The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXII

The Marwānid Restoration

TRANSLATED BY EVERETT K. ROWSON
This volume chronicles the history of the Islamic state in the years A.H. 74-81 (A.D. 693-701), after the final defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca put an end to twelve years of civil war and reunited the empire under the rule of the Marwānid caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. Syria and the Hijaz enjoyed a period of relative peace during this time, and stability and consolidation were furthered by such basic administrative reforms as the institution of an official Islamic coinage. Pacification of Iraq, where Khārijite rebel bands still roamed and mutiny was spreading among the government forces, was entrusted by ʿAbd al-Malik to the victorious general al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Al-Ṭabari gives a detailed account of this iron-fisted governor’s administration, concentrating on his war against the redoubtable Shabīb b. Yazīd, a Khārijite guerilla leader with a band of a few hundred men who held out against all odds and twice even entered the capital at al-Kūfah and prayed in its mosque. Vivid eyewitness reports from participants on both sides of this conflict provide a valuable picture of Arab life in Iraq at this time, as well as evidence for the ideology of the Khārijites and the sources of discontent in the wider society.

Attention is also given to developments in the frontier provinces of the east, eventually also placed under the authority of al-Hajjāj. In Khurāsān, the vicious tribal feuds that had interrupted the policy of continued conquest were gradually resolved and campaigning resumed. In Sijistān, a crushing defeat of Arab troops led al-Hajjāj to outfit the "Peacock Army," a force of unprecedented size and impressiveness, which, when it rebelled under its leader, Ibn al-Ashqath, was to offer the governor the gravest challenge of his career.
THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXII

The Marwānid Restoration
The Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik
A.D. 693–701/A.H. 74–81
The History of al-Ṭabarī

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

Volume xxii

The Marwānid Restoration

translated and annotated
by

Everett K. Rowson

Harvard University

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Preface

The History of Prophets and Kings (Ta’rikh al-rusul wa’l-mulûk) by Abû Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Jarîr al-Ṭabarî (839–923), here rendered as the History of al-Ṭabarî, 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.

Ṭabarî’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-Ṭabarî 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 on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarî very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (īsnād) 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 Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarî received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, 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-Ṭabarî'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


BGA: Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum


EI²: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed. Leiden, 1960–.


GAS: F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums. Leiden, 1967–.


WKAS: Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache. Wiesbaden, 1970–.
In this volume al-Ṭabarî chronicles the first nine years of the Marwānid restoration, the period following the final defeat and death of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca and the reunification of the Islamic polity under his opponent, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. After twelve years of continuous civil war, this was a period of relative tranquillity, at least in the western provinces of the Hijaz, Syria, and Egypt. Concerning events in these areas al-Ṭabarî has little to say. Border warfare with the Byzantine Empire was resumed, but the annual summer campaigns produced few results, and we are given only the briefest mention of them. From other sources, we know of a series of fundamental administrative reforms implemented by the caliph at the capital in Damascus, but al-Ṭabarî reports only the most important of these: the institution of an official, aniconic, Islamic coinage. About such significant events as the building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem he is totally silent. As in much of his History, al-Ṭabarî focuses his attention in this volume almost exclusively on Iraq and, to a lesser extent, the eastern provinces of Khurāsān and Sijistān; while this concentration can be explained in part by the nature of the source material available to him, it also reflects the continuing high level of conflict in these regions at this time, in contrast to the West.

In Iraq, despite the defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr's brother Muṣ'ab, there remained widespread disaffection with the Marwānid regime from several quarters, and Iraqi troops were still occupied with a war against the Azraqite Khārijites in Khūzistān and Fārs. A
forceful and effective governor was needed, and 'Abd al-Malik found him in the redoubtable al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, whose appointment to Iraq immediately after his successful siege of Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca marked the beginning of an era. From his inaugural harangue to the Kūfāns immediately upon his arrival—perhaps the most celebrated speech in the history of Arabic literature—al-Ḥajjāj dominates this section of al-Ṭabarī's annals. After crushing a mutiny by the Başran forces, he prosecuted the Azraqite war with vigor, until dissension among the Azra' qites themselves, perhaps between Arabs and non-Arabs, made possible their final and total defeat. Meanwhile, another group of Khārijītes, small but per- tinacious, harried Iraq itself, first under Šāliḥ b. Musarrib, then under Shabīb b. Yazīd. Al-Ṭabarī slows his narrative to give a full account of the saga of Shabīb, who, with only a few hundred men, roamed through Iraq with impunity, and even entered al-Kūfah twice. Every commander sent out against him was defeated or killed, as Shabīb pursued his guerrilla tactics, until al-Ḥajjāj finally turned the tide by himself taking the field and defeating him before al-Kūfah; as Shabīb's forces retreated, their leader was thrown by his horse from a bridge and drowned. Quoting participants from both sides of this conflict, al-Ṭabarī here offers, in reminiscence and anecdote, a vivid picture of life on campaign in Iraq at this time. Particularly interesting is his account of negotiations between Shabīb and the disaffected commander, Muṭarrīf b. al-Mughīrah, who was induced to rebel against his governor and caliph but rejected Shabīb's own claim to legitimate rule; Muṭarrīf's independent rebellion, a good indication of the degree of alienation from the central authority among the Iraqi forces, was quickly put down.

Farther east, in Khurāsān, the campaign of conquest had slowed and then stopped as tribal feuds and rivalries fractured the unity of the Arab troops and settlers. 'Abd al-Malik's appointment of a neutral governor from his own tribe of Quraysh stopped the fighting, but the wounds were slow to heal, and this volume begins and ends with accounts of the fates of Bahīr and Bukayr, the leaders of the two factions of the divided Tamīm, the largest tribal group in Khurāsān. Al-Ḥajjāj's successes in Iraq led 'Abd al-Malik to add Khurāsān and Sijistān to his governorship, and al-Ḥajjāj sent out, as his sub-governor over Khurāsān, al-Muhallab b.
Abi Ṣufrah, the victorious general of the Azraqite war. Al-Muhallab was able to resume the Islamic campaigns, but without notable success.

Al-Ḥajjāj's sub-governor to Sijistān, 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, fared considerably worse. After penetrating far into enemy territory, his troops were surrounded and decimated. In response, al-Ḥajjāj raised and outfitted the "Peacock Army," on which he lavished great sums, and appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath to command it. This volume closes with the latter's modest successes in Sijistān—before his decision to rebel presented al-Ḥajjāj with the gravest challenge of his career.

In this section of his annals, al-Ṭabarī relies essentially on two authors. His account of events in Khurasan is attributed throughout to al-Madā'ini (d. 225/839), while the much lengthier sections on Iraq depend almost exclusively on the monographs of Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). Abū Mikhnaf is in fact al-Ṭabarī's sole acknowledged source for the Azraqite wars and the rebellion of Muṭṭarrīf b. al-Mughirah, as well as the disastrous expedition to Sijistan. Only in his account of Shabib's attacks on al-Kūfah does al-Ṭabarī occasionally offer variant reports, from 'Umar b. Shabbah (d. 264/877) and an anonymous source. For al-Ḥajjāj's simultaneous appointment of governors to Khurasan and Sijistān, al-Ṭabarī presents parallel accounts from both Abū Mikhnaf and al-Madā'īnī. Other authorities are mentioned only occasionally. Al-Wāqīḍī (d. 207/823) is the source for al-Ṭabarī's very exiguous report on the coinage reform; Ahmad b. Thābit is cited annually for the identity of the leader of the pilgrimage.

My translation follows the text of the Leiden edition by I. Guidi throughout, with only a very few emendations, required or suggested by context, and specified in the notes. Guidi's five (in one section six) manuscripts provide, on the whole, a satisfactory text, except for a number of abrupt transitions where the natural sequence seems disturbed. The philological commentary on al-Ḥajjāj's oration, for example, is interrupted by a narrative that probably should succeed it (II, 868); and the additions to Abū Mikhnaf's account of Shabib's attacks on al-Kūfah, derived from other sources, seem in part to have been inserted in the wrong places, resulting in dangling transition sentences and perhaps some omitted isnāds (II, 910–919, 962–969). These problems
I have been merely identified in the notes; their solution must await an eventual re-edition of the text.

I have provided relatively full citations of parallels to Al-Ṭabarī's information from available earlier sources, as well as from the Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr, which is largely a summary of al-Ṭabarī and occasionally of textual importance. The most important of the early sources, specifically for the Khārijite wars, is the Kitāb al-Futūḥ of Ibn A’ītham al-Kūfī, whose rather detailed account diverges considerably from that offered by al-Ṭabarī. Al-Mubarrad’s Kāmil also includes a long digression on the Khārijites, which seems to share features with both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn A’ītham. It is unfortunate that the section of al-Baladhuri’s Ansāb on the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik, another independent early source, remains unpublished and has been unavailable to me; I have, however, cited parallels from al-Baladhuri’s section on al-Ḥajjāj, which appears in the volume of the Ansāb published by Ahlwardt under the title Anonyme arabische Chronik.

Besides making reasonable efforts to identify individuals and places mentioned in the text, I have regularly supplied information on tribal affiliations, relying most heavily on Caskel’s analytical edition of Ibn al-Kalbī’s Jamharat al-nasab. Al-Ṭabarī presents the conflicts in Khurāsān in this period as essentially tribal in nature and makes it clear that tribal solidarities and rivalries played an important role in the Khārijite disturbances in Iraq as well; while not attempting an original analysis of these tribal factors, I have thought it best to provide the basic information al-Ṭabarī would have assumed as general knowledge among his original readership.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Professor Gerhard Endress of the Ruhr-Universität Bochum for facilitating my stay there and use of the library of the Seminar für Orientalistik, where much of the annotation was completed. I am also grateful to Professor Jacob Lassner of Wayne State University for his careful editing of my manuscript.

Everett K. Rowson
The Events of the Year

74
(MAY 13, 693–MAY 1, 694)

The Important Events of This Year

Among the events of this year: 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Tāriq b. 'Amr1 from Medina and appointed as its governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.2 It is reported that the latter came to Medina, stayed there a month, and then left to perform the lesser pilgrimage ('umrah).3

In this year, it is reported, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf dismantled the structures of the Ka’bah that Ibn al-Zubayr had put up. The latter had incorporated the Ḥijr inside the Ka’bah and given the Ka’bah two doors; al-Ḥajjāj restored it to its original form.4 He then went

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1. Governor since 72 (691–692) or 73 (692–693), after taking the city from the governor of the rival caliph Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca; see text above, II, 834, 852.
2. See Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh (Najaf), 294, 298; Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 67f., 188f.; EI², s.v. al-Ḥadjijah b. Yūsuf, J. Périer, La vie d’al-Ḥadjijah ibn Yousof (Paris, 1904), 54ff. As commander of the Umayyad forces, al-Ḥajjāj had, the previous year, with the assistance of Tāriq b. ‘Amr, successfully besieged Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca, and been appointed governor there; he was now given the governorship of Medina as well. See text above, II, 844–52, 853–54.
3. The “lesser pilgrimage” to Mecca can be performed at any time of year; see SEI, s.v. ‘umra.
4. The Ḥijr is a semicircular area adjoining the Ka’bah wall, whose special
back to Medina, in Safar (June-July), and stayed there three months, treating the people of Medina harshly and arbitrarily. He built a mosque there, in the area of the Banū Salīmah, which is still known by his name. He treated the companions of the Messenger of God with contempt, forcing them to wear seals around their necks.


According to Ibn 'Umar—Shurāḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn—his father: I was there when al-Ḥajjāj sent for Sahl b. Sa‘d and asked him, "What was it that prevented you from supporting the Commander of the Faithful 'Uṯmān b. 'Affān?" He replied, "But I did!" Al-Ḥajjāj said, "You are lying!" Then he ordered a lead seal put on his neck.

In this year, according to al-Wāqīdī, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Abū Idrīs al-Khwālānī as judge.

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5. The Banū Salīmah b. Sa‘d were a clan of the Khazraj; see W. al-Kabhilah, Mu‘jam gaba’il al-‘krab (Damascus, 1949), 2, 537. Later geographical writers do not mention this mosque.

6. See Baladhurī, Ansāb, XI, 68: al-Ḥajjāj put seals on the hands of Jābir b. 'Abdallāh and others, "as is done with the dhimmah." On the use of seals to indicate payment of taxes among dhimmis, and corresponding practices among Byzantines and Sasanians, see M. Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest (Princeton, 1984), 112f.

7. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqīdī, d. 207 (823); see EI², s.v. al-Wāqīdī.

8. D. 78 (697); see F. Sezgin, GAS, I, 85; Ibn Kathir, Bidāyah, IX, 22.

9. D. c. 91 (708); see EI², s.v. Anas b. Mālik. In 65 (684) he had led the prayer in al-Baṣrah at the behest of Ibn al-Zubayr; see text above, II, 465. According to Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 'Iqd (Cairo, 1940), V, 36–41, al-Ḥajjāj's further abuse of Anas two years later, in al-Baṣrah, prompted the latter to write a letter of complaint to 'Abd al-Malik, who was furious with al-Ḥajjāj and forced him to apologize; a variant of this story appears also in Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 385–87.

10. D. 88 (706–707) or 91 (709–710); see Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib (Hyderabad), IV, 252.

11. In Damascus; see EI², s.v. al-Khwālānī.
In this year, according to some reports, Bishr b. Marwān left al-Kūfah for al- Başrah, to become governor there.\(^\text{12}\)

In this year, al-Muhallab was entrusted by 'Abd al-Malik with the war against the Azraqites.\(^\text{13}\)

**Al-Muhallab and the War against the Azraqites**

When Bishr had arrived in al- Başrah, 'Abd al-Malik sent him the following letter, according to Hishām\(^\text{14}\)—Abū Mikhnaf\(^\text{15}\)—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—his father:

Send forth al-Muhallab against the Azraqites with the men of his garrison and have him select from among them the best horsemen and the most distinguished, capable and experienced among them, for he knows them best. Let him follow his own judgment in conducting the campaign, for I have total confidence in his experience and his concern for the welfare of the Muslims. Send out also a large force of Kūfans, and appoint as their leader a well-known and respected man, of pure and noble lineage, someone known for his strength, courage, and experience in battle. Mobilize the men of these two garrisons against the Azraqites and have them pursue them wherever they go, until God annihilates and exterminates them. Peace.

Bishr summoned al-Muhallab, gave him the letter to read, and

\(^{12}\) Bishr was 'Abd al-Malik's brother. He had been governor of al-Kūfah for three years. According to some reports, his move to al- Başrah, or at least his additional appointment as governor there, replacing Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, occurred in 73 (692–693), see text above, II, 852–54. See also Ibn A' tham al-Kūfī, Futūh (Hyderabad), VI, 313f.; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta' rīkh, 268, 294; Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 178, and XI, 26; EL², s.v. Bishr b. Marwān.

\(^{13}\) The Azraqites were extremist Khārijītes, originally followers of Nāfī' b. al-Azraq [d. 65 (685)]; at this time they were led by Qaṭārī b. al-Fujā’ah. They had been defeated at al- Aḥwāz and driven back to Fārā by Khālid b. 'Abdallāh in 72 (691–693); earlier, al-Muhallab had fought against them for both Mūṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik. See text above, II, 583ff., 765, 823ff. See also Ibn A' tham al-Kūfī, Futūh, VI, 314–19; Mubarrad, Kāmil [Leipzig], 663ff.; Ibn al- Athir, Kāmil, IV, 365–67; Ibn Kathīr, Bidāyāh, IX, 3; EL¹, s.v. al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra; EL², s.v. Azārīka.

\(^{14}\) Hishām b. Muhammad al-Kalbī, d. c. 204 (819); see EL², s.v. al-Kalbī.

\(^{15}\) D. 157 (774); see EL², s.v. Abū Mikhnaf; U. Sezgin, Abū Mikhnaf [Leiden, 1971].
ordered him to select whomever he wished. Al-Muhallab sent Juday' b. Sa'īd b. Qabiṣah b. Sarrāq al-Azdi, who was the maternal uncle of his son Yazid, ordering him to go to the military roll (diwân)\(^{16}\) and select the men. Bishr was annoyed that the command had been given to al-Muhallab by 'Abd al-Malik, so that he was unable to send out someone else;\(^ {17}\) this caused him as much resentment against al-Muhallab as if the latter had done him a personal injury. Bishr b. Marwân then summoned 'Abd al-Raḥmân b. Mikhnaf\(^ {18}\) and sent him to the Kufans, ordering him to select the best horsemen and the most distinguished, capable and courageous of the men.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—men of the tribe—'Abd al-Raḥmân b. Mikhnaf: Bishr b. Marwân summoned me and said: "You know the position you enjoy with me and the preferment I have shown you. Now I have decided to put you in charge of the army, basing my decision on what I know of your courage, capability, nobility, and boldness. I expect you to live up to my good opinion of you. See that such-and-such happens to al-Muhallab; take over his command completely, accepting neither his advice nor his opinion; belittle his abilities and make much of his shortcomings." He neglected to give me any counsel about the troops, fighting the enemy, or seeing to the welfare of the Muslims, but kept on trying to incite me against my clansman\(^ {19}\)—as if I were a dunce or someone who could be treated like a child or a fool! Never have I seen someone make an appeal to a respectable man of my appearance and position like the appeal this boy made to me! 'Amr has outgrown the neck-ring!\(^ {20}\) When Bishr saw that I did not respond with alacrity, he said, "What is the matter?" I replied, "May God be good to you! Do I have any choice but to carry out your orders, whether willingly or reluctantly?" "Go,

16. See El\(^ {2}\), s.v. diwân.
17. Mubarrad, Kāmil, 663, names Bishr's preference as 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, who had recently defeated the Khārijite Abū Fudayk, see text above, II, 852f.
20. I.e., "How childish of him!" See Maydāni, Majma‘ al-amthāl (Cairo, 1342), II, 75; Tha‘ālibī, Thimār al-qulūb (Cairo, 1908), 505.
then," he said, "and have a safe trip." I bade him farewell and withdrew.

Al-Muhallab then set out with the Başrân forces and proceeded as far as Râmhurmuz, where he found the Khârijîtes; he then entrenched himself there. 'Abd al-Râhmân b. Mikhnafl set out with the Kûfans, accompanied by the following commanders: Bishr b. Jarîr, in charge of the quarter of the Medînese; Mûhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Sa'îd b. Qays, in charge of the quarter of the Tamîm and Hamdân, Ishâq b. Mûhammad b. al-Aslh’ath, in charge of the quarter of the Kindîah and Rabî’ah, and Zahr b. Qays, in charge of the quarter of the Madhîj and Asad.21 'Abd al-Rahmân marched out and encamped about a mile [mil]22 or a mile and a half from al-Muhallab, so that the two armies were within sight of each other at Râmhurmuz. But then, only ten days later, word came to the men of the death of Bishr b. Marwân in al-Basrâh, and many from the forces of both al-Basrâh and al-Kûfah deserted.23 Bishr was replaced by Khâlid b. 'Abdallâh b. Khâlid b. Asid,24 whose deputy over al-Kûfah was 'Amr b. Hurayyîth.25

Among the Kûfan deserters were Zahr b. Qays, Ishâq b. Mûhammad b. al-Aslh’ath, and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Sa’îd b. Qays. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Mikhnafl sent his son Ja’far after them. Ja’far brought back Ishâq and Muhammad—Zahr b. Qays eluded him—and confined them for two days, then charged them not to part from him. But they stayed only one day before leaving again, taking a different route. They were pursued without success, and kept moving until they caught up with Zahr b. Qays in al-Ahwâz, where many of the men who were heading for al-

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21. Mubarrâd, Kâmîl, 664, specifies a force of two thousand men from each quarter, but garbles the names of two of the commanders. For the division of the Kûfan army into quarters, see text above, II, 131, 644, 701; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 245.
22. A mil is a third of a farsakh, or about two kilometers. See W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1970), 63.
23. According to al-Wâqîdî, Bishr died in 73 (692–693); see text above, II, 852.
24. An Umayyad (Ibn Hzâm, *Jamharah* [1948], 104), he had already been governor of al- Başrâh, until replaced by Bishr; see text above, II, 818, and notes 12, 13 above.
25. He retained this position, having already been deputized by Bishr when the latter transferred to al-Kûfah; see text above, II, 853. 'Amr had earlier served as deputy in al-Kûfah for Ziyâd b. Abîhi and his son 'Ubaydallâh as well; see text above, II, 115, 459ff.
Basrah came together. When word of this reached Khalid b. 'Abdallah, he wrote a letter to the men and sent an emissary to bring them to their senses and make them return. One of his clients brought the letter and read it out to the men, who had been assembled to hear it:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Khalid b. 'Abdallah to those Muslims and believers whom this letter of mine reaches. Greetings. To you I offer praise of God; there is no god but He. The matter: God has imposed the duty of jihad on His servants, and required obedience to those who govern them. He who participates in jihad does so only to his own benefit, but he who gives up jihad for God will be forsaken by God. Moreover, he who defies the governors and rightful authorities brings down God's wrath on himself, merits corporal punishment, and makes himself liable to confiscation of his property as spoil, cancellation of his stipend ('atā'), and exile to the most remote and evil of lands. O Muslims! Know who it is whom you have so boldly defied! It is 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, the Commander of the Faithful, a man with no weaknesses, from whom rebels can expect no indulgence! On the one who defies him falls his whip, and on the one who opposes him falls his sword! I spare no pains to warn you! Do not pave the way to your own destruction! Servants of God! Return to your assigned places and to the obedience of your caliph, and persist no longer in your defiance and opposition, lest you be afflicted with what you would avoid. I swear by God that after this letter of mine any rebel that I find I will surely slay, God willing. Peace and God's mercy be upon you.

As Khalid's client read out this letter to them, every line or two Zahr interrupted to say, "Get to the point!" He replied, "By God, I hear the words of a man who does not want to understand what he hears! I bear witness that he has not the slightest interest in what is in this letter!" Zahr then said to him, "Read, then, what

26. See EI², s.v. 'atā'.
27. Maktab; see Dozy, Supplément, s.v.; WKAS, s.v. Some MSS read amkinah, "places."
28. Lā ya'īju bi-shay' mimmā fi hādhā al-kitāb. Other MSS read lā tahīju fitnah
you were commanded to, you pale-faced slave, and then go back to your own people. You have no idea how we feel.” The client finished reading the letter, but the men paid no attention to what was in it. Zāhr, Iṣḥāq b. Mūhammad, and Mūhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān set off and camped at a village belonging to the Ash‘ath clan, near al-Kūfah. They sent the following letter to 'Amr b. Ḥurayyith:

When the men heard of the death of the amir—may God have mercy on him—they dispersed, not one remaining with us. We have come now to the amir and to our garrison, but prefer not to enter al-Kūfah without informing the amir and receiving his permission.

'Amr b. Ḥurayyith wrote back:

You have abandoned your assigned places and come here in rebellion and disobedience. You have from us neither permission nor safe conduct.

When they received this reply, they waited until night, then entered their lodgings, and remained there until the arrival of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Bukayr b. Wishāh from Khurāsān and appointed as governor there Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.29

The Reason for the Dismissal of Bukayr and Appointment of Umayyah

According to Abū al-Ḥasan,30 Bukayr b. Wishāh ruled as governor

illa kunta ra'sahā—“whenever there is internal strife, you are always at the head of it!”


of Khurasan for two years until Umayyah arrived to take over the post; for Ibn Khâzim was killed in the year 72 (691–692), and Umayyah arrived in the year 74 (693–694). The reason Bukayr was dismissed from Khurasan was as follows: 'Ali al-Mufad-dal; Bahir was imprisoned by Bukayr b. Wishâh because of his role in the conflict I mentioned previously about Ibn Khâzim’s head; that is, when the latter was killed, Bahir remained Bukayr’s prisoner until ‘Abd al-Malik appointed Umayyah b. Abdallâh b. Khâlid b. Aṣîd governor. When Bukayr heard of this, he sent to Bahir with an offer of reconciliation, but the latter refused, saying, “Bukayr thought that Khurasan would remain his without opposition.” Messengers shuttled between them, but Bahir continued to refuse. Then Dirâr b. Ḫuṣayn al-Ḍabbi came to see him, saying, “It seems to me that you are being very foolish. Here your clansman sends you an apology, when you are his captive and the sword is in his hand, and if he killed you a goat wouldn’t fart over you—yet you will not accept it from him! This is hardly in your own interest! Accept this truce and regain your freedom!” Bahir yielded to his advice and made peace with Bukayr. Bukayr then sent him forty thousand dirhams, on the condition that he not take up arms against him.

Now the Tamîm in Khurasan were at odds: Muqâ’îs and the Buṭûn sided with Bahir, while ‘Awf and the Abnâ’ took Bukayr’s side. The forces of Khurasan feared that war would resume and

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31. Al-Madâ’înî.
32. Al-Mufad-dal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbi (d. c. 170 [786]), the noted philologist and compiler of the Mufaddalîyyât; see GAL I, 116.
33. See text above, II, 833: Bahir had led the forces that defeated and killed the Zubayrid governor Ibn Khâzim. However, when Bahir refused to give up the latter’s head to Bukayr, who was Ibn Khâzim’s former deputy but had accepted ‘Abd al-Malik’s appointment as governor, Bukayr struck him and took the head, and then imprisoned him. The remainder of this paragraph seems anticipatory, and the reason for Bukayr’s dismissal follows in the next; Ibn al-Athîr in his summary (Kâmil, IV, 367) reverses them.
34. Zanna Bukayr anna Khurasan tabqâ lahu fi al-jamâ‘ah; see Balâdhuri, Futûb, glossarium, s.v. jamâ‘ah.
35. Both men belonged to the tribe of Tamîm; see next paragraph.
36. For the proverb, see Mawdani, Amthâl, II, 157, Tha‘âlibî, Thimâr, 304.
37. Ibn A’tham al-Kûfî, Futûb, VI, 288–90, gives a fuller account of Dirâr’s intercession.
that the region would be devastated, and that their enemies among the polytheists would then overpower them. So they wrote to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, saying that Khurāsān would only recover from its disarray under the direction of a man of Quraysh, one who would be the object of neither their envy nor their partisanship. 'Abd al-Malik said, "Khurāsān is the frontier of the East. It has had its troubles under the governance of this Tamīmī, and the troops have broken into factions. Fearing that they will return to the factionalism of the past, and that the region and its people will then be destroyed, they have asked me to appoint as governor over them a man of Quraysh, whom they would heed and obey." To this Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, send out to them a man from your own family." 'Abd al-Malik said, "Were it not for your retreat from Abū Fudayk, you would be that man!" Umayyah protested, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I retreated only when I could no longer fight, the men having deserted me. Then I thought it would be better for me to fall back to a rear echelon than to expose a small remaining band of Muslims to annihilation. Marrār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Bakrah knows about this, and Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh also wrote to you that he had been informed of my excuse." Khālīd had indeed written to him with Umayyah's excuse, informing him that the men had deserted him; and Marrār also confirmed Umayyah's statement, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, he held out until he could no longer put up a fight, the men having deserted him." 'Abd al-Malik then made Umayyah governor of Khurāsān.

'Abd al-Malik loved Umayyah and used to say, "He is from the same brood as I"—that is, they were born at the same time. The people said, "We have never seen anyone compensated for a de-

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Ka'b b. Sa'd and 'Amr b. Sa'd constituted the Buṭūn, while the Ābnā' were descendants of Sa'd's other sons; but the 'Awf b. Ka'b joined the Ābnā' rather than the Buṭūn. See W. Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab: Das Genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī (Leiden, 1966), I, 75, II, 135, 230; Ibn Hazm, Jamhārah, 204–8; Kahhalah, Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab, I, 3, II, 860, III, 1131.

39. Abū Fudayk was a Khārijite rebel; see EP, s. v. Abū Fudayk. For Umayyah's defeat at his hands, see text above, II, 829; Baladhuri, Ansāb, IVA, 459.

40. Fi'ah; see Lane, Lexicon, s. v.: "a company of soldiers who fight in the rear of an army, and to whom the latter has recourse in the case of fear or defeat."
The Marwânid Restoration

feat the way Umayyah was compensated: he fled from Abū Fudayk and then was made governor of Khurāsān!"

A man from Bakr b. Wā'il, who was being held in prison by Bukayr b. Wishāh, recited these verses:

The red-white camels, snorting through their nose-rings,
their saddlecloths pushed back from their shoulders,
With the places of their saddle-girths looking like
spotted doves perched in churches,
Brought you a noble man from Umayyah, impeccable, like a
great white hawk,
with a countenance gleaming like a polished sword.

At this time Bahīr was in al-Sinj. He asked about Umayyah's progress, and when he heard that he was approaching Abarshahr, he spoke with a man named Razin, or Zarīr, from the Persians of Marw, saying, "Show me a shortcut, so that I may meet the amīr before he arrives, and I will give you such-and-such and reward you generously." This man did know the way, and he set out with him from al-Sinj, proceeding as far as the Sarakhs region in a single night. He then took him on to Nishapur, and Bahīr reached Umayyah when he came to Abarshahr. Meeting Umayyah there, he informed him about Khurāsān and what would be best as regards its people, so as to ensure their willing obedience and make them easier for the governor to deal with. Bahīr also accused Bukayr of ill-gotten gains and warned Umayyah of his treachery.

Bahīr then accompanied Umayyah to Marw. Umayyah was a man of noble and generous character and made no move against Bukayr or his functionaries. He proposed to Bukayr that the latter take charge of his security force (shurtāh), but Bukayr refused

41. Vv. 1, 3 appear in AghānīI, XII, 72, in quite a different context, attributed to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hakam and addressed to Mu'ā wi yah.
42. One day's march west of Marw; see Yaqūt, Mu'jam (Leipzig), II, 161; Le Strange, Lands, 400.
43. Official name of the city of Nishapur; see EI2, s.v. Abarshahr.
44. It was normally six days from Marw to Sarakhs, and another six from Sarakhs to Nishapur; see Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 279.
45. The troops responsible for internal order, or police. See EI1, s.v. shurtā; N. Fries, Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omaiyaden nach Tabari (Tübingen, 1921), 22.
this, so he gave to the post to Bahir b. Warqa\'.

Then some of Bukayr\'s men reproached him, saying, "You refused the post, so he gave it to Bahir—and you know what is between the two of you."

But Bukayr replied, "Yesterday I was governor of Khurasan, with javelins\(^46\) carried before me. Shall I now become head of the security force and carry a javelin myself?"

Then Umayyah said to Bukayr, "Choose any district of Khurasan you wish!" He replied, "Tukhiristin," whereupon Umayyah said, "It is yours." Bukayr spent a great deal of money preparing for his departure, but then Bahir said to Umayyah, "If Bukayr goes to Tukhiristan, he will rebel against you." He kept on warning Umayyah until the latter was convinced and ordered Bukayr to remain with him.

In this year the leader of the pilgrimage was al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf\(^47\). He had put Abdallah b. Qays b. Makhramah in charge of the judiciary in Medina before setting off there himself, according to the report of Muhammad b. Umar.\(^48\) Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf was governor of Medina and Mecca, Bishr b. Marwan of al-Kufah and al-Basrah, and Umayyah b. Abdallah b. Khalid b. Asid of Khurasan. Shurayh b. al-Harith was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kufah,\(^49\) and Hisham b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary in al-Basrah.\(^50\) According to some reports, Abd al-Malik b. Marwan performed the lesser pilgrimage in this year, but we are uncertain of the truth of this.

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\(^46\) Harbah. See Tabari, glossarium, s.v.; Fries, Heereswesen, 51.

\(^47\) Ibn Khayyat, Ta\'rikh, 268, 301; Ya\'qubi, Ta\'rikh, II, 336.

\(^48\) Ibn Khayyat, Ta\'rikh, 294, 399; Baladhuri, Ansab, XI, 68, 188f.


\(^50\) Ibn Khayyat, Ta\'rikh, 298. On Hisham b. Hubayrah [d. 75 [694]], see Ibn Sa\'d, Ta\'baqat, VII, i, 109f.; Zirikli, A\'lam, IX, 88f.
The Events of the Year

75
(MAY 2, 694—APRIL 20, 695)

The Events of This Year

Among the events of this year: Muḥammad b. Marwān’s summer expedition when the Byzantines attacked near Maʿrāsh.51

In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ governor of Medina.52

In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik appointed al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf governor of Iraq, excluding Khurāsān and Sijistān.53 Al-Ḥajjāj proceeded to al-Kūfah.

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51. According to Ibn Khayyāt, Taʿrīkh, 269f., the Byzantines advanced to al-ʿAmq or al-ʿA Mariaq in the environs of Marash in Jumādā I 75 (August–September 694), where they suffered a defeat; see also Balūdhuri, Ansāb, V, 186; Yaʿqūbī, Taʿrīkh, II, 337; Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kāmil, IV, 374; Ibn Kathīr, Bidāyah, IX, 7. Muḥammad was ʿAbd al-Malik’s brother.


According to Abū Zayd⁵⁴—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Abū Ghas-sān—‘Abdallāh b. Abī ‘Ulāyadah b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir: Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusuf left Medina when he received the letter from ‘Abd al-Malik appointing him governor of Iraq, after the death of Bishr b. Marwān. He left with a party of twelve riders on thoroughbred camels. They reached al-Ḳūfah, unannounced, at midday. Al-Muhallab had been sent off by Bishr against the Ḥarūrīyyah.⁵⁵ Al-Ḥajjāj went directly to the mosque, entered it, and ascended the pulpit, his face covered by a red silk turban. He called out, “Summon the men!” They thought that he and his companions were Khārijites, and came ready to attack them. But when the men were assembled, he rose, uncovered his face, and said:⁵⁶

I am the son of splendor, who scales the heights; when I remove the turban, you will know me.⁵⁷

By God! I take full accounting of wickedness, match it in return, and pay it back in kind! I see heads ripe and ready for harvest, and blood ready to flow between turbans and beards!

She has tucked up her skirts in readiness.⁵⁸

The time for attack has come, so drive hard, war, to whom night has brought a violent driver.

Mas‘ūdī place al-Ḥajjāj at ‘Abd al-Malik’s court in Damascus at the time of his appointment.

⁵⁴. Abū Zayd ‘Umar b. Shabbah, d. 264 (877); see Sezgin, GAS, I, 345.⁵⁵. The Ḥarūrīyyah are the Khārijites, so called from their assembling against ‘Alī at Ḥarūr, near al-Ḳūfah; see text above, I, 3387–89, Mubarrad, Kāmil, 450, Ep., s. v. Ḥarūrā.’


⁵⁸. A version of this proverb appears in Maydānī, Amthāl, II, 35, where “she” is glossed as “disaster” (dāḥiyah).
No ordinary herder of sheep or camels he, 
nor a butcher working at his slaughter-board!  

Night has brought them a harsh driver,  
mettlesome, well traveled in the desert,  
but a settled man, no bedouin he.  

It is not the time to despise the mixed herds  
that she has brought, or the young unbridled she-camels  
that scurry along like racing sand-grouse. 

By God, O people of Iraq, I cannot be squeezed like a fig, or  
abashed by rattling old waterskins at me. I have been  
proven to be at the height of my vigor and have run the  
longest races. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Malik,  
has emptied out his quiver and tested the wood of his arrows;  
he found me the strongest and least likely to break, and thus  
aimed me at you. Long have you pursued a course of faction  
and followed the path of waywardness; but now, by God, I  
will bark you as one does a tree, hack you as one does a  
mimosa, and beat you as one does a camel not of the herd at  
the watering-hole. By God, I do not make promises without  
fulfilling them, and I do not measure without cutting. I will  
see no more of these gatherings, with “it was said” and “he  
said” and “what does he say?”—what does all this have to do  
with you? By God, you will stay on the straight paths of the  
right, or else I will leave every man of you preoccupied with  
the state of his body. If I find any man from al-Muhallab's  
expedition still here after three days, I will spill his blood and  
seize his property.

59. Attributed variously to Ruwayshid b. Rumayd al-'Anazi, al-Huṭam al-Qaysi,  
and Abū Zughbāh al-Khazraji. See Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-'arab, s.vv. huṭam,  
waḍām; Aghānī', XIV, 44; Mubarrad, Kāmil, 215f. My translation conforms to the  
glosses given in the text below.  
60. No attribution in the sources. Ibn Manzūr, s.v. 'aṣlab, glosses “them” as  
camels. 
61. No attribution in the sources. For sābiq, “racing,” some MSS read sā'iq,  
“driver” [of a sand-grouse]. 
62. As is done to make camels run; see Maydānī, Amthāl, II, 191.  
63. For the phrase, see Maydānī, Amthāl, II, 191.
Then he went into his residence, without saying anything more.

Another account: When al-Ḥajjāj stood a long time silently before speaking, Muḥammad b. 'Umayr64 took some pebbles and was going to pelt him with them, saying, "May God oppose him! Not only tongue-tied, but ugly, too; and I expect that what he has to say will match his appearance!" But when al-Ḥajjāj spoke, the pebbles began to spill from his hands without his even noticing. Al-Ḥajjāj said in his oration:

Faces scowl because God has coined "a similitude: a village which was safe and secure, its sustenance coming to it in abundance from every side; but they were ungrateful for God's blessings, and God made them taste the garment of hunger and fear, because of what they had been doing."65 You are like them, just the same! Obey your herdsman, and go straight, for, by God, I will make you taste abasement until you learn how, and hack you as one does a mimosa until you consent to be led. I swear by God, you shall embrace justice and leave off this seditious talk, with your "It was thus and thus," and "I was informed by So-and-so on the authority of So-and-so," and "The Cutting; what is the Cutting?"66 I will give you a Cutting with the sword which will leave your women widows and your children orphans—and that until you leave off these gossamer fantasies and give up all this "See here! See here!" Let me see no more of these gatherings. No man among you shall ride except alone. If rebels were allowed to get away with their insubordination, no spoil67

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64. Presumably Muḥammad b. 'Umayr b. 'Uṭārid al-Tamīmi, a former supporter of al-Mukhtar; see text above, II, 635. In the version of Mubarrad, Kāmil, 215, and others, however, the subject of this anecdote is 'Umayr b. Dābi' al-Burjumi, who was subsequently al-Ḥajjāj's first victim in al-Kūfah, as related below, II, 869ff.

65. Qur'ān 16:112.

66. Al-habr wa-mā al-habr, perhaps imitating Qur'ānic phraseology [e.g., 101:1-2: al-qāri'ah mā al-qāri'ah], although habr does not occur in the Qur'ān. Habr refers to the cutting up of meat. Ṣabīr, glossarium, s.v., notes Ibn Mansūr (Lisān, s.v.): wa-fī hadīth al-shurāh fa-habānahum bi-l-suynf ("and in the hadīth [1] of the Khārijīs, 'we sliced them up with swords.").

67. Fay', originally meaning "booty," but quickly shading off to "revenue." See EI2, s.v. fay'; F. Løkkegaard, Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period (Copenhagen, 1950), 38ff.
would be collected and no enemy fought, and the frontiers would be unmanned; and were they not compelled by force to go out and fight, they would never do so voluntarily. I have heard how you defied al-Muhallab and came back to your garrison, mutinous rebels! I swear to you by God, if, after three days, I find any of you here, I will cut off his head!

Then he summoned the marshals (‘urafā’)

and said to them, “Take the men to join al-Muhallab and bring me the vouchers of their arrival, and let the gates of the bridge remain open night and day until this has been accomplished.”

Commentary on the oration: “Son of splendor” is the morning, because its splendor chases away the darkness. The “heights” are small promontories among the mountains. Fruit “ripening” when it reaches maturity. Where he says, “Drive, ziyam,” ziyam is a word for war.

A “violent” person is one who destroys everything he encounters. A “slaughter-board” is what protects meat from touching the ground. A “harsh driver” is a severe one. The “desert” is a desolate land where one can hear the sound of the camels’ steps. An “unbridled” camel is one without a head-robe, as in this line reported by Abū Zayd al-Aṣma’ī:

Umm al-Fawāris rode the feisty, unbridled camel bareback, spurring it on to a trot and a gallop.

“Shinan” is the plural of “shannah,” meaning a worn-out, dried-up waterskin, as in this verse:

You are like one of the camels of the Banū Uqaysh,
whom they frighten by rattling an old waterskin at its rump.

He “tested” (‘ajam) the wood means he bit it; ‘ajam also means “grape-stone,” as in this half-verse by al-A’shā:74

Their new-cast young were like grape-stones scattered on the ground (?)

By the “strongest” wood he means the hardest; one says a rope is “strong” if it is tightly twisted. “I will hack you as one does a mimosa”: “hacking” is cutting, and the mimosa is a kind of thorny tree. “I do not measure without cutting”: “measuring” (khalq) is projecting, as in God’s words, “From a sperm-drop, measured and not measured,”75 that is, projected and not projected, meaning those which come to term and those which miscarry. Al-Kumayṭ76 said, describing a waterskin:

Which no women measuring undertook to cut out, and from whose interior no stream of water poured.

Here he is actually describing the gizzards of birds, saying they are not like such a waterskin. Also, a “measured” (khalqa) stone is a smooth one, as in this verse:77

And a broad chest above swaying legs, like a measured stone used as a sliding area for children to play on.

One says “I cut (faraytu) the hide” if he makes something of it, but if one uses the fourth form of the verb “cut” (afraytu), he means he spoils it. “Gossamer fantasies” means what is untrue. Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī78 said this word originally meant what the

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74. Al-A’shā Maymūn, d. after 5 [625]; see EI², s. v. Al-A’shā. Variants of this verse appear in Mubarrad, Kāmil, 219; Al-A’shā, Diwān [ed. Geyer, GMS, n. s. VI], no. IV, line 25.
75. Qur’ān 22:5. “Projecting” is taqdir.
76. D. 126–127 [743–744]; see EI², s. v. al-Kumayt. For the verse (with variant), see Die Hāšimījah des Kumait, ed. and trans. J. Horovitz [Leiden, 1904], no. III, line 123.
77. Verse by Imru’ al-Qays, d. c. A.D. 550; see EI², s. v. Imru’ al-Qays b. Ḥudjr. The verse, with variants, is in Ahlwardt, Divans, 118.
78. D. c. 213 (828); see EI¹, s. v. al-Shaibānī.
common people call "Satan's snot," that is, the "sun's drool" or gossamer, which appears at midday. Abū al-Najm al-Ijli79 said:

The sun's drool flowed and covered things,
and the balance of time stood in equilibrium.

"Gatherings" are groups of people. End of commentary.

According to Abū Ja'far—'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Ubaydah: On the third day, al-Ḥajjāj heard "God is Great" (takbīr)81 pronounced in the market, and went out and took his seat in the pulpit and said:

O people of Iraq! O people of faction and hypocrisy, and of vicious morals! I have heard a takbīr—not a takbīr meant to inspire devotion to God, but rather a takbīr meant to inspire fear; and I know that this is a dust cloud with a violent wind behind it. Sons of slatterns! Slaves of the rod! Scions of husbandless women! Is there not a man among you who will take into account his lameness,83 value his life, and watch his step? I swear by God, I am on the point of dealing you a blow that will serve as a punishment for those who come before and an example for those who come after!

When he says a "violent wind" he means a strong gale. A "slattern" is a foolish woman, that is, a brutish servant girl. "Lameness" is weakness and fatigue from too much walking.

In the line "Which scurry along like racing sand-grouse," ghutāt, with a u, is a kind of bird.84 On the other hand, al-Aṣmāʾī said that the ghaṭāṭ, with an a, is a kind of bird, citing this line by Ḥassān b. Thābit:85

79. D. after 105 (724); see EI², s. v. Abū al-Nadjm al-'Idji.
80. Al-Ṭabari.
81. The expression Allāhu akbar ("God is great!"), enunciated at the beginning of prayer, but also as a call to attack, see A. Noth, Quellenkritische Studien zur Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung (Bonn, 1973), I, 128f.
82. For the story behind this proverbial expression of contempt, see Maydānī, Amthāl, I, 424.
83. That is, acknowledge his limitations; see Maydānī, Amthāl, I, 268.
84. The commentary reverts here to al-Ḥajjāj's previous speech.
85. D. c. 40 (659); see EI², s. v. Ḥassān b. Thābit. The Diwan of Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. 'Arafat, GMS, n. s. XXV), no. 13, line 12, reads sawād, "crowd," for ghaṭāṭ.
They are visited so often that their dogs do not whine;
they are undisturbed by a hubbub of approaching sand-
grouse—

with ghataṭ with an a. Then he said that ghutāṭ with a u is the
mixture of light and darkness at the end of the night, as in this rajaz verse:

He rose and went to a dusky lady at daybreak,
walking along with what looked like a tent-upright.

End of commentary.

Then 'Umayr b. Dābi' al-Tamimi al-Ḥanżali came to al-Ḥajjāj
and said, "May God be gracious to the amir! I am a member of
this expedition, but I am an old man, and sick. Here is my son; he
has more vigor than I." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "And who are you?" He
said, "I am 'Umayr b. Dābi' al-Tamimi." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Did you
hear what I said yesterday?" He said, "Yes." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Was
it not you who attacked the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān?"
He said, "Yes, it was." Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "What im-
pelled you to do that?" He said, "He had imprisoned my father,
who was an old man." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "And wasn't it he who said
this verse:

I meant to do it, but I didn't—I was about to—and would that I
had!—
left 'Uthmān's wives weeping over him!

It seems to me that killing you would be a service to the two
garrisons. Take him, guards, and strike off his head!" One of the
men approached and struck off his head. His property was also
seized.

According to one account, 'Anbasah b. Sa'id said to al-Ḥajjāj,
"Do you know who this is?" He said, "No." 'Anbasah said, "This

86. Hanżalah is a clan of Tamim. In the variant of this story given below, the
man is called al-Burjumi; the Barajim were a subclan of Hanżalah. See Ibn Ḥazm,
Jamharah, 211f.
87. On this incident, see text above, 1, 3033–36, 3048; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī,
Futūḥ, VII, 11–14; Balādhuri, Ansāb, IVA, 575–77, and XI, 272, 274f.; Mubarrad,
Kāmil, 217, 219f., 665f.; Masʿūdī, Murūj, V, 298; Aghāmī, XIII, 43; Ibn al-Athir,
Kāmil, IV, 377–79; Ibn Kathīr, Bidāyah, IX, 9.
88. An intimate of al-Ḥajjāj; see Balādhuri, Ansāb, IVA, 453, and XI, 274f.
is one of the murderers of the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān.' Then al-Ḥajjāj said, "O enemy of God, you did not send a substitute on your expedition against the Commander of the Faithful, did you?" and ordered his head struck off. Then he ordered a herald to proclaim through the town, 'Hear ye! 'Umayr b. Ḍābi', having heard the proclamation, has come after the third day, and we have ordered his execution. Hear ye! God's protection is withdrawn from any member of al-Muhallab's forces who spends this night in the town." At this, the men began to move out, and there was soon a crowd at the bridge. The marshals went to al-Muhallab, who was at Rāmhurmuz, and took from him letters vouching for their arrival. Al-Muhallab said, "Today a real man has come to Iraq, and from today the enemy will see what battle is."

According to the account of Ibn Abī 'Ubaydah, four thousand men of the tribe of Madhhij crossed the bridge that night. Then al-Muhallab said, "Today a real man has come to Iraq."

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan: When al-Ḥajjāj had 'Abd al-Malik's letter read out to the men, the reader began, "After a greeting of peace, I praise God to you." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Stop! O slaves of the rod, when the Commander of the Faithful gives you a greeting of peace, does no one among you return the greeting? These are the manners of Ibn Nihyah!89 By God, I swear I will teach you better manners than these! Start the letter again!" This time, when he reached the words "After a greeting of peace," every one of them without exception responded, "And upon the Commander of the Faithful be peace and God's mercy!"

According to 'Umar—'Abd al-Malik b. Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Misma'—'Amr b. Sa'id: When al-Ḥajjāj arrived in al-Kūfah, he addressed the men and said, "You are deserters from al-Muhallab's army! Let not a single man from his forces remain here after three days!" After the three days had passed, a man came to him with blood dripping from his head. Al-Ḥajjāj asked him, "Who did this to you?" He said, "'Umayr b. Ḍābi' al-Burjumī. I ordered him to go out to his camp, but he was incensed and struck me."90 Al-Ḥajjāj sent for 'Umayr b. Ḍābi', and he was

89. According to a gloss on Mubarrad's Kāmil, 216, Ibn Nihyah was a former head of the shurtah in al-Baṣrah; see also Masʿūdī, Murūj, V, 298.
90. Fa-ḍarabani wa-kadhaba 'alayhi.
brought in, an old man. Al-Ḫajjāj asked him, "What kept you away from your camp?" He said, "I am an old man, without vigor; so I sent my son as a substitute, since he is both stronger and younger than me. Ask around to see if what I say is true; if it is not, then punish me." But ‘Anbasah b. Sa‘idd said, "This is the man who went up to ‘Uthmān’s corpse and slapped his face, then jumped on it and broke two of his ribs." Al-Ḫajjāj then ordered him executed, and this was carried out.

‘Amr b. Sa‘idd said: By God, while I was on my way between al-Kūfsah and al-Ḫirah, I heard the chant of some Muḍarite camel-drivers.1 I turned to meet them and asked, "What news?" They said, "A man came to us from the foulest of the tribes of the Arabs, that tribe descended from Thamūd.2 He had spindly legs, and no flesh on his buttocks, and he was bleary-eyed.3 He took the chief of the tribe, ‘Umayr b. Ḥābi’, and he struck off his head."

When al-Ḫajjāj executed ‘Umayr b. Ḥābi’, Ibrāhim b. ‘Amir, who was one of the Banū Ghādirah of the Banū Asad, met ‘Abdal-lāh b. al-Zabīr4 in the market and asked him about the news. Ibn al-Zabīr said:

Meeting Ibrāhim, I say to him,

I see things have become difficult and complicated.
Get ready, get going, and catch up with the army! I see no alternative to the army but perdition.
Take your choice! You must either visit Ibn Ḥābi’

‘Umayr, or else visit al-Muhallab.

91. Samītu rajazan Muḍāriyyan; see Tabari, glossarium, s.v. rajaz. The Muḍar tribal grouping included Tamīm.
92. That is, the tribe of Ṭhaqīf, frequently derided for their uncertain ancestry. For traditions linking Ṭhaqīf to the semi-legendary Thamūd, whose destruction by God is described in the Qurān, see I. Goldziher, Muḥammadanische Studien (Halle, 1888–90), I, 99f. Al-Ḫajjāj is reported to have responded to such accusations by appealing to Qurān 53:51, wa-Thamūda fa-mā abqā, misinterpreting this as "Thamūd, and what (of them) He preserved" and arguing that only the best of them would have been so preserved; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, however, countered with the correct interpretation, "Thamūd, and He did not preserve (them)." See Aghānī1, IV, 74; Mubarrad, Kāmil, 266; Périer, Vie d’al-Ḫadjdjādi, 2.
93. Compare the unflattering descriptions in Mas′ūdi, Murūj, V, 289, 327f.
94. On this poet, see Sezgin, GAS, II, 329f.; the following verses, with numerous variants, appear also in Ibn A’tham al-Kūfi, Futūḥ, VII, 13f.; Balāḏuri, Ansāb, XI, 272; Mubarrad, Kāmil, 217, 666; Mas‘ūdi, Murūj, V, 300f.; Aghānī1, XIII, 42; Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 379.
Faced with these two disagreeable courses, your only salvation is to ride off on a snowy-gray one-year-old.

In such circumstances, were he required to ride to Khurasan, it would seem as near as the market, or yet nearer!

And how many a flabby man you see now, forced to ride, who has become so intimate with the bend of the saddle that he is hunch-backed.

It is reported that al-Ḥajjāj’s arrival in al-Ḵūfah was in the month of Ramaḍān of this year (December 694–January 695).95

He sent out al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb al-Ṭhaqafī as amīr in charge of al-⛧raḥah and ordered him to treat Khalīd b. ‘Abdallāh harshly.96

When word of this reached Khalīd, he left al-⛧raḥah before al-⛧akam entered it, and went to al-Jalḥā’.97 The men of al-⛧raḥah turned out to see him off, and Khalīd did not leave his place of prayer (muṣallā) until he had distributed a million dirhams among them.98

[873]

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Iṣāq b. ‘Īsā—Abū Ma’ṣhar: The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.99 In this year, Yahyā b. al-⛧akam went to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, leaving Abīn b. ‘Uthmān as his deputy in charge of Medina; but ‘Abd al-Malik ordered Yahyā b. al-⛧akam to continue in his position as governor of Medina.100 Al-

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95. This statement is contradicted by the text below, II, 874, 944, which implies that al-Ḥajjāj arrived in Rajab (October–November 694), as stated explicitly by Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rīkh, 295f., and Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 269f.


97. A place on the pilgrimage road from al-Ḵūfah, some 140 miles south of the latter; see A. Musil, Northern Negäd (New York, 1928), 206f., 210, 235, and references there.

