THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC
ACCOMPANIED WITH ANNOTATIONS' GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC NOTES OF THE

KITĀB FUTŪH AL-BULDĀN

OF

al-Imām abu-l 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn-Jābir al-Balādhwī

BY

FRANCIS CLARK MURGOTTEN, Ph.D.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES
UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

PART II

New York
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
SELLING AGENTS
NEW YORK: LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
LONDON: P. S. KING & SON, LTD.
1924
THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC
ACCOMPANIED WITH ANNOTATIONS
GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC NOTES OF THE

KITĀB FUTŪH AL-BULDĀN

OF
al-Imām abu-l ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn-Jābir al-Balādhwī

BY
FRANCIS CLARK MURGOTTEN, PH.D.
Associate Professor of Modern Languages
University of Nevada

PART II

New York
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
SELLING AGENTS
New York: Longmans, Green & Co.
London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd.
1924
PREFACE

East and West stand today face to face. They must learn to understand one another if the world is to have enduring peace. More important for civilization than the settlement of the political and national problems which divide the West, grievous though they be, is the harmonizing of the great racial differences which separate the Orient from the Occident. It may be an age-long task to bring the oriental to employ the same mental processes as the occidental, or to teach the latter to view the problems of life from the point of view of the former; but at least we can lead him to know that differences exist, and we can study the historical background, racial and religious, out of which these differences have arisen.

As a help to this mutual understanding, the great history of Balâdhuri, translated under the title of "The Origins of the Islâmic State," is of no mean importance. The present volume completes the task which was begun some years ago by Dr. Philip Khûrî Hitti, and of which the aim was to present to non-Arabists one of the most important of the sources of Mohammedan history. As Dr. Martin Sprengling says in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature for April 1923, p. 207, "We in this western world are beginning to take greater and more intelligent interest in that teeming Near East, where in remote antiquity our civilization arose, and where a great Moslem culture held high its torch during those Middle Ages, when its light was low and wavering in Europe, and where even now great movements and revivals seem to be preparing."
PREFACE

In the preparation of this second part of Volume LXVIII it has been the purpose to follow the plan and method of Dr. Hitti, and no deviations therefrom of material importance have been made. Foot-notes have been kept to a minimum, and the attempt has been made to refer mostly to works which the non-Arabist can make use of; but in cases where the meaning of the text was not clear, or the facts as stated were seriously at variance with other sources, references have been given to the more important Arabic historians and geographers.

With one exception (page 131) no emendations or alterations of the text as edited by De Goeje have been made or followed other than those included by that great Arabic scholar in his notes. References to Caetani's Annali dell' Islâm are given by year and section as being the most convenient in view of the chronological arrangement of that work. The abbreviation Meyn. is used for Barbier de Meynard's Dictionnaire de la Perse; LeStr. for G. Le Strange's Lands of the Eastern Caliphate; while references to volume i of The Origins of the Islâmic State are given under Hitti.

The indebtedness of the translator is gratefully acknowledged to Professors Gottheil and Worrell of Columbia for many suggestions which were incorporated in the manuscript and for reading the proof, and to Professor Popper of the University of California for assistance in solving many difficult problems.

F. C. MURGOTTEN.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, FEBRUARY, 1924.
NOTE

In the short notice that I prefixed to the first part of al-Balâdhuri's history done into English by Dr. Ḥitti, I expressed my appreciation of the importance of making the chief documents dealing with the early history of the Arab people accessible to readers who were not in the knowledge of Arabic. Recent history has confirmed me in this appreciation.

Dr. Murgotten gives us in the following a translation of the second part. It had been his intention to publish it three years ago; but the war demanded his services overseas in the Near East; and it took some time before he was able to return and take up his work at the point where he had laid it down. Dr. Murgotten has labored with much care, often far from the tools which he needed so obviously. He has worked with much success; and I am sure that readers of Arabic will agree with me that the task—not always easy—has been done with faith and with care. As such I recommend it to those interested in this period of the world's history.

Richard Gottheil.

(vii)
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE</strong></td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>NOTE BY PROFESSOR GOTTHEIL</strong></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART XI—NORTHERN MEDIA (AL-JIBAL)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar-Rai and Kūmas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquest of ʻAzāwin and Zanjān</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART XII—ADHARBAIJAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conquest of Adharbaijān</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages and Towns</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART XIII—MOSUL (AL-MAUSHIL)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosul</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahrazūr, Aṣ-Ṣamaghān and Darābādāh</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART XIV—JURJĀN AND TABARISTĀN AND THEIR DISTRICTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Campaigns</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Conquest</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART XV—THE DISTRICTS OF THE TIGRIS
(KUWAR DIJLAH)

CHAPTER I
The Conquest of the Districts of the Tigris ...................... 51

CHAPTER II
The Founding of Al-Baṣrah ............................................ 60

CHAPTER III
The Fief of Nāfi' ...................................................... 67

CHAPTER IV
Houses in Al-Baṣrah .................................................. 69

CHAPTER V
Baths of Al-Baṣrah ..................................................... 72

CHAPTER VI
Castles in Al-Baṣrah ................................................... 75

CHAPTER VII
Canals and Other Fiefs ............................................... 77

CHAPTER VIII
Canals and Other Fiefs—continued ................................. 89

PART XVI—KHUZISTĀN

CHAPTER I
Concerning the Asāwirah and the Zuṭṭ ................................ 105

CHAPTER II
The Districts of Al-Ahwâz ........................................... 112

PART XVII—FARS AND KIRMĀN

CHAPTER I
Fārs ................................................................. 127

CHAPTER II
Kirmān .............................................................. 136
CONTENTS

PART XVIII—SIJISTÂN AND KĀBUL

CHAPTER I
‘Uthmân to Marwân I ........................................... 141

CHAPTER II
‘Abd-al-Malik to Ma’mûn ..................................... 150

PART XIX—KHURÂSAN

CHAPTER I
Caliphates of ‘Umar and ‘Uthmân ............................... 159

CHAPTER II
Caliphates of ‘Ali and Mu‘âwiyyah ............................ 169

CHAPTER III
Caliphates of Yazid and ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ..................... 176

CHAPTER IV
Mûsâ’s Insurrection .............................................. 182

CHAPTER V
Kūtaibah’s Conquests ........................................... 186

CHAPTER VI
Kūtaibah’s Downfall ........................................... 191

CHAPTER VII
Caliphates of Yazid and Hishâm ............................... 198

CHAPTER VIII
Under the Abbasides ............................................. 203

PART XX—CONQUEST OF AS-SIND

CHAPTER I
Border Raids ...................................................... 209

CHAPTER II
Campaigns under Al-Ḥajjâj .................................... 215

CHAPTER III
Caliphate of Sulaimân .......................................... 224

CHAPTER IV
Under the Abbasides ............................................. 230
## CONTENTS

### PART XXI—APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Concerning the Laws of Kharāj Lands</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>History of the 'Atâ' in the Caliphate of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>The Seal</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The Coinage</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>The Art of Writing</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART XI
NORTHERN MEDIA
(AL-JIBÂL)
CHAPTER I

AR-RAI AND KUMAS

'Urwaḥ "al-Baṣḥir". Al-ʿAbbās ibn-Hishām al-Kalbi from his father from abu-Mikhnaf:—Two months after the battle of Nihāwand, 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to 'Ammār ibn-Yāsir, his 'āmil over al-Kūfah, ordering him to send 'Urwaḥ ibn-Zaid al-Khail aṯ-Ṭā'ī against ar-Rai⁴ and Das-tabā② with 8,000 men, which he did. 'Urwaḥ went there, and the Dailamites,⁵ supported by the people of ar-Rai, assembled against him. They engaged in battle with him, but Allah gave him the victory over them, and he slew and slaughtered them. Then he left his brother, Ḥanṭhalah ibn-Zaid, in charge, went to 'Ammār, and asked to be sent to 'Umar. This was because he had been the one who had brought to 'Umar the news of the defeat at the Bridge,⁴ and he wanted to bring him some cheering news. 'Umar, when he saw him, said, "Behold, to Allah we belong and unto him shall we return." But 'Urwaḥ said, "Nay, praise Allah rather, for he has helped us and given us the victory." And he told him his news. 'Umar said, "Why didst thou not stay and send a messenger?" He answered, "I left my brother in charge, for I wanted to come to thee myself." 'Umar surnamed him al-Baṣḥir (the bringer of good tidings).

³ Hitti, Origins of the Islamic State, vol. i, p. 441; LeStr., p. 172, et seq.
⁴ Hitti, pp. 403 and 404.
⁵ I. e. "Here comes bad news."
And 'Urwhah said:

"I appeared to the people of al-Ḵâdisiyah with news. 
Not every one who hides adversity will tell. 
Once on a time in the shelter of the palm trees, 
I fought and fled not, causing blood to flow and many a wound. 
And at the battle with the Dailamites I surely learned 
That when my face is turned to the foe, they have to flee, 
Knowing full well that I am a man of zeal;
I am not found holding back; I press forward."

Al-Mundhir ibn-Ḥassân ibn-Ḍirâr, one of the banu-Mâlik ibn-Zaid, had a share in the slaying of Mihrân ¹ at the battle of the Palm Trees (an-Nukhâlah). ²

Terms of peace. After 'Urwhah's departure, Ḥudhaifah placed in command of his army Salamah ibn-'Amr ibn-Ḍirâr aḍ-Dabbi. (Others say al-Barâ' ibn-Âzib.) 'Urwhah's victory had thoroughly confounded the Dailamites and the people of ar-Rai. Salamah besieged the castle of Farrukân ³ ibn-az-Zainabadi. (The Arabs call him az-Zainabi, and he was also called 'Ârin.) Ibn-az-Zainabî made peace with Salamah after some fighting, the terms being that the inhabitants become dhimmis, paying jizyah and kharâj. 500,000 dirhams were given him on account of the people of ar-Rai and Ḳûmas ⁴ on condition that he should not kill nor enslave any of them nor raze any of their fire temples, and that they should be the same in regard to their kharâj as the people of Nihâwand. He also made terms with him for the people of Dastaba ar-Râzi. (For Dastaba was in two parts, the part towards ar-Rai, and the part toward Hamadhân.) Sulaimân ⁵ ibn-'Umar aḍ-Ḍabbi (or al-Barâ' ibn-Âzib) sent a

¹ Ḥitti, p. 407.
² Battle of Nukhâlah, Ḥitti, pp. 406 and 407.
³ Cf. Kutaibiah, p. 211; LeStr., p. 215.
⁵ Probably scribal error for Salamah ibn-'Amr.
troop of cavalry to Kūmas, where they met with no resistance, but captured also Abwâb ad-Dâmghân.\footnote{Abwâb=gates; perhaps forts at the entrance of the city. For Dâmghân cf. Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 539; Meyn. p. 223; LeStr., p. 364.}

\textit{Ar-Rai rebellious}. Later when 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb removed 'Ammâr and appointed al-Mughirah ibn-Shu'bah over al-Kûfah, the latter appointed Kathîr ibn-Shihâb al-Ḫârithi over ar-Rai and Dastaba. Kathîr had distinguished himself at the battle of al-Kâdisiyah. When they got to ar-Rai, he found its people had rebelled, but he fought with them until they returned to obedience and paid up the \textit{kharâj} and the \textit{jizyâh}. He also made a raid against the Dailam and a sudden attack, and a raid against al-Babar and at-Ṭailâsân.\footnote{Or Tâlashân. Cf. Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 271; Meyn., p. 401; LeStr., p. 312.}

\textit{Kathîr ibn-Shihâb}. Ḥafṣ ibn-'Umar al-'Umarî from al-Haitham ibn-'Adî from ibn-Ayyâsh al-Hamadhâni and others:—Kathîr ibn-Shihâb was governor of ar-Rai, Dastaba, and Ḵazîn. He was handsome and resolute, but crippled.\footnote{Ṭabari says nothing about his deformity} He used to say, “I am the only cripple who is not a burden on his family.” On horseback his legs were as steady as two ploughs. When he made a raid, every one that was with him took a shield, breast-plate, iron helmet, a packing needle and five small needles, linen thread, awl, scissors, nose-bag, and basket. He was avaricious, and had a deep dish in front of him, and when anyone came up to him, he would say, “Be off with thee! Didst thou expect aught of what we are eating?” One day he said to his slave, “Give me something to eat.” The slave answered, “I have nothing but bread and herbs.” And Kathîr exclaimed, “Did I make war upon Persia and Greece only for bread and herbs?” He ruled ar-Rai and Dastaba for a while also in the time of Mu'âwiyyah.
Another rebellion. Sa'd ibn-abu-Waḳḳās, when he was governor of al-Kūfah the second time, came to ar-Rai, which was in revolt, and brought it to terms, and raided the Dailamites. This was in the first part of the year 25. Then he withdrew.

Ar-Rai finally quieted. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Yahya ibn-Ḍaris, the kādi of ar-Rai:—Ar-Rai, after it was conquered in the days of Ḥudhaifah, kept breaking its covenant and being re-subdued, until it was finally conquered by Ḵaraṭḥah ibn-Ka'b al-Anṣārī, when abu-Mūsa was governor of al-Kūfah for ʿUthmān. And thereafter it remained quiet. Its governors used to live in the castle of az-Zanbādi, attending services in a mosque which was erected nearby it. It was incorporated within the outer wall (faṣil) of al-Muḥammadah (i.e. al-Muḥammadiyah). They used to raid the Dailam from Dastaba. Ḵaraṭḥah ruled afterwards over al-Kūfah for ʿAli and died there, and ʿAli [blessed him i.e.] prayed at his funeral.

Yazīd ibn-Ḥajabah. ‘Abbās ibn-Hishām from his father who had the tradition from his grandfather:—‘Ali appointed as governor over ar-Rai and Dastaba Yazīd ibn-Ḥajabah ibn-ʿAmir ibn-Taimallāh ibn-Ṭaḥlabah ibn-ʿUkābah, who misappropriated the kharāj. He was imprisoned but escaped and went over to the party of Muʿāwiyyah.

Abu-Mūsa raided ar-Rai in person, its people having broken the covenant, and he reduced it on the former terms.

Al-Mahdi enlarges ar-Rai. Jaʿfar ibn-Muḥammad ar-Rāzi:—The Commander of the Believers al-Mahdi came in the caliphate of al-Manṣūr and built the city of ar-Rai in which the people live today. He surrounded it with a moat and built in it a cathedral mosque. This was erected under the charge of ʿAmmār ibn-abu-l-Khaṣīb who inscribed his

name on its wall and put the date of its construction the year 158. He made an outer wall (*faṣîl*) for it, enclosing therewith a reservoir made of burnt brick. He named it al-Muḥammadiyah, but the people of ar-Rai called the city ad-Dâkhalah (the inner) and named the *faṣîl* al-Madînah al-Khârijah (the outer city). The castle of az-Zanbadi was inside of al-Muḥammadiyâh. Al-Mahdi ordered it to be repaired and lodged in it. It overlooked the cathedral mosque and the official residence. It was afterwards made a prison.

There lived in ar-Rai after the building of the city the members of a family called the banu-l-Ḥarîsh.

In the days of the heathen the city of ar-Rai used to be called Arâza, and it is said that it went to ruin during heathen times. It was at a distance of six paraṣangs from al-Muḥammadiyâh. The name ar-Rai comes from Arâza.

Al-Mahdi during the first part of his stay at ar-Rai lodged in a village called as-Sirawân.¹

Concerning the castle of al-Farrukhân the poet (i. e. al-Ghaṭammash ibn-al-A‘war ibn-‘Amr aḍ-Ḍabbi) says:

"Against the accursed castle in ar-Rai he shall not slacken.
On its summit gleams the angel of death."

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Yaḥya ibn-Ḍarîs the ḫâḍî who says:—Ash-Sha‘bî entered ar-Rai with Kutaibah ibn-Muslim and said to him, "What is thy favorite drink?" He replied, "That which is easiest to find and most costly to be in want of."

Sa‘îd ibn-Jubair also entered ar-Rai and met aḍ-Ḍâḥhâk² and wrote an account of him.

‘Amr ibn-Ma‘dikarîb az-Zubaidî took part in the first raid of ar-Rai and after his departure he died and was buried

above Rûdhah⁴ and Bûsanah in a place named Kirmânshâhân.²

In ar-Rai was buried al-Kisâ’î, the grammarian (his name being ‘Ali ibn-Ḥamzah). He had arrived there with ar-Rashîd, who was on the way to Khurâsân.³

There died here also al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Arṭâh who had come with al-Mahdi. (His kunyah was abu-Arṭâh.)

Al-Kalbi says the castle of Jâbir in Dastaba is named after Jâbir, one of the banu-Zaibân ibn-Taimallâh ibn-Tha‘labah.

Amount of tribute. The assessment of ar-Rai for 12,000,000 dirhems continued until al-Ma’mûn passed through there on his return to Madinat-as-Salâm from Khurâsân. He deducted 2,000,000 dirhams from their assessment and wrote a document to this effect for the people.

¹ Read “Rûdhah wa-Bûstat.” Cf. Bakri, vol. i, p. 387; Caetani, 21:76, n. 3.
² LeStr. p. 187.
³ In the year 192 a. H.
CHAPTER II

CONQUEST OF KAZWIN AND ZANJÂN

Meaning of Kazwin. I was told by some of the people of Kazwin and by Bakr ibn-al-Haitham on the authority of a scholar of the people of ar-Rai that the fortress of Kazwin was called in Persian Kashwîn (its meaning being "the end that is looked to" i.e. "the observed"). Between it and ad-Dailam is a mountain on which the Persians had continually stationed some of their cavalry, to repel the Dailamites when there was not a truce between them and to guard their cities from robbers and such when there was a peace between them. Dastaba was divided between ar-Rai and Hamadhân, one part being called ar-Râzi and the other part al-Hamadhâni.

Kazwin reduced. When al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bah was governor of al-Kûfah, he appointed Jarîr ibn-'Abdallâh governor of Hamadhân and al-Barâ' ibn-'Âzib over Kazwin, ordering the latter to go there and, if Allah subdued it through him, to raid the Dailamites from it. Before this they had only been raided from Dastaba. Al-Barâ', accompanied by Hanîthalah ibn-Zaid al-Khail, went as far as Abhar, whose fortress he took possession of, a fortress which some of the Persians had built near some springs. They had dammed the springs with hides of cattle and with wool and above them they had constructed a platform and had then built the fortress upon it.

1 Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 88; Meyn., p. 441; LeStr., pp. 218-220.
2 Yâkût, vol. i, p. 105; Meyn., p. 11; LeStr., p. 221.
After some resistance they asked al-Barâ’ for terms and he made peace with them on the same conditions that Ḫudhaifah had made with the people of Nihâwand. After making peace with them in this way he subdued the lands of Abhar. Then he raided the people of the fortress of Kazwin, who, when they saw that the Moslems were coming against them, sent to the Dailamites, asking them to help them. They promised that they would. Al-Barâ’ and the Moslems took up a position in their suburbs and the Kazwini made sorties to fight them. But as for the Dailamites, they took a stand on the mountains and did not raise a hand against the Moslems. When the besieged saw this, they asked for a truce, and were offered what the people of Abhar had been given, but they disliked the idea of the jizyah and professed Islâm. It is said that they settled down under the same sort of terms in regard to Islâm as did the Asâwirah of al-Baṣrah, namely, that they might make their abode with whomever they chose. They settled in al-Kûfah and became allies (clients) of Zuhrah ibn-Ḥawiyyah. They took the name Ḥamrâ’ ad-Dailam. (Others say that they became Moslems and remained where they were and their lands became tithe-land.)

Al-Barâ’ stationed among them at Kazwin 500 of his Moslems (among them Ṭulaiḥah ibn-Khuwailid al-Asadi) to whom he made grants of lands to which no one had title.

Balâq says:—One of the inhabitants of Kazwin recited to me some verses about his grandfather who was with al-Barâ’: "Ad-Dailam knew when they battled,
What time ibn-‘Āzib came with his forces,
That the thoughts of the polytheists were lies.
How often we crossed in the darkness of the jungle
From mountain steep and from plain below.”

\[1\] Cf. Margoliouth’s translation of Zaydan, Umayyads and Abbâsids, pp. 52-56, et passim.
CONQUEST OF KAZWIN AND ZANJAN

Al-Barā' raids ad-Dailam. He raided ad-Dailam until they paid him tribute. He raided also Jilân and al-Babar and at-Tailasân, and conquered Zanjân by force.

Raid by al-Walid. Al-Walid ibn-'Ukbah ibn-abu-Mu'aît ibn-abu-'Amr ibn-Umaiyyah when he was governor of al-Kûfah for 'Uthmân ibn-‘Affân raided that part of ad-Dailam which is contiguous to Kazwin. He raided also Adharbaijân, Jilân, Mûkân, al-Babar and at-Tailasân. Then he withdrew.

By Sa'îd ibn-al-‘Aši. Sa'îd ibn-al-‘Aši ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-‘Aši ibn-Umaiyyah was governor after al-Walid. He raided ad-Dailam, making Kazwin his headquarters. It became the frontier (or fort) for the people of al-Kûfah, some of whom built homes there.

A choice of fronts. Aḥmad ibn-Ibrâhim ad-Dawraki from Khalaf ibn-Tamim from Zâ'idah ibn-Kudâmah from Ismâ'il from Murrah al-Hamadhâni:—'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib said, “Whoever among you dislikes joining in our fight against Mu'âwiyyah, let him take his wages and depart to ad-Dailam and fight against them.” “I,” says Murrah, “was among the company, and we took our wages and set out for ad-Dailam to the number of four or five thousand.”

'Abdallâh ibn-Sâliḥ al-‘Ijli from ibn-Yamân from Sufyân, who says:—'Ali sent ar-Rabi' ibn-Khuthaim ath-Thauri to raid ad-Dailam, putting him in command of 4,000 Moslems.

Mosque of ar-Rabi'. From one of the people of Kazwin:—In Kazwin is the well known mosque of ar-Rabi' ibn-Khuthaim in which was a tree with which everyone used to rub himself. It is said that if a sprig from it was stuck in the ground, it would put forth leaves until a tree grew from it. The ‘āmil of Tâhir ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Tâhir cut it down in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers

1 Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 948; Meyn., p. 287; LeStr., pp. 221-222.
al-Mutawwakkil-‘al’Allâh, fearing that the people might be led into superstition by it.

*Mûṣa al-Ḥâdî extends Kâzûn*. When Mûṣa al-Ḥâdî came to ar-Rai, he visited Kâzûn and ordered a city to be built in front of it. It is known as Madînâh Mûṣa.¹ He bought some land which was called Rustamâbâdî and bequeathed it to the use of the city. ‘Amr ar-Rûmî³ his freedman used to have charge of it. Then after him Mûḥammad ibn-‘Amr had charge of it.

Al-Mubârâk at-Turkî built a stronghold called Madînât al-Mubârâk⁴ in which dwelt some of his freedmen.

*Ar-Râshîd reduces the tribute*. Mûḥammad ibn-Hârûn al-Iṣbâhâni told me that ar-Râshîd passed through Hamadân on his way to Khurâsân and the people of Kâzûn went to meet him and told him about their location with reference to the provinces of the enemy and the advantage of it in the event of his having to go to war with them. And they asked him to consider their cause and lessen the burden upon them of the excessive tithes of their produce. And so he commuted their tribute to an even 10,000 dirhms.

*Zanjân becomes client of Al-Ḥâsîm*. Al-Ḥâsîm, the son of the Commander of the Believers ar-Râshîd, was governor of Jurjân, Taḥaristân, and Kâzûn. The people of Zanjân entrusted to him their villages, strengthening themselves through him, and defending themselves from the disgrace of beggary and from the oppression of the ‘âmîls over them. They drew up for him written contracts⁵ about this and became farmers for him. This land today is part of the royal domain.⁶

¹ Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 455; Meyn., p. 521.
³ “The Greek.
⁴ Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 454; Meyn., p. 520.
Al-Ḳâkizân. Al-Ḳâkizân became tithe land because the people on it accepted Islâm and continued to cultivate it after their conversion. They entrusted it also to the protection of al-Ḳâsim, since they were paying to him a double tithe in addition to the tithe of the Bait al-Mâl. This land also came into the royal domain.

Dastaba united. Dastaba continued to be in two divisions, one attached to ar-Rai and the other to Hamadhân, until one of the Ḫazwînîtes belonging to banu-Tamîm and named Ḥanṭhalah ibn-Khâlid (his kunyah being abu-Mâlik) busied himself in the matter, with the result that it was all assigned to Ḫazwin. One of the people of his province heard him say, “I fixed it up, as sure as my name is abu-Mâlik.” The other replied, “Nay, thou didst mix it up, and thy name is abu-Hâlik (damned).”

Al-Ḥajjâj and the Dailam. On the authority of al-Madâ'îni and others. The Kurds were turbulent and troublesome at the time of the rebellion of ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash‘ath, and al-Ḥajjâj sent ‘Amr ibn-Ḥâni’ al-‘Abasi against them with troops from Damascus. He fell upon them and killed some. Then he was ordered to raid ad-Dailam, which he did with 12,000 troops among whom were 80 of the banu-‘Ijl and their freedmen from al-Kûfah. One of these was Muḥammad ibn-Sinân al-‘Ijli.

A dubious pedigree. ‘Auf ibn-Aḥmad al-‘Abdi from abu-Ḥanash al-‘Ijli from his father, who says:—I was acquainted with a member of the Tamîm al-‘Ijli who were sent by al-Ḥajjâj to garrison the frontier of ad-Dailam, and he told me, saying, “I saw one of the mawâli of the banu-‘Ijl who claimed to be a direct descendant from him (i.e. from ‘Ijl). And I said, ‘Thy father did not try to trace among the Arabs his descent but rather among the Persians. How then dost thou assert that thou art ‘Ijl’s direct descendant?’ He replied, ‘My mother told me so.’ And I said, ‘She is to be believed. She knows better than thy father.’ ”
Suburbs of Kazwin. Muhammad ibn-Sinân al-'Ijli first settled in one of the cities of Dastaba. Later he removed to Kazwin and built a residence in its suburbs. The people of the border remonstrated with him, saying, "Thou exposest thyself to destruction and us to weakness if the enemy do thee harm." But he did not pay any attention to their words, and had his son and his household build with him outside of the city. Then emigrants came later and built, so that the city was surrounded with suburbs.

Later conquests. Abu-Dulaf al-Kâsim ibn-'Îsa raided ad Dailam in the caliphate of al-Ma'mûn, and in the caliphate of al-Mu'tasim-billâh he was governor at the time that al-Afšîn was ruler of al-Jibal. He captured some castles, among them being Alûmisim, whose inhabitants surrendered on condition of paying tribute; Nûwaj, which he conquered by force, but later its inhabitants made terms, agreeing to pay tribute; al-Iblâm, and Andâk, among others.

Another besides abu-Dulaf made a raid against al-Afšîn and also captured some castles of ad-Dailam.

When the year 253 came, the Commander of the Believers, al-Mu'tazz-billâh, sent his freedman, Mûsa, son of Bugha-I-Kâbir, against the Tallâbiyûn that had appeared in ad-Dailam and the regions of Tabaristân. The Dailamites had protected one of them, known as al-Kaukabi. Mûsa raided the Dailamites penetrating far into their territory. They offered some resistance, but he attacked them fiercely, pressing them hard and vexing them sorely.

The Three Cronies. One of the inhabitants of Kazwin told me that in Râwand of the province of Iṣbahân are the graves of the famous boon companions. The poet says:

"Know ye not that I am all alone in Râwand?"

1 Perhaps read "Bûwaj."
2 Yâkût, vol. i, p. 372; Meyn., p. 54.
3 Bakri, s. v. Khazâk: Al-Asdi says:—

Know ye not that I have not in all Râwand
Nor in Khazâk any friend but you two?
‘Abdallâh ibn-Šâliḥ al-‘Ijli says:—It has come to my knowledge that there were in the army of al-Ḥajjâj which he sent to ad-Dailam, three individuals of the inhabitants of al-Kûfah, who used to drink together, not associating with anyone else. One of them died suddenly. His two companions buried him and used to drink by his grave, and when his cup was brought, they would pour it on his grave and weep. Afterwards the second one died, and the remaining one buried him by the side of the first, and used to sit by the two graves and drink, and then pour a cup upon the grave which was near him, and then a cup upon the other, and weep. And one day he made up some verses, saying,

“My friends, arise! Ye sleep too long!
Verily will ye ne’er end your slumbers?
Know ye not that I am all alone in Kazwin,
Nor have I here any friends but you?
I stay always by your graves, departing not
The night long. Unless your echo answer me,
I shall weep all my life for you. What is there that
Shall prevent my broken heart from weeping for you?”

Not long afterwards he died and was buried near his two comrades and their graves are known as the graves of the Boon Companions.
PART XII
ADHARBAIJÂN
CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF ADHARBAIJAN

Conquered by Ḥudhaifah. Al-Ḥusain ibn-ʿAmr al-Ardabili from Wākid al-Ardabili from certain shaikhs who had heard\(^1\) that:—when al-Mughīrah ibn-Shuʿbah came to al-Kūfah as governor for ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb, he brought a letter to Ḥudhaifah ibn-al-Yamān giving the latter the governorship of Adharbaijān\(^2\) which letter he delivered to him at Nihāwand or in the neighborhood thereof. Ḥudhaifah advanced as far as Ardabil,\(^3\) the capital of Adharbaijān, in which city was the satrap (marzubān) thereof, and where the payment of its tax was made. The marzubān had gathered there the militia from the people of Bājarwān,\(^4\) Mīmādh,\(^5\) an-Nārīr,\(^6\) Sarāt,\(^7\) ash-Shīz,\(^8\) al-Mayānij,\(^9\) and other places. These resisted the Moslems fiercely for some days. Then the marzubān made terms with Hudhaifah for all the people of Adharbaijān for

---

\(^1\) I. e. the line of tradition is broken.
\(^2\) Yāḵūt, vol. i, pp. 171-174; Meyn., p. 14; LeStr., chap. xi.
\(^3\) Yāḵūt., vol. i, p. 197; Meyn., p. 21; LeStr., p. 168.
\(^4\) In Mūkān. Cf. Yāḵūt, vol. i, p. 328; Meyn., p. 74; LeStr., p. 175.
\(^7\) Or Sarāw, for Persian Sarāb. Cf. Yāḵūt, vol. iii, p. 64; LeStr., p. 168; Yaḵūbi, p. 47.
\(^8\) The district of which Urmiyāh was the capital. Cf. Yāḵūt, vol. iii, p. 353; Meyn., p. 367; LeStr., p. 224.
800,000 dirhams (weight 8), the conditions being that he should not kill nor enslave any of them, nor raze any fire temples, nor expose them to danger from the Kurds of al-Balāsajān,1 Sablān 2 and Sāṭrūdān,3 nor hinder the people of ash-Shīz in their peculiar custom of dancing on their festal days nor in observing their usual observances. Later Ḥudhaifah raided Mūkān 4 and Jīlān 5 and overwhelmed them, and settled with them for a payment of tribute.

‘Utbah succeeds him. ‘Umar afterwards removed Ḥudhaifah and appointed as governor of Adharbaijān ‘Utbah ibn-Farkād as-Sulami, who went there from al-Mauṣil. (Others say that he went there from Shahrāzūr along the level plain which is known today as Muʿāwiyyah al-Audi.) When he arrived at Ardabil he found its people in possession of a treaty, but some of them had broken it, so he raided them, defeating and plundering them. With him was ‘Amr ibn-‘Utbah az-Zāhid.

Under Mughirah. Al-Wākādi relates with his usual isnād that al-Mughirah ibn-Shuʿbah raided Adharbaijān from al-Kūfah in the year 22, finally succeeding in conquering the place by force, and laying upon it the kharāj.

Ibn-al-Kalbi relates on the authority of al-Ḥu Mikhnaf that al-Mughirah raided Adharbaijān in the year 20 and conquered it. Later its people rebelled, and al-ʿAshāth ibn-Ḳais al-Ḳindī raided them and conquered the fortress of Bājarwān. He made the same terms with them that al-Mughirah

---

1 Perhaps Balāshajān. Cf. Yākūt, i, p. 454; but see also Ḥittī, p. 319, n. 1.
2 The Sablān Mts. Yākūt, vol. iii, pp. 34, 64, 353; Meyn., p. 300; LeStr., p. 168.
3 Yākūt, vol. iv, pp. 708, 717, has Miyān Rūdhān.
5 Yākūt, vol. ii, p. 179; Meyn., p. 187; LeStr., pp. 172 et seq.
had made, and the treaty of al-Ash-'ath has lasted up to today.

Abu-Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn-Yahya was accustomed to say that 'Umar appointed Sa'd governor, then 'Ammâr, then al-Mughirah, then Sa'd again. In the year in which he died the Wâli of the 'âmirs of the provinces wrote to him (Sa'd) to come to al-Madinah, and in that way Sa'd was present at the council, and recommended to the successor to the caliphate that he himself be sent back to his province.

Another authority says that 'Umar died while al-Mughirah was his governor over al-Kûfah, and that he suggested the appointment of Sa'd over al-Kûfah and Abu-Mûsa over al-Bašrah. 'Uthmân appointed them both, but later dismissed them.

The army composed of Kûfans. Al-Madâ’ini from 'Ali ibn-Mujâhid from Muḥammad ibn-Iṣḥâq from az-Zuhri:—When Allah overthrew the Persians at Nihâwand, [most of] the people returned to their provinces, but the Kûfans remained with Ḥudhaifah and raided Adharbaijan. They made peace with him for 100,000 [dirhams].

'Umar rejects a present. Al-Madâ’ini 'Ali ibn-Mujâhid from 'Āṣim, the "squint-eyed," from abu-'Uthmân an-Nahdi:—'Umar removed Ḥudhaifah from Adharbaijan and placed in charge of it 'Utbah ibn-Farkad as-Sulami. The latter sent him some sweet-meats which he had wrapped in cotton cloths. But when they reached 'Umar he said, "Is it money?" They said, "No." "Then what is it?" he asked. "A gift which he has sent," was the reply. And when he had looked at it he said, "Send it back to him." And he wrote to him, "O son of Umm-'Utbah, verily, thou eatest sweetmeats not the fruit of thy toil nor of thy father's toil."

1 I. e. 'Umar.
2 Lit. "the polytheists."
3 A scribal error for 800,000 corrected on the margin of one of the mss.
‘Utbah says, “I left Adharbaijân on an embassy to ‘Umar and found him eating gristly camel flesh.”

Utman appoints al-Walid. Al-Madâ’ini from ‘Abdallah ibn-al-Kâsim from Farwah ibn-La’ît:—When Utman ibn-‘Affân became caliph, he appointed al-Walid ibn-Ukîb ibn-abu-Mu’ait ‘âmil and removed ‘Utbah from Adharbaijân. And when they broke the convenant, al-Walid raded them in the year 25, in command of his vanguard being ‘Abdallah ibn-Shîbl al-Ahmasi. He also made a raid upon the inhabitants of Mûkân, al-Babar and at-‘Tailasân, plundering and making captives. Upon being asked for peace by the inhabitants of the villages of Adharbaijân, he made a treaty with them upon the terms of that of Hudhaiyah.


Variant versions. ‘Abdallah ibn-Mu’adh al-‘Abkari from his father from Sa’d ibn-al-Hâkam ibn-‘Utbah from Zaid ibn-Wahb, who says:—When Allah overthrew the Persians at Nihâwand, the people of al-Ḥijâz and of al-Raṣrah returned to their respective provinces, while Hudhaiyah stayed at Nihâwand with the Kûfans and raided Adharbaijân. They made peace with him for 800,000 dirhams.

To these Kûfans ‘Umar wrote, “Behold, ye are in a land the food and clothing of whose people is infected with death. So do not eat except what is legally slaughtered, nor wear except what is ceremonially clean.” He was referring to the fur garments.

Al-‘Abbâs ibn-al-Walid an-Narsi from Abd-al-Wâhid from Ziyâd from ‘Aṣîm, the “squint-eyed”, from abu-‘Utman an-Nahdi, who says:—I was with ‘Utbah ibn-Farkad when he conquered Adharbaijân. He made up two baskets of sweetmeats, covering them with leather and felt; then he sent them to ‘Umar by Suhaïm, the freedman of
'Utbah. When the latter came to him 'Umar said, "What is it thou bringest? Gold? or silver?" At his command it was opened for him, and he tasted the sweetmeats, and said, "Verily, this is good. Tell me, have all of the emigrants eaten of it in plenty?" Suhaim replied, "No. It is only something prepared especially for thee." And 'Umar wrote, "From the servant of Allah, 'Umar, the Commander of the Believers, to 'Utbah ibn-Farkad:—...... It is not the fruit of thy toil, nor of thy mother's, nor of thy father's. We eat only what the Moslems have plenty of in their homes."

Al-Ash'ath quells a revolt. Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Amr and Aḥmad ibn-Muṣliḥ al-Azdi from certain learned men of the people of Adharbaijân, who says:—Al-Walid ibn-'Utbah came to Adharbaijân accompanied by al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais, whom the former, when he departed, appointed over Adharbaijân. The city revolted, and he wrote to al-Walid asking for reinforcements. He sent him a strong force of Kūfans, and al-Ash'ath went about to ḥān after ḥān (ḥān is ' garden" in the language of Adharbaijân) and subdued them upon the same terms as Ḥudhaifah and 'Utbah ibn-Farkad. He colonized the districts with Arabs who were enrolled in the pension lists ('aṭā') and the register (dīwān) and whom he ordered to summon the people to become Moslems.

Saʿīd subdues Mūkan and Jīlān. Saʿīd ibn-al-ʿĀṣi was later appointed governor.¹ He raided the people of Adharbaijân and overwhelmed the inhabitants of Mūkan and Jīlān. There assembled against him in the neighborhood of Urm ² and Baluwâŋkarḫ a number of Armenians and Adharbaijânîtes against whom he sent Jarîr ibn-ʿAbdallâh al-Bajâli. He put them to rout, seized their leader and crucified him upon the fortress of Bâjarwân.

Other authorities say that Ash-Shammâkh ibn-Ḍirâr ath-

¹ In the year 30 a. H.
Tha'labi was with Sa'id ibn-al-'Aṣi on this raid, as was also Bukair ibn-Shaddād ibn-'Āmir the rider of Atlāl. Of him ash-Shammākh says:

“I have heard sung of the horseman in Mūkān that submitted To Bukair of the banu-Shuddākh the rider of Atlāl.”

He belonged to the banu-Kinānah, and it was he who heard a Jew in the caliphate of 'Umar recite the verses—

“Ah! Ash'ath! Islām hath diverted his attention from me. The livelong night have I whiled away with his wife.”

Thereupon al-Ash'ath killed him.

Al-Ash'ath becomes governor. Then 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭālib appointed al-Ash'ath governor of Adharbajān. When he arrived there he found that the greater part of them had accepted Islām and read the Kurān. He established in Ardabil a number of Arabs who were enrolled in the pension lists and the register, and made it a capital city, and built its mosque (except that it was afterwards amplified).

---

CHAPTER II

VILLAGES AND TOWNS

Colonists. Al-Ḥusain ibn-‘Amr from Wākid:—When the Arabs settled in Adharbaijān, their families were eager to come to them from al-Kūfah, al- Başrah, and Syria, and every person seized possession of whatever he could, though some bought lands from the Persians. To these Arabs the villages turned for protection, and the [native] inhabitants became cultivators of the soil for them.

Warthān. Al-Ḥusain adds:—Warthān¹ was a vaulted bridge like the bridges of Wahsh and Arshāk which became proverbial in the days of Bābak. Marwān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam built it, cultivated its land, fortified it, and it became his property. Later it was confiscated together with the other estates of the banu-Umaiyah that were confiscated, and it became the possession of Umm-Ja‘far Zubaidah bint-Ja‘far, son of the Commander of the Believers, al-Manṣūr. The managers of it razed its walls. Then it was restored and strengthened shortly after. Al-Warthānī was one of its mawāli.

Barzand. Barzand² was a village where al-Afshin Ḥaidar ibn-Kāwus, the ‘āmil of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mu‘taṣim-billâh, over Adharbaijān, Armenia, and al-Jabal, had encamped in the days when he made war upon the infidel Bābak al-Khurrami. He fortified it.

² Yāḵūt, vol. i, p. 562; Meyn., p. 93; LeStr., pp. 175, 176.
Al-Marâghah. Al-Marâghah⁴ used to be called Ak-râhrûdh. Marwân ibn-Muḥammad, while he was governor of Armenia and Adharbajân, made a camp there as a place of withdrawal from raiding Mûkân, Jîlân and the vicinity thereof. There was much manure in it, for his beasts and those of his followers used to wallow there. So they came to say, “Come to the village of al-Marâghah”. Later people cut off the word “village” and said “al-Marâghah”. Its inhabitants sought the protection of Marwân, who built it up, and whose agents were on friendly relations with the people. Their number increased in it to the utmost and it became very populous. Later it was confiscated together with the other estates of the banu-Umayyah that were confiscated, and it became the possession of one of the daughters of ar-Rashîd, the Commander of the Believers.

When al-Wajnâ’ al-Azdî and Ṣadâkâh ibn-‘Ali, the freedman of the Azd, defected and stirred up trouble while Khuzaimah ibn-Khâzim ibn-Khuzaîmah was governor of Armenia and Adharbajân in the caliphate of ar-Rashîd, Khuzaimah built its wall and fortified it, making it his headquarters, and establishing there a scratch army. Later, when Bâbâk al-Khurrami obtained the mastery of al-Badhdh,¹ the people fled to al-Marâghah and lodged there, fortifying themselves therein. Its wall was pulled down in the days of al-Ma’mûn by some of his ‘âmilîs, among them Ahmad ibn-al-Junaid ibn-Farzandi and ‘Ali ibn-Hishâm. Later people settled in its suburbs and it was fortified again.

Marand. As for Marand,¹ it was a small village which Ḥalîbas abu-l-Ba‘îth settled. Later al-Ba‘îth fortified it. Then [came] his son Muḥammad ibn-al-Ba‘îth, who also

² Yâkût, vol. i, p. 529; Meyn., 87.
³ Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 513; Meyn., p. 524; LeStr., p. 166.
built in it some castles. In the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mutawakkil-‘al’-Allâh, he revolted, and Bughâ the Less, the freedman of the Commander of the Believers, made war on him, finally triumphing over him and carrying him to Sarra-man-ra’a, and razing the rampart of Marand (i.e. of the citadel).

Al-Ba‘ith was one of the children of ‘Atib ibn-‘Amr ibn-Wahb ibn-Afṣa ibn-Du‘mi ibn-Jadilah ibn-Asad ibn-Rabî‘ah. Others say of ‘Atib ibn-‘Auf ibn-Sinân, and the ‘Utbiyûn agree to this. Allah knows best.

Urmîyah. As for Urmiyah,¹ it was an ancient city in regard to which the Magians (Majûs) assert that their founder Zaradusht was from it. Ṣadâkâh ibn-‘Ali ibn-Ṣadâkâh ibn-Dînâr, the freedman of the Āzd, made war against its inhabitants, finally entering and subduing it. He and his brothers built in it some castles.

Tibriz. As for Tibriz,² ar-Rawwâd al-Azdi settled it; then al-Wajnâ’ ibn-ar-Rawwâd. He and his brothers built some buildings in it and fortified it with a wall. And people began to settle there with him.

Mayâniy and Khalbâthâ. As for al-Mayâniy and Khalbâthâ, they were settlements of people from Hamadân. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ja‘far al-Hamdâni built his quarter in al-Mayâniy, and the Sultân set up in it a minbar.

Barzah. As for the district of Barzah,³ it belonged to the Aud, and the greater part of it to one member of that tribe, who gathered people to it and built in it a fort. In the year 239 a minbar was erected in it in spite of opposition on the part of the Audi.

Narîr. As for Narîr, it was a place which had an ancient

¹ Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 218, 219; Meyn., p. 26; LeStr., p. 165.
² Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 823; Meyn., p. 132; LeStr., pp. 159-163.
³ Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 563, l. 16; Meyn., p. 94; LeStr., p. 165.
ruined castle. Murr ibn-‘Amr al-Mausili aţ-Ţâ’i settled there and built in it and established his children there. Later they themselves built in it some castles and made a city of it. They also built Sûk Jâbrawân \(^1\) and enlarged it. The Sultân put it under their jurisdiction, and they used to govern it themselves without caring a jot for the ‘âmil of Adharbaijân.

**Sarât.** And as for Sarât, there were in it many people from Kindah \(^2\) one of which people there told me that he was one of the children of a man who was with Al-Ash‘ath ibn-Kâis al-Kindi.

\(^1\) Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 2; Mçyn., p. 147.

PART XIII
MOSUL (AL-MAUṢIL)
CHAPTER I

Mosul

Nineveh and surrounding villages. 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb appointed 'Utbah ibn-Farkad as-Sulami governor of al-Mauṣil in the year 20. The people of Ninawa 1 fought with him, but he seized their fort (i.e. the eastern one) by force and crossed the Dijlah (Tigris). The people of the other fort made peace with him on condition of giving jīzah, with permission that whoever preferred, might depart with those who emigrated. He found in the territory of al-Mauṣil some monasteries the inmates of which secured peace from him by giving the jīzah.

'Utbah afterwards conquered al-Marj 2 and its villages, the land of Bâhudhra, 3 Bâ′adhra, 4 Ḥibṭūn, 5 al-Hiyânah, 6 al-Maʿallah, 7 Dâmīr, and all the strongholds of the Kurds. He advanced as far as Bânʿātha 8 of Ḥazzah 9 and conquered it.

4 Yāḵūt, vol. i, p. 472.
6 Defremery reads al-Hannānah.
9 I have been unable to identify this name.

549] 31
Sâliḥ ibn-‘Ubâdah al-Hamdâni, chief of the mounted patrol of al-Mauṣil went against Tall-ash-Shahârijah and the Salaḵ (a tribe known also as the banu-l-Ḫarrin) and conquered this place completely, and the Moslems sacked it.

Urmìyah. Muʿâfa ibn-Ṭàwus from some of the learned of al-Mauṣil:—Urmìyah was part of the conquest of al-Mauṣil, having been conquered by ‘Utbah ibn-Farkad, and its kharâj being at one time paid to al-Mauṣil. Such also was the case with al-Ḫūr, Khuwi, and Salmâs.

Muʿâfa says:—I have also heard that ‘Utbah conquered it (Urmìyah) when he was governor of Adharbaijân. Allah knows best.

Founding of Mosul. Al-ʿAbbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his father from his grandfather:—The first to plot out al-Mauṣil and to settle the Arabs there and to make it a chief city was Harthamah ibn-ʿArfajah al-Bâriki.

Abu-Mûsa al-Harawi from abu-l-Faḍl al-Anṣâri from abu-l-Muḥârit ad-Ḍabbî:—Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb removed ‘Utbah from al-Mauṣil and appointed therewith Harthamah ibn-ʿArfajah al-Bâriki. In the place [at this time] was the castle, churches of the Christians, a few dwellings of theirs near these churches, and the Jews’ quarter. Harthamah made a chief city of it, settled the Arabs in their own dwellings, apportioning holdings for them, and later built the cathedral mosque.

1 Ar. râbiṭah.
2 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 119.
3 See supra, p. 27, note i.
4 DeGoeje suggests reading al-Kharaz, and refers to Meyn., p. 220, n.
5 Or Khawi; Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 502; Meyn., p. 220; LeStr., p. 166.
6 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 120; Meyn., pp. 315-316; LeStr., p. 166. DeGoeje reads Salamâs.
7 In the year 22.
8 Made a military camp in the year 20.
Pavement and walls. Al-Mu’âfa ibn-'Tâwus:—The one who paved al-Maušil with stone was ibn-Talîd, master of the guard of Muḥammad ibn-Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam who was governor of al-Maušil, al-Jazirah, Arminiyah, and Adhar-baijân.

Al-Wâkidi says:—‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân appointed his son Saʿīd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân (after whom Nahr Saʿīd was named) governor of al-Maušil, and his brother, Muḥammad, governor of al-Jazirah and Arminiyah. Saʿīd built the wall of al-Maušil (i.e. the one which ar-Rashîd pulled down when he passed through there because of their rebellion just before). Saʿīd also paved it with stone.

From some of the inhabitants of Bâbaghîsh:—The Moslems sought an opportunity of taking the inhabitants of a certain region bordering on Dâmîr (called Zarân) while off their guard, and accordingly attacked them on one of their festal days when they did not have their weapons with them. Taking a position between them and their fortress, they captured it.

Building of Ḥadîthah. When Harthamah laid out al-Maušil and settled the Arabs there, he went to the site of al-Ḥadîthah, where there was an ancient village in which were two churches and the houses of the Christians, and made it a city and settled some of the Arabs there. It was named al-Ḥadîthah (“the new”) because it was later than al-Maušil. He also built a castle near by it.

Another version. Others say that Harthamah settled down at al-Ḥadîthah first, made it a city, and laid it out before al-Maušil, and that it was only named al-Ḥadîthah when certain of the inhabitants of al-Anbâr removed thither after ibn-ar-Rufail became their governor and oppressed

1 Meyn., p. 21.
2 LeStr., pp. 90-91.
them in the days of al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yūsuf. Among them were some people of Ḥadithah of al-Anbār. They built a mosque there and named the city al-Ḥadīthah.

Ṭirhān and Takrīt. ‘Utbah ibn-Farkād subdued at-Ṭirhān and Takrīt, granting āmān to the inhabitants of Takrīt for their persons and their property. He also entered the region of Bājarma. Then he went to Shahrazūr.

A sheikh of the people of Takrīt told me that they had a written āmān and convenant, but al-Jurashi tore it up when he devastated the villages of al-Mauṣil, Narsâbâdh, Hâʿalah, and the environs thereof.

Aḥaitham ibn-ʿAdi asserts that ʿIyāḍ ibn-Ghaum, when he conquered Balad, went to al-Mauṣil and reduced one of the two forts. Allah knows best.

---

1 LeStr., p. 55; Hitti, p. 400.
2 LeStr., pp. 25, 57, 84, 87; Hitti, loc. cit.
3 Yâkūt, vol. i, p. 454; Hitti, p. 422.
4 Ar. dhawātaha.
5 LeStr., p. 99; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2597, l. 5; Hitti, p. 277.
CHAPTER II

SHAHRAZUR, AS-SÂMAGHÂN, AND DARÂBÂDH

Conquered by ‘Utbah. Ishâk ibn-Sulaimân ash-Shahrazûrî from his father from Muḥammad ibn-Marwân from al-Kalbi from a member of the clan of ‘Azrah al-Bajali:— ‘Azrah ibn-Ḳais tried to conquer Shahrazûr while he was wâli over Ḥulwân in the caliphate of ‘Umar, but was unable to accomplish it. ‘Utbah ibn-Farkad raided it and reduced it after battle, granting similar terms to those of Ḥulwân. Some of the Moslems died in consequence of being stung by scorpions.

Ishâk from his father from their teachers:—The inhabitants of as-Sâmaghân and Darâbâd handed over to ‘Utbah, agreeing to pay jiyyah and kharâj on condition that they be neither put to death nor enslaved nor prevented from traveling wherever they pleased.

Abu-Rajâ’ al-Ḥulwâni from his father from the sheikhs of Shahrazûr:—Shahrazûr, as-Sâmaghân, and Darâbâd were among the conquest of ‘Utbah ibn-Farkad as-Sulami. He met the Kurds in combat and killed many of them, and wrote to ‘Umar, “In my conquests I have reached as far as Adharbaijân.” ‘Umar appointed him governor over that region, and appointed Harathamah ibn-‘Arfajah over al-Mauṣîl.

1 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 340; Meyn., pp. 356-358; LeStr., pp. 90, 190, 224; Hitti, p. 422.
2 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 364; Meyn., p. 371.
3 Written also Ardâbâd. See Merâcid, Add., vol. v, p. 398.
4 I.e. Adharbaijân, giving him authority to invade and conquer it 553].
Made a separate province. Shahrazûr and its district continued to be included with al-Mauṣil until it was divided at the end of the caliphate of ar-Rashîd. But [thereafter] Shahrazûr, aṣ-Ṣâmaghân, and Darâbâdh were ruled by a governor of their own. The governor's salary was 200 dirhams for each of the districts of al-Mauṣil, and so there was apportioned for [the governor of] these [three] districts 600 dirhams.
PART XIV

JURJÂN AND TABARISTÂN AND THEIR DISTRICTS
CHAPTER I

Racing to Khurásán. In the year 29, 'Uthmān ibn-`Affān appointed over al-Kūfah Sa`īd ibn-al-`Āsī ibn-Sa`īd ibn-al-`Āsī ibn-`Umayyah. The satrap (māsrūbān) of Tūs wrote to him and to 'Abdallāh ibn-`Āmis ibn-Kuraiz ibn-Rabī‘ah ibn-`Hasib ibn-`Abd-Shams, governor of al-Baṣrah, inviting them to Khurāsān and promising to appoint to rule over it whichever of the two should be the first to gain possession. Both ibn-`Āmir and Sa`īd set out for the place, but ibn-`Āmir was the quicker. So Sa`īd raided Ṭabaristān, the two sons of `Ali ibn-abu-Ṭalib, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, being with him it is said.

Others say that Sa`īd raided Ṭabaristān without having received any letter from anybody, starting on his expedition from al-Kūfah. And Allah knows best.

Sa`īd’s conquests. Sa`īd conquered Ṭamīsah and Nāminah (a village), and made peace with the ruler of Jurjān for 200,000 dirhams (Some say for 300,000), baghliyyah wāfiyyah. He distributed the money to the


3 LeStr., p. 375.


6 Ar. baghliyyah. Cf. De Sacy, Traité des monnées, p. 6; DeGoeje, Gloss., p. 17; Dozy, s.v.; also appendix iv.

7 Ar. wāfiyyeh, i.e. Persian dirhams of full weight.
Moslem soldiers who took part in the fighting. Sa‘îd conquered also the plain of Ṭabaristân, ar-Rûyân ¹ and Dunbâwand.² The people of al-Jibâl paid money to him.

The Moslems kept raiding Ṭabaristân and its territory and the people paid tribute, sometimes voluntarily,³ and sometimes after battle.

Mašḵalâh’s disaster. Mu‘âwiyaḥ ibn-abu-Sufyân appointed over Ṭabaristân Mašḵalâh ibn-Hubairah ibn-Shabāl of the banu-Tha‘labah ibn-Shaibân ibn-Tha‘labah ibn-‘Ukâbah. All its people were turbulent, and had collected 10,000 men (other authorities say 20,000). The enemy tricked him by showing fear before him until he had penetrated with his force far into the country; but when they approached the mountain passes, the enemy seized these against them, and rolled rocks down from the mountain upon their heads, and this whole army was destroyed. Mašḵalâh perished also, and they made a proverb about him, saying, “Until Mašḵalâh returns from Ṭabaristân.”⁴

Defeat of ibn-al-Ash’ath. Then ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân appointed Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash’ath ibn-Kais al-Kindi over Ṭabaristân. He made peace with them and gave them a convent. They made a show of submissiveness to him until he had entered, when they seized the passes against him and killed his son, abu-Bakr, and mutilated him. He managed to escape himself and the Moslems continued to raid those passes, but were cautious of entering deep into the land of the enemy.

Campaigns of Yāṣîd ibn-al-Muhallâb. ‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his father from abu-Mikhnaf and

¹ Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 873; Meyn., p. 268; LeStr., pp. 373-374.
others:—When Sulaimân ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân became ruler, he appointed Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Safrâh over al-‘Irân. He set out for Khurâsân, because of the hostility and disagreement that had come up between Sulaimân and Kutaibah ibn-Musli m. Wâki‘ ibn-abu-Sûd at-Tamîmi killed Kutaibah.

While he was on his way towards Khurâsân, his attention was drawn to Şûl the Turk, and he wrote to Sulaimân asking for permission to attack him. It was granted. So he raided Jîlân and Sâriyâh. Then he went to Dihistân, where Şûl was, and invested it. He had with him a scratch army of Mesopotamians, Syrians and people of Khurâsân. The inhabitants of Dihistân kept making sorties and attacking them, but Yazid pressed hard upon them and cut off their supplies from them. Then Şûl sent to Yazid, asking for peace and offering to deliver up to him the city and its people and all that was in it on condition that Yazid guarantee him his life and property and his household. Yazid granted this and accepted the terms which Şûl fulfilled. Yazid put to death 14,000 of the Turks and appointed a lieutenant to govern the city.

Abu-‘Ubaidâh Ma‘mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that Şûl was killed, but the first account is more probable.

Hishâm al-Kalbi says:—Yazid went to Jurjân and the people thereof met him with tribute which Sa‘îd ibn-al-‘Aši had arranged for with them, and he accepted it. The inhabitants of Jurjân later broke their treaty and acted with treachery, so he sent against them Jahm ibn-Zâhr al-Ju‘fi, who reconquered the place.

Others say that Yazid went to Marwân and established there his winterquarters. Then he raided Jurjân with 120,000 men from Syria, al-Jazîrah, Mesopotamia, and Khurâsân.

Al-Madā‘inī’s version. ‘Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madā‘inī told me that Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab established winter quarters in Khurāsān; then raided Jurjân, around which place was a wall of baked brick, with which it was fortified against the Turks, one end of the wall reaching down to the very sea. But the Turks had captured it and named Sūl their king. ‘And Yazid said, “Allah’s curse be on Ḫūtaibah! He left these Turks right in the bosom of the Arabs.”

Sūl surrenders. Yazīd wanted to raid China (or “he raided China”) and left as his lieutenant over Khurāsān Mukhallad ibn-Yazīd. When he reached Jurjân, he found Sūl encamped in al-Buḥairah ¹ and besieged him six months, attacking him again and again. Sūl sought for peace, offering to deliver up to him al-Buḥairah and all that was in it on condition that he be guaranteed his life and property and three hundred of the people of his household. Yazīd accepted his terms and then went on to Ṭabaristān, sending ‘Abdallāḥ ibn-Ma‘mar al-Yashkari to govern Dihistân and al-Bayāsān with 4,000 men.

He sent his son, Khālid ibn-Yazīd, and his brother, abu-‘Uyainah ibn-al-Muhallab, against the Iṣbahbadh ² who put them to rout before Yazīd joined them with an army. The Iṣbahbadh wrote to the marzubān (also spelled marūsban), “We have killed the companions of Yazīd, and I will kill a few Arabs for thy sake.” And he killed ‘Abdallāḥ ibn-Ma‘mar al-Yashkari and those with him while they were at ease in their camp.

Yazīd makes terms. When the news reached Yazīd, he sent Ḥayyān, the freedman of Maṣkalah, one of the Dailam captives, who said to the Iṣbahbadh, “My origin and my sympathy are on thy side, even though there is a difference of religion between us. I do not think that thou wilt get

¹ Ṭabarī, vol. ii, p. 1323, l. 4.
² Title of the kings of Ṭabaristān. Meyn., p. 31.
any more support from the Commander of the Believers or from the soldiers of Khurâsân than hitherto, for thou are out of favor with him. I have tested Yazîd in regard to thee and have found him ready for peace.” So Ḥayyân arranged for peace with him and kept him deluded until Yazid made the conditions 700,000 dirhams and 400 loads of saffron. The Işbahbadh said to him, “Ten weigh six.” Yazid replied, “Nay, ten weigh seven.” This was refused but Ḥayyân said, “I will take upon myself the balance between the two weights.” And he did so.

Ḥayyân was one of the nobles and leaders of the freedmen. His kunyah was abu-Ma’mar. ²

Yazid crushes a rebellion. Al-Madâ’ini:—The news of the treason and breach of convenant of the people of Jurjân reached Yazid, and he went against them the second time. And when the news of his expedition reach the marzubân, the latter went to Wijâh and entrenched himself there. Around it were jungles and thickets, and Yazid besieged it seven months without being able to accomplish a thing against it, while the enemy attacked him often. He set up the catapults against the city. Then some one guided the Arabs along a path to the enemies’ citadel, and said, “We need only ladders of leather.”

Yazid made a compact with Jahm ibn-Zâhr al-Ju’fi, saying, “Thou mayest be deprived of life, but thou canst not be deprived of death.” ³ Yazid ordered a fire to be lighted in the wood, ⁴ and alarmed the enemy thereby. Some of them made a sortie, and then returned. Jahm succeeded in getting to the citadel. Some of those who were at the gate

¹ I. e. 10 dirhams to weigh 6 or 7 mithkals respectively. Cf. App. iv.
² Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1328-9, gives a fuller account with some variations. For Wijâh cf. op. cit., p. 1330, note h.
³ Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1332, adds, “And beware lest I see thee come back in flight.” I. e. his exhortation to Jahm is not to let fear of death dampen his courage.
⁴ Ṭabari, loc. cit. adds “which he had collected.”
resisted him, but he dislodged them from it, and a little while afterwards the enemy heard the takbīr behind them, and the citadel was taken. They surrendered to Yazid at discretion, and Jahm led them to the wādī of Jurjān and set to killing them until the blood flowed down and ran into the wādī. And he built the city of Jurjān.

Yazid imprisoned. Yazid went to Khurāsān and the tribute gifts were brought to him. Then he placed his son Mukhallad in charge of Khurāsān and returned to Sulaimān. Now he had written him that he had in his possession 25,000,000 dirhams and the letter fell into the hands of ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azīz who seized Yazid for it and imprisoned him.

Tribute from the Išbahbadh. ‘Abbās ibn-Hishām al-Kalbi from his father from abu-Mikhnaf or ‘Awānāh ibn-al-Ḥakam:—Yazid proceeded against Ṭabaristān and the Išbahbadh appealed to the Dailamites for troops and they gave him aid. Yazid attacked him and then made peace with him for 4,000,000 dirhams down, 700,000 dirhams in gold coin every year, 400 ass loads of saffron, and a levy of 400 men, each with a shield and a Persian mantle, a silver cup and silk saddle-cushion (and some accounts say a bur-nus).  

Jahm retakes Jurjān. Yazid subdued ar-Ruyān and Dūnbāwand for money, garments and vessels. Then he went on to Jurjān whose people had treacherously slain his lieutenant. His imām, Jahm ibn-Zāhr ibn-Ḵais al-Ju’fī, preceded him and entered the city while the people were unsuspecting and careless. Ibn-al-Muhallab joined him and put to death part of the people and made captives of their women and crucified those he killed on the right and left of the road. He placed Jahm in charge of the city and laid both jizyāh and kharāj on its population, and oppressed them heavily.

The terms are given differently in Meyn., p. 385, translating Yāḵūt, vol. iii, p. 505, where the whole amount seems to be annual.
CHAPTER II

Frequent revolts. The people of Ṭabaristân kept asking for a treaty one time and refusing to pay the tribute the next time, continually starting war and suing for peace. In the days of Marwân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam they rebelled and disregarded their treaty until abu-l-‘Abbâs, the Commander of the Believers, when he became caliph, sent to them his ‘āmil and made terms with them. Later they broke their treaty again and rebelled and killed the Moslems in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Manṣûr, who sent against them Khâzim ibn-Khuzaimah at-Tamîni and Rauḥ ibn-Ḥâtim al-Muḥallabi. With them was Marzûk abu-l-Khasib, Rauḥ’s freedman, to whom is ascribed the building of the castle of abu-l-Khasib in al-Kūfah.

