ibn Nawf al-Hamdānī say: Al-Mukhtar said:

By the Lord of “the loosed ones [sent out] successively,” we will kill rank after rank
And thousand upon thousand deviators.

Fuḍayl continued: When al-Mukhtar and Ibn al-Ashtar reached them, they crowded together in a great throng on the bridge. Together with Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, al-Mukhtar proceeded to the bridges of Ra’s al-Jālūt, which are beside Dayr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. Behold, the people with the Chair had halted on the bridges of Ra’s al-Jālūt, calling [on God] for assistance.

When al-Mukhtar arrived between the bridge of Dayr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and the bridges of Ra’s al-Jālūt, he halted, since he wanted to go back. He said to Ibn al-Ashtar, “Receive three charges from me: Fear God in your secret and public actions; march quickly; and, when you meet your foe, fight them as soon as you meet them. If you meet them by night, and can do so, do not wait for morning before attacking them. If you meet them by day, do not wait for night to descend on them before summoning them to the judgment of God.” Then he said, “Have you committed my advice

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263. For a discussion of this cult object, see Tabari, II, 702–06.
264. Qurʾān 77:1.
265. Al-qāsitīn: ‘Ali applied the word to his opponents at Siffin on the basis of Qurʾān 72:15: “Those who have surrendered sought rectitude, but as for those who have deviated, they have become firewood for Gehenna!” See Lane, Lexicon, VII, 2523, and Jafri, Origins, 96.
to memory?" Ibn al-Ashtar said, "Yes." "God accompany you," said al-Mukhtār and turned back. Ibrāhīm's army had been located at the site of Ḥammām A'yan, and from there he set forth with his army.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj, who said: After al-Mukhtār turned back, Ibrāhīm went on with his forces until he reached the people with the Chair. They were circling round it with hands upraised to heaven, praying for assistance. "O God," said Ibrāhīm, "do not take us to task for what the foolish ones have done after the manner of the Children of Israel—by Him in Whose hand my soul lies!—when they circled about their calf."266

After Ibrāhīm and his forces crossed the bridge, the people with the Chair went back.

An Explanation of the Chair Whereby al-Mukhtār and His Companions Prayed for Assistance267

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabari]: Its origin was as follows, according to what I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shab-bawayh, from his father, from Sulaymān,268 from 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak,269 from Ishāq b. Yahyā270 b. Ṭalḥah, from Ma'bad b. Khālid [al-Jadali], from Ṭufayl b. Ja'dah b. Hubayrah, who said: I was once in need of money. While in that state, I went out one day and came upon an oil merchant, a neighbor of mine, who had a chair covered with a thick [coat of] filth. It occurred to me that I should speak to al-Mukhtār about it. So I went back and sent...
word to the oil merchant, saying, "Send me the chair." He sent it to me. I went to al-Mukhtar and said, "I have been concealing something from you which I do not think I ought to. It seems best that I mention it to you." "What is it?" he asked. I answered, "A chair on which [my father] Ja'dah b. Hubayrah used to sit as if he thought that in regard to it there was a vestige of some knowledge." [Al-Mukhtar] said, "Praise God! And you put the matter off until today? Send to him! Send to him!" [Continuing,] he said: When it was washed, it turned out to be tamarisk wood, and it shone from the oil it had absorbed. It was brought to al-Mukhtar covered. He ordered me to be paid twelve thousand [dirhams], and then he summoned to congregational prayer.

Ma'bad b. Khālid al-Jadali continued, saying: Tufayl b. Ja'dah took me and Ismā'il b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh and Shabath b. Rib'i. People were running to the mosque. Al-Mukhtar said, "Nothing has existed among past communities but that its like will exist in this community. Among the Children of Israel there was the Ark, in which there was a remnant of what the family of Moses and the family of Aaron left behind. Among us, this is like the Ark. Uncover it!" When they removed its draperies, the Saba'iyyah stood up, raised their hands, and shouted "God is great!" three times. Shabath b. Rib'i stood up and said, "People of Mudar, do not become infidels." But they pushed him aside and drove him away; they shunned him and put him out. (Ishaq b. Yāhūyā b. Ṭalḥah) said: "By God, I hope these words will be accounted to the credit of Shabath!"

Presently, someone said, "Behold, 'Ubaydallah b. Ziyād has encamped with the Syrians at Bajumayrā." So they took the Chair out on a mule. It was covered; seven men held it on its right and seven on its left. The

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271. Ja'dah was the nephew of 'Ali; hence, it would be plausible for him to possess some relic of 'Ali. See below, Ṭabarī, II, 705.

272. The Arabic atharah (uthrah, or athrah) min 'ilm echoes Qur'an 46:4. The meaning is that Ja'dah used to sit upon the chair as if family tradition reported that it had belonged to 'Ali. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. atharah. The reading in Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 238 (athara 'min 'Ali, "a relic of 'Ali") should be rejected on textual grounds as a lectio facilior.


274. See note 56 above.

Syrians suffered a massacre such as they had never suffered before, and this tempted them even further; they advanced until they vied with each other in infidelity. I said, 'We belong to God!' and I regretted what I had done. The people spoke about the matter, and the Chair was made to disappear; I never saw it again.

According to ʿAbdallāh [b. Ahmad b. Shabbawayh]—his father Abū Ṣāliḥ [Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ]: On this subject, Aʾshā Hamdān composed the following, as I have been told on the authority of someone other than ʿAbdallāh [b. al-Mubārak]:

I bear witness against you that you are Sabaʿiyyah;
O picked troops of polytheism, I know you well!
I swear that your Chair is no Sakinah, even if cloths have been draped over it;
And that it is not like the Ark among us, even if Shibām, Nahd, and Khārif walk around it.
I am a man who loves the family of Muḥammad;
I have followed a revelation contained in the books of the Qurʾān.
I followed ʿAbdallāh [b. al-Zubayr],
when the hoary-headed and noble men of Quraysh, one after another, followed him.

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276. See note 156 above.
277. Shīrk, literally “associating [other gods with Allāh],” is a sin that would render a person outside the Islamic community.
278. Arabic sakinah is a loan word from Hebrew sheḵhinah, “dwelling,” specifically the Divine Presence in the Tabernacle in the wilderness (Exod. 25:8) and in the temple in Jerusalem. In Qurʾān 2:248, the word occurs in a context referring to the Ark of the Covenant: a prophet [unnamed] tells the Children of Israel, skeptical about whether Saul is really a God-appointed king over them, that “The sign of his kingship is that the Ark will come to you, in it a Sakinah from your Lord, and a remnant of what the folk of Moses and Aaron’s folk left behind, the angels bearing it.” Arabic exegesis explains the word in many ways, either abstract, “a [cause of] tranquillity” [based perhaps on the Christian notion of the Holy Spirit as paracletos, “comforter”], or as some sort of physical image that inspired fear in the enemy. See El, s.v.
279. Shibām, Nahd, and Khārif are clans of the tribe of Hamdān.
280. The Diwān of Aʾshā Hamdān [Poem 31], adds four extra lines: “Even though the tribesmen of Shākir circle round it, touch its wood, and devise, it will not help. Because of it, we ourselves have become obedient to Ibn al-Zubayr: among us there is no deception, nor are precedents cut off. The outcome, I think, will be in favor of the family of Muḥammad; the wronged will be helped, and the fearful become secure. My Lord will gather together a community that has become fragmented, among whom wars and enmities have raged.”
Also, al-Mutawakkil al-Laythi said:

Tell Abū Ishāq, if you come to him,
    that I am a nonbeliever as regards your Chair.

[The tribe of] Shibām goes leaping round its boards,
    and [the tribe of] Shākir ascribes inspiration to it.

Their eyes are as red around it
    as if they were swelling chickpeas.

Abū Mikhnaf, however, on the authority of certain of his shaykhs, mentions a story of this Chair different from the one that ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad mentions with the chain of authorities we have given going back to Ṭufayl b. Jaʿdah. We have been told Abū Mikhnaf’s account according to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—[Abū Mikhnaf]—Hishām b.ʿAbd al-Rahmān and his son, al-Hakam b. Hishām: Al-Mukhtar said to the family of Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī (Jaʿdah’s mother was Umm Ḥāni bint Abī Ṭalib, the full sister of ʿAlī b. ʿAbī Ṭalib), “Give me the Chair of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib.” “No,” they replied, “by God, we do not have it, nor do we know whence we can obtain it.” “Do not be foolish,” he said. “Go and bring it to me.” [Continuing,] he said: Thereupon, the family suspected that he would accept from them any chair they would bring him, saying it was the one. So they brought a chair and said, “That is it,” and he accepted it. [Continuing,] he said: Having wrapped it with silk and brocade, the men of Shibām and Shākir and the chief companions of al-Mukhtar marched out with it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿĀmir Abū al-Ashʿar al-Juhaṇī: When Ibn al-Zubayr was told about the Chair, he said, “Why don’t some of the Jundabs of Azd go to see it?”281 [Continuing,] Abū al-Ashʿar said: When the Chair was obtained, the

281. For the idiom, “ayna...’an,” see Dozy, Supplément, II, 46. Cf. the parallel passage in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 242: “Ibn ʿUmar, upon being told that al-Mukhtar had sought out ʿAlī’s Chair and was carrying it about on a gray mule, and that his companions were encircling it, praying for rain and victory, said, ‘Why don’t the Jundabs of Azd go to see it? One of them would not be deceived by it.’” [Read lā yaghtarru bihi, for the printed edition’s lā yuʾaqribuhū.] The allusion is to a pious companion of the Prophet, Jundab b. Kaʿb al-ʿAzdī, who was so incensed by the impostures of a sorcerer in al-Kūfah (the man had pretended to cut off his assistant’s head and reattach it), that he struck off the sorcerer’s head. He is supposed to have said, “If he is genuine, let him revive himself.” Al-Mukhtar, in other words, needs
first person to serve as its keeper was Mūsā b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿari, who used to come to al-Mukhtār and serve him when [al-Mukhtār] first came, because his mother was Umm Kulthum bint al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Afterwards, he was reproved and became ashamed of it. He therefore gave it to Ḥawshab al-Bursumi, who was the man in charge of it until al-Mukhtār perished.

[Continuing,] he said: One of al-Aʿsha’s paternal uncles was a man called Abū Umamah. He used to come into the majlis282 of his companions and say, “Today there has been established for us a [source of] inspiration the like of which men have never heard of. In it there is news of what will come to be.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿAmir: It was ʿAbdallāh b. Nawf who used to do this for them, and he used to say, “Al-Mukhtār commanded me to do it.” But al-Mukhtār disavowed him.

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282. The sitting place or assembly.
Among the events of this year was the death of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and of the Syrians who were with him.

The Death of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Šalt [al-Taymi]—Abū Sa‘īd al-Šayqal, who said: We departed with Ibn al-Ashtar, heading toward 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and the Syrians who were with him. We went out quickly, not turning aside, wanting to encounter him before he entered the land of Iraq.283 [Continuing,] he said: We arrived well before him at the borders of the land of Iraq and pushed on into the land of al-Mawṣil. Hurrying toward him and marching quickly, we met him at the Khāzir [River], beside a village called Bārītā, five farsakh from al-Mawṣil.284 In charge of his vanguard, Ibn al-Ashtar had

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283. See above, Ṭabari, II, 643. "Iraq" means the part of Mesopotamia south of Takrit; al-Mawṣil constituted a separate province.
284. I.e., about 15 miles east of al-Mawṣil. The Khāzir (or Khāzar) River is a
placed al-Tufayl b. Laqit, from the Wahbil [clan] of [the tribe of] Nakha', a fellow tribesman of his and a brave and valiant man. Having approached Ibn Ziyād, Ibn al-Ashtar drew Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth close to himself and began to march only in battle order. He drew all his forces close to himself, with his horsemen and foot soldiers, and began to advance with them all, not dividing them. He did, however, send al-Tufayl b. Laqit ahead with advance forces, so that he entered that village.

[Continuing,] he said: 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād came and encamped near them on the bank of the Khāzir. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulami sent word to Ibn al-Ashtar, saying, "I am on your side and want to meet you tonight." Ibn al-Ashtar sent to him, saying, "Meet me, if you wish." The whole of Qays was in al-Jazīrah and were opponents of Marwān and the family of Marwān. At that time, Marwān's army was from Kalb. Their commander was Ibn Bahdal.

'Umayr came to Ibn al-Ashtar at night and swore allegiance to him, informing him that he was in charge of his commander's right wing, and promising him that he would fall back with his men. Ibn al-Ashtar said, "What do you think best? Should I dig myself in and wait two or three days?" 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb replied, "Don't do it! We belong to God! What do they want but this? If they keep putting you off and procrastinating, it will be better for them. They greatly outnumber you, and the few gain no advantage over the many by procrastination. Rather, attack them, for they have been filled with fear of you. Come at them; for if they draw within sight of your companions and fight them day after day and time after time, they will feel at ease with them and gain courage against them." Ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] said, "Now I know you are advising me sincerely. You have spoken the truth. What you have


285. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb's tribe, the Banū Sulaym (nisbah al-Sulami), were part of the Qays Aylān; thus there was a tribal element in his offer. Cf. above, Ṭabarī, II, 643; and the parallel account in Dinawari, Akhbār, 301–02.

286. Mss. O and Co: some of them were.
said is the right idea; indeed, my commander recommended this idea to me and commanded me to follow it.” ‘Umayr said, “Do not go against his opinion. War has tested the old man, and he has experienced in it what we have not experienced. Rise early and fight with the man.”

‘Umayr then went back. That night, Ibn al-Ashtar kept his guards on alert all night long, and not a wink of sleep entered his eyes. At the crack of dawn he set his men in order, formed his battalions, and gave orders to his commanders. He sent out Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdi in charge of his right wing, and ‘Ali b. Mālik al-Jushami (the brother of Abū al-Aḥwaṣ) in charge of his left wing. He sent out ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abdallāh (Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar’s half-brother by his mother) in charge of the horsemen. Since his horsemen were few, he kept them near him, so that they were in the right wing and the main part of the army. He placed al-Ṭufayl b. Laqīṭ in charge of his foot soldiers, and his banner was with Muzāḥim b. Mālik. [Continuing,] he said: When dawn broke, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar led them in the morning prayer in the twilight. Then he led them out and lined them up, placing the commanders of the fourths in their positions. He made the commander of the right wing join the right wing, the commander of the left wing join the left wing, and the commander of the foot soldiers join the foot soldiers. He gathered the horsemen to himself, with ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abdallāh, his half-brother on his mother’s side, in charge of them, so that they were in the midst of the men.

Ibrāhīm dismounted and walked. He said to the men, “March,” and the men marched with him at a gentle pace, advancing little by little, until he reached the top of a great hill overlooking the enemy. There he sat down; none of the men of the enemy had yet moved. He dispatched ‘Abdallāh b. Zuhayr al-Salūlī, who rode a horse of his that shone with sleekness. Ibrāhīm said to him, “Ride your horse at a gallop and bring me a report about them.” ‘Abdallāh departed. Shortly thereafter he came back and said, “The enemy have come out in a state of confusion and dismay. One of their men met me, and all he could say over and over again

287. Literally, “Wars have bitten into him.” ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād is meant.
288. Another reading is, “what no one else has experienced.”
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was, 'O Shi'ah of Abū Turāb!289 O Shi'ah of the liar al-Mukhtar!' I said, 'The issue between you and us is too momentous for abuse.' He replied to me, 'O enemy of God, to what are you summoning us? You are fighting without an imām.'290 I said to him, 'No, it is vengeance for al-Ḥusayn, the son291 of the Messenger of God. Hand over to us 'Ubaydallah b. Ziyād, who killed the son of the Messenger of God and the lord of the youth of Paradise, so that we can kill him to avenge some of our mawāli whom he killed with al-Ḥusayn; for we do not consider him al-Ḥusayn's equal, that we might agree to his being retaliation for him. If you hand him over to us and we kill him for some of our mawāli whom he killed, we will set between you and us the Book of God or any righteous Muslim you wish as mediator.' He said to me, 'We had experience with you another time involving this sort of thing'—he meant two mediators—'and you acted treacherously.' 'How so?' I asked. He said, 'We appointed two mediators between you and us, but you were not satisfied with their decision.' I said to him, 'You have produced no proof [of treachery]. Our peace was made on condition that if both mediators agreed on a man, we would follow their decision, accept him, and swear allegiance to him. But they did not agree on one man and went each his own way. God did not direct and rightly dispose the two of them.' 'Who are you?' he asked. I told him and asked him, 'Who are you?' 'Gee up!' he said to his mule, urging it on. I said to him, 'You haven't given me my due! This is the beginning of your treachery.'"

[Continuing,] he said: Ibn al-Ashtar called for a horse of his, mounted it, and passed by all the standard-bearers, stopping beside each banner that he passed. Then he said, "O helpers of the religion [of Islam], partisans of truth, picked army of God, here is 'Ubaydallah b. Marjānāh,292 the murderer of al-Ḥusayn, the son

289. Abū Turāb ["Father of Dust," or "Dusty"] was a nickname given to 'Ali by Muhammad. Accounts differ about why it was given and whether it was meant to be laudatory or pejorative. The Umayyads, as is clear from this passage, used it pejoratively, sometimes calling the Shi'ah "Turābiyyah." Shi'i writers explain it as laudatory. See Ṭabarī, I, 1271–72 for one version of the story; full discussion in Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb," 347–52.
290. Another possible translation: "You are fighting on the side of a non-imām."
291. I.e., the descendant. He was Muhammad's grandson.
292. Marjānāh was the mother of 'Ubaydallah b. Ziyād (Ibn Qutaybah, Ma'ārif, 347). Calling a man by his mother's name was an insult.
of ‘Ali and of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God. He prevented him, his daughters, his wives, and his partisans from reaching the water of the Euphrates and drinking of it when they were in sight of it. He prevented him from coming to the son of his paternal uncle so as to reach a peaceful settlement with him. He prevented him from going back to his dwelling and his family. He prevented him from traveling anywhere in the wide world, until he slew him and slew the members of his family. By God, Pharaoh never did to the noble sons of the Children of Israel what the son of Marjānāh did to the members of the family of the Messenger of God—God bless him and grant him peace!—people from whom God removed uncleanness and whom he truly purified. God has brought him to you and has brought you to him. By God, I hope God has brought you and him together in this place only that He may give relief to your hearts through the shedding of his blood by your hands; for God knows that you have come forth in zeal for the family of your Prophet.”

Ibrāhim b. al-Ashtar went between the right wing and the left. He went among all the men, arousing their desire for holy war, and urging them to fight. Then he returned and dismounted under his banner, and the enemy advanced toward him. Ibn Ziyād had placed al-Huṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī in charge of his right wing, ‘Umayr b. al-Hubāb al-Sulamī in charge of his left wing, and Shurahbil b. Dhi al-Kalā in charge of the horsemen. He himself walked among the foot soldiers. When the two battle lines drew near each other, al-Huṣayn b. Numayr with the right wing of the Syrians attacked the left wing of the Kifans, which was under ‘Ali b. Mālik al-Jushamī. The latter held his ground against him by himself and was killed. His banner was taken up by Qurrah, ‘Ali’s son, who, together with some men of the guard, was also killed. The left wing was put to flight. The banner of ‘Ali b. Mālik al-Jushamī was taken up by ‘Abdallāh b. Warqā b. Junādah al-

293. Al-Ḥusayn sent his cousin, Muslim b. ‘Aqil b. Abi Ṭalib, to al-Kūfah in response to the invitation of the Kufan Shi‘ah. Muslim was received enthusiastically and wrote to al-Husayn to come to al-Kufah. For this, Muslim was beheaded by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. See Jafri, Origins, 182–84.
295. The implication is that the enemy are unbelievers, against whom holy war (jihād) is an obligation.
Salūlī, the nephew of Ḥubshi b. Junādah, the companion of the Prophet. Confronting the men of the left wing as they were fleeing, he said, “To me, O picked troops of God!” Most of them went to him. He said, “Here is your commander fighting. Let us go to him.” He went forward until he came to him. There he was, head uncovered, calling out, “O picked troops of God, to me! I am Ibn al-Ashtar. The best of those of you who fled are those of you who turn back [to fight]; he who turns from evil is no wrong-doer.” So his men returned to him. He sent to the commander of the right wing, saying, “Attack their left wing,” for he hoped at that time that ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb would fall back before them, as he had said. The commander of the right wing, Sufyān b. Yazid b. al-Mughaffal, attacked, but ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb held his ground against him and fought him vigorously. When Ibrāhīm saw that, he said to his companions, “Head toward this main body of men; by God, if we disperse it, those of them you see to the right and the left will flee like frightened birds taking wing.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Anṣārī—Warqā’ b. Āzib [al-Asadi], who said: We walked toward them. Having drawn near them, we fought briefly with spears and then turned to swords and maces and struck blows at each other with them for a large part of the day. By God, I can compare the sound I heard of iron on iron as we fought with each other only to that of fullers’ mallets in the house of al-Walīd b. ‘Uqbah b. Abī Mu‘ayt. [Continuing,] he said: Thus it was. Then God defeated them and made them turn their backs to us [in flight].

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥašīrah297—Abū Ṣādiq:298 Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar would say to his standard bearer, “Plunge into them with your banner.” The standard bearer would reply to him, “May I be made your ransom! I have no room to advance.” “Indeed you have,” Ibn al-Ashtar would reply. “Your

297. Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥašīrah al-Azdi Abū Nu‘mān al-Kūfī was a muḥaddith of the sixth “class” and lived to the age of 100. The traditions related from him concern the virtues of the family of the Prophet. He was considered an extreme Shi‘ī, even a Khashābi. See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 205.
comrades will fight\textsuperscript{299} and, God willing, they will not flee.” When his standard bearer advanced with his banner, Ibrāhīm attacked with his sword and felled every man he struck, driving the men before him as if they were sheep. Whenever he attacked with his banner, his companions attacked as one man.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mishraqī:\textsuperscript{300} ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād had with him on that day a sharp sword that spared nothing it touched. When his forces were defeated, ‘Uyaynah b. Asmā’ picked up his sister, Hind bint Asmā’ (she was the wife of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād), and took her\textsuperscript{301} away. He recited the following verse of rajaz poetry:\textsuperscript{302}

If you sever our bonds, oft
in the fray will I make the courageous distinguished man perish.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fudayl b. Khadij: When Ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] attacked Ibn Ziyād and his forces, the latter were defeated after fierce fighting and many deaths on both sides. When ‘Umaryr b. al-Ḥubāb saw that Ibrāhīm’s men had defeated those of ‘Ubaydallāh, he sent word to Ibrāhīm, saying, “Shall I come to you now?” Ibrāhīm replied, “Do not come to me until the anger of God’s picked troops abates, for I fear they may do you harm.”

Ibn al-Ashtar said, “I killed a man who smelled of musk.\textsuperscript{303} His arms went to the east and feet to the west. He was under a separate banner on the bank of the Khāzir River.”\textsuperscript{304} They looked to see who he was, and it turned out to be ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād who had been slain: Ibrāhīm had struck him and cut him in two, so that his feet had gone to the east and his arms to the west. Sharīk b. Jādīr al-Taghlibi attacked al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī, supposing him

\textsuperscript{299.} Mss. O and Co add, “behind it.”
\textsuperscript{300.} Full name: al-Ḍahḥāk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mishraqī (U. Sezgin, \textit{Abū Mikhnaf}, 200).
\textsuperscript{301.} Possibly, “took it (i.e., the sword) away.”
\textsuperscript{302.} Rajaz, the least formal of the Arabic meters, is often used for hastily improvised verses.
\textsuperscript{303.} The parallel in Baladhuri, \textit{Ansāb}, V, 250, adds that Ibn al-Ashtar did not know for certain who the man was. Cf. also Dinawari, \textit{Akhbār}, 303.
\textsuperscript{304.} Mss. O and Co read: “‘I killed a man under a separate banner on the bank of the Khāzir River.’ So they looked for him, and I smelled the odor of musk from him. His arms had gone to the east and his feet to the west.”
to be 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. Each of them grasped the other, and al-
Taghlibi cried out, "Kill me and the son of the whore." Ibn al-
Numayr was killed.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Ahmad—his father—Sulaymān [b. 
Ṣāliḥ]—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak—al-Ḥasan b. Kathīr, who said: 
Sharīk b. Jadhīr al-Taghlibi had been with 'Alī (may God bless him 
and grant him peace) and had been injured in the eye with him. 305
When the war involving 'Alī ended, he made his way to Jerusalem 
and was there when the murder of al-Ḥusayn was reported to him. 
He said, "I swear to God that if I am given the power to do so,"— 
that is, to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn—"I will kill Ibn Marjānah 
or die in the attempt." When he was told that al-Mukhtār had 
come out seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn, he went to 
him. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār sent him with Ibrāhīm b. 
al-Ashtar, and he was placed in charge of the horsemen from [the 
tribal group of] Rabi'āh. He said to his companions, "Thus have I 
sworn to God." Three hundred men swore allegiance to him until 
death. When the encounter took place, he attacked and with his 
companions began to rip apart line after line until they reached 
'Ubaydallāh. The dust rose and nothing was to be heard but the din 
of iron and swords. When the men separated, the two lay dead, al-
Taghlibi and 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, with no one between them. 
[Continuing,] he said: It was he who said:

All life I think loathsome, 
save planting the spear firmly in the horse's shadow.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. 
Khadijī, who said: Shurahbil b. Dīḥ al-Kalā' was killed. Three 
men claimed to have killed him: Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal 
al-Azdi, Warqā' b. Āzib al-Asadi, and 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr al-
Sulami.

[Continuing,] he said: When 'Ubaydallāh's forces were defeated, 
Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar's men pursued them. Those who drowned 
were more than those who were slain. Their camp was taken, 
with all sorts of things in it. This was reported to al-Mukhtār, 
who had been saying to his companions, "Victory will come 
to you today or tomorrow, God willing, at the hands of Ibrāhīm

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b. al-Ashtar and his forces, who will have defeated the forces of 'Ubaydallāh b. Marjānāh." [Continuing,] he said: Having appointed al-Sā'ib b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī as his deputy over the city, al-Mukhtar left al-Kūfah. He led the men out and encamped at Sābāṭ.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mishraqī—al-Sha'bī, who said: My father and I were among those who went out with him. [Continuing,] he said: When we had passed beyond Sābāṭ, al-Mukhtar said to the people, "Rejoice, for God's picked troops have indeed slain them with the sword for a day until nightfall at Naṣībīn, or close to Naṣībīn, and just this side of their own homes. Most of them, however, are besieged at Naṣībīn."

[Continuing,] he said: We entered al-Madā'in and assembled in his presence. He ascended the pulpit. By God, even while he was preaching to us and commanding us to be earnest, hold right beliefs, exert ourselves, and be firm in obedience and in seeking vengeance for the blood of the people of [the Prophet's] family, the good news came to him, one message after another, about the death of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the defeat of his forces, the taking of his camp, and the killing of the Syrian ashraf. So al-Mukhtar said, "You picked troops of God, did I not announce this good news to you before it took place?" "Yes," they said, "you said so."

[Continuing,] he said: A certain neighbor of ours from the tribe of Hamdān said to me, "Do you believe now, O Sha'bi?" [Continuing,] he said: I said, "What should I believe? Should I believe that al-Mukhtar knows the invisible? I will never believe it." He said, "Didn't he tell us they had been defeated?" I said to him, "He told us they had been defeated at Naṣībīn in the land of al-Jazīrah, but it was at Khāzir in the land of al-Mawṣil." He said, "By God, O Sha'bi, you will not believe until you see 'the painful chastisement.'" Al-Mishraqī said: I asked al-Sha'bi, "Who was this man from Hamdān who was saying this to you?" He answered, "A man who, by my life, was brave and who was later

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306. Naṣībīn, an important city of al-Jazīrah province, lay about 120 miles northwest of al-Mawṣil. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v.
307. Mss. O and Co read, "and have inherited their homes."
308. The Qur'ān speaks frequently of the "painful chastisement," i.e., the punishment in hell that awaits people who deny God's signs.
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killed with al-Mukhtar at the Battle of Ḥarūrā'. He was called Salmān b. Ḥimyar, from the Thawr clan of Hamdān.'

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtar returned to al-Kūfah. Ibn al-Ashtar went from his camp to al-Mawṣil and sent out his financial agents (ʿummāl) over the territory. He sent out his brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh, to be in charge of Naṣibin, and he subdued Sinjār, Dārā, and the adjacent territory of al-Jazīrah.309 The people of al-Kūfah whom al-Mukhtar had fought and defeated310 went out and joined Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in al- Başrah. Among those who went to Muṣ'ab was Shabath b. Rib'ī.

Praising Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and his companions for killing 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqi said the following:

There came upon you a young man, one of the chiefs of [the tribe of] Madhḥī, courageous against enemies, unflinching.
Son of Ziyād, be slain in retaliation for the greatest Mālik;311 taste the blade of a burnished, piercing two-edged [sword].
We smote you with the cutting of the sword in fury,312 when we slew a slayer in retaliation for a man slain.
May God reward the picked troops of God, for they sated my thirst for vengeance upon 'Ubaydallāh yesterday.

[Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr Becomes Governor of al- Başrah]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr removed al-Qubā'313 from al- Başrah and sent his own brother Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr to be in charge of it.

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309. Sinjār lies about 55 miles west of al-Mawṣil. Dārā lies about 20 miles west of Naṣibin. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.vv. Cf. the longer lists of agents to be found in Balāḏuri, Ansāb, V, 251; Dinawari, Akhbār, 302.
310. I.e., the ashraf whom al-Mukhtar had defeated at the Battle of Jabbānat al-Sabi' in Dhū al-Hijjah 66 (July 686).
311. I.e., Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī, surnamed al-Ashtar, the father of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar. Appointed by 'Ali to the governorship of Egypt, he was poisoned by an agent of Mu'āwiyah. See Ṭabarī, I, 3393f.
312. Instead of "in fury," the Diwān, 34, reads, "and we did no wrong."
313. Full name: Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Abi Rabī'ah al-Qurashi al-Makhzūmī al-Qubā'.
According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā‘ini]—al-Sha‘bī—Wāṣfī b. Abī Yāsir, who said: ‘Amr b. Sarḥ, a mawlā of al-Zubayr, used to come to us. He said to us: “By God, I was with the party that came from Mecca to al-Baṣrah with al-Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr.” [Continuing,] he said: Muṣ‘ab came with his face muffled. Having made his camel kneel by the door of the mosque, he entered and ascended the pulpit. The people said, “Commander! Commander!”

[Continuing,] he said: When al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī‘ah, who had been the city’s commander before him, came, al-Muṣ‘ab unveiled his face. The people recognized him and said, “Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr!” He said to al-Ḥārith, “Come up! Come up!” So the latter ascended and sat a step below Muṣ‘ab on the pulpit. [Continuing,] he said: Then al-Muṣ‘ab stood. Having praised and extolled God (and, by God, he did not speak a great deal), he said, “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Ta, Sin, Mim. Those are the signs of the Manifest Book. We will recite to thee something of the tiding of Moses and Pharaoh.” When he reached the words, “He was of the workers of corruption,” he pointed his hand in the direction of Syria. [Continuing to recite, he said,] “Yet We desired to be gracious to those that were abased in the land, and to make them leaders, and to make them the inheritors.” Here he pointed his hand in the direction of the Ḥijāz. “And to show Pharaoh and Haman, and their hosts, what they were dreading from them.” Here he pointed his hand in the direction of Syria.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā‘ini]—‘Awānah, who said: When Muṣ‘ab came to al-Baṣrah, he delivered a sermon to the people and said: “People of al-Baṣrah, I have been told that you nickname your commanders. I have named myself ‘al-Jazzār’ (the Slaughterer).”


315. Mss. O and Co, Muṣ‘ab


317. I.e., Pharaoh.

318. The nickname alludes to generosity (slaughtering many camels to feed
During this year, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr marched against al-Mukhtar and killed him.

Why Muṣʿab Marched against Him; an Account of Mukhtar’s Death

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaf—Habīb b. Budayl, who said: When Shabath [b. Ribʿi] came to join Muṣʿab, he was riding a female mule whose tail had been docked and the tip of whose ear had been cut. He had torn his tunic (qabd) and was shouting, “Help! Help!” Someone went to Muṣʿab and told him that there was a man at the gate with his tunic torn shouting for help, and he described him. Muṣʿab said, “Yes, this is Shabath b. Ribʿi; no one else would do this. Bring him in.” Shabath was brought before Muṣʿab. The Kūfan ashraf came before Muṣʿab and told him how they had gathered around Shabath, what they had suffered, and how their own slaves and mawālī had risen against them. They complained to him and asked him to assist them and march against al-Mukhtar with them.

Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays also came to them. He had not been present at the fighting in al-Kūfah, having been in a fortress of his at Ṭīzanābād, near al-Qādisiyyah. When the defeat of the men was reported to him, he prepared himself to march forth. Al-Mukhtar inquired about him, was told where he was, and sent ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād al-Khathʿami with a hundred men to deal with him. When Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was told that they were marching against him and had drawn near, he went out into the desert in the direction of al-Muṣʿab, until he joined him. Having reached al-Muṣʿab, he urged the latter to go forth. Muṣʿab drew him near to himself and honored him because of his high guests), rather than to bloodthirstiness. Cf. Dozy, Supplément, 1, 192 (s.v. jazūr). In Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 281, the remark occurs in the context of descriptions of Muṣʿab’s generosity.

319. Ḥabīb b. Budayl al-Nahshali was governor of al-Rayy in 131/748. See Ṭabarī, III, 2, 3.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd: When al-Muṣ'ab was about to march against al-Kūfah, many men having come to him, he said to Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, “I will not go until al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah comes to me.” Al-Muṣ'ab wrote to al-Muhallab, who was his governor over Fārs, saying, “Come to us, so that you may be present in our enterprise, for we are about to march against al-Kūfah.” However, al-Muhallab and his companions delayed, giving as reason something having to do with taxes (kharāj), not wishing to go forth. Muṣ'ab therefore ordered Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, among the things he urged him to do, to go to al-Muhallab and bring him. He informed him that he would not set out unless al-Muhallab came. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath took al-Muṣ'ab’s letter to al-Muhallab. When the latter read it, he said to Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, “Does someone like you, Muḥammad, come as a letter carrier? Could al-Muṣ'ab find no letter carrier besides you?” Muḥammad [b. al-Ash'ath] replied, “By God, I am nobody’s letter carrier—except that our slaves and mawālī have taken our wives, children, and families from us by force!”

Al-Muhallab therefore set out. He came bringing many troops and much money with him, with such troops and in such a state of readiness as none of the people of al-Baṣrah could match. When al-Muhallab entered al-Baṣrah, he went to al-Muṣ'ab’s door in order to go in to meet him, having obtained permission for the men. However, the gatekeeper barred his way, not recognizing him Al-Muhallab raised his hand and broke the man’s nose. The man went inside to al-Muṣ'ab with his nose dripping blood. “What happened to you?” asked Muṣ'ab. He answered, “A man I do not know hit me.” Al-Muhallab entered. When the gatekeeper

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321. The parallel in Dinawarī, Akhbār, 310, puts the number of Kūfans who had left for al-Baṣrah at 10,000.
322. Arabic, Fāris [Persian, Fārs or Pārs]: The Iranian province lying on the Persian Gulf, east of Khūzistān and west of Kirmān. Its chief city at this time was Iṣṭakhr. Shirāz, located in it, was founded later by al-Ḥajjāj. See El², s.v.; Yāqūt, Muʾjam, s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, 6, 248ff.
saw him, he said, “That’s the one!” Al-Muṣ‘ab said to him, “Go back to your post.”


This was reported to al-Mukhtār, who stood up among his companions, praised and extolled God, and said, “People of al-Kūfah! People of the religion [of Islam], upholders of the truth, helpers of the weak, and partisans of the Messenger and of the family of the Messenger! Those who have fled from you, who sought to harm you, have gone to their fellow transgressors and drawn them into error against you, that truth may cease and vanity be lifted up, and that the friends of God may be slain. By God, if you perish, God will be worshiped on earth only with lying against God and cursing against the family of His Prophet.325 Rally to the call with Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ. If you meet them, you will slay them, God willing, as ‘Ad and Iram were slain.”326

323. Khums, pl. akhmās, “fifth”: The army of al-Baṣrah was divided into five divisions.
324. Arabic al-ʻĀliyah refers to the highlands of the Ḥijāz north and east of Medina. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, s.v., gives a list of tribes included in this area. See note 261.
326. ‘Ad and Iram appear in the Qurʾān as examples of nations that perished, ‘Ad because it rejected the prophet sent to it by God. The two names are juxtaposed in Qurʾān 89:7. See Elż, s.vv.
Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ went out and encamped at Ḥammām Aʿyan. Al-Mukhtār summoned the heads of the fourths (arbāʾ) who had been with Ibn al-Ashtar and sent them with Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ as they had been with Ibn al-Ashtar. (They had left Ibn al-Ashtar because they thought he was making light of al-Mukhtār’s enterprise, and had departed from him.) Al-Mukhtār sent them with Ibn Shumayṭ and sent a massive army with him. Ibn Shumayṭ went out. In charge of his vanguard, he sent Ibn Kāmil al-Shākirī. Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ marched until he arrived at al-Madhrā.\textsuperscript{327} Al-Muṣʿab came and encamped near him.

Each of them mustered his army, and they advanced toward each other. Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ put ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil al-Shākirī in charge of his right wing, ʿAbdallāh b. [Anas b.\textsuperscript{328}] Wahb b. Naḍlah al-Jushmanī in charge of his left wing, Razīn ʿAbd al-Salūlī in charge of the horsemen, Katḥir b. Ismāʿīl al-Kindī (at the battle of Khāzir he had been with Ibn al-Ashtar) in charge of the foot soldiers, and Kaysān Abū ʿAmrah (a mawlā of ʿUraynah) in charge of the mawālī.

Having been put in charge of the left wing, ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb b. Anas\textsuperscript{329} al-Jushmanī came to Ibn Shumayṭ and said to him, "Mawālī and slaves are weaklings when it comes time to show true fortitude. Although you are walking, they have many men on horseback with them. Order them to dismount with you, for they will have an example to emulate in you. I fear that if they are assaulted for a time and attacked with spears and swords, they will flee on the backs of their horses and abandon you. However, if you make them go on foot, they will have no choice but to hold out." [ʿAbdallāh b. Anas] said this only out of rancor toward the mawālī and slaves, because of what they [sc. the ashraf] had experienced at their hands in al-Kūfah. If the battle turned against them, he wanted them to be on foot and none of them to escape. Ibn Shumayṭ did not suspect him; believing that he only wanted to give him good advice, so that they would hold out and fight, he

\textsuperscript{327} Al-Madhrā, the main city of the Maysān district, lay about 200 miles southeast of al-Kūfah and 40 miles north of al-Ṭārah, on the shore of a backwater formed by a former bed of the Tigris. See Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, 42–3.

\textsuperscript{328} Cf. Baladhuri, \textit{Ansāb}, V, 253 [and note].

\textsuperscript{329} Sic, except in Ms. C, which omits "b. Anas."
said, "You mawālī, dismount with me and fight." So they dismounted with him and walked in front of him and his banner.

Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr came. He had put 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn in charge of the horsemen. Having approached Ibn Shumayṭ and his forces, 'Abbād said, "We summon you only to the Book of God, the Sunnah of His Messenger, and allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr." The other side said, "We summon you to the Book of God, to the Sunnah of His Messenger, to allegiance to the commander al-Mukhtar, and to our making this issue a matter to be determined by consultation (shūrā) among the family of the Prophet. As for any person who alleges that someone ought to rule over them,330 we disavow him and will strive against him." 'Abbād returned and reported to al-Muṣ'ab. Al-Muṣ'ab said to him, "Go back and attack them." 'Abbād went back and attacked Ibn Shumayṭ and his forces, but none of them gave way; then he returned to his position. Al-Muḥallab attacked ('Abdallāh) b. Kāmil. The forces [of the latter] jostled331 each other in the fray,332 and Ibn Kāmil dismounted. Al-Muḥallab then drew back from him, and [Ibn Kāmil]333 stood his ground. They stopped [fighting] for a time; then al-Muḥallab said to his forces, "Charge them with true bravery, for the enemy have given you hope by their confusion." So he made a formidable attack on them, and they retreated. Ibn Kāmil held his ground with foot soldiers from Hamdān, and al-Muḥallab could hear the men's battle cry, "I am the young man of Shākir! I am the young man of Shibām! I am the young man of Thawr!" But it was only a short time before they were defeated.