98. A muṣallā is a large open space reserved for collective prayers on certain formal occasions; see EI, s.v. muṣallā. On Khalīd’s muṣallā, see text above, II, 628, and below, II, 1704; L. Massignon, “Explication du plan de Kufa,” Mélanges Maspéro, III (1935–40), 336, places it on the western edge of the town. Khalīd apparently distributed the local treasury to the populace or resident troops, before it could fall into the hands of al-Ḥajjāj; perhaps the intention of this assertion is to justify al-Ḥajjāj’s subsequent rescission of the troops’ pay increase (see below). This anonymous report is not confirmed by other sources.


100. Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rīkh, 294, 299. On Abīn b. ‘Uthmān, son of the third
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Hajjāj b. Yūsuf was in charge of al-Kūfah and al-BAṣrah; Umayyah b. ‘Abdallāh was in charge of Khurāsān; Shurayḥ was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah; and Zurārah b. Afwā was in charge of the judiciary of al-BAṣrah.101

In this year, al-Ḥajjāj left al-Kūfah for al-BAṣrah, appointing Abū Ya‘fūr ‘Urwa b. al-Mughirah b. Shu‘bah as his deputy over al-Kūfah;102 the latter remained in this position until al-Ḥajjāj returned to al-Kūfah after the battle of Rustaqubādhaus.

In this year, the men rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj in al-BAṣrah.

The Revolt of the Baṣran Troops against al-Ḥajjāj

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-‘Absi: Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf left al-Kūfah immediately after arriving and having Ibn Dābi’ executed, and went on to al-BAṣrah. There he gave an oration like the one he had given to the Kūfans, threatening them in the same way. A man of the Banū Yashkur103 was brought to him, accused of desertion. The man said, “I have a hernia, and Bishr saw it and exempted me, and you will find that my stipend has been returned to the treasury.” But al-Ḥajjāj did not accept his excuse and had him killed. This alarmed the Baṣrans, and they began to pour out of the town, descending in throngs on the reviewer104 at the bridge at Rāmhurmuz. Then al-Muhallab said, “A real man has come to the troops.”

Al-Ḥajjāj went out to Rustaqubādhaus, where he arrived at the beginning of Sha‘bān 75 (late November 694).105 Led by ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jārid, the men rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Ḥajjāj had

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102. Other reports in Ibn Khayyat, Ta’rīkh, 296, make the deputy Ḥawshab b. Ruwaym al-Shaybānī, who was head of the shurtah, according to the text below, II, 918; see also Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 380.
103. His name was Sharik b. ‘Amr; see Balādhuri, Ansāb, XI, 275f.; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 381. He is called Dhū al-Kursufah (“man with the eye-patch”) by Mubarrad, Kāmil, 666.
104. ‘Arid; see EI², s.v. istī‘rāḍ.
105. Rustaqubādhaus is the later ‘Askar Mukram, some ninety miles northeast of al-BAṣrah and sixty-five miles northwest of Rāmhurmuz; see EI², s.v. ‘Askar Mukram; Le Strange, Lands, 237.
'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd killed and sent eighteen heads to be set up before the men in Rāmhurmuz. This stiffened the backs of the Muslims, and the Khārijītes, who had been hoping that there would be conflict and factionalism among the men, were disappointed. Then al-Ḥajjāj returned to al-ʿAṣrāḥ.

The reason behind this affair with 'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd is as follows: When al-Ḥajjāj ordered the troops in al-ʿAṣrāḥ to join al-Muḥallab, and they set off, al-Ḥajjāj himself went as far as Rustaqbādī, which is near Dastawā; this was at the end of Shaʿbān (late December 694). He had with him the elite of the Bāṣrān forces. He and al-Muḥallab were about eighteen farsakhs apart. Then al-Ḥajjāj stood before the men and said, "The increase in your stipends that Ibn al-Zubayr granted you is the increase of a sinner and hypocrite, and I will not sanction it." Then 'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd al-'Abdi approached him and said, "It is not the increase of a sinner and hypocrite, but the increase of the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd al-Malik, who confirmed that we should have it." When al-Ḥajjāj called him a liar and threatened him, Ibn al-Jared rebelled against him, followed by the elite of the forces. Severe fighting broke out, and al-Ḥajjāj killed Ibn al-Jārūd and a group of his companions. He sent Ibn al-Jārūd’s head and those of ten of his companions to al-Muḥallab, and himself went back to al-ʿAṣrāḥ. He then wrote...
to al-Muhallab and to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf, saying: "When this letter reaches you, move against the Khārijites. Peace."

In this year, al-Muhallab and Ibn Mikhnaf expelled the Azraqites from Rāmhurmuz.

**Al-Muhallab and the War against the Azraqites**

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-'Absī: Al-Muhallab and Ibn Mikhnaf moved against the Azraqites in Rāmhurmuz, in accordance with the letter of al-Hajjāj to them, on Monday, 19 Sha‘bān 75 (December 13, 694). They ejected them from Rāmhurmuz without much fighting, advancing slowly against them and driving them off. The Azraqite forces retreated as if they were the rearguard of a defeated army, and moved to a region of Sābūr called Kāzarūn. Al-Muhallab and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf then set out after them and encamped opposite them on 1 Ramaḍān (December 25). Al-Muhallab had a defensive trench dug. According to the Başrans, al-Muhallab said to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf, ‘If you think you should dig a defensive trench, then do so,’ but 'Abd al-Rahmān’s forces disdained to do so, saying, ‘Our trench is our swords.’ The Azraqites crept up on al-Muhallab by night, hoping to take him by surprise, only to find that he had taken precautions. They then turned instead to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf, and, discovering that he had not dug a trench, attacked him. As his forces were driven back, he joined in the fray with a group of them, but was killed together with those around him. The Khārijite poet said:

Whose camp is this, adorned with fallen men,  
a mass of corpses!

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112. Sunday.
113. In Fārs, some sixty miles west of Shirāz. Kāzarūn town supplanted Sābūr town (Shāpūr, Bishāpūr), for which the district was named, in the fourth [tenth] century. See *EI*, s.v. Kāzarūn; Le Strange, *Lands*, 262, 266f.
See how the wind scatters coarse sand over them,  
they who had trailed their garments in their pride!

The account of the Kufans: Al-Hajjaj's letter came to al-Muhallab and 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Mikhnaf, saying: "Move against the Khârijites when my letter reaches you." They moved against them on Wednesday, 20 Ramaḍân 75 [January 12, 695], and met them with fighting as intense as any between them previously. This was shortly after midday. The Khârijites threw all their strength against al-Muhallab b. Abî Şufrah and drove him back into his camp. He hurriedly sent off some of his trusted men to 'Abd al-Ralîm b. Mikhnaf, and they came to him and said, "Al-Muhallab says to you: Our enemy is one, and you can see what the Muslims are up against; so send reinforcements to your brethren, God's mercy on you." 'Abd al-Rahmân began to send him reinforcements of both cavalry and infantry, a group at a time. By late afternoon, the Khârijites, seeing the cavalry and infantry coming from 'Abd al-Rahmân's camp to al-Muhallab's camp, and surmising that 'Abd al-Rahmân's forces would be depleted, put five or six detachments opposite al-Muhallab's camp, while the rest went off all together to 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Mikhnaf. When the latter saw them drawn up against him, he went out to oppose them, having with him the Qur'ân-reciters, led by Abu al-Aliwag, the companion of 'Abdallah b. Mas'ûd, and Khuzaymah b. Nasr, the father of Nasr b. Khuzaymah al-'Absi, who was killed with Zayd b. 'Ali and gibbeted with him in al-Kufah. Also with 'Abd al-Rahmân were seventy-one of his own picked men.
The Khārijites attacked them and engaged them in heavy fighting. But 'Abd al-Rahmān's forces fell back, leaving him with a small band of stalwart men who held their ground with him. His son Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, who had been among those he had sent to al-Muhallab, called on the forces to follow him to his father's aid, but only a few did; he approached his father, but the Khārijites kept him from reaching him, and he fought until the Khārijites wounded him and he was forced to withdraw from the battle. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf and those with him fought on, on a commanding hill, through some two-thirds of the night, until he was killed amidst his companions.121

The next morning, al-Muhallab came and found him, and buried him and prayed over him. He wrote to inform al-Hajjāj of his death, and al-Hajjāj wrote to inform 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who received the news at Minā122 and blamed the Kūfans. Al-Hajjāj then sent out 'Attāb b. Warqā'123 to take command of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf's forces, and ordered him, if he joined with al-Muhallab in battle, to heed and obey him. 'Attāb was unhappy about this but saw no alternative to obeying al-Hajjāj, being unable to get him to reconsider. He went to join the army and fought the Khārijites as al-Muhallab's subordinate, but proceeded to act virtually without consulting al-Muhallab on anything. Seeing this, al-Muhallab picked out some men from among the Kūfans, one of whom was Bištām b. Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah, and incited them against 'Attāb.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazid: 'Attāb came to al-

121. Other sources do not reflect the sharp conflict here between Basran and Kūfan accounts of this battle. Ibn 'Atham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 17, reports that al-Muhallab marched from Rāhmurmuż to Arrajān, where he spent three days, and then on to Sābūr, where he spent three years, and although he gives a far more detailed account of the fighting in Sābūr than does Tabārī [see text below, II, 1003ff.], he does not mention 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf. Mubarrad, Kāmil, 667-70, combines elements of both of Tabārī's accounts, mentioning first a day battle in which al-Muhallab received reinforcements from 'Abd al-Rahmān, and then a night attack on the latter, who had refused to entrench himself. Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 388f., essentially summarizes Tabārī.

122. Outside Mecca, site of pilgrimage rites; see EI², s.v. ḥadjdī. 'Abd al-Malik performed the pilgrimage in this year; see text above, II, 873, and below, II, 881.

123. At this time governor of ʿIsḥāḥān, where he had already fought the Azraqītes, see text above, II, 762-64. He belonged to the Banū Riyāb b. Yarbū' b. Ḥanzalah of Tamīm; see Čaškel, Ḟamharat an-nasab, I, 68, II, 205.
Muhallab to ask him to provision his men. Al-Muhallab seated 'Attāb next to himself; but when 'Attāb asked him to provision his men, he did so in a brusque and frowning manner. Al-Muhallab retorted, “Remember where you are, you son of an uncircumcised woman!” The Banū Tamīm assert that 'Attāb returned the insult, while Yūsuf b. Yazīd and others maintain that he said, “By God, she is a woman of noble lineage on both sides, and I rejoice that God has made a distinction between you and me.” They exchanged words until al-Muhallab went to raise his staff against him; at this, his son al-Mughirah jumped up and seized the staff, saying, “May God cause the amīr to prosper! This is one of the noble and eminent figures among the tribesmen. If you hear something from him that displeases you, put up with it from him, for indeed he merits that from you.” Al-Muhallab heeded him.

'Attāb rose and left him, but was then confronted by Bīstām b. Maṣqalāh, who assailed him with insults and slander. In view of all this, 'Attāb wrote to al-Hajjāj to complain of al-Muhallab, informing him that he had incited against him some insolent men from the garrison, and requesting that he recall him. This came at a time when al-Hajjāj was in need of him because of the troubles the notables of al-Kūfah were encountering with Shābib; so he sent to him, saying, “Come, and leave the command of that army to al-Muhallab.” Al-Muhallab then put Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab in command of it.125

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124. *Ajlasahu al-Muhallab ma'ahu 'alā majlisihī.

125. The tribal rivalries behind this story are rather clearer in the somewhat divergent version in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 675–77. According to the latter, it was al-Hajjāj who sent 'Attāb to al-Muhallab, stipulating that the supreme command should depend on whether the Kūfāns or Baṣraḥs had originally conquered the area of operations; because Baṣraḥs had conquered Sābūr, al-Muhallab retained ultimate authority. When al-Hajjāj recalled 'Attāb to face Shābib (see text below, II, 940), he ordered al-Muhallab to provision the armies, but the latter refused provisions to the Kūfāns. In the subsequent quarrel, the Tānim of al-Baṣraḥ supported 'Attāb, their tribesman, while the Azd of al-Kūfah supported the Azdī al-Muhallab, as did their allies the Bakr. Bīstām b. Maṣqalāh was a Shaybānī (see text above, II, 773—the Banū Shaybān were a tribe of Bakr); Yūsuf b. Yazīd and Abū Mihkhaif belonged to the Banū Azd. Mubarrad states explicitly that al-Muhallab relented and provisioned the Kūfāns, after his son al-Mughirah intervened. Mubarrad's account dates 'Attāb's stay with al-Muhallab from one of the Jumādās 76 (August–October 695) into 77 (696–697), placing it after that of al-Barā' b. Qabıšah.
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Verses by Ḥumayd b. Muslim,126 elegizing 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf:

If they killed you early in the morning, Abū Ḥakim,
many a valiant man had you attacked and killed in your time.
And if they have deprived us of a true chief chosen by his people,
a man of noble character, bountiful and generous,
A murder like this has crushed your people, all of them—one who used to bear their burdens for them,
One who used to settle their obligations, and their fighting,
on a day when the fighting was close and fierce.
I swear, he received no mortal wound until he had already donned a breastplate of blood.
Under his banner the heroes exchanged blows, their Mashrafi swords in their hands,
Through a long day, and on to the end of the night, when they saw a crescent moon appear in the sky;
Then the lines of infantry and his cavalry were driven back from him,
And there the spears found him and he faltered.

Verses by Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqi:127

Be generous, my eyes, with your flowing tears, like a torn old waterskin carried by a rider,
Over Azd, the best of whom have been struck down—wail for a miserable existence after that!
We try to go on after losing them, but are hindered by the obstacles of death and clashing detachments.
Before Ibn Mikhnaf was killed, our condition was good, but every man one day must meet his fate some way.
He has brought tears to the eyes of the white-haired old men of his garrison,

(see text below, II, 1004) and al-Jarrāb b. 'Abdallāh (not mentioned by Ṭabarî in this context). Ibn A' tham al-Kūfi does not mention 'Attāb at all.

126. This man appears frequently in Ṭabarî as an authority for Abū Mikhnaf's authorities, but is otherwise unknown; see U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 218.
127. D. c. 80 (699); see Sezgin, GAS, II, 327f. The poet was an Azdi.
and brought white to the locks of the young men before its time.

He fought on until he died the noblest of deaths, and fell to the dust on a noble cheek and brow.

Fighting off the rebels around him was a band of men of Azd, brandishing sharp swords.

May no woman ever give birth, and may no absent one return to his people, so long as he cannot return.

So weep, my eye, for Mikhnaf and Ibn Mikhnaf, and for the horsemen of my people, my relatives near and distant.

Another elegy of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mikhnaf by Surāqah:

The chief of the two Azds, Azd Shanū‘ah and Azd ‘Umān, has found his last rest, the pledge of a grave in Kāzir.128

He fought on until he died the noblest of deaths, with a keen, cutting sword, flashing like lightning.

And about that hill, under his banner, were felled those of a noble company who nobly fought.

Ibn Mikhnaf lost his life on the day of that encounter, when all the weak and uncaring abandoned him.

He sent support, but did not receive it; and he went to God with his robe tucked up for battle, not dressed in the garb of a traitor.

Al-Muhallab remained at Sābūr, fighting the Khārijites, for about a year.129

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ, one of the Banū Imru’ al-Qays,130 revolted openly. He held the opinions of the Ṣufriyyah, and it is said that he was the first of the Ṣufriyyah to rebel.131

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128. On the two Azds, who united in al-Baqrāh, see EI², s.v. Azd. Kāzir is poetic license for Kāzirūn (or Kāzarūn).

129. Three years in Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī (see note 121 above), eighteen months in Mubarrad, Kāmil, 677.

130. The Banū Imru’ al-Qays were a subtribe of Tamim.

131. The beginnings of the Ṣufriyyah, and the origin of their name, are unclear. Among Khārijite subsects they are considered moderates, in particular for their rejection of ʿisti‘rāḍ (indiscriminate massacre of their enemies, see note 157 below) and of condemnation of the children of unbelievers, both in contrast to the Azra’qites. Al-Ash’ārī, Maqālāt al-islāmiyyin (Wiesbaden, 1963), 101, 118, makes them
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The Rebellious Activities of Ṣāliḥ during This Year

Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, one of the Banū Imru‘ al-Qays, made the pilgrimage in the year 75 (March–April 695), accompanied by Shabīb b. Yazīd, Suwayd, al-BAṭīn, and others like them. In this same year, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān made the pilgrimage, and Shabīb determined to assassinate him. ‘Abd al-Malik received some indication of their plans and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj after his departure, ordering him to hunt them down. Ṣāliḥ used to come to al-Ḵūfah for a month or so at a time, meeting his companions to put them in readiness, but when al-Ḥajjāj began searching for him, al-Ḵūfah became uncongenial to Ṣāliḥ, and he avoided it.

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the source of all doctrinal subbranches of the Khārijites except for the Azraqites, Najdites, and Ibādites. See also El‘, s.v. al-Ṣufriya; Watt, Formative Period, 25–34. Al-Ash‘arī mentions Ṣāliḥ as a purported adherent of the Ṣufriyyah but remarks that he had no distinctive doctrines of his own. He otherwise refers to him only in the context of a schism not reflected in Tabari’s account (Maqālāt, 118, 120–22).

132. See text above, II, 873, 877.
133. I.e., for revolt: li-yu’iddahum; much less likely, li-ya’idahum, “to make promises to them.” Some MSS read li-yu’iddā ma yahṭāju ilayh, “to prepare what he needed (for revolt).”
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[APRIL 21, 695—APRIL 9, 696]

The Events of This Year

One of these was the rebellion of Šāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ.\(^{134}\)

The Rebellion of Šāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ and the Reason for It

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—`Abdallāh b. `Alqā-

\(^{134}\) Šāliḥ's "rebellious activities" began at the end of the previous year with the abortive assassination plot against `Abd al-Malik, but his rebellion itself broke out only in this year. Three and a half months later Šāliḥ was killed, and the leadership of the movement taken over by Šabīb, who proved far more formidable. The next hundred pages of Tabari's text are devoted almost exclusively to a detailed account of this revolt, based mainly on Abū Mikhnaf's *K. Shabīb al-Ḥarūrī wa-Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ* (see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mīhnaf*, 81f., 109f.), with occasional supplementary information from other sources. Most of the other early sources available to us on Šabīb's rebellion ignore its beginning under Šāliḥ; for brief references to the latter, see Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 272; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 410; Baghdādi, *Farq* (Cairo, 1910), 89 (two accounts, one dating the rebellion to the governorship of Bishr b. Marwān). Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, IV, 393–96, reproduces Tabari. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjidjādi*, 109–15; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 182ff.
mah\textsuperscript{135}—Qabīsah b. ‘Abd al-Rāhmān al-Khath‘āmi: The reason for his rebellion is as follows: Sāliḥ b. Musarriḥ al-Tamīmī was an humble and pious man, sallow of mien,\textsuperscript{136} and conscientious about his religious duties. He resided in Dārā\textsuperscript{137} and the region of Mosul and the Jazīrah, where he had associates to whom he taught recitation of the Qur‘ān and its interpretation\textsuperscript{138} and delivered admonitory sermons.\textsuperscript{139} Qabīsah b. ‘Abd al-Rāhmān, who was one of those who subscribed to these people’s opinions, told our companions\textsuperscript{140} that he had possession of the sermon of Sāliḥ b. Musarriḥ; so they requested him to send them the text,\textsuperscript{141} and he did so. This is his sermon:

“Praise be to God, who created the heavens and the earth, and made the darkness and the light. Yet those who have disbelieved ascribe rivals to their Lord.”\textsuperscript{142} O God! We ascribe no rivals to You, we serve none but You, and none but You do we worship. Yours is the Creation and the Command, from You comes all benefit and harm, and to You is our destiny. We testify that Muḥammad is Your servant, whom You chose, and Your messenger, whom You selected and approved to convey Your messages and Your counsel for Your servants. We testify that he conveyed the message and counseled the community, summoned to the truth and acted equi-

\textsuperscript{135} D. 87 (706), the last of the Companions to die in al-Kūfah, see U. Sezgin, Abū Miḥnaf, 191.

\textsuperscript{136} Muṣfarr al-wajh, perhaps rather “gaunt,” in either case possibly because of an ascetic diet, see Ibn Maṃzūr, Līsān, s.v. ṣāfar, where one of the etymologies suggested for the Ṣūfriyyah is the sallowness (ṣūfrah) of their complexions.

\textsuperscript{137} Between Mardin and Nisibis; see EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.v. Dārā; Le Strange, Lands, 96.

\textsuperscript{138} Yufaqqihuhum; see EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.v. fīkh.

\textsuperscript{139} Yaqūṣu ‘alayhim; “sermon” below is qāṣaṣ. On the qāṣaṣ in medieval Islam see EI\textsuperscript{2}, s.v. kāṣṣ, and J. Pedersen, “The Islamic Preacher: wā‘iz, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ,” Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume I (Budapest, 1948), 226–51, especially 239, where Sāliḥ’s qāṣaṣ is partly translated. See also Périer, Vie d’al-Ḥadījādī, 110f., and, on the oratory for which the Khārijites were famed, C. E. Bosworth, Sīstān under the Arabs, 38ff.

\textsuperscript{140} Aṣḥābanā; the speaker is probably Abū Miḥnaf, referring to his own authorities, including ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alqamah. Abū Miḥnaf’s account of the following rebellion gains much from drawing on Khārijite authorities, such as Qabīsah, as well as others from the government forces.

\textsuperscript{141} Kitāb.

\textsuperscript{142} Qur‘ān 6:1.
tably, supported religion and strove against the polytheists, until God took him. I commend to you the fear of God, austerity in this world, desire for the afterlife, frequent recollection of death, avoidance of the sinners, and love for the believers. For austerity in this world encourages God's servant to desire what is with Him and frees his body for obedience to God; frequent recollection of death inspires the servant with fear of his Lord, so that he cries out for His succor and submits humbly to Him. Avoidance of the sinners is a duty for the believers, as God said in His book: "Do not pray over any of them who dies, ever, nor stand by his grave; they disbelieved in God and His messenger, and died as sinners."¹⁴³ Love for the believers is recommended because it is in this way that one obtains God's grace and mercy and His Paradise—may God cause us and you to be among the sincere and patient!

Indeed, it is a blessing from God on the believers that He sent to them a messenger from among themselves, who taught them the Book and the wisdom, purified and sanctified them, and led them aright in their religion; he was kind and merciful to the believers until God took him away, God's blessings be upon him! Then, after him, authority was taken by the God-fearing Veracious One,¹⁴⁴ with the approval of the Muslims. He followed the right guidance of the messenger and continued in his way¹⁴⁵ until he joined God, God's mercy be upon him. He designated 'Umar as his successor, and God entrusted him with the authority over this flock. 'Umar acted in accordance with the Book of God and kept to the way¹⁴⁶ of the messenger of God. He begrudged his flock none of their rights and feared the reproach of no one before God, until he joined Him, God's mercy be upon him. After him, the Muslims were ruled by 'Uthmān. He expropriated the spoils, failed to enforce the Qur'ānic punishments, rendered unjust judgments, and treated the believer with

¹⁴³ Qur'ān 9:84.
¹⁴⁴ Al-Ṣiddiq, epithet of the caliph Abū Bakr, see EI², s.v. Abū Bakr.
¹⁴⁵ Sunnah.
¹⁴⁶ Aḥyā sunnah.
contempt and the evildoer with esteem. The Muslims went to him and killed him, and God, His messenger and the upright among the believers were quit of him. After him, the people were governed by 'Ali b. Abi 'Abd Allah. He did not hesitate to give men authority to judge in the affairs of God; he vacillated with regard to the people of error, and appeased and blandished them. We are quit of 'Ali and his supporters.

Prepare, then—God's mercy upon you—to strive against these fractious parties and unjust leaders of error, and to go out from the abode of transience to the abode of eternity and join our believing, convinced brethren, who sold the present world for the afterworld and expended their wealth in quest of God's good pleasure in the final reckoning. Be not anxious about being killed for God's sake, for being killed is easier than dying naturally. Natural death comes upon you unexpectedly, separating you from your fathers, sons, wives, and this world; if your anxiety and aversion to this is too strong, then, indeed, sell your souls to God obediently, and your wealth, and you will enter Paradise in security and embrace the black-eyed houris. May God make you and us among the grateful and mindful "who are guided by the truth and by it act justly."

According to Abū Mikhnafl—'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah: During the

147. The first three of these accusations (ista'thara bi-al-fay wa-attala al-ḥudūd wa-jara fi al-ḥukm) are repeated below (II, 984, and see II, 993); all are standard Khārijite complaints. See Bosworth, Sīstān under the Arabs, 4of.; Watt, Formative Period, 9–12, Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 471, 477; G. R. Hawting, "The significance of the slogan lā ḥaκmī illā lillāh and the references to the ḥudūd in the traditions about the Fitna and the murder of 'Uthmān," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 41 (1978), 453–63, and, for similar accusations against the deposed Khārijite leader Najdah b. 'Amir, Dixon, Umāyyad Caliphate, 173. On the Qur'ānic punishments, see E2, s.v. ḥadd.

148. The references here are to events at Siffin and afterward, when 'Ali agreed to arbitration of his dispute with Mu'āwiya; see Watt, Formative Period, 12–20.

149. The language here is Qur'ānic and quasi-technical: "strive" is jiḥād, "go out" is khurūj. "Selling" (bā'ū) this world for the other paraphrases Qur'ān 4:74: "Let those fight in the way of God who sell (yashrūna) the life of this world for the other"; echoed both here and below is also Qur'ān 3:207: "And of men there is he who sells (yashrif) his soul out of desire for God's good pleasure." It is from these passages that the Khārijites took their name Shurah, "sellers"; see R. Brünnow, Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omāyyaden (Leiden, 1884), 28f.

150. Qur'ān 7:159; see also 9:111.
time when Šāliḥ’s associates used to come frequently to see him, he said to them one day, “I know not what you are expecting or how long you will abide. You see how injustice has become the rule and justice has been effaced. These governors only increase in their excesses and arrogance toward the people, their remoteness from right, and their effrontery before the Lord. Ready yourselves, then, and send for your brethren who desire, as you do, to reject the wrong and summon to the right. Let them come to you, and then we will meet and consider what we are going to do, and, if we are going to revolt, when we should revolt.”

Šāliḥ’s associates sent out letters and met to discuss these plans. While they were engaged in this, al-Muhallil b. Wāʿil al-Yashkuri came to them with a letter from Shabib to Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, which read as follows:

I have learned that you are wanting to set out; you have summoned me to that, and I am responding to you. If you are ready to do so now, you will be the shaykh of the Muslims, and we will hold no one among us as equal to you. But if you want to postpone that day, inform me of that; people die in the morning and the evening, and I cannot be sure that fate will not cut me off before I can strive against the evildoers—what a cheat that would be, and what benefit lost! May God make you and us among those whose deeds are performed for the sake of God and His good pleasure, the blessing of gazing at His face, and the companionship of the righteous in the Abode of Peace. Peace be upon you.

When al-Muhallil b. Wāʿil came to Šāliḥ with this letter from Shabib, Šāliḥ wrote back to him as follows:

Your letter with your news was slow in reaching me, to the point that I had become concerned; for a man from among the Muslims had informed me that you had set out and were on your way. Now we praise God for the decree of our Lord, for your messenger has brought me your letter, and I have understood all that is in it. We are equipped and fully prepared to take the field; I have not done so until now only

151. For full references on Shabib, see note 178 below.
because I was waiting for you. Come to us, then, and let us then begin the revolt whenever you please; for you are one of those whose opinion is indispensable and without whom things cannot be decided. Peace be upon you.

When this letter reached Shabib, he sent to a number of his associates to come join him. These included his brother, Muṣād'152 b. Yazīd b. Nu'aym, al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il al-Yashkurī, al-Ṣaqīr b. Ḥātim of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān, Ibrāhīm b. Hūrū Ṣūqayr b. al-Ṣuqayr of the Banū Muḥallim, and al-Faḍī b. ʿĀmir of the Banū Dhuḥl b. Shaybān.153 Then he set out and came to Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ in Dārā. When he met him, he said, "Let us begin the revolt, may God have mercy on you, for, by God, the right path154 only becomes more obliterated, and the evildoers only become more tyrannical." Ṣāliḥ sent his messengers abroad among his associates, setting the time of the revolt for the night of Wednesday, 1 Șafar 76 (May 21, 695).155 They began to assemble, to equip and prepare themselves to raise the revolt on that night; and on that night they all assembled with him as appointed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ al-Azdī: By God, I was with Shabib in al-Madāʾin156 when he told us that they were going to revolt. When we were ready to raise the revolt, we all assembled with Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ on the night he set out. My opinion was that we should slaughter the people indiscriminately,157 because of all the sin, oppression, and corruption in the earth that I saw. I went to Ṣāliḥ and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, how do you intend to proceed with these evildoers? Will

152. Ṣūqayr, see Ibn Hājar, Tafsīr (Cairo, 1964–67), 1293.
153. All of these men, with the exception of al-Muḥallil, belonged to clans of Shaybān b. Thaʿlabah; see Ibn Hazm, Jamhūrāh, 302. Shabib and his brother were of the Dhuḥl b. Shaybān; see the genealogy in Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 454. If al-Muḥallil belonged to the Yashkur b. Bakr (see Kābihālāh, Muʿjam qabāʿil al-ʿarab, 1265), then they were all members of the Bakr b. Wāʾil federation, which included the Banū Shaybān.
154. Sunnah.
155. Friday.
156. The old Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon on the Tigris, about eighty miles northeast of al-Kūfah, still at this time an important administrative center. See EI2, s.v. al-Madāʾin.
157. Istīrād al-nāṣ. This term has clearly here its developed meaning of "massacre" rather than the earlier one of "interrogation"; see EI2, s.v. istīrād, and note 131 above.
we kill them before summoning them to the faith, or will we summon them before fighting them? Let me give you my opinion about them before you give me yours. I think that we should kill everyone who disagrees with us, near and far, for we are taking up arms against people who wander in error, tyrants and oppressors who have abandoned the command of God and fallen completely under the control of Satan." 

But he said, "No, on the contrary, we will summon them. By my life, it is only those who hold your opinions who will respond, while those who condemn you will surely fight you. Summoning them will silence their argument and strengthen ours against them." Then I asked him, "And what is your view on those we fight and overcome? What do you say about their lives and property?" He replied, "If we kill them and despoil them, that is our right; but if we forgo doing so and let them be, that is also our right and we will be rewarded." He spoke well and truly, God's mercy upon him and upon us!

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man from the Banū Muḥallim: On the night they set out, Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ said to his associates:

Fear God, you servants of God, and be not overhasty to fight any one of the people, unless they be hostile people who intend you harm. You are rebelling only out of wrath for God, because His ordinances have been flouted, the earth filled with disobedience, blood spilled unjustly, and property taken wrongfully. Do not reproach people for deeds and then do them yourselves, for you are yourselves responsible for all that you do. Now most of you are on foot, but there are riding beasts belonging to Muḥammad b. Marwān here in this district. Start here, then, and raid them, so that you may mount your footsoldiers and thereby strengthen yourselves against the enemy.

They set out, and in that same night seized the riding beasts and mounted their foot upon them, so that their footsoldiers became horsemen. They remained in the area of Dārā for thirteen nights, and the people of Dārā, Nisibis, and Sinjar fortified themselves against them. On the night Šāliḥ set out, he set out with 120 men, or, according to some, 110.

Word of this revolt came to Muḥammad b. Marwān, who was at
that time the amīr of the Jazīrah. He minimized the problem, and sent against them 'Adī b. 'Adī b. 'Umayyah of the Banū al-Hārith b. Mu‘awiyah b. Thawr, with five hundred men. 'Adī said to him, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! Would you send me against the man who has been at the head of the Khārijites for twenty years, and who is accompanied in his rebellion by men from the Rabi‘ah who came up against me in the past and used to test their strength against us? Against such as these, one of whose footsoldiers is worth more than a hundred horsemen, would you send me with five hundred men?" Muḥammad replied, "Well, then, I will give you another five hundred, and you can go against them with a thousand."

'Adī set out from Ḥarrān with a thousand men. This was the first army that marched against Ṣāliḥ. 'Adī marched toward him as if he were being driven to his death. 'Adī was a pious man. He proceeded as far as Dawghān, where he stopped the men, and sent ahead secretly to Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ a man of the Banū Khālid of the Banū al-Wirthah named Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh. This man said to Ṣāliḥ, "'Adī has sent me to you to ask you to leave this land and go to another land and fight the people there; for 'Adī is reluctant to engage you." Ṣāliḥ replied, "Return to him and tell him: If you subscribe to our opinions, give us an indication of that which we will recognize, and we will set out this very night, leaving this land to you and going to another. But if you subscribe to the opinions of the tyrants and the evil imāms, we will see what we decide to do; if we wish, we will attack you, and if we wish, we will turn to someone else."

The messenger went to 'Adī and reported this message to him. 'Adī said, "Return to him and tell him: By God, I am not of your opinion, but I am reluctant to fight you or anyone else; so fight

158. See Baladhuri, Anṣāb, V, 186.
159. Thawr is the Southern tribe of Kindah; see EI², s.v. Kinda.
160. The Northern tribal confederation of which Bakr b. Wā’il was the leading component; see EI², s.v. Bakr b. Wā’il.
161. Reading samaw li- for text summū li-, "were named to me"; see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. samā.
162. A market town between Ra‘s al-‘Ayn and Nisibis; see Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 621.
163. According to the Ibn Qutaybah, Ma‘ārif, 100, the Banū al-Wirthah were a subdivision of Dhuḥl b. Shaybān; this man was thus a clansman of Ṣāliḥ’s men.
someone other than me." Then Šāliḥ said to his associates, "Mount!" and they mounted; he held the man captive with him until they had set out, and then let him go. Šāliḥ proceeded with his associates until he came to 'Adi b. 'Adi b. 'Umayrah in the market of Dawghān, while the latter was performing the forenoon prayer. Without warning, the Khārijite cavalry were bearing down on his men, and when they saw him coming, they began to shout to one another.

Šāliḥ put Shabib with a detachment of his forces on his right and sent Suwayd b. Sulaym al-Hindi of the Banū Shaybān with a detachment to his left; he himself stood with a detachment in the center. As they approached 'Adi's men, he saw that they were not formed in ranks, but running around in confusion, whereupon he ordered Shabib to attack them. Then Suwayd attacked them as well, and this finished them; they would not fight. 'Adi b. 'Adi had his mount brought to him while he was praying, and he mounted it and rode off blindly. Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ proceeded on to 'Adi's camp and took possession of what was there.

The remnants of 'Adi's men, and his leading commanders, went back to Muḥammad b. Marwān, who was furious. Muḥammad summoned Khālid b. Jaz' al-Sulamī and sent him off with fifteen hundred men, and summoned al-Ḥārith b. Ja'wanah of the Banū Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir b. Sa'ṣa'ah and sent him off with another fifteen hundred men. To the two of them he said, "March against this foul little group of Khārijites, and do so quickly. Quicken the march, for whichever of you gets there first will have the command over the other."

They took their leave of him and marched out quickly. They made inquiries about Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and were told that he had set out toward Amid. They marched in pursuit and reached him at Amid, where he was quartered with the people. They arrived at night and dug defensive trenches. When they arrived, they were still two separate forces, each commander by himself, with his men. Šāliḥ directed Shabib against al-Ḥārith b. Ja'wanah

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164. The Banū Sulaym and Banū 'Āmir b. Sa'ṣa'ah both belonged to Qays 'Aylan, one of the two major subgroups of Muṭar, which with Rabī'ah constituted the Northern tribes; see EI², s.v. Kays 'Aylan.

165. Modern Diyarbakr; see EI², s.v. Diyar Bakr.
al-'Amiri with half his forces and rode himself against Khālid b. Jaz' al-Sulami.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Muḥallimi: They reached us at the beginning of the afternoon prayer time. Sāliḥ led us in performing the afternoon prayer, then set us in battle array against them. We fought as hard as any people have ever fought, and, by God, it began to look as if we would win. One of our men would attack ten of theirs and overcome them, or he would attack twenty, with the same result; and their cavalry began to lose ground to ours. Seeing this, their two commanders dismounted, ordering most of their men to dismount as well. Then we began to have trouble achieving our objectives with them. When we attacked them, their infantry met us with lances and their archers rained arrows upon us, their cavalry charging us all the while. We fought them until evening, when the darkness finally separated us. They had wounded many of us, and we of them; they had killed about thirty of our men, while we had killed more than seventy of theirs. By God, by the time evening arrived, we were sick of them, as were they of us, and we maintained our positions before them, neither side advancing against the other; with evening, they withdrew to their camp, and we to ours. We prayed, rested, and ate some of our bread. Then Sāliḥ summoned Shabib and his leading commanders, and said, "My dear friends, what do you think we should do?" Shabib said, "My opinion is that we have encountered these men and fought them, and now that they have taken refuge behind their trench, I do not think we should continue with them." Sāliḥ said, "That is my opinion, also." Accordingly, they set out under cover of darkness, traveling across the land of the Jazirah until they reached the Mosul region. They then crossed through it as well and continued on until they had come into al-Daskarah.166

When word of this reached al-Ḥajjāj, he sent against them al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayrah b. Dhi al-Mish'ār al-Hamdānī167 with three thousand Kūfāns, one thousand from the regular forces and two thousand from the troops that al-Ḥajjāj had hired.168 Al-Ḥārith

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166. A district and town on the Diyālā River, northeast of al-Madā'in; see EI², s.v. Daskara; Le Strange, Lands, 62, 80.
167. Hamdān was a Southern tribe; see EI², s.v. Hamdān.
168. Al-muqātīlah al-ūlā and al-fārḍ alladhi faradha lahum al-Ḥajjāj respec-
set out, but when he drew near al-Daskarah, źalih b. Musarrih withdrew toward Jalûlä' and Khâniqin. Al-Ḫârith b. 'Umayrah pursued him as far as a village called al-Mudabbaj in the Mosul region, on the border between it and the Jûkhâ region. Žalih at this time had ninety men with him. Al-Ḫârith b. 'Umayrah arranged his forces, putting Abû al-Rawwâgh al-Shâkirî on his right and al-Zubayr b. al-Arwaḫ al-Tamîmî on his left, and then, after the afternoon prayer, he attacked. Žalih had arranged his forces in three squadrons, one under his own command, one under Shabib on his right, and one under Suwayd b. Sulaym on his left, each squadron consisting of thirty men.

When al-Ḫârith b. 'Umayrah charged against them with all his men, Suwayd b. Sulaym was thrown back, but Žalih b. Musarrih stood his ground and was killed. Shabib fought until he was knocked from his horse and fell among some infantry. He charged them and they fell back, and he was able to reach Žalih b. Musarrih's position, where he found him dead. He called, "To me, 0 company of Muslims!" and they rallied around him. Then he said to his men, "Stand all of you back to back and thrust at your enemies if they advance on you, and let us make our way into that fortress, where we can decide what to do." This they did, and Shabib entered the fortress with seventy men.

Al-Ḫârith b. 'Umayrah surrounded them. It was now evening, and he said to his men, "Burn down the gate until it is reduced to

tively. On fard, troops not on the muster roll and paid contractually, see Baladhuri, Futūḥ, glossarium, s.v. fard, and Fries, Heereswesen, 24; they tended to be younger men, as is clear from the incident below.

169. An important town about thirty miles northeast of al-Daskarah; see EI², s.v. Djalûlä'.

170. A town about thirty miles again northeast of Jalûlä'; see EI², s.v. Khâniqin.

171. Or al-Mudabbij. Yâqût, Mu'jam, IV, 448, records it without vowels and apparently knows of it only from this incident.

172. East of the Tigris, stretching from Khâniqin south to Khûzistân, see Yâqût, Mu'jam, II, 143.

173. Or Abû al-Ruwâ' [see Ibn Ḥajar, Taḫṣîr, 612]. See text above, II, 46–54, for the alternative spelling and for this man's previous experience combating the Khârijites. The Banû Shâkir b. Rabî'ah were a branch of Hamdân; see Caskel, Gamhurat an-nasab, II, 524.

174. Sg. kurdûs; see WKAS, s.v. According to the lexicographers, a kurdûs was smaller than a katîbah [note 115 above], but see text below, II, 959, where the terms seem to be synonyms, and Fries, Heereswesen, 42.
burning embers, and then leave it; they will not be able to get out until we come to them in the morning and kill them." They burned the gate and then went off to their camp. Shabib was looking down on them, with a group of his men, when one of the men from the hired troops said, "You sons of whores, has God not abased you?" They replied, "Indeed He has not, you sinners; you fight us back when we fight you because God has blinded you to the truth that we possess. What then is your excuse to God for slandering our mothers?" But to this the more temperate among them said, "This is just talk by some foolish youth among us, by God, and we neither like it nor consider it acceptable."

Then Shabib said to his men, "What are you all waiting for here? By God, if these men come back to you early in the morning, it will be the end of you." They said, "Give us your orders." He said, "Night veils calamities. Render the oath of allegiance to me or to whomever you wish among yourselves, then let us go out and attack them in their camp, since they are feeling secure against any such thing from you. I pray that God may give you victory over them." They said, "Extend your hand, so that we may render you the oath of allegiance," and they did so.\[892\]

When they were about to go out, they found that their gate had been reduced to burning embers, but they managed to get across them by taking felt saddle-blankets, soaking them in water, and then throwing them over the embers. Al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmayrah and the troops in his camp were taken completely by surprise to find Shabib and his men laying about them with their swords in the heart of their camp. Al-Ḥārith fought until he fell and was carried by his men as they retreated, leaving the camp and everything in it to the Khārijites. Then they returned to al-Madāʾin. This army was the first one to be defeated by Shabib.

Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ fell on Tuesday, 17 Jumādā I of this year (September 2, 695).\[177\]

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175. For the proverb, see Maydāni, Amthāl, II, 127.
176. According to Ibn Khayyāt, Taʿrīkh, 272, Ibn Qutaybah, Maʿārif, 410, and Baghdādi, Farq, 89, Ṣāliḥ appointed Shabib his successor before his death.
177. Thursday. According to Ibn Khayyāt, Taʿrīkh, 272, 17 Jumādā II (October 2, a Saturday). Ibn Qutaybah, Maʿārif, 410, reports that later Khārijites used to shave their heads at his tomb.
In this year, Shabib entered al-Kūfah, accompanied by his wife Ghazalah.¹⁷₈

**Shabib’s Entry into al-Kūfah and His Dealings with al-Ḥajjāj There, and Why Shabib Did This**

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alqamah—Qabiṣah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khath’ami: The reason for this was as follows: When Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrib was killed at al-Mudabbaj and Ṣāliḥ’s associates rendered the oath of allegiance to Shabib, the latter went up to the Mosul region, where he met Salāmah b. Sayyār b. al-Maḍā’ al-Taymi of the Taym Shaybān and summoned him to rebel along with him. He was already acquainted with Salāmah, as the latter had been registered on the military roll and participated in the expeditions.¹⁷⁹ Salāmah agreed to support him on the condition that he be allowed to pick out thirty of his horsemen, with whom he would then be gone for not more than precisely three nights. Shabib agreed, and Salāmah selected the thirty horsemen and led them off toward the ‘Anazah.¹⁸⁰ His object was to wreak his vengeance on them for murdering his brother Faḍālah.

The story behind this is that Fadalah had rebelled with eighteen

¹⁷⁸. Ṭabarī’s account of Shabib’s rebellion is by far the most detailed known; it is summarized by Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 396–416, 419–33, and serves as the basis for accounts in Périer, Vie d’al-Ḥadidjādī, 115–48, and Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 184–91. A quite different account appears in Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 84–92, omitting any reference to Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrib and identifying the first two commanders sent out (by al-Ḥajjāj) as ‘Ubaydah b. Mikhrāq al-Qaynī and Yazīd b. Hubayrah al-Muḥārībī, neither of whom is mentioned by Ṭabarī. Brief accounts in Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 372–75, and Ya’qūbī. Ta’rikh, II, 328, combine elements of both versions, as does the biography in Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 454–58, which draws on other sources as well. See also Ibn Qutaybah, Ma’ārif, 410f.; Baghdādī, Farq, 89–92 [garbled]; EI², s.v. Shabib. Shabib’s genealogy back to the clan of Dhuhl b. Shaybān is given by Ibn al-Sikkit, Islāḥ al-maṣṭiḥ [Cairo, 1956], 324f., and his kunyah by Baghdādī, Farq, 89, as Abū al-Ṣaḥārā [or al-Ṣaḥārī] [confirmed by text below, II, 1633f.]. Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī (followed by Baghdādī) precedes his account with a report that Shabib had gone earlier to Damascus and attempted to get a farād from ‘Abd al-Malik through the intercession of Rawḥ b. Zinbā; when ‘Abd al-Malik refused, saying he did not know him, Shabib replied, “I hope, God willing, he will know me in the future!”

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¹⁸⁰. A Rabi’ah tribe; see EI², s.v. ‘Anaza.
men and stopped at a well called al-Shajarah in the region of al-
Jāl.181 There was a great tamarisk tree there, and there were
'Anazah. When the 'Anazah saw him, they said to one another,
"Let us kill them, and in the morning take them to the amīr; we
will receive a generous reward." They agreed on this, but the
Banū Naṣr, who were Faḍālah's mother's clan, said, "By God's
life, we will not aid you in killing our son!" Nevertheless, the
'Anazah rode out against Faḍālah's men, fought them and killed
them, and brought their heads to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. As a
reward, 'Abd al-Malik let them move into Bāniqiyā182 and as-
signed them stipends, something they had rarely had before.183
Salāmah b. Sayyār recited these verses on the murder of his
brother Faḍālah and the failure of his maternal kin to defend him:

I would not have imagined that a young man's maternal kin
would deliver him over
to the fall of a blade, until Naṣr did what it did.

The rebellion of Salāmah's brother Faḍālah preceded that of
Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrīh and Shabib; therefore, when Salāmah rendered
the oath of allegiance to Shabib, he imposed on him this condi-
tion. He rode out with the thirty horsemen until he reached the
'Anazah and began killing them in one settlement after another
until he came to a party of them that included his maternal aunt.
She was bent over a son of hers, a boy in his adolescence; and she
bared her breast to Salāmah and said, "I adjure you by the blood
ties of this, Salāmah!" He replied, "No, by God! I have not seen
Faḍālah since he halted at the great tree of al-Shajarah"—mean-
ing his brother—"Now stand away from him, or I will take my
lance to your withered dug." At that, she stood aside from her
son, and Salāmah killed him.

181. Yaqūt, Mu'jam, II, 10, mentions two places with this name, one in Ādhara-
bayān and the other, pronounced al-Jāl or al-Gel, about four farsaks south of al-
Madā'īn. The latter, if either, seems the more likely to be meant here, but if the al-
Jāl mentioned directly below is the same place, one would expect it to be rather
somewhere north of the Diyālā River.
182. Anzaluhum Bāniqiyā. This was at that time a fertile area on the western
branch of the Euphrates below al-Kūfah and al-Ḥirah; see A. Musil, The Middle
Euphrates [New York, 1937], 288f.
183. Farāḍa lāhum wa-lam takun lāhum farā'id qabla dhālika illā qalilah; see
note 168 above.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Muḍaddal b. Bakr of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān: Shabib and his companions then turned toward Rādḥān.\footnote{184} When a group of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān heard of his approach, they withdrew in flight before him, along with a small number of other people, going as far as the monastery of Khurrazād,\footnote{185} near Ḥawlāyā,\footnote{186} where they stopped. There were about three thousand of them, while Shabib had only some seventy men or a few more, but when he came among them, they feared him and fortified themselves against him. Then Shabib set out by night, accompanied by twelve horsemen from among his companions, to go to his mother, who was camped in the foothills of Sātidamā,\footnote{187} staying in one of the large hair-tents of the bedouin. Shabib said, “I am going to bring my mother and put her in my camp so she will never be parted from me until one of us dies.” Meanwhile, two men of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān, fearing for their lives, left the monastery and went out to join a group of their people who were camped at al-Jāl, about an hour’s journey from them by day.\footnote{188} When Shabib led out that party of his—there were twelve of them—\footnote{189} to meet his mother in the foothills, he unexpectedly ran into a group of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān heedlessly encamped with their herds, not imagining that Shabib would pass their way, because of where they were, or be aware of them. But Shabib attacked them with these horsemen of his and killed thirty of their shaykhs, including Hawtharah b. Asad and

\begin{footnotes}
184. Apparently at this time a district north of the Diyālā and east of the Tigris, although the sources are difficult to harmonize. See J. Markwart, Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen (Wien, 1930), 277, and J. M. Fiey, Assyrie chrétienne (Beirut, 1965–68), III, 16 (map), 76–81, 257–60.
185. Yaḥūṭ, Mu’jam, II, 422, mentions a town of Khurrazād Ardashīr (un-vocalized) in the region of Mosul. Some MSS read Kh.r.dāb.
186. Yaḥūṭ, Mu’jam, II, 366, mentions a village of this name in the Nahrawān (canal) region. At II, 932 below, the Ḥawlāyā is a river (or canal) in Upper Rādḥān, in Jūkhā.
187. The modern Jabal Ḥamrīn, which is cut by the Tigris north of Takrit and extends northwest and southeast from there. See Markwart, Südarmenien, 274–78; EI², s.v. Ḥamrīn; Fiey, Assyrie chrétienne, III, 16 (map).
188. Fa-lahiqā bi-jamā’ah min qawmihim wa-hum nuzūl bi-al-jāl minhum ‘alā masirat sā’ah min al-nahār.
189. Wa-kharaja Shabib fi ulā’ika al-raḥt fi awwalihim wa-hum ithnā ‘ashar. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 394, omits in his paraphrase any reference to the two men, and says simply fa-sāra bihim sā’ah, “and (Shabib) had traveled with (his twelve men) for an hour, (when . . .)”
\end{footnotes}
Wabarah b. 'Āṣim, who had left the monastery and joined those at al-Jāl. Shabib then went on to fetch his mother from the foothills and brought her back with him.\(^{190}\)

Meanwhile, one of the men in the monastery, who was of the Bakr b. Wā'il, came out to speak to Shabib's men from above. Shabib had left his brother, Muṣād b. Yazīd, in charge of his men; the man who came out to them was named Sallām b. Ḫayyān. He said to them, "You people, the Qur'ān stands between us. Have you not heard God's words, 'And if any one of the unbelievers seeks your protection, then grant it him, so that he may hear the word of God, then convey him to his place of security'?"\(^{191}\) They said, "Indeed we have." He said to them, "Then leave us alone until morning. We will come out to you then, with a safe-conduct from you so that we may not be subject to any treatment from you to which we object; and you can present this position of yours to us. If we accept it, then you have no rights to our lives and possessions, and we will be your brethren; if we do not accept it, you will return us to our place of security, and then proceed as you please with regard to what is between you and us." They replied, "We will grant you this."

The next morning, they went out to the Kharijites, and Shabib's men stated their views to them and described their position. They accepted it in its entirety and joined up with them, becoming a full part of their group. When Shabib came back, his men explained to him how this reconciliation had taken place, and he said, "You have acted well and correctly, and been granted a successful outcome."

Then Shabib took to the road again, accompanied by one group, while another group remained where they were.\(^{192}\) Among those who accompanied him on that day was Ibrāhīm b. Ḥujr al-Muḥallimi Abū al-Ṣuqayr, who had been staying with the Banū

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\(^{190}\) On Shabib's mother Jahizah, see Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 487, and text below, II, 976. Tabarī says nothing more about her accompanying Shabib on his campaigns, but Ibn A'tham al-Kuf`i, Futuh, VII, 87, and others attest to her presence at the occupation of al-Kūfah; see note 439 below.

\(^{191}\) Qur'ān 9:6. In a similar anecdote in Mubarrad, Kāmil, 528, Wāṣil b. 'Āṭā' appeals to the same verse; he, however, unlike the people here, does not join up in the end.

\(^{192}\) Wa-aqāmat tā'īyah jānihah; Tabarī, glossarium, s.v. jānaha, suggests "inclined (toward peace)," but perhaps the meaning is rather "on the sidelines."
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Taym b. Shaybān. Shabib passed through the nearer parts of the Mosul region and the borderlands of Jūkāh, then went up toward Ādharbayjān. At this point, Sufyān b. Abī al-'Āliyah al-Khath'amī appeared with some cavalry. He had been ordered to lead them into Ṭabaristān but then ordered to return, and was on his way back with some thousand horsemen, having made a truce with the ruler of Ṭabaristān.¹⁹³

According to Abū Mikhnafer—‘Abdollāh b. ‘Alqamah—Sufyān b. Abī al-'Āliyah al-Khath'amī: I received this letter from al-Ḥajjāj:

Proceed to al-Daskarah with the men you have with you and wait there until you are joined by the force of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Umayrah al-Hamdānī ibn Dhi al-Mish‘ar, the man who killed Śāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, as well as the cavalry scouts.¹⁹⁴ Then go and find Shabib, and attack him.

Upon receipt of this letter, Sufyān proceeded to al-Daskarah and halted there, while proclamation was made to the army of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Umayrah in al-Kūfah and al-Madā’in that no contractual obligation would protect any man belonging to the army of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Umayrah who did not go join Sufyān b. Abī al-'Āliyah in al-Daskarah.

