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Introductory statement

9. Mon Oct 16 The Umayyad dynasty

- Txt: Lewis, ch. 4
9.1 Events of the years 91 and 92
9.2 Events of the year 126
9.3 Extracts on the Umayyad period

We now come to the first Islamic dynasty, that of the Umayyads (ruled 661-750); more precisely, it consists of two sub-dynasties, the Sufyanids and the Marwanids, with the break in 684. The chapter from Lewis gives you an outline of Umayyad history.

Readings 9.1 and 9.2 give you a sample of Tabari's coverage of the Umayyad period. (The account of the year 91 is incomplete, as I have cut a long section on Qutayba's military activities on the north-eastern frontier.) Refer back to Lewis as follows: pp. 78-9 for the conquests of the early eighth century; pp. 75-6 for the pietistic opposition in the Hijaz; and p. 81 for the last years of the dynasty. With the second reading, it is more important for you to pick out significant themes than to stay on top of all the complexities of the narrative. Here are a couple of questions you should think about in reading this material. One concerns the fact that Tabari's coverage is very uneven: some events that sound quite important to us are dismissed in a sentence, others are the subject of long and detailed narratives. How come? The second question is what these readings can tell us about the extent and nature of the opposition the Umayyads faced. Note that the two readings relate to significantly different periods: the first falls in the reign of Walid I (ruled 705-15), a time at which the Umayyads were firmly in the saddle; the second relates to a period in which Umayyad power was going to pieces.

Reading 9.3 starts with a kind of chronological map which should help to give you a sense of where we are and where we are going in terms of the overall shape of the political history of our period. It then provides a series of extracts mostly about what might be called political ideology: that of the Umayyad Caliphs on the one hand, and that of their sectarian enemies (Kharijites and Shi'ites) on the other. How does this material compare with the expressions of the Iranian imperial tradition which we met earlier in the course? By way of comparison with the views of the sectarians, I've added a couple of anecdotes about one of my favorite Sunni scholars.



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Edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater

The History of al-Ṭabarī

(*Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*)

VOLUME XXIII

The Zenith of the Marwānid House

translated and annotated
by

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State University of New York Press

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The Events of the Year

9 I

(NOVEMBER 9, 709—OCTOBER 28, 710)

In it, according to what Muḥammad b. 'Umar and others have mentioned, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walid made the summer campaign. In command of the army was Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik.

In it, too, Maslamah campaigned against the Turks until he reached al-Bāb⁵⁷⁴ in the region of Adharbayān. Cities and fortresses were conquered at his hands.

In it, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr campaigned against al-Andalus. Cities and fortresses were conquered at his hands.⁵⁷⁵

[Qutaybah's Campaign in Transoxania]

'Alī said: According to (i) Bishr b. 'Īsā—Abū Ṣafwān, (ii) Abū al-Sarī and Jabalah b. Farrūkh—Sulaymān b. Mujālid, (iii) al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd—Tufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī, (iv) Abū al-Sarī al-Marwazī—his paternal uncle, (v) Bishr b. 'Īsā and 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanbal b. Abī Ḥuraydah—the marzbān of Qūhīstān, (vi) 'Ayyāsh b. 'Abdallāh al-Ghanawī—Khurasani shaykhs, and (vii) my foster father—“each has mentioned something, and I have put it [all] together and have inserted some parts into other parts”. Qaybishtasbān⁵⁷⁶—one of them said Ghushhtāsbān⁵⁷⁶—the king of Shūmān, threw out Qutaybah's governor and withheld the tribute on the basis of which he had made peace with Qutaybah. Qutaybah sent to him 'Ayyāsh al-Ghanawī, accompanied by one of the Khurasani ascetics, to induce the king of Shūmān to pay the tribute on the basis of which he had made peace with Qutaybah. They reached the country, and [the people] came out to them and shot at them. [The ascetic] turned back, while 'Ayyāsh al-Ghanawī stayed [where he was]. He said, “[Is there no

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Muslim here?” and a man came out of the city to him and said, “I am a Muslim; what do you want?” [‘Ayyāsh] said, “[I want] you to help me make holy war [*jihād*] against them.” [The man] said, “Yes.” ‘Ayyāsh said to him, “Be behind me to protect my back,” and he stood behind him; the man's name was al-Muḥallab. ‘Ayyāsh fought them; he charged them, and they scattered away from him. [Then] al-Muḥallab attacked ‘Ayyāsh from behind and killed him. They found sixty wounds on him, and his death grieved them; they said, “We have killed a brave man.”

[News of this] reached Qutaybah, who went to them in person, taking the Balkh road. When he reached [Balkh], he sent his brother 'Abd al-Rahmān on ahead and placed 'Amr b. Muslim over Balkh. The king of Shūmān was a friend of Sāliḥ b. Muslim's, and Sāliḥ sent to him a man to order him to [render] obedience and guarantee him Qutaybah's pleasure if he reverted to the [terms of the] peace. [The king] refused and said to Sāliḥ's messenger, “With what will you make me frightened of Qutaybah? I, among the kings, have the strongest fortress. When I shoot at the top of it—I, the strongest of people with the bow and the strongest of them in shooting—my arrow does not [even] get halfway up my fortress. I do not fear Qutaybah.”

Qutaybah went on from Balkh, crossed the river, and reached Shūmān, where the king had fortified himself. Qutaybah set up mangonels against it and pounded it. When [the king] feared that he would be vanquished and saw what had befallen him, he gathered all the money and jewels he had and dropped them in a spring in the middle of the fortress, the bottom of which was not known.

[‘Alī] said: Then [Qutaybah] conquered the fortress. [The king] went out to them, fought them, and was killed. Qutaybah took the fortress by force of arms, killed the fighting men, and took the offspring captive. Then he returned to Bāb al-Ḥadīd,⁵⁷⁷ and passed from there to Kish and Nasaf. Al-Ḥajjāj had written to him, “Outwit Kish, and smash Nasaf, and beware of beating about the bush.”⁵⁷⁸ He conquered Kish and Nasaf, [but] F. ryāb⁵⁷⁹ held out

574. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 38ff.

575. Following the proposal of Marquart in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see also *Ērānshāhr*, p. 226 [= *Kat-Bīstāspān*]; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 372).

576. Following the proposal of Marquart in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see also *Ērānshāhr*, loc. cit. = *Ghushhtāspān*, and cf. above, p. 128 and n. 442).

577. The famous iron Gate, i.e., the Buzgala pass, on the road from al-Tirmidh to Kish and Nasaf [Barthold, *Turkestan*], p. 186; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 441-42).