Marzûk pretends to desert. When the siege began to drag and the campaign became difficult, Marzûk asked them to beat him and shave his head and beard, and they did so. Then he went over to the Iṣbahbadh and said to him, “Behold, those two fellows suspected me of treachery and have done to me what you see, and I have escaped to you. If you accept my allegiance and accord me the dignity that I deserve at your hands, I will direct you to the Arabs’ weak points, and be of assistance to you against them.” He clothed him, gave him gifts, and showed confidence in him and in his counsels; while Marzûk pretended to be helping him and to be interested in his behalf. But when he was familiar with his affairs and his secrets, he wrote to Khâzim.
and Rauḥ, telling them what they need to know of these matters, and he gained control of the gate by deceit, so that the Moslems opened it, entered and captured the city, and advanced into and subdued the country.

‘Umar ibn-al-‘Alâ’. ‘Umar ibn-al-‘Alâ’ was a butcher of the people of ar-Rai. He collected some people and attacked Sinfâdh 1 the time of the rebellion there. ‘Umar showed his prowess and discomfited the enemy. Jahwar ibn-Marrâr al-Ijli sent him on a mission to al-Manṣûr, who welcomed him, treated him well, and promoted him to power. Afterwards he was governor of Ṭabaristân and suffered martyrdom there during the caliphate of al-Mahdi, the Commander of the Believers.

Jībāl Sharwin. Muḥammad ibn-Mūsa ibn-Ḥafṣ ibn-‘Umar ibn-al-‘Alâ’ and Mâyazdayār 2 ibn-Ḳārīn conquered Jībāl Sharwin 3 of Ṭabaristân in the caliphate of al-Ma’mūn. It is a very difficult mountain and hard to cross, having many jungles and swamps.

Mâyazdayār made governor. Then al-Ma’mūn appointed Mâyazdayār over the ‘āmil of Ṭabaristân, ar-Ruyān, and Dumbâwand, giving him the name of Muḥammad and the rank of Iṣbahbâdh. He continued to rule until al-Ma’mūn died. Then abu-Ḩâlak al-Mu’tâsim-billâh, the Commander of the Believers, succeeded to the caliphate and confirmed him in his position.

He apostasizes. After six years and some months of this caliphate he became a traitor and unbeliever. The

2 Ar. ḥawwâdahu. This may also be translated “made him a high officer.”
3 Meyn., p. 350, calls him Maziar of the land of ibn-Ḳārīn apparently overlooking the connective and Maziar (Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 284, l. 4), thus confounding Maziar (Muhammad) with Muḥammad ibn-Mūsa.
4 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 283; Meyn., p. 350.
caliph wrote to 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṭâhir ibn-al-Ḥusain ibn-Maṣ‘ab, his ‘āmil over Khurāsân, ar-Rai, Ḳūmas, and Jurjân, ordering him to take the field against him. ‘Abdallâh sent against him his uncle, al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Ḥusain, with a force from Khurāsân, while al-Mu‘tasim-billâh sent Muḥammad ibn-Ibrâhim ibn-Maṣ‘ab with what he could collect of the militia of the vicinity. When the troops came into Māyazdayâr’s country, a brother of his, named Fūhyâr ibn-Ḳârin, wrote several times to al-Ḥasan and Muḥammad and told them that he favored them against his brother, having a grudge against him for some slight he had received from him, and that the people of his district had become weary of him because of his insolence and his tyranny.

*He falls into a trap.* Al-Ḥasan wrote advising Fūhyâr that he would lie hid in a place which he named to him, and Fūhyâr said to Māyazdayâr, “Al-Ḥasan is coming to thee and is in such a place (mentioning a different place) and he asks thee for safe-conduct, desiring a conference with thee, according to information which has come to me.” So Māyazdayâr went seeking al-Ḥasan, and when he got into the midst of the place where al-Ḥasan was lying in wait, Fūhyâr informed the latter of his arrival, and he came out upon him with his companies. These had been placed at different points in the marshes and they began coming one and all towards Māyazdayâr. The latter tried to flee, but Fūhyâr seized hold of his girdle and the companions of al-Ḥasan gathered around him and made him a prisoner peace­fully without treaty or convenant.

*Flogged to death.* He was taken to Sarra-man-ra’a in the year 225 and was grievously lashed in the presence of al-Mu‘tasim-billâh. When the lashing was over, he died and was crucified in Sarra-man-ra’a together with Bābak al-Khurrani upon the slope which is in the vicinity of the hall
of the guard.\textsuperscript{1} Some of his brother's chief men fell upon Fūhyār and he was killed in Ṭabaristān.

And Ṭabaristān was subdued, plain and mountain, and 'Abdallāh ibn-Ṭâhir ruled there, and Ṭâhir ibn-‘Abdallāh after him.

\textsuperscript{1} I. e. the Tribunal.
PART XV
THE DISTRICTS OF THE TIGRIS
(KUWAR DIJLAH)
CHAPTER I

The Conquest of the Districts of the Tigris

Suwaid and Khâlid in al-巴ṣrah. Suwaid ibn-Ｋuṭbah adh-Dhuhli (Some say "Ｋuṭbah ibn-Ｋaṭādah.") made raids on the Persians in the district of Khuraibah of al-巴ṣrah, just as al-Muthanna ibn-Ḫârithah ash-Shaibānī made raids in the district of al-Ḥīrah; when Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd arrived at al-巴ṣrah on his way to al-Kūfah in the year 12, Suwaid assisted him in the war against the people of al-Ubullah, and was appointed by him as his lieutenant. Others say that Khâlid did not leave al-巴ṣrah until he had conquered al-Khuraibah, in which place there was a garrison of Persians, some of whom he killed and others he made captive. He left as lieutenant therein a man of the banu-Sa’d ibn-Bakr ibn-Hawāzin, called Shuraiḥ ibn-‘Āmir. It is also said that Khâlid went to the river al-Mar’ah [the woman] and took the castle by capitulation, the terms being obtained from him by an-Nūshajān ibn-Jasnasma. ("The woman," the mistress of the castle, was Kâmin Dâr bint-Narsa, the daughter of an-Nūshajān’s uncle, and she was called "the woman" just because abu-Mûsa al-Ash’ari had alighted there and she had served him with a paste made of dates, and he used to say, "Give us some of the pastry of the woman.")

Muhammad ibn-‘Umar al-Wâkidî ** denies that Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd went to al-巴ṣrah after he had finished with the

---

1 Hitti, p. 388.
2 Idem, p. 389.
3 Hitti, loc. cit.
459]
affairs of the people of al-Yamâmah and al-Bâhirain, and says that he went to al-Madinah; then left there for al-‘Irâq by way of Faid and ath-Tha‘labiyah. Allah knows best.

‘Utbah ibn-Ghazwân appointed governor. When the news about Suwaid and what he had done in al-Baṣrah reached ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, he thought it well to appoint over that district a man to represent him, giving the appointment to ‘Utbah ibn-Ghazwân ibn-Jâbir ibn-Wâhîb ibn-Nusaib, of the tribe of the banu-Mâzin ibn-Manṣûr ibn-Ikrimah ibn-Khaṣafah, and an ally [halîf] of the banu-Naufal ibn’Abd-Manâf, and one of the first Emigrants. He told him that “al-Hirah has been conquered and a great noble of Persia (i. e. Mihrâm) slain, and the Moslem troops are trampling the land of Babylon. So go to the district of al-Baṣrah and draw away thence the people of al-Ahwâz, Fârs, and Maisûn from assisting their brethren against thy brethren.” ‘Utbah went there and drew to his side Suwaid ibn-Kuṭbah and those who were with him of the Bakr ibn-Wâ’il and the banu-Tamim.

‘Utbah chooses the site of al-Baṣrah. There were in the district of al-Baṣrah at that time seven villages, two in al-Khuraybah, two in az-Zâbûk, and three in what is now the Dâr al-Azd. ‘Utbah quartered his companions in these villages, he himself staying in al-Khuraybah. This had had a garrison of the Persians that Khalid ibn-al-Walid had conquered, and that had then been abandoned by the Persians. ‘Utbah wrote to ‘Umar informing him of the place in which he and his companions were located, and ‘Umar replied, ordering him to transfer them to a location near to water and pasture. So he changed to the site of al-Baṣrah.

1 Mihrân was killed in the year 14 a. H. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2377.
2 Caetani, 14: 67.
3 Ar. dasākir.
Its name. Abu-Mīkhnaf says that the place abounded in small stones and black pebbles; so people said "Behold, it is gravel" [bașrah]. Others say that it was named Baṣrah only because of the looseness of its soil.

They put up there booths and tents of leather and of coarse cloth, and did not have any real buildings.

_Harthamah joins Ḫutbah._ ‘Umar reinforced Ḫutbah with Harthamah ibn-‘Arfajah al-Bâriki  who was in al-Baḥrain, and who later went to Mosul.

_Capture of al-Ubullah._ ‘Utbah ibn-Ghazwân assailed al-Ubullah  and took it by storm, and wrote to ‘Umar to tell him about it, informing him that al-Ubullah was the port to al-Baḥrain, ‘Umân, al-Hind [India], and aṣ-Ṣīn [China], dispatching the letter by Nâfi‘ ibn-al-Ḥârith ath-Thâkafî.

_And of al-Furât._ Al-Walid ibn-Ṣâliḥ from Manḥûm, the perfumer, from his father from Shuwaïs al-‘Adawi who says:—We went out with the ruler of al-Ubullah and conquered that city. Then we crossed over the Euphrates and had an encounter with the people of al-Furât with their spades,  but we defeated them and conquered al-Furât.

_Himyarî with them._ ‘Abd-al-Wâḥid ibn-Ghiyath from Ḥīmyarî ibn-Karâthah ar-Raba‘î who says:—When they entered al-Ubullah, they found small loaves made of white flour, and they said, "This is the bread of which it is said that it is fattening." And when they ate of it they began to look at their fore-arms and to say, "By Allah, we don’t see any fat." I obtained as booty [he adds] a green tunic which had a pocket at the chest. This I used to wear when attending Friday service.  

---

1 Ṭabarî, vol. i, pp. 2377 _et seq._
2 Yâkût, _loc. cit._
3 LeStr., p. 47.
4 Ar. _masâhi_.
5 Yâkût, _loc. cit._ lines 21 _et seq._
Al-Madâ’ini from Jahm ibn-Jâsân:—‘Utbaḥ conquered al-Ubullah; sent Mujâshi‘ ibn-Mas‘ûd against al-Furât; commanded al-Mughirah to lead in prayer; and he himself returned to ‘Umar.

Al-Madâ’ini on the authority of his teachers:—That part of the country lying between al-Fahraj and al-Furât became Moslem by capitulation, and the rest of al-Ubullah by force.

‘Utbaḥ’s campaigns. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Sâlih al-Muṣâri from Muḥammad ibn-Iṣâḥ ibn-Yasâr:—‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb sent ‘Utbaḥ ibn-Ghazwân, an ally of the bânu-Naufal, with 800 men to al-Basârâh, and [later] reinforced him with [more] men. [At first] he encamped the people in tents; but when they had increased in numbers, some of them built seven villages of sun-dried brick; of these two were in al-Khuraibah, one in az-Zâhûkâh, two among the Azîl, and two among the Tâmin. He then went against al-Ubullah and attacked its people, conquering the place by force, and next coming to al-Furât, with Mujâshi‘ ibn-Mas‘ûd as-Sulami in command of his vanguard. After he had conquered it by force, he came to al-Madhâr.¹ The satrap [marzûbân] of that place came out against him; but he fought with him, and Allah routed him, and most of those with him were drowned. The satrap, however, surrendered, but ‘Utbaḥ had him beheaded.

Then ‘Utbaḥ went to Dastumaisân whose people had collected an army to make a stand against the Moslems. They were on the point of advancing, but ‘Utbaḥ thought it best to anticipate them in the attack in order that by so doing he might better crush their strength and fill their hearts with fear.² So he met them in battle, and Allah put them to rout, killing their dihkâns. Then ‘Utbaḥ set out straightway for Abarkûbâdîh, which place Allah gave into his hands.

¹ LeStr., p. 42.
² Adding ru‘ban as suggested by De Goeje.
Death of 'Utba'h. Then 'Utba'h asked 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb for permission to come back to him and perform the pilgrimage, and he permitted him so to do. 'Utba'h appointed Mujâshi'ibn-Mas'ûd as-Sulami as lieutenant; but he was absent from al-Baṣrah, and so he ordered al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bâh to take his place until his return. And ['Umar 1] said, "Dost thou appoint a man of the nomad people to rule over a man of the civilized Arabs?" 'Utba'h wanted to resign from the governorship of al-Baṣrah, but was not permitted to. So he set out to return, but died on the journey.

Al-Mughîrah appointed governor. 'Umar then appointed as governor of al-Baṣrah al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu'bâh. Now the people had asked 'Utba'h about al-Baṣrah, and he had told them of its fertility, and so many people went there.

Azdâh, wife of 'Utba'h. 'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from his father from 'Awanah:—There was in the household of 'Utba'h ibn-Khazwân Azdâh ² bint-al-Ḥârîth ibn-Kaladâh, and when 'Umar made 'Utba'h ibn-Ghazwân 'âmîl, there went with him Nâfî', abu-Bakrah, and Ziyâd. When 'Utba'h fought with the people of the city of al-Furât, his wife kept urging the men to the battle, saying, "If they defeat you, you will deliver us as wives to the uncircumcised." But Allah conquered this city for the Moslems who obtained much booty.

Ziyâd keeps the accounts. There was among them none who could write and reckon except Ziyâd. So he presided over the division of this spoil; and there was assigned to him two dirhams a day, although he was but a lad with curls ³ on his head.

¹ The text is confused here. Cf. the fuller account later on in the chaper.
² Ardâh, according to al-Mâdâ'ini.
³ Ar. dhû'ābah.
Al-Madar and al-Wabar. Then ‘Utbah went to see Umar, and wrote to Mujâshi’ ibn-Mas’ûd informing him that he had appointed him his lieutenant. But he was absent, and so ‘Utbah ordered al-Mughirah ibn-Shu‘bah to lead in prayer until the return of Mujâshi’. Then the dîhkân of Maisân apostatized and turned away from Islam. Al-Mughirah met him at al-Mun‘arîj [“the bend of the river”] and killed him. When al-Mughirah wrote to Umar about his victory over him, Umar summoned ‘Utbah and said, “Didst not thou tell me that thou hadst appointed Mujâshi’ thy lieutenant?” He said, “Yes.” Umar said, “But lo, al-Mughirah has written to me so-and-so.” And ‘Utbah said, “Mujâshi’ was away, and I had ordered al-Mughirah to take his place, and to lead in prayer until his return.” Then Umar said, “As I live, verily, some one from the civilized Arabs [ahl al-madar] should have been appointed ruler rather than one of the nomads [ahl al-wabar].” Then he wrote out al-Mughirah’s appointment as governor of al-Bâṣrah and sent the message to him. And al-Mughirah led a godfearing life until he had the affair with the woman.1

Maisân. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ from ‘Abdah from Muḥammad ibn-Ishâk:—Al-Mughirah raided Maisân, conquering it by force after great slaughter, and reducing the country to submission. Then the people of Abârkhûbâdht rebelled and al-Mughirah conquered it by force.


‘Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ’înî says that people used to

1 The “affair” is recounted at length further on in this chapter.
call Maisân, Dastumaisân, al-Furât, and Abarkubâdh "Maisân." 1

Abu-l-Hasan made captive. Among the captives of Maisân was Abu-l-Hasan al- Başri and al-Hasan's brother, Sa'id ibn-Yasâr. (The [Persian] name of Yasâr was Fairûz.) Abu-l-Hasan fell to the lot of a woman of the Anṣâr, called ar-Rubaiya' bint-an-Nâdîr, the paternal aunt of Anas ibn-Mâlik. Others say that he belonged to a woman of the banu-Salimah, called Jamîlah, the wife of Anas ibn-Mâlik. Al-Hasan [himself] relates as follows: "My father and mother belonged to a man of the banu-n-Najjâr who married a woman of the banu-Salimah and bestowed them upon her as part of her dowry. This woman gave them their freedom, and so we are her clients." 2

Al-Hasan al- Başri. Al-Hasan was born in al-Madinah two years before the end of the caliphate of 'Umar. He departed thence a year after the battle of Šiffin, and died in al-Baṣrah in the year 110, at the age of 89 years.

Al-Mughîrah accused of adultery. Then behold, al-Mughîrah began to have relations with a woman of the banu-Hilâl, called Umm-Jamil bint-Mihjan ibn-al-Afšâm ibn-Shu'aithâh ibn-al-Huzam. She was married to a man of Thaḳif, named al-Ḥajjâj ibn-'Atîk. This scandal came to the knowledge of Abu-Bakrah ibn-Masrûh (a freedman of the Prophet, a Thaḳafi by a foreign mother), Shibli ibn-Mas'îd ibn-'Ubâid al-Bajâli, Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârîth ibn-Kalâdah ath-Thaḳafi, and Ziyâd ibn-'Ubâid. So they watched him until, while he was visiting her, they stole in upon him unawares, and behold, the two of them were naked and he atop of her. So they proceeded to go to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb and testified before him of what they had seen. 'Umar said to abu-Mûsa al-Asîrî, "I wish to send thee

1 LeStr., pp. 43, 80.
2 Literally "our allegiance [walâ'] is to her."
to a country where Satan has made his nest." He said, "Then give me the help of a number of the Ansār." So 'Umar sent with him al-Barā' ibn-Mālik, Ḫusrāw ibn-al- Ḥuṣain abu-Nujaid al-Khuzā'ī, and 'Aṣf ibn-Wahl al-Khuzā'ī. And he appointed abu-Mūsa governor of al-Baṣrah and ordered him to send al-Mughirah back. So he sent him back three days after his arrival [at al-Baṣrah]. And when al-Mughirah reached 'Umar, he was confronted with the witnesses; and Nāfi' ibn-al-Ḥārith said, "I saw him on the woman . . . having intercourse with her." ¹ Then Shibli ibn-Ma'bad gave the same testimony. Then abu-Bakrah. When Ziyād came as the fourth,² 'Umar, looking at him, said, "Verily, I see the face of a man through whom I hope one of the Companions of the Prophet of Allah will not be stoned to death, and by whose testimony he will not be disgraced." (Now al-Mughirah had come from Miṣr and professed Islam, and was present at the battle of al-Hudaibiyah together with the Prophet of Allah.) And Ziyād said, "I saw a scandalous sight and I heard passionate breathing, but I do not know whether he had intercourse with her or not." (Another report is that he did not give any testimony at all.) So 'Umar ordered that the three witnesses be flogged, which was done. Shibli said, "Dost thou flog those who testify the truth, and thus render all punishment meaningless?" And abu-Bakrah, after he had been flogged, said, "I testify that al-Mughirah is an adulterer." 'Umar said, "Punish him [again]." But 'Ali said, "If thou dost admit this [repetition] as a [fourth] testimony, then have your friend stoned."³ Abu-Bakrah swore that he would never speak to Ziyād again, though he

¹ The picturesque but indecent language of the Arabic has been toned down in translating.
² Four witnesses were required for conviction.
³ There is some confusion in the text here.
was his brother on his mother Sumaiyah's side. Then `Umar sent them back to their country.

Some have related that abu-Mûsa was in al-BAṣrah when `Umar wrote to him about the governorship and asked him to send al-Mughirah back. But the former account is the more probable.

Saʿd and `Utbah. It is related that `Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb had commanded Saʿd ibn-abu-Wakâs to send `Utbah ibn-Ghazwân to al-BAṣrah; which he did, but [`Umar] neglected to write to `Utbah about it. For this reason he asked to be excused; nevertheless `Umar sent him as governor, but he died on the way.

Abu-Mûsa governor. Abu-Mûsa's governorship was in the year 16 (others say 17). He inspected the Districts of the Tigris [kuwār\(^1\) Dijlah] and found its people submissive and obedient. He ordered that the land be surveyed, and assessed the kharâj upon it in proportion to its ability to bear it.

The more probable account is that abu-Mûsa was appointed governor of al-BAṣrah in the year 16.

Shaibân ibn-Farrukh al-Ubullî from Yahya ibn-abu-Kathir:—One of abu-Mûsa's scribes wrote to `Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, "min abu-Mûsa" for min abi-Mûsa, and `Umar wrote, "When this letter of mine reaches thee, have thy scribe beaten with the lash, and dismiss him from thy service."

\(^1\) The singular of this noun is kurâh = χώρα
CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDING OF AL-BASRAH 1

'Utbah chooses the site. 'Ali ibn-al-Mughirah al-Athram from abu-'Ubaidah:—When 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwân camped at al-Khuraibah,2 he wrote to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb, telling him of his camping there, and asserting that the Moslems needed a place in which they could pass the winter, and into which they could retire when they returned from a raid. 'Umar wrote to him, "Assemble thy followers in one place; let it be near to water and pasture; and write me a description of it." So he wrote to him, "I have found a land abounding in reeds,3 on the extremity of the desert towards the fluvial region, and below it are swamps in which are reeds." When 'Umar read the letter, he said, "This land is verdant, near to watering and grazing places and fire-wood." So he wrote to him to station the people there, which he did. They built huts of reeds, and 'Utbah built a mosque of reeds. This was in the year 14.

The mosque. It is said that 'Utbah took the marking out of the limits of the mosque into his own hands. Others say that Mihjar ibn-al-Adra' al-Bahzi of Sulaim marked them but. Another tradition has it that Nâšî' ibn-al-Iḥârith al-Kaladah did it when he laid out the limits of his own house. Still another account says that on the contrary al-Aswad ibn-Sarî' at-Tamîmi did it, and that he was the first.

2 Čabari, vol. i, p. 2377, l. 15 et seq.
3 Ar. kašâbah; but perhaps read kaṭâbah = "nutritious plants."
to act as ḫādi in it. Mujāshi and Mujālid, the two sons of Masʿūd, said to him, “Allah bless thee. Thou hast made thyself famous.” And he said, “Nay, far be it!”

Official buildings. Utbah built the official residence near the mosque in the square which is called today the Raḥbat banu-Hāshim. (It used to be called ad-Dahnā.²) In it was also the prison and the registry [dīwān].

When the inhabitants went on a raid, they used to take down these reeds, pack them up, and lay them away until they should return from the raid; and when they returned, they restored their buildings. This custom lasted some time. Then the people marked out limits, and built regular dwellings. And abu-Mūsa al-Ashʿari built the mosque and official residence of dried brick and clay, and roofed them with grass, at the same time enlarging the mosque.

The kiblah. When the imām went to lead the people in prayer, he used to pass across them to the kiblah on steps of stone. ‘Abdallāh ibn-ʿĀmir went out one day from the residence, towards the kiblah, wearing a gown of black silk stuff, and the Arabs began to say, “the commander has bear-skin.”

‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān born in al-Baṣrah. Abu-Muhammad ath-Thūri from al-Aṣmaʿi:—When Utbah ibn-Ghazwān settled in al-Khuraibah, there was born there ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-abu-Bakrah, being the first to be born in al-Baṣrah; and his father slaughtered a camel with which he feasted the Basrans and filled them to the full.

Ziyād enlarges the mosque. Then when Muʿāwiyyah ibn-abu-Sufyān appointed Ziyād as ʿāmil over al-Baṣrah, the latter enlarged the mosque considerably, building it of baked brick and gypsum, and roofing it with teak. Moreover he

---

¹ I. e. “to lead in prayer,” but see De Goeje, glossary, pp. 87-90.
² Yākūt, vol. ii, p. 635.
said, "It is not fitting that the *imám* pass across the people." So he moved the official residence from the Dahnâ to the south of the mosque, and the *imám* used to go out of the residence by the door in the southern wall [of the mosque].

Ziyâd, when he was building the mosque and the official residence, kept going about in it, watching the construction. He would often say to those leaders of the people of al-Baṣrah who accompanied him, "Do ye see any defect?" And they would answer, "We do not know a building more excellent than it." And he would say, "Yes, if only these columns of which each one has four arches upon it were more massive than the other columns."

It is related on the authority of Yūnus ibn-Ḥabîb an-Nahwî that there was not in these columns the slightest crack or fault.

The following verses are by Ḥārithah ibn-Badr al-Ghudâni, though some say they are by al-Ba‘ith al-Mujâshi‘i:— [Basît]

"Ziyâd built in honor of Allah an edifice
Of stones; 'twas not made of clay.
If human hands had not labored to raise it,
Verily we should call it a work of the Satans."

*‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd enlarges it.* Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm ibn-Kalîdhâm says:—When Ziyâd built the mosque, he made its portico resting on five columns, and built its minaret of stone. He was the first to make the choir,¹ and to move the official residence to the south of the mosque. His building, which was of dried brick and clay, stood until Sâlih ibn-‘Abd-ar-Rahmân as-Sijistâni, a freedman of the hanû-Yamîm, when he was in charge of the *kharâj* of al-‘Irâq for Sulaimân ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik, rebuilt the mosque of burnt brick and gypsum. *‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd enlarged

¹ Ar. *maṣjârah*, i.e. that part of the mosque where the Imâm stands, partitioned off from the rest of the building by a railing.
it and also the mosque of al-Kūfah, saying, “I asked Allah to grant me to lead the holy war [jihād] and he did so, and I asked him to grant me to build the two cathedral mosques in the two provinces¹ and he did so, and I asked him to make me the successor to Ziyād and he did so.”

The contractor becomes rich. Abu‘Ubaidah Ma‘mar ibn-al-Muthanna says:—When Ziyād built the mosque he brought its pillars from the mountain of al-Ahwāz, the man who had charge of securing and cutting them being al-Ḥajjāj ibn-‘Atik ath-Thākafi and his son. He became rich, so that it was said, “It is good to be in authority even over stones.” This became a proverb.

Another version. But some people say:—Ziyād saw the people clapping the dust off their hands when they got full of dust while they were praying, and he said, “There is danger that people should come to think after a long time, that clapping the dust off of their hands during the prayers is part of the ritual.” So he ordered that pebbles be collected and spread in the mosque. The overseers of the work were strict with the people in this regard and oppressed them, showing them pebbles which they had selected, and saying; “Bring us like these, according to their sizes and colors.” And the overseers were bribed, so that the saying arose, “It is good to be in authority even over stones.”

The house of Nâfî‘. Abu-‘Ubaidah says:—The north side of the mosque had an angle, because on that side there was a dwelling belonging to Nâfî‘ ibn-al-Ḥārith ibn-Kaladah. His son refused to sell it; but when Mu‘āwiyah appointed ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyād governor of al-Baṣrah, ‘Ubaidallâh said to his companions, “If ‘Abdallâh ibn-Nâfî‘ moves away to the farthest end of his property, then inform me of the

¹ Baṣrah and Kūfah.

² In prayer the Moslem prostrates himself with outstretched palms on the ground.
fact." When he moved to his white castle which is near al-Batihah, 'Ubaidallah, when he was told of this, sent workmen who pulled down as much of the house as was necessary to make the mosque square. Ibn-Nafi' came and complained to him about this. So he compensated him by giving him five cubits for every cubit, and opening for him in the wall an aperture into the mosque. This aperture remained in the wall until al-Mahdi the Commander of the Believers enlarged the mosque, when the whole house was made a part of the mosque. The space on which stood the official residence was also added to the mosque in the caliphate of ar-Rashid.

Al-Hajjaj ibn-Yusuf destroys the residence. Abu-'Ubaidah says:—When al-Hajjaj ibn-Yusuf came to al-'Irak,¹ he was told that Ziyad had built the official residence in al-Basrah, and he wished to remove his name from it. So he determined to rebuild it of gypsum and burnt brick. But someone said to him, "Thou wilt fasten his name upon it only the more firmly and surely." So he pulled it down and left it. And ordinary buildings were built around it with its clay and brick and its doors.

Sulaiman orders it rebuilt. There was therefore no official residence in al-Basrah until Sulaiman ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became ruler² and appointed Salih ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahman over the kharaj of al-'Irak. Salih related to him the story of al-Hajjaj and what he had done with the official residence. He ordered its restoration. So Salih restored it upon the same foundations with burnt brick and gypsum, increasing the height of its roof.

When 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz was ruler,³ and appointed

¹ In the year 17 a. H.
² In the year 96 (715).
³ From 99 (717) to 101 (720).
‘Adi ibn-Artâh al-Fazârî over al-Baṣraḥ, the latter wanted to build over it upper rooms. But ‘Umar wrote to him, “May thy mother be bereft of thee! O son of Umm-‘Adi. Has a dwelling which was big enough for Ziyâd and the family of Ziyâd become too small for thee?”’. So ‘Adi refrained from finishing these upper rooms, and left it. When Sulaimân ibn-‘Ali ibn‘Abdallâh ibn-al-‘Abbâs was wâli over al-Baṣraḥ for abu-l-‘Abbâs the Commander of the Believers, he built, on the walls of the upper rooms which ‘Adi had erected, a structure of clay. Then he left it and moved to the courtyard [mirbad] and lived there.

The residence added to the mosque. When ar-Rashîd became caliph,¹ the house was added to the southern part of the mosque, and there is not today any official residence for the governors of al-Baṣraḥ.

Al-Walîd ibn-Hashâm ibn-Kaḥdham’s version. No one enlarged the mosque after ibn-Ziyâd until al-Mahdi became ruler.² He bought the houses of Nâﬁ‘ ibn-al-Ḥârîth ibn-Kâladah ath-Thâkâfi, ‘Ubâdallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah, Dabi‘ah ibn-Kâladah ath-Thâkâfi, ‘Amr ibn-Wâhb ath-Thâkâfi, Umm-Jamîl al-Ḥilâliyah (with whom al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu‘bah had his affair), and other houses, and added them to the mosque in the days that Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ibn-‘Ali was governor of al-Baṣraḥ. Then Ḥârûn ar-Rashîd, the Commander of the Believers, ordered ‘Isa ibn-Ja‘far ibn-al-Manṣûr, in the days when he was governor over al-Baṣraḥ, to incorporate the official residence into the mosque, which he did.

A census taken. Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm on the authority of his grandfather whom Yûsuf ibn-‘Umar ³ had appointed over the register of the army of the Arabs, and who says:—

¹ In the year 170 (786).
² In the year 158 (775).
³ Governor of ‘Irâk under Hishâm, from 105 (724) to 125 (743).
I inspected all the soldiers of al- Başrah in the days of Ziyād, and I found them to number 80,000; and I found their households to be 120,000; and I found the Arab soldiery of al-Kūfah to be 60,000, and their households 80,000.

Al-Wāḥidī’s account. Muhammad ibn-Sa’d from al-Wāḥidī on the strength of his usual isnād:—‘Utbah ibn-Ghazwân was with Sa’d ibn-abu-Wakāṣ when ‘Umar wrote to him [Sa’d], “Locate thy camp¹ in al-Kūfah, and send ‘Utbah ibn-Ghazwân to al-Baṣrah.” So ‘Utbah set out with 800 men, and pitched a tent of cloth, and the people with him did the same. ‘Umar supplied him with [more] troops, and when they became numerous, some of them built seven villages of sun-dried brick. Of these two were in al-Khurāibah, one in az-Zābūḵah, two among the bani-Tamim, and two among the Azd. Then ‘Utbah set out for al-Furāt in [the region of] al-Baṣrah, and reduced it, after which he returned to al-Baṣrah. Now Sa’d had been writing [orders] to ‘Utbah, which thing grieved him, so that he asked ‘Umar for permission to go to him. Having obtained it, he left al-Mughirah ibn-Shuṭbâh as his lieutenant, and when he reached al-Madinah, he complained to ‘Umar of Sa’d lording it over him. ‘Umar said to him, “And why should it trouble thee to acknowledge the authority of a man of Kuraish, a Companion and a noble?” ‘Utbah, however, did not want to return, but ‘Umar insisted that he should do so. And on the journey he fell from his beast, and died in the year 16.

Mihjar ibn-al-Adra‘ laid out the limits of the mosque of al-Baṣrah, but he did not build it, though he used to lead in prayer in it before it was built. ‘Utbah built it of reeds. Then abu-Mūṣa al-Ash‘ari rebuilt it and it was rebuilt again after him.

¹ Ar. ka’irawân; De Goeje, glossary, p. 92.
CHAPTER III

THE FIEF OF NÂFI'

Nâfi' raises horses in al-Baṣrah. Al-Ḥusain ibn-ʿAli ibn-al-Aswad al-ʿIjli from Yaḥya ibn-Adam from abu-Mu-ʿawiyah from ash-Shaibâni from Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdallâh ath-Thaḵafi:—There was in al-Baṣrah a man (whose kunyah was abu-ʿAbdallâh) by the name of Nâfi', who was the first to wean a colt in that district. He went to 'Umar and said to him, "There is in al-Baṣrah a piece of land [which I want]. It is not subject to the kharâj, nor will my taking it harm any one of the Moslems." Abu-Mûsa wrote in his behalf about this to 'Umar, and the latter replied that he should assign it to him as a fief.

Saʿid ibn-Sulaimân from 'Abbâd ibn-al-ʿAwwâm from 'Auf al-Aʿrâbi, who says:—I have read a letter of 'Umar's to abu-Mûsa, saying, "Abu-ʿAbdallâh has asked me for a piece of land on the bank of the Tigris, on which he wishes to raise his horses. So if it is not land subject to jisyaḥ, nor supplied with water [from land] subject to jisyaḥ, give it to him."

'Abbâd says:—I am informed that he [abu-ʿAbdallâh] was Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaladah, the physician of the Arabs.

'Umar's letter in full. Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm ibn-Ḵâḏ-dham says:—I found in our possession a letter in which is written:

"In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From the servant of Allah, 'Umar, the Commander of the
Believers, to al-Mughirah ibn-Shu‘bah. Peace be upon thee. To thee I praise Allah, than whom there is no god but he.—Now abu-‘Adallah relates that he has sown [a field] in al-Baṣrah in the jurisdiction of ibn-Ghazwān, and has raised colts there, at a time when none of the people of al-Baṣrah raised them, and that he is pleased with what he has seen. So help him with his crop and his horses; for I have granted him permission to sow, and I give him his land which he has sown, if it be not land upon which is the jizy whole Persian land, nor supplied with water from land which is subject to jizy whole. And thou shalt not assign it to him except with good will. And peace be upon thee and the mercy of Allah. Written by Mu‘aiṣib ibn-abu-Fâṭimah in Safar of the year 17.”
CHAPTER IV

Houses in Al-Baṣrah

Few land titles clear.¹ Al-Walid ibn-Hishām says:—My uncle told me on the authority of ibn-Shubrumah who said, “If I were wāli of al-Baṣrah, I would confiscate the property of its inhabitants; for ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb granted fields there to none save Abu-Bakrah and Nāfi’ ibn-al-Ḥārith, while ‘Uthmān granted no fiefs in al-Baṣrah save to ‘Imrān ibn-Ḥuṣain, and to ibn-ʿĀmir (to whom he granted his house), and to his freedman Ḥumrān.”

It is said that Ziyād also had granted ‘Imrān a fief.

The first house. Hishām ibn-al-Kalbi says:—The first house built in al-Baṣrah was the house of Nāfi’ ibn-al-Ḥārith; then second the house of Maʿṣil ibn-Yasār al-Muzani. ‘Uthmān ibn-‘Affān had seized the house² of ‘Uthmān ibn-abu-l-ʿĀṣi ath-Thakafi, writing to him that a piece of property would be given him in al-Baṣrah; and he was given his property known as Shaṭṭ-‘Uthmān in the neighborhood of al-Ubullah. It was swampy, but he drained it, and made his home there.

Bāb-ʿUthmān in al-Baṣrah gets its name from this ʿUthmān ibn-abu-l-ʿĀṣi.

ʿUthmān ibn-ʿAffān’s freedman. Ḥumrān ibn-Abān [at first] belonged to Musaiyab ibn-Najabah³ al-Fazārī, who

¹ For the Khīṭāt in general and especially of al-Baṣrah see Yākūt, vol. i, p. 644, where are also to be found some variant readings of Balādhuri.

² In al-Madīnah.

³ Yākūt, loc. cit. has Baḥtah; but see Wüstenfeld’s note p. 76.
got him in 'Ain-al-Ta'ur. Uthmân ibn-‘Affân bought him from him, taught him to write, and took him as a scribe; but became angry with him, because, when he sent him to inquire about something of which al-Walid ibn-‘Utbah ibn-abu-Mu‘a’it had been accused, Ḥumrân accepted bribes from al-Walid, and lied concerning the charges made against him. Afterward 'Uthmân found out all about this, and became angry with Ḥumrân, saying, “He shall not live near me ever again.” So he gave him the choice of a place to live in other than al-Madinah. Ḥumrân chose al-Baṣraḥ, and asked 'Uthmân to grant him a dwelling place there as a sief, mentioning a large plot. But 'Uthmân thought it excessive, and said to ibn-‘Amir, “Give him a house like any one of thy houses.” And so he gave him as a sief his house in al-Baṣraḥ.

The house of Khālid ibn-Taḥlakī 1 al-Khuzā’i, the kādī, 2 belonged to the kādī, abu-l-Jarrāh, who had been imprisoned by ibn-az-Zubair. Salam ibn-Ziyād had bought it from him because he fled from ibn-az-Zubair’s prison.

Ibn-al-Kalbi says:—Banu-Sumurah street in al-Baṣraḥ was owned by 'Utbah ibn-'Abdallāh ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-Sumurah ibn-Jabīb ibn-'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-Manāf. The mosque of 'Āṣim takes its name from 'Āṣim, a member of the banu-Rabi’ah ibn-Kilāb ibn-Rabi’ah ibn-‘Āmir ibn-Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah. The house of abu-Nāfi‘ in al-Baṣraḥ takes its name from abu-Nāfi‘, the maula of ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-abu-Bakraḥ.

Al-Ḳaḥṭāni says:—The house of abu-Ya‘lkhūb al-Khāṭṭābi belonged to Sahāmah ibn-‘Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-al-Ąṣamm al-Ghanawi, the muezzin of al-Ḥajjāj, who was one of those who fought with Yazid ibn-al-Mu‘allah, and who was killed by Maslamah ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik on the day of

1 Wüstenfeld pronounces Ṭālik. See also Tahari, vol. iii, p. 506.
2 Tahari, loc. cit. and p. 518. Khālid was appointed in 166 a. H.
[the battle of] the Palace. It was alongside of the house of al-Mughirah ibn-Shu‘bah.

The house of Tārik is named from Tārik ibn-abu-Bakrah. In front of it was the property of al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-‘Aṣī ath-Thaḳaṣī.

The house of Ziyâd ibn-‘Uthmân was bought by ‘Ubaid- allâh ibn-Ziyâd for his nephew, Ziyâd ibn-‘Uthmân. Adjoining it was a property in part of which was the residence of Bâbah bint-abu-l-‘Aṣī.

The house of Sulaimân ibn-‘Ali belonged to Salam ibn-Ziyâd, but Bilâl ibn-abu-Burdah, when he was wâli of al- Başrah, took possession of it for Khâlid ibn-‘Abdallâh. Later Sulaimân ibn-‘Ali came and lodged there.

The house of Mūsa ibn-abu-l-Mukhtar, a freedman of Thâkir, belonged to a man of the banu-Dârîm. Fairûz Ḥuṣain wanted to buy it from him for 10,000 dirhams. He said, “I would not sell my nearness to thee for 100,000.” But Fairûz gave him 10,000, and he delivered the house into his possession.

Abu-l-Ḥasan says:—The Dârîmite wanted to sell his house, and said, “I will sell it for 10,000 dirhams, 5,000 as its price, and 5,000 because it was near to Fairûz.” This came to the ears of Fairûz, who said, “I will take thy house from thee.” And he gave his 10,000 dirhams.

The house of ibn-Tubba’ is named from ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Tubba’ al-Ḥimyari. It was on one of the fiefs of Ziyâd.

Dammûn was of the tribe of aṭ-Ṭâ’īf; abu-Mūsa had married his daughter, and she bore him abu-Burdah. Dammûn had a property in al- Başrah, and the people of al- Başrah used to say in regard to him:

“Concord and children [banûn],
And bread and cumin [kammûn],
In the house of Dammûn.”

¹ In 110 a. H. Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1506, l. 7.
CHAPTER V

BATHS OF AL-BASRAH

The first baths. Al-Kaḥdhami and others say:—The first Bath which was erected in al-Baṣraḥ was the Bath of Abdallāh ibn-‘Uthmān ibn-abu-l-‘Āṣi ath-Thaḵafi, located in the garden of Sufyān ibn-Mu‘āwiyah in al-Khuraibah, near the castle of ‘Īsā ibn-Ja‘far. The second was the Bath of Fil the freedman of Ziyād. The third was the Bath of Muslim ibn-abu-Bakrah in Bilālābād. This is the one which later became the property of ‘Amr ibn-Muslim al-Bāhili. Al-Baṣraḥ stopped for a while the building of baths, and so these were the only baths there.

The profits of Muslim’s Bath. Al-Madā‘ini related to me that abu-Bakrah said to his son Muslim, “My son, by Allah, thou doest no work, yet I do not see thee falling short of thy brothers in income.” He replied, “If thou wilt keep the secret for me, I will tell thee.” Said he, “I will.” And Muslim said, “I reap me from this Bath of mine every day a thousand dirhams and many dainties.” Some time after this Muslim became sick, and summoning his brother Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-abu-Bakrah, told him about the profits of his Bath. The brother told it abroad, and asked the governor for permission to build a Bath himself. (For Baths could not be built in al-Baṣraḥ except by permission of the governors.) The governor granted it. Then permission was asked and obtained by the following: ‘Ubaid-Allāh ibn-abu-Bukrah, al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-‘Āṣi, Siyāh the Uswārī, al-Ḥuṣain ibn-abu-l-Hurr the ‘Ambari, Raıtah bint-Ziyād, Lubābāh bint-Aufa al-Jurashi (for two Baths, one of them in a part of the city inhabited by people of al-Kubā’,
and the other in the quarter of the banu-Sa'īd), and al-Minjāb ibn-Râshid, the Dabbi. When Muslim ibn-abu-Bakrah recovered from his sickness, he found that the income from his Bath had been ruined, and he began to curse 'Abd-ar-Rahmān, saying, “What has he been up to? May Allah cut off from him His mercy!”

Envious of Fil. Fil, the chamberlain and freedman of Ziyâd, went out riding with abu-l-Aswad ad-Du’ili and Anas ibn-Zunaim, he on a gentle steed, and they on two plodding horses. They were seized with envy, and Anas said, “Pass by, O abu-l-Aswad.” Said he, “Give way.” And Fil said, “By the life of thy father, the Bath of the Kisra was not equal to two-thirds of the Bath of Fil.”\(^1\) Abu-l-Aswad replied, “But for us to be forced to dance around freedmen is not customary according to the covenant of the Prophet.”

Verses referring to the first three Baths. Ibn-Mufarrigh\(^2\) said to Taḥlah at-Talḥat (i.e. Taḥlah ibn-Abdallâh ibn-Khalâq):

“Thou inspirist me with the hope, O Ṭulaiḥah, of a thousand thousand.
But thou hast inspired me with a very distant hope;
For thou are not a noble freeman’s
But\(^3\) Samrâ’s who beareth slaves,\(^4\)
Even if thou wert taken to the Bath of Fil,
And clothed with silk and striped garments.”

Some one said when death was near him,

“Ah, many a girl has said on a day when she was weary,
‘Where is the road to the Bath of Minjāb?’”\(^5\)

---

\(^1\) This and the following bit of repartee are in impromptu verse.


\(^3\) Samrâ’ means “Brown One.”

\(^4\) Ar. ‘abîd usually means “black slaves.”

(meaning the Bath of al-Minjâb ibn-Râshid ad-Ḍabbi.)

‘Abbâs, a freedman of the banu-Usámah said,

"I remember the pool in the Bath of ‘Amr,
And I did not depart until after evening."

The Bath of Balj takes its name from Balj ibn-Nushbah as-Sa‘di, of whom Ziyâd said, "And he guarded against the likes of himself, being himself a robber."
CHAPTER VI

CASTLES IN AL-BASRAH

Hishâm ibn-al-Kalibli says:—The castle of Aus in al-Basra is named after Aus¹ ibn-tha‘labah ibn-Ruqa, one of the banu-Taimi-Allâh ibn-Tha‘labah ibn-‘Ukâbah. He was one of the leaders in Khurâsân, where he had engaged in big affairs, and was the man who, passing by Palmyra, said in regard to its two idols:

"O Maidens of the people of Tadmur, tell me,²
Are ye not weary with long standing?
It must seem to you as if age after age has passed
For your people, and year after year."

The castle of Anas is named after Anas ibn-Mâlik al-Ansâri, the servant of the Apostle of Allah.

The man who built the Minaret of the banu-Uusaiyid was Ḥassân ibn-Sa‘d, one of that tribe.

The Red Castle belonged to ‘Amr ibn-‘Utba‘ ibn-au-Sufyân, but today it belongs to the family of ‘Umar ibn-Ḥafṣ ibn-Ḵabîşah ibn-abu-Ṣafrah.

The Castle of the Exiles belonged to ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Ziyâd. Al-Ḥajjâj exiled the families of those who fought with ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-As̲h‘ath al-Kindi to it and confined them in it. It is a castle inside of a castle. Behind it is the castle of ‘Ubaïdullâh ibn-Ziyâd, and alongside of it is the castle of Jausâk.

Al-Ḵâḥdhami says:—The Castle of an-Nawâḥik [the

¹ Al-Aghâni, vol. iii, p. 20.
² Reading khabbirâni; cf. Ḥazwînî, vol. ii, p. 114.
ass's throat,) which was the castle of Ziyâd, was so nicknamed by the mischievous.

The castle of an-Nu'mân belonged to an-Nu'mân ibn-Ṣaḥībân ar-Râsibi, who judged between the tribes, Muḍâr and Rabi'ah, at the time Yazîd ibn-Mu'awiyah died. 'Ubaid allâh ibn-Ziyâd enlarged this house of an-Nu'mân ibn-Ṣaḥîbân's for him. But he said, "This is a very poor piece of property, O abu-Ḥâtim. If the water increase, I drown; and if it diminish, I die of thirst." And it turned out just as he said: The water diminished, and everybody there died.

The castle of Zarba was named after Zarba, the freedman of 'Abdallâh ibn-Āmir, the superintendent of his horses. This building was the stable for his beasts of burden.

The castle of 'Aṭiyah is ascribed to 'Aṭiyah al Anṣâri.

The mosque of the banu-Ubâd was named after the banu-‘Ubâd ibn-Ridâ ibn-Shakirah ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Tamîm ibn-Murr.

The house of 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami belonged to his aunt, Dajjâjah umm-'Abdallâh ibn-Āmir, who made him a present of it. His name is 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim ibn-Asmâ' ibn-aṣ-Ṣalt, and hers is Dajjâjah bint-Asmâ'.

1 I.e. 'Ubaiddallâh.
CHAPTER VII

CANALS AND OTHER FIEFS

Al-Ahnaf appeals to ‘Umar. Al-Madâ’ini from abu-Bakr al-Hudhali, and al-‘Abbãs ibn-Hishâm from his father from ‘Awânah:—Al-Ahnaf ibn-ţais appeared before ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaţṭâb among some others from al-Başrah. ‘Umar began questioning them one after another. Al-Ahnaf was at one side of the house, dressed in a coarse garment, and not joining in the conversation. To him ‘Umar said, “Dost thou desire anything?” And he replied, “Yes, indeed! O Commander of the Believers. Behold, the keys of all good are in the hand of Allah. Behold, our brothers of the people of the provinces dwell in the abode of the departed peoples,¹ in the midst of sweet waters and luxuriant gardens, while we dwell in reedy, salty swamps, whose moisture does not dry up, and whose pastures do not grow, whose boundary on the east is the brackish sea, and on the west the waterless plain. We have no cultivated land and no cattle to bring us our profits and our provisions, like the gullet of the ostrich.² If a weak man goes to fetch potable water, he has to seek it at a distance of two parasangs. And if a woman goes to fetch it, she has to tie up her children by the neck, as goats are tied, fearful of being assaulted by enemies or eaten by lions. If thou dost not take away our misery and end our destitution, we shall be like a people perished.”

¹ I. e. ancient nations, whose lands have long been under cultivation; or, perhaps, the peoples who preceded the Moslems, or those whom the Moslems have expelled.

² Proverbial expression; see Lane, s. v. marî. 595]
And so 'Umar included the families of the people of al-Baṣrah in the pension list, and wrote to abu-Mūsa, ordering him to have a canal dug for them.

Al-Ubullah canal. It is related by many learned men that the arm of the Tigris called Dijlat al-'Aurā (i.e. the Dijlat al-Baṣrah) had originally a mouth, (a natural water-way not dug by any one) through which the rain water flowed to the Dijlah [Tigris], while the waters of the Dijlah flowed back in it at the rising of the tide, and were absorbed into the earth at the ebb. Its length amounted to a parasang, and at the end of it which was near to al Baṣrah there was a wide sink-hole, called in the heathen time al-Ijjānah, and named by the Arabs in the time of Islam al-Juzārah. It was at a distance of three parasangs from al-Baṣrah, by which measurement the whole canal of al-Ubullah was four parasangs. From it issues the canal which is known today as the Nahr al-Ijjānah.

When 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb ordered abu-Mūsa to dig a canal for the people of al-Baṣrah, he began the excavation from al-Ijjānah, and continued it three parasangs until he reached al-Baṣrah with it; and so the length of the canal of al-Ubullah became four parasangs. Some time afterwards that part of it which is between al-Baṣrah and Bathkī al-Ḥiri became filled up. This was a parasang distant from al-Baṣrah.

Ziyād restores the canal. Ziyād ibn-abu-Sufyān was in charge of the diwân and the treasury on behalf of 'Abdallāh ibn-'Āmir ibn-Kuraiz, 'Abdallāh being at that time governor of al-Baṣrah for 'Uthmān ibn-'Affān. 'Uthmān advised ibn-'Āmir to put through the digging of the canal from where it was filled up until he reached al-Baṣrah with it. He was hindered in this and put it off, but when he went off

1 Same tradition in Ḥamadhānī, Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 100.
2 Ar. bathk = overflow.
to Khurâsân and left Ziyâd on his place, the latter left the excavation of abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari as it was, and dug the canal from where it had been filled up until he brought it to al-Baṣrah. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-abu-Bakrah had charge of this work. When he let in the water, ‘ Abd-ar-Rahmân began to race with his horse, and the water almost outstripped him.

Ibn-‘Amir’s jealousy. Now when ibn-‘Amir returned from Khurâsân, he was angry with Ziyâd, saying, “Thou only desiredst to take the credit for the canal from me.” And the relations between them were strained until they died; and on account of it their children remained estranged.

Other versions. Yûnus ibn-Ḥabib an-Nahwî says:—I perceived that the relations between the family of Ziyâd and the family of ibn-‘Amir were strained.

Al-Athram from abu-‘Ubaidah: Abu-Mûsa al-Ash’ari led the Ubullah canal from the place ad-Ijjânah to al-Baṣrah. Before this the people had obtained their drinking water from a source called Dair Kâwûs, starting from the Dijlah four parasangs above al-Ubullah, and flowing through lagoons without cultivation on its banks. But the winds were gradually filling it up.

When Ziyâd had dug the stream of al-Baṣrah, after he got through with repairing the canal of al-Ubullah, ibn-‘Amir returned from Khurâsân, and vilified him, saying, “Thou desiredst the credit of the glory of this canal and its fame.” And because of this the relations between them as well as the relations between their families were strained.

Abu-‘Ubaidah says:—He dug the stream from next to the house of Fil, the freedman and chamberlain of Ziyâd, to the site of the bridge.

---

1 For ibn-‘Amir’s expedition to Khurâsân in 31 a. H. see Tabari, vol. i, p. 2884.
2 i.e. Ziyâd.
Ma’kil canal. It is related by Muḥammad ibn-Sa’d on the authority of al-Wāḥidi and others that ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb ordered abu-Mūsa to dig the other canal,¹ and that he should do it with the assistance of Ma’kil ibn-Yasār al-Muzani; and so it is named after him.

Al-Wāḥidi says:—Ma’kil died in al-Baṣrah during the administration of ‘Ubaidallāh ibn-Ziyād over al-Baṣrah for Muʿawiyah.

Al-Walid ibn-Hishām al-Ḵāḥdhami and ‘Ali ibn-Muḥammad ibn-abu-Saʿīf al-Madāʿini say: — Al-Mundhir ibn-al-Jarūd al-ʿAbadī proposed to Muʿawiyah to dig the Thārr canal, but he wrote to Ziyād, who proceeded to dig the canal of Ma’kil.

Some say:—He constructed it through the agency of Ma’kil ibn-Yasār, and so it is named after him. But others say:—Not so, but Ziyād had it constructed with the assistance of ʿAbd-ar-Rahmān ibn-abu-Bakrah or some one else. When he had finished the work and they were ready to open it, Ziyād sent Ma’kil ibn-Yasār, and he let in the water, receiving the honor because he was one of the Companions of the Prophet. Consequently the people said, “The canal of Ma’kil.”

Al-Ḵāḥdhami relates that Ziyād handed a thousand dirhams to a man, saying to him, “Go up to the Tigris, and ask who is the Master [ṣāḥib] of this canal, and if anyone says to thee it is the canal of Ziyād, then give him the thousand.” He went up to the Tigris; then he returned and said, “I found no one who did not say, ‘This is the Canal of Ma’kil.’” Then Ziyād said, “This is the favor of Allah which he bestows upon whom he will.”

The Dubais canal is named after a washerman called Dubais who used to wash clothes in it.

The Bathḵ² al-Ḥirī is named after a Nabatean of al-Ḥīrah, who is said to have been one of Ziyād’s freedman.

¹ The two canals are the the Nahr al-Ubullah and the Nahr Ma’kil.
² Cf. supra, p. 78, note 2.
When Ziyâd had brought the canal of Ma‘kil as far as his pavilion from which he reviewed the troops, he turned it towards the south so as to bring it out to where the ʻashâb ʻas-sadâkah \(^1\) lived in al-Jabal, and this bend is named the Dubais Canal.

ʻAbdallâh ibn-ʻAmir dug his canal which is by the house of Fil, being the one known as the Asâwirah \(^2\) canal. Some say the Asâwirah dug it.

The ʻAmr canal is named after ʻAmr ibn-ʻUtbah ibn-abu-Sufyân.

The Umm-Ḥabîb canal is named after umm-Ḥabîb bint-Ziyâd, and upon it was a castle of many doors named al-Hazârdar.\(^3\)

*Al-Hazârdar.* ʻAli ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ’ini says:—Shirawâîh al-Uswârî married Marjânah, the mother of ʻUbaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd, and built for her a castle in which were many doors, and which was called Hazârdar. Abu-l-Ḥasan says:—Some say it was called Hazârdar because Shirawâîh constructed in his castle a thousand doors. But others say that in this place there lived in a thousand lodges a thousand Persian horsemen whom the Kisra maintained there, on which account it was called Hazârdar.

*The Ḥarb Canal.* Nahr Ḥarb takes its name from Ḥarb ibn-Salm ibn-Ziyâd. ʻAbd-al-A‘la ibn-ʻAbdallâh (ibn-ʻAbdallâh \(^4\) ibn-ʻAmir put in a claim that the land through which the canal ran had belonged to ibn-ʻAmir, and brought suit against Ḥarb for it. When the case was decided in favor of ʻAbd-al-A‘la, Ḥarb came to him saying, “I con-

\(^1\) Perhaps people who kept a free hospital in al-Jabal; or possibly the collectors of the ṣadâkah-tax.

\(^2\) From Persian suwâr = horseman, knight. Persian cavalry or mounted archers; cf. Lane, p. 1465, col. b; and *infra* Part XVI.

\(^3\) Persian hasâr = thousand + dar = door. Meyn., p. 595.

\(^4\) Ms. A omits.
tended with thee for this canal, but I have repented of it, for thou art the shaikh and ruler of the tribe, and so the property is thine.” ‘Abd-al-A‘la ibn-‘Abdallāh replied, “Nay, but it is thine.” And Ḥarib departed. When it was night, the clients [mażāli] of ‘Abd-al-A‘la and his intimate friends came and said, “By Allah, Ḥarib did not come to thee until the case was decided in thy favor and against him.” But he said, “By Allah, I will never go back on what I have agreed to him.”

The canal known as Yazidān is named from Yazid ibn-‘Umar al-Usaiyidī, the chief of the guard of ‘Abd ibn-‘Arṭāh,1 He was prominent among the people of al-Baṣrah in his day.

‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Āmir ibn-Kuraiz gave to ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Umar ibn-‘Amr ibn-Mālik al-Laidhi (his brother by his mother, Dajjahah bint-Asmā ibn-‘Ās Salt as-Salmiyah) 8,000 jarīb,2 and dug for them the canal which is known as the Nahr ibn-‘Umair.

Abdallāh ibn-‘Āmir had dug the Canal of umm-‘Abdallāh Dajjahah, intrusting it to Ghailān ibn-Kharashah as-Salbi. It is the canal about which Ḥarīthah ibn-Badr al-Ghudānī said to ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Āmir when he visited him. “I have not seen any canal that was more of a blessing than this one. The weak are able to get water out of it at the very door of their habitations, and their needed food comes to them on it to their very dwelling places. It is also the source of water for their plantings.” Ḥarīthah visited Ziyād after this during the term of his governorship, and then said, “I have never seen a canal worse than this one. The dwellings of those near it fairly ooze with water; they are bitten by its mosquitoes in their homes, and in it their children are drowned.” Some claim that Ghailān ibn-

1 Yāḵūt, vol. iv, p. 1018.
2 A jarīb is about one-third of an acre.
Kharashah was the one who said this, but the former account is the more probable.

Nahr Salm is named after Salm ibn-Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân.

_Nahr Nâfidh._ ‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Amir had dug a canal which he intrusted to Nâfidh his freedman, and as his name was more often used in connection with it, it is called the canal of Nâfidh. He belongs to the family of al-Faḍîl ibn-‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Abbâs ibn-Rabi‘ah ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Abd-al-Muṭṭalib.

_The fief of al-Abbâs._ Abu-l-Yakṭhân says:—‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân gave in fief to al-‘Abbâs ibn-Rabi‘ah ibn-al-Ḥârith a dwelling in al-Baṣrah, and made him a present of 100,000 dirhams. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-‘Abbâs was nicknamed Ṭâ‘iq al-Bighâl [the mule breaker] because he excelled in riding them. He was a leader of the people after ibn-al-Ash’ath escaped to Sijistân, fleeing from al-Ḥajjâj.

Ţalḥatân is the canal of Ţalḥah ibn-abu-Nâfi‘, the freedman of Ţalḥah ibn-‘Ubaidallâh.

Nahr Ḥumaidah is named after a woman of the family of ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Samurah ibn-Ḥabib ibn-‘Abd-Shams, who was called Ḥumaidah. She was the wife of ‘Abd-al-‘Aziz ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Amir.

Khairatân belonged to Khairah bint-Damarah al-Ḳushairiyah, the wife of al-Muhallab; and to her belonged also Muhallabân which al-Muhallab had bestowed upon her. Others say:—Nay, but it belonged to her in the first place, although it is named after al-Muhallab. She was the mother of his son abu-‘Uyainah.

Jubairân belonged to Jubair ibn-Haiyah.

Khalafân was a fief of ‘Abdallâh ibn-Khalaf al-Khazâ‘i, the father of Ţalḥah at-Ţalḥât.

Ţulaikân belonged to the family of ‘Imrân ibn-Ḥuṣain al-Khazâ‘i, one of the children of Khâlid ibn-Ţulaik ibn-
Muḥammad ibn-'Imrān. Khālid had charge of the kūds of al-Baṣrah.

**Nahr Murrah.** Al-Ḳaḍḥāmi says:—The canal of Murrah was really ibn'Amīr's, but Murrah the freedman of abu-Bakr as-Sādīq had charge of digging it for him, and so his name became associated with it.

Abu-l-Yaḳṭhān and other say:—The canal of Murrah was named after Murrah ibn-abu-'Uthmān, the freedman of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-abu-Bakr as-Sādīq. He was a generous fellow. He asked 'A'īshah the “Mother of the Believers” to write to Ziyād for him, addressing the letter “To Ziyād ibn-abu-Sufyān” from ‘A’īshah, the Mother of the Believers.” She complied, writing the letter for him containing various recommendations, and addressing it according to his suggestion. When Ziyād saw that she had written to him, ascribing his parentage to abu-Sufyān, he was pleased at this, and showed consideration for Murrah and favored him, saying to everybody, “This is a letter from the Mother of the Believers to me concerning him.” And he would show it to them so that they could read the heading of it. He afterwards made him a grant of 100 jaribs on the al-Ubullah canal, bidding him dig a canal for it. This he did, and so it is named after him. ‘Uthmān ibn-Murrah was of the nobles of the people of al-Baṣrah. But the sīf went out of the hands of his children and came into the possession of the family of as-Safāk ibn-Ḥujr ibn-Bujair al-‘Iḵawi of the Azd.

Darjāh Jank was part of the property of the Thakīf. It was called this only because of a joke there was about it, jank being Persian for “uproar.”

Anasān was named after Anas ibn-Mālik, who acquired it by a grant from Ziyād.

---

1 I have changed the order of words in this passage, but without, I think, altering the sense. Cf. Yāḵūt, vol. iv, p. 844.

2 Ar. ṣakhab.
Nahr Bashshâr is ascribed to Bashshâr ibn-Muslim ibn-
‘Amr al-Bâhili, the brother of Kutaibah. He presented al-
Ḥajjâj with a carpet, and the latter returned the compliment
by granting him 700 jarībs. (Others say 400 jarībs.) And
he dug this canal for them.

Nahr Fairûz is named after Fairûz Ḥuṣain. Others say
after Bâshkâr, who was called Fairûz, while al-Ḳahdhami
says it was named after Fairûz, the freedman of Rabi‘ah
ibn-Kaladah ath-Thakafi.

Nahr al-‘Alâ‘ is ascribed to al-‘Alâ‘ ibn-Sharîk al-Hudhali.
He gave something to ‘Abd-al-Malik which pleased him, and
so he granted him 100 jarībs.

Nahr Dhirâ‘ is ascribed to Dhirâ‘ an-Namari of the
Rabi‘ah (namely abu-Hârûn ibn-Dhirâ‘).

Nahr Ḥabib is named after Ḥabib ibn-Shihâb ash-Sha‘mi,
the merchant, who acquired it through a grant from Ziyâd.
Others say from ‘Uthmân.

The Nahr abu-Bakrah is named after abu-Bakrah ibn-
Ziyâd.

From al-‘Ikawi ad-Dallâl:—The island between the Two
Rivers was swampy ground. Mu‘âwiyah granted it to a
certain one of his brothers' sons. And when the young man
came to look at it, Ziyâd had the water turned on; and he
sent to see what he would say about it. The young man
said, “The Commander of the Believers has only given me
a pumpkin for which I have no need.” So Ziyâd bought it
from him for 200,000 dirhams, and dug its canals and made
fiefs out of it.

Rawwâdân belonged to Rawwâd ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Nahr ar-Râ‘ was so called because there was caught in it
a fish called ar-râ‘ [the letter “r”]. Upon it is the land of
Ḥumrân which was granted to him by Mu‘âwiyah.

Nahr Makhûl takes its name from Makhûl ibn-‘Ubaidallâh
al-Aḥmâsi. He was the son of the uncle of Shaibân, owner
of the Cemetery ofShaibn bin-'Abdallah, who was in charge of the guard of ibn-Ziyad. Makhul used to recite poetry about horses. His fief was from 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Mirwan.