They went out to join him. The cavalry scouts also arrived, five hundred strong under the command of Sawrah b. Abjar al-Tamīmi of the Banū Abān b. Dārim. Altogether, only about fifty men failed to show up. Sawrah sent ahead to Sufyān b. Abī al-'Āliyah, saying, "Do not set out with the army until I come to you." But Sufyān hurried off in pursuit of Shabib and caught up with him at Khānīqīn, at the foot of a mountain. He put Khāzmī b. Sufyān al-Khath'amī of the Banū ‘Amr b. Shahrān¹⁹⁵ in charge of his right flank and ‘Adī b. ‘Umayrah al-Shaybānī¹⁹⁶ in charge of his left. Shabib showed himself before them but then withdrew.

¹⁹³. The ispahbadh, first mentioned in a definite historical context two years later, by Ya’qūbi, Ta’rikh, II, 329; see EI², s.v. ispahbadh, and note 396 below.

¹⁹⁴. Khayl al-manāẓir; see Lane, Lexicon, s.v. manżarah: "a place on the top of a mountain, where a person observes and watches the enemy."

¹⁹⁵. On the Khath'am, associated with southern tribes but sometimes given a northern genealogy, and the Shahrān clan, see EI², s.v. Khath'am.

¹⁹⁶. On the basis of the name ‘Adī b. ‘Adī b. ‘Umayrah al-Kindī thumma al-Shaybānī in the text below, II, 921, one may assume that this is the ‘Adī b. ‘Adī already mentioned, although a clan of the Kindah named Shaybān is unknown.
from them as if avoiding an engagement. He had put his brother Muṣād with fifty men in an ambush party in a depressed area of the terrain, and when Sufyān’s men had seen him, he assembled his forces and set off across the foothills heading east. They said, “The enemy of God has fled! After him!” ‘Adī b. ‘Umayrah al-Shaybānī warned them, “Do not hurry after them, men, before we can travel through the area and explore it. If they have set an ambush for us, our precautions will have been well taken; if not, we will still be able to pursue them.” But the men would not listen, and hurried after them. When Shabīb saw that they had passed the place of ambush, he turned around against them; and when the men in the ambush saw that they had passed them, they sprang out against them as well. Thus Shabīb was attacking them from in front, and the ambush clamoring behind them, and they were defeated before anyone lifted a sword against them. But Ibn Abī al-ʿĀliyah stood his ground with some two hundred men and offered them a good, stiff fight until he thought that he had extracted his due from Shabīb and his companions.

At this point, Suwayd b. Sulaym asked his companions, “Does any among you know the commander of these men, Ibn Abī al-ʿĀliyah? By God, if I find out which one he is, I will make every effort to kill him!” Shabīb replied, “Few people know him as well as I. Do you see the man on the horse with the blaze, there beyond the bowmen? That is he. But if it is him you are after, do not go just yet.” Then he said, “Qaʾnab, you take twenty men and go take them from behind.” Qaʾnab took twenty men and went up around them, and when they saw that he was intending to come at them from behind, they began to break ranks and slip away. Then Suwayd b. Sulaym attacked Sufyān b. Abī al-ʿĀliyah. First he thrust at him with his lance, but neither man’s weapon found its target. Then they fought with their swords. Then they seized hold of each other and fell wrestling to the ground. Then Sufyān’s men held back, and Shabīb attacked them and they were thrown back. A servant boy of Sufyān’s named Ghazwān came to him, dismounted from his horse, and said, “Mount, master.” Sufyān mounted and was surrounded by Shabīb’s men. Ghazwān, who

197. *Intaṣafa min*; other MSS read *sayzharu ‘alā or sayzfaru bi*, “he would defeat.”
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had been carrying his standard, fought to defend him and was killed. Sufyān b. Abī al-‘Āliyah rode off to Bābil Mahrūdh, where he halted and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj as follows:

I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that I pursued these heretics and caught up with them at Khānīqin. I engaged them in battle, and God smote their faces and granted us the victory over them. Then, while we were still enjoying our victory, there came to us men who had not been with them before, and attacked our men and routed them. I, however, with some men of religious conviction and fortitude, dismounted and fought them until I fell among the dead and was carried wounded off the field. I was brought to Bābil Mahrūdh, and am there now. The troops which the amīr sent me arrived, except for Sawrah b. Abjar. He did not come to me and was not present there with me; but when I arrived in Bābil Mahrūdh, he came to me saying I know not what, excusing himself with no excuse at all. Peace.

When al-Ḥajjāj read this letter, he said, “Who has done as this man has, or shown such valor? He has done well!” Then he wrote him as follows:

You have done well when tested and carried out your duty. When you are able to do so without pain, come to your people to receive your reward. Peace.

To Sawrah b. Abjar, al-Ḥajjāj wrote as follows:

O son of the mother of Sawrah! It was unworthy of you to disregard my order and fail to join my troops. When this letter comes to you, send one of your stalwart men to the cavalry that is in al-Madā‘in to choose five hundred men from it and bring them to you. Then lead them out to meet these heretics. Be resolute and use strategy against your enemy, for the best part of war is good strategy. Peace.

198. Mahrūdh was a subdistrict (ṭassāb) east of al-Madā‘in, in the same district (kūrah, astān) as al-Daskarah and Jalūlā‘, see Le Strange, Lands, 80. Bābil was presumably a town there, distinguished from Bābil al-Kūfah (Babylon); its dīhqān, or resident lord, is mentioned below, 2, 916, 942.
When Sawrah received the letter of al-Ḥajjāj, he sent 'Adī b. 'Umayrah to al-Madā'in. There were a thousand horsemen there, and he chose five hundred of them. Then he went to see 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Uṣayfīr, who was then amīr of al-Madā'in for his first time. The latter greeted him and gave him a thousand dirhams, a riding mount, and garments. Departing from him, 'Adī set out with his companions and brought them to Sawrah b. Abjar in Bābil Mabrūd. Sawrah then went out in search of Shabīb. Shabīb was moving about in Jūkha, while Sawrah tried to track him down. But then Shabīb came to al-Madā’in. The people of al-Madā’in fortified themselves against him and took precautions against the frailty of the ancient buildings in al-Madā’in. Shabīb entered al-Madā’in and seized many of the riding beasts of the troops there; and he killed anyone who appeared and did not stay indoors.

Then word was brought to him that Sawrah b. Abjar was on his way to him, so he and his companions departed and went to al-Nahrawān, where they halted, performed their ablutions, and prayed. Then they visited the places where their brethren had been killed by 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. They asked their brethren for forgiveness and declared themselves quit of 'Ali and his associates; and they wept for a long time. Then they went out and cut the bridge at al-Nahrawān and took up positions on its eastern end. Sawrah, meanwhile, advanced as far as Qatrāthā where his spies came and informed him of Shabīb’s position at al-Nahrawān. He summoned his chief officers and said to them:

Hardly ever have these men been encountered directly or in the open without extracting their due from you and getting the better of you. Now, being informed that they are only a few more than a hundred, I have decided to make a selection among you and march out with three hundred of the strong-

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199. Reading tabadhḍhara wahy abniyat al-Madā’in al-ūlā for taharrrazū wahy [emended by the editors to wa-wahiya] etc., see Freytag, Lexicon Arabico-Latinum [Halle, 1830–37], s.v. tabadhḍhara.

200. The town of al-Nahrawān was at the bridge over the al-Nahrawān canal, one stage east of the Tigris on the great Khurāsān road, see Le Strange, Lands, 61. On the battle of al-Nahrawān in 38 (658), in which 'Ali inflicted a bloody defeat on the Khārijītes, see text above, I, 3367ff.

201. Spelling and location uncertain.
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atest and bravest of you, and to come upon them now, when they are secure in their assumption that you are spending the night here. By God, I pray that God may strike them down on the spot where their brethren were struck down at al-Nahrawān before.

They replied, "Proceed as you wish!" Leaving Ḥāzim b. Qudāmah al-Khath'amī in charge of his army, he selected from his forces three hundred men noted for their strength, endurance, and courage, and set out with them for al-Nahrawān. But Shabīb, before retiring, had put the guard on alert; and when Sawrah's forces drew near them, they sent warning of them, and the men mounted their horses and arranged their ranks. By the time Sawrah and his forces arrived, they found them alerted and ready.

Sawrah and his forces charged them, but they withstood the attack and fought until Sawrah and his forces gave way. Then Shabīb raised the cry to his men and charged them until they left him the field; and his men charged with him. As he fought, Shabīb recited:

He who fucks a donkey fucks an expert fucker!
Two stones colliding with each other!\(^{202}\)

Sawrah returned to his army, his horsemen and men of strength defeated, and had them break camp and set off toward al-Madā'īn; he reached them after having packed up and gained a lead on Shabīb.\(^{203}\) Shabīb came in pursuit, hoping to catch up with him and attack and defeat his army as he had already defeated him, and he pressed with all speed after them. But Sawra's men reached al-Madā'īn and entered it, and when Shabīb reached the houses of al-Madā'īn and caught up with them, the men had gone inside. Then Ibn Abī 'Uṣayfir came out with the people of al-Madā'īn, and the people shot at Shabīb's men with arrows and threw stones down on them from the roofs of the houses.

Shabīb then turned away from al-Madā'īn with his men and passed through Kalwādhā,\(^{204}\) where he found many riding beasts

\(^{202}\) That is, you have more than met your match. Both lines are proverbial and do not normally appear together; see Maydānī, Amthāl, I, 160, and II, 233f.

\(^{203}\) Fa-daafa'a ila'yhim wa-qad tahlamma wa-ta'adda al-tariq alladhi fihi Shabīb.

\(^{204}\) Some fifteen miles north of al-Madā'īn, just south of Baghdad; see EIP, s.v. Kalwādhā.
of al-Ḥajjāj's and took them. Leaving Kalwādha, he traveled through the region of Jūkhā and then went on toward Takrit. In al-Madā'in, meanwhile, the people threw those troops into a panic, saying to them, "See how Shabib has drawn near! He is intending to attack the people of al-Madā'in tonight!" When they heard this, most of the troops left and returned to al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah al-Khath'amī: By God, they fled from al-Madā'in, saying, "We will be attacked tonight!" when all the while Shabib was in Takrīt! Then, when these defeated troops came to al-Ḥajjāj, he sent out al-Jazl b. Sa'id b. Shuratibil b. 'Amr al-Kindī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Nāḍr b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Absī and Fuḍayl b. Khadij al-Kindī: When the defeated troops came to al-Ḥajjāj, he said, "May God withhold his blessings from Sawrah! The man has wasted the army and the troops and gone out to attack the Khārijites at night. By God, I shall give him a harsh requital for this!" He did have him imprisoned later, although he was eventually pardoned.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadij: Al-Ḥajjāj summoned al-Jazl, whose real name was 'Uthmān b. Sa'id, and said to him, "Prepare to take the field against these heretics. When you encounter them, do not be overhasty, like those who act rashly, nor hold back, like the weak and timorous. Do you understand? What a man you are, you brother of the Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiyah!" Al-Jazl said, "Yes, may God cause the amir to prosper, I understand." Then al-Ḥajjāj said, "Go, then, and camp at Dayr 'Abd al-Rahmān until the men come to you." Al-Jazl said, "May God cause the amir to prosper, please do not send with me

205. Another hundred miles up the Tigris, on the borders of the province of Mosul; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 57.
206. *Al-Jazl* means "having sound judgment," or "generous." This man's real name was 'Uthmān, as noted below.
207. This is the same man as Abū al-Zuhayr al-'Absi, above, II, 873, 875; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mikhnaf*, 214.
208. *Al-'askar wa-al-jund*. The distinction between the two here is not clear.
209. Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 273, mentions Sawrah as Shabib's first opponent after the death of Śāliḥ, but provides no details, and then names the next commander as "Sa'id b. 'Amr al-Kindī," apparently a distortion of al-Jazl's name. Other early authors mention neither name.
210. On this clan of Kindah, see Kahhālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 836.
any men from those broken and defeated troops; fear has entered their hearts, and I am afraid that none of them will be of any use to you and the Muslims." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "You are granted this; it seems to me that you have considered well and been rightly led."

Then al-Ḥajjāj summoned the officials in charge of the military rolls and said, "Select an expeditionary force from among the troops and call up four thousand of them, a thousand men from each quarter; and be quick about it!" The marshals were assembled, and the officials in charge of the military rolls sat and selected the expeditionary force, calling up four thousand. Then al-Ḥajjāj ordered them to muster. They mustered, the call for departure was proclaimed, and they marched out. Al-Ḥajjāj's crier proclaimed that "No contractual obligation will protect any man we find shirking this expedition."

Al-Jazl b. Sa'īd set out, having placed before him ʿIyāḍ b. Abī Linah al-Kindī over the vanguard, and he proceeded as far as al-Madāʾin, where he halted for three nights. Ibn Abī ʿUṣayfir sent him a riding horse, a nag, two mules, and two thousand dirhams, and he provided the men with meat and fodder sufficient for three days, until their departure, the men were able to take as much of this meat and fodder provided by Ibn Abī ʿUṣayfir as they wished.

Then al-Jazl b. Sa'īd led the men out after Shabib. He pursued him in the Jūkhā region, but Shabib persisted in fighting shy of him, moving from rustāq to rustāq and from ṭassūj to ṭassūj without making a stand. He was hoping thereby that al-Jazl would divide his forces and hasten to engage him with a small force not in formation; but al-Jazl persisted in marching only in formation and digging a defensive trench for himself whenever he halted. Shabib finally became impatient, and one night ordered his forces to launch a night attack.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīt: Shabib summoned us when we were in Dayr Bayrimmā, a station on the Khurāsān highway, four farsakhs east of al-Nahrawān and eight farsakhs west of al-Daskarah, according to Ibn Rustah, Aʾlāq (BGA, VII),

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212. Iḍrabūʾalaʿalnāsabal-baʾth.
213. These terms, inherited from Sasanian administration, signify, respectively, rural divisions of a district and districts of a province. See E. Yarshater, ed., The Cambridge History of Iran, III (Cambridge, 1983), 676, 727, 732f.
214. A station on the Khurāsān highway, four farsakhs east of al-Nahrawān and eight farsakhs west of al-Daskarah, according to Ibn Rustah, Aʾlāq (BGA, VII),
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together. He appointed a man over each group of forty of his forces: he took forty himself, gave his brother Muṣād forty, sent out Suwayd b. Sulaym with forty, and sent out al-Muḥallil b. Wāʾil with forty. His spies had come and informed him that al-Jazl b. Saʿīd was camped at Dayr Yazdajird,215 and when he heard this, he summoned us and mustered us according to this arrangement. At his order, we gave the riding beasts their nosebags. He said to us, “Make your preparations, and once your beasts have had their grain, mount them. Every one of you is to go with the commander whom we have appointed over him, and every one of you is to heed the orders of his commander and obey him.”

Then he summoned our commanders and said to them, “I want to attack this camp tonight.” To his brother Muṣād he said, “When you approach them, go around above them so that you approach them from their rear, from the direction of Ḥulwān.216 I will approach them frontally, from the direction of al-Kūfah. You, Suwayd, approach them from the east; and you, Muballil, from the west. Every one of you must come in from the side with which he has been charged; and you are to give them no respite, charging and charging again, and raising the battle cry against them, until you receive orders from me.”

We remained in this muster—I was among the forty with Shabib—until the beasts had eaten. We set out at the beginning of the night, just when eyes begin to relax, and came to Dayr al-Kharārah,217 where we encountered an advance party218 under the command of ʿIyād b. Abi Linah. No sooner had we come upon them than Shabib’s brother Muṣād attacked them with his forty men. He was ahead of Shabib, having intended to precede Shabib and go up behind them and attack from the rear, as he had been ordered; but when he encountered these men, he fought them, and they tenaciously fought back for a time. Then we all came up

163—text: Dayr Tayrimah; see also Ibn Khurradādhbih, Masālik (BGA, VI), 18, 197, and al-Muqaddasi, Aḥsan al-taqāsīm (BGA, III), 135.
215. Unidentified in other sources, but apparently further up the Khurāsān highway.
216. The border town between the provinces of Iraq and al-Jībāl on the Khurāsān highway, some seventy-five miles east of al-Daskarah; see EI², s.v. Ḥulwān.
217. Spelling and location uncertain. Other MSS have al-Jarārah, al-Jarādah, al-Ḥarārah.
218. Maslahah.
on them and attacked them and drove them back. They took to the main road; it was only about a mile back to their camp at Dayr Yazdajird.

Shabib said to us, "Stay hard on their heels, companies of Muslims, and try to enter the camp with them, if you can!" We pursued them, by God, sticking close to them and pressing them without respite, while they were fleeing with no goal but their camp. When they reached their camp, though, their comrades would not let them enter it, and they rained arrows upon us. They had spies who had come and informed them of our position. Al-Jazl had entrenched himself and been on his guard; and he had sent out the advance party that we encountered at Dayr al-Kharārah, as well as another advance party on the road toward Ḥulwān. When we reached the advance party at Dayr al-Kharārah and pushed them back to their main camp, the other advance parties came back and all joined together. But the men in the camp would not let them enter the camp, saying, "Fight, and defend yourselves with your arrows!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Jarir b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kindi: Of the other two advance parties, 'Āṣim b. Ḥujr was in charge of the one in the direction of Ḥulwān, and Wāṣil b. al-Ḥārith al-Sakūnī was in charge of the other. When the advance parties came together, Shabib kept attacking them until he forced them back to the trench; but the men in the camp rained down arrows on Shabib's men until they drove them back from the men of the advance parties.

When Shabib saw that he would be unable to get to them, he said to his men, "Come, now, and leave them," and set off on the road to Ḥulwān. When he drew near to the site of the tents of Ḥusayn b. Zafar of the Banū Badr b. Fazārah—but the tents of Husayn b. Zafar were there only after that—he said to his men, "Dismount here, eat, repair your arrows, rest, and pray two prostrations; then remount." They dismounted and did as he said. Then he led them back again to the camp of the Kūfans. He said, "March in the formation in which I mustered you in Dayr Bay-

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219. The Banū Sakūn were a clan of Kindah; see Kaḥḥālah, Mu‘jam qabā‘il al-‘arab, 528.

220. The Banū Badr b. 'Amr were the leading family of the Fazārah tribe of Qays 'Ayln; see Kaḥḥālah, Mu‘jam qabā‘il al-‘arab, 68.
rimmā at the beginning of the night; then encircle their camp, as I ordered before, and advance."

We advanced with him. The men of the camp had brought their advance parties inside with them and felt secure from us; they were completely unaware of our approach until they heard the hoofbeats of our horses close by. We reached them shortly before morning and surrounded their camp. We raised the war cry against them from every side, and they began to do battle with us from every side and attack us with arrows. Then Shabib sent to his brother Muṣād, who was fighting them on the al-Kūfah side, saying, "Come to us and leave the way to al-Kūfah open to them." Muṣād came to him, leaving that side open, while we kept fighting them on the other three sides until morning. Morning came without our having broken through at all, so we rode away and left them. They called after us, "Where are you going, dogs of hell? Where, band of heretics? Give us a fight in the morning, and we will come out to you!" We withdrew from them about a mile and a half, dismounted, and performed the morning prayer. Then we set out on the road to Barāz al-Rūz and went on to Jarjarāyā and the surrounding region; and they set out after us.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a client of ours named Ghādir-rah or Qayṣar: I was working as a merchant with the troops when they were in pursuit of the Ḥarūriyyah. Our commander was al-Jazl b. Saʿīd. As he pursued them, he always marched in formation and never camped without digging a trench. Shabib was avoiding him and moving around in the region of Jūkhā and elsewhere, cutting off the land revenues. Al-Ḥajjaj wearied of that and wrote to al-Jazl the following letter, which was read out to the men:

I sent you out with the horsemen of the garrison and the elite troops and ordered you to go after these misguided and misleading heretics until you find them, and then not to leave off until you have killed them all and exterminated

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221. Southeast of the Khurāsān highway, between al-Nahrawān and al-Daskarah; see Le Strange, Lands, 61, 80.
222. A town on the east bank of the Tigris, some fifty miles south of al-Madā'in; see Le Strange, Lands, 37.
223. That is, the Azd.
224. Yaksiru al-kharāj; see WKAS, s.v. kasara, and EI², s.v. kharādī.
them. But I see that you find spending your nights in villages and tenting behind trenches easier than carrying out my orders to confront and fight them. Peace.

This letter was read to us when we were in Qatrathā and Dayr Abī Maryam. Al-Jazl was much distressed; he ordered the troops to march, and they set out in serious pursuit of the Khārijites. Disquieting rumors began to circulate among us about our commander, saying, "He is going to be dismissed."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismāʿīl b. Nuʿaym al-Hamdānī al-Namiri: Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Saʿīd b. Mujalid to take command of that army, charging him, "If you encounter the heretics, take the field against them, neither negotiating nor temporizing with them. Confront them, asking God's help against them; do not follow the example of al-Jazl. Pursue them like a lion and turn away from them like a hyena."

Al-Jazl went in pursuit of Shabib as far as al-Nahrawān, where he caught up with him. He kept to his camp, digging a defensive trench. Then Saʿīd b. Mujalid came to him and entered the camp of the Kūfāns as their commander. He stood before them to address them, and after praising and glorifying God, he said:

Men of al-Kūfah! You have shown yourselves to be weak and ineffectual and have brought on yourselves the anger of your amir. You have been in pursuit of these scrawny bedouin for two months while they have laid waste your land and cut off your land revenues. Yet you remain cautiously behind these trenches, never leaving them unless word comes to you that they have departed and moved on to some land other than yours. Go out, in God's name, against them!

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225. Unidentified, but apparently near Barāz al-Rūz; see text below, II, 910.
226. Text: al-Bursumī. He appears as al-Namiri in the text above, II, 117. Another possible reading in both places is al-Burmi. Both Namirah b. Aslam and Barmah b. Malik were clans of Ḥamdān; see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, II, 230, 445.
227. Text here and twice below: al-Mujīlīd, but otherwise, and in other sources, without the article. He was either the father of the important muḥaddith and akhbarī Mujalid b. Saʿīd, or at least his fellow clansman. See Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 227, II, 418, 500, and note 237 below.
228. Apparently a reference to the hyena's ferocity once it has captured its prey; see EI², Suppl., s.v. ḍabuʿ.
Then he went out, leading the troops out with him. He mustered the cavalry of the army; when al-Jazl asked him what he intended to do, he replied, "I intend to advance against Shabib with this cavalry." Al-Jazl said, "You stay with the body of the army, both cavalry and infantry, and I will go show myself to him. By God, he will assuredly advance against you. Do not divide your forces; that way it will be the worse for them and the better for you." But Sa'id said, "You stay with the ranks!" Al-Jazl replied, "O Sa'id b. Mujalid, what you do is no decision of mine. I take no responsibility for this decision of yours, in the hearing of God and those Muslims here present!" Sa'id said, "It is my own decision. If I have decided rightly, it is because God has led me to do so; if I have not decided rightly, you are all quit of any responsibility for it."

Al-Jazl stayed in the ranks of the Kūfans, having brought them out beyond the trench. He put 'Iyād b. Abi Linah al-Kindi over his right flank, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf Abū Hāmid al-Ru'āsi over his left flank. Al-Jazl stayed with the main force while Sa'id b. Mujalid advanced to the front and set out, leading the troops. Shabib, meanwhile, had taken the road to Barāz al-Rūz and stopped at Qaṭṭiṭiyā; he ordered its *dihqān* to purchase for them the things they needed and to provide them with a midday meal, which he did. Shabib entered the enclosure and ordered the gate shut. He had not yet eaten his meal when Sa'id b. Mujalid arrived with the forces of that army. The *dihqān* ascended the wall and saw the troops approaching and drawing near his fortress. When he came down, he was pale, and Shabib asked him why he was so ashen. The *dihqān* replied, "The troops have come at you from every side." Shabib said, "Never mind! Is our food ready?" He said, "Yes." Shabib said, "Then bring it. The gate has been shut." The food was brought and he ate. Then he performed the ablutions and prayed two prostrations. Then he

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229. The Banū Ru'ās b. al-Ḥārith were a clan of 'Āmir b. Sa'ṣa'ah; see Kahlal, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 450.

230. Spelling and location uncertain.

231. The *dihqāns* were the Sasanian landed gentry, who controlled the rural districts and collected taxes and often continued to do so under the Islamic regime; see *EIP*, s.v. *dihkān*.

232. Madinah.
called for a mule of his and mounted it. His men assembled at the
gate of the enclosure. He ordered the gate opened, and he rode out
on his mule and charged the government forces, crying "Judg-
ment belongs only to the Wise Arbiter! I am Abū Mudallah! "
Stand if you will!"

Sa'id collected his troops and cavalry and began to advance
them slowly after him, saying, "What are these? Diners on a
single head of cattle!" But when Shabib saw that they had
become dispersed and scattered, he turned all his horsemen
around, mustered them, and cried, "Slaughter them! And keep an
eye on their commander, for, by God, either I will kill him or he
will kill me!" Then he attacked them, slaughtering indis-

criminately, and routed them. Sa'id b. Mujalid stood his ground
and called to his forces, "To me! To me! I am Ibn Dhī Mur-
ran!" He took off his skullcap and put it on the pommel of his
saddle, but then Shabib attacked him and crowned him with his
sword, cutting through to the brain, and he fell dead.

The army continued to fall back, men falling on every side,
until they reached al-Jazl. Al-Jazl dismounted and called out, "To
me, men!" 'Iyād b. Abī Linah called out to them, "Men, if your
new commander has perished, your fortunate and blessed com-
mander is still alive and has not died!" Al-Jazl fought hard, until
he had to be carried off from amidst the dead and taken to al-
Kūfah. Among the men most severely tested in battle that day
were Khālid b. Nahik of the Banū Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiyah and
'Iyād b. Abī Linah, who came together to al-Jazl's rescue when he
was wounded.

233. Ḳal ilā lillāh ilā biqāmi, a paraphrase of the Qur'ānic phrase in
al-ḳal ilā lillāh (6:57; 12:67), and the rallying cry of the Khārijites from the
beginning; see text above, I, 333, 336ff., and Watt, Formative Period, 13ff.
234. This kunyah of Shabib's seems to be not otherwise attested; see note 178
above.
235. Wa-ja'ala Sa'id jayma'u qawmahu wa-khaylulu thumma yudifihi fi
atharihi. The sense of yudifi here, if that is the correct reading, is unclear;
nor the variant yuzliqu, "he causes to slip," nor the proposed emendation
yuzlifu, "he brings near," seems more satisfactory.
236. That is, few in number; see Maydāni, Amthāl, I, 44.
237. Dhū Murrān was his grandfather or great-grandfather, of the tribe of Ham-
dān. See note 227 above.
238. A clan of Kindah; see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 233, II, 239, 342.
This is the account of one group of men. According to the other account, the battle was between Dayr Abi Maryam and Barāz al-Rūz. Then al-Jazl wrote to al-Hajjāj. 239

Shabib advanced and crossed the Tigris at al-Karkh. 240 He sent word to the market of Baghdad, assuring those there of their safety. That day was their market day, and having heard that they were afraid of him he wanted to reassure them, because his companions were wanting to buy some animals, clothing, and other essential items from the market. Then he led them on toward al-Kūfah. They continued until nightfall and halted at 'Aqr al-Malik, near Qasr Ibn Hubayrah. 241 The next day he hurried on and spent that night between Hammām 'Umar b. Sa'd 242 and Qubbin. 243

When al-Hajjāj was informed of Shabib's position, he sent to Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'dī 244 and dispatched him with two thousand elite cavalry, saying, "Go out and meet Shabib. Form right and left wings, then dismount and advance against him with your men. 245 If he falls back in a feint, let him go and do not pursue him." Suwayd went out and camped at al-Sabakjah. 246 He was informed that Shabib was advancing on him, so

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239. This is the first of several dislocations in the text. The alternate version of the battle, on the authority of Hīshām al-Kalbi, is given below, after an account of Shabib's advance to al-Kūfah; this is followed in turn by the text of al-Jazl's letter, on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf.

240. Just north of Kalwādhā, on the west side of the Tigris, later a suburb of Baghdad; see Ep, s.v. al-Karkh.

241. Qasr Ibn Hubayrah, whose name postdates these events, was the first of three stages from Baghdad to al-Kūfah and not far from the ruins of Babylon; see Le Strange, Lands, 705, Musil, Middle Euphrates, 43, 274ff. 'Aqr al-Malik, meaning "the king's palace," is presumably the same as "al-'Aqr in the region of Bābil" mentioned by Mas'ūdī, Tanbih (BGA, VIII), 321f., but cannot be more precisely identified.

242. That is, the Bath of 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, the son of the founder of al-Kūfah, see Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 28. Musil, Middle Euphrates, 245f., 276 (there, as sometimes elsewhere, Hammām Ibn 'Umar], locates it a short distance southwest of al-Ḥillah. On the founding of this and other baths, see Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 268–70.

243. Mentioned and vocalized by Yaqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 35, but not precisely located.

244. The Banū Sa'd were a clan of Tamīm; for the genealogy, see Caskel, Ġamharat an-nasab, I, 76, II, 519. This man had earlier fought against al-Mukhtar; see text above, II, 616, 618.

245. Thumma inzil ilayh fi al-rijāl. See note 249 below.

246. Literally, the salt marsh, just outside the city. See the map in Massignon,
he advanced as well, but as if his men were being driven toward death.

Al-Ḥajjāj then ordered 'Uṭmān b. Qaṭān to muster the troops at al-Sabakhah. He issued a proclamation, saying, "Hear ye! No contractual obligation will protect any man from these troops who spends this night in al-Ḵūfah and does not go out to join 'Uṭmān b. Qaṭān at al-Sabakhah." Then he ordered Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān to take the two thousand men he had with him and meet Shabib. Suwayd crossed over with his forces to Zurārah, putting them in battle array and rousing their fighting spirits, because he was told that Shabib was upon him. He then dismounted, along with most of his forces, put his standard before him, and advanced to the far side of Zurārah. But then he was told that Shabib had learned of his position and turned away from him; he had found a ford and crossed the Euphrates and was now on his way to al-Ḵūfah by a route that avoided Suwayd. Then he was asked, "Aren’t you going to go after them?" Suwayd called out to his forces, and they rode after them. Shabib, meanwhile, came to the provision depot and halted. There he was told that the Kūfans were mustering en masse at al-Sabakhah. When they learned of Shabib’s position, they ran around shouting at one another and would have gone back into al-Ḵūfah, had they not been told that Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān had gone after him and his men and caught up with them, and was fighting them with the cavalry.

[912] According to Ḥishām—'Umar b. Bashīr: When Shabib halted at al-Dayr, he ordered sheep to be slaughtered and prepared for him. The ḏihqān went up to the top of the wall, and when he came back down again he was pale. Shabīb asked him what was

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"Explication du plan de Kufa," 336, placing it to the northeast, between the city and the Euphrates bridge.

247. On him, see note 288 below.
248. Across from the city on the east side of the Euphrates. See Balāḏurī, Futūḥ, 281; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, II, 921.
249. Fā-nazala wa-nazala ma'ahu jull așhabīhi. See note 245 above.
251. Here begins the alternate version of the battle with Sa‘īd b. Mujālid and al-Jazl.
252. Literally, "the monastery," probably Dayr Abī Maryam.
wrong, and he said, "By God, a large force has come against you!" Shabib asked, "Is the roast done yet?" He said, "No." Shabib said, "Never mind then." Then the dihqān went up to take another look and said, "By God, they have surrounded the fortress!" But Shabib said, "Bring on the roast!" and began to eat, showing no concern about the troops outside. When he had finished, performed his ablutions, and prayed with his closest associates, he put on two swords over his coat of mail, grasped an iron mace, and ordered his mule saddled. His brother Muṣād asked him, "Is this a day to saddle a mule?" He replied, "Yes! Saddle it, men!" and mounted it. Then he said, "You, So-and-so, take the right wing, and you, So-and-so, the left." To Muṣād he said, "You take the center." Then he ordered the dihqān to have the gate opened before them.

Thus he set out against the troops, calling out that "Judgment is to God alone." Saʿīd and his forces kept falling back, until there was about a mile between them and al-Dayr. Saʿīd began calling out, "O company of Hamdān! I am Ibn Dhi Murran! To me! To me!" Then he sent out some small parties with his son, having sensed that they would soon be upon him. Shabib looked at Muṣād and said, "May God bereave you of me if I do not bereave his son of him!" Then he assailed him with his mace, and he fell dead. His forces retreated, and Shabib's men suffered only one casualty that day.

Saʿīd b. Mujālid's forces were driven back until they came to al-Jazl. Al-Jazl called out to them, "Men! To me! To me!" 'Iyād b. Abi Linah called out to them, saying, "Men, if this new commander of yours has perished, here is your other, fortunate commander! Rally to him and fight with him!" Some did rally to him, while others rode off in a rout. Al-Jazl fought very hard until he fell wounded; then Khālid b. Nahik and 'Iyād b. Abi Linah fought in his defense until they were able to rescue him. The defeated troops hurried back and entered al-Kūfah. Al-Jazl was brought to al-Madā'in, and from there wrote to al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.

According to Abu Mikhnaf—Thābit, the client of Zuhayr: This is the text of the letter:

I hereby inform the amir—may God cause him to pros-

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253. Wa-wajjaha siraban ma‘a ibnihi wa-qad ahassa annahā takūnu ‘alayhi.
per!—that I marched out with those troops I had with me, which the amir ordered me to lead against his enemy, following his orders to me and his decision with regard to them. My strategy was to go out against the enemy when I saw an opportunity, but to hold the troops back from them when I feared an awkward entanglement. I adhered to this strategy, and despite all the enemy's efforts to entice me into combat, he found me no fool. Then Sa'id b. Mujalid—may God have mercy on his soul!—came to me. I ordered him to be circum-spect and forbade him to do anything rash, and commanded him to fight them only when he had the entire force assembled together. But he disobeyed me and hurried off against them with the cavalry. I appeal to the men of both garrisons as witnesses against him that I took no responsibil-
ity for the decision he made and did not approve of his action. He went out and was struck down, may God grant him for-
giveness; the men had to fall back on me, so I took the field, called them to me, and raised my standard for them. I fought until I was struck down, and my companions carried me off from amidst the dead. When I recovered consciousness, I found that they had already carried me a full mile from the battlefield. Today I am in al-Madā'in with a wound worse than some men die from but no worse than some men re-
cover from. Let the amār—may God cause him to prosper!—inquire about the advice I gave for him and his troops, about my strategems with his enemy,254 and about my stand on the day of battle, and it will be clear to him that I have been true to him and offered sincere advice in his interest. Peace.

Al-Hajjāj's reply:

I have received your letter, read it, and understood every-
ting you report in it. I believe all you have to say about yourself, including your sincere advice in your amār's in-
terest, your prudent concern for the men of your garrison, and your fierceness against the enemy. I also have understood what you have to say about Sa'id and his rashness against the

254. Mukāyadati 'aduwwahu. One MS has m.kāb.ti, a corruption from Mukābadati. "my tenacity against," which may be the better reading.
enemy. I have approved both his rashness and your circum-
seption; his rashness has taken him to Paradise, and your
circumspection has passed up no realistic opportunities for
attack, whereas passing up unrealistic opportunities is a form
of resolution. You have acted correctly, then, and done well
when tested, and earned your reward; I consider you one of
my trusted servants and counselors. I have sent Ḥayyān b.
Abjar to you to nurse you and treat your wounds; and I have
also sent you two thousand dirhams to spend on your needs
and daily requirements. Peace.

Ḥayyān b. Abjar al-Kinānī of the Banū Fīrās, who practiced
cauterization and other forms of medical treatment, came to
him and nursed him. 'Abdallāh b. Abi 'Uṣayfīr also sent him a thou-
sand dirhams, and visited him often and kept him company,
bringing him gifts and presents.

Shabīb, meanwhile, advanced to al-Madī‘in, but realized that he
had no way of gaining access to its people, within the city, and
went on to al-Karkh, crossing the Tigris to reach it. He sent word
from al-Karkh to the people of the market of Baghdad, telling them
to go ahead with their market without fear; it was their market
day, and he had heard that they were afraid of him.

Suwayd went out, putting the residences of Muzaynāh and the
Banū Sulaym at his back and the backs of his forces. Shabīb
launched a fearsome attack against them, in the evening, but was

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255. For the Banū Fīrās b. Ghnnām of Kinānāh, see Kaḥḥālah, Mu‘jam qabā‘il al-‘arab, 911f. This physician is mentioned by Ibn Juzul, Tabaqāt at-tibbā‘ wa-
al-hukamā‘ (Cairo, 1955), 59, and his family as one of physicians in al-Kūfah by Ibn Qutaybah, Ma‘ārif, 66; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah (Cairo, 1328), I, 364, makes him out
to have been a Companion of the Prophet. A highly confused report in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, ‘Uyūn al-anbā‘ (Königsberg, 1884), I, 116, on an “‘Abd al-Malik b.
Abjar” at the time of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz has misled modern scholars; see Sezgin, GAS, III, 205f., and the literature there. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥayyān b.
Abjar, noted there from Ibn Ḥajar, Tāḥdīb, VI, 394f., is perhaps to be equated with the ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥayyān b. Abjar in the same author’s Isābah, I, 364.

256. Lā sabīla lahu ilā ahlihā ma‘a al-madinah.

257. This ends the alternate version of the battle with Sa‘īd and al-Jazl, and Ṭābārī reverts to the account of Suwayd’s pursuit of Shabīb outside al-Kūfah.

258. On these two Northern tribes, see Kaḥḥālah, Mu‘jam qabā‘il al-‘arab, 543f., 1083f. According to the text above, I, 2489f., the Sulaym were assigned an
area in al-Kūfah north of the center, and Muzaynāh east of it. See also the map in Massignon, “Explication du plan de Kufta,” 336.
unable to achieve anything against them. He then took off through the residential area of al-Kufah toward al-Ḥirah,259 and Suwayd pursued him, keeping to him all the way across the entire residential area of al-Kufah and on to al-Ḥirah. There, Suwayd found that Shabib had cut the bridge at al-Ḥirah as he passed, so he let him go and halted there until morning.

Al-Ḥajjāj sent orders to Suwayd to pursue Shabib, and he did.260 Shabib continued on down into the Euphrates lowlands, where he found some of his clansmen, then went back up into the desert beyond Khaffān,261 into a region called al-Ghilzah.262 There he encountered men of the Banū al-Wirthah and attacked them, forcing them back to a hard plain in the vicinity. They took stones from the outcroppings around them and threw them at Shabib and his men until they ran out; then Shabib was able to get to them and killed thirteen of them, including Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik, Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah, and Ḥumrān b. Mālik, all of the Banū al-Wirthah. This is according to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Aṭā’ b. ‘Arfajah b. Ziyād b. ‘Abdallāh al-Wirthi.

Shabib then continued on until he came to his father’s sons at al-Laṣaf,263 a watering hole of his kin. This watering hole was under the control of al-Fizr b. al-Aswad, one of the Banū al-Šulb;264 he had forbidden Shabib to promulgate his opinions and corrupt his cousins and other kin, to which Shabib responded, "By God, if I get hold of seven bridles, I will attack al-Fizr!" When Shabib came with his horsemen to his kin, he asked about al-Fizr; but al-Fizr paid him off with an unbeatably swift horse, on which he rode out beyond the tents and out across the land, as men fled from him.265 Having given the desert bedouin a good scare, he

259. About three miles south; see EI², s.v. al-Ḥira; Le Strange, Lands, 75.
260. But how far is unclear, as nothing more is said about this pursuit.
261. On the edge of the desert, but near the marshes, about thirty miles southeast of al-Kufah; see Musil, Middle Euphrates, 357–60; Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 356.
262. Spelling and location uncertain. Some MSS have al-ʿUlṭah.
263. West of the pilgrimage road from al-Kufah, some hundred miles southwest of there. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam, IV, 357; Musil, Northern Nejd, 14, 193.
265. Fa-ittaqāhu al-Fizr fa-kharaajā ‘alā faras lā tuṣārā min warā’ al-buyūt fa-dhahaba ‘alyahā fi al-arḍ. For ittaqā in the sense of “to pay off,” see Dozy, Supplément, s.v. Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 405, has al-Fizr riding the horse, but it is
came back and went on to al-Qutqutanah\textsuperscript{266} and Qasr Muqaytil\textsuperscript{267} then followed the bank of the Euphrates past al-Hasasah\textsuperscript{268} and al-Anbar\textsuperscript{269}. He proceeded to Daqiqua\textsuperscript{270} and then went off to the nearer parts of Adharbayjan.

Al-Hasajjaj let him be and moved to al-Basrah, leaving `Urwah b. al-Mughirah b. Shu`bah as his deputy over al-Kufah. But the people had hardly caught their breath when `Urwah b. al-Mughirah b. Shu`bah received a letter from Madharwisb, the dihqan and lord of Babil Mahruh, saying, “One of the merchants of al-Anbar, a fellow countryman of mine, came to me and said that Shabib is planning to enter al-Kufah at the beginning of the coming month. I wanted to inform you of this so you could make your plans. Then, only shortly later, two of my tax collectors came to tell me that Shabib had arrived in Khaniyaj.”\textsuperscript{271}

`Urwah took this letter, rolled it up, and rushed it off to Al-Hajjaj in al-Basrah. When al-Hasajjaj read it, he went racing back to al-Kufah. Shabib continued his advance until he reached a village called Harba\textsuperscript{272}, on the bank of the Tigris, where he crossed the river. He asked what the name of the village was and was told “Harba.” He said, “War [harb]—may your enemy roast with it—and lamentation (harab)—may you bring it into their houses! Bad omens are only a matter for mantics and augurs.”\textsuperscript{273} Then he raised his standard and said to his companions, “March!” They

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\textsuperscript{267} Identified by Caskel, “al-Ukhaidir,” *Der Islam* 39 (1964), 28–37, with the ruins of al-Ukhaydir, about thirty-five miles north-northwest of al-Tugtuganah.

\textsuperscript{268} Near Qasr Ibn Hubyarah, according to Yaqut, *Mu`jam*, II, 274, but presumably somewhat north of there, as it also lay on the route from Karbalah` to al-Anbar. See text above, II, 545, and Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 41, 351.

\textsuperscript{269} A major town on the Euphrates, forty miles west of Baghdad; see *EP*, s.v. al-Anbar.

\textsuperscript{270} Some 120 miles north of Baghdad; see *EP*, s.v. Dakukah; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 41ff.


\textsuperscript{272} Thirty miles north of Baghdad; see *EP*, s.v. Harba`.

\textsuperscript{273} *Man yaqifu wa-ya`ifu*. On qiya`ah (physiognomy or the reading of traces on the ground) and `iyah (ornithomancy), see *EP*, s.vv. kiya, `iy`a.
went on, halting at 'Aqrqūf.274 Suwayd b. Sulaym said to Shabīb, "Commander of the Faithful, would you not have us move away from this village with such an ill-omened name?"275 Shabīb replied, "Yet again you see bad omens! By God, I will not move from this village until I march from here against my enemy! Its ill omens, God willing, will apply rather to your enemy; here you will attack them, and the wounds (‘aqr) will be theirs." Then he said to his companions, "Men, al-Ḥajjāj is not in al-Ḳūfah, and, God willing, nothing stands in the way between us and there. Let us march, then!" So he set out to get to al-Ḳūfah before al-Ḥajjāj.

'Urwah wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, saying, "Shabīb has set out and is rapidly approaching al-Ḳūfah! Hurry!" Al-Ḥajjāj swept past the halting places, racing with Shabīb for the city. Al-Ḥajjāj arrived there at the time of the noon prayer, and Shabīb reached al-Sabakhah at the time of the sunset prayer. After performing the sunset and evening prayers, he and his companions had a little to eat, mounted their horses, and rode into al-Ḳūfah. Shabīb reached the market, then drove on to the palace and struck its gate with his mace.276

According to Abū al-Mundhir: I saw where Shabīb struck the gate of the palace; it left a huge mark.

Then Shabīb came and stood at the platform (maṣṭabah),277 and said:

Her hoof, whenever she crosses a thicket, is like
the measure with which a stingy miser measures out—
A slave with a spurious genealogy, who is really from Thamūd;
or, rather, it is said their father's father was Yaqūdum.278

274. Text: 'Aqrqūf. This site was four farsakhs from Baghdad, near the Dujayl canal (which extended to Ḥarbā), according to Yaqūt, Mu’jam, III, 697f. It has been identified as the Kassite city Dur Kurigalzu; see EP, s. v. ‘Aḵarkūf.

275. ‘Aqrā is a form of imprecation, variously explained; see Lane, s. v. Qūf was presumably associated with qiyāfah; see note 273 above.

276. Of published early parallel accounts, only Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 328, mentions this incident (without the accompanying verses).

277. A bench or raised platform, against a wall; see Lane, Lexicon, s. v.

278. These anti-Thaqqīf verses are attributed (with variants) to Ḥassān b. Thābit; see his Diwan, 438, and Aghānī7, IV, 11 and XIV, 141. Yaqūdum was a descendant of Iyād b. Nizār, through whom one of the respectable genealogies claimed for Thaqīf was made. See Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, I, 258; Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien, I, 99f.
Then they stormed the great mosque, which was still full of people praying. Shabib killed 'Uqayl b. Mus'ab al-Wādi'i, 'Adī b. 'Amr al-Thaqafi, and Abū Layth b. Abī Sulaym, the client of 'Anbasah b. Abī Su'fān. His men also killed Azhar b. 'Abdallāh b. ‘Āmirī. Then they proceeded to the house of Hawshab,279 who was head of the security forces (shura),280 and stopped at his door, saying, “The amīr has summoned Hawshab.” The latter’s servant, Maymūn,281 brought out Hawshab’s horse for him to ride but seemed to look askance at them; they thought he had become suspicious, and when he began to go back in they said to him, “Stay where you are until your master comes out.” Hawshab heard this and was incensed at these people, and came out to see them. When he saw the entire group of them, it was clear to him that they were up to no good, and he turned to leave them. They surged toward him, but he went inside and bolted the door. They then killed his servant Maymūn and took his horse, and went on to see al-Jāhīf b. Nubayt al-Shaybānī, who was a kinsman of Hawshab’s. Suwayd said to him, “Come down to us.” Al-Jāhīf replied, “What will you do if I do?” Suwayd said, “I will pay you the price of the young she-camel that I bought from you in the desert.” Al-Jāhīf said, “What a terrible time and place this is to pay off a debt! Could you not remember your obligation except when the night is dark and you are mounted on your horse? God’s plague, 0 Suwayd, on a debt that cannot be settled and paid up except with the killing of relatives and spilling the blood of this community!”

Then they went on to the mosque of the Banū Dhuhl,282 where they found Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith; he had been praying in the mosque of his people, and taken a long time about it, and they caught him just as he was leaving to go home. They pounced on him to kill

280. Pl. of shurā, police; see note 45 above.
281. According to Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 318, he was known as al-ʻAdhāb (“the chastisement”), or perhaps al-ʻAhdhāb (otherwise known only as the name of a famous horse; see Zabīdī, Tāj al-ʻarīs, s.v.).
282. This mosque has been mentioned previously by Ṭabarī (II, 532), in a context suggesting that these are the Banū Dhuhl b. Mu‘āwiyyah, a clan of Kindah (so assumed by Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, II, 239), rather than Shabib’s own Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān or the Banū Dhuhl b. Tha‘labah of Bakr (as implied by Ṭabarī, index, 183).
him, and he cried, "O God, I protest to You against these men and their wickedness and ignorance! O God, I am too weak to protect myself from them; come to my aid against them!" But they struck him down and killed him. Then they went on until they left al-Kūfah and headed toward al-Mardamah.283

According to Hishām—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh: He was encountered by al-Nādīr b. al-Qa’qā’ b. Shawr al-Dhuḥli,284 whose mother was Nājīyah bint Hānī b. Qabīsah b. Hānī al-Shaybānī,285 and discomfited him when he looked at him—by "discomfited" he means he frightened him. Al-Nādīr said, "Peace be upon you, O amīr, and God's mercy." But Suwayd interrupted him, saying, "That's 'Commander [amīr] of the Faithful,' damn you!" He said, "Commander of the Faithful"—until they left al-Kūfah and headed toward al-Mardamah.286

Al-Ḥajjāj ordered the crier to proclaim, "O cavalry of God! Mount and rejoice!"287 from above the gate of the palace. There was a lamp placed there, with a servant of his waiting. The first of

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283. Location unknown. Ṭabarī's distinction between this first entry by Shābib into al-Kūfah and a second attack much later (text below, II, 956–68) is not reflected in other early sources, which combine elements of both incidents into one account. Most of them stress the drama of Shābib's mother and/or wife praying in the Friday mosque, which is mentioned by Ṭabarī only in passing, at the time of the second attack (see note 439 below). Ya'qūbī, Taʾrikh, II, 328, is closest to Ṭabarī in detail, but omits the second attack entirely; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrikh, 272f., follows Ṭabarī's chronology more closely, but differs in detail; Ibn Aṭham al-Kufi, Futnab, VII, 87–91, knows only the second attack and diverges considerably. See also Ibn Qutaybah, Maʿārif, 410f.; Masʿūdī, Murūj, V, 321; Baghdādī, Faqī, 89f.; Périer, Vie d'ʿAl-Ḥadjdjāḏi, 124–26; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 185f.

284. Reading al-Qaʿqāʾ for text Qaʿqāʾ. Al-Qaʿqāʾ b. Shawr of the Banū Dhuḥl b. Thaʿlabah of Bakr b. Wāʿil was famed in al-Kūfah for his amicability and generosity; see Zīrīkli, Aʾlām, VI, 48.

285. Hānī b. Qabīsah of the Banū Dhuḥl b. Shaybān (Shābib's clan) had led the Bakr b. Wāʿil on the day of Dhū Qār, see Zīrīkli, Aʾlām, IX, 51f. His grandson al-Nādīr was clearly a very respectable man, as well as a kinsman to Shābib.

286. Fa-qāla amīr al-muʾminin ḥattā kharajū min al-Kūfah mutawaffijihīn nahwa al-Mardamah. The text seems suspect here, as this rather awkwardly tacked-on phrase duplicates the end of the previous paragraph; furthermore, the more coherent variant of this anecdote presented below sets it outside al-Kūfah, at or beyond al-Mardamah. Ibn al-Athīr in his paraphrase (Kāmil, IV, 407) gives only the second version of the story, but at this point in the narrative.

287. Yā khayl Allāh ʾirkābī wa-ʾabsiri, a standard call to arms; see Fries, Heereswesen, 43. Except for the last word, this phrase was considered a prophetic ḥadīth; see Jāḥiz, Bayān, II, 16, and Ibn Manzūr, Līsān, s. v. khayl.
the men to come to him was 'Uthmān b. Qaṭān. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn Dhī al-Ghuṣṣah,288 accompanied by his clients and some of his kinsmen. He said, “I am 'Uthmān b. Qaṭān. Inform the amir of where I am and let him issue his orders.” The servant replied, “Stay where you are until the amir’s orders come to you.” Then the men began to come from every direction, and 'Uthmān spent the night there with the men who had assembled with him.

In the morning, al-Ḥajjāj sent out Bishr b. Chālib al-Asadi of the Banū Wālibah289 with two thousand men, Zā'idah b. Qudāmah al-Thaqafī with two thousand men, Abū al-Ḍūrayṣ, the client of the Banū Tamīm, with a thousand clients, and A'yān, the A'yān of the Ḥammām A'yān and a client of Bishr b. Marwān,290 with a thousand men.

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had sent out Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah291 to take charge in Sijistān, writing him up a formal appointment as governor over it, and writing to al-Ḥajjāj, saying, “When Muḥammad b. Mūsā comes to you, supply him with two thousand men to take to Sijistān and hurry him on his way.” 'Abd al-Malik also ordered Muḥammad b. Mūsā to write to al-Ḥajjāj himself. When Muḥammad b. Mūsā arrived, he lingered over his preparations. His advisers urged him, “Hurry, O amir, to your province, for you do not know what al-Ḥajjāj may be up to or what he may decide to do”; but he remained where he was, and the crisis with Shabīb developed. Then al-Ḥajjāj said to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, “Please go engage Shabīb and these Khārijītes and fight them; then you may go on to your province.”

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288. His great-grandfather al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd, known as Dhī al-Ghuṣṣah, was a celebrated horseman, leader of the Banū al-Ḥarīth of Madīḥij, and his father Qaṭān was a prominent Umayyad supporter in al-Ḳūfah and, according to one account, briefly governor there in 71 (690–691), before Bishr b. Marwān. See text above, II, 804, 816, and Caskel, Šamhārāt an-nasāb, I, 261, II, 337, 468.