578. Cf. above, p. 147.

579. Thus, too, in Ibn Kathir [*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 83], but this cannot be the

against him; so he burned it, and it was called "The Burnt."⁵⁸⁰ From Kish and Nasaf, Qutaybah sent his brother 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muslim to Tarkhūn in Soghd. ['Abd al-Rahmān] went along until he stopped at a meadow near [Tarkhūn and his followers], that being at the time of the afternoon prayer. [His army] broke up into groups and drank until they became silly and made mischief. 'Abd al-Rahmān ordered Abū Mardiyah, a mawlā of theirs (sc. the Bāhīlis), to prevent the people from drinking the [fermented] juice;⁵⁸¹ he beat them, broke their vessels, and poured out their wine, which flowed into the valley. It was called "Wine Mead-ow." One of their poets said (*kāmil*):

As for wine, I do not drink it;

I fear the dog Abū Mardiyah,

Going vigorously and violently with his ax handle,⁵⁸²
jumping over walls, [looking] for drink.

'Abd al-Rahmān took from Tarkhūn something on the basis of which Qutaybah had made peace with him, handed over to him [some] hostages that were with him, and departed [heading] for Qutaybah, who was at Bukhārā. They then returned to Marw.

The Soghdians said to Tarkhūn, "You have been satisfied with humiliation, and you have deemed the [paying of] tax agreeable; you are an old man, and we have no need of you."

['Alī] said: They put Ghūrak⁵⁸³ in charge and imprisoned Tarkhūn. Tarkhūn said, "There is nothing after being stripped of kingship other than being killed; I prefer that that should be by my [own] hand rather than that someone other than myself should take charge of it in respect of me"; and he leaned on his sword until it came out of his back.⁵⁸⁴ ['Alī] said: They did this to

well-known Faryāb, since the context is Transoxanian; see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 138 (also Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, pp. 435 [n. 3], 466).

⁵⁸⁰ As Barthold [*Turkestan*³, p. 138, citing al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, ser. ii, p. 1041] notes, a village in this area had become known as "The Burnt" as a result of the earlier activities of Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab.

⁵⁸¹ So rendering *al-'asir*, which was clearly alcoholic in this case (Dr. D. F. Waines has informed me that this sense of *'asir* is not uncommon).

⁵⁸² Preferring *bi-shikkatīhi*, as proposed by the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

⁵⁸³ Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*, rather than the text (see also Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 42 and n. 15 there); Ibn Kathir [*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 84] gives this form and says that Ghūrak was Tarkhūn's brother.

⁵⁸⁴ According to al-Ya'qūbī [*Tārīkh*, vol. II, p. 344]. Ghūrak killed Tarkhūn.

Tarkhūn when Qutaybah went out to Sijjīstān; and they put Ghūrak in charge.

As for the Bāhīlis, they say: Qutaybah besieged the king of Shūmān and set mangonels against his fortress. He set up a mangonel that they used to call "The Pigeon-Toed," shot the first stone, and hit the [city] wall; he shot another, and it landed in the city. Then the stones followed one another, and it landed in the city. One of them landed in the king's court, hitting a man and killing him. [Qutaybah] conquered the fortress by force of arms. Then he returned to Kish and Nasaf, and thence to Bukhārā. He stopped at a village in which there were a fire temple and a house of gods; in [this village] there were peacocks, and they called it "The Dwelling Place of the Peacocks."⁵⁸⁵ Then he went to Tarkhūn in Soghd, in order to collect from him that on the basis of which he had made peace with him. When he looked out on the valley of Soghd and saw how good it was, he recited [*basīṭ*]:

A green and fertile valley that has been protected

from people, out of caution against death and battle.⁵⁸⁶

I have come to it with fine horses, that are urged along,
bringing at a run tousle-headed [fighters]
thirsty for blood.

['Alī] said: [Qutaybah] took from Tarkhūn his [tribute as stipulated in the] peace. Then he returned to Bukhārā. He made a young man Bukhārā Khudhāb, and killed those he feared would oppose him. Then he went by way of Amul to Marw.

According to ['Alī]—the Bāhīlis—Bashshār b. 'Amr—a man from Bāhilah: [Qutaybah's men] kept on bombarding their buildings until the fortress was conquered.

[*Khālīd al-Qasrī's Strict Governorship of Mecca*]

In this year al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik appointed over Mecca Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, who remained governor there until al-Walīd died.

⁵⁸⁵ *Manzil al-tawāwīs*. See Barthold, *Turkestan*³, pp. 98—99.

⁵⁸⁶ Reading *hadhāru 'i-mawṭi wa: l-raḥai*, with Ms B.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi—Isma'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Uqbah—Nāfi', mawlā of the Banū Makhzūm: I heard Khālid b. 'Abdallāh say, "O people, you are in the most sacred part of God's lands. God chose it from [all] the lands and put His House in it. Then He prescribed for His servants the making of pilgrimage to it, 'he who is able to make his way there.'⁵⁸⁷ O people, incumbent upon you are obedience and cleaving to the collective body. Beware of uncertainties. By God, no one who impugns his imām (that is, the Caliph) will be brought to me but that I shall crucify him in the Ḥaram. God has placed the caliphate in relation to Him in the position in which He has placed it. Assent, obey, and do not say, 'Thus and thus.' The only [right] view concerning what the Caliph writes about or opines is to put it into effect. Know that it has reached me that some of those [given to] disobedience are coming to you and staying in your land. Beware not to accommodate anyone you know to be deviating from the collective body. I shall not find any one of them in the house of any one of you but that I shall demolish his house. Look [carefully] at those you accommodate in your houses. Incumbent upon you are the collective body and obedience. Disunity is the great affliction."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Isma'īl b. Ibrāhīm—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah—Abū Ḥabībah: I performed the lesser pilgrimage and stopped at the residences of the Banū Asad, in the houses of al-Zabīr. Suddenly, there was [Khālid], calling me. I went into his presence, and he said to me, "Who are you from?" I said, "From the people of Medina." He said, "What made you stop in the houses of the one who went against obedience?" I said, "It is where I stay, if I stay for a day or so. Then I go back to my [own] house. There is no disobedience in me. I am one of those who exalt the matter of the caliphate. I claim that he who disowns it will be destroyed." He said, "Where you stayed will not be held against you. But it is disliked that there stays [here] anyone who is scornful of the Caliph." I said, "God forbid!" [In addition,] I heard him one day saying, "By God, if I were to know that this wild animal that is safe in the Ḥaram had spoken without acknowledging obedience, I would expel it from the Ḥaram. No one who goes

⁵⁸⁷. Qur'ān, 3:97 = 91.

against the collective body, who scoffs at [the caliph], may dwell in the Ḥaram of God." I said, "May God grant the amir success."

[*Al-Walid's Visit to Medina*]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik. Aḥmad b. Thābit related to me on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Ishāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar, who said: Al-Walid made the pilgrimage in the year 91.