'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar attacked 'Abdallāh b. Anas. The latter fought for a time and then retreated. All the men together attacked [Aḥmar] b. Shumayṭ, who fought until he was killed. His men called to each other, "Men of Bajilah and Khath'ām, be steadfast!" But al-Muḥallab called to them, "Flee! Flight is safer for you today. Why will you kill yourselves on the side of these slaves? God has led your enterprise astray." Then he looked toward 330. Viz., the family of the Prophet.
331. Mss. O and Co read: "They jostled each other."
332. For this meaning of jāla, see Blachère, Dictionnaire, s.v.
333. The antecedent is unclear.
his companions and said, "By God, I think the killing has been vehement today only among my men." The horsemen turned on Ibn Shumayt’s foot soldiers, who separated and fled, taking to the desert. Al-Muṣ'ab dispatched `Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn in charge of the horsemen, saying, "Behead any prisoner you take." And he sent Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath with a large body of horsemen, Kūfan horsemen who were among the people al-Mukhtār had expelled, saying, "Take your revenge!" The Kūfans were even more severe than the Basrans toward those who were defeated. They killed every fleeing man they overtook and pardoned no prisoner that they took. [Continuing,] he said: Of that army, only a group of horsemen escaped; the foot soldiers perished, except for a few.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ibn `Ayyāsh al-Mantūf, who said: Mu‘āwiyyah b. Qurrah al-Muzani said [to me], "I caught up with one of them, put the head of my spear into his eye, and began mashing his eye with the head of my spear." I said to him, "You did that to him?" "Yes," he said, "we thought it more permissible to spill their blood than to kill Turks and Daylamites." Mu‘āwiyyah b. Qurrah was a judge of the people of al-Baṣrah.

Concerning the battle at al-Madhār, al-A'shā said:

Yea, has it reached you? Reports are told about what [the tribe of] Bajilah encountered at al-Madhār. There a strong blow was ordained for them, and a well-aimed thrust at the beginning of the day. It was as if a cloud had hurled thunderbolts upon them and encompassed them with destruction there. Announce humiliation to al-Mukhtār’s Shi‘ah,
if you pass by the little city\textsuperscript{338} of al-Kūfah. Their fallen men and the many remnants of their army slaughtered in the deserts delighted my eye.
I did not rejoice that my people were killed, even if they, in truth, were empowered to choose;\textsuperscript{339} Rather, I rejoiced at what overtook Abū Ishāq\textsuperscript{340}—shame and disgrace.

Al-Muṣ'ab advanced across the reeds in the direction of Wāsiṭ.\textsuperscript{341} (The present city of Wāsiṭ had not yet been built at that time.) He took the road to Kaskar,\textsuperscript{342} and then loaded the foot soldiers, their baggage, and those who were weak onto boats and traveled by way of a canal called the Khurshādh. From that canal, he came out onto a canal called Qūsān, whence he brought his men out onto the Euphrates.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij al-Kindi: The people from al-Baṣrah would get out and pull their boats, saying: Al-Muṣ'ab has accustomed us to pulling hawisers and ships long and hollow.

[Continuing,] he said: When the Persians who were with al-Mukhtār learned what had befallen their brethren with Ibn Shumayt, they said in Persian, "Īn bār durōgh guft," meaning, "This time he has lied."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafi—‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ‘Umayr al-Thaqafi, who said: By God, I was sitting by al-Mukhtār when the defeat of the men

\textsuperscript{338.} Al-Kuwayfah, the diminutive of al-Kūfah, is probably being used contumuously. There was, however, a place called Kuwayfat Ibn 'Umar, near Baziqiyā in the district of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v. al-Kuwayfah.

\textsuperscript{339.} The translation follows the Leiden text (\textit{fi khiyārī}) and von Gotta, \textit{Agānī-artikel}, 51. The sense would be: "even if they willingly chose to follow the error of al-Mukhtār."

\textsuperscript{340.} I.e., al-Mukhtār.

\textsuperscript{341.} The city of Wāsiṭ, founded in 84/703 by al-Ḥajjāj, lay on the Tigris, approximately equidistant (50 leagues) from Baghdad, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and Ahwāz. From al-Madhār, the site of Wāsiṭ lay about 100 miles to the northwest. South of Wāsiṭ, the Tigris flowed into the Great Swamp, the "reeds" to which the text refers. See Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, 39–40; \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{1}, s.v.

\textsuperscript{342.} Kaskar was a town across the river from Wāsiṭ and gave its name to the surrounding district. See Le Strange, loc. cit.; \textit{EI}\textsuperscript{2}, s.v.
and what had befallen them was reported to him. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtar turned to me and said, "By God, the slaves have been killed on an unheard-of scale." Then he said, "Ibn Shumayt and Ibn Kāmil have been killed, as well as others," and he named Arab casualties each of whom was better in war than a multitude of men. [Continuing,] he said: I said to him, "By God, this is a disaster." He said to me, "There is no escape from death, and there is no death I would rather die than one like that of Ibn Shumayt. How excellent the deaths of noble men!" [Continuing,] he said: Thus, I realized that the man had resolved inwardly that, if he did not attain his object, he would fight until he died.

When it was reported to al-Mukhtar that Muṣ'ab's forces were coming toward him by water and by land, he took his men and encamped at al-Saylahīn, facing the confluence of the al-Ḥīrah, al-Saylahīn, al-Qādisiyah, and Yūsuf canals. He dammed the Euphrates below the confluence of the canals, so that all the water of the Euphrates went into these canals, and the boats of the Başrans were left in the mud. When they saw this, they got out of the boats and walked. Their horsemen galloped forward, reached the dam, broke it, and headed toward al-Kūfah. When he saw this, al-Mukhtar went toward them and encamped at Ḥarūrā', blocking their way to al-Kūfah. He had fortified his palace and the mosque and had brought provisions for the siege into his palace.

Al-Muṣ'ab came marching toward al-Mukhtar, who was at Ḥarūrā' and had left 'Abdallah b. Shaddād as his agent in charge of al-Kūfah. Al-Mukhtar came out to meet Muṣ'ab, having put Sulaym b. Yazid al-Kindī in charge of his right wing and Saʿīd b. Munqidh al-Hamdāni al-Thawrī in charge of his left wing. 'Abdallah b. Qurād al-Khath'āmi was in charge of al-Mukhtar's picked troops (šurtah) that day. Al-Mukhtar sent 'Umar b. 'Abdallah al-Nahdi in charge of the horsemen and Mālik b. 'Amr al-Nahdi in charge of the foot soldiers. Muṣ'ab put al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufrah in charge of his right wing, 'Umar b.

[Continuing,] he said: Muṣʿab put Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in charge of the Kūfans. Muḥammad came and encamped between al-Muṣʿab and al-Mukhtār, moving to the west and to the right. [Continuing,] he said: When al-Mukhtār saw that, he sent one of his companions against each of the fifths of the Baṣrans. He sent Saʿīd b. Munqidh, the commander of his left wing, against the [fifth of] Bakr b. Wāʿil, which was led by Mālik b. Mismaʿ al-Bakrī. He sent ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmi, who was in charge of his treasury, against the [fifth of] ‘Abd al-Qays, which was led by Mālik b. al-Mundhir. He sent ‘Abdallāh b. Jaʿdah al-Qurashi al-Makhzūmī against the [fifth of] the Highlanders, who were led by Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī. He sent Musāfīr b. Saʿīd b. Nimrān al-Nāʾītī against the [fifth of] al-Azd, which was led by Ziyād b. ‘Amr al-‘Ataki. He sent Sulaym b. Yazīd al-Kindī, the commander of his right wing, against the [fifth of] Banū Tamīm, which was led by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. He sent al-Sāʿīb b. Mālik al-Ashʿārī against Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath. He himself halted among the rest of his forces.

The men advanced and closed with each other. Saʿīd b. Munqidh and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Shurayḥ attacked [the fifths of] Bakr b. Wāʿil and ‘Abd al-Qays, which were in the left wing under ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Maʿmar. The forces of Rabiʿah348 fought them fiercely and held their own against them, but Saʿīd b. Munqidh and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Shurayḥ did not abandon the attack: when one attacked and withdrew, the other then attacked, and sometimes both attacked together.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Muṣʿab sent word to al-Muhallab, saying, “Why are you waiting to attack those across from you? Don’t you see what these two fifths have been encountering since the day began? Attack with your forces.” Al-Muhallab replied, “By my life, I am not one to make the Azd and Tamim slaughter,

348. I.e., the forces from the tribes of Bakr b. Wāʿil and ‘Abd al-Qays, both of which belonged to the grouping of Rabiʿah tribes.
for fear of the people of al-Kūfah, until I see my opportunity." 349

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār sent word to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿdah, saying, "Attack those opposite you." Accordingly, he attacked the Highlanders and put them to flight, so that they came at last to al-Muṣʿab. Not being one to flee, al-Muṣʿab knelt on his knees and shot his arrows, and the men took up a position beside him. The two sides fought for a time and then separated.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Muṣʿab sent to al-Muhallab, who was with two large and numerous fifths and the skilled horsemen, saying, "May you have no father! 350 Why are you waiting to attack the enemy?" The latter waited not far away and said to his companions, "The men have fought since the day began, while you have been standing still. They have done a good job, now it remains for you to do what you ought to do. Attack! Pray for God's help, and be steadfast." [Al-Muhallab] vigorously attacked those who were near him; they crushed al-Mukhtār's forces badly and put them to flight. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr al-Nahdi, 351 a veteran of Ṣiffin, 352 said, "O God, I am in the same state of mind as I was that Thursday night at Ṣiffin. O God, I declare to Thee that I have no part in the action of these men"—meaning his companions when they fled—"and I declare to Thee that I have no part with the souls of these men"—meaning the companions of al-Muṣʿab. He then fought with his sword until he was killed.

Mālik b. ʿAmr Abū Nimrān al-Nahdi, who was in charge of [al-Mukhtār's] foot soldiers, was brought his horse and he mounted. Al-Mukhtār's forces were in full flight, as if they were a canebrake set ablaze. Having mounted, Mālik said, "What am I going to do by mounting? By God, I would rather be killed here than be killed in my house. Where are the men of valor? Where are the men of

349. The reading in Baladhuri, Ansab, V, 259, is superior: "I am not one to make the Azd and Tamim slaughter the Khashabiyyah of the people of al-Kūfah, until I see my opportunity." The words khashyah (fear) and khashabiyyah are easily confused in Arabic script.

350. Lā abā laka, which is more an expletive or an expression of impatience than a real curse.

351. He was commanding al-Mukhtār's cavalry. See Tabari, II, 725, above.

352. At Ṣiffin, a plain on the right bank of the Euphrates near al-Raqqah, in 38/657, forces loyal to the caliph ʿAli confronted those of Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria and leader of the party demanding vengeance for the death of the caliph ʿUthmān.
steadfastness?" About fifty men returned to him—it was toward evening—and he wheeled round to attack the forces of Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was killed next to him—both he\footnote{353} and most of his companions. Some men therefore say it was Abū Nimrān who killed Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath. (Abū Nimrān was found slain next to him.) But Kindah assert that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ashāʾah al-Kindī was the man who killed him; that when al-Mukhtar with his companions passed by Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath lying dead, he said, “O supporters, attack the guileful foxes”; they attacked, and Abū Nimrān was killed. Khathʿam assert that ‘Abdallāh b. Qurād\footnote{354} was the man who killed [Ibn al-Ashʿath].

According to Abū Mikhnaf: I heard ‘Awf b. ‘Amr\footnote{355} al-Jushamī assert that one of their mawālī killed him. Four persons claimed his killing, each of them asserting to have slain him.

The forces of Saʿīd b. Munqidh retreated. He fought amid a band of his tribesmen, about seventy men, until they were killed. Salīm b. Yazīd al-Kindī fought amid ninety men, tribesmen of his and others. He fought until he was killed. Al-Mukhtar fought at the entrance of the Shabath Road.\footnote{356} He dismounted, intending not to withdraw, and fought most of that night, until the men left him. Among his companions, men of his bodyguard, who were killed with him that night were Ṭāsim b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azdi, ‘Ayāsh b. Khāzim al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī, and Ahmar b. Ḥadij al-Hamdānī al-Fāyishī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr:\footnote{357} The men of Hamdān called to each other that night, saying, “People of Hamdān strike them with swords and fight them as hard as you can.”

When they dispersed, leaving al-Mukhtar, his companions said to him, “Commander, the men have gone away. Go back to your dwelling, to the palace.” Al-Mukhtar said, “By God, I did not dismount intending to go to the palace. But since they have gone

\footnote{353}{I.e., Ibn al-Ashʿath.}
\footnote{354}{Commander of al-Mukhtar’s police.}
\footnote{355}{Mss. O and C: ‘Amr b. ‘Awf.}
\footnote{356}{This road was probably located in the southeast part of al-Kūfah. See Djait, \textit{Al-Kūf}, 241.}
\footnote{357}{Full name: Abū al-Zubayr al-Arḥabi al-Hamdānī. See U. Sezgin, \textit{Abū Mikhnaf}, 190.}
away, let us ride in the name of God." So he came and entered the palace.

Concerning the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, al-Aʾshā [Hamdān] said:358

To your eye its rheum returned;
   to your soul its recollection returned.
You returned to one of your nights;
   you were wakeful, though watchers sought sleep.
Not until its dawn brightened
   did the eye taste the savor of slumber.
Those who announced the death of Abū Qāsim359 arose;
   and their weeping caused tears to flow.
It was right that for the son of al-Ashajj360
   eyes should not cease their flowing,
That they should continue to weep for him,
   and that their lashes be moist with tears.
For you, Muḥammad, since you have been slain,
   the lands and their trees weep.
Whenever people mention you, they weep—
   whenever a pact is betrayed by its protector.
Many a bare winter’s night,
   when the maysir361 players distributed nothing;
When the savage dogs did not bark,
   and there was nothing but growling and torpor [because of the cold];
When a cloak was of no benefit to the youth,
   nor the woman’s close place of concealment to the lady;
On such nights, Muḥammad,
   you regarded camels as of little value and butchered them.
Your bowls remained set out,
   their edges running over with fat.

358. The poem can be found in the Diwān (ed. Geyer), 331–32.
359. The kunyah of Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath.
360. The son of al-Ashajj is Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath. Al-Ashajj (“the man whose head was wounded”) is another nickname for al-Ash’ath (“the man with disheveled or matted hair”) b. Qays al-Kindi. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-ghābāh, 1, 97.
361. Maysir was a game in which players cast lots for the pieces of a slaughtered camel; see El2, s.v.
The last drops in your milk skin were completely consumed [by your guests],
when the camels whose milk was drying up were led back from pasture.

O bestower of comely servants;
if they are measured, their stature is full.

O bestower of short-haired [horses swift] as arrows:
those who display them please the battle line.

O bestower of young she-camels of good breed
that have recently foaled, and their first-born foals answer each other.

You were like the Tigris when its current
heaps itself up and rushes into the sea.

You were bold and full of strength,
when proof of these traits was sought of you.

If a town ever came to be in tumult,
and its tyrant proclaimed war,

You sent against it men of piercing eyes,
so that reports about it came succeeding one another—

With God’s permission! And the horses’
training place was prepared for that campaign.

You fed your horses swift running,
until their colts were neglected.

The stout camel cutting its first teeth
knew that you would tire it on the plain.

Oh my grief the day you encountered them,
when those who fled betrayed your men!

The horsemen came back defeated,
in distress, their backs wounded,

At the river bank of Ḥarūrā‘, and there gathered
against you the mawālī and their beguiler.362

You risked your life in their defense,
and the risking of it gained disaster.

Do not be far, O Abū Qāsim!
For the soul’s measure will reach it;

The accidents of fortune and the passage
and succession of nights have made our lords perish.

362. I.e., al-Mukhtār.
According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]: My father said that al-Sā‘ib came with Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr and was killed by Warqā’ al-Nakha‘ī from [the clan of] Wahbil. Warqā’ said:

Who will take a message from me to ‘Ubayd, that I have overcome his brother with a sword of Indian steel?

If you seek knowledge about him, he is lying prostrate by the two monasteries, with no pillow for his head.

Resolutely I sought him and brought his head low with a trenchant blade;
and I bereaved him of [his son], Sufyān, after [the death of] Muḥammad.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaft—Hāṣirah b. ‘Aḍballāh:363 Every extremist of the Shi‘ah used to gather and talk at the house of Hind bint al-Mutakallīfah al-Nā‘ītīyyah and at the house of Laylā bint Qumāmah al-Muzaniyyah. The latter’s brother, Rifā‘ah b. Qumāmah, was a member of the Shi‘ah of ‘Ali, but, since he was a moderate, she did not like him. Abū ‘Aḍballāh al-Jadali and Yazid b. Sharāḥil had informed Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah about these two women and their extremism and about Abū al-Aḥrās al-Murādī, al-Buṭayn al-Laythī, and Abū al-Ḥārīth al-Kindī.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaft—Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥisā, who said:364 Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah had sent a letter with Yazid b. Sharāḥil to the Shi‘ah in al-Kūfah, warning them of these people. He wrote to them:

From Muḥammad b. ‘Aḍī to those of our Shi‘ah who are at al-Kūfah. To proceed: Go forth to the assemblies and the mosques; remember God both publicly and secretly, and do not take for yourselves intimates outside the believers.365 If you fear for your souls, beware those who speak lies against your religion. Be frequent in

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363. Ḥāṣirah b. ‘Aḍballāh b. al-Ḥārīth b. Durayd al-Azdi was born probably ca. 50/670. All his reports, mediated through Abū Mikhnaft, concern the troubles in Iraq between A.H. 66 and 72. See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 207.
worship, fasting, and prayer; for no creature has power to hurt or profit anyone, except as God wills. Every soul shall be pledged for what it has earned.\textsuperscript{366} No soul laden bears the load of another.\textsuperscript{367} God stands over every soul for what it has earned.\textsuperscript{368} Work righteousness, and forward goodness for your souls; and do not be among the heedless.\textsuperscript{369} Peace be upon you.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hasirah b. ‘Abdallāh: When the men went forth to Ḥarūrā', ‘Abdallāh b. Nawf came out of the house of Hind bint al-Mutakallīfah, saying, “The day of Wednesday: the sky has risen aloft and judgment has descended, bringing the defeat of the enemy. Go forth then in the name of God to Ḥarūrā’.”\textsuperscript{370} He went forth. When the men encountered each other to fight, he was struck a blow on his face. As the men were retreating in defeat, ‘Abdallāh b. Sharīk al-Nahdi, who had heard his saying, met him and said to him, “Didn’t you assert to us, Ibn Nawf, that we would defeat them?” ’Abdallāh b. Nawf replied, “Have you not read in the Book of God, ‘God blots out, and He establishes whatsoever He will; and with Him is the Essence of the Book.’”?\textsuperscript{371}

[Continuing,] he said: The next morning, al-Muṣ'āb marched forth with the Başrans who were with him and the Kūfans who had gone out to him, taking them toward al-Sabakhah.\textsuperscript{372} When

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{366} Cf. ibid., 74:38.
\item \textsuperscript{367} Ibid., 6:164.
\item \textsuperscript{368} Cf. ibid., 13:33.
\item \textsuperscript{369} Cf. ibid., 7:205.
\item \textsuperscript{370} The saying of ‘Abdallāh b. Nawf is in rhymed prose [\textit{saj}], the form in which pre-Islamic soothsayers delivered their predictions; see note 21, above. If the reading, “The sky has risen aloft,” is correct, it is an allusion to daybreak. Ed. Leiden, \textit{Addenda}, p. DCLXXII, suggests reading tazabba’at, “has become stormy.”
\item \textsuperscript{371} Qur'ān 13:39. Al-Mukhtar is said to have derived a doctrine called \textit{"bidā'ī}’ [‘change of mind’] from this verse. Muslim theology accepted the idea that God might alter or abrogate earlier commands [e.g., that He might command the Muslim community to abstain from fighting at one time, but later command it to fight]. What was not accepted was the idea that God’s eternal decree could at one time be one thing [victory for someone] and at another time be different [defeat for that person]. This is the position the heresiographers say al-Mukhtar adopted in order to explain why some of his predictions failed to be fulfilled. See Shahrastānī, \textit{al-Mīlāl wa-al-nihāl}, 151.
\item \textsuperscript{372} See note 68. An area between al-Kūfah and the Euphrates was referred to by this name.
\end{itemize}
he passed by al-Muhallab, the latter said to him, "What a victory! What a joy it would have been, had Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath not been killed!" Muṣʿab replied, "You are right. May God have mercy on Muḥammad!" He walked a short way and then said, "Muhallab—." "At your service, commander!" he replied. "Do you now," said Muṣʿab, "that 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib has been killed?" Al-Muhallab replied, "'Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.'"373 Al-Muṣʿab said, "Indeed, he was someone I wanted to have seen this victory. We do not consider ourselves more entitled to anything we now have than he was. Do you know who killed him?" "No," he said. Muṣʿab said, "He was killed by someone who claims to be a partisan of his father. And they killed him, knowing who he was!"374 [Continuing,] he said: Muṣʿab then went and encamped at al-Sabakhah, cutting off water and supplies from al-Mukhtār’s forces. He sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath, who encamped at al-Kunāsah. He sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym to Jabbānāt al-Sabī’. He asked 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf,375 "What have you done in the matter I entrusted to you?" He replied, "God make you prosper! I found the people to be of two sorts: whoever had an inclination toward you went out to you; whoever held the opinion of al-Mukhtār would not abandon him or prefer anyone over him. So I did not leave my house until you came." Muṣʿab said, "You have spoken the truth."

Muṣʿab sent 'Abbad b. al-Husayn to Jabbānāt Kindah. All these men were cutting off water and supplies from al-Mukhtār and his companions who were in al-Mukhtār’s palace. He also sent Zahr b. Qays to Jabbānāt Murād and sent 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr to Jabbānāt al-Ṣā‘idiyyīn.376

373. See note 156.
374. Cf. Dinawari, Akhbār, 312–13 (where his name is given as 'Umar, not 'Ubaydallāh): "He had come from the Hijāz to al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār asked him, 'Do you have Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyyah's letter with you?' 'No,' said 'Umar b. 'Ali, 'I do not have his letter with me.' 'Then go away, wherever you wish,' said al-Mukhtār, 'for I have nothing to give you.' He therefore left al-Mukhtār and went to Muṣʿab, who met him on the way and gave him a gift of 100,000 dirhams."
375. Muṣʿab had sent 'Abd al-Rahmān ahead to induce as many of al-Mukhtār’s partisans as possible to abandon al-Mukhtār and go over to Muṣʿab. See Ṭabarī, II, 719.
376. The problem of its location is discussed in Dījāt, Al-Ḵūfa, 245f.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij, who said: I saw ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Hurr charging and fighting al-Mukhtar’s horsemen in Jabbānat al-Ṣāʿidiyyīn. Sometimes I saw their horsemen chase away his horsemen, while he was behind his horsemen inciting their ardor; when he had reached the house of Ṭkrimah, he wheeled round and chased them until he made them reach Jabbānat al-Ṣāʿidiyyīn. Sometimes I saw ʿUbaydallāh’s horsemen take and beat one or more water carriers. Because of the difficulty they encountered, they would bring them water only if they gave them one or two dinars for each bag of water.

Sometimes al-Mukhtar and his companions would come out and fight feebly, inflicting no damage on their foe. Whenever horsemen of his came out, they were bombarded with stones from the house tops and doused with filthy water. The people were emboldened against them. Most of their sustenance came from their wives. A woman would leave her house carrying food, dainties, and water over which she had thrown her outer garment.377 She would leave as if intending to go to the Great Mosque for prayers, or as if she were going to her kin and visiting a woman relative of hers. When she approached the palace, someone would open for her and she would bring in food and drink for her husband or relation. When word of this reached al-Muṣʿab and his companions, al-Muhallab, who was experienced, said to him, “Set up barricades378 against them, so that you prevent their families and children from coming to them and so that you leave them in their stronghold until they die in it.”

When the people in the palace were hard pressed by thirst, they quenched their thirst with the water of the well. Al-Mukhtar ordered honey [to be given] to them; it was poured into [the well] to alter its taste, so that they might drink from it. Most of them satisfied their thirst in this way. Muṣʿab then ordered his forces to approach the palace. Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabāṭi came and took up a position by the Mosque of Juhaynah. Sometimes he advanced until he reached the Mosque of the Banū Makhzūm,379

377. Literally, “over which she had put on her liḥāf.” The liḥāf was an unlined sheet of cloth used as an outer wrap.
378. Durūb: the exact meaning is unclear; perhaps gates at the end of certain streets. See Djait, Al-Kūfā, 246.
379. This mosque was named after the clan of the tribe ‘Abs to which Ḥu-
so that his forces might shoot arrows at any of al-Mukhtar’s men who showed themselves to them from the palace. Whenever he met a woman close to the palace, he said to her, “Who are you, where have you come from, and what do you want?” One day, he seized three women, wives of men from the tribes of Shibam and Shākir, going to their husbands in the palace and sent them to Muṣ‘ab. They had food with them. Muṣ‘ab turned them back, but did them no harm.

Muṣ‘ab sent out Zahr b. Qays, who took up a position at the [Street] of the Smiths, where riding animals were hired out. Also, he sent out ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Hurr: his position was by the house of Bilāl. He sent out Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa‘īd b. Qays: his position was by his father’s house. He sent out Ḥawshāb b. Yazīd, who halted by the Lane of the Baṣrans, at the mouth of the Street of the Banū Jadhimah b. Mālik, [a clan] of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah. Al-Muhallab came and took up a position at the crossroads of Khunays. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf came from the direction of Dār al-Siqāyah.

Some young Kūfans and Baṣrans, inexperienced fellows with no knowledge of war, rushed to the marketplace and began to shout— they had no commander: “Son of Dawmah! Son of Dawmah!” Al-Mukhtar looked out at them and said, “By God, even if the person reproaching me with the name ‘Dawmah’ were ‘a man of moment from the two cities,’ he would not reproach me with it.” Noting their disorganization, the state of their appearance, and how scattered they were, he felt a desire to subdue them, and said to a group of his companions, “Go out with me.” About two

dhayfah b. al-Yamān, a famous companion of the Prophet, had belonged. See Djait, Al-Kūfa, 247.

380. Djait locates it in the southwest part of the city, not far from al-Kunāsah (Al-Kūfa, 248).

381. Dār al-Siqāyah: “the building for providing water.”

382. Dawmah bint ‘Amr b. Wahb b. Mu‘attib was al-Mukhtar’s mother (Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 214).

383. Referring to Qur’an 43:31, where Muhammad’s opponents are said to have reproached the Prophet by asking, “Why was this Qur’an not sent down upon some man of moment in the two cities?” The parallel text in Baladhuri, Ansab, V, 261, reads: “He whom you are reproaching is indeed the son of ‘a man of moment from the two cities.” (Goitein’s note to the Baladhuri passage mentions that some commentators identified one of the men as al-Mukhtar’s grandfather or great-grandfather.)
hundred of them made a sortie with him. He attacked them, wounded about a hundred of them, and put them to flight. They fled in confusion in the direction of the house of Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjli.

Then a man from the Banū Ḍabbah, a Baṣrān named Yaḥyā b. Ḍamḍam, so tall that when he rode his feet almost touched the ground, a man most deadly to other men and awesome to behold, began to attack al-Mukhtār’s forces. No man toward whom he directed himself held his ground. Al-Mukhtār, seeing him, attacked him and struck him a blow on his forehead, causing his forehead and brainpan to fly off; and he fell dead.

Then those commanders and chiefs [whom Muṣʿab had stationed] advanced from all sides. Al-Mukhtār’s forces had no strength to stand up to them and so entered the palace. There they stayed, and the siege tightened around them. Al-Mukhtār said to them, “Alas! The siege is only making you weaker. Let us go down and fight until we are killed as honorable men, if we are to be killed. By God, I have not lost hope that if you fight them steadfastly, God will help you.” But they lacked strength and hung back. So al-Mukhtār said to them, “As for me, by God, I will not submit, neither will I allow them to pass judgment over my life.” When ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb saw what al-Mukhtār wanted, he let himself down from the palace by a rope, joined some of his brothers, and went into hiding among them.

Seeing the weakness of his companions and their discouragement, al-Mukhtār determined to make a sortie against the enemy. He sent to his wife, Umm Thābit bint Samurah b. Jundab al-Fazārī, and she sent him a large quantity of perfume. He washed, sprinkled his clothes with spices, and put the perfume on his head and beard. Then he went out with nineteen men. Among them was al-Sāʿib b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī, who was al-Mukhtār’s deputy over al-Kūfah whenever al-Mukhtār went out to al-Madāʾin. He was married to ʿAmrah bint Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who bore him a child whom he named Muḥammad. This Muḥammad was with

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384. As if preparing himself for burial: Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 657, s.v. *tahanāt*, refers to a tradition in which a man going into battle does this to prepare himself for death and to induce himself to endure the fight with patience.
his father in the palace. When his father was killed and those in the palace taken, he was found and released, since he was a young lad.

When al-Mukhtār left the palace, he said to al-Sā‘īb, “What do you think best?” Al-Sā‘īb replied, “It is for you to say. What do you think?” Al-Mukhtār said, “I think? or God thinks?” Al-Sā‘īb said, “Nay, what God thinks.” Al-Mukhtār said, “Alas for you! You are a fool. I am a man of the Arabs. I saw Ibn al-Zubayr seize the Ḥijāz for himself; I saw Najdah385 seize al-Yamāmah, and Marwān386 Syria. Not being inferior to any man among the Arabs, I took this country and was like one of them—except that I sought vengeance for the members of the Prophet’s family, while the Arabs were asleep about the matter. I killed those who participated in shedding their blood and have spared no effort in the matter until this very day. Fight, then, for the glory of your name, if you have no inner intention.”387 Al-Sā‘īb said, “Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.”388 What have I been doing that I should fight for the glory of my name? Thereupon, al-Mukhtār quoted the verses of Ghaylān b. Salamah b. Mu‘attib al-Thaqafi.389

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386. I.e., the Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.
387. The exchange is more cynical in tone in Dinawari, Akhbar, 313: Al-Mukhtār says to al-Sā‘īb, “Let us go out to fight for the glory of our names, not for religion’s sake.” Shocked, al-Sā‘īb exclaims, “Abū Ishaq, people think you undertook this enterprise as a matter of religion!” Al-Mukhtār replies, “No, by my life it was only to seek [the goods of] this world. I saw that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had seized Syria, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr the Hijāz, Muṣ‘ab al-Baṣrah, Najdah the Harūrī al-Arūḍ [i.e., Arab], and ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzīm Khurāsān. I am inferior to none of them. Only by advocating vengeance for the death of al-Ḥusayn, was I able to do what I wanted.” In al-Ṭabarī’s version, al-Mukhtār combines Shi‘i dedication with opportunism; in Dinawari he is a cynical opportunist.
388. See note 156.
389. A slightly different version of the poem, together with a story that throws light on the imagery, can be found in Aghānī, XII, 48. The poet Ghaylān b. Salamah has accompanied Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and a group of Quraysh and Thaqif on a trading caravan to Iraq. As they cross into Iraq, Abu Sufyān gathers the men, warns them of the danger of entering the kingdom of a tyrant (jabbār) whose country is not their accustomed place of trade, and asks who is willing to go first and receive half the profit of the entire enterprise. Ghaylān volunteers. To illustrate the value of daring, he goes to a stream bed and begins striking (shaking off?) the leaves of the trees, reciting the poem.
Were Abū Ghaylān to see me, when anxieties retired from me because of some affair having consequence, He would say in fright and fear that two things are joined together: life's profit, and soul's terror and fear.  
Either you obtain glory and noble deeds, or the leaves are an example for you in regard to the one whom you destroy.

Al-Mukhtar went out with nineteen men. He said to Muṣ‘ab's men, "Will you give me an assurance of safety, and I will go out to you?" They said, "No, except on condition of your submitting to judgment." Al-Mukhtar said, "I will never allow you to pass judgment over my life"; and he fought with his sword until he was killed. He had said to his companions when they refused to follow him out, "If I make a sortie against them and am killed, you will only become weaker and more humiliated. If you submit to their judgment, your enemies whose relatives you have killed will jump up, each of them will say about one of you, 'This one is my revenge for my kinsman,' and the man will be killed, while you watch each other being struck down. Then you will say, 'If only we had obeyed al-Mukhtar and done what he thought best.' Had you gone out with me, failing to gain victory, you would have died as honorable men; or if any of you had escaped and reached his people, his people would have protected him. At this hour tomorrow, you will be the most abject people on the face of the earth." And it came to pass as he had said. [Continuing,] he said: People have asserted that al-Mukhtar was killed at the present site of al-Zayyātīn [Street], and that he was killed by two men of the Banī Hanīfah, brothers, one of whom was named Tarafah, and the other Ṭarrāf, sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Dajājah of the Banū Ḥanīfah.

The day after al-Mukhtar's death, Bujayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Musli

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390. Version in Aghānī: "He would say that desire and fear are joined together: the love of life, and the soul's terror and fear."

391. Version in Aghānī: "Either you continue in [pursuit of] glory and fame, or the leaves are an example for you as regards those who perish." As the story in Aghānī shows, the life of a man who dies without glory is being compared to leaves that fall.

392. I.e., the oil sellers' street.
said, "Men, yesterday your commander gave you good advice: would that you had obeyed him! Men, if you submit to the enemy's judgment, you will be slaughtered like sheep. Go forth with your swords, and fight until you die nobly." But they disobeyed him and said, "Someone with more claim to our obedience and better than you at advising us commanded us to do it, and we disobeyed him. Shall we obey you?" So the men gave themselves up and submitted to be judged. Muṣ'ab sent 'Abbad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭi to deal with them. He brought them out with their hands tied behind their backs. 'Abdallāh b. Shaddād al-Jushamī made a will to 'Abbad b. al-Ḥuṣayn.393 'Abdallāh b. Qurād sought a stick or a piece of iron or anything with which to fight, but found nothing; that was because he was seized with regret after they came in, took his sword, and brought him out with his hands tied. 'Abd al-Rahmān [b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath] passed by him as he was saying:

I was not afraid that I would be seen a prisoner:

Those who disobeyed the commander
Have been humbled and utterly destroyed.

So 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath said, "Bring this one to me. Give him to me so that I can cut off his head." 'Abdallāh b. Qurād said, "If I didn't smite your father and kill him with my sword, then I have the same religion as your grandfather, who believed and then became a nonbeliever!"394 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad dismounted and said, "Bring him near me." They brought him near, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad killed him. 'Abbād became angry and said, "You killed him, though you were not commanded to kill him."

'Abd al-Rahmān passed 'Abdallāh b. Shaddād al-Jushamī, who was a sharīf. 'Abd al-Rahmān asked 'Abbād to detain him until he had spoken to the commander concerning him. He then went to Muṣ'ab and said, "I would like you to give me 'Abdallāh b. Shaddād so that I may kill him. It is a matter of blood revenge."

393. The meaning apparently is that he asked 'Abbād to protect his children after his death. See Dozy, Supplément, II, 822.
394. This refers to the fact that al-Ash'ath had taken part in the Riddah, the defection of some Arab tribes from Islam after the death of Muḥammad.
Muṣ‘ab ordered him to be given to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The latter went to him, took him, and beheaded him. ʿAbbād used to say, “By God, had I known that you only wanted to kill him, I would have given him to someone else and he would have killed him. But I thought you would speak to him concerning him and would then release him.”

The son of ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād was brought, Shaddād by name. He had reached puberty, but had applied a depilatory to himself. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, “Uncover him. Has he matured?” They said, “No, he is still is boy.” So they released him.

Al-Aswad b. Saʿīd had asked Muṣʿab to offer his brother assurance of safety, and, if he submitted, to leave him to him. Al-Aswad therefore went to him and offered him assurance of safety, but the brother refused to submit, saying, “Dying with my comrades is more pleasing to me than life with you.” He was named Qays, and he was brought out and killed among those who were killed.

When Bujayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Musli—it is said that he was a mawlá of theirs—was brought to Muṣʿab together with many of al-Mukhtar’s men, he said to Muṣʿab, “Praise be to God, who has tested us with shackles, and tested you by your forgiving us. There are two stations: one of them is God’s good pleasure, the other His wrath. Whoever forgives, God forgives him and increases him in might; whoever punishes is not safe from retaliation. Ibn al-Zubayr, we are people who turn to the same qiblah395 as you and hold your creed;396 we are not Turks or Daylamites. If we have quarreled with our brothers and fellow countrymen, either we are right and they are wrong, or we are wrong and they are right. We have fought among ourselves as the people of Syria fought among themselves, who fought each other and then drew together; or as the people of al-Baṣrah fought among themselves, who quarreled and fought among themselves and then made peace and drew together. Now that you have obtained power, be gentle; having prevailed, forgive.” He kept saying this and things like it until the men felt pity for them. Muṣʿab himself felt pity for them and

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395. The qiblah is the direction of the Kaʿbah in Mecca, which Muslims face in prayer. See El², s.v. Kibla.

396. Millah means both a religious creed and the community that holds that creed.
wanted to free them, but ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-
Ash‘ath arose and said, “Will you free them? Choose us, Ibn al-
Zubayr; or choose them!” And Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. 
Sa‘īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī jumped up and said, “My father and 
five hundred men of Hamdān, ashrāf of the people, and men of 
the city were killed; and you set them free, while our blood still is 
surg[ing] in their bodies! Choose us, or choose them!” Every man 
and member of a family that had lost a member jumped up and 
said something similar.

When Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr saw this, he ordered the men to be 
killed. They cried out to him all together, “Ibn al-Zubayr, do not 
kill us! Make us your vanguard against the Syrians tomorrow; by 
God, neither you nor your forces will be able to do without us 
tomorrow, when you meet your enemy. If we are killed, we shall 
have weakened them for you before being killed. If we win victory 
over them, it will be to your advantage and to the advantage of 
those who are with you.” But Muṣ‘ab refused them and followed 
what pleased the generality of the people. Bujayr al-Musli said, 
“My request to you is that I not be killed with these men. I com-
manded them to come out with their swords and fight to the death 
as honorable men, but they disobeyed me.” So he was brought 
forward and killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father—Abū Rawq: Musāfīr b. 
Sa‘īd b. Nimrān said to Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, “Ibn al-Zubayr, 
what will you say to God when you come before Him after having 
put to death a group of Muslims who made you judge over their 
lives?—when the right thing in regard to their lives was that you 
not kill a Muslim soul except for a Muslim soul. If we killed a 
number of your men, kill as many [of us] as we killed of you, and 
free the rest of us. Among us now there are many men who were 
not present for a single day at any battlefield of the war between 
you and us. They were in al-Jibal397 and the Sawād,398 collecting 
taxes and securing the roads.” But Muṣ‘ab did not listen to him.

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397. Al-Jibal ["the mountains"] was the region known earlier as Māh or Media. It was bounded on the east by the great desert of Khūrasān, on the southeast by Fārs, on the south by Khūzistān, on the west and southwest by Iraq, on the northwest by Ādharbajjān, and on the north by the Alburz range. See EI², s.v. Dībāl; Le Strange, Lands, 185ff.

398. See note 45; and Le Strange, Lands, 24.
So Musāfir said, "God's curse upon people I ordered to make a
night sortie against the guards of one of these roads, so that we
might drive them off and join our kin, but who disobeyed me
until they drove me to suffer what is most contemptible, base,
and low, insisting upon dying the death of slaves! I ask you not to
mix my blood with theirs." So he was brought forward and killed
separately.

Al-Muṣ'ab then ordered al-Mukhtār's hand to be cut off and
nailed with an iron nail to the side of the mosque. There it re-
mained until al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf arrived.\(^399\) He looked at it and
said, "What is this?" They said, "Al-Mukhtār's hand." He ordered
it to be taken down.

Muṣ'ab sent his financial agents in charge of al-Jibāl and the
Sawād. Then he wrote to [Ibrāhīm] b. al-Ashtar, summoning him
to obedience to him, and saying to him, "If you respond to me and
become obedient to me, Syria will be yours; you shall have control
of the horses and of whatever land of the west\(^400\) you subdue, as
long as the family of al-Zubayr has dominion." 'Abd al-Malik b.
Marwān also wrote to Ibn al-Ashtar from Syria, summoning him
to obedience to him, and saying, "If you respond to me and become
obedient to me, you shall have Iraq." Ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] sum-
moned his companions and said, "What do you think?" Some of
them said, "You should become obedient to 'Abd al-Malik." Others said,"You should become obedient to Ibn al-Zubayr." Ibn
al-Ashtar said, "Had I not killed 'Ubaydallah b. Ziyād and the
leaders of the Syrians, I would follow 'Abd al-Malik, even though
I do not want to choose [the people of] another city over the
people of my city, or other tribesmen over my tribesmen." He
therefore wrote to Muṣ'ab, and Muṣ'ab wrote him to come. So he
came to him in obedience.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: Muṣ'ab's
letter came to Ibn al-Ashtar containing the following:

To proceed: God has killed the liar al-Mukhtār and his
partisans who adopted unbelief as their religion and be-

\(^{399}\) After being appointed governor of Iraq by 'Abd al-Malik, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf
reached al-Kūfah in Ramaḍān of A.H. 75. [December 694–January 695]. See Ṭabari,
II, 872.

