The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXVII

The ʿAbbāsid Revolution

TRANSLATED BY JOHN AIDEN WILLIAMS
By 735 an Arab empire stretched from Arles and Avignon in southern France to the Indus River and Central Asia, and a vital young civilization fostered by a new world religion was taking root. Yet the Muslim conquerors were divided by tribal quarrels, tensions among new converts, and religious revolts. In 745 a vigorous new successor to the Prophet took control in Damascus and began to restore the waning power of the Umayyad dynasty. Marwān II's attempts were thwarted, however, by revolts on every hand, even among his own relatives. The main body of dissidents was a well-trained group of revolutionaries in Khurāsān, led by the remarkable Abū Muslim. By 748 they had seized control of the province and driven the governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, to his death and were advancing westward. This volume tells of the end of the Umayyad caliphate, the 'Abbasid Revolution, and the establishment of the new dynasty.
SUNY
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The History of al-Ṭabari

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Acknowledgement

In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Tabari’s History in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking and meticulous editing; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.
THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarir al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the History of al-Ṭabarī, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

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

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

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Ehsan Yar-Shater
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Translator’s Foreword

In this volume I have followed the transliteration system adopted by the Series, in deference to the judgement of the editor. My personal preference would always be to eliminate the Greek suffix *id* on Arabic and Persian names and nouns to obtain an adjectival form, e.g. *Abbāsid, Ālid, Umayyad,* and to use the Islamic *nisba* form used in the Middle East ending in *-i,* which has gained currency in modern English usage, e.g. *Israeli, Pahlavi, Saudi.* The terminal *h* for *a tā marbūta(h)* might also in my view be left to the general desuetude into which it is falling, e.g. in the new *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

I must express my deep gratitude to the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University which kindly sustained me with a research fellowship for one year during which parts of this volume and of others were completed; to the Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions, which offered me and my family its hospitality during the year, and to the American University in Cairo which allowed me a year of leave. My colleagues Ahmed Sharkas at Harvard and Adel Sulaiman Gamal at American University in Cairo and University of Arizona helped me often with the poetry passages, and I would record my thanks to them here.

Professor George Makdisi of the University of Pennsylvania read the greater part of the translation against the originals and offered invaluable suggestions in the midst of trying circumstances: a most generous act. Professor Jacob Lassner made many thoughtful addi-
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tions to the footnotes, and where this occurred I have indicated it in the notes. To Professor Ehsan Yar-Shater who has seen to the publication of this volume and others of al-Ṭabari, very special thanks are due.

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The Caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad

In this year the oath of allegiance was given in Damascus to Marwān b. Muḥammad as Caliph.

Why The Oath of Allegiance Was Given to Marwan

'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhim reported the following from Abū Hashim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad, the mawla of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān: When people announced that Marwān's cavalry had entered Damascus, Ibrāhim b. al-Walīd fled and went into hiding. At this, Sulaymān (b. Hishām) seized what was in the treasury, divided it among his troops, and left the city. Those mawlās of al-Walīd b. Yazīd who were in the city rushed to the house of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Hajjāj and slew him. Then they ransacked the grave of Yazīd b. al-Walīd and hung his body on the Jābiyah Gate. Marwān entered Damascus, and

Footnotes followed by (J.L.) have been added by Jacob Lassner. Others are those of the translator.

1. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1879; Ibn Khayyāt, II, 392; Azdī, 62ff; FHA, 156; Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rikh, II, 404ff; Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VI, 46; Ibn Qutaybah, Ma‘arif, 366.
stopped at 'Āliyah.² The two young sons of al-Walid b. Yazīd who had been slain were brought to him, as well as the body of Yūsuf b. 'Umar, and he ordered that they be given burial.³ Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī was carried to him in shackles, and he saluted Marwān as Caliph. Up until that day, Marwān had only been hailed with the title of amir, so he asked al-Sufyānī, "What's this?" Al-Sufyānī replied, "Both [the sons of al-Walid] made the Caliphate over to you as their successor."

He then recited some verses composed by al-Ḥakam in prison.

Our source adds that they had both reached legal maturity; al-Ḥakam had begotten offspring, and the other had reached puberty two years before.⁴ The verses of al-Ḥakam were:

Who shall tell Marwān about me,
and my noble uncle, yearning long there,

That I have been oppressed and my people
have become parties to the slaying of al-Walid?

Shall their Kalb [also: dog] take my blood and my substance
while I obtain neither gristle nor fat?

And Marwān is in the land of the Banū Nizar
like a lion of the thicket, a neckbreaker in his lair.

Does not the slaying of that youth of Quraysh afflict you,
and their shattering the staff [of unity] of the Muslims?

Now convey my regards to Quraysh.
and to Qays in the Jazīrah, all of them:

² The text is 'Āliyah, perhaps it should be read al-'Āliyah. Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh, II, 403 reads Dayr al-'Āliyah. The term al-'āliyah generally means the heights of an area as distinct from the low lying areas. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 592.
³ Yūsuf had been imprisoned throughout the reign of al-Walid. His death and that of al-Walid was ordered by 'Abd al-'Aziz. The two boys are elsewhere identified as 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam. They are also called the "two lambs" [hamil]. See n.1 above.
⁴ That is, it was legal for them to transfer their authority. A short variant of these verses is found in FHA, 156-57.
The Events of the Year 127

The deficient Qadari\(^5\) has lorded it over us and incited war among the sons of our father.

Had the riders of Sulaym taken part in the battle, and those of Ka'b, I would not be a prisoner.

Had the lions of the Banū Tamīm taken part, we'd not have sold the inheritance we had from our fathers.

Did you break your oath to me because of my mother? you have sworn allegiance before to a concubine's son.

Would that my maternal uncles were other than Kalb, and had been born to some other people!

Yet if I and my heir-presumptive should perish, then Marwān shall be Commander of the Faithful.

Then Abū Muḥammad said, “Stretch out your hand and I'll swear allegiance to you.” Those of the Syrian army (ahl al-shām) who were with Marwān heard him, and the first to come forward was Mu'āwiyyah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Nūmār with the chief people of Ḥimṣ. They swore allegiance to Marwān, whereupon he commanded them to choose governors for their military districts. The men of Damascus chose Zāmil b. 'Amr al-Jibrānī; the men of Ḥimṣ chose 'Abdallāh b. Shajarāh al-Kindī; the people of the Jordan chose al-Walīd b. Mu'āwiyyāh b. Marwān; and those of Palestine chose Thābit b. Nu'aym al-Judhāmī, whom Marwān had extricated from Hishām's prison, and who then had betrayed him in Armenia. Marwān took sure promises and binding oaths from them when they

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5. Yazīd b. Walīd had been a Qadari, or believer in free will. He was called “the Deficient,” because he reduced his soldiers' pay. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1874.

6. As chief of the local Yamanī faction, Thābit acted out of partisan motives against Marwān whose support was mostly from the Qays. Thābit took the title al-Qaḥṭānī to indicate descent from the alleged progenitor of the southern tribes and to thus draw wide support. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1871ff; Ibn Khayyāt, II, 393; Azīdī, 66; Mas'ūdī, Tanbih, 314.
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gave him the handclasp of allegiance; then he withdrew to his residence in Harrān.’

Abū Ja‘far reported that when order had been restored in Syria (al-Shām) on behalf of Marwān b. Muḥammad and he had gone off to his residence in Harrān, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid and Sulaymān b. Ḥishām asked for a guarantee of security (‘amān), and Marwān granted it.8 Sulaymān, who was then at Tadmur (Palmyra), came to Marwān with his brothers, the members of his family and his mawlās, the Dhakwānīyyah,9 who were there, and they swore allegiance to Marwān.

In this year, too, the people of Ḥims as well as some of the other people of Syria rebelled against Marwān, and he fought with them.

Revolt of the People of Ḥims10

According to Ahmad—‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Ḥāshim Mukallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ. When Marwān left for his residence in Harrān after settling with the Syrian army, he had not been there more than three months before they openly opposed him and rebelled against him. The one who incited them to that was Thābit b. Nu‘aym, who sent them messengers and wrote them letters. Information about them reached Marwān, and he marched against them himself. The army of Ḥims sent word to the Kalb who were at Tadmur, whereupon al-‘Aṣbagh b. Dhu‘ālah al-Kalbī set off toward them, accompanied by three of his sons, full grown men, Ḥāmzah, Dhu‘ālah and Furāfisah. Also accompanying him were Mu‘āwiyah al-Saksākī, one of the Syrian cavalry, and ’Īsmāḥ b. al-Muqsha‘iḥr, Ḥishām b. Maṣād, Ṭufayl b. Ḥārithah and about a thousand horsemen of their tribe. They entered the city of Ḥims on the night of the

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7. Harrān thus became the unofficial capital of the new Caliph. Not surprisingly Marwān wished to avoid taking up residence among the followers of his enemies, preferring to remain instead in the area where he had long resided. For Harrān see Le-Strange, Lands, 103.
8. See Ibn Khayyat, II, 393; Azdi, 64; FHA, 157; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, IV, 468.
9. A Syrian regiment named after its commander Muslim b. Dhakwān. These were apparently Sulaymān’s guard. While Tabari’s terming them mawlās does not necessarily mean they were non-Arabs, it suggests that some of them may not have been Arabs. Such elite regiments supplied the backbone of Marwān’s support. See Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 372, 375. For a challenging and highly speculative view of the late Umayyad military, see P. Crone, Slaves on Horses, esp. 42–57.
10. See Ibn Khayyat, II, 393ff; Azdi, 66; FHA, 158ff.
'Id al-Fitr' in 127 (June 25, 745). Marwān was at Ḥamāh, no more than thirty miles from Ḥimṣ when the news of them reached him on the morning of the 'Id al-Fitr, so he moved quickly. With him at the time were Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid, the deposed Caliph, and Sulayar-mān b. Hīshām. They had sent him messages and asked him for a guarantee of security, and (having received it) they traveled with him as part of his army. Treating them generously, he positioned them both near him, so they sat at his table for dinner and supper and rode with him in his train. He reached Ḥimṣ two days after the 'Id al-Fitr, and the Kalb in the city had blocked the gates from inside. He was prepared, as his guard (rābiṭah) was with him. Surrounding the city with his horsemen, he stationed himself opposite one of the gates and looked out over a group of defenders along the wall. His herald then called out, "What call had you to break faith?" They answered, "We still obey you; we have not broken faith with you!" He then told them, "If what you say about yourselves is true, then open the gate!" At this, they opened it. 'Amr b. al-Wāḍḍāḥ burst in at the head of the Waddahiyyah,13 who numbered about three thousand men, as they fought the Kalb inside the city. When Marwān's cavalry became too much for them, they ran for one of the gates, called Bab Tadmur. They went out by it, but Marwān's guard was stationed there and fought them, most of them were thus killed. Al-Āṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah and al-Saksaki got away, but Dhu'ālah and Fūrāfisah, the two sons of al-Āṣbagh, and more than thirty of their men were captured. They were brought to Marwān, who had them killed on the spot. He ordered that all their slain, some five or six hundred, be collected and crucified around the city, and he tore down about a bowshot's length of the city wall.

The inhabitants of the Ghūṭah (the oasis of Damascus), attacked the city, besieged their governor, Zāmil b. 'Amr, and chose Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī to rule over them. The city and its inhabitants and an officer, named Abū Ḥabbār al-Qurashi, with about four hundred men held fast with Zāmil. Marwān sent Abū al-Ward b. al-Kawthar b. Zufar b. al-Hārith, whose name was Majza'ah, from Ḥimṣ to aid the defenders, as well as 'Amr b. al-Wāḍḍāḥ and ten thousand men.  

11. 'Id al-Fitr is the Feast of Fast-breaking at the end of Ramadan, see EI s.v. 'id.  
12. One Arabic mil is 2 km., one third of a farsakh. See E.12, s.v.  
13. The Waddahiyyah were a military contingent similar to the Dhakwāniyyah. See n.8 above.
When they came near the city they attacked the besiegers. Abū al-Habbār and his horsemen came out from the city, and they routed the rebels and seized their camp. Then they burned al-Mizzah, one of the villages of the Yamanis. Yazid b. Khālid and Abū ʿIlāqah sought refuge with a man of the Lakhm tribe from al-Mizzah. Their whereabouts was reported to Zāmil, who sent for them, but they were both killed before they were brought before him. He then sent their heads to Marwān at ʿIrīs.

Thābit b. Nuʿaym of the army of Palestine rebelled, advancing as far as Tiberias, and besieged its people. Their governor was Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. Marwān, son of the brother of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. They fought the rebel for several days, whereupon Marwān wrote to Abū al-Ward ordering him to go there and assist them. Abū al-Ward set off from Damascus some days later. When word reached the inhabitants that he was near, they came out of the city against Thābit and his men and seized their camp. Thābit fled to Palestine and gathered his kinsmen and military forces (jund). Abū al-Ward now moved against him and put him to flight a second time, and those who were with Thābit deserted him. Three of his grown sons were captured: Nuʿaym, Bakr, and ʿImrān. Abū al-Ward sent them to Marwān; they were brought to him at Dayr Ayyūb, wounded, and he gave orders for their wounds to be treated.

Thābit b. Nuʿaym went into hiding, and al-Rumāxis b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kinānī was made governor of Palestine. Escaping with Thābit was one of his sons, Rifaʿāh, who was the worst of them all. [Later] he joined Mansūr b. Jumhūr, who honored him with gifts, gave him a position and made him his lieutenant along with a brother of his called Manzūr b. Jumhūr. But Rifaʿāh assaulted Manzūr and murdered him. This came to Mansūr’s ears as he was setting out for Multān—his brother had been at Mansūrah, so Mansūr

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14. Tiberias (Ṭabariyyah) was the headquarters of the military district of the Jordan (al-Urdunn). See EI s.v. Tabariyya.

15. A village situated in the Ḥawrān district near Damascus. See Yaqūt, Muʿjam, II, 645.

16. Mansūr b. Jumhūr was a leader of the Kalb who had helped plan the death of al-Walid b. Yazid. He was subsequently made governor of Iraq and later, of Sind. See Tabari, II, 1778, 1800, 1809, 1836; also Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 367, 368.

17. Yaqūt, Muʿjam, IV, 629 lists a Multān which he indicates is also recorded as Multān. It was a great city in Hind on the way to Mansūrah (the capital of Sind). For Mansūrah, see LeStrange, Lands, 331.
turned back and seized Rifā'ah. He then built a hollow column of burnt brick, placed Rifā'ah inside it, fastened him to it, and bricked him in.18 Marwān wrote al-Rumāhis to look for Thābit and display kindness to him. At last a man from Thābit’s tribe told where he was, and he was taken, along with a number of others. After two months, he was brought in. Marwān ordered that Thābit and his sons, who were already in Marwān’s hands, be brought forward. Then their hands and feet were cut off, and they were transported to Damascus. Abū Ḥāshim stated, “I saw them cut in pieces and fixed on the gate of the city mosque.” This was done because word had reached Marwān that people were spreading alarming rumors about Thābit, saying that he had gone to Egypt, gained control there, and slain Marwān’s governor.

Marwān now came from Dayr Ayyūb to arrange the oath of allegiance to his sons ‘Ubaydollāh and ‘Abdallāh. He married them to two daughters of (the Caliph) Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, Umm Hishām and ‘Ā’ishah. For this occasion he gathered together all the people of his family; Muḥammad, Saʿīd and Bakkār, the sons of (the Caliph) ‘Abd al-Malik, and the children of (the Caliphs) al-Walid, Sulaymān, Yazīd and Hishām, and others of the Quraysh and the chiefs of the Arabs.

He mobilized the army of Syria, strengthened it, and placed one of the Syrian officers over each corps. He then ordered them to join Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah, whom he had sent ahead before his Syrian campaign with twenty thousand men of Qinnasrin and the Jaʿzirah. He had ordered Ibn Hubayrah to camp at Dūrayn19 until he should come, thus establishing this force as his vanguard. Marwān left Dayr Ayyūb for Damascus when all of Syria except for Tadmur had been pacified. He ordered that Thābit b. Nuʿaym, his sons, and the group he had mutilated be brought forward. They were put to death and then crucified on the gates of Damascus. Abū Ḥāshim reports, “I saw them at the time they were slain and gibbeted.” He

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18. This elaborate execution may be indirectly explained by a variant in Yaʿqūb, Taʾrīkh, II, 407. The victim is identified here as one Ibn ʿArār, governor of Sind and a relative. When the treacherous Ibn ʿArār was apprehended, Mansūr put him to death without shedding his blood, because he was a kinsman. On the legal ramifications of such executions see Lassner, ʿAbbasid Rule, 39–57, esp. 43–46. (J.L.)

19. There is no entry for this place in Yaqūt’s geographical dictionary. Dūr and Dūrān were common place names in Iraq.
adds, “Marwān spared one man among them, called ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kalbi; it is claimed he had knowledge of the wealth which Thābit had deposited with certain kinsmen.” Then Marwān moved on with his men to camp at Qastal, in the territory of Ḥims adjacent to that of Tadmur, the distance between them being three days’ march. Word reached him there that the enemy (i.e., the Kalb) had spoiled all the wells lying between him and Tadmur, filling them in with stones, so he prepared waterskins, canteens, fodder, and camels to transport the provisions for him and his men. Al-Abrash b. al-Walid, Sulaymān b. Hishām and other Umayyads interceded with him and asked that they (the Kalb) be excused, and that they make representations to them. He agreed to this, and al-Abrash sent them his brother ‘Amr b. al-Walid. Al-Abrash wrote them a letter urging caution and informing them that he feared they would be the death of him and all their kinsmen. They drove ‘Amr away, however, and did not comply. Al-Abrash now asked Marwān to let him go to them himself, and to give him a few days. This, Marwān did. Al-Abrash went to them, spoke to them, and put fear into them. He told them that they were stupid and that they could not withstand Marwān and his troops. Most of them agreed with this, while those who did not trust him fled into the desert lands of the Kalb. These were al-Saksaki, ʿĪsmah b. al-Muqshaʾirr, Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārithah, and Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, who was the son-in-law of al-Abrash. Al-Abrash wrote to Marwān informing him of this, and Marwān wrote back to him, “Tear down the walls of their city and come back to me with those who have given you their allegiance.” He therefore went back to Marwān with their chief men, al-Āṣbagh b. Dhuʾalāh and his son Ḥamzah, and a number of others. Marwān then set out with them on the desert road for Sūriyyah and Dayr al-Lathiq until he came to Ruṣāfah (residence of the Caliph Hishām). With him were Sulaymān b. Hishām, his paternal uncle Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and all his brothers, as well as Ibrāhim the deposed Caliph and a number of the sons of the Caliphs Walid, Sulaymān and Yazīd. They stayed there for a day; and then Marwān left for

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20. A place between Ḥims and Damascus. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam, IV, 95.
22. Vocalization conjectural. This place is not listed by Yāqūt.
Raqqah. Sulaymān b. Hishām asked for permission and begged Marwān to allow him to stay on for some days, so that his mawłās might recover their strength and his beasts be rested. Sulaymān would then follow after him. Marwān gave him permission and went on his way, halting at a camp on the bank of the Euphrates where he used to stay, near Wāsiṭ. He remained there for three days and went on to Qarqisiyyah (Circesium), where Ibn Hubayrah was waiting to precede him to Iraq to fight al-Ḍahlāhāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī al-Ḥarūrī. At this time about ten thousand men of those whom Marwān had mobilized for the campaign in Iraq while he was at Dayr Ayyūb came up with their officers and stopped at Rūṣāfah. Here they called on Sulaymān to renounce his allegiance to Marwān and fight him.

This year al-Ḍahlāhāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī entered Kūfah.

The Revolt of al-Ḍahlāhāk the Khārijite (Muḥakkim)

Sources differ in their accounts of this affair. As for Ahmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: The occasion for the revolt of al-Ḍahlāhāk was that when al-Walīd was slain, a Ḥarūrī called Saʿīd b. Bahdal al-Shaybānī rebelled in the Jazīra at the head of two hundred men of the region. One of them was al-Ḍahlāhāk, who took advantage of al-Walīd’s death and Marwān’s preoccupation with Syria to rebel in the territory of Kafartūtha. At the same time Bīstām al-Bayḥāsī, who differed with Saʿīd in his views, set out with a like number of the Rabi‘ah, and each of them marched against the other. When the two forces were near each other, Saʿīd b. Bahdal sent al-Khaybarī, one of his of-

23. Not to be confused with the famous city of Wāsiṭ founded by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. This city was situated near Qarqisiyyah. See Yaqqūt, Muʾjam, II, 882 ff.
24. Ḥarūrā’ was the district near Kūfah where the Khārijites rebelled against ‘Alī in Rabi’ I, 37 (August 17–September 15, 758). It subsequently gave its name to the sect known as the Ḥarūriyyah. See EI s.v. Ḥarūrā’.
25. Literally one who submits only to God’s judgment; that is, the Khārijites who opposed the arbitration at Siffin by crying out la ḥukm illā li-llāh. For al-Ḍahlāhāk’s entry, see Ibn Khayyat, II, 395 ff., Azdī, 67 ff., FHA, 157; Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 389–92, and The Religious Political Opposition Parties, 164 ff.; EI s.v. ad-Dahlāhāk b. Kays al-Shaybānī.
26. The Kafartūtha mentioned here is a large village in the Jazīra some five farsakh (30 km) from Dārā.
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The one who later routed Marwān, with about a hundred and fifty riders to attack Bistām by night. He came to Bistām's camp undetected, and ordered each of his men to have with him a white cloth to wrap around his head so they might recognize each other. Then they gave the cry of "Allāhu Akbar!" in Bistām's camp and smote them hard for their neglect (to keep watch). On this, al-Khaybarī recited:

Though he was Bistām, surely I am al-Khaybarī;
I strike with the sword and set guards in my camp.

They slew Bistām and all who were with him except for fourteen men who escaped to Marwān. They stayed with him, and he gave them positions in his personal guard (rābiṭah), putting one of them, a man called Muqāṭīl who had the patronymic (kunyā) of Abū al-Na'ṭhal, in charge of the others.

Sa'id b. Bahdal then moved in the direction of Iraq, because word had reached him of the disorders there and of the differences within the Syrian army leading to clashes between the supporters of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar (b. 'Abd al-'Azīz) and al-Nāḍr b. Sa'id al-Ḥarashi. The Yaman tribesmen among the Syrians were with 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar at Ḥirah, while the Muḍar tribesmen were with Ibn al-Ḥarashi at Kūfah, and they fought each other morning and evening in the area between them.28

Sa'id b. Bahdal died of pestilence he contracted en route to Iraq, and al-Dahhāk b. Qays was appointed his successor. Sa'id had a wife named Ḥawmā', and in connection with this, al-Khaybarī recited the verse:

God moisten, O Ḥawmā', the grave of Ibn Bahdal;
When the night riders saddle up, he'll no longer depart.

Around a thousand men joined al-Dahhāk, and they turned toward Kūfah. He passed through the territory of Mosul, and around three thousand men from there and from the army of the Jazīrah followed him. Al-Nāḍr b. Sa'id al-Ḥarashi and the Muḍarīs were in Kūfah at this time, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and the Yamanīs were in

27. The text is bakkarū; it should be read kabbarū, following the Cairo edition. 
28. The distance between the old Christian town of Ḥirah and the Muslim city of Kūfah was three farsakhs [18 km].
Hiráh. [They were] engaged in a tribal feud in the territory between, but when al-Dāḥḥāk approached, Ibn 'Umar and al-Ḥarashi made peace and joined forces to fight him. They entrenched themselves at Kūfah, and between them at that time they had about thirty thousand men of Syria, a strong force well armed and provisioned. With them was an officer from the forces of Qinnasrin called 'Abbád b. al-Ghuzayyil, commanding a thousand horsemen whom Marwán had sent to reinforce Ibn al-Ḥarashi. The enemy challenged them to give combat, and they fought. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and Ja'far b. 'Abbās al-Kindī were both slain that day, and al-Dāḥḥāk's forces put them to a most ignominious flight. 'Abbád b. 'Umar escaped to Wāsiṭ with his men, and Ibn al-Ḥarashi, i.e., al-Ḥaḍr, and the Muḍāris set out along with Ismá'il b. 'Abdalláh al-Qasri for Marwán. Al-Dāḥḥāk and the men of the Jazirah thus took possession of Kūfah and its territories, and they collected the taxes of the Sawād. Al-Dāḥḥāk put one of his followers, a man called Milḥān, in charge of Kūfah with two hundred horsemen, and set off with most of his men after 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar at Wāsiṭ. There, he laid siege to the city. 'Abdallāh had with him an officer of Qinnasrin called 'Āṭiyah al-Tha'labi, one of the hardiest of men. When it seemed likely that al-Dāḥḥāk would besiege the city, 'Āṭiyah left with seventy or eighty of his own men intending to reach Marwán. They left by way of Qādisiyyah, and Milḥān received word of their movements; so he moved out quickly, seeking him. 'Āṭiyah met him at the bridge of Saylahūn, where Milḥān had hastened with about thirty horsemen. Milḥān engaged 'Āṭiyah, and the latter killed him and some of his men. The rest of them fled until they came into Kūfah, and 'Āṭiyah went on with his men until he reached Marwán.

Another account, from Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā—Abū Sa'id: When Sa'id b. Bahdal al-Murri died and the Khārijites gave their allegiance to al-Dāḥḥāk as their Imām, he stayed at Shahrazūr. The Ṣufriyyah came to him from every direction, until he headed some four thousand of them. No such num-
ber had ever joined any Kharijite leader before him. When Yazid b. al-Walid perished, his functionary in Iraq was 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. Marwān then came down from Armenia and ultimately camped in the Jazirah. He appointed al-Nadr b. Sa'īd, one of the officers of Ibn 'Umar, as his governor for Iraq. Al-Nadr set out for Kūfah, and Ibn 'Umar settled in Ḥirah. The Mudar tribesmen rallied to al-Nadr and the Yaman to Ibn 'Umar, who fought the former for four months. Then Marwān reinforced al-Nadr with Ibn al-Ghuzayyil, but al-Dāḥḥāk advanced on Kūfah. This was in 127 (744–5). Ibn 'Umar sent a message to al-Nadr saying, "This man means [harm] to none but you and me; so come, let us unite against him." And they made a pact agreeing to this.

Ibn 'Umar came forward and camped at Tall al-Fatḥ, while al-Dāḥḥāk advanced to cross the Euphrates, so Ibn 'Umar sent Ḥamzah b. al-Asbagh b. Dhu'ālalah al-Kalbi to prevent him from crossing. Then 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās al-Kindi said, "Let him cross over; it is easier for us than looking for him." Hence Ibn 'Umar sent a message to Ḥamzah telling him to desist from this. Ibn 'Umar then camped at Kūfah. He would pray at the governor's mosque with his followers, while al-Nadr b. Sa'īd would pray with his own followers in the outskirts of Kūfah. He neither associated with Ibn 'Umar nor prayed with him; however, they had both stopped fighting each other and had agreed to fight al-Dāḥḥāk. When Ḥamzah returned, al-Dāḥḥāk advanced. He crossed the Euphrates and camped at Nukhaylah32 on the fourth of Rajab, 127 (April 9, 745). The Syrian troops of Ibn 'Umar and al-Nadr rushed upon them before they were settled in their camp, and killed fourteen horsemen and thirteen women. Al-Dāḥḥāk then dismounted, bivouacked, and set his followers in order, and they rested. Beginning early the next morning, a Thursday, the two forces fought a fierce battle. Ibn 'Umar and his followers were put to flight, and the Kharijites slew his brother 'Āsim. The man who killed him was al-Birdhawn b. Marzūq al-Shaybānī. The descendants of al-Ash'ath b. Qays buried him in their residence.33 The Kharijites also slew Ja'far b. al-'Abbās al-Kindi, the brother of

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32. A place situated near Kūfah. See Yāqūt, Mu'jām, IV, 771.
33. Burial within a residence was a common practice in early Islam. There was, of course, the example of the Prophet, who was buried under the floor of his wife 'Ā'ishah's quarters.
'Ubaydallah. Ja'far was in command of the security force (shurtah) of 'Abdallah b. Umar, and the one who slew him was 'Abd al-Malik b. Alqamah b. Abd al-Qays. Just as this man was overtaking him, Ja'far called to a paternal cousin of his named Shashilah. The latter wheeled toward him, but one of the Ṣufriyyah struck him, splitting his face in two.

Abū Sa'īd reported: I saw him after that; as if he had two faces. 'Abd al-Malik bent down and slit Ja'far's throat. Umm al-Birdhawn al-Ṣufriyyah made up these verses:

We slew both 'Āsim and Ja'far, also
The Ḍabbi rider, when they came out,
And we came to the hollowed-out trench.

The followers of Ibn 'Umar took flight and the Khārijites came after us, stopping at our defensive trench until nightfall. Then they went away. We got up early Friday morning, and by God we hadn't come out at all before they put us to flight; we retreated behind our trench. On Saturday we got up and our people were all slipping out and running away to Wāsiṭ. They'd seen an enemy whose like they had never seen before, of the fiercest courage, like a lion over its cubs. Ibn 'Umar went to look at his followers, and lo, most of them had run away under cover of night. The majority of them reached Wāsiṭ. Some of those who got there were al-Nadr b. Sa'īd, Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh, Mansūr b. Jumhūr, Aṣbagh b. Dhu‘ālah with his two sons Ḥamzah and Dhu‘ālah, al-Walid b. Ḥassān al-Ghassānī and all of the chiefs (wujuh). Only Ibn 'Umar remained, leading such of his followers as stayed; he stood his ground and did not quit.

It is said that when 'Abdallah b. Umar was made governor of Iraq, he appointed 'Ubaydallah b. 'Abbās al-Kindi governor of Kūfah with 'Umar b. al-Ghāḍbān b. al-Qaba‘thārī in charge of security. Neither one of them stepped down until Yazīd b. al-Walid died; then Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid came and reappointed Ibn 'Umar as governor in Iraq. Ibn 'Umar made his brother 'Āsim governor of Kūfah, and reappointed Ibn al-Ghāḍbān to take charge of security. They continued in this capacity until 'Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah rebelled, whereupon

34. Khārijite women often rode with their men in battle. This is evidence that some of them also improvised mocking verses about enemies in the old Arab manner.
35. For this rebellion, see text above.

Al-Dāḥhāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī advanced. It is also said that al-Dāḥhāk only advanced when Ismā‘il b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasri was residing in the governor’s palace at Kūfah. ‘Abdallāh b. 'Umar was situated at Ḥirah, and Ibn al-Ḥarashi was at the Convent of Hind. Then al-Dāḥhāk prevailed over Kūfah, and made Mīlḥān b. Mā‘rūf al-Shaybānī governor there, with Ṣûf, a Ḥarūrī Khārijite of the Banū Ḥanẓalah, in charge of security. Then Ibn al-Ḥarashi came out, seeking to make his own way to Syria. Mīlḥān opposed him and Ibn al-Ḥarashi slew him. After this, al-Dāḥhāk made Ḥassān governor of Kūfah, with Ḥassān’s son al-Ḥarīth in charge of security. Lamenting his brother ‘Aṣīm when the Khārijites killed him, ‘Abdallāh b. 'Umar said:

The ill vicissitudes of time cast at the object of their aim,
leaving to the morrow no arrow in the hand for bow to throw;

They cast at my most precious target and killed ‘Aṣīm,
a brother; to me a fortress, a shelter, and a refuge.

If grief and flowing tears have dissolved
the fresh blood of my vitals pooled,
I've swallowed them, sipping them slowly for 'Āṣim.
more greater are those he's supped and swallowed.

And would the Dooms had left me 'Āṣim,
so we might live together, or taken us together!

It is mentioned that 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar used to say, "I have heard
that 'Ayn b. 'Ayn b. 'Ayn slew Mim b. Mim b. Mim. He had hoped to
kill him, but 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbas b. 'Abd al-
Muţţalib killed him (Marwān b. Muĥammad b. Marwān)!"38

It is also mentioned that when the followers of 'Umar fled and got
away to Wāsiţ, they asked him, "What are you staying for, when
these people have run away?" He told them, "I'll linger and see!"
They stayed a day or two, and saw no one but deserters whose hearts
were filled with dread of the Khārijites. At last he ordered the jour-
ney to Wāsiţ. Khālid b. al-Ghuzayyil gathered his followers together
and joined Marwān, staying in the Jazīrah. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbas al-
Kindi saw what had befallen the people, and did not feel that he was
safe, so he went over to al-Daĥhāk, swore allegiance to him and
served in his army. Abū 'Aţā' al-Sindi"39 coined these verses, sham-
ing him for following al-Daĥhāk, who had slain his brother:

Tell 'Ubaydallāh, "If it were Ja'far who
had lived, he'd not submit once you were slain.

He'd not have followed the heretics when revenge was due
while in his hand was a sharp and shining blade!

A rabble who killed your brother and called your
father an infidel; what do you say to that?"

When 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbas heard this verse of Abū 'Aţā', he said,
"Why, I say, 'God make you bite your mother's clitoris!'" Abū
'Aţā' s verses continue:

May your kinship be disowned by any relative
or one seeking revenge: low lies the lowly.

38. The literary device using the first initials of a name to predict a future event is
characteristic of the apocalyptical traditions. For other examples of these traditions
see Lassner, 'Abbasid Rule, 42–43; also Tha'ālibī, Laţţîf, 87–88 [J.L.]
You let the brother of Shaybân plunder his weapons while a fleet-wheeling horse on a long rein rescued you!

Ibn 'Umar occupied the residence of al-Hajjâj b. Yusuf at Wâsît, it is said, with the Yaman, while al-Nâdîr b. Sa'id and his brother Sulaymân and Hanzalah b. Nubâtah with his sons Muḥammad and Nubâtah settled with the Muḍar on the right side of the road as you come up from Başrah. They abandoned Kûfah and Ḥirah to al-Ḍâḥhâk and the Khârijîtes, and everything there fell into their hands. The war between 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar and al-Nâdîr b. Sa'id al-Ḥarâshi reverted to its situation before the advent of al-Ḍâḥhâk, al-Nâdîr demanding that Ibn 'Umar deliver the government of Iraq to him according to Marwân's writ and Ibn 'Umar refusing; the Yaman (siding) with Ibn 'Umar and the Nîzâr with al-Nâdîr. This was because the forces (jûnd) of the Yaman were on the side of Yazid the Deficient in their feud with al-Walîd, after he delivered Khalîd al-Qāsri over to Yusuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqâfi who put him to death. The Qays, however, were with Marwân, since he had called for vengeance for al-Walîd. The Qays were the maternal relatives of al-Walîd, by way of Thagîf, since his mother was Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. Yusuf, the niece of al-Ḥajjâj. Thus, war resumed between Ibn 'Umar and al-Nâdîr.

Al-Ḍâḥhâk entered Kûfah and stayed there, and he appointed as governor of the city Milhân al-Shaybânî in Sha'bân 127 [May 745]. At the head of the Khârijîtes, al-Ḍâḥhâk moved swiftly against Wâsît in pursuit of Ibn 'Umar and al-Nâdîr, and he camped at the Hippodrome Gate (Bâb al-Miḍmâr). When they saw that, Ibn 'Umar and al-Nâdîr abstained from fighting each other and united against al-Ḍâḥhâk, as they had at Kûfah. Al-Nâdîr and his officers would cross the bridge and fight al-Ḍâḥhâk and his followers alongside Ibn 'Umar, then they would return to their own places, and not stay with Ibn 'Umar. They continued in this fashion during the months of Sha'bân, Ramaḍân and Shawwâl [May–July 745]. One day, they were engaged in combat when the battle grew fierce. At the gate called Bâb al-Quraj, Manṣûr b. Jumhûr charged at one of al-Ḍâḥhâk's officers, a man of great rank with the Khârijîtes called 'Ikrimâh b. Shaybân, and struck him, cutting him in two and killing him. Al-

40. See n. 5 above.
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Dāḥḥāḳ sent one of his officers called Shawwāl—he was from the Banū Shaybān—to the Zāb Gate, saying, “Burn it down over them; the siege has gone on too long for us.” Shawwāl set off in the company of al-Khaybarī, also one of the Banū Shaybān, at the head of their horsemen. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Alqamah met them and asked, “Where are you going?” Shawwāl told him, “We're going to the Zāb Gate. The Commander of the Faithful (i.e., al-Dāḥḥāḳ) has ordered me to do this and that.” 'Abd al-Malik then said, “I'm with you,” and went back with them, though he was bare-headed and had no breastplate on him. He, too, was an officer of al-Dāḥḥāḳ and a most redoubtable man. They went to the Zāb Gate and set fire to it, and 'Abdollāh b. 'Umar sent out Mansūr b. Jumhūr against them with six hundred cavalry of the Kalb. The latter engaged them in fierce combat. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Alqamah attacked them, although he had no armor, and killed a number of them. Mansūr b. Jumhūr saw this, and 'Abd al-Malik's prowess enraged him. He therefore charged him and struck him between his shoulder and neck, cutting him to the haunch, and he fell dying. A hardy Khārijite woman then came forward and seizing the bridle of Mansūr’s horse cried, “You sinner! Answer to the Commander of the Faithful!” But he cut off her hand—or, it is also said, he cut the rein of his horse while it was in her hand—and got away. Al-Khaybarī came into the city after Mansūr, and a paternal cousin of Mansūr from the Kalb came at him, but al-Khaybarī struck and killed him.

(Habib b. Khudrah, the mawla of the Banū Hilāl) claimed that 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Alqamah was a descendant of the kings of Persia, and composed these verses lamenting him:

The woman speaks while tears flow from her eye: [1907]

“may peace be on the soul of Ibn ‘Alqamah!”

Has death overtaken you in mid-career?

Each man in his due course finds death.

And so there is no trembling of the hands, nor slowing down of age;

No slackening in the battle, nor weakening with time.

[41] This phrase is missing from the Leiden text and is supplied from the Cairo edition.
Being killed for the Khārijites is no disgrace; but they are slain, and they are noble.

The dregs of mankind have no path to follow; 'tis they who make me mourn, O Ibn 'Alqamah, the dregs.

Manṣūr then said to Ibn 'Umar, "I've never seen anyone like these people," meaning the Khārijites. "Why are you fighting them and keeping them too busy to deal with Marwān? Give them your approval, and put them between yourself and Marwān. If you do that, they'll let us alone and go off to [fight] him. Their intensity and courage will be directed against him, and you can remain at rest here in your own place. If they defeat him, you will have gotten what you wanted, and you'll be on good terms with them. If he should defeat them and you want to oppose him and fight him, you'll do battle with him fully rested; his dispute with them will go on a long time, and they'll give him ample trouble." But Ibn 'Umar said, "Don't rush; let's wait and see!" "What shall we wait for?" Manṣūr asked. "You can't get out with them, and you can't go on. If we went out against them, we could not stand up to them. What can we expect will happen to them? Meanwhile, Marwān is untroubled, because we have absorbed the cutting edge of their power and diverted them from him! As for me, I'm going out and joining them!" He then went out, and, standing opposite their lines, he cried, "I am ready to listen! I want to submit as a Muslim and hear the Word of God!" The informant adds, "This is their trial [mihnah]." Then Manṣūr went over to them and gave them his oath of allegiance, saying, "I have become a Muslim." With that, they invited him to the mid-morning meal, and he ate. Then he asked them, "Who was the rider who seized my bridle that day by the Zāb?" meaning the day he slew Ibn 'Alqamah. They called, "O Umm al-'Anbar!" Lo, the most beautiful woman came out to them. She asked him, "Are you Manṣūr?"

"Yes," he answered. "May God shame your sword wherever you mention it," she told him. "By God, it did nothing, and gave nothing!" She meant by this, why could he not have killed her when she seized his bridle so she would have entered Paradise (as a martyr). Until that moment, Manṣūr had not known that she was a woman. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, marry her to me!" Al-Daḥḥāk replied, "She has a husband." She was, in fact, the wife of
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'Ubaydah b. Sawwâr al-Taghlibi. Finally, 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar sent out to them at the end of Shawwâl (late April 745) and gave al-Dâhîhak the oath of allegiance.

In this year, 127 (744–745), Sulaymân b. Hishâm b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwân threw off his allegiance to Marwân b. Muḥammad, and waged open war.


The Revolt of Sulaymân b. Hishâm

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhâb b. Ibrâhim—Abû Hâshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Şâlih: When Marwân set out from Ruṣâfah to Raqqah to send Ibn Hubayrah to Iraq to fight al-Dâhîhak b. Qays al-Shaybâni, Sulaymân b. Hishâm requested his permission to stay behind a few days to rest his forces and set his affairs in order. Marwân consented and went his way. About ten thousand men came forward, of those whom Marwân had levied at Dayr Ayyûb to campaign in Iraq. They journeyed with their officers to Ruṣâfah, where they called on Sulaymân to throw off his allegiance to Marwân and fight him. They told him, "You are considered more acceptable than he is by the army of Syria, and more worthy of the Caliphate." On this, Satan caused Sulaymân to err, and he agreed. He went out to them with his brothers, his sons, and his mawlâs. He formed his army, and then he marched with all his forces to Qinasrin. He wrote letters to the troops of Syria, and they slipped away to join him from every direction and from the district forces (jund). Then Marwân drew near, having turned back after he had gone above Qarqisiyyâ.¹⁴

He wrote to Ibn Hubayrah ordering him to secure himself with his troops at Dûrayn until he moved his camp to Wâṣît. The mawlâs of Sulaymân and the children of Hishâm who had been at Hanî gathered together with their families and entered the fortress of al-

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42. Al-Taghlibi was one of the leading Khārijites and a member of the electoral council (shûrâ) that chose al-Dâhîhak.
43. See Azîî, 51, FHA, 158ff; Ya'qûbî, Ta'rikh, II, 405ff.
44. Qarqisiyyah (ancient Circesium) was situated on the left bank of the Euphrates 200 miles below al-Raqqah. See LeStrange, Lands, 105.
45. the Hanî was one of two canals (the other being the Maîr) dug by the Caliph, Hishâm b. 'Abd al-Malik. They gave their names to adjacent estates. See Yâqût, Mu'jam, IV, 994.
Kāmil, fortifying themselves within and barring the doors against Marwān. He sent to them asking, “What have you done? Have you thrown off obedience and broken your oath of allegiance to me after you gave me solemn pledge and covenants?” They replied to his messengers, “We are with Sulaymān, against all who oppose him.” He then told them, “I earnestly warn you and caution you that if you oppose any one of those following me in my army, or let any harm come to him from you, you will bring my punishment upon you. There will be no safety for you from me.” They sent word, “We shall desist.” And Marwān passed on. Then they took to coming out of their fortress, attacking stragglers and scattered groups of the army who were following Marwān, and stripping them of their horses and weapons. Word of this came to him, and he burned with rage against them. Around seventy thousand men of the Syrian army had gathered around Sulaymān, including the Dhakwāniyyah and other groups, and camped at a village of the Banū Zu far, called Khusāf, in the territory of Qinnasrin. When Marwān drew near there, Sulaymān sent out al-Saksāki at the head of about seven thousand men, and Marwān sent 'Isā b. Muslim with about the same number. The two forces met in the area between the two camps and fought a fierce battle. Al-Saksāki and 'Isā, each one a heroic cavalryman, clashed in battle. They jousted until their lances were broken, then they drew their swords. Al-Saksāki struck the forepart of 'Isā's horse so its harness fell down to its chest, and the horse went out of control. Al-Saksāki cut him off, struck him with his mace, and felled him. He then dismounted and took him prisoner. At this, one of the cavalry of Antioch called Silsāq, an officer of the Slavs (Ṣaqālibah) appeared and captured al-Saksāki. Marwān’s vanguard was put to flight, and word of this reached him en route. He kept on, concentrating on his preparations, and did not dismount until he reached Sulaymān. Marwān had set his troops in order and was now ready to fight. Sulaymān did not expect him and was taken by surprise. He and those with him fled. Marwān’s horsemen pursued them, killing some and capturing others, until he reached and

46. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 441 lists a Khusāf but makes no mention of this particular village.
47. Silsāq: the initial ‘i’ is conjectural.
48. The Ṣaqālibah were captives of Slavic origin who were brought to the Islamic lands as slaves. The initial “’i” in Silsāq is conjectural.
overran their camp. Then Marwān took up his position, and com-
mmanded his two sons to take theirs, while Kawthar, the chief of se-
curity, was in another place. He then ordered his army to take no
prisoners except those who were slaves (mamlūk). The count of the
slain on Sulaymān’s side that day exceeded thirty thousand. Ibrāhīm
the oldest son of Sulaymān was slain, and a maternal uncle of
Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik called Khālid b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī was
brought in. A big and very fleshy man, he was brought up to Marwān
with his tongue lolling out. “You profligate!” cried Marwān.
“Weren’t the wines and slave girls of Madīnah⁴９ enough to keep
you from running out with this excrement to fight against me?” He
said, “Commander of the Faithful, he made me do it! I beg you, for
God’s sake, and that of kinship!” Marwān answered, “So you tell
lies, too! How would he have forced you, when you came out with
your singing-girls and wineskins and guitars (barābit) with you in
his camp!” Marwān then killed him. Many of the prisoners from the
district forces claimed that they were slaves. He therefore refrained
from slaying them and commanded that they be sold with the other
slaves, along with the booty taken from their camp.

Sulaymān fled on until he reached Ḥims, where he was joined by
those of his supporters who had escaped. He made camp there and
rebuilt that part of the city walls which Marwān had ordered torn
down. On the day that Sulaymān was routed, Marwān sent ahead of-
ficers and guards (rabiṭah) with a detachment of cavalry. He ordered
them to reach the fortress of al-Kāmil before any news (of the battle)
arrived, and in his rage against those within (he ordered this detach-
ment) to surround it until he came there. The advance force arrived
and set up camp, and Marwān advanced and halted at his camp at
Wāsit. He sent a message to the defenders to deliver themselves to
his judgment, but they replied, “No, not until you guarantee all of
us safety.” He took his time with them, and had mangonels set up
against them. When the stones began to fall on them, they sub-
mitted to his judgment. He made an example of them, mutilating
them, but the people of Raqqah transported them, gave them shelter
and treated their wounds. Some of them perished, but most of them
survived. Their number altogether was around three hundred.

⁴９. Madīnah was the resort of the idle rich in the Umayyad period and noted for its
pleasures; see Masʿūdī, Murūj, IV, 254–44, or Hitti, History of the Arabs, 236–37.
Then Marwân set out after Sulaymân and those who had gathered around him at Ḥims. As he drew near, they had a meeting, and some of them said to the others, “How long shall we be forced to run from Marwân? Come, let us make a covenant to seek death, and not disperse once we have seen him until all of us are dead!” Around nine hundred of their cavalry who were prepared to die agreed to this. Sulaymân put Mu'āwiyyah al-Saksaki in charge of half his forces, setting Thubayt al-Bahrānī over the other half. They set out against Marwân, having agreed to attack him by night, if they could take him unawares. News of them and their plan reached Marwân, however, and he took precautions. He marched slowly, digging trenches, and staying in defensive battle formation. They were eager to attack him by night but could not, so they prepared for him by setting an ambush among some olive groves above the route he would take, in a village named Tall Mannas of Jabal al-Summāq.50 They came out against him while he was marching in battle formation, and turned their weapons on those who were with him, so he withdrew and called up his cavalry. Elements of his vanguard, the two wings and the rearguard gathered about him, and they fought the enemy from midmorning until after the afternoon prayer. Al-Saksakī51 encountered one of the riders of the Banū Sulaym, and they clashed. The Sulami pulled him off his horse, and dismounted to deal with him. He was assisted by a man of the Banū Tamim, and together they brought him prisoner to where Marwân had stationed himself. He said, “Praise to God who has empowered us over you; you’ve had too much from us!” Al-Saksaki cried, “Spare me, for I am the best rider among the Arabs!” But Marwân told him, “You lie, for the man who brought you in is a better rider than you are.” He gave the order, and he was bound. The number of those bound like him and put to death was six thousand. Thubayt and those who had been put to flight escaped.

When they came to Sulaymân, he put his brother Sa‘īd b.

50. Yāqūt, Mu’jam, IV, 871 lists Tall Mannas as a village in the district of Ḥims and as a fortress near Ma’arrat al-Nu‘mān. The latter was situated between Ḥims and Halab (Aleppo) and was famous for its olive groves. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, IV, 575. The Jabal al-Summāq was a large mountain region with many settlements. It was considered part of the western districts of Halab. Yāqūt, Mu’jam, II, 21.
51. At least two men of the Banū Saksak are identified in the accounts of the times: Mu’āwiyyah and Abū ‘Ilāqah. The text rarely distinguishes between them. The identity of the individual here cannot be ascertained.
Hishām in charge of the city of Himṣ. Recognizing that there was nothing he could do there, Sulaymān went to Tadmur and stayed there. Marwān encamped against Himṣ and besieged the defenders for ten months. He erected more than eighty mangonels and bombarded them with stones night and day. Throughout this time they made daily sallies and fought him. At times they raided the outskirts of his camp by night, attacking positions where they hoped they would find a breach or a gap in his defenses. When one setback after another had befallen them, they were forced to act humbly. They asked him to guarantee them all safety on condition they deliver to him Saʿīd b. Hishām and his two sons ʿUthman and Marwān, as well as a man named al-Saksaki,51 who used to raid Marwān's camp, and an Abyssinian who used to insult and slander him. Marwān consented to these terms. The story of the Abyssinian was that he would climb up on the city wall and fasten to his own penis that of a donkey. Then he would shout, "O Banū Sulaym, you sons of this and that, here is your banner!"52 and he would revile Marwān. When Marwān got control of him, he handed him over to the Banū Sulaym, who cut off his male organs and his nose and made an example of him. Marwān ordered the man called al-Saksaki killed, and Saʿīd and his two sons tightly secured. Then he began to move against al-Dāḥḥāk.

A source other than Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad gives a different account of what happened to Sulaymān b. Hishām after he was routed at the Battle of Khusāf: When Marwān routed Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik on the day of Khusāf, he fled to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar and went with him to al-Dāḥḥāk. He gave al-Dāḥḥāk his oath of allegiance and informed him of Marwān's transgressions and injustice. Inciting them against him, Sulaymān said, "I'll march with you, with my mawlās and all who follow me." He accompanied al-Dāḥḥāk when he moved against Marwān.

Shubayl b. ʿAzrah al-Dubbaʾī says of their pledging allegiance to al-Dāḥḥāk:

See ye not that God made His religion prevail,
so Quraysh prayed behind Bakr b. Wāʾil?

52. See n. 51 above.
53. This was an insult to Marwān who was called Marwān "al-Ḥimār," that is, "the ass." The expression "al-Ḥimār" was not intended to denigrate the Caliph's intelligence. On the contrary, it denoted strength and endurance.
Ibn 'Umar and his companions were of one accord in opposing al-Nadr b. Sa'id. Thus he knew that there was nothing he could do with them, so he departed at once to seek Marwān in Syria.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah—Bayhas: By Dhū al-Qa'dah 127 (early August 745), Syria was pacified under Marwān and he had removed all those opposing him. Hence he summoned Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah and sent him as governor to Iraq, adding the troops of the Jazirah to his command. He advanced until he camped at the Canal of Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik,54 and Ibn 'Umar sent a message to al-Dāhḫāk informing him of this. Bayhas continues: Al-Dāhḫāk assigned Maysān55 to us, saying, "That will suffice you until we see what transpires." Ibn 'Umar appointed his mawlā al-Ḥakam b. Nu'īmān in charge of it.

As for Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām:56 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar made peace with al-Dāhḫāk with the understanding that al-Dāhḫāk should retain all of Kūfah and its surrounding lands, while Ibn 'Umar should retain all that he still held of Kaskar, Maysān, Dastmaysān, the districts of the Tigris, Ahwāz and Fārs. Al-Dāhḫāk moved on to encounter Marwān at Kafartūthā in the Jazirah territory.

Abū 'Ubaydah reported: Al-Dāhḫāk made preparations to go against Marwān, and al-Nadr passed making for Syria. He camped at Qādisiyah, and word of it came to Milhān al-Shaybānī, al-Dāhḫāk's governor of Kūfah. Milhān came out against al-Nadr and fought him, although he had with him only a few of the Khārijītes. Al-Nadr gave battle, and Milhān persisted until al-Nadr slew him. In a lament for him and 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Alqamah, Ibn Khudrah said:

How many are like Milhān, Khārijīte trusted brother, and Ibn 'Alqamah, a Khārijīte who found martyrdom?

A sincere man to whom I devoted my affection, who sold my house at highest bargain of any abode;57

54. The canal (naḥṭ) named after Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik was situated outside of Raqqah. The reference here is probably to a second Nahr Sa'īd which was in the area of Basrah. See n. 54 below and Yaqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 840.
55. Maysān was a district between Basrah and Wāṣit. See Yaqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 840.
57. I.e., exchanged this world for paradise.
Brothers in truth whom I hoped for and forsook; I complain to God of my desertion and abandonment.

Word reached al-Dahhak of the slaying of Milhan, so he appointed al-Muthannâ b. 'Imrân of the Banû 'A'idah as his governor in Kufah. Then al-Dahhak marched in Dhû al-Qa'dah 127 [May 745], and took Mosul. Ibn Hubayrah now moved from the Canal of Sa'id and camped at Ghazzah by 'Ayn al-Tamr.º Word of this reached al-Muthannâ b. 'Imrân al-'A'idhi, al-Dahhak's governor in Kufah, so he marched against Ibn Hubayrah with the Kharijite troops at his disposal. With him was Mansûr b. Jumhûr, who had gone over to him when he pledged allegiance to al-Dahhak, in opposition to Marwan. The two forces met at Ghazzah and fought a violent battle for several days. Al-Muthannâ was slain, as were 'Uzayr and 'Amr, two of al-Dahhak's chieftains, while Mansûr fled and the Kharijites were routed. Muslim, the chamberlain of Yazid, said concerning this:

War let al-Muthannâ see his death, that day of Ghazzah, and flung 'Uzayr dead among those boulders,

She brought to 'Amr doom, while already about Mansûr were drawn the ropes of the snare.

Ghaylân b. Ḥurayth says in his panegyrlic of Ibn Hubayrah:

You vanquished on the Day of al-'Ayn those whom you met, like the victory of a David over a Goliath.

When those slain on the Day of al-'Ayn were slain and Mansûr b. Jumhûr had fled, he went straight on until he entered Kufah and gathered together a group of the Yaman faction and the Ṣufriyyah, including those who had dispersed the day Milhan was slain and those who had held back from following al-Dahhak. Mansûr gathered all these together and marched with them to camp at Rawhâ,'° while Ibn Hubayrah advanced with his troops until he encountered them. He fought them for several days and then put

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º. 'Ayn al-Tamr is situated between al-Anbâr and Kufah. It commanded the military approaches from the western desert to Iraq and especially Kufah. See EI² s.v. 'Ayn al-Tamr. The Ghazzah mentioned here cannot be identified.

°. Yaqtû, Mu'jam, II, 820 lists al-Rawhâ as a village in the vicinity of Baghdad along the 'Isâ Canal.
them to flight. Al-Birdhāwn b. Marzūq al-Shaybānī was slain, and Manṣūr fled. Concerning this, Ghaylān b. Ḥurayth said:

The day of Rawḥā’ al-‘Udhayb when they dispatched Ibn Marzūq, a deadly swift poison.

Ibn Hubayrah advanced until he was settled in Kūfah and drove the Khārijites from the city. Word of what had happened to his followers reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who sent for ‘Ubaydah b. Sawwār al-Taghlibī and sent him against Ibn Hubayrah’s forces. Ibn Hubayrah moved from Kūfah, intending to get to Wāsīt while ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar was there. He appointed ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Bashir al-‘Ijli as governor of Kūfah. On the next day ‘Ubaydallah b. Sawwār came up with his cavalry and stationed himself at the Sarāt Canal,60 where he was joined by Manṣūr b. Jumhūr. Word of this reached Ibn Hubayrah and he marched against them. The two forces encountered each other at the Sarāt in the year 127 (745).

According to what is mentioned,61 in this year (the ‘Abbasid naqibs) Sulaymān b. Kathir, Lāhiz b. Qurayz, and Qaḥṭabah b. Shabib went to Mecca, where they met with Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad the Imām [of the ‘Abbasid Shi‘ah]. They informed him that they had with them twenty thousand dinārs and two hundred thousand dirhams, as well as much musk and other goods. He ordered them to turn it over to Ibn “Urwat the mawlā of Muḥammad b. ‘Ali. This

60. It is not clear from context whether the reference to the Sarāt is to the canal that emptied into the Tigris at Baghdad [at this time a village] or to the Shaṭṭ al-Nil which Ibn Serapion called the “Great Sarāt” that linked the Euphrates and Tigris north of the ruins of Babylon. See LeStrange, Lands, 72.

year they had brought Abū Muslim with them, and Ibn Kathir told Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad, “This is your mawlā.”