Similarly, Muḥammad b. 'Umar said: Mūsā b. Abī Bakr related to me: Ṣalīḥ b. Kaysān related to us: When the arrival of al-Walid took place, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz ordered twenty men from Quraysh to go out with him to meet al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik; they included Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥisām, his brother Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. They went out until they reached al-Suwaydā',⁵⁸⁸ they being with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz; with them on that day were riding animals and horses. They met al-Walid, who was mounted. The chamberlain said, "Dismount for the Commander of the Faithful," and they dismounted. Then [al-Walid] gave them an order, and they rode. [Al-Walid] summoned 'Umar and went with him until he stopped at Dhū Khushub.⁵⁸⁹ Then they were presented: [Al-Walid] summoned them one by one, and they greeted him. [After this, al-Walid] called for lunch, and they lunched with him; he left Dhū Khushub in the evening.

When he entered Medina, he went in the morning to the mosque, to look at its building. The people were cleared out of it, and no one was left in it except⁵⁹⁰ Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, whom none of the guards dared to send out. [Sa'īd] was in his place of prayer wearing only two thin garments, worth no more than five dirhams. Someone said to him, "If only you would stand," and he said, "I shall not stand until there comes the time when I usually stand." Someone said to him, "If only you would greet the Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "No, by God. I shall not

⁵⁸⁸. Two stages from Medina on the way to Syria [see Cornul].

⁵⁸⁹. One stage from Medina on the way to Syria [see Cornul].

⁵⁹⁰. Literally, "... no one was left in it. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab remained."

stand up for him." Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz said, "I began to steer al-Walid to the side of the mosque, hoping that he would not see Sa'īd until he stood up." But al-Walid happened to glance toward the *qiblah* and said, "Who is that [person] sitting? Is he the shaykh Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab?" Umar said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, he's unpredictable.⁵⁹¹ If he knew that you were here, he would stand up and greet you, [but] his sight is weak." Al-Walid said, "I know about him. We shall go to him and greet him." He took a turn in the mosque until he stopped at the grave [of the Prophet], and then advanced until he stood before Sa'īd. He said, "How are you, O shaykh?" Sa'īd neither moved nor stood, and [then] said, "Well, praise be to God. And how is the Commander of the Faithful?" Al-Walid said, "Well, praise be to God," and he departed, saying to Umar, "This is the last of the old school."⁵⁹² I said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful."

[Muhammad b. 'Umar] said: Al-Walid distributed in Medina many foreign slaves,⁵⁹³ vessels of gold and silver, and wealth. He gave the sermon in Medina on the Friday and led the prayer.

According to Muhammad b. 'Umar—Ishāq b. Yahyā: I saw al-Walid delivering the sermon on the pulpit of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, on Friday in the year when he made the pilgrimage. His troops were lined up in two rows from the pulpit to the back wall of the mosque; in their hands were iron rods, and on their shoulders were iron bars. I saw him ascend it wearing a *durrā'ah*⁵⁹⁴ and a *qalansuwwah*,⁵⁹⁵ without a *riḍā'*.⁵⁹⁶ He went up the pulpit, and, when he reached the top, he

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591. *Wa-min hālihi wa-min hālihi*: Ibn al-Athir has *wa-min hālihi kadhā wadhā*, while Ibn Kathir's version (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 82) is somewhat different at this point.

592. So rendering *baqiyyat al-nās* [thus, too, in al-Ya qūbi [*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 341] and Ibn al-Athir]; Ibn Kathir (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 82) more prosaically reads *faqih al-nās*.

593. *Raqiqen kathirun ujman*. Ibn al-Athir has *daqiqen kathirun*, but al-Tabari's *ujman* is the clincher as far as the *raqiqen* reading is concerned.

594. A "[garment of the kind called] *jubbā*, slit in the fore part" [Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 872b, s. v. *mirdā'a*], lined, according to EF², s. v. Libās (vol. V, p. 737a); see also Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, pp. 177-81.

595. Originally a close-fitting cap, this could also designate a hood or cow! [EF², s. v. Libās (vol. V, pp. 734b-735a)]; see also Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, pp. 365-71.

596. "Garment covering the upper half of the body" [Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.]; al-Ya qūbi (*Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 341) provides an abbreviated version of this report.

proclaimed a greeting. Then he sat, and the muezzins made the call to prayer. Then they were quiet, and he delivered the first sermon sitting; then he stood, and delivered the second standing. Ishāq said: I met Rajā' b. Haywah,⁵⁹⁷ who was accompanying [al-Walid], and said, "Do they [always] do it this way?" He said, "Yes. Mu'āwiyah did it in this way, and so on." I said, "Aren't you going to speak to him [about it]?" He said, "Qabiṣah b. Dhū'ayb informed me that he spoke to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān [about it], and he refused to do [anything different], saying, "Uthmān delivered sermons in this way." I said, "By God, he did not deliver sermons in this way; Uthmān only delivered sermons standing up." Rajā' said, "They were told this and took to it." Ishāq said: We did not see any [Umayyad caliph] more proud than [al-Walid].

Muhammad b. 'Umar said: [al-Walid] brought the incense of the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, its thurible, and the covering of the Ka'bah. [The covering] was spread out on ropes in the mosque, [it being made] of good brocade. The like of it had never been seen. He spread it out one day, and then folded [it] and moved [it].

The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were [the same as] those who were their governors in the year 90, except for Mecca, the governor of which in this year was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, according to al-Wāqidī. [An authority/authorities] other than al-Wāqidī said: The governorship of Mecca was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz's in this year too.

597. On him, see Bosworth, "Rajā' b. Haywah al-Kindi and the Umayyad Caliphs," *The Islamic Quarterly* 16 (1972), pp. 36-80.

In [this year], according to what one of the biographers (*ahīl al-siyar*) claimed, Qutaybah campaigned in Sijistān, heading for the great Zumbil and al-Zābul.⁶⁰⁰ When he stopped in Sijistān, the messengers of the Zumbil met him with [a proposal for] a peace agreement.⁶⁰¹ [Qutaybah] accepted that, departed, and appointed over them 'Abd Rabbihi b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythi.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was over Medina: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of he who mentioned it on the authority of Ishāq b. 'Isā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and al-Wāqidī and [an authority/authorities] other than him said the same. The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were [the same as] their governors in the preceding year.

600. I.e., Zābulistān [see Marquart, *Ērānshāhr*, p. 247].

601. Ibn A'tham [*Furūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 234] provides some details.



The Events of the Year

92

(OCTOBER 29, 710—OCTOBER 18, 711)



Among them was the campaign of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. al-Walid in Byzantine territory. Three fortresses were conquered at the hands of Maslamah, the people of Sūsanah migrated to the inner part of Byzantine territory.