289. For the Banū Wālibah of Asad, of Mudār, see Caskel, Šamhārāt an-nasāb, I, 52, II, 227.

290. A'yān was a mawla of Bishr b. Marwān (as reported here), or of the Bakr b. Wa'il (see text below, II, 966f.), or of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās (Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 281). His bath was across the Euphrates from al-Ḳūfah; according to Baladhurī he had bought it from the heirs of an'Ibādī in al-Ḥirah. See Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 269f.; al-'Ali, “Minṣaṣat al-Ḳūfah,” 239.

291. Grandson of the famous Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, from the Banū Taym of Quraysh. See Ibn Qutaybah, Mā'ārif, 233; Ibn Ḥazm, Ja'mūhārāh, 130.
Al-Ḥajjāj also sent out with these commanders 'Abd al-A'īb b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz al-Qurashi and Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Ataki.292

Shabib, as we have said, left al-Kūfah and went to al-Mardamah. There was a man from Ḥaḍramawt there in charge of the tithes293 named Nājiyyah b. Marthadh294 al-Ḥaḍramī. When this man entered the bath, Shabib went in after him, brought him out, and struck off his head. Shabib also encountered al-Nāḍr b. al-Qa'qā' b. Shawr; the latter had been with al-Ḥajjāj when he set out from al- Bàṣrah, but al-Ḥajjāj had left him behind when he went racing on to al-Kūfah. When Shabib, who was with his companions, saw him, he recognized him and said, "O Nāḍr b. al-Qa'qā'! Judgment is to God alone!" His intention in saying this was to prompt him,295 but al-Nāḍr did not understand and simply replied, "We are God's, and to him we return."296 Then Shabib's companions said, "Commander of the Faithful, it is as if you meant by your words to prompt him!" They set upon al-Nāḍr and killed him.

The above-mentioned commanders assembled in the Euphrates lowlands. But then Shabib turned away from the direction in which these leaders were assembled and set off toward al-Qādisiyyah.297 Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Zahr b. Qays with a company298 of elite cavalry, eighteen hundred horsemen, saying, "Pursue Shabib, and wherever you catch up with him, attack him, unless he is on the move elsewhere; if he is, then leave him

292. Veteran leader of the Azd in al- Bàṣrah; see Caskel, Ġamhatat an-nasab, I, 203, II, 606. Al-'Atik was a clan of Azd.
293. 'Ushr. On the ambiguities of this term and its frequent application in the early period [as perhaps here] to illegal imposts, see P. G. Forand, "Notes on 'Ushr and Maks," Arabica 8 (1961), 137-41.
294. Pointing uncertain. Some MSS have Mazyad, Murayd, etc.
295. Talqinah. Laqqana means generally to dictate words for someone to repeat, but also, technically, to whisper là ilāha illā allāh ("there is no god but God") in the ear of the deceased for him to repeat when interrogated by the two angels in the tomb; see Dozy, Supplément, s. v. Shabib is here giving al-Nāḍr a chance to save himself by repeating a phrase là ḥukma illā lillāh that is in itself Qur'ānic and therefore unexceptionable; see the variant of this story given below, 968, and note 454.
296. Qur'ān 2:156. The verse begins, "[Believers] who, when they are struck by calamity, say . . ."
297. Nineteen miles southwest of al-Kūfah; see EI², s. v. al-Ḳadisiyya.
298. Jaridah; see Lane, Lexicon, s. v.
alone, so long as he does not turn on you or halt and make a stand. If he does that, do not leave him without engaging him."

Zahr set out and went as far as al-Saylahin.²⁹⁹ Shabib was informed of his progress toward him and set out to meet him. When they met, Zahr put 'Abdallah b. Kannaz al-Nahdi,³⁰⁰ a very brave man, in charge of his right wing, and 'Adi b. 'Adi b. 'Umayrah al-Kindi al-Shaybani in charge of his left wing. Shabib put all his horsemen together in a single compact formation³⁰¹ and threw them against the line. The line reeled and broke up, falling back to Zahr b. Qays. Zahr b. Qays dismounted and fought until he was felled, and his forces fell back. Shabib's men thought they had killed him, but just before daybreak the cold revived him, and he got up and walked until he came to a village. He spent the night there, and then was conveyed to al-Kufah. On his face and head were something between ten and twenty wounds, from sword and spear.

A few days later, Zahr went to see al-Ḥajjāj, with his face and wounds swathed in cotton. Al-Ḥajjāj sat him next to him on his couch and said to those around him, "Anyone who would like to see a man from the people of Paradise, a martyr walking among men, let him look upon this man!"

Meanwhile, Shabib's companions, thinking that they had killed Zahr, said to Shabib, "We have defeated a force of theirs and killed one of their great commanders; let us depart, then, satisfied!" But he said, "Our killing this man and defeating this army will have panicked those other commanders and forces that have been sent out in pursuit of us; so let us rather, then, march against them! For, by God, if we kill them, then there will be nothing, God willing, between us and al-Ḥajjāj and the taking of al-Kufah!" They said, "We hear and follow your decision and are obedient under your hands."

²⁹⁹. A town about halfway between al-Ḥīrah and al-Qadisiyyah; see Yaqut, Mu'jam, III, 218f. (Saylahun), and Musil, Middle Euphrates, 105. Al-Saylahin was also the name of a canal, and of a tassāj of Bihqubādh al-Asfal (see note 304 below), which included the palace of al-Khawarnaq; see Ibn Khurraḍahbih, Masālik, 8, 11; Massinon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 336, 339, 356; al-'Ali, "Miṣṭaqat al-Kufah," 248f.

³⁰⁰. Kanniz is a conjectural reading; variants in the MSS include K.thār, K.nān, K.nār, K.bār. The Banu Nahd b. Zayd belonged to Qudā'ah, a tribal group of uncertain genealogy; see Caskel, Gamhatat an-nasab, II, 443, and El², s. v. Kudā'a.

³⁰¹. Kābkabah; see WKAS, s. v.
He came swooping down with them as far as Najrán—this is the Najrán of al-Kūfah, in the area of ‘Ayn al-Tamr. There he inquired about the main body of enemy forces and was informed that they were assembled at Rūdhbār in the Euphrates lowlands, in Lower Bihqubādh, at a distance of twenty-four farsakh from al-Kūfah. Word came to al-Ḥajjāj of Shabib’s advance toward them, and he sent out to them ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Gharīq, the client of Ibn Abī ‘Aqīl, a man highly esteemed by al-Ḥajjāj, and said to him, “Go catch up with their assembled forces—that is, the assembled forces of the commanders—inform them that the heretics are marching against them and tell them that if they join in combat, the commander of the forces is to be Zā’idah b. Qudāmah.” Ibn al-Gharīq went to them, informed them of this, and then departed from them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab: When Shabib came to us, we had seven commanders with us, all under the supreme command of Zā’idah b. Qudāmah. Each commander had mustered his forces by themselves—Ziyād b. ‘Amr al-‘Atākī was on our right and Bishr b. Ghālib al-Asādī on our left—and every commander was standing with his own forces. Then Shabib came and stopped on a hill from which he could look out over the men; he was on a bay horse with a blaze. He looked at the way the troops were mustered, went back to his companions, and then advanced at a gallop with three detachments. As he drew near the troops, one detachment, led by Suwayd b. Sulaym, went and took up its position opposite our right; another detachment, led by Shabib’s brother Muṣād, went and took up its position opposite our left; and Shabib came with a detachment and took up his position opposite our center.

303. About sixty miles northwest of al-Kūfah; see EIr, s. v. ‘Ayn al-Tamr.
304. The astān of Bihqubādha al-Asfal was the Euphrates area south of al-Ḥirah. The location of Rūdhbār within it seems to be unattested, unless it is connected with the tāṣūyah of Rūdhamast; see Ibn Khurraḍahbih, Masālik, 8, 11; al-‘Ali, “Mintaqat al-Kufah,” 25ff. Twenty-four farsakhhs from al-Kūfah would put Rūdhbār almost halfway to al-Baṣrah.
305. The text below, II, 945, has Abū ‘Aqīl.
Zā'īdah b. Qudāmah went out and passed among the troops, from the right wing to the left, encouraging the men and saying, "O servants of God, you are the virtuous many, afflicted by a wicked few. Hold steadfast—may I be your ransom—for two or three charges against them; then there will be no barrier or obstacle to victory. Take a look at them, by God! They are not even two hundred—diners on a single head of cattle! They are nothing but bandits and renegades, and they have come to you only to spill your blood and take your spoil. Do not let them show themselves more able to take it than you are to defend it! They are few, and you are many; they belong to a sect, while you belong to a community. Lower your eyes and meet them with your spear points; but do not charge them until I order you to." Then he went back to his own position.

Suwayd b. Sulaym charged against Ziyād b. 'Amr, and their line was thrown back; but Ziyād held his position with about half his forces. Suwayd withdrew from them for a bit, then charged them again, and they fought with spears for some time.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwāh b. Laqīt: By God, I was one of them that day. We fought with spears for some time, and they held up against us to the point that I thought they would never give up. Ziyād b. 'Amr fought fiercely, calling out "My horsemen!," lunging with his sword, and really fighting very fiercely. I also saw Suwayd b. Sulaym that day; he was the bravest and fiercest of the bedouin, and no one could stand up to him.

Then, finally, we withdrew from them. They thereupon broke formation, and Shabib's men said to him, "Do you not see how they are breaking formation? Attack them!" But Shabib replied, "Leave them be until they thin out a bit." They left them be for a little, and then he led a third attack against them, and they fell back. I saw Ziyād b. 'Amr take repeated sword blows, but every one of them glanced off; he was wearing mail. I saw more than twenty swords in turn strike him, and he came through it all unhurt. When he finally fell back, he had one small wound; this was in the evening.

Then we charged against 'Abd al-Ma b. 'Abdallih b. 'Amir and drove him back; he did not put up much of a fight, having been

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306. On Shabib's side; see text above, II, 886, 903.
fighting with his sword for some time already, and, as I heard, having been wounded. Then he caught up with Ziyād b. ‘Amr, and the two kept falling back until we came to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah, at sunset, who gave us a good fight and stood up to us.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab and Farwah b. Lajīt: Shabīb’s brother Muṣād attacked Bishr b. Ghālib, who was on the left wing. Bishr fought bravely and well, by God, and steadfastly. He dismounted, and other steadfast men dismounted with him, some fifty of them, and they fought with their swords until they were killed to a man. One of them was ‘Urwah b. Zuhayr b. Nājidh al-Azdi; his mother was Zārah, a woman who had children among the Azd and whose descendants are known as the Banū Zārah.307

When they had killed Bishr and his forces had been driven back, they turned and attacked Abū al-Durays, the client of the Banū Tamim, who was positioned next to Bishr b. Ghālib. They drove him back as well, as far as the position of A’yan. Then they attacked him and A’yan together and drove them back as far as Zā’īdah b. Qudāmah. When they got to him, he dismounted and called out, “O people of Islam! Dismount! Dismount! To me! To me! Let not them be more steadfast in their unbelief than you in your faith!” He fought them through the night, until daybreak. Then Shabīb charged against him with a concentrated group of his forces and killed him and his companions, leaving those dedicated men a heap of bodies around him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: I heard Zā’īdah b. Qudāmah raising his voice that night and saying, “Men, ‘be steadfast and persevering!’ ‘You who believe, fight for God, and He will fight for you and plant your feet firmly!”308

Then, by God, he did not leave off fighting them, pushing forward, and never falling back, until he was killed, God have mercy on him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Lajīt: Abū al-Ṣuqayr al-Shaybānī claimed that it was he who actually killed Zā’īdah b. Qudāmah, but his claim was disputed by another man named al-Fāḍl b. ‘Āmir.

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When Shabib killed Zā'idah b. Qudāmah, Abū al-Ḍurays and A'yān retreated into a large fortress. Shabib said to his forces, "Hold back your swords from the men and summon them to render the oath of allegiance." They did this at dawn.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: I was among those who came to him and rendered him the oath of allegiance, as he sat on his horse with his mounted cavalry before him. As each man came to render the oath of allegiance, his sword was taken from his shoulder and his other weapons taken from him, then he was led before Shabib. He greeted Shabib as Commander of the Faithful and was left free to go his way.

This was my situation when dawn broke. At this time, Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh was at the far end of the army, with a group of his comrades, and they were still holding out. When dawn broke, he ordered his muezzin to give the call to prayer. Shabib, hearing the call to prayer, asked, "What is that?" and was told, "That is Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh; he is still making a stand." Shabib said, "Indeed I thought his foolishness and vanity would make him do that. Now set these men apart from us, and let us dismount and pray."

He dismounted and gave the call to prayer himself, then stood before his companions and led them in prayer. He recited the Qur'ānic sūrahs "Woe to every slanderer and backbiter" and "Have you seen him who cries lies to religion?" Then he gave the taslim,310 and they mounted their horses and attacked. One group of Muḥammad b. Mūsā's men were driven back, but another group held their ground.

According to Farwah: I will never forget what Muḥammad b. Mūsā was saying as we came up on him; he was fighting with his sword and saying, "Alif. Lām. Mīm. Do men think that they will be left at ease because they say 'We believe,' and will not be tested? We have tested those who were before them, and indeed God knows those who are sincere, and knows those who lie."311 He fought until he was killed. I heard my companions say that it was Shabib who killed him. Then we dismounted and took what-

309. Qur'ān 104 and 107, identified here by their first verses.
310. The formula al-šalamu 'alaykum, which concludes the prayer, see SEI, s. v. ʿalāt.
ever we could find in the camp. Those who had rendered the oath of allegiance to Shabib fled, and not one of them remained.

Someone other than Abu Mikhnaf has reported something different with regard to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭjualḥ from what I have reported from Abu Mikhnaf, as follows: 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had appointed Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭjualḥ governor of Sijistān. Al-Ḥajjāj then wrote to him saying, "You have responsibility for every land you pass through. Now here is Shabib in your path." So Muḥammad turned to confront Shabib. Shabib sent to him, saying, "You have been taken in! Al-Ḥajjāj has used you to protect himself, while you have a claim to protection as my neighbor!" Go, then, to the place to which you were ordered, and godspeed! I will not harm you." But Muḥammad insisted on fighting him. Shabib came out to meet him and sent the messenger to him again, but still he insisted on fighting him. He called for single combat, and al-Baṭīn came forward to challenge him, then Qaʿna, then Suwayd, but he refused to fight anyone but Shabib. They told Shabib, "He refuses us and insists on you." Shabib said, "What else would you expect of these notables?" Then he came forward to challenge Muḥammad, but said, "I adjure you by God, spare your life, for you have a claim to my protection!" Still he insisted on fighting him. Shabib then charged him and struck him with an iron mace weighing twelve Syrian rāṭlīs, smashing his helmet and head, and he fell. Shabib had him dressed in a shroud and buried, and he bought up the spoils that had been taken from his camp and sent them to his family. He justified himself to his companions, saying, "He was my neighbor in al-Kūfah, and I have the right to bestow the spoil I have taken on the people of apostasy if I so wish."

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312. Wa-anta jār laka haqqa, as also below, laka jiwa’ar ("you are under protection"). For this principle of assuming responsibility for the security of a guest or neighbor, see EI, s. v. djwa’; W. Schmucker, Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen bodenrechtlichen Konsequenzen der islamischen Eroberungsbewegung (Bonn, 1972), 13ff.

313. If we calculate from the preserved Umayyad rāṭl-weight from Syria, dated 744 A. D., which weighs 337.55 grams, this mace weighed a little over four kilograms. The rāṭl varied considerably from city to city; for later periods, we know that the standard Damascus rāṭl was 1.85 kg, the Aleppo rāṭl 2.28 kg, etc. See Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte, 3, 30f.

314. Aḥl al-riddah, conventionally applied to the Arab tribes that renounced
According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū 'Ubaydah:315 Muḥammad b. Mūsā had been with 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallaḥ b. Maʿmar316 in Fārs. He fought with him in the battle against Abū Fudayk, as commander of his right wing, and distinguished himself for bravery and valor.317 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallaḥ b. Maʿmar gave him his daughter Umm ʿUthmān in marriage; his sister318 had married 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. 'Abd al-Malik then appointed Muḥammad governor of Sijistān. On his way there he passed through al-Kūfah, when al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was there. It was suggested to al-Ḥajjāj that "if this man, with his bravery and his marriage ties to 'Abd al-Malik, reaches Sijistān, and anyone you are pursuing takes refuge with him, he will not give him up to you." Al-Ḥajjāj asked what could be done and was told, "You should go to him, greet him, mention his bravery and valor, and how Shabīb is in his path, and has frustrated all your efforts, and that you hope God may relieve you of him through Muhammad's hand, the fame and glory thereof accruing to Muḥammad himself."

So it happened. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallaḥ turned aside to confront Shabīb, who came out to meet him.319 Shabīb said to him, "I know all about al-Ḥajjāj's wiles. He has tricked you and managed to use you to protect himself. It seems to me that if the two rings of the saddle-girth should meet,320 your companions would abandon you and you would be cut down like your comrades. Do as I say, then, and go off to your own business, for I value you too highly to see you die." But Muḥam-

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315. Abū 'Ubaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā, the famous philologist, d. 209 (824–825); see EI², s. v. Abū 'Ubayda.
316. On him see Zirikli, Aʿlām, V, 214. Like Muḥammad b. Mūsā, he belonged to the Banū Taym of Quraysh. For his governorship in Fārs and battles against the Azraqites there (for Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr), see text above, II, 753ff. According to Ibn Khalīkān, Wafayāt, V, 240, Abū 'Ubaydah was a mawla of his family.
317. See text above, II, 83ff.
318. 'Aʿīshah. See Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah, 130.
319. Reading fa-wāqa’ah (as in the previous account) for text fa-wāqa’ah.
320. That is, if push came to shove; for the proverb, see Maydānī, Amthal, II, 121.
mad b. Mūsā refused, and Shabib engaged him in single combat and killed him.\footnote{321} Returning to the account of Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Rahmān: Among the men who rendered him the oath of allegiance that night was Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.\footnote{322} When he rendered the oath, Shabib asked him, “Are you not Abū Burdah?” He said, “Yes.” Shabib said to his companions, “My friends! This man’s father was one of the two arbiters!”\footnote{323} They replied, “Let us kill him then!” But Shabib said, “This man bears no blame for what his father did.” They said, “Truly.”

The next morning Shabib set out for the fortress in which Abū al-Ḍurays and A’yan had taken refuge, but they attacked him with arrows and fortified themselves against him. He remained confronting them for that day, and then left them.

Then his companions said to him, “There is no one stopping us from going right on to al-Kūfah.” But when he saw how many wounds they had sustained, he said, “I will not require of you more than what you have already done.” He then led them to Niffar,\footnote{324} al-Ṣarāt,\footnote{325} and Baghdad, and proceeded on to Khānijār, where he halted.

\footnote{321} Quite divergent from the three versions of Muḥammad b. Mūsā’s fate given here is the notice in Ibn Khayyāt, \textit{Ta’rīkh}, 273f., 297, which places his defeat and death at al-Ahwāz, the following year, after Shabib had entered al-Kūfah the second time and was on his way to Kīrmān [see text below, II, 972]. Otherwise, Ibn Khayyāt follows Ṭabarî’s chronology here, if summarily. Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī, \textit{Futūḥ}, VII, 85ff., on the other hand, in his list of commanders defeated or killed by Shabib, puts Zahr b. Qays fourth, after ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ashʿath [see text below, II, 930 and, for the first two, note 178 above], is silent on Zāʿidah b. Qudāmah and his companions, and mentions Muḥammad b. Mūsā ninth, just before Shabib’s (only) entry into al-Kūfah. Ibn Qutaybah, \textit{Maʿārif}, 410, names Muḥammad b. Mūsā as one of five commanders killed by Shabib before attacking al-Kūfah, which agrees with Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī. See also Ibn al-Athīr, \textit{Kāmil}, IV, 408–11; Périer, \textit{Vie d’al-Ḥadji djādi}, 127–29; Dixon, \textit{Umayyad Caliphate}, 185ff.

\footnote{322} Later in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah. See \textit{EI²}, s.v. al-Ashʿarī, Abū Burdā.

\footnote{323} Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī was chosen as the arbiter \textit{ḥakam} to represent ‘Ali in the conflict with Muʿāwiya at Siffin; since the decision to arbitrate led to the secession of the Khārijites from ‘Ali’s side, he would be held in particular opprobrium by them. See \textit{EI²}, s.v. al-Ashʿarī, Abū Mūsā.

\footnote{324} The ancient Nippur, about fifty-five miles east of al-Kūfah; see \textit{EI¹}, s.v. Niffār.

\footnote{325} The Sarāt canal, extending east-west between the Euphrates and the Tigris, would be crossed some thirty miles north of Niffār on the route to al-Madāʿin or
When al-Ḥajjāj heard that Shabib was headed toward Niffar, he thought that his objective was al-Madā‘in, which is the gateway to al-Kūfah; for he who takes al-Madā‘in controls most of the region of al-Kūfah. This panicked al-Ḥajjāj, and he sent for ʿUthmān b. Qaṭān, and summoned him to hurry off to al-Madā‘in; he put him in charge of its pulpit and prayer, of the security force (ma‘ānah)326 of all of Jūkhā, and of the land revenue of the district.327 ʿUthmān went straight off to al-Madā‘in, and al-Ḥajjāj dismissed ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿUṣayfir.

At this time, al-Jazl had been staying in al-Madā‘in for some months, treating his wounds, and Ibn Abī ʿUṣayfir used to come visit him and treat him generously. But when ʿUthmān b. Qaṭān came to al-Madā‘in, he did not come to visit him, frequent his company, or send him any gifts. Al-Jazl’s comment was “O God, increase Ibn Abī ʿUṣayfir in generosity, liberality, and excellence, and increase ʿUthmān b. Qaṭān in tightness and miserliness!”

Then al-Ḥajjāj summoned ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAsh’āth328 and ordered him to select a force and go out in pursuit of this enemy; he stipulated a force of six thousand. ʿAbd al-Rahmān made his selection from the horsemen and most prominent fighters, and also led out six hundred of his own men from Kindah and Ḥadramawt. Al-Ḥajjāj urged him to hurry with the muster, which he made at Dayr ʿAbd al-Rahmān. When al-Ḥajjāj was ready to send them out, he wrote to them as follows:

You have made humiliation into a habit, and turned and retreated on the day of advance. This is the behavior of unbelievers. I have forgiven you time after time after time after Baghdad; see Le Strange, Lands, 72. In Ṭabarī al-Ṣarāt often refers to an area, or perhaps to an otherwise unidentified town; see, for example, text above, II, 37, 40.

326. A synonym for shurtah, the police or internal security forces. See Ṭabarī, glossarium, s.v., and note 45 above.

327. Kharāj al-astān. It is unclear whether this refers to Jūkhā, or to one of the fiscal astāns listed by the geographers (and if so, which one, see Le Strange, Lands, 79ff.). Some MSS read al-Anbār, as does the paraphrase by Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 411 [ʿamīrān ‘alā al-Madā‘in wa-Jūkhā wa-al-Anbār].

328. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Maʿdikarib [al-ʿAsh’āth], grandson of the famous general and chief of the Kindah of Ḥadramawt, al-ʿAsh’āth b. Qays, see El2, s.v. Ibn al-ʿAsh’āth. He had earlier fought for Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr against al-Mukhtār and for Bishr b. Marwān against the Azraqites; see text above, II, 733, 826f.
time. But now, I swear to you a solemn oath by God, if you act this way again, I will deal you a blow far worse than facing this enemy, from whom you flee through lowland valleys and mountain passes and from whom you hide in river bends and mountain clefts. He who has any sense will fear for himself and not put his life in jeopardy! The warner is excused,\(^{329}\) and "If you had addressed a living being, you would have been heard"\(^{330}\)—but those you address have no life! Peace be upon you.

Then al-Ḥajjāj dispatched Ibn al-ᾲṣamm, his muezzin, to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-ᾲṣ’ath. He came to Ibn al-ᾲṣ’ath at sunrise and said, "Set out immediately, and proclaim to the men that 'No contractual obligation will protect any member of this expedition whom we find malingering.'" ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-ᾲṣ’ath marched out with the men as far as al-Madā‘īn and halted there for a day and a night while his forces bought what they needed. Then he gave the call for the men to saddle their mounts, and they did so and began to move out. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān stopped to see ‘Uthmān b. Qaṭan and then went to see al-Jazl, asking him about his wounds and sitting to talk with him for a while. Al-Jazl then said to him, "Kinsman,\(^{331}\) you are marching against the horsemen of the bedouin, sons of war, men never out of the saddle, by God, as if they had been created from their horses' ribs and raised on their backs. They are lions in the thickets, one horseman of theirs worth a hundred: if you do not attack him, he will attack you, and if you yell at him to chase him off\(^{332}\) he will come at you. I have fought them and seen how they fight. When I showed myself to them in the open, they took their due from me and bested me; but when I put trenches around myself and fought them in narrow places, I got something of what I was after from them and achieved victory. If possible, then, do not encounter them when you are not either in formation or protected by a trench." When ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bade

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\(^{329}\) A’ḍhara man andhara; see Maydāni, Amthāl, I, 435.

\(^{330}\) That is, "your words go unheeded," referring to himself; for the proverb, see Maydāni, Amthāl, II, 48.

\(^{331}\) Both men belonged to the tribe of Kindah.

\(^{332}\) In huihija, a word applied specifically to lions (and camels); see Lane, Lexicon, s.v.
him farewell, al-Jazl said, "Here is my horse al-Fusayfisā'. Take her; she can outrun all others."

'Abd al-Rahmān took the horse and led the men out against Shabīb; but when he drew near him, Shabīb withdrew from him to Daqūqā' and Shahrazūr. 'Abd al-Rahmān pursued him as far as the borders but then halted and said, "He is now in the Mosul region, so let them fight to defend their land, or let him be, as they please." But al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf wrote to him, saying, "Pursue Shabīb and go after him wherever he goes, until you catch him and kill him or expel him. The authority is that of the Commander of the Faithful, and the troops are his troops. Peace."

When he read al-Ḥajjāj's letter, 'Abd al-Rahmān set out again in pursuit of Shabīb. Shabīb's strategy had been to let 'Abd al-Rahmān draw near him and then attempt a night attack; but when he found that 'Abd al-Rahmān had taken precautions and dug a defensive trench, he would withdraw and again let him be, and 'Abd al-Rahmān would pursue him. When Shabīb heard that he had started up and was on the march, he would advance on him with his cavalry; but when he reached him he would find that he had put the cavalry and infantry in battle array and brought up the archers, never catching him in a moment of negligence or weakness. Then he would again withdraw and let him be.

When Shabīb saw that he could not catch 'Abd al-Rahmān unawares or find a way to get at him, he began to take his cavalry out when 'Abd al-Rahmān drew near and would then dismount at a distance of twenty farsakhs, halting in a rough and barren area. 'Abd al-Rahmān would come up, and when he drew near Shabīb, Shabīb would remount and go another fifteen or twenty farsakhs and dismount again, in a rough and rugged area. There he would halt until 'Abd al-Rahmān again drew near.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab: Shabīb subjected that army to torments and agonies, wore down the hooves of their beasts, and put them through every sort of trial; but 'Abd al-Rahmān kept pursuing him, passing by Khāniqin, then Jalūlā', then Tāmarrā. Then Shabīb went on and dis-

333. A district, and city, east of Daqūqā' and north of Ḥulwān, see Fiey, Assyrie chrétienne, III, 67ff.
334. A (assū) of the astān of Ḥulwān, in the area where the Diyālā River and the
mounted at al-Batt, one of the villages of Mosul, just on the borders of that region, separated from the Sawād of al-Kūfah only by a river called Hawlāyā.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath came and dismounted at the Hawlāyā River, in Upper Rādhān, in the region of Jūkhā. He halted at some steep bends in the river; ʿAbd al-Rahmān halted there where he did, because these bends impressed him as being like a natural trench and fortress.

Then Shabib sent to ʿAbd al-Rahmān, saying, "These days are feast days for both us and you. If you would care to observe a truce for their duration, by all means do so." ʿAbd al-Rahmān agreed—there was nothing dearer to ʿAbd al-Rahmān than truces and delays.

But ʿUthmān b. ʿQatān wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, saying, "I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad has dug up Jūkhā in its entirety into one great trench while leaving Shabib to cut off its land revenue and plunder its people. Peace."

Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "I have understood what you have told me about ʿAbd al-Rahmān, and, by my life, he has indeed done as you say. Go, then, to the men, for you are to be their commander, and hurry out to confront the heretics. God will give you victory over them, God willing. Peace."

Nahrawān Canal (both also sometimes known as Tāmarrā) met. See Ibn Khurraḍādhbih, Masūlīk, 6; Le Strange, Lands, 59f., 80; Fiey, Assyrie Chrétienne, III, 13.

335. Yaḥqūt, Muʿjam, I, 488, mentions two towns with this name, one in the district of Baghdad, "near Rādhān," the other near Baʿqūbā. The first of these may be the place intended here, and was perhaps just north of the al-ʿUdhaym River (see note 337).

336. The Sawād ("blackness") is the alluvial plain of Mesopotamia; at this time, the Sawād of al-Kūfah was the entire province between the Sawād of al-Baṣrah to the south and the district of Mosul to the north, constituting with the former the Sawād of Iraq.

337. If Fiey's identification of Rādhān is accepted (see notes 184, 186), this may be the al-ʿUdhaym River, although that would imply administration from Mosul farther down the Tigris than was the case later, when the capital of the Iraq had been moved north from al-Kūfah to Baghdad.

338. Rādhān al-ʿAjlā. Wherever Rādhān was, it was administratively divided into two parts, upper and lower; see Ibn Khurraḍādhbih, Masūlīk, 6, and note 184 above.

339. Presumably, the season of the ʿĪd al-ʿAḍhā, or Greater Feast, celebrated on the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, see E17, s.v. ʿĪd al-ʿAḍhā, and next note.
The Events of the Year 76

Al-Ḥajjāj sent Muṭārrif b. al-Mughirah b. Shu‘bāh to al-Madā‘in, while 'Uthmān set out and came to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad and the Kūfāns with him where they were camped on the River Ḥawlāyā, near al-Batt. This was the evening of Tuesday, the “Day of Watering” [8 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 76 [March 18, 696]].

'Uthmān called to the men, as he sat on a mule, “Men, go out against your enemy!” The men came running to him, saying, “We adjure you by God! Night has fallen, and the men have not put themselves in the proper frame of mind for combat. First pass the night, then take the men out in formation.” But he kept saying, “I will go out and engage them, and the lot will fall to my favor or theirs.” Then 'Abd al-Rahmān came to them and seized the bridle of 'Uthmān’s mount, pleading with him in God’s name until he dismounted. 'Aqīl b. Shaddād al-Salūlī said to 'Uthmān, “The engagement you want right now you can have tomorrow, and tomorrow will be better for both you and the men. There is wind and dust at this hour, and evening has come. Dismount, then, and we will all set out against them early in the morning.” He dismounted then. The wind and the dust it raised irritated him, so the revenue collector summoned the local inhabitants to build him a large tent to spend the night in.

The next morning, Wednesday, the people of al-Batt came to Shabīb, who was staying in their church, and said, “May God cause you to prosper! You are merciful to the weak and the people of the jizyah; those you govern can speak to you and complain of their afflictions, and you concern yourself with them and pro-

340. The “day of watering” (yawm al-tarwiyyah) is the first day of the pilgrimage rites in Mecca; there are various explanations for the name. See Lane, Lexicon, s.v. tarwiyyah, and E12, s.v. hadjji. March 18, 696, was a Saturday.


342. Sāḥib al-kharā; apparently the person locally responsible, who knew the inhabitants. See also note 375 below.

343. 'Ulūj: according to the lexicographers “brutes” or “infidels,” but in this period essentially “peasants” or “non-Arabs”; see Lekkegaard, Islamic Taxation, 172.

344. Qubbah; see Dozy, Supplément, s.v.

345. The poll tax, levied on the non-Muslim population; see E12, s.v. djizya. The Khārijites were consistently as tolerant of non-Muslims as they were intolerant of non-Khārijite Muslims; see E12, s.v. Khāridjites.
tect them. But these people are oppressors; they will not be talked to, and they will accept no excuses. By God, if they hear that you are staying in our church, they will surely kill us once you go, if you are fated to do so. If you would, then, come stay next to the village, so they will have nothing to hold against us.” Shabib agreed to do so, and went out and encamped beside the village.

‘Uthmān spent the entire night encouraging the troops. When Wednesday morning came, he led the men out, but they were met by a strong wind and dust, and cried to him, saying, “We adjure you by God, do not take us out today; for the wind is against us.” He agreed to wait out that day. Shabib was planning to fight them, and his forces went out, but when he saw that his opponents did not come out to him, he also waited out the day.

On Thursday eve, ‘Uthmān went out and mustered the men by their quarters. He put each quarter on one side of the camp and told them to march out in that formation. He asked them who had been in command of their right wing, and they said Khālid b. Nahīk b. Qays al-Kindi, with ‘Aqil b. Shaddād al-Salūlī in command of their left wing. ‘Uthmān summoned the two men and said to them, “Keep the same positions that you have had; I am putting you in command of the two wings. Stand fast and do not flee, for, by God, I shall abide as long as the palms of Rādhān abide on their trunks!” They replied, “And we, by God, other than Whom there is no god, will not flee, but stand until we achieve either victory or death.” ‘Uthmān said, “May God reward you richly.”

‘Uthmān waited until he had led the men in the morning prayer, and then set out.346 He put the quarters of the Medinese and of Tamīm and Hamdān347 on the left, toward the River Ḥawlāyā, and the quarters348 of Kindah and Rabi‘ah and of Madhḥij and Asad on the right. He himself dismounted and marched with the infantry. Shabib also went forth, having 181 men with him that day, and crossed the river to meet his opponents. He was in the right wing of his forces, having put Suwayd

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346. The day was 10 Dhū al-Hijjah, the ‘Īd al-Adhā.
348. Reading rub‘ay for text rub‘.
b. Sulaym over his left wing and his brother Muṣād b. Yazīd in the center. The two armies advanced and bore down on each other.

According to Abū Mikhnafl-al-Naḍr b. Sāliḥ al-‘Absī: ‘Uthmān kept repeating, "Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or killing: afterward you will not dwell in comfort but a little while." Where are those who uphold their religion and defend their spoil?" ‘Aqīl b. Shaddād b. Ḥubshi al-Salūlī said, "Perhaps I may be one of them—those others were killed on the day of Rūdhbār!")

Then Shabib said to his men, "I am going to attack their left wing, next to the river. If I defeat them, then the commander of my left should attack their right. But the commander of my center must not move until he receives my order." Then he charged with his right wing, next to the river, against ‘Uthmān b. Qatān’s left, and it was driven back. ‘Aqīl b. Shaddād dismounted and fought until he was killed. Also killed that day was Mālik b. Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Murhibi, the paternal uncle of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ayyāsh al-Mantūf. “Aqīl b. Shaddād recited that day as he fought:

Indeed I strike with my keen sword
like a true stalwart scion of Salūl.

While Shabib plunged into the midst of his opponents’ forces, Suwayd b. Sulaym charged with Shabib’s left against ‘Uthmān b. Qatān’s right, commanded by Khālid b. Nahīk b. Qays al-Kindi, and drove them back. Khālid, who was in command of the quarter of Kindah and Rabī‘ah that day, as well as being commander of the right wing, dismounted and fought fiercely, but Shabib attacked him from the rear. Shabib headed straight for him and came down on him with his sword, killing him. ‘Uthmān b. Qatān, accompanied by the marshals and the tribal notables and horsemen

349. Qur’an 33:16.
350. Fay'; see note 67 above.
351. La‘allī an akūna aḥadahum qutila ulā‘ika yawn Rūdhbār. Other MSS read La‘allī an akūna minhum aw aḥadahum wa‘in kānū qad qutilū yawn Rūdhbār.
among his forces, who had dismounted with him, moved against the enemy center, where Shabib’s brother was positioned with some sixty men on foot. ‘Uthmān b. Qaṭān drew up to them and charged them with his notables and stalwart men, and these pounded at them until they broke their ranks; but then Shabib attacked them from behind with the cavalry, and before they knew it they were speared in the back and pitched forward on their faces. Now Suwayd b. Sulaym turned against them as well, with his cavalry, and Muṣād and his forces came back to the fray, after Shabib had them dismount. There was a general melee for a time, and ‘Uthmān b. Qaṭān fought and fought well, but then the enemy forces pressed his men and surrounded him, and Shabib’s brother Muṣād charged him and delivered a sword blow that spun him around. ‘Uthmān said, ‘‘And God’s command was fulfilled,’ 353 and the enemy troops killed him. Also killed that day was al-Abād b. Rabī’ah al-Kindi; he was on a hillock, when he tossed his spear 354 to his weapon bearer (ghulām) and gave him his horse; he then fought until he was killed.

‘Abd al-Rahmān had fallen, but Ibn Abī Sabrah al-Ju’fī, 355 who was mounted on a mule, saw him and recognized him. He dismounted, handed him his spear, and said, ‘Mount!’ ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad asked, ‘Which of us is to ride behind?’ Ibn Abī Sabrah replied, ‘Glory to God! You are the commander and should be in front!’ ‘Abd al-Rahmān mounted and said to Ibn Abī Sabrah, ‘Call to the men that they are to come to Dayr Abī Maryam.’ He did so, and the two of them set off themselves. Meanwhile, Wāṣil b. al-Ḥārith al-Sakūnī saw ‘Abd al-Rahmān’s horse, the one al-Jazl had given him, wandering about the battlefield; then one of Shabib’s men took it. Wāṣil assumed that ‘Abd al-Rahmān had been killed, and he looked for him among the dead but did not find him. He asked around about him, and was told, ‘We saw a man dismount from his beast and put him on it; it was probably him, in any case, as he had come this way only shortly before.’ Wāṣil b. al-Ḥārith set out after him on his nag,

354. Silāḥ, meaning weapon in general, but perhaps here the spear with which one fights on horseback as opposed to the sword wielded on foot.
taking his weapon bearer with him on a mule. As they drew near, Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah said to ‘Abd al-Rahmān, “By God, two horsemen are coming up on us!” ‘Abd al-Rahmān asked, “Are there more than just the two?” Muḥammad said, “No.” ‘Abd al-Rahmān said, “Well, two can handle two.”

‘Abd al-Rahmān continued talking with Ibn Abī Sabrah as if he were paying the two men no mind, until they caught up with them. Then Ibn Abī Sabrah said, “God’s mercy on you, the two men have caught up with us.” ‘Abd al-Rahmān said, “Let us dismount, then.” They dismounted and drew their swords, and then went to meet them. When Wāṣil saw them, he recognized them and said, “You did not dismount when it was called for, so do not dismount now!” Then he drew his turban away from his face, and they recognized him and welcomed him. Wāṣil said to Ibn al-Ash‘ath, “When I saw your horse wandering about the battlefield, I assumed you were on foot, so I brought you this nag of mine to ride.” Ibn al-Ash‘ath then left Ibn Abī Sabrah his mule and mounted the nag. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash‘ath then went off to Dayr al-Ya‘ār.356

Shabib ordered his men to hold back their swords from the troops, and he summoned the latter to render him the oath of allegiance. Those surviving from the infantry came and rendered the oath to him. Abū al-Ṣuqayr al-Muḥallimi said to him, “I killed seven Kūfans in the middle of the river; the last of them was a man who clung to my robe and screamed and almost succeeded in scaring me off. But then I went for him and killed him.” On that day 120 from the Kindah were killed, and either a thousand or six hundred from the rest of the men. Most of the marshals were killed that day.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Qudāmah b. Ḥāzim b. Sufyān al-Khath‘ami: I killed quite a number of them that day.

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad spent that night at Dayr al-Ya‘ār. Two horsemen came to him and went up to see him on the roof, while another stood nearby. One of them closeted himself with ‘Abd al-Rahmān for a long private conversation; then he and

356. Spelling and location uncertain. Other MSS read al-N.’ār; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 416, has al-B.qār.
his companions came back down. The men were saying to one another that that was Shabib and that he had written to him.

At the end of the night, 'Abd al-Rahmān came out and rode to Dayr Abi Maryam. There he found that Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Sabrah had provided the mounted troops with barley and clover heaped up like castles and slaughtered for them all the meat they could wish for; on that day they ate and fed their beasts. Then the men met with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and said to him, "If Shabib hears where you are, he will come to you and you will be easy pickings for him; the men are dispersed and gone, and the best of them have been killed. Get back to al-Kūfah, man!" 'Abd al-Rahmān set out for al-Kūfah, and the men returned, also. When he arrived, 'Abd al-Rahmān went into hiding from al-Hajjāj, until he was subsequently given safe conduct.357

'Abd al-Malik Reforms the Coinage

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān ordered dinārs and dirhams inscribed,358 according to al-Wāqidi—Sa’d b. Rāshid—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān.

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357. The campaigns of Ibn al-Ash’ath and ‘Uthmān b. Qaṭan (in that order) are mentioned after that of Zā’idah b. Qudāmah by Ibn Khayṣyā, Ta’rīkh, 273, who dates ‘Uthmān’s defeat, like Tabari, to Dhū al-Ḥijjah 76. Ibn A’tham al-‘Uṣf, Futūḥ, VII, 85, makes Ibn al-Ash’ath the third commander defeated by Shabib, and does not mention ‘Uthmān, Baghdādī, Farq, 90, gives a report parallel to Ibn A’tham’s, but even briefer. See also Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 413–16; Périer, Vie d’al-Ḥadhdhdhī, 129–32; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 186.

358. Naqsh. This apparently refers to ‘Abd al-Malik’s general monetary reform, in which purely aniconic dinārs and dirhams, of standard (and redefined) weight, replaced the Byzantine gold and Sasanian silver coinage in circulation, as well as various previous Islamic adaptations of both. The earliest known aniconic dinārs are in fact dated 77; aniconic dirhams appeared only in 79. The numismatic evidence suggests, however, that ‘Abd al-Malik may have first initiated an official Islamic coinage, with “adapted” iconic issues in both gold and silver, as early as 72, in which case this statement would represent a conflation of this first attempt with his later aniconic reform. ("Naqsh" does not necessarily imply aniconic Arabic inscription as opposed to pictorial representation on earlier issues.) On this thorny question, which is far from resolved, see, most recently, M. Bates, "History, Geography and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage," Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau 65 [1986], 331–63, as well as G. C. Miles in EI², s.vv. dinār, dirham, H. Gaube, "Numismatik," in Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, I (Wiesbaden, 1982), 226–50; and the classic study by P.
According to Ibn Abī al-Zinād—his father: 'Abd al-Malik struck dirhams and dinārs that year; he was the first to initiate the striking of them. According to Khalid b. Abī Rabī‘ah—his father: The pre-Islamic units of weight (mithqāls) by which 'Abd al-Malik struck his coins were twenty-two gird fīs, ten weighed seven. According to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jarir al-Laythī—his father: I asked Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab how much the zākāt should be on dinārs, and he said, “For every twenty mithqāls in

Grierson, “The Monetary Reform of 'Abd al-Malik,” Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 3 (1960), 241–64. See also the much fuller (if even more problematical) report in Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 465–70.


360. Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 467, 469, cites two versions of this report from Ibn Abī al-Zinād: one from al-Waqīqī stating that 'Abd al-Malik was the first to strike gold and silver coins, after the “year of reconciliation” (‘am al-jamā‘ah), usually considered to be 73; and the other from Ibn Sa‘d, referring only to gold coins, struck in the year of reconciliation, specified as 74. In either case the statement must refer to experiments with the existing iconic coinage, prior to 'Abd al-Malik’s general reform. A further report, in Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 240, and other authors, ostensibly referring to the aniconic coinage, attributes 'Abd al-Malik’s initiative to a quarrel with the Byzantine emperor over the Islamicization of the previously Christian superscription on papyrus imported by the Byzantines from Egypt; the emperor is said to have threatened to retaliate by putting an anti-Islamic inscription on his dinārs, and 'Abd al-Malik to have responded by freeing himself from Byzantine coinage altogether. For a full discussion of this story, about which Tabari is completely silent, see A. Fahmi, Faij al-sikkah al-arabiyah (Cairo, 1965), 38–53.

361. For various interpretations of this statement, and others like it in Baladhuri, see the articles by Grierson and Miles cited in note 358, and Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte, 1, 12. The mithqāl was a unit of weight that varied with both geography and commodity; the same is true of the qirāṭ and the habbāh. For monetary purposes, mithqāl was virtually synonymous with dinār. According to Miles, 'Abd al-Malik’s reform dinars and dirhams were both considerably lighter than their respective prototypes, the Byzantine solidus and Sasanian dirham; so if, as seems likely, the mithqāl fāhili mentioned here is the weight of the solidus, 'Abd al-Malik cannot have simply struck dinars equal in weight to this mithqāl. From reports in Baladhuri and elsewhere, we know that the mithqāl was subsequently set equal to twenty qirāṭs; what may be intended here, then, is that 'Abd al-Malik recognized the old mithqāl as equal to 22- qirāṭs, and, defining a qirāṭ on this basis, issued new dinars at 20 qirāṭs. The expression “ten weighed seven” refers to the weight ratio of dirhams to dinars, and, according to Miles, accords well with the reality of early post-reform coins and glass weights.

362. D. 94 (713); see Sezgin, GAS, I, 276.

363. The alms tax on Muslims, assessed on gold (and silver) at 2.5 percent; see SEI, s.v. zākāt.
Syrian weights, a half *mithqāl.*' I said, "Why Syrian rather than Egyptian?" He replied, "It is by the Syrian that dinārs are struck, and that was the weight of the (old?) dinārs before the dinārs were struck; they were twenty-two *qirāts* minus a *habbah.*"364 Saʿīd said, "I know that, because I had sent some dinārs to Damascus, and they were struck at that weight."365

In this year, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam went to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and Abān b. ʿUthmān took charge of Medina; this was in Rajab (October–November 695).366

In this year, Nawfal b. Musāhīq b. ʿAmr b. Khudash of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy was appointed to the judiciary.367

In this year, Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān was born.368

The pilgrimage was led in this year by Abān b. ʿUthmān, who was amir over Medina, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Ishāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿṣhar; and also according to al-Wāqidi.369 The governor of al-Kūfah and al- Баšrah was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, and the governor of Khurāsān was Umayyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khalid. Shurayḥ was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah, and Zurārah b. Awfā was in charge of the judiciary in al- Баšrah.

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364. Perhaps this statement can be given some point if we assume that the first *mithqāl* refers to weighing gold, while the second refers to currency of a half dinar, whatever the weight of a *mithqāl* may have been in Egypt.

365. A variant of this statement by Saʿīd appears in Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 467 [with a different isnād], with "uncoined gold" (tibr) instead of "dinārs."

366. See text above, II, 873; apparently this time ʿAbd al-Malik consented to the change of governors. Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, V, 112f., records only one incident, with ʿAbd al-Malik protesting but confirming Abān as Yahyā's successor.

367. In Medina. For Nawfal the text has Abān b. Nawfal, a slip; see text below, II, 1085, and Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, V, 113. The Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy were a clan of Quraysh; see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 4, 27.

368. The later caliph Marwān II; see Elʿ, s.v. Marwān II.

In this year Shabib killed ‘Attāb b. Warqā’ al-Riyāḥi and Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah.

*Shabīb Kills ‘Attāb b. Warqā’ and Zuhrāh b. Ḥawiyyah*

The reason for that, according to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab and Farwah b. Laqīṭ: When Shabīb defeated the army that al-Ḥajjāj had sent out against him with ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath, and killed ‘Uthmān b. Qaṭān, it was summer and very hot.370 Because of the heat, he and his companions went to Māh Bihzādhnān371 for the summer, spending three months there. Many people looking for material gain came and joined him, as well as some people whom al-Ḥajjāj was pursuing for money or other penalties. Among the latter was

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370. According to the text above, II, 933f., the battle was in March.
371. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, IV, 406, and P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1896–1936), 666f. Yāqūt’s suggestion that this place was near Bandanljān, that is, in the mountains east of al-Madā‘in, would fit the present context well.
a man from the tribe\textsuperscript{372} named al-Hurr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf. Two \textit{dihqāns} among the inhabitants of the Durqīt Canal region\textsuperscript{373} had mistreated and wronged him, and he had attacked them and killed them. He then joined Shabib, was with him in Māh, and participated in his various battles, until Shabib was killed. Then, when al-Ḫajjāj extended amnesty to all those who owed money or other penalties and had gone out to join Shabib—that was after the day at al-Sabakhah\textsuperscript{374}—al-Hurr came back to him with the others. The families of the two \textit{dihqāns} came to demand that al-Hajjāj arrest him, and he was fetched and brought in; he had made his testament, despairing of his life. Al-Ḫajjāj said to him, “Enemy of God, you have killed two of the revenue collectors.”\textsuperscript{375} Al-Ḫurr replied, “The whole story, may God cause you to prosper, is worse than that.” Al-Ḫajjāj asked, “How so?” He replied, “I forsook my obedience and separated myself from the community. But then you issued the amnesty for all who would come back to you. Here is my amnesty document, which you wrote for me.” Al-Ḫajjāj said, “Curse you! I have indeed, by my life, done so.” And he let him go.

After the heat had broken, Shabib left Māh with some eight hundred men and headed for al-Madā’in, which was being governed by Muṭarrif b. al-Mughirah b. Shu’bāh; he halted at the bridges of Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān.\textsuperscript{376} Then Mādharwāsib, the lord of Bābil Mahrūdūh, wrote to al-Ḫajjāj, saying: “I hereby inform the amir—may God cause him to prosper!—that Shabib has come and halted at the bridges of Ḥudhayfah. I do not know where he is headed.”

\textsuperscript{372} That is, Azd, to which 'Abd al-Rahmān and Farwah (and Abū Mikhnaf) belonged.


\textsuperscript{374} See text below, II, 958ff.

\textsuperscript{375} \textit{Rajulayn min ahl al-khardi}. This is presumably a plural of \textit{sāhib al-kharāj}, as used above (see note 342). A \textit{dihqān} would collect the revenues from his peasants and then pay the central treasury; see Løkkegaard, \textit{Islamic Taxation}, 95f.

\textsuperscript{376} Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, d. 36 [656], was an important commander in the conquest of Iraq and an early governor of al-Madā’in; see Zirikli, \textit{A’lām}, II, 180. The location of his \textit{qanātir} [stone bridges, arches] seems to be nowhere described more specifically than as “near al-Madā’in.” See Balādhurī, \textit{Futūḥ}, 272; Yāqūt, \textit{Mu’jam}, IV, 180.
When al-Ḥajjāj read this letter, he stood before the men, praised and glorified God, and said, "By God, men, either you will fight to defend your land and your spoil, 377 or I will send for a force more compliant and obedient, and more steadfast in the rage and terror of battle than you, and they will fight your enemy and appropriate your spoil." At this, the men came to him from every side, saying, "We will fight them, and we will satisfy the amir; let the amir send us out against them, and we will go wherever pleases him." Among those who came to him was Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah, 378 an old man who was unable to stand up by himself without a helping hand; he said, "May God cause the amir to prosper! You are sending out the men against them in bits and pieces. Better you should mobilize the men altogether and let them go to meet the enemy in a body. Then send forth as their commander a stalwart, courageous man, experienced in battle, a man who looks on flight as a crime and a disgrace and on steadfastness as glory and honor." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "Such a man are you; you lead them, then!" Zuhrah said, "May God cause the amir to prosper, what the troops need now is a man who carries a spear, wears a coat of mail, brandishes a sword, and sits firmly on horseback. But I can do none of these things; I have lost my strength and much of my eyesight. But do send me out among the forces with their commander. I can stay on a saddled riding-camel well enough and be with the commander in his camp to advise him with my opinions." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "May God reward you handsomely for Islam and its people at the beginning of Islam, and may God reward you handsomely for Islam at the end of Islam, for you have given good and sincere advice! I will send out the forces altogether: Marching orders, men!"

The men set out marching without knowing who their commander would be, while al-Ḥajjāj wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān as follows:

I hereby inform the Commander of the Faithful, may God be generous to him, that Shabib has advanced to near al-

377. Fay'; see note 67 above.
Madā‘in and is threatening al-Kūfah. The Kūfans have fought him unsuccessfully in many battles; everywhere he kills their commanders and routs their forces. Perhaps the Commander of the Faithful will see best to send me the Syrians to fight their enemy for them and appropriate their land.379 Peace.

When this letter reached ‘Abd al-Malik, he sent him Suﬁyān b. al-Abraḍ380 with four thousand men and Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī381 of Madhḥij with two thousand; these he dispatched quickly to al-Ḥajjāj, as soon as he received the letter.

Meanwhile, the Kūfans were preparing to fight Shabib, still without knowing who their commander would be; some said he would send out one, some another. Al-Ḥajjāj had in fact sent for ‘Attab b. Warqā’ to come to him. ‘Attāb was in command of the Kūfān cavalry with al-Muhallab; this was the army of Kūfāns over which Bishr b. Marwān had sent out ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf as commander in the campaign against Qaṭārī.382 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf had held this position for only about two months before al-Ḥajjāj came out as governor of Iraq; after al-Ḥajjāj’s arrival, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf remained their commander only through Rajab and Sha‘bān (October–December 694). Qaṭārī killed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān at the end of Ramadan (late January 695),383 and al-Ḥajjāj then sent out ‘Attāb b. Warqā’ to command that army of Kūfāns which had lost ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf. Al-Ḥajjāj ordered ‘Attāb to obey al-Muhallab, which ‘Attāb found vexing, and things became so bad between him and al-Muhallab that ‘Attāb wrote to al-Ḥajjāj asking to be relieved of his command of that army and recalled. When, therefore, he received al-Ḥajjāj’s letter ordering him to come to him, he was very pleased.