Also this year, Bukayr b. Māḥān wrote to Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad informing him that he was at death’s door, and that he had chosen (Abū Salamah) Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān as his successor and the latter was willing. Ibrāhim wrote to Abū Salamah instructing him to take command of his followers, and wrote to his people in Khurāsān informing them that he had entrusted Abū Salamah with their affairs. Abū Salamah then went to Khurāsān. The Khurāsānis approved of him and accepted his leadership, and turned over to him what had been gathered on their behalf as contributions of their Shi‘ah, and the fifth part of their wealth.

'Ābd al-Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Ābd al-Azīz led the Pilgrimage this year. He was Marwān’s governor for Madīnah, Mecca and Tā‘īf. Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī reported this from someone—Iṣḥāq b. 'Isā—Abū Ma‘shar; al-Wāqīdī and others have said the same.

The governor of Iraq in this year was al-Nadr b. al-Ḥarashī. We have already mentioned what transpired between him and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and al-Dāḥḥāk al-Ḥarūrī. In Khurāsān Naṣr b. Sayyār was governor, but there were also those who contended with him for power there, such as Juday' al-Kirmānī (leader of the Yamanis) and al-Ḥārith b. Surayj (al-Murji‘ī).63
The Events of the Year

128

(OCTOBER 3, 745–SEPTEMBER 21, 746)

Among the events of this year was the slaying of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj in Khurāsān.64

The Slaying of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj

We have already mentioned the letter of Yazīd b. al-Walid b. al-Walid to al-Ḥārith with a pardon for him, and how al-Ḥārith then left the land of the Turks for Khurāsān and went to Naṣr b. Sayyār. We also mentioned how Naṣr treated him,65 and how adherents collected around al-Ḥārith in answer to his call.

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad (al-Mada'ini)—his shaykh:

When Ibn Hubayrah took control of Iraq, he wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār of his appointment, and Naṣr gave his allegiance to Marwān. Then al-Ḥārith said, “It was only Yazīd b. al-Walid who gave me his promise of safety, and Marwān will not confirm a pardon made by Yazīd—I do not trust him.”

Naṣr called for the oath of allegiance to Marwān, but Abū al-Salīl reviled Marwān. When he called on al-Ḥārith to give the oath, Salm

64. See Ibn Khayyāt, II, 405.
65. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1887ff, sub anno 126.
b. Āhwaz al-Tamimi came to him, as well as Khālid b. Huraym, Qaṭān b. Muḥammad, 'Abbād b. al-Abrah b. Qurrah and Ḥammād b. 'Āmir. They spoke with him, saying, "Why should Naṣr render his authority and his governorship into the hands of your people? Didn't he bring you out of the land of the Turks, away from the rule of the Khāqān? He delivered you so that your enemies would not take heart against you. But you opposed him; you forsook the rule of your own tribe ['āshīrah] and emboldened their enemy against them. We would remind you of God, lest you scatter our unity [jama'ah]!" Al-Ḥārith replied, "Truly, I see the governorship in the hands of al-Kirmānī, but the rule in the hands of Naṣr." Thus he would not agree with them as they desired. He went out to a walled garden belonging to Ḥamzah b. Abī Silih al-Sulāmī, opposite the palace of the Bukhārakhudā, and camped there. He sent a message to Naṣr saying, "Submit the [question of] rule to consultation [shūrā]." But Naṣr refused. Then al-Ḥārith came out and went to the dwellings of Ya'qūb b. Dāwud. He ordered Jahm b. Safwān the mawla of the Banū Rasīb to read a document describing al-Ḥārith's program (sirah) to the people. At that, they went away exclaiming "Allahu Akbar!" Al-Ḥārith sent a messenger to Naṣr saying, "Discharge Salm b. Āhwaz from your security force and employ Bishr b. Biṣṭām al-Burjumī." There occurred some words between him and Mughallis b. Ziyād, whereupon the Qays and the Tamim split into separate factions. At this, Naṣr discharged Salm, but employed Ibrahim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān. The two groups then chose some men to nominate for them men mindful of the Book of God. Naṣr chose Muqāṭīl b. Sulaymān and Muqāṭīl b. Ḥayyān, while al-Ḥārith selected al-Mughirāh b. Shu'bah al-Jahdāmi and Mu'ādh b. Jabalāh. Naṣr instructed his secretary to record whatever precedents (sunan) were acceptable to

66. Bukhārakhudā was the title of the native prince of Bukhārā.
67. That is, the ruler would have been chosen by an electoral council [shūrā]. The decision would thus have been taken out of the hands of Naṣr b. Sayyār and given to a wider community.
68. Jahm b. Safwān was the secretary and advisor of al-Ḥārith as well as the intellectual protagonist of his revolt. His views were obscure, but a sect identified as his followers was later condemned by Ahmad b. Hanbal as propagating belief in the created Qur'ān. They also held to an extreme view of predestination. See EI² s.v. Djahmiyya. The Banū Rasīb were a sub-group of the Azd, a major group of the Yaman in Khurāsān. See EI² s.v. Azd.
69. Text: faqarrat; read fatafarragat Qays wa Tamim following the Cairo ed.
them” and the governors they chose, so that he might appoint them to the two frontier zones, that is, the frontier of Samarqand and that of Ťukhāristān.” He also instructed him to write to those who governed there what they saw fit in the way of programs and precedents. At this, Salm b. Ḥwaz asked Naṣr for permission to assassinate al-Ḥārith, but he refused, and appointed in his stead Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣā’īgh, who used to send his son Ishāq to Marw with turquoises.

Al-Ḥārith had proclaimed that he was “He of the Black Banners.” Naṣr sent to him saying, “If you are the one you claim, you will tear down the walls of Damascus and bring the rule of the Banū Umayyah to an end. So take five hundred men from me and two hundred camels, and load up with whatever wealth and weapons you will, and go! By my life, if you are the one you mention, then I am indeed in your hands; but if you are not that one, then you have destroyed your tribe.” Al-Ḥārith replied, “I have learned that this [claim] is true, but none of my followers have given me an oath of allegiance on that basis.” Naṣr answered, “Then it is clear that they are not of your opinion, and have nothing like your clairvoyance, and that they are sinners and ruffians. I exhort you in God’s name for the twenty thousand of the Rabī‘ah and the Yaman that shall perish in the conflict between you!” Naṣr also proposed to make al-Ḥārith governor of Transoxiana, and to give him three hundred thousand (pieces of silver), but he did not accept. Then Naṣr told him, “If you wish then begin with al-Kirmānī, and if you kill him, then I will obey you. Or if you wish, stay out of our quarrel, and if I am victorious over him, then do as you see fit. Or if you wish, then

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70. Perhaps the precedents of the Prophet and his companions. Al-Ḥārith’s movement had called for governing by the book of God and the precedent (sunnah) of the Prophet, and Naṣr was trying to conciliate al-Ḥārith and the pietists, who demanded justice for the convert element.

71. These areas had a large Turkish population and many Iranians who had converted to Islam. Ibn Surayj had a large following there.

72. That is, he who leads the revolt against the Umayyad regime and ushers in the messianic age. The movement of Ibn Surayj had many parallels to that of the ‘Abbāsids who were similarly imbued with messianic fervor and saw themselves as restoring the sunnah of the Prophet. See Sharon, ‘Aliyat, 139ff. On the black flags see Omar, “al-Alwān,” Bulletin of the College of Arts (Baghdad University, XIV [1571]: 828ff.
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... go with your followers," and once you pass Rayy then I shall do as you say!"

Nasr and al-Harith came face to face, and agreed that Muqātil b. Hayyān and Jahm b. Shafwān should arbitrate their differences. Their judgment was that Nasr should abdicate, and the government be decided by consultation (shūrā), but Nasr did not accept it. Jahm kept telling stories in his tent in al-Ḥarīth's camp, while al-Ḥarīth kept opposing Naṣr. Then Naṣr issued orders to his people of the Banū Salamah and others. He sent Salm into the city to the house of Ibn Sawwār, and gave him command of the guard (rābiṭah). He gave Hudbāh b. 'Āmir al-Sha'rāwī some cavalry, and sent him into the city as well. Naṣr appointed 'Abd al-Salām b. Yazid b. Hayyān al-Sulamī governor of the city, and transferred the weapons and the government registries to the Quhandiz. He suspected that a group of his followers had corresponded with al-Ḥarīth. He thus had those whom he suspected, and who had not been put to the test, sit to his left, and he had those whom he had empowered and entrusted sit at his right. He then spoke, and mentioned the Banū Marwān and those who had rebelled against them, and how God had given him victories. Then he said, "I praise God, but I blame those on my left hand. I took over Khurāsān when you, O Yūnus b. 'Abd Rabbihī, were one of those who wanted to flee from the burden of providing for Marw. You and the people of your family were of those who wanted Asad b. Abdallāh to put his seal on their necks, and make foot-soldiers of them." Yet I befriended you when I became your governor and treated you well. I commanded you to take away what you had received when I wanted to travel to al-Walīd. Some of you

73. Text: aṣḥābi "my followers," read aṣḥābuka "your followers" as in the Cairo ed.
74. Muqātil b. Hayyān was the son of the Iranian convert and mediator Ḥayyān al-Nabāṭī. For the latter see Tabari, index, 158, and Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, pp. 473, 496, 536.
75. The Quhandiz was the inner citadel at Marw, the size of a small city. It was surrounded by a larger walled urban area beyond which were the suburban districts that stretched along the canals of the oasis. See LeStrange, Lands, 358.
76. That is Asad b. Abdallāh al-Qasri, the former governor of Khurāsān who favored the Yamani faction and brought Juday' al-Kirmānī in as his lieutenant.
77. Arabs rode to battle. To be made infantry was regarded as degrading. Foot-soldiers were usually non-Arabs.
took a million [pieces of silver], more or less. And then you conspired with al-Ḥārith against me. Why didn't you look at these free men who stuck with me, recipients of bounty, suffering no distress?" Here he indicated those who were on his right hand. At this, those on his left apologized to him, and he accepted their plea.

A number of people came to Naṣr from the districts of Khurāsān when word reached them of the internal strife he was encountering. Among them were ʿĀsim b. ʿUmayr al-Suraymi, Abū al-Dhayyāl al-Nāji, ʿAmr al-Fādusbān78 al-Sughdī al-Bukhārī and Ḥassān b. Khālīd al-Asadī from Ṭukhāristan with their cavalry. They also included ʿĀqil b. Maʿqīl al-Laythī, Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim and Saʿīd al-Ṣaghīr with more horsemen.

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj wrote out his program and it was read in the great public street of Marw and in the mosques, and many people responded to it.

A man read it out at Naṣr's door in Majān,79 whereupon Naṣr's slaves beat him. At this, al-Ḥārith broke his compact with Naṣr. Hubayrah b. Sharāhil and Yazīd Abū Khālīd came and informed Naṣr, and he summoned al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd, the mawla of Quraysh, ordering him to proclaim, "Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj is the enemy of God. He has broken faith and declared war, so call upon God for aid; there is no might nor power save in God!" That same night he sent ʿĀsim b. ʿUmayr to al-Ḥārith, and asked al-Khalīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, "What shall we employ as our battle cry tomorrow?" Muqāṭīl b. Sulaymān said, "When God sent a prophet and he fought the enemy, his battle cry was 'Ḥā-Mīm, they shall not be victorious!'" Thus their battle cry was "Ḥā-Mīm, they shall not be victorious!" The emblem on their lances was wool.80 Salm b. ʿAhwaz, ʿĀsim b. ʿUmayr, Qatān, ʿĀqil b. Maʿqīl, Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Saʿīd al-Ṣaghīr, ʿĀmir b. Malik, and a number of others were on the edge of the Ṭukhāriyāh quarter, while Yahyā b. Ḥuḍayn and the Rabiʿah were in [the quarter of] the Bukhārīs. A man from the city of Marw guided al-Ḥārith to a hole in the wall, and al-Ḥārith went there, breached the wall and entered the city in

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78. Text: al-Qāwusān; Cairo ed. al-Fādusbān.
79. A large western suburb of Marw where the Government Palace (Dār al-Imārah) stood in ʿAbbāsid times. See LeStrange, Lands, 399.
80. The wearing of wool was a sign of asceticism in early Islam. It appears that Naṣr's forces were countering pietism with pietism.
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the area near the Bālīn Gate81 with fifty men. They cried out "Yā Mansūr! [O divinely aided]," al-Ḥārīth’s battle cry. They then came to Bāb Niq, where Jahm b. Masʿūd al-Nājī fought them. A man charged at Jahm, but he speared him in the mouth, killing him. Then they went out through Bāb Niq until they came to the pavilion (qubbah) of Salm b. Aḥwaz, where ‘Īṣmāḥ b. Ṣabdallāh al-Asadi, Khāḍir b. Khālid and al-Abraḍ b. Dāwūd of the family of al-Abraḍ b. Qurrah fought them. At the Bālīn Gate was Ḥāzīm b. Ḥātim, and they slew all who were guarding it and began to plunder the dwellings of Ibn Aḥwaz and of Qudayd b. Manī’, Al-Ḥārīth forbade them to take anything except mounts and weapons from these houses or from the house of Ibrāḥīm and ‘Īsā, the two sons of ‘Ṣabdallāh al-Sulāmī. This occurred on Sunday night at the end of Jumādā II [March 14, 746].

A messenger from Salm came to inform Naṣr that al-Ḥārīth was nearby, and he sent back the message, “Delay him until morning.” Then Muḥammad b. Qaṭān b. ‘Imrān al-Asadi also sent word to him that most of his followers had rebelled, and Naṣr replied, “Don’t you be the one to begin the fighting.” What provoked the conflict was that a slave of al-Nadr b. Muḥammad the Jurist, a man called ‘Atiyyah, went over to Salm’s followers. At this, the followers of al-Ḥārīth said, “Give him back to us.” This they refused, and so they started fighting. A slave of ‘Aṣīm was struck in the eye and died, and ‘Aṣīm fought them along with ‘Aqīl b. Maʿqīl and put them to flight. They ran off to al-Ḥārīth, who was saying the prayer of daybreak in the mosque of Abū Bakrah, the mawla of the Banū Tamīm. As soon as he finished the prayer he went up to them, and they went back to the edge of the Ṭukharian quarter. Then two men approached him and ‘Aṣīm called out to them, “Hamstring his horse!” At this, al-Ḥārīth struck one of them with his mace killing him, and retreated to the street of the Ṣuḥḍīs. There he saw Aʿyān, the mawla of Ḥayyān, and forbade him to fight, but he fought (nonetheless) and was killed. Al-Ḥārīth turned into the street of the Banū ‘Īṣmāḥ, and Ḥammād b. ʿĀmīr al-Ḥimmānī and Muḥammād b. Zurʿah followed

81. The Bālīn Gate was the northwest gate of the inner city. See LeStrange, Lands, 399.
82. For messianic titles in late Umayyad and early ’Abbāsid times see Lewis, “Regnal Titles” in the Dr. Zakir Hussain Presentation Volume [New Delhi, 1968].
him. He broke both their spears, and then charged Marzūq, the mawla of Salm. As he drew near him, however, al-Ḥārith’s horse bolted with him into a shop. He drove his mount into the rear wall, and it was killed.

When Salm awoke in the morning, he rode to Bāb Niq and ordered the people to dig a trench. They dug it, and he instructed a herald to proclaim, “Whoever brings in [an enemy] head shall have three hundred [silver pieces].” The sun had hardly risen before al-Ḥārith was routed—he had fought them all night long. When we awoke in the morning Naṣr’s followers took the Razīq Canal. They overtook ‘Abdallāh b. Mujjā’ah b. Sa’d, and slew him. Salm went as far as al-Ḥārith’s camp and then turned back to Naṣr, who forbade him to advance, but he said, “I’m not stopping until I get into the city and fight that dabbūsī [club-wielder]!”

Muḥammad b. Qatān and ‘Ubaydallāh b. Bassām went with him to the Dar Sankān Gate, which is in the Quhandiz, and found it shut. However, ‘Abdallāh b. Mazyad al-Asadi climbed the wall with three men and opened the gate. Ibn Ahwaz entered, and set Abū al-Muṭahhar Ḥarb b. Sulaymān to guard the gate. That day Salm slew a secretary of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj whose name was Yazīd b. Dāwūd. He gave the order to ‘Abd Rabbīhi b. Sīsan, who killed him. Salm went on to Bāb Niq and opened it and killed a man from the Butchers’ Quarter who had showed al-Ḥārith the hole (in the wall).

Al-Mundhir al-Raqqāshi, the paternal cousin of Yaḥyā b. Ḥudayn said, mentioning the fortitude of al-Qāsim al-Shaybānī:

None of you fought the enemy but our comrade,
With a band who fought steadfastly, unafraid;

They fought at the gate of the fortress and weakened not
Till God’s help came to them and they conquered.

83. The Razīq was one of the four main canals which issued from the basin created by damming the Murghāb River. The canals watered the Marw Oasis and then ran into a marsh and were lost in the desert. See LeStrange, Lands, 398–99.
84. Dabbūsī was a disparaging term. Clubs, which were a favored weapon of the Iranian converts to Islam, may have acquired a symbolic meaning, e.g., schismatics.
85. That is the gate leading to Dar Sankān, a village adjacent to Marw. According to Yaqūt the village was also called Sinjān or Sanjān. See Mu’jam, III, 160.
Thus Qāsim following God's command guarded it,  
While you confined yourself to withdrawal from that place.

It is said that when the matter of al-Kirmānī and al-Ḥārith grew rough, Naṣr sent a message to al-Kirmānī, who came to him under a truce. Present with them were Muḥammad b. Thābit the Qādī, Miqḍām b. Nuʿaym the brother of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Nuʿaym al-Ghāmīdī, and Salm b. Ahwaz. Naṣr called on them to unite, and said to al-Kirmānī, "You will be the happiest of men in that." Then some words occurred between Salm and Miqdām, and Salm spoke rudely to him. Miqdām's brother then took his part, and al-Sughdī b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ḥazmī became angry with them both. Salm said, "I'd like to cut your nose off with a sword." And al-Sughdī told him, "Were you to touch your sword, your hand would not come back to you." At this, al-Kirmānī feared that this was a plot on Naṣr's part, so he rose and clung to Naṣr. He would not sit down, but went back to the door of the maqṣūrah. His followers met him with his horse, and he mounted there in the mosque. Naṣr said, "He intended treachery to me." Al-Ḥārith then sent Naṣr the message, "We do not accept you as a leader of prayer." Naṣr replied, "How should you know [of such things]? You dissipated your life in the land of idolatry and raided the Muslims with idolators! Do you think that I would humble myself to you more than I have already done?"

That day Jahm b. Ṣafwān, the leader of the Jahmiyyah was taken prisoner and he told Salm, "I have a promise from your son Ḥārith!" He replied, "He should not have given it, and even if he did, I would not give you protection. Even if you filled this wrapper with stars, and Jesus the son of Mary pronounced you guiltless to me, you would not be delivered! By God, if you were in my belly, I would cut my belly open to kill you! And by God, no one will rise against us with the Yamanis to an extent greater than you have done!" He then ordered ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Sisan to kill him, and the people said, "Abū Muḥriz is slain;" for Jahm's patronymic was Abū Muḥriz.

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86. It appears that this meeting was arranged in the maqṣūrah of the mosque, the governor's prayer enclosure, so as to afford the participants maximum privacy and protection.
87. See n. 68 above.
88. The text is walth; it should be read walī, following the Cairo edition.
Hubayrah b. Sharāhil and 'Abdallāh b. Mujjā‘ah were taken prisoner that day, and he [Salm] said, "May God not spare him who spares you, though you are both of Tamim." It is also said that Hubayrah was killed when the cavalry overtook him at the house of Qudayd b. Manī’.

When Naṣr routed al-Ḥārith, the latter sent his son Ḥātim to al-Kirmānī. At this, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā told al-Kirmānī, "They are both your enemies. Let them fight each other." But al-Kirmānī sent al-Sughdī b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ḥazmī back with him, and al-Sughdī entered the city near the Maykhān Gate. Then al-Ḥārith came, and entered the tent of al-Kirmānī. With al-Kirmānī were Dāwūd b. Shu‘ayb al-Ḥuddānī and Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā. The time for prayer came, and al-Kirmānī prayed with them. Then al-Ḥārith mounted, and Jamā‘ah b. Muḥammad b. ‘Azīz Abū Khalaf went with him. The next day al-Kirmānī went to the gate of Maydān Yazid, and fought Naṣr’s followers. Sa‘d b. Salm al-Marāghi was slain, and the banner of ‘Uthmān b. al-Kirmānī was captured.

The first to bring the news of al-Ḥārith’s rout to al-Kirmānī—he was encamped at Bāb Māṣarjasān, one farsakh [6 km] from the city—were al-Nadr b. Ghallaq al-Sughdī and ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Munakkhkhal. Then came Sawādāh b. Surayj (Ḥātim b. al-Ḥārith, and Khālīl b. Ghazwān al-‘Adawī, bringing him the oath of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj). The first to give the oath of allegiance to al-Kirmānī was Yāḥyā b. Nu‘aym b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī. Then al-Kirmānī sent Sawrah b. Muḥammad al-Kindi to al-Ḥārith (at Asmānir), as well as well

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89. According to Dinawari, 352, this man was a chief of the Rabī‘ah in Marw who joined al-Kirmānī, while Tabari’s accounts seem always to associate him with the Azd. Dinawari’s extended account [352–62] of the tribal war contains details not found in Tabari, but there is no mention of Ibn Surayj. The account is confined to al-Kirmānī’s quarrel with Naṣr b. Sayyār.

90. Both editions read maykhān, “tavern;” miyān is also possible.

91. This was the forging of a coalition against the Qays. It was, however, an inherently unstable alliance, for while al-Ḥārith had a following of converts and tribesmen of the Yaman, he and his core following were from the Tamim. Some of the Tamim, such as Salm b. Ahwāz, supported Naṣr b. Sayyār. The Tamim were the natural allies of the Qays.

92. The brother of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj.

93. This phrase is missing from the text and is supplied from the Cairo edition.

94. The text records that a word is missing. The reading is supplied by the Cairo edition. There is no entry for Asmānir in Yāqūt.
as al-Sughdī b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Abū Tu‘mah, and Sa‘b or Su’ayb, and Šabbāh. They entered the city from Bāb Maykhān until they came to Bāb Rakak. Then al-Kirmānī advanced to the gate of Ḥarb b. ‘Āmir and sent his followers against Naṣr on Wednesday. They exchanged volleys, but abstained from further combat, and there was no fighting on Thursday. Then they encountered each other on Friday, and the Azd fled back to al-Kirmānī. He took their standard in his hand and fought with it. Al-Khaḍir b. Tamīm charged (Naṣr’s men) wearing a coat of mail, and they shot arrows at him. Then Ḥubaysh, a mawla of Naṣr, dashed at him, and wounded him in the throat. Al-Khaḍir tore the spearhead from his throat with his left hand and his horse set off with him. He charged Ḥubaysh, speared him and threw him off his horse, and al-Kirmānī’s foot-soldiers finished him off with clubs.

Naṣr’s followers fled, and al-Kirmānī’s men captured eighty of their horses. Tamīm b. Naṣr was thrown, and two mounts of his were taken; al-Sughdī b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān took one of them, and al-Khaḍir took the other. Al-Khaḍir encountered Salm b. Ahwaz, took a mace from his nephew and clubbed Salm, and wrested him off his horse. Two men of Tamīm charged Salm, but he got away, and threw himself from the bridge. He had sustained some ten blows on his iron helmet, and he collapsed. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād carried him to Naṣr’s camp, and the forces withdrew. A few nights later, Naṣr came out of Marw, and ‘Īsmaḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadi was slain. He was defending Naṣr’s men, and Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḳa‘qā’ al-Azdi overtook him. ‘Īsmaḥ called, “Come on, Mazūn!” And Ṣāliḥ replied, “Hold tight, eunuch!” For ‘Īsmaḥ was childless. ‘Īsmaḥ turned his horse and it reared, whereupon he fell. Then Ṣāliḥ speared him and killed him. Ibn al-Daylimarī, a rajaz poet, fought and was slain at ‘Īsmaḥ’s side. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ḥawtamah al-Sulāmī was slain; Marwān al-Bahrānī hurled an iron bar at him, and he was killed. They brought his head to al-Kirmānī, and he recoiled, for ‘Ubaydallāh had been a friend of his. A Yamānī man seized the reins of Muslim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muslim’s horse, but he recognized him, so he let him go. They fought each other for three days and on

95. This was an insult reserved for the Azd (Mazūn was once a Persian name for ‘Uman). The Azd regarded it as an ethnic sneer. See Lisān al-‘Arab, XVII, 294 and n. 103.
96. Vocalization conjectural.
the last day the Muḍar put the Yaman to flight. Then al-Khalil b. Ghazwān called, “O men of Rabi‘ah and Yaman, al-Ḥārith has entered the bazaar; Ibn al-Aqṭa‘ [Naṣr] is slain; Muḍar’s strength has been broken!” The first who fled was Ibrāhīm b. Bassām al-Laythī. Tamīm, Naṣr’s son, dismounted to fight on foot, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jāmi‘ al-Kindī took his horse. Hayyāj al-Kalbī was slain, and Lqīṭ b. Akhdār was killed by a slave of Hānī al-Bazzār.

It is said that when Friday came, they prepared for battle and tore down (part of) the walls in order to give themselves more space. Al-Naṣr sent Muḥammad b. Qaṭan to al-Kirmānī with the message, “You are not like this club-wielder; fear God, and do not enter civil war [fitnah].” Tamīm b. Naṣr sent his armed retinue [Shākiriyyah], who were within the house of Jānūb bt. al-Qa‘qā‘, but the followers of al-Kirmānī shot at them from the roofs and were wary of them. Then ‘Aqīl b. Ma‘qīl said to Muḥammad b. al-Mūthannā, “Why are we killing ourselves for Naṣr and al-Kirmānī? Come, let us return to our own country in Tukharistān!” However, Muḥammad replied, “Naṣr did not keep faith with us, and we shall not stop fighting him.”

The partisans of al-Ḥārith and al-Kirmānī used to shoot at Naṣr and his followers with a ballista. Naṣr’s awning was struck while he was under it, but he did not move from it. Then he sent Salm b. Ahwaz against them, and he engaged them in battle. At first, the victory went to Naṣr, but when al-Kirmānī saw that, he took his banner from Muhammad b. Muhammad b. ‘Umayrā and fought with it until he broke it. Muhammad b. al-Mūthannā then set out with al-Zāgh and Hitṭān for Kārābakul, so that they emerged on the Rażiq Canal where Tamīm b. Naṣr held the bridge. When he came up to Tamīm, Muhammad told him, “Stand aside, boy!” Muḥammad was carrying a yellow banner while al-Zāgh accompanied him. They unhorsed A‘yān the mawla and chief clerk of Naṣr and slew him, along with a number of his Shākiriyyah. Al-Khādir b. Tamīm attacked Salm b. Ahwaz and speared him, but he deflected the blow. Then al-Khādir struck him on the chest with an iron bar,
and again on his shoulder. He struck him a third time on his head, and Salm fell down. Naṣr defended his followers with eight hundred men, and kept the enemy from entering the market.

When the Yaman had put the Muḍar to flight, al-Ḥārith sent Naṣr the message, “The Yaman blame me for your getting away, and I am refraining from fighting. Now set the staunchest of your followers in front of al-Kirmānī.” At this, Naṣr sent Yazīd al-Nahāwî or Khālid99 to him to ascertain from him that he would keep his word to refrain from fighting. It is said that al-Ḥārith only desisted from fighting Naṣr so that 'Imrān b. al-Fadl al-Azdi and the people of his house, and 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Adawī and Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb al-‘Adawī and most of his followers might be avenged on al-Kirmānī for what he did to the people of Tabūshkān.100 That was when Asad had sent al-Kirmānī against them, and they came out to submit themselves to Asad’s judgment. However, he slit open the bellies of fifty men and threw them into the Oxus, and cut off the hands and feet of three hundred of them. He crucified three men and sold their households to the highest bidder. They were thus taking revenge on al-Ḥārith for helping al-Kirmānī and fighting Naṣr.

When matters changed between him and al-Ḥārith, Naṣr said to his followers, “Muḍar will not unite in support of me as long as al-Ḥārith is with al-Kirmānī. They cannot agree on anything; the best idea is to leave them both, since they are quarreling.” He then went out to Julfar101 where he found 'Abd al-Jabbār al-‘Ahwāl al-‘Adawī and 'Umar b. Abī al-Haytham al-‘Sughdi, and asked them, “Are you pleased to stand with al-Kirmānī?” ‘Abd al-Jabbār told him, “May you never lack for affliction so long as you occupy this place!” When Naṣr came back to Marw, he ordered that 'Abd al-Jabbār be given four hundred lashes.

Naṣr now went to Kharaq102 and stayed there for four days. With him were Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim, Salm b. Ahwaz and Sinān al-A’rābī. Naṣr told his wives, “Al-Ḥārith will take my place,
and will protect you.” When he drew near to Naysābūr the people sent messengers asking, “What has brought you? Has some tribal quarrel flared up which God had extinguished?” Naṣr’s governor at Naysābūr was Dirār b. ‘Īsā al-‘Amiri, and Naṣr sent him Sinān al-A’rābī, Muslim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Salm b. Ahwaz, who spoke to the Naysābūris. Then they came out, and met Naṣr with a princely retinue, slave-girls, and gifts. At this, Salm told him, “God make me your ransom! This tribe is of Qays, and Qays was only remonstrating.” Naṣr replied:

I am the son of Khindif; its tribe increases me
In good deeds, and my paternal uncle is Qays ‘Aylān!

When Naṣr departed from Marw, Yūnus b. ‘Abd Rabbihī, Muḥammad b. Qaṭān and Khālid b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān accompanied him, with others who were their peers.

The source says that ‘Abbad b. ‘Umar al-Azdi, ‘Abd al-Hakīm b. Sa’īd al-Awdhī and Abū Ja’far ‘Īsā b. Jurz came to Naṣr at Abrashahr103 from Mecca, and Naṣr told ‘Abd al-Hakīm al-Awdhī, “Do you not see what the foolish men of your folk have done?” He replied, “Say rather the foolish men of your own folk. Their rule was prolonged in your governorship, and you rendered the government to your own people, excluding Raḥ‘ah and Yaman, so that they became insolent. There are forbearing people and foolish ones in both the Raḥ‘ah and Yaman, and the foolish ones prevailed over the wise.” ‘Abbad said, “Do you receive the Amir with such words?” But Naṣr told him, “Let him alone; he’s spoken the truth.” Then Abū Ja’far ‘Īsā b. Jurz—a man who came from a village on the river of Marw—said, “O Amir, you have merit [ḥasāb] in these matters and in your governorship, for truly a momentous matter is at hand. A man of obscure origins will rise and display black colors, and call men to a revolution [dawlah]104 which is to come. He will take the authority, and you shall see it and be shaken.” However, Naṣr said, “I do not think that will be, because of the lack of agreement among the people, their rancor and their mutual enmity. I sent an emissary

103. In early Islamic time Naysābūr [Nishāpūr] was known as Abrashahr. See LeStrange, Lands, 383.
104. For the term dawlah, see EI² s.v. Dawla. The man of unknown origins is a reference to Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī, and the aim of the account is to score a propaganda point for the ‘Abbāsids.
to al-Ḥārith when he was in the land of the Turks and offered him a
governorship and money, yet he refused and stirred up mischief, and
rose up against me.” Then Abū Ja‘far ‘Īsā said, “Al-Ḥārith is already
slain and crucified, and al-Kirmānī is not far from that fate.” Naṣr
bestowed gifts on ‘Īsā for this. Salm b. Ahwaz used to say, “I never
saw a folk more generous in response or more giving of their blood
than the Qays.”

When Naṣr departed from Marw, al-Kirmānī gained the upper
hand there, and told al-Ḥārith, “I want only the Book of God.”
[Later] Qaḥtabah said, “If he’d been telling the truth, I would have
reinforced him with a thousand horsemen.”

Muqāṭil b. Hayyān asked, “Is it in the Book of God to tear down
houses and seize wealth?” And al-Kirmānī confined him in a tent in
the camp. Then Mu‘ammar b. Muqāṭil b. Hayyān, or Mu‘ammar b.
Hayyān, spoke to al-Kirmānī, and he let Muqāṭil go. Later al-Kirmānī
went to the mosque, and al-Ḥārith stood by. Al-Kirmānī ad-
dressed the people and gave all of them a guarantee of safety, except
Muḥammad b. al-Zubayar and one other man. Dāwud b. Abī Dāwud
b. Ya‘qūb then asked him for surety for Muḥammad b. al-Zubayar.
The secretary came in and gave Muḥammad a guarantee. Al-Ḥārith
went to the Gate of Dūrān and Sarakhs, while al-Kirmānī
camped in Muṣallā Asad. He sent for al-Ḥārith, who came before
him and denied that he had destroyed people’s homes and taken
their possessions. Al-Kirmānī pondered but did nothing, and he re-
mained for several days. Then Bishr b. Jurmūz al-Ḍabbi rebelled at
Kharaqān, summoning men to the Qurʾān and the sunnah. He
told al-Ḥārith, “I only fought beside you seeking justice, but since
you have been with al-Kirmānī I have realized that you only fight so
that it will be said ‘al-Ḥārith has won.’ These people are [only] fight-
ing out of tribalism, so I’m not fighting on your side.” He then with-

105. The reference here is to Qaḥtabah b. Shabib, the great ’Abbāsid general who
did much to defeat the Umayyads [see EI s.v. Kaḥtaba b. Shabib]. This interjected
tradition supports the “message” that the ’Abbāsids alone were able and willing to
support the Book of God, and so fulfill the apocalyptic traditions.
106. That is, the main gate of Marw, Bāb al-Madinah, to the southwest. See Le-
Strange, Lands, 399.
107. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 424–25 lists several places under Kharaqān, Kharaqān and
Kharaqān, but none seems to be the place mentioned here. He also mentions a Khar-
qān Canal in the vicinity of Marw [I, 66], which is mentioned later in Tabari’s narra-
tive. There is also the possibility that Kharaq was intended. See n. 102 above.
drew (i'tazal) at the head of fifty-five hundred men—some say with only four thousand—and said, "We are the just detachment; we summon [people] to the truth, and we fight none but those who fight us." Al-Ḫārith came to the Mosque of ʿIyād, and sent to al-Kirmānī calling upon him to let the government be decided by consultation, but al-Kirmānī refused. Al-Ḫārith sent his son Muḥammad, and he moved his household from the house of Tamīm b. Naṣr. At this, Naṣr wrote to his own tribe and the Muḍar, "Stay with al-Ḫārith as good advisers." So they came to him, and al-Ḫārith told them, "You are the root and branch of the Arabs, but you are about to be routed, so come out to me with your households." They replied, "We never agree on anything without encountering it."

One of the administrative assistants in al-Kirmānī's camp was Muqāṭīl b. Sulaymān. A man of the Bukhrāris came to him and said, "Give me the payment for the mangonels I set up." He told him, "Establish the proof that you set them up for the sake of the Muslims." At this, Shaybāh b. Shaykh al-Azḍi testified for him. A draft on the treasury was then written for the man at Muqāṭīl's behest.

The followers of al-Ḫārith wrote to al-Kirmānī, "We advise you to fear God and to obey Him, to follow the path of imāms of guidance and to forbid of your blood what God has forbidden. If God joins us together, it will be for al-Ḫārith's earnest desire for a relationship with God and his sincere advice to His servants. We have exposed ourselves to war, our blood to spilling, and our property to destruction. All that is little to us, beside the reward we hope for from God. We are all brothers in religion, and helpers against the enemy. So fear God and return to the truth, for truly we desire not the spilling of blood unless it be lawful."

They remained for several days, and then al-Ḫārith b. Surayj came and bored a hole in the wall, near Nawbān at the house of Hishām b. Abī Haytham. At this, cautious people parted company with al-

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108. Bishr b. Jurmūz had fought with the Muṣriʾites of Jahm b. Safwān earlier. Some of the early Muʿtazilah were accused of following the teachings of Jahm later on. The Muʿtazilah, whose political program was "an upright Imām," took their name from a hadith which orders withdrawal from factions when the Imāmate is in doubt. The expression iʿtazala, "he withdrew," is at least suggestive of possible connections between the followers of Jahm b. Safwān and the Muʿtazilah.

109. The text is naqalahu, "he moved him," it should be read hawala thaqalahu, "he moved his household," as in the Cairo edition.
The Events of the Year 128

Hārith, saying, "You have acted treacherously." Al-Qāṣim al-Shaybānī and Rabī’ al-Taymī remained in one group, while al-Kirmānī came into the city from the Sarakhs Gate. Al-Ḥarīth opposed them. Al-Munakhkhal b. ‘Amr al-Azdi passed by, whereupon al-Samayda’, one of the Banū al-‘Adawiyah, slew him, crying out, "Now for the avengers of Laqīṭ!" Thereupon the two sides fought one another. Al-Kirmānī put Dāwud b. Shu‘ayb and his brothers Khālid, Mazyad and Muhallab on his right wing, and Sawrah b. Muḥammad b. Azīz al-Kindī on his left, leading the Kindah and the Rabī‘ah. The fighting grew fierce and al-Ḥarīth’s followers were put to flight and slain in the area between the breach in the wall and al-Ḥarīth’s camp. Al-Ḥarīth, who was on a mule, got off it and mounted a horse. He struck it, and it sped off as his followers fled. He stayed with some of his followers, and was slain at a tree. His brother Sawādāh, Bishr b. Jurmūz and Qaṭān b. al-Mughirah b. ‘Ajīd were also killed. Then al-Kirmānī stopped the fight. A hundred men were slain along with al-Ḥarīth, and so were a hundred of al-Kirmānī’s followers. Al-Ḥarīth’s headless body was crucified at the city of Marw. His death came thirty days after Naṣr’s departure from Marw, the last Sunday of Rajab (April 25, 746).

It was said that al-Ḥarīth was killed in this manner under an olive or sorb tree in the year 128 (745–746). Al-Kirmānī found sheets of gold belonging to al-Ḥarīth, which he seized. He put al-Ḥarīth’s concubine (umm walad) in confinement; then he let her go—she had once belonged to Ḥājib b. ‘Amr b. Salamah b. Jawn b. Dābib. He also seized the property of those who departed with Naṣr, and he took his choice of the furnishings of ‘Āsim b. ‘Umār. Ibrāhīm10 asked him, “By what right do you acquire his property?” At this, Șāliḥ of the family of al-Waḍḍāḥ said, “Pour out his blood for me!” But Muqāṭīb b. Sulaymān stepped between them and brought him to his house.

According to ‘Ālī (al-Madā‘ini)—Zuhayr b. al-Hunayd: Al-Kirmānī went out to Bishr b. Jurmūz and camped outside the city of Marw. Bishr had four thousand men, and al-Ḥarīth camped with al-Kirmānī. Al-Kirmānī stayed thus for some days, at a distance of two farsakhs (12 km) from Bishr’s camp. Then he advanced until he was close to it, intending to do battle with Bishr. He told al-Ḥarīth, [1933]

"Move up." But al-Ḥārith regretted having followed al-Kirmānī and said, "Don’t be in a hurry to fight them; I’ll get them back for you." He left the camp with ten horsemen and rode until they came to Bishr’s camp in the village of Darzijān and stayed with them, saying, "I was not one to fight against you with the Yamanis!" Then the Muḍar began to steal away from the camp of al-Kirmānī to al-Ḥārith until none of the Muḍar remained with al-Kirmānī except two men: Salamah b. Abi 'Abdallah the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, who said, "By God, I shall never follow al-Ḥārith, for I know that he is a deceiver," and Muhallab b. Iyās, who said, "I will not follow him, for I have never seen him except leading cavalry which has been repulsed."

Then al-Kirmānī engaged them repeatedly. They would fight each other, and then go back behind their trenches. One time the advantage would be with one side, and another time with the other. On one such day they met in battle when Marthad b. 'Abdallah al-Mujāshi‘ī had been drinking. He went out drunk on a horse belonging to al-Ḥārith. He was hit with a lance and thrown from his mount. Some horsemen of the Banū Tamim protected him until he was safe, but the horse ran away. When he came back, al-Ḥārith blamed him, and said, "You almost killed yourself." He told al-Ḥārith, "You only say that because of your horse; may his wife be divorced if I don’t bring you a livelier [horse than yours from their camp!" The next day they fought again, and Marthad said, "Who has the liveliest horse in their camp?" They told him, "'Abdallah b. Daysam al-'Anazi," and pointed to where he stood. Marthad fought until he reached him, and then struck him. Ibn Daysam threw himself from his horse, and Marthad hooked the reins of the horse on his lance and led it until he came to al-Ḥārith. Then he said, "Take this in place of your horse." Mukhallad b. al-Ḥasan encountered Marthad later, and said in jest, "How fine the horse of Ibn Daysam is under you!" At this, he dismounted and said, "Take it!" He replied, "You want to disgrace me! You took it from us in war, and shall I take it in peace?"

They remained thus for some days. Then al-Ḥārith moved off by night and came to the walls of Marw and bored an opening and entered within the walls. Then al-Kirmānī entered, and al-Ḥārith

111. The text lacks the bracketed words, which are supplied by the Cairo edition.
moved off. At this the Mudar told al-Ḥārith, "We left the trenches when the day was ours, and you've run away more than once, so dismount and fight on foot!" He told them, "I'm more good to you as a horseman than as a foot-soldier." However, they said, "We will not be satisfied unless you dismount." He thus dismounted to fight between the wall of Marw and the city. Al-Ḥārith was killed along with his brother and Bishr b. Jurmūz and a number of cavalry from the Tamīm, while the rest were put to flight. Al-Ḥārith was crucified, and Marw was given over to the Yaman, who tore down the houses of the Muḍar.

When al-Ḥārith was slain, Naṣr b. Sayyār composed these verses:

Now, bringer of humiliation upon his folk,
may removal and distance be yours in death!

Your evil fortune made all Muḍar to fall,
and diminished the reputation of your people.

Azd and its partisans were not wont [before you]
to hope to overcome 'Amr or Mālik

Nor the Banū Sa'd, when they bridled
each swift horse deadly black in color!

It is also said that Naṣr addressed these verses to 'Uthmān b. Ṣadaqah al-Māzīnī. Umm Kathīr al-Ḍabbiyyah said:

May God not bless any female, but torment her
to the end of time, if she marries a Muḍari!

Convey to the men of Tamīm the word of a woman distressed,
whom you lodged in the house of humiliation and poverty!

If you return not to the battle after your wheeling,
until you make the men of Azd retreat in a victory,

I am ashamed for you that you give your obedience
to this Mazūnī who mulcts you by oppression.

'Abbād b. al-Ḥārith said:
Now, O Naṣr, the hidden is revealed,  
though hope and expectation were protracted.

The Mazūn have exercised in the Land of Marw  
the office of the governor, decreeing as they will.

Their ruling is held lawful in every judgment  
against Muḍar, though the ruling is unjust

While Himyar\textsuperscript{112} sit in their assemblies,  
and blood is pouring from their [Muḍar's] necks.

If Muḍar is content with that and is abased,  
then may their abjection and distress be long!

And if they turned from that 'twere well; if not,  
then let destruction fall upon their armies!

[1936]  
He also recited:

Well then, O you man whom  
emotions have split asunder,

Wake up! and leave aside the thing  
you sought, and we also sought for.

For there have occurred in our presence  
matters of strange condition.

I beheld the Azd become mighty  
in Marw, while the Arabs were humiliated,\textsuperscript{113}

And brass became current when that  
happened, while gold became a trifle.

\textsuperscript{112} The Banū Ḥimyar were a kingly Yamani tribe. Here apparently all Yaman tribes are meant.

\textsuperscript{113} The Azd were taunted with being fisherfolk of 'Umnān, and no true Arabs. See EI² s.v. Azd.
Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm, addressing 'Ali and 'Uthmān the sons of al-Kirmānī:

I travel intending with my poem of praise
two brothers whose qualities excel those of all men,

Outracing noble stallions, never lacking forage,
while the guest, the stranger, never lacks their cheer.

Ascendant and yet racing for the height,
their tribe lives under their protection.

I mean that 'Ali and his chief helper
‘Uthmān; never was humiliated one who followed them,

Still racing that they may overtake their father,
like stallions from afar who near the goal.

And if they did attain it, ‘tis partly due to noble sire,
that they race up the slope to catch up to a father.

And if he should outrun them, many times
he ran surpassing them and others too.

Indeed I shall praise them for what my eyes
have seen, though I’ve not numbered all their qualities.

They are two pious men, to whom all are directed;
both bearers of their tribe’s burden, perfect men;

They removed from the haughtiness of kingly state
a Naṣr, who found humiliation in opposing them;

They drove Ibn Aqṭa’ [Naṣr] away after slaying his defenders;
divided are his spoils among their horsemen.

Also al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, when they aimed at him
so that their swords took turns in striking his head.
They took the best part of their father in his prime
so that their folk are mighty, and those who follow them.

In this year Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad (the 'Abbāsid) sent Abū Muslim to Khūrāsān, and wrote his followers there, “I have given him my command, so listen to him and accept his words, for I have given him command over Khūrāsān and whatever he may gain control over beyond it.”’ Abū Muslim came to them, but they did not accept his words. Those who were opposed went and met in Mecca in the presence of Ibrāhīm. Abū Muslim informed Ibrāhīm that they had not acted in accord with his letter and command, and Ibrāhīm said, “I have offered this authority to more than one, and they have refused it.” This was because, before he sent Abū Muslim, he had offered it to Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuza‘ī, who said, “I shall never take on two functions.” Then he offered it to Ibrāhīm b. Salamah, and he refused. He now informed them that he had decided on Abū Muslim, and commanded them to hear and to obey. Then he said to Abū Muslim, “Abd al-Raḥmān, you are one of us, people of the House, so learn my instructions well. Look to this tribe of Yaman; honor them and settle among them, for truly God will not complete this matter without them. Look to this tribe of Rabī‘ah, and be suspicious of all they do. Look to this tribe of Mudar; they are indeed the enemy close to the House, so slay anyone of whom you are in doubt, or in whose actions there is ambiguity, or anyone of whom you come to feel any suspicion. If you can not leave one Arab tongue in Khūrāsān, then do it; any boy who has attained five hand-spans height, whom you suspect, slay! But do not quarrel with the shaykh, that is, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, and do not disobey him. If any matter gives you difficulty then go to him rather than to me.”

114. For Abū Muslim’s mission to Khūrāsān see Akhbār al-Dawlah, 267ff; FHA, 164ff; Kūfī, Futūḥ, VIII, 155ff; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī, IV, 478ff; Balādhurī, Ansāb, III, 120ff; Azdī, 65; Dinawarī, 360.

115. One of several proper names attributed to him. The most detailed treatment of his origins is found in the Akhbār al-Dawlah, 253ff.

116. Given the instruction to court one group of Arabs and known ‘Abbāsid practice, this is a very problematic statement. (On it, see Sharon, ‘Alīyat, 156J L.) The need to rely on the Yaman and Rabī‘ah vis-a-vis the Mudar is found in various traditions. See for example Kūfī, Futūḥ, VIII, 154; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī, IV, 477.
According to Hishām b. Muḥammad who reported it from Abū Mikhnaf, in this year al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Khāriji was killed.

**The Death of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays the Khārijite**

When al-Ḍaḥḥāk was besieging 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz at Wāṣiṭ and Manṣūr b. Jumḥūr gave him the oath of allegiance, 'Abdallah b. 'Umar saw that he could not withstand al-Ḍaḥḥāk. He therefore sent him a message, "Your stand against me is worth nothing. Here is Marwān, so march against him. If you do battle with him I shall be with you." He became reconciled with him, as we have mentioned in the conflicting accounts of this event. Hishām reported from Abū Mikhnaf that al-Ḍaḥḥāk set out from Ibn 'Umar to engage Marwān at Kafartūtha in the territory of the Jazīrah, and was slain the day the armies met.

According to Abū Ḥāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣālih—Ahmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhim: 'Atiyyah al-Tha'labi117 slew Milhān, al-Ḍaḥḥāk's follower and governor for Kūfah, at the Bridge of Saylahūn. News of Milhān's slaying reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk while he was besieging 'Abdallah b. 'Umar at Wāṣiṭ, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk sent as replacement one of his followers called Muṭa'īn. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar and al-Ḍaḥḥāk made peace on the condition that Ibn 'Umar enter into obedience to al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Ibn 'Umar did this, and prayed behind him. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk went off to Kūfah, and Ibn 'Umar stayed with his followers at Wāṣiṭ. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk entered Kūfah, and the inhabitants of Mosul wrote to him inviting him to come there, whereupon they would give him control of their city. After twenty months he marched with all his troops to Mosul. Ruling there at that time was Marwān's governor, a man of the Banū Shay'bān of the Jazīrah called al-Qaṭīrān b. Akmah. The people of Mosul opened the city for al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and al-Qaṭīrān fought them with a small number of his tribe and the people of his house to the last man. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk thus took possession of Mosul and its districts.

Word of this reached Marwān while he was besieging Ḥimṣ and

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117. The text is al-Taghlibī; it should be read al-Tha'labi as in the Cairo edition. This is supported by *FHA*, 164, and is more probable, since many of the Taghlibīs were fighting for the Khārijītes.
preoccupied in fighting its inhabitants. He wrote to his son 'Abdallāh, who was his viceregent for the Jazirah, ordering him to march with those of his guard (rawābit) whom he had with him to the city of Naṣibin in order to prevent al-Daḥḥāk from cutting the Jazirah in half. 'Abdallāh set out for Naṣibin with all of his guard, about seven or eight thousand men, leaving as his deputy at Harrān an officer with one thousand men or thereabouts. Al-Daḥḥāk, too, marched from Mosul toward 'Abdallāh at Naṣibin. 'Abdallāh fought him but could do nothing against the great number of troops who were with al-Daḥḥāk. These were, according to the accounts which have reached us, one hundred and twenty thousand. He paid monthly stipends of one hundred and twenty dirhams to a cavalryman, one hundred to a footsoldier, and eighty to a mule driver.

Al-Daḥḥāk stayed at Naṣibin besieging it, and he sent two of his officers, named 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr al-Ṭaghlibī and Badr al-Dhakwānī the mawlā of Sulaymān b. Hishām, with four or five thousand men and they came to Raqqah. Marwān's cavalry there, about five hundred horsemen, fought them. As soon as word reached Marwān of their presence at Raqqah, he sent cavalry from his guard. As they neared the city, al-Daḥḥāk's followers began leaving to go back to him. Marwān's cavalry pursued them, and more than thirty of the men in their rearguard were unhorsed. Marwān had them cut in pieces when he came to Raqqah. He went on, intent on battle against al-Daḥḥāk and his forces, until they encountered each other at a place called Ghazz in the territory of Kafartūtha. They fought a battle that same day. When it was evening, al-Daḥḥāk and almost six thousand of his most steadfast followers dismounted to fight on foot, though the people of his camp for the most part did not know what had become of him. Marwān's cavalry surrounded them and pressed them hard until they killed them around nightfall. The remainder of al-Daḥḥāk's followers went back to their camp, and neither Marwān nor al-Daḥḥāk's followers knew that he was among the slain until they missed him in the middle of the night. Some of those who had seen him when he dismounted to fight on foot came and told them of it and that he was killed. They wept for him and be-

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118. One of the most important towns in upper Mesopotamia on the reaches of the Hirmās, a tributary of the Tigris. See LeStrange, _Lands_, 94, 95.
119. The vocalization is conjectural. This place is not listed by Yāqūt.
wailed his death. 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr al-Taghlibi, the officer he had sent against Raqqah, went out to Marwān’s camp, and entering Marwān’s presence informed him that al-Dāhhāk had been killed. Marwān sent men from his guard with him carrying firebrands and candles to the site of the battle. They turned over the slain until they found al-Dāhhāk and carried him to Marwān. There were more than twenty cuts on his face. The people of Marwān’s camp shouted “God is Great!” Then those in al-Dāhhāk’s camp realized that they had learned of his death. Marwān sent his head that night to the cities of the Jazīrah, where it was paraded about.

Some say that al-Khaybari and al-Dāhhāk were only killed in the year 129 (746-47). According to Hishām who heard it from Abū Mikhna, in this year al-Khaybari the Khārijite was slain.120

The Slaying of al-Khaybari and Shaybān’s Succession

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallaḍ b. Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ: When al-Dāhhāk was slain, the people in his camp arose at daybreak and gave their oath of allegiance to al-Khaybari. They remained there that day and went to him the morning of the next day. They lined up before him and he put their ranks in order. Sulaymān b. Hishām was there that day with his mawlās and the people of his house; he had come to al-Dāhhāk at Naṣibin with more than three thousand of the people of his house and his mawlās. Sulaymān also married the sister of Shaybān al-Ḥarūrī, the man to whom they gave the oath of allegiance after the slaying of al-Khaybari. Al-Khaybari attacked Marwān with about four hundred Khārijite riders, and routed Marwān’s men, and him in the midst of them. Marwān fled his encampment, and al-Khaybari entered it with his followers. They shouted their battle cry, “O Khaybari, Khaybari!” They also killed all those whom they overtook, until they came to Marwān’s tent. They cut its ropes, and al-Khaybari sat upon Marwān’s own carpet. Marwān’s right wing, commanded by his son ‘Abdallāh, had held its ground, and his left wing commanded by Ishaq b. Muslim al-‘Uqayli was still firm. When the people of Marwān’s camp saw how few were accompa-
nying al-Khaybari, some slaves from the camp assaulted him with tentpoles and slew him and all of his companions at Marwân's tent and in the area around it. The news reached Marwân when he had fled five or six miles (mil) from the camp. At this he returned to his camp, ordered his cavalry back from their places and stations, and spent that night in his camp. The people of al-Khaybari's army went back and elected Shaybân as their ruler and gave him the oath of allegiance. After this, Marwân fought them only with cavalry squadrons (karâdîs), and he gave up using battle lines from that day forward. On the day al-Khaybari was slain Marwân had sent Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, one of his trusted men and secretaries, to al-Khaybari (with a message). However, word reached Marwân that this man had incited the enemy and encouraged them at that time. He was brought to Marwân as a prisoner, and Marwân cut off one of his hands and a foot and then cut out his tongue.

Yazîd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah is Sent to Iraq

In this year Marwân sent Yazîd b. 'Umar Hubayrah to Iraq to fight the Khârijites who were still there.

[1942] 'Abd al-'Azîz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz led the Pilgrimage at Mecca in this year; that is what Abû Ma'shar (al-Sindî) said, according to Aḥmad b. Thâbit—from one who mentioned it—Isḥâq b. 'Isâ—Abû Ma'shar. Al-Wâqidi and others say the same.

Al-Wâqidi reported: Marwân conquered Himṣ and tore down its walls, and took Nuʿaym b. Thâbit al-Judhamî captive and slew him in Shawwâl 128 (June 26–July 24, 746). We have mentioned those who differ with him on this earlier.

The governor of Madinah, Mecca and Ṭâ’if, according to what is mentioned for this year, was 'Abd al-'Azîz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz. In Iraq were the governors of al-Ḍâhhâk and Abdallâh b. 'Umar. In charge of the judiciary of Başrah was Thumâmah b. Abdallâh. Naṣr b. Sayyâr was (governor) in Khurâsân, which was torn by civil war.

121. Marwân is generally credited with having replaced the battle lines (ṣufûf) with more mobile cavalry squadrons (karâdîs).
This year Abū Ḥamzah the Khārijite met ‘Abdallāh b. Yahyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, who summoned him to his way of religion (madhhab). According to ‘Abbas b. Ṣa‘d b. Ṭalib b. Musa al-Farwi—Mūsā b. Kathīr the mawla of the Sā‘īdis: The beginning of the affair of Abū Ḥamzah who was al-Mukhtar b. ‘Awf al-Azdī al-Salīmī from Bāṣrāh is as follows. He would go each year to Mecca calling on people to oppose Marwān b. Muḥammad and the Marwānid house. He continued to oppose them until ‘Abdallāh b. Yahyā came at the end of 128 (August–September 746) and told him, “O Man, listen to a good word. I see that you summon people to what is just, so come with me. I am a man obeyed among my people.” ‘Abdallāh then left Mecca and came to Ḥadramawt, where Abū Ḥamzah swore allegiance to him as Caliph and preached opposition to Marwān and to the Marwānid house. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan reported that Abū Ḥamzah passed by Ma‘dīn Bani Sulaym, where the governor was Kathīr b. ‘Abdallāh. He heard some of Abū Ḥamzah’s talk, and ordered that he be given seventy lashes. Abū Ḥamzah went on his way to Mecca. Later when he conquered Madinah, Kathīr hid himself until matters had run their course.