In this year Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, the mawlā of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, campaigned in al-Andalus with twelve thousand [men]. He encountered the king of al-Andalus—al-Wāqidī claimed that he was called Adrinūq⁵⁹⁸—who was one of the people of Iṣbahān. He (?al-Wāqidī) said: They are the kings of the foreigners of al-Andalus.⁵⁹⁹ Ṭāriq marched on him with all his forces, and al-Adrinūq went forward on the king's throne, wearing his crown, his gloves, and all the adornments kings used to wear. They fought a hard battle until God killed al-Adrinūq. Al-Andalus was conquered in the year 92.

598. I.e., Roderic; "al-Adriq" in al-Ya'qūbi (*Tārīkh*, vol. II, p. 341) and both "Adhriqūn" and "Adrūniq" in Ibn Kathir (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 83).

599. Al-Ya'qūbi's version of what is clearly the same report (*Tārīkh*, vol. II, p. 341) is to be taken to mean at this point "they are the Goths, the kings of al-Andalus."



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VOLUME XXVI

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The
Events of the Year

126 (cont'd)

(OCTOBER 25, 743—OCTOBER 12, 744)



In this year the unity of the Banū Marwān was disturbed and discord prevailed.

The Discords That Occurred

One such source of discord was the uprising of Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in 'Ammān after the killing of al-Walid b. Yazīd. According to Ahmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'ini]: When al-Walid was killed, Sulaymān b. Hishām came out of prison—he had been imprisoned in 'Ammān⁹³⁹—took what revenues there were in 'Ammān, and made for Damascus, where he began cursing al-Walid and upbraiding him for being an unbeliever.

In this year the people of Hims attacked the dependents of al-'Abbās b. al-Walid. They destroyed his house and declared publicly that they were seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Walid b. Yazīd. [1826]

⁹³⁹. Cf. al-Tabarī, II, 1776. For Sulaymān's activities after his release from prison, cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, V, 220; *Fragmenta*, 146.

The Uprising in Ḥimş

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'ini): Marwān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik was al-Walid's governor in Ḥimş. He was one of the most prominent members of the Banū Marwān as far as nobility, generosity, intellect, and good looks were concerned. When al-Walid was killed and the news of his murder reached the people of Ḥimş, they closed the town gates and they long continued to lament and mourn for al-Walid. The people asked how al-Walid had come to be killed and one of the people who had come to them (to tell them the news) said: We continued to maintain law and order among the people, and to keep them under control, until al-'Abbās b. al-Walid arrived and defected to the side of 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Ḥajjāj. Then the people of Ḥimş rose up and wrecked and looted the house of al-'Abbās; they carried off his women and took away his sons, whom they cast into prison. They began searching for al-'Abbās, but he escaped to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then the people wrote to the *junds*, summoning them to seek vengeance for al-Walid's blood, and the *junds* responded. The people of Ḥimş who were in the *junds* wrote to the effect that they would not give the oath of obedience to Yazid, that if al-Walid's two heirs⁹⁴⁰ were still alive they would give the oath of allegiance to them and that otherwise they would give it to the best person they knew, on the condition that he give them stipends each Muharram and that he make provision that their children should inherit them.⁹⁴¹ They chose Mu'āwiyah b. Yazid b. Ḥuşayn⁹⁴² as their leader. He wrote a letter to Marwān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was in the *amir's* residence in Ḥimş. When Marwān had read the letter he said: "This is a letter that was written with God's approval."⁹⁴³ and he agreed to do what they wanted. When Yazid b. al-Walid heard about the people of Ḥimş he sent envoys to them, amongst whom was Ya'qūb b. Ḥānī, and he wrote a letter to them saying that he was not calling them to accept himself but that he was summoning them to the

940. The two sons mentioned in al-Walid's succession letter, i.e., al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān.

941. Literally, "he would give (stipends) to them for the children."

942. Mu'āwiyah b. Yazid b. Ḥuşayn b. Numayr al-Sakūni. Cf. Crone, 97.

943. This translation is only tentative.

shūrā. 'Amr b. Qays al-Sakūni⁹⁴⁴ replied: "We are content with our heir-apparent" (*walī 'ahd*), meaning the son of al-Walid b. Yazid. At that Ya'qūb b. 'Umayr⁹⁴⁵ took hold of 'Amr's beard and berated him: "You decrepit old man! Your judgment is unsound and you have lost your reason. Even if the person you mean⁹⁴⁶ were an orphan in your care, it would not be lawful for you to give him his money, so how could it be otherwise in the case (not just of money, but) of the *ummah* itself?"⁹⁴⁷ Then the people of Ḥimş attacked the envoys of Yazid b. al-Walid and drove them out. In charge of Ḥimş was Mu'āwiyah b. Yazid b. Ḥuşayn. Marwān b. 'Abdallāh had no authority over them. Al-Simt b. Thābit⁹⁴⁸ was with the people of Ḥimş, too, but relations between him and Mu'āwiyah b. Yazid were strained. Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyāni,⁹⁴⁹ who was also with the rebels, declared to them: "If I went to Damascus and showed only myself to the people there, they would not oppose me."

Then Yazid b. al-Walid dispatched Masrūr b. al-Walid and al-Walid b. Rawḥ with a large number of troops, most of whom were from the Banū 'Amir of Kalb, and they camped at Ḥuwwārāyn.⁹⁵⁰ Thereafter, Sulaymān b. Hishām came to Yazid. Sulaymān was well received by Yazid, and Yazid married Sulaymān's sister, Umm Hishām, the daughter of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Yazid also returned to Sulaymān those of his family's possessions that al-Walid had seized. Then Yazid sent Sulaymān b. Hishām to Masrūr b. al-Walid and al-Walid b. Rawḥ, ordering them to heed and obey him. Then the people of Ḥimş arrived and camped at a village belonging to Khālīd b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiyah.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'ini)—'Amr b.

944. For his biography, cf. Crone, 99.

945. The name is written thus in the text. On the preceding page, however, Ya'qūb b. Ḥānī was mentioned in the delegation sent to Ḥimş by Yazid. There is probably a scribal error here and the name should be Ya'qūb b. Ḥānī.

946. One of the two sons of al-Walid, who were still minors.

947. Literally, "how is the case of the *ummah*?"

948. Al-Simt b. Thābit b. Yazid b. Shurahbīl b. al-Simt. For his later career, cf. al-Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, II, 404, 495. For the history of his family, cf. Crone, 101-02.

949. Abū Muḥammad Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiyah al-Sufyāni, an Umayyad. For a discussion of this name, cf. *Fragmenta*, 138, and the editor's note C. Cf. also Wellhausen, 362, 365-66.

950. Of the places that bear this name in Syria, the most likely here is a fortress near Ḥimş. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 355; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 465; Dussaud, 79.