\(^{400}\) For "west" [maghrib], Mss. O, Co and C read "of the Arabs" ['arab].
guiled with enchantment. We summon you to the Book of God, the Sunnah of His Prophet, and allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful. If you respond favorably to this, come to me. You shall have the territory of al-Jazirah and all the territory of the west, as long as you live and as long as the dominion of the family of al-Zubayr remains. In this matter you have an oath and covenant by God, and the strictest oath or bond that God accepted from the prophets. Peace!

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wrote to him as follows:

To proceed: The family of al-Zubayr have revolted against the Imāms of guidance, have tried to wrest command from those entitled to it, and have blasphemed in the Sacred House. God will give power over them, and will bring an evil turn upon them. I summon you to God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. If you accept and respond favorably, you shall have authority over Iraq, as long as you live and I live. You have my oath and covenant by God that I will fulfill this.

Ibn al-Ashtar called his companions, read the letter to them, and asked their advice. One said 'Abd al-Malik; another said Ibn al-Zubayr. So he said to them, "And my opinion is to follow the Syrians; but how can I do so, when there dwells not a tribe in Syria but I have slain members of it, giving it cause to seek revenge? Also, I am not going to leave my tribesmen and the people of my city."

He therefore went to Muṣ'ab. When word of his arrival reached Muṣ'ab, the latter sent al-Muhallab to the district where he was to serve as governor. (This was the year in which al-Muhallab took up residence in the Euphrates [district].)

According to Abū Mihnaf—Abū 'Alqamah al-Khatḥāmī. 405

401. Mss. O and Co read: "and were learned men of enchantment."
402. I.e., the Ka'bah. Mss. O and Co add: "and have profaned the sacred precinct."
Al-Muṣ'āb sent for Umm Thābit bint Samurah b. Jundab, al-Mukhtar’s wife, and ‘Amrah bint al-Nu’mān b. Bashīr al-Anšārī, who was also al-Mukhtar’s wife, and said to them, “What do you say about al-Mukhtar?” Umm Thābit said, “What should we say? We say about him only what you yourselves say.” So they told her to go. ‘Amrah, however, said, “God’s mercy upon him, if he was one of God’s righteous servants.” Muṣ'āb therefore had her taken away to prison and wrote concerning her to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, saying that she claimed al-Mukhtar was a prophet. ‘Abdallāh wrote back that he should take her out and kill her. Muṣ'āb therefore had her taken out between al-Ḥirah and al-Kūfah after nightfall, and Maṭar gave her three strokes with the sword. [Maṭar, a servant [tābi‘] of the Qafal family of the Banū Taymallāh b. Tha'labah, was with the police.] ‘Amrah cried out, “O my father! O my family! O my people!” One of the Ansār heard about her—it was Abān b. al-Nu’mān b. Bashīr—and went to Maṭar and slapped him, saying, “Son of a whore! You cut off her soul; may God cut off your right hand!” Maṭar held fast to him, until he had taken him to Muṣ'āb, where Maṭar said, “My mother is a Muslim woman.” He claimed that the Banū Qafal would bear witness. No one, however, bore witness to him. Muṣ'āb said, “Let the young man go free, for he has seen something horrible.”

‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah al-Qurashi407 composed [the following verses] about Muṣ'āb’s killing of ‘Amrah bint al-Nu’mān b. Bashīr:

A thing most amazing in my eyes
is the slaying of a fair-skinned, free, graceful-necked woman.
Though without fault, she was killed in this way:408
Oh what an excellent person has been killed!
Killing and fighting have been prescribed for us,
but for chaste women the dragging of skirts.

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406. Ed. Cairo reads, “verily, he was.” Cf. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 263: “I only know that he was a Muslim, one of God’s righteous servants.”
407. ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah, a resident of Medina, was one of the most famous early writers of ghazal (love poetry) in Arabic. The verses are also attributed to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zabīr al-Asadi (Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 264).
According to Abū Mikhna—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf: Muṣ'āb met ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,\textsuperscript{409} and, greeting him, said, “I am your brother’s son, Muṣ'āb.” Ibn ‘Umar replied to him, “Yes, you are the man who in a single morning killed seven thousand people who turn toward the qiblah. Live as long as you are able!” Muṣ'āb said, “They were unbelievers, beguilers.” Ibn ‘Umar said, “Had you killed their number in sheep from your father’s inheritance, it would have been extravagance.”

Concerning this [viz. the killing of al-Mukhtar’s wife], Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit\textsuperscript{410} composed [the following verses]:

A rider came bringing amazing tidings:
   the killing of al-Nu‘mān’s daughter, a woman of religion and nobility:
The killing of a young woman pleasing of mien, modest,
   refined in character, disposition, and lineage;
A woman most pure, a descendant of noble men who chose virtue in ages past.
The friend and helper of the Chosen Prophet,
   his companion in war, misfortune, and grief,
Reported to me that the blasphemers agreed
   upon killing her: may they themselves not be spared killing and plundering!
May life give no joy to the family of al-Zubayr!
   May they taste the garment of humiliation, fear, and despoliation!

You would think that when they brought her out and she was cut to pieces
   by their swords, they had won the kingdom of the Arabs!
Did the people not marvel at the killing of a free woman,
   chaste\textsuperscript{411} of religion, praiseworthy of manners:

\textsuperscript{409} ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, the son of the caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was one of the most frequently cited authorities for traditions. He was married to al-Mukhtar’s sister, Ṣafīyyah, and had interceded with the Umayyad authorities on al-Mukhtar’s behalf in 64/783 (Tabarī, II, 522–23) and with the Zubayrids in 66/685 (Tabarī, II, 599–600). See \textit{EL}, s.v.


\textsuperscript{411} Dinawārī, \textit{Akhbār}, 315, reads, “sincere of religion.”
A woman of leisure, a believer free
from blame, slander, doubt, or lying?
Upon us the divine decree of slaying and valor is incumbent;
but women are to be chaste in their bridal pavilions and veils.
In the religion of her noble grandfathers and fathers,
she passed on, not shaming her kin or acting immodestly.
A bashful woman, not frequent in going forth or unseemly in
speech,
one who promoted harmony, [not] envious of the neighbor
not of her clan,
Nor of the neighbor who was a kinsman: she did not know what
foul speech was;
she never made evil draw near, nor did she like it.
I marveled on her account, when she was wrapped in a shroud,
while alive.
Verily, this affair is a most extraordinary wonder.

According to `Ali b. Ḥarb al-Mawsili—Ibrāhim b. Sulaymān
al-Ḥanafī (the son of the brother of Abū al-Ḥaṣaṣ)—Muhammad
b. Abān—`Alqamah b. Marthad—Suwayd b. Ghaflah, who said:
While I was journeying behind al-Najaf, a man overtook me
and struck me from behind with his staff. When I turned to him, he
said, “What do you have to say concerning the shaykh?” “Which
bear witness that I love him with my hearing and sight and my
heart and tongue.” He said, “And I make you a witness that I hate
him with my hearing and sight and my heart and tongue.” Then
we journeyed on until we entered al-Kūfah and parted. (After this,
Suwayd stayed there some years, or, he may have said, for some
time.)

[Continuing,] he said: Once while I was in the Great Mosque, a
man wearing a turban entered. He carefully examined the faces of

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412. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Ḥarb al-Mawsili (b. 170/786, d. 265/879) was a tradi-
tionist, scholar of ancient Arabian history, and poet. See F. Sezgin, GAS, I, 145.
413. On Abū al-Ḥaṣaṣ, see Dhahabi, Tadhkirat a1-buffād, ed. F. Wüstenfeld
(Göttingen, 1833–34), 9, 71 [Leiden note].
414. Al-Najaf lies about four miles west of al-Kūfah. 'Ali was buried there, but
for security reasons the site was kept secret during this period. In 175/791, the
Caliph Hārūn “discovered” the spot and ordered a shrine to be built there. See EI1,
s.v. al-Nadjaf.
the people and kept looking at them. Seeing no beards more foolish than those of Hamdān, he sat down with them. I therefore moved and sat down with them. They asked, "Where have you come from?" He said, "From the family of your Prophet." They said, "What news have you brought us?" "This is not the right time for it," he said and arranged to meet them the following day. When he came the next day—I came, too—he took out a letter he had with him [at the bottom of it there was a lead seal], handed it to a young lad, and since he himself was illiterate and could not write, said to him, "Read it, boy." The boy said, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a letter to al-Mukhtar b. Abī 'Ubayd, which the legatee415 of the family of Muḥammad wrote to him. To proceed...," and so forth. The people having burst out in tears, the man said, "Boy, put your letter aside until the people pull themselves together." I said, "People of Hamdān, I bear witness by God that this man once met me behind al-Najaf," and I told them his story. But they said, "By God, you insist upon holding people back from the family of Muḥammad and commending Na'thal, who rent the books of the Qur'ān."416 [Continuing, he said]: I said, "People of Hamdān, I tell you only what my ears have heard and my heart remembers from 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him!). I heard him say, 'Do not call 'Uthmān 'him who ripped up the books of the Qur'ān'; by God, he ripped them up only after consultation with us, the companions of Muḥammad. Had I come across them,417 I would have done to them as he did.'" They said, "God! You heard this from 'Ali?" I said, "By God, I heard it from him." [Continuing, he said]: They therefore left him. He then turned to the slaves, made use of them, and plied his craft.

415. On 'Ali's special role as wasī, "legatee" of the Prophet, in the ideology of early Shi'i Islam, see Jafri, Origins, 92f, 97, 119, 121, 153. Here the term is extended to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.

416. The Lisān, s.v., gives two explanations for na'thal. Either it means "foolish old man," or it is the name of a long-bearded Egyptian who resembled 'Uthmān. In any case, 'Uthmān's enemies applied the term abusively. The epithet shaqqāq, "he who ripped up [the books of the Qur'ān]," refers to 'Uthmān's attempt to impose a standard recension of the Qur'ān and suppress variant texts. Some Shi'ites accused him of altering or suppressing passages supporting the claims of 'Ali and the family of the Prophet to leadership.

417. I.e., books containing variant texts of the Qur'ān.
According to Abū Ja`far [sc. al-Ṭabarî]: Part of what we have reported about al-Mukhtār b. Abi `Ubayd has been related by al-Wāqīdī,\(^\text{418}\) who differs on the subject from some of the people whose reports we have given. He alleges that al-Mukhtār openly opposed Ibn al-Zubayr only when Muṣ'ab came to al-Baṣrāh. When Muṣ'ab set out toward al-Mukhtār and news of his setting out reached the latter, he sent Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ al-Bajalī against Muṣ'ab, ordering him to attack him at al-Madhār and saying, "Victory is at al-Madhār." [Al-Wāqīdī] continued: Al-Mukhtār said that only because it was said that, "A man from the [tribe of] Thaqīf will be granted a great victory at al-Madhār." He thought it was he, but it really had to do with al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and his fight with `Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash`ath.\(^\text{419}\)

Muṣ'ab ordered the commander of his vanguard, `Abbād al-Ḥabaṭī, to march toward the assembled forces of al-Mukhtār. `Abbād advanced, and with him went `Ubaydallāh b. 'Ali b. Abī Tālib. Muṣ'ab encamped at Nahr al-Baṣriyyīn, on the bank of the Euphrates. (He dug a canal there which for that reason came to be called Nahr al-Baṣriyyīn.)\(^\text{420}\) [Al-Wāqīdī] continued: Al-Mukhtār went forth with twenty thousand men and halted facing them. Muṣ'ab and his forces advanced and came upon al-Mukhtār by night ready for battle. Al-Mukhtār sent word to his forces when evening came, saying, "Let none of you leave his place until he hears a crier cry out, 'Yā Muḥammad.' When you hear it, attack." One of al-Mukhtār's companions said, "This man, by God, is a liar against God." He and those with him went over to al-Muṣ'ab. Al-Mukhtār delayed until the moon rose and then gave orders to a crier, who cried out, "Yā Muḥammad." Then they attacked Muṣ'ab and his forces, put them to flight, and made him enter his camp, and they continued fighting them until morning. In the


\(^{419}\) In 81–82/701, `Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ash`ath led a revolt against the governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Of two battles in which al-Ḥajjāj defeated Ibn al-Ash`ath [al-Zāwiyyah and Dayr al-Jamājim], the former seems more likely to be meant here. Although both locations lie between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrāh, al-Zāwiyyah is closer to al-Madhār. See EI\(^2\), s.v. Ibn al-Ash`ath; Yaqūt, Mu`jam, s.v. al-Madhār, Dayr al-Jamājim.

\(^{420}\) I.e., the river or canal of the Baṣrans.
morning, al-Mukhtār, having no one with him, and with his forces having penetrated into the forces of Muṣ'ab, retreated in flight and entered the palace in al-Kūfah. When al-Mukhtār’s forces came in the morning, they waited for a time and, not seeing al-Mukhtār, said, “He has been killed.” Those who were able fled and went into hiding in the houses of al-Kūfah, about eight thousand of them, finding no one to lead them in fighting, betook themselves to the palace. There they found al-Mukhtār, and they went inside with him. During that night, al-Mukhtār’s forces had killed many men from Muṣ'ab’s forces, including Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath. In the morning, Muṣ'ab came and surrounded the palace. Muṣ'ab continued besieging it for four months. Every day, al-Mukhtār made a sortie against them and fought them in the market of al-Kūfah from one direction, but he was unable to overcome him. Finally, al-Mukhtār was killed.

After al-Mukhtār was killed, those in the palace sent and asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct. Muṣ'ab refused, until they submitted to his judgment. After they submitted to his judgment, he killed about seven hundred of the Arabs; the rest of those he killed were Persians. [Al-Wāqidi] continued: When they came out, Muṣ'ab wanted to kill the Persians and spare the Arabs; but those with him spoke to him, saying, ‘What kind of religion is this? How do you hope for victory when you kill the Persians and spare the Arabs, though their religion is the same?’ So he had the Arabs brought forward and beheaded.

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarî]—'Umar b. Shabbah—Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā‘ini], who said: After al-Mukhtār had been killed, Muṣ’ab consulted his companions about the besieged men who had submitted to his judgment. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Asḥ‘ath, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘īd b. Qays, and others like them whose kinsmen al-Mukhtār had slain said, “Kill them.” [The tribe of] Dabbah also raised an outcry and said, “The blood of Mundhir b. Ḥassān!” 421 'Ubayd-

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421. Al-Mundhir b. Hassān b. Dirār al-Dabbi was a Kūfīan sharif. After al-Mukhtār’s victory over Ibn Muṭi', Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor, in 66/685, al-Mundhir had gone to swear allegiance to al-Mukhtār. As he left the palace, a group of Shi‘ites attacked him as “one of the chief tyrants,” killing him and his son Ḥayyān, despite the attempts of their leader, Sa‘īd b. Munqidh, to restrain them. See Ṭabarî, II, 633.
Allah b. al-Ḥurra said, "Commander, turn over each man you have to his people, bestowing them as a favor to them; for, if they have killed us, we have killed them. Also, we need them on our frontiers. Turn over our slaves that you have to their masters; for they belong to our orphans and widows and those who are frail, that they may return them to their work. But kill these mawāli; for their unbelief has become obvious, their pride great, and their thankfulness small." Muṣ'ab laughed and said to al-Āhnaf [b. Qays], "What do you think, Abū Bahr?" Alluding to them, he replied, "Ziyād wanted me to, but I refused him." Muṣ'ab then gave orders concerning all the men, and they were killed. They were six thousand. `Uqba b. Asad composed [the following verses]:

You killed the six thousand in cold blood,
their hands tied behind them, in spite of a firm pledge.
You made the protection of al-Ḥabaṭī a bridge
whose back was easy for the trampers.
The morning they were called and deceived by their pledge,
they were not the first men to perish by their own foolishness.
I had commanded them—if only they had obeyed me!—
to fight in the lanes, unsheathing their swords.

Al-Mukhtar was killed, it has been said, at the age of sixty-seven, on the fourteenth day of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 67 (April 3, 687).

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422. The reference is unclear. "Ziyād" is the Leiden editor's conjecture [the mss. have "Riyād"]: Apparently, al-Āhnaf recommended mercy, alluding to a previous occasion on which he had refused to give in to pressure to kill prisoners, but his advice was rejected by Muṣ'ab. Cf. Balādhuri, Ansāb, V, 263: "[According to 'Abdallāh b. Šāliḥ al-Muṭrī—al-Haytham b. 'Adi—'Awānah] When Muṣ'ab was about to kill al-Mukhtār's companions who had submitted to his judgment, he consulted al-Āhnaf b. Qays about them. Al-Āhnaf said, 'I think you should forgive them; forgiveness is nearer to piety.' But the Kufan ashrāf said, 'Kill them,' and became unruly. After they were killed, al-Āhnaf said, 'Now that you have taken vengeance by killing them, may there be no evil consequence in the future [or, in the world to come]."' Another report in Balādhuri, loc. cit., has Muṣ'ab's wife send a message recommending mercy, but the message arrives too late.

423. I.e., 'Abbaḍ b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī, Muṣ'ab's commander, to whom the besieged partisans of al-Mukhtar had surrendered. See Tabari, II, 738f.
Having concluded the affair of al-Mukhtar and his companions, and with Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar having come to him, Muṣ'ab sent al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah to be in charge of al-Mawṣil, al-Jazīrah, Ādharbayjān, and Armenia; he himself resided in al-Kūfah.

**[Ibn al-Zubayr Removes Muṣ'ab from al-Baṣrah]**

During this year, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr removed his brother Muṣ'ab from al-Baṣrah and sent his own son, Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh, there. Differing reasons have been given for his removal of Muṣ'ab from al-Baṣrah and of how it took place. Some have said what ʿUmar [b. Shabbah] told me, as follows:

According [to ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—ʿAli b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾini], who said: Al-Muṣ'ab continued in charge of al-Baṣrah until he went from there to fight al-Mukhtar, leaving as his deputy over al-Baṣrah ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar. Al-Mukhtar having been killed, Muṣ'ab went to visit ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who removed him from office and detained him in his house. He excused his removing him, saying to him, “By God, I know you are worthier and more qualified than Ḥamzah, but my opinion in the matter is that of ʿUthmān concerning ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmīr, when he appointed him [governor] and removed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.”

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—ʿAli b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾini], who said: Al-Muṣ'ab continued in charge of al-Baṣrah until he went from there to fight al-Mukhtar, leaving as his deputy over al-Baṣrah ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar. Al-Mukhtar having been killed, Muṣ'ab went to visit ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who removed him from office and detained him in his house. He excused his removing him, saying to him, “By God, I know you are worthier and more qualified than Ḥamzah, but my opinion in the matter is that of ʿUthmān concerning ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmīr, when he appointed him [governor] and removed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.”
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Madä’ini, who said: Ḥamzah came to al-Baṣrah as governor. He was munificent and generous, but disorderly in his affairs: sometimes he was generous to the point of not sparing anything he possessed; sometimes he held back what someone like him [ordinarily] would not hold back. In al-Baṣrah, his unsteadiness and weakness became apparent. It is said that one day he rode to the estuary of al-Baṣrah. When he saw it, he said, “If they handle the matter properly, this pond will suffice them for their summer.” Some time afterwards, he rode out to it and chanced to come upon it when the water had ebbed. “I have already seen this once,” he said, “and I suspected it would not be sufficient for them.” Al-Aḥnaf [b. Qays] said to him, “This is water that comes to us and then ebbs away from us.” He set out for al-Ahwāz. When he saw its mountain, he said, “This is Qu‘ayqī‘ān,” referring to the place near Mecca, and therefore they named the mountain Qu‘ayqī‘ān. He sent to Mardānshāh and urged him [to hand over] the taxes. When the latter delayed, he betook himself to him with his sword, smote him, and killed him. Al-Aḥnaf said to him, “How sharp the commander’s sword is!”

According to ’Umar [b. Shabbah]—‘Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madä’ini], who said: When Ḥamzah had caused such confusion in al-Baṣrah, these traits of his having become apparent, and when he was about to smite ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Bishr, al-Aḥnaf wrote to Ibn al-Zubayr about it and asked him to reinstate Muṣ‘ab. [Continuing,] he said: It was Ḥamzah who put ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī in charge of fighting the Najdiyyah in al-Bahrayn.

According to ’Umar [b. Shabbah]—‘Ali b. Muḥammad [al-

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427. Khiffah [literally, “lightness”] also connotes bad judgment, as illustrated in the next paragraph.
428. The fa‘yid of al-Baṣrah, i.e., the Tigris-Euphrates estuary, the present Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab. See Le Strange, Lands, 43.
429. Al-Ahwāz was a city in Khūzistān, about 70 miles northeast of al-Baṣrah. See El, s.v.
430. According to Baladhuri, Ansāb V, 256, this was the name of the dihqān of al-Ahwāz. Dihqāns were Persian landlords in Iraq who administered subdistricts.
431. These Khārijites, followers of Najdah b. ‘Amir al-Ḥanafi, had extended their control from Central Arabia to the coastal region of al-Bahrayn. Abdallāh b. ‘Umayr’s expedition failed to dislodge them. Najdah remained in control until 72/691, when his followers deposed him and settled on Abū Fudayk as his successor. See below, Tabari, II, 829; Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 133ff; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 169ff.
Madā‘īnī], who said: When Ibn al-Zubayr removed Ḥamzah, the latter carried off a great deal of money from the treasury of al-Baṣrah. Mālik b. Misma‘ confronted him, saying, “We will not allow you to go away with our stipends.”\(^{432}\) However, ’Ubaydallāh b. ’Ubayd b. Ma‘mar guaranteed him the stipend (’aṭā‘) and he yielded. Ḥamzah took away the money. When Ḥamzah left his father and came to Medina, he deposited the money with some men, but they made off with it, except for a Jew with whom he had deposited money and who fulfilled his obligation. When Ibn al-Zubayr heard what Ḥamzah had done, he said, “God curse him! I wanted to vie for glory with the sons of Marwān through him, but he retreated.”

Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī], on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, mentions a different story about Muṣ‘ab and how his brother removed him from al-Baṣrah and then reinstated him. What he mentions on the subject is in the course of a report that has been related to me [as follows]:

According to [Abū Mikhnaf]—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibi:\(^{433}\) After Muṣ‘ab had subdued al-Kūfah, he resided there for a year, having been removed from the governorship of al-Baṣrah. (‘Abdallāh [b. al-Zubayr] had removed him and had sent his own son Ḥamzah.) Having stayed there a year, Muṣ‘ab went to visit his brother ‘Abdallāh in Mecca, and the latter reinstated him over al-Baṣrah.

It has also been said that when Muṣ‘ab had concluded the affair of al-Mukhtar, he returned to al-Baṣrah and put al-Ḥarīth b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abi Rabi‘ah in charge of al-Kūfah.\(^{434}\)

According to Muḥammad b. ‘Umar [al-Wāqidī]: After Muṣ‘ab killed al-Mukhtar, he held both al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah.

\(^{432}\) On the role of Mālik b. Misma‘ in leading the opposition to Ḥamzah, see Balādhuri, Ansāb, V, 265; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 281; El², s.v. Masāmī‘a.

\(^{433}\) He is, according to U. Sezgin, perhaps to be identified with Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Kūfī, who belonged to the fourth “class” of traditionists. See her Abū Mihnaf, 189.

\(^{434}\) Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 279, gives a fuller version: “It has been said that Muṣ‘ab returned to al-Baṣrah after having killed al-Mukhtar. He made al-Ḥarīth b. Abi Rabi‘ah his agent for al-Kūfah, for both [cities] were in his governorate. Then his brother removed him from al-Baṣrah and appointed his son Ḥamzah to be its governor. He afterwards removed Ḥamzah at the petition of al-Ahnaf and the people of al-Baṣrah and reinstated Muṣ‘ab.”
[Those in Office during the Year]

'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. His governor (ʿāmil) in charge of al-Kūfah was Muṣ'ab. (I have mentioned how the historians\(^{435}\) differ about the governor of al-Baṣrah.) 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah b. Mas'ūd was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah. Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah. [753] 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was in Syria, and 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulami was in charge of Khurāsān.

\(^{435}\) \textit{Ahl al-siyar}, literally, "people concerned with biographies, stories of how men conducted themselves."
Among these events was 'Abdallāh [b. al-Zubayr's] returning of his brother Muṣ'ab to Iraq as commander (amīr). We have already mentioned why 'Abdallāh returned his brother Muṣ'ab to Iraq as commander after having removed him. Having been returned there as commander, Muṣ'ab sent al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah to be commander in charge of al-Kūfah. This was because Muṣ'ab, after his removal, began his return to Iraq as commander in al-Baṣrah and went there.

[The Azāriqah Return from Fārs to Iraq]\(^436\)

In this year, the Azāriqah\(^437\) returned from Fārs to Iraq. They came into the vicinity of al-Kūfah and entered al-Madā'īn.

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\(^{436}\) Parallels, often implying different chronology, in Balādhuri, Ansāb, XI, 110ff; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 281ff.

\(^{437}\) The Azāriqah (pl. of Azraqi) were a group of Khārijites named for their leader, Nāfī' b. al-Azraq, who is said to have held that all his adversaries, with their wives and children, should be put to death. In 64/683, these Khārijites took
An Account of Them, Their Departure, and Their Return to Iraq

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: Muš'āb sent 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar as commander in charge of Fārs. After al-Muhallab's onslaught upon them in al-Ahwāz, the Azāriqah had gone to Fārs, Kirmān, and the neighborhood of ʿIsbahān.438 When al-Muhallab left that area and was sent as governor in charge of al-Mawsil and its neighborhood,439 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar being in charge of Fārs, the Azāriqah, with al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz, descended upon 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh in Fārs. He met them at Sābūr,440 fought them vigorously, and won a clear victory over them; however, not many of them were killed, and they went away as if on the defensive, having left the battle in that condition.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a shaykh of the tribe [of Azd]441 in al-Baṣrah, who said: I heard the letter of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh being read:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
To proceed: I hereby inform the commander—may God preserve him!—that I met the Azāriqah, who have strayed from the religion of Islam and followed their caprices without guidance from God. With the Muslims, I fought them most vigorously for a part of the day. God then

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439. Muš'āb's strategy was to use al-Muhallab as a barrier between himself and the forces of 'Abd al-Malik. See Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 282.
440. Sābūr, or Shāpūr, is a city in Fārs province, some 65 miles west of Shirāz. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, 248, 262f.
smote them before and behind and made them turn their backs to us. Those whom God killed suffered by failing to attain and by losing [what they hoped to gain in this world and the hereafter]—and all are [destined] for loss! I have written this letter of mine to the commander while on the back of my horse, seeking the foe, whom I hope God will exterminate, if He so wills. Peace.

'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh followed them. They immediately went and encamped by Iṣṭakhr.²⁴² He went after them, met them at the Tamastān bridge, and fought them vigorously. His son was killed, but he won a victory over them. Having cut the Tamastān bridge,²⁴³ the Azāriqah removed to the neighborhood of Iṣbahān and Kirmān, where they remained until they had recovered and become strong, ready, and numerous. They then passed into Fārs, where 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma‘mar was, crossing its territory in an area other than the one where he was. They made their way past Sābūr and then went out through Arrajān.²⁴⁴ When 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh saw that the Khārijites had crossed his territory, heading toward al-Baṣrah, he became afraid that Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr would not forgive him for this. Hastening after them, he reached Arrajān and found that they had left it, heading toward al-Ahwāz. The coming of the Azāriqah was reported to Muṣ'ab, who went forth and encamped with his men at the Great Bridge.²⁴⁵ He said, "By God, I don't know what I have gained by putting 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh in Fārs and giving him an army whose provisions (arzdq) I pay every month, whose stipends (Ja‘tiydt) I pay in full every year, and for whom I order special grants (ma‘āwin)²⁴⁶ every

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²⁴². Iṣṭakhr, just north of ancient Persepolis (modern Takht-e-Jāmshīd), lay on the Pulwar River about 40 miles northeast of Shirāz. See El², s.v.; Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, 275ff.

²⁴³. They cut the bridge to hinder the forces pursuing them. See Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 282.

²⁴⁴. Arrajān, on the Tāb River (modern Āb-i Kurdīstān or Mārūn), lay on the border between Fārs and Khūzistān. See El¹, s.v. Arradjān; Le Strange, Lands, 268ff.

²⁴⁵. Arabic, al-jisr al-akbar.

²⁴⁶. Ma‘īnah, pl. ma‘āwin, referred to money given to a tribe to prepare it to make an expedition, then to a special levy made when the public treasury was depleted, and finally was extended to cover taxes in general. See Dozy, Supplément, II, 192; and El², s.v.
year equal to the stipends! I have cut off any pretext he might have, supplied him with men, and made them strong—and the Kharijites cross his territory toward me! By God, had he fought them and then fled, it would have been more excusable for him in my eyes, even though someone who takes flight should not have his excuse accepted and has not acted in a way that deserves honor.”

Led by al-Zubayr b. al-Mahuz, the Kharijites came and encamped at al-Ahwaz. Their spies having reported to them that 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah was on their heels and that Mu'ab b. al-Zubayr had left al- Bsrah to fight them, al-Zubayr arose among them, praised and extolled God, and said, “To proceed: For you to fall between these two forces would be bad strategy and confusion. Let us hasten toward our enemy and meet them from one direction.”

He led them across the district of Jukha, turned toward the Nahrawan districts, and followed the bank of the Tigris until he reached al-Madain, where Kardam b. Marthad b. Najabah al-Fazari was. They made a raid on the people of al-Madain, killing children, women, and men, and ripping open pregnant women. Kardam fled. Then they went to Sabat and used their swords on the people, killing a slave woman who had borne a child to Rabi'ah b. Najid, and also killing Bunahah, the daughter of Abu Yazid b. 'Asim al-Azdi. Bunahah had read the Qur'an and was exceedingly beautiful. When they came at her with swords, she said, “Woe unto you! Have you ever heard of men killing women? Woe unto you! You kill someone who stretches out no hand against you, wishes you no harm, and has no power to help herself. Will you kill someone who grew up bedecked with ornaments and was never seen in conflict?” One of them said, “Kill her.” A certain man among them said, “You should leave her.” Somebody said [to him], “Her beauty pleases you, you enemy of God! You have fallen into unbelief and been seduced.” Then the man

447. The Nahrawan districts (Upper, Middle, and Lower) lay on a canal east of the Tigris. See Le Strange, Lands, 80, 57ff.
448. Literally, “an umm walad,” i.e. a slave woman who had borne a child to her master. Such a woman was normally freed and her children recognized as legitimate after her master died. See Schacht, Islamic Law, 129.
449. Kafarta, “you have disbelieved, become a kafir (nonbeliever).”
went away and left them. We thought he had left them no longer disagreeing [with him], but they attacked her and killed her.

Rayṭah bint Yazid said, “Praise God! Do you think God is pleased with what you do, killing women, children, and those who have done you no wrong?” Then she went away. They attacked her. In front of her was al-Ruwā’ bint Iyās b. Shurayḥ al-Hamdānī, the daughter of Rayṭah’s full brother. They attacked Rayṭah and struck her on the head with the sword; the point of the sword hit the head of al-Ruwā’, and the two fell to the ground together. Iyās b. Shurayḥ fought the attackers for a time, but was thrown down and lay among the slain; they left him, thinking they had killed him. A man from Bakr b. Wā’il, named Razin b. al-Mutawakkil, was also injured. When the Khārijites went away from them, only Bunānāh bint Abī Yazīd and the slave woman who had borne a child to Rabī’ah b. Nājid died; the rest of them recovered. They gave each other water to drink, bandaged their wounds, hired mounts, and went toward al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ruwā’ bint Iyās, who said: I never saw a man more cowardly than one who was with us. His daughter was with him; when they came at us, he put her into our hands and fled, leaving her and us. On the other hand, I never saw a man nobler than one who was with us. We did not know him, nor he us. When they came at us, he fought to protect us until he was thrown down [wounded] among us. It was Razin b. al-Mutawakkil al-Bakrī. Afterwards, he used to visit us and befriended us. He perished during al-Ḥajjāj’s term of office. The Arab tribesmen were his heirs: he was a righteous worshiper [of God].

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnaf—his father—his paternal uncle: Muṣ’ab b. al-Zubayr had sent Abū Bakr b. Mikhnaf to be in charge of Upper Ustān. When al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī’ah came, he removed him. After-

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450. For this meaning of fāraqa, see Dozy, Supplément, II, 259.
451. Abū Mikhnaf’s father was Yaḥya b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf.
452. i.e., Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym, the paternal uncle of Abū Mikhnaf’s father. From Ṭabarī, I, 3266, one can deduce that he was born about 19/640 and was present at the Battle of Siffin. See U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 224f.
453. Ustān al-ʿāl: Middle Persian ēstān, which designated Sasanian crown land, occurs in Arabic as ustān, ēstān, or āstān. Upper Ustān was the territory controlled from al-Anbār on the middle Euphrates. See Le Strange, Lands, 80; Morony, Iraq, 145.
wards, however, he confirmed him in charge of his financial dis-

trict (ʼamal) in the second year. When the Khārijites came to

al-Madāʾin, they dispatched one of their bands, led by Ṣāliḥ b.

Mikhrāq, to fight him. He encountered him at Karkh,455 fought

him for a time, and then they dismounted: Abū Bakr dismounted

and the Khārijites dismounted [to fight]. Abū Bakr, his mawla

Yasar, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abī Jīʿāl, and one of his tribesmen

were killed, and the rest of his forces were put to flight. Surāqah b.

Mirdās al-Bāriqī [from a subtribe of Azd] said:456

Help, O people, against the anxieties that visit by night!

Against the event that has brought distress!

The death of a chieftain of noble descent;

one who was daring, a protector, and exceedingly brave!

The death of [Abū Bakr] b. Mikhnaf was reported to me just before

[I reached] the foothills,457

when the first of the flickering stars had set.

I said, "May God receive you with mercy!

May God, the Lord

of East and West, bless you!"

May God cover with shame a people who turned aside from you

in the morning

and did not endure steadfastly the shining, flashing [swords].

They turned their backs; in the morning they distanced

themselves from our leader

and master in the distressing strait.

Therefore, whenever you come to us in our houses,

you hear wailing from women and young girls.

They weep for a man of praiseworthy nature, glorious,

steadfast in battle for those he must defend.

Therefore my soul has become sad,

and my hair has turned white from the burden I bear because

of him.

454. I.e., when he came to al-Baṣrah to serve as governor for Ibn al-Zubayr. This

happened in 66/685; see Tabari, II, 601.

455. Karkh: a village that became a southwestern suburb of Baghdad. Baladhuri,


456. See Diwān, 35–36.

457. Al-khayf can either be a generic term or refer specifically to Khayf

al-Minā, near Mecca. See Yaqt, Muʾjam, s.v.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥadrah b. 'Abdallāh al-Azdi, al-Nadr b. Šāliḥ al-‘Absi, and Fudayl b. Khadij (all of whom reported this to me): The people of al-Kūfah came to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabi‘ah and cried out to him, saying, “Go out [to fight]; behold, our enemy has drawn near us, and he has no mercy.” He went out, exerting himself energetically, until he encamped at al-Nukhaylah. There he stayed for several days. Ibrāhim b. al-Ashtar jumped up before him; having praised and extolled God, he said: “To proceed: A merciless foe has come toward us, killing men, women, and children, terrorizing travelers, and laying waste to towns. Let us hasten to meet him. Order a departure.” So al-Ḥārith went forth and encamped at Dayr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. There he stayed until Shabath b. Rib‘ī came before him and spoke to him as Ibn al-Ashtar had spoken. So he departed, but did not exert himself. When the people saw how slowly he was traveling, they recited this verse of rajaz about him:

Al-Quba‘ has led us an arduous march:
he travels for a day and halts for a month!

They made him journey on from that place, but whenever he encamped with them, he halted until the people raised a clamor about it and cried out around his tent. It took him something over ten days to reach al-Ṣarāt. When he came to al-Ṣarāt, the enemy’s vanguard and first horsemen had already reached it.

When spies brought the Azāriqah word that the forces of the people of the garrison city [sc. of al-Kūfah] had come to them, they cut the bridge between them and these forces. The people began to recite this verse of rajaz:

Al-Quba‘ has traveled a smooth journey:
five days between Dabīrā and Dabāhā!

458. Mss. O and Co add: “who was nicknamed al-Quba‘.”
459. Al-Nukhaylah is close to al-Kūfah, on the road to Syria [Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, s.v.]. Abū ‘Alī, “Minṣaqat al-Kūfah,” 237–38, locates it as the first stage north of al-Kūfah, close to present-day Jisr al-Abbāsiyyat.
460. There were two canals named al-Ṣarāt. The first, which is probably the one meant here, branched from the Nahr ʿIsā between al-Anbār and Baghdad, and flowed into the Tigris. The second lay further south, was usually called the Great Sarāt, and flowed from the Euphrates just north of al-Hillah, to the Tigris. See Le Strange, Lands, 66, 72.
461. Dabīrā is mentioned by Yaqūt as a village near Baghdad; Dabāhā is men-
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—his father: There was a man from Sabī'462 with a touch of insanity about him in a village called Jawbar, near al-Kharrārah.463 He was named Simāk b. Yazīd. The Kharijites came to his village and took him and his daughter. His daughter they brought forward and killed. Abū al-Rabi' al-Salūlī stated to me that his daughter's name was Umm Yazīd and that she kept saying to them, "People of Islam, my father is afflicted;464 do not kill him. As for me, I am only a girl. I swear to God I have never committed indecency, harmed any neighbor of mine, or been proud and conceited."465 When they brought her forward to kill her, she started to cry out, "What is my offense? What is my offense?" She fell down in a faint or dead, and then they cut her up with their swords. Abū al-Rabi' said: This report was given to me by her nurse, a Christian woman from the people of al-Khawarnaq,466 who was with her when she was killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—his father: The Azāriqah brought Simāk b. Yazīd with them, until they came within sight of al-Ṣarāt. [Continuing,] he said: Turning to our army and seeing the large number of men assembled, Simāk b. Yazīd began to shout to us in a loud voice, "Come over to them; they are few and wicked." Thereupon, they beheaded him and crucified him, while we were looking on at him. [Continuing,] he said: When night fell, a tribesman and I crossed over, took him down, and buried him.

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462. Sabī' was a division of the Hamdān tribe. Note that the report is being related on the authority of Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī'i.

463. For Jawbar, Mss. O and Co read Juwayn, which is in Khurāsān, nowhere near al-Kharrārah, a place near al-Saylaḥūn, in the district of al-Kūfah [Yāqūt]. The Leiden editor corrects to Jawbar. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, lists a village named Jawbar in the sawād of Baghdad. The Nahr Jawbar canal connected the Tigris and the Euphrates just south of al-Madā'in [Le Strange, Lands, 68].

464. A euphemism for "weak-minded," or "insane."

465. The verbs tattallatu...tasharrafu also have the literal sense of looking down from a high place, perhaps to spy.

466. Al-Khawarnaq Palace, built according to tradition by al-Nu'mān, prince of al-Hira, for the Sasanian king Bahram Gūr (reg. 421–431, or 420–438), lay a few miles south of al-Kūfah and about one mile east of Najaf. See El², s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, 75ff; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father: Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar—said to Abī Rabī‘ah, “Send the men with me, so that I can cross over to these dogs and bring you their heads right now.” But Shabath b. Rib‘ī, Asmā‘ b. Khārijah, Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, and Muḥammad b. ‘Umayr said, “May God preserve the commander! Let them go; don’t start anything with them.” [Continuing,] he said: They seem to have been jealous of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar. According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥāṣirah b. ‘Abdallāh [b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdi] and Abū Zuhayr [al-Nadr b. Šāliḥ] al-‘Absi: When the Azāriqah reached the bridge of al-Šarāt and saw that the army of the people of the garrison city [sc. of al-Kūfah] had come out to fight them, they cut the bridge. Al-Ḥārith, taking advantage of the opportunity to delay, sat down with the men, praised and extolled God, and said: “To proceed: The first part of fighting is the shooting of arrows, then the pointing of spears, then the thrusting of them right and left; and the end of it all is the drawing of swords.” [Continuing,] he said: A man stood up before him and said, “The commander—may God preserve him!—has described it well. But how long shall we keep doing this, while this river lies between us and our enemy? Order this bridge rebuilt the way it was, and lead us across to them. God will make you see a result you will like concerning them.” Al-Ḥārith therefore commanded that the bridge should be rebuilt, and the men crossed toward the Azāriqah. The latter fled until they reached al-Madā‘īn. When the Muslims arrived at al-Madā‘īn, some horsemen from the Azāriqah came and weakly charged some Muslim horsemen at the [floating] bridge and then drew back from them. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī‘ah had ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf pursue them with six thousand men to expel them from the territory of al-Kūfah; however, they were to let them go, if they reached the territory of al-Basrah. So he pursued them until they left the territory of al-Kūfah and went toward Isbāhān; then he turned away from them, not having fought them; no fighting had taken place between him and them. The Azāriqah proceeded and encamped near ‘Attāb b. Warqā‘, who was at Jay.  