122. See Ibn Khayyāt, I, 406ff, sub anno 129; Aghānī, XX, 97–99; Azdī, 77, 101; FHA, 168ff. ‘Abdallāh b. Yahyā al-Kindi was known as the “Seeker of Justice” (Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq). A devout qādi for the governor of Ḥadramawt, he had been contacted by the leadership of Ibāḍī Khārijites in Bāṣrāh. They sent agents such as Abū Ḥamzah to him in order to initiate an Ibāḍī revolt in Ḥadramawt and the Yaman. See El² s.v. Ibāḍiyya.

123. The text is Ghazawi; it should be read Farwi, following the Cairo edition.

124. Ma‘dīn Bani Sulaym was a populated oasis in the district of Madinah on the road to Najd. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, IV, 572, and III, 565–66, s.v. Farān.
One of the events of this year was the death of Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-'Azīz al-Yashkūrī, known as Abū al-Dalfā’.

*The Death of Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-'Azīz the Khārijite*

When al-Dāhḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī the leader of the Khārijites was slain, and al-Khaybarī after him, those Khārijites who were opposing Marwān b. Muhammad and making war on him chose Shaybān as their leader and gave him the oath of allegiance. Marwān then fought them.

Hishām b. Muḥammad and al-Haytham b. ‘Adī reported: When al-Khaybarī was slain, Sulaymān b. Hishām who was in their camp told the Khārijites, “What you are doing is not a good idea. If you accept my advice, fine. If you won’t, then I’m leaving you.” They asked, “What should we do?” He told them, “If one of you wins a victory, he then tries to get himself killed, and succeeds. I think we should leave here in a defensive posture so that we may set up camp at Mosul and entrench ourselves.” They did this, and Marwān pursued them. The Khārijites were on the east bank of the Tigris and

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Marwān was directly opposite them. They then fought each other for nine months. 'Umar b. Hubayrah was at Qarqisiyyah with a large body of troops, men of Syria and of the Jazirah. Marwān now ordered him to go to Kufah, which was then governed by al-Muthannā b. Ḥimārān, a client ('a'idh) of Quraysh and a Khārijite.

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: Marwān b. Muḥammad used to fight the Khārijites with the battle line (ṣaff); but when al-Khaybari was killed and Shaybān received the oath of allegiance, Marwān fought them with cavalry squadrons, and discontinued the battle line from that time forward. The Khārijites also began to form squadrons like those of Marwān with which to protect themselves against his squadrons and to fight them. Many of those who followed them for pay now separated from them and deserted, so there now remained around forty thousand. Sulaymān b. Hishām advised them to retreat to the city of Mosul and make it a place in which they could find refuge and ample supplies. They accepted his advice, and set off by night. Marwān woke the next day and set off after them. They would hardly leave a place before Marwān would alight there. They went on to the city of Mosul and camped on the banks of the Tigris, entrenched their position, and fastened pontoon bridges between their camp and the city, which was their source of provisions and facilities. Marwān dug his trench opposite them, and remained six months sallying forth against them morning and evening.

A son of Sulaymān b. Hishām’s brother was brought to Marwān. He was called Umayyā b. Mu‘awiyah b. Hishām, and had been with his uncle in the camp of Shaybān at Mosul. He went out to fight one of Marwān’s horsemen in single combat, and the man captured him and brought him in. He told Marwān, “I implore you, for God and kinship’s sake, uncle!” But Marwān replied, “There is no kinship between me and you this day.” He gave the order and, while

126. The small dedicated core of the Khārijites were mostly from the Bakr and Rabi‘ah tribes of the Jazirah. They had been joined by some former followers of Sulaymān b. Hishām and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar. These followers were drawn from the Yaman. The Khārijites had thus apparently become a large scale movement. They were the proponents of the equality of all Muslims regardless of genealogy. Marwān’s support came from the Qays of the Jazirah.
Umayyah’s uncle Sulaymān and his brothers looked on, first his hands and then his head were cut off.

Marwān wrote to Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah commanding him to march from Qarqisiyyah with all his troops against ‘Ubaydah b. Sawwār, al-Ḍahhāk’s deputy in Iraq. He encountered ‘Ubaydah’s cavalry at ‘Ayn Tamr, engaged them, and routed them. Commanding them at that time were al-Muthannā b. ‘Imrān, of the clients of Quraysh, and al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd. They then regrouped against him at Nukhaylāh by Kūfah, and he put them to flight. Then they gathered at the Sarāt Canal, and this time ‘Ubaydah was with them. Ibn Hubayrah fought them, and ‘Ubaydah was slain. His followers fled, and Ibn Hubayrah plundered their camp. Now they had no one remaining in Iraq, and Ibn Hubayrah took control of the province. Marwān wrote to him from the trenches at Mosul, commanding him to send ‘Amir b. Ḍubbārah al-Murri to reinforce him, and he sent him with about six or eight thousand men. Word of this reached Shaybān and the Khārijītes so they sent two officers at the head of four thousand men against Ibn Ḏubbārah. These men were named Ibn Ghawth and al-Jawn. They encountered Ibn Ḏubbārah at Sinn outside Mosul, and engaged him in fierce combat, but Ibn Ḏubbārah put them to flight. When the defeated Khārijītes came back to them, Sulaymān b. Hishām advised them to move from Mosul, telling them that they would have no place to stand if Ibn Ḏubbārah came upon them from the rear while Marwān mounted a frontal attack. At this, they moved on, and took the road to Ahwāz and Fars by way of Ḥulwān. Marwān sent three of his officers with about thirty thousand of his guard (rawābit) to Ibn Ḏubbārah. The officers were Muṣ‘ab b. al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ al-Asadī, Shaqiq, and ‘Utayf al-Sulami. Shaqiq was the one of whom the Khārijītes said:

Both your sisters know, O Shaqiq,
that you do not recover from your drunkenness.

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127. The scene of a serious battle against the Khārijītes in the time of Mu‘āwiyyah I. See Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, IV, 771.
128. For Sinn, see LeStrange, Lands, 91.
129. Ḥulwān was on the border between Jībāl and Iraq. It was situated along the great road leading to Khurasān. See LeStrange, Lands, 191.
130. The nisba of al-Sulaymānī is furnished by the Cairo edition.
Marwān wrote to Ibn Dubārah to pursue the Khārijites and not to stop until he had annihilated them. Therefore he did not cease pursuing them until they reached and then left Fārs. During all this time he picked off any of their stragglers whom he encountered. Then they scattered. Shaybān led one group to Bahrayn and was slain there, and Sulaymān b. Hishām with his mawlās and family embarked on ships for Sind. Marwān returned to his residence in Harrān and stayed there until he set out for the Zāb.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad, Abū Mikhnāf stated: Marwān ordered Yazīd b. Hubayrah, who was at Qarqisīyyah with many troops from the armies of Syria and the Jazīrah, to march against Kūfah. At that time Kūfah was governed by a Khārijite called al-Muthannā b. 'Imrān al-‘Ā'idhī, one of the ‘A'idhat Quraysh. Ibn Hubayrah marched along the Euphrates until he came to 'Ayn Tamr; then he moved on and met al-Muthannā at Rawḥā'. He came to Kūfah in Ramadān 129 [May 17–June 14, 747], routed the Khārijites and entered the city. Ibn Hubayrah then went to the Sarāt Canal, while Shaybān sent 'Ubaydah b. Sawwār at the head of many cavalry. He camped on the east bank of the Sarāt, while Ibn Hubayrah was on the west side. They joined battle, and 'Ubaydah was slain along with a number of his followers. Maṣūr b. Jumhūr was with them at the events on the Sarāt, and he went on from there to gain control of the two Māhs131 and all the mountain region. Ibn Hubayrah marched now on Wāsīt, seized Ibn 'Umar and confined him. He sent Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah against Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb who was ruling the districts of Ahwāz. Sulaymān sent Dāwud b. Ḥātim with a force to fight Nubātah, and they encountered each other at Muriyān132 on the banks of the Kārūn. These people were put to flight, and Dāwud b. Ḥātim was slain. Concerning this, Khalaf b. Khalīfah said:

131. Dinawar was called Māh al-Kūfah while Nihāwān was known as Māh al-Bāṣrah, because their tax revenues went to the two garrison towns of Iraq in early Islamic times. See LeStrange, Lands, 189, 196–97.
132. The vocalization of Muriyān is uncertain. Perhaps this is a variant of, or an error for, Mūriyān, a village in Khūzistān. See Yaqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 679. For the Dujayl or the Kārūn which flows in the Ahwāz district of Khūzistān, see LeStrange, Lands, 232–36; 245–47.
Would that I'd been a ransom and protection to Dawud, when the army surrendered the son of Hatim!

He was a Muhallabi, shining of face, never regretting the favors he'd done.

I asked "Who will let me know the thing as it was truly [for the ignorant is not like the knowing]." 133

They said, "We beheld him on an outcrop, attacking like a fierce lion;

Then he doubled over, falling in blood that flowed over his smooth body,

And the Copts 134 came up [to stand] over his head, quarrelling over his sword and his ring."

Sulaymān went on until he caught up with Ibn Mu‘āwiyah al-Ja‘fari 135 in Fārs, while Ibn Hubayrah stayed where he was for a month; then he sent ‘Amir b. Dubarah with Syrian troops to Mosul. ‘Amir marched until he reached Sinn, where al-Jawn b. Kilāb al-Khāriji encountered him. He put ‘Amir b. Dubarah to flight, driving him into Sinn, where he fortified himself. Marwān began to send Ibn Dubarah reinforcements. They took the overland route until they came to the Tigris, and then crossed over to him. This continued until their number was great. At the same time, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr was supplying Shaybān with money from the mountain districts. When the troops who followed Ibn Dubarah became numerous, he struck out against al-Jawn b. Kilāb, and al-Jawn was slain. Ibn Dubarah

133. This lacuna in the text is filled by the Cairo edition.
134. The text is al-qibt. It seems very unlikely that Egyptian Christians were in Ibn Hubayrah’s army. Probably this should be read al-qabt, “the group,” but the text has been followed in translation.
then continued on to Mosul. When news of al-Jawn’s death and Ibn Dubārah’s approach came to Shaybān, he did not care to stay between the two (Umayyad) armies, so he withdrew with his own troops and the Yamani cavalry from Syria. Ibn Dubārah proceeded with his men to join Marwān at Mosul. Marwān supplied him with many of his own troops, and commanded him to go against Shaybān. If Shaybān maintained his position, he should do likewise, if he marched, he should march too. He should not initiate a struggle, but if Shaybān attacked him he should fight back. If Shaybān refrained, he should refrain as well, and if Shaybān withdrew, he should follow him. So it was, until Shaybān moved through the mountains and came to Bayḍā’ of Iṣṭakhr,136 where ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah was with a great body of troops. Matters between him and Ibn Mu‘āwiyah had not been settled, so he continued until Jirafī in Kirmān,137 where he halted. Ibn Dubārah advanced until he was opposite Ibn Mu‘āwiyah and halted for several days. Then he set about attacking him, and Ibn Mu‘āwiyah ran away, escaping to Harāt. Ibn Dubārah and his troops went on and encountered Shaybān at Jirafī in Kirmān. They fought a violent battle, the Khārijītes were put to flight, and their camp was put to auction. Shaybān went on to Sijistān, where he perished in the year 130 (747–748).

Abū `Ubaydah reported: When al-Khaybari was slain, Shaybān b. `Abd al-‘Aziz al-Yashkuri took command of the Khārijītes and made war on Marwān. Their war went on for a long time, but meanwhile at Wāṣīt Ibn Hubayrah had killed `Ubaydah b. Sawwār and driven out the Khārijītes. He had with him the chief officers of the armies of Syria and the Jazirah, and he sent `Amir b. Dubārah with four thousand men to reinforce Marwān. He took the route of Maḍā’in,138 and Shaybān learned of his progress. Fearing that Marwān would join forces with Ibn Dubārah’s men, he sent al-Jawn b. Kilāb al-Shaybānī to engage Ibn Dubārah. They encountered each other at Sinn, and al-Jawn detained `Amir for several days.

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136. Bayḍā’ was the “White City” of Fārs where Arab armies had camped when invading the country. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, I, 791–94. Iṣṭakhr was Persepolis.
137. For Jirafī, see LeStrange, Lands, 314. The Shaybān mentioned here may actually be Shaybān b. Salamah. See n. 158.
138. Maḍā’in, meaning, “the cities,” had a legendary history of settlement by conquerors. The Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon had been situated in this area. See LeStrange, Lands, 33–35.
According to Abū 'Ubaydah—Abū Sa‘īd: We covered them, by God, and forced them to fight us. They were already afraid of us and wanted to run away, but we left them no way out. Then 'Āmir told them, "You're dead men; there's no avoiding that, so die with honor." They hit us with a charge nothing would have stood against, and killed our leader, al-Jawn b. Kilāb. We retreated until we joined up with Shaybān, but Ibn Ḍubārah was following right behind us, until he halted a short way from our camp. We were fighting on two sides: Ibn Ḍubārah would come down on us from behind, on the Iraq side, and Marwān was in front in the direction of Syria. We were cut off from provisions and supplies, and the prices went high. A round of bread went for a silver piece; then the bread was gone, and nothing could be bought dear or cheap. Ḥabīb b. Khudrāh139 told Shaybān, "Commander of the Faithful, you're in a tight place for subsistence. If only you would move to some other place!" He did, and went to Shahrazūr in the territory of Mosul, but his followers blamed him for it, and there were arguments about it."

One source says that when Shaybān took command of the Khārijites, [he went back with his followers to Mosul],140 and Marwān followed him, halting when he halted. [Marwān fought him for a month, then]141 Shaybān fled until he came to Fārs. Marwān sent 'Āmir b. Ḍubārah after him [and Shaybān crossed over]142 to the island of Ibn Kāwān [or Kishm]143 and kept on going until he came to 'Umān, where Julandā b. Mas‘ūd b. Jayfar b. Julandā al-Azdi killed him.144

In the year 129 (746–747), İbrahim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās commanded Abū Muslim, who had set forth from Khurāsan to visit him and had reached as far as Qūmis, to go

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139. The text is Ibn Jadarah. The Cairo edition has Ibn Khudrah [vocalization uncertain], mentioned above as Ḥabīb b. Khudrah, mawlā of the Banū Ḥilāl, a Khārijite poet.
140. The text is marked by three lacunae. The phrases are supplied from the Cairo edition.
141. See n. 140.
142. See n. 140.
143. This island is known under many names. See LeStrange, Lands, 261.
144. The Banū Julandā were the hereditary Azdī princes of 'Umān. Ironically, Ibn Julandā was also a Khārijite imām. He later fought the 'Abbāsid as an Ḥādi. See El² s.v. İbādiyya; Djulandā.
back to the 'Abbāsid Shi‘ah in Khurāsān and order them to openly proclaim the revolution and put on the black color.\textsuperscript{145}

\textit{Abū Muslim Preaches the 'Abbāsid Revolution in Khurāsān}

'Ali b. Muḥammad reported the following from his shaykh: Abū Muslim kept making visits to Khurāsān, until finally the tribal feuds broke out there. Then when the local authority began to unravel, Sulaymān b. Kathir wrote to Abū Salamah al-Khallāl requesting him to write to Ibrāhīm and ask him to send a man of the people of his House. Abū Salamah thus wrote to Ibrāhīm, and he sent Abū Muslim.\textsuperscript{146} In the year 129 (746–747), Ibrāhīm wrote to Abū Muslim asking him to come so that he might obtain a report from him. Abū Muslim left halfway through Jumādā II (early March 747) with seventy of the 'Abbāsid agents (\textit{nuqabā}).\textsuperscript{147} When they had come as far as Dandānqān in Khurāsān,\textsuperscript{148} Kāmil—or Abū Kāmil—stopped him and asked where they were going. “On pilgrimage,” they said. Then Abū Muslim took him aside and summoned him to their cause. He responded favorably and let them alone. Abū Muslim continued on to Abīward and stayed there some days, and then proceeded to Nasā,\textsuperscript{149} where 'Āṣim b. Qays al-Sulāmī was the governor for Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythi. As he drew near, he sent al-Fadl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī with a message to Asīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuza‘ī\textsuperscript{150} to inform him that he was coming.

\textsuperscript{145} See n. 72 above.

\textsuperscript{146} See Sharon, \textit{'Aliyat}, 127–38. The \textit{Akhbār al-Dawlah}, 271ff, is particularly rich in its treatment of Abū Muslim’s relations with Sulaymān b. Kathir. See also Ṭabari, II/3, 196ff. [J.L.]

\textsuperscript{147} See \textit{Akhbār al-Dawlah}, 290ff; FHA, 176ff. The agents designated as \textit{naqibs} were divided into two groups, a council of twelve which retained primary control, chosen exclusively from agents in Marw, the major revolutionary station in Khurāsān; the individuals were part of a larger group of seventy that included operatives from various regional centers. For details see Sharon, \textit{'Aliyat}, 105–17. [J.L.]

\textsuperscript{148} Dandānqān was a town southwest of Marw on the road to Sarakhs. See LeStrange, \textit{Lands}, 400.

\textsuperscript{149} Abīward or Biward is on the edge of the Marw desert west of Dandānqān off the main road to Sarakhs. Nasā or Nisā is in a fertile valley west of Abīward. See LeStrange, \textit{Lands}, 394. The 'Abbāsids had \textit{naqibs} in these towns. See \textit{Akhbār al-Dawlah}, 218–19. The text gives a full listing of the 'Abbāsid agents.

\textsuperscript{150} Al-Ṭūsī was a \textit{naqib} from Abīward and Asīd al-Khuza‘ī was the agent from Nasā. See \textit{Akhbār al-Dawlah}, 218–19.
Al-Fadl went on and stopped at a village of Nasā where he met a man from the Shi‘ah who knew him. He asked for Asid, but the man rebuffed him. Then al-Fadl said, “O ‘Abdallāh, what is wrong in my asking where is the man’s house?” The man replied, “There has been evil in this village. Two men were brought before the governor and slandered. It was said that they were propagandists. They were taken, and al-Aḥjam b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuzā‘ī, Ghaylān b. Faḍālah, Ghālib b. Sa‘īd and al-Muhājir b. ‘Uthmān were taken too.” At this, al-Fadl went back to Abū Muslim and informed him. He left the road and took another through the villages lower down, and sent Ṭarkhān al-Jammāl to Asid saying, “Ask him to come to me with as many of the [‘Abbāsid] Shi‘ah as he can, and beware of speaking to anyone you do not know.” Ṭarkhān went to Asid and invited him, and he told him where Abū Muslim was staying. At this, Asid came to him, and Abū Muslim asked him what had happened. He replied, “Yes, it is true; al-Azhar b. Shu‘ayb and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd came with letters from the Imam for you. They left the letters with me and started back, and they were taken.” I do not know who betrayed them. The governor sent them to ‘Āṣim b. Qays, and he had al-Muhājir b. ‘Uthmān and other leading men of the Shi‘ah beaten.” “Where are the letters?” Abū Muslim asked. “At my house,” Asid said. “Bring them to me,” said Abū Muslim, (so he brought him the letters and he read them). Then he went on to Qūmis, which was governed by Bayhas b. Budayl al-‘Ijli, and Bayhas came to them and said, “Where are you going?” “On pilgrimage,” they said. “Do you have a good horse you

151. Al-Aḥjam and Ghaylān b. Faḍālah were naqibs. Al-Muhājir was a lesser functional, belonging to a group known as the Propagandists of the Propagandists (du‘āt al-du‘āt). They seem to have been substitutes for a larger group of seventy known as the du‘āt. The du‘āt were undoubtedly subordinate to the naqibs. Ghālib b. Sa‘īd (or Sa‘īd) was an ‘Abbāsid agent whose function cannot be determined. See Akhbār al-Dawlāh, 218–19, 222, 291. The account would seem to indicate that the authorities were extremely anxious at this time. This would explain the circuitous routes followed by Abū Muslim and his associates. [L.L.] 152. Al-Azhar b. Shu‘ayb was a native of Marw who traveled with Bukayr b. Māḥān in the eastern provinces soliciting support and monies for the revolutionary movement. See Akhbār al-Dawlāh, 223–24. It would appear from this text that he then served as a carrier from the Imam to the revolutionary centers in Khurasān. [L.L.] 153. These words are missing in the text and are supplied by the Cairo edition. 154. That is to say the small province (or the capital of the province) adjacent to Khurāsān. See LeStrange, Lands, 364ff.
would sell?” he asked. “As for selling, no,” said Abū Muslim, “but take any of our animals you wish.” “Show them to me,” he said. They showed them, and he admired a light bay horse. Abū Muslim then said, “It is yours.” To this he replied, “No, I’ll not accept it without a price.” “You be the judge of its worth,” Abū Muslim said. “Seven hundred [dirhams],” he said. “It is yours,” said Abū Muslim. While Abū Muslim was in Qūmis a letter came from the Imam, and another for Sulaymān b. Kathir. The one to Abū Muslim said, “I have sent you a flag of victory. Return from wherever my letter finds you, and send me Qaḥṭabah with whatever you have to deliver to me during the Pilgrimage Season.” At this, Abū Muslim returned to Khurāsān, and sent Qaḥṭabah to the Imam. When they were in Nasā, the leader of an armed party confronted them in a village, and said, “Who are you?” “We intended to make the Pilgrimage,” they said, “and we heard something about the road which frightened us.” He brought them to ‘Āṣim b. Qays al-Sulami who questioned them. They gave him the same answer, and he said, (“Be off.” And he ordered)158 al-Mufaḍḍal b. Sharqi al-Sulami, who was in charge of security, to expel them from the area. Then Abū Muslim took this man aside and revealed their business to him. He responded favorably and said, “Go at your ease, and do not hurry.” He remained with them until they left.

Abū Muslim came to Marw on the first day of Ramadān (May 16, 747), and handed the Imam’s letter to Sulaymān b. Kathir. The letter stated, “Proclaim your summons without delay; the time has come.” They showed high esteem to Abū Muslim, and said, “He’s a man of the People of the House [ahl al-bayt].”159 They called on people to obey the Banū ‘Abbās, and sent to their partisans whether near or far, commanding them to reveal what was happening, and calling on them for support. Abū Muslim settled in one of the vil-

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155. These words are missing in the text and are supplied by the Cairo edition.

156. Aḥl al-bayt in pre-Islamic times meant the immediate family of a tribal leader. The term appears twice in the Qur’an, once in a context which allows one to suppose that the family of the Prophet is indicated (33,33). The Shi‘ah of ‘Ali have usually interpreted this through a tradition, the ḥadīth al-kisā’, which limits it to the family of ‘Ali. The Shi‘ah of the ‘Abbāsids used another, the ḥadīth al-thagālayn, whereby “people of the house” is extended to include the family of ‘Abbās, of ‘Ali, and of his two brothers ‘Aqil and Ja‘far, as well as their mawlās. In still another ḥadīth, Salmān al-Fārisi, a mawlā of the Prophet, is declared to be of the aḥl al-bayt. See EI2 s.v. Aḥl al-bayt.
The 'Abbāsid Revolution

lages of the [Arab tribe of] Khuzā‘ah called Safidhanj. At this time Shaybān and al-Kirmānī were fighting Naṣr b. Sayyār together, so Abū Muslim circulated his summons to people, and his affair became manifest. The people said, “A man has come from the Banū Hāshim.” They came to him from all directions. On the day of ‘Id al-Fītr (ca. June 15, 747), he appeared at the village of Khālid b. Ibrāhīm. Qāsim b. Mujāshi‘ al-Mara‘i led the people in prayer. Then Abū Muslim moved and settled at the village of Alīn, also called Allin, belonging to the Khuzā‘ah. In one day, the people of sixty villages joined him, and he stayed there forty-two days. Abū Muslim’s first victory was at the hands of Mūsā b. Ka‘b al-Tamimī at Abiward while he was occupied with the killing of ‘Āṣim b. Qays. Then victory came at Marwarrūdha.

According to Abū al-Khāṭṭāb: Abū Muslim returned to the territory of Marw from Qūmis, having first sent Qaḥṭabah b. Shabib (al-Ṭā‘i) with the money and other things he had with him for the Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. He arrived on Tuesday, the ninth of Sha‘bān 129 (April 27, 747), and settled in a village called Fanīn with Abū al-Ḥakam ‘Isa b. A‘yan the naqīb. This was the village of Abū Dāwud the naqīb. From there he sent Abū Dāwud, accompanied by ‘Amr b. A‘yan to Ṭukharistan and the areas this side of

157. Safidhanj, following the text. The reading is problematic. Note the variants in the apparatus. The Khuzā‘ah’s origins were disputed, but they were frequently reckoned an offshoot of the Azd. See EI s.v. Khuzā‘a.

158. Not to be confused with Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Yashkuri who is mentioned above, this is Shaybān b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī. See Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 395, 490, 498, 529, 537.

159. This is Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī al-Bakri, one of the ‘Abbāsid naqībs; see Akhbār al-Dawlah, 216. The village is later identified as Fanīn. See n. 164 below.

160. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, IV, 375 lists Allin as a village in Marw. There is no entry for Alīn or Bālin. Note Tabari, II/3, 1969, which gives a reading of Alīn for Abū Muslim’s headquarters and 1965, which gives Bālin. LeStrange, Lands, 399 refers to a Bālin Gate in Marw.

161. Details of Abū Muslim’s initial campaign are found in the Akhbār al-Dawlah, 299ff.

162. Not to be confused with Marw, Marwarrūdha was situated about 160 miles from the former. See LeStrange, Lands, 404.

163. The revolutionaries transferred large sums of money and valuables to the Imām during their periodic visits with him.

164. A report that Abū Muslim stayed at the house of ‘Isā b. A‘yan occurs in the entry on Fanīn in Yāqūt. He indicates that Fanīn was one of the villages of Marw. See Mu’jam, III, 921.
Balkh, to proclaim publicly the call (to revolution) during the month of Ramadan 129 (May 16–June 14, 747). He also sent al-Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Tamimi with Sharīk b. Ghāḍī al-Tamimi to Marwarrūdha to proclaim the propaganda during Ramadan, and he sent Abū ‘Āsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān to Tālaqān. He sent Abū al-Jahm b. ‘Āṭiyah to ‘Alā’ b. Ḥurayth in Khwārizm to proclaim the call publicly on the twenty-fourth of Ramadan (June 8, 747). If their enemy should move against them before the appointed time, exposing them to injury and suffering, he permitted them to defend themselves and to bare their swords, unsheathing them in struggle against the enemies of God. Those whom the enemy distracted from rising at the appointed time would suffer no harm if they did it at a later time.

Then Abū Muslim moved from the house of Abū al-Ḥakam ‘Isā b. A’yān and stayed with Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuza‘ī in his village, called Safidhanj in the quarter (tab’) of Khargān, on the second night of Ramadan (May 17, 747). On Wednesday night, the twenty-fifth of Ramadan (June 9, 747), he unfurled the banner, sent to him by the Imam and called “The Shadow,” on a lance fourteen cubits high, and he fastened the flag, sent by the Imam and called “The Clouds,” on a lance thirteen cubits high, reciting the verse, “Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged; surely God is able to assist them.” Then he and Sulaymān b. Kathīr and Sulaymān’s brothers and mawls and those among the people of Safidhanj who responded put on black garments. These included Ghaylān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuza‘ī, who was Sulaymān’s brother-in-law through his sister Umm ‘Āmr bt. Kathīr, and Ḥumayd b. Razīn. All the Shi‘ah from the dis-

165. These two were listed as naqibs. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 217–18.
166. Perhaps the Abū ‘Āsim who is listed among the du‘āt al-du‘āt in the revolutionary organization. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 223. The Akhbār, 221 also lists an ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān who was a dā‘ī, hence a member of a more prestigious network of agents. The du‘āt al-du‘āt were most likely the substitutes for the du‘āt just as the nuṣrat‘a al-nuqabā‘ substituted for the naqibs. (J.L.)
167. He is listed among the naqibs. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 215.
169. Like his brother-in-law, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Ghaylān al-Khuza‘ī is listed among the naqibs. The Akhbār al-Dawlah lists an ‘Umayr b. Razīn, the brother of Ḥumayd b. Razīn, the mawla of the Khuza‘ah. This ‘Umayr was one of the du‘āt al-du‘āt. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 218, 222.
strict of Kharqān lit fires that night, which was the prearranged sig-
nal, and they began to gather to Abū Muslim the next morning. The
interpretation of the two names “The Shadow” and “The Clouds”
was: as the clouds cover the earth, so would the ‘Abbāsid preaching,
and as the earth is never without a shadow, so it would never be
without an ‘Abbāsid caliph to the end of time.

The propagandists (du‘āt) of Marw came to Abū Muslim with all
those who had answered their call. The first to come were the early
settlers170 who were with Abū al-Waadāḥ al-Hurmuzfarri ‘Īsā b.
Shubayl, consisting of nine hundred men and four horsemen.171

Among the people of Hurmuzfarrah were Sulaymān b. Ḥassān with
his brother Yazdān b. Ḥassān, al-Haytham b. Yazid b. Kaysān, Bu-
way’ the mawlā of Nāṣr b. Mu‘āwiyah, Abū al-Khālid al-Ḥasan,
Jardā, and Muḥammad b. ‘Alwān. Then came the early settlers who
were with Abū al-Qāsim Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm al-Ǧūbāni, with thirteen
hundred men on foot and sixteen horsemen. Also with them were
the propagandists Abū al-‘Abbās al-Marwazi, Khidhām b. ‘Ammār
and Ḥamzah b. Rutaym.172 The early settlers [of the first group] be-
gan to shout “God is great!” and those with Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm
would answer from their side, “God is Great!” They kept this up un-
til they entered Abū Muslim’s camp at Safidhanj. This was on Satur-
day [June 12, 747], two days after Abū Muslim’s public proclama-
tion. Abū Muslim gave orders that the fort of Safidhanj be repaired,
fortified, and set in order. When the ‘Īd came in Safidhanj, Abū Mus-
līm told Sulaymān b. Kadhīr to lead him and the (‘Abbāsid) Shi‘ah in
prayer. He set up a minbar for him in the camp, and told him to be-
gin the prayer before the khutbah address without the call to prayer
or the iqamah.173 The Umayyads used to begin with the khutbah

170. The text is ahl al-Sugādīm; see Ibn al-Athīr, V, 273: ahl al-taqādūm. Well-
hausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 522–23 reads Suqādim, as a place name, though no such
place is known. Shaban, “’Abbāsid Revolution.” 158, reads taqādūm, to mean “the old
[Arab] settlers in Marw.”

171. The early supporters of the ‘Abbāsids were not part of the active fighting force
operating in Khurāsān, hence their small number of horsemen. The Arab fighters had
aligned with al-Kirmānī or Nāṣr b. Sayyār. The later addition of the Arab tribal forces
to the ‘Abbāsid camp enabled Abū Muslim to challenge the professional armies of the
Umayyads. [I.L.]

172. The text is Zunaym; read Rutaym, as in the *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 222, where he
is listed as one of the du‘āt al-du‘āt.

173. The iqāmah is the ritual proclamation that the prayer has begun.
and the call to prayer, and then they had the ritual prayer; the *iqāmah* was added on Friday. On feastdays and Fridays they used to deliver the *khutbah* seated in the minbars. But Abū Muslim told Sulaymān b. Kathir to call “God is Great!” six consecutive times with the first prostration, then to recite (the Qur'ān portions), and afterward to bow down on the seventh “God is Great!” In the second prostration, he was to call it out five consecutive times, then recite, and bow down on the sixth call. He was to begin the *khutbah* with “God is Great!” and close it with a recitation from the Qur'ān. The Banū Umayyah used to employ four calls of “God is Great!” in the first prostration on a feast day, and three in the second.

When Sulaymān b. Kathir completed the prayer and the *khutbah*, Abū Muslim and the Shi‘ah went off to a feast spread for them by Abū Muslim. They feasted rejoicing in anticipation of future success (*mustabshirin*).

While Abū Muslim was entrenching himself, he would write to Naṣr b. Sayyār, addressing him as “the Amir Naṣr.” When he had grown powerful by means of the (‘Abbasid) Shi‘ah who gathered in his camp, he disclosed himself and wrote to Naṣr, “As for what follows, truly God, blessed be His names and exalted be His mention, reproaches certain folk in the Qur'ān saying, ‘They swore the most binding oaths by God that if a warner came to them they would be more guided than any community, but when a warner came it only increased them in aversion, waxing arrogant in the land and plotting evil; but evil plots encompass only those who make them. Do they expect anything but the way of the ancients? You will find no changing in God’s way, nor any evading of the way of God.’”

Naṣr was much astonished at the letter, and that Abū Muslim had shown himself. He closed one eye (and pondered long) and said, “This letter has one answer.” When Abū Muslim was settled in his camp at Mākhuwān, he ordered Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm to dig a defensive trench at Jiranj and gather together his followers with those of the Shi‘ah who were so inclined and cut off the communications of Naṣr b. Sayyār with Marwarrūd, Balkh and the districts of

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175. This phrase is missing in text and is supplied by the Cairo edition.
176. For Mākhuwān, see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, IV, 380. Jiranj was a small town [bulaydah] in the vicinity of Marw. See Yāqūt, II, 175.
177. Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm was a *naqīb*. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 217.
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Muḥriz b. Ibrāhim did that, and about a thousand men gathered at his camp which was surrounded by a moat. Abū Muslim also ordered Abū Śāliḥ Kāmil b. Muẓaffar to send a man to Muḥriz b. Ibrāhim's camp to review the troops there and enter them in a register with their names, their fathers' names and their villages. He thus sent Abū Śāliḥ Humayd al-Azraq to do that. Humayd, who was a scribe, counted 804 able-bodied men in Muḥriz's camp. Among the well-known officers there were Ziyād b. Sayyār al-Azdi in the quarter of Kharqān, from the village called Asbiwādiq; Khidhām b. 'Ammar al-Kindi of the quarter of the early settlers, from a village called al-Awāyiq; Ḥanīfah b. Qays of the early settlers' quarter, from the village called al-Shanj; 'Abdawayh al-Jardāmadh b. 'Abd al-Karīm, of the people of Harāt, who used to bring sheep to Marw; Ḥamzah b. Rutaym al-Bāḥili of the Kharqān quarter, from the village called Miladhjird; Abū Ḥāshim Khalīfah b. Mihrān of the quarter of the early settlers, from the village of Jūbān, Abū Khadijah Jilān b. al-Sughdī, and Abū Nuʿaym Mūsā b. Ṣubayḥ.

Muḥriz b. Ibrāhim remained entrenched in his camp until Abū Muslim entered the walls of Marw, vacated the camp at Makhuwān and camped at Mārsarjas on the way to Naysābūr. Muḥriz b. Ibrāhim then reinforced Abū Muslim with his troops.

One of the events that occurred while Abū Muslim was at Safīdhanj was that Naṣr b. Sayyār sent a mawla of his called Yazid with a large force of cavalry to fight Abū Muslim eighteen days after his public proclamation, and Abū Muslim sent Malik b. Haytham al-Khuzaī together with Musʿab b. Qays out against him. They met at the village called Alīn, and Malik called on them to follow

178. Abū Śāliḥ was one of the highest ranking operatives in the revolutionary apparatus. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 215.
179. That is, the military roll was based on geographical rather than tribal affiliation, an 'Abbāsid principle. See n. 217 below.
180. The text is rabʿ al-Suqādīm; it should be read rabʿ al-taqādum, following Ibn ʿAthīr. References to early settlers below are similarly based on this reading. Also, see n. 170 above.
181. The text is Zunaym; it should be read Rutaqaym. See n. 172 above.
182. The text is Hāṭlāḏjūr, it should be read Milāḏjīr, as in the Cairo edition.
183. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam, II, 139.
184. Vocalization is conjectural here.
185. For Mālik b. Haytham, see the entry in Crone, Slaves on Horses, 181–83. Muṣʿab b. Qays was a naqīb. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 218.
the Chosen One (al-Riḍā) from the family of God’s messenger, God bless him and give him peace. They were too haughty for that, so Mālik fought them with a battle line—he had about two hundred men—from daybreak until the time of the afternoon prayer.

Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān al-Ḍabbī, Ibrahim b. Yazīd and Ziyād b. ʿĪsā had joined Abū Muslim, so he sent them to Mālik b. Haytham. They came to him at the time of the afternoon prayer, and he was strengthened by their presence. Then Yazīd the mawlā of Naṣr b. Sayyār said to his followers, “If we let them alone this evening, reinforcements will come to them, so attack these people.” And they did. Then Abū Naṣr (Mālik b. Haytham) dismounted to fight on foot, and incited his followers saying, “Truly, I trust that God will cut off a part of the unbelievers,’ so strike them well and truly.” Both parties kept on fighting. Thirty-four men of the Marwānid party were killed, and eight were taken prisoner. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī attacked Yazīd, the mawlā of Naṣr and the leader of the enemy group; they captured him, and his followers fled. Abū Naṣr sent ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī and his prisoner with some men of the Shīʿah, along with some prisoners and the heads (of the slain), while he remained in his camp at Safidhanj. In the delegation were Abū Ḥammād al-Marwazi and Abū ʿAmr al-Aʿjami. Then Abū Muslim ordered the heads to be displayed on the gate of the wall in his camp. He sent Yazīd al-Aslamī to Abū Ishāq Khālid b. ʿUthmān and ordered him to treat wounds that Yazīd the mawlā of Naṣr had received, and to treat him with great kindness and consideration. He wrote to Abū Naṣr to come to him. When Naṣr’s mawlā Yazīd was healed of his wounds, Abū Muslim called him and said, “If you wish to stay with us and join our cause, then God will have guided you rightly. If you do not, then go back to your master in safety; but give us God’s oath not to fight against us or to lie about us, and to say of us [only] what you have seen.” Yazīd chose to return to his master, so he sent him on his way. Then Abū Muslim said, “This man will avert from us those men of piety and morality who assert that we have departed from Islam.”

Yazīd came to Naṣr b. Sayyār, who told him, “No welcome to

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186. A substitute naqib who became one of the great field commanders of the early ʿAbbāsid armies. His family had a long and meritorious role in the affairs of state.

187. Based on Qur. 3:127.
you, by God, I think the enemy only let you live in order to make you an argument against us." "And by God, it's just as you think," said Yazid. "What's more, they have made me swear not to lie about them, so I'll tell you that they pray the prayers at the proper time, with a call to prayer and iqâmah; they recite the Scripture, they make frequent mention of God, and they call men to God's Messenger. I reckon their business will succeed, and were you not my master who freed me from slavery, I'd not have come back to you; I'd have stayed with them." This was the first battle between the ['Abbâsid] Shi'ah and the partisans of the Banû Marwân.

In this year, Khâzîm b. Khuzaymah188 prevailed over Marwarrûdh, and Nasr b. Sayyâr's governor there was killed. Khâzîm sent a letter with his son Khuzaymah to Abû Muslim announcing the victory.

The Account of Khâzîm b. Khuzaymah's Victory Over Marwarrûdh

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—Abû al-Ḥasan al-Jushamî,189 Zuhayr b. Ḥunayd and Ḥasan b. Rashîd: When Khâzîm b. Khuzaymah was ready to set out for Marwarrûdh, leaders of the Tamim wanted to prevent him, but he said, "I am a man of your tribe, with Marw as my object. Perhaps I shall be victorious, in which case it will be yours; if I am slain, then you will be done with me." So they let him alone, and he went out and camped in a village called Kanj Rustâh.190 Then Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ and Bassâm b. Ibrâhîm came to him from Abû Muslim. When it was evening, Khâzîm attacked the people of Marwarrûdh by night, and Bishr b. Jaʿfar al-Saʿdî who was Nasr b. Sayyâr's governor in Marwarrûdh was slain. This was in the beginning of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (mid-July 747), and Khâzîm sent news of the victory to Abû Muslim by Khuzaymah b. Khâzîm, 'Abdallâh b. Saʿîd and Shabîb b. Wâj.

188. Khâzîm b. Khuzaymah al-Tamîmî was a deputy naqîb from Marwarrûdh, an important later general: see Crone, Slaves on Horses, 180–81.
189. The text is al-Ḥusmî, emended to al-Jushamî by the Cairo edition.
190. The text gives "Kanj Rustâh," however the textual apparatus lists the variant Kanj Rustaq, and Yâqût, Muʿjam, IV, 308, lists a Kanjurstâq, which LeStrange describes as a district between Bâdhghis and Marwarrûdh.
191. Ibn Ṣubayḥ was a naqîb. See Akhâr al-Dawlah, 218.
Abū Jaʿfar stated, concerning Abū Muslim’s proclamation of revolution, his travels to and from Khurāsān and his return there, a source other than those we have cited gives a differing account: Ibrāhīm the Imam married the daughter of Abū al-Najm to Abū Muslim at the time he sent him to Khurāsān, and sent her dowry with him. Then he wrote to the naqībs in Khurāsān, ordering them to listen to Abū Muslim and obey him. According to some assertions, Abū Muslim was from the village of Khūtarniyah near Kūfah, and was the steward of Idrīs b. Maʿqīl al-ʿīlī. Then his status changed and he became the mawla of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, and then of the other Imāms who were Muḥammad’s sons. He came to Khurāsān while he was still young in years, and Sulaymān b. Kathīr would not accept him. He feared that Abū Muslim would not be strong enough for their task, and fearing for himself and his companions, he sent him away. At this time Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was away, beyond the Oxus (nahr Balkh), but when he left there and arrived in Marw, the Imām’s letter was read to him, and he asked about the man whom he had sent. They told him that Sulaymān b. Kathīr had sent him away, and so he sent for all of the naqībs, who gathered in the house of ʿImrān b. Ismāʾīl. Then Abū Dāwūd said to them, “The letter from the Imām came to you with the man he sent while I was absent, and you sent him away. Now what is your case for sending him off?” “His youth,” Sulaymān b. Kathīr replied, “and our fear that he would not be able to manage this affair, and our solicitude for him we call men to, and for ourselves, and for those who are answerable..."
to us.” Then Abū Dāwūd said, “Are there any among you who de-
ny that God, blessed be He and exalted, chose Muḥammad, may
He bless him and his family and give them peace, and elected him
and selected him and sent him with His message to all men? Is there
any among you who would deny that?” “No,” they said. “Then
would you doubt that God, be He exalted, sent down His Book to
him, and that Gabriel the trusted spirit came to him making legal
what God permits therein, and prohibiting what He forbids, and
prescribing what He lays down, and showing His ways, and that he
informed him therein of what had been before, and what shall be, up
to the Day of Resurrection?” “No,” they said. “Then do you doubt
that God took His Prophet to Himself after he had delivered the
message of his Lord?” “No,” they said. “Then,” said he, “do you be-
lieve that the divine knowledge that was revealed to him was raised
[to heaven] with him, or that he left it behind him?” “Of course he
left it behind,” they said. “Then do you think that he left it behind
with those who were not of his family [ʾitrāh], nor people of his
house, who were the nearest of the near to him?” “No,” they said.
“Then,” he asked, “would any one of you who had seen this matter
progressing, and people receptive to it, see fit to try to turn it all to
himself?” “Good God, no!” they replied. “How should that be?” “I
do not say that you have done so,” he told them, “but sometimes Sa-
tan incites great evil concerning what may or may not come to pass.
Is there any one of you who would like to transfer control of this
matter from the People of the House to some other relatives of the
Prophet?” “No,” they said. “Then do you doubt that they are the
mine of the divine knowledge and keepers of the legacy of the Mes-
senger of God?” “No,” they said. “Yet I see,” he said, “that you
doubted their command, and rejected their knowledge, for had they
not known that this was the man who should manage their affairs,
they would not have sent him to you. No one has accused him of not
being devoted to them, or not being their assistant, or of not stand-
ing up for their due.”

196. Possession of esoteric knowledge was one of the qualities of a Shiʿi Imām. There are numerous ʿAbbāsid traditions which indicate that this knowledge was passed directly from Muhammad to the ʿAbbāsid line. Other traditions argue that when the Prophet died without leaving any surviving male offspring, his oldest sur-
viving uncle al-ʿAbbās inherited the Prophet’s legacy and passed it to his progeny. The earliest ʿAbbāsid claims were based on a transmission of the Imāmate from ʿAlī’s
At these words from Abū Dāwūd, they sent for Abū Muslim and brought him back from Qūmis, accepted him as their leader and listened to him and obeyed him. But there still lingered something in Abū Muslim's soul against Sulaymān b. Kathīr, and he still acknowledged it to Abū Dāwūd.

The naqībīs and other members of the ('Abbāsid) Shi'ah hearkened to Abū Muslim, obeyed him, deferred to him, and accepted all that came from him. The propagandists spread their word through all the regions of Khurasān. People joined in droves, their numbers grew, and the propagandists fanned out into all of Khurasān. Then Ibrāhīm the Imām wrote to Abū Muslim commanding him to come to him during the Pilgrimage that year, that is in 129 (747), so that he could give him his orders for the public proclamation of revolution. He asked him to bring Qaḥtābah b. Shabīb with him, and whatever monies had been amassed. Three hundred and sixty thousand dirhams had been amassed with Abū Muslim, and so he took part of it to buy goods of the stuffs that merchants of Qūh and Marw sell, and sheer and heavy silks. The rest he melted into small ingots of gold and silver and put them in the lining of their cloaks. Then he brought mules and set out midway through Jumādā II (early March 747). Among the naqībīs who accompanied him were Qaḥtābah b. Shabīb, Qāsim b. Mujāshi' and Talhāh b. Zurayq, along with forty-one men of the Shi'ah. They outfitted the caravan in the villages of the Khuza'ah, loading their packs on twenty-one pack mules. An armed man from the Shi'ah was mounted on each mule. They took the desert route, avoiding the armed patrols of Naṣr b. Sayyār, until they came to Abiward.

Abū Muslim wrote to 'Uthmān b. Nahīk and his followers, ordering them to come forward to him. Between them was a distance of five farsakhs (30 km). Fifty of their men came to him, and then he journeyed from Abiward, until reaching one of the villages of Naṣā called Qāqas. He sent al-Fāḍl b. Sulaymān to Andāman, the village of Asid, and he met there a man from the Shi'ah and asked him where Asid was. The man replied, "Why are you asking about him? There has been great evil from the governor today, and he has been

grandson Abū Ḥāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah to the 'Abbāsid Muḥammad b. 'Alī. See, e.g., Omar, 'Abbāsid Caliphate, 59–67; El2 s.v. 'Abbāsids.

197. For 'Uthmān b. Nahīk, who was a dā'i from Abiward, see the entry in Crone, Slaves on Horses, 189.
taken, along with al-Ahjam b. 'Abdallâh, Ghaylân b. Faḍâlah, Ghalib b. Sa‘îd and Muhâjîr b. 'Uthmân, to the governor 'Âsim b. Qays b. al-Ḥarûrî, who has imprisoned them.” Abû Muslim and his companions moved on to Andûmân, and Abû Mâlik (Asîd) and the Shi‘ah at Nasâ came to him. Abû Mâlik informed him that the letter which had been with the Imâm’s messenger was in his possession, so Abû Muslim told him to bring it to him. He brought him the letter and a banner and a flag. Lo, the letter told him to turn back as soon as he received it and publicly declare the revolution. At this, he fastened the flag that had come to him from the Imâm to a lance and the banner as well. The Shi‘ah among the people of Nasâ gathered to him along with the propagandists and chiefs. He already had the people of Abiward who had come to Nasâ with him.

Word of this reached ‘Âsim b. Qays al-Ḥarûrî, and he sent (men) to Abû Muslim to question him about his situation. He told him that he was a pilgrim, traveling to the House of God, and that he had with him a number of friends who were merchants. He requested ‘Âsim to set free those of his companions whom he had detained, so that they might leave his province. They then demanded that Abû Muslim write a personal contract for them, stating that he would exchange all the slaves, riding animals and weapons that were with him so that his companions, those who had come from the province of the Imâm and others, might go their ways. Abû Muslim consented to this, and his friends were set free. He now ordered those of the Shi‘ah among his followers to return home. He read the Imâm’s letter to them, and ordered them to proclaim the revolution publicly. One group of them then went home. Abû Mâlik Asîd b. 'Abdallâh al-Khuza‘î, Zurayq b. Shawdhab199 and those who had come to him from Abiward continued with him, and he ordered all who turned back to hold themselves in readiness. He went on with those of his companions who had remained, and with Qâhtâbah b. Shabib, until they camped at the borders of Jurjân. Abû Muslim then sent

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198. Al-Ahjam was a naqîb. Muhâjîr b. 'Uthmân was a replacement for a naqîb. See Akhbâr al-Dawlah, 218, 220.
word to Khalid b. Barmak and Abū 'Awn ordering them to bring whatever funds they had collected from the Shi'ah. They both presented themselves, and he stayed there some days until the caravans had assembled. He outfitted Qahtabah b. Shabib and gave him the money he had with him and the means of transporting it, and sent him on to Ibrahim b. Muḥammad, while Abū Muslim and those with him went back to Nasā, and from there traveled to Abiward. From there he traveled on in disguise to Marw, where he stayed at one of the villages of the Khuzā’ah, called Fanin. This was on the twenty-third of Ramaḍān (June 7, 747). He had designated the day of ‘Īd as the time for his followers to meet him at Marw. He sent Abū Dāwud and 'Amr b. A‘yan to Ṭūkhāristān and al-Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ to Amul and Bukhāra, with Sharik b. 'Isā. Mūsā b. Ka‘b he sent to Abiward and Nasā, and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to Marwarrūdāh. The people then came to him, and al-Qāsim b. Mujāshī’ al-Tamīmī led them in the prayers on the day of the feast at the prayer-ground (muṣallā) of the Qanbar family in the village of Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm.

This year most of the Arab tribesmen in Khurāsān swore an oath and made a compact to fight Abū Muslim. This was at the time his followers increased and his forces became powerful. Also still in this year he moved from his camp at Safidhanj to Mākhuwān.

The Arab Tribesmen of Khurāsān Ally Against Abū Muslim

According to ‘Ali—al-Ṣabbāḥ the mawlā of Jibril—Maslamah b. Yaḥyā: When Abū Muslim openly proclaimed revolution, people hastened to join him, and the people of Marw began to come to him. Naṣr did not prevent them from this nor did he forbid them. Nor did al-Kirmānī and Shaybān disapprove of Abū Muslim’s activities, be-

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200. For Khalid b. Barmak and his progeny, who later served the ‘Abbāsid house, see El² s.v. Baramika; Lassner, ‘Abbāsid Rule, index, 319; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 176–77. For Abū 'Awn, see the entry in Crone, ibid., 174.

201. Mūsā b. Ka‘b al-Tamīmī was one of the highest ranking agents in the ‘Abbāsid revolutionary apparatus. He later served as a great field commander and security officer. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 215–16; Crone, Slaves on Horses, 186.
cause he was calling for deposing Marwān b. Muḥammad. Abū Muslim was staying at a village called Bālin\(^\text{202}\) in a tent, without any guards or doorkeepers. The people magnified his authority and said, "A man from the Banū Ḥāshim has appeared, endowed with urbanity, gravity and calm." A number of young men from the people of Marw set out, pietists who sought religious insight (fiqh) and they came to him at his camp, and asked him about his genealogy.\(^\text{203}\) He responded, "What I have to say is better for you than my genealogy." Then they asked him about matters relating to fiqh. He told them, "The command to do good and reject what is reprehensible is more important for you than this. We have work to do, and have more need of your assistance than of your questions, so excuse us." They said, "By God, we do not know your genealogy, and we think that it won't be long before you are slain. Nothing is lacking for that except for one of these two to be free."\(^\text{204}\) Abū Muslim replied, "On the contrary, it is I who shall slay them both, God willing."

The young men returned and went to Naṣr b. Sayyār and told him (what they had heard). He told them, "May God reward you well; you are the sort to seek him out and learn about him." Then they went to Shaybān and informed him, whereupon he sent a message to Naṣr, "We have each choked the other." Naṣr then wrote to him, "Desist from attacking me so that I can fight him or, if you wish, join me in fighting him until I kill him or drive him away; then we may return to the business we are now engaged in." Shaybān was anxious about what to do, and that became apparent to those in his camp. The spies of Abū Muslim now came to him and informed him of this. Sulaymān said, "What is this matter that has reached them? Have you been talking to somebody?" Abū Muslim then informed him about the young men who had come to him, and Sulaymān said, "Then this is all because of that." They wrote to ʿAli b. al-Kirmānī saying, "You are a wronged man unable to take revenge. Your father has been murdered.\(^\text{205}\) We know that you are not of the

\(^{202}\) Bāb Bālin was the northwest gate of Marw. However, the reference to Bālin here may be an error for "Allīn," one of villages of Marw. See n. 160 above.

\(^{203}\) The name he used, "Father of a Muslim, Khurāsānī," was deliberately ambiguous.

\(^{204}\) That is Naṣr b. Sayyār and Shaybān al-Khāriji.

\(^{205}\) According to Dinawari, 362, the death of Judayʿ al-Kirmānī was arranged by Naṣr, who invited him to a parley. Other sources indicate that it was a son of al-
same mind as Shaybān; you are only fighting for revenge, so prevent Shaybān from a reconciliation with Naṣr." ‘Ali went to Shaybān and spoke to him, and deterred him from what he intended. Naṣr then wrote to Shaybān, "Truly you are being deceived, and I swear by God that this matter is so momentous that by the side of it, you should find me small."

While they were thus engaged, Abū Muslim sent al-Nadr b. Nu‘aym al-Ḍabbi to Harat, which was governed by ‘Isa b. Aqil al-Laythi, and al-Nadr drove him out of Harat, so that ‘Isa fled to Naṣr and al-Nadr took over the city. Then Yahyā b. Nu‘aym b. Hubayrah said [to the Khārijites], "Choose whether you will perish before the Muḍar, or the Muḍar before you." They asked, "How is that?" He replied, "This man's affair only surfaced a month ago, but already as many men as are in your army have joined his army." "What shall we do?" they asked. "Make peace with Naṣr," he told them, "for if you have peace with him, these people will fight Naṣr and leave you alone, because the Muḍar have the government. If you do not make peace with Naṣr, they will, and they will fight you and it will go against you." "What shall we do?" they said. "Get ahead of them,"

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206. Naṣr wrote verses in which he urged the Arabs to unite with him to war against Abū Muslim, as follows:

Go tell both the Rabi‘ah in Marw and the Yamanis:
arouse yourselves, before it will be of no avail;

What are you thinking of, to enkindle the feud between you
as if men of wit were absent from your counsels?

You neglect an enemy who has surrounded you,
a rabble of no religion or consequence,

Not Arabs like those among men you would know,
nor yet true mawlas, if their origins be reckoned;

Who would ask me about the root of their religion?
truly, their religion is that the Arabs should perish;

A sect professing doctrines you never heard of
from the Prophet, nor brought by the Scriptures.

—Ibn Athir, v. IV. 304, and also quoted by al-Dinawari, 361.
he said, “if by only one hour, and comfort yourselves by their slaying.”

Then Shaybân sent to Naṣr offering him a truce, and he agreed. Following that, he sent a message to Salm b. Ahwaz, and between them they concluded an agreement. Shaybân came, with Ibn al-Kirmâni on his right and Yahyâ b. Nu’aym on his left, and Salm said to Ibn al-Kirmâni, “One-eyed one, I do not take you to be the one-eyed man at whose hands we are told that the Muğar will perish.” Then they made a truce for one year, and put their agreement in writing. This came to Abû Muslim, and he wrote to Shaybân, “We would make a truce with you for some months, so grant us a truce of three months.” Then Ibn al-Kirmâni said, “I never made peace with Naṣr; it was Shaybân who did so while I was unwilling. I am a man with blood to avenge, and I will not stop fighting Naṣr.” Ibn al-Kirmâni resumed hostilities, but Shaybân refused to help him, saying, “Treachery is not permissible.” At this Ibn al-Kirmâni sent a message to Abû Muslim asking his help against Naṣr b. Sayyâr. Abû Muslim proceeded to al-Mâkhuwân, and sent Shibl b. Thâhmân208 to Ibn al-Kirmâni with the message, “I am with you against Naṣr.” Ibn al-Kirmâni said, “I should indeed like Abû Muslim to meet me,” and Shibl brought word of this. Abû Muslim waited fourteen days, and then he went to Ibn al-Kirmâni, leaving his army behind at al-Mâkhuwân. Uthmân b. al-Kirmâni met him with cavalry and rode with him until he entered the camp. Then Abû Muslim went to ‘Ali b. al-Kirmâni and stayed mounted outside his chamber. He was asked to dismount, and entered saluting ‘Ali as “Amîr.” Ali had prepared a lodging209 for him in a palace belonging to Makhład210 b. Hasan al-Azdi. Abû Muslim stayed two days, and then went back to his camp at al-Mâkhuwân. This was on the fifth day of Muḥarram, 130 (September 16, 747).

