

The
History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXVII

The
Abbāsid Revolution



TRANSLATED BY JOHN ALDEN WILLIAMS

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXVII

The 'Abbāsīd Revolution

A.D. 743-750/A.H. 126-132



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

VOLUME XXVII

THE
‘Abbāsīd Revolution

translated and annotated
by

John Alden Williams

University of Texas at Austin

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Acknowledgement

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

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking and meticulous editing; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

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

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

the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

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

Ehsan Yar-Shater



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Translator's Foreword



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

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

Professor George Makdisi of the University of Pennsylvania read the greater part of the translation against the originals and offered invaluable suggestions in the midst of trying circumstances: a most generous act. Professor Jacob Lassner made many thoughtful addi-

tions to the footnotes, and where this occurred I have indicated it in the notes. To Professor Ehsan Yar-Shater who has seen to the publication of this volume and others of al-Ṭabarī, very special thanks are due.

John Alden Williams
Center for Middle Eastern Studies
The University of Texas at Austin



The Caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad



In this year the oath of allegiance was given in Damascus to Marwān b. Muḥammad as Caliph.¹

Why The Oath of Allegiance Was Given to Marwan

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

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

1. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1879; Ibn Khayyāt, II, 392; Azdi, 62ff; *FHA*, 156; Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 404ff; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, VI, 46; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 366.

[1891] stopped at 'Āliyah.² The two young sons of al-Walīd b. Yazīd who had been slain were brought to him, as well as the body of Yūsuf b. 'Umar, and he ordered that they be given burial.³ Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī was carried to him in shackles, and he saluted Marwān as Caliph. Up until that day, Marwān had only been hailed with the title of amīr, so he asked al-Sufyānī, "What's this?" Al-Sufyānī replied, "Both [the sons of al-Walīd] made the Caliphate over to you as their successor."

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

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

The verses of al-Ḥakam were:

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. The text is 'Āliyah; perhaps it should be read al-'Āliyah. Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 403 reads *Dayr al-'Āliyah*. The term *al-'āliyah* generally means the heights of an area as distinct from the low lying areas. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 592.

3. Yūsuf had been imprisoned throughout the reign of al-Walīd. His death and that of al-Walīd was ordered by 'Abd al-'Azīz. The two boys are elsewhere identified as 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam. They are also called the "two lambs" (*ḥaml*). See n. 1 above.

4. That is, it was legal for them to transfer their authority. A short variant of these verses is found in *FHA*, 156-57.

The deficient Qadari⁵ has lorded it over us
and incited war among the sons of our father.

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

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

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

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

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

[1892]

Then Abū Muḥammad said, "Stretch out your hand and I'll swear allegiance to you." Those of the Syrian army (*ahl al-shām*) who were with Marwān heard him, and the first to come forward was Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr with the chief people of Ḥimṣ. They swore allegiance to Marwān, whereupon he commanded them to choose governors for their military districts. The men of Damascus chose Zāmil b. 'Amr al-Jibrānī; the men of Ḥimṣ chose 'Abdallāh b. Shajarah al-Kindī; the people of the Jordan chose al-Walīd b. Mu'āwiyah b. Marwān; and those of Palestine chose Thābit b. Nu'aym al-Judhāmī, whom Marwān had extricated from Hishām's prison, and who then had betrayed him in Armenia.⁶ Marwān took sure promises and binding oaths from them when they

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

6. As chief of the local Yamani faction, Thābit acted out of partisan motives against Marwān whose support was mostly from the Qays. Thābit took the title al-Qaḥṭānī to indicate descent from the alleged progenitor of the southern tribes and to thus draw wide support. See Ṭabari, II/3, 1871ff; Ibn Khayyāt, II, 393; Azdī, 66; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, 314.

gave him the handclasp of allegiance, then he withdrew to his residence in Ḥarrān.⁷