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467. Jay was one of two adjacent cities that together formed Isbāhān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 203. Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, IV, 284–87, reports that before besieging Isbāhān, the Khārijites went to Rayy, where the local inhabitants [non-Muslims?]
They stayed there and besieged him. He made a sortie and fought them, but was unable to prevail against them. They attacked his forces, so that they went back into the city. (At that time, Isbahān was assigned as a grant (tu'mah) to Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥah from Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. [Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥah] had sent ‘Attāb to be in charge.) ‘Attāb held out against them; every day he made a sortie and fought them at the gate of the city, and they bombarded the Azāriqah from the wall with arrows and stones.

There was with ‘Attāb a man from Ḥadramawt named Abū Hurayrah b. Shurayḥ. He used to go out with ‘Attāb and was a brave man. As he attacked the Azāriqah, he would recite:

“You dogs of hell! What do you think of the attack of Abū Hurayrah, the snarler?
He snarls at you by night and by day,
O Ibn Abī al-Māḥūz and you evil ones.
What do you think of Jay as a goal?”

When his recitations had gone on too long for the Kharijites, one of them (he is supposed to have been ‘Abīdah b. Hilāl) laid wait for him. Abū Hurayrah went out one day and did as he had been doing, saying what he was accustomed to say. Suddenly, ‘Abīdah b. Hilāl attacked him and struck him a blow with the sword on the muscle of his shoulder blade and threw him down. Abū Hurayrah’s companions attacked ‘Abīdah b. Hilāl; they carried away Abū Hurayrah, brought him inside [the city], and treated him. Afterwards, the Azāriqah began calling at them, saying, “You

| 468. Correcting ibn, “son of,” to min, “from,” as proposed in ed. Leiden, Addenda, p. DCLXXIII. No son of Muṣ'ab named Ṭalḥah is known. On the other hand, Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallah is mentioned by Ibn Qutaybah, Ma'drif, 120, and is given the kunyah Abu al-Bakhtari in Tabari, II, 808.
| 469. Ḥadramawt is the extreme south of the Arabian peninsula, modern South Yemen. See El², s.v.
| 470. The lines, in rajaz meter, pun on the literal meaning of “Abū Hurayrah,” “father of the cat,” i.e. a man fond of cats. Variants can be found in al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, 1096, and in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 'Iqd, I, 219.
| 472. Habl can mean muscle, nerve, or vein (Lane, Lexicon, II, 504f).
enemies of God! What did Abū Hurayrah, ‘the snarler,’ do?’ They, in turn, would call out, ‘You enemies of God! By God, he has nothing to fear.’ Abū Hurayrah soon recovered and afterwards went out against them. The Azāriqah began to say, ‘You enemy of God! We had hopes that we had sent you to visit your mother!’ He said to them, ‘You ungodly ones! Why do you mention my mother?’ They started to say, ‘Indeed, he is angry on account of his mother and is going to visit her shortly!’ Abū Hurayrah’s companions said to him, ‘Woe unto you! They mean hell.’ Realizing what they meant, he said, ‘You enemies of God, how undutiful you are to your mother when you separate yourselves from her! She is your mother and unto her you are destined to go!’

The Khārijites continued attacking them for several months, until their horses died and their food ran out; the siege had become very severe, and they were afflicted by great weariness. So ‘Attāb b. Warqā’ summoned the people of Jay. Having praised and extolled God, he said, ‘To proceed: People, you see what weariness has befallen you. By God, naught remains save that each of you die in his bed and that his brother come to bury him, if he can. But the brother will most likely be too weak to do it; so each will die by himself and find no one to bury him or pray over him. Then fear God; for by God you are not so few in number that your strength will be contemptible to your enemy. Among you there are skilled horsemen from the garrison city, and you are the most pious among your fellow tribesmen. Let us make a sortie against these men, while there is life and strength in you, before each of you becomes unable to march toward his enemy from weariness or defend himself from a woman if she comes at him. May each man fight to protect himself; may he be steadfast and brave! By God, I have hope that if you fight bravely, God will make you victorious over them and cause you to subdue them.’

The people cried to him from every side, ‘You have gone straight to the mark. Let us make a sortie against them.’ So he gathered the people to himself at night and ordered them given a large evening meal. They ate the evening meal at his house. The next morning,

473. I.e., the fire of hell. [‘Fire’ is grammatically feminine in Arabic.]
he led them out under their banners. They came upon the enemy in their camp in the morning, when they felt safe that they would not be come upon in their camp. They attacked the enemy beside the camp and fought with them. The Khārijites cleared away from the front of the camp, so that the attackers reached al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz. Together with a band of his companions, he dismounted and fought until he was killed. The Azārijah withdrew and joined Qaṭari,\textsuperscript{474} to whom they swore allegiance. 'Attāb reentered his city, having taken whatever he wanted from their camp. Qaṭari came pursuing him, apparently intending to fight him, and halted at the camp of al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz. The Khārijites assert that one of Qaṭari’s spies came to him and said, ‘I heard ‘Attāb say, ‘If these men were to ride donkeys and lead horses, and if they were to sojourn today in one land and tomorrow in another, they would be more likely to survive.’’’ When that was reported to Qaṭari, he went away and left them alone.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr [al-Naḍr b. Šāliḥ] al-‘Absi (who was with them): We went forth to meet Qaṭari the following day, on foot, with drawn swords. [Continuing,] he said: They departed; and, by God, it was the last they were encountered. [Continuing,] he said: Qaṭari then went until he reached the area of Kirmān,\textsuperscript{475} where he stayed until many troops had joined him. He pillaged the land,\textsuperscript{476} appropriated the revenues, and became strong. Then he turned to the territory of Iṣbahān, came out by way of the Nāshiṭ mountain pass to Īdhaj,\textsuperscript{477} and stayed in the territory of al-Ahwāz.

Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī’ah was Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr’s governor in charge of al-Baṣrah. He wrote informing Muṣ‘ab that the Khārijites had descended upon al-Ahwāz and that only al-Muhallab could deal with them. Muṣ‘ab therefore sent to al-Muhallab, who was in charge of al-Mawṣil and al-Jazīrah, ordering him to go and fight

\textsuperscript{474.} On the career of Qaṭari b. al-Fujā’ah, the last and most famous leader of the Azārijah, see EI, s.v. Šaṭari b. al-Fudjā’a.

\textsuperscript{475.} Kirmān, major city of the province of the same name, lay about 350 miles southeast of Iṣbahān. See EI, s.v.

\textsuperscript{476.} Literally, “He ate up the land.” For this meaning, see Dozy, Supplément, I, 31.

\textsuperscript{477.} Modern Persian, Izeh, 80 miles northeast of Ahwāz, at the foot of the Zagros Mountains. See EI, s.v.
the Khārijites, and sending Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar to [take charge of] his district. Al-Muhallab went to al-Baṣrah, chose men, and led out the men he had selected. He then headed toward the Khārijites, and they advanced toward him. They met at Sūlāf\(^478\) and fought there for eight months in some of the hardest fighting the men had ever seen, with neither side sufficiently injuring the other through spear thrusts and sword blows to force it to yield.

[Events in Syria]

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Tabari]: In this year, there was severe drought in Syria, so severe that they were unable to campaign.

In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān encamped at Buṭnān Ḥabīb in the territory of Qinnasrīn.\(^479\) They were rained on there, and there was so much mud that they called the place Ḥabīb.\(^480\) ʿAbd al-Malik spent the winter there and then returned to Damascus.

[The Death of ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr]

In this year, ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr was killed.\(^481\)

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\(^478\) Sūlāf was a village in Khūzistān, about 20 miles north of al-Ahwāz, west of the Dujayl river and near the town of Manādhir al-Kubrā. See Yāqūṭ, Muʿjam, s.v.; Le Strange, Lands, p. 239.

\(^479\) Qinnasrīn is in northern Syria near Aleppo. Buṭnān Ḥabīb (the name means “the lowlands of Ḥabīb,” after Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, the Muslim conqueror of the area) is a wādī about 30 kilometers east of Aleppo. See EI\(^2\), s.v. Buṭnān; Yāqūṭ, Muʿjam, s.v. Buṭnān and Qinnasrīn.

\(^480\) I.e., “the lowland of mud.”

His Death; the Circumstances That Brought It upon Him

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—‘Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā‘ini]—‘Ali b. Mūjāhid: ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr was one of the best of his tribesmen in righteousness, excellence, prayer, and exertion. After ‘Uthmān was killed and conflict erupted between ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiyah, he said, “Truly, God knows that I love ‘Uthmān and will avenge him, now that he is dead.” He therefore went to Syria and was on the side of Mu‘āwiyah. (Mālik b. Misma‘ also went to Mu‘āwiyah, being of similar opinion concerning the ‘Uthmāniyyah.) ‘Ubaydallāh remained with Mu‘āwiyah, was present with him at Ẓiffin, and continued with him until ‘Ali (peace be upon him!) was killed. After ‘Ali was killed, ‘Ubaydallāh came to al-Kūfah. He went to his brothers and whoever had been active in the civil strife and said to them, “Men, I do not think anyone’s standing aside will benefit him. We have been in Syria, and thus and so has happened in regard to Mu‘āwiyah’s enterprise.” And the people said to him, “Thus and so has happened in regard to ‘Ali’s enterprise.” So he said, “Men, if we have the opportunity, throw off your restraint and take charge of your own affairs.” They said, “We will meet.” So they used to meet together concerning the matter.

When Mu‘āwiyah died, the conflict erupted in the civil strife (fitnah) of Ibn al-Zubayr. ‘Ubaydallāh said, “I do not think that Quraysh is doing the right thing. Where are the sons of free women?” Outlaws of every tribe came to him, so that he had

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482. The tribe of Ju‘fī, to which he belonged, was a Yemeni tribe either allied to or a subdivision of the tribe of Madhiji.

483. ‘Uthmān, the third caliph, was killed in 35/656.

484. The ‘Uthmāniyyah was the party that demanded that the murderers of ‘Uthmān be punished. Mu‘āwiyah, the governor of Syria, emerged as the leader of the party, based on his blood relationship to ‘Uthmān (although he was not the next of kin).

485. The Battle of Ẓiffin was in 38/657; ‘Ali was killed in 40/661.

486. The term khali referred to a man whose crimes had rendered him an outcast from his family, clan, or tribe. In effect, the tribe served notice that it would no longer protect such a man; if anyone wished to avenge himself on him for his crimes, he would no longer incur the wrath of the tribe for killing one of its members. Since in pre-Islamic Arabia the protection of a man’s tribe was essential for survival, the khali’s life was in real danger. He could either
seven hundred skilled horsemen with him. "Give us your command," they said.

When 'Ubay dallah b. Ziyād fled and Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah died, 487 'Ubay dallah b. al-Hurr said to his young men, "Dawn has become visible to anyone who has eyes. 488 So if you want [to act, do it]." He went out to al-Madā'in and left no money that was brought from al-jibāl province to the government but that he took it and took from it his stipend and the stipends of his companions. Then he said, "You have partners in this money in al-Kūfah, men who have a claim to it; but take the coming year's stipend in advance.‖ To the official in charge of the treasury he wrote a quittance 489 for the money he had collected and began to range the rural districts (kuwar) in a similar manner.

[Al-Madā'ini] said: I asked [Ali b. Mujāhid], "Was it his practice to help himself to people's money and that of merchants?" He said to me, "You do not know Abū al-Ashras. 490 By God, there was no Arab tribesman in the land more respectful toward free women, or more abstemious from unseemly behavior and wine drinking than he. All that demeaned him in people's eyes was his poetry, for he was one of the young men fondest of poetry."

'Ubay dallah b. al-Hurr continued in this way until al-Mukhtar rose to power 491 and was informed of what he was doing in the

become a lone brigand, trusting to his own skill in eluding enemies, or he could band together with others in the same predicament.

487. After Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah died in 64/683, 'Ubay dallah b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfah [he had been responsible for the death of al-Husayn and the repression of the Kūfan Shi'is], was forced to flee to Syria. See EI', s.v. 'Ubaid Allah b. Ziyād.

488. Proverbial for a thing that has become altogether manifest. See Lane, Lexicon, I, 286, s.v. bāna; Freytag, II, 255; Maydāni, II, 39.

489. Barā'ah, a document stating that the person in question had fulfilled his duty and was under no further obligation. See ed. Leiden, Glossarium, p. cxxx.

490. Abu al-Ashras ["the most ill-natured, harsh, or severe"] is the nickname of 'Ubay dallah b. al-Hurr.

491. I.e., in the events of 66/685 in al-Kūfah. Cf. Dinawari, Akhbār, 304: "Al-Mukhtar wrote to 'Ubay dallah b. al-Hurr al-Ju'fi, who was attacking and raiding in the region of al-Jabal, and said to him, 'You rebelled only in anger over al-Husayn. We, too, are among those who are angry on his account. We have devoted ourselves to avenging his blood. Help us in the matter.' When 'Ubay dallah made no reply, al-Mukhtar rode to 'Ubay dallah's house in al-Kūfah, destroyed it, and ordered 'Ubay dallah's wife to be arrested and imprisoned." The sequence of events in Dinawari is: arrest and imprisonment of 'Ubay dallah's wife, 'Ubay dallah's
Sawād. Al-Mukhtar ordered 'Ubaydallāh's wife, Umm Salamah al-Ju'fiyyah, to be imprisoned. Al-Mukhtar said, "By God, I will kill him or kill his companions." When 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr learned of this, he came with his young men, entered al-Kūfah by night, broke the door of the prison, and brought out his wife and every woman and man who was in it. Al-Mukhtar sent some men to fight him, and he fought with them until he had left the city. When he got his wife out of prison, he recited:

Have you not known, Umm Tawbah, that I am
the horseman who protects those of Madhliij
he is duty-bound to protect,
And that I came to the prison at the height of the forenoon\(^{492}\)
with young men, each of them a protector of what is
inviolable, each of them fully armed?
As soon as the women came out of prison, there appeared to us
a forehead like a sunbeam, unwrinkled,
And a smooth cheek, revealing a young woman beloved
to us—may every rain cloud that approaches give her drink!
The only life for me is to visit you fearlessly,
as was our habit before my warring and my rebelling.
You are the soul's object of solicitude and love:
Peace be upon you from a companion covered with scars!
Because of your imprisonment, I remained imprisoned, downcast,
grieved by what you encountered thereafter.
By God, did you ever see a horseman like me,
when they stormed the prison from every entry?
[A man] such as I will protect such [a woman] as you;
I hold fast whenever a crisis does not loosen its grip.
For you I will fight them with the sword, that you may return
to safety and a life abundant and plentiful.
If they surround me, I will charge them
like the father of two lion cubs cornered in a thicket.

raid on the estate of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, his rescue of his wife, and his fighting his way out of al-Kūfah.

\(^{492}\) Either there is a disparity between the poem (he came in the forenoon) and the associated prose text (he came by night), as is not uncommon in Arabic sources that cite poems within historical narratives, or (as seems implied in Dinawari) 'Ubaydallāh entered al-Kūfah by night and rescued his wife the following day.
I challenged Ibn Kāmil al-Shākiri to fight me, but he turned away, galloping swiftly, not turning aside. If they call out my name, I turn against them horses generous in battle, most of them with hurting hoofs.\textsuperscript{493}

No wonder Salmā, my wife, says, “Ibn al-Ḥurr, truly you are a man who never withdraws from fighting!

Leave the men; do not fight them. Escape safely; hasten with the horsemen—God guide you!—and go forth.”

I hope, O best of women, to be seen in the best state of one who has hopes; so hope you!

How lovely it was when I said to Āḥmar of Ṭayyi’\textsuperscript{494} and to Ibn Khubayb, “The dawn has drawn near; journey forth!”

And when I said to this one, “Travel,” to that one, “Depart,” and to that one afterwards, “Saddle up!”

He began to harass al-Mukhtār’s financial agents and partisans. [The tribe of] Hamdān arose with al-Mukhtār, burned Ibn al-Ḥurr’s house, and sacked his estate at al-Jubbah and al-Budāt.\textsuperscript{495} When he learned of this, he went to the estates of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa’īd b. Qays at Māh,\textsuperscript{496} caused them to be plundered, and caused everything belonging to [the tribe of] Hamdān there to be plundered. Then he went to the Sawād and left no property belonging to any Hamdānī untaken. Concerning that, he said:

\textsuperscript{493} I.e., because he has driven them so hard.
\textsuperscript{494} Āḥmar of Ṭayyi’ was one of Ibn al-Ḥurr’s companions. See Ṭabarī, II, 388–390, and II, 775, below.
\textsuperscript{495} Al-Jubbah and al-Budāt (or al-Badāt) are two districts [tasāṣij] in the sawād of al-Kūfah [Yaqūt, Mu’jam, s.vv.]. The Nahr al-Badāt was a canal that left the Kūfah branch of the Euphrates about a day’s journey north of al-Kūfah and flowed south to the Great Swamp. See Le Strange, Lands, 74.
\textsuperscript{496} Two cities or districts had the name of Māh: Māh al- Başrah, the Nihāwand district, whose taxes were used for the support of the military population of al- Başrah, and Māh al-Kūfah, the city of Dinawar in al-jībāl, whose revenues were applied to the benefit of the citizens of al-Kūfah. Since ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa’īd b. Qays (who, according to Dinawarī, Akhbār, 302, had carried out al-Mukhtār’s order to sack and destroy ‘Ubaydallāh’s house) was one of the ashrāf of al-Kūfah, the city of Dinawar seems more likely. See El\textsuperscript{2}, s.vv. Dinawar and Māh al- Başra; Le Strange, Lands, 189.
do we bind ourselves with allegiance (*bay‘ah*) to them, when they are no braver than we in battle or wealthier than we? The Messenger of God charged us, “No obedience to a creature that involves disobeying the Creator!” After the four who have passed away,*503* we have seen no righteous imām or pious helper (*wazīr*); all of them have disobeyed and opposed [God]—strong as to this world and weak as to the next! Why should our honor be violated, when we are veterans of al-Nukhaylah, al-Qādisiyyah, Jalūlā’, and Nihāwand?*504* We meet spearheads with our necks and swords with our faces, and then our right and merit go unacknowledged! Then fight for your wives. Whatever happens, there will be advantage in it for you. I hereby turn against them*505* and show them hostility. There is no strength but in God!”

So ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr made war on them and raided. To deal with him, Muṣ‘ab sent Sayf b. Hānī’ al-Murādī, who said to ‘Ubaydallāh, “Muṣ‘ab will give you the tax revenue of Bādūrayā,*506* on condition that you swear allegiance and become obedient to him.” ‘Ubaydallāh replied, “Don’t I [already] have the tax revenue of Bādūrayā and other districts? I accept nothing, and on no condition will I trust them. But I see, young man”—Sayf was a young man at the time—“that you are an intelligent young fellow. Wouldn’t you like to follow me, and I will make you rich?” Sayf refused.

When he left prison, Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

*Kūfah is not my mother, nor is Baṣrah my father; neither does laziness deflect me from travel.*

(Al-Ḥasan [al-Madā‘īnī] said the authorship of this verse is attributed to Suḥaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī.)

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*504.* Famous battles: At al-Nukhaylah in 41/661, Kūfān forces rescued Mu‘āwiyah’s Syrians from a band of Khārijītes (Ṭabārī, II, 7–9). Al-Qādisiyyah and Jalūlā’ were both sites of great Muslim victories over the Persians in 16/637. The Muslim victory at Nihāwand, in 21/641, effectively opened the Iranian plateau to Muslim penetration.

*505.* Literally, “I have turned towards them the outer side of the shield.” The expression is proverbial meaning to become hostile to someone after reconciliation. See Freytag, II, 258 (Maydānī, II, 40).

*506.* Bādūrayā was a village on the west bank of the Tigris later incorporated into greater Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 31.
Ibn al-Zubayr, do not think I am like a drowsy man who, when he alights in a place, sleeps until he is told, "Go away."

If I do not incite to visit you horses that run grimly, carrying their riders, may I not be called a man of judgment and valor.

If you do not see raids against you from every side, so that you speedily repent, O man, May no chaste woman ever lay off her veil in my household, and may I live only on vain hopes and excuses!507

This is [part of] a long poem.

Muṣʿab sent al-Abrah b. Qurrah al-Riyāḥī with a band of men to fight him, but he was defeated by Ibn al-Ḥurr, who struck him a blow on the face. Then Muṣʿab sent against him Ḥurayth b. Zayd (or Yazid), who challenged him to single combat, but ʿUbayd- allāh b. al-Ḥurr killed him. Then Muṣʿab sent against him al- Ḥājjāj b. Jāriyāḥ508 al-Khathʿami and Muslim b. ʿAmr, who met him at the Ṣarṣār canal,509 but ʿUbaydallāh fought them and defeated them. Then Muṣʿab sent him men to offer him safety, gifts, and charge of any country he wanted; but he refused. He went to Narsā,510 its dihqān,511 Ṭīzjushnas, fled with the revenue of al-Fallūjah and, pursued by Ibn al-Ḥurr, went to ʿAyn al-Tamr,512 where he took refuge with the forces of Bistām b. Maṣqalāh b.

507. An oath to divorce his wife is implied. Such an oath was considered particularly strong.


509. A canal that left the Euphrates about 10 miles south of al-Anbār, passed through the town of Ṣarṣār, just south of Baghdad, and flowed into the Tigris about 5 miles north of al-Madāʾin. See Le Strange, Lands, 32, 35, 67.

510. Apparently a variant for the Narṣ canal (attributed to the Persian Narṣā) that left the Sūrā channel of the Euphrates near al-Ḥillah. The districts between the main branch of the Euphrates and the Sūrā channel were called Upper and Lower Fallūjah. See Le Strange, Lands, 73f.

511. A dihqān was a member of the local class of Persian landlords in Iraq who administered subdistricts. See El², s.v. Mss. Pet, O and Co give the first syllable of the name as Ṭīr-, but vary in dotting the remaining consonants.

512. ʿAyn al-Tamr was a town in a fertile depression on the border of the desert west of the Euphrates, some 60 miles northwest of al-Kūfah. Since it commanded the approach to al-Kūfah from the Western Desert, governors of al-Kūfah normally maintained a garrison there. See El², s.v.; Yāqūt, Muʾjam, s.v.
Of the bulk of our property neither the liar nor the blue-eyed men of Hamdān have left anything but a remnant.

Is it right that Shākir should plunder my estates, and that Ibn Saʿīd’s estate should be safe from me?

Have you not known, Umm Tawbah, that I am not listless when confronting the vicissitudes of fortune?

I tighten my belt for every adversity, and against every affliction I am exceedingly stalwart.

If I do not come to Shākir in the morning with a squadron and cure my sword’s thirst with my own two hands—

[T]hey destroyed my house and led my wife off to their prison—the Muslims are my witnesses.

They gave her no time to tie her veil.

O the marvel! Will fate avenge me?)

Then I am not Ibn al-Hurr, if I do not suprise them with armored horsemen who attack like lions.

My horsemen are not cowards; I have urged them against an army numerous and well equipped.

This is [part of] a long poem.

Continuing, he said: He used to come to al-Madāʾin and make the rounds of the Jūkhā district financial agents, taking whatever money they had, and then head toward al-Jībāl province. He continued in this manner until al-Mukhtār was killed. After al-Mukhtār had been killed, people said to Muṣʿab in his second governorship, “Ibn al-Ḥurr split with both [ʿUbaydallāh] b. Ziyād and al-Mukhtār. We fear he may attack the Sawād as he used to do.” Muṣʿab therefore imprisoned him. Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

Who will inform the young men that a strong door and its keeper have come between them and their brother,

In a dwelling unpleasing?

Whenever he stands up, fetters creak and respond to him.

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497. I.e., al-Mukhtār.

498. In Arabic poetry, blue eyes are considered a defect: either a sign of poor vision (cataracts) or a sign of hostility, See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1128. Dinawari, *Akhdār*, 304, reads “the man.”

499. Punning on the literal meaning of Ibn al-Ḥurr, “son of the free man.”
On the leg above the heel there is something black, mute, and strong; it contracts his steps and shortens them. This did not happen because of a great crime I committed, but a slanderer spread his lies.

There is a course in the wide world; for many a man his paths on it have been strait. For man there is a lesson in fortune, time, and the past, if ever vicissitudes occur.

‘Ubaydallāh [b. al-Ḥurr] asked some men from Madhhij to go to Mus‘ab on his behalf. He sent to the eminent men of the tribe and said, “Go to Mus‘ab and speak to him by himself, for he has imprisoned me without a crime. Some liars have slandered me and made him afraid of things I would not do and that would not be my business.” But he also sent word to some young men from Madhhij, saying, “Gird on swords and take battle gear. I have sent some men to Mus‘ab to speak to him on my behalf. Stand at the door. If the men come out and he has accepted their intercession, interfere with no one; let your swords be covered by your garments.”

The men from Madhhij came, entered Mus‘ab’s presence, and spoke to him. He accepted their intercession and released ‘Ubaydallāh. Ibn al-Ḥurr had said to his companions, “If the men come out and Mus‘ab has not accepted their intercession, take the prison by force; I will help you from inside.” When Ibn al-Ḥurr came out, he said to them, “Show your swords.” They showed them; no one interfered with him, and he went to his home. Mus‘ab regretted having released him, for Ibn al-Ḥurr was openly disobedient. When men came to congratulate him, he said, “This matter is meet only for such men as were your former caliphs. We see no one equal to them or like them among us, that we should allow him to conduct our affairs and grant him our sincere advice. If it is only ‘He who overcomes takes the spoil,’ why

500. Arabic *amr*, which means both “command,” and “matter, thing,” is used like Latin *res* in the phrase *res publica* to mean “state or commonwealth,” and particularly the caliphate. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, 1, 37.
501. The Arabic idiom, “grant sincere advice,” is stronger than the English equivalent. It is regularly used by synecdoche to mean the entire loyalty of a man to his superior.
502. I.e., if the caliphate has become merely the prerogative of whoever has the
Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, who was in charge of the town. Bistām and his forces went out and fought Ibn al-Ḥurr. Bistām’s cavalry numbered one hundred and fifty horsemen. Challenged by Ibn al-Ḥurr to single combat, Yūnus b. Ḥāʾān al-Hamdānī from Khaywān⁵¹³ said, “The worst that fortune has in store is what it brings in the end. I never thought I would live until a man challenged me to single combat.”⁵¹⁴ He met him in single combat, and Ibn al-Ḥurr struck him a blow that knocked the strength out of him; then they grappled, and both fell from their horses. Ibn al-Ḥurr took Yūnus’s turban, tied his hands with it, and then rode off.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah al-Khath’ami came to them. Al-Ḥajjāj attacked him, but ‘Ubaydallāh also took him prisoner. Bistām b. Maṣqalah challenged al-Mujashshir⁵¹⁵ to single combat; they exchanged blows until each had wearied the other. When Ibn al-Ḥurr saw that Bistām was winning, he attacked Bistām. Bistām grappled with him and both fell on the ground. Ibn al-Ḥurr fell on Bistām’s chest and took him captive. That day, he took many men captive. One man would say, “I was your companion on such and such a day”; another would say, “I dwelt among you”; and each of them sought to gain favor by what he thought would be to his advantage, so that he would be released.

‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr sent horsemen from among his companions under the leadership of Dalham al-Murādī to seek the diḥqān. They found him and took the money before there was any fighting. Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

If I had four men like Jarir,⁵¹⁶
I would go to the treasury in the morning and collect.
Muṣ‘āb and those with him would not frighten me.
How excellent a young man is Ibn Mashja‘ah!

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⁵¹³. Khaywān was a town in Yemen. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v., and Lisān, s.v.
⁵¹⁴. Cf. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 295: “One of Bistām’s men, Yūnus b. ‘Āhān by name, challenged Ibn al-Ḥurr to single combat. ‘Ubaydallāh said—and it became proverbial, ‘The worst that fortune has in store is what it brings in the end. I never thought I would live to see a man such as this one challenge me to single combat.’”
⁵¹⁵. One of ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr’s men.
Then 'Ubaydallāh went to Takrit. Al-Muhallab’s financial agent fled from Takrit, and 'Ubaydallāh stayed there, collecting the revenue. Muṣ'āb sent al-Abraḍ b. Qurrah al-Riyāḥī and al-Jawn b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī with a thousand men, and al-Muhallab reinforced the two with Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal with five hundred men to fight him. A man from Ju'fī517 said to 'Ubaydallāh, “A large number have come upon you; do not fight them,” but he replied:

My kinsmen try to make me afraid of being killed:

but I shall die only when the appointed Decree518 comes.

Perhaps, spears with their points will draw wealth near,

and we shall live as generous men; or [it may be that] we shall attack and be killed.519

Then he said to al-Mujashshir...,520 gave him his banner, and sent Dalham al-Murādī forward with him. He fought them for two days, having three hundred men with him. Jarir b. Kurayb was wounded; ‘Amr b. Jundab al-Azdi and many of his horsemen were killed. At evening the two sides stopped fighting.

'Ubaydallāh left Takrit and said to his companions, “I am taking you to Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.” So they made ready; but then he said, “I fear I may depart from life without having frightened Muṣ'āb and his companions. Let us go back to al-Kūfah.”[Continuing,] he said: He went to Kaskar,521 banished its financial agent, and took its treasury. Then he went to al-Kūfah and encamped at Laḥhām Jarīr.522 Muṣ'āb sent ‘Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma’mar against him, and he fought with him. Ibn al-Ḥurr then

517. Ju'fī was Ḳīn al-Ḥurr's own tribe.
518. Al-kitāb al-mu’ajjal, literally, "the appointed book," or "the book whose time is appointed," i.e. the divine decree fixing the term of a man's life. The phrase occurs in Qur'ān 3:145.
519. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 296: "... and we shall live as generous men whom men ask for gifts and for whose generosity they hope." The Baladhuri version adds two lines: "Have you not seen that poverty brings contempt upon its people, and that in wealth there is eminence and adornment? If you do not venture upon what is fearful, you will never attain enough wealth to satisfy a friend and provide a surplus."
520. A word such as "Advance!" has apparently dropped out of the text (ed. Leiden, note).
521. See note 342.
522. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 293, reads "Ḥammām Jarīr."
left for Dayr al-A’war. Muṣ‘ab sent Ḥajjār b. Abjar against him. When Ḥajjār was defeated, Muṣ‘ab heaped abuse on him, sent him back, and had Jawn b. Ka‘b al-Hamdānī and ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ma‘mar join forces with him. So they all fought Ibn al-Ḥurr. Many of Ibn al-Ḥurr’s companions were wounded and their horses hamstrung. When al-Mujashshir, who carried Ibn al-Ḥurr’s banner, was wounded, he gave the banner to Alḥmar of Tayyi’. Ḥajjār b. Abjar was beaten back, but wheeled round and returned to the fight. The two sides fought hard until evening. Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

If I had three men like young al-Mujashshir,

I would attack them [sc. the enemy] by night, not doubting.

He helped me the night of Dayr al-A’war

with spear thrust and sword stroke, and at the crossing;

‘Umar b. Ma‘mar then would perish.

Ibn al-Ḥurr then left al-Kūfah.


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523. Dayr al-A’war lay north of al-Kūfah, approximately halfway to Karbalā’. See ʾEl2, s.v.


525. Ḥawlāyā is located in the Nahrawān district (Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v.).

526. Tāmarra was the name given to the Nahrawān Canal north of Bājisra. See Le Strange, Lands, 59f.
met at Sūrā and fought hard. Bushayr then turned away from him, went back to his district (‘amal), and said, “I have defeated Ibn al-Ḥurr.” When what he had said reached Muṣṭab, the latter said, “He is one of those who like to be praised for what they have not done.”

‘Ubaydallāh [b. al-Ḥurr] remained in the Sawād, raiding and collecting the tax revenues. Concerning this, Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

Ask Ibn Ruʿaym about how I fight and take my stand at the Hall of Khusraw, not turning my back to them. Distinguished [in war], I wheel round to charge them, and you see them like goats that take to the rocks for fear of the wolf. I attacked them by night in the stronghold of Khusraw son of Hurmuz with bright whetted [swords] and dark [spears] from al-Khaṭṭ. I gave them spear thrusts and sword blows; you see them seeking refuge from us in the middle of the night atop the stronghold.

They seek refuge from me out of timorousness and fear, as doves seek refuge from a hawk.

Then, among other things mentioned, ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr joined ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. After he had come to him, ‘Abd al-Malik sent him with ten men toward al-Kūfah, ordering him to advance toward it until the [Syrian] army joined him. ‘Ubaydallāh set out with the men. Having reached al-Anbār, he dispatched people to al-Kūfah to tell his companions of his coming and ask them to come out to him. When the Qays party learned of this,
they went to al-Ḥārith b. `Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah, Ibn al-Zubayr's governor for al-Kūfah, and asked him to send an army with them, which he did. When they encountered 'Ubaydallāh, he fought them for a time. Then his horse drowned, and he boarded a ferryboat. A local peasant jumped on him and grabbed his arms; the others struck him with stones and cried out, "This is the man wanted by the Commander of the Faithful." The two men grappled with each other and drowned. They pulled 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr out, cut off his head, and sent it to al-Kūfah and then to al-Baṣrah.

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarî]: Another account of his death has also been given. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr is said to have died for the following reason: He used to visit Muṣ'ab in al-Kūfah and saw the latter setting the people of al-Baṣrah ahead of him. He therefore is said to have written 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr a qaṣīdah, reproving Muṣ'ab, and threatening to go over to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. In it he said:

Deliver a message to the Commander of the Faithful,
for I am not of an unseemly opinion trying to outwit him:

al-Zubayr, see note 11. Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmîl, IV, 293f., adds that most of Ibn al-Ḥurr's men had gone ahead to raise support in al-Kūfah, leaving Ibn al-Ḥurr vulnerable.

531. Ms. O: "was hamstrung."
532. Literally, "a man from the anbāt," i.e. a Nabataean, any of the Aramaic-speaking peasantry of Iraq.
533. Cf. the more detailed account in Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmîl, IV, 294 (summarizing Balâdhurî, Ansāb, V, 297): "They surrounded him, put his companions to flight, and tried unsuccessfully to take him prisoner. He allowed his companions to leave; they did so, and no one hindered them. He began to fight alone. A man from Bāhilah named Abū Kudyah attacked him, but Ibn al-Ḥurr hit him with a spear. They began to shoot arrows at him and crowded around him, but could not come near him. 'Are these arrows,' he would say, 'or are they spindles?' When the wounds had weakened him, he waded into a ferry there; he entered it, but his horse would not enter it. He boarded the boat, and the shipman took him to the middle of the Euphrates. The horsemen caught sight of him. There were some Nabatean peasants with the shipman in the boat. The horsemen said to them, 'The man wanted by the Commander of the Faithful is in the boat. If he gets away from you, we will kill you.' Ibn al-Ḥurr jumped up to fling himself into the water, but a powerful man jumped him and grabbed his arms (his wounds were dripping blood). The rest of the men struck him with oars. When he saw that they wanted to take him to the Qays, he grabbed the man with him and threw himself with him into the water. Both of them drowned."
534. I.e., a long ode involving a stylized sequence of themes. See EI², s.v. Kaṣīda.
Is it a matter of right that I be turned away and that Muṣʿab take as his two helpers men I have been battling?
How, when I have sworn you my true allegiance, is my right turned aside when I demand it?
I bestowed on you such a thing as is not to be disregarded;
   I did good to you, when the rugged parts of the affair were difficult.
But when the kingdom shone brightly and enemies had submitted,
   and when he had obtained his desire of the wealth of Iraq, Muṣʿab turned away from me. Had it been anyone else,
   I would not reproach him for what happened between us.
What has made me have an evil opinion of Muṣʿab is the fact that Muṣʿab has shown himself the friend of all who bear malice toward us.
If you drive me away, I will not drink
   when the water has been muddied, after [another] drinker has been favored with the clear!
A man receives only what God sends to him and what the Writer has inscribed in the Book.
When I stand by the door, Muslim is allowed in, but the gatekeeper prevents me from entering the door.

This is [part of] a long poem.

He composed the following addressed to Muṣʿab when he was in his prison. ʿAtiyyah b. ʿAmr al-Bakrī had been imprisoned with him. When ʿAtiyyah was released, ʿUbaydallāh said:

I say to him, “Patience, ʿAtiyyah;
   it is prison only until God makes a way out.”

I see my fate as two kinds of day:
   one day a wandering fugitive, one day crowned among kings.
Will you speak ill of my religion when I come to you, but draw al-Bāhili and Hashraj near because of religion?
Have you not seen that the face of the kingdom has been marred

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and the nab' trees of God's earth have become 'awsaj
trees?536

This is [part of] a long poem.

The following was also composed to reprove Muṣ'ab. He mentions how Muṣ'ab took as a companion Suwayd b. Manjūf, who had a scanty beard.

For which deed of endurance537 and which favor [they bestowed]
are Muslim and al-Muhallab made to go ahead of me?
And Ibn Manjūf is summoned ahead of me, as if he were
a gelding come to water when the asses go off to pasture.
The shaykh of Tamīm has a head like thaghāmāh,538
and [the tribesmen of] 'Aylān are afraid of us, watching.
I have made the strongholds of Azd, stretching between Manbij539
and the ghāf540 trees of the valley of Oman,
Lands from which our swords have banished the foe,
from which ʿufrah541 dwells remote, and to which he is a
stranger.

He also composed a qaṣīdah in which he satirized [the tribe of]
Qays 'Aylān. In it he said:

I am a son of the Banū Qays; if you ask
about Qays, you will find them uppermost among the tribes.
Have you not seen how the Qays, Qays 'Aylān,542 have veiled
their beards and sold their arrows for spindles?
I continued to have hope in the Azd,543 until I saw
that they fell short of their haughty houses.

536. The hard wood of the nab' tree was used for arrows; the soft wood of the 'awsaj (boxthorn) was used for women's spindles (Lane,Lexicon, V, 2042).
537. For a discussion of balā' ("steadfastness, deed of endurance, manly deed") see Bravmann, The Spiritual Background of Early Islam, 83ff.
538. Thaghāmāh, a mountain plant, perhaps wormwood or hyssop, was proverbial for its whiteness. See Lane, Lexicon, I, 339.
539. Manbij is about 50 miles northeast of Aleppo in Syria.
540. The ghāf tree, which is said to be large, grows in sand, and has sweet fruit, is particularly associated with Oman, the original home of the Azd tribe. See Lane, Lexicon, VI, 2318.
542. Qays, the purported ancestor of the tribe of Qays, received the nickname 'Aylān, either from his father or because his horse was no named (Lisān).
543. The Azd were a group of South Arabian tribes, some of whom migrated...
Zufar b. al-Ḥārith then wrote to Muṣ'ab, saying, “I took care of fighting Ibn al-Zarqāʾ on your behalf, and now Ibn al-Ḥurr is satirizing Qays!”

Then a group of the Banū Sulaym took Ibn al-Ḥurr and made him a prisoner. For his part, he said, “I merely said:

Have you not seen how the Qays, Qays ‘Aylān, have come to us and brought spears and parties of horsemen?”

One of their men, named ‘Ayyāsh, killed him. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith said:

When I saw that men were sons by a stepmother, and every speaker slandered us beyond measure,

Our going with our swords toward death spoke for us, and the wrinkling of the vein of the places where one kicks the mount [to make it gallop].

Had Ibn al-Ḥurr asked, he would have been told that they are Yemeni and that they are not bartered for spindles.

He would have been told that our swords are acquainted with necks from the top to the backbone.

See E12, s.v. Ṭabarī, II, 463, quotes these lines in connection with the tribal conflicts of 64/783 in al-ṣārah. After Yazīd’s death, the Umayyad governor of Iraq, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, was forced to flee to Syria. Before leaving, he appointed the leader of the Azd, Mas’ūd b. ‘Amr, to serve as his deputy. Mas’ūd was subsequently assassinated (by a Khārijī, but the Azd suspected the Banū Tamīm of having engineered the affair). Violence erupted between the Azd (and their ally, the Rabī‘ah tribe of Bakr b. Wā‘il) and Tamīm (with its Muḍrar ally, Qays ‘Aylān). After many deaths on both sides, the Azd agreed to accept blood money (diyyah) from the Tamīm. Although such payments were an accepted way of ending tribal violence, they laid a group open to the charge of not being bold enough to exact vengeance in blood. The following additional lines in Ṭabarī, II, 463, make this explicit:

Shall Mas’ūd be killed, and they not avenge him?