Al-Kahdami says:—Nahr Makhul takes its name from Makhul ibn-'Abdallah as-Sa'di.

He also says:—The Shaṭṭ 'Uthmân was bought by 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Aṣi ath-Thakafi from 'Uthmân ibn-'Affān in exchange for some property he had in aṭ-Ṭā'if. Others say:—He bought it in exchange for a house he had in al-Madinah, whose site 'Uthmân ibn-'Affān incorporated into the mosque. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Aṣi granted Ḥafṣan to his brother, Ḥafṣ ibn-abu-l-'Aṣi. He granted Umaiyyatūn to abu-Umaiyyah ibn-abu-l-'Aṣi; Ḥakamān to al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Aṣi; and to his brother, al-Mughirah, Mughiratūn.

Nahr al-Arẖā belonged to 'Amr ibn-abu-l-'Aṣi ath-Thakafi.

Al-Madā'ini says:—Ziyād made a fief out of al-Jamūm (i.e. Ziyādān) in ash-Shaṭṭ. He said to 'Abdallāh ibn-'Uthmān, “I give only what ye settle on.” He would give a man a fief and leave him there for two years, and if he then lived on it, it would be his, and if not he would take it from him.

Al-Jamūm belonged first to abu-Bakrah. Later it came into the possession of 'Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Azraḳān was named after al-Azraq ibn-Muslim, a freedman of the banu-Ḥanifah.

Muḥammadān was named after Muḥammad ibn-'Ali ibn-'Uthmān al-Ḥanafī.

Ziyādān takes its name from Ziyād, the freedman of the banu-l-Haitham, who was the grandfather of Munas ibn-'Imrān ibn-Jumai ibn-Yasār, and the grandfather of 'Īsā ibn-'Umar an-Nahawi and Ḥājib ibn-'Umar on their mother’s side.
The abu-l-Khaṣīb canal takes its name from abu-l-Khaṣīb Marzūk, the freedman of al-Maṣūr, the Commander of the Believers.

Nahr al-Amir in al-BAṣraḥ was dug by al-Maṣūr. He afterwards gave it to his son, Ja'far. It used to be called Nahr Amir al-Mu'minīn, but this was later shortened to Nahr al-Amir. Finally ar-Raʃīd bought it, divided it into fiefs, and sold it off.

Nahr Rubba belonging to ar-Raʃīd is named after Sūrījah.

‘Ubaidallāh ibn-'Abd-al-A'la al-Kuraizi and ‘Ubaidallāh ibn-'Umar ibn-al-Ḥakam ath-Thakafi had a dispute about al-Kūrašhī which was finally settled on condition that each one of them take half of it. And then it was called al-Kūrašhī and al-'Arabi.

Al-Ḳandīl, one of the mouths of the Dijlah, was dammed by Sulaimān ibn-'Ali. Upon it was the fief of al-Mundhir ibn-az-Zubair ibn-al-'Awwām, in which was the canal of an-Nu'mān ibn-al-Mundhir, the lord [sāhib] of al-Ḥirah. It had been granted to him in the days of Kisra. There was a castle of an-Nu'mān's here.

Nahr Muqāṭīl was named after Muqāṭīl ibn-Jāriyah ibn-Ḳudāmah as-Sa'dī.

‘Amīrān takes its name from ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Amīr al-Laiṭhī.

Sailhān belonged to the Barmecides, who gave it the name Sailhān.

Al-Jūbarah was so named because the jūbarah ¹ was caught in it.

Huṣainān belonged to Huṣain ibn-abu-l-Ḥurr al-'Anbārī.
‘Ubaidallān belonged to ‘Ubaidallāh ibn-abu-Bakrah.
‘Ubaidān belonged to ‘Ubaid ibn-Ka'b an-Numārī.
Munkidhān belonged to Munkidh ibn-'Ilāj as-Sulāmī.

¹ A species of fish; De Goeje, glossary, p. 20.
'Abd-ar-Rahmânân belonged first to abu-Bakrah ibn-Ziyâd, and abu-'Abd-ar-Rahmân, the freedman of Hishâm bought it.

Nâfi'ân belonged to Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârîth ath-Thaḳafî.

Aslamâ belonged to Aslam ibn-Zur'ah al-Kilâbi.

Ḥumrânân to Ḥumrân ibn-Abân, the freedman of 'Uthmân.

Kūtaibatân to Kūtaibah ibn-Muṣlim.

Khashkhashân to the family of Khashkhash al-'Anbarî.

Al-Ḳaḥḍhami says:—Nahr al-Banât was so named after the daughters of Ziyâd, who granted each daughter 60 jarîbs—his usual division. Ziyâd ordered 'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Tubba' al-Ḥimyari, who was in charge of his fiefs, to grant to Nâfi' ibn-al-Ḥârîth ath-Thaḳafî as much as he could walk over. While Nâfi' was walking, his sandal thong broke, and he sat down. 'Abd-ar-Rahmân said, "So much is thine." And Nâfi' said, "If I had known, verily, I'd have walked to al-Ubullah." Then he said, "Let me take off my sandals." And he threw them until they reached al-Ijjânânah.

Sa'îdân belonged to the family of Sa'id ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-'Abâd ibn-Usaid.

Sulaimânân was a fief belonging to 'Ubaid ibn-Ḳusait, the master of the patrol in the days of al-Ḥâjjâj. On it lived an ascetic whose name was Sulaimân ibn-Jâbir, and it was named after him.

'Umarân belonged to 'Umar ibn-'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ma'mar at-Taimi.

Filân belonged to Fil the freedman of Ziyâd.

Khâlidân is named after Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh . . . ibn-Umâiyah.

Nahr Yazid al-Abâdî, i.e. Yazid ibn-'Abdallâh al-Ḥimyari.

Al-Mismâriyâh was fief of Mismâr, the freedman of Ziyâd. He had an estate in al-Kûfah.
CHAPTER VIII

CANALS AND OTHER FIEFS

CONTINUED

Al-Ḵaḥdhami says:—It was Bilāl ibn-abu-Burdah who led the water into the canal of Ma’kîl at the overflow of al-Baṣrah. Before that time it had been in bad shape, so that the water overflowed as far as the pavilion from which Ziyâd used to review the troops. Bilâl dug Nahr Bilâl, set up shops on its sides, and removed the market thither. This he did for Yazid ibn-Khâlid al-Ḵasri.

The suit for al-Murghâb fief. Bashîr ibn-‘Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah dug al-Murghâb and named it after the Murghâb of Marw. The fief through which al-Murghâb flowed belonged to Hilâl ibn-Ahwaz al-Mâzini, having been granted to him by Yazid ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik, and consisting of 8,000 jarîbs. Bashîr dug al-Murghâb, with ditches and cross canals, in an attempt to gain possession; and said, "This fief belongs to me." But Ḥimyarî ibn-Hilâl brought suit against him. Khâlid ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Ḵasri wrote to Mâlik ibn-al-Mundhir ibn-al-Jârûd, who was in charge of the law courts of al-Baṣrah, saying, "Adjudge al-Murghâb to al-Ḥimyarî," and he complied. This was because Bashîr had criticized Khâlid, accusing him of wrong-doing, and Khâlid had heard of it. ‘Amr ibn-Yazid al-Usaiyidi was on Ḥimyarî’s side and was helping him, but he said to Mâlik ibn-al-Mundhir, "Allah bless thee! This is not an adjudging. It is only a shifting of al-Murghâb to Ḥimyarî."

1 LeStr., pp. 397 et seq.; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2872.

607] 89
Sa'ṣa'ah ibn-Mu'āwiyah, the uncle of al-Ahnaf, had a fief fronting and abutting on al-Murghāb. His son Mu'āwiyah came as Ḥimyari's advocate, and when Bashir said, "this is the pasture of our camels, our cattle, our asses, our mules, and our sheep," Mu'āwiyah exclaimed, "For the sake of a crumpled-horned cow with the diarrhea and an ass in heat dost thou wish to prevail over our legal rights?" Then 'Abdallāh ibn-abu-'Uthmān ibn-'Abdallāh ibn-Khālid ibn-Asid appeared, saying, "It is our land and our fief." To him Mu'āwiyah said, "Hast thou heard of the man who stepped over the fire and the flame went up his anus? —Thou art such a one."

Suwaid gains a fief. Suwaidān, a fief whose extent was 400 jarībs, belonged at first to 'Ubdallāh ibn-abu-Bakrah, who gave it to Suwaid ibn-Manjūf as-Sadūsi. This was how it happened: Suwaid became sick, and ibn-abu-Bakrah paid him a visit and said to him, "How dost thou feel?" He answered, "All right, if thou wilt do something." He said, "I will. What is thy wish?" And Suwaid replied, "That thou make me as large a grant as thou didst to ibn-Ma'mar. Then I shall have nothing the matter with me." He granted him the fief which was named Suwaidān after him.

Nahr Yazid. Al-Madā'ini says:—Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab dug the Yazid canal in a fief belonging to 'Ubdallāh ibn-abu-Bakrah, and said to Bashir ibn-'Ubdallāh, "Write me a statement to the effect that this canal is my lawful possession." He replied, "Nay, and indeed, even if thou art dispossessed, I shall proceed against thee."

Jabrān belonged to the family of Kulthūm ibn-Jabr.

Nahr ibn-abu-Burdha'ah is named after abu-Burdha'ah . . . ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Al-Manṣūr confiscates some property. Al-Hasrukānān was a fief belonging to the family of abu-Bakrah. It was
originally [intended to be] 100 jarībs, but al-Manṣūr's surveyors surveyed it [and found it to contain] 1,000 jarībs. They left 100 jarībs in the possession of the family of abu-Bakrah, and confiscated the remainder.

Ḥimyān fief belonged to Ḥimyān ibn-ʿAdī as-Sadūsī.
Kathārin to Kathīr ibn-Sayyār.
Bilālān to Bilāl ibn-abu-Burdah. This fief had belonged to Abbad ibn-Zayyād, but he sold it.
Shiblān belonged to Shibl ibn-ʿAmīrah ... ad-Dabbi.
Nahr Salm is named after Salm ibn-ʿUbaidallāh ibn-abu-Bakrah.

Ar-Ribāḥī canal is named after Ribāḥ, a freedman of the family of Judān.
The 'Āʾishah lagoon after 'Āʾishah bint-ʿAbdallāh ibn-Khalaf al-Khuzāʾī.

*Nahr Kathīr.* Kathīr ibn-ʿAbdallāh as-Sulāmī (the father of al-ʿĀj, the lieutenant of Yūsuf ibn-Umār ath-Thaḵafi over al- Başrah) dug himself a canal from Nahr 'Utbah to al-Khastāl, and it was named after him.

Nahr abu-Shaddād gets its name from abu-Shaddād, the freedman of Ziyād.

Bathḵ Saiyār belonged to Fil, the freedman of Ziyād, but Saiyār, the freedman of the banu-ʿUkail, was the manager of it, and practically possessed it.

The property of the Isbahānīs was bought from some Arabs. These Isbahānīs were a family who professed Islam, and emigrated to al- Başrah. Others say they only came with the Asâwirah who settled in al- Başrah. [I. e. they did not become Moslems.]

Dār ibn-al-Isbahānī in al- Başrah takes its name from ʿAbdallāh ibn-al-Isbahānī. He had 400 slaves. He met al-Mukhaftār ibn-abu-ʿUbaid together with Mas'āb [ibn-az Zuhair], the latter being at the right of the former.

*The Caliph Yasīd confiscates some land.* ʿAbbās ibn-
Hishām from his grandfather from some one of the family of al-Aḥtam—Yazid ibn-'Abd-al-Malik wrote to 'Umar ibn-Hubairah, "The Commander of the Believers has no share in the land of al-‘Arab; so go to the siefs there and seize whatever remains there for the Commander of the Believers," 'Umar began to go to one sief after another, asking about them; then he measured them until he lighted upon a piece of land. He asked, "Whose is this?" Its owner answered, "Mine." And 'Umar said, "How is it thine?" The reply was,

"We inherited it from true fathers,
And shall bequeath it when we die to our sons."

The people clamored at 'Umar's action, and he desisted.
Saltān is ascribed to as-Salt ibn-Ḥurayth al-Ḥanafi.
Kāsimān was a sief of al-Kāsim ibn-'Abbās ibn-Rabi'ah . . . ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalab, which his brother, 'Aun, had inherited from him.

Nahr Khālidān al-Ajamah belonged to the family of Khālid ibn-Asid and the family of abu-Bakrah.

Nahr Ma'sūrān. On Nahr Ma'sūrān lived a scoundrel who slandered and criticized people, and the canal was named after him, for al-ma'sūr is Persian for "the sinful", "the scoundrel".

Jubairān also was a sief of Jubair ibn-abu-Zaid of the banu-'Abd-ad-Dār.

Ma'qīlān was a sief of Ma'qīl ibn-Yasūr from Ziyād. His children say from 'Umar; but 'Umar granted no siefs in Mesopotamia.

Jandalān belonged to 'Ubaidallāh ibn-Jandal al-Hilāli.

Nahr at-Tūt was a sief of 'Abdallāh ibn-Nāṣir ibn-al-Ḥārith ath-Thākafi.

Al-Ḥādhami says:—Nahr Sulaimān ibn-'Ali belonged to Ḥassān ibn-abu-Ḥassān an-Nabaṭī.
Al-Ghauthi canal was in charge of the head of the gar-
rison, whose name was Ghauth, and it was named after him. Others say it was an accessory to the Murghâb canal and was named al-Ghauth [sucour].

Dhât al-Ḥifâfain on the Nahr Ma'kîl and the Dijlah belonged to 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abu-Bakrah. It was sold to 'Arabi at-Tammâr, a freedman of Amat-Allâh bint-abu-Bakrah.

Nahr abu-Sabrâh al-Hudhali was a fief.

Ḥarbânân was a fief of Ḥarb ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn- al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-'Āṣi.

Al-Ḥubâb fief belonged to Ḥubâb ibn-Yazîd al-Mujâshi'i. Nahr Ja'far belonged to Ja'far, a freedman of Salm ibn-Ziyâd, and was subject to the kharâj.

Bathk Shirîn was named after Shirîn, the wife of Kisra ibn-Hurmuz.

Al-Ḵâḍîhâmi and al-Māḍâ'înî say:—Muhâllabân, which is known in the Register as the fief of 'Umar ibn-Hubairah, belonged to Hubairah, having been granted to him by Yazid ibn-'Abd-al-Malik when he confiscated the property of Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab, of his brothers, and of his sons. It had formerly belonged to al-Mughîrah ibn-al-Muhallab. In it was a canal which Zâdân Farrûkh had dug and which is known by his name. The fief belongs today to the family of Suṭyân ibn-Muṭâwiyâh ibn-Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab. He was presented on it to abî-l-'Abbâs, the Commander of the Believers, who gave it to him in fee. The family of al-Muhallab bringing suit over the matter, Suṭyân said, "It belonged to al-Mughîrah." They replied, "We grant that; but al-Mughîrah ibn-al-Muhallab died before his father, and his daughter inherited the half. Thou art entitled to thine inheritance from thy mother, but the rest reverts to his (al-Mughîrah's) father, who was one of the heirs." ¹ He

said, "But al-Mughirah had a son." To which they replied, "What hast thou to do with the son of al-Mughirah? Thou dost not inherit from him. He is only thy uncle." Nevertheless he did not give them anything, although the property amounted to 1,500 jaribs.

Kausajân hof. Kausajân takes its name from 'Abdallâh ibn-'Amr ath-Thakafi al-Kausaj ["having a scanty beard"]. Al-Maddâ'mi says that Kausajân belonged to Abu-Bakrah, and his brother, Nâfi', contested his right to it. The two of them went out to it, and each one of them laid claim to it. 'Abdallâh ibn-'Amr al-Kausaj went out and said to them, "I see you contending with one another. Now appoint me as judge." Upon their doing so, he said, "I have adjudged it to myself." And they let him have it.

Another account says:—Al-Kausaj had no place to water his cattle, so he said to Abu-Bakrah and Nâfi', "Assign me a watering place the length of a leap." They agreed to this, and he leaped, it is said, thirty cubits.

Sadakah and Kharâj in al-Furâṭ. There were some lands in al-Furâṭ whose owners accepted Islam when the Moslems entered, and other lands which passed from the possession of the original owners into the hands of the Moslems by gift and otherwise, for reasons of state, and so became tithe-land, while before it had been subject to the kharâj. Al-Ḥajjâj made it kharâj land again. Later 'Umar ibn-'Abdul-'Aziz turned it back to sadakah land. Then 'Umar ibn-Hubairah made it subject once more to the kharâj. When Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became governor, he turned part of it back to sadakah, and finally al-Mahdi, the Commander of the Believers, made it all sadakah land.

For sadakah and kharâj, see Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, s. vv.; and von Kremer, Culturgeschichte des Orients, vol. i, pp. 59 et seq.; Hitti, p. 25, note 2.
Ja'farân belonged to umm-Ja'far bint-Majzâh ibn-Thaur as-Sadûsi, wife of Aslam, the owner of Aslamân.

**Holdings of the family of Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik.**

Al-Ḳaḥdhami says:—Arḳam ibn-Ibrâhîm told me that he saw Ḥassân an-Nabaṭî showing from the Bridge ('Abd-al-A'la ibn-'Abdallâh was with him) how everything on the bank of the Nahr al-Faidî belonged to the children of Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, and when he reached the property of 'Abd-al-A'la he ceased to measure. But when the Blessed Dynasty 1 came in, all this was confiscated.

Abu-Ja'far bequeathed al-Jabân together with the rest of his bequests to the people of al-Madînah.

Al-Mahdi granted al-'Abbâsah to his daughter, the wife of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ash-Sharḳî.

Al-Mahdi granted al-'Abbârah to his daughter, the wife of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ash-Sharḳî.

'Abbâdân. 'Abbâdân was one of the fiefs of Ḥumrân ibn-Abân, the freedman of 'Uthmân, granted by 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân. (Part of it according to another account was granted by Ziyâd.) Ḥumrân was one of the captives taken at 'Ain at-Tamr. He claimed to be descended from an-Namir ibn-Kâsît. Al-Ḥajjâj said one day, 'Abbâd ibn-Ḥuṣain al-Ḥabîṭî being with him, “What does Ḥumrân say? If he tries to trace his ancestry back to the free, desert Arabs, and does not add that his father was Ubaïy, who was a freedman of 'Uthmân, I'll wring his neck.” 'Abbâd departed from the presence of al-Ḥajjâj in haste and reported his words to Ḥumrân, who gave to him the western side of the canal, keeping the eastern side as a mortmain. And thus it came to be named after 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain.

Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi says:—The first to settle in 'Abbâdân was 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain.

1 I. e. the Abbâsides, indicating that Balâdhuri was of their party.
Ar-Rabi' ibn-Ṣuhḥ al-Faḳīh, a freedman of the banu-SA'd, went about collecting money from the people of al-Baṣrah, and by means of it built a wall around 'Abbâdân, and settled there. It is related on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri that ar-Rabi' went on a raid to al-Hind [India] by sea, and died, and was buried in one of the islands in the year 160.

Al-Ḵaḥdhami says:—Khâlidân al-Ḵaṣr and Khâlidân Ḥaḥsâ 'belonged to Khâlid ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asid. Khâlidân belonged to Yazid ibn-Ṭallah al-Ḥanâfî, whose kunyah was abu-Khâlid.

Nahr 'Adî was a channel of the river of al-Baṣrah until 'Adî ibn-Arṭâm al-Fazârî, the 'āmil of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz, separated it from the Bathk Shirin.

'iefs of Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab. Sulaimân granted to Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab as much of al-Baṭîhâh as he could put under cultivation. He cultivated ash-Sharkî, al-Jahân, al-Khast, ar-Riḥiyah, Mughiratân, and others, and they became an estate. Yazid ibn-'Abd-al-Malik confiscated them. Later Hishâm granted it in fee to his son. Then after that it became an estate again.

'Abbâsân. Al-Ḵaḥdhami says:—Al-Ḥajjâj granted 'Abbâsân in fee to Khairah bint-Ḍamarah al-Ḳushairiyah, wife of al-Muhallab. But Yazid ibn-'Abd-al-Malik confiscated it, and granted it to al-'Abbâs ibn-al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik. It was later confiscated again, and abu-l-'Abbâs, the Commander of the Believers, granted it to Sulaimân ibn-‘Ali.

Al-Ḳâsimiyah consisted of land left by the recession of the water. Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sulaimân, the freedman of Ziyâd, forged a document which claimed that it was from Yazid ibn-Mu‘âwiyyah, who granted it to him in fee.

1 A faḳih is a man learned in law.
Al-Khālidiyah, the property of Khālid ibn-Ṣafwān ibn-al-Aḥtam, formerly belonged to al-Ḵāsim ibn-Ṣulaimān.


Al-Ḥātimiyah belonged to Ḥātim ibn-Ḵabīsah ibn-al-Muhallab.

‘Adi canal. I was told by several Baṣrans that ‘Adi ibn-Artāh wrote to ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-Aziz, who ordered the Baṣrans to write in regard to digging a canal for them. Waki‘ ibn-abu-Sūd at-Tamīmī wrote to him as follows: “If thou dost not dig a canal for us, then al-Baṣrah is no fit place for us to live in.” It is said that ‘Adi was seeking in this way to injure Bahz ibn-Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab; and he succeeded. ‘Umar wrote giving him permission to dig a canal, and he dug Nahr ‘Adi. When the people went out to look at it, ‘Adi put al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī upon the ass upon which he himself had been riding, and walked instead.

Water for drinking. When ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Umar ibn-Abd-al-‘Azīz came as governor of al-‘Irāk in behalf of Yazid ibn-al-Walīd, the people of al-Baṣrah came to him, complaining of the saltiness of their water, and brought to him two glass bottles, in one of which was some of the water of al-Baṣrah, and in the other some of the water of al-Baṭīḥah. He saw the difference between the two; and they said, “Behold, if thou dig for us a canal, we shall be able to drink of this palatable water.” So he wrote about this to Yazid who replied, “[Even] if the expense of this canal equals the taxes of al-‘Irāk which we have in our possession, expend them upon it.” And so he dug the canal which is known as Nahr ibn-‘Umar.

A man said once in audience with ibn-‘Umar, “By Allah,

1 Baṭīḥah and its plural Baṭā‘īh (lit. “butterfly”) are interchangeable as the proper name for the Great Swamp above Baṣrah. Cf. Hitti, pp. 453 et seq.
I estimate that the cost of this canal will amount to 300,000 dirhams or more.” To which ibn-‘Umar replied, “If it equalled all the taxes of al-‘Irāk, verily, I would spend them on it.”

The wālis and the nobles in al-BAṣrah used to consider the water from the Dijlah palatable, digging themselves cisterns. Al-Ḥajjāj had a notable cistern there in which he collected rain water. Ibn-‘Umar, Ziyād and ibn-Ziyād had cisterns which they permitted the people to use.

Buildings of al-Manṣūr. The first time al-Manṣūr entered al-BAṣrah, he built there his castle near the great dam. This was in the year 142. On his second entering he built the Oratory in al-BAṣrah. (Al-Ḵajdhami says the great dam is of Moslem origin.)

Wakf of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimān. Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimān ibn-‘Ali gave as a pious foundation [wakf 1] a piece of property of his near some water tanks which he had built in al-BAṣrah, the income of which was expended upon the water-wheels, and the camels, and their general upkeep.

Ṣulaimān improves the water supply. Rauḥ ibn-‘Abd-al-Mu‘min from his uncle abu-Hishām from his father who says:—The people of al-BAṣrah went to ibn-‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Aziz in Wāsiṭ and asked him to dig them a canal; so he dug for them Nahr ibn-‘Umar. But the supply of water which it brought was slim and scanty, while the overflow from al-Baṭīlah went into the Nahr ad-Dair. The people used to go to al-Ubūllah for drinking water, until Ṣulaimān ibn-‘Ali came to al-BAṣrah and erected al-Mughīthah and built dams for it upon al-Baṭīlah, storing up the water from Nahr ad-Dair, and letting it out into the Nahr

1 Among the Moslems funds or properties were often set apart in wakf or mortmain for the support of charitable and benevolent institutions.
ibn-'Umar. He expended on al-Mughithah 1,000,000 dirhams. The people of al-Baṣrah complained to Sulaimān of the saltiness of the water and of the amount of sea water that came to them; so he damned al-Kandal, and their water became palatable. Sulaimān ibn-'Ali bought with his own money the site of the prison in Dār ibn-Ziyād and used it for a prison. He also dug the pool in ad-Dahnā' (i.e. the Square of the banu-Hāshim).

"Crown lands" of al-Baṣrah. I was told by some learned men about the crown lands [dīyā'] of al-Baṣrah, to wit:—The Shu'aibīyah, a people living on the Euphrates, established them for 'Ali, the son of the Commander of the Believers, ar-Rashid, on condition that they should be his farmers on it and that he should lighten their burdens. After discussion of the matter, a tenth of the ṣadaḳah was fixed upon, and 'Ali bound himself by oath to the people on terms agreeable to them. 'Ali's advocate in this affair was Shu'aib ibn-Ziyād al-Wāsiṭi, (one of whose children had a house in Wāsiṭ on the Dijlah,) and the estate was named after him.

The draining of as-Subaiṭiyah. It was told by a number of men of al-Baṣrah, among them Rauḥ ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min, that when Sulaimān ibn-'Ali constructed al-Mughithah, al-Manṣūr was eager to drain off an estate from al-Baṭḥah; and ordered the construction of as-Subaiṭiyah. Sulaimān ibn-'Ali was displeased at this and the people of al-Baṣrah also. They therefore assembled at the door of 'Abdallāh ibn-'Ali, who at that time was with his brother, Sulaimān, fleeing from al-Manṣūr, and cried out, "O Commander of the Believers, come to us; let us make a convenant with thee." But Sulaimān drove them away, and when he had dispersed them, he dispatched to al-Manṣūr Suwwār ibn-'Abdallāh at-Tamimi, also called al-'Anazi and Da'ūd ibn-abu-Hind, a freedman of the banu-Bashir, and Sa'id ibn-
abu-'Arūbah (the name of abu-'Arūbah is Bihrān). They came before al-Maṣṣūr bringing a map of al-Baṭṭālah, and told him they were afraid their water would be made salty. He said, "I don't see it as ye do." But he commanded to stop the work. Afterwards he went to al-Baṣrah and gave orders for as-Suḥaitiyah to be drained. And it was drained for him. Now part of it was a thicket belonging to a feudal chief, Suḥait by name. The overseer who was intrusted with the task of managing the estate and having it drained withheld from Suḥait part of the price of his thicket, and Suḥait kept calling for the rest of the price of his thicket at al-Maṣṣūr's door, and visiting his office about the matter until he died. The estate was named after him because of this thicket of his, and is called as-Suḥaitiyah.

Wakf of umm-'Abdallāh. The Kurrah Bridge in al-Baṣrah is named after Kurrah ibn-Ḫaiyān al-Bāhili. Beneath it was an old canal which umm-'Abdallāh ibn-ʿAmīr sold, endowing with the proceeds thereof a fountain for the people of al-Baṣrah. ʿAbdallāh ibn-ʿAmīr sold the market and likewise gave the money as alms.

ʿUbaidallāh ibn-Ziyād, on the day that the death of Yazīd ibn-Muʿāwiyyah was announced, was crossing over the Nahr umm-ʿAbdallāh, when he stumbled over a palm tree which he then ordered to be cut down. He also pulled down the Bath of Ḥumrān ibn-Abān, whose site was where today the viols are made.

Al-Ḫāmirah mosque. The mosque of al-Ḫāmirah is named after a family that had come to al-Yamāmah as Persians from ʿUmān. From there they went to al-Baṣrah on donkey-back, and took up their residence near this mosque. Some say that they originally built it and that it was reconstructed afterwards.

Al-Minjashānīyah. ʿAli al-Athram from abu-'Ubaidah from abu-'Amr ibn-al-'Alāʾ—Ḵais ibn-Masʿūd ash-Shaī-
bâni, who governed at-Ţaff on behalf of Kîsra, constructed al-Minjashânîyih ¹ six miles from al-Baṣrah. This was run with the help of a hired man called Minjashân, from whom it takes its name. Above this was the horse pasture in which his colts used to graze.

Ibn-al-Kalbi says:—The water which is known as al-Ḥau’āb was named after al-Ḥau’āb bint-Kalb ibn-Wabarah, who lived at the house of Murr ibn-Udd ibn-Ţâbikhah.

The Ḑariyâh ḫima ² takes its name from Ḑariyâh bint-Rabi‘ah ibn-Nizâr, who was the mother of Ḥulwân ibn-‘Imrân ibn-al-Ḥâf ibn-Ḳadâ‘ah. Ḥulwân is named after this Ḥulwân.

² Hitti, p. 23, note 2.
PART XVI
KHUZISTân
CHAPTER I

CONCERNING THE ASĀWIRAH \(^1\) AND THE ZUTT \(^2\)

*The Persian cavalry join the Moslems.* It has been told me by many men of learning:—Siyāh al-Uswārī was in command of the vanguard of Yazdajird.\(^3\) Later he sent him to al-Ahwāz,\(^4\) but he encamped at al-Kalbānī‘yah while abu-Mūsa al-Asḥārī was investing as-Sūs. When Siyāh beheld the victories of Islam and the power of its people, (for as-Sūs fell and reinforcements kept coming to abu-Mūsa,) he sent to the Moslem commander, saying, "Behold, we are desirous of entering with you into your religion, on condition that we help you fight your foreign enemies, but that if there arise a difference amongst you, we are not to fight with some of you against others of you; and that if we have war with the [heathen] Arabs, you will grant us help and defense against them; and that we be permitted to settle in whatever part of the country we please, and live among whichever of your tribes we choose; and that we receive the maximum stipend; and that a covenant to this effect be given us by the commander who sent you." Abu-Mūsa replied, "Nay, but ye shall have the same rights and obligations that we have." They said, "We do not want

---

\(^{1}\) See supra, p. 81, note 2; Ţabari, vol. i, pp. 2562-3.

\(^{2}\) The Gypsies (Persian Jat), originating in India. Yākūt, vol. iii, p. 761; Ištākhri, pp. 171 et seq.; 180; Ţabari, vol. i, p. 1061; LeStr., pp. 244, 331.

\(^{3}\) Ţabari, vol. i, pp. 2562-4.

\(^{4}\) Ahwāz is in form a plural of Ḥūs = Khūs (from which Khūzistān). LeStr., pp. 233-234. Sūḥ al-Ahwāz = "the market of the Ḥūzes." 623]
that.” And so Abu-Musa wrote about this to ‘Umar, who wrote back to him, “Give them all they have asked.”

They proceeded until they overtook the Moslems, and were with Abu-Musa at the siege of Tustar.¹ But they did not strike a single blow; and Abu-Musa said to Siyah, “O helper! You and your friends are not what we thought you to be.” To this he replied, “I told thee that our way of thinking was not like yours, seeing that we have no harems among you for which to fear and to fight. We entered into this religion from the very beginning only as a refuge, and in the hope that [your] Allah was one who provides abundant sustenance.” Then Abu-Musa assigned to them the maximum stipend.

They become allies of the Tamīm. When they came to al-Baṣrah, they asked, “Which of the tribes is nearest akin to the Apostle of Allah?” The answer was “the banu-Tamīm.” Now they had intended allying themselves with the Azd, but they gave that up, and became allies of the banu-Tamīm. Then their quarters were marked out for them, and they settled down, and dug their canal, which is the one known as the Nahr al-Asāwirah. (Some say that ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Amīr dug it.)

They quarrel with the Tamīm. Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madā’inī says:—Sirawāh al-Uswārī wanted to settle among the Bakr ibn-Wā’il with Khālid ibn-al-Mu‘āmmar and among the banu-Sadūs, but Siyāh was opposed to this, and so they settled among the banu-Tamīm. There are today none of the Azd nor of the ‘Abd-Shams in al-Baṣrah. To the Asāwirah were joined the Sayābijah,² who before the time of

¹ Yākūt, vol. i, pp. 847-848; Meyn., pp. 135 et seq.; LeStr., loc. cit.
Islam had been on the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and likewise the Zuṭṭ, who had been on the borders [ṭuṣṭuf], following the pasture. After the Ašâwirah, the Zuṭṭ, and the Sayâbijah had combined, the banu-Tamim had a disagreement with them, and quarrelled with them, until finally the Ašâwirah went to the banu-Saʿd, while the Zuṭṭ and the Sayâbijah went to the banu-Ḥanthalah, with whom they remained, fighting against the polytheists.

They break their covenant. The Ašâwirah went on the expedition of 'ibn-ʿAmir to Khurāsān, and so did not take part with the Moslems at the battle of the Camel, nor at Ṣiffin, nor at any of their battles, until the day of Masʿūd. But after that battle they were present at ar-Rabadhah, and in the insurrection of ʿibn-al-ʿAshʿath they participated on his side. Al-Ḥajjāj [ibn-Yūsuf] punished them severely, razing their houses, annulling their grants, and forcing some of them to emigrate. Said he, “It was in your covenant that ye should not favor some of us against others of us.”

Another tradition has it that when the Ašâwirah betook themselves to al-Kalbāniyah, abu-Mūṣa sent against them ar-Rabiʿ ʿibn-Ziyād al-Ḥārithi, who attacked them. But finally they surrendered on condition that they accept Islam, and join in fighting the enemy; and that they ally themselves with whom they will and settle where they please.

Other Persian deserters. To these Ašâwirah there fled some of the [foot] soldiers of the Persians who owned no land; they remained with them after war had laid down its weapons (i.e. had ceased) in those regions, continuing with them and entering into Islam.

1 Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 3181.
4 Doubtful whether this refers to grants of land or grants of pensions.
Al-Madâ’ini’s version. When Yazdajird went to Išbahān, he summoned Siyāh and sent him to Ištakhr with 300 men, among whom were seventy of their magnates, with orders to levy whom he would of the people and the soldiers of every region. Afterward Yazdajird followed him, and upon arriving at Ištakhr, sent Siyāh to as-Sûs, which abu-Mûsa was investing, while al-Hurmuzân he sent to Tustar. Siyāh halted at al-Kalbâniyâh. The people of as-Sûs, when the news of Yazdajird and his flight reached them, asked abu-Mûsa for terms, which he granted them. Siyāh remained in al-Kalbâniyâh until abu-Mûsa came to Tustar, when he shifted and established himself between Râmhur-muz and Tustar, until ‘Ammar arrived on the scene. Then Siyāh assembled the head men who had accompanied him from Išbahān, and said, “Ye know just what we said about these people—that they would conquer this realm, and that their beasts would dung in the palace of Ištakhr. Their cause is victorious as ye can see. So look out for yourselves, and enter into their religion.” They agreed with him in this, and so he sent to abu-Mûsa a delegation of ten men with Shirawaih, who made a compact on the terms we have described, and accepted Islam.

‘Awânânah’s account. Another than al-Madâ’ini told me on the authority of ‘Awânânah:—The Asâwirah allied themselves first with the Azd; then they asked which of the two tribes (the Azd and the banu-Tamîm) were nearest to the Prophet and the caliphs in kinship and in influence, and were told “the banu-Tamîm.” So they allied themselves with them. The chief of the banu-Tamîm at that time was al-Ahnaf ibn-Kâis. There was present at the battle of ar-Rabadhah in the days of ibn-az-Zubair a number of these

² I. e. after the battle of Jalûla’.
Asâwirah. They killed a considerable number of the enemy with their many arrows. Not a single one of them missed his mark.

As for the Sayâbijah, the Zuṭṭ, and the Andaghâr,¹ they were in the army of the Persians, and consisted of people of as-Sind who had been taken captive and then enrolled in the ranks, together with the very raider who had captured them. When they heard what had happened in the case of the Asâwirah, they accepted Islam, coming to abu-Mûsa, who settled them in al-Baṣrah as he had the Asâwirah.

Tribes from as-Sind. Rauḥ bin-‘Abd-al-Mu’mín from Ya’kûb ibn-al-Ḥadrami from Sallâm who says:—There were brought to al-Ḥajjâj some of the Zuṭṭ of as-Sind and a number of different tribes from that province, accompanied by their families, their children, and their buffaloes, and he settled them in the lower parts of Kaskar.² (Rauḥ goes on to say:—) They possessed themselves of al-Baṭīhah³ and multiplied therein.

They become rebellious. Some time afterwards there took refuge with them a number of fugitive black slaves, and mawâli of Bâhilah,⁴ and dependents of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân ibn-‘Ali, and others, who encouraged them to highway robbery, and to take up arms in rebellion against the sultan.⁵ Up to this time they had contented themselves with asking some small doles, or taking away the best that the people who came in ships had, by cheating them to the best of their ability.

‘Ujaif suppresses the outlaws. During part of the rule

¹ Cf. infra, p. iiii.
² Kaskar of al-Ṭrâk; LeStr., p. 43.
⁴ An Arab tribe.
⁵ I. e. the caliph.
of al-Mu'āmin people had to give up passing along through them, and all the traffic of merchandise from al-Basrah in ships was cut off from Baghdād. When al-Mu'tasim-bil'ād became caliph, he devoted his attention to them, and appointed to wage war against them a man of the people of al-Himāma called 'Ujaif ibn 'Anbasah,1 supplying him with a contingent of officers and foot soldiers, and not refusing him any amount of funds he asked for. He organized between al-Baṭāīh and Madinat al-Salām [Baghdad] a troop of horse, lean and shorn of tails. On a certain day or the first of the night news of the Zuṭṭ was brought to him in Madinat al-Salām, and 'Ujaif ordered the water shut off, which was done in spite of great difficulties, so that they were taken without any casualties. 'Ujaif transported them to Madinat as Salīm in small boats, and put some of them in Khānīkīn2 and the rest of them he scattered in 'Aīn Zar'ah and the frontier.

Sayabijah in the treasury of al-Basrah. A number of the Sayabijah were appointed in the treasury of al-Basrah as agents. It is said that there were 40 of them. Others say 300. When Taḥthār ibn 'Ubaḍallāh and az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām came to al-Basrah ('Uthmān ibn-Humaif the Anṣāri had been in charge of it previous to 'Ali ibn-abu Taḥthār), they refused to hand over the treasury at the accession of 'Ali. The appointees of 'Ali came upon them by stratagem and killed them, 'Abdallāh ibn-az-Zubair having charge of the affair together with a number who hastened to join him. Over the Sayabijah at that time was abu-Salāma al-Zutti, an upright man.

Zutt and Sayabijah taken to the west. Mu'āwiyyah trans-

---

1 In the year 208 (823).
2 Hist. vol. i, pp. 303, 304; Tabari, vol. iii, pp. 1167 et seq.
3 LeStr., pp. 61-62.
ported the original Zuṭṭ and Sayâbijah to the coast of Sha’m [Syria] and Anṭâkiyāh by kindly methods.¹ Al-Walîd ibn-
‘Abd-al-Malîk also removed a part of the Zuṭṭ to Anṭâkiyāh
and its environs.

Emigrants from Bukhârâ. ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd es-
slaved some of the people of Bukhârâ. (Others say:—Not
so, but they settled in obedience to an edict of his. ‘Still,
others say:—Not so, but he invited them, offering them
security and a fixed stipend; and they settled on these con-
ditions, and he established them in al-Baṣrah at their own
request.) When al-Ḥajjâj built the city of Wâsiṭ he re-
moved a great many of them to that city. Some of their
descendants are there today, of whom is Khâlid ash-Shâṭîr,
known as ibn-Marâkîlî. He says the Andaghâr come from
the regions of Kirmân where it adjoins Sijistân.

¹ Ar. bashar.
CHAPTER II

THE DISTRICTS OF AL-AHWÂZ

Sûk al-Ahwâz. Al-Mughirah ibn-Shu‘bah raided Sûk al-Ahwâz during his rule, while ‘Utbah ibn-Ghazwân was away from al-Baṣrah, in the last of the year 15 or the beginning of the year 16. Al-Birwâz, their dihâân, fought with him, but finally made peace for a payment of money. Afterwards he broke the treaty, and abu-Mûsa al-Ash‘ari raided the city, when ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb made him governor of al-Baṣrah after Mughirah. He subdued Sûk al-Ahwâz by assault, and conquered Nahr Tira in the same way, and governed this place himself in the year 17.

The accounts of abu-Mihna and al-Wâkidî. Abu-Mûsa came to al-Baṣrah and had Ziyâd write\(^1\) [to the caliph], and ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb sent ‘Imrân ibn-al-Ḥuṣain al-Khuzâ‘î, assigning him to teach the people jurisprudence and the Kurâân and to be the lieutenant of abu-Mûsa when he was away from al-Baṣrah. Abu-Mûsa went to al-Ahwâz and kept on conquering village after village\(^2\) and canal after canal, and the Persians fled before him. He overcame the whole of the land except as-Sús, Tustar, Manâdhir, and Râmhurmuz.

‘Umar orders the captives set free. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from Marhûm al-‘Aṭṭâr from his father from Shuwais al-‘Adawi who says:—We came to al-Ahwâz in which were some of the Zuṭṭ and of the Asâwirah. We fought with

---

\(^1\) Or “had Ziyâd as secretary.”

\(^2\) Ar. rustâk. Properly the district around a village.
them fiercely and defeated them, conquering and overcoming them, and making many captives whom we divided among ourselves. But 'Umar wrote to us, "It is not possible for you to inhabit the land; so release whatever captives are in your possession, and assess the kharâj upon them." Accordingly we set free the captives, and did not keep possession of them.

Al-Muhâjir devotes himself to martyrdom. Abu-Mûsa went also to Manâdhir and shut in its people, fighting fiercely with them. Al-Muhâjir ibn-Ziyâd al-Ḫârithi, the brother of ar-Rabi' ibn-Ziyâd ibn-ad-Daiyân, was among the troops. He was determined to devote himself,¹ and was fasting in preparation. Ar-Rabi' told abu-Mûsa, "Behold, al-Muhâjir has resolved to devote himself, and is fasting." And abu-Mûsa said, "I have resolved that every faster shall break his fast or not go out to fight." So al-Muhâjir took a drink of water, but he said, "I have obeyed the resolve of my commander. By Allah, I did not drink it from thirst." Then he went away with his sword and fought until he was martyred. And the people of Manâdhir took his head and set it up on their castle between two battlements.

About him was said the following:

"And in Manâdhir when they all were warring,
Al-Muhâjir went in fulfilment of an oath, with camels;
And his house, the house of the banu-d-Daiyân, we know
Among the family of Madhbij as the pearl of great price."

Manâdhir taken. Abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari appointed ar-Rabi' ibn-Ziyâd as his lieutenant over Manâdhir and went on to as-Sûs. Ar-Rabi' subdued Manâdhir by force, killing its fighting men and making captives of the women and children. Manâdhir al-Kubra and as-Ṣughra² both came

¹ I. e. to fight until killed, thus winning the reward of a martyr.
into the possession of the Moslems, and over the two of them abu-Mūsa appointed as governor ‘Āshim ibn-Ḵais ibn-as-Ṣalt as-Sulami; and over Sûk al-Ahwâz he appointed Samurah ibn-Jundab al-Ḵazâri, an ally of the Anšâr.

Some say that ‘Umar wrote to abu-Mūsa, while he was besieging Manâdhîr, ordering him to appoint a lieutenant for that task, and to proceed himself to as-Sûs. So he appointed ar-Rabî’ ibn-Ziyâd.

_Al-Muhallab’s account._¹ Sa’dawaih from Sharîk from abu-İshâk from al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah who says:—We besieged Manâdhîr and took captives among the booty. But ‘Umar wrote that Manâdhîr was as one of the cities of as-Sawâd,² saying, “Set free those whom ye have made captive.”

_The taking of as-Sûs._ Abu-Mūsa went to as-Sûs ³ and attacked its people. Then he besieged them until what food they had was consumed, and they were reduced to surrender. Their marzubân asked for safe-conduct to be given to eighty of them on condition that they open the gates of the city and surrender it. But when he named the eighty he left himself out, and abu-Mūsa ordered that he be beheaded. No harm was done to the eighty, but all the fighting men except them were put to death, their property seized, and their households enslaved.

_The tomb of Daniel._⁴ Abu-Mūsa saw in their citadel a house upon which was a veil, and upon asking about it, was told that in it were the remains of Daniel the prophet. (Peace be upon him and upon the [other] prophets of Allah and upon his apostles.) Now the people of as-Sûs had been

¹ Bakri, pp. 543-4.
² “The Black Ground;” i. e. the alluvial plain which forms the southern half of Mesopotamia. LeStr., p. 24.
³ Ṭabarī, vol. i, p. 2562; Meyn., p. 327; LeStr., p. 240.
smitten with drought, and had asked the Babylonians to send Daniel to them in order that they might secure rain by his help. This was done. (Bakht Naṣṣar \(^1\) had taken Daniel captive and had brought him to Babylon.) Thus Daniel came to die in Manâdhîr. Abu-Mûsa wrote about this to ‘Umar, who replied, “Wrap him in a shroud and bury him.” Abu-Mûsa dammed up a river until he could bury him [in the river bed] while it was stopped. Then he let the water flow above him.

*The account of Khâlid ibn-Zaid al-Muzani.* Abu-‘Ubaid al-Ḵâsim ibn-Sallâm from Marwân ibn-Mu‘awiyah from Ḥumaid at-Ṭawil from Ḥabîb from Khâlid ibn-Zaid al-Muzani, whose eye was put out at as-Sûs, and who says:—

We besieged that city under the command of abu-Mûsa, and [at first] we met with resistance. Then the dîhkân made terms with abu-Mûsa, offering to open the city to him in return for safe-conduct from him for one hundred of its people. This he did after making a covenant with abu-Mûsa, who said to him, “Choose them out.” While he was choosing them, abu-Mûsa said to his followers, “I hope that Allah will take his life.” And when he had chosen the hundred, Allah’s foe remained, and abu-Mûsa gave orders that he should be put to death; and although he cried out, “If thou wilt spare me, I will give thee a great sum of money,” the commander refused and had him beheaded.

*Reduction of Râmhurmuz.* Abu-Mûsa made a truce with the people of Râmhurmuz,\(^2\) but they broke their truce; so he sent to them abu-Miryam al-Ḥanafi, who made a new treaty with them for 800,000 dîrhams [annual tribute].

*Another account.* Rauḥ ibn-‘Abd-al-Mu’min from Ya’kûb from abu-‘Asîm ar-Râmhurmuzi, who was about 100 years old, and who says:—Abu-Mûsa made terms with the people

---

\(^1\) Nebuchadnezzar.

of Râmhurmuz for [an annual tribute of] eight or nine hundred thousand [dirhams.] Later they acted treacherously, and were subdued after a campaign which abu-Mûsa fought in the latter part of his life.

Surrâk. Abu-Mûsa conquered Surrâk,\(^1\) giving them similar terms to those of Râmhurmuz. Some time after they rebelled, and he sent against them Ḥârithah ibn-Badr al-Ghudâni with a scratch army, but he failed to bring them to terms. When ‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Âmir arrived, he reduced them by assault. This Ḥârithah was afterwards governor of Surrâk. In regard to him abu-l-Aswad ad-Du’ali says:

"Tell ibn-Badr: Thou that rulest an empire,  
Be in it like a rat, cautious and lurking.  
For all men are either liars,  
Saying what serves their desires, or truthful,  
Uttering vain imaginings or guesses,  
And if asked for proofs, they are dumbfounded.  
But be not faint-hearted, for that is the worst habit,  
For thy portion hath been stolen (surrâk) from  
rich two-fold Trâk."

When the verses reached Ḥârithah he said:

"May the God of men grant thee his best reward,  
For thou givest useful [counsel and] sufficient advice.  
Thou bidst me be resolute. Hadst bidden otherwise,  
Thou hadst found me rebellious 'gainst thy order."

Tustar. Abu-Mûsa went to Tustar,\(^2\) in which was concentrated the main strength of the enemy. He wrote to ‘Umar for reinforcements, and ‘Umar wrote to ‘Ammâr ibn-Yâsir, ordering him to take him troops from al-Kûfah. ‘Ammâr put Jarir ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Bajali in charge, and marched until he came to Tustar. In command of his right wing (He means abu-Mûsa's right wing.) was al-Barâ’ ibn-Mâlik, the brother of Anas ibn-Mâlik; over his

---

1 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 80; Meyn., p. 309; LeStr., p. 242.
left wing was Majzâh ibn-Thaur as-Sadûsi; and in command of the horse was Anas ibn-Mâlik. In command of 'Ammâr's right wing was al-Barâ' ibn-'Âzîb, the Anṣâri; over his left Ḥudhaifah ibn-al-Yamân al-'Abasi; over his horse Kârthâh ibn-Ka'b, the Anṣâri; and over his infantry an-Nu'mân ibn-Mu'ârrin al-Muzâni.

Fiercely defended. The people of Tustar opposed them fiercely, but the Baṣrâns and Kûfans drove them back until they reached the gates of Tustar. Al-Barâ' ibn-Mâlik fought with them at the gate until he suffered martyrdom. Al-Hurmuzân and his followers retreated into the city in bad condition, 900 of them having been killed on the battle field and 600 captured. These were afterwards beheaded.

Al-Hurmuzân was a native of Mihrajânkadhâf \(^1\) and had taken part with the Persians at the battle of Jalûlâ'.

Captured through treachery. Then one of the Persians asked for safety in exchange for guiding them to the polytheists' weak spot. He became a Moslem, stipulating that a pension be given to his son and to himself. Abu-Mûsa made a covenant with him to this effect, and sent with him a man of Shaibân, named Ashras ibn-'Auf. Together they waded the Dujail along a row of stones. When they had entered the city in this way, he pointed out al-Hurmuzân to Ashras, who then sent him back to the camp. Abu-Mûsa sent ahead forty men with Majzâh ibn-Thaur and had 200 men follow them up. This took place in the night, with the deserter leading them and taking them into the city. They killed the guards and shouted the takbîr upon the ramparts of the city. When al-Hurmuzân heard this he fled to his citadel, where he had his treasures and his possessions. Abu-Mûsa crossed the stream at dawn to enter the city and took possession of it.

---

\(^1\) Or Mihrajânkadhâf; Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 700; Meyn., p. 553; LeStr., p. 202; Hittî, pp. 478-480; Caetani, 21:13, note 2.
Al-Hurmuzân said, “Surely the Arabs were led to our weak spot by some of those with us who saw the rising of the Moslems’ cause and the setting of ours.”

(The deserter from the Persians set to killing his family and his children and throwing them into the Dujail from fear that the Arabs would outrage them.) ¹

The Persian leader spared. Al-Hurmuzân begged for safe-conduct, but abu-Mûsa refused to grant him this except upon decree of ‘Umar. This being agreed upon, abu-Mûsa put to death all those in the citadel who did not have safe-conduct. Al-Hurmuzân was taken to ‘Umar and asked him to spare his life. His request was granted.

Al-Hurmuzân assassinated. He was afterwards suspected of conspiring with abu-Lu’lu’ah, a slave of al-Mughîrah ibn-Shu’bâh, in the murder of ‘Umar; and ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-‘Umar said to him, “Let us go and look at a horse of mine.” He went, followed by ‘Ubaidallâh, who struck him with his sword while he was unsuspecting, and killed him.

His audience with ‘Umar. Abu-‘Ubaid from Marwân ibn-Mu‘âwiyyah from Humaid from Anas, who says:— We besieged Tustar, and al-Hurmuzân surrendered, and I was the one who brought him to ‘Umar, abu-Mûsa sending me. ‘Umar said to al-Hurmuzân. “Speak.” He said, “Shall I speak as a live man or as a dead man?” ‘Umar replied, “Speak. Fear not.” Then al-Hurmuzân said, “We, the Persian people, as long as Allah gave us a free hand with you, were overcoming you and killing you. But when Allah became on your side, we had no power over you.” ‘Umar said, “What sayest thou, O Anas?” I said, “I have left behind me a rankling thorn, an enemy, a dog. If you kill him, his people will despair of life and their thorn will rankle harder; but if you keep him alive, the people will

¹ This seems inconsistent with the agreement made with him by abu-Mûsa. Cf. Caetani, loc. cit.
want to live.” And 'Umar said, “But bless thee! O Anas! He has killed al-Barâ’ ibn-Mâlik and Majzâh ibn-Thaur as-Sadûsî.” I said, “There is no way for thee to kill him.” He said, “And why not? Has he given thee something? Hast thou obtained something from him?” I said, “No; but thou hast said to him ‘fear not’.” And he said, “When? Verily, thou shalt come bringing someone with thee to corroborate thy testimony, or else I will begin by pun-ishing thee.” I went out from his presence and found that az-Zubair ibn-al-'Awwâm had remembered what I remem-bered, and he testified for me, and al-Hurmuzân was re-leased. He confessed Islâm, and 'Umar granted him pardon.

The captives released. Ishâk ibn-abu-Isrâ’il from ibn-al-Mubârak from ibn-Juraij from ‘Aṭâ’ al-Khurâsâni, who says:—You may be sure that Tuṣtar was [taken first] by surrender, and then apostasized, and [this time] the Emig-rants invested it, killed the fighting men, and enslaved their households. These remained in the possession of their con-querors until 'Umar wrote, “Release what is in your hands.”

Jundaisâbûr and al-Kalbâniyâh. Abu-Mûsa went to Jundaisâbûr,1 whose people in dismay asked for peace [amân], and he made a treaty with them, agreeing not to kill nor enslave any of them, nor to take away any of their property except their weapons. Part of its population fled to al-Kalbâniyâh,2 and abu-Mûsa sent against them ar-Rabi' ibn-Ziyâd, who attacked them and reduced al-Kalbâniyâh. The Asâwîrah asked for protection [amân] which abu-Mûsa granted, and they became Moslems. Others say that they had sought amân before this and had found favor with abu-Mûsa and took part at Tuṣtar on the Moslem side. Allah knows best.

2 Meyn., p. 170, reads Kaltâniyâh.

Sanbil and Aidhaj. Among the places conquered by 'Abdallāh ibn-‘Amir were Sanbil 1 and az-Zuṭṭ whose populations had apostatized and with whom some of the Kurds of that region had joined themselves. He also subdued Aidhaj 2 after a fierce fight.

Daurāk. Abu-Mūsa conquered as-Sūs, Tustar, and Daurāk 3 by assault.

Dhur-Rināk Al-Madā’ini:—That ibn-dhul-Ḥarrah al-Ḥimyari conquered the fortress dhur-Rināk.

Askar Mukram. Al-Madā’ini from his teachers and 'Umar ibn-Shabbah from Mujālid ibn-Yahya:—Muṣ'ab ibn-az-Zubair appointed Muṭarrif ibn-Sidān al-Bāhili, a member of the banu-Ji’āwah, to command his guard during part of the period of his governorship of al-‘Irāk for his brother, 'Abdallāh ibn-az-Zubair. To Muṭarrif were brought two highwaymen, an-Nābi ibn-Ziyād ibn-Ṭhabyān, a member of the banu-'Āish ibn-Mālik ibn-Taim-Allāh ibn-Tha’labah ibn-‘Ukābah, and a man of the banu-Numair. He had an-Nābi put to death but the Numairi he had flogged and discharged. And when Muṭarrif was removed from the command of the guard and became wāli of al-Ahwāz, ‘Ubaidallāh ibn-Ziyād ibn-Ṭhabyān gathered a crowd together and started out after him. The two met and stopped with a canal between them. Muṭarrif ibn-Sidān crossed over, and ibn-Ṭhabyān immediately leaped upon him, thrust him

1 Yāḵūt, vol. iii, p. 157; Meyn., p. 322; LeStr., p. 244, and note 1.
2 Or Idhaj. Yāḵūt, vol. i, p. 416; Meyn., p. 62; LeStr., p. 245.
3 Yāḵūt, vol. ii, pp. 618-9; Meyn., pp. 241-2; LeStr., p. 242.
through with his spear, and killed him. Muș'ab sent Mukram ibn-Muṭarrif after the slayer. He went until he reached the place which is known today as 'Askar Mukram, but did not meet ibn-Ṭhabyân. The latter met with 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân and with him attacked Muș'ab, killed him, and cut off his head. ‘Askar Mukram is named after this Mukram ibn-Muṭarrif. Al-Ba‘ith as-Suکkari says:

“We gave ibn-Sidân to drink in an overflowing cup.
It sufficed us, though the best would not have sufficed us.”

Others say that 'Askar Mukram was only named after Mukram ibn-al-Fazr, a member of the banu-Ja‘wanah ibn-al-Ḥâríth ibn-Numair, whom al-Ḥajjâj had sent on the campaign against Kharzâd ibn- Başâ, the time he rebelled. Mukram came up with him at Aidhaj, but Kharzâd fortified himself in the fortress of that name. When the siege began to drag out, he came down, concealed in a disguise, with the purpose of getting to 'Abd-al-Malik. But Mukram got the better of him and captured him with two pearls in his cap and sent him to al-Ḥajjâj, who beheaded him.

They relate that there was near ‘Askar Mukram an old village which the buildings of the city afterwards reached. Then it kept on growing until it was a great city, and the whole thing was called ‘Askar Mukram. It is today an extensive metropolis.

Hamzah ibn-‘Abdallâh. Abu-Mas‘ûd from ‘Awânah:—
'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair appointed as governor of al-Başrah Ḥamzah ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair, who made an expedition to al-Ahwâz, and when he caught sight of its mountain, he said, “It is like Ku‘aika‘ân.”

Name of al-Ahwâz. Ath-Thauri says that al-Ahwâz was called in the Persian Hûzmasîr, and was named [by the

1 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 676; Meyn., p. 402; LeStr., p. 237.
2 Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 146; Meyn., p. 452; Hitti, p. 81.
Arabs] al-Akhwâz, but people changed it and said al-Ahwâz, and he quotes the following verses of al-A‘râbi:

"Do not send me back again to al-Akhwâz
And Ka‘ka‘ân beside the market
And the river Baṭṭ, which kept me awake at night,
The mosquitoes in it ruthlessly ¹ stinging.
For what is the joy his soul promised him
From al-Huṣaini or 'Amr in very sooth?"

The River al-Baṭṭ. The river al-Baṭṭ is a canal near which was a pasture for ducks [baṭṭ]. People in general said "Nahr Baṭṭ" just as they said "Dâr Biṭṭikh" [melon-patch]. I heard some one say that the canal belonged to a woman called al-Baṭ'ah, and it was named after her, the name being afterwards shortened.

Al-Ahwâz conquered by force. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi from Muḥammad ibn-'Abdallâh from az-Zuhri:—'Umar conquered as-Sawâd and al-Ahwâz by force. He was asked to divide this land, but said, "What then shall there be for those Moslems who come after us?" And he put the inhabitants in the category of dhimmis.²

The 'āmils are accused of graft. Al-Madâ‘ini from 'Ali ibn-Ḥammâd and Suḥaim ibn-Ḥafṣ and others:—Abu-l-Mukhtâr Yazîd ibn-Ḳais ibn-Yazîd ibn-aṣ-Ṣa‘îk recited to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb some verses about the 'āmils of al-Ahwâz and others:—

"Send to the Commander of the Believers a letter and say:
Verily, thou art the confirmed of Allah to command or forbid.
Yea, thou art Allah's confirmed among us, and whoever is
Entrusted with the Lord's commission, I do trust.
Let not the people of countrysides and towns thoughtlessly
Swallow up the wealth of Allah in countless dishes.
Send to al-Hajjâj and learn his account;
Send to Jaz', and send to Bishr;"

¹ Yâkût, in Meyn., p. 58, reads ghairi taṣfîk = noiselessly.
² Hitti, pp. 422-3.
And do not forget the two Nāfi’s, either of them;  
Nor ibn-Ghalāb, noblest of the banu-Naṣr;  
Nor is ‘Āşim of their number with empty wallet;  
Nor that fellow in as-Sūk, the mawla of banu-Badr.  
Send also to an-Nu’mān and learn his account;  
And the brother-in-law of banu-Ghazwān I’ve heard of.  
Ask for the money from Shībl and from ibn-Muḥarrish,  
For he is notorious among the provincials.  
So divide up with them. I pledge my people as thy ransom.  
They will be pleased if they leave them half.  
But do not call me in to testify, for I  
Am hid—though I see the wonder of the age.  
We return when they return, and raid when they raid;  
How, then, have they abundance, while we have nought?  
When the merchant of Dārīn brings a flask of perfume,  
It will soon be spread over their hair.”

‘Umar mulcts them. ‘Umar took from those whom abu-
Mukhtār mentions half of all their property, even taking  
one sandal and leaving the other. Among them was abu-
Bakrah, who protested, “I have not held any office under  
thee!” But ‘Umar said to him, “Thy brother is in charge  
of the treasury and the tithes of al-Ubullah, and he lets thee  
have money with which to engage in trade.” And so he  
took from him 10,000 dirhams. (Others say that he con-
fiscated half his wealth.)

The offices of these ‘āmils. The al-Ḥājjāj named here  
is al-Ḥājjāj ibn-‘Atīk ath-Thaḳafī, who was in charge of  
al-Furāt. Jaz’ ibn-Mu‘āwiyah was the uncle of al-Āḥnaf  
and ruled Surrak. Bishr ibn-al-Muḥtaḥfiz was in charge of  
Jundaisābūr. The two Nāfi’s are Nufai’ abu-Bakrah and  
his brother, Nāfi’ ibn-al-Ḥârīth ibn-Khadrah. Ibn-Ghalâb  
is Khālid ibn-al-Ḥārīth of the banu-Duhmān and was in  
charge of the treasury in Iṣbahān. ‘Aṣīm ibn-Ḳais ibn-
as-Salt as-Sulami was over Manādhir, and he who was in  
as-Sūk is Samarrah ibn-Jundāb in charge of Sūk al-Ahwāz.  
An-Nu’mān ibn-‘Adi ibn-Maḏlah ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Uzza ibn-
Ḥurthān of the banu-‘Adi ibn-Ka’b ibn-Lu’ai was over the  
districts of the Tigris. It is he who said:
"Who will tell al-Hasnâ’ that her beloved
In Maisân is drinking with glass and flagon?
At my desire the burgomasters sing to me,
And the cymbal list sways this way and that.
Perhaps the Commander of the Believers is displeased
At our banqueting in the ruined tower."

‘Umar, when these verses reached him, said, “Yes, by Allah, I am indeed displeased at this.” And he removed him from office.

The brother-in-law of the banu-Ghazwân is Mujâshi‘ ibn-Mas‘ûd as-Sulami, in whose household was the daughter of ‘Utba ibn-Ghazwân. He was in charge of the land of al-Baṣrah and its alms-tax. Shibli ibn-Ma‘bad al-Bajali (further surnamed al-Aḥmasi) was in charge of the division of the booty, and ibn-Muḥarrish was over Râmhurmuz.