379. Ya’kulū bilādahum, literally, “eat their land,” as above they will “eat their fay,” that is, enjoy the revenues which are the conquerors’ spoil.

380. Of the Banū Kalb; see Caskel, Ḳamharat an-nasab, II, 515.

381. Of the Banū al-Ḥakam b. Sa’d al-ʿAshirah; see Caskel, Ḳamharat an-nasab, II, 294f.

382. Qaṭārī was the current leader of the Azraqites; see note 13 above and text below, II, 1003ff. This paragraph summarizes the account above, II, 855–59, 875–78.

383. See text above, II, 875ff., where the date was, according to the Başrans, 1 Ramaḍān, and, according to the Kūfāns, 20 Ramaḍān.
Al-Ḥajjāj summoned the notables of the Kūfans, among them Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah al-Saʿdi of the Banū al-ʿAraj and Qabiṣah b. Wāliq al-Taghlibi, and he asked them their opinions on whom he should send out to command that army. They replied, “Your opinion is best, O amir.” He said, “I have sent for ‘Attāb b. Warqā’, and he will be coming to you tonight or tomorrow night; it will be he who marches out with the men.” Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah said, “May God cause the amir to prosper, you have hit them with the right stone.”384 No, by God, he will not come back to you until he has either achieved victory or been killed.” Then Qabiṣah b. Wāliq said, “I will give you my opinion. If it is wrong, it is nevertheless the result of my sincere efforts to advise the Commander of the Faithful, the amir, and all the Muslims; if it is right, it is God Who has led me to it. There is talk among us, and among the men, that an army has been sent out to you from Syria, the Kūfans having been defeated and routed, and shown themselves short on endurance and indifferent to the shame of flight, as if their hearts were not in themselves but in some other people. Perhaps you may decide to send to this army of yours that has been provided you from the Syrians, cautioning them to be on their guard and never to camp for the night without assuming that there will be a night attack on them. You are fighting a shrewd, crafty man, ever on the move. You have mobilized against him the Kūfans, in whom you are not entirely confident; and their brethren are these troops that have been sent to you from Syria. When Shabib is in one area, suddenly he pops up in another, and I feel no assurance that he will not come on them unawares. But if they perish, we perish, and Iraq perishes.” Al-Ḥajjāj said, “You impress me! This shows excellent judgment and is excellent advice.”

Al-Ḥajjāj sent ‘Abd al-Rahman b. al-Ghariq, the client of Abu ʿAqil,385 to meet the advancing Syrians. He found them halted at Hit386 and brought them a letter from al-Ḥajjāj, saying: “When you reach Hit, leave the Euphrates route to al-Anbār and follow the ‘Ayn al-Tamr route to al-Kūfah, God willing. Be on your guard

384. Ramaytahum bi-hajarihīm; for the proverb, see Maydānī, Amthāl, I, 263.
385. The text above, II, 922, has Ibn Abi ʿAqil.
386. On the west bank of the Euphrates, about fifty miles above al-Anbār; see Els, s.v. Hit.
and speed the march. Peace." The men then came on quickly. Meanwhile, 'Attab b. Warqā' arrived on the night that al-Ḥajjāj had said he would. Al-Ḥajjāj ordered him to lead the troops out, and he camped with them at Ḥammām A‘yan.

Shabīb advanced as far as Kalwādāhā, where he crossed the Tigris; then he came on and halted at the lower town of Bahurasir, so that only the bridge of boats spanning the Tigris separated him and Muṭarrīf b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu‘bah. When Shabīb halted at the town of Bahurasir, Muṭarrīf cut the bridge. Then he sent to Shabīb, saying, "Send to me some of your leading commanders, together with whom I can study the Qur‘ān and consider the stance that you advocate." Shabīb sent to him some of his leading commanders, including Qa‘nab, Suwayd, and al-Muhallil; but when they were about to board the boat, Shabīb sent word to them not to do so until his messenger had returned from Muṭarrīf. When the messenger returned, he sent to Muṭarrīf, saying, "Send to me the same number of your companions as I am sending of mine to you, for me to hold as hostages until you send my companions back to me." But Muṭarrīf said to the messenger, "Go to him and say: Why should I trust you with my companions if I send them to you now, when you do not trust me with your companions?" The messenger returned to Shabīb and delivered this message. Shabīb then sent his reply, saying, "You know that we do not consider treachery permissible in our religion, whereas you not only do it but also consider it permissible." Muṭarrīf then sent to him al-Rabī’ b. Yazīd al-Asadī, Sulaymān b. Ḥudhayfah b. Hilāl b. Mālik al-Muzani, and Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, his client and the captain of his guard. Once they were in Shabīb’s custody, he sent off his companions and they went to Muṭarrīf. They spent four days exchanging messages, but in the

387. The following paragraph is duplicated, with only minor differences in wording, at II, 98ff. below; both accounts come from Abū Mikhnāf, but with different earlier authorities.

388. The city of Veh-Ardashir, on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite Ctesiphon, in the complex of al-Madī‘īn; see EI2, s.v. al-Madī‘īn.

389. The parallel version below, and some MSS here, omit this phrase. If it is original, we must assume that Shabīb sent the messenger twice, once to agree, and then again to set conditions.

390. His father’s client in the parallel version below.
end agreed on nothing. \(^{391}\) When it became clear to Shabib that Muṭṭar rif was not going to follow him or join in with him, he prepared to set off to meet ‘Atṭāb b. Warqā’ and the Syrians.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: Shabib summoned his chief companions and said to them, “The only one who ever frustrates my plans is this Thaqafi. Four days ago I told myself I should go out with a detachment of cavalry and meet this army coming from Syria, hoping to catch them off guard—or even on it, it doesn’t matter. In any case I would be meeting troops cut off from the garrison, with no amīr like al-Ḥajjāj to have recourse to and no garrison like al-Kūfah to take refuge in. Then my spies came to me today and informed me that the first of these troops have reached ‘Ayn al-Tamr and are thus now almost to al-Kūfah, while other spies came to me from the direction of ‘Atṭāb b. Warqā’, telling me that he is camped with the main body of Kūfan troops at al-Ṣarāt. He is thus exceedingly close, so let us prepare to set out against him.”

Muṭṭar rif was afraid that word would reach al-Ḥajjāj about what he had done, treating with Shabib, and he withdrew toward al-Jibāl, \(^{392}\) intending to wait and see what would happen between Shabib and ‘Atṭāb. Then Shabib sent to him, saying, “Since you declined to render allegiance to me, I have correspondingly repudiated any obligations between us.” \(^{393}\) Muṭṭar rif said to his companions, “Let us declare open revolt. Al-Ḥajjāj will fight us in any case, so let him fight us with our strength at its greatest.” He set out, abandoning \(^{394}\) al-Mada’in. Shabib then restored the bridge and sent his brother Muṣād to al-Mada’in.

‘Atṭāb advanced toward him, halting at the market of Ḥakamah. \(^{395}\) Al-Ḥajjāj had sent out the Kūfan forces en masse.

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\(^{391}\) See the detailed account of the negotiations below, II, 983–88.

\(^{392}\) Media, the province centered on Hamadhān; see EI², s.v. Djibāl; Le Strange, Lands, 185ff.

\(^{393}\) Fa-qad nabadhtu ilayka ‘alā sawā’: Qur’ānic phraseology, from Qur’ān 8:58: “If you fear treachery from a people, then repudiate (any agreement) with them correspondingly (fa-nbidh ilayhim ‘alā sawā’).”

\(^{394}\) Reading taraka for nazala. Ibn al-Athir’s paraphrase (Kāmil, IV, 422) omits the word. From the parallels below, II, 956, 988, it is clear that Muṭṭar rif set out for al-Daskarah.

\(^{395}\) Brief notices in Baladhūrī, Futūḥ, 275, and Yāqūt, Mu’jam, III, 194, do not specify more closely the location of this place.
both the regular forces and the young men who were eager to fight; not counting these young men, the regular forces were 40,000. Those who arrived with 'Attāb at the market of Ḥakamah that day were then 40,000 of the regular forces and 10,000 of the young men—or 50,000 altogether. Al-Ḥajjāj left behind no man of Quraysh nor any member of any noble Arab house.

According to Abū Mikhnaff—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jundab: I heard al-Ḥajjāj speak from the pulpit when he sent 'Attāb with the men against Shabīb, saying, “Men of al-Kūfah! Go out with 'Attāb b. Warqā', all of you! No man is permitted to remain here except those I have appointed to administrative posts. Hear me! He who is steadfast and strives will earn honor and preferment. Hear me! He who shrinks and flees will earn disgrace and disdain. By Him than Whom there is no other god! If you perform in this battle as you have in previous battles, you will surely feel my rough side, and I will come down with my full weight on you!” Then he came down; and the men assembled with 'Attāb at the market of Ḥakamah.

According to Abū Mikhnaff—Farwah b. Laqīt: Shabīb reviewed us at al-Madā‘īn; we were a thousand men. He stood before us, praised and glorified God, and said, “Company of Muslims! God has given you victory over them when you were a hundred or two hundred, and a few more than that, or a few less; but today you are hundreds and hundreds. I will perform the noon prayer and then lead you out.” He performed the noon prayer, and proclamation was made to the men: “Cavalry of God! Mount and rejoice!” Shabīb then went out with his forces, but some of them began to straggle and fall behind. When he had crossed Sābāt396 and we had halted with him, he delivered a sermon to us, reminding us of the battle-days of God and encouraging us to turn away from the world and fix our desire on the afterlife. He spoke for a long time, then ordered his muezzin to give the call to prayer. He did so, and Shabīb came forward and led us in the afternoon prayer. Then he set out and brought us up close to 'Attāb b. Warqā' and his forces. As soon as he saw them, he dismounted and ordered his muezzin to give the call to prayer. He did so, and Shabīb came forward and

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led us in the sunset prayer. His muezzin was Sallām b. Sayyār al-Shaybānī.

‘Attab b. Warqā’s spies had come to him and informed him that Shabīb had advanced on him, and he led out all the forces and put them in battle array. From the first day he camped there he had dug a trench, but every day had acted as if he intended to march on Shabīb in al-Madā‘īn; informed of this, Shabīb said, “I would rather march against him than have him march against me,” and went out to him. When ‘Attab lined up his troops, he appointed Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘īd b. Qays over his right wing, saying to him, “O son of my brother, you are a noble man, so be steadfast and vie in steadfastness!” He replied, “As for me, by God, I will fight so long as one man stands with me!” ‘Attab said to Qabisah b. Wālīq, who was at that time over a third of the Banū Taghlib, “Take care of the left wing for me.” But Qabisah replied, “I am an old man, and it is a great effort for me just to stand beneath my standard. My strength is gone, and I cannot stand on my own without support. But here are ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥulays and Nu‘aym b. ‘Ulaym, both Taghlibis”—each of these was over a third of the Taghlib; Qabisah said, “Appoint whichever of them you prefer, and whichever you appoint, you will be appointing a resolute and determined and capable man.” ‘Attab appointed Nu‘aym b. ‘Ulaym, then, over the left wing. He appointed Ḥanẓalah b. al-Ḥarīth al-Yarbū‘i, ‘Attab’s own paternal cousin and the shaykh of his clan, over the infantry and arrayed them in three ranks: a rank of men with swords, a rank of spear-bearers, and a rank of archers. ‘Attab then went along the entire line, from the right wing to the left, passing by the men of each standard successively and urging them to fear God, charging them to be steadfast, and giving them sermons.

According to Abū Mikhnaf-Ḥasīrah b. ‘Abdallāh—Tamim b. al-Ḥarīth al-ʿAzdī: He stood before us and gave us a lengthy sermon. I can remember these few words from what he said: “O people of Islam! Those who have the best lot in Paradise are the
martyrs. God praises none of His creatures more than the steadfast; hear how He says, 'Be ye steadfast, God is with the steadfast.' 399 He whose deeds God praises, how great is his status! But God despises no one more than those who commit outrages. See how this enemy of yours slaughters the Muslims with his sword, and they insist that they thereby win God’s favor. They are the most wicked people on earth, the dogs of the people of Hell! Where are the sermonizers?" When he asked that, not one of us, by God, answered him. Seeing this, he asked, "Where are those who recite the poetry of ‘Antarah?’ 400 And no, by God, not a single man breathed a word of reply to this. He said, "We are God’s! It seems to me I can see you fleeing from ‘Attāb b. Warqā’ and leaving him with the wind whistling up his ass!"

‘Attāb then went and sat in the center, 401 having with him Zuhrah b. Hawiyyah, who also was sitting, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. al-Ash‘ath, and Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Jahm al-‘Adawi. 402 Shabib advanced with six hundred men, four hundred having stayed behind; he said, "Those who have stayed behind are those I would not care to have seen among us." He put Suwayd b. Sulaym with two hundred men on the left wing, put al-Muḥallil b. Wā‘il with two hundred in the center, and himself took the right wing with two hundred. It was between sunset prayer and the final, evening prayer, and the moon had come out. Shabib called to the other side, "Whose are these standards?" They replied, "The standards of the Rabi‘ah!" 403 Shabib said,

399. Qur‘ān 8:46.
400. ‘Antarah b. Shaddād, famous sixth-century poet and hero; see EI², s.v. ‘Antara, and Sezgin, GAS, II, 113f. Perhaps the point here is to challenge both the men’s religious fervor and their martial spirit.
401. Commanders seem often to have sat in battle. Below we are told that ‘Attāb was sitting on a țin/ısah, a carpet, until the enemy got too close [when he stood up and fought]; it is not clear whether this carpet was on a platform or a sort of chair, but it was presumably not on a horse. At the later battle of al-Sabakhah, al-Ḫajjāj sat on a chair [kursi] , see text below, II, 959, and note 427. See also Fries, Heereswesen, 76.
402. Of the Banū ‘Adī b. Ka‘b of Quraysh; see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 16, and II, 423 (on his father).
403. These are the Taghlibis speaking, from ‘Attāb’s left wing. Taghlib and Bakr were the two branches of Wā‘il, the most important component of Rabi‘ah; Shabib’s clan was the Banū Dhuhil b. Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā‘il, and thus he himself belonged to Rabi‘ah [see text above, II, 887, and note 160]. Unlike Bakr, whose role in both Islam and Khārijism was very mixed, the Taghlib remained mostly Chris-
"Standards that have often been on the side of the truth, but have also often been on the side of the false—they have had a share of both! By God, I will strive against you and earn my reward for doing so! You are Rabi'ah, but I am Shabib! I am Abū Mudallāh! Judgment is to God alone! Stand if you will!"

Then he charged at them from a dike in front of the trench and broke their line. The standard-bearers of Qabīṣah b. Wāliq, 'Ubayd b. al-Hulays, and Nu'aym b. 'Ulaym stood their ground, and they were killed, and the entire left wing was driven back. Men from the Banū Taghlib called to one another, "Qabīṣah b. Wāliq has been killed!" Shabib said, "You have killed Qabīṣah b. Wāliq al-Taghlibi, O company of Muslims! God has said, 'And recite to them the account of him to whom We gave our signs, but he sloughed them off, so Satan pursued him and he became one of those who go astray.' The same would describe your kinsman Qabīṣah b. Wāliq: he went to the Prophet and submitted, then came with the unbelievers to fight you!" Then Shabib came upon his body, and said, "Alas for you! If you had held fast to your first submission (islām), you would have had a happier destiny."

Then he attacked 'Attāb b. Warqā' from the left, while Suwayd b. Sulaym attacked the right, which was under the command of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The latter fought on the right with men of the Banū Tamīm and Hamdān; they all fought very well and persevered until word came to them that 'Attāb b. Warqā' had been killed, and then they dispersed. 'Attāb, meanwhile, was still sitting on a carpet in the center, with Zuhrah b. Hawīyāh, when Shabib suddenly descended on the troops of the center. 'Attāb said, "O Zuhrah b. Hawīyāh, this is a day of large numbers but small profit! Alas! to have five hundred horsemen of tian. See El², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il, and Kaḥbālah, Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab, 120ff. (Taghlib).

404. Wa-huwa 'alā musannāh amāma al-khandaq. It is not clear what trench is meant here, unless this is the village of Khandaq, mentioned earlier by Tabari [without the article, I, 1041] as being in the tassūj of Bahurāsir; see al-'Āli, "Al-Madā'in and Its Surrounding Area," 436.

405. His name is given as 'Ubaydallāh above.

406. Qur'ān 7:175.

407. Aslama. Qabīṣah does not appear in Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 223, includes him as a Companion on the basis of this passage in Tabari, which he quotes.
the like of the men of Tamīm with me, rather than this entire army! Is there none who will be steadfast before the enemy? Is there none who will look beyond himself?—for they dispersed and abandoned him. Zuhrāh said to him, "Well spoken, ‘Attāb! You have done as one would expect of you! By God, by God! If you had turned from them and fled, you would not have lasted long! Rejoice, for I hope that God may have destined us for martyrdom at the end of our lives." ‘Attāb replied, "May God grant you the greatest reward He grants for good action." Thus did they spur each other on to religious fervor until Shabīb drew closer. Then ‘Attāb sprang forward with a small band who had held out with him, most of the troops having scattered left and right. ‘Ammār b. Yazīd al-Kalbī, a Medinese, said to him, "May God cause you to prosper! ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad has deserted you, and many of the men have joined him!" ‘Attāb replied, "He has fled before, as well, and the young man did not seem to me then to be much bothered by what he did."408

Then he fought them for a time, saying, "Never have I seen a day of battle like this one! Never have I been so tried! Never have I seen fewer men fighting or more giving up and fleeing!" He was noticed by a man from the Banū Taghlib, one of Shabīb’s companions, from the Banū Zayd b. ‘Amr, named ‘Ammār b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd ‘Amr,409 who had had one of his kin killed by ‘Attāb. He was one of the horsemen, and he went to Shabīb and said to him, "By God, I think that man speaking is ‘Attāb b. Warqā’!" He attacked him with his spear, and he fell; it was he who had been assigned the task of killing him. The horses trampled Zuhrāh b. Ḥawīyyah; although he tried to protect himself with his sword, he was an old man and unable to get up, and al-Faḍl b. ‘Āmir al-Shaybānī came up to him and killed him.410 Shabīb then reached him and found him dead; he recognized him and asked, "Who killed this man?" Al-Faḍl answered, "I killed him." Shabīb said, "This is Zuhrāh b. Ḥawīyyah! By God, Zuhrāh, if you were killed while in a state of

408. This statement should be seen in the context of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash’āth’s later rebellion, text below, II, 105ff.
409. For the Zayd Allāh (or Zayd Allāt!) b. ‘Amr of Taghlib, see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 163, II, 604.
410. This man had earlier claimed responsibility for killing Zā’idah b. Qudāmah; see text above, II, 926.
error, nevertheless, on many a battle day of the Muslims did you show your mettle and render great service, and many a cavalry force of the polytheists did you defeat, many a detachment did you attack, many of their populous villages did you conquer! Yet God alone knew that you would be killed lending support to the oppressors."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: By God, we saw Shabīb grieving for this man, and one of the young men of Bakr b. Wā'īl said, "By God, the Commander of the Faithful tonight grieves for a man of the unbelievers!" Shabīb said, "You know their error no better than I, but I also know of their past what you do not know; if they had held to it, they would have been brethren."

‘Ammār b. Yazīd al-Kalbī was also killed in the battle, and Abū Khaythamah b. ‘Abdallāh was killed that day as well. When Shabīb had overcome the government troops and their leaders, he said, "Hold back your swords from them," and summoned them to render the oath of allegiance. The men promptly did so, but later escaped under cover of darkness, even as Shabīb received their oaths, he had said, "They will flee shortly." Shabīb then took possession of what was left in the camp and sent for his brother to come to him from al-Madā‘in. When the latter reached him at the camp, he set out against al-Kūfah, having spent two days at his camp at Bayt Qurrah, he now intended a direct confrontation with the Kūfan forces.

Meanwhile, Suflīn b. al-Abīrad al-Kalbī and Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd al-Ralīman al-Hakami of Madhlij had entered al-Kūfah with their Syrian troops. These stiffened al-Hajjāj’s back, and he was thereby able to do without the Kūfan forces. Al-Hajjāj ascended the pulpit of al-Kūfah and said, after praising and glorifying God: "Men of al-Kūfah! May God give no glory to him who seeks glory through you, and may He give no victory to him who seeks victory with you! Leave us, and come not with us to fight our enemy! Go settle in al-Ḥirah, with the Jews and Christians, and fight not with

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411. Location unknown. It is not the same as Dayr Qurrah [see text above, I, 2357–58 and II, 1072], which was on the other [western] side of the Euphrates; see EI2, s.v. Dayr Kurra.

412. On the concentration of Jews and Christians in al-Ḥirah, see Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 309, 375f.
us, except for those of you who were working as our administrators or otherwise did not participate in the battle under 'Attāb b. Warqā'.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: By God, we set out in pursuit of the government forces. I myself caught up with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī as they walked along, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s head looked to me as if it were completely covered with mud. I turned away from them, not wanting to alarm them. If I had alerted Shabīb’s men to them, they would have been killed on the spot; but I said to myself, “If I bring about the death of two such men of my people as these, I am not thinking aright.”

Shabīb continued as far as the Sarāt Canal and halted there. According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. Suwār: Shabīb set out for al-Kūfah. When he reached Sūrā,414 he called on the men, saying, “Which of you will bring me the head of the governor of Sūrā?” Al-Baṭīn, Qa’nāb, Suwayd, and two others among his companions volunteered. They hurried off to the revenue office, where the officials were busy with one of the tax levies.415 They got into the building through a ruse, saying to the men, “Answer the summons of the amir!” When asked which amir, they said, “An amir sent out from al-Hājjāj in pursuit of that sinner Shabīb!” With these men out of the way, it was possible to come on the governor unawares; when they reached him, they drew their swords, raised the cry of “Judgment is to God alone!” and struck off his head. They seized what money was there and rejoined Shabīb. When they came to him, he asked, “What is this that you have brought me?” They replied, “We have brought you the head of the sinner and what money we found there”—the money was in its bags on a beast. But Shabīb said, “What you have brought me is factionalism for the Muslims! Give me your javelin, boy!” With this he ripped open the bags, then ordered the beast goaded, so that the

413. The three men all belonged to South Arab (Qaḥṭānī) tribes: Azd, Kindah, and Hamdān. See Casket, Čamḥarāt an-nasab, I, 176.
414. On the Upper Sūrā canal, the east (and in Sasanian times principal) branch of the Euphrates, north of Bābīl. See Le Strange, Lands, 70–72; Musil, Middle Euphrates, 274–77.
415. Samarrajḥah; see Lane, Lexicon, s.v.
416. Fāsiq; see note 109 above.
money scattered from the bags in all directions, until it reached the Sarât Canal. He added, “If there is any left then, throw it in the water!”

Then Sufyân b. al-Abîd went out against him with al-Ḥajjâj. He had earlier gone to al-Ḥajjâj and said, “Send me to confront him before he comes to you.” But al-Ḥajjâj had said, “I would prefer that we stay together until I meet him as I stand among you, with al-Kûfah behind us and the citadel in our hands.”

In this year Shabib entered al-Kûfah for the second time.

Shabîb’s Second Entry into al-Kûfah and His Battle with al-Ḥajjâj

According to Hishâm—Abû Mîkhnaf—Mûsâ b. Suwâr: Sabrah b. ‘Abd al-Râmân b. Mîkhnaf came from al-Daskarah to al-Kûfah after the Syrian army had arrived there. Muṭarrîf b. al-Mughîrah had written to al-Ḥajjâj saying, “Shabib is upon me; send an expeditionary force to al-Madâ‘în!” and al-Ḥajjâj had sent him Sabrah b. ‘Abd al-Râmân b. Mîkhnaf with two hundred horsemen. When Muṭarrîf set out for al-Jabal, he took his men with him, having informed them of his intentions;417 but he did not tell Sabrah. When he reached Daskarat al-Malik, he summoned Sabrah, informed him of his intentions, and invited him to join him. Sabrah said, “Yes, I am with you”; but when he left his presence, he sent for his men, assembled them, and set off with them. Hearing that ‘Attâb b. Warqa‘ had been killed and Shabib had gone on toward al-Kûfah, he advanced as far as a village called Baytârâ.418 Shabib had halted at Ḥammâm ‘Umar, and Sabrah went on to the Euphrates crossing at the village of Shâhî,419 crossed the river, and doubled back until he reached al-Ḥajjâj. There he learned that the Kûfans were in disgrace. He went to see Sufyân b. al-Abîd and told him his whole story, informing him of his own obedience and his split with Muṭarrîf, and pointing out

417. I.e., that he intended to rebel against al-Ḥajjâj and ‘Abd al-Malik, see text above, II, 946–48, and, on al-Jabal or al-Jibâl, note 392.
418. Location unknown.
419. An important ford and boat bridge, about fifteen miles north of al-Kûfah and about ten miles southwest of Ḥammâm ‘Umar, see Musîl, Middle Euphrates, 243; al-‘Ali, “Mintaqat al-Kûfah,” 240.
that he had neither been with 'Attāb nor participated in a defeat in any of the battles of the Kūfāns—"And I am still working as an administrator for the amir and have with me two hundred men who have never experienced defeat with me and who have maintained their obedience and never participated in factionalism." Sufyān then went to see al-Ḥajjāj and informed him of all that Sabrah b. 'Abd al-Rāḥmān had told him. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "He has spoken sincerely and truly. Tell him, then, that he is to join with us in encountering our enemy." Sufyān conveyed this message to Sabrah.

Shabib continued his advance, halting at the location of Ḥam-mām A'yan.420 Al-Ḥajjāj summoned al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyyah b. Abī Zur'ah b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafi and sent him out with some men from the security forces who had not participated in the battle with 'Attāb and some men who had been working as administrators, as well as about two hundred men from the Syrians. Altogether, he set out with about a thousand and halted at Zurārah. When Shabib learned of this, he came up to him quickly with his men, and when he reached him he attacked, killed him, and defeated his forces. The defeated men came back to al-Kūfah. Shabib also came on, crossing the bridge and camping on the Kūfāh side. Shabib stayed in his camp three days. On the first day the only action was the killing of al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyyah. On the second day, al-Ḥajjāj sent out his clients and personal retainers,421 armed, to occupy the approaches of the roads outside al-Kūfah. The Kūfan forces also went out and occupied the approaches of their roads, fearing the wrath of al-Ḥajjāj and 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān if they did not. Shabib proceeded to have a mosque built on the edge of al-Sabakhah, next to where the fodder sellers are located, at the īwān;422 this mosque is still standing today.

420. Across the Euphrates from al-Kūfah; see note 200 above.
421. Ghilmān, sg. ghulām. See EI², s.v. ghulām; Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 211f.
422. It is unclear to what structure this refers. Īwān may refer to either a palace or a specific type of audience hall; see EI², s.v. Ṭabarī elsewhere refers only to the īwān Īṣrā, the Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon/al-Madā'in (see text above, II, 776, and below, II, 1056). The īwān of al-Kūfah was presumably not the dār al-imārah, which was at the center of town and apparently far from al-Sabakhah; see Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kūfā," 336.
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On the third day, al-Ḥajjāj sent out Abū al-Ward, a client of his,423 cuirassed, along with many men in cuirasses and some of his personal retainers. They said, "This is al-Ḥajjāj!" and Shabib charged him and killed him, saying, "If this was al-Ḥajjāj, I have relieved you of him." Then al-Ḥajjāj sent out his retainer Ṭahmān,424 similarly attired and accompanied, and again Shabib attacked and killed him, saying, "If this was al-Ḥajjāj, I have relieved you of him." Then, in late morning, al-Ḥajjāj came out of the palace and said, "Bring me a mule to ride from here to al-Sabakhah." A mule with white ankles was brought, but he was told, "The local people, may God cause you to prosper, find ill omen in your riding a mule like this on a day like this." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Bring it here, for this is a day with both white ankles and a white blaze."425 He mounted the mule and set out with the Syrians, taking the post road426 and coming out at the top of al-Sabakhah.

When al-Ḥajjāj saw Shabib and his forces, he halted. Shabib, who was with six hundred horsemen, saw that al-Ḥajjāj had come out against him, and he advanced with his forces. Sabrah b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān came to al-Ḥajjāj and asked, "Where does the amir order me to stand?" He replied, "Stand at the approaches of the roads, and if they come to you and fighting breaks out, then fight them." Sabrah went and took up his position with the assembled forces. Al-Ḥajjāj then had a chair brought to him, sat on it,427 and

424. In Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 274, he is called a client of ʿUthmān, and in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, Futūḥ, VII, 85, where his death precedes that of Abū al-Ward, he is said to be a client of the Āl Banī Muʿayt. One of the two alternative versions of this incident given below [II, 963] identifies one of these two men as A'yan (of ʿAyyān, see note 290 above) but does not identify the other, while the other version (966f.) identifies the two as Abū al-Ward and A'yan.
425. According to Jāḥiz, K. al-Qawī fi al-bīghāl [Cairo, 1955], 136, mules were ridden into battle by leaders in order to show their men that they were prepared to stand or fall, being unable to flee on such a slow beast. Jāḥiz also mentions (ibid., 96) that mules with white anklets were considered unlucky.
426. Sikkat al-bārid, here presumably the road leading east out of town, across the bridge, and on to al-Madā'in, although the term may also mean "post house," as in Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 286. See ibid., glossarium, s. v. sikkah; Ibn al-Faqih, Buldān [BGA, V], 183.
427. According to Ibn Rustah, A'lāq, 198, al-Ḥajjāj was the first Muslim commander to sit on a chair in battle; see Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 61 and n. 111.
proclaimed, "Men of Syria! You are men who hear and obey, men of steadfastness and conviction. Let not this vermin's falseness overcome your truth. Lower your eyes, get down on your knees, and meet the enemy with the points of your spears." The men got down on their knees and pointed their spears at the enemy, looking like a field of black stones.

Shabib advanced against them, and when he drew near he arrayed his forces in three squadrons: one with him, one with Suwayd b. Sulaym, and one with al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il. Shabib told Suwayd to attack with his cavalry; but when he did, the government troops held their position until the Khārijites reached the points of their spears, then jumped up and rushed straight at Shabib and his forces, thrusting their spears and advancing until he was driven off. Al-Ḥajjāj cried, "Men who hear and obey! That is the way to do it! Boy! Move my chair forward!" Then Shabib ordered al-Muḥallil to attack them, but they treated him just as they had treated Suwayd, and al-Ḥajjāj again cried, "Men who hear and obey! That is the way to do it! Boy! Move my chair forward!" Then Shabib himself attacked them with his squadron. They held their position until he reached the points of their spears, then jumped up and rushed straight at him. He fought long with them, but then the Syrians thrust their spears and advanced until they drove him back to the rest of his forces. Seeing their steadfastness, he called to Suwayd, saying, "Take your cavalry and attack the men on this road"—meaning the Lahhām Jarir Road—"and if you can drive the men from the road, you can come at al-Ḥajjāj from the rear, while we attack him from in front." Suwayd b. Sulaym accordingly separated off and attacked the men on this road, but he was assailed with arrows from the housetops and the approaches to the roads and forced to retreat. Al-Ḥajjāj had placed 'Urwah b. al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah with some three hundred men from the Syrian forces as a rearguard for him and his troops so they would not be vulnerable to attack from that direction.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: On that day Shabib said to us, "O people of Islam! We have sold ourselves to

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428. Both Lahhām Jarir [Jarir's Butcher?] and its road are mentioned elsewhere by Tabari (see text above, II, 624, 775), but without further identifying detail.
God; and he who has sold himself to God cares little for any harm or pain that may come to him for God’s sake. Hold fast, and charge as you charged in your other noble battles!” He gathered his forces, and al-Ḥajjāj, seeing the coming attack, said to his men, “Men who hear and obey! Stand firm against this one charge, and, by the Lord of Heaven, nothing will remain in the way of victory!” The men got down on their knees, and Shabib attacked them with his collected forces. When he reached them, al-Ḥajjāj called out to all his men to jump up and rush straight at him. They thrust with their spears and hacked with their swords, advancing and pushing back Shabib and his forces as he fought them, as far as Bustān Zā‘īdah.429 When they reached that place, Shabib called to his men, “O friends of God! Dismount! Dismount!” He himself dismounted and ordered half his forces to dismount, leaving the other half with Suwayd b. Sulaym. Al-Ḥajjāj came to the mosque of Shabath,430 and said, “Men of Syria! Men who hear and obey! This is the beginning of victory, by the One Who holds al-Ḥajjāj’s soul in His hand!” Some twenty men went up to the mosque with him, armed with arrows, and he told them, “If they approach us, shoot at them.” The fighting on the ground was extremely fierce and went on through the entire day, until the two parties had fought each other to a standstill. Then Khālid b. ‘Attāb said to al-Ḥajjāj, “Let me fight them, for I have a case of personal vengeance to settle, and I am a man whose counsel is above suspicion.” Al-Ḥajjāj granted his permission, and Khālid said, “I will come at them from behind and raid their camp.” Al-Ḥajjāj said, “Do as seems best to you.” Khālid went off with a band of Kūfans and entered their camp from the rear. He killed Shabib’s brother Muṣād, and Shabib’s wife, Ghazālah—she was actually killed by Farwah b. al-Daffān431 al-Kalb—and set fire to the camp. News of this came to both al-Ḥajjāj and Shabib; al-Ḥajjāj and his men raised a single “God is great!” while Shabib and every man on foot with him jumped on their horses. Al-Ḥajjāj said to the Syrians, “Charge them! This has

429. Zā‘īdah’s Orchard (probably of palm trees), in al-Sabakhah; see text above, II, 619.
430. Masjid Shabath, according to the editor, comparing text above, II, 632; but the MSS have masjid Shabib, which is supported by Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 427.
431. Reading uncertain. Some manuscripts have al-D.qān or al-D.fār.
broken their courage!” They charged them and defeated them, Shabib remaining with the rear guard as it retreated.

According to Hishâm—Asghar the Khârijite—one of the men who was with Shabib: When the men were defeated and Shabib retreated by the bridge of boats, al-Ḥajjâj’s cavalry pursued him. Shabib was nodding as if dozing off, and I said, “Commander of the Faithful, turn around and look behind you!” He turned around with an air of indifference, then bowed his head and began to nod off again. They drew nearer, and we said, “Commander of the Faithful, they are getting near!” By God, he turned around again, with the same air of indifference, and then began to nod off again. Then al-Ḥajjâj sent to his cavalry saying, “Leave him to burn in the fire of God.” They left him and went back.

According to Hishâm—Abû Mîkhnaf—Abû ‘Amr al-‘Udhri: Shabib cut the bridge of boats after he crossed it. According to Farwah: I was with him when we were defeated, and he did nothing to the bridge; they did not pursue us as far as the bridge so that we should cut it.

Al-Ḥajjâj went back into al-Kûfah, ascended the pulpit, praised God, and said, “By God, Shabib has not seen real battle before this! By God, he turned and fled, leaving his wife with a broken reed up her ass!”432

Another account of al-Ḥajjâj’s battle with Shabib in al-Kûfah is that of ‘Umar b. Shabbah—‘Abdallâh b. al-Mughîrah b. ‘Atîyyah—his father—Muzâhîm b. Zuqâr b. Jassâs al-Taymi: When Shabib broke through al-Ḥajjâj’s detachments, al-Ḥajjâj permitted us to come see him in the apartment in which he slept. He was in bed, with a blanket over him. He said, “I have summoned you with regard to a matter in which sincere differences of opinion can be frankly expressed, and I want your advice. This man has pene-

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432. This first account of Shabib’s second entry into al-Kûfah is now followed by a second, from ‘Umar b. Shabbah (in two versions), which emphasizes the role of Qutaybah b. Muslim, previously unmentioned. A third account, unattributed, beginning at 965 below, parallels the first, but with numerous differences in detail. The summary in Ibn Khayyat, Ta’rikh, 271, is closest to the first account. Ibn A’tham al-Kûfî, Futûh, VII, 85–91, lists the defeats of Ṭâhmân and Abû al-Ward after that of ‘Attâb b. Warqâ‘ but places all three among the commanders defeated well before the entry into al-Kûfah; in his account of the latter, Ibn A’tham al-Kûfî attributes the victory to al-Ḥajjâj and four thousand Syrians, mentioning no one else. See also Périer, Vie d’al-Ḥadîdhâdî, 139–44; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 187f.
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trated into the heart of your land, violated your territory, and
drowned your fighters. Advise me!” The men were silent, except for
one, who moved his chair out of the line and said, “With the
amir’s permission, I will speak.” He said, “Speak!” The man said,
“The amir, by God, has neither feared God nor defended the
Commander of the Faithful nor shown any commitment toward
his subjects.” Then he sat down on his chair, in line. This man
was, in fact, Qutaybah. Al-Ḥajjāj was enraged, threw aside the
blanket, and let his legs dangle from the bed—I can see it even
now—and asked, “Who said that?” Qutaybah then moved his
chair out of the line again and repeated his words. Al-Ḥajjāj asked,
“What do you suggest, then?” He said, “That you go out to him
yourself and call him to account.” Al-Ḥajjāj said, “Go find me a
good place to muster the troops; then come back to me.”

We went out cursing ‘Anbasah b. Sa‘īd, for it was he who had
recommended to al-Ḥajjāj that he make Qutaybah one of his asso-
ciates. The next morning, having all made our last testaments, we
armed ourselves. Al-Ḥajjāj performed the morning prayer but
then withdrew. His messenger kept coming out, hour after hour,
to ask, “Has he come yet? Has he come yet?” but we did not
know whom he meant, the maqṣūrah being already jammed with
people. Finally, the messenger came out and asked, “Has he
come yet?” and there was Qutaybah walking into the mosque,
wearing a yellow robe from Herat and a red silk turban, with a
broad sword on a short suspensory, so it looked as if it was tucked
under his arm; he had tucked the tail of his robe into his belt, and
his cuirass struck against his shanks. The door was opened for

433. Qutaybah b. Muslim, later famed as the conqueror of Transoxania, after
being appointed governor of Khurasan by al-Ḥajjāj in 86 (705); see text below, II,
1178, and EI², s.v. Kutayba b. Muslim.

434. Al-Ḥajjāj apparently withdrew from the mosque through a private entrance
communicating directly with the governor’s palace, which abutted the southern,
qiblah side of the mosque; see K. A. C. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture
(Oxford, 1969), I, i, 42–58. This private entrance would be inside the maqṣūrah, a
part of the mosque partitioned off for the governor’s personal use (see SEI, s.v.).
The following account suggests that the commanders and nobles awaited the
governor in the maqṣūrah while the rest of the forces were assembled inside and
around the mosque proper.

435. Qabā’ harawi asfar, a sleeved garment, probably of silk. See Dozy, Dic-
tionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes [Amsterdam, 1845],
352–63; B. Spuler, Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit [Wiesbaden, 1952], 350f., 394f.,
405f.
him and he was admitted without delay, remained a long while, then came out again, bearing an unfurled standard. Al-Ḥajjāj prayed, making two prostrations, then rose and gave the word, and the standard was brought out the Elephant Door;\(^{436}\) al-Ḥajjāj coming out behind it. There at the door was a reddish mule with blazes on its head and ankles, and al-Ḥajjāj mounted it. His personal servants offered to switch mounts with him, but he refused to ride any other. The men mounted their beasts, and Qutaybah mounted a bay horse with blazes on head and ankles, with a saddle so large that Qutaybah looked like a pomegranate in it. He set out along the Dār al-Siqāyah Road\(^ {437}\) until he came out at al-Sabakhah, where Shabīb had his camp. It was a Wednesday. They held back that day, then offered battle on Thursday morning. They resumed the attack early Friday morning, and, by the time of the prayer, the Khārijites were defeated.

According to Abū Zayd\(^ {438}\)—Khallād b. Yazīd—al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah: Shabīb advanced after al-Ḥajjāj had sent out one commander against him and he had killed him, and another and he had killed him as well; one of the two was Aʿyān, the owner of the Ḥammām Aʿyān. Shabīb advanced and entered al-Kūfah. He was accompanied by Ghaẓālah, who had sworn an oath that she would pray two prostrations in the mosque of al-Kūfah, reciting in them the Qurʾānic sûrahs “The Cow” and “The Family of ’Imrān.” And so she did.\(^ {439}\) Shabīb also had huts built in his camp. At this point, al-Ḥajjāj stood and said, “It seems to me, men of Iraq, that you are not showing much commitment in fighting these people; and I have written to the Commander of the Faithful, asking him to send me reinforcements from the Syri ans.” Then Qutaybah stood up and said, “You have shown com-

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\(^{436}\) Bāb al-Fīl. Various accounts of the naming of this mosque door are given by Ṭabarī (text above, II, 27) and Balādhurī (Futūḥ, 288).

\(^{437}\) The dār al-siqāyah was the public water supply, also mentioned above, II, 735.

\(^{438}\) ‘Umar b. Shabbah.

\(^{439}\) The rites of prayer require recitation of the Qurʾān with each prostration (see SEI, s.v. salāh); short sûrahs are generally used, but al-Baqara and Al’Imrān, the second and third, are by far the longest. For Ghaẓālah’s vow see also Masʿūd, Murādī, V, 320–21. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 87ff., says nothing of a vow but has Shabīb himself recite the two sûrahs and place both Ghaẓālah and his mother al-Jahizah on the pulpit; see also Baghdaḍī, Farq. 89–92.
mitment neither to God nor to the Commander of the Faithful in fighting them!"


Returning to the account of al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah:440 Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "How is that?" Qutaybah replied, "You send out a noble man and then send out with him men from the riffraff; they deliver him a defeat, and he, ashamed, fights until he is killed." Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "What do you suggest?" He replied, "That you go out yourself, accompanied by men your equal, who will defend you as they do themselves." Those who were present cursed him for this; and al-Ḥajjāj said, "By God, I will go out to confront him tomorrow." The next day, the men assembled, and Qutaybah said, "Remember your oath, may God cause the amir to prosper!"

The men cursed him again, and al-Ḥajjāj said, "Go find me a good place to muster the troops!" He and his men went and made their preparations, then set out. He came to a place that was rather dirty, a dump site, and said, "Muster for me here." When they protested that the place was dirty, he said, "What you are summoning me to is dirtier! Here the earth below and the sky above are wholesome."

He dismounted and arrayed the men. Khālid b. 'Attab b. Warqā' was in disgrace and thus not among the forces. Shabib and his companions came up, left their beasts in readiness nearby,441 and marched out on foot. Shabib said to them, "Do not shoot! Creep forward beneath your shields until the enemy's spears are above them, then shove them upward and go in under them so you can stand up and halt their advance. God permitting, this will defeat them." The men advanced, creeping toward them. But Khālid b. 'Attāb took his personal forces,442 circled around behind their camp, and set fire to their huts. When Shabib's men saw the light of the fire and heard its crackle, they turned and saw that it was in their quarters, and hurried back to their horses. The troops then pursued them and inflicted a defeat on them. Al-Ḥajjāj was

440. Reading bn Qutaybah for wa-Qutaybah.
441. Qarrabū dawábbahum; see the parallel passage above (II, 629: qarribū khuyūlakum ba'dahā ilā ba'd) and compare Lane, Lexicon, s.v. muqrab.
442. Shakiriyah; see Fries, Heereswesen, 24f.
pleased with Khālid and entrusted him with the campaign against them.

When Shabib killed ‘Attāb, he aimed to enter al-Kūfah a second time and advanced to within a short distance of it. Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Sayf b. Hāni’ and another man together to bring him information about Shabib. When they came to his camp, he caught them and killed the other man, but Sayf got away. One of the Khārijites pursued him, but Sayf jumped with his horse over a stream and then asked the man for safe-conduct in exchange for telling him the truth. The man granted the safe-conduct, and he told him that al-Ḥajjāj had sent him and his companion to bring him information about Shabib. The man said, “Tell him, then, that we are coming to him on Monday.” Sayf returned to al-Ḥajjāj and informed him of this; al-Ḥajjāj said, “He is a liar and a fool.”

When Monday came, the Khārijites set out, heading for al-Kūfah, and al-Ḥajjāj sent out against them al-Ḥārith b. Mu’āwiyah al-Thaqafi. Shabib encountered him at Zurārah and killed him and defeated his forces, then came on toward al-Kūfah. He sent al-Baṭīn with ten horsemen to find quarters for him on the bank of the Euphrates at the provision depot. Al-Baṭīn set out, but al-Ḥajjāj had sent Hawshab b. Yazid with a group of Kufans to occupy the approaches of the roads; al-Baṭīn fought them but was unable to overcome them. He sent to Shabib for reinforcements and was sent some horsemen who managed to wound Hawshab’s horse and defeat him, although he escaped with his life. Al-Baṭīn went on to the provision depot and set up camp on the bank of the Euphrates. Then Shabib advanced, halting just past the bridge, when al-Ḥajjāj sent out no one against him, he advanced again, to al-Sabakhah, between al-Kūfah and the Euphrates. There he remained for three days, al-Ḥajjāj still sending out no one against him. Al-Ḥajjāj was advised to go out himself and sent out Qutaybah b. Muslim to prepare a place to muster for him. When Qutaybah returned, he said, “I have found the approach to them easy; go forth, then, with good omens.” The call was issued to the men of al-Kūfah, and they marched forth, the notables marching out with al-Ḥajjāj, and took up positions at that place. The two sides now faced each other. Shabib had, on his right, al-Baṭīn, and,

[966] 443. Here begins the third version of these events, introduced simply by qāla.
on his left, Qa’nab, the client of the Banū Abī Rabi‘ah b. Dhuuhl,\(^\text{444}\) he had some two hundred men. Al-Ḥajjāj put Māṭar b. Nājiyyah al-Riyāḥī on his right and Khālid b. ‘Attāb b. Warqā‘ al-Riyāḥī on his left, with about four thousand men. Al-Ḥajjāj was told not to let Shabib know where he stood, so he disguised himself and camouflaged his position and dressed his client Abū al-Ward to resemble him. When Shabib saw Abū al-Ward, he attacked him and struck him with a rod weighing fifteen ratls,\(^\text{445}\) killing him. Then al-Ḥajjāj dressed up A‘yan, the owner of the Hammām A‘yan in al-Kūfah, who was a client of Bakr b. Wā’il;\(^\text{446}\) Shabib also killed him. Then al-Ḥajjāj mounted a mule with a white blaze and anklets, saying, “Religion has both a blaze and anklets!” and said to Abū Ka‘b, “Lead with the standard! I am Ibn Abī ‘Aqil!”\(^\text{447}\)

Shabib attacked Khālid b. ‘Attāb and his forces, pushing them back to the great open space (raḥabah),\(^\text{448}\) and attacked and defeated Māṭar b. Nājiyyah. At this point, al-Ḥajjāj dismounted and ordered his men to dismount. He sat down on an ‘abā‘ah\(^\text{449}\) with ‘Anbasah b. Sa‘īd. While they were thus situated, Maṣqalah b. Muḥalḥil al-Dabbī seized the bridle of Shabib’s horse and said to him, “What do you say about Ṣāliḥ b. Musarrīḥ and how do you testify concerning him?” Shabib declared himself quit of Ṣāliḥ, and Maṣqalah said, “May God be quit of you!” His men then left him, except for forty horsemen who were his closest companions; the rest withdrew to the provision depot.\(^\text{450}\) Al-Ḥajjāj said, “They have had a dispute!” He sent for Khālid b. ‘Attāb, and he came and fought them. Ghazālah was killed, and a horseman was taking her head to al-Ḥajjāj when

\(^{444}\) A clan of the Banū Shaybān; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 304, and note 153 above.

\(^{445}\) About five kilograms; see note 313 above.

\(^{446}\) See note 390 above.

\(^{447}\) His great-grandfather was Abū ‘Aqil; see Caskel, *Camarat an-nasab*, I, 118, II, 291.

\(^{448}\) Or raḥbah, an open area, especially one for prayer either inside or outside the mosque, here apparently the square in which the mosque of al-Kūfah stood. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v.

\(^{449}\) A coarse woolen sleeveless cloak, but also, as perhaps here, a saddle-cloth of the same material. See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

\(^{450}\) This dispute over Shabib’s predecessor is not further elaborated here and not paralleled in other sources.
Shabib recognized it and ordered ‘Alwān to attack the horseman, which he did, and killed him. He brought Shabib the head, and he ordered it washed and buried, saying, “She is closer to you all in mercy”\(^451\)—meaning Ghazilah. Shabib’s men then moved back to a defensive position. Khālid returned to al-Ḥajjāj and informed him that they had withdrawn, and al-Ḥajjāj ordered him to attack Shabib. He attacked them and was drawn off by eight of them, including Qa’nab, al-Baṭīn, ‘Alwān, Ḥāsa, al-Muḥadhdhab, Ibn ʿUwaymir, and Sinān, as far as the great open space. Meanwhile, Ḥawṭ b. ʿUmayr al-Sadūsī\(^452\) was brought to Shabib where he stood, and Shabib said to him, “Ḥawṭ, judgment is to God alone!” He replied, “Judgment is to God alone!” Shabib said, “Ḥawṭ is really one of your companions but he was afraid”; and he let him go. Then he was brought ʿUmayr b. al-Qaʿqāʾ and said to him, “Judgment is to God alone, ʿUmayr!” But he did not understand, and said, “God be with my lost youth!”\(^453\) Shabib repeated to him, “Judgment is to God alone!” in order to let him off; but he would not understand, and Shabib ordered him killed.\(^454\)

Then Muṣād b. Yazid, Shabib’s brother, was killed. Shabib kept waiting for the party who had taken on Khalid, but they were slow to return, and Shabib dozed off, until awakened by Ḥabīb b. Khudrah.\(^455\) Al-Ḥajjāj’s forces, meanwhile, would not advance on him, being in awesome fear of him. He went to the provision depot and began collecting the effects of those of his men who had been killed. Then his eight companions came to the place where he had been standing and, not finding him, thought that the enemy had killed him. Maṭar and Khālid returned to al-Ḥajjāj, who...

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\(^451\) A paraphrase of Qur’an 18:81. The implication is that Ghazilah was a mother to them all; see Zamakhshari, Asās al-balāghah [Beirut, 1979], s.v. rubm.

\(^452\) Reading Ḥawṭ with the Petersburg MS, against edited text Ḥabīb. This man probably belonged to the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān of the Dhuhl b. Ṭha’labah; see Caskel, Ǧanharat an-nāṣab, I, 152, and note 153 above.

\(^453\) Fi sabīl Allāh shabābī: a quotation! See Maydānī, Amṭhāl, II, 21, for a similar proverbial phrase.

\(^454\) This account is clearly a variant of the story told above (I, 920f.) of the well-known al-Naḍr b. al-Qaʿqāʾ, after Shabib’s first entry into al-Ḳufah.

\(^455\) A client of the Banū Hilāl b. ʿAmir b. ʿAṣṣāʾah, one of the celebrated Khārijite poets and orators. His father’s name appears in various sources as Khudrah, Khudrah, Jadarah, and Judrah; see Jābiz, Bayān, I, 346, III, 264, Mubarrad, Kāmil, 709; I. ʿAbbas, Shīr al-Khawāriji [Beirut, 1963], 78–82, 144. Tabari cites verses by him below, II, 1002.
ordered them to pursue the band of eight. They did so, while the band pursued Shabib, all continuing until they crossed the bridge at al-Madā‘in.\(^{456}\) The Khārijites went into a monastery there with Khālid on their heels. He surrounded them in the monastery, but they came out against him and drove him back some two far-sakhs, until his men pitched themselves into the Tigris on their horses; Khālid also pitched himself in on his horse but got across on it with his standard in his hand. Shabib said, “God oppose such a man and such a horse! This man is the most valiant fighter, and his horse is the most powerful horse on earth!” He was informed that this was Khālid, son of ‘Attāb, and he said, “He has inherited his courage then. By God, if I had known, I would have plunged after him, even if he had plunged into Hell!”

Returning to the account of Abū Mikhnaf—Abū ‘Amr al-‘Udhrī: When Shabib was defeated, al-Ḥajjāj entered al-Kūfah, ascended the pulpit, and said, “By God, Shabib has never been fought this way before! He turned and fled, by God, leaving his wife with a broken reed up her ass!” Then he summoned Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ḥakami and sent him in pursuit of Shabib with three thousand Syrian troops.\(^{457}\) Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, “Be on your guard against night attacks from Shabib and, wherever you encounter him, engage him immediately, for God has notched his blade and broken his fangs.” Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān then went out and pursued Shabib as far as al-Anbār, halting there. Al-Ḥajjāj also sent to the administrators, ordering them to spread word secretly among Shabib’s men that any of them who came over to them would be given safe-conduct. All those who lacked true zeal and had been worn down by the fighting began to come over and were granted safe-conduct. Al-Ḥajjāj had also,\(^{458}\) before this, on the day of their defeat, proclaimed to them that any of them who came to him would be granted safe-conduct, and now many men separated themselves from Shabib’s forces. Shabib was then informed that Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān was positioned at al-Anbār, and he advanced with his forces, when he

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\(^{456}\) A distance of some seventy-five miles.