The swords of Azd have become like sickles.

What good is there in blood-money that has bestowed humiliation upon the Azd, so that their clans are reviled in gatherings.

544. This pejorative epithet (“son of the blue-eyed woman”) refers to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. See Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 295; Ibn Ḥajar, Ṭabṣīr, 1469. On blue eyes as evil, see note 498.


546. I.e., when they turned away from us and mistreated us.

547. I.e., our arrows.
‘Abdallāh b. Ḥammām\textsuperscript{548} said:  

Ibn al-Hurr, you chanted alone by yourself  
the words of a man inebriated or tottering.  
Do you remember tribesmen whose spears hurt you,  
who protected their relations on the battlefield?  
[The tribe of] Rabī‘ah weeps because of what they encountered at  
their hands;  
moreover, you are not the best among the kinsmen of Bakr.  
Why did you not seek revenge for them with a Ju‘fi,  
since they are your people closely related, in previous years?  
On the day of the multitude,\textsuperscript{549} we left them humiliated,  
taking refuge from our swords in the mimosa trees.  
On the day of al-Nukhayl, ‘Umayr with his troops mixed with  
you,  
and you did not rejoice over him when he did so.  
On the day of Sharāḥil, we cut off your noses;  
on that day he did not act injuriously against us.  
With the blade of the sword, we struck the crown of his head,  
which had but recently known the services of the hairdresser.  
If noses of Madhāḥij have thereby been rubbed in the dust,\textsuperscript{550}  
so may hateful noses be humiliated and hated.

[Four Separate Banners at the Pilgrimage]  
According to Abū Ja‘far [sc. al-Ṭabari]: In this year, four banners  
came to ‘Arafāt.\textsuperscript{551}  

\textsuperscript{548} ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥammām al-Salūlī lived mostly in al-Kūfah. Ṭabari, II, 636–42, shows him as having been originally unsympathetic to the Shi‘ah and as writing a panegyric of al-Mukhtār more or less to save his skin. Later, he became loyal to the Umayyads. See F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 324.

\textsuperscript{549} Possibly, “on the day (i.e., battle) of al-Thārī [a place name].”

\textsuperscript{550} “To rub someone’s nose in the dust,” means to humiliate him, the nose held high in the air being, in Arabic as in English, a sign of haughtiness. See Lane, Lexicon, III, 1113.

\textsuperscript{551} I.e., four separate groups of pilgrims, led by four standard-bearers, gathered at ‘Arafāt for the wuqūf (“standing,” or “station”) that climaxes the Ḥaįj [pilgrimage]. In 68, the day of the wuqūf, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, fell on July 15, 688. See EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.vv. ‘Arafa and Ḥādījī.
'Awn—his father, who said: In the year 68, four banners stood at 'Arafat: Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah with his companions stood with a banner at Jabal\[552] al-Mushāt; Ibn al-Zubayr stood with a banner at the present standing place of the imām; then Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah led his companions forward so that they stood opposite Ibn al-Zubayr; behind these two was Najdah, the Ḥarūrī,\[553] and the banner of the Banū Umayyah was to the left of the two. The first banner to return [from 'Arafat] was that of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah; he was followed by Najdah, then by the banner of the Banū Umayyah, and then by the banner of Ibn al-Zubayr, with the people following it.

According to Muḥammad [b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi]—Ibn Nāfī—his father, who said: That evening, Ibn 'Umar had begun to hurry back [from 'Arafat] with Ibn al-Zubayr's party; but when Ibn al-Zubayr went slowly, after Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, Najdah, and the Banū Umayyah had gone past, Ibn 'Umar said, "Ibn al-Zubayr is waiting, as was the custom of pre-Islamic times."\[554] Then he rushed forward, and Ibn al-Zubayr rushed after him.

According to Muḥammad [b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi]—Hishām b. 'Umārah—Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr—his father, who said: Fearing there would be strife (fitnah), I went on foot to all of them. I went to Muḥammad b. 'Ali at al-Shi'b\[555] and said, "Abū al-Qāsim, fear God; we are in a place of sacred rites and sacred territory, and the people are ambassadors of God to this house."\[556]

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552. For jabal ("mountain"), one should read ḥabl ("large sand dune"), as in the parallel text in Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, V, 75 (and note).
553. I.e., the Khārijīites. Because the Khārijīites gathered at the town of Ḥarūrī (ca. 2 miles from al-Ḳūfah) when they "seceded" (kharāj) from 'Ali's army in opposition to the plan for arbitration between 'Ali and Muʿāwiyyah, they were called "Ḥarūriyyah" (sing. Ḥarūrī). See EI\[2], s.v. Ḥarūrī. Najdah's followers controlled large areas of al-Yamāmah (central Arabia) at this time. See note 385.
554. Pilgrims depart from 'Arafat after sunset on the ninth of Dhu al-Hijjah and rush back to Mecca without delay. The parallel text in Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, V, 76, makes it clear that Ibn 'Umar left as soon as the sun set, according to what he considered to be the Prophet's Sunnah; Ibn al-Zubayr, on the other hand, was waiting for darkness to fall. On the jāhiliyyah, "time of ignorance," or pre-Islamic paganism, see EI\[2], s.v. Djahlīyya.
555. Al-Shi'b ("the path between two mountains") was a watering place between al-'Aqabah and al-Qā', three miles from Mecca on the Mecca-Medina road (Yāqūt, Muʿjam, s.v.).
556. The term ambassadors (wafd, pl. of wāfd) normally has the sense of persons coming to a great man to bring gifts or ask assistance [Lane, Lexicon, VIII, 2955]. "This house" refers to the Ka'bah.
Do not spoil their pilgrimage for them.” He replied, “By God, I do not want that. I will not stand in the way of anybody seeking to approach this house, and no pilgrim will be harmed by me. However, I am a man defending myself from Ibn al-Zubayr and what he seeks from me. I seek this thing only so that two men may not oppose me in it. But go to Ibn al-Zubayr, and speak to him; and go to Najdah.” Muhammad [b. Jubayr] continued: I went to Ibn al-Zubayr and spoke to him as I had spoken to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. He said, “I am a man on whom the people have agreed and to whom they have sworn allegiance. These men are people of dissent.” I said, “I think restraint would be best for you.” He said, “I will do it.”

Then I went to Najdah al-Ḥarūrī. I found him among his companions and found Ikrimah, the lad (ghulām) of Ibn ‘Abbās, with him. I said, “Ask permission for me to go in to see your master.” Muhammad [b. Jubayr] continued: Ikrimah went in, and he admitted me without delay. I entered, greeted him with respect, and spoke to him as I had spoken to the two other men. He said, “As for initiating fighting against anyone, no; but I will fight anyone who begins to fight.” I said, “I think the two men do not want to fight you.” Then I went to the party of the Banū Umayyah and spoke to them as I had spoken to the other men. They said, “Our position is that we will not fight anyone, unless he fights us.” Among those banners, I saw no men more tranquil or peaceful in their return [to Mecca] than Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

[Those in Office during the Year]

According to Abū Ja‘far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor in charge of Medina was Jābir b. al-Aswād b. ‘Awf al-Zuhrī. Ibn al-Zubayr’s brother Muṣʿab was in charge of al- Başrah and al-Kūfah. Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Basrah, and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utbah b. Mas‘ūd was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah. ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulāmī was in charge of Khurāsān, and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was in Syria.

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557. Amr, see note 500.
The
Events of the Year
69
(JULY 6, 688–JUNE 24, 689)

[The Revolt and Death of 'Amr b. Sa'id in Damascus]

According to al-Wāqidi, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān went out to 'Ayn Wardah\(^5\) this year and made 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ\(^5\) his deputy over Damascus. The latter fortified himself there. When word of this reached 'Abd al-Malik, he returned to Damascus and besieged him.

Thus said al-Wāqidi. It is also said that 'Amr b. Sa'id went out

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\(^5\) 'Ayn Wardah ("Rose Spring") is another name for the city of Ra's 'Ayn ("Spring-Head") in al-Jazirah province on the upper Greater Khābūr River near the present Syrian-Turkish border. See \(El^2\), s.v. 'Ayn al-Warda, Yāqūt, \(Mu'jam\), s.v.

\(^5\) Abū Umayyah 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah al-Umawi, known as al-Ashdaq, was an Umayyad governor and general. Governor of Mecca when Yazid b. Mu'āwiyyah became caliph (60/680), he was appointed governor of Medina the same year. Upon the death of Yazid, 'Amr was mentioned as a possible successor to Marwān; he was the caliph's nephew through his mother and was also related to him on his father's side. Marwān, however, manipulated his own sons into the succession. 'Amr's resentment came out in his attempted coup under Marwān's successor. See \(El^2\), s.v. 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq.
with 'Abd al-Malik, and that when the latter was at Buṭnān Ḥabīb, 'Amr returned to Damascus and fortified himself there, whereupon 'Abd al-Malik returned to Damascus.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam, who said: After 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān returned from Buṭnān Ḥabīb to Damascus, he remained in Damascus for a time and then set out for Qargisiyā',560 where Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī was. 'Amr b. Sa'īd was with 'Abd al-Malik. While at Buṭnān Ḥabīb, 'Amr b. Sa'īd devised treachery, turned back by night—Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Bahḍal al-Kalbi and Zuhayr b. al-Abrad al-Kalbi were with him—and reached Damascus, where 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafi was in charge as 'Abd al-Malik's deputy. When he learned of 'Amr b. Sa'īd's return, 'Abd al-Raḥmān fled and left his district; 'Amr entered the city and took control of it and its treasuries.

Someone other than the two previously mentioned authorities said that this episode took place in the year 70. He also said that 'Abd al-Malik's journey from Damascus was toward Iraq, aimed at Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said to 'Abd al-Malik, "Behold, you are going out to Iraq. Your father promised this thing561 to me after him. On that basis, I exerted myself for him; and my effort on his behalf is not hidden from you. Then grant this thing to me after you." 'Abd al-Malik gave him no response, so 'Amr left him and returned to Damascus. 'Abd al-Malik returned on his heels and reached Damascus.

Resumption of the account according to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—'Awānah, who said: Having taken control of Damascus, 'Amr looked for 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, but did not find

560. Qargisiyā, was in al-Jazirah province, at the confluence of the Greater Khābūr and the Euphrates. See Yaqūt Mu'jam, s.v. 'Abd al-Malik's intention would have been to campaign against the pro-Zubayrid leader of the Qays, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith.

561. Amr, i.e., the caliphate. For the agreement reached at al-Jābiyah in 64/683 between the leaders of the Umayyad family and their supporters, proclaiming Marwān b. al-Ḥakam caliph on condition that his successors would be Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyyah and 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, see Tabari, II, 474–76, summarized by Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 19. After his victory at Mari Rāḥīt, Marwān maneuvered his son 'Abd al-Malik into the succession and excluded Khālid and 'Amr. See Dixon, 124ff., for this episode; also Buhl, "Die Krisis der Umajjadenherrschaft in Jahre 684," 50–64.
him. He therefore gave orders and had his house destroyed. The people gathered; 'Amr ascended the pulpit, praised and extolled God, and said: ‘No one from Quraysh ever stood on this pulpit before me without asserting that his were a heaven and a hell, and that he would cause whoever obeyed him to enter the heaven, and whoever disobeyed him to enter the hell. But I tell you that heaven and hell are in the hand of God; nothing of that belongs to me, save that you have a claim to equal treatment and a good stipend ['atiyyah] from me.’ Then he descended.

'Abd al-Malik arose in the morning, and 'Amr b. Sa'īd was missing. He asked about him and was told what had happened. 'Abd al-Malik therefore returned to Damascus; and behold, 'Amr b. Sa'īd had covered [the wall of] Damascus with coarse haircloths. 'Abd al-Malik fought him there for several days. When 'Amr b. Sa'īd sent out Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth al-Kalbi in command of cavalry, 'Abd al-Malik sent out Suṭyān b. al-Abraud al-Kalbi against him. When 'Amr b. Sa'īd sent out Zuhayr b. al-Abraud al-Kalbi, 'Abd al-Malik sent out Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Bahḍal al-Kalbi against him.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—'Awānah: One day, the two groups of horsemen stood facing each other. On the side of 'Amr b. Sa'īd there was a man from [the tribe of] Kalb named Raja' b. Sirāj. Raja' said, ‘‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sulaym, come out for single combat.’ ‘Abd al-Rahmān, who was on the side of 'Abd al-Malik, said, ‘He who vies with al-Qarah in archery has done them justice,’ and came forward to engage Raja' in single combat. The two thrust at each other with spears. 'Abd al-Rahmān’s stirrup
snapped, and Ibn Sirāj escaped from him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "By God, had the stirrup not snapped, you would have cast forth the figs\(^{565}\) in your stomach." So there was no truce between 'Amr and 'Abd al-Malik.

When their fighting had gone on a long time, the women of Kalb came with their children and wept, saying to Sufyān b. al-Abraḍ [al-Kalbi] and [Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth] b. Bahdāl al-Kalbī, "Why will you slay yourselves for the ruler of Quraysh?" Each of them swore he would not go back until his fellow went back. When they all had agreed to go back, they looked and found that Sufyān was older\(^ {566}\) than Ḥurayth. So they asked Ḥurayth, and he went back. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Amr then made peace and drew up a written document between them. 'Abd al-Malik gave 'Amr a promise of safety. This took place on the eve of Thursday.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—Awānāh: Armed with a black bow, 'Amr b. Sa'īd went out with horsemen. He went forward and made his horse trample the ropes of 'Abd al-Malik's tent. The ropes broke, and the tent fell. 'Amr dismounted and sat down. 'Abd al-Malik was furious and said to 'Amr, "Abū Umayyah, armed with this bow, you resemble this tribe of Qays." "No," he replied, "I resemble someone better than they: al-Āṣ b. Umayyah."\(^ {567}\) Then he rose up in anger, and the horsemen with him, until he entered Damascus.

'Abd al-Malik entered Damascus on Thursday and sent to 'Amr, saying, "Give the men their provisions."\(^ {568}\) 'Amr sent word to him, saying, "This is no city of yours; leave it." When Monday came—four days, that is, after 'Abd al-Malik's entry into Damascus—he sent to 'Amr, saying, "Come to me." [Amr was at the home of his wife from the tribe of Kalb.] Now 'Abd al-Malik had summoned Kurayb b. Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāh al-Ḥimyari\(^ {569}\) and consulted him in the matter of 'Amr b. Sa'īd. Kurayb said to

565. Ed. Cairo emends to "straw."
566. Mss. O and Co, "greater."
567. 'Amr's grandfather.
568. Arabic arzāq, plural of rizq, from Middle Persian rōzik, "daily allowance."
569. Kurayb b. Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāh al-Ḥimyari, a companion of the Prophet, was the chief of the Yemeni tribe of Ḥimyar in Syria during the days of Mu'āwiyah. He witnessed the Battle of Siffin, served in Egypt under the governor 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān, and lived to see al-Ḥajjāj's governorship of Iraq. He died in 75/694. See Ibn Hajar, Isābah, V, 641–43.
him, “In this matter, Himyar has been reduced to naught.
I have no opinion for you on it. Neither my female nor my male
camel is involved in this affair.” When ‘Abd al-Malik’s mes-
senger came to summon ‘Amr, the messenger found ‘Abdallâh b.
Sa‘îd, “Abû Umayyah, you are dearer to me, by God, than my
hearing and sight. I see that this man has sent word for you to go
to him. My opinion is that you should not do it.” ‘Amr said to
him, “Why?” He replied, “Because Tubay’, the son of Ka‘b al-
Aḥbâr’s wife, said, ‘Behold, a great descendant of Ismâ‘îl shall
return. He shall shut the gates of Damascus and go forth from it.
Shortly thereafter he shall be killed.’” ‘Amr said to him, “By
God, even if I were asleep, I would not fear that Ibn al-Zarqâ‘
would wake me. He is not the sort of person who would embolden
himself to do that to me. Also, ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân came to me
last night in a dream and clothed me with his shirt.” Now ‘Abdal-
lâh b. Yazîd was the husband of Umm Mûsâ, the daughter of
‘Amr b. Sa‘îd. ‘Amr said to the messenger, “Greet ‘Abd al-Malik,
and tell him I will come to him this evening, God willing.”

When it was evening, ‘Amr put on a sturdy coat of mail between
a linen tunic and a linen shirt and girded on his sword. At his
home were his wife from the tribe of Kalb and Humayd b. Hurayth
b. Bahdîl al-Kalbi. As he rose to leave, he tripped on the carpet.

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570. Parallel in Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmîl, IV, 298: “in such a matter as this.”
571. A proverb meaning, “I have nothing at stake in the affair.” See Freytag, II,
499 (Maydânî, II, 144).
572. Tubay’, who settled in Ḥimṣ in Syria, is said to have passed on the lore of his
stepfather, Ka‘b al-Aḥbâr. The latter, a learned Yemeni Jew (his name means “Ka‘b
of the scholars”), introduced many stories of Jewish origin into Islam and often
appears as a foreteller of future events. He is said to have predicted the death of
‘Umar. The following anecdote illustrates his reputation, which apparently rubbed
off on his stepson: “When the head of al-Mukhtar was brought to ‘Abdallâh b.
Zubayr, he said, ‘Nothing has happened under my rule but that Ka‘b told me about
it. He mentioned, however, that a man from the tribe of Thaqif would kill me; yet
here lies the man’s head before me!’ Ibn al-Zubayr did not realize that al-Hajjâj, also
from Thaqif, lay in wait for him.” [Ibn Hajar, Isâbah, V, 650] See ibid., I, 377, on
Tubay’; Ibn Sa‘îd, Tabaqât, VII, 452; and EI 2, s.v. Ka‘b al-Aḥbâr.
573. A derogatory name for ‘Abd al-Malik (“son of the blue-eyed woman”). See
notes 498 and 544.
574. Qâbā‘: “a kind of tunic, resembling the qaffân, generally reaching to the
middle of the shank, divided down the front, and made to overlap over the chest”
(Lane, Lexicon, VIII, 2984).
Humayd said to him, “By God, if you obey me, you will not go to him.” His wife said the same to him, but he paid no attention to what they said and went out with a hundred of his mawālī. ‘Abd al-Malik had sent to the sons of Marwān, and they had gathered at his home. When ‘Abd al-Malik was informed that ‘Amr was at the gate, he ordered that those with him be barred; ‘Amr himself was admitted and entered. Thus, ‘Amr’s companions remained barred at each gate, and ‘Amr entered the courtyard of the house, having only a servant of his with him. ‘Amr turned his eyes toward ‘Abd al-Malik, and behold, around him were the sons of Marwān, and with them were Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Bahdal al-Kalbī and Qabiṣah b. Dhu’ayb al-Khuza‘ī.576 Seeing their assembly and sensing evil, ‘Amr turned to his servant and said, “Go quickly—alas for you!—to Yahyā b. Sa‘īd and tell him to come to me.” Not having understood what he had said, the servant said to him, “At your service!” So ‘Amr said to him, “Go away from me into God’s burning and fire!”

‘Abd al-Malik said to Ḥassān and Qabiṣah, “If you wish, arise and meet with ‘Amr in the house.” Then ‘Abd al-Malik said to them, as if jesting, so that ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd might feel at ease, “Which of you two has been longer [in office]?” Ḥassān said, “Qabiṣah, O Commander of the Faithful, has been longer in office than I.” (Qabiṣah was in charge of the seal.) ‘Amr then turned to his servant and said, “Go quickly to Yaḥyā and command him to come to me.” Not having understood what he had said, the servant said to him, “At your service!” So ‘Amr said to him, “Go away from me!”

After Ḥassān and Qabiṣah had gone out, ‘Abd al-Malik ordered the doors shut. ‘Amr entered. ‘Abd al-Malik greeted him, said, “Here, please,578 Abū Umayyah,” seated him on the couch with him, and began talking to him at length. Then he said, “Lad, take the sword from him.” ‘Amr said, “We belong to God, O Commander of the Faithful!”579 ‘Abd al-Malik said, “Do you desire to

575. The older sense of qa‘ah is the courtyard of a house; later it comes to mean the main salon. It is not clear which meaning is intended here.
576. Qabiṣah was ‘Abd al-Malik’s secretary (kātib); see below, Tabari, II, 837.
577. Yahyā was ‘Amr’s brother.
578. Literally, “God be merciful to you.” But the English suggests something sinister; the Arabic has overtones of affection and intimacy.
579. Here, this expression is said in suprise and as a protest of good intentions.
sit with me wearing your sword?"—and he took the sword from him. They spoke for a time, and then 'Abd al-Malik said to him, "Abū Umayyah!" He replied, "At your service, Commander of the Faithful!" 'Abd al-Malik said, "When you threw off your allegiance to me, I swore an oath that if I laid eyes on you and had power over you, I would put you in shackles." The sons of Marwān said to him, "Then will you release him, O Commander of the Faithful?" 'Abd al-Malik replied, "Then I will release him. What [else] might I possibly do to Abū Umayyah?" The sons of Marwān said, "Carry out the oath of the Commander of the Faithful." 'Amr said, "God has made your oath come true, O Commander of the Faithful." 'Abd al-Malik took out a set of shackles from under his couch, tossed them toward 'Amr, and said, "Lad, bind him in them." The servant lad got up and bound him in them. 'Amr said, "For God's sake, Commander of the Faithful, do not make me go out in them before the chiefs of the people." 'Abd al-Malik replied, "Craftiness, Abū Umayyah, even at the point of death? No, by God; we would not make you go out in shackles before the chiefs of the people. And we will remove them from you in no other wise than upwards."

Thereupon, 'Abd al-Malik gave 'Amr a pull that made his mouth hit the couch, breaking his front tooth. 'Amr said, "For God's sake, O Commander of the Faithful, may what moves you to break a bone of mine not be the commission of something even worse than that!" 'Abd al-Malik said to him, "By God, if I knew that you would spare me if I spared you and that Quraysh would prosper, I would release you. But never have two men come together in a city in a situation like ours but one expelled the other." When 'Amr saw that his tooth had been broken and realized what 'Abd al-Malik planned to do, he said, "Will you commit treachery, Ibn al-Zarqā'?

It has been said [by another authority]: When 'Abd al-Malik

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580. Jāmi‘ah: a neck shackle to which were attached thongs to bind the hands to the neck. See Lane, Lexicon, II, 458.

581. A proverb, see Freytag, II, 680 (Maydānī, II, 220). 'Abd al-Malik's allusion to 'Amr's craftiness is clarified by the parallel in Balādhuri, Ansāb, IV/1, 445: "'Amr wanted to make a show of not wanting to go out only in order to entice 'Abd al-Malik into sending him out. 'Amr's supporters surrounding the palace would then free him."
pulled `Amr so that his tooth fell out, `Amr began to rub it. `Abd al-Malik said to him, “I see that your tooth is so important to you that you will never again be well disposed toward me.” So he gave orders, and `Amr was beheaded.

Resumption of `Awānah’s account: The muezzin announced the afternoon prayer. `Abd al-Malik went out to lead the people in worship and commanded `Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān to kill `Amr. When `Abd al-‘Azīz approached with the sword, `Amr said, “For the sake of God and kinship, do not carry out my murder yourself; let someone more distantly related than you take charge of it.” So `Abd al-‘Azīz threw away the sword and sat down. `Abd al-Malik, having prayed a quick prayer, entered [the palace again), and the doors were shut. People saw that when `Abd al-Malik came out, `Amr was not with him. They mentioned this to Yahyā b. Sa‘īd, and he came with men and alighted at the gate of `Abd al-Malik; a thousand of `Amr’s slaves were with him and many of his companions afterwards. Those who were with him began to shout, “Let us hear your voice, Abū Umayyah!” With Yahyā b. Sa‘īd, Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth and Zuhayr b. al-Abrad came forward, broke the door of the enclosure (maqṣūrah),582 and attacked the men with swords. A slave of `Amr b. Sa‘īd named Maṣqalah struck al-Walid b. `Abd al-Malik a blow on the head. Ibrāhim b. ‘Arabi,583 the official in charge of the diwān,584 carried [al-Walid] away and brought him into the room where documents were kept.585

Having prayed, `Abd al-Malik came in and found `Amr alive. He said to `Abd al-‘Azīz, “What prevented you from killing him?” He replied, “His beseeching me for the sake of God and kinship prevented me, so that I softened to him.” `Abd al-Malik said to him, “God shame your piss-on-her-heels mother! You take

582. This term has several meanings. It is “the enclosure in a mosque where the prince sits” [Lane, Lexicon, VII, 2536]. In Damascus, the public treasury was also called maqṣūrah; and any gatehouse or railing could also be given the name. A subsequent reference in `Awānah’s account indicates that the maqṣūrah in the mosque is meant. See Dozy, Supplément, II, 366; Ṭabarî, II, 794.
584. Diwān, apparently from Middle Persian, meant a list or register, and, by extension, the administrative department or office in charge of maintaining such a register. See El², s.v.
585. Bayt al-qarāṭīs: from qīrāṭ, papyrus [later, paper] or a rolled document. See Lane, Lexicon, VII, 2517; El², s.v. Kirtās.
after no one but her.” (‘Abd al-Malik’s mother was ‘Ā’ishah bint Mu‘āwiyah b. al-Mughirah b. Abī al-Āṣ b. Umayyah; ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s mother was Laylā. As Ibn al-Ruqayyāt said:

That is Laylā’s son, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz: at Bābilyūn his food bowls are full to overflowing.)

‘Abd al-Malik then said, “Lad, bring me the lance.” He brought it. ‘Abd al-Malik brandished it and thrust at ‘Amr with it. When it did not penetrate, he did it again. It did not penetrate. He put his hand on ‘Amr’s arm and felt the coat of mail. Laughing, he said, “And wearing mail, too! Abū Umayyah, you really came prepared! Lad, bring me the sword that will not bend.” He brought him his sword. ‘Abd al-Malik gave orders: ‘Amr was thrown down, and ‘Abd al-Malik sat on his chest and cut his throat, saying:

‘Amr, if you do not cease reviling me and speaking contemptuously of me, I will strike you so that the owl will cry, “Give me drink! Give me drink!”

‘Abd al-Malik shook with trembling, as has been said to befall a man if he kills a relative. ‘Abd al-Malik was carried from ‘Amr’s chest and laid on his bed. He said, “Never have I seen the like of

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586. Full name: Laylā bint Zabbān b. al-Āṣbagh al-Kalbī (Balādhuri, Ansāb, IV/1, 448).
587. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt (nicknamed “al-Ruqayyāt” because he wrote love poetry to three women, each named Ruqayyah), a Qurayshi poet, was originally a partisan of Ibn al-Zubayr, but went over to the Umayyads after the death of Mu‘ab and Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and became a panegyrist for them. These lines are from a qaṣīdah praising ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān. See Aghānī, IV, 162.
588. Often known as Babylon, this was the Roman fortress still to be seen at Old Cairo. Because the Arab garrison city of Fustāṭ was nearby, Bābilyūn (or Bābalyūn) could be used as a name for the capital of Arab Egypt. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān was governor of Egypt under Marwān and ‘Abd al-Malik. See EI², s.v. Bābalyūn; Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v.
589. I.e., he is a generous host. The line is quoted in the Lisān.
590. The line is from a qaṣīdah by Dhū al-Īṣba’ al-‘Adwānī, a pre-Islamic poet. See Aghānī, III, 9.
591. According to pre-Islamic folklore, if a slain man was not avenged, his spirit became an owl that hovered at his grave and continued to cry “Give me drink!” until vengeance was taken. See Lisān, s.v. hāmah.
this: he was killed by someone who possessed this world and did not seek the hereafter.”

Yahyā b. Sa‘īd and those with him came into the house into the presence of the sons of Marwān. They reviled the sons of Marwān and their mawālī who were with them, and the latter fought with Yahyā and his companions. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī came. The head was given to him, and he threw it to the people. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān arose, took money in purses, and started throwing them to the people. When the people looked at the money and saw the head, they grabbed the money and dispersed.

It has been said that when ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān went out to prayer, he commanded his servant lad Abū al-Zu‘ayzi‘ah to kill ‘Amr. The latter did so, and threw his head to the people and ‘Amr’s companions.

According to Hishām b. al-Kalbī—‘Awānah: It was related to me that ‘Abd al-Malik ordered the money that had been thrown to the people to be collected; thus it all returned to the treasury.

On that day, Yahyā b. Sa‘īd was hit on the head with a rock. ‘Abd al-Malik ordered his bed taken out into the mosque. He left [the house] and sat down on it. Al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik was missing, and ‘Abd al-Malik started saying, “Woe unto you! Where is al-Walid? By their father, if they have killed him, they have attained their revenge.” Ibrāhīm b. ‘Arabī al-Kinānī came to him and said, “Behold, al-Walid is in my house. He has received a wound, but has not been harmed.”

Yahyā b. Sa‘īd was brought to ‘Abd al-Malik, who ordered him killed. But ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [b. Marwān] stood before him and said, “May God make me your ransom, Commander of the Faithful! Will you kill [all] the Banū Umayyah in a single day?” So he ordered Yahyā to be imprisoned. Then ‘Anbasah b. Sa‘īd was brought, and he ordered him killed. But ‘Abd al-‘Azīz stood before him and said, “I ask you to remember God, Commander of the Faithful, in the matter of extirpating and destroying the Banū Umayyah.” So he ordered ‘Anbasah to be imprisoned. Then Āmīr b. al-Aswad al-Kalbī was brought in. ‘Abd al-Malik struck his

592. See below, Ṭabari, II, 837, where Abū al-Zu‘ayzi‘ah is identified as a mawālī in charge of ‘Abd al-Malik’s correspondence bureau.
head with a cane rod he had, and said, "Will you fight against me on the side of 'Amr? Will you take his side against me?" 'Âmir said, "Yes, because 'Amr honored me, and you despised me; he drew me close, and you drove me away; he brought me near, and you made me distant; he treated me well, and you wronged me. Therefore I took his side against you." 'Abd al-Malik ordered him to be killed, but 'Abd al-'Azîz stood up and said, "I ask you to remember God, Commander of the Faithful, concerning this my maternal uncle." So 'Abd al-Malik gave him into his hands and ordered the sons of Sa‘îd to be imprisoned.

Yaḥyâ [b. Sa‘îd] remained in prison for a month or more. Then 'Abd al-Malik ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, he asked the people's advice about putting him to death. One preacher among the people stood up and said, "Do snakes bear anything but snakes? By God, we think you should kill him, because he is a hypocrite, an enemy." Then 'Abdallâh b. Mas‘adah al-Fazârî stood up and said, "Commander of the Faithful, Yaḥyâ is the son of your paternal uncle. You know how closely he is related. They did what they did, and you did to them what you did; and you do not feel safe with them. Yet, I do not think you should kill them. Make them go to your enemy: if they are killed, their affair will have been taken care of for you by the hand of others; if they return safely, you will consider what to do with them." 'Abd al-Malik took his advice. He sent out the family of Sa‘îd and had them go to Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr. When they came to him, Yaḥyâ b. Sa‘îd went before him. Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "You escaped, but your tail was plucked."593 "By God," replied Yaḥyâ, "the tail still has its hair!"

'Abd al-Malik sent to 'Amr's wife from the tribe of Kalb, saying, "Send me the peace agreement I wrote for 'Amr." She said to his messenger, "Go back and tell him that I wrapped that agreement in his shrouds with him so that with it he might call you to task before his Lord."' Amr b. Sa‘îd and 'Abd al-Malik both traced their descent to Umayyah. 'Amr's mother, Umm al-Banîn, the daughter of al-Ḥâkam b. Abî al-‘Âs, was 'Abd al-Malik's paternal aunt.

593. Proverbial for someone who narrowly escapes death; see Freytag, II, 201 [Maydâni, II, 14]; Lisân, s.v. h-s-s.
According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbi]—ʿAwānah: What happened between ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAmr was an old feud. The mother of the two sons of Saʿīd was Umm al-Banīn. ʿAbd al-Malik and Muʿāwiyyah were the two sons of Marwān. When they [all] were lads, they constantly used to go to Umm Marwān b. al-Hakam al-Kināniyyah and talk at her home. With ʿAbd al-Malik and Muʿāwiyyah, one of their black servant lads used to go out also. Whenever they came to her, Umm Marwān used to prepare food for them and bring it to them, placing a bowl in front of each man separately. She was continually stirring up quarrels between Muʿāwiyyah b. Marwān and Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, and between ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAmr b. Saʿīd. As a result, they used to fight with each other and cut each other, sometimes not talking with each other. Umm Marwān used to say, “If these two have no intelligence, those two have.” Such was her custom, whenever they came to her, until she had implanted rancor in their hearts.

It has been mentioned [by another authority] that ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Qasrī (Abū Khalīd) was with Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd when he entered the mosque, broke the door of the enclosure, and fought with the sons of Marwān. When ʿAmr was killed and his head brought out to the people, ʿAbdallāh and his brother Khalīd rode away and reached Iraq. He remained with the sons of Saʿīd who were with Muḥājib, until unity was established under ʿAbd al-Malik. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd’s eye had been put out at the Battle of Marj [Rāḥīṭ], he had been on the side of Ibn al-Zubayr, fighting the Banū Umayyāh. After the establishment of unity, he went before ʿAbd al-Malik, and [the latter] asked, “How are you, family of Yazīd?” ʿAbdallāh replied, “Disgrace! disgrace!”

594. I.e., Marwān’s mother, who was from the tribe of Kinānah.
595. Jamāʾah: “a gathering together,” especially the unity or concord of the Islamic community after civil strife [ed. Leiden, Glossarium, p. clxx; Dozy, Supplément, I, 215]. The reference is to the year 73/692, the restoration of a single caliphal authority over all Muslims after the death of Ibn al-Zubayr.
596. Fought in 64/683, between Marwān and the supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr, it ended with a complete defeat for the latter. See EI², s.v.
597. Accepting the emendation khizyan khizyan proposed by ed. Leiden, Glossarium, p. clxxxvii. Mss. O and Co read hizban hizban (“party by party”); C reads harban harban (“war! war!”); and the editor’s original emendation was ḥurābāʾa ḥurābāʾa (“despoiled! despoiled!”).
Malik said, "That is for what your hands have forwarded: God is never unjust unto His servants."598

According to Hishim [b. al-Kalbi]—‘Awānah: The sons of ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd came before ‘Abd al-Malik after the establishment of unity. They were four: Umayyah, Sa‘īd, Ismā‘il, and Mūhammad. When he beheld them, ‘Abd al-Malik said to them, ‘You are men of a noble family.’599 You have always seen yourselves as having some preeminence over all your kin, albeit one that God has not given you. What took place between your father and me was nothing new; it was inveterate in the souls of your ancestors against our ancestors in pre-Islamic times.’ Umayyah b. ‘Amr, who was their eldest, found himself unable to speak; he was the noblest and most intelligent of them. So Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr, the middle in age, stood up and said, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, now that God has brought Islam and destroyed former things, promising Paradise, and warning of the Fire, why do you reproach us with something that happened in pre-Islamic times? As for what transpired between you and ‘Amr, ‘Amr was your paternal cousin, and you know best what you did. ‘Amr has arrived before God—’and God suffices for a reckoner.’600 By my life, if you punish us for what happened between him and you, the interior of the earth were better for us than its surface!’ ‘Abd al-Malik was much softened toward them, and said, ‘Your father made me choose between his killing me or my killing him; so I chose his death over my own. But you—how I long for you! How linked I am to you in kinship, and how mindful of your right!’ So he rewarded them well, showed them favor, and drew them close.

It has been mentioned: One day, Khalid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyyah said to ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘The strange thing about you and ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd is how you took him off guard and killed him.’ ‘Abd al-Malik said:

I drew him near me, that his mind might be calm,
and that I might leap upon him with the assault of a man firm and masterful,

598. Qur‘ān 22:10. If the reading khizyan khizyan is correct, ‘Abd al-Malik is answering an allusion to Qur‘ān 22:9 with an allusion to the following verse.
In anger and in defense of my religion: 
the bungler’s way is not like the way of the man who does 
things right!

According to ‘Awānah: A man met Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd in
Mecca and said to him, “By the Lord of this House,601 there was
no one like your father among the kinsmen1602 But he attempted
to wrest from his kin what they had in their hands, and so he
perished.”

Al-Wāqidi says that only the siege between ‘Abd al-Malik b.
Marwān and ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd took place in the year 69. ‘Amr b.
Sa‘īd fortified himself in Damascus; ‘Abd al-Malik returned
from Buṭnān Ḥabīb and besieged him, but his killing of ‘Amr
took place in the year 70.

[A Khārijite Killed at the Pilgrimage]

During this year, at al-Khayf of Minā,603 a Khārijite proclaimed
the slogan, “Judgment belongs to none but God!”604 He was killed
at al-Jamrah.605

According to Muḥammad b. ‘Umar [al-Wāqidi]—Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd
b. Dīnār—his father, who said: I saw him draw his sword at al-
Jamrah. They were a group, but God restrained their hands. He
came forward from among them and proclaimed, “Judgment
belongs to none but God!” The people turned upon him and killed
him.

601. I.e., the Ka‘bah.
602. I.e., the Umayyad family.
603. Literally, “the sloping land [between the mountains and the bottom of the
valley] at Minā”: At Minā the pilgrims gather from the tenth to the thirteenth of
Dhū al-Ḥijjah. On the first day, the ’Id al-Adḥā sacrifice is performed; the fol-
lowing days are days of visiting and social relations before returning to Mecca. See
EI², s.v. Ḥadjdj.
604. The slogan of the Khārijites when they rejected mediation between ‘Ali
and Mu‘āwiyah by two men, Abū Mūsā al-As‘hrī and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ; see note
40.
605. Al-Jamrah, literally, “the heap of pebbles,” is a construction called
“Jamrat al-‘Aqabah” near the western exit from the valley of Minā. Pilgrims
throw seven stones, now interpreted as stoning the Devil. See EI², s.vv.  Ḥaddj and al-Djamra.
'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. His governor in charge of the garrison cities of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah this year was his brother Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. Shurayḥ [b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī] was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah. Hishām b. Hu-bayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzīm was in charge of Khurāsān.
The Events of the Year

70
(JUNE 25, 689—JUNE 14, 690)

[Abd al-Malik and the Byzantines]
In this year, the Byzantines arose and gathered an army against the Muslims in Syria. For fear of what he might do to the Muslims, `Abd al-Malik made peace with the Byzantine emperor, on terms that every Friday he would deliver a thousand dinârs to him.606

[Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr Visits Mecca]
According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidi]: During this year, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr went to Mecca, bringing a great deal of money, which he divided among his kinsmen and others. He brought many horses and camels and much baggage. He sent much money to 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān, Jubayr b. Shaybah, and 'Abdallāh b. Muṭi', and he slaughtered many fattened camels.

Those in Office during the Year

'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. His governors in charge of the garrison cities during this year were his agents of the previous year in charge of finances\(^{607}\) and the judiciary.

\(^{607}\) *Maʿāwīna* seems here to be used generally for "financial matters, taxes." See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 192; and note 446, above.
Among these events was 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's going to Iraq to fight Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. According to what some have said, 'Abd al-Malik used to continue drawing closer to Muṣ'ab until he arrived at Buṭnān Ḥabib, while Muṣ'ab would go out to Bājumayrā. When winter set in, each of them would go back to his encampment; then they would return [to the war]. As 'Adī b. Zayd b. 'Adī b. al-Riqā' al-ʿĀmilī said:

By my life, our horsemen took to the desert in the vicinity of the Tigris because of Muṣ'ab.

When the hypocrite of the people of Iraq

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608. 'Abd al-Malik encamped at Buṭnān Ḥabib, near Qinnasrin, in Syria; Muṣ'ab at Bājumayrā, near Takrit, at the southern border of al-Jazirah (Yāqūt, Muʿjam, s.v. Bājumayrā).

609. 'Adī b. Zayd b. [Mālik] b. 'Adī b. al-Riqā' al-ʿĀmilī: Syrian poet and panegyrist of the Umayyad caliphs Yazid b. Muʿāwiyyah and al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik. Lines of the poem, with variants, are found in Aghānī, XVII, 165; Baladhurī, Ansāb, V, 342; and Dinawari, Akhbār, 317; see also F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 32ff.
was reproved, but was not made to return [from his evil ways],
We advanced toward him under a man possessing might to repel his enemies,
who gives little thought to those who are absent.
They brandish [spears], each of them long-shafted,
the blade and the tip of the shaft close-fitted.
Their shouts as they advance seem like
the crying of the sand grouse of a fruitful land.
Before us went one whose face was bright,
and whose character and origins were noble.
He was aided by us, and we were helped by him:
he whom God helps will not be overcome.