Marwān al-Kalbī—'Amr b. Muḥammad and Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bahrānī: Marwān b. 'Abdallāh stood up and addressed them: "You who are gathered here! You have risen up in rebellion to wage war against your enemy and to avenge the blood of your caliph and you have taken a path of rebellion for which I hope that God will reward you and give you a good recompense. People have shown their readiness to fight you and have revealed aggressive intentions toward you. If you foil their attempts, the rest will follow of itself and you will be nearer to your objectives and (your enemies) will be easier for you (to deal with). I do not think it is advisable for you to go to Damascus with this army at your back."⁹⁵¹ Then al-Simt said: "By God, this is an enemy who is right on your doorstep and who wants to disrupt your unity. And he has Qadarī inclinations." Thereupon the soldiers attacked and killed Marwān b. 'Abdallāh and his son, and exhibited their heads⁹⁵² to the people. By making these remarks, however, al-Simt had only wanted to disagree with Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd.

When Marwān b. 'Abdallāh was killed, the people of Ḥimṣ appointed as their governor Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī. They further sent word to Sulaymān b. Hishām, saying: "We are coming to you, so remain where you are," so he stayed put. Then the people of Ḥimṣ bypassed Sulaymān's troops on their left and advanced toward Damascus. Sulaymān got wind of where they were going, so he departed in haste and met up with them at al-Sulamāniyyah, which was an estate belonging to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (and was located) behind 'Adhrā',⁹⁵³ fourteen miles from Damascus.

According to 'Alī (al-Madā'ini)—'Amr b. Marwān b. Bashshār and al-Walīd b. 'Alī: When Yazīd heard about what the people of Ḥimṣ had been up to, he summoned 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj and sent him off with three thousand men, ordering him to make himself master of the 'Uqāb pass.⁹⁵⁴ Yazīd also sent for Hishām b.

⁹⁵¹. Literally, "and to leave this army behind you." Ibn al-Athīr has: "if you are victorious over them what follows them will be easier for you" (V, 221).

⁹⁵². There is no dual in the Leiden text here, but the Cairo edition (VII, 264) corrects it without comment.

⁹⁵³. 'Adhrā' was a well-known village of the Ḥūtāḥ district around Damascus. Cf. Yaqūt, III, 625; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 383.

⁹⁵⁴. This is presumably a reference to the Eagle's Gorge which lay near 'Adhrā'. Cf. Le Strange, *loc. cit.*

Maṣād and dispatched him with fifteen hundred men, ordering him to seize the mountain road at al-Salāmah⁹⁵⁵ and instructing the forces to provide each other with mutual support.

According to 'Amr b. Marwān—Yazīd b. Maṣād: I was with Sulaymān's troops. When we came upon the people of Ḥimṣ, they had camped at al-Sulamāniyyah. They had positioned themselves with the olive grove on their right, the mountain to the north of them, and the wells behind them. So there was only one way of approaching them. They had camped there at the beginning of the night and had rested their riding animals, whereas we had spent the whole night traveling until we had come upon them. When the sun was high and the heat had become intense and our animals were exhausted and our armor weighed heavily on us, I went up to Masrūr b. al-Walīd and said to him, within earshot of Sulaymān: "O Abū Sa'īd, I swear to you by God that the *amīr* (of Ḥimṣ) is sending his *jund* forward to fight (us) at this very moment." Then Sulaymān rode up and said: "Young man, be steadfast. By God, I will not dismount until God has decreed His will for me and them (the people of Ḥimṣ)."⁹⁵⁶ Then Sulaymān moved forward (into the fray); in charge of his right flank was al-Tufayl b. Ḥarithah al-Kalbī and in command of his left was al-Tufayl b. Zurārah al-Ḥabashī.⁹⁵⁷ The people of Ḥimṣ launched an attack on us and our right and left flanks withdrew a distance of more than two bowshots, whilst Sulaymān maintained his position in the center. Then Sulaymān's men attacked the army of Ḥimṣ, pushing them back to their original position. Thereafter there were repeated attacks from both sides. Around two hundred of the men of Ḥimṣ were killed, including Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and about fifty of Sulaymān's followers lost their lives. Abū al-Halbā' al-Bahrānī, who was a prominent horseman from Ḥimṣ, sallied forth and issued a challenge to single combat, so Ḥayyah b. Salāmah al-Kalbī came out against him. Abū al-Halbā' struck Ḥayyah a blow which unseated him from his horse. Then Abū Ja'dah, a mawlā of Quraysh from Damascus,

⁹⁵⁵. The text has al-Salāmah. Ibn al-Athīr has al-Salāmiyyah (IV, 221). Certainly al-Salāmiyyah (unlike al-Salāmah) can be located in the area between Hamāh and Ḥimṣ. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 528; Dussaud, 79.

⁹⁵⁶. Literally, "until God has decreed what He decrees between me and them."

⁹⁵⁷. For these two men called Tufayl, cf. Cronz, 162.

attacked Abū al-Halbā' and killed him. Next, Thubayt b. Yazīd al-Bahrānī sallied forth and issued a challenge to single combat, whereupon Irāk al-Sughdī, who was a descendant of the kings of Sughd and was attached to Sulaymān b. Hishām, came out against him. Now Thubayt was short and Irāk was massive. When Thubayt saw Irāk advancing toward him he retreated, so Irāk stood and shot an arrow at him which pinned his leg muscle to his saddle cloth. While they were thus engaged, 'Abd al-'Azīz approached from the 'Uqāb pass and he attacked the men of Hīmṣ with such vigor that he broke through their lines killing (some of them) and then reached us.

[1830]

According to 'Alī [al-Madā'īnī]—'Amr b. Marwān—Sulaymān b. Ziyād al-Chassānī:⁹⁵⁸ I was with 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Hajjāj. When he caught sight of the troops of Hīmṣ, he said to his followers: "Your destination is that hill which is in the center of their troops. By God, any of you who falls behind will be beheaded by me personally." Then, ordering his personal standard-bearer to advance, he launched into the fray and we went with him. We killed everyone in our way until we reached the hill. 'Abd al-'Azīz had split up the troops of Hīmṣ who were in disarray. Then Yazīd b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī shouted: "Fear God, fear God when dealing with your own people!"⁹⁵⁹ and thus he restrained them, for his heart misgave him at what Sulaymān and 'Abd al-'Azīz had done. Hostilities almost broke out between Sulaymān, supported by the Dhakwāniyyah,⁹⁶⁰ and the Banū 'Amir from Kalb. The Dhakwāniyyah were stopped from attacking the Banū 'Amir on being assured that the latter would give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then Sulaymān b. Hishām sent men to Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī and Yazīd b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and they were seized. As they were being taken past al-Ṭufayl b. Hārithah, they shouted out to him: "We beseech you, uncle,⁹⁶¹ by God and kinship, (help us)." So al-Ṭufayl went with them to

958. The Cairo edition [265] puts in Ahmad (b. Zuhayr) at the beginning of this chain of transmitters.

959. *Allāha Allāha fi qawmika*.