Land titles adjudicated. ‘Ausajah ibn-Ziyâd al-Kâtib says:—Ar-Rashîd the Commander of the Believers granted to ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-al-Mahdi the right to farm the land of al-Ahwâz, but some question arose in regard to it, and some one brought the matter to the attention of al-Ma‘mûn, who ordered an investigation and adjustment of the case. Titles about which there was no question he confirmed, and what there was any question about he labeled “doubtful” (mash-kûk). This was well-known in al-Ahwâz.
PART XVII
FĀRS AND KIRMĀN
CHAPTER I

FÂRS

Abarkâwân. Al-‘Alâ ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami the ‘âmil of ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb over al-Bahraín sent Harthamah ibn-‘Arfajah al-Bâriki of the Azd and he conquered one of the islands in the sea near to Fârs.¹ Then ‘Umar wrote to al-‘Alâ, to have him (i. e. Harthamah) go to the aid of ‘Utbah ibn-Fârâqad as-Sulami, which was done.² When later ‘Umar appointed ‘Uthmân ibn-abu-l-‘Âsi ath-Thâkafi governor of al-Bahraín and ‘Umân, and he had subdued them and brought their inhabitants into obedience, he sent his brother al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-‘Âsi against Fârs by sea with a strong army from the tribes of ‘Abd-al-Ḳais, the ‘Azd, the Tamîm, the banu-Nâjiyyah, and others. Al-Ḥakam conquered the island of Abarkâwân;³ later he went as far as Tawwaj⁴ belonging to the land of Ardashîr Khurrah.⁵ (The meaning of Ardashîr Khurrah is “the splendor [bahâ] of Ardashîr.”)

Tawwaj. According to the account of abu-Mikhnaḥ, ‘Uthmân ibn-abu-l-‘Âsi himself crossed the sea to Fârs and

¹ Or Fâris. Yâḵût, vol. iii, pp. 836 et seq.; Meyn., pp. 410 et seq.; LeStr., chap. xvii. Fârs is the name of the original Persian province of which Īstâkhr (Persepolis) was the capital. For Persia as a whole the Arabs used “al-‘Ajam.”
² ‘Utbah was on a campaign against Mosul.
⁴ Or Tawwaz. Meyn., pp. 142-3; LeStr., p. 259.
⁵ Meyn., p. 23; LeStr., p. 249.
landed at Tawwaj, conquered it, built the mosques, made it a dwelling for the Moslems, and settled the ‘Abd-al-Ḳais and other tribes there. And he used to make incursions from it against Arrajân,¹ which bordered upon it. Afterwards he went from Fârs to ‘Umân and al-Baḥrān, having received instructions from ‘Umar to do so, and left his brother, al-Ḥakam, in his place as governor.

Another authority than abu-Mikhnaf says that al-Ḥakam conquered Tawwaj and colonized it with Moslems of ‘Abd-al-Ḳais and other tribes in the year 19.

**Battle of Râshahr.** They say that Shahrak,² the satrap [marshubân] and governor of Fârs, was impressed by such advances as the Arabs had made upon Fârs and worried; he heard of their slaughter and their victory over every one of their enemies that met them, and he collected a strong force and betook himself in person to Râshahr³ of the land of Sâbûr in the neighborhood of Tawwaj. Al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-‘Aṣi came out to meet him, with Sawwâr ibn-Hammâm⁴ in command of his van, and a fierce battle ensued.

There was in this place a wâdi, to guard which Shahrak had appointed one of his chieftains with a company, ordering him to kill any fugitive from his followers who should attempt to pass it. One of the bravest of the knights approached, fleeing from the battle, and the captain was about to kill him; but the fugitive said to him, “Do not kill me! For we are fighting a victorious people with whom Allah is.” He set up a stone and shot at it with an arrow and split it in two; then he said, “Dost thou see this arrow which split the stone? By Allah, it would not scratch one of them

¹ Persian Arghân. Meyn., pp. 18 et seq.
² Or Suhrak. Cf. Ḥanifah, p. 141.
⁴ Or Humâm, as in Meyn., loc. cit.
were it shot at him." The other replied, "There is no escape from thy being killed." But just then the news came to him of the death of Shahrk.

The one who killed him was Sawwâr ibn-Hammâm ¹ al-‘Abdi, who had charged upon him, with his spear, and unhorsed him, and then struck him with his sword until he was dead. The son of Shahrk then charged upon Sawwâr and killed him. But Allah defeated the polytheists, and Râshahr was conquered by force. The battle there in respect to its violence and the greatness of Allah's favor to the Moslems was comparable to the battle of al-Қâdisiyah.

‘Amr ibn-al-Ahtam at-Tamîmi reported the victory to ‘Umar ibn-al-Кhaṭṭâb in these words:

"I am come to the leader in haste to tell him
Aright of the news of al-‘Abdi Sawwâr—
News of a wonderful and fortunate one, his soul employed
In the path of Allah, a raiding."

Some of the people of Tawwaj say:—Tawwaj was made a capital city ² after the death of Shahrk. Allah knows best.

‘Uthmân makes Tawwaj his headquarters. Later ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to ‘Uthmân ibn-abu-l-‘Āši to invade Fârs. The latter left as his lieutenant in charge of his governorship his brother, al-Mughirah. (Others say it was Ḥaḥṣ ibn-abu-l-‘Āši, who was a man of sound judgment.) ‘Uthmân came to Tawwaj and made his camp there, making raids from that point and returning thereto.

Raid by Abu-Mûsa. ‘Umar wrote also to Abu-Mûsa who was in al-Baṣrah, ordering him to aid and assist ‘Uthmân ibn-abu-l-‘Āši. He made various attacks upon Fârs from al-Baṣrah, returning thereto after each raid.

Shabir captured. ‘Uthmân ibn-abu-l-‘Āši sent Harim ibn-

¹ Or Humâm, as in Meyn., loc. cit.
² I.e. a garrison post; Ar. maṣṣīrat. Cf. Hitti, p. 220, note 2.
Hayyân al-'Abdi against a fortress called Shabir, which he conquered by force after siege and battle. (Some say it was the fortress of as-Satûj that Harim conquered by force.

Khurrah. 'Uthmân went to Khurrah\(^1\) of Sâbûr and conquered it and its territory (after its inhabitants had engaged in battle with him) by capitulation upon condition of paying jisâyah and kharâj and giving counsel to the Moslems.

Kâzarûn and Nûbandajân. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âşi conquered Kâzarûn\(^2\) of Sâbûr and subdued its territory. He also conquered an-Nûbandajân\(^3\) of Sâbûr and subdued it.

Arrajân and Shirâz. Abu-Mûsa and 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âşi joined forces in the latter part of the caliphate of 'Umar, and the two of them conquered Arrajân\(^4\) by capitulation on condition of [paying] jisâyah and kharâj. They also conquered Shirâz,\(^5\) which is part of the land of Ardashîr Khurrah, on condition that they be dhimmis, paying the the kharâj, (except those of them who preferred to emigrate) without any being killed or enslaved.

Siniz. They conquered Siniz,\(^6\) part of the land of Ardashîr Khurrah, its people being left to cultivate the land.

Jannâbâ. 'Uthmân conquered the castle of Jannâbâ\(^7\) by surrender, granting amân.

Darâbjîrd. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Âşi went to Darâbjîrd\(^8\)

---

1 Sâbûr Khurrah = Splendor of Shâpûr; cf. LeStr., p. 249. Perhaps De Goeje's reading is better; i.e. Jirrah; cf. LeStr., p. 268.
2 Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 225; Meyn., p. 472; LeStr., p. 266.
3 Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 817; Meyn., p. 568; LeStr., pp. 263 et seq.
5 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 348, i, p. 199; Meyn., p. 366; LeStr., pp. 248 et seq.
6 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 221; Meyn., p. 337; LeStr., p. 273.
which was the center of their science and religion and in command of which was al-Hirbadh. The latter made terms with 'Uthmân for a sum of money which he paid him and on condition that the inhabitants of Darâbjird should all of them have the same rights as the cities which were conquered from the people of Fârs.

Jahram. There assembled against him in the regions of Jahram a force which he dispersed, and he subdued the land of Jahram.

Fasâ. 'Uthmân went to Fasâ, whose magnate ('aṭhîm) made peace with him on terms similar to those of Darâbjird. Others say that al-Hirbadh obtained the terms for it also.

Sâbûr. 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-Âšî went against the city of Sâbûr in the year 23. (Others say in the year 24, before abu-Mûsa received the news of his appointment as governor of al-Baṣrah for 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân.) He found its people in awe of the Moslems. The brother of Shahhrak dreamt that an Arab entered to him and deprived him of his tunic; and this caused him great perturbation (lit. "took the heart out of him"). He held out a little while; then he asked terms of surrender, and 'Uthmân made terms with him, the conditions being that none of them should be killed or enslaved, but that they should be dhimmîs and straightway pay a sum of money.

Sâbûr rebels. Afterwards the people of Sâbûr rebelled and broke the treaty, and were reconquered in the year 26 by abu-Mûsa with 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-Âšî in command of his van.

1 Shadravân (Persian) = foundation, fountain. The mss read wakânat shadravân 'ilmihim wadinihim. Prof. W. D. Worrell suggests reading wakânat athrowân 'ala dinihim = "and fire-priests were in charge of their religion."

2 Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 167; Meyn., p. 182; LeStr., p. 254.

3 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 891; Meyn., pp. 422-3; LeStr., p. 290.

4 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 5; Meyn., p. 293.
Al-Jarūḍ killed. Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna and others say:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb ordered al-Jarūḍ al-'Abdi to be sent against the fortresses of Fârs in the year 22. When he was between Khurrah and Shirāz he separated himself from his followers on a hill there one morning for his necessity, with a water bottle [for ablution]. A band of Kurds surrounded and killed him,¹ and this hill was thereafter called 'Aḵabat-al-Jarūḍ.²

Iṣṭakhr and Jūr. When 'Abdallāh ibn-'Āmir ibn-Kuraiz governed al-Baṣrah for 'Uthmān ibn-'Affān after abu-Mūsa al-Ash'ari, he attacked Iṣṭakhr ³ in the year 28, and Māhak made terms with him for the people thereof. Then he set out towards Jūr,⁴ and the people of Iṣṭakhr upon his departure from them broke the compact and killed the 'āmil he had placed over them. Then when he had conquered Jūr, he came back against them and conquered them again.

Other versions. Harim ibn-Ḥayyān remained in command of Jūr, a city of Ardashir Khurrah which the Moslems had captured; then withdrew from it to attack Iṣṭakhr and raid the regions which had rebelled against them. When ibn-'Āmir arrived there with his forces, they attacked him, and then entrenched themselves, but he conquered them with the sword by force. This was in the year 29. Ibn-'Āmir also conquered al-Kāriyân ⁵ and Fashjātan ⁶ (i. e. al-Fishajān) of Darābjīrd which had had no part in the treaty of al-Hirbadh and the breaking of it.

² Yāḵūt, vol. iii, p. 692.
³ Meyn., p. 48 et seq.; LeStr. p. 275.
⁴ Now called Firūzābād. Meyn., p. 174 et seq.; LeStr., p. 256.
⁵ Yāḵūt, vol. iv, p. 224; Meyn., p. 471; LeStr., p. 255; Hamadhāni, p. 246.
⁶ Or Fastajan. Iṣṭ., pp. 107, 132; Ḥaukāl, pp. 148, 201; Athīr, vol. iii, p. 78.
Jūr subdued by ibn-‘Āmir. Many people of learning relate:—Jūr was raided a number of years, but was not overcome until ibn-‘Āmir conquered it. The cause of its conquest was as follows: One of the Moslems stood praying one night with a leather wallet of his by his side with bread and meat in it. A dog came up and snatched it and ran with it until he entered the city by a concealed entrance. The Moslems followed closely to this entrance and so entered through it and conquered the city.¹

Ibn-‘Āmir reduces Ištakhr. When ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Āmir had completed the conquest of Jūr, he returned to deal with the people of Ištakhr, conquering them by force after fierce fighting, casting with siege engines (manājanīk), and killing therewith 40,000 of the Persians, and wiping out most of the noble families together with the chiefs of the horsemen ² who had taken refuge there.

Some traditionists say:—Ibn-‘Āmir returned to Ištakhr as soon as he learned of their breaking faith, and conquered the city. Then he went to Jūr with Harim ibn-Ḥayyān commanding his vanguard, and took it.


Abu-Mikhnaq’s account. Al-‘Abbās ibn-Hishām from his father from abu-Mikhnaq:—Ibn-‘Āmir set out against Ištakhr, sending in command of his van ‘Ubaidallāh ibn-Maʿmar at-Taimī. The inhabitants of Ištakhr met him in Rāmjārd.³ ‘Ubaidallāh attacked them and was killed by them, and was buried in a garden in Rāmjārd. The news came to ibn-‘Āmir, who approached in haste until he fell

¹ Athir, loc. cit.
² Ṣawwirah.
³ Meyn., p. 253; LeStr., p. 280.
suddenly upon them with Abu-Barzah Naḍlāḥ ibn-‘Abdallāh al-Aslami in command of his right wing, Maʿkīl ibn-Yasār al-Muzānī over his left, ‘Imrān ibn-al-Ḥūṣain al-Khuzāʿī over the horse, and over the foot Khālid ibn-al-Muʿāmmar adh-Dhuḥli. He attacked them and put them to rout and forced them to withdraw into Iṣṭakhr. Allah conquered the city by force.

Ibn-‘Āmir killed in the neighborhood of 100,000 of them, and then went to Darābjird and subdued it, they having broken the treaty. Then he turned towards Kirmān.

Shuhriyāj surrenders to Moslem slave. ‘Amr an-Nāḥāṣ from Marwān ibn-Muʿāwiyyah al-Fazārī from ‘Āṣim al-Āḥwāl from Fuḍail ibn-Zaid ar-Raḵšāshī, who says:—We had besieged Shuhriyāj¹ a month or more and had thought we were going to take it in a day or so. And one day we attacked its inhabitants and returned to our camp, but a black slave remained behind—a deserter they thought him—wrote a guarantee of protection [amān] for them and shot it to them with an arrow. In the evening we began the attack again, but they came out from their castle and said, “This is your guarantee of protection.” We wrote about this to ‘Umar and he wrote to us, “A Moslem slave is a Moslem; therefore his protection has the full value of theirs. So let his guarantee be effective.” And so we carried out its terms.

Al-Ḳāsim ibn-Sallām from Abu-n-Naḍr from Shuʿbah from ‘Āṣim from al-Fuḍail:—We were drawn up in battle array against the enemy in Sirāf² . . . (Then he relates about the same.)

Saʿdawah from ‘Abbād ibn-al-ʿAwwām from ‘Āṣim al-Āḥwāl from al-Fuḍail ibn-Zaid ar-Raḵšāshī:—The Moslems

¹ Or Suhriyāj. Yaḵūt, vol. iii, p. 204; Meyn., p. 330.
² LeStr., p. 256. Yaḵūt (Meyn., p. 330) has Sirān.
were besieging a castle, and a slave wrote a guarantee of protection and shot it to the enemy by means of a dart. The Moslems said, "His guarantee is worth nothing." But the people [of the castle] said, "We cannot tell the difference between slave and free." A letter was written about this to 'Umar, who replied, "The favor of a Moslem slave's protection is identical with that of a free man."

One of the inhabitants of Fârs told me that the castle of Sîrâf is called Sûryânîj. The Arabs named it Shuhriyâj.

Fortress of Kharashah. In Fasâ is a fortress known as the fortress of Kharashah ibn-Masʿûd of the banu-Tamîm (and of the banu-Shâkirah), who was with ibn-al-Ashʿath. He fortified himself in this fortress, but [later] made a treaty. He died in Wâsit, but he had descendants in Fasâ.
CHAPTER II

KIRMÂN

Satrap of Kirmân killed. In the island of Abarkâwân 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-'Āsi ath-Thâkafi met the marzubân [of Kirmân] with a small troop and killed him. This caused the inhabitants of Kirmân to weaken and lose heart.

Expedition under Mujâshi'. When ibn-'Āmir invaded Fârs, he sent Mujâshi' ibn-Mas'ūd as-Sulami to Kirmân in pursuit of Yazdajird. He came to Bimandh, but his army was wiped out there. Later when ibn-'Āmir went on his expedition to Khurâsân, he appointed Mujâshi' governor of Kirmân. The latter took Bimandh by assault but spared the population and granted them an amân. In this place is a castle known as Kaṣr Mujâshi'.

Ash-Shîrājân. Mujâshi' also captured Barûkhrawah and came to ash-Shîrājân, the city of Kirmân, and besieged it a few days. Its inhabitants set to fortifying themselves, while their cavalry made sorties against the Moslems, but Mujâshi' attacked them and took the city by assault. He left a man there, but most of the inhabitants emigrated.

Bamm and Andaghûr. Abu-Mûsa al-Ash‘ari had sent ar-

1 Satrap.
2 Meyn., 48a et seq.; LeStr., chaps. xxi and xxii.
3 Bimandh or Bimidh. Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 718; Meyn., p. 557; LeStr., p. 311.
4 See infra, p. 159, note 2.
5 Or as-Sirjân. Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 106, 265; Meyn., p. 333; LeStr., p. 300.

136
Rabi' ibn-Ziyād who subdued the territory around ash-Shirajān and made a treaty with the inhabitants of Bamm and the Andaghār. But the people of these regions broke faith and rebelled, and Mujāshi' ibn-Mas'ud subdued them again. He captured Jīraft by storm. He went through Kirmān and subdued it as far as al-Ḵufs. There assembled against him in Hurmūz a number of Persian fugitives. He attacked, routed and defeated them.

Many emigrate. Many from among the inhabitants of Kirmān fled and crossed the sea. Some went to Makrān, and some as far as Sijistān. The Arabs took possession of their dwellings and their lands, cultivating the latter, and paying the tithe thereon, and digging water channels in some places.

Kaṭan governor for al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Ḥajjāj appointed Kaṭan ibn-Ḵabīsah ibn-Mukhārīk al-Hilālī governor of Fārs and Kirmān. He is the one who came to a water course (nahr) which his followers thought impassable. He said, "A thousand dirhams to whoever crosses it." They crossed it and he paid up. This was the origin of the use of the word jā'isah (passage) in the sense of "gift." In regard to this the poet al-Jahhāf ibn-Ḥukaim says:

"As a ransom for the noble sons of Hilāl
In all their circumstances, my people and all I have [I offer],
They originated the passage-gifts,
Which became a custom of later days.
[May] their spears prevail against a score,
Whenever they meet the enemy."

1 Yāḵūt, vol. i, p. 737; Meyn., p. 115; LeStr., p. 312.
2 Caetani, 17:111, note 1.
3 Or Jiruf. Meyn., p. 185; LeStr., p. 299.
4 Jabal al-Ḵufs, Meyn., p. 452 et seq.; LeStr., p. 317.
5 Meyn., p. 595; LeStr., p. 318.
6 Lane (see next note) names Kaṭan ibn-'Auf in connection with the definition of jā'isah.
7 See Lane, p. 485, col. a.
(Kabīshāh ibn-Mukhārik was one of the Companions of the Prophet.)

Concerning Kaṭan the poet says:

“How many a prince from whom I received gifts;
   But the outcome of them all was sorrow.
   Is not Kaṭan just like his predecessors?
   So grant me patience for what Kaṭan shall bring.”

Ibn-Ziyād appointed Sharīk ibn-al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithi (i.e. Sharīk ibn-al-Ḥārith) to govern Kīrmān and wrote to him on behalf of Yazīd ibn-Ziyād ibn-Rabīʿ ibn-Mufarragh al-Ḥimyari, and he assigned him land in Kīrmān which was afterwards bought by Harb ibn-Ziyād of al-Baṣraḥ.


1 The father of Kaṭan.
PART XVIII
SIJISTÂN AND KÂBUL
CHAPTER I

‘Uthmân to Marwân I

Ibn-‘Amir’s expedition to Khurâsân. ‘Ali ibn-Muḥammad and others:—‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Amir ibn-Kuraiz ibn-Rabi‘ah ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-Abd-Shams set out for Khurâsân in the year 30. He encamped with his army at Shâkî ash-Shirajân of Kirmân and sent ar-Rabi’ ibn-Ziyâd ibn-Anas ibn-ad-Dayyân al-Ḥârithi on to Sijistân.¹ The latter traveled until he found a camping place at al-Fahraj.² Then he cut across the desert (a distance of 75 parasangs) and came to the district of Zâlik.³ From Zâlik to Sijistân is five parasangs. Zâlik is a fortress. He made an attack upon its people on the day of Mihrijân,⁴ and captured its dihkân, but spared his life in return for his sticking up a javelin and covering it with gold and silver. And he gave the dihkân a treaty, agreeing not to shed his blood.

Abu-‘Ubaidah Ma‘mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that the terms of the treaty with him were that his city should be like one of the captured cities of Fârs and Kirmân.

The advance to Zaranj. Then ar-Rabi‘ went to a village called Karkûyah⁵ at a distance of five miles from Zâlik. They made peace with him without offering any resistance.

¹ Now called Sistân. Yâkût, vol. iii, pp. 41 et seq.; Meyn., pp. 300 et seq.; Le Str., pp. 334-351.
² Yâkût, (al-Fihraj) vol. iii, p. 925; Meyn., p. 427; LeStr., p. 328.
³ Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 909; Meyn., p. 281; LeStr., p. 344.
⁵ “In it was a fire temple, highly venerated by the Magians.” Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 263; Meyn., p. 482; LeStr., p. 341.
Next he pitched camp in a district called Haysūn, whose inhabitants allowed him to camp there, making peace with him on condition that there should be no fighting. Then he went to Zâlik, from which he obtained guides to Zaranj, proceeding until he reached the Hindmand. Crossing one of its affluents, a wâdi called Nûk, he arrived at Zûsht, distant two thirds of a mile from Zaranj. The inhabitants made a sortie against him and opposed him fiercely, a number of the Moslems being wounded. Then the Moslems rallied and put them to rout, finally driving them into the city after killing a great many.

Nâshrûd. Then ar-Rabi' went to the town of Nâshrûd. He attacked its people and was victorious over them. 'Abd-ar-Râhmân took captive here abu-Ṣâlih ibn-'Abd-ar-Râhmân (who wrote to al-Ḥajjâj in place of Zadânifarrûkh ibn-Nîra and who had charge of the kharâj of al-Trâk for Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik) and his mother. He was bought by a woman named 'Ablah of the banu-Tamim (i.e. of the banu-Murrah ibn-'Ubaid ibn-Muṣâ'îs ibn-'Amr ibn-Ka'b ibn-Sa'd ibn-Zaid Manâh ibn-Tamim).

Sharwâd. Ar-Rabi' then advanced from Nâshrûd to the town of Sharwâd, which he reduced, capturing in it the grandfather of Ibrâhîm ibn-Bassâm, who became the slave of ibn-'Umair al-Laithi.

Zaranj taken. He next besieged the city of Zaranj after being attacked by its inhabitants. Abarwiz, its satrap, sent to him, asking for safe-conduct in order to treat with him.
for peace. The Moslem commander ordered one of the bodies of the slain to be brought to him. He took his seat upon it and leaned back against another, and had his followers sit upon corpses of the slain. Ar-Rabî' was dark, wide-mouthed, and tall, and when the satrap saw him he was in awe of him and made peace with him for 1,000 slaves, each slave with a cup of gold. And so Ar-Rabî' entered the city.

Sanârûdh. Then he advanced to the wâdi Sanârûdh. Crossing it, he went to al-Ḵaryatân, where there was a stable of the horse of Rustam. He met with opposition but was victorious. He advanced then to Zaranj and remained there two years.

Then ibn-'Āmir came and appointed as his lieutenant in that city a member of the banu-l-Ḫârith ibn-Ka'b, but the inhabitants expelled him and closed up the city to the Moslems.

Ar-Rabî' took many captives. The term of the administration of ar-Rabî' was two years and a half, and in his time he made 40,000 captives. His scribe was al-Ḥasan of al-Baṣrah.

Ibn-Samurah governs Sijistân. Ibn-'Āmir next appointed as governor of Sijistân 'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Samurah ibn-Ḫâbib ibn-'Abd-Shams. He went to Zaranj and surrounded its satrap in his castle on one of their festal days. The latter made peace with him for 2,000,000 dirhams and 2,000 slaves. As for ibn-Samurah, he established his rule over everything between Zaranj and Kishsh of the land of al-Hind, and over that part of the region of the road of ar-Rukkhkhaj which is between it and the province of ad-Dâwar.

---

¹ Yāḵūt, vol. iii, p. 154; Meyn., p. 321; LeStr., p. 335.
² Yāḵūt, vol. iv, p. 277; Meyn., p. 488.
⁴ Yāḵūt, vol. ii, p. 541; Meyn., p. 224; LeStr., p. 345.
The golden idol of az-Zūr. When he got as far as the provinces of ad-Dâwar, he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of az-Zūr. They soon surrendered to him. The number of Moslems with him was 8,000 and each man of them received 4,000 dirhams. Ibn-Samurah went into the temple of the Zūr, an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes, and cut off a hand and took out the rubies. Then he said to the satrap, “Keep the gold and the gems. I only wanted to show you that it had no power to harm or help.”

Bust and Zâbul. He obtained control of Bust and Zâbul by covenant (‘ahd).

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Waki' from Ḥammād ibn-Zâid from Yaḥya ibn-‘Atīk from Muḥammad ibn-Sirin:—He did not want to take prisoners from Zâbul, saying that ‘Uthmân had made a compact (walth) with them.

Waki’ says:—He made an agreement (‘akīd) with them, which is inferior to a covenant (‘ahd).

Umair succeeds ibn-Samurah. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân went to Zaranj and remained there until the affairs of ‘Uthmân became disturbed. Then he appointed Umair ibn-Aḥmar al-Yashkuri to take his place and withdrew from Sijistân himself. Of Umair says Ziyâd al-A‘jam:

“Except for Umair, Yashkur had perished.
But Yashkur perished anyhow.”

Subsequently the people of Zaranj expelled Umair and closed the town.

The “Beggar Army.” When ‘Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib had made an end of the affair of the Camel, Ḥasakah ibn-‘Attâb al-Ḥabâṭi and ‘Imrân ibn-al-Faṣil al-Burjumi made an expedition with a band of Arab beggars to Zâlik, whose people had rebelled. From it they obtained money as well as

1 Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 906; Meyn., pp. 289, 224; LeStr., p. 345.
2 Yâkût, vol. i, pp. 612 et seq.; Meyn., pp. 100 et seq.; LeStr., p. 344.
slaves, among whom was the grandfather of al-Bukhtari, al-Asamm ibn-Mujâhid, maula of Shaibân. Next they went to Zaranj, whose satrap out of fear of them made terms of peace and let them enter the city. The poet says:

"Announce to Sijistân the news of famine and war,
Of ibn-al-Fâsil and his band of Arab beggars,
Voracious of silver and gold."

*Ibn-Jas* killed by them. ‘Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib dispatched ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Jas‘ at-Ṭâ‘i to Sijistân, but Ḥasakah killed him. And ‘Ali said, “Verily, I will kill 4,000 of the Ḥabaṭât.” Some one said to him, “But the Ḥabaṭât do not number five hundred.”


*Rib‘î appointed.* ‘Ali wrote to ‘Abdallâh ibn-al-‘Abbâs, ordering him to appoint some one as governor of Sijistân with a force of 4,000. He accordingly sent Rib‘î ibn-al-Kâs al-‘Anbarî with 4,000. He was accompanied on the expedition by al-Ḥuṣain ibn-abu-l-Ḥurr (the name of abu-l-Ḥurr being Mâlik ibn-al-Khashkhâsh al-‘Anbarî), and by Thât ibn-dhul-Harrah al-Ḥimyari, who was in command of the vanguard. When they arrived at Sijistân, they were attacked by Ḥasakah, but killed him, and Rib‘î established order in the country.

One of their poet says:

"We who rushed rashly into Sijistân
Against ibn-‘Aţtâb and the army of Shaitân,
Our leader the glorious ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân,
Lo! we found in the bright guidance of the Qurân
That we should not unite with the faction of ibn-‘Affân."

(Thât’s name was ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân, and Fairûz Ḥuṣain was named after Ḥuṣain ibn-abu-l-Ḥurr. This Fairûz was one of the captives of Sijistân.)
Ibn-'Amir appoints ibn-Samurah. Mu'awiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân, when he became ruler, made ibn-'Amir his 'âmil over al-Baṣrah, and the latter appointed as governor of Sijistân 'Abd-ar-Râhmân ibn-Samurah. He went there accompanied by 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain al-Ĥabaṭî in command of the guard, and by the following nobles (ashrâf) : 'Umar ibn-'Ubaidallâh ibn-Ma'mar at-Taimi, 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami, Ḳatari ibn-al-Fujâ'ah, and al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Sufrâh.

Advances to Kâbul. He raided the country, whose people had apostatized, and subdued it either by force, or by making treaties with its people, advancing as far as Kâbul.¹ When he got there, he pitched his camp and besieged the inhabitants some months, attacking them continually, and pelting at them with his manjanîks until a great breach was made. 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain made an attack upon it by night, fighting the polytheists with spears until dawn came, but without being able to overcome the defense. Ibn-Khâzim took part with him in this fight to take the city.

The elephant. When the darkness dawned, they made a sortie, attacking the Moslems, and ibn-Khâzim wounded an elephant that was with them, and it fell at the gate from which they had issued, so that they could not close the gate, and the Moslems entered the city by force.

Abu-Mikhnaf says that the one who slew the elephant was al-Muhallab.

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri used to say, "I did not think that one man could withstand a thousand until I saw 'Abbâd ibn-al-Ḥuṣain."

Further conquests. 'Abd-ar-Râhmân ibn-Samurah sent 'Umar ibn-'Abaidallâh ibn-Ma'mar and al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Sufrâh with news of the victory. Then he went out

¹ Yâkût, vol. iv, pp. 220-221; Meyn., p. 469; LeStr.; p. 349.
across the wādī Nasl, coming next to Khuwāsh¹ and Kūzân Bust, which he conquered by force, proceeding to Razân,² whose inhabitants fled. And he subdued the region.

Next he went to Khushshak whose people capitulated. After this he came to ar-Rukhkaj. He met with opposition, but overcame it and conquered the city. Then he advanced to Dhâbulistân.³ The inhabitants, who had broken the treaty, attacked him, but he defeated them, obtaining captives. He went on to Kâbul, whose people had broken the treaty, and conquered them.

_Ibn-Samurah governor._ Mu‘âwiyah subsequently appointed ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Samurah to govern Sijistân for him, dispatching to him his commission. He continued in charge of the land until Ziyâd came to al-Baṣraḥ.

_Death of ibn-Samurah._ Ziyâd left him in office some months. Then he appointed to it ar-Rabî‘ ibn-Ziyâd. Ibn-Samurah died in al-Baṣraḥ in the year 50, and Ziyâd conducted his funeral. He was the man to whom the Prophet said, “Do not ask for authority, for if you get it without asking, you can give it up when you get tired of it; but if you are given it for asking, you are under obligations to keep it. If you make a vow, and the event is good, you have to make good your vow.”

‘Abd-ar-Rahmân took with him to al-Baṣraḥ slaves captured at Kâbul, and they built him a mosque in his castle there after the Kâbul style of building.

_Kâbul and Dhâbulistân revolt._ Then Kâbul-Shah assembled a force to oppose the Moslems and drove out all of them that were in Kâbul. And Ratbil came and gained control of Dhâbulistân and ar-Rukhkhat as far as Bust. Ar-

---
¹ Or Khwâsh. Meyn., p. 213; LeStr., pp. 342, 343.
² Meyn., p. 252.
³ Or Zâbulistân. See note on Zâbul _supra_, page 144.
Rabi' ibn-Ziyâd led out his men and attacked Ratbil at Bust, put him to flight, and pursued him until he reached ar-Rukhkharaj. After attacking him in ar-Rukhkharaj, he continued to advance, and subdued the city of ad-Dâwar.

'Ubaidallâh superseded ar-Rabi'. Then Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân removed ar-Rabi' ibn-Ziyâd al-Hârithi and appointed 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah over Sijistân. He continued the campaign, and when he reached Razân, Ratbil sent to him asking for peace for his own country and the land of Kâbul in return for 1,200,000 dirhams. When he consented to this, Ratbil asked him if he would remit 200,000. He agreed, and the peace was established on the payment of 1,000,000 dirhams. 'Ubaidallâh went personally to Ziyâd to tell him of this, and Ziyâd confirmed the treaty. Then 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah returned to Sijistân and remained there until Ziyâd died.


Kâbul again revolts. At the time of Yazid’s death, or a little before, the people of Kâbul treacherously broke the compact, and imprisoned abu-'Ubaidah ibn-Ziyâd. Yazid ibn-Ziyâd proceeded against them and attacked them in Juzâ'ah, but he and many of those with him were killed. and the rest put to flight. Among those who were martyred were Zaid ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Mulaikah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Jad'ân al-Furashi and Silah ibn-Ashtam abu-ş-Şahbâ, al-'Adawi, the husband of Mu-ādhash al-'Adawiyah.

Tâlêhah becomes governor. Salm ibn-Ziyâd sent Tâlêhah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khalaf al-Khuza’i (known as Tâlêhah aṭ-Tâlêhât), who ransomed abu-'Ubaidah for 500,000 dirhams. Tâlêhah went from Kâbul to Sijistân as wâli over it for
Salm ibn-Ziyâd. He collected the taxes and paid his visitors, and died in Sijistân. He left as his successor a man of the banu-Yashkur, but the Muḍari expelled him, and factions arose, and each people seized control of their own city. Ratbil aided and abetted them.

Death of Ratbil. When ‘Abd-al-‘Azîz ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Amir arrived as wâli over Sijistân for al-Ḳubâ‘ (i. e. al-Ḥârîth ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-abu-Rabi‘ah al-Makhzûmi) in the time of az-Zubâir, he was compelled to stop in the city of Zaranj, because Ratbil was at war with him. But abu-‘Afrâ‘ Umair al-Mâzini killed Ratbil and the polytheists were put to rout.

Ibn-Nâshirah killed. Abdallâh ibn-Nâshirah at-Tamîmi sent orders to ‘Abd-al-‘Azîz to take all that was in the treasury and depart, and he did so. Ibn-Nâshirah advanced until he entered Zaranj, while Wâki‘ ibn-abu-Sûd at-Tamîmi proceeded further. But ‘Abd-al-‘Azîz sent back and drove him into the city at the time it was opened for the woodcutters. Ibn-Nâshirah made a sortie, and ‘Abd-al-‘Azîz collected a force and attacked him, assisted by Wâki‘. Ibn-Nâshirah’s horse stumbled under him and he was killed.

Abu-Ḥuzâbah (others say Ḥanṭhalah ibn-‘Arâdah) says:

“There never was so bold a youth as ibn-Nâshirah,
   And now he is gone and nought is left.
Was he a plant planted but for death to reap?
   Why was not this green plant left?
The young Ḥanṭhalah kept distributing
   Good things and refraining from evil.
I swear that Kuraish have destroyed our prince,
   Fresh with the fragrant beauty of the evening.”
CHAPTER II

‘Abd-al-Malik to Ma‘mun

‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Umayyah governor. ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân appointed over Khurâsân ‘Umayyah ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asid ibn-abu-l-‘îs. The latter sent his son, ‘Abdallâh, to rule over Sijistân, entrusting him with the government of that province. He was in Kirmân at the time, and when he arrived in Sijistân, he made war upon Ratbîl (the successor as king to the former Ratbîl, who had been killed). He stood in awe of the Moslems, and when ‘Abdallâh arrived at Bust and offered to make peace with him for 1,000,000 [dirhams], he agreed, and sent him in addition gifts and slaves; but these ‘Abdallâh refused to accept, saying, “If he fill me this tent with gold, well; but it not, then no treaty between me and him.” And he kept on fighting.

Ratbîl wins easier terms. Ratbîl did not oppose his advance into the land until he had penetrated deep into it, when he seized the mountain paths and passes against him, asking the Moslems to cease hostilities and offering to refrain from despoiling them. This was refused, and Ratbîl said, “Well then, take 300,000 dirhams for a treaty, and put it in writing for me, agreeing not to raid our land while you are wâli, nor to burn nor lay waste.” ‘Abdallâh did this, and when ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân learned of it, he dismissed him.

‘Ubaidallâh offers terms to Ratbîl. Later, when al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf was governor of al-‘Irâk, he sent ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-abu-Bakrah to Sijistân. He lost his way and took sick,
and arrived at ar-Rukhkhaj while the country was suffering from drought. He went on and encamped in the neighborhood of Kâbul, stopping at a mountain path. The enemy blocked this against him until Ratbil joined them. 'Ubaiddallah made peace with them on condition that they pay him 500,000 dirhams, sending him three of their ruler's sons as pledges, Nahâr, al-Ḥajjâj, and abu-Bakrah, and he wrote them an agreement not to raid them while he was governor.

_Shraiḥ persuades him to fight._ But Shuraiḥ ibn-Ḥâni al-Ḥârithi said to him, "Fear Allah and fight this people, for if thou dost what thou art about to do, thou wilt weaken Islâm on this frontier, and wilt be attempting to flee from the death to which thou art destined." A battle ensued and Shuraiḥ made a charge, but was killed. The army fought their way out, although hard pressed, and made their way along the desert of Bust. Many of the men perished of thirst and hunger, and 'Ubaiddallah died of grief for what he had brought upon his men and the fate that had overtaken them. (Others say that he had a disease of the ear of which he died.) His son, abu-Burda'ah, succeeded to the command of the army.

_Ratbil and 'Abd-ar-Rahmân._ Subsequently 'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash'ath was deposed from office and went out to Sijistân as a rebel against 'Abd-al Malik ibn-Marwân and al-Ḥajjâj. He concluded a truce with Ratbil and went to visit him. Later Ratbil betrayed him from fear of al-Ḥajjâj, because the latter had written a threatening letter. 'Abd-ar-Rahmân threw himself from the top of a cliff (others say from the top of a flat roof), dragging down with him the man who was guarding him and to whom he was bound, and so was killed. His head was taken to al-Ḥajjâj.

_Al-Ḥajjâj and Ratbil._ Al-Ḥajjâj made peace with Ratbil, agreeing not to make war upon him for seven years,
(others say nine years) on condition that he pay thereafter every year 900,000 dirhams in kind. When the years were completed, al-Ḥajjāj appointed al-Ashhab ibn-Bashar al-Kalbi governor of Sijistān. He dealt harshly with Ratbil in regard to the goods which he paid. Ratbil wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, complaining to him about al-Ashhab, and al-Ḥajjāj dismissed the latter from office.

Kūtaibah and Ratbil. Afterwards, when Kūtaibah ibn-Muslim al-Bāhili governed Khurāsān and Sijistān in the reign of al-Walid ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik, he appointed his brother, ‘Amr ibn-Muslim, governor of Sijistān. ‘Amr demanded the tribute from Ratbil in coined money. The latter declared that he was not able to do other than what al-Ḥajjāj had provided for, i.e. payment in kind. ‘Amr informed Kūtaibah of this, and Kūtaibah went to Sijistān. When the news of his arrival reached Ratbil, he sent to him saying, “We are not lacking a bit in obedience, but we agreed upon payment in kind. Do not deal harshly with us.” Kūtaibah said to the army, “Collect from him in kind, for the frontier is not prosperous.” And with this they were content.

Vipers in Zaranj. Later Kūtaibah withdrew from Khurāsān, although he had sowed seed in the land of Zaranj to make the enemy despair of his going and lead them to submit to him. But when he began to reap this crop, the vipers made it impossible, and he ordered it to be burned. Kūtaibah left as his lieutenant over Sijistān ibn-‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Umair al-Laithi, brother of ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Amir on his mother’s side.

Ratbil gives more trouble. When Sulaimān ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik became ruler, he appointed Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab governor of al-‘Irāk. Yazid appointed his brother, Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab, governor of Sijistān. Ratbil would not pay him any tribute at all. Then Mu‘āwiyah ibn-Yazid was appointed. To him a paltry gift was given. Then
Yazid ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became ruler, and Ratbil would not pay his 'āmils anything, but said, "What has become of the people who used to come to us, empty-bellied, faces darkened by the sun, their sandals of palm leaves?" The reply was, "They have passed away." Said he, "They kept their word better than you, and were braver; though you are better-looking." Some one said to him, "What has come over thee? Thou didst pay tribute to al-Ḥajjâj and dost not pay it to us." And Ratbil said, "Al-Ḥajjâj was a man who did not consider what he spent so long as he got what he wanted, even though not a dirham was returned to him. But you do not spend a dirham without wanting ten to be returned to you in place of it." And thereafter he did not pay any tribute to any of the 'āmils of the Umaiyyads or of abu-Muslin over Sijistân.

Ma'n takes the field against him. Al-Mansûr, the Commander of the Believers, when he became caliph, appointed Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah ash-Shaibâni governor of Sijistân. He went thither and assigned his 'āmils over the land, writing to Ratbil orders to bring the tribute for which al-Ḥajjâj had stipulated. He sent camels, Turkish tents, and slaves, reckoning each at double its value. Ma'n became angry, and betook himself to ar-Rukhkhaj with Yazid ibn-Mazyan in command of his vanguard, but he found that Ratbil had withdrawn from that place and had gone to Dhâbulistân to spend the summer there. Ma'n reduced ar-Rukhkhaj, securing many captives, among them being Faraj ar-Rukhkhaji, at that time a lad, and his father Ziyâd. Faraj used to relate that Ma'n saw a cloud of dust raised by the hoofs of wild asses, and thought that it was an army which had started after him to engage him in battle and rescue the captives from his hand, and so he laid his sword among them and slew a great number of them. Presently the cause of the dust became manifest when the asses came in sight,
and he desisted. Says Faraj, "I saw my father, when Ma'n ordered us to be put to the sword, bending over me and saying, 'Kill me, but do not kill my son'."

The number of those whom Ma'n captured and made prisoners was about 30,000.

Mâwand given safe-conduct. Mâwand, the lieutenant of Ratbil, asked for safe-conduct (amân) in order to be taken to the Commander of the Believers. Ma'n granted it, sending him to Baghda'dh with 5,000 of their soldiers, and al-Mansûr treated him generously, pensioning him and his chieftains.

Ma'n murdered. Ma'n, being fearful of the winter and its storms, withdrew to Bust. Some of the heretics (khawârij) who disapproved of his mode of life, plotted with certain workmen who were doing some building in his dwelling, and when they were putting on the roofing, they concealed their swords by putting them in the bundles of reeds. Then they surprised him in his tent while he was having himself cupped, and treacherously murdered him, one of them splitting his belly with a dagger he had. One of the assassins said, "Abu-l-Ghulâm at-Ṭâ'î struck him upon the head." (At-Ṭâ'î is a district in the neighborhood of Zaranj.) Yazid ibn-Mazyad executed them all and not one of them escaped.

Yazid governor of Sijistân. Then Yazid succeeded to the command of Sijistân. His violence became too oppressive for either the Arabs or the Persians among its population, and certain of the Arabs forged in his name a letter to al-Mansûr in which it was stated that al-Mahdi had written something to him which perplexed and astounded him, and asking that he be allowed to resign from his post. This angered al-Mansûr, who cursed him and let al-Mahdi read the letter. Yazid was dismissed by the caliph, who ordered him to be imprisoned and all of his property sold.
Later there was some talk about him and he was summoned to Madinat-as-Salâm and was kept concealed there until the heretics met him on the bridge and were attacked by him. This aroused some interest in his case. Later he was sent to Yûsuf al-Barn in Khurâsân and continued in honor there.

*Sijistân never completely subjugated.* The ‘âmîls of al-Mahdi and ar-Rashid continued to collect tribute from Ratbil of Sijistân was well as they could, and kept appointing their agents to rule over the regions to which Islâm had reached. When al-Ma’mûn was in Khurâsân, double tribute was paid to him. He subdued Kâbul, whose king professed Islâm and promised obedience, and brought his ‘âmîls into that land. Al-Barîd went as far as there and sent to the caliph some fresh myrobalan \(^1\) fruit from there. He stayed there for a little while after this.

*Weasels in Sijistân.* Al-‘Umari from al-Haitham from ‘Adi—It was in the ancient treaties of Sijistân that the weasel should not be killed among them, because of the great number of vipers among them. The first to invite the people of Sijistân to the party of the heretics (*khawârij*) was a man of the banû-Tamîm called ‘Âsim or ibn--‘Âsim.

PART XIX
KHURĀSAN
CHAPTER I

CALIPHATES OF 'UMAR AND 'UTHMÂN

At-Tabasân. Abu-Mûsa al-Ash'ari sent 'Abdallâh ibn-Budail ibn-Warkâ' al-Khuza'i on a raid. He went to Kirmân, then advanced beyond until he reached at-Tabasân, two forts, one of them called Tabas and the other Kurain. It is a hot country, abounding in palms. The two forts are the gate of Khurâsân. 'Abdallâh obtained there much booty.

Some of the inhabitants of at-Tabasân went to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb and made peace with him for 60,000. (Others say 75,000.) He gave them a written convenant. Other authorities insist that 'Abdallâh ibn-Budail set out from Iṣbahân of his own accord.

Ibn-‘Amîr's Campaign. When 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân became caliph, he appointed 'Abdallâh ibn-'Amîr ibn-Kuraiz governor of al-Baṣrâh in the year 28. (Others say in the year 29.) He was 25 years old. He made some conquests in the land of Fârs; then he raided Khurâsân in the year 30, leaving as his lieutenant over al-Baṣrâh Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân, and putting in command of his vanguard al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais. (Other authorities say 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzîm ibn-Asmâ ibn-aṣ-Salt ibn-Ḥabîb as-Sulami.)

Ḳūhistân. He admitted the validity of the treaty of at-Tabasân, and sent al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais on to Ḳūhistân.¹ For

¹ Meyn., p. 388; LeStr., pp. 359-360.
² Meyn., p. 197; LeStr., chaps. xxvii-xxx.
he was directed to it when he asked for the nearest city on the road to at-Ṭabasân. He was opposed there by the Hayāṭilah, a tribe of Turks. (Others deny that they were Turks, saying that they were a tribe of Persians, who, because they practiced sodomy, were banished by Fairūz to Harāt, where they became associated with the Turks.) They were assisting the people of Kūhistân, but ibn-Ḵais put them to flight and captured Kūhistân by force.

Other authorities assert that he drove them to their fort; then ibn-ʿĀmir joined him, and the people sued for peace, which he granted them for 600,000 dirhams.

Maʿmar ibn-al-Muthanna says that the one who was sent to Kūhistân was ʿUmair ibn-Aḥmad al-Yashkuri. It has remained until today the country of Bakr ibn-Wāʿil.

Zām, Bākharz and Juwain. ʿAbdallāh ibn-ʿĀmir dispatched Yazid al-Jurashi, the father of Sālim ibn-Yazīd, to the district (rūstāḵ) of Zām of Nisābūr. He took it by force, and conquered Bākharz, a district of Nisābūr, capturing also Juwain and taking a number of prisoners. 404

Death of al-Aswad. Ibn-ʿĀmir sent al-Aswad ibn-Kulthūm al-ʿAdawi (ʿAdi ar-Ribāb), a pious man, to Baihāḵ, a district of Nisābūr. He entered one of the gardens belonging to its population by means of a breach in its wall, and a part of the Moslems entered with him. But the enemy seized the breach against them, and al-Aswad fought until he and those with him were killed. He was succeeded

1 "The white Huns." Cf. Noeldeke, die Perser, p. 115, note 2; Caetani, 30:11, n. 1; Masʿūdī vol. ii, p. 195; Meyn., p. 200.
3 Meyn., p. 74; LeStr., p. 357.
4 There were several towns or districts of this name. Here is meant Juwain of Nisābūr. Meyn., p. 180; LeStr., pp. 391-2.
5 Yāḵūt, vol. i, p. 804; Meyn., p. 130; LeStr., p. 391.
6 Ar. ḥitān, a walled garden.
in command of the force by Adham ibn-Kulthūm, who accomplished the capture of Baihak. Al-Aswad had prayed his Lord to gather him at the resurrection from the bellies of the beasts and birds, and so his brother did not bury him, although his martyred companions were buried.

Nīsābūr subdued. Ibn-‘Āmir took Busht¹ of Nīsābūr, Ashband,² Rukkhkh,³ Zāwah,⁴ Khuwâf,⁵ Asbarā‘in,⁶ and Arghiyān⁷ of Nīsābūr. Then he went to Abrashahr,⁸ the capital of Nīsābūr, and besieged its population several months. Now a man was appointed to rule over each of the quarters of the city, and one of these quartermasters asked for safety [amān] in return for letting the Moslems enter the city. It was granted him, and he let them in by night. They opened the gate, but the city’s marsubān together with a number of the people fortified himself in the Kuhundiz.⁹ He asked for safety [amān], offering to make a pact for all Nīsābūr with the payment of tribute. This was done, the amount of tribute being 1,000,000 dirhams. (Others say 700,000.) When ibn-‘Āmir had conquered Nīsābūr, he appointed Kāis ibn-al-Haitham as Sulami governor over it.

¹ Yākūt, vol. i, p. 168; Meyn., p. 106; LeStr., p. 354
² Or Ashfand. Yākūt, vol. i, p. 280; Meyn., p. 38; LeStr., p. 388.
⁶ Or Isfarā‘in. Yākūt., vol. i, p. 246; Meyn.. p. 34; LeStr., p. 393. It borders on Jurjān.
⁷ Districts s.w. of Asbarā‘in. Yākūt, vol. i, p. 209; Meyn., p. 25; LeStr., p. 392.
⁸ Meyn., p. 7; LeStr., p. 383.
Nasā. Ibn-‘Āmir sent ‘Abdallāh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami against Ḥumrândiz\(^1\) in Nasā,\(^2\) a rural district. ‘Abdallāh captured it, and the lord of Nasā came to him and made a treaty with him for 300,000 dirhams, (Others say on condition that the land bear the kharâj.) stipulating that none be put to death nor enslaved.

Abīward. Bahmanah, the mayor of Abīward,\(^3\) went to ibn-‘Āmir, and he made a treaty with him for 400,000. (Other authorities say that ibn-‘Āmir sent ‘Abdallāh ibn-Khâzim to this city, and he made a treaty with its inhabitants for 400,000 dirhams.)

Sarakhs. ‘Abdallāh ibn-‘Āmir sent ‘Abdallāh ibn-Khâzim against Sarakhs.\(^4\) He attacked the people there until Zâdhawáih, their marzubân, asked for a treaty granting safe-conduct \(\text{amân}\) to one hundred men, but delivering the women up to the Moslems. The marzubân’s daughter fell to the lot of ibn-Khâzim, who took her and called her Maithâ’. And so ibn-Khâzim subjugated the land of Sarakhs. (Another authority says that he made a treaty granting \(\text{amân}\) to one hundred men, and the marzubân named the hundred for him, but did not name himself, and so ibn-Khâzim put him to death and entered Sarakhs by force.)

Kif and Bīnah. Ibn-Khâzim sent from Sarakhs Yazid ibn-Sâlim, maula of Sharik ibn-al-A‘war, to attack Kif\(^5\) and Bīnah,\(^6\) and he conquered them.

Ṭūs. Kanâznak, marzubân of Ṭūs,\(^7\) went to ibn-‘Āmir

---

2 Or Nisā. Meyn., p. 563; LeStr., p. 394.
3 Or Bâward. Meyn. p. 13; LeStr., p. 394.
4 Meyn., p. 307; LeStr., p. 395.
5 Or Kaif. Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 333; Meyn., p. 500; LeStr., p. 413.
and made peace with him in the name of Tūs for 600,000 dirhams.

_Harāt and vicinity._ Ibn-ʿĀmir sent an army to Harāt under command of Aus ibn-Thaʿlabah ibn-Rufayy. (Others say under Khulaid ibn-ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥanāfi.) The mayor of Harāt learned of this, and went to see ibn-ʿĀmir, making a treaty with him for Harāt and Bādaghīs and Būshanj exclusive of Taghūn and Bāghūn, for they had been conquered by force. Ibn-ʿĀmir put the treaty in writing for him as follows:

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is what ʿAbdallāh ibn-ʿĀmir commands the Mayor [ʿathīm] of Harāt, Būshanj, and Bādaghīs: He bids him fear God and be true to the Moslems, and to keep in peace the lands under his hand. And he has made a treaty with him in the name of Harāt, plain and mountain, on condition that he pay the jīzāh to which he had agreed, dividing this fairly over the lands. He who refuses what is laid upon his has no covenant and no protection.

Written by Rābiʿ ibn-Nahshal and sealed by ibn-ʿĀmir.

Other authorities add that ibn-ʿĀmir went himself with a large force to Harāt and made war upon its people; but later their marzubān made terms with him for Harāt, Būshanj, and Bādaghīs for 1,000,000 dirhams.

_Marw ash-Shāhījān._ The marzubān of Marw ash-Shāhījān sent to ask for a treaty, and ibn-ʿĀmir sent to Marw

1 Meyn., p. 592; LeStr., pp. 407-409.
2 Or Bādghīs. Yākūt, vol. i, p. 461; Meyn., p. 75; LeStr., pp. 412-415.
3 Yākūt, vol. i, p. 758; Meyn., p. 75; LeStr., p. 431.
4 Yākūt, vol. i, p. 474; Meyn., p. 78.
5 Meyn., p. 526; LeStr., p. 398.
Ḫāṭim ibn-an-Nuʿmān al-Bāhili, who made a treaty with him for 2,200,000 dirhams. (Others say for 1,000,000 dirhams and 200,000 jarībs of wheat and barley. And some say 1,200,000 ounces.) It was stipulated in their treaty that they should assign ample space for the Moslems for their dwelling places and that the apportionment of the money was the duty of the natives and not of the Moslems, who had only to collect it.

All of Marw was treaty land except one of its towns called as-Sinj,¹ which was taken by force.

Tribute in kind. Abu-Ubaidah says: The treaty was made on condition of tribute in male and female slaves, beasts of burden, and goods, the people at this time not having money, and all the kharāj was on that basis until Yazīd ibn-Muʿāwiya became ruler and commuted it to money.

Kaṣr al-Aḥnaf. ‘Abdallāh ibn-ʿĀmir sent al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḳais toward Ṭukhāristān. He came to the place called [later] Kaṣr al-Aḥnaf,² which was a stronghold of Marw ar-Rūdh with a large rural district now known as Rustāḵ al-Aḥnaf, but called at that time Shaḵḵ al-Juradh. He besieged the people, but they made terms for 300,000. Al-Aḥnaf said, “I agree to the treaty on condition that one of our men enter the castle and cry the adḥān ³ in it and remain among you until I depart.” This was agreed to. The treaty was for the whole rustāḵ.

Marw ar-Rūdh. Al-Aḥnaf advanced to Marw ar-Rūdh ⁴ and besieged its inhabitants. They resisted fiercely, but the Moslems routed them and drove them to their fort. The marzubān was a descendant or relative of Bādhām,⁵ master

---

¹ Meyn., p. 323; LeStr., p. 400.
² Meyn., p. 447; LeStr., p. 405.
³ The call to prayer.
⁴ Meyn., p. 525; LeStr., pp. 404-405.
⁵ Caetani, 30: 42, n. 1.
of al-Yaman. He wrote to al-Aحنaf, "Bâdhâm's conversion bids me make peace." And he made peace with him for 60,000. (Al-Madâ'ini says that according to other authorities the amount was 600,000.)

Baghgh. Al-Aحنaf had a force of cavalry which advanced and captured a rustâk called Baghgh from which cattle were exported. Afterwards a treaty was made.

Abu-'Ubaidah's account. Al-Aحنaf had made several attacks upon the people of Marw ar-Rûdh, when he happened to pass by a man who was boiling a pot or kneading some dough for his companions, and heard him say, "The commander should attack from one side, from the entrance of the mountain pass." And he said to himself, "What the fellow says is right." So he attacked them with al-Marghâb at his right and the mountain at his left. (Al-Marghâb was a river which flowed through Marw ar-Rûdh and then sank in the sand, later emerging in Marw ash-Shâhijân.) He put them and the Turks that were with them to rout. After this they asked for amân, and al-Aحنaf made a treaty with them.

Another version. Other authorities than Abu-'Ubaidah say:—The inhabitants of Tukhâristân united against the Moslems, and there assembled a force of the people of al-Jûzajân, at-Ṭâlaḵân, al-Fâriyâb, and the vicinity thereof, attaining the number of 30,000. To them were added the people of as-Saghâniyan, who were on the east bank of the stream. Al-Aحنaf withdrew to his castle, whose

1 Yâkût, vol. i, p. 695; Meyn., p. 109; LeStr., p. 413.
3 Meyn., p. 389; LeStr., pp. 426, 427.
4 Or Jûzjân. Meyn., p. 177; LeStr., p. 423.
5 Or Fâryâb. Meyn., p. 414; LeStr., p. 425.
6 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 393; LeStr., pp. 439, 440.
inmates were faithful to him, and one night he went out and heard some tent-people conversing. One said, "The commander ought to go after them and join battle with them wherever he meets them." Another, who was either kindling a fire beneath his pottage or kneading, said, "Not so, but he ought to make a stand between al-Marghâb and the mountain, letting al-Marghâb be on his right and the mountain on his left, and even if the enemy outnumbered him he would only have to meet a number equal to his own followers." He thought this to be the right plan and adopted it. He had 5,000 Moslems (4,000 Arabs and 1,000 foreign converts). They joined battle. Al-Ahnaf flourished his banner and charged. The enemy counter-charged. The king of as-Saghâniyân made for al-Ahnaf, rushing upon him with his lance. Al-Ahnaf, fighting fiercely, pulled the lance from his hand. He attacked three of those who were accompanied by drums, seeking the drum-master \(^1\) and killing him. Then Allah struck the faces of the unbelievers, and the Moslems inflicted a great slaughter, smiting with their weapons wherever they wished.

*Al-Jûzajân.* Al-Ahnaf returned to Marw ar-Rûdh and met some of the enemy at al-Jûzajân. He dispatched against them al-Akra‘ ibn-Ḫâbis at-Tamîmi with the cavalry, exhorting them thus, "O banu-Tamîm, love one another and be self-sacrificing, and your cause will prosper. Begin the battle in your appetites and lusts, and your religion will help you win. Be not treacherous, and your warfare will go well with you." So al-Akra‘ set forth and met the enemy at al-Jûzajân. The Moslems at first suffered a defeat, then they returned to the charge and put to rout the unbelievers, conquering al-Jûzajân by force.

Ibn-al-Ghuraizah al-Nahshali says:

\(^1\) Perhaps a title of nobility. Musicians had high rank at the Sassanid court. *Cf.* Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 31.
“When torrents fall, may cloud-born water refresh
The corpses of the young men in Juzazân,
The castles twain of the land of Ḥūf
Which the two al-ʿAkra’s there destroyed.”

Al-ʿĀlnaf reduced ʿatalakân by treaty and conquered al-
Fāriyâb. (Other authorities deny the latter, saying that
Umair ibn-Aḥmar conquered it.)

Balkh. After this al-ʿĀlnaf went to Balkh,¹ the capital
of Ṭukhârā, whose inhabitants made peace with the Moslems
for 400,000. Others say 700,000, but the former is more
probable.) He appointed as his agent over Balkh Usaid
ibn-al-Mutashammis. Then he attacked Khârizm,² which is
wholly watered by the river, and whose capital is Sharkiyah,
but he could not prevail against it, and withdrew to Balkh
where Usaid had already collected the tribute money.

Transoxiana. Abu-ʿUbaidah:—Ibn-ʿĀmir conquered the
territory this side of the river, but when he came to deal
with the people on the other side of the river (Transoxi-
ana ³), they asked him to make a treaty with them, which he
did. It is said that he crossed the river, going from place
to place. Others, however, say that they came to him and
arranged a treaty with him, and he sent agents who collected
the tribute. Cattle, male and female slaves, silk, and gar-
ments were brought to him. Then he made the pilgrimage
to give thanks to Allah.

No other authority mentions his crossing the river and
making the treaty with the people of the eastern bank.

Siminjân. He made ready for the minor pilgrimage,
going to ʿUthmân and leaving behind in his place Kaṣ ibn-
al-Haitham. After his departure, Kaṣ went through the
land of Ṭukhâristân, and every region he came to made

¹ Meyn., pp. 112-3; LeStr., pp. 420-422.
² Or Khwârizm. LeStr., chap. xxxii.
³ LeStr., p. 433.
peace with him and submitted to him, until he came to Siminjân.¹ They resisted him, and so he besieged them until he reduced the city by force.

It has been said ibn-‘Âmir assigned Khurâsân to three governors, al-Aḥnaf ibn-Ḵais, Ḥâtim ibn-an-Nu‘-man al-Bâhili, and Ḵais ibn-al-Haitham, but the former account is the more probable.

*Ibn-Khâzim usurps command.* Later ibn-Khâzim forged a covenant in the name of ibn-‘Âmir and made himself governor of Khurâsân. All the Turks there formed a combination, but he dispersed them. Then he went to al- Başrah before the murder of ‘Uthmân.

‘Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Nakî‘ from ibn-‘Aun from Muḥammad ibn-Sîrîn.—‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân made a compact with the people of Transoxiana.

¹ Yâḵūt, vol. iii, p. 142; Meyn., p. 317; LeStr., p. 427.
CHAPTER II

CALIPHATES OF ‘ALI AND MU’ÂWIYAH

Khurásân rebels. Mâhwaih, the marzubân of Marw, appeared before ‘Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib during his caliphate while he was in al-Kûfah, and ‘Ali wrote in his behalf to the dihkâns, the asâvirah, and the dihshallârs \(^1\) to pay to him the jizyah. But Khurásân rebelled against them, so he sent Ja‘dah ibn-Hubairah al-Makhzûmi (his mother was umm-Hâni’ bint-abu-Ṭâlib), who failed to subdue the province, and Khurásân remained in a state of confusion until ‘Ali was killed.


Under Mu’âwiyah. Mu’âwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân appointed as ʿâtîl over Khurásân ʿAff al-Haitham ibn-Kâis ibn-as-Ṣalt as-Sulami. He could accomplish nothing with the rebels, but collected the taxes from the people who observed the treaty. He was over them a year or a little less. Then the caliph removed him and appointed Khâlid ibn-al-Mu‘ammar governor, but the latter died in ʿAff al-Muṣṭâṭil or ‘Ain at-Tamr. Some authorities say that Mu’âwiyah repented of appointing him, and sent him a poisoned robe. Others, however, say that a piece of glass got into his foot from which he bled to death.

\(^1\) Noeldeke translates “Dorfherrn.” Cf. Perser, p. 441.
Kais again governor. Mu‘awiya afterwards combined Khurásán with al- Başrah for ibn-‘Āmir ‘Abdallâh. The latter appointed Kais ibn-al-Haitham as-Sulami to govern Khurásán. The people of Bâdghis, Ḥarât, Bûshanj, and Balkh were in a state of rebellion. Kais went to Balkh and began to attack its fire-temple.¹ The campaign was conducted by ‘Atâ’ ibn-as-Sâ‘ib, freedman of the banu-l-Lait, known as al-Khâshal, but al-Khâshal was only his nickname. He constructed bridges over three rivers a parasang away from Balkh. They were called “the bridges of ‘Atâ’”.

Kais flogged. Later the people of Balkh offered to make peace and return to submission, and Kais concluded a peace with them. Then he reported to ibn-‘Āmir, who inflicted upon him one hundred lashes and put him in prison. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim was appointed governor. To him the people of Ḥarât, Bûshanj, and Bâdghis sent to ask for peace [amân] and a treaty. He made terms with them and brought the tribute money to ibn-‘Āmir.

Arab colonists in Marw. Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân governed al- Başrah in the year 45. He appointed Umair ibn-Aḥmar governor of Marw, Khulaid ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Ḥanifi governor of Abrashahr, Kais ibn-al-Haitham governor of Marw ar-Riḍh, aṭ-Ṭaliqân, and al-Fâriyâb, and Nân ibn-Khâlid aṭ-Ṭâhi of the Azd governor of Ḥarât, Bâdghis, Bûshanj, and Ḥâdis of Anwârân.² Umair was the first to settle Arabs in Marw.