\(^{458}\) Or not: wa-qabla dhālika mà nādā fīhim ... anna man jā‘anā ...
was near their camp, he halted and led his men in the sunset prayer.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yazīd al-Saksaki:459 By God, I was among the Syrian forces the night Shabib came and made a surprise attack on us. When we stopped for the night, Ḥabib b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān had assembled us and divided us into quarters, saying to each quarter, “For each quarter of you its own area should suffice; if one quarter is engaged in fighting, another quarter should not come to their aid. Word has reached me that these Khārijites are nearby; prepare yourselves, then, for a night attack and fighting.” We remained in this muster until Shabib came and attacked us. He charged the quarter commanded by ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-ʿUdhri and fought long with them with swords, but not a single man’s foot retreated a step. Then he left them and went up against another quarter, which had been given in charge to Saʿīd b. Bajal al-ʿĀmirī, and fought them, but again not a single man’s foot retreated a step. Then he left them and went up against the next quarter, commanded by al-Nuʿmān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥīmyari, but he achieved nothing more against them. Finally, he came to the last quarter, commanded by Ibn Uqaysir al-Khathʿāmi, and fought them a long time without accomplishing anything. He kept circling around us and attacking us until three quarters of the night had passed. He stuck to us until we thought that he would never let us go. Then he dismounted and forced us to fight them on foot for a long time. By God, between us, hands were hacked off and eyes put out and the dead piled up. We killed about thirty of them, and they killed about a hundred of us. By God, it seemed to us that if they had been more than the hundred men they were, they would have destroyed us. I will swear to God on that! They did not withdraw from us until they were as sick and tired of us as we were of them. I would see one of our men strike one of their men with his sword and not hurt him at all because he was so weak and worn out, or I would see another of our men fighting sitting down, making feeble thrusts with his sword—too exhausted to stand. When finally they despaired of besting us, Shabib mounted his horse and told those of his com-

459. On the Sakāsīk of Kindah, who supported the Umayyads in Syria, see Caskel, Ğamharat an-nasab. II, 503; al-Samʿānī, Ansāb. s. v. Saksakī.
panions who had dismounted to remount. Once they were all firmly on horseback, he led them away from us.

According to Abū Mikhnaḥ—Farwah b. Laqīṭ, referring to Shabib: When we left them, in very low spirits and with many wounded, he said to us, "What a heavy blow for us—if we were pursuing only worldly goals; but what a light one in view of God's reward!" His companions replied, "Truly spoken, Commander of the Faithful!"

I will never forget how he rushed up to Suwayd b. Sulaym and told him the following story: "I killed two of their men yesterday, one of them the bravest of men and the other the most cowardly. I went out at dusk last night to scout for you and met three of them who had come into a village to buy what they needed there. One of them made his purchases and came out in advance of his fellows, and I went out with him. He said, 'It seems that you have not bought fodder.' I replied, 'I have some comrades who have taken care of that for me.' Then I asked him, 'Where do you think this enemy of ours is camped?' He said, 'I hear that he is camped nearby us here. I swear to God, I wish I could have met this Shabib of theirs!' I said, 'Would you like to?' He said, 'Yes!' I said, 'Watch out, then, for, by God, I am Shabib!' and I drew my sword. By God, the man dropped dead! I said to him, 'Get up, damn you!' and then went to see, and he really was dead! I left him and was starting back, when I met this other one coming out of the village. He said, 'Where are you going now? The men are all going back to their camp.' I said nothing to him and went on, spurring my horse to a gallop. He came after me and caught up with me, and I pulled up and asked him, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'You, by God, are one of our enemy!' I said, 'Yes, I am, by God!' He said, 'By God, you will not leave here until either you have killed me or I have killed you!' I charged at him and he charged at me, and we fought with our swords for a time. By God, I was his superior in neither tenacity nor boldness; but my sword was sharper than his, and I killed him."

Then we traveled on, crossed the Tigris, and went through the Jūkhā region; we crossed the Tigris again in the area of Wāṣīt.  

460. A town about 120 miles southeast of al-Madā'in, but only built (by al-Ḥajjāj for his Syrian troops) six years later, in 83 [702]. See text below, II, 1125, and EI², s.v. Wāṣīt.
went on toward al-Ahwáz, then toward Fârs, and then on to Kirmân.

In this year, Shabib perished, according to the account of Hishâm b. Muḥammad; according to another account, he perished in the year 78 (697–698). 461

Account of Shabib’s End

According to Hishâm—Abû Mikhnaf—Abû Yazîd al-Saksaki: It was al-Ḥajjâj himself who had sent us out against him—that is, Shabib—and now he distributed a great deal of money among us, giving a share to every man who had been wounded or shown particular valor. Then he ordered Sufyân b. al-Abraḍ to march out against Shabib, and Sufyân prepared to do so. This distressed Ḥabib b. ‘Abd al-Râhmân al-Ḥakami, who said, “You send Sufyân against a man whom I routed and whose best horsemen I killed!” Two months later, however, Sufyân carried out his orders. Shabib, meanwhile, had remained in Kirmân while he and his forces recuperated and restored themselves; he then set out on his way back and was met by Suftyân at the Ahwaz Dujayl Bridge. 463 Al-Ḥajjâj had written to al-Ḥakam b. Ayyûb b. al-Ḥakam b. Abî ‘Aqîl, who was his son-in-law and his governor over al-Basrah, as follows: “Send out a noble, courageous man from among the Basrans with four thousand troops against Shabib. Order him to join Suftyân b. al-Abraḍ and to heed and obey him.” Al-Ḥakam sent out Ziyyâd b. ‘Amr al-‘Atâki with four thousand troops, and they had no sooner reached Suftyân than he encountered Shabib. When they met, at the Dujayl Bridge, Shabib crossed over to Suftyân. He found that Suftyân had dismounted and was among the infantry, having put Muhâṣîr b. Șayfî al-‘Udhrî over the cavalry; over his right wing he had put Bashir b. Ḥassân al-Nahdî and over his left wing ʿUmar b. Hubayrah al-Fazârî. 464 Shabib advanced with his

461. What follow are two versions of Shabib’s death, both from Abû Mikhnaf. A third version, dated 78 (697–698) appears in Ya‛qûbî, Taʾrikh, I, 328, as well as, undated, in Ibn A‛tham al-Kûfî, Futûb, VII, 92. See note 470 below.

462. Aqfâlanâ al-Ḥajjâj ilayhi.

463. A bridge of boats crossing the Dujayl River (now the Karun) at al-Ahwáz; the Dujayl of al-Ahwáz is distinguished from the Dujayl Canal north of Baghdad. See Le Strange, Lands, 232–36.

464. Later governor of Iraq and leader of the Qaysî tribal faction; see text below, II, 1433ff., and E12, s.v. Ibn Hubayra.
forces in three squadrons, one under his own command, one under Suwayd, and one under Qa‘nab al-Muḥallimi. He left al-Muḥallil b. Wā’il behind in his camp.

While Suwayd, on Shabib’s right, attacked Sufyān’s left, and Qa‘nab, on Shabib’s left, attacked Sufyān’s right, Shabib himself attacked Sufyān. We fought with swords much of the day, until they withdrew and returned to their original positions. Then Shabib and his forces made more than thirty charges at us, but through it all we did not budge from our line. Sufyān said to us, “Do not disperse, but let the infantry advance on them as a body.” By God, we kept at them with our swords and spears until we drove them back to the bridge. When Shabib reached the bridge, he dismounted, along with about a hundred men. We fought them until evening, as fiercely as any army has ever fought—as soon as they dismounted they fell on us with sword and spear in a way we had never seen an army fight before. When Sufyān saw that he would not be able to overcome them and could not even be sure that they would not overcome him, he summoned the archers and ordered them to attack them with arrows. This was in the evening, and the battle had begun at midday. The archers attacked them with arrows in the evening; Sufyān b. al-Abraham had set them in a line by themselves and put a man in charge of the bowmen.465 They kept up the attack with arrows for a time; then the enemy charged them, but as they charged our archers, we charged them and diverted them.

As they continued to be attacked by the arrows, Shabib and his companions mounted their horses and led another charge against the archers, which felled more than thirty of them. Then Shabib turned with his mounted troops against us. He bore down directly on us, and we fought him with our spears until it became too dark. He withdrew from us then, and Sufyān said to his men, “Men, leave them be and do not pursue them! We will resume with them in the morning.” We desisted from fighting them, with nothing dearer to us than that they should withdraw from us. According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqit: Soon we got to the bridge, and Shabib said, “Cross over, companies of Muslims, and we will take them on again in the morning, God willing.”

crossed over before him, while he stayed behind at our rear. Then he started across on his horse; but there was a Median mare in front of him, and his horse lunged to mount her in the middle of the bridge. The Median became agitated, and Shabib’s horse’s hoof went over the side of the boat and he fell in the water. As he fell, he said, “That God might determine a matter that was done.” He sank beneath the water, then came up again and said, “That is the ordaining of the Almighty, the All-Knowing.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf: These are the accounts of Abū Yazīd al-Saksaki, who was one of the Syrians who fought Shabib, and Farwah b. Laqīt, who was one of the participants in his battles. I also have heard the following account from a man of Shabib’s own clan, the Banū Murrah b. Hammām: There were men from Shabib’s own tribe fighting with him, but they did not fully share his zeal. He had killed many of their fellow tribesmen, and that had pained and angered them. Among Shabib’s associates was a man named Muqāṭil, from the Banū Taym b. Shaybān. When Shabib killed some men from the Banū Taym b. Shaybān, this man set upon the Banū Murrah b. Hammām and inflicted a number of casualties among them. Shabib asked him, “What impelled you to kill them without orders from me?” He replied, “May God cause you to prosper, you have killed the unbelievers among my people, and I have killed the unbelievers among your people.” Shabib said, “And do you have authority over me so you can make independent decisions without me?” He replied, “May God cause you to prosper, is it not part of our religion to kill those who do not subscribe to our opinions, whether they are our own kin or not?” Shabib said, “Yes, it is.” Muqāṭil said, “Then I have done nothing but what I ought. Besides, Commander of the Faithful, I have certainly not struck down from your clan a tenth of the number you have struck down from mine. In any case, Commander of the Faithful, you have no

466. Faras unthā madhiyānah. See Tabarī, glossarium, s. v. Mādhiyānah.
469. ‘Ashirah, referring to other Shaybānid clans related to Shabib’s own clan (raht), the Banū Murrah b. Hammām b. Murrah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān; see note 153 above.
warrant to grieve over the killing of unbelievers.” Shabib said, “I do not grieve over that.”

There were with him many men among whose kin he had inflicted casualties; according to their claim, when he stayed behind with the last of his forces, they said to one another, “What say you to cutting the bridge as he crosses and getting our revenge right now?” They cut the bridge, the boats rocked, the horse panicked and bolted, and Shabib fell in the water and drowned.

According to Abū Mikhnaf: That Murri gave me this account, and some people from Shabib’s clan tell the same story. The standard account, however, is the one I gave first.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yazid al-Saksaki: We were preparing to go off when, by God, the bridgekeeper came and asked for our commander. We pointed him out to him, and he went up to him and said, “May God cause you to prosper, one of their men fell in the water, and they called to one another saying, ‘The Commander of the Faithful has drowned!’ Then they went off the way they had come, leaving not a soul behind in their camp.”

Sufyān raised a cry of “God is great!” and we joined him in it. Then he set off for the bridge, and from there sent Muhāsir b. Shayfī to cross over to their camp. He found not a whisper or a trace of them there, and when he dismounted, he found it to be the most well-appointed camp on God’s earth! The next morning we searched for Shabib until we found him and pulled him out, still wearing his cuirass. I have heard men say that they cut his chest open and took out his heart, and it turned out to be compact and hard as a rock; if one threw it to the ground, it would bounce as high as a man’s stature. Sufyān said, “Praise God, Who has come to our aid!” We then took possession of their camp.470

According to Abū Zayd ‘Umar b. Shabbah—Khallād b. Yazid al-Arqāt: Shabīb’s death was announced to his mother, but she re-

470. The first account given here, with the story of the mare, appears also in Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, V, 332, and Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 455, both of whom also give the story of Shabīb’s heart. Ṭabarī’s second account, implicating Shabīb’s own followers in his death, is not found in other published early sources. According to Ibn A’tam al-Kufi and Ya’qūbī (see note 461 above), it was Sufyān who cut the bridge. Ibn A’tam al-Kufi also appends a long account of the captive Khārijite men and women led before al-Ḥajjāj, who pardoned some and had others executed.
fused to accept it when they said he had been killed; then, when
she was told he had drowned, she accepted it and said, "When I
gave birth to him I saw a flash of fire come out of me, and I knew
that nothing but water would put it out."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnafl—Farwah b. Laqīṭ al-Azdi
al-Ghāmīdī: Yazīd b. Nu‘aym, Shabīb’s father, was one of the men
who joined the army of Salmān b. Rabi‘ah when al-Walīd b. ‘Uqbah
sent him and those with him to the land of the Byzantines, on
orders from ‘Uthmān, as reinforcements to the Syrian forces.471
When the Muslims returned from the campaign, the captives were
put up for sale, and Shabīb’s father, Yazīd b. Nu‘aym, saw a tall,
pretty, eye-catching girl, fair-skinned, but without a trace of gray
or blue in her black eyes; and he bought her. Then he took her—
this was at the beginning of the year 25 (645)—and brought her to
al-Kūfah. There he asked her to convert to Islam, but she refused,
and when he beat her, she only became more stubborn. Seeing this,
he ordered her made ready, and then called for her, and she was
brought in to him. When he had intercourse with her, she con-
ceived Shabīb, who was born on Saturday, the Day of Sacrifice, in
Dhū al-Hijjah of the year 25 (September 27, 646).472 She loved her
master dearly, and while she was in labor she said, "If you wish, I
will convert to Islam as you asked me to." He said, "I do so wish."
She then converted and was a Muslim when she bore Shabīb. She
said, "I saw, in a dream, that a flash came forth from my vagina,
which blazed forth to heaven and to the horizon on all sides, and
then suddenly fell into a flood of running water, and went out. I
gave birth to him on this day on which you shed blood, and I
interpreted this vision of mine as meaning that I would see this son
of mine, as he grew up, becoming a man of bloodshed, and that I
would see him quickly rise and become great." His father used to
take him and his mother often out to the desert, to his people’s
land at a watering hole called al-Laṣaf.473

According to Abū Mikhnafl—Mūsā b. Abī Suwayd b. Rādī: The
Syrian forces that arrived brought with them a stone474 and said,

471. In the year 24 (645); see text above, I, 2806ff.
472. The Day of Sacrifice is the tenth of Dhū al-Hijjah (see EI2, s.v. ḥajj). 10
Dhū al-Hijjah 25 (September 27, 646) was a Wednesday.
473. Another version of this story in Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 457.
474. Al-ḥajar, literally, "the stone."
"We will not flee from Shabib until this stone flees." Shabib heard about this and decided to play a trick on them. He called for four horses and attached shields to their tails, two to the tail of each horse. Then he summoned eight of his companions to accompany him, as well as an attendant of his named Hayyân, and ordered Hayyân to bring along a waterskin. He then set out and came to one side of the camp. He ordered his companions to take up positions on the other sides of the camp, each two men with a horse, and then to touch the horses with their blades until they felt their keenness, and let them go into the camp. He arranged to meet his companions at a stream near the camp, saying, "Those of you who survive should meet at this stream." His companions were reluctant to carry out what he had ordered them to do, and when he saw this, he dismounted and himself did to the horses what he had ordered them to do. The horses rushed into the camp, and he went in behind them, crying, "Judgment is to God alone!" The men began to fight one another, but their commander, Ḥabib b. ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-Ḥakami, called out, "Men! This is a trick! Stand where you are until you can see clearly what is going on!" and they did so. Shabib was still in their camp and stood where he was when he saw them stop their commotion. He had been hit with a blow from a rod and was in a weakened condition. When the men quieted down and returned to their quarters, he managed to slip out amidst the crowd and reached the stream, where he found Hayyân. He said, "Hayyân, pour out some water on my head." When he stretched out his head for Hayyân to pour water over it, the latter was about to cut it off, saying to himself, "I will find no greater honor or celebrity than will come to me from killing this man, and it will be my safe-conduct with al-Ḥajjâj." But just as he had this thought, he felt a shudder of fear; and when he was slow opening the waterskin, Shabib asked him, "Why are you so slow opening it?" and took his knife from his boot and cut it open and handed it back to him. He then poured out the water over his head. Hayyân explained, "It was cowardice, by God, and the shudder of fear that came over me, that kept me from cutting off his head after I intended to do so." Then Shabib rejoined his companions in his camp.

According to Abū Jaʿfar: In this year, Muṭarrif b. al-Mughirah b. Shuʿbah rebelled against al-Ḥajjâj, throwing off his allegiance to
‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwân, and rode off to al-Jibal, where he was killed.475

Account of Muṭarrif’s Rebelling and Throwing Off His Allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwân

According to Hishâm—Abû Mikhnaf—Yûsuf b. Bakr al-Azdi: The sons of al-Mughirah b. Shu’bah were excellent, noble men in their own right, aside from the nobility of their father and their status in their tribe. When al-Ḥajjâj came, and met and spoke with them, he learned that they were men of his own tribe and sons of his father,476 and he made ‘Urwah b. al-Mughirah governor of al-Kūfah,477 Muṭarrif b. al-Mughirah governor of al-Madā‘in, and Ḥamzah b. al-Mughirah governor of Hamadhân.

According to Abû Mikhnaf—al-Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abdallâh b. Sa‘d b. Nufayl al-Azdi: When Muṭarrif b. al-Mughirah came to al-Madâ‘in as our governor, he ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God, and said:

Men! The amîr al-Ḥajjâj—may God cause him to prosper!—has appointed me governor over you and commanded me to rule with right and act with justice in all I do. If I do as he has commanded me, I will be the happiest of men; but if I do not, I will be the cause of my own perdition and the forfeiter of my own fortune. I shall sit to receive you morning and evening;478 please come to me with your concerns, as

475. Tabâri’s account from Abû Mikhnaf of Muṭarrif’s rebellion is the most detailed we have; the version from Ibn al-Kalbi in Balânî’s Ansâb (unpublished) differs little from it. See Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 191–95; Périer, Vie d’al-Ḥadîdjâ, 148–53. Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmîl, IV, 433–37, summarizes Tabâri, adding only an anecdote to the effect that al-Ḥajjâj questioned Muṭarrif’s parentage, because while many of the Rabî’ah became Khârijites, this was true of none of the Qays’ Aylân (to whom the Thaqîf, the tribe of al-Mughirah and al-Ḥajjâj, were often, although not invariably, assigned); see note 92 above and Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 92.

476. Both al-Ḥajjâj and al-Mughirah belonged to the tribe of Thaqîf. See Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, II, 419f.

477. See text above, II, 873.

478. Muṭarrif here paraphrases a ḥadîth of ‘Ali: “Remind them of the days of God and sit to receive them morning and evening” (the first phrase of this being in turn a quotation of Qur’ân 14:5); see Ibn Manzûr, Liṣân, s. v. ‘aṣr, and Ibn Abî al-Ḥadîd, Shahr Nahi al-balâghah (Cairo, 1959–64), XVIII, 30f.
well as your advice on what will most benefit you and your land. I will work unceasingly for your good, to the extent I am able.

Then he came down. At that time there were in al-Madāʾin men from the nobles of the garrison and the great families, as well as fighters too numerous for the town to hold, ready in case something should flare up in the Jūkha region or the Anbār region. When Muṭarrif came down, he proceeded immediately to sit in the īwān479 to receive people. He was approached by Ḥakim b. al-Hārith al-Azdi, who was one of the prominent and noble men of the Azd—al Ḥājjāj later put him in charge of the treasury. He said, “May God cause you to prosper, I was some distance away when you spoke; I came forward to reply to you, but by then you were coming back down. We have understood what you told us, that you have been given authority—may God lead aright the giver and the receiver! You have encouraged us to hope for justice from you and you have asked for help in acting rightly. May God help you in what you intend! You are like your father, whose actions always met with the approval of God and man.” Muṭarrif said, “Come here to me,” and he made room for him to sit beside him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazid: He was one of the best governors ever sent out to us, energetic in suppressing immorality and condemning injustice.” Bishr b. al-Ajdaʿ al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī,480 who was a poet, approached him and said:

I have fallen in love with a young woman of good character,
with sparkling teeth, languid limbs, and a fine neck.
She is like the sun coming out on a rainy day,
when she comes out to walk with her lithe and slender friends.
But turn your passions from her, and ride a great mannish she-
camel
to that generous and beneficent source of favor,

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479. Probably, if not quite certainly, the āwān Kīsrā, the famous Sasanian palace in Ctesiphon, part of whose façade still stands. See EI², s. v. āwān, al-Madāʾin, and note 422 above.

480. Not a son of the known poet al-Ajdaʿ b. Mālik, as suggested by the editors, within the tribe of Hamdān, al-Ajdaʿ b. Mālik belonged to the Banū Wāḍiʾah, not the Banū Thawr. See Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 229, 230.
To that glorious young man, lavish in his gifts, whom we recognize among the people whenever there is an unpleasantness to be got rid of.⁴⁸¹

If you ask about lineage, his is a noble one; he holds his head high with those who carry weight on the day scores are settled. May the All-Merciful be your refuge from a band of men with red moustaches, like the black lions of the thicket—
The horsemen of Shaybân! Never have we heard of their like, sons of every lordly chief of noble descent. They attacked Ibn Ḫuṣayn and his detachment, and left him a corpse on the battlefield, on the night of the feast.⁴⁸²

Ibn al-Mujālid fell victim to their spears, as if he had slipped off a high, smooth rock.⁴⁸³

And every group assembled against them in Rūdhabār⁴⁸⁴ was broken up with spearthrusts, between the palms and the desert.

Muṭarrif said to him, "Woe to you! You have only come to incite us!" Shabib had advanced from Sātidamā,⁴⁸⁵ and Muṭarrif wrote to al-Ḫajjāj as follows:

I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that Shabib has advanced toward us. If the amīr should think it best to send me reinforcements with which to secure al-Madā‘īn, he will do so; for al-Madā‘īn is the gate and fortress of al-Kūfah.


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⁴⁸¹. Sā’ata yuţlā kullu mardādī. Some manuscripts read yahlā: "whenever the unpleasant turns sweet."
⁴⁸³. On the defeat of Sa‘id b. al-Mujālid at either Qaṭṭīyā or al-Dayr, see text above, II, 907–12.
⁴⁸⁴. So, metrica causa, for Rūdhabār = Rūdhabā. On the battle, see text above, II, 922–29.
⁴⁸⁵. See note 187 above. According to Abū Mikhnaf's earlier account, Shabib's advance began from Māḥ Bihzādān; see text above, II, 941, and note 371.
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another two hundred. Shabib advanced and halted at the bridges of Ḥudhayfah, then continued forward to Kalwādāḥ,486 where he crossed the Tigris, and continued on to the city of Bahurasir, where he halted. Muṭarrīf b. al-Mughirah was in the ancient city,487 where Chosroes’ residence and the White Palace are located. When Shabib halted at Bahurasir, Muṭarrīf cut the bridge between him and Shabib and sent to Shabib saying, “Send to me some of your worthy associates, together with whom I can study the Qur’ān and consider the stance that you advocate.” Shabib sent to him a number of men, including Suwayd b. Sulaym, Qa’ nab, and al-Muḥallil b. Wā’il, but when the ferry had been brought up and they were about to board it, Shabib sent them a message, saying not to do so until his messenger had returned from Muṭarrīf. He sent to Muṭarrīf, saying, “Send to me a number of your companions, until you send my companions back to me.” But Muṭarrīf said to the messenger, “Go to him and say: Why should I trust you with my companions if I send them to you now when you do not trust me with your companions?” Shabib sent back his reply, saying, “You know that in our religion we do not consider treachery permissible, while you do it and think nothing of it.” Muṭarrīf then sent to him al-Rabi’ b. Yazid al-Asadi, Sulaymān b. Ḥudhayfah b. Hilāl b. Mālik al-Muzani, and Yazid b. Abī Ziyād, the client of al-Mughirah, who was in charge of Muṭarrīf’s guard. Once they were in Shabib’s custody, he sent his companions on to Muṭarrīf.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al Naḍr-b. Şāliḥ: I was with Muṭarrīf b. al-Mughirah b. Shu’bah—I488 do not know whether he489 said, “I was among the troops that were with him” or “I was there in his presence”—when Shabib’s envoys came to him. Muṭarrīf always treated me and my brother with affection and respect and was not in the habit of hiding anything from us. When the envoys entered, Muṭarrīf was alone except for me and my brother Ḥullām b. Şāliḥ. They were six and we were three, and they were fully armed, while we had only our swords. As they came forward,

486. From here this account closely parallels that given above, II, 946f.
487. Al-madinah al-‘atīqah, viz., Ctesiphon, on the east side of the river. On it and the White Palace, see EL2, s. v. al-Madā’in.
488. Abū Mikhnaf.
489. Al-Naḍr.
Suwayd said, "Peace be to him who fears to stand before his Lord and recognizes right guidance and its people." Muṭarrif replied, "Yes, indeed! May God bless them!" They then sat down, and Muṭarrif said to them, "Give me an account of your position and inform me of what it is you seek and what it is you advocate." Suwayd b. Sulaym praised and glorified God, and said, "What we advocate is the Book of God and the sunnah of Muḥammad, God bless him. What we object to for our people is the expropriation of the spoils, the failure to enforce the Qur'ānic punishments, and the autocratic nature of the regime." Muṭarrif responded, "You summon only to right and object only to blatant injustice. I follow you in this; now follow me in what I summon you to, so that we may combine forces and our hands may work as one." They said, "Come, then, say what you want to say, and if what you summon us to is right, we will agree." He said, "I summon you to fight with me against these renegade tyrants over the innovation they have introduced and to summon them to the Book of God and the sunnah of His Prophet. Let this question of rule be decided by a council among the Muslims, choosing whomever they themselves approve as amir over them, on the model of the situation in which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb left them. If the Arabs knew that all that is meant by 'council' is the approved one from Quraysh, they would approve and you would gain many followers from them and supporters against your enemy, and you would accomplish this purpose of yours."

At this, they jumped up to depart, saying, "This is something on which we will never agree with you." As they were leaving and just stepping out of the portico of the house, Suwayd b. Suw...
laym turned to Muṭarrif and said, "Ibn al-Mughirah, if our men had been hostile and treacherous, you would have been putting yourself at their mercy." Muṭarrif was shaken at this and said, "You speak truly, by the God of Moses and Jesus!"

The men returned to Shabib and informed him of what Muṭarrif had to say. Shabib had hopes of winning him over and told them, "In the morning, one of you is to go back to him." In the morning, then, he sent Suwayd to him, giving him his orders. Suwayd set forth and came to Muṭarrif's door. It was I who conveyed his request to enter, and when he had come in and sat down, I was about to leave, but Muṭarrif said to me, "Sit! I have no secrets from you." I sat. At the time I was a tender youth, and Suwayd asked Muṭarrif, "Who is this from whom you have no secrets?" He replied, "This noble man is the son of Malik b. Zuhayr b. Jadhimah." Suwayd said, "Great! 'You have found a good horse, so keep him!' If his religion is like his lineage, he is perfect."

Then he turned his attention to Muṭarrif and said, "We presented the Commander of the Faithful with what you said to us, and he said, 'Go to him and say, 'Do you not know that for the Muslims to choose for themselves the one they consider the best among them is correct procedure, for that is how the sunnah proceeded after the death of the Messenger?' If he says yes, then say to him, 'We, then, have chosen for ourselves that one among us whom we most approve and who has the greatest strength to bear the burden of responsibility; and so long as he makes no change or alteration, he is the one who wields authority over us.'" Shabib added to us, 'Tell him, 'With regard to your comments on 'council,' when you said that if the Arabs knew that all we mean in this regard is simply Quraysh, many of them would follow us, we reply that the people of truth lose nothing with God for being few, and the oppressors gain no good for being many. Our abandoning our truth, for which we rebelled, and entering into this 'council' to which you summon us would be a sin and a defeat, giving aid and comfort to the oppressors and showing our

496. A chieftain of 'Abs in pre-Islamic times, whose murder initiated the celebrated war of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā'; see Aghānī, XI, 153f., XVI, 23ff.
497. For the proverb, see Maydānī, Amthāl, II, 78.
weakness; for we are not of the opinion that Quraysh have any more rights in this matter than others among the Arabs.” Shabib further instructed us, “If he claims that they do have more rights in this matter than anyone else among the Arabs, ask him why; if he says it is because of their kinship to Muḥammad, then say to him, “If that were the case, then, by God, it would not have been fitting for our pious forefathers, the first Emigrants, to exercise authority over the family of Muḥammad—including even the children of Abū Lahab, if they had been the only surviving members. Had they not known that the best of the people in God’s eyes is the most pious of them and that the one worthiest of this position is the most pious, the most excellent, and the one with the greatest strength to bear the burdens of their affairs, they would not have accepted authority over the people’s affairs.” We were the first to protest oppression, to work to undo tyranny, and to fight against the factions. If Muṭarrif follows us, he will be treated as any one of us, both for good and bad, being one of the Muslims; if he does not, then he is as one of the polytheists whom we consider our enemy and whom we fight.”

Muṭarrif replied, “I have understood what you say. Go back to your camp for this day, while we consider our position.” Suwayd returned to his camp, and Muṭarrif summoned some of his most trusted advisers, including Sulaymān b. Hudhayfah al-Muzanī and al-Rabi’ b. Yazīd al-Asadi.

According to al-Nadīr b. Śāliḥ: I was standing with Yazīd b. Abi Ziyād, the client of al-Mughirah b. Shu’bāh, next to Muṭarrif, each of us with his sword; Yazīd was in charge of his guard. Muṭarrif said to the men, “You are my advisers, my friends, and those in whose integrity and good judgment I trust. By God, I have abhorred the deeds of these oppressors all along, protesting against them in my heart and working to undo them as much as possible

498. The reference is probably specifically to the first two caliphs, whose authority was recognized by Muḥammad’s family, including not only ‘Ali but also many other cousins, among them the sons of Muḥammad’s old enemy ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā (Abū Lahab; see EP, s. v.). Abū Lahab’s sons ‘Utba and Mu’attib did become Muslims but played no prominent role in the government of the community; see Ibn Sa’d, Ṭaḥāqāt, IV, i, 41f., V, 336.
500. Ghayyara al-jawr, literally “change tyranny.” Compare Muṭarrif’s statement below that he “worked to undo” the deeds of the oppressors.
with my own deeds and orders. Now that their sins have become so great, and I have encountered these people who strive against them, I have decided I have no choice but to oppose and resist them, if I can find allies to support me against them. I summoned these people and said to them such-and-such, and they said to me such-and-such, and I have decided not to fight them; indeed, if they were willing to follow my opinion as I described it to them, I would cast off allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj and go off to strive against them.” Al-Muzani said to him, “These men will never follow you in your opinion, nor will you follow them. Keep this parley quiet and let no one know about it.” Al-Asadi also said much the same thing. Then his client Ibn Abi Ziyād fell to his knees and said, “By God, not a single word of what was said between you and them will escape al-Hajjāj, and that with each word embellished with ten more just like it! By God, if you were to try to escape from al-Ḥajjāj over the clouds, he would still hunt you down to destroy you and those with you. Run for your life! Get out of this place! The people of al-Madā’in on this side, and on that side, and the people of Shabib’s camp, will talk about what went on between you and Shabib, and before you go to bed tonight, the news will have reached al-Hajjāj. Find yourself a home other than al-Madā’in!” The other two companions added, “Our view is just as he said.” Muṭarrif asked them, “What is your decision, then?” They said, “To agree to what you summon us to, and to make common cause with you against al-Ḥajjāj or anyone else.”

Then Muṭarrif looked at me and asked, “What is your decision?” I replied, “To kill your enemies, and to stand fast with you so long as you stand fast.” He said, “That is what I expected of you.” He waited for three days. Then Qa’nab came to him and said, “If you follow us, you are one of us; if you refuse, then any truce between us is over.” Muṭarrif said, “Do not rush us today; we are still considering.”

Then he sent to his men saying, “Ride out tonight, every last one of you, and come with me to al-Daskarah to deal with something that has happened there.” He set out before dawn, with his

501. Yujāhidūnahum.
men, and went as far as Dayr Yazdajird, where he halted. There he was met by Qabiṣah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Quḥāfī of Khath'am. He invited the latter to accompany him, and he did so; he outfitted him, gave him a mount, and ordered him given some money. Then he went on to al-Daskarah. After halting there, when he was ready to set out again, he had no choice but to inform his men of his intentions. He called together their leaders, and, after making appropriate mention of God and blessing His Messenger, he said to them:

God has prescribed jihād for His creatures, and commanded them to act with justice and benevolence; He has said in the revelation He sent us, "Help one another to righteousness and piety, but help not one another to sin and injustice; fear God, God is harsh in punishment." I make God my witness that I have cast off my allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Those of you who desire to accompany me, being of like mind with me, follow me, and you will have a good example and good company. As for those who refuse, they may go wherever they wish; I have no desire for followers who are not committed to jihād against the tyrants. I summon you to the Book of God and the sunnah of His Prophet and to fight against the oppressors. If God determines affairs in our favor, this matter will be decided by council among the Muslims, who will approve for themselves whomever they like.

His men responded with alacrity and gave him their oath of allegiance. Then he went into his quarters and sent for Sabrah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf and 'Abdallāh b. Kannāz al-Nahdi. Meeting with them in private, he summoned them as he had all of his men. They gave him their approval, but then, when he set out, they departed with those of his men who were with them and went to al-Ḥajjāj, whom they found had taken the field against Shabib, and participated with him in the battle with Shabib.

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502. For the Banū Quḥāfah of Khath'am, see Caskel, Ġamharat an-nasab, I, 226, II, 470. This man was Abū Mikhnaf's source for the qasas of Sālih b. Musarrīb given above, II, 88f., where he is said to have been a sympathizer of the latter.
504. Determination of the legitimate leader of the community.
Muṭarrīf set out with his men from al-Daskarah, heading toward Ḥulwān. Al-Ḥajjāj had this same year sent out Suwayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa’dī as governor of Ḥulwān and Māh Sabadhān. When he heard that Muṭarrīf b. al-Mughirah was advancing toward his land, he realized that if he dealt with him gently or attempted to cajole him, al-Ḥajjāj would never put up with it; Suwayd accordingly mustered against him the townspeople and the Kurds, the latter holding the Ḥulwān pass against him. Suwayd marched out to him, hoping all the while to avoid fighting him and yet to be forgiven by al-Ḥajjāj; it was a poor excuse for a march.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alqamah al-Khath’ami: When al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyāḥ al-Khath’ami heard that Muṭarrīf had set out from al-Madā’in toward al-Jabal, he followed after him with some thirty men, from his own tribe and others. I was one of them. We caught up with Muṭarrīf at Ḥulwān and participated with him in the battle against Suwayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—al-Nadr: the same.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alqamah: As soon as we reached Muṭarrīf b. al-Mughirah, he showed great pleasure at our arrival and seated al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyāḥ next to himself.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—al-Nadr b. Ṣāliḥ and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alqamah: When Suwayd came out to meet them with his forces, he stayed with the infantry, not leading them out from their tents, while his son, al-Qa’qa’, advanced with the cavalry; but his cavalry that day was not numerous.

According to Abū Mīkhnaf—al-Nadr b. Ṣāliḥ: I would say they were two hundred. According to Ibn ‘Alqamah: I would say they were less than three hundred.

Muṭarrīf summoned al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyāḥ and sent him out against them with about the same number. They advanced against al-Qa’qa’, well-known horsemen determined to give him a good fight. When Suwayd saw them preparing to attack his son, he sent to them a boy of his named Rustam, who was later killed.

505. This is a falsely etymologized form of Māshabāḥān, a district south of Ḥulwān, in the front range of the Zagros. See Yaqūt, Mu’jam, IV, 393; Le Strange, Lands, 202; Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 143.

506. A former partisan of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr; see text above, II, 773f.
with him at Dayr al-Jamājīm with the standard of the Banū Sa’d in his hand. This boy ran off quickly to al-Ḥajjāj b. Jariyāh and told him confidentially, “If you intend to leave this land of ours and go elsewhere, then leave us, for we do not wish to fight you. But if it is to us you have come by intent, then we must protect what is ours.” When he delivered this message, al-Ḥajjāj b. Jariyāh told him, “Go to our amīr and tell him what you have told me.” The boy then proceeded on to Muṭarrīf and told him the same thing he had told al-Ḥajjāj b. Jariyāh. Muṭarrīf said, “My aim is neither you nor your land.” The boy said, “Then stay on this road until you have left our land. We have found ourselves obliged to arrange for people to see that we came out against you and for word of this to be passed on.”

Muṭarrīf sent for al-Ḥajjāj, and he joined him. They continued along the road until they reached the pass and found it held by the Kurds. Muṭarrīf dismounted, as did all his men, and sent up al-Ḥajjāj b. Jariyāh with his right wing and Sulaymān b. Ḥudhayfah with his left wing to confront them. These two defeated and killed them, and Muṭarrīf and his men continued safely on until they drew near Hamadḥān. Muṭarrīf avoided the latter, turning off to his left toward Māḥ Dinār, his brother Ḥamzah b. al-Mughirāh was governor of Hamadhan, and Muṭarrīf preferred not to enter it and subject his brother to accusations from al-Ḥajjāj. But when Muṭarrīf entered the land of Māḥ Dinār, he wrote to his brother Ḥamzah, saying, “Our expenses have mounted and supplies have become a severe problem. Please help out your brother with what money and arms you can.” He sent this message with Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the client of al-Mughirāh b. Shu’bāh, who came to Ḥamzah with Muṭarrīf’s letter at night. When Ḥamzah saw him, he said to him, “May your mother be bereft of you! You have killed Muṭarrīf!” Yazīd replied, “It is not I who has killed

507. Where al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūṣūf defeated the rebel ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash’āth, in 83 (702); see text below, II, 107ff.
508. The district of Niḥawān, south of Hamadhan, according to an account in the text above [I, 2628, 2631] and in Dinawari, al-Akhbār al-tiwal [Leiden, 145]. Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī identified it rather with the district of Dinawar, west of Hamadhan, according to Yāqūt, Mu’jam, IV, 406, which would agree better with a turn to the left here; but the statement below that Māḥ Dinār bordered Isfahān must refer to the Niḥawān region. Dinawar was officially named Māḥ al-Kūfah, and Niḥawān Māḥ al-Baṣrah; see EI2, s. vv. Dinawar, Māḥ al-Baṣra.
him, may I be your ransom, but Muṭarrif who has killed himself and me with him; I hope he does not kill you as well." Ḥāmzah said, "Woe to you! Who seduced him into this business?" Yazid said, "It was he who seduced himself into this"; then he sat with him and gave him a full account of the whole affair, and handed him Muṭarrif's letter. Ḥāmzah read it, then said, "Yes, I will send him money and arms. But tell me, do you think I can keep this secret?" Yazid said that he thought it could not be kept secret, but Ḥāmzah said to him, "By God, if I fail him in the more efficacious of the two kinds of support, that which is open, I will not forsake him in the lesser, that which is secret!"

He sent him money and arms with Yazid b. Abi Ziyād, who brought them to Muṭarrif. We were camped in one of the rural districts of Māh Dinār, called Sāmān, on the borders of the Iṣfahān region; this was a district where some of the Ḥamrāʾ were settled.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Nadr b. Ṣāliḥ: By God, no sooner had Yazid b. Abi Ziyād set off than I heard the men of the camp spreading the word that the amir was sending to his brother to ask him for money and arms. I went to Muṭarrif and informed him of this. He struck his brow with his hand and said, "Glory to God! One said, 'What can be kept secret?' The other replied, 'That which is not!'"

As soon as Yazid b. Abi Ziyād arrived, Muṭarrif set off, halting at Qum, Qāshān, and Iṣfahān.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alqamah: When Muṭarrif reached Qum and Qāshān and felt secure, he summoned al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah and said to him, "Tell me about Shabib’s defeat the day at al-Sabakhah. Were you an eyewitness, or had you left before the battle?" Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "No, I was an eyewitness." Muṭarrif said, "Tell me, then, how things went with them." Al-Ḥajjāj told him, and he said, "I was hoping that Shabib would win; even if he was in error, he would be killing another in error."

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509. Mentioned, but without additional information, by Yāqūt, Muʾjam, III, 13f.
510. The Ḥamrāʾ ("red") were early Persian converts to Islam who participated in the conquest of Iran; some of them were settled near Ḥulwān after its conquest in 16 (637). See text above, I, 2473f.; Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 197.
511. Modern Kāshān, between Qum and Iṣfahān; see El², s. v. Kāshān.
It seemed to me that this desire of his was actually because he was hoping to accomplish his own aims if al-Ḥajjāj perished. Then Muṭṭar rif sent out his officials.512

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: Muṭṭar rif acted decisively, if only the fates had not been stronger. He sent the following message with al-Rabi’ b. Yazīd to Suwayd b. Sirāḥ al-Thaqafī and to Bukayr b. Hārūn al-Bajali:513

We summon you to the Book of God and the sunnah of His Prophet, and to jihāḍ against him who has obstinately rejected the truth, expropriated the spoils, and abandoned the judgment of the Book.514 When the truth appears and the false is overcome and the Word of God is rightfully exalted,515 we will let this question be decided by council among the Community, the Muslims recognizing whom they please as the approved one. He who accepts this from us is our brother in religion and our comrade in life and death; but we will strive against516 him who rejects this from us and ask God for His aid against him. It is sufficient to establish our claim against him, and sufficient to show his bad judgment in abandoning jihāḍ in the way of God, and his weakness in conciliating the oppressors in the affairs of God, that God has prescribed fighting for the Muslims, calling it “hateful”;517 and no one can obtain God’s good pleasure except by adhering steadfastly to God’s command and waging jihāḍ against God’s enemies. Accept the truth, then, may God have mercy on you, and summon to it those for whose acceptance you hope, and let them know what they have not known. Let all who agree with our opinions, and accept our summons, and consider our enemy their own, come to me.

512. ‘Ummāl, usually tax officials, and probably so here as well, sent out to collect the kharāj of the surrounding districts for Muṭṭar rif.
513. On the Bajilah tribe, of uncertain ancestry, see El2, s. v. Badjila. Both men were in al-Rayy, as emerges below.
514. Taraka ḥukm al-kitāb. It was ‘Ali’s willingness to submit to the arbitration of man, rather than the judgment of the Qur’ān, that led to the original Khārijītē revolt. The slogan “Judgment is to God alone” is a variant of this basic Khārijītē tenet; see note 233 above.
516. jāhadnā.
May God lead you and us aright and be forgiving to you and us; He is the Forgiving, the Merciful. Peace.

When this letter reached the two men, they went among some of the men of al-Rayy and summoned those who would follow them. Then they departed secretly with some hundred from the men of al-Rayy, unremarked by anyone, and went to Muṭarrif.

Then al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah, al-Ḥajjāj's governor of Iṣfahān, sent off a letter, saying, "If the amīr, may God cause him to prosper, has any care for Iṣfahān, or elsewhere, let him send out a massive army against Muṭarrif to annihilate him and those with him. He has just been joined by a band of men who came from some land or other to the place where he is staying now, and thus he has grown more powerful and his followers more numerous. Peace." Al-Ḥajjāj wrote back to him, saying, "When my messenger comes to you, muster those who are with you. Then, when 'Adī b. Wāttād comes to you, lead your forces forth with him, and heed and obey him. Peace." When al-Barā' read this letter, he went out and mustered his forces. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf began sending out to al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah men on post horses, in groups of ten, fifteen, or twenty, until he had sent out to him some five hundred altogether. Al-Barā'"s own forces numbered two thousand.

Meanwhile, al-Aswād b. Sa'd al-Ḥamdānī came out to al-Rayy, after the victory God granted al-Ḥajjāj on the day he met Shabīb at al-Sabakhah. He passed through Hamadhān and al-Jibāl and stopped to see Ḥamzah, who excused himself to him. According to al-Aswād: I informed al-Ḥajjāj about Ḥamzah, and he said, "I have already heard about that." He wanted to dismiss him, fearing that he would play him false if he held back, and sent to Qays b. Sa'd al-'Ijlī, who was at that time in charge of Ḥamzah b. al-Mughirah's security force—there were a number of people from the Banū 'Ijl and Rabī'ah in Hamadhān. He sent

518. Kāna ... atā al-Rayy fī fath Allāh 'alā al-Ḥajjāj.
519. That is, he declined to supply troops for the fight against his brother. See Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 436.
520. Fa-khashiya an yamkura bihi in yamtani' minhu. Some MSS read wa-yamtani' minhu ("that he would play him false and elude him"), as was perhaps also read by Ibn al-Athīr, who paraphrases (Kāmil, IV, 436), "[al-Ḥajjāj] pretended to accept his excuse, he wanted to dismiss him but was afraid that he would elude him."
521. On the Banū 'Ijl, one of the Bakr b. Wā'il tribes and thus part of the Rabī'ah confederation, see EI², s. v. 'Idjl.
Qays b. Sa'd a letter of appointment over Hamadhân and an order saying, “Put Ḥamzah b. al-Mughirah in irons and keep him imprisoned there until further orders from me.” When Qays received the letter and the order, he set out with a large number of his kinsmen. He entered the mosque just as the afternoon prayer was beginning and performed the prayer with Ḥamzah. When Ḥamzah went out, Qays b. Sa'd al-'Ijli, the chief of his security force, went out with him, gave him al-Ḥajjāj’s letter to read, and showed him the letter of appointment. Ḥamzah said, “Heed and obey.” Qays put him in irons and held him in prison, and took over the governorship of Hamadhân. He sent out his officials over the district, choosing them all from his own people, and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj as follows: “I hereby inform the amir—may God cause him to prosper!—that I have put Ḥamzah b. al-Mughirah in irons and thrown him in prison. I have sent out my officials over the land revenue and have already begun to collect it.522 Perhaps the amir—may God prolong his life!—may give me permission to go out against Muṭarrīf and strive against him with my people and those of my land who obey me; for I hope for a greater reward for jihād than for collecting the land revenue. Peace.”

When al-Ḥajjāj read this letter, he laughed and said, “Here is the quarter where we are secure should all else fail!” Ḥamzah’s position in Hamadhân had been the worst worry God could create for al-Ḥajjāj, who feared that he would support his brother with money or arms, or even, for all he knew, take it into his head to rebel himself. This is why he continued to scheme against him until he was able to dismiss him; once he felt secure there, he could go after Muṭarrīf.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muṭarrīf b. Āmīr b. Wāthilah:523 When al-Ḥajjāj read the letter of Qays b. Sa’d al-‘Ijli and his statement that “if the amir would like, I will march out and strive

523. His father, Abū al-Ṭufayl Āmīr b. Wāthilah al-Kinānī, was a famous horseman and poet who had borne ‘Ali’s standard and supported al-Mukhtār; he was reputedly the last Companion to die, in 100 (718). See Sezgin, GAS, II, 412; Zirikli, A’lām, IV, 26. Muṭarrīf’s brother al-Ṭufayl is mentioned below with the forces of al-Barā’. 
against him with my people,” he said, “How I hate to see the Arabs increasing in number in the kharāj land!”

According to Ibn al-Ghariq:525 The minute I heard this from al-Ḥajjāj, I realized that if he were free to do so, he would have dismissed him.

According to al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to ‘Adī b. Wattād al-Ḥajjāj’s letter arrived. He read it, then gave it to me, and I read it. It said: “When you read this letter, take three quarters of the men of al-Rayy there with you and advance to meet al-Barā’ b. Qabiṣah in Jay,529 then proceed on together. When you meet, you will be in command of the men until God kills Muṭṭarrif. Once God has rid the believers of him, return to your regular position, under God’s protection, security, and shelter.” When I had read it, ‘Adī said to me, “Go and prepare for war.”

‘Adī went out to muster the troops, summoning the secretaries, who called up530 three quarters of the men. It was less than a week before we set out. We came to Jay, where we were met by Qabiṣah al-Quḥāfī531 with nine532 hundred Syrians, including

524. That is, land from whose non-Muslim (and non-Arab) owners the traditional land tax was collected; al-Ḥajjāj’s policy was to preserve a strict segregation between a non-Arab taxpaying peasantry and an urban and military Arab aristocracy.

525. Presumably the ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghariq mentioned above (II, 922, 945) as al-Ḥajjāj’s messenger to the approaching Syrians.

526. Yaḥyā b. Sa’īd; see U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 224.

527. Probably a cousin of Abū Mihnaf’s grandfather, according to U. Sezgin, Abū Mihnaf, 225.


529. One of the twin cities comprising Isfahān; see Le Strange, Lands, 203ff.

530. Ḍarābū al-ba‘th alā.

531. Last seen (II, 988) accompanying Muṭṭarrif. Is this a slip for al-Barā’ b. Qabiṣah?

532. Perhaps to be emended to “seven” to match the number a few lines below (or vice versa).
'Umar b. Hubayrah. We remained at Jay only two days before 'Adi b. Wattād set out with all the forces under his command. He had three thousand fighters from the men of al-Rayy; a thousand fighters with al-Barā' b. Qabiṣah, sent to him by al-Ḥājāj from al-Kūfah; seven hundred Syrians; and some thousand men from the people of Iṣfahān and the Kurds. Altogether, they were nearly six thousand fighters. 'Adī advanced until he came up against Muṭarrīf b. al-Mughirah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Nadr b. Śāliḥ and533 ‘Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah: When Muṭarrīf heard that they were marching against him, he had a trench dug around his forces; and they remained inside it until the government forces arrived.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yazid, the client of 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr: I was with my master at that time. 'Adī b. Wattād went out and put the men in battle array. He put 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr over his right wing, then sent word to534 al-Barā' b. Qabiṣah to stand with the left. But al-Barā' was angry and said, "You order me to stand with the left, when I am a governor535 like you! Those are my cavalry in the left, and I have put them over the horseman of Muṭar, al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Āmir b. Wāthilah."536 This reply was conveyed to 'Adī b. Wattād, and he said to Ibn Uqaysir al-Khattāmī, "You go out and take command of the cavalry. Go to al-Barā' b. Qabiṣah and tell him, 'You have been commanded to obey me. You have nothing to do with right and left and cavalry and infantry. Your duty is to obey your orders. Do not cross me in anything and lose my good will.'" Until then, he had treated him with full respect.

Then 'Adī put 'Umar b. Hubayrah over his left, sending with him a hundred Syrians; he went and took his position, with his standard. One of his men said to al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Āmir, "Take down your standard and go away; this position is ours." Al-Ṭufayl replied, "I will not quarrel with you. This standard was committed to me by al-Barā' b. Qabiṣah, and he is our commander. But we know that your man is in command of the assembled forces, and

533. Reading wa- for 'an.
534. Qāla Il-‘, "told," but apparently through a messenger; see below.
535. Amīr, also translated "commander" below.
536. See note 523 above, and Zirikli, Al-lām, III, 329.
if this has been committed to your master, then, may God bless him, we heed and obey immediately." Then 'Umar b. Hubayrah said to his men, "Take it easy! Desist from your brother and cousin!" and to al-'Tufayl, "Our standard is yours, and if you wish, we will gladly surrender it to you." We have never seen two men as coolheaded as those two in that situation.

Then 'Adi b. Wattād dismounted and moved his forces against Muṭarrif.


As the two armies advanced and drew near each other, Muṭarrif said to Bukayr b. Hārūn al-Bajali, "Go out to them and summon them to the Book of God and the sunnah of His Prophet and reproach them for their wicked deeds." Bukayr b. Hārūn went out to them on a black horse with a blaze and a fine tail, wearing a cuirass, a leather helmet, and armlets, and with a spear in his hand; he had fastened his cuirass with a red sash made from the fringes of woolen robes.537 He called out in his loud, high voice: "Men of our qiblah,538 men of our religion, men of our confession!539 We beseech you by God, than Whom there is no other god, Whose knowledge of what you hide is as His knowledge of what you display, to be fair and honest with us, to speak out of commitment to God, not to His creatures, and to be witnesses for God against His servants of what God knows of His servants. Tell me about 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf: do you not recognize them as tyrants and despots, who follow their own vain opinions, seizing people on idle suspicions and killing them out of simple anger?"