960. The Dhakwāniyyah were the armed retinue of Sulaymān b. Hishām, numbering several thousand men. Cf. Crone, 53, 241, n. 393.

961. Their maternal uncle.

Sulaymān, but he imprisoned them both. The Banū 'Amir were afraid that he would kill the two of them, so a group of the Banū 'Amir came and remained with the two captives in the tent. Then Sulaymān sent them on to Yazīd b. al-Walīd, who imprisoned them in the Green Palace⁹⁶² with al-Walīd's two sons. Yazīd also imprisoned with them Yazīd b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abi Sufyān, the maternal uncle of 'Uthmān b. al-Walīd. Then Sulaymān and 'Abd al-'Azīz went toward Damascus and lodged at 'Adhrā'. The people of Damascus reached agreement and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then the people went (back) to Damascus and Hīmṣ. Yazīd allotted them stipends and gave presents to their leaders, amongst whom were Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Simt b. Thābit, 'Amr b. Qays, Ibn Huwayy, and al-Ṣaqr b. Ṣafwān. Yazīd appointed Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn, who was from Hīmṣ, as governor. The remainder (of the rebels) stayed in Damascus and then left to join the people of Jordan and Palestine. Three hundred of the inhabitants of Hīmṣ had been killed that day.⁹⁶³

[1831]

In this year the inhabitants of Palestine and Jordan rose up and killed their governor.⁹⁶⁴

The Rebellion of the People of Palestine and Jordan and the Treatment They Received from Yazīd b. al-Walīd

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'īnī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Rajā' b. Rawḥ b. Salāmah b. Rawḥ b. Zinbā':⁹⁶⁵ Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik, a man of good character, was al-Walīd's governor in Palestine. Yazīd b. Sulaymān (b. 'Abd al-Malik) was the chief of his father's sons.⁹⁶⁶ They had been

962. *Al-Khadrā'*: the palace built at Damascus by Mu'āwiyah, the first Umayyad caliph. It is perhaps significant that the audience hall at al-Rūsāfah and the palace at Wāsiṭ also had green domes. Cf. the discussion in Grābar, *Al-Mushatta*, 106.

963. For an analysis of the revolt of the men of Hīmṣ, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 157; Weljhausen, 365—66.

964. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 222—23.

965. For the history of this family, cf. Crone, 99—101.

966. Literally, "the sons of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik." For Yazīd b. Sulaymān, cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

living in Palestine, and the people there liked them because of the protection that they extended to them. When al-Walīd was killed, the leader of the people in Palestine at that time, Sa'īd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbā', wrote to Yazid b. Sulaymān, saying: "The caliph has been killed. Come to us and we will appoint you to rule over us." Then Sa'īd (b. Rawḥ) gathered his people to him and wrote to Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was at that time camped at al-Saba',⁹⁶⁷ saying: "Leave us. The situation here has become very troubled and we have chosen as our ruler a man under whose government we can be content." Accordingly, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik went away to Yazid b. al-Walīd. Then Yazid b. Sulaymān summoned the people of Palestine to fight against Yazid b. al-Walīd. The people of Jordan heard about their activities and so they appointed Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik to rule over them, whilst it was Sa'īd b. Rawḥ and Dīb'ān b. Rawḥ⁹⁶⁸ who were in command of the people of Palestine. When Yazid (b. al-Walīd) heard about the doings of the people of Jordan and Palestine, he sent Sulaymān b. Hishām against them, accompanied by the men of Damascus and the men of Hims who had been with al-Sufyānī. According to 'Alī [al-Madā'inī]—'Amr b. Marwān—Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Khuẓā'i: The men of Damascus numbered eighty-four thousand even before Sulaymān b. Hishām went out to join them.⁹⁶⁹

According to Muḥammad b. Rāshid: Sulaymān b. Hishām⁹⁷⁰ kept on sending me to Dīb'ān and Sa'īd, the two sons of Rawḥ, and to al-Ḥakam and Rāshid, the two sons of Jir' of the Balqayn, and I would make them promises and raise their hopes [of what they would receive] if they gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walīd. Accordingly, they agreed to do so. According to 'Uthmān b. Dāwūd al-Khawḷānī: Yazid b. al-Walīd sent me, together with Ḥudhayfah b. Sa'īd, to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazid b. Sulaymān to call on them to submit to him and to make them promises and raise their hopes. So we began with the men of

967. Two places called al-Saba' [Le Strange has al-Sab'] were located in the province of Filastin. The more likely one here is the district that lies between Jerusalem and al-Karak. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 523.

968. Dīb'ān is the vocalization given by the editor. *Fragmenta*, 152, has Dab'ān.

969. Literally, "the men of Damascus were eighty-four thousand, and Sulaymān b. Hishām went to them."

970. Cf. n. 368.

Jordan and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik. A group of them had gathered to him and I addressed him. Then one of them said: "May God show the *amīr* the right way! Accept what this young man says."⁹⁷¹ Then the prayer began,⁹⁷² and I spoke privately with him and said: "I have been sent by Yazid with a message for you."⁹⁷³ By God, all the flags I have left behind me are hoisted over the heads of your own people. Every dirham that has left the treasury is in their hands and they [all] have some kind of grievance against you.⁹⁷⁴ Muḥammad said: "Are you sure about that?" I said: "Yes." Then I went away, came to Dīb'ān b. Rawḥ, and said the same things to him. I also said to him: "Yazid will make you governor of Palestine for as long as he remains in power." So Dīb'ān agreed to what I had proposed and I left. Before the following day the people of Palestine had decamped.

According to Ahmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī [al-Madā'inī]—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥassān al-Urdunni: I was a scout for Yazid b. al-Walīd in Jordan. When the situation had settled down in his favor, he made me superintendent of the *kharāj* in Jordan. When the people rebelled against Yazid b. al-Walīd, I went to Sulaymān b. Hishām and I asked him to detail some cavalry to accompany me in making a raid on Tabariy-

971. The text has *aqbil ḥadhā al-fatā uqimat al-ṣalātu*. This would appear to be faulty. At minimum the insertion of *wa* or *fa* before *uqimat* is necessary. Thus a literal translation would be: "Accept this young man' and then the prayer began." The Cairo edition (VII, 267) has a longer, quite different reading here: *uqūl ḥadhā al-Qadāriyya al-khabītha fa-kaffāhum 'anni al-Ḥakam b. Jir' al-Qimī*. which the editor says is a variant reading, although the Leiden edition gives no variants at all. Ibn al-Athīr glosses over this problem by omitting it (V, 222). In this very unsatisfactory situation, the former solution with the addition of *wa* has been adopted. It accords better with the following details of a private conversation between the messenger and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik.