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207. “One-eyed one” is an insult renderable as “you prick.” It is also a reference to the Dajjal, the one-eyed “great deceiver” who will persecute the faithful and usher in the second coming of Jesus and the Messianic age according to certain hadîths. Ibn Ahwaz appears to be saying, “You may be this and that, but you are not the Anti-christ who will precede the messianic age and destroy the Mudar.” For al-Dajiîl see EI2 s.v. al-Dajiîl.

208. Shibl b. Thâhmân was a naqib. See Akhbar al-Dawlah, 216.

209. The text is qaṣrân, “a palace”; it should be read manzilân, “lodging,” as in the Cairo edition.

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb reported that when the Shi‘ah in Abū Muslim’s camp became numerous, Safidhanj was too confining for him, and he desired a more spacious encampment. Al-Mākhuwān answered his need. It was the village of al-‘Alā’ b. Ḥurayth, and Abū Ishāq Khālid b. Ḥumān, and Abū al-Jahm b. ‘Aṭīyyah and his brothers lived there. He stayed at Safidhanj had lasted forty-two days, and from there he went to al-Mākhuwān. He stopped at the house of Abū Ishāq on Wednesday, the ninth night of Dhū al-Qa‘dah [July 19, 747]. He dug a trench around the place, with two entrances to it, and he and the Shi‘ah camped there. He put Muṣ'ab b. Qays al-Ḥanāfī and Bahdal b. Iyās al-Dabī in charge of one entrance, and Abū Sharāhil and Abū ‘Amr al-A‘jami in charge of the other. He appointed Abū Naṣr Mālik b. Haytham in charge of security, and made Abū Ishāq Khālid b. Ḥumān captain of the guard. Kāmil b. Muẓaffar Abū Ṣalih was put in charge of the army register, and Aslam b. Ṣubayḥ was in charge of his chancery. Qāsim b. Muẓaffar the Tamīmī naqīb he made qāḍi, and he reinforced Mālik b. al-Ḥaytham with Abū al-Waddāh and a number of the early settlers. He put the men from the two villages (called) Nawshan— they were eighty-three men— under Abū Ishāq in the guard.

Qāsim b. Muẓaffar used to lead the prayers for Abū Muslim in the camp and narrate anecdotes after the afternoon prayer, mentioning the virtues of the Banū Ḥāshim, and the shameful deeds of the Banū Umayyah. Abū Muslim now settled at the camp at al-Mākhuwān, appearing like any man of the Shi‘ah, until ‘Abdallāh b. Bisṭām came to him and brought him tents, pavilions, cooking vessels, nose-bags for the horses and leather troughs for water. The first official that Abū Muslim appointed was Dāwud b. Karrāz. Abū Muslim refused to let the [runaway] slaves join him at his camp, and had an entrenched position dug for them at the village of Shawwāl, putting it in the charge of Dāwud b. Karrāz. When a large number of

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211. It was thus the village of two naqībs and a substitute naqīb. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 221.
212. Ibn Iyās was one of the du‘āt. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 221.
213. The text is ahl al-Suqādim.
214. Nawsh was the name of several villages in Marw. The two villages here are not specified. See Yāqūṭ, Mu‘jam, IV, 823–24.
215. Ibn Karrāz was a substitute naqīb. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 221.
216. Shawwāl was a village situated three farsakhs [18 km] from Marw. See Yāqūṭ, Mu‘jam, III, 332.
slaves had gathered, he sent them to Mūsā b. Ka'b at Abīward. He or-
dered Kāmil b. Mużaffar to enroll the people at the camp according
to their names and their fathers' names and designate them by their
villages, recording all that in the register.' Kāmil, who was called
Abū Şāliḥ, did so, and their numbers came to seven thousand men.
Their pay was three dirhams per man; then each of them received
four at the hands of Abū Şāliḥ Kāmil.

At last the tribesmen of the Muḏar, the Rabī'ah and the
Qaḥṭān218 agreed to lay aside their feuds and unite as one in fight-
ing Abū Muslim. Once they had driven him from Marw, they would
look to their own affairs and what they had agreed upon. They there-
fore wrote a carefully worded treaty among themselves, and word of
this reached Abū Muslim. It alarmed him, and he took it seriously
and reconsidered his situation. Lo, the water supply of Māḵhuwān
dropped, and he feared that Naṣr b. Sayyār might cut off his water, so
he moved to Alin, the village of Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq219
the naqīb. This was after he had stayed four months at the camp at
Māḵhuwān, and he settled at Alin on Thursday the sixth of Dhū al-
Ḥijjah 129 (August 14, 747). He dug a trench at Alin between Alin
and Balāša Jīrīd.220 Thus the village was behind the camp, and he
dug so as to place the house of Muḥṭafiz b. 'Uthmān b. Bishr al-
Mazānī inside the trench. The inhabitants of Alin drank the water of
a canal called the Kharqān, so Naṣr b. Sayyār could not cut off the
drinking-water from Alin. The Feast of the Day of Sacrifice221
came, and Qāsim b. Mujāshi led the prayers for Abū Muslim and
the Shi'ah at the prayer-ground of Alin.

Naṣr b. Sayyār was camped on the ʿIyād Canal, and he positioned
ʿAṣīm b. 'Amr at Balāša Jīrīd and Abū al-Dhayyāl at Ṭūṣān. Bishr b.
Unayf al-Yarbuʿī he placed at Jūfār, and he stationed Ḥātim b. al-
Ḥārith b. Surayj at Kharaq, seeking to attack Abū Muslim. Abū
Dhayyāl quartered his troops with the inhabitants of Ṭūṣān while

217. That is, they were officially enrolled according to place, not tribe, or origin.
This became the standard 'Abbāsid practice. The advantage was that it played down
tribal feelings ('asabiyyah). See n. 179 above.
218. That is, the Yaman.
219. The text is Ruzayq; read Zurayq, as in textual apparatus variants and Akhbār
al-Dawlah, 215, 216.
220. The text is Balāša Jīrīd. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, I, 708, lists a Balāša Jīrīd which was a
village four farsakhs (24 km) from Marw.
221. See EI3 s.v. 'Id al-ʿAḍhā.
Abū Muslim was in his camp, and they injured the people there, treating them like servants, butchering their chickens, cattle and pigeons, and making them bear the cost of their victuals and fodder. The Shī‘ah complained of this to Abū Muslim, and he sent some cavalry with them. They encountered Abū Dhayyāl and drove him away, and captured Maymūn al-A‘sar al-Khwārizmī with about thirty men. Abū Muslim gave them clothing, treated their wounds, and set them free.

In this year, Juday' b. ‘Ali al-Kirmānī was slain and crucified.222

The Account of the Slaying of Juday' b. ‘Ali al-Kirmānī

We have already mentioned the slaying of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj and that al-Kirmānī was the one who killed him. When al-Kirmānī had slain al-Ḥārith, Marw became wholly his, due to that slaying, and Naṣr b. Sayyār removed from Marw to Abrashahr. Al-Kirmānī’s rule grew stronger, and according to what is said, Naṣr sent Salm b. Āhwaz against him. He marched with Naṣr’s guards and cavalry until he encountered the followers of al-Kirmānī, he found Yahyā b. Nu‘aym al-Maylā’ stationed at the head of a thousand soldiers of the Rabi‘ah, Muhammad b. al-Muthannā at the head of seven hundred horsemen of the Azd, Ibn al-Hasan b. al-Shaykh al-Azdi with one thousand of their young men (fityān), and al-Ḥazmī al-Sughdī with a thousand Abnā’ of the Yaman.223 When they stood opposite each other, Salm b. Āhwaz called to Muhammad b. al-Muthannā, “O Muhammad al-Muthannā, get these sailors (i.e., the Azd)224 to come out against us!” Then Muḥammad said to Salm, “Whoreson, do you say that to Abū ‘Ali?!” The two armies moved slowly against each other, and fought with swords. Salm b. Āhwaz was routed, and over one hundred of his followers were slain, while more than twenty of Muḥammad’s followers were killed. Naṣr’s men returned to him in disorder, and ‘Aqil b. Ma‘qil told him, “Naṣr, you’ve brought bad luck on the Arabs; when you’ve gone this far, exert yourself and bare your shank!” Naṣr now sent ʿĪsmah b. ‘Abdallāh al-Asadī, who stood

222. See n. 205 above.
223. From the context it is not certain whether these fityān were Arabs of the Azd or slaves that they had formed into a military contingent. For the Abnā’, see EL2 s.v. Abnā’.
224. See n. 113 above.
where Salm b. Ahwaz had stood. He called out, "O Muḥammad, you know well that a fish can't beat a sea-wolf!" Muḥammad replied, "Then hold on until we get there, you bastard!" He ordered Muḥammad al-Sughdī to go out to him with the Yaman, and they fought a fierce battle. Ḥismaḥ fled until he came back to Naṣr b. Sayyār; four hundred of his followers had been slain.

Naṣr then sent Mālik b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī, and he advanced with his followers. He called out, "O Ibn Muthanna, come out and fight me, if you're a man!" He answered his challenge, and the Tamīmī struck him between his neck and his shoulder, without effect. Muḥammad b. al-Muthanna struck him in turn with a mace and smashed his head. The fighting became desperate, and they fought a fierce battle, as great a battle as any. Naṣr's followers were routed, and seven hundred of them were slain. Three hundred of al-Kirmānī's followers were killed, and the bad blood between them kept on, so that they all went out to the trenches and fought each other bitterly.

When Abū Muslim was certain that each side had inflicted great losses on the other and would not receive reinforcements, he began to write letters to Shaybān. Then he would say to the messenger, "Make your way by the Mudar. They will stop you and take your letters." They would take the letters, and read in them, "I observe that the Yaman will not last, and there is no good in them, so do not rely on them or put trust in them, for I trust that God will show you what you desire, and if He spares me I shall leave them neither hair nor nails." Then he would send another messenger by a different road with a letter in which he mentioned the Mudar and praised the Yaman in similar terms, so that each party came to favor him. He now began to write to Naṣr b. Sayyār and to al-Kirmānī, "The Imam has recommended you to me, and I shall not act counter to his opinion of you." At the same time he wrote to the districts of the province (telling them) to proclaim the revolution (by showing their colors), and the first one to put on black — it is reported — was Asid b. Ḥaballaḥ at Nasā, who cried, "O Muḥammad! O Manṣūr!" Muqāṭil b. Ḥakīm and Ibn

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225. That is, the Khārijīte leader operating in Khurāsān.
226. See n. 82 above.
Ghazwān put on black at the same time. So did the people of Abiward and Marwarrūdh and those of the villages around Marw.

Abū Muslim advanced to a position midway between the camps of Naṣr b. Sayyār and that of Judayʿ al-Kirmānī. Both sides came to fear him, and his followers grew in number. Naṣr b. Sayyār wrote to Marwān b. Muḥammad, informing him of Abū Muslim’s circumstances and his revolt. He told him of the multitude that were with Abū Muslim and his following, and that he was proclaiming a summons to Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad. He wrote him some verses of poetry:

\[
\text{I see among the ashes the flash of live coals,} \\
\text{and deem that they will have a kindling;} \\
\text{A fire may be kindled with two sticks,} \\
\text{and a war begin with a few words.} \\
\text{I say in astonishment “Would that I knew;} \\
\text{is [the Clan of] Umayyah awake, or sleeping?”}
\]

But Marwān wrote him, “The witness sees what the absent cannot see; cauterize the wart according to your own lights.” Then Naṣr exclaimed, “Well, your master has shown us plainly that there is no assistance (naṣr: a pun) with him.” He then wrote to Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah the governor of Iraq, requesting aid, and wrote these verses for him:

\[
\text{Go tell Yazīd——for the best speech is the truest;} \\
\text{long since, I saw that there’s no good in lying——} \\
\text{Khurāsān is a land wherein I have seen} \\
\text{eggs which, were they to hatch, would astonish you;} \\
\text{Chicks two years hatching, and already big,} \\
\text{though they haven’t yet flown, and are covered with down.} \\
\text{But should they fly before they are prevented,} \\
\text{they will set warfires blazing, wherever fires may blaze.} \\
\text{But Yazīd said, “There’s no winning without numbers, and I have not a man.” Naṣr then wrote to Marwān informing him about Abū}
\]

Muslim and his manifesting a revolution and about his strength, and that he was summoning men to follow Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. The letter found Marwān when a messenger from Abū Muslim to Ibrāhīm had already fallen into his hands. The messenger had been returning from Ibrāhīm to Abū Muslim with a letter from Ibrāhīm in answer to one from Abū Muslim. In it he cursed and reviled Abū Muslim for not exploiting his opportunity with Naṣr and al-Kirmānī while he could, and told him not to leave one Arab in Khurāsān unslain. The messenger handed the letter over to Marwān, and Marwān wrote to al-Walid b. Muʿāwiyyah b. ʿAbd al-Malik, his governor for Damascus, ordering him to write to the administrator of the Balqāʾ to go to Ḫumaymah Wells, and seize Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, bind him securely and send him to him with a mounted escort. Al-Walid wrote to the governor of the Balqāʾ, and he came upon Ibrāhīm at the mosque in the village. He seized him, tied his hands behind his back, and brought him to al-Walid. The latter sent him to Marwān, who threw him into a prison.

To return to the account of Naṣr and al-Kirmānī, when their quarrel was at its height, Abū Muslim sent word to al-Kirmānī, “I am with you.” Al-Kirmānī accepted this and Abū Muslim joined him, so that matters grew critical for Naṣr. He sent word to al-Kirmānī, “Woe to you! Do not make a mistake! By God, I am fearful for you and your followers from this man. Make a truce with me; we shall enter Marw, and write a treaty of peace between us.” He hoped in this way to separate al-Kirmānī from Abū Muslim. Al-Kirmānī then went to his dwelling, and Abū Muslim remained at his camp. Then al-Kirmānī went forth until he halted at the courtyard (rahbah) with one hundred horsemen, wearing a tunic of khashkhashūnah, and sent

227. See n. 116 above on the matter of killing Arabs in Khurāsān. It is, of course, possible that statements of this sort were used by the Umayyads to rally support against the ‘Abbāsids.

228. The Balqāʾ was a name given to all of Transjordan or to the central part of it. See El² s.v. Balkāʾ. Note FHA, 189, reads “Kirār and al-Ḥumaymah,” indicating two distinct places.

229. It is highly unlikely that Ibrāhīm al-Imām would have been identified in correspondence. His true identity would have been known only to the inner circles of the movement and they were enjoined not to risk exposing him. This tradition would appear to be part of the ‘Abbāsīd historiography which describes various members of the Banū ʿAbbās as martyrs. There is reason to doubt that he was “imprisoned” because the Umayyads became fully aware of his activities, or that they had him murdered. For a detailed exposition see Sharon, ‘Aliyat, 237–61. (J.L.)
word to Naṣr, "Come out, so we may write that treaty between us." Naṣr perceived deceit in him, and sent the son of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj against him with about three hundred horsemen. They clashed in the courtyard and fought each other for a long time. Finally al-Kirmānī was speared in his side and fell from his horse. His followers protected him until they were overwhelmed. Naṣr then had al-Kirmānī killed and crucified the body with a fish beside it. Al-Kirmānī’s son ‘Ali now advanced; he had gone to Abū Muslim and had gathered a large force which he led against Naṣr b. Sayyār. He fought him until he drove him from the governor’s palace, whereupon Naṣr went to one of the mansions in Marw. Then Abū Muslim entered Marw, and ‘Ali b. Juday’ al-Kirmānī came to meet him. Abū Muslim saluted him with the title of “Amīr” and informed him of his support, saying, “Give me your orders.” ‘Ali then told him, “Do just what you are doing until I have some other order to give you.”


‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah al-Ja‘fari Gains Control of Fārs

According to ‘Ali b. Muḥammad—‘Āṣim b. Ḥafs al-Tamīmī and others: When ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah b. ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib was driven out of Kūfah, he went to Madā‘īn,232 where the people swore allegiance to him, and a group from Kūfah joined him. He then went to Jibāl and seized control there as well as in Hulwān, Qūmis, Isbāhān and Rayy. The slaves of the Kūfans ran away to join him. When he had prevailed, he resided at Isbāhān.

Muḥārib b. Mūsā, a mawla of the Banū Yashkur, had been very powerful in Fārs, and he came walking in his sandals to the Govern-

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230. A contemptuous symbol for the Azd.
231 The revolt of ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘ āwiyah, the Ja‘farī, represented a great threat to the ‘Abbāsid. Their own revolution was predicted in the collapse of the ‘Alid movement of Zayd b. ‘Ali. They assumed that they could attract his following. The movement of the Ja‘farī pretender thus threatened to undercut ‘Abbāsid support at a critical moment. Ibn Mu‘āwiyah attracted support and initially met with success in battle. The ‘Abbāsids at first supported the revolt in order to show the solidarity of the Banū Ḥāshim, but they were ready to abandon him at first opportunity. They later had him killed. For a detailed treatment of his revolt, see Sharon, ‘Aliyat, 154–205. [J.L.]
232. Meaning “the cities.” The Arab name of the site of Ctesiphon-Seleucia, the Persian capitals on the Tigris just to the south of later Baghdad. See LeStrange, Lands, 33–35.
ment House of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) and expelled the governor appointed by Ibn 'Umar (b. 'Abd al- 'Aziz) and said to a man whose name was 'Umārah, “Have the people swear allegiance.” The inhabitants said, “On what?” He then said, “On what you love and hate.” They then swore allegiance to Ibn Mu‘āwiya. Then Muḥārib went to Kirmān and raided there, and on his raid he took some camels belonging to Tha’labah b. Ḥassān al-Māzini and drove them back with him. Tha’labah then went out looking for his camels at a village of his called Ashhar. With Tha’labah was a mawla of his, who asked him, “Why don’t we murder Muḥārib? If you like, you can strike him down while I keep his people busy, or if you like I’ll kill him while you keep them busy.” Tha’labah replied, “Alas! Would you commit murder [and the camels get away from us, when we didn’t even meet the man?]” Then he went in to see Muḥārib, who welcomed him, and said, “What would you ask of me?” “My camels,” he told him. “[Yes”, he said, “I took them]” not knowing whose they were. Now I know, and here are your camels.” Then Tha’labah took them and said to his mawla, “[‘This is better. And what was it you wanted?”] The mawla replied, “Something which, if we had taken it, would have been even more useful.”

Muḥārib was joined by officers and commanders of the Syrian army, and he moved against Muslim b. Musayyab who was governing Shirāz for Ibn ‘Umar, and slew him in the year 128 (745–746), and then went up to Isbahan. ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya then moved to Iṣṭakhr, appointing his brother Ḥasan to govern Jibāl. Then he settled at a monastery one mile away from Iṣṭakhr. He appointed his brother Yazīd to rule Fārs, and remained where he was. People came to him, members of the Banū Ḥāshim and others. He collected taxes, and sent out governors. With him were Mansūr b. Jumhūr, Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, and Shaybān b. al-Ḥils b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Shaybanī the Kharijite. Abū Ja’far ‘Abdallāh and ‘Abdallāh and ‘Isā b. ‘Alī came to him as well. Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah then came as governor of Iraq, and sent Nubāṭah b. Ḥanẓalāh al-Kilābī against ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya.

233. The text has three lacunae here. The Cairo edition supplies the missing phrases from manuscripts not available to the earlier editors.
234. See n. 233 above.
235. See n. 233 above.
236. That is, the future Caliph al-Mansūr and two of his paternal uncles.
Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb learned that Ibn Hubayrah had made Nubātah governor of Ahwāz, and he dispatched Dāwud b. Ḥatim, who stationed himself at Kurbuj Dinār\(^{237}\) to keep Nubātah out of Ahwāz. Then Nubātah advanced and fought him and Dāwud was killed. Sulaymān fled to Sābūr,\(^{238}\) where the Kurds had seized control and driven out al-Masih b. al-Ḥawārī.\(^{239}\) Sulaymān fought them and drove them out. He then wrote to 'Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah swearing allegiance to him, but 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab said, “He will not keep faith with you; he only wants to keep you away from him and devour Sābūr. Write to him and have him come before you, if he is sincere.” He wrote to him, and Sulaymān came. But he told his followers, “Come in with me, and if anyone tries to prevent you, fight him.” Then they went in, and he told Ibn Mu‘āwiyah, “I am the most obedient of men to you.” Ibn Mu‘āwiyah told him, “Return to your position.” And he went back.

Then Muḥārīb b. Mūsā broke with Ibn Mu‘āwiyah. He gathered a force and marched on Sābūr. His son Mukhallad\(^{240}\) b. Muḥārīb was detained at Sābūr, for Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah, brother of 'Abdallāh, had seized him and put him in prison. Someone told Muḥārīb, “Your son is in this man’s hands, and you make war on him! Aren’t you afraid that he’ll kill your son?” But he replied, “May God put him far away!” Yazīd fought him, and Muḥārīb was put to flight. He went to Kirman where he stayed until Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath approached, whereupon he went with him. But he broke with Ibn al-Ash‘ath, who killed him and twenty-four of his sons. ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah remained at Istakhr, until Ibn Ḥubayrah came against him with Dāwud, the son of Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah. Ibn Mu‘āwiyah gave orders to cut the (pontoon) bridge at Kūfah, so Ibn Hubayrah sent Ma‘n b. Zā‘idah from the other side. Sulaymān then said to Abān b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Hishām, “The enemy has come against you.” And he replied, “I was not commanded to fight them.” Sulaymān said, “And by God, you’ll never get any orders about

\(^{237}\) The text is Kurbukh Dinār; it should be read Kurbuj Dinār, which was a place near Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, IV, 249.

\(^{238}\) Sābūr of Bishāpūr had been a Sasanian royal residence, and was one of the five great districts (kūrah) of Fārs. See LeStrange, Lands, 248.

\(^{239}\) A curious name; “Messiah son of Disciple.” The Cairo edition gives al-Ḥimārī.

\(^{240}\) Vocalization is conjectural.
them, either!” Ma'n came and fought them by Marw al-Shādhān,\footnote{That is the Marw of Fārs which was originally a quarter of Iṣṭakhr. Perhaps it had already become the separate village it was in later times. See LeStrange, \textit{Lands}, 280.} and recited this \textit{rajaz}:

\begin{quotation}
\begin{flushright}
[1979] The Prince of the enemy is not the great deceiver; he fled from death, and fell into death.
\end{flushright}
\end{quotation}

Both Ibn al-Muqaffa' and another authority give: "He fled from death, and in it he fell." (Ma'n) called out, "A stay? I told you, I've done." Then Ibn Mu'āwiya fled, and Ma'n did not pursue them. In the battle, a man from the family of Abū Lahab was killed.\footnote{Abū Lahab was an uncle of the Prophet; in his position of leadership of the Banū Hāshim following the death of Abū Ṭalib, he cooperated with the Prophet's enemies. See \textit{EI²} s.v. Abū Lahab.} It had been predicted that a man of the Banū Hāshim would be slain in Marw al-Shādhān. Many prisoners were taken, and Ibn Ḍubarah put a large number of them to death. It is said that among those killed that day was Ḥakīm al-Fard, Abū al-Majd. But it is also said that he was killed at Ahwāz, by Nubātah.

When Ibn Mu'āwiya fled, Shaybān fled to the island of Ibn Kāwān, and Mansūr b. Jumhūr to Sind. 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Yazīd ran away to 'Umān, and 'Amr b. Saḥl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz escaped to Egypt. The remainder of the prisoners were sent to Ibn Ḥubayrah.

Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl reported: He set those prisoners free, and none of them were put to death except Ḥuṣayn b. Wa'lah al-Sadūsi. When Ibn Ḥubayrah ordered him slain, Ḥuṣayn said, "I alone am to be killed, among all these prisoners?" "Yes," he said, "you are a polytheist, for you composed the verse:

And were I to command the sun, it would not rise.

Ibn Mu'āwiya went directly to Sijīstān; then he came to Khurāsān and Mansūr b. Jumhūr went to Sind. Ma'n b. Zā'idah went in search of him along with 'Atīyyah al-Tha'lābī and others of the Banū Tha'lābah, but they could not catch him and turned back. Ḥuṣayn b. Wa'lah al-Sadūsī had been with Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, who then abandoned him, [and he joined up with 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya.\footnote{These passages in parenthesis are given in the Cairo edition and fill in the lacunae of the text.}]

\begin{quotation}
\begin{flushright}
[1980]\end{flushright}
\end{quotation}
The Events of the Year 129

Muwwari’ al-Sulami [captured Ḥuṣayn].244 He had seen him go inside a thicket and seized him and brought him [to Ma’ın b. Zā’idah]245 who sent him to Ibn Ḍubarah, and he sent him to Wāṣīt. Ibn Ḍubarah marched against ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah at Iṣṭakhr, and settled down opposite the city along the river of Iṣṭakhr.246 Then Ibn al-Ṣahṣah crossed the river with a thousand men. Abān b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Hishām and his Syrian troops, followers of ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah who had once supported Sulaymān b. Hishām, met this force and they engaged in battle. Ibn Nubatah made for the bridge, and those of the Kharijites who followed Ibn Mu‘āwiyah engaged his force. Abān and the Kharijites were routed and a thousand of them were captured and brought to Ibn Ḍubarah, who let them go.247

One who was taken that day was ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. Ibn Ḍubarah learned his genealogy, and said, “What brought you to Ibn Mu‘āwiyah, when you knew that he was opposing the Commander of the Faithful?” He replied, “I had a debt, and I paid it.” Then Ḥarb b. Qatān al-Kinānī spoke on his behalf, saying, “He is our sister’s son!”248 Ibn Ḍubarah gave ‘Abdallāh to him, and said, “I wouldn’t have proceeded against a man of Quraysh.” Then Ibn Ḍubarah said, “The man you were with is charged with certain offenses; do you have any knowledge of them?” “Yes,” he said, and he reproached Ibn Mu‘āwiyah and accused his friends of sodomy. They brought Ibn Ḍubarah youths who were wearing bright mantles dyed in different colors, more than a hundred boys, and Ibn Ḍubarah stood them before the people, so that they might look upon them. Then Ibn Ḍubarah sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī by post-horse to Ibn Hubayrah so he might give him his information. Ibn Hubayrah sent him with Syrian troops to Marwān, and he used to reproach him.

At this time, Ibn Ḍubarah was in the Kirman desert pursuing ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiyah. Word of Nubatah’s death249 had reached

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244. See n. 243 above.
245. See n. 243 above.
246. That is, the Pulwār. See LeStrange, Lands. 275–77.
247. This was a departure from the usual practice with these intransigents. Ibn Ḍubarah seems to have dealt mildly with all the vanquished that day.
248. That is, there were blood relations between them. The Quraysh are a subgroup of the Kinānah.
249. Nubatah was not killed until 130 [September 11, 747–August 30, 748]. See Tabari, II/3, 2003 sub anno 130, and III/1, 4ff sub anno 131. The revolt of ‘Abdallāh b.
Ibn Hubayrah. He sent Kurab b. Maṣqalah, al-Ḥakam b. Abī Abyād al-'Absī and Ibn Muḥammad al-Sakūnī, all of whom were eloquent speakers, and they spoke in praise of Ibn Ḍūbārah. Ibn Hubayrah also wrote to Ibn Ḍūbārah to march with his troops to Fārs; then there came a letter from him ordering him to march to Iṣbahān.

In this year Abū Ḥamzah al-Khārijī led the Pilgrimage acting on behalf of 'Abdallāh b. Yahyā Ṭālib al-Haqq, and as a Khārijīte manifesting open opposition to Marwān b. Muḥammad.250

How Abū Ḥamzah the Khārijīte Led the Pilgrimage

According to al-'Abbās b. Ḥusayn—Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farwī—Mūsā b. Kathīr the mawlā of the Sā'īdis: At the end of 129 [August 747], the pilgrims had not yet gone to 'Arafa251 when standards appeared (in Mecca) made of black turbans of hirqānī stuff fixed to the heads of lances, carried by seven hundred men. The people were frightened as soon as they saw them, and asked, "What are you doing, and what do you want?" The men then told them of their opposition to Marwān and the Marwānids, and their disavowal of him. 'Abd al-Wahid b. Sulaymān, who was at that time governor of Madinah and Mecca,252 sent messages to them under the truce (of the Pilgrimage), and they replied, "Our minds are resolved upon our pilgrimage, and we begrudge any other business." He made a peace agreement with them on the condition that each party should guarantee the other's safety until the last pilgrims returned from Minā.253 However, they rose early on the morrow and took their stance as a separate group on Mt. 'Arafa,254 and 'Abd al-Wāḥid b.

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Ma'rūwiyyah extended over several years. He was ultimately killed by the 'Abbāsids. See n. 231 above.


251. The assembly on Mt. 'Arafa on the ninth day of the Month of Pilgrimage from noon to sunset is the central rite of the pilgrimage. See EI2 s.v. 'Arafa and Ḥadidj.

252. His father Sulaymān was the son of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik.

253. The three days at Minā conclude the pilgrimage season in a mood of celebration and festivity from the 11th to the 13th of the month. See EI2 s.v. Ḥadidj. The text then has yasbahū, "they rise at morning," corrected by the Cairo edition to asbahū.

254. As followers of a different caliph, the Khārijītes could not follow the rites of Marwān's appointee.
Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was pushed aside with the people. When the pilgrims were at Minā, people reproached ‘Abd al-Wāḥid and said, “You made a mistake with them. Had you incited the pilgrims against them, they’d have been no more than an itch on your head.” Abū Ḥamzah stayed at Qurayn al-Tha’ālib, and ‘Abd al-Wāḥid at the governor’s residence (manzil al-sultan). Then ‘Abd al-Wāḥid sent ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ali, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. ‘Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as well as Rabī‘ah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and such [notables] to visit Abū Ḥamzah. They found him wearing a rough cotton waist-wrapper. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (the ‘Alawi) and Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh (the ‘Uthmānī) presented them to him, and he asked for their own genealogies, so they traced their lineage for him. He looked sternly into their faces and showed his aversion. He then asked ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qāsim (the Bakri) and ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar (the ‘Umari), and they traced their lineage for him. He was cheerful toward them, and smiling in their faces, he said, “By God, we only became Khārijites that we might follow the course of both your forefathers!” At this, ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan (the ‘Alawi) told him, “And by God, we didn’t come out so that you could show your favor to some of our forefathers; the amīr sent us to you with a message, and Rabī‘ah will inform you of it!”

When Rabī‘ah mentioned “breach of agreement,” Balj and Abrahah, who were two of his officers, said, “Now! Now!” But Abū Ḥamzah turned to them and said, “God forbid that we should break our agreement or detain you. By God, I would not do it, though this neck of mine were to be cut. However, you are breaking the truce that is between us and you.” When he had refused them, they left and informed ‘Abd al-Wāḥid. When the pilgrims left Minā, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid was in the first party. He left Mecca to Abū Ḥamzah, who entered it without a fight.

‘Abbās—Hārūn—Ya‘qūb b. Ṣalḥah al-Laythī recited some verses in which ‘Abd al-Wāḥid was satirized. He said, “They are by some poet whose name I don’t remember:”

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255. For Qurayn al-Tha’ālib, see Azraqi, I, 410, 414.
256. The Khārijites regarded both ‘Uthmān and ‘Ali as grave sinners. For them, only Abū Bakr and ‘Umar among the first four caliphs were “rightly guided shaykhs.”
There visited the pilgrims a gang who contravened God's own religion, so 'Abd al-Wāhid fled.

He left his women and his amirate running, striking the ground like a runaway camel.

Had his father stripped his bone of flesh, his origin had been purer, due the father's root.

Then 'Abd al-Wāhid went on until he entered Madinah and called for the registry (diwân). He called up the people in a levy, and gave each of them a ten dirham increase in their pay. According to 'Abbas—Hārūn—Abū Ḍamrah Anas b. 'Iyād: He was among those who were registered, but then his name was erased. He also said, "More than one of our companions told me that 'Abd al-Wāhid appointed 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān to lead the people, and they went out. When they were at the Ḥarrahî they came upon slaughtered camels, and passed on."

'Abd al-Wāhid b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān led the Pilgrimage this year, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Ishāq b. 'Isā—Abū Ma'shar al-Sindi. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi and others say the same. 'Abd al-Wāhid was governor of Mecca and Madinah. The governor of Iraq was Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah. According to what is mentioned, al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Aṣim al-Muhāribi was in charge of the judiciary at Kūfah, while at Baṣṣrah it was 'Abbād b. Mansūr. Khurāsān was ruled by Naṣr b. Sayyār, and there was civil war.

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257. The basalt desert outside of Madinah. See El¹ s.v. al-Ḥarra.
The Events of the Year

130
(SEPTEMBER 11, 747–AUGUST 30, 748)

Among the events of this year was Abū Muslim's entry into the walled city of Marw and his occupation of the Government House (Dār al-Imārah) there, and the agreement of 'Ali b. Juday' al-Kirmānī to join him in fighting Naṣr b. Sayyār.258

How Abū Muslim Entered the Walled City of Marw

Abū al-Khaṭṭab reported:259 Abū Muslim's entrance into the walled city of Marw and his occupation of the Government House where the governors of Khurāsān reside occurred on Thursday, the ninth of Jumādā II 130 (February 14, 748). The reason for 'Ali b. Juday' al-Kirmānī's move to Abū Muslim was as follows. Sulaymān b. Kathīr was camped opposite 'Ali b. Kirmanī when the latter made a pact with Naṣr to fight Abū Muslim. Sulaymān b. Kathīr said to 'Ali, "Abū Muslim says, 'Aren't you reluctant to make up with Naṣr b. Sayyār, when only yesterday he killed your father and crucified him? I had not reckoned you would join with Naṣr b. Sayyār [even] to pray in one mosque with him.'" At this, 'Ali b. al-Kirmānī's zeal

258. See Akhbār al-Dawlāh, 310ff.; Ibn Khayyāt, I, 412.
The 'Abbāsid Revolution

was stirred, and he went back on his decision; the truce of the Arabs thus came apart.

When the truce came apart, Naṣr sent to Abū Muslim asking him to come in on the side of the Muḍar, while the Rabī’ah and the Qaḥṭān sent similar requests on their own behalf. They had exchanged messages on this for some days, when Abū Muslim told them to let delegations from both factions come to him so that he might choose one or the other. They did so. But Abū Muslim ordered the ['Abbāsid] Shī’ah to choose the Rabī’ah and the Qaḥṭān, since authority (sultān) was vested in Muḍar and it was they who were governing for Marwān al-Ja’di and the murderers of Yahyā b. Zayd. The two delegations then appeared. In the delegation of Muḍar there were ‘Aqīl b. Ma’qil b. Ḥassān al-Laythī, ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abd Rabbīhi al-Laythī, al-Khaṭṭāb b. Muḥriz al-Sulami and others among their leading men. The delegation of Qaḥṭān were ‘Uthmān b. al-Kirmānī, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, Sawrah b. Muḥammad b. ‘Azīz al-Kindī and other leading men of theirs. Abū Muslim told ‘Uthmān b. al-Kirmānī and his companions to go into the orchard of al-Muḥṭafiz where carpets and cushions were spread for them. They seated themselves there while Abū Muslim took his place in a room of the house of al-Muḥṭafiz. Permission was given to ‘Aqīl b. Ma’qil and his companions from the delegation of Muḍar, and they entered. There were seventy men of the Shī’ah in the room with Abū Muslim. He read aloud a document he had written for the Shī’ah, that said they should choose one side or the other. When he had finished reading the document, Sulaymān b. Kathīr rose and spoke. He was an eloquent orator, and he chose ‘Alī b. al-Kirmānī and his followers. Then Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq the naqīb stood up. He was also an accomplished speaker, and he said much the same as Sulaymān b. Kathīr. Mazyad b. Shaqīq al-Sulami then rose and

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260. That is, the Caliph. The name “Jā’di” can mean “curly-haired.” This is most often used to discredit Marwān.

261. Yahyā b. Zayd b. ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali was the son of the Zayd from whom the Zaydi Shī’ah take their name, who had been killed in an uprising in Kūfah in 122(740). Yahyā fled to Khurāsān and hid in Balkh for three years and was slain in 126(744). His death aroused great sympathy in Khurāsān. There had been links between him and the ‘Abbāsids, and Abū Muslim’s acting as his avenger was a popular move. See Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 338.

262. Presumably the seventy naqībs and du‘āt.

263. Mazyad b. Shaqīq was a naqīb. See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 217.
said, "Mu'dar are the slayers of the Prophet's family, the supporters of the Banu Umayyah and the party of Marwan al-Ja'di. Our blood is on their necks, our possessions are in their hands, and the consequences (of their acts) await them. Nasr b. Sayyar is Marwan's governor for Khurāsān, who carries out his orders, and calls for allegiance to him in his minbar, and calls him 'Commander of the Faithful.' Before God, we are innocent of all that, or that Marwan should command the Faithful or that Nasr should judge what is guidance or right behavior. We have chosen 'Ali b. al-Kirmānī and his followers from the Qahtān and the Rabī'ah." Then the seventy who had gathered in the room agreed with the words of Mazyad b. Shaqīq.

The delegation of Mu'dar then got up humiliated and distressed, and Abū Muslim sent al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' with horsemen to escort them back to where they were safe, while the delegation of 'Ali b. al-Kirmānī returned full of joy and triumph. Abū Muslim stayed at Alin for twenty-nine days, and from there went back to his camp at Mākhuwān. He told the Shi'ah to build dwellings for themselves and to lay in supplies for the winter, since God had spared them from a united Arab front against them, and at their hands, had led the Arabs to disunity, as He had preordained in His might. After journeying from Alin, Abū Muslim entered Mākhuwān on Thursday, midway through Safar 130 (October 25, 747). He stayed at Mākhuwān three months, or ninety days, and entered the walled city of Marw on Thursday, the ninth night of Jumādā I that same year (January 26, 748).

The walled city of Marw was then held by Nasr b. Sayyār, since he was the governor of Khurāsān. 'Ali b. al-Kirmānī now sent a message to Abū Muslim, "Enter the walled city and my tribe with me will also enter, and thus we shall gain control of the walled town." Abū Muslim sent this reply, "I fear that you will join with Nasr b. Sayyār to fight me, but go on; enter and engage him and his followers in combat." 'Ali b. al-Kirmānī did so, and Abū Muslim sent Abū 'Ali Shībl b. Ṭahmān the naqīb with a force. They came inside the walled city, settled in the palace of the Bukhārākhudā and sent word to Abū Muslim to come. Abū Muslim came into the city from the camp at Mākhuwān. Over his vanguard he put Asid b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuza'i, Mālik b. Haytham al-Khuza'i led the right flank, and al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' al-Tamīmī the left. He proceeded until he was in-
side the walls, where the two factions were fighting each other. He then ordered them to desist, reciting the words from God's Book, "And he entered the city at a time when its people were careless, and found there two men fighting, the one was of his own Shi'ah, and the other was one of his enemies."\textsuperscript{264} Abū Muslim then went on to the Government Palace of Marw, where the governors of Khurāsān stayed. This was on Thursday, the ninth of Jumādā I (January 27, 748).

The next day, Friday, the tenth of Jumādā (January 28, 748), Naṣr b. Sayyār fled Marw, leaving the city to Abū Muslim. When he entered the walled city of Marw, Abū Muslim ordered Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq to administer the oath of allegiance to the forces of the Hāshimiyyah.\textsuperscript{265} Abū Manṣūr was an eloquent man of noble mien, skilled in speech, and learned in the polemics of the Hāshimiyyah and their esoteric doctrines. He was one of the twelve naqībs whom Muḥammad b. ‘Alī had selected from among the seventy who had responded favorably to him when he sent his emissary to Khurāsān in 103 or 104 (721 or 722). Muḥammad b. ‘Alī had instructed the emissary to have them swear allegiance to the Chosen One (al-Ridd) but not to specify anyone by name.

He set patterns of action for his emissary, and described what justice should be like. The latter then went out to them and propagated secretly, and people responded to him. When their numbers reached seventy, he took twelve of them as naqībs. From the Khūzā‘ah, Sulaymān b. Ḥathir, Mālik b. al-Haytham, Ziyād b. Šāliḥ, Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq and ‘Amr b. A‘yān. From the Ṭayy, Qaḥṭabah whose name was Ziyād b. Ṣabīb b. Khalid b. Ma‘dān. From the Tamīm, Mūsā b. Ka‘b called Abū ‘Uyaynah, Lāhiz b. Qurayz and al-Qāsim b. Mujashi’, all from the Banū Imru’ al-Ḳays, and Aslam b. Sallām, called Abū Sallām.\textsuperscript{266} From Bakr b. Wā’il there were Abū Dāwud

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{264} Qur. 18:15.
\item \textsuperscript{265} The Hāshimiyyah in Khurāsān are almost certainly to be identified with the Rāwandiyah. They believed that Abū Ḥāshim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Talib at his death, ca. 98 (716-717) had transferred the Imāmat to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī the ‘Abbāsid. Most of his following, based in Iraq, had transferred their allegiance to the ‘Abbāsids. This Iraqi group represented only one part of the ‘Abbāsid Shi‘ah but it was the inner core, in which the Khurāsānī following was subsumed. See El\textsuperscript{2} s.v. Hāshimiyya.
\item \textsuperscript{266} The Akhbār al-Dawlah, 282, 288, 291, mentions an Aslam b. Abī Sallām who was active in the ‘Abbāsid cause. He is, however, not listed among the naqībs.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The Events of the Year 130

Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, the brother of Sadūs, of the Banū 'Amr b. Shaybān and Abū 'Ali al-Harawi. Elsewhere it is stated that Shībl b. Ẓahmān was in place of 'Amr b. A'yān, and that 'Isa b. Ka'b or Abū al-Najm 'Imrān b. Isma'il was in the place of Abū 'Ali al-Harawi, who was a relative of Abū Muslim's wife. 267

The only one of the naqibs whose father was still alive was Abū Manṣūr Ẓalḥah b. Zurayq b. As'ad known as Abū Zaynab al-Khuza'i. He had seen the campaign of 'Abd al-Rah1han b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath, and had been a comrade of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah in frontier raids (magḥāzī). Abū Muslim used to consult him on matters, and ask him about his experiences in wars and raids. He would call him by his kunyā of Abū Manṣūr, and would say, "Abū Manṣūr, what do you say? What do you think?"

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb reported: One who was there when Abū Manṣūr administered the oath of allegiance to the Ḥāshimiyyah told us he said, "I ask you for allegiance to the Book of God, may He be exalted and glorified, and to the sunnah of His prophet, God bless him and give him peace, and to obey the Chosen One from the family of God's messenger. You must swear to do this by solemn oath and covenant with God, that [otherwise] your wives will be divorced and your slaves set free and you must go on foot to the House of God. Pledge that you will not ask for wage or pay until your superiors (wulāt) initiate it for you. Even if the enemy of one of you should be beneath his foot, you will not stir up strife except by the order of your superiors." When Abū Muslim had imprisoned Salm b. Ahwaz, Yunus b. 'Abd Rabbihi, 'Aqil b. Ma'qil and Mansur b. Abi al-Khirqa' and his companions, he consulted Abū Manṣūr. He told him, "Make 267. If one substitutes the replacements indicated by Tabari, his list is identical to that of the Akhbār al-'Abbās, 215ff. This list, as it stands in this text of Tabari, is identical to the first group of naqibs allegedly formed at the turn of the first Islamic century. See Tabari, II/3, 1358 sub anno 100. The earlier account of Tabari is apparently recalled here. This would imply that there were two lists of naqibs: one drawn up in 100 (718-719) and the other drawn up by Bukayr b. Māhin after the death of Muhammad b. 'Ali in 125 [November 4, 742-October 23, 743]. It would have been remarkable that so many naqibs of the Khurāsān apparatus continued to be active in their positions thirty years after their initial recruitment to the 'Abbasid cause. It may well be that the early list mentioned by Tabari sub anno 100 [August 3, 718-July 23, 719] is a backformation to give the 'Abbasids an active revolutionary presence in that region from almost the beginning of Muḥammad b. 'Ali's imāmāte, and that the likes of Sulaymān b. Kathir, Qahtabah b. Shabib and the others only later became part of a formal revolutionary organization. [J.L.]
your whip the sword, and your prison the grave.” So Abū Muslim brought them out and killed them. Their number was twenty-four men.

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—al-Ṣabbaḥ the mawla of Ji-bril—Maslamah b. Yahyā: Abū Muslim appointed Khālid b. 'Uth-mān chief of his guard; Mālik b. al-Haytham was made chief of security; al-Qāsim b. Mūjāshi’ was put in charge of the judiciary; and Kāmil b. Muẓaffar was in charge of the registry (diwān). He gave each man a salary (rizq) of four thousand dirhams. Abū Muslim stayed in his camp at Māḵuwaḵān for three months and then marched by night with a large force for the camp of Ibn al-Kirmanī. Lāhīz b. Qurayz had command of his right, al-Qāsim b. Mūjāshi’ had the left, and Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham commanded the vanguard. He left Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Māḵuwaḵān in charge of his fortified camp. By the early morning, Abū Muslim was in the camp of Shaybān, so Naṣr feared that Abū Muslim and Ibn al-Kirmānī would join together to fight him. He therefore sent a message to Abū Muslim proposing that the latter enter the city of Marw and he would be reconciled with him. Abū Muslim responded favorably, so Naṣr was reconciled toward Abū Muslim. All that same day, Naṣr had exchanged messages with Ibn Ahwaz, while Abū Muslim was in the camp of Shaybān. The next morning Naṣr and Ibn al-Kirmānī engaged in combat, and Abū Muslim came up to enter the city of Marw. He warded off Naṣr’s cavalry as well as that of Ibn al-Kirmānī, and entered the city on the seventh or ninth of Rabi’ II 130 (January 12 or 14, 748) reciting the verse, “And he entered the city, at a time when its people were careless, and found there two men fighting; the one was of his own Shi‘ah, and the other was one of his enemies. Then the one that was of his Shi‘ah cried to him to aid him against the one that was of his enemies; so Moses struck him and killed him, and said, ‘This is of Satan’s doing; surely he is a misleading and manifest enemy!’”

According to 'Ali—Abū al-Dhayyāl and Muṣfaḍḍal al-Ḏabbī:

268. That is, Abū Muslim created elements of a shadow government even before he displaced the Umayyads from rule in Khurāsān. The expanded shadow governments in Khurāsān and Iraq (under Abū Salamah) then became the ‘Abbāsid government in place and tended to ease the transition between the end of the Umayyads and the establishment of their successors. See Sharon, 'Aliyat, 176–84. [J.L.]

269. Qur. 28:15.
When Abū Muslim entered the city of Marw, Naṣr told his followers, "I see that this man's strength has grown and that the people have come running to him. I have made a truce with him, and what he wants will be, so let us get out of this city and leave him here." Then they differed, some saying "yes" and some "no". At last he said, "You will surely remember what I said." He told his particular friends among the Mudar, "Go off to Abū Muslim, meet him, and obtain whatever terms you can from him." Abū Muslim sent Lāhiz b. Qurayz to Naṣr to summon him, and Lāhiz quoted the Qur'ānic verse, "The Council are conspiring to kill you." He recited the verses before that as well. Naṣr understood, and he told his slave, "Prepare my ablution for me." He rose as if he were going to make his ablutions, went into an orchard, slipped out of it and mounted a horse and fled.

According to `Ali—Abū al-Dhayyal—Iyās b. Ṭalḥah b. Ṭalḥah: I was with my father, and my paternal uncle had gone to Abū Muslim to offer him his allegiance but had delayed until I prayed the afternoon prayer. There was little daylight left and we were waiting for him. We had prepared dinner for him, and I was sitting with my father, when Naṣr suddenly passed by us on a horse which I knew was the best in his palace. With him were his chamberlain and al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah al-Numayrī. My father said, "Surely he's fleeing; no one is with him, and there is no spear or banner carried before him." He passed by us and barely saluted us. When he'd gone past, he struck his horse, and al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah called to his slaves, and they mounted and followed him.

According to `Ali—Abū al-Dhayyal—Iyās: Our place was four farsakhs (24 km) from Marw, and Naṣr passed by us after dark. The people of the village began to clamor and ran away. My family and my brothers said, "Get out, don't be killed!" They wept, so I left with my father's brother, al-Muhallab b. Iyās, and we caught up with Naṣr after part of the night had passed. He had forty men with him. His horse had stopped, and he had dismounted from it. Bishr b. Bistam b. 'Imrān b. al-Fadl al-Burjumī put him on his own horse. Then Naṣr said, "I don't feel safe from pursuit. Who's going to lead

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271. Dinawari, 363, indicates that Naṣr had agreed to join Abū Muslim and had in fact been given a surety. Nevertheless, he fled.
us?" ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ar’arāh al-Dabbī said, “I’ll lead you.” “You’re the man to do it,” Naṣr told him. He hurried us through that night, until we stopped at dawn at a well in the desert twenty farsakhs (120 km) or so away. We were six hundred now, and we traveled all day and dismounted at the afternoon prayer within sight of the houses and strongholds of Sarakhs. By now we were fifteen hundred. I went off with my uncle to a friend of ours from the Banū Ḥanīfah called Miskīn, and we slept through the night there without eating anything. We woke up next morning and he brought us a dish of gruel of which we ate. We were very hungry, not having eaten for a day and a night. Then the people gathered together, and they had become three thousand. We stopped at Sarakhs two days, and when no one came after us, Naṣr went on to Tūs and told them the news about Abū Muslim. He stopped there for fifteen days, and then moved on, as did we, to Naysābūr and stayed there.

Now Abū Muslim had settled in the governor’s palace after Naṣr fled Marw. Ibn al-Kirmanī had come and had entered Marw when Abū Muslim did. Abū Muslim said when Naṣr escaped, “Naṣr considers me a wizard, but by God, he’s one.”

Another source that I have not mentioned says this on the matter of Naṣr and Ibn al-Kirmanī and Shaybān al-Ḥarūrī: Abū Muslim moved in 130 (747–748) from his camp at the village of Sulaymān b. Katārīn to a village called Mākhwān and camped there. He sought the aid of ‘Ali b. Juday’ al-Kirmanī and his Yamanī followers, and he also sought help from Naṣr b. Sayyār and his followers. He sent messages to both sides, showing each of them that he was prepared to make peace with them and come to an agreement with them, and ready to obey them. ‘Ali b. Juday’ accepted this, and acted as Abū Muslim wanted him to by entering into a pact with him. When Abū Muslim was assured by ‘Ali b. Juday’ s pledge to him, he wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār to send a delegation to be present when he and his companions discussed the promise he had made to side with Naṣr. He sent a similar message to ‘Ali b. Juday’. This source describes how the leaders of the Shi’ah chose the Yaman over the Mudăr, much as it is described by the man whose account we have mentioned above in this book, and he observes that when Abū Muslim sent Shībī b. Ṭahmān with others to Marw to occupy the palace of the Bukhārākhudāh, he only sent him as a reinforcement for ‘Ali b. Al-Kirmānī. He says (that) Abū Muslim and all his followers went
from his fortified camp at Mākhūwān to ‘Ali b. Juday’. The chief men (ashrāf) of the Yaman were there with ‘Ali and his brother ‘Uthmān, as well as their allies of the Rabī’ah. When Abū Muslim was opposite the walled city of Marw, ‘Uthmān b. Juday’ and the chief men of the Yaman and Rabī’ah received him with a great body of horsemen. He entered the camp of ‘Ali b. al-Kirmānī and Shaybān b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī along with the naqīb, and waited at ‘Ali b. Juday’ s chamber. ‘Ali entered and agreed to [the alliance], and gave him and all those with him guarantees of safety. They then went together to the chamber of Shaybān, who was saluted in those days as Commander of the Faithful (that is, Caliph). Abū Muslim told ‘Ali to go sit beside Shaybān, informing ‘Ali that it was not lawful for him to salute Shaybān (in this way). Abū Muslim wanted to greet ‘Ali as “Amīr,” so that Shaybān would think that he was saluting Shaybān. ‘Ali did this, and then Abū Muslim went in and said, “Peace be to you, Amīr.” He was gracious to Shaybān and made much of him. Then Abū Muslim took his leave and stayed two nights at the palace of Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdi. He then returned to his entrenched camp at Mākhūwān and stayed there three months. He moved from Mākhūwān to Marw on the seventh of Rabi’ II 130 [January 12, 748] leaving Abū ‘Abd al-Karim al-Mākhūwānī behind in charge of his army. Abū Muslim appointed Lāhiz b. Qurayṣ to command his right wing, Qāsim b. al-Mujāshi his left, and Mālik b. al-Haytham over his vanguard. Marching by night, he came early in the morning to the gates of Marw, and sent word to ‘Ali b. Juday’ to send his cavalry. When he came to the gate of the governor’s palace, he found the two factions engaged in a violent battle within the walled city. He sent messengers to them to cease fighting and each go to their own camp, and they complied. He then sent Lāhiz b. Qurayṣ, Quraysh b. Shaqīq, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Bakhtārī and Dāwud b. Karrāz to Naṣr, summoning him to the Book of God and obedience to the Chosen One, from the family of Muḥammad. When Naṣr saw what the Yaman and the Rabī’ah and the non-Arabs were doing, and that he was powerless against them, he saw no way out but to show his acceptance of the message sent him, that is, to come to Abū Muslim and pay his allegiance. He delayed until evening, due to the thoughts of faithlessness and of flight which troubled him. He then ordered his followers to leave that night for a place where they would be safe. However, it was not easy
for them to leave that night and Salm b. Aḥwaz told him, "It is not feasible for us to leave tonight, but we shall leave the next." When dawn came, Abū Muslim began to array his cavalry squadrons, and kept at this into the afternoon. He sent Lāhiz b. Qurayţ, Quraysh b. Shaqiq, 'Abdallāh b. al-Bakhtārī, Dāwud b. Karraz and a number of the non-Arabs of the Shi'ah to Naṣr. They went in to see him, and Naṣr said, "How evil is what you return for." Lāhiz replied, "There is no way out of this for you." Then Naṣr said, "Well then, if there is no way out, I shall make my ablutions and go out to him. I shall send a messenger to Abū Muslim, and if this is his idea and his command I shall go to him, and may it be pleasant in his sight. I shall ready myself until my messenger returns." Then Naṣr stood, and when he stood, Lāhiz recited this verse of the Qur'ān, "The council are conspiring to kill you; depart, for I am one of your sincere advisers." Naṣr went into his dwelling and told them he would wait for his messenger's return from Abū Muslim. As soon as night fell, he slipped out from behind his chamber with Tamīm his son and al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah al-Numayri, his chamberlain, and his wife, and they fled. When Lāhiz and his companions missed him, they entered his dwelling and discovered that he had left. When this came to (the ears of) Abū Muslim, he went to the camp of Naṣr and took his trusted followers and their chief men and tied their hands behind their backs. One of these was Salm b. Aḥwaz, Naṣr's chief of security. The others were al-Bakhtārī his secretary, and two of his sons; Yūnus b. 'Abd Rabbihī, Muḥammad b. Qaṭān, Muṯṯāḥid b. Yahyā b. Hudayn, [Naṣr b. Idrīs, Maṣṣūr b. 'Umar b. Ali al-Khirqā', 'Aqīl b. Maʿqīl al-Laythī, Sayyār b. 'Umar al-Sulāmī, and leading men of the Mūdar]. He put them in irons [and put 'Īsā b. A'yān in charge of them]. They stayed in confinement with him until Abū Muslim ordered them all put to death.

Naṣr stopped at Sarakhs with the Mūdar who had followed him, who numbered three thousand. Abū Muslim and 'Alī b. Juday' set out in pursuit of him, and followed him all that night, until at daybreak they came to a village called Naṣrāniyyah. They found that

273. These passages in brackets are taken from the Cairo edition and replace lacunae in the text.
Naṣr had left his wife, al-Marzubānah, behind in the village and (thus) saved himself.

Abū Muslim and ‘Ali went back to Marw, and Abū Muslim asked those whom he had sent to Naṣr, “What made him suspicious of you?” “We do not know,” they replied. “Did one of you say anything?” he asked. They replied, “Lāhiz recited this verse of the Qur’ān, ‘The council are conspiring to kill you.’” “That is what put him to flight,” Abū Muslim said. Then he asked, “Lāhiz, would you corrupt religion?” and cut off his head.

This year Shaybān b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī was killed.