Al-Ḥakam ibn-‘Amr. Ziyâd afterwards appointed al-Ḥakam ibn-‘Amr al-Ghifâri, an abstemious man and one of the Companions. Ziyâd had merely said to Fil, his steward, “Bring al-Ḥakam to me.” He meant al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-

¹ Nûbahâr, a famous shrine of which the Barmecides were the chief priests. Meyn., pp. 569-571; LeStr., (Naw Bahâr) pp. 420-422.
1-'Āsi ath-Thakafi. Umm-'Abdallâh bint-'Uthmân ibn-abu-
1-'Āsi was in his household. But al-Ḥakam ibn-'Amr was
brought to him. When he saw him, he was pleased with
him, and said “An upright fellow, one of the Companions
of the Apostle of Allah.” And he appointed him governor
of Khurâsân. He died there in the year 50. Al-Ḥakam
was the first to conduct Moslem services in Transoxiana.

Abu-‘Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Ju‘ji says:—I heard ‘Abdallâh
ibn-al-Mubârik asking us about the history of the land and
saying to one of the people of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân, “Dost thou
know who conquered thy country?” He answered, “No.”
He said, “Al-Ḥakam ibn-’Amr al-Ghifârî.”

Ar-Rabi‘. Ziyâd ibn-abu-Sufyân afterwards appointed
as governor of Khurâsân ar-Rabi‘ ibn-Ziyâd al-Ḥâriti in
the year 51, sending with him about 50,000 of the men of
Kûfah and Baṣrah with their families, among them being
Buraidah ibn-al-Husâib al-Aslami abu-‘Abdallâh. He pas-
sed away in Marw during the reign of Yazid ibn-Mu‘-
âwiyah. Among the colonists was also abu-Barzah al-
Aslami ‘Abdallâh ibn-Naḍîlah, who also died there. Ar-
Rabi‘ settled them in colonies this side of the river. He
was the first who commanded the soldiers to share equally
in the expenses of a campaign. He was overcome by grief
when he heard of the killing of Ḥûjr ibn-‘Adi al-Kindi, and
prayed for death. From that very day he fell into a decline
and died. This was in the year 53.

Invasion of Transoxiana. Ar-Rabi‘ left his son, ‘Ab-
dallâh, to succeed him. The latter waged war with the
people of Āmul1 (i. e. Āmûyah) with some success. Then
he made a treaty with them and returned to Marw, where he
remained two months and then died. Ziyâd also died, and
Mu‘âwiyah appointed as ‘āmil over Khurâsân ‘Ubaidallâh

1 Meyn, p. 5; LeStr., p. 434.
ibn-Ziyâd, who was twenty-five years old. He crossed the Oxus with a force of 24,000 and attacked Baikand. Khâtûn¹ was in the city of Bukhârâ.² She sent to the Turks to ask for help, and a large number of them came to her. The Moslems encountered them and put them to flight, getting possession of their camp, and continued to advance, laying waste and burning.

Khâtûn capitulates. Khâtûn sent to them seeking terms of peace and safe-conduct, and the Moslem commander made peace with her for 1,000,000 dirhams. He entered the city and reduced Râmadin and Baikand³ which are two parasangs apart, Râmadin being an offshoot of Baikand. Others say that he conquered aš-Šaghânîyân and took captive with him to al-Bâṣra a number of the people of Bukhârâ and then liberated them.

Sa‘îd invades Transoxiana. Afterwards Mu‘âwiya appointed Sa‘îd ibn-‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân governor of Khurâsân. He crossed the river, being the first governor to cross it with his army. With him was Rufai‘ abu-l-‘Âliyah ar-Riyâhi, the freedman of a woman of the banu-Riyâh. Rufai‘ abu-l-‘Âliyah means “honor and excellence.”

Khâtûn rebels. When the news of his crossing the river reached Khâtûn, she made peace with him at once. The people of as-Sughd,⁴ the Turks, the people of Kishsh and Nasaf⁵ (i. e. Nakhshab) approached to attack Sa‘îd with 120,000, and they met at Bukhârâ. Khâtûn had tired of paying tribute and had broken the treaty. A certain slave belonging to one of the members of this coalition was present but withdrew with his followers. The rest were put to

¹ Wife of the Khákân. Noëldeke, Perser, p. 104, n. 2.
² LeStr., pp. 460-463.
³ LeStr., p. 463.
⁴ LeStr., pp. 460-473.
⁵ LeStr., pp. 469-472.
rout. When Khâtûn saw this she gave guarantees to Sa'îd and renewed the treaty, and Sa'îd entered the city of Bukhârâ.

Capture of Samarkand. Next Sa'îd ibn-'Uthmân raided Samarkand,1 Khâtûn assisting him with men from Bukhârâ. He encamped at the gate of Samarkand and swore that he would not leave the place until he captured it and overthrew its citadel. He engaged its people in battle three days, the number of them slain the third day being the most terrible. One of his eyes and an eye of al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah were put out. (Other authorities say that al-Muhallab’s eye was put out at at-Ṭâlikân.) Then the enemy remained inside the city while the wounds among them were healing.

A man came and guided Sa'îd to a castle in which were the sons of their kings and magnates. He went there and besieged them, and the people of the city, fearing that he would capture the castle by force and put to death the inmates of it, sued for peace. He made terms with them for 700,000 dirhams, stipulating that they should give him as pledges some of the sons of their magnates, and that he might enter the city with such of his followers as he wished, and go out by the other gate. They gave him fifteen of the sons of their kings. (Some say forty and others eighty.) He threw a rock at the citadel which became lodged in the window aperture.

At-Tirmidh. Then he withdrew, and when he was at at-Tirmidh,2 Khâtûn again made peace with him at once, but he continued the assault of at-Tirmidh until he reduced it by capitulation. Afterwards when 'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami was killed, his son Mûsa went to the king of at-

1 LeStr., pp. 463-465.
2 LeStr., p. 440.
Tirmidh, who protected and defended him and the people with him. But Mūsa expelled him from the city and made himself ruler of it in open revolt. When Mūsa was killed, the place came under the sway of the wālis. Later its people rebelled and Kūtaibah ibn-Muslim reconquered the city.

Mālik ibn-ar-Raib says in regard to Sa‘īd:

"The rude north wind has blown, causing the leaves to fall;
The wormwood has doffed its cloak of green for one of yellow.
So go and God be with you. Let not what we have won
Be as snow which the wind whirls against at-Tirmidh.
Winter is an enemy that we can not fight.
So go back and God bless you, while the warm garment is still spread."

It is said that Nahār ibn-Tausi‘ah wrote about Kūtaibah the stanzas which begin:

"Khurāsān was a land, where, when Yazid was there,
Every door of blessing was open.
But now it has received instead Kūtaibah 1 with grasping fingers,
As if his face were besprinkled with vinegar."

Death of Kutham ibn-al-‘Abbās. With Sa‘īd ibn-‘Uthmān was Kutham ibn-al-‘Abbās ibn-‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib. He passed away in Samarqand. Some say he suffered martyrdom there. When he learned of his death, ‘Abdallāh ibn-al-‘Abbās said, "How far apart are his birthplace and his grave!" He was diligent in prayer and some one said to him, "What is the matter?", and he replied, "Have ye not heard the words of Allah, 'Ask for help with patience and prayer; verily this is a burden except for the humble'"? 2

Kutham’s modesty. Abdallāh ibn-Ṣāliḥ from Sharik from Jābir from ash-Sha‘bi:—Kutham came into the presence of Sa‘īd ibn-‘Uthmān in Khurāsān, and to him Sa‘īd said, "I will give thee from the spoils a thousand portions."

---

1 Ar. ḥutaba = a tight saddle. Note the pun and compare the American slang "tight-wad."
2 Koran, 2:42.
He replied, "Nay, give me only a portion for myself and one for my horse."

**Murder of Sa‘id.** With the hostages he had taken from as-Sughd Sa‘id marched until he reached his own city with them. He gave their clothes and sashes to his freedmen, put woolen gowns on them, and compelled them to work at the water-wheels and pumps\(^1\) and at plowing. They surprised him in his council chamber and assassinated him. Then they killed themselves.

Málik ibn-ar-Raib says of Sa‘id:

"At the battle of as-Sughd thou trembledst
From craven fear till I too feared—lest thou become a Christian."

Khâlid ibn-‘Ukbah ibn-abu-Mu‘aït says:

"The best of men and the best of fathers
Was Sa‘id ibn-‘Uthmân, slayer of Persians,
And if fate has willed such troubles for
Sa‘id, who these days can be free from trouble?"

**Sa‘id’s peculations.** Sa‘id deceived his associate in the matter of the kharâj of Khurâsân and got some of the money away from him, but Mu‘âwiyyah sent a messenger to meet him in Hulwân and he succeeded in recovering the money from him. His associate’s name was Aslam ibn-Zur‘ah. (Others say Išhâk ibn-Ṭalḥah ibn-‘Ubaidallâh.) Mu‘âwiyyah had become suspicious that Sa‘id might repudiate him, and on that account he hastened to depose him.

Next Mu‘âwiyyah appointed ‘Abd-ar-Râhmân ibn-Ziyâd governor of Khurâsân. He was of excellent character. Mu‘âwiyyah died while he was governor.

\(^1\) Ar. sawâni, perhaps camels, used to draw water.
CHAPTER III

CALIPHATES OF YAZĪD AND ‘ABD-AL-MALIK

First Arab woman in Transoxiana. Yazīd ibn-Mu-‘āwiyah appointed as governor Salm ibn-Ziyād. With him the people of Khârizm made peace, paying 400,000 [dirhams] and bringing them to him. He crossed the Oxus accompanied by his wife, umm-Muḥammad bint-‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Uthmân ibn-abu-l-‘Āṣi ath-Thaḳafī, who was the first Arab woman to be taken across the river. He went to Samarkand, and its people gave him 1,000 [dirhams] blood-wit. A son was born to him there whom he named as-Sughdi. His wife asked the wife of the lord of as-Sughd to lend her her ornaments. She kept them upon her person and went off with them.

Khujandah. While Salm ibn-Ziyād was in as-Sughd, he sent against Khujandah an army in which was Aʿsha (“the blind man”) of Hamdân. The army was put to rout and al-Aʿsha says:

“Oh that my horse on the day of Khujandah had not fled and deserted me helpless in the battle!
Ill luck attended my struggles and at eve I departed to Allah, dyed in the blood of combat.”

Further raids by Salm. Then Salm returned to Marw, from which place he afterwards made raids. He made an expedition across the river and killed Bandûn of as-Sughd. The Sogdians united to oppose him and he engaged them in battle.

1 I. e. for the murder of Saʿid.
2 Lestr., pp. 479, 489.
He is unpopular. When Yazid ibn-Mu‘awiyah died, the natives of the province combined against Salm, saying, “Ibn-Sumaiyah is infernally mistaken if he thinks he is going to rule us in peace and war as was said to his brother ‘Ubaidallâh in al-Baṣrah.” He withdrew from Khurâsân and ‘Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair came and fined him 4,000,000 dirhams and put him in prison.

Salm used to say, “Would that I had gone to Syria and had not been ashamed to serve my brother, ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd, even though I had to wash his feet, instead of seeking the hospitality of ibn-az-Zubair.”

His escape and death. He remained in Makkah until al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf had surrounded ibn-az-Zubair, when he broke out of the prison and went to al-Ḥajjâj, and then to ‘Abd-al-Malik. The latter said to him, “By God, if thou hadst remained in Makkah, she would have had no ruler but thee, and there would have been none in her to command thee.” And he appointed him governor of Khurâsân again. But he died when he arrived at al-Baṣrah.

Another version. Some authorities say that ‘Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim as-Sulami had met Salm ibn-Ziyâd in Nisâbûr at the time of his departure from Khurâsân, and Salm wrote him a diploma for Khurâsân and had assisted him to the amount of 100,000 dirhams. A large number of Bakr ibn-Wâ’il and others got together and said, “Why should these fellows devour Khurâsân to our hurt?” They attempted to seize the treasures of ibn-Khâzim, but their attack was successfully resisted.

Rival governors. Sulaimân ibn-Marthad, a member of the banu-Sa‘d ibn-Mâlik ibn-Dubai‘ah ibn-Ḳais ibn-Tha‘labah ibn-Ukâbah of the Marâthid ibn-Rabi‘ah, sent to ibn-Khâzim a message, saying, “The diploma of investiture which thou hast, if its owner wishes to stay in Khurâsân, let him not depart therefrom, and it will be well with thee.”
Sulaimân went and established himself in Mashra‘at-Sulaimân, while ibn-Khâzim abode in Marw, and they agreed to write to ibn-az-Zubair and whichever one of the two he commanded, should be the amîr. This was done, and ibn-az-Zubair appointed ‘Abdallâh ibn-Khâzim governor of Khurâsân. To him six months later ‘Urwa ibn-‘Uthmah brought his diploma, but Sulaimân forbade this to be accepted, saying, “Ibn-az-Zubair is not caliph. He is only a refugee in the house?”

Sulaimân killed. Ibn-Khâzim attacked him at the head of 6,000 men, although Sulaimân had 15,000, but Sulaimân was killed by Kâis ibn-‘Asim as-Sulami, and his head cut off. A number of the followers of ibn-Khâzim were wounded.

The war-cry of ibn-Khâzim was “Hâma! they shall not win the victory!” and that of Sulaimân was “Ho! The victory of Allah is nigh!”

Ibn-Khâzim and Aus. The routed troops of Sulaimân fled to ‘Umar ibn-Marthad in at-Tâlikân, and ibn-Khâzim advanced against him, attacked, and killed him. Rabi‘ah fled to Aus ibn-Tha‘labah in Harât, and ibn-Khâzim, leaving his son, Mûsa, in his place, proceeded against him. There were some encounters between their followers, and and Turks seized upon this as an opportunity for plunder, keeping up their raids until they got near to Nisâbûr.

Death of Aus. Ibn-Khâzim plotted to poison Aus, who did become sick as they assembled for the battle. Ibn-Khâzim exhorted his followers, saying, “Make the day yours. Spear the horses in their nostrils.” (For a horse could only be speared in the nostrils, unless it turned around.) There was a fierce conflict. Aus, who was sick, was overcome by wounds and died as a result of them some days later. Ibn-Khâzim appointed his son Mulâ-

\[1\text{Lane, Dict., p. 638, col. a.}\]
ammad governor of Harât, setting Bukair ibn-Wishaḥ in command of his guard, and Khurâsân was in his power.

**Insurrection of the banu-Tamîm.** Later the banu-Tamîm in Harât were aroused and killed Muḥammad, whereupon his father seized ʿUthmân ibn-Bashr ibn-al-Muḥtafîz and had put him to death when in bonds, also putting to death a man of the banu-Tamîm. The banu-Tamîm assembled and took counsel together, saying, “What think ye of this? Let a large party of us separate and go to Tûs, and when he (ibn-Khâzîm) proceeds against them, those of us who remain in Marw will depose him.” Bujair ibn-Wakâʾ as-Ṣuraimî of the banu-Tamîm went to Tûs with a number of companions and entered the fort.

**Ibn-Khâzîm deposed.** Then they removed to Abrashahr and deposed ibn-Khâzîm. Ibn-Khâzîm sent his treasures to at-Tirmidh with his son, Mûsa, not daring to entrust it to any one of the banu-Tamîm in Marw. A letter of ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was sent to ibn-Khâzîm, appointing him governor of Khurâsân, but he made his messenger eat the letter, saying, “I do not want to meet Allah after depriving of his office the son of a disciple of the Apostle of Allah and acknowledging in his stead a son of those who persecuted him.”

**Bukair becomes governor.** ʿAbd-al-Malik wrote to Bukair ibn-Wishaḥ to administer Khurâsân, and ibn-Khâzîm was afraid to refer the matter of the people of Marw to him. Bukair had deposed ibn-Khâzîm, seized the weapons and the treasury, and urged the people of Marw to acknowledge his own investiture by ʿAbd-al-Malik. They accepted his appointment.

**Bujair attacks ibn-Khâzîm.** Ibn-Khâzîm left to join his son, Mûsa, who was in at-Tirmidh with his household and valuables. Bujair followed him and attacked him in the neighborhood of Marw. He summoned Wâlî ibn-ad-
Daurākiyāh al-Kurailī (His father’s name was ‘Umairah, but his mother was one of the captives of Daurāk and from her his surname is derived.) to bring his breast-plate and weapons, and he put on his armor and went out and charged upon ibn-Khāzim, accompanied by Bujair ibn-Wakā. They thrust him through with the spear, and Waki sat on his breast and said, “Revenge for Dawilah!” (Dawilah, whom ibn-Khāzim had killed, was the brother of Waki on his mother’s side and was a freedman of the banu-Kurail.) Ibn-Khāzim spat in his face, saying, “Allah curse thee. Dost thou kill the leader of Muṣlīm to avenge thy brother, an unbeliever not worth a handful of date-stones?” Waki said,

“Taste, O son of ‘Ajla. the like of that thou givest me to taste,
And think not that I am like to forget it.”

(‘Ajla was the mother of ibn-Khāzim. His kunyāh was abu-Ṣāliḥ. The kunyāh of Waki ibn-ad-Daurākiyāh was abu-Rabi‘ah.)

Together with ‘Abdallāh ibn-Khāzim were killed his two sons, ‘Anbasah and Yaḥyā; and Ṭahmān, the freedman of ibn-Khāzim, grandfather of Ya‘kūb ibn-Dā‘ud, who was the scribe of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mahdi, after abu-‘Ubadallāh, was wounded with a lance.

Ibn-Khāzim’s head. Būkair ibn-Wishāḥ was presented with the head of ibn-Khāzim, and sent it to ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwān who set it up in Damascus. His right hand was cut off and sent to the sons of ‘Uthmān ibn-Bishr ibn-al-Muḍtāfis al-Mazānī.

Waki. Waki was rough and of a rugged constitution. In front of him one day as he was praying was a plant. He began to eat from it, and some one said to him, “Dost thou eat while thou art praying?” He replied, “Allah has not forbidden us to eat a plant which he causes to grow with water from heaven falling upon the dust of the earth?”
He used to drink wine, and when he was remonstrated with on this account, he said, "Concerning wine do ye remonstrate with me, though it makes my urine clear until it is like silver?"

Another version. Many were indignant at ibn-Khâzîm, and a difference of opinion arose; part of the people siding with Bukair ibn-Wishâh and part with Bujair. The chiefs and nobles of the people of Khurâsân wrote to 'Abd-al-Malik, informing him that Khurâsân would not recover from the effects of the civil strife except under a man of Kuraish. And so he appointed Umaiyyah ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâlîd ibn-Asîd ibn-abu-l-Iṣ ibn-Umaiyyah governor of Khurâsân, and Bukair ibn-Wishâh he made governor of Tukhâristân. Later he commissioned him to raid Transoxiana. Then Umaiyyah urged the raiding of Bukhârâ. Then they both went against Mûsa ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Khâzîm in at-Tirmidh. But Bukair withdrew to Marw, seized and imprisoned Umaiyyah's son, and urged the people to depose Umaiyyah. They complied, and when this came to the ears of Umaiyyah, he made peace with the people of Bukhârâ for a small ransom, reconstructed the boats which Bukair had burned, and returned, giving up the campaign against Mûsa ibn-'Abdallâh. Umaiyyah advanced, and Bujair attacked him, but later made peace with him on condition that he receive the appointment as governor of whatever region he chose. Afterwards Umaiyyah, finding out that even after this he was intriguing for his deposition, gave orders that when he entered his house he should be seized. He entered, was seized, and ordered to prison, but Bujair ibn-Wâkâ' fell upon him by surprise and killed him.

Al-Khutal. Umaiyyah raided al-Khutal,1 who had broken their treaty after Sa'id ibn-'Uthmân had made terms of peace with them, and he subjugated them again.

1 LeStr., p. 438.
CHAPTER IV

Mūsa’s Insurrection

_Al-Muhallab governor._ Al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yūsuf later ruled over Khurāsān together with the two ‘Irāqīs. He appointed over Khurāsān al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Ṣufrah. (His name was Ṭhālim ibn-Sarrāk ibn-Ṣubḥ ibn-al-‘Atīk of the Azd. In the year 99 he took the kunyah abu-Sa‘īd.) He made many raids, and conquered al-Khutal, which had again broken faith, and Khujandah. As-Sughd paid up the tribute to him. He raided Kishsh and Nasaf, and after his return, he died of the pleurisy in Zâghul of Marw ar-Rudh. His illness began with the mourning over his son, al-Mughîrah ibn-al-Muhallab.

_Yazīd ibn-al-Muhallab._ Al-Muhallab left his son, Yazīd ibn-al-Muhallab, in his place. The latter made many raids, conquering al-Buttam 1 by the hand of Mukhallad ibn-Yazīd ibn-al-Muhallab. Al-Ḥajjāj gave Yazīd ibn-al-Muhallab the appointment as governor. Now at the time of the flight of ibn-al-Ash‘ath and the others, ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-al-‘Abbâs ibn-Rabî‘ah ibn-al-Ḥārith ibn-al-Muṭṭalib, having set out in company with ibn-al-Ash‘ath, had gone to Harât, killed ar-Ruṣūd al-‘Atîk, and took the kharāj. Yazīd proceeded against him. They fought a battle, and Yazīd put them to rout, but gave orders to refrain from pursuing them. The Hāshimi 2 fled as far as as-Sind. Yazīd raided Khârizm and obtained captives. The army put on the garments of the captives, who died as a consequence of the cold.

---

1 LeStr., pp. 466-7.
2 i.e. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān.
Al-Mufaddal brother of Yazid. Afterwards al-Ḥajjāj appointed al-Mufaddal ibn-al-Muhallab ibn-Abu-Ṣufrah governor. He reduced Bādghis, which had broken the conven-
ant, Shūmân ¹ and Ḍakhrūn, obtaining booty which he de-
vided among the army.

The campaign against Mūsa. Mūsa ibn-ʿAbdallāh ibn-
Khāzim as-Sulami was in at-Tirmidh. He had gone to Samarkand, whose king, Ṭarkhūn, entertained him hospit-
ably. But one of Mūsa’s followers assaulted and killed a
man of as-Sughd, and Ṭarkūn expelled him and those with
him, and he went to the lord of Kishsh. Then he came to
at-Tirmidh, which is a stronghold, and lodged as the guest
of the diḥkān of at-Tirmidh. The latter prepared him a
dinner, and he reclined as he ate. The diḥkān said to him
“Depart.” But he replied, “I do not know another such
home as this.” He fought the people of at-Tirmidh until
he overpowered them. Its diḥkān and people went out to
the Turks to ask them for help, but they gave them no
assistance, saying, “Allah curse you. Have ye no pride?
A man comes upon you with a hundred followers and expels
you from your city and deprives you of it by force.”

Mūsa’s forces rally. Then the followers of Mūsa came
to him one and all, those who had been with his father and
others. The lord of at-Tirmidh and its people kept at the
Turks until they gave them aid, and in a body they advanced
upon Mūsa and his men. But Mūsa attacked them by night
and got possession of their camp. Sixteen of the Moslems
were taken prisoner.

Thābit and Ḥuraith. With Mūsa were Thābit and Ḥura-
aith, the Khuzāʾis, sons of Kuṭbah. They urged Ṭarkhūn
and his followers to supply Mūsa with troops. He gave
him help and enlisted many men for him. The boldness of
these two brothers was of great service to Mūsa, and they

became generals and counsellors in his army. It was even said to him, "Thou hast only the name, while these two are masters of camp and campaign."

**Mūsa wins a victory.** A number of the Hayāṭilah and the Turks on the side of the people of at-Tirmidh made a sortie against him, fighting fiercely, but the Moslems defeated them and their allies. When al-Ḥajjāj heard of this he said, "Praise be to Allah who has helped the 'hypocrites' against the polytheists." Mūsa made great watch towers of the heads of those who had attacked him.

**Death of Ḥuraith.** Ḥuraith ibn-Ḳuṭbah was struck by a wooden arrow and killed, and the followers of Mūsa said to Mūsa, "Allah has freed us in regard to Ḥuraith; now free us in regard to Thābit, for we cannot endure him."

**Thābit flees.** Thābit learned of what they were saying about him, and upon obtaining proof of it, he fled to Baḥshūrā, asking Ṭarkhūn for assistance, which was granted. Mūsa made a sudden attack and got possession of the suburbs of the city. Then the Sogdians received many reinforcements, and so he returned to at-Tirmidh and fortified himself therein, the people of Kishsh, Nasaf, and Bukhārā giving him help.

**Thābit assassinated.** Thābit besieged Mūsa with 80,000 and Mūsa sent Yazid ibn-Huzail as a mediator to Yazid al-Ḵaṣīr al-Khuzāʾī and he accomplished the following: He gained an audience with Thābit and struck him on the head with his sword a blow from which he died seven days later. When he died, Yazid threw himself into the river of aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān and escaped.

**Ṭarkhūn defeated.** Urged by his companions, Ṭarkhūn made a stand, but Mūsa defeated them by a night attack, and the Persians returned to their several countries. The people of Khurāsān used to say, "We never saw the like of Mūsa, who fought with his father two years without a retreat."
Mūsa takes at-Tirmidh. Then he went to at-Tirmidh, and got control of it, though with but a trifling number of followers, and expelled its king from it. Then he fought the Turks and Persians, and routed them with sudden attacks.

‘Uthmān ibn-Mas‘ūd put in command. When Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab was dismissed, and al-Mu‘aḍḍal ibn-al-Muhallab became ruler of Khurāsān, he put Uthmān ibn-Mas‘ūd in command of the campaign. The latter advanced until he took his position with 15,000 men on an island in [the country of] at-Tirmidh, called today Jazirah ‘Uthmān. He hemmed in Mūsa, and wrote to Ṭarkhūn, who came to him. Mūsa, when he saw who it was that had come out against him, made a sortie from the city, saying to his men whom he left behind in the city, “If I am killed, surrender the city to Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab, and do not surrender it to ibn-Mas‘ūd.”

Mūsa slain. The Turks and the Sogdians moved in between Mūsa and the fort. His horse stumbled with him and he fell. Khalāf, one of his freedmen, was riding behind him. Mūsa said, “Death is hateful.” ‘Uthmān caught sight of him and exclaimed, “By the company of Moses and the Lord of the Ka‘bah,” rushing upon him until he and his freedman were struck down. Then they leaped upon him and killed him. His followers also were killed. None of them escaped except Rakiyah ibn-al-Harfānah, who was handed over to Khālid ibn-abu-Barzah al-Aslami. The man who gave the last stroke to Mūsa ibn-‘Abdallāh was Wāṣil ibn-Ṭaisalah al-‘Anbari. The city was surrendered to Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab. Mūsa’s death was in the latter part of the year 85. A man struck Mūsa’s thigh after he was slain, and when Kūtaibah became ruler, he put this man to death.
CHAPTER V

KUTAIBAH’S CONQUESTS

Kutaibah governor of Khurâsân. Al-Ḥajjâj then appointed as governor of Khurâsân Kutaibah ibn-Muslim al-Bâhili. He made an expedition against Akharûn. When he was in at-Ṭâlikân,¹ the two dihkâns of Balkh met him and crossed the river with him. At the time he crossed the river, there also came to him the king of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân with gifts and a golden key, paying him submission and inviting him to settle in his country. The king of Akharûn and Shûmân had been oppressing and raiding the king of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân, and that is why he gave Kutaibah these presents and this invitation. The king of Kafyân came to Kutaibah with the same purpose as that for which the king of aṣ-Ṣaghâniyân had come to him, and both surrendered their lands to him.

Conquests by Šâliḥ. Kutaibah withdrew to Marw, leaving his brother, Šâliḥ, as his lieutenant over Transoxiana. Šâliḥ conquered Kâsân ² and Ūrasht ³ which is part of Farghânah. With him in his army was Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr. Šâliḥ conquered . . . . ⁴ and Khashkat ⁵ of Farghânah, its ancient capital. The last of the conquerors of Kâsân

¹ In al-Jûzajân. LeStr., p. 423. There is another Ṭâlikân in al-Jibâl.
² LeStr., p. 480.
³ LeStr., p. 476.
⁴ Name not decipherable.
⁵ Probably Khâsh or Khâsht. LeStr., p. 483. Kat = city.
and Ürasht was Nauh ibn-Asad, the people thereof having risen in rebellion in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Muntaṣir-billâh.

*Baikand reduced.* The king of Jûzajân sent envoys to Ḫutaibah, who made peace with him on condition that he come to him. He did so, but later returned, and died in at-Ṭâlikân. Then Ḫutaibah, Nizak being with him, raided Baikand in the year 87. He crossed the river from Zamm to Baikand, which is the nearest of the cities of Bukhârâ to the river. They rebelled and asked the Soghdians for aid, but Ḫutaibah attacked them, invading their country and besieging them. They asked for terms, but he reduced the city by force.

*Tûmushkat and Karminiyah.* Ḫutaibah raided Tûmushkat and Karminiyah in the year 88, leaving as his lieutenant over Marw his brother, Bashshâr ibn-Muslim. After capturing a few small forts, Ḫutaibah made peace with them. He also raided Bukhârâ and reduced it by treaty.

*Ibn-al-Muthanna's account.* Ḫutaibah made an expedition against Bukhârâ. The inhabitants defended themselves against him, and he said, "Let me enter the city, and I will only pray two *reka's* therein." They gave him permission to do so, but he concealed some men in ambush, and upon entering the city, these overpowered the gate keepers, and the Moslems entered the city. Ḫutaibah obtained much money thereby, dealing perfidiously with the inhabitants. He assaulted as-Sughd; killed Nizak in Tuhkâristân, and crucified him, and reduced Kishsh and Nasaf (*i.e.* Nakshab) by treaty.

*The king of Khârizm.* The king of Khârizm was weak, and Khurzâd, his brother, had opposed him and overpowered him. The king sent to Ḫutaibah, saying, "I will

---

1 LeStr., p. 462.
2 LeStr., p. 468.
make thee such and such gifts, and deliver unto thee the keys, on condition that thou establish me securely as king over my country instead of my brother.”

Khârizm consists of three cities encompassed by a moat. The strongest of them is Madinat-al-Fil. 1 ‘Ali ibn-Mujâhid says that Madinat-al-Fil is merely Samarkand. The king established himself in the strongest of the cities and sent to Kutaibah the money specified in his agreement with him, and the keys. Kutaibah dispatched his brother, ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Muslim against Khurzâd, whom he attacked and killed, getting possession of 4,000 captives. He put these to death, and established the former king of Khârizm on the throne in accordance with the agreement made with him. The people of his kingdom, however, said to the Moslem, “He (their king) is weak.” And they assaulted and killed him. Kutaibah appointed his brother, ‘Ubaid-Allâh ibn-Muslim, governor of Khwârizm (sic).

Samarkand reduced. Kutaibah raided Samarkand, where the kings of as-Sughd formerly used to live, although later they made their abode in Ishtikhân. Kutaibah besieged the people of Samarkand, engaging in many battles. While the fighting was going on between them, the king of as-Sughd wrote to the king of ash-Shâsh, who was staying in at-Ṭâraband. 2 The latter came to him with a number of his soldiery. The Moslems met them and there was a very fierce engagement. Finally Kutaibah, with a sudden charge, put the enemy to rout. Ghûzak capitulated, the terms being an annual payment of 1,200,000 dirhams, and that the Moslem might conduct prayers in the city. Kutaibah entered the city, where Ghûzak had prepared for him a feast. He ate and led in prayer; constructed a mosque, and de-

---

1 LeStr., p. 447.
2 A locality in ash-Shâsh.
parted, leaving in the city several Moslems, among them ad-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn-Muzāḥim, author of the commentary on the Ḫūrān.

Another version. Other authorities say that Ḫūtaibah granted peace for 700,000 dirhams and entertainment for the Moslems for three days. The terms of the surrender included also the houses of the idols and the fire temples. The idols were thrown out, plundered of their ornaments, and burned, although the Persians used to say that among them was one idol with which whoever trifled would perish. But when Ḫūtaibah set fire to it with his own hand, many of them accepted Islām.

Al-Mukhtār ibn-Ka‘b al-Ju‘fī says of Ḫūtaibah:

“He subdued as-Sughd with the tribes until
He left the Soghdians sitting in nakedness.”

‘Umar orders an investigation. Abu-‘Ubaidah and others say:—When ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azīz became caliph, 422 there came to him representatives of the people of Samarkānd who complained to him that Ḫūtaibah had entered their city and settled the Moslems there fraudulently. ‘Umar wrote to his ‘āmil with orders to appoint them a kādī to investigate what they had related, and, if he decided in favor of expelling the Moslems, they should be expelled. The ‘āmil appointed for them Jumai‘ ibn-Ḥāḍir al-Bāji, who decreed the expulsion of the Moslems, provided that the two parties should fight upon equal terms. But the people of the city of Samarkānd were averse to warfare, and let the Moslems remain, and so they stayed among them.

Kūtaibah’s conquests. Al-Haitham ibn-‘Adī from ibn-‘Ayyāsh al-Hamadhānī:—Kūtaibah conquered the whole of ash-Shāsh and took Ashbījāb. Other authorities say that the fortress of Ashbījāb was captured before; then the

1 LeStr., p. 484.
Turks together with some of the people of ash-Shâsh took it; finally in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Mu‘taṣim-billâh, Nauḥ ibn-Asad conquered it and built about it a wall surrounding the vineyards and farms of the inhabitants.

Abu-‘Ubaidah Ma‘mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that Kūtaibah conquered Khârizm and Samarkând by force. Sa‘îd ibn-‘Uthmân had made treaties with their inhabitants, but Kūtaibah conquered them afterwards. They had not broken faith, but he disregarded their treaty. He conquered Bâikand, Kishsh, Nasaf, and ash-Shâsh; raided Farghânah and subdued part of it, and raided as-Sughd and Ushrûsanah.¹

¹ LeStr., pp. 474-476.
CHAPTER VI

KUTAIBAH'S DOWNFALL

Kutaibah and Sulaimân. Kutaibah feared the hostility of Sulaimân ibn-'Abd-al-Malik; he had worked to have 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-al-Walid succeed to the caliphate, and wanted to keep the succession from Sulaimân. When al-Walid died, and Sulaimân succeeded him, Kutaibah harangued the people, and said, "Habannaḳat-al-‘A’ishi has become your ruler." This he said because Sulaimân used to give gifts to and confer favors upon the wealthy and prosperous and neglect others; and Habannakah 1 (i.e. Yazîd ibn-Tharwân) used to give his fat camels much fodder and pasture [instead of feeding up the thin ones], saying, "I will not try to improve what Allah has spoiled." Kutaibah urged the people to depose Sulaimân, but none of them consented to this. Then he reviled the banu-Tamîm, reproaching them with treachery, and saying, "Ye are not banu-Tamîm [upright], but banu-Dhamîm [blameworthy]." And he upbraided the banu-Bakr ibn-Wâ’il, calling them "brothers of Maslamah." He upbraided the Azd, saying, "Ye have traded your spears for oars and the bridles of your horses for boats." And he said, "O people of the Sâfilah (lowlands, or vileness), for I will not call you people of the ‘Aliyah (highlands, or superiority). Verily, I place you where Allah hath placed you." Sulaimân wrote to Kutaibah, in regard to his governorship of Khurâsân, and ordered him to release all who were

1"Dwarf."
in his prison, to pay the army their stipends, and to allow all who wished to return to do so—something they were looking forward to—and he ordered the messenger to make public the contents of the letter. Ḫutaibah said, “This is part of his plan against me.” And he arose and said, “Men, behold, Sulaimân hath bestowed upon you the marrow of mosquitoes’ legs, and you are going to permit the oath of allegiance to a good-looking boy whose sacrificial animal is not [yet] lawful.”

The people were angered against him because of his reviling them, and he apologized for it, saying, “I was angry and did not know what I was saying. I sought only your good.” They, however, talked among themselves, saying, “If he permit us to return, it were well for him. If he does not, he has only himself to blame.” This came to Ḫutaibah’s ears, and he harangued the men, setting forth in detail his beneficence towards them, and blaming their lack of fidelity to him and their opposition, and showing them the danger from the Persians against whom he had led them to victory. But they resolved to fight him, and answered him not a word, but besought al-Ḥuḍain ibn-al-Mundhir to be allowed to appoint him to take comand of their affairs. He declined, but recommended to them Wakī’ ibn-Ḥassān ibn-Kais ibn-abu-Sūd ibn-Kalb ibn-‘Auf ibn-Mālik ibn-Ghudānah ibn-Yarbū’ ibn-Hanṭhalah at-Tamīmi, saying, “No one except him is strong enough for this matter, for he is a rough Arab whose kinfolk will obey him, and moreover he is of the banu-Tamīm, and since Ḫutaibah put to death the sons of al-Ahtam, the Tamīm will seek blood revenge for them.” And so they betook themselves to Wakī’, and he gave them his hand and they swore obedience to him. Before this the mediator between him and them was Ḥayyān, the freedman of Maṣkalah.

1 I. e. too young to offer sacrifice.
In Khurāsān at this time there were of Bāṣrān soldiery 40,000, of Kūfans 7,000,¹ and of mawāli 7,000.

Wakiʿ feigned illness and remained indoors. Kūtaibah kept sending for him. He had rubbed his feet and his leg with red clay, and would say, “I am so ill that I am unable to move about.” And when Kūtaibah would send some people to bring Wakiʿ to him, they would slip away and go to Wakiʿ and tell him. Then Wakiʿ called for his armor and a spear and took the veil of the mother of his children and tied it to it. A man called Idris met him and said to him, “O Abu-Muṭarrarf, thou desirest something and thou fearest that from which the man has granted thee safety; Allah is Allah!” But Wakiʿ said, “This Idris is the apostle of Iblis. Will Kūtaibah indeed grant me safety? By Allah! I will not go to him until his head is brought to me.”² And he went slowly on towards the camp of Kūtaibah and came to it while Kūtaibah was with his household and some people who were loyal to him.

His brother Sāliḥ said to his slave, “Bring my bow.” Some one there said to him scoffingly, “This is no time for a bow,” and [at this moment] a man of the banu-Ḍábbah shot at him and pierced his breast bone. He fell to the ground and was carried into the camp and died, Kūtaibah being at his head. Then Kūtaibah kept saying to Ḥayyān, who was in command of the Persians, “Charge,” but Ḥayyān would say, “The time for this has not yet come;” and when the Persians did charge upon the Arabs, Ḥayyān said, “O soldiers of Persia, why should ye kill one another for Kūtaibah? It is because he is kindly disposed towards you?” And he deserted with them to the banu-Tamim.

The battle began. Those who stood by Kūtaibah were his brothers and his household and some of the sons of the

¹ Zotenberg, Tabari, vol. iv, p. 211, says 47,000 Kūfans.
² I. e. “I will not trust him until he is dead.”
kings of as-Sughd who were ashamed to desert him. The tent ropes of his camp were cut, and the ropes of the pavilion, and they collapsed upon Kutabah. The supports of the pavilion struck him on the top of his head and killed him, and 'Abdallâh ibn-'Alwan cut off his head.

Some authorities, among them Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi, deny this, saying that the soldiers came in upon him in his camp, and Yahm ibn-Zahr al-Ju'fi killed him, and Sa'd ibn-Majd struck him, and ibn-'Alwan cut off his head.

With him were killed many of his brothers and of his household, and as-Sammâ’, the mother of his children. Diyar ibn-Muslim escaped, the banu-Tamim according him protection. The Azd took the head of Kutabah and his signet ring. To Waki‘ was brought Kutabah’s head, and he sent it to Sulaimân by Salîb ibn-'Aṭiyah al-Hanifi. The army started to plunder the Bâhilah, but Waki‘ prevented this.

Waki‘ wrote to abu-Mijlaz Lâhîk ibn-Ḥumaid, appointing him over Marw. He accepted, and the people were pleased with him.

Kutabah, the day he was killed, was fifty-five years old. At his death those who were in Khurâsân were divided into factions, but Waki‘ ibn-abu-Sûd kept order in the country. Sulaimân wanted to make him governor of it, but some one told him that Waki‘ was exalted by war but degraded by peace, and was characterized by rudeness and the uncouthness of the desert. Waki‘ used to call for a brass chamber-pot and urinate while people were looking at him.

Waki‘ imprisoned. He continued there nine months, until Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab came to supersede him. Yazid was in al-Trâk, and Sulaimân wrote to him to go to

1 Kutabah’s tribe.

2 Text corrupt. I have adopted De Goeje’s suggestion as to the reading.
Khurâsân, dispatching to him his writ of appointment. Yazid sent his son, Mukhallad, on ahead. The latter had an accounting with Wâki‘ and put him in prison, saying to him, "Pay over Allah's money." He replied, "Hast thou been one of Allah's treasurers?"

**Al-Buttam reduced.** Mukhallad raided al-Buttam and conquered it. The inhabitants afterwards broke faith, and he left them and went off in another direction from them, so that they hoped he had withdrawn. But he returned suddenly and entered their city. Jahm ibn-Zahr also entered it and seized in it money and idols of gold, and the people of al-Buttam [today] claim relationship to him.

**Kutaibah and the sons of al-Ahtam.** Abu-'Ubaidah Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna says that they used to believe that 'Abdallâh ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-al-Ahtam abu-Khâkân had written to al-Ḥajjâj, traducing Kutaibah and telling of the wealth that he had acquired. 'Abdallâh at that time was Kutaibah's lieutenant over Marw for Kutaibah, whenever he sent on a raid, would make him his lieutenant over Marw. When the raid against Bukhârâ and its vicinity was going on, and as usual Kutaibah had appointed him his lieutenant, there came to him (Kutaibah) Bashir, one of the sons of al-Ahtam, and said to him, "Thou art too lenient with 'Abdallâh, though he is an envious mischief-maker. We do not feel confidence in him that he will not displace thee and mistreat us." Kutaibah replied, "Thou sayest this only because of thine own envy towards the son of thy uncle." He said, "Let my pardon rest with thee; if this come to pass, thou wilt excuse me."

Kutaibah went off on a raid, and 'Abdallâh wrote the above mentioned letter about him to al-Ḥajjâj, and al-Ḥajjâj enclosed his letter with one of his own to Kutaibah. The messenger went on his journey, stopped in a street of Marw, and then went on without coming to 'Abdallâh. But the
latter had a presentiment of evil, and fled all the way to Damascus, where he spent some time peddling wine and linen stuffs in a bundle which he carried on his back. Then he placed a rag and some cotton on one of his eyes, and then bandaged it, and so got the nickname of Abu-Ṭinah ("the muddy"); and he used to sell olive oil. In this condition he continued until al-Valid ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik perished and Sulaimān succeeded him. Then he put off the dirt and the rag and delivered a speech of congratulation for Sulaimān and of excoriation for al-Ḥajjāj and Kūtaibah, who had both sworn allegiance to ‘Abd-al-‘Aziz ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik and had repudiated Sulaimān. As the people dispersed, they said, "Abu-Ṭinah, the oil seller, is the most eloquent of men."

When ibn-al-Ahtam’s letter to al-Ḥajjāj finally reached Kūtaibah, the latter, failing to get hold of ‘Abdallāh, turned against al-Ahtam’s cousins and sons, one of whom was Shaibah abu-Shabib, and killed nine of their men, Bashīr among them. Bashīr said to him, "Remember my excuse with thee." But Kūtaibah said, "Thou didst put one foot forward and the other back;¹ O enemy of Allah," and killed them all.

_Waki‘ swears vengeance._ Before this Waki‘ ibn-abu-Sūd had been in command of the banu-Tamīm in Khurāsān. Then Kūtaibah had removed him from the command over them, and appointed a certain man of the banu-Ḍarār aḍ-Dabbi, who said, when they were killed, "Allah slay me if I slay him not." People noticed his absence from the noon and afternoon prayer, and said to him, "Thou didst not attend prayer." He answered, "How shall I pray for a master who has killed a number of ours, all of them mere boys, and felt no anger in their behalf?"

_Madinat-al-Fil._ Abu-‘Ubaidah relates:—Kūtaibah raided

¹ Proverb equivalent to "trying to carry water on both shoulders".
Madinat-al-Fil and conquered it; Umayyah ibn-‘Abdallāh ibn-Khâlid ibn-Asid had taken it before this, but they broke the terms of the treaty, and Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab made an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer it. Ka‘b al-Ashkâri says:

“Fil gave herself to thee and well for her! Though before thee the babbling braggard aspired to her.”

(He meant Yazid ibn-al-Muhallab.)

‘Umar II appoints al-Jarrâh. ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Aziz, when he became caliph, wrote to the kings of Transoxiana, inviting them to accept Islâm. Some of them did so. The ‘āmil of ‘Umar over Khurâsân was al-Jarrâh ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Ḥakami. He seized Mukhallad ibn-Yazid and Yazid’s ‘āmils and imprisoned them.

The frontier of China. Al-Jarrâh sent ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ma‘mar al-Yashkuri to Transoxiana. The latter advanced far into the country of the enemy, even having it in his mind to enter China (aṣ-Ṣin). But the Turks hemmed him in, until to save himself he drew back from them, going to ash-Shâsh. ‘Umar refused to collect the kharâj from those who accepted Islâm in Khurâsân, showed favors to the converts, and built khâns.

Al-Jarrâh removed. Later ‘Umar was told that al-Jarrâh was ruling in a partisan spirit. The latter wrote him that the inhabitants of Khurâsân could not be kept in order except by the sword. The caliph did not credit this, and dismissed him. ‘Umar owed him a debt, but paid him, and appointed ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Nu‘aim al-Ghâmidî to take charge of the military operations in Khurâsân, and ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Ḳushairi to collect the kharâj.

Al-Jarrâh ibn-‘Abdallâh used to take silver and gold coins of different weights and put them under the carpet in his room, and when any one of his brothers or intimate friends came to visit him, he would toss to each one of them in proportion to his opinion of each one’s deserts.
CHAPTER VII

CALIPHATES OF YAZĪD AND HISHĀM

Ṣaʿīd al-Khudhainah. Afterwards Yazid ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik, when he became ruler, appointed Maslamah ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik governor of al-ʿIrāk and Khurāsān. Maslamah appointed Saʿīd ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAziz ibn-al-Ḥārith ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-l-ʿĀṣi ibn-Umayyah to govern Khurāsān. This Saʿīd was nicknamed Ḥudhai̇fah,¹ because some one of the dīḥkāns of Transoxiana happened upon him in a yellow gown and with his hair done up, and said, “This is Ḥudhai̇fah,” meaning “mistress.” Saʿīd was Maslamah’s nephew by his daughter.

Ṣaʿīd’s lieutenant defeated. Saʿīd sent on as his lieutenant Saurah ibn-al-Ḥurr al-Ḥanṭhali. Later he sent his son. The latter crossed over to Transoxiana and established himself at Ishtikhan.² The Turks had attacked the city, but he entered into conflict with them, putting them to rout, and protecting the people from their exactions for a [long] time. Later on he met the Turks in battle again, and they defeated him and made a great slaughter among his followers; and Saʿīd appointed Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr to the command.

(An indecent verse about Saʿīd is here omitted.)

Khudhainah replaced by al-İurashi. Some of Khurāsān’s leading people sought audience with Maslamah, complaining

¹ Text corrupt. De Goeje reads as above, but the nickname of Saʿīd is given in Ṭabarī, vol. ii, p. 1297, as Khudhainah (Cf. De Goeje, Glossary p. 34). Ḥudhai̇fah = “The one (fem.) with the clipped (“bobbed”) hair.”
² LeStr., p. 466.
of Saʿid; so he dismissed him, and made Saʿid ibn-ʿAmr al-Jurashi governor of Khurāsān. When the latter arrived there, he ordered his scribe to read aloud his commission. The scribe made some mistakes in pronunciation, and Saʿid said, “O people, the commander is guiltless of these mistakes which ye have heard.”

As-Sughd subjugated. Al-Jurashi sent to as-Sughd, inviting its people to return to submission, and refrained from troubling them until his envoys could bring back their acquiescence in his succession to the rule. Then he marched against them. More than 10,000 of their main body deserted and left them, coming over to submit, and al-Jurashi conquered all of the strongholds of as-Sughd, subjugating the enemy completely.

Muslim succeeds al-Jurashi. Yazid ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik had designated Hishām ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik as heir apparent, and after him al-Walid ibn-Yazid. When Yazid ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik died, Hishām succeeded to the throne, and appointed ʿUmar ibn-Hubairah al-Fazâri governor of al-ʿIrâk. The latter dismissed al-Jurashi, and appointed Muslim ibn-Saʿid as his ʿāmil over Khurāsān. He raided Afshin and then made peace with him, the terms being 6,000 sheep and the surrender of his citadel to him. Then he withdrew to Marw.

Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr. He made Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr his lieutenant over Tukhâristân. A number of the Arabs refused to acknowledge the latter’s authority, and he resorted to force, but, later, ambassadors of both parties met and came to an agreement.

Muslim’s rebellion. Then Hishām appointed as his ʿāmil over al-ʿIrâk Khâlid ibn-ʿAbdallâh al-Ḵâsri, who made his brother, Asad ibn-ʿAbdallâh, governor of Khurāsān. News of this reached Muslim ibn-Saʿid, who marched until he came to Farghânah, and took possession of that city. He
cut the trees and laid waste the cultivated land. The Turkish Khâkân came down upon him with his army, and he withdrew from Farghânah and marched three stages on a single day, until his beasts could go no further. The Turks attacked the outskirts of his camp.

One of the poets says:

"Thou didst wage war on us rebelliously, fearing dismissal,
But thou didst not escape from this vain world of trouble."

_Al-Ḥasan fears the Turks._ Asad proceeded to Samarkand and appointed as ʿāmil over it al-Ḥasan ibn-abu-l-ʿAmarraṭah. The Turks used to attack the outskirts of Samarkand and raid, and al-Ḥasan would retreat whenever they made a raid, and would not meet them. One day he was preaching, and cried out against the Turks in his sermon, saying, "O God, cut off the last remnant of them, and speedily destroy their power, and send down calamity (ṣabr) upon them." And the people of Samarkand reviled him, and said, "Nay, let God rather send down ice (ṣabar), and make their feet to slip."

_Asad's conquests._ Asad raided the Nimrûd mountains, and Nimrûd surrendered to him and accepted Islām. He raided al-Khuttal. When he arrived at Balkh, he ordered its city to be built and transferred the government offices thither. In his raids against al-Khuttal he could accomplish nothing, but brought suffering and hunger upon the people. Charges were preferred to him against Naṣr ibn-Sayyâr, and he had him beaten and sent him to Khâlid together with three men who were suspected of insurrection. Then Asad withdrew from Khurâsân, leaving as his lieutenant over it al-Ḥakam ibn-ʿAwânah al-Kalbi.

_Ashras governor._ Hishâm appointed as ʿāmil over Khurâsân Ashras ibn-ʿAbdallâh as-Sulami. With him was a Nabatean scribe named ʿUmairah, his kunyah being abu-
Umayyah. This scribe incited him to evil. Ashras increased the assessments of Khurâsân, ignored the dihâns, invited the people of Transoxiana to accept Islâm, and ordered the remission of the jizyâh for all converts to the faith. There was a rush to accept Islâm, and the taxes decreased. When Ashras saw this, he seized the tribute money. The people disapproved of this, and became disaffected towards him. Thâbit Kûtnâh al-Azdi championed their cause. He was called Kûtnâh ("cotton") because he had a sightless eye upon which he used to wear a piece of cotton. Ashras sent and scattered them, seized Thâbit and imprisoned him. Later he let him go, on paying a sum of money, and sent him away somewhere, and the Turks made an attack upon him and killed him.

Al-Junaid governor. In the year 112 Hishâm appointed al-Junaid ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Murri 'âmil over Khurâsân. He met the Turks and attacked them, sending out some skirmishers, who defeated the son of Khâkân while he was out hunting and drunk. They captured him and took him to al-Junaid ibn-Abd-ar-Rahmân, who sent him to Hishâm, and continued the campaign against the Turks until he had overcome them. He wrote for reinforcements to Hishâm, who sent to his assistance 'Amr ibn-Muslim at the head of 10,000 men from al-Bašrah, 'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Nu‘aim at the head of 10,000 from al-Kûfah. He also supplied him with 30,000 spears and 30,000 shields, and took charge of the payments, assigning stipends to 15,000 men.

Death of al-Junaid. Al-Junaid made many raids. During his administration the partisans of the banu-Hishâm spread and their cause became strong. Al-Junaid died in

---

1 Ar. musâlamah. De Goeje, Glossary, p. 53.
Marw, and Hishâm appointed as governor of Khurâsân ʿĀṣim ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-Yazîd al-Hilâli.

Abu-ʿUbaidah Maʿmar ibn-al-Muthanna says that the regions about Tukhâristân became turbulent, and al-Juʿnaid ibn-ʿAbd-ar-Rahmân subdued them and brought them back to peace and the payment of tribute.
CHAPTER VIII

UNDER THE ABBASIDES

Border raids. Naṣr ibn-Sayyār raided Ushrūsanah during the reign of Marwān ibn-Muḥammad, but could accomplish nothing against it. And when the Commander of the Believers, abu-l-ʿAbbās, succeeded to the caliphate, he and the caliphs after him kept appointing ʿāmilīs who penetrated the borders of the enemy’s country, invading their territory, and making war upon whoever did not acknowledge allegiance, or who having made an agreement, had broken it, and bringing back to terms those who refused to fulfil their agreement, by declaring war upon them.

Ushrūsanah. Al-Maʾmūn, the Commander of the Believers, when he became caliph, made war upon as-Sughd and Ushrūsanah and those of the inhabitants of Farghānah who had rebelled against him. He persevered in fighting and attacking them as long as he was in Khurāsān and afterwards. When he sent his cavalry against them, he would write to them, inviting them to become converts to Islām and subjects of the caliph, and even making them desire to do so.

Kābul.¹ He sent an army against Kābul-Shah, who submitted to taxation and acknowledged obedience. The post reached to that country, so that myrobalan² fruit was brought to the caliph therefrom, arriving quite fresh.

¹ LeStr., pp. 348-9; Meyn., p. 469.
² See note on page 155, supra.
The king of Ushrûsanah. Kâwis, king of Ushrûsanah, wrote to al-Faḍl ibn-Sahl, al-Ma‘mûn’s wasir and secretary [of state], who is known as dhu-r-Riyâsatain,¹ asking him for peace, agreeing to pay him tribute in money, if he would keep the Moslems from raiding his country. This was agreed to; but when al-Ma‘mûn went to Madinat-as-Salâm, Kâwis refused to carry out the agreement.

In his household was a favored steward (Kahramân) who had given his daughter in marriage to Kâwis’ son, al-Faḍl. Al-Faḍl used to associate intimately with him and loved him dearly. He used to talk with him against Kâwis’ son, Ḥaidar (known as al-Afshin), reviling him. Ḥaidar assaulted the steward and killed him at the Kunb gate of their city, and fled to Ḥâshim ibn-Muḥawwar al-Khuttali. Ḥâshim was in his country to appoint a king over it. Ḥaidar besought him to write to his father (Kâwis), asking for pardon. But when he killed his steward, Kâwis had already married Umm-Junaid to Ṭarâdis, and he fled in company with some of his diḥkâns. When this came to the knowledge of Ḥaidar, he professed İslâm and set out for Madinat-as-Salâm, and described to al-Ma‘mûn the ease with which Ushrûsanah might be taken; he made light of the bad reports which people had made to the caliph in regard to the place, and described to him a short road thither.

As a consequence al-Ma‘mûn sent Aḥmad ibn-abu-Khâlid al-Ahwal, the scribe, with a strong force to raid it. When he became aware of the latter’s approach towards him, Kâwis sent al-Faḍl ibn-Kâwis to the Turks to aşk for aid. Numbers of them rallied to his assistance; but Aḥmad ibn-abu-Khâlid marched to the country of Ushrûsanah and had

¹ Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 778, reads Rī`āsatain. The title signifies simply that he held two high offices. In later times it means “learned in science and theology.” Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. ii, p. 36, says the two offices Faḍl held were those of vizier and commander-in-chief.
conquered its capital before al-Faḍl reached the Turks. Kâwîs had thought that he would advance along the long road, and that he did not know the short way, and consequently fell into his power. Becoming disheartened, he submitted and declared obedience. The news of it reached al-Faḍl and he turned aside with the Turks to a desert place. Then he separated from them and went rapidly until he came to his father and received amnesty (amân) together with him. The Turks perished of thirst.

Kâwîs went to Madinat-as-Salâm and professed Islâm, and al-Ma’mûn confirmed him as king over his country. Later he made his son, Ḥaidar (i.e. al-Afšin), king after him.

Transoxiana under al-Ma’mûn. Al-Ma’mûn used to write to his ʿâmilîs in Khurāsân to raid those of the people of Transoxiana who had not submitted and accepted Islâm. He would send his envoys to grant pensions in the Register (diwânî) to those whom he liked. He wanted the good will of the people of these regions and of the sons of their kings, and to conciliate them by favors. When they came to his door, he honored them and gave them his blessing.

Under Mutâsîm. Then Mutâsîm-billâh became caliph, and followed the example of his predecessor to such an extent that most of the leaders of his army were from the troops of the people of Transoxiana: Sogdians, Farâghânah, and people of al-Ushrûsanah, ash-Shâsh, and other places. Their kings used to visit him; Islâm became dominant in those regions; and the inhabitants of those countries began to make war against the Turks beyond them.

The Ghuţiyah. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ṭâhir had his son, Ṭâhir ibn-ʿAbdallâh raid the country of the Ghuţiyah, and he


conquered places to which none of the Moslems before him had reached.

*Arab colonists.* Al-‘Umari from al-Haitham ibn-‘Adi from ibn-‘Ayyâsh:—Kutaibah colonized Transoxiana with Arabs, settling them in the land of Farghânah and ash-Shâsh.
PART XX

CONQUEST OF AS-SIND
CHAPTER I

Border Raids

Under 'Umar I. 'Ali ibn-Muhammad ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Saîf:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb appointed 'Uthmân ibn-abu-l-‘Āṣî ath-Thâkâshî over al-Bâhrîn and ‘Umân in the year 15. The latter sent his brother, al-Ḥakâm, to al-Bâhrîn, and went himself to ‘Umân, and sent an army across to Tânah. When the army returned, he wrote to 'Umar, informing him of this expedition. 'Umar wrote to him in reply, "O brother of the Thâkìf, thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allah, I swear that if they had been smitten, I would exact from thy tribe the equivalent."

Al-Ḥakâm sent an expedition against Barwaṣ also, and sent his brother, al-Mughîrah ibn-abu-l-‘Āṣî, to the gulf of ad-Daîbul, where he met the enemy in battle and won a victory.

Under the caliph 'Uthmân. When ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân became ruler, he appointed ‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Āmir ibn-Kuraiz governor of al-'Irâk, and wrote to him, ordering him to send to the frontier of al-Hind to secure information about it and to bring him back the news thereof. ‘Abdallâh sent Ḥakîm ibn-Jabalâh al-‘Abdi, and upon his return, despatched him to ‘Uthmân, who asked him about the condi-

4 LeStr., p. 331, note 1.
tion of the country. He replied, "O Commander of the Believers, I have examined it and know it thoroughly." The caliph said, "Then describe it to me." He answered, "The water supply is scanty; the dates are inferior; and the robbers are bold. A small army would be lost there, and a large army would starve." 'Uthmân said to him, "Are you giving me information or reciting poetry?" 1 He replied, "Nay, information." As a consequence 'Uthmân did not have any one raid the land.

Al-Ḫârīth's raid. But in the latter part of the year 38 and the beginning of the year 39, in the caliphate of 'Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib, al-Ḫârīth ibn-Murrah al-'Abdi undertook an expedition to this frontier, with the permission of 'Ali. He was victorious, and gained booty and captives, distributing on a single day 1,000 head. He was later killed together with all but a few of his followers in the country of al-Ḵīkân. 2 His death occurred in the year 42.

Al-Ḵīkân is part of the land of as-Sind where it boarders on Khurāsān.

Al-Muhallab raids frontier. Then al-Muhallab ibn-abu-Šufrārah raided this frontier in the days of Muʿāwiyah in the year 44. He reached Bannah 3 and al-Ahwâr, 4 towns between al-Multân 5 and Kâbul. The enemy met and attacked him and his followers. In the country of al-Ḵīkân, al-Muhallab met with eighteen Turkish knights, riding horses with docked tails. They attacked him, but were all killed. Al-Muhallab said, "How much more expeditious in manoeuvering these barbarians were than we!"  In conse-

1 Ḥakim's sentences were in rhymed prose.
2 Meyn., p. 468.
3 Meyn., p. 118.
5 LeStr., pp. 331-333.
quence] he had the tails of his own horses docked, being the first Moslem to do such a thing.

Of Bannah al-Azdi says:

"Knowest thou not that the Azd, the night they were attacked
In Bannah, were the best of the army of al-Muhallab?"

ʿAbdallāh ibn-Sawwâr. Afterwards ʿAbdallāh ibn-ʿĀmir, in the time of Muʿāwiyah ibn-abu-Sufyân, appointed ʿAbdallāh ibn-Sawwâr al-ʿAbdi over the frontier of al-Hind. (Some say that Muʿāwiyah himself appointed him.) He made a raid upon al-Kīkân and obtained booty. Then he went to Muʿāwiyah and presented him with some Kīkân horses. He remained there for a while and then returned to al-Kīkân, but the Turks collected their forces and killed him. The poet says about him:

"Ibn-Sawwâr all the time
Kindling fires and slaying hunger." ¹

He was given to hospitality and let no fire be kindled in his camp except his own.² One night he saw another fire and said, "What is this?" They answered, "A woman in child birth for whom a date custard is being made." Thereupon he ordered that the men be given such a custard to eat three times.

Sinān ibn-Salamah. Ziyād ibn-abu-Sufyân, in the days of Muʿāwiyah, appointed Sinān ibn-Salamah ibn-al-Muh-abbîk al-Hudhali to the command. He was an excellent, godly man, and was the first to bind the troops by an oath to divorce their wives.³ He proceeded to the frontier

¹ Yākūt has a different text, which Barbier de Meynard, p. 469, translates, "Le fils de Sawar allume le feu contre ses ennemis et extermin-les pervers." Cf. also Reinaud, op. cit., p. 159.
² So that he would have a monopoly of the hospitality.
³ Yākūt, (Cf. Meyn., p. 538) adds "so that they should not flee." Yākūt's text in this passage and in the verses that follow has several different readings. See Meyn., loc. cit.
and conquered Mukrán by force. He established a garrison there and made it his headquarters and kept the country in order. Concerning him the poet says:

“I saw the Hudhail, solemnly swearing
To divorce their wives who had no dower.
It were easy for me to take such an oath as ibn-Muḥabbik’s,
When they have taken the gold rings from their necks."

Ibn-al-Kalbi says that the one who conquered Mukrán was Ḥakim ibn-Jabalah al-‘Abdi.

Rāšid ibn-‘Amr. Afterwards Ziyâd put in charge of the frontier Rāshid ibn-‘Amr al-Judaidi of the Azd. He went to Mukrán; then he conducted a successful raid against al-Ḳilṭân; but later, while raiding the Mid, he was killed. Sinân ibn-Salamah succeeded to the command of the army, and Ziyâd appointed him over the frontier. He remained there two years.