972. Cf. n. 148.

973. Literally, "I am Yazid's messenger to you."

974. The meaning of this is rather obscure. A literal translation of the text would be: "By God, I have not left behind me any flag except that it is raised over the head of a man of your family and there is no *dirham* which leaves the treasury except in the hand of a man from amongst them." The Arabic then continues: *wa-huwa yahmilu laka kadhā wa-kadhā*. Presumably what the messenger is suggesting here is that there are troops mobilized and paid from the family of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik already on the side of Yazid b. al-Walīd and that Muḥammad would do well to submit at once. The precise meaning of *yahmilu* is not clear, but *hamala* may mean "to be angry, to have a grievance" (cf. Lane, I, 647) and has tentatively been translated thus in this sentence.

yah.⁹⁷⁵ But Sulaymān refused to send anyone with me. Then I went to Yazid b. al-Walid and told him what had happened. Yazid wrote a letter over his own signature to Sulaymān, ordering him to let me take with me whatever I wanted. Then I took the letter to Sulaymān, and he sent Muslim b. Dhakwān⁹⁷⁶ and five thousand men with me. I left with them at night and made them camp at al-Baṭīḥah. Then they dispersed into the villages. I went with a group of them to Tabariyyah and they wrote letters contacting their own groups. The people of Tabariyyah said: "Why should we stand by when troops are searching our houses and oppressing our people?" Then they went to the residence of Yazid b. Sulaymān and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, plundered their belongings, seized their riding-animals and weapons, and returned to their own villages and houses.

When the people of Palestine and Jordan had dispersed, Sulaymān went to al-Ṣannabrah,⁹⁷⁷ where the people of Jordan gathered to him and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then on the Friday Sulaymān sent people toward Tabariyyah, he himself crossed the lake by boat and traveled alongside his men⁹⁷⁸ (who were on the road) until he reached Tabariyyah. Then he led the people in the Friday prayer, made the oath of allegiance (to Yazid b. al-Walid) with the people who were there, and returned to his camp. According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī [al-Madā'inī]—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbi—'Uthmān b. Dāwūd: When Sulaymān camped at al-Ṣannabrah, he sent me to Yazid b. al-Walid, instructing me to transmit the following message to Yazid: "You know how churlish the people of Palestine are, but God has (so far) taken it upon Himself to defend you from them. I have resolved to appoint Ibn Surāqah as governor of Palestine and al-Aswad b. Bilāl al-Muḥārībī as governor of Jordan." So I went to

975. Tabariyyah (Tiberias), the capital of the province of Jordan. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 334-51.

976. The commander of the Dhakwāniyyah, a freedman of Yazid b. al-Walid. Cf. Crone, 241, n. 394.

977. This place is vocalized in the text as al-Ṣinnabrah. According to Le Strange, basing his reading on Yāqūt, III, 419, it should be al-Ṣannabrah. This was a place in the province of Jordan, three miles from Tabariyyah (*Palestine*, 531).

978. The text has *wajjahā Sulaymānu ilā . . . fa-ia'ala yusūyruhum*. There would appear to be an implied object ("them," "the people") with *wajjahā*. Otherwise, *tawajjahā* would be more usual.

Yazid and I told him what Sulaymān had instructed me to tell him. Yazid said: "Tell me what you said to Dīb'ān b. Rawḥ," so I told him. Then he said: "And what did Dīb'ān do?" I replied: "Before morning, he decamped with the people of Palestine and Ibn Jirw and the people of Jordan did likewise." Then Yazid said: "No one keeps his promises better than we do. Go back and tell Sulaymān not to leave until he has gone to al-Ramlah and make the people there give the oath of allegiance (to me). I have already appointed Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid as governor of Jordan, Dīb'ān b. Rawḥ as governor of Palestine, Masrūr b. al-Walid over Qinnasrīn, and Ibn al-Ḥusayn over Ḥjims."

After the murder of al-Walid, Yazid b. al-Walid delivered a sermon. After giving praise and thanks to God and praying for His prophet Muḥammad he went on:⁹⁷⁹

O people! By God, I did not rise up in rebellion out of overweening insolence and pride⁹⁸⁰ nor out of a craving (to possess the things of) this world nor out of a desire for kingship. Nor do I have an inflated opinion of myself. Indeed, without the mercy of my Lord, I would be lost. On the contrary, I have rebelled out of righteous anger for God's cause, His prophet, and His religion, and I came to summon people to God, His book, and the *sunnah* of His prophet. (And this was at a time) when the signposts indicating the right path had been destroyed,⁹⁸¹ the light of pious folk had been extinguished, and there had appeared that stiff-necked tyrant who declared licit every forbidden thing and who was responsible for one innovation (*bid'ah*) after another. Nor, moreover, by God, did he confirm the truth of the Book or believe in the Day of Reckoning, although in the matter of noble descent he was my (paternal) cousin and was my equal as regards lineage. When I saw (all) this, I sought God's favor in my dealings with him

979. For other versions of this famous *khutbah*, cf. *Fragmenta*, 150-51; Ibn al-Tiqtaqah, 130-31; Ibn Khayyāt, 382-83; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, II, 144; al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, II, 141-42. Only significant differences are noted below. For a recent discussion of this *khutbah*, cf. Hawting, 95.

980. *Bataran*. Cf. Qur'ān 28, v. 58.

981. *Ḥudimat*. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (loc. cit.) and Ibn Khayyāt (loc. cit.) have *dūrisat* ("had been effaced").

(al-Walīd) and I implored Him not to let me yield to self-interest in this matter. I summoned to that cause those under my command who answered my call and I strove therein until God, by His own power and might and not through mine, granted His servants and lands surcease from him (al-Walīd).

O people, I give you my pledge that I will not place stone upon stone nor brick upon brick,⁹⁸² I will not dig any river, I will not accumulate wealth or give it to any wife or child. (I swear too) that I will not transfer wealth from one town to another until I have made good the loss to that town and repaired adequately the fortune of its people.⁹⁸³ If there is any surplus, I will take it⁹⁸⁴ to the next town and to those who are in greatest need of it.⁹⁸⁵ I will not detain you for long periods at the frontiers, thereby sorely testing you and your families. I will not close my door against you so that the strong amongst you will devour the weak, nor will I place on those of you who pay the poll-tax (burdens) which will drive you from your lands and decimate your progeny.⁹⁸⁶ With me in charge you will receive your stipends every year and your rations every month, so much so that there will be an abundance of sustenance for (all) Muslims, be they far distant or near at hand. If I keep my word to you, then it is your duty to heed, to obey, and to provide help generously. But if I do not keep faith with you, it is up to you to depose me, with the proviso that you should (first) ask me to repent and if I do so you should accept such repentance from me. If you know of anyone of proven probity who of his own accord will give you

[1835]

what I would give you, and you want to give the oath of allegiance to him, then I would be the first to give him my allegiance and submit to him.