The men called out from every side, "Enemy of God! You lie! It

537. 'Isābah min hawāshī al-burūd. See Dozy, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes, 59–64, 300–5.
538. The direction of prayer for Muslims, toward Mecca, see EI², s. v. kibla.
539. Da’wah.
is not so!" He said to them, "'Woe to you! Do not forge a lie against God, lest He destroy you by some punishment, he who forges a lie fails.' 540 Woe to you! Will you teach God what He does not know? 541 We have called on you to testify, and God has said about testimony, 'He who hides it is sinful of heart.' 542 Then Şārim, the client of 'Adi b. Wattād and his standard-bearer, went out against him. He charged at Bukayr b. Hārūn al-Bajali, and they fought with their swords. 'Adi's client's blow had no effect; then Bukayr struck him with his sword and killed him. Then he went forward and said, "Horseman to horseman!" but no one would come out to meet him. He recited:

Şārim, you have encountered a cutting [şārim] sword,
And a powerful maned lion.

Then al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah, who was in the right, attacked 'Umar b. Hubayrah, who was in the left. With 'Umar in the left was also al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah, and al-Ḥajjāj encountered him. They were close friends, and recognized each other just as each was raising his sword against the other, and held back.

The two wings fought for a long time before 'Adi b. Wattād's left gave a little ground, and al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah moved to occupy the space. Then al-Rabī' b. Yazid attacked 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr, and they also fought long, until the men made a concerted attack on al-Asadād and killed him; and Muṭṭarrij b. al-Mughirah's left was driven back as far as his own position. Then 'Umar b. Hubayrah attacked al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah and his forces and fought long with him. The latter finally decided to desist and went to join Muṭṭarrij. Ibn Uqayṣir al-Khath'āmi charged with the cavalry against Sulaymān b. Šakhr al-Muzanī, who was killed, and his cavalry driven back as far as Muṭṭarrij. This cavalry battle was the fiercest fighting the men had ever seen, but Ibn Uqayṣir finally reached Muṭṭarrij.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Šāliḥ: On that day Muṭṭarrij kept calling out to them, saying, "People of the Book! Come to a word we may acknowledge equally: that we serve no

542: Qur'ān 2:283.
one but God, and associate nothing as partner to him, and we do not take one another as lords apart from him. If they turn their backs, say: We testify that we are Muslims.' He continued to fight until he was killed. 'Umar b. Hubayrah cut off his head; it is said that it was he who killed him; although more than one had rushed at him, it was Ibn Hubayrah who cut off his head. 'Adi b. Wattād dispatched him with the head, and this meant advancement for him. 'Umar b. Hubayrah fought bravely and well that day.

According to Abū Mikhnaf: Ḥakīm b. Abī Sufyān al-Azdi said he killed Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the client of al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah, who was Muṭarrīf’s standard-bearer.

They reached Muṭarrīf’s camp, which Muṭarrīf had entrusted to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Asīf al-Azdi. He was killed; he was a good, temperate, abstemious man.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Zayd, their client: I saw his head with Ibn Uqayṣīr al-Khath’āmi and was unable to restrain myself from saying to him, “By God, you have killed a man who prayed and worshipped and thought much on God.” He came toward me and asked who I was, and my master said to him, “This is my attendant. What is the matter?” Ibn Uqayṣīr told him what I had said, and he said, “He is mentally deficient.”

Then we went off to al-Rayy with ‘Adī b. Wattād. He sent some of the valiant men to al-Hajjāj, and he welcomed and honored them. When he returned to al-Rayy, the Bajilah came to ‘Adī b. Wattād and asked for safe-conduct for Bukayr b. Hārūn, and he granted it. Then the Thaqqīf asked for safe-conduct for Suwayd b. Sirhān al-Thaqafi, and he granted it. Then the kin of every man who had been with Muṭarrīf asked for and were granted safe-conduct for him, which was a good deed on his part. Some of Muṭarrīf’s men had been surrounded in Muṭarrīf’s camp; they called out, “Barā’! Get safe-conduct for us! Barā’! Intercede for us!” He interceded for them, and they were released. ‘Adī took many prisoners, and then he let them go.

543. Qur’ān 3:64.
544. Awfadahu bihi ‘Adi b. Wattād wa-haṣiyya bihi, presumably meaning that he took the head to al-Hajjāj, who was well pleased. See Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, IV, 436.
545. I.e., of the Azd.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: He set out and came to Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān at Hulwān, and was welcomed and honored by him; then he went on to al-Ḵūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah: Al-Hajjāj b. Ḫariyāh al-Khathʿāmī came to al-Rayy, where he had formerly been stationed, and appeal was made to ʿAdī on his behalf. But ʿAdī said, “This is a notorious man, who won notoriety along with his companion; and here is a letter from al-Ḥajjāj to me about him.”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father—ʿAbdallāh b. Zuhayr: I was among those who spoke to ʿAdī on al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḫariyāh’s behalf. He took out and showed us this letter from al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūṣūf: “If God has killed al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḫariyāh, good riddance! That is what I hope and desire. If he yet lives, seek him out from there, put him in chains, and send him directly to me, God willing. Peace.” ʿAdī said to us, “I have received specific orders about him, which I have no choice but to heed and obey. If I had not had these specific orders, I would have granted him safe-conduct for you and held back from him, not seeking him out.” We then departed from him.

Al-Hajjāj b. Ḫariyāh remained in fear until ʿAdī b. Wattād was dismissed, and Khālid b. ʿAttāb b. Warqā came in his place. I went to him and spoke to him on al-Ḥajjāj’s behalf, and he granted him safe-conduct.

Verses by Ḥabīb b. Khidrah, a client of the Banū Hilāl b. ʿĀmīr:

Has ʿAٰid ever heard of our speeding away for fear of the sharp swords of an enemy,

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546. It is not clear who is meant here, although al-Barāʾ seems the most likely. Already in the previous paragraph several pronouns are ambiguous, and the state of the text seems questionable.

547. Mentioned with Shabīb at al-Ḵūfah; see text above, II, 968, and note 455. Tabari’s placing these verses here, as a sort of coda to his account of Shabīb’s revolt, implicitly includes Muṭarrīf’s rebellion as part of that movement. For a review of opinions on whether Muṭarrīf was a “Khārijite,” see Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 194.

548. Ḥal atā ʿAٰid an isādinā, adopting a reading suggested by the editors for text aysārinā.
When fear came upon us from a quarter we thought secure, and we rode through the dark to another land?

Ask Hadyah whether she has ever seen men of nobler character than us.

Ask her whether they remain amicable with us, or are determined to hate us.

Many a sweetheart have I had before her, with whom I cut the knot, and let her go.

We have experienced life at its calmest, and we have experienced life at its most turbulent.

I have experienced Time—a Time of which I am eager for one part and shun another.

I have seen the horses packed closely together, only their eyes distinguishable,

Their riders passing, one to another, on the points of the spears, a cup overflowing with the black blood of death.

It is the charge of the horsemen that delights me, while diversion merely robs me of my delight.

In the advancing helmets, as the horsemen leave creases from their Indian swords in them.  

Many a morning of battle has there been that suited me perfectly, Just like an old waterskin and its cover.

According to Abū Jaʿfar: In this year, dissension arose among the Azraqites who followed Qaṭārī b. al-Fujaʾah. Some of them dissented from him and withdrew from him, and gave allegiance to ʿAbd Rabb al-Kabīr, while others maintained their allegiance to Qaṭārī.

549. Bi-mushīhi 1-baydi ḥattā yatrukū/ li-suyūfī l-Hindi fiḥā ṭuraqā.

550. Or: Just like Shann and Ṭabaqa[h]. For the proverb and its interpretations, see Maydānī, Amṭhāl, II, 284f.

551. See text above, II, 944 and note 383, and EI², s. v. ʿAṭārī.

552. ʿAṭārī makes no mention of an ʿAbd Rabb al-Ṣaghīr (the Younger, as opposed to al-Kabīr, the Greater or Elder), but other sources do. Both men are involved in the schism in the accounts in Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī (Futūḥ, VII, 55ff.) and Yaʿqūbī (Taʾrīkh, II, 339ff.). Mubarrad (Kāmil, 678, 685ff.) has only ʿAbd Rabb al-Ṣaghīr, whom he calls a client of the Banū Quays b. Thaʿlabah (of Bakr), Ibn Khayyāṭ; (Taʾrīkh, 275) gives the same tribal affiliation for his ʿAbd Rabb (unqualified). Like Ibn Khayyāṭ, Dinawari (al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl, 286–88) mentions only one ʿAbd
Account of the Dissension among the Azraqites and the Reason for Its Breaking Out, until They Came to Ruin

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd: Al-Muḥallab remained in Sābūr fighting Qatārī and his Azraqite supporters for about a year after al-Ḥajjāj recalled ‘Attāb b. Warqā’ from his army. Then he attacked them on the day of the Orchard, fighting them fiercely. Kirmān was then in the hands of the Khārijites, and Fārs in the hands of al-Muḥallab. The Khārijīte forces found themselves straitened in the position they occupied, with no supplies coming to them from Fārs and themselves far from home; so they withdrew to Kirmān. Al-Muḥallab came after them, halting at Jiruft—Jiruft is the capital of Kirmān. He fought fiercely with them there for more than a year, keeping them out of Fārs altogether. Once all of Fārs was in the hands of al-Muḥallab, al-Ḥajjāj sent out his officials to administer it, taking it over from al-Muḥallab. Word of this reached ‘Abd al-Malik, and he wrote as follows to al-Ḥajjāj: “Leave the land revenue of the mountains of Fārs in the hands of al-Muḥallab; for it is imperative that the army be strong and the commander of the army adequately supported. Let him have the district of Fasā and Darabjird and the district of Iṣṭakhr.”

Al-Ḥajjāj left these to al-Muḥallab, who sent out his officials to administer them; they served to give him strength against the

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Rabb. Ibn al-Athir (Ḳāmil, IV, 437ff.) combines the accounts of Ṭabarī and Mubarrad, but refers to the single rebel leader throughout as ‘Abd Rabb al-Kabīr.  
553. See text above, II, 877ff., 944.  
554. Yawm al-bustān. Other independent published sources do not mention this battle under this name. Perhaps it is the same as the battle at Shi‘b Bawwān, mentioned by Ibn Ṭhām al-Kūfī (Putūḥ, VII, 34) and probably referred to in the verses by Ka‘b al-Ashqārī quoted below [II, 1012, and see note 575]. Shi‘b Bawwān, fifty miles northwest of Shirāz, was considered one of the world’s beauty spots; see Tha‘alibī, Latā‘if al-ma‘ārif (Cairo, 1960), 157; Le Strange, Lands, 260.  
555. Jiruft was some fifty miles southwest of Bam; see EI², s. v. Djiruf.  
556. For these three cities [and here two districts] of central Fārs, see EI², s. vv. Fasā, Darābdjīrd, Iṣṭakhr.
enemy and his interests. In this regard, the poet of Azd has this to say, reproaching al-Muhallab:

We fight to defend the palaces of Darabjird and collect taxes for al-Mughirah and al-Ruqād.

Al-Ruqād b. Ziyād b. Hammām was a man of the ‘Atik, held in high esteem by al-Muhallab.557

Al-Ḥajjāj sent al-Barā’ b. Qabīșah to al-Muhallab,558 and wrote to him as follows: “By God, it seems to me that if you really wished to, you could have exterminated these renegade Khārijites by now; but you like their continuing presence, so you may consume the land around you. I have sent you al-Barā’ b. Qabīșah to rouse you to attack them; attack them, then, when he comes to you, with all the Muslims, and wage the fiercest jihād against them. Let me hear no excuses or petty lies, or other such things that, coming from you, are distasteful and unacceptable to me. Peace.”

Al-Muhallab sent out his sons, each with a cavalry detachment, and his troops according to their standards, ranks, and fifths.559

Al-Barā’ b. Qabīṣah came and was positioned by al-Muhallab on a hill near the troops, where he could see them. The detachments attacked the enemy detachments, and the infantry the infantry;

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557. Al-Muhallab himself belonged to al-‘Atik b. al-Azd of the Azd ‘Umān; see Caskel, Ḥamharat an-nasab, I, 203, II, 421. The al-Mughirah mentioned in the verses is al-Muhallab’s son. Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 360, cites the verse and names its author as Abū al-Bahā’ al-Iyādī [of Azd; see Caskel, Ḥamharat an-nasab, II, 320]. Mubarrad (Kāmil, 684), in an account explicitly accusing al-Mughirah and al-Ruqād of not passing the collected revenue on to the troops, quotes four other verses with the same meter and rhyme, and presumably from the same poem. See also Périer, Vie d’al-Hadījādī, 98ff.; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 180.

558. This was presumably before al-Barā’’s appointment as governor of Iṣfahān, but Ṭabarī gives no precise synchronisms. Mubarrad, Kāmil, 67ff., recounts the following incident before ‘Attāb’s arrival as co-commander.

559. ‘Alā ṭarāyīhīm wa-maṣāffīhīm wa-akhmāṣīhīm. The first two terms probably refer to the cavalry and infantry respectively, while the “fifths” are those into which the Başran army was divided; see text above, II, 720, and Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 250.
they fought as hard as the men ever had from the morning prayer to midday, then withdrew. Al-Barāʿ b. Qabiṣah came to al-Muhallab and said to him, “No, by God! Never have I seen horsemen like your sons, or Arab horsemen like your horsemen! Nor have I ever seen the like of these people who fight you, of such stamina and valor! By God, you have a good excuse!” Al-Muhallab withdrew with the men until afternoon prayer, then took them out again, with his sons over the cavalry detachments, and they fought as they had in the morning.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mughallis al-Kinānī—his paternal uncle Abū Talbah: One of their detachments went against one of our detachments, and the battle between them grew fierce, neither side giving way to the other. They fought on until nightfall separated them. Then one side asked the other, “From what people are you?” They answered, “We are from the Banū Tamim.” Those on the other side then said, “We too are from the Banū Tamim.” They withdrew in the evening.

Al-Muhallab asked al-Bari, “What did you see?” He replied, “I saw a people, by God, against whom no help will avail you but God’s!” Al-Muhallab rewarded al-Barāʿ b. Qabiṣah with generous treatment, giving him a mount and fine garments, and ordering ten thousand dirhams paid out to him. Al-Barāʿ then departed and returned to al-Ḥajjāj, conveying to him al-Muhallab’s excuse and informing him of what he had seen. Al-Muhallab himself also wrote to al-Ḥajjāj as follows: “I have received the letter of the amir—may God cause him to prosper!—with his accusations against me concerning these renegade Kharijites. The amir ordered me to attack them and let his messenger observe, and I have done so. Let him ask him about what he observed. As for me, by God, if I were able to exterminate them and eliminate them from this land, and desisted from doing so, I would be cheating the Muslims, betraying the Commander of the Faithful, and showing myself untrue to the amir—may God cause him to prosper. God forbid that this should be my attitude and my way of serving God! Peace.”

560. Both Mubarrad [Kāmil, 667–77, 681f., 688f.] and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī [Futūḥ,
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Al-Muhallab continued to fight them there for eighteen months. He neither made a dent in them nor himself suffered, with the men of Iraq who were with him, an attack in any battle with sword and spear that would drive them off and cause them to desist. Then one of the rebels, a man from the Banū Ḍabbah named al-Muqaṭtar, who was an official for Qaṭari over one of the regions of Kirmān, set out with a detachment of them and killed a man who had been a valiant warrior for the Khārijites and entered into clientage with them. When al-Muqaṭtar killed him, the Khārijites ran to Qaṭari and told him, saying, "Permit us to kill the Ḍabbī as vengeance for our comrade." But he replied, "That is not my decision. A man interprets and errs in his interpretation:" it is not my judgment that you should kill him. He is, besides, one of the best and most preeminent among you." They said, "Yes, we should kill him!" He said, "No!" Thus conflict arose among them, and they gave authority to ʿAbd Rabb al-Kabīr, repudiating Qaṭari; but a band of them maintained their allegiance to Qaṭari, perhaps a quarter or fifth of the whole. Qaṭari fought these new opponents for nearly a month, morning and evening.

Al-Muhallab wrote as follows to al-Ḥajjāj to inform him of this: "God has cast the fierceness of the Khārijites in their own midst. Most of them have repudiated Qaṭari and rendered allegiance to ʿAbd Rabb, while a band of them have remained with Qaṭari. They now battle one another mornings and evenings, and I have hope that this may be the cause of their ruin, God willing. Peace."

Al-Ḥajjāj responded as follows: "I have received your letter in which you mention the internal conflict among the Khārijites. When this letter of mine reaches you, take the field against them, while they are in conflict and divided, before they can reunite and become a more formidable foe to you. Peace."

VII, 17–23] stress al-Ḥajjāj's persistent harassment of al-Muhallab. In Mubarrad, al-Barāʾ is the first of a series of envoys sent out to the latter, while Ibn Aʾthām al-Kūfī lacks al-Barāʾ but mentions two of Mubarrad's other envoys, as well as a third not reported elsewhere. [Although frequently divergent from other versions, Ibn Aʾthām al-Kūfī's account is in general the fullest we have for al-Muhallab's campaigns against the Azraqites.] See also Périer, Vie d'al-Ḥadīdjī, 95–97; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 179ff.

561. Taʾawwala fa-akhtaʾa fi al-taʾwil. The official was apparently carrying out judicial as well as fiscal responsibilities.
Al-Muhallab replied as follows: "I have received the amir's letter and understood everything in it. I do not believe I should fight them now, when they are killing one another and reducing each other's numbers. If they keep at this, we will have what we want and they will perish; if they do reunite, they will be doing so only after having exhausted one another; and at that point I will immediately attack them, when they are at their weakest and most vulnerable, God willing. Peace."

Al-Ḥajjāj let him be, and al-Muhallab let them fight among themselves for a month without moving against them. Then Qatārī departed with his remaining followers for Ṭabaristān, while most of them rendered allegiance to 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr. Al-Muhallab attacked the latter, and they put up a good fight; but then God killed them, only a few of them surviving. Their camp and what was in it were seized, and the survivors taken captive, because they had been taking Muslims captive.562

Ka'b al-Ashqarī—al-Ashqar is a clan of Azd—recited these verses on the battle day of Rāmhurmuz and the days of Sābūr and the days of Jīrūft:563

562. The word used here, saby, refers to taking captives, usually noncombatants, after a battle, to be sold into slavery, as opposed to asr, taking captives on the battlefield, who were often killed; see Fries, Heereswesen, 90. Both measures should apply only to non-Muslims, but the Khārijites considered non-Khārijites non-Muslims, which is the point here.

Mubarrad [Kāmil, 677–79, 684–96] gives a much more detailed account of the schism among the Azraqites, referring to seven separate incidents that created tensions before the final split over Qatārī's refusal to remove the unpopular al-Muqaṭṭar al-'Abādī [of 'Abd al-Qays, not Dabbah], and labeling the struggle between mawāli and Persians [under 'Abd Rabb al-Saghir] and Arabs [under Qatārī]. Ibn Ḥatham al-Kūfī [Futūh, VII, 55–69] makes the split a three-way one, with separate parties under Qatārī, 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr, and 'Abd Rabb al-Saghir, but gives no indication of the origin of the dispute; his very detailed account of the ensuing four-way struggle has al-Muhallab defeating the temporarily reallied forces of Qatārī and al-Saghir, the latter dying in battle and the former fleeing to al-Rayy, then taking the city of Jīrūft from al-Kabīr, whose forces were scattered. Dinawari, al-Akhbār al-tiwāl, 286–88, is hopelessly muddled; Yaʿqūb, Taʾrīkh, 329f., and Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 275, give only brief summaries; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 437–39, combines information found in Ṭabarī and in Mubarrad. See also Périer, Vie d'al-Ḥadjjājī, 99–103; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 180f.

563. On the poet Abū Mālik Ka'b b. Ma'dan [d. c. 917/918], see Sezgin, GAS, II, 377f., and Aghārī, X, 54–61; on al-Ashqar [Ṣa'd b. 'A'idh] of Azd, see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 213, II, 492. According to Mubarrad [Kāmil, 694], Ka'b was one of two envoys sent by al-Muhallab to al-Ḥajjāj to announce the victory and
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Haš! Traveling has taken me far from you,
and I have been sleepless, my eyes sore from wakeful
nights.

Despite your gray hairs, Ka‘b, you have been hooked by a girl;
gray hairs usually keep idle fancies at bay.

Do you still retain the commitment she made,
or, now that she is far away, is the tie severed?

I have been hooked by a girl who lives at the top of al-Ṭaff,\(^564\)
in an upper chamber, beyond many doors and rooms,
Fleshy in the shoulders, and so full in the hips
that when she gets up to walk away, they almost stay
behind.

I have left behind, on the banks of the two Zābis,\(^565\)
a home of hers where nomad and settled alike find good
fortune;

And I have chosen an abode with a clan that pleases me,
among whom there are still select men if you choose
them.\(^566\)

When my land became disagreeable to me, I set out to seek
favors
(and he who seeks good is full of desire and expectation)
From Abū Sa‘īd\(^567\)—for I came seeking favors,
hoping for your generosity, when I was touched by want.

Had it not been for al-Muhallab, we would never have visited
their land,
so long as trees and water remain on the earth;

But there is no clan I know of among the people
among whom there is no visible sign of your beneficence.

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\(^564\) The transition zone between the southern Euphrates valley and the desert to the west; see Yaqūt, *Mu‘jam*, III, 539f.; Musil, *Northern Nejd*, 198–200.

\(^565\) Probably a district south of al-Madā‘in, named for the Zābi canal or canals, rather than the two Zāb or Zābī Rivers of northern Iraq; see Yaqūt, *Mu‘jam*, II, 905f. Qudāmah, *Kharaj* [BGA, VI], 236, and other geographers refer to the former in the plural as al-Zawībī, with upper, middle, and lower subdistricts.

\(^566\) *Mā zala fihim li-man nakhtaruhum khīyarū* [in some MSS yakhṭāruhum].

\(^567\) Al-Muhallab.
You have revived them with your munificent gifts just as the land revives when touched by rain.

If I should fall into indigence, I would hope to find it forestalled by favor from God through your hands.

Restore a brother whose strength has been sapped by poverty, and perhaps the strength sapped from his bones will be restored.

My relations shun me, and my expectations have betrayed me; God bless me, what can I do on my own?

You who have bestowed a slave girl with a face radiant in beauty like the sun, fine of figure, with languor in her glance—

From you continue to come forth full moons of evening, as well as others with blazes from your munificence gleaming like the dawn—

You were brought up for glory by kings whose heir you are, proud-seeming men, yet of gentle character,

Who took vengeance for their dead, by acts they recount with glory, at a time when no casualty of war was avenged.

When the enemy came upon them, the men resigned themselves, and were at a loss what to do;

Not one of them would go beyond the gate of the bridge—war had bitten the men of the garrison, and they had run to hide in their hole.568

Fear was brought into the interiors of the houses, and fell on womanish men, men one would pay no bloodwit for.

But then the war intensified, and we were sorely tested, and faced with something for which one must tuck up one’s robe;

We kept at them without letup,

568. Here begins the poet’s account of the Azraqite wars. The next few verses are too allusive to tie closely to the chronology but apparently refer to the period just before al-Muhallab’s reappointment to the command directly by ’Abd al-Malik; see text above, II, 855. The bridge here is probably that over the Dujayl at al-Ahwáz; see the account in Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VI, 298–309.
and when the danger grew great, the shaykh tucked up his robe.569

Before that day, we had belittled the threat they posed, but then the insignificant became critical.

When we were worn out, and they had occupied our territory, and the men had been called up repeatedly but not responded,

A call went forth from a man preeminent among his people,570 a man in no way unequal to the situation.

He distributed among them what had been there since they took refuge,571 benefits that had been stored up for them.

They dressed themselves in battle gear, and the next morning had crossed the bridge and were beyond it.

They marched with standards of glory raised high, above lions steady in the fray.

They had already left al-Ahwāz behind them, and assembled at Rāmhurmuz when they heard the news—The death of Bishr. Then the men broke up and scattered, except for a few who remained, recalled to their sense of duty.572

Then there came to us one satisfied with his appointment, a man of sincere loyalty; and we did not betray him as the others did.573

Then we assembled at Sābūr of the Armies,574 and a fire that threw sparks was kindled between us and them.

The bold warriors we encountered were mad dogs, as if it were jinn we were fighting, nothing recognizably human.

569. Fa-shamma'ara l-shaykhul lamā a'zama l-khātaru. If this is not simply proverbial, it is unclear to whom it refers.

570. Nādā mru'un lā khilāfa fī 'ashīratīhi/ 'anhu. This is al-Muhallab's reapportionment by 'Abd al-Malik.

571. A/ša' hunālika mimmā kāna mudh 'aṣarār/ fihih (šanā'i'a mimmā kāna yuddakharār).


573. Probably a reference to al-Ḥajjāj and the rebellion of Ibn al-Jārūd; see text above, II, 873f.

574. Sābūr al-junūd, an epithet also given above, I, 2810, in some MSS, but undocumented by geographical writers.
In furious fighting we exchanged poisonous potions with them, from nightfall until the break of dawn.

Finally they began to withdraw before us from the place, driven back by our lions boldly advancing.

That morning on the hill, among the spears, all their cunning and all the tricks they could devise availed them nothing—

Our detachments ran on at will around al-Muhallab, until the moon shone forth.

There the foe turned away, cheerless after their joy, and put fences and rivers between them and us.

They mustered their forces below the mountains, when they halted at Kāzarūn, but they neither overcame nor conquered.

They found us earnest fighters, in an encounter where they thought they would win, but did not,

At Dasht Bārin, on the day of the pass, when those lions who roared as they shed human blood were overtaken—

They encountered detachments that left them no gap to exploit, disdainful of those who had the misfortune to fight them,

Advancing when challenged by the enemy cavalry, and attacking again as they exposed their rear.

And at Jubayrayn, when they advance in lines, they turned back humiliated, having been defeated and routed.

By God, there was not a day they engaged us in combat that they were not overcome by yet another of our victories,

575. Yawm al-shī‘b. Dasht Bārin was a rustaq of the district of Sābūr, whose capital was al-Nawbandajān, see Ibn Khurradādhbih, Masālik, 45; Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 576. The “day of the pass” probably refers to the battle described by Ibn A‘tham al-Kūfī [Futūḥ, VII, 34] at Shi‘b Bawwān, just east of al-Nawbandajān; see Ibn Khurradādhbih, Masālik, 43, and note 554 above.

576. Considerable variation in pointing and even ductus in various manuscripts; the reading adopted is from Ḥaqqal, Masālik [BGA, II], 105, 136, where this place is mentioned immediately after Dasht Bārin. See also Ibn Ḥaqqal, Masālik [BGA, II], 204, reading Jinnīzir.
Driven back from every position by our lances, 
beset morning and night by our mad dogs.

They prudently retreated, having had enough of our spears, 
toward al-Ḥarūb, 577 but their prudence could not save them.

A fair countenance, a generous hand, a man thoughtful, 
generous, lacking neither strength nor experience,
Tested in battle, a man who achieves what he sets out to do, 
not to be taken lightly, with opinions not to be ignored—

For three years he kept us at it, 
engaged alternately in battle and planning,

Saying, "Tomorrow will come to him who waits for it, 578 
and there are lessons to be learned from the days and the nights;

Leave off running after them, and watch and wait; 
a good warrior knows how to be patient, 579

Until the situation changes, bringing hope of success, 
and it becomes clear what he should and should not do."

Then he drove them back to Kirmān, and they broke up, 
and their fate was sealed.

We marched against them, moving like a wave, and they came 
to meet us;

we already had plenty of reasons to hate each other.

Our abhorrence was only the greater when we called to mind 
our dead, 
from whose memory our eyes would never dry.

When we remember al-Jazūr 580 and the dead there 
who lay two years unburied,

We feel the pain in our breasts, and spare them nothing, 581
just as they spare us nothing if they can.

They allow us no slips in battle, 
nor do we ever let their slips go by.

577. Unidentified, unless this is a corruption of al-Jazūr, mentioned below.
578. Inna ghadan mubdin li-nāṣirīhī; see Maydānī, Amthāl, I, 63f., for the proverb inna ghadan li-nāṣirīhī qarīb.
579. Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 57, cites this line in his account of the initial split between Qatār and the two 'Abd Rabbs.
They will accept no excuse from us but death, just as no excuse they may offer is acceptable to us.

Two lines of men across the plain, like two mountains, with flashes of lightning between them that rivet the eye

On a zeal that none will give up, each side fighting to the recitation of Qur'anic chapters.

As they advance, they walk in their helmets and cuirasses like pack animals led in file by small bands of men.

Our chief has a crowd of us around him, a clan from Azd, steadfast in adversity,

In a battle the very sight of which undoes valiant heroes, and in which men are cut down at the first engagement.

But we still had men there smiting them with Mashrafi swords, as the fire of battle blazed,

No blade one relied on could survive that vortex of death, except the keenest and most deadly.

We trample them with our swift armored steeds, with fragments of hardwood spears scattered among us, Covering dead men and the still-dying wounded, who look as if they have been sprinkled with saffron.

Dead men for dead men, retaliation taken in kind, easing the breasts of men who have long awaited its fulfillment,

Lie there next to slaughtered steeds, their bodies, like the horses, prey for scavengers,

In a battle where the dead on the field look like palm trunks uprooted by the driving wind.

So it was in previous battles, before this day, in which the Azd won praise and victory,

In every battle in which the Azd faced a hideous foe, the terror of whom would turn hair white in an hour.

The Azd, my people, are the best people ever known, when their chieftains stride forth on the day of battle,

Citadels of might, where refuge can be sought on the day war streaming with blood tucks up its robe—

A clan who seek their glory with their swords; hateful war brings out noble actions quickly.

Had al-Muhallab not been over the army that came
to the rivers of Kirmān, under God, they would never have
come back.

We held fast to the cord of God, while they denied
the clear pronouncements of revelation;\textsuperscript{582} nor did we
disbelieve as they disbelieved.

They strayed from the straight path and from Islam,
and followed a religion opposed to that brought by the
Warners.

Verses by al-Ṭufayl b. ʿĀmir b. Wāthilah, describing the death
of ʿAbd Rabb al-Kābīr and his comrades and Qaṭārī’s wanderings,
how they pursued him, and how he eluded them:

At our hands, ʿAbd Rabb and his troops have felt the touch of
punishment,\textsuperscript{583}
and their captives have become part of the booty.

He marched against them with his army, and in Kirmān
he swept them off a level plain of land.

The Qaṭārī of disbelief was then nothing but an ostrich\textsuperscript{584}
tracked across the desert, running through the night
without sleep.

When he ran from us in flight, he headed down a way
other than the true well-marked path;

Flight will not save him—not even were he to be carried
by an Ark over the still expanse of the sea.

According to Abū Jaʿfar: In this year, Qaṭārī, ʿAbīdah b. Hilāl,\textsuperscript{585}
ʿAbd Rabb al-Kabīr, and the Azraqites with them were
destroyed.

\textsuperscript{582} Al-muhkamāt, as opposed to the obscure or ambiguous passages, al-mutashābāhāt, both terms from Qurān 3:71 for various interpretations, see Tabari, Jāmiʿ al-bayān an taʿwil ʿāy al-Qurān (Cairo, 1955–60), VI, 169–83.

\textsuperscript{583} ʿIqāb. If the next line in the text followed this one in the original poem, perhaps a better reading would be ʿuqāb, “eagle,” referring to al-Muhallab.

\textsuperscript{584} Naʿāmah. Qaṭārī’s kunyah in war was Abū Naʿāmah; see Jāḥiz, Bayān, I, 34f., III, 264. Ibn Manṣūr, Lisān, s. v. qtr, cites a verse mentioning naʿāim qatāriyyah, “ostriches from Qaṭār.”

\textsuperscript{585} ʿAbīdah b. Hilāl al-Yashkuri, of the Banū Yashkur of Bakr b. Wāʿil, known for his oratory and poetry. See text above, II, 515; Mubarrad, Kāmil, 652, 682ff.; Zirikli, Aʾlām, IV, 357ff.
Destruction of the Azraqites

The circumstances of this were as follows: When those Azraqites of whom we have given an account split up because of the internal dissension that arose among them in Kirmān, and some followed 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr while others followed Qaṭārī, the latter, finding his strength much reduced, set out for Ṭabaristān.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Yazīd: When word of this reached al-Ḥajjāj, he sent Sufyān b. al-Abraq with a large army of Syrians in pursuit of Qaṭārī. Advancing first to al-Rayy, Sufyān set out after him. Meanwhile, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Āsh'ath, who was in command of an army of Kūfāns in Ṭabaristān, ordering him to heed and obey Sufyān. Ishāq advanced to join Sufyān and accompanied him in pursuit of Qaṭārī until they caught up with him in one of the defiles of Ṭabaristān and engaged him in battle. Qaṭārī's forces were scattered, and he fell off his mount down into the defile and rolled down until he lay prostrate at the bottom.

According to Muʿāwiyyah b. Miḥṣan al-Kindi: I saw him fall but did not know who he was. Then I saw fifteen Arab women, all of them as comely and pleasing to the eye as your Lord willed, except for one old woman among them. I charged at them and drove them off toward Sufyān b. al-Abraq; but when I had brought them up close to him, the old woman lunged at me with her sword and struck my neck with it, cutting through my underhelmet and nicking a piece from my neck. I brandished my sword and struck at her face; the blow broke through her skull and she fell dead. Then I turned to the young women and pushed them back to Sufyān. He laughed about the old woman and said, "What did you kill her for, may God shame her?" I replied, "Did you not see how she struck me, may God cause you to prosper? By God, she almost killed me!" He said, "I did see, and, by God, I do not blame you for what you did, may God curse her."

Then one of the local inhabitants went to Qaṭārī where he had tumbled down the defile. Qaṭārī, who was very thirsty, said, "Bring me some water to drink." The man replied, "Give me something for bringing you drink." Qaṭārī said, "Woe to you! By God, I have nothing with me but my weapon, as you see, I will give it to you if you bring me water." The man replied, "No, give it to me now!" Qaṭārī said, "No, bring me the water first." The
man went around until he reached a point above Qatari, and he sent a large stone rolling down on him from above, which struck him in the hip and prostrated him. This person then cried out to the men, and they came running to him—he did not know at the time that this man was Qatari, although he assumed he must be one of their nobles, from his good appearance and the quality of his weapon. A group of Kufans ran and got to him first and killed him; in this group were Sawrah b. Abjar al-Tamimi; Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf; al-Ṣabāḥ b. Muḥammad b. al-Asḥaṭ; Bādām, a client of the Banū al-Asḥaṭ; and 'Umar b. Abī al-Ṣalt b. Kanārā, a client of the Banū Naṣr b. Muʿāwiyah,586 who was one of the dihqāns. All of these claimed to be his killer. Then Abū al-Jahm b. Kinānah al-Kalbi came up to them, and each claimed that it was he who killed Qatari. Abū al-Jahm then said, “Give it587 up to me until you can settle this among yourselves.” They gave it up to Abū al-Jahm, and he took it to Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad, who was in command of the Kufans. Ja'far did not join Iṣḥāq, because of something that had arisen between them, so that Ja'far was not speaking to Iṣḥāq, and was with Sufyān b. al-Abād rather than with him—Ja'far was in command of the quarter of the Medinese in al-Rayy, but when Sufyān met the forces from al-Rayy, he had selected their best horsemen to accompany him and marched them out with him. When, then, the men came to him588 with Qatari's head, arguing over it, and he saw the head in the possession of Abū al-Jahm b. Kinānah al-Kalbi, he said to him, “You go with it and leave these quarrelers here.” Abū al-Jahm set out with Qatari's head and brought it to al-Ḥajjāj; then he took it on to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. He was granted a bonus of two thousand dirhams and given a futm—which means to assign to the younger soldiers a place in the military roll.589

Ja'far came to Sufyān and said to him, “May God cause you to prosper, Qatari had cut down my father, and this was my only concern in the matter. Bring me together with those who claim

586. The vocalization Kanārā is uncertain. The Banū Naṣr b. Muʿāwiyah were a clan of the Qays 'Aylān; see Caskel, Ğamhatat an-nasab, II, 446.
587. Qatari's head.
588. Sufyān, according to the paraphrase in Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 442.
589. Fa-ulhiqa fi al-fayn wa-uṭiya fuṭman ya'ni annahu yufrada lil-ṣighār fi al-diwayne. See Ṭabarī, glossarium, s. v. fuṭm, and note 168 above.
that they killed him, and ask them whether I was not ahead of them and got to him before them and struck him a blow that felled him, after which they came up to me and began to strike him with their swords. If they confirm this account of mine, they will be telling the truth; if they deny it, I swear by God that I am the one who did it; and if I did not, then let them swear by God that it is they who killed him and that they know nothing of what I say and that I have no claim to him." Sufyān replied, "You come to me now, after we have sent off the head!" When he had gone away, he said to his comrades, "By God, you have the best claim among the men to him."

Then Sufyān b. al-Abraḍ set off for the camp of ʿAbīdah b. Hilāl, who had fortified himself in a castle in Qūmis, besieged him, and fought him for some days. Then Sufyān b. al-Abraḍ marched out with us against them, surrounded them, and ordered his herald to proclaim to them, "Any man who kills his master and then comes out to us will be granted safe-conduct." To this ʿAbīdah b. Hilāl said:

By my life! The deaf one has given the doubter a speech that fills our breasts with outrage!

By my life! If I were to give Sufyān my allegiance, and forsake my religion, I would indeed be a fool!

I raise my complaint to God for the state in which you see our horses, emaciated and stumbling, their marrow almost exhausted, Beset by slingers from all sides, in Qūmis, until the most spirited are beaten down.

If this siege is now their end, yet many a dead man has lain at their feet, soaked in his own blood.

590. Singular, probably referring to Jaʿfar; the speaker is probably Sufyān.
591. A province southeast of Ṭabaristān and west of Khurāsān; see EI, s. v. Kūmis; Le Strange, Lands, 264–68. Yāqūt, Muʿjam III, 62, V, 65, quotes a verse (also in Ibn Aʾtham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 83) identifying the castle as Sadhawwar.
592. Ibn Aʾtham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 82–83, gives a partly overlapping selection of verses from the same poem, with many variants. For other citations, see ʿAbbās, Shiʿr al-Khawārij, 52f., 166.
593. Al-Aṣamm, Sufyān’s sobriquet, probably meaning “undeterrible”; see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, II, 515; Lane, Lexicon, s. v. aṣamm.
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These were formerly steed that, if led out on sore hooves, would neigh at the doors of the tents.594

Sufyān maintained his siege of them until they were reduced to misery and ate their riding animals; then they came out and fought him, and he killed them and sent their heads to al-Ḥajjāj. He then proceeded on to Dunbāwand595 and Ṭabaristān, and remained there until al-Ḥajjāj dismissed him, before the battle of al-Jamājim.596


Umayyah b. ‘Abdallāh Kills Bukayr b. Wishāh in Khurāsān

According to ‘Ali b. Muḥammad597—al-Mufaqdal b. Muḥammad: Umayyah b. ‘Abdallāh, ‘Abd al-Malik’s governor over Khurāsān, put Bukayr in charge of the campaign in Transoxania. He had earlier put him in charge of Tukhāristān, and Bukayr had made his preparations for setting out for it and spent a great deal of money, but then Bahīr b. Wargāʾ al-Ṣuraymi slandered him to Umayyah, as I have already recounted, and Umayyah ordered him to remain where he was.598 Now, when he put him in charge of the campaign in Transoxania, he again made his preparations,
spending a great deal of money on horses and weapons, and going into debt with the Soghdians and their merchants. But Baḥr said to Umayyah, "Once the river is between him and you and he encounters the kings there, he will cast off allegiance to the caliph and summon to his own authority." Umayyah then sent to Bukayr, saying, "Stay where you are; perhaps I will go on campaign myself, and you will accompany me." Bukayr was angry and said, "He seems to be doing me a deliberate injury." 'Attāb al-Liqwah al-Ghudānī had gone into debt in order to accompany Bukayr, and when he did not go, his creditors took him and had him put in prison; Bukayr paid off his debts and he was released. Then Umayyah made up his mind to go on campaign.

He ordered preparations made for a campaign against Bukhārā, to be followed by a march against Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim in al-Tirmidh. The men made preparations and readied themselves. Umayyah left his son Ziyād as his deputy over Khurasān, and Bukayr marched out with him. He camped at Kushmahan, and remained there a few days; then he ordered the army to move on. Then Baḥr said to him, "I am afraid the men may lag behind; tell Bukayr to ride in the rear guard and keep the men together."

Umayyah gave Bukayr this order, and he took charge of the rear guard until they reached the river. Then Umayyah said, "Cross, Bukayr!" But 'Attāb al-Liqwah al-Ghudānī said, "May God cause the amir to prosper, you cross, then let the troops cross after you." Umayyah crossed, and then the troops crossed. Then Umayyah said to Bukayr, "I am afraid my son will not be able to carry out his duties properly; he is, after all, little more than a boy. Return to Marw and see to its affairs for me; help my son in this way and see to his affairs." Bukayr selected horsemen from the cavalry of Khurasān, men he knew and trusted, and

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599. In Ibn al-Athīr (Kāmil, IV, 444), "Uqāb ("eagle") Dhū al-Liqwah ("the one of the swift eagle"); perhaps a better reading would be "al-Luqwah," "palsy of the mouth." Ghudānāh b. Yarbū was a clan of Tamīm; see Caskel, Ġamharat an-nasab, I, 59, 71, II, 275.

600. Mūsā's band had taken al-Tirmidh, after various adventures in Transoxania, and held it since before the death of Mūsā's father, see text below, II, 1145–49. On al-Tirmidh, on the Oxus some two hundred miles southeast of Bukhārā, see Le Strange, Lands, 440f.

601. The first stage northeast of Marw, at the edge of the cultivation on the Bukhārā road; see Le Strange, Lands, 400.
crossed back over. Umayyah went on to Bukhārā, with Abū Khalid Thābit, a client of Khuzā’ah, over his vanguard. As Bukayr crossed back, after Umayyah had left, ‘Attāb al-Liqwah said to him, “We killed ourselves and our kin gaining control of Khurāsān. Then we asked for a governor from Quraysh who would bring us together, and we were sent a governor who plays with us and transfers us from one prison to another.” Bukayr asked, “What are you suggesting?” He replied, “Burn these boats, go back to Marw, throw off your allegiance to Umayyah, and stay in Marw for a while, exploiting its revenues.”

‘Attāb’s opinion was seconded by al-Aḥnaf b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Anbari,602 but Bukayr said, “I fear lest these horsemen who are with me may perish.” Al-Aḥnaf said, “Are you afraid that you will lack men? I will bring you as many as you like from the people of Marw if these who are with you perish.” Bukayr said, “I fear the Muslims may perish.” He said, “All you have to do is have a herald proclaim that anyone who converts to Islam will be exempted from the land tax, and fifty thousand will come praying to you, men who will heed and obey better than these.”603 Bukayr said, “I fear Umayyah and those with him will perish.” He said, “Why should they perish, when they have the equipment, numbers, courage, weapons, and everything they need to defend themselves as far as China?”

Bukayr burned the boats, returned to Marw, seized and imprisoned Umayyah’s son, and summoned the people to renounce their allegiance to Umayyah, which they did. When Umayyah heard of this, he made peace with the Bukhārans for a small payment and headed back. He ordered boats constructed, and they were made for him and assembled. Then he said to the notables of Tamim who were with him, “Does not Bukayr amaze you? When I came to Khurāsān, I was warned about him, and received all sorts of complaints and accusations about him and about various ill-gotten gains, but I turned a deaf ear to all of that and launched no investigation of him or of a single one of his

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602. The Banū al-‘Anbar b. ‘Amr were a clan of the Tamim; see Casket, Ġamharat an-nasab, II, 189.
603. Umayyah’s imposition on Muslim landowners of the kharāj, which was collected by non-Muslim dhāqāns, is cited below, II, 1029, as a source of dissatisfaction with Umayyah exploited by Bukayr.
officials. Then I offered him command of my security force, but he refused it, and I let it pass. Then I gave him a governorship, but I was warned against him and ordered him to stay where he was; I only did so out of consideration for him. Then I sent him back to Marw and give him authority there. But he showed no gratitude for any of this and now repays me in the way you see!” But some of the men replied, “O amir, this was not his idea; the suggestion to burn the boats came to him from ‘Attāb al-Liqwah.” Umayyah said, “And what is ‘Attāb? Is ‘Attāb anything but a hen sitting on her eggs?” When ‘Attāb heard about this comment, he recited the following verses:

When you encounter these brooders, you will find them armored, thick-necked, mounted on noble steeds.
You left off what you were about, out of cowardice and weakness,
and foolishly came to us, O basest of the Arabs;
When you saw how forbidding were the mountains of Soghdia,
you turned tail on Mūsā and Nūḥ, 604
And came running to us, like a bold hyena, without a word; 605
but you flew from the palms of al-Baḥrayn like a cowardly bustard. 606
Make all the threats you like! You will find me
under the fluttering standards before a dark and rumbling cloud of men,
Advancing slowly on a fine horse with sleek cheekbones,
which alternately ambles and runs as it goes to meet the
detachment.

When the boats were ready, Umayyah crossed over and headed for Marw, leaving Mūsā b. ‘Abdallāh unmolested. Umayyah said, “O God, I was good to Bukayr, but he was ungrateful for my good treatment and did what he did. O God, take care of him for me!”

Shammās b. Dithār, 607 who had returned from Sijistān after the

604. Sons of ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzīm; on Nūḥ, who accompanied his brother Mūsā in Transoxania, see text below, II, 1155–60.
605. Wa-ji‘ta dhikhan mughidhdhan mà takallimuna.
606. A reference to Umayyah’s defeat in battle with Abū Fudayk; see text above, II, 829, 860f.
607. Al-‘Utāridi, one of the leaders of the revolt of Tamim against Ibn Khāzīm,
death of Ibn Khāzīm and gone on campaign with Umayyah, said, "O amir, I will take care of him for you, God willing!" Umayyah sent him ahead with eight hundred men; he advanced as far as Bāsān, which belongs to the Banū Naṣr, and halted there. Bukayr marched out against him, having with him Mudrik b. Unayf, whose father was with Shammās. Bukayr sent a message to Shammās, saying, "Could Tamīm find no one to fight me but you?" and blaming him. Shammās sent back to him, saying, "You are more blameworthy and have behaved more badly than I. You broke faith with Umayyah and showed him no gratitude for his favor to you when he came and honored you, not laying a finger on you or any of your agents."

Bukayr launched a surprise night attack against Shammās and scattered his forces; but he told his men, "Do not kill any of them, but take their weapons." Accordingly, when they took a man, they stripped him of his equipment and left him. The troops were scattered, Shammās himself going to a village of Tayyī' named Būyanah. Umayyah, meanwhile, advanced as far as Kushmāhan, and Shammās b. Dīthār returned to him there. Then Umayyah sent out Thābit b. Qūtbah, a client of Khuzā'ah. Bukayr offered battle, took Thābit captive, and scattered his forces; but then Bukayr let Thābit go because of a favor he owed him.

Thābit returned to Umayyah, and Umayyah advanced with his forces. Bukayr engaged him in combat. Bukayr's security force was under the command of Abū Rustam al-Khalil b. Aws al-Abshami; he fought valiantly that day, but Umayyah's men called out to him, "O commander of the security force of 'Arimah!" 'Arimah was Bukayr's concubine. Abū Rustam drew back, but Bukayr said to him, "Damn it, pay no mind to what
these people call out! This 'Ārimah has a stallion to protect her! Advance your standard!” They fought until Bukayr was forced back. He withdrew inside the wall and quartered in the old market, while Umayyah quartered in Bāsān. Then followed a series of encounters in the Field of Yazid.  

One day Bukayr's forces were driven back, but Bukayr protected them. Another day, there was another encounter in the Field, in which one of the men of the Banū Tamīm was hit in the foot and began to hobble away, while Huraym gave him protection. The man said, “O God, help us and strengthen us with angels!” Huraym said to him, “Fight for yourself, man! The angels have better things to do!” The man restrained himself for a time, but then again called out, “O God, strengthen us with angels!” Huraym said, “Either you spare me this or I leave you to the angels!” But he continued to protect him until he brought him back to the men.

One of the men of the Banū Tamīm called out, “Umayyah! Scandal of Quraysh!” Umayyah swore an oath that if he got the better of this man, he would slit his throat. He did get the better of him, and did slit his throat, between two of the battlements of the city. Another day, in yet another encounter, Bukayr b. Wishāh struck Thābit b. Qutbah on the head, calling out his ancestry and saying, “I am Ibn Wishāh!” Thābit’s brother Ḫurayyith b. Qutbah then attacked Bukayr, and Bukayr was thrown back and his forces driven off. Ḫurayyith pursued Bukayr until he reached the bridge, and called to him, “Where are you going, Bukayr?” Bukayr turned back to attack him, and Ḫurayyith gave him a sword blow on the head that cut through the underhelmet and penetrated to his head, and he fell. His comrades took him and brought him into the city.

That is the way they fought them. But otherwise, Bukayr's men would go around garbed in brightly dyed garments, with red and yellow mantles and wrappers, and sit talking in the outskirts.

611. *Maydān Yazīd*, mentioned below [II, 1477] as a place of assembly. Perhaps it was named (subsequently) for Yazid b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, governor of Khurāsān 83-85 [701-704]; see text below, II, 1083, 1138ff.

612. Huraym b. Abī Ṣūrah al-Mujaihī, later noted as commander of the cavalry of Tamīm; see text below, II, 1102, and Caskel, *Ganharat an-nasab*, II, 287.

of the city, while a herald proclaimed, “He who shoots an arrow will be shot at by us with the head of one of his children or his kin.” No one took any shots at them.

But Bukayr was worried, and feared that if the siege was prolonged, the men would desert him; so he asked for a truce. Umayyah’s forces also favored a truce, because of their families inside the city, and asked Umayyah to make a truce with Bukayr. Umayyah was a peace-loving man, and made the truce, on the following terms: Umayyah was to pay Bukayr 400,000 dirhams, as well as gifts to his comrades, to appoint Bukayr to any of the districts of Khurasan he wished, and not to listen to what Bahir said about him, if Umayyah found any reason to be suspicious of him, he would have forty days safe-conduct to get out of Marw. Umayyah got safe-conduct for Bukayr from ’Abd al-Malik and wrote the document up for him at the Sanjān Gate.614 Then Umayyah entered the city.

Some people say that Bukayr did not go out on campaign with Umayyah, but rather that when Umayyah went out on campaign, he left Bukayr as his deputy over Marw. Then Bukayr rebelled, and Umayyah returned and fought him, then made a truce with him and entered Marw. Umayyah kept faith with Bukayr and treated him with the same honor and complaisance as formerly. He also sent for ’Attāb al-Liqwah and said to him, “You were the mastermind of the plot.” ’Attāb said, “Yes, may God cause the amir to prosper.” Umayyah asked, “Why?” ’Attāb replied, “I had little money and many debts, so I turned against my creditors.” Umayyah said, “Woe to you! So you stirred up strife among the Muslims, and burned the boats, with the Muslims in the middle of enemy territory, with no fear of God?” ’Attāb said, “That is the way it was, and I ask God for forgiveness.” Umayyah asked, “How large are your debts?” ’Attāb answered, “Twenty thousand.” Umayyah said, “If you will refrain from stirring up trouble among the Muslims, I will pay off your debts.” ’Attāb said, “I will, may God make me your ransom!” Umayyah laughed and said, “I have little faith in what you say, but I will nevertheless pay off

401–3. Bright colors apparently indicated non-bellicose intentions, as with the red sash of Mutarrif’s summoner, mentioned above, II, 998.
614. On the southeast side of the city, see Le Strange, Lands, 399.
your debts." He paid the twenty thousand. Umayyah was a gentle, easygoing, and generous man; no one among the governors of Khurāsān gave out such generous gifts there as he.615

He was nevertheless at the same time oppressive to them. He was extremely pompous and used to say, "Khurāsān and Sijistān hardly suffice me for my kitchen!"616 Umayyah dismissed Bahrī from the command of his security force and gave it to 'Aṭā' b. Abī al-Sā'īb. He wrote to 'Abd al-Malik explaining the affair with Bukayr and his pardoning him, and 'Abd al-Malik responded by selecting an expeditionary force to send to Umayyah in Khurāsān; the men made their arrangements for who would pay and who would go, and Shaqiq b. al-Sulayk al-Asadi transferred his stipend to a man of Jarm.617 Umayyah levied the land tax on the people618 and pressed them hard. One day Bukayr was sitting in the mosque with some people from the Banū Tamīm, and they spoke of Umayyah's harshness to the people, blaming him and saying, "He has made the dihqāns masters over us in collecting taxes." Also present in the mosque were Bahrī, Dirār b. Ḥuṣayn,619 and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jāriyāh b. Qudāmah.620 Bahrī brought

615. Bukayr's rebellion is mentioned very briefly in Baladhrī, Futūḥ, 416f., Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 324, and Ibn Ḥabīb, asmā' al-mughṭālin min al-ashrāf fī al-jāhilīyyah wa-al-Īslām (in A. S. Hārūn, ed., Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt [Cairo, 1951-54], II), 176f. According to the slightly fuller account in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VI, 290f., the siege of Marw lasted four months, and Umayyah's payoff to Bukayr was 200,000 dirhams in addition to whatever wealth Bukayr had already laid his hands on. See also Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, IV, 443-46; Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 111.