[Khālid b. 'Abdallāh Raises Support for 'Abd al-Malik in al-Baṣrah]

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'ini], who said: ' Abd al-Malik came from Syria intending to fight Muṣ'ab. (This happened prior to this year, in the year 7o.) With him was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. Khālid said to ' Abd al-Malik, "If you send me to al-Baṣrah and have a few horsemen follow me, I hope to subdue it for you." ' Abd al-Malik sent him. Khālid arrived there clandestinely with his mawālī and close associates, and stayed at the home of 'Amr b. Aṣma' al-Bāhili.

According to 'Umar [b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan [Ali b. Muḥammad al-Madā'ini]—Maslamah b. Muḥārib: 'Amr b. Aṣma' gave Khālid protection and sent a message to 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn, who was in charge of Ibn Ma'amar's police. (Whenever Muṣ'ab left al-Baṣrah, he made 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar his deputy over the city. 'Amr b. Aṣma' hoped that 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn would pledge allegiance to him.) The message was as follows: "I have given Khālid protection, and would like you to know it so that you can back me." 'Amr's messenger reached 'Abbād as the latter was dismounting from his horse. 'Abbād said to [the messenger], "Tell him, 'By God, before I even take off my horse's saddlecloth, I will come to [take] you with horsemen!'" 'Amr therefore said to Khālid, "I will not deceive you: 'Abbād
The Events of the Year 71

will be upon us at any moment. No, by God; I cannot protect you. Stay, instead, with Malik b. Misma'."

According to Abū Zayd (Umar b. Shabbah)—Abū al-Ḥasan (Ali b. Muḥammad al-Madā'ini): It is also said that Khālid stayed at the home of 'Ali b. Aṣma', and that 'Abbād was informed of this. 'Abbād then sent word to him, saying, "I am coming to [take] you."

According to Umar (b. Shabbah)—Ali b. Ṭabari—Abū al-Ḥasan (Ali b. Muhammad al-Madā'ini): Maslamah and 'Awānah. Khālid galloped out of the house of Ibn Aṣma', with a thin linen shirt on him, his thighs uncovered, and his feet out of the stirrups. When he reached Mālik, he said, "I have been forced to turn to you. Give me protection." He said yes. He went out with his son and sent messengers to the Bakr b. Wā'il and Azd. The first banner that came to him was that of the Banū Yashkur. Abbād came with horsemen; the two sides stood facing each other, but there was no fighting between them. The next morning, they went to Jufrat Nāfi b. al-Ḥārith (it later came to be known as Jufrat Khālid). With Khālid were men from the Banū Tamīm who had come to him; among them were Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Mu’tāwiyyah, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Bishr, and Murrah b. Maḥkān, with a number of their tribesmen. Khālid's forces were known as "Jufriyyah," referring to al-Jufrah; Ibn Ma’mar's forces were known as "Zubayriyyah." Among the Jufriyyah were ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, Ḥumrán (b. Abān), and al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab. Among the Zubayriyyah was Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulami, who used to hire men to fight on his side. Once, when a man demanded his salary from him, he said, "Tomorrow I will give it to you." Therefore, Ghatafan b. Unayf, one of the Banū Ka'b b. ‘Amr, said:

O little bells, how badly you have decided!

The cash is a debt [due later], while the fighting is [due] right now;

610. The Banū Yashkur were affiliated with the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il.
611. Jufrah means a wide, round hole in the ground. Jufrat Nāfi' means "the jufrah of Nafi’"; Jufrat Khālid means "the jufrah of Khālid." Yaqūt, Mu’jam, s.v. Jufrah, mentions such a place in al-Bagrah, but gives no exact location.
612. The Banū Ka'b b. 'Amr were affiliated with the tribe of Tamīm.
613. Besides the explanation given below, there is an ironic reference to the
And you are at the gate, passing the night in pleasant conversation and delaying.614

(Qays used to caparison the neck of his horse with little bells.)

The commander of the horsemen of the Banū Ḥanẓalah615 was 'Amr b. Wabarah al-Quḥayfī.616 He had slaves whom he used to hire out at thirty [dirhams] a man each day; he in turn would give them ten apiece. So someone said to him:

How badly you have decided, O Ibn Wabarah!

You are given thirty, and you give ten.

Al-Muṣʿab sent Zahr b. Qays al-Juʿfī to reinforce Ibn Maʿmar with a thousand men. To reinforce Khālid, 'Abd al-Malik sent 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān, but the latter was unwilling to enter al-Baṣrah and sent Maṭār b. al-Tawʿam as a messenger. When the latter came back to him and told him that the men had dispersed, he rejoined 'Abd al-Malik.

According to Abū Zayd ['Umar b. Shabbah)—Abū al-Hasan ['Ali b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾini]—a shaykh from the Banū ‘Arīn617—al-Sakan b. Qatādah, who said: They fought with each other twenty-four days. Mālik [b. Misma’s] eye was hit, and he wearied of battle. Envoys went between them [Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. Abi-Āš [was one of them]],618 and Ibn Maʿmar made peace with Mālik on condition that he would make Khālid leave al-Baṣrah and would be guaranteed safety. Mālik therefore made Khālid leave al-Baṣrah. Fearing, however, that al-Muṣʿab would not approve 'Ubaydallāh [b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Maʿmar's] promise of safety, Mālik went to Thaʾj.619 Speaking about Mālik

proverbial expression, “He hangs bells on his neck,” meaning “He imperils or endangers himself, and is a bold man.” See Lane, Lexicon, II, 438, s.v. jiljul.

614. Ms. Pet: “while you are fat, delaying.” Baladhuri, Ansāb, IV/1, 468 [also on authority of al-Madāʾini]: “and you are stingy of giving, miserly.”

615. The Banū Ḥanẓalah were affiliated with the tribe of Tamim.

616. The name is given thus in Mss. O, B and Co; Pet “al-Juʿayfī”; C “al-Ujayfī” [agreing with Baladhuri, Ansāb, IV/1, 468].

617. The Banu 'Arin were affiliated with the tribe of Tamim.

618. The bracketed words are from the parallel text in Baladhuri, Ansāb, IV/1, 469.

619. Thaʾj (or Thāj) was “a village of the Bakr b. Wā'il tribe in the Yamāmah” (Baladhuri, Ansāb, IV/1, 464, on authority of Abū Mikhnaft). Yāqūt, Muʾjam, s.v., places it in Bahrayn, which included the mainland area opposite the island. The
and about how the Tamīmiyyah had joined him and Khālid, al-Farazdaq said:

I marvel at tribesmen whose father was Tamīm, and the places where their camels kneel are great among the Banu Sa'd. They were the most powerful of men, before they went to the Azd, with their beards yellow, and to Mālik. What do you think of Muṣ'ab, the son of the Apostle [of the Prophet], when he bares his teeth, not laughing? We banished Mālik from his lands, and we put out his eye with short spears.

According to Abū Zayd ['Umar b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan [Ali b. Muḥammad al-Madā'ini]—Maslamah: When 'Abd al-Malik returned to Damascus, Muṣ'ab’s only concern was al-Baṣrah. He hoped to overtake Khālid there, but he found that the latter had already left and that Ibn Ma'mar had guaranteed the safety of the men, most of whom had stayed, though some of them, fearing Muṣ'ab, had left. Muṣ'ab therefore became angry with Ibn Ma'mar, swore he would never confer favor upon him, name survives in a town about 90 miles northwest of Dhahrān in Saudi Arabia. At the time of Mālik’s flight, it was under the control of the Khārijite Najdah b. ‘Āmir, thus out of the reach of Ibn al-Zubayr (see Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 146).

620. Tamīmiyyah means “party of Tamīm.”

621. The poem can be found in the Diwān of al-Farazdaq (ed. Boucher, 157; ed. Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, II, 57).

622. Al-Farazdaq (Abū Firās Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣaṣa’ah) was a poet of the Banū Dārim clan of the tribe of Tamīm. He was born in al-Baṣrah ca. 20/641 and died there in 110/728. See EI², s.v. al-Farazdaq.

623. The Banū Sa’d were a division of the Tamīm.

624. Muṣ'ab’s father, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, was known as al-Hawārī (from Ethiopic ḥawaryā, “apostle”) because of his closeness to Muḥammad (first-cousin) and because he had been one of the early converts to Islam who took refuge for a time in Ethiopia to escape persecution. See EI², s.v. Ḥawārī.

625. Diwān, “our lands.”

626. Cf. parallel in Baladhuri, Ansāb, IV/1, 470 (on authority of al-Madā’ini): “After allegiance had been sworn to Muṣ'ab, and 'Abd al-Malik had returned to Damascus because of 'Amr al-Ashdaq, Muṣ'ab’s only concern was al-Baṣrah.” Similarly, in the Abū Mikhnaf account (Baladhuri, loc. cit., 463–464), 'Abd al-Malik’s preoccupation with the revolt of 'Amr in Damascus freed Muṣ'ab from worry about the north and allowed him to turn his attention to al-Baṣrah.
and sent a messenger to the Jufriyyah, abusing and rebuking them.

According to Abū Zayd [‘Umar b. Shabbah]: Al-Madā‘īnī and other Başrān relaters of historical narratives assert that [Muṣ‘ab] sent for them and they were brought to him. Turning to ‘Ubayd-āl-lāh b. Abī Bakrah, he said, “Son of a stray! You are nothing but the son of a bitch that the dogs mounted one after another, so that she whelped ruddy, and black, and blond—from each sire a pup resembling it. Your father was nothing but a slave who came to the Messenger of God from the stronghold of al-Tā‘if. Then you gave testimony, claiming that Abū Sufyān whored with your mother. By God, if I live, I will indicate your correct ancestry!” Then he summoned Ḥumrān, and said, “Son of a Jewess! You are nothing but a Nabataean peasant brought as a captive from ‘Ayn al-Tamr.” Then he said to al-Ḥakam b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, “Son of a knave! Do you know who you are and who al-Jārūd was? Al-Jārūd was nothing but a peasant on Ibn Kāwān Island, a Persian who crossed over to the [Arabian] coast and affiliated with the ‘Abd al-Qays. No, by God; I know of no tribe harboring more evil than they. Then he married his sister to al-Mukābir, the Persian, and he never obtained any honor greater than that. These, O son of Qubādīh, are her children.” Then ‘Abdallāh b. Faḍālah al-Zahrānī was brought. Muṣ‘ab said, “Are you not descended from the people of Hajar, and then from the people of Samāhij?” By God, I will send you back to your

629. Abū Sufyān was the head of the Banū Umayyah during the lifetime of Muḥammad. An opponent of Islam for most of his life, he was not converted until very late. See *El*, s.v.
630. Ibn Kāwān Island is the large island now known as Qeshm, off the coast of Fāris Province, north of the Strait of Hormuz. See *El*, s.v. Kishm.
631. In Tabarî, I, 985 this nickname is explained as meaning “the Cutter.” It was given to one of the agents of the Sasanian monarch Khusrū Anūshirwān (ruled 531–79), the son of Qubād I (ruled 498 or 499–531), because of his habit of cutting off arms and legs among the Arabs.
632. Hajar was the main city of al-Bahrān (but on the Arabian mainland, since al-Bahrayn in earlier times included the area on the mainland now known as al-Ḥasā‘); Samāhij was an island between al-Bahrān and the Oman coast. See *El*, s.v. Bahrayn; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, s.v.v. On the people of Hajar as descended from prostitutes brought from al-Ahwāz and the Sawād, see the story in Tabarî, I, 985f.
relatives!" Then `Ali b. Ašma` was brought. Muş`ab said, "Sometimes a slave of the Banū Tamīm, and sometimes claiming relation to Bāhilah?" Then `Abd al-Azīz b. Bishr b. Ḥannāt was brought. Muş`ab said, "Son of a man reviled! Didn’t your uncle steal a she-goat during the time of `Umar, who ordered him taken to have [his hand] cut off? But, by God, the only person who has been roughly treated is the one who married your sister!" (His sister was married to Muqātil b. Misma`.) Then Abū Hādir al-Asadī was brought. Muş`ab said, "Son of a woman from Iṣṭakhr! What have you to do with the ashraf? You are merely descended from people of Qaṭar, an interloper among the Banū Asad, with not a relative or kinsman among them.” Then Ziyād b. ‘Amr was brought. Muş`ab said, "Son of a man from Kirmān! You are nothing but a peasant from the people of Kirmān. You crossed into Fārs and became a sailor. What do you have to do with fighting? You are more adept at pulling hawsers.” Then `Abdallāh b. Uthmān b. Abī al-Âş was brought. Muş`ab said to him, "Will you say all sorts of things against me, when you are a peasant from the people of Hajar? Your father went to al-Ṭā‘if—they take in anyone who flocks to them and take pride in him. But, by God, I will send you back to those from whom you came originally.” Then Shaykh b. al-Nu`man was brought. Muş`ab said, "Son of a knave! You are nothing but a peasant from the people of Zandaward.633 Your mother ran away, and your father was killed; his sister was married by a man from the Banū Yashkur and gave birth to two lads, and the two of them incorporated you into their family tree.”

Then he beat them a hundred strokes each, shaved their heads and beards, razed their houses, exposed them to the sun three days, forced them to divorce their wives, and kept their children away on expeditions. He paraded the men around al-Basrah and made them swear not to marry free women.

Muş`ab sent Khidāsh b. Yazīd634 al-Asadī to seek those companions of Khalīd who had fled. He overtook Murrah b. Maḥkān635 and seized him. Murrah said:

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633. Zandaward was a town in Iraq near the site of Wāsit (Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v.).
635. Murrah b. Maḥkān al-Sa’dī was a poet of the Sa’d clan of the tribe of Tamīm. See F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 402.
Banū Asad, if you kill me, you will make war with Tamim, when war, having broken out, spreads rapidly. Banū Asad, do you have any leniency, to excuse me if the shoe made me slip?

Let enemies not think that if I become absent from them and little fire can be elicited from me, my war has abated, [And that] you will walk the ways safely, Khidāsh, When the spears have drunk once of my [blood] and drunk again.

But Khidāsh had him brought near and killed him. (Khidāsh was in charge of Muṣ'ab's police at the time.) Also, Muṣ'ab ordered Sinān b. Dhuḥl, one of the Banū 'Amr b. Marthad, to raze the house of Mālik b. Misma'. Muṣ'ab took what was in Mālik's house; among the things he took was a slave girl who bore him 'Umar b. Muṣ'ab.

['Abd al-Malik Attacks Muṣ'ab; the Death of Muṣ'ab]

[804] (Continuing,) he said: Muṣ'ab stayed in al-Baṣrah until he went to al-Kūfah. He remained in al-Kūfah until he went out to fight 'Abd al-Malik. 'Abd al-Malik encamped at Maskin.637 'Abd al-Malik wrote to the people of Iraq who had been partisans of his father Marwān;638 all of them responded to him, and as a condition each one asked him for the governorship of Iṣbahān, which he conferred upon all of them. Among them were: Ḥajjār b. Abjar, al-Ghaḍbān b. al-Qaba'thara, 'Attāb b. Warqā', Qaṭān b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥārithi, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays, Zahr

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636. Additional material can be found in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 331–355; Aghāni, XVII, 161–67; Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 323–336.
637. Maskin was a district along the Duiyāl canal, north of Baghdad, and west of the Tigris River (Le Strange, Lands, 51, 81; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v.).
638. Arabic, al-Marwānīyyah. Aghāni, XVII, 162, preserves a fuller text of al-Madā'nī's account: "Then 'Abd al-Malik wrote to the Kūfān and Baṣrān ashraf, inviting them to him, and raising their hopes. They responded to him, stipulated conditions for him, and asked for governorships. When forty of them asked for the governorship of Iṣbahān, 'Abd al-Malik said to his companions in amazement, 'Alas, what is this Iṣbahān?'" One should compare a series of reports in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 232–33, where Iraqi ashraf take the initiative in inviting 'Abd al-Malik to come to Iraq.
b. Qays, and Muḥammad b. `Umayr. Muḥammad b. Marwān was in charge of `Abd al-Malik’s vanguard, `Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya was in charge of his right wing, and Khālid b. Yazīd was in charge of his left wing. Muṣʿab, whom the people of al-Kūfah had failed to aid, advanced toward him.

According to `Urwah b. al-Mughirah b. Shuʿbah, who said: Muṣʿab came marching out. He was leaning on the mane of his horse, looking right and left at the men. His eye fell on me. “`Urwah,” he said, “come to me.” I went over to him. “Tell me about al-Ḥusayn b. `Ali,” he said, “how he acted in refusing to submit to the judgment of Ibn Ziyād and in resolving to fight.” And he said:

They who are in al-Ṭaff, of the family of Hāshim, shared their property, and so set the example, to the generous, of the sharing of property.

[Continuing,] he said: So I knew he would not turn away until he was killed.

According to Muḥammad b. `Umar [al-Wāqidi]—`Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. `Abdallāh b. Abī Qurrah—Ishāq b. `Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah—Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah, who said: After he had killed `Amr b. Saʿīd, `Abd al-Malik put his hand to the sword and killed those who opposed him. When he decided to go to fight Muṣʿab, Syria and its people having become his possession, he addressed the people and commanded them to make ready to march against Muṣʿab. The chiefs of the Syrians came to him one after the other; while not opposing what he wanted to do, they wanted him to remain and send the armies forward: if they won, well and good; if they did not win, he would aid them with the armies; for they feared for the people that if he were killed in his encounter with Muṣʿab, there would be no king after him.

639. Ms. Pet adds: “b. `Utārid.” From Ṭabarī, II, 806f. and Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 341, it appears that these men went over to `Abd al-Malik during the fighting.

640. The verse is attributed to Sulaymān b. Qattah (Aghānī, XVII, 165). It is quoted and translated in Lane, Lexicon, I, 87.

641. Karbalā’, where al-Ḥusayn was killed, was located in the region known as al-Ṭaff. See note 213 (Ṭabarī, II, 686).

642. An alternate translation: “there would be no kingdom after him.”
They said, “O Commander of the Faithful, you should stay where you are and send a man from your family as commander of these armies, dispatching him to fight Muṣ‘ab.” ‘Abd al-Malik said, “This affair can be handled only by a man from Quraysh who has good judgment. I might perchance send someone who has bravery, but not good judgment. But I find in my soul that I am discerning in war, and brave with the sword, if I am forced to use it. Muṣ‘ab is with a family of bravery. His father was the bravest of Quraysh. He, too, is brave, but he has no knowledge of war and likes ease. With him there are men who will oppose him; with me there men who will give me sincere advice.”

So ‘Abd al-Malik went and encamped at Maskin, and Muṣ‘ab went to Bājumayrā. ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to his supporters among the people of Iraq. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar took ‘Abd al-Malik’s letter, sealed and unread, and gave it to Muṣ‘ab, who asked, “What is in it?” Ibrāhīm replied, “I have not read it.” Muṣ‘ab read it: ‘Abd al-Malik was inviting Ibn al-Ashtar to his side and offering him the governorship of Iraq. Ibn al-Ashtar said to Muṣ‘ab, “From no one has he had less to hope for than from me. He has written to all your companions as he has written to me. Heed me concerning them, and cut off their heads!” “Then,” said Muṣ‘ab, “their tribesmen will not be loyal to us.” Ibn al-Ashtar said, “Then load them with irons, send them to the White [Palace] of Khusraw, and imprison them there. Put in charge of them someone who will cut off their heads if you are defeated. If you are victorious, you can bestow them on their tribesmen as a favor.” “Abū al-Nu‘mān,” said Muṣ‘ab, “I am too preoccupied to attend to that. God have mercy on Abu Bahr: as if foreseeing our present plight, he warned me about the treachery of the people of Iraq.”

According to ‘Umar [b. Shabbah]—Muḥammad b. Sallām [al-


644. The White Palace was the old Sasanian royal residence at al-Madā‘īn. It was located about a mile to the north of the Great Ceremonial Hall [Īwān Kisrā]. See Le Strange, Lands, 34; EI², s.v. al-Madā‘īn.

645. Abū Bahr is al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. According to Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 324, the leader of the Tamīm in al-Ṭabaribh accompanied Muṣ‘ab’s army to al-Kūfah, where he died. Cf. the fuller version of al-Aḥnaf’s words (Al-baladurī, Ansāb, V, 337–38): “Do not meet any foe while relying on the people of Iraq; for, like a prostitute who wants a new lover every day, they want a new commander every day.”
Jumaḥi646—‘Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarī, who said: The people of Iraq intended to betray Muḥammad. But Qays b. al-Haytham said, “Woe unto you! Do not cause the Syrians to come among you. By God, if they taste your life, they will expropriate your dwellings from you. By God, I have seen the chief of the Syrians at the gate of the caliph, rejoicing if the latter sent him on a mission. I have seen us on summer expeditions, one of us in charge of a thousand camels, while each of their chieftains went raiding on his horse, with his provisions behind him.”647


647. The wealth of Iraq and the poverty of Syria are being compared. Cf. the reading in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 244–45: “I have seen us on summer expeditions; the provisions of one of us were on many camels, while one of them [i.e., the Syrians] would go raiding with his provisions behind him [i.e., on the saddle of his own horse].”

648. Dayr al-Jāṭhaliq means “the monastery of the Catholicos” [the head of the Nestorian Christians]. See EI², s.v. Dayr al-Djathalik.

649. He was in charge of Ibn al-Ashtar’s right wing. According to Aghānī, XVII, 164, and Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 341–42, he was carried away wounded and managed to obtain a guarantee of safety for his children from ‘Abd al-Malik before he died. His son, Qutaybah b. Muslim, served the Umayyads loyally and greatly extended Muslim territory in Central Asia.

650. According to Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 338, the flight was intentional. ‘Attāb had sworn allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik and had promised to betray Muḥammad. Suspecting treachery, Ibn al-Ashtar asked Muḥammad not to rely on ‘Attāb, but Muḥammad disregarded the warning.
"your hesitating to go toward it smells worse and is more vile!"

Then he made a similar request of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays, who replied, "I do not see that anyone has done it, so that I should do it!" Muṣʿab said, "O Ibrāḥīm! And today I have no Ibrāhīm!"

According to Abū Zayd [Umar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Sallām, who said: When Ibn Khāzīm was told of Muṣʿāb’s going to fight ʿAbd al-Malik, he said, "Is ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar with him?" The response was, "No, he has made him his agent in charge of Fārs." Ibn Khāzīm said, "Then is al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah with him?" The response was, "No, he has made him his agent in charge of al-Mawṣil." Ibn Khāzīm said, "Then is ʿAbbad b. al-Huṣayn with him?" The response was, "No, he has made him deputy in charge of al-Baṣra." Ibn Khāzīm then said, "And I am in Khurāsān":

Take me and drag me away, O she-hyena; rejoice
over the flesh of a man whose helper was not present today.

Muṣʿāb said to his son, Ḥūṣain b. Muṣʿāb, "Mount, my son, and ride with your companions to your uncle in Mecca. Tell him what the people of Iraq have done. Leave me, for I am a dead man." His son said, "By God, never will I [go to] tell Quraysh about you. If you wish, go to al-Baṣrah, for they are in a state of unity (jamāʿah); or go to join the Commander of the Faithful." Muṣʿāb said, "By God, let Quraysh not say that I fled because of what Rabiʿah did when they failed to help, so that I entered the sanctuary of Mecca in defeat. Rather, I will fight. If I am killed, the sword is no shame, and flight is neither my habit nor my nature. But if you want to go back, go back and fight." So he went back and fought until he was killed.

651. Similarly in Balādhurī, Ansāb, V, 345. See below (Ṭabarī II, 821), where al-Muhallab receives the news of Muṣʿāb’s death while he is campaigning against the Khārijītes in Khūzistān. One report in Balādhurī states that Muṣʿāb wanted al-Muhallab [who was governor of al-Mawṣil] to help fight ʿAbd al-Malik, but the people of al-Baṣrah refused to march unless al-Muhallab were recalled from al-Mawṣil and sent to Khūzistān fight the Khārijītes and prevent them from making incursions into Iraq. [Balādhurī, Ansāb, V, 332, 335–36; ibid., XI, 123–24; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 332.]

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī—'Abdallāh b. Ayyāsh—his father, who said: As we were standing with 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān during his fight with Muṣ′āb, Ziyād b. 'Amr [al-Atakī] came up to him and said, “O Commander of the Faithful, Ismāʿīl b. Ṭalḥah was a good protector to me; rarely did Muṣ′āb intend me harm but he warded it from me. If you think it good, grant him safety despite his offense.” 'Abd al-Malik said, “He is safe.” Ziyād, who was an extremely large man, went between the two battle lines and shouted, “Where is Abu al-Bakhtari Ismāʿīl b. Ṭalḥah?” The latter having come forward, Ziyād said, “I want to say something to you.” So he drew near until the necks of their horses touched. [Men [going into battle] used to use doubled up garment edges as belts.] Ziyād put his hand into Ismāʿīl’s belt and plucked him—he was a thin man—from his saddle. Ismāʿīl said, “Abū al-Mughirah, I beseech you; this is not loyalty to Muṣ′āb.” Ziyād said, “I would rather have this than see you slain tomorrow.”

After Muṣ′āb had refused to accept the guarantee of safety, Muḥammad b. Marwān called to 'Īsā b. Muṣ′āb and said to him, “O son of my brother, do not cause your own death. You have a guarantee of safety.” Muṣ′āb, too, said to him, “Your uncle has guaranteed your safety; go to him.” But he said, “Let the women of Quraysh not say that I delivered you to be slain.” “Then go forward before me,” said Muṣ′āb, “and I will reckon upon obtain-
ing [a reward from God] through you." So he fought before him until he was killed.

Muṣʿab was wounded by an arrow shot. Zāʿidah b. Qudāmah saw him and attacked. Crying "Vengeance for al-Mukhtar," he struck him with a spear, and threw him to the ground. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Zabyān dismounted by him and cut off his head, saying, "He killed my brother, al-Nābi' b. Ziyād." 'Ubaydallāh brought the head to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who rewarded him with a thousand dinars. These he refused to take, saying, "I did not kill him out of obedience to you; I killed him to avenge what he did to me. I do not take money for carrying a head." And he left it with 'Abd al-Malik.656

The vendetta that 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Zabyān mentioned as the reason for his killing Muṣʿab was as follows: In one of his terms as governor, Muṣʿab appointed Muṭarrīf b. Sidān al-Bahili, a member of the Banū Jiʿawah, to be in charge of his police.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾini and Makhlad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥādir: Al-Nābi' b. Ziyād b. Zabyān and a man of the Banū Numayr were brought to Muṭarrīf, after the two had committed highway robbery. Muṭarrīf killed al-Nābi', and flogged the Numayrī and released him. Then 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Zabyān gathered a group of men (this was after Muṣʿab had removed Muṭarrīf from al-Baṣrah and set him in charge of al-Ahwāz) and went out to attack Muṭarrīf. The two sides met and took their stand with a river between them. Muṭarrīf crossed over to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Zabyān, and the latter gave him a quick spear thrust and killed him. Muṣʿab then sent Mukram b. Muṭarrīf to pursue Ibn Zabyān. Mukram went as far as 'Askar Mukram,657 which therefore took its name from him, but did not

655. The expression aḥtasib-ka, "I reckon you for myself," is explained by Lane, Lexicon, II, 565: "Iḥtasaba wa[ladahu...is said when one has lost by death an adult child or son or daughter; meaning 'He prepared, or provided, in store for himself, a reward, by his patience on the occasion of his being afflicted and tried by the death of his adult child.'"

656. Cf. the report in Balādhurī, Ansâb, V, 333 [repeated 340]: "As 'Ubaydallāh placed the head before 'Abd al-Malik, the latter bowed down. Later, 'Ubaydallāh used to say, 'Never have I regretted anything as much as I regret not having cut off 'Abd al-Malik's head at that time, thereby giving people relief. I would have killed the two kings of the Arabs in a single day.'" 'Abd al-Malik's reaction when these words were reported to him is given in Balādhurī, Ansâb, XI, 202.

657. 'Askar Mukram (the name means Mukram's Camp, but Yāqūt says this
find Ibn Ḥabyan. After his brother had been killed, Ibn Ḥabyan joined 'Abd al-Malik. Mentioning this, al-Ba‘ith al-Yashkūrī said after the death of Muṣ‘āb:

When we saw that the leaders of the enterprise (amr) were spiritless,
and that necks were about to become hindquarters,
We held steadfast to God’s command (amr), until He should set
matters right;
and we approved of no governor but one from Umayyah.
We killed Muṣ‘āb and the son of Muṣ‘āb:
the clansman of Asad and al-Nakha’ī the Yemenite.
Death’s eagle passed by Muslim from us;
it sank its tooth into him, and he was slain.
We made [Muṭarrif] Ibn Sidān drink an overflowing cup
that satisfied us: the best part of the matter is what gives satisfaction.

According to Abū Zayd [‘Umar b. Shabbāh]—‘Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā‘īnī], who said: Ibn Ḥabyan passed Muṭarrif’s daughter in al-Bāṣrah. Someone said to her, “This is the man who killed your father.” She said, “For the sake of God, my father [met his death].” But Ibn Ḥabyan said:

Not for the sake of God did your father meet his end,
but for the sake of money.

alludes to another Mukram] was a city in Khūzistān province, about 35 miles northeast of Ahwāz, where the Duiyayl River was joined by the waters of the Masruqān Canal. See EL², s.v.; Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, s.v., and Le Strange, Lands, 237.

658. Verses three and four can be found in Aghānī, XVII, 164, where they are attributed to Yazid b. al-Riqa‘, the brother of ‘Adi b. al-Riqa‘, with a note that some attribute them to al-Ba‘ith al-Yashkūrī.

659. The metaphor is drawn from horsemanship. The leaders of the state are compared to the chest (ṣadr, pl. ṣudūr) of a spiritless horse that holds its head low and is about to turn tail (i.e., turn its neck in the direction of its hindquarters). Cf. Lane, Lexicon, I, 314, s.v. tawālī.

660. Muṣ‘āb and his brother ‘Abdallāh were members of the Banū Asad b. ‘Abd-al-‘Uzza b. Quṣayy [a clan of Quraysh]. See Ibn al-Athir, Rāmil, IV, 254.


662. I.e., Muslim b. ‘Amr al-Bāhili [Aghānī, XVII, 164; Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 341–42].

663. Variant in Aghānī, XVII, 164: “talon.”
After Muṣ'ab had been killed, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān summoned the people of Iraq to allegiance, and they swore allegiance to him. Muṣ'ab was killed at a canal called al-Dujayl,664 at Dayr al-Jāthaliq. After he was killed, 'Abd al-Malik ordered him and his son Ḫāṣa to be buried.

According to al-Wāqidi—'Uthmān b. Muḥammad—Abū Bakr b. 'Umar—'Urwah, who said: When Muṣ'ab was killed, 'Abd al-Malik said, “Bury him: by God, of old there was respect between us and him, but this kingdom is a barren thing.”665

According to Abū Zayd ['Umar b. Shabbah]—Abū Nu'aym [al-Faḍl b. Dukayn]—'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr Abū Abī Āḥmad—'Abdallāh b. Sharīk al-ʿĀmirī, who said: As I was standing beside Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, I took a letter out of my tunic for him, and said to him, “This is 'Abd al-Malik’s letter.” He said, “[Do] what you want.” [Continuing,] he said: Then one of the Syrians came, entered his camp, and took out a slave girl. She shouted, “Alas my humiliation!” Muṣ'ab looked at her and then paid no further attention to her.

[Continuing,] he said: Muṣ'ab’s head was brought to 'Abd al-Malik. He looked at it and said, “When will Quraysh nourish the like of you?” And two [men] in Medina were talking to Ḥubbā,666 when someone told them that Muṣ'ab had been killed. She said, “May his slayer perish!” Told that 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had killed him, she said, “My father [as ransom] for the slayer and the slain!” [Continuing,] he said: Later, when 'Abd al-Malik made

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664. The Dujayl Canal left the Euphrates at the village of al-Rabb (north of al-Anbār), watered the districts of Maskin and Qatrabbul, and flowed into the Tigris at Baghdad. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, s.v.

665. “Barren” [‘aqīm] is applied not only to things that bring forth no offspring, and are therefore unprofitable, but also to things that destroy. Thus, in Qurʾān 51:41, the tribe of ‘Ad is destroyed by a wind that is called ‘aqīm. Lane, Lexicon, V, 2117, quotes this saying of 'Abd al-Malik, together with the paraphrase given by various Arabic lexicographers, as follows: “Dominion is a condition in which, or in the seeking of which, relationship profits not, nor friendship: for a man will slay his son, if he fear him, and his father, for dominion; or because, in seeking it, the father will be slain, and the son, and the brother, and the paternal uncle; or because, in it, the ties of relationship are severed by slaughter and by undutiful conduct.” See also Freytag, II, 685 [Maydānī, II, 222].

666. Ḥubbā al-Madinīyyah was a society woman from Medina. Her home was a gathering place for young men of Quraysh. See Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 186.
the pilgrimage, Ḥubbā approached him and said, “Did you kill your fellow tribesmen Muṣʿab?” He replied:

Whoever tastes war, finds its taste bitter, and it leaves him in a rough country.667

And Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt said:668

A slain man resting at Dayr al-Jāthaliq has bequeathed shame and humiliation to the two garrison cities.

Bakr b. Wāʾil was not loyal to God, neither was Tamīm steadfast in the encounter.

Had he been a tribesman of Bakr,669 there would have gathered round him squadrons whose ardor rises to the boil and lasts. But the obligation to defend was neglected; on that day there was no generous Muḍar tribesman among [the squadrons].

God reward with infamy any Kūfān there and any Baṣrān of them: whoever does what is blameworthy is to be blamed.

Sons [of one father with us, but] of different mothers, they left our backs uncovered, though we were of pure and genuine stock among them.

If we are destroyed, they will not remain after us; [only] for someone who possesses honor is there inviolable territory among the Muslims.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarî]: It has been said that the events I have mentioned—Muṣʿab’s death, and the war between him and ‘Abd al-Malik—took place in the year 72, and that the affair of Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid and his going to al-

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667. The verse is by the pre-Islamic poet Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and is quoted in Aghānī, XV, 160, 161. For “leaves him,” the variants “imprisons him,” and “makes him kneel down,” are recorded.

668. Lines of this elegy for Muṣʿab are quoted in various other sources; cf. Aghānī, XVII, 165; Balādhuri, Ansāb, V, 342; Dinawarī, Akhbār, 319; Diwān, 30ff.

Baṣrah on behalf of ‘Abd al-Malik took place in 71. Muṣ‘ab was killed in [the month of] Jumādā II.

[‘Abd al-Malik Enters al-Kūfah]

According to al-Wāqidi, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān entered al-Kūfah this year and distributed the districts of Iraq and the garrison cities of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah among his financial agents. However, Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madā‘ini] mentions that this took place in the year 72.

According to ‘Umar [b. Shabbah]—‘Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā‘ini], who said: Muṣ‘ab was killed on Tuesday, the thirteenth day of Jumādā I or II, of the year 72.673

When ‘Abd al-Malik came to al-Kūfah, according to what has been mentioned, he encamped at al-Nukhaylah. Then he called on the people to swear allegiance. Quḍā‘ah came. When he saw a small number, ‘Abd al-Malik said, “People of Quḍā‘ah, how did you remain safe from Muḍar, in spite of your small number?” ‘Abdallāh b. Ya‘lā al-Nahdi said, “We are stronger than they and more able to defend ourselves.” “By means of whom?” he asked. “By means of those of us who are on your side, Commander of the Faithful,” he replied. Then Madhhij and Hamdān came. ‘Abd al-Malik said, “With these men there, I think no one will accomplish anything in al-Kūfah.” Then Ju‘fī came. When ‘Abd al-Malik looked at them, he said, “People of Ju‘fī, you have covered and hidden the son of one of your tribeswomen.” (He

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670. This is the chronology of al-Madā‘ini and of Abū Mikhnaf. See Aghānī, XVII, 161 (al-Madā‘ini), and Balādhuri, Ansāb, XI, 26 (Abū Mikhnaf).


672. A‘māl, pl. of ‘amal, “units of fiscal administration for collecting taxes” (Morony, Iraq, 528).

673. 13 Jumādā I corresponds to October 12, 691; 13 Jumādā II corresponds to November 11, 691. There is a problem in that neither date fell on a Tuesday, according to the Wüstenfeld-Mahler tables.

674. Quḍā‘ah (of which the Banū Kalb were the most prominent subdivision) was usually placed among the Yemeni tribes, although some genealogists placed it among the northern tribes. See EI², s.v. Kuḍā‘a.

675. Madhhij and Hamdān were both Yemeni tribes; see EI², s.vv.

676. Ju‘fī was a Yemeni tribe related to Hamdān or to Madhhij (Lisān).
meant Yahyā b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ.) They said, "Yes." "Hand him over," he said. "When he is safe!" they said. "And you make conditions, too?" he said. One of them said, "By God, it is not out of ignorance of your right that we make conditions; rather, we presume upon you as a child presumes upon his father." "By God," he said, "how excellent a tribe you are! Truly, you have been skilled horsemen in pre-Islamic times and in Islam. He is safe." They brought him. (His kunyah was Abū Ayyūb.) Looking at him, 'Abd al-Malik said, "Abū Qabīḥ!\textsuperscript{677} Having thrown off allegiance to me, with what face will you look toward your Lord?" "With the face He created," he said, and swore allegiance. Then he turned to go. Looking at the back of his head, 'Abd al-Malik said, "What a man he is! What a knower he is!" (He meant of the Arabic language.)\textsuperscript{678}

According to 'Ali b. Muhammad [al-Madā'ini]—al-Qāsim b. Ma'n and other(s)—Ma'bad b. Khālid al-Jadali, who said: Then we tribesmen of 'Adwān\textsuperscript{679} came forward to him. [Continuing,] he said: We put forward a handsome, comely man, and I remained in the rear. (Ma'bad was ugly.) 'Abd al-Malik said, "Who [are they]?

The scribe said, "'Adwān." 'Abd al-Malik said: 681

But they acted wrongfully against each other and were not regardful of each other.\textsuperscript{682}

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\textsuperscript{677}. As a nickname, "Abū Qabiḥ" means "man with an ugly [face]," or, "doer of an ugly [deed]."

\textsuperscript{678}. For the expression \textit{ibn zawmalah}, "one who is knowledgeable, expert in a matter," see ed. Leiden, \textit{Glossarium}, p. CCLXXIX. \textit{Addenda}, p. DCLXXIV, indicates that one should read \textit{arabiyyah} (Arabic language), rather than \textit{gharibah} (strange, i.e., a knower of strange things). If one accepts the emendation, this is one of the earliest examples of the the word \textit{arabiyyah} in this sense. Cf. Balādhuri, \textit{Ansāb}, V, 353, and note.

\textsuperscript{679}. The tribal genealogy is 'Adwān b. 'Amr b. Qays 'Aylān b. Muḍār [Lisān].

\textsuperscript{680}. The verses are by the poet Dhū al-Iṣba' al-'Adwānī. See Aghānī, III, 2, 4; and F. Sezgin, \textit{GAS}, II, 297f.

\textsuperscript{681}. "Serpents of the earth," meaning "cunning, guileful, malignant, or mischievous, and strong, not neglecting to take blood-revenge." See Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, V, 1986, where the first two lines of the poem are explained.

\textsuperscript{682}. The tribe of 'Adwān was rent by internal wars in which Dhū al-Iṣba' took part. In the Aghānī version, the next verse, not quoted by 'Abd al-Malik, is: "So they became subjects of talk, with [people] raising and lowering their voices."
Of them were chieftains
and those who fully repay actions.  

Then he went up to the handsome man and said, "Go on!" "I don't know," he replied. So I said from behind him:

And of them is an arbiter who decrees,
and what he decrees is not annulled.

And of them are those who give the pilgrimage the signal to proceed, according to custom and obligation.

From the time they are born, they grow up
with the best of pure lineage.

[Continuing,] he said: Leaving me, 'Abd al-Malik turned to the handsome man and said, "Who is it [who composed the lines]?" "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Dhū al-Iṣba'!"

[Continuing,] he said: Turning to the handsome man, 'Abd al-Malik said, "And why was he called Dhū al-Iṣba'?" "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Because a snake bit his toe and he cut it off." Then he turned to the handsome man and said, "What was his [real] name?" "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Hurthān b. al-Ḥārith!" Then 'Abd al-Malik turned to the handsome man and said, "From which [clan] of you was he?" "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Banū Nāji!" 'Abd al-Malik said:

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683. *Qard*, literally "loan," is to be taken here in the figurative sense of any good or bad act for which men reward or requite each other. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2516, and *Lisān*, s.v.