The Death of Shaybān b. Salamah the Khārijite and the Reason for It

According to what has been reported the reason for his death is as follows. ‘Ali b. Juday and Shaybān had joined forces to fight Naṣr b. Sayyār because of Naṣr’s hostility to Naṣr. This was because he was one of Marwān b. Muḥammad’s governors, while Shaybān held the opinions of the Khārijites. ‘Ali b. Juday was opposed to Naṣr because ‘Ali was a Yamani and Naṣr was a Muḍarī and (because) Naṣr had killed ‘Ali’s father and crucified him, and because of the tribal feeling (‘asabiyyah) that separated the two factions, Yaman and Muḍar. When ‘Ali b. al-Kirmānī entered an agreement with Abū Muslim and Shaybān abandoned them, Shaybān left Marw, since he knew he could not fight Abū Muslim and ‘Ali (combined against him). Meanwhile Naṣr had fled Marw (and gone to Sarakhs).274

According to [‘Ali b. Muḥammad—Abū Ḥafṣ and] al-Haṣan b. Rashid and Abū al-Dhayyal]: When [the period of truce between Abū Muslim and Shaybān]275 was over, Abū Muslim sent to Shaybān asking him for his allegiance. Shaybān said, “It is I who call on you for allegiance.” Abū Muslim then sent him this message, “If you will not live under our rule, then leave the place where you are dwelling.” At this, Shaybān sent to ‘Ali al-Kirmānī asking for help, but he refused to give it. Shaybān thus went to Sarakhs, where a large number of the Bakr b. Wā’il joined him. Abū Muslim sent him

274. See n. 273 above.
275. See n. 273 above.
nine men of the tribe of Azd, among them al-Muntaji' b. al-Zubayr, calling on him to join their movement and asking him to stop what he was doing. Shaybân sent back an answer, and then arrested Abû Muslim's messengers and put them in prison. At this, Abû Muslim wrote to Bassâm b. Ibrâhim, the mawla of the Banû Layth at Abiward, ordering him to march against Shaybân and fight him. Bassâm did so, and put him to flight and pursued him into the town. Shaybân was killed along with a number of the Bakr b. Wâ’il. Someone told Abû Muslim, “Bassâm is taking revenge for his father, and slays the innocent with the guilty.” Abû Muslim wrote him to come to Marw, and he did, leaving a man behind in charge of his forces.

According to ‘Ali—al-Mufaddal: When Shaybân was killed, a man of Bakr b. Wâ’il called Khafâf came upon the messengers whom Abû Muslim had sent to Shaybân. They were imprisoned in a house, and he took them out and killed them. It is also said that Abû Muslim sent a force on his behalf against Shaybân, headed by Khuzaymah b. Khâzim and Bassâm b. Ibrâhim.

In this year Abû Muslim killed ‘Ali and ‘Uthmân the sons of Juday’ al-Kirmâni.

Why Abû Muslim Killed the Sons of Juday’ al-Kirmâni

The reason for this, according to what is said is that Abû Muslim had sent Mûsâ b. Ka’b against Abiward. He captured the city, wrote of this to Abû Muslim, and sent Abû Dâwûd to Balkh, where Ziyâd b. ‘Abd al-Râhîm al-Qushayrî was. When word that Abû Dâwûd was making for Balkh reached Ziyâd, he left there for Jûzjân together with troops of Balkh, Tîrmîdh, and others from the districts of Tûkhâristân. When Abû Dâwûd drew near, they fled back to Tîrmîdh, and Abû Dâwûd entered the city of Balkh. Abû Muslim wrote Abû Dâwûd ordering him to come to him, and sent Yahyâ b. Nu’aym Abû al-Maylâ’ to replace him [at Balkh. Abû Dâwûd left] and a letter from Abû Muslim came to him on the way, ordering him to turn back. He did, and Abû al-Maylâ’ advanced toward him. Yahyâ b. Nu’aym al-Maylâ’ then wrote to Ziyâd b. ‘Abd al-Râhîm al-Qushayrî that they should join forces, and Ziyâd responded favorably. Ziyâd then returned, with Muslim b. ‘Abd al-

276. This passage is taken from the Cairo edition and replaces a lacuna in the text.
Raḥmān b. Muslim al-Bāhili, ʿIsā b. Zurʿah al-Sulami and the inhabitants of Balkh and Tirmidh and the kings of Ťukhrāristan and the districts on both sides of the river (Oxus). Ziyād and his followers camped one farsakh (6 km) from the city of Balkh. Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym Abū Maylāʾ came out to him with his own followers, and they joined forces. In full accord, the Mudar, the Yaman, the Rabīʿāh and the non-Arabs with them, as well, agreed to fight the black-clad warriors. They gave the command to Muqāṭil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabāṭī, disliking that it should go to anyone from the three tribal divisions. Abū Muslim now ordered Abū Dāwūd to al-ʿUd, and Abū Dāwūd proceeded together with his men until they gathered at the river Sarjanān. Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his men had already sent Abū Saʿīd al-Qurashi as a lookout in the area between ʿUd and a village called Amadiyān, lest the followers of Abū Dāwūd come upon them from the rear, and Abū Saʿīd's flags and banners were the (ʿAbbasid) black.

When Abū Dāwūd and Ziyād gathered with their followers in battle formation, Abū Saʿīd al-Qurashi ordered his own men to join Ziyād and his followers from their rear. They turned and came out behind them from the road to ʿUd with black banners, so Ziyād's men supposed that this was a surprise attack from Abū Dāwūd's side. The battle between the two factions had already been joined, and Ziyād and his followers fled, while Abū Dāwūd pursued them. Most of Ziyād's followers plunged into the river Sarjanān, while the majority of his men who stayed behind were killed. Abū Dāwūd settled at their camp, taking possession of all that was in it. He did not follow Ziyād or [his followers. Most of those who did pursue them were the forward units of the vanguard]276 of Abū Dāwūd's cavalry, but [only as far] as the city [of Balkh].277 Ziyād and Yaḥyā and those with them went on to Tirmidh, while Abū Dāwūd stayed all that day and part of the next where he was and did not enter the city of Balkh, plundering the goods of those killed at the Sarjanān and of the Arabs and others who had fled. Balkh was now secure for Abū Dāwūd.

Abū Muslim then wrote Abū Dāwūd ordering him to come to
him, and sent al-Nāḍr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Murri to govern Balkh. Abū Dāwūd came, and he and Abū Muslim agreed to separate ‘Ali and ‘Uthmān the two sons of al-Kirmānī. Abū Muslim thus sent ‘Uthmān to serve as governor of Balkh, and when he got there he appointed al-Furāfisah b. Zuhayr al-‘Absī as his deputy in the city. Meanwhile the Muḍar advanced from Tirmidh, under the command of Muslim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Bāhili. The forces confronted each other, while ‘Uthmān’s followers were at a village between Barūqān and Dastajīrd. They fought each other in a violent battle, and ‘Uthmān b. Juday’s followers were routed while the Muḍar and Muslim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān took possession of the city of Balkh, driving out al-Furāfisah. The news reached ‘Uthmān b. Juday and al-Nāḍr b. Ṣubayḥ while they were at Marwarrudh, so they marched against them. Word of their approach reached Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Rahman’s men, and they fled that night. Al-Nāḍr was slow to pursue them, hoping they would get away. ‘Uthmān b. Juday’s men then encountered them, and they engaged in a violent battle. ‘Uthmān’s forces were routed, many of his men were killed, and the Muḍar made their way to their friends.

Abū Dāwud returned from Marw to Balkh, and Abū Muslim, accompanied by ‘Ali b. Juday’, went to Naysābūr. Abū Muslim had agreed with Abū Dāwud that he would kill ‘Ali while Abū Dāwud would kill ‘Uthmān on the same day. So, when Abū Dāwud arrived at Balkh, he sent ‘Uthmān as governor to Khutta, along with his troops from the Yaman and Rabī’ah of Marw and of Balkh. When he left Balkh, Abū Dāwud left [in pursuit of him, and caught up with him on the banks of the Wakhshāb at Wakhsh] in the land of Khuttal. Abū Dāwud then fell upon ‘Uthmān and his followers. He imprisoned them all, and bound them and beheaded them. Abū Muslim killed ‘Ali b. al-Kirmānī that same day. He had already told ‘Alī to name for him his special friends, so that he might award

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280. These were villages in the vicinity of Balkh. Dastajīrd was probably the village known as Dastajīrd Jumūkiyān. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, I, 597; II, 573.
281. Khuttal was the region between the Wakhsh river on the west and the Upper Oxus river, or Jaryāb, on the east. To the south, Khuttal was bounded by the Oxus, or Amū Daryā. See LeStrange, Lands, 437–38.
282. This passage is taken from the Cairo edition and fills in a lacuna in the text. For the Wakhshāb and Wakhsh, see LeStrange, Lands, 434–35.
them positions of trust and give them presents and raiment. ‘Ali had given him the names, so he now put all of them to death.

In this year, Qahtabah b. Shabib came to Abū Muslim in Khurāsān from Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali. Qahtabah brought the standard which had been given to him by Ibrāhim, and as soon as he arrived, Abū Muslim put him in charge of his vanguard. He put troops under Qahtabah’s command and granted him the power to remove and appoint officers. Abū Muslim then wrote to the army to pay heed to Qahtabah and obey him.

He sent Qahtabah this same year to Naysābūr to encounter Naṣr. According to ‘Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū Dhayyāl, al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushami: When Shaybān b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī was killed, his followers joined Naṣr who was at Naysābūr. Al-Nābi b. Suwayd al-‘Ilī wrote to Naṣr asking for aid, and Naṣr sent him his son Tamīm b. Naṣr with two thousand men. Meanwhile, Naṣr was preparing to go to Tūs. Abū Muslim then sent Qahtabah b. Shabib with other officers, including al-Qāsim b. Mujāshī and Jāhwār b. Marrār. Al-Qāsim went by way of Sarakhs, while Jāhwār went by way of Abiward. Tamīm sent ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umayr al-Sughdī against Jāhwār, who was nearest to him, and ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umayr drove him off. Jāhwār then entrenched himself at Kubādqān. Qahtabah and al-Qāsim drew near where al-Nābi was, so Tamīm sent word to ‘Āṣim, “Turn away from Jāhwār and confront them.” He did, and Qahtabah fought his men.

Abu Ja’far reported from another source than those from whom ‘Alī b. Muḥammad received the information we have cited about Qahtabah and how Abū Muslim sent him against Naṣr and his followers: When Abū Muslim had killed Shaybān al-Khārijī and the sons of al-Kirmani, driven Naṣr out of Marw and gained the upper hand in all of Khurāsān, he sent his governors to all its territories. He appointed Sibā’ b. al-Nūmān al-Azdi for Samarqand and Abū Dāwūd Khalīd b. Ibrāhīm for Tukharistān. He sent Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath to the two Tabases and Fāris283 and set Mālik b. al-Haytham over his security forces. Qahtabah he sent to Tūs with a number of officers, including Abū ‘Awn ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Yazid, Mu-

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283. Tabas al-‘Unnāb, Tabas al-Tamr and Fāris were the chief towns of the province south of Nishāpūr (Naysābūr). See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, III, 513; LeStrange, Lands, 352ff.
qātil b. Ḥakīm al-‘Akkī, Khālid b. Barmak, Khāzim b. Khuzaymah, Mundhir b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, ‘Uthmān b. Nahik, Jahwar b. Marrār al-‘Ijli, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ṭūsī, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Uthmān al-Ṭā’ī, Salamah b. Muḥammad, Abū Ghānim ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib‘ī, Abū Ḥumayd, Abū al-Jahm, whom Abū Muslim appointed as army secretary for Qaḥṭabah, ‘Āmir b. Ismā‘il, and Muḥriz b. Ibrāhim, who had with him a number of officers. They engaged the forces at Ṭūṣ, who were put to flight; the number of those who were trampled to death in the rout was greater than those who were slain in combat. The total number killed that day was about ten thousand.

Abū Muslim sent al-Qāsim b. Mujashi‘ to Naysābūr along the main road, and wrote to Qaḥṭabah ordering him to engage Tamīm b. Naṣr b. Sayyār and al-Nābī b. Suwayd and those Khurasānīs who were attached to them. He also ordered him to send Mūsā b. Ka‘b to him from Abiward. When Qaḥṭabah arrived at Abiward, he sent Mūsā to Abū Muslim and wrote to Muqātil b. Ḥakīm ordering him to send a man to Naysābūr to relieve Qaṣīm b. Mūjāshī. Abū Muslim sent ‘Alī b. Ma‘qīl with ten thousand men against Tamīm b. Naṣr, ordering him to go to Qaḥṭabah with his men, so that [when Qaḥṭabah entered] Ṭūṣ they could reinforce him. ‘Alī b. Ma‘qīl went on to camp at a village called Ḩulwān. Word reached Qaḥṭabah of ‘Alī’s march and the position he had taken, so he hastened to march to Südhqān, the camp of Tamīm b. Naṣr and al-Nābī b. Suwayd. He sent his vanguard with Asīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuza‘i commanding [three thousand men of the Shi‘ah] from Nasa‘ and Abiward, and Asīd marched to camp at a village called [Ḥabūsān as Tamim and al-Nābī prepared] to do battle with him. Asīd then wrote Qaḥṭabah informing him [of their resolve to do battle, and that if Qaḥṭabah did not come to him soon, he would be summoning Asīd’s men to the judgment of God. He informed him, as well, that these two commanded thirty thousand of the best Khurasānī troops and their cavalry. Qaḥṭabah then sent Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-‘Akkī

284. The phrase in parentheses is taken from the Cairo edition and replaces the lacuna in the text.
285. The passages in parentheses are taken from the Cairo edition and replace lacunae in the text.
with a thousand men and Khalid b. Barmak\textsuperscript{286} with another thousand. They went to join Asid, but word reached Tamim and al-Nābī, who drove them off. Then Qaḥṭabah and his followers came up and prepared to do battle with Tamīm. Qaḥṭabah put Muqāṭil b. Ḥakīm, Abū ‘Awn ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd and Khalid b. Barmak in charge of his right wing, and Asid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuza‘ī, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr and ‘Abd al-Ṭābī b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān in charge of his left, while he himself took the center. He then moved slowly toward the enemy, and called on them to obey the Book of God and the sunnah of His Prophet, as well as the Chosen One from the family of Muḥammad. However, they did not respond affirmatively. With that, he ordered his right and left wings to attack, and the two forces fought a violent battle, as violent as it could be. Tamīm b. Naṣr was killed in the fighting, and there was great slaughter of his men. Their camp was overrun. Al-Nābī took flight with a number of others, and they locked themselves up in the town. The soldiers then laid siege to the town, breached the wall and entered it, and al-Nābī and those with him were slain. ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umayr al-Samarqandi and Sālim b. Rāwiyah al-Sa‘īdī fled to Naṣr b. Sayyār at Naysābūr and told him how his son, Tamīm, and al-Nābī had been slain, along with their followers.

When Qaḥṭabah gained possession of their camp and all that was in it, he placed it in the charge of Khalid b. Barmak and sent Muqāṭil b. Ḥakīm al-‘Akki in command of his vanguard to Naysābūr. News of this reached Naṣr b. Sayyār and he set out, fleeing after the people of Abrashahr. He camped in Qūmis, where his followers left him to join Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalāh in Jūrjān. Meanwhile Qaḥṭabah advanced on Naysābūr with his troops.

This same year Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalāh, governor of Jūrjān for Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrāh (the Umayyad governor of Iraq) was slain.\textsuperscript{287}

\textsuperscript{286} The ancestor of the Barmaki family of wazīrs. He was son of the last Parmak or hereditary high priest of the Nawbahār Buddhist temple near Balkh, and he was active in the Ḥāshimīyyah movement. EI\textsuperscript{2} s.v. Barāmika.

\textsuperscript{287} See Akhbār al-Dawlah, 328–31; Ibn Khayyāt, II, 413ff; Yaʿqūbi, Taʿrikh, II, 410; FHA, 193.
The Slaying of the Governor of Jurjan

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushami, Jabalah b. Farrūkh and Abū 'Abd al-Ḥāmān al-Īṣbahānī: Yazid b. ʿUmar b. Ḥubayrah sent Nubāṭah b. Ḥanẓalah al-Kilābī to Naṣr. He went to Fārs and Ḫūbahān and then marched to Rayy and on to Jurjān, but he did not reinforce Naṣr b. Sayyār. At this the Qays told Naṣr, "You'll not take us to Qūmis." They then went off to Jurjān. Nubāṭah dug a defensive trench. When it ran through the habitation of a particular group, they would bribe him and he would put it off. His trench extended for about a farsakh (6 km).

Qaḥṭabah came into Jurjān in Dhu l-Quʿādah 130 [July 748], with Asid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khūzāʾī, Khālid b. Barmak, Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazid, Mūsā b. Kaʾb al-Mārāʾī, al-Mūsāyib b. Zuhayr, and ʿAbd al-Jabār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥāmān al-Azdi. Mūsā b. Kaʾb commanded his right wing, Asid b. ʿAbdallāh his left, and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah led the vanguard. Qaḥṭabah addressed [his forces], "Men of Khūṣān, do you know against whom you are marching and with whom you will do battle? You are going to fight with the remnants of those who burned the House of God, Mighty and Glorified be He."

Al-Ḥasan went forward with the vanguard to the borders of Khūṣān and camped. He sent out ʿUṭḤmān b. Rufayʿ, Nāfiʿ al-Marwāzī, Abū Khālid al-Marwarrūḏī and Masʿadah al-Tāʿī against an armed party of Nubāṭah headed by a man called Dhuʿayb. They attacked him by night, killing Dhuʿayb and seventy of his men, and then returned to al-Ḥasan's camp. Qaḥṭabah now arrived and camped opposite Nubāṭah. The Syrians appeared in greater number than people had ever seen, so that upon beholding them the Khūṣānīs were awed and spoke openly to this effect. This reached Qaḥṭabah, and he addressed them saying, "Men of Khūṣān, this land belonged to your forefathers before you, and they were given victory over their enemies because they were just and behaved rightly, until they changed and behaved unjustly. God the Mighty and Glorious was then angered with them. Their authority was taken from them, and the humblest people [ummah] to share the earth with them was given power over them and took their land and their women and en-

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288. The reference is to the Syrian troops of the Umayyads who had ravaged Mecca in 64 [683] and 74 [694]. See EI² s.v. Kaʿba, history.
slaved their children. Yet this people ruled justly withal and kept their word and succored the oppressed. Then they changed and altered; they went astray in their governance, and people of probity and piety came to fear from the race of God's Apostle, may God's benediction be on him, and peace! Thus God has empowered you against them in order that revenge be enacted through you, that you should be their greatest punishment, for you have sought them out for vengeance. The Imam has sworn to me that you would encounter them in numbers great as these, but that God would give you victory over them, and you will rout and slay them."

Qahtabah had a letter from Abu Muslim read out loud: "From Abu Muslim to Qahtabah, in the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Rise up against your enemy, for God the Mighty and Glorified is your helper. And when you prevail against them, let the slaughter be great."

They clashed on a Friday, the first night of Dhu al-Hijjah 130 (about June 29, 748), and Qahtabah said, "Men of Khurasan, God—blessed and glorified be He—has preferred this day above all days, when deeds are increased manifold above all days. This is a great month, wherein is the greatest of your feasts in the sight of God. The Imam has already informed us that you will win a victory on this day of this month against your enemy, so meet him firmly and steadfastly, reckoning on God's reward, for truly, God is with those who persevere."

Qahtabah set off against them with al-Hasan b. Qahtabah commanding his right wing and Khalid b. Barmak and Muqatil b. Hakim al-'Akki commanding his left. The armies engaged in combat, each persevering against the other. Nubatah was slain, the Syrians were put to flight, and ten thousand of them were killed. Qahtabah then sent Abu Muslim the head of Nubatah and that of his son Hayyah.

According to an elder of the Banu 'Adi—his father: Salim b. Rawiyah al-Tamimi was one of those who had fled from Abu Muslim and left with Nasr. Then he was with Nubatah and fought against Qahtabah in Jurjan. When the army fled, he stayed on fighting by himself. 'Abdallah al-Ta'i, who was one of Qahtabah's cavalrymen, attacked him, and Salim b. Rawiyah struck him in the face, putting

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289. This speech, if it is authentic, would seem to show that the majority of Qahtabah's "Men of Khurasan" were non-Arab Muslims: a disputed question.
out his eye. Sālim continued to fight until he was pushed back to the mosque. He went in, and his opponents followed him. Everywhere he attacked them, he made them scatter. He then began shouting, “Give me a water jug, and by God I’ll really give them trouble this day!” They set fire to the roof of the mosque and threw stones at him until they killed him. They brought his head to Qaḥṭābah; there was not a single unmarked spot on the head or the face, so that Qaḥṭābah said, “I’ve never seen anything like this.”

In this year the battle at Qudayd between Abū Ḥamzah the Khārijite and the people of Madinah took place.

Abū Ḥamzah’s Battle with the Madīnans at Qudayd

According to al-‘Abbās b. ‘Isā al-‘Uqayli—Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farwi—more than one source: ‘Abd al-Wahid b. Sulaymān (b. ‘Abd al-Malik) appointed ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān to lead the people, and they went out (from Madinah). When they were at the Ḥarrāh, they came upon slaughtered camels, and went on. When they were at ‘Aqiq their banner caught on a thorn tree, and the pole broke. They thought this beginning boded ill, but kept going until they halted at Qudayd for the night. The village of Qudayd was in the vicinity of the castle which is standing there today; the water-tanks were in that place. They made a camp close together, being no warriors, and no one paid attention to them but a group who came out to them from the castle.

Some have asserted that it was the tribe of Khuzā‘ah who showed Abū Ḥamzah their exposed situation, and who led them to the Khārijites who slew them. The killing was at the expense of the Quraysh, they being most of the people, the ones with effective power (al-shawkah); a great number of them were slain.

According to ‘Abbās—Hārūn—one of his informants: A man of the Quraysh saw a man from the Yaman who was saying, “Praise be

290. See Ibn Khayyāt, I 413ff; FHA, 168–70; Azdī, 108–110; Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 406. Qudayd was a place between Mecca and Madinah. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, IV, 42.
291. See EI s.v. al-Ḥarrā.
292. The “blessed valley” west of Madinah, where according to tradition the Prophet was once told to pray by an angel. See EI s.v. ‘Akīk.
293. The reading al-qāṣī is from the Cairo edition, emending al-fadl in the text.
to God, who has cooled my eye with the slaughter of Quraysh! Then he said to his son, "My boy, begin with this one." And it was one of the men of Madinah. His son came up near him and cut off the man's head. Then the father would say to his son, "Come lad, up this way." And so they fought, until they both were killed. The survivors fled back to Madinah, and the people mourned their slain. Women grieved at great length for their relatives and would not leave until news about their men arrived. Then the women went out, one after another, each going to her relative, until not one woman remained.

Abū Damrah recited these verses to me concerning his kinsmen slain at Qudayd; one of their comrades lamented them, and said:

What a loss for me; and a loss, no mistake,
for the riders in the dry gulch on the uplands;

There is 'Amr, and 'Amr, and 'Abdallāh among them,
and both their sons—five, and al-Ḥārith makes six.

In this year, Abū Hamzah the Kharijite entered Madinah, city of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, and 'Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik fled to Syria.

Abū Ḥamzah's Entry into Madīnah and What Came of It

According to 'Abbas b. 'Isā—Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farwī—Mūsā b. Kathir: Abū Ḥamzah entered Madinah in the year 130 (747–748), as 'Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik fled to Syria. Abū Ḥamzah ascended the minbar, praised God and eulogised Him, and said, "People of Madinah, we have asked you about these rulers of..."
yours, and as God lives, what you had to say of them was bad. We asked you, 'Did they put people to death on suspicion?' You told us, 'Yes.' We asked you, 'Did they take, as lawful, wealth and women that are forbidden to them?' You replied, 'Yes.' So we said to you, 'Come, let us go together and ask them in God's name to turn away from you and from us.' You said, 'They will not do it.' Then we told you, 'Come, let us go and fight them together, and if we prevail, we shall bring those who will establish among us the Book of God, and the (sunnah) tradition of His Prophet Muḥammad, God's blessing and peace be upon him.' You said, 'We are not strong.' Then we told you, 'Then leave us and them alone. And if we are victorious, we shall be fair in our judgments towards you, and rely with you on the sunnah of your Prophet, and divide your fay' among you.' Yet you refused, and fought us without them, and we therefore killed you. May God keep you from good and from prosperity!'

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ḥizām b. Hishām: The Khārijites numbered four hundred. One group was headed by al-Ḥārith, and one group by Bakkār b. Muḥammad al-'Adawi (that is, the) 'Adi of Quraysh, and another was led by Abū Ḥamzah. They clashed with the people of Madinah after the latter had made ready to fight them after pleas from the Khārijites to desist. These told them, "By God, we have no need to fight you. Let us go on against our enemies." But the men of Madinah refused. They met in battle on Thursday, after the seventh night of Safar 130 (October 19, 747), and the men of Madinah were massacred. None escaped but those who ran away. Their commander 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh was slain, and the Quraysh suspected that the Khuzā'ah had betrayed them with the Khārijites. Hīzām told me (Muḥammad b. 'Umar), "By God, I gave shelter to some men from Quraysh until people were given a guarantee of safety. Balj had charge of the vanguard, and the

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296. Fay' was revenue of properties taken in conquest. The disposition of these revenues by the second and third caliphs was a sore topic. 'Umar and 'Uthmān had in effect held the properties in trust and used the revenues for the community. 'Alī and his followers, and the later Khārijites, were known to favor dividing the fay' among the victors. 'Umar had not permitted Arabs to farm land outside the Arabian Peninsula. This especially offended the Yanamis, who had old agricultural traditions. See Ell s.v. Fay'.

297. That is, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi, a historian of Madinah whose works reflect the traditions of the city. He was, however, a beneficiary of the 'Abbāsids, and careful not to offend his patrons. See Petersen, 'Alī and Mu'awiyah. 83–93.
Khārijites advanced on Madinah on the 19th night of Safar [October 31, 747]."

According to 'Abbās b. Isā—Hārūn b. Mūsā—some of their shaykhs: When Abū Hamzah entered Madinah, he stood up and delivered an address, saying, "People of Madinah, I passed among you in the time of the squint-eyed Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, when a blight had struck your dates. You wrote to him requesting him to lower the tax on them, and he wrote back lowering it for you. The rich became richer, and the poor became poorer, but you said, 'May God reward you with good!' May God reward neither you nor him with good!"

According to 'Abbās—Hārūn—Yahyā b. Zakariyyā': Abū Hamzah gave the following address; he went up into the minbar, praised God and lauded Him, and then said,

Know, O people of Madinah that we did not leave our homes and our possessions lightly or carelessly, or to no avail, nor to overthrow a kingdom wishing to immerse ourselves in government, nor for revenge for an old grievance that touched our honor; but when we saw the lamps of truth had been neglected, and the speaker of truth was upbraided, and that he who stood up for justice was slain, then the earth in all its width became narrow for us, and we heard a herald [dā'ī] calling us to obey the Merciful Lord and the rule of the Qur'ān. We responded to the summoner of God, "And he who answers not God's summoner shall not frustrate God's plan on earth." We came forward from scattered tribes, a group of us on one camel carrying ourselves and our supplies, sharing one blanket among ourselves, little people, held as weak on earth; and He received us and aided us by His succor, and we all became brothers to each other, by God, through His grace. Then we met your men at Qudayd, and we summoned them to obey the Merciful Lord and the rule of the Qur'ān. But they summoned us to obey Satan and the judgment of the family of Marwān. And by God's life, far apart are guidance and error! They scurried forward hastening, for Satan had struck in them his partners; his cauldrons boiled with their blood, and his supposition about them was con-

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firmed. But the helpers of God, Mighty and Majestic, came forward in small bands and in squadrons, with every sharpened blade gleaming; and our coil turned, and their coil twisted away, with a blow from which triflers recoil. As for you, O people of Madinah, if you aid Marwân and the family of Marwân, the God of might and majesty shall destroy you with punishment delivered by Himself or at our hands, and the breasts of faithful folk will recover health. O people of Madinah, the first among you were the very best, and the last among you are the very worst. O people of Madinah, the people are of us, and we are of them, unless it be a polytheist who worships idols, or a polytheist among the People of the Book, or an imām who acts unjustly. O People of Madinah, if anyone asserts that God the Mighty, the Majestic, charges any soul with what is beyond its power or asks of it more than is given to it, then he is an enemy of God, and we have war. O People of Madinah, they have told me that there are eight divisions of the zakāt which God has ordained upon strong and weak alike in His Book. Now a ninth has come, due no part of it, not one portion, and takes all of it for himself, arrogant in opposition to his Lord!

O People of Madinah, it has reached me that you belittle my comrades. You say they are callow young men, barefoot bedouins. Alas for you, O people of Madinah! What were the followers of the Messenger of God, God bless him and give him peace, but callow young men? Youths, by God, who were fully mature in their youth—youths whose eyes were closed to evil and whose feet were slow to approach wrongdoing; exchanging with God the life that dies for the life that dies not, they mingled all that was theirs with their fatigue, and rose at night to watch and pray after fasting all the day. They bent their backs over portions of the Qur'ān, and so oft as they came upon a verse of fear,

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299. "People of the Book," e.g., Jews and Christians who possessed revealed scriptures, are often accused of having "associated" lesser being with God, thereby becoming guilty of idolatry, the worst of sins. See Ell s.v. Ahl al-Kitāb.

300. The zakāt is a tax imposed on all, as it says in Qur'ān 10:60, for carefully defined community purposes. The eight legal beneficiaries are the poor, needy, collectors of the tax, "those whose hearts are to be reconciled," slaves to be ransomed, debtors, "those in God's Way," and travelers. The abbreviated form in which this address is cast, even omitting the proof-text as the speaker would not have done, demonstrates that we have here only a sketch of the main points.
they were racked with terror of the Fire, and when they came upon a verse of desire they were racked with longing for Paradise. When they looked to swords drawn against them, lances pointed at them, arrows notched for them, when a detachment of cavalry thundered at them with bolts of death, they made little account of the threat of that detachment beside the threat of God. They did not take God's threat lightly beside the threat of a detachment; so blessed were they, and fair the place where they returned! And how many an eye which had overflowed long in the depth of night from fear of God met the beak of a bird! How many a hand left its wrist whereon its owner long supported himself [in his prostration to God! How many an excellent cheek and fine forehead was cleft by maces of iron! God have mercy upon those bodies, and make their souls to enter His gardens]. I say my say, and I ask God to forgive our deficiencies, for there is no success for me but in God; in Him have I put my trust, to Him shall I repair.

According to 'Abbās—Hārūn—his grandfather Abū 'Alqamah: I heard Abū Ḥamzah on the minbar of God's messenger saying, "Whoever fornicates is an infidel; whoever doubts it is an infidel. Whoever steals is an infidel; whoever doubts that he is an infidel is also an infidel."

According to 'Abbās—Hārūn—his grandfather: He had conducted himself so well among the people of Madīnah that people inclined to him even when they heard him say, "Whoever fornicates is an infidel."

According to 'Abbās—Hārūn—one of his companions: When he ascended the minbar he said, "The concealed has been revealed, wherever you may be taken. Whoever fornicates is an infidel, whoever steals is an infidel." Hārūn also said that someone recited these verses about the Battle of Qudayd:

What's wrong with Time, and wrong with me, ah—

Qudayd has destroyed my menfolk, ah—

301. This phrase is missing in the text and is added from the Cairo edition.
302. See n. 301 above.
303. Read mà li-l-zamān with the Cairo edition and al-Aghānī; the text has mà li-Qudayd.
Then let me weep by all means secretly;
and surely I shall weep in public, ah—

I'll weep until I gasp,304
like the dogs that bark, ah—

Abū Ḥamzah and his men entered Madinah on the 17th of Ṣafar (October 29, 747). The authorities differ about how long they remained there: al-Wāqīḍī says it was three months. Another says they stayed there for the rest of Ṣafar, the two months of Rabī', and part of Jumādā I (i.e., into January 748). The number of the people from Madinah who were slain at Qudayd according to al-Wāqīḍī was seven hundred.

It is mentioned that Abū Ḥamzah sent ahead a group of his men commanded by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar al-Qurashi. After him, it was one of the Banū ‘Adi b. Ka’b, then Balj b. ‘Uyaynah b. al-Hayṣam al-Asadi, a man of Baṣrah. Marwān b. Muḥammad sent ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭiyyah, one of the Banū Sa’d, from Syria with a Syrian contingent.

According to ‘Abbās b. ‘Isā—Hārūn b. Mūsā—Mūsā b. Kathir: Abū Ḥamzah went out from Madinah, leaving one of his followers in charge, and went on until he halted at the Wādī al-Qura.305

According to ‘Abbās—Hārūn—a companion from whom Abū Yahyā al-Zuhri used to recite traditions: Marwān picked four thousand men of his army, put Ibn ‘Atiyyah in command, and ordered him to move resolutely. He gave each man a hundred gold dinārs, an Arab horse, and a mule for his baggage. He ordered Ibn ‘Aṭiyyah to go engage them, and if he was victorious, to go on to the Yaman and fight ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā and his followers. Ibn ‘Aṭiyyah went out and halted at ‘Ulā.306 A man from Madinah called al-‘Alā’ b. Aflāḥ

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304. Read shajīṭu, "I gasp," with the Cairo edition; the text has šahāntu, "I chase in vain."

305. Presumably the Wādī al-Qurā, a long valley of many villages which was the gateway from the Hijāz to Syria. Whoever controlled this Wādī could exert great pressure on the Hijāz by cutting off supplies from the north. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam. IV, 81, 878; Lassner, ‘Abbāsid Rule, 71, 264, n. 44. For this account see Ibn Khayyāt I, 416ff; Azdī, II, 110ff; F.H.A., 181–85; Mas‘ūdī, Murūj. IV, 66ff. (J.L.)

306. ‘Ulā is the biblical Dedan, an oasis town on the incense road in the north Hijāz with extensive remains of an advanced pre-Islamic civilization. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam. III, 709.
The mawlā of Abū al-Ghayth used to say, "I was a boy at that time, and one of Ibn 'Atiyyah's men met me and asked, 'What's your name, boy?' I told him, 'al-ʿAlā.' 'Son of whom?' he asked. 'Son of Aflah,' I told him. 'Mawlā of whom?' he asked. 'Mawlā of Abū al-Ghayth,' I told him. 'Where are we?' he asked. 'At 'Ula,' I told him. 'And where shall we be tomorrow?' said he. 'At Ghālib,'°°° I told him. He said nothing, but mounted me behind him and rode off taking me to Ibn 'Atiyyah. 'Ask this boy his name,' he said. He asked me the questions and I answered as before. He was pleased at that, and gave me several dirhams."

According to ʿAbdās—Hārūn—ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Mājahshūn: When Abū Ḥamzah and Ibn 'Atiyyah encountered each other, Abū Ḥamzah told his people, "Don't engage them until you are informed about them." They called out to Ibn 'Atiyyah's men, "What do you say about the Qur'ān, and doing as it says?" Ibn 'Atiyyah shouted back, "We put it in a bag." They called, "What do you say about the property of the orphan?" He replied, "Let's consume the property and commit debauchery with his mother!" These are only some of the things I have heard that they questioned them about. When they had heard their answers, they fought with them until evening. Then they called, "Woe to you, Ibn 'Atiyyah; God has made the night for repose; so you repose and we'll repose!" But he refused, and fought them until he killed them.

According to ʿAbdās—Hārūn: When Abū Ḥamzah went out, he took leave of the people of Madinah saying, "O people of Madinah, we are going out against Marwān. If we prevail, we will be fair in ruling you, and treat you in accord with the sunnah of your Prophet Muhammad, and divide fairly your fay' among you. If it goes as they wish, 'those who have done wrong shall learn by what an overturning they will be overturned.'"°°°

According to ʿAbdās—Hārūn—one of his companions: "When the news of Abū Ḥamzah's death came to the people [of Madinah], they fell upon his followers and slew them."

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°°° Ghālib was a place in the Hijāz near Madinah; see Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 869. There is a play on ghālib here, which means "a winner," as well as on other words in the responses with fortunate connotations.

°°°° Qur. 6:96.

°°°°°° Qur. 26:227.

307. Ghālib was a place in the Hijāz near Madinah; see Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 869. There is a play on ghālib here, which means "a winner," as well as on other words in the responses with fortunate connotations.

308. Qur. 6:96.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar reported that Abū Ḥamzah and his followers marched against Marwān, and his cavalry, led by Ibn 'Aṭiyyah al-Sa’dī of Qays, met them in Wāḍī al-Qurā and attacked them. They returned in flight to Madinah, and the people of Madinah met them and killed them. He continues: The commander of Marwān’s army, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭiyyah al-Sa’dī, that is, Sa’d of Hawāzin, came on to Madinah at the head of four thousand Arab horsemen. Each had a mule, and some wore two breastplates, or one breastplate and armor and coats of mail and other equipment the likes of which had not been seen at that time. They then went on to Mecca.

Another source reports that when Ibn 'Aṭiyyah entered Madinah, he stayed there for a month, and then went on to Mecca. He appointed as his deputy in Madinah al-Walid b. 'Urwaḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭiyyah and continued on to Mecca and the Yaman. He appointed as his deputy in Mecca Ibn Mā’iz, from the Syrian army. Ibn 'Aṭiyyah went on; word reached 'Abdallāh b. Yahyā at Ṣan’ā that he was coming against him, so he advanced against him with his supporters. The two forces clashed, and Ibn 'Aṭiyyah killed 'Abdallāh b. Yahyā, and sent his son Bashir to Marwān. Ibn 'Aṭiyyah went on to enter Ṣan’ā, and then sent 'Abdallāh b. Yahyā’s head to Marwān. Then Marwān wrote Ibn 'Aṭiyyah, ordering him to march posthaste and lead the Pilgrimage at Mecca. According to al-'Abbas b. 'Isā-Harun: He left leading a small group of his men, until they camped at Jurf, as 'Abbas has it. This attracted the attention of some of the people of the village, who said, “He’s running away, by God!” Then they started to attack him. He told them, “Woe betide you! This is the leader of the Pilgrimage! By God, the Commander of the Faithful has written to me!”

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Raḥman: I went out along with twelve other men with Ibn 'Aṭiyyah

310. The Sa’d b. Bakr were a subtribe of the Hawāzin, a large North Arabian group of tribes of Qays 'Aylān, which was mostly of Hijāzi origin. See EI² s.v. Hawāzin.
311. Read sannawar with the Cairo edition, emending the text which has tannūr.
312. The head would have been taken first to Ṣan’ā to show people there the proof that 'Abdallāh b. Yahyā’s reign was over.
313. Yaqūt, Muʾjam, II, 63, lists a place called al-Jurf in the Yaman. However Azdi, 113, and Masʿūdī, Murtūj, IV, 67, say the place was al-Jurash. Yaqūt, 59, describes Jurash as both a province of the Yaman and a place where a great city had flourished.
al-Sa’di, who had Marwân’s deed of appointment for the Pilgrimage. He had forty thousand dinârs in his saddlebag. His army and cavalry were behind at San’â’, and until he camped at Jurf making for the Pilgrimage, by God, we felt secure and confident. Then I overheard a woman saying, “God smite both the sons of Jumânah! How grim-faced they are!” I stood up as if I were going for water, and went up on a hillock. And lo, there was a band of men with swords, horses, and slings. Then the aforementioned sons of Jumânah were standing over us; we were surrounded on every side. We said, “What do you want?” They then said, “You’re robbers!” Ibn ’Atiyyah took out his document and said, “This is the letter of the Commander of the Faithful, and his deed of appointment for the Pilgrimage. I am Ibn ’Atiyyah.” But they said, “This is no good, you are robbers!” At this, we foresaw evil, and al-Šafar b. Habib mounted his horse, and fought well until he was slain. Ibn ’Atiyyah got on his horse, and fought until he too was killed. Then all those who were with us were killed, and I remained. They said, “Who are you?” “A man of Hamdân,” 313 I replied. “What Hamdân are you from?” they said. I traced back a lineage to one of their sub-groups, since I knew the sub-groups of Hamdân, and they let me alone. They told me, “Your life is safe, and everything that is yours in this place you can take.” If I had claimed all of the money, they’d have given it to me. Then they sent some riders with me as far as Sa’dah, and I was safe and went on until I came to Mecca.

In this year the summer campaign against the Byzantines was led by al-Walid b. Hishâm. He went down to ’Amq and built the citadel of Mar’ash. 316

This year the plague broke out at Basrah. This year Qahtâbah b. Shabib killed many of the people of Jurjân; some say it was as many as thirty thousand. A version coming from people of Jurjân has it that after the slaying of Nubâtah b. Ḥanţalâh
they all decided to fight Qaḥtabah. When word reached Qaḥtabah of this, he went in and indiscriminately killed those whom I have mentioned.

When Naṣr b. Sayyār learned that Qaḥtabah had killed Nubātah and a number of people of Jurjān, he was in Qūmis. He then moved to Khuwar of Rayy.  

Naṣr’s reason for camping at Rayy according to ‘Ali b. Muḥammad—Abū Dhayyāl, Ḥasan b. Rashid and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushami: Abū Muslim sent a letter with al-Minhāl b. Fattān to Ziyād b. Zurārah al-Qushayrī with a deed of appointment to govern Naysābūr, after Tamīm b. Naṣr and al-Naḥīb b. Suwayd al-‘Ijli were killed. He also wrote to Qaḥtabah ordering him to pursue Naṣr. Qaḥtabah then sent al-‘Akkī with his vanguard, while he went to Naysābūr and stayed there for the months of Ramādān and Shawaqal 130 (early May to end of June 748). He was there while Naṣr was staying at a village in Qūmis called Badhash. The Qaysis with him stayed in another village, called Mumidd.  

Naṣr then wrote to Ibn Hubayrah at Wāṣīt asking him for aid, and sent the message with notables of Khurāsān to stress the importance of the matter. But Ibn Hubayrah threw his messengers in prison. Naṣr then wrote to Marwān, “I have sent some of the leading men of Khurāsān to Ibn Hubayrah to inform him on our behalf of the situation of the people there and to ask him for reinforcements. He has imprisoned my messengers and has not reinforced me with a single man. My situation is that of a man driven from his bedroom to his chamber, and from his chamber to his sitting-room, and from the sitting-room to the courtyard. If someone will come to him and help him, he may perhaps return to his house and it will remain his; but if he is driven from the house to the street, he will have neither house nor courtyard.” Marwān wrote to Ibn Hubayrah ordering him to assist Naṣr, informing him of that. Naṣr then sent a letter to Ibn Hubayrah with Khālid the mawla of the Banū Layth, asking him to send the army to

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317. Khuwar of Rayy was the westernmost town of Qūmis, on the road from Khurāsān, and the first important town east of Rayy. See Yāqūt, Mu’jam, II, 479; also LeStrange, Lands, 367.

318. Badhash was the first village inside Jurjān on the post-road from Nishāpūr (Naysābūr). Yāqūt states that it was two farsakh (12 km) from Bistām. See also LeStrange, Lands, 368.

319. The text is al-Maydā, corrected by the Cairo edition. The vocalization is uncertain.
him quickly, "For I have lied to the people of Khurāsān until not a man among them will believe a word I say; so reinforce me with ten thousand men before you have to reinforce me with a hundred thousand, and after that nothing will be of use."

In this year Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān led the Pilgrimage. That is what is related by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Ishāq b. Ṭāʾif ibn Isā—Abū Maʿṣhar (al-Sindi).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik was governor of Mecca, Madinah and Ṭāʾif.

Iraq was governed by Yazīd b. Umar b. Hubayrah.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAṣim al-Muhāribī was in charge of the judiciary at Kūfah, and ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr at Baṣrah.

Naṣr b. Sayyār was governor of Khurāsān, but matters there were as we have mentioned.
One of the events of this year was that Qahtabah sent his son al-Hasan to Naṣr while he was in Qūmis.320

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—Zuhayr b. Hunayd, al-Hasan b. Rashīd and Jabal kh b. Farrūkh al-Tājī: When Nubātah was killed, Naṣr moved from Badhash and entered Khuvār, whose governor was Abū Bakr al-'Uqayli. Qahtabah sent his son al-Hasan to Qūmis in Muḥarram 131 (September 748), and after that he sent Abū Kāmil, Abū al-Qāsim Muhrīz b. Ibrāhīm, and Abū al-'Abbās al-Marwāzī to Hasan with seven hundred men. When they were close to him, Abū Kāmil ran away from them, left his camp, and went over to Naṣr informing him of the whereabouts of the officer who was leading them. Naṣr then sent troops against them and besieged them in the walled town where they were. Jamīl b. Mihrān then pierced the wall and fled with his followers, leaving part of their equipment which Naṣr's followers seized, and which Naṣr sent to Ibn Hubayrah. 'Uṭayf321 interfered in this at Rayy; he took Naṣr's letter and the

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320. See Akhbār al-Dawlāh, 331ff; Ibn Khayyāt, II, 419; Dīnawari, 362; Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh, II, 410; Ibn Qutayba, Ma‘ārif, 370.

321. Probably 'Uṭayf al-Sulāmi sent by Marwān to join Ibn Hubayrah. See Tabari, II/3, 1945. He was now following the orders of Ibn Hubayrah, who would not help Naṣr.
The Events of the Year 131

booty from the messenger, and sent them on to Ibn Hubayrah. At this Naṣr was furious, and said, “Does Ibn Hubayrah want to play with me? Is he stirring up all the good-for-nothings of Qays against me? By God, I will surely have nothing to do with him. Let him fully understand that he is nothing, and neither is his son from whom great things are expected.” He went on and stopped at Rayy, which was being governed by Ḥabib b. Budayl al-Nahshali. ‘Uṭayf left Rayy as soon as Naṣr came there, for Hamadhan. Mālik b. Adham b. Muhḥirīz al-Bāhili was at Hamadhan commanding the Šaḥṣāhīyyah corps, so when ‘Uṭayf saw that Mālik was at Hamadhan, he turned away from there and went to ‘Āmir b. Dubārah at Iṣbahān. ‘Uṭayf had three thousand men with him, and Ibn Hubayrah sent him to Naṣr at Rayy. ‘Uṭayf went to Rayy and stayed there, but did not go to see Naṣr. Naṣr stayed a couple of days at Rayy; then he fell ill and had to be carried on a litter until he reached Sāwah, near Hamadhan, and there he expired. When he died, his followers went on into Hamadhan. It is said that his death occurred on the twelfth of Rabi’ I (November 9, 748), when he was eighty-five years old.

It is also said that when Naṣr set out from Khuwar towards Rayy, he did not enter Rayy but stayed in the desert between Rayy and Hamadhan, and died there.

Returning to what ‘Alī (al-Mada’ini) was told by his shaykhs: When Naṣr died, Qaḥṭabah’s son al-Ḥasan sent Khāzīm b. Khuzaymah to a village called Simnān while Qaḥṭabah came up from Jurjān sending Ziyād b. Zurārah al-Qushayrī ahead of him. Ziyād regretted having followed Abū Muslim, and deserted Qaḥṭabah. He took the road to Iṣbahān, wishing to join ‘Āmir b. Dubārah, but Qaḥṭabah sent al-Musayyāb b. Zuhayr al-Dabbi after him, who caught up with him the next afternoon and fought him. Ziyād fled, and most of his followers were killed. Musayyāb then returned to Qaḥṭabah and Qaḥṭabah went to Qūmis where his son al-Ḥasan was. Khāzīm came forward from the direction in which al-Ḥasan had sent him, and Qaḥṭabah had his son advance to Rayy. News of

322. This was apparently a regiment organized along the lines of the Dhakwānīyyah, perhaps by Muṣ'ab b. Saḥṣah (see Tabari, II/3, 1945, 1980). They were Marwān’s own men and ‘Uṭayf was avoiding them as part of Ibn Hubayrah’s plan to appear to be helping Naṣr without doing so.

323. Simnān later became an important town. It was situated on the Khurāsān road east of Khuwar. See LeStrange, Lands. 366.
al-Ḥasan’s march reached Ḥabib b. Budayl al-Nahshali and the Syrian troops who were with him, so they left Rayy. Al-Ḥasan then entered the city and stayed there until his father joined him. Upon arriving at Rayy, Qaḥṭabah wrote to Abū Muslim, informing him that he was encamped there.

In the same year, Abū Muslim moved from Marw to Naysābūr and camped there.

Qaḥṭabah at Rayy and Abū Muslim at Naysābūr

When Qaḥṭabah wrote to Abū Muslim that he was encamped at Rayy, the latter left Marw, as we have mentioned, and settled at Naysābūr, where he dug a defensive trench. Qaḥṭabah sent his son al-Ḥasan on to Hamadhān three days after he himself had entered Rayy.

ʿAli reports the following from his shaykhs and other authorities. When al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah set out for Hamadhān, Mālīk b. Adham and the Syrians and Khūrāsānīs who were with him there left for Nihāwānd. Mālīk summoned them to take their allowances, saying, “Let everyone who is registered in a diwān take his pay.” At this, a great number of people left their registries and went away. Mālīk positioned himself with those who stayed with him, Syrians and Khūrāsānīs who had been with Naṣr b. Sayyār. Meanwhile al-Ḥasan marched from Hamadhān to Nihāwānd and camped four farsakhs (24 km) from the city. Qaḥṭabah then reinforced him with Abū Jahm b. ʿAtiyah the mawla of the (tribe of) Bāḥilah and seven hundred men, so that he was now able to surround the city and lay siege to it.324

In this year ʿĀmir b. Dubārah was slain.

The Death of ʿĀmir b. Dubārah and the Reason For It

The reason for his slaying was that ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar fled toward Khurāsān when he was put to flight by Ibn Dubārah. He took his route by way of Kirmān, and ʿĀmir b. Dubārah set off in pursuit of him. Meanwhile word reached Yazīd b. ʿUmar of Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah’s death in Jurjān.

324. For these events, see Akhbār al-Dawlah, 333–39.
According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Sarī al-Marwazi, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī, al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd, Jabalah b. Farrūkh and Ḥafs b. Shabīb: When Nubātah was killed, Ibn Hubayrah wrote to 'Amīr b. Ḥubārah and to his son Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. 'Umar to march against Qaḥṭabah; they were both in Kirmān. They went with fifty thousand men and halted in (the oasis of) Ḫubān at the city of Jayy. People used to call Ibn Ḥubārah's army "the army of armies." Qaḥṭabah sent Muqāṭil (al-'Akkī) against him with Abū Ḥafṣ al-Muhallabī, Abū Ḥammad al-Marwāzī the mawla of the Banū Sulaym, Mūsā b. 'Aqīl, Aslām b. Hassān, Dhu'ayb b. al-Asḥāth, Kūlthūm b. Shabīb, Mālik b. Ṭārīf, al-Mukharqī b. Ghifār and al-Haytham b. Ziyād, with al-'Akkī in command. They marched to Qumm and halted there. Word reached Ibn Ḥubārah that al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah had camped among the people of Nihāwānd, and he wanted to go to them and aid them. News of this reached al-'Akkī so he sent to inform Qaḥṭabah of it. Qaḥṭabah then dispatched Zuhayr b. Muḥammad to Qāshān while al-'Akkī quit Qumm, leaving behind Ṭārīf b. Ghaylān. However, Qaḥṭabah wrote to al-'Akkī ordering him to wait until he could catch up with him and to then return to Qumm. Qaḥṭabah joined the latter's forces to his own. Then 'Amīr b. Ḥubārah came against them—the distance between him and Qaḥṭabah's force was one farsakh (6 km). 'Amīr stayed there some days, and then Qaḥṭabah marched against his forces and the two armies met in battle. Al-'Akkī, who had Khalīd b. al-Barmak with him, commanded Qaḥṭabah's right wing, and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribā'ī al-Ṭā'ī, assisted by Mālik b. Ṭārīf, commanded the left wing. Qaḥṭabah had twenty thousand men and Ibn Ḥubārah a hundred thousand—it is even said he had a hundred and fifty thousand. Qaḥṭabah gave orders for a copy of the Qur'ān, which was fixed on a lance, and then proclaimed, "Men of Syria, we would call you to what is in this Book!" They then reviled him with foul language, so Qaḥṭabah sent the order, "Attack them!" Al-'Akkī attacked the Syrians and the forces rushed into combat. There was not much fighting before the Syrians were routed, suffering extensive casualties.

325. For this city, see LeStrange, Lands, 203.
326. See LeStrange, Lands, 209.
327. That is, at the battle of Jābalq, a place in the district of Isfahān [Isbahān]. See Yaqūt, Mu'jam, II, 2. For the battle, perhaps the most important of the 'Abbasid revolution, see Akhḫār al-Dāwlah, 343ff; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 418ff; Azdī, 116.
Qahtabah’s forces took possession of their camp and obtained quantities of weapons, equipment and slaves that could not be reckoned. Qahtabah sent word of the victory by Shurayh b. Abdallâh to his son al-Hasan.

‘Ali reported the following from Abû al-Dhayyâl: When Qahtabah met ‘Amîr b. Dûbârah (in battle) the latter had with him leading men from Khurâsân, including Šâlih b. al-Ḥâjjâj al-Numayrî, Bishr b. Bisâm b. ‘Imrân b. al-Faḍîl al-Burjumî, and ‘Abd al-‘Azîz b. Shammad al-Mazini. Ibn Dûbârah was commanding only cavalry while Qahtabah had both horse and foot soldiers, so his men shot arrows at the horses, and Ibn Dûbârah fled back into his camp. Qahtabah pursued him, so Ibn Dûbârah quit his camp and gave the call, “To me!” Nonetheless, his people fled and he was killed.

‘Ali reported the following from al-Mufâḍdal b. Muḥammad al-Dabbi: When Qahtabah met Ibn Dûbârah, Dâwûd b. Yazid b. ‘Umar fled. ‘Amîr asked about him and was told, “He’s fled.” At this, ‘Amîr exclaimed, “God has cursed our wickedness with this reversal!” Then he fought on until he was killed.

According to ‘Alî—Ḥafṣ b. Shabîb—an eyewitness with Qahtabah: I’ve never seen any army that collected what the Syrians had collected at Iṣbahân in the way of horses, weapons and slaves. It was as if we had conquered a city. We obtained more guitars (barâbit), drums and flutes than one might count. There was not a tent or shelter that we entered in which we did not find a wineskin, be it large or small. Thus one of the poets said:

When we overthrew the chiefs of Muḍar,328
Qahtabah cut them up a dry fare;

They called on Marwân as one calls on the Lord.

In this year befell Qahtabah’s battle at Nihâwand with the troops of Marwân b. Muḥammad who had taken refuge there. Also, it is said that the battle at Jâbalq in Iṣbahân occurred on Saturday, the twenty-third of Rajab 131 [March 18, 749].

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328. A line is missing in the text and is supplied by the Cairo edition.
Qahtabah’s Battle at Nihaward

‘Ali reported the following from al-Hasan b. Rashīd and Zuhayr b. al-Hunayd: When Ibn Ḥubayrah was killed, Qahtabah wrote of it to his son al-Hasan at Nihawand. When the letter arrived, he cried, “Allāhu Akbar!” and so did all his army. Then they shouted that Ibn Ḥubayrah had been killed. At this, ‘Āśim b. ‘Umayr al-Sughdī said, “These people would never shout about killing Ibn Ḥubayrah unless it were true, so go out to Hasan b. Qahtabah and his followers and don’t stand about for them; leave any way you please before his father comes to him or sends him reinforcements.” At this, the footsoldiers said, “You’ll go out as cavaliers on horseback and then run off and leave us!” Then Mālik b. Adham al-Bāhili said, “Ibn Hubayrah has written to me. I will not retreat until he comes to me.” At this, they stayed where they were, and Qahtabah stayed at Isbahan for twenty days. He then moved to join al-Hasan at Nihawand, where he besieged the city for some months. Then he offered the defenders a safe-conduct, but they rejected it, so he set up mangonels against them. When Mālik saw that, he sought a guarantee for himself and the Syrian troops, unbeknownst to the Khurasānīs (in his forces). Qahtabah gave him his guarantee, and kept his word. Not one of these men was killed, but all the men of Khurasān who were in Nihawand were slain except al-Ḥakam b. Thābit b. Abī Mas’ar al-Ḥanafi. Among the people of Khurasān who were killed were Abū Kāmil, Ḥātim b. al-Ḥārith b. Shurayḥ, the son of Naṣr b. Sayyār, ‘Āśim b. ‘Umayr, ‘Ali b. ‘Aqīl and Bayhas b. Budayl of the Banū Sulaym of the people of the Jazirah, and a man of Quraysh known as al-Bukhturi who was a descendant of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—some assert that the family of al-Kaṭṭāb do not recognize him—and Qatan b. Harb al-Hilālī.