616. According to Aghānī, XIII, 54, Umayyah wrote back to 'Abd al-Malik that "the revenue of Khurāsān is insufficient to cover the expenses of my kitchen" but was dismissed after 'Abd al-Malik read a confidential note [of undisclosed contents] slipped by the poet Thābit Quṣnāh into the same delivery.

617. On the process of ju'ālah, or paying for substitutes on expeditions, see Lane, Lexicon, s. v. ju'ālah; Ş. al-ʿAlī, al-Tanzimāt al-ījtimā'īyyah wa-al-iqtisādīyyah fī al-Baṣrah fī al-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī [Baghdād, 1953], 139-40. The point of the specific reference to the Asadī and the Jarmī is unclear.

618. Akhadhā Umayyah al-nās bi-al-kharāj. The "people" here and in the following sentence are the Arab emigrés, who were acquiring land and paying kharāj on it; since in Marw collection was in the hands of the dihqāns, non-Arabs and non-Muslims were now collecting taxes from Arab Muslims. See Shaban, Islamic History, I, 173f.

619. Last mentioned as an intermediary between Bahrī and Bukayr, text above, II, 860.

620. Son of Jāriyāh b. Qudāmah al-Tamīmī, a prominent supporter of 'Ali against Mu'āwiyah; see Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, VII, i, 38f.
word of this incident to Umayyah, but Umayyah refused to believe him. Baḥir appealed to the witness of these men, as well as to the witness of Muzāhim b. Abi al-Mujashshir al-Sulami. Umayyah summoned Muzāhim and asked him, but he said, “He was only joking.” Umayyah then left Bukayr alone. But Baḥir came to him and said, “May God cause the amīr to prosper, Bukayr—I swear to God—has summoned me to cast off my allegiance to you, he said, ‘Were it not for your position, I would kill this Qurayshite and enjoy the fruits of Khurāsān.’” But Umayyah said, “I cannot believe this, after he has done what he has done and I have granted him safe-conduct and given him gifts.”

Then Baḥir brought him Dirār b. Ḫuṣayn and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Járiyah, and they bore witness that Bukayr said to them, “If you would obey me, I would kill that effeminate Qurayshite,” and thus summoned them to assassinate Umayyah. Umayyah said, “You know best what you saw. I would not suspect this of him; but to let him be, after the witness you have borne, would show weakness.” Then he told his chamberlain, Ubaydah, and the captain of his guard, ‘Ātā’ b. Abi al-Sā’ib, “When Bukayr comes in with his brother’s sons Badal and Shamardal, and I stand up, seize them.” When Umayyah sat in public audience, Bukayr and his brother’s sons came; when they sat down, Umayyah stood up from his dais and withdrew. The people left, and as Bukayr was leaving, they arrested him and his brother’s sons. Umayyah summoned Bukayr and said, “You are the one who said thus-and-so?” Bukayr replied, “Be not rash, may God cause you to prosper, and do not listen to the words of that son of a bitch.” But Umayyah threw him in prison, and took his concubine al-‘Arimah and imprisoned her; he also imprisoned al-Alanaf b. ‘Abdallah al-‘Anbari, saying, “You are one of those who counseled Bukayr to rebel.”

The next day, Umayyah brought out Bukayr; and Baḥir, Dirār,
and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jāriyah bore witness against him that he had summoned them to rebel against Umayyah and assassinate him. Bukayr said, "May God cause you to prosper, be not hasty; for these are my enemies." Then Umayyah asked Ziyād b. 'Uqbah, the chief of the Ahl al-Āliyah, Ibn Wālān al-Adawī, at that time one of the chiefs of the Banū Tamīm, and Ya'qūb b. Khālid al-Dhuhlī, "Will you kill him?"—but they declined. Then he asked Bāhīr, "Will you kill him?" and he answered, "Yes." Umayyah handed Bukayr over to Bāhīr, but then Ya'qūb b. al-Qa'qā' al-A'lam al-Azdi, who was a friend of Bukayr's, got up from his place and embraced Umayyah, saying, "I appeal to you to think of God, O amīr, in Bukayr's case—after you have been so generous to him." Umayyah said, "Ya'qūb, no one will kill him but his own people, who have borne witness against him." Then 'Aṭā' b. Abī al-Sā'īb al-Laythī, who was the captain of Umayyah's guard, said, "Leave the amīr alone!" Ya'qūb said, "No!" and 'Aṭā' struck him with the hilt of his sword and bloodied his nose, and then withdrew. Then Ya'qūb said to Bāhīr, "O Bāhīr, the men pledged Bukayr their word when they made peace with him, and you were one of them. Do not break your pledge!" Bāhīr replied, "O Ya'qūb, I gave him no pledge!" Then Bāhīr took Bukayr's extended sword, which he had taken from Uswīr al-Turjūmān, Ibn Khāzīm's interpreter. Bukayr said, "O Bāhīr, you will break up the Banū Sa'd if you kill me; let this Qurayshite himself do with me as he will." But Bāhīr said, "No, by God, O son of an Iṣfahānī mother! The Banū Sa'd will not be at peace so

625. Tribes from the upper Hijāz, mostly Qays 'Aylān, constituting one of the "fifths" of the Baṣra army, operative also in Khurāsān, see Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 246; al-'Ali, "Iṣṭiḥān al-'arab fi Khurāsān," 40ff. 626. 'Abdallīh b. Wālān al-'Adawī is mentioned below II, 1188 as a confidant of Qutaybah b. Muslim and identified as one of the Banū Mīlān. The latter were a branch of the Thawr b. 'Abd Manāt, who were joined with the related clans of Taym, 'Adi, 'Ukl, and Ḍabbah in a confederation called al-Rībāb, itself related to and allied with Tamīm. See Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 59, 85, II, 486. 627. Probably of the Banū Dhuhl b. Taym b. 'Abd Manāt of al-Rībāb; see Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab, I, 85. 628. Called Ibn al-A'lam and qādī Khurāsān below, II, 1485. See Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, VII, ii, 103. 629. That is, the Tamīm and their allies of al-Rībāb, or specifically the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, to which both Bāhīr and Bukayr belonged. 630. Mawṣūl, fitted with an extension called a šilāh; see Ṭabarī, glossarium, s. v. waṣa'ila.
long as we are both alive!” Bukayr said, “Get on with it, then, you son of a bitch!” Bahir killed Bukayr. It was a Friday. Umayyah killed Bukayr’s brother’s two sons and gave Bukayr’s concubine, al-‘Arimah, to Bahir. Umayyah also heard accusations against al-Ahnaf b. ‘Abdallah al-‘Anbari; he summoned him from prison and said, “You too are one of those who gave Bukayr this counsel,” and reviled him, then said, “I hereby hand you over to these men.”

Then Umayyah sent out a man from Khuzah against Musa b. ‘Abdallah b. Khazim, but he was treacherously murdered by ‘Amr b. Khaild b. Husayn al-Kilabi, and his army scattered. One group of them asked Musa for safe-conduct, and joined him; others returned to Umayyah.631

In this year, Umayyah crossed the river of Balkh to campaign. He and his forces were surrounded and reduced to misery, and were on the point of perishing before they escaped. Umayyah and the troops with him then returned to Marw. ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-‘Ash b. Hisham b. al-Mughirah632 satirized Umayyah in the following verses:

Tell Umayyah that he will get his reward for bad actions—and these do have their reward.

Whoever may consider reproaching you or desire to do so, I myself have no such intention with you.633

Any good you have done is wiped out by your bad qualities, whose evil fruits have been parcelled out to you.

Whoever named you Umayyah,634 when passing out names at the time of your birth, got it right.

According to AbJa’far: In this year, the leader of the pilgrimage was Aban b. ‘Uthman, who was the governor of Medina.635 The governor of al-Kufah and al-Basrah was al-Hajjaj b.
Yūsuf, and the governor of Khurāsān was Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khalid b. Asid.

According to Ahmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Iṣḥāq b. 'Isā—Abū Ma'shar: Abān b. 'Uthmān was leader of the pilgrimage twice while he was governor of Medina, in the years 76 (695–696) and 77 (696–697). According to some, Shabib perished in the year 78 (697–698); some say the same for the deaths of Qaṭārī, 'Abīdah b. Hilāl, and 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr. In this year, al-Walīd conducted a summer expedition.

636. See text above, II, 940, and note 369.
637. So Ya'qūbī, Taʾrīkh, II, 328; see text above, II, 972, and note 461.
638. Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 275, dates Qaṭārī's death to 78, and Ya'qūbī, Taʾrīkh, II, 330, dates it to 79.
639. Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 275, reports that al-Walīd campaigned in the region between Malātīyah and al-Miṣṣīṣah. According to Ya'qūbī, Taʾrīkh, II, 337, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam had done this the previous summer, and in 78 al-Walīd raided Atmār (?) from the direction of Malātīyah. See F. 'Uthmān, al-Hudūd al-islāmiyyah al-bīzantiyyah bayn al-iḥtikāk al-ḥarbī wa-al-ittiṣāl al-ḥiḍārī (Cairo, 1966), II, 74, and note 655 below.
The Events of the Year

78

(March 30, 697—March 19, 698)

The Important Events Occurring in This Year

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān dismissed Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh from the governorship of Khurāsān and included Khurāsān and Sijistān under the jurisdiction of al-Ḥājjāj b. Yūsuf. When they were included in his jurisdiction, al-Ḥājjāj dispersed his officials throughout them.

The Officials Whom al-Ḥājjāj Appointed in Khurāsān and Sijistān, and Why He Appointed Whom He Did, with Further Details

It is reported: When al-Ḥājjāj had finished with Shabib and Muṭar-rif, he transferred from al-Kūfah to al-Baṣrah, leaving as his deputy over al-Kūfah al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl. According to some reports, he first deputized 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Ḥadramī, but then dismissed him and replaced

640. Al-Thaqafi, according to text below, II, 1381. He was probably a cousin of al-Ḥājjāj b. Yūsuf [b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqīl].
him with al-Mughirah b. 'Abdallāh.\textsuperscript{641} Al-Muhallab came to him in al- Başrah, having finished with the Azraqites.

According to Hīshām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: When al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah had finished with the Azraqites, he came to al-Ḥajjāj; this was in the year 78. Al-Ḥajjāj seated him beside him and called for the distinguished fighters among his forces. Whomever al-Muhallab mentioned as a man who showed valor among his forces, al-Ḥajjāj took his word for it. Al-Ḥajjāj gave them mounts and good bonuses and increased their stipends; he said, "These are men of action and have the best claim to the wealth; these are the defenders of the frontiers and the bane of the enemy."\textsuperscript{642}

According to Hīshām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Ishaq: Al-Ḥajjāj assigned al-Muhallab Sījistān as well as Khurāsān. But al-Muhallab said to him, "Let me refer you to a man who is better acquainted with Sījistān than I; he was formerly governor of Kābul and Zābul,\textsuperscript{643} and collected taxes, waged war, and made peace with the people there." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "Indeed! Who is that?" Al-Muhallab said, "'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah."\textsuperscript{644}

Then al-Ḥajjāj sent out al-Muhallab over Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah over Sījistān. The governor over these provinces had been Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid b. Abī al-Īs b. Umayyah; he was 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's governor, al-Ḥajjāj having nothing to do with him, from the time he was sent out to Iraq until this year, when 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Umayyah and added the area of his authority to that of al-Ḥajjāj. Al-

\textsuperscript{641} Ibn Khayyāt, \textit{Ta'rikh}, 296, mentions only 'Abd al-Rahmān as al-Ḥajjāj's deputy over al-Kūfah at this time. This man is called 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Amir below, II, 1069f.


\textsuperscript{643} The regions around Kābul and to its southwest, toward Ghaznah and Qandahār; see Yāqūt, \textit{Mu'jam}, II, 904f., IV, 220f.; Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, 334, 349f.; \textit{EI}², s. vv. Kabul, Kābulistān.

\textsuperscript{644} On him, see C. E. Bosworth, "'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra and the 'Army of Destruction' in Zābulistān," \textit{Der Islam} 50 (1973), 268–83; Zirikli, \textit{A'lam}, IV, 345. His father Abū Bakrah was a slave of Thaqīf who became a client of the Prophet, but 'Ubaydallāh later tried to pass himself off as a real Thaqafi; see Aghāni\textsuperscript{1}, XVII, 9; Goldziher, \textit{Muhammedanische Studien}, I, 137f., 141. 'Ubaydallāh was governor of Kābul under Ziyād b. Abīhi, 51–53 [671–673]; see Baladhuri, \textit{Futūḥ}, 397.
Muhallab went out to Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah to Sijīstān; 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah remained inactive the rest of this year.645 This is the account of Abū Mikhnaf from Abū al-Mukhāriq.

The account of 'Ali b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad: Khurāsān and Sijīstān were joined with Iraq under al-Ḥajjāj's authority at the beginning of the year 78, after the Khārijites had been killed. He appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah over Khurāsān and al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufrah over Sijīstān. But al-Muhallab disliked Sijīstān. He met 'Abd al-Rahmān b.'Ubayd b. Ṭāriq al-'Abshami,646 who was the head of al-Ḥajjāj's security force, and said, "The amīr has appointed me to Sijīstān and Ibn Abī Bakrah to Khurāsān, even though I know Khurāsān better than he does, since I got to know it in the time of al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ḡifārī,647 and Ibn Abī Bakrah is better able to deal with Sijīstān than I. Speak to the amīr and get him to switch me to Khurāsān and Ibn Abī Bakrah to Sijīstān."

'Abd al-Rahmān replied, "I will; you speak also to Zādḥān Farrūkh648 and get him to help me." Al-Muhallab spoke to him, and he agreed to help. Then 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Ubayd said to al-Ḥajjāj, "You have appointed al-Muhallab to Sijīstān, but Ibn Abī Bakrah is better able to deal with it than he." Zādḥān Farrūkh added, "That is true!" Al-Ḥajjāj said, "But we have already written up his letter of appointment." Zādḥān Farrūkh said, "His letter of appointment could be changed without difficulty." Al-Ḥajjāj then reassigned Ibn Abī Bakrah to Sijīstān, and al-Muhallab to Khurāsān.

Al-Muhallab was, however, required to pay up 1,000,000 dirhams from the revenue of al-Åhwāz, where he had been governor under Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Al-Muhallab said to his son al-Mughirah, "Khālid made me governor of al-Åhwāz, and made you

645. That is, before launching an expedition against Zunbil; see the continuation of this account below, II, 1036. The following year, 79, began in late March.
646. Of the Banū 'Abd Shams b. Sa'd of Tamīm; see Caskel, Gamharat annasab, I, 78, II, 130.
647. See text above, II, 109.
648. Zādḥān Farrūkh b. Payrōzah, head of the diwān al-kharāj and the last to keep the accounts in Persian; according to Jaḥshiyārī, Wuzārā (Cairo, 1980), 38, his assistant, Šālīh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, converted them to Arabic in this same year [78]. See also Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 300f.; Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 53f.
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governor of Iṣṭakhr. Now al-Hajjāj has demanded that I pay up 1,000,000 dirhams. I will pay half of it, and you pay the other half." Al-Muhallab had no money when he was dismissed, and had to borrow. He spoke to Abū Māwiyyah, the client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, who had been in charge of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir's treasury, and he lent al-Muhallab 300,000 dirhams. But Khayrah al-Qushayriyyah, al-Muhallab's wife, said, "This will not cover your obligation," and she sold some jewelry and other things, bringing the total up to 500,000. Then al-Mughirah brought 500,000 to his father, and he took the money to al-Hajjāj. Al-Muhallab then sent out his son Ḥabib with his vanguard. The latter came to al-Hajjāj to bid him farewell, and al-Hajjāj ordered him given 10,000 dirhams and a gray mule. Ḥabib set out on this mule for Khurāsān, traveling with his men, who rode the post. He traveled for twenty days, and then as they entered the city, they were met by a beast carrying a load of firewood, and the mule shied; they marveled at her shying after all that traveling and fatigue. Ḥabib did not interfere with Umayyah or his officials. He stayed there ten months, until al-Muhallab came out to him in the year 79 (698–699).

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik; so I was informed by Abīmad b. Thābit—anonymous—


650. It is unclear whether 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir is here in both instances 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, governor of al-Baṣrah under Mu‘āwiyyah [see EP, s. v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir], or, in one or both instances, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. 'Amār b. Misma', later head of the shurtah in al-Baṣrah [see text below, II, 1062].

651. Muqaddimah, here apparently more an advance party.

652. According to Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 266, 310f., and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VI, 293, Umayyah was dismissed because of his avoidance of raiding and the corresponding decrease in plunder; but Baladhuri also reports [Futūḥ, 399] that Umayyah's son 'Abdallāh, who deputized for his father in Sijistān, made a disgraceful truce with Zunbīl there, and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī [Futūḥ, VII, 111f.] has a distorted version of the same incident, attributing it to Umayyah himself. Baladhuri further states [Ansāb, XI, 266, 310f.] that al-Hajjāj sent 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrāh to 'Abd al-Malik to ask for the governorship of Khurāsān (for al-Hajjāj) and that it was only after the caliph had offered it to 'Ubaydallāh himself, who declined it, that he granted it to al-Hajjāj. Al-Muhallab's being preceded to Khurāsān by his son Ḥabib is mentioned in neither the above sources nor the short notices in Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 275, 297; Yaʿqūbī, Ta'rikh, II, 330; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 78. See also Périer, Vie d'al-Ḥadīdjādī, 154f.; Bosworth, Sistān under the Arabs, 52f.; and the article cited in note 644; M. A. Shaban, The 'Abbāsid Revolution (Cambridge, 1970), 54f.

653. So also Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 276, 301; Yaʿqūbī, Ta'rikh, II, 336, has Abān b. 'Uthmān, but the text is questionable.
Ishāq b. ‘Isā—Abū Ma’shar. The governor of Medina in this year was Abān b. ‘Uthmān. The governor of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣra, Khurāsān, Sijistān, and Kirmān was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf; his deputy in Khurāsān was al-Muhallab, and in Sijistān ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra. Shurayh was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah, and it is reported that Mūsā b. Anas was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣra.\(^{654}\) In this year ‘Abd al-Malik sent out Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam on campaign.\(^ {655}\)

\(^{654}\) Son of Anas b. Malik; see Ibn Sa’d, Ta’bqāt, VII, i, 140.

\(^{655}\) Against the Byzantines. Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rīkh, 275–78, dates a campaign by Yahyā against Marj al-Shām to the following year, 79, as well as a campaign by al-Walid “from the direction of Malatyah,” and, for 78, reports rather a campaign by Muḥrīz b. Abī Muḥrīz, who conquered Azqalāh (Ibn Kathir, Bidayah, IX, 21, reads Iṣqiliyyah), but whose army was devastated by a storm on its way back. The plague that prevented campaigning in 79, according to Tabari, however, is dated by Ibn Khayyāt to 80. See also note 639 above.
The Events of the Year

79
[MARCH 20, 698–MARCH 8, 699]

The Important Events of This Year

In this year the people of Syria were visited by a plague so severe that they were all but annihilated. No one launched any campaigns in this year, it is reported, because of the plague there and the large number of deaths.656

In this year, it is reported, the Byzantines attacked the people of Antioch.657

656. The same information in Elias of Nisibis, Opus chronologicum (Baethgen), year 79. Theophanes, Chronographia, A. M. 6192, mentions a great plague, without specifying its location, in the same year in which al-Hajjāj defeated Ibn al-Ash'ath (dated 82 or 83 [701–702] by Tabari, text below, II, 1070); Michael the Syrian, Chronique (Paris, 1899–1910), II, 474f., dates the beginning of a great seven-year plague to the year 75 [694–695]. This plague is not included in what became the (rather Iraqi-oriented) standard list, see M. Dols, "Plague in Early Islamic History," Journal of the American Oriental Society 94 (1974), 378.

657. Theophanes, Chronographia, A. M. 6192, records a major Byzantine raid on Syria, as far as Samosata [not Antioch], for the year of the "great plague" (see previous note). See also 'Uthmān, al-Ḥuddūd al-islāmiyyah al-bizantīyyah, II, 74.
In this year, 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah campaigned against Zunbil.658

**The Campaign by 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah in Sijistān**

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: When al-Ḥajjāj appointed al-Muhallab to Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah to Sijistān, al-Muhallab went out to Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah to Sijistān; this was in the year 78 (697–698). 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah remained inactive the rest of this year, then attacked Zunbil.659 Zunbil had been under a truce, with the Arabs collecting land taxes from him; but he had several times held back and refused to pay.660 Al-Ḥajjāj then wrote to 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah saying, "Take the field against him with the Muslims you have with you and do not return until you have plundered his land, razed his fortresses, killed his fighting men, and taken his women captive." 'Ubaydallāh set out with the Muslims he had with him, Kūfans and Baṣrans. In command of the Kūfans was Shurayḥ b. Hānī' al-Ḥārithī al-Dabābī,661 who had been a companion of 'Ali; in command of the Baṣrans was 'Ubaydallāh, who also commanded the entire army. He advanced and penetrated into the lands of Zunbil, seizing cattle, sheep, and other property as he wished, and razing fortresses and castles. He conquered a great deal of their territory, as Zunbil's Turkish forces fell back from one land after an-

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658. For a full analysis of this episode, with a review of the sources, see Bosworth, "'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra and the 'Army of Destruction' in Zābulistān [79/698]." For the reading Zunbil, emended from text Rutbil (and representing a local title, not a personal name), see Bosworth, Sistān under the Arabs, 34–36.

659. Tabari here resumes the account interrupted above, II, 1033.

660. According to Baladhuri and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh (or his son 'Abdallāh) had exempted Zunbil from tribute for the duration of his governorship, as part of a disgraceful treaty that led to his replacement; see note 652 above.

661. Of Madhbiṣ, see Caskel, Ġamhatat an-nasab, I, 261, II, 533. For his long and eventful career, and his fervent support of 'Ali, see text above, I, 3259–63, 3354–60, II, 134–37, and Bosworth, "'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra," 275. According to Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 113, he was at this time nearly a hundred years old.

662. On the vagueness of this term in early sources, see Bosworth, "'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra," 271.
other, until they were in the heart of their territory and drew near their city. But when they were within eighteen farsakhs of the city, Zunbil's forces occupied the passes and defiles against the Muslims, leaving them in the country districts.

The Muslims were in a predicament and feared they were doomed. Ibn Abi Bakrah sent to Shurayh b. Hani', saying, "I am going to offer the enemy a truce, giving them money in exchange for safe passage out of here"; he then sent them this message, offering them 700,000 dirhams for a truce. But Shurayh came to him and said, "Any amount you pay out for a truce will be credited by the government against your stipends." Ibn Abi Bakrah replied, "Even if the government should withhold our stipends for the rest of our lives, that would not be as bad as perishing!" But Shurayh said, "By God, I have reached an age where my pleasures are at an end, and there is not an hour, day or night, that I do not expect to die before it elapses. I have been seeking martyrdom for a long time, and if I miss it today, I do not think I will find it before dying a natural death." Then he said to the men, "People of Islam! Help one another against your enemy!" Ibn Abi Bakrah said to him, "You are an old man and have gone senile." Shurayh retorted, "Your only claim to nobility is that people say 'the Orchard of Ibn Abi Bakrah' and 'the Bath of Ibn Abi Bakrah'!" People of Islam! Those of you who wish for martyrdom, come to me!" A few of the volunteers followed him, and some of the horsemen in the army and some of the more dedicated. They fought until all but a few were cut down.

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663. The summer capital, in Zabulistan (probably in the Ghaznah region), according to Bosworth, ibid., 276.
664. Wa-khallawhum wa-al-rasāṭiq; see note 213 above.
665. According to Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 312, the terms were either 500,000 or 700,000 dirhams, plus a number of hostages, including Ibn Abi Bakrah's three sons, and a pledge not to raid Zunbil's territory while Ibn Abi Bakrah remained governor; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, Futūḥ, VII, 112, has one million dirhams, half the invaders' arms, and ten years' exemption from kharāj, as well as the hostages.
666. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abi Bakrah, whose origins were extremely lowly (see note 644 above), had built a bath in al-Baṣrah after his brother Muslim had reaped great profit from his bath and a third brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had followed suit; see Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 353–54, and Morony, Iraq after the Muslim Conquest, 270. Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, Futūḥ, VII, 113, also has Shurayh refer to 'Ubaydallāh's bath and orchard (bustān) in al-Baṣrah.
667. Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 313, states that Shurayh had previously attempted to
On that day Shurayh recited the following *rajaz* verses:

I have become a man of sorrow, suffering from old age.
Long did I live among the polytheists,
Then I lived to see the Prophet, the Warner,
and after him his *ṣiddiq* and *ʿUmar,*
And the Day of Mihrān,669 and the Day of Tustar,670
and the assemblies at Siffin and al-Naharā,671
And at Bājumayrāt672 as well as al-Mushaqqar673—
Fie! How long this life is!

He fought until he was killed, along with many of his comrades, although some escaped.

They then withdrew from the territory of Zunbil and were met by Muslims with food. But when one of them ate his fill of the food, he would die. When the people saw that, they were afraid to feed them, but then began to feed them ghee, little by little, until they were able to eat properly.674 Word of all this came to al-

persuade Ibn Abī Bakrah to retreat, having acquired sufficient booty, without attempting to capture towns, but at this juncture Shurayh offered an eloquent speech in favor of martyrdom and persuaded some volunteers of Madhīj and Hamdān to join him; the ensuing casualties included members of the Baṣran and Kūfī contingents, as well as some Syrians. Ibn Aʾtham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ,* VII, 113,
also refers to Madhīj and Hamdān but makes the conflict essentially one between Shurayh and the Kūfīs and Ibn Abī Bakrah and the Baṣrans; ten thousand Kūfīs entered the battle and were killed.


669. A victory by the Muslims, under al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, over the Persians, under Mihrān b. Mihrībandād b. Ḥamadhānī, in 13–14 (634–635), a little over a year before the great victory at al-Qādisiyyah; also known as *yawm al-nakhilah* or the Battle of al-Buwayḥ. See text above, I, 2184–2201; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ,* 253f.; Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests,* 197–200.

670. On the siege and conquest of Tustar (modern Shushtar) by the Muslims under Abū Mūsā al-ʿAsh’arī in the year 17 (638), see text above, I, 255ff.; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ,* 380; Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests,* 215f.

671. On Shurayh’s participation at the confrontation between ‘Ali and Muʾawiyyah at Siffin in 37 (657), see text above, I, 3354–60. Al-Naharā is for al-Nahrawān, where ‘Ali’s forces massacred the Khārijītēs in 38 (658); see text above, I, 3360–89.

672. For Bājumayrāt, near Takrit, where Musʾab b. al-Zubayr encamped before his final defeat by ʿAbd al-Malik in 72 (691), see text above, II, 797, 805; Yaqūt, *Muʿjam,* I, 454f.

673. In al-Bahrāyn, site of the defeat of the Khārijītē Abū Fudayk by ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʾmar in 73 (693); see text above, II, 853; Yaqūt, *Muʿjam,* IV, 54ff.

674. Balādhuri, *Ansāb,* XI, 314–17, reports that only five thousand men made it
Hajjāj, whose dismay at the entire story from start to finish knew no bounds. He wrote as follows to ‘Abd al-Malik:

The troops of the Commander of the Faithful that are in Sijistān have met disaster, and only a few of them escaped. The enemy has been emboldened by this success against the people of Islam and has entered their lands and conquered all their fortresses and castles. Now I want to send out against them a massive force of men from the two garrisons and would like to consult the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful on that. If it is his opinion that I should dispatch this force, I will do so. If that is not his opinion, the Commander of the Faithful remains the supreme authority over his own forces; but I fear that if Zunbil and the polytheists with him are not met quickly by a massive force, they will overrun that entire frontier.

In this year, al-Muhallab arrived in Khurasān as governor, and Umayyah b. ‘Abdallāh quit the province. It is reported that the judge Shurayḥ asked to be relieved of his position in this year and suggested Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī as his replacement. Al-Hajjāj relieved him and appointed Abū Burdah.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Abīn b. ‘Uthmān, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Iṣḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿṣhar; the same is reported by al-Wāqīḍī and other historians. Abīn was in this year governor over Medina for ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Governor over Iraq and the entire East was al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Al-Muhallab was governor over Khurasān for al-Hajjāj; according to some, al-Muhallab was the military governor and his son al-Mughirah the tax governor. In charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah was Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā, and in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣra was Mūsā b. Anas.

back to Bust and quotes verses by Aʿshā Hamdān attacking Ibn Abi Bakrah for attempting to profit from their misery; see Bosworth, “ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra,” 278–83.

675. Ibn Khayyāt, Taʿrīkh, 297, and see note 652 above.
676. Ibn Khayyāt, Taʿrīkh, 298, and see notes 49 and 322 above.
The Important Events of This Year

In this year, according to Ibn Sa'd\textsuperscript{678}—Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi, there was a flash flood in Mecca that swept away the pilgrims and inundated the buildings. That year was named the Year of Sweeping Away\textsuperscript{679} because that flash flood swept away everything in its path.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Rifā‘ah b. Tha’labah—his father—his grandfather: The flash flood came down and swept away the pilgrims in the valley of Mecca; that is why it was called the Year of Sweeping Away. I saw loaded camels, men, and women caught in the flood and unable to resist it. While I was watching the water, it reached the Rukn\textsuperscript{680} and rose above it.

\textsuperscript{678} Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, d. 230 (845), the author of the \textit{K. al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr}; see \textit{EP}, s. v. Ibn Sa‘d.

\textsuperscript{679} ‘Ām al-Juhāf. A fuller account in Azraqi, \textit{Akhbār Makkah}, 395f. See also Balādhuri, \textit{Futūḥ}, 54; Elias of Nisibis, \textit{Opus chronologicum} (Baethgen), year 80; Ibn Qutaybah, \textit{Ma‘arif}, 357.

\textsuperscript{680} The "corner," that is, the eastern corner of the Ka‘bah, where the Black
In this year the Sweeping Plague struck al-Baṣrah, according to the statement of al-Waqqādī.\(^{681}\)

In this year al-Muhallab crossed the river of Balkh and attacked Kish.\(^{682}\)

**Al-Muhallab Attacks Kish**

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaqḍal b. Muḥammad and others: When al-Muhallab attacked Kish, his vanguard was under the command of Abū al-Adham Ziyād b. 'Amr al-Zimmānī, with three thousand, which really counted as five thousand\(^{683}\) because Abū al-Adham by himself was worth two thousand in valor, leadership, and strategy.

While al-Muhallab was attacking Kish, there came to him the paternal cousin of the king of al-Khuttal,\(^{684}\) urging him to attack that province. Al-Muhallab sent off with him his son Yazid. Yazid camped with his forces and the king's cousin camped apart. The king, whose name was al-Sabal,\(^{685}\) was at that time encamped at some distance. But then al-Sabal surprised his cousin by night, raising the call "God is great!" in his camp. Al-Sabal's cousin thought that the Arabs had betrayed him out of fear lest he betray them after they encamped apart from them. Al-Sabal took him captive and had him brought to his fortress and killed.

Yazid b. al-Muhallab surrounded al-Sabal's fortress, and the latter's forces made peace with him on the basis of a ransom that they brought him. Yazid then returned to al-Muhallab. The mother of the one whom al-Sabal killed sent to al-Sabal's mother,

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\(^{681}\) fā'un al-ārīf, usually dated to 688–689, as observed by Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyāt*, IX, 31, quoting Tabārī here; see Dols, "Plague in Early Islamic History," 379.

\(^{682}\) Modern Shahrisabz, about fifty miles south of Samarqand; see *EI²*, s. v. Kishsh.

\(^{683}\) Abū al-Adham . . . fi thalāthat ālāf wa-hum khamsat ālāf illā ann Abā al-Adham kāna yughnī ghana' al-fayn . . . Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 45, understands this as meaning that Abū al-Adham had three thousand men and al-Muhallab himself five thousand.

\(^{684}\) A principedom of the Upper Oxus, east of modern Dushanbe; see *EI²*, s. v. Khuttalān.

\(^{685}\) Possibly a title; see J. Marquart, *Ēranšahr* (Berlin, 1901), 302f.
saying, "What hope have you for al-Sabal's survival after killing his cousin? He has seven brothers whose vengeance al-Sabal has drawn on himself, and you are the mother of only one." Al-Sabal's mother sent back to her saying, "Lions have few offspring, but pigs have many."

Then al-Muhallab sent his son Ḥabib out to Rabinjan, where he encountered the lord of Bukhārā with forty thousand men. One of the polytheists called out a challenge for single combat, and Ḥabib's personal retainer Ḥabalah came forward to engage him. He killed the polytheist, then attacked the rest of them, and killed three of them before he withdrew. The entire army then withdrew, as did the enemy to their territory. When a group of enemy forces halted at a village, Ḥabib marched against them with four thousand men, fought and defeated them, burned the village, and then returned to his father. This village was subsequently called "the Burned"; according to some, it was Ḥabib's retainer Ḥabalah who burned it.

Al-Muhallab remained at Kish for two years. It was suggested to him that he advance to al-Sughd and beyond, but he said, "All I ask from fortune in this campaign is the well-being of these troops until they get back to Marw safe and sound."

One day a man from the enemy came out with a challenge to single combat. Huraym b. 'Adi, the father of Khalid b. Huraym, went out to meet him, wearing a turban wound around his helmet. He came to a brook, where the polytheist circled about him for some time until Huraym killed and despoiled him. But al-Muhallab reproached him and said, "If you had been cut down, and then I received reinforcements of a thousand horsemen, they would not have offset my loss."

While he was at Kish, al-Muhallab became suspicious of a
group of Muṣarites, and held them confined there; but when he withdrew, after a truce had been arranged, he let them go. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him saying, "If you were right to confine them, you were wrong to let them go; and if you were right to let them go, you wronged them by confining them." Al-Muhallab replied, "I feared them, so I confined them. Once I felt secure, I let them go." Among those he confined was 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi Shaykh al-Qushayri. 691

Then al-Muhallab agreed on a truce with the people of Kish on the basis of a ransom. While he was waiting to collect it, he received a letter from Ibn al-Ash'ath informing him of his rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj and summoning him to support him in his rebellion. Al-Muhallab sent Ibn al-Ash'ath's letter on to al-Ḥajjāj. 692

'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath Campaigns in Sijistān

In this year, al-Ḥajjāj sent out 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath to Sijistān to do battle with Zunbil, the lord of the Turks. There is disagreement among the historians on the reason why al-Ḥajjāj sent him out there and on where 'Abd al-Rahmān was when al-Ḥajjāj appointed him to Sijistān and to do battle with Zunbil.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abi Ishāq: When 'Abd al-Malik received the letter of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf informing him of the army that had been with 'Ubaydallāh b. Abi Bakrah in the territory of Zunbil and their fate there, he wrote to him as follows:

I have received your letter reporting the blow suffered by the Muslims in Sijistān. These are people whom God had

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692. Reported also by Balādhuri, Ansāb, XI, 329, 335–36, where al-Muhallab expresses his indignation at this proposal from someone younger than some of his sons. Tabari (text below, II, 105ff.) and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi, Futūḥ, VII, 118f. give two versions of al-Muhallab's reply to Ibn al-Ash'ath, attempting to dissuade him from his rebellion.
decree would be killed; they came out to where they were to lie, and their reward is with God. As for your request for my opinion—whether to lead out the troops and direct them to that frontier where the Muslims suffered this blow or to keep them there—my opinion in this matter is that you should carry on according to your own opinion, proceeding rightly; and I wish you all success.

There was no one in all of Iraq whom al-Ḥajjāj hated more than 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath; he used to say, “I never see him without wanting to kill him!”

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Ḥamdānī al-Yanāṭ—al Sha'bi: I was sitting with al-Ḥajjāj when 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath was admitted. When al-Ḥajjāj saw him, he said, “Look at the way he walks! By God, I would like to cut off his head!” When 'Abd al-Rahmān withdrew, I also withdrew, and got ahead of him and awaited him at the door of Sa'īd b. Qays al-Sabi'i. When he came up, I said, “Let us go in the door here. I want to speak to you about something, but I adjure you by God never to mention it so long as al-Ḥajjāj is alive.” He agreed, and I told him what al-Ḥajjāj had said about him. He said, “May I fare as al-Ḥajjāj said if I do not expend every effort to strip him of his power! We have coexisted for too long!”

Then al-Ḥajjāj set to fitting out twenty thousand Kūfans and twenty thousand Baṣrans, devoting himself to this task with great zeal. He paid the men their stipends in full, ordering them to equip themselves with excellent horses and full arms. Then he began to review the troops, and whenever he saw a man who had been cited

[1044]

693. A paraphrase of Qur'ān 3:154, revealed after the defeat at Uhud.
695. Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharāḥil al-Sha'bi, d. 103 (721), the famous traditionist; see Sezgin, GAS, I, 277.
696. Of the Banū al-Sabi' b. Sab' of Hamdān, an important clan in al-Kūfah; see Caskel, Ǧamḥarāt an-nasab, II, 492.
for bravery, he gave him a generous bonus.  

'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Miḥjan al-Thaqafi came upon 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabīṭi, who was with al-Ḥajjāj, as he was going to meet 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafi, who was reviewing the troops. 'Abbād said, "I have never seen a finer or more beautiful horse than this. A horse provides both strength and a weapon. This is also a powerful mule." Al-Ḥajjāj thereupon gave 'Ubaydallāh a bonus of 550 dirhams. Then 'Aṭiyyah al-'Anbarī came upon him, and al-Ḥajjāj said, "'Abd al-Rahmān, be generous to this one."

When al-Ḥajjāj had these two forces in good order, he sent out 'Uṭārid b. 'Umayr al-Tamimi, who encamped at al-Ahwāz. Then he sent out 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥujr b. Dhi al-Jawshan al-‘Āmīrī of the Banū Kilāb, but then changed his mind and sent out to command them 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Asb’ath, dismissing 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥujr. 'Abd al-Rahmān’s paternal uncle, Ismā’īl b. al-Asb’ath, came to al-Ḥajjāj and said, "Do not send him out! I fear that he may disobey your orders. By God, he has never crossed the Euphrates bridge and continued to recognize the authority or claim to obedience of any governor." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "Not in this case. He both fears and respects me too much to disobey my orders or throw off his obedience to me." He then sent him out in command of that army, and he led them forth and came to Sijistān in the year 80 (699-700). Upon arrival, he assembled the men already there.
According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr al-Arḥabi, a man of Hamdān who was with 'Abd al-Raḥmān: He ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God, and said:

Men, the amīr al-Ḥajjāj has appointed me to your frontier district and charged me with jihād against your enemy, who has plundered your land and destroyed your property. Let no man of you shirk his duty and bring punishment down on himself. Go out to your camp and muster there with the troops.

The men all mustered in their camp. Markets were set up for them, and the men began to ready themselves and prepare their equipment for battle. When word of this reached Zunbil, he wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, apologizing to him for the blow inflicted on the Muslims and informing him that he had acted only reluctantly and that they had forced him to fight them, and he asked for peace if 'Abd al-Raḥmān would accept payment of the land tax from him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān neither accepted nor replied but immediately set out against him with his forces and came to the borders of his territory. Zunbil began to call in his forces, leaving the land to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, district by district and fortress by fortress. Ibn al-Ash'ath, as he took control of an area, would send out a tax official over it, accompanied by armed attendants. He also set up a post between the various areas, positioned lookouts in the passes and ravines, and stationed advance parties in every potentially dangerous spot. Then, when he had taken possession of a large part of Zunbil's territory and filled his hands with cattle, sheep, and great amounts of plunder, he held the men back from further penetration into Zunbil's lands, saying, "We will content ourselves with the territory we have conquered from them this year until we can collect the taxes and get to know it and the Muslims may boldly travel its roads. Next year we will advance farther, and so we will continue year by year to

which parallels Ṭabarī's second version below, has Ibn al-Ash'ath's four half-brothers warning al-Ḥajjāj against him.

706. A'wān.
707. Masāliḥ.
deprive them of more pieces of their territory, until, in the end, we will fight them for their treasures and their women, in their most remote districts and in their most impregnable fortresses; and we will not leave their land until God destroys them." Then he wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, informing him of the conquests God had given him in the land of the enemy and His gracious favor to the Muslims, and explaining the strategy he was pursuing.\footnote{Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 321–23, reports that Ibn al-Ash’ath was based in Bust and posted his brother in al-Rukhkhaj, according to his account, Zunbil was advised by a renegade Tamimi Khārijite named ‘Ubayd b. Suba’. The summary account in Ya’qubi, Ta’rikh, II, 331, which gives Ibn al-Ash’ath ten thousand picked troops, also places Ibn al-Ash’ath in Bust, from which he led a preliminary campaign which frightened him enough to put off further campaigning for a year; his letter to al-Ḥajjāj explaining this was answered with threats, which led him to revolt.}

The other account, beside that of Yūnus b. Abī Ishaq and the others that I have given in the matter of Ibn al-Ash’ath, explains his appointment to Sijistān and his march against the territory of Zunbil differently from what is reported on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf. According to this account, the reason for that was as follows: Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Himyān b. ‘Adi al-Sadūsī\footnote{Formerly head of the shurtah in al- Başrah; see text above, II, 445–47, 464.} to Kirmān with an advance party to provide reinforcements to the administrator over Sijistān and Sind if such reinforcements were needed. But Himyān and his comrades rebelled, and al-Ḥajjāj sent out Ibn al-Ash’ath to fight him, and he defeated him and took his place. Then ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, who was the administrator over Sijistān, died, and al-Ḥajjāj wrote out a letter of appointment for Ibn al-Ash’ath to administer it. Al-Ḥajjāj also mustered an army, on which he expended two million dirhams, in addition to the stipends. It was called the Peacock Army, and al-Ḥajjāj ordered Ibn al-Ash’ath to march out with it against Zunbil.\footnote{The term “Peacock Army” is also mentioned by Baladhuri, Ansāb, XI, 310ff., and many other sources. Baladhuri has versions of both of Ṭabarī’s accounts, as well as a third stating that Ibn al-Ash’ath was fighting the Khārijītes when appointed by al-Ḥajjāj. Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, Futūḥ, VII, 115f., has Ibn al-Ash’ath defeat Himyān on his way to Sijistān, after his appointment there. See Dixon, Umayyad Caliphate, 152ft.; Bosworth, Sīstān under the Arabs, 58ff.}

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Abān b. ‘Uthmān, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Ishaq b. ‘Īsā—Abū Ma’ṣhar, and also according to Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Waqidi.
According to others, the leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik. The governor of Medina in this year was Abān b. ʿUthmān. The governor of Iraq and the entire East was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. The governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥajjāj was al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah. Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah, and Mūsā b. Anas was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah. In this year ʿAbd al-Malik sent out his son al-Walid on campaign.

711. Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 278, 301, and Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrīkh, II, 336, agree that Abān led the pilgrimage.
The Events of the Year

81
(FEBRUARY 26, 700–FEBRUARY 14, 701)

The Events of This Year

In this year occurred the conquest of Qāliqalā.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Ali b. Muhammad: 'Abd al-Malik sent out his son 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik in the year 81, and he conquered Qāliqalā.\(^712\)

In this year, Bāḥīr b. Warqā' al-Ṣuraymī was killed in Khurāsān.

Account of Bāḥīr b. Warqā'’s Death in Khurāsān

The circumstances of his being killed: It was Bāḥīr who undertook to kill Bukayr b. Wishāḥ when Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh ordered him to do so.\(^713\) Then 'Uthmān b. Rajā' b. Jābir b. Shaddād, one of the Banū 'Awf b. Sa'd, of the Abnā', incited a man from the Abnā', one of Bukayr's clan, to vengeance with these verses:\(^714\)

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\(^712\) Modern Erzurum; see Le Strange, Lands, 116f., and El², s. v. Erzurum.

\(^713\) See text above, II, 1022–31.

\(^714\) On the Abnā' and the Banū 'Awf b. Sa'd (possibly to be understood as 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd), see text above, II, 860, and note 38.
The Events of the Year 81

By my life! How patiently you bear this mote in your eye!
You sleep well at night with a bellyful of the best wine.
You have left a killing unavenged, preferring gentle sleep;
but he who drinks the ruby liquor is in debt for a slaying!\textsuperscript{715}

If you were a true noble of the 'Awf b. Sa'd,
you would have left Bahir in a pool of blood.
Tell Bahir: Sleep well and fear no avenger from 'Awf!
for 'Awf are simple herdsmen of little lambs.
Forget the mutton for one day! You are all in debt for a slaying!
And you have become a subject for wagging tongues east and west.
Rouse yourselves! If Bukayr were here tonight, as he used to be,
well and healthy, he would meet them tomorrow in a dusky detachment.\textsuperscript{716}

He also said:

If Bakr had gone out in his armor, to challenge him,
    by the Lord of the Throne, Bahir would not have come out
to fight him.
I seek something of Time, if Time should let me live,
as one fully qualified, before God, for such a quest.

Bahir heard that the Abnâ' were threatening him, and said:
The Abnâ' threaten me in ignorance, as if
they see my halls empty of the Banû Ka'b!
I raise against them my hand with a sharpened blade,
a sword the color of salt, keen and glittering.

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad:
Seventeen men of the Banû 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa’d made a compact to
take blood vengeance for Bukayr. One of them, a young man
named al-Shamardal, came out of the desert to Khurāsān, found
Bahir standing, and assaulted and stabbed him. Bahir fell to the ground, and he thought that he had killed him. The men cried

\textsuperscript{715} Wa-man shariba l-ṣahbā'a bi-l-witr yusbaqī.
\textsuperscript{716} La-ghadāhum bi-ja'wā'a faylaqī. The usual phrase is katībah ja'wā'; see Zamakhshari, Asās, s. v. ja'wā'.
out, "A Khārijite!" Al-Shamardal raced to get away from them, but his horse stumbled and threw him, and he was killed.

Then Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Ḥarb al-ʿAwfī, one of the Banū Jundab,\footnote{Neither Ibn al-Kalbi \textit{(apud} Caskel) nor Ibn Ḥazm mentions a Jundab of the 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd.} came out of the desert, having sold some of his booty and bought an ass. He went to Sijistān and took up residence near some of Bahīr's relatives there. He befriended them and told them he was a man from the Banū Ḥanīfah, from the people of al-Yamāmah.\footnote{The Ḥanīfah b. Lujaym of the oases of al-Yamāmah in central Arabia were a tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il; see \textit{EI²}, s. v. Ḥanīfa b. Lujaym.} He continued to come and sit with them often until they became friends with him; then he said to them, "I have a legacy in Khurāsān that I have been cheated out of. I hear that Bahīr is a very powerful man in Khurāsān. Please write to him on my behalf and ask him to help me obtain my rights." They wrote to him, and Ṣaʿṣaʿah set out, arriving at Marw while al-Muhallab was on campaign.

He met some people from the Banū ʿAwf and told them what he was about. A client of Bukayr's, an armorer, came up and kissed his head. Ṣaʿṣaʿah said to him, "Make me a dagger." He made him a dagger, heating it and plunging it into ass's milk repeatedly. Then Ṣaʿṣaʿah set out from Marw, crossed the river, and came to al-Muhallab's camp, which was at that time at Akharūn.\footnote{Or Kharūn, a district north of the Oxus, near modern Dushanbe; see Barthold, \textit{Turkestan}, 76; \textit{Hudūd al-ʿĀlam} \textit{(trans. Minorsky)}, 337, 353.} He met Bahīr, gave him the letter, and said, "I am a man from the Banū Ḥanīfah. I was a companion of Ibn Abī Bakrah. I lost my money in Sijistān, but I have a legacy in Marw. I have come to sell it and then return to al-Yamāmah."

Bahīr ordered him given expense money, had him stay with him, and told him to ask him for whatever he wished. Ṣaʿṣaʿah replied, "I will stay with you until the troops withdraw." He stayed a month or so, accompanying him to al-Muhallab's public and private audiences until he became known.

Bahīr was afraid of attempts on his life and trusted no one. But when Ṣaʿṣaʿah turned up with a letter from his relatives, he said, "This is a man from Bakr b. Wā'il," and trusted him. Ṣaʿṣaʿah came one day when Bahīr was sitting in al-Muhallab's private...
audience, wearing a shirt, a robe, and sandals.\textsuperscript{720} He sat down behind him, then drew up close to him and leaned over him as if he were going to say something to him, and stabbed him in the flank with his dagger, burying it deep inside him. The people cried out, "A Khārijite!" He cried, "O slayers of Bukayr! I have taken vengeance for Bukayr!" He was seized by Abū al-'Ajfā' b. Abī al-Kharqā', who was then head of al-Muhallab's security force, and brought to al-Muhallab. Al-Muhallab said, "Woe to you! You have not achieved your vengeance, and have killed yourself, while Bahīr does well!" Sa'ā'ah said, "I stabbed him with a thrust that, if divided up among the army, would have killed them all! I also felt the wind from his belly on my hand." Al-Muhallab imprisoned him; some of the Abnā' came to the prison to visit him and kissed his head.

Bahīr died the next day around midday. Sa'ā'ah was told of his death and said, "Do with me now as you like and however seems best to you. Have not the vows of the women of the Banū 'Awf been fulfilled, and have I not achieved my vengeance? I am indifferent to my fate. By God, he gave me more than one chance to do the deed while he was alone, but I was unwilling to kill him in private." Al-Muhallab said, "Never have I seen a man more generously willing to give up his life while in bonds than this one!" Then he ordered Abū Suwayqah, a paternal cousin of Bahīr's, to kill him. Anas b. Ṭalq said, "Woe to you! Bahīr has already been killed; do not kill this one as well!" But Abū Suwayqah refused to heed him, and killed Sa'ā'ah. Anas reviled him.

According to others, al-Muhallab sent Sa'ā'ah to Bahīr before the latter died. Anas b. Ṭalq al-Abshami said to him, "Bahīr, you killed Bukayr; now let this one live." But Bahīr said, "Bring him nearer me! No, by God, I will not die while you still live!" They brought him nearer him, and he put his head between his legs and said, "Kill Ifāq in cold blood—he is an abiding evil!"\textsuperscript{721} Ibn Ṭalq

\textsuperscript{720} Qamīṣ wa-rīdā' wa-na'lān. See Dozy, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes, 59n., 371–75, 421–24.

\textsuperscript{721} Iṣbīr 'Ifāq innahu sharr bāqin. This line, which must have been proverbial, occurs in a variant form in an anecdote recorded by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadid, Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah, IV, 85, according to which a man known for his eloquence in rhymed prose was asked by the Shi'ites of al-Kūfah to silence the militantly anti-Shi'ite Ifāq b. Shurābbil al-Taymi (so read for text al-Tamimi; see Caskel, Gamharat an-
said to Bahir, "God curse you! I speak to you on his behalf, and you kill him right in front of me!" Bahir stabbed him with his sword until he was dead; then Bahir himself died. Al-Muhallab said, "'We are God's, and to God we return'—so I say of a campaign in which Bahir has been cut down."722

'Awf b. Ka'b and the Abnā' were angry and said, "Why was our comrade killed, when he was only seeking his vengeance?" They were opposed by Muqā'is and the Butūn, until people feared the situation would get out of hand. But the more temperate men said,723 "Take responsibility for the blood of Sa'ṣa'ah and accept the blood of Bukayr as retribution for Bukayr." So they paid the bloodwit724 for Sa'ṣa'ah.

One of the men of the Abnā' praised Sa'ṣa'ah with these verses:

God be praised for a young man whose ambition
went beyond Iraq, across deserts and seas;
He kept pressing and driving himself
until he caught up with Bahir at Kharūn.

'Abd Rabbih al-Kabir Abū Waki', who was one of Sa'ṣa'ah's kin, went out into the desert and told Bukayr's kin, "Sa'ṣa'ah has been killed seeking vengeance for the death of your comrade. Pay his bloodwit!" Thus he received two bloodwits for Sa'ṣa'ah.725

\[\text{nasab, I, 150, II, 353};\] he said to 'Ifiq, "O God, kill 'Ifiq! He is a hypocrite within and a troublemaker without, an unabashed schismatic with an unstable character!" [Allāhumma qṭul 'Iffq fa-innahu asarra nīfṭqā, wa-azhara shiqqāqā, wa-bayyana fir āqā, wa-talawwana akhlaqā].

722. The quotation is from Qur'ān 2:156, where it is introduced by the phrase "Those who say, when afflicted by a disaster . . . ."

723. To Muqā'is and the Butūn.

724. Reading waddaw for text waddū.

725. A garbled version of this in Ibn Ḥabīb, Asmā' al-mughtālīn, 176f.; see also Ibn Kathīr, Bidāyah, IX, 34f.
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