O people! Obedience to a (created) human being should not involve disobedience to the Creator nor should you keep faith (with a human ruler) by breaking a covenant (with God). Obedience consists solely in obedience to God. So obey him (the caliph), in (your) obedience to God, as long as he (the caliph) obeys (God). But if he (the caliph) disobeys God and summons (you) to disobey God too, then he deserves to be disobeyed and killed. This is what I have to say and may God forgive me and you.

982. These are attacks on the building activities of his predecessor, al-Walīd.
983. *Ḥattā esuddā* . . . *Khasāsata ahlihi bi-mā yu'nihum*. This is later amended to *yughnihum* ("until I have restored the fortune of its people by that which satisfies them"). Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXXV. The Cairo edition (269) has *bi-mā yu'nihum* ("by that which keeps them").

984. *Fa-in faḍala faḍlatun naqaltuhu*. The Cairo edition (269) corrects *faḍlatun* to *faḍlun*.

985. *Naqaltuhu ilā al-baladi yalīhi mimman huwa ahwaju ilayhi*. The version of Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh (loc. cit.) makes better sense: *ilā al-baladi alladhi yalīhi wa-man huwa ahwaju ilayhi*. This is the version adopted in the translation.

986. Literally: "will drive them from their lands and decimate their progeny."

9.3
Extracts on the Umayyad period

(1) Outline chronology etc. of the Islamic state

I. Rulers and dynasties

622-32	the Prophet
632-61	the Patriarchal Caliphs
661-750	the Umayyad dynasty
750-1258	the 'Abbasid dynasty

II. Unity and disunity

622-56	Medinese state
656-61	First Civil War
661-84	Sufyanid state
684-92	Second Civil War
692-744	Marwanid state
744-50	Third Civil War
750-811	early 'Abbasid state
811-19	Fourth Civil War
819-61	middle 'Abbasid state
861-70	anarchy and disintegration
870-908	late 'Abbasid state
908-45	irreversible decline

III. The main Muslim sects

MUSLIMS

KHARIJITES

Azariqa
Ibadis
Sufrites

SUNNIS

SHI'ITES

Zaydis
Imamis
Isma'ilis

(2) The Caliphal perspective

A. A coin of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (A.H. 75 = A.D. 694-5)

[The coin shows the standing Caliph, bearded and in Arab head-dress, with his right hand resting on his sword-hilt. On the left is written:]

amir al-mu'minin (Commander of the Faithful)

[and on the right:]

khalifat Allah (Deputy of God).

(Crone and Hinds, God's Caliph, dust-jacket)

B. A letter of the Caliph Walid II (written 743)

"Then God deputed His caliphs over the path of His prophethood... for the implementation of His decree, the establishment of His normative practice and restrictive statutes, and for the observance of His ordinances and His rights... providing for equity among His servants and putting His lands to right, [doing all these things] through them. "God (blessed and exalted is He) says, 'and if God had not kept back the people, some by means of others, surely the earth would have been corrupted; but God is bounteous to mankind' [Koran 2:251].

"So the caliphs of God followed one another, in charge of that which God had caused them to inherit from His prophets, and over which He had deputed them. Nobody can dispute their right without God casting him down, and nobody can separate from their polity without God destroying him, nor can anyone hold their government in contempt or query the decree of God concerning them [the Caliphs] without God placing him in their power and giving them mastery over him, thus making him an example and a warning to others."

(Walid II in Crone and Hinds, God's Caliph, 120)

(3) The Kharijite perspective

C. A speech by a Kharijite rebel in the later 740s

"Then 'Ali... took charge. He acted in a proper manner until he established arbitration concerning the book of God and had doubts about His religion.... Then there took charge Mu'awiya.... He made the servants of God slaves, the property of God something to be taken by turns, and His religion a cause of corruption.... Then the squint-eyed Hisham took charge. He scattered stipends about and appropriated the common property [of the Muslims].... These Banu Umayya are parties of waywardness. Their might is self-magnification. They arrest on suspicion, make decrees capriciously, kill in anger, and judge by passing over crimes without punishment. They take the alms tax from the

incorrect source and make it over to the wrong people....
 [They say:] 'The land is our land, the property is our
 property, and the people are our slaves.'"

(Abu Hamza in Crone and Hinds, God's Caliph, 129-32)

D. Najda and his followers (eastern Arabia, 687)

"So his followers demanded that he repent, which he did. But then a group of them thought better of having asked him to repent, so they said to him: 'We were wrong to ask you to repent, since you're a rightful ruler (imam). We've repented of it; so now you have to repent of your repentance and [what is more] require that those who asked you to repent should [themselves] repent [of having asked you to]. If you don't, we're through with you.' So he went out and [announced in public that he] repented of his repentance. His followers then began to argue among themselves."

(Ash'ari, Maqalat, 92)

(4) The Shi'ite perspective

E. A coin of the rebel 'Abdallah ibn Mu'awiya (minted 744-5)

"In the name of God! This coin was struck in Rayy in the year 127. By order of the commander 'Abdallah ibn Mu'awiya. 'Say: I do not ask of you a wage for this, except love for the kinsfolk'" [Koran 42:23]

(Wurtzel, "Coinage of the revolutionaries", 189)

F. Zayd ibn 'Ali (killed 740) on the family of the Prophet

"Know that the reason why people have been afflicted with sedition, controversy and confusion is... that they have not recognised the superiority of the family of the Prophet over them, failing to acknowledge that they [the family of the Prophet] possess it through their kinship with the Prophet; and [that they have not recognised their] knowledge of the Book [of God], failing to learn anything of what they have to say about it."

(Zayd ibn 'Ali, Safwa, f. 4a)

(5) Sunni radicalism

G. Ibn Farrukh (died 791-2) and rebellion against the state

1. "A man I regard as trustworthy told me that Rawh ibn Hatim [the governor of Ifriqiya] once sent for 'Abdallah ibn Farrukh to appoint him to the office of judge. When he arrived, he said to him:
 "'I've heard it said that you hold with rebellion against us.'
 "Ibn Farrukh replied that he did, and Rawh was perturbed by this. Ibn Farrukh told him:
 "'I hold with it provided [one has the support of] 317 men—the number of those who were at [the Battle of] Badr—all of them better men than myself.'
 "Rawh retorted:
 "'In that case we need have no fears that you'll ever rebel against us.'"

(Abu 'l-'Arab, Tabaqat, 108)
2. "Ibn Farrukh had wanted to rebel against Muhammad ibn Muqatil al-'Akki [an earlier governor of Ifriqiya]. This 'Akki was a bad man—he was the one who flogged Buhlul ibn Rashid [a respected religious scholar]. So Ibn Farrukh's companions promised him that they would show up for a rebellion at the gate of Tunis. Ibn Farrukh turned up at the appointed place, but they stood him up. Only Muhammad ibn Yasuta and Abu Muhriz the judge showed up, so he thought better of it and did not rebel."

(Ibid., 109)