According to ‘Ali—Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Hamadhanī—one of their mawlās: When Mālik b. Adham made terms with Qahtabah, Bayhas b. Budayl said, “Ibn Adham has made peace at our expense, and by God we will surely murder him.” The attackers from Khurasān found that the gates had been opened for them, and they entered

the city. One of the Khurāsānis with Qaḥṭabah then let him in through a protective wall.

Other sources say that Qaḥṭabah sent to the Khurāsānis inside Nihāwand inviting them to come out to him, and offered them a guarantee of safeconduct, but they refused. He then sent the same offer to the Syrian troops there, who accepted. They entered an agreement after they had been besieged for three months: Sha'bān, Ramadān, and Shawwāl (April, May and June 749). The Syrians sent word to Qaḥṭabah, requesting him to keep the people of the city occupied so that they might open the gate unperceived.

Qaḥṭabah did this, keeping the people of the city busy in combat. Then the Syrians opened the gate that they were defending. When the Khurāsānī troops who were inside the city saw the Syrians going out, they asked what they were doing. The Syrians told them, “We have made terms for ourselves and for you.” The Khurāsānī leaders (inside the city) went out to Qaḥṭabah, who put each one of them in the care of an officer from Khurāsān. Later he ordered his herald to proclaim, “Let everyone who has a prisoner from those who came out to us from the city cut off his head and bring it to me.” They acted accordingly, and not one of those who had fled from Abū Muslim to the walled city remained alive, except for the Syrians. These he set free, exacting their promise not to conspire with the enemy against him.

Returning to the account of ‘Ali on the authority of his shaykhs: When the Syrians and Khurāsānīs who were in Nihāwand had let Qaḥṭabah inside the walls, ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umayr told them, “Woe to you! Now they enter the walls!” ‘Āṣim then went out. He had already put on his breastplate and a black garment he had. He was met by a Shākiri trooper who had been attached to him in Khurāsān, who recognized him and said, “You’re wearing black now?” “Yes,” he replied. At this, the Shākiri brought him to an underground conduit, and told a slave of his, “Watch over him, and let no one come upon him here.” Then Qaḥṭabah ordered, “Whoever has a prisoner with him, bring him to me.” At this the slave who was entrusted with ‘Āṣim said, “I have a prisoner that I fear will be taken from me by force.” A man from the Yamani troops heard this and said, “Let me see him.” The slave showed ‘Āṣim to the Yamani, and he recognized him. He went off to Qaḥṭabah and informed him, saying, “Here is one head of the tyrants!” Then Qaḥṭabah sent for ‘Āṣim and put him
to death. But he kept his word to the men of Syria so that not a single one of them was killed.

According to 'Ali—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: When Qaḥtabah came to Nihāwand and al-Ḥasan was laying siege to it, Qaḥtabah took charge and sent al-Ḥasan to Marj al-Qal‘ah. Al-Ḥasan sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah on to Hulwān where ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Alā’ al-Kindi was governing, and ‘Abdallāh fled the city leaving it unprotected.

‘Ali reported the following from Muḥriz b. Ibrāhim: When Qaḥtabah conquered Nihāwand, people wanted to write to Marwān using Qaḥtabah’s name, and they said, “This is an abominable name; turn it around.” It then came out “Habaṭhaq.” At this they said, “The first name, awful as it is, is easier than that.” Hence they changed it back to Qaḥtabah.

Abū ‘Awn’s Battle at Shahrazūr

In this year occurred Abū ‘Awn’s battle at Shahrazūr. ‘Ali reported the following from Abū al-Ḥasan and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: Qaḥtabah sent Abū ‘Awn ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazid al-Khurasānī and Mālik b. Ṣa‘īd al-Khurasānī with four thousand men to Shahrazūr, where ‘Uthmān b. Sufyān commanded the advance forces of ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān. Abū ‘Awn and Mālik came up and camped two farsakhs (12 km) from Shahrazūr. They held their positions for a day and a night, and then fought ‘Uthmān b. Sufyān on the twentieth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 131 (August 10, 749). ‘Uthmān b. Sufyān was killed, and Abū ‘Awn sent Ismā‘il b. al-Mutawakkil with the good news. Abū ‘Awn then stayed in the area of Mosul.

Some say that ‘Uthmān b. Sufyān was not killed but fled to ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān, while Abū ‘Awn decimated his army and killed an enormous number of his followers after a violent battle. It is said that Qaḥtabah sent Abū ‘Awn to Shahrazūr with thirty thousand men at the order of Abū Muslim himself. They also say that when news of Abū ‘Awn’s victory came to Marwān at Ḥarrān, he set out

330. Marj al-Qal‘ah (Castle Meadow) was two days travel from Hulwān on the way to Hamadān, in Jībāl. By the tenth century, it was a large and fine walled town. See LeStrange, Lands, 192.
331. His name was actually Ziyād. See EI² s.v. Kaḥtaba b. Shabib.
332. Ibn Athīr has “Tarāfah.”
from there with the troops of Syria, the Jazirah and Mosul. The Umayyad family rallied their Abnā' to Marwān as he moved to meet Abū 'Awn, until he reached Mosul. He then began to dig a network of trenches, until he was encamped at the Greater Zāb river. Abū 'Awn stayed at Shahrazūr for the rest of the month of Dhū al-Hijjah 131 and Muḥarram 132 (August and early September 749), and he gave military pay to five thousand men.

**Other Events**

This year Qaḥtabah marched against Ibn Hubayrah. According to 'Ali—Abū al-Ḥasan, Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Ismā'il and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: When Ibn Hubayrah's son fled to him from Ḥulwān, Ibn Hubayrah came out and gave battle to Qaḥtabah. With him he had a great number of men that could not be reckoned, as well as Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl al-Bāhili whom Marwān had sent to reinforce him. Putting Ziyād b. Sahl al-Ghatafānī in charge of his rear guard, Yazid b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah marched until he came to the battleground of Jalūlā. He dug in there, clearing out the old trench dug by the Persians at the Battle of Jalūlā. Qaḥtabah advanced until he came to Qirmāsīn. He then marched to Ḥulwān and stopped in Khāniqin. Then he left Khāniqin, and Ibn Hubayrah left his position, returning to Daskarah.

Hishām reported the following from Abū Mikhnāf: Qaḥtabah advanced, while Ibn Hubayrah was entrenching himself at Jalūlā, and then went up to 'Ukbara' and crossed the Tigris, moving on until he stopped at Dimimmā below Anbār on the Euphrates. Ibn Hubayrah and those with him then left to get to Kūfah before Qaḥtabah. He stopped on the east bank of the Euphrates and sent on Hawtharah with fifteen thousand men to Kūfah (on the west bank and to the south). Qaḥtabah crossed the Euphrates at Dimimmā so that he was on the west side and marched for Kūfah, until he reached the place where Ibn Hubayrah was.

This year the Pilgrimage was led by al-Walid b. 'Urwah b. Muḥam-

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333. A district and town in the Sawād of Iraq between Daskarah and Khāniqin. It was famous as the site of a great battle won by the Muslims in 16 (637) against the Sasanians. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 62; *EI* s.v. Djalūlā'.
mad b. 'Aṭiyyah al-Sa'di, of the Sa'd division of the tribe of Hawāzin, who was brother's son to 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭiyyah who killed Abū Ḥamzah al-Khārijī. Al-Walid was governor of Madinah on behalf of his uncle, as I have been told by Ahmad b. Thābit—Ishāq b. ʿIsā—Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidi and others report the same.

It has also been reported that al-Walid b. ʿUrwah was just outside Madinah when Marwān wrote to al-Walid's uncle ʿAbd al-Malik ordering him to lead the Pilgrimage though he was in the Yaman, busied as we have mentioned elsewhere. When his uncle was detained, al-Walid forged a letter from him deputing him to lead the Pilgrimage, and then led it. It has been mentioned that word reached al-Walid b. ʿUrwah that his uncle ʿAbd al-Malik had been killed, whereupon al-Walid went against those who had killed his uncle and slew a great number of them. He ripped open the bellies of their women and slew the male children, burning in fires all those who fell into his hands.

Al-Walid b. ʿUrwah al-Sa'di was governor of Mecca, Madinah and Ta'īf this year in place of his uncle ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad. The governor of Iraq was Yazid b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah, while in Kūfah al-Hajjāj b. ʿĀṣim al-Muhāribi was in charge of the judiciary. ʿAbbād b. Muḥṣīr al-Nājī was in charge of the judiciary in Baṣrah.

336. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 2014 sub anno 130. For his activities in the Yaman see FHA, 175ff.
The Events of the Year

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(AUGUST 20, 749—AUGUST 8, 750)

One of the events of this year was the death of Qahtabah b. Shabib."

The Death of Qahtabah and the Reasons For It

The reason is as follows. When Qahtabah stopped at Khaniqin en route to Ibn Hubayrah, who was at Jalula', the latter moved from Jalula' to Daskarah. According to what is mentioned, Qahtabah sent his son al-Hasan as a scout to learn news of Ibn Hubayrah. Ibn Hubayrah was returning to his trench at Jalula', and al-Hasan found him there, so he returned to his father and told him of Ibn Hubayrah's whereabouts.

According to 'Ali b. Muhammad—Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Jabalah b. Farrukh, Isma'il b. Abi Isma'il and al-Hasan b. Rashid: When al-Hasan returned and informed his father concerning Ibn Hubayrah's activities, Qahtabah asked his companions, "Do you know a road that will bring us to Kufah bypassing Ibn Hubayrah?" Khalaf b. Muwarri' al-Hamadhani, one of the Banu Tamim, replied, "Yes, I will

337. See Akhbâr al-Dawlâh, 369-71; Ibn Khayyat, II, 422ff; Azdi, 118ff; FHA, 194-95; Ya'qubi, Ta'rikh, II, 412; Dinawari, 368; Mas'udi, Muruj, VI, 73.
guide you." Qahtabah crossed the Tāmarrā with him at Rūstuqbādh and took the main road until he halted at Buzurg Sābūr. Then he came to 'Ukbarā and crossed the Tigris to Awānā.338

According to 'Ali—Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Khurasānī: Qahtabah camped at Khāníqin when Ibn Hubayrah was at Jalūlā' with a distance of five farsakhs (30 km) between them. Qahtabah sent out his scouts to gain information about Ibn Hubayrah, and they returned and informed him that Ibn Hubayrah had taken up a position. Qahtabah then ordered Khāzīm b. Khuzaymah to cross the Tigris. Khāzīm crossed over and proceeded between the Tigris and the Dujayl until he came to Kamaba.1 Qahtabah now wrote to Khāzīm ordering him to march to Anbar (on the Euphrates) and send down to him whatever boats and craft he could find to cross with. Qahtabah would then meet him at Dimimmā. He crossed the Euphrates in Muharram 132 (August—September 749). He sent the baggage into the open country while the horsemen proceeded with him along the bank of the Euphrates. Ibn Hubayrah now camped in the area of Upper Fallūjah at the mouth of the Euphrates, twenty-three farsakhs (138 km) from Kūfah. Ibn Dubārah's fleeing men had gathered there with him and Marwān had reinforced him with Hawtharah b. Suhayl al-Bāhili at the head of twenty thousand Syrian troops.

'Ali reported the following from al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: When Qahtabah left Ibn Hubayrah and marched on Kūfah, Hawtharah b. Suhayl al-Bāhili and chiefs of the Syrian army told Ibn Hubayrah, “Qahtabah has turned toward Kūfah. So you set out for Khurāsān and leave him to Marwān, and you'll break him; or more likely, he'll follow you.” But Ibn Hubayrah replied, “That’s not how I see it. He won't follow me and leave Kūfah, so the best thing is to beat him to Kūfah.”

When Qahtabah had crossed the Euphrates and marched along the

338. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, I, 604 lists a Buzurjīsābūr as one of the districts (tassūj) of Baghdad. Rustuqbādh was a district of Kūfah, see Yāqūt, II, 733—34. For ‘Ukbarā, see LeStrange, Lands, 50. The course of his travels was northwest.

339. The Dujayl or “little Tigris” was also known as the Karun. See LeStrange, Lands, 232ff. The text has Kūthbā; read Karnabā as in Ms. B. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam. IV, 268.

340. Upper and Lower Fallūjah were districts between the main stream of the Euphrates on the west and the Sūrā Canal on the east, after it bifurcated below the ruins of Babylon. See LeStrange, Lands, 74.
river bank, Ibn Hubayrah moved from his camp in the Fallūjah district. He put Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl in charge of his vanguard, ordering him to march to Kūfah, so both groups were marching along the banks of the Euphrates— Ibn Hubayrah between the Euphrates and the Sūrā branch, and Qahtakah to the west, adjacent to the open country. Qahtakah halted, and a bedouin crossed over to him in a skiff and greeted him peaceably. Qahtakah asked, "What tribe are you from?" "From Tayy',' he replied. Then the bedouin said to Qahtakah, "Drink of this water, and give me what you leave over to drink." Qahtakah filled a bowl and drank, and gave the bedouin to drink. Then the bedouin said, "Praise be to God, who has delayed my death until I beheld this army drink of this water!" "Is your thirst quenched now?" asked Qahtakah. "Yes," replied the bedouin. "Then who are you from?" Qahtakah asked him. "Of Tayy'," said the bedouin, "One of the Banū Nabḥān." Qahtakah then exclaimed, "My Imam has spoken truthfully. He said that I shall fight a battle on this river and have the victory. Brother of the Banū Nabḥān, is there a ford in this place?" "There is, but I don't know it," said the bedouin. "I can show you who does: al-Sindi b. 'Asāmm." Qahtakah sent for this man, who came with his father and with help, and they showed him the ford. That evening they came against Ibn Hubayrah's vanguard, twenty thousand men led by Hawtharah.

'Ali reported the following from Shihab al-'Abdi: Qahtakah camped at Jabbāriyyah,141 and he said, "The Imam has spoken truthfully to me. He informed me that the victory would occur in this place." He then paid the troops their allowances. The paymaster gave him back sixteen thousand dirhams, more or less, and said, "You'll do fine, as long as you're like this." The Syrian cavalry met him, and the bedouins had already showed him the ford, so he said, "I only wait for a holy month and the eve of 'Ashūrā'." This was the year 132 (749-750).

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: Qahtakah reached the site of a ford which had been mentioned to him at sundown on the night of Wednesday, the eighth of Muḥarram 132 (August 28, 749). When he came to the ford he rushed blindly forward with some

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141. The text is unclear. The Cairo edition gives "al-Jabbāriyyah."
142. 'Ashūrā', the tenth of the "holy month" of Muḥarram, marked the anniversary of the slaying of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn by the Umayyad governor of Iraq at the Euphrates in the vicinity of Kūfah. See El s.v. 'Ashūrā' and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ali.
of his men to attack Ibn Hubayrah, whose men turned and fled. Then they dismounted at the mouth of the Nil Canal, while Hawtharah continued until he stopped at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. At dawn the Khurāsānīs found that their commander was missing and reconciled themselves, and al-Hasan b. Qahtabah took command of the army.

Going back to the account of ‘Ali—Shihāb al-‘Abdī: As for Qahtabah’s personal standard-bearer, his mawla Khayrān or Yasār, Qahtabah told him, “Cross over!” He said the same to his flag-bearer Mas‘ūd b. ‘Ilāj who was from the Bakr b. Wā’il. To his chief of security ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib‘ī, called Abū Ghānim, a man of the Banū Nabhān of Ṭayy’, he called out, “Cross over, Abū Ghānim, and bring us good news of the plunder!” A group crossed over until they numbered four hundred, whereupon they fought Hawtharah’s troops until they denied them access to the water. They met with Muhammad b. Nubatah’s forces and fought them. They raised their torches, and the Syrian troops fled. The ‘Abbāsid forces then found that Qahtabah was missing, and they reluctantly acclaimed Humayd b. Qahtabah as their leader. They appointed a man called Abū Naḍr with two hundred men to see after the baggage, and Humayd pressed on until he came to Karbalā’, then to Dayr al-A’war, then to ‘Abbāsiyyah.

According to ‘Ali—Khālid b. al-Asfah and Abū al-Dhayyāl: Qahtabah was found, and Abū al-Jahm buried him. Then a prominent man said, “If anyone knows of some testament of Qahtabah, then let him inform us of it.” Muqātil b. Mālik al-‘Akkī said, “I heard Qahtabah say, ‘If anything happens to me, then al-Hasan is the army’s commander.’” The army then gave its allegiance to Humayd who accepted on behalf of al-Hasan, and they sent word to al-Hasan. The messenger caught up with him outside the village of Shāhī, and al-Hasan came back. Abū al-Jahm gave him Qahtabah’s seal, and the

343. The government complex near the Sūrā Bridge midway between Kūfah and Baghdad. It is frequently confused with Madinat Ibn Hubayrah. See Lassner, ‘Abbāsid Rule, 283, n. 41.  
344. Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 644, lists Dayr al-A’war as a place adjacent to Kūfah. There were several places of that name, but none conveniently fit the topographical setting here. See Yaqūt, III, 60ff for Karbalā’, the site of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali’s death. See EI2 s.v. Karbalā’.  
345. A place near Qādisiyyah. See Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, III, 246.
army swore allegiance to him. Al-Hasan said, "If Qahtabah is dead, I am Qahtabah's son." On this night were slain Ibn Nabhān al-Sadūsī, Ḥarb b. Salm b. Aḥwaz and 'Isā b. Iyās al-'Adawī and a man of the Asāwira346 called Muṣ'ab. Those who claimed to have killed Qahtabah were Ma'n b. Zā'idah and Yahyā b. Huḍayn.

'Ali reported the following from Abū Dhayyāl: They found Qahtabah slain in a ditch, with Ḥarb b. Salm b. Aḥwaz slain beside him, and they supposed that they had killed each other.

'Ali gives the following from 'Abdallāh b. Badr: I was with Ibn Hubayrah on the night Qahtabah attacked. They crossed over to us and fought us on a quay on which were five horsemen. Ibn Hubayrah sent Muhammad b. Nubātah who engaged them in combat and we pushed them back some distance. Then Ma'n b. Zā'idah struck Qahtabah on the tendon of his shoulder, and the sword went deep. Qahtabah fell into the water, and they pulled him out. He said, "Tie up my arm," and they tied it up in a turban. Then he said, "If I die, throw me into the water so that no one will know I've been killed." Then the Khurasānīs returned the charge, and Ibn Nubātah and the Syrians were surrounded. They pursued us—one of the patrols on the flank had already been taken. A group of Khurasānīs caught up with us, and we fought them a long time. Had it not been for two soldiers of the Syrian army who put up a terrific struggle on our behalf, we would not have been saved. Then one of the Khurasānīs said in Persian, "Leave these dogs!" At this, they went away from us. Qahtabah died, but before dying he said, "When you get to Kūfah, the Imām's wazir is Abū Salamah. Put yourselves at his disposal." After that, Ibn Hubayrah went back to Wāsīṭ.

Other reports have been given of Qahtabah's death than those we have mentioned from 'Ali b. Muḥammad's shaykhs. One such account states that when Qahtabah came up opposite Ibn Hubayrah on the west side of the Euphrates, with the river between them, he sent Ḥasan his son on with an advance force, and then ordered 'Abdallāh al-Ṭā'ī, Mas'ūd b. 'Ilāj, Asad b. al-Marzubān and their troops to cross the Euphrates on their horses. They crossed in the late afternoon. The first rider of Ibn Hubayrah's men they met was speared, and the others took flight, as far as the bridge over the Sūrā. Here

Suwayd, Ibn Hubayrah's chief of security, opposed them, striking the leaders and their mounts until he had forced them to retreat to their position at sundown. The Syrians pressed until they came up against Mas'ūd b. 'Ilāj and his men, a force that they outnumbered.

Then Qaḥṭābah ordered al-Mukhāriq b. Ghifīfār, 'Abdallāh b. Bas-sām and Salamah b. Muḥammad, who were attached to a contingent of cavalry, to cross over and help Mas'ūd b. 'Ilāj. They crossed, and Muḥammad b. Nubāṭah came against them. He surrounded Salamah and those with him in a village on the bank of the Euphrates. Salamah and those with him dismounted, and the fighting grew hot. Muḥammad b. Nubāṭah would attack Salamah and those with him, and ten or twenty of Salamah's men would be killed. Then Salamah and his men would attack Muḥammad b. Nubāṭah and kill one or two hundred of his men. Salamah sent to Qaḥṭābah asking him for reinforcements, and he sent all his officers to reinforce him. Then Qaḥṭābah crossed over with his cavalry, ordering every horseman to carry a footsoldier with him. This was on the eve of the first Thursday of Muharram (August 25, 749). Then Qaḥṭābah attacked Muḥammad b. Nubāṭah and those with him. They fought a violent battle, and Qaḥṭābah put the enemy to flight, forcing them to retreat until they joined up with Ibn Hubayrah. He then fled as well, seeing the rout of Ibn Nubāṭah. The Syrians abandoned their camp and all that was in it in the way of wealth, weapons, furnishings, vessels and other things. The rout continued until they cut the pontoon bridge across the Sarāt Canal, and then, retreating all that night, they came at morning to the mouth of the Nil Canal. When Qaḥṭābah's men greeted the morning, they had already noted that he was missing, but they kept on hoping to find him until the day was half spent. Then they gave up hope and realized he had drowned. The officers agreed on al-Ḥasan, his son, and put him in command and swore to follow him, whereupon he took charge. He ordered that what was in Ibn Hubayrah's camp be reckoned. He put the booty in charge of a Khurasani, called Abu al-Nadr,347 with two hundred horsemen and ordered that it be taken to Kūfah in boats. Al-Ḥasan moved on with the troops to camp at Karbalā', then moved again and stopped at Sūrā.348 After that he halted at Dayr al-Aʿwar, then
The 'Abbāsid Revolution

marched from there and settled at 'Abbāsiyyah. Ḥawtharah was informed of Ibn Hubayrah’s flight, and he and such men as were with him joined Ibn Hubayrah at Wāṣīṭ.

The cause of Qaḥṭabah’s death, according to these authorities, was what Aḥlum b. Ibrāhīm b. Bassām the mawla of the Banū Layth stated: When I saw Qaḥṭabah in the Euphrates, his horse had already carried him until he had nearly crossed over to the side where I was positioned with my brother Bassām b. Ibrāhīm who was in charge of Qaḥṭabah’s vanguard. Then I thought of the sons of Naṣr b. Sayyār who had been slain, and of other things. I was apprehensive for my brother Bassām because of a report that had reached him about Qaḥṭabah, and I said, “May I never seek revenge again if you are spared this night.” Bassām said, “Then go meet him.” Qaḥṭabah’s horse was about to emerge from the Euphrates, while I was standing on the bank. I struck him with my sword on the forehead. His horse reared and death came to him quickly, as he fell into the Euphrates with his weapons.  

A similar account was related by Ibn Ḫuṣayn al-Sa’dī after Aḥlum b. Ibrāhīm’s death. Ibn Ḫuṣayn said of this, “Were it not that Aḥlum confirmed it as he was dying, I’d not have repeated anything about it.”

This year Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī rebelled in Kūfah and put on black before al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah had entered the city. Ibn Huṭayrah’s governor left the city, and al-Ḥasan occupied it.

**Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī Revolts at Kūfah**

Hishām reported the following from Abū Mikhnaː Muḥammad b. Khālid rebelled in Kūfah on the eve of ‘Ashūrā, while Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥārithī was governing the city. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Bashīr al-‘Īlī was in charge of security for him. Muḥammad put on black and marched to the fortress (qaṣr), and Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Bashīr al-‘Īlī and the Syrians they had with them moved out, aban-

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349. Bassām had defected to Abū Muslim after first serving Naṣr in Khurāsān. He was to lead an uprising against the 'Abbāsids in 133 (749–750) at Tadmur. He had been in trouble with Abū Muslim for taking private revenge on members of the Bakr b. Wā’il. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1996.

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When he woke on Friday, the second morning after Qaḥṭābah’s death, he learned that Ḥawtharrah and those with him had camped at Madinat Ibn Hubayrah, and were getting ready to march against Muḥammad. Most of the common sort who were with Muḥammad split from him as soon as word reached them that Ḥawtharrah was camped at Madinat Ibn Hubayrah and was coming to fight him. The exceptions were some horsemen from the Yamani cavalry drawn from those who had fled from Marwān, and Muḥammad’s mawlās. Abū Salamah al-Khallāl, who had not yet declared himself, sent word to Muḥammad b. Khalīd ordering him to go out of the castle and get to the lowlands of the Euphrates. He feared for Muḥammad due to the small number (of men) with him and the large number with Ḥawtharrah—neither of the two groups had as yet learned that Qaḥṭābah had perished. Muḥammad b. Khalīd declined to act until it was full day. Ibn Ḥawtharrah prepared to march against Muḥammad when word reached him that few supported Muḥammad and that the common people had abandoned him. While Muḥammad was still at the fortress, one of his scouts came to him and said, “Horsemen are coming—Syrians.” At this, he sent a detachment of his mawlās. They had positioned themselves at the door of the house of ʿUmar b. Saʿd, when the Syrian standards came into view. They prepared to fight them, when the Syrians called out, “We are of Bajilāh! Maliḥ b. Khalīd al-Bajāli is with us, and we’ve come to enter the service of the Amir!” They then entered the fortress. Then came an even greater body of horsemen, with a man of the family of Bahdal. When Ḥawtharrah saw what his followers were doing, he and those with him left for Wasīṭ. That night Muḥammad b. Khalīd wrote to Qaḥṭābah, not knowing he had perished, informing him that he had prevailed in Kūfah. He dispatched the message with a fast rider who then came before al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭābah. When he handed him Muḥammad b. Khalīd’s letter, al-Ḥasan read it to his people, and then set out for Kūfah. Muḥammad stayed in Kūfah Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭābah came to him early on Monday morning. They then went to Abū Salamah who

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351. Not to be confused with Qaṣr b. Hubayrah, this government complex was situated adjacent to Kūfah. See n. 343 above.
352. Khalīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī had been of the tribe of Bajilāh. Hence the tribesmen now deserted to his son.
was with the Banû Salamah and brought him out. Abû Salamah camped at Nukhaylah for two days, and then set out for Hāmmām A'yan,\(^\text{353}\) sending Hasan b. Qahtabah to Wāṣīt to fight Ibn Hubayrah.

'Alî b. Muḥammad reported the following from 'Umārah, the mawla of Jibra'il b. Yahyâ: The Khurāsānīs took the oath to al-Ḥasan after Qahtabah, and went to Kūfah which was commanded at that time by 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Bashîr al-Īlî. A man of the Banû Ḍabbah came to him and said, “Al-Ḥasan b. Qahtabah will enter today or tomorrow.” 'Abd al-Rahmân said, “You act as if you’d come to threaten me!” He then gave him three hundred lashes. Then 'Abd al-Rahmân fled, and Muhammad b. Khalîd al-Qasri put on black. He came out with eleven men, called on the people to give their allegiance, and took control of Kūfah. Al-Ḥasan came in the next day. They had been asking on the way, “Where is Abû Salamah the wazîr of the family of Muḥammad staying?”\(^\text{354}\) People guided them to him, and they came and stood at his door. He came out to them, and they presented him with one of Qahtabah’s horses, which he mounted and rode as far as the cemetery (jabbānah) of the Sabī.\(^\text{355}\)

The Khurāsānīs then swore allegiance to him. Abû Salamah Ḥâfîs b. Sulaymân the mawla of al-Sabî’, who was called “wazîr of the family of Muḥammad,” stayed where he was and appointed Muḥammad b. Khalîd b. 'Abdallâh al-Qasri to govern Kūfah, and he was called the Amir until Abû al-'Abbâs appeared.

'Alî reported the following from Jabalah b. Farrûkh, Abû Ṣâliḥ al-Marwazî, 'Umârah the mawla of Jibrîl, Abû al-Sâri and others who knew about the beginnings of the 'Abbâsid propaganda: Abû Salamah sent al-Ḥasan b. Qahtabah against Ibn Hubayrah at Wāṣīt.\(^\text{356}\) The officers he attached to his command included Khâzîm b. Khu-

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\(^\text{353}\) Hāmmām A’yan was actually located in Hirah, the old Christian town that stood three farsakhhs (18 km) from Kūfah. The area of Hirah had enjoyed a revival in late Umayyad times when it actually became the government center of Kūfah. It was only natural, then, that the 'Abbâsid armies would prefer to situate themselves in an established military camp some distance from the unruly population of Kūfah. Hāmmām A’yan functioned as the first of several 'Abbâsid administrative centers in Iraq. See Lassner, 'Abbâsid Rule, 143–51, especially 143–45, also n. 29. (J.L.)

\(^\text{354}\) Abû Salamah’s role in what followed is discussed in detail by Sharon, 'Aliyat, 237ff. See also Lassner, 'Abbâsid Rule, 59–64, 145–47. (J.L.)

\(^\text{355}\) See Yâqût, Mu’jam, II, 16–17.

\(^\text{356}\) See Ibn Khayyâṭ, II 424ff; Azdī, 125ff.
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When Bassām got there, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid left Ahwāz for Baṣrāh. Bassām then sent a letter with Ḥafṣ b. al-Sabī’ to Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiyyah [al-Muhallabī] appointing him to govern Baṣrāh. Al-Ḥārith Abū Ghassān al-Ḥārithi, one of the Banū al-Dayyān who had some pretensions to being a soothsayer, said, “This appointment will not be carried out.” Nonetheless Ḥafṣ forwarded the letter to Sufyān. Then Salm b. Qutaybah358 fought Sufyān, and so his appointment came to nought.

Abū Salamāh left where he was and camped at Ḥammām A’yan, some three farsakhs (18 km) from Kūfah, while Muḥammad b. Khālid resided in Kūfah.

The reason that Salm b. Qutaybah fought Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiyyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallabī, according to what is mentioned, is that when Abū Salamāh al-Khallal assigned governors to the provinces, he sent Bassām b. Ibrāhīm the mawla of the Banū Layth against ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah who was at Ahwāz, and Bassām fought him until he chased him out. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid then joined Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhili in Baṣrāh. Salm was governing for Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah. Abū Salamāh wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭābah to send whomever he thought best among his officers to fight Salm. He wrote to Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiyyah appointing him governor of Baṣrāh and commanding him to proclaim there the claims of the Banū ‘Ab- bās in the city, to summon people to al-Qā'im among them, and to

357. Dayr Qunna, also known as the Monastery of Marmari, was just east of the Tigris above Dayr al-‘Aqūl, the “Monastery of the River Loop,” with a town which was the chief place of the Middle Nahrawān district. Yaqūt states that it had over a hundred places for monks and high walls like a castle. See LeStrange, Lands. 36–37.
358. That is, the local governor of the Umayyads.
drive out Salm b. Qutaybah. Sufyān wrote to Salm, ordering him to vacate the Government Palace, and informed him of what Abū Salamah had in mind, on the basis of reports he had received. However, Salm refused to comply and prepared his defense. All the Ya'manis rallied to Suftyān, with their allies among the Rabi'ah and others. One of Ibn Hubayrah's officers went over to him—Ibn Hubayrah had sent this officer with two thousand men of the Kalb tribe to assist Salm. They concurred on a plan to march on Salm b. Qutaybah, and Salm prepared for the battle. Rallying to Salm were the Qays and divisions of the Muḍar over whom he had control, as well as those Umayyads and their mawlās who were at Başrah. The Banū Umayyah hastened to come to his aid.

Suftyān advanced on a Thursday in the month of Safar 132 (25 September or 2, 9, or 16 October 749). Salm came to the Mirbad of Basrah and took his stand there at the camel-market. He sent horsemen on the Mirbad Road and other roads into Basrah, to encounter those whom Suftyān sent against him. He also proclaimed, "Whoever brings a head shall have a thousand." Mu‘āwiyah b. Suftyān b. Mu‘āwiyah came with a special force of Rabi‘ah, and the cavalry of the tribe of Tamim met him on the road which connects with the settlement of the Banū 'Amir from the Mirbad Road—at the house which became the property of ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb. One of the Tamim speared Mu‘āwiyah's horse, and it reared and threw him. At this, a man of the Banū Ṭabbah, called Iyād, threw himself upon him and killed him, and he carried his head off to Salm b. Qutaybah, who gave him a thousand dirhams for it. Suftyān was shattered by the slaying of his son, and he and those with him retreated. He and the people of his house departed immediately and traveled to Qaṣr al-Abyād, and they occupied it. Then they moved from there to Kaskar.

After Salm got the upper hand at Başrah, Jābir b. Tawbah al-Kilābi
and al-Walid b. 'Utbah al-Firāsī, descendants of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah, advanced toward him with four thousand men. Ibn Hubayrah had written to them to go to the aid of Salm while he was at Ahwāz. The next day Jābir and the men with him appeared at the dwellings of the Muhallab and the rest of the Azd. They attacked them, but the Azd who remained there fought them in a fierce battle until many of the defenders were slain. The Azd then fled, and Jābir and his followers took their women captive, destroyed the houses and plundered for three days. Salm stayed on at Başra until he received word that Ibn Hubayrah was slain, whereupon he left the city. Then the descendants of al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who were in Başra gathered behind Muḥammad b. Ja'far and selected him as leader. He governed for a few days, until Abū Mālik b. 'Abdallāh b. Asid al-Khuza'i came to Başra on behalf of Abū Muslim and governed for five days. When Abū al-'Abbās became Caliph, he gave the city to Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiyah to govern.

In this year the oath of allegiance was given to Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim on the eve of Friday, the thirteenth of Rabi' II (November 26, 749). This is according to Āḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Iṣḥāq b. 'Isā—Abū al-Ma'shar. Hishām b. Muḥammad said the same. As for al-Wāqidī, he says: Abū al-'Abbās had allegiance sworn to him as Caliph at Madīnah in Jumādā I 132 (December 6, 749—January 4, 750). Al-Wāqidī also says that Abū al-Ma'shar told him it was in the month of Rabi' I 132 (October 18—November 16, 749), and Abū Ma'shar is the trustworthy authority.
The Caliphate of Abū Al-ʿAbbās
ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad
b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās

The Origins of His Caliphate

According to what has been mentioned as coming from God’s Messenger, may God bless him, it all began when he informed al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that he would pass the caliphate to his descendants. His descendants therefore never stopped expecting it, and passed on the tradition among themselves.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan—Rashīd b. Kurayb: Abū Hāshim (b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) went to Syria and met Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās and said, “Cousin, I have religious knowledge (ʿilm) which I shall leave to you by default. Do not divulge it to anyone; this authority which men long for will be in your family.” He said, “I knew it already, by no means let anyone hear it from you!”

According to ʿAlī—Sulaymān b. Dāwud—Khālid b. ʿAjlān: When Ibn al-Ashʿath opposed al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and the latter wrote of it to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, ʿAbd al-Malik sent a message to Khālid,
son of Yazid b. Mu‘awiyyah, informing him of developments. Yazid replied, “If the rupture (fatq) is in Sijistan, then have no fear; we need only worry if it comes from Khurasan.”

‘Ali reported the following from al-Hasan b. Rashid, Jabalah b. Farrūkh al-Tājī, Yaḥyā b. Ṭūfayl Nu‘man b. Sari, Abū Ḥaṣṣ al-Azdi and others: The Imam Muhammad b. ‘Ali b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās said, “There are three turning points for us: the death of the profligate Yazid b. Mu‘awiyyah, the turn of the first century, and disruption in Ifriqiyyah. With that, propagandists will call men to our cause, then our helpers will advance from the east until the hooves of their horses strike the lands of the Maghrib and extract the treasures hidden there by tyrants.” When Yazid b. Abi Muslim was slain in Ifriqiyyah and the Berbers revolted, Muḥammad b. ‘Ali sent a man to Khurasan, ordering him to call men to the Chosen One, not mentioning any other name.

We have already mentioned the story of Muḥammad b. ‘Ali and the propagandists whom he sent to Khurasan. Then Muḥammad b. ‘Ali died, appointing his son Ibrāhim as his legatee. Ibrāhim sent Abū Salamah Ḥaṣṣ b. Sulaymān the mawla of al-Sabī’ to Khurasan, with letters to the naqibs there. They received his letters and Abū Salamah remained with them. Then he returned to Ibrāhim, who sent him back (to Khurasan) with Abū Muslim, whose story we have mentioned earlier. A letter from Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad to Abū Muslim then fell into the hands of Marwān b. Muḥammad. It was an answer to a letter from Abū Muslim, in which Ibrāhim ordered him to kill everyone who spoke Arabic in Khurasan. At this Marwān wrote to his governor in Damascus, ordering him to write to his colleague in the Balqā’ to go to Ḥumaymah, seize Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad, and send him to Marwān.

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363. This statement is typical of the many forebodings the Umayyads allegedly had of the revolt in Khurasan and the coming of ’Abbāsid rule. These traditions were to establish the legitimacy of ’Abbāsid claims. The turn of the first Islamic century was to have ushered in the Messianic age. Various ’Abbāsid traditions deal with these expectations and tie them to the transfer of authority from Abū Ḥāshim to Muḥammad b. ‘Ali. See Kūfi, Futūḥ, VIII, 153 and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī, IV, 476. A full study of these traditions is being prepared by J. Lassner. [J.L.]

364. See Ṭabārī, II/3, 1358 sub anno too.

365. The internment of Ibrāhim al-Imām is a complex problem. Later ’Abbāsid tradition makes him out to be a revolutionary martyr. For a detailed discussion of his internment, death and succession, see Sharon, ’Aliyat, 237ff, which includes full references to primary sources. [J.L.]
According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Isā b. 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. 'Umar b. 'Ali b. Abī Tālib—'Uthmān b. Urwah b. Muhammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbās b. Yāsir: I was with Abū Ja'far at Ḥumaymah and his two sons Muhammad and Ja'far. I was bouncing them on my knee, when Abū Ja'far said, "What are you doing? Don't you see what's happening?" I looked, and there were the messengers of Marwān looking for Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. I said, "Let me go out to them." He said, "You would go out of my house, and you're the descendant of 'Ammār b. Yāsir?" They seized the doors of the mosque when [the 'Abbāsids] were at dawn prayer, and then said to the Syrians who were with them, "Where's Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad?" They told them, "That's him there." And they took him. When Marwān had ordered them to seize Ibrāhīm, he had described the appearance of Abū al-'Abbās, as he found it in books that such a one would kill the Umayyads. When they brought him Ibrāhīm, Marwān said, "This is not the man I described to you!" They said, "We did not see such a one as you described." He sent them back to look for him, but the 'Abbāsids were warned and fled from him to Iraq.

According to 'Umar—'Abdallah b. Kathīr b. al-Ḥasan al- 'Abdi—'Ali b. Mūsā—his father: Marwān b. Muḥammad sent a messenger to Ḥumaymah to bring him Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, describing him to him, and the messenger came and found that the description fitted Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad. When Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad appeared and was given safety, people told the messenger, "You were ordered to bring Ibrāhīm, but this is 'Abdallah!" When this was made clear to him he let Abū al-'Abbās go, and he took Ibrāhīm and departed with him. Mūsā said, "We set out with him, I and a crowd of the Banū 'Abbās and their mawlās. The messenger went off with Ibrāhīm, who had with him a concubine (umm walad) of whom he was very fond. We told Ibrāhīm, "Only one man came for you, so come, let us kill him. Then we'll turn off

366. 'Ammār had been the staunch supporter of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. His father, Yāsir, had been tortured by the Meccan ancestors of the Umayyads in the time of the Prophet. It was therefore not politic to be seen leaving the house of an 'Abbāsid to confront them. See EI² s.v. 'Ammār b. Yāsir.
367. Following the Cairo edition.
368. This is another of the apocalyptical traditions spoken of earlier. See n. 363 above.
for Kūfah where the people are our Shi‘ah.” He replied, “That’s for you to do.” We said, “Wait until we get to the road that takes us to Iraq.” So we went on until we reached the fork where one road goes off to Iraq while the other goes on to the Jazīrah. Then we made camp. Whenever Ibrāhīm stopped for the night, he would withdraw to the place of his concubine. The time came for us to do what we had agreed on, and we called out to him to come. He got up to come out, but his concubine threw herself on him and cried, “This is no time for you to leave; what’s making you go?” He went aside with her and explained to her, and she said, “I conjure you by God not to kill this man and bring misfortune on your family! By God, if you slay him Marwān will kill every member of the family of ‘Abbās in Ḥumaymah.” She wouldn’t let go of him until he’d sworn to her not to do it. When he came out to where we were and informed us, we said, “You know best.”

‘Abdallāh says that a son of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā the secretary of Marwān told his father: “I asked Marwān b. Muḥammad, ‘Are you suspicious of me?’ ‘No,’ he replied. So I asked him, ‘Is Ibrāhīm related to you by marriage?’ ‘No,’ he said. I told him, ‘Well, in my opinion this is what you must do—give him a wife and take a wife from him. Then if he is victorious you will have tied a knot between you that will not reduce you to beggary; and if you beat him, the marriage won’t dishonor you.’ He told me, ‘Woe to you! By God, if I knew he was the one [foretold] I’d hurry to do it, but he’s not the man for that.’”

It is mentioned that when Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad was seized to be taken to Marwān, he foretold his death to the people of his house who accompanied his departure. He ordered them to go to Kūfah with his brother, Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, and to hear and obey him. Then he bequeathed his authority to Abū al-‘Abbās, appointing him as his successor. At this, Abū al-‘Abbās set out with the people of his house for Kūfah. Among them were ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad and Dāwūd b. ‘Īsā, Ṣāliḥ, Ismā‘īl, ‘Abdallāh and ‘Abd al-Ṣāmad the sons of ‘Ali; Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad and ‘Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad the two sons of Ibrāhīm; Mūsā b. Dāwūd and Yaḥyā b. Ja‘far b. Tammām. They traveled until they arrived in Kūfah in Ṣafar (ca. September 15–October 17, 750), and Abū Salamah put them up in the house of Walīd b. Sa‘d, the mawlā of the Banū Hāshim, situated
among the Banû Awd. He concealed their business for some forty nights from all the officers and the Shi’ah. According to what is mentioned, Abû Salamah wanted to change the succession to the family of Abû Ṭâlib when word reached him of the death of Ibrâhim b. Muḥammad.

‘Ali b. Muhammad reported the following from Jabalah b. Farrûkh, Abû al-Šari and others: The Imām came to Kūfah with some of the people of his House, and Abû al-Jahm said to Abû Salamah, “What is the Imām doing?” He replied, “He still has not come.” But Abû al-Jahm pressed him until Abû Salamah said, “You ask too many questions. This is not the time for him to emerge.” Finally Abû Ḫumayd met a servant of Abû al-‘Abbās, called Sābiq al-Khuwārizmī, and asked him where his masters were. He informed Abû Ḫumayd that they were in Kūfah, and that Abû Salamah had told them to conceal themselves. At this he went with Abû Ḫumayd to Abû al-Jahm and informed him about the ‘Abbâsids. Abû al-Jahm then sent Abû Ḫumayd with Sābiq to learn where they were staying in Kūfah, and he came back bringing with him Ibrâhim b. Salamah, a man with the ‘Abbâsī family. He told Abû al-Jahm about their lodging, that the Imām was staying among the Banû Awd, and that when they arrived the Imām had sent to ask Abû Salamah for a hundred dinārs, but he had not sent the money. Then Abû al-Jahm and Abû Ḫumayd and Ibrâhim went to Mūsā b. Ka‘b and told him the story, and they sent the Imām two hundred dinārs. Abû al-Jahm then went to Abû Salamah and questioned him about the Imām. Abû Salamah told him, “This is no time for him to come out, for Wāsit has not been conquered.” Abû al-Jahm went back to Mūsā b. Ka‘b and informed him, and they decided to meet the Imām. Then Mūsā b. Ka‘b, Abû al-Jahm, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib‘î and Salamah b. Muḥammad, Ibrâhim b. Salamah and ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭā‘î, Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, Shārāhîl, ‘Abdallāh b. Bassām, Abû Ḫumayd Muḥammad b. Ibrâhīm, Sulaymān b. al-Aswad and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn all went to the Imām. Word of this got to Abû Salamah and he made inquiries about them and was told, “They rode to Kūfah on some errand they had.”

The group came to Abû al-‘Abbās, entered into his presence, and

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369. That is, the Umayyad capital of Iraq held by Ibn Hubayrah, the governor of the province.
The 'Abbāsid Revolution

said, "Which of you is 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārithiyyah?" "This one," the 'Abbāsids said. The officers then saluted him as the Prophet's successor. Mūsā b. Ka'b and Abū al-Jahm left the last, remaining with the Imām. Then Abū Salamah sent to Abū al-Jahm, asking, "Where have you been?" He replied, "I rode to my Imām." At this, Abū Salamah rode to the 'Abbāsids. Abū al-Jahm then sent word to Abū Ḥumayd, "Abū Salamah is on his way to you. By no means let him go in to the Imām unless he is alone." So when Abū Salamah arrived they forbade him to go in accompanied by anyone. Thus he entered alone and greeted Abū al-'Abbās as successor of the Prophet.

On Friday, Abū al-'Abbās went out on a piebald horse, and prayed with the people.°°° Ammār the mawla of Jibra'il and Abū 'Abdallah al-Sulami reported that when Abū Salamah greeted Abū al-'Abbās as Caliph, Abū Ḥumayd said to him, "He's Caliph in spite of you, you mother-sucker!" And Abū al-'Abbās said, "Easy does it."

It is mentioned that when Abū al-'Abbās ascended the minbar on the day they swore allegiance to him as Caliph, he stood at the top, while Dāwud b. 'Ali ascended and stood below him. Abū al-'Abbās spoke, and said:

Praise be to God who has chosen Islam as the pillow of His glory, who has exalted it and made it great, who has chosen it for us, and aided it by means of us. He has made us the people of Islam, its cave and its fortress, and made us to uphold it, to protect it and support it. He has caused us to cleave to His word of piety, and deemed us worthy of that as the people of the Word. He has specified us as the kin of God's Messenger, God's benediction and peace be upon him and his family. He created us from the ancestors of the Prophet, causing us to grow from his tree, and be derived thereby from common origins, making him one of us, causing what distresses us to weigh heavy on him, and making him watchful over us, for with the faithful He is gentle, compassionate. God placed us in the exalted place with Islam and its folk, sending down to the people of Islam the written Word to be recited to them, for He has spoken—glorious is

°°° See Ibn Khayyāt, II, 424; Azdī, 123ff; FHA, 200ff; Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrikh, II, 413; Masʿūdī, Murūj, VI, 98ff.
He who speaks—in unambiguous verses sent down in the Qur'ān, "God only desires to put far from you abomination, O people of the house, and to cleanse you with purification". He has said, "Say [O Muḥammad]: I ask not of you any wage for this save affection for the kinfolk." He has said, "And warn your clan, your closest kin." He has said, "Whatever spoils God has given His Messenger from the people of the towns is for God and for the Messenger, and the near kinsman, and orphans." He has said, "Know that if you take anything as booty, one fifth of it is for God and for the Messenger and for the near kinsmen and for orphans". So He, glorious be His praise, has informed them of our merit and made our rights and affection for us incumbent on them. He has bestowed upon us our share of the booty and the spoils in kindness toward us and in favor to us. God is the Lord of mighty favor.

The erring Saba'iyyah have asserted that others than we are more worthy of headship, authority, and the successorship than we; may their faces be struck by an evil eye! By what and for what, ye people? By us God guided the people when they were gone astray, and caused them to see when they were ignorant, and delivered them after they had perished. By us He caused right to prevail, and through us refuted falsehood, setting aright by us the corrupt, uplifting by us the vile, completing by us what was defective, and joining together the separation. Thus after their enmity men became a family of mutual affection, kindness and solace in both their religion and their worldly affairs, "brothers reclining on couches face to face" in their after-life. That is what God has opened up [for men] in grace and favor to Muḥammad, God bless him and give him peace. When God took him to Himself, his companions took on this authority after him, and their affair was by mutual counsel.

375. Qur. 8:41.
376. The followers of 'Abdallah b. Sabā', the extremist whom enemies of the Shi'a of 'Ali accused of founding the 'Alid doctrine in early Islam. See EI2 s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā'.
377. Qur. 15:47.
They took possession of the inheritance of the nations and distributed it justly, put it in its proper place, gave it to those entitled to it, and left with their own bellies empty. Then up reared the Banū Ḥarb and the Banū Marwān. They took it away and passed it among themselves, and did battle for it, appropriating it to themselves, tyrannizing, oppressing those entitled to it, and God forbore with them for long, until they had afflicted Him; and when they afflicted Him, He took revenge on them at our hands. He restored to us our rights, and our Community became united through us. He vouchsafed our victory and established our authority in order to grant benefit through us to those grown feeble on the earth, closing an (epoch) with us as He had begun it with us. Most truly I hope that tyranny will not come upon you even as good has come, nor corruption overtake you as soundness has done. For what support have we, as People of the House, except in God?

People of Kūfah, you are the halting-place of our love, the lodging of our affections. You it is who remained steadfast, you who were not deflected from our love by the injustice of the people of tyranny against you until you reached our epoch and God brought you our revolution. You of all mankind are most fortunate in us and most worthy of our generosity. We have increased your allowances to a hundred dirhams. Make ready, then; for I am the manifest Spiller (Saffāh), the desolating Avenger.

He had been exhausted by a fever, and his weakness now increased. So he sat in the minbar, and Dāwud b. 'Alī went up and stood below him on the steps of the minbar and said:

Praise be to God, with gratitude, gratitude, and yet more gratitude! Praise to Him who has caused our enemies to perish and brought to us our inheritance from Muḥammad our Prophet, God's blessing and peace be upon him! O ye people, now are the dark nights of this world put to flight, its covering lifted; now light breaks in the earth and the heavens, and the sun rises from

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378. The two branches of the Umayyad dynasty.
379. This sobriquet, which does not appear to be a regnal title, can mean either a spiller of wealth or of blood; a generous or an implacable ruler. During his lifetime the first 'Abbāsid caliph seems always to have been known as Abū al-'Abbās.
the springs of day while the moon ascends from its appointed place. He who fashioned the bow takes it up, and the arrow returns to him who shot it. Right [to rule] has come back to where it originated, among the people of the house of your Prophet, people of compassion and mercy for you and sympathy toward you. O ye people, by God we did not rebel seeking this authority to grow rich in silver and in gold; nor to dig a canal or build a castle. What made us rebel was the shame of their taking away our rights, our anger for our cousins, our grief for your sakes and the burden that oppressed us for your sakes. It was for your situation that we burned in anger on our beds, and the evil conduct of the Banū Umayyah toward you increased our pain: their coarseness with you, their contempt for you, their appropriation of your booty, your alms and your spoils. You are under the protection of His Messenger, may God bless him and his family and give them peace, and the protection of ‘Abbās, may God have mercy on him. We shall rule you according to what God has sent down and treat you in accordance with the Book of God, and act with the commoner and the elite among you according to the behavior of God’s messenger. Woe, woe to the Banū Ḥarb b. Umayyah and the Banū Marwān! In their space and time they preferred the ephemeral to the eternal, the transient abode to the everlasting one. Crime them obsessed; God’s creatures they oppressed; women forbidden to them they possessed, all honor grieving and by sin deceiving. They tyrannized God’s servants by their deport with evil custom where they sought disport; themselves with vice’s burdens decked and their idolatry unchecked; at management of every fault most lively, cheerful; withal to race on error’s course not fearful; God’s purpose in respite sin not comprehending and trusting they had tricked Him by pretending! God’s severity came on them like a night raid when they were sleeping, and at dawn

380. That is, the ‘Alids. The ‘Abbāsids professed to avenge the wrongs against their kinsmen, while at the same time denying them any prior right to rule.
381. According to the Qur’an, God permits sinners to flourish, so as to increase their guilt. See 17:15–19; 57:20; 35:39. This section of rhymed prose, generally intended to denigrate Umayyad rule, is a rhetorical flight which can be only approximately translated.
they were only legends. They were torn all to tatters, and thus may an oppressive people perish!

God has let us prevail over Marwân, for by God he was deceived with delusions, an enemy of God given the rein until he should stumble because of the superiority of his harness; for this enemy of God supposed that we should never prevail over him. He called upon his factions, employed all his stratagems and threw in his squadrons. Yet he found before him, behind him, and to his right and left, God's stratagem, His affliction and His judgment, to put to death his falsehood and efface his error. It was He who appointed the changes of ill-fortune for him, and revived our honor and our glory, returning to us our rights and our heritage.

O ye people, God has indeed helped the Commander of the Faithful to a mighty victory, but he turned to the minbar only after the prayer, for he hated to mix aught else with the congregation's words [with God], and only the severity of his fever deterred him from finishing his remarks. So call upon God to restore the Commander of the Faithful's health; for God has given you an exchange for Marwân, the enemy of the Merciful, the vice-regent of Satan, followed by base folk who corrupted the world when once it was wholesome, who replaced the true religion and violated the honor of the Muslims' protected women. [God has replaced him] with a youthful man of maturity and deliberation, one who is guided by his forefathers, those just and best who made the earth wholesome once it was corrupted, by following the waymarks of guidance and the well-traced road of piety.

The people then raised their voices in prayers for Abū al-‘Abbās, and Dāwūd continued:

Men of Kūfah, surely we continued wronged and bereft of our rights, until God ordained for us our Shi‘ah, the people of Khurāsān, and by them revivified our rights. By them He adduced our compelling argument, and made our revolution to prevail. God has let you behold what you were awaiting, and now you look upon him. He has made manifest among you a Caliph of the clan of Hashim, brightening thereby your faces and making you to prevail over the army of Syria, and transferring the sover-
eighty and the glory of Islam to you. He has graced you with an Imâm whose gift is equity, and granted him good government. Receive with gratitude what God has given you, cleave to our allegiance, and practice not deceit against yourselves, for surely this authority is your authority; surely every dynasty has its center-point, and you are our center-point. Has any successor to God's Messenger ascended this your minbar save the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali b. Abî Tâlib and the Commander of the Faithful 'Abdallâh b. Muḥammad? and he gestured with his hand toward Abû al-'Abbâs

So know that the authority is with us, and shall not depart from us until we surrender it to Jesus the son of Mary—God's benediction be on him—and praise be to God, Lord of the universe, for that with which He has tried us and entrusted us!

Then Abû al-'Abbâs descended from the minbar, with Dâwud b. 'Ali in front of him until they entered the palace. He had Abû Ja’far sit and receive the handclasp of allegiance (bay’ah) from the people in the mosque. He kept on receiving it until he had prayed both the afternoon and the sunset prayer with them and night had enfolded them. Then he entered (the palace).

It is mentioned that when Dâwud b. 'Ali and his son Mûsâ were in Iraq, or somewhere else, they had left wishing to reach Sharât. Abû al-'Abbâs met them at Dûmat al-Jandal while on his way to Kûfah. With him were his brother Abû al-Ja’far 'Abdallâh b. Muḥammad, 'Abdallâh b. 'Ali, 'Isâ b. Mûsâ, and Yaḥyâ b. Ja’far b. Tammâm b. al-'Abbâs and a party of their mawlâs. Dâwud asked them, “Where are

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382. This reference to Kûfah was hardly reflected by 'Abbasid practice. They immediately withdrew to Hirah and eventually established their administrative center at a new capital, Baghdad. See n. 353 above.

383. The question has a twofold thrust: that all caliphs between 'Ali and Abû al-'Abbâs were in fact illegal usurpers, and that there is a special relationship between the Kûfan and the Prophet's family.

384. That is, at the Messianic age which will precede the end of the world. According to one hadith, “There will be no Mahdî but Jesus.” This is preserved only in Sunni collections of hadiths, however. The 'Alid Shi’î sects emphasize the Mahdist hadiths which state that the Messianic rule of justice will be fulfilled by a Mahdî of the line of 'Ali. This statement therefore rejects the claims of the 'Alids and suggests that the 'Abbâsids are ushering in a messianic age which will see the second coming of Jesus. For a detailed treatment of Mahdism see J.A. Williams, Themes of Islamic Civilization, Ch. V, “The Expected Deliverer.”
you going, and what is your story?” Abū al-‘Abbās told him their story, and said that they were heading for Kūfah to make their appearance there and openly proclaim their authority. Dāwūd told him, “Abū al-‘Abbās, you are coming to Kūfah when the shaykh of the Umayyads, Marwān b. Muḥammad, is at Harrān to oversee Iraq along with the armies of Syria and the Jazīrah. And Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah, the shaykh of the Arabs, is already in Iraq with the cavalry385 of the Arabs!” Abū al-‘Abbās replied, “O uncle,386 Abū al-Ghanā’im says, ‘He who loves life will be humbled.’” And he quoted the words of al-A’shā:

‘Tis no kind of death if I die not powerless,  
and a shame if what destroys a life is not its own demon.