684. The line is explained in *Aghānī*, III, 4: "Giving permission, or a signal, for the pilgrimage to pass on [from 'Arafāt] belonged to the tribe of Khuzā'ah; but then the tribe of 'Adwān took it from them, and it came into the hands of one of their tribesmen called Abū Sayyārah, of the Banū Wābīṣ b. Zayd b. 'Adwān.... Abū Sayyārah used to give the pilgrims the signal to proceed by going in front of them on his donkey, and addressing them...."

685. The *Aghānī* and Mss. C and Pet give a different text: "When they beget, they produce noble sons, with the best of pure lineage."

686. "Dhū al-Iṣba'" means "the man with the finger, or toe."

687. The text in *Aghānī* reads, "and it [i.e., the toe or finger] dried up."
Away with the Banū Nājī and your creating discord among them!\(^{688}\)

and do not make your eyes follow what is perishing.

Whenever I say a kind word, to create harmony among them,

Wuhayb says, “I will not make peace with that one.”

So he became like the back of an ass, his hump cut off;
the children surround him, humpbacked, kneeling.\(^{689}\)

Then he turned to the handsome man and said, “How much is your military stipend (‘atā‘)?” “Seven hundred [dirhams],” he said. ‘Abd al-Malik said to me, “At how much are you?” “Three hundred,” I said. Turning to the two scribes, he said, “Deduct four hundred from this one’s stipend and add it to this one’s.” So I came back at a stipend of seven hundred, and he at three hundred!

Then Kindah\(^{690}\) came. ‘Abd al-Malik looked at ‘Abdallāh b. Iṣḥāq b. al-Ash‘ath and commended him to his brother Bishr [b. Marwān], saying, “Make him one of your companions.” Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham came with two hundred tribesmen from Bakr b. Wā‘il, wearing Davidic tunics (after his name).\(^{691}\) He sat down with ‘Abd al-Malik on his couch,\(^{692}\) and ‘Abd al-Malik turned to him. Then he arose, and they arose with him. Following them with his gaze, ‘Abd al-Malik said, “Those evildoers! By God, had their leader not come to me, not one of them would have given me obedience.”

Then, as some have said, he put Qatan b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥārithi in charge of al-Kūfah for forty days; then he removed him and appointed Bishr b. Marwān. ‘Abd al-Malik ascended the pulpit of al-Kūfah and preached, saying: “If ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr were...

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\(^{688}\) Alternate reading: "As for the Banū Nājī, do not mention them..." [Aghānī, III, 3].

\(^{689}\) Aghānī: “So he became like the back of a stallion; he goes slowly toward the enemy, humpbacked, kneeling.”

\(^{690}\) Kindah was a tribal group of South Arabian origins that had led a powerful confederation in pre-Islamic times. The grandfather of the ‘Abdallāh mentioned here was the Kindi chief al-Ash‘ath b. Qays, who had led his tribe’s delegation to Medina to accept Islam and had later fought at Šiffin on the side of ‘Ali. See El, s.v. Kinda.

\(^{691}\) Aqbiyah (pl. of qabā‘) dāwūdiyyah, i.e., chain mail: according to Qur‘ān 343:10–11, David was the inventor of mailed coats.

\(^{692}\) Sarīr is also used for a throne.
a caliph, as he asserts, he would come out and share his substance equally [with his supporters]; he would not plant his tail in the sanctuary of Mecca." Then he said, "I have appointed Bishr b. Marwān your governor, and have commanded him to deal well with those who are obedient, but severely with those who disobey. Heed him and obey." He appointed Muḥammad b. 'Umayr as his governor (ʿāmil) in charge of Hamadḥān, and Yazīd b. Ruwaym in charge of al-Rayy. He distributed governors, but he did not keep his promise to anyone who had imposed upon him as a condition the governorship (wilāyah) of Iṣbahān. Then he said, "Bring me those evildoers who spoiled Syria and corrupted Iraq." Someone said, "The heads of their tribes have granted them protection." "Does anyone," he replied, "grant protection against me?" Now 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Asad had taken refuge with 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, with whom Yaḥyā b. Maʿyūf al-Hamdānī had also taken refuge. Al-Hudhayl b. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith and 'Amr b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī took refuge with Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. 'Abd al-Malik guaranteed their safety, and they came out of hiding.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah and Ḥumrān b. Abān contended with each other for leadership (riyāsah) in al-Baṣrah.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʿinī], who said: When al-Muṣʿab was killed, Ḥumrān b. Abān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah arose and contended with each other for the governance (wilāyah) of al-Baṣrah. Ibn Abī Bakrah said, "I am wealthier than you: I expended [my wealth]

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693. Āsā bi-nafsihi, "share equally with himself," i.e., he would share the lot of his supporters. The words "with his supporters," are supplied from Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 29f. Cf. the words of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr's son refusing to flee to save himself: "What a bad son I should be if I did not make myself share equally with you, so that what befalls you will befall me." (Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 74).

694. The metaphor is taken from the locust, which inserts its tail into the ground to lay its eggs. The expression means "to remain fixed in a place" (Lane, Lexicon, VI, 2246).

695. Hamadḥān and Rayy are both in Jībāl province. Hamadḥān is the modern Hamadān; Rayy is only a few miles from modern Tehran. See Le Strange, Lands, 215–17. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 354, argues that Ḥawshāb b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym must have been appointed governor of Rayy, since Yazīd was killed before the death of Muṣʿab.
for Khālid’s forces at the battle of al-Jufrah.” Someone said to Ḫūmrān, “You lack strength against Ibn Abi Bakrah. Seek help from ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ahtam; if he helps you, Ibn Abi Bakrah will not have strength against you.” Ḫūmrān did so, and prevailed over al-Baṣrah, with Ibn al-Ahtam in charge of its police. Ḫūmrān had standing in the eyes of the Banū Umayyah.

According to Abū Zayd [‘Umar b. Shabbah]—Abū ‘Āṣim al-Nabil, who said: A man spoke to me and said that a bedouin Arab shaykh arrived and, seeing Ḫūmrān, asked, “Who is that?” They said, “Ḫūmrān.” He said, “I once saw him when his cloak had slipped from his shoulder, and Marwān and Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ hastened to him, each striving to be the first to straighten it.”

According to Abū Zayd [‘Umar b. Shabbah]—Abū ‘Āṣim al-Nabil, who said: I told this to one of the sons of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir, and he said, “My father told me that Ḫūmrān put out his leg, and Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir each strove to be first to massage it.”

[Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh Becomes Governor of al-Baṣrah]

In this year, ‘Abd al-Malik sent Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh as governor of al-Baṣrah.


According to what al-Wāqidi asserts, ‘Abd al-Malik returned to Syria this year.

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696. Riddā’, a single piece of cloth worn draped over the shoulders [Lane, Lexicon, III, 1072].
The Victory of the Marwānids

[Ibn al-Zubayr's Governors during This Year]

[Continuing,] he said: In [this year], Ibn al-Zubayr removed Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf from Medina and made Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf his governor there.

[Continuing,] he said: Ṭalḥah was Ibn al-Zubayr's last governor of Medina. [He remained] until Ṭāriq b. 'Amr, 'Uthmān's mawlä, arrived there. Ṭalḥah then fled, and Ṭāriq stayed in Medina until 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him [confirming him as governor].

[The Pilgrimage]

According to al-Wāqidi, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year.

[Ibn al-Zubayr's Sermon after the Death of Muṣ'ab]697

According to Abū Zayd ['Umar b. Shabbah]—Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. Yahyā—Muṣ'ab b. 'Uthmān, who said: When news of Muṣ'ab's death reached 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he arose among the people and said: "Praise be to God! His are the creation and the command.698 He gives the kingdom to whom He will, and withdraws the kingdom from whom He will; He exalts whom He will, and abases whom He will.699 Verily, God does not abase him on whose side is the right, though he were but a single man; neither does He exalt him whose friend is Satan and his party, though all mankind were on his side. Truly, there has come to us from Iraq a report that has both saddened us and made us rejoice. The death of Muṣ'ab—God's mercy upon him!—has been reported to us. What caused us to rejoice was our knowledge that his death was a testimony700 on his behalf. What saddened us was

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697. Parallel accounts can be found in Balādhuri, Ansāb, V, 347-48, and Aghānī, XVII, 166. Both accounts note that Ibn al-Zubayr refrained from mentioning his brother's death for several days after it had become common knowledge in Mecca, and that when he finally spoke, deep emotion was visible on his face.
698. Qur'ān 7:54.
700. Shahādah, which also means "martyrdom."
The Events of the Year 71

the fact that separation from a beloved kinsman brings a pang of grief that the lover feels at the time of affliction. Afterwards, however, the man of judgment turns to a fitting patience and noble endurance. If I have been afflicted by the death of Muṣ'ab, I have been afflicted by that of al-Zubayr previously; neither am I free of affliction in regard to 'Uthmān. Muṣ'ab was only one servant among God's servants, one helper among my helpers. Verily, the people of Iraq, people of treachery and hypocrisy, handed him over and sold him for a very low price. If he has been slain, we, by God, do not die in our beds like the sons of Abū al-Āṣ, none of whom died in war either in pre-Islamic times or in Islam. We die a sudden death by spears or under the shadow of swords. The present world is but a loan from the Supreme King, whose authority does not pass away, and whose dominion does not perish. If it turns its face toward me, I do not take it like a man whose head is turned and who exults immoderately; if it turns its back, I do not weep over it like an abject man confounded by fear. I say this, and ask God's forgiveness for myself and for you."

[‘Abd al-Malik's Banquet at al-Khawarnaq]

[‘Umar b. Shabbah] also mentions that ‘Abd al-Malik, having killed Muṣ'ab and entered al-Kūfah, ordered a great deal of food prepared and brought to al-Khawarnaq and issued a general invitation. So the people entered and took their seats. When ‘Amr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmi entered, ‘Abd al-Malik said, "Come to me, and sit on my couch." And he seated him with him. Then he said, "What food that you have eaten do you like best and think most delicious?" "Roast young kid," he said, "nicely sea-

701. Cf. the vivid touch added in the version given in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 348: "We do not die in our beds of indigestion (habajan)." The unusual word refers to the fatal indigestion camels suffer when they graze too much on a certain plant, and alludes to the gluttony and hedonism of the Banū Marwān. Cf. ed. Leiden, Addenda, p. DCLXXIV.
702. See note 466.
703. He had been Muṣ'ab's deputy for al-Kūfah while Muṣ'ab was fighting at Maskin. He had apparently gone over to 'Abd al-Malik under the influence of his letters. See Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 351.
soned and well cooked." "That's nothing!" said 'Abd al-Malik. "What do you think of a suckling lamb, carefully scalded and well cooked, [so tender that when] you pull its hind leg toward you, you make its front leg follow, one that has been nourished on equal parts of milk and butter?" The tables were brought, and they ate. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwân said, "How pleasant our life is! If only anything lasted!"704

But, as the ancient poet said:

Everything new, O Umaymah, goes toward decay;
and every man will some day become a has-been.

When he finished eating, 'Abd al-Malik toured the palace. He said to 'Amr b. Hurayth, "Whose is this house?" and "Who built this house?"705 'Amr told him, and 'Abd al-Malik said:

Everything new, O Umaymah, goes toward decay;
and every man will some day become a has-been.

Then he went to his sitting place and reclined, saying:

Work with deliberation, for you are mortal;
and toil [only] for yourself, O man.
What was, now that it has past, seems as if it had never been;
and what is seems as if it had already passed away.

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704. A similar conversation on the theme of mutability is reported to have taken place between al-Nu'mân, the original builder of al-Khawarnaq, and his vizier. One day, al-Nu'mân, who was a cruel and evil ruler, looked out from his palace at the lush gardens and plentiful waters. He asked his vizier whether he had ever seen such a sight. The vizier replied, "No, if it only were to last!" Surprised, al-Nu'mân asked, "And what lasts?" "What is in God's presence in the hereafter," replied the vizier. "And how can one obtain it?" asked al-Nu'mân. "By your leaving the world, worshiping God, and seeking what is His." Al-Nu'mân, it is said, left his palace and became an ascetic that very night. See Ibn al-Faqih, Kitâb al-bulûdân, 177–78. The story is said to have been told to 'Abd al-Malik's son Hishâm at al-Khawarnaq. See Aghânî, II, 35–36, where 'Adi b. Zayd's poem on the Ubi Sunt? theme is quoted.

705. Cf. the parallel in Baladhuri, Ansâb, V, 352, where 'Abd al-Malik can see the various mansions of al-Kûfah from al-Khawarnaq and asks about them. However, since Arabic bayt can mean either a separate house or a chamber within a larger building (Lane, Lexicon, I, 280), he may have been asking about who added various rooms to the palace. Cf. the report in Ibn al-Faqih, Kitâb al-bulûdân, 178 (on the authority of al-Haytham b. 'Adî), that any governor who came to al-Kûfah would expand or renovate the palace of al-Khawarnaq. In Baladhuri, 'Abd al-Malik apparently asks about both subjects.

706. Qaysāriyyah (Caesarea) is about 25 miles south of Haifa on the Mediterranean coast. Umayyad preoccupation with Ibn al-Zubayr had given the Byzantines an opportunity to attack and damage Qaysāriyyah and ’Asqalān. Once secure in power, ‘Abd al-Malik rebuilt and fortified the two places, along with other coastal points such as Acre and Tyre. See EI², s.v. Kaysāriyya; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 143.
The Events of the Year

72
(JUNE 4, 691—MAY 22, 692)

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarî]: Among these events were those involving the Khārijites and those involving al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid.

[ʿAbd al-Malik and the Khārijites]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbi]—Abū Mikhnafe-Hāṣirah b. ʿAbdallāh [b. al-Ḥārīth al-Azdi] and Abū Zuhayr [al-Naḍr b. ʿAlī] al-ʿAbsī: After eight months of extremely hard fighting between the Azāriqah and al-Muhallab at Sūlāf, it was reported to them that Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr had been killed. The news reached the Khārijites before it reached al-Muhallab and his forces. The Khārijites therefore called to them, saying, “Will you not tell us what you say about Muṣʿab?” They replied, “An imām of right guidance!” The Khārijites said, “Then he is your friend in the present world and the world to come?” “Yes,” they replied. The Khārijites said, “And you are his friends while you are alive and when you are dead?” They replied, “And we are his friends alive and dead.” The Khārijites said, “Then what do you say about
‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān?’ “He is the son of the Accursed One,” they replied. “We are quit of him, leaving him to God. In our sight, shedding his blood is more licit than shedding yours.” The Khārijites said, “Then you are quit of him in the present world and the world to come?” “Yes,” they replied, “just as we are quit of you.” The Khārijites said, “And you are his enemies while you are alive and when you are dead?” “Yes,” they said, “we are enemies of him, even as we are enemies of you.” The Khārijites said, “Your imām Muṣ’ab has been killed by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and we think that tomorrow you will make ‘Abd al-Malik your imām, although now you declare yourselves quit of him and curse his father.” “You lie,” they said, “you enemies of God!”

On the morrow, when the death of Muṣ’ab became evident to them, al-Muhallab had the men swear allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. The Khārijites then came to them and said, “What say you about Muṣ’ab?” “You enemies of God,” they said, “we will not tell you what we say about him.” For they did not want to give the lie to themselves before them. The Khārijites said, “You told us yesterday that he was your friend in the present world and the world to come, and that you were his friends alive and dead. Then tell us what you say about ‘Abd al-Malik.” “He is our imām and caliph,” they said, for having sworn allegiance to him, they found no way to avoid saying this. The Azāriqah said, “Enemies of God! Yesterday you were asserting that you were quit of him in the present world and the world to come and claimed that you were his enemies alive and dead, and today he is your imām and caliph! Now that your imām whom you used to declare your friend has been killed, which of the two is the legitimate one? Which is the rightly guided one, and which is the one that strays?” “You enemies of God,” they said, “we were satisfied with the former, while he was the manager of our affairs; and we are satisfied with the latter, even as we were with the former.” The Khārijites said, “No, by God; but you are brothers of the devils, friends of the evildoers, and slaves of the present world.”

‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān sent Bishr b. Marwān to be in charge of al-Kūfah and Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd to be in charge of al-Baṣrah. When Khālid arrived, he established al-Muhallab in charge of the taxes (kharāj) and special revenue (maʿūnah) of al-
Ahwāz,707 and sent ‘Āmir b. Misma’ to be in charge of Sābūr, Muqātil b. Misma’ to be in charge of Ardashīr Khurrah,708 Misma’ b. Mālik b. Misma’ to be in charge of Fasā and Darābījrīd,709 and al-Mughirah b. al-Muhallab to be in charge of Iṣṭakhīr.

Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh sent to Muqātil and dispatched him with an army to the area of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [b. ‘Abdallāh]. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz went out seeking the Azāriqāh. The latter descended upon him from the direction of Kirmān, until they reached Darābījrīd, and he traveled toward them. Qaṭārī [b. al-Fujā’ah] sent nine hundred horsemen with Šālīh b. Mikhrāq, who marched with them until he met ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who was traveling with his men by night, not in battle array, and put the men to flight. Muqātil b. Misma’ dismounted and fought until he was killed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh fled, and his wife, the daughter of al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, was taken. She was offered to the highest bidder, and her price reached one hundred thousand [dirhams], for she was beautiful. One of her kinsmen, a Khārijite leader named Abū al-Hadīd al-Shanni, feeling that his honor was at stake, said, “Step aside! So I see this idolatress710 has indeed tempted you.” And he beheaded her. People claim that he then went to al-Baṣrah and was seen by the family of al-Mundhir, who said, “By God, we do not know whether we should praise you or blame you.” He used to say, “I did it only out of zeal and indignation.”

‘Abd al-‘Azīz made his way to Rāmhumuz.711 Someone went and informed al-Muhallab about him, and the latter sent one of

707. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 342: “When Khālid arrived [in al- Baṣrah], al-Muhallab was fighting the Azāriqāh. [Khālid] put him in charge of the taxes and special revenues of al-Ahwāz, and sent his own brother, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh, to fight the Khārijītes; and [Khālid] sent Muqātil b. Misma’ with him.” The motive behind Khālid’s decision to take matters into his own hands is not clear; it may have been personal jealousy of al-Muhallab (Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 176).

708. Ardashīr Khurrah [Shīrāz was later its chief town] was one of the five districts into which the province of Fārs was divided. See Le Strange, Lands, 248.

709. Darābījrīd was the chief town of the southeastern district of Fārs, to which it gave its name. Fasā lay about 30 miles west of Darābījrīd.

710. Mushrikah, literally, “[woman] who associates [other beings with God],” hence a polytheist or idolater, one outside the Islamic community. There may be an allusion to Qur’ān 2:221, “Do not marry idolatresses.”

711. Rāmhumuz lay in Khūzistān province, about 70 miles [three days’ march] east of Ahwāz. See Le Strange, Lands, 243, 247.
The Events of the Year 72

the shaykhs from among his tribesmen, a horseman of his, to 'Abd al-'Azîz, saying, “Go to him; if he has retreated in defeat, console him, and tell him he has done nothing that men before him have not done. Tell him that the armies will soon reach him, and that God will strengthen and help him.” The man came and found 'Abd al-'Azîz encamped with about thirty men, downcast and sad. The Azdî greeted him, informed him that he was al-Muhallab's messenger, told him what he had been commanded to say, and proposed that he mention to him whatever need he had. Then he returned to al-Muhallab and told him the news. Al-Muhallab said to him, "Go now to Khalid in al-Baṣrah, and tell him the news." "Am I to go to him," he said, "and tell him that his brother has been routed? By God, I will not!" Al-Muhallab said, "By God, no one but you shall go to him: you were the one who saw him face to face, and you were my messenger to him." The man said, "Then he will guide you, O Muhallab, if he goes to him this year and then departs." Al-Muhallab said, "As for you, by God, you feel safe from me; but, by God, if you were with anyone else, and he sent you on a march, you would leave in a hurry!" The man turned to him and said, "You think you are doing us a favor by your forbearance! By God, we more than repay you! Do you not know that we expose ourselves to death on your behalf and protect you from your enemies? By God, if we were with someone who behaved foolishly toward us and sent us to march off on his affairs, and then needed our fighting and aid, we would put him between ourselves and our enemy and protect ourselves by means of him." Al-Muhallab said, "You are right; you are right." Then he called a young man from Azd who was with him, and sent him to tell Khalid the news about his brother. The young Azdî tribesman came to Khalid, who was surrounded by men and who was wearing a green coat [jubbah] and a green

712. As mentioned below, the man was from the tribe of Azd.
714. The meaning is not clear, and there are a number of textual variants. The word translated, "he will guide you," can, with a change of vowels, mean "he will bestow a gift on you." For, "if he goes," Ms. O reads, "if you go."
715. Yajhalu, from jahila, to be ignorant, behave with foolishness (jahl), is the opposite of behaving with forbearance (hilm), and implies roughness, even violent disregard for the right.
bordered shawl (mitraf), and greeted him. Khalid returned the greeting and asked, “What has brought you?” “May God make you prosper!” he said. “Al-Muhallab has sent me to report to you what I have seen with my own eyes.” “And what have you seen?” asked Khalid. “I saw `Abd al-`Aziz at Rāmhumuz,” he said, “defeated.” “You are lying,” said Khalid. “No,” he said, “by God, I have not lied or said anything but the truth to you. If I am a liar, take my life; but if I am telling the truth, give me—God make you prosper!—your coat and scarf!” Khalid said, “Alas! What an easy thing you have asked! You have contented yourself, despite the great stake if you are lying, with a small stake, if you are telling the truth.” Khalid imprisoned him, but ordered him to be treated well; finally, it became clear to him that the men had been defeated. Khalid then wrote to `Abd al-Malik, as follows:

To proceed: I am informing the Commander of the Faithful—may God grant him honor!—that I sent `Abd al-`Aziz b. `Abdallāh to seek the Khārijites. They met him in Fārs. The two sides fought very hard, and `Abd al-`Azīz was defeated when the men abandoned him. Muqātil b. Mīsma` was killed, and the remnants of the army went to al-Ahwāz. I have wanted to inform the Commander of the Faithful about this, that I may receive his opinion and command, and may make myself subject to it, God willing. Peace be with you, and the mercy of God!

`Abd al-Malik then wrote to him:

To proceed: Your messenger has brought your letter in which you inform me of your having sent your brother to fight the Khārijites and of the defeat of those who were defeated and the death of those who were killed. I asked your messenger where al-Muhallab was, and he told me that he was your agent in charge of al-Ahwāz. What bad judgment it is when you send your brother, a rustic716 from the people of Mecca, to fight, and retain by your

716. Aʾrābi, usually means bedouin, as opposed to sedentary, but as ed. Leiden, Glossarium, p. cccclv, notes, it is often used abusively (“rustic”). Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 590: mā ahlu Makkata ʾillā aʾrāb (“The people of Mecca are nothing but rustics”).
side, collecting taxes, al-Muhallab, who is fortunate in judgment, good in management, skillful and experienced in war—a man of war, and the son of men of war! See that he hastens with the men, so that you meet them in al-Ahwāz and beyond al-Ahwāz. I have sent to Bishr to have him reinforce you with an army of Kūfans. When you encounter your enemy, deal with them according to no plan until you take it to al-Muhallab and consult him about it, God willing. Peace be with you, and the mercy of God!

Khālid was distressed that ‘Abd al-Malik had faulted his judgment in sending his brother and neglecting al-Muhallab, and that, not approving of his independent judgment, he had said, “Submit it to al-Muhallab and ask his advice about it.”

‘Abd al-Malik wrote to Bishr b. Marwān:

To proceed: I have written to Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh commanding him to hasten toward the Khārijites. Dispatch five thousand men to him, and send as their commander one of your men that you approve of. When they have completed this campaign of theirs, you are to send them off to al-Rayy to fight their enemies, man their frontier garrisons (masāliḥ), and collect their tribute (fay’), until their tour of duty ends and you recall them and send others in their place.

Bishr ordered the Kūfans to furnish five thousand troops and sent ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath in command of them, saying, “When you complete this campaign of yours, go to al-Rayy.” And he wrote him a writ of appointment for the place.

Khālid led out the Başrans and arrived in al-Ahwāz; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad came with the Kūfan contingent and met them in al-Ahwāz. The Azāriqah approached the city of al-Ahwāz and the camp of the troops. Al-Muhallab said to Khālid b. ‘Abdal-lāh, “I see many boats here. Gather them for yourself, for I think

717. The Leiden editor suggests amending to “you,” to maintain consistency of pronouns, but this shift of persons is not uncommon.
the enemy will surely burn them." Indeed, it was only a short time before a group of Khārijite horsemen quickly advanced toward them and burned them. Khalīd b. `Abdallāh sent al-Muhallab to command his right wing, and Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham of the Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah to command his left wing. Passing by `Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad, who had not dug a trench, al-Muhallab said to him, "Brother, what is preventing you from digging a trench?" "By God," he replied, "they are more insignificant to me than a camel's fart!"718 [Al-Muhallab] said, "Do not think them insignificant, son of my brother; they are the beasts of prey of the Arabs. I will not leave until you make a trench for yourself." He did so. When the Khārijites learned of what `Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad had said about them, that they were "more insignificant to him than a camel's fart," their poet said:

O seeker of the right, do not be lured719 by hope:
separating you from what you desire is the limit of the term [of your life].
Work on behalf of your Lord, and ask Him for His reward;
know that the fear of Him is the best deed.
Attack the effeminate ones who caparison themselves in mail of Median steel,
that they may be saluted tomorrow morning with a camel's fart.

They remained encamped for about twenty nights. Then Khalīd advanced his men toward the enemy. The latter, seeing something that frightened them—the number of men and their state of preparation—started to withdraw. Khalīd's men became emboldened against them: the horsemen charged them, and he advanced toward them. The enemy withdrew, as if on the defensive, turning away, and thinking they did not have strength to fight the entire force. Khalīd b. `Abdallāh had Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham follow them with an army of Başrans. Khalīd returned to al- Başrah, `Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad went to al-Rayy, and al-Muhallab remained in al-Ahwāz. Khalīd b. `Abdallāh wrote to `Abd al-Malik:

718. Proverbial, see Freytag, II, 891 [Maydānī, II, 303–4].
719. The unusual verb istahwā recalls Qur'ān 6:71: "Like one lured to bewilderment in the earth by Satans...."
To proceed: I am informing the Commander of the Faithful—may God make him prosper!—that I went out to fight the Azāriqah, who have turned away from the faith and withdrawn from the governance of the Muslims. We met at the city of al-Ahwāz, hastened toward each other, and fought as hard as men have ever fought. Then God sent down His help upon the believers and Muslims and made His enemies retreat. The Muslims followed them, killing them, while the enemy could neither prevent it nor find safety. God made what was in their camp booty (fay') for the Muslims. Then I made Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham follow them. If God so wills, He will destroy them and uproot them. Peace be with you!

When this letter reached ‘Abd al-Malik, he wrote to Bishr b. Marwān:

To proceed: Send from you a brave man skilled in war, with four thousand horsemen, and let them go to Fārs in search of the renegades, for Khālid has written to me, informing me that he has sent Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham to seek them. Command the man you send not to disobey Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham, if the two of them meet, for the disagreement of men among themselves is help to the enemy against them. Peace be with you!

Bishr b. Marwān sent ‘Attāb b. Warqā' with four thousand Kūfan horsemen. They went out, met Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham in the territory of Fārs, and followed in pursuit of the enemy, until the horses of most of the men perished, and they themselves were overcome by fatigue and hunger. The bulk of the two armies returned on foot to al-Ahwāz.

Concerning the defeat of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and his abandonment of his wife, Ibn Qays al-Ruqāyyāt of the Banū Makhzūm said:720

‘Abd al-‘Azīz, you disgraced your entire army, and left them lying on every road:

Either dying of thirst,
or cut to pieces and slain among the men.
Why didn't you remain steadfast, fighting beside the martyr,
Muqāṭil [b. Misma']?\(^\text{721}\)
For you came back, your strength undone, in the evening;
You left your army with no commander over them
(return with lasting shame in life!);
And you forgot your wife, when she was led away a captive,
making eyes weep as she cried aloud and wailed.

There occurred in this year the rebellion of the Khārijite Abū Fudayk from the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah, who seized al-Baḥrayn and killed Najdah b. Āmīr al-Ḥanafi.\(^\text{722}\) Faced by both the affair of Qatari [b. Fuja'ah's] descent upon al-Ahwāz and the affair of Abū Fudayk, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh sent his brother, Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh, in command of a large army to fight Abū Fudayk. Abū Fudayk, however, defeated him, took a slave girl of his, and made her his own. Umayyah rode one of his horses and reached al-Baṣrah in three days. Khālid wrote to 'Abd al-Malik about his condition and that of the Azāriqah.

\[\text{[`}\text{Abd al-Malik Sends al-Ḥajjāj to Fight Ibn al-Zubayr}\text{]}\]

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūṣuf to Mecca to fight 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. The following reason is given for his sending al-Ḥajjāj, rather than someone else, against him:\(^\text{723}\) When 'Abd al-Malik was about to return to Syria, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūṣuf stood before him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I dreamed I had taken 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and flayed him; so send me to him and put me in charge of fighting him." 'Abd al-Malik therefore sent him with a large army of Syrians, and he

\(^{721}\) The line plays on the literal meaning of the name Muqāṭil, "a fighting person."

\(^{722}\) See Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 142ff. for further accounts of the downfall of Najdah and the rise of Abū Fudayk b. Thawr.

\(^{723}\) Cf. the report in Dinawari, Akhbār, 319, that while at al-Ḳūfah, 'Abd al-Malik placed Qudāmah b. Maẓ'ūn in charge of the army sent to attack Ibn al-Zubayr but replaced Qudāmah with al-Ḥajjāj upon his return to Syria.
went and arrived at Mecca. 'Abd al-Malik had written to the Meccans offering a guarantee of safety if they became obedient to him.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad] 724—Muḥammad b. Sa'd 725—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidi]—Muṣ'ab b. Thābit 726—Abū al-Aswad 727—Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who said: When Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr was killed, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān sent al-Hajjāj b. Yūṣuf against Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. Al-Hajjāj left with two thousand men from the Syrian army during Jumādā of the year 72. 728 He did not turn toward Medina, but traveled along the Iraq road 729 and encamped at al-Ṭā'īf. 730 He kept sending detachments to 'Arafah in the area outside the sacred territory (ḥaram); 731 Ibn al-Zubayr also sent a detachment, and the two sides fought there. Ibn al-Zubayr's horsemen were always defeated, while al-Hajjāj's horsemen returned victorious. Al-Hajjāj then wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, asking his permission to besiege Ibn al-Zubayr and enter the sacred territory against him. He told 'Abd al-Malik that the vehemence of Ibn al-Zubayr's strength had abated and that most of his forces had dispersed, leaving him. He

727. Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal b. al-Aswad al-Asadi, d. 131/748 or 137, was the foster-son of 'Urwh b. al-Zubayr (the brother of 'Abdallāh and Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr). See ibid., I, 248f.
728. In the year 72, Jumādā I began on September 30, and Jumādā II on October 30, 691. The parallel account in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 357, notes that other authorities placed the number of men at 3,000 or 5,000.
729. The pilgrim roads from Iraq to Mecca began at al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah and came together at Dhat 'Iq. Medina was reached by a branch road going west from the main route. See Le Strange, Lands, 83–4.
730. Cf. Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 257 (from 'Awānah), where 'Abd al-Malik explicitly commands al-Hajjāj to avoid any attack that would endanger the Ka'bah; instead, he was to block the roads and starve out Ibn al-Zubayr.
731. Mecca and its immediate environs are a haram, sacred territory in which no fighting is permitted. 'Arafah, to which the pilgrims proceed on the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, lies outside the Meccan haram. See EI2, s.v. 'Arafa.
asked 'Abd al-Malik to reinforce him with men. Al-Hajjāj received 'Abd al-Malik’s reply. 732 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Tariq b. 'Amr, commanding him, with the soldiers of the army he had with him, to join al-Hajjāj. Tariq marched with five thousand of his men and joined al-Hajjāj. Al-Hajjāj’s arrival in al-Ṭā‘if took place in Sha‘bān of the year 72. 733 At the beginning of Dhū al-Qa‘dah, 734 al-Hajjāj left al-Ṭā‘if, encamped at Bi‘r Maymūn, 735 and besieged Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Hajjāj led the pilgrimage this year, since Ibn al-Zubayr was besieged.

Tariq [b. 'Amr's] arrival in Mecca took place on the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. 736 Al-Hajjāj 737 did not circumambulate the Ka‘bah, nor did he go to it in pilgrim’s garb (ihrām). 738 He wore a sword, but did not approach women or use perfume until ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr was killed. Ibn al-Zubayr sacrificed camels in Mecca on the day of sacrifice, but neither he nor his companions performed the pilgrimage that year, because they did not stand at 'Arafah.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidi]—Sa‘īd b. Muslim b. Bābak—his father, who said: I made the pilgrimage in the year 72. We came to Mecca and entered it from the upper part of the city. We found the forces of al-Hajjāj and Tariq between al-Ḥajūn 739 and Bi‘r Maymūn. We circumambulated the Ka‘bah and [went between] Ṣafā and Marwah. 740 Then al-Hajjāj led the

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732. According to Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 358 [from 'Awānah], 'Abd al-Malik at this point told al-Hajjāj to do whatever he thought best. Al-Hajjāj proceeded to set up a trebuchet and bombard Mecca. Another report in Baladhuri (from Wāqidi) states that the bombardment was halted during the pilgrimage only at the pleading of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and resumed immediately afterwards [ibid., 360]. Ṭabarī's brief account of the siege omits many details to be found in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 358ff.

733. Sha‘bān of 72 began on December 28, 691.

734. Dhū al-Qa‘dah of 72 began on March 25, 692.

735. Ya‘qūt locates Bi‘r Maymūn (“Maymūn’s Well”) in the higher part of the city of Mecca. There is evidence placing it between the Great Mosque and Minā, on the main road to Iraq. See El², s.v.; Ya‘qūt, Mu‘jam, s.v.

736. Dhū al-Ḥijjah of 72 began on April 24, 692.

737. The parallel in Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 360, makes it clear that al-Hajjāj is meant. The sentence about Ṭariq’s arrival is parenthetical.

738. For a description of the garment worn by pilgrims, see El², s.v. Ihram.

739. Al-Ḥajūn is a hill in Mecca where a cemetery was located (Ya‘qūt, Mu‘jam, s.v.).

740. After circumambulating the Ka‘bah seven times upon arrival in Mecca,
pilgrimage: I saw him making the station at the hills of 'Arafah, on horseback, wearing a coat of mail and a neck protector.\textsuperscript{741} Then he went back. I saw him turn off toward Bi'r Maymūn. He did not circumambulate the Ka'bah. His men were armed. I saw that they had a great deal of food, and I saw a caravan coming from Syria carrying food: biscuit, barley meal, and flour. I saw that his forces had plenty to eat. We bought biscuit from some of them for a dirham, and it satisfied us—we were a party of three—until we reached al-Juḥfah.\textsuperscript{742}

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqīḍī]—Muṣ'ab b. Thābit—Nāfi', a mawlā of the Banū Asad, who was knowledgeable about the civil strife (fitnah) of Ibn al-Zubayr, who said: Ibn al-Zubayr was besieged the night of the new moon of Dhū al-Qa'dah in the year 72.

\textit{[Abd al-Malik and 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim]}

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik wrote to [Abdallāh] Ibn Khāzim al-Sulami, summoning him to swear allegiance, and assigning him Khurāsān as a means of subsistence (ṭu'mah) for seven years.

According to 'Ali b. Muhammad [al-Madā'īnī]—al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad, Yaḥyā b. Ṭufayl, and Zuhayr b. Hunayd (some of whom report more than the others): Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr was killed in the year 72, while 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim was at Abrašahr,\textsuperscript{743} fighting Baḥir b. Warqā' al-Ṣuraymī of Ṣuraym\textsuperscript{744} b. al-Ḥārith. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān then wrote to Ibn Khāzim by way of Sawrah b. Ashyam al-Numayrī, saying, "Khurāsān is yours for seven years, provided that you swear allegiance to me." Ibn Khāzim replied to Sawrah, "But for the fact that I would thereby

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\textsuperscript{741} Mīghfar: a piece of mail that is worn under the helmet and that hangs down to protect the neck. See Lane, \textit{Lexicon}, VI, 2274f.

\textsuperscript{742} Al-Juḥfah was a large town, the fourth stage on the road between Mecca and Medina [Yaḡūṭ, \textit{Mu’jam}, s.v.].

\textsuperscript{743} Abrashahr was an alternate name for Naysābūr [Persian, Nishāpūr], one of the major cities of Khurāsān, now located in northeastern Iran. See Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, 383.

\textsuperscript{744} Also vocalized Sarim, this was a subdivision of Tamim. See Ibn al-Athir, \textit{Kāmil}, IV, 345.
stir up trouble between the Banū Sulaym and the Banū ‘Amir, I would kill you! Now eat this page!’ So he ate it. [Continuing,] he said: Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. Wāsi’ said it was Sawādāh b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Numayrī who delivered ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzīm’s writ of appointment. Another person said that ‘Abd al-Malik sent Sinān b. Mukammil al-Ghanawī to Ibn Khāzīm, and wrote to him, saying, “Khurāsān is yours as an assigned means of subsistence (tu’mah).” Ibn Khāzīm said to him, “Abū al-Dhibbān,” only sent you because you are from Ghānī, and he knows I will not kill a man from Qays. Now eat his letter!”

[Continuing,] he said: ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, a member of the Banū ‘Awf b. Sa’d (he was Ibn Khāzīm’s deputy in charge of Marw), appointing him to the governorship of Khurāsān, making him promises, and raising his hopes. So Bukayr b. Wishāḥ threw off his allegiance to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and propagated for ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. The people of Marw responded favorably to him. When Ibn Khāzīm learned of this, he feared that Bukayr would lead the people of Marw against him, and that the people of Marw and of Abrashahr would join forces against him. He therefore left Bahīr and went toward Marw, intending to go to his son in Tirmidh. Bahīr followed him and overtook him at a village called in Persian Shāhmīghād, eight farsakhs from Marw. [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzīm fought with Bahīr. A mawla of the Banū Layth said: “I was in a dwelling close to the place where the men fought. When the sun rose, the two armies rushed at each other, and I began to hear sword blows. As the day advanced, the sounds became softer—because of the advancing of the day, I thought. When I had prayed the noon prayer—or a little before noon—I went out. A man from the Banū Tamām met me. I said, ‘What is the news?’ He said, ‘I have killed the enemy of God, Ibn Khāzīm. Here he is!’ Behold, he was being carried on a mule; they had tied a rope to his loins and a stone, and had balanced him with it on the mule.”

745. The epithet, meaning, “man of flies,” was applied to a man with foul breath, from which ‘Abd al-Malik was said to suffer. See Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 152–53.

746. Tirmidh (modern Termez, on the Soviet-Afghan border), lay on the Oxus River (modern Amu Darya), about 300 miles east of Marw, and was the most important town of the Şaghāniyān district. See Le Strange, Lands, 440–41; El, s.v.
[Continuing,] he said: The man who killed Ibn Khāzim was Waki‘ b. ‘Umayrah al-Quray‘i, called Ibn al-Dawraqiyyah.747 Bahir b. Warqā‘, ‘Ammār b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Jushamī, and Waki‘ fought Ibn Khāzim by turns, thrust him with spears, and threw him down. Waki‘ sat on his chest and killed him. A certain governor asked Waki‘, “How did you kill Ibn Khāzim?” He replied, “I subdued him with the end of the spear shaft. After he was thrown down, I sat on his chest. He tried to get up but could not. I said, ‘Vengeance for Dawilah!’” [Dawilah was a full brother of Waki‘ who had been previously killed in some other fighting.] “He spat out phlegm in my face, and said, ‘God curse your father! Will you kill the leader748 of Muḍar to avenge your brother, a peasant not worth a handful of date pits?’ (He may have said, ‘[a handful of] earth.’) I never saw anyone with more spirit749 than he when at the point of death.” [Continuing,] he said: One day, Ibn Hubayrah mentioned this report and said, “That, by God, is courage!”

[Continuing,] he said: As soon as Ibn Khāzim was killed, Bahir sent a man from the Banū Ghudānah to inform ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān of Ibn Khāzim’s death, but did not send the head. Bukayr b. Wishāh, with the people of Marw, came to Bahir and his men after Ibn Khāzim had been killed. Bukayr wanted to take Ibn Khāzim’s head, but Bahir forbade him; Bukayr therefore hit him with a stick, took the head, and bound and imprisoned Bahir. Bukayr sent the head to ‘Abd al-Malik, and wrote informing him that it was he who had killed Ibn Khāzim. When the head was brought before him, ‘Abd al-Malik summoned the Ghudānī tribesman, Bahir’s messenger, and asked, “What is this?” “I don’t know,” he replied. “I did not leave the men until Ibn Khāzim had been killed.”