Al-A’sha of Hamdân says of Mukrán:

“And thou art going to Mukrán.—
How far the destination from the starting place!
I have no use for Mukrán,
Either to fight there or to trade.
I was told about it; I did not go there;
And I always dislike to hear about it.
Most people there are hungry,
And the rest of them are depraved."

Al-Kunduhâr. Abbâd ibn-Ziyâd raided the frontier of al-Hind from Sijistân. He went to Sanârûd; thence he proceeded by way of Kahz to ar-Rûdhbâr, of the land of Sijistân as far as the river Hindmand. He camped at

---

1 Or Makrân. Yâḳût (Meyn., p. 538); LeStr., pp. 329-333.
2 See note 3, p. 211.
3 Yâḳût and Reinaud read the name differently. Meyn p. 538.
4 Diff. readings in Yâḳût (Meyn.).
5 Meyn. p. 266; LeStr., p. 344.
6 The text is corrupt here. Kahz is dubious. See De Goeje, p. 434, note c.
Kishsh, and crossed the desert until he came to al-Ḳunduhâr, whose inhabitants he attacked and put to flight, driving them back, and conquering the land after a number of Moslem casualties. He saw there the high turbans of the natives, and had some made like them. [In consequence of this] they are called ‘abbâdiyyah.

Mufarrigh says:

“How many a footprint in the jungles and land of India,
And tunics of the unburied slain
In Ḳunduhâr. Yea, of these whose scroll was sealed
In Ḳunduhâr, none brought back the news.”

Al-Mundhir. Ziyâd next appointed al-Mundhir ibn-al-Jârûd al-‘Abdi (his kunyah being abu-l-Ash’ath) over the frontier of al-Hind. He raided al-Bûkân and al-Ḳikân. The Moslems were victorious and captured much booty and distributed the troops among the cities there. Al-Mundhir conquered Kuṣdâr and took many captives there. Sinân had taken it before, but its inhabitants had rebelled. Al-Mundhir died there. The poet says:

“He came to Kuṣdâr, and there he found
The grave. He rejoiced not with them that rejoiced.
To Allah belong Kuṣdâr and its grapes.
Alas! What a hero of the world and of religion is buried there!”

Ibn-Ḥarî. Then ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Ziyâd put in command ibn-Ḥarî al-Bâhili, by whose hand Allah subdued this country. He fought a fierce and successful campaign there, acquiring much booty.

Some authorities say that ‘Ubaidallâh appointed Sinân 435

1 Or Kiss. LeStr., p. 344.
2 Meyn., p. 461; LeStr., p. 347.
4 Meyn., p. 446; LeStr., pp. 331-333; De Goeje, p. 445.
5 Diff. reading in Yâkût (Meyn., loc. cit.)
ibn-Salamah and that Ḥarri (sic) was in command of his troops.

Concerning Ḥarri ibn-Ḥarri the poet says:

"Had I not been bold in al-Bûkân, there had not returned
Thence the troops of ibn-Ḥarri with spoils of war."

Al-Bûkân. The inhabitants of al-Bûkân today are Moslems. ‘Imrân ibn-Mûsa ibn-Yaḫya ibn-Khâlid al-Barmaki built a city there which he named al-Baiḍâ’ ("the white"). This was in the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim-billâh.
CHAPTER II

CAMPAIGNS UNDER AL-ḤAJJĀJ

Saʿīd ibn-Aslam governor. When al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yaḥyū ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abu-ʿUkāil ath-Thāfaṭi became governor of al-ʿIrāq, he appointed Saʿīd ibn-Aslam ibn-Zurʿah al-Kilābi over Mukrân (i.e. the frontier). Muʿāwiyyah and Muḥammad, the sons of al-Ḥarīrī al-Ilāfī, led an expedition against him, and he was killed. The two Ilāfīs 'got control of the frontier. The name of Ilāf was Rabbān ibn-Hulwān ibn-ʿImrān ibn-al-Ḥāf ibn-Ḵuḏāʾah, and he was the father of Jarm.

Mujjāʿah. Al-Ḥajjāj then appointed Mujjāʿah ibn-Siʿr at-Tâmīmī governor of this frontier. Mujjāʿah made raids, gaining booty, and conquering portions of Ḵandābil. Later Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḵāsim completed the conquest. Mujjāʿah died a year after in Mukrân.

The poet says:

"Not one of the great deeds thou hast done,
But the mention of it makes thee more shameless." 2

Followed by Muḥammad ibn-Ḥarūn. Then, after Mujjāʿah, al-Ḥajjāj appointed Muḥammad ibn-Ḥarūn ibn-Dhirāʿ an-Namari, and during his administration the king of the island of Rubies 3 sent to al-Ḥajjāj some women who were born in his country as Moslems, their fathers, who had

---

1 Meyn., p. 461; LeStr., pp. 331-333.
2 Ar. mujjāʿa, a play on the name.
733]
been merchants, having died. He wanted to court favor with al-Ḥajjāj by sending them back. But the ship in which they were sailing was attacked by some of the Mīd of ad-
Daibul in barks (bawārīj), and was captured with all that was in it. One of the women, who was of the tribe of the banu-Yarbû', cried out, "O Ḥajjāj!" al-Ḥajjāj heard of this and exclaimed, "Here am I." He sent to Dāhir, asking him to set the women free, but Dāhir replied, "Pir-
ates over whom I have no control captured them." So al-
Ḥajjāj sent 'Ubaidallâh ibn-Nabhân to raid ad-Daibul, but he was killed. Then al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Budail ibn-Ṭahfah al-Bajali, who was in 'Umân, ordering him to go against ad-Daibul. But when Budail met the enemy, his horse ran away with him, and the enemy surrounded him and killed him. (Other authorities say that he was killed by the Zuţţ of al-Budhah.)

This island was called the Island of Rubies because of the beauty of the faces of its women.

Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳāsim. Then al-Ḥajjāj put Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳāsim ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-
abu-'Ukail in charge, during the reign of al-Walid ibn-
'Abd-al-Malik. He raided as-Sind. Muḥammad was at that time in Fârs and had received orders from al-Ḥajjāj to march to ar-Rai. He sent abu-l-Aswad Jahm ibn-Zahr al-Ju'ifi towards ar-Rai in command of his van, but al-Ḥaj-
jāj sent Jahm back to Muḥammad, and had the latter take over the frontier of as-Sind, reinforcing him with 6,000 from the army of the people of Syria, and a number from other sources, and supplying him with everything he desired, even to thread and needles. Al-Ḥajjāj ordered him to stay in Shîrâz until he got all his followers together, and all of his preparations made.

Vinegar in cotton. Al-Ḥajjāj prepared clean cotton
and soaked it in vinegar made of sour wine, and then hung it up in the shade to dry. He said, "When ye get to as-Sind, vinegar is scarce there, so put this cotton in water; then heat it up, and season with it." Other authorities say that Muḥammad, when he got to the frontier, wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, complaining of the scarcity of vinegar with them, and he sent him the cotton dipped in vinegar.

Ibn-al-Kāsim's campaigns. Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳāsim went to Mukrān and remained there some days; then he went to Ḳannazbûr¹ and conquered it; then to Armâ'il² and conquered it. Muḥammad ibn-Hārūn ibn-Dhīrāf met him, joined forces with him, and accompanied him, but died not far from there, and was buried in Ḳanîl.³

Siege of ad-Daibul. Then Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳāsim went from Armâ'il, accompanied by Jahm ibn-Zahr al-Ju'fī, arriving at ad-Daibul on a Friday. To him came some ships laden with men, weapons, and supplies. When he encamped at ad-Daibul, he constructed trenches; lances were set up along the trenches, with flags flying from them, and the troops camped according to their flags. He had catapults, known as ʿarūs,⁴ set up, manned by 500 men.

Buddhist temple in ad-Daibul. In ad-Daibul was a great Buddhist temple on which was a long yard-arm [daḵal] with a red banner on it that, when the wind blew, went around the city, twisting and turning. The temple [budd'] (according to tradition) was a great minaret erected in the midst of their buildings, and housing their idol or idols,

¹ Or Ḳannajbûr. LeStr., p. 329, says this is a clerical error for Fanazbûr. Cf. ʾIṣṭakhri, p. 170.
² Or Armabil. LeStr., pp. 330, 333.
³ So pointed in the Cairo edition. De Goeje is uncertain, but seems to think that Ḳanbal for Ḳanbali is the right reading. Cf. LeStr., p. 330; Elliot, Hist. of India, vol. i, p. 119.
⁴ See Dozy. It is probably a non-Arabic word. Ar. ʿarūs = bride.
through which the building was renowned. The idol was inside of the minaret also. Everything which they honored in a religious way was called by them Budd, the idol also being Budd.

Al-Ḥajjāj counsels Muḥammad. Al-Ḥajjāj kept sending messages to Muḥammad, and every three days Muḥammad would dispatch his replies to him, describing the progress of the campaign, and asking his advice about what should be done in the matter. One letter came to Muḥammad from al-Ḥajjāj, saying, “Set up the ‘arūs, shortening its foot, and placing it towards the east. Then summon the officer in command of it, and order him to aim the shot at the yard-arm which thou didst describe to me.”

Ad-Daibul taken. The yard-arm was shot at and broken, and the consequent dismay of the unbelievers was great. Then Muḥammad, upon their making a sortie against him, attacked them, and drove them clear back in flight. He ordered up the ladders. They were placed in position, and the men went up them, the first of them to get up being a Kūfān from Murād. The city was thus conquered by force, and Muḥammad kept up the slaughter of the inhabitants for three days. Dāhir’s governor fled from the place, but the custodians of the house of their god were killed. Muḥammad marked out a quarter for the Moslems, built a mosque, and settled 4,000 colonists there.

The Buddhist temple destroyed. Muḥammad ibn-Yahya says, “Mansūr ibn-Ḥātim an-Nāḥawi, freedman of the family of Khālid ibn-Asid, related to me that he saw the yard-arm, which was on the minaret of the Budd, broken, and that ‘Anbasah ibn-Ishāk aḍ-Ḍabbī, who ruled over as-Sind in the caliphate of al-Muṭaṣim-billāh, tore down the top of this minaret, and made a prison of it; and began the rebuilding of the city with the stones of this minaret which were torn down. He was deposed before the completion of this.
After him Hârûn ibn-abu-Khâlid of Marw-ar-Rûdh was ruler. He was killed there."

Al-Birûn and Sahbân. Muḥammad ibn-Kâsim went to al-Birûn, whose inhabitants had sent two Buddhist monks of their number to al-Ḥajjâj and had made a treaty with him. They supplied Muḥammad with provisions, received him into their city, and had the treaty confirmed. Muḥammad brought to terms every city he came to, until he crossed a river this side of the Mihrân, where some monks of Sarbîdas came to him and made a treaty with him in behalf of the people they represented. He imposed the kharâj upon them and advanced against Sahbân and conquered it. Then he went to the river Mihrân [Indus] and encamped in the midst of it. This came to the knowledge of Dâhîr, who made ready to attack him.

Sadûsân. Muḥammad ibn-al-Kâsim had sent Muḥammad ibn-Muṣ'ab ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ath-Thaḳafi against Sadûsân with cavalry and pack trains. Its inhabitants sought peace [amân] and a treaty, and the monks sent envoys to mediate between him and them. He granted them peace; assessed taxes upon them; took pledges from them, and returned to Muḥammad ibn-Kâsim with 4,000 of the Zuṭṭ, who joined Muḥammad. The general appointed a man to rule Sadûsân.

2 Name doubtful. De Goeje lists it as a place, as also Reinaud, who translates, "Alors il vit venir à lui les Samaneens (prêtres) de . . . qui venaient" etc. Elliot, op. cit., p. 121, translates, "Then he saw approaching towards him Sarbidas, the Samani, who came" etc.
3 Sihwân. Elliot, p. 397, equates Siwistân with Sihwân. Reinaud has Sohwân in his map.
4 Reinaud translates "sur ses bords." Elliot has simply "there." I have translated literally.
5 Elliot, op. cit., p. 401.
6 Ar. ẖammârât = riders upon asses, but is a double plural.
Dâhir killed. Later Muḥammad sought to cross over the Mihrân, and succeeded in doing so by means of a bridge which he built across it at a point where it borders on the territories of Râṣîl, the king of Kaṣṣah of al-Hind, while Dâhir was careless and neglectful of him. Muḥammad and the Moslems met him mounted upon an elephant and surrounded by elephants and accompanied by the Takâkirah. A fierce battle ensued, the like of which had not been heard of. Dâhir was forced to dismount; he kept on fighting, but was killed near evening. The polytheists were put to rout, and the Moslems slaughtered them at will. The one who killed Dâhir, according to the tradition of al-Madâ’inî, was a man of the banu-Kilâb, who said,

“The horses at the battle of Dâhir bear witness and the spears
And Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḵâṣim ibn-Muḥammad,
That fearlessly I scattered the host of them
Until I came upon their chief with my sword,
And left him rolled in the dirt,
Dust on his unpillowed cheek.”

Maṁṣûr ibn-Ḫâtim told me that Dâhir and his slayer are portrayed in Barwaṣ, and Budail ibn-Ṭahfah is portrayed in Ṭandes, and his grave is in ad-Daibul.

‘Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ’ini from abu-Muḥammad al-Hindi from abu-l-Faraj, who says: When Dâhir was killed, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḵâṣim was in complete control of the country of as-Sind.

Ibn-al-Kalbi says: The one who killed Dâhir was al-Ḵâṣim ibn-Tha‘labah ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-Ḩîṣn at-Ṭâ’î.

The wife of Dâhir. Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḵâṣim conquered Rawar by force. In this place there was a wife of Dâhir,

1 De Goeje suggests Râṣîk; but see Elliot, p. 121.
2 A plural formed from the Sanskrit thakkura = master. Reinaud translates “généraux.”
3 A suburb of Khujandah in Farghânah. But the text here is doubtful.
4 Meyn., p. 255; LeStr., pp. 309, 325.
who, in fear lest she be captured, burned herself and her attendants and all her possessions.

_Brahmanâbâdh_. Then Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim went to old Brahmanâbâdh,¹ just two parasangs from al-Manṣūrah.² (Al-Manṣūrah did not exist at that time; its site was nothing but a jungle.) The disordered forces of Dâhir were in this Brahmanâbâdh. They resisted Muḥammad, and he conquered the place by force. 8,000 were killed there. (Some say 26,000.) He left his lieutenant to govern the place for him. It is in ruins today.

_Sâwandalrai_. Muḥammad set out for ar-Rûr ³ and Baghrûr,⁴ and the people of Sâwandalrai ⁵ met him asking for peace. He granted it to them, but made it a condition that they should entertain the Moslems and furnish them with guides. The people of Sâwandalrai are Moslems today.

_Basmad_. Then he proceeded to Basmad ⁶ and made a treaty with its people having terms like those of the treaty of Sâwandalrai.

_The Buddhist temples_. Ar-Rûr is as far as Muḥammad advanced. It is one of the cities of as-Sind, and is on a mountain. He besieged its inhabitants some months, but finally reduced the city by capitulation, the terms being that he should not put anyone to death, nor interfere with their temples [budd]. He said, “The budd are like the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire-temples of the Magians.” He imposed the kharâj upon them in ar-Rûr and built a mosque.

¹ LeStr., p. 331.
² Masʿūdi, vol. i, p. 207; Meyn., p. 546; LeStr., p. 331.
³ Meyn., p. 268; Elliot, p. 363.
⁴ Meyn., p. 268.
⁵ Reinaud, _Mém._, p. 62.
⁶ Not identified.
As-Sikah. Muḥammad proceeded against as-Sikah,¹ a city on this side of the Bayās ² and conquered it. Today as-Sikah is in ruins.

Al-Multan. Then he crossed over the Bayās river to al-Multan. The people of al-Multan resisted him, but Zâ'īdah ibn-‘Umair at-Ṭā'i covered himself with glory, and the polytheists fled and entered the city. Muḥammad besieged them. The supplies of the Moslems became so low that they ate the asses. Then a man came to them, asking for protection [amān], and guided them to the place where the water of which the people drank entered. It was water flowing from the Basmad river, and was collected in a reservoir like the Pool in al-Madinah. They call it al-Balâh.³ He shut it off, and when they became thirsty, they surrendered at discretion. Muḥammad put to death the men of fighting age, and enslaved the women and children, and made captives of the custodians of the budd, numbering 6,000. He obtained much gold.

The House of Gold. This wealth was collected in a building, ten by eight cubits in dimension, into which whatever was deposited was cast through a window, opening in its roof. From this al-Multan was called the “Farj of the House of Gold.” (Farj means literally “the frontier.”)

The temple in al-Multan. The Budd of al-Multan was a shrine to which valuable offerings were given, and to which vows were paid, and to which the people of as-Sind made pilgrimages. They made the circuit of it, and shaved their heads and beards there. They claim that the image in it is that of the prophet Aiyūb [Job].

¹ Not identified.
² Elliot, p. 142, note 2.
³ Reinaud reads nūlilah, an Indian word meaning a canal or stream which flows only part of the year. Elliot prefers talāh=tank. The Cairo edition reads balâh.
A *profitable campaign*. Al-Ḥajjāj made a reckoning, and found that he had expended upon Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḵâsim 60,000,000 dirhams, and that what the latter brought back was 120,000,000. So he said, "We have appeased our rage and obtained revenge, and have made a profit of 60,000,000 dirhams plus the head of Dâhir."

*Al-Bailamân and Surast*. Al-Ḥajjāj died and the news of his death was brought to Muḥammad, who returned from al-Multân to ar-Rûr and Baghrûr, which he had conquered, and distributed gifts to the army. He dispatched a force against al-Bailamân,¹ which did not resist, but offered submission. Also the people of Surast² made peace with him. It is at war with the people of al-Baṣrah today. Its habitants are Mid who cross over the sea.

*Al-Kîraj*. Then Muḥammad went to al-Kîraj.³ Dûhar issued forth against him, and they fought. The enemy was put to rout, and Dûhar fled. (Others say that he was killed.) The inhabitants of the city surrendered at discretion to Muḥammad, who put them to death or enslaved them.

The poet says:

"We [it was who] slew Dâhir and Dûhar,
The cavalry trotting, squadron by squadron."

¹ A city in as-Sind. There was another Bailamân in Jîlân.
² Ibn-Khurdâdbih, p. 57, reads Surusht.
³ Perhaps Kîranj. LeStr., p. 400.
CHAPTER III

CALIPHATE OF SULAIMĀN

Muḥammad imprisoned. Al-Walīd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik died, and Sulaimān 1 ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik succeeded him. He appointed Šāliḥ ibn-‘Abd-ar-Rahmān to take charge of the kharāj of ‘Irāk. The latter sent Yazīd ibn-abu-Kabashah as-Saksaki to as-Sind, and he put Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim in chains together with Muʿāwiyah ibn-al-Muhallab. Muḥammad quoted the proverb:

“They lost me, and a precious thing they lost,
For a day of adversity and frontier defence.”

The people of al-Hind mourned the loss of Muḥammad, and set up a portrait of him in al-Kiraj; but Šāliḥ imprisoned him in Wāṣit. And Muḥammad said:

“Though I am imprisoned in Wāṣit and its land
In bonds of iron, twisted hard;
Yet many a youth of Persia have I fought,
And many a brave have I left slain.”

And again he said:

“'Twere easy, had I but made a stand, for me to mount;
Mares as well as horses were ready for battle.
And the horsemen of the Saksakites would not have entered our land;
There would not have been an Akkite to rule over me;
I should not have been at the mercy of a liveried slave.
Alas for thee, O Time, careless of the noble.”

Muḥammad put to death. Šāliḥ tortured him and others of the family of abu-‘Ukail to death. Al-Ḥajjâj 2 had put

1 Enemy of Muḥammad ibn-Ḳâsim.
2 Cousin of Muḥammad ibn-Ḳâsim.
to death Ṣāliḥ’s brother, Adam, who shared the opinions of the heretics.

Ḥamzah ibn-Baḍ al-Ḥanafi says:

“Gratitude, forgiveness, and generosity
Were virtues of Muhammad ibn-al-Ḵāsim ibn-Muḥammad.
He commanded armies at the age of seventeen.
How near this task was to his birth.”

Another version is:

“He commanded men at the age of seventeen.
His contemporaries were busied with other matters.

Ḥabīb succeeds Yāṣīd. Yāṣīd ibn-abu-Kabashah died eighteen days after he arrived in the land of as-Sind, and Sulaimān ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik commissioned Ḥabīb ibn-al-Muhallab to wage the as-Sind campaign, and he set out thither. The kings of al-Hind had come back to their kingdoms, and Dāhir’s son, Ḥullishah,¹ had come back to Braḥmanābādh. Ḥabīb stationed himself upon the banks of the Mihrān. The people of ar-Rūr submitted to him, and he fought and defeated a certain tribe.

The kings of as-Sind become Moslems. Then Sulaimān ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik died, and after him came the caliphate of ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azīz. He wrote to the kings, inviting them to become Moslems and be subject to him, agreeing to let them continue on their thrones, and have the same privileges and obligations as the Moslems. An account of his mode of life and how he practiced his religion had already reached them. Ḥullishah accepted Islām, and so did the other kings, and they adopted Arab names.

‘Umar’s agent. ‘Amr ibn-Muslim al-Bāhili was ‘Umar’s lieutenant over this frontier. He conducted some successful raids into al-Hind.

¹This name lacks diacritical points in the text. See De Goeje, p. 441, note e, and compare Elliot, Hist of India, vol. i, p. 124, note 2.
Al-Muhallab’s sons. The sons of al-Muhallab\(^1\) fled to as-Sind in the days of Yazid ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik, who sent against them Hilâl ibn-Ahwaz at-Tamimi. The latter fought with them, and killed Mudrik ibn-al-Muhallab at Ḍandâbil. The rest of al-Muhallab’s sons, al-Muṣafâḍāl, ‘Abd-al-Malik, Ziyâd, Marwân, and Mu‘awiyyah, he also killed. Last of all he killed Mu‘awiyyah ibn-Yazid.

Al-Junaid becomes governor. Al-Junaid ibn-‘Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Murri governed the frontier of as-Sind for ‘Umar ibn-Hubairah al-Fazârî. Then Hishâm ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik appointed him to rule over it, and when Khâlid ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Ḳasri went to al-‘Irâk, Hishâm sent orders to al-Junaid to correspond with him. So al-Junaid went to ad-Daibul; next he encamped on the Mihrân, but Ḥullishah prevented his crossing the river, sending to him this message, “I have accepted Islâm, and an honest man\(^2\) appointed me to rule my country. But I have no faith in thee.”

Ḥullishah apostatizes. They exchanged pledges in regard to the matter of the kharâj due upon his country. Later they both sent back the pledges, and Ḥullishah apostatized and declared war. (Others say that he did not begin the hostilities, but that al-Junaid attacked him.) He went to al-Hind, collected forces, seized the boats, and prepared for war.

Defeated and killed. Al-Junaid sailed to meet him, and they joined battle at Batiḥat\(^3\)-ash-Sharkî. Ḥullishah was taken prisoner, his ship having missed the way. He was put to death, and Dâhir’s son, Siṣah, tried to flee with the intention of proceeding to al-‘Irâk and complaining of al-Junaid’s treachery. The latter, however, cajoled him until he got him into his power, and then killed him.

\[^1\] For this revolt see Mas‘ūdî, vol. i, 461 et seq.

\[^2\] ‘Umar II.

\[^3\] Swamp.
Al-Kiraj. Al-Junaid raided al-Kiraj, which had broken the covenant. He constructed battering rams and with them beat the walls of the city until he broke them down, and entered the city by force, killing, enslaving, and plundering.

He sent lieutenants against Mirmad, al-Mandal, Dahnej,¹ and Barwaş.

Al-Junaid used to say, "It is better to die fighting boldly than to die with resignation."

Other campaigns. Al-Junaid sent an army to Uzain,² and sent Ḥabib ibn-Murrah with an army to the land of al-Mālibah.³ They waged a war with Uzain, raided Bahrīmad,⁴ and set fire to its suburbs. Al-Junaid conquered al-Bailamān and al-Jurz.⁵ There remained in his camp, over and above what he gave to his friends, 40,000-450,000 dirhams, and he turned in [to the caliph] an equal amount.

Jarir says:

"The guests and friends of al-Junaid came
With smiling faces brightened by his gifts."

Abu-l-Juwairiyah says:

"Were it possible to sit above the sun for generosity,
Some would sit there for their virtues or nobility,
Envied for their generous natures,
May God never refuse them his bounties which they desire."

Tamīm succeeds al-Junaid. Next after al-Junaid, Tamim ibn-Zaid al-ʿUtbi was ruler. He had a weak constitution, and fell sick and died near ad-Daibul, at a spring called

¹ For these names cf. Elliot, op. cit. p. 390 and DeGoeje's notes p. 442.
² Most of these places have not been identified. See Elliot, pp. 441-442.
³ Malabar.
⁴ Not identified.
⁵ Elliot, pp. 358-359.
the water of the buffaloes”. It is called “the water of the buffaloes” only because they take refuge in it from some blue flies which are on the banks of the Mihrân.

Generosity of Tamîm. Tamîm was one of the most generous of the Arabs. He found in the treasury in as-Sind 18,000,000 dirhams in coin,¹ which he made quick work of. There had accompanied him in his army a youth of the banu-Yarbû‘, called Khunais, as far as al-Hind. His mother was of the Tai‘. She went to al-Farazdak² and asked him to write to Tamim to send him back, invoking the grave of his father, Ghâlib. Al-Farazdak wrote to Tamim:

“O Tamîm, a woman came to me asking in the name of Ghâlib,
And his dust-covered grave.
So give me Khunais and win thereby my gratitude.
For the love of a mother whose drink is not swallowed in comfort,
Tamîm ibn-Zaid, put not off my request,
And be not averse to answer her.
Delay not in what I ask you for, because
I grow impatient when men delay in gratifying me.”³

Tamîm could not make out what the youth’s name was, whether Ḥubais or Khunais,⁴ so he gave orders that every man whose name was similar in form to these letters should go back.

In the days of Tamîm, the Moslems withdrew from the land of al-Hind, and abandoned their headquarters, and they have not returned so far as that since.

A city of refuge. Afterwards, while al-Ḥakam ibn-ʿAwânah al-Kalbi was ruler, the people of al-Hind apostatized, with the exception of the inhabitants of Kaṣṣah. A

¹ Tatâriyah, de Goeje, Glossary, p. 63, says “moneta Indica.” Elliot translates simply “Tatar dirhams.”
² The poet. His complete Dwân has been published by Hell.
³ These verses with some variants are found also in ibn-Khallikân.
⁴ The diacritical points not yet being in use.
place of refuge to which the Moslems might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake (al-Buḥairah), where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Maḥfūṭah, establishing it as a place of refuge for them where they would be secure, and making it a capital. He said to the sheikhs of the tribe of Kalb of the people of Syria, "What do you think we should name it?" Some of them said, "Damascus." Another said, "Hams." And another said, "Name it Tadmur." But al-Ḥakam said, "May God destroy thee, O fool. I shall name it al-Maḥfūṭah." He himself settled in it.

Al-Manṣūrah built. 'Amr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳāsim accompanied al-Ḥakam, who used to rely upon him and leave to his discretion the most important business and affairs. He sent him on a raid from al-Maḥfūṭah, and upon his triumphant return, he built on this side of the lake a city which he called al-Manṣūrah. It is where the governors reside today.

Al-Ḥakam's success. Al-Ḥakam won back from the hands of the enemy all that they had conquered from him. The people were pleased with his administration, and Khâlid used to say, "How wonderful! I appointed a generous Arab (meaning Tamîm), and he was unpopular. I appointed the stingiest man alive, and he was quite acceptable."

Al-Ḥakam was killed there later, and afterwards the governors kept fighting the enemy and seizing whatever came into their hands, and subduing the neighborhoods whose inhabitants rebelled.

1 He makes a pun on Tadmur (Palmyra) with the root damara.
2 "The Well-Guarded."
3 Lit. "When he returned, and he had accomplished his task". For amrahu—his task, Reinaud reads ammarahu—he made him an amir.
CHAPTER IV

UNDER THE ABBÂSIDES

Mughallis governor of as-Sind. When first the Blessed Dynasty\(^1\) came into power, abu-Muslim ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Muslim appointed Mughallis al-‘Abdi governor of the frontier of as-Sind. He went by way of Ṭūkhâristân\(^2\) and advanced until he came upon Manṣûr ibn-Jamhûr al-Kalbi, who was in as-Sind. Manṣûr met him in battle, killed him, routed his army.

Mûsa ibn-Ka'b succeeds him. When the news of this came to abu-Muslim, he entrusted the matter to Mûsa ibn-Ka'b at-Tamîmi and sent him to as-Sind. When he arrived there, between him and Manṣûr ibn-Jamhûr was the Mihrân. Presently they joined battle, and he put to rout Manṣûr and his forces, killing Manṭhûr, his brother. Manṣûr made his escape, fleeing until he reached the desert, and perished of thirst. Mûsa governed as-Sind, restored al-Manṣûrah and enlarged its mosque, and conducted successful campaigns.

Hîshâm ibn-'Amr becomes governor. Al-Manṣûr, the Commander of the Believers, appointed Hîshâm ibn-'Amr at-Taghlibî governor of as-Sind. He conquered what was left unsubdued and sent ‘Amr ibn-Jamal with a fleet to Nârînd.\(^3\) He also went to the regions of al-Hînd and con-

---

\(^1\) I.e. the Abbâsides.

\(^2\) See supra, p. 165, note 3.

\(^3\) Not identified.

230
quered Kashmir, obtaining many prisoners and slaves. He conquered al-Multân and cleared out a faction of Arabs which was in Ḍandâbil. He went to al-Kunduhâr with the fleet, and conquered it, throwing down the Budd and building a mosque in its place. The land prospered in his administration, and his name was blessed. He maintained peace along the frontier, and kept its affairs in order.

Other governors. Afterwards the frontier of as-Sind was governed by 'Umar ibn-Ḥafs ibn-'Uthmân Hazârmard. Then by Dâ'ûd ibn-Yazid ibn-Ḥâtim, with whom was associated abu-ṣ-Ṣammah, a freedman of Kindah, who holds the office now.

Bâlah, king of ash-Sharkî. Conditions along the frontier continued quiet until Bishr ibn-Da'ûd became ruler over it in the caliphate of al-Ma'mûn. Bishr refused to obey orders, and the caliph sent to him Ghassân ibn-'Abbâd, a native of Sawâd of al-Kûfah. Bishr met him, on the assurance of a safe-conduct, and returned with him to Madînat-as-Salâm. Ghassân left as his lieutenant over the frontier Mûsa ibn-Yahya ibn-Khâlid ibn-Barmak. The latter killed Bâlah, king of ash-Sharkî, although the latter had offered him 600,000 dirhams on condition that he spare him. This Bâlah had tried to intrigue with Ghassân and had written to him in the presence of his army and through the princes who accompanied him, but Mûsa refused him.

Mûsa succeeded by his son. Mûsa lived an upright life, and died in the year 221, leaving to succeed him his son, 'Imrân ibn-Mûsa. To him al-Mu'tasîm-billâh, the Commander of the Believers, wrote in regard to governing the frontier. He made an expedition against the Kišânites,

1 Sometimes pointed Kishmir. Yâkût.
2 I.e. the people were happy under him.
3 Bagdad.
4 The text has 21, a clerical error.
who are Zuṭṭ, fighting and defeating them, and building a
city which he called al-Baiḍâ’, where he established his army.
Then he went to al-Manṣūrah, and thence to ܳKandābil.
The latter is a city on a mountain, and the man who was
the actual ruler of it was named Muḥammad ibn-al-Khalil.
‘Imrân fought him and conquered the city and took its chief
men to ܳKasḍâr. Then he raided the Mid, killing 3,000 of
them. He built a highway know as the highway of the
Mid. The camp of ܳImrân was upon the river of ar-Rûr.
Then he summoned the Zuṭṭ who were in his neighborhood.
They came to him, and he sealed their hands,\(^1\) collecting
from them the jiżyah, and giving them the order that each
of them should bring a dog with him when he presented
himself. The price of a dog rose to 50 dirhams.\(^2\) Later
he raided the Mid, with the assistance of the chiefs of the
Zuṭṭ. He dug a canal from the sea, which he ran into their
fresh water until their water became salty, and [then] he
started to attack them. Then strife arose between the
Nizârites\(^3\) and the Yemenites, and ܳImrân favored the latter.
‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Aziz al-Ḥabbârî went out against him,
and killed him by surprise. This ‘Umar’s grandfather was
among those who went to as-Sind with al-Ḥakam ibn-
‘Awânah al-Kalbi.

Sindân. Manṣūr ibn-Ḥātim says that al-Faḍl ibn-
Mâhân, a freedman of the banu-Sâmah, conquered and sub-
duèd Sindân.\(^4\) He sent to al-Ma’mûn an elephant, corres-
ponded with the caliph and invoked the blessing upon him
in a cathedral mosque which he had erected there. When

\(^1\) By branding or tattooing. Cf. infra, p. 266, note 1 and De Goeje,
Glossary, pp. 33-34.

\(^2\) Reinaud suggests that the intention may have been to diminish the
number of dogs.

\(^3\) Reinaud, Jour. As. p. 189, note 2.

\(^4\) Reinaud, Jour. As. p. 190, note 2.
he died he was succeeded by Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl ibn-Māhân, who made an expedition with a fleet of 70 ships of war against the Mid of al-Hind. He killed many of them, and conquered Fāli,¹ and returned to Sindân. A brother of his, named Māhân ibn-al-Faḍl, had made himself master of that city and had written to the Commander of the Believers, al-Muʿtaṣim-billâh, presenting him with a turban,² the like of which in size and length had not been seen. But the Hindus were under the sway of his brother, and they turned against Māhân, killed him and crucified him. Then later the Hindus got control of Sindân, but they left its mosque for the Moslems to assemble in and pray for the caliph.

The king of al-ʿUsaifân. Abu-Bakr, a freedman of the Kuraizî, told me that a country called al-ʿUsaifân, between Ḵâshmir, al-Multân and Kâbul, had a wise king. The people of the country used to worship an idol over which a house was built. They were assembled in this temple one day when the son of the king fell sick. The king summoned the priests of the temple and said to them, “Pray to the idol that my son may recover.” They withdrew from him for the space of an hour. Then they came to him and said, “We have asked him and he has answered our request.” But the boy soon after died, and king fell upon the house and had it razed to the ground; the idol he smashed to pieces, and the priests were put to death. Then he summoned some Moslem merchants, who explained to him the doctrine of the unity of God. He acknowledged the unity and became a Moslem. This was in the caliphate of the Commander of the Believers, al-Muʿtaṣim-billâh.

² Ar. ʿsâf.
PART XXI
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

CONCERNING THE LAWS OF KHARĀJ ¹ LANDS

Bishr ibn-Ghiyāth from abu-Yūsuf:—Only land which was taken by assault, such as as-Sawād, ash-Sha‘m, and others, [is subject to the kharāj]. If the leader divided it among those who conquered it, it is tithe-land, and its inhabitants slaves; if the leader did not divide it, but turned it over to the Moslems as a whole, as ‘Umar did with as-Sawād, then its people sustain the burden of the jizyah, and the land is subject to the kharāj, but the people are not slaves. This is the dictum of abu-Ḥanīfah [also].

Al-Wâkidī, on the authority of Sufyān ath-Thauri, makes the same statement. Al-Wâkidī [further] quotes Mâlik ibn-Anas and ibn-abu-Dhi‘b, who says:—When an unbeliever from the people of “assault” accepted Islâm, his land was confirmed in his possession for him to cultivate, paying the kharāj for it, just as other Moslems.

Mâlik, ibn-abu-Dhi‘b, Sufyān ath-Thauri, and ibn-abu-Laila say in regard to one of the people “of assault” who accepts Islâm:—The kharāj is upon the land and, in addition to the kharāj, the zakāt (almstax) of the crop. This is [also] the dictum of al-Auzâ‘i.

Abu-Ḥanīfah and his school say:—A man is not liable for both kharāj and zakāt.

¹ For kharāj and jizyah and the financial system in general of the Arab State, see von Kremer, Culturgeschichte des Orients, pp. 59-65, 256-379; Juynboll, Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes, pp. 344 et seq., and the literature mentioned there. Many items in regard to taxation may be gleaned from Balâdhuri, particularly in vol. i.
Mālik, ibn-abu-Dhi‘b, Sufyân, and abu-Ḥanifah say:—If a man sow his land, being kharâj-land, [several] times in a year, only a single kharâj was collected from him.

Ibn-abu-Laila says:—The kharâj is collected from him as often as a crop ripens for him. And this is [also] the dictum of ibn-abu-Sabrah and abu-Shimr.

Abu-z-Zinâd, Mâlik, abu-Ḥanifah, Sufyân, Ya‘kûb, ibn-abu-Laila, ibn-abu-Sabrah, Zafr, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan, and Bishr ibn-Ghiyâth say:—If a man leaves his land fallow, he is told to ‘cultivate it and pay its kharâj, or else give it to some one else to cultivate.’ In the case of tithe-land, nothing is said to him about it. The ṣadakah is collected from him whether he sow or not. Allah knows best.

The same authorities say:—If a man leaves his land fallow two years, and then cultivates it, he pays a single kharâj. But abu-Shimr says:—He pays kharâj for the two years.

Abu-Ḥanifah, Sufyân, Mâlik, ibn-abu-Dhi‘b, and abu-‘Amr al-Auzâ‘i say:—If insects or flood destroy the crops, the kharâj is not collected from the owner.

If it is a portion of kharâj-land belonging to a slave or a school or a woman, then, according to abu-Ḥanifah, the kharâj alone is assessed against it.

Sufyân, ibn-abu-Dhi‘b, and Mâlik say:—The kharâj is assessed against it, and the tithe against the remainder of the crop.

Abu-Ḥanifah and ath-Thauri say in regard to kharâj-land:—If a Moslem or a dhimmi builds a building on it for shops or other such purposes, there is no tax on it; but if he makes it a garden, kharâj is due.

Mâlik and ibn-abu-Dhi‘b say:—We think he owes the kharâj if he gets an income from the building, just as if he got an income from sowing. But if it is tithe-land, Allah knows best what is collected from it.

Abu-Yûsuf says concerning unoccupied ground forming
part of a land "of assault":—If a Moslem reclaims it, it is his, and is subject to kharâj if it is watered with water [from land subject to] kharâj; but if he constructs a well for it, or waters it with water from the heavens, then it is tithe-land.

Bishr says:—It is tithe-land whether watered with water [from land subject to] kharâj or otherwise.

Abu-Ḥanîfah, ath-Thauri, and their school, and Mâlik, ibn-abu-Dhi‘b, and al-Laila ibn-Sa‘d say in regard to kharâj-land which has no owner:—If the Moslems live on it, and transact business, and use it as a market place, no kharâj is assessed against them for it.

Abu-Yûsuf says:—If there is in the land a foreign custom of long standing, which the Moslems have not changed or abrogated, and some one complains of it to the leader [i.e. the caliph] because of the damage it causes them, it is not possible for him to change it.

Mâlik and ash-Shâfi‘i say:—He may change it even if it is ancient, because it is in his power to disacknowledge any custom whatever which any of the Moslams have made, as well as those which unbelievers have made.
APPENDIX II

HISTORY OF THE ‘ATĀ’¹ IN THE CALIPHATE OF ‘UMAR IBN-AL-KHATTĀB

Order of precedence. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Šâliḥ ibn-Muslim al-‘Ijli from Ismā‘il ibn-al-Mujâlid from his father, Mu-jâlid ibn-Sa‘īd, from ash-Sha‘bi, who says:—When ‘Umar conquered al-‘Irāk and Syria and collected the kharâj, he called together the Companions of the Apostle of Allah, and said, “I have decided to make allotments of the ‘atâ’ to his people.” They said, “Surely, thou hast decided aright, O Commander of the Believers.” “With whom then shall I begin?” he asked. They replied, “With thyself.” He said, “No, but I will put myself where Allah has put me, and will begin with the family of the Apostle of Allah.” And he did so.

He assigned to ‘Â’ishah, the Mother of the Believers, 12,000 dirhams, and to the rest of the wives of the Prophet 10,000. To ‘Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib he assigned 5,000, and the same amount to those of the banu-Hâshim who had taken part at the battle of Badr.

‘Abd-al-A‘la ibn-Ḥammâd an-Narsi from Ḥammâd ibn-Salamah from al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Arṭâh from Ḥabîb ibn-abu-Thâbit:—The wives of the Prophet followed one another in succession with regard to the ‘atâ’.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘īd from al-Wâṣkidî from ‘Â’idh ibn-Yahya from abu-l-Ḥuwairith from Jubair ibn-al-Ḥuwairith ibn-Nuṣaidh:—‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb asked the advice of

the Moslems concerning the institution of the Register [*diwân*]. ‘Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib said to him, “Divide each year whatever wealth has been accumulated by thee, without holding back any of it.” Uthmân said, “I see wealth in plenty, sufficing for everybody; but if a record is not kept so that he who receives is known from him who has not received, I think the matter will become complicated.” Al-Walîd ibn-Hishâm ibn-al-Mughîrah said to ‘Umar, “I have been in Syria and observed that the kings thereof kept a register and enrolled the troops. So start a register and enroll the troops.”

‘Umar followed his suggestion, and summoned ‘Aḵīl ibn-abu-Ṭâlib, Makhramaḥ ibn-Naʿfâl, and Jubaṅ ibn-Muṭʿím, who were of the tongue of Kuraish, and said, “Write a list of the people according to their ranks [*manâṣîl*].” They accordingly began with the banu-Hâṣim, putting next to them abu-Bakr and his family, then ‘Umar and his family, following the order of the caliphate. But when ‘Umar learned of this, he said, “By Allah, I would it were so; but begin with the relatives of the Prophet, the nearest first, and so on, thus putting ‘Umar where Allah has put him.”

Muḥammad from al-Wâḥīdi from Usâmah ibn-Zaid ibn-Aslām from his father from his grandfather, who said:—The banu-‘Adî went to ‘Umar and said, “Thou art the Successor [Caliph] of the Apostle of Allah, and the Successor of abu-Bakr, and abu-Bakr was the Successor of the Apostle of Allah, and dost thou really put thyself where these clerks have put thee?” He answered them, “Bravo! O banu-‘Adî! Ye desire to eat at my back, and have me show favors to you. No, by Allah! Not until your turn comes, even though the book be closed upon you. (He means ‘even though ye be the last enrolled.’) I have had two companions who have traveled a [straight] road. I must not disregard them, lest I too be disregarded. By
Allah, we shall not be pardoned in this world, nor can we hope for a reward for our works, except through Muḥammad; for he is foremost of us, and his family are the foremost of the Arabs; then the nearest related to them, and so forth. Verily, by Allah, if foreigners come with good works, and we [Arabs] come without good works, they shall be nearer to Muḥammad than we in the day of resurrection, for he whose good works are deficient, will get no help from his lineage."

Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from al-Wâkidī from Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdallāh from az-Zuhri from Saʿid from some others whom al-Wâkidī names and whose traditions are interwoven:—When ʿUmar called the assembly for the purpose of instituting the Register [diwān], which was in the month Muharram of the year 20, he began enrolling with the banu-Hāshim, then the nearest related to the Apostle of Allah, and so forth. If any were equal in their relationship, he put first those of priority of conversion. Next he came to the Companions [Anṣār], and was asked, “With whom shall we begin?” He replied, “Begin with the family of Saʿd ibn-Muʿādh al-Ashhali of the Aus, then those nearest related to Saʿd, and so forth.”

Size of the allotments. ‘Umar assigned pensions to those enrolled, favoring in size of allotments those who were converted first, and those who had taken part in the battles, although abu-Bakr had divided equally among the people. Some one spoke to ʿUmar about this, and he said, “I can not put those who fought against the Apostle of Allah in the same class with those who fought for him.” So he began with those of the Emigrants and of the Companions who had taken part at Badr, assigning to each one of them 5,000 dirhams per year, and putting their clients [ḥalīf] and freedmen [mawālī] on an equality with them. He assigned to those who were converted to Islâm as early as the
veterans of Badr, to those who emigrated to Abyssinia, and to those who fought at Uhud, 4,000 dirhams each. To the sons of the veterans of Badr he assigned 2,000 each, with the exception of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, for their pension he made equal to that of their father, because of their close relationship to the Apostle of Allah, assigning to each of them 5,000 dirhams. To al-ʿAbbās ibn-ʿAbd-al-Muṭṭalib he assigned 5,000, because of his close relationship to the Apostle of Allah. Some say that he assigned 7,000 dirhams to him, but most authorities say that he did not favor anyone more than the men of Badr, except the wives of the Prophet, for to them he assigned 12,000 each, including with them Juwairiyah bint-al-Ḥārith and Ṣafiyah bint-Ḥuyai ibn-Akḥṭab.

He assigned to those who emigrated before the conquest [of Makkah] 3,000 apiece, and to those converted at the conquest 2,000 apiece, and to the young men of military age among the sons of the Emigrants like pensions with the converts of the conquest. To ʿUmar ibn-abu-Salimah he assigned 4,000. Muhammad ibn-ʿAbdallāh ibn-Jaḥsh said, “Why dost thou favor ʿUmar more than us, in view of the fact that our fathers were Emigrants and took part at Badr?” The caliph replied, “I favor him because of his position with reference to the Prophet. Moreover, if anyone with a mother like umm-Salimah asks for help, I will help him.”

To Usâmah ibn-Zaid he assigned 4,000. ʿAbdallāh ibn-ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb said, “Thou assignest to me 3,000, to Usâmah 4,000, although I took part in more battles than Usâmah.” ʿUmar said, “I have given him more, because he was dearer to the Apostle of Allah than thou, and his father was dearer to the Apostle of Allah than thy father.”

Then he made assignments to the people according to their
ranks [manâṣil], their reading of the Qurâân, and their campaigns [jihâd]. The remainder of the people he put in a single category, including those Moslems who came to al-Madinah, at 25 dînârs apiece, and he made grants to others with them.

To the people of al-Yaman and Kâis in Syria and in al-Irâk he assigned from 2,000 to 1,000 to 900 to 500 to 300 each, not giving to anyone less than 300 dirhams. For he said, "If money were more abundant, I would assign to each man 4,000 dirhams: 1,000 for his traveling expenses, 1,000 for his weapons, 1,000 to leave for his family, and 1,000 for his horse and his horseshoes."

He assigned pensions to women who had emigrated: to Şâfiyâh bint-‘Abd-al-Muţṭalib 6,000 dirhams, to Asmâ‘ bint-‘Umais 1,000 dirhams, to umm-Kulthûm bint-‘Ukâbah 1,000 dirhams, and to umm-‘Abdallâh ibn-Mas‘ûd 1,000 dirhams.

Al-Wâkidî says there is a tradition that he assigned to the women who emigrated 3,000 dirhams apiece.

Al-Wâkidî with his [usual] isnâd says:—Upon orders from ‘Umar, the ‘âmilîs of the people of the uplands of Nejd wrote to him, describing the needs of the people, and he issued to them a pension of food. Later, ‘Uthmân, when he was ruler, provided for them an issue of food and clothing.

Pensions for children. ‘Umar used to assign to a newborn child 100 dirhams; when it was larger, he raised the amount to 200; and when the child became of age, he increased it [again]. When a foundling was brought, he assigned to it 100, making an allotment for maintenance which the child’s guardian received each month in proportion to his needs, and taking constant care of them from year to year, providing for their nursing and expenses from the public treasury.
Khusâ’ah. Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâkidî from Ḥizâm ibn-Hishâm al-Ka‘bi from his father, who says:—
I saw ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb taking the Register [diwân] of Khuzâ‘ah as far as Ḫudaid. At Ḫudaid [the tribe] came to him, without a woman, virgin, or even divorced, being absent, and he would pay them personally. Then he would go on to ‘Usfân and do the same. [He kept this up] until he died.

Ḫîmyar. Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâkidî from abu-Bakr ibn-abu-Sabrah from Muḥammad ibn-Zaid:—The Register of Ḫîmyar in the time of ‘Umar was kept separately.

The pensions please the army. Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâkidî from ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-‘Umar al-‘Umari from Jahm ibn-abu-Jahm:—Khâlid ibn-‘Urufūţah al-‘Udhri appeared before ‘Umar, who inquired of him in regard to conditions in the province which he had [just] left. He answered, “I have left those who were praying to Allah for thee that He would lengthen thy life even at the expense of their own. There rides not a man of the veterans of al-Ḵâdisiyah without a pension of 2,000 or 1,500, and none begets a child, male or female, to which is not assigned 100 [dirhams] and two jarîbs per month.”

“It is only their due,” said ‘Umar “and I am the happier for giving it to them. Do not praise me for it, for if it belonged to the property of al-Khaṭṭâb, I would not give it to them. Well do I know that the pensions are rather large; and yet, when the allotment of one of these men is issued, he buys with it a beast and adds to his property, and when his allotment is issued a second time, he buys a head or two [more] and puts that in. As a consequence if he has a child who serves him, he will have something to depend upon. For I do not know what shall be after me, but, verily, I will give my counsel to whoever refers his case to
me. For the Apostle of Allah said, 'Whoever dies deceiving his subjects, shall not smell the perfume of Paradise.'"

Superabundant funds. Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from al-Wâkîdî from Muḥammad ibn-ʿAmr from al-Ḥasan:—‘Umar wrote to Ḥudhaifah, ‘Give the men their stipends and their rations.’ He replied to him, ‘We have done so, and a considerable amount remains.’ And ‘Umar wrote to him, ‘It is their property, which Allah has given them as booty; it does not belong to ‘Umar nor to the family of ‘Umar; so divide it among them.’

Wahb ibn-Bakîyah and Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from Yazid ibn-Hârûn from Muḥammad ibn-ʿAmr from abu-Salimah from abu-Hurairah:—He went to ‘Umar from al-Bahrain. Abu-Hurairah said;—I met him at the time of the evening prayer, and greeted him. He asked me about the people; then he said to me, ‘What hast thou brought?’ I said, ‘I have brought 500,000.’ He said, ‘Dost thou know what thou sayest?’ I said, ‘I have brought 500,000.’ He said, ‘What do you mean?’ I said, ‘100,000 and 100,000 and 100,000—and I counted to five.’ He said, ‘Thou art half asleep. Go home and sleep, and come to me in the morning.”

“I went to him early in the morning (continues abu-Hurairah) and he said, ‘What hast thou brought?’ I said, ‘500,000.’ He said, ‘Are they good?’ I said, ‘Yes, so far as I know.” Then ‘Umar said to the people, “A great amount of money has come to us. Do you wish us to count it for you or to weigh it for you?” Some one said to him, “O Commander of the Believers, I have seen these Persians keeping a register [dīwān] according to which they pay the men.” So ‘Umar had a register made and assigned to the Emigrants first 5,000, to the Companions 4,000, and to the wives of the Prophet 12,000.

Zainab bint-Jâsh. Yazid from Muḥammad from ibn-
Khuṣaifah from 'Abdallāh ibn-Râfi' from Barzah bint-Râfi', who says:—When the 'aṭā' was paid out, 'Umar sent to Zainab bint-Jaḥsh her share. She said, when it was brought in to her, "Allah be merciful to 'Umar. The rest of my sisters will be better able to divide this than I." They said, "This is all for thee." She said, "God bless me," and covered her face with her cloak, that she might not see it. Then she said, "Empty it out and put a garment over it." Then she said to me, "Put in thy hands and take a handful of it and present it to so-and-so," of her relatives and orphan protegees of hers. So I distributed it until only a small portion remained beneath the garment, (continues Barzah bint-Râfi'). Then I said, "Allah be merciful to thee, O Mother of the Believers. By Allah, verily we ourselves have a right to this money." She said, "You can have what is beneath the garment." And we found beneath it 580 dirhams. Then she raised her hands to the heavens and said, "O God, let no pension come to me from 'Umar after this year." And she died.

**Other traditions of the institution of the Register.** Abu-'Ubaid from 'Abdallāh ibn-Ṣāliḥ from al-Laith from Muḥammad ibn-'Ajlān, who says:—When 'Umar instituted the dīwān, he said, "With whom shall we begin?" They replied, "With thyself." He said, "Nay. The Apostle of Allah is our leader. We will begin with his family, then the nearest relatives, and so forth."

'Amr an-Nākīd from 'Abd-al-Wahhāb ath-Thakāfī from Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad from his father:—'Umar put al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain on an equality with their father, and assigned to them 5,000 dirhams.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Aswad from Waki' from Sulṭan ath-Thauri from Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad from his father, who says:—When 'Umar founded the Register, he asked advice of the people as to whom he should begin
with. They said, "Begin with thyself." He said, "No, but I will begin with the nearest relatives of the Apostle of Allah and so forth." And he began with them.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Waṣ'ī from Sufyān from abu-Iṣḥāk from Muṣ'ab ibn-Sa'd:—‘Umar assigned to the men of Badr 6,000 dirhams apiece, to the Mothers of the Believers 10,000 apiece, giving an excess of 2,000 to ‘A’ishah because of the love of the Prophet for her, to Šafiyyah and Juwairiyah 6,000 apiece, and to the women who emigrated 1,000 apiece. Among the latter was umm-'Abd, the mother of 'Abdallāḥ ibn-Mas'ūd.

Al-Ḥusain from Waṣ'ī from Ismā'īl ibn-abu-Khālid from Kāis ibn-abu-Ḥāzim:—‘Umar assigned to the men of Badr, both Arabs and mawālī, 5,000 each, saying, "Verily, I will favor them above all the rest."

Al-Ḥusain from Waṣ'ī from Isrā'īl from Jābīr from 'Amīr:—Among those [who received pensions] were five Persians, of whom were Tamīm ad-Dārī and Bilāl. Waṣ'ī adds that ad-Dār is part of Lakhm, but ash-Sha‘bi states it as above.

Al-Ḥusain from Waṣ'ī from Sufyān from al-Aswad ibn-Kāis from one of their sheikhs, who says:—I heard ‘Umar say, "Verily, if I live till next year, I will bestow upon the humblest of the Emigrants 2,000 each.

Abu-'Ubaid from 'Abdallāḥ ibn-Ṣallih al-Miṣrī from al-Laith ibn-Sa'd from ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Khālid al-Fahmi from ibn-Shihāb:—When ‘Umar instituted the Registers, he assigned to the wives of the Prophet whom he had regularly married, 12,000 dirhams each; to Juwairiyah and Šafiyyah bint-Ḥuyayy ibn-Akhtāb 6,000 dirhams, because they were part of what Allah gave to his Apostle as booty. He assigned to the Emigrants who took part at Badr 5,000 each; to the Companions who took part at Badr 4,000 each, including in his assignment every pure-blood [ṣarīḥ], client
[halif], or freedman [maula], who took part at Badr, not favoring one more than another.

‘Amr an-Nākid and abu-‘Ubaid from Aḥmad ibn-Yūnus from abu-Khaithamah from abu-Ishāk from Muṣ‘ab ibn-Sa‘d:—Umar assigned to the men of Badr, both Emigrants and Companions, 6,000 a piece; to the wives of the Prophet 10,000 each, but he favored ‘A’ishah above the rest, assigning to her 12,000 dirhams; to Juwairiyah and Ṣafiyah he assigned 6,000 each; and to the first women Emigrants, Asmā’ bint-‘Umais, Asmā’ bint-abu-Bakr, and umm-‘Abdallāh ibn-Mas‘ūd, 1,000 each.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswād from Wāki‘ from Muḥammad ibn-Ḳais al-Asadi from his mother, umm-al-Ḥakam, who says:—Ali apportioned to her from the ‘atā’ 100.

Al-Ḥusain from Wāki‘ from Suṭyān from ash-Shaibānī from Yusair ibn-‘Amr:—Sa‘d assigned to whoever read the Kūrān 2,000 dirhams, but ‘Umar wrote to him, “Do not give to anyone because of [his reading] the Kūrān.”

Abu-‘Ubaid from Sa‘id ibn-abu-Maryam from ibn-Luhai‘ah from Yazid ibn-abu-Ḥabīb:—Umar gave 200 to ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Aṣi because he was an amīr; to Umair ibn-Wahb al-Jumaḥi 200 because of his patience in adversity; to Busr ibn-abu-Arṭāh 200 because he won a victory. Said ‘Umar, “Many a victory Allah won by his hand.” Abu-‘Ubaid says that by the above number dinārs are meant.

Abu-‘Ubaid from ‘Abdallāh ibn-Ṣāliḥ from al-Laith ibn-Sa‘d from Yazid ibn-abu-Ḥabīb:—Umar wrote to ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Aṣi, “Give to those who swore allegiance under the tree [of al-Ḥudaibiyah] 200 from the atā’ (meaning dinārs), and take the same for thyself because of thy amīr-ship, and assign to Khārijah ibn-Ḥudhāfah the maximum atā’ because of his bravery.”

Abu-‘Ubaid from ‘Abdallāh ibn-Ṣāliḥ from al-Laith ibn-Sa‘d from Muḥammad ibn-‘Ajlān:—Umar gave more to
Usâmah ibn-Zaid than to his own son, ‘Abdallâh. People kept at ‘Abdallâh until he spoke to ‘Umar, saying, “Dost thou prefer before me one who is no more worthy than I, by assigning to him 2,000, and to me 1,500 dirhams?” And ‘Umar said, “I have done this because Zaid ibn-Ḥâri-thah was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than ‘Umar, and Usâmah was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than ‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Umar.”

Yahâya ibn-Mu’in from Yahâya ibn-Sa‘ïd from Khârijah ibn-Muș‘âb from ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-‘Umar from Nâfi‘ (or some other) from ibn-‘Umar, who says that he spoke to his father in regard to his favoring Usâmah above him in the ‘aṭâ‘, saying, “By Allah, he does not surpass me in anything.” And ‘Umar replied. “His father was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than thy father, and he himself was more beloved of the Apostle of Allah than thou.”

Muhammad ibn-as-Ṣâbbâh al-Bazzâz from Hushaim from Manṣûr from al-Ḥasan:—Some persons appeared before an ‘âmil of ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb’s, who granted the ‘aṭâ‘ to the Arabs among them and omitted the mawâli. And ‘Umar wrote to him, “It is considered an evil thing for a Moslem to despise his brother. Peace be with thee.”

Abu-‘Ubaid from Khâlid ibn-‘Amr from Isrâ‘îl from ‘Ammâr ad-Duhni from Sâlim ibn-abu-l-Ja‘d:—‘Umar set the ‘aṭâ‘ of ‘Ammâr ibn-Yâsir at 6,000 dirhams.

Abu-‘Ubaid from Khâlid from Isrâ‘îl from Ismâ‘îl ibn-Sumai‘ from Muslim al-Baṭîn:—‘Umar set the ‘aṭâ‘ of Sal-mân at 4,000 dirhams.

Rauh ibn-‘Abd-al-Mu‘min from Ya‘kûb from Ḥammâd from Ḥamîd from Anas:—‘Umar assigned to al-Hurmuzân 2,000 from the ‘aṭâ‘.

Al-‘Umari from abu-‘Abd-ar-Rahmân aṭ-Ṭâ‘î from al-Mujâlid from ash-Sha‘bi:—When ‘Umar in the year twenty purposed instituting the dîwân, he summoned Makhrâmah
ibn-Naufal and Jubair ibn-Mu'tim, and ordered them to enroll the people according to their ranks [manāzil]. They wrote [first] the banu-Hāshim, putting next abu-Bakr and his family, and Umar and his family. But when Umar saw the book, he said, “I wish that I belonged thus among the kinfolk of the Apostle of Allah. Begin with the nearest related to him, and so forth; then put Umar where Allah has put him.” Al-Abbâs ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'ttalib was gratified at this, and said, “Thy relationship has drawn thee.”

When Umar instituted the diwân, abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb asked, “Is it a diwân like that of the banu-Asfar [Greeks]? If thou assignest pensions to the people, they will eat by the diwân and neglect business.” But Umar said, “There is no way out of it, for the booty of the Moslems is abundant.”

Umar assigned to the diḥkân of Nahr al-Malik, to ibn-an-Nakhirkhân, to Khâlid and Jamil, sons of Busbuhra, diḥkân of al-Falâlij, to Bistâm ibn-Narsi, diḥkân of Bâbil and Khuṭarniyah, to ar-Rufail, diḥkân of al-'Āl, to al-Hurmuzân, and to Jufainah al-'Ibâdi, 1,000 dirhams each.

Others say that he favored al-Hurmuzân, by assigning to him 2,000.

Abu-'Ubaid from Ismâ'îl ibn-'Ayyâsh from Arţâh ibn-al-Mundhir from Ḥakîm ibn-'Umair:—Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to the commander of the armies, “Those of the foreigners [lit. “red-faced”] whom ye have set free, and who have accepted Islâm, put on an equality with your mawâlid in regard to rights and duties. If they prefer to be a tribe [by themselves], let them, but make them the equals of the mawâlid with regard to the ‘atâ’.”

Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr from Bakiyah from abu-Bakr ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-abu-Maryam from his father from abu-'Ubaidah:—Some bedouin asked him to give them rations, but he said, “By Allah, I will not, until I have provided for the city-Arabs.”
Abu-'Ubaid from abu-l-Yamān from Ṣafwān ibn-'Amr:—'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz wrote to Yazid ibn-Ḥusayn, “Have pensions assigned to the army, and take care of the city-Arabs [thyself].”

Abu-'Ubaid from Sa'id ibn-abu-Maryam from 'Ubaid-allāh ibn-'Umar al-'Umari from Nāfī' from ibn-'Umar:—'Umar did not give the people of Makkah any 'atā', nor require of them any military service [ba'ath], and used to say, “They are so-so.”

Abu-'Ubaid al-Kāsim ibn-Sallām from 'Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-Mahdi from Shu'bah from 'Adi ibn-Thābit from abu-Ḥāzim from abu-Hurairah:—The Apostle of Allah said, “If anyone leave fresh herbage, it is for us; if he leave money, it is for his heirs.”

Hishām ibn-'Ammār ad-Dimashki from al-Walīd ibn-Muslim from Sulaimān ibn-abu-l-Ātikah and Kulthūm ibn-Ziyād from Sulaimān ibn-Ḥabīb:—'Umar apportioned the tithes to the families and children of the soldiers. ‘Uthmān and the rulers after him continued this, making them hereditary, heritable by the heirs of the dead who had no ‘atā’. This continued until 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz became caliph. Sulaimān says:—He consulted me about this matter, and I told him thus and so. He denied the right of inheritance, saying, “I will cut it off, and include everyone in the pensions.” And I said, “But I fear that thy successors will follow thy lead in cutting off inheritances, and will not follow thee in extending the pensions.” He said, “Thou art right.” And he left them [as they were].

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from 'Abdallāh ibn-Ṣāliḥ from ibn-Luhai'ah from abu-Ḳabil:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb used to assign to an infant when he was born ten [dirhams], and when he came to the age of the [regular] pension, it was given to him. When Mu'āwiyyah became caliph, he assigned this to every weaned child. But when 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-
Marwân became caliph, he cut this off entirely, except from such as he wished.

‘Affân from Yazîd from Yaḥya ibn-al-Mutawakkil from ‘Abdallâh ibn-Nâfi‘ from ibn-‘Umar:—At first ‘Umar did not give the pension to a child until it was weaned. Later his herald proclaimed, “Do not hasten your children’s weaning, for we will give a pension to every child in Islâm.”