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

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

*Revolt of the People of Ḥimṣ*¹⁰

According to Aḥmad—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: When Marwān left for his residence in Ḥarrān after settling with the Syrian army, he had not been there more than three months before they openly opposed him and rebelled against him. The one who incited them to that was Thābit b. Nu'aym, who sent them messengers and wrote them letters. Information about them reached Marwān, and he marched against them himself. The army of Ḥimṣ sent word to the Kalb who were at Tadmur, whereupon al-Aṣḅagh b. Dhu'ālah al-Kalbī set off toward them, accompanied by three of his sons, full grown men, Ḥamzah, Dhu'ālah and Furāfiṣah. Also accompanying him were Mu'āwiyah al-Saksakī, one of the Syrian cavalry, and 'Iṣmah b. al-Muqsha'ir, Hishām b. Maṣād, Ṭufayl b. Ḥārithah and about a thousand horsemen of their tribe. They entered the city of Ḥimṣ on the night of the

7. Ḥarrān thus became the unofficial capital of the new Caliph. Not surprisingly Marwān wished to avoid taking up residence among the followers of his enemies, preferring to remain instead in the area where he had long resided. For Ḥarrān see LeStrange, *Lands*, 103.

8. See Ibn Khayyāt, II, 393; Azdī, 64; *FHA*, 157; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, IV, 468.

9. A Syrian regiment named after its commander Muslim b. Dhakwān. These were apparently Sulaymān's guard. While Ṭabari's terming them mawlās does not necessarily mean they were non-Arabs, it suggests that some of them may not have been Arabs. Such elite regiments supplied the backbone of Marwān's support. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 372, 375. For a challenging and highly speculative view of the late Umayyad military, see P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, esp. 42–57.

10. See Ibn Khayyāt, II, 393ff; Azdī, 66; *FHA*, 158ff.

'Id al-Fiṭr¹¹ in 127 (June 25, 745). Marwān was at Ḥamāh, no more than thirty miles¹² from Ḥimṣ when the news of them reached him on the morning of the 'Id al-Fiṭr, so he moved quickly. With him at the time were Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid, the deposed Caliph, and Sulaymān b. Hishām. They had sent him messages and asked him for a guarantee of security, and (having received it) they traveled with him as part of his army. Treating them generously, he positioned them both near him, so they sat at his table for dinner and supper and rode with him in his train. He reached Ḥimṣ two days after the 'Id al-Fiṭr, and the Kalb in the city had blocked the gates from inside. He was prepared, as his guard (*rābiṭah*) was with him. Surrounding the city with his horsemen, he stationed himself opposite one of the gates and looked out over a group of defenders along the wall. His herald then called out, "What call had you to break faith?" They answered, "We still obey you; we have not broken faith with you!" He then told them, "If what you say about yourselves is true, then open the gate!" At this, they opened it. 'Amr b. al-Waḍḍāḥ burst in at the head of the Waḍḍāḥiyyah,¹³ who numbered about three thousand men, as they fought the Kalb inside the city. When Marwān's cavalry became too much for them, they ran for one of the gates, called Bāb Tadmur. They went out by it, but Marwān's guard was stationed there and fought them; most of them were thus killed. Al-Aṣḥab b. Dhu'ālah and al-Saksaki got away, but Dhu'ālah and Fu-rāfiṣah, the two sons of al-Aṣḥab, and more than thirty of their men were captured. They were brought to Marwān, who had them killed on the spot. He ordered that all their slain, some five or six hundred, be collected and crucified around the city, and he tore down about a bowshot's length of the city wall. [1984]

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

11. 'Id al-Fiṭr is the Feast of Fast-breaking at the end of Ramaḍān, see *El* s.v. 'id.

12. One Arabic mil is 2 km., one third of a *farsakh*. See *E.I.*2, s.v.

13. The Waḍḍāḥiyyah were a military contingent similar to the Dhakwāniyyah. See n.8 above.

When they came near the city they attacked the besiegers. Abū al-Habbār and his horsemen came out from the city, and they routed the rebels and seized their camp. Then they burned al-Mizzah, one of the villages of the Yamanīs. Yazid b. Khālid and Abū 'Ilāqah sought refuge with a man of the Lakhm tribe from al-Mizzah. Their whereabouts was reported to Zāmil, who sent for them, but they were both killed before they were brought before him. He then sent their heads to Marwān at Ḥimṣ.