A man from the Banū Sulaym said:

O night we spent in Naysābūr! Give back to me the morning—woe unto you!—or brighten.

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748. Literally, “the ram [kabsh] of Muḍar.” The ram, as leader of the flock, was used figuratively for the leader of an army, a tribe, etc. See Lane, Lexicon, VI, 2588f.
749. Literally, “with more saliva [riq].” See Lane, Lexicon, III, 1203.
Its stars were slow-moving, languid,
as if its firmament had been in the hands of a cupbearer.

Umm Zayd reviles time’s accidents:
but have you any way of changing [time’s] accidents?
[Time’s accidents] have ignored my honor; they have turned away from me
for the present world’s brief term.

Had horsemen from Sulaym been present
the morning the wounded lion was surrounded,
Generous men would have taken the field around him,
and grave would the vengeance have been in the search for retaliation.

Now barking dogs remain:
after you there is no [lion’s] roar on earth.

[Those in Office during the Year]

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf took charge of leading the pilgrimage this year.
The governor of Medina for ‘Abd al-Malik was Ṭāriq [b. ‘Amr],

Some say that ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulami was governor of Khurāsān; others say it was Bukayr b. Wishāh. Those who say that ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim was in charge of Khurāsān in the year 72 assert that ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim was killed only after ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr had been killed; that ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim, summoning him to obedience, and offering him Khurāsān as an assigned means of subsistence (ṭu‘mah) for ten years, only after ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr had been killed, and that ‘Abd al-Malik sent Ibn al-Zubayr’s head to him. When ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr’s head arrived, ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim swore he would never render obedience to ‘Abd al-Malik; calling for a basin, he washed the head of Ibn al-Zubayr, anointed it with spices, shrouded it, prayed over it, and then sent it to the family of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Medina; and he made the messenger eat ‘Abd al-Malik’s letter, saying, “If you were not a messenger, I would kill you.” Some say he cut off the man’s arms and legs and beheaded him.
A Chapter in Which We Mention the Secretaries since the Beginning of Islam

Hishām [b. al-Kalbi] and others relate that the first Arab who wrote in Arabic was Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. ‘Abd Shams, and that the first person to write in Persian was Biwarasb, who lived in the time of Idris. The first person who distinguished the orders of secretaries and elucidated their ranks was Luhrasb b. Kāwghān b. Kaymūs.

It is related that Abarwiz said to his secretary, “Language consists of four divisions: asking for something, asking about something, commanding something, and informing about something. These are the four supports of discourses. If one seeks a fifth, it will not be found; if one of the four is subtracted, [the supports] will not be complete. If you seek, be gentle; if you ask, be brisk; if you command, be firm; and if you inform, be precise.”

Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī said: “The first who said, ‘To proceed,’

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750. The following section, which is inserted in Mss. O, B, and Co, is not found in Mss. Pet and C, or in Ibn al-Athīr. In Ms. Co, a marginal note reads: “An addition which [is not] from the original.” At the end of the section, there is a note: “[Here ends] the chapter; one returns [to the words of] Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]”—(ed. Leiden, note). The material can be found fleshed out with many anecdotes in the Kitāb al-wuzaraʿ wa-al-kuttab, by al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942; German translation by J. Latz, Das Buch der Wezire).

751. Kataba, “he wrote,” can also mean, “he was a kātib,” i.e. a scribe or secretary (in the professional sense).

752. Biwarasb or Bēwarasb (the name means “Myriad Horses”), also known as al-Azdahāq or Zahhāk, was a legendary king of Iran, a monstrous tyrant said to have reigned a thousand years. See Tabari, I, 201–10.

753. A prophet named Idris is mentioned in Qurʿān 19:56 and 21:85. Islamic tradition identifies him with the Biblical Enoch. See Elʿ, s.v.; Bell and Watt, Introduction to the Qurʿān, 28 and note.

754. Luhrasb/Luhrasp was the fourteenth king to rule over Iran in the Shāhnāma. He was the father of Gushtasp, during whose reign Zoroaster appeared. See Tabari, I, 645ff.

755. The Persian form is Aparwēz (older) or Parviz (modern). Ed. Leiden vocalizes, Abrawiz. He was Khusraw II, ruled 590–627.

756. Variant in al-‘Iqd: be clear.

757. Ammā baʿdu, literally, “As for afterwards.” In letters, homilies, and other formal compositions, this formula marks the end of the introductory matter (usually an elaboration of the praise of God and the Prophet) and the beginning of the subject proper.
was David. This is the 'separation of the speech'\textsuperscript{758} God mentions in reference to him." Al-Haytham b. 'Adi said: "The first who said, 'To proceed' was Quss b. Sā'idah al-Iyādi."\textsuperscript{759}

Those who were secretaries to the Prophet: 'Ali b. Abī Ta'lib and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān used to write down the revelation. If they were absent, Ubayy b. Ka'b and Zayd b. Thābit wrote it. Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿāwiyyah b. Abī Sufyān used to write in his presence concerning his affairs. 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam b. 'Abd Yaghūth and al-'Alā' b. 'Uqbah used to write among the people concerning their affairs. 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam often wrote to kings from the Prophet.

'Uthmān, Zayd b. Thābit, 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam, 'Abdallāh b. Khalid al-Khuzā'ī, and Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabī' were secretaries to Abū Bakr.

Zayd b. Thābit and 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam were secretaries for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Abdallāh b. Khalid al-Khuzā'ī, father of Talḥah al-Talḥāt, was in charge of the diwān of al-Baṣrah. Abū Jabirah b. al-Daḥḥāk al-Ansārī was 'Umar's secretary in charge of the diwān of al-Kūfah. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to his secretaries and governors: \textsuperscript{760} "Power to perform an office lies in your not putting off today's task until tomorrow; for if you do, tasks will come at you from every direction, and you will not know which one you should take up first. He was the first who drew up diwān registers among the Arabs in Islam.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was secretary to 'Uthmān. 'Abd al-Malik was his secretary for the diwān of Medina; Abū Jabirah al-Ansārī was in charge of the diwān of al-Kūfah. Abū Ghaṭafān b. 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dinār of the Banū Duhmān of Qays 'Aylān also was

\textsuperscript{758} Fāṣl al-khīṭāb: In Qur'ān 38:20, David is said to have been given wisdom and fāṣl al-khīṭāb. The phrase is usually translated in a more general sense—"speech decisive" [Arberry], "decisive speech" [Pickthall]—but Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī apparently thought it meant quite literally the formula used to separate the preliminary invocations of God from the body of a speech.

\textsuperscript{759} Quss b. Sā'idah was a legendary figure of Arab antiquity said to have been the greatest orator among all the tribes. He is always said to have been a monotheist, sometimes to have been a Christian, or even a bishop of Najrān. The youthful Muhammad is supposed to have heard him at the fair of 'Ukāz. See El\textsuperscript{2}, s.v. Kuss b. Sā'idah; Nicholson, Literary History, 135–56.

\textsuperscript{760} Ummdl, pl. of 'āmil, "[fiscal] agent, governor."
secretary to him, as were Ahyab, his mawlä, and Ḥumrān [b. Abān], his mawlä.

Saʿīd b. Nimrān al-Hamdānī, who later was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah for Ibn al-Zubayr,761 was secretary to ‘Ali. ‘Abdallāh b. Masʿūd was also his secretary. It is said that ‘Abdallāh b. Jubayr was his secretary. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Raṣīf was also his secretary. (There is disagreement about Abū Raṣīf’s name; some say it was Ibrāhīm, some Aslām, some Sinān, and some Abū al-Raḥmān).

Muʾāwiyah’s secretary in charge of correspondence was ‘Ubayd b. Aws al-Ghassānī. His secretary in charge of the tax bureau (diwān al-khārāj) was Sarjūn b. Maṃṣūr al-Rūmī.762 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Darrāj, a mawlä of Muʾāwiyah, also was secretary to him. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Alāʾ al-Sulāmī was in charge of one of his diwāns.

Al-Rayyān b. Muslim was secretary to Muʾāwiyah b. Yazīd.763 His secretary in charge of the dīwān was Sarjūn. It is said that Abū al-Zuʿayzi’ah was also his secretary.

Qabiṣah b. Dhuʾayb b. Ḥalḥalāh al-Khuzaʿi, whose kunyah was Abu Ishaq, was secretary to Abū al-Malik. His secretary in charge of the correspondence bureau (diwān al-rasāʾīl) was his mawlä, Abū al-Zuʿayzi’ah.

Al-Qaʿqāʾ b. Khālid (or Khulayd) al-ʿAbsī was secretary to al-Walīd.764 His secretary for the tax bureau was Sulaymān b. Saʿīd al-Khushānī; his mawlä Shuʿayb al-ʿUmānī was in charge of the registry department (diwān al-khātam); his mawlä ‘Janāḥ was in charge of the correspondence department; and his mawlä Nufayʿ b. Dhuʾayb was in charge of income-yielding properties (mustaghallāt).765

Sulaymān b. Nuʿaym al-Ḥimyārī was secretary to Sulaymān.766

761. See Ţabari, II, 537.
765. Mustaghallāt, pl. mustaghallāt, included any income-generating property: cultivated land, houses, markets, mills, etc. See Dozy, Supplément, II, 220; Shaban, Islamic History, II, 17.
The secretary of Maslamah [b. ‘Abd al-Malik] was his mawlü Sami’. Al-Layth b. Abi Ruqayyah, the mawlü of Umm al-Ḥakam bint Abī Sufyān, was in charge of the correspondence department; Sulaymān b. Sa‘d al-Khushanī was in charge of the tax bureau; Nu‘aym b. Salāmah, a mawlü of Yemenites from Palestine, was in charge of the registry department. (Some say that Raja‘ b. Ḥaywah was in charge of the seal.)

Al-Mughirah b. Abī Farwah was secretary to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

Al-Layth b. Abi Ruqayyah, the mawlü of Umm al-Ḥakam bint Abī Sufyān, and Raja‘ b. Ḥaywah were secretaries to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Ismā‘īl b. Abī Ḥakīm, the mawlü of al-Zubayr, was also secretary to him. In charge of the tax bureau was Sulaymān b. Sa‘d al-Khushanī, who was succeeded by Sālih b. Jubayr al-Ghassānī (some say al-Ghudānī) and ‘Adī b. al-Ṣabāḥ b. al-Muthannā, whom al-Haytham b. ‘Adī mentioned as being one of his chief secretaries.

Before Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik became caliph, his secretary was a man named Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh. Then he made Usāmah b. Zayd al-Salihi secretary.


768. Read “b. Abī Qurrah.” See Latz, Das Buch der Wezire, 97, note.
769. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was appointed governor of Iraq by Sulaymān in 96/715. Two years later, the governorship of Khurāsān was also given to him.
772. Speckled, or perhaps, freckled.
774. Al-Ruṣāfah ("the Causeway," according to Le Strange; Yaqūt calls the derivation of the name unclear) was the desert palace Hishām built 4 leagues from al-Raqqah in al-Jazīrah province to escape from the plague. See Le Strange, Lands, 106; Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, s.v.
Bukayr b. al-Shammākh was secretary to al-Walid b. Yazid.\textsuperscript{775} Sālim, the mawlā of Sa`īd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, was in charge of the correspondence department. Also among his secretaries was ‘Abdollāh b. Abī ‘Amr (some give his name as ‘Abd al-A`lā b. Abī ‘Amr). ‘Amr b. ‘Utba was in charge of the caliphal residence.\textsuperscript{776}

‘Abdollāh b. Nu`aym was secretary to Yazid b. al-Walid, [called] “the Reducer.”\textsuperscript{777} ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith, a mawlā of the Banū Jumāḥ, was in charge of his registry department; Thābit b. Sulaymān b. Sa’d al-Khushāni (some say al-Rabī’ b. ‘Ar`arah al-Khushāni) was in charge of his correspondence department; and al-Naḍr b. ‘Amr, a Yemeni, was in charge of taxes and the bureau of the small seal for him.

The secretary of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid\textsuperscript{778} was Ibn Abī Jum`ah, who was in charge of the diwān in Palestine for him.\textsuperscript{779} The people swore allegiance to Ibrāhīm (b. al-Walid), except the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ, who swore allegiance to Marwān b. Muḥammad al-Ja`dī.

The secretaries of Marwān [b. Muḥammad]\textsuperscript{780} were ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, mawlā of al-ʿAlā’ b. Wahb al-ʿĀmirī, Muṣ`ab b. al-Rabī’ al-Khathāmī, and Ziyād b. Abī al-Ward. ‘Uthmān b. Qays, mawlā of Khālid al-Qasrī, was in charge of the correspondence department. Also among his secretaries were Makhlād b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, called Abū Ḥāshim, and Muṣ`ab b. al-

\textsuperscript{775} Al-Walid b. Yazid ruled from 125/743 to 126/744.

\textsuperscript{776} For this meaning of hadrah, “presence,” see Dozy, Supplément, I, 298.

\textsuperscript{777} Al-Nāqīṣ: Yazid b. al-Walid ruled for six months in 126/744. “His first act was to abolish the increase of the stipends to the Syrian troops granted by his predecessor” (Shaban, Islamic History, I, 155). He also curtailed large-scale public works—therefore the epithet.

\textsuperscript{778} Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid succeeded his brother Yazid and reigned for four months in 126/744, though his rule was not acknowledged by all factions. See Shaban, Islamic History, I, 160.

\textsuperscript{779} A name appears to have fallen out of Ṭabarī’s text. Al-Jahshiyārī reads: “The secretary of Ibrāhīm was Ibrāhīm b. Abī Jum`ah. Thābit b. Nu`aym al-Judhāmī was in charge of the diwān of Palestine.” If the text of Ṭabarī was originally similar, one can explain why in the next sentence Ibrāhīm is identified as “b. al-Walid,” i.e., the caliph, not Ibrāhīm b. Abī Jum`ah, his secretary. See Latz, Das Buch der Wezire, 118–19.

\textsuperscript{780} Marwān b. Muḥammad succeeded to the throne in 127/744 and ruled until the fall of the Umayyad line in 132/750.
Rabī' al-Khath'amī, called Abū Mūsā. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā had a distinguished reputation for eloquence. Among his poetry that has been anthologized is the following:\textsuperscript{781}

Something that will not return has departed;
something that will not go away has taken its place.
How I grieve for the successor who has taken up its abode!
How I grieve for the predecessor who has departed!
I weep much over the one, and for the other I weep
like a despondent woman bereft:
She weeps much because of a son of hers who has cut [the bond of
relationship],
and she weeps for a son of hers that has tied it fast.\textsuperscript{782}

In her innermost heart she never ceases
from tears and weeping.
The errors of youth's intoxication have come to an end;
fear of God has driven away falsehood's deviation.

The secretary of Abū al-'Abbās\textsuperscript{783} was Khālid b. Barmak. Abū al-'Abbās entrusted his daughter Rayṭah to Khālid b. Barmak so that the latter's wife, Umm Khālid bint Yazīd, might nurse her while she was breast-feeding a daughter of Khālid's named Umm Yahyā; and Umm Salamah, the wife of Abū al-'Abbās, nursed Umm Yahyā, the daughter of Khālid, while she was breast-feeding her daughter Rayṭah. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham, a mawlā of Rayṭah bint Abī al-'Abbās, was in charge of the correspondence department.

The secretary of Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr\textsuperscript{784} was 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd, the mawlā of Hātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili, a Khu-rāsānian. Ḥāshim b. Sa'id al-Ju'fī and 'Abd al-A'lā b. Abī Ṭalḥah of the Banū Tamīm were his secretaries in Wāsiṭ. It is said that

\textsuperscript{781} The first four lines are quoted in Ibn Nubātah, \textit{Sarh al-'uyūn}, 241, where the second line has an interesting variation: "How I grieve for one who, having progeny, arrives! How I grieve for one preceding who has departed!" The metaphor of gray hair or old age as "having progeny" is powerful, but is not in the line as given in al-Ṭabarī.
\textsuperscript{782} I.e., one son who by departing has cut the ties and another who by remaining has tied them fast.
\textsuperscript{783} Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, known as al-Saffāh, the first caliph of the 'Abbasid line, ruled from 132/749 to 136/754.
\textsuperscript{784} Abū Ja'far, known as al-Mansūr, ruled from 136/754 to 158/775.
Sulaymān b. Makhlad was a secretary to Abū Jaʿfar. Among [the verses] that Abū Jaʿfar used to quote was the following:

Nothing relieves the mind like a firm decision,
    when some matter has been present too long in the mind.

Also among his secretaries were al-Rabīʿ, and ‘Umārah b. Ḥamzah, who was among the most distinguished men. The following is by him:

Never complain about a time when you enjoyed sound health:
    in bodily health there is wealth!
Suppose you were the imām:785 could you profit
    from the present world’s ease if you were sick?

And he used to quote the words of the slave of the Banū al-Ḥašāṣ:

Is the eye’s tear shed because of Umayyah?
    If only that had been known of you before today!
Let your eye not weep: time is full of change;
    in it, friend from friend departs.

The secretary of al-Mahdi786 was Abū ʿUbaydallāh; Abān b. Ṣadaqah was in charge of his correspondence department, and[Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd the Secretary was in charge of his military dīwān |dīwān al-jund|. There was also Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, whom he appointed to be in charge of his vizierate and affairs. The following is by him:

I marvel greatly at the changing of affairs—
    now what one likes, now what one dislikes!
Time plays with men;
    to it belong turns that run their course.

The following is by [Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd’s] son, ʿAbdallāh b. Yaʿqūb, whose [sons] Muḥammad and Yaʿqūb were both excellent poets:

Gray hair checked my vehemence and passion;
    from my eyelids it drew a copious flow of tears.
Desiring to hide its visible appearance

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785. I.e., the caliph, in his capacity as leader of the Islamic community.
786. Al-Mahdi, the third ‘Abbāsid caliph, ruled from 158/775 to 169/785.
from my eyes, I tried something hopeless:
I colored what time had colored.
My coloring did not last, but time's coloring lasted.
Do not go so far away, O proud vigor of youth,
from which I departed in years gone by!
What I have retained from those days
is but as dreams that come by night.

The following is by his father:

Divorce the present world with a threefold divorce,
and take to wife another.
The world is an unfaithful wife
who cares not who comes to her.

After him, al-Mahdi appointed al-Fayḍ b. Abi Ṣāliḥ vizier. He was a generous man.

The secretaries of Mūsā al-Ḥādi were ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Abi Laylā and Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd. One day, al-Mahdi asked ʿUbaydallāh's father about the poems of the Arabs; so he compiled them for him. And he said, "The wisest of them is the saying of Ṭarafah b. al-ʿAbd":

I see that the grave of the avaricious man, stingy with his property,
is like the grave of the erring man who wastes [his property] in idleness.

You see two heaps of dirt on which there are mute slabs of hard stone.

I see that death chooses the generous, and selects the best of the tenacious niggard's property.

I see life as a treasure that diminishes each night:
and what the days and time diminish becomes spent.
By your life, [I swear that] death, even when it does not hit the young man, is like a tether that has been left loose, but its end is in hand!

Also, his saying:

I see both of us: each one’s friend wishes that what has slipped away from us might come back. Thing was [joined] to thing, but time, which returns to separate what it joined, has separated it.

Also, the saying of Labīd:790

Indeed, you ask a man what he seeks:
whether it is a serious matter that must be accomplished, or error and vanity.
Verily, everything but God is vanity, and every pleasure must inevitably pass away.
I see that men know not what is destined for them: yea, every man of sound judgment makes entreaty to God.

Also, the saying of al-Nābighah al-Ja’dī:791

Long was my acquaintance with youthful vigor and those who have it;
and I encountered fearful things that turn one’s locks white.
But I never found brothers to be other than companions, and I never found kin to be other than places of abode.
Do you not know how I have been afflicted by the loss of Muhārib,792
and how today neither I nor you have anything of him?

Also, the saying of Hudbah b. Khashram:793

790. Labid b. Rabi‘ah, the latest of the Mu‘allaqāt poets, is said to have abjured poetry after his conversion to Islam and to have died early in the reign of Mu‘āwiya. See Nicholson, Literary History, 119–21; F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 126–27.

791. Al-Nābighah al-Ja’dī (Hībbān b. Qays) was born before Islam, but lived most of his life as a Muslim and died in 65/684. The last line of the poem is found in the Hamāsah of Abū Tammām, a famous early anthology of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. See F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 245–47; M. Nallino, Le Poesie di an-Nābīghah al-Ja’dī (Rome, 1953), 122, 124.

792. Muhārib was the poet’s son. The line is addressed to his wife.

793. Hudbah b. Khashram was a poet from the tribe of ‘Udhrah, known for
I am not overly joyful if time gladdens me, nor am I impatient of its shifting changes.

People do not know the truth about destiny: Destiny will never offer them relief from what they dislike. Destiny has a share in a young man’s family and inherited possessions, like the notching of the cutter that separates.

Also, the saying of Ziyādah b. Zayd, which ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān used to quote:

He remembered Umaymah from afar and returned to her after copious and long weeping.

Truly, the man who has experienced destiny and who does not fear the shifting of its mornings and evenings lacks understanding.

Are not destiny and the days as you see [them to be]: loss of wealth, or parting from a beloved?

Of all that is to come you are the kinsman; but you are no kinsman of anything that has gone away.

Something remote, while it is coming, is not like something [rapidly] approaching; neither is a past joy nearby.

Also, the saying of Ibn Muqbil:

When she saw how youth’s vigor had altered, she wept for it: and gray hair is the worst of these alterations.

Men’s care is life, but I think

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794. Sharr, meaning both “evil” and “violence.”

795. Another poet from the tribe of ‘Udhrāh. See F. Sezgin, GAS, II, 266.

796. Another possible translation: “There is nothing far that does not come, as if it were rapidly advancing, neither is a past joy nearby.” The version in Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Shīr wa-al-shu’arā’, 437–38, reads: “All that is coming and going to occur is not remote; neither is a past joy nearby.”

797. The lines are also attributed to al-Akhtal, cf. al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, 3:14.
long life only increases weariness.
If you are in need of treasures, you will find
no treasure like good works.

Yaḥyā b. Khālid [b. Barmak] served as [al-Hādı’s] vizier; his son,
Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, served as al-Rashīd’s vizier. Among
his attractive sayings is: “Writing is the badge of wisdom; by it,
wisdom’s beads are separated and its scattered parts are strung
together.” Thumāmah said: “I said to Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā, ‘What is
clarity (bayān)?’ He said, ‘That the word encompass your meaning,
communicate your intention, be free of ambiguity, and not require
that one call on the aid of thought to gather its intention.’” Al-
Aṣmaʿī said: “I heard Yaḥyā b. Khālid say, ‘The present world
is vicissitude; wealth is a loan. We have an example in those who
were before us; and in us there will be a lesson to those who come
after us.’”

We will name the remaining secretaries of the ʿAbbāsids when
we reach the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, God willing!

798. Hārūn al-Rashīd ruled from 170/786 to 193/809.
799. Al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) was a philologist active at the court of Hārūn al-
Rashīd. See EI², s.v.; Nicholson, Literary History, 345.
Among major events was the death of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

**A Description of [the Death of Ibn al-Zubayr]**


According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidi]—Muṣ'ab b. Thābit—Nāfi', a mawlā of the Banū Asad knowledgeable about the civil unrest (fitnah) of Ibn al-Zubayr, who said: Ibn al-Zubayr was besieged the night of the new moon of Dhu al-Qa'dah in the year 72; he was killed on the seventeenth of Jumādā I in the year 73.

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800. *Batn*, the central part of the valley in which Mecca is built. See EI², s.v. Makka.
73. Al-Ḥajjāj besieged Ibn al-Zubayr for eight months and seventeen nights.

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Saʿd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidi]—Išḥāq b. Yaḥyā—Yūsuf b. Māhak, who said: I saw the trebuchet (manjaniq) with which stones were being hurled. The sky was thundering and lightning, and the sound of thunder and lightening rose above that of the stones, so that it masked it. The Syrians considered this ominous and withheld their hands. But al-Ḥajjāj, having lifted the skirt of his tunic and tucked it into his belt, picked up the trebuchet stone and loaded it. "Shoot," he said; and he himself shot with them. [Continuing,] he said: During the morning, a thunderbolt struck and was followed by a second, killing twelve of his men. The Syrians became discouraged, but al-Ḥajjāj said, "Men of Syria, do not consider this extraordinary. I am a native of Tihamah: these are the thunderbolts of Tihamah. Behold, victory has come! Rejoice; the enemy will be afflicted even as you have been." The next day, there was lightning, and a number of Ibn al-Zubayr's men were struck. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Don't you see that they are being hit? You are in a state of obedience; they are in a state of disobedience."

Thus, the war between Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥajjāj continued until shortly before Ibn al-Zubayr's death, by which time the latter's companions had separated themselves from him and most...
of the people of Mecca had gone out to al-Ḥajjāj under a promise of safety.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—[Muḥammad] b. Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidi]—Ishāq b. ʿAbdallāh—al-Mundhir b. Jahm al-Asadi, who said: I saw Ibn al-Zubayr the day he was killed. His companions had separated themselves from him, and those on his side had abandoned him in large numbers and had started going out to al-Ḥajjāj: finally, about ten thousand went out to him. It is also mentioned that Ibn al-Zubayr’s two sons, Ḥamzah and Khubayb, were among those who left him and went out to al-Ḥajjāj. They received a promise of safety for themselves from [al-Ḥajjāj].

Then Ibn al-Zubayr went to see his mother, Asmāʿ. According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidi]—Abū al-Zinād—Makhramah b. Sulaymān al-Walibi: When he saw how the people were forsaking him, Ibn al-Zubayr went to see his mother. “Mother,” he said, “the people have forsaken me, even my two sons and my family. With me there remain only a few people who do not have the endurance to defend themselves more than a short time. The enemy, however, will grant me whatever I desire from this present world. What is your advice?” She said, “You, my son, know yourself best. If you know you are right and have been advocating what is right, persevere for it, for your companions have been killed while in the right. Do not enable the young men [ghilmān] of the Banū Umayyah to make sport of you. But if you only desire the present world, what a bad servant [of God] you are!—you have undone yourself and undone those who were killed fighting on your side. For you to say, ‘I was right, but when my companions grew feeble, I became weak,’ is not what free men or men of religion do. How long is your stay in this world? Death is better!”

Ibn al-Zubayr approached and kissed her head, saying, “This, by God, is what I think. I swear by Him to Whom I have been sum-

806. She was the daughter of Abū Bakr.

807. Cf. another version of this scene (Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 364), in which Ibn al-Zubayr spells out his fear that after killing him, the Syrians may mutilate his body and crucify it. Al-Ḥajjāj is reported to have exposed the headless body of Ibn al-Zubayr on a cross (ibid., 368–70).
moning men until this very day, I have not inclined to the present world or loved life in it. Only indignation on behalf of God, that His sacred territory not be profaned, moved me to come out [to do what I did]. But I wanted to know your mind; and you have increased my firmness of belief. Behold, mother, I shall be killed this very day. Let your grief not be great. Submit to God's command. For your son intended to do nothing dishonorable or indecent: he did not act unjustly in applying God's ordinance, he betrayed no trust, and he intended to wrong no Muslim or confederate. When informed of wrongdoing on the part of my agents, I never approved; rather, I disapproved of it. I have never preferred anything to the approval of my Lord. O God, I do not say this to justify myself by myself—Thou knowest me best! I say it to comfort my mother, that she may endure my loss with patience.”

His mother said, “I pray God that I may endure your loss with good patience, if you precede me; and if I precede you, may there be [patient endurance] of my loss. Go out, that I may see how your cause proceeds.” He said, “God grant you a good reward, mother. And do not cease praying for me before and after.” She said, “I will never cease. Whoever may have been killed while in error, you will have been killed while in the right!” Then she said, “O God, have mercy on this long night vigil, this weeping and thirst in the midday summer heat of Medina and Mecca, and on his piety toward his father and me. O God, I have yielded him to Thy command concerning him, and am content with what Thou hast decreed; reward me for ‘Abdallâh with the reward of those who are patient and thankful.” According to Muṣ'ab b. Thâbit: She survived him by only ten days—some say five.

According to Muhammad b. ‘Umar [al-Wâqidi]—Mûsâ b. Ya'qûb b. ‘Abdallâh—his paternal uncle, who said: When Ibn al-Zubayr went before his mother, he was wearing a mailed coat and a protective head covering (mighfar). He stood and greeted her, then drew near, took her hand, and kissed it. She said, “This is farewell; do not be far away!” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “I have come

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808. Khurâj (“coming out”) also has the sense of “rebel.”

809. Muʿâhid: a non-Muslim who has a treaty of protection from the Muslims. See Lane, Lexicon, V, 2184.

810. Ba`uda, “to be/go far away,” is used in elegies as a euphemism for “die.”
to say farewell. I think this is the last day that will pass for me of this world. Know, mother, that if I am killed, I am only flesh; what is done to me will not harm me." She said, "You are right, my son. Persevere in your firm belief, and do not give Ibn Abi 'Aqil power over you. Come near me, so that I can bid you farewell." He came near her, kissed her, and embraced her. When she felt the chain mail, she said, "This is not the action of someone who intends what you intend." He said, "I put on this chain mail only to give you strength." The old woman said, "It gives me no strength." So he took it off. Then he rolled up his sleeves, gathered up the bottom of his shirt (there was a coat of mixed silk and wool under the shirt), and tucked the bottom of it into his belt, while his mother said, "Put on your garments with the skirts tucked up!" Then Ibn al-Zubayr left, saying:

I, when I know my day [has come], bear it with patience; others, when they know [theirs has come], find fault.

Hearing what he had said, the old woman said, "Be steadfast, by God, God willing! Your [fore]father[s] are Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr, and your [grand]mother Ṣafīyyah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib." According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muhammad]-Ibn Sa’d—Muḥammad b. ‘Umar [al-Wāqidi]—Thawr b. Yazīd—a shaykh from Ḥimṣ who was present at Ibn al-Zubayr's battle with the Syrians, who said: I saw him on Tuesday. We men of Ḥimṣ would go up against him in groups of five hundred by a gate that was ours, which we would enter, and which no one but us would enter. He

The fuller version of the scene given by Balādhdīrī, Ansāb, V, 364, implies another meaning: "Be/go not far away, save from the fire [of hell]." I.e., may you be close to heaven.

811. I.e., al-Ḥajjāj, so named after his grandfather.
812. Cf. Balādhdīrī, Ansāb, V, 365 (from Abū Mihnaft). She was blind and therefore was not aware of the chain mail until she embraced her son.
813. Khazz refers to a mixture of silk and wool, sometimes to (coarsely woven?) silk. See Lane, Lexicon, II, 731.
814. I.e., "Be ready to act with vigor." See Lane, Lexicon, IV, 1595.
815. Through his mother, Asmā' bint Abī Bakr, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr was the grandson of Abū Bakr, the first caliph. Through his father, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, he had as his grandmother the Prophet's aunt, Ṣafīyyah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
came out to meet us by himself, coming after us when we were retreating from him. I have not forgotten a *rajaz* poem of his:

I, when I know my day [has come], bear it with patience—
only the free man knows his two days!

Others, when they know [theirs has come], find fault.

I said, "By God, you are a man free and noble!" I have seen him standing in the lowest part of the hollow. No one would approach him, so that we thought he would not be killed.

According to al-ḤĀrith [b. Muḥammad]-Ibn Saʿd-Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidi]-Muṣʿab b. Thābit-Nāfiʿ, a mawlā of the Banū Asad, who said: I saw the gates filled with Syrians on Tuesday, and Ibn al-Zubayr's forces gave up the watch stations. The enemy outnumbered them and set men, a commander, and troops from one country at every gate: troops from Hims held the gate facing the door of the Kaʿbah; troops from Damascus held the Banū Shaybah Gate; troops from the Jordan held the Ṣafā Gate; troops from Palestine held the Banū Jumaḥ Gate; and troops from Qinnasrin held the Banū Sahm Gate. Al-Ḥajjāj and Tāriq b. ʿAmr were together between the lowest part of the hollow (*al-Abtah*) and al-Marwah. Ibn al-Zubayr would attack sometimes in one area, sometimes in another: it was as if he were a lion in a thicket, the men not venturing to attack him. He would assault the troops holding a gate and would dislodge them, while reciting the *rajaz* verse:

I, when I know my day [has come], bear it with patience—
only the free man knows his two days!

Then he would shout, "Abū Ṣafwān! What a victory, if only there were men for it!

If my opponent were one man, I would take care of him!"

Ibn Ṣafwān said, "Yes, by God, and a thousand, too!"

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816. I.e., the gates of the Great Mosque.
818. Abū Ṣafwān is ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān b. ʿUmayyah al-Jumaḥi. For his death in the fighting, see below, Ṭabarī, II, 852.
According to al-Ḫārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿīd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqīḍī]—Ibn Abī al-Zīnād and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab—Abū al-Mundhir, and also according to Nāfi', a mawlā of the Banū Asad, both of whom said: The morning of Tuesday, the seventeenth of Jumādā I, in the year 73, al-Ḥājjāj seized the gates from Ibn al-Zubayr. Ibn al-Zubayr had spent most of the night praying. Then he sat with his legs braced against his belly with the shoulder belts of his sword and slept lightly. He awoke at dawn and said, "Give the call to prayer, Saʿīd." The latter thereupon gave the call to prayer beside the Ṭūbūk. Ibn al-Zubayr performed the ablutions and prayed the two prostrations of the morning prayer. Then he came forward. The muezzin gave the second call to prayer. Ibn al-Zubayr led his companions in prayer, and recited the Sūra of the Pen, word by word. Then, having pronounced the salutation, he stood up, praised and extolled God, and said, "Uncover your faces, so that I can look [at you]." (They had on neck protectors [mīghaf] and turbans.) When they had uncovered their faces, he said, "Family of al-Zubayr, if you give yourselves up willingly for me, we shall be people of a distinguished house among the Arabs. We shall have been exalted for the sake of God, but no calamity will have afflicted us. And now, O family of al-Zubayr, let sword blows not frighten you. Whenever I have been present at a battle field, I have been carried away wounded from among the slain; and I have found the treatment of sword wounds to be worse than the pain of the sword's blow. Guard your swords as you guard your faces. I know of no man who ever broke his sword and saved his life. If a man loses his sword, he is as defenseless as a woman. Pay no attention to the glittering swords; let each man engage his adversary. Let no question about me distract you, and do not say, 'Where is ʿAbdal-
Ibn Salma had no choice but to stay and face his destiny. He did not want to escape and save his life at the cost of disgrace or climb a ladder to avoid death. He had to attack the enemy with God's blessing and then he attacked them and went as far as al-Hajun. A brick was hurled at him and it struck him in the face, shaking him. His face began bleeding. When he felt the warmth of the blood flowing on his face and beard, he said:

Not on our heels do our wounds bleed:
on the front of our feet the blood is visible!

Then the enemy gathered together against him. Both said: An insane freedwoman of ours cried out, “Alas for the Commander of the Faithful!” [Continuing] both said: She had seen him where he fell. She pointed him out to them, and so he was killed. He was wearing garments of a mixture of silk and wool.

When the news reached al-Ḫajjāj, he prostrated himself. Together with Tāriq b. ʿAmr, he went and stood over him. Tāriq said, “Women have borne none manlier than he.” Al-Ḫajjāj said, “Will you praise one who disobeys the Commander of the Faithful?” “Yes,” said Tāriq, “he has freed us from blame; were it not for this, we would have no excuse.”

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826. The lines, from a poem by al-Ḫuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām, can be found in the Muḥaddaṭiyāt (no. 12), 230–31, where the first line reads: “There restrains Ibn Salmā [from love of this world] the fact that he will not remain, but will meet destiny....”

827. Baladḥuri, Ansāb, V, 367 [from Abū Mikhnaf and ‘Awānah] reports that Ibn al-Zubayr’s remaining supporters suggested that he climb onto the roof of the Ka’bah while they fought around the building to the death in his defense—hence the reference to “climbing a ladder.”

828. The line, part of a qaṣīda by the pre-Islamic poet al-Ḫuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām, can be found in the Ḥamāṣah, 93. It puns on the fact that in Arabic “heel” (ʿaqib) has the same root as “to turn on one’s heels, retreat” (aʿqaba), while “foot” (qadam) shares the same root as “To go forward, be bold” (aqdama).

829. The idea is that by his bravery, Ibn al-Zubayr has made praise of him allowable even for the followers of ‘Abd al-Malik.
seven months. He had no defensive trench, no fortress, no stronghold; yet he held his own against us as an equal, and even got the better of us whenever we met with him." Their words were reported to 'Abd al-Malik, who declared Tāriq right.

According to 'Umar [b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madā'īnī]—his authorities, one of whom said: It is as if I could still see Ibn al-Zubayr when he had killed a young black lad. He struck him, hamstringing him, and as he continued his attack on him, he said, "Patience, son of Ham! In such situations the noble endure patiently."

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidi]—'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Umārah—'Abd-Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, who said: Al-Ḥajjāj sent the heads of Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān, and 'Umārah b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm to Medina, where they were displayed; then they were taken to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Al-Ḥajjāj entered Mecca and received the oath of allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān from the [members of] Quraysh there.

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Tāriq, the mawlā of 'Uthmān, governor of Medina. He served as its governor for five months.

Bishr b. Marwān died this year, according to al-Wāqidi. Others say that his death took place in the year 74.

['Abd al-Malik and the Khārijites]

Also in this year, according to what is mentioned, 'Abd al-Malik sent 'Umar b. Ṣafwān to fight Abū Fudayk, ordering him to call up anyone he wanted from the two garrison cities to go with him. 'Umar b. Ṣafwān marched forth with them. He placed the Kūfans, led by Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṣalāḥ, on the right wing; he placed the Baṣrans, led by his brother's son, 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh, on the left wing, and he placed

831. This sentence is omitted in Mss. O, B, and Co.
his horsemen in the middle. When they reached al-Baḥrayn, `Umar b. `Ubaydallāh lined up his forces. He put the foot soldiers in front: they held short lances (rimāḥ) that they set in the ground, and they shielded themselves with saddle pads. Abū Fudayk and his forces attacked like a single man and routed `Umar b. `Ubaydallāh’s left wing, so that all scattered except al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab, Ma’n b. al-Mughīrah, Mujjā’ah b. `Abd al-Raḥmān, and the most skillful fighters. The latter turned to the ranks of the Kūfans, who held fast. `Umar b. Mūsā b. `Ubaydallāh was left wounded. He was among the slain and had been badly wounded. When the Baṣrans saw that the Kūfans had not fled, they felt ashamed and returned to the fight, although they had no commander. When they reached the wounded `Umar b. Mūsā b. `Ubaydallāh, they carried him, until they brought him into the camp of the Khārijites. There was a great deal of straw there. They set fire to it, and the wind turned against the Khārijites. The Kūfans and Baṣrans attacked, plundered their camp, killed Abū Fudayk, and besieged them in al-Mushaqqar.832 The Khārijites submitted to judgment. According to what has been mentioned, `Umar b. `Ubaydallāh put about six thousand of them to death and took eight hundred captive. They found Umayyah b. `Abdallāh’s slave girl pregnant by Abū Fudayk. Then they returned to al-Baṣrah.

[Bishr b. Marwān Becomes Governor of al-Baṣrah]

In this year, `Abd al-Malik removed Khālid b. `Abdallāh from al-Baṣrah and appointed his [own] brother, Bishr b. Marwān, its governor. Thus, the governorship of both it and al-Kūfah came to be his. When Bishr was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah in addition to al-Kūfah, he went to al-Baṣrah and left `Amr b. Ḥurayth as his deputy in charge of al-Kūfah.

[Campaigns against the Byzantines]

In this year, Muḥammad b. Marwān campaigned during the summer and defeated the Byzantines. `Uthmān b. al-Walīd’s attack

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832. Al-Mushaqqar was an ancient fortress in al-Baḥrayn. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, s.v.
on the Byzantines in the region of Armenia is said to have taken place in this year. He had four thousand men, the Byzantines sixty thousand, but he defeated them and killed many of them.

[Those in Office during the Year]

During this year, the pilgrimage was led by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who was in charge of Mecca, Yemen, and al-Yamāmah. According to al-Wāqidi, Bishr b. Marwān was in charge of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; others say that Bishr b. Marwān was in charge of al-Kūfah, and that Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid was in charge of al-Baṣrah. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah, and Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ was in charge of Khurāsān.
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The index contains all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups, as well as topographical data, occurring in the introduction, the text, and the footnotes. As far as the footnotes are concerned, however, only those names that belong to the medieval or earlier periods are listed, and some terms that occur in footnotes in a purely explanatory context have been omitted in the index.

The definite article al- and the abbreviations b. (ibn, "son of") and bt. (bint, "daughter of") have been disregarded for the purposes of alphabetizing. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.

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