Then Dāwūd turned to his son Mūsā and said, “By God, your cousin’s right, so let us go back with him and either live graciously or die nobly.” At this they all turned back together. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā used to say when he mentioned their exodus from Ḥumayyah to Kūfah, “A party of fourteen men left their homes and families to stake our claim; mighty was their purpose, great were their spirits, and strong their hearts.”

The Remaining Reports of Events of this Year

Completion of the account of the oath of allegiance that was given to Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and what came of his authority: As Abū Jaʿfar said, we have previously mentioned information concerning Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī on the authority of certain scholars. We have also mentioned something of his affair and that of Abū Salamah. A reason that the Caliphate of Abū al-‘Abbās was confirmed is what I now mention. When word reached Abū Salamah that Marwān b. Muḥammad had killed Ibrāhim, who had been called the Imām, he thought it proper to declare for the descendants of ʿAbbās. Thus he suppressed any declaration for others. When Abū al-‘Abbās arrived in Kūfah, Abū Salamah had settled him and the people of his house who came with

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386. The text is fa-qāla Abū al-Ghanā’im. Ibn Athīr supplies fa-qāla yā ‘ammi.
him in the house of al-Walid b. Sa'd among the Banu Awd. When Abu Salamah was asked about the Imam, he would say, "Don't be hasty." This situation continued while he was at his camp at Hammam A'yan, until Abu Humayd went out to go to the Kunasah and met a servant of Ibrahim called Sabiq al-Khwārizmi. He recognized him, for he used to come to them in Syria. Now he asked him, "What is the Imam Ibrahim doing?" Sabiq then informed him that Marwān had treacherously slain him and that Ibrahim had bequeathed his authority to his brother Abu al-'Abbas, appointing him as his successor. Moreover, Abu al-'Abbās had come to Kufah with most of the people of his family. Abu Humayd begged Sabiq to set off with him to the Abbasids. Sabiq told him, "The appointment between us is tomorrow morning in this place;" he was reluctant to show him where the Abbasids were without their permission. The following day, Abu Humayd went out to the place where he had promised to meet Sabiq. He found him, and went off with him to Abu al-'Abbās and the men of his family. When he entered where they were, Abu Humayd asked, "Which of them is the Caliph?" Then Dāwud b. 'Ali said, "Here is your Imam and Caliph," pointing to Abu al-'Abbās. Abu Humayd then greeted him with the title of Caliph, and kissed his hands and his feet, saying, "We are at your command." He also condoled with him on the death of the Imam Ibrahim.

Ibrahim b. Salamah had entered the army of Abu Salamah in disguise. He went to Abu al-Jahm and asked him for protection. Then he informed him that he was the messenger of Abu al-'Abbās and the people of his house. He also told him who was in the group and where they were. He added that Abu al-'Abbās had sent him to Abu Salamah to ask him for a hundred dinārs with which to pay the cameldriver for the camels that brought them to Kufah, but Abu Salamah had not sent them the money. Abu Humayd also went back to Abu al-Jahm and informed them of their situation. Abu al-Jahm and Abu Humayd together with Ibrahim b. Salamah went on foot until they entered where Mūsā b. Ka'b was. Abu al-Jahm told him the story, and what Ibrahim b. Salamah had related to him. Mūsā then said, "Hasten to send him the dinārs, and see that the

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387. One of the major quarters of Kufah on the western side of the town. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, s.v. Kunāsah, and LeStrange, Lands, 75.
man gets there." So Ābū al-Jahm went off and handed the money over to Ībrahīm b. Salamah. He put him on a mule and sent two men with him to see him into Kūfah. Then Ābū al-Jahm told Ābū Salamah, "It is rumored in the army that Marwān b. Muḥammad has slain the Imām. If he has been slain, then his brother Ābū al-'Abbās is the successor and the Imām after him." Ābū Salamah replied, "Ābū al-Jahm, stop Ābū Ḥumayd from entering Kūfah, for these people spread falsehood and corruption."

On the second night, Ībrāhīm b. Salamah came to Ābū al-Jahm and Mūsā b. Ka'b and delivered to them a letter from Ābū al-'Abbās and the people of his family. He visited the officers and the Shi‘ah that same night. They then gathered in the house of Mūsā b. Ka'b. Among them were 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib‘ī, Salamah b. Muḥammad, 'Abdallāh al-Ṭā‘ī, Ḥishāq b. Ībrāhīm, Sharāhil, 'Abdallāh b. Bassām and other officers. They disagreed as to whether to go see Ābū al-'Abbās and those of his family. Then they stole away the next morning into Kūfah, led by Mūsā b. Ka'b, Ābū al-Jahm and Ābū Ḥumayd al-Ḥimyārī—that is, Muḥammad b. Ībrāhīm. They came at last to the house of al-Walīd b. Sa'd, and went in. Mūsā b. Ka'b and Ābū al-Jahm said, "Which of you is Ābū al-'Abbās?" At this the people pointed him out. They then wished him peace and condoled with him on the death of the Imām Ibrāhīm. Afterward they went off to the camp leaving behind with him Ābū Ḥumayd, Abū Muqātil, Sulaymān b. al-Aswād, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥarīth, Nahār b. Ḥuṣayn, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad and Ābū Hurayrah Muḥammad b. Farrūkh.

Ābū Salamah then sent to Ābū al-Jahm to come to him. The latter had let him know that he had gone into Kūfah. "Where were you?" Ābū Salamah asked. "I was with my Imām," Ābū al-Jahm replied. Ābū al-Jahm went out and called Ḥājīb b. Ṣaddān and sent him to Kūfah, saying, "Go in and salute Ābū al-'Abbās as Caliph." He sent word to Ābū Ḥumayd and his friends, "If Ābū Salamah comes to you, let him in only by himself. If he enters and offers allegiance, then let him go his way; otherwise, cut off his head." They had not waited long before Ābū Salamah came, went in by himself, and greeted Ābū al-'Abbās with the title of Caliph. Ābū al-'Abbās ordered him to go back to his camp, and he went off that night. The people waited for morning wearing their weapons and in formation, waiting for Ābū al-‘Abbās to emerge. They gave him horses, and he
and the members of his family who were with him rode until they entered the governor's palace of Kūfah on Friday, the twelfth night of Rabi’ II (November 28, 729). He then entered the mosque from the governor's palace and went up into the minbar, where he praised God and magnified Him, mentioning the mightiness of the Lord and the excellence of the Prophet. He then traced authority to the rule and the succession (to the Prophet) down to himself. He promised the people good times to come, and then was quiet.

Dāwud b. 'Alī who was in the minbar three steps lower than Abū al-'Abbās then spoke. He praised God and glorified Him and spoke benedictions on the Prophet. Then he said, "Ye people, truly there has been no Caliph after God's Messenger save 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and this Commander of the Faithful who now sits behind me." Abū al-'Abbās then came down and left. He made his camp at Ḥammām A’yan in the camp of Abū Salamah, staying with him in the same chamber, with a curtain between them. The chamberlain (ḥājiib) of Abū al-'Abbās at this time was 'Abdallāh b. Bassām. Abū al-'Abbās left his paternal uncle Dāwud b. 'ali to govern Kūfah and its province and sent his uncle 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali to Abū 'Awn b. Yazīd. He sent his nephew 'Īsā b. Mūsā to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah who was at this time at Wāsiṭ besieging Ibn Hubayrah. He also sent Yaḥyā b. Ja'far b. Tammām b. 'Abbās to Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah at Madā'in, Abū al-Yaqdān b. Uthmān b. 'Urwa b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbās stayed with the army for some months, and then moved and settled at (the new) Hāshimite City (Madinah al-Hashimiyyah) in the fortress at Kūfah. He had disguised his intention to Abū Salamah before he moved, until Abū Salamah learned of it.

In this year, Marwān b. Muḥammad was put to flight at the Zāb.

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388. The ‘Abbāsid family thus began the transition from a secretive revolutionary leadership into a ruling family. See Lassner, 'Abbasid Rule, 7ff. [J.L.]

389. This appears to be a broken text. It is hard to believe that Abū al-'Abbās would have chosen to establish his government in the city itself. He had, in similar circumstances, abandoned the Kūfans and gone to Hammām A’yan. It is more likely that what was originally intended was a place in the general vicinity of Kūfah. The text apparatus suggests such a reading. See Lassner, 'Abbasid Rule, 152–53. [J.L.]

390. See Ibn Khayyat, II, 427ff; Azdī, 126ff; FHA, 201ff; Ya'qūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 413ff; Maṣ‘ūdī, Murūj, VI, 85ff; Tanbīh, 327.
Marwan’s Defeat at the Zāb and Why and How it Came


391. For Ra’s al-‘Ayn, see LeStrange, Lands, 95–96.
392. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ali later based his claims to the caliphate on having taken the field against Marwān. See Tabari, III/1, 92–93; Azdī, 163ff; Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 438–39; Masʿūdī, Murūj, VI, 177.
393. The posting system existed primarily for getting information to the Caliph with maximum efficiency. The “postmaster” in each province operated as the eyes and ears of the Caliph, and controlled the system by which information was carried by post horses to the capital. See EI s.v. Barīd.
ford. Upon rising in the morning, Marwân secured the pontoon bridge and sent his son 'Abdallâh to dig a moat further downriver from the camp of 'Abdallâh b. 'Ali. At this, 'Abdallâh sent al-Mukhâriq b. Ghifâr with four thousand men. He advanced five miles from 'Abdallâh b. 'Ali before halting. 'Abdallâh b. Marwân sent al-Walid b. Mu‘âwiyyah against him. Al-Walid engaged al-Mukhâriq, whose followers were put to flight or captured, and a good number of them were killed that day. Al-Walid sent the prisoners to 'Abdallâh, who sent them on to Marwân with the heads. Marwân ordered, “Send in one of the prisoners to me.” They brought him al-Mukhâriq, who was a very thin man. Marwân said, “You’re al-Mukhâriq.” But he told him, “No, I am one of the slaves of the people of the army.” “Then do you know al-Mukhâriq?” asked Marwân. “Yes,” he said. “Then look at these heads—do you see him?” He looked at one of the heads and said, “He’s the one.” Then Marwân let him go. At the time, a man who was with Marwân stared at al-Mukhâriq and, not knowing him, said, “God curse Abû Muslim for bringing such as these to do battle with us!”

‘Ali heard the following from a shaykh of the people of Khurâsân: Marwân said, “Do you know al-Mukhâriq when you see him? They say that his is among these heads that were sent to us.” “I know him,” al-Mukhâriq told him. Then Marwân said, “Show him those heads.” And he looked and said, “I don’t see his head among these. I can only suppose he escaped.” Then they let him go. 'Abdallâh b. 'Ali learned of the rout of al-Mukhâriq, and Mûsâ b. Ka‘b told him, “Go out to Marwân before news of the rout reaches the army and what happened to al-Mukhâriq becomes widely known.” ‘Abdallâh b. 'Ali called Muḥammad b. Šûl and put him in charge of the army. Abû ‘Awîn had command of the right wing, and in command of Marwân’s left wing was al-Walid b. Mu‘âwiyyah. With Marwân were three thousand of the Muḥammarah, and he had with him the Dhakwâniyyah, the Saḥṣahiyah, and the Rashidiyyah. When the two armies were face to face, Marwân told 'Abd al-'Azîz b. 'Umar b.

394. Literally, “Redwearers.” Later this word is used for Iranian heretics with Mazdakite doctrines. However, the later Qays faction of Greater Syria used red as their distinctive color. See e.g., EI² s.v. Ḳays 'Aylan. The “Muḥammarah” appear here as one of several elite regiments that served the last Umayyad Caliph. For colors as political tags, see the article of Omar cited in n. 72. See also Crone, Slaves on Horses, 241, n. 93.
'Abd al-'Azīz, "If the sun declines today before they have fought us, then it is we who shall yield up rule to Jesus the son of Mary; if they fight us before it declines, then we are God's, and to Him we shall return!" 395

Marwān sent to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī asking for terms, and 'Abdallāh said, "Ibn Zurayq 396 lied; God willing, before the sun declines our horses shall have trampled him." Marwān told the Syrians, "Hold off, and do not begin battle," while he kept looking at the sun. Then al-Walid b. Mu‘āwiya b. Marwān [b. al-Ḥakam], who was married to Marwān's daughter, attacked. At this, Marwān became furious and cursed him. Ibn Mu‘āwiya fought the troops of the ('Abbāsid) right wing, and Abū 'Awn fled toward 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī. Then Mūsā b. Ka‘b said to 'Abdallāh, "Order the troops to dismount." At this the cry went out, "To the ground!" The troops dismounted and extended their lances while crouched. Then they engaged the enemy. The Syrians began to pause, as if they were quitting, and 'Abdallāh went along on foot, saying, "Lord, how long shall we be slain for your sake?" He called out, "Men of Khurasan! Revenge for Ibrāhīm! Yā Muḥammad! Yā Manṣūr!" 397 And the battle grew fiercer. Marwān shouted to the Qudā‘ah, "Dismount!" They replied, "Say it to the Banū Sulaym; let them dismount!" He sent word to the Sākūsikīs, "Attack." They replied, "Tell the Banū 'Āmir, let them attack." He then sent word to the Sakūn, "Charge!" They said, "Tell the Ghatafān; let them charge." He told his chief of security, "Dismount!" The man replied, "No, by God, I'll never make myself a target!" Marwān told him, "Well, by God, I'll surely cause you harm!" He replied, "By God, I wish you were able!" The Syrians fled, and then Marwān fled too, cutting the pontoon bridge. More were drowned that day than were slain in battle. Among those drowned was Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (the deposed Caliph). At 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī's command the pontoon bridge over the Zāb was retied, and they took out the drowned—some three hundred—among whom were Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī then recited the verse, "And we divided the sea for you,

395. See n. 384 above. The expression "We are God's" is found in several verses of the Qur'ān.
396. Ibn Zurayq is an insulting name for Marwān, perhaps reflecting the story that he was not the son of Muhammad b. Marwān at all. See Tabari, III, 51.
397. For the title Manṣūr mentioned in this battle cry, see n. 82 above.
and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while you were beholding."

'Abdallāh b. 'Ali remained in his camp for seven days. A man descended from Saʿīd b. al-'Āṣ said these words, reviling Marwān:

Flight importunes Marwān, and I have told him, 'now the oppressor is one oppressed, whose desire is to flee.

What are flight and abdication of kingship, once gone from you all forbearance? There is no religion or honor;

Lightwit in patience, a Pharaoh in persecution; and if you seek his generosity, he's a dog before whom is a mad dog.'

'Abdallāh b. 'Ali wrote to the Commander of the Faithful of the victory and Marwān's flight, and he took possession of Marwān's army and all it had carried with it. They found many weapons and much wealth, but they found no women except a slavegirl of 'Abdal-lāh b. Marwān. When 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali's letter reached Abū al-'Abbās, he prayed two prostrations, and then recited the verses, "When Saul set out with the host, he said, 'God will try you by a river; whosoever drinks thereof is not of me, and whosoever tastes it not, he is of me, save him who scoops it with his hand.' Yet they drank thereof, all save a few of them, and when he had crossed with those who believed with him, they said, 'We can do nothing this day against Goliath and his hosts.' Those who reckoned that they were to meet God however said, 'How often a little band has overcome a numerous company by God's leave! God is with the patient.' So, when they went out against Goliath and his hosts, they said, 'Our Lord, bestow on us patience, make firm our feet, and aid us against the people of the unbelievers!' And they routed him, by God's leave, and David slew Goliath, and God gave him the kingship, and wisdom, and taught him such as He willed." Then Abu al-'Abbās ordered that each man who had been at the battle should receive five hundred (dirhams) and he raised their monthly salaries to eighty (dirhams).

Aḥmad b. Zuhayr reported the following from 'Ali b. Muḥammad

398. Qur. 2:47.
The 'Abbasid Revolution

—ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Umayyah: When the men of Khurāsān met up with Marwān, he could manage nothing that was free of disorder and corruption. Ahmad said that he received this account. On the day he was routed Marwān was standing firm, and the troops were engaged in combat, when he sent for money. It was brought, and he told the troops, "Stand fast and fight, and this money will be yours." Then some of the troops began to seize the money, and they sent word to him, "The troops are eager for the money, and we're not sure they won't run away with it." So he sent word to his son ʿAbdallāh, "Go with your men to the rear of your camp and kill anyone who takes that money, and stop them." ʿAbdallāh moved (to the rear) with his standard, and the troops said, "It's a retreat." and fled.

According to Ahmad b. ʿAli—Abū Jārūd al-Sulāmī—a man from the Khurāsān army. We encountered Marwān at the Zāb, and the Syrians attacked us as if they were a mountain of iron; then we crouched and extended our lances and they turned from us like a cloud (of dust) and God gave us the backs of them. When they crossed (the river) the bridge was cut in front of those following them. A Syrian remained on it, so one of our men went out to him, and the Syrian slew him. Then another man went out, and he killed him, until finally he had killed three men. Then one of our men said, "Find me a sharp sword and a tough shield," so we got them for him. Then he went for him. The Syrian struck at him, but he fended him off with the shield and struck the Syrian's leg, cutting off his foot. He went on to kill him, and came back to us. We picked him up shouting, "Allāhu Akhbar!" The man was Ubaydallāh al-Kābuli.

The rout of Marwān at the Zāb, according to what is mentioned, took place on Saturday morning, the eleventh night of Jumādā II (January 25, 750).

In this year Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās was killed.

The Death of the Imam Ibrāhīm the ‘Abbāsid

The biographers have differed on the matter of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. Some of them say that he was not killed but that he died of plague in the prison of Marwān b. Muḥammad.\(^{400}\)

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\(^{400}\) See n. 365 above. However, death by plague is also regarded as a martyr's death, following a well-known hadith.
Those Who Say He Died in Prison

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Khālid—Abū Ḥāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: Marwān b. Muḥammad came to Raqqah the time he set out against al-Daḥḥāk. He had with him Sa‘īd b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik and Sa‘īd’s two sons ‘Uthmān and Marwān. All of them accompanied him in bonds. He sent them to his lieutenant at Harrān, who put them in the prison there along with Ibrāhīm (b. Muḥammad) b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, and Abū Muḥammad the Sufyānī, who was called the Farrier (*al-Bayṭār*). Of them there perished in prison from an epidemic that broke out in Harrān, ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. One week before Marwān was routed at the Zāb by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, Sa‘īd b. Hishām and those who were imprisoned with him escaped when they killed the man in charge of the prison. Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī stayed behind in confinement and did not leave with those who escaped. Others who did not view escape from the prison as lawful stayed with him. The people of Harrān and some of the rabble (*ghawqāt*) in the city killed Sa‘īd b. Hishām, Sharāḥil b. Maslamah b. ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Bishr al-Ṭaghlibī and the Patrikios of Armenia IV, whose name was Kūshān, by stoning them to death. Only fifteen days or so after they were killed, Marwān came to Harrān fleeing from the Battle of the Zāb and set Abū Muḥammad and those confined with him in the prison free.

According to ‘Umar—‘Abdallāh b. Kathīr al-‘Abdī—‘Alī b. Mūsā—his father: Marwān pushed down the walls of a room on Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and killed him.\(^{401}\)

According to ‘Umar—Muḥammad b. Ma‘rūf b. Suwayd—his father—al-Muḥalhil b. Ṣafwān (‘Umar: Later al-Muqaḍdal b. Ja‘far b. Sulaymān also told me that al-Muḥalhil b. Ṣafwān told this story): I was with Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad in the prison in which ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Sharāḥil b. Maslamah b. ‘Abd al-Malik were detained. They would visit each other, especially Ibrāhīm and

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\(^{401}\) The same method of assassination was reportedly utilized by the Caliph al-Mansūr against his uncle ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī. The latter tradition with full explication of the legal consequences of this kind of killing is discussed in Lassner, *‘Abbāsid Rule*, 39–57, esp. 40–46. (J.L.)
Sharāḥil. One day Sharāḥil's messenger brought Ibrāhīm some milk and said, "Your brother says, 'I drank some of this milk and enjoyed it, and I'd like you to have some too.'" He accepted it and drank, and immediately thereafter became ill and collapsed. It was a day when he was supposed to go see Sharāḥil, but he delayed, so Sharāḥil sent word to him, "Let me be your ransom, you have delayed; what has detained you?" He sent word back, "When I drank the milk you sent me, it disagreed with me." Sharāḥil came to him badly frightened, and said, "No, by God, no god there is but He; I drank no milk today and I sent none to you! Truly we are God's, and to Him we shall return. By God, you have been deceived!" By God, he survived only that night and no other. The following morning Ibrāhīm was dead.402

Ibrāhīm b. 'Ali b. Salamah b. 'Āmir b. Hurmah b. Hudhayl b. al-Rabi’ b. 'Āmir b. Subayḥ b. 'Adi b. Qays, that is, Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr, lamented Ibrāhīm as follows:

I reckoned myself strong, but my wits are scattered
by a grave at Ḫarrān in which is religion's defense.

In it is the Imām and the best of all mankind,
among the slates and the stones and the clay;

The Imām whose misfortune became widespread,
depriving every rich man or poor.

May God not absolve Marwān for any wrongdoing,
but God pardon all who here say "Amen!"

This year Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam
was slain.

The Death of Marwān and His Battle with the Syrians


402. Sudden or unexpected deaths from natural causes [e.g., appendicitis] were always prone to be later described as murder by poisoning. See Lassner, 'Abbāsid Rule, 46ff.
Zāb I was in his army, and Marwān had one hundred twenty thousand men in his forces at the Zāb; sixty thousand were in his own army and about the same number were with his son 'Abdallāh, with the Zāb between them. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āli engaged Marwān with the troops accompanying him, Abū 'Awn and a group of officers among whom was Ḥumayd b. Qahtābah. When Marwān's forces were put to flight, they went to Harrān, where Abān b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Marwān, his brother's son, was governor. Marwān stayed at Harrān more than twenty days. When 'Abdallāh b. 'Āli drew near, he packed up his people and children and family and fled, leaving at Harrān Abān b. Yazīd who was married to a daughter of Marwān called Umm 'Uthmān. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āli advanced and Abān went out to meet him dressed in black as a sign of his allegiance. Abān then took the oath to 'Abdallāh and entered his service, while 'Abdallāh gave him and all those in Harrān and the Jazīrah guarantees of safety. Marwān continued past Qinnasrin with 'Abdallāh b. 'Āli pursuing him. Then he moved on from Qinnasrin to Ḥimṣ where the people met him in the markets ready to hear and obey. He stayed there for two or three days, and then set out. When people saw how few there were with him they became emboldened against him, saying, "He's a coward, running away." They pursued him after he had set out from them and caught up with him some miles away. When he saw the dust raised by their horses, he set two officers of his mawlās, one called Yazīd and the other Mukhallad, in two ravines (wādis). When the pursuers came near him and passed the two ambush parties and his womenfolk had gone, he set his men in battle formation, and besought the pursuers in God's name. They refused to do anything but bandy words with him and do battle, so fighting broke out between them. Then the ambushers attacked them from the rear, and he put them to flight. His cavalry pursued them, killing them until they reached the vicinity of the city.

Marwān went on until he passed Damascus, which was governed by al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyyah b. Marwān, who was Marwān's son-in-law, married to a daughter of his called Umm al-Walīd. Marwān continued on his way, leaving al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyyah in charge of the city until 'Abdallāh b. 'Āli came against him. 'Abdallāh besieged Damascus some days, and the city was taken. He entered Damascus by force, opposing its people. Al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyyah fell among those who were slain. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āli tore down the walls of the
city. Marwān passed by the Jordan, and Tha'labah b. Salāmah al-'Amili, who was his governor there, set off with him, leaving the district without a governor until 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali arrived and appointed one for it. Then Marwān came to Palestine, which was governed on his behalf by al-Rumāḥis b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Rumāḥis also left with him, and Marwān went on until he arrived at Miṣr.403 Then he left there and stopped one stage away at a place called Būsir.404 He was attacked by night and slain there by 'Amīr b. Ismā'il and Shu'bah, accompanied by some of the cavalry of Mosul. On the same night that he was attacked, 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh, the two sons of Marwān, fled to the land of the Abyssinians. They met misfortune at the hands of the Abyssinians, who fought them and slew 'Ubaydallāh. 'Abdallāh got away with a number of men who were with them, including Bakr b. Mu'awiyah al-Bāhili. Bakr stayed free until the caliphate of al-Mahdī, when Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, the governor of Palestine, caught him and sent him to al-Mahdī.

According to 'Aḥī b. Muḥammad—Bishr b. 'Īsā, al-Nu'mān Abū Saʿī, Muḥrīz b. Ibrāhīm, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Marwāzī and 'Ammār the mawla of Jibrīl: Marwān met 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali with one hundred and twenty thousand men, and 'Abdallāh had only twenty thousand. The number who were with 'Abdallāh that day is disputed, however, by other authorities.

Muslim b. al-Mughirah reported the following from Muṣāb b. al-Rabi' al-Khuth'ami, father of Abū Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab, who was a secretary of Marwān: When Marwān fled and 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali conquered Syria, I asked for a guarantee of safety, and he accorded it to me. One day I was sitting in his presence, and while he was reclining, someone mentioned Marwān and his flight. He asked, "Were you at the battle?" "Yes," I told him, "May God make things right with the Amir!" "Tell me about him," he said. So I said, "On that very day he told me, 'Count the enemy.' I told him, 'I'm only a man of the pen, not a man of war.' Then turning to the right and the left, he looked

403. Miṣr was both the name for Egypt and the general name for its capital, Fustāt. The context makes it clear that the city is intended here.

404. There were several locations of that name in Egypt. This was probably Būsir called Būsir al-Malaq on the west bank of the Nile at the entrance to the Fayyum Oasis in Upper Egypt. Yaqūt calls it Būsir Qūridis. See El's v. Būsir, Yaqūt, Mu'jam, I, 760.
and said, "They are twelve thousand." At this, 'Abdallāh sat up and said, "God smite him, what was with him? I do not reckon the military rolls carried more than twelve thousand men that day!"

Returning to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Marwān fled until he came to the city of Mosul which was governed by Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibi and Bishr b. Khuzaymah al-Asadi, and they cut the pontoon bridge. The Syrians shouted to them, "It's Marwān!" But they replied, "You lie, the Commander of the Faithful doesn't run away!" He therefore went to a village. He crossed the Tigris and went to Ḥarrān and then to Damascus, where he left al-Walīd b. Mu'āwiya in charge, saying, "Fight them, until the people of Syria are united." Then Marwān moved on to Palestine and stopped at the River of Abū Fuṭrus. Al-Ḥakam b. Ṭabān al-Judhami had seized power in Palestine, so Marwān sent word to 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rawḥ b. Zinba' appointing him to power, but the treasury was in the hands of al-Ḥakam. Abū al-'Abbās wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali commanding him to pursue Marwān, so 'Abdallāh proceeded to Mosul. He was met by Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibi and Bishr b. Khuzaymah who had displayed the color black with the people of Mosul, and they now opened up the city to him. He then marched to Ḥarrān, appointing Muḥammad b. Șīl as governor of Mosul. In Ḥarrān 'Abdallāh demolished the house in which Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad had been confined. He then marched to Manbij, where the people had displayed black. He stopped in Manbij and appointed Abū Ḥumayd al-Marwāzī as governor. The people of Qinnasrin sent 'Abdallāh their oath of allegiance; one of those who came to him on their behalf was Abū Umayyah al-Taghlibi. 'Abd al-Šamad b. 'Ali arrived from Abū al-'Abbās to reinforce him with four thousand men. 'Abdallāh stayed there a couple of days after the arrival of 'Abd al-Šamad, but then moved to Qinnasrin. When he came there, the people had already displayed the color black. He stayed a couple of days, and then moved on to stop at Ḥimṣ. 'Abdallāh stayed there several days, while the inhabitants swore the oath of allegiance. Then he marched to Baʿalbakk where he stayed a couple of days before moving on. He stopped next at 'Ayn al-Jarr, remaining there two days.

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405. The Umayyad princely city built by al-Walīd II in the anti-Lebanon and known today as 'Anjar. See Ell s.v. 'Ayn al-Djarr.
before moving on. 'Abdallāh then camped at Mizzah, one of the villages of Damascus. Then Šālīḥ b. 'Ali arrived with reinforcements and he camped at Marj 'Adhra with eight thousand men. With him were Bassām b. Ibrāhīm, Khafāf, Shu'bah, and al-Haytham b. Bassām. Then 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali moved, and camped at the East Gate (Bāb Sharqi). Šālīḥ b. 'Ali settled at the Jābiyah Gate, Abū 'Awn at Bāb Kaysān, Bassām at Bāb al-Šaghīr and Šaftabah at Bāb Tūmā. 'Abd al-Šamad, Yahyā b. Šafwān and al-'Abbās b. Yazīd were at Bāb al-Farādis—al-Walīd b. Mu‘awiyah was still inside Damascus. The attackers laid siege to the people of Damascus and the Balqā'. Then the people of the city broke into factional rivalry; some of them killed others, and they slew al-Walīd. The 'Abbāsids forced the gates on Wednesday, the twentieth of Ramadān (May 2, 750). The first to scale the wall of the city from the East Gate was 'Abdallāh al-Ta‘ī, and the first at Bāb al-Saghir was Bassam b. Ibrahim. They fought for three hours in the city. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali stopped at Damascus for fifteen days, and then set out for Palestine and stopped at the Kuswah River. From there he sent Yahyā b. Ja‘far the Hashimite to Madinah, and then he moved to the Jordan. The people had already adopted black, and they came out to meet him. He camped at Baysān, then moved to Marj al-Rūm and came to the River of Abū Futrus. Marwān had fled, and 'Abdallāh stayed in Palestine. A letter from Abū al-'Abbās came to him, "Send Šālīḥ b. 'Ali in pursuit of Marwān." And Šālīḥ b. 'Ali marched from the

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406. See LeStrange, Palestine, 237.
408. Bāb al-Farādis was the northern gate of Damascus. The Kaysān Gate was southeast, and Bāb al-Saghir on the south. Bāb Tūmā was on the northeast. See EI² s.v. Dimashk.
409. Meaning the Nahr al-A‘waj which flows from Mt. Hermon into the area known as al-Kuswah. The latter was situated some twelve mil [24 km.] from Damascus. See LeStrange, Palestine, 488.
410. A town in the Jordan Valley known today as Bet Shan. See LeStrange, Palestine, 410ff.
411. Abū Futrus was the ancient Antipatris on the Awjā‘, near Ramlah.Ṭabarī barely mentions, later on, a massacre of some eighty members, more or less, of the Umayyad family here by 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali, though Ibn Ṭahir, Ya‘qūbī, Azdī, and al-Aghānī all give details. See Ibn Ṭahir, II, 333; Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rikh, II, 35; and Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 551–52. Ya‘qūbī II, 356–57, also mentions how 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali opened the graves of the Umayyad caliphs and burned their bodies "sparing none." Others state that the tomb of 'Umar II was spared.
The Events of the Year 132

River of Abū Fuṭrus in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 132 (June 11–July 10, 750). He had with him Ibn Fattān, ‘Āmir b. Ismā‘īl al-Ḥārithī and Abū ‘Awn, and he sent Abū ‘Awn to lead his vanguard along with ‘Āmir b. Ismā‘īl. Ṣāliḥ marched on, stopping at Ramlah; then he continued, and they camped at the seacoast. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Ali gathered vessels and provisioned them to go after Marwān who was at Faramā. Ṣāliḥ marched along the coast road while the ships sailed alongside him until he stopped at ‘Arish.

Word of this reached Marwān, so he had the fodder and foodstuffs around him burned, and fled. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Ali pressed on, and stopped at the Nile, before moving on and camping in Upper Egypt [al-Sa‘īd]. Word reached Ṣāliḥ that Marwān’s cavalry along the banks of the river were burning the fodder, so he sent some officers against them. These captured ten men and brought them to Ṣāliḥ, who was at Fustāţ. Marwān crossed the Nile, cut the pontoon bridge, and burned the fields. Ṣāliḥ went in pursuit of him, and clashed with a contingent of Marwān’s cavalry at the Nile; they fought an engagement and Ṣāliḥ put them to flight. He then went on to a canal, where some of Marwān’s cavalry chanced upon him. He wounded some of them and drove the party away. Then he went on to another canal, and his force crossed over. They then saw a cloud of dust, and supposed it was Marwān, so Ṣāliḥ sent out a scouting party under al-Fadl b. Dīnār and Mālik b. Qādim. They found no one to oppose, so they went back to Ṣāliḥ and he moved on. He then stopped and camped at a place called Dhāt al-Sāḥil. Abū ‘Awn sent ahead ‘Āmir b. Ismā‘īl al-Ḥārithī along with Shu‘bah b. Kathīr al-Māznī. Encountering some of Marwān’s cavalry, they put them to flight and took some men who were on foot as prisoners. Some of these they slew, and some they let live. They asked about Marwān’s whereabouts, and the prisoners told them where he was, on condition that they be given guarantees of safety. They rode on, and found Marwān staying at a church in Būsīr. They attacked his force at the

412. Situated between the hill country and the coast, Ramlah was the administrative center of Palestine. See LeStrange, Palestine, 303ff.
413. That is, he was marching along the Via Maris, the ancient route to Egypt. Faramā’ was between Egypt proper and ‘Arish. The latter oasis was on the border between Sinai and Palestine. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam. III, 883.
414. See n. 403 above. Fustāţ was the earliest Arab settlement in Egypt and the first of a series of settlements that was to comprise the area of Greater Cairo. See EI² s.v. al-Fustāţ.
night's end, and his soldiers ran away. Marwân came out against
them with a small party of men, and they surrounded him and killed
him.

According to 'Ali—Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan—ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl: We
found Marwân at Būsir. We were a small party, so they pressed us
hard. We gathered together in a palm-stand, and if they had known
how few we were, they would certainly have killed us. I said to the
men with me, "If we wait until morning and they see how few we
are in number, not one of us will get away." Then I recalled the
words of Bukāy r b. Māḥān, "By God, you will slay Marwân; it's as
though I hear you cry [in Persian], 'Give it to them, bullies! [daḥīd
yā juvānkashān].'" Then I broke the sheath of my sword, and
my companions broke theirs. And I cried out, "Daḥīd yā
juvānkashān!" It had the effect of molten fire poured on them, and
they fled. Then a man attacked Marwân and struck him with his
sword, killing him.

'Āmir b. Ismāʿīl rode back to Šāliḥ b. 'Āli, who wrote to the Com-
mander of the Faithful Abū al-ʿAbbās, "We pursued al-Jā'di, the en-
emy of God, until we caused him to seek refuge in the land of God's
enemy, Pharaoh—he who made himself like unto God—and in that
land I slew him."

'Āli reported the following from Abū Ṭālib al-Anṣārī: It was a man
from Baṣrah they called al-Maghūd who stabbed Marwân; he didn't
recognize him when he felled him. Then someone gave a great cry,
"The Commander of the Faithful is down!" They raced over to him,
and a man from Kūfah, who used to sell pomegranates, got there
first and cut off his head. 'Āmir b. Ismāʿīl sent Marwân's head to
Abū 'Awn, who sent it to Šāliḥ b. 'Āli, and Šāliḥ b. 'Āli sent the head
with Yazīd b. Hānī’, his chief of security, to Abū al-ʿAbbās on Sun-
day, the third day before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 132 [August 6,
750]. Šāliḥ went back to Fuṣṭāṭ, then he left for Syria, turning over
the booty to Abū 'Awn, and the weapons, money and slaves to al-
Fadl b. Dinār, and left Abū 'Awn in command in Egypt.

According to 'Āli—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khūrāsānī—a shaykh of the
tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾīl: I was at Dayr Qunna with Bukāy r b. Māḥān,
and we were talking together when a young man passed by with two
waterskins, went to the Tigris and got water. Then he returned, and
The Events of the Year 132

Bukayr called him, saying, "What's your name, young man?"

`Ali reported the following from al-Kinâni: I used to hear our shaykhs at Kufah say, "The Banû Musliyyah will be the death of Marwân." According to some, Marwân was sixty-two years old on the day that he was slain. Others say he was sixty-nine, and still others that he was fifty-eight. He was slain on Sunday three days before the end of Dhû al-Ḥijjah (August 6, 750), and his reign from the time that allegiance was sworn to him until he was killed was five years, ten months and sixteen days. His patronymic (kunyā) was `Abû `Abd al-Malik. Hishâm b. Muḥammad asserts that his mother was a Kurdish concubine.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—`Ali b. Muḥammad—`Alî b. Mujâhid and Abû Sinân al-Juhnî: It was said that the mother of Marwân b. Muḥammad used to belong to Ibrâhîm b. al-Ashtar, and that Muḥammad b. Marwân b. al-Ḥakam acquired her the day Ibn al-Ashtar was slain; he took her to be a refined woman, from Ibn al-Ashtar's household. She bore Marwân in Muḥammad's bed. When Abû al-`Abbâs took power, `Abbâlîh b. al-`Ayyâsh al-Mantûf came into his presence and said, "Praise be to God, who has exchanged for us the ass of the Jazîrah and the son of the slaughtered man's bondmaid with a descendant of the paternal uncle of God's Messenger and the son of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib!" This same year `Abdallâh b. `Ali killed those of the Banû Umayyah who were slain at the River of Abû Fuṭûrs. They were seventy-two men.

416. The Balharîth were the Arab tribe of the Yaman which included the Christians of the Najrân oasis. See EI 2 s.v. Ḥârîth b. Ka'b.
417. The Banû Musliyyah were the earliest supporters of the 'Abbâsid revolution. Most leaders of the Kufah apparatus were counted among them. Abû al-`Abbâs was married to Raytah, one of the noble women of this clan. See Akhîrât al-Dawlah, 192–93. [L.J.]
418. That is, the famous 'Alid commander who also fought for the Zubayrids and was killed in 72 (October 691). See EI 2 s.v. Ibrâhîm b. al-Ashtar.
419. See n. 411 above. The traditions concerning the annihilation of the Umayyad house are problematic.
Abū al-Ward's Adopting White and What Happened

The cause of this, according to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: Abū al-Ward, whose name was Majza'ah b. Kawthar b. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, was a companion of Marwān and one of his cavalry officers. When Marwān was routed, Abū al-Ward was at Qinnasrin, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali came there. Abū al-Ward gave him allegiance, and he and his troops placed themselves at 'Abdallāh's disposal. The descendants of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik lived next to Abū al-Ward at Bālis and Nā'ūrah. One of the "Thousanders," an officer of 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali, came to Bālis at the head of a hundred and fifty cavalry and manhandled the sons of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and their womenfolk. Some people complained of this to Abū al-Ward, and he came out in an agricultural settlement there called Zara'at Banū Zufar—it was also called Khusaf—with a number of people of his family to attack the officer, who was staying in Maslamah's fort. Abū al-Ward fought him until he had killed him and the men with him, and then he proclaimed the adoption of the color white and the deposing of 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali. He called on the people of Qinnasrin to do the same, and all of them displayed the white. Abū al-'Abbās was staying at this time in Hirah, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali was occupied in armed conflict with Ḥabīb b. Murrāh al-Murri, fighting him in the Balqā', Bathaniyyah and Hawrān. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali had already encountered Ḥabīb with his
troops and engaged them in several clashes. Ḥabib had been one of Marwān’s cavalry officers, and his reason for adopting white had been fear for himself and for his people. The Qays and other groups allied to them among the inhabitants of these districts, Bathaniyyah and Ḥawrān, had sworn to follow him. However, when word reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī of their adopting white (in Qinnasrin), he invited Ḥabib b. Murrah to make peace, made peace with him, par- doned him and those with them, and set out for Qinnasrin to engage Abū al-Ward. He passed by Damascus and appointed as his deputy there Abū Ghānim ʿAbd al-Ḥamid b. Ribʿi al-Tāʾi, giving him command of four thousand men from his army. Also at Damascus at this time was the wife of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Umm al-Banīn bt. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib al-Nawfaliyyah, the sister of ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, as well as concubine mothers of ʿAbdallāh’s children, and some of his household. As ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī arrived at Ḥims on his way, the people of Damascus rebelled against him when his back was turned, adopted white, and rose against him with ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Surāqah425 al-Azdi. They encountered Abū Ghānim and those with him and put him to flight, killing a great number of his followers. They carried off all that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had left behind in the way of household goods and chattels, but did not harm his family. Displaying white, the people of Damascus united in opposition to (the ʿAbbāsid). ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī however continued on his way. Some of the people of Qinnasrin had joined with Abū al-Ward, and had corresponded with their associates at Ḥims and Tadmur. Thousands had come to join them under Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.426 The rebels made Abū Muḥammad their leader and called men to follow him, saying, “This is the Sufyānid who was foretold.”427 Their numbers were now about forty thousand.

425. The text is Surāqah; emended by the Cairo edition to Sarādīqah.
426. That is, the descendant of Yazīd I, the second Umayyad Caliph and the son of the founder of the dynasty.
427. There is frequent mention of a Sufyānid as an eschatological figure in the hadith collections on ḥadith, “troubles.” What his role will be depends on the orientation of the source, Umayyad, ʿAlid, or ʿAbbāsid. Al-Maqdisi, al-Badʾ wa al-Taʾrīkh, II, 186, reports, “The Banū ʿAbbās will be destroyed at the hands of a man from the house of this woman” (the Prophet’s wife Umm Ḥabibah bt. Abī Sufyān). All of these hadiths are politically tendentious; some of them come from a Syria resentful of ʿAb- bāsid domination.
When 'Abdallah b. 'Ali was near them, he sent his brother 'Abd al-Šamad ahead with ten thousand of his cavalry. Abū Muḥammad had camped with his following at a meadow called Marj al-Akhram. Abū al-Ward was in charge of the camp, and was Abū Muḥammad’s executive and battle-chief. He thus came out to oppose them, and met them on the field between the two armies. There was a confused engagement between the two forces, but the enemy stood fast. 'Abd al-Šamad and those with him were routed, and thousands of his men were killed that day. When 'Abd al-Šamad came back to him, 'Abdallah advanced, along with Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah and a group of officers who were with him. They engaged the enemy again at Marj al-Akhram, and fought a fierce battle with them. A group of those who were with 'Abdallah were put to flight, but they regrouped, while 'Abdallah b. 'Ali and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah stood firm and repulsed the attackers. Abū al-Ward and about five hundred men of his family and clan held fast and were all killed. Abū Muḥammad and the Kalb who were with him fled until they got to Tadmur. 'Abdallah gave the people of Qinnasrin a guarantee of safety, and they displayed black, swore allegiance to him, and became submissive to him. He then set out to go back to the people of Damascus because they displayed white in rebellion against him and drove out Abū al-Ğānim. As he neared Damascus, the people fled and scattered without any battle between them, and 'Abdallah pardoned the city's inhabitants. They swore allegiance to him, and he did not prosecute them for what they had done.

Abū Muḥammad continued to absent himself as a fugitive, and he reached the Ḥijāz. Word of his hiding place reached Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallah al-Ḥāriṭhi, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr's governor, and he sent cavalry for him. They engaged him in battle until he was killed and two sons of his were captured. Ziyād sent his head and his two sons to the Commander of the Faithful Abū Ja'far, who ordered that the sons be set free, and he pardoned them.

'Ali b. Muḥammad reported the following from al-Nu'mān Abū al-Sarī, Jabalah b. Farrūkh, Sulaymān b. Dāwud and Abū Šāliḥ al-Marwāzī: Abū al-Ward threw off his allegiance at Qinnasrin and Abū al-'Abbās wrote to 'Abdallah b. 'Ali at (Abū) Futrus to engage Abū al-Ward in battle. 'Abdallah sent 'Abd al-Šamad to Qinnasrin at the head of seven thousand men, with Mukhāriq b. Shābib in charge of security. He then sent five thousand men after him under the
command of Dhu'ayb b. al-Ash'ath, and after that he began to send
the main contingents. 'Abd al-Šamad encountered Abū al-Ward at
the head of a great force. The people fled from 'Abd al-Šamad until
they came to Ḥims, so 'Abdallah b. 'Ali sent al-'Abbās b. Yazid b.
Ziyād, Marwān al-Jurjānī and Abū al-Mutawakkil al-Jurjānī, each
with their own followers, to Ḥims. 'Abdallah b. 'Ali himself arrived,
and camped four miles (mil) from Ḥims. 'Abd al-Šamad b. 'Ali was
also at Ḥims. 'Abdallah wrote to Ḥumayd b. Qahtabah, and he came
to him from the Jordan. The people of Qinnasrin swore allegiance to
the Sufyānid Abū Muḥammad Ziyād b. 'Abdallah b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiya,
and Abū al-Ward b. . . . .
They swore allegiance to him and
he stayed forty days. 'Abdallah b. 'Ali, together with 'Abd al-Šamad
and Ḥumayd b. Qahtabah came against them, and the two forces en-

gaged in the fiercest of battles. Abū Muḥammad drove them into a
narrow pass, and the people began to scatter. Then Ḥumayd b.
Qahtabah said to 'Abdallah b. 'Ali, "What are we waiting for? They
are increasing in numbers, and our followers are decreasing! Let us
go forth against them!" They fought each other on Tuesday, the last
of Dhū al-Hijjah 133 (July 27, 751). Abū Muḥammad had Abū al-
Ward on his right, and in command of his left was al-Asbāgh b.
Dhu'alah. Abū al-Ward was wounded and carried back to his people,
and then he died. A group of Abū al-Ward's followers fled into a
bushy area, and it was set on fire over their heads. The people of
Ḥims had thrown off their allegiance and wanted to follow Abū Mu-
ḥammad, but when they learned of his flight they stayed where they
were.

In this year, Ḥabīb b. Murrah al-Murri threw off (black) and put on
white along with those of the people of Syria who were with him.

Ḥabīb b. Murrah Puts on White

'Ali reported the following from his authorities: Ḥabīb b. Murrah al-
Murri and the people of the Bathaniyyah and Hawrān put on white
while 'Abdallah b. 'Ali was in the camp of Abū al-Ward, who was
slain in this year.429

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. ἢḅā-

428. There is a lacuna in the text and in the Cairo edition.
429. See Azdi, 144ff sub anno 133.
him—Abū Ḥāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: Ḥabīb b. Murrah’s display of white and his struggle with ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī occurred before Abū al-Ward put on white, and Abū al-Ward only did this while ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī was occupied in fighting Ḥabīb b. Murrah in the Balqā’, or in the Bathaniyyah and Ḥawrān. ‘Abdallāh had already encountered Ḥabīb with his troops and engaged them in several clashes. Ḥabīb had been one of Marwān’s cavalry officers, and the reason for his putting on white had been fear for his own safety and his people. The Qays and its allies among the inhabitants of those districts, i.e., Bathaniyyah and Hawrān, pledged allegiance to him. When word of the rebellion of the people of Qinnasrin reached ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, he invited Ḥabīb b. Murrah to make peace. ‘Abdallāh then made peace with him and pardoned him and his men and set out for Qinnasrin to encounter Abū al-Ward.

In this year also the people of the Jazirah put on white and threw off their allegiance to Abū al-‘Abbās.

The Revolt of the Jazairīs

According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrahim—Abū Ḥāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: The people of the Jazirah displayed white and threw off their allegiance as soon as word came to them of the revolt of Abū al-Ward and the uprising of the people of Qinnasrin. The rebels marched to Ḥarrān, where at this time Mūsā b. Ka‘b was stationed with three thousand men of the army. The defenders stuck fast to the city, and wearers of white flocked to it from every direction. They besieged Mūsā and those with him, but their command was not unified and they had no single chief to unite them.

Following this, Ishaq b. Muslim came from Armenia.430 He had set out from there when word came to him of Marwān’s defeat. The people of the Jazirah made him their leader, and he besieged Mūsā b. Ka‘b upwards of two months. Abū al-‘Abbās sent Abū Ja‘far, his brother, with the troops he had with him besieging Ibn Hubayrah at Wāṣit. He went on past Qarqisiyyah, where the inhabitants had displayed white and locked the gates of the city. Then he came to Raq-

430. That is, Ishaq b. Muslim al-'Ugayli, the “chief man of Qays,” who was an Umayyad commander along the Armenian frontier. See Tabari, II/3, 1871, 1940.
qah, which was in the same condition under Bakkār b. Muslim, brother of Ishāq. Abū Ja'far continued on toward Harrān, and Ishāq b. Muslim then moved to Ruhā'. This occurred in the year 133 (750–751). Mūsā b. Ka'b and his followers came out of Harrān and met Abū Ja'far, while Bakkār b. Muslim went to his brother, Ishāq b. Muslim, who went to a group of the Rabi'ah at Dārā and Mārdin. The leader of the Rabi'ah at this time was one of the Ḥarūriyyah (Khārijites) called Buraykah. Abū Ja'far went after him, and the two forces engaged in a violent battle in which Buraykah was killed. Bakkār then went back to his brother Ishāq in Ruhā'. Ishāq left him in charge of Ruhā' and went with most of their army to Sumaysāt, where he entrenched himself with his troops. Abū Ja'far proceeded with his units until Bakkār confronted him at Ruhā', and there were several battles between them.

Abū al-'Abbās wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali to march with his troops against Ishāq at Sumaysāt, and he came from Syria to camp opposite Ishāq at Sumaysāt. There were sixty thousand men, all of them from the Jazīrah. Between the two forces lay the Euphrates. Abū Ja'far now came from Ruhā', whereupon Ishāq wrote the 'Abbāsid commanders requesting guarantees of safety (in return for surrender). They assented to this and wrote to Abū al-'Abbās, who ordered them to give him and all those with him pledges of safety. They therefore composed a document in which Ishāq was given firm assurances. Ishāq then came out to meet Abū Ja'far, and there was a complete reconciliation between them. He later became one of Abū Ja'far's chosen men. The people of the Jazīrah and of Syria were thus pacified, and Abū al-'Abbās appointed Abū Ja'far as governor of the Jazīrah, Armenia and Ādharbayjān. He continued in that capacity until he became Caliph.

It is mentioned that Ishāq b. Muslim al-'Uqayli stayed at Sumaysāt seven months while Abū Ja'far besieged him. He used to say, "There is an oath of allegiance on my neck, and I shall not put it aside until I know that the man to whom I gave it has died or been killed." At this, Abū Ja'far sent word to him that Marwān had been slain, and he replied, "Let me be sure of this." Then he sought peace,
saying, "I have learned that Marwān has been slain." So Abū Ja'far pardoned him, and he went with Abū Ja'far and held a place of great esteem with him. It has also been said that it was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī who pardoned him.

Also in this year, Abū Ja'far set out for Abū Muslim in Khurāsān to seek his opinion about slaying Abū Salamah Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān.

*Abū Ja'far's Journey to Khurāsān*

Earlier I mentioned the matter of Abū Salamah and what he had done to arouse the suspicions of Abū al-'Abbās and those of the Banū Ḥāshim who accompanied him when they arrived at Kūfah.

According to ʿAli b. Muhammad—Jabalāh b. Farrūkh—Yazīd b. Asīd—Abū Ja'far: When Abū al-'Abbās became Commander of the Faithful, we sat up one evening talking and mentioned what Abū Salamah had done. Then one man there said, "What do you know; maybe what Abū Salamah did was done by the advice of Abū Muslim!" Not one of us spoke, and then the Commander of the Faithful Abū al-'Abbās said, "Well, if that was by the advice of Abū Muslim, then we are up against trouble, unless God should rid us of him."

Then we dispersed, and Abū al-'Abbās sent for me to ask, "What is your opinion of this?" I replied, "Whatever you think." He told me, "None of us is nearer to Abū Muslim than yourself, so go out to see him until you learn his thoughts. He will not disguise them from you. If you encounter him and discover that it was by his advice that Abū Salamah acted, we shall look to ourselves. If it was not, then our souls will be at peace."

I left in some disquiet, and when I got to Rayy, the man in charge there had received a letter from Abū Muslim saying, "Word has reached me that ʿAbdallāh b. Muhammad is headed your way. When he arrives, send him on within the hour of his arrival." So, when I got there, the governor of Rayy came to me, informed me of Abū Muslim's letter, and ordered me to travel on. My disquiet increased; I left Rayy cautious and fearful and traveled on. As soon as I was at Nāyṣābūr, the governor there came to me with a (second) letter from Abū Muslim, "If ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad arrives there, send him on and do not let him tarry, for your area is one of rebels and there is no security for him there." I felt better then, and said, "I see he is concerned about me." So I went on, and when I was two farsakhs
km) from Marw, Abū Muslim came with the notables to meet me. As soon as he drew near, he (dismounted and) walked toward me to kiss my hand. I told him, "Mount," At this he got on his horse and we went into Marw. I stayed in a house there for three days, and he didn't ask me about anything. Then on the fourth day, he asked me, "What brought you here?" I told him, and he said, "That was Abū Salamah's doing! I shall take care of him for you." Then he called Mārrār b. Anas al-Dabbi and told him, "Set out for Kūfah, and kill Abū Salamah as soon as you encounter him. Finish with this as the Imām thinks best." Mārrār then arrived at Kūfah, when Abū Salamah was spending the evening with Abū al-'Abbās. He waited in his path, and when Abū Salamah came out, Mārrār killed him. It was then said that it was the Khārijites who had killed him.

'Ali reported the following from a shaykh of the Banū Sulaym—Sālim:433 I accompanied Abū Ja'Far from Rayy to Khurāsān as his chamberlain. Abū Muslim would come to see him, dismount at the door of the house, sit down in the antechamber, and say, "Ask for leave for me to enter." Then Abū Ja'far grew angry at me, and told me, "Woe to you! When you see him, open the door for him and tell him to ride in on his mount!" I did so, and told Abū Muslim, "He says thus-and-so." "Yes," he said, "I know. Go and ask him for leave for me to enter."

It was also said that Abū al-'Abbās had a dislike for Abū Salamah even before he left his camp at Nukhaylah. He then moved from his camp to Hāshimiyyah434 and stayed at the government palace there. He was hostile to Abū Salamah, this was known about him. He wrote to Abū Muslim informing him what he thought, telling him about the duplicity that concerned him and what he feared in consequence. Abū Muslim wrote, "If the Commander of the Faithful has come across such information about Abū Salamah, then have him killed." But Dāwud b. 'Ali told Abū al-'Abbās, "Do not do it, Commander of the Faithful. It will be used against you by Abū Muslim and the people of Khurāsān who now are with you—his position

433. The text is Sālim, probably an error. The chamberlain's name was Sallām b. Sulaym.
434. That is, the Hāshimiyyah that was at Madinat b. Hubayrah, near Kūfah. There were several 'Abbāsid administrative centers before the building of Madinat al-Salām at Baghdad. Each was known as Hāshimiyyah. There is thus much confusion about them. For a full discussion, see Lassner 'Abbāsid Rule, 151–62. [J.L.]
with them being what it is. Rather, write to Abū Muslim and let him send someone to kill Abū Salamah." So he wrote Abū Muslim to this effect, and Abū Muslim sent Marrār b. Anas al-Ḍabbī. He came to Abū al-ʿAbbās at the city of Ḥāshimiyyah and let him know the reason for his coming. Abū al-ʿAbbās then ordered a crier to proclaim, "The Commander of the Faithful is well pleased with Abū Salamah and has summoned him and given him robes of honor." Abū Salamah went to visit him one evening after that, and he did not quit him until the greater part of the night had passed. Then he went out to go home, walking alone, until he entered the arcade. Along with some confederates who accompanied him, Marrār b. Anas confronted Abū Salamah and killed him. The city gates were locked, and they said, "The Khārijites have murdered Abū Salamah." He was carried out the next day. Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led prayers over him, and he was buried in Ḥāshimiyyah. On this, Sulaymān b. Al-Muhājir al-Bajālī said:

Indeed the wazir, the wazir of the family of Muḥammad has perished, and he who hates you became wazir.

Abū Salamah was called "Wazir of the Family of Muḥammad," and Abū Muslim "Trustee (ʿamīn) of the Family of Muḥammad." Thus when Abū Salamah was slain, Abū al-ʿAbbās sent his brother Abū Jaʿfar at the head of thirty men to Abū Muslim; among them were al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh and Ishaq b. al-Ṯawr al-Ḥāshimi.