‘Amr an-Nâki‘id from Aḥmad ibn-Yûnus from Zubair ibn-Mu‘awiyah from Abu-Ishâk who says that his grandfather went to ‘Uthmân, who said to him, “How many hast thou in thy family, O sheikh?” He replied, “I have such a number.” The caliph said, “We have assigned to thee and to thy family a pension of 100 each.”

Abu-‘Ubaid from Marwân ibn-Shujâ‘ al-Jazari, who says:—‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Aziz appointed for me when I was weaned a pension of ten dinârs.

Ibrâhîm ibn-Muḥammad ash-Shāmi from ‘Abd-ar-Râhmân ibn-Mahdi from Suṭyân ath-Thauri from abu-l-Jaḥâf from a man of Khuth‘am, who says:—A child was born to me, and I brought it to ‘Ali, and he fixed its pension at 100 dirhams.

‘Amr an-Nâki‘id from ‘Abd-ar-Râhmân ibn-Mahdi from Suṭyân from ‘Abdallâh ibn-Sharîk from Bishr ibn-Ghâlib, who says:—Al-Ḥusayn ibn-‘Ali (‘Amr thinks that perhaps he says al-Ḥasan ibn-‘Ali.) was asked, “When does the share of a child become due?” He replied, “When it 460 begins to cry.”

‘Amr an-Nâki‘id from Suṭyân ibn-‘Uyainah from ‘Amr ibn-Dinâr from al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad:—Three slaves of the banu-‘Affân took part at Badr, and ‘Umar gave them each 3,000 dirhams yearly.

Abu-‘Ubaid from ibn-abu-‘Adî from Suṭyân from Zuhair ibn-Thâbit or ibn-abu-Dhi‘b from Dhuhl ibn-Aus:—A founding was brought to ‘Ali, and he fixed its stipend at 100.
How 'Umar determined the amount of rations. 'Amr and al-Ḳāsim ibn-Sallâm from Aḥmad ibn-Yūnus from Zuhair; and 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ al-Mukrî from Zuhair ibn-Mu‘awiyah from abu-Iṣḥâk from Ḥârithah ibn-al-Muḍarrib:—'Umar ibn-al-Khâṭṭâb ordered a jarîb of meal to be brought and kneaded and baked and dipped in oil. Then he summoned thirty men and had them breakfast upon it to repletion. He did the same with the evening meal. And he declared, "Two jarîbs a months will suffice a man." In consequence he used to apportion to the people, man, woman, or slave, two jarîbs every month.

'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣâliḥ adds that people used to make imprecations by saying, "Allah take away thy two jarîbs." I. e. "May he cut them off from thee by death." This has continued in popular speech unto this day.

Abu-'Ubaid from abu-l-Yamân from Ṣafwân ibn-'Amr from abu-z-Zâhiriyah:—Abu-d-Dardâ said, 'Many fine and proper customs were introduced by 'Umar among the people of Muḥammad, among them the two mudi and the two kîst.'

Abu-'Ubaid from Ṣa‘îd ibn-abu-Maryâm from ibn-Luhai‘ah from Kâis ibn-Râfî‘, who heard Sufyân ibn-Waḥb say:—'Umar said, taking the mudi in one hand and the kîst in the other, "I have assigned to every Moslem each month two mudi of bread and two kîst of oil and two kîst of vinegar." Some one said, "The slaves also?" He replied, "Yes, also the slaves."

Hîshâm ibn-‘Ammâr from Yahya ibn-Ḥamzah from Tamîm ibn-‘Aṭiyah from ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ḳâis:—'Umar ibn-al-Khâṭṭâb ascended the minbar and thanked Allah and praised Him; then he said, "We have granted to you your 461 pensions [‘aṭâ‘] and your rations [arzâf] every month."

1 From the Greek ἔκρηγς
In his hands were the mudī and the kisṭ, which he moved about, saying, “Whoever diminishes them, may Allah do to him thus and so” (uttering a curse).

*Inheritance of pensions.* Abu-‘Ubaid from ibn-abu-Zâ’idah from Ma‘ṣîl ibn-‘Ubaidallâh from ‘Umar ibn-‘Abdal-‘Aziz:—When a man to whom the ‘aṭâ’ was due, died, [‘Umar] granted it to his heirs.

‘Affân and Khalâf al-Bazzâr and Wahb ibn-Bâkiyyah from Yazîd ibn-Hârûn from Ismâ‘îl ibn-abu-Khâlid from Ḍâis ibn-abu-Ḥâzîm:—Az-Zubair ibn-al-‘Awwâm said to ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân after the death of ‘Abdallâh ibn-Mas‘ûd, “Give me ‘Abdallâh’s ‘aṭâ’, for his family is more deserving of it than the public treasury. And he gave him 15,000 [dirhams].

Yazîd from Ismâ‘îl:—Az-Zubair was the adopted heir of ibn-Mas‘ûd.

Ibn-abu-Shaibah from ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-Mûsa from ‘Ali ibn-Ṣâlih ibn-Ḥayy from Simâk ibn-Ḥabar:—A man in the tribe [ḥayy] died after eight months of the year had passed, and ‘Umar granted him two-thirds of his pay.
APPENDIX III

THE SEAL

Muhammad has a seal made. ‘Affân ibn-Muslim from Shu‘bah from Katâdah, who says that he heard Anas ibn-Mâlik say:—When the Apostle of Allah was about to write to the king of the Greeks [ar-Rûm], some one said to him that they would not read the letter unless it was sealed. So he had a silver ring made,—I can almost see its whiteness upon his hand—and he had engraved upon it “Muḥammad, the Apostle of Allah.”

Its material. Abu-r-Rabi‘ Sulaimân ibn-Dâ‘ûd az-Zuḥrâni from Ḥammâd ibn-Zaid from Ayyûb from Nâfi‘ from ‘Umar:—The Apostle of Allah had made for himself a ring of silver and put its seal in the inside of his hand.

Muḥammad ibn-Ḥayyân al-Ḥayyâni from Zuhair from Ḥumaid from Anas ibn-Mâlik:—The ring of the Apostle of Allah was all of silver and its seal was of silver [also].

‘Amr an-Nâxîd from Yazid ibn-Hârûn from Ḥumaid from al-Ḥasan:—The ring of the Apostle of Allah was of silver and its seal was Abyssinian stone.¹

Hudbhah ibn-Khâlid from Hammâm ibn-Yaḥya from ‘Abd-al-‘Azîz ibn-Ṣuhaib from Anas ibn-Mâlik:—The Prophet said, “I have made a ring, and no one shall imitate its engraving.”

¹ Ar. ḥabashi. Lisân al-‘arab, s. v. says “According to tradition the seal ring of the Prophet had in it an Abyssinian stone.” Ibn-al-Athîr says, ‘It is possible that it was made of onyx [jîs’] or carnelian [‘aṣîk] because the source of these two is Yemen and Abyssinia, or of some other stone called Abyssinian.’
The original seal-ring lost by 'Uthmân. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from 'Abd-ar-Ruzzâk from Ma'mar from az-Zuhri and Katâdah, who say:—The Apostle of Allah made a ring of silver and engraved upon it "Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah." Abu-Bakr used to seal with it; then 'Umar; then 'Uthmân. The last named had it on his hand [one day], and it fell from his hand into a well. The well was emptied, but the ring could not be found. This was in the middle of his caliphate. He had another ring made and engraved upon it in three lines "Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah." (Katâdah adds, "and a hole.")

The seal counterfeited. Hannâd from al-Aswad ibn-Shaibân, who says:—Khâlid ibn-Sumair told us:—A man called Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah counterfeited the seal of the caliphate and obtained money from the kharâj of al-Kūfah in the time of 'Umar. This came to the knowledge of 'Umar, who wrote to al-Mughirah ibn-Shu'bah, saying, "It has come to my knowledge that a man called Ma'n ibn-Zâ'idah has counterfeited the seal of the caliphate and thereby obtained money from the kharâj of al-Kūfah. When this my letter reaches thee, do to him what I order, and obey my messenger." When al-Mughirah finished the evening devotions, and the people had seated themselves, he went out, accompanied by 'Umar's messenger. The people observed him closely until he put Ma'n under arrest. Then he said to the messenger, "The Commander of the Believers bade me obey the order that thou bringest. So order what thou wilt." And the messenger said, "Get me a tie that I may put it on his neck." A necktie was brought to him, and he put it on the prisoner's neck and twisted it tightly. Then he said to al-Mughirah, "Put him in prison until the order of the Commander of the Believers concerning him comes to thee." And he did so.

Ma'n escapes. The prison at this time was of reeds, and
Ma‘n schemed to escape, sending the following message to his family, “Send me my camel and my servant and my cotton overcoat.” They did so, and he escaped at night and had his servant follow, traveling until he feared the dawn would disclose him. He made his camel kneel and tied her, and hid himself until the search for him was given up. When night came, he put the blanket back over his camel and strapped it on, and had his servant follow [on foot]. Then he traveled until he appeared before ‘Umar while the latter, whip in hand, was arousing the worshippers to morning prayer. Leaving his camel and servant apart, Ma‘n approached ‘Umar and said, “Peace be upon thee, O Commander of the Believers, and the mercy of Allah and His blessing.” ‘Umar replied, “And upon thee. Who art thou?” He said, “Ma‘n ibn-Zâ‘idah. I have come to thee as a penitent.” ‘Umar said, “Woe to thee! Allah will shorten thy life.” And when he had completed the morning devotions, he said to the people, “Keep your places.” When the sun rose, he said, “This Ma‘n ibn-Zâ‘idah has counterfeited the seal of the caliphate and thereby obtained money from the kharâj of al-Kûfah. What say ye in regard to him?” One said, “Cut off his hand;” another said, “Crucify him.” ‘Ali was silent, and ‘Umar said to him, “Abu-l-Ḥasan, what sayest thou?” ‘Ali replied, “O Commander of the Believers, a man who tells a lie is punished by flogging.” So ‘Umar had him severely beaten and imprisoned.

Ma‘n appeals for release. He was in the prison a long time. Then he appealed to a friend of his, one of the Kuraish, [saying], “Speak a word to the Commander of the Believers in regard to setting me free.” The Kuraishi spoke to ‘Umar, saying, “O Commander of the Believers, Ma‘n ibn-Zâ‘idah has been punished by thee as he deserved. Dost thou not think thou shouldest set him free?” ‘Umar
replied, "Thou remindest me of a crime which I had forgotten. Bring Ma'ın to me." He had him flogged again; then he ordered him back to prison. And Ma'ın sent [this message] to every one of his friends, "Do not mention me to the Commander of the Believers."

He remained in prison a while longer; then 'Umar remembered him and said, "Bring Ma'ın to me." He was brought to him, and the caliph gave him a present and set him free.

*The seals of the Persian Kings.* Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Yashkari and Abu-l-Hasan al-Madâ'ini from Ibn-Jâbân from Ibn-al-Mukaffa', who says:—When the king of Persia issued a command, the endorsement secretary endorsed it in his presence. The secretary had a servant who used to keep the record of it on a memorandum, which [memoranda] were collected for each month. The king would affix his seal upon it [i.e. the memorandum] and it would be filed. Then the document was transmitted to the Treasurer General [Sâhib az-Zimân] (whose duty it was to seal documents) and he would deliver it to the Comptroller [Sâhib al-‘amal]. The latter would write on it "from the king" and it would be copied carefully [fi-l-āšl]. Then [the letter] would be sent to the Treasurer General who would show it to the king and compare it with what was on the memorandum. Then it would be sealed [by the Treasurer General] in the presence of the king or of his most intimate friend.

Al-Madâ'ini from Maslamah Ibn-Muḥārib:—Ziyād Ibn-abu-Sufyân was the first Arab to keep a regular system of

1 Ar. *Tawâfi'a*, the validation of a document, like the modern *visée*.
2 Ar. *waḥka'a*. 
account books ¹ using a seal in imitation of the custom of the Persians.

*Persian royal seals numerous.* Muḥaḍḍal al-Yashkari from ibn-Jābān from ibn-al-Mukaffa'—One of the kings of Persia had a privy seal, a seal for despatches,² a seal for fiefs, with which he sealed the registers, land concessions, and similar official documents, and a seal for the kharāj. It was the duty of the Treasurer General to sign with them, but sometimes one of the intimates of the king was given sole charge of the privy seal and the despatch seal.

*Reports written on parchment.* Abu-l-Hasan al-Madā'ini from ibn-Jābān from ibn-al-Mukaffa'—Reports concerning the revenues used to be read before the king and were written in those days on white sheets of parchment. The tax collector would bring to the king every year attached sheets on which he recorded the total of the taxes which he collected, the amount spent for all expenses, and what the balance in the treasury was. And [the king] would seal and ratify it.

*The parchment scented.* When Kisra ibn-Hurmuz Abarwiz was ruler, he complained of the odor of these sheets, and commanded that the chief tax recorder should bring his reports to him only on parchment scented with saffron and rose-water, and that the sheets which were brought to him about the revenues and so forth should always be scented. This was done, and when Šāliḥ ibn-'Abdār-Rahmān was in charge of the kharāj of al-Irāk, ibn-al-Muḥaffa', who was his deputy collector in the region of the Tigris [Dijlah], (Others say in al-Bihkubādāh.) brought some money, writing his report on leather scented with saffron. Šāliḥ laughed and said, "I did not like to have any-

¹ Ar. ḏīwān ẓimām wakkātim seems to be the term for a register kept with vouchers, signatures (or seals), etc.

² I.e. messages to envoys and provincial governors.
one else bring me reports.” He said this because of his knowledge of the customs of the Persians.

Abu-l-Ḥasan says:—Some learned scribes told me that the registers of Syria were [at first] only of paper, and likewise the letters to the kings of the banu-Umayyah in regard to the revenues, etc. But the Commander of the Believers, al-Manṣūr, when he was ruler, ordered his wasīr, abu-Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī, to write the financial reports on sheets of parchment, and to have the sheets scented. His command was carried out accordingly.
APPENDIX IV

The Coinage ¹

Weight of the dirham. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Yahya ibn-Adam from al-Ḥasan ibn-Ṣāliḥ.—The dirhams of Persian mintage differed more or less. They used to coin a mithkâl weighing twenty carats [kîrāt] and another coin weighing twelve carats, and another coin of ten carats (i.e. half a mithkâl); but when Allah brought Islâm, and there was need, in order to pay the zakât, of making an average, they took twenty carats and twelve carats and ten carats; they found this [to amount to] forty-two carats. And so they made a coin weighing the third of this, i.e. fourteen carats. [Consequently] the Arab dirham weighs fourteen carats of the carats of the gold ² dinâr, the weight of every ten dirhams being seven mithkâls, i.e. one hundred and forty carats equalled seven [mithkâls].

Another authority than al-Ḥasan ibn-Ṣâliḥ says:—Ten of some of the Persian dirhams weighed ten mithkâls; of others ten weighed six mithkâls; and of others ten weighed five mithkâls. They added these together and found that it amounted to twenty-one mithkâls. A third of this was taken, being seven mithkâls. And [so] they struck dirhams, ten of which weighed seven mithkâls.

The two accounts come to the same thing. ⁴⁶⁶

¹ Practically the whole of this chapter is translated by Sauvare in his treatise on Moslem coins in the Journal Asiatique, Series 7, nos. 14, 15, 18, 19, and Series 8, nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 10. See also Series 1, no. 4, p. 334, and ZDMG, vol. i, p. 335, and de Sacy, Traité des monnaies.
² Sauvare translates “of the caliph’s dinâr.”
Weight of the mithkāl. Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from Muḥammad ibn-ʿUmar al-Aslami from ʿUthmān ibn-ʿAbdallāh ibn-Mauhab from his father from ʿAbdallāh ibn-Tha-ʿlabah ibn-Suʿārī—The dinārs of Heraclius used to be current among the people of Moakkah before Moslem times, and also the baghlīyah dirhams of Persia; but it was not customary to buy and sell with them except by considering the coins as bullion. The mithkāl with them was a recognized weight, equal to twenty-two carats less a fraction. Ten dirhams weighed seven mithkāls. The ruṭl was twelve ounces, and every ounce was forty dirhams. The Apostle of Allah confirmed this, and so did abu-Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī. When Muʿāwiyyah became ruler, he confirmed this likewise.

Dirhams of other weights. Afterwards, in the days of ʿAbdallāh ibn-az-Zubair, Muṣʿāb ibn-az-Zubair coined smaller dirhams, which were later broken up. And when ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwān became ruler, he instituted an investigation into the matter of the dirhams and the dinārs, and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yūsuf to coin dirhams at fifteen carats of the carats of the dinārs, and he himself coined the Damascus dinārs.

ʿUthmān on the authority of his father, who says:—We came near to al-Madinah, wherein were a number of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah and others of the Followers, and they did not protest against this.

Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd says:—One of these dirhams of ours weighed fourteen carats of the carats of our mithkāl which contained twenty carats, and equalled the weight of fifteen carats of the mithkāl which contained twenty-one and three-sevenths carats.

1 Cf. supra, p. 39, notes 6 and 7.
2 I. e. by weighing rather than by counting the coins.
3 What this refers to I do not know.
Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from Muḥammad ibn-ʻUmar from Ishāk ibn-Ḥazim from al-Muṭṭalib ibn-as-Sāʿib from abu-Wadâ‘ah as-Sahmi, who says:—I was shown the weight of a mithkāl; I weighed it and found it the weight of the mithkāl of ʻAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwān. (This happened in the presence of abu-Wadâ‘ah ibn-Dubairah as-Sahmi in the days before the coming of Muḥammad.)

Kuraishi weights. Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from al-Wâkidī from Saʿīd ibn-Muslim ibn-Bābak from ʻAbd-ar-Rahmān ibn-Sābiṭ al-Jumahī:—The Kuraish had weights before the time of Islām, and when Islām became the religion, the weights they already had were confirmed. The Kuraish used to weigh silver with a weight which was called dirham, and gold with a weight which was called ḍīnār. Ten times the weight of the dirham was seven times the weight of the ḍīnār. They had also the weight of the barley grain, which was one-sixtieth of the weight of the dirham. They had the ounce, a weight of forty dirhams, the nāshsh, of twenty dirhams, and the nāwāḥ (date-seed), a weight of five dirhams. They used to buy and sell with gold [weighed] according to these weights. When the Prophet came to Makkah, he confirmed the weights according to the above scale.

Unengraved coins. Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from al-Wâkidī from Rabīʿah ibn-ʻUthmān from Wahb ibn-Kaisān, who says:—I saw the plain dirhams and ḍīnārs, before ʻAbd-al-Malik had them engraved, and they were of the same weight as the ḍīnārs which ʻAbd-al-Malik coined.

The first engraved ḍīnārs. Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from al-Wâkidī from ʻUthmān ibn-ʻAbdallāh ibn-Mauhab from his father, who says:—I said to Saʿīd ibn-al-Musayyab, "Who was the first to coin the engraved ḍīnārs?" He replied, "ʻAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwān; and the ḍīnārs which were in use before that were Byzantine, and the dirhams
Persian and a few Ḥimyarite.” Sa‘īd went on to say, “I sent gold ingots to Damascus, and it was coined for me according to the weight of the mithkāl in the time before the religion of Islām.”

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘īd from Sufyān ibn-‘Uyainah from his father:—The first to coin at the weight of seven [dīnārs to ten dirhams] was al-Ḥārith ibn-‘Abdallāh ibn-abu-Rabi‘ah al-Makhzūmi in the days of ibn-az-Zubair.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘īd from Muḥammad ibn-‘Umar from ibn-abu-z-Zinād from his father:—‘Abd-al-Malik was the first to coin gold, in the “year of the pacification,” i.e. year 74.

Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madā‘ini says al-Ḥajjāj coined dirhams in the latter part of the year 75. Then in the year 76 he ordered their coinage in every region.

Varying weights. The inspector [of the coinage], Dā‘ūd, says:—I heard our sheikhs relate that the ‘Ībād 1 of the people of al-Ḥirah used to have a currency of which one hundred had the weight of six (meaning “had the weight of sixty mithkāls in dirhams”). They had others of which one hundred weighed eight (meaning “eighty mithkāls in dirhams”). Others of which one hundred weighed five (meaning “they weighed fifty mithkāls in dirhams”). And others of which one hundred weighed one hundred mithkāls.

Spurious coins. Dā‘ūd, the Inspector, says:—I saw a dirham upon which was “This dirham was struck in al-Kūfah in the year 73.” Closer inspection showed that it was spurious. He continues:—I saw a very rare dirham, the like of which was never seen, upon which was “‘ Ubaid-allāh ibn-Ziyād.” It was also rejected.

Inscriptions on the coins. Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘īd from al-Wākīḍi from Yahya ibn-an-Nu‘mān al-Ghifārī from his

1 Tribes of Christian Arabs.
father:—Muș'ab struck the dirhms by order of 'Abdallāh ibn-az-Zubair in the year 70, after the model of the Persian coins, with the words "Blessing" and "Allah" upon them. But when al-Ḥajjāj came [into power], he changed it.

It is related on the authority of Hishām ibn-al-Kalbi that Muș'ab coined dīnârs also along with the dirhms.

Dā'ūd, the Inspector, from abu-z-Zubair, the Inspector:—'Abd-al-Malik coined some dīnârs in the year 74. Then he coined some in the year 75. Al-Ḥajjāj coined baghliyâh dirhms upon which was inscribed "In the name of Allah, al-Ḥajjāj." Then a year later he engraved upon them "Allah is One, Allah is the Eternal." This displeased the doctors of the law [fu'ahâ], and the coins were called "disapproved." Others say that the Persians disapproved of their light weight, and [for that reason] they were called "disapproved." The Sumairi coins were so called from the man who first coined them, whose name was Sumair.

Al-Ḥajjāj's mint. 'Abbas ibn-Hishām al-Kalbi from his father from 'Awânâh ibn-al-Ḥakam:—Al-Ḥajjāj inquired about the procedure of the Persians in the matter of coining dirhms, and then erected a mint, and assembled men to do the stamping. He used to coin money for the Sultân out of the gold bullion which was collected for him, and out of the good metal obtained from spurious coin, alloyed silver, and counterfeit coin. He allowed merchants and others to have silver pieces coined for them, and kept as profit whatever remained after paying the wages of the workmen and coiners. He marked\(^1\) the hands of the coiners.

Greater fineness. When 'Umar ibn-Hubairah ruled al-'Irâk for Yazid ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, he refined the silver more than his predecessors had done, improved the dirhms, and was strict in regard to the exchange.

\(^1\) By tattooing or branding. \textit{Cf. supra}, p. 232, note 1.
Later Khâlid ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Bajâli (also called al-Kâsri) ruled al-‘Irâk for Hishâm ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik. He paid [even] stricter attention to the coinage than ibn-Hubairah had done, regulating it more exactly than his predecessor.

Then Yûsuf ibn-Umar ruled after him, and kept the coiners and money changers under close surveillance, cutting the hands and branding the flesh. [As a consequence] the coins of Hubairah, Khâlid, and Yûsuf were the best coins of the banu-Umaiyah. Al-Manṣûr would not accept taxes in any of the coins of the banu-Umaiyah except these. Dirhams of previous mintage were called “disapproved.”

Muḥammad ibn-Sa’d from al-Wâkîdî from ibn-abu-z-Zinâd from his father:—‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was the first who coined gold and silver after the “year of pacification” [jamâ‘ah].

Abu-z-Zinâd says:—I said to my father, “Do you agree with what people say of ibn-Mas‘ûd, that he used to order spurious coins to be broken up?” He replied, “These coins which he ordered broken up were spurious coins struck and counterfeited by the Persians.”

‘Abd-al-A‘la ibn-Ḥammâd ibn-Salamah from Dâ‘ûd ibn-Salamah from Dâ‘ûd ibn-abu-Hind from ash-Sha‘bi from ‘Alkamâh ibn-Ḳais:—Ibn-Mas‘ûd had a surplus in the treasury and sold it for less than its worth. And Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb reproved him for this. Afterwards he used to lend it.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa’d from al-Wâkîdî from Ḳudâmâh ibn-Mûsâ:—Umar and ʿUthmân, when they found spurious coins in the treasury, used to turn it into silver bullion.

Counterfeiting punished. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Wâkîdî from ibn-abu-z-Zinâd from his father:—There was brought to Umar ibn-‘Abd al-ʿAzîz a man who was issuing a coinage not bearing the Şultân’s inscription, and he tor-
tured and imprisoned him, and took his die and threw it into the fire.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâkidī from Kathîr ibn-Zaid from (‘Abd-) al-Muṭṭalib ibn-‘Abdallāh ibn-Ḥanṭab:—
‘Abd-al-Malik arrested a man who was issuing a coinage not bearing the government inscription, and was going to cut off his hand, but gave up the idea, and punished him by torture. Al-Muṭṭalib [goes on to] say, “I saw several sheikhs in al-Madinah who approved of this action of his and praised him [for it].”

Al-Wâkidī says:—Our masters advised very severe punishment and disgrace for those who counterfeited the seal of the caliph, but they did not advise cutting off [the hand]. This is also the opinion of abu-Ḥanîfah and ath-Thauri.

Malik and ibn-abu-Dhi‘b and their disciples say:—We disapprove of cutting the dirhams in two when it is sound, and we forbid it, for it is wrong.

Ath-Thauri and abu-Ḥanîfah and his disciples say:—It is not wrong to cut them when this does not harm Islâm nor the Moslems.

The Inspector, ‘Amr, from Ismâ‘îl ibn-Ibrâhîm from ibn-‘Aun from ibn-Sirin:—Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam arrested a man in the act of cutting a dirham, and cut off his hand. This came to the knowledge of Zaid ibn-Thâbit, who said, “He punished him as he deserved.” Ismâ‘îl says that it was a matter of Persian dirhams.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâkidī:—Abân ibn-‘Uthmân, the ruler of al-Madinah, punished those who cut the dirhams with thirty strokes and paraded them as a public example. This is the punishment in our time for those who cut them and pour in between molten alloy and baser metal.

Muḥammad from al-Wâkidī from Sâliḥ ibn-Ja‘far from ibn-Ka‘b, who says in regard to the verse “Or can we not
do with our own what we like?";¹ that it is applicable to the cutting of dirhams.

Muḥammad ibn-Khâlid ibn-‘Abdallâh from Yazîd ibn-Hârûn from Yaḥya ibn-Sa‘îd ibn-al-Musayyab:—Sa‘îd ibn-al-Musayyab was told about a man who cut dirhams, and Sa‘îd said, “This is of the vicious² in the world.”

‘Amr, the Inspector, from Ismâ‘îl ibn-Ibrâhim from Yûnus ibn-‘Ubaid from al-Ḥasan:—Men when they were still unbelievers had understood the place of the dirham in the estimation of everyone, and they made it good and kept it pure; but when it came unto you [Moslems], ye debased it and spoiled it.

‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb once said that he wanted to make dirhams out of camel skins, but some one said to him that in that case there would be no baby camels, and he gave the idea up.

¹ Kor. ii:89.
² Ar. fassâd.
APPENDIX V

THE ART OF WRITING

Arabic alphabet patterned after Syriac. ‘Abbâs ibn-Hîshâm from Muḥammad ibn-as-Sâ‘îb al-Kalbi from his father from his grandfather and from ash-Sharîkî ibn-al-Ḳaṭā’î—There were assembled in Makkâh three members of the tribe of Tayy, [namely:] Murâmîr ibn-Muttah, Ashâm ibn-Sidrah, and ‘Âmir ibn-Jadarah, and they invented the [art of] writing. They took as a pattern for the Arabic letters the Syriac alphabet.

Spread of the art. It was taught by them to some of the people of al-Anbâr. Then it was taught to the people of al-Hîrah by the people of al-Anbâr. Bîshîr ibn-‘Abîd-al-Malik, the brother of Ukkardîr ibn-‘Abîd-al-Malik ibn-‘Abîd-al-Jîn, al-Kindî (also surnamed as-Sakûnî), the chief of Daumat-al-Jandal, used to come to al-Hîrah. He was stopping there at the time. He was a Christian. Bîshîr learned how to write Arabic from the people of al-Hîrah. Then he went to Makkâh on some business of his, and Sufyân ibn-Umâyâh ibn-‘Abîd-Shams and Abu-Kais ibn-‘Abîd-Manâf ibn-Zuhrah ibn-Kîlâb saw him writing and asked him to teach them the art. He taught them the alphabet; then he showed them how to write, and they wrote.

Then Bîshîr, Sufyân and Abu-Kais went to the Tâ’îf on business. Ghâlân ibn-Salamah ath-Thakafî accompanied

¹ For the history of Arabic writing see the article by Moritz in Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. i, pp. 381-393, which includes a thorough bibliography of the subject.
them and learned to write from them. Bishr parted from
them and went on to Diyâr Muḍar. ‘Amr ibn-Zurârah
ibn-‘Udas learned the art of writing from him and was
called ‘Amr al-Kâtib [the scribe]. Then Bishr went to
Syria and the people there learned from him how to write.

From the three Tâ’îtes also a man of Tâbikhah of Kalb
learned to write, and he taught it to a man of the people
of Wâdi-l-Ḳura, who went back to al-Wâdi and remained
there, and taught some of its people to write.

Extent of the art at the time of Muḥammad. Al-Walîd
ibn-Ṣâliḥ and Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from Muḥammad ibn-
‘Umar al-Wâkîdî from Khâlid ibn-Yâs from abu-Bakr
ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-abu-Jahm al-‘Adawi:—Islâm came, and
among the Kûraish were seventeen men each of whom knew
how to write; ‘Umar ibn-al-Khâṭîb, ‘Ali ibn-abu-Ṭâlib,
‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân, abu-‘Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâh, Taḥhâh,
Yazîd ibn-abu-Sufyân, abu-Ḥudhaifa ibn-‘Utbah ibn-
Rabî‘ah, Ḥâṭîb ibn-‘Amr the brother of Šuhâil ibn-‘Amr
al-‘Amîrî of Kûraish, abu-Salâmah ibn-‘Abd-al-Asad al-
Makhzûmî, Abân ibn-Sa‘îd ibn-al-‘Aṣî ibn-Umâiyâh, Khâlîd
ibn-Sa‘îd his brother, ‘Abdallâh ibn-Sa‘îd ibn-abu-Sarî al-
‘Amîrî, Huwâlitîb ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Uzza al-‘Amîrî, abu-Sufyân
ibn-Ḥarb ibn-Umâiyâh, Mu‘âwiyyah ibn-abu-Sufyân, Juhaîm
ibn-as-Ṣâlt ibn-Makhramah ibn-al-Muṭṭalîb ibn-‘Abd-Manâf,
and (of the clients of Kûraish) al-‘Alâ‘ ibn-al-Ḥâdramî.

Women who could write. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from
‘Abd-ar-Razzâk from Ma‘mar from az-Zuhri from ‘Ubaid-
allâh ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Ukbah:—The Prophet said to ash-
Shafâ‘ bint-‘Abdallâh al-‘Adawiyah of the family of ‘Umar
ibn-al-Khâṭîb, “Wilt thou teach Ḥafṣah how to indite
healing charms as thou hast taught her to write?” Ash-
Shafâ‘ was a scribe before the time of Islâm.

Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Wâkîdî from Usâmah ibn-
Zaid from ‘Abd-ar-Râḥmân ibn-Sa‘îd:—Ḥafṣah, the wife of
the Prophet, could write.
Al-Walid from al-Wâkidi from ibn-abu-Šabrah from 'Alkamah ibn-abu-'Alkamah from Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-Thaibân:—Umm-Kulthûm bint-'Ukbah could write.

Al-Walid from al-Wâkidi from Farwah from 'A'ishah bint Sa'd, who said:—My father taught me to write.

Al-Walid from al-Wâkidi from Mûsa ibn-Ya'kJûb from his aunt from her mother Karîmah bint al-Miḳdâd:—She [Karîmah] could write.

Al-Walid from al-Wâkidi from ibn-abu-Sabrah from ibn-'Aun from ibn-Maiyâh from 'A'ishah:—She could read the Korân but could not write.

Al-Walid from al-Wâkidi from 'Abdallâh ibn-Yazîd al-Hudhali from Sâlim Sabalân from umm-Salamah:—She could read and not write.

Muḥammad's scribes. Al-Walid and Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi from his teachers, who said:—The first who wrote for the Apostle of Allah, having preceded him to al-Madînah, was Ubaîy ibn-Ka'b al-Anṣârî. He was the first who wrote in the back of the book “Written by So-and-so.” When Ubaîy was not present, the Apostle would call Zaid ibn-Thâbit al-Anṣârî, and he would write for him. Ubaîy and Zaid used to write down the revelations in his presence, and his letters to whomever he wrote, and whatever notes he made, etc.

Al-Wâkidi says that the first of the Kûraish who wrote for Muḥammad was Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abu-Sarh. He afterwards left al-Madînah and returned to Makkah and said to the Kûraish, “I bring that which is just as good as what Muḥammad brought.” Muḥammad used to dictate to him “the unjust,” and he would write “the unbelievers;” and he dictated to him “the Listener, the Omniscient,” and he would write “the Pardoner, the Merciful” and so forth. Then Allah revealed to the Prophet the following: “Who is
more wicked than he who makes up lies about God, or who says ‘It was revealed to me,’ when nothing has been revealed to him, and he who says, ‘I will cause to come down a revelation like what God has sent down’.”

When the day of Makkah’s conquest came, the Apostle of Allah ordered ‘Abdallâh to be put to death; but ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân spoke to Muḥammad in behalf of him, saying, “He is my foster brother, and he has accepted Islâm.” And so the Apostle of Allah ordered him to be set free. ‘Uthmân made him governor of Egypt.

For the Apostle of Allah wrote also ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân, Shuraĥbil ibn-Hasanah at-Ṭâbikhi of Khindif, client of Kûraish (Others assert that he was a Kindi.), and Juḥain ibn-as-Ṣalt ibn-Makhramah, Khâlid ibn-Sa‘īd, Abân ibn-Sa‘īd ibn-al-‘Āṣi, and al-‘Alâ’ ibn-al-Ḥadrâmi.

When Muʿâwiyyah accepted Islâm in the year of the Conquest, he also acted as scribe for Muḥammad. One day the latter summoned him while he was eating, and he delayed coming; and the Apostle said, “May his belly never be satisfied.” Muʿâwiyyah used to say, “The prayer of the Apostle of Allah has been fulfilled upon me.” For he used to eat daily seven meals more or less.

Al-Wâkıidi and others say:—Ḥanţhâlah ibn-ar-Rabi‘ ibn-Rabâḥ al-Usâiyidi of the banu-Tamîm wrote in the presence of the Apostle of Allah a single time, and as a result he was called Ḥanţhâlah al-Kâtib [the Scribe].

Scribes among the Aus and the Khasraj. Al-Wâkıidi says:—Writing in Arabic was rare among the Aus and the Khasraj. Some of the Jews taught how to write Arabic, and the young folks in al-Madinah had learned it previous to Islâm. Then Islâm came; and among the Aus and the Khasraj a number could write, [namely:] Sa‘d ibn-‘Ubâdah

---

1 Kor., 6:93.
ibn-Dulaim, al-Mundhir ibn-‘Amr, Ubaïy ibn-Ka‘b, and Zaid ibn-Thâbit. (He used to write Arabic and Hebrew.) 474
and Râfi‘ ibn-Mâlik, Usaid ibn-Ḥuḍair, Ma‘n ibn-‘Adi al-
Balawi, a client of the Ansâr, Bashîr ibn-Sa‘d, Sa‘d ibn-ar-
Rabi‘, Aus ibn-Khawali, and ‘Abdallâh ibn-abu-l-Munâfîk.

The kâmîls. Al-Wâkidî adds:—Among these the kâmîls
(A kâmîl is one who in addition to knowing writing knows
how to shoot and swim.) were Râfi‘ ibn-Mâlik, Sa‘d ibn-
‘Ubâdah, Usaid ibn-Ḥuḍair, ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ubaïy, and Aus
ibn-Khawali. Suwaïd ibn-aš-Sâmît and Ḥuḍair al-Katâ‘ib,
members of the people of Yathrib, possessed these three ac-
c complishments in the [days of the] Ignorance.

Al-Wâkidî:—Jufainah al-‘Ibâdi, a Christian, of the
people of al-Hirah, was foster father to Sa‘d ibn-abu-
Wakkâs. ‘Ubaïdallâh ibn-‘Umar charged him together with
Mashâya‘ah abu-Lu‘lu‘ah of complicity in the crime of kill-
ing his father [‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb], and killed him and
his two sons.

Zaid ibn-Thâbit learns to write Hebrew. Ishâk ibn-abu-
Isrâ‘îl from ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân ibn-abu-z-Zinâd from his
father from Khârijah ibn-Zaid, who says that his father,
Zaid ibn-Thâbit, said:—The Apostle of Allah ordered me to
learn for him the Jewish method of writing, saying to me,
“I do not trust a Jew at my writing.” And not half a
month passed before I learned it. I used to write to the
Jews for him, and when they wrote to him, I would read
their letters.

Finished is the Book of the Conquests of the Regions, and
Praise be to Allah, the only Judge, and His Blessing
be upon our Lord Muhammad, the Prophet,
and upon his Family and his Com-
panions, and His Peace.
INDEX

Proper names given in Italics are those of traditioners or poets quoted in the text.

Abān b. Sa‘īd, 271, 273
Abān b. ‘Uthmān, 268
Abarkāwān, 127, 136
Abarkūbādh, 54, 56
Abarwiz b. Hurmuz, 260
Abarwiz, marzubān of Zaranj, 142
‘Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣain al-Ḥabāti, 95, 146
‘Abbād b. Ziyād, 91, 148, 212
‘Abbād b. al-‘Awwām, 67, 134
abu-l-‘Abbās, 45, 65, 93, 96, 203
al-‘Abbās b. Hishām, 3, 6, 32, 40, 44, 55, 77, 91, 133, 266, 270
al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, 243, 251
al-‘Abbās b. Rabi‘ah, 83
‘Abbās, maula of banu-Uṣāmah, 74
al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, 22
al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, 96
umm-‘Abb (i.e. umm-‘Abbāllah b. Mas‘ūd), 244, 248, 249
‘Abdah (b. Sulaimān), 56
‘Abd-al-A‘la b. ‘Abdallāh, 81, 82, 95
‘Abd-al-A‘la b. Ḥammād, 240, 267
‘Abd-al-‘Aziz b. Ṣuḥaib, 256
‘Abd-al-‘Aziz b. al-Walīd, 191, 196
‘Abd-al-Kāis (tribe), 127, 128
‘Abd-al-Malik b. Marwān, 33, 85, 86, 95, 121, 150, 151, 177, 179-181, 252, 263-268
‘Abd-al-Malik b. al-Muhallab, 226
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān, 88
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. ‘Abbās, 83, 183
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. ‘Abdallāh, 197
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Abza, 169
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Abu-Bakr, 84
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Abu-Bakrah, 61, 72, 73, 79, 80, 86, 93
abu-‘Abd-ar-Rahmān al-Ju‘fī, 171
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Khālid al-Fahmi, 248
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Maḥdi, 253, 253
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Muslim (abu-Muslim), 188, 230
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Nu‘aim, 197, 201
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Sābit, 264
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Sa‘īd, 271
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān, Abu-Ṣāliḥ, 142
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Sahmūr, 83, 143, 144, 146, 147
abu-‘Abd-ar-Rahmān at-Tā‘i, 250
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Tubba‘, 71, 88
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Abu-z-Zinnād, 265, 267, 274
‘Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Ziyād, 75, 175
‘Abd-ar-Rassāk, 257, 271
banu-‘Abd-Šams, 106
‘Abd-al-Wāḥib ath-Thaqafi, 247
‘Abd-al-Wāḥid b. Ghayāth, 53
‘Abd-al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, 22
umm-‘Abbāllah canal, 82, 100

275
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Abbâs, 133, 145, 174 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Abdallâh b. al-
  Ahtam, 195, 196 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Ali, 99 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Alwân, 194 |
| umm-'Abdallâh b. 'Amir, 100 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Amr ath-Thâkafi al-Kausaj, 94 |
| 'Abdellah b. Budail, 159 |
| 'Abdallâh b. al-Ishbahâni, 91 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Ja'far, 27 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Kâis, 254 |
| 'Abdallâh b. al-Kâsim, 22 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Khalaf, 83 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Khâzim as-Sulami, 76, 146, 159, 162, 168, 170, 173, 177-181 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Ma'mar al-Yashkuri, 42, 197 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Mas'ûd, 255, 267 |
| umm-'Abdallâh b. Mas'ûd, 244, 249 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Mu'adh, 22 |
| 'Abdallâh b. al-Mubârik, 171 |
| 'Abdallâh b. abu-l-Munâfîk, 274 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Nâfi', 63, 64, 92 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Nâfî', 253 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Nâshirâh, 149 |
| 'Abdallâh b. ar-Râbi', 171 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Râbi', 247 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Sa'd, 271-273 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Sâlih al-Mukrî al-
  'Ilîî, 11, 15, 54, 56, 174, 240, 252, 254 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Sâlih al-Misrî, 247-249 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Sawwâr, 211 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Sharîk, 253 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Shibîl, 22 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Tâhir, 47, 48, 205 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Thâlabah, 263 |
| b. 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar al-Laithi, 82, 87, 152 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Umaiya, 150 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-
  'Azîz, 97, 98 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb, 243, 250 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Uthmân b. 'Abd-
  allâh, 90 |
| 'Abdallâh b. 'Uthmân b. abu-l-
  'Âsî, 72, 86, 176 |
<p>| umm-'Abdallâh bint-Uthmân, 171 |
| 'Abdallâh b. Yazîd, 272 |
| 'Abdallâh b. az-Zubair, 70, 108, 110, 120, 121, 149, 177, 178, 263, 266 |
| Abhar, 9, 10 |
| Abward, 162 |
| 'Ablah, 152 |
| Abrashahr, 161, 170, 179 |
| Abyssinia (al-Ḫabashah), 243 |
| Abyssinian stone, 256 |
| Adam b. 'Abd-ar-Rahmân, 225 |
| Adham b. Kûlthûm, 160 |
| Adharbaijan, 11, 19-28, 33, 35 |
| banu-'Adî, 241 |
| 'Adî canal, 96, 97 |
| b. abu-'Adî, 253 |
| 'Adî b. Arţah al-Fazârî, 65, 82, 96, 97 |
| 'Adî b. Thâbit, 252 |
| 'Affân b. Musîm, 253, 255, 256 |
| abu-'Afra' 'Umar al-Mâzînî, 149 |
| Afshin, 199 |
| al-Afshin (Ḫaidar), 14, 25, 104, 205 |
| Âhmad b. Ibrâhim, 11 |
| Âhmad b. al-Junâid, 26 |
| Ahmad b. abu-Khâlid, 204 |
| Âhmad b. Musîh, 23 |
| Âhmad b. Yûnus, 249, 253, 254 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ahwâr (Lahore)</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ahwâz</td>
<td>52, 63, 105, 112-124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aidhaj</td>
<td>120, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'A'idh b. Yahya</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain at-Tamr</td>
<td>70, 95, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain Zarbâh</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'A'ishah</td>
<td>84, 240, 248, 249, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'A'ishah bint-Abdallâh b. Khalaf</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'A'ishah bint-Sa'd</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajla umm-Abdallâh b. Khâzim</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'kabat-al-Jarûd</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhrûn</td>
<td>183, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Akhwâz</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'kîl b. Abu-Tâlib</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aklâsim, castle</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Akrah b. Hâbis</td>
<td>166, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-'Alâ</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-'Alâ b. al-Hasrâmi</td>
<td>127, 271, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-'Alâ b. Sharîk al-Hudhali</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. 'Ummâdâd</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. Hamzah al-Kisâ'î</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. Hishâm</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. al-Mughîrâh</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. Muhammed b. Abdallah, s. v. al-Madâ'imi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. Mujâhid</td>
<td>21, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. ar-Rashid</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali b. Sâlih b. Hayy</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kamâk b. Abu-Alkamah</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al'-Kamâk b. Kâis</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amat-Allâh bint-abu-Bakrah</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amîr, s. v. ash-Shâbi</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Amir canal</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amâr b. Jardarâh</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amir b. Kuraiz</td>
<td>s. v. 'Abdallâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amir b. 'Amir</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Abu-I-Khâsib</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. al-Ahtam</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr al-'Alâ</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Abu-I-Asî</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. al-Asî</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Dinâr</td>
<td>253, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Hâni</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Jamal</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Ma'dikarîb az-Zu'badî</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Muhammed b. al-Kâsim</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Musîm al-Bâhiîi</td>
<td>72, 152, 201, 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Shirâzî</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. 'Utâb al-Sufîyân</td>
<td>75, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. 'Utbah az-Zâhid</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Wahb</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Yazîd</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr b. Zurârâh</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amul (Amûyah)</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anas b. Malik</td>
<td>118, 250, 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anas b. Malik</td>
<td>75, 84, 116, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anas b. Zunaim</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Anbâr</td>
<td>34, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbasah b. 'Abdallâh b. Khâzim</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbasah b. Is'hâk ad-Dbâbi</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaghâr</td>
<td>109, 111, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andâk</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antâkîyâh (Antioch)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostle of Allah</td>
<td>s. v. Muhammed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arâza; s. v. ar-Rai</td>
<td>19, 20, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardabil</td>
<td>19, 20, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardashir Khurrah</td>
<td>127, 130, 132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

'Atâ’ b. as-Sâ‘îb al-Khashal, 170
al-Athram (‘Ali b. al-Mughirah), 60, 79, 100
‘Atiyyah al-Anšârî, 76
Aṭlâl, 24
‘Afu b. Aḥmad al-‘Abî, 13
‘Afu b. A’râbî, 67
‘Afu b. Wahh al-Khuwâ’î, 58
b. ‘Awn, 168, 268, 272
‘Aun b. ‘Abbâs, 92
‘Aun b. Ja’dah, 145
AUS (tribe), 242, 273
AUS b. Khawâli, 274
AUS b. Tha’labah, 75, 163, 178
‘Aussajah b. Ziyâd al-Kâtîb, 124
al-Ausâ’î (‘abu-‘Amr), 238
‘Awâdh b. al-Ḥakam, 44, 55, 77, 108, 121, 266
Azdah bint-al-Ḥârîth, 35
al-Azî, 211
‘Azrah b. Kâis, 35
al-Azra’î b. Muslim, 86
b. ‘Ayyâsh al-Hamadhâni, 5, 189, 106
Ayyûb (Job), 222
Ayyûb, 236
abu-Ayyûb al-Mûriyânî, 261
Bâd’hadhrah, 31
Bâbaghîsh, 33
Bâbah bint-abu-l-‘Asî, 71
Bâbak al-Khurrami, 25, 26, 47
al-Babar, 5, 11, 22
Bâb ‘Uthmân, 69
Bâbil (Babylon), 51, 115, 251
Bâdghis or Bâdaghis, 163, 170, 183
Bâdhâm, 164, 165
al-Badrî, 26
Badr, battle of, 240, 242, 243, 248, 249, 253
Baghdâdîh (Madinat-as-Salâm), 110, 154, 155, 204, 205, 231
Baghgh, 165
Arghiyân, 161
al-Arḥâ’ canal, 86
Arḵâm b. Ibrâhîm, 95
Armâ’il, 217
Arminiyah (Armenia), 26, 33
Arrajân, 126, 130, 138
Arjâh b. al-Mundhir, 251
Asad b. ‘Abdallâh, 199, 200
al-Asamm b. Mujâhid, 145
Asâwirah, 10, 81, 91, 105-109, 112, 119
al-Asâwirah canal, 81, 106
Asbarâ’în, 161
Asbjâj, 189
al-A’sha (the blind man) of Ham- dân, 176, 212
b. al-Ash’ath; s. v. ‘Abd-ar-Rah- mân b. Muḥammad
al-Asâ’î b. Ḵâṣî al-Kindî, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28
Ashband, 161
al-Ashhab b. Bashar, 152
abu-l-Ashhab, 120
Ashras b. ‘Abdallâh, 200, 201
Ashras b. ‘Aun, 117
Aṣîm (or b. ‘Aṣîm), 155
Aṣîm, 70
Aṣîm, b. ‘Abdallâh b. Yazid, 202
Aṣîm al-Ahwal, 21, 22, 134
Aṣîm b. Ḵâṣî b. as-Sâlît, 114, 123
abu-‘Aṣîm ar-Râmhurmuzî, 115
‘Askar Mukram, 121
Aslam b. Sidrah, 270
Aslam b. Zur‘ah, 88, 95, 175
Asmâ’ bint-abu-Bakr, 249
Asmâ’ bint-‘Umais, 244, 249
al-Asmâ’î, 61
abu-l-Aswad ad-Dur’î, 73, 116
al-Aswad b. Ḵâṣî, 248
al-Aswad b. Kulthûm, 160, 161
al-Aswad b. Sârî, 60
al-Aswad b. Shaikhân, 257
‘atîd (pension system), 240-255
‘Atîd al-Khurâṣâ’î, 119
278
INDEX

baghliyah, 39, 263, 266
Baghrur, 221, 223
Bâghün, 163
Bahdâla at-Tâ’i, 145
Bähilah (tribe), 109, 194
Bahmanah, 162
al-Bahrain, 52, 53, 127, 128, 109, 146
Bahrainmad, 227
Bahshûrâ (?), 184
Bâhudhra, 31
Bahz b. Yazid b. al-Muhallab, 97
al-Baïdâ’ (in Sind), 214, 232
Baïhák, 160, 161
Baïkand, 172, 187, 190
al-Baïlamân, 223, 227
al-Ba’ith b. Ḥalbas, 26, 27
al-Ba’ith al-Mujâshî’i, 62
al-Ba’ith as-Sukkari, 121
Bâjamra, 34
Bâjarwân, 19, 20, 23
Bâkharz, 160
Baqiyah b. al-Walid, 251
abu-Bakr b. ‘Abdallâh, 251, 271
Bakr b. al-Haithâm, 6, 7, 9, 10, 252, 257, 271
abu-Bakr al-Hudhali, 77
abu-Bakr, maula of the Kuraisi, 233
abu-Bakr b. abu-Sabrah, s. v. b. abu-Sabrah
abu-Bakr as-Ṣaddîk, 84, 241, 242, 251, 257, 263
Bakr b. Wâ’il (tribe), 52, 106, 160, 177, 191
abu-Bakrah b. Masrûh, 55, 57, 58, 69, 72, 86, 91, 92, 94, 123
abu-Bakrah b. Ratîbil, 151
abu-Bakrah b. Ziyâd, 85, 88
Balad, 34
Bâlah, king of ash-Sharki, 231
al-Balâh, 222
al-Balâsajân, 20
Balî b. Nushbah, 74
Balkh, 167, 170, 186, 200

Baluwânkarîh, 23
Bamm, 137
Bân’âtha (Bâ’ainâtha), 31
Bandûn, the Soghdian, 176
Bannah, 210, 211
al-Barâ’ b. ‘Azîb, 4, 9-11, 117
al-Barâ’ b. Mâlik, 58, 116, 118
Barmecides, 87
Barûkhrawah, 136
Barwaș, 209, 220, 227
Barzah, 27
Barzah bini-Râfî, 247
abu-Barzah as-Sulami, 134, 171
Barzand, 25
Bashir of the banu-al-Ahtam, 195, 196
Bashir b. Sa’d, 274
Bashir b. ‘Ubaidallâh, 89, 90
Basmad, 221, 222
Bashshâr b. Muslim, 85, 187
al-Batâ’îh; s. v. al-Batîhah
Bathk al-Hiri, 78, 80
Bathk Sayyâr, 91
Bathk Shirîn, 93, 96
al-Batîhah, 64, 96-100, 109, 120
Batîhat-ash-Sharki, 226
Baṭṭ river, 122
Bayâs river, 222
al-Bayâsân, 42
Bîlî, 248
Bîlî canal, 89
Bîlî canal, 89
Bîlîl. abu-Burdah, 71, 89, 91
Bîlîlîbâd, 72
Bimand or Biyamand, 136
Bînah, 162
al-Bîrin, 219
al-Bîrwâz, 112
Bisht b. ‘Abd-al-Malik, 270, 271
Bisht b. Dâ’ûd, 231
Bisht b. Ghâlib, 253
abu-l-Faḍl, 32
al-Faḍl b. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān, 83
al-Faḍl b. Māḥān, 232
al-Faḍl b. Kāwīs, 204, 205
al-Faḍl b. Sahl, 204
al-Fahraj, 54, 141
Faid, 52
al-Faid canal, 95
Fairūz Bāshkār, 85
Fairūz Ḥuṣain, 71, 85, 145
Fairūz Kisra, 160
al-Falālīj, 251
Fāli (?), 233
abu-l-Faraj, 220
Faraj b. Ziyād ar-Rukhkaṭi, 153
     , 154
al-Farazdāk, 228
Farghānāh, 186, 190, 199, 200, 103,
     105, 106
al-Fāriyāb, 165, 167, 170
Farrukhnān b. az-Zainabadi (az-
     Zanbadi), castle of, 4, 7
Fārs (Persia), 5, 52, 127-138, 141,
     159, 216
Farwah b. Lākīṭ, 22, 272
Fasā, 131, 135
Fashjātan, 132
Fil, 72, 73, 79, 81, 88, 91, 170
Fuṣail b. Zaid, 134
Fāhyār b. Kārin, 47, 48
al-Furāt (city of), 53-57, 66, 123
al-Furāt (Euphrates), 53, 94, 99

Ghaillān b. Kharashah, 82
Ghaillān b. Salamah, 270
Ghassān b. ‘Abbād, 231
al-Ghaṭammash b. al-A‘war, 7
Ghauth, 93
al-Chauthi canal, 92
abu-l-Ghulām at-Tākī, 154
b. al-Ghuṭrūzah an-Nahshali (?),
     166
Ghūzak, 188
Ghūzīyān, 205

Hā‘alah, 34
Habannakat-al-‘A’ishi; s. v. Yazīd
     b. Thawwān
Ḥabatāt (tribe), 145
Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab, 225
Ḥabīb b. Murrāh, 227
Ḥabīb b. Shīhāb ash-Sha’mi, 85
Ḥabīb b. abu-Thābit, 115, 140
umm-Ḥabīb bint-Ziyād, 81
Ḥadithah, 33
Ḥafṣ b. abu-l-‘Aṣī, 86, 129
Ḥafṣ b. ‘Umar; s. v. al-‘Umar
Ḥafṣah, 271
Ḥaidar; s. v. al-Afsin
al-Haitham b. ‘Adī, 5, 34, 155, 189,
     206
al-Haḍjaj b. Arṭāh, 8
al-Haḍjaj b. Arṭāh, 240
al-Haḍjaj b. ‘Atīk ath-Tākān, 57,
     63, 122, 123
al-Haḍjaj b. Yūsuf, 13, 34, 64, 75,
     83, 85, 88, 94, 95, 96, 98, 107, 109,
     111, 121, 137, 138, 142, 150, 151,
     152, 153, 177, 182, 183, 184, 186,
     195, 196, 215-219, 223, 224, 263,
     265, 266
al-Haḍjaj b. Ratbil, 151
umm-al-Haḳam, 249
al-Haḳam b. ‘Amr al-Ghifārī, 170,
     171
al-Haḳam b. abu-l-‘Aṣī, 71, 72, 86,
     127, 128, 170, 209
al-Haḳam b. ‘Awānah, 200, 228,
     229, 232
al-Haḳam an-Nahāk, 138
Ḥakīm b. Jabalah al-‘Abdi, 209, 212
Ḥakīm b. ‘Umar, 251
Ḥalbas abu-l-Ba‘ith, 26
Hamadhān, 9, 12
al-Ḥamirah mosque, 100
Ḥammād b. Salamah, 240, 250, 267
Ḥammād b. Zaid, 144, 256
Ḥammām b. Yahya, 256
Ḥams, 229
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>801</td>
<td>INDEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India; s. v. al-Hind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indus river; s. v. Mihrân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-‘Irāk, 41, 52, 62, 64, 97, 98, 115.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120, 133, 142, 150, 152, 182, 194.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Isa b. ‘Umar an-Nahawī, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iṣbahān, 14, 108, 123, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iṣbahbadh, 42, 44, 45, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abu-‘Isḥāq al-Hamdānī, 114, 248, 249, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abu-‘Isḥāq ash-Shaibānī, 67, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ishāq b. Ḥāsim, 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ishāq b. abu-Isrā‘īl, 119, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ishāq b. Sulaimān, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ishāq b. Ṭalḥah, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ishtikhan, 183, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ismā‘il b. ‘Ayyāsh, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ismā‘il b. Ibrāhīm, 268, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ismā‘il b. Abu-Khālid, 11, 248, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ismā‘il b. al-Muṣṭafā, 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ismā‘il b. Suma‘, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isrā‘īl, 108, 248, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iṣṭakhr, 108, 132, 133, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Īyāq b. Ghanm, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Jabān, 95, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Jābūn, 259, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Jabal, 8t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jābir, 174, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jābir castle, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ja‘dah b. Hubairah, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abu-Ja‘far, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ja‘far canal, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>umm-Ja‘far bint-Majzāh, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ja‘far b. al-Mansūr, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ja‘far b. Muḥammad ar-Rāzi, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abu-l-Jahhāf, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Jahhāf b. Ḥuṣaymān, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jahm b. Ḥassān, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jahm b. abu-Jahm, 245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jahm b. Zahr, 41, 43, 44, 194, 195, 216, 217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The document appears to be an index, possibly from a historical or cultural text, listing various names and locations with page references.
INDEX

Jahram, 131
Jahwar b. Marrâr, 46
Jalúlá’, battle of, 117
Jamilah, 57
Jamil b. Busbuhra, 251
umm-Jamil bint-Mihjan, 57, 65
al-Jamûm, 86
Jansâbâ castle, 130
Jarîr b. ‘Abdallâh al-Bajali, 9, 23, 116
Jarîr b. Khâsim, 227
al-Jarrâh b. ‘Abdallâh, 197
abu-l-Jarrâh, the Kâdi, 70
al-Jârub al-‘Abdi, 132
Jausâk, 75
Jaz’ b. Mu’âwiyah, 122, 123
al-Jazirah, 33, 41
Jazirah ‘Uthmân, 185
Jîlân, 11, 20, 23, 26, 41
Jiraf, 137
jisya, 237
al-Jûbarah canal, 87
Jubair b. Ḥâiyah, 83
Jubair b. al-Huwairîth, 240
Jubair b. Muṭ‘im, 241, 251
Jubair b. abu-Zaid, 92
Jufainah al-‘Ibâdi, 251, 274
Juhaim b. as-Ṣalt, 271, 273
Jumâ’i b. Ḥâdir al-Bâji, 189
umm-Jumâi, 204
al-Junayd b. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmân, 201, 202, 226, 227
Jundaisâbûr, 119, 123
Junzah, 148
Jûr, 132, 133
b. Ḫuroûf, 119
al-Jurashi; s. v. Sa‘îd b. ‘Amr b. Aswad
Jurmân, 12, 39–44
al-Jurz, 227
Juwâin, 160
abu-l-Juwairiyah, 227
Juwairiyah bint-al-Ḥârith, 243, 248, 249
al-Jûzajân, 165, 166, 167, 187
al-Juzârâh; s. v. al-Ijânâh canal
Kabîshah b. Mukhârik, 138
Ka’b al-‘Ash’ari, 197
b. Ka’b, 268
abu-Ḳâbil, 252
Kâbul, 141–155, 203, 210, 233
Kâbul-Shah, 147, 203
Kâdis of Anwârân, 170
al-Kâdisiyah, 4, 5, 129, 245
Kafyân, 186
al-Kâhâhami (al-Wâli d. Hisâm), 62–98
Kahz, 212
Kâis, 244
abu-Ḳâis b. ‘Abd-Manaf, 270
Kâis b. ‘Âsim, 178
Kâis b. al-Haitham, 161, 167–170
Kâis b. abu-Hâsim, 248, 255
Kâis b. Mas’ûd, 100
Kâis b. Râfî’î, 254
Kâ’ka’an (Ku’aiqa’ân), 122
al-Kâkizân, 13
al-Kalbâniyâh, 105, 107, 108, 119
al-Kalbi (Muḥammad b. as-Sâ’ib), 8, 32, 35, 270
b. al-Kalbi; s. v. Hisâm
kâmîl, 274
Kâmin Dâr bint-Narsa, 51
Kanâznak, 162
Kanâbîl, 217
Ḳand, 220
Ḳandâbil, 215, 226, 231, 232
al-Ḳandal, 87, 99
Kanîl, 217
Ḳannâzûr, 217
Ḳarâṭhah b. Ka’b, 6, 117
Karimah bint-al-Miṣdâd, 272
al-Kâriyân, 132
Karkuyah, 141
Karminiyah, 187
al-Ḳaryatîn, 143
Kâsân, 186
Ḳasdâr, 213, 232
INDEX

Khalid b. Tulaiq, 70, 83, 84
Khalid b. Ubbah b. Abu-Mu'ait, 175
Khalid b. Urfa'ah, 245
Khalid b. Usaid, 92, 218
Khalid b. al-Walid, 51, 52
Khalid b. al-Yas (Al'as), 271
Khalid b. Yazid b. Muhallab, 42
Khalid b. Zaid, 115
Khak'kin, 110

Kharaj, 237-239, 257, 258
Kharashah b. Mas'ud, 135
Kharijah b. Hudhafah, 249
Kharijah b. Mus'ab, 250
Kharijah b. Zaid, 274
Khazin b. Bas, 121
Khashkash al-'Anbari, 88
Khashkat, 186

Khiwab Marzuk, 87
Khiwab, 56
Khutun of the Turks, 172, 173
Khazim b. Khuzaimah, 45
Khazraj (tribe), 273
Khudhairah, 198
Khujandah, 176, 182
Khalid b. 'Abdallah al-Hanafi, 163, 170

Khunais, 228
Khuraibah, 51, 54, 60, 61, 66, 72

Khusrawan, 12, 39, 41-44, 47, 75, 79,
107, 110, 136, 141, 148, 150, 152,
155, 159-206, 210

Khuurah of Sabur, 130, 132
Khuurad of Khurism, 187, 188
b. Khugasifah, 247
Khwishk, 147
Khutanah, 251

Khudra, 181, 182, 200
Khuwaf, 161
Khuwaf or Khwaf, 147
Khiwai or Khawi, 32
Khuz'ah (tribe), 169, 245
Khuza'ah b. Khazim, 26

Kushistán, 105-124
Kif, 162
INDEX

al-Kikân, 210-213, 231
al-Kiraj, 223, 224, 227
Kirmân (Karmân), 111, 134, 136-
138, 141, 159, 159
Kishsh (in Sijistân), 143, 213
Kishsh (in Transoxiana), 172, 182,
183, 184, 187, 190
Kisra b. Hurmuz, 93
Ku'aika'ân, 121. Also s. v. Ka-
ka'an
Kudaid, 245
Kudamah b. Mûsa, 267
al-Kûfah, 5, 10, 11, 21, 39, 51, 63,
66, 88, 116, 169, 171, 201, 257, 265
al-Kufs, 137
Kûhistân, 159, 160
Kuhund, 161
Kulthûm b. Jabr, 90
umm-Kulthûm bint-'Ukbah, 244,
272
Kulthûm b. Ziyâd, 252
Kûmas, 3-8, 47
al-Kunduhar, 213, 231
Kurain, 159
al-Kurashi, 87
Kurds, 13, 20, 31, 35, 120, 132
Kurrah b. Hayyân al-Bâhili, 100
Kurrah bridge, 100
Kutaibah b. Muslim, 7, 41, 42, 85,
88, 152, 174, 185-196, 206
Kutbah b. Kutâdah, 51
Kutham b. al-'Abbâs, 174
Kûzân Bust, 147