Thābit b. Nu'aym of the army of Palestine rebelled, advancing as far as Tiberias,¹⁴ and besieged its people. Their governor was Walid b. Mu'āwiyah b. Marwān, son of the brother of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. They fought the rebel for several days, whereupon Marwān wrote to Abū al-Ward ordering him to go there and assist them. Abū al-Ward set off from Damascus some days later. When word reached the inhabitants that he was near, they came out of the city against Thābit and his men and seized their camp. Thābit fled to Palestine and gathered his kinsmen and military forces (*jund*). Abū al-Ward now moved against him and put him to flight a second time, and those who were with Thābit deserted him. Three of his grown sons were captured: Nu'aym, Bakr, and 'Imrān. Abū al-Ward sent them to Marwān; they were brought to him at Dayr Ayyūb,¹⁵ wounded, and he gave orders for their wounds to be treated.

[1895] Thābit b. Nu'aym went into hiding, and al-Rumāḥis b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Kinānī was made governor of Palestine. Escaping with Thābit was one of his sons, Rifā'ah, who was the worst of them all. (Later) he joined Manṣūr b. Jumhūr,¹⁶ who honored him with gifts, gave him a position and made him his lieutenant along with a brother of his called Manzūr b. Jumhūr. But Rifā'ah assaulted Manzūr and murdered him. This came to Manṣūr's ears as he was setting out for Multān—his brother had been at Manṣūrah,¹⁷ so Manṣūr

14. Tiberias (Ṭabariyyah) was the headquarters of the military district of the Jordan (al-Urdunn). See *El* s.v. Ṭabariyya.

15. A village situated in the Ḥawrān district near Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 645.

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

17. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 629 lists a Multān which he indicates is also recorded as Multān. It was a great city in Hind on the way to Manṣūrah (the capital of Sind). For Manṣūrah, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 331.

turned back and seized Rifā'ah. He then built a hollow column of burnt brick, placed Rifā'ah inside it, fastened him to it, and bricked him in.¹⁸ Marwān wrote al-Rumāḥis to look for Thābit and display kindness to him. At last a man from Thābit's tribe told where he was, and he was taken, along with a number of others. After two months, he was brought in. Marwān ordered that Thābit and his sons, who were already in Marwān's hands, be brought forward. Then their hands and feet were cut off, and they were transported to Damascus. Abū Hāshim stated, "I saw them cut in pieces and fixed on the gate of the city mosque." This was done because word had reached Marwān that people were spreading alarming rumors about Thābit, saying that he had gone to Egypt, gained control there, and slain Marwān's governor.

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

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

[1896]

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

19. There is no entry for this place in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary. Dūr and Dūrān were common place names in Iraq.