When Abū Jaʿfar came to Abū Muslim, ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aʿraj kept pace with him. Alongside him rode Sulaymān b. Kathīr. Sulaymān then said to al-Aʿraj, "Friend, we have been hoping that your business would be done. If you wish, call on us, as regards your desire." ʿUbaydallāh then thought that he was an agent from Abū Muslim, and he became fearful. Word reached Abū Muslim of Sulaymān b. Kathīr’s ride with him. ʿUbaydallāh went to Abū Muslim and mentioned what Sulaymān had said, thinking that if he did not do this, Abū Muslim would devise some mischief against ʿUbaydallāh and kill him. Abū Muslim sent for Sulaymān b. Kathīr and said to him, "Do you remember how the Imām told me, ‘Whomever you suspect, kill him?’" "Yes," said Sulaymān. "Well," said Abū Muslim, "I suspect you." "I beseech you in God’s name!" said Sulaymān. "Do not beseech me in God’s name when you are
plotting treachery to the Imam,” said Abū Muslim. He then ordered his head cut off. Abū Ja’far saw no one else whom Abū Muslim had beheaded, but he went home from Abū Muslim and told Abū al-‘Abbās, “You are no Caliph, and your rule is nothing, if you leave Abū Muslim alone and do not kill him.” “How so?” said Abū al-‘Abbās. “By God, he does just what he pleases,” said Abū Ja’far. Abū al-‘Abbās told him, “Be quiet, and keep this to yourself.”

The Battle for Wāṣit

In this year, Abu al-‘Abbas sent his brother Abū Ja’far to Wāṣit to do battle with Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayrah. We have mentioned what happened when the troops of the Khūrāsān army encountered Ibn Hubayrah (first) under Qaḥtabah and then under Qaḥtabah’s son al-Ḥasan—how Ibn Hubayrah was routed and how his supporters among the Syrian troops had gotten to Wāṣit and fortified themselves in that city.

According to ‘Ali b. Muḥammad—Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Sulami—‘Abdallāh b. Badr, Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Bishr b. ʿĪsā and Abū al-Sarī: When Ibn Hubayrah was routed, people deserted him. He had put a group of men in charge of the baggage, and they ran away with it. At this, Hawtharah asked him, “Where will you go? These people’s leader [Qaḥtabah] has been killed. Go to Kūfah; you have many troops with you. Then fight them until you are slain or win the fight.” Ibn Hubayrah replied, “No, we shall go to Wāṣit and see what happens.” Hawtharah said, “You will only strengthen yourself that way, and [in the end) you’ll be slain.” Yaḥyā b. Ἡduyān told him, “There is truly nothing dearer you could bring to Marwān than these troops. Follow the Euphrates until you come to him, and beware of Wāṣit; you’ll walk into a siege there, with no future but death.” He refused, however, since he was afraid of Marwān. He had

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435. The murder of the veteran revolutionary was listed among the charges allegedly read against Abū Muslim shortly before the latter’s execution. One could nevertheless argue that the ’Abbāsids would not have been sorry to see Ibn Kathīr eliminated since he seems to have represented an independent voice among the old guard operatives in Khūrāsān. See FHA, 223. [L.J.]

written to Marwān about the situation, and Marwān had opposed him. He therefore feared that Marwān would kill him if he came to him. Hence he went to Wāsīt, entered the city and fortified it.

Abū Salamah sent al-Ḥāsān b. Qaḥṭabah (off to Wāsīt), and al-Ḥāsān and his followers dug trenches and camped in the area between the Zāb and the Tigris. Al-Ḥāsān pitched his pavilion opposite the Hippodrome Gate (Bāb al-Mīdmar), and the first battle that occurred between them was on a Wednesday. The Syrians said to Ibn Hubayrah, "Give us permission to fight them." This he did. They rode out and Ibn Hubayrah was with them. With his right flank was his son Dāwūd, along with Muḥammad b. Nubātah and some men from Khurāsān. Among them was Abū al-‘Ud al-Khurāsānī. The two armies met, with Khāzīm b. Khuzaymīnīh leading al-Ḥāsān’s right flank. Now Ibn Hubayrah was just in front of the Hippodrome Gate, so Khāzīm attacked him. He routed the Syrians, and they sought refuge behind their trenches. The people ran for the gate of the city, so many of them that the Hippodrome Gate was choked, and the men manning ballistas hurled stones as al-Ḥāsān stood by. They began to move with the cavalry in the area between the river and the trench. The Syrians turned back, and al-Ḥāsān outflanked them. At this, they shifted between him and the city and forced his men into the Tigris, so that many of them were drowned. The defenders also came out against them in boats. Then the (‘Abbāsid) Khurāsānīs counterattacked. Ibn Nubātah threw away his weapons that day and rushed blindly into the water. They followed him in a boat, and he got in.

After this they abstained from fighting, remaining as they were for seven days, but on Tuesday the defenders made a sortie and engaged in battle. One of the Syrians attacked Abū Ḥaṣṣ Hazārmard438 and struck him. Referring to his tribe, the Syrian crowed, "I am the Sulami lad!" Abū Ḥaṣṣ struck him back retorting, "And I am the ‘Atakī lad!" and felled him. The Syrians fled in disgrace and entered the city. They stayed there so long as God wished, fighting no more, except to cast missiles from behind the barbican.

While he was besieged there, Ibn Hubayrah heard that Abū Umayyah al-Ṭaghlībī had appeared in black garments. He thus sent Abū
'Uthmān to al-Taghlibi's quarters. He came upon Abū Umayyah in his tent and said, "The Amir has sent me to you to search your tent. If there is a black livery in it, I am to hang it about your neck, put a halter on you, and go with you to him. If there are no black garments in your quarters, then these fifty thousand (dirhams) are a gift to you." Abū Umayyah declined to let him search his tent, so he took him to Ibn Hubayrah, who imprisoned him. Man b. Zā'īdah and leading men of the Rabi’ah discussed this turn of events and then seized three men of the Banū Fazzārah. They detained them and insulted Ibn Hubayrah. Yaḥyā b. Ḥudayn then came to them and spoke with them, but they said, "We will not let them go until he lets our comrade go." Ibn Hubayrah refused, however, so Yaḥyā told him, "You are hurting no one but yourself. You are under siege; let this man go his way." Ibn Hubayrah said, "No, not even as a favor." Ibn Ḥudayn returned to them and informed them of his conversation. At this, Ma’n and ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ijli withdrew (their support from Ibn Hubayrah) and Ibn Ḥudayn told Ibn Hubayrah, "These are your cavalry. You have already alienated them. If you persist in this, they will be harder on you than those who are besieging you." At this, he called for Abū Umayyah, gave him a robe of honor and let him go. The disaffected were thus reconciled to Ibn Hubayrah, and they became obedient as before.

Abū Naṣr Mālik b. Haytham arrived from Sijistān, and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah sent a delegation to inform Abū al-ʿAbbās of Abū Naṣr's arrival, putting Ghaylān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuza’ī at the head of it. Ghaylān was grieved with al-Ḥasan because he had sent him to reinforce Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, and when he came before Abū al-ʿAbbās, he said, "I bear witness that you are the Commander of the Faithful, that you are God's firm bond, that you are the Imām of the pious." Abū al-ʿAbbās replied, "What do you want, Ghaylān?" He then said, "I beg your pardon." Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "May God pardon you." Dāwud b. ʿAlī added, "May God prosper you, Abū Fuḍālah." Then Ghaylān said, "Commander of the Faithful, favor us with a man from the people of your house (to lead us)!" Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "Why, is there not already a man from the people of my house in command of you, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah?" Ghaylān repeated "Commander of the Faithful, favor us with a man from the people of your house!" Abū al-ʿAbbās replied as he had done at first. Then Ghaylān said, "Commander of the Faithful, favor us with a man from the
people of your house, that we may look on his face and our eyes be consoled by him” Abū al-'Abbās said, “Alright, Ghaylān.” He then sent Abū Ja'far. He appointed Ghaylān as chief of security for him, and Abū Ja'far went to Wāṣit. Abū Naṣr then said to Ghaylān, “What I wished was not what you did.” Ghaylān replied, “It was better this way [beḥ būd].” He stayed some days as chief of security, then he said to Abū Ja'far, “I am not forceful enough for the security, but I can point out someone who is tougher than I.” “Who is he?” Abū Ja'far asked. “Jahwar b. Marrār,” he told him. “I am not able to release you,” Abū Ja'far said, “because it was the Commander of the Faithful who appointed you.” “Write to him and inform him,” Ghaylān told him. So Abū Ja'far wrote to Abū al-'Abbās, who replied, “Do as Ghaylān advises.” He then made Jahwar his chief of security. Abū Ja'far said to al-Ḥasan, “Tell me a man I can appoint to command my guard.” Al-Ḥasan said, “My own choice would be 'Uthmān b. Nahīk.” At this, he put 'Uthmān in command of the guard.

According to Bishr b. 'Īsā: When Abū Ja'far got to Wāṣit, al-Ḥasan turned over his quarters to him, and Abū Ja'far engaged the enemy in combat. One day Abū Naṣr fought with the Syrians, and they fled to their defensive trenches. Ma'n b. Zā'īdah and Abū Yaḥyā al-Judhāmī had concealed themselves in ambush. When the Khurāsānīs passed through, they came out against them and fought them until nightfall. Abū Naṣr dismounted to engage them, and they fought each other at the trenches. Fires were lit for them while Ibn Hubayrah was at the tower at the Vinegar-sellers’ Gate (Bāb al-Khāllālīn). They fought each other for as long as God wished that night; then Ibn Hubayrah gave word to Ma'n to turn back, whereupon he returned. They remained this way for some days. Then the Syrians came out again, with Muḥammad b. Nubātah, Ma'n b. Zā'īdah, Ziyād b. Sāliḥ and certain cavaliers of Syria. The Khurāsānīs fought them, and drove them toward the Tigris. They began to fall into the river, and Abū Naṣr called in Persian, “Men of Khurāsān, be waterless for these men of treachery, make them rise!” The Khurāsānīs returned. Abū Naṣr's son had been felled, and Rawḥ b. Hātim had protected him. His father passed by him and said in Persian, “They've killed you, my son, and so to hell with all the world, now that you’re

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gone.” Then they charged the Syrians and chased them back into Waṣīt. The Syrians began to tell each other, “No, by God, there’s no good fortune for us after this. We went out against them—we the cavalry of the Syrian army—and they drove us back into the city.” Killed that evening among the Khurāsānī army were Bakkār al-Anṣārī and another man, both of them cavalymen. During the siege of Ibn Hubayrah, Abū Naṣr used to fill boats with wood and set them ablaze to consume all that passed by, while Ibn Hubayrah had prepared fireboats with iron hooks to drag these boats away. So things remained for eleven months, and when this grew too tedious for them the defenders asked for peace. However, they did not ask for peace until the news of Marwān’s slaying reached them. It was brought by Ismā‘īl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī who asked them, “Why are you killing yourselves? Marwān has been slain!”

It has been said that Abū al-ʿAbbās sent Abū Jaʿfar to fight Ibn Hubayrah as soon as he arrived from Khūrāsān, coming back from Abū Muslim. Abū Jaʿfar traveled to reach al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah who was besieging Ibn Hubayrah at Waṣīt. Al-Ḥasan turned over his quarters to Abū Jaʿfar, and Abū Jaʿfar settled there. When the siege grew tedious to Ibn Hubayrah and his followers, they became disaffected. The Yamanis said, “We see no Marwān, and what he did to us, he did.” The Nizaris said, “We won’t fight until the Yamanis fight alongside us.” The only people who did fight for him were the ragamuffins (ṣaʿālīk) and young toughs (fītyān). Then Ibn Hubayrah thought of appealing to Muhammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, and wrote to him, but he delayed his answer. Abū al-ʿAbbās corresponded with Ibn Hubayrah’s Yamanī followers and raised their hopes. Then the Ḥārithis Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ and Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh went over to Abū al-ʿAbbās. They promised Ibn Hubayrah that they would bring about good relations between him and Abū al-ʿAbbās, but they did not do it. Emissaries went back and forth between Abū Jaʿfar and Ibn Hubayrah until the latter sent him a (version of) a guarantee of safety. Ibn Hubayrah had consulted the experts for forty days until he was satisfied with it. He then sent it to Abū Jaʿfar, who transmitted it to Abū al-ʿAbbās, and he ordered

440. The strategy was to get a person of the Banū Ḥāshim to intercede. In this case the ʿAlid known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah was chosen.
Abū Ja'far to implement it. It was Abū Ja'far's opinion that everything in it must be faithfully carried out, but Abū al-'Abbās was not accustomed to making a final decision without Abū Muslim. Abū al-Jahm was the "eye" that Abū Muslim kept on Abū al-'Abbās, and Abū Jahm thus wrote to him with all the news about him. So Abū Muslim wrote Abū al-'Abbās, "Truly an easy road is spoiled if a boulder is thrown into it: by God, no road with Ibn Hubayrah in it is in good order."

When the document was completed, Ibn Hubayrah came out to Abū Ja'far at the head of thirteen hundred warriors. He wanted to enter Abū Ja'far's enclosure while on his horse; however, the chamberlain Sallām b. Sulaym stood before him and said, "Welcome to you, Abū Khalīd! Dismount in good order!" The enclosure was encircled by upwards of ten thousand men of Khurāsān, so Ibn Hubayrah dismounted. Sallām called for a cushion for Ibn Hubayrah to sit upon, and he sent for the officers to come in. Then Sallām said, "Go in, Abū Khalīd." The latter asked, "I and who else with me?" Sallām replied, "I sought permission for you alone." He went in, and a cushion was placed for him, and he spoke with him a while. Then he rose to leave and Abū Ja'far followed him with his gaze until he disappeared from view. Ibn Hubayrah continued to visit Abū Ja'far, absenting himself one day and waiting on him the next, at the head of five hundred riders and three hundred foot soldiers. Yazīd b. Hātim then said to Abū Ja'far, "Truly, Amir, Ibn Hubayrah comes here and the whole camp is humble before him; nothing is lacking in his sovereignty. If he is to make a progress with all this cavalry and infantry, what will 'Abd al-Jabbār and Jahwar say?" Then Abū Ja'far told Sallām, "Tell Ibn Hubayrah to leave this crowd behind him and come to us with a retinue [of about thirty]." Sallām told Ibn Hubayrah this and his face changed. He then came with a retinue of about thirty, and Sallām said to him, "It seems you come so proudly!" He replied, "If you order us to, we shall come on foot."

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441. The text of the document was reportedly framed by Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The agreements forced upon Abū Ja'far by the document were so carefully worded that they made him very uneasy.

442. The text has bukhāriyyah, which seems most unlikely. Following a suggestion in the textual apparatus, the reading muhāribah has been adopted.

443. The words in brackets are missing in the text, and are supplied by the Cairo edition.
Sallām told him, "We do not wish to treat you lightly; the Amir ordered what he did so as to pay full attention to you." After that, Ibn Hubayrah would come with three companions.

**The Death of Ibn Hubayrah**

Abū Zayd reported the following from Muḥammad b. Kathir: Ibn Hubayrah spoke to Abū Ja'far one day and said, "Look here," or "O man." Then he came back and said, "O Amir, it has been my fashion to address people as I just spoke to you, and my tongue slipped, forcing me to say something I did not intend." Abū al-'Abbās used to press Abū Ja'far, ordering him to kill Ibn Hubayrah. But Abū Ja'far would refer it back to him, until finally Abū al-'Abbās wrote him, "By God, you shall certainly kill him, or I will certainly send someone to drag him out of your enclosure." At this, he undertook to have Ibn Hubayrah killed and made up his mind to do it. He sent Khāzīm b. Khuzaymah and al-Haytham b. Shu'bah b. Zuhayr and ordered them to seal the treasuries. He then sent for the leading men of the Qays and Mudar who were with Ibn Hubayrah. Coming to him were Muḥammad b. Nubātah, Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl, Tāriq b. Qudāmah, Ziyād b. Suwayd, Abū Bakr b. Ka'b al-'Uqayli, Abān and Bishr the two sons of 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr, with twenty-two men of the Qays, as well as Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah and Hāzzān b. Sa'd. Sallām b. Sulaym went out and said, "Where are Hawtharah and Muḥammad b. Nubātah?" They both stood up and went in. 'Uthmān b. Nahik, al-Fadl b. Sulaymān and Mūsā b. 'Aqil had been sitting with one hundred men in an enclosure outside Abū Ja'far's enclosure. Both men had their swords taken away and their hands pinioned behind their backs. Then Bishr and Abān the sons of 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr entered, and the same was done with them. Then Abū Bakr b. Ka'b and Tāriq b. Qudāmah entered. At this, Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah rose up and said, "We are the chiefs of the army; why have these men been given precedence over us?" Sallām said, "What tribe are you from?" "From Bahra," he said. And Sallām said, "You would do well to get out of here." Then Hāzzān stood and spoke, and he was held back. Rawh b. Ḥātim then said, "Abū Ya'qūb, the men's swords have been taken away!" Mūsā b. 'Aqil now came out against them, and they told him, "You gave us an oath before God, and now you break it. We hope that God may catch up with you."
Ibn Nubâtah began to make rude noises in his beard, and Ḥawtharah told him, “That will be of no use to you.” He replied, “It seems to me I told you this would happen.” Then they were slain, and their signet rings were taken from them.

Khāzim, al-Haytham b. Shu‘bah and al-Aghlab b. Sālim went off with about a hundred men and sent word to Ibn Hubayrah, “We intend to transport the money.” Ibn Hubayrah told his chamberlain, “Go, Abū ‘Uthmān, and show them where it is.” They posted some men in each room, and began to look throughout the house. With Ibn Hubayrah were his son Dāwūd, his secretary ‘Amr b. Ayyūb, his chamberlain, and a number of his mawlās. Also with him was a very young son whom he held in his arms. He began to feel misgiving at their looks, and said, “I swear by God that there is evil in the faces of these men.” They came towards him, and his chamberlain stood up to them, and said, “Get out of here!” Al-Haytham b. Shu‘bah struck the chamberlain in the shoulder tendon, and felled him. His son Dāwūd put up a struggle and was killed, and his mawlās were slain. Ibn Hubayrah put aside the child in his arms and said, “You have no need for this little boy.” Then he prostrated himself in prayer, and was slain while prostrating himself. The slayers went with the heads to Abū Ja‘far, whereupon he proclaimed amnesty for all the important people except al-Hakam b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Bishr, Khalīd b. Salamah al-Makhzūmī and ‘Umar b. Dharr. However, Ziyād b. ‘Ubaydallāh sought pardon for Ibn Dharr, and Abū al-‘Abbās accorded it. Al-Hakam fumbled. Abū Ja‘far gave a guarantee of safety to Khalīd, but Abū al-‘Abbās had Khalīd killed and did not honor Abū Ja‘far’s guarantee. Abū ‘Allāqah and Hishām b. Hashim b. Șafwah b. Mazayad, both of the Banū Fazzar, fled, but Hujr b. Sa‘īd al-Ṭā‘ī caught up with them and killed them both at the Zāb. Abū al-‘Ata‘ al-Sindi recited in lament:

Surely an eye that did not find that day at Wāṣit for you its tears overflowing was incapable of tears, for evening when the wailing women rose, and torn
were neck-openings at their hands, and cheeks were gashed.
And if your courtyard is empty at evening now, yet often there used to stay in it envoys after envoys.

You are not far away from one who frequents your grave, though surely one who lies beneath the dust is far.

Munqidh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hilālī recited in a lament:

The burning in my breast forbade all consolation and grief prevented my heart’s firm resolve on patience,

When once I heard a blow that struck all white my hair at its place of parting.

Vanished those noble defenders, when appeared snares of treachery, and promises were broken.

That noose entrapped in its toil a man like the full moon, by stars surrounded.

A crier proclaimed the report of their death, and I said, “Why did you not come with the cry of Doomsday?

May God reckon with you, you who assert to us that the vicissitudes of time have encompassed him.”

Who is there for the minbars, after their perishing, or who could supply their excellent qualities of character?

Whenever I remember them, my heart complains of pain for the bright-faced cavaliers

Slain at the Tigris, nothing could cover them but billows of raging waves of the sea.

Now let our womenfolk weep for their riders, best of defenders, through nights of terror.

The 'Abbāsid Revolution

‘Umar b. Hubayrah for his daughter as wife for Hishām’s son Mu‘āwiyyah, but Yazīd refused. After this some words passed between Yazīd b. ‘Umar and al-Walīd b. al-Qa‘qa’, and Hishām sent Yazīd to al-Walīd b. Qa‘qa’, who beat him and had him incarcerated. Then Ibn Ṭaysalah recited:

Little good is there for men who have no intelligence. who will justly treat the man detained at Aleppo,

A man never struck by time’s mischances but he made light of it, with heart at ease?

It is said that when Abu al-‘Abbas sent Abu al-Ja’far to Wāṣit to fight Ibn Hubayrah, he wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Qahtabah, “The army is your army, and the officers are your officers. Still, I should like for my brother to be present, so listen to him and obey him and help him as best you can.” He wrote something similar to Abu Nasr Mālik b. Haytham. Then al-Ḥasan was the one who managed the army, by al-Manṣūr (Abū Ja’far)’s orders.

Other Events

This same year Abū Muslim sent Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath to rule Fārs, commanding him to seize the governors of Abū Salamah there and cut off their heads. This he did.

In the same year Abū al-‘Abbās sent his paternal uncle ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī to Fārs, which Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath was controlling, and Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath worried what to do. Someone told him, “This is not a man you can treat like others.” He however replied, “On the contrary, Abū Muslim ordered me not to let anyone he had not sent come here claiming to be a governor without cutting off his head.” He shrank from that, fearing what the consequences might be, but he obliged ‘Īsā by the most binding oath not to go up into a minbar, nor to gird on a sword except on jihād. ‘Īsā never held a governorship after that, nor put on a sword except in a campaign. After this, Abū al-‘Abbās sent Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī as governor over Fārs.

In this year, Abū al-‘Abbās sent his brother Abū Ja’far to the Jazī-
The Events of the Year 132

rah, Adharbayjan and Armenia as governor, and his brother Yaḥyā as
governor for Mosul.445

He also removed his paternal uncle Dāwūd b. ʿAḷī as governor of
Kūfah and its territory and gave him Madīnah, Mecca, the Yaman
and Yamāmah to govern. In his place over Kūfah and its territory he
appointed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

In this year, while he was in the Jazīrah Marwān had dismissed al-
Walīd b. ʿUrwah as governor of Madīnah, and he appointed in his
place al-Walīd’s brother Yūsūf b. ʿUrwah. Al-Wāqīdī mentions that
he came to Madīnah on the fourth of Rabī‘ 1 [October 10, 750].

This year ʿĪsā b. Mūsā appointed Ibn Abī Laylā as judge for Kūfah.
The governor for Bāṣrah this year was Sūfīyān b. Muʿāwiyah al-
Muḥallabī. Al-Hajjāj b. Aṛṭāḥ was in charge of the judiciary there.
The governor of Fārs was Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, and that of Sind
was Mānṣūr b. Jumḥūr.446 ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad governed the
Jazīrah, Armenia, and Adharbayjan, while Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad
governed Mosul. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAḷī governed the Syrian provinces,
Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd governed Egypt, Abū Muslim
ruled Khurāsān and Jībāl, and the Landtax Bureau was headed by
Khālid b. Barmak. The leader of the Pilgrimage this year was Dāwūd
b. ʿAḷī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās.

445. Azdī states that this occurred the following year, 133 (749–750), and gives eye-
witness reports of the pitiless massacre of the inhabitants carried out by Yaḥyā to
punish them for repudiating the previous governor, a mawla of the Ḥijāz tribe of
Khathʿam. See Azdī, 145–53; Ibn Athīr, IV, 339–40. Tabarī does not mention this act
of the new dynasty, in which the people were persuaded to come out of hiding by
proclamation of a general amnesty and then slain, it is said to the number of about
thirty thousand men, women and children. Azdī also alludes to ʿAbbāsid massacres in
Syria.

446. Tabarī does not discuss it, but this perennial rebel against the Qaysis had at
last joined the ʿAbbāsid revolt and had been rewarded with the governorate of Sind.
See Omar, 161.
The Events of this Year

Among the events, Abū al-ʿAbbās sent his paternal uncle Sulaymān b. ʿAli as governor for Baṣrah and its dependencies, as well as the Tigris districts, Bahrayn, ʿUmān and Mihrijānqadhaq.°° His paternal uncle Ismāʿīl b. ʿAli was made governor of the districts of Ahwāz.

This year Dāwud b. ʿAli slew all members of the family of Umayyah arrested at Mecca and Madinah.

In this year also, Dāwud b. ʿAli died at Madinah during Rabiʿ I (ca. October 18 – November 16, 750). His governorship, according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, lasted three months. He had chosen his son Mūsā to succeed him when his death drew near, but when the word of his death reached Abū al-ʿAbbās, the Caliph sent his maternal uncle Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān al-Ḥarīthi as governor for Madinah, Mecca, Taʿif and Yamāmah, and he sent Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān as governor for the Yaman. This man arrived in the Yaman in Jumādā I [December

°° Mihrijānqadhaq was a fertile district in the extreme west of Jibāl. The major town was Saymarah. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam s.v. Mihrijānqadhaq, and LeStrange, Lands, 184, 202.
The Events of the Year 133

16, 750–January 14, 751). Ziyād stayed at Madinah, while Muḥammad went on to the Yaman. Then Ziyād sent Ibrāhīm b. Ḥassān al-Sulami, who was Abū Ḥammād al-Abraṣ, against al-Muthannā b. Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Ḥubayrah, who was in Yamāmah. Abū Ḥammād killed him and slew his followers.

This year Abū al-ʿAbbās wrote to Abū ʿAwn, continuing his appointment as governor of Egypt. He did the same with ʿAbdallāh and Ṣāliḥ, the sons of ʿAli, who ruled over the military districts in Syria.

He also sent Muḥammad b. al-ʿAsh’ath to Ifrīqiyyah, and the latter engaged in fierce combat with (the Berber Kharijites) until he conquered the province.

This year Sharik b. Shaykh al-Mahri rebelled against Abū Muslim in Khurāsān at Bukhārah and reviled him, saying, “It was not for this that we followed the family of Muḥammad, to shed blood and act unjustly.” More than thirty thousand men followed his banner, so that Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, who fought him and slew him.

Also, Abū Muslim sent Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm from the Oxus to Khuttal, and he entered the country. Ḥanash b. al-Subul, the king there, did not oppose him, but the leading men among the diḥqāns of Khuttal came to him and put themselves in the fortress with him, while some of them resisted along the roads and in the mountain passes and forts. When Abū Dāwud pressed Ḥanash, he went out from his fortress by night accompanied by his diḥqāns and his Shākiyyah to the land of Farghānah, and from there to the land of the Turks, until he came to the King of China. Abū Dāwud took those he captured among the enemy and crossed back to Balkh, where he sent the captives to Abū Muslim.

In this year ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was slain by Sūlaymān, called al-Aswād, who killed him with a safe-conduct he had written for him.

In this year Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī sent Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh to lead the summer expedition behind the frontiers (of the Byzantines). Yaḥyā b.

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448. This man had been an early ʿAbbāsid partisan. Narshakhi states that his rebellion was in favor of the ʿAlids, though Ṭabarī, writing under the ʿAbbāsids, draws a veil over his affiliations. Sharik is quoted as saying that the plagues of the house of ʿAbbās should not afflict him, and that the children of the Prophet must be the Prophet's successors. See Narshakhi (trans.), 62.

449. Ibn Athīr gives his name as Ḥubaysh b. al-Shībl (IV, 342).
Muḥammad was removed from the governorship of Mosul, and Ismāʿil b. ʿAli was appointed in his place. Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithi led the Pilgrimage this year, as I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit—Iṣḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidi and others say the same.

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā governed Kūfah and its surrounding territory, while Ibn Abī Laylā was in charge of the judiciary there. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī governed Başrah, its dependencies, the Tigris districts, Bahrayn, ʿUmān, ʿIrd and Mihrijānqadhaq. In charge of the judiciary was ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr. Ismāʿil b. ʿAlī governed Ahwaz, and Muḥammad b. al-ʿAshʿath governed Fārs. The governor of Sind was Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, and Abū Muslim governed Khurāsān and Jībāl. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī governed Qinnasrin, Ḥims, the districts of Damascus and the Jordan. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī governed Palestine.


Khālid b. Barmak headed the Landtax Bureau.

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450. An ʿird is an Arabian wādi with villages and palms. The ʿIrd was a district contiguous to ʿUmān, part of Yamāmah in East Arabia. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam s.v. ʿIrd.
The Rebellion of Bassām b. Ibrāhīm

In this year Bassām b. Ibrāhīm b. Bassām rebelled and threw off his allegiance.451 According to what has been mentioned, he was a leading cavalryman of Khurāsān. He left the army of Abū al-'Abbās the Commander of the Faithful with a group of sympathizers who sought to keep their departure secret.452 The Caliph made close inquiries to their purpose and where they were heading, until it was found that they were at Madā‘in. Abū al-'Abbās then sent Khāzīm b. Khuzaymah after them. When he found Bassām, they came out to fight him. Bassām and his followers were put to flight, and most of them were slain. His camp was destroyed, and Khāzīm and his followers went on to pursue them in the district of Jūkhā453 until he came to Māh. Khāzīm slew all of them he encountered, whether they fled or stood to fight. Then Khāzīm turned back and passed by Dhāt al-Maṭāmīr, or a village resembling it, where were some of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b, of the Banū ʿAbd al-Madān—they were the

451. See Azdi, 140, sub anno 133, who says that Bassām revolted in Tadmur, among the Kalb, and called for an ʿAlid caliphate.
452. The text is mustabshīrin, corrected by the Cairo edition to mustasirrin.
453. A district along what was then the dried-up eastern bed of the Tigris, stretching northwest to Kaskar. See LeStrange, Lands. 42.
less prestigious maternal kindred of Abū al-ʿAbbās. He passed by them while they were holding a gathering. They were thirty-five men, eighteen being from their own clan and others, and seventeen from their mawlās. Khāzim did not salute them, and as he passed they reviled him.\(^{454}\) He held a grudge against them already because of what he had heard that they had done regarding al-Mughirah b. al-Faz', one of Bassām b. Ibrāhīm's followers who had taken refuge with them. Khāzim wheeled around and went back, and he asked them about al-Mughirah's stay among them. They replied, "A man passed through here. We did not know him. He stayed in our village one night and left." Then Khāzim said, "You are the maternal relatives of the Commander of the Faithful and his enemy comes to you and finds shelter in your village! Why didn't you get together and seize him?" They gave him a rough answer, whereupon he ordered that all of them be beheaded. Their houses were demolished, and their property plundered. Then he went back to Abū al-ʿAbbās.

Word of what Khāzim had done came to the Yamani tribesmen, who dwelt on the magnitude of it in full accord. Then Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithi went to see Abū al-ʿAbbās with ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithi, ʿUthmān b. Nahīk and ʿAbd al-Jabbar b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who at that time was chief of security for Abū al-ʿAbbās. They said, "Commander of the Faithful, a servant of yours\(^{455}\) has dared to do something which the nearest and dearest of your father's sons would not venture to do against you. That is, he has made light of your justice and has slain your maternal relatives. They had left their home and come to you to glory in you, seeking your benevolence—then, when they had come to your abode and sought protection in your vicinity, Khāzim pounced on them and cut off their heads, destroyed their homes, carried off their possessions and ruined their estates, without their having done anything against him!" At this, Abū al-ʿAbbās proposed killing Khāzim, and word of it came to Mūsā b. Ka'b and Abū al-Jahm b. ʿAṭīyyah. They went to Abū al-ʿAbbās and said, "Word has reached us, Commander of the Faithful, of what these people have said to you against Khāzim, how they have advised you to kill him, and what you have proposed to do

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\(^{454}\) Khāzim was a Northern Tamimi, and they were from the once Christian Yamani tribe of Najrān and its vicinity, which may have predisposed them to hostility. Khāzim offered offense by not saying "peace" as he rode by.

\(^{455}\) The text is khāzim; read khādim with the Cairo edition.
about this. We invoke God's protection upon you against that. He has a record of obedience and long service. May he be forgiven for what he has done. Your Shi'a among the people of Khurasan have preferred you to their closest sons and fathers and brothers, and they killed all those who opposed you. You are the one whom their wrongdoing has strengthened most. If you are absolutely determined on his death, then do not undertake that yourself. Rather, put him among those who are sent where, if he is slain, you will have attained what you desire, and if he is victorious, then his victory will be yours." They advised him to send Khâzîm against those of the (Ibâdi) Khârijites who were in 'Uman, i.e., against al-Julandâ and his followers, and against the (Ṣufri) Khârijites who were on the island of Ibn Kâwân with Shaybân b. 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Yashkuri. Thus Abû al-'Abbâs commanded that he be sent with seven hundred men and wrote to Sulaymân b. 'Alî at Basrah to transport them in vessels to the island of Ibn Kâwân and 'Uman. Khâzîm then set out.

In this year, Khâzîm b. Khuzaymah set out for 'Uman, and attacked the Khârijites situated there. He conquered it and the neighboring lands and slew Shaybân the Khârijite.

The Account of What Occurred in 'Uman

It is mentioned that Khâzîm b. Khuzaymah set out at the head of seven hundred men whom Abû al-'Abbâs had given him. He also chose men of his house as well as cousins of his and his mawłâs and men of Marwarrûdh whom he knew and could depend upon. They went to Basrah, where Sulaymân b. 'Alî supplied them with ships, and where a number of the Banû Tamîm at Basrah joined him. They sailed until they landed at the island of Ibn Kâwân, and Khâzîm sent Na'dalah b. Nu'aym al-Nahshali with five hundred of his men against Shaybân. They met and fought a violent battle. Shaybân and his followers then took to boats and crossed over to 'Uman. They were Ṣufrîs, and when they came to 'Uman, al-Julandâ and his followers, who were Ibâdis, stood ready to do combat with them. They fought a pitched battle, and Shaybân and those accompanying him were killed. Then Khâzîm set sail with his following until they reached the coast of 'Uman, and there went into the desert. Al-Julandâ and his followers encountered them, and they fought a sharp engagement. Many of Khâzîm's followers were killed that day. At
the time they were on a stretch along the sea. Among those slain was a brother of Khāzim by the same mother, called Ismā'īl, along with ninety men of the Marwarrūdh contingent. They clashed again on the following day and fought a sharp battle. Commanding Khāzim’s right wing was a man from Marwarrūdh called Ḥumayd al-Wartakānī, on his left was a man of Marwarrūdh called Muslim al-Arghādī, and Naḍalah b. Nu‘aym al-Nahshāli was in command of the vanguard. On this day, nine hundred of the Khārijites were killed, and some ninety of them were burned. Seven days later, Khāzim’s chief men agreed on an expedient suggested to him by a man of al-Ṣughd who happened to be in that country. He advised him to command his followers to fix tow on the ends of their spears and soak this in naptha and set fire to it, and then go with these and set fire to the dwellings of al-Julandā’s followers, which were made of wood and withes. They did this and set fire to the houses. While the Khārijites were busy saving them and their children and families who were in them, Khāzim and his men pressed the attack and laid on with their swords, meeting little resistance from them. Al-Julandā was one of those who were slain, and the number came to ten thousand. Khāzim sent their heads to Başrah where they remained some days before being sent to Abū al-‘Abbās. Khāzim stayed [in ‘Uman] some months until a letter from Abū al-‘Abbās arrived bidding him to come back, and they returned.

This year Abū Davud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm raided the people of Kashsh⁴⁵⁶ and killed its ruler, al-Ikhrid. He was a loyal vassal who had come before this to Abū Dawud at Balkh. Then he met him at Kandak,⁴⁵⁷ near Kashsh. When he slew them Abū Davud took from al-Ikhrid and his followers some ornamented and gilded Chinese vessels, the likes of which had not been seen. He also took Chinese saddles and furnishings, all of brocade and other stuffs, and many rare things of China. He transported all of this to Abū Muslim, who was at Samarqand. Abū Davud slew the dihqān of Kashsh along with a number of other dihqāns, but he spared Tārān, the brother of al-Ikhrid, and made him ruler of Kashsh. He took Ibn al-Najāh and returned him to his own country, and Abū Muslim de-

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⁴⁵⁶. Also known as Kash, later as Shahr-i Sabz. It was a town situated in the province of Šughd. See LeStrange, _Lands_, 441–43, 465, 470, 472; EI² s.v. Kash.
⁴⁵⁷. See LeStrange, _Lands_, 472.
parted for Marw after slaying some of the people of Şughd and Bukhârâ. He ordered a wall to be built around Samarqand. He appointed Ziyâd b. Sâlih over Şughd and Bukhârâ, and then Abû Dâwûd went back to Balkh.

In this year Abû al-‘Abbâs sent Mûsâ b. Ka’b to India to fight Manşûr b. Jumhûr.458 He assigned him monies for three thousand men, Arabs and mawlâs of Basrah, and a thousand men specifically chosen from the Banû Tamîm. He then set out, and al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr replaced him as chief of security for Abû al-‘Abbâs, subject to his arrival from Sind. Mûsâ met Manşûr b. Jumhûr at the head of twelve thousand men and put him and his followers to flight. Manşûr kept going, and died of thirst in the sands.

It has been said that a member of Manşûr’s clan killed him. Manşûr’s lieutenant learned of his defeat at Manşûrah459 and set off with Manşûr’s family and treasures. Leaving with them a number of trusted men, he entered the land of the Khazars.460

This year Muhammâd b. Yazîd b. ‘Abdallâh died while he was governor of the Yaman, so Abû al-‘Abbâs wrote to ‘Alî b. al-Rabî’ b. ‘Ubaydallâh al-Ḥârîthi, the functionary of Ziyâd b. ‘Ubaydallâh for Mecca, appointing him as governor of the Yaman. ‘Alî then went there.

This same year Abû al-‘Abbâs moved from Hîrâh to Anbâr.461 This, according to al-Wâqîdî and other authorities, was in Dhu al-Ḥijjah (June 19–July 13, 752).

In this year Şâlih b. Şubayh was removed from Armenia, and Yazîd b. Asîd462 was appointed in his place. In this year Mujâshî b. Yazîd was removed from Adhîrâyân, and Muhammâd b. Şul was appointed for that province.

In this year the beacon system and milestones were set up from

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458. Al-Baladhuri states that Abû Muslim appointed another governor for Sind, whom the old Kalbite warrior then slew. At this, Abû Muslim sent Mûsâ b. Ka’b. Ṭabarî says the Caliph sent Mûsâ and does not say why. See al-Baladhuri, Futuh III, p. 343.

459. The capital of Sind. See LeStrange, Lands, 331.

460. The kingdom of Turks and Huns in the south Russian steppes which later converted to Judaism. See EI² s.v. Khazar. It is a very long way from Sind to the land of the Khazars.

461. For the ‘Abbâsid capital at Anbâr known as Hâshimiyah, see Lassner, ‘Abbâsid Rule, 153–57.

462. The text is Usayd. The Cairo edition gives Asîd, a rare name, but here probable. See n. 150 above.
Kūfah to Mecca. The leader of the Pilgrimage was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who was governor of Kūfah and its territories.

In charge of the judiciary at Kūfah was Ibn Abī Laylā, and Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh was governor of Mecca, Madinah, Tāʾīf and Yamāmah. ʿĀlī b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī governed the Yaman. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī was governor of Baṣrah and the Tigris districts, Bahrayn, ʿUmān, ʿIrād and Mihrijānqadḥaq. ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr was in charge of its judiciary. Mūsā b. Kaʿb was governor of Sind; Abū Muslim was governor of Khurāsān and Jībal; ʿAlī b. ʿAlī governed Palestine; Abū ʿAwn governed Egypt; Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī governed Mosul; Yazīd b. Asid governed Armenia; and Muḥammad b. Ṣūl governed Ādharbayjān. The Landtax Bureau was headed by Khālid b. Barmak. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad (Abū Jaʿfar) governed the Jazīrah, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī governed Qinnasrin, Ḥims, the districts of Damascus and the Jordan.
The Rebellion of Ziyad b. Šāliḥ in Transoxania

Among the events of this year was the rebellion of Ziyad b. Šāliḥ, beyond the river of Balkh (the Oxus).\textsuperscript{463} Abū Muslim set out from Marw, prepared to encounter him, while Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm sent Naṣr b. Rāshid to Tirmidh\textsuperscript{464} and ordered him to establish himself at the town, to prevent Ziyad b. Šāliḥ from sending men and gaining possession of the fortress and the boats there. This Naṣr did. He stayed there for some days, and then some of the people of the Rāwandiyyah\textsuperscript{465} from Tālaqān,\textsuperscript{466} led by a man with the pat-

\textsuperscript{463} For this revolt see Daniel, \textit{Khurāsān Under 'Abbāsid Rule}, 111–12.

\textsuperscript{464} The major town of the Ṣaghāniyān district north of the Oxus at its junction with the Zamil river. It was a great entrepot for trade coming from the north to Khurasān. See LeStrange, \textit{Lands}, 240.

\textsuperscript{465} Named after the village of Rāwand near Naysābūr (Nishāpūr) the Rāwandiyyah were apparently identical with the Hāshimiyyah Shi‘ah, who believed that Abū Hāšhim b. Muḥammad b. 'Ali had passed the Imāmate to the 'Abbāsids. The Rāwandiyyah included many Iranian converts. See Baghdadi, \textit{Farq}, trans. by Halkin, 74–75; also Lassner, \textit{'Abbāsid Rule}, 109ff.

\textsuperscript{466} A great city between Balkh and Marwarrūd. See LeStrange, \textit{Lands}, 423–24 (Ṭāliqān). Tālaqān was the scene of the first great victory won by Abū Muslim. See Yāqūt, \textit{Mu’jam}, II, 129–30 s.v. Junduwayh.
ronymic of Abū Ishāq, rebelled against him and slew him. When Abū Dāwūd learned this, he sent īsā b. Mahān in pursuit of Naṣr’s murderers, and īsā tracked them down and killed them.

Abū Muslim marched quickly, until he arrived at Amul. With him was Sibā’ b. al-Nu’mān. This was the man who had brought the appointment of Ziyād b. Šāliḥ on behalf of Abū al-ʿAbbās and ordered him, if he found an opportunity, to fall upon Abū Muslim and slay him. Abū Muslim was informed of that, so he gave Sibā’ b. Nu’mān over to al-Ḥasan b. Junayd, his governor at Amul, and ordered al-Ḥasan to confine him there. Then Abū Muslim crossed over to Bukhārā, and when he halted there, Abū Shākir and Abū Sa’d al-Sharawī came to him with officers who had deserted Ziyād. Abū Muslim questioned them about Ziyād’s affair and who had corrupted him. They told him, “It was Sibā’ b. al-Nu’mān.” At this he wrote to his governor at Amul to give Sibā’ a hundred lashes and then behead him. This he did.

When Ziyād’s officers betrayed him and went over to Abū Muslim, he fled to the dihqān of Bārkath, but the dihqān pounced on him, cut off his head and brought it to Abū Muslim.

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467. Ṭabarī is reticent here. This man is Abū Ishāq Khalīd b. ‘Uthmān, ‘Abbāsid dāʿī and mawla of Khuzā’ah, who had once been chief of Abū Muslim’s guard. The slaying is linked with rebellion against Abū Muslim among the ‘Abbāsid Shi’ah, possibly fomented by the Caliph and his brother.

468. That is, the Amul on the Oxus about 120 miles northeast of Marw. See LeStrange, Lands, 404.

469. Here Ṭabarī lets out the secret. Abū Muslim had appointed Ziyād b. Šāliḥ, a mawla of Khuzā’ah and ‘Abbāsid dāʿī, governor of Sughd. The Caliph however had sent him a deed of appointment of his own behalf, with instructions to kill Abū Muslim. A key to this covert struggle between the Caliph and the governor of Khurasan was the control of appointments of governors in the eastern provinces, as we have seen in Fārs and Sind. Baladhuri indicates that the Caliph had appointed Ziyād governor of Khurasān; no doubt in the event that he could rid him of Abū Muslim. See Omar, ‘Abbāsid Caliphate, 159–60, quoting Ansāb al-Asahrāf, Paris manuscript, fol. 800b. Abū Muslim apparently intended to appoint the governors of the eastern provinces and wage jiḥād in Central Asia (and India?) at his own discretion, as the Umayyad viceroys of Iraq and the East had once done. The ‘Abbāsids however planned a more centralized regime. The man the Caliph chose as his messenger to Ziyād b. Šāliḥ, Sibā’ b. Nu’mān al-Azdi, had been a follower of Juday’ al-Kirmānī, and then had been appointed by Abū Muslim as his governor for Samarqand (Ṭabarī, II, 2001). Abū al-ʾAbbās had now acquired his services. When Abū Muslim took his revenge on Ziyād, and later on īsā b. Māhān, however, the Caliph feigned innocence and congratulated Abū Muslim on dealing with them. See Omar, ‘Abbāsid Caliphate, 161, quoting Baladhuri in the unpublished portion of the Ansāb.

470. Bārkath was the major town of the Buzmājān district one day’s journey north-
Abū Dāwūd delayed in presenting himself before Abū Muslim, due to the affair of the Rāwandīyyah who had rebelled. At this, Abū Muslim wrote him as follows, "Let your dread be eased and your heart be at peace, for God has slain Ziyād; so come." Abū Dāwūd then went to Kashsh and sent lĪsā b. Māḥān to Bassām.47 He sent al-Najāh to the Ispahbadh at Shāwaghar,471 and Ibn al-Najāh besieged the fortress there. As for the people of Shāwaghar, they asked for peace, and it was granted. As for Bassām, lĪsā b. Māḥān could get nowhere with him. Then Abū Muslim uncovered sixteen letters from lĪsā b. Māḥān to Kāmil b. Muẓaffar, the friend of Abū Muslim, in which he blamed Abū Dāwūd, accusing him of tribalism (lāsābiyyah), and of preferring Arabs and his own tribe to all people of the 'Abbāsid movement. lĪsā also accused him of having thirty-six tents in his camp for those to whom he had guaranteed protection. These letters Abū Muslim sent to Abū Dāwūd, and wrote to him, "These are the letters of a barbarian (lIj) whom you rendered even as yourself, do with him as you will." At this, Abū Dāwūd wrote lĪsā b. Māḥān to come back to him from Bassām. When he arrived, he arrested him and handed him over to 'Umar al-Naghm, at whose hands he remained in confinement. Then after two or three days he sent for lĪsā and reminded him of all that he had done for him and how he had preferred him even above his own sons, and he acknowledged all of that. Abū Dāwūd then said, "Then the reward for all that I did for you was that you slandered me and desired my death?" This lĪsā denied, whereupon Abū Dāwūd produced his letters, and he confessed that they were his. Abū Dāwūd inflicted two legal punishments on him at that time, one of them on account of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamdān.473 Abū Dāwūd then said, "As for me, I have left you in east of Samarqand. See LeStrange, Lands, 466. The dihqāns of Central Asia were, for the most part, loyal to Abū Muslim out of fear or self-interest, or both.

471. Bassām b. Ibrāhīm was still at large, after leading a pro-'Alid revolt against the 'Abbāsids in 133 [749–750], though where he was is not clear.

472. "Ispahbadh" was a title used by a number of Persian and even Turkish princes. See EI2 s.v. Ispahbadh. Shāwaghar was a city in the land of the Turks, probably the one later called Yasi. See LeStrange, Lands, 435. We are not told why Ibn al-Najāh was sent there, but as the 'Abbāsids expanded to the east and the Chinese to the west, the Turkish principalities were being asked to take sides.

473. Tabarī mentions this man only here and gives no reason for lĪsā’s culpability. Narshakhi however mentions one Ḥamzah al-Ḥamdānī, a supporter of Sharik b. Shaykh at Bukhārā, who was ambushed with his men. See Narshakhi, Frye translation, 63.
your sins, but the army has the final word. Depart in your chains.” When he was sent out from the tents, Ħarb b. Ziyād and ˤAfṣ b. Dīnār, the mawlā of Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn, fell upon him striking him with clubs and battleaxes, and he fell to the ground. Some men of Ṭalaqān and others ran to him, put him in a sack, and struck him with clubs until he died. Abū Muslim then returned to Marw.

Other Events

Sulaymān b. ʿAlī led the Pilgrimage for this year, and he was governor for Basrah and its dependencies. ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr was in charge of the judiciary. The governor of Mecca was al-ʾAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad b. ʿAbbās, and the governor of Madinah was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī. The governor of Kūfah and its territory was ʿIsā b. Mūsā, and Ibn Abi Laylā was in charge of the judiciary. Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr was governor of the Jazīrah, and Abū ʿAwn was governor of Egypt. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī governed ˤImṣ, Qinnasrin, Baʿalbakk, the Ghūṭah, Ḥawrān, the Jawlān, and the Jordan. ˤAlī b. ʿAlī was governor of the Balqāʾ and Palestine, and Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī governed Mosul. Muḥammad b. ˤūl was governor for Adhārbayjān, and Khālid b. Barmak headed the Landtax Bureau.

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474. Ibn Māḥān may have slain relatives of theirs in fighting the Rawandiyyah of Ṭalaqān. Wrapping him in a sack and beating him to death in concert would have avoided any specific guilt for killing him for which revenge could be exacted from an individual.
THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR

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(JULY 7, 753—JUNE 26, 754)

In this year Abū Muslim came to Iraq from Khurāsān to visit Abū al-`Abbās the Commander of the Faithful.

What Happened When Abū Muslim Came to the Caliph

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad—al-Haytham b. `Adī, also al-Walīd b. Hishām—his father: Abū Muslim stayed on in Khurāsān until finally he wrote to Abū al-`Abbās requesting permission to present himself. The Caliph assented to this, and Abū Muslim came to Abū al-`Abbās at Anbār with an enormous contingent of the Khurāsān army, as well as others who followed him. Abū al-`Abbās ordered the important people to go and meet him, and they did. Then he went to where Abū al-`Abbās was, and went in to meet him. Abū al-`Abbās made much of him and showed him favor. Then he requested Abū al-`Abbās’s permission to go on the Pilgrimage, and he told him, “If only Abū Jaʿfar were not making the Pilgrimage this year, I would have made you my appointee for the Pilgrimage season.” He lodged Abū Muslim close by, and each day the latter would present himself and offer his respects. There was however a coolness between Abū Jaʿfar and Abū Muslim, because Abū al-`Abbās had sent Abū Jaʿfar to Abū Muslim when he was at Naysābūr, after matters regarding Abū Muslim’s rule in Khurāsān were described to him, to exact his alle-
giance to Abū al-'Abbās and to Abū Ja'far as his heir. Abū Muslim and the army of Khurāsān had given the oath of allegiance to him, and Abū Ja'far stayed there for some days until he was finished with the matter of the oath. He then left, but Abū Muslim had slighted Abū Ja'far upon his arrival, and when he came back to Abū al-'Abbās he told him how he had been slighted.

According to 'Ali—al-Walīd—his father: When Abū Muslim came to Abū al-'Abbās, Abū Ja'far told the Caliph, "Commander of the Faithful, tell me and I will kill Abū Muslim, for by God, his head is full of treachery." However, Abū al-'Abbās said "My brother, you know the tests he has come through and what has happened because of him." Abū Ja'far replied, "Commander of the Faithful, that was only because of our revolution. By God, if you had sent a cat, it would have taken his place and done what he has done for this revolution." Then Abū al-'Abbās said, "How could we slay him?" Abū Ja'far replied, "When he has come in to see you and you are engaging him in conversation, while he is in front of you, I could come in and take him unawares and strike him a blow from behind that would take his life." Abū al-'Abbās said, "And what of his followers who hold him above their religion and all the world?" He replied, "All will result as you would desire. If they know he is already slain they will split up and be tractable." Abū al-'Abbās told him, "I beseech you not to carry this out." Abū Ja'far replied, "By God, I fear that if you do not breakfast on him today, he will dine on you tomorrow." The Caliph replied, "Then it is up to you. You know best [how to handle it]."

Abū Ja'far left his presence determined to carry it out, but Abū al-'Abbās had regrets and sent word to him, "Do not do that thing."

It is said that when Abū al-'Abbās had given Abū Ja'far permission to kill Abū Muslim, the latter came in to see the Caliph. Abū al-'Abbās sent a eunuch of his, saying, "Go see what Abū Ja'far is doing." He came to Abū Ja'far and found him sitting on his heels propped up by his sword. He asked the eunuch, "Is the Commander of the Faithful sitting in audience?" He replied, "He is just ready to sit." Then the eunuch went back to Abū al-'Abbās and told him what he had seen. At this, Abū al-'Abbās sent him back to Abū Ja'far, saying, "Tell him, 'Do not carry out the matter you have determined upon.'" At this Abū Ja'far desisted.
It was in this year that Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage, and Abū Muslim went on the Pilgrimage with him.

**Their Journey and a Description of Their Return to Abū al-‘Abbās**

As for Abū Muslim, according to what is mentioned, when he wished to present himself before Abū al-‘Abbās, he also wrote asking for permission to go on the pilgrimage. This was granted. Abū al-‘Abbās told him to come with five hundred soldiers, and Abū Muslim wrote, “I have irritated important people and am not sure that my life would be safe.” Abū al-‘Abbās then wrote him, “Come with a thousand. After all, you will be within the sovereignty of your own family and your own revolution. The road to Mecca will not bear any army.” He set off at the head of eight thousand, and thinned them out between Naysābūr and Rayy. He brought with him great wealth and treasures, and left these at Rayy. He also gathered together the money of Jibāl, and then left Rayy with a thousand men and came on. When he was ready to enter (the capital), the officers and various important people went to meet him. He then sought Abū al-‘Abbās’s permission to make the pilgrimage, and he granted it to him, saying, “If only Abū Ja’far were not making the pilgrimage I should appoint you to lead it this season.”

As for Abū Ja’far, he was the governor of the Jazīrah. According to al-Wāqīḍi, besides the Jazīrah, Abū Ja’far had Armenia and Adharbayjān. He chose Muqāṭīl b. Ḥakīm al-‘Akki as his deputy, and he came to Abū al-‘Abbās and asked his permission to make the pilgrimage.

According to ’Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Walid b. Ḥishām—he father: Abū Ja’far went to Mecca as a pilgrim and Abū Muslim made the pilgrimage with him in the year 136 (753–754). When the season of the pilgrimage was at an end, Abū Ja’far and Abū Muslim started back. When they were between Bustān and Dhat ‘Irq, a letter

475. The text is al-Jabal. The province of Jibāl must be intended, and the textual apparatus supports such a reading.

476. See Yaqūt, Muʿjam, III, 651 for Dhat ‘Irq. The reference to Bustān is to Bustān b. ‘Amīr, also known as Bustān b. Ma’mar. See Yaqūt, I, 611. The letter arrived when Abū Ja’far and Abū Muslim were still in the pilgrimage territory.
came for Abū Ja‘far that Abū al-‘Abbās had died. Abū Ja‘far who had preceded Abū Muslim by one stage, wrote to him, “Something has happened. Come quickly, quickly.” The messenger arrived and informed Abū Muslim, who came on and joined Abū Ja‘far, and together they came on to Kūfah.

In this year Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali had had the oath taken to his brother, Abū Ja‘far, to have the caliphate after him. He made him the heir-apparent of the Muslims, with ‘Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali as his successor. The Caliph recorded the deed of these appointments in a document, placed it in a container, sealed it with his own seal and the seals of his family, and entrusted it to ‘Īsā b. Mūsā.”

This year Abū al-‘Abbās the Commander of the Faithful died at Anbār on Sunday, the thirteenth of Dhū al-Hijjah 136 (June 10, 754). His death is said to have been due to smallpox.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: He died on the twelfth night of Dhū al-Hijjah (June 9, 754). There is a difference as to his age when he died; some have said he was thirty-three. Hishām b. Muḥammad says he was thirty-six years old, while others say he was twenty-eight.

His reign, from the time that Marwān b. Muḥammad was slain, lasted four years. From the time that he was acclaimed Caliph until he died, he ruled four years and eight months; some say nine. According to al-Wāqidi, he ruled four years and eight months, of which he spent eight months and four days fighting Marwān. He then reigned four years after the death of Marwān.

According to what is mentioned, he had curly hair, and was tall and white-skinned, with a hooked nose and a handsome face and beard. His mother was Rayṭah bt. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Madān b. al-Dayyān al-Ḥārithī. His wazīr was Abū al-Jahm b. ‘Aṭiyyah.

His paternal uncle ‘Īsā b. ‘Ali prayed over him and buried him in his palace in the old city of Anbār. According to what is mentioned in the sources, he left behind nine full-sleeved gowns, four long gowns, five pairs of trousers, four cloaks, and three silk gowns.

477. The significance of Abū Ja‘far’s appointment is discussed in Lassner, 'Abbāsid Rule. 19–38.
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The index contains all proper names of persons, places, tribal and other groups, as well as topographical data, occurring in the introduction, the text, and the footnotes. However, as far as the footnotes are concerned, only those names that belong to the medieval or earlier periods are listed.

The definite article, the abbreviation b. (for ibn, son) and bt. (for bint, daughter), and everything in parentheses are disregarded for the purposes of alphabetization. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, both page and footnote are given, separated by a comma. If it occurs only in the footnote, there is no comma.

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