Lahore, s. v. al-Ahwâr.
b. abu-Laila, 237, 238
al-Laih b. Sa'd, 239, 247, 248, 249
Lakhm, 248
Lubâbah bint-Aufa, 72
b. Luhâ'ah, 249, 252, 254
abu-Lu'lu'ah, 118, 274

al-Ma'allah, 31
al-Madâ'ini ('Ali b. Muhammâd),
13, 21, 22, 42, 43, 54, 56, 71, 72,
77, 80, 81, 86, 90, 93, 94, 106, 108,
120, 122, 141, 165, 109, 220, 259,
260, 261, 265
al-Madhâr, 54
Madhâji, 113
al-Madinah, 52, 57, 66, 86, 95, 244,
263, 268, 272, 273
Madinat-al-Fil, 188, 197
Madinat-al-Mubârak, 12
Madinah Mûsa, 12
Madinat-as-Salâm; s. v. Baghdâd
Magians (majus), 27
Mâhak, 132
Mâhân b. al-Faḍîl, 233
al-Mahdi, 6, 7, 64, 65, 94, 95, 154,
155, 180
al-Mahiûthah, 229
Mâhwaih, 169
Maisân, 52, 56, 57, 124
Maithâ' bint-Zâdhawaih, 162
b. Maiyâh, 272
Majzah b. Thaur as-Sadûsî, 95, 117,
118
Makhramah b. Naufal, 241, 250
Makhtûl canal, 85
Makhûl b. 'Abdallâh as-Sâ'di, 86
Makhtûl b. Ubadallâh, 85, 86
Ma'kil canal, 80, 89, 93
Ma'kil b. 'Ubadallâh, 255
Ma'kil b. Yasâr, 69, 80, 81, 92, 134
Makkah, 177, 252, 264, 270, 272, 273
al-Mâlibah, (Malabar), 227
Mâlik b. Anas, 237, 238, 239, 268
Mâlik b. al-Mundhir, 89, 97
Mâlik b. ar-Raib, 174, 175
Ma'mar (b. Râshid), 257, 271
b. Ma'mar, 90
Ma'mar b. al-Mutanna; s. v. abu-
Ubâdah
al-Ma'mûn, 8, 14, 26, 46, 110, 124,
155, 203, 204, 205, 231, 232
Manâdhir, 112, 113, 114, 115, 123
al-Mandal, 227
Manjûf b. Thaur as-Sadûsî, 120
INDEX

al-Mughirah b. al-Muhallab, 93, 94, 182
al-Mughithah, 99
al-Muhadathah, 6
al-Muhajir b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithi, 113
al-Muhallab b. abu-Ṣufrah, 83, 93, 96, 114, 146, 173, 182, 210, 211, 226
Muḥammad, the Prophet, 75, 108, 147, 240-243, 256, 257, 263, 264, 271-274
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān, 272
Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, 122, 242
umm-Muḥammad bint-‘Abdallāh, 170
Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh, 243
Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh ath-Thākafī, 67
Muḥammad b. ‘Ajlān, 247, 249
Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, 12
Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, 246
Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath, 40
Muḥammad b. al-Ba‘ith, 26
Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Māhān, 233
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, 215
Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Dhirā’, 215, 217
Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Iṣbahānī, 12
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, 238
Muḥammad b. Ḥayyūn, 256
abu-Muḥammad al-Hiḍī, 220
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 47
Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāk b. Yasār, 21, 54, 56
Muḥammad b. Kāṣim al-Asadi, 249
Muḥammad b. al-Kāsīm, 215-225
Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh, 269

Muḥammad b. al-Khalīl, 232
Muḥammad b. Marwān, 35
Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 33
Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafs, 46
Muḥammad b. Muṣ‘ab, 219
Muḥammad b. as-Sabbāḥ al-Basāz, 250
Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, 66, 80, 122, 240, 241, 241, 244, 245, 246, 263-268, 271, 272
Muḥammad b. as-Sā‘ib al-Kalbi; s. v. al-Kalbi
Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Tīlī, 13, 14
Muḥammad b. Sūrin, 144, 168, 268
abu-Muḥammad ath-Thaurī, 61
Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Aslāmī al-Wā‘ṣi; s. v. al-Wā‘ṣi
Muḥammad b. ‘Ali b. Uthmān, 86
Muḥammad b. Yaḥya, 218
Muḥammad b. Zaid, 245
al-Muḥammadiyah, 6, 7
abu-l-Muḥārit ad-Ḍabbī, 32
b. Muḥarrīsh; s. v. abu-Miryam
Muṣālīd b. Mas‘ūd, 61
Muṣālīd b. Sa‘d, 240, 250
Muṣālīd b. Yaḥya, 120
Muḥāshi‘ castle, 136
Muḥāshi‘ b. Mas‘ūd, 54, 55, 56, 61, 124, 136, 137
Muṣjā‘ah b. Si‘r, 215
b. al-Mukaffa‘a 259, 260
Mūkān, 11, 20, 22, 23, 24
Mukāṭil canal, 87
Mukāṭil b. Jāriyah, 87
Mukhallad b. Yazīd, 42, 44, 182, 195, 197
al-Mukhtar b. Ka‘b al-Ju‘fī, 189
al-Mukhtar b. abu-'Ubaid, 91
abu-l-Mukhtar (Yazīd b. Ka‘is), 122, 123
Mukram b. al-Faṣr, 121
INDEX

Mukram b. Muṭarrif, 121
Mukrân, 137, 212, 215, 217
al-Multân, 210, 222, 223, 231, 233
Mūnas b. ʿImrân, 86
al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, 274
al-Mundhir b. Ḥassân, 4
al-Mundhir b. al-Jârûd, 80, 213
al-Mundhir b. az-Zubair, 87
Munkidh b. ʿIlâj, 87
al-Muntasir-billâh, 187
Murâd, 218
Murâmir b. Murrah, 270
al-Murghâb (al-Marghâb) of al-
Pasrah, 89, 90, 93
al-Murghâb of Marw, 89, 165, 166
Murr b. ʿAmr, 28
Murr b. Udd b. Ṭâbikhâh, 101
Murrah canal, 84
Murrâh al-Hamadhâmi, 11
Murrâh b. abu-ʿUthmân, 84
Mûsa b. ʿAbdallâh b. Khâzîm, 173,
174, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184, 185
abu-Mûsa al-As̱hʿarî, 6, 51, 57, 58,
59, 61, 66, 67, 71, 79, 80, 104-109,
112-120, 129-132, 136
Mûsa b. Bugha-1-Kabîr, 14
Mûsa al-Hâdi, 12
abu-Mûsa al-Harawi, 32
Mûsa b. Kaʿb, 230
Mûsa b. abu-1-Mukhtâr, 71
Mûsa b. Yahya, 231
Mûsa b. Yaʿqîb, 272
Muṣʿab b. Saʿd, 248, 249
Muṣʿab b. az-Zubair, 91, 120, 121,
263, 266
Musaiyab b. Najabah, 69
abu-Muslim; s. v. ʿAbd-ar-Rah-
mân b. Muslim
Muslim b. abu-Bakrah, 72, 73
Muslim b. Baṣîm, 250
Muslim b. Saʿîd, 199
Muṭarrif b. Sidân, 120
al-Muṭaṣām-billâh, 14, 25, 46, 47,
110, 190, 205, 214, 218, 231, 233
al-Muthanna; s. v. abu-ʿUbaidah
Maʿmar
al-Muthanna b. Ḥârîthah, 51
al-Muṭṭalîb b. ʿAbdallâh b. Ḥan-
tab, 268
al-Muṭṭalîb b. as-Sâʿîb, 264
an-Nâbi b. Ziyâd, 120
abu-n-Nâḍîr, 134
Nâfiʿ, 250, 252, 256
abu-Nâfiʿ, 70
Nâfiʿ b. al-Ḥârîth, 53, 55, 57, 58,
60, 63, 65-69, 88, 94, 123
Nâfiʿ b. Khâlid, 170
Nâṣidh canal, 83
Nâḥâr b. Ratbîl, 151
Nâḥâr b. Taussâh, 174
Nahr al-Banât, 88
Nahr al-Malîk, 251
Nahr ar-Râʾ, 85
Nahr Saʿîd, 33
Nahr Tira, 112
banu-Nâjiyâh (tribe), 127
b. an-Nakhîrkhân, 251
Nâminah, 39
an-Nâmir b. Ḵâṣîr, 95
Nârînd, 230
an-Nârîr, 19, 27
Nârsâbâdîh, 34
Nâsâ, 162
Nâsâf (Nakhshâb), 172, 182, 184,
187, 190
Nâshrûdîh, 142
Nâsîl (wâdî), 147
Naṣr b. Sayyâr, 186, 198, 199, 200,
203
Nauh b. Asâd, 187, 190
an-Nâwâhîk castle, 75
Nebuchadnezzar (Bukhtnaṣṣar), 115
Nejîd, 244
Nihâwand, 3, 4, 10, 19, 22
Nîmrûd mts., 200
Nineveh (Ninawa), 31
Nisâbûr, 160, 161, 177, 178
Nizak, 187
Nizârites, 232
an-Nâbandajân, 130
Nûk (wâdi), 142
banu-Numair, 120
an-Nu’mân b. ‘Adi b. Mađlah, 123
an-Nu’mân b. Muƙârrin, 117
an-Nu’mân b. al-Mundhir, 87
an-Nu’mân b. Şâhâyân, 76
an-Nûshajân b. Jâsnašmâ, 51
Nûwaj, 14

Oxus, 172, 176; s. v. also Transoxiana

Palmyra; s. v. Tadmur
pension system; s. v. ‘atâ’
Prophet; s. v. Muḥammad

ar-Rabadhah, battle, 107, 108
abu-r-Rabi‘; s. v. Sulaimân b. Dâ‘ûd
ar-Rabi‘ b. Khuthaim, 11
Rabi‘ b. Nahshal, 163
ar-Rabi‘ b. Şubh al-Fâkıh, 96
ar-Rabi‘ b. Ziyâd al-Hârithi, 107,
113, 114, 119, 120, 137, 138, 141-
143, 147, 148, 171
Rabi’ah (tribe), 76, 85,178
Rabi’ah b. Kaladah, 65, 85
Rabi’ah b. ‘Uthmân, 264
Râfi‘ b. Mâlik, 274
ar-Rai, 3-8, 9, 12, 46, 216
‘Rajah bint-Ziyâd, 72
abu-Rajah al-‘Atâ’iridî, 120
abu-Rajah al-Ḥulwâni, 35
Rajiyah b. al-Harfânâh, 185
Râmâdin, 172
Râmîjîd, 133
Râshahr, 128, 129
ar-Rashid, 8, 12, 26, 33, 36, 64, 65,
87, 99, 124, 155

Râshid b. ‘Amr al-Judaydî, 212
Râsil, 220
Ratbil, 147-155
Rauh b. ‘Abd-al-Mu‘min, 56, 98,
99, 109, 115, 250
Rauh b. Ḥâtîm, 45, 46
ar-Rawwâd al-Azdi, 27
Rawwâd b. abu-Bakrah, 85
Râwand, 14
Râwar, 220
Razân, 147, 148
Ribâh, 91
Ribî b. al-Kâs, 145
dhur-r-Rinâk fortress, 120
ar-Rubaiya’ bint-an-Na‘îr, 57
Rubba canal, 87
Rubies, island of (Ceylon), 215,
216
Rûdhah, 8
ar-Rûdhbâr, 212
Rufâ‘i abu-l-‘Âliyah, 172
ar-Rufail, 251
b. ar-Rufail, 33
ar-Rukâd al-‘Ataki, 182
Rukkh, 161
ar-Rukkhâhaj, 143, 147, 148, 151,
153
ar-Rûr, 221, 223, 225, 232
Rustâk al-Âhnaf, 164
Rustam, 143
Rustamâbâd, 12
ar-Rûyân, 40, 44, 46

Sablân, 20
b. abu-Sabrah, 238, 245, 272
abu-Sabrah al-Hudhalî canal, 93
Sâbûr, 128, 131
banu-Sâ’d of Tamîm, 73, 96, 107
banu-Sa’d b. Bakr, 51
Sa’d b. al-Ḥakam, 22
Sa’d b. Majd, 194
Sa’d b. Mu‘âdh, 242
b. Sa‘d; s. v. Muḥammad
Sa’d b. ar-Rabi‘, 274
INDEX

Sa’d b. ‘Ubādah, 273
Sa’d b. abu-Wakāk, 6, 21, 59, 66, 249, 272, 274
Sadakah, 238
Ṣadakah b. ‘Ali, 26, 27
Sa’dawāh; s. v. Sa’id b. Sulaimān
banu-Sadūs, 106
Sadūsān, 219
aš-Safāk b. Ḥujr, 84
Ṣafiyah bint-‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, 244, 248, 249
Ṣafiyah bint-Ḥuyay b. Akhtāb, 243, 248
Ṣafwān b. ‘Amr, 252, 254
aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān, 165, 166, 171, 172, 184, 186
Ṣahāmah b. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān, 70
Ṣahbān, 219
Sa’id b. al-‘Aṣi, 11, 23, 24, 39, 40, 41
Sa’id b. ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz, 198, 199
Sa’id b. ‘Abd-al-Malik, 33
Sa’id b. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān, 88
Sa’id b. ‘Amr al-Jurashi, 34, 199
Sa’id b. abu-‘Arūbah, 99
Sa’id b. Aslam, 215
Sa’id b. Jubair, 7
Sa’id (b. Jubair), 242
Sa’id b. abu-Maryam, 249, 252, 254
Sa’id b. al-Musayyah, 269
Sa’id b. al-Musayyah, 264, 265
Sa’id b. Musīm b. Bābak, 264
Sa’id b. Ṣāriyāh, 22
Sa’id b. Sulaimān (Sa’dawāh), 67, 114, 134
Sa’id b. ‘Uthmān, 172-175, 181, 190
Sa’id b. Yasār (Fairūz), 57
Saḥān of al-Basrah, 87
Sa‘lāk, 32
umm-Salāmah, 243, 272
abu-Salāmah (b. ‘Abd-al-Asad), 271
Salāmah b. ‘Amr b. Dirār, 4

Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān, 62, 64, 142, 224, 260
Ṣāliḥ b. Ja‘far, 268
Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim, 186, 193
Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Ubādah, 32
Ṣālim b. abu-l-Ja‘d, 250
Ṣālim Sabalān, 272
abu-Salīmah, 246
abu-Salīmah az-Zuṭṭi, 110
Ṣaliṭ b. ‘Aṭiyah, 194
Ṣallūm, 109
Salm b. Ziyād b. abu-Sufyān, 70, 71, 83, 91, 93, 148, 149, 176, 177
Salmān, 250
Salmās, 32
aṣ-Ṣalt b. Ḥuraith al-Ḥanafi, 92
aṣ-Ṣamagḥān, 35, 36
Samarkand, 173, 174, 176, 183, 188,
189, 190, 200
aṣ-Ṣammā’, 194
abu-ṣ-Ṣamīmah, 231
Samurah b. Jundab al-Fazārī, 114, 123
Sanārūdhd, 143, 212
Sanbil, 120
Sarakhs, 162
Sarat, 19, 28
Sarbidās, 219
Ṣāriyāh, 41
Sarra-man-ra’a, 27, 47
Ṣa’ṣa’āh b. Mu’āwiyyah, 90
as-Satūj fortress, 130
Ṣārūḍān, 20
Saurah b. al-Ḥurr, 198
as-Sawād, 114, 122, 231, 237
Ṣāwandarāi, 221
Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh at-Tamīmi, 99
Sawwār b. Hammām, 128, 129
Sāyābilāh, 106-111
Sayyār, 91
ash-Sha‘bī, 7
ash-Sha‘bī (‘Amir), 174, 240, 248,
250, 267
INDEX

Shabir fortress, 130
abi-Shaddâd, 91
Shadrawân, 131 n. I
ash-Shafâ‘ bint-‘Abdallâh, 271
ash-Shâ‘î, 239
Shahrak, 128, 129, 131
Shahrazûr, 20, 34, 35, 36
Shaihâb abi-Shâbib, 196
Shâban b. abi-Shâibah b. Farrâkî, 59, 255
Shâbân b. ‘Abdallâh, 86
ash-Shâibânî; s. v. abi-Isâbî
Sha‘îk al-Juradîh, 164
ash-Sha‘îm; s. v. Syria
ash-Shammâkh b. Dirâr, 23, 24
Sharîk (b. ‘Abdallâh), 114, 174
Sharîk b. al-A‘war, 138, 162
ash-Shârîkî (in Basrah district), 95, 96
ash-Shârîkî b. al-‘Aţami al-Kalbi, 270
Sharîkiyâh, 167
Sharwâdîh, 142
Sharwîn mts., 46
ash-Shâsîh, 188, 189, 190, 197, 205, 206
Shatt ‘Uthmân, 69, 86
Shibl b. ‘Umârîh, 91
Shibl b. Ma‘bad, 57, 58, 123, 124
b. Shihîbî; s. v. as-Zuhri
abi-Shîrâmîh, 138
ash-Shirajân, 136, 137, 141
Shirawkîh al-Uswârî, 81, 106, 108
Shiraz, 130, 132, 216
ash-Shîrî, 19, 20
Shu‘âib b. Ziyâd, 99
Shu‘âibiyah (tribe), 99
Shu‘bâh, 134, 252, 256
b. Shubrumah, 69
Shûmân, 183, 186
Shura‘hîl b. Hasanah, 273
Shura‘îh b. ‘Amir b. Kâîs, 51
Shura‘îh b. Hâni, 151
Shurîyâj, 134, 135
Shuwaïs al-‘Adawi, 53, 112
Shîfîn, battle of, 57, 107
Sijistân, 83, 111, 137, 141–155, 212
as-Sikhâh, 222
Shîlah b. Asyâm al-‘Adawi, 148
Simâk b. Harb, 255
Simînjân, 168
as-Sîn; s. v. China
Sînân b. Salamah, 211, 212, 213
as-Sînd, 109, 182, 209–233
Sîndân, 232, 233
Sînîfâdîh, 46
Sînîz, 130
as-Sînjî, 164
Sirâf, 134
as-Sirawânî, 7
b. Sirîn; s. v. Muḥammad
Sišîh b. Dâhir, 226
Siyâh al-Uswârî, 72, 105, 106, 108
Subâ‘î, 100
as-Suba‘îyâh, 99, 100
abi-Sufyân b. Harb, 251, 271
Sufyân b. Mu‘âwiyyah, 72, 93
Sufyân at-Tauri, 11, 121, 237,
238, 239, 247, 248, 249, 253, 268
Sufyân b. Umâiyâh, 270
Sufyân b. ‘Uyainâh, 253, 265
Sufyân b. Wa‘b, 254
as-Sughd (Soghdiana, Soghdians),
172, 175, 176, 182–185, 187, 190,
194, 199, 203, 205
Suhiyl b. ‘Amr, 271
Su‘âim, 22, 23
Su‘âim b. Hafîs, 122
Sûk al-A‘wâz, 112, 114, 123
Sûk Jâbrâwân, 28
Şîl the Turk, 41, 42
Sulaimân b. ‘Abd-al-Malik, 41, 44,
62, 64, 96, 142, 152, 191, 192, 194,
196, 224, 225
Sulaimân b. ‘Ali, 65, 71, 87, 92, 96,
98, 99
Sulaimân b. abi-l-‘Aṭîkah, 252
Sulaimân b. Dâ‘ûd, 256
INDEX

Sulaimān b. Ḥabīb, 252
Sulaimān b. Jābīr, 88
Sulaimān b. Marthad, 177, 178
Sulaimān b. ‘Umar; s. v. Salamah b. ‘Amr
Sumair, 266
Surast, 223
Sūrījāb, 87
Surraḳ 116, 123
Sūrıyān; s. v. Shuhriyāj
as-Sūs, 105, 108, 112, 114, 115, 120
Suwaid b. Kūṭbah, 51, 52
Suwaid b. Mahjūf as-Sadūsī, 90
Suwaid b. as-Ṣāmit, 274
Syria (ash-Sha’m), 25, 41, III, 177, 196, 216, 229, 237, 240, 244
261, 271. See also Damascus

Ṭabaristān, 12, 14, 39-48
Ṭabas, 159
at-Ṭabasān, 159, 160
Ṭābikkhah, 271
Tadmur (Palmyra), 75, 229
at-Tāff (plural Tufūf), 101, 107
Ṭāghūn, 163
Ṭāhir, b. ‘Abdallāh II, 48, 203
Ṭahmān, 180
at-Tāʾif, 71, 86, 270
at-Ṭailasān, 5, 11, 22
Takākirah, 220
Takrit, 34
Ṭalḥah, 271
Ṭalḥah b. abu-Nāfī', 83
Ṭalḥah at-Ṭalḥāt (b. ‘Abdallāh), 73, 83, 148
Ṭalḥah b. ‘Ubaidallāh, 83, 110
Ṭalibiyūn, 14
b. Talid, 33
at-Ṭalikān, 165, 167, 170, 173, 178, 186, 187
Ṭall-ash-Shahārījah, 32

Tamīm b. ‘Aṭiyāh, 254
Tamīm ad-Ḍārī, 248
Tamīm b. Zaid al-‘Utbi, 227, 228
Ṭamīsah, 39
Ṭānah, 209
at-Ṭārāband, 188
Ṭarādis, 204
Ṭarkhūn, 183, 184, 185
Ṭārik b. abu-Bakrah, 71
Tawwaj, 127, 128, 129
Thābit b. Kūṭbah, 183, 184
Thābit b. Kūṭmah al-Azdi, 201
Ṭhakīf (tribe), 57, 71, 84, 209
ath-Thaʿlabiyah, 52
Ṭharr canal, 80
That b. dhu-l-Ḥarrah, 120, 145
ath-Thaʿurī; s. v. Suufyān ath-Thaʿurī
ath-Thibān, 120
Tibriz, 27
Tigris; s. v. Dijlah
abu-Ṭīnah, 196
Ṭīrbān, 34
at-Tirmidh, 173, 174, 179, 191, 183, 184, 185
Transoxiana, 167, 168, 171-176, 181-190, 195-206
Ṭukhārā, 167. See also Ṭukhāristān
Ṭukhāristān, 164, 165, 167, 181, 187, 199, 202, 230
Ṭulaiḥah, b. Khuwailid, 10
Ṭūmushkat, 187
Turks, 42, 160, 165, 168, 172, 178, 183, 184, 185, 190, 198, 200, 201, 204, 205, 210, 211
Ṭūs, 39, 162, 163, 179
Ṭustar, 106, 108, 112, 116-120
at-Tūt canal, 92

banu-Ṭuḥad mosque, 76
‘Ubaḍ b. Ka‘b an-Numairī, 87
abu-‘Ubaḍ, 115. See also al-Kāsim b. Sallām
INDEX

'Ubad b. Ḵusait, 88
abu-'Ubadallāh, 180
'Ubadallāh b. ‘Abd-al-Aʿlā al-
Kuraizī, 87
'Ubadallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbaḥ, 271
'Ubadallāh b. abu-Bakrah, 65, 72,
87, 90, 148, 150, 151
'Ubadallāh b. Jandal, 92
'Ubadallāh b. al-Mahdi, 124
'Ubadallāh b. Maʿmar at-Tāimī,
133
'Ubadallāh b. Mūsā, 255
'Ubadallāh b. Muslim, 188
'Ubadallāh b. Nabhān, 216
'Ubadallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam,
87
'Ubadallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,
118, 274
'Ubadallāh b. 'Umar al-‘Umari;
s. v. al-‘Umari
'Ubadallāh b. Ziyād, 40, 62-65, 71,
75, 76, 80, 100, 111, 120, 171, 177,
213
abu-'Ubadah b. al-Jarrāḥ, 271
abu-'Ubadah Maʿmar b. al-Muṭan-
anna, 41, 60, 63, 64, 79, 100, 132,
141, 160, 164, 165, 167, 169, 187,
189, 190, 195, 196, 202, 251
abu-'Ubadah b. Ziyād, 148
Ubaiy b. Kaʿb al-Ansār, 272, 274
Ubaiy, maula of Uthmān, 95
al-Usbullah, 51, 53, 54, 69, 78, 79,
88, 98
Usbullah canal, 78, 84
Uhud, 243
'Ujaif b. 'Anbasaḥ, 110
Ukaidir b. 'Abd-al-Malik, 270
abu-'Ukāil, 224
b. 'Umar canal, 82
Umair b. Ḥāmar al-Yashkuri, 144,
160, 167, 170
b. 'Umair al-Laithi, 142
'Umair b. Wahb, 249

'Umairah abu-Umayyah, 200
Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid,
150, 181, 197
abu-Umayyah b. abu-l-'Āsī, 86
'Umān, 53, 100, 127, 128, 209, 216
b. 'Umar canal, 97, 98, 99
b. 'Umar, 250, 252, 253
'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz, 44, 64, 65,
94, 96, 97, 189, 197, 225, 252, 253,
255, 267
'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Habārī, 232
'Umar b. al-'Alā', 46
'Umar b. Ḥaḍīr al-Harrajard, 75, 231
'Umar b. Ḥaḍīr al-‘Umari, 120
'Umar b. Ḥubairah, 92, 93, 94, 199,
226, 266, 267
'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 3, 5, 20-23,
31, 32, 35, 52-60, 66-69, 77, 78,
80, 92, 106, 112-119, 122-130, 132,
134, 135, 159, 209, 237, 240-258,
263, 267, 269, 271, 274
'Umar b. Marthad, 178
'Umar b. abu-Salīmah, 243
'Umar b. Shabūḥah, 120
'Umar b. 'Ubadallāh b. Maʿmar,
88, 146
al-‘Umari (Ṭaḥṣīl b. ‘Umar), 5, 120,
155, 206, 250
al-‘Umari ('Ubadallāh b. 'Umar)
245, 250, 252
Urasht, 186, 187
Urm, 23
Urmīyāh, 27, 32
'Urwa b. Ḵūtbah, 178
'Urwa b. Zaid, 3
Usād b. Ḥuḍair, 274
Usād b. al-Muṭashammīs, 167
al-‘Usafīn, 233
Usāmah b. Zaid, 243, 250
Usāmah b. Zaid b. Aslām, 241
Usāmah b. Zaid al-Laithī, 271
'Uṣfān, 245
Uṣhrūsūnān, 190, 203, 204, 205
Yazid b. Sālim al-Jurashi, 160, 162
Yazid b. abu-Kabashah, 224, 225
Yazid al-Ḳasir al-Khuza‘i, 184
Yazid b. Khālid al-Ḳasri, 89
Yazid b. Mazyad, 153, 154
Yazid b. Mu‘awiyah, 76, 96, 100, 148, 164, 171, 174, 176, 177
Yazid b. al-Muhallab, 41-44, 90, 93, 96, 152, 182, 185, 194, 195, 197
Yazid b. abu-Sufyān, 271
Yazid b. Ṭalḥah al-Ḥanafi, 96
Yazid b. Thawrān, 191
Yazid b. ‘Umar, 82
Yazid b. al-Walid, 97
Yazid b. Ziyād b. Rabi‘ah, 138
Yazid b. Ziyād b. abu-Sufyān, 148
Yathrib (al-Madinah), 274
Yūnus b. Ḥabīb an-Nahawī, 62, 79
Yūnus b. ‘Ubaid, 269
Yusayr b. ‘Amr, 249
Yūsuf al-Barm, 155
Yūsuf b. ‘Umar ath-Thaqaf, 65, 91, 267

b. abu-Zā‘idah, 255
Zainab bint-Jaḥsh, 247
Zālik, 141, 142, 144
Zām, 160
Zamm, 187; see also Amul
az-Zanbadi castle, 7
Zanjān, 9-14
Zaradusht (Zoroaster) 27
Zarān, 33
Zaranj, 142-145, 149, 152, 154
Zarba castle, 76
Zawwah, 161
b. abu-s-Zinād; s. v. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān
b. Ziyād, 96, 98
Ziyād al-‘Ajam, 144
Ziyād b. al-Muhallab, 226
Ziyād, grandfather of Mūnas, 86
Ziyād b. ‘Ubaid (b. abu-Sufyān), 55, 57, 58, 61-64, 66, 69, 74, 76, 78-82, 84-86, 88, 89, 95, 98, 112, 147, 148, 159, 170, 171, 211-213, 259
Ziyād b. ‘Uṭhmān, 71
Zubaidah bint-Ja‘far, 25
b. az-Zubair; s. v. ‘Abdallāh
az-Zubair b. al-Awwām, 119, 255
abu-Zubayr an-Nākid, 266
Zukair b. Mu‘awiyyah, 253, 254, 256
Zukair b. Thābit, 253, 254
Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyah, 10
as-Zuhri b. Shihāb, 21, 122, 242, 248, 257, 271
az-Zūr, 144
Zūsht, 142
Zuṭṭ, 105-112, 216, 219, 232
az-Zuṭṭ (town in Khūzistān), 120
## ERRATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>line</th>
<th>a.f.</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Corrected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Suhaim&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Suhaim&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Suhaim&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Suhaim&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Tamin&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Tamin&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;but&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;out&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Yamim&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yamim&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Dabi'ah&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Rabi'ah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Thakir&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Thakir&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kadhami&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Kadhami&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;other&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;others&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kandil&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Kandil&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;'Amirân&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;'Amirân&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;He&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Usaid&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Asid&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Asid&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Hubairah&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Hubairah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 &amp; 16 delete.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;ibu-&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ibu-&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Suwwâr&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Suwwâr&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Da'ud&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Da'ud&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>15 &amp; 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kurrah&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Kurrah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Dariyah&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Dariyah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kalbâniyâh&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Kalbâniyâh&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Mû'min&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Mû'min&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;al-Salâm&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;as-Salâm&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kazârî&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Fazâri&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Du'âlî&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Du'âlî&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Karâthah&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Karâthah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Ashhab&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Ashhab&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Ashtam&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Ashyam&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;az-Zubair&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ibn-az-Zubair&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'Umaiyyah&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Umaiyyah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Mazyan&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Mazyad&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;al-Barid&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The post&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;from&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ibn-&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Umai'r ibn-Ahmad&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Umai'r ibn-Ahmar&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Talâkân&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Tâlikân&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Talâkân&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Tâlikân&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Naki'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Waki'&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Ju'ji&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Ju'ji&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Bashr&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Bashr&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;al-Malik&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;al-Walid&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Ashkâri&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Ash'ari&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kusdâr&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Kasdâr&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>a.f.</td>
<td>&quot;Asid&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Usaid&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>12 &amp; 13 delete.</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Da'ud ibn-Salama&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Da'ud ibn-Salama&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Muttah&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Murrâh&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
STUDIES IN HISTORY ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

EDITED BY
THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

VOLUME SIXTY-EIGHT

New York
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., AGENTS
LONDON: P. S. KING & SON, LTD.
1924
CONTENTS

THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

PART 1.—Philip Khûri Hitti, Ph.D. . . . . . . . . . . 1
PART 2.—Francis Clark Murgotten, Ph.D. . . . . . . 519
Columbia University
in the City of New York

The University includes the following:

Columbia College, founded in 1754, and Barnard College, founded in 1889, offering to men and women, respectively, programs of study which may be begun either in September or February and which lead normally in from three to four years to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The program of study in Columbia College makes it possible for a qualified student to satisfy the requirements for both the bachelor's degree and a professional degree in law, medicine, mining, engineering, chemistry, or architecture in six years.

The non-professional graduate Faculties of Political Science, Philosophy and Pure Science, offering advanced programs of study and investigation leading to the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

The Professional Schools of:

Law, established in 1858, offering courses leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Laws, Master of Laws and Doctor of Law.

Medicine. The College of Physicians and Surgeons, established in 1807, offering courses leading to the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

Mines, founded in 1863, offering courses leading to the degrees of Engineer of Mines and Metallurgical Engineer.

Chemistry and Engineering, set apart from School of Mines in 1896, offering courses leading to degrees in Civil, Electrical, Mechanical, Chemical and Industrial Engineering.

Teachers College, founded in 1888, offering in its School of Education courses leading to appropriate diplomas and the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education; in its School of Practical Arts courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Practical Arts; and in both faculties courses leading to the degrees of Master of Arts and Master of Science.

Architecture, offering a program of indeterminate length leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Architecture and Master of Science.

Journalism, founded in 1912, offering courses leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Literature in Journalism and Master of Science.

Business, founded in 1916, offering courses in business training leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Science and Master of Science.

Dentistry, founded in 1917, offering courses leading to the degrees of Doctor of Dental Surgery.

Pharmacy. The New York College of Pharmacy, founded in 1831, offering courses leading to the degrees of Pharmaceutical Chemist, Bachelor of Science in Pharmacy and Doctor of Pharmacy.

In the Summer Session the University offers courses giving both general and professional training which may be taken either with or without regard to an academic degree or diploma.

Through its system of University Extension the University offers many courses of study to persons unable otherwise to receive academic training.

Home Study courses carrying no academic credit are offered to persons unable to attend courses conducted at the University.

The Institute of Arts and Sciences provides lectures, concerts, readings and recitals—approximately two hundred and fifty in number—in a single season.

The price of the University Catalogue is twenty-five cents postpaid. Detailed information regarding the work in any department will be furnished without charge upon application to the Secretary of Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Columbia University

FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Nicholas Murray Butler, LL.D., President. Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, LL.D., Professor of Philosophy and Dean. Munroe Smith, LL.D., Professor of European Legal History. Edwin R. A. Seligman, LL.D., Professor of Political Economy. John Bassett Moore, LL.D., Professor of International Law and Diplomacy. Franklin H. Giddings, LL.D., Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization. Henry R. Seager, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy. Henry L. Moore, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy. William R. Shepherd, Ph.D., Professor of History. James T. Shotwell, Ph.D., Professor of History. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, Ph.D., Professor of Economic History. Henry Johnson, A.M., Professor of History in Teachers College. Samuel McCune Lindsay, LL.D., Professor of Social Legislation. Carlton J. H. Hayes, LL.D., Professor of History. Alvan A. Tenney, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Sociology. Robert L. Schuyler, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History. Robert E. Chaddock, Ph.D., Professor of Statistics. David S. Muzzey, Ph.D., Professor of History. Thomas Reed Powell, Ph.D., Professor of Constitutional Law. William Walker Rockwell, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary. Howard Lee McBain, Ph.D., Professor of Municipal Science and Administration. Charles D. Hazen, Litt.D., Professor of History. Roswell Cheney McCrea, Ph.D., Professor of Economics. Henry Parker Willis, Ph.D., Professor of Banking. Thomas I. Parkinson, Ph.D., Professor of Legislation. Dixon Ryan Fox, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History. Frederick John Foakes Jackson, D.D., Professor of Christian Institutions in Union Theological Seminary. William F. Ogburn, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology. Austin P. Evans, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History. Lindsay Rogers, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Government and Secretary of the Faculty. Wesley Clair Mitchell, Ph.D., Professor of Economics. Joseph P. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Professor of Public Law. Evarts B. Greene, Ph.D., Professor of History. Serge A. Korff, LL.D., Professor of History. William Linn Westermann, Ph.D., Professor of History. Hessel E. Yntema, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Roman Law and Comparative Jurisprudence.

SCHEME OF INSTRUCTION

Courses are offered under the following departments: (1) History, (2) Public Law and Comparative Jurisprudence, (3) Economics, (4) Social Science.

GENERAL COURSES

General courses involve on the part of the student work outside of the classroom; but no such course involves extensive investigation to be presented in essay or other form.

RESEARCH COURSES

Research courses vary widely in method and content; but every such course involves on the part of the student extensive work outside the classroom.

The degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. are given to students who fulfill the requirements prescribed. (For particulars, see Columbia University Bulletins of Information, Faculty of Political Science.) Any person not a candidate for a degree may attend any of the courses at any time by payment of a proportional fee. Ten or more Cutting fellowships of $1000 each or more, four University fellowships of $750 each, two or three Gilder fellowships of $650–$800 each, the Schiff fellowship of $600, the Curtis fellowship of $600, the Garth fellowship of $650 and a number of University scholarships of $240 each are awarded to applicants who give evidence of special fitness to pursue advanced studies. Several prizes of from $50 to $250 are awarded. The library contains over 700,000 volumes and students have access to other great collections in the city.
PUBLICATIONS OF THE
INSTITUTE FOR GOVERNMENT RESEARCH
WASHINGTON, D. C.

STUDIES IN ADMINISTRATION.


The Budget. By René Stourn. 648 pp. $4.


The Problem of a National Budget. By W. F. Willoughby. 234 pp. $3.

The Movement for Budgetary Reform in the States. By W. F. Willoughby. 266 pp. $3.


The Reorganization of the Administrative Branch of the National Government. By W. F. Willoughby. 314 pp. $3.

PRINCIPLES OF ADMINISTRATION.

Principles Governing the Retirement of Public Employees. By Lewis Menam. 508 pp. $3.


SERVICE MONOGRAPHS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, giving in detail the history, activities, publications, etc., of the several Administrative Federal Services. Thirty-three volumes have been issued or are in press. A list of titles will be sent on request.

Orders should be addressed to

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
Baltimore, Maryland
Published May 1, 1922

China at the Conference

BY

W. W. WILLOUGHBY

Professor of Political Science at The Johns Hopkins University

Octavo. 435 pages. Price $3.00

This volume, in the form of a semi-official report, will take its place along side the author's well-known work "Foreign Rights and Interests in China," and will give the reader an accurate statement of the results of the recent Conference at Washington.

Besides chapters explaining the reasons for the discussion by the Powers of the political and international situation in the Far East, describing the organization and procedure of the Conference, and estimating its results, there are chapters dealing severally with each of the important subjects discussed in the Conference and regarding which Treaties or Resolutions were adopted. In an Appendix the texts are given of these important documents.

Inasmuch as, with the exception of a part of a single session which was devoted to the situation in Siberia, the entire work of the Conference so far as it dealt with political questions in the Pacific and Far East, was concerned with the affairs of China, the present volume gives, in effect, a comprehensive account of the work of that Conference. In order that it may be quite complete in this respect there is given in the Appendix the statements made—there were no discussions—with reference to the Siberian situation.

The Johns Hopkins Press

Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.
CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Woodrow Wilson, LL.D., President of the United States. Pp. vii + 236.

OUR CHIEF MAGISTRATE AND HIS POWERS. By William Howard Taft, Twenty-seventh President of the United States. Pp. vii + 165.

CONSTITUTIONAL POWER AND WORLD AFFAIRS. By George Sutherland, former United States Senator from Utah. Pp. vii + 202.


LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION. By Harlan F. Stone, LL.D., Dean of the School of Law, Columbia University. Pp. vii + 232.

AMERICAN CITY PROGRESS AND THE LAW. By Howard Lee McBain, Ph.D., Eaton Professor of Municipal Science and Administration, Columbia University. Pp. viii + 269.

Uniformly bound, 12mo, cloth. Each, $2.00 net.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Herbert L. Osgood, Ph.D., late Professor of History in Columbia University. In four volumes, 8vo, cloth. 550 pages each. $5.00 per volume.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND MISCELLANEOUS ADDRESSES. By William D. Guthrie, Member of the New York Bar. 8vo, cloth, pp. ix + 383. $2.00 net.

RECENT CHANGES IN CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY IN THE UNITED STATES. By John W. Burgess, Emeritus Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law, Columbia University. 12mo, cloth. $2.00 net.

MARXISM VERSUS SOCIALISM. By Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, Ph.D., Professor of Economic History, Columbia University. 12mo, cloth, pp. xvi + 298. $2.00 net.

RECORDS OF CIVILIZATION: SOURCES AND STUDIES

HELLENIC CIVILIZATION. By G. W. Botoford, Ph.D. and E. G. Sihler, Ph.D. 8vo, cloth, pp. 719. $4.00 net.

THE HISTORY OF THE FRANKS BY GREGORY BISHOP OF TOURS. Selections, translated with notes. By Ernest Brehat, Ph.D. 8vo, cloth, pp. xxv + 284. Map. $3.00 net.


AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF HISTORY. By James T. Shotwell, Professor of History in Columbia University. 8vo, cloth, pp. xii + 339. $4.00 net.

THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. By Julius A. Bewer, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Union Theological Seminary. 8vo, cloth, pp. xiv + 452. $5.00 net.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Columbia University, New York City

"There is not a chapter in Mr. and Mrs. Hammond's book which fails to throw new light on enclosures or on the administration of the poor laws and the game laws, and on the economic and social conditions of the period. . . . A few other studies of governing class rule before 1867 as searchingly analytical as Mr. and Mrs. Hammond's book will do much to weaken this tradition and to make imperative much recasting of English History from 1868." —Am. Political Science Review.


This volume is the first part of a study of the Industrial Revolution. It will be completed by another volume giving in detail the history of the workpeople in various industries, with a full account of the Luddite rising and of the disturbances connected with the adventures of the agent provocateur Oliver...

"Never has the story been told with such mastery, precision, or with such illuminating reference to the original sources of the time, as in this book . . . . The perspective and proportion are so perfect that the life of a whole era, analyzed searchingly and profoundly, passes before your eyes as you read."

—The Dial.

"A brilliant and important achievement. 'The Town Labourer' will rank as an indispensable source of revelation and of inspiration."—The Nation (London).

ENGLISH PRISONS UNDER LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. With Preface by Bernard Shaw. 8vo. $5.00 net.

This detailed history of Prison Administration from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century, uniform with the authors' other books on English Local Government, supplies the historical background for the companion volume, English Prisons To-day, being the Report of the Prison System Inquiry Committee. The characteristic Preface by Bernard Shaw, extending to over 70 pages, discusses the Theory of Punishment and propounds a revolutionary change in the treatment of criminals.


In the First part of the Report a detailed description is given of the English Prison System as it is operating to-day. In the Second Part a description is given of the mental and moral effects of imprisonment. The conclusions of the Committee are based upon evidence received from prison officials, workers among discharged prisoners, and ex-prisoners of many types, supplemented by a study of official and unofficial literature.


"Seebohm Rowntree's Human Factor in Business is a good example of the attitude taken by the benevolent employer of high moral integrity; it understands the whole human problem—except the humanity. It is better, I think, than most American employers' accounts of their workers' needs; but it is a purely external view of the workers' psychology."—Harold J. Laski in The Survey.

Fifty-five Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK
THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES. With Special Reference to Factory Practice. By EDWARD D. JONES, Ph.D., Professor of Commerce and Industry, University of Michigan. With Illustrations and Bibliographies. Large 12mo. $2.35 net. (Seventh Impression).

"To the head of any industrial organization, and especially to the executives of those which have not long been created and are still faced with many of the problems discussed in the volume, it should be particularly useful." —Wall Street Journal.

THE WORKS MANAGER TO-DAY: An Address Prepared for a Series of Private Gatherings of Works Managers. By SIDNEY WEBB, Professor of Public Administration in the University of London (School of Economic and Political Science). Crown 8vo. $1.35 net

An examination, in easy lecture form, of the problems of management of any considerable industrial enterprise, especially in relation to the organization of labor, methods of remuneration, "Scientific Management" and "Welfare Work," piecework and premium bonus systems, restriction of output and increase of production, the maintenance of discipline, etc.


READINGS IN THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By E. L. BOGART, Ph.D., and C. M. THOMPSON, Ph.D., of the University of Illinois. 8vo. $3.20.

A source book which collects in one volume contemporary material illustrating the most important economic developments in the country's history. The material is arranged as follows: Eight chapters deal with the United States before 1808; nine with the period of 1808-1860; and six with the period since 1860.

RAILROADS. In two volumes. By WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY, Ph.D., Nathaniel Ropes Professor of Economics in Harvard University, author of "Railway Problems," etc.

Vol. I. RATES AND REGULATION, with 41 maps and diagrams. 8vo. $4.00 net.
Vol. II. FINANCE AND ORGANIZATION, with 29 maps and diagrams. 8vo. $4.00 net.


AN ESSAY ON MEDIÆVAL ECONOMIC TEACHING. By GEORGE O'BRIEN, Litt.D., author of "The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century," "The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, etc." $4.75 net.

It is the aim of this essay to examine and present in as concise a form as possible the principles and rules which guided and regulated men in their economic and social relations during the period known as the Middle Ages.

Fifty-five Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK
WEALTH AND TAXABLE CAPACITY

By Sir Josiah Stamp, K.B.E., D.Sc. Being the Newmarch Lectures of 1920–21. 10s. 6d. Postage 6d.

In the House of Commons during the Debate on the Budget, April, 1922, these Lectures were referred to.

"Morning Post": "The book should be read, and read carefully, by all who are concerned in post-war financial problems. ... When the book has been mastered the reader will be able to consider most of the current financial problems without being taken in by the many specious and ingenious remedies which are put forward."

SOCIALISATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

By Heinrich Strobel, Finance Minister in the Prussian Revolutionary Government of November, 1918. Translated from the original by H. J. Stenning. 10s. 6d. Postage 9d.

New Statesman: "Herr Strobel has written an exceeding valuable book ... brings out clearly many problems and difficulties which have hardly begun to be appreciated here. Above all, he stresses the almost inevitable failure of attempts to devise plans of Socialisation on the spur of the moment. ... It would do every believer in Socialisation good to read Herr Strobel’s book and to endeavour to think out its applications to the situation in this country."

THE TRADE CYCLE

An Account of the Causes Producing Rhythmic Changes in the Activity of Business. By F. Lavington, M.A., Girdler's Lecturer in the University of Cambridge. 3s. 6d. Postage 4d.

Economist: "Mr. Lavington has performed a difficult and very useful task extremely well in the volume in which he explains in terms capable of being understood by all and sundry, provided they are prepared to concentrate their attention, the workings and progress of Trade Cycles ... at once the best and simplest account of the fluctuations of industry that has been published."

A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN RAILWAY

By Harold A. Innis, Ph.D., Chicago. 12s. 6d. Postage 9d.

In this study an attempt has been made to trace the History of the Canadian Pacific Railway from an Evolutionary and Scientific point of view.


THE PRINCIPLE OF OFFICIAL INDEPENDENCE. WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF CANADA

By R. MacGregor Dawson, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.). With Introduction by Prof. Graham Wallas, M.A. 10s. 6d. Postage 9d.

This book is an attempt to analyse the conception of independence in the Modern State—an idea which, though it finds expression in a multitude of practical forms, has been ignored by the majority of writers on Politics. In order to make the discussion more concrete, the author has thought it wiser to confine himself to Canadian Government, and has only enlarged this sphere when comparison with some other country demanded it.

Orchard House, 2-4 Great Smith Street
Westminster, England
The Academy of Political Science in the City of New York

The Academy of Political Science, founded in 1880, is composed of men and women interested in political, economic and social questions. Members receive the Political Science Quarterly and the Proceedings of the Academy, and are entitled to admission to all meetings, lectures and receptions under the auspices of the Academy. The annual dues are five dollars. Address the Secretary of the Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, New York.

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

Managing Editor
PARKER T. MOON

The Quarterly is devoted to the historical, statistical and comparative study of politics, economics, sociology and public law. Every article is signed and expresses simply the personal view of the writer. Each issue contains scholarly reviews and brief book notes. A valuable Record of Political Events throughout the world is printed as a supplement to the September issue. Address editorial communications to the Political Science Quarterly; business communications to the Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, New York.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Proceedings are issued by the Academy as a record of its activities and as a means of giving detailed treatment to special subjects of importance. Recent issues are: The Money Problem, 176 pp., Industrial Co-operation, 256 pp., Railroads and Business Prosperity, 130 pp. Price $1.50 each in paper covers. A full list of the numbers thus far issued will be sent on request. Address Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, New York.
Studies in History, Economics and Public Law
edited by
Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University

1. The Divorce Problem. A Study in Statistics.
   By Walter F. Willcox, Ph.D. Price, 75 cents.
2. The History of Tariff Administration in the United States, from Colonial
   Times to the McKinley Administrative Bill.
   By John Dean Goss, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
3. History of Municipal Land Ownership on Manhattan Island.
   By George Ashton Black, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
   By Charles H. J. Douglas, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.

VOLUME II, 1892-93. (See note on last page.)
   By Isaac A. Hourwich, Ph.D. (Out of print).
   By Samuel W. Duncombe, Jr., Ph.D. (Not sold separately.)

VOLUME III, 1893. 465 pp. (See note on last page.)
   By Cortland F. Bishop, Ph.D (Not sold separately.)
   By George L. Beer, A.M. (Out of print.)

VOLUME IV, 1893-94. 438 pp. (See note on last page.)
   By William Z. Ripley, Ph.D. (Not sold separately.)
   By Frederick A. Wood, Ph.D. (Out of print.)

   By Francis Walker, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
   By William Bondy, LL.B., Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
   By Drols F. Wilcox, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.

VOLUME VI, 1896. 601 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50; Paper covers, $4.00.
   By William Robert Shepherd, Ph.D.

1. [17] History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Gov-
   ernment in Massachusetts.
   By Harry A. Cushing, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.
2. [18] Speculation on the Stock and Produce Exchanges of the United States
   By Henry Crosby Emery, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.

1. [19] The Struggle between President Johnson and Congress over Recon-
   struction.
   By Charles Ernest Chadbay, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
2. [20] Recent Centralizing Tendencies in State Educational Administra-
   tion.
   By William Clarence Webster, Ph.D. Price, 75 cents.
   By Francis R. Stark, LL.B., Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
4. [22] Public Administration in Massachusetts. The Relation of Central
   to Local Activity.
   By Robert Harvey Whittem, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.

VOLUME IX, 1897-98. 617 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
1. [23] English Local Government of To-day. A Study of the Relations of
   Central and Local Government.
   By Milo Roy Maltbie, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.
   By James W. Crook, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
   By John Archibald Fairlie, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sympathetic Strikes and Sympathetic Lockouts</td>
<td>Fred S. Hall, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union</td>
<td>Frank Greene Batter, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centralized Administration of Liquor Laws in the American</td>
<td>Clement Moore Lact Erte, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commonwealths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>495 pp. Price, cloth, 4.00; paper covers, $3.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Growth of Cities</td>
<td>Anna Ferrin Weber, Ph.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>586 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History and Functions of Central Labor Unions</td>
<td>William Maxwell Burke, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colonial Immigration Laws</td>
<td>Edward Emerson Proctor, A.M.</td>
<td>$0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States</td>
<td>William Henry Glasson, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History of the Theory of Sovereignty since Rousseau</td>
<td>Charles E. Merriam, Jr., Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>570 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Legal Property Relations of Married Parties</td>
<td>Isidor Loris, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Nativism in New York State</td>
<td>Louis Dow Scisco, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Reconstruction of Georgia</td>
<td>Edwin C. Woolley, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>576 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loyallism in New York during the American Revolution</td>
<td>Alexander Clarence Flick, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Economic Theory of Risk and Insurance</td>
<td>Allan W. Willett, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy</td>
<td>Stephen F. H. Duggan, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>427 pp. Price, cloth, $3.50; Paper covers, $3.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crime in Its Relation to Social Progress</td>
<td>Arthur Cleveland Hall, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>547 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Past and Present of Commerce in Japan</td>
<td>Yutaro Kinoshita, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Employment of Women in the Clothing Trade</td>
<td>Iselin Hurst Willett, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Centralization of Administration in Ohio</td>
<td>Samuel P. Orin, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>635 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centralizing Tendencies in the Administration of Indiana</td>
<td>William A. Rawles, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Justice in Taxation</td>
<td>Stephen F. Weston, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>753 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Administration of Iowa</td>
<td>Harold Martin Bowman, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turgot and the Six Edicts</td>
<td>Robert P. Shephard, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hanover and Prussia, 1795-1803</td>
<td>Guy Stanton Ford, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>588 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Josiah Tucker, Economist</td>
<td>Walter Ernest Clark, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History and Criticism of the Labor Theory of Value in English</td>
<td>Albert C. Whitaker, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Economy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trade Unions and the Law in New York</td>
<td>George Gorham Groat, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>514 pp. Price, cloth, $3.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Office of the Justice of the Peace in England</td>
<td>Charles Austin Beard, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the</td>
<td>David Y. Thomas, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>746 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Treaties, their Making and Enforcement</td>
<td>Samuel B. Crandall, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sociology of a New York City Block</td>
<td>Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-Malthusian Doctrines of Population</td>
<td>Charles E. Stangeland, Ph.D.</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOLUME XXII, 1905. 520 pp. Price, cloth, $3.50; paper covers, $3.00.  
[57] The Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut.  
By Edward W. Caffyn, Ph. D.  
VOLUME XXIII, 1905. 594 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.  
1. [58] The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia.  
By Enoch Marvin Banks, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.  
By Edwin O. Kneiss, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.  
3. [60] Combination in the Mining Industry.  
By Henry R. Mussen, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.  
By Stella Kramer, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.  
VOLUME XXIV, 1905. 521 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.  
By Lynn Thorndike, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.  
By William K. Boyd, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.  
3. [64] *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power.  
By Seiji G. Heshida, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.  
VOLUME XXV, 1906-07. 600 pp. (Sold only in Sets.)  
By O. L. Ford, Ph.D. (Not sold separately.)  
2. [66] The Budget in the American Commonwealths.  
By Eugene E. Agnes, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
3. [67] The Finances of Cleveland.  
By Charles C. Williamson, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.  
VOLUME XXVI, 1907. 559 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.  
By James H. Gilbert, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.  
2. [69] Luther's Table Talk.  
By Preserved Smith, Ph.D. Price, $1.75.  
By Meyer Jacobstein, Ph.D. Price, $3.50.  
4. [71] Social Democracy and Population.  
By Alvan A. Tenney, Ph.D. Price, 75 cents.  
VOLUME XXVII, 1907. 578 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.  
By Norris A. Brisco, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
2. [73] The United States Steel Corporation.  
By Abraham Berglund, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
3. [74] The Taxation of Corporations in Massachusetts.  
By Harry G. Friedman, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
VOLUME XXVIII, 1907. 564 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.  
By Howard J. McRaven, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
2. [76] The Development of the Legislature of Colonial Virginia.  
By Elmer I. Miller, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
3. [77] The Distribution of Ownership.  
By Joseph Harding Underwood, Ph.D. Price, $1.75.  
VOLUME XXIX, 1908. 703 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50.  
By Anne Bush Maclean, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
2. [79] New Hampshire as a Royal Province.  
By William H. Fry, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.  
VOLUME XXX, 1908. 712 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50; Paper covers, $4.00.  
[90] The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738.  
By Edwin P. Tanner, Ph.D.  
VOLUME XXXI, 1908. 575 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.  
1. [81] Private Freight Cars and American Railroads.  
By E. D. H. Weld, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
2. [82] Ohio before 1850.  
By Robert E. Chaddick, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.  
By George B. Louis Arner, Ph.D. Price, 75 cents.  
4. [84] Adolphe Quetelet as Statistician.  
By Frank H. Hanks, Ph.D. Price, $1.25.  
VOLUME XXXII, 1908. 705 pp. Price, cloth, 4.50; paper covers, $4.00.  
85] The Enforcement of the Statutes of Laborers.  
By Bertha Haven Putnam, Ph.D.  
By E. Stagg Whitin, A.B. Price, $1.00.  
2. [87] *Psychological Interpretations of Society.  
By Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph.D. Price, $2.00.  
3. [88] *An Introduction to the Sources relating to the Germanic Invasions.  
By Berlin J. R. Hayes, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
1. [89] Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West.
   By William F. Geisert, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
2. [90] Social Reform and the Reformation.
   By Jacob Salwen Schapiro, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
   By Philip A. Farrar, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.

1. [92] The Conflict over the Judicial Powers in the United States to 1870.
   By Charles Groves Haines, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
   By Howard Brown Woolston, Ph.D. Price, $1.25.
   By James P. Lichtenecker, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.

VOLUME XXXVI, 1910. 542 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
1. [95] *Reconstruction in Texas.
   By Charles William Ransdell, Ph.D. Price, $2.50.
2. [96] *The Transition in Virginia from Colony to Commonwealth.
   By Charles Ransdell Lingley, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.

VOLUME XXXVII, 1910. 606 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50.
1. [97] Standards of Reasonableness in Local Freight Discriminations.
   By John Maurice Clark, Ph.D. Price, $1.25.
2. [98] Legal Development in Colonial Massachusetts.
   By Charles J. Hilyer, Ph.D. Price, $1.25.
3. [99] *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro.
   By Howard W. Odum, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

   By Robert Tudor Hill, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.
2. [101] Organismic Theories of the State.
   By Francis W. Coker, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

   By William Smyth Murray, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
2. [103] Political History of New York State during the Period of the Civil War.
   By Sidney David Brummer, Ph.D. Price, $3.00.

   By Hawking L. Yen, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
2. [105] Ohio Politics during the Civil War Period.
   By George H. Porter, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
   By Alfred Zantzinger Reed, Ph.D. Price, $1.75.

VOLUME XLI, 1911. 514 pp. Price, cloth, $3.50; paper covers, $3.00.
1. [107] New Jersey as a Royal Province.
   By Edgar Jacobs Fishel, Ph.D.

VOLUME XLII, 1911. 400 pp. Price, cloth, $3.00; paper covers, $2.50.
   By George Gornham Groat, Ph.D.

VOLUME XLIII, 1911. 633 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50.
   By Edward Ewing Pratt, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.
   By F. Stuart Chapin, Ph.D. Price, 75 cents.
   By Mildoche L. Bonham, Jr., Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

VOLUMES XLIV and XLV, 1911. 745 pp.
Price for the two volumes, cloth, $6.00; paper covers, $5.00.
   By Chen Huan-Chang, Ph.D.

   By Esther Lowenthal, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
2. [115] Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Suleiman, the Magnificent.
   By Hester Donaldson Jenkins, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.
   By Newell Leroy Sims, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Published</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Price, cloth</th>
<th>Price, paper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XLVII</td>
<td>The Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878</td>
<td>Harrington M. Dill, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>544 pp</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The United States Beet Sugar Industry and the Tariff</em></td>
<td>Roy G. Blakey, Ph.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVIII</td>
<td>493 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Isidor of Seville</em></td>
<td>Ernest Brehaut, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Progress and Uniformity in Child-Labor Legislation</em></td>
<td>William Fielding Ogburn, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>$2.75</td>
<td>$2.75</td>
<td>$2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIX</td>
<td>592 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td>$4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>British Radicalism 1791-1797</em></td>
<td>Walter Phelps Hall, Ph.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>A Comparative Study of the Law of Collaborations</em></td>
<td>Arthur K. Kuhn, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Negro at Work in New York City</em></td>
<td>George E. Hayes, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LI</td>
<td>481 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy</em></td>
<td>Yai Yue Tzu, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Alien in China</em></td>
<td>V. Vivian Wellington Koo, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>4to. Atlas</td>
<td></td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Sale of Liquor in the South</td>
<td>Leonard S. Blakey, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIII</td>
<td>489 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Provincial and Local Taxation in Canada</em></td>
<td>Solomon Vineberg, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Distribution of Income</em></td>
<td>Frank Hatch Streightoff, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Finances of Vermont</em></td>
<td>Frederick A. Wood, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIV</td>
<td>604 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td>$4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Privileges and Immunities of Citizens of the United States</em></td>
<td>Arnold Johnson Lien, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation</em></td>
<td>Blaine Free Moore, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States</em></td>
<td>Almon Wheeler Lauber, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$3.00</td>
<td>$3.00</td>
<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV</td>
<td>665 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td>$4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>A Political History of the State of New York</em></td>
<td>Homer A. Stebbins, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Early Persecutions of the Christians</em></td>
<td>Leon H. Canfield, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVI</td>
<td>406 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3.50</td>
<td>$3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speculation on the New York Stock Exchange, 1904-1907</td>
<td>Algernon Ashburner Osborn, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Policy of the United States towards Industrial Monopoly</td>
<td>Oswald Whitman Knauth, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVI</td>
<td>670 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td>$4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Civil Service of Great Britain</em></td>
<td>Robert Moses, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Financial History of New York State</em></td>
<td>Don C. Sowers, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
<td>$2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVIII</td>
<td>684 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reconstruction in North Carolina</td>
<td>J. G. de Rouhac Hamilton, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td>$4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIX</td>
<td>625 pp</td>
<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td>$4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Development of Modern Turkey by means of its Press</td>
<td>Ahmed Emin, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The System of Taxation in China, 1914-1911</td>
<td>Shao-Kwan Chen, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Currency Problem in China</td>
<td>Wen-Fan Wei, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jewish Immigration to the United States</em></td>
<td>Samuel Joseph, Ph.D.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOLUME LX. 1914. 516 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
1. [146] *Constantine the Great and Christianity.*
   By CHRISTOPHER BUSH COLEMAN, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
2. [147] The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism.
   By MAUD ALICE HUTTMAN, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

VOLUME LXI. 1914. 496 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
   By EDMUND CLINT ROBBINS. Price, $1.50.
2. [149] *The Finances of the City of New York.*
   By YIN-CHU MA. Ph D Price, $3.50.

[150] The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction.
39th Congress, 1865–1867.
   By BENJAMIN E. KENDRICK, Ph.D. Price, $3.00.

VOLUME LXIII. 1914. 561 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
   By CHARLES ELMER GERLIE, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
   By TOSHIFURO WATANABE. Ph.D. Price, $1.25.
   By WARREN S. THOMPSON, Ph.D. Price, $1.75.

VOLUME LXIV 1915. 646 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50.
1. [154] *Reconstruction in Georgia.*
   By C. MILDERED THOMPSON, Ph.D. Price, $3.00.
   By ELMER BREWER RUSSELL, Ph.D. Price, $1.75.

VOLUME LXV. 1915. 524 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
   By RAYMOND DU BOIS CAMALL, Ph.D. Price, $2.25.
2. [157] *Scientific Management (3rd. ed. 1922).*
   By HORACE B. DRURY, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

VOLUME LXVI. 1915. 655 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50.
   By JULIUS GEBEL, JR., Ph.D. Price, $2.00.
2. [159] Railway Problems in China.
   By CHIN KSU, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
   By PAUL H. CLEMENTS, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

VOLUME LXVII. 1916. 538 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
1. [161] *Russian Sociology.*
   By JULIUS F. HECKER, Ph.D. Price, $3.50.
2. [162] State Regulation of Railroads in the South.
   By MAXWELL FERGUSON, A.M., LL.B. Price, $1.75.

   By PHILIP K. HARRIE, Ph.D. Price, $4.00.
   By F. C. MURGOTTEN. (In press)

VOLUME LXIX. 1916. 489 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
1. [164] Railway Monopoly and Rate Regulation.
   By ROBERT J. MCFAUL, Ph.D. Price, $3.00.
   By EDWARD WIESEL, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

[166] Mohammedan Theories of Finance
   By NICOLAS P. AGNIKIDES, Ph.D. Price, $4.00.

VOLUME LXXI. 1916. 476 pp. Price, cloth, $4.00.
   By N. M. MILLER SUTHER, Ph.D. Price, $3.50.

VOLUME LXXII. 1916. 542 pp. Price, cloth, $4.50.
   By EDWIN LEVIT CLARKE, Ph.D. Price, $2.50.
   By CHIN HSU, Ph.D. Price, $3.50.
   By A. B. ADAMS, Ph.D. (Out of print)