adds, "Marwān spared one man among them, called 'Amr b. al-Hārith al-Kalbī; it is claimed he had knowledge of the wealth which Thābit had deposited with certain kinsmen." Then Marwān moved on with his men to camp at Qaṣṭal,²⁰ in the territory of Himṣ adjacent to that of Tadmur, the distance between them being three days' march. Word reached him there that the enemy (i.e., the Kalb) had spoiled all the wells lying between him and Tadmur, filling them in with stones, so he prepared waterskins, canteens, fodder, and camels to transport the provisions for him and his men. Al-Abrash b. al-Walīd, Sulaymān b. Hishām and other Umayyads interceded with him and asked that they (the Kalb) be excused, and that they make representations to them. He agreed to this, and al-Abrash sent them his brother 'Amr b. al-Walīd. Al-Abrash wrote them a letter urging caution and informing them that he feared they would be the death of him and all their kinsmen. They drove 'Amr away, however, and did not comply. Al-Abrash now asked Marwān to let him go to them himself, and to give him a few days. This, Marwān did. Al-Abrash went to them, spoke to them, and put fear into them. He told them that they were stupid and that they could not withstand Marwān and his troops. Most of them agreed with this, while those who did not trust him fled into the desert lands of the Kalb. These were al-Saksakī, 'Iṣmah b. al-Muqsha'irr, Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārithah, and Mu'āwiyah b. Abi Sufyān b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, who was the son-in-law of al-Abrash. Al-Abrash wrote to Marwān informing him of this, and Marwān wrote back to him, "Tear down the walls of their city and come back to me with those who have given you their allegiance." He therefore went back to Marwān with their chief men, al-Aṣḅagh b. Dhu'ālah and his son Ḥamzah, and a number of others. Marwān then set out with them on the desert road for Sūriyyah²¹ and Dayr al-Lathīq²² until he came to Ruṣāfah (residence of the Caliph Hishām). With him were Sulaymān b. Hishām, his paternal uncle Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Malik and all his brothers, as well as Ibrāhīm the deposed Caliph and a number of the sons of the Caliphs Walīd, Sulaymān and Yazīd. They stayed there for a day; and then Marwān left for

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20. A place between Himṣ and Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 95.

21. A place in Syria between Khunāṣirah and Salamīyyah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 87.

22. Vocalization conjectural. This place is not listed by Yāqūt.

Raqqah. Sulaymān b. Hishām asked for permission and begged Marwān to allow him to stay on for some days, so that his mawlās might recover their strength and his beasts be rested. Sulaymān would then follow after him. Marwān gave him permission and went on his way, halting at a camp on the bank of the Euphrates where he used to stay, near Wāsīt.²³ He remained there for three days and went on to Qarqisiyyah (Circesium), where Ibn Hubayrah was waiting to precede him to Iraq to fight al-Daḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī al-Ḥarūrī.²⁴ At this time about ten thousand men of those whom Marwān had mobilized for the campaign in Iraq while he was at Dayr Ayyūb came up with their officers and stopped at Ruṣāfah. Here they called on Sulaymān to renounce his allegiance to Marwān and fight him.

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

*The Revolt of al-Daḥḥāk the Khārijite (Muḥakkim)*²⁵

Sources differ in their accounts of this affair. As for Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: The occasion for the revolt of al-Daḥḥāk was that when al-Walid was slain, a Ḥarūrī called Sa‘īd b. Bahdal al-Shaybānī rebelled in the Jazīrah at the head of two hundred men of the region. One of them was al-Daḥḥāk, who took advantage of al-Walid’s death and Marwān’s preoccupation with Syria to rebel in the territory of Kafartūthā.²⁶ At the same time Bistām al-Bayhasī, who differed with Sa‘īd in his views, set out with a like number of the Rabī‘ah, and each of them marched against the other. When the two forces were near each other, Sa‘īd b. Bahdal sent al-Khaybarī, one of his of-

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23. Not to be confused with the famous city of Wāsīt founded by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. This city was situated near Qarqisiyyah. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, II, 882 ff.

24. Ḥarūrā’ was the district near Kūfah where the Khārijites rebelled against ‘Ali in Rabī‘ I, 37 (August 17-September 15, 758). It subsequently gave its name to the sect known as the Ḥarūriyyah. See *Et*² s.v. Ḥarūrā’.

25. Literally one who submits only to God’s judgment; that is, the Khārijites who opposed the arbitration at Ṣiffin by crying out *la ḥukm illā li-llāh*. For al-Daḥḥāk’s entry, see Ibn Khayyāt, II, 395ff; Azdī, 67ff; *FHA*, 157; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 389–92, and *The Religious Political Opposition Parties*, 164ff; *Et*² s.v. ad-Daḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī.

26. The Kafartūthā mentioned here is a large village in the Jazīrah some five *farsakhs* (30 km) from Dārā.